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MS 245

Gregory Hulsman
Declaration

I declare that this thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other university and it is entirely my own work.

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Summary

This is a critical edition of material from Trinity College Dublin MS 245, an early fifteenth-century Lollard instructional anthology. This thesis will be a case study, the aim of which is to reassess the nature of such anthologies by considering one individual manuscript as a book in and of itself, something which has not yet been done. There will be an analysis of the manuscript’s history, particularly its evolution over time, which saw the later addition of a quire, and special attention is paid to the texts in their original context, i.e. in relation to one another. There follows a transcription, complete with extensive annotations, of a selection of the texts (the reasons for the omission of certain tracts are explained fully in the section entitled ‘Editorial Practice’).

The analysis of the manuscript is in two parts. Firstly, the contents of the original structure, which the compiler carefully selected, prior to the addition of the first quire, are discussed in detail. The emphasis is on the role of the compiler, so the layout of the texts, and the ways in which they relate to one another, is covered, before they are put into the broader context with a discussion of their place within the contemporary theological spectrum. The central themes of Church corruption, social unrest, and the presence of Antichrist on Earth, are then examined, with the conclusion being drawn that the compiler’s motivation was to warn the faithful of the imminent apocalypse.

Secondly, there is an analysis of the first quire, with attention again being paid to the layout of the texts and how they relate to one another. The discussion revolves around both the restructuring of the manuscript, and the specific four texts of the first quire, and how these helped to refocus the purpose of the anthology. In light of this, the manuscript is considered as a book of instruction with the specific aim not of education, but rather, re-education. This is achieved by the addition of the four texts which help to reshape the anthology’s structure so that it mirrors that of the primer. The sense of urgency concerning the approach of Judgement Day remains, but is significantly toned down, with the compiler introducing a nuanced instructional approach, likely informed by a desire to lead the faithful back to Christ.

No evidence for basic Lollard educational practices exists, with everything pointing toward an advanced exegetical programme, of which MS 245 is an example. Thus, it is argued that Lollard schools did not provide basic education, but rather, built upon orthodox foundations. The aim was to demystify Scripture, to remove the complexities of devotional
practice, to dismantle that which the institutional Church had built, and ultimately to re-
educate the faithful in God’s word. In the context of MS 245, to base the structure of the
anthology on that of the primer demonstrates the compiler’s awareness of both the benefits of
orthodox pedagogical practices, and where he believed the institutional Church had failed.
The Church had armed the laity with a basic knowledge of Scripture, but kept deeper
understanding at arm’s length, while gradually leading followers away from Christ. Thus, the
ultimate aim of the compiler was two-fold: to effectively assert lay authority and the
importance of vernacular theology, and to facilitate the re-education, and salvation, of the
faithful by carefully rooting the book in orthodox tradition.
I would like to extend my thanks to the many people who so generously contributed to the work presented in this thesis. Special mention goes to my supervisors, Dr Brendan O’Connell and Professor Eiléan Ní Chuilleanáin, for their years of guidance and encouragement. I must express my gratitude to Professor John Scattergood for all of his advice. I would like to thank my examiners, Dr Margaret Connolly and Dr Alice Jorgensen, whose feedback made the thesis immeasurably better, and Dr David O’Shaughnessy for his help during the viva. Many thanks to the staff in the various libraries I visited in the course of my research, especially those in the TCD manuscripts room. I must also acknowledge Professor Alan Fletcher, whose scholarly enthusiasm and generosity sparked my interest in medieval history. Finally, I would like to express my enormous gratitude to my wife Regina, and all of my family and friends, for their unerring love and support.
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List of Abbreviations

Each of the manuscripts referred to in the footnotes of the transcription to mark the variations across texts are referred to under the following sigla:

Add.  London, British Library, Additional MS 17013
Bod. 789  Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 789
Camb. I  Cambridge University Library, MS Nn. 4.12
Camb. II  Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.12.39
Dou. 273  Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 273
Dou. 274  Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 274
Harl.  London, British Library, Harley MS 2385
Lam.  London, Lambeth Palace, MS 408
Leic.  Leicester, Wyggeston Hospital MS lOD 34/1
MS  Dublin, Trinity College, MS 245
New 95  Oxford, New College MS 95
YM  York Minster, MS XVI. L. 12

There follows a list of the other abbreviations present in the Introduction, footnotes and endnotes.

12 Conclusions


37 Conclusions

Remonstrance against Romish Corruptions in the Church (The Thirty-Seven Conclusions of the Lollards), ed. by Josiah Forshall (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1851).

ALD

**Apostasia**


**Arnold III**


**Arundel’s Constitutions**


**BL**

British Library, London

**Chaucer**


*The Church and Her Members*, in Arnold III, pp. 338-65.

**CHM**

Cambridge University Library

**CUL**


**De eucharistia**


**DFS**

*Dialogue Between a Friar and a Secular*, in ix
Dialogus


EETS Early English Text Society.


*Early English Text Society.*


*Early English Text Society.*


*Early English Text Society.*


*Early English Text Society.*


Knighton’s Chronicle


*The English Works of Wyclif, Hitherto Unprinted*, ed. by F.D. Matthew, EETS O.S. 74 (London:
Mirk


NCE


OMC


Opera minora


Opus evangelicum


O.S.

Original Series.

PPI


PPII

William Langland, *Piers Plowman*, A Norton Critical Edition, ed. Elizabeth Robertson and Stephen A. Shepherd (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Co, 2006). This edition is not used for citations of Langland’s *Piers Plowman* (see PPI), but for the supplementary material which the editors felt was either an influence on,
or influenced by, Langland.


*PT*


*SDS*

*On the Seven Deadly Sins*, in Arnold III, pp. 119-67.

*Sermones*


*SEWW*


*SWM I*

*Seven Werkys of Mercy Bodyly*, in Arnold III, pp. 168-77.

*SWM II*

*Seven Werkys of Mercy Gostly*, in Arnold III, pp. 177-82.

*TCD*

Trinity College Dublin

*THS*


*Universalibus*

Von Nolcken


Vae Octuplex, in EWS II, pp. 366-78. Cited by page and line number.


xiv
Description of the Manuscript


Date

Jefferson dates it as the first half of the 15th century, and internal evidence, such as references to the papal schism in the present tense in *Of Mynistris in be Chirche* and *The Church and Her Members*, suggests that it was most likely compiled prior to 1417.¹

Provenance

Little is known about the manuscript’s previous owners before it was given to Ussher. The signature of Thomas Chamber, whose identity is unknown, appears on one folio (see below).

Technical description

218 folios, membrane (parchment or vellum). Dimensions: 160mm x 105mm, written area 120mm x 80mm. 32 lines per page, single column, ruled throughout. There are occasional running titles, but writing usually begins between the first two ruled lines. Pricking is visible throughout on the outer edges. Foliation was corrected to account for the omission of f. 133 (see below). There is some worming in the margins of the first ten folios, becoming more occasional throughout the manuscript, but extensive worming on the final two leaves has rendered some text illegible. Otherwise the manuscript is in good condition and is legible throughout.

¹ See *OMC*, p. 339/297-305 and *CHM*, p. 351.
Collation

iii + 218 + iii: i – paper, containing the following: ‘Rebacked March 1947’, conjugate with pastedown; ii and iii - paper, containing a list of contents in pen, signed ‘JHT’ (most likely James H. Todd) and dated 10 March 1836; 1-8, 9, 10-27; i and ii – paper, blank; iii – paper, containing the following: ‘Foliation corrected September 1977, D.A.B.’ and ‘i-iii assigned Oct. 1994 SÓS’, conjugate with pastedown. Folios 7-8 are blank, and in addition to the fact that signatures (ai-iii) appear on the second quire only (ff. 9-12), this is evidence that the first quire was added at a later date, either during the compilation of the rest of the manuscript, or after its completion. Catchwords, beginning on the second quire, appear throughout, except on f. 162. The catchword on f. 218 is evidence that the manuscript is incomplete. The binding is post-medieval.

Handwriting

There is a single anglicana hand throughout, and, as Somerset and Gradon have noted, the variations in ink colour and production methods, such as headings and ‘ways of signalling the beginning of a new text and the end of the previous’, indicate that the scribe worked on the manuscript for an extended period of time.

Language

Even through there is only one hand, there are a number of dialects present – Warwickshire, southeast Soke of Peterborough or extreme North Huntingdonshire, and N Ely ‘mixed with some other components’. This is unusual because texts were normally translated by scribes into their chosen or

2 Somerset, FWD, p. xxxi.
3 Gradon suggests that there may be evidence of a second scribal hand on ff. 146v-147v, due to changes in spelling and dialect, but this can be accounted for by the range of dialects the scribe included throughout. See below. EWS II, p. xxiii.
4 FWD, p. xxxv.
5 LALME, vol. 1, p. 77
local dialect, and Somerset theorises that in this case the scribe did not do so because the dialects were ‘mostly from the larger Midlands region within which most Lollard manuscripts can be located’.

Punctuation
Medial pauses are marked with a punctus or punctus elevatus; a single or double virgule (and occasionally a punctus or a punctus and a single virgule) marks the end of a sentence; the end of a paragraph or text or is marked with a punctus versus.

Correction
Corrections usually appear in the margins, with the error highlighted by a line of dots underneath, but they are occasionally included in the body of the text with the use of a caret.

Decoration
_Litterae notabiliores_ in red and blue ink appear frequently throughout the first half of the manuscript (most are two-line or three-line capitals, but some are larger with red flourishing) becoming more occasional thereafter. Red ink decorates paraphs, chapter markers, biblical quotations within the body of the text, and occasionally running titles, corrections and biblical references in the margins.

Marginalia
There are biblical references and corrections in the margins in the main scribal hand throughout, but there are also three (or possibly four) other 16th century hands in the margins. The first 16th century
hand (A) appears regularly from f. 13v before tapering out a third of the way through, and mostly just marks biblical passages, with the occasional comment to highlight a specific passage. A second 16th century hand (B) in brown plummet, possibly belonging to Thomas Chamber (see below), appears a number of times. A third hand (C) appears once. A complete record of the 16th century marginalia is as follows:

(Hand A)

Biblical references on: 15v; 16v; 18v-19v; 20v-21v; 22v-23v; 25v-26v; 27v-29v; 31v; 32v; 38v; 43v; 46v; 54v; 56v; 57v; 61v; 62v; 63v-64v; 65v; 66v; 68v; 69v; 70v; 72v; 74v; 77v; 79v; 82v; 83v; 86v; 88v; 89v; 90v; 132v.

13v: 'thre officers in / Chrystis churche clarkis / knightis / and laborors /'; 14v: 'the holy gooste is the mynde of the father / & wytte of the sonne /'; 15v: 'conservyn the sabot'; 17v: 'Love alle me[n] in god'; 19v: 'A prophesie of friars com to passe /'; 22v: 'me[n] shuld throwe the stonnis of the gospelle agaynst heretycks'; 24v: 'the pope a simoniacke'; 28v: 'As the holy goost is the last parsone of the godhed & men comythe after so the synne agaynst the holy goost is the last for men comyth after that is greater'; 39v: 'lawers troblers of peace amongst the people'; 41v: 'the fyrst bondage cam of [sin] (word crossed out) / the seconde of tirants'; 54v: 'A prest is as a spier on the tope of a castle for example of lyfe to the people'; 58v-60v: Marks chapters 27, 28 and 29; 77v: 'de dota[cione] e[cclesie]'; 103v: 'maybe roelle this exposission' (possibly a different hand/same as 131v); 105v: 'two popes at on[c]e'; 131v: 'Note this chapter' (possibly a different hand/same as 103v); 137v: 'Reade this chapter to the ende'.

(Hand B)

64v-68v and 83v: Manicules in brown plummet (most of which are faded); 75v: Writing on its side which has been partially erased and rendered illegible; 210v: Signature of 'Thomas Chamber'
upside-down at the bottom.

(Hand C)

105\#: `nota que / to[ur] pore hes / scripta fuit`.

Contents

1. Folios 1\# - 2\#

`It is soo\# pat bileue; is grounde of alle vertues / & herfor e[ch] Cristen man; shulde be sad in bileue ...

And so shal men bileue • pat eche part of [h]e Chirche; shal haue ful remissioun of synne pat it hap don / An so rise in bodi & soule • at he day of doom; wi\# glorie wi\# hem bo\# • and euere lyue in blisse ~ Explicit credo in deum patrem’. On the Apostle’s Creed. IPMEP 403. Published in the present volume. See also Arnold III, pp. 114-6. 7

2. Folios 2\# - 3\#

`We shal bileue • pat his Paternoster pat Crist hymself techi\# • to alle Cristen men; passi\# alle opere preiers in hes pre pingis; in autorite & sotilte; & profi\# of he Chirche ... God for his greet mercy • kepe vs fro his yuel; and hanne shal we haue everlastyng fredom / Amen ~ Explicit Pater Noster’.

On the Pater Noster. IPMEP 810. Published in the present volume. See also Arnold III, pp. 93-6. Arnold’s base text continues on from ‘fredam’, all other versions of this commentary are incomplete. 8

3. Folios 3\# - 4\#

`Men greten comounly; oure Lady • Goddis moder • & we supposen pat his gretyng; saue\# many men ... And so my\# pardoun be gete • to seie eche day oure Lady sauter 3he ten þousynd 3eer in

---

3eer / Triste we to wordis of þe gospel; & worshipe we Marie [wiþ] aloure myȝt ~ Explicit salutatio sancte marie virginis'. On the Ave Maria. IPMEP 455. Published in the present volume. See also Arnold III, pp. 111-3.9

4. Folios 4v – 6v

'For false men multiplien bokis of þe Chirche • now rendyng bileue & now cloutynge eresies; þerfor men shuld be war of þes two perelis • þat men pynchen at in þe Pater Noster ... God helpe his Chirche fro perelis of false ypocritis & vngroundid newe statis • þat ben not foundid in Cristis lawe / Wel y wol þat pei may seie þat many of hem ben seyntis; but neiþer is þis bileue ne groundid in resoun ~ Expliciunt vij heresies contra Pater Noster'. The Seven Heresies. IPMEP 208. Published in the present volume. See also Arnold III, pp. 441-6. Also found in Bodley Douce 274, ff. 19r-22v; BL Harley 2385 ff. 3r-4v; York Minster XVI.L. 12, ff. 33y-36y.10

5. Folios 9v – 26v

'Alle maner of men shulden holde Goddis biddyngis; for wyþouten holdyng of hem may no man be saued [/] And so þe Gospel telliþ • hou oon axide Crist; what he shulde do • for to come to heuene / And Crist bad hym if he wolde entre into blisse; þat he shulde kepe þe maundementis of God • for þes kepen the lewes; as alle sectis shulden / For alle we shulden be Cristen men; & treuly serue God but this we may not do; but if we kepe thes maundmentis ... And so men synnen greuously; bi lernynge of mannes lawe / But more þes that ordeynen it; & mayntenen it & suen it / For sooth it is þat aftir • a man loueþ a lawe; he loueþ the autour of it • & eende of þis lawe / But he is cursid of God • þat as myche loueth man • or richesse or worship • that comen of mannes lawe; as he loueþ God • or the blisse of heuene ~ Expliciunt Mandata Amen’. On the Ten Commandments. IPMEP 49.

10 Ibid., p. 251, n. 38.
11 Folios 7-8 are blank (as stated in Collation).
6. Folios 27⁷ – 30⁹

‘For it is seid in holdying of oure haliday • þat we shulden occupie þe tyme in prechyng • & deuout hering of þe lawe of God / & ouer many freris • as bastardis to Goddis lawe; tellen iapis or lechyngis • & leeuuen þe gospel ... And if a man koude no more • of þe lawe of God • but þes sixtene condiciouns • & bisiede him to kepe hem; he myȝt lȝtly come to heuene • and wite who wente amys • Expliciunt Feiþ hope and charite’. On Faith, Hope and Charity. IPMEP 595. Published in the present volume. See also Matthew, pp. 347-55.¹³

¹² See Jefferson, pp. xxxiii-xxxv for a discussion of the versions of the commentaries on the Decalogue. See also FWD, p. xxxii, n. 37.

¹³ IPMEP notes that there is ‘a slightly different version’ in Paris Sainte-Genevieve 3390. Somerset lists additional manuscripts containing the tract. See FWD, p. xxxii.
7. Folios 30r - 38r

‘zif a man were sure • that he shulde to morowe com before a iuge • & oþre lese or wynne • alle the goodis þat he hat • & also hys lijf þerto; he wolde drede this iugement • & bisie him ful fast to redye him & hise to haue the sentence for him ... Lord glorious were þe Chirche • if it stood clenly; bi the ordenaunce of Crist • withouten fendes novelrie [•] þanne shulden men bigynne to were; on enemies next hem [•] as mede & nede & kynde; techen Cristen men ~ Expliciunt opera caritatiua etc’.

On the Seven Works of Mercy, Bodily and Ghostly. IPMEP 331. Published in Arnold III as two separate texts, pp. 168-77 and 177-82.  

8. Folios 38r – 63r

‘Sith bileue techith vs • that euery yuel is oþre synne • comche of synne; synne schulde be fledge • as al maner of yuel / And sith no þing shulde be fledge • by wisdom of man but if þe harme of þat thing be knowun; euery trewe man • shulde wel knowe synne & so shulde he knowe; þe fruyt that buryowneþ þerof ... & siþe wiþ eche [•] þenke man how þou hast of God • boþe bi power & appetijt; & þerwith kyndely instrumentis • to serue hym & not þe deuel & faile not in þis trwy seruyce; for sharp veniaunce takip God of siche ~ Expliciunt septum peccata capitalia’.

On the Seven Deadly Sins. IPMEP 596. Published in Arnold III, pp. 119-67.

9. Folios 63v – 75r

‘Cristis chirche is his spouse; þat hath thre partis / þe first part is in blis; with Crist hed of þe Chirche & conteneþ aungels & blessid men; þat nowe ben in heuene / þe secounde part of þis Chirche; ben sentis in purgatorie; & þes synnen not of the newe but purgen her olde synnes ... But Crist whanne he louyde hooliche his Chirche; wolde not make it fair with þes ordris / & eche man is holdun to loueliche aftir þat Crist loueþ; & to hate þat he hatip • & thanne is his hiȝest virtu stablid ~ Explicit tractatus de ecclesia et membris eius’. The Church and Her Members. IPMEP 132.

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14 Somerset lists additional manuscripts containing this tract. See FWD, p. xxxii.
Published in Arnold III, pp. 338-65, Todd, *Three Treatises*, pp. i-lxxx, and *EWT I*, pp. 106-70.

10. Folios 76v – 80v

‘Sið ilche Cristen man is holdon to sewe Crist • & who euere faylip in þis is apostata; it is likliche to many men • þat þe more part of men bi here viciose lijf • ben combred in þis heresy ... ðise cloþis ben of charite þat euere more shal last ~ & here is an ende ~ Explicit tractatus de apostasia et dotacione ecclesie’. *Tractatus de apostasia cleri. IPMEP 597*. Published in the present volume. See also Todd, *Three Treatises*, pp. lxxxi-cxii, and Arnold III, pp. 430-440. Unique to TCD MS 245.

11. Folios 81r – 95v

‘For many beren heuy þat freris ben clepid pseudo or ypocritis • Antecristis or fendis • or ony siche name; it were to telle what goddis lawe seyþ here • & bi lore of goddis lawe; men shulden stonde stifly / First men taken of bileue; þat þei shulden reproue synne • siþ Crist techip þat ȝif þyn broþre synneþ in þee; þou shalt þries reproue hym ... þat seyen þey holden þe lawe and þe ordinaunce of Crist; & we trauelen to destrye hem • for certis ȝif we erreden here in wit or wille bi fals lore we wolden mekeliche a noon • tuns to treuþe when it were taurþ ~ Amen ~ Explicit tractatus de pseudo freris’. *Of Pseudo-Friars. IPMEP 210*. Published in *EWT II*, pp. 61-92.

12. Folios 96r – 101v

‘Crist byddip vs be waar wip þese false prophetis • þat comen in cloþing of sheep; & ben wolues of raueyn / & þes ben specialty men of þes newe ordi • & moste þese freris that last camen in [•] for the fend sutilþ euer aþenes hooly chirche ... & þus siþe God made alle thinge in mesure • we shulden holde vs in hise boundis [•] & trowe trewþis þat he haþ ordeyneþ & taurþ cristen men to trowe; & putte vs not in straunge perelis that we han no nede to trete ~ Here enden the eiþte woois þat God wishid to freris [/] Amen’. *Vae Octuplex. IPMEP 127*. Published in *EWS II*, pp. 366-78.15

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15 For a full list of manuscripts containing this text, see *EWS II*, p. 366.
13. Folios 101v – 116v

'Tis gospel tellip myche wisdom; þat is hid to many men [*] & speciali for þis cause; þat it is not al red in þe chirche / But siþ it is of euene autorite wiþ oþre gospell[is] of Crist • & of hid sentence & good; þat were profitable to þe chirche; sum men wolden seie it in her moder langage as þei kan ... & siþe men þat expounen falsly Goddis word • ben sufferid of þe pope; more men that expounen wiþ drede • on þis manre shulden be suffrid / But þe fend may dampne men; but not rauysche her hope in Crist ~ Explicit Euangelium'. *Of Mynistris in be Chirche.* IPMEP 738. Published in *EWS II*, pp. 328-65.

14. Folios 117v – 124v

'Dauid seip • Lord sett þou a lawe maker vpon hem / Hit semþ to me seip Austyn þat þis signifieþ Antecrist of whom þe apostle seip • whenne þe man of synne shal be shewid ... For Crist seip [*] in paciens shal þe kepe 3oure soules • to suffre hard for his sake; & foroure owne synne / Crist graunt vs grace þerto; and heuen blisse [/] Amen'. *Of Antecrist and His Meynee.* IPMEP 144. Published in the present volume. See also Todd, *Three Treatises*, pp. cxv-cliv. Unique to TC D MS 245.

15. Folios 124v – 126v

'Also prelatis • prestis & freres putten on symple men þat þei se[y]en • þat Goddis office or seruyce ben not to be songen wiþ note; & þat God de[ly]teþ not in suche maner oþ songe ... And if þei letten vs fro bettur doynge & encres[y]ng of Goddis wurship & help of Cristen soules; for þat tym e suspende alle siche cerymonyyns • lest we taken þe grace of God in veyne'. *Of Antecristis Songe in Chirche*, article 15 from *On the Twenty-Five Articles*. IPMEP 675. Published in the present volume. See also Arnold III, pp. 479-82, edited from Bodley Douce 273.16

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16 Bodley Douce 273 is the only manuscript to contain *On the Twenty-Five Articles* in its complete form. TCD MS 245 is the only other manuscript to contain parts of the text.
16. Folios 126r – 127r

‘Also bish cops & freres putten to pore men þat þei seyn; þat men owen not raþer to praye in chirche þenne in oþer place ... And þenne bishops mayntenynge it opynly and stidfastly; ben cursid heretikes ~ Explicit tractatus de oracione’. _Of Praier a Tretys_, article 19 from _On the Twenty-Five Articles_. IPMEP 675. Published in the present volume. See also Arnold III, pp. 479-82, edited from Oxford, Bodley Douce 273. See n. 15.

17. Folios 127v - 137r

‘Nota de confessione ~ Two virtues ben in mannes soule by whyche a man shuld be rewled in hoolynesse in mannes wille; & good kunnyng in his witt / Hoolynesse shuld put out synne [*] & good kunnyng shuld put out foly / But as wille hap principalite to-fore witt of mannes soule; so hoolynesse is more worpe þenne is kunnynge of synful man [*] for wickud aungels han myche kunnyng • but þei han nouȝt of hoolynesse ... For þis power graunted not God to Crist; ne to any apostle • and so Crist hap speciali power; to do awey mennes synne • & þise miracles þat ben feyned þat no man may see ne knowe as þei waxen without profit; so þei han no grounde in God ~ Explicit etc’. _Of Confession_. IPMEP 790. Published in _EWT II_, pp. 33-60.

18. Folios 137v – 143v

‘Crist for soþe did al þat he couþe to obeye to lordis; & to mekely & softly speke to hem ... But Poule seiþ [*] þe man of synne sone of perdicion is aduersarie & enhaunsid aboue God; so þat he sitt in þe temple of God; shewyng himsylf as if he be God / But þacharie þe prophete seiþ [*] þou shepherde & ydole forsakyng þi flok • etc’. _On Confession_. Published in the present volume. Unique to TCD MS 245.

19. Folios 144r – 145v

‘Cristen mennes bileeue tauȝt of Ihesu Crist god & man • & hise apostles & seynt Austyn • seynt Jerome & seynt Ambrose [*] & of þe court of Rome • & alle treue men; is þis • þat þe sacrement of
he auter ... Almy3ty God kepe his churche fro such false prophetis & here sotile ypocrisize and fals heresy [?] Amen'. On the Eucharist. IPMEP 131. Published in the present volume. See also SEWW, pp. 110-12. Unique to TCD MS 245.

20. Folios 145v -151r

'Crisostom seip • hat fischers & buystouse men makyng iche daye nettis wiþ here hondes • founden Crist; whom prestis studiynge al day in Goddis law founden not ... Into whiche mekenes & mercye; God for his endeles mercy to endure to he last eende • Amen'. On the Virtuous Life. Published in the present volume. Unique to TCD MS 245.

21. Folios 151r – 153v

'Seynt Barnard spekij to Eugenye þe pope • supposest þou wheþer þise tymes wolden suffre • if two men stryuing for erþeli eritage • & axing dome of þee þou woldest answere þe voyce of þi lord God; man who ordeyned me domesman upon 3ou ... Who þat serueþ to þe world • to money • or to fleschely desires • or to preysing of man • is seruaunt to vices and traytour to God; neþþur he may þe fredam of Goddis kunnyng fynde'. De Consideratione. Published in the present volume. Unique to TCD MS 245.

22. Folios 153v – 160r

'God moueth hooly churche bi many manre oþ spechis to knowe the treuthe oþ his lawe; & þerbi to come to blisse / And þus God spekib bi summe men as if two persones dispiteden togidre • þe whiche we clepyn Reson & Gabbyng; wheche ben Crist & the fende / ... Departe fro me þe cursud folc into euerlasting peyne oþ helle • þat is bifor ordeynid to þe deuel & his aungels • & to alle þat kepid not myn hestis • nor diden not the seuen warkes oþ mercy after þe fourme oþ Godis law • neithre bodily ne gostly [?] Man if þu wilt do theis dedis seuen þu schalt haue the blis oþ heuen • etc • Amen'. Dialogue between Reson and Gabbyng. Published in FWD, pp. 43-53. Unique to TCD MS 245.

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‘And for noijpur man ne womman may parfitly do þe seuen werkis of mercy witouten þe seuen zestis of þe Holy Gost • wiþ þe wich God makeþ euerych mannis soule his hous • & wiþ þe seuen forseyd zestis he makþ his hous þat is a mannis soule ... þe seuenth zest of þe Holy Gost is a spirit of wisdam • þat meuiþ euery man and womman to chese & charge more heuenly þing þan 3erþly’.

On the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit. Published in the present volume. Unique to TCD MS 245.

‘To all men & wymmen þat han þeis seuen zestes of þe Holy Gost Crist in his gospel on all halounday geuþ eiiþt blessyngis ischewing þat all halouuns weren mad holy with þe seuen zestis ... Þis lessoun is ful charitable; þat makþ a man so resonable; þat God dwellþ wiþ him bi grace; and he in God be heuenly solace [/] Amen for charite’. On the Eight Blessings. Published in the present volume. Unique to TCD MS 245.

‘Clerkys known þat a man haþ fiiue wittes outward & oþur fiiue wittes inward [/] But first it is to lerne þe fiiue wittes outeward þat ben þeis ... Withinne withoute goureþ þeis fiiue; in body & in soule þan þou mayst þriue [/] For God is good & ful of myþt; in tyme of nede to strenþþ his knyþt’.

On the Five Wittes. Published in the present volume. Unique to TCD MS 245.

‘Here are questiouns & ansueris putte that are writun here aftir / First I witnes bифor God Almiþy & alle trewe cristun men & wommen & 3owe [•] þat I haue not ben • nor is • nor neuer schal of myn entent ne purpos; to sei any thing aþen the general feip • neithre entent to bigile or deseyeue ani man or womman in ani vnprofitable to perpetual þel of soule • ne agein seying to the wordis ne sentence of ani seint seying feipfulli ... For dred of þis schuld þeis meny be aferd to beg as þei do • wyting wel þat Crist beggid not but if he nedþ ne seyntis noithre / And if þei dede þei repentid þerof &
amendid; & so I rede þeis beggars do bi tyme and come to Crist ~ Amen . Amen’.

An Apology for Lollard Doctrines. IPMEP 188. Published by J.H. Todd. Unique to TCD MS 245.

27. Folios 217r-v

’Hit is writen in þe first book of holy writ þat þer weren þre pat[ri]arkes in þe peple of God • & þei hiȝten Abraham • Isaac & Iacob • vnt[o] whom God schewid ratherist his special chere for þat tyme ... Þe siȝt of þis trinite in heuen is holy seyntis fedyng • þe worship of þis trinite is holy seyntis wirkyng • þe liȝt of þi[s] trinite is holy seyntis cloþing [/] To þis trinite ioye & blis n[o]we and euer [/] Amen • etc’. On Jacob’s Ladder. Published in the present volume. Unique to TCD MS 245.

28. Folios 217v – 218r

Þeis ben þe nyne poyntis þat oure lord Ihesu answerid an holy man • þat coueit to wite what miȝt moost plese vnþo God / þe [f]irst is þis to do almesdede to hem þat neden hiȝt whiles a man is aliue ... Þe nynt is for to loue hooly & wytourly God • for it plesiþ him more • þan þou went vp to an hill þat were full of rasoures & schare þi feet [/] And þerfor loue God & þin euen Cristen for goddis sake [/] Amen’. Nine Points. Published in the present volume. Also found in Leicester, Wyggeston Hospital MS 10D 34/15.

29. Folios 218r-v

‘Of þe dedis of mercy God will speke at þe dredful day [of] dome to all his chosun stondyng on his riȝt side ... & so ȝe þorow ȝour lyuyng slowen in hem þe seuen dedly synnes & so þorow holding myn hestis þeþi were clad with seuen vertues • lowly knowing hemsylf þerþe & poudur • sewid’. On the Deeds of Mercy. Incomplete with the catchword ‘in charite’. Published in the present volume. Unique to TCD MS 245.
The Evolution of the Manuscript: Original Structure

TCD MS 245 is an early fifteenth-century Lollard anthology, compiled over an extended period of time, by a single scribe/compiler. It contains a mixture of tracts which appear in other heterodox, and indeed orthodox, manuscripts, and includes unique (and in some cases, previously unpublished) texts. It is incomplete, the final text ending with a catchword, suggesting that there was at least one extra quire. At some point during its compilation, the structure, and the overall thrust of the anthology, was altered by the addition of a quire at the beginning. We shall now move onto a detailed analysis of the manuscript, of how the anthology, and the compiler’s apparent motivations, changed over time.

One growing trend in recent scholarship is to focus on, and produce editions and studies of, individual literary manuscripts and anthologies, as opposed to the selection of single texts from several manuscripts for an edition with a specific theme. This new focus treats individual manuscripts as books in their own right, and shifts attention to the original compiler(s)/editor(s) and their respective audiences. This allows us to consider individual texts in their original context, and how they were read. An edition of a single manuscript, for instance, can offer a complete picture of what was on the page, including marginalia and the textual variations unique to that manuscript, all of which affected the way in which a book was read by a medieval audience. Manuscripts, especially those composed for everyday use, such as primers, were fluid and open-ended

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compilations. Owners not only added marginalia, but sometimes entire texts or prayers.²

In the case of MS 245, as mentioned above, this anthology evolved over an extended period of time, its structure altered with the later addition of the first quire. The anthology, therefore, must be analysed as fluid and open-ended in order to reflect the changing nature of the compiler’s conception of the manuscript. Even if the final text was complete, we would have no way of knowing if this was the final version of the anthology. Indeed, the blank, ruled folios at the end of the first quire could suggest that there were yet more texts to be added.

The clearest way of analysing the manuscript is to divide it into two parts; its original layout, which contained twenty-five tracts (and possibly more, as it is now incomplete), and its first quire, which comprised four supplementary texts. As we shall see, the addition of the first quire significantly altered the thrust of the anthology, shaping it into a focused book of instruction, intended, not merely for education, but specifically re-education and the adaptation of orthodox material for heterodox purposes. As mentioned above, there is a growing trend to produce editions, and studies, of individual literary manuscripts, but what of religious anthologies? C.A. Martin observes: ‘[M]anuals of [religious] instruction might be more profitably studied within the context of the codex in which they are found rather than as independent texts’,³ yet this approach has thus far been overlooked in the case of Lollard anthologies, which are treated as either ‘storehouses of material’ or general books of instruction.⁴ MS 245, therefore, will be considered as a book in and of itself, its tracts analysed in their original context. This thesis will be a case study, seeking to re-evaluate the nature of Lollard anthologies and the differing motivations of their compilers.

An analysis of TCD MS 245’s original contents provides evidence of a loose, but definite

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⁴ See the respective discussions on Ralph Hanna III and Anna Lewis below, pp. liii-liv and pp. lviii-lxiv, n. 181.
structure. There is a clear grouping of texts, which suggests that from the earliest stages the compiler had a general plan. Tracts are not tightly grouped, but the contents are far from being a random collection. Of the twenty-five original tracts, almost all are grouped in pairs or threes, while recurrent themes and concerns offer cohesion across several tracts. Prior to the addition of the first quire, the anthology would have begun with the commentary *On the Ten Commandments*, followed by an exposition of the three theological virtues in *On Faith, Hope and Charity*. The next two tracts are *On the Seven Works of Mercy, Bodily and Ghostly*, and *On the Seven Deadly Sins*. The connection between these opening four commentaries is rooted in the concept of foundational knowledge. An understanding of the Decalogue, the three theological virtues, the works of mercy and the seven vices was widely considered as essential to the faith, and this is covered in detail below. In addition, the structure of each of the four commentaries uses enumerated sections as an aid to memorization. All of this suggests that the compiler was specifically concerned with education in the basics of the faith when selecting the opening tracts.

The next few pairings are all along thematic lines. In the *The Church and Her Members* and *Tractatus de apostasia cleri*, the former is concerned with making the distinction between the institutional Church and Christ’s church, carefully outlining, in a Lollard statement of intent, the roles to be carried out by true followers of Christ. The latter follows a similar structure, focusing first on the failures of the members of the institutional Church, before moving on to discuss Lollard persecution at the hands of the ecclesiastical authorities. Following these are *Tractatus de pseudo-friars* and *Vae Octuplex*, both of which are concerned with the failings of the mendicant orders. The latter is a commentary on Matthew 23, and it is followed by a tract entitled *Of Mynistris in þe Chirche*, which is a commentary on Matthew 24. This tract focuses on the evidence supporting the author’s belief that the pope is Antichrist, and it is followed by *Of Antecrist and His Meynee*, which

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5 These will be discussed in detail in the next section of the introduction.
6 Lollard persecution is a recurrent theme throughout the anthology. See p. 123, n. xviii.
carries on this same discussion. This concern with Antichrist’s influence in the Church is again touched on in the next tract: *Of Antecristis Songe in Chirche.* What is noteworthy here is that this was, in addition to the following tract, *Of Praier a Tretys*, taken from a much longer piece, *On the Twenty-Five Articles*, and is inserted here for the purposes of maintaining the desired structure. That the compiler had *On the Twenty-five Articles* to hand, but carefully selected just two articles is evidence of a lively mind, one with a clear idea of what the anthology should be. The role of a compiler is to take ‘various things from various sources’ and reorganize them ‘in accordance with new principles’. This is a demonstration of what A.J. Minnis, in reference to Vincent of Beauvais, calls the ‘mode of the excerptor’, discussed in more detail below. Indeed, even though *Of Praier a Tretys* moves away from the topic of Antichrist, that it was taken from *On the Twenty-five Articles* allowed the compiler to change direction while still relating it to the preceding material. This was an entirely different topic, but still carried on the general theme of Church corruption. In addition, its elevation of the importance of the personal relationship with God leads into the two tracts on

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7 '[W]hi scip Poul suche false apostlis; ben wickid wirchers • transfigurid slyly into Cristis apostlis / And no merueyle; for Sathanas transfigurid himself into an angel of ligt; þenne it is no merueile if hise mynistris ben transfigurid; as ministris of rigtwisnesse whose eende shal be aftir her weriks', *Of Antecrist and His Meynee*, p. 41/53-6.

8 ‘Cristen men seyne pleynly þat Crist & hise apostles preyden deuoutly wijjoute suche song • & þei neiþur taugten in worde ne dede • ne opynly counseyleden in hooly writt to þis song’, *Of Antecristis Songe in Chirche*, p. 53/3-4.

9 MS 245 is the only example of a compiler selecting material from *The Twenty-Five Articles*. The complete text exists in only one manuscript, Bodley Douce 273, and no other manuscript contains individual articles. See the previous section on the contents of MS 245. *The Twenty-five Articles* can be found in Arnold III, pp. 454-96.


12 See, for instance, *Of Praier a Tretys*, p. 60/35-37.

13 This tract opposes the belief that one can only pray to God properly in a church, maintaining that any place is suitable for the truly devout, thereby advocating a personal relationship with God: ‘Cristen men seyne þat þe owi[þ] to praye God in spirit & treuþ • þat is wip wille & deuocioun and clennesse of lyuyng’, *Of Praier a Tretys*, p. 58/2-4. See Knighton’s Chronicle, p. 437, and Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 196. This growing lay self-determination, in the words of Vincent Gillespie, was, of course, a challenge to orthodox devotional practice, and was inseparable from vernacular theology. Indeed, Barbara Newman asks the questions: ‘What credentials did the theologian require? Could the mere love of God suffice, or were Latin literacy and priestly ordination de rigueur?’ Barbara Newman, *God and Godesses: Vision, Poetry, and Belief in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), xxxii
the sacrament of confession which follow it. Both of these revolve around the belief that confession only matters when the penitent is genuinely contrite, something which only God can know. Thus, the necessity of the priest’s role is called into question. The compiler then moves from the sacrament of confession to a tract on the Eucharist, which is similarly concerned with undermining priestly power. By denying the doctrine of transubstantiation, the sacrament may be administered by anyone.

A new cycle of texts then begins with the tract On the Virtuous Life, which relies on the writings of John Chrysostom and Bernard of Clairvaux. The latter is then the focus of the following text, On Consideration, which discusses Bernard’s advice to Pope Eugenius. The positioning of the next tract, A Dialogue Between Reson and Gabbyng, complements On Consideration as it carries with it the implication that Bernard, a true follower of Christ, represents Reason, while the pope, synonymous with Antichrist, is the personification of falsehood. This is entirely consistent with the anti-papal sentiment which runs throughout the anthology, discussed in detail in the next section, so this pairing appears deliberate. The Dialogue ends with a section on the seven works of mercy, which then moves seamlessly into the next tract, On the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit, which discusses the gifts as being the basis for the seven works of mercy. The tract which follows again covers the seven gifts, this time linking them to the Beatitudes. Next is On the Five Wittes, which

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p. 297. This very question was being posed by those who sought a more personal relationship with God. This was a time, according to Gillespie, ‘when hermeneutic skills in the production and navigation of interior spiritual landscapes began to pass over from the enclosed and clerically directed world of anchoritic and monastic readers to the much less securely regulated and less stable world of lay spiritual ambition.’ Vincent Gillespie, ‘Vernacular Theology’, in Paul Strohm (ed.), Middle English, Oxford Twenty-first Century Approaches to Literature (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 407.

14 The concept of a personal relationship with God with regards to confession, that ultimately only God can know if a confessor is contrite, thus negating the role of the priest, affected the dynamics of power. David Aers, discussing Gabriel Le Bras, notes that annual confession had as much to do with control and defence of orthodoxy, and opposing heresy, as fostering ‘true devotion’. See David Aers, ‘Altars of Power: Reflections on Eamon Duffy’s The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580’, Literature and History 3 (Autumn, 1994), p. 98.

15 This is discussed further in the section on the religious spectrum.

16 ‘Crist in his gospel on all haloun day geuIf ert blessyngis ischewing pat halounns weren mad holy with þe seuen þeftis • & non may be holy wipouten hem’, On the Eight Blessings, p. 96/1-3.
is a continuation of the allegorical approach of the two preceding texts, as well as once again using
the mnemonic technique of enumerated sections.\textsuperscript{17} The anthology ends with another three tracts
using enumerated sections: one assigns different religious values to each rung of Jacob’s Ladder;\textsuperscript{18}
another discusses nine issues concerning popular forms of piety;\textsuperscript{19} and the final text continues along
the same line, with a discussion of the deeds of mercy.\textsuperscript{20}

Overall, when the twenty-five texts are considered as a whole, a pattern becomes clear. The
compiler sought to create a flow, to link tracts in a number of ways. Broadly speaking, the
anthology was clearly meant to be used for instructional purposes, but the smaller groupings of
texts, mainly linked by themes, and the consistency of argument on much debated issues such as the
popacy, proper preaching and the Eucharist, points to the compiler’s clarity of vision.\textsuperscript{21} This is
evidence that the manuscript possessed a deliberate structure from the beginning, best demonstrated
by the careful selections from \textit{On the Twenty-five Articles}. That said, the grouping of texts should
not be overstated. While tracts were certainly paired throughout, the original structure of the
anthology, though far from being a rattle-bag, must still be considered loose. This could be another
reflection of the evolving nature of the anthology, of the compiler periodically adding small
groups of related tracts. This will be covered in detail in the following section.

\textsuperscript{17} ‘\emph{he wyse man lickyn heis fieue to fieue princes pat schulde gouerne mannis body}’, \textit{On the Five Wites}, p. 99/3.
\textsuperscript{18} ‘\emph{he too syde of his leddre must be maad of he loue of God pat is in heuen • he tothur syde of he loue of our euen cristen […] he
ronges pat sch[u]llen be driuen in heis too sydis seuen ordre bi he & bi he • to schen he perfeccioun in he Trinite […] And hei schul
last to pritty pat is hries ten • for he keping of Goddis comandauntes pat longen to alle men}’, \textit{On Jacob’s Ladder}, p. 102/7-11.
\textsuperscript{19} ‘\emph{heis ben he nyne poynitis pat oure lord Ihesu answerid an holy man • pat coueit to wite what miȝt moost plese vnto God}’, \textit{Nine
Points}, p. 104/1-2.
\textsuperscript{20} ‘Of he dedis of mercy God will speke at he dredful day [of] done to alle his chosun stondyng on his rigt side […] Come he [b]lessid
childre of my fadre & recyue he kyndam of heuen pat is [or]deyind to 30w fro he biginning of he world for he keptun of [h]estes’,
\textsuperscript{21} These will be discussed in detail in the section on the central themes.
The Mode of the Excerptor and the Theological Spectrum

Before the analysis of the first quire and how it reshaped the purpose of the anthology into one of re-education, it is important to pinpoint the themes and consistencies highlighted in the previous section. This is the work of one compiler, someone who carefully selected material for the purpose of instruction, but what lessons was he seeking to impart? To answer this, we must examine what has been termed above, the 'mode of the excerptor'.

One strain of recent scholarship in the field of Lollard studies has aimed at a more subtle delineation of the theological spectrum in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, and examined how this challenges familiar concepts of Lollardy. Previous indicators of association with the sect, most notably vernacular translations of Scripture, have proven far less black and white, as it has become apparent that ecclesiastical authorities were less interested in the translation of the Bible and more concerned with how it was being read and by whom.22 This has led to more scholarship on the identification of Lollards and how they differ from Wyclif and, indeed, one another.23 Since Anne Hudson posited the theory of a Lollard sect-vocabulary, Lollard self-identity

22 Hereford's re-organisation of the Wycliffite Bible, for instance, as well as allowances being made for ownership by wealthier individuals. See Christopher De Hamel, The Book: A History of the Bible (London: Phaidon, 2001), pp. 169-72. Kantik Ghosh, discussing the way texts were read, refers to "intellectual literacy": the ability not merely to read but to bring to what one reads, or indeed hears read [...] an attitude of intellectual questioning, or informed criticism'. ‘Bishop Reginald Pecock and the Idea of ‘Lollardy'” in Helen Barr and Ann M. Hutchinson (eds.), Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), p. 264.

23 It is important to note here that, much like Lollardy, orthodoxy did not occupy a fixed point on the theological spectrum. Indeed, as Michael G. Sargent observes: 'We spend considerable time asking 'What is Lollardy?' because we assume that we already know what orthodoxy was - it always was what it is now.' See 'Censorship or Cultural Change? Reformation and Renaissance in the Spirituality of late Medieval England’ in Vincent Gillespie and Kantik Ghosh (eds.), After Arundel: Religious Writing in Fifteenth-Century England (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), p. 60. A fine example which illustrates this theological grey area is offered by Ian Johnson, discussing the collocation of extreme heterodoxy and extreme orthodoxy in one codex, and the apparent endorsement of both views. See ‘Vernacular Theology / Theological Vernacular' in After Arundel, pp. 86-7. See J.A.F. Thomson, ‘Orthodox Religion and the Origins of Lollardy’, History, Vol. 74 No. 240, (February 1989), 39-55; Amanda Moss, ‘Context and Construction: The Nature of Vernacular Piety in a Fifteenth-Century Devotional Anthology’, in Elisabeth Salter and Helen Wicker (eds.), Vernacularity in England and Wales, c. 1300-1550, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 41-64, for a discussion of Westminster School MS 3, ‘a fifteenth-century devotional anthology containing a mixture of orthodox and ‘Lollard-learning' texts', p. 41. See also Havens, Jill C.,
has been covered in exhaustive detail by Matti Peikola, whilst John Flood, Jeremy Catto, Andrew Larson and Lawrence Clopper, to name but a few, have questioned the tendency to unthinkingly foist the label onto late medieval English dissenters. In addition, Frances McCormack has analysed the subtle nature of Clanvowe’s heterodoxy in The Two Ways, and explored the possibility of Chaucer’s connection with the sect, while Margaret Aston, Kantik Ghosh, Shannon McSheffrey and Maureen Jurkowski have each analysed the concept of the Lollard sect or community. However, it is arguably J. Patrick Hombeck who has contributed most to the topic of Lollard identity and the theological spectrum in late medieval England, of the situating of individual dissenters in relation to others. He speaks of the ‘Lollard family tree’ and of those whose identities

'Shading the Grey Area: Determining Heresy in Middle English Texts', in Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale, pp. 337-52.


26 See Frances McCormack, Chaucer and the Culture of Dissent: The Lollard Context and Subtext of the Parson’s Tale (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007). See also Andrew Cole, Literature and Heresy in the Age of Chaucer, pp. 75-99.


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we know due to trial records, while his categorisation of issues and viewpoints common to Lollard discourse is particularly relevant in the many instances of anonymity of authorship. This is certainly the case with the MS 245 compiler because, despite his anonymity, there is enough consistency in the content of the anthology to offer insight into his worldview, and to situate him within the theological spectrum.

There are two approaches to this. One is to analyse the compiler’s views on the central theological arguments of the Lollard movement, which concerned salvation, the Eucharist, the priesthood, the papacy, and civil and ecclesiastical authority. This will help to situate the compiler on the religious spectrum, but the fact that some of these topics are covered in far greater depth in the anthology than others, means that we must also narrow the focus. The second approach is to analyse the recurring themes of the anthology, the ideas which hold it together. Each of the above categories will be briefly discussed and, where necessary, expanded upon in the section on the central themes of the anthology.

Salvation

Hornbeck has already illustrated the lack of unanimity in Lollard soteriological discourse, identifying a number of ‘strands of thinking’, situating these within the four categories of ‘predestinarian’, ‘grace-oriented’, ‘works-oriented’ and ‘Pelagian’ theories of salvation. He acknowledges the nuances in the spectrum of Lollard opinion on the matter, but due to the overlapping views across the above four categories, he condenses the list to two: predestinarian and

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29 These categories are taken from Hornbeck, who discusses each in depth. I have excluded the category of lay and clerical marriage because it is only touched on briefly in *ALD*. See Hornbeck, *What is a Lollard?*, p. 120.


works-oriented. The former encapsulates the belief that those who will be saved or damned were decided by God before the world was made, while the latter is based on free will and ties salvation and damnation to one’s actions in life. The Predestinarian view of salvation is problematic because, as Hudson notes, it casts doubt on the existence of mortal sin and undermines the sacrament of confession. This also concerns purgatory, which, as Duffy acknowledges, ‘loomed large [...] in lay awareness’, and raises the issue of the ‘cult of intercession for the dead’. Indeed, fear of the afterlife was powerful motivation for the performance of good deeds in life, as they could shorten one’s stay in purgatory. The seven works of mercy were, understandably, central to this belief.

Robert Lutton observes that the ‘actual existence of purgatory and the efficacy of prayers and masses for those suffering therein, were not in themselves widely questioned before the late 1520s’. It must be noted, however, that in Lollard circles, attitudes varied. As Hudson shows, the English sermon cycle accepts the existence of purgatory, although doubts remained, most of which were tied to scepticism regarding the benefits of prayers for the dead.

Salvation is not discussed in great detail in the anthology, but the texts which touch on it expound a predestinarian viewpoint and emphasise the importance of good deeds to lessening one’s purgatorial suffering. On Faith, Hope and Charity, for instance, discusses the hope of salvation, which is a reference to predestination, and then urges the faithful to trust in Lollard teachings until

32 Hornbeck, What is a Lollard?, pp. 63-4. See also Richard Rex, The Lollards (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 38-9 and 41-2, and John Wyclif, Trialogus, edited and translated by Stephen A. Lahey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 107-8 and 129-32. See also Jefferson, p. 170: ‘Whether men who were evil (and therefore not predestined for salvation) were part of the Church was one of the questions used in the interrogation of Lollards [...] The orthodox answer to the question was “Yes”.
34 Eamon Duffy, The Stripping of the Altars, p. 338. For Wyclif’s views on this, see, for instance, Sermones IV, p. 19; pp. 20-21.
‘he de\ of her body’.\(^{38}\) This is echoed in *Tractatus de apostasia cleri*, which mentions those who are predestined to be damned,\(^{39}\) before noting that those who follow Christ and whose faith remains until death, will be saved.\(^{40}\) *On the Seven Works of Mercy, Bodily and Ghostly* follows a similar line.\(^{41}\) The importance of good deeds and following Christ’s example is emphasised in later tracts, most notably in *On the Virtuous Life*, which devotes much space to this issue.\(^{42}\) However, in the final text the author speaks of those who were chosen to be saved ‘fro [h]e bigining of [h]e world’ in the same breath as those who ‘keptun of [h]estes’.\(^{43}\) This seems to hint at the author’s belief that those destined for salvation were destined to follow Christ, and is problematic because it appears to contradict the notion that nobody knows who is to be saved and who is to be damned. However, the fact that the tract is incomplete and unique to the manuscript means there is no way of knowing his final thoughts on the matter.

Overall, as noted earlier, salvation is not discussed in any great detail, but is touched on throughout. This is understandable as it fits within the framework of the impending apocalypse, a central theme of the anthology, and one which will be covered in depth below.

*The Eucharist*

This issue was central to Lollard self-identity, featuring prominently in their writings, as well as the questions of interrogators in heresy trials.\(^{44}\) This is perhaps the one topic which presents the most variation in opinion in Lollard circles. The only unanimity to be found is in the general tendency to deny the doctrine of transubstantiation. There was a specific reason for this, and Aston

\(^{38}\) On Faith, Hope and Charity, p. 22/63.

\(^{39}\) Tractatus de apostasia cleri, p. 29/6-7.

\(^{40}\) Ibid., p. 32/81-2.

\(^{41}\) The author points out it is known only to God who is to be saved, and discusses how to earn His mercy. See Arnold III, pp. 169-173.

\(^{42}\) On the Virtuous Life, pp. 78-87.


\(^{44}\) Hudson, Premature Reformation, pp. 281-290.
notes that ‘t]aking the miracle out of the eucharist reduced this sacrament to the level of the others and opened it to the ministry of every Christian believer’. Regarding the host, some affirm Christ’s spiritual presence in the bread and wine, others speak of a figurative presence. Even within these two strands were variations in opinion, while attitudes towards the act of consecration range from reverence to outright mockery.

Unsurprisingly, this is a recurrent topic throughout the anthology, and it is notable that each text which mentions the Eucharist propounds a form of the theory of consubstantiation. The real presence of Christ is affirmed, as is that of the bread and wine. On the Ten Commandments, On the Eucharist, and An Apology for Lollard Doctrines, for instance, all argue that ‘his sacrament is bope brede & Cristis body togedre; as Crist is verre God & verre man’.

Despite the number of texts which cover it, the Eucharist is not one of the central themes of the anthology. However, the uniformity of opinion across different tracts is one of the clearest signs that the compiler carefully chose the contents of the manuscript, that consistency of argument mattered. This is especially noteworthy considering the evolution of the manuscript, as one expects opinions to either harden or soften over time.

45 Aston, Lollards and Reformers, p. 61. Wyclif, however, insists that no priestly power is lost. See De eucharistia, p. 15.


48 On the Eucharist, pp. 74-7.

49 ALD, pp. 45-47.

50 On the Eucharist, p. 74/12.
The Priesthood

Unlike their views on salvation and the Eucharist, Lollards are almost unanimous in their preference for reform over abolition of the priesthood. Helen Barr has argued that Lollards sought a two-estate social hierarchy, consisting of the lords and commons, with the duties of the priesthood taken on by the latter.\(^\text{51}\) Hornbeck contradicts this, however, his conclusions illustrating that those who believed that every true Christian was a priest were in the minority.\(^\text{52}\) Hudson raises the question of how the clergy are differentiated from the laity if the obligation to preach and study Scripture falls to each Christian.\(^\text{53}\) On this very point, Aston observes:

\[\text{[T]he concept of the lay elect as ordained of God was the direct result of regarding the Church as the congregation of all true believers. [...] It was defined spiritually, not structurally, individually rather than formally.}\] \(^\text{54}\)

Essentially, as Hudson concludes, the simple answer is vocation; the belief that true priests are 'sent by God'.\(^\text{55}\) This also contradicts Barr's argument, and while Hudson and Hornbeck are technically correct, in the context of MS 245, the truth arguably lies somewhere in the middle. As will be discussed in detail below, the three-estate social structure is upheld throughout, but the compiler undoubtedly associated the institutional Church with the nobility, while simultaneously associating Christ and Lollards with the commons.\(^\text{56}\)

The nature and role of the priesthood is a major theme within the anthology, and is woven

\(^{\text{52}}\) Hornbeck, What is a Lollard?, p. 172.
\(^{\text{53}}\) Hudson, Premature Reformation, pp. 325-6.
\(^{\text{54}}\) Aston, Lollards and Reformers, pp. 60-1.
\(^{\text{55}}\) Hudson, Premature Reformation, p. 355.
\(^{\text{56}}\) See, for instance, Of Antecrist and His Meynee, which persistently compares the wealth of the institutional Church with the poverty of Christ and his followers, pp. 39-52.
through so much of the content that it will be discussed, in relation to the other central ideas, in more detail below. The MS 245 compiler undoubtedly embraced the need for reform, as opposed to abolition, of the priesthood and, as we shall see, was chiefly concerned with the reduction of their wealth, and the notion of vocation or true calling. Throughout the anthology, discussion of the priesthood is entwined with another of the central ideas, that of the separation of Church and state, and for this reason the next section must also be covered in more detail below.

Civil and Ecclesiastical Authority

There is widespread condemnation in Lollard circles of ecclesiastical occupation of positions of secular authority. Hudson and Jurkowski point to a number of examples of this, not least those present in the Twelve Conclusions and the Thirty-Seven Conclusions.\(^57\) They were drawing from a long tradition of opposition to the Church’s temporal wealth and power, one that preceded Wyclif by centuries,\(^58\) and which was in the air in the late fourteenth century, independent of Lollard involvement.\(^59\) Lollard views on the matter varied. Some argued that secular responsibilities were a distraction from spiritual duties, while others complained that they were taking jobs from the laity, but they were chiefly concerned with the material gain of those in office.\(^60\)

Unsurprisingly, this is also a central concern throughout MS 245. As with the Eucharist, the influence of Wyclif on the compiler’s views are evident. The heresiarch maintained that civil and

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\(^{58}\) For a detailed discussion of Wyclif’s views on the matter, see Lahey, *Philosophy and Politics in the Thought of John Wyclif*. See also Knighton’s Chronicle, p. 255.


ecclesiastical authorities must remain separate, but work together for the mutual benefit of the realm and the souls of the faithful:

A civil lord must recognize that his jurisdicitive and proprietary authority are based not in his own worth, but are founded in grace given for the purpose of serving God’s will in human society. Kings must hold all material power as stewards in Christ’s body on earth, from the world, the flesh, and the devil. While evangelical lords may believe themselves to wield secular authority justly, theirs is a higher, purer sphere of influence, and the civil lord’s responsibility is to help them to realize this.\(^{61}\)

A number of tracts reflect this attitude and advocate the separation of Church and state. *Tractatus de apostasia cleri* points out Christ’s obedience to secular lords and the emperor,\(^{62}\) *Of Antecrist and His Meynee* notes that ‘Crist fleed from seculer lordship & office’,\(^{63}\) while *On Confession* bookends the central topic with a discussion of the Church’s negative influence on the state. Christ’s obedience to civil authority is highlighted once again,\(^{64}\) and the tract ends with an ‘appeal to nationalistic

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61 Stephen E. Lahey, *John Wyclif* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 221. For an exhaustive account of Wyclif and dominion, see Lahey, *Philosophy and Politics in the Thought of John Wyclif*. See also Anne Hudson (ed.), *Wyclif: Political Ideas and Practice: Papers by Michael Wilks* (Oxbow Books, 2000), pp. 16-32, and David Luscombe, ‘Wyclif and Hierarchy’ in *From Ockham to Wyclif*, pp. 233-44. Margaret Deanesly links Wyclif’s theory of dominion by grace to Biblical translation, noting that: ‘If all men were in immediate relationship to God, and owed Him a righteousness and obedience to His law for which they themselves were responsible, they needed to study His law personally, to satisfy themselves that they were keeping it: and to the Wycliffites, the Bible was preeminently and characteristically, “Goddis lawe.” Sooner or later Wycliffe and his followers were bound to see that the doctrine of dominion by grace involved the democratisation, or translation, of “Goddis lawe.”’ Margaret Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible and Other Medieval Biblical Versions*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920), p. 227. Cf. *The Function of the Secular Ruler*, in SEWW, pp. 127-31; Von Nolken, p. 63/32-5: 12 Conclusions, p. 26/62-72: 37 Conclusions, pp. 1-2; Fiona Somerset, *Clerical Discourse and Lay Audience in Late Medieval England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 62-100. In the anthology, the God-given roles of the three estates are covered in detail in SDS, pp. 143-8. For a discussion of an orthodox response, see Fiona Somerset, ‘Answering the Twelve Conclusions’ in Lollardy and the Gentry in the Later Middle Ages, pp. 58-6.

62 *Tractatus de apostasia cleri*, p. 34/115-7.

63 *Of Antecrist and His Meynee*, p. 42/91.

64 *On Confession*, p. 62/1-2.
sentiment which reflects on the power struggle between King John and Pope Innocent III. On Consideration discusses the topic at length, and the author states, in no uncertain terms, that 'lordschip to preestis is forbidden; ceruyse is commaunded / Whiche service is sett forge bi ensaemple of Crist'. The text also focuses on the argument that churchmen should be concerned with spiritual matters, as opposed to temporal power and material wealth, something which had corrupted the order of the priesthood and the papacy.

This theme of civil and ecclesiastical authority will, like that of the order of the priesthood, and the following theme on the papacy, be discussed in more detail below as it is inseparable from the central ideas which bind the anthology.

The Papacy

In Lollard circles, this is closely tied to the issues of salvation and civil and ecclesiastical authority, and draws heavily from Wyclif, which is unsurprising given the amount he wrote on the topic. Firstly, Wyclif argued that the pope must be one of the elect. Lollards circumvented the issue of only God knowing who was predestined for salvation by pointing out that a pope who 'diverges more from Christ in words, actions, and laws even than the rest of the clergy' is unlikely to be chosen by God. Secondly, Wyclif was concerned with the mistaken clerical assumption that the power granted by God to the clergy was analogous to that granted to lords. As mentioned above, the roles were analogous, in that they dealt with spiritual concerns, whereas lords dealt with

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65 Hudson, Premature Reformation, p. 380, n. 114.
66 On Confession, p. 73/257-65.
68 Ibid., pp. 92/93-93/119. See also Of Antecrist and His Meynee, pp 42/80-44/129.
69 Lahey, John Wyclif, p. 194.
70 Hudson, Premature Reformation, p. 328. See also Michael Wilks, 'Royal Patronage and Anti-papalism from Ockham to Wyclif', in From Ockham to Wyclif, pp. 135-63.
71 Hudson, Premature Reformation, p. 332.
72 Lahey, John Wyclif, pp. 194-5.
the temporal equivalents. The necessary powers to carry out these respective roles, however, were specific and granted by God accordingly. Simply put, the clergy were incapable of performing the duties of secular lords, and vice versa. This extended to papal authority and the pope's role in Christ's church.

For the most part, Lollard writings remain close to Wyclif, frequently echoing his views. There were three related attitudes towards the papacy - those who endorsed papal power, those who condemned papal corruption, and those who sought its abolition. The former is not to be confused with blind support, as it had more to do with recognition of the importance of an ecclesiastical hierarchy. There is a distinct difference between the latter two, as those who condemned the office as corrupt often remained open to its reform. This is certainly the case with the MS 245 compiler. On the surface, the anthology appears to be extremely anti-papal, with several of the tracts highlighting corruption and forging a link between the papacy and Antichrist. A closer look, however, reveals a more nuanced stance. The tract which comments on this in most detail is Of Mynystris in pe Chirche, and despite the strongly anti-papal sentiment at the beginning, it settles into a discussion of the boundaries of the papacy, distinguishing between Christ as head of the Church and the pope as a 'capteyn'. To the MS 245 compiler, this was at the heart of his discontent, because the pope was perceived as elevating himself above Christ. Earthly pride and material wealth are linked to this, most notably in Of Antecrist and His Meynee, which follows Of Mynystris in pe Chirche. Emphasis is placed throughout on the corrupt influence of material gain, and it is stated that turning away from it toward charity leads one back to God. In The Church and

73 Hornbeck, What is a Lollard?, p. 194
74 Ibid., p. 183.
75 Ibid., p. 184.
76 These texts are outlined and the topic discussed in detail below.
77 OMC, p. 352/677. This reflects Wyclif's viewpoint, and indeed borrows his term 'capteyn'.
78 Tractatus de apostasia cleri, pp. 31-2/70-3.
79 Of Antecrist and His Meynee, pp. 51-2/302-3.
"Her Members," the pope is urged to renounce wealth and possessions, and lead the Church back to Christ.80

By Hornbeck’s definition, this call for reform of the office of the papacy marks the MS 245 compiler out as being relatively moderate, and this is consistent with his stance on salvation and the priesthood. However, it must not be forgotten that the scale of the proposed reformation was still quite radical, and this is reflected in the anthology’s central themes. While the compiler does not go so far as to call for the abolition of the papacy and first estate, whilst remaining open to salvation through good deeds, the sweeping changes he demands still place him on the extreme end of the religious spectrum.

80 CHM, pp. 358-60. For a detailed discussion of Lollard attitudes towards the papacy, see Hornbeck, What is a Lollard?, pp. 174-195. See also LL, pp. 36-43, which covers the corruption and wealth of the temporal church.
Central Themes of the Anthology

The original structure of the anthology betrays the compiler’s concerns regarding the corruption of the three estates, especially that of the Church. There is a general sense that the faithful being led astray en masse by the institutional Church fostered widespread social malaise, signifying that Judgement Day was nigh. The overarching theme of the anthology is the imminence of the apocalypse, due to the presence of Antichrist on Earth. Indeed, it is woven through so much of the material that other recurrent themes, such as social disorder and the three estates, anti-papal sentiment, and anti-fraternalism, can usually be traced back to it. Many of the texts comment on corruption within society, and so, central to the warning about the approach of Judgement Day is a discussion of social disorder as a sign of things to come. One of the clearest manifestations of this corruption was the behaviour, and very existence, of the fraternal orders, while the source of this corruption is said to begin with the pope, who is identified as Antichrist. With this in mind, the compiler’s motivation to create a book of instruction was evidently tied to an urgent desire to shepherd the souls of the faithful towards Christ before it was too late.

At the time of the manuscript’s composition, there was general anxiety over potential social upheaval, and Lollardy had become synonymous with sedition. Much of their criticism of the nobility, and particularly the Church, was turned back on the sect. Aston argues:

While the Lollards were busy with allegations that the suppression of their virtuous

1 See SWM I, p. 172, for a discussion of impending apocalypse.
2 In Lollard writings this is sometimes connected to the Great Schism, which is referenced in CHM, p. 351, and OMC, p. 339/297-305: 'But now pe mosste falsshed and synne of pe world is in pe pope pe Seynep pe hat he is Cristis viker and moste hooly mon pe hat lyuep. And pe comep dyuision to pe laste gif God wol: for somme men seyn pe hat here is pe pope in Auyon, for he was wel choson; and somme men seyn he is soondre at Rome, for he is furst choson. And no man of byleue pe trouwe pe Crist is al-witty shulde untrowe pe Crist tellip here of pe symas and pe hat pe pope, pe Seynep hym viker of Crist, is a greet cause of pe alle pe dyuisions.' See also Margaret M. Harvey, 'Lollardy and the Great Schism: Some Contemporary Perceptions', in From Ockham to Wyclif, pp. 385-96; Christopher M. Bellitto, 'The Reform Context of the Great Western Schism', in Joelle Rollo-Koster and Thomas M. Izbicki, (eds.), A Companion to the Great Western Schism (1378-1417), (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 316-19; Philip Daileader, 'Local Experiences of the Great Western Schism', in A Companion to the Great Western Schism, pp. 119-21.
proposals was a source of discord, and endangering all the lordships in the realm, those whom they chose to describe as “Antecrist and his meyne” saw precisely the same points in reverse.³

Ironically, despite Lollard passivism, their influence inadvertently ‘threatened to transform times of peace into something very different’.⁴ Helen Barr addresses this in her article, ‘Wycliffite Representations of the Third Estate’, in which she points to the discrepancies in accusations of Lollard involvement in peasant-driven social disorder. That the Lollards tended to oppose the widespread contempt of the common people, which depicted them as ‘a greedy, filthy, lying, ignorant, bestial and deformed body’, instead maintaining that they were the ‘virtuous, spiritually blessed bedrock of Christian society’,⁵ led to accusations of their involvement in seditious peasant behaviour. The likely reason behind this, Aston observes, was to ‘warn those in responsible positions away from dalliance with the sect’.⁶ Such accusations were false, because Lollard writings on the three estates are near unanimous in their social conservatism.⁷ In response to these accusations, Lollard writings often turned popular opinion about the commons on its head, channelling such language into the depiction of churchmen, as Barr notes:

Overwhelmingly, the third estate, as represented by the rural poor labourer, is invested with the characteristics of the ameliorative strain of peasant discourse. The virulent tradition of peasant contempt is not obliterated, however. It is highly visible, but instead of being used

³ Aston, Lollards and Reformers, p. 11

⁴ Ibid., p. 20. See also Fiona Somerset’s discussion of social unrest and accusations of treason in the Upland series, in Clerical Discourse and Lay Audience, pp. 140-52.


⁶ Aston, Lollards and Reformers, p. 9

⁷ Barr notes that Lollards are ‘univocal in their declaration of obedience to secular authority’. ‘Wycliffite Representations of the Third Estate’, p. 197. Hudson identifies one exception, however. See Premature Reformation, pp. 366-7. See also Aston, Lollards and Reformers, p. 10.
of the peasant labourer, its features are used to describe friars, monks and prelates. In Wycliffite texts, it is members of the [first] estate who are demonised, accompanied by an idealization of the place and worth of those belonging to the third.⁸

It is the corruption and hypocrisy of churchmen, and their manipulation of the people, which creates social imbalance, and this attitude is reflected in MS 245, most notably in *On the Seven Deadly Sins*, in which the specific roles of the three estates are outlined.⁹ Indeed, any failure on the part of members of the third estate to fulfil their role, namely to ‘serve mekely to God and to hor lordes’, is blamed primarily on the other two estates:

One is defaute of prechyng in whoche þei schulden be tauȝt more to telle by charite þen any worldly gode. For þis lore fayles hom bothe in worde and dede, ffor more covetouse ben none þen ben þes prexis. Þo secounde cause of envye among þo laboreres is þat þei ben to chargid and spoylid in hor godes by two partis above þat schulden deffende hom, ffor freris, persouns, and oper men þat robben þo Chirche, maken hom to swete hor owne blode by hor ypocrisye. And sib seculer lordes schulen mayntene hom ageyns þis, bothe þese two partis spoylen þo puple. And right as light and virtu of heven comes fro above, so helpe of þo puple schulde cum fro þese two partis; sith ensaumple of gode lif, and gode techyng, and

⁹ ‘[T]he partis of þo Chirche schulden in þre dyverse maners serve treuly hor God, as prexis, and gentil men, and laboreres of þo worlde. As prexis have a state hyest of alle oper, so God askes of hom more parfit servise. [...] þo moste hye servise þat men have in erthe is to preche Gods word, þat falles unto prexis. [...] Gentil men of þo worlde schulden serve hor God in giffes þat he haves gyven hom, and specialy in þis; þat þei deffende Gods lawe by powere of þo worlde. And þus þo prexis schulden wynne godes to þo Chirche, and gentil men deffende hom by powere ageyns yvel men. [...] Moreover hit were to witte how comynes schulden [...] serv God and mon. By þo lawe of God þei schulden serve mekely to God and to hor lordes, and do trew servise to God and to hor maysteres, not servyngge at hor eye, and ydel in hor absence; ffor, as Seynt Poule seis, þei serven first to God, and God may not be aweye, ne noynge hid fro hym. 3e, by þo lawe of Crist, if þo lord be untrew mon and tyrantaunt to his sogetis, þit schulden þei serve hym, ffor þei schulden serve to God in mekenesse and charite’, Arnold Ill, pp. 143-7. Cf. Jefferson, pp. 61-6.
The failure of the first two estates is, according to the MS 245 compiler, rooted in the blurring of the lines dividing them.\textsuperscript{10} The separation of Church and state was central to maintaining social order, and the Church’s meddling in matters of the realm served to highlight the compiler’s insistence that merging the two corrupted both and benefitted Antichrist, which is reflected in the tract \textit{On Confession}.\textsuperscript{12} The three estates were deemed to be a God-given structure, created so that society could function properly, and so to lack respect for this was to dishonour God. Essentially, responsibility for social disorder was on the heads of the Church and the nobility. They were expected to rule and to lead by example, peasants needed only to work and serve:\textsuperscript{13}

And as lordes schulden be mendid by prechyng of hor bischopis, so lordes schulden amende marchauntis and o{?er folk, þat in þo þridde parte of þo Chirche sowen by hor envye seed of dissencioun, and synnes þat distourblen rewmes.\textsuperscript{14}

The roles of the three estates are clearly delineated, and any blurring of those lines would lead to

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{10} SDS, pp. 132-3. Cf. \textit{PPI}, B-Text, Passus XIX, 421-4.
  \item \textsuperscript{11} Cf. \textit{On the Virtuous Life}, in which clerks are depicted as being almost chameleonic, blending in as commoners, nobles and clerks, instead of standing out as being representatives of the Church: ‘I wondre of what ordre our clerkis ben • for whi in gedrying of temporal goodis; þei ben as bisy as lewid men • & in aperyel þei ben noble as knyghtis [*] & in gedring of her rentis þat is her tipis & her dutees þei ben as clerkis’, p. 85/165-8. The emphasis here is on the failure of clerks to perform any of the roles of the three estates they so effortlessly move between. They are of no use as either labourers, nobles or churchmen. For ‘clerks’ one may also read ‘friars’, ‘monks’, ‘canons’, or ‘priests’, so interchangeable were the churchmen regularly encountered by the people, where corruption was concerned.
  \item \textsuperscript{12} \textit{On Confession}, p. 62/13-6.
  \item \textsuperscript{13} Cf. 37 \textit{Conclusions}, pp. 104-7. See also \textit{JU}, 4-14.
  \item \textsuperscript{14} SDS, p. 133. Cf. \textit{Tractatus de apostasia cleri}: ‘Crist sente hise apostlis when þei were rype to diuerse londis to sowe wateris of wisdom; & closede hem not in cloystris as Antecrist doijp [ ] So þif we taken heede to apostasye þat goijp euene azen þe ordre of Crist; þer ben fewe bisshopis • possessioners or freris • þat þey ne ben apostataes • al þif þei holden here sygnes’, p. 36/166-70. See also \textit{PT}, 678-83.
\end{itemize}
dissent. This should not be understood as hierarchical, however, rather that each estate has a role in the natural order. There is further clarification in *Dialogue between Reson and Gabbyng*, which emphasises the 'parity' and 'interdependence' of the estates, playing down the hierarchical overtones. There is particular concern about the new orders because 'they perform no necessary work and cannot be accommodated within the structure of human society'. This inevitably fostered the belief that they should be disbanded, and that the Church should, under the guidance of the pope, eschew its wealth. We can see this in texts such as *The Church and Her Members*:

[M]en ſenken ſat al ſes newe sectis or ordris, bope possessioneres and beggeris, shulden ceese bi Cristis lawe. And ʒif ſei wolde leewe ſes for charite, and lyve purely aftir Crist, ſer merit were ſe more, and ſei myʒten encreese ſe Chirche; and ʒif ſei wolde not to ſus, shulden be honestli constreyned. Both worldi goodis and comunyng shulde be wiseli drawun fro hem, and knyʒtis, wiŋ lordis of ſe world, shulden be confortid bi Cristis lawe to stonde and defende ſis sentence, as ſei diden aftir Cristis deþ; and trewe prestis shulden telle ſe comunes how ſei shulde kepe charite, and obeishe upon resoun, as Poul techiʃ hem to do.

The emphasis here is on reform, or a return to Christ's conception of his church's place in society. There follows a depiction of the Church as a tree with rotten branches, which draws on biblical influences and the popular literary canon:

And ſus bastard braunchis shulde be kutt fro ſis tree; and ſus ſe pope, wiŋ his cardinalis, and alle preestis ſat been dowid, shulden leeve ſis dowing and worldi glorie ſat ſei han,

15 See *FWD*, p. 1 and DRG, P. 44/39-40.
17 *CHM*, p. 359.
neipert lyve ne do ouȝt, but ȝif it were groundid in Cristis lawe.¹⁹

If the Church is to grow and remain healthy, logically the infection must be swiftly removed. The author was advocating a far leaner first estate, one with fewer members and more in common with the third estate than the second. Indeed, the consistent line throughout the anthology maintains that priestly duties, such as preaching God’s word and interpreting Scripture for the unlearned, were better performed by members of the third estate, while the absolution of sin often required no third-party intervention at all, simply genuine contrition in the heart of the sinner.²⁰ The ideal of a leaner first estate is best illustrated in *The Church and Her Members*:

pei shulden lyve on þe puple in good mesure as Poul biddiþ; but þe puple shulde not be artid to ȝyve hem dymes ne ȝoper almes; but þer goode wishes shulden move to ȝyve hem freeli þat were nede, for þus lyvede Crist with apostlis. What preest shulde not be paiæd herof? And þus shulde þe Chirche drawe to acord bi Crist, þat ledip þe daunce of love. ȝif ȝibr men wolden be preestis, lyve þei þerafter, and shewe þei bi dede þat Crist haþ made hem preestis, for þis passiþ lettris of bishopis. And þus þe puple myȝte wiþdrawe þer almes fro wickide preestis, and þe pride of preestis shulde be stoppid, bi which þei envenynyn þe puple.²¹

This is a proposal for radical reform, and when considered alongside the persistent criticism of the Church’s material wealth, it amounts to a call for change at all levels. It depicts a Church shorn of wickedness and greed, one motivated by the common profit rather than institutional gain.

Chief among the ‘bastard braunchis’ the author speaks of are the new orders, and this brings

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¹⁹ *CHM*, p. 359
²¹ *CHM*, p. 360. Cf. 37 *Conclusions*, pp. 101-2; *Sermones* II, p. 240. See also *PPI*, B-Text, Passus XI, 282-287.
²² See, for instance, *Of Antecrist and His Meynee*, pp. 39-52.
us to a discussion of the depiction of friars in the anthology, whom the compiler felt were chiefly to blame for the disruption to society. Barr mentions the Lollard depiction of a fourth estate, which consisted of the new orders and false prelates, and this demonstrated their conception of the Church’s culpability in the unbalancing of the natural order. Rather than depicting the new orders as extensions of the Church, the concept of the fourth estate is based on the fact that they were not founded on Christ’s law, that they were not part of the natural order, and so their very existence undermined it. ‘Such sects’, to quote Hudson, ‘split the seamless coat of Christendom’. Needless to say, their words and actions, dismissed by Lollards as deliberate deceptions, also play a large role in this. Indeed, it is a common feature of the anthology for the friars to wilfully corrupt the people and actively disturb the peace. In *The Seven Works of Mercy, Bodily and Ghostly*, for instance, they are accused of manipulating the people by twisting God’s words out of all recognition:

For freres in her prechinge fordon prechinge of Crist, and prechen lesyngus and japes plesynge to þe peple; and if þei touche a worde þat is in Cristis lawe, þei cutten it so, and reven it fro fowrme of Goddis wordes, þat þe peple schal not wite what þis word menes. And so þes freres faren wiþ þe worde of Goddis lawe worse þen fendus turmentours faren wiþ þer cloþis. For þei docken Goddis word, and tateren it bi þer rimes, þat þe fowrme þat Crist 3af it is hidde by ypocrisie.

Note the choice of verbs to describe their actions in relation to Christ’s law or the word of God; ‘cutten’, ‘reven’, ‘docken’, and ‘tateren’. Each may be interpreted as a form of cutting, lacerating,

23 Barr, ‘Wycliffite Representations of the Third Estate’, pp. 203-5. Ironically, some were concerned that the Lollards were attempting to found a new order. See Aston, *Lollards and Reformers*, pp. 17-18.


26 *SWM II*, p. 180
severing, or mutilating. It is imagery which was meant to convey aggression. This feeds into the depiction of the friars sowing the seeds of discord amongst the people, an example of which may be found in *Tractatus de Pseudo-friars*:

Poul prophecyede sop of comyng of þe newe sectis in-to þe chirche boþe oon & oþer: & hou þei shal be wolues of rauyn & not spare þe floc þat þei ben inne / for what prelat or religiose sparþ to pile þe comune peple: but coueytþ þ gold & siluer & cloþ fare þe peple neuere so euely / as freris when þei beggen of men: þenken not hou þei ben rychere þen pore men þat þei beggen of.  

This is also a feature of other tracts in MS 245, such as *Vae Octuplex*. Barr argues that this was a form of oppression, with the commons bearing the financial burden of higher taxes in order to accommodate this social climbing from the ‘superfluous estate’. The second message being conveyed in the above passage, related to the first, is that their actions are in opposition to those of Christ and his apostles. The new orders are not considered to be grounded in Christ, which is synonymous with saying they are against Christ. In *Vae Octuplex*, for instance, the friars close the gates of heaven to those who listen to them, corrupt the hearts of children, feed their pride and strive to do the same to others, and seek to ‘sle Crist in monye of his membris’.

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27 *EWT II*, pp. 66-7.
28 ‘[T]o bleende þe puple more þei seynon long[e] preyerys þat þei seyn ben myche bettura þan þe Pater Noster; and so undurstondyng and wylle ben blyndude by þese ypocrites, and þus schal þei ben iugede of many kynnes falseheede. þei robbon þer neyȝbores by cautelys of þe feend, and, ouer þis, þei pryson hem fro þer ryþt byeule’, *VO*, p. 367/39-43.
29 Barr, ‘Wycliffite Representations of the Third Estate’, p. 203
30 See, for instance, *Of Antecrist and His Meynee*, p. 48/211-3.
31 *VO*, pp. 366-7/7-32.
33 Ibid., pp. 372/178-89.
34 Ibid., p. 374/223-5.
Inevitably, this leads to an association with Antichrist, something which was inseparable from anti-fraternal sentiment since the earliest opposition to the mendicant orders, and this brings us to a discussion of the overarching theme of the oncoming apocalypse and the presence of Antichrist on Earth. This was part of a tradition that Penn Szittya traced back to the anti-fraternal writings of William of St. Amour in the middle of the thirteenth century. Indeed, it was William who first drew the comparison between the friars and the scribes and Pharisees in a commentary on Matthew 23, and his influence is evident in both literature and religious polemic well into the fifteenth century. ‘In Wycliffite works, the eschatological vein’, as Szittya notes, ‘is as strong as anywhere in Middle English literature’. The anti-fraternal sentiment present in MS 245 draws on this also, often referring to William’s ‘biblical types for the friars’ - the pseudoapostoli, sometimes known as pseudoprophetae, pseudochristi or Antichristi, whose appearance was a sign of the impending apocalypse. That the friars self-identified with the original apostles made this connection easier for those who sought to draw a comparison between them and the pseudoapostoli. A number of tracts in the anthology warn against these ‘false prophesis’ who have come at the end of time to turn the faithful away from God, while one in particular, Of Mynistris in pe Chirche, is devoted to the signs of the oncoming apocalypse. These signs include the existence of the new orders, who are ‘wickude

35 See, for instance, Tractatus de apostasia cleri: ‘But defaute of bileue letit\p his profyt • & specialliche of freris • for \p procuren bisiliche part for Antecrist; & sowen \pke lesyngis \p her ypocrisie • & maken Cristis lawe fade bi here fals signes’, pp. 37/204-206.
37 It must be stressed, however, that Lollard apocalypticism takes root in Wyclif. See Bernard McGinn, Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1994), p. 182. See also Knighton’s Chronicle, pp. 245-51.
39 Ibid., p. 216.
40 Ibid., p. 32. See, for instance, OMC, pp. 328-65 and Of Antecrist and His Meynee, pp. 39-52.
41 Ibid., p. 42.
42 See, for example, VO, p. 366/10-14; Of Antecrist and His Meynee, pp. 41/44-42/48; On Confession, p. 73/254-5 and On the Virtuous Life, p. 78/6-7.
lymes', a term which recalls the reference to 'bastard braunchis' in *The Church and Her Members*, mentioned earlier, and 'pseudo-prophetis' in *The Church and Her Members*, in addition to the failure of the first two estates to protect the 'labereris' from 'anticristus curs', which echoes the discussion on social disorder and the three estates above.

Despite the fact that some of William's language is indeed borrowed, his concept of time is not. A central feature of William's 'eschatological framework' is the 'absence of almost all reference to time, place and context'. Whilst the MS 245 compiler does not include any texts which attempt to calculate the exact date of the Judgement Day, he makes an effort to make it contemporary by referring to Antichrist throughout in the present tense, a common feature of Lollard apocalyptic writing, as Anna Lewis notes. He is usually referred to as a single figure, but there are occasional references to 'many Antecristis', which recalls Scripture. He is also linked to the papacy throughout. In *The Church and Her Members*, Satan's influence on the papacy is traced back to Sylvester I, and *On Confession* discusses Antichrist's direct effect on England through Innocent III's power struggle with King John. Most references are contemporary, however. *The Church and Her Members* states: '3if tis pope contrariép to Cristis lyf, he is þe moste fendis viker and Anticrist
This is echoed in *Of Mynistris in pe Chirche*. Several of the tracts detail the many ways in which the pope/Antichrist was destroying Christ's church. Chief among them is the corruption of Scripture and the reversal of Christ’s law, papal support for the mendicant orders despite their failings, the elevation of papal authority above Christ and Peter, and the persecution of ‘just men’.

The implication is that Judgement Day was at hand, and this is reflected in a number of tracts. *Tractatus de apostasia cleri* poses the question:

> But sib bileue techi þat at þe day of dom þe book shal be opened • & ilche of vs shal wite wheþer we han loued Crist more þen ony oþer þing • & þerfore be iugid to heuene or to helle; hou shal we þenne onswere to askynge of oure iuge

*On Faith, Hope and Charity* discusses the necessity of being clothed in virtue on Judgement Day, and *Of Mynistris in pe Chirche* emphasises the importance of ‘knowyng of þe perelis þat schullen be byfore þe ende of þis world’ because the institutional Church sought to hide them from the laity by censoring Scripture. *Of Antecrist and His Meynee* offers instruction on how best to identify the

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52 CHM, p. 341

53 ‘And we supposon þat anticrist, heued of alle þes yuele men, schal be þe poope of Roome [...] 3if [...] þe lif of þis poope be treuly examynd by [Christ and Peter], he is in an opon anticrist among alle þe synful men in erþe. And þus seneþ þat Crist meuyde whanne he spekiþ þes wordus: ‘Whenne þe schul see abhomyynacion of discourford teeld of Danyel þe prophete, stondyng in þe hooly place, he þat redþuþ, vndurstone þe.’ Somme men vndurstone þis word þat Crist wolde telle to hise disciplus þat þe day of doom schulde not be byfore þat þis poope reignde þus’, OMC, pp. 329-332/38-111.

54 See, for instance, *Tractatus de apostasia cleri*, p. 31/63-4; *Of Antecrist and His Meynee*, p. 45/151-2; *On the Five Wittes*, p. 100/35-6.

55 CHM, p. 351

56 *Tractatus de apostasia cleri*, p. 32/70-3.

57 *Of Antecrist and His Meynee*, p. 39/7.

58 *Tractatus de apostasia cleri*, p. 38/219-22.

59 OMC, p. 329/33-4.

60 ‘This gospel [Matthew 24] telluþ muche wysdam, þat is hud to monye men; and specially for þis cause, þat it is not al rad in
followers of Antichrist to avoid being led astray,61 and On Confession warns anyone who hears the mass of a false priest and receives communion from him that he ‘etey & drynyb his owne dome’.62 Conclusively, On the Seven Works of Mercy, Bodily and Ghostly warns against the notion that the apocalypse is in the distant future, maintaining that ‘noþinge is more nye þan þe day of dome’.63 This was, as Bostick has shown, a defining characteristic of Lollard views on the apocalypse, with both writings and trial records conveying a sense of urgency and ‘time consciousness’.64

Given that this is the overarching theme, it seems fitting that the anthology is bookended by a discussion of the apocalypse. The first tract, on the Creed, part of the first quire added later, ends with a reminder about God’s final judgement,65 while the final tract, on the deeds of mercy, begins with the same.66 This level of consistency, and the incorporation of the smaller recurrent themes of social disorder and anti-fraternalism into the broader topic of apocalypticism, points to the compiler’s clarity of vision. In addition, as discussed above, his extreme views on papal reform and salvation, both of which must be considered within this broader framework, leads us to the conclusion that, in answer to the question posed earlier about what lessons this book of instruction sought to impart, the main purpose of the anthology was to highlight, and perhaps arrest, the widespread social malaise, and to prepare for the apocalypse.

This was also, unsurprisingly, a central factor in the addition of the first quire. We must take the evolution of the manuscript as evidence of an increase in the urgency and ‘time-consciousness’ present throughout the original structure of the anthology. As we shall see in the following section, the compiler reshaped the book of instruction into one of re-education, while also reinforcing the

61 Of Antecrist and His Meynee, p. 41/49-59.
63 SWM I, pp. 172-3.
66 On the Deeds of Mercy, p. 106/1. Unfortunately, because the tract is incomplete we do not know how this point developed.
apocalyptic overtones. He evidently decided at some point that warnings about Judgement Day were not enough, that he needed to play a more active role in turning the faithful back toward Christ.
The Evolution of the Manuscript: The First Quire

As seen in the previous two sections, careful structuring is apparent throughout the manuscript. The evolution of the anthology did not come at the expense of consistency. The compiler clearly felt that the arrangement of the tracts mattered, and there is further evidence of this in the fact that the first quire was added at a later date, deliberately altering the content layout. After its addition, the focus of the manuscript was altered considerably. Thematically it remained undisturbed, and this is also the case with the theological spectrum. The compiler was just as mindful of consistency when organising the first quire, clearly grouping texts together so as to retain the coherence of the collection. However, the analysis of the content in the first quire’s four tracts suggests that the compiler was motivated to not only create a general Lollard book of instruction as a warning of the impending apocalypse, but one focused specifically on re-education. Lollard books of instruction were not uncommon, and Hudson has noted that the majority of manuscripts in the Lollard sermon cycle were organised instructional texts and their supply was carefully overseen. Furthermore, Ralph Hanna III has commented upon Lollard instructional manuscripts and their reliance on ‘commonplace Christian prayers’ for educational purposes. He notes that the manuscripts, including MS 245, which omit the *Lay Folks’ Catechism*, include a greater number of commentaries on foundational texts to the faith, such as the Creed, or the seven

163 See the section on the description of the manuscript.
164 This is most apparent in *The Seven Heresies*, which subsequently prefigures certain topics covered in the original layout. See, for instance, the mention of predestination before the assertion that, by living a ‘good lijf’ and ‘defendyng of Goddis lawe’ an individual may earn God’s grace, which ‘may helpe souls in purgatorie, and make hem shortlier to dwelle per in’, pp. 14/30-15/43. There is also a reference to the new orders as the fourth estate, warning against the dangers of such societal unbalance: ‘God helpe his Chirche, for perelis of false ypocritis and vngroundid newe statis, bat ben not foundid in Cristis lawe’, p. 18/95-6. In addition the threat of these ‘vngroundid newe statis’ to the peace of the realm is an idea which takes root in *The Seven Heresies*, pp. 17/90-18/92.
deadly sins. Hanna argues that the reason for this was to create an analogous educational work for the laity. But this point may be taken further.

When we consider the texts of the first quire, in addition to the tracts they precede, the evidence suggests that the compiler sought to mirror the general structure of the primer. The purpose of a primer was basic education. It was both steeped in Scriptural tradition and was a popular component of personal faith. Its roots are found in the monastic concept of the Book of Hours, which came about from the ‘voluntary devotion’ of individual monks, but they may be said to stretch back to the thirteenth century and the *Ignorantia Sacerdotum*, which sought to arm the laity with knowledge of the Creed, the Pater Noster, the Ave Maria, the Ten Commandments, the seven works of mercy, the seven virtues, the seven vices and the seven sacraments. As Eamon Duffy notes, this ‘elaborate catechetical programme’ became a popular tool of the Church, evolved into a verse translation and eventually spread across the country as the *Lay Folks’ Catechism*. This insistence on foundational knowledge, and its subsequent popularity, combined with the concept of the Book of Hours, surely played a part

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167 Hanna notes that the compilers of these books considered the *Lay Folks’ Catechism* as ‘an incomplete text’, and supplemented work with treatises that ‘spoke quite directly to basic Christian responsibilities that had been ignored in episcopal instructions.’ Hanna, *IMEP: Handlist XII*, p. xx.


169 Ibid., p. 53

in the primer gaining recognition as a book in its own right. The popularity of primers is evidence of a widespread desire for simplicity in religious practice. Production was driven not by Church instruction, but by lay demand, which was substantial because, not only did people from all walks of life embrace their spirituality, but the adaptability of primers also increased their appeal. Prayers were often added into the margins and blank pages, making them more personal. As Duffy notes:

Offering the lay devotee some approximation to the order and tranquillity of monastic piety, it possessed the vital qualification for lay devotion of being relatively uncomplicated, varying very little with the liturgical seasons, unlike the calendrical complexities of the Offices recited by the clergy.

There are two points mentioned here which indicate the appeal of primers to Lollards. Firstly, the element of monastic piety within one’s own home would surely be a draw for those critical of the failings of the private religious orders. Anti-monastic sentiment was a popular Wycliffite topic, and one which crops up throughout MS 245. Secondly, their simplicity

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175 They are accused, in *The Seven Heresies*, of believing their order to be above Christ. See p. 16/67-8. In other texts, such as *Tractatus de apostasia cleri*, the author attacks their pride and states that they ‘semen to smacche worldliche heynesse’ and accuses them of reversing Christ’s ordinance and challenging the legitimacy of their saints, p. 35/150 and p. 31/46-9. In the tract *On the Eucharist*, they are criticised for upholding the doctrine of transubstantiation, while their wealth is condemned in *SWM I*. See p. 76/63-4 and Arnold III, p. 171.
in the face of the ‘complexities of the Offices recited by the clergy’ \(^{176}\) would surely have been a draw for those who sought to demystify the practice of devotion. One could argue that many Lollards’ chief concern is with the institutional Church’s over-complication of relatively simple concepts, which is why they placed such emphasis on the primacy of Scripture, which is simply God’s word. Duffy’s point concerns the complex devotional practices of the clergy, but Lollards maintained that following Christ and worshipping God should be straightforward.\(^{177}\) The two points which perhaps best illustrate this in the anthology are the emphasis on the superiority of general prayers, specifically the Pater Noster, over special prayers,\(^{178}\) and the questioning of the usefulness of confessing to a priest.\(^{179}\) Christ’s example of how best to worship God is also touched on throughout the manuscript, particularly in *Of Antecrist and His Meynee*:

Crist was in þe hilles wiþ wepynge & preiers • walkyng & tempted of þe feende; & þei sitten in castels & townes wiþ mynstralcie & lauʒtur • wiþ tregetours & tomblers • wiþ gestours & iapes; & þe pore hungry shal sitt wiþoute at þe zate he wolde not zitt seruen hym hymself; for shame hym þenkiþ it were [•] but him gladde & myrie he makiþ wiþ pore mennes godis\(^{180}\)

This comparison of Christ’s simple devotion to God with ‘their’ devotion to decadence can be applied to Duffy’s point about the complexities of devotional practice, but the same point can also be made about other aspects of the faith. For instance, the Church’s wealth in the face of

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\(^{177}\) The demystification of Scripture played a large role in this, and is discussed below. See also the discussion of the lay devotee’s personal relationship above, pp. xxvi-xxvii, n. 13 and 14.

\(^{178}\) *The Seven Heresies*, p. 13/4-5.

\(^{179}\) See *On Confession*, p. 72/238-40 and *Of Confession, EWT II*, p. 51/57-9.

\(^{180}\) *Of Antecrist and His Meynee*, p. 43/101-5.
Christ's poverty, or the mendicant orders' attempts to locate their foundation in scripture, are just two examples of how the faith had been deliberately corrupted and overcomplicated. With this in mind, the appeal of primers to Lollards is clear, and as Rita Copeland notes:

There are a number of examples of Lollards owning primers, [and] however these primers were used in Lollard circles, the ecclesiastical authorities viewed them with suspicion, and indeed English primers disappear after the middle of the fifteenth century, because ownership of them was linked with heresy.

That Church authorities should be so concerned about the subversive nature of personal devotional practice as to clamp down on primer production, points to the growing influence of vernacular theology.

The basic structure of a primer included the Little Office or Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the gradual and penitential psalms, the Litany of the Saints and the Office of the Dead. They tended to favour the Apostles' Creed, the Pater Noster and the Ave at the beginning, often preceded by an alphabet, because these were considered essential to an individual's religious education. An example can be found in Glasgow University Library MS Hunter 472, in which the Pater Noster, Ave and Creed are preceded by an alphabet. An even more suitable mirror for MS 245 can be found in another Trinity manuscript. TCD MS 70

181 See ALD, pp. 40-44.
182 See CHM, p. 353.
contains an English primer and the first ten items are laid out as follows: The ABC; the Pater Noster; the Ave; the Creed; In Nomine Patris; The Ten Commandments; The Seven Works of Bodily Mercy; The Seven Works of Spiritual Mercy; The Five Bodily Senses, and The Seven Deadly Sins. This type of layout, with the foundational texts at the beginning, before going in whatever direction the compiler wished, was standard. Commentaries on each of the ten topics appear in the anthology, with the exception of the ABC and In Nomine Patris. The first ten texts in MS 245 are arranged as follows: On the Apostles' Creed; On the Pater Noster; On the Ave Maria; The Seven Heresies; On the Ten Commandments; On Faith, Hope, and Charity; On the Seven Works of Mercy, Bodily and Ghostly; On the Seven Deadly Sins; The Church and Her Members; Tractatus de apostasia cleri. The overlaps are unlikely to be coincidental.185 The purpose of the primer was to supply the individual with what s/he needed

185 It is important that the opening three tracts appear together. Anna Lewis discusses supplementary material in religious manuscripts, using Lambeth 408 (which contains the opening three tracts from MS 245) as an example, and argues that the three commentaries were most likely added to 'make the collection more comprehensive' and to provide a resource for 'those who seek after material to borrow and adapt.' (p. 6) There is a strong social element at work, which, Lewis argues, 'created a textual base or "storehouse" of material that could be drawn upon, used, borrowed, and read in a variety of ways. The free and flexible movement of words and ideas from this store displays little regard for doctrinal boundaries, with passages shared by both "heretic" and "orthodox" texts.' (p. 3) This is part of a broader discussion on what she terms the theological mobility of certain texts, i.e. either orthodox or 'theologically innocuous' commentaries which were employed for heterodox means. (p. 6) On this point, see also Fiona Somerset, 'Wycliffite Spirituality', in Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale, pp. 375-6. The notion that MS 245 was simply a "storehouse" of material, however, implies that the manuscript was little more than a random assortment of texts, and fails to account for the careful selection and arrangement of tracts. Lewis' analysis considers the texts individually, but a closer look at the other manuscripts in which these specific commentaries appear, reveals that they must be considered as a group. The same three texts at the beginning of MS 245's first quire are found in a different order in each of the manuscripts in which they appear. On the Apostles' Creed can be found in four other manuscripts – Lambeth 408 (lines 223-329); Paris Sainte-Geneviève 3390 (ff. 24-27); York Minster XVI. L. 12 (ff. 37'-39'); and CUL Nn. 4.12 (ff. 27-29'). On the Pater Noster can be found in six other manuscripts – Lambeth 408 (lines 59-161); Bodley 789 (ff. 97-100'); CUL Dd.12.39 (ff. 72'-74'); Paris Sainte-Geneviève 3390 (ff. 27-30); BL Harley 2385 (ff. 2-3); York Minster XVI. L. 12 (ff. 32'-33'); and BL Add. 17013 (ff. 36"'). On the Ave Maria can be found in five other manuscripts – Lambeth 408 (lines 162-222); Bodley 789 (ff. 102'-104'); BL Harley 2385 (ff. 5"'); York Minster XVI. L. 12 (ff. 36'-37'); and CUL Nn. 4.12 (ff. 25'-27). See Hudson, 'New Look', pp. 249-50. A general observation is that, even though not every manuscript contains a version of each of the tracts, they each have at least two of the three, and they tend to be grouped together. In Lambeth 408 the commentary on the Pater Noster directly precedes On the Ave Maria, which is followed by the tract on the Creed. In Paris Sainte-Geneviève 3390, On the Apostles' Creed directly precedes the tract on the

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to know, therefore, the opening texts in particular represented essential knowledge for the faithful. By mirroring this structure, the compiler appears to be conveying the same message. Indeed, under Martin’s system of classification, MS 245 is considered a ‘manual as sole or predominant text’. Such codices always contain ‘essential doctrines of the faith’, with the ‘initial ten items [...] looked upon as forming the core of a manual of this type’. 

One could take this point even further, and consider it in relation to the Lollard pedagogical practice, of which we have no real evidence. Copeland reflects on this:

What we do not possess is evidence for the actual procedures of their “classroom” practice, the kind of evidence that we have in multiple forms for orthodox education, [such as] school primers [...] containing the ABC and catechetical texts, as well as the many kinds of texts that indicate quite clearly how grammar itself was taught, including word lists, mnemonic verses, model sentences, student notebooks, and compilations of schoolmasters' glosses.

The material which we do possess, such as MS 245 and those other Lollard manuscripts discussed by Hanna, sought to ‘introduce readers, not to letters, but to relatively advanced

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_Pater Noster._ In York Minster XVI. L. 12 and CUL Nn. 4.12, the commentary on the Ave directly precedes the one on the Creed. With TCD MS 245 included, that means five of the seven manuscripts group the texts together. Of the two manuscripts that do not, BL Harley 2385 and Bodley 789, both place the commentaries on the _Pater Noster_ and the _Ave_ close together. The Creed, _Pater Noster_ and _Ave_ commentaries were grouped together because the prayers themselves are central to the belief system. As for content layout, i.e. where the texts are placed in each of the manuscripts, the variety shown above speaks of subjective taste. See Anna Lewis, ‘Textual Borrowings, Theological Mobility, and the Lollard Pater Noster Commentary’, _Philological Quarterly_, 88 (Winter/Spring, 2009), pp. 1-23.


exegetical practices'. Perhaps there is no record of more elementary instruction because it never existed in the first place. Based on the evidence at hand, it seems likely that Lollard instruction sought to take a step beyond the concept of education, to build on top of orthodox foundations, and re-educate the people. The implications of this is that Lollard books of instruction, previously thought of as being quite general, were often more focused, and more radical, at least in the case of MS 245 and other manuscripts of its ilk. This concept of re-education suggests a return to something lost or forgotten, and of a return to basics.

Indeed, in her discussion of Lollard pedagogy, Copeland draws a comparison between the movement’s relative infancy and approaches to teaching children. She argues that it ‘could be described as the most elementary kind of literacy teaching, in the sense of its cultural identification with childhood beginnings’. This brings us back to the structure of the primer in relation to MS 245; primers were used by adults, as well as children, to learn to read English, and so just as the ABC is a necessary first step into the world of literacy, so the knowledge of Scripture in the vernacular is a necessary first step towards re-education. This is suggested within the opening lines of the anthology:

For oure bileue techij vs • ðat God ordeynede it al • & badde ðat men shulde kunne it • and teche it to opere / And if prelatis faile in þis; Crist seide ðat stones shulde crie /

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188 Copeland, Pedagogy, p. 17. In addition, Martin offers an example from one of the manuscripts of the same classification as MS 245, which stresses the ‘obligation prelates, parsons, vicars, and priests owe to the instruction of the laity’, ‘Middle English manuals of religious instruction’, p. 289.
189 Copeland, Pedagogy, p. 17
190 Aston, Lollards and Reformers, pp. 124-5.
191 Related to this is Lollard opposition to picture-books aimed at teaching aspects of Scripture to the illiterate laity. See Aston, Lollards and Reformers, pp. 114-133. This surely was not only due to their views on image-worship, but was likely influenced by the insistence upon intellectual independence, on a person’s right to have access to the word of God. Cf. Richard Marks, ‘Picturing Word and Text in the Late Medieval Parish Church’, in Linda Clark, Maureen Jurkowski and Colin Richmond (eds.), Image, Text and Church, 1380-1600: Essays for Margaret Aston (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2009), pp. 162-188.
As seculer lordis shulden • in defaute o f prelatis; lerne & teche þe lawe of God • in her moder tung⁠¹⁹²

The emphasis here is placed on both learning and teaching God’s word in the vernacular, therefore this can be interpreted as a signal of intent for this anthology to be used for the purposes of re-education. It must be stressed here that learning is separate from reading. Despite the ‘intricacy’ with which Lollardy and literacy are interwoven, according to Hudson, ‘sceptical questioning of orthodox doctrine’, as Robert Lutton states, was not reliant upon the ability to read. Indeed, Lutton has shown that only a minority of Lollards actually read the material.⁠¹⁹³ Even so, Lollard literacy caused concern within orthodox circles because, according to Hudson, ‘the authorities tried to push the new troublemakers back into the stereotype of the laicus illiteratus.’⁠¹⁹⁴

The issue of Scripture in the vernacular, on which ‘tremendous emphasis’ has been placed, only scratches the surface of Lollard motivation, however.⁠¹⁹⁵ As mentioned above, it is

⁠¹⁹⁴ Hudson, “’Laiicus litteratus’”, p. 232. This is not simply about literacy, as John H. Arnold observes: ‘To describe someone as litteratus meant not only that they could read and write Latin, but that they would possess cultural authority through the wisdom they had gained in their studies’. Thus, the label illiteratus meant more than simple illiteracy, it also implied a lack of ‘wisdom and insight’. John H. Arnold, Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe (London: Hodder Arnold, 2005), p. 11. Lollards understood fully the importance of literacy, and indeed book production, as well as the benefits of books over sermons, as Hudson notes: ‘the advantages of book learning were plain to the early university-trained dissidents from the start, and these advantages were evidently transmitted: greatest of all, the written word could stay when the persecuted preacher could not; a book is more easily hidden than a man; the text is constant if not permanent, where the spoken word is fleeting.’ Hudson, “’Laiicus litteratus’”, p. 231. One knock-on effect of this, however, was that ‘Lollards were often recognized from their books’, and ‘hiding them, and their makers, could be crucial to survival’. Anne Hudson, ‘Lollard Literature’, in The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, II, pp. 330-6. See also the king’s commission against the Lollards’ books in Knighton’s Chronicle, pp. 439-43, and Paul Strohm, ‘Writing and Reading’, in A Social History of England, 1200-1500, pp. 462-6.
⁠¹⁹⁵ Copeland, Pedagogy, p. 7.
comparable to the ABC in primers; essential, yet basic. Copeland's aim is to look deeper into Lollard motivation, to go beyond the concept of them as being primarily translators of Scripture. She offers examples which, while not necessarily downplaying the importance of vernacular translation to 'presenting Scripture' to the laity, place more emphasis on its demystification.\(^{196}\) This is certainly true of MS 245, and points once more to the influence of the primer. The anthology barely mentions translation, focusing instead on clarifying the many subtleties of Scripture. This goes beyond 'elementary' learning because such material, as Copeland observes,

could equally be described as an advanced program of attaining exegetical competence, an education in letters that bypasses the trivium education of the higher grammar schools and the university arts course to proceed directly to the disciplinary territory claimed by theological science, the study of Scripture and theological authority.\(^{197}\)

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\(^{196}\) Copeland, *Pedagogy*, p. 7. That said, there was still significant orthodox opposition to Scripture in the vernacular, as Hudson notes: 'legislation against Lollardy equally brings written materials under review: the 1401 *De hereticorum cumbrando* identifies the making of books as a typical activity of the heretics, whilst Arundel's 1407 Constitutions notoriously forbade the dissemination or ownership of vernacular biblical texts unless they and their owners had received episcopal licence', Hudson, "'Laicus litteratus'\(^{1}\)", p. 232. See Alastair Minnis, *Translations of Authority in Middle English Literature: Valuing the Vernacular* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 25-7. See also Arundel's Constitutions, pp. 466-8; David Aers, 'Altars of Power', pp. 94-5. Jeremy Catto attempts to inject some nuance into the widespread negative view of Arundel, suggesting that he may have 'had a more positive notion of pastoral care than Lollard evangelists accorded him.' See 'Shaping the Mixed Life: Thomas Arundel's Reformation', in *Image, Text and Church*, p. 107.

This concept of an ‘advanced program’ must not be confused with the complication of devotion, and this brings us back to the role of the primer in simplifying devotional practice. Lollards chiefly sought to demystify Scripture, to make it as clear as possible for the faithful to understand the Bible. Central to this was their understanding of the ‘literal sense’ of Scripture, which has been referred to as the 'Lollard plain style', and as Rebecca Wilson Lundin argues, was intrinsically linked with their identification as heretics:

Lollards used the idea of plainness to signal their theological and rhetorical dissociation from medieval scholasticism and thus from orthodoxy. Plainness stood in opposition to the obscurity of scholastic rhetoric, and the presence or absence of particular tropes, syntactical structures, etc. was irrelevant to the larger theological topics at issue. By translating texts into English, by valuing the ability of rhetorical figures to signify truth, and by striving to make discourse understandable to the uneducated, the Lollards imbued their plain rhetoric with important theological purposes. Moreover, this rhetorical plainness and the theology that lay behind it were the root of the distinction between the orthodox church and the Lollard heresy.198

This argument, that Lollards distanced themselves from orthodox scholasticism, could go some way to explaining the absence of 'evidence for the actual procedures of their “classroom” practice' mentioned above. As we have already seen, Copeland discusses the advanced nature of Lollard exegesis and posits the theory that they sought to bypass the traditional educational route for their pupils, taking them straight to the ‘the study of

This rejection of the orthodox system of learning is reflected in the introduction to the Wycliffite Bible:

[N]o man schal lerne dyuynite, neither hooly writ, no but he that hath doon his fourme in art, that is, that hath comensid in art, and hath ben regent tweyne yeer aftir. [...] This semith vttirly the deuelis purpos, that fewe men either noon schulen lerne and kunne Goddis lawe.

This is central to Lollard self-identity as their relationship to Scripture went deeper than simple translation. As mentioned above, Lundin argues that this is something which lies at the very root of the identification of Lollards as heretics, and we will now look closer at the reasons behind this.

Lollard interpretation of scripture is based on Alexandrian hermeneutics, which offers four scriptural senses: literal; spiritual; moral and anagogic. Lundin, in her analysis of the introduction to the Wycliffite Bible, discusses the literal sense and makes a crucial distinction between the Lollard conception of ‘literal’ and that of the orthodox Church. She argues that, for the Lollards, literal understanding represented God’s ultimate intention as the author of Scripture, whereas

[f]or the orthodox literal understanding, the signifier refers directly to a signified thing that exists in the world. For the other three understandings...there is a mediating step

199 Copeland, Pedagogy, p. 17
201 Lundin, ‘Rhetorical Iconoclasm’, p. 137.
between signifier and signified.

This ‘mediating step’, of course, was the role of the ecclesiastical interpreter of Scripture, whose insistence on the layperson’s need for their superior knowledge in order to worship God properly, was the very thing the Lollards sought to undermine. Therefore, the literal sense, as Lollards understood it, absorbed the other three when conveyed properly. Their role was to identify the scriptural passages which could only be truly understood through a spiritual, moral or anagogic interpretation, and to present them to the laity in the literal sense, or as God originally intended. The clearest example of this may be found in their rejection of the doctrine of transubstantiation. The ‘literal’ orthodox approach interprets the Biblical passage as referring to Christ’s actual flesh being transformed and consumed; the ‘literal’ Lollard approach interprets Christ’s words as allegorical and that the bread is merely representative of his body. An example of the orthodox viewpoint can be found in John Mirk’s sermon on the feast of Corpus Christi, in which bread briefly turns into raw, dripping flesh. An example of the Lollard viewpoint can be found in this volume, where it is outlined clearly in the tract On the Eucharist:

[...]e sacrament of þe auter • þe which men seen betwene þe prestis handis is verre Cristis body & his blode • þe whiche Crist tok of þe virgyn Mary • & þe which body diȝed vpon þe crosse & laye in þe sepulcre • and steie into heuen and shal come at þe daye of dome; for to deme alle men aftur her werkis / Þe ground of þis beleeeue is Cristis owne worde in þe gospel of seynt Mathew • where he seip þus • þe whiles

202 Ibid., p. 136
203 Ibid., p. 138
Cristis discipulus soupeden • Crist toke bred & blessid it & saue it vnto his discipulus & seyd þus • take 3e & eteþ; þis is my body [.] And Crist takyng þe coppe did þankyngis • & saue it vnto hem; & seyde • Drynke þe alle herof • þis is my blood of þe new testament; þat shal ben ishedd out in to remyssion of synnes / And þe gospel of seynt Marke; techiþ þe same wordis also • and þe gospel of seynt Luk techiþ þe same wordis / But þis sacrament is boþe brede & Cristis body togedre; as Crist is verre God & verre man / And as Cristes manhed suffrid peyne & deþe; & þitt þe godhed myȝt suffre no peyne; so þouȝ þis sacrament be corupted • neuerpe[þ] þe body of Crist may suffre no corrupcioun • for seynt Poul þat was rauyshed into þe þridde heuen bi autorite of God; writeþ þus in hooly writ • and þree tymes he calleþ þe sacrament bred oftur þe fourme of consecracion; and also Poule calleþ þe sacrament bred þat we breken / Also seynt Austyn in þe popis lawe seip þus • þat þing þat is seene is brede

As we can see, the approach to literal interpretation of scripture was a distinguishing feature of the differences between orthodoxy and heterodoxy. This went to the very heart of religious education. Orthodox teaching revolved around obfuscation and complexity, whereas Lollard re-education was concerned with clarity and demystification.

Thus, Lollard pedagogical practice was heavily reliant on the orthodox educational system as it laid the necessary foundations for their advanced Scriptural studies. As Copeland notes, the use of the literal sense allowed Lollards to tap into longstanding theological and secular educational traditions:

The literal sense of scripture had recently (since the thirteenth century) achieved a

205 On the Eucharist, p. 74/2-18.
206 Cf. FDR, 562-574, in which he highlights one of the issues with reading 'the Gospel aftir the menyng'. See also n.153.
status as the object of academic exegesis, with theology masters [...] declaring a strong preference for producing literal commentaries that eschewed allegorized readings. [...] But a literal approach to texts also had roots in a long secular tradition of elementary pedagogy.207

This very issue is openly discussed in a 1406 sermon by Lollard preacher William Taylor, in which he criticises the complication of devotion by the Church:

But now is ther a tribulacioun – was ther neuer noon such – for he that pretendith himsifl most parfit cristen man, bothe because of staat and of God for to lerne it and enfourme, as he is holdun, his sogetis and for to be saued by it. And certeyn to deuely a dede is it for to chace men fro knowyng of the lawe of God. For, though it be not spedy to boistous puple in manye sotiltes to curiously ocupie her wittis, in tokenynge wherof Crist in the gospel of this day comaundide not the puple but his disciplis to gadere the relifs of the feste, yit for to weme the puple the greete and historial mater of the gospel were noon othir but to kille hem.208

He does not refer directly here to the use of the literal sense, but it is the 'implied opposite of the exegetical subtleties that would "too curiously occupy the wits" of popular audiences'.209 Evidence that the desire to demystify scripture was at the forefront of Lollard educational practice is present in the Glossed Gospels:

209 Ibid., p. 3
As it is demed a greet work of mersi and of charite to teche a unkunnyng man the right and sykur weie, whanne many perels ben in wrong weies and nameli of the man mut go that unknownen weie, and ellis perische in greet meschef, so it is a fer gretter werk of mersi and charite to telle opynli the treuthe of the holi gospel to lewid men and symple lettrid prestis, sithen the gospel is the right weie to heuene, without which noon may come to heuene.²¹⁰

The reference to teaching the unlearned in the ‘right and sykur weie’ implies that the faithful are being falsely taught, or led astray, by the institutional Church.²¹¹ This sentiment is reflected in other prologues in the *Glossed Gospels*,²¹² but is also present more broadly, as Copeland observes:

>[T]he internal evidence of texts like the *Glossed Gospels* suggests that the authors of the vernacular texts directed to lay Lollard communities were sensitive to the pedagogical needs of lay readers unfamiliar with the conventions of academic theological texts.²¹³

She notes that some commentaries were specifically designed for targeted pedagogical purposes',²¹⁴ and this brings us back to MS 245 as an example of a Lollard book used for the purpose of re-education. At some point during the evolution of the anthology, the compiler evidently took a step back and reconsidered the target audience. This is clear in the dramatic

²¹⁰ Copeland, ‘Lollard Instruction’, p. 28
²¹¹ Regarding the connection between “charite” and basic education in the faith, Cf. *PPI*, B-Text, Passus XV, 181.
²¹³ Ibid., p. 31.
²¹⁴ Ibid., p. 30.
shift in tone present in the first quire. The urgency and time-consciousness of the original tracts is replaced by a more nuanced pedagogical approach, one which deliberately and effectively rooted the book in educational tradition. With this in mind, we shall now analyse the contents of the first quire in order to outline the reasons why the addition of these four texts helped to shape the anthology into a more focused book of instruction.

*On the Apostles' Creed*

It would be difficult to analyse a commentary on the Apostle's Creed from a pedagogical point-of-view without discussing *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede*, the late-14th century poem which depicted a peasant with a deeper understanding of Scripture and the true Christian life than the four mendicant orders combined.215 Part of the rich tradition of anti-fraternal satire, the poem reflects the general disillusionment with the institutional Church. Criticism of the friars' various hedonistic excesses was certainly a popular theme among the Lollards, but it was by no means only present in heterodox opposition to the Church, as it was just as likely to be found in orthodox material.216 This was part of a general culture of dissent which cropped up right across the theological spectrum. *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede* co-existed with the material present in MS 245, each contributing, in different degrees of heterodoxy, to the general air of opposition to various aspects of the institutional Church. There are similarities in the apparent motivation of the poet and the MS 245 compiler which point to the existence of a generally accepted model for reform based on re-education. In the opening lines of *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede* there is a direct reference to the structure of primers:

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216 Barr, *The Piers Plowman Tradition*, p. 12. Lawrence M. Clopper argues that some of the antifraternal texts ascribed to Lollards may have been written by dissident Franciscans. See 'Franciscans, Lollards and Reform' in *Lollards and their Influence in Late Medieval England*, pp. 177-196.

lxxvi
And all myn A-B-C after have I lemed,
And patred in my Pater Noster iche poynt after other,
And after all myn Ave Marie almost to the ende.
But al my kare is to comen, for I can nohght my Crede. (5-8)²¹⁷

This is both an acknowledgment of the foundational nature of these texts to the Christian faith, but it also marks the importance of the primer to Lollard-driven socio-religious change. Indeed, John Scattergood’s point that ‘the poem assumes that the individual Christian is responsible for seeking out his own instructor’ recalls the primer’s role in private religious practice and education.²¹⁸ Copeland, discussing this passage, argues:

The Creed assumes here a double value: it retains its traditional role as an elementary pedagogical-doctrinal text, a signpost along the stages of the primer; but it also becomes a touchstone for a Lollard program of spiritual and ecclesiological reform, a nexus for the most profound signification of faith. [...] As the text moves into stringent anti-fraternal satire, the lowly primer itself becomes a mechanism for the highest aspirations of reformism.²¹⁹

The poem, therefore, may be read as a demonstration of the meaning of the primer to the Lollards, and in a broader sense, proper pedagogical practice. As Scattergood observed, the poet was asking ‘[b]y whom and by what means are the laity to be instructed; who shall teach

²¹⁷ Cf. PPI, B-Text, Passus VII, 131-8, for a discussion on basic education of the commons.
²¹⁹ Copeland, Pedagogy, p. 135
and how?" Seen in this light, the poem provides context not only for the Creed tract, but also for the pedagogic and social needs highlighted by the MS 245 compiler. That such questions needed to be asked at all points to the perceived failure of the Church, while the questions themselves signify a devotion which is characterised more by a thirst for knowledge, and a personal relationship with God, than simple faith alone. The evolution of the anthology towards one of re-education demonstrates the compiler’s awareness of this.

Another aspect of Lollard instructional practice is in simplicity of living. With Christ as a model, poverty is held as a prerequisite to piety. Copeland refers to ‘an available mythology of pedagogical humility’, noting that ‘such a mythology is reinforced in […] Piers the Plowman’s Creed. In this text the humility of the speaker is marked by his identification with the most elementary level of learning, the primer’. Unsurprisingly, this same concept is lauded throughout MS 245. In the commentary on the Creed, pedagogical humility is synonymous with ‘holy living’:

And no man here in eerſe • is part of þis chirche; but if he come to heuene bi his hooli lyuyng / & þus men lacken knowyng • wher þei ben partis of Hooli Chirche; for þei shulden not booste • of hiznesse of here prelacie

This is, essentially, the entire point of the commentary. This concept of holy living necessitates a simple life, free of the trappings of material wealth, enriched instead by devotion to God and a true understanding of Christ’s life as an example to his followers. In the anthology it is implied, in the use of a comparative approach, with the failings of the

220 Scattergood, ‘Pierce the Ploughman’s Crede: Lollardy and Texts’, p. 80.
221 Copeland, Pedagogy, p. 134
Church being contrasted to a Lollard conception of piety derived from Christ’s actions; and also explicitly stated, with the institutional Church urged to ‘leeve his dowing and worldi glorie þei han’.  

Regarding the appearance of humble piety, clothing must be considered the chief signifier of an individual’s lifestyle. This is acknowledged in the anthology in *On the Virtuous Life* with a discussion of the proper use for attire and its role as a status symbol for the vain. This attitude is reflected in *Pierce the Ploughman’s Crede* with its descriptions of the friars’ attire, which is contrary to that of the ploughman. Whereas the friar used his habit as a means for deception by concealing the furs underneath, the ploughman’s attire, with his gloves and coat full of holes, and his shoes patched and falling apart, exposes him to the world, both literally and figuratively. This is also representative of how the poor and the heterodox have been beaten down and neglected by those in power, a topic which is touched on in MS 245 in *On The Seven Deadly Sins*, as we have already seen. He is both a symbol of the oppression of Lollardy and the ideal example of the MS 245 compiler’s concept of pious appearance. This is an important aspect of his role as a teacher and ties him into the tradition of ‘pedagogical humility’. The association of the ploughman’s teachings with the primer indicates a cultural trend within Lollard circles, one which the MS 245 compiler was eager to embrace in his evolution of his book of instruction. That he chose to open the anthology with a commentary on the Apostles’ Creed, thereby identifying it as the foundation of re-education, signifies his belief that the Lollards are the true followers of Christ.

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223 Perhaps the tract which best illustrates this is *Of Antecrist and His Meynee*, in which a multitude of examples are offered, pp. 39-52.
224 CHM, p. 359.
225 *On the Virtuous Life*, p. 84/155-85/162.
226 PPC, 290-300 and 422-432.
227 SDS, p. 132-3.
On the Pater Noster

Moving on from the commentary on the Creed and its evocation of the tradition of pedagogical humility, the second tract, a commentary on the Pater Noster, is rooted in its own tradition. Whereas the former tract revolved around the well-known concept of 'holy living', the latter sought to draw upon popular ideas about the 'Our Father'. Vincent Gillespie discusses the 'pithy formulations' of Pater Noster commentary and how they achieved 'penetration' into not only 'the vernacular didactic and homiletic literature of fourteenth-century England', but also 'the devotional lives of its people'. Anna Lewis expands on this point, noting that each of the 'multiple translations' of the Pater Noster commentary follow a formula. This, she argues, was an 'aid to memorization':

The extent of people's familiarity with the contents and structures of Pater Noster exposition which, though subject to minor variation, rarely strayed far from a standard formula, has already been demonstrated. Given the centrality of the prayer to the spiritual life of laity and religious, and the imperative to learn and to teach it, it is not unrealistic to presume that the same phrases, constructions, and vocabulary would be found resonating, not just in the texts, but also in the minds and memories of the people. Indeed, the very practices of categorization and division that mark Pater Noster expositions (and which resemble the monastic reading exercise divisio in which the text is divided into short segments as an aid to memorization) would surely have made an effective mnemonic technique. This could have meant that the storehouse of vernacular comment on the Pater Noster from which commentary and

228 Indeed, the popularity of the Lord's Prayer in the vernacular was used by Lollards as 'a precedent justifying the translation of the whole Bible', Aston, Lollards and Reformers, p. 216.
229 Vincent Gillespie, 'Thy will be done: Piers Plowman and the Pater Noster', in Late Medieval Religious Texts and their Transmission, p. 100.
sermon writers could draw went beyond texts and into memory.\textsuperscript{230}

This notion of formula and tradition in Pater Noster exposition acting as a 'mnemonic technique' is consistent with the motivation to re-educate the faithful. If the goal was to create a book of instruction based on tradition, ideas about the prayer that 'passiŋ alle oʃer praizers',\textsuperscript{231} which are already housed in the memory of the audience, would be central to this.

In the context of the evolution of the Pater Noster commentary tradition, this tract appears to come quite early. It sets up the basic structure, dividing the prayer into two parts, then subdividing those again. Lewis identifies this pattern, which is part of the mnemonic technique:

Petitions are divided into the first three, which “answereth and perteyneth to the worschep of the Godhede,” and the last four, which “perteyneth to profyt and helthe of mankynde.” The first three are then divided again to show how the first addresses the Father, the second addresses the Son, and the third addresses the Holy Spirit, and these petitions clearly link to the three theological virtues: faith, hope, and love.\textsuperscript{232}

It is important to note that she is discussing one of the later, more heterodox commentaries,

\textsuperscript{230} Anna Lewis, ‘Textual Borrowings’, pp. 8-9. John H. Arnold discusses memorization of the prayer itself, noting the emphasis which was placed on the ability to recite the Pater Noster, regardless of whether or not its meaning was grasped. Arnold recounts the tale of a priest who tricked a usurer into learning the prayer by sending beggars to borrow grain, with each one instructed to introduce himself ‘as a part of the text: ‘I am “Our Father”’, and ‘I am “Who Art in Heaven”’, and so forth. The priest then told the usurer to recite who owed him grain, in the order that they had borrowed it’. John H. Arnold, Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe, pp. 38-9.

\textsuperscript{231} On the Pater Noster, p. 61-2.

\textsuperscript{232} Lewis, ‘Textual Borrowings’, p. 11. Wyclif also highlights the connection of the Pater Noster to the theological virtues. See Opus evangelicum, p. 274.
but it remains applicable to the tract in MS 245.\textsuperscript{233} The content in later versions is embellished, with the seven ‘axyngs’ becoming linked to the seven virtues and vices,\textsuperscript{234} but Lewis’ point regarding the three theological virtues remains valid. In MS 245, the tract on the theological virtues discusses Faith in terms of service and worship of God, as opposed to worldly things, and the recognition that spiritual truths surpass earthly ones.\textsuperscript{235} The passage from the first subdivision of the first section in \textit{On the Pater Noster}, with its contrast of the spiritual and earthly realms, clearly relates to the conception of Faith in \textit{On Faith, Hope and Charity}, while the mention of God’s name being imprinted on our souls\textsuperscript{236} in the former tract

\textsuperscript{233} In ‘Textual Borrowings’, Anna Lewis points out that this version of the Pater Noster commentary contains ‘no Lollard comment’, but was probably ‘read in accordance with a Lollard perspective’ (p. 2) She refers to the commentary as a ‘roving text’, i.e. a tract which is inserted into a number of anthologies to ‘supplement the commentary already found there.’ (p. 5) The three subdivisions of the first section tie the tract to the later exposition on the theological virtues, as we have already seen. The later version of the commentary, which may or may not be based on this text (p. 2; n. 11), combines the four subdivisions of the second section to the three from the first section and relates them to the seven virtues and vices. (see p. 11 for a discussion on this and n. 52 for an outline of the use of the seven virtues and vices). There is a discussion of the vernacular translation of the prayer and its role in lay devotion: ‘And here is a reule to Cristen men, of what langage euer \(\text{\char123}\)ey be, bat it is an heye sacrifice to God to kunne here Pater Noster, \(\text{\char123}\)e gospel, and ojer poyntes of holy wryt nedeful to here soules, and \(\text{\char123}\)ey to do \(\text{\char123}\)er-after, whe\(\text{\char123}\)er it be bytolde to him or wryten in Latyn, or in Englyssche, or in Frencysche, or in Duchyssche, o\(\text{\char123}\)er in eny o\(\text{\char123}\)er langage, after \(\text{\char123}\)at \(\text{\char123}\)e peple ha\(\text{\char123}\)y understondyng’, (\textit{The Pater Noster}, in Arnold III, p. 100). There is also a section equating members of the institutional Church with those who opposed Christ in his day: ‘Byholde now wel \(\text{\char123}\)ese condiciouns, and loke where men do\(\text{\char123}\) after hem o\(\text{\char123}\)er worse, and so \(\text{\char123}\)ou schalt yknowe \(\text{\char123}\)e kynreden o\(\text{\char123}\)e Phariseus. And \(\text{\char123}\)es fayners of holynesse pursue Crist in his membres, as \(\text{\char123}\)e Phariseus pursuede Crist bodilyche’ (\textit{The Pater Noster}, in Arnold III, p. 110). Given that this later version was extant at the time of MS 245’s composition, one must wonder why the compiler chose the earlier version. As a supplementary text, the later version would have worked better. Not only would it have been a link to the tracts on the seven deadly sins and the seven Christian virtues, it would have contributed to the discussion of the vernacular, mentioned above, and it would have also complemented the fourth tract, which covers the sins of Churchmen committed against both the Pater Noster and Christ’s example. In her discussion of the versions of the commentary, Lewis alludes to one possible answer: ‘Taking up the task of writing a Pater Noster commentary, a Lollard would draw on knowledge already available, accessible, and approved by authorities respected by the sect. The text is very much a product of an ongoing tradition of orthodox vernacular Pater Noster commentary. If a Lollard adhered to these most immediate sources, his text would presumably look like [the earlier version]’ (p. 15). Another explanation could be that the latter, more heterodox version of the commentary simply wasn’t available to the scribe. Either way, the reasons behind the decision to include the more theologically orthodox commentary remain unknown.

\textsuperscript{234} Lewis, ‘Textual Borrowings’, p. 11
\textsuperscript{235} \textit{On Faith, Hope and Charity}, p. 20/22-4.
\textsuperscript{236} \textit{On the Pater Noster}, p. 7/15-17.
can be likened to the reference to Moses' soul as God's 'priuey seel' in the latter.\textsuperscript{237} The second theological virtue, Hope, is discussed in \textit{On Faith, Hope and Charity} in relation to things yet to come, specifically 'pe blisse of heuene' after Judgement Day.\textsuperscript{238} This is reflected in \textit{On the Pater Noster}, in the passage from the second subdivision of the first section, which discusses ascension to heaven after the 'day of doom'.\textsuperscript{239} Finally, in \textit{On the Pater Noster}, the reference to 'loue of pe fader and pe sone', or heavenly and earthly, in the third subdivision of the first section,\textsuperscript{240} is reflected in \textit{On Faith, Hope and Charity}, which defines the third theological virtue as having 'two braunchis, [...] loue of God and man'.\textsuperscript{241}

For the MS 245 compiler, this method of subdividing, categorising and associating the sections of the prayer with the theological virtues did more than act as an aid to memorization. Much like the theme of 'holy living' in the commentary on the Creed, the three theological virtues allowed him to link the newly added first quire with other texts in the manuscript. Structure is central to pedagogical practice, and thematic continuity would undoubtedly have been of great benefit. In the original layout of the manuscript, the tract on \textit{Faith, Hope and Charity} was the second text, following on from the commentary on the Decalogue. This demonstrates the importance of the theological virtues to the compiler, which is discussed in more detail in the section on the original structure of the manuscript. Charity, in its role as the foundation of the three virtues, is a recurrent theme of the anthology. Time and again it is identified as an essential characteristic for any true follower of Christ. In \textit{On the Pater Noster}, the author states that 'men worpi to be herd moten be knyttid in charite • & mekenesse of herte'.\textsuperscript{242} \textit{On Faith, Hope and Charity} notes that one must be clothed in}

\textsuperscript{237} \textit{On Faith, Hope and Charity}, p. 20/25.
\textsuperscript{238} Ibid., p. 21/50-1.
\textsuperscript{239} \textit{On the Pater Noster}, p. 7/20-1.
\textsuperscript{240} Ibid., p. 7/22-3
\textsuperscript{241} \textit{On Faith, Hope and Charity}, p. 24/89.
\textsuperscript{242} \textit{On the Pater Noster}, p. 6/10-11.
charity in order to enter heaven. Its importance is again emphasised in *Tractatus de apostasia cleri*, in which it is plainly put that ‘oonliche charite [...] makij5 men religiose or of Cristis ordre’, and it is elevated above the sacrament of confession in *On Confession.*

There are also a number of other examples throughout the manuscript. Thus, it is apparent that this technique plays a part in the fluid structure of the manuscript as a book of instruction/re-education, in addition to being an aid to learning the prayer.

*On the Ave Maria*

The tract on the *Ave* fits into the pedagogical model somewhat differently to the preceding texts, but certainly owes something to both. In the context of a book of instruction, it is concerned with the scriptural minutiae, eschewing the line-by-line approach to focus more on the institutional Church’s rewording of the prayer and the offer of indulgences. These are separate issues, but both tend towards the same point - namely the contemporary church’s abandonment of Scripture. The author is critical of the addition of two words not present in the gospel – ‘Mary’ after ‘hail’ and ‘Jesus’ after ‘thy womb’. That said, it does segment the prayer in a manner which partially mirrors the *Pater Noster* commentary, although this does not only work as a mnemonic device, but also as a vehicle for criticism of the Church:

> De first part conteneþ • wordis of Gabriel; whanne he seide to þis lady • heil ful of

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244 *Tractatus de apostasia cleri*, p. 29/11-12.
245 *On Confession*, p. 66/100-2
247 See Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 299-301, for a discussion Lollard opposition to indulgences.
grace • the lord is with thee / In the second part is words; that Elizabeth spak to hir whanne she seide blessid be thou among wommen; & blessid be the fruyt of thy womb / The third part had two words; cloutid for deuocoun248

The line about the third part of the prayer is a reference to the addition of the words for the sake of offering indulgences. The motivation behind it recalls the commentary on the Creed, as there is evidence to suggest that this was a topic of discussion common enough to find its way into literature. The opening lines of Pierce the Ploughman's Crede allude to this very issue: ‘And after all, myn Aue-marie almost to the ende’.249 Matti Peikola notes that this was a reference to the Church treatment of the prayer, that the first two parts are taken from Scripture, but the last part is concerned with the additions:

The name ‘Jesus’ in the third part had a very important function considering the overall efficacy of the prayer, as there was a papal indulgence attached to it. [...] Pope Urban IV granted to all men ‘clene confessyd and contryte’ who at the end of their salutation utter the name of Jesus thirty days of pardon. This indulgence is now confirmed by pope John XXII, who adds another thirty days to it, so that the sum of pardon for uttering the name at the end of the Ave Maria is sixty days. This figure is then computed to yield 24 years, thirty weeks and two days of pardon for a daily recital of the Little Office, adding up to 172 years in a week and 9300 years in a year.250

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248 On the Ave Maria, p. 10/5-8.
249 PPC, 7.
This is clearly what the author of the Ave commentary was referring to when discussing indulgences at the end of the tract:

And many men ſɵken ouer • if siche pardoun myȝt be grauntid; liȝtly bi lesse trauel •
it shulde be grauntid generaly • to men ſat deuoutly • seiden ſes names / And so myȝt
pardoun be gete • to seie eche day oure Lady sauter ȝhe ten ſeousyd ȝeer in oo ȝeer²⁵¹.

This may be read as a sardonic comment on the nature of earning indulgences, and echoes the views expressed in a number of texts on the subject, which question how the pope can grant thousands of years of pardons despite not knowing the date of Judgement Day.²⁵²

The author takes the unusual step of attempting to justify Scripture as the reasons for the omission of the names in the gospel are explained in a complicated fashion: ‘First men seien heil Marie; ſat Gabriel left in his gretyng to teche vs ſat he was homely; & knowen wiþ ſis lady / & ſerfor wolde he not now; nemþne ſis name of Marie’.²⁵³ This accounts for the reason Gabriel does not use her proper name, but offers nothing on why the faithful should not say her name. Peikola, however, identifies a possible explanation for this in another text:

‘ſis aungel clepude Marie not now by hire propre name ſat sche was clepud, for comun vse wiþ lordus and ladyes axsþ ſat comun seruauntis of hem clepen hem not by propre name, but by name of ’excellence', as men ſat spekon of oure kyng leeuon to clepon hym Kyng Rychard, but seyen ſat ſis is wille of ſe kyng, or ſus the kyng biddþ to do.’²⁵⁴

²⁵¹ On the Ave Maria, p. 12/34-7.
²⁵² See Hudson, Premature Reformation, p. 300
²⁵³ On the Ave Maria, p. 10/8-10.
²⁵⁴ EWS II, Sermons for the Proper of Saints, Sermon 102, p. 256/34-40.
Peikola posits that ‘not now’ could be a ‘textual echo’, implying that one of the texts may have influenced the other.\textsuperscript{255} Regardless of whether or not this was the case, the analogy drawn between the accepted norm for social interaction between the nobility and their servants implies that the same approach was in ‘comon vs’ in recitation of the Ave in Lollard circles. As for the addition of ‘Jesus’ to the Ave, the author of the MS 245 tract explains, rather heavy-handedly, that there was no need to call him by name because any mention of the fruit of Mary’s womb implicitly referred to her only child: ‘pe seconde word is Ihesu; addid to Eliabeth[is] wordis; & his word lefte he gospel here; to teche þat Marie hadde but oo child & þis child was Ihesu; þat is sa[u]eour of mankynd’.\textsuperscript{256} To point this out was entirely unnecessary, but it was part of a broader Lollard tendency to ‘offer a rational explanation’, and to sometimes over-explain, everything about the scriptural passages cited.\textsuperscript{257}

But what of the papal indulgences attached to these additions? The tone, when mentioning ‘þe ten þousynd þeer in oo þeer’, is one of derision, and the calculation is on the page in order to highlight the ridiculous nature of such a pardon. There is more than mockery, however, as the pope is, for the first time of many in the anthology, equated with Antichrist: ‘þe pope may 3yue þis pardoun • bi addyn[g] of þes two wordis; may he adde ðopere moo & wijdrowe as him likib / & so turne Goddis lawe; into lawe of Antecrist’.\textsuperscript{258} This was a common characteristic of Lollard opinion on the papacy,\textsuperscript{259} as has already been outlined in the previous section on the religious spectrum and themes.

Overall, this tract best demonstrates the compiler’s adherence to the absolute truth of

\textsuperscript{255} Peikola, ‘Lollard Expositions’, 284
\textsuperscript{256} On the Ave Maria, p. 10/10-12.
\textsuperscript{257} Peikola, ‘Lollard Expositions, p. 283
\textsuperscript{258} On the Ave Maria, p. 11/29-31.
\textsuperscript{259} Peikola, ‘Lollard Expositions’, p. 289
Scripture, and it acts as a reminder to his intended audience that to make even the smallest of changes to God’s word is to risk one’s own salvation. It is also a perfect example of the compiler’s later pedagogical approach, as the opening lines, which urge the faithful to re-evaluate their understanding of the prayer, emphasise that we must unlearn what we know in order to be re-educated.  

The Seven Heresies

This tract, more than any other, is central to the later concept of the anthology as a book of instruction for the specific purpose of re-education. Its content, location within the manuscript, and structure, each reveal much about the evolution of the anthology, and these will be discussed separately.

Firstly, the content of the tract both carries on from the preceding texts and prefigures many of the central ideas expressed throughout the rest of the anthology. Following on from the commentary on the Ave, the opening line of the tract connects the two texts: ‘For false men multiplien bokis of ye Chirche’. The word ‘multiplien’ refers to the practice of augmenting books, and this is consistent with the thrust of the argument in the Ave commentary and its warning about turning ‘Goddis lawe into lawe of Antecrist’. Essentially, this refers to proper prayer, so the commentary on the Pater Noster is also relevant here. Indeed, this was evidently considered the overarching theme of the tract, despite the eclectic range of topics, as the text ends with the following: ‘Explicit vii heresies contra Pater Noster’. The first heresy is specifically concerned with the Pater Noster, but the other six move away from this, so the reason for the Latin inscription is unclear. However, considering the contents more broadly, each of the seven heresies demonstrates the author’s belief that the

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260 On the Ave Maria, p. 10/2-5.  
261 The Seven Heresies, p. 13/1.  
262 The Seven Heresies, p. 18/98.
Church was no longer rooted in the word of God or the teachings of Christ. This is apparent from the opening line, and this is the angle from which the content of *The Seven Heresies* must be approached.

The discussion of the first heresy stresses the superiority of general prayer over ‘special preier applied bi her prelatis’:

Lord wher God himsylf wolde gladlier here þe preier þat a fals man haþ contriued to him; þan þe general preier • þat he himsylf made / Wel y wot þat his preier is ful of witt & charite; & conteneþ all þe goodis • þat a man shulde aske of God\(^263\)

The emphasis here is characteristically Lollard in nature, that God has already given the faithful all they need to worship Him. This recalls the simplicity of devotion discussed earlier. The belief that the *Pater Noster* ‘conteneth all the goodis that a man shulde ask of God’ both illustrates the primacy of Scripture and undermines the role of the clergy. It suggests a more personal relationship with God, prefiguring certain aspects of later texts touched on above, which, consequently, begs the question about how to identify the true followers of Christ. This is a prominent feature in the majority of the heresies listed. The second heresy, for instance, stresses that ‘prelatis or freris or seculers • suen not Crist in maner o her lyuyng • ðei were neuer Cristis spouse ne membris of his Chirche’\(^264\). Following on from this, the third and fifth heresies warn of the dangers to the souls of those who trust in the prayers of the damned\(^265\). The sixth and seventh heresies are concerned with the monastic and mendicant orders respectively, arguing that neither were part of Christ’s Church, and that they have led

\(^{263}\) Ibid., p. 13/7-9.
\(^{264}\) Ibid., p. 14/25-7.
\(^{265}\) Ibid., p. 14/28-15/45 and 16/55-66.
the faithful away from Him. The fourth heresy is on the Eucharist, and is related to the first with its emphasis on the primacy of Scripture, and to the other five with its denial of the doctrine of transubstantiation negating the role of the orthodox priesthood in the administration of the sacrament, which was discussed earlier.

As mentioned above, the contents of this tract both carry on the ideas expressed in the preceding commentaries and prefigure those present in the ensuing texts. We have already analysed the recurrent themes, many of which take root here. The topic of salvation, for instance, begins in the second heresy, while the Eucharist is first discussed in the fourth.

The central issues of clerical corruption and priestly power are also grounded in The Seven Heresies. The third heresy, for instance, questions the worthiness of those men who fashion themselves as the shepherds of the souls of the faithful, points to their corruption, and urges people to simply follow Christ instead. The tract also features the first detailed discussion of the role and power of the priesthood in the anthology. The issue of power of absolution takes root in the fifth heresy, whilst the notion of a clearly defined true priesthood, distinct from the other two estates, is explored in the second, third and fifth heresies. Note, for instance, the pointed allusion to those priests who are ‘ordeyned to blisse’, an unsubtle comparison between Lollard preachers and the ordained, orthodox clergy. This is linked to the views on salvation expressed throughout, as the soteriological discourse within the anthology revolves around predestination, while vocation is central to the compiler’s concept of a true priest.

266 Ibid., pp. 16/67-17/81 and pp. 17/82-18/97.
267 Ibid., p. 15/52-16/54.
268 Ibid., pp. 13/13-14/27.
270 Ibid., p. 15/36-41.
271 Ibid., p. 15/56-7.
272 Ibid., p. 15/36-7.
General anti-monastic and anti-fraternal sentiment are first discussed in the sixth and seventh heresies respectively, while the central topic of sedition and the unbalancing of the three-estate social structure is grounded in the criticism of the friars in the seventh heresy.\textsuperscript{273} Indeed, even the overarching theme of Antichrist’s presence on earth and his association with the pope is first touched on in this tract with the reference to a devil being the ‘capiteyn’ of God’s Church.\textsuperscript{274}

This is all directly related to the location of the tract within the anthology. It does not simply follow on neatly from the preceding text, but as the content analysis shows, also acts as a bridge between the opening commentaries and the rest of the anthology. In the context of MS 245 as a book of instruction for the purpose of re-education and mirror for the primer, the placement of this tract between commentaries on the creed, Ave, Pater Noster and the Decalogue elevates the status of \textit{The Seven Heresies} to that of an essential text to the faith.

With this in mind, the way in which arguments are constructed also proves important to the compiler’s pedagogical outlook. Each of the seven heresies has a tripartite structure, first laying out what ‘false men’ say, then arguing against it, before finally stating the ‘truth’. For instance, the third heresy is first identified as the belief that one can ‘bowe þe wille of oure Lord God to brynge a soule to heuen’, before arguing that this contradicts the notion of predestination. The third part then states the truth, that God may ‘helpe soulis in purgatorie & make hem shortlier to dwelle þer in; aftir þat þei haue made hem worþi • for þe tyme þat þei haue lyued here’.\textsuperscript{275} This structure upholds the view that the compiler’s motivation was one of re-education because each point is based on the rejection of an orthodox premise. This is similar to the approach outlined by Hudson when she observed that Lollard instruction has a tendency to take the form of ‘what they say’ and ‘what we say’, but which then cites several

\textsuperscript{273} Ibid., pp. 17:90-18:95.
\textsuperscript{274} Ibid., pp. 13:17-14:18.
\textsuperscript{275} Ibid., p. 14:32-3.
Church authorities in support of the arguments presented.\textsuperscript{276} It is noteworthy, however, that the authorities cited in \textit{The Seven Heresies} are Christ, the Lollards, and the author himself. The emphasis on phrases such as 'wel y wot', 'We haue ofte tymes seid' and 'oure bileue techij) vs', is at odds with the standard approach, outlined by Hudson above, present throughout the rest of the anthology. Just as the tract was elevated to the status of being essential to the faith, as mentioned earlier, so Lollard opinion is elevated to the platform of Church authority. This demonstrates the author's confidence in the points Lollards believed they had already proven, and points once again to the centrality of the tract to the compiler's pedagogical programme.

Overall, the content, location within the manuscript, and structure of the argument, says much about both the tract itself and the manuscript's conceptual fluidity. The tract must be considered to be both a bridge between the opening commentaries and the rest of the anthology, and a foundational text to the compiler's pedagogical outlook. More broadly, this point is a microcosm of the addition of the first quire itself. It demonstrates clear principles of thought and, as mentioned earlier, a clarity of vision. The careful selection of the opening four texts helped to significantly refocus the thrust of the anthology, making it mirror the structure of the primer.

To return to the purpose of this introductory analysis; as mentioned above, this is a case study, and the aim is to break new ground in scholarship surrounding Lollard anthologies. Other such manuscripts should be considered as books in their own right, their evolution and compilation carefully analysed, and this is a task which is open to future scholars.

As for MS 245, it must be considered as more than a random collection of tracts or a general book of instruction. That both the time span and shifts in content, structure, and

\textsuperscript{276} Hudson, \textit{Premature Reformation}, p. 209.
pedagogical outlook, which mark the evolution of the manuscript, did not upset, but rather enhanced, the consistency of arguments and themes throughout the anthology, is evidence of a compiler with a lively mind, with a clear concept of what this book should be. He reshaped it from a loosely structured instructional collection, built upon orthodox pedagogical foundations, and sought to tap into the growing sentiment among the faithful which characterised devotion as more than simple belief, but rather as a thirst for knowledge and a return to Christ's conception of simplicity. The purpose of this was re-education in the faith, to lead people away from the errant Church, and back toward salvation, before the dawn of Judgement Day.
Editorial Practice

This is not a complete edition of the manuscript partly due to constraints of space, and partly due to the fact that a number of the tracts have been published relatively recently. The texts in this volume, therefore, were selected because they are either unique and unpublished, or in need of fresh critical analysis. The opening four texts had not been edited in over a century, and required a fresh critical eye. In addition, their inclusion is tied to the fact that the reassessment of the texts as a whole, rather than individually, is central to this analysis of the evolution of the manuscript. On Faith, Hope and Charity, Tractatus de apostasia cleri and Of Antecrist and His Meynee were last edited over a century ago, so they, too, needed fresh critical examination. The former’s link to On the Pater Noster, discussed in the introduction, was another reason for its inclusion, while the latter two are both unique to MS 245, and a substantial part of the compiler’s criticisms of the institutional Church. Of Antecristis Songe in Chirche and Of Praier a Tretyes were included because they are a unique example of shorter texts being taken from The Twenty-Five Articles, a tract which exists in its entirety in only one manuscript; in that sense, both of these short tracts are unique to MS 245. On Confession is included because it is unique to the manuscript and previously unpublished. On the Eucharist, though it was published by Hudson in SEWW, was included because it is unique to MS 245 and the only tract on the sacrament of the Eucharist. On the Virtuous Life, On Consideration, On the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit I and II, On the Five Wittes, On Jacob’s Ladder, and On the Deeds of Mercy were each included because they are unique to the manuscript and previously unpublished, while Nine Points is extant in only one other manuscript (the copy of which is barely legible) and has never been published.

Of the tracts which were not included: On the Ten Commandments was part of a comprehensive edition on Decalogue commentary by Judith Ann Jefferson in 1995, hence it...
was omitted from the transcription. *On the Seven Works of Mercy, Bodily and Ghostly, On the Seven Deadly Sins*, and *An Apology for Lollard Doctrines* are each quite substantial in length, thus their omission is due to constraints of space, while *The Church and Her Members*, *Tractatus de pseudo-friars*, *Of Confession, Vae Octuplex, Of Mynistris in pe Chirche*, and *Dialogue between Reson and Gabbyng* have each been omitted because they were edited recently.277

For the sake of accuracy, and in order to reflect the unusual inclusion of several dialects, any inconsistencies in spelling and grammar have been transcribed verbatim, with the exception of occasional corrections, which are highlighted throughout. Medieval spelling has been retained in all its variety, thus there is no standardization between different dialects and no modernization. The letter ‘v’ is often rendered as a ‘u’, and ‘ii’ usually appears as ‘ij’. The original punctuation has been maintained, and paragraph breaks are as they appear in the manuscript. The variations in punctuation across the texts both signify the evolution of the manuscript over time, and is an extension of the compiler’s toleration of the dialects used in his sources. The chief influence on this editorial decision is the need for the texts to be presented in as close a manner to the originals as possible.278 The punctus elevatus has been rendered as a semicolon, and the punctus versus as a tilde. Due to fluctuations and errors in punctuation, corrections have been made throughout in order to maintain consistency,

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277 See the description of the contents for publication information on each of these texts.
278 As M.B. Parkes notes: ‘Location on the page is [...] important: punctuation by distinctiones or simple points depends on locating them at different heights, but correct identification of a pause depends on the height of the point in relation to the previous letter rather than to that of the other marks. Two scribes can copy the same text and place punctuation in the same positions, but employ different symbols, or apparently attribute different values to the same symbol. The fundamental principle for interpreting punctuation is that the value and function of each symbol must be addressed in relation to the other symbols in the same immediate context, rather than in relation to a supposed absolute value and function for that symbol when considered in isolation.’ Malcolm Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1992), p. 2. For a recent example of medieval punctuation being maintained in a modern edition, see Conrad Lindberg, *EWT I* and *II*, whose model influenced my editorial decision.
although these emendations are noted throughout. Modern capitalization is used, and abbreviations have been silently expanded. Two of the most common abbreviations are 'Ihu' and 'anncrst', transcribed as 'Ihesu' and 'Antecrist' respectively. Editorial emendations are in square brackets, and are listed in footnotes. Variant readings from other manuscripts are also in footnotes. These do not include spelling variants, but record different lexical choices and any additions or omissions. All other annotations are listed in the section 'Notes on the Texts', which includes word definitions, suggestions for further reading and explanatory notes. Folio changes are in the body of the text, highlighted in bold, and in parentheses.

279 See the section on the manuscript’s punctuation on p. xvi.
On the Apostles' Creed

(f. 1v) It is sooþ þat bileue; is grounde of alle vertues\(^1\) / & herfor e[ch]\(^2\) Cristen man; shulde be sad in bileue / þer ben þre credis; comounly in þe chirche / Crede of þe apostlis\(^3\) • & crede of þe chirche; & crede of Athanasie • þat was a Greek\(^4\) doctour\(^5\) / But of þe first crede • shulde Cristen men spek; for it is more comoun • & shortere to knowe\(^6\) / Ne bisie vs not • what postle made • what\(^7\) partie of þis hooli crede • & whanne þe postlis gadden\(^8\) it / For oure bileue techip vs • þat God ordeynede it al • & badde þat men shulde kunne it • and teche it to oþere\(^9\) / And if prelatis faile in þis; Crist seide þat stones shulde criev As seculer lordis shulden • in defaute of prelatis; lerne & teche þe lawe of God • in her moder tung\(^10\) / Ne studie we not hou many parties • ben in þis comoun' crede; for sooþ it is • þat alle þes parties • ben conteyned in þre / And herfor men seien þries • þat þei bileuen\(^11\) in God / First þei bileuen\(^12\) in þe Fader; for he is þe first persone / Aftir þei bileuen\(^13\) in Ihesu Crist; bi diuerse articlis / And aftir þei bileuen\(^14\) in þe Hooli Goost; & ech oon of þes þre parties • conteyneþ many articlis / But we shal wite þat þes þre þingis • ben ful myche diuerse\(^15\) / Bileue in God • & bileue to God • & bileue God\(^16\) • þat is þe

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1 Camb. I begins with the following, preceding the opening sentence: þis is þe exposicioun of þe crede. Credo in deum patrem.
2 ech - word partially illegible due to MS damage. Similar instances will be marked in square brackets without a footnote.
3 Greek] gret — Lam. and Camb. I
4 shorter to knowe — more shorter þan eny oþer — Lam.
5 made • what] made, ne what — Lam.
6 gadden — gaderyd — Lam.; gedreden — Camb. I
7 comoun] holy — Lam.
8 bileuen] trow — Lam.; trowen — Camb. I
9 bileuen] trow — Lam.; trowen — Camb. I
10 bileuen] trow — Lam.; trowen — Camb. I
11 bileuen] trow — Lam.; trowen — Camb. I
12 ful myche diuerse] wel sotel and divers — Lam.
13 Bileue in God • & bileue to God • & bileue Go] Trowe in God, & trowe to God, & trowe God — Lam., YM, and Camb. I
14 þe] omitted — Camb. I
leest / Dat man bileue\textsuperscript{15} in God; Dat cleue\textsuperscript{16} to him bi charite / & Dus eche man in hed\textsuperscript{16} synne

is out of bileue\textsuperscript{17} [/]\textsuperscript{18} But\textsuperscript{19} Dat man trowe\textsuperscript{20} to God • Dat trowe\textsuperscript{21} Dat he is trewe;\textsuperscript{21} in alle pingis

Dat he seib • & Dus don vnkynd men / Pat man trowe\textsuperscript{22} God;\textsuperscript{22} Dat trowe\textsuperscript{23} Dat he is & Dus don fendis;\textsuperscript{24} al if hei\textsuperscript{25} trowen not in hym / Pe first of pes \textsuperscript{26} pre parties\textsuperscript{26} • conteyne\textsuperscript{26} pre articlis / First

Dat men shulden trowe pe firste persone;\textsuperscript{27} Dat is pe fader of heuene • & power of God\textsuperscript{28} / And\textsuperscript{29} so shulden men trowe; Dat he is almy\textsuperscript{30} / So if he wole ou\textsuperscript{31}t be doun • he doib whanne him

like\textsuperscript{31} / & so pe \textsuperscript{32}rid article stondib in his; Dat he made of nou\textsuperscript{33}t • bolpe heuen & eer\textsuperscript{34} / & we

shulden bileue\textsuperscript{30} Dat almy\textsuperscript{30}i\textsuperscript{31} • is comoun to \textsuperscript{36}pre persones / As almy\textsuperscript{30}ti is pe fader • almy\textsuperscript{30}ti is

\textsuperscript{36}pe sone • almy\textsuperscript{30}ti is pe Hooli Goost / & \textsuperscript{37}sit\textsuperscript{38} shall we bileue Dat pes ben not\textsuperscript{39} \textsuperscript{39}pre almy\textsuperscript{30}ti Goddis;

but oon God almy\textsuperscript{30}ti \textsuperscript{40}f. 1'\textsuperscript{41} The secound\textsuperscript{42} part of oure crede • bigyne\textsuperscript{43} at Ihesu Crist; &

touche\textsuperscript{44} fourtene articlis Dat stonden in his ordre / First we shulden bileue\textsuperscript{45} in Goddis word or

\textsuperscript{15} bileue\textsuperscript{[]} levys – Lam.

\textsuperscript{16} \textsuperscript{[]}us eche man in hed} \textsuperscript{[]}us eche man \textsuperscript{[}at ys in hed – Lam.

\textsuperscript{17} out of bileue\textsuperscript{[]} out of his bileue – Lam. and Camb. I

\textsuperscript{18} A punctus appears here. Further instances of this correction will be marked in square brackets without a footnote.

\textsuperscript{19} But\textsuperscript{[]} omitted – Lam.

\textsuperscript{20} trowe\textsuperscript{[]} biley\textsuperscript{[]} – Lam.

\textsuperscript{21} trowe\textsuperscript{[]} trewe & righteous – Lam.

\textsuperscript{22} \textsuperscript{[]}us don vnkynd men\textsuperscript{[]} \textsuperscript{[}us don vnkynd men \textsuperscript{[}at trow not in hym – Lam.

\textsuperscript{23} trowe\textsuperscript{[]} bileeeveth – YM

\textsuperscript{24} \textsuperscript{[]}us don fendis\textsuperscript{[]} & so don develis – Lam.; \textsuperscript{[]}us don develes – Camb. I

\textsuperscript{25} al if hei\textsuperscript{[]} \textsuperscript{[}at – Lam.

\textsuperscript{26} of \textsuperscript{[}pre parties\textsuperscript{[] part of \textsuperscript{[}his crede – Lam.

\textsuperscript{27} trowe\textsuperscript{[]} first persone\textsuperscript{[]} trowe in \textsuperscript{[}first persone – Lam.

\textsuperscript{28} God\textsuperscript{[]} omitted – Camb. I

\textsuperscript{29} And\textsuperscript{[]} Ando – MS

\textsuperscript{30} we shulden bileue\textsuperscript{[]} sit schul men trow – Lam.; we shulden trowe – Camb. I

\textsuperscript{31} almy\textsuperscript{[]} – MS

\textsuperscript{32} & \textsuperscript{[}it\textsuperscript{[] sit – Lam.

\textsuperscript{33} we bileue \textsuperscript{[}at pes ben not\textsuperscript{[] not men trowe \textsuperscript{[}at pes ben – Lam.; we trowe \textsuperscript{[}at pes ben not – Camb. I

\textsuperscript{34} Insert Capitilum secundum before \textsuperscript{[}he secounde – Camb. I

\textsuperscript{35} bileue\textsuperscript{[]} trow – Lam. and Camb. I

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his sone\textsuperscript{18} / Aftir we shulden bileue\textsuperscript{16} pat he become man; stondyn\textsuperscript{17} in his godhed • \(\hat{\text{pat he my}^3\text{te not lese}}\). / \(\hat{\text{be \(\hat{\text{pridde tyme we shulden bileue}}\textsuperscript{19} \hat{\text{pat \(\hat{\text{he fader of heuen; bi Godhed and bi manhed / Sip he made vs of nou\(\hat{\text{ght; \& bou\(\hat{\text{gte vs fro synne / \(\hat{\text{be ferpe article}}\textsuperscript{10} of \(\hat{\text{his part seip; Crist was conceuyyd of \(\hat{\text{he Hooli Goost}}}\textsuperscript{11} / \text{Not as o\(\hat{\text{pere men geten}}\textsuperscript{41} \text{children bi kynde; s\(\hat{\text{ip \(\hat{\text{his persone is no man / But s\(\hat{\text{ip \(\hat{\text{he Hooli Goost • is loue bi sum propretee • \& moost token of loue \hat{\text{hat God wolde shewe man was • \(\hat{\text{hat he wolde take oure kynde \& become oure bro\(\hat{\text{per / Herfor we bileuuen \(\hat{\text{pat oure lord lhesu was conceuyed of \(\hat{\text{he Hooli Goost • wipoute manses gendryng / \(\hat{\text{be fifpe time we bileuuen}}\textsuperscript{42} \hat{\text{pat oure lord lhesu was born of \(\hat{\text{he virgyn Marie • as of his owne moder\textsuperscript{17} / \hat{\text{hat was euer virgyn • wipoute knowyng of man; al if\textsuperscript{43} Crist took of hir • matere of his body / \& si\(\hat{\text{pe he norishide him wipynne; as o\(\hat{\text{pere children ben norishid / But he wente out of hir wombe; bi myracle as he was fourm\(\hat{\text{ed / \(\hat{\text{be [sixte\textsuperscript{44} tyme we shal trowe aftir two and \(\hat{\text{pritti 3eer; he suff\(\hat{\text{r}ide hard passiun • vndur Pounce Pilat / For to bie mankynd; \& mantene \textsuperscript{45} treupe\textsuperscript{xiii} / \& so he was don on \(\hat{\text{he cross;\textsuperscript{xiv} \& aftir deed \& biried\textsuperscript{xv} / Sip his soule wente to helle \& took out \(\hat{\text{hes soulis; \hat{\text{hat he ordeyned to saue bifo\(\hat{\text{re \(\hat{\text{he world was maid\textsuperscript{xxvi} / \& [s]\textsuperscript{46} vpon \(\hat{\text{he pridde day • his soule cam to his body; \& quykide it as bifo\(\hat{\text{re \& roos out of \(\hat{\text{he sepulcre\textsuperscript{xxvii} / And s\(\hat{\text{ye whanne he had t\(\hat{\text{au\(\hat{\text{t hise apostlis\textsuperscript{47} • ofte tyme of his resurrectioun; he steide into heuene • as \(\(\hat{\text{he saw\(\hat{\text{en

\textsuperscript{16} bileue\textsuperscript{16} trow – Lam. and Camb. I
\textsuperscript{17} in] omitted – Lam.
\textsuperscript{18} bileue\textsuperscript{16} trowe – Camb. I
\textsuperscript{19} & \(\hat{\text{pis]} in \(\hat{\text{his – Camb. I
\textsuperscript{20} article\textsuperscript{10} article article - MS
\textsuperscript{21} geten\textsuperscript{41} gendre\(\hat{\text{p – Camb. I
\textsuperscript{22} we bileuuen\textsuperscript{42} we shuld bileuuen – Lam.
\textsuperscript{23} al if\textsuperscript{43} al\(\hat{\text{pow – Lam.
\textsuperscript{24} seuen\(\hat{\text{fe] This error is also present in Lam. and YM, both of which render it vi\(\hat{\text{j, and Camb. I, which renders is seve\(\hat{\text{p.
\textsuperscript{25} \(\hat{\text{he]} omitted – Lam.
\textsuperscript{26} si\(\hat{\text{p]} \(\hat{\text{ip – MS
\textsuperscript{27} t\(\hat{\text{au\(\hat{\text{t hise apostlis\textsuperscript{47} shewyd to his disciplis – Lam.
openly xviii / And þer he sitten in þe best sete; þat may acorde to man / & þat is clepid þe riȝt side of God • þe God his fader-xxix / & at þe last shall he come doun here to man; & iuge summe to bliss • & oþere to helle • euermore to be þere wiþoute dwellyng herexx ~ (f. 2r) þe þrideø part of oure crede bigynneþ at þe Hooli Goost; in whom we shall trowe • siþ þat he is God xxxi / & sixe articlis ben knytt; to þis part of þe crede [/] Aftir we shulden trowe þat þer is general chirche; of aungelis & seyntis in heuene • & [of alle] so þat shal be sauedxxxii / & þis aftir domesday • shal be wiþouten synne; in eendelas ioye wiþ hir spouse • & eche haue ioye of oþerxxxiii / And no man here in eere þe • is part of þis chirche; but if he come to heuene bi his hooli lyuyngxxxiv / & þus men lackenþi knowynge • wher þei ben partis of Hooli Chirche; xxiv for þei shulden not booste • of hiȝnesse of here prelacie/ & so þe Chirche haþ þre statis; bi processe of tyme / First heþ wande[r]iþþ here in eere þe; & siþ heþ slepiþ in purgatorie [•] & aftir heþ restiþ in blisse of Crist þat is his⁹⁵ spouse⁹⁶ / And so as sum men þenken • þes popis ne þes prelatis; þeþ no part of Hooli Chirche • but synagoge of Sathanas⁶⁰⁶⁰xviii [•] siþ þey moten liue aftir Crist; if þei shal be saued / þis teþhis oure bileue; houeuer Antecristxviii grucche / And so we shal bileue⁶¹ þat eche part of þe chirche; comuneþ and helþiþ oþer • boþe here & in heuene

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48 God • þe God his fader[God þe Fadyr – Lam.; God þe Fadir almyþt – YM; God his Fader – Camb. I
49 Insert Capitulum tertium before þe þride – Camb. I
50 of alle] omitted - MS
51 lacken] wanten – YM
52 hiȝnesse] holinesse – Camb. I
53 ...of here prelacie / & so þe Chirche] ...in here prelacie. But þey mot leve aftyr Crist, þyf þey schul be savyd; For þus teþhis oure beþeve, however Antecrist werke. And so þis Chirche... – Lam.
54 heþ sche – Camb. I
55 wanderþiþ] wandeþ – MS
56 heþ sche – Camb. I
57 A single virgule appears here. Further instances of this correction will be marked in square brackets without a footnote.
58 heþ sche – Camb. I
59 his] hir – Camb. I
60 synagoge of Sathanas] of synagoge – Lam.
61 bileue] trowe – Camb. I
But in heuene þei shal in rest; haue ioye of ðe blisse / And so shal men bileue þat eche part of þe Chirche; shal haue ful remissioun of synne þat it hap done / An so rise in body & soule at þe day of doom; wiþ glorie wiþ hem boþe and euere lyue in blisse.

Explicit credo in deum patrem.
On the Pater Noster

(f. 2r) We shal bileue • þat þis Paternoster • þat Crist hymsilf techiþ • to alle Cristen men; passiþ alle • opere preiers in þes þre þingis; in autorite & sotilte; & profiþ of þe Chirche.[1] It passit in autorite • for Crist boþe God and man; made it and tauȝt it for Cristen men to vse it[;] and he is of moste autorite; as oure bileue techiþ vs / And herfore þe gospel (f. 2v) of Matheu seþ;

• þat Crist bad us preie þus / It passiþ also in sotilte; for we schal vndurstoned; þat in þes seuen aseyngis • is soteli conteyned; alle þe poyntis of þis world • in wiche lyeþ ony witt / & so shortly to comprehende • so myche witt in pleyn wordis; is a sotiltee of God • passyng witt of man / Þe þridde we shal suppose • þat no preier in þis worlde; is more profitable to man • siþ Crist hymsilf shal heren alle / Þe first aseyng of þe Paternoster; stondiþ in þes wordis / Oure fader þat art in heuenes; haleywid be þi name[3] / in whiche wordis we may lerne þat men worþi to be herd moten be knyttid in charite • & mekenesse of herte / Siþ al þe hool[i]10 Trinyte • is fader of vs alle; & hooli chirche is oure moder • we shulden loue as briþeren / And siþ God is so hige in heuene • aboue alle hise angeliþ • and we ben so lowe here in erþe • wlappid in11 many myscheues / We shulden bi resoun • be meke & buxum to þis lord; & mekely preie vnto oure

Fader • þat haleywid be his name / So as his name is haleywid • nedeliche in himsilf;[12] so bi his

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1 Insert Here bigynnes þo PN in Englysche before the opening line - Camb. II
2 alle] omitted – Lam., YM. Bod. 789, Harl. and Add.
3 þingis] poyntis – Camb. II
4 &] in – Lam. and Camb. II
5 of þe] to hys – Lam.; of Cristis – Bod. 789
6 and tauȝt it] omitted – Bod. 789
7 A single virgule appears here. Further instances of this correction will be marked in square brackets without a footnote.
8 passyng witt] passyng þe witt – Lam.
9 þe] this – YM
10 hool[i] hool – MS
11 wlappid in] vmbegone wiþ – Camb. II
12 & mekely preie ... in hymsilf] þat as his name is holy in hymselue – Camb. II
name halewed • stidefast in oure soule / For whanne oure soule was maid • to þe lickenesse of þe Trinite; Goddis hige name • was prentid þerynne / þe secound axyng of þis preier; stondiþ in þes wordis / þi rewme come to þee; into þe blisse of heuene / & as þe first axyng • answeriþ to þe Fadur; so þe secound axyng • answeriþ to þe Sone / For he is þat noble man • þat cam doun into eer[þ]e; to geten him a rewme • & aftir turne azen / þe rewme of his Fader is clepid hooli Chirche; þat at þe day of doom • shal go hens to heuene / þe þridde axyng sueþ þus • be þi wille ydon; as it is fully in heuene • so be it don in eerpe / And þe þridde axyng • answeriþ to þe Hooli Goost; for he is good loue • of þe Fader and þe Sone / And al if þes axyngis • moten nedely be fillid; neþeþes mannes soule lift vp wiþ charite is wiþ desijr hized wiþ God; & òþere þingis þat nedis moten be & þes þre axyngis • be to þe Hooli Trinyte; & þerfor we shapen oure word • oonly vnto God / Þe secound (f. 3′) part of þis preier; conteneþ foure axyngis / First we preien oure fader; to ȝyue vs oure eche day breed to day— / And is may be vndurstonde • wel on þere maneres; togidre as Austen seij— • bi witt oþ God almyþi / First we axen oure bodili fode • to serue oure Fader— / Aftir we axen— Goddis word; to fede wiþ oure soule / & for we han

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13 halewed • stidefast] halewed and stidefast – Camb. II
14 eerþe] eerþe – MS
15 aftir turne] aftir to turne – Lam.
16 azen / þe rewme] azen / to þe rewme – YM; azen þo þe rewme – Camb. II. These were most likely scribal errors as neither sentence makes sense.
17 his] this – YM
18 as it is fully in heuene • so be it don in eerþe] in erthe as his is in heuen – Camb. II
19 of þe fader and þe Sone] of þe fader and of þe Sone – Add.
20 wiþ desyr hized wiþ God; & òþer þingis] wiþ desyr hized wiþ God; and þat is a praier. þus we seien, blissid be God & òþer þingis – Lam., YM, Bod. 789, Harl. and Add.
21 moten be] omitted – Harl.
22 oure fader; to ȝyue vs oure eche day breed to day] Oure fadre þus: oure eche dayes breed graunt vs to day – Add.
23 as Austen seij] as seint Austen seij – Lam. and Add.
24 to serue oure Fader] to serue wiþ oure Fader – Add.
25 axen] omitted – Harl.
nede • of alle þes eche day; þerfor Crist clepiþ hem • oure eche dayes breed / And for we
shulden be trewe • & ete oure owne breed • & not wiþ wrong ete oure neiþboris breed;26 þerfor
Crist techiþ vs • to axen of him oure27 breed / And for Crist wold þat oure hope were freshid in
hym • oure þouȝt & oure mynde • & al oure desijr; þerfor he biddiþ vs axe þis mete of him
today / þe secound axyng of þis part; sueþ in þes wordis / Forȝyue vs oure dettis • as we don
oure dettouris28 / þe dettis þat we owen to God; ben seruise þat we owen hym / As ofte tymes
as we faylen • we rennis into dette of peyne / & but God forȝyue vs • þis dette oure28 synne;
we ben not worþi • to haue aȝt of oure Fadur / And for God wole • þat we loue oure briþeren;
he knyttiþ to a condicioun • vndur whiche we axen þis bone / þat he shulde forȝyue vs oure
dette • as we forȝyuen oure dettours / So if we ben vnmerciful29 • to men þat ben oure dettours;
triste we to oure Fader þat he wole punyshe vs / And so we preyen oure hiȝe iuge; aȝens oure
owne hedn / But vndurstonde we wel • þat we may leuefully; axe of oure briþeren • dette of
eerþeli þing / But þis axyng mot be; in resoun & charite / & þan it is for loue; and profite to
oure neiþbore / And here moten we fle boþe rancour and hate & enuye to oure neiþbore30 • wiþ
opere shrewed castis / þe þridde axyng of þis part; sueþ in þes wordis [ / ] Oure Fader31 • lede vs
not into temptacioun3 / Soþ þat Crist was temptid;31 & God temptide man for loue / But
hard it is and greuous peyne; to be ladde into temptacioun / Whanne32 man of his folie • falliþ
into myre of synne; riþtful iugement of God • wole make him (f. 3v) to s[y]nke33 depere [/] And

26 & not wiþ wrong ete oure neiþboris breed] omitted – Lam. and Add.
27 oure] omitted – Lam.; þis – Add.
28 oure] of – Lam.
29 So if we ben vnmerciful] so þat if we ben vnmerciful – Lam.
30 neiþbore] omitted – Lam.
31 Oure Fader] omitted – Bod. 789
32 Whanne] For whanne – Lam.
33 synke • word partially illegible due to MS damage. Similar instances will be marked in square brackets without a
footnote.
herfor • we preien our Fader • þat he lede vs not into þis hardnesse of synne\textsuperscript{34} • lest we comen
neuere out / & herfor þe last axyng\textsuperscript{35} sueþ in þes wordis / But gracious Fader; delyuere vs from
yuel\textsuperscript{xii} / þe worst þing in þis world; is wickidnesse of synne / Siþ a man for noþing; shulde wille
to do synne / Siþ for þis world ne nouȝt þerynne;\textsuperscript{36} shuld ony man do synne / But siþ summe
synnes • ben myche worse þan opere; in þis last axyng • we preien dilyueraunce of þe worst\textsuperscript{37} /
þe worst is þe deuelis synne • þat men dien ynne wiþoute repentaunce • þat euere shal be
punyshid / & þat cleipþ þe gospel; synne aȝens þe Hooli Goost\textsuperscript{xii} / God for his greet mercy •
kepe vs fro þis yuel; and þanne shal we haue euerlastyng fredom / Amen\textsuperscript{38}\textsuperscript{xiiv} ~

Explicit Pater Noster\textsuperscript{39} ~

\textsuperscript{34} þis hardnesse of synne] temptacioun – Bod. 789
\textsuperscript{35} last axyng] last axyng of þis part – Bod. 789
\textsuperscript{36} nouȝt þerynne] nouȝt that is þerynne – Add.
\textsuperscript{37} þe worst] þe worst synne – Lam.
\textsuperscript{38} Amen] So be it – YM and Camb. II; omitted – Add.
\textsuperscript{39} Explicit Pater Noster] omitted – Lam., YM, Harl. and Add.; Here endes þo Pater Noster in Englysch – Camb. II; There
ben seuen heresies aftir con […] ryd of false prestis aȝen þe Pater Noster. Wyclif – Dou. 274
On the Ave Maria

(f. 3v) Men greten comounly; [f. 4v] oure Lady • Goddis moder • & we supposen þat þis gretyng; saueþ many men / For we taken as bileue; þat she is blessid in heuen & Crist wolde do at hir preying; among alle òpere seyntis al if we trown þat neiþer Crist; ne she wolen do for men but if it be resonable; þat men ben² worþi to be holpen / And so may men folily; triste³ in siche preier / In þre partis comounly; þis gretyng is dyuydid / þe first part conteneþ • wordis of Gabriel; whanne he seide to þis lady • heil ful of grace⁴ • þe lord⁵ is wiþ þee / In þe secound part is wordis; þat Elisabeth spak to hir whanne she seide blessid be þou among wymmen; & blessid be þe fruyt of þi womb⁶⁷ / þe þridde part hat two wordis; cloutid⁸ for deuocoun / First men seien heil Marie; þat Gabriel left in his g[r]etyng⁹ to teche vs þat he was homely; & knowen wip þis lady / & þerfor wolde he not now; nempte þis name of Marie / þe secound word is Ihesu; addid to Elisabeth wordis; & þis word lefte þe gospel here; to teche þat Marie hadde but oo child (f. 4v) & þis child was Ihesu; þat is sa[u]eour⁹⁰ of mankynd / But þis fel longe tyme¹⁰ aftir; þat oure Lady was greet þus / þe first word þat is Aue • reuersij þe name of Eua [*] to teche vs þat oure Lady; contrariede Eue in lyuyng / For riȝt as Adam & Eue weren cause of dampnyng of mankynd; so Ihesu & Marie ben cause of mannus saluacoun¹¹ / þe secound word

¹ Insert þis is þe exposicion of þe Ave Marie before the opening line – Camb. I
² þat men ben] and men ben – Camb. I; and men þat ben – Lam.
³ may men folily; triste] mow men truste to be holpyn fully – Lam.
⁴ he seide to þis lady • heil ful of grace – MS; he seide to þis lady: Ave gratia plena dominus tecum, heil ful of grace – Camb. I
⁵ þe lord] God – Harl.
⁶ she seide bessid be þou among wymmen; & blessid be þe fruyt of þi wombe] she seide: Benedicta tu in mulieribus, blessid be þou among wymmen; et benedictus fructus ventris tui, & blessid be þe fruyt of þi wombe – Camb. I
⁷ cloutid] encresid – Harl.
⁸ gretyng] getyng - MS
⁹ saeour] saeour – MS
¹⁰ tyme] omitted – Camb. I and Harl.
¹¹
of þe aungel seip; oure Lady was ful of grace / & man may be ful of grace on þre maneres bi Goddis lawe / First of himsilf as Crist was; þe first quyk welle of grace / For of Crist spronge grace to alle men aftir him / Oure Lady was ful of grace as a stoonde\textsuperscript{11} ful of water / & ʒaf grace plenteuous[li]\textsuperscript{12}; boþe to ðopere\textsuperscript{13} men & wymmen / Seynte Steuene was ful of grace þat suffiside to his lijf; for to brynge hym to blisse • & so ben many ðopere\textsuperscript{13} seyntis\textsuperscript{14} / And so God is wiþ alle creaturis; but specialy wiþ men • þat shulen be saif / But more speciali • wiþ þe chambre of his manhed; þat was oure Lady Mary\textsuperscript{15} / But boþe þe aungel & Elisabeth • seien þat oure Lady is blessid; among alle wymmen þat ben • for gendrure of siche a child / & so þe\textsuperscript{15} bygynnyng & þe endyng shulde be blessing of Ihesu; þat is fruyt of þe wombe of þe Lady\textsuperscript{16} Seynt Marie\textsuperscript{16} / 20 Þe ðridde part of þis gretyng; addiþ two wordis to þe gospel / Þat ben Mari & Ihesu; & ben two deuout wordis / But for it is hard to men; to grounde hem leeue to adde þus / Siþ Goddis lawe seip • þat men shulden not; vp greet peyne adde to Goddis word\textsuperscript{16} / It is seid þat þe pope ʒyueþ greet pardoun to men; þat adden þes wordis / & bi þe same skile • þat men shulden triste to ony pardoun; men shulden triste to þis pardoun • be it foure score dayes\textsuperscript{17} or more / & as þe pope may ʒyue þis pardoun • bi addyn of þes two wordis; may he adde ðopere moo & wiþdrawe as him likiþ / & so turne Goddis lawe; into lawe of Antecrist / ðopere\textsuperscript{18} moten men graunte þis wey • or sey þat þis was yuel don;\textsuperscript{19} or seye þat here was first a defect • kept to\textsuperscript{20} popis\textsuperscript{21} to amende /
& herfor þenken many men • þat þe wordis of þe gospel; weren wisely sett in þe gospel
wipouten ony variyng / And many men þenken ouer • if siche (f. 4r) pardoun myȝ3t be grauntid;
liȝtly bi lesse trauel • it shulde be grauntid generaly • to men þat deuoutly • seiden þes namesviii
/ And so myȝ3t pardoun be gete • to seie eche day oure Lady sauter 3he ten þousynd 3eer in oo
3eer / Triste we to wordis of þe gospel; & worshipe we Marie [wiȝ]22 al oure myȝ3t23in ~ Explicit
salutatio sancte marie virginis24 ~

22 wiȝ] vp – MS
23 myȝ3t. Amen – Lam.; ...myȝ3t. Wyelif – Harl.
The Seven Heresies

(f. 4') For false men multiplien bokis of þe Chirche • now rendyng bileue & now cloutynge eresies; þerfor men shuld be war of þes two perelis • þat men pynchen at in þe Pater Noster / Þei seien first þat special preier • applied bi her prelatis; is better þan general • As oon Famulor • seid of a frere; is better þan a Pater Noster • wiþ oþere þingis euen / For þe Pater Noster is moost general; & þe Famulor is moost special of alle þe preiers þat euer God heriþ/ But we shal bileue þat no preier is worþ • but in as myche as God hymsilf heriþ it; & appliþ þis preier to profijt of men • Lord wher God himsilf wolde gladlier here þe preier þat a fals man haþ contriued to him; þan þe general preier • þat he himsilf made / Wel y wot þat his preier is ful of witt & charite; & conteneþ all þe goodis • þat a man shulde aske of God / But it is oon to sey þus; & to hþe Antecrist ouer oure Lord Ihesu Crist • þat is oure alþer fader / þe generalite of þis preier • lettþ not oure lord God; to here singularly persones • aftir þat þei ben worpi ~

The secound eresie of þe secound axying • seþ þat þes prelatis • ben hedis of Goddis rewme; for þei ben hedis of Hooli Chirche • bi vertu of here prelacie / And so alle þes freris ben men of Hooli Chirche • þat God wol here gladlier • þan ony oþere comoun men • Lord siþ God & eche membre of hise Chirche • ben weddid togider • as oure bileue seþ; wher ony of þes prestis shal be dampned in helle / Welle y wot þat noon shal be dampned but deuelis• And if ony of

1 Insert at the beginning - Septem hereses contra septem petitiones – Dou. 274; Here ben sevene heresies aftir continued of false prestis ægen þe Pater Noster • Harl.
2 multiplien bokis • multiplien mony bokis • Dou. 274
3 þat men • þat false men • Harl.
4 conteneþ conceves • Dou. 274
5 alþer • alle • Dou. 274
6 þe Ne • MS; This error also appears in Harl.

13
Jes (f. 5) deuelis weren capiteyn of his Chirche; þanne God & þe deuel were weddid togider / But our bileue seip þat þér is no comunying wiþ Crist & Belial; vii þanne ben þe not weddid / Herfor shal we trowe as hooli men han tauȝt before two þousand þeer þat Sathanas was bounden • þat Hooli Chirche is of þoo; þat God haþ ordeyned to dwelle wiþ hym in blissee of what statī so þe be • prestis or seculers • lordis or comunes • ladies or pore wymmen; þat endelesly louen God / And so summe part of þis Chirche regneþ aboue in heuen; & summe slepit in purgatorie • & sum fiȝtþ in erþe / But at þe day of doom shal al be gederid togidre • & regne in heuen wiþ her spouse • oure lord Ihesu Crist / So if þat prelatis or freris or seculers • suen not Crist in maner of her lyuyng • þe were neuer Cristis spouse ne membris of his Chirche •

þe þridde eresie of þe þridde axyng seip; þat þe can bowe þe wille of oure Lord God; to brynge a soule to heuen • bi maner of her preiyng / But certis we shal trowe þat God may not be moued; but as he haþ ordeyned • bifoire þe world was maid • And aftir a man deseruiþ þe while he lyueþ here shal he be rewardid aftir his liȝf • eiper in blissee or in peyne • not wiþstondyng oure preier / But wel y wot þat God may helpe soulis in purgatorie & make hem shortlier to dwelle þer in; aftir þat þe haue m[a]deþ hem worþi • for þe tyme þat þe haue lyued here / But we shal vndurstone þat God acceptþ þe liȝf þat men lyuen here wel; & appreuiþ it for soulis • & þer aftir it is medeful for soulis þat ben in purgatorie / And if we knowen not þe priuette of God;

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7 OUR bileue seint Poul – YM and Harl.
8 tauȝt before two thousand þeer tauȝt vs of þe two thousand þeer – Harl.
9 was - this is in the margins and the scribe includes a small mark in the body of the text to indicate placement.
10 Sathanas vnbounden] Sathanas was bounden – Dou. 274; þe deuyl was bounden – Harl.
12 of þis of þis] Scribe corrects this within the body of the text.
14 made] mede - MS
15 if] al gif – Harl.
neuerþeles we witen þat it is fulli riȝtwesnesse / þat preièr¹⁶ of a man þat God hâp ordeyned to blisse; is more worþi þan a þousand • of hem þat shal be dampned / For þe first is Goddis childe; & eire¹⁷ to haue his blisse / þe secound is þe fendis childe²⁸ & preie he neuer so myche; he getet not þe blisse of heuen • for he makide him not (f. 5⁴) worþi / And þis feiþ shulde moue men • not to selle here preiers; but eche man lyue bisily • aftir þe lawe of God / For aftir þat a man deseruiþ in his owne persone; shal he be rewardid in heuene or in helle / But good lijf of a man • may helpe him þat lyueþ wiþ him;¹⁸ to amende him in his owne lijf • & so come to blisse / And bi defendyng of Goddis lawe • may a man deserue heuen • bifoire oþer þingis¹⁹ / And so priuau almes don singulerly • þat Crist himsilf tauȝte not doþ litil good or nouȝt • ne pardoun²⁰ of siche almes for to come to heuenu⁰ ~

Þe fourþe eresie of þe fourþ axyng • seip þat þe sacríd oost is no maner breed; but eipur nouȝt or accident wiþouten ony subiect²¹ • & so worse þan stones or ony oþer body²⁵ / And when ony of siche men axen to haue þe sacríd oost; þei þiuen hem worse þane stones • as þei falsly feynen²⁰ / For þis were ægens þe gospel • as Crist himsilf seip²⁰ / Lordis & prelatis can not distrie þis eresie; eipur for her negligence • or for þe wiles of Antecrist / Lord if þes grete men wolde ȝyue þes prestis no good ne freris; bifoire þei shewide her bileue in þis poynt • and groundide it in Goddis lawe • & so þei myȝte come to bileue • & knowe þes false eretikis / We haue ofte tymes seid • þat þis sacríd oost is verrey Goddis body & verrey breed²⁶ • for so seip hooli writt. & seyntis of Crist þousandis ~

¹⁶ þat praier] þat one praier – Harl.
¹⁷ eire] ordeyned - Dou. 274; herd - Harl.
¹⁸ þat lyueþ wiþ him] omitted – Harl.
¹⁹ And bi defendyng of Goddis lawe • may a man deserue heuen • bifoire oþer þingis] omitted – Dou. 274
²⁰ ne pardoun] to donor - Dou. 274
²¹ Harl. is damaged extensively from this point.
Pe fyuep eresie conteyned of pe fyuep axyng • seip þat prestis haue power to assoile men of synne; hou22 euer þe pope lymytþ at his owne wille23 / And absoluicions & indulgencis boþe fallen in mannes chaffar; bi biyinge and sellynge24 / And so men may liȝtly for money be assoilid • boþe of peyne & of synne be þei neuer so synful / But oure bileue techiþ vs • þat no synne is forþeuen; but if God himsilf forþyue first of alle25 / And if his trewe viker26 • acorde to Goddis wille; he may assoile of synne • as viker of his God / But ȝif he discorde fro iugement of his God; he (f. 6r) assoiliþ not • bost he neuer so myche / And herfor it is nedeful to a prest • to haue two keies; of power & of kunnyng • to acorde wiþ Goddis wille27 / For if he wants þis kunnyng • he neiþer bynde ne assoiliþ; ne it is no bileue • þat he ne may erre in þis28 / And amonge alle eresies • or blasphemyes in our chirche; þis is oon þe moost þat men are discyued inne29 / And if a man speke her of bi þe lawe of God; he shal be pursued30 or don to deep as an eretik31 ~

Pe sixte eresie contened of þe sixte axyng seip; þat men of priuate religioun ben more þicke saued; þan men þat kepen treuly comoun Cristis religioun / For as þei seien þei haue help • of here owne briþeren; speciali in þe our of her deep of bodi & of soule & so ben not ledde into þe fendis temptacioun / But oure bileue techiþ vs • þat comoun Cristis religioun passiþ al religioun of þes new ordris32 / Lord wher we shal trowe þat Benet or Domynyk or Fraunces; shulden passe þe wisdom of Crist [/] Or wher it be wisdom to obeishe to siche prelatis; & leue þe wille of Crist • þat is God & þin abbot / Wel y wot þat þe chirche was reulid bi Cristis ordinaunce; birfore þes ordres comen inne • better þan it was siþen33 / And so siþ religions dien in þis fals trist; & haue lyued in ypocrisie • for more part of her lijf; it semeþ þat siche go

22 hou[ whom – Dou. 274
23 pursued] prisoned - Dou. 274
24 eritik] eritik, for he lettith fro the chirche, worship and wynnyng – YM
priuely to helle / And so ben ledde into fendis temptacioun; for þei ben hardid in errour • of her priuat ordris / And herfor clepid Crist Poul & Nichodeme fro þe ordre of pharisees; sauyng hem & in distryng of itxxviii / Wipouten doute þe ordenaunce þat Crist himsylf haþ ordeyned • if it were holden clene • it were þe best of opereœc / For þerbi in eche degre; myȝte eche man be saued / For þanne wolde charite growe more; & enuye be more [distried]²⁵ / Thre membris of þe chirche as prestis • knyȝtis & laboreris; wolden be sufficient • wipouten more diuersite²⁶xxx

The seuenþe eresie & þe last þat is contened of þe seuenþ axyng seij / þat if we worchen (f. 6⁰) bi conceillis of þes newe ordris • þat leuen þe ordenaunce of Crist;²⁸ we shal nedely be sauedœc / & herbi ben men ledde into fendis temptacoun;œœc & wlappid wip synne aȝens þe Hooli Goost / & þis þe worst synne;²⁹ þat euer may falle to ony man / Wel y wot þat freris • wolde not here þis sentence publischid in þe puple; for fallynge of her ordre / But sîþ it is not groundid in bileue; he is not on Goddis half • þat lettiþ fro freris²⁰ / And we shulden trowe þat foundyng oþ abbeis & freris; lettiþ not hem þat ne men may falle in þe last synne / And þerfor al maner of men shulden knowe Cristis ordenaunce; & trauele þerfor þat it were clenly kept /

For it is moost liȝt • moost profitable • & moost nedeful / O lord if al þe puple in þe rewme of Englond trauelide in alle cuntres • & falsede þe kyngis wille mouyng to discordis • aȝen þe pees oþ þe rewme; who wolde not seye þat ne sich a puple were perelous in Englondœœœc / Miche

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25 distried – word partially illegible due to an attempt by the scribe to correct an error.
26 wipouten more diuersite] wipouten more diuersite. God kepe his Chirche. Amen – Dou. 274. See n. 26
27 seueneþ] last – YM
28 of Crist of Crist] The scribe corrects this error within the body of the text.
29 synne] thyng – YM
30 But sîþ it is not groundid in bileue; he is not on Goddis half • þat lettiþ fro freris] But sîþ it is clene groundid in bileue of goddis lawe. he is not on goddis half, that leueth it for freris. – YM
31 abbeis & freris; lettiþ] abbays and frerus and […] lettys; There is a word omitted between and and lettys – Dou. 274
more if newe religions ben scaterid in Cristendom • & gabben on þe wille of Crist þat is oure kyng • & mouen not to pees & acord • as Crist & hise apostlis diden; what wondur is if batels & opere perels come þat Crist hadde bifoire told / God helpe his Chirche fro perelis of false ypocritis & vngroundid newe statis • þat ben not foundid in Cristis lawe / Wel y wot þat þei may seie þat many of hem ben seyntis; but neiþer is þis bileue ne groundid in resoun

Expliciunt vij heresies contra Pater Noster

32 ...resoun is followed by Latin inscriptions in two of the other manuscripts: Omnis plantacio quam non plantavit pater meus, eradicabitur, dicit Dominus in evangelio Johannis. Explicit tractatus qui vocatur speculum vite Christiane – Dou. 274; Ut patet per Wyclif – Harl.

33 Expliciunt vij heresies contra Pater Noster] omitted – YM, Dou. 274 and Harl.
On Faith, Hope and Charity

(f. 27') For it is seid in holdyng ofoure haliday • þat we shulden occupie þe tyme in prechyng
• & deuout hering1 of þe lawe of God2 / & ouer many3 freris • as bastardis to Goddis lawe; tellen
iapis or lechyngis • & leeuen þe gospel4 / Herfor shulden men lerne • of þre Goddis5 vertues;
þat þe gospel of Poul • clepiþ feiþ • hope & charite6 / Feiþ is þe ground • of alle oþer vertues;
þerfor Poul clepiþ it • sheld of Cristen men7 / For among sîxe8 armures; noon is more nedeful
/ But feiþ may be takun on many maners / Sumtyme feiþ is clepid • þe treuþ þat we9 trowen;
& so þer is a comoun feiþ • to alle Cristen men / Sumtyme feiþ is clepid • vertue þat makiþ
trewere men; & so eche trewe man haþ diuere feiþ / And sumtyme feiþ is clepid; oure trowyng
in werk / & bi þes þre membris • maist10 þou knowe Goddis lawe; þat spekiþ of • in11 diuere
maners / Seynt Poul clepiþ feiþ • ground of goostli þingis; þat men shulden hope to haue in
heuen12 / And here men seruen him treuly13 • to haue hem in heuene / & so specialy bi feiþ; ben
men maid trewe to God / & who so failiþ in feiþ • he is false to God • & tristþ not to His treuþ
as heþen men don / And herfor seþ Seynt Poul • þat Cristen mennes feiþ; is mene of alle her
goode vertues14 • þat þei here don15 / For seyntis bi feiþ • discoumfteden rewmes;16 þe þe
rewme of þe fend • & þat is more maistrie • þan wynn þewmes of men / For enemyes ben moo;
& more queynt in her dedis • bi wilis of her capteyns / & þus seyntis han wrouþ17; faire & iust

1 prechyng • & deuout hering] prechyng and preyinge and deuout hering – New 95
2 ouer many] ouer þis many – New 95
3 Goddis] good – New 95
4 sheld of Cristen men] sheld of alle Cristen men – New 95
5 we] men – New 95
6 maist] may – New 95
7 in] on – New 95
8 And here men seruen him treuly] And here men seen hem not, but trowen by word of God, ȝif þey seruen him treuly – Harl. and J. H text begins here as folios are missing.
9 vertues] werkis – Harl.; werlks – New 95

19
dedes\textsuperscript{10} / For no\textsuperscript{11} man may last • in hard lijf for God; but if he haue feip • bi þe whiche he lastip so / & shortly no man • may serue blisse of God; but if he haue feip • bi whiche he seruet it /

And shortly no man synneþ ægens God; but if he faile in feep • þat groundip\textsuperscript{13} Goddis werkis

As if þou haddest a letter • þat þi kyng send þee • seelid wiþ his priuey seel • & worshipide þe miche • & hiȝte þe greet eritage • to be at\textsuperscript{14} his reteneu • & serue him trewly; þou woldest do of þi hood • & kisse þis seel • for hope of rewarde / (f. 27v) God is myche more • þan ony lorde of erpe; he sente a letter to man • bi Moyses his messanger • þat is more worþ • þan ony pope or cardynal / His letter is hise maundemensis • & grace in Moyses soule; is his priuey seel • better þan ony kingis signe / His seruyce is liȝt • & his eritage is myche; for it is þe blisse of heuene • lastyng for euer\textsuperscript{15} / & her of men shulen not faile\textsuperscript{16} • wit outen gret forfeture / Take hede\textsuperscript{17} to mennes feiþ • hou bisily þei traueilen; for gooddis & worship of þis world • & leuuen trauel to God • and þou maist wel se þat feiþ failiþ hem\textsuperscript{18} ~ Capitulum 2

But in þre maners; may mennes feiþ faile / Summe failen in feiþ; for defaut of it / As men þat trowen not to God • þat he wole rewarde hem; of þe blisse of heuene for her trew seruise\textsuperscript{19} / Sum men failen in feiþ • for it is so þinne; & eel\textsuperscript{19} to perishe wiþ a dart • bi saut of þin enemye / A[s]\textsuperscript{20} men þat ben assailid • bi her flessh or þe worlde or in lustis or in peynes; þyuen it vp

\textsuperscript{10} & þus seyntis han wrouȝt; faire & iust dedes] omitted – New 95
\textsuperscript{11} no no no – MS
\textsuperscript{12} if] omitted – New 95
\textsuperscript{13} feep • þat groundip] feep whiche þat groundip – Harl.
\textsuperscript{14} at] omitted – New 95
\textsuperscript{15} for euer] wiþ-outen ende – New 95
\textsuperscript{16} faile] myse – Harl.
\textsuperscript{17} Take heed] Take we heed – New 95
\textsuperscript{18} seruise] trauele – Harl.
\textsuperscript{19} eel] eke liȝt – New 95
\textsuperscript{20} As] A – MS
to ²¹ soone • for litil trist þat þei han in meede of her lord / And herfor Crist ofte tymes • reprouyde hise apostlis; for litelnesse of her feiþ • whanne þei faileden to triste on hym / And sum men ²² failed in her feiþ; þat han her sheeld holid / & bi spere of her enemy; þei ben oft killid ²³ / & ben siche men • þat trowen many trewþis; and in summe þei failen • as men out of her feiþ / For as he þat bindiþ him • to kepe Goddis heestis; mot kepe hem alle • as seynt lame seiþ / So he þat byndiþ him • to feiþ of his god; mot kepe it al hool • stifly & in ordre ²⁴ / For if þi sheeld were at þi bak; þou myȝtest soone bi killid ²⁵ / For þe fendis of helle • trowen al þat we trowen; but hem failiþ charite • to bynde her sheeld in ordre / & herfor ben þei dampned; for ²⁶ her deformed scheeld / And herfor shule we trowe al þe lawe of God; & trowe þat it is trewe bi every part þeroft ²⁷ / For if þou trowe myche of it • & trowe þat sum is fals; bi þis hole of þi sheeld • art þou deed to God / (f. ²⁸) As freris þat trowen • many articlis of þe ²⁸ treuþe; & failen in þe treuþe • of þe sacrid oost • shal be dampned herfor / But if þei turne a þen • & trowen in wordis of Crist; þat seiþ • þis is my body ²⁹ / But nowe freris trowen • þat neþer þis oost is breed; ne body ³⁰ of Crist • ne neþer of þes may be / But Crist seip sopeli ³¹ • þis breed ³² is my body; but hou ben þei not eretikis • þat trowen aþen Crist here / And þus eueryche man • halþ a maner of feiþ; siþ eche man troweþ • þat God & alle þingis ben / But his feiþ is rent • in particular errours; þat troweþ fals of þe feiþ • bi ony part þeroft / And so oure good god •
byndip vs not to trowe euermore; & specialy eche article of þe treuþe / For sum ben so sute þat first is blisse of heuene; seyntis shulde know hem; þat generaly nowe trowen hem / For if þou trowest in þi god; þat trowþe wole suffice þee / But no man trowþe in God; but he þat louþe þim [*] & hopþi þi his good lijþ to haue blisse of God32 ~ Capitulum 3

Hope is þe secound vertu; þat God himself axeþ & it is ful diuerc; fro feiþ þat we han spoken of / For feiþ is of þingis; þat was & ben and shal be / But hope is al oonly; of þingis þat ben to come / As we trowen þat God • made þis world of nouȝt; & we trowen þat Crist • is bodiþy in heuene & shal euermore be • aftir þe [day of]33 doom / Also feiþ is boþe of good þingis & yuel; boþe34 of him þat haþ feiþ • & of oþre creaturis / But hope is al oonly • of him þat haþ hope; & oonly of good þing in þe blisse of heuene / As we trowen þat many men shall be dampned in helle; & þat many oþre men shal be saued in heuene / But neþre opide þis dampnacoun; ne þis saluacon [*] for we hopen al oonly; þat touchiþ oure owne blisse / & so trowþe of Cristen men35 • puttiþ hem out of dout [*] & makiþ hem so surely • trowe36 her bileue; þat þei shulden stonde for þis treuþe • to þe dep of her body37 / But so it is not of hope; if we loken wel [*] as neþre we witen ne we trowen • nowe to be saued; & zit we hopen (f. 28v) it wiþouten eny dout / & so hope is werke of soule; bineþe oure bileue [*] & so bineþe knowyng; but aboue doutyng38 / And so hope of erþerli þing • is not vertu of hope; but comounly it smacchiþ synne • for it lettiþ hope of heuene / & so it is al diuerc; to trowe & to hope [*] but þis is a sute matre • to clerkis for to knowe; but comoun speche39 sufficiþ to oþre men / Capitulum 4

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32 blisse of God] þe blis of heuuen – New 95
33 day of - not present in MS, but in Harl. and New 95
34 yuel; boþe] yuel þyng. boþe – Harl.
35 trowe] thorowe – New 95
36 speche] sentense herof – Harl. and New 95
But philosopheris\[37\] seien; þat contraries\[38\] han oon lore \[\star\] feiþ & hope techen vs; knowe contraries\[39\] of hem / Feiþ hæþ infidelite contrarie to him; and hope hæþ desperacoun • as his contrarie\[40\] / And as feiþ is ground • of alle oþre vertues; so infidelite is ground • of alle oþre synnes / And herfor s[e]liþ Crist • þat God shal reproue þe world • first of þis synne • for it groundiþ alle oþre / Wanhope\[41\] of men • is a greet synne;\[42\] for no man is damnyd • wiþoute þis wanhope / For he þat lastiþ in þis\[43\] synne til his lyues eende; and hæþ not sorowe of his synne • ne hope to haue forgifnesse \[\star\] he synneþ aþen þe hooli goost \[\star\] þat nepre shal be forgyuen him in þis world ne in þe toþre • as Crist himself seþ\[44\] / & many þere ben • þat synnen in þis synne; longe before þei dien • but þanne it lastiþ euere / As eche man þat God knoweþ to be damnyd in helle; beriþ euerlastyng synne • aþens þe hooly goost / For as þe hooli goost • is þe last persone of God • aftir whom comeþ noon oþre; so it is of þis synne • for no man may synne aftir þis last\[45\] synne / And so bi two weies; fallen men in dispeir / Summe for þei trowen not; in þe mercy of God / & þes ben Caynis children • & seien her synne is more; þan her desert is to serue blisse or ellis Goddis mercy\[46\] / And summe synnen in dispeir; aþens riþfulnesse\[47\] of God \[\star\] as þes þat seie in her lijf • lat me synne ynowe; for God wole neuere lose þat he hæþ dere bouþt / & so alle þat shal be damnyd ben eueremore in synnyng; aþen þe hooli goost • & euere in dispeyryng / As if a man drof contynuly in þe erþe; a stake til he

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37 But philosopheris\] But siþ philosopheris – New 95
38 knowe contraries\] to knowe contraries – Harl.
39 as his contrarie - omitted – Harl.
40 seiþ siþ – MS
41 it is groundiþ – MS. The scribe corrects this within the body of the text.
42 Wanhope\] For wanhope – New 95
43 for it groundiþ alle oþre / Wanhope of men • is a greet synne\] omitted – Harl.
44 þis hys – New 95
45 last\] omitted – New 95
46 riþfulnesse\] riþwisnes – New 95
47 hæþ omitted – New 95
were in dispeir • þat he myȝte drawe it vp / þe stake is þe synne; hardid in mennes herte / The malle þat he drueþ it wiþ; is new rehersyng of synne / & siche at eende of her lijf • lacken power & grace; to trist in help of her god & hope to be saued ~

(f. 29r) The þridde vertu of God is loue orþ charite;• it haþ two braunchis • as loue of God & man / & best mene to kepe þis loue were a man for to lerne; & loue for to kepe two tablis of Goddis hestis\textsuperscript{48} \[•\] for bi þis & ellis not; kepiþ a man hym in charite / And þis vertu cloþ man; at domesday wiþ bride cloþis \[•\] & þis cloþ may neuere be lost; in þis world ne in þe toþre / For no man may come to heuene but if haue þis cloþing; ne no man may haue þis cloþ • but if he coms to heuene\textsuperscript{49} / & so men þat shal be damphned; han but feyned charite \[•\] but lyue wel ofþiþ Goddis lawe; & hope to haue þis last\textsuperscript{50} loue \[•\] for noon shal knowe • ne trowe to haue it; but if God wole telle hym priuely / & so freris þat louen more • her abite þat þei han ordeyned hem • þan þe cloþ of charite • þat God haþ shapen hise sones;\textsuperscript{51} ben yuel disposid • to haue þis\textsuperscript{52} cloþ of charite / Siþ her loue is turned amys • charge more her abite; to lesen it or leuen it • to cloþe þerewiþ her body \[•\] þan to lese þis charite • to cloþe þerewiþ her soule; for ofte þei lesen charite in presence of men\textsuperscript{53} / But if þei loften þis abite þus • as þei falsly feynen; þei weren open apostataas • & losten þe loue of God / For as þei feynen falsly • God loueþ more þis cloþing; þan cloþing of her soule • wiþ þis cloþ of charite \[•\] & þis is open eresie by many kyn skillis\textsuperscript{54} / But here men douten comounly; wheþer men shulden loue þes eretikis \[•\] but it is no drede • þat ne men shulden loue her kynde; & hate þe same kynde • in þat þat þei ben so yuele / And so þe persones bi hemsilf • shulden be loued in charite; & her synnes bi hemsilf

\textsuperscript{48} or\[•\] & – New 95
\textsuperscript{49} hestis\[•\] lawes – New 95
\textsuperscript{50} last\[•\] omitted – New 95
\textsuperscript{51} þan þe cloþ of charite • þat God haþ shapen hise sones] omitted – Harl.
\textsuperscript{52} þis\[•\] þe – New 95

24
shulden men hate for Goddis sake\(^{53}\) [•] for he is not frend to Crist; þat loueþ þus his enemye / And þus he is frend to þe frere • þat hatiþ þus his synne; & worship to destrie it • & purge him þerfo / & þis moeueþ many men • to speke of þre eresies; þat many freris ben smyttid ynne • and contrarien þes þre\(^{54}\) vertues / For who myȝte more contrarie feiþ • þan seie þat Crist seiþ fals; whanne he seie þat þis breed • is his owne body [•] for þis may neþer be breed • neþer þe body of Crist; but þis is accident or nouȝt • as freris falsly feynex\(^{55}\) / And þus chesen hem (f. 29*) a place • to false Crist in his visage; & lerom wiþ opere seyntis • þat tellen þis witt of Crist / Freris seien priuely • þat þei spaken here eresies; siþ Antecrist her maister • seiþ euene þe contrarie / Þe secound vertu of þe þre; many freris reuersen\(^{56}\) [•] for Crist tauȝte in his lawe þat men shulden not begge; but holde euene his ordre & þei shulden come to heuene / þes\(^{57}\) freris seien þe contrarie • & grounden\(^{58}\) hem an ordre of her wilful beggyng • bi men þat han no nede\(^{59}\) / And herby shulden men hope; to sitte hiȝe in heuene [•] for as þei lien falsly; Crist beggid not\(^{60}\) þus\(^{61}\) / þe þride of þes vertues; is contrariede by freris [•] siþ it is no charite; to falsly passe Crist [•] for Crist seip to his cosyns • þat bi his manhed he hæþ no powere to ȝyue hem leewe to sitte on his side;\(^{62}\) but to þe godhed in his fader; is proprid his power\(^{63}\) / But freris seien openly • bi lettres of her fraternyte; þat þei ȝyuen her breþeren leewe to haue part of her blisse / & þis myȝten þei not do • but if þei ȝauþem hem leewe to sitte; on þe riȝt hond of Crist • as if þei passiden him / & þis sowneþ not charite; but Lucifers pride\(^{64}\) ~

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53 sake] love – Harl. and New 95
54 þre] omitted – New 95
55 many freris reuersen] moueþ freres to reuersen – New 95
56 þes] þe – New 95
57 contrarie • & grounden] Harl. ends at contrarie with and grounden as a catchword.
58 not] omitted – New 95
59 sitte on his side] sitte on his riȝt side – New 95
But sìp clôping of ðis loue is so myche loued of God • & more worp to man þan alle ðes worldis richessis; man shulde ful besily knowe propertes of ðis loue / But Poul þat was rauyshid • vnto þe þridde heuene & herde derne wordis of God • þat ben not here leueful vs for to speke;xxviii
telliþ sixtene propertes • þat suen þis charite.xxxix [/] ðe first is þat charite is pacient of wrongis; for al oure charite mot be ensaumplid of Crist [•] but Crist was so pacient.xxx • as seynt Petre seïp; þat whanne he was mysseide he curside not ægen [•] ne whanne he suffride wrongis; he manaaside not ægen.xxxi / O what charite haþ he to suffre wrongis for Cristis loue; þat wole not suffre a liȝt word • but ȝelde a worse ægen [/] ðe secounde propertee is þis • þat charite is benygne; for it is not ynowȝ to suffre for so don þeues [•] but do good in soule ægens yuel suffrid; for þat is good loue of þe fier of charite [•] & þis is clepid benygne; bi properte of word / & herfor clerkis seien; þat þer ben þre lawes [•] þe first is lawe of oure good God; to do good for yuel / þe toþer is lawe of þe world • to do good for good; (f. 30') & yuel for yuel • as manner maner is / þe þridde is þe deuelis lawe to do yuel for good; & þis is manner of men whanne þei ben turned to deuelis [/] þe þridde propertee is þat sueþ of þis secound; þat charite haþ not enuye to no kyn þing [•] for it loueþ wel God; & alle Goddis creaturis / ðe fourþe propertee þat sueþ • of þis riche vertu; is þat charite wipoute forþ • worchip not shrewedly [•] for as þis first ȝok • bigynneþ wip pacience • & sìp goiþ into worchipyn • of a manner soule [•] so mot þis oþer ȝok forsake yuel wipynne; & sìp yuel dede wipoute bi ordre of God [/] þe fiþe maner of charite • stondiþ þis; þat it bolneþ not wip pride • sìp it is þus pacient / And þe sixte sueþ her of; þat it coueiþ not worldly worship [•] for al worship of charite; she putiþ

60 Markers in red ink at the beginning of each of the sixteen points. Rendered as virgules here.
61 good] omitted – New 95
62 sìp yuel dede wipoute] omitted – New 95
63 not] not not – MS
hoolly in God [.] be seuenpe condicioun þat sueþ þis charite; is þat it sekip not • propre
goodis to herslf [•] but sekip worship to God; & profijt to his chirche [.] be eishte propertee of
charite • stondiþ in þis; þat charite wraþþþ þer not • al if it suﬀre wrong / And þerfor it is liȝt
to men to stonde wiþ pees and charite [.] be nynþe propertee of charite; is depper þan þes oþre
[•] þat it þenkiþ not yuel; for siche þouȝt turneþ to yuel [•] as lob made couenaunt; to þenke
not on a virgyn [.] be tenþe propertee þat sueþ • þis vertu of charite; is þat she ioyeþ not
wickidnesse as aungelis of heuene • ioyen of ﬁndis peyne; but not of her wickidnesse [.] And
herfor þis condicioun • sueþ aﬅer charite; þat it ioyeþ wiþ God • of treuþ þat He loueþ [.] be
twelfþe condicioun þat sueþ þis charite is; þat she takþ mekely what euere þing her come to
[.] be þritteneþe condicioun • stondiþ in þis; þat charite troweþ al þat euer God seiþ [•] & siþ
no þing is good • but þat God seiþ; charite troweþ al good þing • þe profite of synnes / For
men þat dreden God • if þei fallen in synne; þei ben more war þat þei synne not eft[•] [•] &
þanken more God of his gracious help; & alle medeful dedis • han þei part of [.] be fourteneþe
condicioun • þat sueþ aﬅer charite; stondiþ in þis poynþ • þat she hopþ al þing [•] þat turneþ to
good of Goddis children; þat dreden hym in loue / be ﬁfteneþe condicioun • þat sueþ þis (f.
30') charite is; þat she susteyneþ wiþ wille alle harmes þat comen • þe she is not
discoumfortid; if Goddis help abidiþ longe [.] And so þe last condicioun þat sueþ þis blesssid
vertu is; þat she fallþ neuere a doun • but lastþ for euere • in þis world & in þe toþer • as loue
of God failliþ not / And if a man koude no more • of þe lawe of God • but þes sixtene condiciouns
• & bisiede him to kepe hem; he myȝt liȝtly come to heuene • and wite who wente amys$^{71}$

Expliciunt Feiþ hope and charite ~

$^{71}$ amys omitted – New 95
Tractatus de apostasia cleri

(f. 76') Sip ilche Cristen man is holdon to sewe Crist • & who euere fayliþ in þis is apostata; it is likliche to many men • þat þe more part of men bi here viciose lijþ • ben combred in þis heresyeu / But al þif knyþtis & alle men shulden be religiose; neuerþelees spek we of apostasye of prestis / Pre maner of prestis fallen in þis synne • þe firste is peple of priuat religioun [•] þe secunde is þe multitude of emperours prelatis • þe þridde is prestis • wiþouten þise two firste • we shal suppose of oure bileue • þat elche man þat is ordeyned of God to be dampned; is apostata to iugement of God • as þe riþ resoun shewiþ of þe apostasieau / And þif apostasie is stondyng bihynde; hou myche stondiþ bihynde ilche sich • þat shal be dampned • more þan Goddis derlyng þat shal afterward be saued wisliche • al þif he semeþ greuousliche vnkynde for þe tyme / Forþermore we shal suppose þat bodyliche abyte or wantyng þerof makþ not men religiose neþer apostataes; al þif þey semen siche bi iugement of men • for oonliche charite þat sewiþ it makþ men religiose or of Cristis ordreby / But it is knowen bi lawe of oure God • þat alle þes bodiliche signes ben straunge fro charite; for charite stondiþ in soule & not in siche signes. But lord wheþre weddyng wiþ siche signes helpþ to holde religioun of Crist & loue hym of hert [•] Sip it is certeyn þat Cristis religioun stondiþ in loue of God of al oure herte; & it semeþ þat siche signes drawen fro loue of Crist; þo þat setten so meche trist in hem & bynden hem to kepe perpetuelli • for þey needen a man to take heede to sensible þing • but heede to sensible þing wiþdrwiþ fro God [•] Also oblishyng of men vnfreþ hem to God • but it is greet oblishyng to be bonde to perpetuel kepyng of siche maner signes • sip it falliþ ofte þat Goddis lawe askiþ • to do dedis þat Crist biddiþ & leue siche signes / & so byndyng to siche signes lettþiþ fredom of Crist / Also sip Crist is al witty as oure feþ techiþ vs • & he 3af vs not siche signes • but raper reprouþ em; it semeþ þat þis ordre askiþ not siche signes • & herfore it semeþ þat Crist seiþ • þat kynrede of hoordom sekiþ siche signes • & þis is a (f. 76') cause
whi signes of ṭe old lawe shulden ceesse bi fredom of ṭe comyng of Crist / Of ṭis it semėp ṭat
signes to wiche men ben oblished ben not groundid in ṭe lawe of grace; but raphetamine vs to
leue signes & ceremonyes of ṭe olde lawe beter ṭan ṭes ben • tauht to be left bi lore of Poul [/]
& herfore it semėp ṭat priuat religiose ben hyndred bi here ordris to kepe Cristis lawe; al 3if it
fallep ṭat somme men ben beterid bi byndyng to ṭise chargis ṭat ellis wolden be wylde / But
al 3if it fallep profyte to summe men to be bounde to a stake or chargid wiþ stones; neuerpelees
reliigoun ṭat wisdom hāp 3yuen vs byndiþ vs not to kepe siche rewlis [*] for as to ṭe more part
it falliþ; ṭat resoun of Goddis lawe shulde occupie men betere [/] & so 3if obseruaunce in lyues
of fadris profytede to many men [*] ṭat brouȝte hem to heuene; neuerpelees it were a pure open
folye to make herof a rewle for al & for euere [/] For God hāp ordeyned som ṭing to profyt for
oon man; & ṭat same ṭing to noye for an oþer • & ofte to ṭe same man somþing were good for
a tyme; & somtyme to hymsilf wold ṭat ṭing noye [/] & herfore he hāp 3iuen witt & resoun
wiþ his lawe to man te chese what were good for hym • ne it may not be ṭat 3iþ man fayle not
to God • ṭat ṭe spirit of God fayle hym to shewe hym what he shulde do • betere ṭan ṭis ordris
con [/] & so men ṭat oblishen hem to kepe siche ordris • or ellis founde hem euere to laste;
semen to reuерe God in his ordinaunce & turne vpsodoun wisdom¹ of kynde [/] & herby
Aristotle soyliþ an argument bi whiche it myȝte seme to folis • ṭat kynde failiþ to man • siþ it
ordeyneþ armure & defence to bestis • & to man ordeyneþ noon siche ṭing / ṭis philosephie
assoþilþ his folye bi his • ṭat kynde hāp ordeyned to man boþe wit & hondis bi ṭe whiche he
may take when he wole & leue when he wole armure & oþere help ṭat is meche betere [/] O
wheþere Crist knewe not clerliche ṭe profyt ṭat comeþ of priuat religions siþ he left hem / It
semėp ṭat al siche religion smacchip blasfeme in shadowe of pride • for it reuersiþ in a maner
Ἀρδνυανεσ of Crist / & 3if ṭei seyen ṭat many seyntis han ben in ṭis ordre • certis many

¹ wisdom - this is in the margins and the scribe includes a small mark in the body of the text to indicate placement.
moo han ben in Cristis (f. 77') ordre\^ & it is hyd to vs whyche of hem ben seyntis \& si\^p it is hyd to \^he pope \& to al his couent; confermacioun of hym maki\^p litel fey\^p [*] but it my^\^te make fey\^p to hem; \^pat knewen his reuelacion for \^he popis autorite; maki\^p not seyntis in heuene \& so martirdom wi\^p hooli lijf aftir Cristis lawe; maki\^p more euydence \^pat \^pis is a seynt / But si\^p we shal suppose \^pat many holi confessours han ben in \^pise ordris \^pat nowe ben in heuene; two \^pingis ben to seye of lijf of siche men [/] First \^pat \^pei lyueden diuersliche fro \^pise newe sectis; \& loueden God \& his lawe \& leften siche signes / \& so \^pise newe sectis shulden kepe more Cristis religion; \^if \^pei leften here rytis as here fadris diden / But fer\^pertime we shal suppose of \^pise hooli confessours; \^pat \^pei weren contrit \& purgid of here synnes / \& bi \^pis \& not bi rytis; \^pei ben now seyntis \& as blasfemye of Poul \^pat he pursewed Crist \& maki\^p hym not seynt; but good \^pat he dide after* [/] But to trowe siche canonyziaciouns is lesse \^han bileeeue / De dotacione ecclesie vii [/]

As to \^he possessiouuns \& dowyng of clerkis; bileeeue shulde teche vs \^pat it do\^p hem harm te kepe Cristis religioun \& harm to lewid men \& for Crist se\^p \^pat noo man may be his discipul but \^if he renunce alle siche \^pingis\^x / \& hou he shulde renunce; Cristis lijf techi\^p \& li\^p of hise apostlis \^pat com in after hym [\^\&] \& ensaumple of siche dedis expone\^p best Cristis lawe [/] \& \^hus bi process of tyme; is \^he chirche peyred bi turnyng fro Cristis lawe \& bi loue of \^he worlde / \& herfore se\^p Poul \& \^pat coueytise is roote of alle yuelis \^pat comen to Goddis chirche\^x / \& comyng inne of freris \^pat shulden quenche \^pis synne; maki\^p it more ferusent \& as watir fier of smypis \& si\^p \^pei ben apostataes \^pat gon abac in Cristis ordre; few or none of siche prestis ben clene of \^his heresye \& for \^pei forsaken Crist in kepyng of his lawe [\^\&] \& Crist se\^p \^pat man mot kepe it; \^if he loue hym / But siche loue of worldliche \^pingis drawi\^p fro loue of Crist;\^w hou myche is loue of prestis drawe now for God / Wantyng of werkis of \^he gospel \& werkis of \^he world; dampne\^p oure prestis in defaute of \^his loue / \& \^it \^pei pondren blasphemye in among
his apostasye [*] for ðey seyen þat þei (f. 77v) hauen more power of Crist; þan euere he wolde 3iue to Petre or Poul / For in spiritual power ðei ben euen wip him • and in worldliche power ðey passen hem • siþ Petre seïþ he hauede neþer silure ne go[l]d• • & Poul laborede wip his hise hondis™ / & so here power geredid to gedere; in so myche passiþ power of Petre / & 3ïf ony man seïþ þat oure prestis hauen not so myche spiritual power as Petre; ðey wolen curse hym and dampne hym • & vse siche power þat neþer Crist ne Petre semeþ to haue had [/] Siche fals power feyñep Antecrist; & þat may be clepid Luciferis power™ [/] But siþ ilche power is of God as Poul seïþ • and þise men reuersen God as here lifj shewiþ; summe men may trowe þat hem failiþ power • & þat þeïþ feynen falsliche þat þsei ben vikeris of Crist • for likliche hem wantiþ to be þe leeste membre þat Crist h¹þ ordeyned to be of his chirche / & not wipstondynge þis; Cristis chirche shulde liue; 3iïf alle siche prelatis wanteden þerinne • for who euere trowiþ in Crist • & lastiþ to his lyues ende in þis feiþ; he shal be saued wipouten siche prelatis • siþ in tyme of apostlis & when þe chirche þryuede siche prelatis wanteden as Goddis lawe techiþ / For þe apostlis weren felowis; & ilche oon suffiþed to conuerte þe peple in þe name of Crist wipoute autorite borewid of oþer™ / But God forbede þat lordship 3yuen of þe emperour; shulde3 chaunge or destrie þis lawe of Crist • for Cristis lawe al 3iïf it be contrarie to þis dowyn; is more myȝty & groundid in resoun [/] & so in þis poynþ ben heretikis many in þe world • for Petre was cheueteyn of oþere apostilis for his mekenesse & seruice þat he dide to oþere; and not for his lordship ne his sterne power™ ~

2 gold] god – MS
3 shulde] shulde chulde – MS. The scribe corrects this error himself within the body of the text.
• & so secular lordship were fully destroyed / Also þei seyen ȝif þer were noon ordre of popis & bishopis; þer shulde (f. 78v) be noon ordris of abbotis and priours [\] & so al religioun shulde be distryed • & so shulde perishe makyng of prestis & doyng of sacramentis as holy chirche vsiþ / To assoyle þise dowtis men moten arme hem & pacientliche dispose hem to deye for Crist • & fals not þe gospel for fauour of men but seye fulliche þe soþe for Crist is euere present [/] & so it semeþ to trewe men þat ordris of religioun þat Crist groundid not; shulden be fordone • for Crist is al witty & al sufficient in hise werke\ns / As to þe first grucyng; shal Antecerst grenne at þe daye of dom • & bete togedre wiþ hise teþ for hishe sharp reprouyng of sentence of þe gospel / For þenne wo shal be to alle siche • þat clepen good yuel & yuel good / & ȝebedeus sones trauelede in þis foly as we alle don • & askeden bi here modir heynþes of þe world • þat þe oon myȝte sitte on þe oon side of Crist & þe oþer on þe oþer syde in his kyngdom / But Crist willyng al good ordeynede hem to suffre anoyes in þis world; & bi þis to come to heynþnesse in heuene [/] & þus þise folis seyn þat men þat ben aboute to brynge Cristis chirche to þe state þat Crist ordeynede; ben aboute to distrye holy chirche / & it semeþ þat ȝif Crist com in his owne persone • & taȝt & comaunde þis stat to be holden; he shulde be holden a fool & fals heretiκv / & ȝif he trauelede herto; he shulde be pursuied • for so doyþ Antecerst aȝen hise membris þat ouer softliche seyen his sentence / & siþ al bileue is in þe gospel & we trauelen & worchen þat þis gospel were knowe & kept; it is openne þat we wolden destrie but heresies • for we wolden destrie errours contrarie to þe gospel / As to þe secound; we seyn þat þat secular lordis shulden holde wiþ þis sentence of þe gospel • & mayntene it wiþ myȝt / For in mong alle þe men þat euer weren here in erpe; noon heyede more þen Crist secular lordis [•] for he chees to be bore; when þis lordship florishede moost in þe empyre of Rome / Crist ȝaf tribute to þe emperourv / Crist wolde not so myche lessen secular lordship; þat he wolde haue a litel hous to hyde his heued inne / Crist comounde to ȝuye þe emperour þat was his þe • & to
destrie lordship of prestis of þe temple • for seculer lordship shulde (f. 78v) be holde bi hymself / & Crist norishede þe tenantis of seculer lordis • he heled hem & fedde hem & pilede hem not • so þat he 3af hem more bi myracle of his godhede • þen he took of þe world wiþ alle his apostlis / & for þese sixe kyndnessis by syde goostliche suffragies; þis seculer lordis han ben to vnkynde to Crist [/] & soone in his absence when he was set in euene; þe emperour reuerse[d] hym & fordide his ordynaunce & made his bishoppis haywardis of þe world • & took fro hem þe kepyng of Cristis sheep [/] & so þe last offiss þat Crist 3af to Petre • & bad hym þries vp his loue performe þis offiss • took þe emperour fro hym þat seyþ he is Petris viker & makede hym perpetuel hayward of his drit xxiii / But for it is to hard to kyke aþen þe spore; xxiv wite 3ee seculer lordis þat þis harmeþ 3ou • for it takþ away help of soule fro 3ou & fro 3oure peple & to terþ 3oure lordship þat 3e telyn myche by • & euere shal more & more til þise vnkyndenessis ben somdel amendid / & wite 3ee wél þat 3oure folye bi whiche 3ee wenen to plese God; shal not excuse 3ou to God at þe day of dom [•] for Crist & his lawe shal witnesse aþen 3ou / & sip Poul was not excusid by þe olde lawe of purswyng of Crist in hise 3onge membris; meche mor þe emperour þat bi mannis lawe purswedê þe soule of Crist in his tendre membris shal not be excusid sip he drawþ hem to helle xxv / But ferþer we shulde knowe þat seculer lordship þat clerkis hauen nou • smacchiþ imperfeccoun on many manner • & comþ not to þe perfectioun of þe ordre of Crist / As seculer lordshipis asken worldliche degrees & so heyþnesse in worldliche goodis [•] but Cristis lordship askþ goostliche degrees & heyþnesse in vertues þat God oonliche 3iueþ xxvi [/] & herfore when stryf of þis was in mong þe apostlis; Crist determynede þe cause bi word & bi dede / Crist puttede a 3onge man in myddil of hem þat was meke in many vertues • & seyde • whoeuere mekiþ hym as þis 3ong man; he shal be holden more to þe iugement of God xxvii / But þis world hap put a wey þe sentence of Crist • for

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4 reversed – MS
alle prestis & seculers seken here Owen goodis & pat is azen he charite of Poulxxxvii [/] & for 
pe world knowip not hey3nesse in vertues; (f. 79r) God hymself shulde clepe his seruauntis as 
he wolde & leue pe worldis maner of sensible hingis / & so pe rewele of religioun of Crist 
biddip • pat ilche man obeshe to ooper not for pe world ne for worldliche maundementis; but in 
as myche as he biddip Goddis wille [/] & zif a best bad a man do siche; he shulde obeshexxix to 
beest in pe name of God / & herfore Goddis lawe techiþ hise men þat God obesheode to mannes 
voys • & Crist obesheode & seruede to scariothxxx / & herwe we may see an onswere to þe þriddle 
resoun / Sequestre we al mannes lawe supposynge Cristis ordynaunce • al þe drede of 
florishyng of men of þe world; & þanne it sewip þat we shall graunte þat alle degrees of 
emperour clerkis • alle þise religions of monkis • chanouns & freris shal sleepe as þei diden in 
tyme of þe apostlis [/] For alle þise semen to smacche worldliche hey3nesse • & men ben clepid 
to degre þat God clepede not • & þis is errour & synne on ilche sydesxxi / But neuerþeleeþ þe 
ordre of Crist shulde be þenne more parfit þan it is noon by meddlyng of mannes ordynaunce 
& prestis shulden haue beter ordre in minstryng of sacramentis • for Crist wolde leue in goode 
prestis power þat holy chirche neediþxxxi [/] & as þe pope feynþ he byndþ today & lousþ to 
morewe • & so in byndyng & lowsyng ben many fals gabbyngisxxvii / & þenne wyndis of treuþis 
shulden blowe away þe heresyþs & clere þe eyr of holi chirche þat is now ful treble / þenne 
shulden liýf of grace com doun fro God & lyþþ ilche man aftir þat he were worþi / & þenne 
shulde þis blasfemye be blowen away; þat grace & power of God mot nede first come to þe 
prelat • & þenne be departid of hym • howeuere he wolde sille it in mong his suggetis þat nouþt 
may be wihoute hym / & certis it were lesse errour to seye þat þe bemes of þe sonne crooken • 
þat shynþ freliche in bodyes after þat þei ben disposid; þen to putte þis errour on þe sonne of 
riþtwisnes [/] For Crist is in ilche mannes soule þat louþ hym owterliche • & neediþ not þe 
help of þis cursid prelat [•] for Crist may not of his riþtwisnes þus accepte persones / & þenne
shulde grace come to men; as heuene scaterip reyn • but now castip Antecrist to hepe hise disciplis; so þat (f. 79v) ilche may strengþe ðopre in here malice • as 3if heuene of oon cloude sende gushyng of watir & ouerflowede som erþe; & som were left drye [/] þus Crist sente hise apostlis when þei weren rype to diuerse londis to sowe wateris of wisdom; & closede hem not in cloystris as Antecrist doþ [/] So 3if we taken heede to apostasye þat goþ euene aþen þe ordre of Crist; þer ben fewe bishopis • possessioners or freris • þat þey ne ben apostataes •

al 3if þei holden here sygnes / For take we heede to þe lijf þat men first ledden & to þe lijf þat men leden now; & we shal fynde þat alle þise ben gon abac [/] & siþ þei ben as myche nowe holden to serue God & somwhat more for takyng of temporal goodis; it semeþ þat þei ben bounde to more þen þei may [/] & siche apostataes marren meche of Cristis ordre [/] & þus 3if alle bishopis • possessioners & freris weren wislyche examyned wheþer þei weren heretikis •

3if þey seyden nay wiþoute reuelacioun; fewe men or none weren holde to trowe hem • for it semeþ open bi here wikked dedis; þat þei ben apostataes fro Cristis religion / But siche heretikis wolen bleþeliche dampne ðoper men of heresyes • for here witt is blyndid ~

Bi þis may we see how þikke growep eretikis in þe rewme of Englond & in ðepere londis þat men clepen Cristen men / For 3if alle symonyentis weren markid out of Cristendom • & alle apostataes wiþ alle blasfemes; þe multitude of heretikis were more þan þise ðoper / For þer ben fewe prelatis now in þe chirche ne few ðopere men þat þei ne ben heretikis • siþ assent to heresie makiþ an heretik / & þerfore we supposen þat God mouede men to speke now of heretikis to make hem more knowen [•] for noon man doiþ more harm in batel of Crist • for þei stonden bihynde & fy‡ten not wiþ þe fend ne wiþ þe world ne wiþ here flesh • as Poul seyþ •

þis is cause whi þe world peyreþ & charite of many cooldiþ / þe ground of þis malice stondiþ in prestis þat ben þus cooldid wiþ temperal goodis • for þey shulden be capteynes in batele of Crist; but now þei ben cheuetenys on Antecristis syde & letten bi ypocrasye ðopere to fy‡te ~
if fewe trewe (f. 80') men wolden worche or speke a3en þis traterie\textsuperscript{xxxviii} þat is in Goddis enimyes; þeþ quenchen hem as heretikis bi cautele of þe fend • as bishopis diden wip Crist in tyme of his passioun\textsuperscript{xxxv} & in mong alle þe malicis of þe fendis workis; þer semel noon more to harme Cristis peple / As 3if a greet lord shulde be susteyned wip herbis þat groweden in a orchard & weren ny3 rype; þat man þat come into þis orchard & kyttede þise herbis & destriede þe rotis dide to myche harm to peyryng\textsuperscript{xv} of þis lord • & specialliche 3if þer hele & sustynaunce stoode in þise herbes [/] Goode Cristen men þat holden Cristis lawe ben siche herbis to folc þat þei dwellen wip • herfore Antecrist lettþ siche seed be sowen or grewe in mong Cristen men • & to performe þis malice Antecrist haþ cast to be knyttid wip kyngis & vse here power • & þus venemep hymself þe lordis & þe peple / But he groundip not in Cristis lawe þe dedis þat he doþ; but oper in mennes [l]awe\textsuperscript{v} or glysyng of freris • & 3it blyndnesse of þe peple norishþ here enimyes • for loue of God is quenchid bi blyndyng of þe world / & þise fewe Cristen men þat hauede som lyi3t of God; ben drawen abac bi þise apostataes & certen þei ben cowardis & of to lytel feþþ / For 3if þei loueden Crist more þen here owen lijf as þe gospel techip hem; þei shulden putte here lijf for þe lawe of Crist [/] & þan wolde Crist helpe his chirche & putte siche kny3tis to worship in heuene & glorifie here body deed for Cristis loue / But deaute of bileue lettþ þis profyt • & specialliche of freris • for þei procure n bisiliche part for Antecrist; & sowen þikke lesyngis wip her ypocrisie\textsuperscript{vi} • & maken Cristis lawe fade bi here fals signes / On þis wyse þe fend haþ ben many day abowte to vencushe Cristen men bi Antecristis clerkis • & þus he haþ drawe many to his lordship & specialliche bi heretikis þat parten men fro Crist / & þis shal neuer ceess • bifiore Cristis lawe he worshipid & Antecristis lawe despisid as heresie\textsuperscript{vii} / Lord siþ Cristis lawe sufficiþ of itsel; hou lytul shulden men recche of Antecristis lawe • but despise (f. 80') persones & brollis\textsuperscript{xl}i þat holden þerwip / 3if þow wolt wite which is

\textsuperscript{5} lawe\textsuperscript{a} awe – MS
Antecristis laue; loke þou what lettiþ Cristis laue to be holde in worship & to be performed bisiliche in dede [/] & so alle þe lawes of þis newe religiose þat ben not wel groundid in þe lawe of Crist; semen Antecristis lawes & lettyng of² Cristis lawe³⁴ / & þise newe ordynaunces vngroundid in þe gospel; helpen þe fend & letten þe lawe of Crist • & so siche prelatis shulden be Cristis houndis & berke bi hise laue & not bi lawe of voluues / Lord what lettiþ þise houndis to berke & lede Cristis sheep aftir his lawe / Certis it semep þat dowyng of þe chirche • & too myche worshypynge of Antecristis laue for a lumpe of talowe; strangliþ þe houndis³⁵ & lettiþ hem boþe to berke & to byte / & occupying of men in Antecristis lawes þat speken oonliche of worldliche goodis; drawiþ fro Goddis lawe and makiþ to loue þe world³⁶ / But siþ bileeue techiþ vs • þat at þe day of dom þe book shal be opened • & ilche of vs shal wite wheþer we han loued Crist more þen ony oþer þing • & þerfore be iugid to heuene or to helle; hou shal we þenne onswere to askynge of oure iuge / Wel y woot þat Crist hæþ ordeynyd men to leue in his lawe & þen be knowen bifore many iugis wheþer þei hauen fauerede more Cristis lawe or þe worldis / Worldliche excusacioun shal not þenne assoyne ne onswere by procuratorye ne suttle of werkis • but ßif we ben coupable; we shal þenne be domb [•] ne alle þes newe habitis shal not þenne profyte [•] but ßif we haue þenne bryde cloþis; we shal for euere be dampned³⁷ / Þise cloþis ben of charite þat euere more shal last ~ & here is an ende ~

Explicit tractatus de apostasia et dotacione ecclesie ~

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6 of] of of – MS. The scribe corrects this error himself in the body of the text.
Of Antecrist and His Meynee

(f. 117') Dauid seip • Lord sett thou a lawe maker vpon hem\(^{ii}\)/Hit semyth to me seip Austyn þat þis signifieth Antecrist of whom þe apostle seip • whenne þe man of synne shal be shewid\(^{vi}\) • wite folkes for þei ben men • þat þei þat wolun not be sones of men • þat is newe men • serue þei to man • þat is oolde man synner; for þei ben men/ He sittip in spies wiþ riche men • þat he slee an innocent man in priuue • it is to make noiseful or guiltie of þe innocent\(^{v}\) / Wher it is not riȝtly vnderstonden • what is to be coueited or desired; or what is to be fled / Hise yȝen shule loke in to pore men • Antecrist shal pursuue moost iust men / Of whiche Crist seip; blessid be þe pore in spirit\(^{v}\) / Þe first persecucion of þe chirche was violent whenne Cristen men weren compellid bi exilyngis • betyngis & deþis; to make sacrifice to ydols\(^{vii}\) / A noþer gyeful persecucioun is don bi eritykis and false breþeren\(^{viii}\) / Þe priþde shal come by Antecrist • & no þinge is more perilouse þan it; for it shall be violent & gyeful\(^{ix}\) / Antecrist shal haue violence in lordship; trechorie in myracles • he shal be lyoun; as to violence as a lyoun in his chouche; as to trecherie\(^{x}\) whenne he schal begynne to do signes • by hou myche þei shul be more merueilous to men • be so myche þe hooli men þat shullen be þen; shulen be dispised & had as for nouȝt • which Antecrist to whom þei shulen wipstonde bi innocence and riȝtfulnesse shal be seen to ouercom by wonduerful dedis • but he shal falle whenne he had lordship vpon pore men / Þat is while he shal ȝuye all tourmentis to Goddis seruauntis wipstondyng him / Austyn seip þis vpon þe nynþe psalme • iche man þat liueþ not aftur þe reule of Cristis professioun or techip oþer maner; is Antecrist / In þe tyme of Antecrist hooly men shulun be gloriose bi pacience;\(^{xi}\) not bi miracles as þe formour martyres weren • for þei shullun fȜt not oonly æȝeyne pursuers • but also æȝynes hem þat shynen bi miracles / Þis seip Ysodre in þe first boke of souereynest good • in þe capitle of Antecrist\(^{xii}\) / Þe tymes of Antecrist ben signifiȝed • to be nyȝe by (f. 117') þe pride of oo bischop þat wole be clepid vnyuersal bischop • as seynte
Gregore seip • in þe fyueþe boke of his registre • þe 32 capitulo • and efta he seip in þe seuenþ
boke of his registre • þe 29 capitulo 
• þat whoeuer clepiþ himself vnyueral prest • eïper
desireþ to be clepid; renneþ before Antecrist in his hiþe pride • for he settiþ hym before oþer in
beyng proudw / Also God seip in lob þat beemoth streyneþ his tail as a cedrew / þe tail of
beemoth is seid to be þe ende of þe oolde enemye • whenne he entriþ in to þat lost man his
owne vessel; whiche is clepid specialy Antecrist / And for þe deuyle is suffrid to reise him to
pride of power • nowe bi honours of þe world • nowe by signes of grete wondres of feyned
hoolynesse; riȝt bi þe lordis voice his taile is likenyd to a cedre • wexyng in to heþpe; passiþ
oþer vndurwod • so Antecrist hauynge glorie of þe world temperaly • passeþ þe mesurs of men
boþ by hiȝenesse of honours & power of sygnes / Martyres han suffrid many dyuers kyndis of
peynes • as swerd • crosse & sawe • wild beestis • drenchyng • brennyng & many oþer / Þefor
sþ þe deuyl shal enlarge his taile more wickedly in þe eende of þe worlde; what is it þenne þat
shal encreese cruentlierw in þis eende of turmentis; no but þis þat Crist seip himself in þe gospel •
false Cristis & false prophetis shulen rise & shulen þyue grete syngnes & grete wondrisw • so
þat if it may be don; also þe chosen ben sent into errours / Noweoure feipful men done wondres;
whenne þei suffren persecuciousw • but þenne þe knyȝtis of þis beemoth • þat is Sathanas •
shulen make wondris ȝee whenne þei maken persecucioun • þerfore þinke we what shall be þat
temptacioun of mannes soule whenne þe pituouse martir þyueþ his body sugett to turmentis; &
neþelese þe turmentour doþe myracles before hise ȝyen / Whos vertue shal not be shaken þen
fro þilk grounde of þouȝtis; whenne he þat turmentiþ bi betyngis; shyneþ by syngynys / Gregor
in þe two & þritti boke of hise moral þe 12 • & þe 13 • chapit / For it is hard for to knowe
among þe comyn (f. 118r) peple Antecrist & his meyne for her false ypocrisy • by þe whiche
þei shal disceyue mych peple of þe world / Crist warniþ vs þerfore to bewar of false prophetis
• þe wheche shal come byfore him at þe worldis eende • in cloþinge of sheep • & wolues of
raueyn vndur colour of hoolynes • many þei shal disceyue as Crist himsïf seïp• / For þere shal be perilouse tymes as Crist himsïf seïp• / And as seynt Poule tellïp þei shal not suffre hoolsum lore • but bowe a wey from trewïpe • & ben turned into fables • sechyng worldly wynnynge; þe whiche shal not spare to þe folk of God / And openly seïp þe spirit of God as Poul tellïp þat in þe last daye shal many fallen from þe feïp takyng hede to spiritis of errour & doctrine of deuelis spekyng in ypocrisie leysyngis & falsenesse • for whi seïp Poul suche false apostlis; ben wickid wirchers • transfigurid slyly into Cristis apostlis• / And no merueyle; for Sathanas transfigurïp himsïf into an aunigel of li3t, þenne it is no merueile if hise ministris ben transfigurid; as ministris of ri3twisnesse whose eende shal be aftir her werkis / Cristen men shulden marke suche & fle away fro hem • for siche seruen not to Crist • but seruen to her wombë • & þei ben fals þat wïpal • as seynt Poule witnesseïp þei disceyuen þe hertis of innocentis by swet wordis & plesyngis • & òper feyned signes / Of þise hit ben þat persen houses as þe apostil seïp • & ledyn wreccched wymmen chargid al wïp synnes • þe wheche be ledd wïp diuerse desyres euere lynyn & neuer comynge to knowynge of treuïpas • þerfore as Iannes & Mambres wïpstoden Moyses so þise corrupt in mynde wïpstoden treuïp • þe vnwisdom of hem soþeley to false shal be knowen / þus is þe peple faiyling & in bileue blyndid; & bi sley3tes of Antecrist & his meynee þe peple is disceyued / And he þat is not wïp Crist is a3ens Crist; & he þat is a3enne Crist is Antecrist• / SeyntIon þe euangelist seide þat tyne þat þenne weren many Antecristis no wondere if now be (f. 118v) moo / By her werkis þei shal be knowen & also bi her wordis; þei shal contrarie Crist bope in li3f & lore / He þat mynnistroþ me folowe he me seïp Crist; þenne most we nedis folowe hym by oon weie or bi òper; or ellis we forsake soþeley hise ministris to be / For Crist bad Petre þat he shuld folowe him; & so shuldene alle popis be followers of Petre • for God 3aue þe power to Petre • & his successours • if þei ben not hise folowers þei han not hise power • & so it is by bishopis
that also shulden folowe / But take we heede to pe popes & cardynales bope • to bishopis • to colectours • to suffriganes also • delegates • & commyssaries • & archedeekenes also • and dekenes • & officials and sequestris ifeere • to abbotes & priours • mynistrys & wardeyns • & to þiše prouynciales • & to þe popes chapileyns • to procuratours & pleders • to chauncelers • to tresorers • to summonours • & pardoners • & to þe popes noterers • parsones & vikers & prestis • monkes • chanouns & freris • ankers & hermytes • to nunnes & sustris • & see hou þei folowen Crist; for þe more partie / Antecrist as god shal sitt in þe chirche • & done many meruelis as nowe ben done adaies • & þefor loke wele in þi mynde & knowe hise disciples • whiche of alle þis meyne folowiþ oure lord / Crist was pore; & þei ben riche as many men supposenxxv / Crist was meke & lowe;xxviþ & þei ful híçe & proudexxvi / Crist was suffryng & forȝaue;xxviþ & þei wolben be awengid / Crist forsoke worldly glorie; & þei it sechyn fast / Crist wold not worldly lordschip;xxvii & þei croken fast to hem / Crist washid hise disciples feetxx & lowely & mekely; & þe pope wole croune þe emperour wiþ hise feet • & suffere men to kisse hem knelyng on here kneesii Crist cam to serue;ii & þei sechen to be seruydiii / Crist ʒed on his feet & hise disciples wiþ him • to teche & turne þe peple in colde & in hete; & in weete & in driʒe • þe pope & ðære bischopes wole kepe here feet ful cleene wiþ scarlett & cordewane • & sum tyme wiþ sendales • wiþ golde wiþ siluer & silk precisely diʒtiv / (f. 119r) Crist ʒeed in gret swot & swynke[;] & þei sitten in here proude castells wiþ here proude meynee & kepe hem bisyly fro þe sunne brenynge / Crist prechid & blessid; & þei cursen & blessen ful seeldeniv / Crist fleed from seculer lordship & office; þei procureñ fast to haue itiv / Crist ʒaue frely; & þei sellen bope bodily goodis & goostly / Crist droof oute of þe temple byʒers & sellers;iv & þei suffren in þe temples many comun chapmen • þat mynystren þe sacramentis to þe comyn puple • & þei ben wele alowed of hem for parte of her wynnyng • ʒe wiþ her wenche & her cradel knowen at þe fulle / Crist satt amonge hise discypleþ & serued hem at þe mete ful
porly lowe on þe erpe;°ix & þei wolen sitt fulle hiȝe in first sittyngis at þe sopers • & in first chaires in churche & in chapellis & coueyten salutaciouns of kyngis qwenis & grete lordis seruyd gloriously; not amonge þe pore pule as oure lhesu diȝe • wip siluer vessel þei ben seruyd curiously • & wip long knelyngis & men to kerue here morsellis • wip tagged clopes & crakowe p[y]kis1 Þat blasfemen God wip many cursid oþis • vsed in here courtis wip many oþer synnes as men may see al daye / So diden not Cristis cumpany whiche he ledde wip him / Crist was in þe hilles wip wepynge & preiers • walkyng & tempted of þe feende;2 & þei sitten in castels & townes wip mynstralcie & lauȝtur • wip tregetours & tomblers • wip gestours & iapes;3 & þe pore hungry shal sitt wipoute at þe ȝate4 he wole not ȝitt seruen hym hymself;2 for shame hym þenkþ þat þismy him ȝaladde & myrie he makþ wip pore mennes godis / þei vsen no redynge at þe mete • but if itþ be of gestours • or of Ion Andrewe or his douȝter þe cretals & þe clementynes4 / But Crist dressid brede & fische wip hise owne handes & sawe himsylf hou it was deled to þe hungry folk5 / Crist lay & slept in a boot vpon þe harde bordes;5 & þei sleepyn ful soft in ful eesi beddis & loke þat noon awake hem til þei han slept (f. 119v)

rȝt ynowe / Crist hadd noo chaumburbaynes but þe fischers cryinge on him in þe tempest of þe see; whenne þei weren fordredde to perishyn6 • þere chaumburblyns shal be redy wip marchal & usscher to kepe þe chaumbur & halle of noyse & dyn • and þe porter at þe ȝate to kepen oute þe pore haue þei neuer so myche nede • her lord þei wolen not a wake / Crist fastid lene & hungry wipouten mete & drynke;7 þei han many puruyours at many diuere chepyngis • to gete metes of þe best þat ouwhere8 may be founden • wele diȝte wip spicerie chaud &
plusechaud wip sauces & syropis colour out of kynde" / Crist souȝt frut on þe tree & fonde noon þeronne whenne he was ful hungry & traueled on his feete;[b] þe wole haue many kynnes frutes to make digescioun / Crist laye in a stable bi twix an oxe & an asse & a fewe cloutes for þe place was narowe;[b1] & þe in gay chaumbres wip riche cloþes & curteynes & qwiltis wip tapites & qwisschyns spradde al aboute; & þe wallis peyntid & swete smel þer inne / Crist heeled þe puple of sekenesse & synne; & wrouȝt many myracles & also hise discyplies;[b2] þei donne noone of þise but nurischen hem þer inne / Crist was aspied to be cauȝt of Pharisees & of herodianes;[b3] þei senden to cacche treue men wip writtes & comyssiouns as þei were kynges hemsilf • & senden here discyiples in pharesees cloþinge / Crist chese to hym pore men & meke;[b4] þei chesen to hem boosters sotil men & slyȝe • ryche • proude & iapers[ln] / Crist fedde þe nedy pore; & þe þe riche & welpi[ln] / Cristis almes þat he bad dredre to fede pore nedy • was enc[r]esid[4] to twelue lepful;[ln] but þe almes of þise bischoppes of so old synne; is gedred for a certeyn rente þer bi ȝer in lecherie to lige[ln] / Crist forsoke; & þei taken ȝiftes ful grete [/] Crist ȝaue; & þei fast holden [/] Crist purchased heuen; & þei lordshipes in erþe to be riche [/] Crist roode symply on an asse;[ln] & þei on fatt palfreyes & it falleþ not þe discyple to be aboue his maystir / (f. 120f') He hadd twelue goynge aboute on her feet;[ln] hem foloweþ many a grete horse • wip iestours & iapers on a hakeneyes bak • wip swerdis & bokilers • as it were to a batayle • & wip knyȝtes at robes & fees often to leden here bridelis / Crist rode on a fardel of hise discyplis cloþis;[ln] & þei in gilt sadlis ful of gaye stones & gaye harnes þerto / Crist was pursued; & þei pursuen / Crist was dispised; & þei dispysen[ln] / Crist ȝaue power; & þei taken away / Crist made fre men; & þei maken bonde[ln] / Crist bouȝt out prisons; þei prisonen / Crist loused; & þei bynden / Crist reised to lyue; & þei bryngen to deþe / Crist forsoke his wille; þei seken hers be it riȝt or wronge / Crist bad preche[ln] & þei bidden leue in payne of

4 encresid| encesid – MS
prisonynge saue oonly þei to whom þei 3yuen leue vnþo / Crist tauþt þe gospel frely & also
hise disciples; & þei sellen & here disciplis boþe prayer and prechynge / Crist tasted eysel; & þei
holden non but goode wynes / Crist was naked beten & shourged • & false borne vpon; & þei
ben furrid wiþ precious cloþes iche daye for to chaunge / Crist cam to þe seeke & to þe
synful whenne þei wolden amende hem; þei spurnen hem & senden aftur hem be þei neuer
so pore • & taken non hede to her myscheef • but cursen hem if þei cummen not / And if þei
commen þei wenden oft worse away þenne þei þidur comen • boþe porous • & sorier & seker in
soule [•] but þei weren hugely confortid whom Crist come vnþo / He was not chargeuse; but
þei ben / Crist hadde pite; but þei han non / Crist was mylde; but þei ben cruel / Crist preised
þe pore; þei hem dispysen /[ /] Crist excusid; & þei sclaudren falsely / Crist seid soþe;
& þei lyþen falsely / Crist demiþ riþt; & þey demen wronge / Crist loued þe goode; & þei hem
halten & if þei seyne treuþe; sore þei punyschen hem / Þei maken men to swere; þere he bad
leue / Þei putten grete penaunce vnþo men; þere Cristis charge is liþt / Crist made oo lawe[;] (f.
120*) & þei maken anoþur lawe wiþ many consitucions / Þei weren ringis on here fyngures
wiþ riche precious stoones; but Crist vsed noone suche but nayles in hondes [/] Þei weren
rique perles wiþ croþes in here handis or ellis borne before hem wiþ siluer wel igilted to
haue þerby a worship of þis false worlde / Crist was crowned wiþ þornes • beten bake & syde;
hise crosse was borne for dispite & þeron he hanged / He toke þe crosse of penance • & so
he bad hise disciples; þei taken þe crosse of pride & here disciples / He preied forsyuenes
of his fadre for hem þat trespassedd for hym; þei prainen to kynges þat þei moten be venged
on hem • þat trespassen not; whenne þei aþeyn her wille don ouþt þouȝt it be Goddis lawe / Crist
bad þe pule to kunne his lawe; and þei seyne naye / Crist blessed hem þat heren his word; &
þei seyn þei ben a cursid / Crist spake to þe fend in hise þre temptaciouns • & he blamed hym

3 crosses| crooses - MS
not for he legged Goddis lawe; but Antecrist & hise seyne nowe þat men owen not to commyn wiþ trewe prechours • ne for to speke wiþ hem & it is vnleful to lewd men to speke of Goddis lawe • but þei may suffren hem to speke of al filþe & synne • & wil not punyche þerfore • & make hem to forswere it; as þei maken Cristen men to forswere Goddis lawe / Crist bad men preche þe gospel to everi creature; & þei seyen nouȝt so hardy • but þe wole þat men preche fables & lesyngis & þerto graunte lettre & seel & many dayes of pardoune / Crist confermed his lawe & wiþ his deþ approued hit; & þei ben bisy aboute hou þei mowne distruye it • & mag[n]ifiz þe popis lawe more þenne Ihesu Cristys lawe / Crist lyued in pouert al his liȝf; & þei han clene forsaik it / Crist & hise hoomely eeten wiþ here fingurs • 3e þouȝ he were chef bischop • & kynges some alworpiest wiþouten pride of siluer spones; or sich worldly tresoure / Crist bad hise discyples selle & ȝyue to pore men; & þei byȝen lord- (f. 121) schepes & pilen pore men [/] Crist sayue his liȝf for hise breþer & so rewled hishe shepe; þei wolun not ȝyue her moke to helpe here nedy breþren • but leten here shep perishen & taken of hem & plucken awey þe wolde as non herdis; but as hired hynes may wayten her owne auauntage / Crist auauaisid hise disciples by fredom of his passioun; þei hyren by symonye & sleiȝtes by ȝiftes • praier & seruise to seculer lordis / Crist abood vpon his flok wiþ hungur • þurst • & colde; & þei[i]ȝ taken aweiþ & plucken aweiþ fro þe flok þe donge • mylke & wolde • to dwelle & to soiuorne wiþ lordis & wiþ ladies to write to þe kynges seel & hold seculer courtes to byȝe & to selle & to cast at þe countes kychyn clerkis & stywardis / Antecrist holdeþ hym apayȝed of þis & punysheþ hem not þerfor / But if þei wolden lerne to preche; sore shul þei a bigge / Crist partid wiþ folke of goodis þat he had; þei wolen vnneþis for ȝyue a peny but raþer plete þerfore Crist bad pees; þei maken werre / He saued; & þei sleu / Crist
taught obediens to his fader;[;] he seyn it fallep to hem / Crist bad kepe hise biddyngis; & hei
bidden kepe hers / Crist conformed oo law; hei maken many moo / Crist bad kepe his reule; hei
bidden kepe oher mennes for he more perfecciou[n] hat he synful men maden [/] Crist bad hem
be no lordis;[;] hei seyn hat hei wolent[;] Crist worshippid oon god he fadir; he[i][;] worshipen
many moo • & seyn it fallep hem to graunte men heuene blisse; per Crist yuep it aloone hat is
bope god and man / And zit hei sellen it for mony al hat hei maye; as pardens indulgencis &
ohir dispensacions[;] Crist biddip hou shalt not slee;[;] hei yuen pardons to slee & mayntene
[w]erres[;] to be venged on her enemies ægenes Crist lore / Crist biddip do good for yuel; & hei
done yuel for good / Crist wold hat hei visiteden prisoners & comfordiden hem; & dilyuer
hem;[;] hei discoumforten treu men and putten hem in prison • for visityng of Cristen men for
(f. 121') drede lest he trewpe shulde be knowe; / Crist had neuer suche prisons to pyne in hise
brethren ne noon of hise apostles hat followed hym [/] Crist taught hou men shulden blame her
brethren pries whenne hei haden trespassed; & aftuer hou hei shulden here hem / But Antecrist
and hisen seyne hat hei han founden a bettur to kille hem in her prison • peyned wip hard
bondes to make hem reuoke he treupe[;] • & to graunt her wille • for her worldly wynnyng • of
offring to maumetics • & takyng of temporalt[;]es enuen[;]med / Crist had no propur place to rest
on his hed;[;] Antecrist and hise han many curious & riche made wip wrong geten goodis &
wip sotil beggyng[;] / Crist had but oon Judas he whiche bare his purse;[;] but Antecrist hap
many & also hise discyplies / Crist charged Petur pries to kepe wele hise schepe;[;] Antecrist
chargip m[y]ch more Judas for his moneye • & reckenyng he sekip of hit wip punyshyng ful
stronge / Bene for he seeke shepe of Crist fare hei neuer so yuel / O Crist sip I ful mekely; &
hei se[y]n we forworship [*] for if a pore man speke so; Antecrist wolde dede[y]ne if hise clerkis
cunne speke fayre Latyne • ly3en ðei neuer so yuel as bostures & braggars he alowep hem wele; & be oþer men neuer so hooly & kepen Goddis lawe; lewde ydiotis ðei hem clepyn & lityl ðei sett bi hem[;] but Crist chese sich of alle to be next hym / Crist chese to him wepers; & ðei chesen to hem myrye syngersɔv / Crist 3aue goostly goodis to men • & bad ðei shulde not telle; ðei 3yuen her 3yftes to haue a name; & wurships of ðis fals world • to mynstralles & messangers to crie her name aboute; to lowde ly3ers & flaterers & to false freris ðat blynden myche puple bi colour of her cloþes ðe wheche were neuer grounded of God; ne be noon of hise apostlesɔv / Crist made his vois hi3e vpon ðe crosse hangynge; ðei maken a grete lowe voice in blissyngye (f. 122') & masse syngynge pontificalyɔv / Crist had noon seculer courtes to plete & to mote; but Antecrist and hisen han wiþ hem men of lawe for fees to amercyɔv ðe cely puple wiþouten any mercy / Crist in townes & citees hunted out feendis wiþ ðe wordis of his mouþe of men ðat ðei dwelled inne; & ðei hunten out ðe wilde deer • ðe fox • ðe hare in here closed parkes • wiþ criþe & hornes blowynge • wiþ racches & rennyng houndes & brodehookid arowes • nurisched vp ful bisily wiþ pore mennes godes / God was clepid hooly fadre of Ihesu Crist his sone; ðe pope is clepid hooliest fadur of Antecristes children [•] & he takeþ ðat name vpon hym wiþ Lucifers prideɔv [•] hise disciples seyen ðat he is God in erþe • & we ben tauþte in Cristis lawe to haue but oo godɔv / Crist satt in þe temple axyng and herynge[:]ɔv & ðei syten in þe trones wiþ gloriouse myters iugyng & demyng her owne made lawes ðe demonyes causes; longe to plete for a little þat sone myþt be termyned by þe opyn lawe of God • if þei wolde vse it • but þen were here wynnyng lost; & also here lawes / Crist tauþt for what cause a man myþt leue his wiþf;ɔv & þei woleþ make deuors as hemoslf liþ þ • & so þei pilen þe pore puple & þe kyngis rewme / Crist & hise apostlis weren large to þe puple; but he & hise disciples don many extorcions to þe pore puple / Crist conseiled generaly for þe commyn profyt; þei wole be kynges conselers for here owne profit • & make striþ þer pees
shulde be bi twix kyngis and her puple / Crist sende þe hooly Goost in lownes to teche hise puple; þei senden maundementis þikke aboute for couetise of veniaunce to curse & to putte oute of chirche for rebelnesse to hem; but þe grete viciouse men þei dor not don vnto for rebelnes aȝeynes God & brekyng of his lawe / Crist graunted þe theef to be wip hym in paradis;exiv he shal commaunde as hisen tellen þe angel of God to beren what soule þat hym lykiþ to (f. 122v) þe blisse of heuen / Crist fulfullud al þe oold lawe & þe newe; & þat þise bishops kunnen hem boþe betokenþ her mytres • if al þei kepen neiþer but oonly þe popis / And who so lokeþ her symonie • þat þei breken al daye • & þreten fast to brenne þe bokes; þat Goddis lawe is inne / Crist did heele to ȝacheus hous whenne þat he it visited;exv þei suspenden men & chirches boþe auters & superaltares but men bizen here blessyngis for many markus & poundus / þe pariche getiþ þere no masse ne sacramentis [/] Heiþer þei wole enturdite þe londe if lordis wil reue hem þis if al it be þe grete cause of þe distruying of þis rewme; Crist vsed neuer þat craft ne noon of hise apostles / Crist wole þat men knowen hise prestis by kepyng of hise lawe & loue þat þei han þerto • & bi her hooly lijf • bi loue & charite • & bi her hooły prechyng • bi hooły ocupacioun • & bi her bisy praier bi pornosse & penaunce doyng; & bi her meke paciens / But Antecrist makip hise knowen bi crowne & berdes schauynge / Bi ich þeres obedience þei sweren vnto hym bi tytle & bi dymyssories & bi cur[y]ouse syngygus • bi gedryng vp of tythes messe penyescxvi & offeringus • bi þe gylden trentalscxvii • & salaries to syng [•] bi pardenystourscxviii & procuratourscxix • bi peturpens gederyngecxx • bi sute and seruyse þat þei owen to seynes & to chapiteres bi her christhecxxi sellynge • & houselfens takyngecxvi & & bi her seuenpeny w eddyngcxxii & haliwatur spryngynge • bi þe wurshipes þat þei taken • & her proude araye • & blessyngis þat þei ȝuyen to Antecristis clerkis [•] to pronounce wele here nedis to begge of þe puple & ȝitt many moo markes haþ Antecrist ȝuyen hemcxviii / Antecrist makeþ men to drede more his letter & his seel whenne þat it is sent; þenne
he kynges letter or he brekyng of he hestis of God / And more make bhe men to drede his curse
be it riȝt or be it wrong; þenne þe curse of Ihesu Crist • or al þe hooly TrinYTE • for he harder
alday punyschip; as alday nowe men may see / (f. 123') Crist blewe on hise disciples & 3aue
hem þe hooly Goost • þei blowen on hem a st[y]nkand breþe; & 3[y]uen to hem þe lepere by
s[y]mon[y]e s[y]nned wiþ inne here soules / Crist weddid not hymself ne noon of hise to oon
certe[y]ne cloþing for þe tyme of here lyues • as Antecrist doþ; ne wiþ beckus • ne wiþ
dugardes as ypocritis vsen / Crist was sogett to his lower; þei clepen hem peeris of þe rewme /
Crist chees to hise officers þe pore • chast & hooly; he takeþ to hise officers for half þe
wynn[y]nge couetouse • lecherouse his chapiters to hoolden • & for to proue testamentis for
litel soule heele; te sett þeroon her s[y]ngnet for a certe[y]ne moneye / And be þe seketours
neuer so false þei se[y]n no more to hem; but Crist bad to þe pore man; let þe dede birye þe
dede whenne he wolde haue biried his fader; he bad hym folowe h[y]m / Crist bad hem þat
he corectid • go & synne no more; þei enioynen hem to brede & watur • & to go barefote • &
so offren vnto certeyn [y]magis candles • & make to synge masses hemself for to saue [*] and
to go in breche & shurte aboute churche & cleypnge • or to stonde at þe fonte wiþ a tapur
brennyng [/] If Cristis law teche not me • it is false mannnes fyndynges [*] summe bi þe purs •
al if þei trespass not / Crist wiþhelde no men of lawe ne pleders at þe barre for robes & fees
3er by 3er to toyle for worldly cause; but eu[y]n he techeþ þe contrarie ple[y]nly in hise gospel
/ Loke Cristis copborde • & hors; & þei ben ful unlich[y] • for he was at þe mete where six
watur pottes weren; & he was þe worþiest in þat place / Crist sent about seuent[e] & two
disciples to preche; & þei senden aboute foure sectis of beggers wheche men wenent þat
brouȝt in þe feiþ siþ þe fend was loosed to 3[y]ue pardon & to selle howeuer hem l[y]kip [*] þe
apostles & þe seuenty graunted neuer noon sich / Aȝeyne Crist was gret crie of þe cursid
lewes & of scribes & of prestis & of pharesees Crucifige; but Antecristis meyne wil haue
grete ryngyngs (f. 123v) wip alle þe bellis in townes; where þat þei commen wip gret processioun or ellis þei wole be wroþe / Crist comaundered hise discypleþ whenne he sent hem forþe before hym into houses or into castelles; pees to be in þis houseexxx / Antecristis meyne senden a somer wip a belle þei se[y]ne to warne þe puple to conferme here children / Crist chese to hise discypleþ þe foolys of þis world; Antecrist cheseþ to hise discypleþ þe sotil & slyþe to be in grete offiþes wip lordeþ & kynges / Crist loued more þe treue prestis þenne þise worldly goodis; he & hise tellen more bi þe strumpetis prestis & more þei shal be sett by & wurshiped whenne þei comen to her paleices • for þei bryngen wip hem her rent • & for her wenches & for her children • hem þei wolent not prisoun; but make hem pentauncersexxxi / Crist was byried in a gardeyne in a pore monument;exxx þei ben buried wip many a torche wip grete solempnyte • in towmbes corue & pe[y]nte gloriously dyþte portreied tweyne angels to berenne here soules into heuen • wip ful riche heerses & grete festis aftir [/] It is to drede lest here soules ben biried in helle wip þe deuëles / Hou may þei seie for shame þat þei folowen Crist truly; I can not see no po[y]nt þat þei folowe him inne / What wondur is it þanne if þe puple so grete as þei ben folowe hem blyndly into helle by þe broode weye;exxxiv for þei gon not þe streiþt weie þat Ihesu Crist ȝede / þenne many men knoen opynly inowþ Antecristis meyne • man[y] lordeþ & ladies holden fast wip hem • þat lyuen in lustis & lecherie • tiraunterie & pride • iustices & marchaundes þat falsly geten goodis & oper false men of craft [•] & mych commoun puple • manqwellersexxxv & reues • & mysse beleeu[y]ng folk þei blynden wip þat ypocrisie & by her shreude ensaumple • bi her fals flatur[y]ng • bi her fe[y]ned preyers • & bi here vngrounded schriftes & false absoluciouns bouȝt at þe court of Roome; þat makȝ þis (f. 124r) londe ful feble / God graunt þise lordes grace to take tent þerto • to bisy hem for þe cause of God more þenne for her owne [•] for þenne þei shulden turne to God þe while God is wip hem; & ellis þei ben consentours to Antecrist & God is aȝens hem / For bettur cause was neuer noon þenne
is þe cause of God; if þere hertis faylen hem here þei ben not Goddis knyttis; for þei shulden for Crist sheden here owne blood / God distruȝe Antecristis power for þi grete myȝte; & leet vs neuer turne to hym but helpe vs to wiþstond hym wiþ loue & charite; for helpe of Cristis 305 chirche / For Crist seip [•] in paciens shale þe kepe ȝoure soules to suffre hard for his sake; & for ȝoure owne synne / Crist graunt vs grace þerto; and heuen blisse [/] Amen ~
Of Antecristis Songe in Chirche

(f. 124v) Also prelatis • prestis & freres putten on symple1 men þat þei se[y]en • þat Goddis office or seruyce ben not to be songen wip note; & þat God del[y]teþ not in suche maner of songe / Here Cristen men seyne pleynly þat Crist & hise apostles preyden deuoutly wipoute suche song • & þei neiþur2 tauþten in worde ne dede • ne opynly counseyleden in hooly writt to þis song [*] & mych more þei chargiden neuer man her wip; in al hooly writt / Perfore prestis schulden bisie hem to kunne & teche hooly writt in worde and dede • & be in deuoute preier in spirit & treuþe; as Crist & hise apostles diden [*] and not fulfille þe eares of hem & þeþ puple wip criynge of þing; þat neyþer þei ne þe puple vnðurstonden • as if ia[y]es and pyþes chitreden; & þut þei vnðurstonden [y]che ofþur3 and her kynde / Lord wheþer þis songe dispose men to4 vnðurstonde þe centence of hooly writt • & for to mourne for her synnes; or ellis to pride • vanyte • daunysyg & lecherie; wip (f. 124v) veyne spendyng of t[y]me / Seynt Austyn seïþ in a boke of his confession [*] as oft as þe songe delyteþ me more þenne þe þinge þat is songen; I knowlech me to haue synned orribliche5 / Loke wher þise proude knackers ful of coueityse & enuiþe; ben in þis case or nayþe6 / Loke wher þei lyuen in dronkenne[s] & gloturye7 • and lechorie for iolite of her chauntyng; & þenne what euer heryngis of God þo tonge souneþ þe lijf blasfemeþ God as seïnt Austyn seïþ in þe psauter / Also8 seïnt Poul biddþ vs synge & seye

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1 symple] pore – Dou. 273. Dou. 273 is based on Arnolds transcription of the manuscript.
2 of] omitted – Dou. 273
3 neiþur] never – Dou. 273
4 & þe] and of þe – Dou. 273
5 yche ofþer] iche one ofþer – Dou. 273
6 men ton] men for to – Dou. 273
7 Loke wher þise proude knackers ful of coueityse & enuiþe; ben in þis case or nayþe Loke 3e lordus. þat shulden lif justly and devoutely, sechynge grace of God to reule gowe and goure pepul aftar þis lawe, wheþer þes proude, ful o covetise and envie, ben in þis case or nay – Dou. 273
8 Also] omitted – Dou. 273
psalms in oure hertis to þe lord\(^9\) / Seynt lerom in epistle to þe Effesies as þe lawe witnessep

seiþ þus • here þis þing þonge waxen men • here þei to whom þe\(^6\) office of se[y]ng psalms to

God is betaken in þe churche; þat it is not to be songen in voice; but in hert\(^7\) [\*] neiþer þe

þroote\(^10\) ne cheekis bene not to be anoynted wiþ meducyne in maner of foule songes • þat swete

nooþis of spectaclis or taurerns & songis be herde in þe chirche / Þerfor as seynt Gregor techeþ

in þe law • Dekenes & mynstris of þe autre shulen not chaunte ne synge; but reden þe gospel

& preche Goddis worde & dele almes\(^9\) / þis is office of dekenes as þe boke of apostlis dedis

witnesþ • wherfore it is done sumtyme in þe hooly office • þe while fe[y]re voice is souȝte;

couenable lijf is dispised [\*] & þe mynstre s[y]nger prickeþ or wrathþeþe God bi maners;

whenne he deleyþ þe puple bi voyces / Wherfore Gregor commaundþ þat in þe see of Roome

no dekene ne m[y]nister of þe autre s[y]nge; but rede þe gospele\(^11\) [\*] and if any man do þeraȝens

Gregor cursiþ hym / Hit semeþ þat dekenys & prestis han as muche nede in ðoper churches for
to kepe clene lijf • & do þe office oderneyd of God & of þe apostles; as in Roome / Þenne þe

same statute & peyne shuld be in ðoper chirches as þere; siþ þis statute haþ ground in hooly

[writt]\(^12\) & reson / And as myche & more þis songe lettiþ dekenys & prestis & mynistirs of þe

(f. 125\(^9\)) auter in ðoper places; as in Roome • fro clennes of lijf & prechynge & almes dedis þat

God biddiþ / zitt seynt Ion Crisostome on Mathew where Crist biddiþ vs þat we shulden no

speke miche in preier as heþen men don;\(^9\) soþely þei wenen þat þei ben herd in her myche

speche • þere seiþ seynt Ion; þat þer commen grete harms of preier wiþ grete crie\(^13\) [\*] furst

þat men þus crying; bileuoen not þat God is present in eche place • & siche crie; letteþ ðoper men

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9 whom þe] hor – Dou. 273
10 þe þroote] þrois – Dou. 273
11 & preche Goddis worde ... but rede þe gospele] omitted – Dou. 273
12 writt] omitted – MS
13 þer commen grete harms of preier wiþ grete crie] thre grete harmys comyn of prayer wiþ crye – Dou. 273
fro praior • and pe crier shewip to opare men sumtyme a pinge þat nedip not ne spedip not\(^\mathrm{14}\)\(^\mathrm{15}\)/

Lord wheþer þis sotil & swete knackynge to þe eares; makeþ vs to preie wiþ sorowes þat mown not be tolde out; on þis maner þe Hooly Goost askþ for vs; as hooly writte techþ • þat is as seynt Austyn & òæpur seyntis declaren; þe Hooly Goost makeþ vs to preie wiþ such mournyng\(^\mathrm{ix}\) • and þe pra[y]er þat he makeþ in vs is aretted to him siþen he is principal doer þerof; & we dullæ instrumentis of him / Lord wheþer þis cryouse\(^\mathrm{v}\) knackynge of Sanctus\(^\mathrm{16}\) & Agnus wiþ gloria in excelsis & Patrem\(^\mathrm{18}\) • makeþ þat men heren not þe wordis but\(^\mathrm{17}\) a soune; makeþ men to haue sauour in þise ditees; þat shuld stir hem to most compuncion for her\(^\mathrm{18}\) synnes • & to moost deuocion for þe\(^\mathrm{19}\) hîjenesse of þe Trinyte • þat is touched in Sanctus • & bitter passioun & stronge benefeces of Crist; touched in the Agnus Dei\(^\mathrm{19}\) [•] with huge vnkyndnesse\(^\mathrm{20}\) & orrible traytorie of synnes; touched in þe same Agnus þries\(^\mathrm{21}\) / As helpen scorned on þe sabothis of Ierusalam in þeire conqwestis for synnes of prestis & lordis & comyns as Ierome wittenessyth;\(^\mathrm{22}\) mych more oure enemys feendid of helle seeþng oure hoolidayes with\(^\mathrm{23}\) nyise knackis þat fillyth the eare & spuleþ þe soule fro vertues • wiþ oure\(^\mathrm{24}\) costlewe pride • gloturye & lecher[y]\(^\mathrm{25}\) • with false opis • scornen vs; & al þe court of heuen han abhomynacion of oure lewedel halowyng • for we halowen to oure wombe ydelnesse (f. 125\(^\mathrm{v}\)) & Ŝathanasse and don werst werkes of synne in dispisyng of almyþti God &\(^\mathrm{25}\) hise louers [/] Lord siþen we ben so
feble of witt • feble of boly myȝt & of ful schort tyme & hooly wrett so harde and plentynouse of swete sentence to whiche God byndiþ vs so sore; what reson is it to bynde vs to newe songe & newe ceremonyes of diuere vses al daye; þat we mown neuer do boþe to gydre / And siþ synne is so pleyne and encresed herbi þe more;26 & we bounden vp þe[y]ne of damnacioun for to preche & criþe hooly wrett; aȝens þe fendes hoost whenne a dronken prest27 haþ synguler affeccioun to a man or cause for temperol dritte • alle þe prestis in þat diocese shulen be gnared wiþ a new 30[0]28xiii or cer[y]moyns euermore / And noon eende is of siche sermoynes þat tarien mennes consciens; & letten hem fro bettre occupacions / ȝut þouȝ Salisbirie vse myȝt29 wele occupyþe summe slowe folkis30 it is no resoun to binde alle prestis þerto • or siche anopre; whenne God stireþ hem to studiþe & to teche hooly wrett þat is m[y]che bettre • or for to mourne for here synnes & hertly occupyþe hem wiþ þe Pater Noster [/] For God seip not he is blessid þat syngiþ or knackiþ swete notis; ne þat kepiþ þe ordynal of þis cerymone or þis; but he is blessid þat nyȝt & daye þinkiþ in þe lawe of God • þat is for to vndurstonde it & to lyue þerafter & teche is truly & wilfully suftime tribulacions for þe gospel & sauynge of mennes soules; as Crist & his apostles diden [/] Lord wher a congregacioun of dronken prestis in lustis of þe world & of her bely; kunne ȝyue a bettur31 reule of occupacioun to prestis; þen Crist and his apostlis diden [•] or ellis þei wolde charge hem wiþ32 so mych chauntynge & cerymoyns þat prestis mown not fulfillen þe charge & office of Crist; þat is best • moost eesy • & moost sikir for prestis & alle lewed puple / Þerfor synge we in hert by hooly desijre sayinge psalmes by

26 þe more] omitted – Dou. 273
27 prest] prest in luste ande welthe of þis lyfête – Dou. 273
28 ȝoȝ ȝoys - MS
29 myȝt] may sumtyme – Dou. 273
30 folkes] wrecchis – Dou. 273
31 bettur] bertur - MS
32 charge hem wiþ] charge hem wiþ hem wiþ - MS

56
clene werkis & heryngis & [y]mpnes to God for hise large 3iftes of mercye; wiþ (f. 126r)
brennyng charite vndurstandyng & techyng hooły writt • & receyue we resonable customes
made of men in as myche as þei helpen vs to þis grete gode; encresyng oure loue to God &
ooure breþren / And if þei letten vs fro bettur doynge & encres[y]ng of Goddis wurship & help
of Cristen soules; for þat tyme suspende alle siche cerymoyns • lest we taken þe grace of God
in veyne33 ~

33 veyne] veyne, leefynge þo better ande chesyng þo worse – Dou. 273
Of Praier a Tretvs

(f. 126') Also bischops & freres putten to pore men ϰat ϰei seyn; ϰat men owen not raiper to praye in chirche ϰenne in oþer place / Here Cristen men seyne ϰat in iche place where a man is; he owiþ to praye God in spirit & treuþe • ϰat is wiþ wille & deveocioun and clennesse of lyuyng / Crist seĩþ • tyme commẽþ whenne neiþer in þis hill neiþre in Ierusalem men shullun wurshipen; but it behoouẽþ to wurship God in treuþeiii / ϰat herte bi elene desiiþ • & al þe man bi kepyng of Goddis hestis; wurship God truly [•] for ellis wolde Crist seie to hem • what seie 3e to me Lord • Lord; & don not þoo þingisþ ϰat I seie 3ou' [•] and eft þis puple honoureþ me wiþ lippes; 8 but soþely here hertis is fer fro me / For soþe þei wurshipen me wiþoute cause; techyng þe doctrines & maundementis of men / Seynt Poule seĩþ • 1 wole þat men praye in iche place lijftyng vp clene hondis ϰat is good werkis; wiþouten waryþe & striþfeii / Also Dauid seĩþ • my soule blesse þou to þe lord; in iche place of his lordshipiii / Meniþ dreden to preie in many grete churches; lest þei ben cursid & habomynable / þe comyn lawe seĩþ • a churche þat is halowed bi couenaunt makynge; is raþer cursid þenne halewid / Crist seide of þe temple of Jerusalem • myn hous shal be clepid an house of praier • but soþely 3e han made it a den of þeues / (f. 126') If as opyn symony • extorcion • false opis & false causes ben mayntenyd in grete churchis as in Ierusalem;iii þenne as vnclene & vnhooley ben þei as Ierusalem þat was

1 raþer to] raþer for to – Dou. 273
2 owiþ to] owiþ for to – Dou. 273
3 in treuþe] in spirite and treuþe – Dou. 273
4 ϰat] ϰat – Dou. 273
5 for] omitted – Dou. 273
6 þingisþ] þo þingis – Dou. 273
7 3ou'] omitted – Dou. 273
8 wiþ] wiþ þer – Dou. 273
9 viþ] omitted – Dou. 273
11 as in Ierusalem] now as was in Jerusalem – Dou. 273
distru3ed bi heßen men / More ouer • þe place halowep not a man; but a man halowip þe place; as þe storye of Machabeus & þe commoun lawe seip [/] And cursid puple defouleþ þe lond in which it dwellip as God witnesst þ oft bi hise prophetis • hou þe lond of beheest was poluted for yдолarie & oþre synnes of þe lewes [/] And þe erþe was cursid in Adams werke as God seis in þe furst boke of hooly writt / Þenne it semeþ þat grete churches where symony is don • false oþes • coueitise • takyng wrongfully of oþer mennes goodis bi extorcioun of feyned correccioun • sellyng of sacramentis & namely of Cristis body • whenne men seyne more þe messe for money & worldi fauour þenne for deuocioun; alle suche churches ben gretely polutid & cursed of God • namely for sellyng of hooredam • • lechorie • & false swerynge vpon bokes [/] And siþ þise churches ben dennes of þeues & habitacions of feendes • it is good þat Cristen men beren no false witnessyne • seing in dede þat þei ben hoolier þenne oþere places where is lesse synne; & men mown • more in pees serue God • Perfor siþ Crist seip in þe gospel; þe rewme of God is wiþ inne þou • and seynt Poul seip • þat Cristen men ben þe temple of þe hooly goost • consente þe not • to þe symony of bischops ne to coueitise of oþer prestis; for þe feyned blessyngis of heretikys • to whose blessing God cursip; as þe prophet witnessip • þat is as seynt Ierom wyþ þe commyn lawe seip • what euer þei blessen; God cursip / Cristen men mown seie her Pater Noster vndur • þe coope of heuen • as Crist did in þe hil in nyztis & þe apostles in prisoun & in oþur places; þou þei done no symonye for halewyng of churches
& here 3erdis and auters • for now communly noon is halewid wipouten symony of false suffrygans forsworne many weies / Beþ ze not made þrallis to heritikes (f. 127r) & fendis • bi ypocrisyse of þis nedellesse halowyng; þat commounly is verrey cursynge • but prey ze where euer or whenne God þyue þou moost deuocion & feruour of charitee / Crist seþ • whenne þou shalt prey; enter in to þi chouche & þe dore shittte; praie þi Fadur[r]21 in hid placeviii / Seynt Austyn seþ • what þou to beseching God • sechst þou22 an hooly place & a couenable; clense þou þin inward þinges • þat is þi soule & þi conscyence • & al yuel coueitise put a we[y]e from þennes • make redy to þee a priue place in pees of þin herte [s] wilyng to praye; preie þou in þisilf [s] & do so broþer; þat þou be þe temple of God [/] Soþely þere God hereþ graciously; where he dwellþ / Þus Cristen men wolen deuoutly com to þe chirche • where prestis ben good & clene • & Goddis word wel tauȝt • & þe sacramentis freelly mynystrid; & not soold for money • and where symony regneþ opynly wip false òþes • raueyne • pride & mayntenynge of false lechorie & òþer synnes for monee; þei wolen fleeþ þennes lest þei consenten to opyn mawmetrie & òþer cursudnessis / For þe hoore house is not so cursid; as many seche temples seemen23 • for more cursid synne regneþ in hem & lesse shamefastnesse vndur colour of hoolynesse & riȝtwisnesse; þenne at þe hoorehouse þat alle men knowen is nouȝt • þouȝ popis & bishopis halewen hooredam bi receuyng of money • & þen partyners þer off; wars þenne þe hooris þat don it in dede / For boþe24 þe suffring of hooredam25 is expresly aȝens Goddis comaundment • & þe receuyng of þis monee is mayntenynge & appreuyng26 þerof • for whiche þe bishopis bi Goddis lawe & commoun law of þe churche; shuld be degraded • for it is

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21 Fadur] Fadu – MS
22 þou] omitted – Dou. 273
23 seemen] bene – Dou. 273
24 boþe] omitted – Dou. 273
25 hooredam] lecchery – Dou. 273
26 appreuyng] omitted – Dou. 273
mayntenyng of open errour; a3ens Cristen mennes beleue / And þenne27 bishops mayntenyg it opynly and stidfastly; ben cursid heretikes38 ~

Explicit tractatus de oracione ~

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27 And þenne] And so no doue oure – Dou. 273

28 heretikes] heretikis and treryn God to vengeaunce – Dou. 273. Arnold notes that treryn is all he could make out from this strangely abbreviated word.
On Confession

(f. 137v) Crist for sohe did al pat he couthe to obeye to lordis; & to mekely & softly speke to hem / But to scribes & to Pharisees; he spake sharply vnurnynmynge hem • & seying myche woo to hem;‡ as telliþ þe gospel [*] of whiche þe skil is þis / Crist for he wold shewe þat he sowȝt no lordship in himsylf in þis world; þerfor he obeished & was seruaunte to lordis / Also for lordis ben vikers of God to do riȝtwisnesse • & swerdberers to done his veniaunceë / And so þe obeysyng þat Crist did to lordis; redoundid or souned in to þe worship of God • & made God to haue lordship over men and not himsilf as anentis his manhed [*] and þerfor he oblishid & was seruaunt to hem / þe þridde for lordis comunly commaundad not him but of sich þingis þat stoden in her power • & which þingis Crist myȝte obeye wyþouten synne; þerfor Crist obeyed to hem [*] for oonly bi mekenesse gentil hertis wolun be coumforted;† as ben þe hertis of lordis / But for þe bishops & þe scribes & þe Pharisees hadden ofice of mekenesse & o seruice to lordis • & þitt in al þat þei couþen þei oppressid lordis • [offices]; to hem [*] & louen her owne offices as don bishops nowe adayes [/] And þerfore þe oblishyng to hem • as Crist did to lordis; hadde ben concentyng to hem in her pride; & to þe dishonouring of God & also for þe hertis of þise bishops • scribes & Pharisees • weren directly oþerwhile aȝeyn þe heestis of God as Crist shewid in þe gospel [/] And þerfor Crist oblished not to hem as he did to secular lordis • but for þei weren vsurpyng vpon hem lordship; þerfor þei weren unkynde churulis þat wolen not ben amendid but bi sharp repreuyng and chastising / And þerfor Crist so sharply vnurnamme hem; to hem & of hem spekyng mych woo / And siþen our bishops hanne þe same condiciouns wiþ hem; þe same wise shulden Cristen men don to hem & to oure Phariseesw / þea & siþen þe lawe seþ • þat a man shulde not here þe masse of a leche- (f. 138r) rouse prest

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1 be coumforted] be for be coumforted – MS. The scribe amends this in the body of the text.
2 offices – word is partially illegible due to an attempt made by the scribe to correct an error.
Pat men knowen siche: eiþer bi dome eiþer bi her knoweleching eiþer bi evydence of þe same þing; mych more men shulden not here þe masse of an heritycke: symonyent bishop eiþer of an heriticke apostata Pharisee: as prechours for bodily wynnyng magnifying hemislf; as þis synne of heresie is fer more þenne is synne of lecherie / For soþe it is: þat albeit þat Goddis body be not apeired: ne þe sacramentis ben not þe worse in hemislf bi þe mynstryng of a shrewd prest; neuerþelater boþe mynister & þe taker ben fer þe wers / And þerfor seþ þe lawe acordyng wiþ þe law of God; þat to her blessyng God cursëp: and as to þe prest goyng to his masse unworþily etiþ & drynkyþ his owne dome; so þe herer of þat mannes masse whom he wot certenly in dedly synne: etiþ & drynkyþ goostly þe sacrament unworþily: & so he etiþ & drynkyþ his owne dome: / As skilful it is þat þeues & rescetours of hem ben bi þe same peine punished: and bi þe same skil men shulden not axe ne reseyue noon oþer sacramentis of such heritickis / And men shulden not bishriue to hem [•] for as shriuyng to a good prest is shriuyng to God; so chriuyng to sich a notable wickud prest is shriving to þe deuel: and knowlechyng þe deuel to be viker & frende to þe lord Ihesu Crist to edifi3e his churche: / And þerfor it is notable þat seynt lame seþ: knowlech eiþer to oþer þour synnes: & preyeþ iche for oþir þat 3e be saue: as no man shulde knowlech his synnes but forgifnes: knowleche hem þe wheche man may effectuely do but God [/] And þerfor no man shulde shriue him to man; but as ferþoþ þe he supposiþ þat man to be þe frenf of Crist & in his stede: & and by þe enchesen þat iche good frenf of a man is to oþer broþur [/] þerefor whenne a man were shriuen of oþur he shuld loke þat he were þe frenf of God: & and þerfor þis frenship makiþ eiþer oþur in God: þis frenship vndurstondeþ lames whenne he seþ: knowlechþ eiþer oþur 3our synnes: for eiþer shuld bere oþuris penaunce for eiþer (f. 138v) oþur synnes: [/] Seþ seynt lames: praiþ eiþer for oþur togidre: & 3e ben safe: & and for goode prestis ben þe cheef frendis of God; þerfor to hem shulde a man shriue hym [•] and a good prest is frende to iche good man; or þat wold
be a good man / And þerfor in a maner iche good prest bereþ þe persone of iche man þat wold be
a good man [•] and þerfor as iche man in himself shuld shríue hym to God wiþouten
sclaudrynge or enpeiryng of himself so it is nedeful & spedeful þat a man shríue him to goode
prestis þat no sclundance shal do to him; more þenne he wolde himself [•] And þerfor as seynt
50
James vnþurstandiþ prestis þat ben to alle þat wolen be goode men; as breþren & frendis þat
ben eþer oþur / And seynt Iame wol not bynd men her by to shríue hem to worldly prestis eþer
to enemyes of God • þat ben symonentis but raþer þenne þer shulden shríue hem to siche; þei
shulden shríue hem togidre so þat eþer wold be about to lett oþur synnes • & to noþing speke
of hem in ioye of herte eþer in worldly solace; but in grete mournynge of hert & in traveling
of penaunce eþer for oþer and þat þe toone speke not of þe toþer synne; but as þat synne
were his owne synne • takynge parte of penaunce & of shame þerfor • as if it were his owne [•]
As did seynt Paul whenne who is sclaudred & I am not brent; þat is to see ye wiþ shame / But
alasse siþen þe mone ȝyueþ not nowadaires his liȝt as of þis tyme prophesied Crist • þat is to
seye þe churche ȝyueþ not nowadaires sich liȝt of frenship eny man to oþur but tellyng of
mennes synnes eþer it is bæcbityng • eþer ypocríte solace • eþer sclanderyng of foly; þat iche
telle þe lasse to synne for oþer [•] þerfor siþen þis forseid frenship faileþ I con no noþur•
remedie for synne; but þat þat þe sauter boke seiyng sacrifícþe to God is a spirit controublid •
& a contrite herte & meked to God; þou shalt not dispise / And as in þe cummyng of Crist
sacrifices cesiden • but þis sacrifice was euermore remedie þat was redy for synne; so it shal
be in þe tyme of (f. 139r) Antecrist þat now neþþ fast / And if men aleggen her aþeyne þat
Crist bad þe leprouse to gon & shewe hem to prestis albeit þat prestis weren frewen þat tyme
as þei ben now • we seyne þat Crist so bad for þe fulllyng of þe oolde lawe þat cesid not
for to aftur þe resurrectioun of Crist / þerfor albeit þat þei weren fully helid by Crist • ȝitt Crist
bad hem gon to þe prestis not for þei shulden heele hem; but for þei shulden wite wheþur þei
60
65
were parfitly helid • and for þei shulden offere þat þat was commaunded bi þe lawe of Moyses
for þankyngis to God / þat bi þat doing þe prestis myȝten seeȝen; þat Crist kepte fully þe oolde
lawe• & þat þei myȝten knowe bi þe miracle þat he was verreie Crist sent fro God / But if þe
prestis hadden had as yuel a bodily lepre or wers þenne þe mesels hadden; or ellis þat þei
hadden ben blynde þat þei couþen not haue knowen bytwene a lepre • eþer what a lepre were
& what not; no doute Crist wolde not haue beden hem shewe hem to prestis • for þei shulden
have ben þe wers if þei hadden gon to hem•••• & also for it had ben aȝeyne þe lawe of Moyses
• for no leprouse man shuld dwelle in þe temple ne vse þe office of prestis þat weren not
leprouse hemisylf /] Crist wold þat men shulden shewe hem to good prestis þat ben not defouled
wip wards synnes þenne þei hemisylf • & þat couþen knowe synnes of men; & ȝyue holsum
medicyns for hem / And þerfor bidde þe lawe þat men shulden shewen hem to prestis þat
couþen bynde & lousen and bi þe enchesen þat oure prestis nowe adaies boþe ben blynde to
knowe dedely synnes & whiche is not [/] And furþermore þei ben werst blemys hed wiþ goostly
lepre þat may be; þat is symonye / Wherfor Crist biddiþ no man shew hise synnes to hem • lest
þei perishen as ludas did; shewing his synnes to þe scribes & Pharisees [/] Perfor in token þat
þe cheef presthod is in Crist so ferþor þat no man may be prest but in as myche as he is parcener
in his presthod þat is sufficient & euermore lasteþ & faileþ neuer fro þe (f. 139')
bygynnynge of þe worlde; neiþer shal not do to þe eende • and þerfor seþ David of Crist; þou art prest
wiþouten ende•• / Þerfor telliþ þe gospel þat whilst þe lep[ur] ȝedên to þe prestis þei weren
clensid • doynge vs to wite þat iche man þat hap good bileue in Crist in effectuel wille to do þat
Crist biddiþ • in þat charite wiþouten opur rites beside þe lawe of Crist; he hap remissioun of
his synnes • and þerfor þe leprous man þat was a samaritan not bounden wip þe tradicions of
Iewis • felyng himisylf heelid from his lep[ur]•; anon turned aȝene & ȝaue glorie to Crist •
knowlechyng him sufficient prest & bi his vertue oonly to be heelid / ðe toþer for soþe nyne ðat 3auen ðe vertue of her heelyng in ðe lawe ðat weren lëwes & turned not ðæseyne and 3auen glorie to Crist / And þerfore þei weren unkynde so it fareþ be men nowe ðat folowen fleshely lawes • not 3uyyn glorie to Crist in vertue as sectis ðat nowe regnen ben verrely unkynd / A lord siþen lob uncircumsised & wiþouten oper cerymonies of ðe lawe • wiþ kepyng Goddis hëstis & pennaunce doiyn • was a gret seynt here vpon erþpe [/] & now is heuen fer heyer þenne many ðat were circumsised; mych more in tyme of grace [/] ðat man þat lyveþ in charite wiþ contente herte for his synnes • trustynge in þe priaers of Crist & in þe offring of his precious body to his fadre; shal be safe wiþouten sensible takynge of þe sacraments þat we nowe vsen xvi & wiþouten eny bodily shewyng of his synnes to eny prest here in erþpe • and namely to symonent prestis • siþen for soþe þis leprouse samaritan was fully heelid in body & in sowle wiþouten obsyryynce of þe ceremonyes of þe oold lawe • whil Crist ðitt had not suffrid deþe ne steyed vp in to heuen / Miche more now þat is tyme of more grace in þe bileue of Crist wiþ contente herte • shal a man be safe wiþouten oþur sensible doyngis of bodily (f. 140v) shewing hise synnes to prestes [/] þerfor þis doþ vs to vndurstonde • Crist preised more þe samaritan þat in more trust of grace was saued; þenne þe toþur nyne þat trusteden in þe lawe • albeit þat þise weren more alawid þenne þe samaritan þat hertly þanked Crist as he aurt to done / And herfore Bede • dide seiþ • na knowleche 3e to þo lorde for he is good; for his mercy is wiþouten ende xvii / & eft • 79 • he seiþ • þe pouȝt of man shal knowleche to þee • & þe leuyngis of þouȝt shal make a fest daye to þe xviii / & eft God we shal knowleche to þe xviii / Þis is verreye confessioun to knowleche þat what euer þing þou hast þat good is; þou hast it of God • and whateuer yuel; þat is to sey synne þou hast; þou hast it of þiselþ • þat þou dispise not God in þi goodis & praise þisilþ • and þat excuse not þisilþ & accuse God in þin yuelles [/] Þerfor David seiþ • Come we before his face in knowleching • God be plesid before he come; þat is to seie to þe dome • for
þou hast a prest bi when þou may plese þi God • he is God wiþ þe fader to þee; which is man for þee • preise þou hym in accusyng þee • praise þou hym þat made þee • he þat diþed for þe shall come to qwyken þee / A man þat hap demed fully in his hert to do a dedely synne is dede

nowe wipinne [/] If þou shalt aȝeyne clepen fro þi doing; þou shalt be heelid before þou haue perfourmyd • for if þou hast done penaunce in þin hert for þou hast fully demed an yuel þing cursud & dampnable; so þou hast risen þere wipinne / Austyn • 63 • sermoun in þe ende David seib • Be ȝe wroþe & nyl ȝe do synne[xxii] • a man doing penaunce is a man wroþe to hymsilf • he takiþ peyne of himsilf; þat he take forgþyuenesse; & he seih ritly to God • Turne away þi yzen fro my synnes for I knowlech my synnes[xxii] • if þou knowlechest; & he forgþy³þ / He þat synneþ aȝeynes his broþer; synneþ aȝen Crist• as Poul seih & he prechid[xxiv] [/] If þou hast sinned (f. 140') aȝeynes þi broþer; make satisfactioun & þou art helid [/] Sone þou hast done a dedly synne • but sone þou hast founden remedie • for Crist seib • if þou hast mynde þat þi broþer hap sumþing aȝeyne þee; leve þi ȝift before þe aytter & go þou furst to be recounseild to þi broþur • & þou commyng aȝeyne shal offre þi ȝift[xxx] / Lo hou sone þat ilke gylt of helle is vnbounden • þou not ȝitt recounseiled were gyltly of helle; þou recounseilde of frest sikirly þi ȝifte before þe aytter / Crist seib of Marie Magdaleyne þat was ful of seuen fendis þat is to seye alle vices as Gregory expowniþ[þ] • many synnes ben forþeuen to hir; for she loued ful myche • as Luke witnessiþ in þe[xxv] [/] Also Petre in his furst pistle • charite hileþ þe gretnesse of synnes / Crist seide to Magdaleyn • þi feiþ hap made þee safe go in pees[xxvii] • and þe same he seide to þe womman of þe blody menesonne • or flinx of blod[xxvi] • and þe same he seide to þe samaritan helid of lepre / Also Petur made sorowe & wepid for he erred as a man[xxix] / I fynde þat he wepid; but I fynde not what he seide / I rede þe teeres of hym; but I rede not þe

4 expowniþ] expowniþ – MS

67
satisfaccioun of hym • but þis\(^5\) þing þat may not be defended may be wasshen awey / Teeres wasshen awey trespasses; whiche it is shame to knowleche by voyce & wepyngis geten remissioun; & teeres of shamefastnesse speken þe synne wipout hydouste / Teeres knowlechen þe synne; wipouten confessioun of shamefastnesse / Teeres axen forþeuynesse; & merit is founden / Furst it is to wepen & so to preyen • þo ben good teeris; þat wasshen awey synnes / Sue þou Peter in seyinge þriþes; Lord þou wost wheþur I loue þee\(^6\) / For why • for he þat deny3ed þriþes; he knowleche þriþes / Petur teche vs what þi teeres profiteden to þee • but þou hast tau3t anon for þou þat fel before þou weptist; art reised aftur þat þou wepidest; þat þou þat gouernedest not þisilf before; shuldest afturward gouerne oþur men / Also Ambrose seip in þe • wiþ teeres know - (f. 141\(^{1}\)) leche þi trespasses; þat heuently riþtwisnesse seie also of þee / Wiþ hise teeres; he moisted my feete • & wiþ hise heeris; he wipid hem / Teeres ben goode wheche not oonly mown washe awey our gilte; but also moyste feete of Goddis sone þat þe steppis of hym ben plentyuous in vs [/] Teeres ben goode in whiche not oonly aþeyn byþyng of synnes is; but also þe syllyng of iust men • for þis is þe voyce of þe iust man David • my teeres weren loues to me bi day & nyþ[/] Loue þou ful myche; þat ful myche synne befor 3yven to þee / Poule þat was a pursuer synned ful mych; but many synnes ben for3yuen to hym • for he loued ful mych; þat spared not his owne blood; & continued to þe martirdam / Also David seip in þe • 91 • It is good to knowleche to þe Lord & to seyn psalme • eþer synge to þi name þou heijest\(^{xxi}\) / Furst do þou penaunce & by teeres do awey synnes • & aftirwar synge þou to þe Lord [/] It is good to knowlech to þe Lord not to men; but to God knowleche þou þi synnes; to hym which may heelyn / If þou knowlechest to þe Lord; þou tellest early þe mercies of þe Lord / If we knowlechen to þe Lord; we hoopen mercy • whenne we seyen

\(^5\) þis| þis þis – MS. The scribe corrects this error within the body of the text.

\(^6\) þe - this is in the margins and the scribe includes a small mark in the body of the text to indicate placement.
psalme; we wirchen vertues [...] It perteynep to Cristen men & moost to monkes to knowleche
here synnes in ny3tis [...] We may not knowlech to þe Lord & gete mercy; no but verrey liȝt
begynne to shyne in oure hert [...] Not but derkenesse ȝede before & morowtyde be made; we
may not geten þe mercy of þe Lord • þenne þou tellist early þe mercies of þe Lord whenne þe
sone of riȝtfulnesse haþ risen in þi herte / lerom in þe psalme þat bigynnep þus; It is good to
knowlech to þe Lord / Also Crist seiþ in Matthewe þe • If þi bròþer haþ enyþing aȝeyne þee;
leue þere þi ȝift; & go be recounseilid to þi bròþer / þi bròþer haþ aȝeyne þe; if þou were wroþe
to him wipoute cause • eiþer hast seide Racha þat is a word of scorne eiþer indignacioun [*] eiþer fool wipoute cause<sup>xxxvi</sup> / Seye þou to me hou shall I be recounseilid • which maner (f. 141')
offence ȝede before; sich owiþ for to suen [...] If þou hast offendid bi þouȝt; be þou recounseilid
by þouȝt • if þou hast offendid bi wordes; be þou recounseilid bi wordes • if þou hast offendid
bi werkis; be þou recounseilid bi werkis / If þou þouȝtest to don yuel to eny Cristen man • þou
maist not offre þi ȝifte before God; for þou hast in þi hert purpose of noying [...] Beþenke þe
wele • þat þou hast þouȝt þus & þou hast don penaunce • for þe synne of þouȝt is releshed bi
contrarie þouȝt [...] If þou hast offendid þi bròþur bi wordis; go & make satisfaccioun bi wordis
to him of al þin herte & þou hast doo penaunce / If þou hast offendid eny man bi werkes; as
taken awey bi fraude his catel eiþer land • eiþer raueshed by violence anyþinge; restore to hym
þo þingis þat þou hast taken aweye & þou hast don penaunce / Ion Crisostom upon Mathew in
þe• & also Crist in þe 7 capitulo Matthew • wil þe not deme þat þe ben not demed<sup>xxxvii</sup> / For he
þat demep not his neþbore for synne þat he haþ aȝeynes hym; neiþer God deemeþ hym
for synne þat he haþ don aȝeynes him [*] but God shal forþyue him hiset dettis; as he forþyaue
to hiset dettours [...] Crist seiþ • In whateuer dome þe shal deeme; it shal be demed to þou<sup>xxxvii</sup> [...] Þat is to seie if he shal deme & not condempne such dome also • þe shal be demed of God • but

7 þe - this is in the margins and the scribe includes a small mark in the body of the text to indicate placement.
3e shal not be condemned / And in what mesure 3e shal meten; it shal be meten a3eyn to 3ou

[ / ] That is to seie if 3e not preide shal for3yue synne to 3oure nei3bores; but for cause of God alone / Also God himself shal for3yuen to 3ou; bfore that he be preide of 3ou [ / ] For sope if 3e preid shal 3yuen for3yuenesse; also God penne shal 3yuen for3yuenesse whenne 3e haue preid him wip worpi preyers and couenable mowrnyngxxxvii / [ / ] Nou suche remedie of synnes is founden; as is þe contynuel mynd of hem • þat is to seie; wip sorowfulnesse [ / ] So it is writen

• of þe for3yuenesse of synnes • nyl 3e not be wiþouten drede • (f. 142") no þing makin a man so slowe to do wickudnesse • as contynuel mynde of hem / Perfore remembre we þat we han synned not þe tunge alone pronounce þis; but also þe inverste conscyence • neiþer seie we þat we ben synners; but also reken þe synnes speciali / I seye not þat þou shewe þee opinly; neiþer þat þou acuse þe anempt oþer men; but I wiþ þat þou obeye to þe prophete in shewyn þi weie bfore God [ / ] Perfore knowleche þou þi synnes anempte þe verrey iuge wip praier • pronounce þou þi trespasses • not bi tunge; but bi mynde of þi conscience / And þenne hope þou at þe last þat þou may gete mercy; if þou shalt haue contynuly in þi mynde þi synnes • þat is to seie; wip sorowfulnesse þou shalt [neuer]9 hald yuel in þi hert ageynes þi ney3bore / Also baptist & Ihesu Crist seyen in Mathew in þe • Do 3e penaunce for rewme of heuenes shal neiþhenxxxviii /

To do penaunce is to do weyling & to do not yuelis; to be beweiled [ / ] For he þat bewepiþ so summe synnes & neuerþelese he doip oþur; eiþer cannot zitt eipur feyneþ9 to do penaunce [ / ] For what parfitiþ it if a man wepeþ for synnes of lecherie; & brenneþ zitt in auarice & so of many oþer synnes / He þat wepiþ for synnes • not oonly do he synnes to bewepid; but also absteyne he hymsilf from [summe]11 leueful þinges þat bi þis he make satisfaccion to his maker

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8 For sope if 3e preid shal 3yuen for3yuenesse] For sope if 3e preid shal for3yuen for3yuenesse – MS
9 neuer – this word is unclear, but in the context of the sentence is likely neuer.
10 feyneþ] feyneþ feineþ – MS. The scribe corrects this error within the body of the text.
11 summe - word partially illegible due to an attempt to correct an error.
Moost dere breþeren take þe þe synful womman þat is to seyne Magdeleyne in doynge penaunce to ensaumpre in suynge; & bewepe þe alle synnes done in þonge waxynge age & in mydle age • & bi teeres wype awey þe ﬁlþes of maneres & werkis; for bi þis þat we wlaten oure ﬁlþe; we acorden nowe to inwarde clennesse / Merciful þe lord receyueþ vs turnyng aȝeyne • for þe lijþ of synners may not now be unworþi to him / Also þe prophete seþ in þe •

31 psalm • I seide I shal knowleche myn unriȝtwisnesse aȝeyne me to þe Lord; & þou hast forȝuyen þe wickudnesse of my synnes / (f. 142v) He pronounceþ not jytt he behoouþ þat he shal pronounce; & God forȝuyen nowe / I shal pronounce; & þou hast forȝuyen / In þis he shewed þat he pronounced not jytt bi mouþe; but bi herte he had pronounced / Austyn • also Crist seþ in Mathewe þe [6 capitul]12 • if 30 shal forȝyue to men her synnes; 3oure heuennyly fadur shal forȝyve to 3ou 3oure synnesv [/] Men þat don priuey synnes; shal haue God her venger [•] whom þei have a witnesse if þei ne wole knowleche; neiþer amenden þoo synnes / If þei ben domes men of hemsilþ • & as vengers of her owne wickudnesse & vsen wilful peyne of ful sharp punyshynyng here; þei shal chounge euerlastyng turmentis by temporal peynes • and bi teeres cummyng forþe of verrey compungecion of hert; þei shal qwene euerlastyng brennyngis [/] þei shullen liȝtyer plese God • wheche knowlechen wilfully here her synne & shwen it bi her owne knowlechyngþe • eiþer wil ofþer men witen not what maner men þei be • priuely ȝuyen aȝeyne hemsilþ þe dome of wilful departyng fro þe auter; not in soule but in bodily ofÞice & beweilen her lijþ as dede [/] Certeyn if þat þei don þus worþi penaunce; þei shal come to euerlastyng ioies / Prospervi & þe comyn lawe & hise bokes ben approued of þe churche as þe lawe witnesþip / Poule seþ in þe furst pistle • If we demed wisely oursilþ; we shulden not be demedvþ þat is to seye dampned / David seþ • we shal knowlech to þee • & eft knowlech to þe Lord for he is good [/] What drede 3e to knowlech • for he is good / He forȝyueþ

12 This reference is in the margin with a small mark beside it, corresponding to one in the text after 'þe'.
to hem þat knowlechen / Drede þou to knowlech • to a iuge a man; lest he punysch þee whenne þou hast knowleched • mache þou God mercyful in knowlchyng; whenne þou makest not vnwytyng in denyinge / Also God seiþ bi Esechiel • In whateuer hour a synner shal be convuertid & inwarily weilen; he shal lyuen & not diþen [f. 143] He seide not he shal knowlech bi mouþ; but oonly be convuertid & inwarily weile [f. 143] And also Ioel • kerue (f. 143) 3e 3oure hertis & not 3oure cloþis • bi keruyng of hertis is vndurstonden sorowe of herte • bi which synnes ben for3yuen; & not bi knowlechynge of mouþe vndurstonden by kyttyng of cloþis / Eft God seiþ bi þe prophete • be 3e convuertid to me; & I shal be convuertid to 3ouw [f. 143] If oure hert is convuertid to God; þat is to seie on iche aside turned from yuel; anon it deserueþ þe frute of his convuersacioun þat God convuertid from wraþe to mercy 3yue remission of synne / Also as autorite witnessiþ wylye is rewardid not herte [f. 143] Wille is contricioun of herte; & werke is knowleching of mouþ / It is knowen clerely þat synnes ben for3yuen bi contricion of herte; & not bi knowlechynge of mouþe / Gracian witnessiþ al þis sentence in decrees & þoo autorites þat semen contrarie to þis sentence; ben seid of counseil to penaunce of þis word of James [•] knowleche 3e togidre 3oure synnes • eþer if þise contrarie autoritees ben of commaundmentis; þei shal be referid to knowlechynge of hert & to God & to inner satisfaccioun wiþouten wiche no man may be recounseiled to God • & not knowlechynge of mouþe & to prestis & vtturmore satisfaccioun of his dom [/] Þe fynal sentence of Gracian in decrees is þis [•] whenne he hajþ brouȝt forþe bi whiche autorite & resouns euereiþer sentence of knowlechynge & of satisfaccioun ben strenghþ • þat is to seie of knowlechynge before God • bi hert & inner satisfaccioun • & of knowlechynge made to prestis bi mouþe & vttur satisfaccioun [•] it is reserued to þe dome of þe reder to whiche it raper to assente / For euereiþer sentence han wise men • & religiouse fautors eiþer defenders / Cistrence in his cronycle þe last boke • telliþ þat þe Pope Innocente þe þridde made a lawe þat þe puple of eiþer kynde shuld knowlech
alle her synes oones in þe 3er to her propur prest\textsuperscript{a}/ But Crist seip in Mathew • False Cristis & false prophitis shulen rise & 3iue many tokens & grete wonduris • þat it may be don; þe chosen men ben sente into errour\textsuperscript{f} / And Ion seip in Þe apocalsips • Sathanas shal be vnboun- (f. 143')
den aftur a þousand 3eres & he shal disceyue folke & gedre hem to bateils\textsuperscript{b} / And þe same clerke telliþ þat aboute þer 3er of oure Lord a þousand • two hundred outake two þis Innocent was chosen pope • & he sate pope eïȝt 3eres and sixe moneþes [/] þis Innocent enturdited England • which enturdityng shul last seuen 3eres for kyng Ion vtturly refused Steuen of Langston Erchebishop of Caunturbiry confermed by þe pope & he asoyled þe lege men of kyngye
Ion • fro his alegaunce • & wrot to nyne kynes to rise aȝeyn kyng wip werre • wherfor þe kyng of Fraunce occupied þe costes of Normandie wip a grete oost aȝeyne kyng Ion [/] An þefore kyng Ion oblished his reume foreuer to þe churche of Rome to pay þerto iche 3er a þousand marke • for Yngland and Yrland • so þat if he eiper any of hise heyres faile of þis condicioun • he falle fro þe riȝt of þe rewme • and so þis kyngce becam omager to þe court of Rome\textsuperscript{g} / Aftur þis Pandulf þe popes legat departid & constreyned þe kyngge of Fraunce to gon out of Normandie\textsuperscript{f} / But God seip bi Ysaie • woo to hem þat maken yuel laws\textsuperscript{h} [/] & David seip • Lord ordeyne on hem a lawe ȝyuer\textsuperscript{b} • þat is to seie Antecrist as Austyn & Ierom seyn on þat text / And Crist seip in Mathew • Be 3e war of false prophetis þe whiche commen to zou in cloþyng of shep but wipinne þei ben rauyshe wolues; of here frutes 3e shal knowe hem\textsuperscript{h} / Crist cam to make pees & charite & to seke & saue þat þing þat perished & to ȝyuen his redempcion for many men / And as Ion seip in þe gospel • whenne þe puple wolde rauyshe Crist & make him a kyngge • he fled alone into þe hyl • & he had not where to rest on his hed\textsuperscript{f} / But Poule seip [•] þe man of synne sone of perdicion is aduersarie & enhaunsid aboue God; so þat he sitt in þe temple of God; shewyng himself as if he be God\textsuperscript{h}/ But ȝacharie þe prophete seip [•] þou shepherde & ydole forsakyng þi flok\textsuperscript{a} • etc ~
On the Eucharist

(f. 144r) Cristen mennes bileueue tauȝt of Ihesu Crist god & man • & hise apostles & seynt Austyn • seynt Jerome & seynt Ambrose [*] & of þe court of Rome • & alle treue men; is þis • þat þe sacrament of þe auter • þe which men seen betwene þe prestis handis is verre Cristis body & his blode • þe whiche Crist tok of þe virgyn Mary • & þe which body diȝed vpon þe crosse & laye in þe sepulcre • and steie into heuen and shal come at þe daye of dome; for to deme alle men after her werkeis / þe ground of þis beleue is Cristis owne worde in þe gospel of seynt Mathew • where he seip þus • þe whiles Cristis disciples soupeden • Crist toke bred & blessid it & ȝaue it vnto his disciples & seyd þus • take þe & eteþ; þis is my body [] And Crist takyng þe coppe did þankyngis • & ȝaue it vnto hem; & seyde • Drynke þe alle heroþ • þis is my blood of þe new testament; þat shal ben ȝishedd out in to remyssion of synnes ሰ / And þe gospel of seynt Marke; techþ þe same wordis also • and þe gospel of seynt Luk techþ þe same wordis ɜ / But þis sacrament is boþe bred & Cristis body togedre; as Crist is verre God & verre man / And as Cristes manhed suffrid peyne & deþe; & þitt þe godhed myȝt suffre no peyne; so þouȝ þis sacrament be corupted • neuerþeleþe þe body of Crist may suffre no corrupcioun • for seynt Poul þat was rauyshed into þe þridde heuen bi autorite of God; writeþ þus in hooly writt • and þree tymes he calleþ þe sacrament bred ofþur þe fourme of consecracion; and also Poule calleþ þe sacrament bred þat we breken ɜ / Also seynt Austyn in þe popis lawe seip þus • þat þing þat is seene is brede • & þe chalis or þe copp þat þei shewen • but vnto þat þe feþp askiþ to be tauȝt; þe bred is Cristis body • and þe chalis þat is þe wyne in þe chalis; is Cristis blood ܣ / And þe oold prest seynt Jerome seip þin in a pistle þat he made vnto a womman Elbediam • here we þat þe brede þat Crist brake & gaue it hise disciples to ete is þe body of our lord sauþour • for as he seip þis is (f. 144r) my body ܣ / Also seynt Ambrose askeþ hou þat þing þat is bred • may be Cristis body • and seip • þat þis consecracion is made not oonly bi wordis of þe prest;
but bi wordis & vertu of God almyȝtī [/] And so þe þing þat was bred before þe consecracioun
is now Cristis body aftur þe consecracioun • for Cristis word chaungeþ þe creature • & so of
þe bredde is made Cristis body • and þe wyn mengide wiþ watur in þe chalise; is mad Cristis
blod by consecracioun of heuently wordis / And þe determynacioun of þe court of Rome wiþ a
hundred bishops & þrittene sende into many londes; is þis • I knowleche wiþ herte & mouþe
þat þat brede & wyn þat ben put in þe auter ben aftur þe consecracioun not oonly þe sacrament;
but also verrey Cristis body & his blood • þenne þe men þat seyn þat þis sacrament is nouþur
bred nor Cristis body • but an axidens or nouȝt; ben founed heretikis • if þei maytenen þis errour
aȝeyne Ihesu Crist & aȝeyne seynt Poule • and aȝeyne seynt Austyn • seynt lerom • and seynt
Ambrose • and many moo hooly seyntis • aȝeyne þe court of Rome • & aȝeyne alle treue Cristen
men of true beleue of Ihesu Crist\textsuperscript{viii} / And also þe gospel of Luk seij þat þe disciples knewen
Crist; in brekyng of bred\textsuperscript{ix} [/] And seynt Austyn seij in a sermoun þat he made þat þis bred was
þe sacrament of þe auter; & þerfor seynt Poule calliþ bred þat we breken\textsuperscript{v} [/] Also seynt Austyn
seiþ þat þat þing þe whiche is gedryngis of frutis of þe erpe & is halewid bi priuey praier is
Cristis bodi [/] Also seynt Yllarie seiþ • þat Cristis body þat is taken of þe auter; is boþe figure
& truþe / Hit is figure; þe while bred & wyn ben sene wiþoute for þe / And it is truþe; þe while
it is bileueed wiþinne for þe to be Cristis body in truþe / Also seynt Austyn seiþ þat þe sacrament
or þe sacrifice of þe churche; is made of two þingis • þat is of visible liknes of elementis; þat
ben bred & wyn • & of invisible flesche and bloode of oure lord Ihesu Crist • as Crist is boþe
god & man / (f. 145\textsuperscript{r}) Also a grete clerke • autor of dyuyne office; seiþ • as oure bishop Ihesu
Crist is of two kyndes boþe togidre verre god & verre man; so þis sacrament is of two kyndes
• of kynde of bred • & of kynde of Cristis body • and telleþ many feire treuþes in þis mater / A
lord siþ Crist seiþ þat þis sacrament of þe auter is his own body • and seiþ also bi seynt Poule
þat þis is brede þat we breken [/] Wheþer Cristen men shulun bileueue • for ȝisturdaye heretikis

75
That his sacrament is no wise or no manner Cristis body • but accident wipouten subiecte or nouȝt
• siȝen his is nauȝt tauȝt expresly in wordes in eny party of hooly writte ne be resoun ne bodily
witt [/] But seyn Austyn techep in þre volumes or moo wij grete studie & deliberacioun • þat
 þer may no accident be wipout subiecte; ȝe where he tretep of þe sacrament of þe auter • and
 þe same techeþ seynþ Ion wij þe gilden mouþe • & þe same techen alle witty philosophurs •
 & al resoun & witt; shewn opynly þe same / And þerfor Cristen men shulde knowleche &
mayntene þe wordis of hooly writte; & vndurstonde hem algates in generaltee • as þe hooly
goost vndurstondep hem þorouȝ oure bodily witt or naked reson; may not comprehende hit / A
lord what wurship don þise new heretikes vnto þis sacrament • whenne þei see þat is not brede
• but accident wipoute subiecte • or nowȝte • and if þer be any accident wij out subiecte as þei
seyne; it is wars in kynde þenne is any lumpe of cleye • as clerkis knownen wele [/] And whanne
þei seie þis sacrament is in no maner Cristis body • but þer vndur Cristis body is hidde • for þat
is neuer seid of Crist ne hise apostles • in alle þe gespeles þat euer God made / O lord wheþur
þis ȝisturdaies heretikes han founden a bettir bileue & more trewe in þe tyme þat Sathanas was
vnbounden; þenne Ihesu Crist vnto hise apostles or eny oþer clerke by a þousand þer & more /
For in al þis tyme Crist tauȝt (f. 145') neuer þat þe sacrament of þe auter was an accident wip
oute subiecte & in no maner Cristis body as þis newe ypocrites seyne • but bi him & his apostlis
& seynþ Austyn specialy & oþer hooliest seynts is seid þat þis sacrament is bred • & his own
body / And þat þer may be noon accident wip out subiecte [/] Lord wheþer shul forsake Cristis
owne wordis; & take straunge wordis vnknown in hooly writt & aȝens resoun þe moost witti
& þe best seynts for as men seyne many ypocratis han hyred by many hundred poundes bishops
vnkunynge in hooli writt • for to dampe Cristen mennes bileue • and Cristis owne wordis
for enmyte to oon singuler persone þat tauȝt þe gospel of Crist & his pouert; & dampeþed
couetise & worldly pride of clerkisu / Lord wheþer þis be grete deynte þat many capped monkes
or oþer Pharisees shulde prefer hem redy to þe fyre • for to mayntene þis heresie • þat þe sacrament of þe auter is an accident wiþ out subiecte and in no maner Cristis body æseyne Cristis owne techyng & hise apostlis & þe best seyntis & þe wisest in Goddis lawe & resoun • and traueilen not spedily to distruyȝe heresie of symonye þat regneþ opynly • & is fully dampned in Goddis lawe • & mannes also [/] And to distruyȝe worldly pride & couetise of prestis æseynes Cristis mekenesse and wilful pouert • hit semeþ wele bi here dedis • þat þei conspiren æseynes Cristis gospel & his pore lyuyng • forto maynten here owne pride couetise and worldlynesse • & wombe ioye & ydulnesse • & many moo grete sinnes / Almyȝty God kepe his churche fro such false prophetis & here sotile ypocrisiȝe and fals heresyȝe [/] Amen~
On the Virtuous Life

(f. 145') Crisostom se¿h • ßat fischers & buystouse men makynghe iche daye nettis wi¿ here hondes • founden Crist;¹ whom prestis studiynge al day in Goddis lawe founden not² [f. 146']

And þe cause whi þat prestis in her studiynge in Goddis lawe founden not Crist was for þi þat þei coueyteden in al her redyngge & studying for to autorise her pride & couetyse; sechyng her owne glorie • bi which þei weren made so blýnde; þat þei myȝten not bileue as Crist se¿h • and herfor prestis weren not oonly gylty of her owne dampanacioun; but also of þe dampanacioun of alle þe puple þat myssebileueden þorouȝ her yuel ensaumple [/]

For as Austyn se¿h • he þat lyuep yuel in þe sigt of þe puple • as in þat þat in hym is; he sleþ æle þe puple þat takip of him ensaumple of yuel lyuyng³ / Her to cordip seynt Gregori • seyinge • prestis owen for to wite for if þei done eny tyme weywardly þei ben worþi as many deþis; as þei ȝyuen yuel ensaumple to þe puple / Wherfor it is nede þei kepen hem more warly siþ þei aloone diȝen not þorouȝ þe shrewyd werkis þat þei done; but þei ben gilty of æle þe soulis of hem whom þei han ȝyuen yuel ensaumple • and to grete shame of siche beestly men Crisostom se¿h • whenne men don þat þing þat is commown to beestis • as is fulfillsyng of her lustis ȝeyn reson; þei knowlechen hemsilf to be but beestis • and þei þat don aftur resoun ȝeyn stondyng her lustis;¹¹ ben euene to aungeles • for to¹ lyue in fleshe & not fullfyle þe lustis of þe fleshe; is not mannes lijf • but aungels¹² [/] For who þat loueþ to lyue vertuouslyes; loueþ þat æle men wheeche ben made to þe ymage if God • lyueden so [/] An siche on is þe louver of God • & defender of treuþe of Crist; aftur his kunnynge & power • for he is traytour of treuþe Crisostom seythe • þat defendeþ not þe treuþ freely þat is wilfully • for as a prest is dettour for to preche freely þe treuþe þat he redip in Goddis law;¹³ so is a lewd man doctour to defende þe treuþe truly; which he haþ herd prestis

¹ for to] for • for to – MS
teche in holy writte • which þing if he do not; he is traytour (f. 146v) of treuþe

But many men boþe prestis & oþur • not for drede of deþe • but for pleesyng of her foule wombe • hyden þe treuþe Crisostom seþ; at þe table of vnþefful men / But for þi þat trew lyuyng & feþful knowyng of truþe is ful plesyng to God; Crisostom seþ • a good werk wiþouten preyer of mouþe is mych worþe; but preyer wiþoute good werk is not worþe-vi / And þe wise man seþ • lowe prey[i]ng: is for to go aweye for vnþiþtwisnes [ ] But Gregori seþ • who þat couetþ to be herde of God in his preayer; bisie he him to last sich aftur his preier • what þing he coueiteþ to be founden or holden in his preyinge-vi / But for þi þat many lyuen here negligently • & preyen vnþeoutly; Crist was wroþ to hem þat þus preyen seþ • siche wurþipen me wiþ her lippes; but þe herte of hem is fer fro me:/ An hooly man into confusioun of hem þat presumen of her owne preyer • or behoouen to helpe oþur men þerwiþ; saþ • I þat suffise not for to preye forþyuenes for mysilf; wiþ what boldnesse presume I for to gete þi grace lord to oþur; for siþ I anguyþ hid in conscience • nedþ for to sech mediatours for me • wiþ what trust may I preye for oþur • what shal I do lord God / O lord what shal I do / Þou lord commaundest me for to preie for oþur men; & verre loue coueyteþ to do so / But my conscience cryinge to me • shewiþ to me þat siþ al my bisynes is to litle for mysilf; I drede gretely to preie for oþur [/] Shal I þerfore lorde leue þat þing þat þou commaundest; for þi þat I haue synned aþens þi biddyng nay but for þi þat I haue presumed proudly in leuyng of þin biddyngis • þerfor I shal bisy me for to fulþyþ mekely þoo þingis; þat þou hast commaundid / þif parauenture obedience make hool presumpcioun; & if parauenture charite hille þe multitude of synnes • þerfor blissed lord & goode God I outþette preyers to þe; for my frendus whom I loue in þee (f. 147r) & myn enemyes whom I loue for þee / And lord þou knowist þat I praye not þus to þee as I holdynyg myself iust
or siker for my synnes; but aftur þi biddynge\(^3\) lord as charite axiþ I am bisy for þe helpe of my
frendis & of myn enemyses bodily & goostly [\(\)] þeþfor þou lorde þat art welle of treue loue •
haue mercy if myn frendis & myn enemyses; whomme þou comaunderst me to loue & to praye
fore / And þouʒ my prayer be not worþi to plesse þee ne to proffit to ony; for þi þat it is oﬀrid
to þee of me synner; in þi siȝt lorde plesse it to þee & auayle it to hem • for þi þat I prey[^4] to þee
at þi biddynge / And þus þei þat preien[^5] presomtuou[s]ly; schewen hem boolde ypocrites; & ben
more yuel þen þei þat schewyn hem as þei ben • for Crist seiþ • eiþer makiþ þe tree good & his
frute good; eiþer makiþ þe tree yuel & þe frute þer of yuel[^6] / As who seye • eiþur schewe þee
sich as þou art; or be þou sich as þou scheweste / þouʒ iche ypocrite be vnfeijþful; neþelese ich
vnfeijþful man is not an ypocrite • as Crisostom seiþ • he is an ypocrite & brekeþ þe heest of
God; þat fulliþ not in werk þat goodnesse • þat he spekiþ wiþ his mouþesa / And for þi þat þe
rewme of heuene is sumtyme vndurstonden for peple þat is þe churche of God in whiche
churche þe techer þat aȝens þe heest of Crist fulliþ not in werke þat þat he techiþ; is clepid
þe leest in þe rewme of God / For whos liȝf is dispisid; it sueþ þat his prechynge be dispisid •
Gregorie • seiþ / And for þi þat it is voydyng of grace & lettyng of treue kunnyng for to speke
wele & to do yuel; þe prophete seiþ • For þi þat þou hast putt awey kunnyng; I shal putt þee
awey þat þou shalt not vse no presthod to me • & þerfor þe wise man seiþ he is vnsely; þat
þrowiþ awey kunnyng / For Crist seiþ • woo be to ȝou men of lawe; wheche han take a wey þe
keye of kunnyng • ȝe ȝoure sylf han not entride; and ȝe han forbeden hem þat entreden[^7] / Vpon
which text þe glowe seiþ • þe weye of kunnyng is mekenes • which we þat han it vndurstondyn
scripturs treuly • but proude laweers & depe (f. 147[^8]) lernyd men þat han not mekenes • neiþur

[^3]: biddynge\(\) biddygge - MS
[^6]: presomtuously[^6] - MS
vndurstonden þe law hemsilf • neiþer wolen take þe vndurstondyng þerof [•] And to entre in to kunnynge is to bisily seche bi good resoun; þe vndurstondyng of þe letter • þat wise man or doctoure haþ not verre entre; þat sclaundrep him by werk whom he edifieþ bi worde • but he þat myȝt entre bi his word; he hordeþ oute bi his werke [•] And herfor in to confusioun of worldly wise men; Origyne seþ • it is hard þat he þat cannot holde mesure of his owne liȝf; to be made domesman of oþur mennes liȝf / For seynt Gregorie seþ • wickid domesmen noyȝen more þe peple; þenne doijþ þe swerd of enemyes [•] And Ysidore seþ • he is seid a domesman; þat enditiþ or schewiþ ritwisnes to þe peple • or ellis he; þat dispitþ or demiþ by þe lawe / For to dispyte bi þe lawe; is for to deme iustly • for soþe he is no domesman; in whom is no riȝtwisnesse [•] And Austyn seþ • who euer for drede of eny power hidijþ þe treuþe • he terreþ þe wrap of God vpon himself; for þi þat he drediþ more man þenne God / And eft Austyn seþ • it is grete trauele to deme in þis liȝf not personaly; but to hoolde iust dome [•] he demeþ not personaly or acceptþ not persones; which louiþ euynly [•] for euen loue makijþ to be not accept / Whenne we honouren men in diuers maners for her degre it is not to drede þat ne we accepten persoonyse • but whenne we demen bi twix two men • þea bi twix þe fadur & þe sone • if þe sone haue a good cause; make we him euen to his fadur in treuþe [•] / And so if we dewe honour to iche persone; þat equyte lese not meryþ / & þerfor seþ Crisostom • þat in dome þe sentence shulde not be ȝounen to þe dignite of þe persones; but to þe kynde of þingis • for þis is to deme iustly [•] /Who euer in dome secheþ mede or fauour or acceptþ eny persone for loue or drede þerof • or for kynred or affiynyte • or for hate folowiþ his own wille he peruertiþ þe dome of Crist þat is riȝtwisnes • into his own dampnacioun / Austyn seþ • Bi treuþe dome; remissioun of synne may be gete [•] Amos seþ • but he may not deme riȝdehyde þat haþ wickudnesse in his herte or in his wurchynge; as þe glose seþ vpon (f. 148') þe psauter / For Crisostom seþ [•] a man þat sueþ his lustis & liueþ as þe world axiþ • if þou speke to siche a man goostly þingis;
he feelid [•] as if a man putt a drope of hony in to a grete vessel of eysel: xe losip pe hony & pe vertu of pe eysel is not chaungid / For þi[se]iþ Crisostom • he schal haue grete mede; þat aȝeyn stondip hise flescly moviouns • þere forsoþe is frute rapid; where trauel is sowynx> /

And for þi þat noo man shulde sue his owne will in dome ne ellis; Origyne seip • when ne eny man passip fro trewþe or fro þe drede of God • or fro feþe or charite; he goþ oute of þe castels of hooly churche • þat is he is oute of hooly churchus protecciouns; 3e þouþ he be not casten oute bi þe voice of bishopis • and þouþ siche men bi wordis knowlechen God or Cristen feþp; bi her dedis þei denyen boþe / But for þi þat treue men louen not þe condiciouns of siche; neiþer for consceynce mowne fauour hem ne flater hem; vicious men schulen hate hem for alle siche sechen here owne þingis • þat is her owne will • her owne wurschipis & her profites • & not þe wille ne worschip of Ihesu Crist • for þi louers of þe world; ben enemyes to God [/] And þouþ nowe many siche men colouren hem diuersely feynyng hem on Cristis syde • þei schuller be knowe apertyl & alle her diceytes; when God schal liȝten þe priuey þingis of derknesse of hertis • as Rabanus seip • but for þi þat þere ben many wordis & dedis feyned & coloured as iust & hooly • whos priue malice may not be perceyued of many [/] And also þere ben ful many wordis spoken & deedis done wiþ ful good purpose; which many men kunnot weye vertuously / For þi alle suche wordis & deedis • men owen to deme to þe betere parte; kunnot vndurstonde to what entent þei ben spoken or done; but vpon vices • as pride or boost or mansleyng • glotený3e or drynke • lewenesse • lechorie & suche oþur; ben boden of God to deme & to dampne • but if þat þei ben amendid • Ierom seþ / And herfor Poule biddip men to deme (f. 148x) not before þe tyme / þat is men owen not to deme of priuey þingis; til þe tyme men han verre knowynge of hem [/] For as Gregorie seip • God forbedip foly dome [/] And herfor seip Crisostom • þat goode purpose excusip an yuel werk; and an yuel werk condempnép not a
good purpose / Lo Moyses had a good purpose plesyng þe Egipcian; not for his owne in[i]urie;7 but for þe veniaunce of Goddis servautis / And þus hise good purpos excusid þe mansleeyngÆ

Also Iacob spake plesyngly to his broþur Esau; & in his hert he bare him ful heuy • but he plesid him not for to disceyue him wiþ hise wordis; but for to staunche his malice [/] & þus þou3 Iacob þou3te oon & spake a noþer; þe yuel her of dampneþ not his yuel purpose for a good werke; excusïþ an yuel purpose / As if þou seeþe an vnfeeffeul man meke him; witt þou þat he þinkïþ gile in his hert / And mekenes þou3 it be in itsilf a good werke; it excusïþ not his yuel purpose • and þus an yuel purpose dampneþ a good werke / And Crist seijþ þe same mesure þat 3e meten to oþer men; to 3ou schal be metynÆ [/] And for þi Austyn seij• 3if 3e deme & dampne not; God schal deme 3ou & not dampne 3ou • þat is if 3e demen iustly mennes synne & dampne no man for his synne; þe same mesure God schal mete to 3ou / He demeþ iustly a noþer mannþ synne • þat hap not in himsilf þat yuel þat he demeþ in a oþur man; ne noon lyke þerto / And þerwiþ hâþ parftie charite to him þat he demeþ or vnðurnymþþiþ witþouten eny spice of malice Ambrose seij• for siþ God louiþ alle his honde werke • & hatiþ no þing þat euer he made • iche man scould be in parfit charite wiþ oþer • & loue euery þing in þe kynd þat God hap mad it; & hate no þing but synne • siþ þing ellis displesiþ God • for he þat hatiþ þat God hatiþ • & louiþ þat God loueþ; is Go[d]dis© frend as Austyn seij• & and for þi þat synne oonly lettiþ þe loue of God; man schuld schame to synne [/] For as many synnes as man wiþ ful purpose consentiþ to; as many lordis he hap / For þi Crist seij• he þat doþe synne is servaunt to synneÆ / As Petur seij• of whom a man is ouercummen; his servaunt (f. 149v) he isÆ / As Poul seij• wite 3e not þat to whom 3e han made 3ou servaunts for to obeye to • þat hise servaunts 3e ben; wheþer it be to deiþ eþer to liþf / And þe wise man seij• be envye of þe

7 inurie] inurie - MS
8 Goddis] Goddis – MS

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135 deuel; de]> entriþ into al þe world [•] who þat ben of his part; suen him / Also synne schulde be wipstonden for it bryngyth ynne errour; & not errour synne as Crisostom seþ • and for wisedam of þe worlde þat is fooly before God • is cause of myche synne [/] Poule biddeþ men to be foolish to þe world; þat þei ben wise to God • for þei þat ben wise to þe world; God schal take hem in her wisdam / þat is God schal shewe sleyþe men & felle of þe world to be fals; & dampne hem for her vnkyndenes [/] Þe close seþ • and herfor bidþe Jeromy þat worldly wise men; ioyen not in her wisdamxxvii / For Ysaye seþ • woo to hem þat ben wise in her owen yþen & prudent in her owne si þtxxix [/] Iche man þat is wise in God kepynge hise hestis; is a free man or a gentil / And iche man þat is wise to þe world • is a fool in his werkis; & he is bonde & a cherle to þe deuyl & to þe world & to his fleschexx / And þe plentijþ of worldly riches; is lettynge of euer lasting þingis in heuene as Gregorie seþ / And siþ þe erþ & þe plentijþ of it is of þe lord & he 3yuiþ it to hem þat plesen him as leremye seþxxxi [/] Men þenne þat coueiten to be riche • schulden plese God bi mekenes; as ludith seþxxvii / But þouþ many men feynen hem meke & symple • þe wise man seþ • þe cloþing of a mannes bodi • & þe leiþteþxxxi of his teeþe & þe goyng of him; schewyn oute of him what he is / For þi Barnard seþ • be a cloþ siche þat dryue a weye coolde; & hille mannes schame or nakyndes / For oþur þing þenne þise two • oweþ not to be axed of a cloþe; siþ for oþer þing cloþe was not grauntid to man / Lo a ȝonge childe if it seeþe a man • it takþ heedd oonly to þe man; and neiþer to his dig[n]ite9 ne to his cloþing / But a man whenne he seeþe anþor behooldþ not oonly him; but anon he takþ hede to his dig[n]ite & to his cloþing • and þus an vnparfit child; is wiser þenne a parfit (f. 149v) man / For a man takþ not hede to þe man þat God made; but to þe hournementxxxiv þat þe deuel made / And eþ Crisostom seþ • for þre causis cloþing is made eþer for sy þþ þerof • or for lust þerof; or for þe nede þerof [•] þat is hillyngxxxv / For to þe seruauntis of God it fallþ to haue cloþing neiþer for

9 dignite - the abbreviation for 'ri' instead of 'n' is used in both this instance and the one two lines below.
siȝt ne for lust; but oonly for hillyng of her nakidnes\textsuperscript{xiv} / And seynt Gregorie seijp • if he wurschip of preciouse cloþing were not blameful • he worde of God had not shewid to vs so bisily ṣat he riche man cloþid wip purpur & bijse;\textsuperscript{xvii} was tourmentid wipouten eny remedy • neiʒer Crist wold not haue preysid ṣe cloþing of Ion Baptist ṣat was not of wolle but of camelles heeris • had it not plesid to him\textsuperscript{xviii} / In mete two þingis ben to blame • ṣat is lusty tastynge; & coueitouse desir of lusty metis\textsuperscript{xix} [/ But in preciouse cloþing þre þingis ben to blame • ṣat is lust of þe softnesse • pride of þe siȝt • & coueitise of þe desir of þise two [/ And herfore Barnard seid to pope Eugeny • I wondre of what ordre our clerkis ben • for whi in gedryng of temporal goodis; þei ben as bisy as lewid men • & in apereyle þei ben noble as knyȝtis • & in gedring of her rentis ṣat is her típs & her dutees þei ben as clerkis / But neiʒer þei traueylen as lewed men; ne þei fíȝten as knyȝtis; ne þei prechen as clerkis\textsuperscript{iv} / And þat men sculden not coueyte neyþur haue preciouse cloþing ne superfleue\textsuperscript{v} / Oure laydy seynt Mary is sett to vs ensaumple þat in þe birþe of Crist had but oo coote for to hille vs wip • & not for to anhourne\textsuperscript{vi} hir wip as Crisostom seŷp\textsuperscript{vii} / For þi seŷp Poule • haue we mete to fede vs wip • & cloþis to hille vs wip; be we of þise apaiede\textsuperscript{viii} / And þe wise man seŷp • ṣat housyng & cloþing; weren made to men but for hillynge / And herfor seŷp Moyses • alle ṣat is of þe kynred of Isik; dwelle þei in tabernaclis • þat ʒour aftur ʒou mown lerne; þat I made þe sones of Isik to dwelle in tabernaclis whenne I ledde hem oute of þe lond of Egipt\textsuperscript{ix} [/ For þi seŷnt lerom seŷp • hit behouijp vs clerkis þat we mysseuse not þe honour of clerkhood • bi bisy kepyng of Goddis hestis; we owen to be suche as we seemen to be • alle þe signes of clerkis (f. 150\textsuperscript{v}) schewen vertues to be in vs; & crien oure vertues / þe crowne crięþ pouert [*] þe cloþinge; crięþ honestee [*] þe state; crięþ puretee [*] þe wirschippe; crięþ chastite [*] þe profession; crięþ religiousetee [*] þe office; crięþ deuociōn [*] þe studie crięþ contemplacioun / & herfor seŷp lerom [*] but if clerkis schyne þoruz þise vertues; þe heued liȝþep • þe habit liȝþep & þe state liȝþep • þe worschip liȝþep • þe
professioun lie3ep • be office lïzep & be studi lie3ep; þenne we ben but feyned clerkis & lïzynge clerkis; & þou3 it ben writen þat iche man is a lïzer; it is not writen þat iche man is lesyng / For soþe secular men ben li3ers; for þei seiyyn lesynge • but þei ben not lesyng; for þei schewen hem not oþur þenne þei bene / Þerfore if God schulde leese alle þat spekyn lesynge; hou myche more schal he lese hem þat ben lesyng; and for þi clerkis schulden bisily 3yue hem to vertues; Ysidre seij • þei ben wars þat 3yuen yuel ensaumple in worde or in werke / Bi whiche vices ben hade & vertues ben laste; þenne þei þat robben of men her worldly goods / And for þi þat ich man & specialy clerkis schulden specialy flee3e coueityse; Ierom seip • he robbeþ falsly oper mennes goodis þat bisieþ him to kepe or to gete eny more good; þenne him nediþ resonably • for siþ iche man schal 3yue reckenyng of þe tyme þat he spendip; man schulde be ful bisy to ocupie wele his tymeæ [³] And herfor seip Poule • þe while we han tyme wurche we good to alle men • for soþe moost to hem þat ben homly of þe beleeueæviii / For þou3 merici owiþ to be done to ich man 3it mercy owiþ first to be done to hem þat ben iust of þe beleeue [³] Austyn seip • and siþ þat men schullen neuer fayle in þe blisse of heuene to take rewarde; men schulde; not faile noo tyme to wurche wele / For now is þe tyme acceptable; & nowe is tyme of helpe / And herfore Bernard seip • as an heere of a mannes heued schal not periche;æviii so neþer of tyme oo momente of tyme schal not periche / For of iche momente man schal 3yue rekenyng to God at þe daye of doome / For tyme is 3ouen to men of penaunce • but many (f. 150v) men myssesven her tyme & myssespenden it; beynge vnrepentaunte þe whiles þei han tyme / Þis witnessþ David sayinge • þe tyme of wurching; þat is whenne tyme was of wurching; proude men lorde wastiden þi lawe / I þaueæ hem seip þe lord tyme for to do penaunce & þei myssesveden it & wolden not forþinke her myssdoyngeævi / O what lesen þei þat lesen her tyme & spende it not wele; it is no litle vice to spenden þe tyme ydullich in word

10 þaue] þaue • MS

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or in deede / For riȝt as word haȝt is spoken may not be turned aȝeyne; so neiþer eny tyme haȝt is sleþid may be turned aȝen [5] Alasse þe vnwise man þinkiþ not ne ymagyneþ not what he loosþ whenne he forþleusþÞ his tyme; and þitt his losse may not be reuokid / No þing is so precious as is tyme; & no þing nowe is lesse sett by / Soþely no þing is more precious þenne tyme; for in a houre of tyme • summe grete synner bi verre contricion & feipful confessioun to

God • may gete forȝyuenes of alle hise synnes • & bi þe grace of God cumme to euerlastyng blisse [/] As Barnard seiy • no man for þi dispair of Goddis mercy • for who þat dispeirþ of forȝyuenes • God schal raþer dampne him for his dispayryng þenne for his synne • for dispaire echiþ synne & is more þenne enye synne / Perfor forþpinke þi sinne & leue it; for þer is noon so grete synne þenne ne it hau forȝyuenes as lerom seiy [/] Herto acordiy Barnard rehersing þe grete mercyful doyng of Crist God & man; & seiy [•] O man was I not tournemented for þee & allerente wiþ gretteste repreues • wiþ sclaunderingis • wiþ fals chalengyngis • wiþ lesingis • wiþ false blasmeymys & wiþ scornis • wiþ scourgysingis hard betyn • wiþ scharp þornes crowned • wiþ boffettiþ & bobbyngis fore fauyten • wiþ harde nailes I was fitched fore to þe crosse • & wiþ a spere stiked to þe harte; & I suffred harde deþe for þe man [/] What þerfor seiy Crist may suffre more for þee man; þat I haue not done; þou man þerfore stynte of þin yuel • for soþe þe wounde of þi synne greueþ me more; þenne doþ þe wounde of myn hert [/] Barnard seiy • to do þankyngis to Crist for þise b[e]nfitis;11 no man suffiseþ / But iche man schulde in þat • (f. 151r) þat in him were • eschew þe iche spice of yuel • & loue vertues • and wiþ al bisines meke his spirite leuyng his owne wille • & sue Goddis wille • & to suffre paciently alle kyndes of wronges beyng euer reedy to do mercie; and wilful for to suffre what euer þat God wolde sende / Into whiche mekenes & mercye; God for his endeles mercy to endure to þe last eende • Amen

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11 benfitis] bunfitis - MS
On Consideration

(f. 151r) Seynt Barnard spekib þus to Eugenye þe pope • supposest þou wheþer þise tymes wolden suffre • if two men stryuing for erþeli eritage • & axing dome of þee þou woldest answere þe voyce of þi lord God; man who ordeyned me domesman upon 3ou [/] If þou þus seidist nowe; into what dome schuldest þou come • and anoon; men myȝten seye • what seiþe þis churliche man • vnwise & not knowyng his primacie • dishonouring þe heighest sete; destroyng þe apostlis dignyte / For I gesse þat þo men þat wolden seie þis • schulden not schewe where eny1 of þe apostlis sate demer of men • eiþer meter of termes • or departer of londes2 [/]

I rede seiþ Barnard þat þe apostles stonden to be deemed; I rede not þat þei saten deemynge / þis schal be; it was not 3itt / Wheþur þe seruaunte schal not be distruiier of dignite if he wole be gretter þenne his lord; 3isse / Eiþer þe disciple schal he not be a destroyer of dignite if he wolde be his maystre þat sente hym; 3is / Wheþer a seruaunte schal not be a distrayer of dignite • if he passe þe vertues wheche his fadres han sette; 3ea • þat maistir & lord Crist seiþ [•] O þou man who made me domesman • wheþir þat it schal be arettid wronge to þe seruaunte eiþur disciple • but if he deeme alle men; þei owen for to dispice þe dome of erþely possessiouns of men,iii whech schul deme 3ea aungels in heuenly þingis3 [/] Þerfor seiþe Barnard to þe pope & to oþur prestis • 3oure power is vpon syn[ñ]es;2 & not vpon possessiouns [/] 3e haue take he seiþ þe keiþes of þe rewme of heuenes • for to put ouþe trespassours; & not posessours [/] Þise lowest þingis (f. 151r) & erþely han her domesmen; kynges & princes of þe erþe / What raueishche 3e oþur mennes costis; what stretche 3e forþe 3oure sikil to oþer mennes corne / Not for 3e ben vnworþi • but for it is vnworþi þinge to 3ou • ocupied aboute bettur þingis; to 3yue

1 eny – this is in the margins and the scribe includes a small mark in the body of the text to indicate placement.
2 synnes] synes – MS
entent to such eruely pingis • his seide Barnard to þe pope Euge[n]ye in his first boke / And eft Barnard seij to him in his second boke [*] we mow not dissimile or feyne þat þou art made soueryne; but in alle maneres it is to vndurstonde to what þinge þou art made souereyne / I gesse not to be lord • for whenne þe prophit Ieromie was reised in lyke maner to be Goddis messanger; he herde of God þat he sculde draweoute & distruyze & scatre and waste; & bylde & plaunte / What þinge of þise seij Barnard sounej pride; goostly traueil he seij is expressid or toolede oute; by summe ensaumple of churlich swot / Deme we þat service is put upon þou; & not lordschip is 3yuen to þou / Leerne by ensaumple of þe prophete to be gouernour • not to be lord; but for to do þis þat þe time axï / Lerne seij Barnard to þe pope • þat it nede to þee to haue a wurching tole; & not a kynges 3erd to þe werke of a prophete [/] Þi predecessours weren popis to confourme þe to þi fadres eritage; if þou ert sone • if þou art eyre Þat þou priue þee eire; wake þou to þe oure of soules / Be þou not slowe bi ydelnesse • lest it be seyd to þee; what stondest þou here ydle aldaye / Moche more hit behouej þat þou be not 3yuen to delices; neiþer casten doune bi popis of þis worlde / Þe testament of Crist & his apostles; assignij to þee noo þing of þise / If þou art apaied wiþ þis testament • þou schal raper enhirite cure & traueil; þenne glorie & richesse [/] What last þe hooly apostle to þee; no but buxemnesse of alle churches • þat is of iche puple / He seij • I giue to þee þat þing þat I haue / What is þat; oo þing I wote seij Barnard • it is neiþer golde ne siluer • sij Petur seij golde & siluer is not to me / If it befalle þee to haue vse it not for lust; but for tyme or nede / Þe good vse of golde & siluer is good • þe myssvse (f. 152') is yuel / Bisynesse þerof is worse; wynnyng þerof is foulest / It is to suppose þat þou calengest to þee þise þinges þat is gold and siluer by oþer tytles þenne bi rât of þe apostles; for þei may3ten not 3yue þis þat þei hadden not / Þat þing þat he hadde he 3aue to þe þat is bisynesse of goddis peple • wheþur 3aue lordschip to þe; here þou him / He

3 Eugenye} Eugeye - MS

89
siel • not beynge lordis in þe clergie; but be þe made enaumple of þe ðloc

45

to be seid of Petur alone þoruȝ mekenesse & not also bi treuþþ; þe voice of þe lord affermiþ in þe gospel • seinge • kyngis ben lordis of hem

/ And þei þat han power vpon hem; ben clepid goode ȝyuers / And þe lord bryngeþ inne truly; 3ea not so / It is pleyne seip Barnarde; þat lordschip is forfeden to þe apostles / Verfore he seip • þou being lord darst þou take to þee; þe state of apostle • eipur darst þou succesour of þe apostle take to þee lordschipe; pleylyn

50

seip Bernard þou art deffendid from oon of þise / If þou wilt haue togidre euer eipcr; þou schalt leese euer eyther / And ellis gesse þe not outaken of þe noumble of hem; of wheche þe lord pleyneþ þus / Þei regneden & not be me; þei weren princes & I knew not hem / Nowe if it spedieþ to regne wiþoute God • þou hast glorie; but not anentis God / And if we hold þe before biddyng; here we þe comaundment • Crist seith • he þat is þe more of þou; be made as lesse [•]

55

& he þat is ȝoure beforegoer; be made as þe þat seruirþ [•] þis is þe fourme of þe apostles seid of Crist • lordschip to preestis is forbeden; ceruyse is commaunded / Whiche servuice is sett forpe bi ensaumple of Crist ȝyuer of þe lawe þat seip • truly I am in þe myddes ȝou; as he þat minstriþ / Þou pope Eugeny seip Bernard schalt chastise wolues; but þou schalt not be lord of þe schepe þat ben Cristen men / þou hast take þe schepe to be fedde not to be oppressid

60

/ þe prophetis & þe apostles weren stronge in bateyle; not soft in cloþes of folkes / If þou art sone of þe prophetis (f. 152’) & of þe postles; do þou in þe same maner [•] kalange to pes þis noble kynne; bi lijke vertues / Þis kynred was in noon oþer maner noble; þenne by nobley in vertues & bi strengþe of beleue / Bi þis nobley þei ouercomen rewmes • weelde þou feiþ pytee & wisdam of seyntes þat is drede of þe lord; & þenne þou hast þin eritage & þi fadres londe / Þe most preciouse londe here; is vertue / Noo gemme is more schynynge þenne mekenesse; namely in þe ournement of þe heiȝest bischop / Wiþouten mekenesse & goede
vertues; bi ensaumle of þe apostles • bi so mych þou ert heiȝer / Wher þe dist[r]uy[i]ng of a cite on an hil may be hidde; an aape in a roof is a fonned kyng syttyng in th[r]one / And eft Barnard in his þride boke spekeþ to Eugeny þe pope seyinge þe apostles sellyng her cootis bouȝt swerdís • þat is Goddis word & feruent spirit; þe wheche ben myȝty armes to God / þe apostles weren princes of al þe erþis / Eugeny seǐþ Barnard • þou art successour of hem; be þou her eire welyng her eritage / Servyse vpon þe world is betaken þee; possession is not þyȝen to þee / Crist chalengeþ to him possessiouñ of þe world by riȝt of makyng it of nouȝt • & by merit of aȝeyue byȝinge; & bi giȝt of þe fadre / ȝyue þou þenne possessioun & lordschip of þe world to Crist / Haue þou cure þerof purgyng hit of synne / Be þis þi part • stretche no furþir þin honde • be þou sou[er]neẙe þat þou p[ri]ueẙ & ȝyue good ensaumle & good counsel; benynge procurature & servauant / Be þou souereyn in vertues; þat þou do profit as a feiþful servauant & prudent • whom þe lord ordeyned vpon his meyne to ȝyuen mete to hem in tyme / þat is be þou servauant and not lord / þou man do þou þis þing & desire not to be lord of men • lest al vnrȝtwysnesse be lord of þee / Of þis I disputed I nowȝ befor • & neþeles seǐþ Barnard I adde þis nowe • for I drede no venym more to þe neiþer swerde; þenne þe grete lust to be lord / þou Eugeny seǐþ Bernard hast rescuyed no more of þe lord; þan þe grete apostlis diden / Here þerfore of what Poule seǐþ • I am he seǐþ dettour of wise men & vnwise / þis acordiþ more wiþ a seruaunt þenne wiþ a lord / (f. 153') Eugeny seǐþ Bernard • syngulerly þou art souereyne as it is opynly shewid / Not þat þou enc[r]ese of þe sogetis in worldy þing; but þat þei enc[r]ese be þee in vertues / Þei maden þee prince to hem; not to þes / By what skil
gessist þou þee heizer þenne þise men of wheche þou beggest benefices [*] but if þou passe hem in nobley of vertue / It is of lityl inwitt or resoun þrown donne a prelate to seeke not þe proﬁ3t of þe sogettis; but his owne wynnyng • namely in þe heyzest prelate of alle; no þing is fouler / Hou feyre & opynly spekiþ Poule þe maistur of heþen men • demyng þat fadris owyn togidre tresour to her sones; & not þe sones to þe fadris⁷⁹⁸ / Dis voice of Poule is no fycul glorie; I axe not ȝift but frute⁸⁰ / ȝit Bernard in his fourte booke spekiþ to Eugeny þe pope • & seïþ • eiþer schewe þee a shepherde to þis peple; eiþer denýze / þou schalt not denýze lest he denýze þee to be his eiþer; whose seete þou holdest / þis is Petur which is not knowen to haue gon forþe ourned in gemmis eiþer in silke cloþis • neiþer couer[e]d in golde • neiþer ridyng vpon a white horse • neiþer seruid of knyþtis • at þe styrop • neiþer compassed about wiþ any mynisters makynge noise / Neþelese he beleued þat þe helful maundement myþt be fulﬁld wiþoute þise þingis • takyng tent to þe best of Crist seiyng [•] if þou louest me; feede my schep⁹⁰ / In þise temporal þingis þou art successour not to Petir • but to Constanyn⁹⁰ / Among þise þingis þou shepherð goost forþe ourned in gold • compassed wiþ so grete diuersite / Whan taken þe sheþe her of; if I durst seye þise ben ræþer lesewe of feendis þenne of chepe þat ben cristen soules • wheþer Petir dide þus; eiþer Poule plaide þus; þou seest alle þe feruour of men of þe churche; is sett alone to mayntene dignite • oo þinge is ȝyuen to honour no þing or lytul to hoolynesse • hit was seide þries to Petre; fede þou my schep⁹⁰ / It was not seid ones to hym; mylke hem ne clyppe hem [/] In þre maners we owen to kepe or fede Cristis shepe • þat is bi ensaouple of goode lyuyng • wiþ þe worde of prechyng • & by spirit of hooly praier / For as Lyncolne seïþ (f. 153') þoo prelatis or prestis bering or representyng • þe persone of lhest Crist verrey shepherð • & not preching to þe peple • þou3 [þei]¹⁰ adden not ouer þis oþur

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9 couered] couerd – MS
10 þei] þeuȝ – MS. The scribe amends this within the body of the text.
malice • ben Antecrist & Sathanas transfigurid into an angel of liȝt / Nyȝt þeues & daye þeues
slears & dist[ru]yers\textsuperscript{11} of schepe; makynge þe house of preyers a den of þeues\textsuperscript{xxxii} [/] & seynt
Austyn seip • I can not excuse neiþer saue prelatis ne prestis • whiche minstren not þe word of
liȝt to þe puple • þouȝ summe excuse of prechinge • for þei ben gentil or of grete kynne not
prechyng excelently; þenne oþir men • but siþ þei han take þe office • eiþer it behouȝt hem to
perfourme it aftur Crist eiþer to be drenched in helle / Siþ Crist so gentil suffrid so grete þingis
• for to feede soulis bi his word þat is himself / Neiþer he schamede alle scheneschipes which
man myȝt þenke aȝeynes him; & þou wrecch & seruaunt art aschamed for to preche þe word
which þe lord himself prechid / And why prestis ben lewed & prechen not feiful Origines\textsuperscript{xxxiv}
telleþ seiyng\textsuperscript{xxx} / Who þat serueþ to þe world • to money • or to fleschely desires • or to preysing
of man • is seruaunt to vices and traytour to God; neþur he may þe fredam of Goddis kunnyng

\textsuperscript{11} distruyers] distuyers – MS
On the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit

(f. 160r) And for noiþur man ne womman may parfitly do þe seuen werkis of mercy witouten þe seuen ȝefts of þe Holy Gost • wip þe wich God makeþ euerych mannis soule his hous • & wip þe seuen forseyd ȝefts he makip his hous þat is a mannis soule • fair • strong & louely to his siȝt • as holy writte techip & clepiþ þe forseid seuen ȝeftes seuen pilars [/] For riȝt as pilars ben vp an hous • & maken his strong to wiþstonde tempestes • so þeis seuen ȝeftis ben vp mannis soule fro ȝerly lustes & lekynges & maken hit strong aȝen tempestes of þe seuen dedly synnes / ȝe first ȝeft of þe holy gost is a loue drede of God þat castid out pride • & makip aman sory þat he hap ben proude & rebel aȝen þe hestes of God • • & also it makip him glad to be meke & pore in spirit forsakyng all þe propurte wilfully þat he knowip aȝeins Goddis will [/] & what man or womman dop þus sellen hemsilf wip all þat þei han & becomen seruauntis of God • & of all þat schuld be sauyd • willyng noþing but as God wilt þat þei willen [/] For þus dede Crist • & counseild hise seruauntis for to do • for Crist seip who so euer is not meke & pore in spirit may not be his disciple / ȝe secound ȝeft of þe Holy Goost is pride þat makip a man to go abouen himsilf with his inordinat will not holdyng apayed of þe stait þat God hap clepid him inne / ȝe secound ȝeft of þe Holy Goost is a spirit of pite wich makip a man lowe & deboner not grucching aȝen God ne man • for noþing þat þei wil haue • bi þe wich is excluidid wraat • þat is to sey wrath þat is vnskilful stingking hebbing of (f. 160r) hert • & enuy þat is sorowe of anoþur mannis prosperite / ȝe þrid ȝeft of þe Holy Gost • is a spirit of kunnyng • þe wiche puttip fro a man slowth [/] For who þat is slouȝ hap discomfort & no will to do will / ȝe fouroþ is a spirit of strengthe þe wich makip a man strong aȝen synne & temptacoun • & þis ȝeft excludip gloteine & lecherie • þe wich ben vnordinat willes in ȝerply lustes • what so euer þei ben / ȝe fift ȝeft is a spirit of counsell þat meuiþ a man euer to chese þe bettur • & þis puttip out auarice • þe wich is an vnordinat loft to þe world • for to couete more þan nede is
But no doute noijur man ne womman may haue toigidre vertues & vices. The sixt 3eft of the Holy Gost is a spirit of vndurstanding. He wich maki a man bisily to ransake & rede wat is in his sowle, making hit fair & clene to se God. For parfit men & wymmen willen bisily euery niȝt or ðei slepe be þenk hem how oft ðey han þat day bifor greuid God, & if ðei fynd any greuous þing in þer conciens ðei will anon schriue hem to God & clene hem. For þe moost confucioun & schame þat may be to our enmy þe deuel is oft schrift & for þingking of synne The seuenth 3eft of þe Holy Gost is a spirit of wisdam, þat meuþ euery man and womman to chese & charge more heuenly þing þan þerply.
On the Eight Blessings

To all men & women that han these seven feftes of the Holy Ghost Crist in his gospel on all halounday geuijst blessyngis; ischewing that all halouuns were mad holy with these seven feftis • & non may be holy wipouten hem / As answering to the first feft of the Holy Ghost • that wichest is a loue drede of God • Crist seij • Blessid be pore men in spirit• • wiche be not proude ne sowlne in hynes of lif dedeyning to be mekid vnder Cristis orduanace as wickid tirauntes enuyng to þer euuen Cristen but aȝeinword þei suffren God mekely • noting presumyng of hemsilfe / And þefor of þes pore men is þe kyndom of heuen / As anentis þe secound feft þe wichest is spirit of pite • Crist seij • Blessid be all meke menv For the first feft him to lif piteously • worshipijþ holy writ • & who so mekiþ him wilfully for Goddis loue repreuþ noting þat he vnderstandþ not & þat is verray mekenes / As anentis þe þridde feft • þe wichest is a spirit of kunning • Crist seij • Blessid be þei þat ben sory • for þei schullen be comfortid to be [deluiered] of all Þer wickid bondis þat þei know bi teching of holy writ • þat þei han brout hemsilfe inne • with vnordinat lyuyng þan þei han had to worldly goodis ægen Goddis heystis / And no wondur if sich folk be sory • for Crist wepid vpon Jerusalem for sche had not þis seft of kunning / Crist seid to hir • and þou knewe þe woo & þe peyne • þat þou schalt suffur for þi wickidness þou woldist wepe • Crist so euery man & womman þat lyuen in þis wickid world ægen þe orduanace of God & holy chirch • & þei knewen what sarowe & peyne þei schulden suffre for þer wickid lyuing þei wolden wepe • for sarowe & drede þat þei knewe not • neiþer wold lerne to lif aftir þe heistrates of God / As anentis þe fourt feft of God • þe wichest is a spirit of strengþ • Crist seij • Blessid be all þoo þat hungren & þristen riȝtwisnes • • þat is to sey • Blessid be alle þoo þat dispicen lustis & lykinges of þis world desiring ioy &

1 deluiered] dedeliuered – MS. The scribe amends this himself within the body of the text.
lustis of heuenly þingis trauelyng bisily to withdrawe þer loue fro þe vnstablenes of þis world
to fulfille her desire • þat schal be ioy & blis in heuen wiþouten ende [/] As anentis þe fifte zeft
of þe wich is a spirit of counseil • Crist seip • Blessid be merciful men for þei schul haue
mercy\x9a [/] To siche is counseil nedeful • þerfor as remedye is to be deliuerid of our angris þat
we for¿ef • as we wold haue for¿efnes in helping • releuyng & counseiling all our euene Cristen
• as we desirin to be holpen • counseilid & releuid of God [/] For resoun axip hit & comaundip
hit • þat ich man & womman þenke • spek & do to alle folk as þei schulden willen þat all men
þouten • spoken & deden to hem [/] And who so haþ not þis will is out of charite [/] And all þat
ben out of charite ben departid from God & all his seyntis til þei comen to amendment / As
anentis þe sixt zeft of þe Holy Gost • þe wich is a spirit of vndursto\[n\]ding • Crist seij) • Blessid
be pesible folk in whom (f. 161v) all þingis is wel ordeyned\x93 [/] For in hem no mocouns no
temptacouns ouercomen þer resoun [/] For alle þing þei maken soget to þe spirit of
vndurstonding & her spirit is soget to God / As anentis þe seuent zeft of þe Holy Gost • þe wich
is a spirit of wisdom • Crist seip • Blessid be all þoo þat so mich louen Crist þat þei desirun for
his loue to suffur misseying • hate & babciting • scoring • betting • & al maner of bodily disease
willfully & paciently • for here men is þe kindom of heuennes\x94 [/] And þerfor be ze glad & ioyful
• whan þe ben cursid & pursued • and when men seyn all yuell aþeins 30we liyng • for mich is
your mede in heuen; if þe take hit paciently [/] For euene afore þat a man can suffre paciently
aduersitees; is he worþi mede bifuþ God [/] And sich a soule þat haþ þeis seuen zeftis of þe
Holy Gost wiþ þeis e¡zt blessingis of Crist may wel singe þis morning songe of loue lekyng •
þat Cristis special þat is holy kirk • syngip in þe book of songis • See þou faire semely darling
• oure litell bed is hilled with floures\x94 [/] Þis bed is rest of contemplacoun • þe wich
contemplacoun is heuenerly desires • wiþouten menging of fleschly lustes & vanite of þis
disseyuable world who ūat restiþ in ëis bed • is mad faire with vertues here [/] And miche faire 
he schal be maid in ëe blis of heuen • where is ëe gret bed of rest [/] ëis wordis of loue may 
ich good Cristen manes soule seye to Crist • for he is ëe verray special of all soules ūat schullen 
be saued [/] For ëe gret special cherch ūat is be twix Crist & his louers mai noiþer ëe hert 
ënken ne ëe tonge tell in ëis lif [/] ëis lessoun is ful charitable; ūat makiþ a man so resonable; 
50 ūat God dwelliþ wip him bi grace; and he in God be heuenly solace [/] Amen for charite~
On the Five Wites

(f. 161’) Clerkys knowen þat a man haþ fiue wittes outward & oþur fiue wittes inward1 [/] But first it is to lerne þe fiue wittes outward þat ben þeis • Seeyng • hering • smelling • tastyn • touching / þe wyse man lickyn þeis fiue to fyue princes þat schuld gouerne mannys body • & seîþ • woo is þe lond whos kyng is a childe (f. 162’) whos princes eten 3erly2 [/] þis king may be callid mannis consciens • þe wich is but a child3 [/] Whan it cannot regne vpon þe rewme of body & soule in mesuryng & hauyng þe fiue wittes þat han lordschip vndur consciens boþ in body and in soule • as it were princes or dukes vndur a 3erly kyng [/] But þan is þe rewme woo be gon; whan þe kyng suffreth his meyne to ete & wast his sogetes vitailes witouten any payment [/] Certis so is þat man woo be gon whan his consciens suffrith his fiue wittis to waste hise vertues • þe wiche ben vitailes of lif boþe for body and soule / Man schuld knowe bi resoun þat siȝt is þeu[e]n½ to him of God to serue him & oure soule • and þerfor siȝt standiþ moost heiest in a mannys out wytte • as resoun doþ wipinne3 [/] For he schuld sue his profiȝt & sle þing þat harmijþ him • and þingis þat ben beforne him • þe wich he schuld do • schuld a man take to him þe more profitable / And þan sumwhat be neþe þis witte standiþ hering • & riȝt so vndur resoun standiþ a mannys wille [/] For God haþ þeuen man hering to lerne his bileue • as seynt Poul seîþ • þat beleue commiþ bi hering • and hering is bi Cristis word4½ & for þis • will Crist þat men prech þe gospel • and bi þis haþ kynd ordeyned þat hering schuld be as a cercle bìfor men & bihynde men & on yche syde men as bileue is of trewþis befor vs & behynd vs [/] For kynd haþ þeuen man to here voices in þe eyre & not in þe 3erþe beneþe vs • wher voices komen not [/] In token þat we schulden þeue our wittes to trowe þing þat is in heuen abouen vs • þe wich profiȝt to oure soule / þe þrid witte is smellyng þat is more gostly þan oþer toe • and

1 þeuen] þeuen - MS
The noose is more heyar in the hed thanne the tonge. It is spech in holy writt • that he name that a man haþ here in his lif to the iugement of God; is smelling of that man • and so sum men ben good smelling & sum men stinkyng. And þus seïp Poule for he was certeyn that hei seuden Crist in lyuyng þat þei weren a goode odure of Crist to God. And herto acordiþ mynde þat is þe þrid witte • þat makiþ mannis prayour swet smelling whiles it is clene & clere • and þis mynd when it is troblid • all (f. 162r) þat is in man stynkiþ and is wipouten þanke of God. And þerfor kepe we wel þis witte þat all oure lif be good finel vnto God / þe fourt witt of þeis is tastyn of mannis tonge • & herto acordiþ þout • þat is tast of mannis soule. And bi spech may we wite who tastiþ of Goddis swetnes. For þat man haþ delite to speke of God & his lawe / And oþer men ben feners & tasten not of Goddis word; but it semþ bitter to hem • for þer tast is turned amis. And þeis seke men han a deadly signe; þat hem wantiþ appetit of Goddis word • þat schuld be þer fode and þer lif • as Goddis lawe techiþ. And herfor techiþ seynt Petur • þat if any man speke; loke þat he speke Goddis wordis • and bi þis token he is hole. Here may we see how mannis2 lawes han diseuyed kynd of men & turned hem into swyne • þat þei saueren not Goddis word / þe fift & þe last witt is felyng • þat is euerywhere in þe body boþe aboue & beneþe & so is ymaginacioun in a mannis soule euery vertu þat longiþ þerto • for þis felyng is so nedefull. Þerfor haþ kynd ordeined þis instrument bi all þe body; alle if it tak rote of hert. And it is ful nedeful to fede mennis bodies in mesure • for þe body seruiþ to þe soule & is a hors to þe soule in many goode warkes. And þus þeis þre later wittes ben more fleschly þan þe oþer too • & steren men vneuenly to goltery & to lechery. And herfor þe fend temptiþ man algate in þis feling • as he temptid Adam & Eue to ete of þing þat God forbad. And if we þenken on þat state and how we schulden euer serue God and how excess • & defaute in feding of our flesch • when it passiþ good resoun smackying & synne

2 mannis] man mannis – MS. The scribe amends this himself within the body of the text.
a3eins God [/] It were ful gret nede to aske God bisily of help to gouerne þeis fiue wittes &
specialy algate; þeis too last tasting & smelling / For if þeis ben wel temtid & stablid in grace
• þan þe king þat is our consciens with his princes þat are our fiue wittes regnen in þe rume þat
is in our body & in our soule with mych loue • vnite • rest & pees • all enmys put abak • &
hopyng aftur þis to haue a full rume in þe blis of heuen [/] Amen [/] Withinne withoute gouerne
þeis fiue; in body & in soule þan þou mayst þrieue [/] For God is good & ful of myȝt; in tyme
of nede to strengh þis knyȝt ~
On Jacob’s Ladder

(f. 217') Hit is writen in þe first book of holy writ þat þer weren þre pat[ri]arkes\(^1\) in þe peple of God • & þei hiʒten Abraham • Isaac & Iacob • vnt[o] whom God schewid ratherist his special chere for þat tym[e] [/] But þe story telliþ in þe forseid book how þat Iacob sawe a leddre whos hey[t] rawt into heuen • & aungels comyng dounne & steying vp a[en] [/] Siche a leddre gostly must euery Cristun man make bi þe help of God • if he wil aftur þis lif come to þe blis þat neuer hap ende [/] But how þis leddre schuld be maid it semith sumwhat spedy to speke in þis place • and if [a] man can amend hit or [sey]\(^3\) bettur • I consente þerto [/] Þe too syde of þis leddre must be maid of þe loue of God þat is in heuen • þe tôþur syde of þe loue of our euen (f. 217’) cristen [/] Þe ronges þat schwllen be driuen in þeis too sydis seven ordre bi þre & bi þre • to schen þe perfeccioun in þe Trinite [/] And þei schul last to þritty þat is þries ten • for þe keping of Goddis comaundmentis þat longen to alle men [/] In þe first ordre ben þeis þre rongis • chast body • deuote soule & goodis of þis world [/] In þe secound ben þeis þre • good word • clene ðowt & parfìʒt dede [/] In þe þrid sorow of hert • schrift of mowe & amendis makyn / In þe fourt preyng fasting & almesdede / In þe fisþte noumbre weyt & mesour / In þe sixte • minde • wille & resoun [/] In þe seuent • feyth • hope & charite [/] In þe eytynd • riʒtwisnes • mekenes • & paciens [/] In þe nynte mercy • grace & glorie [/] Þanne is man comun to þe tenþe ordre þat is þe gret Trinyte • Fadre & Sone & Holy Goost • of whom al fadrehed is named in heuen & in 3erth [/] For Poule seipy þat God is alle in all þinges\(^2\) • þis trinite louen alle cretours for þer makyng • þis trinite preysoun all creatours for þer kepyng • þis trinite glorifien all creatours for þer m[ult]iplying [/] Þe siʒt of þis trinite in heuen is holy seyntis fedyng • þe worschip of

1 patriarkes – word partially illegible due to MS damage. Similar instances will be marked in square brackets without a footnote.
2 a] am – MS
3 sey] sey sey – MS. This is amended within the body of the text.
his trinite is holy seyntis wirkyng • be liȝt of hî[s] trinite is holy seyntis cloþing [\|^\]

joye & blis n[œ]we and euer [^\]

Amen • etc~
Nine Points

(f. 217') þeis ben þe nyne poyntis þat oure lord Ihesu answerid an holy man • þat coueit to wite what miȝt moost plese vnþo God • þe [fii]rst is þis to do almesdede to hem þat neden hiȝt whiles a man is aliue • for þat more liȝþ God þan a man ȝaȝ aftur his dep; as miche gold as is in þe þerþeÂ / þe secounde is for to grete and make sorowe for a mannis synne • & for þe passioun of Crist þat wold for mannis trespas suffur so hidous dep • for þat more liȝþ God þan þou grete as mikil water as is in þe see for any þerthelich goodeÂ / þe þrid is to suffre mekely & swety vylens wordis or repreuis wiþouten ani desert for Goddis sake • for þat more plesiþ God; þan if a man bete himself wiþ all þe þerþe þat ben in too hundrid wodis / þe fourt is to meke a man in himseluen • (f. 218') & to rise vp wan he wold fayn sclepe & sey his preyours • for it plesiþ God more; þan if a man fØnd twelue knyȝtes into þe holy lond at his oune costage / þe fift is to haue passioun of seke men or þat han mischeþ • for it more plesiþ God • þan if a man fastid fifty ȝer in bred & waterÂ / þe sixte is to speke noon iuell of ani man nor baubite not • but let hit as myche as a man may • for þat plesiþ God more • þan if a man ȝede barefot & hoseles • so þat if a man miȝt folow þe trase of blod of his feteÂ / þe seuent is to a man to loue his even Cristen & turne all þe iuel þat he heriþ spoken vnþo good • for þis lekiþ more God • þan þou wentist ilk a day to heuenward preyiþ / þe eyȝtend is to besoke God first in þi preyour whan þe nediþ out touching ȝele of soule • for it plesiþ more [God]Â to prey him • þan

1 coueit] coueit gretly – Leic.
2 first - word partially illegible due to MS damage. Similar instances will be marked in square brackets without a footnote.
3 whiles a man] whiles þat a man – Leic.
4 þerþe] world – Leic.
5 grete - this is in the margins and the scribe includes a small mark in the body of the text to indicate placement.
6 goode] þynge – Leic.
7 his] some – Leic.
8 God] good – MS
his modre or ani oþur seynt\^ / Be nynt is for to loue hooly & wytourly God • for it plesip him more • þan þou went vp to an hill þat were full of rasoures & schare þi feet\^ [/] And þerfor loue God & þin euen Cristen for goddis sake [/] Amen~
On the Deeds of Mercy

(f. 218v) Of þe dedis of mercy God will speke at þe dreedful day [of] dome to alle his chosun stondyng on his riȝt side [/] Come 3e [bl]essid childre of my fadre & receyue 3e þe kyndam of heuen þat is [or]deynd to 3ow fro þe biginning of þe world for 3e keptun of [h]estes [/] For whan I hungrid 3e gof me meyt • þat is whanne þe le[ste] of myne þat schulden be sauid • hungrit for defaut of gostly [m]eyt or bodely • 3e ñedden hem & sterit hem to kepe my hestis [/] And [...] hold hem werþow þei ben writen in þe book of lif among [m]y hol[y] seyntis / For þe secounde dede of mercy God wilt sey • I th[ur]sted & 3c gouen me drynk [•] boþe bodely & gostly [/] For first a man schuld kunne goddis hestis & hold hem absteynyng him fro all þe seuen dedly synnes • þat is to gyue men drink [/] For riȝt as bodily drink is liȝtliar reseyuid þan bodily meyt • riȝt so þe hestis of God ben liccar to hem and siker to ani man þat newly turneþ him to God / For þe þrid dede of mercy God will sey • I was ha[r]barowles • & 3e (f. 218v) [h]arberowad me ð • þat is boþe bodely & gostly • wan ani of myn pore men in vertues for brekyng of myn hestis was departid fro ho[l]y [kirke] [/] For who þat lyueþ aȝen goddis hestis • is departid fro G[od] & holy chirche • & who þat lyuith aftur hestes of God • is of holy k[irk] / For [God] is in him & he in God [/] And when 3e knowen any such þat [were departid] fro holy kirk þorow brekyng of my hestes • 3e þorow 3our [g]ood [ly]uyng 3e meuyd hem to knowe myn hestis & to hold hem & so harborowid me in my membris gostly / For þe fourthe dede of mercy God will sey • I was nakid & 3e cloþid me [•] boþ bodely & gostly • þat is whan ani of myn pore were nakid of vertues 3e þorow 3our good liuing meuyd hem to hold myn hestis • & bi 3ow þorow grace of me þei were cloþid in vertues / For þe fift dede of mercy God wille sey

1 of • word missing due to MS damage. Similar instances of missing or partially illegible words will be marked in square brackets without a footnote.
2 harbarowles] habarowles – MS
• I was seek & [3]e visitid me [•] boþe bodily & gostly • þat is whan any of myn was boundun
wiþ þe soule bond in any of þe seuen synnes • & so layen seek in þe þer oune soule bi þer
vnstedfast liuyng 3e with [3our gl]ood conuersacoun meuyd hem to hold myn hestes • & with
sarow of [hert]e ]e bisily preyeden for hem / For þe sixte God will sey • I was in [priso]un &
3e kemen to me[III] [•] boþe bodily & gostly • þat is wan ani of myn p[...]feble men wer fallen in
to vnstedfastnes • & liȝtly wold be v[...]ed to breke myn hestis [/] And so þei lay in þe deuell[is]3
prisoun wlap[ ...] for who þat brekiþ goddis hestis is faster boundun to þe [deeu]lul
þan any man kan ymage[n to binde men bodily with gynnis or [with s]ynnis [/] And so þorow
þour compassiou[n meuid wiþ charite 3e deliuered [...] fols fro þe deuell[is]4 power • & tauȝt
hem to hold myn hestis / þe [se]uent wark of mercy of birying is not opunly rehersid in þe
gos[pe]l • [3h]it it is vndurstond in þe þrid • whan Crist seiþ he was hou[sl]es • þat whan ani of
myn lay proudly out of þi hous of holy kirk • here aboue þerþe not lowly knowing himself þerþe
& askes • but with a stingking breþe of soule lechours wordis • but 3e þorow þour good lyuing
meuyd [h]em to hold myn hestis & leue þer wickid lif • & so 3e þorow þour lyuyng slowen in
hem þe seuen dedly synnes & so þorow holding myn hestis þei were clad with seuen vertues •
lowly knowing himself þerþe & pouður • sewid [in charite]5

3 deuelis] deuel – MS
4 deuelis] deuel – MS
5 'in charite' is a catchword. This text is incomplete.
Notes on the Texts

On the Apostles' Creed

i Cf. LFMB, pp. 20-22.

ii There was a commonly held medieval belief that the apostles themselves wrote the creed, with each clause being attributed to a different apostle; this is represented in some MS copies by the addition of their names before each clause. See CUL Dd. 14.26 ff. 38"-39" and CUL Ff. 6.33 ff. 32"-33".

iii "...crede of pe chirche" – This refers to the Nicene Creed, the first dogmatic definition of the Christian church, the articles of which focus on topics such as the divinity of Christ, baptism, resurrection, and eternal life. "...crede of Athanasie" - This refers to the Athanasian Creed, a profession of the faith which, in the Middle Ages, was attributed to St. Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria from 328 to 373. It focused on the Trinity and Incarnation. For further reading see NCE 10, p. 354 and 1, pp. 815-820. See also J.N.D. Kelly, The Athanasian Creed: The Paddock Lectures, 1962-3 (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1964).

iv Cf. PT, 453-456 and PPC.


vi The reference to 'moder tung' can be read in two ways; either as an explicit statement, grounded in Scripture, about preaching God's word, or as an implicit criticism of the Church's failure in this matter, and subsequent justification for Lollard preaching. It could be an allusion to Wyclif's belief that 'the right to preach should also be extended to the laity on the grounds that they, too, have been called to spread the gospel in word and deed'. Cf. Arundel's Constitutions, pp. 459-62. See Edith W. Dolnikowski, 'Preaching at Oxford: Academic and pastoral Themes in Wyclif's Latin Sermon Cycle', in Jacqueline Hamesse, et al (eds.), Medieval Sermons and Society: Cloister, City, University, Textes et Études du Moyen Âge IX (Louvrain-la-Neuve: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévale, 1998), p. 371. Cf. OMC, p. 328/1-5.

vii Isaiah 45:5

viii Genesis 1:1
ix John 3:16
x John 20:28
xi Luke 1:35
xiv Luke 23:33
xv Luke 23:46-53
xvi 1 Peter 18-19.
xvii Luke 24:6-15
xviii Luke 24:51
xix Mark 16:19
xxi John 15:26
xxii Ephesians 2:19-22
xxiii John 10:28
xxiv There is a distinction here between those who are predestined for salvation, and those who must earn it through good deeds. The author clearly believes that they co-exist. Cf. *37 Conclusions*, pp. 4-7; Von Nolken, p. 67/12-9; *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Gospels, Sermon 20, pp. 300-4, notes in *EWS IV*, pp. 233-6; *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 33, pp. 620-2, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 71-3; *EWS II*, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 55, p. 2/26-28, notes in *EWS V*, p. 123.


On the evidence of later tracts in the anthology, most notably *CHM*, the pope is identified as Antichrist. This was not uncommon in Lollard literature. Cf. *PT*, 233-4 and 377-80.

### On the Pater Noster


Cf. *The Seven Heresies*, f. 4 for more on the superiority of the Pater Noster as a general prayer over special prayers.

Matthew 6:9

Matthew 6:10


Matthew 6:11

Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 22, p. 569/37-42; *EWS III*, Sermons for the Ferials, Sermon 176, p. 161/70-2. ‘...we axen pe sacrement; to haue mynde of oure fader’ - This is potentially problematic, as it must be read in the commemorative sense, which suggests memorialism. However, while it does not affirm Christ's real presence, it does not deny it either, and the fact that there is no elaboration on this point means that we must treat it
as a vague reference which in no way undermines the otherwise uniform affirmation of the doctrine of consubstantiation. See also Hornbeck, *What is a Lollard*, p. 78.

viii Matthew 6:12


x Matthew 6:13


xii Matthew 6:13

xiii Mark 3:29

xiv In one version of this text, found in Arnold, the tract goes on to discuss what Arnold calls the ‘comprehensiveness and universal significance’ of the Pater Noster: ‘whatevere opir wordis pe desire of him pat praien forman in bifo-goynge, pat it be cleere, opir addip afterwarde, pat it encreesce, we seie noon opir pinge pan pat is conteyned in pe praier of pis Lord, zif we praien rj3tli and covenabli.’ Arnold III, pp. 96-7.

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**On the Ave Maria**

\[\text{On the Ave Maria}\]

\[\text{On the Ave Maria}\]


iv stoonde – see MED entry for stand(e) n. A barrel, tub, cask, or similar container.

\[\text{iv stoonde – see MED entry for stand(e) n. A barrel, tub, cask, or similar container.}\]


Revelation 22:18


Note the fact that “Amen” is not included at the end. Matti Peikola argues that this was a sign that the tract treated the Ave Maria as a salutation, not a prayer. The effect of this was to highlight the primacy of scriptural concerns to the author. ‘And after all, myn Aue-Marie almost to the ende’: Pierce the Ploughman’s Crede and Lollard Expositions of the Ave Maria’, pp. 273-292. With this in mind, it is noteworthy that the opening line of the tract refers to it as a greeting, not as a prayer. Cf. Sixteen Points on which the Bishops accuse Lollards, in SEWW, p. 19/27-8 and p. 23/155-63; Confession of Hawisia Moone of Loddon, 1430, in SEWW, p. 36/80-3.

The Seven Heresies


Famulor – this is the Famulorum, a mass prayer for the Commemoration of the living.

Cf. FDR, 510-14 and 797-8.


Cf. DJR, p. 12/326-8. See PPI, B-Text, Passus XX, 228-231, in which Conscience begs the clergy for help against the ‘inparfit prestes and prelates of Holi Cherche.’ Friars show up to help, but Conscience rejects them ‘for pei koupe noȝt wel hir craft’, 228-230. See also Szittya, The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature, pp. 249-51.


2 Corinthians 6:15. Cf. LS 16/311.
This refers to the three parts of the Church – Triumphant (saints in heaven), Suffering (those in purgatory), and Militant (those on Earth).


Matthew 25:34

Matthew 25:34


The precise meaning of ‘singerly’ here is unclear, but in the context of the sentence it most likely refers to selfishness; singular profit, as opposed to common profit. Cf. *FDR*, 328-329. See also Matthew 6:1-4.

See also Matthew 6:1-4.

See also Matthew 6:1-4.

See *De eucharistia*, pp. 174-5 for Wyclif’s view on arguments in favour of transubstantiation and his response to orthodox opposition to his views.

Cf. *De eucharistia*, p. 294, in which Wyclif maintains that devotion is destroyed if it is accepted that the bread is merely accident without subject.

See On the Eucharist, p. 114/1-11.

See On the Eucharist.


Mark 2:7. Ironically, it is the scribes who point this out, accusing Christ of blasphemy.

This is an example of self-referential terms which Lollards used, identified by Anne Hudson as sect vocabulary and covered in exhaustive detail by Matti Peikola. Similar terms such as ‘trewe men’ or ‘trewe prestis’ also appear throughout the anthology. See Anne Hudson, ‘A Lollard Sect Vocabulary?’ and Matti Peikola, *Congregation of the Elect*.


Cf. *OMC*, p. 342/372-82, notes in *EWS V*, p. 269. See *JU*, 83-86. See also *PPC*, lines 482-492, in which their foundations are rooted in Satan and they are equated with the Pharisees. In the anthology, this is discussed in most detail in *VO*, pp. 366-78. See also *Of Pseudo-Friars*, in *EW II*, pp. 61-92.


For more on this conception of the three estates all being part of the Church, see *LL*, pp. 23-35; *God Kepe the Kyng, and Save the Croune*, in *PP II*, lines 8-11, 41-44 and 137-144. Cf. *PPI*, B-Text, Prologue, lines 20-27; *JU*, lines 6-8; *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 8, p. 512/79-85, notes in *EWS V*, p. 19. See also *Dialogus*, in which Wyclif builds his criticisms of the institutional Church on the model of the three estates. In the anthology, *DRG* is an adaptation of *Dialogus*.


The claim that friars were a threat to the realm and diminished the king’s majesty was, as Somerset observes, ‘very common in Wycliffite tracts’, *Clerical Discourse and Lay Audience*, p. 146. See, for instance, *Fifty Heresies and Errors of the Friars*, in *Arnold III*, p. 391. Cf. *Sermones IV*, p. 61; p. 119.
xxxiv Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Gospels, Sermon 11, pp. 264-7, notes in *EWS IV*, pp. 213-4; *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Gospels, Sermon 23, pp. 313-6, notes in *EWS IV*, pp. 240-1; *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 26, p. 587/47-57, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 54-5; *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 27, pp. 588-92, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 55-8; *EWS II*, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 71, pp. 89-90/47-54, notes in *EWS V*, p. 162; *EWS III*, Sermons for the Ferials, Sermon 161, pp. 113-16, notes in *EWS V*, p. 321. See *PPC*, which discusses the foundation of the mendicant orders and compares them to the Pharisees, 486-487. In MS 245, they are likened to the Pharisees throughout *VO*, pp. 366-78. See also *UR*, 120-123, in which he refutes the claim that the orders of friars can be linked to the orders of angels.

xxxv Coupled with the final sentence of the sixth heresy, the author clearly believed that friars were superfluous and that the orders should be abolished. Cf. *CHM*: '...bastard braunchis shulde be kutt fro pis tree', p. 359. See *PPI*, B-Text, Passus XX, 383, which, despite the strongly antifraternal tone throughout, in the end argues that society needs to find a way to fund the friars rather than abolishing them. See also Szitty, *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature*, pp. 267-87.

*On Faith, Hope and Charity*


ii Whereas Scripture is central to Lollard preaching, the author here is accusing the friars of preferring to entertain an audience rather than teaching the word of God. In *FDR*, Scripture is used throughout, with this in mind. See for instance 881-893. See also *PPC*, in which the friars use of Scripture only serves to undermine his point and highlight the hypocrisy of the orders, 89-94. See Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 350.


v sixe – meaning 'such', not the number 6.

vi Romans 10:6
Philemon 1:6

Hebrews 11:33

A detailed discussion of the dangers of worshipping the world instead of God is found in the commentary on the Ten Commandments. See Jefferson, pp. 87-100.

James 2:10


‘Cristen men’ is one of a number of self-referential terms used in Lollard sect vocabulary. See p. 115, n. xxii.

Cf. SWM II, p. 179.


See note on line 238 of JU on Lollard usage of the word ‘contrarien’.

Matthew 12:31 and Mark 3:29


See PPI, B-Text, Passus XV, 149-346.

Cf. EWS I, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 1, p. 480/130-41, notes in EWS V, p. 6; Apostasia, pp. 4-8, in which Wyclif dismantles the arguments stating habits are essential, noting that if this were true, then an ass in religious garb would be a member of that order. See Chaucer, The Romautn of the Rose, 6188-6194. See also JU, 103-114; PPC, 550-551, and FDR, 369-380.


Matthew 20:23

2 Corinthians 12: 2-4

1 Corinthians 13:4-8

Patience is a recurrent theme throughout the anthology. Cf. PPI, B-Text, Passus XI, 317-318. See also Passus XIII, 171-189, which discusses the role of patience in social and ecclesiastical reform.


This concept of ‘loue and drede’ for God is discussed in detail in the section on the first commandment in the commentary on the Ten Commandments. See Jefferson, pp. 15-50.
Tractatus de apostasia cleri

i Cf. *De Stipendiis Ministrorum*, which details how the laity can find true priests. Arnold III, pp. 202-203.

ii Cf. Von Nolcken, p. 93.


iv Cf. *Apostasia*, pp. 4-8.


vii There is a rubricated heading here, and the marginal note suggests that this is the 2nd part of one tract rather than two tracts.


x John 14:15


xiii 1 Corinthians 4:12


 xvii Cf. Virtues and good lyvinge is cleped ypocrisie, PP II, pp. 431-2. See also FDR, 899-900, in which he equates the Lollards with Satan.


 xix Cf. PT, 630-633.


 xxii This refers to the First Council of Nicaea. See NEC, X, pp. 346-8.

 xxiii drit - The MED cites various meanings, but in this case it refers to worthless worldly possessions.


 xxviii Cf. EWS II, Sermons for the Proper of Saints, Sermon 101, p. 254/76-82.
obeshe – derived from obeishen v. to obey.

cariot – The MED notes that this is a variant of L. Iscariotes, meaning purse-bearer.

Cf. PPC, 20-23. See the notes to these lines on p. 214. See also Chaucer, The Canterbury Tales, I, The General Prologue, 165-207, and PT, 990-1061, for a detailed criticism of monks.

For a detailed discussion of the ministering of the sacraments and the dangers of receiving them from sinful clergy, see 37 Conclusions, pp. 115-34.

Cf. Sixteen Points on which the Bishops accuse Lollards, in SEWW, p. 19/12-3 and p. 21/96-104; 37 Conclusions, pp. 54-6.

Possessioneris were beneficed priests who were supported by tithes. For a detailed Lollard criticism of such clergymen, see Of Clerks Possessioners, in Matthew, pp. 114-40. Cf. 37 Conclusions, pp. 90-1.


Symonentis – plural and variant of simonent adj. as a a noun: one who practises simony.

EWS I, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 51, pp. 685-9, notes in EWS V, pp. 113-6. See also Sixteen Points on which the Bishops accuse Lollards, in SEWW, p. 19/22-4 and p. 22/139-45.

Traterie – variant of traitourie n. treason, betrayal.

Note the militant language of this sentence. The author speaks of priests who should be ‘capteynes’ and ‘cheuetenys’ (both referring to leaders of armies) fighting in a battle against Antichrist, but instead they fight against Christ and ‘trewe men.’ Cf. PPI, B-Text, Passus XX, 65-79, and FDR, 219-224.

Peyryng – variant of peiring(e ger. detriment.

Cf. Apostasia, pp. 24-5. This can be linked to the failure of friars and clergymen to practice what they preached, that they were hypocrites compared to ‘trewe prestes’. See PPI, B-Text, Passus XIII, 116-118. See also PPC, 637-640 and 791-794; DP i.ii, p. 288/42; Chaucer, The Canterbury Tales, I, The General Prologue, 477-482, for a description of the Parson, whom
Frances McCormack has linked to Lollardy. See McCormack, *Chaucer and the Culture of Dissent: The Lollard Context and Subtext of the Parson’s Tale*.


brollis—plural of *brol n.* a wretch, a worthless person.


*Of Antecrist and His Meynee*

i Cf. *ALD*, pp. 53-8; Von Nolcken, pp. 60-2 and pp. 91-2. See also *PPI*, B-Text, Passus XIX, 220-225; *LL*, pp. 13-22, 81-127; *Cursor Mundi*, IV, pp. 1259-82/21975-22426.


Cf. The Last Age of the Church, pp. xxiv-xxv.

Cf. The Last Age of the Church, pp. xxv.

Cf. The Last Age of the Church, pp. xxv-xxxiv.

Psalm 9:29. Chouche – this refers to a bed, bedroom or inner chamber. This is not listed in the MED, but see the OED.

See Augustine, Expositions on the Book of Psalms, p. 39. See also Von Nolcken, pp. 60-61.

Cf. JU, 79-81 and PPI, B-Text, Passus XIV, 29-34.

This is a reference to the Pseudo-Isidorian False Decretals, forgeries composed in the 9th century, which were often mistakenly believed to be the work of St. Isidore of Seville in the Middle Ages. For further reading, see NCE 5, pp. 615-619. See also E.H. Davenport, The False Decretals (Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1916).

The author is referring to two of the epistles of Pope Gregory I. The references point to Book V, Ep. XXXII and Book XVII, Ep. XXIX, but both of these are lost. However, he does discuss the issue of the ‘Universal Bishop’ elsewhere, such as in Book V, Epistle XVIII: “...what wilt thou say to Christ, who is the Head of the universal Church, in the scrutiny of the last judgment, having attempted to put all his members under yourself by the appellation of Universal?” For further reading, see A Select Library of the Christian Church: Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Volume XII: Leo the Great, Gregory the Great, ed. by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, Second Series (Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1999), pp. 166-9.

Cf. PT, 437-42.

Job 40:10-12

Cruentli – this is the only recorded instance of this word, listed in the MED under cruentli adv. bloodthirstily, ferociously, and the OED under cruently adv. cruelly. Derived from the Latin cruens, meaning bloody. Both entries cite Todd’s transcription, found in
Three Treatises. However, Todd failed to note that the scribe made an error as the word is abbreviated and the abbreviation for ‘ra’ is used, not ‘ru’. Thus it should be rendered as ‘craentlier’, and noted as a scribal error.

Matthew 24:24


Matthew 7:15. Cf. DP i.i, p. 213/37-9. This was a common feature of Lollard writing, often aimed at friars. Cf. FDR, in which the poet turns the accusation around on the Lollards, drawing a comparison between their grey clothes and a wolf’s coat, 383-386. See also Henryson’s fable, The Fox and the Wolf, in which the satirical physical description refers to both wolf and friar. Robert Henryson, The Complete Works, ed. by David J. Parkinson (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2010), Fables, 679-81.


2 Timothy 4:4


Romans 16:18

2 Timothy 3:7

2 Timothy 3:8

Luke 11:23 and Matthew 12:30


1 John 2:18. Cf. *TWT* 10/259

John 12:26

John 21:17-19


John 13:5


Sermon 148, pp. 71-3, notes in EWS V, pp. 303-4; TWT 12/332; TWT 12/332.


PPI, B-Text, Prologue, 35-6, in which such entertainers are referred to as the descendants of Judas. See also Szittya, The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature, pp. 251-7.


This is a reference to the Clementinae, the collection of legislation of Pope Clement V (1305-14). Clement died before promulgation, so it was promulgated by his successor, John XXII, in 1317. The title, Clementinae, was given by the renowned canonist, and distinguished decrétalist, Joannes Andreae, or Giovanni d’Andrea (John Andrew). The mention of his daughter is a reference to Novella d’Andrea, who, according to Christine de Pizan, was a respected professor of law at the University of Bologna, often lecturing in place of her father. For further reading, see NCE 3, p. 800, and Volume 7, pp. 881-2; Christine de Pizan, The Book of the City of Ladies, trans. by Earl Jeffrey Richards (New York: Persea, 1982), II.36.3, p. 154.

John 21:12-13

Matthew 8:24; Luke 8:23


Matthew 4:2

Ouwhere adv. anywhere.

Cf. EWS II, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 65, p. 56/49-60, notes in EWS V, p. 149.

Matthew 21:18-19


Matthew 4:23
Matthew 22:15-16


Matthew 14:16-21

The commentary on the corporal works of mercy discusses this in detail. See *SWM I*, pp. 171-7.

Matthew 21:5


Cf. *Of Confession*, *EWT II*, p. 36/44-5.


Matthew 27:34

Matthew 27:26

Matthew 4:24


The most detailed discussion of canon law in MS 245 can be found in *ALD*, pp. 73-80. See also Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 378-80. Cf. *DRG*, pp. 50-1/264-310; *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 32, pp. 614-9, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 69-71; *EWS II*,

Matthew 27:26-35.


Matthew 5:11. TWT 62/1246.


Mark 16:15. Cf. LS 1/277; 9/269; 13/228; The Nature of the Church, in SEWW, p. 118/87-101; Von Nolcken, pp. 85-91; TWT 3/17; 49/848; Universalibus, 358/136

Cf. EWS II, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 61, p. 30/5-21, notes in EWS V, p. 135; Von Nolken, pp. 73-4.

‘The target of papal indulgences’, Hudson observes, was ‘an absurdly easy one to hit’. Drawing from the 12 Conclusions, and quoting a text from Oxford New College 95, she continues: ‘how can the pope be in charity if he claims to have power to release from purgatory but fails to do so?’ Premature Reformation, p. 300. See pp. 299-301; ALD, p. 7. Cf. PPI, B-Text, Passus VII, 179-186. Alastair Minnis discusses indulgences in Piers Plowman in detail. See Translations of Authority, pp. 68-89.


Cf. PPI, B-Text, Passus XIV, 280.


Matthew 20:25-27


Matthew 5:21; Mark 10:19; Luke 18:20


c Cf. *JU*, 172-4, and *FDR*, 562-574.


Luke 9:58


John 12:4-6


*EWS II*, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 65, p. 57/71-9, notes in *EWS V*, p. 149.


cviii This point is expanded upon in the next tract. See p. 131, n. 1.

Amery v. to punish.

Cf. 37 Conclusions, pp. 51-2. See PT, 972-973.

Luke 2:46

Matthew 19:5; Mark 10:7

Luke 23:43

Luke 19:5-6

types messe penyes – this refers to ‘mass pence’ paid to parish priests and canons.

gylden trentals – a trental is a set of thirty masses sung on the same day or spread over several days. The golden trental refers to a trental attributed to Pope Gregory consisting of ten sets of three masses for the dead to be sung on ten chief feast days of the year (Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, etc.); the above is a reference to payment received for singing this trental.

pardenystour – variant of pardoner n. a seller of indulgences.

procuracatour – this refers to a spokesperson or representative of another.

Peter’s Pence was a tax paid to the Holy See, which was most likely introduced towards the end of the 9th century. It was imposed on every household in the English kingdom. For further reading see NCE 11, pp. 209-10.

christe – this is most likely a variant of chrism, an oil mingled with balm, consecrated for use as an unguent in the administration of certain sacraments. It is not listed in the MED, but see the OED.

houselpens - this refers to payment for the Eucharist. Cf. PT, 1210-13.

seuenpeny weddyng – this refers to a wedding which cost seven pence, hence trifling or contemptible. This term does not appear in the MED, but see the OED.

Cf. FDR regarding Lollards profiting from the people, 326-7.

John 20:22

Matthew 8:22; Luke 9:60

John 2:6

Cf. 37 Conclusions, pp. 94-7; EWS I, Sermons on the Sunday Gospels, Sermon 50, pp. 452-3/110-9, notes in EWS IV, p. 314; EWS II, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 58, p. 16/6-11, notes in EWS V, p. 131; EWS II, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 61, p. 34/114-119, notes in EWS V, p. 139. See also The Duty of the Priesthood, in SEWW, pp. 119-122.

Crucifige – Latin, meaning ‘crucify him!’ the cry of the Jews to Pilate.

Matthew 10:12; Luke 10:5

Pentauncers – priests who administered the sacrament of penance.

Matthew 27:60

Cf. John Clanvowe’s The Two Ways, which sought to lead his audience away from the ‘broad way’, which led to damnation, and towards the narrow path to salvation: ‘The gospel tellep pat in a tyme whanne oure lord Ihesu Crist was heere vpon eerthe a man com to hym and askede hym 3ef pat fewe men shulden be saaued. And Crist answerede and seyde, “The 3aate is wyde and pe way is brood pat leedep to los and manye goon in pat wey, and how streit is pe 3aate and pe weye nargh pat leedeth to pe lyf and few fynden pat wey.” By thise wordis of Crist we mown vndirstoonde pat pe wey pat leedep to pe peyne o f helle is a brood wey and pat pe wey pat leedep to pe blisse o f heuene is a nargh wey,’ 5-15. John Clanvowe, The Works of John Clanvowe, ed. by John Scattergood (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1965: repr. 1975), pp. 57-80. See also Frances McCormack, 'The Heterodoxy of Sir John Clanvowe’s The Two Ways' and K.B. McFarlane, Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), pp. 197-206.

Manqwellers – murderers.


Cf. EWS I, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 34, pp. 623-5, notes in EWS V, pp. 73-5.

Of Antecristis Songe in Chirche

Opposition to singing the divine office is listed as the fifteenth error of the Lollards in


gloturye – see MED entry gloteri(e n. Intemperate appetite for food.

Colossians 3:16; Ephesians 5:1


Romans 8:26

cryouse – see MED entry for crious adj. noisy, clamorous.

The Sanctus is acclamation of praise within the Eucharistic prayer, adapted from Isaiah 6:3. The Agnus Dei was sung during the breaking of the bread and pouring of the wine. The Gloria was sung early in the mass. It is unclear what Patrem refers to, though Arnold notes that it is probably the prayer beginning ‘Qui pridie quam pateretur’, which would mean it was said or sung during the consecration of the bread. See NCE 12, pp. 664-5; 1, pp. 184-6; 6, pp. 240-1; Arnold III, p. 481.
O f P rayer a T rety s

i John 4:23

ii 1 Timothy 2:8

iii Psalms 102:22

iv Cf. 3 7 Conclusions, pp. 8-10.

v 1 Corinthians 6:19

vi Luke 6:12

vii Acts 16:25

viii Matthew 6:6

O n C onfession

i Cf. CHM, p. 358; EWS II, Sermons for the C omm on of Saints, Sermon 63, pp. 45-6/64-99, pp. 143-4. See also 1 2 Conclusions, pp. 27-8/114-34; LFMB, pp. 6-9.


iii Cf. SDS, pp. 136-7; EWS II, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 75, p. 113/70-5, notes in EWS V, p. 170; LL, p. 34

iv The Pharisees were, as Penn Szitty a observes, ‘the most prominent’ of William of St. Amour’s antifraternal types, and this is also the case in English medieval poetry. See Szitty a, Th e Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature, pp. 34-41 and 201-7.


x James 5:14


xii toone – see the MED entry for *ton* pron. One of two, usually preceded by the.


xvii Psalms 109:4


xxii Psalms 4:5

xxiii Psalms 118:37

xxiv 1 Corinthians 8:12

xxv Matthew 5:22-24

xxvi Luke 8:2 'As Luke witnesseth' in *pesh...* – The omission of a word here, with the sentence left
open, happens on a number of occasions throughout this tract, usually with scriptural references. In each case there is a note in the margins, most likely a reminder by the scribe to himself that he should return when he has the book or passage at hand. This was not uncommon practice for a scribe, and is part and parcel of what Mary J. Carruthers terms ‘a memorial culture’. As Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, et al, note: ‘Clerics and vernacular reciters often knew long passages by heart and were as likely to refer to their memory as to a written book (the author of the General Prologue to the Wycliffite Bible, for example, refers to a number of patristic authorities, specifying the chapter or approximate place in the book, but adding, “but I have him not now”’). Another example is offered by Anne Hudson, quoting from an anonymous Lollard scholar: ‘And hou3 seint Denyse writis of pis sacrament aftur pe logic of Goddis law I told in partie before, but for I haue not nou3 pe copie of his boke I write not his wordis here’. See Mary J. Carruthers, The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 8; Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, et al., (eds.), The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280-1520 (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999), pp. 10-11; Anne Hudson, ‘A Wycliffite Scholar of the Early Fifteenth Century’, in The Bible in the Medieval World, p. 312-3.

Cf. EWS III, Sermons for the Ferials, Sermon 231, pp. 298-301, notes in EWS V, p. 374; Of Confession, EWT II, p. 34/7-8.


Psalms 41:4

Psalms 91:2
Matthew 5:22-24. Cf. *DP* i.i, p. 273/20. Racha – this word is explained in the text as ‘a word of scorne eiiper indignacioun [*eijre fool wipoute cause’]. Some versions of this biblical passage render ‘Racha’ or ‘Raca’ as ‘thou fool’.

Matthew 7:1


Psalms 31:5

Matthew 6:14

Prosper – this refers to Prosper of Acquitaine, a disciple of Augustine.


Joel 2:13

Jeremiah 31:18

Cf. *Apostasia*, p. 33; Von Nolcken, p. 59/24-38. See also *PPI*, B-Text, Passus XX, 334-5.

Cf. *Of Confession, EWT II*, p. 51/57-9; *Sixteen Points on which the Bishops accuse Lollards*, in *SEWW*, p. 19/5-6 and pp. 20-1/69-80; *37 Conclusions*, pp. 18-20; *Sermones IV*, pp. 100-101.

Cf. *Of Confession, EWT II*, p. 58/14/15.


Matthew 24:24

Revelation 20:7

All of this refers to Innocent III’s naming of Stephen Langton as Archbishop of Canterbury, against the will of King John, in 1207. The king refused to accept the appointment, which led to the pope proclaiming an inderdict, and eventually excommunicating John in 1209. With attempts at settlement at an impasse, the king eventually relented under the threat of French invasion with papal backing. In 1213, Pandulf, the papal nuncio, landed in England, and shortly thereafter, John renounced his crowns of England and Ireland, receiving them back as fiefs. He also offered to pay 1000 marks annually. See Ralph V. Turner, *King John* (London: Longman, 1994; repr. 1995), pp. 157-68.

Isaiah 10:1

Psalms 9:21


2 Thessalonians 2:3-4.

Zachariah 11:17

*On the Eucharist*

Cf. *De eucharistia; Trialogus*, pp. 197-224; *Sermones III*, pp. 277-286; *ALD*, pp. 45-8; *EWS III*, Sermons for the Ferials, Sermon 206, pp. 247-8, notes in *EWS V*, p. 360; *Wyclif's Confessions on the Eucharist*, in *SEWW*, pp. 17-18; *The Eucharist II*, in *SEWW*, pp. 113-115; *Sixteen Points on which the Bishops accuse Lollards*, in *SEWW*, p. 19/3-4 and p. 20/50-68; *12 Conclusions*, p. 25/36-50; *37 Conclusions*, pp. 40-3 and 78-9; Von Nolken, pp. 71-2; *Confession of Havisia Moone of Loddon, 1430*, in *SEWW*, pp. 34-5/31-4; *LFMB*, p. 115; pp. 118-21; 122-27; Mirk I, pp. 154-60; Arundel’s Constitutions, p. 464; *JU*, 316-325. See also *PPC*, which offers a more evasive opinion on transubstantiation, 823-825.

Matthew 26:26-28


See the discussion of the literal sense of Scripture in the introduction, pp. 62-7. For an orthodox counter-argument, see John Mirk’s sermon on Corpus Christi, in which he relates the story of Saint Gregory and a woman who doubts the veracity of the doctrine of transubstantiation. Gregory asks the people to ‘pray to God to shew so hys miracul pat pe womman mythe ben holpyn owte o f hyr mysbeleve’. The bread then turns into raw, dripping flesh, and the woman is convinced. Mirk I, pp. 158-9/163-80. A similar tale is recounted in Knighton’s Chronicle, pp. 261-3. The concept of the bread existing as an actual lump of Christ’s flesh led to some very rational objections, working from the sardonic view that ‘a mouse knows bread when it sees it, even if friars do not’. One sceptic pointed out that ‘a mouse will eat consecrated bread as readily as unconsecrated’, whilst another observed that a mouse or a rat would not eat the host if it were truly God’s body’. See Hudson, Premature Reformation, p. 285; Apostasia, p. 58.


vii Jerome, Letter CXX, Letters and Select Works, p. 224. See also De eucharistia, p. 200; pp. 271-2; pp. 296-303; Sermones II, p. 453; Sermones III, p. 278.

viii This refers to the synod of 1059, assembled by Nicholas II and attended by one hundred and thirteen bishops. Berengarius of Tours, who denied Christ’s real presence in the Eucharist, was present and was forced to renounce this view.


x 1 Corinthians 10:16


*On the Virtuous Life*


vi Cf. EWS III, Sermons for the Ferials, Sermon 208, pp. 251-2, notes in EWS V, p. 361; ALD, pp. 30-7; Von Nolcken, pp. 85-6. See also *PT*, 546-553.

vii ...,so is a lewd man doctour to defende pe treupe - this effectively undermines the worth of academic learning. Cf. DJR, p. 6/115-31; THS, pp. 180-97; Dialogus, p. 54; De eucharistia, pp. 46-7.

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Matthew 15:8


eysele – variant of *aisel n.* vinegar.

on the Epistles of Paul to the Corinthians, ed. by Philip Schaff, First Series (Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1995).


xxi Origen – this refers to Origen, the 3rd century Christian theologian.

xxii Rabanus Maurus, a 9th century Benedictine monk and the archbishop of Mainz, Germany.

xxiii 1 Corinthians 4:5

xxiv Exodus 12:29-30

xxv Luke 6:38

xxvi John 8:34. Cf. DP i.i, p. 277/31.

xxvii 2 Peter 2:19

xxviii Jeremiah 9:23

xxix Isaiah 5:21


xxxi Jeremiah 27:5

xxxii Judith was wealthy, but was humble before God. See Judith 8:1-34.

xxxiii leîstre - variant of laughter.

xxxiv Hournement – variant of ounement n. ornament.

xxxv hillyng – variant of hiling ger. the action of clothing.

xxxvi Cf. PT, in which priests are criticized for dressing fashionably, 925-941.

xxxvii bijse – variant of bis n. a precious kind of linen or cotton cloth; batiste, cambric; a garment made of this fabric (as worn by the nobility along with purple).


This image of the superfluous individual who does not fit into either of the estates is comparable to the description of friars in *JU*, 58-60.

*On Consideration*, Book III, Chapter V, p. 92.

anhourne – variant of *enournen* v. to decorate.


Leviticus 23:42-43


Luke 21:18

Revelation 2:21

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*On Consideration*


2 *On Consideration*, Book I, Ch. VI, p. 24


4 *On Consideration*, Book I, Ch. VI, pp. 24-25

5 Jeremiah 1:10

6 *On Consideration*, Book II, Ch. VI, pp. 45-46

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vii Galatians 4:7

viii Matthew 20:6

ix On Consideration, Book II, Ch. VI, p. 46

x Acts 3:6

xi 1 Peter 5:3. Cf. TWT 6/121.

xii Luke 22:25


xiv On Consideration, Book II, Ch. VI, p. 47


xviii Cf. EWS II, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 64, p. 52/98-105, notes in EWS V, p. 147.


xx Hebrews 11:33

xxi On Consideration, Book II, Ch. VI, pp. 50-1.

xxii On Consideration, Book III, Chapter I, p. 69

xxiii Psalms 45:16

xxiv Matthew 24:45

xxv On Consideration, Book III, Chapter I, pp. 70-1.

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On Consideration, Book III, Chapter I, p. 71

On Consideration, Book III, Chapter III, p. 82

On Consideration, Book IV, Ch. III, p. 103.

Cf. EWS II, Sermons for the Proper of Saints, Sermon 106, p. 268/35-41, notes in EWS V, p. 239.


This is a variant of Origen. See p. 140 n. xxi.


On the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit

This tract follows on without a break from the preceding tract. See DRG, p. 53/378-83.

Cf. EWS III, Sermons for the Ferials, Sermon 234, p. 306/1-14, notes in EWS V, p. 375; SDS, pp. 119-67; Trialogus, pp. 135-7; DJR, p. 4/12-6.

Cf. PT, 433.

Luke 14:27

Cf. SDS, pp. 121-8; Trialogus, pp. 137-41.

Cf. SDS, pp. 128-42; Trialogus, pp. 141-51.

Cf. SDS, pp. 142-8; Trialogus, pp. 151-7.


On the Eight Blessings


iii Matthew 5:4.

iv Matthew 5:5.

v Luke 23:28

vi Matthew 5:6

vii Matthew 5:7


x Canticles 1:15

On the Five Wittes

i Cf. PPI, B-Text, Passus IX, 17-22. See also the short mnemonic poem Kepe well x, and flee fro vii, which refers to the Decalogue, the Seven Deadly Sins, and the Five Wits: ‘Kepe well x, and flee fro vii; / Rule well v, and come to heven’, in Middle English Lyrics, p. 122; and Cursor Mundi, I, p. 38/539-43.

Ecclesiastes 10:16. This is a reference to Richard II, who was known as the “boy king,” a moniker which stuck with him into adulthood. Cf. *PPI*, B-Text, Prologue, 194. See also *Richard the Redeless*, Passus Three, 224-236, in which Witt is expelled from the kings court.

Conscience is here analogous to a good ruler, but see also *PPI*, B-Text, Passus XIX, 411-2.


2 Corinthians 2:15-16.


On Jacob’s Ladder

1 Genesis 28:12-15

2 Ephesians 4:6

Nine Points

This text was most likely based on one by Richard Rolle entitled ‘Points best pleasing to God’, in *Richard Rolle, Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole, an English Father of the Church*, ed. by Carl Horstman (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1895), pp. 110-12. There are three versions included in the edition, with two parallel texts in simple prose presented alongside the main prose treatise; one from ‘MS Vernon’, the other from ‘Harl. 1704’, the latter of which is longer. These are different from the Rawlinson text, and are closer to the version in this volume. Harley 1704 continues on after the ninth point to discuss the ten commandments, and the seven vices and virtues. Each of the quotations below are from the text from MS Rawlinson C. 285.

Cf. Rolle: ‘Till pe pouer almos donne, whils pou lifs oft & sone: pat payes me mare, pan pou
gaf grete hilles of gold after pi dede bi any-kin lare.’ p. 110.

iii Cf. Rolle: ‘Ilke tere of pi neghe for my passion, and for pi synnes pat pou hast done: pat pays me, mare and pou mouth in als mykel sorowe be, pat pou mouth grete als mykel water als ware in pe see, for erthly guddes and erthli thyng.’ p. 110.

iv Cf. Rolle: ‘Swetely suffre frawarde wordis for my sake, and when pi hertes mast gret late nogth with-schape, and in pees kepe pus pi saule: pis paies me mare, pan pou soughth fourschore myle pi fete and schankes sa bare, pat breres and stanes paim so retted pat pe blod rane eeuer ay-whare, and men by pat trase of blod mouth fynd whare pou ware.’ p. 112.

v Cf. Rolle: ‘Breke pi slape and wake with oryson, prayand with gud deuocyon: for pat es me mare payand, and pou toke twell armed knyghtes, and sent paim in til pe haly land, on sarsines to feigth.’ p. 112.

vi Cf. Rolle: ‘Off pe seke haf pete and passion: pat paies me mare, and pou war with als many stauys dongyne als men mouth bar, in a hundreth wodis grouaud and wele mare.’ pp. 110-11.

vii Cf. Rolle: ‘Constryne pi foule hert and pi wikkyd wille, and take mekely with-in clennese, pees, resone, and skylle, and pute awey pe foule syne pat of pi hert wille come: ffor forsakyng of preue wille and opyne es parfite religione: and paies god mare, and pou fasted fourschore yhere water and brede and ilke a day pi bodily flesshe in blod gert fare.’ pp. 111-12.

viii Cf. Rolle: ‘Loue pi neigthburn and pi eeuene-cristene, and speke paim pe gud and pare-til eeuer-lastyne, and wille paim hale to gude: and pat paies our lord mare pat died opon pe rode, and we and our spirit hile a day in til heeuene fley, southly to say.’ p. 112.

ix Cf. Rolle: ‘What (pou wile) hafe, fyrrst of me pou it crafe: and pat paie(s me mare a)nd my moder and all halowys pray for pe.’ p. 112.

x Cf. Rolle: ‘Loue me (ouer all pin)gis soueraynly, and pi hert to me gif all haly: and pat paies me mare likand to my wille, and pou Mountid vp clymm^and on a hille, ffull of sharp rasours kerwand pe sare, pat pi flesshe fra pe banys hynged ay-whare.’ p. 112.

On the Deeds of Mercy

Matthew 25:34. Cf. EWS III, Sermons on the Ferials, Sermon 147, pp. 67-70, notes in EWS 146
As noted in the introduction, this appears to imply that those who are to be saved are predestined to follow Christ in life, something which is prefigured in *The Seven Heresies*, which states that "noon shall be damned but deuelis". It is problematic because it suggests that the identity of the recipients of God’s grace can be known, something which is contradicted in *On the Apostles’ Creed*: ‘And pus men lacken knowyng • wher pei ben partis of Hooli Chirche’. However, the fact that this tract is incomplete means we are not privy to the author’s final thoughts on the matter.

ii Matthew 25:35

iii Matthew 25:36
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Abstract

This is a critical edition of material from Trinity College Dublin MS 245, an early fifteenth-century Lollard instructional anthology. This is a case study, the aim of which is to reassess the nature of such anthologies by analysing an individual manuscript as a book in and of itself. The edition includes a selection of unique and unpublished texts, notes, and a detailed commentary on the manuscript’s history, structure, contents, and context. Special attention is paid to the book’s evolution over time, as a quire was added at a later date, significantly altering the thrust of the anthology, while the critical focus is on vernacular theology, the assertion of lay authority, Church corruption, proposed radical social reforms, Lollard pedagogical practice, and re-education of the faithful.