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The Evolution of a Lollard Book of Instruction: A Critical Edition of Material from Trinity College Dublin MS 245

Gregory Hulsman

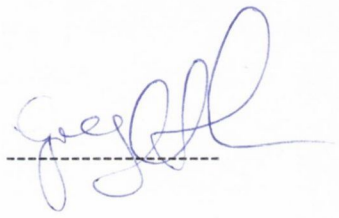
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Summary

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.

Acknowledgements

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 10D 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	*Twelve Conclusions of the Lollards*, in *SEWW*, ed. by Anne Hudson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 24-9. Cited by page and line numbers.
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	*Apology for Lollard Doctrines*, ed. by James Henthorn Todd (London: Camden Society, 1842).

Apostasia	John Wyclif, *Tractatus de apostasia*, ed. by Michael Henry Dziewicki (London: Trübner & Co., for the Wyclif Society, 1889).
Arnold III	*Wyclif: Select English Works*, Volume III, ed. by Thomas Arnold (London: Macmillan & Co., 1871).
Arundel's Constitutions	*A Collection of the Laws and Canons of the Church of England, from Its First Foundation to the Conquest, and from the Conquest to the Reign of King Henry VIII, Translated into English with Explanatory Notes, in Two Volumes,* vol. 2, ed. by John Johnson (Oxford: Parker, 1851), pp. 457-75.
BL	British Library, London
Chaucer	Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Riverside Chaucer*, gen. ed. Larry D. Benson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988). Canterbury Tales are cited by title, fragment, and line number. Other works are cited by title and line number.
CHM	*The Church and Her Members*, in Arnold III, pp. 338-65.
CUL	Cambridge University Library
Cursor Mundi	*Cursor Mundi (The Cursor o the World); A Northumbrian Poem of the XIVth Century in Four Versions*, ed. by Richard Morris, 7 vols, Early English Text Society O.S. 57; 59; 62; 66; 68; 99; 101 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1874-93). Cited by volume, page and line number.
De eucharistia	John Wyclif, *De eucharistia tractatus maior*, ed. by Johann Loserth (London: Trübner & Co., for the Wyclif Society, 1892).
DFS	*Dialogue Between a Friar and a Secular*, in

	FWD, pp. 32-42. Cited by page and line number.
Dialogus	John Wyclif, *Dialogus sive speculum ecclesie militantis*, ed. by Alfred W. Pollard (London: Trübner & Co., for the Wyclif Society, 1886).
DP	*Dives and Pauper*, ed. by Priscilla Heath Barnum, 2 vols. in 3, EETS O.S. 275; 280; 323 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976-2004). Cited by volume (i.i, i.ii, ii), page and line number.
DJR	*Dialogue between Jon and Richard*, in *FWD*, pp. 4-31. Cited by page and line numbers.
DRG	*Dialogue between Reson and Gabbyng*, in *FWD*, pp. 43-53. Cited by page and line number.
EETS	Early English Text Society.
EWS	*English Wycliffite Sermons*, ed. by Anne Hudson and Pamela Gradon, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983-96). Cited by volume, sermon and line number.
EWT I	*English Wyclif Tracts, 1-3*, ed. by Conrad Lindberg (Oslo: Novus Forlag, 1991).
EWT II	*English Wyclif Tracts, 4-6*, ed. by Conrad Lindberg (Oslo: Novus Forlag, 2000).
FDR	*Friar Daw's Reply,* in *Six Ecclesiastical Satires*, ed. by James Dean (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1991), pp. 145-200. Cited by line number.
FWD	*Four Wycliffite Dialogues*, ed. by Fiona Somerset, EETS O.S. 333 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
Higden, *Polychronicon*	Ranulph Higden, *Polychronicon; together with the English translations of John Trevisa and of an unknown writer of the fifteenth century*, ed. by Churchill Babington and Joseph Rawson Lumby,

	9 volumes, Rolls Series, 41 (London: Longman, 1865-86). Cited by volume and page number.
IMEP	A.S.G. Edwards, gen. ed. *Index of Middle English Prose* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1984-). Cited by volume and page number.
IPMEP	R.E. Lewis, N.F. Blake, and A.S.G. Edwards, eds. *Index of Printed Middle English Prose*, (New York and London, 1985). Cited by entry number.
Jefferson	Judith Anne Jefferson, 'An Edition of the Ten Commandments Commentary in BL Harley 2398 and the Related Version in Trinity College Dublin 245, York Minster XVI.L.12, and Harvard English 738 together with Discussion of Related Commentaries', 2 volumes (Ph.D. thesis, Bristol University, 1995).
JU	*Jack Upland,* in *Six Ecclesiastical Satires*, ed. by James Dean (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1991), pp. 115-44. Cited by line number.
Knighton's Chronicle	*Knighton's Chronicle 1337-1396*, ed. and trans. by G.H. Martin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).
LALME	A. McIntosh, M. Samuels, and M. Benskin, eds. *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English,* 4 vols. (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986).
LFMB	*Lay Folks Mass Book*, ed. by Thomas Frederick Simmons, EETS O.S. 71 (London: Trübner & Co., 1879).
LL	*The Lanterne of Liȝt*, ed. by Lilian M. Swinburn EETS O.S. 151. (London: Kegan Paul, 1917).
Matthew	*The English Works of Wyclif, Hitherto Unprinted*, ed. by F.D. Matthew, EETS O.S. 74 (London:

	Trubner & Co.,1880).
Mirk	John Mirk, *John Mirk's Festial: edited from British Library MS Cotton Claudius A.II*, ed. by Susan Powell, 2 Volumes, EETS O.S. 334; 335 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010-2011). Cited by volume, page and line number.
NCE	*New Catholic Encyclopedia*, exe. ed. Berard L. Marthaler, Second Edition, 18 vols (Washington: Thomson/Gale in assosiation with the Catholic University of America Press, 2003). Cited by volume and page number.
OMC	*Of Mynystris in þe Chirche*, in *EWS II*, pp. 328-65. Cited by page and line number.
Opera minora	John Wyclif, *Opera Minora,* ed. by Johann Loserth (London: C. K. Paul & Co., for The Wyclif Society, 1913).
Opus evangelicum	John Wyclif, *Opus evangelicum*, volumes I & II, ed. by Johann Loserth (London: Trübner & Co., for the Wyclif Society, 1895).
O.S.	Original Series.
PPI	William Langland, *Piers Plowman: A Parallel-Text Edition of the A, B, C and Z Versions: Volume I, Text*, ed. A.V.C. Schmidt (London and New York: Longman, 1995). Cited by version, passus and line number.
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.
PPC	*Pierce the Ploughman's Crede* in *The Piers Plowman Tradition: A Critical Edition of* 'Pierce the Ploughman's Crede', 'Richard the Redeless', 'Mum and the Sothsegger', and 'The Crowned King', ed. by Helen Barr (London: Dent, 1993). Cited by line number.
PT	*The Plowman's Tale*, in *Six Ecclesiastical Satires*, ed. by James Dean (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1991), pp. 51-114. Cited by line number.
SDS	*On the Seven Deadly Sins*, in Arnold III, pp. 119-67.
Sermones	John Wyclif, *Sermones*, 4 volumes, ed. by Johann Loserth (London: Trübner & Co., for the Wyclif Society, 1887-90).
SEWW	*Selections from English Wycliffite Writings*, ed. by Anne Hudson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).
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	John Wyclif, *On the Truth of Holy Scripture*, ed. and trans. Ian Christopher Levy (Michigan: Western Michigan University, 2001).
Universalibus	John Wyclif, *Tractatus de universalibus*, volume 1, ed. by Ivan J. Mueller (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).
UR	*Upland's Rejoinder,* in *Six Ecclesiastical Satires*, ed. by James Dean (Kalamazoo, Michigan:

	Medieval Institute Publications, 1991), pp. 201-26. Cited by line number.
VO	*Vae Octuplex*, in *EWS II*, pp. 366-78. Cited by page and line number.
Von Nolcken	*The Middle English Translation of the Rosarium Theologie*, ed. by Christina Von Nolcken (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1979). Cited by page and line numbers.

Description of the Manuscript

For previous descriptions see Somerset, *Four Wycliffite Dialogues,* pp. xxix-xxxvi; Jefferson, 'An Edition of the Ten Commandments Commentary', pp. xx-xxvii; Gradon, *EWS II*, pp. xxi-xxiii.

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 þe 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^{8}, 9^{10}, 10-27^{8}; 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-iiii) 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.[2] Catchwords, beginning on the second quire, appear throughout, except on f. 162^{v}. The catchword on f. 218^{v} is evidence that the manuscript is incomplete. The binding is post-medieval.

Handwriting

There is a single anglicana hand throughout,[3] 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',[4] 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, south-east Soke of Peterborough or extreme North Huntingdonshire, and N Ely 'mixed with some other components'.[5] 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. I, 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'.[6]

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

6 *FWD*, p. xli.

hand (A) appears regularly from f. 13^{v} 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: 15^{r}; 16^{v}; 18^{v}-19^{r}; 20^{v}-21^{v}; 22^{v}-23^{v}; 25^{r-v}; 27^{v}-29^{r}; 31^{r}; 32^{r}; 38^{v}; 43^{v}; 46^{v}; 54^{v}; 56^{r}; 57^{v}; 61^{r}; 62^{v}; 63^{v}-64^{r}; 65^{v}; 66^{v}; 68^{r}; 69^{r}; 70^{v}; 72^{v}; 74^{r}; 77^{v}; 79^{v}; 82^{r}; 83^{v}; 86^{r}; 88^{r}; 89^{r}; 90^{v}; 132^{v}.

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

(Hand B)

64^{v}-68^{v} and 83^{v}: Manicules in brown plummet (most of which are faded); 75^{v}: Writing on its side which has been partially erased and rendered illegible; 210^{v}: Signature of 'Thomas Chamber'

upside-down at the bottom.

(Hand C)

105^{r}: 'nota que / to[ur] pore hes / scripta fuit'.

Contents

1. Folios 1^{r} - 2^{r}

'It is sooþ þat bileue; is grounde of alle vertues / & herfor e[ch] Cristen man; shulde be sad in bileue ... And so shal men bileue • þat eche part of [þ]e Chirche; shal haue ful remissioun of synne þat it haþ don / An so rise in bodi & soule • at þe day of doom; wiþ glorie wiþ hem boþe • 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^{r} – 3^{v}

'We shal bileue • þat þis Paternoster þat Crist hymsilf techiþ • to alle Cristen men; passiþ alle oþere preiers in þes þre þingis; in autorite & sotilte; & profiþ of þe Chirche ... God for his greet mercy • kepe vs fro þis yuel; and þanne shal we haue euerlastyng 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^{v} – 4^{v}

'Men greten comounly; oure Lady • Goddis moder • & we supposen þat þis gretyng; saueþ many men ... And so myȝt pardoun be gete • to seie eche day oure Lady sauter ȝhe ten þousynd ȝeer in oo

7 For a complete list of manuscripts, see Hudson, 'A New Look at the Lay Folks' Catechism', *Viator* 16 (1985), p. 250. Somerset adds one more to the list: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Eng. th. e. 181. See *FWD*, p. xxxi.

8 See Hudson, 'New Look', pp. 250, p. 251, n. 39, and *FWD*, p. xxxi.

ȝeer / Triste we to wordis of þe gospel; & worshipe we Marie [wiþ] al oure 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 4^{v} – 6^{v}

'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 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'. *The Seven Heresies. IPMEP* 208. Published in the present volume. See also Arnold III, pp. 441-6. Also found in Bodley Douce 274, ff. 19^{r}-22^{v}; BL Harley 2385 ff. 3^{r}-4^{v}; York Minster XVI.L.12, ff. 33^{v}-36^{v}.[10]

5. Folios 9^{r} – 26^{v}.[11]

'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 Iewes; 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 lernyng 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.

9 See Hudson, 'New Look', p. 250, 257; FWD, p. xxxi.

10 Ibid., p. 251, n. 38.

11 Folios 7-8 are blank (as stated in *Collation*).

Published in Jefferson, pp. 1-160.[12]

6. Folios 27^{r} – 30^{v}

'For it is seid in holdyng 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 • & leeuen 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 liȝtly 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 30^{v} - 38^{r}

'ȝif a man were sure • that he shulde to morowe come bifore 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 enemyes 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.[14]

8. Folios 38^{r} – 63^{r}

'Sith bileue techith vs • that euery yuel is oþre synne • comeþ of synne; synne schulde be fled • as al maner of yuel / And sith no þing shulde be fled • 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 buriowneþ 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 trwe seruyce; for sharp veniaunce takiþ God of siche ~ Expliciunt septum peccata capitalia'. *On the Seven Deadly Sins. IPMEP* 596. Published in Arnold III, pp. 119-67.

9. Folios 63^{v} – 75^{v}

'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 hatiþ • & thanne is his hiȝest virtu stablid ~ Explicit tractatus de ecclesia et membris eius'. *The Church and Her Members. IPMEP* 132.

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 76^{r} – 80^{v}

'Siþ 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 lijf • ben combred in þis heresye ... Þise 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 81^{r} - 95^{v}

'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 bileeue; þat þei shulden reproue synne • siþ Crist techiþ 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 • turne to treuþe when it were tauȝt ~ Amen ~ Explicit tractatus de pseudo freris'. *Of Pseudo-Friars. IPMEP* 210. Published in *EWT II*, pp. 61-92.

12. Folios 96^{r} – 101^{r}

'Crist byddiþ vs be waar wiþ þese false prophetis • þat comen in cloþing of sheep; & ben wolues of raueyn / & þes ben specialy men of þes newe ordri • & moste þese freris that last camen in [•] for the fend sutiliþ euer aȝenes hooly chirche ... & þus siþe God made alle thinge in mesure • we shulden holde vs in hise boundis [•] & trowe trewþis þat he haþ ordeyned & tauȝt cristen men to trowe; & putte vs not in straunge perelis that we han no nede to trete ~ Here enden the eiȝte woois þat God wishid to freris [/] Amen'. *Vae Octuplex. IPMEP* 127. Published in *EWS II*, pp. 366-78.[15]

15 For a full list of manuscripts containing this text, see *EWS II*, p. 366.

13. Folios 101^{r} – 116^{v}

'Þis gospel telliþ 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 þe Chirche. IPMEP* 738. Published in *EWS II*, pp. 328-65.

14. Folios 117^{r} – 124^{r}

'Dauid seiþ • Lord sett þou a lawe maker vpon hem / Hit semyþ to me seiþ Austyn þat þis signifieþ Antecrist of whom þe apostle seiþ • whenne þe man of synne shal be shewid … For Crist seiþ [•] in paciens shal ȝe kepe ȝoure soules • to suffre hard for his sake; & for oure 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 TCD MS 245.

15. Folios 124^{r} - 126^{r}

'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 of songe … And if þei letten vs fro bettur doynge & encres[y]ng of Goddis wurship & help of Cristen soules; for þat tyme suspende alle siche cerymonyns • 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]

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 126^{r} – 127^{r}

'Also bischops & freres putten to pore men þat þei seyn; þat men owen not raþer to praye in chirche þenne in oþer place ... And þenne bishops mayntenyng 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 127^{v} - 137^{r}

'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 haþ principalite to-fore witt of mannes soule; so hoolynesse is more worþe 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 haþ 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 137^{v} – 143^{v}

'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 himsilf as if he be God / But ȝacharie þe prophete seiþ [•] þou shepherde & ydole forsakyng þi flok • etc'. *On Confession.* Published in the present volume. Unique to TCD MS 245.

19. Folios 144^{r} – 145^{v}

'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

þe auter … Almyʒty God kepe his churche fro such false prophetis & here sotile ypocrisiʒe and fals heresye [/] Amen'. *On the Eucharist. IPMEP* 131. Published in the present volume. See also *SEWW*, pp. 110-12. Unique to TCD MS 245.

20. Folios 145^{v} -151^{r}

'Crisostom seiþ • þat fischers & buystouse men makynge 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 þe last eende • Amen'. *On the Virtuous Life.* Published in the present volume. Unique to TCD MS 245.

21. Folios 151^{r} – 153^{v}

'Seynt Barnard spekiþ 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 ʒou … 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; neyþur he may þe fredam of Goddis kunnyng fynde'. *De Consideratione.* Published in the present volume. Unique to TCD MS 245.

22. Folios 153^{v} – 160^{r}

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

23. Folios 160^{r-v}

'And for noiþur man ne womman may parfitly do þe seuen werkis of mercy witouten þe seuen ȝeftis of þe Holy Gost • wiþ þe wich God makeþ euerych mannis soule his hous • & wiþ þe seuen forseyd ȝeftis he makiþ his hous þat is a mannis soule ... Þe seuenth ȝeft of þe Holy Gost is a spirit of wisdam • þat meuiþ euery man and womman to chese & charge more heuenly þing þan ȝerþly'. *On the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit*. Published in the present volume. Unique to TCD MS 245.

24. Folios 160^{v} – 161^{v}

'To all men & wymmen þat han þeis seuen ȝeftes of þe Holy Gost Crist in his gospel on all halounday geuiþ eiȝt blessyngis ischewing þat all halouuns weren mad holy with þe seuen ȝeftis ... Þis lessoun is ful charitable; þat makiþ a man so resonable; þat God dwelliþ 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.

25. Folios 161^{v} – 162^{v}

'Clerkys knowen þat a man haþ fiue wittes outtward & oþur fiue wittes inward [/] But first it is to lerne þe fiue wittes outeward þat ben þeis ... Withinne withoute gouerne þeis fiue; in body & in soule þan þou mayst þriue [/] For God is good & ful of myȝt; in tyme of nede to strengþ his knyȝt'. *On the Five Wittes*. Published in the present volume. Unique to TCD MS 245.

26. Folios 163^{r} – 217^{r}

'Here are questiouns & ansueris putte that are writun here aftir / First I witnes bifor God Almiȝty & alle trewe cristun men & wommen & ȝowe [•] þat I haue not ben • nor is • nor neuer schal of myn entent ne purpos; to sei any thing aȝen the general feiþ • neithre entent to bigile or deseyue ani man or womman in ani vnprofitable to perpetual ȝel of soule • ne agein seying to the wordis ne sentence of ani seint seying feiþfulli ... For dred of þis schuld þeis meny be aferd to beg as þei do • wyting wel þat Crist beggid not but if he nediþ 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 217^{r-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 worschip 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 $217^{v} - 218^{r}$

'Þeis ben þe nyne poyntis þat oure lord Ihesu answerid an holy man • þat coueit to wite what miȝt moost plese vnto God / Þe [fi]rst 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 218^{r-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 þei were clad with seuen vertues • lowly knowing hemsilf ȝerþe & 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.[1] 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

1 See, for instance, *The Complete Harley 2253 Manuscript*, ed. and trans. by Susanna. Fein, with David Raybin and Jan Ziolkowski. (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2014); Susanna Fein, (ed.), *Studies in the Harley Manuscript: The Scribes, Contents, and Social Contexts of British Library MS Harley 2253* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2000); or Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, second edition, ed. by Robert Boenig and Andrew Taylor (Ontario: Broadview Press, 2013), which is based solely on the Ellesmere manuscript. See also *A Thirteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook: Studies in MS Laud Misc. 511*, ed. by Mary E. O'Carroll (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), and *The Texts and Contexts of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 108: The Shaping of English Vernacular Narrative*, ed. by Kimberley K. Bell and Julie Nelson Couch (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

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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2 Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580* (London: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 233.

3 C.A. Martin, 'Middle English Manuals of Religious Instruction', in Michael Benskin and M.L. Samuels (eds.), *So Meny People Longages and Tonges: Philological Essays in Scots and Medieaval English Presented to Angus McIntosh* (Edinburgh: Benskin and Samuels, 1981), p. 283.

4 See the respective discussions on Ralph Hanna III and Anna Lewis below, pp. liii-liv and pp. lviii-lviv, 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.[5] 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.[6] 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

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.[7] This concern with Antichrist's influence in the Church is again touched on in the next tract: *Of Antecristis Songe in Chirche*.[8] 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.[9] 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'.[10] 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.[11] 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.[12] In addition, its elevation of the importance of the personal relationship with God[13] leads into the two tracts on

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7 '[W]hi seiþ Poul suche false apostlis; ben wickid wirchers • transfigurid slyly into Cristis apostlis / And no merueyle; for Sathanas transfiguriþ himsilf into an aungel of liȝt; þenne it is no merueile if hise mynistris ben transfigurid; as ministris of riȝtwisnesse whase eende shal be aftir her werkis', *Of Antecrist and His Meynee*, p. 41/53-6.

8 'Cristen men seyne pleynly þat Crist & hise apostles preyden deuoutly wiþoute suche song • & þei neiþur tauȝten 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.

10 Alastair Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*: *Scholastic literary attitudes in the later Middle Ages,* 2nd edition (London: Scholar Press, 1988), p. 200. See Higden, *Polychronicon*, I, pp. 16-7.

11 Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, p. 192.

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 in iche place where a man is; he owiþ to praye God in spirit & treuþe • þat is wiþ 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 pratice, 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 rigeur?' Barbara Newman, *God and Godesses: Vision, Poetry, and Belief in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003),

the sacrament of confession which follow it.[14] 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.[15]

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.[16] 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 halounday geuiþ eiȝt blessyngis ischewing þat all halounns weren mad holy with þe seuen ȝeftis • & non may be holy wiþouten 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.[17] The anthology ends with another three tracts using enumerated sections: one assigns different religious values to each rung of Jacob's Ladder;[18] another discusses nine issues concerning popular forms of piety;[19] and the final text continues along the same line, with a discussion of the deeds of mercy.[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 papacy, proper preaching and the Eucharist, points to the compiler's clarity of vision.[21] This is evidence that the manuscript possessed a deliberate structure from the beginning, best demonstrated by the careful selections from *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.

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17 'Þe wyse man lickyn þeis fiue to fyue princes þat schuld gouerne mannis body', *On the Five Wittes*, p. 99/3.

18 'Þe too syde of þis leddre must be maad of þe loue of God þat is in heuen • þe toþur syde of þe loue of our euen cristen [/] Þe ronges þat sch[u]llen be driuen in þeis too sydis sewen 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', *On Jacob's Ladder*, p. 102/7-11.

19 'Þeis ben þe nyne poyntis þat oure lord Ihesu answerid an holy man • þat coueit to wite what miȝt moost plese vnto God', *Nine Points*, p. 104/1-2.

20 'Of þe dedis of mercy God will speke at þe dredful day [of] dome to alle his chosun stondyng on his riȝt side [/] Come ȝe [bl]essid childre of my fadre & receyue ȝe þe kyndam of heuen þat is [or]deyind to ȝow fro þe biginning of þe world for ȝe keptun of [h]estes', *On the Deeds of Mercy*, p. 106/1-3.

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.[24] In addition, Frances McCormack has analysed the subtle nature of Clanvowe's heterodoxy in *The Two Ways*,[25] and explored the possibility of Chaucer's connection with the sect,[26] while Margaret Aston, Kantik Ghosh, Shannon McSheffrey and Maureen Jurkowski have each analysed the concept of the Lollard sect or community.[27] However, it is arguably J. Patrick Hornbeck 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

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

24 See Anne Hudson, 'A Lollard Sect Vocabulary?' in *So meny people longages and tonges*, pp.15-30; Matti Peikola, *Congregation of the Elect: Patterns of Self-Fashioning in English Lollard Writings* (Turku: University of Turku, 2000); John Flood, "Known Men'? The Identification of Lollards and Their Works', in John Flood and Eiléan Ní Chuilleanáin (eds.), *Heresy and Orthodoxy in early English Literature, 1350-1680*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), pp. 23-38; Jeremy I. Catto, 'Fellows and Helpers: The Religious Identity of the Followers of Wyclif', in Peter Biller and Barrie Dobson (eds.), *The Medieval Church: Universities, Heresy, and the Religious Life*, Studies in Church History, Subsidia, 11 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999), pp. 141-61; Andrew E. Larson, 'Are All Lollards Lollards?' in Somerset, et al (eds.), *Lollards and their Influence in Late Medieval England*, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), pp. 59-72 and Lawrence M. Clopper, 'Franciscans, Lollards and Reform', in *Lollards and their Influence*, pp. 177-196. See also Anne Hudson, "Who is My Neighbour?' Some Problems of Definition on the Borders of Orthodoxy and Heterodox', in Mishtooni Bose and J. Patrick Hornbeck II (eds.), *Wycliffite Controversies* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 79-96; Anne Hudson, 'Which Wyche? The Framing of the Lollard Heretic and/or Saint', in Caterina Bruschi and Peter Biller, (eds.), *Texts and Repression of Medieval Heresy* (York: York medieval Press, 2003), pp. 221-37. R.N. Swanson also covers contemporary orthodox definition of, and responses to, Lollardy. See *Church and Society in Late Medieval England*, (Oxford: Blackwell Press, 1993), pp. 329-47, and *Catholic England: Faith, Religion and Observance before the Reformation*, translated and annotated by R.N. Swanson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), pp. 267-70.

25 Frances McCormack, 'The Heterodoxy of Sir John Clanvowe's *The Two Ways*' in Karen Hodder and Brendan O'Connell (eds.), *Transmission and Generation in Medieval and Renaissance Literature: Essays in Honour of John Scattergood*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012), pp. 102-12. See also Andrew Cole, *Literature and Heresy in the Age of Chaucer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 47-53.

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.

27 Margaret Aston, 'Were the Lollards a Sect?' in *The Medieval Church: Universities, Heresy and the Religious Life*, pp. 163-91; Kantik Ghosh, 'Bishop Reginald Pecock and the Idea of 'Lollardy'', pp. 251-65; Shannon McSheffrey, 'Heresy, Orthodoxy and English Vernacular Religion, 1480-1525', *Past & Present*, 186 (2005), 47-80; Maureen Jurkowski, 'Lollard Networks', in *Wycliffite Controversies*, pp. 261-78. See also Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 168-73.

we know due to trial records,[28] 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,[29] and civil and ecclesiastical authority.[30] 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.[31] 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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28 J. Patrick Hornbeck, *What is a Lollard? Dissent and Belief in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). p. 199.

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.

30 For a detailed commentary see Stephen E. Lahey, *Philosophy and Politics in the Thought of John Wyclif* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

31 Hornbeck, *What is a Lollard?*, pp. 25-63, quote on p. 28.

works-oriented.[32] 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.[33] 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'.[34] 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.[35] 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'.[36] 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.[37]

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

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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''.

33 Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 323-4.

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.

35 See Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 357-362.

36 Lutton, *Lollardy and Orthodox Religion in Pre-Reformation England: Reconstructing Piety* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), p. 62.

37 Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 309-10. See also Margaret Aston, *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion* (London: Hambledon, 1984), p. 98, n. 117. Cf. *EWS III*, Sermons for the Ferials, Sermon 237, pp. 312-4.

'þe deþ 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 þe bigining of þe 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.

43 *On the Deeds of Mercy*, p. 106/3.

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'.[45] 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.[46]

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,*[47] *On the Eucharist,*[48] and *An Apology for Lollard Doctrines*,[49] for instance, all argue that 'þis sacrament is boþe brede & Cristis body togedre; as Crist is verre God & verre man'.[50]

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.

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

46 As Hudson points out: 'The complexity of Wyclif's view, and of the arguments he used to support it, makes it hardly surprising that his followers often simplified its subtlety and sometimes modified its direction.' *Premature Reformation*, p. 283. See also pp. 289-290; Knighton's Chronicle, pp. 253-63; Jeremy I. Catto, 'Wyclif and the Cult of the Eucharist', in Katherine Walsh and Diana Woods, (eds.), *The Bible in the Medieval World: Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley* (Oxford: Blackwell, for The Ecclesiastical History Society, 1985), pp. 269-86; Heather Phillips, 'John Wyclif and the Optics of the Eucharist', in Anne Hudson and Michael Wilks (eds.), *From Ockham to Wyclif* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), pp. 245-58; Aston, *Lollards and Reformers*, p. 91. For a detailed discussion of Wyclif's and Lollard views on the Eucharist see Aston, *Faith and Fire, Popular and Unpopular Religion, 1350-1600* (London: Hambledon, 1993), pp. 36-69; Hornbeck, *What is a Lollard*, pp. 76-100; See Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 281-90; *Rex, The Lollards*, pp. 42-5.

47 Jefferson, p. 101.

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.[51] Hornbeck contradicts this, however, his conclusions illustrating that those who believed that every true Christian was a priest were in the minority.[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.[53] On this very point, Aston observes:

> [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.[54]

Essentially, as Hudson concludes, the simple answer is vocation; the belief that true priests are 'sent by God'.[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.[56]

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

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51 Helen Barr, 'Wycliffite Representations of the Third Estate', in Fiona Somerset, Jill C. Havens, and Derrick G. Pitard, (eds.), *Lollards and their Influence in Late Medieval England*, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), p. 205.

52 Hornbeck, *What is a Lollard?*, p. 172.

53 Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 325-6.

54 Aston, *Lollards and Reformers*, pp. 60-1

55 Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 355.

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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57 See Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 346; See the second article of *37 Conclusions*, p. 2 and pp. 153-5. In *12 Conclusions* the sixth conclusion states that 'a kyng and a bisshop al in o persone, a prelat and a iustise in termporel cause, a curat and an officer in worldly seruise, makin euery reme out of god reule', p. 26. See also Jurkowski, 'Lawyers and Lollardy', in Margaret Aston and Colin Richmond, (eds.), *Lollardy and the Gentry in the Later Middle Ages* (Stroud; Sutton; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), pp. 169-70.

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.

59 Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 335-8.

60 Hudson, 'Hermofodrita or Ambidexter: Wycliffite Views on Clerks in Secular Office', in *Lollardy and Gentry in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 41-51. Cf. *Church and State*, in *SEWW*, pp. 131-4; *The Lollard Disendowment Bill*, in *SEWW*, pp. 135-7; Von Nolken, pp. 64-6.

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 jurisdictive 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'[65] which reflects on the power struggle between King John and Pope Innocent III.[66] *On Consideration* discusses the topic at length, and the author states, in no uncertain terms, that 'lordschipe to preestis is forbeden; ceruyse is commaunded / Whiche seruice is sett forþe bi ensaumple of Crist'.[67] 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.[68]

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.[69] Firstly, Wyclif argued that the pope must be one of the elect.[70] 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.[71] 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.[72] 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.

67 *On Consideration*, p. 90/56-7.

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.[73] 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.[74] There is a distinct difference between the latter two, as those who condemned the office as corrupt often remained open to its reform.[75] 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.[76] A closer look, however, reveals a more nuanced stance. The tract which comments on this in most detail is *Of Mynystris in þe 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'.[77] To the MS 245 compiler, this was at the heart of his discontent, because the pope was perceived as elevating himself above Christ.[78] Earthly pride and material wealth are linked to this, most notably in *Of Antecrist and His Meynee,* which follows *Of Mynystris in þe 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.[79] 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.[1] 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.[2] 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 þe moste falshede and synne of þe world is in þe pope þat feynoþ þat he is Cristis viker and moste hooly mon þat lyueþ. And þus comeþ dyuision to þe laste ȝif God wole; for somme men seyn þat here is þe pope in Auyon, for he was wel choson; and somme men seyn he is ȝondre at Rome, for he is furst choson. And no man of byleue þat troweþ þat Crist is al-witty shulde untrowe þat ne Crist telliþ here of þes diuisions and þat þe pope, þat feyneþ hym viker of Crist, is a greet cause of of alle þes 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 meynee" 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

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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.

5 Barr, 'Wycliffite Representations of the Third Estate', pp. 198-9.

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 worldy gode. For þis lore fayles hom bothe in worde and dede, ffor more covetouse ben none þen ben þes prestis. 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 oþer men þat robben þo Chirche, maken hom to swete hor owne blode by hor ypocrisye. And siþ 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

8 Barr, 'Wycliffite Representations of the Third Estate', p. 199.

9 '[T]hre partis of þo Chirche schulden in þre dyverse maners serve treuly hor God, as prestis, and gentil men, and laboreres of þo worlde. As prestis have a state hyest of alle oþer, so God askes of hom more parfit servise. [...] þo moste hye servise þat men have in erthe is to preche Gods word, þat falles unto prestis. [...] Gentil men of þo worlde schulden serve hor God in gifftes þat he haves gyven hom, and specialy in þis; þat þei deffende Gods lawe by powere of þo worlde. And þus þo prestis schulden wynne godes to þo Chirche, and gentil men deffende hom by powere ageyns yvel men. [...] Moreowver 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 servynge 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 noþing hid fro hym. ȝe, by þo lawe of Crist, if þo lord be untrew mon and tyraunt to his sogettis, ȝit schulden þei serve hym, ffor þei schulden serve to God in mekenesse and charite', Arnold III, pp. 143-7. Cf. Jefferson, pp. 61-6.

gode dedes, schulde cum fro þese clerkes and seculer lordes.[10]

The failure of the first two estates is, according to the MS 245 compiler, rooted in the blurring of the lines dividing them.[11] 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 *On Confession.*[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:[13]

> And as lordes schulden be mendid by prechyng of hor bischopis, so lordes schulden amende marchauntis and oþer folk, þat in þo þridde parte of þo Chirche sowen by hor envye seed of dissencioun, and synnes þat distourblen rewmes.[14]

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

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10 *SDS*, pp. 132-3. Cf. *PPI*, B-Text, Passus XIX, 421-4.

11 Cf. *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 gedryng of temporal goodis; þei ben as bisy as lewid men • & in apereyle þei ben noble as knyȝtis [•] & in gedring of her rentis þat is her tiþis & 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.

12 *On Confession*, p. 62/13-6.

13 Cf. *37 Conclusions*, pp. 104-7. See also *JU*, 4-14.

14 *SDS*, p. 133. Cf. *Tractatus de apostasia cleri*: 'Crist sente hise apostlis when þei weren rype to diuerse londis to sowe wateris of wisdom; & closede hem not in cloystris as Antecrist doiþ [/] So ȝif we taken heede to apostasye þat goiþ euene aȝen þe ordre of Crist; þer ben fewe bisshopis • possessioners or freris • þat þey ne ben apostataes • al ȝif þei holden here sygnes', p. 36/166-70. See also *PT*, 678-83.

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.[15] There is particular concern about the new orders because 'they perform no necessary work and cannot be accommodated within the structure of human society'.[16] 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 þenken þat al þes newe sectis or ordris, boþe possessioneres and beggeris, shulden ceese bi Cristis lawe. And ȝif þei wolden leeve þes for charite, and lyve purely aftir Crist, þer merit were þe more, and þei myȝten encreese þe Chirche; and ȝif þei wolden not to þus, shulden be honestli constreyned. Both worldi goodis and comunyng shulde be wiseli drawun fro hem, and knyȝtis, wiþ lordis of þe world, shulden be confortid bi Cristis lawe to stonde and defende þis sentence, as þei diden aftir Cristis deþ; and trewe prestis shulden telle þe comunes how þei shulde kepe charite, and obeishe upon resoun, as Poul techiþ hem to do.[17]

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:[18]

> And þus bastard braunchis shulde be kutt fro þis tree; and þus þe pope, wiþ his cardinalis, and alle preestis þat been dowid, shulden leeve þis dowing and worldi glorie þat þei han,

15 See *FWD*, p. 1 and DRG, P. 44/39-40.

16 Barr, 'Wycliffite Representations of the Third Estate', p. 203.

17 *CHM*, p. 359.

18 See John 15:2. Cf. *PPI* B-Text, Passus XV, 96-102 and Passus XX, 53-5. See also *FDR*, 631-645.

neiþer 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*:

> þei shulden lyve on þe puple in good mesure as Poul biddiþ; but þe puple shulde not be artid to ȝyve hem dymes ne oþer 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 paied herof? And þus shulde þe Chirche drawe to acord bi Crist, þat lediþ þe daunce of love. ȝif oþir 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 envenymyn þe puple.[21]

This is a proposal for radical reform, and when considered alongside the persistent criticism of the Church's material wealth,[22] 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

20 See, for instance, *Of Confession*, *EWT II*, p. 51/57-9, and *On Confession*, p. 72/239-40.

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.[23] 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'.[24] Needless to say, their words and actions, dismissed by Lollards as deliberate deceptions, also play a large role in this.[25] 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 ȝaf it is hidde by ypocrisie.[26]

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,

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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.

24 Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 349.

25 Aston, *Lollards and Reformers*, p. 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 soþ of comyng of þe newe sectis in-to þe chirche boþe oon & oþer: & hou þei shal be wolues of raueyn · & not spare þe floc þat þei ben inne / for what prelat or religiose sparip to pile þe comune peple: but coueytip gold & siluer & cloþ · fare þe peple neuere so euele / as freris when þei beggen of men: þenken not hou þei ben rychere þen pore men þat þei beggen of. [27]

This is also a feature of other tracts in MS 245, such as *Vae Octuplex*.[28] 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'.[29] 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.[30] In *Vae Octuplex*, for instance, the friars close the gates of heaven to those who listen to them,[31] corrupt the hearts of children,[32] feed their pride and strive to do the same to others,[33] and seek to 'sle Crist in monye of hise membris'.[34]

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27 *EWT II*, pp. 66-7.

28 '[T]o bleende þe puple more þei feynon long[e] preyerys þat þei seyn ben myche betture 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 neyȝebores by cautelys of þe feend, and, ouer þis, þei pryuon hem fro þer ryȝt byleue', *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.

32 Ibid., p. 368/48-71. Friars were often accused of stealing children for their orders. Cf. *JU*, 168-9. See also *FDR*, 538-41.

33 Ibid., pp. 372/178-89.

34 Ibid., p. 374/223-5.

Inevitably, this leads to an association with Antichrist,[35] 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.[36] 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.[37] 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.[38] 'In Wycliffite works, the eschatological vein', as Szittya notes, 'is as strong as anywhere in Middle English literature'.[39] 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.[40] 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*.[41] A number of tracts in the anthology warn against these 'false prophetis' who have come at the end of time to turn the faithful away from God,[42] while one in particular, *Of Mynistris in þe Chirche*, is devoted to the signs of the oncoming apocalypse. These signs include the existence of the new orders, who are 'wickude

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35 See, for instance, *Tractatus de apostasia cleri*: 'But defaute of bileue lettiþ þis profyt • & specialliche of freris • for þei procuren bisiliche part for Antecrist; & sowen þikke lesyngis wiþ her ypocrisie • & maken Cristis lawe fade bi here fals signes', pp. 37/204-206.

36 Cf. *Of Pseudo-Friars*: '[I]n þe laste tymes shal come gilours wandring aftir heere desyris • not in good religion', *EWT II*, p. 76/95-6.

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.

38 Penn R. Szittya, *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), p. 183.

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',[43] a term which recalls the reference to 'bastard braunchis' in *The Church and Her Members*, mentioned earlier, and 'pseudo-prophetis',[44] in addition to the failure of the first two estates to protect the 'labereris' from 'anticristus curs',[45] 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'.[46] 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.[47] He is usually referred to as a single figure, but there are occasional references to 'many Antecristis', which recalls Scripture.[48] He is also linked to the papacy throughout.[49] In *The Church and Her Members*, Satan's influence on the papacy is traced back to Sylvester I,[50] and *On Confession* discusses Antichrist's direct effect on England through Innocent III's power struggle with King John.[51] Most references are contemporary, however. *The Church and Her Members* states: 'ȝif þis pope contrarieþ to Cristis lyf, he is þe moste fendis viker and Anticrist

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43 *OMC*, p. 33/42

44 Ibid., p. 330/44.

45 Ibid., pp. 334-5/171-200.

46 Quote is taken from Szittya's original article, 'The Antifraternal Tradition in Middle English Literature', in *Speculum*, vol. 52, no. 2 (April 1977), pp. 292-3. The point is expanded in *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature*, pp. 27-31.

47 Anna Lewis, 'Exegesis of the End: Limitations of Lollard Apocalypticism as Revealed in a Commentary on Matthew 24', in *Literature and Theology*, 23 (2009), p. 376. For instance, see *ALD*: 'And Crist seiþ, he þat is not wiþ me, he is aȝeinis me. And soþly my warks a cordyn not to þe warks of Sathanas, for I a cord in no þing wiþ him, but al vtterly we are contrari; for I mak beningne wyl saue sowlis; he prowd, enuiys, couetous, to tyn hem; I gedre to gidre vertuys wiþ my preching; he scateriþ and departiþ fro þe vnite of þe kirk. Þis seiþ þe glose. Þerfor who þat vsiþ swilk werks is disciple of anticrist, and anticrist. For Jon seiþ in his epistle, Sonnis is it þo last hour, and as ȝe han herd for anticrist comiþ, now are many anticristis maade, werfor we wot þat is it þe last hour. Ilk spirit þat vndoþ Ihu Crist is not of God, and þis is anticrist, of wom ȝe han herde þat he comiþ, and now he is in þe world', p. 54

48 1 John 2:18. See *Of Antecrist and His Meynee*, p. 41/65-6 and *ALD*, p.54.

49 This was was also a feature of Wyclif's writing. See, for instance, 'Exposicio textus Matthei xxiii', in *Opera minora*, p. 337.

50 *CHM*, pp. 340-1. This is listed as the first of the Lollard errors in Knighton's Chronicle, p. 435.

51 *On Confession*, p. 73/257-65.

þat is here'.[52] This is echoed in *Of Mynistris in þe Chirche.*[53] 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,[54] papal support for the mendicant orders despite their failings,[55] the elevation of papal authority above Christ and Peter,[56] and the persecution of 'just men'.[57]

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 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[58]

On Faith, Hope and Charity discusses the necessity of being clothed in virtue on Judgement Day, and *Of Mynistris in þe Chirche* emphasises the importance of 'knowyng of þe perelis þat schullen be byfore þe ende of þis world'[59] because the institutional Church sought to hide them from the laity by censoring Scripture.[60] *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 [...] ȝif [...] þe lif of þis pope be treuly examyned by [Christ and Peter], he is in an opon anticrist among alle þe synful men in erþe. And þus semeþ þat Crist meuyde whanne he spekiþ þes wordus: 'Whenne ȝe schul see abhomynacion of discounfort teeld of Danyel þe prophete, stondyng in þe hooly place, he þat reduþ, vndurstonde he.' Somme men vndurstonde þis word þat Crist wolde telle to hise disciplus þat þe day of doom schulde not be byfore þat þis pope reignede 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 'eteþ & drynkyþ 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

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chyrche', *OMC*, p. 328/1-2.

61 *Of Antecrist and His Meynee*, p. 41/49-59.

62 *On Confession*, p. 63/29.

63 *SWM I*, pp. 172-3.

64 Curtis V. Bostick, *The Antichrist and the Lollards: Apocalypticism in Late Medieval and Reformation England* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1998), p. 171.

65 *On the Apostles' Creed*, p. 5/59.

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.[163] 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.[164] 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.[165] 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

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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 soulis in purgatorie, and make hem shortlier to dwelle þer 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, þat 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.

165 Anne Hudson, *Lollards and Their Books* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1985), pp. 188-9.

deadly sins.[166] Hanna argues that the reason for this was to create an analogous educational work for the laity.[167] 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,[168] 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.[169] 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*.[170] This insistence on foundational knowledge, and its subsequent popularity, combined with the concept of the Book of Hours, surely played a part

166 'Prelates apparently desired rote comprehension of living responsibilities – what to/not to do as Christian action, while these vernacular compilers insisted upon a full understanding of basic Christian prayers', Ralph Hanna III, *The Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist XII, Smaller Bodleian collections: English miscellaneous, English poetry, English theology, Finch, Latin theology, Lyell, Radcliffe Trust* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1997), p. xx.

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.

168 Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 210

169 Ibid., p. 53

170 Ibid., pp. 53-4. As Duffy notes elsewhere, Archbishop Thoresby stressed the importance of teaching the essentials of the faith to the laity in plain English, so that parents might then teach their children. Eamon Duffy, 'Religious Belief', in Rosemary Horrox and W. Mark Ormrod (eds.), *A Social History of England, 1200-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 319. See also Susan Powell, 'The Transmission and Circulation of the Lay Folks' Catechism, in A.J. Minnis (ed.), *Late-medieval Religious Texts and their Transmission: Essays in Honour of A. I. Doyle*, York Manuscripts Conferences Proceedings Series, 3 (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1994, p. 67. Hanna reflects on the presence of the *Lay Folks' Catechism* in certain Lollard anthologies, and the 'value of commonplace Christian prayers as a central instructional topic'. He notes that in manuscripts which did not include the Catechism, Hanna, *IMEP: Handlist XII*, p. xx.

in the primer gaining recognition as a book in its own right.[171] 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.[172] 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.[173]

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,[174] and one which crops up throughout MS 245.[175] Secondly, their simplicity

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171 Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 210. Duffy does not form this conclusion, but a similar link between the *Ignorantia Sacerdotum* and primers is forged by Malcolm B. Yarnell in *Royal Priesthood in the English Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 80, and Andrew M. Greeley in *Religion as Poetry* (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1995), p. 73, both of whom also draw on Duffy.

172 Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 234.

173 Ibid., p. 210.

174 Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 22. See also Thomas Renna, 'Wyclif's Attacks on the Monks', in Anne Hudson and Michael. Wilks (eds.), *From Ockham to Wyclif* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), pp. 267-80.

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 heyȝnesse' 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 & lauȝtur • wiþ tregetours & tomblers • wiþ gestours & iapes; & þe pore hungry shal sitt wiþoute at þe ȝate he wole not ȝitt 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

176 Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 210.

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,[181] or the mendicant orders' attempts to locate their foundation in scripture,[182] 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.[183]

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.[184] 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

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181 See *ALD*, pp. 40-44.

182 See *CHM*, p. 353.

183 Rita Copeland, *Pedagogy, Intellectuals, and Dissent in the Later Middle Ages: Lollardy and Ideas of Learning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 16. See also Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers, 1240-1570* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 59; Rodney M. Thomson and Nigel Morgan, 'Language and Literacy', in Nigel Morgan and Rodney M. Thomson (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, II: 1100 – 1400* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 28-9. Similarly, the Northern Homily Cycle evolved to account for orthodox suspicion of vernacular theology directed at the laity. See James H. Morey, *Book and Verse: A Guide to Middle English Biblical Literature*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), p. 2 and 324, n. 5.

184 Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 210.

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^{v}-39^{v}); and CUL Nn. 4.12 (ff. 27-29^{v}). *On the Pater Noster* can be found in six other manuscripts – Lambeth 408 (lines 59-161); Bodley 789 (ff. 97-100^{v}); CUL Dd.12.39 (ff. 72^{v}-74^{v}); Paris Sainte-Geneviève 3390 (ff. 27-30); BL Harley 2385 (ff. 2-3); York Minster XVI. L. 12 (ff. 32^{r}-33^{v}); and BL Add. 17013 (ff. 36^{r-v}). *On the Ave Maria* can be found in five other manuscripts – Lambeth 408 (lines 162-222); Bodley 789 (ff. 102^{v}-104^{v}); BL Harley 2385 (ff. 5^{r-v}); York Minster XVI. L. 12 (ff. 36^{v}-37^{v}); and CUL Nn. 4.12 (ff. 25^{v}-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

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'.[186]

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.[187]

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.

186 C.A. Martin, 'Middle English manuals of religious instruction', pp. 287-9.

187 Copeland, *Pedagogy*, p. 15. See also Nicholas Orme, 'Schools and School-books', in Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trappe (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, III: 1400-1557* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 449-69.

exegetical practices'.[188] 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'.[189] 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,[190] 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.[191] This is suggested within the opening lines of the anthology:

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

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 of prelatis; lerne & teche þe lawe of God • in her moder tung[192]

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

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192 *On the Apostles' Creed*, p. 1/6-8.

193 See Hudson, '"*Laicus litteratus*": the Paradox of Lollardy', in Peter Biller and Anne Hudson (eds.), *Heresy and Literacy, 1000-1530* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 235 and Lutton, *Lollardy and Orthodox Religion in Pre-Reformation England*, pp. 182-3. Cf. Aston, *Lollards and Reformers*, pp. 193-213.

194 Hudson, '"*Laicus 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, '"*Laicus 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 heretico cumburendo* 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*"', 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.

197 Copeland, *Pedagogy*, p. 17. See also Kantik Ghosh, 'Wycliffite Affiliations: Some Intellectual-Historical Perspectives', in *Wycliffite Controversies*, pp. 18-30. Cf. *Dialogus*, 54/27-30; See *Mum and the Sothsegger*, in which the poet undermines the academic institutions, satirising each of 'the vij sciences', or Liberal Arts, and the sage-like 'doctour of doutz', who dismisses the quest as 'sum noyous nycete of the newe iette' before directing the poet to the friars, 322-391, in *The Piers Plowman Tradition: A Critical Edition of* 'Pierce the Ploughman's Crede', 'Richard the Redeless', 'Mum and the Sothsegger', and 'The Crowned King', ed. by Helen Barr (London: Dent, 1993), pp. 135-202. Compare the treatment of the Liberal Arts in *Mum and the Sothsegger* to *PPI*, B-Text, Passus XIII, line 120-3. This is in the midst of a discussion of the friar as a doctor of divinity who is also a glutton. See *PPI*, B-Text, Passus XV, 371-88 and *FDR*, 100-4 and 278-9, in which he mocks Lollard education.

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

198 Rebecca Wilson Lundin, 'Rhetorical Iconoclasm: The Heresy of Lollard Plain Style', *Rhetoric Review*, Vol. 27, No. 2, (2008), p. 132.

Scripture and theological authority'.[199] 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.[200]

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,[201] 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

200 *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments, with the Apocryphal Books, in the Earliest English Versions Made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and His Followers*, Josiah Forshall and Frederic Madden (eds.), 4 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1850), vol. I, p. 51. For a detailed discussion of the English prologues, see Mary Dove, *The First English Bible: Text and Context of the Wycliffite Versions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 103-36.

201 Lundin, 'Rhetorical Iconoclasm', p. 137.

between signifier and signified.[202]

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.[203] 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.[204] An example of the Lollard viewpoint can be found in this volume, where it is outlined clearly in the tract *On the Eucharist*:

> [Þ]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 beleeue is Cristis owne worde in þe gospel of seynt Mathew • where he seiþ þus • þe whiles

202 Ibid., p. 136

203 Ibid., p. 138

204 Mirk I, pp. 158-9/163-80. See p. 136, n. 5 in the present volume. See also Judy Ann Ford, *John Mirk's Festial: Orthodoxy, Lollardy and the Common People in Fourteenth-century England*, (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006), pp. 63-5.

> Cristis disciples soupeden • Crist toke bred & blessid it & ȝaue it vnto his disciples & seyd þus • take ȝe & eteþ; þis is my body [/] And Crist takyng þe coppe did þankyngis • & ȝaue it vnto hem; & seyde • Drynkeþ ȝe 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; & ȝitt þe godhed myȝt suffre no peyne; so þouȝ þis sacrament be corupted • neuerþele[s] 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 oftur þe fourme of consecracion; and also Poule calleþ þe sacrament bred þat we breken / Also seynt Austyn in þe popis lawe seiþ þus • þat þing þat is seene is brede[205]

As we can see, the approach to literal interpretation of scripture was a distinguishing feature of the differences between orthodoxy and heterodoxy.[206] 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 menynge'. 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 sich – for he that pretendith himsilf moost 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 sotiltees 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 werne 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*:

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207 Copeland, 'Lollard Instruction' in Miri Rubin (ed.), *Medieval Christianity in Practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), p. 30.

208 Copeland, *Pedagogy*, p. 2. Quote taken from *TWT*, pp. 22-3.

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 unknowen 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

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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.

212 See Copeland, 'Lollard Instruction', pp. 27-29.

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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215 Cf. *PPI*, B-Text, Passus X, 460-8.

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.

A and all myn *A-B-C* after have I lerned,

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

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217 Cf. *PPI*, B-Text, Passus VII, 131-8, for a discussion on basic education of the commons.

218 John Scattergood, 'Pierce the Ploughman's Crede: Lollardy and Texts', in *Lollardy and the Gentry in the Later Middle Ages*, p. 77.

219 Copeland, *Pedagogy*, p. 135

and how?'[220] 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'.[221] 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 eerþe • 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 hiȝnesse of here prelacie[222]

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

222 *On the Apostles' Creed*, p. 4/49-51.

Church being contrasted to a Lollard conception of piety derived from Christ's actions;[223] and also explicitly stated, with the institutional Church urged to 'leeve þis dowing and worldi glorie þat þei han'.[224]

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.[225] 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.[226] 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*,[227] 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'.[228] 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'.[229] 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.[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 'passiþ alle oþer praiers',[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.[232]

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

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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.

231 *On the Pater Noster*, p. 6/1-2.

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.[233] The content in later versions is embellished, with the seven 'axyngs' becoming linked to the seven virtues and vices,[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.[235] The passage from the first subdivision of the first section in *On the Pater Noster*, with its contrast of the spiritual and earthly realms, clearly relates to the conception of Faith in *On Faith, Hope and Charity*, while the mention of God's name being imprinted on our souls[236] in the former tract

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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 evere þey be, þat it is an heye sacrifice to God to kunne here Pater Noster, þe gospel, and oþer poyntes of holy wryt nedeful to here soules, and þey to do þer-after, wheþer it be ytolde to him or wryten in Latyn, or in Englyssche, or in Frensche, or in Duchyssche, oþer in eny oþer langage, after þat þe peple haþ understondyng', (*The Pater Noster*, in Arnold III, p. 100). There is also a section equating members of the institutional Church with the those who opposed Christ in his day: 'Byholde now wel þese condiciouns, and loke where men doþ after hem oþer worse, and so þou schalt yknowe þe kynreden of þe Phariseus. And þes fayners of holynesse pursue Crist in his membres, as þe Phariseus pursuede Crist bodilyche' (*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 fouth 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.

234 Lewis, 'Textual Borrowings', p. 11

235 *On Faith, Hope and Charity*, p. 20/22-4.

236 *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.[237] The second theological virtue, Hope, is discussed in *On Faith, Hope and Charity* in relation to things yet to come, specifically 'þe blisse of heuene' after Judgement Day.[238] This is reflected in *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'.[239] Finally, in *On the Pater Noster*, the reference to 'loue of þe fader and þe sone', or heavenly and earthly, in the third subdivision of the first section,[240] is reflected in *On Faith, Hope and Charity*, which defines the third theological virtue as having 'two braunchis, [...] loue of God and man'.[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 *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 *On the Pater Noster*, the author states that 'men worþi to be herd moten be knyttid in charite • & mekenesse of herte'.[242] *On Faith, Hope and Charity* notes that one must be clothed in

237 *On Faith, Hope and Charity*, p. 20/25.

238 Ibid., p. 21/50-1.

239 *On the Pater Noster*, p. 7/20-1.

240 Ibid., p. 7/22-3

241 *On Faith, Hope and Charity*, p. 24/89.

242 *On the Pater Noster*, p. 6/10-11.

charity in order to enter heaven.[243] Its importance is again emphasised in *Tractatus de apostasia cleri*, in which it is plainly put that 'oonliche charite [...] makiþ men religiose or of Cristis ordre',[244] and it is elevated above the sacrament of confession in *On Confession.*[245] There are also a number of other examples throughout the manuscript.[246] 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.[247] 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:

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

243 *On Faith, Hope and Charity*, p. 24/91-4.

244 *Tractatus de apostasia cleri*, p. 29/11-12.

245 *On Confession*, p. 66/100-2

246 See, for instance, *On Confession*, p. 67/134-5; *On the Virtuous Life*, p. 79/41; *On the Eight Blessings*, p. 97/29-31; and *On the Deeds of Mercy*, p. 107/28-9.

247 See Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 299-301, for a discussion Lollard opposition to indulgences.

grace • þe lord is wiþ þee / In þe secound part is wordis; þat Eliȝabeth spak to hir whanne she seide blessid be þou among wymmen; & blessid be þe fruyt of þi womb / Þe þridde part hat two wordis; cloutid for deuocoun[248]

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.

250 Matti Peikola, 'And after all, myn Aue-Marie almost to the ende': Pierce the Ploughman's Crede and Lollard Expositions of the Ave Maria', *English Studies*, 81:4, (2010), pp. 278-9.

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 þenken ouer • if siche pardoun myȝt be grauntid; liȝtly bi lesse trauel • it shulde be grauntid generaly • to men þat deuoutly • seiden þes names / And so myȝt pardoun be gete • to seie eche day oure Lady sauter ȝhe ten þousynd ȝeer in oo ȝeer[251]

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; þat Gabriel left in his gretyng to teche vs þat he was homely; & knowen wiþ þis lady / & þerfor wolde he not now; nempne þis 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:

> þis aungel clepude Marie not now by hire propre name þat sche was clepud, for comun vse wiþ lordus and ladyes axsuþ þat comun seruauntis of hem clepen hem not by propre name, but by name of 'excellence', as men þat spekon of oure kyng leeuon to clepon hym Kyng Rychard, but seyen þat þis is wille of þe kyng, or þus the kyng bidduþ to do.[254]

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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.[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 vse' 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: 'Þe secound word is Ihesu; addid to Eliȝabeth[is] wordis; & þis word lefte þe gospel here; to teche þat Marie hadde but oo child & þis child was Ihesu; þat is sa[u]eour of mankynd'.[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.[257]

But what of the papal indulgences attached to these additions? The tone, when mentioning 'ȝhe ten þousynd ȝeer in oo ȝeer', 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 ȝyue þis pardoun • bi addyn[g] of þes two wordis; may he adde oþere moo & wiþdrawe as him likiþ / & so turne Goddis lawe; into lawe of Antecrist'.[258] This was a common characteristic of Lollard opinion on the papacy,[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

255 Peikola, 'Lollard Expositions', 284

256 *On the Ave Maria*, p. 10/10-12.

257 Peikola, 'Lollard Expositions, p. 283

258 *On the Ave Maria*, p. 11/29-31.

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.[260]

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 þe Chirche'.[261] 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*'.[262] 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

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 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[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 of her lyuyng • þei 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.[266] The fourth heresy is on the Eucharist, and is related to the first with its emphasis on the primacy of Scripture,[267] 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,[268] 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,[269] points to their corruption, and urges people to simply follow Christ instead.[270] 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,[271] 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.[272] 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.

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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.

269 Ibid., p. 14/28-9.

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.[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.[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 *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'.[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

273 Ibid., pp. 17/90-18/95.

274 Ibid., pp. 13/17-14/18.

275 Ibid., p. 14/32-3.

Church authorities in support of the arguments presented.[276] It is noteworthy, however, that the authorities cited in *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 techiþ 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

276 Hudson, *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 Tretys* 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 þe 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.[279] Modern capitalization is used, and abbreviations have been silently expanded. Two of the most common abbreviations are 'Ihu' and 'anncrist', 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[i]

(f. 1[r]) 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[ii] • & crede of þe chirche; & crede of Athanasie • þat was a Greek[3] doctour[iii] / But of þe first crede • shulde Cristen men spek; for it is more comoun • & shortere to knowe[4] / Ne bisie vs not • what postle made • what[5] partie of þis hooli crede • & whanne þe postlis gadden[6] it / For oure bileue techiþ vs • þat God ordeynede it al • & badde þat men shulde kunne it • and teche it to oþere[iv] / And if prelatis faile in þis; Crist seide þat stones shulde crie[v] / As seculer lordis shulden • in defaute of prelatis; lerne & teche þe lawe of God • in her moder tung[vi] / Ne studie we not hou many parties • ben in þis comoun[7] crede; for sooþ it is • þat alle þes parties • ben conteyned in þre / And herfor men seien þries • þat þei bileuen[8] in God / First þei bileuen[9] in þe Fader; for he is þe first persone / Aftir þei bileuen[10] in Ihesu Crist; bi diuerse articlis / And aftir þei bileuen[11] 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[12] / Bileue in God • & bileue to God • & bileue God[13] • þat is þe[14]

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1 Camb. I begins with the following, preceding the opening sentence: Þis is þe exposicion 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 / Þat man bileueþ[15] in God; þat cleueþ to him bi charite / & þus eche man in hed[16] synne is out of bileue[17] [/][18] But[19] þat man troweþ to God • þat troweþ[20] þat he is trewe;[21] in alle þingis þat he seiþ • & þus don vnkynd men / Þat man troweþ God;[22] þat troweþ[23] þat he is & þus don fendis;[24] al if þei[25] trowen not in hym / Þe first of þes þre parties[26] • conteyneþ þre articlis / First þat men shulden trowe þe firste persone;[27] þat is þe fader of heuene • & power of God[28] / And[29] so shulden men trowe; þat he is almyȝti[vii] / So if he wole ouȝt be doun • he doiþ whanne him likeþ / & so þe þrid article stondiþ in þis; þat he made of nouȝt • boþe heuen & eerþe[viii] / & we shulden bileue[30] þat almyȝt[i][31] • is comoun to þre persones / As almyȝti is þe fader • almyȝti is þe sone • almyȝti is þe Hooli Goost / & ȝit[32] shal we bileue þat þes ben not[33] þre almyȝti Goddis; but oon God almyȝti ~ **(f. 1[v])** The secound[34] part of oure crede • bigyneþ at Ihesu Crist; & toucheþ fourtene articlis þat stonden in þis ordre / First we shulden bileue;[35] in Goddis word or

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15 bileueþ] levys – Lam.

16 þus eche man in hed] þus eche man þat ys in hed – Lam.

17 out of bileue] out of his bileue – Lam. and Camb. I

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

19 But] omitted – Lam.

20 troweþ] bilevyþ – Lam.

21 trewe] trewe & riȝtful – Lam.

22 þus don vnkynd men] þus don vnkynd men þat trow not in hym – Lam.

23 troweþ] bileeveth – YM

24 & þus don fendis] & so don develis – Lam.; & þus don develes – Camb. I

25 al if þei] þat – Lam.

26 of þes þre parties] part of þis crede – Lam.

27 trowe þe first persone] trowe in þe first persone – Lam.

28 God] omitted – Camb. I

29 And] Ando – MS

30 we shulden bileue] ȝit schul men trow – Lam.; we shulden trowe – Camb. I

31 almiȝt – MS

32 & ȝit] ȝit – Lam.

33 we bileue þat þes ben not] not men trowe þat þese ben – Lam.; we trowe þat þes ben not – Camb. I

34 Insert Capitilum secundum before Þe secounde – Camb. I

35 bileue] trow – Lam. and Camb. I

his sone[ix] / Aftir we shulden bileue[36] þat he bicome man; stondyng in[37] his godhed • þat he myȝte not lese[x] / Þe þridde tyme we shulden bileue[38] þat þe fader of heuen; haþ but oon siche sone • oon wiþ hym in kynd / & þis[39] Ihesu is oure lord; bi Godhed and bi manhed / Siþ he made vs of nouȝt; & bouȝte vs fro synne / Þe ferþe article[40] of þis part seiþ; Crist was conceyuyd of þe Hooli Goost[xi] / Not as oþer men geten[41] children bi kynde; siþ þis persone is no man / But siþ þe Hooli Goost • is loue bi sum propretee • & moost token of loue þat God wolde shewe man was • þat he wolde take oure kynde & bicome oure broþer / Herfor we bileuen þat oure lord Ihesu was conceyued of þe Hooli Goost • wiþoute mannes gendryng / Þe fifþe time we bileuen[42] þat oure lord Ihesu was born of þe virgyn Marie • as of his owne moder[xii] / Þat was euer virgyn • wiþoute knowyng of man; al if[43] Crist took of hir • matere of his body / & siþe he norishide him wiþynne; as oþere children ben norishid / But he wente out of hir wombe; bi myracle as he was fourmed / Þe [sixte][44] tyme we shal trowe aftir two and þritti ȝeer; he suffride hard passioun • vndur Pounce Pilat / For to bie mankynd; & mantene þe[45] treuþe[xiii] / & so he was don on þe cross;[xiv] & aftir deed & biried[xv] / Siþ his soule wente to helle • & took out þes soulis; þat he ordeyned to saue bifore þe world was maid[xvi] / & [s]iþ[46] vpon þe þridde day • his soule cam to his body; & quykide it as bifore • & roos out of þe sepulcre[xvii] / And syþe whanne he had tauȝt hise apostlis[47] • ofte tyme of his resurrectioun; he steide into heuene • as þei sawȝen

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36 bileue] trow – Lam. and Camb. I

37 in] omitted – Lam.

38 bileue] trowe– Camb. I

39 & þis] in þis – Camb. I

40 article] article article - MS

41 geten] gendreþ – Camb. I

42 we bileuen] we shuld bileuen – Lam.

43 al if] alþow – Lam.

44 seuenþe] This error is also present in Lam. and YM, both of which render it vij, and Camb. I, which renders is seveþ.

45 þe] omitted – Lam.

46 siþ] þiþ – MS

47 tauȝt his apostlis] shewyd to his disciplis – Lam.

openly[xviii] / And þer he sittiþ in þe best sete; þat may acorde to man / & þat is clepid þe riȝt side of God • þe God his fader[48][xix] / & at þe last shal he come doun here to man; & iuge summe to bliss • & oþere to helle • euermore to be þere wiþoute dwellyng here[xx] ~ **(f. 2[r])** Þe þridde[49] part of oure crede bigynneþ at þe Hooli Goost; in whom we shal trowe • siþ þat he is God[xxi] / & 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][50] þat shal be saued[xxii] / & þis aftir domesday • shal be wiþouten synne; in eendelas ioye wiþ hir spouse • & eche haue ioye of oþer[xxiii] / And no man here in eerþe • is part of þis chirche; but if he come to heuene bi his hooli lyuyng[xxiv] / & þus men lacken[51] knowyng • wher þei ben partis of Hooli Chirche;[xxv] for þei shulden not booste • of hiȝnesse[52] of here prelacie[53] / & so þe Chirche haþ þre statis; bi processe of tyme / First he[54] wande[r]iþ[55] here in eerþe; & siþ he[56] slepiþ in purgatorie [•][57] & aftir he[58] restiþ in blisse of Crist þat is his[59] spouse[xxvi] / And so as sum men þenken • þes popis ne þes prelatis; beþ no part of Hooli Chirche • but synagoge of Sathanas[60][xxvii] [•] siþ þey moten liue aftir Crist; if þei shal be saued / Þis techis oure bileue; houeuer Antecrist[xxviii] grucche / And so we shal bileue[61] þat eche part of þe chirche; comuneþ and helpiþ oþer • boþe here & in heuene

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48 God • þe God his fader]God þe Fadyr – Lam.; God þe Fadir almyȝti – YM; God his Fader – Camb. I

49 Insert Capitilum tertium before Þe þridde – 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, ȝyf þey schul be savyd; For þus techis oure beleve, however Antecrist werke. And so þis Chirche... – Lam.

54 he] sche – Camb. I

55 wanderiþ] wandeiþ – MS

56 he] sche – Camb. I

57 A single virgule appears here. Further instances of this correction will be marked in square brackets without a footnote.

58 he] sche – Camb. I

59 his] hir – Camb. I

60 synagoge of Saþanas] of synagogue – Lam.

61 bileue] trowe – Camb. I

/ But in heuene þei shal in rest; haue ioye[62] of oþer[63] blisse / And so shal men bileue • þat eche part of [þ]e[64] Chirche; shal haue ful remissioun of synne þat it haþ don / An so rise[65] in bodi & soule • at þe day of doom;[66] wiþ glorie wiþ hem boþe • and euere lyue in blisse[67] ~

60 Explicit credo in deum patrem[68] ~

62 þei shal in rest; haue ioye] þei shal rest and haue ioye – Camb. I

63 oþre] here – Lam. and YM; þe – Camb. I

64 þe] re – MS

65 An so rise] Omitted – Lam.

66 at þe day of doom] omitted – Lam.

67 Insert Amen at the end – Lam. and Camb. I

68 Explicit credo in deum patrem] omitted from Lam., YM and Camb. I

On the Pater Noster

(f. 2^{r}) We shal bileue[1] • þat þis Paternoster[i] þat Crist hymsilf techiþ • to alle Cristen men; passiþ alle[2] oþere preiers in þes þre þingis;[3] in autorite &[4] sotilte; & profiþ of þe[5] Chirche[ii] [/] It passit in autorite • for Crist boþe God and man; made it and tauȝt it[6] for Cristen men to vse it[;][7] and he is of moost autorite; as oure bileue techiþ vs / And herfore þe gospel **(f. 2^{v})** of Matheu seiþ; þat Crist bad vs preie þus / It passiþ also in sotilte; for we schal vndurstond; þat in þes seuene axyngis • is soteli conteyned; alle þe poyntis of þis world • in wiche lieþ ony witt / & so shortly to comprehende • so myche witt in pleyn wordis; is a sotiltee of God • passyng witt[8] 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 axyng of þe[9] Paternoster; stondiþ in þes wordis / Oure fader þat art in heuenes; halewid be þi name[iii] / 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 hiȝe in heuene • aboue alle hise aungelis • and we ben so lowe here in erþe • wlappid in[11] many myscheues / We shulden bi resoun • be meke & buxum to þis lord; & mekely preie vnto oure Fader • þat halewid be his name / So as his name is halewid • 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 hooli] 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[13] in oure soule / For whanne oure soule was maid • to þe lickenesse of þe Trinite; Goddis hiȝe name • was prentid þerynne / Þe secound axyng of þis preier; stondiþ in þes wordis / Þi rewme come to þee; into þe blisse of heuen / & 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;[14] to geten him a rewme • & aftir turne[15] aȝen / Þe rewme[16] of his[17] 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 eerþe[18][iv] [/] And þe þridde axyng • answeriþ to þe Hooli Goost; for he is good loue • of þe Fader and þe Sone[19] / And al if þes axyngis • moten nedely be fillid; neþeles mannes soule lift vp wiþ charite is wiþ desijr hiȝed wiþ God; & oþere þingis[20] þat nedis moten be[21v] / & þes þre axyngis • be to þe Hooli Trinyte; & þerfor we shapen oure word • oonly vnto God / Þe secound **(f. 3[r])** part of þis preier; conteneþ foure axyngis [/] First we preien oure fader; to ȝyue vs oure eche day breed to day[22][vi] / And þis may be vndurstonde • wel on þre maneres; togidre as Austen seiþ[23] • bi witt of God almyȝti / First we axen oure bodili fode • to serue oure Fader[24] / Aftir we axen þe sacrament; to haue mynde of oure Fader[vii] / And aftir we axen[25] Goddis word; to fede wiþ oure soule / & for we han

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13 halewed • stidefast] halewed and stidefast – Camb. II

14 eerþe] eerȝe – MS

15 aftir turne] aftir to turne – Lam.

16 aȝen / Þe rewme] aȝen / to þe rewme – YM; aȝen 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 hiȝed wiþ God; & oþer þingis] wiþ desyr hiȝed wiþ God; and þat is a praier. þus we seien, blissid be God & oþer 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 seiþ] as seint Austen seiþ – 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 neiȝboris breed;[26] þerfor Crist techiþ vs • to axen of him oure[27] 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 dettouris[viii] / Þe dettis þat we owen to God; ben seruise þat we owen hym / As ofte tymes as we faylen • we rennen into dette of peyne / & but God forȝyue vs • þis dette oure[28] synne; we ben not worþi • to haue auȝt 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 vnmerciful[29] • 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 hed[ix] / But vndurstonde we wel • þat we may leuefully; axe of oure breþeren • dette of eerþeli þing / But þis axyng mot be; in resoun & charite / & þan it is for loue; and profite to oure neiȝbore / And here moten we fle boþe rancour and hate & enuye to oure neiȝbore[30] • wiþ oþere shrewed castis / Þe þridde axyng of þis part; sueþ in þes wordis [/] Oure Fader[31] • lede vs not into temptacioun[x] / Sooþ it is þat Crist was temptid;[xi] & God temptide man for loue / But hard it is and greuous peyne; to be ladde into temptacioun / Whanne[32] man of his folie • falliþ into myre of synne; riȝtful iugement of God • wole make him **(f. 3[v])** to s[y]nke[33] depere [/] And

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26 & not wiþ wrong ete oure neiȝboris 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 neiȝbore] 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 oure Fader • þat he lede vs not into þis hardnesse of synne[34] • lest we comen neuere out / & herfor þe last axyng[35] sueþ in þes wordis / But gracious Fader; delyuere vs from yuel[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;[36] shuld ony man do synne / But siþ summe synnes • ben myche worse þan oþere; in þis last axyng • we preien dilyueraunce of þe worst[37] / Þe worst is þe deuelis synne • þat men dien ynne wiþoute repentaunce • þat euere shal be punyshid / & þat clepiþ þe gospel; synne aȝens þe Hooli Goost[xiii] / God for his greet mercy • kepe vs fro þis yuel; and þanne shal we haue euerlastyng fredom / Amen[38xiv] ~

Explicit Pater Noster[39] ~

34 þis hardnesse of synne] temptacioun – Bod. 789

35 last axyng] last axyng of þis part – Bod. 789

36 nouȝt þerynne] nouȝt that is þerynne – Add.

37 þe worst] þe worst synne – Lam.

38 Amen] So be it – YM and Camb. II; omitted – Add.

39 Explicit Pater Noster] omitted – Lam., YM, Harl. and Add.; Here endes þo Pater Noster in Englysche – Camb. II; There ben seuen heresies aftir con [...] nyd of false prestis aȝen þe Pater Noster. Wyclif – Dou. 274

On the Ave Maria

(f. 3^{v}) Men greten comounly;[1] oure Lady • Goddis moder • & we supposen þat þis gretyng; saueþ many men / For we taken as bileue; þat she is blessid in heuen & Crist wole do at hir preying; among alle oþere seyntis al if we trowen þat neiþer Crist; ne she wolen do for men but if it be resonable; þat men ben[2] worþi to be holpen / And so may men folily; triste[3] 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 grace[4] • þe lord[5] is wiþ þee[i] / In þe secound part is wordis; þat Eliȝabeth spak to hir whanne she seide blessid be þou among wymmen; & blessid be þe fruyt of þi womb[6ii] / Þe þridde part hat two wordis; cloutid[7] for deuocoun / First men seien heil Marie; þat Gabriel left in his g[r]etyng[8] to teche vs þat he was homely; & knowen wiþ þis lady / & þerfor wolde he not now; nempne þis name of Marie / Þe secound word is Ihesu; addid to Eliȝabeth wordis; & þis word lefte þe gospel here; to teche þat Marie hadde but oo child **(f. 4^{r})** & þis child was Ihesu; þat is sa[u]eour[9] of mankynd / But þis fel longe tyme[10] aftir; þat oure Lady was greet þus / Þe first word þat is Aue • reuersiþ 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 saluacoun[iii] / Þe secound word

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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 blessid 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 saueour] saeour – MS

10 tyme] omitted – Camb. I and Harl.

of þe aungel seiþ; 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[iv] ful of water / & ȝaf grace plenteuous[li][11]; boþe to oþere[12] men & wymmen / Seynte Steuene was ful of grace þat suffiside to his lijf; for to brynge hym to blisse • & so ben many oþere[13] seyntis[v] / 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[14] / But boþe þe aungel & Eliȝabeth • seien þat oure Lady is blessid; among alle wymmen þat ben • for gendrure of siche a child / & so þe[15] bygynnyng & þe endyng shulde be blessing of Ihesu; þat is fruyt of þe wombe of þe Lady[16] Seynt Marie[vi] / Þe þridde 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 seiþ • þat men shulden not; vp greet peyne adde to Goddis word[vii] / It is seid þat þe pope ȝyueþ 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[17] or more / & as þe pope may ȝyue þis pardoun • bi addyn of þes two wordis; may he adde oþere moo & wiþdrawe as him likiþ / & so turne Goddis lawe; into lawe of Antecrist / Oþer[18] moten men graunte þis wey • or sey þat þis was yuel don;[19] or seye þat here was first a defaut • kept to[20] popis[21] to amende /

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11 plenteousli] plenteous - MS

12 oþere – MS; omitted – YM

13 oþere] omitted – Camb. I

14 Lady Mary] Lady seint Mary – YM

15 þe] omitted – Camb. I

16 þe Lady] oure Lady – Camb. I; oure – Harl.

17 dayes] ȝeer – Camb. I

18 Oþer] Eiþer – YM and Camb. I

19 or sey þat þis was yuel don] omitted – Lam.

20 kept to] kep unto – Bod. 789

21 popis] þe pope – Lam. and Camb. I

& herfor þenken many men • þat þe wordis of þe gospel; weren wisely sett in þe gospel wiþouten ony variyng / And many men þenken ouer • if siche **(f. 4^{v})** pardoun myȝt be grauntid; liȝtly bi lesse trauel • it shulde be grauntid generaly • to men þat deuoutly • seiden þes names[viii] / And so myȝt pardoun be gete • to seie eche day oure Lady sauter ȝhe ten þousynd ȝeer in oo ȝeer / Triste we to wordis of þe gospel; & worshipe we Marie [wiþ][22] al oure myȝt[23ix] ~ Explicit salutatio sancte marie virginis[24] ~

22 wiþ] vp – MS

23 myȝt] myȝt. Amen – Lam.; ...myȝt. Wyclif – Harl.

24 Explicit salutatio sancte marie virginis] omitted - Lam., Camb. I and Harl.

The Seven Heresies

(f. 4ᵛ) For false men[1] multiplien bokis[2] of þe Chirche • now rendyng bileue & now cloutynge eresies; þerfor men shuld be war of þes two perelis • þat men[3] pynchen at in þe Pater Noster / Þei seien first þat special preier • applied bi her prelatis; is better þan general[i] / As oon Famulorr[ii] • seid of a frere; is better þan a Pater Noster • wiþ oþere þingis euen / For þe Pater Noster is moost general; & þe Famulorr is moost special of alle þe preiers þat euer God heriþ[iii] / But we shal bileue þat no preier is worþ • but in as myche as God hymsilf heriþ it; & applieþ þis preier to profijt of men[iv] / 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[4] all þe goodis • þat a man shulde aske of God / But it is oon to sey þus; & to hiȝe Antecrist ouer oure Lord Ihesu Crist • þat is oure alþer[5] fader / [þe][6] generalite of þis preier • lettiþ not oure lord God; to here singulerly persones • aftir þat þei ben worþi ~

The secound eresie of þe secound axyng • seiþ 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[v] / Lord siþ God & eche membre of hise Chirche • ben weddid togider[vi] as oure bileue seiþ; wher ony of þes prestis shal be dampned in helle / Welle y wot þat noon shal be dampned but deuelis[vii] / And if ony of

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1 Insert at the beginning - Septem hereses contra septem peticiones – Dou. 274; Here ben sevene heresies aftir continued of false prestis aȝen 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.

þes **(f. 5[r])** deuelis weren capiteyn of his Chirche; þanne God & þe deuel were weddid togider / But oure bileue[7] seiþ þat þer is no comunyng wiþ Crist & Belial;[viii] þanne ben þei not weddid / Herfor shal we trowe as hooli men han tauȝt bifore two þousand ȝeer[8] þat Sathanas was[9] bounden[10] • þat Hooli Chirche is of þoo;[11] þat God haþ ordeyned to dwelle wiþ hym in blisse of what stait so þei be • prestis or seculers • lordis or comunes • ladies or pore wymmen; þat endelesly louen God / And so summe part of þis[12] Chirche regneþ aboue in heuen; & summe slepit in purgatorie • & sum fiȝtiþ in erþe[ix] / But at þe day of doom shal al be gederid togidre • & regne in heuen wiþ her spouse • oure lord Ihesu Crist[x] / So if þat prelatis or freris or seculers • suen not Crist in maner of her lyuyng • þei were neuer Cristis spouse ne membris of his Chirche[xi] ~

þe þridde eresie of þe þridde axyng seiþ; þat þei 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 • bifore þe world was maid[xii] / And aftir a man deseruiþ þe while he lyueþ here shal he be rewardid aftir his lijf • eiþer in blisse or in peyne • not wiþstondyng oure preier / But wel y wot þat God[13] may helpe soulis in purgatorie & make hem shortlier to dwelle þer in; aftir þat þei haue m[a]de[14] hem worþi • for þe tyme þat þei haue lyued here / But we shal vndurstonde þat God acceptiþ þe lijf þat men lyuen here wel; & appreuiþ it for soulis • & þer aftir it is medeful for soulis þat ben in purgatorie / And if[15] we knowen not þe priuetee of God;

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7 oure bileue] seint Poul – YM and Harl.

8 tauȝt bifore two þousand ȝeer] tauȝt vs of þe two þousand ȝeer – 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 Saþanas vnbounden] Sathanas was bounden – Dou. 274; þe deuyl was bounden – Harl.

11 þoo] oonli thes – YM and Harl.

12 of þis of þis] Scribe corrects this within the body of the text.

13 God] gode life – Harl.

14 made] mede - MS

15 if] al ȝif – Harl.

neuerþeles we witen þat it is fulli riȝtwesnesse / Þat preier[16] of a man þat God haþ ordeyned to blisse; is more worþi þan a þousand • of hem þat shal be dampned / For þe first is Goddis childe; & eire[17] to haue his blisse / Þe secound is þe fendis childe[xiii] & preie he neuer so myche; he getet not þe blisse of heuen • for he makide him not **(f. 5[v])** 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 • bifore oþer þingis[19] / And so priuat almes don singulerly • þat Crist himsilf tauȝte not doiþ litil good or nouȝt • ne pardoun[20] of siche almes for to come to heuen[xiv] ~

Þe fourþe eresie of þe fourþ axyng • seiþ þat þe sacrid oost is no maner breed; but eiþer nouȝt or accident wiþouten ony subiect[21] • & so worse þan stones or ony oþer body[xv] / And when ony of siche men axen to haue þe sacrid oost; þei ȝiuen hem worse þane stones • as þei falsly feynen[xvi] / For þis were aȝens þe gospel • as Crist himsilf seiþ[xvii] / Lordis & prelatis can not distrie þis eresie; eiþer for her negligence • or for þe wiles of Antecrist / Lord if þes grete men wolde ȝyue þes prestis no good ne freris; bifore 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 sacrid oost is verrey Goddis body & verrey breed[xviii] • for so seiþ 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 • bifore oþer þingis] omitted – Dou. 274

20 ne pardoun] to donor - Dou. 274

21 Harl. is damaged extensively from this point.

Þe fyueþ eresie conteyned of þe fyueþ axyng • seiþ þat prestis haue power to assoile men of synne; hou[22] euer þe pope lymytiþ at his owne wille[xix] / And absolucions & indulgencis boþe fallen in mannes chaffar; bi biyinge and sellynge[xx] / 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 forȝeuen; but if God himsilf forȝyue first of alle[xxi] / And if his trewe viker[xxii] • 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. 6[r])** 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 wille[xxiii] / For if he wants þis kunnyng • he neiþer byndeþ ne assoiliþ; ne it is no bileue • þat he ne may erre in þis[xxiv] / And amonge alle eresies • or blasphemyes in oure chirche; þis is oon þe moost þat men are disceyued inne[xxv] / And if a man speke her of bi þe lawe of God; he shal be pursued[23] or don to deeþ as an eretik[24] ~

Þe sixte eresie contened of þe sixte axyng seiþ; 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 deeþ 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 ordris[xxvi] / 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 siþen[xxvii] / 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 it[xxviii] / Wiþouten doute þe ordenaunce þat Crist himsilf haþ ordeyned • if it were holden clene • it were þe best of oþere[xxix] / 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 • wiþouten more diuersite[26][xxx]

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The seuenþe eresie & þe last þat is contened of þe seuenþ[27] axyng seiþ • þat if we worchen **(f. 6[v])** bi conceillis of þes newe ordris • þat leuen þe ordenaunce of Crist;[28] we shal nedely be saued[xxxi] / & herbi ben men ledde into fendis temptacoun;[xxxii] & wlappid wiþ 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 fallyng of her ordre / But siþ it is not groundid in bileue; he is not on Goddis half • þat lettiþ fro freris[30] / And we shulden trowe þat foundyng of abbeis & freris; lettiþ[31] not hem þat ne men may falle in þe last synne / And þerfor al maner of men shulden knowe Cristis ordinaunce; & 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 of þe rewme; who wolde not seye þat ne sich a puple were perelous in Englond[xxxiii] / Miche

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25 distried – word partially illegible due to an attempt by the scribe to correct an error.

26 wiþouten more diuersite] wiþouten 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 siþ it is not groundid in bileue; he is not on Goddis half • þat lettiþ fro freris] But siþ it is clene groundid in bileeue of goddis lawe, he is not on goddis half, that leueth it for freris. – YM

31 abbeis & freries; 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 & oþere perels come þat Crist hadde bifore told / God helpe his Chirche fro perelis of false ypocritis & vngroundid newe statis • þat ben not foundid in Cristis lawe[xxxiv] / Wel y wot þat þei may seie þat many of hem ben seyntis; but neiþer is þis bileue ne groundid in resoun[32xxxv] ~

Expliciunt vij heresies contra Pater Noster[33] ~

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^{r}) For it is seid in holdyng of oure haliday • þat we shulden occupie þe tyme in prechyng • & deuout hering[1] of þe lawe of God[i] / & ouer many[2] freris • as bastardis to Goddis lawe; tellen iapis or lechyngis • & leeuen þe gospel[ii] / Herfor shulden men lerne • of þre Goddis[3] vertues; þat þe gospel of Poul • clepiþ feiþ • hope & charite[iii] / Feiþ is þe ground • of alle oþer vertues; & þerfor Poul clepiþ it • sheld of Cristen men[4iv] / For among sixe[v] armures; noon is more nedeful / But feiþ may be takun on many maners / Sumtyme feiþ is clepid • þe treuþe þat we[5] trowen; & so þer is a comoun feiþ • to alle Cristen men / Sumtyme feiþ is clepid • vertue þat makiþ trewe men; & so eche trewe man haþ diuerse feiþ / And sumtyme feiþ is clepid; oure trowyng in werk / & bi þes þre membris • maist[6] þou knowe Goddis lawe; þat spekiþ of • in[7] diuerse maners / Seynt Poul clepiþ feiþ • ground of goostli þingis; þat men shulden hope to haue in heuen[vi] / And here men seruen him treuly[8] • 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 • & tristiþ not to His treuþ as heþen men don / And herfor seiþ Seynt Poul • þat Cristen mennes feiþ; is mene of alle her goode vertues[9] • þat þei here don[vii] / For seyntis bi feiþ • discoumfiteden rewmes;[viii] ȝhe þe rewme of þe fend • & þat is more maistrie • þan wynne rewmes of men / For enemyes ben moo; & more queynt in her dedis • bi wilis of her capteyns / & þus seyntis han wrouȝt; faire & iust

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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.; werlkis – New 95

dedes[10] / For no[11] man may last • in hard lijf for God; but if he haue feiþ • bi þe whiche he lastiþ so / & shortly no man • may serue blisse of God; but if he haue feiþ • bi whiche he seruet it / And shortly no man synneþ aȝens God; but if[12] he faile in feeþ • þat groundiþ[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[14] his retenew • & 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 erþe; he sente a letter to man • bi Moyses his messanger • þat is more worþ • þan ony pope or cardynal / His letter is hise maundementis • & 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[15] / & her of men shulen not faile[16] • wit outen gret forfeture / Take hede[17] to mennes feiþ • hou bisily þei traueilen; for gooddis & worship of þis world • & leeuen trauel to God • and þou maist wel se þat feiþ failiþ hem[ix] ~ 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[18] / Sum men failen in feiþ • for it is so þinne; & eeþ[19] to perishe wiþ a dart • bi saut of þin enemye / A[s][20] men þat ben assailid • bi her flessh or þe worlde or in lustis or in peynes; ȝyuen it vp

10 & þus seyntis han wrouȝt; faire & iust dedes] omitted – New 95
11 no] no no – MS
12 if] omitted – New 95
13 feeþ • þat groundiþ] feeþ whiche þat groundiþ – Harl.
14 at] omitted – New 95
15 for euer] wiþ-outen ende – New 95
16 faile] myse – Harl.
17 Take heed] Take we heed – New 95
18 seruise] trauele – Harl.
19 eeþ] eke liȝt – New 95
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] failen 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 Iame seiþ / So he þat byndiþ him • to feiþ of his god; mot kepe it al hool • stifly & in ordre[x] / For if þi sheeld were at þi bak; þou myȝtest soone bi killid[24] / 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[25] her deformed scheeld / And herfor shulde we trowe al þe lawe of God; & trowe þat it is trewe bi every part þeroff[26] / 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[r])** As freris þat trowen • many articlis of þe[27] treuþe; & failen in þe treuþe • of þe sacrid oost • shal be dampned herfor / But if þei turne aȝen • & trowen in wordis of Crist; þat seiþ • þis is my body[xi] / But nowe freris trowen • þat neþer þis oost is breed; ne body[28] of Crist • ne neþer of þes may be / But Crist seiþ soþeli[29] • þis breed[30] is my body; but hou ben þei not eretikis • þat trowen aȝen Crist here / And þus eueryche man • haþ a maner of feiþ; siþ eche man troweþ • þat God &[31] alle þingis ben / But his feiþ is rent • in particuler errours; þat troweþ fals of þe feiþ • bi ony part þerof / And so oure good god •

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21 to] omitted – New 95

22 men] omitted – New 95

23 killid] sleyn – Harl.

24 killid] sleyn – Harl.

25 for] by – New 95

26 þeroff] of it – New 95

27 þe] omitted – New 95

28 ne body] ne þe body – New 95

29 soþeli] surely – New 95.

30 breed] omitted – Harl.

31 &] in – New 95

byndiþ vs not to trowe euermore; & specialy eche article of þe treuþe / For sum ben so sutel • 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 troweþ in God; but he þat loueþ him [•] & hopiþ bi his good lijf to haue blisse of God[32] ~ Capitulum 3

Hope is þe secound vertu; þat God himsilf axeþ & it is ful diuerse; 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 bodily in heuene & shal euermore be • aftir þe [day of][33] doom / Also feiþ is boþe of good þingis & yuel; boþe[34] 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 saluacoun [•] for we hopen al oonly; þat touchiþ oure owne blisse / & so trouþe of Cristen men[xii] • puttiþ hem out of dout [•] & makiþ hem so surely • trowe[35] her bileue; þat þei shulden stonde for þis treuþe • to þe deþ of her body[xiii] / But so it is not of hope; if we loken wel [•] as neþre we witen ne we trowen • nowe to be saued; & ȝit we hopen **(f. 28[v])** it wiþouten eny dout / & so hope is werke of soule; bineþe oure bileue [•] & so bineþe knowyng; but aboue doutyng[xiv] / 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 diuerse; to trowe & to hope [•] but þis is a sutel matre • to clerkis for to knowe; but comoun speche[36] sufficiþ to oþre men / Capitulum 4

32 blisse of God] þe blis of heuen – 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 philosepheris[37] seien; þat contraries[xv] han oon lore [•] feiþ & hope techen vs; knowe contraries[38] of hem / Feiþ haþ infidelite contrarie to him; and hope haþ desperacoun • as his contrarie[39] / And as feiþ is ground • of alle oþre vertues; so infidelite is ground • of alle oþre synnes / And herfor s[e]iþ[40] Crist • þat God shal reproue þe world • first of þis synne • for it groundiþ[41] alle oþre / Wanhope[42] of men • is a greet synne;[43] for no man is dampnid • wiþoute þis wanhope / For he þat lastiþ in þis[44] synne til his lyues eende; and haþ not sorowe of his synne • ne hope to haue forȝifnesse [•] he synneþ aȝen þe hooli goost [•] þat neþre shal be forȝyuen him in þis world ne in þe toþre • as Crist himsilf seiþ[xvi] / & many þere ben • þat synnen in þis synne; longe bifore þei dien • but þanne it lastiþ euere / As eche man þat God knoweþ to be dampned in helle; beriþ euerlastyng synne • aȝens þe hooly goost / For as þe hooli goost • is þe laast persone of God • aftir whom comeþ noon oþere; 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[xvii] / And summe synnen in dispeir; aȝens riȝtfulnesse[46] of God [•] as þes þat seie in her lijf • lat me synne ynowe; for God wole neuere lose þat he haþ[47] dere bouȝt / & so alle þat shal be dampnyd ben eueremore in synnyng; aȝen þe hooli goost • & euere in dispeyryng / As if a man drof contynuly in þe erþe; a stake til he

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 riȝtfulnesse] riȝtwisnes – New 95

47 haþ] 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 driueþ 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. 29^{r}) The þridde vertu of God is loue or[48] charite;[xviii] & 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[49xix] [•] for bi þis & ellis not; kepiþ a man hym in charite / And þis vertu cloþiþ man; at domesday wiþ bride cloþis [•] & þis clooþ 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 clooþ • but if he coms to heuene[xx] / & so men þat shal be dampned; han but feyned charite [•] but lyue wel oftiþ Goddis lawe; & hope to haue þis last[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 clooþ of charite • þat God haþ shapen hise sones;[51] ben yuel disposid • to haue þis[52] clooþ 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[xxi] / 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 clooþ of charite [•] & þis is open eresie by many kyn skilis[xxii] / 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

48 or] & – New 95

49 hestis] lawes – New 95

50 last] omitted – New 95

51 þan þe clooþ of charite • þat God haþ shapen hise sones] omitted – Harl.

52 þis] þe – New 95

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; & worchip to destrie it • & purge him þerfro / & 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 seiþ 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 feynen[xxiii] / And þus chesen hem **(f. 29[v])** a place • to false Crist in his visage; & Ierom wiþ oþere 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[55] **[•]** for Crist tauȝte in his lawe þat men shulden not begge; but holde euene his ordre & þei shulden come to heuene / Þes[56] freris seien þe contrarie • & grounden[57] hem an ordre of her wilful beggyng • bi men þat han no nede[xxiv] / And herby shulden men hope; to sitte hiȝe in heuene [•] for as þei lien falsly; Crist beggid not[58] þus[xxv] / Þe þridde of þes vertues; is contrariede by freris [•] siþ it is no charite; to falsly passe Crist [•] for Crist seiþ to hise cosyns • þat bi his manhed he haþ no powere to ȝyue hem leeue to sitte on his side;[59] but to þe godhed in his fader; is proprid his power[xxvi] / But freris seien openly • bi lettres of her fraternyte; þat þei ȝyuen her breþeren leeue to haue part of her blisse / & þis myȝten þei not do • but if þei ȝauen hem leeue to sitte; on þe riȝt hond of Crist • as if þei passiden him / & þis sowneþ not charite; but Lucifers pride[xxvii] ~

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 siþ cloþing of þis loue is so myche loued of God • & more worþ to man þan alle þes worldis richessis; man shulde ful besily knowe propertes of þis 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[xxix] [/][60] Þe 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 seiþ; þat whanne he was mysseide he curside not aȝen [•] ne whanne he suffride wrongis; he manaaside not aȝen[xxxi] / O what charite haþ he to suffre wrongis for Cristis loue; þat wole not suffre a liȝt word • but ȝelde a worse aȝen [/] Þe secounde propertee is þis • þat charite is benygne; for it is not ynowȝ to suffre for so don þeues [•] but do good in soule aȝens yuel suffrid; for þat is good loue of þe fier of charite [•] & þis is clepid benygnite; bi properte of word / & herfor clerkis seien; þat þer ben þre lawes [•] þe first is lawe of oure good[61] God; to do good for yuel / Þe toþer is lawe of þe world • to do good for good; **(f. 30[r])** & yuel for yuel • as mennes maner is / Þe þridde is þe deuelis lawe to do yuel for good; & þis is maner of men whanne þei ben turned to deuelis [/] Þe þridde properte is þat sueþ of þis secound; þat charite haþ not enuye to no kyn þing [•] for it loueþ wel God; & alle Goddis creaturis / Þe fourþe propertee þat sueþ • of þis riche vertu; is þat charite wiþoute forþ • worchiþ not shrewedly [•] for as þis first ȝok • bigynneþ wiþ pacience • & siþ goiþ into worchyng • of a mannes soule [•] so mot þis oþer ȝok forsake yuel wiþynne; & siþ yuel dede wiþoute[62] bi ordre of God [/] Þe fifþe maner of charite • stondiþ in þis; þat it bolneþ not[63] wiþ pride • siþ it is þus pacient / And þe sixte sueþ her of; þat it coueitiþ not worldli worship [•] for al worship of charite; she puttiþ

60 Markers in red ink at the beginning of each of the sixteen points. Rendered as virgules here.

61 good] omitted – New 95

62 siþ yuel dede wiþoute] omitted – New 95

63 not] not not – MS

hoolly[64] in God [/] Þe seuenþe condicioun þat sueþ þis[65] charite; is þat it sekiþ not • propre goodis to hersilf [•] but sekiþ worship to God; & profijt to his chirche [/] Þe eiȝte propertee of charite • stondiþ in þis; þat charite wraþþiþ her[66] not • al if it suffre wrong / And þerfor it is liȝt to men to stonde wiþ pees and charite [/] Þe nynþe propertee of charite; is depper þan þes oþre [•] þat it þenkiþ not yuel; for siche þouȝt turneþ to yuel [•] as Iob made couenaunt; to þenke not on a virgyn [/] Þe tenþe propertee þat sueþ • þis vertu of charite; is þat she ioyeþ not wickidnesse as[67] aungelis of heuene • ioyen of fendis peyne; but not of her wickidnesse [/] And herfor þis condicioun • sueþ aftir charite; þat it ioyeþ wiþ God • of treuþe þat He loueþ [/] Þe twelfþe condicioun þat sueþ þis charite is; þat she takiþ mekely what euere þing her come to [/] Þe 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[68] • ȝhe profite of synnes / For men þat dreden God • if þei fallen in synne; þei ben more war þat þei synne not eft[69] [•] & þanken more God of his gracious help; & alle medeful dedis • han þei part of [/] Þe fourteneþe condicioun • þat sueþ aftir charite; stondiþ in þis poynt • þat she hopiþ al þing [•] þat turneþ to good of Goddis children; þat dreden hym in loue[xxxii] / Þe fifteneþe condicioun • þat sueþ þis **(f. 30ᵛ)** charite is; þat she susteyneþ wiþ wille alle harmes þat comen • ȝhe[70] she is not discoumfortid; if Goddis help abidiþ longe [/] And so þe last condicioun þat sueþ þis blessid vertu is; þat she falliþ neuere a doun • but lastiþ for euere • in þis world & in þe toþer • as loue of God failiþ not / And if a man koude no more • of þe lawe of God • but þes sixtene condiciouns

64 hoolly] oonly – New 95
65 þis] in – New 95
66 her– MS; omitted – New 95
67 as] on as – MS
68 þing] omitted – New 95
69 eft] ofte – New 95
70 ȝhe] ȝhit – New 95

• & 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[r]) Siþ ilche Cristen man is holdon to sewe Crist • & who euere fayliþ in þis is apostata;[i] it is likliche to many men • þat þe more part of men bi here viciose lijf • ben combred in þis heresye[ii] / But al ȝif knyȝtis & alle men shulden be religiose; neuerþelees spek we of apostasye of prestis / Þre 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 bileeue • þat elche man þat is ordeyned of God to be dampned; is apostata to iugement of God • as þe riȝt resoun shewiþ of þe apostasie[iii] / And ȝif 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 ȝif he semeþ greuousliche vnkynde for þe tyme / Forþermore we shal suppose þat bodyliche abyte or wantyng þerof makiþ not men religiose neyþer apostataes; al ȝif þey semen siche bi iugement of men • for oonliche charite þat sewiþ it makiþ men religiose or of Cristis ordre[iv] / 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 helpiþ to holde religioun of Crist & loue hym of hert [/] Siþ 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 perpetuelly • for þey needen a man to take heede to sensible þing • but heede to sensible þing wiþdrawiþ fro God [/] Also oblishyng of men vnfreeþ hem to God • but it is greet oblishyng to be bonde to perpetuel kepyng of siche maner signes • siþ it falliþ ofte þat Goddis lawe askiþ • to do dedis þat Crist biddiþ & leue siche signes / & so byndyng to siche signes lettiþ fredom of Crist / Also siþ Crist is al witty as oure feiþ techiþ vs • & he ȝaf vs not siche signes • but raþer reproueþ hem; 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[v])** cause

whi signes of þe old lawe shulden ceesse bi fredom of þe comyng of Crist / Of þis it semeþ þat signes to wiche men ben oblished ben not groundid in þe lawe of grace; but raþer techen vs to leue signes & ceremonyes of þe olde lawe beter þan þes ben • tauht to be left bi lore of Poul [/] & herfore it semeþ þat priuat religiose ben hyndred bi here ordris to kepe Cristis lawe; al ȝif it falleþ þat somme men ben beterid bi byndyng to þise chargis þat ellis wolden be wylde / But al ȝif it falleþ profyte to summe men to be bounde to a stake or chargid wiþ stones; neuerþelees religioun þat wisdom haþ ȝyuen vs byndiþ vs not to kepe siche rewlis [•] for as to þe more part it falliþ; þat resoun of Goddis lawe shulde occupie men betere [/] & so ȝif obseruaunce in lyues of fadris profytede to many men [•] þat brouȝte hem to heuene; neuerþelees it were a pure open folye to make herof a rewle for al & for euere [/] For God haþ ordeyned som þing to profyt for oon man; & þat same þing to noye for an oþer • & ofte to þe same man somþing were good for a tyme; & somtyme to hymsilf wold þat þing noye [/] & þerfore he haþ ȝiuen witt & resoun wiþ his lawe to man te chese what were good for hym • ne it may not be þat ȝif man fayle not to God • þat þe spirit of God fayle hym to shewe hym what he shulde do • betere þan þis ordris con [/] & so men þat oblishen hem to kepe siche ordris • or ellis founde hem euere to laste; semen to reuerse God in his ordinaunce & turne vpsodoun wisdom[1] of kynde [/] & herby Aristotle soyliþ an argument bi whiche it myȝte seme to folis • þat kynde failiþ to man • siþ it ordeyneþ armure & defence to bestis • & to man ordeyneþ noon siche þing / Þis philosephie assoyliþ þis folye bi þis • þat kynde haþ ordeyned to man boþe wit & hondis bi þe whiche he may take when he wole & leue when he wole armure & oþere help þat is meche betere [/] O wheþere Crist knewe not clerliche þe profyt þat comeþ of priuat religions siþ he left hem / It semeþ þat al siche religion smacchiþ blasfeme in shadewe of pride • for it reuersiþ in a maner þe ordynaunce of Crist / & ȝif þei seyen þat many seyntis han ben in þis 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[r])** ordre[v] / & it is hyd to vs whyche of hem ben seyntis • & siþ it is hyd to þe pope & to al his couent; confirmacioun of hym makiþ litel feyþ [•] but it myȝte make feyþ to hem; þat knewen his reuelacion for þe popis autorite; makiþ not seyntis in heuene • & so martirdom wiþ hooli lijf aftir Cristis lawe; makiþ more euydence þat þis is a seynt / But siþ we shal suppose þat many holi confessours han ben in þise ordris þat nowe ben in heuene; two þingis ben to seye of lijf of siche men [/] First þat þei lyueden diuersliche fro þise newe sectis; & loueden God & his lawe & leften siche signes / & so þise newe sectis shulden kepe more Cristis religion; ȝif þei leften here rytis as here fadris diden / But ferþermore we shal suppose of þise hooli confessours; þat þei weren contrit & purgid of here synnes / & bi þis & not bi rytis; þei ben now seyntis • as blasfemye of Poul þat he pursewede Crist • makiþ hym not seynt; but good þat he dide after[vi] [/] But to trowe siche canonyȝaciouns is lesse þan bileeue / De dotacione ecclesie[vii] [/]

As to þe possessiouns & dowyng of clerkis; bileeue shulde teche vs þat it doiþ hem harm te kepe Cristis religioun & harm to lewid men • for Crist seiþ þat noo man may be his discipul but ȝif he renunce alle siche þingis[viii] / & hou he shulde renunce; Cristis lijf techiþ • & lif of hise apostlis þat com in after hym [•] & ensaumple of siche dedis exponeþ best Cristis lawe [/] & þus bi process of tyme; is þe chirche peyred bi turnyng fro Cristis lawe & bi loue of þe worlde / & herfore seiþ Poul • þat coueytise is roote of alle yuelis þat comen to Goddis chirche[ix] / & comyng inne of freris þat shulden qunche þis synne; makiþ it more feruent • as watir fier of smyþis / & siþ þei ben apostataes þat gon abac in Cristis ordre; few or none of siche prestis ben clene of þis heresye • for þei forsaken Crist in kepyng of his lawe [•] & Crist seiþ þat man mot kepe it; ȝif he loue hym[x] / But siche loue of worldliche þingis drawiþ fro loue of Crist;[xi] hou myche is loue of prestis drawe now for God / Wantyng of werkis of þe gospel & werkis of þe world; dampneþ oure prestis in defaute of þis loue / & ȝit þei pondren blasphemye in among

þis apostasye [•] for þey seyen þat þei **(f. 77^{v})** hauen more power of Crist; þan euere he wolde ȝiue to Petre or Poul / For in spiritual power þei ben euen wiþ him • and in worldliche power þey passen hem • siþ Petre seiþ he hauede neþer silure ne go[l]d[2][xii] • & Poul laborede wiþ hise hondis[xiii] / & so here power gederid to gedere; in so myche passiþ power of Petre / & ȝif ony man seyþ þat oure prestis hauen not so myche spiritual power as Petre; þey wolen curse hym and dampne hym • & vse siche power þat neþer Crist ne Petre semeþ to haue had [/] Siche fals power feyneþ Antecrist; & þat may be clepid Luciferis power[xiv] [/] But siþ ilche power is of God as Poul seyþ • and þise men reuersen God as here lijf shewiþ; summe men may trowe þat hem failiþ power • & þat þei feynen falsliche þat þei ben vikeris of Crist • for likliche hem wantiþ to be þe leeste membre þat Crist haþ ordeyned to be of his chirche / & not wiþstondynge þis; Cristis chirche shulde liue; ȝif alle siche prelatis wanteden þerinne • for who euere trowiþ in Crist • & lastiþ to his lyues ende in þis feiþ; he shal be saued wiþouten 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 suffisede to conuerte þe peple in þe name of Crist wiþoute autorite borewid of oþer[xv] / But God forbede þat lordship ȝyuen of þe emperour; shulde[3] chaunge or destrie þis lawe of Crist • for Cristis lawe al ȝif it be contrarie to þis dowyng; is more myȝty & groundid in resoun [/] & so in þis poynt 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[xvi] ~

But here grucchiþ þe world & grenneþ on trewe men & seiþ þat þei ben heretikis • & casten destrie al holy chirche & feyþ þerinne[xvii] / Also þei seyen þat seculer lordshipis asken degrees [•] for ȝif alle weren oon; þer weren noon ordre • but ilche man myȝte ylyche comaunde to oþer

2 gold] god – MS

3 shulde] shulde chulde – MS. The scribe corrects this error himself within the body of the text.

• & so seculer lordship were fully destryed / Also þei seyen ȝif þer were noon ordre of popis & bishopis; þer shulde **(f. 78[r])** 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 werkis[xviii] / As to þe first gruccyng; shal Antecrist grenne at þe daye of dom • & bete togedre wiþ hise teeþ for hise sharp reprouyng of sentence of þe gospel / For þenne wo shal be to alle siche • þat clepen good yuel & yuel good / & ȝebedeus sones traueleden in þis foly as we alle don • & askeden bi here modir heyȝnes 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 heyȝnesse 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 • & tauȝt & comaundede þis stat to be holden; he shulde be holden a fool & fals heretik[xix] / & ȝif he trauelede herto; he shulde be pursewid • for so doyþ Antecrist aȝen hise membris þat ouer softliche seyen his sentence / & siþ al bileeue 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 seculer lordis shulden holde wiþ þis sentence of þe gospel • & mayntene it wiþ myȝt / For in mong alle þe men þat euer weren here in erþe; noon heyede more þen Crist seculer lordis [•] for he chees to be bore; when þis lordship florishede moost in þe empyre of Rome / Crist ȝaf tribute to þe emperour[xx] / Crist wolde not so myche lessen seculer lordship; þat he wolde haue a litel hous to hyde his heued inne / Crist comoundede to ȝyue þe emperour þat was hise • & to

destrie lordship of prestis of þe temple[xxi] • for seculer lordship shulde **(f. 78[v])** be holde bi hymself / & Crist norishede þe tenantis of seculer lordis • he helede hem & fedde hem & pilede hem not • so þat he ȝaf hem more bi myracle of his godhede • þen he took of þe world wiþ alle hise apostlis / & for þise sixe kyndnessis by syde goostliche suffragies; þise seculer lordis han ben to vnkynde to Crist [/] & soone in his absence when he was set in heuene; þe emperour reuerse[d][4] hym & fordide his ordynaunce & makede hise bisshopis haywardis of þe world • & took fro hem þe kepyng of Cristis sheep[xxii] [/] & so þe last offiss þat Crist ȝaf 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 aȝen þe spore;[xxiv] wite ȝee seculer lordis þat þis harmeþ ȝou • for it takiþ awey help of soule fro ȝou & fro ȝoure peple & to teriþ ȝoure lordship þat ȝe tellen myche by • & euere shal more & more til þise vnkyndenessis ben somdel amendid / & wite ȝee wel þat ȝoure folye bi whiche ȝee wenen to plese God; shal not excuse ȝou to God at þe day of dom [•] for Crist & his lawe shal witnesse aȝen ȝou / & siþ Poul was not excusid by þe olde lawe of pursewyng of Crist in hise ȝonge membris; meche mor þe emperour þat bi mannis lawe pursewede þe soule of Crist in his tendre membris shal not be excusid siþ he drawiþ hem to helle[xxv] / But ferþer we shulde knowe þat seculer lordship þat clerkis hauen nou • smacchiþ imperfeccoun on many maner • & comeþ not to þe perfectioun of þe ordre of Crist / As seculer lordshipis asken worldliche degrees & so heyȝnesse in worldliche goodis [•] but Cristis lordship askiþ goostliche degrees & heyȝnesse in vertues þat God oonliche ȝiueþ[xxvi] [/] & herfore when stryf of þis was in mong þe apostlis; Crist determynede þe cause bi word & bi dede / Crist puttede a ȝonge man in myddil of hem þat was meke in many vertues • & seyde • whoeuere mekiþ hym as þis ȝong man; he shal be holden more to þe iugement of God[xxvii] / But þis world haþ put a wey þe sentence of Crist • for

4 reuersed] reuerse – MS

alle prestis & seculers seken here owen goodis • & þat is aȝen þe charite of Poul[xxviii] [/] & for þe world knowiþ not heyȝnesse in vertues; **(f. 79[r])** God hymsilf shulde clepe his seruauntis as he wolde & leue þe worldis maner of sensible þingis / & so þe rewele of religioun of Crist biddiþ • þat ilche man obeshe to oþer not for þe world ne for worldliche maundementis; but in as myche as he biddiþ Goddis wille [/] & ȝif a best bad a man do siche; he shulde obeshe[xxix] to beest in þe name of God / & herfore Goddis lawe techiþ hise men þat God obeshede to mannes voys • & Crist obeshede & seruede to scarioth[xxx] / & herby we may see an onswere to þe þridde resoun / Sequestre we al mannes lawe supposynge Cristis ordynaunce • al þe drede of florishyng of men of þe world; & þanne it sewiþ þat we shal graunte þat alle degrees of emperour clerkis • alle þise religions of monkis • chanouns & freris shal slepe as þei diden in tyme of þe apostlis [/] For alle þise semen to smacche worldliche heyȝnesse • & men ben clepid to degre þat God clepede not • & þis is errour & synne on ilche syde[xxxi] / But neuerþelees þe ordre of Crist shulde be þenne more parfiȝt 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 neediþ[xxxii] [/] & as þe pope feyneþ he byndiþ today & lousiþ to morewe • & so in byndyng & lowsyng ben many fals gabbyngis[xxxiii] / & þenne wyndis of treuþis shulden blowe awey þe heresyes & clere þe eyr of holi chirche þat is now ful troble / Þenne shulden lijf of grace com doun fro God & lyȝt ilche man aftir þat he were worþi / & þenne shulde þis blasfemye be blowen awey; 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 nouȝt may be wiþoute hym / & certis it were lesse errour to seye þat þe bemes of þe sonne crooken • þat shyneþ freliche in bodyes after þat þei ben disposid; þen to putte þis errour on þe sonne of riȝtwisnes [/] For Crist is in ilche mannes soule þat loueþ hym owterliche • & neediþ not þe helþ of þis cursid prelat [•] for Crist may not of his riȝtwisnes þus accepte persones / & þenne

shulde grace come to men; as heuene scateriþ reyn • but now castiþ Antecrist to hepe hise disciplis; so þat **(f. 79^{v})** ilche may strengþe oþre in here malice • as ȝif 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 doiþ [/] So ȝif we taken heede to apostasye þat goiþ euene aȝen þe ordre of Crist; þer ben fewe bisshopis • possessioners[xxxiv] or freris • þat þey ne ben apostataes • al ȝif 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 holdon to serue God & somwhat more for takyng of temperal goodis; it semeþ þat þei ben bounde to more þen þei may [/] & siche apostataes marren meche of Cristis ordre [/] & þus ȝif alle bisshopis • possessioners & freris weren wislyche examyned wheþer þei weren heretikis • ȝif þey seyden nay wiþoute reuelacioun; fewe men or none weren holde to trowe hem • for it semeþ open bi here wikkid dedis; þat þei ben apostataes fro Cristis religion / But siche heretikis wolen bleþeliche dampne oþer men of heresyes • for here witt is blyndid[xxxv] ~

Bi þis may we see how þikke groweþ eretikis in þe rewme of Englond & in oþere londis þat men clepen Cristen men / For ȝif alle symonyentis[xxxvi] weren markid out of Cristendom • & alle apostataes wiþ alle blasfemes; þe multitude of heretikis were more þan þise oþer / For þer ben fewe prelatis now in þe chirche ne few oþere 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 & fyȝten 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 oþere to fyȝte[xxxvii]

/ & ȝif fewe trewe **(f. 80[r])** men wolden worche or speke aȝen þis traterie[xxxviii] þat is in Goddis enimyes; þeþ quenchen hem as heretikis bi cautele of þe fend • as bisshopis diden wiþ Crist in tyme of his passioun[xxxix] [/] & in mong alle þe malicis of þe fendis workis; þer semeþ noon more to harme Cristis peple / As ȝif a greet lord shulde be susteyned wiþ herbis þat groweden in a orchard & weren nyȝ rype; þat man þat come into þis orchard & kyttede þise herbis & destriede þe rotis dide to myche harm to peyryng[xl] of þis lord • & specialliche ȝif þer hele & sustynaunce stoode in þise herbes [/] Goode Cristen men þat holden Cristis lawe ben siche herbis to folc þat þei dwellen wiþ • herfore Antecrist lettiþ siche seed be sowen or growe in mong Cristen men • & to performe þis malice Antecrist haþ cast to be knyttid wiþ kyngis & vse here power • & þus venemeþ hymsilf þe lordis & þe peple / But he groundiþ not in Cristis lawe þe dedis þat he doiþ; but oþer in mennes [l]awe[5] or glosyng of freris • & ȝit blyndnesse of þe peple norishiþ here enimyes • for loue of God is quenchid bi blyndyng of þe world / & þise fewe Cristen men þat hauede som lyiȝt of God; ben drawen abac bi þise apostataes / & certen þei ben cowardis & of to lytel feyþ / For ȝif þei loueden Crist more þen here owen lijf as þe gospel techiþ hem; þei shulden putte here lijf for þe lawe of Crist [/] & þanne wolde Crist helpe his chirche & putte siche knyȝtis to worship in heuene & glorifie here body deed for Cristis loue / But defaute of bileue lettiþ þis profyt • & specialliche of freris • for þei procuren bisiliche part for Antecrist; & sowen þikke lesyngis wiþ her ypocrisie[xli] • & 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 • bifore Cristis lawe be worshipid & Antecristis lawe despisid as heresie[xlii] / Lord siþ Cristis lawe sufficiþ of itself; hou lytil shulden men recche of Antecristis lawe • but despise **(f. 80[v])** persones & brollis[xliii] þat holden þerwiþ / ȝif þow wolt wite which is

5 lawe] awe – MS

Antecristis lawe; loke þou what lettiþ Cristis lawe to be holde in worship & to be performed bisiliche in dede [/] & so alle þe lawis of þis newe religiose þat ben not wel groundid in þe lawe of Crist; semen Antecristis lawes & lettyng of[6] Cristis lawe[xliv] / & 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 lawe & not bi lawe of wolues / Lord what lettiþ þise houndis to berke & lede Cristis sheep aftir his lawe / Certis it semeþ þat dowyng of þe chirche • & too myche worshypyng of Antecristis lawe for a lumpe of talowe; strangliþ þe houndis[xlv] & 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 world[xlvi] / 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 haþ 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 suttilte of werkis • but ȝif we ben coupable; we shal þenne be domb [•] ne alle þes newe habitis shal not þenne profyte [•] but ȝif we haue þenne bryde cloþis; we shal for euere be dampned[xlvii] / Þise cloþis ben of charite þat euere more shal last ~ & here is an ende ~

Explicit tractatus de apostasia et dotacione ecclesie ~

6 of] of of – MS. The scribe corrects this error himself in the body of the text.

Of Antecrist and His Meynee[i]

(f. 117[r]) Dauid seiþ • Lord sett þou a lawe maker vpon hem[ii] / Hit semyþ to me seiþ Austyn þat þis signifieþ Antecrist of whom þe apostle seiþ • whenne þe man of synne shal be shewid[iii] • 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 sittiþ in spies wiþ riche men • þat he slee an innocent man in priuee • it is to make noiȝeful or giltee of þe innocent[iv] / 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[v] • Antecrist shal pursue moost iust men / Of whiche Crist seiþ; blessid be þe pore in spirit[vi] / Þe first persecucioun of þe chirche was violent whenne Cristen men weren compellid bi exilyngis • betyngis & deþis; to make sacrifice to ydols[vii] / A noþer gyelful persecucioun is don bi eritykis and false breþeren[viii] / Þe þridde shal come by Antecrist • & no þinge is more perilouse þan it; for it shall be violent & gyelful[ix] / Antecrist shal haue violence in lordship; trechorie in myracles • he shal be lyoun; as to violence as a lyoun in his chouche;[x] as to trecherie[xi] 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 wiþstonde bi innocence and riȝtfulnesse shal be seen to ouercom by wondurful dedis • but he shal falle whenne he had lordship vpon pore men / Þat is while he shal ȝyue all tourmentis to Goddis seruauntis wiþstondyng him / Austyn seiþ þis vpon þe nynþe psalme • iche man þat liueþ not aftur þe reule of Cristis professioun or techiþ oþer maner; is Antecrist / In þe tyme of Antecrist hooly men shulun be gloriouse bi pacience;[xii] not bi miracles as þe formour martyres weren • for þei shullun fiȝt not oonly aȝeyne pursuers • but also aȝeynes hem þat shynen bi miracles / Þis seiþ Ysodre in þe first boke of souereynest good • in þe capitle of Antecrist[xiii] / Þe tymes of Antecrist ben signifiȝed • to be nyȝe by **(f. 117[v])** þe pride of oo bischop þat wole be clepid vnyuersal bischop • as seynte

Gregore seiþ • in þe fyueþe boke of his registre • þe 32 capitulo • and efte he seiþ in þe seuenþ boke of his registre • þe 29 capitulo[xiv] • þat whoeuer clepiþ himself vnyuersal prest • eiþer desireþ to be clepid; renneþ before Antecrist in his hiȝe pride • for he settiþ hym before oþer in beyng proud[xv] / Also God seiþ in Iob þat beemoth streyneþ his tail as a cedre[xvi] / 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 heȝþe; passiþ oþer vndurwod • so Antecrist hauyng 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 / Þerfor siþ þe deuyl shal enlarge his taile more wickudly in þe eende of þe worlde; what is it þenne þat shal encreese cruentlier[xvii] in þise tourmentis; no but þis þat Crist seiþ himself in þe gospel • false Cristis & false prophetis shulen rise & shulen ȝyue grete syngnes & grete wondris[xviii] • so þat if it may be don; also þe chosen ben sent into errours / Nowe oure feiþful men done wondres; whenne þei suffren persecuciouns[xix] • but þenne þe knyȝtis of þis beemoth • þat is Sathanas • shulun make wondris ȝee whenne þei maken persecucioun • þerfore þinke we what shal be þat temptacioun of mannes soule whenne þe pituouse martir ȝyueþ his body sugett to turmentis; & neþelese þe turmentour doþe myracles before hise yȝen / Whos vertue shal not be shaken þen fro þilk grounde of þouȝtis; whenne he þat turmentiþ bi betyngis; shyneþ by syngnys / 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. 118[r])** peple Antecrist & his meynee for her false ypocrisye • 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[xx] • many þei shal disceyue as Crist himsilf seiþ[xxi] / For þere shal be perilouse tymes as Crist himsilf seiþ[xxii] / And as seynt Poule telliþ • þei shal not suffre hoolsum lore • but bowe a wey from trewþe • & ben turned into fables[xxiii] • sechyng worldly wynnynge; þe whiche shul not spare to þe folk of God / And opunly seiþ þe spirit of God as Poul telliþ • þat in þe last daye shal many fallen from þe feiþ • takyng hede to spiritis of errour & doctrine of deuelis spekynge in ypocrisie lesyngis & falsenesse[xxiv] • for whi seiþ Poul suche false apostlis; ben wickid wirchers • transfigurid slyly into Cristis apostlis[xxv] / And no merueyle; for Sathanas transfiguriþ himsilf into an aungel of liȝt;[xxvi] þenne it is no merueile if hise mynistris ben transfigurid; as ministris of riȝtwisnesse whase eende shal be aftir her werkis / Cristen men shulden marke suche & fle awey fro hem • for siche seruen not to Crist • but seruen to her wombe • & þei ben fals þat wiþal • as seynt Poul witnessiþ • þei disceyuen þe hertis of innocentis by swet wordis & plesyngis • & oþer feyned signes[xxvii] / Of þise hit ben þat persen houses as þe apostil seiþ • & ledyn wrecched wymmen chargid al wiþ synnes • þe wheche be ledd wiþ diuerse desyres euer lernyng & neuer comynge to knowyng of treuþe[xxviii] • þerfore as Iannes & Mambres wiþstoden Moyses[xxix] so þise corupt in mynde wiþstoden treuþ • þe vnwisdom of hem soþely to false shal be knowen / Þus is þe peple failyng & in bileue blyndid; & bi sleyȝtes of Antecrist & his meynee þe peple is disceyued / And he þat is not wiþ Crist is aȝens Crist;[xxx] & he þat is aȝenne Crist is Antecrist[xxxi] / Seynt Ion þe euangelist seide what tyme he lyued þat þenne weren many Antecristis[xxxii] no wondre if now be **(f. 118[v])** moo [/] By her werkis þei shal be knowen & also bi her wordis; þei shal contrarie Crist boþe in lijf & lore / He þat mynystriþ me folowe he me seiþ Crist;[xxxiii] þenne most we nedis folowe hym by oon weie or bi oþer; or ellis we forsake soþely hise minstris to be / For Crist bad Petre þat he shuld folowe him; & so shulden alle popis be folowers of Petre • for God ȝaue þe power to Petre • & hise successours[xxxiv] • if þei ben not hise folowers þei han not hise power • & so it is by bishopis

þat also shulden folowe / But take we heede to þe popes & cardynales boþe • to bishopis • to colectours • to suffriganes also • delegates • & commyssaries • & archedeekenes also • and dekenes • & officials and sequestris ifeere • to abbotes & priours • mynistrys & wardeyns • & to þise prouynciales • & to þe popes chapileyns • to procuratours & pleders • to chauncelers • to tresorers • to sumonours • & pardeners • & 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 • & þerfor 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 supposen[xxxv] / Crist was meke & lowe;[xxxvi]& þei ful hiȝe & proude[xxxvii] / Crist was suffryng & forȝaue;[xxxviii] & þei wolen be awengid / Crist forsoke worldly glorie; & þei it sechyn fast / Crist wold not worldly lordschip;[xxxix] & þei croken fast to hem / Crist washid hise disciples feet[xl] lowely & mekely; & þe pope wole croune þe emperour wiþ hise feet • & suffere men to kisse hem knelyng on here knees[xli] / Crist cam to serue;[xlii] & þei sechen to be seruyd[xliii] [/] Crist ȝed on his feet & hise disciples wiþ him • to teche & turne þe peple in colde & in hete; & in weete & in driȝe • þe pope & oþere bischopes wole kepe here feet ful cleene wiþ scarlett & cordewane • & sum tyme wiþ sendales • wiþ golde wiþ siluer & silk preciously diȝt[xliv] [/] **(f. 119[r])** Crist ȝeed in gret swot & swynke[;] & þei sitten in here proude castells wiþ here proude meynee & kepe hem bisyly fro þe sunne brennynge / Crist prechid & blessid; & þei cursen & blessen ful seelden[xlv] [/] Crist fleed from seculer lordship & office; þei procuren fast to haue it[xlvi] / Crist ȝaue frely; & þei sellen boþe bodily goodis & goostly / Crist droof oute of þe temple byȝers & sellers;[xlvii] & 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 • ȝe wiþ her wenche & her cradel knowen at þe fulle / Crist satt amonge hise discyples & serued hem at þe mete ful

porly lowe on þe erþe;[xlviii] & þei wolen sitt fulle hiȝe in furst sittyngis at þe sopers • & in furst chaiers in churche & in chapellis & coueyten salutaciouns of kyngis qwenis & grete lordis seruyd gloriously; not amonge þe pore pule as oure Ihesu dide[xlix] • wiþ siluer vessel þei ben seruyd curiously • & wiþ long knelyngis & men to kerue here morsellis • wiþ tagged cloþes & crakowe p[y]kis[1] þat blasfemen God wiþ many cursid oþis • vsed in here courtis wiþ many oþer synnes as men may see al daye / So diden not Cristis cumpany whiche he ledde wiþ him / Crist was in þe hilles wiþ wepynge & preiers • walkyng & tempted of þe feende;[l] & þei sitten in castels & townes wiþ mynstralcie & lauȝtur • wiþ tregetours & tomblers • wiþ gestours & iapes;[li] & þe pore hungry shal sitt wiþoute at þe ȝate[lii] he wole not ȝitt seruen hym hymself;[2] for shame hym þenkiþ it were [•] but him gladde & myrie he makiþ wiþ pore mennes godis / Þei vsen no redynge at þe mete • but if it[3] be of gestours • or of Ion Andrewe or his douȝter þe cretals & þe clementynes[liii] / But Crist dressid brede & fische wiþ hise owne handes & sawe himsilf hou it was deled to þe hungry folk[liv] / Crist lay & slept in a boot vpon þe harde bordes;[lv] & þei slepyn ful soft in ful eesi beddis & loke þat noon awake hem til þei han slept **(f. 119^{v})** riȝt ynowe / Crist hadd noo chaumburlaynes but þe fischers cryinge on him in þe tempest of þe see; whenne þei weren fordredde to perishyn[lvi] • þere chaumburleyns shal be redy wiþ marchal & ussher 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 wiþouten mete & drynke;[lvii] þei han many puruyours at many diuerse chepyngis • to gete metes of þe best þat ouwhere[lviii] may be founden • wele diȝte wiþ spicerie chaud &

1 pykis] pþkis – MS. This is a common error throughout the later texts. The scribe occasionally tries to correct it by putting a dot over the thorn to render it as a y, thought the error was not always spotted. Further instances of this correction will be marked in square brackets without a footnote.

2 hymself] hymselef - MS

3 it - this is in the margins and the scribe includes a small mark in the body of the text to indicate placement.

plusechaud wiþ sauces & syropis colour out of kynde[lix] / Crist souȝt frut on þe tree & fonde noon þeronne whenne he was ful hungry & traueled on hise feete;[lx] þei 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;[lxi] & þei in gay chaumbres wiþ riche cloþes & curteynes & qwiltis wiþ tapites & qwisschyns spradde al aboute; & þe wallis peyntid & swete smel þer inne / Crist heeled þe puple of sekenesse & synne; & wrouȝt many myracles & also hise discyples;[lxii] þei donne noone of þise but nurischen hem þer inne / Crist was aspied to be cauȝt of Pharisees & of herodianes;[lxiii] þei senden to cacche treue men wiþ writtes & comyssiouns as þei were kynges hemsilf • & senden here disciples in pharesees cloþinge / Crist chese to hym pore men & meke;[lxiv] þei chesen to hem boosters sotil men & slyȝe • ryche • proude & iapers[lxv] / Crist fedde þe nedy pore; & þei þe riche & welþi[lxvi] / Cristis almes þat he bad gedre to fede pore nedy • was enc[r]esid[4] to twelue lepful;[lxvii] but þe almes of þise bischoppes of so old synne; is gedred for a certeyn rente ȝer bi ȝer in lecherie to lige[lxviii] / 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;[lxix] & þei on fatt palfreyes & it falleþ not þe discyple to be aboue his maystir / **(f. 120[r])** He hadd twelue goynge aboute on her feet;[lxx] hem foloweþ many a grete horse • wiþ iestours & iapers on a hakeneyes bak • wiþ swerdis & bokilers • as it were to a batayle • & wiþ knyȝtes at robes & fees often to leden here bridelis / Crist rode on a fardel of hise discyplis cloþis;[lxxi] & þei in gilt sadlis ful of gaye stones & gaye harnes þerto / Crist was pursued; & þei pursuen / Crist was dispised; & þei dispysen[lxxii] / Crist ȝaue power; & þei taken away / Crist made fre men; & þei maken bonde[lxxiii] / Crist bouȝt out prisones; 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;[lxxiv] & þei bidden leue in payne of

4 encresid] encesid – MS

prisonyng[lxxv] • saue oonly þei to whom þei ȝyuen leue vnto / Crist tauȝt þe gospel frely & also hise disciples; & þei sellen & here disciplis boþe prayer and prechynge / Crist tasted eysel;[lxxvi] & þei nolden non but goode wynes / Crist was naked beten & shourged • & false borne vpon;[lxxvii] & þei ben furrid wiþ preciouse cloþes iche daye for to chaunge / Crist cam to þe seeke & to þe synful whenne þei wolden amende hem;[lxxviii] 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 awey þenne þei þidur comen • boþe porer • & sorier & seker in soule [•] but þei weren hugely comfortid whom Crist come vnto / 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;[lxxix] but þei hem dispysen [/] Crist excusid; & þei sclaundren falsely / Crist seid soþe; & þei lyȝen falsely / Crist demiþ riȝt; & þey demen wronge / Crist loued þe goode; & þei hem haten & if þei seyne treuþe; sore þei punyschen hem / Þei maken men to swere; þere he bad leue / Þei putten grete penaunce vnto men; þere Cristis charge is liȝt / Crist made oo lawe[;] **(f. 120[v])** & þei maken anoþur lawe wiþ many consitucions[lxxx] / Þei weren ringis on here fyngures wiþ riche preciouse stoones; but Crist vsed noone suche but nayles in hondes [/] Þei weren riche perles wiþ cro[s]ses[5] 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[lxxxi] / He toke þe crosse of penance • & so he bad hise discyples;[lxxxii] þei taken þe crosse of pride & here disciples / He preied forȝyuenes of his fadre for hem þat trespassedd for hym;[lxxxiii] þei prayen to kynges þat þei moten be venged on hem • þat trespassen not; whenne þei aȝeyn her wille don ouȝt þouȝ 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

[5] crosses] crooses - MS

not for he legged Goddis lawe;[lxxxiv] but Antecrist & hise seyne nowe þat men owen not to commyn wiþ trewe prechours[lxxxv] • 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 euery creature;[lxxxvi] & þei seyen nouȝt so hardy • but þe wole þat men preche fables & lesyngis[lxxxvii] & þerto graunte lettre & seel & many dayes of pardoune[lxxxviii] / Crist confermed his lawe & wiþ his deþ approued hit; & þei ben bisy aboute hou þei mowne distruye it • & mag[n]ifiȝe þe popis lawe more þenne Ihesu Cristys lawe / Crist lyued in pouert al his lijf; & þei han clene forsake it[lxxxix] / Crist & hise hoomely eeten wiþ here fingurs • ȝe þouȝ he were chef bischop • & kynges sone alworþiest wiþouten pride of siluer spones; or sich worldly tresour[xc] / Crist bad hise discyples selle & ȝyue to pore men;[xci] & þei byȝen lord- **(f. 121[r])** schepes & pilen pore men [/] Crist ȝaue his lijf for hise breþer & so rewled hise shepe; þei wolun not ȝyue her moke to helpe here nedy breþren • but leten here shep perishen & taken of hem & plucken awey þe wolle as non herdis; but as hired hynes may wayten her owne auauntage / Crist auaunsid 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;[xcii] þe[i][6] taken aweie & plucken aweie fro þe flok þe donge • mylke & wolle • to dwelle & to soiourne 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[xciii] / 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[7] folke of goodis þat he had; þei wolen vnneþis for ȝyue a peny but raþer plete þerfore Crist bad pees; þei maken werre[xciv] / He saued; & þei sleu / Crist

6 þei] þe – MS

7 wiþ - this is in the margins and the scribe includes a small mark in the body of the text to indicate placement.

tauȝt obediens to his fader[;] þei seyn it falleþ to hem / Crist bad kepe hise biddyngis; & þei
bidden kepe hers / Crist confermed oo law; þei maken many moo / Crist bad kepe his reule; þei
bidden kepe oþer mennes for þe more perfeccioun þat þe synful men maden [/] Crist bad hem
be no lordis;[xcv] þei seyn þat þei wolen[xcvi] / Crist worshippid oon god þe fadir; þe[i][8] worshypen
many moo • & seyn it falleþ hem to graunte men heuene blisse; þer Crist ȝyueþ it aloone þat is
boþe god and man / And ȝit þei sellen it for mony al þat þei maye; as pardons indulgencis &
oþir dispensacions[xcvii] / Crist biddiþ þou shalt not slee;[xcviii] þei ȝyuen pardons to slee & mayntene
[w]erres[9] to be venged on her enemyes aȝenes Crist lore / Crist biddiþ do good for yuel; & þei
done yuel for good / Crist wold þat þei visiteden prisouners & comfordiden hem; & dilyuer
hem;[xcix] þei discoumforten treu men and putten hem in prison • for visityng of Cristen men for
(f. 121[v]) drede lest þe trewþe shulde be knowe[c] / Crist had neuer suche prisons to pyne in hise
breþren ne noon of hise apostles þat folowed hym [/] Crist tauȝt hou men shulden blame her
breþren þries whenne þei haden trespassed; & aftur hou þei shulden here hem / But Antecrist
and hisen seyne þat þei han founden a bettur to kille hem in her prison • peyned wiþ hard
bondes to make hem reuoke þe treuþe[ci] • & to graunt her wille • for her worldly wynnyng • of
offring to maumetis • & takyng of temporaltees enuen[y]med / Crist had no propur place to rest
on his hed;[cii] Antecrist and hise han many curiouse & riche made wiþ wrong geten goodis &
wiþ sotil beggynge[ciii] / Crist had but oon Iudas þe whiche bare his purse;[civ] but Antecrist haþ
many & also hise discyples / Crist charged Petur þries to kepe wele hise schepe;[cv] Antecrist
chargiþ m[y]ch more Iudas for his moneye • & reckenyng he sekiþ of hit wiþ punyschynge ful
stronge / Þenne for þe seeke shepe of Crist fare þei neuer so yuel / O Crist siþ I ful mekely; &
þei se[y]n we forwirship [•] for if a pore man speke so; Antecrist wolde dede[y]ne if hise clerkis

8 þei] þer – MS

9 werres] berres – MS

cunne speke fayre Latyne • lyȝen þei neuer so yuel as bostures & braggars he aloweþ hem wele; & be oþer men neuer so hooly & kepen Goddis lawe; lewde ydiotis þei hem clepyn & lityl þei sett bi hem[;] but Crist chese sich of alle to be next hym / Crist chese to him wepers; & þei chesen to hem myrye syngers[cvi] / Crist ȝaue goostly goodis to men • & bad þei shulde not telle; þei ȝyuen her ȝyftes to haue a name; & wurshipes of þis fals world • to mynstralles & messangers to crie her name aboute; to lowde lyȝers & flaterers & to false freris þat blynden myche puple bi colour of her cloþes þe wheche were neuer grounded of God; ne be noon of hise apostles[cvii] / Crist made his vois hiȝe vpon þe crosse hangynge; þei maken a grete lowe voice in blissynge **(f. 122[r])** & masse syngynge pontificaly[cviii] / Crist had noon seculer courtes to plete & to mote; but Antecrist and hisen han wiþ hem men of lawe for fees to amercy[cix] þe cely puple wiþouten any mercy / Crist in townes & citees hunted out feendis wiþ þe wordis of his mouþe of men þat þei dwelled inne; & þei hunten out þe wilde deer • þe fox • þe hare in here closed parkes • wiþ criȝe & 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; þe pope is clepid hooliest fadur of Antecristes children [•] & he takeþ þat name vpon hym wiþ Lucifers pride[cx] [•] hise disciples seyen þat he is God in erþe • & we ben tauȝte in Cristis lawe to haue but oo god[cxi] / Crist satt in þe temple axyng and heryng[;][cxii] & þei syten in þe trones wiþ gloriouse myters iugyng & demyng her owne made lawes þe demonyes causes; longe to plete for a litle þat sone myȝt be termyned by þe opyn lawe of God • if þei wolde vse it • but þen were here wynnyng lost; & also here lawes / Crist tauȝt for what cause a man myȝt leue his wijf;[cxiii] & þei woleþ make deuors as hemsilf likiþ • & 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 strijf 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 wiþ hym in paradis;[cxiv] he shal commaunde as hisen tellen þe angel of God to beren what soule þat hym lykiþ to **(f. 122[v])** þe blisse of heuen / Crist fulfillud al þe oold lawe & þe newe; & þat þise bischops kunnen hem boþe betokeneþ 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;[cxv] þei suspenden men & chirches boþe auters & superaltares but men biȝen 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 hooly prechyng • bi hooly ocupacioun • & bi her bisy praier bi pornesse & penaunce doynge; & bi her meke paciens / But Antecrist makiþ hise knowen bi crowne & berdes schauynge / Bi ich ȝeres obedience þei sweren vnto hym bi tytle & bi dymyssories & bi cur[y]ouse syngyngus • bi gedryng vp of tythes messe penyes[cxvi] & offeringus • bi þe gylden trentals[cxvii] • & salaries to synge [•] bi pardenystours[cxviii] & procuratours[cxix] • bi peturpens gederynge[cxx] • bi sute and seruyse þat þei owen to seynes & to chapiteres bi her christhe[cxxi] sellynge • & houselpens takynge[cxxii] • & bi her seuenpeny weddyng[cxxiii] • & haliwatur spryngynge • bi þe wurshipes þat þei taken • & her proude araye • & blessyngis þat þei ȝyuen to Antecristis clerkis [•] to pronounce wele here nedis to begge of þe puple & ȝitt many moo markes haþ Antecrist ȝyuen hem[cxxiv] / Antecrist makeþ men to drede more his letter & his seel whenne þat it is sent; þenne

þe kynges letter or þe brekyng of þe hestis of God / And more makeþ he 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 punyschiþ; as alday nowe men may see / **(f. 123[r])** Crist blewe on hise disciples & ȝaue hem þe hooly Goost[cxxv] • þei blowen on hem a st[y]nkand breþe; & ȝ[y]uen to hem þe lepre by s[y]mon[y]e s[y]nne wiþ inne here soules / Crist weddid not hymsilf ne noon of hise to oon certe[y]ne cloþing for þe tyme of here lyues • as Antecrist doiþ; 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 hise 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[cxxvi] / 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 & clepynge • or to stonde at þe fonte wiþ a tapur brennyng [/] If Cristis law teche not me • it is false mannes fyndynges [•] summe bi þe purs • al if þei trespasse not / Crist wiþhelde no men of lawe ne pleders at þe barre for robes & fees ȝer by ȝer 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[cxxvii] / Crist sent about seuent[y] & two disciples to preche;[cxxviii] & þei senden aboute foure sectis of beggers wheche men wenen þat brouȝt in þe feiþ siþ þe fend was loosed to ȝ[y]ue pardon & to selle houeuer hem l[y]kiþ [•] þe apostles & þe seuenty graunted neuer noon sich[cxxix] / Aȝeyne Crist was gret crie of þe cursid Iewes & of scribes & of prestis & of pharesees Crucifige;[cxxx] but Antecristis meyne wil haue

grete ryngyngs **(f. 123^{v})** wiþ alle þe bellis in townes; where þat þei commen wiþ gret processioun or ellis þei wole be wroþe / Crist comaunded hise discyples whenne he sent hem forþe before hym into houses or into castelles; pees to be in þis house[cxxxi] / Antecristis meyne senden a somer wiþ a belle þei se[y]ne to warne þe puple to conferme here children / Crist chese to hise discyples þe foolys of þis world; Antecrist cheseþ to hise disciples þe sotil & sly3e to be in grete offices wiþ lordes & 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 wiþ hem her rent • & for her wenches & for her children • hem þei wolen not prisoun; but make hem pentauncers[cxxxii] / Crist was byried in a gardeyne in a pore monument;[cxxxiii] þei ben buried wiþ many a torche wiþ grete solempnyte • in towmbes corue & pe[y]nte gloriously dy3te portreied tweyne angels to berenne here soules into heuen • wiþ ful riche heerses & grete festis aftir [/] It is to drede lest here soules ben biried in helle wiþ þe deueles / 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;[cxxxiv] for þei gon not þe strei3t weie þat Ihesu Crist 3ede / Þenne many men knowen opynly inow3 Antecristis meynee • man[y] lordis & ladies holden fast wiþ hem • þat lyuen in lustis & lecherie • tiraunterie & pride [•] iustices & marchaundes þat falsly geten goodis & oþer false men of craft [•] & mych commoun puple • manqwellers[cxxxv] & reues • & mysse beleeu[y]ng folk þei blynden wiþ þat ypocrisie & by her shreude ensaumple • bi her fals flatur[y]ng • bi her fe[y]ned preyers • & bi here vngrounded schriftes & false absoluciouns bou3t at þe court of Roome; þat makiþ þis **(f. 124^{r})** 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 wiþ hem; & ellis þei ben consentours to Antecrist & God is a3ens 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 chirche / For Crist seiþ [•] in paciens shal ȝe kepe ȝoure soules[cxxxvi] • to suffre hard for his sake; & for oure owne synne / Crist graunt vs grace þerto; and heuen blisse [/] Amen[cxxxvii] ~

Of Antecristis Songe in Chirche[i]

(f. 124[r]) Also prelatis • prestis & freres putten on symple[1] men þat þei se[y]en • þat Goddis office or seruyce ben not to be songen wiþ note; & þat God del[y]teþ not in suche maner of[2] songe / Here Cristen men seyne pleynly þat Crist & hise apostles preyden deuoutly wiþoute suche song • & þei neiþur[3] tauȝten in worde ne dede • ne opynly counseyleden in hooly writt to þis song [•] & mych more þei chargiden neuer man her wiþ; in al hooly writt / Þerfore 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 & þe[4] puple wiþ criynge of þing; þat neyþer þei ne þe puple vndurstonden • as if ia[y]es and pyȝes chitreden; & ȝut þei vndurstonden [y]che oþur[5] and her kynde / Lord wheþer þis songe dispose men to[6] vndurstonde þe centence of hooly writt • & for to mourne for her synnes; or ellis to pride • vanyte • daunsyng & lecherie; wiþ **(f. 124[v])** veyne spendyng of t[y]me / Seynt Austyn seiþ 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 orribliche[ii] / Loke wher þise proude knackers ful of coueityse & enuiȝe; ben in þis case or na[y]e[7] / Loke wher þei lyuen in dronkenne[s] & gloturye[iii] • and lechorie for iolite of her chauntyng; & þenne what euer heryingis of God þo tonge souneþ þe lijf blasfemeþ God as seynt Austyn seiþ in þe psauter / Also[8] seynt Poul biddiþ 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 oþer] iche one oþer – Dou. 273

6 men ton] men for to – Dou. 273

7 Loke wher þise proude knackers ful of coueityse & enuiȝe; ben in þis case or na[y]e] Loke ȝe lordus, þat shulden lif justly and devoutely, sechynge grace of God to reule ȝowe and ȝoure pepul aftur þis lawe, wheþer þes proude, ful o covetise and envie, ben in þis case or nay – Dou. 273

8 Also] omitted – Dou. 273

psalmes in oure hertis to þe lord[iv] / Seynt Ierom in epistle to þe Effesies as þe lawe witnesseþ; seiþ þus • here þis þing ȝonge waxen men • here þei to whom þe[9] office of se[y]ng psalmes to God is betaken in þe churche; þat it is not to be songen in voice; but in hert[v] [•] neiþer þe þroote[10] ne cheekis bene not to be anoynted wiþ medycyne in maner of foule songes • þat swete nootis of spectaclis or tauerns & 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[vi] / Þis is office of dekenes as þe boke of apostlis dedis wittnessiþ • 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 delyteþ þe puple bi voyces / Wherfore Gregor commaundeþ 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 oþer churches for to kepe clene lijf • & do þe office ordeyned of God & of þe apostles; as in Roome / Þenne þe same statute & peyne shuld be in oþer 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[r])** auter in oþere places; as in Roome • fro clennes of lijf & prechynge & almes dedis þat God biddiþ / ȝitt seynt Ion Crisostome on Mathew where Crist biddiþ vs þat we shulden no speke miche in preier as heþen men don;[vii] soþely þei wenen þat þei ben herd in her myche speche • þere seiþ seynt Ion; þat þer commen grete harmes of preier wiþ grete crie[13] [•] furst þat men þus crying; bileuen not þat God is present in eche place • & siche crie; letteþ oþer men

9 whom þe] hor – Dou. 273

10 þe þroote] þrotis – Dou. 273

11 & preche Goddis worde ... but rede þe gospele] omitted – Dou. 273

12 writt] omitted – MS

13 þer commen grete harmes of preier wiþ grete crie] thre grete harmys comyn of prayer wiþ crye – Dou. 273

fro praier • and þe crier shewiþ to oþere men sumtyme a þinge þat nediþ not ne speediþ not[14viii] / Lord wheþer þis sotil & swete knackyng to þe eares; makeþ vs to preie wiþ sorowes þat mown not be tolde out; on þis maner þe Hooly Goost askeþ for vs; as hooly writt techiþ • þat is as seynt Austyn & oþur seyntis declaren; þe Hooly Goost makeþ vs to prey wiþ such mournyng[ix] • and þe pra[y]er þat he makeþ in vs is aretted to him siþen he is principal doer þerof; & we dulle instrumentis of him / Lord wheþer þis cryouse[x] knackynge of Sanctus[15] & Agnus wiþ gloria in execelis & Patrem[xi] • makiþ þat men heren not þe wordis but[16] a soune; makeþ men to haue sauour in þise ditees; þat shuld stir hem to most compuncioun for her[17] synnes • & to moost deuocion for þe[18] hiȝenesse of þe Trinyte • þat is touched in Sanctus • & bitter passioun & stronge benefeces of Crist; towched in the Agnus Dei[19] [•] with huge vnkyn[d]nesse[20] & orrible traytorie of synnes; touched in þe same Agnus þries[21] / As heþen scorned on þe sabothis of Ierusalem in þeire conqwestis for synnes of prestis & lordis & comyns as Ierome wittenessyth;[22xii] mych more oure enemyes feendis of helle seeyng oure hoolidayes with[23] nyise knackis þat fillyth the eare & spuleþ þe soule fro vertues • wiþ oure[24] costlewe pride • gloturye & lecher[y]ȝe • with false oþis • scornen vs; & al þe court of heuen han abhomynacion of oure lewede halowyng • for we halowen to oure wombe ydelnesse **(f. 125[v])** & Sathanasse and don werst werkes of synne in dispisyng of almyȝti God &[25] hise louers [/] Lord siþen we ben so

14 not] omitted -- Dou. 273

15 cryouse knackynge of Sanctus] chauntyng of Kyries, Sanctus – Dou. 273

16 but] but only – Dou. 273

17 her] omitted – Dou. 273

18 þe] omitted – Dou. 273

19 in the Agnus Dei] in Patrem – Dou. 273

20 vnkyndnesse] vnkynnesse - MS

21 in þe same Agnus þries] touchyd þries in Agnus Dei – Dou. 273

22 wittenessyth] weyleþ – Dou. 273

23 with] with þis – Dou. 273

24 ouer] over muche – Dou. 273

25 &] and alle – Dou. 273

feble of witt • feble of boly myȝt & of ful schort tyme & hooly writt so harde and plentynouse
55 of swete sentence to whiche God byndiþ vs so sore; what reson is it to bynde vs to newe songe
& newe ceremonyes of diuerse 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 pe[y]ne of dampnacioun
for to preche & criȝe hooly writt; aȝens þe fendes hoost whenne a dronken prest[27] haþ synguler
affeccioun to a man or cause for temperol dritte • alle þe prestis in þat diocise shulen be gnared
60 wiþ a new ȝo[o][28]xiii or cer[y]moyns euermore / And noon eende is of siche serymoynes þat
tarien mennes consciens; & letten hem fro bettre occupacions / ȝut þouȝ Salisbirie vse myȝt[29]
wele occupyȝe summe slowe folkis[30] it is no resoun to binde alle prestis þerto • or siche anoþre;
whenne God stireþ hem to studiȝe & to teche hooly writt þat is m[y]che bettre • or for to mourne
for here synnes & hertly occupyȝe hem wiþ þe Pater Noster [/] For God seiþ not he is blessid
65 þat syngiþ or knackiþ swete notis; ne þat kepiþ þe ordynal of þis cerymonye or þis; but he is
blessid þat nyȝt & daye þinkiþ in þe lawe of God • þat is for to vndurstonde it & to lyue þeraftir
& teche is truly & wilfully suffre tribulacions for þe gospel & sauynge of mennes soules; as
Crist & hise apostles diden [/] Lord wher a congregacioun of dronken prestis in lustis of þe
world & of her bely; kunne ȝyue a be[t]tur[31] reule of occupacioun to prestis; þen Crist and hise
70 apostlis diden [•] or ellis þei wole charge hem wiþ[32] 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

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26 þe more] omitted – Dou. 273

27 prest] prest in luste ande welthe of þis lyife – Dou. 273

28 ȝoo] ȝos - 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

clene werkis & heryingis & [y]mpnes to God for hise large ȝiftes of mercye; wiþ **(f. 126[r])** brennyng charite vndurstondyng & techyng hooly writt • & receyue we resonable customes made of men in as myche as þei helpen vs to þis grete gode; encresyng oure loue to God & oure 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 veyne[33] ~

33 veyne] veyne, leefynge þo better ande chesynge þo worse – Dou. 273

Of Praier a Tretys

(f. 126^{r}) Also bischops & freres putten to pore men þat þei seyn; þat men owen not raþer to[1] praye in chirche þenne in oþer place / Here Cristen men seyne þat in iche place where a man is; he owiþ to[2] praye God in spirit & treuþe • þat is wiþ wille & deuocioun and clennesse of lyuyng / Crist seiþ • tyme commeþ whenne neiþer in þis hill neiþre in Ierusalem men shullun wurshipen; but it behooueþ to wurship God in treuþe[3i] / Þat[4] þe herte bi clene desijr • & al þe man bi kepyng of Goddis hestis; wurship God truly [•] for[5] ellis wole Crist seie to hem • what seie ȝe to me Lord • Lord; & don not þoo þingis[6] þat I seie ȝou[7] [•] 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 seiþ • I wole þat men praye in iche place lijftyng vp[9] clene hondis þat is good werkis; wiþouten wraþþe & strijfe[ii] / Also Dauid seiþ • my soule blesse þou to þe lord; in iche place of his lordship[iii] / Men[10] dreden to preie in many grete churches; lest þei ben cursid & habomynable / Þe comyn lawe seiþ • a churche þat is halowed bi couenaunt makyng; is raþer cursid þenne halewid / Crist seide of þe temple of Ierusalem • myn hous shal be clepid an house of praier • but soþely ȝe han made it a den of þeues / **(f. 126^{v})** If as opyn symony • extorcion • false oþis & false causes ben mayntenyd in grete churchis as in Ierusalem;[11] þenne as vnclene & vnhooly ben þei as Ierusalem þat was

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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 Þat] Þat is þat – Dou. 273

5 for] omitted – Dou. 273

6 þingis] þo þingis – Dou. 273

7 ȝou] omitted – Dou. 273

8 wiþ] wiþ þer – Dou. 273

9 vp] omitted – Dou. 273

10 Men] Men of God – Dou. 273

11 as in Ierusalem] now as was in Jerusalem – Dou. 273

distruȝed bi heþen[12] men / More ouer • þe place haloweþ not a man; but a man halowiþ þe place; as þe storye of Machabeus & þe commoun lawe seiþ [/] And cursid puple defouleþ þe lond in which it dwelliþ as God wittnessiþ oft bi hise prophetis • hou þe lond of beheest was poluted for ydolatrie & oþre synnes of þe Iewes [/] 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 wrongfuly 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[13] • 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 witnessynge • seing in dede þat þei[14] ben hoolier þenne oþere places where is lesse synne; & men mown[15] more in pees serue God[16iv] / Þerfor siþ Crist seiþ in þe gospel; þe rewme of God is wiþ inne ȝou • and seynt Poul seiþ • þat Cristen men ben þe temple of þe hooly goost[v] • consente ȝe not[17] to þe symony of bischops ne to coueitise of oþer prestis; for þe feyned blessyngis of heretikys • to whose blessing God cursiþ; as þe prophet witnessiþ • þat is[18] as seynt Ierom wyth þe commyn lawe seiþ • what euer þei blessen; God cursiþ / Cristen[19] men mown seie her Pater Noster vndur[20] þe coope of heuen • as Crist did in þe hil in nyȝtis[vi] & þe apostles in prisoun & in oþur places;[vii] þouȝ þei done no symonye for halewyng of churches

12 heþen] heȝen – MS

13 hooredam] omitted – Dou. 273

14 þei] suche chirchys – Dou. 273

15 & men mown] and þat þai mowne – Dou. 273

16 God] God in hem – Dou. 273

17 not] not þerfore – Dou. 273

18 þat is] omitted – Dou. 273

19 Cristen] Efte – Dou. 273

20 Pater Noster vndur] Pater Noster medefully under – Dou. 273

& here ȝerdis and auters • for now commynly noon is halewid wiþouten symony of false suffrygans forsworne many weies / Beþ ȝe not made þrallis to heritikes **(f. 127[r])** & fendis • bi ypocrisye of þis nedelesse halowyng; þat commounly is verrey cursynge • but prey ȝe where euer or whenne God ȝyueþ ȝou moost deuocion & feruour of charitee / Crist seiþ • whenne þou shalt preye; enter in to þi chouche & þe dore shitte; praie þi Fadu[r][21] in hid place[viii] / Seynt Austyn seiþ • what þou to beseching God • sechest þou[22] 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 [•] wilyng to praye; preie þou in þisilf [•] & do so broþer; þat þou be þe temple of God [/] Soþely þere God hereþ graciously; where he dwelliþ / Þus Cristen men wolen deuoutly com to þe chirche • where prestis ben good & clene • & Goddis word wel tauȝt • & þe sacramentis freely mynystrid; & not soold for money • and where symony regneþ opynly wiþ false oþes • raueyne • pride & mayntenyng of false lechorie & oþer synnes for monee; þei wolen fleeȝe þennes lest þei consenten to opyn mawmetrie & oþer cursudnessis / For þe hoore house is not so cursid; as many seche temples seemen[23] • 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 • & ben partyners þer off; wars þenne þe hooris þat don it in dede / For boþe[24] þe suffring of hooredam[25] is expresly aȝens Goddis comaundment • & þe receuyng of þis monee is mayntenyng & appreuyng[26] þerof • for whiche þe bishopis bi Goddis lawe & commoun law of þe churche; shuld be degraded • for it is

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

55 mayntenyng of open errour; aȝens Cristen mennes beleeue / And þenne[27] bishops mayntenyng it opynly and stidfastly; ben cursid heretikes[28] ~

Explicit tractatus de oracione ~

27 And þenne] And so no doute 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[i]

(f. 137[v]) Crist for soþe did al þat he couþe to obeye to lordis; & to mekely & softly speke to hem / But to scribes & to Pharisees; he spake sharply vndurnymmynge hem • & seiying myche woo to hem;[ii] as telliþ þe gospel [•] of whiche þe skil is þis / Crist for he wold shewe þat he sowȝt no lordship in himsilf in þis world; þerfor he obeished & was seruaunte to lordis / Also for lordis ben vikers of God to do riȝtwisnesse • & swerdberers to done his veniaunce[iii] / 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 þerfore he oblishid & was seruaunt to hem / Þe þridde for lordis comunly commaunded 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;[1] as ben þe hertis of lordis / But for þe bishops & þe scribes & þe Pharisees hadden ofice of mekenesse & o seruice to lordis • & ȝitt in al þat þei couþen þei oppressid lordis • [offices][2] to hem [•] & louen her owne offices as don bishops nowe adaies [/] 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 churlis þat wolen not ben amendid but bi sharp repreuyng and chastising / And þerfor Crist so sharply vndurnamme 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 Pharisees[iv] / ȝea & siþen þe lawe seiþ • þat a man shulde not here þe masse of a leche- **(f. 138[r])** 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.

þat men knowen siche[v] • 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 magnifyng hemsilf; 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 warse in hemsilf bi þe mynstryng of a shrewd prest; neuerþelater boþe mynister & þe taker ben fer þe wers / And þerfor seiþ þe lawe acordyng wiþ þe law of God; þat to her blessyng God cursiþ • 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 • eteþ & drynkeþ goostly þe sacrament unworþily • & so he eteþ & drynkeþ his owne dome[vi] / 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 edifiȝe his churche[vii] / And þerfor it is notable þat seynt Iame seiþ • knowlech eiþer to oþer ȝour synnes; & preyeþ iche for oþir þat ȝe be saue[viii] • as no man shulde knowlech hise synnes but forȝifnes • knowleche hem þe wheche man may effectuely do but God [/] And þerfor no man shulde shriue him to man; but as ferforþe as he supposiþ þat man to be þe frend of Crist & in his stede • and by þe enchesen þat iche good frend of a man is to oþer broþur [/] Þerefor whenne a man were shriuen of oþur he shuld loke þat he were þe frend of God • and þerfor þis frenship makiþ eiþer oþur in God; þis frenship vndurstondeþ Iames whenne he seiþ • knowlechiþ eiþer oþur ȝour synnes • for eiþer shuld bere oþuris penaunce for eiþer **(f. 138[v])** oþur synnes[ix] [/] Seiþ seynt Iames • praie eiþer for oþur togidre; & ȝe ben safe • and for goode prestis ben þe cheef frendis of God;[x] 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 ich good prest bereþ þe persone of ich man þat wold be a good man [•] and þerfor as iche man in himsilf shuld shriue hym to God wiþouten sclaundrynge or enpeiryng of himsilf so it is nedeful & spedeful þat a man shriue him to goode prestis þat no sclundre shal do to him; more þenne he wolde himsilf [/] And þerfor as seynt Iames vndurstondiþ prestis þat ben to alle þat wolen be goode men; as breþren & frendis þat ben eiþer oþur / And seynt Iame wol not bynd men her by to shriue hem to worldly prestis eiþer to enemyes of God • þat ben symonentis[xi] but raþer þenne þer shulden shriue hem to siche; þei shulden shriue hem togidre so þat eiþer wold be about to lett oþur synnes • & to noþing speke of hem in ioye of herte eiþer in worldly solace; but in grete mournynge of hert & in traueling of penaunce eiþer for oþer and þat þe toone[xii] speke not of þe toþer synne; but as þat synne were his owne synne • takyng parte of penaunce & of shame þerfor • as if it were his owne [/] As did seynt Paul whenne who is sclaundred & I am not brent; þat is to seye wiþ shame / But alasse siþen þe mone ȝyueþ not nowadaies his liȝt as of þis tyme prophesied Crist • þat is to seie þe churche ȝyueþ not noweadaies sich liȝt of frenship eny man to oþur but tellyng of mennes synnes eiþer it is bacbityng • eiþer ypocrite solace • eiþer 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 seiying sacrifiȝe to God is a spirit controublid • & a contrite herte & meked to God; þou shalt not dispise[xiii] / 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. 139[r])** Antecrist þat now neȝeþ fast / And if men aleggen her aȝeyne þat Crist bad þe leprouse to gon & shewe hem to prestis albeit þat prestis weren frewen þat tyme as þei ben now[xiv] • we seyne þat Crist so bad for þe fulfillyng 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

were parfitly helid • and for þei shulden offre 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[xv] • & 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 • eiþer 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[xvi] • and 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 hemsilf [/] Crist wold þat men shulden shewe hem to good prestis þat ben not defouled wiþ wars synnes þenne þei hemsilf • & þat couþen knowe synnes of men; & ȝyue holsum medicyns for hem / And þerfor biddeþ 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 blemyshed wiþ goostly lepre þat may be; þat is symonye / Wherfor Crist biddiþ no man shew hise synnes to hem • lest þei perishen as Iudas did; shewing his synnes to þe scribes & Pharisees [/] Þerfor in token þat þe cheef presthod is in Crist so ferforþ 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[v])** bygynnynge of þe worlde; neiþer shal not do to þe eende • and þerfor seiþ David of Crist; þou art prest wiþouten ende[xvii] / Þerefor telliþ þe gospel þat whiles þe lepris ȝeden to þe prestis þei weren clensid • doyng vs to wite þat iche man þat haþ good bileue in Crist in effectuel wille to do þat Crist biddiþ • in þat charite wiþouten oþur rites beside þe lawe of Crist; he haþ remissioun of his synnes • and þerfor þe leprous man þat was a samaritan not bounden wiþ þe tradicions of Iewis • felyng himsilf heelid from his lep[e]r;[3] anon turned aȝene & ȝaue glorie to Crist •

[3] leper] lepur – MS. The abbreviation for 'ur' is used.

knowlechyng him sufficient prest & bi his vertue oonly to be heelid / Þe toþer for soþe nyne þat ȝauen þe vertue of her heelyng in þe lawe þat weren Iewes & turned not aȝeyne and ȝauen glorie to Crist / And þerfore þei weren unkynde so it fareþ be men nowe þat folowen fleshely lawes • not ȝyuyng glorie to Crist in vertue as sectis þat nowe regnen ben verrely unkynd / A lord siþen Iob uncircumsised & wiþouten oþer cerymonies of þe lawe • wiþ kepyng Goddis hestis & penaunce doyng • was a gret seynt here vpon erþe [/] & now is heuen fer heyer þenne many þat were circumsised; mych more in tyme of grace [/] Þat man þat lyveþ in charite wiþ contente herte for his synnes • trustynge in þe praiers 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[xviii] & wiþouten eny bodily shewyng of his synnes to eny prest here in erþe • and namely to symonent prestis • siþen for soþe þis leprouse samaritan was fully heelid in body & in sowle wiþouten obseruance of þe ceremonyes of þe oold lawe • whil Crist ȝitt 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. 140[r])** shewing hise synnes to prestes [/] Þerfor þis doiþ 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 auȝt to done / And herfore Bede • dide seiþ • na knowleche ȝe to þo lorde for he is good; for his mercy is wiþouten ende[xix] / & eft • 79 • he seiþ • þe þouȝt of man shal knowleche to þee • & þe leuyngis of þouȝt shal make a fest daye to þe[xx] • & eft God we shal knowleche to þe[xxi] / 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 þiself • þat þou dispise not God in þi goodis & praise þisilf • and þat excuse not þisilf & accuse God in þin yueles [/] 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 whan 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 dizȝed for þe shal come to qwyken þee / A man þat haþ demed fully in his hert to do a dedely synne is dede nowe wiþinne [/] 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 wiþinne / Austyn • 63 • sermoun in þe ende David seiþ • 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 forȝyuenesse; & he seiþ ritly to God • Turne awey þi yȝen fro my synnes for I knowlech my synnes[xxiii] • if þou knowlechest; & he forȝyueþ / He þat synneþ aȝeynes his broþer; synneþ aȝen Crist• as Poul seiþ & he prechid[xxiv] [/] If þou hast sinned **(f. 140[v])** aȝeynes þi broþer; make satisfactioun & þou art helid [/] Sone þou hast done a dedly synne • but sone þou hast founden remedie • for Crist seiþ • if þou hast mynde þat þi broþer haþ sumþing aȝeyne þee; leve þi ȝift before þe auter & go þou furst to be recounseild to þi broþur • & þou commyng aȝeyne shal offre þi ȝift[xxv] / Lo hou sone þat ilke gilt of helle is vnbounden • þou not ȝitt recounseiled were giltly of helle; þou recounseilde of frest sikirly þi ȝifte before þe auter / Crist seiþ of Marie Magdaleyne þat was ful of seuen fendis þat is to seye alle vices as Gregory expowni[þ][4] • many synnes ben forȝeuen to hir; for she loued ful myche • as Luke witnessiþ in þe[xxvi] [/] Also Petre in his furst pistle • charite hileþ þe gretnesse of synnes / Crist seide to Magdaleyn • þi feiþ haþ made þee safe go in pees[xxvii] • and þe same he seide to þe womman of þe blody menesonne • or flix of blod[xxviii] • 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] expowniy – MS

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 wiþout hydouste / Teeres knowlechen
þe synne; wiþouten confessioun of shamefastnesse / Teeres axen forȝeuynesse; & merit is
founden / Furst it is to wepen & so to preyen • þo ben good teeris; þat wasshen awey synnes /
Sue þou Peter in seyinge þriȝes; Lord þou wost wheþur I loue þee[xxx] / For why • for he þat
denyȝed þriȝes; he knowlecheþ þriȝes / Petur teche vs what þi teeres profiteden to þee • but
þou hast tauȝt 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
seiþ in þe[6] • wiþ teeres know- **(f. 141[r])** leche þi trespasses; þat heuenly riȝtwisnesse seie also
of þee / Wiþ hise teeres; he moisted my feete • & wiþ hise heeris; he wipid hem[xxxi] [/] 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 aȝeyn
byȝyng 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 & nyȝt[xxxii] [/] Loue þou ful myche; þat ful myche synne
befor ȝyven to þee / Poule þat was a pursuer synned ful mych; but many synnes ben forȝyuen
to hym • for he loued ful mych; þat spared not his owne blood; & continued to þe martirdam /
Also David seiþ in þe • 91 • It is good to knowleche to þe Lord & to seyn psalme • eiþer synge
to þi name þou heiȝest[xxxiii] / 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 perteyneþ to Cristen men & moost to monkes to knowleche here synnes in nyȝtis [/] 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 / Ierom in þe psalme þat bigynneþ þus; It is good to knowlech to þe Lord / Also Crist seiþ in Matthewe þe • If þi broþer haþ enyþing aȝeyne þee; leue þere þi ȝift; & go be recounseilid to þi broþer / Þi broþer haþ aȝeyne þe; if þou were wroþe to him wiþoute cause • eiþer hast seide Racha þat is a word of scorne eiþer indignacioun [•] eiþer fool wiþoute cause[xxxiv] / Seye þou to me hou shal I be recounseilid • which maner **(f. 141ᵛ)** 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 [/] Beȝenke 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 broþur 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[7] • & also Crist in þe 7 capitulo Matthew • wil ȝe not deme þat ȝe ben not demed[xxxv] / For he þat demeþ not his neiȝbore for synne þat he haþ don aȝeynes hym; neiþer God deemeþ hym for synne þat he haþ don aȝeynes him [•] but God shal forȝyue him hise dettis; as he forȝyaue to hise dettours [/] Crist seiþ • In whateuer dome ȝe shal deeme; it shal be demed to ȝou[xxxvi] [/] Þat is to seie if he shal deme & not condempne such dome also • ȝe 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.

ȝe shal not be condempned / And in what mesur ȝe shal meten; it shal be meten aȝeyn to ȝou
185 [/] Þat is to seie if ȝe not preide shal forȝyue synne to ȝoure neiȝbores; but for cause of God alone / Also God himsilf shal forȝyuen to ȝou; bifore þat he be preide of ȝou [/] For soþe if ȝe preid shal ȝyuen forȝyuenesse;[8] also God þenne shal ȝyuen forȝyuenesse whenne ȝe haue preid him wiþ worþi preyers and couenable mowrnyng[xxxvii] [/] Nou suche remedie of synnes is founden; as is þe contynuel mynd of hem • þat is to seie; wiþ sorowfulnesse [/] So it is writen
190 • of þe forȝyuenesse of synnes • nyl ȝe not be wiþouten drede • **(f. 142[r])** no þing makiþ a man so slowe to do wickudnesse • as contynuel mynde of hem / Þerfore 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 wil þat þou obeye to þe prophete in shewyng þi weie
195 bifore God [/] Þerfore knowleche þou þi synnes anempte þe verrey iuge wiþ 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; wiþ sorowefulnesse þou shalt [neuer][9] hald yuel in þi hert ageynes þi neyȝbore / Also baptist & Ihesu Crist seyen in Mathew in þe • Do ȝe penaunce for rewme of heuenes shal neiȝhen[xxxviii] /
200 To do penaunce is to do weyling & to do not yuelis; to be beweiled [/] For he þat bewepiþ so summe synnes & neuerþelese he doiþ oþur; eiþer cannot ȝitt eiþur feyneþ[10] to do penaunce [/] For what parfitiþ it if a man wepeþ for synnes of lecherie; & brenneþ ȝitt 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

8 For soþe if ȝe preid shal ȝyuen forȝyuenesse] For soþe if ȝe preid shal forȝyuen forȝyuenesse – 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 ȝe þe synful womman þat is to seyne Magdeleyne in doynge penaunce to ensaumple in suyng; & bewepe ȝe alle synnes done in ȝonge 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 lijf of synners may not now be unworþi to him / Also þe prophete seiþ in þe • 31 psalm • I seide I shal knowleche myn unriȝtwisnesse aȝeyne me to þe Lord; & þou hast forȝyuen þe wickudnesse of my synne[xxxix] / **(f. 142[v])** He pronounceþ not ȝitt he behooueþ þat he shal pronounce; & God forȝyueþ nowe / I shal pronounce; & þou hast forȝyuen / In þis he shewed þat he pronounced not ȝitt bi mouþe; but bi herte he had pronounced / Austyn • also Crist seiþ in Mathewe þe [6 capitulo][12] • if ȝo shal forȝyue to men her synnes; ȝoure heuenly fadur shal forȝyve to ȝou ȝoure synnes[xl] [/] 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 hemsilf • & as vengers of her owne wickudnesse & vsen wilful peyne of ful sharp punyshyng here; þei shal chounge euerlastyng turmentis by temporal peynes • and bi teeres cummyng forþe of verrey compungcion of hert; þei shal qwenche euerlastynge brennyngis [/] Þei shullen liȝtlyer plese God • wheche knowlechen wilfully here her synne & shewen it bi her owne knowlechynge • eiþer wil oþer men witen not what maner men þei be • priuely ȝyuen aȝeyne hemsilf þe dome of wilful departyng fro þe auter; not in soule but in bodily office & beweilen her lijf as dede [/] Certeyn if þat þei don þus worþi penaunce; þei shal come to euerlastyng ioies / Prosper[xli] & þe comyn lawe & hise bokes ben approued of þe churche as þe lawe witnessiþ / Poule seiþ in þe furst pistle • If we demed wisely oursilf; we shulden not be demed[xlii] þat is to seye dampned / David seiþ • we shal knowlech to þee • & eft knowlech to þe Lord for he is good [/] What drede ȝe to knowlech • for he is good / He forȝyueþ

[12] This rerference 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 conuertid & inwardly weilen; he shal lyuen & not diȝen[xliii] [/] He seide not he shal knowlech bi mouþ; but oonly be conuertid & inwardly weile [/] And also Ioel • kerue **(f. 143[r])** ȝe ȝoure hertis & not ȝoure cloþis[xliv] • bi keruyng of hertis is vndurstonden sorowe of herte • bi which synnes ben forȝyuen; & not bi knowlechynge of mouþe vndurstonden by kyttyng of cloþis / Eft God seiþ bi þe prophete • be ȝe conuertid to me; & I shal be conuertid to ȝou[xlv] [/] If oure hert is conuertid to God; þat is to seie on iche aside turned from yuel; anon it deserueþ þe frute of his conuersacioun þat God conuertid from wraþe to mercy ȝyue remission of synne / Also as autorite witnessiþ wylle is rewardid not herte [/] Wille is contricioun of herte; & werke is knowleching of mouþ / It is knowen clerely þat synnes ben forȝyuen bi contricion of herte;[xlvi] & not bi knowlechynge of mouþe[xlvii] / 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 Iames [•] knowleche ȝe togidre ȝoure synnes[xlviii] • eiþer if þise contrarie autoritees ben of commaundmentis; þei shal be referid to knowlechyng of hert & to God & to inner satisfaccioun wiþouten wiche no man may be recounseiled to God • & not knowlechyng of mouþe & to prestis & vtturmore satisfaccioun of his dom [/] Þe fynal sentence of Gracian in decrees is þis [•] whenne he haþ brouȝt forþe bi whiche autorite & resouns euereiþer sentence of knowlechyng & of satisfaccioun ben strengþid • þat is to seie of knowlechyng before God • bi hert & inner satisfaccioun • & of knowlechyng made to prestis bi mouþe & vttur satisfaccioun [•] it is reserued to þe dome of þe reder to whiche it raþer 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 ȝer to her propur prest[xlix] / But Crist seiþ in Mathew • False Cristis & false prophits shulen rise & ȝiue many tokenes & grete wonduris • þat it may be don; þe chosen men ben sente into errour[l] [/] And Ion seiþ in þe apocalips • Sathanas shal be vnboun- **(f. 143[v])**
den aftur a þousand ȝeres & he shal disceyue folke & gedre hem to bateils[li] [/] And þe same clerke telliþ þat aboute þe ȝer of oure Lord a þousand • two hundreþ outake two þis Innocent was chosen pope • & he sate pope eiȝt ȝeres and sixe moneþes [/] Þis Innocent enturdited England • which enturdityng shul last seuen ȝeres for kyng Ion vtturly refused Steuen of Lanȝton Erchebishop of Caunturbiry confermed by þe pope & he asoyled þe lege men of kynge Ion • fro his alegaunce • & wrot to nyne kynges to rise aȝeyn kyng Ion wiþ werre • wherfor þe kyng of Fraunce occupied þe costes of Normandie wiþ a grete oost aȝeyne kyng Ion [/] An þerfore kyng Ion oblished his reume foreuer to þe churche of Rome to pay þerto iche ȝer a þousand marke • for Yngland and Yrland • so þat if he eiþer any of hise heyres faile of þis condicioun • he falle fro þe riȝt of þe rewme • and so þis kynge becam omager to þe court of Rome[lii] / Aftur þis Pandulf þe popes legat departid & constreyned þe kynge of Fraunce to gon out of Normandiȝe[liii] / But God seiþ bi Ysaie • woo to hem þat maken yuel laws[liv] [/] & David seiþ • Lord ordeyne on hem a lawe ȝyuer[lv] • þat is to seie Antecrist as Austyn & Ierom seyn on þat text / And Crist seiþ in Mathew • Be ȝe war of false prophetis þe whiche commen to ȝou in cloþyng of shep but wiþinne þei ben raueshing wolues; of here frutes ȝe shal knowe hem[lvi] / Crist cam to make pees & charite & to seke & saue þat þing þat perished & to ȝyuen his redempcion for many men / And as Ion seiþ in þe gospel • whenne þe puple wolde rauyshe Crist & make him a kynge • he fled alone into þe hyl • & he had not where to rest on his hed[lvii] / 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 himsilf as if he be God[lviii] / But ȝacharie þe prophete seiþ [•] þou shepherde & ydole forsakyng þi flok[lix] • etc ~

On the Eucharist[i]

(f. 144[r]) Cristen mennes bileeue tauȝt of Ihesu Crist god & man • & hise apostles & seynt Austyn • seynt Ierome & 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 aftur her werkis / Þe ground of þis beleeue is Cristis owne worde in þe gospel of seynt Mathew • where he seiþ þus • þe whiles Cristis disciples soupeden • Crist toke bred & blessid it & ȝaue it vnto his disciples & seyd þus • take ȝe & eteþ; þis is my body [/] And Crist takyng þe coppe did þankyngis • & ȝaue it vnto hem; & seyde • Drynkeþ ȝe alle herof • þis is my blood of þe new testament; þat shal ben ishedd out in to remyssion of synnes[ii] / And þe gospel of seynt Marke; techiþ þe same wordis also • and þe gospel of seynt Luk techiþ þe same wordis[iii] / But þis sacrament is boþe brede & Cristis body togedre; as Crist is verre God & verre man / And as Cristes manhed suffrid peyne & deþe; & ȝitt þe godhed myȝt suffre no peyne; so þouȝ þis sacrament be corupted • neuerþele[s] 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 oftur þe fourme of consecracion; and also Poule calleþ þe sacrament bred þat we breken[iv] / Also seynt Austyn in þe popis lawe seiþ þus • þat þing þat is seene is brede[v] • & þe chalis or þe copp þat þei shewen • but vnto þat þe feiþ askiþ to be tauȝt; þe bred is Cristis body • and þe chalis þat is þe wyne in þe chalis; is Cristis blood[vi] / And þe oold prest seynt Ierome seiþ 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 sauyour • for as he seiþ þis is **(f. 144[v])** my body[vii] / Also seynt Ambrose askeþ hou þat þing þat is bred • may be Cristis body • and seiþ • þat þis consecracioun is made not oonly bi wordis of þe prest;

but bi wordis & vertu of God almyȝti [/] 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 heuenly wordis / And þe determynacioun of þe court of Rome wiþ a hundrid 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 Ierom • and seynt Ambrose • and many moo hooly seyntis • ageyne þe court of Rome • & aȝeyne alle treue Cristen men of true beleeue of Ihesu Crist[viii] / And also þe gospel of Luk seiþ þat þe disciples knewen Crist; in brekyng of bred[ix] [/] And seynt Austyn seiþ in a sermoun þat he made þat þis bred was þe sacrament of þe auter; & þerfor seynt Poule calliþ bred þat we breken[x] [/] Also seynt Austyn seiþ þat þat þing þe whiche is gedryngis of frutis of þe erþe & 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 bileeued 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[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 bileeue • for ȝisturdaye heritikis

þat þis sacrament is no wise or no maner Cristis body • but accident wiþouten subiecte or nouȝt • siþen þis is nauȝt tauȝt expresly in wordes in eny party of hooly writt ne be resoun ne bodily witt [/] But seynt Austyn techeþ in þre volumes or moo wiþ grete studie & diliberacioun • þat þer may no accident be wiþout subiecte; ȝe where he treteþ of þe sacrament of þe auter • and þe same techeþ seynt Ion wiþ þe gilden mouþe[xi] • & þe same techen alle witty philosephurs • & al resoun & witt; shewen opynly þe same / And þerfor Cristen men shulde knowleche & mayntene þe wordis of hooly writte; & vndurstonde hem algates in generaltee • as þe hooly goost vndurstondeþ 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 seie þat is not brede • but accident wiþoute subiecte • or nowȝte • and if þer be any accident wiþ out subiecte as þei seyne; it is wars in kynde þenne is any lumpe of cleye • as clerkis knowen 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 gospeles þat euer God made / O lord wheþur þis ȝisturdaies heritikes han founden a bettir bileue & more trewe in þe tyme þat Sathanas was vnbunden; þenne Ihesu Crist vnto hise apostles or eny oþer clerke by a þousand ȝer & more / For in al þis tyme Crist tauȝt **(f. 145[v])** neuer þat þe sacrament of þe auter was an accident wiþ oute subiecte & in no maner Cristis body as þis newe ypocrites seyne • but bi him & his apostlis & seynt Austyn specialy & oþer hooliest seyntis is seid þat þis sacrament is bred • & his own body / And þat þer may be noon accident wiþ out subiecte [/] Lord wheþer shul forsake Cristis owne wordis; & take straunge wordis vnknowen in hooly writt & aȝens resoun þe moost witti & þe best seyntis for as men seyne many ypocritis han hyred by many hundred poundes bishops vnkunnynge in hooli writt • for to dampne Cristen mennes bileeue • and Cristis owne wordis for enemyte to oon singuler persone þat tauȝt þe gospel of Crist & his pouert; & dampned couetise & worldy pride of clerkis[xii] / 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 aȝeyne 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 aȝeynes Cristis mekenesse and wilful pouert • hit semeþ wele bi here dedis • þat þei conspiren aȝeynes Cristis gospel & his pore lyuyng • forto maynten here owne pride couetise and worldlynesse • & wombe ioye & ydulnesse • & many moo grete synnes[xiii] / Almyȝty God kepe his churche fro such false prophetis & here sotile ypocrisiȝe and fals heresye[xiv] [/] Amen~

On the Virtuous Life

(f. 145^{v}) Crisostom seiþ • þat fischers & buystouse men makynge iche daye nettis wiþ here hondes • founden Crist;[i] whom prestis studiynge al day in Goddis law founden not[ii] [/] **(f. 146^{r})** And þe cause whi þat prestis in her studiyng in Goddis lawe founden not Crist was for þi þat þei coueyteden in al her redyinge & studying for to autorise her pride & couetyse; sechyng her owne glorie • bi which þei weren made so blynde; þat þei myȝten not bileue as Crist seiþ • and herfor prestis weren not oonly gylty of her owne dampnacioun; but also of þe damnacioun of alle þe puple þat myssebileueden þorouȝ her yuel ensaumple [/] For as Austyn seiþ • he þat lyueþ yuel in þe siȝt of þe puple • as in þat þat in hym is; he sleeþ alle þe puple þat takiþ of him ensaumple of yuel lyuyng[iii] / Her to cordiþ 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 ensaumples to þe puple / Wherfor it is nede þat þei kepen hem more warly siþ þei aloone diȝen not þoruȝ þe shrewyd werkis þat þei done; but þei ben gilty of alle þe soulis of hem whom þei han ȝyuen yuel ensaumple • and to grete shame of siche beestly men Crisostom seiþ • whenne men don þat þing þat is commown to beestis • as is fulfillyng of her lustis aȝeyn reson; þei knowlechen hemsilf to be but beestis • and þei þat don aftur resoun aȝeyn stondyng her lustis;[iv] ben euene to aungeles • for to[1] lyue in fleshe & not fulfylle þe lustis of þe fleshe; is not mannes lijf • but aungels[v] [/] For who þat loueþ to lyue vertuously; loueþ þat alle men wheeche ben made to þe ymage if God • lyueden so [/] An siche on is þe louer of God • & defender of treuþe of Crist; aftur his kunnynge & power • for he is traytour of truþe Crisostom seythe • þat defendeþ not þe treuþ freely þat is wilfuly • for as a prest is dettour for to preche freely þe treuþe þat he rediþ in Goddis law;[vi] 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. 146^{v})** of treuþe[vii] [/] But many men boþe prestis & oþur • not for drede of deþe • but for pleesyng of her foule wombe • hyden þe treuþe Crisostom seiþ; at þe table of vnfeþful men / But for þi þat trew lyuyng & feiþful knowyng of truþe is ful plesyng to God; Crisostom seiþ • a good werk wiþouten preyer of mouþe is mych worþe; but praier wiþoute good werk is not worþe[viii] / And þe wise man seiþ • lowe prey[i]ng[2] is for to go aweye for vnriȝtwisnes [/] But Gregori seiþ • who þat couetiþ to be herde of God in his praier; bisie he him to last sich aftur his preier • what þing he coueiteþ to be founden or holden in his preyinge[ix] / But for þi þat many lyuen here necligently • & preyen vndeuoutly; Crist was wroþ to hem þat þus preyen seiþ • siche wurshipen me wiþ her lippes; but þe herte of hem is fer fro me[x] / An hooly man into confusioun of hem þat presumen of her owne preyer • or behoouen to helpe oþur men þerwiþ; saiþ • I þat suffise not for to preye forȝyuenes for mysilf; wiþ what boldnesse presume I for to gete þi grace lord to oþur; for siþ I anguys hid in conscience • nediþ 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 comaundest 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 comaundest; for þi þat I haue synned aȝens þi biddyng nay but for þi þat I haue presumed proudly in leuyng of þin biddyngis • þerfor I shal bisy me for to fulfylle mekely þoo þingis; þat þou hast commaundid / ȝif parauenture obedience make hool presumpcioun; & if parauenture charite hille þe multitude of synnes • þerfor blissed lord & goode God I outȝette preyers to þe; for my frendus whom I loue in þee **(f. 147^{r})** & myn enemyes whom I loue for þee / And lord þou knowist þat I praye not þus to þee as I holdyng myself iust

2 preying] preyng - MS

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 enemyes bodily & goostly [/] Þerfor þou lorde þat art welle of treue loue • haue mercy if myn frendis & myn enemyes; whomme þou comaundest me to loue & to praye fore / And þouȝ my prayer be not worþi to pleese þee ne to profit to ony; for þi þat it is offrid to þee of me synner; in þi siȝt lord plese it to þee & auayle it to hem • for þi þat I prey[4] to þee at þi biddyng / And þus þei þat preien[5] presomtuou[s]ly;[6] 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[xi] / As who seye • eiþur schewe þee sich as þou art; or be þou sich as þou scheweste / Þouȝ iche ypocrite be vnfeiþful; neþelese ich vnfeiþful man is not an ypocrite • as Crisostom seiþ • he is an ypocrite & brekeþ þe heest of God; þat fulfilliþ not in werk þat goodnesse • þat he spekiþ wiþ his mouþe[xii] / 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 fulfilliþ not in werke þat þat he techiþ; is clepid þe leest in þe rewme of God / For whos lijf is dispisid; it sueþ þat his prechyng be dispised • 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 silf han not entride; and ȝe han forbeden hem þat entreden[xiii] / Vpon which text þe glose seiþ • þe weye of kunnyng is mekenes • which we þat han it vndurstondyn scripturs treuly • but proude laweers & depe **(f. 147[v])** lernyd men þat han not mekenes • neiþur

3 biddynge] biddyngge - MS

4 prey] praey – MS. Abbreviation for 'ra' used.

5 preien] praein – MS. Abbreviation for 'ra' used.

6 presomtuously] presomtuouly – MS

vndurstonden þe law hemsilf • neiþer wolen take þe vndurstondyng þerof [/] And to entre in to kunnyng is to bisily seche bi good resoun; þe vndurstondyng of þe letter • þat wise man or doctoure haþ not verre entre; þat sclaundreþ 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 seiþ • it is hard þat he þat kannot holde mesure of his owne lijf; to be made domesman of oþur mennes lijf / For seynt Gregorie seiþ • wickid domesmen noyȝen more þe peple; þenne doiþ þe swerd of enemyes [/] And Ysidore seiþ • he is seid a domesman; þat enditiþ or schewiþ ritwisnes to þe peple • or ellis he; þat dispitiþ 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 riȝtwisness[xiv] [/] And Austyn seiþ • who euer for drede of eny power hidiþ þe treuþe • he terreþ þe wraþ of God vpon himsilf; for þi þat he drediþ more man þenne God / And eft Austyn seiþ • it is grete trauele to deme in þis lijf not personaly; but to hoolde iust dome [•] he demeþ not personaly or acceptiþ not persones; which louiþ euynly [•] for euen loue makiþ to be not accept / Whenne we honouren men in diuers maners for her degre it is not to drede þat ne we accepten persoonys • but whenne we demen bi twix two men • ȝea bi twix þe fadur & þe sone • if þe sone haue a good cause; make we him euen to his fadur in treuþe[xv] / And so if we dewe honour to iche persone; þat equyte lese not meryt / & þerfor seiþ Crisostom • þat in dome þe sentence shulde not be ȝouen to þe dignite of þe persones; but to þe kynde of þingis • for þis is to deme iustly[xvi] [/] Who euer in dome secheþ mede or fauour or acceptiþ eny persone for loue or drede þerof • or for kynred or affinyte • or for hate folowiþ his own wille he peruertiþ þe dome of Crist þat is riȝtwisnes • into his own dampnacioun / Austyn seiþ • Bi treue dome; remissioun of synne may be gete[xvii] [/] Amos seiþ • but he may not deme riȝtly þat haþ wickudnesse in his herte or in his wurchynge; as þe glose seiþ vpon **(f. 148[r])** þe psauter / For Crisostom seiþ [•] a man þat sueþ his lustis & liueþ as þe world axiþ • if þou speke to siche a man goostly þingis;

he feeliþ not þe swetnesse of þi wordis • for þe bitturnes of vices; lettiþ swetnes of vertues to be feelid [•] as if a man putt a drope of hony in to a grete vessel of eysel;[xviii] he losiþ þe hony & þe vertu of þe eysel is not chaungid[xix] / For þi[s] seiþ Crisostom • he schal haue grete mede; þat aȝeyn stondiþ hise fleschly mociouns • þere forsoþe is frute repid; where trauel is sowyn[xx] [/] And for þi þat noo man shulde sue his owne wille in dome ne ellis; Origyne[xxi] seiþ • whenne eny man passiþ fro trewþe or fro þe drede of God • or fro feiþ or charite; he goþ oute of þe castels of hooly churche • þat is he is oute of hooly churchus proteccious; ȝe þouȝ he be not casten oute bi þe voice of bishopis • and þouȝ siche men bi wordis knowlechen God or Cristen feiþ; bi her dedis þei denyen boþe / But for þi þat treue men louen not þe condiciouns of sich 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 þoȝ nowe many sich men colouren hem diuersely feynyng hem on Cristis syde • þei schullen be knowe apertly & alle her diceytes; when God schal liȝten þe priuey þingis of derknesse of hertis • as Rabanus[xxii] seiþ • 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 • glotenyȝe or drynke [•] lewenesse • lechorie & suche oþur; ben boden of God to deme & to dampne • but if þat þei ben amendid • Ierom seiþ / And herfor Poule biddiþ men to deme **(f. 148[v])** not before þe tyme[xxiii] / Þat is men owen not to deme of priuey þingis; til þe tyme men han verre knowyng of hem [/] For as Gregorie seiþ • God forbediþ foly dome [/] And herfor seiþ Crisostom • þat goode purpose excusiþ an yuel werk; and an yuel werk condempneþ 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 seruantis / And þus hise good purpos excusid þe mansleeyng[xxiv] [/] 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 þouȝ Iacob þouȝte oon & spake a noþer; þe yuel her of dampneþ not his yuel purpose for a good werke; excusiþ an yuel purpose / As if þou seeȝe an vnfeeþfeul man meke him; witt þou þat he þinkiþ gile in his hert / And mekenes þouȝ it be in itsilf a good werke; it excusiþ not his yuel purpose • and þus an yuel purpose dampneþ a good werke / And Crist seiþ þe same mesure þat ȝe meten to oþer men; to ȝou schal be metyn[xxv] [/] And for þi Austyn seiþ • ȝif ȝe deme & dampne not; God schal deme ȝou & not dampne ȝou • þat is if ȝe demen iustly mennes synne & dampne no man for his synne; þe same mesure God schal mete to ȝou / He demeþ iustly a noþer mannes synne • þat haþ not in himsilf þat yuel þat he demeþ in a oþur man; ne noon lyke þerto / And þerwiþ haþ parfite charite to him þat he demeþ or vndurnymyþ; wiþouten eny spice of malice Ambrose seiþ • for siþ God louiþ alle his honde werke • & hatiþ no þing þat euer he made • iche man sculd be in parfit charite wiþ oþer • & loue euery þing in þe kynd þat God haþ mad it; & hate no þing but synne • siþ no þing ellis displesiþ God • for he þat hatiþ þat God hatiþ • & louiþ þat God loueþ; is Go[d]dis[8] frend as Austyn seiþ • 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 haþ / For þi Crist seiþ • he þat doþe synne is seruaunt to synne[xxvi] / As Petur seiþ • of whom a man is ouercummen; his seruaunt **(f. 149[r])** he is[xxvii] / As Poul seiþ • wite ȝe not þat to whom ȝe han made ȝou seruauntis for to obeye to • þat hise seruauntis ȝe ben; wheþer it be to deiþ eiþer to lijf / And þe wise man seiþ • be envye of þe

7 iniurie] inurie - MS

8 Goddis] Goudis – MS

deuel; deþ entriþ into al þe world [•] who þat ben of his part; suen him / Also synne schulde be wiþstonden for it bryngyth ynne errour; & not errour synne as Crisostom seiþ • and for wisedam of þe worlde þat is fooly before God • is cause of myche synne [/] Poule biddeþ men to be foolis 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 sleyȝe men & felle of þe world to be fals; & dampne hem for her vnkyndenes [/] Þe glose seiþ • and herfor bidiþ Ieromy þat worldly wise men; ioyen not in her wisdam[xxviii] / For Ysaye seiþ • woo to hem þat ben wise in her owen yȝen & prudent in her owne siȝt[xxix] [/] 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 flesche[xxx] / And þe plentiþ of worldy riches; is lettynge of euer lasting þingis in heuene as Gregorie seiþ / And siþ þe erþ & þe plentiþ of it is of þe lord & he ȝyuiþ it to hem þat plesen him as Ieremye seiþ[xxxi] [/] Men þenne þat coueiten to be riche • schulden plese God bi mekenes; as Iudith seiþ[xxxii] / But þouȝ many men feynen hem meke & symple • þe wise man seiþ • þe cloþing of a mannes bodi • & þe leiȝter[xxxiii] of his teeþe & þe goyng of him; schewyn oute of him what he is / For þi Barnard seiþ • be a cloþ siche þat dryue a weye coolde; & hille mannes schame or nakydnes / 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 seeȝe a man • it takiþ heed oonly to þe man; and neiþer to his dig[n]ite[9] ne to his cloþing / But a man whenne he seeþe anoþur behooldiþ not oonly him; but anon he takiþ hede to his dig[n]ite & to his cloþing • and þus an vnparfit child; is wiser þenne a parfit **(f. 149[v])** man / For a man takiþ not hede to þe man þat God made; but to þe hournement[xxxiv] þat þe deuel made / And eft Crisostom seiþ • for þre causis cloþing is made eiþer for syȝt þerof • or for lust þerof; or for þe nede þerof [•] þat is hillyng[xxxv] / For to þe seruauntis of God it falliþ 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[xxxvi] / And seynt Gregorie seiþ • if þe wurschip of preciouse cloþing were not blameful • þe worde of God had not shewid to vs so bisily þat þe riche man cloþid wiþ purpur & bijse;[xxxvii] was tourmentid wiþouten eny remedy • neiþer Crist wold not haue preysid þe cloþing of Ion Baptist þat was not of wolle but of camelles heeris • had it not plesid to him[xxxviii] / In mete two þingis ben to blame • þat is lusty tastyng; & coueitouse desir of lusty metis[xxxix] [/] But in preciouse cloþing þre þingis ben to blame • þat 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 þat is her tiþis & her dutees þei ben as clerkis / But neiþer þei traueylen as lewed men; ne þei fiȝten as knyȝtis; ne þei prechen as clerkis[xl] / And þat men sculden not coueyte neyþur haue preciouse cloþing ne superflue[xli] / Oure laydy seynt Mary is sett to vs ensaumple þat in þe birþe of Crist had but oo coote for to hille vs wiþ • & not for to anhourne[xlii] hir wiþ as Crisostom seiþ[xliii] / For þi seiþ Poule • haue we mete to fede vs wiþ • & cloþis to hille vs wiþ; be we of þise apaiede[xliv] / And þe wise man seiþ • þat housyng & cloþing; weren made to men but for hillynge / And herfor seiþ Moyses • alle þat is of þe kynred of Isik; dwelle þei in tabernaclis • þat ȝour aftur ȝou mown lerne; þat I made þe sones of Isik to dwelle in tabernaclis whenne I ledde hem oute of þe lond of Egipt[xlv] [/] For þi seynt Ierom seiþ • hit behouiþ 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[r])** schewen vertues to be in vs; & crien oure vertues / Þe crowne crieþ pouert [•] þe cloþinge; crieþ honestee [•] þe state; crieþ puretee [•] þe wirschipe; crieþ chastite [•] þe profession; crieþ religiousetee [•] þe office; crieþ deuocion [•] þe studie crieþ contemplacioun / & þerfor seiþ Ierom [•] but if clerkis schyne þoruȝ þise vertues; þe heued liȝeþ • þe habit liȝeþ & þe state liȝeþ • þe worschip liȝeþ • þe

professioun lieȝeþ • þe office liȝeþ & þe studie liȝeþ; þenne we ben but feyned clerkis & liȝyng clerkis; & þouȝ it ben writen þat iche man is a liȝer; it is not writen þat iche man is lesyng / For soþe seculer men ben liȝers; for þei seiyn 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 ȝyue hem to vertues; Ysidre seiþ • þei ben wars þat ȝyuen yuel ensaumple in worde or in werke / Bi whiche vices ben hade & vertues ben laste; þenne þei þat robben of men her worldly goodis / And for þi þat ich man & specialy clerkis schulden specialy fleeȝe coueityse; Ierom seiþ • he robbeþ falsly oþer mennes goodis þat bisieþ him to kepe or to gete eny more good; þenne him nediþ resonably • for siþ iche man schal ȝyue reckenyng of þe tyme þat he spendiþ; man schulde be ful bisy to ocupie wele his tyme[xlvi] [/] And herfor seiþ Poule • þe while we han tyme wurche we good to alle men • for soþe moost to hem þat ben homly of þe beleeue[xlvii] / For þouȝ merci owiþ to be done to ich man ȝit mercy owiþ furst to be done to hem þat ben iust of þe beleeue [/] Austyn seiþ • 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 helþe / And herfore Bernard seiþ • as an heere of a mannes heued schal not periche;[xlviii] so neiþer of tyme oo momente of tyme schal not periche / For of iche momente man schal ȝyue rekenyng to God at þe daye of doome / For tyme is ȝouen to men of penaunce • but many **(f. 150[v])** men myssevsen her tyme & myssespenden it; beynge vnrepentaunte þe whiles þei han tyme / Þis witnessiþ Dauid sayinge • þe tyme of wurching; þat is whenne tyme was of wurching; proude men lorde wastiden þi lawe / I ȝaue[10] hem seiþ þe lord tyme for to do penaunce & þei myssevseden it & wolden not forþinke her myssdoynge[xlix] / 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 ȝaue] ȝafue - MS

or in dede / For riȝt as word þat is spoken may not be turned aȝeyne; so neiþer eny tyme þat is sleuþid may be turned aȝen [/] Alasse þe vnwise man þinkiþ not ne ymagyneþ not what he loosiþ whenne he forsleusiþ his tyme; and ȝitt his losse may not be reuokid / No þing is so preciouse as is tyme; & no þing nowe is lesse sett by / Soþely no þing is more preciouse þenne tyme; for in a houre of tyme • summe grete synner bi verre contricion & feiþful confessioun to God • may gete forȝyuenes of alle hise synnes • & bi þe grace of God cumme to euerlastyng blisse [/] As Barnard seiþ • no man for þi dispaire of Goddis mercy • for who þat dispeiriþ of forȝyuenes • God schal raþer dampne him for his dispayryng þenne for his synne • for dispaire echiþ synne & is more þenne enye synne / Þerfor forþinke þi sinne & leue it; for þer is noon so grete synne þenne ne it haþ forȝyunes as Ierom seiþ [/] Herto acordiþ Barnard rehersing þe grete mercyful doyng of Crist God & man; & seiþ [•] O man was I not tourmented for þee & alle rente wiþ grettest repreues • wiþ sclaunderingis • wiþ fals chalengyngis • wiþ lesingis • wiþ false blasfemyes & wiþ scornis • wiþ scourgyngis hard betyn • wiþ scharp þornes crowned • wiþ boffettis & 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 seiþ Crist may I 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 doiþ þe wounde of myn hert [/] Barnard seiþ • 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 • eschewe iche spice of yuel • & loue vertues • and wiþ al bisines meke his spirite leuyng his own wille • & sue Goddis wille • & to suffre paciently alle kyndes of wronges beyng euer redy to do mercie; and wilful for to suffre what euer þat God wole sende / Into whiche mekenes & mercye; God for his endeles mercy to endure to þe last eende • Amen

11 benfitis] bunfitis - MS

On Consideration[i]

(f. 151[r]) Seynt Barnard spekiþ 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 ȝou [/] 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 heiȝest sete; destruyng þe apostlis dignyte / For I gesse þat þo men þat wolden seie þis • schulden not schewe where eny[1] of þe apostlis sate demer of men • eiþer meter of termes • or departer of londes[ii] [/] I rede seiþ Barnard þat þe apostles stonden to be deemed; I rede not þat þei saten deemynge / Þis schal be; it was not ȝitt / Wheþur þe seruaunte schal not be distruier of dignite if he wole be gretter þenne his lord; ȝisse / Eiþer þe disciple schal he not be a destruyer of dignite if he wolde be his maystre þat sente hym; ȝis / Wheþer a seruaunte schal not be a distryer of dignite • if he passe þe vertues wheche his fadres han sette; ȝea • 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 ȝea aungels in heuenly þingis [/] Þerfor seiþe Barnard to þe pope & to oþur prestis • ȝoure power is vpon syn[n]es;[2] & not vpon possessiouns [/] ȝe haue take he seiþ þe keiȝes of þe rewme of heuenes • for to put oute trespassours; & not posessours [/] Þise lowest þingis **(f. 151[v])** & erþely han her domesmen; kynges & princes of þe erþe / What raueishche ȝe oþur mennes costis; what stretche ȝe forþe ȝoure sikil to oþer mennes corne / Not for ȝe ben vnworþi • but for it is vnworþi þinge to ȝou • ocupied aboute bettur þingis; to ȝyue

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 erþely þingis[iv] • þis seide Barnard to þe pope Euge[n]ye[3] in his furst boke / And eft Barnard seiþ to him in his secounde 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 drawe oute & distruyȝe & scatre and waste; & bylde & plaunte[v] / What þinge of þise seiþ Barnard souneþ pride; goostly traueil he seiþ is expressid or toolde oute; by summe ensaumple of churlich swot / Deme we þat seruice is put upon ȝou; & not lordschip is ȝyuen to ȝou / Leerne by ensaumple of þe prophete to be gouernour • not to be lord; but for to do þis þat þe time axiþ[vi] / Lerne seiþ Barnard to þe pope • þat it nede to þee to haue a wurching tole; & not a kynges ȝerd 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[vii] / 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[viii] / Moche more hit behooueþ þat þou be not ȝyuen to delices; neiþer casten doune bi popis of þis worlde / Þe testament of Crist & his apostles; assigniþ to þee noo þing of þise / If þou art apaied wiþ þis testament • þou schal raþer enherite cure & traueil; þenne glorie & richesse [/] What last þe hooly apostle to þee; no but buxemnesse of alle churches • þat is of iche puple[ix] / He seiþ • I ȝiue to þee þat þing þat I haue / What is þat; oo þing I wote seiþ Barnard • it is neiþer golde ne siluer • siþ Petur seiþ gold & siluer is not to me[x] / 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[r])** is yuel / Bisynesse þerof is werse; 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 riȝt of þe apostles; for þei mayȝten not ȝyue þis þat þei hadden not / Þat þing þat he hadde he ȝaue to þe þat is bisynesse of goddis peple • wheþur ȝaue lordschip to þe; here þou him / He

3 Eugenye] Eugeye - MS

seiþ • not beynge lordis in þe clergie; but be ȝe made enaumple of þe floc[xi] / And þou gesse þis to be seid of Petur alone þoruȝ mekenesse & not also bi treuþe; þe voice of þe lord affermiþ in þe gospel • seinge • kyngis of folkis ben lordis of hem[xii] / And þei þat han power vpon hem; ben clepid goode ȝyuers / And þe lord bryngeþ inne truly; ȝea not so / It is pleyne seiþ Barnarde; þat lordschip is forfeden to þe apostles[xiii] / Þerfore he seiþ • þou being lord darst þou take to þee; þe state of apostle • eiþur darst þou succesour of þe apostle take to þee lordschipe; pleynly seiþ Bernard þou art deffendid from oon of þise / If þou wilt haue togidre euer eiþer; þou schalt leese euer eyther[xiv] / And ellis gesse þe not outaken of þe noumbre of hem; of wheche þe lord pleyneþ þus / Þei regneden & not be me; þei weren princes & I knew not hem / Nowe if it spediþ 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 ȝou; be made as lesse [•] & he þat is ȝoure beforegoer; be made as he þat seruith[xv] [/] Þis is þe fourme of þe apostles seid of Crist[xvi] • lordschipe to preestis is forbeden; ceruyse is commaunded / Whiche seruice is sett forþe bi ensaumple of Crist ȝyuer of þe lawe þat seiþ • truly I am in þe myddes ȝou; as he þat minstriþ[xvii] / Þou pope Eugeny seiþ Bernard schalt chastise wolues; but þou schalt not be lord of þe schepe þat ben Cristen men[xviii] / Þou hast take þe schepe to be fedde not to be oppressid[xix] / Þe prophetis & þe apostles weren stronge in bateyle; not soft in cloþes of folkes / If þou art sone of þe prophetis **(f. 152[v])** & 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 beleeue / Bi þis nobley þei ouercomen rewmes[xx] • 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 & goode

vertues; bi ensaumple of þe apostles • bi so mych þou ert heiȝer / Wher þe dist[r]uy[i]ng[4] of a cite on an hil may be hidde; an aape in a roof is a fonned kyng syttyng in th[r]one[5][xxi] [/] And eft Barnard in his þridde boke spekeþ to Eugeny þe pope seyinge þe apostles sellyng her cootis bouȝt swerdis • þat is Goddis word & feruent spirit; þe wheche ben myȝty armes to God[xxii] / Þe apostles weren princes of al þe erþe[xxiii] / Eugeny seiþ Barnard • þou art successour of hem; be þou her eire weldynge her eritage / Servyse vpon þe world is betaken þee; possession is not yȝyen to þee / Crist chalengeþ to him possessioun of þe world by riȝt of makyng it of nouȝt • & by merit of aȝeyue byȝinge; & bi ȝift of þe fadre / ȝyue þou þenne posessioun & lordschipe of þe world to Crist / Haue þou cure þereof purgyng hit of synne / Be þis þi part • stretche no furþir þin honde • be þou sou[er]eyne[6] þat þou p[ri]uey[7] & ȝyue good ensaumple & good counseil; benynge procurature & seruaunt / Be þou souereyn in vertues; þat þou do profit as a feiþful seruaunt & prudent • whom þe lord ordeyned vpon hise meyne to ȝyuen mete to hem in tyme[xxiv] / Þat is be þou seruaunt and not lord / Þou man do þou þis þing & desire not to be lord of men • lest al vnriȝtwisnesse be lord of þee[xxv] / Of þis I disputed I nowȝ befor • & neþeles seiþ Barnard I adde þis nowe • for I drede no venym more to þe neiþer swerde; þenne þe grete lust to be lord / Þou Eugeny seiþ Bernard hast resceyued no more of þe lord; þan þe grete apostlis diden / Here þerfore of what Poule seiþ • I am he seiþ dettour of wise men & vnwise[xxvi] / Þis acordiþ more wiþ a seruaunt þenne wiþ a lord[xxvii] / **(f. 153[r])** Eugeny seiþ Bernard • syngulerly þou art souereyne as it is opynly shewid / Not þat þou enc[r]ese[8] of þe sogettis in worldy þing; but þat þei enc[r]ese be þee in vertues / Þei maden þee prince to hem; not to pes / By what skil

4 distruying] distuyng - MS

5 throne] thone - MS

6 souereyne – the scribe uses the abbreviation for 'ur' rather than 'er'.

7 priuey – the scribe uses the abbreviation for 'ru' rather than 'ri'.

8 encrese] encese - MS

gessist þou þee heiȝer þenne þise men of wheche þou beggest benefices [•] but if þou passe hem in nobley of vertue / It is of lityl inwitt or resoun þrowen donne a prelate to seeke not þe profiȝt of þe sogettis; but his owne wynnyng • namely in þe heyȝest 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 fadris[xxviii] / Þis voice of Poule is no fycul glorie; I axe not ȝift but frute[xxix] / ȝit Bernard in his fourte booke spekiþ to Eugeny þe pope • & seiþ • eiþer schewe þee a schepherde to þis peple; eiþer denyȝe / Þou schalt not denyȝe lest he denyȝe þee to be his eiȝer; 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[9] in golde • neiþer ridyng vpon a white horse • neiþer seruid of knyȝtis • at þe styrop • neiþer compassed about wiþ any mynisters makynge noise / Neþelese he beleeued þat þe helful maundement myȝt be fulfild wiþoute þise þingis • takyng tent to þe hest of Crist seiynge [•] if þou louest me; feede my schep[xxx] / In þise temporal þingis þou art successour not to Petir • but to Constanyn[xxxi] / Among þise þingis þou schepherd goost forþe ourned in gold • compassed wiþ so grete diuersite / What taken þe schepe her of; if I durst seye þise ben raþer lesewes 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 schepe[xxxii] / It was not seid ones to hym; mylke hem ne clyppe hem [/] In þre maners we owen to kepe or fede Cristis schepe • þat is bi ensaumple of goode lyuyng • wiþ þe worde of prechyng • & by spirit of hooly praier / For as Lyncolne seiþ **(f. 153[v])** þoo prelatis or prestis bering or representyng • þe persone of Ihesu Crist verrey schepherd • & not preching to þe peple • þouȝ [þei][10] adden not ouer þis oþur

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 aungel of liȝt / Nyȝt þeues & daye þeues slears & dist[r]uyers[11] of schepe; makynge þe house of preyers a den of þeues[xxxiii] [/] & seynt Austyn seiþ • I can not excuse neiþer saue prelatis ne prestis • whiche minstren not þe word of lijf 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 behoouiþ 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 himsilf / Neiþer he schamede alle scheneschipes which man myȝt þenke aȝeynes him; & þou wrecch & seruaunt art aschamed for to preche þe word which þe lord himsilf prechid / And why prestis ben lewed & prechen not feiful Origines[xxxiv] telleþ seiyng[xxxv] / 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; neyþur he may þe fredam of Goddis kunnyng fynde[xxxvi] ~

11 distruyers] distuyers – MS

On the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit[i]

(f. 160^{r}) And for noiþur man ne womman may parfitly do þe seuen werkis of mercy witouten þe seuen ȝeftis of þe Holy Gost • wiþ þe wich God makeþ euerych mannis soule his hous • & wiþ þe seuen forseyd ȝeftis he makiþ his hous þat is a mannis soule • fair • strong & louely to his siȝt • as holy writte techiþ & clepiþ þe forseid seuen ȝeftes seuen pilars [/] For riȝt as pilars beren vp an hous • & maken his strong to wiþstonde tempestes • so þeis seuen ȝeftis beren vp mannis soule fro ȝerly lustes & lekynges & maken hit strong aȝen tempestes of þe seuen dedly synnes[ii] / Þe first ȝeft of þe holy gost is a loue drede of God þat castid out pride • & makiþ aman sory þat he haþ ben proude & rebel aȝen þe hestes of God[iii] • & also it makiþ him glad to be meke & pore in spirit forsakyng all þe propurte wilfully þat he knowiþ aȝeins Goddis will [/] & what man or womman doþ þus sellen hemsilf wiþ 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 seiþ who so euer is not meke & pore in spirit may not be his disciple[iv] [/] Aȝen þis ȝeft of þe Holy Gost is pride þat makiþ a man to go abouen himsilf with his inordinat will not holdyng apayed of þe stait þat God haþ clepid him inne[v] [/] Þe secound ȝeft of þe Holy Goost is a spirit of pite wich makiþ a man lowe & deboner not grucching aȝen God ne man • for noþing þat þei wil haue • bi þe wich is excludid wraat • þat is to sey wrath þat is vnskilful stingking hebbing of **(f. 160^{v})** hert • & enuy þat is sorowe of anoþur mannis prosperite[vi] [/] Þe þrid ȝeft of þe Holy Gost • is a spirit of kunnyng • þe wiche puttiþ fro a man slowth [/] For who þat is slouȝ haþ discomfort & no will to do will[vii] [/] Þe fourt is a spirit of strengthe þe wich makiþ a man strong aȝen synne & temptacoun • & þis ȝeft excludiþ gloteine & lecherie • þe wich ben vnordinat willes in ȝerþly lustes • what so euer þei ben[viii] [/] Þe fift ȝeft is a spirit of counsell þat meuiþ a man euer to chese þe bettur • & þis puttiþ out auarice • þe wich is an vnordinat lof to þe world • for to couete more þan nede is

[/] But no doute noiþur man ne womman may haue togidre vertues & vices[ix] [/] Þe sixt ȝeft of þe Holy Gost is a spirit of vndurstonding • þe wich makiþ 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 þei slepe be þenk hem how oft þey han þat day bifor greuid God • & if þei fynd any greuous þing in þer conciens þei wil anon schriue hem to God & clense hem [/] For þe moost confucioun & schame þat may be to our enmy þe deuel • is oft schrift & for þingking of synne [/] Þe seuenth ȝeft of þe Holy Gost is a spirit of wisdam • þat meuiþ euery man and womman to chese & charge more heuenly þing þan ȝerþly~

On the Eight Blessings

To all men & wymmen þat han þeis seuen ȝeftes of þe Holy Gost Crist in his gospel on all halounday geuiþ eiȝt blessyngis[i] ischewing þat all halouuns weren mad holy with þe seuen ȝeftis • & non may be holy wiþouten hem / As answering to þe first ȝeft of þe Holy Gost • þe wich is a loue drede of God • Crist seiþ • Blessid be pore men in spirit[ii] • þe wiche be not proude ne swolne in hynes of lif dedeyning to be mekid vnder Cristis ordinaunce as wickid tirauntes enuying to þer euen Cristen but aȝeinword þei suffren God mekely • noþing presumyng of hemsilf [/] And þerfor of þeis pore men is þe kyndom of heuen [/] As anentis þe secound ȝeft þe wich is spirit of pite • Crist seiþ • Blessid be all meke men[iii] [/] For **(f. 161[r])** who so bisieþ him to lif pitously • worschipiþ holy writ • & who so mekiþ him wilfully for Goddis loue repreuiþ noþing þat he vnderstondiþ not & þat is verray mekenes [/] As anentis þe þridde ȝeft • þe wich is a spirit of kunning • Crist seiþ • Blessid be þei þat ben sory • for þei schullen be comfortid[iv] to be [deliuered][1] of all þer wickid bondis þat þei know bi teching of holy writ • þat þei han brout hemsilf inne • with vnordinat lyuyng þan þei han had to worldly goodis aȝen Goddis hestis [/] And no wondur if sich folk be sory • for Crist wepid vpon Ierusalem for sche had not þis ȝeft of kunning [/] Crist seid to hir • and þou knewe þe woo & þe peyne • þat þou schalt suffur for þi wickidness þou woldist wepe[v] [/] Riȝt so euery man & womman þat lyuen in þis wickid world aȝen þe ordinaunce 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 hestes of God [/] As anentis þe fourt ȝeft of God • þe wich is a spirit of strengþe • Crist seiþ • Blessid be all þoo þat hungren & þristen riȝtwisnes[vi] • þat is to sey • Blessid be alle þoo þat dispicen lustis & lykinges of þis world desiring ioy &

1 deliuered] 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 ȝeft of þe wich is a spirit of counseil • Crist seiþ • Blessid be mercyful men for þei schul haue mercy[vii] [/] To siche is counseil nedeful • þerfor as remedye is to be deliuerid of our angris þat we forȝef • as we wold haue forȝefnes in helping • releuyng & counseiling all our euen Cristen • as we desirin to be holpen • counseilid & releuid of God [/] For resoun axiþ hit & comaundiþ 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 ȝeft of þe Holy Gost • þe wich is a spirit of vndursto[n]ding[2] • Crist seiþ • Blessid be pesible folk in whom **(f. 161[v])** all þingis is wel ordeyned[viii] [/] 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 ȝeft of þe Holy Gost • þe wich is a spirit of wisdom • Crist seiþ • Blessid be all þoo þat so mich louen Crist þat þei desirun for his loue to suffur misseying • hate & bacbiting • scoring • beting • & al maner of bodily disease wilfully & paciently • for here men is þe kindom of heuenes[ix] [/] And þerfor be ȝe glad & ioyful • whan ȝe ben cursid & pursued • and when men seyn all yuell aȝeins ȝowe liyng • for mich is ȝour mede in heuen; if ȝe take hit paciently [/] For euen afore þat a man can suffre paciently aduersitees; is he worþi mede bifor God [/] And sich a soule þat haþ þeis seuen ȝeftis of þe Holy Gost wiþ þeis eiȝt blessingis of Crist may wel singe þis morning songe of loue lekyng • þat Cristis special þat is holy kirk • syngiþ in þe book of songis • See þou faire semely darling • oure litell bed is hilled with floures[x] [/] Þis bed is rest of contemplacoun • þe wich contemplacoun is heuenly desires • wiþouten menging of fleschly lustes & vanite of þis

2 vndurstonding] vndurstoding – MS

disseyuable world who þat restiþ in þis bed • is mad faire with vertues here [/] And miche faire he schal be maid in þe blis of heuen • where is þe gret bed of rest [/] Þeis wordis of loue may ich good Cristen manes soule seye to Crist • for he is þe verray special of all soules þat schullen be saued [/] For þe greet special cherch þat is be twix Crist & his louers mai noiþer þe hert þenk ne þe tonge tell in þis lif [/] Þis lessoun is ful charitable; þat makiþ a man so resonable; þat God dwelliþ wiþ him bi grace; and he in God be heuenly solace [/] Amen for charite~

On the Five Wittes[i]

(f. 161[v]) Clerkys knowen þat a man haþ fiue wittes outtward & oþur fiue wittes inward[ii] [/] But first it is to lerne þe fiue wittes outeward þat ben þeis • Seeyng • hering • smelling • tastyng • touching / Þe wyse man lickyn þeis fiue to fyue princes þat schuld gouerne mannis body • & seiþ • woo is þe lond whos kyng is a childe **(f. 162[r])** whos princes eten ȝerly[iii] [/] Þis king may be callid mannis consciens • þe wich is but a child[iv] [/] Whan it kannot 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 ȝerly 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 ȝeu[e]n[1] to him of God to serue him & oure soule • and þerfor siȝt standiþ moost heiest in a mannis out wytte • as resoun doþ wiþinne[v] [/] For he schuld sue his profiȝt & sle þing þat harmiþ 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 mannis wille [/] For God haþ ȝeuen man hering to lerne his bileue • as seynt Poul seiþ • þat beleue commiþ bi hering • and hering is bi Cristis word[vi] & for þis • will Crist þat men prech þe gospel • and bi þis haþ kynd ordeyned þat hering schuld be as a cercle bifor men & bihynde men & on yche syde men as bileue is of trewþis befor vs & behynd vs [/] For kynd haþ ȝeuen man to here voices in þe eyre & not in þe ȝerþe beneþe vs • wher voices comen not [/] In token þat we schulden ȝeue our wittes to trowe þing þat is in heuen abouen vs • þe wich profitiþ to oure soule / Þe þrid witte is smellyng þat is more gostly þan oþer toe • and

1 ȝeuen] ȝeuun - MS

þe noose is more heyar in þe hed þanne þe tonge [/] It is spech in holy writt • þat þe name þat a man haþ here in þis lif to þe iugement of God; is smelling of þat man • and so sum men ben good smelling & sum men stinkyng [/] And þus seiþ Poule for he was certeyn þat þei seuden Crist in lyuyng þat þei weren a goode odure of Crist to God[vii] [/] And herto acordiþ mynde þat is þe þrid witte • þat makiþ mannis prayour swet smelling whiles it is clene & clere • and þis mynd whan it is troblid • all **(f. 162[v])** þat is in man stynkiþ and is wiþouten 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 tastyng 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 semiþ 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 mannis[2] lawes han disceyued 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[viii] & 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 glotery & 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 • whan it passiþ good resoun smackyng & synne

2 mannis] man mannis – MS. The scribe amends this himself within the body of the text.

aȝeins God [/] It were ful gret nede to aske God bisily of help to gouerne þeis fiue wittes & specialy algate[s] 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 þriue [/] For God is good & ful of myȝt; in tyme of nede to strengþ his knyȝt ~

On Jacob's Ladder

(f. 217^{r}) Hit is writen in þe first book of holy writ þat þer weren þre pat[ri]arkes[1] in þe peple of God • & þei hiȝten Abraham • Isaac & Iacob • vnt[o] whom God schewid ratherist his special chere for þat tyme [/] But þe story telliþ in þe forseid book how þat Iacob sawe a leddre[i] whos hey[t] rawt into heuen • & aungels comyng dounne & steying vp aȝen [/] 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 haþ ende [/] But how þis leddre schuld be maid it semith sumwhat spedy to speke in þis place • and if [a][2] 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 toþur syde of þe loue of our euen **(f. 217^{v})** cristen [/] Þe ronges þat schwllen be driuen in þeis too sydis sewen 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 þowt & parfiȝt dede [/] In þe þrid sorow of hert • schrift of mowþe & amendis makyn / In þe fourt preying fasting & almesdede / In þe fifte noumbre weyt & mesour / In þe sixte • minde • wille & resoun [/] In þe seuent • feyth • hope & charite [/] In þe eytynd • riȝtwisnes • 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 ȝerth [/] For Poule seiþ þat God is alle in all þinges[ii] • þis trinite louen alle cretours for þer makyng • þis trinite preysoun all creatours for þer kepyng • þis trinite glorifien all creatours for þer m[u]ltiplying [/] Þe siȝt of þis trinite in heuen is holy seyntis fedyng • þe worschip of

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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.

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~

Nine Points

(f. 217^{v}) Þeis ben þe nyne poyntis þat oure lord Ihesu answerid an holy man • þat coueit[1] to wite what miȝt moost plese vnto God[1] / Þe [fi]rst[2] is þis to do almesdede to hem þat neden hiȝt whiles a man[3] is aliue • for þat more likiþ God þan a man ȝaf aftur his deþ; as miche gold as is in þe ȝerþe[4ii] / 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 deþ • for þat more likiþ God þan þou grete[5] as mikil water as is in þe see for any ȝerthelich goode[6iii] / Þe þrid is to suffre mekely & swetly vylens wordis or repreuis wiþouten ani desert for Goddis sake • for þat more plesiþ God; þan if a man bete himsilf wiþ all þe ȝerdis þat ben in too hundrid wodis[iv] / Þe fourt is to meke a man in himseluen • **(f. 218^{r})** & to rise vp wan he wold fayn sclepe & sey his[7] preyours • for it plesiþ God more; þan if a man fond twelue knyȝtes into þe holy lond at his oune costage[v] / Þe fift is to haue passioun of seke men or þat han mischef • for it more plesiþ God • þan if a man fastid fifty ȝer in bred & water[vi] / Þe sixte is to speke noon iuell of ani man nor bacbite 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 fete[vii] / Þe seuent is to a man to loue his euen Cristen & turne all þe iuel þat he heriþ spoken vnto good • for þis lekiþ more God • þan þou wentist ilk a day to heuenward preying[viii] / Þe eyȝtend is to beseke God first in þi preyour whan þe nediþ out touching ȝele of soule • for it plesiþ more [God][8] to prey him • þan

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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 ȝerþe] 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[ix] / 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[x] [/] And þerfor loue God & þin euen Cristen for goddis sake [/] Amen~

On the Deeds of Mercy

(f. 218^{r}) Of þe dedis of mercy God will speke at þe dredful day [of][1] dome to alle his chosun stondyng on his riȝt side [/] Come ȝe [bl]essid childre of my fadre & receyue ȝe þe kyndam of heuen þat is [or]deyind to ȝow fro þe biginning of þe world for ȝe keptun of [h]estes[i] [/] For whan I hungrid ȝe gof me meyt • þat is whanne þe le[ste] of myne þat schulden be sauid • hungrit for defaut of gostly [m]eyt or bodely • ȝe fedden hem & sterit hem to kepe my hestis [/] And [...] hold hem werþorow 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 & ȝe 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[2] • & ȝe **(f. 218^{v})** [h]arberowad me[ii] • þat is boþe bodily & 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 agen 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 whan ȝe knowen any such þat [were departid] fro holy kirk þorow brekyng of my hestes • ȝe þorow ȝour [g]ood [ly]uyng ȝe 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 & ȝe cloþid me [•] boþ bodily & gostly • þat is whan ani of myn pore were nakid of vertues ȝe þorow ȝour good liuing meuyd hem to hold myn hestis • & bi ȝow þorow grace of me þei were cloþid in vertues / For þe fifth dede of mercy God wille sey

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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 & [ȝ]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 ȝe with [ȝour g]ood conuersacoun meuyd hem to hold myn hestes • & with sarow of [herte] ȝe bisily preyeden for hem / For þe sixte God will sey • I was in [priso]un & ȝe 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 deuel[is][3] prisoun wlappid [in s]ynne • for who þat brekiþ goddis hestis is faster boundun to þe [deu]ul þan any man kan ymagen to binde men bodily with gynnis or [with s]ynnis [/] And so þorow ȝour compassioun meuid wiþ charite ȝe deliuered [...] fols fro þe deuel[is][4] power • & tauȝt hem to hold myn hestis / Þe [se]uent wark of mercy of birying is not opunly rehersid in þe gos[p]el • [ȝh]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 ȝerþe not lowly knowing himsilf ȝerþe & askes • but with a stingking breþe of soule lecchours wordis • but ȝe þorow ȝour good lyuing meuyd [h]em to hold myn hestis & leue þer wickid lif • & so ȝe þorow ȝour lyuyng slowen in hem þe seuen dedly synnes & so þorow holding myn hestis þei were clad with seuen vertues • lowly knowing hemsilf ȝerþe & poudur • 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^{r}-39^{r} and CUL Ff. 6.33 ff. 32^{v}-33^{v}.

[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*.

[v] Luke 19:40 Cf. *Prologue to the Wycliffite Bible, chapter 15*, in *SEWW*, p. 67/12-6.

[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

[xii] Luke 1:27-31. Cf. *The Last Age of the Church*, p. xxviii.

[xiii] Luke 23:23-25. Cf. Mirk I, pp. 97-100.

[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

[xx] 2 Timothy 4:1 and John 5:22. Cf. *OMC*, pp. 342-5/388-459, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 269-70. The Wycliffite sermons of the long English cycle are cited frequently throughout this volume. For further reading, see Kantik Ghosh, *The Wycliffite Heresy: Authority and the Interpretation of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 2002), pp. 112-46.

[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.

[xxv] This is not a reference to the institutional Church, but rather to Christs church, consisting of those who are predestined for salvation. See Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 318-19 and Jefferson, p. 170. Cf. *LL*, pp. 22-3.

[xxvi] Cf. Von Nolken, pp. 67-8.

[xxvii] See Hudson, 'New Look', p. 256 and n. 63. The term 'synagoge of Sathanas' is found in Revelation 2:9 and 3:9. It features again in MS 245 in *VO*, *EWS II*, p. 376/294. The passage in *VO* is mirrored in *JU*, 38-43.

[xxviii] 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

[i] See the later, more heterodox version of the commentary on the Pater Noster in Arnold III, pp. 98-110. Cf. *LFMB*, pp. 46-8. See also Matthew, p. 198-202, and Hudson, *Premature Reformation,* 195-6. Cf. *Opus evangelicum*, pp. 267-307; *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Gospels, Sermon 51, pp. 455-6/ 25-57, notes in *EWS IV*, p. 315; *Sermones* I, pp. 197-199; *PPI*, C-Text, Passus XV, 245-52; Mirk II, p. 262; *Cursor Mundi*, V, pp. 1437-54/25103-25402.

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

[iii] Matthew 6:9

[iv] Matthew 6:10

[v] Cf. *EWS II*, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 75, p. 113/53-61.

[vi] Matthew 6:11

[vii] Cf. EWS I, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 22, p. 569/37-42; *EWS I*II, 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

[ix] Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Gospels, Sermon 22, pp. 309-12, notes in *EWS IV*, pp. 239.

[x] Matthew 6:13

[xi] Matthew 4:1-11. Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Gospels, Sermon 40, pp. 395-400, notes in *EWS IV*, pp. 286-9; *DP* i.i, p. 61/1-30; *LS* 11/1, 78, 109, 129, 174, 198, 221, 285, 333; 15/50.

[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 þe desire of him þat praiep fourmep in bifore-goynge, þat it be cleer, opir addip afterwarde, þat it encreesce, we seie noon opir þinge þan þat is conteyned in þe praier of þis Lord, ȝif we praien riȝtli and covenabli.' Arnold III, pp. 96-7.

On the Ave Maria

[i] Luke 1:28. Cf. *EWS II*, Sermons for the Proper of Saints, Sermon 102, pp. 255-8, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 234-5; Mirk II, p. 261; *Cursor Mundi*, II, pp. 622-8/10817-10931; *Sermones* II, pp. 76-77.

[ii] Luke 1:42. Cf. *LS* 3/64.

[iii] Cf. *DRG*, p. 52-3/354-6; *EWS II*, Sermons for the Proper of Saints, Sermon 90, p. 210/101-5, notes in *EWS V*, p. 213.

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

[v] Cf. *EWS II*, Sermon 91, pp. 214-7.

[vi] Cf. *EWS II*, Sermons for the Proper of Saints, Sermon 89, pp. 200-1/1-41, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 205-6; *EWS II*, Sermon 90, pp. 206-13, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 210-4.

[vii] Revelation 22:18

[viii] Cf. *Sixteen Points on which the Bishops accuse Lollards*, in *SEWW*, p. 19/14-5 and pp. 21-2/105-8.

[ix] 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

[i] Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 28, p. 593/3-8, notes in *EWS V*, p. 59. See also *12 Conclusions*, p. 26/73-92.

[ii] Famulorr – this is the Famulorum, a mass prayer for the Commemoration of the living.

[iii] Cf. *FDR*, 510-14 and 797-8.

[iv] Cf. *Sermones* III, pp. 380-382.

[v] 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.

[vi] 1 Corinthians 12:12. Cf. *EWS II*, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 85, p. 174/46-8.

[vii] Cf. *EWS II*, Sermons for the Proper of Saints, Sermon 117, p. 303/24-7, notes in *EWS V*, p. 253; *EWS III*, Sermons for the Ferials, Sermon 234, p. 306/18-9 , notes in *EWS V*, p. 375.

[viii] 2 Corinthians 6:15. Cf. *LS* 16/311.

[ix] This refers to the three parts of the Church – Triumphant (saints in heaven), Suffering (those in purgatory), and Militant (those on Earth).

[x] Matthew 25:34. Cf. *EWS II*, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 82, p. 155/27-34, notes in *EWS V*, p. 190.

[xi] Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 32, p. 573/1-13, notes in *EWS V*, p. 69; Von Nolcken, p. 93/33-4.

[xii] Matthew 25:34

[xiii] Cf. *EWS II*, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 74, pp. 106-110, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 167-9.

[xiv] The precise meaning of 'singulerly' 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.

[xv] 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.

[xvi] 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.

[xvii] See *On the Eucharist*, p. 114/1-11.

[xviii] See *On the Eucharist*.

[xix] Cf. *ALD*, pp. 66-70.

[xx] Cf. *VO*, pp. 369-71/82-140, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 278-9.

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

[xxii] 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*.

[xxiii] Cf. *ALD*, pp. 28-30; Von Nolcken, pp. 55-9.

[xxiv]Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Gospels, Sermon 19, pp. 298-9/48-82, notes in *EWS IV*, p. 232.

[xxv]Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Gospels, Sermon 14, p. 276-7/28-58, notes in *EWS IV*, pp. 221-3.

[xxvi] 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 *EWT II*, pp. 61-92.

[xxvii] Cf. *The Nature of the Church*, in *SEWW*, pp. 115-119.

[xxviii] John 3:1-21 and Acts 23:6. Cf. Mirk I, pp. 51-5.

[xxix]Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Gospels, Sermon 6, pp. 244-7, notes in *EWS IV*, pp. 201-3.

[xxx] 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 *PPII*, 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*.

[xxxi] Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 14, pp. 533-8, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 30-3; *EWS II*, Sermons for the Proper of Saints, Sermon 86, pp. 178-9/13-35, notes in *EWS V*, p. 203.

[xxxii] Cf. *EWS II*, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 62, p. 41/132-7; *EWS II*, Sermon 86, p. 180 /55-60, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 203-4; *EWS II*, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 81, p. 153/111-5; *DJR*, p. 4/38-9. See also *PPI*, B-Text, Passus XX, 58-60.

[xxxiii] 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 þis 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 Szittya, *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature*, pp. 267-87.

On Faith, Hope and Charity

[i] Cf. *Trialogus*, pp. 114-21.

[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.

[iii] Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 2, pp. 481-5, notes in *EWS V*, p. 7.

[iv] Ephesians 6:16. Cf. *LS* 12/104.

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

[vi] Romans 10:6

[vii] Philemon 1:6

[viii] Hebrews 11:33

[ix] 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.

[x] James 2:10

[xi] Matthew 26:26. Cf. *TWT* 53/961.

[xii] 'Cristen men' is one of a number of self-referential terms used in Lollard sect vocabulary. See p. 115, n. xxii.

[xiii] Cf. *SWM II*, p. 179.

[xiv] Cf. *EWS II*, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 84, pp. 170-1/102-8, notes in *EWS V*, p. 198.

[xv] See note on line 238 of *JU* on Lollard usage of the word 'contrarien'.

[xvi] Matthew 12:31 and Mark 3:29

[xvii] Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Gospels, Sermon 4, pp. 236-7/1-31, notes in *EWS IV*, pp. 196-7.

[xviii] Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 12, pp. 529-32, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 27-8; *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 15, pp. 539-45, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 34-6; *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 31, pp. 608-13, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 67-9. See *PPI*, B-Text, Passus XV, 149-346.

[xix] Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 46, pp. 669-71, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 101-4.

[xx]Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 2, p. 481/1-2, notes in *EWS V*, p. 7; *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 11, p. 521/1-4, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 25-6.

[xxi]Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Gospels, Sermon 32, pp. 358-9/89-95; *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 47, pp. 672-5, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 104-6; *VO*, p. 373/196-213, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 279-80.

[xxii] 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 Romaunt of the Rose*, 6188-6194. See also *JU*, 103-114; *PPC*, 550-551, and *FDR*, 369-380.

[xxiii] Cf. *EWS II*, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 67, pp. 69-70/111-37, notes in *EWS V*, p. 153; *OMC*, p. 342/383-7, notes in *EWS V*, p. 269; *VO*, p. 375/257-75, notes in *EWS V*, p. 280.

[xxiv] This topic of healthy beggars is discussed in more detail in *SWM I,* p. 170. Cf. *Sermones* III, pp. 499-500; *DFS*, pp. 38-42/213-357. See *JU*, 223-6; the description of the friar in Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales,* I, *The General Prologue*, 208-69 and III, *The Summoner's Tale*, 1711-53; *PPI*, B-Text, Passus VII, 65-71 and Passus XX, 232-235. See also Szittya, *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature*, pp. 234-46 and 257-67.

[xxv] Cf. *EWS II*, Sermons for the Proper of Saints, Sermon 88, p. 195/68-70, notes in *EWS V*, p. 208.

[xxvi] Matthew 20:23

[xxvii] Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 11, pp. 523-4/62-93, notes in *EWS V*, p. 26.

[xxviii] 2 Corinthians 12: 2-4

[xxix] 1 Corinthians 13:4-8

[xxx] 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.

[xxxi] 1 Peter 2:23. Cf. *LS* 12/167.

[xxxii] 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.

[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.

[iii] Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 37, pp. 634-5/41-8, notes in *EWS V*, p. 79.

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

[v] Cf. *EWS II*, Sermons for the Proper of Saints, Sermon 86, p. 185/181-4; *EWS II*, Sermons for the Proper of Saints, Sermon 93, pp. 223-4/56-76.

[vi]Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 41, p. 650/60-75, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 86-8.

[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.

[viii] Matthew 19:21; Luke 12:33-34. Cf. *EWS II*, Sermons for the Proper of Saints, Sermon 86, p. 183/119-26, notes in *EWS V*, p. 204; *EWS III*, Sermons for the Ferials, Sermon 212, pp. 259-60, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 363-4; *EWS III*, Sermons for the Ferials, Sermon 220, pp. 274-6, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 368-9; *Sermones* II, p. 130; Von Nolken, pp. 83-5; *DP* i.i, p. 66/20-2; Knighton's Chronicle, p. 437.

[ix] 1 Timothy 6:10. Cf. Jefferson, pp. 143-53.

[x] John 14:15

[xi]Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Gospels, Sermon 53/ 19-26, notes in *EWS IV*, p. 319; *EWS II*, Sermons for the Proper of Saints, Sermon 111, pp. 282-3/18-27, notes in *EWS V*, p. 244.

[xii] Acts 3:6.

[xiii] 1 Corinthians 4:12

[xiv] Cf. *The Power of the Pope*, in *SEWW*, pp. 123-125/35-72; *37 Conclusions*, pp. 50-1 and pp. 67-73; *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 3, pp. 486-90, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 8-9; *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 21, pp. 566-7/43-51; *EWS II*, Sermons for

the Common of Saints, Sermon 71, p. 92/118-23, notes in *EWS V*, p. 163; *OMC*, pp. 336-7/224-40, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 266-7. See also *12 Conclusions*, p. 25/13-24; *Confession of Hawisia Moone of Loddon, 1430*, in *SEWW*, p. 35/34-9; *ALD*, pp. 1-6.

[xv]Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 53, pp. 692-5, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 118-9.

[xvi] Cf. *EWS II*, Sermons for the Proper of Saints, Sermon 100, pp. 247-50, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 229-31.

[xvii] Cf. *Vertues and good lyvinge is cleped ypocrisie*, *PPII*, pp. 431-2. See also *FDR*, 899-900, in which he equates the Lollards with Satan.

[xviii] Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Gospels, Sermon 18, pp. 291-5, notes in *EWS IV*, pp. 229-32; *EWS II*, Sermons for the Proper of Saints, Sermon 120, pp. 311-2/38-53, notes in *EWS V*, p. 256.

[xix] Cf. *PT*, 630-633.

[xx] Cf. *EWS III*, Sermons for the Ferials, Sermon 228, pp. 291-2, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 372-3. See *JU*, 147-150; *FDR*, 489-492, and *UR*, 236-239.

[xxi] Matthew 22:20-21. Cf. *LS* 5/92; *DP* i.i, p. 342/45-6; *TWT* 27/117; 39/504.

[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.

[xxiv] Acts 9:5. Cf. *Universalibus*, p. 252/341.

[xxv] Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 42, pp. 651-5, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 88-92.

[xxvi] Cf. *EWS II*, Sermons for the Proper of Saints, Sermon 89, pp. 203-4/101-11, notes in *EWS V*, p. 210. See *PT*, 702-704; *Dialogus*, pp. 81-2.

[xxvii] Matthew 18:1-4; Mark 9:34-7. Cf. *EWS III*, Sermons on the Ferials, Sermon 140, p. 45/30-60, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 295-6.

[xxviii] Cf. *EWS II*, Sermons for the Proper of Saints, Sermon 101, p. 254/76-82.

[xxix] obeshe – derived from **obeishen** *v.* to obey.

[xxx] scariot – The MED notes that this is a variant of L. Iscariotes, meaning purse-bearer.

[xxxi] 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.

[xxxii] 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.

[xxxiii] 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.

[xxxiv] 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.

[xxxv] Cf. *EWS II*, Sermons for the Proper of Saints, Sermon 119, p. 309/23-35, notes in *EWS V*, p. 254.

[xxxvi] symonentis – plural and variant of **simonient** *adj.* as a a noun: one who practises simony.

[xxxvii] Cf. *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.

[xxxviii] traterie – variant of **traitourie** *n.* treason, betrayal.

[xxxix] 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.

[xl] peyryng – variant of **peiring(e** *ger.* detriment.

[xli] 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*.

[xlii] Cf. *PT*, 357-63.

[xliii] brollis – plural of **brol** *n.* a wretch, a worthless person.

[xliv] Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 43, pp. 656-9, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 92-5; *EWS II*, Sermons for the Proper of Saints, Sermon 87, p. 191/140-53, notes in *EWS V*, p. 207; 'Of Mynystris in þe Chirche', *EWS II*, p. 361/901-18, notes in *EWS V*, p. 275; *EWS III*, Sermons for the Ferials, Sermon 123, pp. 1-4, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 282-3.

[xlv] See *EWS II*, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 74, pp. 106-110, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 167-9. The phrase "strangling the hounds" also appears in the sermons. See *EWS II*, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 75, p. 115/132.

[xlvi] Cf. *DRG*, pp. 51-2/307-48; *EWS II*, Sermons for the Proper of Saints, Sermon 118, p. 306/44-7, notes in *EWS V*, p. 253.

[xlvii] Cf. *JU*, 99-102 and *FDR*, 337-40.

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.

[ii] Psalms 9:21. Cf. *EWS II*, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 70, p. 86/102-4, notes in *EWS V*, p. 161.

[iii] 2 Thessalonians 2:3. For further reading, see Augustine's *Exposition*, in *A Select Library of the Christian Church: Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Volume VIII: Saint Augustin: Expositions on the Book of Psalms,* ed. by Philip Schaff, First Series (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), p. 37. It must be noted here that Lollards used the Vulgate, but this edition of Augustine's commentary uses the Neo-Vulgate.

[iv] Psalms 9:29. Cf. *EWS II*, Sermons for the Proper of Saints, Sermon 89, p. 203/81-2, notes in *EWS V*, p. 210.

[v] 'Pore men' is another self-referential term of Lollard sect vocabulary. See p. 115, n. xxii. Cf. *PPI*, B-Text, Passus XIV, 275-6.

[vi] Matthew 5:3. Cf. *LS* 3/291; *DP*, i.i, p. 56/79-80; p. 77/22-3; 2, p. 289/85; *TWT* 62/1246.

[vii] Cf. *The Last Age of the Church*, pp. xxiv-xxv.

[viii] Cf. *The Last Age of the Church*, pp. xxv.

[ix] Cf. *The Last Age of the Church*, pp. xxv-xxxiv.

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

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

[xii] Cf. *JU*, 79-81 and *PPI*, B-Text, Passus XIV, 29-34.

[xiii] 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).

[xiv] 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.

[xv] Cf. *PT*, 437-42.

[xvi] Job 40:10-12

[xvii] cruentlier – 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 *cruentus*, 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.

[xviii] Matthew 24:24

[xix] The persecution of the Lollards is a recurrent theme throughout the anthology. In addition to this tract, it features in Jefferson, p. 109; *CHM*, pp. 361-2; *Tractatus de apostasia cleri*, p. 33/89; *ALD,* p. 60; and *VO*, pp. 373-4/214-25. Cf. *PT*, 826-828. See also Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 157-68; Michael Wilks, *Wyclif: Political Ideas and Practice*, pp. 179-203; and 'Wyclif and the Great Persecution', in Michael Wilks (ed.), *Prophecy and Eschatology*, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 10 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), p. 41.

[xx] 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.

[xxi] Matthew 24:5. Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Gospels, Sermon 8, pp. 252-5, notes in *EWS IV*, pp. 205-7; *EWS II*, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 73, pp. 104-5/113-25, notes in *EWS V*, p. 166.

[xxii] See *EWS II*, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 69, pp. 77-81 for a discussion of the 'seuene perelus' that will herald the end of time. Cf. Sermon 73, pp. 101-2/25-48, notes in *EWS V*, p. 166.

[xxiii] 2 Timothy 4:4

[xxiv] 2 Thessalonians 2:3 and 1 Timothy 4:1. Cf. *EWS II*, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 83, p. 164/80-4, notes in *EWS V*, p. 194.

[xxv] 2 Corinthians 11:13. Cf. *VO*, pp. 366-7/17-32, notes in *EWS V*, p. 277.

[xxvi] 2 Corinthians 11:14. Cf. *DP* i.i, p. 169/22; 2, p. 118/8.

[xxvii] Romans 16:18

[xxviii] 2 Timothy 3:7

[xxix] 2 Timothy 3:8

[xxx] Luke 11:23 and Matthew 12:30

[xxxi] Cf. *EWS III*, Sermons for the Ferials, Sermon 141, p. 47/1-18, notes in *EWS V*, p. 104; *EWS III*, Sermons for the Ferials, Sermon 149, pp. 74-6, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 304-5.

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

[xxxiii] John 12:26

[xxxiv] John 21:17-19

[xxxv] Cf. *Sermones* I, pp. 45-47; *Sermones* III, p. 454.

[xxxvi] Matthew 11:29. Cf. *DP* i.ii, p. 38/25.

[xxxvii] Cf. *EWS III*, Sermons for the Ferials, Sermon 178, pp. 170-1, notes in *EWS V*, p. 336.

[xxxviii] 1 Peter 2:23. Cf. *LS* 12/167.

[xxxix] John 13:13-15. Cf. *LS* 1/178; 9/12; 10/99; 15/12.

[xl] John 13:5

[xli] Cf. *PT*, 205-7.

[xlii] Matthew 20:27-28. Cf. *EWS III*, Sermons for the Ferials, Sermon 155, pp. 92-3, notes in *EWS V*, p. 311.

[xliii] Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 25, pp. 581-4, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 51-3.

[xliv] Cf. *PT*, 211; Knighton's Chronicle, pp. 437-9.

[xlv] Cf. *OMC*, pp. 335-6/200-6, notes in *EWS V*, p. 266; *ALD*, pp. 13-25.

[xlvi] Cf. *EWS II*, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 85, p. 175/49-53.

[xlvii] Matthew 21:12; Mark 11:15; Luke 19:45; John 2:15. Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Gospels, Sermon 10, pp. 261-3/32-4, notes in *EWS IV*, p. 212; *EWS III*, Sermons on the Ferials,

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

[xlviii] John 21:12-13.

[xlix] Cf. *EWS III*, Sermons for the Ferials, Sermon 154, p. 90/58-66.

[l] Matthew 4:1-9. Cf. *LS* 11/1, 78, 109, 129, 174, 198, 221, 285, 333; 15/50; *DP* i.i, p. 61/1-30.

[li] Cf. *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.

[lii] Luke 14:13. Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Gospels, Sermon 2, pp. 227-31, notes in *EWS IV*, pp. 190-3. See *PT*, 530-532, and *JU*, 247-248; *DP* i.ii, p. 284/4; *LS* 15/315; *TWT* 15/451

[liii] 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 decretalist, 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.

[liv] John 21:12-13

[lv] Matthew 8:24; Luke 8:23

[lvi] Matthew 8:25; Luke 8:24. Cf. *EWS III*, Sermons for the Ferials, Sermon 211, p. 258.

[lvii] Matthew 4:2

[lviii] **Ouwhere** *adv.* anywhere.

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

[lx] Matthew 21:18-19

[lxi] Luke 2:7. Cf. *LS* 15/170, 188, 191, 227.

[lxii] Matthew 4:23

[lxiii] Matthew 22:15-16

[lxiv] Matthew 10:1-16. Cf. *LS* 15/62; 3/228; 16/260.

[lxv] Cf. *EWS II*, Sermons for the Proper of Saints, Sermon 87, p. 190/104-16, notes in *EWS V*, p. 207.

[lxvi] Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Gospels, Sermon I, pp. 223-6, notes in *EWS IV*, pp. 187-9; *EWS II*, Sermons for the Proper of Saints, Sermon 108, pp. 275-6/86-107. See also PT, 301-3.

[lxvii] Matthew 14:16-21

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

[lxix] Matthew 21:5

[lxx] Luke 6:13-15

[lxxi] Matthew 21:6. Cf. *LS* 1/347.

[lxxii] Cf. *EWS II*, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 57, p. 12/22-24.

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

[lxxiv] Luke 9:1-5; Luke 24:46-47, Cf. *EWS III*, Sermons for the Ferials, Sermon 203, pp. 241-2, notes in *EWS V*, p. 359; *LS* 15/66.

[lxxv] Cf. *PT*, 641-3.

[lxxvi] Matthew 27:34

[lxxvii] Matthew 27:26

[lxxviii] Matthew 4:24

[lxxix] Matthew 5:3 and Luke 6:20. Cf. *LS* 3/287, 291; *DP* i.i, p. 56/79-80; p. 77/22-3; 2, p. 289/85; *TWT* 62/1246.

[lxxx] 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*,

Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 70, pp. 85-6/93-104; *EWS III*, Sermons for the Ferials, Sermon 207, pp. 249-50, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 360-1. See also *Sixteen Points on which the Bishops accuse Lollards*, in *SEWW*, p. 19/19-21 and p. 22/130-8; *Of Confession*, *EWT II*, pp. 33-60; 37 *Conclusions*, pp. 44-7.

[lxxxi] Matthew 27:26-35.

[lxxxii] Matthew 16:24; Mark 8:34; Luke 9:23. Cf. *LS* 10/130.

[lxxxiii] Matthew 5:11. *TWT* 62/1246.

[lxxxiv] Matthew 4:1-11; Mark 1:12-13; Luke 4:1-13. Cf. *LS* 11/1, 78, 109, 129, 174, 198, 221, 285, 333; 15/50.

[lxxxv] Cf. *De Stipendiis Ministrorum* in Arnold III, pp. 202-203, for a discussion of how to identify 'trewe prestis'. See also *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 9, pp. 513-6, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 21-3.

[lxxxvi] 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

[lxxxvii] 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.

[lxxxviii] '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.

[lxxxix] Cf. *EWS II*, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 77, pp. 127-8/126-31; *ALD*, pp. 40-4.

[xc] Cf. *PPI*, B-Text, Passus XIV, 280.

[xci] Matthew 19:21; Mark 10:21; Luke 18:22. Cf. *DP* i.i, p. 66/20-2.

[xcii] Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Gospels, Sermon 48, pp. 438-42, notes in *EWS IV*, pp. 305-8.

[xciii] Cf. *PT*, 269-74.

[xciv] Cf. *SDS*, pp. 137-42; *37 Conclusions*, pp. 34-5; *EWS III*, Sermons on the Ferials, Sermon 145, pp. 60-4, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 300-1; *EWS III*, Sermons for the Ferials, Sermon 236, p. 310/12-14, notes in *EWS V*, p. 376; *Sermones* IV, p. 47. See *PT*, 565-72.

[xcv] Matthew 20:25-27

[xcvi]CF. *EWS II*, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 71, p. 90/71-4.

[xcvii] Cf. *EWS II*, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 68, p. 74/87-90, notes in *EWS V*, p. 155; *ALD*, pp. 7-13; *37 Conclusions*, pp. 57-67.

[xcviii] Matthew 5:21; Mark 10:19; Luke 18:20

[xcix] Matthew 25:36-40. Cf. *LS* 11A/578; 15/326; *JU*, 234-5; *DP* i.ii, p. 287/25. See also *On the Deeds of Mercy*, f. 218[v].

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

[ci] Cf. *PT*, 558-561 and *Mum and the Sothsegger*, 152-155.

[cii] Luke 9:58

[ciii] Cf. *EWS III*, Sermons on the Ferials, Sermon 137, pp. 36-7/16-22.

[civ] John 12:4-6

[cv] John 21: 15-17. Cf. *LS* 15/290; *DP* i.ii, p. 16/27.

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

[cvii] Cf. *Apostasia*, pp. 24-6; *DJR*, p. 4/30-3 and pp. 20-2/648-719.

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

[cix] **Amercy** *v.* to punish.

[cx] Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 31, pp. 609/48-57, notes in *EWS V*, p. 68; *EWS II*, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 75, p. 116/138-41, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 169-71; *OMC*, pp. 329-32/38-105, notes in *EWS V*, p. 268; *The Power of the Pope*, in *SEWW*, pp. 122-3/1-34; *Apostasia,* p. 49; *Sermones* I, pp. 266-267; *Sermones* II, p. 303; *DJR*, pp. 8-10/194-259; *37 Conclusions*, pp. 47-50.

[cxi] Cf. *37 Conclusions*, pp. 51-2. See *PT*, 972-973.

[cxii] Luke 2:46

[cxiii] Matthew 19:5; Mark 10:7

[cxiv] Luke 23:43

[cxv] Luke 19:5-6

[cxvi] tyþes messe penyes – this refers to 'mass pence' paid to parish priests and canons.

[cxvii] 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.

[cxviii] pardenystour – variant of **pardoner** *n.* a seller of indulgences.

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

[cxx] 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.

[cxxi] christhe – 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.

[cxxii] houselpens - this refers to payment for the Eucharist. Cf. *PT*, 1210-13.

[cxxiii] 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.

[cxxiv] Cf. *FDR* regarding Lollards profiting from the people, 326-7.

[cxxv] John 20:22

[cxxvi] Matthew 8:22; Luke 9:60

[cxxvii] John 2:6

[cxxviii] Luke 10:1. Cf. *LS* 2/150; *TWT* 49/846, 850.

[cxxix] 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.

[cxxx] Crucifige – Latin, meaning 'crucify him!' the cry of the Jews to Pilate.

[cxxxi] Matthew 10:12; Luke 10:5

[cxxxii] pentauncers – priests who administered the sacrament of penance.

[cxxxiii] Matthew 27:60

[cxxxiv] 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 ȝef pat fewe men shulden be saaued. And Crist answerede and seyde, "The ȝaate is wyde and pe way is brood pat leedep to los and manye goon in pat wey, and how streit is pe ȝaate 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 of helle is a brood wey and pat pe wey pat leedep to pe blisse of 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.

[cxxxv] manqwellers – murderers.

[cxxxvi] Luke 21:19. Cf. *LS* 12/136; *DP* i.ii, p. 305/39.

[cxxxvii] 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

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

Knighton's Chronicle, p. 437. Cf. *JU*, 277-9 and *FDR*, 57-8. See Richard Rex, 'Why the Prioress Sings Through Her Nose' in Richard Rex (ed.), *The Sins of Madame Eglentyne, and Other Essays on Chaucer* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1995), pp. 69-77; Chaucer, *The Canterbury* Tales, I, *The General Prologue*, 122-3.

[ii] Augustine, *Confessions*, Book 10 Chapter 33 passage 49, in *A Select Library of the Christian Church: Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Volume 1: The Confessions and Letters of Augustin, with A Sketch of His Life and Work*, ed. by Philip Schaff, First Series, (Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1995), p. 156.

[iii] gloturye – see MED entry **gloteri(e** *n.* Intemperate appetite for food.

[iv] Colossians 3:16; Ephesians 5:1

[v] Jerome, Letters, CXXV, passage 15, in *A Select Library of the Christian Church: Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Volume 6: Jerome: Letters and Select Works*, ed. by Philip Schaff, Second Series (Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1999), p. 249.

[vi] See James McKinnon, *The Advent Project: The Later-Seventh–Century Creation of the Roman Mass Proper* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000) pp. 84-85, and p. 418 n. 30.

[vii] Matthew 6:7. Cf. *DP* i.i, p. 199/3-4.

[viii] John Chrysostom, Homily XIX, in *A Select Library of the Christian Church: Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Volume X: Chrysostom: Homilies on the Gospel of Saint Matthew*, ed. by Philip Schaff, First Series (Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1994), pp. 130-40.

[ix] Romans 8:26

[x] cryouse – see MED entry for **crious** *adj.* noisy, clamorous.

[xi] 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.

[xii] Lamentations 2:6

[xiii] ȝoo – variant of yoke, referring to a committment to a religious vow. Written as 'ȝock' in the only other extant version of this text. See Arnold III, p. 482.

Of Praier a Tretys

[i] John 4:23

[ii] 1 Timothy 2:8

[iii] Psalms 102:22

[iv] Cf. *37 Conclusions*, pp. 8-10.

[v] 1 Corinthians 6:19

[vi] Luke 6:12

[vii] Acts 16:25

[viii] Matthew 6:6

On Confession

[i] Cf. *CHM*, p. 358; *EWS II*, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 63, pp. 45-6/64-99, pp. 143-4. See also *12 Conclusions*, pp. 27-8/114-34; *LFMB*, pp. 6-9.

[ii] Matthew 23:14-34. Cf. *LS* 10/361.

[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 Szittya observes, 'the most prominent' of William of St. Amour's antifraternal types, and this is also the case in English medieval poetry. See Szittya, *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature*, pp. 34-41 and 201-7.

[v] Cf. *ALD*, pp. 37-40.

[vi] 1 Corinthians 11:29. Cf. *EWS II*, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 85, p. 177/107-9, notes in *EWS V*, p. 202.

[vii] Cf. *EWS II*, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 68, pp. 75-6/128-30; *37 Conclusions,* pp. 21-2.

[viii] James 5:16. Cf. *LS* 7/145; 9/179; 15/200, 250.

[ix] James 5:16. Cf. *LS* 7/145; 9/179; 15/200, 250.

[x] James 5:14

[xi] Cf. *PT*, 942-943.

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

[xiii] Psalms 50:19. Cf. *LS* 15/182; *PPI*, B-Text, Passus XIV, 16-22.

[xiv] Luke 17:11-19. Cf. *LS* 10/505.

[xv] Cf. *THS*, pp. 342-52.

[xvi] Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Gospels, Sermon 34, pp. 364-5/5-39, notes in *EWS IV*, pp. 271-2.

[xvii] Psalms 109:4

[xviii] Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 28, p. 595/42-5, notes in *EWS V*, p. 57.

[xix] Psalms 135:1-3.

[xx] Psalms 75:11. Cf. *DP* i.i, pp. 300-1/73-5.

[xxi] Cf. Von Nolcken, p. 55/8-25.

[xxii] Psalms 4:5

[xxiii] Psalms 118:37

[xxiv] 1 Corinthians 8:12

[xxv] Matthew 5:22-24

[xxvi] Luke 8:2 'As Luke witnessiþ in þe...' – 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 houȝ seint Denyse writiþ of þis sacrament aftur þe logic of Goddis law I told in partie before, but for I haue not nouȝ þe 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.

[xxvii] 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.

[xxviii] Luke 8:43-44 and Matthew 9:20-21. Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Gospels, Sermon 24, pp. 317-21, notes in *EWS IV*, pp. 241-3; See FDR, 534-5.

[xxix] Matthew 26: 69-75. Cf. *LS* 13/212; *DP* i.ii, p. 86/57.

[xxx] John 21:15-17. Cf. *LS* 15/290; *DP* i.ii, p. 16/27.

[xxxi] Luke 7:44. St. Ambrose of Milan, Letter XLI, passage 23, in *Ambrose of Milan, A Select Library of the Christian Church: Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers: Volume X: Ambrose: Select Works and Letters,* ed. by Philip Schaff, Second Series (Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1999), p. 449.

[xxxii] Psalms 41:4

[xxxiii] Psalms 91:2

[xxxiv] Matthew 5:22-24. Cf. *DP* i.i, p. 273/20. Racha – this word is explained in the text as 'a word of scorne eiþer indignacioun [•] eiþre fool wiþoute cause'. Some versions of this biblical passage render 'Racha' or 'Raca' as 'thou fool'.

[xxxv] Matthew 7:1

[xxxvi] Matthew 7:2. Cf. *DP* i.ii, p. 249/45; p. 33/55.

[xxxvii] Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 28, p. 594/36-41, notes in *EWS V*, p. 57.

[xxxviii] Matthew 3:2. Cf. *EWS III*, Sermons for the Ferials, Sermon 124, p. 5/1-7, notes in *EWS V*, p. 283.

[xxxix] Psalms 31:5

[xl] Matthew 6:14

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

[xlii] 1 Corinthians 11:31. Cf. *DP* i.ii, p. 239/28.

[xliii] Ezechiel 3:18. Cf. *TWT* 4/34.

[xliv] Joel 2:13

[xlv] Jeremiah 31:18

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

[xlvii] 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.

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

[xlix] Higden, *Polychronicon*, VIII, pp. 189-93. Cf. *Of Confession,* in *EWT II*, p. 35/28-33; *OMC*, p. 361/896-900, notes in *EWS V*, p. 275.

[l] Matthew 24:24

[li] Revelation 20:7

[lii] Cf. *37 Conclusions*, pp. 80-2.

[liii] 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.

[liv] Isaiah 10:1

[lv] Psalms 9:21

[lvi] Matthew 7:15-16. Cf. *DP* i.i, p. 213/57.

[lvii] John 6:15. Cf. *TWT* 6/116

[lviii] 2 Thessalonians 2:3-4.

[lix] Zachariah 11:17

On the Eucharist

[i] 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; *Wyclifs 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 Hawisia 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.

[ii] Matthew 26:26–28

[iii] Mark 14:22-4; Luke 22:19-20. Cf. *TWT* 3/15; 53/961.

[iv] 1 Corinthians 10:16, 1 Corinthians 11:23-9, 2 Corinthians 12:2-5. Cf. *De eucharistia*, pp.

185-9; *TWT* 53/961; 54/999. See Knighton's Chronicle, p. 437.

[v] 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 schew so hys miracul þat þe womman mythe ben holpyn owte of 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', whilse 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.

[vi] See Sermon 272 in *Augustine, The Works of Saint Augustine: A translation for the 21st Century: Part III – Sermons,* vol. 7, ed. by John E. Rotelle, trans. by Edmund Hill (New York: New York City Press, 1993), pp. 300-1.

[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.

[viii] Luke 24:30-5. Cf. *PPI*, B-Text, Passus XI, 196-243; C-Text, Passus XII, 110-133. See also David Aers, 'The Sacrament of the Altar in *Piers Plowman* and the Late Medieval Church in England', in Dimmick, Jeremy, Simpson, James and Zeeman, Nicolette, (eds.) *Images, Idolatry and Iconoclasm in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 73.

[x] 1 Corinthians 10:16

[xi] Jon Chrysostom, with the gilded tongue. See *Gilte Legende*, ed. by Richard Hamer and Vida Russell, 3 volumes, Early English Text Society O.S. 327; 328; 339 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006-12), vol. 2, pp. 678-83.

[xii] Cf. *Pees maketh plenté*, in *Middle English Lyrics*, ed. by Maxwell S. Luria and Richard L.

Hoffman, (New York: Norton, 1974), p. 119.

[xiii] Cf. *EWS II*, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 65, pp. 54-5/3-49, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 148-9; *Confession of Hawisia Moone of Loddon, 1430*, in *SEWW*, p. 35/40-6.

[xiv] Cf. Von Nolcken, pp. 101-3; *PPI*, C-Text, 117-24. See Aers' commentary on this passage in 'The Sacrament of the Altar in *Piers Plowman*', pp. 74-5.

On the Virtuous Life

[i] John Chrysostom, Homily LXIV, in *Homilies on the Gospel of Saint Matthew*, pp. 391-7.

[ii] Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Gospels, Sermon 5, pp. 240-3, notes in *EWS IV*, pp. 198-200; *EWS II*, Sermons for the Proper of Saints, Sermon 87, pp. 186-7/19-38, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 205-6; *EWS II*, Sermons for the Proper of Saints, Sermon 88, pp. 194-5/25-49, notes in *EWS V*, p. 208.

[iii] Augustine, Sermons, XLVI, passage 2, in *A Select Library of the Christian Church: Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Volume VI: Augustin: Sermon on the Mount, Harmony of the Gospels, Homilies on the Gospels*, ed. by Philip Schaff, First Series (Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1995), pp. 408-9.

[iv] John Chrysostom, Discourse I, part VI, passage 8, in *The Fathers of the Church: St. John Chrysostom: Discourses Against Judaizing Christians*, trans. by Paul W. Harkins (Washington: Catholic University of America Press: 1979; repr. 1999), p. 25.

[v] John Chrysostom, *Six Books On the Priesthood*, Book III, passage 4, in *A Select Library of the Christian Church: Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Volume IX: Chrysostom: On the Priesthood, Ascetic Treatises, Select Homilies and Letters, Homilies on the Statues*, ed. by Philip Schaff, First Series (Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1995), p. 46.

[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.

[viii] John Chrysostom, on the Epistle to the Romans, Homily 8, in *A Select Library of the Christian Church: Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Volume XI: Chrysostom: Homilies on the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistle to the Romans*, ed. by Philip Schaff, First Series (Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1995), pp. 385-6. Cf. *EWS II*, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 68, pp. 74-5/102-7; Sermon 78, p. 132/75-8.

[ix] See Gregory I, *The Dialogues of Saint Gregory, surnamed the Great: Pope of Rome & the first of that name. Divided into Four Books, wherein he entreateth of the Lives and Miracles of the Saints in Italy and of the Eternity of Men's Souls*, ed. by Edmund G. Gardner (London: Philip Lee Warner, 1911), Book 3, Chapter Fifteen.

[x] Matthew 15:8

[xi] Matthew 12:33. Cf. *EWS III*, Sermons on the Ferials, Sermon 141, p. 49/51-63, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 296-7.

[xii] John Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Gospel of Saint* Matthew, Homily XXIII, pp. 157-66.

[xiii] Matthew 23:13. Cf. *TWT* 10/253.

[xiv] Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies*, ed. by Stephen A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach, Oliver Berghof (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), Book IX, iv.14, p. 204.

[xv] Augustine, on the gospel of John, Tractate XXX, passage 7, in *A Select Library of the Christian Church: Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Volume VII: Augustin: Homilies on the Gospel of John, Homilies on the First Epistle of John, Soliloquies,* ed. by Philip Schaff, First Series (Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1995), p. 188.

[xvi] John Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Gospel of Saint* Matthew, Homily LXXIX, pp. 474-9.

[xvii] Augustine, Doctrinal Treatises, Enchiridion, chapter 66, in *A Select Library of the Christian Church: Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Volume III: Augustin: On the Holy Trinity, Doctrinal Treatises, Moral Treatises,* ed. by Philip Schaff, First Series (Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1994), pp. 258-9.

[xviii] eysel – variant of **aisel** *n.* vinegar.

[xix] John Chrysostom, on the First Epistle to the Corinthians, Homily XXII, in *A Select Library of the Christian Church: Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Volume XII: Chrysostom: Homilies*

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

[xx] John Chrysostom, on the Epistle to the Romans, Homily XII, in *Homilies on the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistle to the Romans*, pp. 416-27.

[xxi] Origyne – 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

[xxx] Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 45, pp. 665-8, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 99-101.

[xxxi] Jeremiah 27:5

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

[xxxiii] leiȝtre - variant of **laughter.**

[xxxiv] Hournement – variant of **ournement** *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).

[xxxviii] Matthew 3:4. Cf. *EWS III*, Sermons on the Ferials, Sermon 124, p. 6/20-8, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 283-4.

[xxxix] Cf. *EWS III*, Sermons for the Ferials, Sermon 176, pp. 159-63, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 333-4.

[xl] 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.

[xli] *On Consideration*, Book III, Chapter V, p. 92.

[xlii] anhourne – variant of **enournen** *v.* to decorate.

[xliii] John Chrysostom, on Philippians, Homily IX in *A Select Library of the Christian Church: Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Volume XIII: Chrysostom: Homilies on Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, Timothy, Titus and Philemon*, ed. by Philip Schaff, First Series (Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1994), p. 228.

[xliv] 1 Timothy 6:8. Cf. *LS* 15/295.

[xlv] Leviticus 23:42-43

[xlvi] Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 55, p. 701/59-63. *37 Conclusions*, pp. 7-8.

[xlvii] Galatians 6:10. Cf. *LS* 12/454; *TWT* 22/709.

[xlviii] Luke 21:18

[xlix] Revelation 2:21

On Consideration

[i] See Saint Bernard, *On Consideration*, trans. George Lewis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908).

[ii] *On Consideration*, Book I, Ch. VI, p. 24

[iii] Luke 12:14-15. Cf. *LS* 9/285; 11A/571.

[iv] *On Consideration*, Book I, Ch. VI, pp. 24-25

[v] Jeremiah 1:10

[vi] *On Consideration*, Book II, Ch. VI, pp. 45-46

[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

[xiii] *On Consideration*, Book II, Ch. VI, p. 47. Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Gospels, Sermon 50, p. 452/103-6, notes in *EWS IV*, p. 314.

[xiv] *On Consideration*, Book II, Ch. VI, p. 47

[xv] Luke 22:26. *On Consideration*, Book II, Ch. VI, pp. 47-8.

[xvi] Cf. *EWS II*, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 66, p. 63/77-83, notes in *EWS V*, p. 151; EWS *II*, Sermons for the Proper of Saints, Sermon 114, pp. 293-5, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 247-8.

[xvii] Luke 22:27. *On Consideration*, Book II, Ch. VI, p. 48. Cf. *37 Conclusions*, pp. 2-4.

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

[xix] *On Consideration*, Book II, Ch. VI, p. 50. Cf. *EWS II*, Sermons for the Proper of Saints, Sermon 106, pp. 268-9/49-52, notes in *EWS V*, p. 239. See PT, 574-577.

[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.

[xxvi] Romans 1:14

[xxvii] *On Consideration,* Book III, Chapter I, p. 71

[xxviii] 2 Corinthians 12:14

[xxix] Philippians 4:17. *On Consideration*, Book III, Chapter III, p. 82

[xxx] John 21:15

[xxxi] *On Consideration*, Book IV, Ch. III, p. 103.

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

[xxxiii] Cf. *EWS III*, Sermons for the Ferials, Sermon 201, pp. 237-8, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 357-8; EWS *III*, Appendix, pp. 319-21, notes in *EWS V*, p. 378; Jefferson, pp. 126-8.

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

[xxxv] For more on Lollard attitudes to preaching, see Von Nolcken, pp. 85-92; Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 268-73; Richard Rex, The Lollards, pp. 55-9. Cf. *THS*, pp. 285-92.

[xxxvi] Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Gospels, Sermon 15, p. 279-82, notes in *EWS IV*, pp. 223-5.

On the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit

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

[ii] 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.

[iii] Cf. *PT*, 433.

[iv] Luke 14:27

[v] Cf. *SDS*, pp. 121-8; *Trialogus*, pp. 137-41.

[vi] Cf. *SDS*, pp. 128-42; *Trialogus*, pp. 141-51.

[vii] Cf. *SDS*, pp. 142-8; *Trialogus*, pp. 151-7.

[viii] Cf. *SDS*, pp. 155-67; *Trialogus*, pp. 162-7.

[ix] Cf. *SDS*, pp. 148-55; *Trialogus*, pp. 157-62.

On the Eight Blessings

[i] The Beatitudes. Matthew 5:3-10. Cf. *Opus evangelicum*, pp. 14-65; *EWS II*, Sermons for the Proper of Saints, Sermon 122, pp. 320-7, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 259-62;

[ii] Matthew 5:3. Cf. *LS 3/291.*

[iii] Matthew 5:4.

[iv] Matthew 5:5.

[v] Luke 23:28

[vi] Matthew 5:6

[vii] Matthew 5:7

[viii] Matthew 5:9. CF *LS* 5/445.

[ix] Matthew 5:10. Cf. *TWT* 62/1246.

[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.

[ii] Cf. *EWS II*, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 76, pp. 117-122, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 172-4; *EWS II*, Sermons for the Common of Saints, Sermon 79, pp. 135-8/1-85, notes in *EWS V*, pp 180-1; *On the Five Outer Wits* and *On the Five Inner Wits*, in Arnold III, pp. 117-118.

[iii] 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.

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

[v] Cf. *EWS I*, Sermons on the Sunday Epistles, Sermon 30, pp. 602-607, notes in *EWS V*, pp. 63-7.

[vi] Romans 10:17. Cf. *LS* 16/177.

[vii] 2 Corinthians 2:15-16.

[viii] Cf. *A schort reule of lif*, in Arnold III, p. 205.

On Jacob's Ladder

[i] Genesis 28:12-15

[ii] Ephesians 4:6

Nine Points

[i] 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 vertues. Each of the quotations below are from the text from MS Rawlinson C. 285.

[ii] 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 thynge.' 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 sougth 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 deuocyone: 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: 'Constryene 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, fyrst 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 clymmand 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

[i] Matthew 25:34. Cf. *EWS III*, Sermons on the Ferials, Sermon 147, pp. 67-70, notes in *EWS*

V, pp. 302-3; *DP* i.i, p. 187/40; 2, p. 242/36; p. 246/31; p. 317/25; *LS* 6/304, 11A/584. 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 shal be dampned 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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The Evolution of a Lollard Book of Instruction: A Critical Edition of Material from Trinity College Dublin MS 245

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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.