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Four Lollard dialogues: An edition with commentary

Briar E R Gordon

A thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

at the University of Otago, Dunedin,

New Zealand.

1983
ABSTRACT

The four dialogues which are the basis of the present study have not hitherto been printed in full. They are grouped together because of their use of a common form.

The dialogues represent an intellectually respectable facet of English Lollardy, moderate in opinion, with little elaboration of overtly heretical doctrine and with signs of modest learning. Their doctrinal content emphasizes their implicit connections with the chief themes and aspirations of Wycliffism.

Like much Wycliffite writing, they are highly allusive and often elliptical in style, and only fully intelligible in the light of the documented arguments of Wyclif, and more widely, against the whole historical, philosophical, theological, social and literary background of their period. For this reason, the Introduction and Commentaries refer heavily to this background, suggesting parallels for the doctrinal and historical allusions of the dialogues, and elucidating their connections in the Lollard context.

The parallels between the dialogues and the writings of Wyclif are important for the wider consideration of Lollardy. The marked similarity of thought between Wyclif's writings and the vernacular Lollard works was once thought to provide evidence for their common authorship by Wyclif. This principle is no longer accepted, but it has suggested a new interpretation, already well documented in the case of the Lollard sermon cycle: that the vernacular works were produced in a milieu where Wyclif's writings were known and accessible, and that there were continuing links between the
vernacular Wycliffite movement and the learned tradition from which the movement sprang.

Vernacular Lollard writers responded to the demands of a pious and increasingly literate laity, making available for them the learning of the schools by bridging the gap between scholastic theology and popular religion. The dialogues provide examples of just such a class of popular theology.

On the surface, the dialogues do not support the notion that a common literary standard operated among Lollard writers, for there is considerable disparity among them in literary style and linguistic competence. Nevertheless, the literary methods of the dialogues indicate points of correspondence with the style of the wider Lollard canon, and even Wyclif's writings. At the most basic level, this is seen in the predictable use of a common store of biblical and patristic citations, allusions and analogies. It is also apparent in the use of some specifically connotative diction and of a narrow range of dialects. More elusively, there is a general adherence to an aesthetic framework shaped by doctrinal principles and conforming to the plain style of the *sermo humilis*.

It is important not to ignore the participation of the dialogues in current trends and issues. For nearly all the doctrinal and polemical issues elaborated in the dialogues, contemporary and earlier parallels can be cited from orthodox texts. These provide valuable evidence for the currency of Wycliffite thought and of the issues embraced by Lollardy. Parallels can be drawn, for instance, from the literature of Chaucer, Langland and Gower, whose writings provided an alternative expression of the reform ideal. But it is equally important to note where the parallels end. Whereas orthodox
critics lamented the evils current in the contemporary church, these Lollard authors were explicitly alienated from the established church by their antisacerdotalism and especially by the antisacramental implications of their theology.

Because the doctrinal heresy of the dialogues is frequently allusive, cumulative and implicit rather than overt, the contemporary repudiation of Wycliffism is instructive. It throws light on the activities of the movement, on the impact of its doctrines, and on the concern which it aroused. These refutations indicate that a particular opinion was seen in its time to be Wycliffite, heretical and seductive. However, from the evidence of the dialogues, it can be appreciated that the false doctrine of the Lollards could present an alternative doctrine to current orthodoxy, and one not easily distinguished from orthodoxy. The heresy of the dialogues is fully evident only in the light of other Wycliffite writings as well as in the wider context of the literature written to oppose Wycliffism.

The form of the dialogues implicitly invites comparison with the literature of the opposition as the Lollard protagonists counter the arguments of orthodoxy. In the case of the dialogues, however, there is not a shadow of doubt as to the strength of the Lollard position, nor of the purpose of the dialogues, to inform, persuade and propagandize on behalf of the movement.
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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

In general the terms 'Wycliffite' and 'Lollard' are used synonymously, but whereas 'Wycliffite' may include Wyclif's own writings and usage, 'Lollard' does not. At no time does the term 'Wycliffite' imply Wyclif's authorship of the vernacular writings.

Where thought and expression are close to Wyclif's own or dependent upon Wyclif's writing, the term 'Wycliffite' is preferred; in so far as 'Lollard' implies a distinction, it refers especially to the later phase of the movement as distinct from the earlier.

All citations of medieval Latin and Anglo-Norman are transcribed from the sources without emendation of grammar or orthography, though abbreviations are silently expanded.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

No scholar working in the field of English Wycliffism can escape a debt to earlier work of great prestige, notably of W. H. Workman and K. B. McFarlane. More recently, the historical and literary researches of Dr Anne Hudson have been of inestimable value in elucidating the thought and literary activities of the movement. The extent of my debt to Dr Hudson's work and to that of earlier scholars is indicated in the documentation to the introduction, but thereafter it is not possible to repeat acknowledgment of this debt.

I am pleased to acknowledge assistance from the University of
Otago Research Committee, and thank the staff of the Central Library and of Knox College Library for their cooperation in obtaining research materials.

My thanks are also due to those who have perused manuscripts, especially Dr Anne Hudson of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, Dr G. R. Rastall of the University of Leeds, Dr A. I. Doyle, Keeper of Manuscripts, Durham University Library, and Dr Alexandra Barratt of Waikato University, Hamilton, New Zealand.

I am grateful to Drs L. Harty and G. Waite, University of Otago for discussion on the language of the dialogues, and in particular wish to thank Dr A. G. Fox for his willingness to discuss with me the 'false doctrines' and 'hard sentence' of Wycliffism.
ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGLA


Davis: Davis, Norman 'The Language of the Pastons', Proceedings of the British Academy, 40 (1954), 114-44.


EETS: Early English Text Society.

Friedberg: Corpus iuris canonici, ed. Aemilius Friedberg, 2 vols, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1879-81).

Glossa ordinaria and Lyra: Commentaries from the Biblia sacra (see Bibliography).


MED: Middle English Dictionary (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1952-).


PL: Patrologia latina.


WB (1 or 2: 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, 4 vols, ed. Josiah
Forshall and Frederic Madden, (Oxford, 1850).


All references to Wyclif's writings are to the Wyclif Society editions.

Grammatical Abbreviations

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Languages

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ix
### Dialect Regions

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### Sigla

D : Durham University Library MS. Cosin V. iii. 6.

T1: Trinity College Dublin MS. 244 (old press mark C. 3. 12).

T2: Trinity College Dublin MS. 245 (old press mark C. 5. 6).

C : Trinity College Cambridge MS. B. 14. 50.
I

INTRODUCTION

1. The Four Lollard Dialogues and the Literature

of the Wycliffite Movement

Until now Lollardy has been regarded almost exclusively as the
preserve of those of slight importance, of artisans and the
disaffected, and of the poorly educated, unbefriended clergy.
Naturally this view was promoted at the time by its opponents, the
ecclesiastical power, whose chroniclers gave little credence to the
recruitment of any but the lowly among the clergy and laity, except
for its emergence among a few exceptional and (implicitly) eccentric
knights. Regrettably, modern historians have perpetuated this

1. Notable chroniclers who documented the movement as part of their
propaganda against it were Thomas Walsingham of St. Albans,
Chronicon Angliae, 1328-1388, ed. E.M. Thompson, Rolls Series 64
(London, 1874) and Historia Anglicana, ed. H.T. Riley, Rolls
Series 28, 2 vols (London, 1863-64); Henry Knighton of
Leicester, Chronicon, ed. J.R. Lumby, Rolls Series 92, 2 vols
(London, 1889-95); Ranulph Higden, Polychronicon, ed. C. Babington
and J.R. Lumby, Rolls Series 41, 9 vols (London 1865-86), IX.
Notices on the Lollard knights are recorded in Chronicon Angliae,
p.377, Historia Anglicana, II, 159; Chronicon, II, 181. For
documentation, see W.T. Waugh 'The Lollard Knights', Scottish
Historical Review, 11 (1914), 55ff and K.B. McFarlane, Lancastrian
That they have done so is because they have relied too heavily on the pejorative writings of the documentary sources instead of drawing on the popular writings of the Lollards themselves, many of which reveal the true intellectual and official importance of the movement.

The persistent ascription of many of the vernacular writings of the movement to Wyclif has also distorted the stature of Lollardy as


a movement. The result has been an inadequate assessment of its impact and influence. In fact, only one fifth of the Lollard canon has been printed, much remains uncatalogued, and undoubtedly much more remains unrecognized. It is ironical that these popular writings, so successful in their day, should have been underestimated by historians, for the official opposition that focused on the writers and writings of the Wycliviani gives us a fair measure of the energy of the Wycliffite attack and of its original impact:

Discipuli praefati Johannis studuerunt in compilationibus sermonum et sermones fratrum congregaverunt, euntes per totam Angliam doctrinam hujus sui magistri praedicabant ... non solum in multis popularibus et laicis, sed etiam in nobilibus et literatis ... praedicatores et domorum penetratores vocantur. Scripserunt insuper libellos famosos in Anglico contra fratres, suos etiam errores in Anglico scripserunt. (Eulogium Historiarum sive temporis chronicon, ed. F.S. Haydon, Rolls Series 9, 3 vols (1853-63), Continuatio, III, 355).

Magister ... Johannes Aston .... [q]ui damnatus in excusationem sui erroris, et commotionem populi contra archiepiscopum et clerum ... scrisit confessionem in Anglico et Latino, et eam in plurimis schedulis fecit distribui per vicos Londoniarum et plateas. (Fasciculi zizaniorum, p.329.)

Rex ... jussit archiepiscopo Cantuariensi caeterisque episcopis regni ut officium suum, singuli in suis diocesibus, secundum jura canonica acrius et ferventius exercerent, delinquentes castigarent, librosque eorum Anglicos plenius examinarent, errata exterminarent populumque in unitatem fidei orthodoxae reducere studerent ... (Knighton, Chronicon, II, 263).

Nos zelo fidei catholicae ... assignamus vos conjunctim et divisim ad omnes et singulos libros, libellos, cedulas, et quaternos hujusmodi ... ubicumque et in quoruncumque manibus, possessione seu custodia inveniri poterunt, infra libertates vel extra investigandos, capiendos et arestandos .... Ac etiam ad proclamandum et ex parte nostra firmiter inhibendum ne quis cujuscunque status, gradus seu conditionis fuerit sub poena inprisonamenti et forisfactura omnium quae nobis forisfacere poterit, aliquas hujusmodi pravas et nefarias opiniones manutenere, docere, pertinaciterque defendere clam vel palam, sue hujusmodi libros, libellos, cedulas, et quaternos detinere, scribere, vel scribi facere, aut emere, vel vendere praesumat quovismodo. (Knighton, Chronicon, II, 264-5, citing a royal commission of 1388)

Willelmus Smyth ...[l]ibros etiam solemnes quos in materna lingua de evangelio, et de epistolis et alis episcopis et doctoribus conscripserat, et ut fatebatur per annos octo studiose conscribere laboraverat archiepiscopo coactus tradidit. (Knighton, Chronicon, II, 313).

... sparsae sunt scedulae Lollardorum venenosae, impingentes contra cunctos status Ecclesiae, fere in qualibet magna domo vel hospitio villarum de Sancto Albano, de Northamtona, de Radingia, auctorem nullo sciente. (Walsingham, Historia Anglicana, II, 317).

In the same way the calibre of the official refutations of Wycliffism, and of those published voluntarily, indicates the movement's intellectual standing. For example, its scope and impact in England can be gauged by the concern and deliberations of parliament and of convocation, culminating in the statute De heretico comburendo of 1401 and in Archbishop Arundel's sweeping measures against the preaching and literary activities of the sect in 1407. Outside England, its scope can be seen in the condemnation by Jean Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris. Its impact can be seen in the Hussite reform movement in Bohemia, and in the promulgations against the movement by the Council of Constance. Mounting opposition of this order underlines its great vigour and shows the need to reappraise the movement by turning directly to its literary
legacy.  

Recent investigation of the manuscripts of the movement has proven that the scope of its literary activities was wider than once suspected. This evidence has important implications for our understanding of the real character of the movement. In particular, modern scholars testify to the importance of Lollard writers and their part in the trend whereby the laity became involved in and contributed to issues hitherto the preserve of the clergy.


(b) De heretico comburendo, 2 Henry IV, c.15; printed in Statutes of the Realm, 11 vols (1810-28, repr. 1963), II, 125.


(e) Wyclif's teaching was condemned by the University of Prague in 1403, but his writings continued to be copied there beyond that date. To judge from the quantity of surviving material preserved by the Hussite movement, Lyndwood's gloss to the Oxford canons of 1407 was not merely rhetorical: 'Johannem Wycclyf ... ex culis doctrina tota Boemia intoxicata extitit', Provinciale seu constitutiones Anglie cum summariis atque justis annotationibus (A.Bocard, Paris, 1501), f.103v, sig.V7v. For documentation of the influence of Wycliffism in Hussite Bohemia, see R.R. Betts, 'English and Čech Influences on the Hussite Movement', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 21 (1939), 71-102; F.Smahel, 'Doctor Evangelicus super omnes evangelistas': Wyclif's Fortune in Hussite Bohemia', Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, 43, (1970), 16-34. The topic has been reviewed by M.Spinka, John Hus and the Czech Reform (Chicago, 1941) and by V.Mudroch, The Wyclif Tradition, ed. A.C. Reeves (Ohio, 1979), pp.1-5.

(f) 'Articuli Johannis Wiclefi Angli, damnati per consilium Constantiense', printed in Fasciculus rerum, I, 266-80.
The variety of means by which the Lollards pursued their didactic and polemical aims, and the coherence of their views have been demonstrated in the samples printed by Dr Hudson in Selections from English Wycliffite Writings (1978). The literary genres found in the vernacular works include biblical translations, glosses and commentaries; translations and redactions of learned works; the sermon, both the discursive homily and the university sermon; the proof-list; polemical tracts; interpolations of Lollard material into orthodox writings; citations of belief and refutation of criticism. There are samples of satire, confession, recantation and catechism among the printed works, and reference volumes such as indices, concordances and the Rosarium. 5

There are also the dialogues. This form has been largely overlooked by editors. This may be because there are only four known examples, and of these only a single copy of each. 6

5. The bibliographical details are given by Talbert and Thomson, 'Wyclif and his Followers', Manual II, corrected and supplemented by Hudson, 'Contributions to a Bibliography'; and by F. Utley, 'Dialogues, Debates and Catechisms', Manual III.


M. Deanesly, The Lollard Bible and other Medieval Biblical Versions (Cambridge, 1920, repr. 1966), p.273 mentions a tract in Cambridge University Library Ms.Ii.6.26, as being in dialogue form, but Dr Hudson has not included it in her list of Lollard dialogues, Selections, p.12.

The author of the Opus arduum claims to have written a vernacular dialogue, De antichristo (cited by Hudson, 'A Neglected Wycliffite Text', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 29 (1978), 268 from Brno University Library MS.Mk.28, f.167v).
this study is to make the texts of these dialogues available and to consider their doctrinal content, historical context and literary character. The dialogues illustrate the fundamental consistency of the doctrinal viewpoint of Wycliffism. They also supplement the evidence of history and literature to suggest that there were continuing links, however tenuous, with the learned tradition, and that the movement was served by writers in touch with this tradition, at least indirectly, even after the official expulsion of Wycliffism from Oxford in 1382. Thus, the dialogues substantiate a more comprehensive view of the movement and of its energy and intellectual respectability. They provide compelling evidence to contradict the view that before the end of the fourteenth century the Wycliffite movement was 'cut off from its intellectual roots' and its legacy limited to 'sermons suitable for delivery on village greens'.

7. The Oxford canons of 1407, items 6 and 7, specify the literature of Wycliffism as a source of heresy, and items 4, 5, 8, 9 and 11 the existence of the heresy at the university. Further evidence for Lollardy at Oxford after 1382 includes continuing discussion and publication of tracts there (J.A. Robson, Wyclif and the Oxford Schools (Cambridge, 1961), pp.218-46); there are notices of expulsions, as in 1395-6 (Calendar of Close Rolls, 1392-6, pp.434, 437); there is evidence that Czech scholars obtained Wyclif's writings there about this time (Leff, Heresy, II, 622-3); Thomas Gascoigne noted that there were still Wycliffite books to be burnt in Oxford in 1410 (Loci et libri veritatum, ed. J.E.T. Rogers (Oxford, 1881), p.116); Thomas Netter found Wycliffism still to be under discussion there in the 1420's (Doctrinale fidei, Praefatio generalis, I.xiii); Pecock lamented the existence of large numbers of heretical books there in the 1450's (Book of Faith, p.119); and in 1454 Oriel College recorded the purchase of Wycliffite manuscripts (N.R. Ker, Bodleian Library Record, 4 (1953), 292-3).

Similarly, the dialogues refute the misunderstanding that Lollardy in the first generation after Wyclif was merely the preserve of those of little moment. From their appeals to the lords of the realm, we can infer that the movement was not deprived of influence in high places, even among the campi-ductores, and that its writers infiltrated Wycliffism into the circle of the temporal powers.\(^9\)

There is considerable variation in literary skill within this small sample. Nevertheless, aspects of their literary and linguistic features, found also in much of the Lollard canon, suggest that there were consistent literary 'habits' among Lollard writers. That is, the manuscripts which preserve the dialogues, the particular prose style of the texts, their diction and the dialects they employ all contribute to the sense of consistency established by their doctrinal and polemical content. One implication of this evidence is to strengthen the view that Lollard literature was produced within a relatively closely organized milieu. It indicates that Lollard doctrine was systematically diffused and that Lollard writers had access to biblical, theological and historical texts and to Wyclif's writings or to handbooks of essential Wycliffite thought after the movement had lost legitimate access to these tools of learning at Oxford.\(^{10}\)


In some literary respects the dialogues reflect the continuing association of the Lollard movement with its intellectual roots. For example, they exploit aspects of the learned manner transmitted idiosyncratically by Wyclif. His method of argument was characterized by a consistent appeal to biblical precepts and models, and by the use of contrary allusions and arguments, such as those drawn from canon law. These latter he frequently distorted, in order to force them to support his own case. At the same time he used them to 'spoil the Egyptians', his clerical enemies. This technique is everywhere apparent in the dialogues.

The use of the dialogue form, exploiting its historic connections with the methods of scholastic dialectic, indicates an appreciation of the process of reason that was a mark of the learned tradition to which Wyclif belonged. The scholastic bent is also recognizable in a number of special features: among these are allusions to law, and to authorities such as Aristotle, Anselm, Cyprian, Chrysostom and Grosseteste; the occasional provision of distinctiones; intimations of familiarity with grammar, logic and sophistical debate; and allusions to controversies that were essentially metaphysical, such as those of Pelagianism and between realism and nominalism. The art of the dialogues was to exploit linguistic and rhetorical characteristics of the learned tradition and to transform them into a popular medium without wholly disguising them, for it may well have been anticipated that such links would impart respectability to the polemic.

There is, however, another dimension apparent in these dialogues, in that they manifest the characteristic Wycliffite purpose of carrying religion to the people, by popularizing theological ideas extracted from learned origins. The dialogues reveal writers who were conscious of grappling with the problem of how to transmit theology
from its learned origins to a form accessible to those outside the narrow circle of the schools. Clear links can be seen with popular religious literature, both in matter and in manner. For example, difficult scholastic arguments are often omitted or their complexities deleted. The usually exhaustive provision of authorities is heavily pruned or reduced from copious citations to less tedious allusions. Popular features include the plain style, and linguistic devices such as alliteration. So too, pragmatic, mundane, homely and potentially comic proverbs and images illuminate a theology and morality appropriate to the interests of country knights and small landowners, merchants and tradespeople - practical citizens concerned with notions of economic morality, spiritual fruitfulness, social justice and personal discipline.\(^\text{11}\)

Concern for the transmission of the fruits of theological learning to the lower clergy and the laity was not a new phenomenon. Fourteenth-century theologians and exegetes (and their thirteenth-century predecessors) had contributed a large body of instructive material for this purpose, in compliance with the edicts for clerical and lay education set down by the Fourth Lateran Council and by

\(^{11}\) Full documentation of this area of Lollard support is provided by Kightly, 'The Early Lollards'. 
subsequent English convocations. In spite of this, the institutional church, not yet 'fully adjusted ... to the needs of an age of increasing literacy', had barely begun to satisfy the demand for popular theological texts. By the end of the fourteenth century the classes drawn to Lollardy were also fostering the production of vernacular literature on religious as well as secular topics on an unprecedented scale, an upsurge that was a phenomenon of the times. Their interests embraced questions of theological doctrine, church dogma and ecclesiastical history; matters of economic and social morality; issues such as national sovereignty and the relationship between church and state -


13. Lambert, Medieval Heresy, pp.234, 238ff. An acknowledgement that this gap still existed well into the fifteenth century is provided by Reginald Pecock's concern to supply vernacular books as a means of correcting and preventing heresy; Book of Faith, ed. J.L.Morison (Glasgow, 1909), pp.116-19, 138-9, 205-7.

topics which had practical as well as theoretical implications for devout and literate people. To this extent, the present dialogues can be regarded as part of a broad trend which was occupied with the need to bridge the gap between scholastic theology and popular religion. The success of Lollardy, and the opposition it encountered, was in no small part due to the energy with which the writers of the movement responded to the contemporary demand, communicating the tenets of Wycliffism to the laity in a whole range of literary genres and at a variety of intellectual levels.

Finally, the dialogues had links with the English Reformation. Each of the four manuscripts was drawn upon in Protestant England, though their Wycliffite origins were not acknowledged. The clearest case is connected with the Durham dialogue. This manuscript is accompanied by a dedication to James I signed by the Puritan divine William Crashawe, a member of a wide circle of later reformers that included the partisan bibliophiles Cotton, Camden, James, Ussher and Whitgift, Bodley and Selden. These were all members of a group concerned to provide an ecclesiastical history of England that would support the settlement in Elizabethan times of the relationship between church and state, establishing the independence of the English church from Rome. Though Crashawe did not recognize or did not care to admit the Wycliffite connections of the dialogue, he nevertheless clearly regarded its arguments as providing a useful antecedent for the Puritan view of the sovereignty of the realm and of papal authority:

A Memorable Monument of Antiquitye
provinge
The lawfull Soveraigntye & Supremacye
of Christian Kings & Defendinge
it
Against ye unlawful & tiranicall Primacye
of the Pope.
Written even in ye midst of popishe darkenesse
And of late
founde in an antient Manuscript transcribed
verbatim &
presented humbly to the [veve] of his Highe
Maiestye. 16

In the same way, the two Dublin dialogues are extant in manuscripts once in the collection of the famous reformer Archbishop Ussher. 17

The number of Lollard volumes preserved in Ussher's library points to his interest in Wycliffism as a source for his influential history, written to prove 'from Authors of unquestionable Credit and Antiquity that Christ had always had a Visible Church of true Christians & that these Islands owe not their first Christianity to Rome.' 18

16. MS. veve is amended on grounds of sense. Veve, adj., lively, only recorded once, 1555, is a rare Scottish form for 'vive', adj. On folio 3, Crashawe calculated that the text had been written 'above 300 yeares agoe', though he may have deliberately antedated the text to conceal its Wycliffite connections; for other examples of deliberate falsification, see M.Aston, 'Lollardy and the Reformation: Survival or Revival?' History, 49 (1964), 151; H.Hargreaves, 'The Wycliffite Versions' in The Cambridge History of the Bible, II, ed. G.W.Lampe (Cambridge, 1969), 394; Hudson, 'A Lollard Sermon-Cycle', 153, note 20.

17. The MS. of Tl bears the signature of Robert Cotton from whom Ussher probably acquired the volume in the kind of exchange for which Cotton was notorious; see Sharpe, Cotton, p.62.

The Cambridge manuscript was formerly in the possession of John Whitgift, an indefatigable antipapalist who was concerned that the English church should resist extreme Puritan influence as well as papal. This manuscript also contains a tract justifying the translation of the bible, an important piece which attracted the attention of more than one generation of Reformation apologists. Principal amongst them was Archbishop Parker whose 'circle', responsible for a vernacular translation of the bible, seems to have appreciated the significance of the arguments provided by the Lollard tract.19

Consideration of the dialogues of this edition and of their place in Lollard literature provides an epitome of important aspects of Wycliffite thought, literary activity and influence, and indicates both the revolutionary nature of the movement and the way in which Lollardism transcended its time by means of its literary legacy.

19. On Whitgift's association with Crashawe and Ussher, see Wallis, 'The Library of William Crashawe'. The tract on biblical translation provides a link between the early phase of Lollardy and the Reformation. It is extant in seven MSS; except for the present case, none is a Lollard MS, though all are compilations of orthodox piety, three of which were associated with the Reformation: (i) Harleian MS.425 (fifteenth century), was owned by John Foxe. He printed the Lollard tract from it, Acts and Monuments, ed. S.R.Cattley, 8 vols (London, 1837-41), IV, 671-6 and used it in his preface to the Gospels of the four Evangelists (1571); see Deanesly, The Lollard Bible, pp.437-8; (ii) Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 298 (sixteenth century), Part IV, ff.64-67v, a Parker MS containing the Lollard tract on translation, 'Agens hem þat seyn', written in a 'Parkerian hand' (M.R.James, The Western Manuscripts); (iii) Lambeth Palace MS.594 (seventeenth century) consists of a number of notes, including the same Lollard tract, transcribed for the protestant church historian Henry Wharton. The tract was also printed by Hans Luft, 1530 (STC 6813), probably under the editorship of William Tyndale as part of the controversy with Sir Thomas More (Deanesly, The Lollard Bible, p.438.)
2. The Themes of Lollard Literature

Consideration of the thematic contents of the dialogues gives evidence of their Wycliffite connections. The dialogues demonstrate part of the range of Lollard interests and illustrate a number of themes present throughout the canon as an underlying continuity in works that are ostensibly disparate. The dominant concerns of the dialogues include theoretical as well as practical aspects of the topics of dominion and anticlericalism. These themes are treated in some instances with a secure grasp of their theological and political implications and complexities. For instance, the Durham dialogue exploits the then current view of the relationship between the English church and the papacy in respect to papal intrusions in English ecclesiastical affairs: opinions 'contra impositiones papales' expressed on matters such as tribute paid to the papacy by the realm, subsidies imposed on the English clergy and papal provisions to English benefices. All such complaints reflected a groundswell of nationalistic sentiment against papal intervention in English law and custom. In the Durham dialogue, the polemicist, to reinforce the reasonable, moderate and even orthodox nature of this view, shrewdly opposes it with an extreme version of hierarchical papalism. Ultimately, however, he proposes a solution which takes the polemic beyond the limits of orthodoxy; the clergy should be excluded from participation in secular affairs and their activities limited to the evangelical ideals of the primitive church. Then he goes further. He advocates lay correction of the clergy and the disendowment of ecclesiastical temporalities. The Dublin dialogue (T2), based on

20. Wilkins, Concilia, III, 207. The legal background of this prohibition was the statutes of Provisors and Praemunire of 1351, 1353; see further in the commentary to D/13-20.
Wyclif's *Dialogus sive speculum ecclesie militantis*, reaches a comparable position by appealing to the doctrine of the estates as a basis for defining the composition of the church and the true vocation of its ministers.

The other dialogues are concerned with the antimendicant theme, a topic familiar in Wycliffite writings though not exclusively Wycliffite. They exploit the arguments of the older controversies surrounding mendicancy and both follow Wyclif in their heterodox conclusion that the contemporary mendicant orders not only infringed their true vocation, but that their existence could not be justified on any grounds.

Undeniably these arguments derived from the theses of Wyclif, but it would do a disservice to the Lollard movement to camouflage its independence, integrity and resourcefulness by depicting its literature as merely imitative. Nor did the Lollards exploit Wyclif's teaching in an historical vacuum. Their polemic was related to contemporary events, trends and conditions for which Wyclif's thought continued to be relevant. Rather, the Lollards were inspired by Wyclif and encouraged by the current mood of popular dissent, especially as this was directed against the established religious orders. Their texts reveal their own disillusionment with the evil state of the established church and its failure to fulfil the apostolic ideal as defined in the bible. Therefore they reshaped Wyclif's thesis to show that the clergy, deprived of virtue by its abandonment of Christ, was in need of radical reform.

Through all the writings of the Lollard movement there is a preoccupation with the bible. It was held to be the single authoritative source of doctrine, pertinent to both the spiritual and the temporal spheres. Other themes included the thesis that dominion could only
be enjoyed by those in grace; that sin in the clergy, including the
sin of temporal ambition, was in defiance of biblical law; that the
natural law of the estates must entail reform of the church to restore
it to a state of apostolic perfection; and lastly, that the estate
of secular lords was divinely ordained to undertake the reform of the
clerical estate.

These were current topics and not merely derivative or academic,
but they threatened the status quo of church and state. The clerical
opponents of Lollardy feared that the sect could destroy the visible
church by dislocating the traditional relationships between the
authority of the church and of the bible, and between clergy and laity.
The movement was potentially no less a threat to the secular power
than it was to the ecclesiastical, because it denigrated all bases of
authority but that of the bible.

i. Biblism

Biblism is the common basis of the polemic of the four dialogues.
The bible is treated a priori as divine law; it was the sufficient
and necessary source of doctrine and morality and the very foundation
of all valid law. Only what was in the bible was to be believed:
'solum illi sunt heretici qui sunt scripture sacre, que est lex dei,
contrarii'. 21 Time and again the theme is repeated, that only through

21. De officio regis, p.72/16-17, and for an expanded discussion, see
the Trialogus, pp.238-43. On Wyclif's biblism, see B.Smalley,
'John Wyclif's Postilla super totam Bibliam', Bodleian Library
Record, 4 (1953), 186-205; 'Wyclif's Postilla on the Old Testament
and his Principium', in Oxford Studies Presented to Daniel Callus,
OP, (Oxford, 1964), pp.253-96; 'The Bible and Eternity: John
Wyclif's Dilemma', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,
27 (1964), 73-89; Leff, Heresy, II, 511-16; H.Oberman, The Harvest
of Medieval Theology (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), pp.361-93; M.Hurley,
"Scriptura sola": John Wyclif and his Critics', Traditio, 16, (1960),
275-352.
scripture can man bypass the uncertainties of human knowledge and establish the certainty of divine revelation, 'pat ech hest of God is trewe' (Tl/12). Wyclif's biblism provided an incontestable model of authority which his followers did not fail to use, idiosyncratically but predictably and consistently. From Wyclif's biblist principles they were able to explicate the divine ideal, to measure the shortcomings of the clergy and to justify the reform of the visible church.

The heterodox consequence of this doctrine was the effective denial to the church of its a priori function to convey and interpret divine law: 'Cristen men schulden stodie to lerne pis lore of Crist and publiche pis lore for profi3t of holy chirche' (C/2-4). Proposing that the truths of scripture were not the preserve of clergy, but could be discovered by every faithful layman exercising the power of reason, Wyclif asked the question, 'Quomodo ergo sine theologis staret regnum?', answering that every man ought to be a theologian.22 In this way Wycliffite biblism challenged the clerical monopoly over theology and was intrinsically and ultimately antisacramental - an implication not lost upon the opponents of the Lollard movement who for that reason vigorously opposed the circulation of vernacular scriptures and other English writings.23

Though the biblism of Lollardy depended heavily on Wyclif's model, it is also likely that the Lollards saw such a doctrine as having an immediate purpose, for by appealing to the bible they could claim the support of divine as against merely human authority. Biblical authority, moreover, was independent of the two main agents of human government, the church and the state; both of these powers were,

by the probable dates of the dialogues, openly pursuing the Lollards for heresy and possibly for sedition. 24 In this situation, the bible could usefully be appealed to as an authority that outweighed all others where conflict arose. Not only did the bible give a knowledge of the moral and spiritual values which it was the church's duty to propagate, but it also clarified the proper roles for both the secular and the clerical powers. For example, the Lollard spokesmen of the dialogues repeatedly adduce biblical texts to support their view of the true roles of the spiritual power and the temporal, that the clerical and temporal functions should be entirely separate:

'Saynt Poule saip ... & Crist him self ... þat þe ne haue no power of God ... to no maner worldlich þinge but all to gosteli þinge' (D/129-36).

ii. Anticlericalism

Superficially, Wycliffite anticlericalism repeated the traditional criticism found in orthodox contexts, denouncing the clerical estate for its worldly preoccupations. In orthodox complaints, both from within and outside the church, it was sufficient to 'merely sigh' at the 'sad outcome' of abuses connected with clerical endowments, worldliness and politicization; but in the Wycliffite context, as Netter clearly perceived, the criticism was overtly heretical, for it involved a reassessment of the legal and sacramental position of the church and its ministers. 25 Compromises with the ideal, whether by the papal


acceptance of the Donation of Constantine, by the endowments of the
possessionate orders, or by the begging of the friars: all brought
the clergy into disrepute and invalidated their claims to spiritual
authority.

The Wycliffite view of the corruption of the whole ecclesiastical
order, and the consequent denial of the validity of the church's
spiritual authority was more than a simple animus against the clergy
for its overt faults, such as dominated the criticism of Chaucer, Langland
and Gower. These, though variously savage, grief-stricken, satirical or
mocking in their exposure, never went so far as to charge the clergy with
loss of spiritual authority as a consequence of their lamentable ways, nor
to reject the institutional church as the legitimate mediator between
God and man, nor even to damage its status as a temporal power. The
Wycliffite attack, on the other hand, sought to deny the sacramental
validity of the contemporary institutional church. In this attack the
Lollards were committed to the view that reform of the church must include
complete revocation of its temporal power.

The Lollard concern for church reform was genuine. Nevertheless,
we cannot rule out an underlying purpose in their criticism. By the
law of the land, the church could only apprehend heretics and imprison
them with the consent of the lay power. In view of this, the Lollard
position in relation to the law of the church made it imperative to
forestall cooperation between the church and the lay power, and to win
the support and protection of the lay power against the dogmatic
revenge of the church. Wyclif had provided an argument for the inter-
vention of the secular authority in ecclesiastical affairs, and the
Lollards appreciated its pertinence in their own struggle with the
church. They invoked anticlerical arguments to persuade the secular

26. Richardson, 'Heresy and the Lay Power', 5-7; F.D.Logan, Excommu-
lords of the severity of the threat, the probity of the Lollard cause, and the wisdom of official lay intervention. It may be necessary to look no further than this self-interest to find the reason for the persistence of the anticlerical theme in Lollard literature, especially in contexts that include explicit appeals to the lay power as to their responsibility towards reform of the church. Because the clergy 'schuld torne agayne to be first state of pouerte & meke liuynge', it is the king's duty to 'take awaie her worldliche godes fro hem & giue hem to oper gode men, pat wold serue God & holichirche perwip' (D/233ff). This measure would prevent the spoliation of the realm by the church and at the same time make it possible for 'gode men', that is, Lollards, to truly serve the church and the realm. Again and again this anticlerical theme is also used to solicit protection against persecution and the manifestly evil clergy, depicted as pursuing 'to dep wip fire or wip oper peyne' those who criticize their excesses (C/274-5; cf. T2/155-60).

In addition to these derivative and defensive aspects of Wycliffite anticlericalism, the theme was also an expression of contemporary lay consciousness. The concern was for the individual, with new emphasis on personal religion in place of institutional domination. The dialogues express this mood, by their sense of the failure of the whole clerical institution in its pastoral vocation. They commend instead the virtues of private devotion. For instance the Pater Noster alone is preferred to the whole Sarum rite (T2/191-200; C/1027ff.); personal repentance is recommended instead of institutionalized confession with all its abuses (D/112-28), and the private works of mercy rather than overt displays of clerical piety (T1/363-73).

Furthermore, lay literacy fostered the development of personal piety and the gradual rejection
of sacerdotalism, imposing considerable pressure on the institutional church and its doctrinal, social and economic monopoly. But where Wycliffism was both novel and ultimately revolutionary was that it took this trend further, to make the individual responsible for his own moral standing and salvation, irrespective of the church's judgement, and it used the anticlerical thesis to enhance this derogation of the authority of the church. The spread of lay piety was encouraged and used by the Lollards, and Lollard apologists even tailored their arguments to exploit this sentiment by exaggerating the anticlerical theme.  

Two strands of anticlericalism form the centre of focus in the dialogues, antipapalism and antimendicancy.

(a) Antipapalism

Each of the dialogues repudiates the papacy for its false claims to primacy. These involve the office in temporal and political affairs. It has been claimed that Wycliffite antipapalism belonged within the ambience of the monarchic nationalism and political and moral antipapalism of Marsilius of Padua, John of Paris and William of Ockham. Wyclif's manifesto, 'dominium regni nostri non est subiectum imperio, et per consequens non parti imperii decise ad romanum pontificem', echoed by the Lollard knight, that 'Yngland was neuer soget to be emperoure', asserted English national sovereignty in a context that repudiated the papacy as an institution, in theory and in practice, in

27. M.Aston, 'Huizinga's Harvest: England and The Waning of the Middle Ages', Medievalia et Humanistica, n.s. 9 (1979), pp.12-17; on the pertinence of this development to the Lollard movement, see McFarlane, Lancastrian Kings, pp.225ff.

its political, moral and spiritual roles. 29

There is evidence, however, that there was a broader base for English antipapalism than its heterodox manifestation in Wycliffism. There was, for example, historical precedent in the secular antipapalism that had surfaced in England even as early as during the reign of William I. William had been anxious 'to erect a barrier between the island and the continent, and thus to control the interchange both of ideas and of persons between the English Church and the Roman curia ... there was no hesitation on William's part in rejecting whatever aspects of papal policy were subsequently unwelcome to him. 30

Antipapalism continued to emerge in English policy as kings sought to preserve the principle of lay investiture against papal theories of plenitude of power, and though resistance was successfully quashed for a time by Innocent III, aspects of the old controversies were raised subsequently. 31 For example the statutes of Provisors and Praemunire issued by Edward III registered grievances that had long before been aired, whenever the incidence of papal provisions in England had been questioned. This secular trend continued to be expressed in parliamentary petitions against papal influence in English affairs throughout the reigns of Edward III and Richard II.

So too, tensions created by the Schism of 1378 gave rise to another form of antipapalism. This was expressed within a conciliarist policy, but it also offered an opportunity for antipapal exponents to exploit the nationalism that was appropriate to a country at war with

the nation whose allegiance was given to the schismatic pope. These objections are conflated in the complaint that 'bergynge out of money oute of þe rewme to plees to bigge bunfices to meden enemyes of þe realme myche feblip þe rewme' (Tl/259-61).

It is very likely that Lollard antipapalism was strongly motivated by self-interest, for the papacy constituted a forceful opposition to the existence of a movement such as Lollardy, promoting the pursuit of all heretics. A fifteenth-century proverbial tag illustrates the danger of the papacy for the Lollard movement (and of Lollards for the papacy):

Beghardi, questores, Wiclifiste, flagellatores.  
Hec quatuor generae faciunt in populo fasma.

Cooperation between the crown and the papacy implied the threat that the lay power would ultimately allow the use of the inquisition against the movement. At the very least the Lollards had reason to fear that the lay power, prompted by the papacy, would act against the movement. By this means it could demonstrate its own orthodoxy and so reduce the opportunity for legitimate papal intervention in English affairs. When, for any reason, lay authority was weak or compromised, then the risk of cooperation with the papacy was the greater. This

32. On the conciliarist policies advocated by the university and the ambiguity created by these, see M. Harvey, 'The Letters of the University of Oxford on Withdrawal of Obedience from Pope Boniface IX', Studies in Church History, 12 (1975), 187-98.


34. The papacy made several requests to the lay power for assistance against Wycliffism, as in 1377 (see Walsingham, Historia Anglicana, I, 352-3) and in 1396 (see the Annales Ricardi Secundi in J. Trokelowe and H. de Blaneforde, Chronica et Annales, ed. H. T. Riley, Rolls Series 28 (London, 1866), p. 187); for the stages by which the lay power gradually acceded to ecclesiastical demands, see Richardson, 'Heresy and the Lay Power', 7ff.
situation pertained at the end of Richard II's reign, when Richard
effected compromises and entente with the Roman pope. So too, at the
beginning of Henry IV's reign, the usurping Lancastrian owed the
success of his coup in some measure to the cooperation of the church,
which he rewarded by giving his vital agreement to the church's demand
for the death penalty against heretics. The Lollard purpose, faced
with this dilemma, must have been to persuade the lay power that it
was necessary to resist a corrupt papacy that was threatening the
political, economic and religious integrity of the realm.

(b) Antimendicancy

Wyclif had once been sympathetic to the preaching aims of the
friars and to the point of view of the Spiritual Franciscans on the
doctrine of poverty. The friars too were attracted by Wyclif's
teaching on apostolic poverty and by his criticism of the possessenate
orders. His teaching on dominion also coincided in some respects with
fraternal views, though there was a long-standing disparity between
Wyclif and some friars on the intellectual question of universals. Certainly after the publication of the De eucharistia in 1379 Wyclif's
liaison with the friars was irrevocably broken, and thenceforth his
'drab railings' against the mendicant orders grew increasingly vit-
riolic, perhaps prompted in part by the historic rivalry between the
mendicants and the secular clergy, and perhaps by the mounting success
of the friars in the schools, the popular pulpit, and in the estab-

35. On the connection between Henry's usurpation and his acceding
to the statute De heretico comburendo, see Mudroch, The Wyclif
Tradition, p.3 and note 13.

36. Workman, John Wyclif, I, 136-42; II, 120-9; A. Gwynn, The
English Austin Friars in the Time of Wyclif (Oxford, 1940),
pp.211-69; Robson, Wyclif and the Oxford Schools, passim.
lished church and government. In any case, his attack on mendicancy was part of his broader criticism that the religious orders were more involved with worldly pursuits than they were with the apostolic ideal. Finally, the friars' contribution to Wyclif's condemnation at the Blackfriar's Council of 1382 can have left no doubt in the mind of Wyclif and his followers as to the hostility of the friars. 37

Lollard antimendicancy inherited Wyclif's criticism of the orders and drew on the traditions of orthodox antimendicant complaint. However, in view of the increasing participation of the friars in the affairs of church and state, especially in the assault on Lollardy after 1382, it is likely that Lollard criticism acquired a new urgency and focus when the movement was harried by both authorities. From the friars' ranks were drawn officials with significant ecclesiastical, political, academic and popular influence who contributed to the anti-Lollard programme of the church; all these added their weight to the confutation of the Lollards. 38 Lollard antifraternal tracts such as the two dialogues on this theme, T1 and C, implicitly belong to this context. They counter fraternal accusations and explicate the

37. The list of those present at the council which condemned Wyclif in 1382 included seventeen doctors of theology, all but one of them friars, and all highly ranked or friars who attained high office in the church and/or state; see Knowles, The Religious Orders, II, 71-2; Workman, John Wyclif, II, 247-9, 260-3.

38. Among the friar-bishops were John Gilbert of Hereford, also Treasurer of the Exchequer 1389-91 and Robert Waldeby who became Archbishop of York; both were notable opponents of Wycliffism. Tracts against Wyclif are still extant from Kenningham, Palmer, Dymmok and Netter, all of whom became priors and/or provincials in their orders; or from the Oxford masters and preachers Butler, Maidstone and Woodford; see the note to D/260-6 for the names of friar-confessors who opposed Wycliffism, and for further details, Knowles, The Religious Orders, II, 67-73, 144-56, 370-5; Pantin, The English Church, pp.119-21.
Wycliffite position, at the same time as they woo political influence, warning that the friars were a danger to the secular state: 'strange beggeris more distroyen pe rewme þan bereres of þe money oute of þe rewme' (T1/265-6); 'lordes schuld distroie þes traitours, bope for loue of God & loue of þer suggetis. If we taken hede to rauishing of temporal goodis þat þei taken of tenautes wiþouþen autorite, it comep to many þousand pounde in þe reme of Englond' (C/1076-9).

Whatever the underlying purpose of the ubiquitous antimendicancy in Lollard writings, the tracts all manifest a similar design. Painstakingly they map out the abuses of the friars. But unlike orthodox critics of the mendicant orders, there was in the Wycliffite context a clear tendency to be more concerned with the spiritual ramifications of fraternal abuse than with the moral corruption of the friars; 'þipen þei medelen ypocricye & deseyuyng of þer soule, it is opon þat þis þeȝte is werst of al ðoper' (C/1080-1). Lechery, sodomy, bestiality and unchastity are surpassed in evil by the fraternal sins of hypocrisy, pride and deceit: 'þe most perel of hooly chirche standep in false freres ... a fals frere þat wendeþ ouȝt of þe cloyster of his soule is a dede caren cropon ouȝt of his sepulcur, w[1]appid in clobes of deel and ðoper fals signes, and dryuen ouȝt of þe deuel for to drecche men' (C/6-13). Such abuse is grieved over for its destruction of the spiritual validity of the whole visible church.

iii. The Theory of Dominion

The question of dominion or 'lordship', as this pertained to the clerical estate, is important in two of the dialogues, D and T2. The Lollard exposition of the thesis derived largely from Wyclif's own writings and especially from his application of the theory to ecclesiastical jurisdiction and its impact on the relationship between
the lay and clerical powers. Wyclif developed this thesis most fully in *De dominio divino*, *De civili dominio*, *De officio regis*, *Conclusiones triginta tres sive de paupertate Christi* and *De servitute civili et dominio seculari*, following the discussion of the topic in his early *Determinaciones*. In Wyclif's system the doctrine was a theological one, concerned with the possession of power and property. He argued that dominion, inhering essentially in God alone, belonged only by divine bestowal to those chosen by God; that is, to those in grace, elected to salvation and therefore in possession of original lordship. The application of this theory against the disgraced ecclesiastical estate was obvious and Wyclif did not fail to press it, concluding that the right to enjoy civil dominion had been forfeited by the clergy. Dominion was a *dona conditionalis*, and any breach of the conditions entailed revocation of the gift.

The consequences of the thesis of dominion were far-reaching for all those who claimed prerogative authority and lordship. Nor were these implications merely theoretical. Its radical and potentially subversive nature was recognized by Pope Gregory XI, whose condemnation of Wyclif's teaching specifically included items relating to the theory of dominion. Not least was the assertion ascribed to Wyclif that the lay ruler had the right to judge the clergy and deprive it of dominion. It was clearly appreciated then and


subsequently that Wyclif's thesis applied logically to the laity too, justifying rebellion against the lay ruler, and even his dispossess-

Archbishop Courtenay predicted that Wycliffism would unleash anarchy so that 'infra biennium destruerent totum regnum'. Another critic of Wycliffism, Roger Dyrnmok, went so far as to assert that any correction of the clergy which involved the disestablishment of its possessions amounted to insurrection against the king whose duty it was to protect the church and uphold its law. Moreover, such action against the church even brought about the king's disobedience to his coronation oath and violation of the laws of the realm and so forced the king into tyranny.

However, despite the implications for the secular power deduc-

41. For the papal bulls and condemned articles of 1377, see Wilkins, Concilia, III, 116-18, 123, articles 6, 7, 17-19; for the con-

demnation of 1382, Concilia, III, 157-8, articles 10, 16-18; for the articles condemned at the Council of Constance, see Fasciculus rerum, I, 284-5, articles 16-18.

42. See Fasciculi zizaniorum, p. 274; Dymmok, Liber, pp. 177-8.

43. Wilkins, Concilia, III, 162, item 17, 'quod populares possunt ad eorum arbitrium dominos delinguentes corrigerere'. Cf. Knighton, Chronicon, II, 174 and 'Articuli Johannis Wiclefi', condemned by the Council of Contance, Fasciculus rerum, I, 285. This right of the populares is specifically denied in many Wycliffite writings, e.g. 'Of servants and lords', Matthew, pp.227ff.
the clergy. In this system, the title of the ruler was theoretically protected. The problem of a delinquent lay power was not raised or answered.

The attraction of the thesis of dominion for Wyclif and his followers was rooted in ecclesiastical conditions superficially similar to those which had influenced Archbishop FitzRalph in the 1350s. His chief concern had been with the worldly ambitions of the mendicant orders and their challenge to the authority of the secular clergy and the papacy. FitzRalph had concluded that the friars had no right to authority and lordship without also possessing justifying grace. In Wyclif's hands the theory became a weapon against the whole ecclesiastical estate. But he also widened its application in a direction that was antipapal and nationalist, quite unlike FitzRalph's publicist theory. Whereas FitzRalph had argued that possession was a divine gift bestowed through the medium of the papacy, the earthly source of divine grace, Wyclif proposed a lay thesis of dominion, arguing in favour of a revival of the principles of theocratic kingship, regalian rights and national sovereignty. He considered that these principles, in themselves untendentious, were under clerical threat. By using them to justify lay intervention against the church and to repudiate its spiritual as well as its temporal authority Wycliffism seemed to be controversial if not downright revolutionary.

The purpose of the lay thesis in Wyclif's scheme was to provide for the implementation of ecclesiastical reform. He recognized that this could only be accomplished with the cooperation of the secular power. He argued first on the logical ground that it would take an external force to correct a clergy lacking the virtue of spiritual authority; and secondly, on the legal ground that the secular authority must be consulted in all cases of spiritual discipline such as
excommunication, citation to Rome and imprisonment. By taking pains
to include the lay power in their scheme, the Wycliffites showed an
awareness of the political reality also appreciated by the ecclesiastical
power: just as convocation could only apprehend heretics with
the consent of the king, so ecclesiastical reform could only be
achieved with lay cooperation.

Arguing that Christ had established a precedent for the obedience
of the subject to the temporal ruler, Wyclif asserted that the king
was therefore subject only to the law and not to the clergy, including
even the pope. Thus the king enjoyed full sovereign rights over the
temporalities of the realm, 'jeuene to him be God himselle' (D/170)
and unimpeded by the church's claims. Even his right to dispose of the
divinely bestowed gift of dominion was denied. Moreover, Wyclif con-
tended, because the king was distinguished by the grant of potestas
coactiva, introduced for the punishment of sin, it was the duty of
kings 'to destroy vices and establish virtues in themselves and others'
according to the biblical ideal and by extension of their position as
vicars of God.

In order to carry out this function, the king was bound to reposs-
ess the property of temporal government. He must also resist all
ecclesiastical privileges that derogated from royal power, such as those
which pertained to the inalienability of ecclesiastical property, to
mortmain and to sanctuary, to alien benefices and to taxation. This
thesis was for a time seen to answer to the needs of the lay lords in
the 1370s, in their struggle with the papacy and with convocation over
the issues of Peter's Pence and sanctuary. On both of these matters

44. De officio regis, pp.196/15-18, 28-197/18.
45. De potestate pape, p.10, cited by Kaminsky, 'Wyclifism as Ideology
of Revolution', 64. For Wyclif's views on kingship see the analysis
by H. Fürstenau, Johann von Wiclifs Lehren von der Einteilung der
Kirche und von der Stellung der weltlichen Gewalt (Berlin, 1900),
the crown had required Wyclif to give theoretical support for the secular case against ecclesiastical privilege.\textsuperscript{46} It is significant that Wyclif's ideas on the balance between royal and papal power were thought to apply to the situation, suggesting that his theory was initially understood as conservative, untendentious and practical for the secular power. Certainly his participation on behalf of the government won him a measure of lay protection (though not doctrinal support) in his conflict with the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

Because of this protection formerly enjoyed by Wyclif, the Lollards may have been encouraged to seek comparable support. The conditions of the 1370s, when Wyclif had contributed to the debates on papal influence in the context of the statutes of Provisors and Praemunire, were once again evident in the 1390s. Still 'pe fend and his vykers' were maintaining

\begin{quote}
\textit{symonye of prelatis and curatis, & wastynge of pore mennes [l]yflode in pride of worldly clerkis, & lesyng of tresour of oure rewme, bi sending oute of \textit{pe first fruytis to oure enemys for symonye of benefices, and falce oppressyng of pore men ... a\textit{3enes} belyng and alle his wele willynge. (Trinity College Dublin MS.244, ff.187-187v)}
\end{quote}

Once again the earlier arguments became appropriate. This may have encouraged the Lollards to focus on the same issues as a means of reviving the old support and wooing new.

Not only was it reasonable for the Lollards to look for royalist antipapal sympathy among the lords of the realm, but a logical theory of disendowment might have been supposed to win support among lay lords ambitious for their own fortunes. This would be especially likely at a time when measures of expediency, such as the appropriation of alien priories, were being effected by the crown. Indeed, there is

\textsuperscript{46} On Wyclif's advocacy in cases concerning tribute (1374) and sanctuary (1378), see Workman, \textit{John Wyclif}, I, 209-56, 313-24.
evidence that Lollard knights did benefit from these measures.\(^{47}\) Thus it may not be unduly cynical to interpret the reiteration of the doctrine of dominion in Lollard polemic as a deliberate appeal to men with vested interests, both in and out of parliament. These men, aware of the feeling against the clergy generated by the war with France, would likely be sympathetic to a thesis advocating lay coercion of the clergy, disendowment of the church and limitation of papal interference in the English church.

Lollard advocates and writers made extensive use of the doctrine of dominion in a variety of contexts. It was adduced in the pleas of Lollards such as Swinderby and Brut for lay protection, in the indirect appeals of numerous Lollard 'conclusions' and doctrinal tracts, in the direct appeal to '\textit{be lordis and \textit{be comunys of\textit{be parlement}}}' in 1395 and, later, in the notorious 'bill for disendowment'.\(^{48}\) Though all these were ultimately unsuccessful, they nevertheless show that the Lollards approved and endorsed the doctrine and appreciated it as a persuasive tool in their struggle for ecclesiastical reform. Interestingly, there is also evidence that the ecclesiastical hierarchy feared that the appeal might succeed. Roger Dymmok's refutation of the manifesto of 1395 warned that the appeal was both calumnious and subversive, reflecting on the honour of the Lords Temporal, and at the same time likely to incite sedition against the king and the church.\(^{49}\)


48. For the appeals of Swinderby and Brut, see the \textit{Registrum Johannis Trefnant episcopi Herefordinis}, ed. W.W.Capes (London, 1916), pp.231-78, 278-365 respectively; the 'Twelve Conclusions' and the 'Bill for disendowment' are printed in \textit{Selections}, pp.24-9, 135-7; cf. also the 'petition' in Arnold, III, 508-23.

49. \textit{Liber}, pp.27-8; cf. also p.177.
The two dialogues explicit on this topic, D and T2, argue an appeal to the lay power to bring about reform of the church. They plead that the king must 'redress holichirch' and 'defend it fro anticrist disciples'; that he is 'bounden be Goddes lawe' to give 'strait reknynge how he hap kept & defendid Cristis chirche pat he hap take in his bonde to defende & kepe' (D/242-6). The dialoguist is unequivocal: unless the king prevents clerical encroachment on temporal affairs, which is 'forboden to all clerkes', 'treasoune of þe clergie' will 'distroye holli his regalte ... & þan were he no kinge, bot as kinge in a somer game' (D/410-28). Dialogue T2, dependent on Wyclif's Dialogus, is equally uncompromising. It denies the right of temporal dominion to the clergy and asserts that only temporal lords enjoy 'lordschip of þis world'. This privilege obliges and enables them to rule according to divine law, but gives them no leave 'to passe þe bondis of myn heestis' (T2/15-18, 64-9).

The Wycliffites invoked the doctrine of dominion to woo the support of the courtly and knightly classes and of town burgers. Initially it succeeded. But the Lollard position was contradictory. For example, the radical theses of anticlericalism and dominion went beyond the bounds of orthodoxy, even bordering on treason, and thereby alienated support. In this respect, the movement ignored a clear trend in contemporary English politics, especially significant during the Hundred Years' War: that the king, because he needed the cooperation of the clergy for the provision of revenue, was bound to comply with clerical demands against heresy. Disendowment alone could not satisfy the king's fiscal needs and he therefore could not afford to alienate the clergy.

Ultimately, the cooperation that developed between the clerical and lay powers against Wycliffism suggests that the movement did not
articulate an unambiguous case in favour of obedience to the temporal authority. It thereby failed to resolve the paradoxical threat to the temporal power inherent in Wyclif's doctrine of dominion by grace and was judged not only upon its theological heresy but upon these political considerations. By refusing to submit to ecclesiastical authority themselves, and by subjecting that authority to the judgement of the laity, the Lollards were implicitly threatening the realm with political as well as spiritual anarchy.

iv. The Doctrine of the Three Estates

In the dialogues the thesis of dominion is frequently accompanied by some exposition of the doctrine of the three estates of the realm, that is, of the estates of lords, clergy and commons. It is a recurring motif expressing the practical implications of the doctrine of dominion and invoked to support the principles of lay rule and of ecclesiastical reform.

The doctrine of the estates depended upon a conventional and static division of society grounded upon natural law and common political experience. It involved the principle of decorum as a means for ordering the classes of society and for establishing the duties and responsibilities appropriate to each class. In this respect it was reminiscent of the conservative Alfredian formula, that there must

50. In the dialogues the fullest treatment is found at T2/14ff., but the motif is invoked or implicit elsewhere, as at D/201-9, C/730-2, 1035-88. On the three estates and the literature of the estates, see R.Mohl, The Three Estates in Medieval and Renaissance Literature (New York, 1933); J.Mann, Chaucer and Medieval Estates Satire (Cambridge, 1973); Robbins, 'Dissent in Middle English Literature', 28-34. For some discussion of the theme in Wyclif's system, see Fürstenau, Wyclifs Lehren, pp.20-34; Kaminsky, 'Wyclifism and the Ideology of Revolution', 61-2; J.Gilchrist, 'The Social Doctrine of John Wyclif', Historical Papers, Canadian Historical Association (1969), 157-65.
be 'gebedmen ond fyrdmen ond weorcmen' in the realm. 51 Wherever the
due functions of the estates were neglected or infringed, then the
principle of decorum was denied and reform of the estates was
necessary:

And I wil þat no part of my spouse be contrariouse to anþpur,
ne lett a nopur to serue me ne take no þinge proprid to a-
þnopur, for as higest acorde is in þe Trinyte, so I will þat
þer be in þis churche. (T2/79-82)

Wyclif used the three-fold division to define the church, trans-
ferring the doctrine from its usual political, social and secular
context to a theological one. There it provided an idiosyncratic
means for reinforcing the heterodox doctrine of dominion and for
promoting the reform of the clerical estate by the secular power. It
thus became an inflammatory weapon against the clergy. First, it
demonstrated that the clergy was acting outside the divine prescrip-
tion for its estate by receiving endowments, trading in spiritualities
and participating in temporal government. The clerical estate was in
a graceless state and ought therefore to forfeit its enjoyment of
dominion or authority. Second, Wyclif used the doctrine to justify
the jurisdiction of one estate over another, even over the affairs
exclusive to that estate, in apparent defiance of the principle of
decorum. For instance, he asserted that it lay within the competence
of the temporal lords, by virtue of possession of the potestas coactiva,
to discipline and correct the clergy and to assume dominion over the
clerical estate. He argued that this was part of their duty to the
realm under the convention of the estates.

51. See e.g. T2/15-45 and De officio regis, pp.58/32-59/19. For the
Alfredian proposition, see the interpolation in the OE trans-
lation of Boethius's De consolatione philosophiae (printed in
p.16).
The structure found in the Wycliffite description of the estates was also unusual and ultimately heterodox. The estate of the Lords Temporal included not only the king, lords, dukes, barons and counts, but also the knights; that is, all men with the right to own property and to bear arms, and whose distinctive feature was the possession of the *potestas coactiva*. The commons in this scheme were defined as those who enjoyed no political rights, who lived by their labour and who were neither clerical nor lords. As a group they were altogether different from the Commons of parliament, which consisted of the knights of the shires. Probably the chief significance of these changes lay in the accompanying attribution of executive power to a wider group which included laymen of Wycliffite persuasion, thereby enhancing the status of those sympathetic to the movement. It also served another propagandist purpose, to augment the relative weight of the laity over the clergy. Whereas in the old two-fold division the clergy had had a supremacy over the large undifferentiated mass of the laity, in the tripartite division, the laity had a decisive advantage in the realm. 52 This ideal of the balance of the estates is put forward by the Wycliffite spokesmen in the dialogue to support the thesis of dominion:

\[
\text{\textit{pe kinge \& his counsel \& pe lorde & pe comone pepil also hold ri3t miche of pe popes power... \& pat was whiles pai v3id wele \& trewliche her powere, \& did her offices to Godward \& to pe pupel in spiritualte, \& ne mellid no3t wip be world. \& pat tyme pe kinge \& pe lorde vsed her power in temperalte as God had ordayned, wibouten lettinge of pe clergie. And po was pe kinge \& pe lorde & pe comone pepil in prosperite, for eueri man held him payed wip his state. \& po pai did to holi chirch all pai a3t to done, and pe clergi held hem paied wip her state \& diden to pe pepel pat pai a3t to done. (D/197-209)}
\]

52. This analysis has been adumbrated by Fürstenau, *Wiclifs Lehren*, pp.33-4.
It is significant that in the present context the orthodox cleavage between the lay and clerical estates is retained. Logically, the amalgamation of the two estates was one of the implications of Wyclif's doctrine of dominion by grace, and the distinction was frequently thrown over in favour of the idea of 'the priesthood of all believers' by those arraigned for heresy. However, retention of the conventional division, with its emphasis on the division of labour, also served a pragmatic purpose. It provided both an executive class to carry through the desired reform and a 'working class', the commons, 'wheche bi her bodily trauile sustenen bope lordis & clerkis' (T2/36-7).

There were paradoxical aspects to the Wycliffite use of the estates motif. On the one hand it was unmistakeably conservative and even anachronistic, for it implicitly preserved and enhanced the old social divisions. But it also apparently ignored new developments towards a levelling of the estates, such as were expressed in the contemporary rhyme, 'Whan Adam dalf, and Eue span,/ Wo was thanne a gentilman?'. It would be natural to anticipate that the estates motif would attract the usually conservative secular lords, and that it would gloss over the potentially seditious nature of the doctrine of dominion.

In the later years of the reign of Edward III and throughout Richard II's, when the safety of the realm was endangered by the inefficiency


and tyranny of the monarchy, the thesis was attractive as a doctrine of expediency. Revolt by barons, clergy and laborers during those turbulent years provided occasions when it could be invoked. In the Wycliffite context, the doctrine could be adapted to provide a model for preserving a society in which the Lords Temporal were the conservators of law and the Lords Spiritual, of the apostolic ideal.

At the same time, estates doctrine was potentially an instrument of sedition against the secular power. Its insistence on the proper fulfilment of divinely ordained duties applied logically to the secular estate as well as to the clergy and commons: tyranny and corruption were as alien to the estate of the Lords Temporal as subversion was to the commons and worldliness to the clergy. Therefore the lords were as much in need of coercive correction as the other estates. However, the dialogues do not invoke estates doctrine to promote populism or constitutionalism. Nor do they argue action against the lords. Nevertheless, its use at all implied a strong warning to that estate on the matter of right (and righteous) government, in that it emphasized that it was the duty of the lords to rule in conformity with divine law.

Certainly there is some criticism of the secular power. Its abdication of responsibility towards the realm and the church, its yielding of temporal dominion to the clergy, and its failure to correct clerical abuse - all are faulted and criticized:

I wold pat lordis knewe my lawe, pat prestis passe not her boundis pat I haue lymyt to her state .... And certis resoun at domesdaye wil not excuse pis negligens, noupur in prestis pat done pus folily ne in lordis pat suffren pis synne to regne. (T2/91-106)

The same sharp criticism of the Lords Temporal can be inferred in the denunciation of the friars:
And siche a wonder a3ene kynde schendep Cristes kirke.
& sipen pei ben þeues & robben comooun puple, & traiturus
to God ... it semep þat lordes schuld distroie þes
traitours, bope for loue of God & loue of þer suggetis.
(C/1073-77)

The Durham knight is likewise unequivocal:

zeef þe kinge were wele enfourmed, he schuld wele witt þat he
miȝt no more help holi chirc þan to wipstonde þe clergie
when þai take vpon hem worldliche doynges ... And also
resoune scheveþ openlich þat no lord schuld hald ne haue
no preste ne clerk þat had cure of mennes soules in no
worldlie[he] office.... More skilfulli were a worldlich
lord a fals seruaunte to God: þat had auausned prestes wip
Goddes tresore ... to wirche and trouaille in kepinge of
Goddes pepel out of þe deueles moupe, & þan toke sich one
fro Goddes seruyse & putte him in his own temperall
service. (D/227-9, 310-22)

The knight's meaning is pointedly clear as to the duty of the Lords
Temporal with respect to the clergy. But he lays the blame solely on
the clergy. They have neglected to instruct the lords concerning the
right use of power and their 'charge to Godward', as to how they are
'to kepe & to do wele her office' (D/247-66); they have
impeded the king's execution of his duty by their exercise of priv-
ileges such as mortmain and provisions, 'so ferforþ þat when þe kinge
had nede to be holpen of his popel of taxes & oper tallyages, þai
bene noȝt of miȝt to help þe kinge' (D/214-16). Ultimately the knight
taunts the clerk with his responsibility: 'þa þerfor whateuer
excusacions þat ze make in þis mater ze ne mow noȝt bene excusid, for
all sich seruys & mellinge wip worldlich nedes es forboden to all
prestes in diuers places in holi writ & in þe popes lawes' (D/322-5).

The peculiar Wycliffite use of estates doctrine, though ostensibly
promoting the authority of the secular power, had political as well as
theological overtones which the lay lords finally could not ignore.
On the one hand, the subjection of the clerical estate to lay judg-
ment was theologically heretical, as it infringed those canon laws
which guaranteed the immunity of the clergy from judgement by the
secular power. On the other hand, the arrogation of the laity's power to coerce the clerical estate could be construed as revolutionary and likely to lead on to justifying the violation of the law of the land. In sum, estates theory, though it had a decidedly conservative aspect, also implied the threat of disobedience towards the secular power, as it did the overthrow of ecclesiastical authority.

55. For the canons, see Decretum, II, C.11.1; Decretaales, II 2 (Friedberg, vol. 1, 627-42; vol.2, 248-55).
II.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

The manuscripts preserving the dialogues exemplify two means whereby Wycliffism was disseminated. One dialogue is extant in the form of a quaternion. This was an early and common form, possibly the first stage in the transmission of many texts; documentary evidence from the chronicles suggests how common it was. However, it was also necessarily ephemeral and the form has rarely been preserved. The other dialogues are extant in anthologies, Wycliffite compilations of doctrinal and polemical tracts which served both a didactic and a propaganda purpose as collections of Wycliffite doctrine. They probably represent a stage of transmission at least once removed from that of composition, as the present manuscripts do not constitute collections of booklets or quaternii.

The codices are instructive as to the literary methods of the Wycliffite movement, providing evidence that Lollards appreciated the written word as a repository of wisdom from which information could be retrieved. For example, in many Lollard manuscripts there is a consistency in the style of compilation and layout, in handwriting and methods of correction. Marginal numbers, capitulum signs, litterae notabiliores and paraph marks, the technical methods of ordinatio, are regularly provided, indicating successive propositions, definitions or phases in the argument. There are also frequent marginal citations of auctoritates quoted in the text or apposite at a certain point. Chapter headings and divisions, decoration, underlining and occasionally the provision of tabulated alphabetical indices were all aids to the reader, a form of rubrication by which the lemmata, auctoritates
and key words were displayed for quick recognition, an apparatus for reference and emphasis.¹ In the present codices, the methods of rubrication and manner of decoration, where such exist, follow a predictable pattern. For example, certain floriated styles of litterae notabiliores become familiar in a number of Lollard manuscripts.² Though the styles that recur in Lollard manuscripts are not unique to the corpus, nevertheless the use of a limited number may point to a conscious adoption of limited fixed forms, implying the possibility of a 'received style' of production. Similarly, there is among Lollard manuscripts an appreciable predominance of Textura or gothic book hands (or occasionally hands related to the formal Bastard Anglicana scripts), at a time when the less formal Anglicana and Secretary varieties were of greater importance than the already archaic gothic book hand.³ This characteristic indicates the operation of a conscious policy rather than choice dependent upon current fashion.

Perhaps the dominant use of Textura signalled a conservative choice


². For similarly floriated initials, see Trinity College Dublin MS.245; Cambridge University Library MS. Ff.6.31(3); Pembroke College Cambridge MS 237; Gonville and Caius College MS.354/581; Edinburgh University Library MS.93. For a different style common in another 'set' of MSS. see e.g. Trinity College Dublin MS.244 and Bodleian MS.647.

³. This point has been observed by M.Benskin and M.Laing, 'Translation and Mischsprachen in Middle English Manuscripts' in So many people, longages and tongues, p.90. In describing medieval hands I follow the terminology used by M.B.Parkes, English Cursive Book Hands 1250-1500 (Oxford, 1969, repr. 1979); on developments in Textura and Bastard Anglicana scripts, see pp.xiii,xviii.
that might have been accepted as a mark of the learned respectability commonly associated with texts employing more formal varieties of script. Further, many Lollard codices are carefully and consistently corrected, suggesting that there was a received standard of accuracy recognized among Lollard scribes, and that this phase of production was supervised. In addition, two of the manuscripts illustrate a common characteristic of Lollard books, the participation of several scribes and a mixing of hands and dialects that may point to their preparation in a scriptorium where manuscripts were able to be interchanged among scribes.

Durham University Library Manuscript Cosin V.iii.6

This manuscript consists of a medieval quire of eight parchment leaves, now interleaved and surrounded by paper leaves, the whole bound in parchment. Crashawe, a former owner of the quaternion, was responsible for its present appearance in a compilation which consists of a seventeenth-century paraphrase of the medieval text, together with a title-page and dedicatory epistle. The latter is signed by Crashawe who offered the volume to James I as an exemplary statement of 'testimonyes against y^e pope & poperys' (f.2). The codex contains the only known copy of the dialogue and survives as a unique example of the quaternion, a type of document known to have been used by the Lollards for the propagation of their doctrine and regularly cited for examination in episcopal registers.

4. E.g. see the use of Textura to set apart the most authoritative portions, the lemmata or the headings of a text in Parkes, English Cursive Book Hands, Plates 19 (i) and (ii), 20 (i) and 22 (i).

5. Hudson, 'A Lollard Quaternion', 441.
The dialogue occupies seven of the eight parchment leaves, the last being blank. The photographic copy indicates that the parchment is of coarse quality, badly rubbed in places and damaged on most edges, though not so as to cause loss of text except for some marginal annotations. The parchment leaves measure approximately 264mm x 164mm, with a writing area of 212mm x 119mm, and with 40 lines per folio. No pricking is evident on the photographs, but a left-hand vertical ruling and some horizontal rulings can be detected. There is no decoration in the manuscript, the three-line space left for the rubricator to supply the first initial remaining blank.

The medieval hand is an example of a small, neat gothic book hand, a utilitarian version of the calligraphic Textura script, with typical emphasis on vertical strokes, gothic forms of the 'd', short-'r' and 's' and the two-lobed 'a', and with many ligatures. This script passed into the more elaborate Bastard Anglicana script, but here it is without the calligraphic elaborations of that script, except for a moderate amount of horning on 'l', 'g', 'b' and 'h'. It is an evenly spaced hand in which 't' and 'c' are clearly differentiated, as are 'p' and 'y', the latter having a dot above it; 'u' and 'n' are generally

6. I am indebted to Dr A.I. Doyle, Keeper of Rare Books at Durham University Library, who clarified the quiring as follows: ii free paper fly leaves; A4 paper; B18 (leaves 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18 paper; 2, 4, 6, 8, 11, 13, 15, 17 parchment); ii free fly leaves conjoint, with the same water marks and vertical chain lines as the first fly leaves and the paper leaves of the first quire. The chain lines of the paper leaves of the main quire are horizontal. The foliation used in the present edition takes account of the paper leaves, including all blanks (ff.4r and v, 5r, 13v, 14r, 20v, 21r, 22r).

7. The hand can be compared with that of a Wycliffite bible, illustrated by W.W. Skeat, Twelve Facsimiles of Old English Manuscripts (Oxford, 1892), Plate VIII; cf also Parkes, English Cursive Book Hands, Plate 16(ii), a university hand of the mid-fourteenth century; and C.E. Wright, English Vernacular Hands from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Centuries (Oxford, 1960), Plates 10, 11 and 20, fourteenth and fifteenth-century versions of Textura script.
distinguished by joined foot and head strokes respectively. There is pronounced biting of 'd' and 'e' and the upward stroke of the 'o' is sometimes continued to form a horn and bring about confusion with 'd'.

The text is not heavily abbreviated. Standard marks include the Tironian nota for et, crossed with a superscript bar; a superscript bar above a vowel signifies omitted 'm' or 'n'; '-ra-' is contracted by a superscript 'u'; '-ur-' by 'a' and '-er-' by 'o' (or after 'p' it signifies '-re'). Other signs are 'p' for 'par-' or 'per-'; 'f' for 'pro-'; and 'f' for 'ser(-)' or 'sir(-)'. Spuvalte is a standard abbreviation for 'spiritualte', adapted from a late Latin form. Crossed double-''l' has been treated as otiose and not expanded, on the basis of the scribe's usual practice in expanded forms.

The scribe always provides capitalization at the beginning of each new speech and occasionally elsewhere, though not for proper names. The first person singular pronoun is given by both upper-case and lower-case forms. Punctuation is limited to the punctus, a raised point (once with a horizontal stroke below). When followed by capitalization, this serves as a modern full stop, or otherwise as a comma.

In any event it has the value of a mark of rhetorical pause besides a probable though variable syntactical purpose. The scribe also used the punctus idiosyncratically to separate clauses. New speakers are signalled by marginal capitulum signs and the end of a speech by paraph marks.

Taking into account the factor of conscious archaism in the use of Textura script in Lollard manuscripts, the palaeographic evidence suggests that the manuscript dates from about 1400. This date fits with the internal evidence which will be discussed later.

8. This date has been proposed by Dr Doyle; see Hudson, 'A Lollard Quaternion', 435-6.
This is an anthology of mainly Lollard pieces, a number of which are extant in one or more other compilations with Lollard affiliations, notably Bodley MSS. 647, 788, 789, 938; Douce MSS.273 and 274; Lambeth MS.408; British Library Harleian MSS.1203, 2398, 2385; Additional MSS. 40672, 17013; Royal MS.18.B.ix; York Minster MS.XVI. L.12; John Rylands MS.85; Cambridge University Library MSS.Nn.4.12, Dd.12.39; St John's College Cambridge MS.G.25; New College Oxford MS.95; Leicester Wyggeston Hospital MS.10.D.34/6; Harvard University MS.Eng.738. At the end of the present Dublin MS. there are however, several tracts (with the notable exception of item 25) which are probably not Wycliffite, being pieces of pious but untendentious exegesis and moral theology.

The manuscript was part of the collection of Archbishop Ussher and was presented along with its companion pieces MSS 244 and 246 to Trinity College Dublin by Charles II. It bears no certain marks of ownership apart from a signature, 'Thomas Chamber' which appears upside down at the foot of folio 211v. The volume was used by J.H.Todd for his editions, and more recently by A.J.Butrym, H.E.Winn and Dr A.Hudson, but neither Arnold nor Matthew used the manuscript as a base text, preferring instead the Bodleian, Lambeth and Douce manuscripts.

The parchment volume measures c. 165mm x 115mm with a written area of c. 130mm x 80mm, and 32 lines per folio. The codex, rebacked in 1947 and now with a very tight binding, consists of 218 leaves numbered

in a later hand and recently corrected. Pricking and ruling in ink are clearly evident, the writing area of each folio being enclosed in a ruled frame in addition to there being ruled horizontal lines. The tight binding has made gatherings difficult to verify. Though signatures have not survived, except in the second gathering, catchwords suggest that the manuscript comprises regular gatherings of eight.

The contents of the manuscript are as follows (the titles are editorial):

1. On the apostles' creed.
2. On the Pater Noster.
3. On the Ave Maria.
4. The seven heresies [against the Pater Noster].
5. On the ten commandments.
6. Of faith, hope and charity.
7. On the seven works of bodily mercy.
8. On the seven works of spiritual mercy.
10. The church and her members.
11. On the seven works of spiritual mercy.
12. Tractatus de pseudo-freris (unique copy).
13. Vae octuplex.
15. Of antichrist and his meyne (unique copy).
17. Of prayer.

10. The irregular foliation is as follows: folios 7 and 8 are blank and folio 133 has been misnumbered 134; after f.138 the foliation has been corrected in pencil; the corrected foliation is followed in the present edition.

11 I am indebted to Dr G.R.Rastall who supplied data on catchwords, quiring and signatures, and some manuscript readings where these were lost in the tight binding. Dr A.Hudson has kindly confirmed the collation which is as follows:

iii paper flyleaves (the first conjugate with the pastedown);
1 - 8g (with signatures aj, aij, aiiij on the second quire);
910, 11g - 27g; iii paper flyleaves (the last conjugate with the pastedown).

Catchwords appear regularly at the end of every quire (except quires 1 and 21); catchwords on the last leaf confirm that the end of the manuscript is defective.

For a full list of the contents with incipits, variant versions and printed editions, see Appendix.


22. Saint Bernard's letter to Pope Eugenius.

23. A dialogue between Reson and Gabbyng (unique copy).

24. The seven gifts of the Holy Ghost.

25. The five inner and five outer wits.


27. Jacob's ladder.

28. The nine points.

29. The deeds of mercy (ends imperfectly with a catchword on folio 218v.).

From the evidence of the photocopy, the manuscript appears to have been written throughout in the same hand. Todd described it as 'the usual secretary hand of the fourteenth or fifteenth century' but it is more accurately described as a small, even and upright Anglicana Formata hand, showing some influence of the smaller Textura script in the dominant roundness of its graphs and in the treatment of the minims, where there is no trace of the splay characteristic of the duct of a Secretary hand. Beside the Anglicana graphs 'a' and 'g' however, there are looped ascenders, 'f', long-'s' and 'r' with elongated tapered descenders, and a slight tendency to adopt broken strokes. These features point to some Secretary influence and may indicate a date between the late fourteenth century and the end of the first quarter of the fifteenth century, though features of this hand, found in samples of widely differing dates, include characteristics...

12. The remainder of the codex, apart from item 26, is undifferentiated in the Catalogue of Manuscripts except as 'Postills and mediations' and has not been recorded in the bibliography of Wycliffite writings by Talbert and Thomson.

13. The Catalogue of Manuscripts claims that this piece is 'not Wyclif's'.
of the older Textura script.\footnote{Comparable, though larger hands are illustrated in Parkes, English Cursive Book Hands, Plates 2 (i, text section), 5(i) and 19(i) the commentary section; see also Wright, English Vernacular Hands, Plates 16 and 23; and Skeat, Twelve Facsimiles, Plate IX.}

The script, though cramped and with long ascenders and descenders and a variety of flourishes, does not present any major ambiguities. There is usually a faint oblique stroke over the letters 'y' and 'i', while the minims 'u' and 'n' can be distinguished by their foot and head strokes respectively. The scribe's yogh, indicating velar 'g', looks like the abbreviation sign for 'con-', 'f', and the head stroke of 'f' is regularly elongated to form a bar, usually otiose, as a cursive link with a subsequent ascender or superior letter, though occasionally acting as a mark of contraction. The ligatures long-'sc' and long-'st' are difficult to differentiate and some pendant hair lines can be mistaken for the virgula, a mark of punctuation.

Capitalization is found generally at the beginning of each new speech and for the personal pronoun 'I'. Proper names are never capitalized. Marks of punctuation are the punctus elevatus which separates principal from subordinate clauses or joins conjunctive clauses and often functions as a comma; the single slash, virgula, preceded by a raised point indicates a modern full stop and a double virgula, the end of a paragraph.

The scribe has employed standard abbreviations, including the crossed Tironian sign for et; 'and' is also used, or at the beginning of a new speech. Marks of contraction are the bar above a vowel to indicate the omission of 'm' or 'n', or above these letters to denote doubling. A bar extending above several letters indicates more radical curtailment, such as 'isrl', 'Israel;
'antirist', 'anticrist'; 'ihu', 'Ihesu', 'Criouse' for 'contrariouse'. Superscript signs of contraction are 'v-' or 'r-' for '-er', or after 'p', to signify '-re'; 'm' for '-ur'; 'm' for omitted '-ra-'; 'l' for omitted '-ri-'; and the unusual sign 'r' for omitted '-ec-'/'-ac-'/'-c-'. Other common marks of contraction are 'v' 'con-'; 'p' for 'per-'/'-par-'; 'p' for 'pro-'; 'ser-'; 'u' for '-us'; 'u' for '-es'/'-is' and 'u' for '-e'. Contracted forms such as 'b', 'wh', 'b' and 'p' are also very common.

Several of the major tracts in the codex have been supplied with titles and floriation and most have a decorated initial in red and blue at the beginning of each new chapter in the tract, giving the appearance of a carefully compiled manuscript. The present dialogue, however, is without title, though it is clearly separated from the preceding piece by a two-line space, perhaps left for the rubricator to supply the title. It has a red and blue initial letter, and in the course of the dialogue spaces have been left for the rubricator to supply the names of the disputants. The scribe indicated the names by lower-case 'r' and 'l', though none has been completed by the rubricator. The piece following the dialogue begins without a break and without title or decoration.

The contents of the manuscript offer cumulative evidence for the connection of the whole codex with the Wycliffite movement, notwithstanding the presence of orthodox material. The fact that numbers 13 and 14 are regularly associated with the standard sermon-cycle provides a rough terminus post quem for the date of the codex as a whole. Number 16 is associated with a longer work, possibly a

15. See here Dr Hudson's arguments for dating of the sermon-cycle before 1400, 'A Lollard Sermon-Cycle', 141ff.; 'Contributions to a Bibliography', 448.
response to official condemnation voiced in 1388, and on internal
evidence probably written before the death of Urban VI in 1389.16
The inclusion of the comprehensive tract on Lollard beliefs, number
26, points to compilation in a period when Lollard thought was
already well formulated and when the preparation of a wide-ranging
commonplace book of Lollard doctrine, including material such as the
present dialogue, closely dependent on Wyclif's own work, was an
objective of a sect still enjoying the resources necessary for such
an undertaking. The vehemence of the 'Apology' and other tracts,
especially the anticlerical ones (10, 11, 12, 15, 16),together with
more moderate commentaries and other material probably independent
of Lollard thought, makes the whole codex interesting for its breadth
of outlook. The palaeographic evidence and the internal evidence of
the contents suggest that the manuscript was probably compiled (and
most of its pieces composed) between the late 1380's and the end of
the first decade of the fifteenth century; this dating accords with
the general internal evidence of the dialogue in particular.

Trinity College Dublin Manuscript 244
(Old press mark C.3.12)
This is another compilation of Lollard pieces, in content closely
related to the Lollard codex Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS.296,
and it also shares pieces with other manuscripts of Lollard affiliation.
among them Bodleian MSS. 540, 647, 788, 938; British Library Addi-
tional MS. 37677, Pembroke College Cambridge MS.237, Trinity College
Dublin MS 246 and Leicester Wyggeston Hospital MS.10.D.34/6. The

16. Arnold, III, 455ff., at 457 and 479-82; for the condemnation
which may have occasioned this tract, see Knighton, Chronicon,
II, 260-3.
Corpus Christi MS. collated with the present Dublin codex forms the basis of many of the pieces in the editions of Matthew and Arnold.

The manuscript is a vellum book measuring approximately 170mm x 120mm, with a writing area of c.135mm x 90mm. The volume has 219 folios, with 28 lines per folio. Like its companion piece already discussed, this manuscript was once in the possession of Archbishop Ussher, although this codex also bears the signature of Robert Cotton Brueius on folio 1. There are no other marks of ownership.

The vellum is of good quality and condition, and there are no major flaws visible on the photocopy apart from minor worming. Vertical and horizontal prickings and ink rulings are evident as well as ink lines which form a close frame about the written area. Generous lower and outside margins still survive but in rebacking, spine strengthening and rebinding undertaken in 1951, the inner margins have been largely swallowed up, making this volume also difficult to photocopy. Gatherings are therefore impossible to check, though signatures and catchwords, where these remain, indicate mainly gatherings of

17. A note at the back of the manuscript, dated 1835, states that there were five leaves missing, one each between folios 87 and 89 (and 88 is omitted from the foliation), between 133 and 134, 135 and 136, 148 and 149, 186 and 187. The collation suggests that this is a conservative estimate not according with the present state of the manuscript (see below, note 19.)

18. The letters of Ussher give evidence of his having procured books, including some of Wyclif's writings, from Cotton, and there is mention of Cotton having promised Ussher vernacular Lollard books; but I can find no evidence from the letters of the means whereby Ussher came to possess this or any other particular volume now in the Dublin library. See Elrington, The Whole Works, XV, 18.
eight, though ff. 80-107 are obscure and there are defects in many quires. The contents of the manuscript are as follows:

Hand A

1. Of the leaven of the Pharisees.
2. How men ought to obey prelates.
3. The rule and testament of St. Francis.
4. Fifty heresies and errors of friars.
5. Of prelates

Hand B

1. f. 92
2. How the office of curates is ordained by God.
3. Of clerks' possessors.
4. The order of priesthood.
5. De precationibus sacris.
7. Of clerks' possessioners.
8. Of the leaven of the Pharisees.
9. The order of priesthood.
10. De stipendiis ministrorum.
11. Of clerks' possessors.
12. Of the leaven of the Pharisees.
13. Of the leaven of the Pharisees.
15. A petition to the king and parliament (imperfect at the beginning).
16. Three things destroy the world (imperfect at the beginning).
17. How religious men should keep certain articles.
18. Why poor priests have no benefice.
19. How the office of curates is ordained by God.

Hand B (from f. 104) Hand B (from f. 111v)

10. De stipendiis ministrorum.
11. Of clerks' possessors.
12. Octo in quibus sedunctur simplices christiana (ends imperfectly).
13. Three things destroy the world (imperfect at the beginning).
15. A petition to the king and parliament (imperfect at the beginning).
16. Why poor priests have no benefice.
17. How religious men should keep certain articles.
18. Why poor priests have no benefice.
19. How Antichrist and his clerks strive to destroy holy writ.

The quiring is now difficult to ascertain and is frequently obscure. I am grateful to Dr Hudson and Dr Rastall for assistance with the collation which is as follows:

ii blue paper leaves, i paper flyleaf, v parchment flyleaves;
1 - 108 (with signatures a to h and k up to iiiij for gatherings of eight); 118 (lacks leaf 8, f. 88); 1220 (lacks leaf 4, but no material is missing; stub appears between ff. 91 and 92); 13 - 158;
16[8] (lacks leaves 3-6); 178 (lacks leaves 1-2); 188 (lacks leaf 8);
19 - 228; 238 (lacks leaves 7-8); 1 leaf (f. 187); 2412; 25 - 268; 274;
iv parchment flyleaves, ii paper flyleaves.

Catchwords appear on the verso of ff. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 19, 21, 32, 40, 48, 64, 72, 80, 103, 107, 115, 123, 131, 135, 141, 156, 164, 172, 180, 199, 207, 215.

For a full list of contents with incipits etc. see Appendix.

This piece and items 13, 23, 28-29 have been omitted from the entries in the Catalogue of Manuscripts, while numbers 23, 29 and 30 are not included in the bibliography of Talbert and Thomson, Manual, II.
21. How Satan and his priests ... 22. On church temporalities
mayntene alle manere of synne. (ends imperfectly).

23. On the thraldom of Anti-
christ's vicars (begins and
ends imperfectly).

24. Of dominion (unique)

25. De pontificum [sic] Romanorum
schismate (unique).

26. The last age of the church
(unique).

27. On the sufficiency of holy
scriptures (unique).

28. De sacramento altaris
(imperfect).

29. On the beliefs of Christian
men (begins and ends
imperfectly).

30. Dialogue between a friar
and a secular clerk (unique).

Of the handwriting, Arnold wrote 'the hand passes in the
strangest way from the clerkly to the cursive and back again', while
Matthew noted: 'The handwriting is irregular; sometimes formal, and
at others straggling, as if the writer were hurried or weary ...'.

From leaf 188 a new handwriting begins'. This may be picturesque
but it is not accurate. The case is much more complex, for though
there are two scribes at work on the manuscript, it is not in the
way Matthew suggests.

The first 91 folios, hand A, exhibit characteristics of
a mixed Anglicana Formata hand with Textura influence. Its
treatment of minim graphs, the Anglicana 'a' and 'g' and hooked
ascenders is proper to an Anglicana hand, but there is marked
Secretary influence in the use of broken strokes for the lobes of
'b', 'h' etc., exaggerated tapering descenders on 'f', long-'s' and
'r', and some looped ascenders. Hand A is seen again working in
conjunction with a second scribe on folios 104/2-111v/12.22

21. Arnold, III, xiv; Matthew, VII. The Catalogue of Manuscripts
also notes a change of hand at item 24, folio 188.

22. Dr Rastall observes in a private communication that in the
second section assignable to scribe A, folios 104-111, the two
scribes have worked together; the two hands change in mid-
sentence and there is some mixing of hands in this section.
In contrast is hand B which contributes folios 92-104/1 and the second half of the volume, folios 111v/12-219, including the dialogue. In this section the situation is further complicated by the fact that hand B contributes two different kinds of language, B¹, folios 92-104/1 and B², folios 111v/12 to the end. This is a carefully formed and upright Textura hand, comparable with that of the Durham dialogue but more even and with some calligraphic pretensions, seen especially in the heavy pronounced horns on the ascenders of 'b', 'h', 'k' and 'l'. The hand also displays short ascenders and descenders (except for an elongated hairline descender on 'y'), and some biting, especially of 'd' and 'e', characteristic of Textura script. There is no change of hand at folio 188. Hands A and B both commonly survive from a wide period of time, especially from the mid-fourteenth to the mid-fifteenth centuries, notably in vernacular manuscripts connected with a formal context.

There is no form of decoration in the codex apart from the provision of plain and frequently crude initials in red at the beginning.

23. The presence of two hands and three dialects suggests the operation of a pecia system, while another implication of the cooperation of the two scribes is that they worked together in an organized and supervised milieu. In contrast to the present case are those analysed by A.I. Doyle and M.B. Parkes, where multiple scribes did not work in cooperation. The different sections that are contributed by different scribes are entirely discrete; see 'The Production of Copies of the Canterbury Tales and the Confessio amantis in the Early Fifteenth Century' in Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N.R. Ker, ed. M.B. Parkes and A.G. Watson (London, 1978), pp.163-210.

24. For hands which resemble hand A, see Parkes, English Cursive Book Hands, Plates 2(ii), 19(i), commentary; Wright, English Vernacular Hands, Plate 16; for other more formal samples and discussion of date, see Doyle and Parkes, 'Copies of the Canterbury Tales', p.170. For samples of hands comparable with the present hand B, see Wright, English Vernacular Hands, Plates 10, 11 and 20, and Skeat, Twelve Facsimiles, Plate VII for a much earlier sample.
of a new tract, and less regularly the titles of the texts, together with paragraph marks underlinings and marginal annotations. 25

Among the special features of the second hand, it is worth noting the attempt to avoid ambiguity by using a slanting line over the 'i' and the care to distinguish the minims 'u' and 'n' by foot and head strokes respectively. Lower case 't' has a long ascender and is clearly crossed, as is 'f', thereby avoiding confusion with 'c' and long-'s' respectively, while 'y' and 'p' are distinguished by their clear descenders.

Capitalization appears at the beginning of each new speech in the dialogue, in general on a new line and after a series of rough paraph marks at the end of the preceding speech. Otherwise capitalization is inconsistent and sporadic, upper case 'I' appearing both for the personal pronoun and for the past-participle prefix in mid-sentence position. Sometimes a capital letter is used to begin a direct quotation from the bible and this is generally true for proper names as well, including the names of the books of the bible, but never for the name of God.

Punctuation includes the lozenge-shaped raised point, the slash or virgula, the inverted semicolon or punctus elevatus, and the colon or gemi-punctus, embellished once with flourishes where it marks the end of a formal proposition. For the most part, the punctuation functions rhetorically rather than grammatically, and is often inconsistent, requiring considerable emendation.

The scribe's system of abbreviation is simple, unambiguous and unconfused by otiose marks. The Tironian sign for et, stroked across the centre, is consistently used for 'and'; marks of contraction include the bar above a vowel to indicate the omission of 'm' or 'n';

25. The headings in red in the first half of the volume may also be the work of scribe B.
supralinear '⁹' for '-er'; 'ₚ' for 'pre-'; 'ₚ' for 'per-'/ 'par-';
'ₚ' for 'pro-'; superior '⁺' for '-ri-. Two commonly contracted
words are 'Ihu-', 'Ihesu' and 'Ierlm', 'Jerusalem'. An apostrophe,
', is used as a suspension sign to denote the omission of final '-e'.

There are no tracts in this collection which offer evidence for
precise dating, although numbers 5, 8, 21 and 25 contain allusions to
the papal dispensations for the Despenser crusade of 1383, and number
14 is related to a tract for which a terminus ante quem of 1389 has
been proposed. 26 In others, such as 5 and 23, there are strong
references to the persecution of Lollards by prelates, including
imprisonment, starvation and death. Such allusions suggest a date in
or after the late 1380s. The address to the Duke of Gloucester in
the dialogue and to King Richard and the Duke of Lancaster in number
15, though probably rhetorical in purpose, indicate termini ante quem
of 1397 and 1399 respectively for the composition of those two pieces.
Such evidence does not, however, apply necessarily to the compilation
as a whole or indicate the date by which the manuscript took its
present shape.

Trinity College Cambridge

Manuscript B.14.50

This volume consists of two distinct parts, both with strong
Lollard affiliations. The manuscript was a gift to the college by John
Whitgift, Master from 1567 to 1577 and afterwards Archbishop of
Canterbury. There is no indication of its provenance before Whitgift's
time, except for an inscription 'Quo quid antiquius eo melius G.Guggyn'
in a sixteenth-century hand on f.1. Guggyn's name also appears on f.iii
of another Lollard manuscript, ,Trinity College Cambridge MS. B.14.38.

26 Cf. item 16 in Trinity College Dublin MS.245 on the subject of
church music, part of the longer tract 'On the twenty-five
points' printed by Arnold, III, 455ff. at 479-82.
The codex was used by M. Deanesly in her study of the Lollard bible and has been investigated by Dr Hudson and Dr von Nolcken in their studies of the sermons and the Rosarium respectively.27

The first part of the manuscript consists of quires made up of paper and parchment, folios 1-25v; the second part, folios 26-70, is of parchment only. A change of hand confirms the composite nature of the volume. The folios measure c. 144mm x 104mm with a writing area of c. 105mm x 80mm. There are 25 lines per folio or occasionally 26. Two sizes of bifoliate quires have been used; some quires of eight are augmented to ten or twelve.28 Where the parchment is defective, the scribe has taken care to use the parchment economically about these defects. Prickings are visible, as are the vertical and some horizontal rulings in ink. The manuscript, entirely without ornamentation, has blank spaces left for a rubricator to supply initial capitals, and in the case of the dialogue, the names of the speakers, except that between folios 62v and 70, initial capitals have been supplied, with majuscules in red in a later hand on folios 30v and 64v. Titles, in the main hand in both parts of the manuscript, are set apart from the pieces they designate, sometimes roughly underlined.


28. Collation (following M.R. James, The Western Manuscripts) is as follows:

ii (b) I12(1,6,7,12 vellum, the rest paper), c1(vellum); a12(1,6,7,12 vellum)|| A10 B8 C8 (+8*) E8 (+8*).
The contents of the two parts of the manuscript are as follows:

**Part I: Hand A**

1. English notes for sermons on the dominical gospels (texts in Latin), ff.3-3v.
2. English notes for the gospels for certain saints' days, ff.3v-12v.
3. Latin notes, some with an English version, including one short tract by Wyclif, 'Descriptio fratris', f.20.

**Part II: Hand B**

4. Tract on biblical translation, 'A3ens hem hat seyn hat holi wryt schulde not ... be drawun in to Englische', ff.26-30v.
5. Sixteen points on which bishops accuse Lollards, ff.30v-34 (unique).
6. 'Ei3te condicions of mawmetrie', ff.34-35.
7. 'Ion and Richerd ... dialogus fratrum', ff.35-55v (unique).
8. 'De fide sacramenti', ff.56-8 (unique).
15. 'Nota de distruccione ffratrum per prophetiam', ff.67-68v.
16. Lollard teaching on images, Latin, ff.68v-70.

The two hands represented in the manuscript are both common in English vernacular manuscripts between the late-fourteenth and the mid-fifteenth centuries. Hand A is a small Anglicana hand with some formal features of a book hand including a generally upright duct and minims carefully formed with feet, though with a general impression of irregularity on account of the use of exaggerated hooked ascenders, long descenders, pronounced loops on 'w' and 'v' and flourishes on some marks of contraction and abbreviation. Distinctive Anglicana graphs include 'a', 'g' and 'h' with hooked descender, though there are occasional examples of Secretary graphs for 'r', 's' and 'e' and there is some use of broken strokes in 'o', 'd' and 'g', but no horns.
The second hand is an even, compact and squarish Anglicana Formata hand strongly influenced by a Textura book hand, with an upright duct and emphasis on the vertical strokes, carefully formed minims and pronounced biting. It has small looped ascenders and descenders. In general the graphs are distinctive of an Anglicana script, though both Anglicana and Secretary graphs for 's' and 'r' appear; there are no horns and little evidence of broken strokes. The hand, though clear and well spaced, has some letters open to confusion, such as 'p' and 'y', 'o' and 'e' and the ligatures 'st', 'sc' and 'ft'; 'n' and 'u' are not easily distinguished and there are instances where 'c', formed with broken strokes, can be confused with 't'. Only occasionally is 'i' distinguished by an oblique line, and 'y' is never marked. Pronounced biting, especially of 'd' and 'e', and 'd' and 'o' also leads to confusion as the 'e' is almost lost, particularly when followed by the '2'-form of the 'r'.

Most of the standard vernacular abbreviations appear in hand B, including the Tironian sign for et, stroked across the centre. Contractions include the bar above a vowel for omitted 'm' or 'n', or in the suffixes '-iου'/-'ιος' and in 'sent' to denote missing 'u' and 'i' respectively. Superior signs or letters are 'ι' for '-ri-'; 'α' for '-ur-'; 'σ' for '-ro'; 'α' for '-re-'; 'υ' for '-er-'; 'pσ' for 'pre-'; and two uncommon signs, superior 'σ' for '-ec-' (as in negligence') and a small superior 'ε' for '-re-' (as in 'creature'). Other signs of contraction are 'p' for 'pro-'; 'φ' for 'per-' or 'π' for 'peri-'.

29. With Hand A cf. Parkes, English Cursive Book Hands, Plates 2(i), commentary and 2 (i); Wright, English Vernacular Hands, Plates 16 and 23; with hand B, cf. Parkes, English Cursive Book Hands, Plates 5(i) and 19(i), commentary; Skeat, Twelve Facsimiles, Plate IX.
or 'par-'; 'ṣ' for 'ser-'; 'ṣ' for 'con-'. Suspension signs include 'ṣ' for final '-us'; superior 'ṣ' for final '-e'; 'ṣ' for final '-es'/'-is'/'-ys' and crossed double 'l' for final '-lle'/'lles'/'-llis'/'-llys'. These two suspension signs are ambiguous, in view of the scribe's random use of both 'es' and 'is' for the genitive singular and for plural endings. Other contractions are 'ihu', 'Ihe-su'; 'Ierlm' for 'Ierusalem'; 'g', 'gospel'; 'an-cr-ist', 'anticr-ist' and the curious 'cri ff' for Chrysostom (186) (elsewhere in the MS. given as C sostu by this scribe). The form 'Lucifer' looks as though the scribe intended to use a suspension sign ' for '-er' and then wrote the word in full (935). There is regular use of superscript letters in the forms 'w', 'b', 'b', the last three representing any omission.

Two common marks of punctuation appear frequently, but inconsistently: the raised point and the inverted semi-colon or punctus elevatus. The triple period or periodus is used at certain terminal positions to signify that nothing further remains to be said.

Capitalization is rarely used except at the beginning of a new speech or new major section, occasionally for proper names and regularly for the first person singular pronoun and for the prefix of the past participle. The double 'f' sometimes has value as an upper case letter but it is also frequently found where modern capitalization is not required, suggesting that the form has calligraphic value; the same is true of the occasional use of an upper case textura 'B'. Marks of correction are frequently used, including the caret to indicate the

30. In the expanded form '-es' is more regular except in Cristis, anticristis and Goddis, while after '-g-' the plural and genitive forms are usually '-s'.

There are two forms for the plural morpheme contraction, understood as equivalent, and expanded to '-es'/'-is' according to the usual practice of the scribe when the word is written in full.

The contraction crossed double '-l' is expanded to '-llis' in the case of ellis, though it is generally an otiose mark.
position of an insertion; a caret and pair of supralinear strokes indicate a change of word order, when the last word in the enclosure takes the position shown by the caret or by the first pair of strokes. Expunction is shown by the usual dot under the unwanted letter.

The contents of the manuscript support a date early in the fifteenth century also suggested by the palaeographic evidence. The presence here of notes related to the Rosarium, a compilation not in circulation until about 1396, provides a terminus post quem for the codex, according with the date also likely for the material related to the sermon-cycle, probably in circulation by 1400.\(^{31}\) Item 4, the tract on bible translation, similarly provides evidence for a terminus post quem (and less certainly ante quem), as it has been shown to depend in part on an orthodox posicio by the Oxford secular master Richard Ullerston, dated 1401 in a Vienna manuscript.\(^{32}\) The English piece mentions Arundel as the incumbent of Canterbury (†1414), but makes no reference to Arundel's constitutions and does not explicitly defend the principle of translation against these prohibitions. Rather, the tract expresses the biblism characteristic of much Wycliffite writing, in its concern to justify the need for vernacular scripture. Citing significant precedent (Arundel's sermon at the funeral of Queen Anne and the Duke of Lancaster's protection of the movement), the writer urges the profit of scripture. The Ullerston

31. On the circulation date for the Rosarium see Hudson, 'A Lollard Compilation' 72.

32. On the textual material and arguments stemming from the newly discovered colophon, see Hudson, 'The Debate on Bible Translation', who also documents the relationship of Ullerston with Wyclif and the early period of Wycliffism. Dr Hudson proposes a terminus post quem of 1401 for the English piece and ante quem of 1414, or preferably 1407, as after that date a Lollard author might predictably have cited the prohibition of Arundel as evidence for the worsening state of the church.
posicio, originally a scholastic debate, presumably found its way in this vernacular form into a Lollard compilation because its views had an affinity with Lollard thought at the same time as its author and his authorities were of undoubted orthodoxy.

The Lollard connections of the manuscript and its nature and purpose as a Lollard preacher's handbook have been discussed by Dr Hudson who based her arguments on the dependence of its notes and tracts on the standard Lollard reference works available by the end of the fourteenth century, the sermon-cycle and the Rosarium. The variety of pieces makes the whole codex of special interest in that two distinct phases of Lollard literary production are here illustrated. The sermon notes of Part I and the Latin extracts of Part II represent an earlier stage in the dissemination of Lollard thought than the more fully formulated exposition of the sermons and tracts, where doctrine, argument and authorities are assimilated so as to focus on a particular aspect of Wycliffite polemic. In the notes and extracts the overriding concern seems to have been to provide material to substantiate the Lollard viewpoint on the friars and on other obviously Lollard topics such as the eucharist, images and the vernacular bible - topics which together constituted the important concerns of Lollard preachers and polemicists and which were matters on which Lollards were examined. Another manuscript of Lollard origin compares with the Trinity codex in this respect. Bodleian MS. Eng.th.f.39 preserves item 6 of the Trinity manuscript and more importantly contains a number of pieces in Latin also dependent upon the Floretum in the manner of the extracts in the Trinity manuscript. 33

33. On this codex, see Hudson, 'A Lollard Compilation', 79.
These two manuscripts thus survive as rare examples of the Lollard commonplace book, the Wycliffite equivalent of the friars' sermon books.
III

THE LANGUAGE OF THE FOUR DIALOGUES

1. A Wycliffite Aesthetic

Although the orthodox opponents of Wycliffism were well aware of the significance of Lollard literary activities, modern critics have paid too little attention to the intrinsic features of the literary style of Lollard prose and to the use of language for rhetorical and polemical purposes. The Leicester chronicler, however, was one who noted linguistic aspects of Wycliffism:

Sicque mellis suavitatem in capite eloquii gerebant, in cauda venenum. Nam doctrina eorum in quibuscumque loquelas in sui principio dulcedine plena apparuit et devota, in fine quoque invidia subtili et detractione plena defloruit. Et licet de novo conversi, vel subito et recente hanc sectam imitantes, unum modum statim loque!aelae et formam concordem suae doctrinae mirabiliter habuerunt; et doctores Evangelicae doctrinae tam viri quam mulieres materno idiomate subito mutato effectu sunt. Ei hoc acsi essent de uno gignasio educati et doctrinati ac etiam de unius magistri schola simul referti et nutriti .... Nam sicut magister eorum Wyclf potens erat et validus in disputotionibus super caeteros, et in argumentis nulli credebatur secundus: sic isti licet recente ad sectam illam attracti nimis efficiebantur eloquentes, in omnibus versutiis ac verbosis colluctationibus caeteris praevalentes; validi in verbis; in garulis fortes; in sermocinationibus praepotentes, in litigiosis deceptionibus omnes superclamantes. Et sic quod non poterant recta ratione quasi pugnanti impetuositatem cum voce clamosa et turbidae et altisonis verbis supplebant.

Knighton's description suggests that language and literary style were valued by the Lollards not so much for their aesthetic potential, but as the means for instruction and persuasion, an attitude that was part of a wider upsurge in which the vernacular was used to give expression to matters hitherto the preserve of Latinists. The style of this prose depended largely on its didactic purpose, to make the fruits of theology available to men of little Latin and less Greek, whoever they

1. Knighton, Chronicon, II, 186-7; see also discussion by A.Hudson, 'A Lollard Sect Vocabulary?' in Someny people, longages and tonges, pp.15ff.
be. To this end, many Lollard texts indicate an appreciation of the persuasive power of the vernacular. This is especially evident in the exploitation of rhetorical and syntactical patterns.

At the same time, Lollard prose demonstrates a style that is functionally consistent with the doctrine it conveys. Just as Lollards zealously recommended a return to the simplicity of faith and life which was embodied in the apostolic ideal, so they esteemed plainness in written style, vigorously attacking the contemporary trend to provide ornamentation and sophistry in place of biblical truth. The present dialogues illustrate this implication of Lollard doctrine, demonstrating a typical dependence upon the style of the *sermo humilis*, the plain style exemplified in the *bible*.³

Wyclif's prose style has been described as 'based narrowly upon the interpretation of evangelical precepts', depending on the precedent of St Paul and St Augustine. Both used the *sermo humilis* for Christian discourse, explicitly invoking the principle of decorum in defence of its use.⁴ Wyclif embraced this aesthetic implicitly in his scepticism towards the excesses of rhetoric, sophistic and dialectic,

2. See for example the section of 'fabulacion' in the *ME Rosarium*, pp.73-4.


4. Hargreaves, 'Wyclif's Prose', 3-4; Peter Auki, 'Wyclif's Sermons and the Plain Style, *Archive for Reformation History*, 66 (1975), 5-22 at 7. Relevant biblical texts include I Corinthians 2.1,4; 14.9-16; II Corinthians 1.12. For Augustine's teaching, see De doctrina christiana, (trans. D.W.Robertson, New York, 1958), I.vi; II.x, xiv-xv; III.v; IV.xiii-xv; cf.also IV.x, where Cicero's views are cited. It should be noted that Wyclif's understanding of Augustine's precepts was in this respect narrowly selective; see J.J.Murphy, 'Saint Augustine and the Debate about a Christian Rhetoric', *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 46 (1960), 400-10.
of fables and exempla; and in a different medium, towards the outward ornamentation of signs, images, ritual, religious habit and rules. All such devices were merely a handmaid to theology; or worse, they were superfluous and frivolous appurtenances of worldliness, infringing on the supreme position of scripture and interfering with the spiritual vocation and its exemplification of the life of Christ. Exemplacione Christi was best seen in the simple life of the apostles, and was clearly and profoundly expressed in the gospel, in the language of the sermo humilis. Wyclif also made explicit statements as to the value of plain discourse as exemplified in the bible: 'Forma igitur locucionis scripture est exemplar omni alii modo loquendi probabili'. Language should be free from rhetorical ornamentation and sensuous appeal, and from fables and other 'forma locucionis'. In their place he preferred 'plana locucio de pertinentibus ad salutem [anime]', a style guided above all by the need of the hearers to understand.

This aesthetic is also expressed in vernacular Lollard literature, explicitly in the disapproval of fables, tales or 'cronicles', and even 'prayer wip crye', chanting and singing within religious discourse. The danger is that these are not germane to the real concern of preaching, 'to cunne ande teche holy writte in worde and dede, and be in devoute prayere in spirit and treuthe', a view derived from St Augustine's confession, 'Als ofte as þo songe delitus me more þen þo binge þat is songun, I knowlache me for to have synned horribly'.


A link between the aesthetic principles of the plain style and the doctrine of apostolic simplicity underlies many Lollard statements. It is implicit in the scorn heaped upon outward ornamentation as vain, transitory and deceitful: 'Pe multitude of craftis nout nedful, usid in oure chirche, norsschith michl synne in wast, curiosite and disgysing'; so too, images and pilgrimages give rise to 'veyn glorie', encouraging 'idilnesse and fleyschely lustis' 'in waast placis ... where Satanas seet is', instead of preaching and study 'in a place bat is halowid, fer from worldli occupacioun'. The 'predicacions' of 'trewe prestes' are opposed to the 'lesinges and flateringes' of the clergy who use the rhetoric of 'feynid pite' to deceive the laity (D/442). The friars, contemptuously characterized as pharisees and the sons of Cain, are accused of begging 'vndir colour of holynes', their 'feyned equyte' disguising their 'double schrewednesse': 'her moup pei putten into heuene, but here tunge passip into erpe' (Tl/232-3, 270, 302-3).

The dialogues exemplify this aesthetic and invoke it implicitly in a number of ways. Their prose conforms to the style of the sermo humilis in being generally direct, candid and largely unadorned except by similitudes drawn from scripture or analogous with biblical material, especially parables. The authority of fables, tales, chronicles and other forms of 'profane circumlocution', including unreasonable 'maistrie' and 'sophism', is rejected, chiefly because they deflect from biblical authority and from right reason: 'We schulden trowe more pe gospel ... for pe first is beleue & pe toper naked cronicles' (C/284-6). The discourse of 'clerkes of pe decrees'...

is said to be governed by 'maistrie wiþouten resoune' (D/280-5),
while friars 'allegen grette dotturis ... and leuen holy writte'
(C/992-3). Above all, a 'mene of vertue' (C/811) is extolled as the
guiding principle. This principle is applied to literary style in
terms of the doctrine of stylistic decorum, that 'aftur pe elde of
men & hereres of wordis schulde a man ordeyne his speche in sentence
and forme' (C/20-1).

The insistence on the necessity and sufficiency of 'Goddes worde'
found throughout the dialogues has important implications for the
style of the prose. The bible was regarded as the model of style.
Its precepts embodied the ideals of simplicity, humility, clarity
and charity, in both Christian life and discourse, as suggested by
the Lollard exhortation to 'preyspecially pe Pater Noster, for
perinne is contenyd as myche as is nedeful to bodi & soule of eueriche
creature' (T2/l89-90).

The inference to be drawn from these considerations as to the
consistency between doctrine and style in Lollard prose is that
Lollard writers recognized the power of language to persuade men to
believe. As they were prominent advocates for simplicity in the
Christian vocation, so they were for 'artistic plainness'.

2. The Vernacular

Of foremost importance in the realization of this stylistic
ideal was the choice of the vernacular. Though this was advocated for
doctrinal reasons, yet it involved the writers of the movement in

9. Cf. Auksi, 'Wyclif's Sermons', 21; and for discussion of the use of
the plain style to convey serious moral teaching, see A. Middleton,
'The Idea of Public Poetry in the Reign of Richard II', Speculum,
53 (1978), 112-113
linguistic as well as doctrinal problems and it gave to vernacular Lollard literature an immediate distinction, for though there were moves to allow the discreet use of the vernacular where clerical ignorance made it necessary, in theology it was relatively innovative.\(^\text{10}\)

The orthodox view of the use of English was expressed by Knighton in his denunciation of the vernacular bible:

\[
\text{His magister Johannes Wyclif Evangelium quod Christus contulit clericis et ecclesiae doctoribus ... transtulit de Latino in Anglicam linguam non angelicam, unde per ipsum fit vulgare et magis apertum laicis ... quam solet esse clericis admodum literatis et bene intelligentibus, et sic evangelica margarita spargitur et a porcis conculcatur ... (Chronicon, II, 151-2)}
\]

The concern of the early Lollards for linguistic principles such as those governing translation, grammar and decorum of style is one instance of Lollard linguistic consciousness that has long been appreciated.\(^\text{11}\) Clarity of meaning was valued in place of reverence for the liturgical tradition. This suggests a utilitarian approach. Style was to be guided above all by the need 'pat be puple vndirstonde wel'.\(^\text{12}\) The principle that 'many maner of spechis' can convey the truth of divine law (T2/l) accorded with Wyclif's position, 'quod Christus et sui apostoli fidem scripture in lingwis variis conscrips-erunt', though Wycliff was not entirely consistent in these views.

10. For instructions on the use of English to gloss ecclesiastical statutes, see Wilkins, Concilia, II, 161; Cheney, English Synodalia, pp.11, 46. The question of the use of the vernacular by the Lollards is now discussed by Dr Hudson, 'Lollardy: the English Heresy?'

11. See Selections, pp.67-72 for the relevant chapter from the General Prologue to the later version of the Wycliffite bible; for other evidence of Lollard interest in linguistic principles, see Bühler, 'A Lollard Tract: On Translating the Bible'; ME Rosarium, pp.42-6; S.M.Kuhn, 'The Preface to a Fifteenth-Century Concordance', Speculum, 43 (1968), 258-73.

Occasionally he suggested that for complete clarity for all men, both languages should be used, or that the Latin tongue was more apt because more widely known.\textsuperscript{13} Naturally the vernacular works provide more consistent evidence of the characteristic push for the vernacular. In them translation of the bible is explicitly and implicitly justified, and of the \textit{Pater Noster} and even liturgical works, on the grounds that '\textit{Pe treupe of God stonde\penou3t in one langage more \pan in anoper}'.\textsuperscript{14}

3. Diction

In spite of the older view that the vernacular phase of Lollardy was a fringe movement, cut off from centres of learning and from the mainstream of English religious life, the diction of much vernacular Lollard writing, including the present dialogues, aligns these texts with the common linguistic developments of the period. These developments included the wide use of newly current loans, especially from French and Latin, together with a tendency towards linguistic innovation and experiment. In common with their contemporaries, Lollard writers exploited and created new vocabulary, in order to express in a popular medium the ideas of learned theology.

The vocabulary of the dialogues contains a number of new Latin and French loan words many of which are first recorded in the \textit{Oxford English Dictionary} and \textit{Middle English Dictionary} from texts that were

\textsuperscript{13} \textit{Polemical Works}. I. 116/6-7; see also I, 168/9-15; II, 700/29-701/3; \textit{Opera minora}, pp. 74/1-25, 378/13-17; \textit{Dialogus}, p. 1/2-4.

\textsuperscript{14} Arnold, III, 98/4-5; at T1/1 the dialoguist may be tacitly justifying the 'vulgarization' of Wyclif's \textit{Dialogus}. 
immediately contemporary with the earliest vernacular Wycliffite texts. Words in this category include the following: 
amortaise (D/419); apreue, ap(p)roued etc (T1/4, 65 etc); beggerie (C/845); blasfeme, ‘blasphemy’ (C/53); syvyl (T1/266, in reference to Roman law (OED adj. 19) is first cited from a text of 1563, though the word appears in John Gower’s Confessio Amantis, II/83, and as a proper noun in Piers Plowman A, II/57); coloured (T1/355); cap(i)teynes (C/170, 764); confescioun (D/263, C/580 etc); comun(i)te etc (T1/246, 254, C/981); countrollore (D/305); deliberacioun (T1/70 etc); destruccione (in fig. sense, D/265); dispensacioun (in eccles. sense, C/359); quyte (T1/232, in sense of OED, MED n. 2); excusacione (D/322 in sense of OED n. 3, MED n. 1); gouernaile (D/220); inordinate (C/676) inpunynyn (C/208, in sense of OED, MED v. 2); obediens (T2/151); obeyschaunce (T1/118); opwynoun (T2/368 in sense OED n. 1, MED n. 1d); patrone, patroun (C/271, 366, in sense OED, MED nn 1, 3); polute(n (C/678, 681, in sense OED, MED v. 1); rewde (C/796); spirituaithe (D/99 etc, OED n. 2a, b; D/134 etc, in sense of OED n. 1); state (T2/66, in sense OED n. 22 and cognate with ‘estate’, OED n. 6); straunge, adj. (C/992, 996).

There is an appreciable group of words in the dialogues for which the Wycliffite canon provides the earliest attestation in the dictionaries (or for which there is no earlier use hitherto attested). These fall into several categories. Many of the coinages are derived from or related to words already established in English. Thus nouns and participial adjectives, for example, may be derived from verbs or adjectives, or new forms from older ones. Words in this class include the following:
apostacie n. (C/885), though apostata was antecedent in English; begging(e (T1/29 etc) for which the first citations are from Wycliffite
tracts, though the v. beg was in common use; dowina vbl.n. (C/243, 327), derived from the v. 'dow', the aphetid form of v. 'endow'; edificacione (D/61), derived from the v. edify; ensample v. (T1/272 etc), derived from the n. (OED n. 2, 3); glosatowres (C/219), from the n. 'gloss'; ypocrite adj. (C/654, 827), derived from the n. in earlier use; irreligiouse (T2/136 etc), derived from the adj. form; patroned (C/367), not recorded as a v. until modern English, though the n. was current by the late fourteenth century; skriep (C/637), a form which superseded the older form 'descry' (OED v. 2); superflu (C/485), a coinage, but the n. 'superfluity' was already current; troufulinges (C/497), but the related v. was current through the fourteenth century; trubily adj. (C/461) may be a calque from F troubé, L turbulum, or may be cognate with the already current ME form trouble; vengabel (C/425), formed from the v. venge, already current.

A number of newly formed negatives appeared: vnable (T2/137), dispreue (C/23), vndelyberacioun (T1/1000, a form unrecorded, but the n. 'deliberation' was newly current); missescruple (D/286) is unrecorded, but is probably a negative derived from OED n. 1, scruple; illigence (T2/72) is an unrecorded word, cognate with indiligence (1st cit. 1496), where the prefix has been assimilated to il-.

Closely related to these classes of words are some rare calques and nonce-words or nonce-usage, innovations (sometimes of obscure origin) that found little if any currency beyond Wycliffite writing, or which are hitherto unattested in the sense in which they are here used: arunte (T2/207, 332); changaunt (C/732), a calque cognate with 'changeable'; forfendepe (C/94); obeysers (T2/147), apparently derived from F obeissir, v; perpetue (C/634), an unrecorded form, presumably translated
from F perpetuer and cognate with 'perpetuate' (for which the 1st cit. is 1500); priuat (T1/373 etc), used here in a sense only recorded for Wycliffite texts; required (in an inf. construction (T2/26, OED 3b); speculatif n. (C/88), perhaps derived from the adj, but probably a direct borrowing from L speculativa; w[ ]appid (C/11), probably derived from a blending of vv lappe, v. 2 and wrap, and cited only from WB and Wycliffite tracts, and from Pecock (quoting from WB).

Elsewhere the lexicon of the dialogues provides examples of the uneasy anglicization of loan words. This is to a much greater extent a feature of the early version of the biblical translation. These loan words and calques, some with a little currency, sometimes remained unassimilated into English, or not in the form or usage here demonstrated (see Glossary): bagged (C/57), whether in the sense of OED, MED v. (1), translating L tuwere, or v. (2); collectis (T1/333, used here in the sense of OED, MED n. 1); cressing (C/689, an aphetic form of 'increase'); dispendores (D/130, here in transf. use, related to MED n. b, and rare except in Wycliffite texts including WB); duryng (T1/181, a pr.p. used as a vbl.n); englaymed (D/210, of obscure origin, but apparently a fig. use of OED, MED v. 2); greget (C/44) and gregynge (T1/194), an aphetic form which gave way to the cognate form 'aggrege'; gules (C/68, used here in a loosely fig. sense); harneyes (T1/142, had brief currency only in the sense of OED n. 7); prented (T2/365, was used briefly in various fig. senses, but gave way to the cognate form 'imprinted'); putrie (C/846, a fig. term for 'whoredom'); propur (C/380), possibly a Wycliffite coinage which had only limited currency; straungen (C/757; as an intr.v. OED 5, its use was limited),
A considerable category of words first attested in the dictionaries from the Wycliffite canon passed into received usage, and frequently provided a primary or otherwise common sense for the word. Others can be adduced in new figurative or transferred senses hitherto recorded in the dictionaries only in much later texts. All would repay investigation to verify their origin and usage, so as to provide a better picture of the extent to which Wycliffite writers were in fact linguistic innovators.

Of this group, the following are first cited in the dictionaries from Wycliffite texts, or the present texts supply an earlier usage than the recorded examples:

annuel (T1/30), in the sense and usage of OED, MED 1; comyssioun (T1/81), first cit. 1597; the sense is derived from the v. committen (MED v. 5, OED v. 6, a sense common in Latin usage, but first cited in English from 1436); omyssioun (T1/80), used in the sense of OED, MED n. 2; deformed (C/36, as understood in the sense of OED, MED v. (1); it was rare in the sense of OED, MED v. (2); indicatife (T1/24) and inparatif(e (T1/10, 24) are first cited from a grammatical text of 1500, and optatife (T1/24) from a text of 1450; iust (T2/166, C/1029), used in the senses of OED, MED adj. 1, 2; justifie, i-justyfied (C/117, T1/308), used in the sense of OED v. 4, MED v. 6; magnifie (C/196), in the sense of OED, MED v. 1, a literal translation from the L and Romance senses; (C/987), in the sense of OED, MED v. 2; princyples (T1/21), in the sense of OED nn 2, 5; resume (C/276), first recorded 1425; sensibili (C/829) 1st cit. 1425; rare before sixteenth century, though the adj. was current before the end of the fourteenth century; insensible (C/288) in the sense of OED 1b, MED b.
In other cases, the dialogues present examples of words used for the first time in Wycliffite literature in an innovative sense, often figuratively or in a specifically ecclesiastical or theological sense, though other, earlier senses remained current (see Glossary for further documentation of senses):

- canonysid (T2/351, OED v. 1);
- confirmacioun (C/175, 354, OED n. 2a, MED n. 3);
- custumable (T2/61, OED, MED), daliance (C/833; this fig. and transf. sense not recorded);
- deuo(u)rse (C/673, OED, MED n. 2, in fig. sense);
- endurid (T2/333, derived from v. for which the first fig. sense is cited from WB);
- dispensid wip (T2/123, OED v. 10, MED v. 3b);
- dissolue(d (C/1000, 1034, OED v. 11, MED v. 2; C/674, 985, OED vv 9, 10, MED v. 4);
- enfect (T2/249, in moral and fig. sense, 1st cits. WB);
- floreschon (C/222, if sense ‘flaunt’ is understood, OED v. 10, MED v. 5b);
- inpertinent (C/763, OED adj. 3, MED b);
- limite (C/615 etc, eccles. sense OED v. 1b, MED 2);
- ordour (C/61, in phrase ‘of worschipe’, OED 17);
- malis, malice (D/446, C/428), used in the sense of MED n. 3, OED n. 2;
- negligent (C/152, OED adj. 17, MED a);
- personel (T1/127, OED adj. 2, MED 1b);
- polute(n (C/678, 681, in senses of OED v. 1, MED a, b);
- pondrade (C/220, in fig. sense of OED v. 4, MED 2b);
- regular (C/435, sense related to OED adj. 1, but transf. sense not recorded);
- renewe (C/278, in the fig. and spiritual sense of OED v. 2b, 3);
- reverse(n (C/312, 350 etc; in the sense of OED v. 5, the only examples are from Wycliffite texts).

Alongside the innovative and experimental loan diction, we also find a considerable weight of technical and learned terms which were already established, or at least had some currency by the mid-fourteenth century in the sense in which they are here used, so that comprehension of their precise sense could be assumed. Examples include:
abbote (T1/344, 347), absolucioune (D/127), apostata(se (T1/344, 347), benefice (T1/260), asoiling (C/612), blasfemie (C/200 etc), bullis (T2/354 etc), cardinale(s, n. (C/245 etc), cardenal, adj. (C/15 etc), auauusid (eccles: D/25), confessoure(s (D/254 etc), contricioun (C/578), curates (C/484), cure (D/302), dekenys (T2/108), dampned, damnable, dampnacioun (T2/167, C/955, T2/170 etc), decrees, decretales (eccles: D/43, 233 etc), dignites (T2/251), eleccion (C/252), fornicacioun (C/398), close, n. (T2/118, C/599 etc), pena(u)nce (D/127, C/37 etc), plante (D/108, 110, in fig. sense of OED v. 5), predicacions (D/256), prelate T2/398 etc), profet, prophete (D/57, T1/216), schapelarie (C/745), sophemesse, sophistris (T1/17, C/22).

The use of native words should also be considered. Many are words which remained current throughout the medieval period and beyond: examples include benyme (D/170 etc), bisines(se (C/331), bone (C/613), chafer (C/1085 etc), clad, clapid etc (T2/59, C/34 etc), clouted (C/891), clouen (C/197), fyelid (T2/209), hele (T2/88, 90, C/614), heste (T1/9 etc), rouned, rounvng (C/582, 617) etc, and the calques ajenbying (T2/229), aje(i)nward(e (T1/14, C/687), ajeness(e) etc (C/588), ajenstande etc (C/1018).

There are some apparent archaisms: willi adv. (C/914), thulleris (T1/271, if cognate with pellich), littep (C/664), and the rare form none 'own' (C/398).

Commonly, old native words are extended to include new figurative senses first cited from texts of the late fourteenth century, including Wycliffite texts:

berkyng (C/189, in trans£. sense, OED v. 1, MED b, 1st cits WB); bleckep (C/622, in the fig. sense of OED v. 3, the first uses cited are from Wycliffite texts); cloutes n.pl. (C/362, 1st cits of fig. use are
from Wycliffite texts, but the verb had earlier currency in the fig. sense; see clouted, ppl.adj., pp. C/843, 891); croken, croke> (C/39, 265, 1st cits in the senses of OED v. 2, MED v. 5a are from Wycliffite texts); doubennesse (C/508, 1st cited in the sense 'reticence' from Wycliffite texts); gedere (C/521, in the sense 'to infer', 'understand', OED v. 10, MED v. 3, the 1st cits are from Chaucer and Trevisa); horedam, -dom (C/43 etc, first applied to religious practice in late fourteenth century texts, including Wycliffite); mysschape (C/657, in the sense 'deformity', 'a deformed shape or figure', and in the fig. sense, 'perversion' is first cited from Piers Plowman A, though the vbl.adj. 'misshapen' was current by 1350); nappit (C/202 is here used in the fig. sense, MED v. d, first cited from Wycliffite texts); sad (T1/23) is cited only from Wycliffite texts in this special fig. usage, but is related to OED adj. 7, current throughout the fourteenth century; schapen (C/505 is used in a refl. construction first recorded from Chaucer and Langland); sistris (T2/41 etc, a transf. usage (personification) not recorded); slepe (T1/73 has here a transf. and fig. sense first recorded from Trevisa, OED v. 5); the several occurrences of smac(c)hen etc (C/714, 718 etc) all show the fig. sense of OED v. 1b, for which the first cit. is from the sixteenth century; stopped (C/859 i,ii) is used in such a way as to imply two senses, both fig: 'to make good', 'to repair' (OED v. 4, 1st cit. WB) and 'to obstruct' (OED v. 9, 1st cit. Trevisa); strec(c)he(b) (D/98,100 etc) is here used in the fig. sense of OED v. 14c, intr., the 1st cits for which are from Wycliffite tracts; wedded, wedding etc (C/336, 626 etc) are used in the fig. sense of 'bound as in marriage' uppermost, with the pejorative connotation of an obstinate attachment (OED v. 7); for all these fig. senses the earliest cits are from Chaucer and Wycliffite tracts; the phrase weder koc (C/863) is not recorded until
the mid-fifteenth century (MED); **wede** (T1/257) is here applied against mendicants in a fig. sense, as a noxious, troublesome growth (OED n. 4, 1st cit. 1400); **wakynge** (T1/235, T2/180 etc), here 'keeping the canonical hours of the night', a sense not recorded but related to that of OED vbl.n. 2b, which translated the Vulgate *vigilia*, only cited from WB.

There are several words which appear to be nonce- formations or are rare neologisms: the n. *castes* (C/988) is probably not related to ME n. *cast*, but is a nonce-word derived from ME v. *casten*, to interpret, expound, as of a law (MED v. 12b, OED v. 39b); *almos* (D/287) may be cognate with *almous*, from ON *almusa*, cognate with OE *aelmysse*, or the form may be a calque, based on popular L *alimosina*; *godeli* n. (D/471) is otherwise cited only from Chaucer; there is no recorded use of the word *scharnefast* (T1/315) in the sense 'scharneful' (see OED 'shameful' adj. 3).

The combination of archaisms, new loans, nonce-words and calques found in these dialogues gives a curious impression of linguistic idiosyncracy, suggesting that these writers, in attempting to reshape or coerce the language to express the 'hard words & sentence' of theology, have found that 'in Englisch ... it is wel hard . wel to expounen'.

Some of the diction of the dialogues carries Lollard insinuation, an association which is clearer when the diction is considered in the wider context of Wycliffite writings. Contemporary opponents of the movement noted this aspect of Wycliffite style, commenting on the use of a distinctive and emotively connotative phraseology that emphasized

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15 *Piers Plowman* B XIV/277.
the Lollard point of view and evoked a peculiarly Lollard tone.\textsuperscript{16}

Especially characteristic was language associated with abuse of the religious orders and their activities. Much of this diction acquired a consistently pejorative sense in Lollard texts. For example, in the dialogues concerned with mendicancy, the friars are insulted as pharisees and the 'irreligious' (T2/136 etc), or likened to 'harlotes' (C/62, 363 etc); they are charged as 'new sectis', members of the 'kynrede of horedam' (C/42) and 'brolles of anticristis couent' (C/438), founded in 'Caymes tyme' (C/186); they are characterized as 'anticristis clerkis', 'ypocrites' and 'priuat religious' (C/69, 377, T1/373) who observe a 'clouted rewle' and 'paynem custummes' (C/355, 142); they worship the 'mawmet of schrewednesse' (T1/301-10, 354) and pay undue attention to their 'abite' and to 'risynge att mydny3t' (T1/226, C/100 etc). They 'glosen Goddis lawe' (C/987), thereby propagating 'apis arguments' (C/939); their orders are founded on a mere 'title of lesings' (C/198) and their preaching is likened to that of 'wolues 3ollynge a3ens heuene' (T1/309). The pope, cardinals, prelates and monastic orders are also lambasted in this characteristic manner.

On occasions the technique is extended to include inverted flattery, as in the Durham dialogue, where the clerk is described as a 'doctore of decreze' (D/32, 380-1) and the 'kinges legeman' (D/394, 406). In certain contexts, sometimes ironical, quite common and apparently denotative words can carry Lollard-biased insinuation:
bagged (C/57, 891); bisi(e, adj. and v. (C/332, 836 etc); bodilyche (T1/146); clouted (C/355); colour(e (D/219, T1/270); connynge n. and

\textsuperscript{16} See Knighton, Chronicon. II. 179, 186; Hudson, 'A Lollard Sect Vocabulary?'
ppl.adj. (D/29, 23 etc); contrarien (C/74, 96 etc); costom and customes (T2/213, C/128, 142 etc); craft (C/895, 897, 927); croke (C/265 etc); degr(e (D/342, C/128 etc); enfecte (T2/249), fagen etc (C/671 etc); feblip (T1/260); glosatowres (C/213); glosen (C/987), glosis (C/343 etc); hous(e(s (D/924, C/202 etc); law(e (D/11, 385, T2/120 etc); lewd (D/456 etc); naked (C/286); patroned, patroun (C/271, 366); reguler (C/435); slepe (T1/73); stryues etc (C/189 etc); scole (C/123, 736 etc); wedded etc (C/336 etc); worldly (D/136 etc).

The second form of distinctive vocabulary is that of defensive self-reference. This feature of Lollard propaganda was also commented on by Knighton. He inferred from this the existence of Lollard schools where a written as well as doctrinal standard was taught. In the present texts such terms as 'treue men' (T2/160 etc), 'pore men(nes' (C/81, 329, 350), 'pore prestes' (C/616), 'Cristen men' (D/288, T2/131, C/141 etc), 'knyttes of Crist' and 'our knyttis' (C/221, 360), 'Goddes seruauntes' (C/1009 etc), 'gode men' (D/240 etc), 'membris of Crist' (C/383), 'many men' (T2/52) and Christ's 'couent' (T2/189) all designate those who preach and follow the tenets of Wycliffism. Such language offers both comment on and defence of the proponents of the doctrine, as people chosen by God and enjoying divinely bestowed authority.
4. Style

In all the dialogues, the style is essentially plain. In this they accorded with the prescription for the *sermo humilis*, that the style should depend upon the purpose of the discourse, avoiding pompous elegance and the methods of inflation proper to the high style. At the same time the prose includes illustrative material and figures proper to the plain style of the didactic mode. Especially common are simple figures of repetition, antithesis and balance, parallelism and symmetry appropriate for the mimetic expression of controversy and for exposure of the discrepancy between truth and sophistry.

In addition to the pervasive use of metaphorical diction which conveys criticism of the clerical orders, short *exempla* are occasionally used. They are direct and often of biblical origin, or have a practical slant which fastens the dialogues within the area of common experience, the world of knights, clerks, franklins, craftsmen and merchants.

The first speech of the Durham knight (D/13ff.) illustrates the mimetic function of the prose. The knight responds to the clerk by summarizing his opponent's argument, glossing it so as to alter its intention and thereby the better to set up his counterargument. Balance of opinion and contrast of ideas are achieved by a linear progression of thought. The knight turns the argument against the clerk in mainly loose sentences, simple or compound, with coordination, disjunction, parenthesis and repetition. There is emphatic use of the personal pronoun which heightens the directness and intamacy of the discourse, while use of the vocative, the direct question and the imperative enhances the imitation of natural speech.

The clerk's rejoinder (47-79) is similarly constructed, in a personal style, with loose compound
sentences depending on simple coordination and using occasional balance and repetition for rhetorical emphasis ('olde lawe ... newe lawe ... emperoures law', 'newe testament & newe lawe', 'vnder ye pope, & vnder no man elles'). The style compares closely with that of the biblical paraphrases and quotations which the clerk provides as authority.

When the knight refutes and challenges the clerk, the style of the dialectic mode, especially of the syllogism, briefly dominates. The knight, in a complex, periodic sentence (D/85-94), balances the legitimate power of the king against the illegitimate power of the pope, and sets the claims of the Lords Temporal against those of the Lords Spiritual, thereby expressing the contrast between the ideal and the actual in a series of concessive and conditional subordinate clauses. These clauses are constructed to provide balance, antithesis and parallelism for the purpose of argument (D8-123). However, when the knight adduces biblical evidence and comes to his conclusion, there is a return to coordinate rather than subordinate construction. In successive speeches this variation continues, the taut, complex construction of logical and scholastic disputation (as at D/145-80, 206-16 etc.) contrasting with a looser, more discursive and direct manner, emulating the style of the bible (as at D/181-95, 196-209 etc.) These variations in syntactical construction suggest the writer's sensitivity to the principle of stylistic decorum and his competence to manipulate style and syntax according to this principle.

The prose frequently succeeds in expressing the mood and manner of a real debate, conveying a sense of the frustration of the Lollard spokesman with the invalid arguments of his opponent. There is also a sense of the certainty of his own position and of triumph when he scores a point against the clerk: 'now pou ne canst no 3t answer me bi
resone, þou berest me on hand ... And all it es þat for þou nill noȝt assent þat þe clergie missescrupele ... Bot I ne said noȝt þat þe kinge ne none oper man schuld benyme þe godes of holi chirche ... But I said þat þo godes schuld be taken awaie fro euyl liuynge prestes' (D/280-93); or 'Lo said pe kniȝt how wonderfullich þou answerest to mi spech ...'; 'Ow, Ser Clerk now I se wele þat þou art at þi wittes ende ...'; 'And þefor, Ser Clerk þeue it vp ...' (D/345, 454, 500).

Occasionally, in the translations from the bible there is barbaric or infelicitous phrasing, and throughout the text there is the idiosyncratic use of the double relative. This is combined with a very frequent use of relative clauses, but these are hardly intrusive enough to interfere with a sense of the author's well defined and logical progression of thought, nor to disrupt the cadences of speech appropriate to the urgency with which the author treats the issues.

The diction of the Durham dialogue is characterized by non-alliterating doublets. This was an established rhetorical practice in both English and French, serving to clarify and emphasize by coupling together synonyms, sometimes one of native origin and the other a loan word. The chief impact of these doublets is to gloss, explain or to extend the meaning, while others provide a connective dimension: 'heued and leder', 'heued and souerayne', 'lord and souerayne', 'miȝt and power', 'ministers and dispendors', 'power and lordschip', 'destruccion and peryle', 'will and maistrie', 'supplaunt and benyme', 'dowid and englaymed', 'lesinges and flateringes', 'purchase and amortaise'. Technical vocabulary, seen in words like 'assoiling' and 'amortaise', though infrequent, also provides a sense of precision in the diction.

Among the few embellishments are two passages of dilation, drawn from the bible and giving concrete illustration of the author's abstract argument concerning the power and duties of the clergy (D/85-94; 312-16). In both cases the biblical analogue has been medie­valized; thus in the image of the speaking ass (drawn from Numbers 22) 'spurs' are added, while the parable of the lord and the bailiff is applied to the building of 'a castell or anoper grete werk'. In each example the meaning of the image is spelled out explicitly in terms of the relationship between the clergy and the laity. The same theme is illustrated by a graphic simile expressing the king's loss of sover­eignty: 'pan were he no kinge, but as a kinge in a somer game or elles as a kinge paintid on a wall' (D/425-7). Two colloquial comparisons are also included, denigrating the clergy as 'blynde Baiard' and 'Iak Roker' for their spiritual ignorance.

The style and language of the two Dublin dialogues are affected by the special connections of these two texts, one an abridged translation and paraphrase of Wyclif's Dialogus (T2), and the other purport­ing to be a written version of a face-to-face disputusun (Tl). In the translation (T2), the verbal characteristics are imposed in part by the Latin original and in part by the techniques and exigencies of the processes of translation, paraphrase and abridgement. For the most part the style follows Wyclif's. It is severely unembellished and formal though generally simple; some colloquial language and concrete imagery is added. For example, the vernacular version adds a concrete image adapted from the bible to depict the religious orders as 'vnable to drawe vndur þe ʒoc of Iesu Crist', while for their interference in worldly activities they are said to be 'marchaundis as foxes' and 'foulis of heuen'. The encumbrance of worldly possessions is also made concrete by a simile interpolated into the translation:
'For riȝt as men carien not her schippis ... ne maken her schipp heuyer in þe watre ... so Cristen men schulden do wip goodis þat þei muten leue in þe hour of dep' (T2/285-8). Another effective image, also added in the vernacular, illustrates the ideal of harmony among the three estates by a comparison with the work of the stone mason (T2/74-6).

Though the diction is generally simple, not invoking a complex or strongly technical context, and in general consonant with the plain style of the biblical quotations, some technical vocabulary of theology and the liturgy is introduced. Examples include 'decretales', 'prelates', 'almes', 'tipes & offringis', 'domesdaye', 'apostata', 'dampnacioun', 'penytauncers', 'confessours', 'assoyle', 'mydniȝt & kockis crowe', 'vndorne'. 'Vikers of my Godhead', however, (T2/15-16) is an example of a difficult term of canonical ecclesiology, used here without any explanation, and perhaps pointing to some authorial inconsistency with respect to translation and popularization. This suggestion is reinforced by the fact that the translator subsequently omits altogether the phrase _vicarius humanitatis_ applied by Wyclif to the clergy.

In the case of the dialogue addressed to the Duke of Gloucester (T1), there are features of the diction which indicate a learned exemplar or model. Technical terms assume some importance, imparting a sense of the connection with the mode of scholasticism: 'disputusun', 'inparatif', 'optatife', 'indicatife', 'sophemesse', 'redusid', 'dedely synne', 'orygynal synne'. In the section of the dialogue concerned with the antifraternal question, the language is familiar from the traditional literature on this subject as well as from biblical sources: 'strange bigginge', 'comoun beggynge', 'farisee' are examples.
There is little here in the way of concrete and illustrative language, and the diction is not adorned by alliteration. The metaphors and illustrations that are used are drawn from the bible, from monastic life and once from the *Legenda Aurea* (T1/3llff.) Notions of cleanness and health also provide images and one extended simile is based on the feudal bond: 'riȝt as a seruante þat had trespassid ... so a man in deedly synne is but a trayterouse faytour of God' (T1/192-8).

The special nature of the two Dublin dialogues affects the syntax as well as other aspects of style. In the second *Dublin* debate, T2, the linguistic characteristics are partly imposed by the Latin original and partly by the exigencies of translation, paraphrase and abridgement. Comparison of the opening speeches of each version illustrates the extent of the control exercised by the Latin exemplar. The vernacular version does not abandon the causal, syllogistic framework, but reduces the extent of argumentation, evidence and amplification that it presents. The Latin


becomes in the vernacular version


The vernacular has not altered the conditional mood, but the exclusion of repetition ('judicabo', 'judicio') and of formal amplification (as in the phrases 'ratio exigit', 'per meam legem') suggests a concern to simplify and compress at the expense of rhetorical balance and precise translation. The second sentence similarly shows the principle of translation by reduction; the Latin 'hec enim est ratio quare' becomes 'for þis'; 'Christus fuerat
incarnatus' is given by the personal assertion 'I cam dawen fro heuene'; and 'cum suis fratribus conversatus, ut sermonibus suis mansuetis veritas catholica plus lucescat. Finis autem tam digni laboris et tam assidui est ut homines qui sunt Christi ecclesia sint beati' is translated succinctly as 'so pat bi my dedis & by my wordis my breperen schuld. hoomly knowe me'. Aspects of the plain style evident in this transformation include the use of concrete diction, native rather than Latinate, and a more direct and personal tone produced by the introduction of the first person pronoun, and by the elimination of periphrastic amplification. This concrete and personal idiom is emphasized by sentences which are independent of the Latin, a change which confirms the plain style (as at T2/10-13).

Elsewhere the technical or abstract diction of the Latin is eliminated in favour of language of common usage, the change occasionally demanding explanatory amplification. Thus the Latin 'viverent de elemosinis instar mei' (p.2/7) is extended to '& lyue on almes as I did. For oft tymes whenne I began to teche my fadur lawe to pe peple, men cleped me home to her housis, 3yuyng me bodily sustynaunce' (T2/19/21); the Latin 'cum sim deus qui vendico partem decimam tanquam meam' (p.2/8-9) becomes 'For alþou3 I were my3ty bi my Godhed', extended by a concrete prescription of the duty of a priest concerning his 'sustynaunce in mesure' (T2/21-35).

The syntax of this prose is controlled by the prescription for the plain style, and though some subordination is used (as at T2/21-35), coordinate constructions predominate. Verbal figures of balance, repetition and antithesis emphasize the logical cohesion of thought appropriate to the argumentative mode, helping to achieve a tighter, more dense and resonant verbal pattern than is usually the case with loose constructions. The repeated words in particular are important in holding together the disparate grammatical elements:
And for I wold ṭat pis lawe were more in mynde of Cristen men, I haue made to write it in ṭe oolde lawe & in ṭe newe & as no man may be excusid ṭat ne he mot nedis kunne Goddis lawe & hou ṭat he schal serue God, but summe more & summe lesse, so no man may be excusid ṭat ne he sculd know ṭe body of hooly churche, to do hir worship & hoold hir hele, iche of ṭise pre sistris in her degree after ṭe ordynaunse of God. (T2/83-9)

Coordinate and complex constructions are also exploited to express antithesis; for example, the two contrary sources of knowledge are defined by participial phrases and subordinate clauses, the whole culminating in a liturgical cadence:

ספק ben not feyned wordis ne brouȝt in customes bi ṭe feend, but lawe ȝyuen of God of heuen, confermed of oure abbot Ihesu Crist bi streit keping here in erpe, to ȝyue ensaumple to flee pis world ṭe which is ful of synne, & so to come to heuen blisse, euer to wonue þere wipouten ende, Amen. (T2/212-17)

This syntax is not characterized by literal translation from the Latin in the manner of the early Wycliffite version of the bible, although occasional omission of the English article, prepositions and of the possessive or plural endings in -s may suggest a stiltedness stemming from the process of translation.

In T1, style and syntax are controlled by the technical restrictions of the dialectic mode, especially by the use of the syllogism and the quaestio disputata, as well as by the use of the impersonal form of address proper to this method. The syntax imitates the scholastic mode also by using figures of balance, symmetry, parallelism, antithesis and repetition, as seen in the quasi-syllogism:

Also sip here is no good conscience but ṭat is igroundid in ṭe ten hestis, & all þinges ṭat is nouȝt of goode conscience is synne, myche more alle þinges ṭat is nouȝt of ṭe ten hestis is synne, & so alle þinges ṭat is nouȝt of ṭe bileue is synne. Also sip God is oure bileue, & alle þinges ṭat is nouȝt of God is, as seip Seynt Ion, ṭat wipouten him is made nouȝt ṭat is, þanne alle þings þat is nouȝt of oure bileue is synne. (T1/55-61)
The clerk expresses his conclusion on the question of original sin in a suitably cadenced sentence, using figures of reduplication and traductio: 'perfore it may not be pat a man be in synne rapered panne he synnep, as God may not demen him in synne raper panne he synnep' (Tl/151-3).

The syntax is often dominated by loose and compound sentences with both cumulative and adversative constructions which give an impression of slackness and lack of dynamic direction. The writer's uneasiness with conjunctive sentences is also apparent in the three-fold repetition of 'also' (Tl/83-97), where the logical and grammatical cohesion of the correlative construction is almost lost. Elsewhere the exaggerated use of parenthesis and subordination to express minor premisses or secondary definitions leads to tortuous grammatical structure, as in the passages at lines 75-82, 107-10, 228-41.

These quirks of syntax suggest that the author may have worked in or from an unfamiliar language or idiom, as from a Latin exemplar. This impression is reinforced by the presence of features appropriate to the scholastic mode such as the use of propositions without finite verb: 'pat pe hestis of God....', 'pat frere prechouris hauep no possessioun in Engelond' (9-11, 27). These features of language may imply that the dialogue was reshaped from or modelled on a real scholastic debate, as a deliberate popularization of this mode.

The language of the Cambridge dialogue is marked by frequent use of connotative alliterating doublets and phrases which emphasize the object of the writer's scorn, the friars. Especially common are words alliterating with 'freres', used ironically to heighten the venom of the diatribe: 'foure freres', 'freres... feynen falsely', 'failen pe freres more pan pharises', 'freres were superflu', 'freres forgotten',

Friars are typified as being founded by their 'first fader ... pe fende' who 'falsely forged' the orders; they fail their vows, being 'weddid wip pe worlde', in 'falssehed as pe fende'; they 'worchen for pe worlde' and 'make muk' their idol; they are 'paturned of the pope' and charged with selling 'mennes soules to satanas'. Nor is the effect of the alliterative technique dissipated by being used indiscriminately in benign contexts; it is consistently insulting.

The connotative value of the alliterative style is enhanced by the selective use of metaphors and other figurative language. The friars are depicted by images of death, sickness or the supernatural, or insulted by animal imagery: 'dede caren cropen ou3t of his sepulcur'; 'pe brep of her blasfeme schulde blemyche fewe folke'; they are as 'fisches wipouten water', as harlots and alchemists; they are as variable as the 'weder koc', they argue like 'apis' and are 'superflu as buturflies in pe eir'. Allusions to the martyrdom of St Mauris and to the prophesies of Hildegard, though not treated as extended exempla, provide dilation for the purpose of insult. So too, a number of proverbs and quasi-proverbial aphorisms reflect the pragmatic concerns of the author and emphasize the dominant tone of acrimony against the friars. At the same time, they serve to imply the common reasonableness of the Lollard point of view. There is an obtrusive conjunction of innovative and archaic language in this dialogue, but this...

18. Knighton emphasizes that the Leicester Lollards harped on the falsity of the friars, 'falsos fratres vocantes', Chronicon, II, 188.

19. H.J. Chaytor, From Print to Script: an Introduction to Medieval Vernacular Literature (Cambridge, 1945), p.106, suggests that this technique, as found in Trevisa's prose, was the unconscious result of familiarity with English alliterative verse.
frequently enhances the crude force and liveliness imparted to the prose by the alliteration.

The prose of the *Cambridge* dialogue exploits alliterative and syntactical patterns to emphasize its polemical point of view. For example, the form of the syllogism provides a frequently used syntactical formula. The quasi-scholastic manner is also evoked by the use of balance and antithesis to express the contrast between the evangelical ideal and the manifestation of evil in the fraternal orders: 'sipen hym wantip spirit of lyf, he is a deed body'; 'li3es contrary to trewpe'; 'enuye is sowen & charite is exiled'; 'weddyng wip Goddes lawe ... dailiance wip bilawes' (C/25, 61, 83, 832). In the same mode, these figures are used to express paradox and syllogism: 'For as man is more meke, he is more perfi3t in Cristis religioun; & so as Crist is most lowe as mydel of þe erpe, so is he most perfi3t in ordre þat God approueþ' (C/420-2); 'But sipen boþe merite and synne standeþ in wille, & wille of þes freres was to sle Cristis lymes, it is open þat þe synne of wille of freres was as myche as þei hadde kylde þese prestis' (C/432-4). Here the repetition of a key word and figures such as anadiplosis and oxymoron underline the paradox of fraternal hypocrisy, while allusions such as that to Christ's death at the hands of the Jews enhance the denunciatory tone.

The syntax of the prose is dominated by complex and compound sentences in the loose manner. The dialogue opens with a complex sentence using syllogistic syntax, and stating its primary proposition in a correlative construction. The first speech of the Lollard Ion is also a loose complex sentence, again using the form of the syllogism, to give the impression of tight reasoning and taut construction. This is followed by a loose sentence formed with a series of adjectival
phrases interpolated into the main clause, while the remainder of the speech is more discursive, with its syntactically simple accumulation of points using conjunctions;

Si pfen þe most perel of hooly chirche standep in false freres, it were to bigynne atte hem & make hem more knowne. And for þe discriyngne of þings declarep hem more, þerfore schulden we wete wat is such a frere,... a fals frere þat wendeþ ouþt of þe cloyster of his soule is a dede caren cropon ouþt of his sepulcur, whappid in clopes of deel and ober fals signes, and dryuen ouþt of þe deuel for to drecche men. (C/6-13)

The same construction is apparent in the cumulative coordinate sentences detailing the falsity of the friars:

And þerfore seip Crist in þe booke of his gospel þat kynrede of horedam seche þe signes, ne þe weddings wip hem profitip not to þe service of God, but stirþ hem to pride & gregeþ her synne. (C/42-5)

An apostrophe of lamentation provides contrast;

O si pfen þese blasphemes ben moost eretikis, and þei ben alle leprous as Sent Bede techip, how many lordes and ladies ben smyten wip þis lepur! (C/48-50)

Here the author makes a sudden transition from logical exposition to emotional engagement, varying the syntax with a series of conjunctive and disjunctive clauses built on the metaphor of the leper within the city boundary (C/50-9). In the subsequent paragraph these syntactical patterns are repeated, using the metaphor of 'fisches wipouten water' (C/63-9). Elsewhere, repetition, both verbal and syntactical, alliteration and balance emphasize the author's personal involvement with the issues: 'þif þu wilt wite how þes þefes mai liþtli be stanched, telle comouns how þei schulde axe bisili,... Teche seculer lordes.... Teche persouns & preistis to axe of þes freres' (C/1082-91).

In such passages, the prose makes its point with some success. Elsewhere, however, clumsiness and syntactical inadequacy intrude to disrupt the clarity of thought. Unless textual corruption and/or dialect contamination are to blame, there are instances of failure to show the
connections or to integrate all the elements of a group of clauses into a complete sentence:

\[ \text{be pred cause \( p \)at is feyned: it is \( p \)e wille of \( p \)e emperour \( p \)at, as he is lorde of his empere, so his prest schulde rewle in God, al \( p \)e same lordschepe. And \( p \)erfore he dowed \( p \)e chirche \( p \)at was worpi made.} \]  

(C/238-41)

In another passage, where the function of the word 'sipen', conjunction and adverb, is ambiguous and confused, and where the punctuation is uncertain, the syntax is 'dark' (though not the sense), necessitating emendation:

\[ \text{& it semepe \( s \)ipen Criste knewe none of \( p \)es \( p \), \( p \)at \( p \)ai passen hym, but in an yuel manere. Sipen \( p \)ei haue \( p \)us hi\( p \)e houses & Crist hadde noon, it semepe \( p \)at in \( p \)is \( p \)ei contrarien Crist. Sipen Crist was almi\( p \)thi & \( p \)erto al witty, [\&] was pai\( p \)d of tuelue \& on Scarioth, it semepe \( p \)at freres \( p \)at passen Crist in \( p \)is blasfemen in God be lewde presumpcioun. And if \( p \)ei hadde no couent ne non suche prior it were good to \( p \)e chirche, for so diden \( p \)e apostles wane \( p \)er abot Crist was went to heuene fro hem.} \]  

(C/386-94; cf. also C/364ff.)

In contrast is the clarity of the next sentence, with its cadence built on reduplication and \textit{traductio}, and its syntax mirroring the form of the syllogism:

\[ \text{But as \( p \)ei leuen Cristis reule as insufficient, so \( p \)ai passen Cristis couent.} \]  

(C/394-5)

This prose has a certain crude force. As I have noted before, this stems partly from the vigorous alliterative style. It is also due to the energy created by the repetitive and cumulative style of the syntax. However, though the loose manner dominates, the sense is frequently distorted, for the sentences are regularly extended by multiple conjunctions or by dense elliptical or parenthetical constructions that are inadequately integrated. This gives the impression of poorly digested material, as if the writer has allowed afterthoughts to pile up without concern for the total shape of the sentence. This characteristic may be due to textual corruption, or to contamination from a source itself corrupt or possibly from a
source that is itself a translation. Whatever the cause of the syntactical failures, the evidence presents the contradiction of an author showing competence in handling argument and emotion with tenacity of purpose and some success in passages of perfectly lucid prose, and at other times lacking full and consistent control over the syntax.

In all the present dialogues the syntactical patterns of balance, antithesis and repetition are used, not as devices of ornamentation, but to create a fiction of controversy by mirroring or imitating the process of argumentation, using the plain style to teach and illustrate the ideal that 'Cristen men schulden stodie to lerne pis lore of Crist and publiche pis lore, for profiʒt of holy chirche' (C/2-4). Modulations of the kinds discussed are not the result of accident but give evidence of the conscious manipulation of a stylistic standard for the purposes of instruction and persuasion. Thus the prose provides evidence of a consistency in the Lollard approach to style that can be detected beneath the stylistic unevenness of much vernacular Lollard writing.

5. Biblical Translations

Discussion of the written style of these dialogues must include consideration of the relationship between the style of the polemical prose and that of the biblical material on which the didacticism ultimately rests. Wyclif was explicit about this relationship: 'Forma igitur locucionis scripture est exemplar omni alii modo loquendi probabili,' a position he derived from Augustine's doctrine of imitation. Though this ideal was forcefully expressed in the General Prologue to the Wycliffite bible, the style for biblical translation was not finally settled by that version. Nor did Lollard writers ever

20. See above, p.68, note 5.
develop a uniform style. Rather, they consistently included new biblical translations independent of either version, as if Lollard authors continued to be concerned to achieve an appropriate style for the biblical citations. This aspect of Lollard style has been noted in respect to the sermon-cycle.  

In the dialogues the biblical citations are frequently embedded in the sentences, present as mere allusions, or they are heavily paraphrased, glossed, summarized or otherwise abbreviated. They are also occasionally embellished with medieval details (such as the change from the unjust steward to a clerk of works, D/312-16; or the description of Christ's crucifixion clothing as 'abite', C/46, 645-6).

The formal quotations also show the processes of paraphrasing and editing, tailoring details to make them fit the context. For example, in the Durham text, Jeremiah 1.9-16 (at D/58-61) is quoted by the clerk to support his argument for ecclesiastical dominion. The Latin 'constitui' is given as 'ordayned & made' ('set', WB 1, 'ordeyned', WB 2); 'ecce' and 'hodie' of verse 10 are omitted from the vernacular; 'super gentes et super regna' is paraphrased idiomatically as 'abouen kingdomes', using a single preposition and the native 'kingdomes' (cf. 'up on folkis of kinde, and up on rewmes', WB 1; 'on folkis and on rewmes', WB 2). The Latin 'ut evellas' and 'et dissipes' are omitted from the translation, while 'et destruas, et disperdas' is given as 'to destroy & beterneoun'. This language might have provided effective contrast and alliteration had the concrete verb 'bilde vp' (WB 1) been used to translate 'et aedifices, et plantes' instead of the Latinate phrase 'to make edificacione', glossed by an appropriate metaphor from horticulture, '[to] sett plantes'. The evidence points to an independent translation and to

some uncertainty as to the sense of 'aedifices'. The next citation, at D/69-72, uses no such selection and is close to the Wycliffite versions, except that 'regni caelorum' of Matthew 16, 19, translated literally in both biblical versions, is given here more idiomatically by the singular 'o þe kingdome of heuene' (D/70).

Another text, I Corinthians 4.1-2 (D/130-1) provides a sample of the compression, contextual adjustment and interpretation which the Durham author imposed on the biblical text:

Vulgate

Sic nos existimet homo ut ministros Christi et dispensatores mysteriorum Dei. Hie iam quaeritur inter dispensatores ut fidelis quis inveniatur.

D/130-1

3e schule be, he saiþ, Goddes ministers & dispendores of his godes in gode administracione.

WB 1

So a man gesse, 'or deme' vs, as mynistris of Crist, and dispendereis of the mynisteries of God. Now it is souȝt here a monge the dispenderis, that a man be founden trewe.

WB 2

So a man gesse vs, as mynystris of Crist, and dispenderis of the mynysteries of God. Now it is souȝt here among the dispenderis, that a man be foundun trewe.

Here the Latin 'mysteriorm Dei' is mistranslated in all the English versions, perhaps because of faulty Latin texts, although certain manuscripts of both Wycliffite biblical versions read the correct 'mysteries'. This suggests that the Durham text is also dependent on an erroneous Latin text or on some other source of biblical quotations. There is, however, strong evidence of the author's uncertainty since he glosses the text by providing a paraphrase of a gospel text on the same subject, expanding the original 'sit vester minister' of Matthew 20.26 to 'seruaundes & ministres to Goddes pepel in spiritualte'. This gloss clarifies the sense of 'ministres'. Other alterations point to the Durham author's interpretative role. One is the change from the optative mood of the Vulgate 'Sic nos existimet homo' to the
stronger one of command, '3e schuld be'; so too, extreme compression is seen in the reduction of the second verse to a single phrase, thereby focusing the argument on a single point, 'gode administracione'. As a general rule, whereas the Wycliffite biblical versions provide literal translations, the Durham text provides partisan material based on a biblical text to support its polemical stance.

There are several instances in the Durham dialogue where the biblical passages depart from the Vulgate and the Wycliffite versions to give a more personal, homely, concrete and direct version, in a mode similar to, but not dependent on the biblical citations in the vernacular sermons. Thus, the Latin 'mammonae' of Matthew 6.24 (WB 1 and 2, 'richessis') becomes 'pe world' (D/309); 'non est enim potestas nisi a Deo' (Romans 13.1) is paraphrased as 'her power is no3t bot of God' (D/349). Elsewhere the author has preferred native words, choosing 'biden' and 'bileue' in preference to 'preied' and 'feith' of the Wycliffite versions, the alliteration emphasizing the personal nature of the sense and functioning in an extended comparison (D/355-63).

It seems certain that the Durham dialoguist did not work from either of the Wycliffite biblical versions, but from a Latin version or from some source of key biblical passages. The citations are in general more colloquial and use a higher proportion of concrete diction than the translations of the Wycliffite versions. The dialoguist has assimilated the arguments of the biblical authorities, selecting and reshaping the material and the language to achieve some degree of homogeneity between the biblical passages and his own prose. He has also functioned as an interpreter or 'glosatowre', adding to or deleting from the original as necessary for the argument.

The second Dublin dialogue, T2, shows a predictable affinity with Wyclif's usual manner of including long set quotations. There are correspondingly fewer instances of biblical paraphrase and allusion embedded in the prose. However, the tendency to compress, adapt, select and paraphrase is still evident to some extent. The first biblical
citation, from Numbers18.20-4 (T2/34-9) is selectively compressed and less literal than the translation of WB, adding a verb of personal volition, 'I wol', which gives the translation a direct application. The other set quotations do not depart substantially from the later version of WB (as at T2/108-12, 116-18, 223-9), though the discrepancies in vocabulary and syntax are sufficient to point to an independent translation. The allusory quality and the tendency to adapt the biblical style to the vernacular idiom are also apparent, as in the paraphrase of I Timothy 6.8 (T2/274), where the participial construction of the Latin is replaced by finite verbs, 'haue we hillynge & foode & be we pay3ed of pise'. Here the English 'hillynge & foode' is a concise solution to the Latin 'habentes autem alimenta, et quibus tegamur' in comparison with the Wycliffite versions. The same effect is achieved in the citation of I Peter 5.2 (T2/232-3) where the Latin imperative is changed to a subjunctive. The Romance word 'purueying', for Latin 'providentes', has an active, concrete sense, the earliest attestation for which is in Wycliffite texts (Matthew, p.386/31). Similar simplification is seen in 'not wip striuyng but wip wille' for 'non coacte sed spontane' (WB 1, 'not constreynyngli', WB 2 'not as constreyned'). This preference for the concrete over the abstract is seen also in the translation of 'dominantes in cleris' as 'lordis in clergie' (T2/35), compared with the abstract word 'lordship' in the Wycliffite versions. Expansion is also illustrated here, when the dialogist glosses the moral sense of the text by the denunciation '& wolde God pat alle decretals were suspendid for pis word'. One amusing, though probably unintentional expansion that suggests an over-zealous translator gives the text of Matthew 8.20 as 'briddis of heuen han nestis in pe eire' (T2/266-7) for the Latin 'habent, et volucres caeli nidos'.

22. WB 1, 'Forsothe hauynge foodis, and with what thingis we schulen be clothid'; WB 2, 'But we hauynge foodis, and with what thingus we schulen be hilid'.
In Tl it is immediately apparent that considerable use is made of direct biblical quotation, the usage matching the scholastic style with which the debate opens. For example, there is pedantic translation, as in 'Ouere alle þing vencuscheþ þe trupe' (Tl/4-5; cf. WB 2, 'and the treuthe schal make þou fre', John 8.32). The citation of Titus 1.15-16 (at Tl/187-91) also shows care in construing the original, the Latin 'coinquinatis' being translated by the emphatic 'defoulid' (cf. WB 1 and 2, 'vnclene'), while Latin 'mens' is given the common meaning 'pou3t' rather than the theological one 'soule' of the Wycliffite versions. Other techniques of translation include compression ('indigens et mendicus', Deuteronomy 15.4, 'begger', Tl/249) and repetition (as at Tl/221-2 where 'offendip' is repeated for the Latin 'offendat ... factus est omnium reus', James 2.10, translated in the Wycliffite versions by 'offende ... maad gylty'). In both Tl and the early Wycliffite version the Latin 'tenuit eos superbia' of Psalm 72.6 is clumsily translated so as to retain the Latin word order ('heeld him pride', 'wip holdip hem pride'), though in the later version, normal English word order is used. There is also an instance when the translation compresses and adds figurative language not found in the original. Thus 'loquebar ut parvulus, sapiebam ... cogitabam' (I Corinthians 13.11) becomes 'I sauered as a child' (Tl/15-17). 'Sauered', 'comprehended' is a literal translation of 'sapiebam' also found in the early Wycliffite version. It has the metaphorical sense 'tasted', anticipating the text of Hebrews 5.12 adduced in the same speech, with its metaphor of 'mylke & not sad mete' (Tl/20-3).

The greater part of the copious biblical material in the dialogue is in the form of simple paraphrases of the original. The text is altered to fit the context by adaptation, as to the imperative, narrative or direct speech as the dialogue demands. In all cases the
authoritative status of the material is emphasized.

The techniques by which the style of the biblical translations has been matched to that of the context have also determined the manner of the biblical allusions and citations in the Cambridge dialogue. For example, the direct imperative 'Attendite a falsis prophetis' of Matthew 7.15 is changed to the infinitive to fit a passage of indirect speech: 'Sipen Crist biddip vs bewar wip fals prophetis' (C/1). Similarly, from the text of Matthew 23.24, the Latin imperative is replaced by the indicative, 'Pe pharesees fiep pe gnatte & suelowen pe camele' (C/683). Homely amplification makes more concrete the text of Revelation 3.19, 'Ego quos amo, arguo, et castigo', which is given as 'poo children pat I loue, I snibbe and chastise as a good fadur schulde' (C/867-8), an amplification which may represent conflation with Proverbs 3.13. This illustrates a common method of providing a gloss. In another example the translator's conservative duty is expanded to include explication and interpretation: 'Et prout vultis ut faciant vobis homines, et vos facite illis similiter' of Luke 6.31 is expanded to give a precise gloss on 'similiter', 'wat we wolde skylfully pat men dide to vs, schulde we do to hem for loue of first charite' (C/535-7).

It is impossible to reconstruct how the present dialoguists prepared the biblical texts, whether from memory, as new translations, or from an intermediate source. It is clear that here, as in much other vernacular Lollard writing, the authors did not depend on the Wycliffite biblical versions. They were not concerned for exact and literal translations, but struggled to express the sense of their text. By selection, adaptation and interpretation they moulded the biblical material to make it stylistically of a piece with the free composition. These techniques
also served another purpose, of integrating the biblical texts into the context of the discussion, aligning it to the polemical or theological bias of the Lollard point of view. There are no instances in the dialogues of theologically biased translations, but certainly the author frequently functions as an interpreter or 'glossator', forcing many allusions and citations to serve the Lollard point of view. By these means the biblical authority upon which Wycliffite polemic depended was to a varying, and occasionally impressive extent, assimilated so as to achieve a homogeneity between the biblical authority and the free prose. In their provision of biblical authority in simple vernacular language the dialogues employ the plain style appropriate to didactic discourse, in imitation of apostolic simplicity.

6. Formal Structure

The present texts, though diverse in their treatment of the dialogue form, show some consistency in its use as a framework for the expression of controversy, reason and instruction, in imitation of the mode of scholastic dialectic. Certainly the dramatic and affective possibilities of the debate form proper to the Platonic tradition are hardly realized in these samples. Nevertheless, the formal structure is germane to the doctrinal and pedagogical function of the texts. It provides a rhetorical and polemical device to heighten the context of controversy and sharpen the sense of resolution in affirmation of Lollard doctrine.

This was a legacy which the debate form received from the scholastic tradition, with its quodlibet and disputatio exercises. Its exploitation in the present texts points to an affinity, however indirect, with the learned tradition and suggests that Lollard apologists had some familiarity with the scholastic mode. Their methodology reflects
certain connections with the mode, while the use of the form implies
a claim by these authors that they shared the reputation for competence
and authority enjoyed by the scholastic tradition. This rhetorical
function was also enhanced by the way in which the dialogue form, like
dream poetry, promoted the fiction of authorial anonymity, a device
that may have been supposed to conceal the partisan nature of the
polemic and to confer on the author the benefit of an assumed trompe
lı'oeil. Such a ploy raises the reader's expectation of objective
analysis at the same time as it offers the reader a fictitious partic­
ipation in the discovery of truth, in this case, the truth of the
Lollard point of view. The exploitation of the technique also hints
indirectly at the conservatism of the dialogues, for it suggests an
alignment with a method that evoked the old alliance between theology
and scholasticism, also implying that in the context of Lollard theology,
matters of faith stood up to the test of reason.

However, it is abundantly clear that the present samples express
neither the objectivity nor the parity of viewpoint which character­
ized the dialectic method. There is never the slightest doubt as to
the likely conclusion of a debate, even in the case of the Durham
dialogue where the signs of a genuine debate are most evident. Instead,
the dialogue form invariably functions chiefly as a propaganda aid,
allowing the Lollard polemicists to present the opposition point of view,
in the weakest possible light, by ridicule, caricature and insinuation,
by unsympathetic representation of its arguments, and by tingeing its
views with heresy. Such a method of denigration had no dialectic
validity, putting aside the fiction of objectivity in favour of an
openly persuasive function.

Consideration of the historical antecedents of the medieval debate
form indicates that the present examples have connections with the
traditional genre. This mode of discourse was dependent chiefly upon Aristotelian dialectic, 'the science of effective argumentation', which proceeded by proposition, syllogism and verbal definition. In Ciceronian usage, dialogus was synonymous with contentio, contio and sermocinatio, the essence of which was to persuade, while dialectic was widely recommended as the first qualification for political success. 23

The form and purpose of both classical and medieval debate were rooted in argumentative reasoning by the process of rational discussion. Logic was the basis of their reason, and the aim was to solve conflicts and obtain the truth. This much is claimed by the present dialoguists as the reason behind the choice of the form, while the use of some technical terms and methods suggests a deliberate concern to evoke the dialectic mode even when the 'argument' appears to proceed more by vituperative rhetoric than by reason.

In medieval practice the dialogue became a tool of instruction, a contention or conflictus whereby teaching was given as an alternative to the more usual method by lecture and exposition. The earliest medieval literary debates, seen first in patristic discourse, emerged under the impact of heresy. Christian apologists, directing their teaching towards Christian heretics, Jews and pagans, used the dialogue form for expounding dogmatic material. The classical tradition can be distinguished in this early work: Jerome, Augustine and Isidore drew on the Platonic and Aristotelian tradition of philosophical dialogue; Boethius looked back to the scepticism of Menippean satire as transmitted by Varro; and in the Carolingian period, the circle of Alcuin and his followers depended in part on the tradition of contest found

23. On the classical traditions, see S.Aurelii Augustini, De beata vita, trans. Ruth A.Brown (Washington, D.C., 1944), pp.1-10; for Cicero's prescription see for example De oratore, II,38.157; Brutus, LX.218; Orator, XLIV.151.
in Virgil's Eclogues for their development of the Christian scholastic colloquy. 24 However, in contact with Christian thought, the emphasis became increasingly apologetic, didactic and expository, or inwardly analytical and allegorical rather than disinterested and inquiringly sceptical. As a result of this, most late medieval examples of the dialogue form bear only a tenuous connection with the earliest forms of the genre, as John of Salisbury observed. 25

The disputatio, a fixed form of debate, was the chief and most distinctive exercise in which Aristotelian dialectic method was practised in the medieval scholastic context. Its practical value as a tool for 'untiring and persistent inquiry', and ultimately for the harmonizing and resolution of discordant opinion, is seen in a variety of medieval genres. Among the most notable were Abelard's Sic et non, Thomas Aquinas's Summa theologiae and Gratian's Decretum aut concordia discordantium canonum. There were also the ubiquitous disputatio exercises of the schools, many of which focused on contemporary intellectual questions such as those concerned with the opposing philosophical systems of realism and nominalism. 26 The basis of these classroom exercises performed by the bachelors was the quaestio disputata, usually


arising out of problems in the lectures on theology. They were a distinct apparatus of pedagogy, supplementing the formal lectio and praedicatio, and providing a succinct and logical method of discussing the pro and contra of a topic. The method characteristically exploited the use of definitions, divisions and distinctions to outline the opposing views and reach a sharp logical grasp of the truth, expressed in a final determinatio or resolutio. A more exacting level in this exercise was represented by the disputatio de quolibet a quolibet propositio, in which masters debated problems arising out of the student exercises, the quodlibet following the same sequential outline as the disputatio and pursuing the same purpose, to provide an intellectual reconciliation of discordant views.

The dominance of the disputatio as a tool of learning from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries may account for its wide use in a variety of medieval literary genres ostensibly disparate from the context of scholastic theology. As a method of controversy it had proved itself in the schools:

le polémiste en particulier se laissera très vite entrevoir; la rapidité de pensée, la précision des idées présentées ... l'érudition l'étendue des connaissances paraîtront d'autant mieux que le maître en était réduit dans ces disputes aux seules ressources de sa mémoire; enfin l'esprit, la souplesse, l'adresse qui à chaque instant étaient appelés à intervenir, s'y manifesteront en pleine lumière.


Such a form provided a model of great authority for objective procedure in discourse. It also legitimized the presentation and resolution of contradictory opinions in a wide variety of contexts, political, judicial and ecclesiastical, on international and national issues. For example, both papal and antipapal factions drew on the same biblical, patristic and canonical texts for their divergent views, though the objectivity that typified the scholastic ideal was largely replaced by unambiguously polemical propaganda. Debates stemming from the struggles between secular rulers and ecclesiastical leaders exemplify the genre, illustrating how the dialectic mode enabled a judicial resolution of the conflicts inherent in authorities and evidence. A similarly subjective purpose was served in the moralistic contentions between the virtues and vices, or between representatives of the estates, where allegory and personification frequently emphasized the moral content, in some instances almost eliminating development of contrary opinion. In other examples the competitive game element, redolent of folk and pastoral associations, comes to


the fore. This occurred especially in dialogues on love, a topic which frequently generated a dual focus, satirical or comic as well as didactic. Among these developments of the Streitdialog there was a palpable connection with the philosophical and scholastic origins of the genre.  

Other non-scholastic traditions also employed the procedure of quaestio and responsio. The catechetical examination, for example, retained the basic structure. But there, the intention was to stimulate self-examination and teach the articles of faith by exposition. Therefore the objective and intellective perspective was replaced by a didactic one and the elements of genuine enquiry and conflict were eliminated. In the same dogmatic vein are the disputes over belief, especially the anti-semitic and anti-Islamic debates in which the Christian viewpoint is the only one to be treated seriously. The present dialogues reveal significant connections with these non-scholastic genres. They are openly didactic and partisan, and none fully establishes the tone of objective inquiry germane to the mode of scholastic disputation. Linked with the genre

32. On estates debates, see Walther, Das Streitgedicht, pp.153-70; Mohl, The Three Estates, pp.259ff.; debates between the virtues and vices, and variants, as between mankind and fortune, humanity and divinity, and those on the contemptus mundi theme are discussed by Walther, Das Streitgedicht, pp.105-26.


34. See Walther, Das Streitgedicht, pp.99-105, 170-84 for debates on these themes.
of catechism, and more broadly with the tradition of Christian propaganda, their ultimate concern was to promote a particular point of view rather than to reach objective truth. As a result, the function of the scholastic mode in Lollard polemic was transformed from one of rational inquiry to one of partisan didacticism.

The Lollards had before them Wyclif's overt use of the debate form in the Dialogus and the Triologus. In another, De trinitate, he used the dialectic sequence of quaestio, propositio and responsio familiar from scholastic disputation, but without the provision of alternating speakers. This method of presenting objections and counterobjections, propositions and authorities as a means of establishing doctrine and confuting opposition was also used informally by Wyclif in polemical tracts where there was no ostensible connection with the form of the debate or with the trappings of scholasticism. In Wyclif's debates the voice of opposition is never effectively raised in refutation or response, but is used almost exclusively to introduce another topic of controversy. This process was typical of the methods of the schools, but whereas there the exercise entailed the appraisal of an issue from every angle, in Wyclif's dogmatic propaganda, illumination of the opposition view was inappropriate. Thus the form functioned as a device of rhetoric rather than as a means of discovery, as Wyclif acknowledged at the opening of the Dialogus: 'multi delectantur in loquela dialogi ... que per modum dispucionis loquuntur in ista materia alternatim' (p.1/6-9).

35. E.g. 'De religione privata', Polemical Works, II, 451-518; De dominio divino, pp.8-15; cf. also the reported debate in the 'Determinacio ad argumenta Wilhelmi Vyrinham'. Opera minora, pp.425-30.
The dialogues provide evidence of Lollard familiarity with the scholastic mode. This connection is articulated most clearly in the Dublin dialogue between the secular clerk and a friar, where the prologue explicates the piece as a written disputusun, needing a judge 'to rubbe aweye þe rust in eiper partye', and 'to chese and apreue þe trewpe'. This description could apply to the case of a written summary of an oral debate, and certainly the first section of the text (lines 9-44), with its use of formal proposition and impersonal statement, aligns the work with the dialectic mode rather than with dialogue form.

The dialogue form, however, albeit at a rudimentary level, is suggested by the use of the personal pronouns proper to that form (lines 23, 45 and following), as well as by the scribe's marks of ordinatio, especially those designating speakers (lines 45, 241 and 353, emended to 357), as well as by the paraph marks which create clear breaks between speeches. The alteration between the two speakers may be wooden, but at least the clerk does respond to the friar's challenge by answering his points of objection or query.

If the status of the text as a dialogue is uncertain, its connection with the dialectic mode is clearer. The friar uses the form of the syllogism to announce propositions so as to evince a responsio (9-11, 27), or to introduce provocative or controversial views and opposing authorities (39-44, 111-15; 70-7, 357-64 etc.). The clerk responds variously, with contradiction, further questions or new exegesis, using definition, division and distinctions appropriate to the dialectic mode, and introducing some technical terms of grammar and logic, inparatif, optatif, redusid, synguler, etc. The dialoguist thus simulates or reflects the element of objective enquiry.

However, though there is a screen of dialecticism, the dialogue has a barely disguised didactic and propagandist purpose, clarified in the epilogue and suggesting that in addition to the link with the scholastic mode, the catechetical and homiletic traditions lie behind the dialogue. Whether or not the disputusun took place before the duke, or whether we have merely a written summary of that debate, both the device of the invocation and the presentation of the material from alternating points of view serve a didactic purpose. They illustrate an awareness of the value of dialectic and rhetoric for gaining attention and for disguising heresy, and suggest that the author appreciated the form as a vehicle for discovering the truth from controversial matter.

The other dialogues, though paying less overt attention to the external features of scholasticism, all have some affinity with the mode. This is probably least true of the Durham debate, where there is some confusion between the direct discourse proper to dialogue form, and reported speech, consistent with the rhetorical figure of sermocinatio. Nor are the formulaic vocabulary
or syntax associated with the dialectic mode apparent (although one sample of *reductio ad absurdum* at D/429-40 may be counted as such). The connection is rather suggested by the simulation of a forensic contest which was also a characteristic of the scholastic tradition. Each respondent is openly concerned to convince and convert the other, each answering the propositions of the other by denial or assent. As in scholastic disputation, the outcome always appears to depend on the cogency of the exegesis, argumentation and authorities. The dialoguist creates the fiction of a genuine debate by allowing response from both parties and adequate if not equal defence to either side. Even here, however, the propaganda function is barely concealed, as in the clerk's espousal of an extreme papal view which was as much opposed by orthodox English churchmen as it was by the Wycliffites.

Nor can certain dramatic effects be ignored that were in fact more appropriate to the genre of the morality play than to scholastic disputation. The use of the first person pronoun in particular creates a tone which the dialoguist matches by the exploitation of the rhetorical and emotional value of defeat, exasperation and confession. He uses flattery, ridicule, exhortation and reprimand to simulate a real altercation between the clerk, who constantly acknowledges his defeat, and the triumphant knight: 'pou goste hard to me'; 'ye will haue your will'; 'I se wele þat pou art at þi wittes ende'; 'þou art a doctore of decrees ... and I ne haue bot litile said þat I ne haue schewid' (D/269, 447, 454, 380ff.) In phraseology of this kind each protagonist glories in his own arguments or evinces irritation, disappointment or modest charity according to the progress of the debate.

The sharpest indication of an essential connection with the dialectic mode is seen in the use and resolution of contradictory
authorities, and in the frequent evocation of 'resoune' as the basis of argument and evidence. For instance, both disputants claim their authority from the same two sources, the bible and canon law, and with considerable adroitness the dialoguist turns both against the doctor of canon law, thereby 'spoiling the Egyptians' in the manner recommended by Augustine. 36

The remaining dialogues depend more on superficial and formulaic aspects of the dialectic mode than they do on the elements of contest and balance of opinion. The Dublin dialogue between Resoun and Gabbyng (T2) depends upon Wyclif's use of syllogistic proposition, 'Siп I am God þat schal iuge men ... alle men schulden þennon on me' (T2/6ff.), and his use of logical steps of division and distinction to define the church: 'I departid my churche in þre parties, in lordis prestis & comyns. Þe fyrst part schuld be lordis.... Þe secound part schuld be my clerkis.... Þe þridde part of my churche ben commouns....' (T2/14-37). Later, the learned terminology of logic and of cognition theory are introduced, again following Wyclif's model (T2/389-97). As in the Latin original, there is very little response from the Lollard opponent Gabbyng who merely denigrates without counter-attack, or makes proposals which weakly depend upon views and authorities already refuted and disallowed by the Lollard. Thus genuine conflict and cogent argumentation, though claimed implicitly in the prologue to be an aspect of the dialogue form, are never developed. Ultimately the dialogue belongs to the didactic and catechetical tradition, exploiting the dialogue form and features of scholastic jargon for rhetorical and propaganda purposes.

36. De doctrina christiana, II. 40.
The prologue to the Cambridge dialogue between Ion and Richerd (C) makes explicit the conscious choice of the form, 'so tuo persones spoken be þer wiles'. Here too, some of the tools of scholasticism are exploited in phrases and methods derived from logic and from the disputatio, as seen in the frequent use of the syllogistic formulae 'siben ... þerfore', '& þus', '& so' (although the excessive and often otiose use of 'siben' points to a slavish imitation of the formula). Other features which resemble the methods of the dialectic mode include interrogation by quaestio disputata, as in Ion's command, 'Telle þit grundely, how þeise freres com' (C/144-5), with the response, 'In þis þat þou axist', which Richerd resolves some fifty lines later. Though the responses are usually diffuse, the dialoguist does not fail to tailor each to the dialogue situation, recapitulating to round off the answer with a relevant solution: 'But who schulde be brent but suche an heretike?' (C/10-11) is answered discursively, 'I trowe þat he ... schal be don to dep wip fire' (C/212-77).

The scholastic techniques of ordinatio by enumeration, division and definition are also employed, as in the exegesis of the 'foure wallis', 'þe cloyster of þe soule', the 'foure cardenal vertues', the four colours of the fraternal habit and the four 'lesinges' on which the four orders were founded (C/15-17, 198-203, 452-66, 737-47). Both disputants adduce contrary authorities, 'hooly writ, felyng and resoun' on the one hand; on the other, 'seintis', 'naked cronicles' and 'fabelis'. Some of the tricks of rhetoric are also introduced: one disputant confesses to a trite accusation, 'I kannot pynche at þese wordes' (C/71), agrees to a contrary judgment, 'I graunte I haue done amyse' (C/116), or relentlessly turns the evidence of the opposition against itself, as Richard does with the history of the foundation of the mendicant orders (C/146-206). The position of the
friar is increasingly undermined as he resorts to arguments and authorities not admitted by the Lollard, and as the Lollard counters dubious propositions with historical and biblical 'factuality' (C/207-11, 228-50). Indeed, the Lollard arguments become progressively dogmatic and incontrovertible in their manner, so that the dialoguist finally forsakes the mode of inquiry in favour of didactic exhortation, in the manner of propaganda and catechism. The link between the dialogues and the scholastic tradition is thus ambivalent and attenuated, operating at a superficial level for the most part, barely disguising the didacticism and prejudice of the polemic. For much of the time the discourse could quite successfully be rewritten without attention to the external dialogue form.

In each case, however, the form served other significant purposes besides the polemical one. The structure provided a mise en page which corresponded in function with the methods of ordinatio, the means whereby the stages of an argument or the distinctions and divisions of a text were displayed. Just as in the scholastic tradition of exegesis, for example, ordinatio made ostensible by visual means the intellectual arrangement of a compilatio of authoritative doctrine, so in the manuscripts of the dialogues, the rubrication of alternating speakers functions to outline the progression of the argument and of the evidence brought against the opposition. This function is particularly apposite in the three dialogues, T1, T2 and C, where the anti-Lollard disputant in each case appears only to introduce a question or provocative statement, or a new aspect of pro-Lollard evidence. Thus the device of the dialogue can be regarded as a means by which the Lollard author has understood and arranged the material so as to supply a 'compilation' of Lollard doctrine.
The debate structure also functions mimetically, imitating the activities in which Lollard apologists were engaged. It is, as it were, a literary embodiment of the Lollard situation, when its protagonists debated against their clerical adversaries, or strove to teach the tenets of Lollard belief and win support from the secular lords. For this reason the relative rarity of the structure in the Lollard canon is surprising, unless it can be explained by the growing disillusionment that engulfed the movement as to the value of dialogue with those who opposed them. The present dialogues hint at such scepticism in their rejection of sophistry as the negation of right reason and true 'sentence': 'pilke þingis þat weren of childhoode, as ben sophemesse & ÿere veyne resouns þat ben aboute to make þat þe gretteste science be rewled be þe lest' (T1/16-19); 'alle þe sophistris of freres cannot pinche at þese wordis ne dispreue her sentence' (C/22-3). More overt scepticism was to be expressed at a later stage in the history of the movement, when distrust of debate was voiced by the putative Lollard Jack Upland, who complained pessimistically about the chances of fair dialogue with friar Daw:

To make with þe a dialogge j holde it bot wast for þou maryst þy lesynges lowde with þe false heresyes.

37. Compare Swynderby's defence: 'I saye trewely I can no sophymes, ne I kepe not to use hem, gif al I couthe, for the wise man saythe that God hatith sophystical wordes', Registrum Trefnant, p.263.

38. These lines are interpolated into the rejoinder of Jack Upland to Friar Daw, Jack Upland, p.172.
7. Dialects

In none of the present manuscripts is there precise evidence as to the identity of the author, scribe or of the place of origin, though the dialogues do show mainly Central Midland linguistic features, but with some admixture of extraneous forms from N, W and S dialects. To an extent, then, the dialogues support the generalization that 'nearly all Wycliffite writings ... are in some form of Central Midland Standard',39 that is, a written standard, and that this was generally 'some internally consistent sub-variety of Central Midland Standard'.40

Bishops' registers and other documentary sources give evidence of much Lollard activity outside the Central Midland region, especially in the west, in centres such as Bristol, Hereford, Gloucester, Worcester and Oxford, or in the east and south, at Norwich, Colchester and Rochester, as well as in the north, at York. Indeed, it is likely that there was some penetration of Lollardy into all the weaving districts, for among weavers and artisans of related crafts, where success in business was related to independence of mind and spirit, and where literacy was a useful accomplishment, Lollardy seems to have found a receptive audience.41

Considering the relatively wide geographical spread of Lollardy, it is surprising to find the narrow range of dialects


40 M. Benskin and M. Laing, 'Translation and Mischsprachen in Middle English Manuscripts', p. 90.
represented in Lollard texts. Indeed, the dominance of Central Midland Standard has invited the hypothesis that 'it seems probable that it was Lollard policy to use this type of language, perhaps partly for convenience (because most of the scribes would be drawn from that area), but also for its suitability as a koiné and in the interests of anonymity'. The fact that the linguistic features of Lollard literature are in any way predictable and standardized adds weight to the hypothesis that Lollard literary activity was perhaps to a considerable extent organized, centralized and supervised.

The cumulative evidence of Lollard texts indicates that there was a link between their language and that of the regions from which immigration into London was heaviest from the late fourteenth century onwards. The language of the Central Midlands, especially of Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire and South Leicestershire (where a number of notorious Lollard centres were situated) 'had achieved the status of a literary language' and it was this language that contributed much to


42 Samuels, 'The Dialects of Bodley 959', p. 338.

43 M. L. Samuels, 'Some Applications of Middle English Dialectology', English Studies, 44 (1963), 89.
the development of the standard literary language from which Chancery English evolved. "Lollardy, in its commitment to the vernacular and to literary means for evangelization, aided the spread of this standard. The dialect evidence of Lollard texts therefore has important implications both for the history of the Lollard movement and for the history of written standard English."

DURHAM UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, COSIN MS. V. iii. 6 (D)

The Durham dialogue shows chiefly Central Midland linguistic features, though there is a considerable degree of contamination from other dialects, chiefly northern, but also eastern and southern. The following features are important:

a. Phonology

[1] The ME reflex of OE /a/ + nasal (not in a lengthening group) is predominantly the non-WML unrounded /a/, written <a>, as in man (9), game(n) (426, 486), answer (89 etc.) name (85), mani (8, 371), shame (145).

On the form moni (25 etc. (x8)) (and oni) see Jordan, §§30.1, 268).

" J. H. Fisher, 'Chancery and the Emergence of Standard Written English in the Fifteenth Century', Speculum, 52 (1977), 870-99. Fisher claims (at 885) that the language of the early phase of Lollardy, as it developed in centres of Wycliffite activity like Lutterworth and Leicester in the Central Midlands, was one of the 'two written standards' from which Chancery English, and subsequently standard English, evolved.

" Samuels, 'Some Applications of Middle English Dialectology', 84-5; A.O. Sandred, 'Prolegomena to a Renewed Study of the Rise of Standard English', in So many tongues and tongues, pp. 31-42.
Before a lengthening group -nd, -ng and -mb, the reflex became /oː/, spelled <o>, characteristic in eME of non-N (i.e. ML, S and W dialects), seen in longe (32), amonge (14), honde (429), stonde (502), vnderstonde (20, 113, 338), wipstonde (77).

In northern and eastern dialects, however, lengthening before the final dental probably never occurred because of the unvoicing of /d/ to /t/, as in hand(e) (213, 224 etc.), land (17, 212 etc.) and Yng(e)land (1, 163). This form predominates in a ratio c. 4:1 over the <o> form, pointing to a N or NEML influence, though by the date of the text the spread to the S was well underway.

[2] The reflex of OE /aː/ is always the rounded non-N /ɔː/ form, written <o>, (not the N unrounded /aː/), as in holi (6, 11 etc.), bope (52 etc.), none (41), old (52), more (17), lobe (395), token(e) (302, 480), oneli (51, 100), one, num. (321), wote, pr.1 sg. (197 etc.), goste (492), gosteli(ch(e) (136 etc.). The form hald (310) provides an instance of N /aː/ from Anglian /aː/, rather than the ML development to /ɔː/, spelled <o> (see Jordan, §61, Wright, §71).

[3] The reflexes of OE /aː/ + /w/ and /ɔː/ are generally the rounded non-N forms in /ouː/, written <ow, ou>: soule (104 etc.), know(e) (28 etc.), owen, own(e) (22, 164), nounber (443), beside naiber (375), which may represent EML /naiðə/ (Jordan §94.2, Wright §107.5, Moore, p. 123).

N and NWML unrounded forms in /au/, written <aw> are seen in knawen, pp (141), awen (147), and in the forms retaining the aspirant, ait (50), tart (35), though this feature had extended to the ML and Kent by the fifteenth century.
/a/ + /y/ yields the form /au/, written <au>, seen in lawe (8).

/o:/ + /y/ gives the non-N form /o/, <ow>, seen in drowe, pa.t. (488), slowe, 'slew', pa.t. (258) and subj. (251).

[4] OE /eo/ was unrounded to /e/ in EML, including Kent, and probably in the N from the twelfth century; i.e. in all areas except WML and SW where the vowel /o/ was preserved, written <eo, o, u, ue>, though in the late ME period unrounding also occurred in the WML (Jordan, §§65, 73; Wright §60).

In the present dialogue, the non-SW, non-WML forms in <e> predominate: clepes, clepid (174, 176), heuen(e (70, 71 etc.), seuen (103), erbe (51 etc.), pepe, -il(l(e (14, 56 etc (x18))), beside the WML and SW forms popel, -il, pupel, -il (14, 214 etc (x7) (< OF puple), meue, meui, 'move(s' (40, 101, 363), beside mouse: (1, < OF muever).

For OE /eo/ followed by /r/ (and loans in /e/), the non-WML, non-SW <e> form prevails rather than the N (and later, more general) lowering to /a/, written <a>: lerne (24, 46), hert (82, 390), werk (from Saxon weorc, 313 etc), clerk (1,3 etc), clergie (7,27 etc), serve (240), person, 'parson' (301), merci (103).
Under the influence of initial /w/ + /r/, OE /eo/ becomes /wor-/, a N and ML form seen in worbi (176), world etc (65 etc), worschin (140 etc), though by the end of the fourteenth century this form was more generally characteristic, as in Chaucer and London English.

[5] OE eo was unrounded to /e:/ in EML, SML from the twelfth century. This form is used in the present dialogue, as in preste 23 etc.), pre (362), bene (10 etc.), fre (223), lemman (294), leue, 'dear' (326 etc.). (See Jordan, §84)

In OE eo followed by w, the /w/ is vocalized to the /eu/ diphthong, spelled <ew>, a non-W development: trewliche (202); the form steward (305) exemplifies the falling together of the diphthongs /iu/ and /eu/ under /iu/; from c. 1400 the back-spelling <ew> for <iw> became common, also a non-W, non-SW development.

[6] The raising of <e(:)> to <i(:)>, a common northern and eastern characteristic, is seen sporadically beside the more general <e>, although in the samples from the text, the change is possibly conditioned by the following consonants: togider (2), sit 'yet' (125 etc (x11) beside met (161), Yng(e)land (1, 163), sis (137), licchorie (299) (Wright, §§99, 127, Jordan, §34, Dobson 1957:II, §§76 and note 4, 136).
Sporadic spellings of ⟨e⟩ for etymological ⟨i⟩ may show an eastern (East Anglian) influence, as in ref. jeue, 'if' (170, 227 etc {x20}) beside rif (359, 367) (see Davis, 1954:122 and footnote 14, Jordan, §271, Dobson, 1957:1, §80.3).

The reflex of OE /y(:)/, written ⟨y⟩ is the unrounded /i(:)/ form, spelled ⟨i,y⟩. This form was characteristic of the N, (N)EML, where the sound change may also have been conditioned by following palatals: kynde (86), synne (114), bi, 'buy' (432 etc), kicchen (306), chirch(e) (23 etc), first (117 etc), kinne (4 etc), gilt (22), litel, -il (20, 374 etc), minister (149 etc), wirch(e, v. (313, 319), did (202).

In big(g)e (434, 478) the vowel is influenced by the following palatal, presenting a development common to S dialects rather than that of the new formation byen seen in ML and N dialects (Wright, §296).

In meri (337) and wers (428) OE /y/ is unrounded and lowered to /e/ (a common Kentish feature), though this was not exclusively a SE feature, as it was common before /s/ or /r/. Alternatively, the forms may show lowering of /i/ to /e/, characteristic of eastern dialects (see [7] above).

There are no instances of the rounded /y/ form spelled ⟨u⟩ which remained in WML and SW dialects.

There is no S voicing of initial /s/ or /f/ and there are no instances of N .gateway, -is for s(c)h- /-ie(c)h/.
The development of final /ɔ/ to /ɛ/, seen in *pof* *though* (149, 160, 357) is a N, NML and later CML feature (Samuels, map 2, Jordan §§197, 294).

Before /t/ the palatal spirant /צ/ is retained, as in *knıxt*, *knight* (1, 80 etc), *fiıt* (438, 491), *rıxt* (31 etc), generally a feature of the N. (Jordan, §295, Wright, §46)

The reflex of the OE consonant group /Ʉw/ in unstressed words is not simplified to /w/ as was characteristic of the S, SEML, but is consistently spelled <wh>. There are no instances of N, NML spellings in <qu>.

There is no N /k/ for /tʃ/ (e.g. *kırk* for *chirch*), but the N, NEML unassibilated /k/ is present in *mıkel* (237) beside the palatal /tʃ/ <ch> form in *mich(e* (21, 41) (Jordan, pp. 166–7). This mixture is characteristic of the boundary between the northwest and the southeast of the ML region.
[13] Of the special cases noted by Samuels in his article ‘Some Applications of Middle English Dialectology’ as having distinct dialectal significance, considerable mixing is evident: WML, SML sich(e (49, 148 etc) (Map 4); EML, N, NML oni (124) (Map 6); CML, EML and SE self (Map 7), and WML pp jeuen (Map 9); N, NEML mikel (237) is found beside dominant mich(e (21, 41 etc), a form attested in the NWML and EML (Map 5).

Similar evidence, though slight, is found in the occurrence of the form hundrep (251), a NML form which extended into an area including part of Rutland, east Leicestershire and northeast Northamptonshire.**

b. Morphology and Accidence

[1] NOUNS: The plural inflexion is exclusively -es/-s, with no trace of the S -en; there is a late survival of the uninflected plural in god(e (19, 263). The uninflected genitive used adjectivally, a N characteristic, is seen in antecrist (243), emperoure (160), kinge (169) and lord (266), but the inflected form predominates.

[2] PRONOUNS: Pronominal forms illustrate a mixing of dialects, with

N as well as ML and S forms, though ML and S forms predominate.

(i) Third person plural, oblique cases and reflexive generally show the native form hem (16), though N paim is also present (7, 11), a form not in general use in EML texts until the fifteenth century (Wright, §376).

(ii) The third person sg.fem.pron. is acho (364), a N, NML form.

(iii) Of the possessive pronouns, only the conjunctive (adjectival) forms are represented, chiefly by the ML and S form her(e, 'their' (93 etc), but N pair occurs (8), a form which spread to all dialects during the fifteenth century (ratio 4:1).

(iv) For the plural demonstrative pronoun, the ML form bies, 'these' is used (62; but usually sg. in this text), and for plural 'those', the non-N po is found (291) (Wright §383).

[3] VERBS:

(i) In the infinitive, final -n is sometimes retained, as in lessen (18), betene (61), techen, prechen (102), though by the probable date of this manuscript, it was generally dropped from the infinitive in all regions.

(ii) N, NML form -es is used for the pr.2 sg. in spkes (13), seemea (23) etc. beside dominant non-N forms in -est/-ist, askist (31), bindest (71) (ratio c. 1:9).

(iii) For the pr.3 sg. the EML, S and Kentish ending -eb/-it dominates (bereb 11, saip 129), but the N, NML, WML ending in -es does occur (wipstondes 174, takes 477, distroyes 237; ratio c. 24:1). The mixing was characteristic of both the EML and WML (Wright §391).

(iv) The present plural also shows a mixture. Beside the dominant ML inflexion in -(e)/-en/-ne (beren 224, teche 342, sayne 222), is
one instance of the N, NEML inflexion -es (clepes 174), together with a significant incidence of the S and Kentish inflexion -ep (mellep 7, wenep 123). This mixture is now known to be characteristic of a localized area in the NEML.47

(v) The geminate form habbeb, pr.pl. (201) is a S feature beside dominant haue, the N, ML (and later general) form. This ambivalence is also seen in the forms big(q)e, 'buy' (434, 478) beside bi (432) (Wright, §296, Brunner, §§69.17, 70.3).

(vi) For the pr.p. only the S, ML form in -yne is found, never the N. -ende/-inde form.

(vii) The pp. of strong verbs are found with the eastern and northern inflexion in -en(e (reuene 10, bounden 71), beside the more usual form without the final -n.

There is no instance of the i- prefix characteristic only of southern dialects by the end of the fourteenth century.

(viii) For the pr.2 sg. the verb 'to be' provides the N form ert (22) beside the more frequent ML form art (39 etc; ratio 1:5). The 3 sg. takes the N form ee; the plural 'are' is either EML bene (19 (x8)) or S,SWML beth, bep (25, 201,419), but never N are(n.

The mixed language of the Durham dialogue points to its origins in a Central Midland region, but with considerable mixing or contamination from N, NEML and to a lesser extent from eastern and southern dialects.

Professor McIntosh has suggested in a private communication that the Durham text is an example of a Mischsprache with a strong Northern ingredient. Benskin and Laing, also in a private communication, suggest that the dialect belongs to the 'S Lincs area, especially to a zone extending from the Soke of Peterborough to the NE Leics. border ... in fairly central far S Lincs'. The evidence for this region of known mixed usage comes especially from the prominent use of the S verbal inflexion -eþ in a language with dominant ML and N features. Mr Benskin also comments: 'the possibility that the scribal dialect is from this area, but that there are relicts of some other dialect in this text, should be borne in mind.'

TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN MS 245 (T2)

The language of this dialogue also shows evidence of being a sub-type of Central Midland Standard, but with influences from other non-Midland dialects. The following features are of dialectal significance:

a. Phonology

[1] The reflex of /a/ + nasal, not in a lengthening group is always the unrounded non-WML /a/, written <a>, as in answere (141 etc), man (8 etc), many (1 etc), schame (56 etc), name (165 etc).

I am grateful to Professor A. McIntosh, Mr M. Benskin and Dr M. Laing, all of the University of Edinburgh Middle English Dialect Project, for their consideration of the dialects of the present dialogues.
Before a lengthening consonant group, the reflex is /ɔː/, spelled ⟨o⟩, characteristic of the ML and S and conforming to the change /aː/ to /ɔː/ as seen in among(e (95 etc), long(e (161 etc), hond (380), londe (94), stonde (125 etc), vndurstonden. -est (143, 389) (Jordan, §31.2 and map p.55)

A single example of the form larde also appears (286), a N, NEML form which did not not conform to the rounding, but which had begun to supersede the NML and S form in ⟨o⟩ in the group ⟨-ond⟩ towards the end of the fourteenth century (though the ⟨o⟩ form was still current in Chaucer as it was in much London English).

[2] The reflex of OE /aː/ is the rounded non-N form /ɔː/, written ⟨o, oo⟩: home (29), hoomly (10), hool (65), hop(e (37 etc), atonya (75), oold(e (84 etc), more (9 etc), tokyn (212), only (140), con (157 etc), goost (282 etc), go(o)stly (29 etc), cloping, clopis (56, 180 etc), noon, none (111, 314 etc).

The unrounded N form /aː/ written ⟨a⟩ occurs once, in haliday (32).

The reflex of OE a appears once as the WML and N form env (322), beside dominant env (135 etc), an early K development from æ, the i-umlaut of æ which had by the date of this text become widespread.

[3] The reflex of OE /aː/ + /w/ or /ɔː/ is generally the rounded non-N form /ɔːː/, written ⟨ow, ou⟩: soule (190), houber (105), knowen (181), owen (67, 148), beside N aue (131). Newber (411) is an EML form (Jordan, §94.2, Wright, §107.5, Moore, p. 123).
/a/ + /u/ yields the non-N /au/ in lawe (2), drawe, inf. (137) and drawyn, pp. (48).

/o:/ + /u/ yields the non-N /ou, u/, in slowen, 'slew' (302).

/o:/ + /œ/ gives the non-N forms /œ:o/ and /œ:œ/ in inowe 'enough' (101, 278) and inou~ (366) (Jordan, §125, Wright, §§114, 120).

In heiset, hiset (329, 81) is seen the non-N (CML, CS) development of /e:/ + the voiceless fricative /h/ to /ei/ (Jordan §97.2 and map p. 121).

[4] The reflex of OE /œo/ is the unrounded /œ/, written <œ>, as in clepid, -vn (41, 71 etc), heuen(e (3 etc), seuen (415), not the WML, SW /œ/ form, spelled <eo, o, ue, u> (though these were gradually unrounded in the late ME period). OF ue > Anglo Norman /œ:/, which fell together with OE eo, was also unrounded > /œ:/, remeuyci (54), meue (40).

Nor, when the vowel is conditioned by following r, do we find the N form in /a/, <a>: erpe, -ly (11, 316 etc), hertis (53 etc), fer, 'far' (162), person(es (3, 26), xerne (199), clerkis (18 etc), clergie (235), werke etc (76 etc) beside N warkea (415), peple (20 etc {x6}) beside WML, SW punle (25, 63).

Under the influence of /w/ + /r/, OE /œo/ > /wur/, <wur> in ML and S dialects, as in wurschip (49), against the form <wur>, seen in worti (295), world (18 etc), worschip(es (73, 246 etc).
[5] The reflex of OE əo is /e:/, not the WML, SW /æ:/ form, spelled əo, u etc. Though /e:/ became general except in Kent during the fourteenth century: prest etc (26 etc), free (150 etc), ben (4 etc), beden (24), forbedit (135), fende(e (5 etc), fre(e (77), fle(e (199 etc) and fleze (22).

The WML reflex of əo + w is seen in the forms true (23 {x8}), trupe (297 {x11}), beside the non-WML forms treue (44, 278), treupe, -is (2, 158, 391) [WS ie + w].

[6] Examples can be found of <e> raised to <i>. The feature was prevalent in the N, though not exclusively localized. In all the examples of the text the change is likely to have been conditioned by the following consonants: togidre (4, 38, 180), xitt (138 {x5}), hil, 'to cover' (< helan, 184), sylf (57 {x9}), beside self (112).

[7] In leue (70) and whech(e (4 {x6}) we may have instances of <e> for etymological <i>, a lowering which was characteristic of East Anglia (see also [7] under Durham, Phonology).

[8] The reflex of OE /y(:)/ is predominantly the N, (N)EML unrounded vowel /i(:)/, spelled <i/y>: synne (59 etc), hisi(l)ly (31, 63 etc), wirchyn(g (166), did (10 etc), sistris (41 etc), binkynq (197), pride (347), filled (282), kynreden (109), bir(e (304), little (366), first (393).
The forms churche (1 etc), such(e (123, 251), furst (15 (x5)), vurchyng (197 (x3)) possibly imply the WML and SW reflex /y/, written <u>, though the sound is conditioned by preceding /ʃ/ and following /r/, consonants which favoured rounding (Wright, §216).

The lowered and unrounded Kentish reflex in /e/ may be indicated in the two occurrences of seche, 'such' (364, 376) beside the dominant /i/ form in sich(e (33 (x20)), though the form could also be an East Anglian lowering of <i> to <e> (see [7] above).

[9] There is no S voicing of initial /s/ or /f/ and final /v/ takes the non-N voiced form. There is no N g- or -is for s(c)h-, -is(c)h, unless foolish (257) is understood as the adj. 'foolish' rather than the poss. case.

[10] Velar spirant /χ/ + /t/ is generally retained, a non-S, non-SML feature which remained late in the NWML; nor is the EML, SW transition from /χw/ to /ʃ/ seen for medial /χ/: brouxt (213), nouxt (279,334), pouten (279), fourten (179), taut (115,138) beside tauten (231).

The graph is introduced unetymologically in oun (318, 331) beside dominant oun(e)n (289 etc), confirming the non-S, SML development.

Retention of final /χ/ (N, NML) is suggested in oun(o)ux, 'through' (48, 59 etc), poux, 'though' (72 etc), flexe (22) beside fle(e (199, 215), inoux (366) beside inowe (101, 278).
The palatal spirant /ʃ/ is also retained before /t/ (N, NML), rather than the loss of the spirant and lengthening of the vowel found in S, SML dialects: knyʃt (155), nɪʃt (196), lɪʃtly (365), myʃt(y (22, 28 etc), riʃt(ful) (284, 169 etc). (Wright, §46, Jordan §295)

[11] The reflex of OE <hw> is the non-S, non-SEML <wh>, rather than the simplified <w>, though the form became widespread, and prevails in Chaucer manuscripts, for example: what (74), where (162), who(m (292, 48), wheche and which(e (4 etc) beside wic(h (411).

[12] N metathesis is seen in briddis, 'birds' (266), prið 'third' (70, 394) and dritt (243), though this feature was probably non-dialectal after the twelfth century (Jordan, §§164, 165, Wright, §244).

[13] Of the special forms discussed by Samuels in ‘Some Applications of Middle English Dialectology’, the CML forms iche (44), mych(e (78), -eɪlɛ (57), stɪd (74), pəʊʒ (72), lɪjˈf (19) and many (1) are used to the exclusion of other forms, or predominate, as in sich(e (33 (x20)), beside seche (364, 376) and such(e (123, 251): ʃʌʊn (213, 310) beside səʊn (100, 125).

Both ML, S hundrɪd (320) and N, NML hundrɛd (375) occur, while the form fyʊɛ (107) indicates a region not north of the CML.

N relics are perhaps seen in the forms vndorne (195, from ON undorn rather than OE undern) and wehpur, a N form for 'whither' (64).

McIntosh, 'Word Geography', Maps 3, 4.
b. Morphology and Accidence

[1] NOUNS: The plural and poss. inflexions are generally -is/-ys/-s, with a few examples of the -es endings (ratio c. 6:1). The -is form was characteristic of northern and eastern dialects, while the variation was characteristic of the ML. There is no instance of the S pl. in -en.

[2] PRONOUNS: The pronominal forms show minor variants from dialects outside the dominant Midlands.

(i) The ML form hem is used for 3 pl. oblique cases and reflexive pronouns, with one instance of the N form hem (25).

(ii) In the 3 pl. poss. case, ML and S her(e, 'their', is the usual form, beside a few instances of N heire, here (71, 117 (x6)).

(iii) The demonstrative forms are ML bis and pise, sg. and pl. (8,36), though there are examples of the N, NML pese (72 (x4)).

(iv) Hit, a N relict, appears twice (336, 354) beside dominant it, which generally supplanted the older form in the fifteenth century.

[3] VERBS:

(i) The inflexion of the pr.2 sg. is always non-N -est/-ist (spekist 381, farest 386 etc).

(ii) Pr.3 sg. shows predominantly the EML, S and K -et/-et inflexional ending, as in acordip(e (132, 296 etc), but there are instances of the N, NML and WML form in -is, departis (63) and techis (192).

(iii) In the pr.pl. only the ML forms in -e(on/-un/-yn are found (answere 141, assoylen 245 etc).

(iv) The pr.pl. always takes the -yn(e form, and the pp. of strong
verbs generally takes the N -en form (biden 24) beside one occurrence of non-N -e ending (done 11). There is no use of the participial prefix.

(v) The verb 'to be' supplies the ML and S form is for pr. 3 sg. and the pr.pl. form ben, never N are or S bep(e) forms.

The evidence suggests that the language of this dialogue is in a CML or CEM dialect, with some mixing of N, NEML and SEML features, as well as minor Kentish, East Anglian, WML and SW influences.50

The mixing of dialect features seen here was characteristic of the CML, and there is much documentary evidence for Lollard activity in this region, making the linguistic analysis historically likely.

TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN MS. 244 (T1)

The language of hand B responsible for the dialogue in Trinity College Dublin MS 244 (T1) provides another example of a sub-type of the Central Midlands dialect.

There are, however, complications with this hand, for it contributes two different kinds of language, while hand A of the manuscript provides yet another variety. This mixing of dialects in the same manuscript and by the same scribe points to a complex history of transmission, perhaps including dialect

50 In a private communication, Mr Benskin has commented that 'on present evidence the local origins are unclear, and the language may be mixed', but he notes that there are suggestions 'of a main ingredient characteristic of S Northants right on the Bucks border, in the Wolverton area'.

Mixing is seen in the language of the dialogue, including elements of both northerly and easterly influence within a dominant Central Midlands dialect. The main features of the language are as follows:

a. Phonology

[1] The reflex of OE /a/ + nasal, not in a lengthening group, is predominantly the non-WML unrounded /a/, written <a>: man (16 etc), mani (32 etc), answervynge (26), schame- (252 etc), name- (359), panke (237).

Before a lengthening group, the reflex of OE /a/ + nasal is the rounded /ɔː/, written <o>, characteristic of SML and S dialects, and seen here in stronge (228 etc), wrong- (229 etc), longe (86 etc), among(e) (241 etc), wombe (111 etc), as well as in the group -ond, hondis (29 etc), Engelond, Yngelond (27, 28 etc), -stonde(n) (40, 51 etc).

The N, NML <a> form, which by the end of the fourteenth century had become general in all areas, is seen only in hangep (216).


Though Professor Samuels has suggested that this dialect can be localized in S. Beds, in or near Ampthill, until publication of the evidence on which this localization is proposed, it seems impossible to determine precisely the provenance of the language.
(106), olde (194), more (57), holy etc (6 etc), on, oon(e num. (30 etc), wot pr. 1 sg. (102), token (325), goost etc (286 etc), lyflode (29 etc), hope (3 etc), whom (25 {x6}). There is a single example of N /a:/, spelled <a>, in wham (22).

[3] OE /a:/ + /w/ or /ŋ/ takes the non-N form /oːu:/, spelled <ow, ou>, in known (163 etc), owne adj. (129).

OE /a/ + /ŋ/ yields non-N /au/, written <aw> in lawe (216 etc).

The form hieste (53) may imply the N, NML development of /eː/ + /h/ to /eː/, while nei; bore (213 etc), eisen (37) and i;en (236 etc) illustrate the CML and CS development of OE /eː/ to raised /ei/, spelled <ei, i>, with a glide after /eː/ (Jordan, §§ 97, 101).

[4] The reflex of OE /eo/ (and of OF /ue/) is the unrounded /e/, spelled <e>, a non-SW, non-WML development, seen in xelowe (330), heuen(e (127 etc), peple (256 etc), prewe; (31, < OF preuver).

The same sound is produced when OE /eo/ or French <e> in loan words is conditioned by following /r/, a usage dominant by the fifteenth century (rather than the N development of /eo/ + /r/ to /ar/): clerk (3), desertis (113, 149), werkis (191 etc), merce (173 etc), personel (127).

Under the influence of /w/ + /r/, /eo/ yields /wor/, seen in world (321), worship- (1), worp; (306), rather than ML, S /wur/.
[5] The reflex of OE əe is the unrounded /e:/ common in the S, EML and N from the twelfth century, and general in all regions except Kent by the late fourteenth century: ben (13 etc), frendis (6), cheese fethyn (366).

In eo + w, vocalization of the /w/ takes place, yielding EML, SML (i.e. non-W) /eu/, spelled <ew>, a spelling derived from non-West Saxon io(eo) + w: trewe, trewpe (4, 12 etc), beside trube (5) (Wright, §112).

[6] Yngelond (267) and pristhode (307) supply instances of the raising of <e> to <i/y>, a common N characteristic.

[7] The reflex of OE /y(:)/ is the N and (N)EML unrounded form /i(:)/, spelled <i, y>: kvnde (67), synne (40 etc), chirche (200), birpe (165) first (78 etc), kvndom (323 etc), bigge (260), though in this word the vowel was influenced by the following palatal, and shows the common S development N (Wright, §297).

[8] There is no S voicing of initial /ʃ/ or /s/. There is no N s- for s(c)h-, or -ia for -is(c)h.
The velar spirant /X/ is generally retained before /t/, pouxt (189), nouxt(t) (14, 107 etc).

Final /X/ is also retained in porux, poux, 'through' (122, 337).

The palatal spirant /ɣ/ is retained before /t/ as in N, NML dialects: rixt(- (77 etc), sịxt (35 etc), myxte (106).

The reflex of OE <hw> is <wh>, rather than the simplified E, S form <w> (though <wh> was also common in these regions): what (49 etc), where (49 etc) whom, wham (22, 25) etc.

The special cases of CML forms noted by Samuels are used exclusively, or at least more consistently than forms common in non-CML dialects: poux (337), ech(e (9, 12 etc), myche (57 etc), sịlf (115 etc), ony (49 (x6), beside any (109). The form of the ordinal tenpe (231) is a non-N, non-NML form.

The N forms woke, 'week' (238) and rennet, rennyrge (136, 137) 'runs, running', may indicate the presence of a N relict in the dialect (though in both cases the forms were non-dialectal by the date of this text: Jordan, §§26, 36, 165)

b. Morphology and Accidence.

[1] NOUNS: The plural inflexion is predominantly -is/-es/-s, with -is forms being approximately three times more frequent than the -es

52 McIntosh, 'Word Geography', Map 4.
forms. There are also isolated instances of the S plural in -en: eizen, izen 37, 236, 239, 306; sonen (142), beside sones (123).

[2] PRONOUNS:

(i) The CML form hem is found for the oblique cases of the 3 pl. pronoun.

(ii) The EML form sche is used for the fem.sg. pronoun, a form that was in any case general by the mid-fourteenth century except in the S (Wright, §375).

(iii) Of the pl.poss. pronouns, ML and S here, 'their' (29 etc) predominates, but there are isolated instances of N per (263, 343, 344).

(iv) The N, NML demonstrative pronoun pes, 'these' (28 etc) is found, never the ML form pis(e) (Wright, §383).

(v) The form pilk(e is used as a personal pronoun (34, 117, 159, 188), and as a demonstrative pronoun 'that', 'those' (16, 93, 114, 132).

Thulleres (271) is perhaps cognate with pilke (as a personal pronoun), but its use, etymology and sense are unrecorded.53

[3] VERBS:

(i) The -en ending of the infinitive is occasionally preserved (demen 152, leeuwen 196, meden 260), a form lost early in the N.

(ii) For the pr. 3 sg. the inflexion is always the S, EML form in -ep/-ip.

(iii) For the pr.pl. the ending is predominantly the ML form in

There are some occurrences of the S inflexional ending -en/-in/-yn (abide 86, aleggen 329 etc).
doit 85, hauep 27 etc). The ratio of ML to S forms is c. 8:1.
There are no N, NML endings in -ee.

(iv) Only the S, ML form -inge/ynge is found for the pr.p.
The pp. of strong verbs show variable forms, both with and without the N -en ending, while the S, ML prefix is common (imade 22, igroundid 50).
The pp. of weak verbs generally ends in -ed, but there are instances of N -id forms (clepid 75, 277).

(v) The verb 'to be' gives ML, S is (pr. 3 sg.) beside occasional EML, S heb (188, 306); the EML, S ben (pr. 3 pl.) is the dominant form beside heb (9, 107 etc; ratio c. 3:1).

(vi) The verb 'to do' shows ML, S dop, doit (pr. 3 sg. 359, 358); for pr.pl. ML don (19, 37) beside S doit (85); there are no N forms.

TRINITY COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE MS. B. 14. 50 (C)
The language of the Cambridge dialogue, written in the same hand as the other vernacular tracts in the codex, also belongs to the Central Midland region, but with evidence of influence from several divergent dialects, including N, NEML, EML, East Anglian and S (including Kentish), and to a lesser extent, WM and SW. 54

54 From the tracts on folios 26-34 of the manuscript, Professor Samuels has localized the language as belonging to NW Buckinghamshire, in the Verney Junction area. The evidence supplied below indicates the mixed nature of the language, but with a stronger NEML influence than is suggested by Samuels' localization.
The following are the main features of the language:

[1] The reflex of OE /a/ + nasal not in a lengthening group is the non-WML unrounded /a/, spelled <a>: man (20 etc), answere etc (807 etc), many (49 etc), name (182 etc), banke (102), schame- (18 etc), gamen (486).

Before a lengthening group the reflex is rounded to the back sound /ɔː/:, spelled <o>: long(e) (145, 171), amonge (40 etc), wrongee (419 etc), londe (363), Englonl (1079), stonde(n etc (252 etc (x13)), beside the less frequent N, NEML /a/ in handes (574), stande (52, 936), vndurstande(n (882 (x5)), a form which gradually penetrated to the EML and S in the fifteenth century (Jordan §§31, 269).

[2] The reflex of OE /a:/ is the ML, S (i.e. non-N) rounded /ɔː:/, spelled <o, oo>: bope (90 etc), bone 'favour' (613), holi, hooli (6, 449 etc), lore (3, 209), wrot pa.t. (175), olde (158 etc), tolde pp. (172), wot pr. 1 sg. (122 etc), mo(re (7, 562), token (488), only (28 etc), oo, oon (191, 229 etc), cost etc (14 etc), clop(es, clopid etc (12, 35, 95 etc) beside a single example of the N unrounded form in /a/:, clapid (34).

[3] The reflex of OE /æ/ is seen as /a/, spelled <a>, a form common from the twelfth century except in WML and K, where front /e/, spelled <e> was characteristic until the fourteenth century: blecket (622) beside the more general /a/ form, seen in blake (954), blackenes (738), late 'late' (102), fat (2).
Among the ME diphthongs the following are significant: (i) The reflex of /a:/ + /w/ or /y/ is generally the rounded non-N form in /ou:/, written <ow, ou>: soule (11 etc), owep (712), owne (36 etc), blowing (261), slowe (153), sowen (83 etc), knowe(n (2, 7), nowber (938) beside EML neiber (321 etc) and neber (321), ouper (205 etc) beside oiber (296).

/a/ + /y/ yields the non-N /au/ sound, written <aw>: drawen (330), lawe (141 etc).

/o:/ + /-w/ yields the non-N form in growe (503).

/o:/ + /-x/ yields the non-N form in inowe (55 etc).

/e:/ + /h/ is raised to the CHL and CS /e:i/ in hise, hisest, hitenesse, hired vbl.adj. etc (106, 753, 901 etc), neiueb (287), eizere (812), eizete (70, 75).

[5] The general late ME reflex of OE /eo/ (and of OF ue) is seen as unrounded /e/, spelled <e>, in clerpe etc (26 etc), heuen(e (28 etc), felle (101 etc), self (75 etc), breke(n (453 etc), brekep (16), dispreue (23), repreveu (690), feile, 'many' (505, unless this implies the SW /fa:la/, Jordan, §73.2), pepul (467 etc {x3}), beside the WML, SW front round vowel /ζ/, spelled <u>, in puple, -el, -ul (40, 89 etc {x23}), meue(d, 'move(d' (928, 959) beside moued, moued (229, 233 {x4}).

When conditioned by following /r/, the non-WML, non-SW reflex /e/ is generally found, as also for loan words with French <e>: servue (322 etc), erpe etc (86); perso(u)n(e)s (4 etc), hert(e (583 etc), lerne (3), desert(e (50 etc), clerke (70 etc {x15}), beside the N back form clerkes (24, Jordan, §67), though the
form was found in vulgar London English by the fifteenth century (Dobson, 1957:II, §64).

Under the influence of initial /w/ + /r/, the reflex of OE /eo/ is the characteristic and general form /wor/, seen in worpe, worpi (56, 400), worschip (884 etc), world(e (16 etc), and in worc(e(n from OE weorc (876, 773) beside werchen (864), werke (493 etc; see also [9] below).

[6] OE eo yields the non-WML, non-SW /e:/, spelled <e> in prest (239 etc) and preist(is (1040, 1088, where the digraph <ei> implies a lengthened sound; see below, [16]), ben (28 etc), fende (39 etc), fle (1010), seckenesse (561), forbede etc (346 etc), fre(e (945 etc), checib, chee(e(n (102, 245, 250 etc) beside chosen, pr.pl. (253), a possible WML, SW reflex /o:/, though this spelling might simply imply /o:/.

OE eo + w is vocalized to the diphthong /eu/, spelled <ew>, a non-W, non-S form, seen in trewe(ly, trewe, treube (39, 74, 224 etc), rather than S, WML forms in <uw, yw> (Wright, §112.2, 65).

[7] Sporadic instances of <e> being raised to <i> are possibly seen, as in wil 'well' (914), beside dominant wel (122 etc), jilt (144 etc {x6}) beside the WML, SW <u> form in jut (54, 478, 609). This development may reflect East Anglian (and partly N) confusion of /e/ and /i/, though in all the examples which this text yields, the sound is likely to have been conditioned by the following consonants.
[8] Sporadic instances of East Anglian <e> for etymological <i>
are seen in wete, 'know' (9) beside wite (1082), welle n.
'will' (1020, 1022) beside wille (238, 265, 432 etc),
lord(e)schen (240, 1067) beside lorschín (981), hez, 'his'
(376) beside his (11 etc).

[9] The reflex of OE /y(:)/ is usually the N, NEML and EML
unrounded form in /i(:)/, spelled <i, y>, as seen in kynde
(149 etc), synne (26 etc), pride (44 etc), kynesæ (62 etc),
kynrede(s) (181 etc), girdel (37), fire (274), biried (27 etc),
biside, bisied 'bisied' (794 etc), bisines(se (94 etc),
chirche (4), fir(i)st (106 etc), siche (719).

There is possible Kentish influence in the reflex /e/,
spelled <e> in beldina 'building' (801), wers, werst (495,
1081), and in werchen pr.pl. (864), from OE wyrcan.v.
though the form may derive from the n. werc.

[10] There is no S voicing of initial /f/ or /s/, and no N s-
for s(c)h-.

Isolated alien forms are seen; in N and Sc /k/ for
/tʃ/, in kirke (1073); ON /v/ for /w/ in vaken (382) and
vyne (963; Jordan, §163; but cf. Dobson 1957:II, §374, and for
more general usage, see H. C. Wyld, A History of Modern
Colloquial English (Oxford, 1936), pp.292-3)); and E /w/
for /v/ in favour (214) though this form can also be explained
as an inverse occurrence of /w/ > /v/ (Jordan, §§163, 300).
The velar spirant /\h/ + /t/ is retained in *brou(t(en (157 etc), *nou(t (425 etc), *taut (1018 etc), *pou(t(e (156 etc).

A back-spelling, as in the use of unetymological <\>

Retention of final /\h/ is seen in *nou(t (582), *pou(t (630), and of the palatal spirant /\h/ in *rict(e (37 etc), *mict(e (476 etc), *lict(li (250 etc), beside the non-N form (i.e. S, SML) seen in knytte(e etc (215, 221 etc).

The reflex of OE <hw> is predominantly the simplified S and SEML form <w>, though <wh> also appears: *wan(n)e (77 (x28)) beside *whan(n)e (636, 1013), *wat (2 etc), were 'where' (940) beside *wher(e (251 (x4)) etc.

Norse influence is suggested by the palatalized /sk/ in *scated (381), beside the S form in schatered (542, Jordan, §181, 183).

The loss of /l/ in wordely 'worldly' (168, 333, 902) and wordelynesse (306) beside worldly (16, 306, 1064) is a feature found in N and E texts (Davis 1954:133).
[15] Of the special cases discussed by Samuels, the dominant forms are those belonging to the CML region: pouz (630), myche (219 etc), any (215 etc), seuen (195, 944), iche (16 etc) beside WML ech (473, 789) and N ilk (259), and Suche (9 etc) beside akhe (719, 1073); the form self (838 (x6)) is found beside dominant self (75 (x15)).

The forms of the ordinals fourt(e) (202, 244, 462) and fifte (824), and of the numerals hundreded (172), thousand(e, thousand (279, 280, 797 etc) are all characteristic of the NML.55

[16] Several lexical forms suggest N influence: clede (648, derived from ON klæde), cloutes (362), muk (525), cognate with ON and other Scandinavian forms, gresse, 'grass' (29), wiles, 'skills' (5), renne, 'run' (67), wapid (11), takest 'talk' (440) though for these last two see the commentaries for preferred sense and emendation.

In the forms feile, 'many' (505) and preist(is (1040, 1088), the <i> may signify the N graphic device for indicating vowel lengthening.

55 McIntosh, 'Word Geography', Maps 3 and 4.
b. Morphology and Accidence

[1] NOUNS: The plural and poss. have inflexional endings in -es or -is/-ys (ratio c. 3:1), with a lesser number of -s endings, especially after s; there are isolated instances of the WML form -us in chanounus (153, 168), dedus (753) and sipus (1038), beside dominant sipes (75 etc), and instances of the uninflected pl. (witnesse 340), good 513) and poss. (frere 935, 982).

[2] PRONOUNS:

(i) The CML form hem is used for the oblique cases of the 3 pl.pron. (2 etc), beside one instance of N hem (850).

(ii) Of the poss.pronouns, ML, S her(e ‘their’ (23, 44 etc) is used beside dominant N her (5, 32 etc).

(iii) N, NML demonstrative pes(e, peise ‘these’ (22, 77, 118, 1014) predominates, beside occasional N pis ‘these’ (23, 142, 506 etc, usually sg. ‘this’) and pise (130, 189 etc).

[3] VERBS:

(i) The inflexional ending is omitted from the infinitive, except for isolated endings in -en etc, as in trowen (338) and suffrin (1044).

(ii) For the pr. 2 sg. non-N -est/-ist predominates over N, NML -es, seen once in rekenes (697).

(iii) For the pr. 3 sg. the EML, S and Kentish inflexion in -ep/-it is used, never the N, NML and WML form in -es.

(iv) The ML inflexion in -en/-on/-yn/-e for the pr.pl. predominates
over S, K -ep/-ip (10:1), though the twelve examples of this inflexion constitute a taxonomically significant sample. 56

(v) The geminate form liggep, ‘lies’ (227) is a S form, beside N, ML lie, pr.pl. (437, 667) (Wright, §296, Brunner, §§69.17, 70.3)

(vi) In common with N and EML dialects, the pp. prefix is lost, but final -n is commonly retained.

(vii) The verb ‘to be’ supplies characteristic CML and London forms, 2 sg. art (1010), 3 sg. is (9), pr.pl. ben (28).

(viii) The verb ‘to do’ supplies the ML form do(o)p (569 etc, and ‘to go’, ML gob (287).

Until publication of the full range of evidence by the Edinburgh Middle English Dialect Project, exact localization of the language of these texts is not possible, though from what is now known of Middle English dialectology by the methods devised for that Project, the mixing or contamination evident in all four texts can be interpreted as confirming the Central Midland linguistic features of the texts, and as pointing to the presence of Mischsprache or of relics from other dialects, or as indicating 'translation' from one dialect to another. This phenomenon has an interesting implication, that a 'linguistic policy' with respect to dialect may have been imposed on those who wrote or copied Wycliffite texts.

56 See discussion of this point above under Durham University Library Cosin MS. V. iii. 6, VERBS (iv), pp.126-7.
IV

THE CONTENTS OF THE DIALOGUES:

CONCLUSIONS

1.

Durham University Library MS. Cosin V.iii.6

The choice of a knight and a clerk as the disputants accords with a custom disparaged by Langland, that 'clerkes and knyhtes carpen of god ofte'.¹ The status of both disputants promises a well informed and lively debate. The knight, expressing the Lollard point of view, appears to represent the group of influential Lollard supporters, among them parliamentary knights, whose importance to the movement was a matter of observation and comment.² Moreover, his arguments seem likely to have been addressed to the knights of parliament, the class best situated to take decisive action in favour of Lollard policy. It can surely have been of no light interest to Lollard apologists to provide such knights with the pro and contra arguments on the matter of temporal dominion, whether to win more active support, to make new converts, or to forestall defections among the knights whose influence must have enhanced the status of the movement considerably.³

The clerk, a former delegate to the papal curia, is an advocate for an extreme version of the papal hierocratic view, arguing for papal jurisdiction over national ecclesiastical temporalities, in opposition to the English view of regalian rights. Naturally enough, his arguments

1. Piers Plowman C XI/52.

150
are distorted, making them an easy target for the Lollard propagandist.

This selection of a knight and clerk, and the representation of their loyalties to the king and the pope respectively, establishes the ambience of the debate within the controversy over the relationship between church and state. The polemic is generated by the author's dismay over the breakdown of the laws of the land, the undisclosed context of which would have included statutes such as Provisors, and Praemunire and De religiosis (Mortmain). These regulated the balance of authority and dominion between the secular and ecclesiastical powers, especially between the papacy and the English crown. This was an issue which had its orthodox and topical aspect, embedded in parliamentary rolls and statutes and in the records of international diplomacy. Its inclusion in the Wycliffite context suggests the extent to which Wycliffism was consistent with the temper of the time.

Ultimately, however, the arguments of the Durham dialogue are heterodox. They reject sacerdotal authority over temporal affairs; clerical ownership of property and claims to immunity are challenged; they exclude the officers of the visible church from involvement in secular affairs on the grounds that this inevitably curtailed effective spiritual care:

\[
\text{it semep wele more synne for a preste pat es a person & hape}$\]
\[
cure of mennes soules to leewe his schepe ... & go & serve ...}$\]
\[
in temperele office ... for all sich seruys & mellinge wip}$\]
\[
worldlich nedes es forboden to all prestes. (D/301-25)$\]

More radically, the dialoguist also asserts the right of the lay power to judge and correct the ecclesiastical estate, so as to return the church to the state of evangelical perfection:

\[
\text{3ef be kinge were wele enfourmed, he schuld wele witt pat he}$\]
\[
mijt nomore help holi chirch pan to wipstonde be clergie when}$\]
\[
pat take vpon hem worldliche doynes & worldlich lordschip,}$\]
\[
for pat es forboden hem ... And perf for schuld euerich a man}$\]
\[
bis his power, bot principallich be kinge, take awaie her}$\]
\[
worldliche godes fro hem & glue hem to oper gode men pat}$\]
\[
wold serue God & holichirch ðerwip. (D/227-40)$\]
Several of Wyclif's works and the events to which they related provided thematic precedent for the debate, especially the 'Determinations' and the De officio regis, where Wyclif concentrated on the issues of temporal dominion, national sovereignty and the integrity of English law. The perpetuation of these ideas in the Lollard context, however, depended on their continuing pertinence for the political and ecclesiastical climate. A range of contemporary issues extends implicitly into the polemic of the Durham dialogue, especially those connected with the Hundred Years' War and the schism and concerned with the general problems of Anglo-papal relations.

The dialoguist also makes an implicit claim for the moderation of the Lollard point of view, representing his opinions as untendentious and acceptable to the lay authority. His exaltation of the king, amounting to a protestation of loyalty, was a guarantee of some importance, as Lollard doctrine had from the beginning been feared for its subversiveness against both powers. The pursuit of heretics from 1382 onwards left little room for Lollard complacency as to the immunity of the movement, and it might have been hoped that the knight's arguments would elicit the support of men like Sir John Clifford, Sir John Cheyne and Sir Thomas Latimer, encouraging their effective resistance to the anti-Lollard faction in Parliament.

Certainly the themes of this dialogue would have had pertinence for the knights Clifford and Cheyne. Both were involved with the king's business at the curia before the end of the fourteenth century, during the time when they must also have favoured Lollard doctrine. Cheyne's role, for example, was as a negotiator over the schism and his brief included explanation to the papacy of the second statute of Provisors. 4 Timely arguments were needed

to stimulate the active sympathy of those whose influence extended to arranging matters between the English court and the papacy, warning the king's emissaries that the pope, having already 'supplantauntid michel of pe kinges power' (D/392-3), was 'about to lett pe kinge bi oni wai, ṭat he ne mai no3t kepe & defend holi chirch' (D/247-9). Though there is neither internal nor external evidence for linking the dialogue with the activities of the Lollard knights, nevertheless the history of these knights, their known protection and patronage of Lollard writers, and the immunity some enjoyed from the consequences of their Lollardy, provides a context for this dialogue.

There is no evidence as to the authorship of the dialogue, though there are indications that the author was one of skill. Focusing on a controversy associated with the learned tradition, he worked deductively towards conclusions expressed with a sense of conviction, while yet subordinating practical and moral issues to abstract, theoretical considerations. The techniques of analogy, hypothesis and inference used here belonged to the tradition of scholastic disputation, but are never overtly articulated as mere formulae. The author also betrays his familiarity with Latinate learning by including arguments from the canonistic tradition and from history. Though more probably a clerk than a layman, yet he appreciated the interests and capacity of laymen, appealing to their honour, loyalty, piety and reason.

The historical context of the dialogue, the probability of its learned authorship, and its relatively close dependence on the political and ecclesiological thought of Wyclif supplement the palaeographical evidence for a date of composition shortly before or about 1400. At this early date, Lollard contacts with the learned tradition were still fresh and Wyclif's works were still available. Some evidence for the date may be inferred from the predominantly
theoretical concerns of the polemic and from its disregard for the practical and moral issues that came to dominate later Lollard doctrine. So too, an early date is suggested by the pervasive optimism of the author: that the king and lords will act in conformity with divine and natural law, and that their action can bring about the proper balance between the 'temperalte' and the 'spirituelte' (D/500-5). The knight is bold to declare his intention to 'mayntene pe kinge & his powere' (D/40-1), a position less attractive if the lay power had already confirmed its anti-Lollard intentions in the statute De heretico comburendo (1401). After that date, the expectation of lay support became increasingly unrealistic.

Certainly the dialogue also reflects a premonitory hint of the betrayal of duty by the king and lay lords who 'for feynid pite and coloure of holi chirch and semynge holines... wollen ne dar no3t wipstonde [\^pe] priue dissaites' perpetrated by the clergy (D/442-4). However, this foreboding does not destroy the distinctive mood and tone of optimism which the dialogue unfolds. In this respect, the dialogue can be compared with the manifesto of 1395 which the Lollards nailed to the doors of Westminster in a bid for the support and intervention of the lay lords:

We pore men, tresoreris of Cryst and his apostlis, denuncyn to pe lordis and pe comunys of pe parlement certeyn conclusionis and treuthis for pe reformaciun of holi chirche of Yngelond ....We prey God of his endeles godnesse reforme oure chirche al out of ioynt to pe perfection of pe firste begynni[n]gge. (Selections, pp.24/1-6, 29/176-7)

The frank quotation of the bible in the vernacular by the knight also offers a rough *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the dialogue. It is neither justified by the knight nor criticized by the clerk, as might have been expected after the prohibition by Arundel in 1407. Before that date, the knight's usage would have been unremarkable, for the question could be debated in orthodox circles without raising
the suspicion of heresy. However, it must be admitted that there is a nod in this direction. The clerk objects to some 'borell clerk pat had lerned a littel to vnderstonde Latyn', using his knowledge to 'mell him of holi writt & of pe decrees & decretalles & pe popes lawe' (D/338-40), though this prevarication echoes a long-standing tradition against lay penetration into matters that were the preserve of the clergy. What can be said is that inclusion of this criticism in the dialogue also makes its composition before 1407 likely, as after that date, the clerk's objection would have been too accurate an attack for it to have been included in Lollard propaganda.

From the evidence and inferences as to the Lollard connections of the dialogue and its topicality, I suggest that it belongs to the 1390s, between the reenactment of the statutes of Provisors and Praemunire in 1390, 1393 and the statute De heretico comburendo in 1401. This was a time when Richard II increasingly lost the reins of government, contracting alliances with the papacy, and was 'bot as kinge in a somer game or elles as a kinge paintid on a wall' (D/426-7). It was also a period when the Lollard movement still had the confidence and immunity to publicize its beliefs and when it enjoyed the services of distinguished apologists; in short, the brief period of uncertainty but continuing optimism, 1390-1400.

2.

Trinity College Dublin MS. 245

The ostensible connection of this piece with the dialogue form is slim, but the explicit allegorization of the disputants as 'Crist & pe fende' indicates the significance of the form. It provided a link

5. See Hudson, 'A Lollard Quaternion', 437 and 'The Debate on Bible Translation', 17.

with the exegetical tradition and with the medieval genre, the altercatio, where personification emphasized the conflicting points of view. The choice of disputants is also typical of Wycliffite polemic, in that it sets up a series of stark contrasts in which there is only one right point of view and where all opposition is depicted as belonging to the devil.

The dialogue focuses on the virtues of clerical poverty, in contrast to the evils surrounding the endowed clergy. Temporal possessions, held in defiance of biblical teaching, deflect priests from their true vocation and thereby endanger the eternal welfare of all men. The ideal of poverty is applied to 'alle Cristen men' (T2/64-90), but it is made clear that the exact nature of the ideal state must differ between the clerical and the secular estates, and that the clergy bears the burden of guilt for its neglect. Priests should, by their preaching and example, eradicate from their parishioners the sins that accompany wealth, especially pride, covetousness and lechery. Yet they themselves are infected, and worse, they allege scripture for their worldliness and 'dreden more pe offense of men penne pei done pe offens of God' (T2/133-44).

The thesis of lay jurisdiction over the institutional church is in Wycliffite polemic a major consequence of the anticlerical theme. In the dialogue it is expressed in terms of the doctrine of the estates:

I wold þat lordis knewe my lawe, þat prestis passe not her boundis þat I haue lymyt to her state.... And certis resoun at domesdaye wil not excuse þis necligens, nouþur in prestis þat done þus folily ne in lordis þat suffren þis to regne. (T2/91-106).

The defensive duties of the lay lords towards the church were commonly accepted as an aspect of good and responsible government. What was repugnant to the clerical hierarchy was the Wycliffite extension of
these duties to include the laity's right to coerce and correct the church, even on matters that lay exclusively within the competence of the clergy:

A man may wele & medefully speke aȝeyns þe court of Rome, if he wit wele þat it synneþ aȝeyns Goddis lawe & harmep his churche. And þus he schuld do bi charite, for loue of þe churche. (T2/407-9)

The heterodoxy of the dialogue, however, depends not so much on overt expression as on the collective effect of the themes of anti-clericalism, biblism and lay jurisdiction. Most of the topics the dialoguist broaches were neither exclusively Wycliffite nor even heretical: attitudes such as scepticism towards papal law and religious observances, or suspicion of the clergy, especially of the prelacy for their temporal ambitions - these were common in orthodox contexts, and even the thorny topic of predestination was in itself unprovocative. These topics came to be associated with heresy when they were used to deny the church's spiritual monopoly and even its sacramental nature. All such criticism, like the comparison of the contemporary priesthood to the Jewish Sanhedrin (T2/299-304), went beyond the limits allowed for orthodox criticism, sharpening the sense of heresy in the polemic: 'no Cristen man awe to accepþe no mannes biddyng but in as mych as it acordipe to þe biddyng of God almyȝty'. (T2/131-2).

The dependence of the vernacular dialogue upon Wyclif's Dialogus, fully annotated in the commentary below, establishes the Wycliffite connections of the vernacular work. The Dialogus was one of several works examined by the University of Oxford under the terms of Arundel's mandate, and its teaching condemned among the two hundred and sixty-seven items; it was outlawed at the University of Prague in 1408; together with the Trialogus, it was examined and condemned by the Council of Rome (1412); the condemnation was ratified by the Council
of Constance in 1415. The Dialogus expressed the general tenor of Wyclif's thought and style, especially in its dependence upon biblical authority, its advocacy of piety and poverty, its denunciation of the religious orders, and its appeal to the conservative doctrine of the estates as a model of decorum in secular and ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Comparison of the English dialogue with Wyclif's work shows a change of emphasis and focus as well as of method. For example, the vernacular piece, though radical in its condemnation of clerical worldliness and exhaustive in its affirmation of the virtue of poverty, also reduces the vindictiveness of Wyclif's denunciations. Many of the more obscure or intransigent theological tenets are removed and the negative outlook characteristic of Wyclif's work is modified. There is a softening of his predestinarianism, and the vernacular writer is less harsh towards both the clergy and the commons, making fewer digressions on the subject of clerical abuse than Wyclif does. The vernacular author also adds references to 'Cristen men', 'true men' and 'treue bischops'. These are connotative phrases of self-reference which met accusations against the movement and which functioned to 'update' the polemic. Such changes point to the vernacular writer's concern not merely to translate but also to interpret the material of the original, moderating the arguments and the tone to accommodate it to a different audience.

After line 125 (between chapters five and six of the Dialogus) the vernacular work becomes increasingly independent of the Latin work. The biblist theme and the doctrine of predestination are extended independently, though the treatment of these themes depends closely upon Wyclif's teaching elsewhere. In sum, the relationship of the

8. See the commentary to T2/125-32, 167-77.
vernacular to the Latin work fulfills the 'usual Lollard pattern' of epitomization, simplification and concretization.9

The popularity of the Dialogus is suggested by its transmission into Hussite Bohemia in a Latin tract, 'De triplici ecclesie'.10 The relationship of this tract with Wyclif's is variable as is the case with the English piece. The first chapters of the Dialogus are reproduced in 'De triplici ecclesie', though without the personae, and with an interpolation from the Trialogus. The author then departs from Wyclif to summarize, interpret and apply the polemic to the contemporary ecclesiastical situation in the same manner as the English dialoguist does.

A number of vernacular Lollard works also bear comparison with the dialogue and its Latin source. Among these is the tract, 'The clergy may not hold property', which opens with a description of the church in terms of the three estates and cites many of the biblical texts adduced in the dialogue.11 Similarly the arguments and authorities on dominacion and possession adduced in the Rosarium theologie are also used in the dialogue, suggesting that the Dialogus was also used by the compiler of that handbook. Between the entry on lex in the Rosarium theologiae and the independent section of the vernacular dialogue, there is a clear likeness of thought, derived from Wyclif, as to the authority of divine law and its relationship to canon law. But when we compare the dialogue and the Rosarium theologiae on ecclesia, the definition according to estates theory so important in the Dialogus is not preserved. Thus the evidence as to the relationship between the vernacular dialogue and other vernacular writings is wanting, and the most that can be said is that the dialogue

belongs to the same general context as these works which themselves
depended on Wyclif's writings directly or indirectly.

There is no external or internal evidence from which the dialogue
can be exactly dated beyond the broad palaeographic evidence of the
manuscript, whose hand was common between the late fourteenth century
and the end of the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Therefore,
the Lollard connections and the historical context offer the best
available evidence as to the date of the dialogue.

The dialogue, in its competent translation and epitomization,
exemplifies the class of Lollard writing concerned to make available
the substance of Wyclif's theology and philosophy. This use of a
learned source and retention of features of the scholastic tradition,
point to its composition by a clerk, probably one with university
connections, but aware of the interests of lay patrons whose protection
had, by the probable date of the dialogue, become increasingly
important for the movement. For example, the addition of castle
imagery (T2/75-6) illustrates the author's sense of an audience which
would appreciate the role of the landed laity in the structure and
ordering of society. So too, the removal of the worst vituperation
and omission of the hardest and most controversial theology of the
Dialogus suggests an attempt to avoid alienating lay readers and clerical.

The close connection of the dialogue with the learned context of
Wycliffism, and the moderate tone of the vernacular, work together to
give indirect evidence that the dialogue originated in a milieu and
era when familiarity with learned theological conventions was admissible
for devout Lollards, and when access was still available to one of
Wyclif's best known works. The fact that it was pertinent to exploit
his views as to the role of the lay lords reflects a period when
Lollardy still addressed itself to the laity, before its preachers had
adopted an extreme millenarian position. The allusions to persecution (T2/149-60) hint at an increasingly common experience of Lollards. They also suggest that the dialogue was addressed to both lay and clerical readers: on the one hand, the author encourages the 'kny3t of God' to bear personal persecution faithfully; on the other, he reminds a clerical audience of the persistence of clerical 'tyrauntis', presumably the prelates whose vigilance towards Wycliffite adherents was the concern of many Lollard apologists.

In the light of these circumstantial factors, and wanting definitive evidence about the origins of the dialogue, I suggest that it probably dates from the time of intense and organized Lollard activity in the 1380s and 1390s (though there is evidence that this activity stretched at least to the period of Arundel's constitutions); a period when Wycliffite texts, both Latin and English, were being produced that had strong connections with Wyclif's own writings and with the learned tradition. The attraction of an early date is enhanced by the theoretical interests of the present dialoguist and the trend of moderation. In particular, the absence must be noted of concern with the doctrine of the eucharist and with the matter of images and pilgrimages, two topics of engrossing interest in the later phase of Lollardy. Nor is there any concern to justify the use of the vernacular for the biblical quotations, despite the clear interest in the language of communication.

3.

Trinity College Dublin MS. 244

The protagonists of this debate are a friar, probably of the Dominican order, and a secular clerk, the spokesman of Wycliffism. This

12. Examples that can be dated include the Latin text of the Wycliffite Floretum, compiled between 1384 and 1396; the Latin Opus arduum, dating from 1389-90. On the first, see ME Rosarium, p.29; Hudson, 'A Lollard Compilation' and 'A Lollard Compilation in England and Bohemia', Journal of Theological Studies, n.s.25 (1974), 129-40; on the Opus arduum, see Hudson, 'A Neglected Wycliffite Text'.

division reflects a tradition of controversy between the friars and the secular clergy that began in Paris in the 1240s. Later, the controversy was led by Archbishop FitzRalph (floruit 1330-1360), who was chiefly concerned with the intrusion of the friars into diocesan spheres formerly the preserve of the secular clergy. Though the secular clergy was not exempt from Wycliffite criticism of the institutional church, this was less severe than the attack on the friars, and in fact, Wyclif, himself a secular, enjoyed the support of the secular masters in his early conflicts with the church. Thus, there is no inconsistency in the present use of a secular clerk to expound Wycliffism.

The dialogue divides into three sections, each one introduced by the friar in the manner of a formal proposition, and each division reflecting tensions within contemporary theology.

(a) The authority of divine law (Tl/9-38)

The Wycliffite connection is suggested in the exordium when the disputants attest to the verifiability of the authority of God as this was manifested in scripture, the clerk spurning the scholastic distinctions of the friar as 'sophemesse & opere veyne resouns'. Behind the assertion of the a priori verifiability of the optative and imperative moods of scripture (Tl/23-6) lies Wyclif's realist admission of the truth of universals: 'Certum est quod sunt universalia ex parte rei, testificata tam ab Aristotele quam Platone, licet Plato subtilius ascendent in universalibus ydearum'.

13. see e.g. Eulogium historiarum, Continuatio, III, 347-8.

The doctrine of sin (Tl/39-244)

When the clerk has established that 'ech hest of God is trewe', the disputants turn to consider the nature and extent of sin. They reach beyond the initial concern as to the correspondence between the decalogue and the creed (Tl/39-69) to include the conflict between the Pelagian and Augustinian doctrines of sin and free will (Tl/70ff.). The friar sets forth a distillation of Pelagian and neo-Pelagian teaching which places this discussion in the context of Wyclif's confutation of neo-Pelagianism. 15

It has been claimed that there is little evidence that the controversies over the nature of grace and the existence of original sin excited much debate after the mid-fourteenth century. 16 The present dialogue, however, suggests a continuing retrospective concern which was typically conservative.

The dialogue follows Wyclif's denial that grace may be merited congruously, emphasizing the Augustinian view that all men are in subjection to original sin by an act of free will, the sin of omission or the failure of 'good delyberacioun'. They are therefore not excused from individual responsibility (Tl/79-81, 90-2). The clerk ultimately echoes Augustinian pessimism as to the human condition, that the penal state of ignorance is perpetuated in mankind:

Also a man makip ofte good delyberacioun & 3it aftir of for3e[tynge] synneb 3enst bilke delyberacioun,and so he synneb & noujt of delyberacioun.... And for children bep noujt excusid by non delyberacioun, seip be wise man 3at 3e turnynge awey of children,3at is,here synne of omyssioun wi3bouten any delyberacioun, schal sclee hem. (Tl/92-4, 107-110).

15. E.g. De civili dominio, IV, 562-603; De ente praedicamentali, pp.185-9; Trialogus, pp.218-22; see further in the commentary to Tl/75.
The third topic, on the mendicant vocation, is linked implicitly to the other two by the friar's appeal to the rule of his order:
'Summe men fulfilleon more þe hestis of God, as þe religious þat fulfilleon þe hestis of God & Cristis counseyles' (Tl/210-11). The friar makes three claims: that friars are rightly excused from manual labour in favour of their life of devotion and preaching (225-7); that mendicancy is therefore a legitimate means of gaining a livelihood (272-4); and that the life of the mendicant is the highest vocation (332-4).

The clerk responds with biblical, legal and proverbial precepts to assert that he can find no possible grounds for condoning mendicancy:
'And sip begynge is nouȝt irekened in noon of alle þe werkis of mercy, þan begynge is no good styrynge to almesseded but yuel, as synne styrep to sorowe, ne good mekenesse but yuel is.' (Tl/296ff.).

The fraternal theory of poverty involved the friars in mendicancy. This practice was challenged by the secular clergy in a 'pamphlet' war that extended from the foundation period onwards. The first phase was waged by William of St Amore, a secular master at Paris, and on the mendicant side, by Aquinas, Bonaventure, Thomas of York and Archbishop Pecham, to name only a few. Archbishop FitzRalph was largely responsible for the renewal of the conflict in the fourteenth century in England. He argued for restitution of the rights of the secular clergy.

17. For the primary literature of this phase, and for discussion of the doctrinal and polemical conflict, see D.Douie, 'The Conflict between the Seculars and the Mendicants at the University of Paris in the thirteenth century', Aquinas Paper, 23 (London, 1954); Y.M.-J.Congar, 'Aspects ecclésiologiques de la querelle entre mendians et séculiers dans le seconde moitié du XIIe siècle et le début du XIVe', Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen Âge, 36 (1961), 35-151.
over the friars by the repeal of the bull 'Super cathedram' (1300). This bull had guaranteed the status of the friars and granted them spiritual and pecuniary rights which operated against the position of the secular clergy.¹⁸

Wyclif explicitly claimed precedent in William of St Amore and FitzRalph, and in this the Lollards followed him.¹⁹ Much of the material of the present dialogue, as on poverty, begging, alms and obedience, can be traced to one or both phases of the controversy. Indeed, the exchanges between the clerk and the friar compare with the tracts put out by the two sides. They resemble a literary parallel, in parvo, to the attack of FitzRalph and later of Wyclif and his followers

18. FitzRalph's position was expressed in his *proposicio 'Unusquisque'* (1350), printed by L.L.Hammerich in *The Beginning of the Strife* between Richard FitzRalph and the Mendicants (Copenhagen, 1938), and in a sermon preached before the curia in 1357, 'Defensorium curatorum', printed in *Fasciculus rerum*, II, 466-86, extant in a ME translation by John Trevisa, ed. A.J. Perry, EETS 167 (1925)


Accounts are also given inter alia in Knowles, *The Religious Orders*, I, 182-252; II, 61-114.

19. For Wyclif's claim, see e.g. Polemical Works, I, 91/18-92/8; De apostasia, p.36/1-7; for Lollard claims, see Arnold, III, 412/20-4, 416/19-21.

on the one side, and the defences of the mendicant apologist on the other. The arguments of the antimendicant exponents provide the basis of the clerk's attack; responses such as those of Geoffrey of Hardeby, William Woodford, Bartholemew of Bolsenheim, Roger Conway and Richard Maidstone underlie in a general way the friar's questions and propositions.

In addition to aspects of theology, ideology and metaphor shared with the earlier expressions of controversy, the present dialogue also includes a body of common biblical texts that it shared with the earlier manifestations of antimendicaney. This common basis of authority points to a common theological alignment and to the Wycliffites having used the older literature as a quarry, even though the Wycliffite point of view ultimately differed sharply from traditional antimendicaney in its rejection of the sacramental validity of the mendicant orders.

In all three sections of the dialogue there are links with Wyclif's thought and with the traditions that lay behind it, though in some respects the dialogue is more moderate, structured and theoretical than was


For anti-Wycliffite tracts written by friars, see 'Protectorium pauperis', a Defense of the Begging Friars by Richard Maidstone, O.Carm.(d.1396)', ed. A.Williams in Carmelus, Commentarii ab instituto Carmelitano edito, 5 (Rome, 1958), 132-80; Woodford, 'Respansiones ad quaestiones LXV contra Wiclevum et Lollardos', unprinted; but see Doyle, 'William Woodford's De dominio civili clericorum' against John Wyclif', Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, 66 (1973), 50, a reply to the questions of the putative Lollard Jack Upland; Roger Dymmok, Liber.

21. This position is reached in Jack Upland, pp.71/401-72/411.
typical of Wyclif's work on the topics or of the older controversial literature. However, the traditional links do not disguise the practical and moral bias of the dialogue. This is seen in the homely similitudes, as of sleepy and gluttonous monks, to illustrate the nature of original sin (Tl/95-101), or of a master and his 'trayerouse' servant, to illustrate unrepented sin (Tl/192-7). The same practical bias is seen in the simple morality of the exhortation that man should bend his will to free himself 'oute of dedely synne' by fulfilling 'pe hestis of God... for alle pe hestis of God biddip no more but loue wel' (Tl/219-20).

In the antimendicant section, the dialoguist is less concerned with the practical issues that had dominated the earlier phases, though the correspondences that survive suggest that the tradition had provided the framework for the dialogue. The special interest of the dialogue in this respect lies in its fiction of reason and in its conjunction of the usually ranting topic of antimendicancy with the more fundamental issues of biblical authority and sin, a marriage of theoretical, pragmatic and polemical matters which synthesizes the often fragmented thesis of Wycliffite antimendicancy. The inescapable thrust of the present argument is that sin in the friars has vitiated their office which has become a 'seruyce to pe fend', and all the worse for being 'coloured wip pe serucyce of God' (Tl/354-6).

Features of the dialogue align it with the literature of Lollard apology, indicating that its purpose was to persuade those of influence to rectify fraternal abuse. There is an explicit reminder that lords 'han charge to reule pe comunte,pat þere be no begger among hem & specially no stronge begger' (Tl/246-7). The device of the appeal to the Duke of Gloucester, the initial concern with questions not manifestly heterodox, and the strategy whereby the friar is characterized as an advocate of extreme heresy - these are tactics whereby the Lollard
apologist sought to camouflage the heresy of his antimendicancy, which would certainly have been linked with Wycliffism, and thereby avoid alienating supporters.

The dialogue seems to be distinguishable as an early composition. The tone of moderation and the use of learned allusions, the theoretical nature of its approach and the connections with antecedent traditions all point to a time when the movement enjoyed the service of writers familiar with these sources and competent to put forward a reasoned case, unashamed by the obvious signs of learning. There are no allusions to the pursuit of Lollards and no appeal for clemency, and the topics are removed from the vituperation and anti-intellectualism of a later phase of Lollardy. Rather, its appeal to the duke to 'chese and apreue pe trewpe' links it with a distinctly learned point of view.

The use of a secular clerk to convey Lollard opinion may also suggest that this is a piece written before the movement had become intransigent towards the whole established church. An allusion to a statute of 1388, and the appeal to the secular lords to insist on observance of this 'lawe of Yngelond' regarding beggars also implies an early date. Together, these features suggest that the address to the Duke of Gloucester, even allowing for its undoubted rhetorical and propaganda purpose, also offers a valid terminus ante quem of 1397 for the date of composition. At that date, the author's optimism was still reasonable, that the duke could 'fulfil in dede pe trewpe' by encouraging reform of the mendicant orders.

This date accords with the palaeographical and internal evidence for this manuscript discussed earlier, that is, after 1383 and probably before 1397.
The protagonists 'Ion' and 'Richerd' are initially designated simply as 'tuo persones' who debate 'be per wiles'. It is soon apparent that Richard voices the fraternal viewpoint and acts as the defendant of the orders. It can be assumed that he is a friar, though probably not a preacher or observant, but one whose activities were confined to the schools (C/112, 441-4). Ion, the Lollard spokesman, may be a member of the secular clergy. Undifferentiated by rank or degree, he is obliquely characterized by his opponent as 'vertues' but no 'sophester', a judgement he does not dispute (C/18, 412-16).

The two names have no obvious significance in this dialogue, though the name Richard is found in contemporary literature used punningly to characterize a 'rich hard' man or a trickster, suggesting a certain aptness from the Lollard point of view. The name Ion had a stylistic and suggestive value, to designate 'any man', perhaps conveying the notion that the Lollard spokesman expressed the commonly held view. There is a problem in attributing this traditional value, however, as John was also a name given to priests in clerical satire, usually with a pejorative connotation. 22 Another explanation for the choice of names may be possible. There was a precedent in two controversial debates by FitzRalph, the ant mendicant prelate much admired by the Wycliffites. 23 Though the present debate is not related to these works, perhaps the choice of names indicates the dialoguist's familiarity with them or perhaps it is intended as a tacit tribute to FitzRalph.


23. Summa de quaeestionibus Armenorum (1340-9); De pauperie salvatoris, printed in part with Wyclif's De dominio divino, ed.R.L.Poole, (London, 1890).
Though the disputants touch on many of the issues of the older secular-mendicant feud, the relationship is less fully sustained than it is in our other dialogue on the same topic. The doctrine of poverty is not central. Instead, issues are developed that were more distinctively Wycliffite, including the relationship between the discredited papacy and the friars, designated as the clerks of Antichrist and children of Cain. The authority of the fraternal rule and the opposition of the friars to Wycliffism also provide common topics. The Lollard spokesman alludes to some traditional issues such as the intrusion of the friars into areas of secular jurisdiction, and criticizes the friars for their love of luxury, in habit, convent and church. The dialoguist also exploits the traditional motifs of 'fals prophetis' and 'eight woes' of biblical exegesis, and although this recalled the older controversies, by the end of the fourteenth century it was commonly associated with Wycliffite antimendicantism. It had become part of a vocabulary of abuse.  

The debate is principally concerned with the friars' perversion and neglect of scripture, dramatically expressed as a fulfilment of the biblical prophesies associated with the pharisees. In particular, the dialoguist highlights the antithesis between divine law and the fraternal Rule. In the Wycliffite view, the fraternal orders were rejected because their foundation depended upon merely human invention, an artifice like the 'comune cronicles' and 'fabellis' which they had invented.

The antipapal thesis underpins this denunciation. The friars are discredited as a result of the schism, and though they are not here blamed for it, they are certainly disgraced by its shame, sharing the  

24. The association was strong enough for Knighton to apply the metaphor against the Wycliffites; see Chronicon, II, 152-6, 185.
palpable fallibility of the papacy; 'pei ben clouen in hemself, as per hede is clouen' (C/197). Predictably, the authority and validity of the papacy is overturned; with it the legal position of the friars, guaranteed only by papal edict, is demolished.

The matter of the friars' opposition to the Lollards is dealt with in terms of the persecution they inflict. The Lollard attitude to persecution was a simple one: it was condemned, but for the persecuted Lollard, suffering was a means of declaring allegiance to Christ and an aspect of obedience to divine law; 'we schulde more trowe [pe gospel] pan al men of pe worlde and for to sustene it suffer scharpe depe' (C/316-18; cf. also 214, 274-5, 424-31, 1043-4). Presumably, this topic can be connected with the Lollards' growing need to defend themselves after 1382.

No single analogue or source has been found for the dialogue, but its denunciation of the friars as 'fals prophetis', the frequent warnings against 'anticristis clerkes', and the allusions to the eight woes align the material with a group of Wycliffite texts in which criticism of the religious, especially the friars, was expressed by means of biblical exegesis on the texts of Matthew, chapters 7, 23 and 24, II Timothy 3, II Peter 2, Jude 4.16, 18 and Titus 1.10-12. 

Undoubtedly, this exegetical treatment of the theme looked back to William of St Amore's exegesis of Matthew 23 in the sermon, 'De pharisaeo et publicano'. Wyclif's exegesis on the same texts is contained most fully in his late work, the Opus evangelicum, where he was occupied with the whole ecclesiastical establishment. Related works include the sermon on Matthew 7.15 and his 'Exposicio' on Matthew 23.26


In general, the vernacular Lollard writings followed Wyclif's model. The tract 'De vae octuplici', based on Wyclif's 'Expositio', and another, 'Of mynystris of the chirche' both illustrate the exegesis applied against the friars. Outside the exegetical tradition, tracts portray the friars as extortioners and persecutors, offering their blandishments from 'Cairm's castles' of luxury. The criticism is multiplied in texts such as Jack Upland, 'Fifty heresies of friars', 'Epistola Sathanae ad clerors' and Pierce the Plowman's Crede.

The literature of orthodox anticlericalism, as of Piers Plowman, The Canterbury Tales and of Vox Clamantis, presents similar complaints. The authors of antimendicant satire and complaint did not shrink from judging the religious for abuse of their vocation. They too drew on strands of the antifraternal tradition of William of St Amore and FitzRalph. But Langland, Chaucer, Gower and the others remained sharply differentiated from the heretical antimendicancy of Wycliffism. They did not question the ideal nor the spiritual authority of the religious.

In Lollard writings, antimendicantism provided a context for heresy especially on the eucharist and confession. The collective force of the criticism, and its association with Wycliffite biblism challenged and repudiated the doctrinal and spiritual authority of the friars, justifying resistance to those who betray the will of God:

'if any man biddip pee do contrarie to Goddes lawe, fle þat as venym .... obeysche þou to God. and ellis schuldest þu not obeysche vnto man'
(C/1009-10, 1014-15).

There is no evidence by which the dialogue can be dated exactly or an author proposed. Allusions to the schism and to persecution, including burning, point to a period between 1382 and 1415, possibly after 1401. However, the fear of burning, expressed elsewhere and earlier in English contexts, was probably a convention, albeit a
premonitory one, based on continental precedent. It cannot be used as a criterion for dating the present text.27.

The organization of the arguments and the self-references in the dialogue hint at a period when friars and Lollards were in confrontation and marshalling arguments against each other.28. The presentation of the fraternal view beside the Lollard objections, and the exhaustive derogation of the friars as sophists, persecutors and traitors, can be interpreted as abuse countering common fraternal accusations against the Lollards: that the Lollards were the sign of Antichrist, trying to destroy the realm by giving false counsel to the lay lords; and that their political success and influence was causing chaos at home and loss of English prestige abroad.29

Whether a direct association exists here between Lollard allegations and fraternal responses, as it does in the Jack Upland sequence, is doubtful. In the present dialogue the friar's views are too weakly represented for them to be a faithful distillation of the mendicant position. What seems more likely is that the dialoguist has extracted questions from the range of mendicant defences as a means for setting up the fiction of the dialogue, but manipulating the material

27 Swinderby was threatened with burning in 1382 (Registrum Trefnant, pp. 238-9; Knighton, Chronicon, II, 192-3) and persecution is acknowledged in the Opus ardium, dated 1389-90 (see Hudson, 'Contributions to a Bibliography', 448.


29 For these accusations, see Dymmok, Liber, pp. 177-9; Woodford, 'De causis condemnationis' in Fasciculus rerum, I, 231; cf. the Lollard complaint that friars 'crien fast pat poore prestis ... ben cause of alle pe perturbacion of pe rewme', Matthew, p. 27/6-11, with a similar charge, Selections, pp. 92/141-93/153.
so as to leave the fraternal advocate defenceless, and finally abandoning debate altogether for unrelieved criticism.

The appeal to the lay lords against the doctrinal errors of the friars is coloured with the optimism of the early period of Lollardy, although the tone of censure may also express disillusionment. The final blame, however, is laid on the friars who should teach secular lords their duty towards the church (C/1058-61, 1075-81).

Such admonition belonged to a period when friars, for long respected at court, wanted Wycliffism condemned and exterminated, and more pointedly, when they needed to silence carping Lollard preachers bent on the destruction of fraternal privileges. The hypothetical context constructed in the dialogue suggests that the piece probably derives from the last decade of the fourteenth century or within the first decade of the fifteenth. The evidence of the manuscript as a whole supports such a date.

Contradiction and complication arise from the pervasive clumsiness of the prose of this dialogue, and from the inconsistencies in its style. These cannot be accounted for simply by the process of translation. The syntax is not Latinate, and the diction is distinctively shaped by the popular alliterative style with which the author seems to be at ease. The crude force of the prose, however, is very much that of spoken rather than written language, rhetorical and demonstrative. Gesture, pause and intonation would clarify syntax which is obscure on the written page. The fact that the scribe also
copied Latin makes the question of transmission more intriguing, for it suggests that he was disposed towards *literatim* copying, even when he did not comprehend his exemplar.
THE TEXTS

Editorial Principles

The texts have been transcribed so as to preserve the manuscript readings as closely as possible, but in the absence of variants, manifest corruptions have been emended as sparingly as the demands of sense and syntax allow. All such cruces are recorded in the apparatus and discussed in the commentaries.

Scribal corrections and modifications have been accepted in the text wherever appropriate. Additions are enclosed by superscript marks ' ' and deletions marked by an obelus †. All such changes are recorded in the textual apparatus.

Manuscript abbreviations have been expanded according to the usual conventions and having regard to the normal unabbreviated form in the manuscript. Expansions are underlined except for ' & ' which is used for the several forms of the Tironian nota for et.

Capitalization, punctuation, word-division and paragraph divisions are editorial, and follow modern conventions. Speech prefixes identifying speakers are always brought to the head of the speech, even when placed elsewhere. Alterations are recorded in the notes. Names introduced editorially are enclosed in square brackets.

Editorial emendations by addition or alteration are enclosed in square brackets, deletions marked by an obelus and reconstructions enclosed in angle brackets. All such editorial changes are noted and the original manuscript readings are recorded in the apparatus.

Sigla Used in the Transcription

' ' enclose scribal alterations.
[ ] enclose editorial emendations.
< > enclose letters not legible but where reconstruction is not in doubt.
<----> indicate spaces where letters cannot confidently be identified.
† indicates a deletion.
/ indicates the beginning of a new folio in the manuscript.
A knight of the kinges of Ingeland & a clerk of Ingland

pat was late comen fro the courte weren togider in a place, so

pat the clerk began to speke of the pope, & in manner repreued the
knijt & said, 'I haue grete wonder,' he said, 'pat the kinge & som
of his counseil & of his knijtes & other men of the temperaltes,

pat schuld be governed by holi chirche, as bi the pope & bi

bihasschopes & bi the clergy, melleb baim of men of holi chirche

& of pail godes, in mani manneres aaynes Goddes lawe & aaynes

holi chirch. For per ne schuld no man mell o the pope ne o

the clergy, for pai bene abouen all men, bi power seuen to

baim bi Godd himself, als holi writt berep wittnes & the law

canone also.'

'Peter Sir,' said the knijt, 'you spekes of a mater pat clerkes

han oft moued amonge the comone pepel, & the pepel haf oft bene &
es in a were & in dout berof. And I miself haue oft wondrid, pat

the pope & the clergy habe taken vpon hem, to supplant the kinge

pat es lorde of his land & all... daie bene about more & more to
abrege & lessen his power & his lordschip which as me bink

schuld no man o his half God haue to done wi ne mell him berof.

Napeles bicause pat I am a litil lettrid & vnderstonde

somdele holi writt, I drede me pat I mist trist to mich to myne

1 A] a space is left for the rubricator to supply capital 'A',
indicated in the margin by a guide-letter.
A KNIGHT AND A CLERK

own witt in his matres, & so offend & gilt to God. And þou art a man of holi chir[ch], a preste & seemes a clerk connynge of clergi. I wold gladlich lerne of þe, bot it es oft sene þat moni prestes & clerkes, þat beth gretelich auaunderd gone wele ariaid. & wele [forrid] as þou dos þat bene no connyng men of clergie ne of resoune. And þerfor Sir, I prai þe, tell me what degre of soole þou has, þat I mow knowe wheþer þou be abil of connyng to teche me in his matere þat I am in dout."

Sir,said þe clerk, because þat I se þou has desyre to lere, I am riȝt glad to tell þe þat þou askist <me>, all be I vnworpi. I am a doctor of decreze & haue dwellid longe tym in þe courte of Rome & bene in office wip þe pope."

"In gode faild,said þe kniȝt,"I am wele paied, for I hope to be wele taȝt bi þe of þat matere þat we haue /spoken of. Neuerþeles I had hopid þat þou haddest bene a maistere of diuinete, connyng of Goddes lawe, for þan þou woldist haue said þe sope. & bene noȝt so faucæbil to þe pope as I suppose þou wolt be now, for þou art a doctor of his lawe. Neþeles tell me & teche me als wele als þou canst, for I mene to mayntene þe kinges & his powere in als miche as I can bi resone & none operwise. Bot I drede me þat þow will be wroþe, for it es þe maner of clerkes o decrees als þou art for to be riȝt ypacious when þai bene answered be resoune operwise þan þai wold be. And þerfor I praie þe at our beginynge, kepe wele paciens in oure forpgoynge. 45

23 chir[ch] MS. chirth.
26 forrid] fororrid.
31 <me> MS. is illegible; the reading is taken from the accompanying paraphrase.
for whan schall tow be better tech & I be better lerne.’

'sir kniȝt, bou saist wele, & þarfor ȝeue þou will þyselþ be pacient, I hope I schall schewe þe openliche þat þe pope & þe clergi han siche powere þat it mæt noȝt be wipþaid bi no resoune. For þow wost wele, & all Cristen men aȝt to wit, þat þe pope es Cristes vikere here on erþ & his powere es oneliche of God, þeuen to him boþe bi þe olde lawe & bi þe newe lawe & bi þe emperoureþ law. Moyses was heyed & leder of Goddes folk in þe olde lawe, & was figure o þe pope in þe newe lawe. & to him God ȝaue grete power in ledinge of þe folk, & to him he toke his ten commaundmenteþ, þat þe pepil schuld be led bi.

Also God gafe to Jeremie þe prophete grete power & bi him also es vnďynge de þe pope. "Lo," said God to him, "I haue þeuen mi wordes in þi mouþe; I haue ordayned & made þe abouen kingdomes & aboue þe folk to destroy & betene doune & to make edificacione & sett plantes", so þat þou miȝt wele se, sir kniȝt, þat þis grete powers were þeuen to no kinges, ne to none emperoure bot to þe pope, þat he schulld be souerayne & teche forþe & commaund [his lawe] to be kept in all þe world.

Also, oure Lord Ihesu Crist, when he was commen here on erþ, he ȝaue & ordained a newe testament & newe lawe, noȝt in vnďynge o þe olde lawe, & made Saynt Peter hemed herof & souerayne, as þe gospell bereþ witnes & said to him þus, "To þe I schall ȝeue þe kayes o þe kingdome of heuene & all þat þou

46 schalltow]MS schall tow.
54 A reference is given in the margin to Deuteronomy 6\textsuperscript{to}.
58 vnďynge de]MS. is illegible for the space of two letters.
64 his lawe] The syntax requires a noun to complete the predicate of the verb commaund.
bindest vpon erde, it schall be bounden in heuen, and all þat
þou vnbyndest in erde, schall be vnbounden in heuene."

Lo Sir, þou miȝt se þat þe powere þat was grauntid to þe
pope in þe olde law ne es noȝt chaungid bot openliche declared
in þe newe lawe. Wherfor men mow know openlich þat þe pope es
abouen all maner men, & þerfor it es wonder þat þe kinge or þe
emperoure dar wipstonde: him or mell of him or of his clergie
which þat schuld be vnðer þe pope & vnðer no man elles, as it es
openlich schewid tofore.'

Sir Clerk', said þe knight þan, 'þou hast wele said, and
þerfore I praiþ þat þou take mi wordes pacientliche, for I
mene wiþ all mi hert to saie nobinge aȝynes þe bileue of
holi chirche ne aȝynes þe pope ne his skilfull power, bot wiþ
all mi connynge mayntene þe pope & his skilfull powere, for þat
es noȝt aȝynes oure kinges power, & þerfor in his name þat
aȝynes kynde gaue miȝt to an asse to speke & reþere & vnðernyn
his maister þat satt vpon him & vnriȝtfullich bett & prikid him
wiþ his spores (for he ne wold noȝt bere his maister ne folowe
his will aȝynes Goddes will), I will speke & answere þe, tristinge
to God þat he will als wele ȝeue me miȝt and grace to speke &
wipstonde þe vnriȝtfull betinge & prikyng þat we suffer of þe
pope & of þe clergi þat sitteþ vpon vs. For we ne will noȝt
folow her will aȝynes Goddes will, als he ȝeue [miȝt] to þe asse þat
was an vnskilfull beste.

And þerfore, as to þat þat þou hast said, þat be þat miȝt &
power þat God gaf to Moyses & to Ieremye in þe olde lawe es
figured & betokned þe popes miȝt & his powere, in gode faþþ,
þou saist soþe.

93 miȝt] the verb requires a direct object.
Loke p(an) (w)he'Pere pat power streche to tempereal(t)e or to sp(irtualte). And as it seme p and sope it es, pat it ne streche nep no3t bot all oneli to spiritualte & to no maner lordschip o pe world, bot all to † Goddes seruaundes to dele pe sacrementes of holi chirche & techen & prechen to pe pupil, 3euynge & delinge seuen dedes of merci to Goddes pupil to help & help of mannes souls, as it es openlich schewid in pat pat he said to Moyses, when he biteke him pe ten commaundmentes. & bad him teche hem & tell hem forpe to Goddes pepil. Also bi pat pat God said to ëremye, pat he schuld distroye and edifie and plante, es schewed pat he schuld distroye vices & plante gode vertues. For pat es pe office of pe pope & of all oper prelates, to distroye bi gode liuynge & sope prechinge vices & synnes, & plante vertues & gode liuine.

f.8v / And touchinge pat Criste 3aue to Peter power to bynde & vnbynde, it es also to vnderstonde to bynde man be waye o sch rift to do penaunce for his synne & will to synne no more; and yeue a man wold in no maner amend him of his synne, pat he schuld bynde him bi corsynge & elles no3t. Bot now it es oter wise. A man schall be [corsid] for he will no3t come to hem atte first somounynge, or for he wold no3t paie pat pat pai wold aske him. For yeue he will pays a certaine bi 3ere, he schall be atte large to do & vse his synne longe yno3e. Also pai schuld vnbynde a man; pat es to say, when a man es sori for his symn & es schriuen perof, pan pai schuld assoile him bi pai powere pat pai haue of God.

Bot now it es sene pat men wenep pat pai be
assoyled when pai haue orfrid at oni place per[to] pardoune es grauntid †. & hit in sothnes no pardoun maie auaile but a man be sor[ for his synne & in will neuer to syn more, for hat was pe penaunce & absolucioun pe God saue to Mari Mawdelayne & to oper hat pe gospell spekep of.

And Saynt Poule saib, spekinge to men of holi.chirche, "3e schuld be", he saiib, "Goddes ministers & dispendors of his godes in gode administracione." & Crist himself; in pe gospell of Saynt Mathewe & in pe gospell of Saynt Luke, forbet to all prestes all maner lordschip, & said hat pai schuld be seruaunides & ministres to Goddes pepel in spiritualte. Herebi 3e mow se pan hat 3e ne haue no power of God bi pe olde lawe ne be pe new lawe to no maner worldlich pinge, bot all to gosteli pinge.'

"3is parde, Sir', said pe clerk.' [Here] how it be of pe power 3euen bi God. Pe emperoure Constantyne saue to Saynt Silvester when he was pope, & to his successores after him, half his empyre wiþ all pe worschip & lordschip hat longeþ perto, as it es wel knawen to hem hat han seue ne or red pe charter perof. Parbi 3e mowe witt hat pe pope hap grete & mich lordschip buer' pe emperoure himself & oure all ober kinges and all Crieten men.'

Sir Clerk; saiub pe kniȝt pan, 'me wondrep gretelich hat bou miziþ for schame alege for pe pope hat his lordschip schuld come of pe emperoure, for all pe lordschip he schuld haue schuld come of pe God, be þin aven tale. & parde as it es openlich schewid

A reference is given in the margin to [I] Corinthios 4to.

The syntax requires a principal clause, supplied by an imperative. ouer] MS. of cancelled by expunction; ouer supplied in the margin.

MS. does not supply a capitulum sign, but the usual paraph marks indicate the end of the previous speech.
tofore, þe pope nes /noȝt able to take non siche lordschip vpon him, bot all as Goddes minister in spiritualte. And þof it were so þat he miȝt & were able to haue siche lordschip, ʒit it semēþ bi all þe worodes of þe charter þat Constantynæ ʒaue to Saint Silvester þat he ne ment neuer þat þe pope schuld haue temporalle lordschip. Bot in worshipp of God þat had helid him of his meselrie, he ʒaue him þat to liue bi honestliche. & chargid him þat he schuld be euere after a gode mene for him to God, wenynge to haue done grete worshipp to God bi þat gift. Neapelēs it was venyme broȝt in to holi chirche, as an aungel said þat self daie. "Venyme," he said, "es todaie sched in Goddes chirche."

& þof þat it were so þat þe pope had siche lordschip bi þe emperours ʒeft, þet ne had he no ferþer lordschip þan þe emperoure powere streçcheþs. & þan þi þat schuld he haue no power ne no lordschip in Ingeland, for Ingeland was neuer soget to þe emperoure, bot euere it hap bene led bi himself & vsed his owen lawes, & no man haþe bene abouen him in temporalte. Wherfor Sir, sîþen þe popes powere es all þeþne bi God in spiritualte, as it es openli schewed be þin owne allegaunce, it es wonder þat þe pope & þe clergi holdeþ hem noȝt paid wiþ his power, bot aȝaine Goddes will & moni lawes of divers popes es about to supplant & benyme oure kinge real power þat es þeþne to him be God himself. For þef þe kinge wold benym þe pope or þe clergie oni maner powere þat he haþe or aȝt to haue bi þe gift of God, þe wold sai þat he were a tyraunt, & þat semēþ wele, for as it es said of clerkes þat haue bene at þe courte o Rome, þe cardinales clepes þe pope a tyraunt when he wipstondes somdele of her wil þat es wrongfull aȝeynes Goddes will. & neapelēs it were wele worpi þat men clepid hem tyraunteþ † when þai desire &
be maistri bene about to abrege or to sopplaunt þe kinge of
ony poynpte of his reale power, which es jeuen to him bi God himself,
as it es writen in þe first boke of Kingses, & as it es writen
in þe decrees.'

Me pink', said þe clerk þan, 'þat 3e ne holde noȝt of þe popes
power ne of þe clergie, bot as it semeþ, 3e wold be all aboue
f.10v
þe clergie & holi chirch. & parde, 3e /witen wele þat þe pope es
Godes vikere here on erbe. & es heued of all Cristen men, as I
haue schewed þe here openliche bi þe olde lawe & bi þe neue also.
& moni gode men of holi chirch haue bene sayntes, & bene saintes
in heuene, boþe popes & bihsschopes & oþer gode prestes. & all
þài in her lyues vsid her power þat God had ȝeuen hem; & þat
tyme þe kinge & þe lordes weren in prosperite, & þe comone pepel
also more þan þai han bene now moni daie; & þat was bicause þat þan
was holi chirch noȝt so born doune and her power wipstonde as
it has bene now longe tyme. Wherfor, in certayne, þær schall never
be gode pes amonge þe pepel to holi chirch be gourned as it schuld
be to Godes worschip, & peysibilliche nowe vse þe power þat God
hæþ jeuen þerto.'

'In gode faip', said þe kniȝt þan, 'it is noȝt all soþe þat pou
saist, for in certaine I wote wele þat þe kinge & his counsel &
þe lordes & þe comone pepill also hold riȝt miche of þe popes
power & witnissen wele þat he es heued of all holi chirch &
Godes viker; & þat moni gode men of holi chirch, vsing her power &
& her offices, habbeþ & bæþ sayntes in heuene. & þat was whiles

180 A marginal reference, now almost illegible is given [I]°
Regum 8°, with another, perhaps to the canon law, but
indecipherable. See Commentary.
190 þat] MS. emended to supply a referent for the explanation
which follows.
A KNIGHT AND A CLERK

παι υσίδ wele & trewliche her powere, & did her offices to
Goward & to πε pepel in spiritualte, & ne mellid no3t wij
πε world. & πατ tymė πε kinge & πε lordes vaed her power in
temperalte, as God had ordayne, wipouten lettinge of πε clerige.

And πο was πε kinge & πε lorde & πε comone pepel in prosperite,
for euari man held him payed wij his state, & πο παι did to
holi chirch all πατ παι aʒt to done, and πε clerigi held hem
paied wij her state, and diden to πε pepel πατ παι aʒt to done.

Bot sipen πατ clerige was so greteli dowid & englaymed wij
temperall possessions, παι bene so fallen in couetise to haue
more & more πατ παι haue. Now πε πρι dele o πε land es in
her handes, & {[παι] bene waxen worldliche lordes, πατ πε comone
popil es greteli anentisid περβι, so ferforπ πατ when πε
kinge had nede to be holpen of his popel[οf]taxes &
ober tallyages, παι bene noʒt of miʒt to help πε kinge.
And πε clerigi saip πατ all πατ παι haue es jeuen to holichirch,
and περfor πε temperalte ne hape noʒt to done wij hem. And
so bi colours of holi chirche, παι πατ ne schuld haue no
possessiones bot in almess & vnder πε gouveinaile of πε kynge,
bope her bodies & her god(es) , παι blyndeπ πε /kynge wij a
feyned pite & all πε temperalte, & sayne πατ holi chirch schuld
be fre from all worldlich power. & περοf παι saip sope.

Bot παι dissaiue πε pepel in πατ πατ παι beren hem on hand,

205 MS. & moni gode men of holi chirche haue bene sayntes & bene
is cancelled by crossing.

215 of] MS. has one character, perhaps 'f', preceeding 'of' and
possibly cancelled by blotting.

221 godes] MS. is obscure for the space of two letters.
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225

\( \text{bat p'ai done againes holi chirch, when p'ai wipstonde } \& \text{ clergi} \)

in wronges \( \text{bat p'ai wold do otherwise p'ai } \& \text{ power strecche} \)

\& jyt napeles, jef \( \text{he kinge were wele enfourmed. he schuld wele} \)

witt \( \text{bat he mist no more help holi.chirch pan to wipstonde } \& \text{ clergie} \)

when \( \text{p'ai take vpon hem worldliche doynges } \& \text{ worldlich lordschip, for } \)

\( \text{bat es forbidden hem be Crist himself. in } \)

gospell in dyuers places, \( \& \text{ be Saint Peter } \& \text{ bi Saint Poule in} \)

diuers places, and in \( \text{be bibel } \& \text{ bi } \text{be popes lawes in decrees } \& \)

decretales in moni places. So \( \text{bat in } \text{bat maner } \text{p'ai schuld torn} \)

agayne to \( \text{be first state of pouerte } \& \text{ meke liuynge } \text{bat Crist} \)

tagt his dissipills to liue. \( \& \text{ pan were holi chirche as it schuld be.} \)

\& whoso maynteneh hem in richesse } \& \text{ in worldliche lordschipes, he distroyes holi chirch in als mikel as in him es. } \)

And \( \text{berfor schuld ouerich a man bi his power, bot principallich } \)

\( \text{he kinge, take awaie her worldliche godes fro hem } \& \text{ giue hem to } \)

\( \text{ober gode men. } \text{bat wold serve God } \& \text{ holichirch berdib, in } \)

\( \text{maner } \text{bat Crist himself ordained. For in gode fai} \text{be, bot yeue he } \)

do so me pink he ne schall neuer redress holi.chirche ne well defend it fro antecrist disciples, after \( \text{bat he es bounden be } \)

\( \text{Goddes lawe. } \& \text{ after } \text{bat he schall yeue } \text{streite reknyng } \text{how } \)

\( \text{he hap kept } \& \text{ defendid Cristes chirche } \text{pat he hap he take in his } \)

\( \text{bonde to defende } \& \text{ kepe, as it es writen in } \text{pe boke of decrees.} \)

And \( \text{berfor it somep } \text{bat } \text{pe pope, in } \text{bat } \text{pat he es about to } \)

\( \text{lett } \text{pe kinge bi oni wai } \text{pat he ne mai nozt kepe } \& \text{ defend } \)

\( \text{holi chirch, as es his charge of God, he ne es no gode gosteliche } \)

\( \text{fader } \& \text{ bot es about to distroie his some gostelich, } \& \text{ [bat]} \text{ is more } \)

\( \text{perile } \text{p'an yeue he slowe or in his faute lete sle an hundrep men } \)
bodeliche.

233 Marginal references, now very indistinct and partially mutilated, seem to be as follows: \( \langle \text{c.11} \rangle, \text{q} \langle \text{i} \rangle \langle \text{c.27} \rangle \text{ si tributum Mat. } \langle \text{s} \rangle, \text{Luc } \langle \text{22} \rangle, \text{[I} \text{ Petir } \langle \text{5} \rangle, \text{[I or II]} \text{ Cor. } \langle \text{4} \rangle, \text{q} \langle \text{c.11} \rangle \text{ q.1 sequitur in capito } \& \text{ capito sequitur. } \text{See commentary.} \)
& rīȝt so it es of all bihsschopes & oper clerkes of his land  thât bene his lægemen,  thât so lettiȝ pê kinge, & namelich freres thât bene confessoures & prechoures, thât schuld in schrift tell & teche pê kinge, what his powere es & his charge to Godward, & in predicacions preche & teche pê kinge & pê lordes to kepe & to do wele her office. It semeþ thât thât bene vêrai traitors to pair kinge more þan ȝeue þai slowe f.12v pê kinge bodelich, for it es mich more peryle wipout/comparisoune to sêa a mannes soule þan his bodi  & ȝit as men sayen, sich freres for flaterynge of bihsschopes and oper clergie, for þai ne schuld nôt wipdrawe from hem her grete giftes of worldlich gode & be putt out of her office of confessioune, conceleþ all sich doynges, & wip lesinges & flateringes dessaiueþ ðe kinge and oper lordes in destruccione & peryle of her own soules & of þe lord als so. ȝiue it be soþe as it semeþ þat it es, þat þai do so as tofor es said, God amend it when his will es.' Amen.

C 'A Sir', said þe clerk, 'þou goste hard to me. Bot it semeþ þat þou spekest more of will & of maistrie þan bi reson, for it semeþ be þi wordes þat þe pope & þe clergie ne haue no maner power but þai miȝt haue & kepe þe godes of holi chirche þat es ȝeuen for remedi of mannès sine & [for] help of mennes soules. & þard, þi þe lawe of holi chirch it es forboden þat no man schuld torn no such godes into no noper doynge, but to be

273 for\[MS. no ] emended to for to form a phrase of purpose, consistent with the preceding phrase.
A KNIGHT AND A CLERK

dispendid in gode men of holi chirch þat louseþ & dredeþ God. & þerfor, Sir, þou miȝt se what þat þe it es to take awai or benyn men of holi chirche þe godes þat bene þeuen to hem to lif bi, to worship of God & to help of mennes soules.'

C: 'Sir Clerke, I said þe at our beginynge þat þe clerkes of þe decrees & of þe popes lawe wolden some be wroþe when þai had made all þair skilles. & it semeþ now þat it es soþe. For now þou ne canst noþt answere me bi resone þou berest (me þa) hand, þat I ne tell noþt of þe pope bot speke (all) of maistrie wipouten resoun. And all it es þat for þou nill noþt assent þat þe clergie misse (scrupels) & missespend. þe godes þat bene þeue in almos to holi chirch, & þat þorþe Goddes grace (every) Cristen man schuld help to distroye wip all his miȝt.

Bot I ne said noþt þat þe kinge ne none ober man schuld benyme þe godes of holi chirch fro no gode þreste ne none ober gode man. But I said þat þo godes schuld be taken awaie fro euyl liuynge þrestes & þeuen to ober þat wolde serue God þerwip in gode liuynge. For bi þe popes lawe no man schuld here a þreste messe þat he wist had a þeeman, or a woman taken in to his howse f.15 be wai of syn./Ne no suche þreste schuld synge no messe ne rede

283,284 þou ne, me on, all] MS.is defaced, leaving several words partly illegible.
286 missescrupule] MS. can be deciphered, but the paraphrase gives 'miserrupie' and emends MS. misse spend (1.262) to 'mispending'.
287 every] MS.obscure, but every can be made out. The paraphrase gives 'euy'.
295 Marginal references, now indistinct, seem to be Dist. 2um questiones ...ullius missam. See commentary.
no gospell ne no pistel at messe ne dwell amonge clerkes.

And ȝit more, he ne schuld take no parte of holi chirche godes.
& bi þe self skill a preste schuld haue all sich vengeaunce
for all dedeli synnes, or elles ȝe mot sai þat licherie es
gretter dedeli synne þan ony oþer synne, & þat his noȝt soȝe.

For it semȝe wele more synne for a preste þat es a person &
hape cure of mennes soules to leeue his schepe þat he hap token
of God to kepe & þat he schall ȝeue hard answere of at þe daye
o dome, & go & serue a bihsschope or anoþer lord in temperale
office, as to be his steward or his countrollore or clerke of
his kichen or his tresorere or ony oþer seculere office. For
þat es forboden bi Saint Poule & bi þe popes lawe in mony
sondri places. & þe gospell saiþ þat no man mai wele serue
Godd & þe world attones.

And also resounë schewȝ openlich þat no lord schuld hald ne
haue no preste ne clerk þat had cure of mennes soules in no
worldli[che] office. For ȝeue a lorde bayle had hyred men wib
his lorde tresore for to wirch in his lorde werk t to make a
castell or anoþer grete werk, & þan toke þe same werkmen fro
his lorde werk & putt hem in his own werk to grete harme of
his lord, were noȝt sich a baile a fals servaunte? More
skilfulli were a worldlich lord a fals servaunte to God þat
had auaunсид prestes wib Goddes tresore, þat es to sai, þe godes
of holi chirche, & putt him in Goddes werk to wirche and trouaille
in kepinge of Goddes pepel out of þe deuules mouþe, & þai[n] toke
sich one fro Godde servyse & putte him in his own temperall

312 worldli[che] MS. worldli[l]ice or worldlie[ce].
313 MS. & þan toke þe same werkmen fro his lorde werk cancelled by crossing.
320 þan] MS. bai.
service. & per for whateuer, excusacions pat ȝe make in his mater ȝe ne mow noȝt bene excusid, for all sich seynys & mellinge wip worldlich nedes es forboden to all prestes in diuers places in holi writ & in þe popes lawes, as I said tofore."

"A leue Ser", said þe clerk, "þou hast said moni skilles, & as it semeþ be þi wordeþ, þe pope & þe clergie schuld be suggetes to all worldli lordes & have no power ou[el]r hem ne of no worldliche gode. Þeue þat were soþe, me þink it were als gode þat þer were no pope ne þreste as elles. & þan were holi chirch distroyed & Goddes lawe schuld be forgeten amonget þe Cristen pepel, & þe

f.15v bileeue /of holichichche also. Lo Sir Kniȝt, what mischeue schuld fall bot ȝeue þe pope & þe clergie were miȝti bi Goddes power after þe gospell & þe lawes of holi chirche to gouerne þe pepil to helþe of soule.

And þerfor Ser, be wele war þat þou ne speke no more aȝaines holi chirch, for in gode faþ it ne was neuer meri siþen þat a borell clerk þat had lerned a littel to understonde Latyn, schuld mell him of holi writt & of þe decrees & decretalles & þe popes lawe & his power. For þerwip ne haue þe noȝt to done, and: ȝe ne schuld noȝt mell ȝow of men of holichichche, bot liuen & keþe ȝoure degre and done als men of holichichche teche ȝow, for þat be ordained of God to teche & þrache þe pepel as Goddes lawe bereþ witnes & als þu hast said þis elf þat it schulld be so."

"Lo", said þe kniȝt, "how wonderfullich þou answerest to mi spech, þat þou saist þat semeþ þat þe pope & þe clergie schuld be suggetes to all worldlich lordes. In certaine þat es soþe, for

328 ou[el]r MS. our.
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that Saint Paul chargebe you straightly and saith that her power es notwithstanding bot of God. & therefore we & drede hem notwithstanding, for to chastise misdoers pai bere þe swerde.

And þer þat þou saist it were als gode þan þat þer were no pope ne prest Peter þou saist soþe, þeue it were so þat all prestes misleued. But I hope þat schall never be, for Cristes will kepe allgate som gode prestes to hold vp his chirch, so þat þe bileue of holi chirch schall never faile, for Crist himself said to Saint Peter als Saint Luke saith in his gospell. Also wher þou saist þat þe bileue schuld þan faile, parte Ser, þof it were so þat all prestes & þe pope were out of þe bileue, as it never schall be 3if God will, þit ne mist ne schuld þe bileue never faile. For after þat Crist had stabled þe bileue he said to Sainte Peter, "I haue biden for þat þi bileue faile noþ." 3it þe þre daies þat Cristes bodi was dede & laie in þe sepulcre, all þe bileue of holi chirch failid in all þe apostils & all oper men, saue onelich in oure ladi Saint Mari. & 3it was scho no prest.

Also þer þou saist þat holi chirche schuld be distroyed bot if þe clergeri mist vse her power. after Goddes lawe to help & help of mennes soules, parte þou woste wele þat I ne said never þe contraris. Bot I said þat no prestes mai haue no maner worldli /power but all spirituelle powere, as I haue openli schewid tofore 370 bi mani divers places in holi writ & in þe popes lawe. And

349 MS. gives a marginal reference to [Romans] 13. 17
351 saist] MS. saith.
356 MS. gives a marginal reference, Luc. 22.
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perras þou saist þat a borell clerk schuld no3t mell him of þe popes lawes ne of men of holi chirch, I wote wele þat þe bene wroþe þerwip, for moni of þow con litel of Goddes lawe ne of þe popes lawe neipær. And þerfor þe wold þat borell clerkes couþ no more þan 30, for þan miȝt blîynde Baiard be þe boldest hors in þe cart. And Ser, me wondreb mich of þe, þat þou schuldest sai so. For all be it þat þou ne can, or elles fewe of þi degree conne bot litel of þe gospel wherbi all holi chirch schuld be skill be reulid and gouȝmid; þit þou art a doctore of decrees and of þe popes lawes; and I ne haue bot litile said þat I ne haue schewid als wele be þe popes lawe as be Goddes lawe. It semeþ þan þat þe be suspect of all euil doynge þat es reknid & spoken tofor, siȝþen þat þe will noȝt þat þoure awne lawe be aleggid aȝayne þowe.

And parde, as þou woste wele, I ne haue nobinge said in abreggyne of þoure gostli powere, bot vndermyȝynyge of þat þat þe mell þow wip, worldliche doynges & wip worliche powere, in lessinge & for to abrege þe kinges power, which I will wipstonde wip all mi hert & all mi connynge. For als me þink, þeue þe miȝt haue your will wipouten wipstondinge, in a schorte tyme þe schuld haue supplautid michel of þe kinges power aȝaines Goddes forbot."

[C] 'Parde, Ser,' said þe clerk þan, 'I am þe kinges legeman (as) wele as piself, and als lōþe me were þat his powere were abreggid of þat him aȝt to haue. Bot wele I wote þat be all lawes,riȝt as þe kinge es lord & soueraynye of all temperaltes & temperal gode,

394 {C] MS. does not supply a capitulum sign but the end of the preceding speech is indicated by the usual paraph marks.
394 {as} MS is indistinct. There appear to be three letters, the second two as.
right so es be pope lord & souerayne of spiritualte & spirituale
gode & godes of holi chirch. For what gode ever bat es 3euen
to holi chirche it es holi & longe& rightfulliche to prestes,as
be popes lawe berep witnes in be decrees.& perfor it es wonder
bat 3e will mell 3ow wip onyinge bat es 3euen to holi chirche,
for all maner sich godes es holi & mai neuer after be torned
into worldlich mannes power, as be lawe of holi chirch berep
witnes."

f.17v [C] 'Leue Sir, I wote wele bat pou art be kinges legeman &
a3test to maintene him & his reale powere als wele as ori man of
his reume,'bob' pou & all ober prestes, bihsschopes & ober, bot
it seme& bat 3e sai one wip jour mou p & anober wip jour hert.
& for 3e wolde be sotilte encroche to 3ou lordschipe of temperale
bodes& bat es forboden to all clerkes, as I haue schewid openli
tofore; & bat me pinkep pou schewep openliche in bat bat pou
saist bat be kinge ne hap no power of no worldlich gode after
bat it es 3euen to holi chirch); for, als pou saist, all
[e]s holi & mai no3t be put in no temperal mannes possessiouen,
lo, how openliche men mow se pat 3e mene no3t oneliche to abrege be
kinges powere, bot to distroye holli his regalte.

For 3e haue be pridd parte of his land in 3our handes, & zit
3e bepe about to purchase & amortaise euer more & more, so pat 3eue 3e
had 3our will, in processe of tymer 3e schuld haue all be

406 MS. does not supply a capitulum sign, but the end of the
previous speech is indicated by the usual paraph marks.
408 bob] 'MS. bot overwritten with bob.
415 esl] 'MS. his.
possessions of his land in your handes. And pan, als ye sayne, be kinge had no more to done berwip, & pan had he lost all his soueraynte & gouernaile of his land. For yeue he wold pan hold oni land, him most hold it of pe clergie, & so be vnder pe soueraynte & pe gouernaile of pe clergie. & pan were he no kinge, bot as kinge in a somer game or elles as a kinge paintid on a wall. God yeue him grace to bewar & wipstonde sich tresoune of pe clergie, or it be wers pan it es.

Also, yeue pat nopinge pat es ones in pe clergie hondes yeuen to holi chirch, als pou saist, migt never be after in temperall mannes power, ne no temperall man haue power ne lordschip berof, how schulld pan oni clerk bi him mete or drink or ony ober binge pat him nedede, or sell to oni temperall oni maner gode pat pai had? For no man wold sell hem his gode, ne bigge no3t of hem for mone, bot he migt be maister after of pat mone pat was erst a prestes mone pat he had solde his gode fore; & also bot he migt be maister of oni gode, pat he bo3t of a preste & putt it in worldlich doynge,ri3t als him likid. And also in processe of tyme all pe mone of pis land schuld be holi. & no man mell him berof bot all be in prestes handes.

Lo, Sir, sich abusiounes followep of pat pat ye ask otherwise pan Goddes will es, & a3aynes Goddes lawe. & pit for feynid pite /and coloure of holi chirch and seymyne holines, nouper pe kinge ne

427 MS. repeats & cancelled by expunction.
430 MS. letter b cancelled by expunction.
A KNIGHT AND A CLERK

pepsi wollen ne dar no3t wiþstonde your priue dissaites till 
bat þorþe Goddes grace þai haue gode knowynge of youre corsid 
malice. Pat God graunt be tymre, amen.'

C 'Wele, Ser Knight', said þe clerk, 'I se wele þat ze wil have 
your will, what be maistrie & elles. Wherfor it semep þat 
holi chirch schall be born downe, and so þai þat schuld be 
soueraynes schull be suggetes, and þai þat schuld be suggetes 
þat schull be soueraines. & þerþor I can no forþer, bot God leue & 
þeue grace þat it wele be to Goddes worship. For,als me 
þinkeþ, holi chirche es in poynte to be lost and destroyed.'

C 'Ow, Ser Clerk, now I se wele þat you art at þi wittes ende, 
for be þin own woriies it semep þat þou ne canst no rescoun ne 
skill for to defend þi cause. Bot riþt als Iak Roker or a lewd þ 
preste answereþ, riþt so [dostow]. For it es þe maner of all sich 
lewde iauels, when þai ne conne no forþer, þan þai concluyen all 
þair mater wiþ "God leue it wele be" & "God þeue grace to make a 
gode ende". & all sich wordes semen holinesse when þe mene moste 
venyme in youre hert.

For whoso can oni rescoun, he mai wele wit þat I ne haue 
no3t said in distruccione of holi chirch, ne in abreggyngne of þe 
lawes ne þe power þerof, bot,als þerforþ als I mai or can, I 
haue forþerd & mayntened all þe clergie as mich as Goddes lawe 
will. In so mich þat me þinkeþ, & so it es,þat men of holi chirch

456 MS. pre cancelled by expunction.
457 dostow] MS. dos tow, emended to form a regular second person singular present Indicative verb with an enclitic pronoun.
a3t to be sou eraynes ou er all kinges & ober men in spiritualte, which sou eraynte es a servis pat pai a3t to do to pe pepil, als I haue oft said be Goddes lawe. Pat es to sale, to minister pe sacramentes, to schriue & assoile pe pepil, to prech & teche pe pepil & 3euen hem ensaumpil of godeli. But in all pinge pat longe to temperalte, pai schuld be suggetes to pe kinge, & to ober lordes temporales. & 3eue pai wipstonde pe temperale power, pe kinge & pe lordes temporals schuld chastise hem & constreyne hem, for pe to bope bereo pe swerd, as it es said tofore be autorite of Saynte Poule.'

f.19v  C 'Sir Knizt, pou ne takes none hede how Peter said to / Crist, when he bad his disciples to sell her cote and bige hem swordes, "Lord",said Peter "here bene two swerdes". And Criste answerd & said,"Pat es yno3e", in tokene pat (Saynte) Peter schuld have bop pe swerde of temperalte & pe swerde of spiritualte, pat es to mene, bope spirituale powere & temperal powere; so pat herbi 3e mow se pat pe kinge ne habe no power ouer pe pope ne of pe clergie, bot all schuld be suggetes to him bi pe gospell.'

[C] 'Saynte Mari", said pe Knizt, it es litel wonder,bof 3e ouerlede be comone lewde pepil wip sich fals exsposiciones of holi writte,Parde bou west wele pat when pat Crist schuld be take, Peter drove his swerde for to fi3t & smote of Malkus here. & onone Crist repreued him and bad him putt vp his swerd, in token pat pe temperale swerde langid no3t to him, ne to none ober 490

480 (Saynte) ] MS. C, a thirteenth-century abbreviation of Sanctus, given here as Saynte in conformity with the usage at 1.476. 485 C ] MS. does not supply a capitulum,
preste. for to fiȝt ne smyte wip no temperall swerd. But þe
swerde þat he schuld smyte wip schuld be þe swerde of þe goste,
þat es Goddes worde, as Saynte Poule saiþ. And temperall men
schulde chastise men bodelich wip temperall power, & þat
bitoknep þat þai bere þe swerde, as Saint Poule saiþ. So þat
þe pope & þe clergi mai noȝt do, bot wip þe swerde of gode
techeinge & preachinge, and þe kinge & ober lories schuld
constreyne wip þe swerde of temperall powere, as þe pope saiþ
in his lawe. & es acordinge to þe gospell & to Saint Poule boþ.

And þerfor, Ser Clerk, ȝeu[e] it vp & late þe kinge & ober
500 lories vse her powere in temperalte, & þe pope & þe clergie vse
her power in spirituelte. For þan schall holi chirch stonde wele
boþe in temperalte & in spirituelte, & þan schall þou haue þat
þou askist of God when all resoune faȝlep þe, þat es when þou
biddist God leue it wele be. & God send grace þat þer be a gode
505 ende. Amen."
[PROLOGUE]

f.153v  

G[o]d hooły churche bi many maner of spechis to knowe pe treupe of his lawe & berbi to come to blisse. And bu God spekip bi summe men as if two persones dispitiden togidræ, þe which we cleyn Reson & Gabbyng, wheth ben Crist & þe fende.

RESON

Sip I am God þat schal iuge men, summe to joye & summe to payne, alle men schulden þenn on me & be reuled bi me in þere conscience. An for þis I cam dawen fro heuene & lyued man here more þenne bretty jere so þat bi my dedis & by my wordis my breberen schulden hoomly knowe me. For-alle þe werkis I did in erpe weren done even aftur þe biddynge of my fadur. Wherfore f.154 I bad þe Iewis þat þei schuld / not trowe to me but if I did þe werkis of him þat sent me.

I departid my churche in þre partis, in lordis, prestis & comyns. Pe first part schuld be lordis þat schuld be vikers of
my Godhed, and bi strenge mefelid wip resoun defende my lawe a3eyns pe fende. And bi his seruis bei hold of me & han lorischip of his world. Pe second part schuld be my clerkis pat schuld sue me next in lijf & lyue on almes as I did. For oft tymes whenne I began to teche my fadur lawe to be pepele, men cleped me home to her housis,3yuynge me bodily sustynaunce. For alpou3 I were my3ty bi my Godhed to yuue ensaumple vnto preeestis to fle3e richesse in his lijf, true preeestis pat prechen po gospel, if bei ben beden of be peple, may leuefully for her tru weil for be tyme bei teche be puple, take of hem her sustynaunce. 3ea, if a preest,for his parfeccion,were req[ui]red of oo person or of many to abide wip hem in amendyng of her soulis, so pat he were for be moost part ocupied in techyng of Goddis lawe, he my3t for his goostly tru weil rescuyue of hem bodily foode. & if a preest of lytle lettuerer had wille to teche Goddis lawe truly, & nedid for wantyng of scharpnesse of Witt to bisi him euerich werkday aboute be telling of Goddis lawe of be gospel on be haliday, for siche goostly tru weil bat sounep to be comoun profit, sich a preest my3t leuefully of sich a man pat my3t bera it take his sustynaunce in t mesure. But looke he wele he passe not pat. Pe bridde part of my churche ben commouns ground to pise two, be wheche bi her bodily tru weil sustenen bope lordis & clerkis. But I wil pat charite knytt pise pre parties togidre.
but thy mercy clerkis schulun be li3t to bise oPur, & teche freely be lawe of God bope in dede & werde, & meue hem bus to heuenward. True lordis schal bi charite help bise two sistris to lyue & mayntene hem bi wey of resoun, to serve God, & to comme to heuen. Comouns schulden wip good wille serve to lordis & help clerkis, for iche treue membre of bise pre schal help oPur in al his lijf be charite.

f.154v And bus /haue I ordeyned lijf to alle pre partyes of pe churche. My clerkis pat suen me here schulen moost goostly lyue & next to heuen, borou3 ensaumle of whom pe peple ben drawyn from vices to vertues; to whom I forbed worldly wurschip, for bei schulen lyue in pouert as I did here. & teche pe peple to leue worldlynesse bope bi lijf & bi word. For couetise of worldly good ben many men departid from God, & for mennes hertis ben here most enclinyng to siche couetyses, pe wheche willen not be remeuyd but bi be contrarie, preestis schulum haue no more ben her nedful necessaries, pat is mete & drinke mesurably, & clopis to couer pe body from colde & schame. Whenne Adam had synned in paradise he was aschamed of himsilk, for and he had neuer synned here, men sculd neuer haue nedid clopis, for he was clad in feiremesse pe which he lost borou3 synne. And so for schame of himsilk men nedid clopis aftur pat time. But synne is nowe so custumable pat men ben proude of her clopis, & berinne is grete lichorie. Wherfore my prestis moten wake bisily to repreue his synne pat departis pe puple & me.

39 Mercy is given in the margin, with a caret mark to indicate the position of the correction.
De second part of my church bat ben lordis schulup haue worldly goodis & hool lordship, for bat is nedful to her office bat I haue lymyt to her state. But herfore pei han no le[e]ye to passe pe bondis of myn heestis, but hem owen bisily to seke my lawe & kepe it, rulyng her sugettis aftur my lawe in parfit loue & charite.

De brid part of my church, I wole bat it leue in bodily traueil. And bis part is clepid commyns, for bi ber commyn trauele ben bese bre sistris susteyned. And bou3 bis true laborers for her traueil wanten worschip & eese, nebeles her wonyngstid is mad in blisse wipouten eende. For what man bat makiþ a castel & laiþ stonye despe in be erpe, he loueþ as wele be castel grounde as he doiþ be werke bat is leid abouen. & bus alle bis true sistris of my spouse, I wil be haue worldly goodis in mesure, as mych as is nedful to hem to do be f.155 service bat I ax. And I wil bat no /part of my spouse be contrariouse to anopur, ne lett anopur to serve me, ne take no bingé proprid to anopur, for as hijest acorde is in be Trinyte, so I wil bat ber be in bis churche.

And for I wold bat bis lawe were more in mynde of Cristen men, I haue made to write it in be oolde lawe & in be newe. & as no man may be excusid bat ne he mot nedis kynpe Goddis lawe

66 leue] MS leuee.

82 MS, indicates that the speaker is Reson by a guide-letter 'r' and a gap after 'churche' for the name to be completed, but there has been no speech given by Reson's opponent, Gabbying, to necessitate such an indication.
& hou þat he skal serva God, but summe more & summe lesse, s[o] no man may be excusid þat ne he scould know þe body of hooły churche, to do hir worship & hoold hir hele, iche'of' þise þre sistris in her degree aftur þe ordynançs of God. If presthod be wele rulid, þise ður two sistres schulun haue good hele.

And for I began þe reule of prestis, I wold þat lordis knewe my lawe, þat prestis passe not her boundis þat I haue lymyt to her state. For in þe fourþe boke of Goddis lawe it tellip hou God seid to Aer'øn', "In her londe schal þee not haue noo þart among hem. I am þart & þin eritage in þe myddle of þe children of Israel. But to þe children of Levy saue I alle þe þytes of Israel in pocession, for her true servise þat þei serueden me in þe tabernacle of couenaunt. I wol þat þei haue not ellis but be payde wip offringis of tibis." Lordi, sib his is Goddis word & his lawe jouen to his churche(& þe witt is (o)þyn inow, as þe bokis ben commyn to men ),what þing meiþ Cristen men to leue þis lawe so cowardly? Pat þing þat scounþ to prestis wymynþ, as tibis & offringis, þat þei forgeten not, albour þei forgeten to serue God. And certis,resoun at domesdaye: wil not excuse þis negligans, nouþur in prestis þat done þus folly þe in lordis þat suffren þis synne to regne.

86 so] MS. se.
88 of] interlined.
93 Marginal reference to Numeri 18°
94 Aaron] MS. Aron corrected by interlined 'a'.
101 opyn] MS. epyn.
Reson and Gabbyng

De seconde witnesse of þe 'bold' lawe is writen in þe fyueþ boke: "Preestis & dekenys schulun not haue, & alle men of þe same kynreden, neiber part er eritage wip oure children of Israel, for þei schulun ete sacrifice of þe lord & offryngis. And þei schal take noon oure hungis of posessioun of her breþeren, for þe Lord himself is here heritage, as he haþ seid to hem." Pise wordis passen mannes lawe, for þei ben hustis of God hymself,

f.155v /and prestis schuld not passe hem now if þei ben on Goddis part.

De pridde lawe is tauȝt of God bi his prophete Ezechiel:

"To prestis schal be non eritage, for I am eritage of hem. & þe schulden yve to hem no posessioun in Israel, for I am þeir possession." And noo glose excuseþ nowe prestis þat ne þei schulden holde nowe þise hustis, but if God be not nowe posessioun of hem but þe feende. & to conferme alle þis' lawe of prestis, Crist holde alle þise lawes sufficiently, boþe in himsilf & in his apostlis. Lord, whi schuld not prestis nowe do so, wheþur þat anticrist haue dispensid wip hem to do æȝymes Crist? Suche false wordis wolun not excuse hem before resoun at domysday.

Rede þe bylesue þat God haþ gouen & stonde þerbi, puttyng awey al couetise porcuþ whiche prestis ben made blynd; and seke grace, & þou schalt fynde if þou perseuer in þin askyng. And þenke hou God is unchaungeable & his law is sufficient,
& penne beleue schal teche bee pat his ordynaunce mot nedis stonde, for he is now pat same God pat was & is & aye schal be.

& no Cristen man awe to accepte no mannes biddyng but in as mych as it acordipe to be biddyng of God almy3ty.

And here bise new ordris mowen be aschamed bee whiche dreen more be offense of men penne bee done be offenses of God. But Goddis lawe forbodip man to consent to any syme & bise apostatase of be irreligiose of anticrist, porou3 her false obedience done to here souereyns, ben made porpu3 vnable to drawe vndux be 3oc of Ihesu Crist. And 3itt be fend hab tau3[t] hise children to alege here for hem hooily writ, sa[ng] pat Goddis lawe biddip not onely to obeies to good men but also vnto tyrauntis. Here we answere to bise foolis pat ben blynde poru3 her owne folly, pat bise wordis pat bai sale ben sope, for Goddis lawe & resoun seip so. But bei vnduxstonden hem amysse, & so bei blynden be peple, but mych more bee harmen hemself.

Sope it is & resoun techip pat iche creature pat doip wale & seipe eke schuld be accept to pe herers, for sich auditours f.156 ben clepid obeyers to good men. & on be topur /syde, pat siche men seyne pat Ten owen to obeise to tyrauntis be whiche ben wickud men, we graunte wel pat bis is sope, but bis bichip no Cristen man, be whiche is made free bi be reule of Crist from daye to daye, to stonde wilfully vndux be obedience of a false prelat. For iche man may suppose or knowe wheper his
obediens be good or noon. And if he feele it harmep himself & profitep not to him bat takip it, what foly obligacioun schulde bynde a man to sich a fleschely feende? And he bat were a kny3t of God & durst telle sich a feende his defaute, he schuld knowe truly obediunce done to tyrauntis. For sich con schuld for his treube be pursued, cured & clepid apostata. But al siche persecusioun mekly suffrid wipoute grucching,for he love of These Crist, is clepid of true men obedience done to tyrauntis.

O Ihesu, what may amende his errour pat so lange hab grown, wher we ben so fer fro grace porouj be batilyng of be feende & our wilful assent in bi[n]ding us to sich observaunce? Wher we schal now lyue in dispaire, for his synne hab regned so longe? Ihesu betokenip sauiour & pat name bou chese before alle obur, & bou was, is & eue schal be iust in al bi wirchyng. For ri3twise dome askip bat a man † damonen [be] taken oute of charite in be last houre. Bou3 al he had lyued al his lijf: before in keping of be hestis, ri3tful dome askip for his wilful errour euerlastyng dammnacioun. And so porouj ri3twisnesse of he, we ben confortid in our bileue, bow we hen lyued al be most part of our lijf porouj ignorance, illisance or wilfulnesse aysyns bi hestis. If we duely repente, as at be last eende of our lijf, forsakyng our synne whiles we mowe do synne, bou3 be tyme be neuer so schort, porouj ri3twisnesse of bi hooli name Ihesu oure beleue confortip vs to trist to bi mercy, & so to haue for3yuenesse of our lenge trespasse.

163 binding] MS bidding.

167 dampped be] MS be dampped.
& herefore true men bcken bys irreliqous, be which hau long a3eyne be rule of Crist bus wickedly fousten, schuld not put her holyne[es] in\nvtward signes, as in clopring, eting or fasting or wakyng at oonis f.156v togidre\\& aftur oo rule. For true men knowen wele be habit makib not be monke, chanoun, frere ne prest. But as prestis mown best wipouten charge of be peple cume to pore cloping to
hil hem wibal, charge bei no colour bat partenyth to presthode. In eting & drinkynge our holy abbot made hise postles free, &
so alle prestis of his religiouse bat schal comme aftur, to ete & drinke in mesour, if bat hem nedib, sych as comem before hem.
In waking or fasting our holy abbot Crist ha\hp comandid his couent to prey specially be Pater Noster, for be irme is contenyd as myche as is needful to bodi & soule of eu\rsiche creature. And sibnoo prier auailib us but if Crist hera it, and our beleeue techis vs bat Crist heri\hp no priers' gladlyer, it is good counseil bat we sett oure moost trust in be Pater Noster.
& charge we not tyme lymytid in certeyne, as mydni\t & kockis crowe, prine or vndorne, ne hou many we schal sey on be day & be nyjt, but loke we be war in al oure dedis bat we be not founden wurchyng ber3eyn. & so boro3 binkyng, wurching & biddyng stynt we neuer in prevng be Pater Noster, if his reule of Crist schal make vs ay hungri to jerne aftur ritwisnesse & fel vice. & his bringib inne fastyng fro signe, boro3 which our abbot is plesid.

179 MS. repeats be.
179 in| MS. g.
192 priers] MS. piers corrected by interlined 'r'.

RESON AND GABBYNG
And selp Ihesu our sauyour is þus curteis & wilful to forguye synne, who schulde be in any dispeir þoug þis synne haue regned longe? Cunme we nowe freely & wilfully to þe free reule of Ihesu Crist, beseeching hym þat he wil vouchesaif to be oure ruly abbot. & of his riȝtwisnesse he may not denye vs his mercye, for he biddip every man þat brestip, cumme to hym & drinke wipoụt any money. And here sculd men arúnt feynyt penytaunser, confessours & òfur prestis þat assoylen for mony, for boþe þe partis aftur þe sentence in Goddis lawe is fouler aftur fyȝelid in synne, which mater we han openly declared in òfur placis. Iche Cristen man loke wele if God wol þyue him grace to see his feip & to stonde berwip, for þat is a tokyn þat God wolde saue him. Pise ben not feyned wordis ne brouȝt in customes bi þe feend, but lawe þyuen of God of heuen, confirmed of oure abbot Ihesu Crist bi streit kepynge here in erþe, to þyue ensaumple to flee þis world þe which is ful of synne, & so to come to heuen blisse, ever to wone þere wipoụt ende, Amen.

Selp [ber be] þre witnessis of Cristis word aftur his liȝf þat he had tauȝt, men may witt of þe newe lawe þat Goddis wille was þat his prestis schulden kepe his lawe as he himself did. For now is a pleyn resoun, for Crist seip in Markis gospel þat more head of prestis & worldly lordis schulde be of diuers condiciouns, as it is saumplid of Crist himself. "Be witon, seip Crist, "þat

218 MS. gives the guide-letter 'r' before Selp. See commentary.
218 ber be] MS Selp pre. The syntax demands the addition of a verb.
223 MS. marginal reference, Mark 10. placed beside line 221.
RESON AND GABBYNG

pei ßat semen to be princes of folke ben lordis to hem; but it
schal not be so in you, but whoeuer wil be made more schal be
youre minster, & whoeuer wil be þe furst of you, he schal be
seruaut of alle", and proue Crist bi a blessid cause. "For
mannes sone come not to take servise but þat he schuld serve
to his breðeren & yne his lijf aȝeynbyȝing for many."

Dis word of Crist schuld stir Cristen men to holde þis lawe
as Crist did, boþ bi lyif & bi word, as òfur apostles teuten aftur.

And þus Petur, prince of apostlis, techïp prestis in his epistle
þat þei schuld feede her flok, purveying for hem, not wiþ striuyn
but wiþ wille bi fourme of God; ne for loue of foul wynynge, but
wilfully; ne as beyng lordis in clergie. But be þe made fourme
of folke of mekenesse. & wolde God þat alle decretals were
suspended for þis word, þat prestis knew it cleergly & kepþ it
in her lijf; þenne þei schulden wel wiþ hou þei schulden
goostly feede her 'folke, hope by ensaumle of hooly lijf & by
word of Goddis lawe. & þenne þei schulden purvey for hem, not
bi bodily confermenyng but goostly help, to wynne hem hauer; not
aftur þe world, but aftur God; not for getyng of foul wynynge,
as is dritt of worldly 'goodis,' but for wille to wynne hem to
heuen.

Lord, whaþur prelatis cousiten nowe to kepe her flok bi þis
entent, & not for worschipes of þe world ne for wynynge of
worldly goodis. Her disposing in her soule & her wurchyng in her
f.157v fourme techynþ þat þei louyn þe world & worldly goodis more

208

243 goodis] MS. godes corrected by interlined 'o'.

125
Reson and Gabbyng

Penne soule helpe. And if her entent be bus enfecte, al her lijf mot nedis roote peraftur. And if pei wole be lordis among clerkis & coueiten herfore such dig[nl]tees, pe feende haþ venymyd furst be [r]oote & sip pe frute bat schulde cumme herof. Penne pei ben not fourme to her flooke in pouert & in mekenesse, but ryche & lusty to pe world, and yuel ensample to go fro Crist. In his lawe schuld prelatis studie, & not in decretals of pe pope, but if pei techen bettur Goddis lawe, for ellis it were a foolish change. Dis lawe of Crist schuld prestis teche bat is better penne alle bise popis. In dede & word prestis schuld it teche, & leue mennes lawis of lees value.

And 3itt beleue of pe gospel tellib to alle Cristen men hou pei motenede sue Crist if pei wolum eny tyme be saued. But pe gospel tellib playnlye hou Crist fro his begynnyng to his deþ was pe poorest man of alle & tauȝt his pouert on many maneres. For Crist seid in Mathews gospel to hem bat sue him for wynynge, 'Foxes han hoolis & briddis of heuen han nestis in þe eire but mennes sone haþ not bus wherin to rest his heued.'

250 be] MS. be interlined, with caret mark.
251 dignitees] MS. uses the contraction mark 'w' which usually signifies the omission of -ri-.
252 roote] MS boote.
261 MS. gives the guide-letter 'r' before 'And'. See commentary to T2/245-60.
263 MS. marginal reference Matthaeum 8°.
264 MS. many cancelled by expunction.
And so men schuld not bus sue Crist to gete hem here richessis & lorischip. But many ben marchaundis, as foxes, & han moche of worldly goodis. Summe ben lordis as foulis of heuen, & han myche lorischip of his erbe. But Crist pat is mannes sone hab not bus to rest on his heued.

Also Crist spake in his apostle whenne Foule 3aue a rule to Thymo'pe: "Haue we hillynge & foode & be we pay3ed of pise."

Here biddiþ not Crist to bishops to take worldly lorischipes to hem, for þenne þei were not payed of foode & hylyng but grucchen after worldly lorischipe. But þis is aȝeynes Crist & þe state of treue bishops, for þei ben lettid of œur offisches inowe, al if þe world let hem noujt þus. For þus þouȝten þe chosen vessells of God, as Petur & Foule & œur apostles. What spirit schuld make þis foolis so hardy /to coueit more þenne þis bishops þat weren filled of þe hooly goost & ledde & tauȝt bi his halp? And þus alle þe newe lawe techiþ to coueit gostly richessis & to leue al worldly richessis but as myche as nede is. For rjit as men carien not her schippis forber fro þe tyme þei ben commen to lande, ne maken her schipp heuyer in þe watre þenne it may bere hem vp, so Cristen men schulden do wiþ goodis þat þei muten leue in þe hour of deþ.

LUCIFER

I haue herd þee to nowe, hou þou hast ratelid out many

274 MS. marginal reference, Thimothiem 6°.
288 MS. has guide-letter 'l' and a gap for the speaker's name, on the same line as the end of Reson's speech.
skilis, but here a while he topur part, bope in answers & in
resons. We graunte bee wele bat in Cristis tyme was nede [for]
prestis to lyue in pouert. For prestis in be oold lawe weren
riche & heargi to mych foolis. But whenne Crist had swaged
his synne & hooly churche was fully grown, penne shulden
prestis be riche men as bei were worpi for her state. For to
his acordiþ lordis graunte, & many lawes of he pope.

RESON

We may not feyne in his mater, but speke truþ bat may be
groungid. On domesdaye whenne Crist schal come, þere schal we
alle answers him. & so we knowe not bi reson wheþir prestis
of þe oold lawe or prestis þat nowe ben dreynyte in'goodes'
weren in more synne aȝeynes truþe, for bope aȝymened aȝeyns
resen. þe furst slowen þe manhode of Crist. Þe secounde
wrouȝten aȝeyne þe Godhed & haden miche more worldly lordschip
& ricches to her state þenne prestis before Cristis birþe.
And siþ þei feel more kyndenesse þer of Crist, 'it' semþ þat
þei ben more vnkynde. to do aȝeynes his lawe aftur taking of
so gret kyndenesse. And as anentis turnynge aȝeyne to spȝynge,
as prestis diden in þe oold lawe, it semþ algatis more synne
nowe þen was in prestis of þe oolde lawe. And þis lawe þat
Crist ȝauþ was not ȝyuen for a schort tyme but for tyme
wipouten end aftur domesday in blisse.

291 nede for] MS nede.
296 MS. has guide-letter 'r' and a gap after 'pope' to indicate
a change of speaker.
300 goodes] MS. godes corrected by interlined 'o' with a caret mark.
305 it]MS. it interlined with a caret mark.
For as men in state of innocentis schulden haue had no siche lorschipes neiur siche poscessioun, so it schal be aftur f. 158v domesdaye. /In blisse men han none siche lordschip, as Crist had not ne hise apostlis. And sip be world in his elde is more erpely & cousitouse, & be fend tempeteb fastre men to brynge hem in to couestyse, it semip bat prestis were more nedid nowe to hold his laws bat Crist hap 3euem. And bus be fend oujt to schame to seie bat Cristis lawe schal last but schort tyme, as aboute pre hundrid yer, & an anticristis lawe for euermore. 315 3if autorite be sou3t, we han more autorite bi Crist bat is bope God & man, ben anticrist bi ony man. If bat rescun be chargid here, certis be law bat Crist hap 3euem acordip more to state of blisse & to state of innocens, & makip men to sauer heuenly pingis & to leue foule erpely pingis. 320 & as anentiis be graunte of lordis, it is seid oft bat be feend disceyued hem & made hem to do aseyns be ordynaunce of Crist. And sipen beleue nedip vs to graunt bat Crist is heijest lord, we shulden be scyle acorde to Crist & crie him mercy of cure trespassis, for Crist is cure chief lord bat mute 3yue leue if be graunt be oujt. And here schul men arunte be feend bat stireb men to last in his erreoure, for he wold stire men to his synne til bei be endurid as he is. And as anentis be popis lawe, it is noujt but if bat God conferme it. And so reson wip Goddis lawe schuld oonly be acceptid here. 330

335 MS. indicates a change of speaker after here.
RESON AND GABBYNG

LUCIFER

Hit semip a presumcioun bat men schulden telle siche nouelrie; but oolde custome of many seyntis schulden be holden as Goddis lawe, sip a thousand men wolen witnesse ajenis a fewe eritikis.

RESON

Pese wordis ben not of resoun but of 'chidyng wipoute witt, and perfore schulden men mekely, clerly & softly sey to hem, "It is seid oft tyne bat we coueyten not bat men trowe vs but if we grounden vs in be beleue, or in reson of Goddis lawe, & ben beleuuen men vs not for bat we seyne bat ping but for bat God seip it. And woo is him bat benne trowip it not." & it nys no presumpcion /to telle bis truwe in his fourme, for neiher men done bis for pride ne for couetise of worldly goodis, but for louse of truwe of God & for worschip of his lawe. And bis lawe hap longe slepte for cowardise of worldly prestis, and al if God [wake] it nowe, it is not newe, but in mannys knowyng.

And as anentis many seyntis bat ben canonysid of be pope, bat helden boþ in lyf & word. bat bis dowyng was nedeful, here it is a poynct of falsched bat begyleþ many men; bat if be pope seye anyping & witnesse hit bi hise bullis, benne men schulden trow it as bileue. But God forbede bat it were so. for benne be pope were neuer begiled in siche dedis for coueitise, but made oft a newe beleue; & so he myjt chaunge oft be oolde beleue. And if two popis diffyneden contraries, god mote falle to hem bope. But

339 MS. indicates change of speaker after eritikis.
340 of] MS. of interlined, with a caret mark.
350 wake] MS. waken.
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RESON AND GABBYNG

God forbede bat Cristen men trowe in siche heresyes. If resoun prove, or hooly writ, bat any siche ping be sope, † assente ber-

to for loue of trupe & ellis dwelle benepe beleue. Neiber a man not beleue pis, ne beleue bat pis is fals, but trowe it not wipouten skil bat sculd meue men to trowe it. Men heren many seche talis, & men bat wolen may trowe hem but it is a grete folly to trowe hem to ly3tly, for trupe of man is litle inou3 to be prented wip Goddis lawe. Whischuld man made to [Goddis] ymage charge his soule wip siche vncerteyne ping? Man may haue opynyoun more or lesse bi opyn euydensis, but be he war bat pis turre not into beleue, but if Goddis lawe teche it.

And, as witnesse † myche peple, pis is a skil of be fend, sip Salamon seip bat pe noumbe of foolis is wip-

outen ende. And bise resoun had non ende but to prove bat these two prestis bat dampnedem Suzanne for feyned synne, dampnedem wele & lawfully; & bat foure hundrep of prestis of Bale witnessid 375 wele a3eyne Helye. And as anentis Helye bat is putt on seche men, bei schulden lerne of Cristis paciens, hou he was ledde oft to be f.159v stoned as blasfeme & herityke, & at /be last deed bi pis colour. Acorde a man wiþ Goddis lawe & arme hym wiþ paciens & charite, & put he mekely in Goddis hond his lijf, for pe loue of trupe.

370

LUCIFER

Pou spekist a3eyn pe court of Rome & so a3eyns Crist & his lawe, for if men schuld not trowe [but] bat bat is seide in hooly writ,

360 MS. &
367 Goddis] MS. mannes. See commentary.
371 MS. of.
372 MS. marginal reference, Ecclesiastes [1]a
380 MS. indicates change of speaker after 'trupe'.
382 but] The context demands a qualifier here, to transl. L. solum.
men schuld not trowe bat bat be pope seip in hise bullis, ne
many lettris of true men. But who schuld penne trowe his brothur,
bi wordis bat he spake to hym?

RESON

Dou farest as be send did temptyng Eue ourc first mode.
He asseyed freiltee of be womman, and whenne he fonde hir faynte
in feip he made to hir an opyn gabbyng, & buse he discyued
mankynde. Dou vndursto[nd]est not hou be[rs] ben foure answeris
to spechis. Summe worde men graughten for be witen bat it is
sope before God, as ben poynis of beleue & obur treubis bat we
seene. Summe wordis men denyen for be witen bat be ben false,
as ben wordis contrarie to trube bat we han grauntid for be first
trube. Per ben on be brid maner summe wordis bat we douter
wher bat be ben sope or false, for contrarie euydens bat we han.

But per be on be fourt maner summe wordis bat we supposen to be
sope or ellis false, after be euydens bat we han. As I haue herd
of a pralate moche trube & goode werkis, I suppose bat he is a
good preest & Goddis childe, but zitt I beleue not his, for I
beleeue not zitt of mysilf bat I schal come to blisse; but I
hope his surely, & of obur men I suppose. Summe I suppose schal
be dammed for her wickud lijf bat I knowe, & of obur I suppose
bat bei schulun be saued for her good lijf. And zitt I beleue

385 MS. indicates change of speaker after 'hym'.
389 vndurstondest] MS. vndurstodest.
390 MS. has arabic numerals 1, 2, 3, 4 in the margin, against
each of the four modes of response.
398 goode] MS. goddis.
neithur of bis, for if God wole bei may falle, or fayle, but beleeue is a certeyne, bat it may not fayle on no maner. Bi bis may Cristen men see & answer to wordes feyned aȝeyns truȝe. A man may wele & medefully speke aȝeyns þe courte of Rome if he wit wele þat it synneþ aȝeyns Goddis lawe & harneþ his churche. And þus he schulde do bi charite, for loue of þe church /in charite, þat, as Seynt Iame seip, heliþ þe multitude of synnis, witouten wich charite neyber man ne womman may plese God. And þayne Crist wil saie to hem on his left side, "Departæ fro me, þe cursud folc, into everlasting payne of helle þat is biforn- ordeynid to þe deuel & his aungels & to all þat kepþ not myn hestis nor diden not þe seuen warkes of mercy after þe fourme of Godis law, neyber bodily ne gostly."

[EPilogue]

Man if þu wilt do þeis dedis seuen
þu schalt haue þe blis of heuen. et cetera. Amen.

416b EPilogue] The heading is editorial. The couplet which follows is set out as prose in the MS., continuous with the end of Reson's speech.
A DIALOGUE BETWEEN A FRIAR AND A SECULAR CLERK

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN MS. 244 (C. 3, 12).

f.212v  Moost worschipfulleste & gentilleste Lord Duke of Glowcestre,
3oure seruaunt sendip 3ou disputusun writen 3at was before 3ow by-
twixe a frere & a seculer 3oure clerk, preiynge of bope sidis to
chese and apreue pe trewpe. For as seyp ooure bileue, "Ouere alle
bising vencuscheb pe trupe", & as seip Aristotle,acordynge wip ooure
bileue, "Tweyn beynge frendis, it is holy to be for honour [8] pe
f.213 /trewpe". Perfore, to 3ou, lord, 3at herde 3e disputusun be 3eue be
fyle, to rubbe aweye pe rust in eipir partye.

[FRIAR]

Pat pe hestis of God bep nei̇p̄ir sope ne falce, for eche hest
is a resoun inparatif 3at is nei̇p̄ir sope ne false, as tellip
children sommes.

[CLERK]

Pat ech hest of God is trew̄e, witnessyñ̄[p]Daūp̄ 3at seip, "Alle
bine hestis ben trewε; & perfore alle opere scyences schulde
be reulid bi 3e cuynyge of 3e hestis of God & nou3t aenward. &
perfore seip Seynt Poul, 'Whanne I was a child I sauered as a child,
and whanne I was maad a man, I avoydide þilke þingis 3at weren of

1 MS has a marginal guide-letter 'm' with upper-case 'M' in red
within the writing area.

8b FRIAR] This and all headings designating the speakers are editorial
unless otherwise noted.

9 A space is left for the rubricator to supply upper-case 'Φ'
indicated by a guide-letter in the margin.

11 sommes] This word is written outside the ruled area, but in the
main hand and followed by a double virgule.

12 witnessyñ̄] MS witnessynge.
childhoode', as ben sophemesse & obere veyne resouns pat ben aboute to make pat be gretteste science of alle be rewled by be leste. Be whiche pingen, whanne men so don, reproue hem Seynt Poul & seip to hem, "Forsøpe, whanne t' se schulde be maystres for tyme, etesones/3ou nedip pat se be itsu3t be principles of be bigynynge of be wordis of God, & se ben imade to whom is nede mylke & not sad mete". Wherefore we seyen pat ech resoun, be it inparatife or optatife, is sope or false aftir his resoun indicatif is sope or falce to whom he schulde be redusid, or aftir pat he hap trewe in dede answerynge to hy(m).

[FRIAR]
Pat frere prechouris hauep no possessioun in Engelond.

[CLERK]
Pat in dom place in Engelond bes prechoures, receuyynge here lyflode neiþer by beggyenge nei by here trauyyle wiþ here hondis, but bi annuel rente, [ben] in manere of hauynge & spendynge alle one wiþ obere seculeris pat hauep possessiouns, as here dedis preueþ, al be it pat be blessen many men pat see[em] hem riche & possessions hauynge and hit leuyn it nou3t to whom is contrarious. Crist seip, "Blessid be bilke pat leuep & deep not". So as Crist f.213v blyeue bryngip'att' be laste to be verrey siȝt of /here blyeue,

20 MS. I., interpreted as being expuncted.

26 hym] The three minimis at the end of this word are obscured by an ink-blot. At this point, and at the end of most speeches, there is a series of rough paraph marks interpreted as indicating the end of a speech, with the rest of the line being left blank.

30 ben] MS. &.

32 seem] MS. seen.

33 MS. pat.

35 att] MS. atte altered by expunction.
A FRIAR AND A SECULAR CLERK

so be bileue pat bes men techen bryngiþ to verrey blyndenesse of pat pat þei see wþ þere ejen. & so þei don þis myracle to make seynge men blynde.

[FRIAR]

It is nouȝt soþe þat alle þingis þat is nouȝt of þe bileue is synne, al be it þat þe apostle seip þo, þe whiche is vnďirstonde þat alle þing þat is nouȝt of good conscience is synne & nouȝt ech good conscience [þat] is not of bileue. Also vnauysed rubbynge of a mannes berde is nouȝt of þe bileue, & þit it is no synne for it is neiþiþ good ne yuel.

þe CLERK

We seyen wþ þe apostle þat alle þing þat is nouȝt of þe bileue is synne, for eche þing þat is nouȝt of þe ten hestis of God is synne, & þe ten hestis of God is our[e] bileue. Perfore alle þing þat is nouȝt of our[e] bileue is synne, and þif men asken what is our[e] bileue and where in ony article of þe bileue ben þe ten hestis igroundid, we seyen wþ Seynt Austyn þat al holy wryt is our[e] bileue, & þat þe ten hestis of God ben understonden in þis artycle of þe bileue: "I bileue in God", þat is, I bileue þat alle þing þat God seip or biddiþ is trewe, & as þe hieȝeste gode, I loue him ouer alle þing.

Also seip þere is no good conscience but þat is igroundid in þe ten hestis, & alle þingis þat is nouȝt of goode conscience is synne, myche more alle þingis þat is nouȝt of þe ten hestis

42 þat] The syntax requires a relative pronoun.
44 neiþir] A worm-hole obscures the end of the word.
44þ be clerk] A marginal rubric, with a rough line to specify the point of change, though there is no break in the text.
47 bileue] MS. bileuee.
is synne, & so alle þingis þat is nouȝt of be bileue is synne.
Also seip God is oure bileue, & alle þingis þat is nouȝt of God is synne (as seip Seynt Ion, þat wiþouten him is made nouȝt þat pat is), ¶ þanne alle þingis þat is nouȝt of oure bileue is synne.
Perfore, wondringe of þes men þat seyen þe reverse, Seynt Ieremye seip into þe confusio[n] of hem, "What is he, þis þat seide þat þeere schule be don onyþing þe Lord not comaundyng þat?" Perfore f.214 þe rubynge of a mannes /berd, whanne it is don wiþ cause appreaued of God, it is good & whanne it is ellis it is veyn & yuel. & Perfore al be it þat þis rubynge of berd in his kynde be neiþer good of vertu ne yuel of vyce, neuereþelattere wiþ good circumstaunce it is good, and wiþ yuel circumstaunce yuel.

[FRIAR]
P seip, "No man synneþ but of bифore-deliberacioun". & Perfore children to þe tyme þat þei haueþ discrecioun of resoun, synneþ not, as bифore þat tyme þat þei haueþ deliberacioun.
And a man þat bygynþ to þ slepe of charite, he synneþ nouȝt afterward in his slepynge.

[CLERK]
We seieþ þat þere is twey manere of synnes. On is clepid

61 MS. synne, probably an error of dittography.
70 MS. has P seip in a roughly drawn rectangle, on the same line as the end of the preceding speech, but after a series of rough paraph marks and a gap, and without indicating the name of the new speaker.
73 MS. clepe crossed out.
75 We seien] MS. he seip. See commentary.
synne of leeuynge  
pat a man schulde doo, and a-nober is synne of 
doynge a-ans  
pat pat a man schulde do, riȝt as in pe weye of 
vertu, first is fleynge of synne and afterward is doinge of 
good. As seip Dauȝ, "Bow[e f]ro yuel & do good", riȝt so in pe weye of 
vyece is first omyssio[n], pat is, leeuynge of  
pat pat a man schulde do, and afterward synne of omyssio[n], pat is, doynge  
pat pat a man schulde not do.

Payne siȝ bifie  
pre synne of omyssio[n] ofte goiȝ no 
deliberaciouns, ofte siȝes a man synneȝ wiȝbuten ony delyberaciou[n]  
bifie. For ofte siȝes men souereȝ(y)n lyche doiȝ here yuel dedes  
pat hei abide nouȝt so longe to make of deliberaciou[n]. And also  
ofte siȝes whanne a man synneȝ, pe wyl of hym goø bifie ony  
resoun good or yuel, and delyberaciou[n] is but of resoun. Also in  
yuel delyberaciou[n] a man synneȝ, bifie whiche delyberaciou[n] gop  
non oþir delyberaciou[n]. Perfore riȝt as þe first yuel delyber-  
aciou[n] of a man is synne, riȝt so a man synneȝ wiȝbuten ony  
delyberaciou[n] bifie. Also a man makip ofte good delyberaciou[n],  
& zit aftir, of  
-forȝe[y]ynge, synneȝ aȝen[t] þilke delyberaciou[n], and  
so he synneȝ & nouȝt of delyberaciou[n] bifie but raþer aȝen[t], as  
a monk þat bifie he slepiȝ, makip his delyberaciou[n] to rise at  
myddenȝt as he were holde, & zit in ty[m]e whanne he scholde rise,  
of forȝe[y]ynge liep stille & sleepeȝ. & as Seynt Gregorie  
ensaumplip, a man, bifie he sittip at þe mete, he makip his

85 MS. souereȝ - on one line with lyche visible on the next line;  
two minims may be lost in the binding. See commentary.

A FRIAR AND A SECULAR CLERK

delyberacioun for to ete no more but pat pat is nedeful to him, and git aftir, of vindelyberacioun he stiip or drynkip to myche, no delyberacioun goinge biforn opere pan goode.

And perfore I wot neiwer whi men schulde seie pat here is no synne but of delyberacioun biforn, but for bei wolde nouzt be atteynte in pe malice pat Daulp spekip of whanne he seip, "Pe yuel man wolde not vndirstonde pat he schulde do good"; pat is, he schulde leeeue delyberacioun to do good, pat he myyte be excusid by noon delyberacioun of doynge of yuel. And for children bep' nou3tt' excusid by non delyberacioun, seip pe wise man pat pe turmynge away of children, pat is, here synne of omyscioun wipouten any delyberacioun, schal sclee hem.

[FRIAR]

A child synneb not in his modir wombe, al be it pat it be in origynal synne in his modir wombe, pat is, pe synne of his forme fadir Adam. Perfore ri3t as wipouten his desertis pe grace of Crist purgep him fro pilke synne, so biforn pat grace of Crist he is in synne of Adam, al be it pat pan he synneb nouzt hymself.

[CLERK]

We seyen wip pe apostle in his epistle to pe Romayns pat alle men synnede but pilke pat weren halwid in here modir wombe. For sip eche child hæp his body in obeyschaunce to his sprite, & pe sprite more folwynge pe body pan pe hestis of God, he synneb, be he neuere so 3enge, so pat he be nozt halowed in his modir wombe. Pan eche suche child, anoon as his sprit is wip/inne.

107 nou3tt] MS. noutt with '3' interlined.
his body, synne. And perfore seip pe apostle pat 'poruʒ' kynde we ben pe sones of wreþ alle. And as it is but a foly to seie pat a child is in defaute & ʒit defauteþ not ne neuere dide, riȝt so it is but a folye to seie pat a child is in synne & synne noȝt. For þere is no child n(w, be it neuere so ʒonge, pat is in þe personal synne of Adam, sip Adam is in heuene & hap now no synne. Perfore sip a childe,anon as he is quick he is in synne, and in non oper synguler synne but in his owne, so þanne he synne þimsilf. For in eche synne [is] 'sommeþing' synneþ sumþing, and noon oper but þilke child himsilf. Perfore riȝt as þe child is in þat synne, so he synneþ in þat synne. And perfore holy wryt neuere more settee differrence bytwixe þes two, but hap hem for alle oone: þis man is in synne & þis man synneþ, as it is alle one, þis man is in his rennynge and þis man renneþ.

And perfore seip holy wryt þat þe sone schal noȝt bere þe wickidnesse of [his] fadir; þat is, þe sone schal not be in þe wickidnes of his fadir but for he is wickid himsilf. And þat is þe cause whi God cursid Canaan þe sone of Cam & not Cam þat couered not þe preuye harneyes of his fadir; for his sone schulde be more wickid in þat synne þanne was Cam his fader. & perfore þat cursynge
A FRIAR AND A SECULAR CLERK

was nouȝt cursynge of demynge but cursynge of prophecye,.pe

'whiche' schewip pe comynge of goostlyche synne aftir pe comynge

of bodilyche synne. & for God is so good þat in eche goodnesse

he is biforn and in eche yuel he comþ aftir in effecte, demynge

him in þat synne þat synne þerein, þerfore,al be it þat wþouten

our desertis God sendip vs his grace of forþuenesse of oure

synnes,þit he demep vs nouȝt in no synne but aftir þat we haue

synned þerein. þerfore it may not be þat a man be in synne

raper þanne he synneþ, as God may not demen him in synne raper

þanne he synneþ.

[FRIAR]

f.215v  /pe children þat dion in orygynal synne, lackynge of þe siȝt

of God and of þe blesse of heuene is to hem no peyne, for þei

haue no felynge ne knowynge of it.

[CLERK]

We seyen, as þe siȝt of God & his blisse of heuene is þe
grettest lykynge made þat may be to hem þat ben in heuene (as it

is þe grounde of alle ðepere ioye in hem), so to þilke þat ben in

helle,þe grettest peyne of alle ðepere and þe ground is þe

pryuaçiouȝ of þe siȝt of God and of þe blisse of heuene. & riȝt

as alle þe spirites in helle,(as þei of children or of ðepere),

knowen þat þei ben idamned & why þei ben idamned, so þei knowen

þat þei lacken þe siȝt of God and þe blisse of heuene, to þe

whiche in kynde þei were imarkid(as a blynde man in bire þe and

contynuellyc aftirward knowip þat he is blynde and þat þat

blyndnesse is peyne to him). So boþe þei seyntis in heuene & alle

145 whiche) marginal addition with caret mark.
be yuel spiritis in helle knowen pat be lackynge of be siȝt of God and of his blisse is to hem be grettest payne.

[FRIAR]

Sum men dwelllen longe in dedely synne, and jif while þei contynuen in þat synne þei synnen not in noon opere synne, for jif as longe as a man dwelliþ in dedely synne, he synneþ euere more newe synne and newe. Þan jif a man cried "God mercy" in dedelyche synne, he synned þerinne; & jif þat lassid his synne, newe synnynge lassid þe synne.

[CLERK]

We seyen þat alle þe while a man is in deedely synne, whateuere he do þe synneþ contynuelyche newe synne & newe, as þe lengere he contynueþ in his synne þe grettere is his synne. For alle þe while he dwelliþ in deedely synne he spendiþ contynuelyche amys þree newe graces of God, þat ben þe grace of God of his bodily duryng alyue, þe grace of his tyme, and þe grace of þe seruyce of Goddis creaturis to him; þe whiche as þei ben euere more newe & newe, so þei ben euere more newe & newe spende amys, f.216 for þei ben ispende /wipoute charite aȝenst þis hest of God,

"Alle þoure þingis be doon in charite". Panne alle þe while a man is in deedely synne, he synneþ contynuelyche newe, whateuere he do. Perfore seip þe apostle, "Alle þingis is clene to clene men. To þilk þat beþ defouled & vntrewe þere is noping clene, but here þouȝt & here conscience beþ defoulid. þei knowleche þat þei known God, but in dedis þei 'denyen' him siþ þei ben abhomynable

187] MS. has a marginal reference, ad Tytum i°.
190  [denyen] MS. denyn with interlinear correction.
& vnable to good bileue, & reproved to alle goode werkis."

& r13t 'as' a seruaunte þat hæþ trespassid greuoslyche to his lord, in wyl to contynuen his trespase, or ð is byrse, in biddynge his lord mercy, nys but a truyterouse faytoure, ð gregynge his olde trespase or a byrse; so a man in deedly synne, biddinge God merci 195 wibouten good wil to leeueng al deedly synne, is but a truyterouse faytoure of God, and so in þat biddynge of mercy synneþ greuouse skolers þanne he dide biforn. And 13if wib good wil to leeuue his synne he biddiþ Goddis mercy, þan he is sory for his synne, and in good wille to do þat þat he may as God woole & holy chirche, to haue 200 remyssion of it.

Þanne in þat criendge of mercy is as parthe of charite, & so in þat cryynge of mercy is no deedly synne. But as it is doon in charite, for in good wil to leuuue his synne, so it is not idon in deedlyne synne, ne wib deedly synne. And 13if men aske wheþir a man schulde cry 'God mercy' while he is in deedlyne synne, I seie "þee"; but 13it he schulde nouþt wib deedlyne synne crie 'God mercy', as he schulde neuere more be wib deedly synne but oute of deedly synne.

[FRIAR]

Summe men fullen more þan þe hestis of God, as þe religious 210 þat fullen þe hestis of God & Cristis counseyles.

192 `as] MS. interlinear addition.
193 MS. æ.
194 ð] MS has the particle as, emended to form a participial phrase.
A FRIAR AND A SECULAR CLERK

[CLERK]

We seyen that here may no man fulfille more pan þes tweyn hestis of God: loue þi God ouere alle þing & þi neiþbore as pisilf, /as þere is no doynge more pan to loue God ouer alle þingis and to loue þi neiþbore. And þerefore seip Crist, þat in hem two hangeþ alle þe lawe & þe profetis, to þe whiche whoso addeþ or lassieþ, he is scursid of God. And þerefore may no man wel fulfille more ne lasse pan þe hestis of God. And þerefore whoso fulfilliþ oon of hem fulliþ hem alle, for alle þe hestis of God biddiþ no more but loue wel, wipouten whiche loue is noo hest fulfúllid; [þerefor] seip Seynt James þat whoso offendiþ in oon offendiþ in alle. Perfore riþt as he þat kepiþ ten hestis kepiþ no more ne lasse þan oon, riþt so þei þat kepen þe hestis of God and Cristi counseylys kepen no more þan þe ten hestis.

[FRIAR]

Freris ben excusid fro trauaylynge wip here hondis, for here studinge & prechinge of þe word of God, and for here risyngne att mydny3t and for here masses-seiyngne and for ðe service of God.

[ÞE SECULER]

We seyen þat siþ biggyngne wipouten nede, as is stronge bigginge, is ensaumple & mayntenynge of þeues; as it is open wrongful couetynge of ðeare menges þingis, so it is þe brekyngne of þe tenþe heste of God. So stronge biggyngne may for no se[r]uice of God be excusid, for whanne it is so, it is but feyned equyte, and so double schrewednesse, as doynge of a good dede to maynteyne a schrewed.

220 MS. for þere, probably intended at 221.

225 A marginal note in a later secretary hand reads De mend state.

228b ÞE SECULER] There is no break in the MS. at this point. MS. places this rubric mid-way in the speech, at 241, after '3ow' where there is a break with paraph marks. See commentary.

230 MS. and

231 service] MS. seuice
Therefore these strong beggers, that excuse themselves by their fastinge and prayinge, ben ifyged bi the farissee bat, prayinge in the temple, lyft vp his i3en to heuen and seyde, 'Lord, I banke thee I am nou3t as opir men bep, but I faste tweyas in the woke & seue tybys of alle bat I haue'. So these stronge beggeris[bat] f.217 lyftten vp here i3en to heuene /is vndirstonde on his wise: bat men be so almasful to the pore bat per be not ifounde noon nedful man beggyng amonze 3ow. Siþ charite'bigynneþ at himself, and a man bat is of power is hold to be so almesful to his neigbore bat he haue no nede to begge, miche more a man bat is of power, as ferforþ as he can & may, is holde to be so trauaylous bat he haue no nede to begge.

And siþ lordis han charge to reule þe comunte, bat þere be no begger among hem & specially no stronge begger; and þerfore seip Seynt Poul, "Who bat will not trauayle, he schal not ete". Pann his hest of God, "Be þere no begger amonze 3ou"; byndþiþ men to almessede to here neigbores, but more men[to]hemsilf, þat þei raper 250 trauaylle wip here hondis as ferforþ as þei connen & mowe, þan þei goon & begge; for boþe'kynde' & resoun [schameþ] of beggyng. But moste þat hest byndþ lordis, þat as þei moste plenteoulysche lyuen by trauaille of þe comynalte, so þei beþ moste iholde to constryne

238 bat} The syntax requires a relative clause.
241 bigynneþ] MS. bigynynep corrected by expunction.
250 to] Syntax requires a preposition.
252 kynde] MS. interlinear addition, indicated by a caret mark and written in the margin.
252 schameþ] MS. cschameþ.
A FRIAR AND A SECULAR CLERK

men to trauayle, pat here be plante of alle Goddis goodis in here peple, and to lette pat here be no stronge begger among hem, pe whiche is a wede pat distroye be goede herbis of trauaylures bi whom alle men lyuen.

Forsope, berynge out of money oute of pe rewme to plees to bigge beneficesto meden enemies of pe realme myche febbib pe rewme, but certis, myche more stronge beggeris pat lassen pe laboreres of pe rewme pat ben rote of alle money in pe rewme. Perfore as he pat distroye pe rotis of pe herbis in a gardeyn more distroye pe gardeyn pa[n] he pat distroye pe leefes, so stronge beggeris [more] distroyen pe rewme pan hereres of pe money oute of pe rewme. Perfore pe lawe syuyl comaundib, & pe f.217v. lawe of Yngelond, pat stronge beggeris be putt in prisoun for pe yuel ensaumple to pe peple pat wolde ra[bare] begge pan lyue by here trauayle, And perfore bidib Seynt Poul pat men schulde not comounge wib stronge beggeris pat beggen vndir colour of holynes, as ben freris & thulleris.

[FRIAR]

It is semeful to begge for to ensaumple of mekenesse to pe peple and to styre men to pe werkis of mercy, sip Crist neuere ensaumplied begging wibouten rede.

[CLERK]

But pe mekenesse of trauaylynge Crist ensaumpled, bope in

264 han [MS. bat. The syntax requires a conjunction rather than a pronoun.

265 more] The context requires an adverb of comparison.

271 MS. has a marginal reference to 2\textsuperscript{a} ad Thessalonicenses ultimus.

274b CLERK] There is no break in the text to indicate a change of speaker, but the context suggests the change.
A PRIAR AND A SECULAR CLERK

word & in dede, as techepe Seynt Poul. And þerfore Crist in þe gospel is clepid a carpenter, for he trauaylyde wiþ his fadir, helpinge him to here boþe lyflode; and our lady, for sche wolde not gon on beggynge, trauayled wiþ here hondis.

Freris, siþ þei wolde ensample mekenesse, whi wolde þei not ensample þe mekenesse of trauaylynge wiþ her hondis þat is so groundid in our bileue and in þe werkis of Crist? And beggyng is nouȝt groundid, but myche lettiþ þe seruyce of God, as it is wrongful coueyntyng of our neighbour goodis. And so lettiþ not þe seruyce of God trauayle wiþ hondis, for þanne wolde not þe holy goost haue diden it, ne Crist & our lady haue don it. But siþ þei freris bene aschamed to trauayle, þei ben aschamed to folwe Crist, and þan þei sample pride & not mekenesse. & þerfore seip Dauip in þe Sauter, "þei ben not in þe trauayles of men and wiþ men þei schulle not be schourged, and þerfore wipholdiþ hem pride".

And siþ þei beste styrynge to almessedede is wiþ trauellynge of hondis to þeuen almessedede boþe bodily & goostly, as dide Seynt Poul, þan siþ freris letyn hemself most parfyt, þei schulde trauylyle wiþ her hondis to þeue almessedede boþe bodily & goostly. And siþ beggyng is nouȝt irekened in noon of all þe werkis of mercy, þan beggyng is no good styrynge to almessedede, but yuel, as synne styres to sorowe, ne good mekenesse but yuel † is.

276 MS. has a marginal reference, Actus 20°.
298 MS. as. See commentary.
A FRIAR AND A SECULAR CLERK

f.218 /in as myche as þei wenet þat þei luyen so heuenealyche þat þei schlulde not traueyle wip here hondis.

And þerfore þei seyen þat þei be not as obere men, but in fastynge, preyinge & prechinge passen alle obere. And so here mouþ þei putten into heuene, but here tunge passþ into erpe, in as myche as wip here feyned beggyngþ þei licken þe temporal goodis of þe erpe. And þerfore þe pupplican þat wolde not heue vp his 13en[þep as] þe lewید peple þat holden hem not worpi to þe office of presthode, and þerfore traualþ wip here hondis knowlechinge here synnes & biddinge mercy, passen [i-ustryfied] fro þes beggeris þat ben as wolues jollynge a3ens heuene and luyynge in raveyne of symple bestis.

[FRIAR]

Seynt Iohun come to Seynt Edward in lickenesse of a pilgrime & beggyngþ of him. Whi may not þan freris begge as he dide?

[CLERK]

We seyen þat no seynt in heuene, while he is in blisse, neuer þit begged of man here in erpe, as no seynt in heuene may be nedy to himself of mannes helpe here in erpe, ne don ony schamefast dede as is beggyngþ. And þerfore I am in certeyn þat Seynt Iohun begged not of Seynt Edward; but þif þat visyoun of Seynt Edward be sop, it mote nede be vndirstonde acordauntlyche wip oure bileue,

300 306 þep as] MS as þep, emended to provide a principal clause.

A FRIAR AND A SECULAR CLERK

pat (i)s, pat pe grace of God come to Seynt Edward in pe lickenesse of Seynt Iohun, biddinge him in fygure [of] pes almesdede pat he schulde not be here as a kyng of pis world but as a pilgryme pat haþ no dwellynge cite here, but sekþ his dwellynge & his restynge in pe kyndom of heuene, as biddþ Seynt Petir & Seynt Poul. And þerfore Seynt Iohun appered in lickenesse of a pilgryme, & in token þat Seynt Edward wolde so f.218v don, settynge nouȝt bi þis erþepyle diuite in /comparisoun to þe blisse of heuene, he took him pe ryng of his fyngere, willynge to be iweddid to þe king of heuene and not to þe erþep kyngdom. & of þis men may se þat þes þat aleggen Seynt Iohun a beggar faren as a man in þe iawnes to whom alle colouris semþ selyowe. So [to] a stronge begger, alle askyng semþ beggyngþ.

[FRIAR]

Pe apostle begged of þe Corinthes to þe seyntis in Ierusalem and ordeyned collectis to be imaad for hem. Whi þanye nowe [may] not freris so begge as þei do to here felawis þat stodyen 'at' home?

[CLERK]

Here we seyen þat þere is greet difference bitwixe þe freris beggyngþ and þes collectis makynge of Seynt Poul to þe seyntis in Ierusalem. Firste for among freris, þouȝ 'oon' begge for alle, it

319 is] The manuscript is obscure for the space of one letter, either by a wormhole or by a defect in the photographic copy.
320 of] MS. 'g', used elsewhere as a mark of punctuation. The sense requires a preposition 'of' or 'with' to denote quality or agency.
330 to] Syntax requires a preposition.
333 may] The sense requires an auxiliary to express the idea of possibility or permissibility.
334 at] MS. atte, altered by expunction.
337 oon] MS. no, overwritten oo.
schal not be departid among alle, to eche as it were nede, as it was amonge pe seyntis in Ierusalem. And þerfore þei be þep inedide, bisidis 'þe' comoun beggyng, eche to begge for himself. And so was it nouȝt amonge þe seyntes in Ierusalem, to whom alle here goodis was comoune. Anopheis is þis, þat þe seyntis þat were in Ierusalem were alle of oon religion wiþ þer seyntis in Greces and þer Corynthees, & vndir apostle Poul as vndir here abbote. And þerfore þat biddinge þat Poul bede collectis to be imaad to þe seyntes in Ierusalem was not biddyng of beggyng but biddinge of autorite as biddinge of an abbote to his monke. Ne þe þe þe Corynthees was not pure almessteded, but more dette þan almessteded, for sþ þe seyntis in Ierusalem weren of oon religiou wiþ þe seyntis of Corynthees, þei hadden here goodis comoune and þerfore þe Corynthees sendinge of here goodis to þe seyntis in Ierusalem þe whiche were nedye, was but jildynge of here dette.

Dis biddinge of God, 'Algatis be þere no beggere among ȝow', f.219 {kestep} to þe mawmet of schrewednesse þat is richesse, and so beggyng is seruyce to þe fend & so myche worse þat it is coloured wiþ þe seruyce of God.

[FRIAR]

Be more a man ȝeue þfor Goddis loue, þe more almesstedede he doip. Pan ȝif a man ȝeue all þat he hab þfor Goddis loue & goþ himself abeggyng, he doþ moste almesstedede, namelyche ȝif he

340 þeþi MS. þei corrected by expunction.

353 MS. indicates a new speaker, þe frere, in the margin, but the context suggests that the friar's speech does not begin until 1.357.

354 kestep] MS. <le> stynge, emended to provide a principal verb. See commentary.
A FRIAR AND A SECULAR CLERK

putt hym in pe ordre of beggeris; for as seip Seynt Ansel[m], bat he seuep more bat seuep be tree wiþ pe fruyt [p]an he bat seuep be fruyte one.

[CLERK]
De mychelnesse of almesedede is not aftir pe quantyte of bodily goodis seuen, but aftir pe quantyte of charite of pe whiche men seuen here goodis. And perfore seip Crist in pe gospel bat pe widawe bat zaf but a ferthyn zaf more into pe tresoure of God þan þe all þe toþere bat seuen more of bodily goodis; and hit sche went not[on]:beggyng,for so gret charite wil not be ydil. And siþ bat tyme bat sche oferede were many riche farisees bat seuen myche richesse into pe tresourþ of God, whom in almesededeþeuynge passþþ pe wydawe,& hit sche was of no religiouþ but of þe comowne religiouþ of God. And siþ sche was in more charite þan þe farisees bat were þriuæt religious, sche more verrilykere zaf þe tree of here wilþ þe fruytis of here werkis to God þan many of þe priuæt religious.

[EPISODE]
Deþ þingis seip and sendip þoure seruaunte wiþ þe mendynge of þow,þat þe fulfillen in dede þe trewe þhanne þe þe þoure tyme. For Dauiþ seip þat blessid be þei þat don doome and riþtwisnesse eche tyme, þe whiche blysse þow grauæ Crist Ihesu. Amen.

360 Ansel[m] MS. Anself.
361 þan] MS. haþ.
368 on] MS. o; cf. line 279.
375b EPILOGUE] This heading is editorial. These concluding remarks are set out as part of the clerk's speech.
ION

Sipen Crist biddip vs bewar with fals propheticis, and techip vs be wat signes pat we schulden knowe hem, Cristen men schulden stodie to lerne pis lore of Crist and publiche pis lore for profiʒt of ho[ly] chirche. And so tuo persons spoken be per wiles, Ion & Richard, and treten pis manner mater.

ION

Sipen þe most perel of hooly chirche stangdeþ in false freres, it were to bigynne atte hem & make hem more knowne. And for þe descryingne of pings declareþ hem more, þerfore schulden we wete wat is suche a frere. þe grette clerke Grostehed discrueþ hym þus: "a fals frere pat wendeþ ouȝt of þe cloyster of his soule is a dede caren cropon ouȝt of his sepulcre, w[1]appid in clopes of ſ deel and ober fals signes, and dryuen ouȝt of þe dueul for to drecche men. þe cloister of soule schulde be þus schapen as is þe bodili cloister, gostili to speike, so þat foure cardinal vertues schulde be þe foure wallis keping þe soule fro þe worlde & worldly pings. And/so iche vice brekeþ þis cloister."

1 Siben] Space is left for the rubricator to supply a capital, indicated by a guide-letter in the margin.
4 holy] MS. ho = at the end of the line.
5b ION] Throughout the dialogue the MS. has initial lower-case letters 'i' and 'r' with a space left for completion by the rubricator.
11 wappid] MS. wappid. See commentary.
12 †] MS. deuest or duelles cancelled by expunction.
RICHARD

[peise] wordes may plese vertues men, but a sophester wolde schame for to speike hem, and forfore I præie be, declare hem more.

ION

Aftur þe elde of men & hereres' of wordis schulde a man ordeyne his speche in sentence an. forme, and I am certeyn þat alle þe sophristis of freres cannot pinche at þese wordis ne dispræue her sentence. Suche a frere is a dade careyne, as his clarke seyn, for al if he be grett and fatte in his body. Naþelæs, sipen hym wantþ spirit of liþ, he is a deed body, stynkyng wiþ synne. He comeþ out of his cloïster, þat he cleþ his sepulcre, for he is biried from þe worlde wiþinne fowre wallis, & only heuenly þings ben opyn to his wittis, & grene gresse of vertues and fowles of heuene teche hym to clymbe euene to heuenewarde.

But he loueþ not his bodily abite, for þat ipocrīte may beteþer berbi gile fœoles of þe worlde. Pre colowres of þer abite betokenen þre vertues, þat is to seye, trauel and clennes & mornynge of synne, so þat alle þe freres ben clāþid in tuo of þese þre, tuo abouen, & tuo beneipe. þe schape of his cloþis þat ben so deformed betokene[þ] dispite of his owne schappe, his girde betokeneþ scharpenesse of penance, & everi riȝte of þese cloþes signifieþ vertues be þer owne ordinanc in bigynnyng of þer

18a RICHARD f. 35v only, the names Richer and Ion have been filled filled in by a later hand, in ink now faded.

18 peise] &MS. peises.

20 hereres] MS. heres, corrected by interlineation.

36 betokeneb] MS. betokene, pl. emend to form a regular pr.Sg.v.
order. Bot siben alle þese signes croken from trawþe, þe fende be his ypocrisie deseyueþ þe puple, for amonge alle þe craftis þat þe fende haþ, noon is soteler to hym þan þeise newe orderis.

And þerfore seip /Crist in þe booke of his gospel þat kynrede of horedam secheþ suche signes, ne þe weddings wip hem profitþ not to þe service of God, but stirþ hem to pride & gregeþ her synne. But Crist, to destrie þis wedding wip signes, ordyned on þe Friday þat he died [on] þat his abite schulde be schaunged þries wipouten synne.

0, siben þese blasfemes ben moost eretikis, and þei ben alle leprous as Sent Bede techþ, how many lordes and ladies ben smyten wip þis lepur! God woldeþei were he[r]mites in desert wip Saint Ion Baptist & haunted not howses of lordes ne chamboris of ladies. For þe gospel seip þat leprosiis schulde stande afer, þan þe brep of her blasfeme schulde blemythe fewe folke. But anti[criste]ste hieþ hem & putteþ hem in sitees. And þut many men þenken hem hizeþ inowæ, for siben it falleþ to þer craft on many gates to lyen, it semeþ þat þei ben worþi to comense in lesings. For not al only þer signes ben bagged wip lesings, but þeise apostataas moweþes þat ben misturned medelen lesings of mouþe wip lesynges of dede. Who schulde be crowned in þis craft but suche lyzeris? Ne it dispergeþ not Cristis religiouþ siben þei ben founded in
li3es contrary to trewpe, as ordour of worshipe is not bing fowled, 3if þer ben kynges and bishocpis of harlates.

But sipen þe charite of Crist caccheþ men to counecel, & freres ben fisches wipou3ten water þat dwellen ou3t of cloister, I wolde counsele hem come clone to Cristis religion. Pane myȝte 65 þei frely wander in cloyster of soule, & flodes of wateris of wisdam schulden renne of þer bodies. And pane nedid hem not þus f.36v be ded as to Crist, ne /galpe aftur gulles of grace as fisses wip- ou3ten watur. God saue his chirche wipou3ten harme of anti[cri]stis clerkes, for of eȝte pæreles, þe moste is in false freres.

RICHERD

I kannot pynche at þese wordes but me pynkeþ hem to scharpe, liche gulardes wordes & not of þe gospel.

[ION]

0 how scharpeli techeþ þe gospel to repreue pharesies þat contrarien þe treube, sipen Crist, þat myȝt not synne, spake him- self scharpely to pharesies, so þat eȝte sipes þe gospel techþ þat he willþ woo to pharesies as he schulde do. & so Cristen men schulden never speike aȝens þes sectes but wane þei spake scharpely to repreue þer vices.

And so þer comensementis schuld no man grounde, þat þei ben founded on þe gospel or ellis vpon reson, for before þat þei 80 comense, þei casten many weies & spenden pore mennes godes in

69 anticrist] MS. antistis
73a ION] MS. does not indicate a change of speaker. see Commentary.
wast, with many lesserings, before he ben amonge hem chosen to be chaier. And so enuye is sowne & charite is exiled. But at that tyme that he comense that rule is suspendid, wane he comensen as lorde & not as pore beggeris. And siben he money that he dissipenden comeb not from heuene (for Criste toke of he erpe beise temporal goodis) and sciens of alchemie helpib hem not, for hei can not peron, in speculatif ne practisse, for han hei were false, asaie if pu wilt, and so he pore pupel mut make that dispenses, bope in that comensing & ober priuey festes. And sib it is harde to gedere of he pore pupel so myche money as freres here dispenden, how many lesserings & flaterings bene sownen before al these money is gathered of he puple! And siben that he gospel forfendep hisinesse abowte fode or clopyng, & hei do reuse, it is open that freres contrarien he gospel of Crist. & if you wilt knowe wat fru3te comeb of al his, certen but pride and worschipe of he worlde, for he frere, aftar that he comense[p], schal have a chamber and a chapilien as a bischope & be served costily as a lorde. But risinge at mydny3t is suspended from hym, & ober werkis of penance pat fel to a frere. If he preche or rede as hei late dow, he checip hym a tyme warnne moost panke schulde falle him. & if he wandere in he worlde & etib with lorde, he loki to be served and sette as a bischope. Suche frutes comen of comensinge of freres, & so he fallen alle in he chapitre of pharesees, to sitte in hi3e chaieris & [be] first at he mete and be clepid maister of alle maner of men. For certye his is contrari to be biddyng of he gospel. & siben that freres schulden

98 comenseb] MS. comensed, emended to form a present tense verb.
105 comensinge] MS. comensige, with no contraction sign.
106 be] Syntax requires a verb here.
ION AND RICHERD

coueite poyntis of mekenes & eschewe as venym henesse of þe
worlde, it semeþ þei schulde not þus cast f[or] suche 〈de〉 gres.

RICHERD

Þis sentence semeþ to be grounded on þe gospel. But o þing
I haue to sei to þiself, þat þou and many seculeris ben in þe same
cas, & so as ypocrisie schalt þu be reproued of Crist þat schal
sei to þee as his traytour, "Wicked servuant, I þe iuge of þine
owne mowe."  

ION

I graunte I haue done amysse in many dedes of my lijf
and if I wolde iustifie al þis þat I haue done, I were Goddis
traitour, worti to be damned. But I knowe mekely synne þat I haue
done & hope of Goddis mercy, for I wolde do no more. And o þing
I am certen, if I hadde grace to kepe me fro ypocrisie of freres
f.37v & not falle eft þerne, I schulde /sicurly be saued at þe dai of
dome. But wel I wot þat I haue oft synned in ypocrisie & specialy
wanne I coueited to be hige in scole.

But now me þinkeþ if þis lijf were al to bygynne, I schulde
go al be 'anoper' weye. For Crist and his apostillis comenseden
not þus, ne martires, ne þese fowre dottours þat ben now hige in
heuen. And for sekyng of þis blisse schulde we only trouel. & welle
I wot þat þis degre com be an heþin costom. But God hap ordeyned
of his grace of þis 'com summe good', for he wille suffer no
synne, bot good cam þerof. But I wot þat þise wordes excusen

110 degrees] MS. is obscure for the space of two letters.
125 anoper] MS. a nere nober, with nere cancelled by expunction.
129 com summe good] MS. some good com, enclosed by correction marks.
not our synne. & it semep hat be freres synnen more here for 
bei oblychyn hem more to mekenes & to pouerte, & passen more here 
in excesse of spensia, & lickely bei gaderen as iuel be goodes bat 
bei dispenden. But o ping I am certen, hat I wolde no more of 
bis if 3owpe and tyne comen to me, as bei sumtyme deden. 135

And wolde God hat bese sectis [were istabeled] in bis 
porpos. Many godes I knowe wolde com of bis costom, as bisines 
of scole & a schaping fro synne, scharping of wittis & knowyng 
of peralles & redy arowes to anti[cristis] clerkes. But al bis 
excusid not hat ne we schulde better disspendeoure tyne as 
Goddis lawe techip. & so iche Cristen man schulde helpe to 
Cristis lawe & destroye bis paynen custumes & sew Crist in 
maneres. For assentyng to be contrarye accusip Cristen men. 140

RICHERD
Telle 3it grudely how beise freres com & be wat autorite 
and how long sipen. 145

ION
In bis hat vou axist faylen me two pings, witnesse of 
f.38 hooly /writ, felyng and resoun, & perfore take hat I sei of noon

136 were istabeled] MS. I were stabled.
139 anticristis] MS. antistes.
144 Telle] A space is left for capital 'T', indicated by a guide-letter 
in the margin; there is also space for the completion of the 
speaker's name between autorite and the phrase and how long sipen.
ION AND RICHERD

autorite but lesse pane beleue, as chronicles or fabellis [pot] tellen a3enes al goode of kynde or vertues in freres. It is no drede pat it comp be autorite of God a3ens ber errores & [for] punisching of pe chirche. It binklep me pat it come of fellenes of pe fonde, for pe chirche was neolgent in sewynge of Crist & yaf hem to be worlde, slowe in Cristis lawe. & bus cam chanounus inne wib mounkes & freres, and ber was medelynge goode puple & iuel. Good men hadden good purpose but hem lacked prudence.

Pai pou3te to amende pe chirche & make it sewe Crist, but pai amended not pe fawttes of pe first clerkis, but brou3ten inne prowdely new | sectis & lete olde vices regne.

But pai eschewed Poule as priuey seed of errour & so mai we see how pai freres com inne & be whos autorite, upon diverse resouns. As to al pai good in pai priuate religiouns, pai comen inne be autorite of cure lorde Ihesu Crist, & as to ber errores & harmenge of Cristis order, pai camen inne be autorite of prince of pai worlde. As a3ens pai tyme pai freres comen inne to pe chirche, pai stryue amonge hemself and grounden hem on lesings. Comune chronicles seyn pai aftur pai fende was losted come inne pai frere prechours & some aftur pai mencours. Pe prechours comen as pai seyn, of pai rewle of Austin, for chanounus lyueden to wordely & held not his rewle. And bope pai freres comen in Pope Innocentis tyme, & ber capiteynes were Dominik & Fraunses. Afturwarde longe, frere Austynes comen inne & seen pai oldemesse was myche tolde by in pai puple, & seide pai were six hunderd yeer before

148 ] MS. of cancelled by expunction.
148 pat] The syntax requires a relative.
150 for] The syntax requires a preposition to clarify the relationship.
158 | MS. pou3tes cancelled by expunction.
165 hemself] MS herself.
ION AND RICHERD

f.38v be frere prechours, but bei /were vunknoven al pis tyme for per wonyng in moores, as pese Austines were, but for Benet or Domynik. & [in]confirmacioun of pis bei seyn bat Austyn wrot many faire 175 epistilis to his brethren in deserte. Pane be Carmes seen how oldnesse myzt be falsely forged, & seiden bei were before al oher,3ere before bat Crist was 'borne,' for bei were in bei mount of Carmely vndur Heli be prophete.

But beholde be erroures bat ben in pese orderes.† & pene it 180 semeŞ to many men bat pese foure † kynredes begane in Caymes tyme; & pene were figured in foure leters of his name & lasted euer syben. But in Popis Innocentis tyme were tuo knocked out, wane two mones appered in he 'firmament.' Tuo oher ordres were aftar 184 gederid togeder wane he power of anti[cri]st was more in he chirche.

& bis ping is certen, as Cris[ostom] seip, bat Caym was rote & fadur of al bat schul be dampened, and Abel was he fadur & figur of alle bat schul be saued. And from hem into his day failed not pise two kynredes. But berkyng of stryues amounghe pese foure freres schulde not be rehearsed amounghe Cristen men.

But oo ping me semeŞ, bat it were good to he chirche bat pese freres duelt in deserte, as frere Austynes seiden bei did wanne bei were most perfij3t. But oo ping semeŞ certen of cronycles, bat alle pese foure freres ben conformed of he pope, &

175 in] The syntax requires a preposition.
178 borne] MS. bone with 'r' interlined using a caret mark.
180 ] MS. bat ben cancelled by expunction.
181 ] MS. 'li' or 'le' cancelled by expunction.
184 firmament] MS. corrected by interlined me.
185 anticrist] MS. antist.
186 Cristostom] MS. Crisʃ, Crisser.
he chaunged bope ber resule & ber abiite & [3eue] hem ieue to begge 195
as bei do, and his is a gret cause whi bei magnifie bei pope, & bei
ben clouen in hemself, as ber hede is clouen.

f.39 & it seemep to many /men hat title of lesings founded pese
foure ordenes, as it founded her faderis. Bei first lesinge is of
bygynnyng of ber ordenes; bei secunde lesing is blasfemie of
beggyn of Crist; bei tresd lesinge is falsenesse of ber abite
and ber houses; and bei fourte pat nappip not is lesinge of
wordes be freres sowen [pice], wandryng in contres. And so bei
first fader of pese freres seemep be fende & ber last fader seemep
bei pope. But of al bei haue in kynde or vertues, [of] ouper is God
ber fadur; [but he]suffered hem to synne.

RICHERD

Dai seemep scharpily seid wijousten fagyng, but ber seemep perel
[in] inpungnyng of bei pope. & siben in hym littt ri3t governance
& lore of alle bei chirche hat figtep in erpe, it seemep his sentence
is a3ens al holy chirche. But who schulde be brent but suche an 210
heretike?

ION

At bei bygynnyng of owre speche maden we a couenant hat we
schulde speke for Crist & worshipe trewe & spare noeing for
fawour of bei worlde ne drede of bodily dep ne ober cowardise,
for he is vntrewe knytte to Crist & his God hat lettib for any 215

195 3eue] MS. 3euen, emended to sg.
203 picke] MS. pricke.
205-6 of...he] For a more radical emendation of this corrupt passage
see the commentary.
206 but he] MS. and.
208 in] The syntax requires a preposition.
ION AND RICHERD

of pise to sei Cristis lawe. It semeþ me þe pope principaly
erriþ for he sewþ not Crist ne makeþ not oper to swe hym. And
3it he seiþ þat he is ful Cristis vicarie in erþe & hæp power in
erþe as miche as þe apostiles, for as glosatowres seyn, he is
God in þe erþe. & so in þis mater ben blasphemes pondrede & to
fewe knyttis of Crist dar telle hem to þe pupel. But as blasphemes
þese clerkes floreschon Cristis lawe and seyn þat it sueþ þat
iche bischope of Rome is suche a viker of Crist, as we haue before
seide. But for every Iew or payne & iche trewe Cristen man
schulde scorne þis sentence be iugement of reson, þerfore me
þenkeþ þat iche man in erþe schulde conse vue þe trewþe of þis
f.39v /mater, for gretnesse of puple þat liggeþ þerinne.

But no man can seeþ wy iche bischope of Rome schulde haue
þis primacie, but if on of þese causes moued þeþto: First, for
Seint Peter died in Rome. But þis cause is to lewde, syþen Crist
died in Ierusalem þat was more þan Peter, & as wicked men han
ben bischipgis of Rome as was in Ierusalem siþen Crist died. Pe
secunde cause þat moueþ to hiþe þis bischoppis is multitude of
marteres þat weren dede in Rome. But in Ierusalem semeþ þat als
many dede & 'speciali' Crist[þat] is hede of al martereþ. And it
semeþ wonder þat sleynþ of martereþ schal halow a place and
able it to popis, siþen suche sleynþ axþ halowing of chirches.
Pe þrede cause þat is feyned: it is þe wille of þe emperour þat,

216 Two marginal asterisks, possibly in the main ink, function as
Nota Bene signs.

222 MS. of.


235 þat] The syntax requires the addition of a relative pronoun.
ION AND RICHERD

as he is lorde of his empere, so his prest schulde rewle in God, al be same lordschep. And perfore he dowed pe chirche pat was worpi made. But it is knowen of beleue pat pe emperour is not God, and so he mai not abil a man to be Cristis vicary, & so it seneb to many man pat dowyng of pe chirche made men 'worpi' to be rewarded wip be payne of helle. Pe 'fourbe' cause pat moue6 many men in bis mater is pat cardenalles chesen hym for to be pope, and pese cardenales haue vertu of al holy chirche. But bis is be blyniest cause pat euer man founde, for name of cardenales is founden out of hooly write, & Crist saf hem neuere power bus to lede his chirche. & siben pêi ben commonly foles & vici6us in lijf, pêi may lij3li erre, & che[se] a man vnabel.

But where were more blasfemes pên [to] sey pat Crist nedid to stonde to her election & make pat man his vicarie whomeuer pêi chosen to be bischope of Rome? & perfore seyn trewe men pat bope Yndes & Grekes ben better Cristen men pên f. 40 foles. & so be most foly of al is /brou3t in be bis erroY, pat if be bischope of Rome jif leue to anybing, pên Crist and his lawe jeeuep leue to be same. & so whoeuer most sewe6 Crist in manere of lyuynge, Crist clepi6 hym to be his viker & profi6t to his chirche, & [he] is pat ilke pat lyuep more pore lijf & profi6p more to his chirche be his make servis. 260

243 worpi] interlined.

244 fourbe] MS. foupee, altered by interlined 'r'.

250 chese] MS. che.

251 pên to sey pat Crist nedid] MS. pên sey pat Crist were nedid.

254 MS. we cancelled by expunction.

256 ping] MS. pingcorrected by expunction.

259 he] MS. & is.
& it is peril if suche ben unknowne borow blowing of name
to be worlde, for be worlde schendeþ many men. & alle † schulde
† we trowe hat Crist lyueþ in heuene, bischop ofoure soules &
wonderful pope. & so beleue of Cristes lawe nedid vs to trowe
hat be wille of God crokþ not for chasing of men, but man is be
chesyng good wane beþ ben conferred to God. & so if be pupilþ
lyue more pore lijf, & lesse chargen worschipis & riches of be
worlde, it is an euydence to men hat he more sueþ Crist. & if he
do be contrary, he is antï[cri]st. And for to iuge who is suche,
Crist left vs his lawe sufficient to gouerne his chirche wþ in
teching of it. And so if be freres have no patron but his pope, beþ lenen vpon a staaf of reedes & swen
antïrist. I trowe hat he hat seþ his sentence, & stondþ þerby, schal be don to dep wþ fire or wþ ober
payne, for þus was Crist martired be procuryng of false prestes. 275
And it is likely hat beþ schuld resume his power agayne, for beþ
hauþ distrowed in part be empereour & his knyttis.

RICHÆRD

(p)is were a gret presuppioun to þus renewe þe chirche,
siþen a bowand aþens oon witnesse þe contrarye. And siþen
Siluester tyme were many bowande 'sentis þat spake' neuer of þis
sentence but worschipid þe popes, as þise fourþ docturis, and

262 MS. suche cancelled by expunction.
263 MS. be þrewe cancelled by expunction.
269 antïrist] MS. antist.
278 þis] A space is left for the rubrication, but no guide-letter
is visible.
280 sentis þat spake] MS. word-order 'þat spake sentis' enclosed
by correction marks.
ION AND RICHERD

oon of hem was pope. We*s schulde men trowe more al þese ðan oo

We schulden trowe more þe gospel þane alle þese seintis &
more Cristis lyf þan þe court of Rome, for þe first is beleue &
þe toper naked cronicles. But note we wel þat þis chirche peyrip
in lyuynge & ġob afer fro Crist & neiþe anticrist. & so litel
errour þat was insensible first was gret and known errour
aftur, be processe of tymne. And cause of þis errour was departing
from Crist, for we schulden beleue þat Crist myȝt not synne, but
at poynþ dëuþ he diþ al þat euer he diþ.

But þrelatis þat comen aftur hym variden more & more. &
herfore Seint Ciprián techeþ for a rewle þat man schulden here
al only Crist in his membris, þat if so any seint sued Crist wel,
leue 'to' here of þis sent and here Crist in hym. For alle þese
sentes errred oþer more or lesse, & if þu sewe hem nakidly &
leuen þe swete of Crist, þou must algatis erre & bowe from
rij[twissenes. & so al þise sentis þat were fro þe tyme of Siluëster
come not to þe apostilis & sentis þat were before. And siþen
þat alle þese sentis ben not for to preyse but in as myche as
þei seued Crist, & Crist is more nyȝe & more opon to sue, whi
schuld we swe þese seyntis and leue ledynge of Crist? And so we
schal supposon þat þese sentis were gode & sued Crist ofte siþes
& often siþes errred. & in þer last daies, be sorowe of þer synnes,

288 þat] MS. þer, emended to provide a relative pronoun demanded
by the syntax.

293 MS. fro cancelled by expunction.

295 to] MS. interlined.

298 rij[twissenes] MS. rijswissenes.
ION AND RICHERD

we[r]e PEI brou3t to heuene be grace of Crist. & al jif PEI grucched a3ens his worldely lijf naeapes to litel, and wordelynesse was lesse, but jif PEI lyued today & see PEI state of PEI chirche, PEI schulde repreue it, bodily for to suffer deþ.

& bus hape PEI ende be litil & litil brou3t clerkes from f.41 lesse errour to anticristis weye, as woso tilled forþe a child

forforfe to depe watur. & it is lickely bat nowe ben a þousande a3ens on to stonde for cause of anticrist & reuerse Crist, for bischoppis and freres & most part of clerkis wolde sey today bat PEI chirche were distroued jif it stode in pouarte as Crist put it inne, & dampne hem as heretikis bat seid it schulde be so.

But siþen PEI gospel techip vs PEI contrari of his, and we schulde more trowe it þan al men of PEI worlde and for to sustene it suffer scharpe deþe, we schulden leese to trowe falsenes of PEI worlde & take tristily PEI trewþe of PEI gospel. And before bat suche knyttis come wil PEI chirche sinken. & so trowe PEI gospel, & neþer lesse ne Ion, for neþer seynt ne ober schulde be trowed in þis mater but as myche as PEI grunden hem in PEI gospel.

& so take we hede wat PEI seyntis seide & how bat PEI grounded hem in PEI lawe of Crist, & so miche trowe hem & leue þer erroQris.

For we schulde sue Peter in bat bat he sewed Crist, and in bat bat he forsoke Crist & synned in his lyuyng, we schulde forsatke hym & euer hate synnes. & so þese seyntis bat hadde dowing of PEI chirche lyfed a pore lijf and dide þer office & hadden þer brouȝt on Crist & on his service,[6] departed þer goodis to pore men & leften a litel þer perfeccioun. But now hæþ þe worlde drawen

305 were] MS. we= at the end of the line.
ION AND RICHERD

prestes to contrarie, as þer businesse of þe worlde & þer loue scheweþ, as if a prest be more bisie to serve þe worlde þane he is to serve Crist in his membris, & coueitiþ more wordeli goodes þane perfectioun of vertues.

Who wolde seye þat suche a prest were on Godes behalfe? But for it is ouer harde to be wedded wip þe worlde, Crist wordeyned his prestis to forsake þe worlde. & þis wisdome may no man reuerse, & so schulden we trowen Crist in his seyntis in þat þat bei sued Crist. & þese wit goode angelis ben more in multitude & holynes of witnesse þan alle fals witnesse þat reuerse þis sentence. & siþen alle seyntis in heuene affermen þis gospel, he were ouer grett a foole þat wolde falle her fro, for alle antecriste clerkes or fendas in helle and false glosis þat ben feyned to be gospel of Crist schulde not be trowed, for þei ben not groundid. For þe lijf of Crist & his more seyntis telleþ clereliche inowe how it schulde be vnderstanden. But God forbede any man to trowe anticrist so myche þat Cristis lawe was good but for a litil tyme, & afturwarde þe popes schuld euermore last.

RICHERD

It semep þat þe freres swen most Crist, for þei ben most pore men, chaste & obedient, & in þese þre poynsis standiþ Cristis religion.

ION

Oure beleue techiþ vs þatoure rule is better siþen it is þe gospel þat Ihesu Crist made, & þei mot axe confirmacioun of þer clouted reule. But þif þe pope schal be saued þe gospel mot
ION AND RICHERD

conferme him. And as we' falle fro be gospel, so be freres fallen fro per clouted rewle. But we may not put fau3te in be gospel as bei putten fau3te in per new rewle, & purchasen dispensacioun to haue new reules. But God biddip bat we schal not put to ne take fro his wordes: ouer bis our knyttis han ben be best men of alle, & our abbot is be best, sifen he is God & man, & so many cloutes ben added to freres reule bat 3if per f.42 bodily abite were varied as per reule, no harlot /in bis londe schulde were more specked mantyl. But sifen he bat giuep most parte of per reule † and susteneb and defendip perfeccioun of per order schulde be clepid patroun of be same ordere, it sameb bat alle freres ben patroned of be pope, & so falsely bei clepen hem freres of Dominik or Frances or Austyn or Jacomynees, [sifen bei ben] but freres of be pope.

But go we to resoun, and first bileue we bat in pouert of spirit stondip Cristes ordere. Forsakyng of be worldes good profiteb sumtyme, but it profetip not wipouten be first pouerte. And if freres haue bis pouerte as beggaris, napeles per hige houses & oper goodis bat bei haue in comyne schewen oponli bat bei be not pore aftur Crist. For be gospel tellib bat Crist was so pore bat he hadde non house to reste hym inne & hes couent. But be freres contrarien in costily houses, & so me pinkeb bis ypocrites
ION AND RICHERD

blasfemen in God for þei puttyn vpon hym suche manere of lyuynge.
But Crist dampened Scharioth for 30 penes, but many freres han
propur miche more þan þis, so if iche frere þat þus hadde more
were oon Scharioth, þes orderes of freres were ful of Schariothís
þat slept not but vaken niet and day be þær cousytise how þei
schul gete more & venge hem on membris of Crist.

And if þei sue Crist, it semþ to many men þat þei seue him
in þes 3 poyntis: in þær híse houses, in excesse of þær ordere,
& þat þei putte religion in þær bodily abites. & it semþ siben
Criste knewe none of þes 3, þat þei passen hym, but in an veyel
manere. Siben þei haue þus híse houses & Crist hadde noon, it
semþ þat in þis þei contrarien Crist; siben Crist was almíþhi &
þerto al witty, & was paiied of tuelue & on Scharioth, it semþ

þat freres þat passen Crist in þis /blasfemen in God be leuie
presumpcioun. And if þei hadde no couent ne non suche priour
it were good to þe chirche, for so diden þe apostles wane þer
abot Crist was went to heuene fro hem. But as þei leuen Cristis
reule as insufficient, so þei passen Cristis couent.

But carþes, in synne as to 'chastite', I make þes freres iuges
weþer þei passen in chastite seculer prestis. But for to speke of
gostily fornicaþion, þei passen in þær none ly[u]es vnkyndely fro
Crist. But as to obedience þat freres han feyned, it is known
by beleue þat it is not worþe, but in as miche as it techip obesche
ION AND RICHERD

to Crist. And so sižen beí miʒten more do heis obedienz to Crist

wipouoten suche prelatis, as pe chirches dide before āt suche worðeres

were brouȝt inne be cautel of pe fende, it semēp āt suche

obediens seruep of nouȝth, & oo þing I knowe, þat

suche feyned ſ obedience dop myche harme to couentes

& cuntres, for be þer neuer so miche a foole

priour in a place, jif āt he bidde þat 'pey' iuge no synne, þei

seyen þat þei schulde do þat be vertu of obedience. And so sižen

þe holy gost schulde stirre men to goode, & freres leuen þis and

taken hem to þer priour, it semēp þat freres in þis aʒenstanden

Godʒ & so þe more part of hem semen antecristis clerkes.

RICHERD

Sižen freres kepen alle þat we do, & ouer þis þei don many

þings of perfecioun, it semēp þat þer reule & þer liif is ſ

better & more perfiȝt þane cure. For ellis it were vnleful for

to be a frere or for to change mennes liȝf from oo orders to

anoþer. But þe pope and þe pupel aʒeneseyen þis.

ION

f.43 /As freres in many þings contrarien Crist, so þei han brouȝt

in customes to manye þat ben contrarie to Godes manerẹ. Crist

404 nouȝth] MS. noȝth corrected by interlined 'u'.

405 MS. orderis cancelled by expunction.

407 þey] MS. þen overwritten þey.

412 Sibien] A space is left for upper case 's', indicated by a
guide-letter in the margin.

413 MS. is repeated.
ION AND RICHERD

was man most pacient & mekest of alle and suffered 'wronges' and venged hym not. For as man is more meke, he is more perfect in Cristis religioun, & so as Crist is most lowe as mydel of be erbe, so is he most perfect in orde Pat God approoueP. But for be lone of God take heed to freres and loke weper be be most meke in suffering of per wronges. I trowe Pat no men in be worlde after be power ben more vengabel for a ping of noujt. For men Pat tellen be defautis of be lijf and sobely schewen howe be disceyue be pupel, as Crist did scharpely of be phariseis. Pese men felen malis of freres, for it is knowne to be worlde how freres han pursued hem and ne helpe hadde be of seculer men, be wolde haue brent hem or don hem to dep & jit be feynen falsely Pat be don bus be charite.

But siyen bo be merite and synne standeP in wille, & wille of be freres was to sle Cristis lymes, it is open Pat be synne of wille of freres was as myche as be hadde kylde pese prestis. And so be be epistil of IOn be ben 'mansleris' and reguler for to syn[n]e, alle pese persones Pat assentid perto, & Pat were be alle. Se how openly be lie in suyng of Crist and berfore no drede be partem hem fro Cristis children, and schewen hem brolles of anticristis couent.

419 wronges] MS. wonges corrected by interlined 'r'.
435 mansleris] MS. manselers corrected by expunction.
436 synne] MS. synge, emended on the basis of the reference to I John 3.15.
And here Richerd, may ḵu see ḵat ḵu [t]akest false, for freres kepen not mokenesse as seculers done. And over, siihen God biddeþ men not adde to his wordis, and freres in þer reules don þe contrarie, it is open how disobedient freres ben to God. But seculer prestis synnen not þus. It is leueful to expowne þe lawe þat God þaf, and seie out þe sentence þat þe lawe hidip, but freres maken newe lawes besides þise bope. & were in Godis
def.43v/lawe, schulde any man fynde þese abitis of freres, or ellis þer rites, by wiche þei varien fro þe apostilis, and open goode men? And certes,þeise reules expoune not holi wriȝt, & so it semþ þat þese freres reuersen þe comandemente of God, & maken hem a newe lawe, & putten Goddes lawe abak.

& so siben foure cardenal vertuæ schulden be foure wallis to holde þese freres in cloyster of þer soule, & þei breke alle þese & turnen to vices, it is open þat þei ben false in bodily cloysteres. Justicie is þe first wal þat Cristes religion axip þat techip Cristen men to obesche to mesure of Goddis lawe. But þis wal han þei broken & clumben perouer. De secunde vertu is strengþe to stonde in þe limites þat Goddes lawe haþ sette wipouȝt solidying awaye. But þis wal is broken & new wal maked for to stonde stifely in þer owne ritis. De pred vertu is prudence þat þei han 460 forsaken, siben it is no prudence to drynke trubily & venemous

440 takest] MS. cakest.
450 comandmente] MS. comandemte.
460 prudence] MS. pudence.
watur and forsake water of wisdom of God. Pe fourte vertu of
his cloyster is clepid temperance patthese freres han broken in
maner of her lyuyng. For take heede to be nombre & ofte to her
houses, and eke to her reules & al pat pei vsen, and we may opinly see pat temperance failib.

And 'bis' erroure haþ brouȝt pe pope & pe pepul in more depe
erroures be freres ypocricie, for pei iuge be pe face & not be pe
werkes, & be cautelis of pe fende ofte ben decayued. And so 4th
freres taken falsely be reson of glotounes, pat if a ping be good, 470
pat schulde be taken of man; ever be more pat he takeþ in, be
better it is. & herby freres failen in temperance & mesure. In
f.44 his mesure God jaf his lawe & his ordur./so pat ech miȝt frely
and liȝtly holde it. But in his mesure failen pe freres more
than pharises in pe newe lawe pat wolde kepe pe rites of pe olde
lawe and perwip pe fredom of pe lawe of Crist; but pei miȝt not
do 475 þ bis as Seint Poule techib.

RICHERD

His semep wel seide, woso vnderstande it, but ȝut pe freres
semen passe seculer men, for pei prechyn ofter and pickelier in pe
worlde, and preching maynteneþ most Cristis religion. And so ne 480
were preching of freres, beleue of Crist were passed away.

462 MS. vati cancelled by expunction.
467 [bis] MS. bus altered by expunction of a minim.
469 MS. be cancelled by expunction.
477 MS. to.
478 [his] A space is left for upper case 'þ', indicated by a
guide-letter in the margin.
ION

So be it is bat 'freres don' sum good, but not so miche as fendes & damnd men. And it is likly bat bei comen in for be fuajte of curatis. & so if alle curates dide al bat felle to hem, freres were superflu as buturtles in be eir. But be fende hav founden more gamen in her hole bane euuer he dide in seculeres, for be her ypocricie he deseuye hav puple and make hav hem to trist on bing bat is aqens beleue. And in token 'perof,' sipen freres comen inne hav ben more disturblance and lesynge in he worlde. And pise men bat be more lede wit freres ben comynly more yuel in Cristes religioun. And so holichirche is charged wib prestes, & frute of her chargyng turnep to harme.

And so † as good preaching is be best werke bat prestes don to profite of men, so yuel preaching noieb more men, sipen euuer be better bat a bing be in his kynde, so worse it is wane it is turned to yuel. But techinge of freres faileb many wyes, for f.44v be preche many tymke lesings or troufulinges or chronicles of be worlde to plese more be puple, so bat wat be trowe[be] more to plese be puple & wynne more monye, al if it harme be soule, pat be chargen and leuen Cristes lawe. And so be trespasuens as traytours aqens God and man, for God biddib his prechour to teche his lawe and telle his puple scharpily her synnes, and pan schuld be plese God & dispisen be world. † Pan schulde Cristendom growe' here

482 freres don] MS. word-order 'don freres' enclosed by correction marks.
488 perof] MS. per interlined.
493 MS. be cancelled by expunction.
498 be] The syntax requires a finite verb.
503 MS. And cancelled by expunction.
503 Cristendom grewe] MS. word-order 'grew Cristendom' corrected by marks.
in þe erþe & tirantrie of þe fende be chased away.

Summe freres schapen hem to begge feile siþe wane þat þei prechyn neiþer wel nor yuel. And cartes, þis harlotes schame for to don, for harlotes axen not to haue of þe puple but if þei trauel first in tonge be þer craft. But ofte is þer doumbenesse lesse yuel þan þer preching, for wane þei spitten on þe puple wordes of venym, þan þei strangelen þer soules & maken hem die, and specialy if þes freres carpen for worldes wynnyng. For þane is þe stok cursed & þe fruȝte boþe, siþen order of charite schulde teche men to loue more sowles þan al þis 'worldes' good.

And if þes freres don þe reuãrs þei ben cursed of God & þer prechyn boþe. But it is licly to manye þat þei reuersen þis order, and so þe ordere of God, siþen God is charite. For take away fro freres hope of þer wynnyng þei wil take from þe trauel of þer prechyn. & þis is þe cause whi þei prechin to þe puple & on þat wise þat þei hopen þis wynnyng. And þat 'þes is' soþe, examine be freres be þer owne dedes and wiþdrawing of þer prechynge. /Of þis may we gedere þat prechyn of freres is cause of wynnyng +more [þan] loue, and it is no drede if it be þus; þese apostatas ben cursed & heretikkes boþe. Also prechyn of freres is comonly ful of enuey & of sclander, and of bacbitynge, and so þei make muk þer god and sellen menes soules to satanas for molne, and dampnen hemself for contrarioust þat þei beren upon hem. And al þis reuãrsþ þe dedes of Crist.

513 worldes] MS. wordes corrected by interlined 'l'.
517 &] The syntax requires a conjunction.
519 þes is] MS. word-order 'is þes' corrected by marks '.'.
522 wynnyng more þan] MS. wynnyng þat more.
ION AND RICHERD

But what virtue comeb commonly of suche menne's wordes? And per liif & per wordes contrarien togeder sipen be prechin bat pat men schulde leue be loue of bis worlde and 3if per temporal godes to men bat ben nedy. But openly per liif contrarien to bis, sipen be begge greedly of men bat ben nedi and departen not to opere wane [be] haue nede. And so be [techen] bat perfeccioun stondeb in these goodes. & 3it be' spoyle' priuely men of bis perfeccioun azena be wille of Crist, bi wiche he techib his chirohe bat wat we wolde skylfully bat men dide to vs, schulde we do to hem for loue of first charite. But freres forgeten pis reule & glenen to hem wat pat be may gete of be puple, but it comeb not azena neibeb in liif nor in deb, for be fendes dien not. 3it these riche men of be worlde, if be geder goodes be per auarice and faslehe the be fende hem techib, 3it wane be die per goodes ben schatered amonge men of be worlde pat vsen hem welle. But wane the goodes ben sunken amonge men of orderes, as bei were sunken into helle, be[i] propheton not to be worlde. Suche

f.45v.profetes comen of freres, in preching & beggynge, besides / per blasfemes pat bei sowen amonge [hem], pat Crist begged as bei, & pat bei ben nedi and han not amonge hem alle to sustene her couent, al if on of hem haue schippes & poundes. Bis schulde popes & kynges

533 be] The syntax requires a subject.
533 techen] The syntax requires a finite verb.
534 spoyle ] MS. spoyle corrected by expunction.
541 MS. 'r' cancelled by expunction.
545 be] MS. be.
547 hem] The syntax requires a referent after the preposition (or deletion of the preposition amonge).
penke wel vpon, and to saue þe pupel & destroie antichrist, and
make curaties as first to performe her office, siþe it is no nede
to norische antecristes clerkes.

**RICHED**

Wel I see þat þese freres downe miche harme, & negligence
of seculeris brou3t hem inne. But siþe þei profete miche be þer
confessiouns, & þei be li3t of disp[es]neses more þan ober prestes, it
semep þat nede dryueþ þe worlde to maynte þes freres. & þis is
cause whi þat lordes & bishopis also ho[1]den so many freres
dwellinge wiþ hem.

**ION**

I suppose þat þu sei soþe at þe bigimyng þat negligence
of seculeris brou3t freres inne. But foli of pralatis was more
cause, for it is no craft to hele þe chirche of oon seckeness &
make mo to. þe pope schulde hele þes erroures þat were in þe
curatcis & not charge þe chirche wiþ mo fals e[n] & þis myȝt be
helid wiþ a schort medicyn[e]: to chese good curatis & ȝeef hem
no goodes but þei performe þe service þat fallip to þer office.

But pride & couaiteit letþ þis riȝt, and so comynge in [of]
freres to þe chirche is cursedli gronded on to fals rotis, þat is
to seyne, negligence of curatis & foli of þe pope. But wo to him
þat makeþ suche a fals change & doop yuel for good, þat he miȝt
better do.

But .furthermore, Feyned confessiones of freres semep to do al
ION AND RICHERD

be harmes in pe chirche, for pei lede lorde, bischopis & ladies, f.46 & errour of pes pre don miche harme. /Pes freres maken pes pre to beleue as feip pat laying of bar handes on hede o[f]confessid doj awaie bar synne & seffep hem pe holi gost; and so is bar synne hidde more pan it was. And siben disturbeling of remes comep of hiding of synne, it seme pat epe freres disturbelen most remes. Pei schulde tele men confessed vnto hem pat contricioun & satisfaccioun bope be pei nedeful if synne pat is doun schulde be remitted. & so confessioun nacked to Ioon Baptist of knyxttes & phare[z]es was more worpe pan 3if he had dwellid contunely wip hem, & pei had rouned in his ere as men nou3 doun. For contricioun of hert & leuynge of synne be sufficient be hemself wip be grace of God. For bus were synns forjeuen in pe olde lawe and also in pe newe lawe, til anticrist come.

RICHERD

Pis semeb presumtuouse & perlouse in speche, for men mi3t li3tli trowe be pis pat schrifte made to God were sufficient be itself, wipou3t schrifte to man. But pat be pope a3enesiep wip expresse lawe, & seip pat every man & woman pat comep to discricioun mote ones in pe 3eer be schryuen to his owne prest vpon pis maner. & be pis same skil pat we schulde not kepe pis, we schulde kepe non vse pat holi chirche hap oderneyd.

ION

Here me penkep pat men schulden kepe pis ordinance, for it,
willi dow, profiteþ more þan any ober þat I knowe made of þe pope. But we schul vnderstanden þat suche ordinaunce is not so nedeful þat ne Crist mijte saue synful men wipouten suche schrift, as if a man were so stede[fast] þat no prest were ny hym but Crist, þat seep contricioun of soule. Bot ouer þis schulde we wizt how þis schrift begane; and glose of decrees declariþ opinli þat þis maner of schrifte cam not into þe chirche before þe pope Innocent. f.46v/ Ober maner of schrifte general made to God was before þis tyme as general schrifte to men; and counsel of wise prestis was axed wap nede was. But so special schrifte, & limitid to tyme, was ordered of pope Innocent as þis glose seip. And al if þis glose erred in many ober bings, napeles in þis poynt mote men trowe to it, for no man can telle wane þat before þis schrift begane. Suppose we þat þis schrifte be sop þat þis glose seip, and þat þis confessioun dop miche good, & so þis confessioun is nedeful in manere. But jut we trowen þat it were profit to þe chirche þat þis lawe of confessioun hadde neuere be ordeyned, for hooli chirche profeted more before þat it began, and bope partes be þis fallen in many errours. For we schul trowe þat asoiling of prest is noping worpe but wane it is conformed to þe chirche of bone, and þat

597 stedefast] MS has fast cancelled, but the sense is easier if it is retained.

612 trowe] MS. trowe corrected by expunction.
ION AND RICHARD

pe prest knowe[p not, no more pæn hi[s] heele. And also be þis confession[ ] blasphemen þe prestes, for þe pope wil for mede limite pore prestes, and suche prestes willen axe mede for schriuynge of þer children. And it mai falle, because of suche rounyng, þat þe confessour schal synne wib his confessed. And herfore Iob made covenent wib his wittis to þenke not on a virgyne. Lorde, whi schulde freres speke wib hir in privase places † siben þei mai be tempted as ober men may? & so general schrefte were comounli more medeful and ferþer fro simonie þat bleckþ bope parties. And herfore freres 'axen' to ministren no sacrament but confession[ ] & sepulture for her lîst wynnyng.

& so men schulde kepe good ordinaunce of þe chirche. But beware þat men be not wedded wib hem; for ofte sibe more/ordefully seruen men God leuynge þe ordinaunce of þe chirche þan do[yng] it in dede.

But here ware prudence is medeful to men, and þus freres dow myche harme wib dwelling wib lordes, and sumtyme sum good, pou3 it be seldome.

RICHARD

Whi mai not God 3if vertue to abitis þat freres vse[n as to dede bodies?. And siben þat vsinge of hem vpon þe same witte betokeneþ stabulnesse of þ men & lasting in vertues, whi mai not freres perpetue suche abitis?

614 his] MS. hi.
620 MS. cancelled by expunction.
623 axen] MS. axenden corrected by expunction.
628 doyng] MS. do.
630 Whi] A space is left for the initial, indicated by a guide-letter.
ION

I graunt wele þei mai, but foly it is of hem siþen þei ben not nowe confereined in vertues, & whane þei ben in vertues, þer colores skrieþ hem. But schame you of þis resoun, bat if it mai be so, þan it is so, & schal be supposed. For be þe same skil, iche frere schulde be a fende and þer order schulde be damned.

For al þis mai be, but þenke wat good & wat ha[r]m mai com of þes abitiþ, & be wat autorite be þei brouȝt in. Good mai come of hem but accidentaliche, but myche more good schulde come of hem ȝif þei were applide to ȝoper maner vse. Harme not come of hem vpon many maneres For þei be not grounded in Crist þat is vertu, siþen Crist, vpon þe Fridaye þat he died on, ordeyned þries for grete cause his abite to be chaunged. He hadde on first his iche daie cloþes, and siþen Heroude cloþid him in whit as a foole, and siþen was he clede in cloþes of purpur. And al þis was down at þe ordinaunce of Crist and betokenep more þan þan al þese freres abitis. & me þenkeþ it mot signifie þis, þat vertues /or f.47v

But blasfenye presupcioun of anti[cri]stis clerkes wil putte hem in cloþes and spoyle hem from þer soulis. But þis is an impossible ypcorit þouȝt, and herfore seip Crist þat kynrede of horedom sechip suche syngnes to be schewed to þe worlde. But of

640 harm] MS. ham.
644 for] MS. foor corrected by expunction.
649 more] MS. Mo corrected by interlined 're'.
651 ne] The sense requires the addition of a negative.
652 anticristis] MS. antistis.
ION AND RICHERD

pis 'blasfemie' comen harmes inowen.

Leue we wast of clop hat comep of mysschape and speike we of gostili harme hat comep to pe soule. Pei schewen frist per vertues be suche dede singnes to knoweleche of pe world, as hemself seip. But vertues schulden be prauey and hid vnto God and schewed in werkis wipouten bost. But lord, wat werkes of vertue myjt not be don as wele or better wipouten suche signes?

And sihen wedding & keping of hem axe binesse in soule limited in power, [beij] littep bisines to God hat alle suche hauen. Furpermore, sihen suche freres ben not confirmed of God, it fallip many tyme hat bei fallen in symne, and sepen bei kepe per abite to be same entent, bei lie in per 'signes' and maken hem more dampnabel.

And ferper, be occaciou_n taken of pes sin_gnes bei fallen in many errores, reuersing beleue. Pei seien first hat per abite hat vertue of God, more pean Crist euer putte in his habite. And forpermore freres fagen pese ladies, hat wat man or woman diep in per abite schal neuere be dampned be pe vertu perof. And if no more heresy com of pese abites, it were worpi hat deuorse were made betuix hem, and pan were pese cumpanyes of anticrist dissolued.

Lord, sihen synnes hat folowen be soules stonden in wille & not

656 blasfemie| MS. blasfeme corrected by interlined 'i'.
664 beij Syntax requires a subject for the principal clause.
667 singes| MS. sigenes corrected by expunction.
671 MS. repeats freres, cancelled by expunction.
f.48 wipou3teforpe, but if it springe from /inordinate wille, in hou
vnclene places dwellen þese apostatas! & sìþen suche synnes
poluten þær places, how mycheNode were it to halow hem! For sìþen
sleing of bodi is miche lesse synne þan sleing of a soule be bate
& enuye, & þis is mansleing as Sent Ion seþ, wy schulde not þe
place be polute & þe persones take? But þe fende techip men to
charge þe lesse & þe grete synne let freli be doun. & þus þe
gospel seþ þat þe pharesees fieþ þe gnatte & suelown þe camele.
And if witte of riche men þat dwellen in þis worlde weren lïttïd be
feþ and led be resoun, þei schulde not þus desire for to be biried
amonge suche freres. For Goddes lawe seþ þat þe haloweþ þot þe
man for þe place, but aȝeinwarde, þe place for þe man.

Forbermore,þes freres telleþ so miche be þær abite, þat if a
frere leue it for resonable cause & cressing of vertues, as lïtly
mai falle, he is apostita repæued of God. & so freres ordinance
schulde change Goddis wille & make him to hate a man for his
vertues. And so it falliþ ofte þat freres[persouen] þær breþeren
& punyschen hem scharpeli for þei do as þei schulde be þe lawe of God.
And [in] many suche heresies fallen þes freres for lesse
erroure þaþ þei ben first wedded wiþ.

RICH Erd

It is harde to trowe þat of suche abites 'comen so' many

691 MS. of.
692 persouen] MS. persouen.
694 in] Syntax requires a preposition to complete the adv. phrase.
695 þan MS. þat emended to form a comparison.
696 It] A space is left for capital 'I', indicated by a guide-letter
in the margin.
696 comen so] MS. word-order 'so comen', enclosed by marks of correction.
errours as þu here rekenes, speciali sipen al men vseen suche
customes. And if a more custome schulde geder more synne, þe
lasse liche costom schulde gader [lasse] synne. And sîþe: many sentis
han kept þes abites, it were agene resoun to destroie her ordinance. 700
Whi schulde not freres be punysched for suche trespas sipen be
continuance of it þer order were destroyd? For if þer were
no suche distyncoun of freres, þe worlde schulde not knowe hem
amonge hemself, ne fro prestes & ober comoun men.

ION

Sopli customs moten nedly be appreued sipen þat vertues of
men ben grunded in costomes. But þenke on, þat temperance is þe
farþe wal þat schulde close a man in closter of soule. And so take
hede þat þe customes be goode & tempera[t]li ðesed, as mene of vertu
axip, as men han custom to ete & trauese & slepe. But in suche
customes many errours bygynne but if þei be ruled bi resoun of
iustice. And so wane a man chargeþ to miche his custom and leueþ
þerfore service þat he owþ to God, þan þis custom in so miche
is worþi to be dampeade.

And so summe customs smachen euene vertues, & summe smacchen
euene synne, & summe ner noþer. De first schulde be vsed be
reuling of vertue & þat ober schulde be last as venym of soule.
But þe þrid custom schulde be euene taken in þat þat it helþþ to
service of God. & so a more custom þ summeþ oft synne, wanne
siche a lesse custom sooneþ not in synne, as custom of cloping of
secular men tellþþ not þer vertues as freres dowþ. And þerfore

699 lasse] MS. more. See commentary.
702 MS. repeats be on the new folio.
708 temperatli] MS. temperali.
718 MS. schulde cancelled by expunction.
720 seuler] MS. seuler.
per lesing is pat pei crien in per clopes smacchep ypocrisie
but seculeris not.

And so sentitis of pes priuate religiounse, in pat pat pei
synned not, bisied hem not aboujte suche rites but bisied hem in
Crist. And if pei synned sumwat in kepinge of pese customes,

f. 49 God forbete pat we /schulde take ensample of hem & sue hem in
his pat pei synned inne. & so if freres of Crist were kepte &
these orderis lessid, blesid were he conclusioune pat suep heroffe,
for panne schulde we be coned in Cristis religioun and sectes of
discencioun schulde be distried. For pre parties of
he chirche were sufficient, as prestes and knyttis
wiþ per comoun puple. & more changeant divisioon doþ
miche harme, nameli in ordur of prestes pat schulde more be
coned. But anticrist bigyneþ his parting in prestis, but of his
variaunce of abites is stiryng Miche, bope amonge freres & clerkis
of scole.

De frere prechoures seien þat sípen beí mornen most, as
blackenes of per cope is schewed to þe puple, þei schal be most
counforted in þe blisse of heuene. Frere menoures seien sípen
per traual is most schewed in russet of þer abite, þei schal be
moste rewarded, as Seint Poule seip. De Austeynes seien sípe þei
morne a[þ] prechoures, þei schal haue more mede at þe daie of dome.
þe Carmes comen þane & seien þat þei passe al þes óper orderes as
angelis in heuene, † for whîtynesse of þer copis scheweþ clennes
of angelis, & russet of þer chapelerie scheweþ þær traual. Suche

742 as] MS. of or os.
744 MS. and.
ION AND RICHERD

scheamful <st>ryues schulde not be rehearsed ne asoyled of men, for þei bynde not.

But oon þing þei telle, al if it be fals, þat abite of freres wolde make an ape seint. And so þei stryue fast wiche of þise fourte orderis is more holy, siben eelde profite[n] nouȝt. & so as hores strof before Salamon, þus þis kynrede of horedom stryuen for her children. God wolde þat suche stryues were hide fro þe f.49v worlde, but þat it knowe be dedus hiȝenesse of vertues. For /by suche feynyng þei deseyuen children and seyn þat þei schal sitte with Crist at þe daie of dome, and iuge men of þe worlde aftar þat hem liȝþ, as þei prouen be Cristes wordes seide vnto Peter. But witte wel þese ypocrityes, siben þei straugen fro þe apostilis more þen ober men doun, þise wordes seide [to] Peter ben ful fer fro hem, siben þei reuarse Crist.

But more þen þer freres mungeled in mater of scole, wher þer religious þe þe þe ðe more pag op[ ]men douge, þise [wordes seide [to] Peter ben ful fer from him, siben þei reuarse Crist.

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& non wondur if suche clohes ben so precious. Suche folies of freres ben feyned in pe worlde & disceuyen blynde men because of ber synne. & so freres schewen in ber maner of luyng bat bei principali worchen for pe worlde.

RICHERD

Pis semeþ seid to scharpli for abites of þes freres, but þou rehers[est] not werkes of deuocioun, as makyng of faire chirches & ourements of hem, risynge at mydnyȝt wþ fasting and preieris. Pis schulde hize þese freres, or Goddis lawe is fals.

ION

Pese ben fyue þingis þat most schuld pre[i]se þe freres. But as anemtes þe [first], † making of chirchis, many men ben madded be fabeles of freres, þat þei trowe þat þei mai not synne be dispensing of chirches[es] be more þat þei dispende, be more made þei haue.

f.50 /But þis blynde resoun wolde mate þe freres, for be þis blynde skille freres schulde haue non almes before þer chirche were hized more þanne any mynster. And if þu sei þat almes stondeþ in þeuynge to oure mynster, who seþ not þat suche freres ben not heretikes?

Soþ it is þat men schulde helpe þer parische chirche, but in mesure & reson as God himself axþ. For Crist præised not þe temple but iuged it to be destroied. But in eche place a clene soule is acceptable to him, & more excess of clennes is more accepted to God þanne excesse of cost of þe temple, be it neuer

774 bis] A space is left for capital 'þ', indicated by a guide-letter in the margin.

775 rehersest] MS. reherstes.

778 preise.] MS. prese.

779 first] MS. firist, an unrecorded form.

781 † MS. is.

781 as] MS. so.
so coynte. For God wipouȝt mesure praised more deuocioun of soule þane any erþely þing, be it neuer so costi. & herfore neþer he ne his apostilis biside hem for makynge of bodili churches. Makynge of gostili churches falleþ to Crist, & making of bodili churches to lawed rewde men, so þat if chois of þese tuo were putte in a man, he schulde a pousandfolde more chase gostili churches, for bodili churche profitiþ not but in as myche as it serueþ & profitiþ to gostili churche. And so he were a blynd man þat wolde denye þat ne almesedes, boþe spiritual & bodiþ, weren more nedeful þan beldynge of houses. And so þe freres, if þei hadde no churches but bisied hem to þreche þe lawe of þe gospel, schulde profite more in churche of þer soule þan þei nowe do wib al þer hizhe howses. And þerfore Crist seïþ þat neþer [in] hizhe placis ne in solempne temples, but in spirit & trewþpe, mot men þraie God.

As to þe secunde, þat ben ourenementis of chirche, is þe same answere & þe same resoun, for ourenementis of vertues in a mannþes soule ben more preciouse þane ourenementis of bodi. And þus Ion Baptiste, wandryng in deserte hadde more preciouse churches þan was Salamones temple wib þis ourenementis wib alle þes freres houses a mene of vertue schulde be holden in al suche þings, for glorious houses & peynting of ymage þe þe of þe eisten and spoules þer soules. And so schulde men bisie hemself before abouȝte gostili churches & ourenementis of hem, and sibþen aboute bodili þings, in caas þat þei þrete.

As anemte þe þrid þing, þat is rising at mydnyȝt, schulde it be praised wan it is wel down, sibþen David confessþ þat he ros
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so. But prayer more devoutly pleseth more God then prayer at midnights that is lesse devout. Christ prayed all he nijt & in he daye bope, to teche vs that tyms helpeth lithe prayeres. He prayed out of houses to teche vs prayer so, & he is more then Dauid or any other man. As anempfe fasting, it is for to praise wane it is take discretely and within good will. But his is more amonge vs worlde than amonge the freres. And anempfe that is good prayer, since it stonde in good liif & fer from hypocrites, it stonde more commonly in seculers than in freres, since he blinden ber prayers within hypocrite signes.

Al his schulde freres do hide from vs worlde, for wedding within suche signes sensibly don little mede of freres and greuep ber synnes. But since holding of Goddes lawe clene be himself is most for to praise in alle suche lyues, loke we wher freres passen f.51 in his liif. Weddynge within Goddes lawe is ful for to praise, and daliance within bilawes is for to repreue. But it semeth to many men that devoutese is maked betwix that freres and [Goddes clene] lawe. But an hore & a begger of al mennes lawe is wedded within freres, bat is ber owne order, for be to tale more bi bat & [b]isie it more & kepe it more trewly and punysehen berfore than be do for he lawe that God himself saf. & his betokenep hat bat ben a kynrede of horedam & diuided amonge himself and parted fro God. For if be louede Goddis lawe most of all other, be wolde kepe it most tendurly & punysche most berfore. But nowe a frere may trespas a7ens Goddis lawe as myche as he wolde, & be not clepid apostata ne punysehen in prison, but for a little trespas a7ens his clouted begger he schal

824 fifte] MS fiste.
830 himself] MS hemself:
834 Goddes clene lawe] MS word-order clene Goddes lawe.
836 bisie] MS seems to have 'p' overwritten with 'b'.
be prisouned and defamed as he hadde killed Crist. Who ne wolde seie þat freres ne were weddid wip þis beggerie, & parted be diuorse fro þe lawe of God? And suche putrie fordop religioun of Crist.

RICHERD

It semep þu seist scharpeli as þu wont to do, ne fagist not þese freres for wynnyng of þi name. But it semep þat þu passist charite and defamest þem alle, for if þis sentence were sope, alle freres were apostatas, sipen þe[i] breken þe first & þe most mandement. For aftur þe first mandement, "We schulde loue God ouer al oure herte, in al oure soule & in al our mynde", þe freres comen 'hot' þerto be reson þat þou madist.

[ ION ]

Sipen þei loue not Goddis lawe ouer alle ober bings (and as þe gospel techip, louyng of God & louynge of his lawe answeren togeder bope in more & lesse), ↑ so as þei putten aback Goddis lawe in loue, so þei putten abak þer God in loue. And if a corner of þer wittis were stopped wip Goddes loue þer it is nowe stopped f.51v wip þer clouted reule, how / schulde þei not so myche more loue God? I were cursed of God if I faged freres, ober afied me in þer

848 It] A space is left for the capital 'I', indicated by a marginal guide-letter.
851 þei] MS. þe.
854 MS. not interlined.
856b ION] MS. does not indicate a change of speaker here. See commentary.
861 God[,] MS. indicates a change of speaker here.
ION AND RICHERD

helpe to bere vp my name, siben þei ben grounded in lesings &
turnen as þe weder koc. & þerfor triste we in God be oure goode
werkis, for beleue techip vs, after þat we werchen schal we take of
'him' ouþer good or yuelle. & so we schul be charite talke to þes
freres & telle hem her faȝtes, boþe for loue of hem & loue of
þe puple, for God himself seip, 'Poo children þat I loue, I
snibbe and chastise as a good fadur schulde.' And weþer þei ben
damned or saued be grace of God, it schulde profite hem, for if
þei go to helle,þei schal more mekeli be damned. & herþere Crist
spake scharpeli to þe phareses, for he wiste be his reproue þei
schulde lesse depli be damned. & no Cristen man schulde drede
vpon Crist þat ne he dide vpon 'charite' al þat he dide.

Wel I wot þat we faile in entent & maner in reprouynge &
sparing & al þat we do, but God helpe his seruaunges,as we haue
entent to worche, to worschipe of him & profite to his chirche.
And if we coueite amys veniaunce of oure breperen, we tristen on
Godes merci for oure good grounde. And it is licli to men þat mo
schal be damned for þer stille moue þan for þer scharpe speche,
siben God schal axe of Cristen men þe [goode] of þer breperen
þat þei myȝt do to hem & lettid be assent.

But anemste þe fainyng,we schul vndurstande þat man,in þat
he synnep, deſame himself; but aneper,þat seip of him þe soþe
& on good maner, dop it as he schulde do, to worschipe of God, for
hidinge of synne dop myche harme. Anemtes þe apostasie of freres,
f.52 I wolde it were aweye, for be hemself schulden / bewar of his heresie, sihe be schal be dampned berfore if be laste berinne.

& so as pu seide, al onli be faus3te of keping of be first maundeme[n]t maakep heretikes. And so wolde I conceal al orderes of freres to gedere holly ber lijf in be lawe of Crist, and leue ber bagged beggerie of ber owne orderes. It is bagged and clouted be graunt of many popes, and so to summe it dop good & to many harmep.

RICHERD

It semep bat his biddyng of God mai not here be holden, sihen mannes lijf here in his lijf is scattered aboute many pings byside his God. And so noon schulde be weddid ne vse no craft, for be ping bat he vsep lettip his loue. Whi mai not freres l[ou]e ber reule, as lewe men l[ou]en ber wifes & oper craft?

ION

Me penkep bat his biddinge of God schulde be kepte here in erbe as it wel may, al if we synnen comounli in defau3te of his loue, & loue him not so holly as we schal in heuene. And herfore vnderstandes bat loue of bi God be deppest in bi witte and hisjest also, so bat if bi loue any wordely ping, loue it in God; bat is to seie, in bat ordre & mesure bat it helpip to loue bi God more.

† And be faus3te of his (loue) schendep most † men. But

889 maundement] MS. mändemet.
893 It] A space is left for capital 'I', indicated by a guide-letter in the margin.
897 loue, louen] MS. leue, leuen, see commentary.
902 if] MS. interlined.
904 †] MS. leued or loued; the passage is evidently corrupt.
loue] MS. is difficult to read, but the context suggests this word.
†] MS. most repeated.
ION AND RICHERD

...his we graunte, but many men kep in her his maundement for elles... 905
pei were culpable of hem al ten, and Crist bad [not] wipouten cause
men to kepe hem. But napeles he biddeν vs in lawe of his gospel
kepe al his maundementes if we wil come to blisse, and so it were
an open blasphemie to seie ᵇat God biddiν vs do more ᵇan we may.

But diverse men louen God on diverse manere, for ᵇes men bat
lyuen clene contemplatiue lyue gederen per loue in oo ᵇing, as
f.52v. Maudeleyne dide. But ᵇes men /bat lyuen ᵇijf of ᵇe world be
oft disturbed & bisied in her soule abowte many ᵇings. Bis lijf,
[al if] it be perelouse, is praised of God, so ᵇat men kepe wil her
grounde of her loue. And so summe ben holden [more] & summe
ben holden lesse to loue her God, aftur giftas ᵇat he geben him.
And ᵇus a man loueν h[is]God of al his herte, in al his soule &
al his mynte, as be Trinite axiν. & if pou take anyping bat
suche men loued, be louen God in pat ᵇing more 'ban bat' same,
for be loued pat ᵇing clenerly in [God] & so bi al ᵇe powers
bat her soule hap, be loue God most as iche manν [schulde.]

But ᵇis craft of loue is to litel knowne, for it is not
clereli grounded in God. Wat man in his lijf loueν noping but
in order bat it profetip to be loue of God? & Goddis lawe techiν
vs to kepe his loue. & ᵇus mai we ↑ loue iche creature in God, 925
& so freres & her reules, but not to kepe hem, siνen we myʒt
liʒtlier serve God & better also to take clenerli his lawe & leue

906 not] The sense demands a negative.
914 al if ] Syntax requires a subordinating conjunction.
915 more ] The sense requires the addition of a comparative adverb.
917 his] MS. here, emended to sg. masc. pron.
919 pan bat] MS. word-order pat pan, enclosed by marks of correction.
920 God ] MS. good.
921 schulde ] MS. schuhde.
925 MS. kepe cancelled by expunction.
freres reulis. & so al if pat many men beg meued of God to take hem wifes & use many craftis, naèles it standep hot' wib rijtwyssenes of God pat he moue® any manne to be wedded bus wib pesa freres reules & kepe hem in lyuyng more þan his owne; for þan hym failed witte in þeuyng of his reulis and hised þe freres over himself.

And if þat summe seyntis of freres ben not wedded bus wib þe frere reules, naèles to many ben smyten wib Lucifers pride, & þis makeþ hem cowardly, let[yng] to blame men, & leu[yng] to stande be Goddis lawe for drede of þer orderes. & so sijen God approueþ matrimonie & craftis[?] he approueþ nowþer þat freres schulde f.53 lyue bus ],þis apis argument þat freres /maken schewþ þer foli and dampneþ hemself. If þei cowde schewe were Crist þad hem lyue bus or [t]elec be his wordis þat þis were leful, þane þe[i] grunded þer order more þane þe[i] can. Wat if þe pope or oþer folies approueþ þis doing? þat not prove þat þise men synned not hereinne. But God hæþ ðeuen a sufficient reule, as oure seip techip, þat is more liȝt & more fre to iche Cristen man to holde. Whi schuld þ Godes sernaunt be dampede for þis choise? And if þu seie þat seyntis as Benet & Fraunces, Dominick or Bernard & many suche oþer held holiche þis rewle, whi schulde not we? Here freres taken on hem þat þei cannot prove, for as we supposen þat þise

929 not] MS. not interlined.
936 leuynyng... leuynyng] MS. lete ... leue.
938 [jit] MS. &
938 matrimonie] MS. matrimorie.
941 teche] MS. theche or possibly cheche.
946 MS. not. The negative inverts the sense.
men ben seintis, so we supposen pat bei holdin be goode of bis reule & left venym pat before & aftur was broyn inne. For bus mouzyte bei seie pat diverse orderis holden be good of ber order & leften ber wicked. For ellis Austines weren foles to parte from bes chanouns, or ellis white monkes to passe from bes blake. But sobli, alle bes sectes ben damnable foolish, siben o reule of Crist sufficed for hem alle. & God axit of hem keping of pat reule as he axiP of va & ber wille excusep not. But we mai trowe pat many sorowed herfor in tyme of ber deb.

RICHERD

Lettele telle me wat resoun may meue any man to kepe clobing or mete for a certen while, pat ne bei may kep it euere be he same skylle? And as bei mai for oon dai so euermore aftur.

ION

But schame pu for glotouns argument & of apis bope, for bus glotouns arguen til bei be drougken. For if a pynt of wyne profit to a man, a quart pat is to so gode wolde tuo so miche prophete. And so til bei glotoun haue to miche mette & drynke, we bei ypocrisit let God haue summe pruiles and siben summe f.53v of his f.53v of his f.53v of his f.53v of his J jeftis betoken his pruilegis. For /as vertues ben as hings pat no man mai myswe, so bei ben hinges pat euere'pe' more
ION AND RICHERD

pe better. But it is not [sop] of pings pat God graunteb man to make, & sop it is of reules pat God himself hab maded, pat ever be longer pat Bei be kepid, be better bei ben. But mennes ordinaunce not last for a tyme & faile in pe ende, siben bei ben not lordes of tyme. But sermones of freres ben good for sum men, & harmen many ober for bei ben not lorde of alle.

God ordeyned to sum men chaunging of elde, diversite of complexioun & of power also. & so pat freres reule pat wolde spede for a tyme, wolde noie for a more tyme as Godis mesure axi, & so pat same reule pat were good for oon were yuel for anoper for varling of Godes gifte. But herto pes folis take non hede in making of freres, but as blyme Baierd, putte general statutes & chalengip lorschip of comunite of pings, pat is propred to God, as blasfemes doun. And if pu seie here pat no frere reules bidden kepe per statutes but it is best, certes, pis hadde God ordeyned before pe freres come. & if pis were kept wel freres schulde be dissolved, and no frere be prisoned for he do be better. & so pei prisoune Goddis lawe & magnifie per ordere. And as pei glosen Goddis lawe be many fals castes, so pei don Saint Austenes reule, [&] impreson hem togedere, as wane Saint Austin bidde pat men pat contrarien pis reule be put ou3t of his hous; pat is to seien, pe freres be closed in scharpe preson. & bus bei gile pe chirche of brede of pe auter & aleggen grette doturtis & per straunge speche, and leuen holy

969 sop] The syntax requires a descriptive referent for the principal clause.
973 sermones] MS. sermomes.
979 Godes] MS. goodes.
987 &] The syntax and sense require a coordinate construction.
ION AND RICHERD

writte pat God himself jaffe. And wane men aske hem wat is bat
bat hemself sacrep [pat] was before be sacring ouper bred or wynne,
or ellis in peise ping, pat bei before offered, bei leuen al bis 995
f. 54. question & tellen a strange tale, or ellis bat it is/an accident
or ellis nobing. And bus pesa fals freres decayuen pe puple.

RICHERD

(It) semep be pis tale pat no man schulde be wedded wib
noon vse of pis chirche but lyue as we wolde. And so wolde periche
obeidience to be pope, [& Salusbiri vse be dissolved] & many oper 1000
ordinaunce.

ION

I preise not wedding wib no mannes ordinaunce but only
ordinance of God bat is cure bileue. And to defende pis ordinaunce
schulde we putte our lijf, & so mannes ordinaunce schulde we
suppose profetip for a tyme and afterwarde leue it, wane be reson 1005
axip and Goddis lawe techip. Men schuldeobeische] to alle men &
more to be[pope,] but for him do not but bat God biddep, and so
to alle prelatis schulde we obeysche, as to ministeris of God
or to Goddes servantes. If any man biddep þee do contrarie to
Goddes lawe, fle þat as venym,sipen 3ow art Goddes servantes. 1010
And so to manere of obedience schulde men wel marke, oon,for
to do þat þi prelate biddep wane it is conformed to mandement of

994 bat] MS. & , syntax requires a relative pronoun.
998 [if]Space is left for a capital letter, but no guide-letter
is visible in the margin; the first letter resembles a gothic
capital 'T' (a clearer example occurs at C/696, f. 48).
1000 MS. word-order And so wolde periche obeidience to be pope
be dissolved, & Salusbiri vse & many ober ordinaunce. No
correction is indicated. An alternative emendation is the
cancellation of periche, leaving the MS. word-order to stand.
1006 obeische] MS. obelische.
1007 pope] MS. ppope.
ION AND RICHERD

God, and anob, to forsake that his voice mameli whan it is contrarie to the wille of God. In bope boise obedience obyesche pou to God and ellis schuldest pu not obyesche vnto man. And if pu seye that seconde obedience is quoynte, sip no man seip that he obyesche that azenstandi, sobeli pis obedience to azenstande is to litil tau3t & vset pis daie. But pis tau3t Grosteed & seide to pe pope that obedientli he 'azenstode' bings that pe pope hade, for every man & iche bing seip Goddes welle and biddi kyndeli for to do it, & so wane pi prelatis blaberip azenes God, he bidde the kyndely to do Goddes welle. But pu were to myche a fole to do his cursed bidding & leue the holy bidding f.54v of God /and of hym; and so pu obeiest vnto him, leuyng his cursed bidding. Pus schulde men obeishe to popes & to prelatis & neuer obyesche vnto hem but wane he obeysched first vnto God.

& his wolde ri3t bese orderis aftur Goddes lawe: & so Salustirie vse schulde be now performed, & nowe lefte for be better that Goddes lawe tau3t. And if pu seiest that pu must trowe al be iust & aftur Goddes wille that pi prelate bidde he do be obedience, sobeli it fell ofte that pi prelate is a fole and reuersip Goddes wille in hym in his subiectis. And how schulde his beleue [be conferred he] ne mi3te not erre in his folis bidding? And so[Goddes] lawe of ri3t obedience wolde dissolue erroris in bese false orderis.

1019 azenstode] MS. azenstonde, corrected by expunction.

1022 But] MS. he.
1022 †] MS. but.

1032 Corrupt word-order and reading. MS. reads And how schulde his beleue that he we confermed, ne mi3te not erre in his folis bidding.
1033 Goddes] MS. gooddes.
ION AND RICHERD

RICHERD

Dis sentence semep streit to secular lordes, for þei comaunde oft þingis vngrounded in Goddis lawe. And be þis skile lordes schulde obeische to þer sugettis and serve hem as þei don hem & oft sîpus more.

ION

Goddis lawe biddip oft obeische to secular lordis, and he were a cursed preist þat wolde reverser þis. But nabeles disgression standep in þis obedience, so þat no sugett schulde obeysche to his lorde but in as miche as he sufferip obedience to God. But for bodely seruice & rauysching of goodes stondeþ wîp obedience to God, as suffering of dêp, þerfore Saint Poule techip to sufferin in al þis. If þei constreine þe to do þat Goddis lawe forbodip; stonde stifly in wille to suffering of dêp. On þis wise dide Mauris and al his legioun, suffering Maximian to sle þer bodies, for þei were sure of Goddis lawe, þat Crist schulde saue þer soules & restore þer bodies. Pe cause of marturdom of þis hooli legioun stode in wynnum þingis as her story telleþ: þat þei wolde not /pursue Cristen men, for þan þei pursued Crist; & for þei wolde not do sacrifice to his fals goddis. And suche a couent of freres was neuer non fondon me as I trowe suche a legioun is not seyntes in heuene,þ[r]al orderis
of freres or moungis or chanouns. And if þu put on hem cowardise, þat þei wolde not fiȝte, certis,þei ches þe better and more sure algatis, for in fiȝtting þei miȝt a died out of charite & haue nyed more þer killeris þan þei nowe dye. þus schulde freres teche þese seculer lorde & not comforf hem to fiȝt & bere hem companye. For 6 maner concense is most priȝe ymne þat anticrist hæp to discewe Cristis seruantes.

& so to speke of obedience as Crist obeisched to Baptist and to þe deaul Scharioth; as þe gospel seip, þe most lorde of þis worlde schulde obeie to his servant, not be obedience of þe worlde but be obedience of heuene. And so iche woridely lorde is holden to his servant [to] defende him & mayntene him, & þat is miche more þan erbeli rentis þat þe servant jiȝne þegene. & þis is signe of lordechepe, sipen þe lorde of alle lordis may not take service of man but if he be holden aȝene, & do þe þ man more good þan he mai do to God. But anticrist clerkes wolen be free fro þis & herfere be þei þ folk wiþoȝten hed, but if þei haue þese foures, Caym & Schariot & anticrist þe pride, & him þat next deceyued hem þat þei clepen þer beupere.

And siche a wounder aȝene kynde schendeþ Cristes kirke. & sipen þei ben þeues & robben commoun puple, & traituris to God, as Seint Poule seip & Hildagar expowneþ openly inow, it semeþ þat lorde schuld distrois þes traitours, bope for loue of God
& loun of per suggetis.' If we taken heade to rauishing of
temperal goodis pat bei taken of teneantes wipouegen autorite,
f.55v it comeb /to many pounds pounde in be reume of Englonde, & siben
bei medalen ypocriskeye & desayuynge of per soule, it is open pat
bis pefte is worst of al ober.

& if bu wilt wite hou bebes maiz listli be stanchd, telle
comouns how bei schulde ake bisili of hem, vndur per comoun seel,
wat per almes schal profite to ober soules, siben no man schulde
chafer be beding & louyn, but every parti were serten of his
chafer. Teche seculer lordes to aske of pes freres wher[e] Crist begged so & grounde hem on pe gospel, & witnesse be be
comoun seel pat his is per sentence. Teche persouns & preistis
to ake of pes freres wat ping bei sacred last wane bei sungon
masse, & weber bei voidea anying pat before was brade, & wat
ben 'be' ostis [sacred] pat be kept in pe chirche, for if bei ben
wers in kynde ban any eyrne webbe, it were no religion to
worshippe hem buen. For we trowe pat iche of hem is brade of Godis
body.

& for many freres varien in bis sentence, haue vndur per
comoun seel wat al per secte seib, siben suche ben honestae axingis
& of litel cost & wolde purge freres of heresies pat nowe ben

1077 suggetis] MS. suggis corrected by interlined e.
1084 profite] MS. proprofite.
1085 where] MS. whe.
1090 be] MS. peise corrected by expunction.
1091 sacred] MS. sacare.
putte on hem. Suspecte we be freres that wile denye pise charteris. & God schulde ordeyne clerkes to examyne hem, pat wipinne litil wile schulde per heresies be known. & on no wise schulde men 1100 jif hem of per goodes before bei had pese answeris vndur per comoun seel. For pat frere pat wolde for six pens bring letter of fraternite, & wil not for miche more good bus, his bileue is suspecte of heresie as anticrist clerke.

Explicet dialogus fratrum 1105

Amen amen amen amen

1103 Though the manuscript parchment is defective, there is no loss of text.
COMMENTARY

A DIALOGUE BETWEEN A KNIGHT AND A CLERK

Durham University Library MS. V. iii. 6

1 'A kniȝt of pe kinges of Yngeland': the knight, possibly a member of the king's chamber, or a knight of the shire, was a member of the class of representatives of the commons in parliament, the estate whose duty it was to secure and maintain the king's livelihood. Though knights assumed more importance in the early years of Henry IV's reign, carrying out his policies in trade, diplomacy and economics, nevertheless the rolls of parliament give evidence of the importance of the knights to the crown before that time; see further in McKisack, The Fourteenth Century, pp. 187-95, 384-423; E. F. Jacob, The Fifteenth Century, 1399-1485 (Oxford, 1961), pp. 67-99.

2 'a clerk of Ynglond. . . fro pe courte': the clerk may have held an academic post, whence he had been seconded into papal service. His name, we can assume, is intended to emphasize his affiliation with the papacy. Secular chapters commonly included canon lawyers who might go to Rome themselves or send proctors to negotiate between the English church and the papacy, while the universities also employed petitioners in Rome on behalf of their graduates (E. F. Jacob, Essays in the Conciliar Epoch, 2nd ed (Manchester, 1953), pp. 208-22).

The clerk is not portrayed according to the tradition of estates satire, where poverty and goliardism were characteristic (see Mann, Chaucer and Estates Satire, pp. 75, 78-9); rather, he is a member of a class of clergy, sublimes et litterati, whose vested interests lay in protecting their privileges against the threat of Wycliffism. Derogation is implied by his designation as a 'doctor of decreese'(D/32), returning 'fro pe courte of Rome', a position which linked him with the tyrannical and presumably schismatic pope and with the class of canon lawyers against whom Wyclif was unsparing.
Commentary: A Knight and a Clerk

3-12 'pe clerk bogan to speke. . . pe law canone also': A summary of the extreme hierocratic view of the relationship between church and state, that the clerical estate is superior to the secular, enjoying legal autonomy and immunity from secular jurisdiction, with the pope as undisputed overlord. The clergy regarded parliament as undermining its authority and legalizing lay interference (Wilkins, *Concilia*, III, 49; Anominalle Chronicle, ed. V. H. Galbraith (Manchester, 1927), pp. 100-1). The statutes of Provisors and Praemunire were of special importance in this respect, as they denied papal exemption from the king's feudal lordship over patronage, revenues, taxation and discipline; (25 Edward III, st. 4, 1351; 27 Edward III, st. 1, c. 1, 1353, reenacted 1353, subsequently reenacted, 13 Richard II, st. 2, 1390 and 16 Richard II, c. 1, 1393). See Pantin, *The English Church*, pp. 76-102.

There were other areas of grievance: (i) there was prejudice against the clergy holding secular office; see the petition, Rotuli parliamentorum, II, 313ff. printed by V. H. Galbraith, 'Articles laid before the Parliament of 1371', English Historical Review, 34 (1919), 579-82);

(ii) petitions and laws against the collection of papal tribute and taxes, and against the export of money to Rome were resented by the clergy (see further at D/212-16, T1/259-62);

(iii) royal taxation of the clergy and even the occasional threat to dispossess the clergy for defaults in grants amounted to secular interference (see D/238-46; and for further discussion see A. L. Harriss, 'Aid, Loans and Benevolences', Historical Journal, 6 (1963), 1-19; C. M. Barron, 'The Tyranny of Richard II', Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, 41 (1968), 1-18; A. Rogers, 'Clerical Taxation under Henry IV, 1399-1413', Bulletin of the Institute for Historical Research, 46 (1973), 123-44);

(iv) the right of excommunication was extended to nominees of the crown (see F. D. Logan, Excommunication and the Secular Arm in Medieval England (Toronto, 1968), chapter 1);

(v) the king's custody of alien benefices, especially after the renewal of the Hundred Years' War (Knowles, The Religious Orders, II, 162-4; M. Morgan, 'The Suppression of the Alien Priories', History, 26 (1941-2), 204-12; A. K. Mc Hardy, 'The Alien Priories and the Expulsion of Aliens
from England in 1378', Studies in Church History, 12 (1975), 133-41;
(vi) Secular interference with rights of sanctuary (D/220-3) and with
the statute of Mortmain (D/217-19, 416-25) also infringed clerical
liberties.

7 biæschope, a form unattested (MED, OED), but it has been retained here
because this form is used commonly in the Durham text (see also lines
187, 252, 261, 304, 408).

11 'holi writ breach witness'. The figures of Moses, Jeremiah and Peter, as
well as Melchizedek, together with biblical texts such as Genesis 14. 18
and Exodus 18. 22, I Corinthians 6. 3 and Matthew 28. 18, were frequently
cited to support papal plenitude (see W. Ullmann, 'The Bible and
Principles of Government in the Middle Ages' (1963), reprinted in The
Church and the Law in the Earlier Middle Ages (Variorum Reprints,

11-12 'pe law canone': canons which ordained the independence of the church
from the secular ruler included those of Gelasius (Decretum I, D. 96.
10, 11, 15; Friedberg, vol. 1, 340-1, 345); of Nicholas I (Decretum I,
D. 10. 1-5; D. 96. 5-8; Friedberg, vol. 1, 19-20, 338-40); of Innocent
III, 'Venerabilem', 'Solite', 'Novit, Causam and 'Per venerabile
(Decretales, I. 6. 34; I. 33. 6; II. 1. 13; IV. 17. 7, 13 (Friedberg,
vol. 2, 79-82, 196-8, 242-4, 712, 714-16); and especially those of
Boniface VIII, 'Clericis laicos', 1296, Sexti, III. 23. 3; 'Unam
sanctam'; Extravagantes, I. 8. 1; Friedberg, vol. 2, 1062-3, 1245-6),
reaffirmed by Clement V (Clementinarum, III, 17; Friedberg, vol. 2,
1178).

13 'Peter Sir, said pe kniȝt . . ne mell him perof': 'Sir' was a common
form of address, chiefly distinguishing the order of knighthood, but
also used of clerics and the equivalent of dominus. It was used
ironically, as by Langland in his designation of the sin of covetousness
as 'Sire Heruy' (Piers Plowman C VI/197) and by Chaucer, whose nun's
priest was 'sir John' (Prologue, Nun's Priest's Tale, VII/2810, 2820);
see Mustanoja, 'The Suggestive Use of Christian Names', pp. 76-8.
13-20 The knight answers with a succinct statement of the thesis of lay government, that the king is the supreme ruler in the realm, echoing a common contemporary complaint that compromise of royal authority was a violation of the king's oath to rule. The privileges for which the clergy pushed were also a grievance to the lay party, as, for example:

(i) the concordats reached between the crown and the papacy, as between Edward III and Gregory XI at Bruges in 1374-6, or between Richard II and Boniface IX in 1398 when the king again modified the statutes of Provisors and Praemunire; see English Historical Documents 1327-1485, ed. R. A. Myers (London, 1969), 653, 663;
(ii) the king's power was reduced by clerical monopoly of the means for judgment and punishment, as by citation to Rome and by the use of the consistory courts in England (see the allusion at D/85-9 and cf. Wyclif's charge, Sermones, III, 211/22-41), refuted by Netter, Doctrinale fidei, II. 3. 79, vol. 1, 671-4;
(iii) the claim of alien clergy to civil exemptions was resented; see D/258-60.

The estate of the king, as defined by the legists and as understood in the Wycliffite context, had to do with the public powers, rights and responsibilities of the king's office, not with his private properties and revenues. These rights and duties required that the king should not alienate his sovereignty nor jeopardize his majesty; he was to protect the church and all Christian people, forbid robbery and unrighteous deeds and to cause mercy and justice to be done in the realm; see the coronation oath of Edward I, B. Wilkinson, Constitutional History of Medieval England, 3 vols (London, 1958), III, 4; E. Kantorowicz, 'Inalienability: a Note on Canonical Practice and the English Coronation Oath in the Thirteenth Century', Speculum, 29 (1954), 488-502; G. Post, Studies in Medieval Legal Thought: Public Law and the State, 1100-1300 (Princeton, 1964), pp. 416-24; for a recent survey of medieval legal formulae conveying the concept of rex in regno imperator, see Ullmann, 'This Realm of England is an Empire', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 31(1979), 176-82.

The supreme position of the king, even over the temporalities of the church, was commonly expressed in Wycliffite polemic; see e.g. D/219-21; De civili dominio, IV, 390/37-391/23. 425/53; De officio
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Kinges and lordes schuld lordship han,
And rule the people with mylde mode.
Christ, for us that schedde his blood
Bad his preestes no maystership have,
Ne carke nat for cloth ne fode.
(The Plowman's Tale, ed. W. W. Skeat in Chaucerian and Other Pieces (Oxford, 1897), lines 1119-23).

20-4 'I am a litil letrid... lerne of pe': ironical self-effacement rather than a statement of Lollard anti-intellectualism; cf. Swinderby's disclaimer that he was 'bot simpully lettered' and knew no sophisms (Registrum Trefnant, pp. 262-3); or that of the Lollard priest William Ransbury, 'modicam habens litteraturam' (quoted by Hudson, 'A Lollard Mass', Journal of Theological Studies, n. s. 23(1972), 416).

25-6 'moni prestes & clerkes... wele forrid as you dos': this taunt belongs to the Wycliffite concern with the outward pomp and display practised by those in clerical orders; cf. Matthew, pp. 127/29-128/15; Arnold, III, 376/11ff. The complaint reflects the common concern that clerks could not be distinguished from kings and lords (Rotuli parliamentorum, II, 278, quoted by E.M. Veale, The English Fur Trade (Oxford, 1966), p. 9). Furs were intended to distinguish royalty and the baronage, though by 1337 clerks with at least one hundred pounds had the right to wear fur (English Fur Trade, p. 4). Sumptuary laws continued to expand the categories of fur-users, though its use for deceit, as by those wearing academic dress, was recognized; see Lyndwood, Provinciale, I. 2. 2; III. 1. 1-3. These regulations lie behind orthodox criticism, as in Wimbledon's sermon of 1388, 'Redde racionem', ed. N. Owen, Mediaeval Studies, 28 (1966), 178-97, line 180; cf. Chaucer's satirical portrait of the sumptuously arrayed monk, his sleeves 'purfiled at the hond / with grys, and that the fyneste of a lond' (General Prologue, I/193-4). The same criticism may have been intended by the Ellesmere
miniaturist in his depiction of the clerk in the cloak and hood of the laity. The current objections are well summed up in The Plowman’s Tale, p. 150/101-8.

25 MS fororrid is interpreted as an error of dittography and emended on the grounds that the reference is to the clerk’s academic dress, a reading supported by the context, aironed, ‘to equip’, ‘provide with clothing’, as in Chaucer’s Knight’s Tale, I/2046. The reading ‘forderid’ is also possible after auaunsid, ‘promoted in rank’, ‘provided with a benefice’, as in Piers Plowman A I/165 and the Parson’s Tale, X/786. Cf. D/465, forberd, from OE forbian, ‘to assist’, ‘encourage’, ‘honour’.

27 ‘clergie... resoune’: perhaps a deliberate play on the dual meaning of clergie, both ‘clerical status’ and ‘learning’ or ‘doctrine’, though the latter is the primary sense here (see D/372-80). In contrast is resoune, the faculty of rational argument, the means whereby rational man lives in a state of justice (Augustine, De civitate dei, 19. 6 and 14). Wyclif, following the Augustinian view, claimed that reason extended to and included faith and fact, was a positive aid to faith, a means for coming to a knowledge of realities. This view was a reaction against the fideism and scepticism which dominated the current philosophical position of nominalism, where the tendency was to mistrust the power of reason to demonstrate the truths of faith. The several references to ‘resoune’ by the knight (CD/41, 44, 50, 283, 455, 504) convey an ironical attack on the clerk’s defence of the principle of papal supremacy, by implying that divine law, unlike papal law, accords with reason (see Leff, Heresy, II, 582). For Wyclif’s position on reason and authority see Thomson, ‘The Philosophical Basis of Wyclif’s Theology’, 86-116; Leff, Heresy, II, 520ff. and ‘Wyclif and the Augustinian Tradition’, Medievalia et Humanistica, n. s. 1 (1969), 32-6.

28 ‘degree of scale’: on the range of medieval university degrees, see Rashdall, The Universities of Europe, I, 376-7; III, 68, 153-9.

32 ‘doctor of decreeze’: at Oxford, the faculty of canon law demanded three years of civil law for admission to the licentiate, while the doctorate also depended on qualifications in civil law, with more exacting study
for those without civil law qualifications before proceeding to the
doctorate in canon law. Wyclif's criticism of the system was based on
the view that secular study led theologians to pursue worldly honours;
see De officio regis, p. 34/9-11.

33 'courte of Rome': the Roman curia existed as a conservative centre for
transmitting the wishes and intellectual concepts of one generation of
popes to another, and especially to establish in law the divine
foundations of the papacy. It was a centre of intense legal and
intellectual activity, often controversial and brilliant. The English
crown and the papacy both promoted the education of English clerks in
this principle, for litigation at Rome could further royal diplomacy and
settle ecclesiastical disputes, at the same time ensuring sympathetic
representation of papal interests in England.

A doctor of canon law might have one of three roles at the curia:
(i) attached to the faculty of law (Rashdall, The Universities of
Europe, II, 28-31);
(ii) acting in a proctorial capacity, for ecclesiastical or royal
interests. Monastic, episcopal and university interests were also
represented at the curia in this way, the proctors ironing out
interpretation of canon law, appealing in defence of privileges and
immunities or employed over contracts arising from endowments,
petitioning for indulgences and canonizations or engaged in litigation
over disputed benefices; see here Jacob, Essays in the Conciliar Epoch,
pp. 223-39 on petitions by university clerks; R. Haines, 'The Education
(though Pantin notes the relative paucity of documentation, The English
Church, p. 166).
(iii) As a royal litigant a clerk enjoyed ambassadorial status at the
curia, communicating between the king and the pope, as John of Salisbury
and FitzRalph had done, or as Hoccleve was to do at the end of the
fourteenth century.

There was also a class of professional curialists, though in the
fourteenth century English clerks formed only two percent of curia
personnel, and then only in two departments, the penitentiary, dealing
with matters such as ecclesiastical censures, and on the tribunal of the
rota, as judges of the court. On the relationship between the Roman
curia and the English church, see Pantin, The English Church, Part I; and on the curia at Avignon, see Bernard Guillema...
Moyses was heyd & leder . . . pe pepil schuld be led bi': Deuteronomy 6. This teleological interpretation of Moses as a prefiguration of the pope is used to justify the supremacy of the sacerdotal over the secular estate. Other old testament patriarchs were also 'converted' into pre-Christian popes by hierocratic apologists included Aaron, Noah and Abraham, the list being pushed back through Melchisidek to Abel and Adam. In the case of Moses, it was his legitimization of the secular leader that qualified him as a type of the pope (see Wilks, The Problem of Sovereignty, pp. 538-43).

Heyed n. 'head', 'chief'; a form unattested; the nearest attestation of the form is heid, heydes (both fifteenth century), but the MS. form has been retained because of its close approximation to these attested variants.

Also God gafe to Jeremie. . . grete power': Jeremiah 1. 10 was one of the three or so primary texts used by papal apologists to support their arguments for papal plenitude, as by Innocent III in his dispute with King John, to emphasize the universality of papal authority (see Selected Letters of Innocent III Concerning England, 1198-1216, ed. W. Cheney and W. Semple (London, 1953), pp. 212-16), whence it was incorporated into the decretals 'Solite' and 'Unam sanctam' (Decretales I. 33. 6 and Extravagantes, I. 8. 1). Lyra's gloss on the text related it to the Christian dispensation without reference to the papacy, but the Glossa ordinaria argued that the text supported the papal interpretation of the Petrine commission. Supporting decretals include 'Qui ecclesiasticis', 'Si imperator' and 'Beatrus Petrus', (Decretum, I, D. 36. 2; 96. 11; II, C. 6. 1. 5; Friedberg, vol. 1, 134-5, 341-2, 554-5).

Alsooure Lord Ihesu Crist. . . openlich schewid tofore: Matthew 16. 19 and Matthew 18. 18 were together a further primary foundation of the principle of papal, specifically Roman supremacy, supporting both the spiritual and temporal jurisdiction of the papacy and its supranational character (see S. J. Grabowski, 'Saint Augustine and the Primacy of the
Roman Bishops', Traditio, 4 (1946), 89-102). The 'kaies' were a symbol of the power transferred to the pope via Peter (see Decretum, I, D. 21. 2, 3 and D. 22. 2; Friedberg, vol. 1, 69-70, 73-4). On the basis of the Petrine commission, canon law attributed a variety of powers to the papacy:

(i) the sacramental power of 'binding and loosing', terms derived from Jewish legal phrases meaning 'to declare forbidden' and 'to declare allowable' respectively. In canon law these terms referred to judgment and absolution, both in the sacramental and the gubernatorial senses (as in Decretum, I, D. 21. 2; II, C. 24. 1. 6; Friedberg, vol. 1, 69, 968);
(ii) the power to establish general laws for the church (Decretum I D. 12. 1-2, 19. 1-5; Friedberg, vol. 1, 58-61);
(iii) the pope's position as supreme temporal judge (B. Tierney, Foundations of the Conciliar Theory (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 25-36). The text is invoked and the doctrine stated also in Decretum II C. 9. 3, 14; C. 11. 1. 14; C. 24. 1. 15 (Friedberg, vol. 1, 610, 630, 970).

The power of binding and loosing was manifested in two ways:
(i) as the power of jurisdiction enjoyed by the pope in 'binding' the faithful to his decisions, and
(ii) as the power of absolution conferred on all the apostles and administered through the sacrament of penance (see Gratian's gloss to Decretum, II, C. 24. 1. 4, Friedberg, vol. 1, 967-8).

Of the two kinds of authority enjoyed by the papacy under the Petrine commission, the sacramental and the gubernatorial, understandably the clerk invokes only the latter, ignoring the sacramental power of the keys over which there is no contention. The hierarchical character of the ecclesiastical estate is emphasized by the clerk's description of the clergy as 'vnder pe pope', a critical aspect of papal theory, confirmed by Netter against Wyclif's contrary views (Doctrinale fidei, II. 3. 78, vol. 1, 665-71).

84 'pe pope & his skillfull powers', i.e. his spiritual power, with which in principle the knight has no quarrel. The pope's spiritual power was defined in terms of the preservation of the unity of the church from the schism between East and West, and in the dispensation of ecclesiastical
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temporalities.

85-9 'a perfor in his name... a3enes Goddes will': an exemplum based on Numbers 22. 22-3. The story of Balaam's ass had wide currency in medieval exegesis; e.g. it was adduced by Gratian (Decretum II, C. II. 7. 41, Friedberg, vol. 1, 496-8), and by the mendicants in their controversy with the secular clergy to justify their preaching vocation (Douie, 'The Conflict', 15). In one university edict the friars were repudiated as 'reciters who imitate the ass of Balaam' (cited by Workman, John Wyclif, I, 93).

In the present instance the analogy is used to claim that the knight has the right to answer the clerk in spite of the disparity in their learned status. This links the polemic with the heretical proposition of the right of the laity to correct and judge the clergy (see Opera minora, pp. 406-7; De civili dominio, II, 114/4-127/9; and for the condemned propositions, see Wilkins, Concilia, III, 123, items 6, 7, 18, 19; see also Purvey's more radical views, Fasciculi zizaniorum, pp. 395-7, item 9; and in Wycliffite writings, Matthew, pp. 80/10-13, 241/23-35, etc). In the examinations for heresy, the principle of lay correction of the clergy was covered by questions on disendowment (see Hudson, 'The Examination of Lollards', Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, 46(1973), 153, item 13; Heresy Trials p. 147/30-4).

91-3 'he vnri3tfull betinge & prikkynge... a3eynes Goddes will': this passage may allude to the persecution experienced by the Lollard movement at least from 1382 at Oxford and elsewhere, though the nationalism and erastianism expressed in the passage also has affinity with more general ant clerical and national sentiments.

95-7, 105-11 'be pat mi3t & power... plante vertues & gode liuinge': the knight grants that Moses and Jeremiah do prefigure the papacy, the one as lawgiver and leader, the other as preacher and prophet, powers interpreted in a purely spiritual sense; cf. Wyclif's mystical exegesis in De ecclesia, p. 24/3-32, denying to the papacy temporal jurisdiction but not spiritual. The present interpretation of the analogue from Jeremiah is less explicit than Wyclif's, that though old testament prophets had enjoyed the power to set up kings, the same was not true.
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for prelates of the new dispensation; nor had the prophets enjoyed temporal dominion themselves (De civili dominio, IV, 393/35-395/38; De officio regis, p. 43/15-19).

The orthodox glosses also emphasized the spiritual interpretation of Moses' actions, and the allegory of Moses provided a common model of the good pastor (e.g. R. M. Haines, "Wild Wittes and Wilfulnes": John Swetstock's Attack on those "Poyswunmongers" the Lollards', Studies in Church History, 8(1972), 149).

98-104 (and 466-76) 'Loke an wheere an power streche to temperalte or to spiritualte': a summary of the Wycliffite view of the separation of the temporal from the spiritual jurisdiction.

This point is the crux of the polemic in the present context, and it was one much pressed by Wyclif:

Nec obest sed convenit, quod multi super eadem habeant iurisdictionem atque dominium, unus quoad temporalitatem et seculum et alius quo ad spiritualitatem et deum. (De officio regis, p. 206/11-14)

Wyclif regarded the conflation of spiritual and temporal authority under the clergy as an effective denial of ius regale, eroding the royal right of patronage and deflecting the clergy from the ideal, that they should enjoy only 'temporalia puriora, sine onere suo vel sollicitudine, quantum est necessarium ad suum officium secundum regulas legis duas' (De officio regis, pp. 97/14-16, 206/11-27). Ultimately Wyclif asserted that the sacerdotal power consisted in nothing more nor less than cure of souls (pp. 95/28-96/20).

The knight appears to define 'spiritualte' as Chaucer describes the parson, 'riche. . . of hooly thoght and werk' (General Prologue, I/479; Parson's Tale, Prologue, X/31ff.), a portrait based on II Timothy 4.2, although Chaucer's parson would not have defined his duties and privileges exclusively in these terms as the Lollard knight does of the duties of the clerical estate; that is 'spiritualte' consisted in the ministry of the gospel and of the sacraments. It excluded all temporalities, that is revenues from secular endowments such as manors, lands and tenements, as well as the rights of patronage and presumably (though here not overtly) revenues from ecclesiastical sources such as tithes, benefices and glebes, technically the 'spiritualte' of the ecclesiastical estate. On the connotation of these terms, see M. Howell, Regalian Right, pp. 111-12,
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112-14 'Criste jawe to Peter . . . & will to synne no more': the Wycliffite interpretation of Matthew 16. 18-19 invoked an exclusively spiritual and moral sense for the power of the keys (see Polemical Works, II, 665-8, confuted by Netter, Doctrinal fidei, II. 1. 1-3, vol. 1, 243-57). Wycliffite confessional doctrine was usually more radically expressed, emphasizing that sin in the priest invalidated his role as confessor and denying apostolic succession. No priest enjoyed the power of the keys who did not 'folwe the steppis of Petre in lyvyng' (Heresy Trials p. 135). The thesis was examined and refuted by the synod of 1382 (Wilkins, Concilia, III, 157, article 8; and by Netter (Doctrinale fidei, II. 2. 8, 17, 19; vol. 1, 276, 326, 338).

Wycliffite penitential theology became increasingly extreme, and though auricular confession was still advocated in the 1390s, increasingly Lollards felt that a priest was not necessary for confession (Heresy Trials, pp. 52, 77, 95 etc.). This teaching separated Lollard contritionism from that of Langland and Chaucer, whose emphasis on true penitence bore no trace of the antisacerdotalism and antisacramentalism of Wycliffism (cf. Piers Plowman C Prologue 129ff., VI/12-13, 91-2, 164-9; IX/325-33; XXI/189; Parson's Tale, X/95-127).

116 'bynde him bi corsynge': i.e. the power of excommunication was regarded by Wyclif as a source of abuse and lacking scriptural warrant (De officio regis, pp. 166/11-176/31, 231-237/14; De ecclesia, pp. 153/10- 157/24; De blasphemia, passim). God's curse alone had binding power (Sermones, II, 313/23ff.; III, 158/25-161/35; De civili dominio, I, 274/9-277/10, 280/16ff.; 374/24ff.; and among Lollard writings, Selections, p. 19/12; Arnold, III, 218/5, 336/22-337/12 etc.).

117-20, 123-5 'atte first somounynge. . . þer pardoune es graunted to': the matter of indulgences is raised here, that is, the method whereby a man could make satisfaction for sin by annual payments, without contrition or amendment. The practice was condemned as simoniae by Wyclif and the Lollards: 'Þat for a buasschel of qwete or xiid be þere þei welen selle þe blisse of heuene be charte of clause of warantise' (Selections, p. 27/124-5; cf. Sermones, IV, 476ff.). Swinderby made
a stinging attack on the practice in his trial in 1391, that 'the pope with his lawe asoiles men for money' (Registrum Trefnant, p. 273).

120-8 'pai schuld vnbynde. . . pat pe gospell spekep of': Wyclif criticized the prevalence of unjust penances, the clergy's unwillingness to exercise their power of absolution without monetary satisfaction, and their overreadiness to excommunicate (De blasphemia, p. 144/5-7). The present exegesis of Matthew 16, 18-19 borders on an heretical devaluation of the church's singular role in confession and absolution, regarding the priest's role as being one of confirmation only (see also 'absolucion' in ME Rosarium, pp. 55-9). Contrition is emphasized as the sole condition for valid absolution, as exemplified in Luke 7. 36-50, a text that also confirmed that auricular or private confession was unnecessary. Contrition and will to amend were sufficient (Matthew, p. 328/10ff.). The Wycliffites recommended public confession as leading to true contrition and shame, as evidenced by Peter and Paul (Polemical Works, II, 622/20-22; Matthew, pp. 335/30-336/17). On the orthodox teaching see T. N. Tentler, Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation (Princeton, 1977), especially at pp. 22-7, 66-8, 281-94.

129-31 'and Saynt Poule saipees . . . in gode administracione': I Corinthians 4. 1-2. This text, together with that of I Peter 5. 3, was used to warn against equivocation in the pastoral role: 'Papa docet episcopos esse non dominos, sed procuratores vel dispensatores bonorum pauperum'(De officio regis, p. 37/22-8; cf. Arnold, II, 228-31; see also Opera minora, p. 410/6-12; De civili dominio, III, 218/1-9; IV, 400/1-22).

Lyra and the Glossa ordinaria both emphasized that the priest's role was one of mediation by word and sacrament.

131-6 'Crist himself . . . bot all to gosteli pinge':Matthew 20. 25-8, Luke 22. 25-7, here used to deny the temporal authority of the clergy. This exegesis concurs in a broad sense with the orthodox glosses which treat the text as exalting humility and ministry; cf. De civili dominio, III, 297/27-298/10; IV, 440/10-442/26; De officio regis, pp. 35/30-49/29; Dialogus, pp. 33/26-34/26, 86/1-10.

137-43 'pe emperoure Constantyne 3aue to Saynt Siluester': the clerk's final authority is that of the supposed Donation. By this the Emperor Constantine (c.
274-337) bestowed on Pope Sylvester I (314-35) primacy over Antioch, Constantinople, Alexandria and Jerusalem, and dominion over all Italy including Rome and her Western provinces. The Donation document, a notable forgery of the eighth-century Frankish empire, defined the manner and extent of lay support and honour for the sacerdotium:

We... considered that since [Peter] is seen to have been set up as the vicar of God's son on earth, the pontiffs who act on behalf of that prince of the apostles should receive from us and our empire a greater power of government than the earthly clemency of our imperial serenity is seen to have conceded to them... And inasmuch as our imperial power is earthly, we have decreed that it shall venerate and honour his most holy Roman Church and that the sacred see of blessed Peter shall be gloriously exalted above our empire and earthly throne. We attribute to him the power and glorious dignity and strength and honour of the Empire, and we ordain and decree that... the pontiff who for the time being presides over that most holy Roman Church shall be the highest and chief of all priests in the whole world, and according to his decision shall all matters be settled which shall be taken in hand for the service of God or the confirmation of the faith of Christians....

Wherefore that the pontifical crown should not be made of less repute, but rather that the dignity of a more than earthly office and the might of its glory should be yet further adorned - lo, we convey to the oft-mentioned and most blessed Silvester, universal pope, both our palace, as preferment, and likewise all provinces, palaces and districts of the city of Rome and Italy and of the regions of the West... as a permanent possession to the holy Roman Church.

Wherefore we have perceived that our empire and the power of our government should be transferred... for it is not right that an earthly emperor should have authority there, where the rule of priests and the head of the Christian religion have been established by the Emperor of heaven.... (Documents of the Christian Church, ed. H. Bettenson, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1963), pp. 99-101)

This document stemmed from the period of the first serious clash between empire and papacy, and it represented an ideological response to a contemporary dilemma, for in matters of faith and jurisdiction the papacy was emancipated from imperial authority. At the same time the emperor's authority was attributed to the papacy as a result of Constantine's supposed act of consigning his imperial insignia to the papacy in perpetuity. The authority of this document
was not seriously discredited until the mid-fifteenth century, hence its continuing appeal in support of an extreme hierocratic view of the clerical estate; for the historical context of the document and bibliography, see ODCC, 2nd ed. p. 419; Ullmann, History of Political Thought: the Middle Ages (London, 1965, rev. ed., 1970), p. 98, where evidence is shown that the spurious nature of the document was recognized in the eleventh century but hastily repressed.

Although the Donation was legendary, there was much in the verifiable dealings of Constantine with the church that made it credible. In particular, his policy was to unite the church to the secular state, by intervention in the affairs of the church if necessary, as he did in the case of the Arian and Donatist heresies and by his endowment of Christian churches, as in the holy places of Palestine. Augustine saw Constantine as protector and advocatus of the church (De civitate dei, V. 25), though he did not mention the endowment of the church. The Donation forgery then, did not so much strike new ground as it attempted to formulate historicity, continuity and 'factuality' for the theory of papal primacy, including papal lordship over temporalities.

By invoking the Donation argument, the clerk is thus proposing an extreme form of the hierocratic argument to demonstrate the papal claims to full temporal sovereignty. He provides a precedent for the lay endowment of the church and implies that the secular ruler's right to govern was wholly a gift from the pope. By this argument, 'nobody could legitimately wield any temporal power which was not conferred by the pope' (W. Ullmann, Medieval Papalism, p. 164; The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages, 2nd ed. (London, 1962), pp. 24-86; 'The Constitutional Significance of Constantine the Great's Settlement', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 27(1976), 1-16).

142 The marginal correction of of to over is crucial. The original of meaning 'from' expressed what a Lollard would have accepted, that the possessions of the pope were granted by the secular ruler who alone enjoyed sovereignty over the temporalities of the realm. The emendation thus corrects the text to the clerk's point of view, perhaps an instance when the dialoguist has adapted straight
discourse to the dialogue form. At D/483, over and of are used in the sense of the superior power exerted by one authority over another.

144-9 'Sir clerk said pe knijt... to take none sich lordschip vpon him' (cf. also D/165-7): an echo of Wyclif's theory of divine dominion, that dominion inheres immediately and primarily only in God; see De dominio divino, as at pp. 16/9-26, 32/13-33/12. The knight thus implies that the Donation was based on a power that Constantine did not in fact have.

149-56 'bot all as Goddes minister in spiritualte': the Donation charter is defined as a pact whereby the pope would fulfil his spiritual role as mediator between God and the civil ruler. The allusion to the legend of the cure from leprosy received by Constantine suggests that the Donation is to be understood as an act of almsgiving and worship (cf. the analogy in Matthew, pp. 377/23-379/24).

157-9 'Naples it was venym... in Goddes chirche': a popular legend going back at least to Odo of Cheriton (thirteenth century), that Constantine's endowment was lamented in the cry of an angel, 'Hodie venenum effusum est in ecclesia Dei'. The legend was exploited by orthodox anticlerical opinion: Robert Holcot cited the legend to illustrate the evils of litigation which resulted from endowment; John of Paris and Dante both regarded it as a source of the church's ills; Langland equated it with the actions of Mede who 'hath apoieid popes'; for Gower it introduced worldliness into the church and resulted in neglect of the pastoral vocation.

In none of these denunciations, however, was there criticism of the papal office per se, scepticism as to the sacramental power of the pope, or denial of temporal power to the papacy; nor is the view advanced that the secular power should be responsible for the revitalization of the clerical ideal by disendowment or by any other means of coercion.

One important precedent does survive for the Wycliffite treatment of the Donation. Marsilius of Padua was sceptical as to the primacy of Rome and the temporal rights of the papacy (Defensor pacis, trans. A. Gewirth (New York, 1965), I. 19. 8; II. 11. 8 etc.).
He claimed that since the time of the Donation the church had been corrupt; that the Donation represented a usurpation of power, founded on Constantine and not on Peter, and was therefore without apostolic sanction.

For Wyclif, the pope and those elevated by him were 'caesarean' clergy, deriving their jurisdiction from the emperor and not from God (De potestate pape, pp. 170/10, 369/20-370/4 etc.). Further, the Donation instituted the historical decline of the church from its primitive perfection so that there could be 'no verrey pope ... fro þo tyme of Silvester pope' (Arnold, III, 455/1-4, 457/14-459; De civilis dominio, II, 196/12-28; Sermones, IV, 132/28-9; Arnold, III, 340/34-341/6; see also Knighton's description of Wycliffite teaching, Chronicon, II, 260).

Netter supported the validity of the Donation ex iure divino against Wyclif on this theme; he also argued that Wyclif was spurning the Fathers of the church: see Doctrinale fidei, Prologus; also II. 2. 20, 3. 31. 45; IV. 3. 33, 37, vol. 1, 3, 343-4, 407, 476-80, 932-5, 945-6; cf. also the condemnation of the Council of Constance, Fasciculus rerum, I, 273, 290-1, and of Roger Dymmok, Liber, pp. 31-34. What is clear from these refutations is that the church found this argument offensive and potentially powerful.

'Ynglarrl was neuer soget to þe emperoure': a specifically national argument is introduced, that no English sovereignty was surrendered to the pope by the Donation. This claim, not in itself heretical, implied the independence and integrity of English law; cf. the Lollard definition of 'þe grete chirche of Rome' as the 'stepmodir' of the church of England (Selections, p. 24/7-8), a relationship which implied a break in legal continuity, as Roger Dymmok concluded in his refutation (Liber, pp. 31-4).

There was precedent for the principle of national sovereignty as between empire, curia and national kingdoms in Clement V's bull 'Pastoralis cura' of 1312/13 (Clementinarum, II. 11. 2; Friedberg, vol. 2, 1151-3). This had denied the political supremacy of the Holy Roman Emperor Henry VII (Ullmann, 'The Development of the Medieval Idea of Sovereignty', English Historical Review, 64 (1949), 1-33). The emergence of independent sovereign states can also be seen as
early as the twelfth century, when 'nationalism was beginning to appear in ideals of patriotic loyalty to State, and patriotism, loyalty to the common fatherland, was becoming a moral value' (Post, Studies in Medieval Legal Thought, p. 496). However, in all the cases cited in these studies, the concept of national autonomy was always accompanied by affirmation of the universal imperium spirituale of the pope, and there was no specific denial of papal jurisdiction over national ecclesiastical temporalities. In the secular thesis of Marsilius of Padua, however, complete secular autonomy was proposed against all papal claims. Thoroughly antipapal, this thesis supported the superior jurisdiction of the empire over the papacy.

Wyclif's peculiarly English antipapalism depended on the fact that England had never been subject to the emperor. He regarded the pope's spiritual jurisdiction as being limited by virtue of the free gifts of English kings to the church, so whatever the specific relationship between the empire and the papacy, this was irrelevant to the situation of the English national church. Wyclif denied the pope's right to claim exactions from the English king and discussed the relations of pope and king (De potestate pape, pp. 226/22-227/32; De ecclesia, pp. 281/21-282/15; De officio regis, pp. 36/28-37/11).

He argued against imperial (and therefore papal) claims over England on three grounds: that the corruption of the emperor had permitted the destruction of the church by allowing temporal lordship to the clergy; that the emperor had not protected his realm by providing proper rule (an allusion to the fall of Rome); and that imperial jurisdiction did not extend to England because of England's geographic and linguistic isolation from the Mediterranean kingdoms; see De officio regis, pp. 249/23-251/11, 261/15-25; and for further discussion E. Tatnall, 'John Wyclif and Ecclesia Anglicana', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 20 (1969), 19-43 at 29.

Two events connected with the schism and the Hundred Years' War may have prompted arguments for English national independence. In 1379 Urban VII negotiated a treaty between the Holy Roman Emperor Wenceslas of Bohemia and Richard II, leading to the marriage of Richard and Anne of Bohemia in 1382. The second was connected with Richard II's own ambition to become the emperor: when the rumour was
spread about in 1397 that Richard II had support among some of the electors, Richard II moved to win papal support for his imperial claim. Both situations entailed an increase of papal influence over English affairs (see Walsingham, Historia Anglicana, II, 46, 222-3; McKisack, The Fourteenth Century, pp. 146, 427, 477).

168-70 'Godes will & moni lawes of divers popes': biblical texts cited against papal plenitude were Romans 13. 1-5, I Peter 2. 13-14, 17; 5. 2, 5; II Timothy 2. 4-5; Titus 3. 1; Matthew 17. 24-7; 22. 17-21; 23. 9-12. Papal laws also forbade clerical cognizance in civil cases, participation in temporal activities or ownership of temporal possessions; e. g. 'Duo iure', and 'Duo sunt guippe', Decretum, I, D. 8. 1, D. 96, 10 and 'Solite', Decretales I. 33. 6 (Friedberg, vol. 1, 12-13, 340-1, vol. 2, 196-8). However, it should be noted that the Wycliffite thesis often rested on a strained and idiosyncratic interpretation of the decrees, especially in the case of the canons 'Duo sunt guippe' and 'Solite' (De officio regis, pp. 44 and 34 respectively).

170-2 'For he were a tyrant': the theme of royal tyranny is introduced as an analogy for the contemporary tyranny of the pope and clergy. The Wycliffite prescription for true kingship excluded tyranny a priori as a form of evil; kings 'schulden not be tirauntus of her pepul, but rewle hem by reson that falles to her state' (Selections, p. 128/26-7; cf. also De officio regis, p. 17/22-34). Nevertheless, Wyclif also advocated that honour was due to the office (De officio regis, pp. 16/3-19/20). He also suggested that loyalty rather than obedience may be due to a tyrannical king, and even that loyalty may properly take the form of rebellion or other resistance (De officio regis, pp. 200/14-201/31; De civili dominio, I, 199-206).

173-5 'pe cardinales clepes pe pope a tyrant': an allusion to the conflict between the papacy and the college of cardinals. Crises had arisen before between the two parties, but the schism of 1378 represented a major breakdown on the matter of election, the issue hinging on the rejection of the conciliar solution by the
ultramontane cardinals who insisted that only a pope could call a council. In this impasse both claimants proved to be tyrants; see Jacob, Essays in the Conciliar Epoch, pp. 3, 30-7; Ullmann, History of Political Thought, pp. 219-22; B. Tierney, Foundations of the Conciliar Theory (Cambridge, 1955), p. 197.

The relative clause of D/175, 'pat es wrongfull aseynes Goddes will', may be a delayed reference to the tyranny of the pope against the cardinals; or as the syntax stands, it may refer to the wishes of the cardinals. Either way, the point is that the cardinals exercise tyranny by their stubborn opposition to God’s will. At one point, Wyclif explained the cardinals’ action as a response to Urban’s attempt to force them to live the apostolic life (De potestate pape, p. 233/10-31. Elsewhere he asserted that the entire papal court, pope and cardinals were tyrannical against the faithful (Trialogus, pp. 448-52; Selections, pp. 122-7; Matthew, pp. 460-82; for further discussion of the theme in Wyclif’s thought, see Leff, Heresy II, 531-4).

179-80 ’in pe first boke of kinges & ... in pe decreez’: I Kings 8 (i.e. I Samuel), the narrative of royal power being delegated by God through Samuel to Saul, to whom absolute authority was granted. The chapter was adduced by Wyclif to support the principle of obedience to the secular ruler, including that of the clergy (De civili dominio, I, 197/31-198/17; 200/11-201/5; III, 28/28-33).

To support his thesis that the clergy is not permitted to deprive the king of divinely bestowed dominion, Wyclif cited canon laws such as Decretum, I, D. 10. 8; D. 21. 1; D. 96. 6; I, D. 10. 8; D. 21. 1; D. 96. 6; Decretum, II, C. 11. 1. 27-8; C. 23. 5. 20-1 (Friedberg, vol. 1, 21, 67-9, 339; 634, 936-7); and Decretales II. 28. 7 (Friedberg, vol. 2, 412). For use of these citations, see e.g. De officio regis, pp. 138-52.

183-5 ’pe pope es Goddes vikere’: from the time of Leo I the term vicarius dei was applied to kings (see note to D/51-3). The application to the pope was a relatively late development in the trend to establish the concept of papal monarchy, a response to the investiture crisis (Kantorowicz, The King’s Two Bodies pp. 90-1, note
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12; Ullmann, *Medieval Papalism*, pp. 16, 50-2, 153-4). However, the distinction may not be intended here, as the clerk has earlier alluded to the orthodox principle (D/51). Wyclif expressly denied that the pope bore the image of God or of Christ except in his humanity.

186-8 'a moni gode men of holi chirch haue bene sayntes': here canonization is taken to imply that clerical dominion was ordained by God. The chief theological basis for the cult of the saints was found in the doctrine of the mystical body of Christ, which stated that all members had their peculiar office (Romans 12. 4-8). The clerk’s interpretation extends the doctrine to imply that the office sanctifies the office-bearer, regardless of the merit of the holder. The knight appears to endorse this at D/200-1.

188-92 'at tyme pe kinge & pe lorde weren in prosperite . . . holi chirch no3t so born doune': this claim is unlikely to have had an analogue in recent English ecclesiastical history in view of the steady increase of the lay power over the church (for documentation see Wilkinson, *A Constitutional History*, III, 377-89; and for discussion, Pantin, *The English Church*, Part I). The clerk’s ironical tone suggests that the claim is rhetorical, though in anti-Wycliffite literature the history of the Levites is cited as an exemplar for the temporal occupations of the sacerdotium (see Woodford, *De causis condemnationis*, Fasciculus rerum, I, 219-20).

196-204 'In gode fai~. . . ne mellid no3t wi~ pe world': the spiritual authority of the pope depends upon his personal merit and his fulfilment of his 'offices to Godward & to pe pupel in spiritualte': i. e. on his renunciation of temporal authority and fulfilment of virtue; cf. *De potestate pape*, pp. 101/23-102/24, 135/13-138/22, 360/28-361/11 etc; or more radically, the tracts of *Polemical Works*, II, 537-714). In the event of default by the pope, the king is granted coercive authority.

200-1 'moni gode men . . . bep sayntes in heuen': the author may refer exclusively to old 'sayntes' whose testimony Wyclif preferred to that
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of modern popes and cardinals (De eucharistia, p. 279); or the
allusion may imply an endorsement of canonization, cautiously hedged
about by the limitation that they should use 'wele & trewliche her
powere', a view less typical than the usually sceptical one (see e.
g. T2/351-2 and note). The doublet 'habbe & bep' can be paraphrased
'have been and still are'.

206-9 'eueri man held him payed wip his state': state is here probably
used in the older sense of 'condition', but the newer sense 'estate'
also fits the context, and the concept seems to underlie the ensuing
remarks in which the doctrine of the three estates is invoked to
advocate the separation of the estates according to the principle of
contract; cf. 'for temperalte and spirituelte ben to partys of holi
chirche, and perfore he pat hath takin him to pe ton schulde nout
medlin him with pe topir' (Selections, p. 26/65-7; De officio regis,
pp. 58/23-65/30; Dialogus, caps 1-2, especially pp. 2/3 - 5/5;

210-11 'pe clergie was so greteli dowid & englaymed wip temperall
possessions': the doublet, used here with ironical force, refers back
to the Donation; cf. Arnold, III, 150/14-17.

212-16 (cf. 416-19) 'Now pe prid dele o pe land es in her handes'. Three
contemporary grievances are conflated here:
(i) the possessorate orders had accumulated real estate by gifts and
endowments which were subsequently amortized and thereby exempt from
all dues (see commentary to D/217-18);
(ii) as a consequence, amortisement, exactions of tribute for the
papacy and taxation immunities were enjoyed by the clergy at the
expense of the Lords Temporal (Polemical Works, II, 419/1-420/11;
'Tractatus de regibus', ed. Genet, p. 14/18-25);
(iii) the impoverishment of the commons was also brought about by
clerical aquisitions and immunities, for these had forced the king to
raise taxation by additional burdens on the commons to the detriment
of the realm (De ecclesia, pp. 338/10-339/8; De civili dominio, II,
6/16-33 etc.; Selections, pp. 129/87-130/91; Arnold, III,
319/33-320/16).
These allegations were not confined to the heterodox context. Petitions and placita on the parliamentary rolls begged the king to consider the heavy burden of taxation borne by the commons alone, specifically that the clergy, because it owned one third of the land, should pay that proportion of the taxation (Rotuli parliamentorum, III, 89-90, 4 Richard II, 1380). There were also petitions against the purchase of land, tenements and rents by the clergy in defiance of the statute of Mortmain, 'plusieurs terres & tenements devenant en mort mayn sans licence du Roy ou d'autres Seignurs des fees. En quell cas, par proces du temps si remede ne soit ent ordine, par consequence ils purront encrocher la greindre partie de ceste Terre, ensemblement ove lour Governaill' (Rotuli parliamentorum, III, 319, 17 Richard II, 1394); see also Wilkinson, Constitutional History, III, 392-407 and Myers, English Historical Documents, pp. 653-63. The present complaint may also reflect the terms of the concordats between Richard II and the papacy. For instance, in 1398 the pope was granted the specific right to collate to one third of all the greater dignities of the realm, and so to have control over 'pe prid dele o pe land': McKisack, The Fourteenth Century, pp. 282-3; English Historical Documents, p. 663.

214 anentisid caused difficulty to the seventeenth-century transcriber who gave it as 'aventisid'. The Anglo-Norman form of the word appears regularly in parliamentary rolls, in the context of pleas for leniency in taxation (e.g. 'anientisment', Rotuli parliamentorum, III, 291).

215 'taxes & opex tallyages', an alliterative collocation found in wills, charters and petitions (cf. 'tribuyt and talage', Piers Plowman C XXI/37). Tallage, one of the three fiscal privileges enjoyed by the English crown in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, gave the right to levy an arbitrary tax on the serfs of the royal demesne, extending this right into the towns and boroughs; Bracton, De legibus et consuetudinibus Angliae, ed. G. Woodbine, transl. S. Thorne, 4 vols, Selden Society (Harvard and London, 1968-77), II, 57-8; Select Charters of English Constitutional History, ed. W. Stubbs, rev. H. W. C. Davies (Oxford, 1929), pp. 493-4); Clarke, Medieval
Tallage might also be levied on vacant bishoprics, but only by consent of the clergy (Wilkins, Concilia, III, 193; Howell, Regalian Rights, pp. 42-4; Clarke, Medieval Representation, pp. 21-32). The right of consent was deplored in Lollard polemic, where Romans 13.1-7 was used to uphold the king’s absolute right to levy taxes (Apology for Lollard Doctrines, p. 76/19-22; Arnold, III, 319/33-320/16).

217-18, 419-28 'And pe clergie saip . . . nost of miust to help pe kinge'. Two arguments on the principle of inalienability of possessions are implicit here:

(i) Contemporary disregard for the statute of Mortmain, 'De religiosis' (7 Edward I, st. 2, 1279, reenacted in 1391). This statute strengthened the legislation of Magna Carta by providing 'that no person, religious or other, whatsoever he be, shall presume to buy or sell . . . or receive of any man, or to appropriate to himself, any lands or tenements whereby such lands or tenements may in any way come into mortmain' (Statutes of the Realm, I, 51, transl. H. Gee and W. J. Hardy, Documents Illustrative of English Church History (London, 1910, repr. 1966), pp. 81-2). The statute was much exploited by the royal custom of selling or giving licences to act against it, especially to the clergy, emphasizing the king's prerogative power of exemption. Langland saw the remedy to lie wholly in the hands of the temporal ruler:

Yf lewede men knewe this Latyn, a litel they wolden aysen hem
Ar they amorteyseyd any more for monkes or for chanons.
Alas! lordes and ladyes, lewede consayle haue þe
to feffe suche and fede þat founded ben to þe fulle
With þat þoure bernes and þoure bloed by goed
lawe may claym!
(Piers Plowman C XVII/53 - 7)

The commons in parliament also complained against the abuse of the statute fearing that the abuse was in the long term detrimental to the Lords Temporal, or that it would benefit alien provisors, including enemies of the realm (Rotuli parliamentorum, II, 356, 50 Edward III, 1376; III, 19, 89-90). The extension of the statute in
1391 included the guilds which were practising alienation in mortmain for the establishment of chantry chapels (A. H. Thomson, The English Clergy and their Organization in the Later Middle Ages (Oxford, 1947), p. 136).

The same complaint is ubiquitous in Wycliffite literature, though oddly Wyclif also favoured patronage in mortmain to theologists (De officio regis, pp. 97/282-34, 162/5-22, 182/25-183/16; cf. Matthew, pp. 117/12-17, 278/34-279/2 368/24-27, 372/30-373/4, 389/13-14, 390/19-391/19, 392/34-393/2; Arnold, III, 240/23-6; ‘Tractatus de regibus’, ed Genet, pp. 14/37-15/2).

(ii) The principle of the proprietary church system is also alluded to here, an aspect of Germanic common law and Roman law principles. Under this system a lord was entitled to build a church on his property and to confer both the living and the office on the clergy of that church. This entitlement left great power over the church in the hands of the lay lords and was thus an effective obstacle to clerical lordship and to papal control over the clergy.

The system was much opposed by the papacy on the grounds that a church was consecrated to God and should therefore be removed from lay control. To this end, a series of forged decretals, including the Donation charter, was published with the aim of abolishing secular control over the clergy, allowing the papacy to take over the central government of the church (W. Ullmann, Law and Politics in the Middle Ages (London, 1975), pp. 127-32, 239; G. Constable, ‘Monastic Possession’, p. 317). Canonical justification was later provided for the dispossession of the lay lord as proprietary owner in favour of episcopal control (Decretum, II, C. 16. 6-7; Friedberg, vol. 1, 798-812; Decretales III. 38. 3-31, ‘De iure patronatus’, Friedberg, vol. 2, 610-21).

219 ‘bi coloure of holi chirche’: a diatribe commonly used against the seductive preaching of the Lollards; see Aston, ‘Lollardy and Sedition’, 278, note 15.

219-20 ‘pai pat ne schuld haue no possessiones bot in almess’: Wyclif made a controversial distinction between ‘pure alms’, elemosina and
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obligatory tithes, decima. He emphasized that the tithes of Jewish law had been replaced by alms under Christ's law (Dialogue, p. 6/16ff.). He also regarded alms as a legitimate means of distinguishing the clergy from the laity (De officio regis, p. 149/22-6; see also T2/18-21); the king alone was authorized to confer alms on the clergy (De officio regis, p. 146/31-4). Wycliffite treatment of the theme was frequently unorthodox and abhorrent to the clerical estate. For example, they held that both alms and tithes should be paid only to a worthy recipient (De blasphemia, p. 254/6-16); responsibility was given to the laity to withdraw alms from an erring clergy; alms were authorized only in so far as there was need; and almsgiving was not considered necessary for salvation (Sermones, IV, 104-12, 479/20-7; Trialogus, pp. 305/22-306/5; De officio pastorali, cap. 8 and in the Lollard version, Matthew, pp. 418-19; see further in Selections, p. 21/81-7 and note; Matthew, pp. 385/27-386/28; and the note to T2/18-35).

A typical Lollard attitude is seen in the homonymic joke that the worldly dominion of the clergy would be better called 'alle a mysse' than 'almes' (Matthew, p. 338/35-6).

220-3 'vnder pe gouernaile of pe kyngle, bope her bodies & her godes': a summary statement of the dictum 'Rex non habet parem' (Bracton, De legibus, II, 33); the present context may contain an allusion to the contentious issue of sanctuary, the provisions for which were contained in canon and provincial law (e.g. Decretales, III, 49, 'De immunitate ecclesiarum', Friedberg, vol. 2, 654-7; Lyndwood, Provinciale, III, 28. 1-2).

Wyclif, responding to the issue on behalf of the government as it had arisen in the acrimonious context of the 'Hauley-Shakyl' affair of 1378, denied that the clergy had any absolute right to this privilege. His answer, extant in De ecclesia, pp. 142-274, asserted the supremacy of the laws of England over papal authority (pp. 281/29-282/15; cf. also De officio regis, pp. 157/29-158/2, 169/20-9). He maintained the king's prerogative to exercise discipline in the interests of the realm (pp. 145/30-147/21, 148/25-151/33), and denied that the privilege could be invoked against the king's authority (pp. 250-72, especially at 252/26-253/7,
This apologia denied the privilege of sanctuary and other clerical immunities, and also the church's right to excommunicate the king's subjects (De ecclesia, pp. 152/14-157/24). The gist of Wyclif's answer was repeated in Lollard contexts, where two evils were consistently collated: 'hat pefte & raueynen & mansleyng & robberie be not meyntened in seyntiwarye vnder colour of priuylegie' (Matthew, p. 280/10-12), because 'kyng & cristene men ben sworen to meyntene eche man in his ri3t & distroie wrong & falsenesse' (12-13); i. e. the church was currently harbouring sin and it was the duty of the government (and implicitly, of Lollard preachers, 'cristene men') to put an end to this hypocrisy; see also Arnold, III, 294/8-23, 316/16-317/19, 323/13-35; Matthew, pp. 134/2-6.

224-6 'Bot paie dissaiue pe pepel', a possible allusion to the petitions placed before parliament by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the wake of the 1378 controversy that the king should remedy the outrage against sanctuary and grant the full liberties of the church (Rotuli parliamentorum, III, 10, 32, 35, 37, 50-1).

227-33 '3ef pe kinge were wele enfourmd. ... wipstonde pe clergie': in Wycliffite terms the king's duty to keep bona et jura ecclesiasticorum illibata (or illaesa) lay in prohibiting the clergy from secular concerns.

MS. marginal references are to Matthew 5. [3], on clerical poverty (cf. De civili dominio, III, 120/17-18); Luke 22. [25-27], exemplifying Christ's prohibition against secular activities being undertaken by the clergy (De civili dominio, IV, 380/29ff.); also listed are I Peter 5. [2-3]; I or II Corinthians 4. [1 or 1-2, 18]. Other pertinent texts were I Peter 2. 5, 13; I Timothy 6. 8; II Timothy 2. 4; Titus 1. 7; Hebrews 5. 1; James 2. 5. For Wyclif's use of some of these texts, see e. g. De civili dominio, 1, 268/17-270/23; IV, 399/33-400/6; De officio regis, pp. 36/3-37/11; cf. also Swinderby's defence of disendowment, using the same authorities, Registrum Trefnant, pp. 264-6. Old testament texts also appropriate include Deuteronomy 18. 1-2; Numbers 18. 8-9; Ezechiel 44. 28-9; Proverbs 30. 8 (for which see De officio regis, p. 60/3-27;
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Dialogus, pp. 6/6-9/21; Trialogus, p. 410/15-18).

232-3 'decrees & decretales': technically the first were the edicts of ecclesiastical councils; the second, the laws issued by the papal court. Marginal references are to 'Si tributum' & capito sequitur, Decretum II, C. 11. 1. 27-8' (Friedberg, vol. 1, 634). Wyclif invoked other 'popes lawes' such as 'Ita dominus', Decretum, D. 19. 7; the canons of the Decretum, II, C. 11. 1. 29; C. 12. 3. 1-4 and 'Solite' (Friedberg, vol. 1, 62, 713-14; 634, 713-14; vol. 2, 196-8); see e.g. De civili dominio, IV, 398/21-7).

234-7 'the first state of pouerte & meke liuynge': an allusion to Matthew 5. 3-5 and 19. 2; cf. Wyclif's description of the state nearest that of innocence, De civili dominio, III, 89/30-7, 108-24 and 160/6-163/6, 168/33-169/8, 172/26-40; and in the Lollard canon, Arnold, III, 494/29-495/3 etc.

238-46 'perfore schuld euerich a man. ... take awaie her worldliche godes': the duty of the laity to correct the clergy (proposed at D/224-6) is here explicated in the practical terms of disendowment, though it does not enlarge on the process of confiscation (as does the 'bill', Selectiones, pp. 135-7). Wyclif's thesis of dominion led to this solution:

Rex debet in casu subtrahere suas elemosinas a nominetenus clericis et restituere eas sancte matri ecclesie. (De ecclesia, pp. 332/20-342/12, at 340/18-20)

Moderate though the present passage is, its implicit antisacramentalism is heterodox. The recommendation that the temporalities confiscated from the church should be redistributed to 'oper gode men pat wolde serve God & holichirch perwip', that is, to those in grace, presumably Lollard preachers, accords with the principle that 'a good priest is worthy of his hire' (see also T2/25-35).

Wyclif claimed precedent for disendowment in divine, canon and civil law; De civili dominio I, 265/29-271/20; II, 4/8-29 and pp. 36-47; and for the citation of canonical texts, see De civili dominio, IV, 458/1-459/37; De officio regis, p. 84/10ff.; De
The Isidorean decretal 'Principes' is frequently cited, though with a strained interpretation, the original intention being altered from its reference to coercion of the pagans to one of coercion of the clergy. For other canons cited by Wyclif in this context, see De civili dominio, II, 131/15-26 and Opera minora, p. 45/6f.; De officio regis, pp. 134/10-23, 154/22-155/29. To this canonical apparatus Wyclif also added the experience of history, the laws and customs of the land, and the authority of Lyra and the weight of reason: 'Si doctor non diceret, racio necessitat, quia aliter ex defectu, divini remedii periret ecclesia' (see e. g. De civili dominio, II, 47-58; De civili dominio, II, 73-383; De ecclesia, pp. 131-40; Trialogus, p. 312f.; De civili dominio, II, 131/26-132/8).

The advocacy of disendowment was not exclusive to Wycliffism, though its application was more radical. Langland attributed to the king and lay lords powers of correction and supervision over the clergy:

Taketh here londe, je lorde, and lat hem lyue by dymes
Yf the kynges coueyte in Cristes pees to lyuene.
For if possession be poysen and inparfit hem make,
The heuedes of holy churche and tho that ben vnder hem,
Hit were charite to deschargen hem for holy churche sake
And purge hem of pe olde poysen ar more perel faile.
(Piers Plowman C XVII/227-32; see also C V/168-72,
XXI/465-76; and cf. Chaucer’s advice to Richard II,
‘Lak of Stedfastnesse’, lines 24-8)

Whereas the poets recommended royal discipline of the clergy, limiting disendowment to 'here londe', that is, to temporal endowments, Wycliffite polemic also commonly included 'spiritualities' as illegitimate ecclesiastical possessions (see D/98-104 and note).

The heretical association of this doctrine was noted by opponents of Lollardy and agreement with the principle was incriminating evidence; see Heresy Trials, pp. 141, 147; Hudson, 'The Examination of Lollards', 153-5, items 13-15; cf. Roger Dymnik's refutation, Liber, pp. 177-9 and Netter, Doctrinale fidei, II. 3. 74;
240 'gode men', a phrase found frequently as self-reference in Lollard vocabulary. There were two possible classes to whom the epithet could have applied: ordained priests of the church, of whatever status, who had subsequently embraced Lollardy and become preachers for the movement. There were also Lollard-ordained priests. Two recorded priests are William Ramsbury, cited for trial in Salisbury in 1389 and John Rayker of Bristol, arraigned c. 1408; on these two, see Hudson, 'A Lollard Mass', 407-12, Kightly, 'The Early Lollards', pp. 239, 313-28; and McFarlane, John Wycliffe, p. 154.

Conceivably, the phrase refers also to the notion of a lay priesthood, a peculiarly Lollard development as expressed in the article abjured by Purvey in 1401 (Wilkins, Concilia, III, 261).

243 'antecrist disciples', i.e. the endowed clergy, whose possessions show that they are opposed to Christ's law of poverty as this was observed by 'gode men'. Wycliffite writings vary as to the definition of the term (though not as to its significance): Antichrist and the pope were often equated (as in De potestate pape, p. 321/26-328/13; Polemical Works, II, 653-92, 698-713, and in dialogue C, where the friars are cast as 'anticristis clerkis'). Antichrist is also defined in plural terms as 'pe confederacie of hem pat azens crist and aboue his gospel magnyfien menny tradiciouns and lawis' (Douce MS. 53, f. 11, cited in Selectione, p. 147, note 95); that is, Antichrist is a symbol of evil, chiefly clerical; see also ME Rosarium, pp. 60-2, especially 60/1-2.

Historically, the figure of Antichrist was associated with Rome, specifically with Nero (ME Rosarium, pp. 60-2), but in general, Wyclif regarded the papacy of Innocent III as having ushered in the age of Antichrist by establishing its policy of plenitude of power over the secular ruler (see further at C/166-79). On its use in Wycliffite, Hussite and Lutheran polemic, F. Saxl, 'A Spiritual Encyclopaedia of the Later Middle Ages', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 5 (1942), 82-134 at 84-95, 131-4.

247-52 'it semep pat pe pope. . . lete sie an hundrep men bodeliche':
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this taunt depends on the doctrine that the king's divinely ordained role was to defend the church, while it was the clergy's to support the king spiritually, and the commune's duty to supply the material means for the king; cf. T2/14ff.

Wyclif defined the duty of the pope to accord with the etymological signification of the name, concluding that 'secus est de nomine pape et aliis nominibus promo officiorum, cum papa dicit principaliter preeminenciam sanctitatis' (De potestate pape, pp. 367/14-368/10).

Reflecting Wycliffite pacifism, this passage implies condemnation of papal involvement with the crusades, expressed mainly against Bishop Despenser's campaign of 1383 to support Pope Urban's crusade against the antipope in Flanders; see Polemical Works, II, 574/3-9, 588-632; De officio regis, pp. 261/1-278/34; Trialogues, pp. 449/30-450/21; Arnold, II, 319/18-29; III, 141/11-142/5, 330/3-19; Matthew, pp. 56/10-15 (with which cf. D/250-2), 73/27-30, 90/29-30; Selections, p. 65/18-20.

This crusade was considered a disgrace by Wycliffites and others for its flagrant abuse of indulgences. Lollards continued to refer to the crusade in their polemic against warfare (and against indulgences) well after the event, as by the author of the Opus arduum in 1389/90 or by Swinderby in 1393 (see Hudson, 'A Neglected Wycliffite Text', 259 for the first and Registrum Trefnant, p. 269 for the second); see also note to T2/355-9.

The present taunt may also allude warningly to the religious military order, the Order of the Passion, founded by Philippe Mezières. The order attracted a number of prominent English courtiers, including at least one Lollard knight, Sir Lewis Clifford (McFarlane, Lancastrian Kings, pp. 178-9).

252-7 'all bihsschopes & ower clerkes ... do wele her office: neglect of spiritual duties had political ramifications. There is an ironical implication in this taunt, that the Lollards, notoriously diligent in preaching, were prohibited by the system of licensed preaching from rectifying the neglect of the clergy. Legislation concerning licensing was applied first to regulate the friars, but was reaffirmed against the Lollards by Arundel in 1407 ('Cum ex
Though admitting some justification for the system, Lollard apologists generally urged or implied that unlicensed preaching should be permitted; see Hudson, 'The Examination of Lollards', 153, item 12; Arnold, II, 11/13-15, 172/26-173/21; III, 332/1-7; Matthew, pp. 55/1-59/28; Selections, pp. 119/9-120/37; ME Rosarium, pp. 85/20, 88/14-20, 90/21ff. The complaints were answered and the system defended by Netter, Doctrinale fidei, II. 3. 70-1, 73, vol. 1, 618, 624, 636-8.

258-60 'It semelp pat pai bene verai traitors to pair kinge'. The issue of treason was topical for the Wycliffites, first because they could invoke it against clerical intrusions into the affairs of the king; and second because of the need to defend themselves against the same charge.

The statute of Treasons, 1352, was extended in 1381, reenacted in 1397 and confirmed by Henry IV in the first year of his reign (25 Edward III, st. 5, c. 2, 1352; 5 Richard II, c. 6; 21 Richard II, cc 3-4; 1 Henry IV, c. 10, 1399). The first statute defined as treasonable any act alienating the royal majesty, including violation of the king, queen or their heirs and companions, any act injuring the public fisc, such as counterfeiting the Privy Seal, the Great Seal or the coin, and any act injuring the subjects of the ruler. The statute of 1397 defined treason more widely to include any act bringing about the death or deposition of the king, withdrawal of liege homage, or an uprising in civil war against the king. In 1404 parliament extended the statute to safeguard members of parliament and their entourage, suggesting that treason was by that date not solely defined as a crime against the majesty of the king but also against God and the people as alternative sources of the king's power (Rotuli parliamentorum, III, 542). For further discussion, see J. Bellamy, The Law of Treason in England in the Later Middle Ages (Cambridge, 1970).

261-6 'sich freres... desaiuep pe kinge and ouer lordes': cf. Trialogus, pp. 373-6. Friars were accused of allowing easy confession
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to their patrons and of using flattery to manipulate the affairs of
the realm to ensure their own financial position; see Arnold, III,
382/15-19, 387/4-24, 393/30-394/9; Matthew, pp. 50/25-31, p. 59/31-5,
271/6-9 etc.; Pierce the Plowman's Crede, p. 27/708-9; Jack Upland,
p. 57/79-84; see also C/101-4.

The friars are also taunted for their infiltration into royal
service, especially as confessors (see D/300ff. for a more general
application). For a century the Dominicans had enjoyed a monopoly as
royal confessors. They were succeeded by Austins, Dominicans and
especially by Carmelites. There may have been a specific target:
Lavenham was a confessor to Richard II until 1383; Kenningham, Diss,
Patrington and Mardisley were all at some time confessors to or in
the patronage of John of Gaunt; the Austins Robert Waldby and Thomas
Ashbourne both enjoyed high government office and in the fifteenth
century the Carmelite Thomas Netter was to prove a successful man of
affairs, cleric, and royal confessor. All were notable opponents of
Wycliffism.

271-9 'pe pope & pe clergie . . . to help of mennes soules': inalienable
property was the visible indication of clerical authority, the
earthly counterpart of heavenly binding and loosing. The whole theory
was developed by the canonists to underpin the definition of the
church as a juristic and governing body, needing 'godes' to be able
to exercise its duty and to bolster the ideal of papal plenitude.
Canons provided against the seizure or other alienation of
consecrated goods or goods pledged by heirs and successors; e. g.
Decretum, II, C. 12. 2. 1-23; C. 14. 5. 3 and 6. 1; C. 17. 4. 17-18;
Decretales, III. 9. 13. 8, 10-13; III. 20. 2 (Friedberg, vol. 1, 739,
742-3; 687-94, 819; vol. 2, 501-16, 525).

Wyclif's denial of the principle of inalienability, as
expressed in the Trialogue, pp. 310/13-311/19, was refuted by Netter,

285-8 'pou nill no3t assent . . . to distroye wiþ all his mi3t': In the
Lollard view, abuses such as simony, pluralities, selling of tithes,
absenteeism, extortions, non-distribution of alms, perpetual alms,
misappropriation of gifts, sale of masses and farming of benefices
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were acts of 'missescreupele' and misspending (Arnold, III, 276-87; Selections, p. 26/73-92; Apology for Lollard Doctrines, pp. 7-13). Provision for reform was included in canon and provincial law; see e.g. Decretum II, C. 1 passim against all forms of simony, or more generally, Decretaies V. 40. 12 (Friedberg, vol. 1, 357ff., vol. 2, 915); Lyndwood, Provinciale, I. 3. 2; III. 4. 4; 5. 1-2 etc.

287 almos n. pl. This form is probably cognate with almous, from Old Norse almusa; or the -os ending may derive from the popular Latin/Old Teutonic form alimosina (OED, MED).

289-97 'pe kinge... schuld take no parte of holichirche godes': an allusion to the distinction between the office and the office bearer. Canon law provided for the sanctity of the office, regardless of the worthiness of the office bearer. Wycliffite theology maintained that the office was vitiated and the sacraments invalidated by the sin of the priest. The argument was put forward to support the thesis of lay dominion and to deny the validity of perpetual alms (see De civili dominio, I, 249-65; II, 107/8-114/2; De blasphemia, p. 184/10-17; Sermones, III, 61/12-27; Matthew, pp. 385/27-386/2, pp. 418/3-14; Lanterne of Li3t, p. 54/14-19; for the condemnation of this aspect of Wyclif's teaching at the Council of Constance, see Fasciculus rerum, I, 267-8.

293-6 The analogy that 'no man schuld here a prestes messe pat he wist had a lemman' derives specifically from the canon 'Nullus missam audiat' (Decretum, I, D. 32. 5-6, Friedberg, vol. 1, 117), and from the general Gregorian tradition that wicked priests are the cause of much mischief (see e.g. Cura pastoralis, caps 1, 2, 14, 64-5).

I cannot ascertain the indistinct marginal references on the foot of folio 12v, but the allusion in the text is to the canon cited above or to others such as Decretum, I, D. 28. 2; D. 31. 4-10; D. 32. 6; D. 81. 12, 15-23; D. 83. 1 (Friedberg, vol. 1, 101, 112ff., 117-19, 284-7, 293), or to the Decretaies, III. 2. 1-10 and 3. 1-10 (Friedberg, vol. 2, 454-60). English canon law included the same injunctions, as in Lyndwood, Provinciale, III, 2. 1, 3. 1-2 and especially V. 16. 8.
For Wyclif's citation of the same principle, see De officio regis, p. 154/6-21 and for Lollard examples, see Matthew, pp. 287/12, 418/15-17; Arnold, III, 164/3-11, 224/6-225/23; Apology for Lollard Doctrines, pp. 37/12-40/3; Selections, p. 25/25-35. The present wording compares with the Lollard assertion that 'synne of heresie is fer more þenne is synne of lecherie', Trinity College Dublin, MS. 245, f. 139. This compares with Wyclif's proposition, 'quod si episcopus vel sacerdos existat in peccato mortali, non ordinat, non consecrat nec baptizat' (the fourth conclusion condemned by the convocation of 1382; Wilkins, Concilia. III, 157; cf. also Selections, p. 25/21-22, concerned with unworthy ordination).

The same complaint, though without the heterodox conclusion, sometimes extended into orthodox contexts, as in Piers Plowman C III/186-9; Dives and Pauper, I. 2, 107-9. So too, the commons in parliament asserted that clerks of the church 'openly hold their concubines as a slander and a bad example to the realm', a complaint filed as part of a petition in 1372 (Rotuli parliamentorum, II, 313-14, items 1, 2; for a comment on such a complaint, see the General Prologue, WB, p. 51).

298-309 'vengeaunce for all dedeli synnes... Godd & þe world attones':
dereliction of pastoral duties was a more serious infringement of vows as it amounted to sacrilege and misuse of office (cf. De simonia, pp. 44/30-45/22; Arnold, III, 164/11-23). Criticism of the secularization of the clergy, often for financial gain, is expressed in terms of the 'caesarean' nature of the priesthood in contrast to the life of devotion and spiritual activity (De civili dominio, I, 162-85; De blasphemia, pp. 261/3-264/21. 183/3-22; 'Tractatus de regibus', ed. Genet, pp. 8-9; Matthew, pp. 13/10-20, 65/1-27, 168/14-24, 195/28ff.; 242/1-10 etc.).

For verbal parallels with the present passage, see Matthew p. 242/4-10 and the second article of the 'Thirty-Seven Conclusions of the Lollards', printed by H. F. B. Compston, English Historical Review, 26 (1911), 742.
The Glossa ordinaria interpreted II Timothy 2. 4 as vindicating the clergy's exemption from manual labour; Lyra suggested that the text implied a superior position for the clerical estate.

308 'pe gospell': i. e. Matthew 6. 24 or Luke 16. 13. Lyra treated the text as distinguishing between the disciples of two contrary masters and their objectives.

310-25 'no lorde schuld... have no preste': the parable of the unjust steward (Luke 16. 1-12) is adduced as an exemplum to reinforce the argument against the employment of priests in secular office. The exemplum turns on the injustice meted out to the lord, as the biblical analogue does. The illustration is common in Wycliffite writings, especially in the context of the separation of the secular from the ecclesiastical estate ('De paupertate Christi', Opera minora, pp. 48/10-49/26; Sermones, I, 271/35ff., III, 16-23; De blasphemia, pp. 93/27-94/9, 284/17-36). There is a close verbal resemblance between the present passage and the injunction of Matthew, p. 394/3-18. Among other allegorical representations of the same evil is that of the castle being overrun by the enemy (Matthew, p. 149/10-27) and of the manor house infiltrated by friars (Pierce the Plowman's Crede, pp. 13/354-14/367).

The evils of a secularized, politicized clergy were a concern among orthodox critics. Langland, for instance, was concerned with the division of duties among the three estates, defending clerical exemption from manual and military service, and enjoining lords to 'constreyne no cleric to no knaues werkes... /Clerkes ycrownd... /Sholde nother swynke ne swete ne swerian at enquestes/ Ne fyhte in no vawarde ne his foe greue' (Piers Plowman C V/53-58).

Parliamentary petitions also criticized the Lords Spiritual for overstepping their ecclesiastical function by participating in political affairs, packing parliament and using their veto to determine secular events by means which included connivance with clerical evasions of the statutes against provisors (Rotuli parliamentorum, III, 348, for 1397). There was discontent that patronage was often motivated more by political considerations than...
by spiritual need, and that appointment of prelates to government
posts resulted occasionally in the mingling of disparate loyalties
(Thompson, The English Clergy, p. 105). Certainly there was some
conflict of duty as Langland and Gower both noted (see Piers Plowman
C V/61-81; Vox clamantis, III. 9, 12, in The Major Latin Works of
Gower, transl. E. W. Stockton (Seattle, 1962), pp. 130-4). There is
also evidence that clerical reform was undertaken effectively; for a
survey of dual-career bishops and analysis of the effect on the
relationship between church and state, see Pantin, The English
Church, pp. 9-46.

The ambivalence deprecated by the Lollards may have been
discernible only to those for whom the system operated unfavourably,
as it did for the Lollards when Arundel was both chancellor of the
realm and Bishop of Ely and later, Archbishop of York, 1386-9, 1391-6
(Richardson, ‘Heresy and the Lay Power’, 18-19). It is also likely that
the dual interests of Adam Houghton and Ralph Erghum, both members of
the Bruges commission of 1374-5, affected the outcome of the
negotiations; on the curial preferment received by those ambassadors,
see Walsingham, Historia Anglicana, I, 317. Certainly there was some

320 ‘pe deueles moupe’, a metaphor for hell. The concept was given
graphic depiction as a yawning dragon or monster, especially in
illuminations of mystery plays and in doom murals; see A. Hone,

326-35 ‘A leue Ser. . . to gouerne pe pepil to helpe of soule’: this
reductio ad absurdum anticipates the Wycliffite assertion that the
pope and the clergy are not necessary to the continuance of the faith
(see D/351-65). The orthodox view was that the church held the
monopoly of the means of grace, but this spiritual role of the church
had to be ratified by full temporal autonomy.

336-44 ‘and perfor Ser, be wele war. . . pat it schulld be so’: the
clerk’s taunt against Lollardism summarizes some of the main charges
against the sect, expressing the common complaint that Lollards,
including laymen, had presumed upon the areas reserved for the
church’s jurisdiction, especially preaching and the exposition of
doctrine; see Knighton, *Chronicon*, II, 151-2, 186-8. Friar Daw, the pilgrim friar of Canterbury and Langland’s friar all showed traditional hostility to laymen and sensitivity to the distinction between clerks and ‘burel folk’ (*Jack* Upland, p. 85/386-95; *Summoner’s Tale* IV/1870-5; *Piers Plowman* C XI/54-6).

John Purvey was one who may have qualified as a ‘borell clerk’, a priest with little formal learning, *capellanus simplex*, though he was also admitted to be ‘librarius Lollardorum’ and ‘doctor eximius’, remarks perhaps intended as a slight on the status of learning in the movement as a whole (Knighton, *Chronicon*, II, 178; *Doctrinale fidei*, II. 3. 70, vol. 1, 619). Swinderby of Leicester (see note to D/20-4) and William Smith drew the same taunt, and a generation later, William White of Norwich.

Among the laity who may also have qualified as ‘borell folk’ and the butt of the clerk’s taunt was Walter Brut, a small landowner from the Marches, evidently with some university training and certainly revealing competence in his defence (*Registrum Trefnant*, pp. 285ff.). Sir John Clanvowe’s homiletic piece *The Two Ways* (ed. V. Scattergood, Cambridge, 1977) also provides evidence that the laity was ‘taking the clergy’s words out of their mouth’ (McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings*, pp. 201-6). The records of heresy trials reveal the personalities of many preachers and patrons of the movement aptly described by the epithet; see Kightly, ‘The Early Lollards’; *Heresy Trials*, ed. Tanner; Thomson, *The Later Lollards*; and the review article by M. Aston, ‘William White’s Lollard Followers’, *Catholic Historical Review*, 68(1982), 469-97.

The currency of the debate can be seen in orthodox pleas for ecclesiastical reform, where the same disparagement was voiced against unsophisticated men dabbling in theology: ‘Isti laici qui nesciunt litteras volunt se smater de profundissima clerimonia, movebunt alta materias, petent arduas questiones difficiles alicui clerico ad solvendas’ (quoted by R. Haines, ‘Church, Society and Politics in the Early Fifteenth Century’, *Studies in Church History*, 12 (1975). 153, note 75); for other examples, see *Selections*, p. 179/305ff. Netter condemned the activities of ‘borell clerks’ when he asserted the superiority of the clergy over the vulgari (*Doctrinale fidei*, III. 1. 15, vol. 1, 747-8).
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345-50 'Lo, said the knight... pai bere the swerde': the sword symbolized the secular ruler and his temporal power. Wyclif cited Romans 13. 1-7 on the doctrine of obedience due to the secular ruler, and related texts such as Titus 3. 1, I Timothy 2. 2, 6. 1, I Peter 2. 13-15. He also used these texts against the papal argument of the two swords to argue that the Lords Temporal enjoyed the right of coercive punishment of the church by disendowment. The essential heterodoxy of his position lay in its association of the sword allegory with a programme advocating coercive reform of the clergy by the laity; see e.g. De officio regis, pp. 6/7-7/15, 78/33 - 79/11, 186/2 - 33, 239/4 - 242/24; Trialogus, p. 378/8 - 14; Arnold, III, 478/36 - 479/2.

In contrast was Chaucer's orthodox expression, that 'the swerd... jeuen first to a knyght... signifieth that he sholde defende hooly chirche and nat robben it ne pilen it' (Parson's Tale X/766). This was essentially the interpretation provided by the Glossa ordinaria, that all men, lay and priest, are subject to the coercive judgment of the lay power, or by Bracton's scheme, that the sword signified the just end of the state, and that it was the duty of the king and other powerful men under the king to defend the realm and the people of God (De legibus, II, 32-3, 110).

The same view was being argued in orthodox circles in favour of secular coercion to end the schism, that the lay power had a responsibility to call a council which would coerce the anti-pope, where the secular ruler would act on behalf of the church. This argument was based on the principle 'Bonus enim imperator querit auxilium ecclesiae, non refutat' Decretum II, C. 23. 8. 21, Friedberg, vol. 1, 959-61; see further in M. Harvey, 'Two "Questiones" on the Great Schism by Nicholas of Fakenham, OFM', Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, 70 (1977), 97-127).

351-65 'it were als gode... it was scho no prestes'. The view that the priesthood was not necessary for the continuance of the faith was a common conclusion in Wycliffite anticlericalism (anticipated by the clerk at D/328); such a view led logically to a denial of the necessity of the priesthood for salvation and notion of the priesthood of all believers. Here the knight prevaricates with the
ambiguous hope that there will be 'som gode prestes', i.e. Lollard priests, to maintain the faith.

355 'pe bileue of holichirch schall neuer faile', John 10. 27-9, a text which could be interpreted as referring to the church as the body of the predestined, the faithful elect. By the tacit definition of the church as consisting of both the actual (the church militant) and the ideal (the church triumphant), the continuance of the faith was assured, at least in the ideal, invisible church of the saints in heaven.

The doctrine of the unity of the church, as expressed in Paul's metaphors of the mystical body of Christ and the bride of Christ, implied by definition a continuing body of the faithful and an assurance of the perpetuation of the church's faith (Romans 12. 5, I Corinthians 6. 15, II Corinthians 11. 2 and Ephesians 5. 25-7, 32).

The Wycliffite view of the church as the universitas predestinatorum maintained that all who were in sin were excluded from the church triumphant (De ecclesia, pp. 72/11-75/6, 438/6-440/4; Selections, pp. 115/4-116/10; see further in Leff, Heresy II, 430, 516-20). The orthodox position was that the church consisted of both good and bad, a mixture of the reprobate and the elect, for which Matthew 15. 1 was a key text (see De civitate dei, XIV. 26-8, XVIII. 49 and XX. 9). Netter, confuting the Wycliffite doctrine of predestination, contended that all the apostles committed sin when they lost faith, yet were not excluded from the church (Doctrinale fidei, II. 2. 8-11, vol. 1, 274-95).

361-5 'I haue biden... 3it was scho no preste'. Luke 22. 31, a text also used in De potestate pape, p. 45/13-22 with respect to the virgin's faith. Exegesis of Matthew 26. 25 from the late twelfth century included the view that faith continued in Mary at the time of the crucifixion (cf. Selections, p. 18/57-8), though there appears to be no analogue for the heterodox inference that the priesthood was therefore indispensable (see Hudson, 'A Lollard Quaternion', 440; Selections, pp. 125/129-126/146; 199, note 132).

372-80 'a borell clerk... reulid and gouernid': criticism of clerical
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Ignorance was common in orthodox criticism such as that stemming from the promulgations of the Fourth Lateran Council (Pantin, The English Church, pp. 189-195). The present complaint, that priests have forsaken divinity (i.e. biblical study) for secular study or for canon law, particularizes the area of clerical ignorance most despised by the Lollards; cf. Matthew, p. 156/7-10, 20-32, 157/17-158/16, 167/20-168/2 etc.

376 'blynde Baiard': this proverbial comparison expresses the metaphorical idea of the blind leading the blind (of Matthew 15. 14); cf. Piers Plowman C IX/260-1. Bayard, the name of the bay steed given by Charlemagne to Renard, became a byname for any horse (see Bennett, Chaucer at Oxford and Cambridge, p. 8). For other proverbial usage, see Canon's Yeoman's Tale VII/1413), Confessio amantis, III/44, VI/1280, Jack Upland, p. 104/88-90 and Lanterne of Li3t, p. 69/4-10, and Whiting, Proverbs, Sentences and Proverbial Phrases, ... before 1500 (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), B71.

380-5 'a doctore of decrees ... soure aynw lawe be aleggid a3ayne 3owe': the knight's ironical claim that his criticism is supported by canon law neatly 'spoils the Egyptians'; that is, the ecclesiastical position is condemned by the very authorities the church itself alleges as binding.

Wyclif regularly argued the importance of canon law for his own position, as in De officio regis, p. 237/28ff; Opera minora, p. 23/4-13. The copious use of canon law by Wyclif and the Lollards to support their case suggests the inference that they continued to view canon law as binding and authoritative, and that in principle they accepted its universality, even if not its application to England.

This view is also implicit in many Lollard tracts, especially those containing proof-lists, e.g. Apology for Lollard Doctrines, the appendix to the tract 'The clergy may not hold property', Matthew, pp. 393-404, Lanterne of Li3t, and in the tracts on the eucharist, Selections, pp. 110-12 and Cambridge University Library MS. Ff. 6. 31 (3), ff. 27v-37v., though in all these cases the Wycliffite position frequently depended on a distortion of canon law.
394-6 'I am þe kinges legeman': this protestation suggests that the warning of D/258-60 has conveyed a topical allusion. The clerk’s defence may be connected with the issues on which the clergy were charged with treason, or it may be an answer to the knight’s charge that clerical negligence of spiritual duties was treasonable.

Wyclif defined a liegeman as one who was from birth subject to the king’s law, so by this reckoning a man owning property in two kingdoms would owe double allegiance, a situation deplored by Wyclif (adducing Matthew 6. 4); therefore priests must be regarded as the king’s subjects enjoying protection under his law and also punished by it. Wyclif saw this relationship as a condition of apostolic perfection, allegiance paid to the king being a reflection of that given to God (De officio regis, pp. 4/35-5/33, 198/31-199/9, 202/24-204/20; Arnold, II, 88/19-89/2; Selections, p. 130/92-8, 123-131/131). With these essentially spiritual concerns, cf. Langland’s pragmatism in the C-text, that constitutionally any lord, temporal or spiritual, had the right to expect loyalty from those to whom they had granted ‘lond or lordschip oper large þeftes’ (Piers Plowman C III/314-22).

397-405 ‘þe kinge es lord . . . þe lawe of holi chirche bereþ wittnes’. The clerk appears to concur with the distinction between temperalite and spiritualte (D/98ff.), but the subsequent remarks show that he uses the term spiritualte in a double sense, claiming the pope’s dominion not only over the inviolable revenues of the church, but also over the revenues from the temperalite. See note to D/98-104.

The clerk follows the orthodox position, that papal lordship and rights of conferment were an inherent aspect of the separation of the clergy from secular activities (Grosseteste, Epistolae, ed. H. Luard, Rolls Series 25 (London, 1861), p. 145; 'Licet ecclesiarum', Sexti III). 4. 2, Friedberg, II, 1021).

409 'moup. . . hert': an allusion to Matthew 12. 34, 15. 18, where Christ reproved the scribes and pharisees. This doublet, carrying the connotation of hypocrisy, connected with Wycliffite confessional theology which contrasted public and private confession, the external expression and the real intention. In Trinity College Dublin MS. 245,
f. 143v the 'hert' is coupled with inner satisfaction and the 'mou~e' with mere outward satisfaction; the polemicist adds that 'It is reservid to pe dome of pe reder to whiche it raper to consente'; cf. Piers Plowman C XI/53-4:

Clerkes and knyhtes carpen of god ofte
And haen muche in here mouthe, ac mene in her herte.

The doublet is also found in a complimentary sense, the testimony of the 'moup' reinforcing the belief of the heart (Apology for Lollard Doctrines, p. 47/31).

416-25 'Lo, how openliche . . . pe gouernaile of pe clergie':
inalienability and amortizement of land operate against regalian rights; cf. here Wyclif's similar fear:

Si omnia illa bona quibus dotatur nostra ecclesia immediate et directe pertinenter ad papam, sic quod rex non habeat interesse in possessionibus vel personis, cum plus quam quarta pars regni sit devoluta ad manum mortuam, sequitur quod rex noster non sit rex tocius Anglie, cum plus quam quarta pars in manu mortua est decisa. (De ecclesia, p. 338/21-8)

This criticism belongs to the context of the Hundred Years' War, when the link between the king's loss of material wealth and his loss of sovereignty was apparent to those who had to find the resources for that war, prompting the reenactment of the statutes of Provisors and Praemunire in 1390, 1393. There are some verbal parallels between these statutes and the present complaint:

The pope of Rome . . . does give and grant the same benefices to aliens, who never dwelt in England . . .; in this way, if these should be suffered, there would scarcely be any benefice within a short time in the said realm which would not be in the hands of aliens . . . . And now it is shewn to our lord the king . . . by the grievous complaint of all the commons of his realm, that the grievances and mischiefs aforesaid do daily abound, to the greater damage and destruction of all the realm of England . . . and a great part of the treasure of the said realm is carried away and spent out of the realm by the purchasers of such graces . . . . (13 Richard II, st. 2, Provisors)

And also it is said, and a common clamour is made,
that the said holy father the pope has ordained and purpose to translate... without the king's assent and knowledge...; by which translations, if they should be allowed, the statutes of the realm would be defeated and made void... and the substance and treasure of the realm shall be carried away, and so the realm be destitute as well of council as of substance, to the final destruction of the same realm; and so the crown of England, which has been so free at all times, that it has been in no earthly subjection, but immediately subject to God in all things touching the royalty of the same crown, and to none other, should be submitted to the pope, and the laws and statutes of the realm by him defeated and made void at his will, to the perpetual destruction of the sovereignty of our lord the king, his crown, and his royalty, and of all his realm, which God defend. (16 Richard II, c. 5, Praemunire: both citations are quoted from Bettenson, Documents of the Christian Church, 2nd ed. pp. 167-8, 171).

425-7 ‘pan were he no kinge, bot as kinge in a somer game... paintid on a wall’: these two similes add rhetorical colour. ‘Somer game’, as the term is used in Piers Plowman B V/413, refers to sports played at the midsummer festival, June 23, the eve of the feast of St John Baptist. Langland couples it with ‘harlotrie’ to emphasize the wantonness and shameful triviality of Sloth. Other literary usage suggests that the term connoted shame and recklessness, as in the Wife of Bath’s Prologue, III/648; Handlyng Synne, 4681 etc., and in the Lollard piece at Matthew, p. 246/24. In the present passage the effect is startling and the sense unequivocally pejorative.

The other simile, ‘as a kinge paintid on a wall’, evokes a sense of the transitory and ephemeral nature of the king’s authority; cf. Chaucer’s related metaphor, ‘a shadwe vpon a wal’, referring to the worthlessness of riches and worldly honour (Parson’s Tale X/1068, Merchant’s Tale IV/1315, Shipman’s Tale VII/9). Two contemporary portraits of Richard may be relevant, the Westminster portrait, c. 1388-90 and the Wilton dyptych, c. 1395-6. In neither portrait does the king bear the demeanour of a temporal ruler; the religious significance of the figure is uppermost. On the Westminster portrait, see M. Rickert, Painting in Britain in the Middle Ages, Pelican History of Art (London, 1954), pp. 175-6, who remarks that the artist ‘has caught... something of the tragic character of King Richard - a man young in years and in the lineaments of his face but old in experience, though bitter and sad rather than wise’. On the religious

429-40 'noþinge þat es ones in þe clergie hondes . . . all be in prestes handes.' The knight uses a sophistical refutation by *reductio ad absurdum* to illustrate the logical absurdity of the argument for inalienability by mortmain.

The device is perhaps also intended to demonstrate the knight's own penchant for and scorn of sophistic logic. Wyclif used the same kind of *argumentum ad absurdum* to counter the clerical contention that things consecrated could not be sold nor the money used to purchase goods (*De officio regis*, p. 208/18-24). For an early 'solution' to this old dilemma, cf. the wording of an undated statute (Henry III - Edward II): 'And if a Clerk or Person Religious do sell his Corn being in his Barn, or other where, to any Man for Money, if the Price thereof be demanded before a Spiritual Judge, the King's Prohibitioner doth lie; for by the Sale the Spiritual are become Temporal, and so Tithes pass into Chattles' (*Statutes at Large*, ed. Owen Ruffhead, rev. C. Runnington, 10 vols (London, 1786), I, 185).

448-53 'holi chirch schall be born doune': the Wycliffite fears of clerical usurpation were grossly exaggerated. Secularist, antipapal theory was available as in the ideas of Marsilius of Padua and Ockham, which gave an intellectual stimulus to the secular challenge to clerical dominion and privileges (*Pantin, The English Church*, Part I; *McKisack, The Fourteenth Century*, ch. 10; see also the summary of clerical complaints in the note to D/3-12).

456 'Iak Raker or a lewd prest': presumably a proverbial simile reinforcing the charge of hypocrisy levelled against the clergy for their ignorance of divine and canon law and their involvement in temporal affairs. The use of the generic or type-name 'Iak' for 'anyone' is well attested in proverbs, while the surname, perhaps cognate with Rocker, Rucker and Rooker, may designate a place of residence, 'dweller at the rock' (as 'Symme at noke designates Sim by the oak, *Piers Plowman* A V/115). The name is also found as an
occupational name for a distaff maker or a spinner, derived from 'rok', a distaff (of uncertain etymology but common in Teutonic languages), or for a nursery attendant, one who rocks the cradle (for crepundarius and cunabulator, OED, sb. 2). It appears as a surname in the accounts of Elizabeth of York, 1503, and satirically in Dickens's Mr Roker, chief turnkey at the Fleet. See P. H. Reaney, *Dictionary of British Surnames*, 2nd ed (London, 1976); B. Cottle, Penguin *Dictionary of Surnames* (London, 1967).

The name lacks any connotation of learning, professional competence or piety and devotion, characteristics which should have been attributed to the clerk, suggesting that it is used satirically, like the Christian names of the 'lecherous lorellis' of the choir in the Lollard tract in Matthew, p. 192/26-7. Some of the many names used by Langland indicate occupation without having any obvious satirical or attributive implication; they acquire a connotative sense by virtue of the context. 'Iacke Vplond' of the Lollard poem also belongs to this class, his name designating 'a certain vplandish and simple ploughman of the countrey' (Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, 2nd ed. (1570)).

457-61 'For it es þe maner of all sich lewde iauels. . . venyme in joure hert': since these are the formulae with which the knight closes the debate, the present taunt is intended ironically, as another insinuation of the clerk's hypocrisy.

466-76 'In so mich þat me þinkeþ. . . be autorite of Saynte Poule': a further statement of the distinction between 'spiritualite' and 'temperalite', derived from Romans 13. 4; cf. *De officio regis*, pp. 121/33-122/3, 138/1-13, 143/25-34.

471 godeli, though adverbial in form, has been retained as cognate with godlib, n. 'good life', in view of its use in *Troilus and Criseyde*, I, 458.

477-84 'Sir Knijt. . . here ben two swerdes': the clerk adduces the allegory based on Luke 22. 36-8 which had been incorporated into the hierocratic argument for papal plenitude. Papalists made much of the
fact that in the coronation ordines the sword was conferred on the king by the bishop. Building on the premise that everything exists for a spiritual purpose and is therefore under the jurisdiction of the clerical authority, they claimed that the sword had been granted to the popes on the authority of Peter, to symbolize the ultimate power of the pope over both the secular and the spiritual spheres. The king was regarded as a minister or auxiliary to the priest, deriving his executive power from God through the mediation of the pope. For further discussion, see Ullmann, A History of Political Thought, pp. 124-7; Wilks, The Problem of Sovereignty, pp. 261ff. and Tierney, ‘Some Recent Works’, 596-8.

The Glossa ordinaria and Lyra suggested a mystical interpretation for the text, following Ephesians 6. 17, that one sword is the word of God and the other is wielded in self-defence or in defence of the master. Netter held that both temporal and spiritual power had been conferred on the papacy (Doctrinale fidei, II. 3. 50, vol. 1, 501-2; see also Woodford, De dominio civili clericorum, ed. Doyle, 78; Dymok, Liber, pp. 148/ 15-149/17).

487-93 'Parde, pou wost wele... ne smyte wi no temperall sword': the knight adduces Matthew 26. 51-2 and John 18. 10-11, the narrative of the garden of Gethsemane, when Peter's use of the sword was reproved by Christ. Wyclif distinguished between the material and spiritual swords. He argued that both, understood in a mystical sense, belonged to the whole church militant, but were only to be borne by temporal lords as a symbol of their temporal dominion, to defend the law, to subdue evil and to protect the church in accordance with the doctrine of the estates (De civilis dominio IV, 397/14-398/7; Sermones, I, 253/2-10; Trialogus, p. 450/5-16; Polemical Works, I, 278/8-17, 286/4-13; Arnold, III, 141/11-29, 259/5-22, 263/31-265/34 etc; Matthew, pp. 370/13-28). This exegesis could have been derived from Lyra's gloss, that it was the divine duty of the secular ruler to punish evil.

The theme also had a pacifist perspective; the clergy had neither the power to bear arms nor to coerce civilly, whether for personal benefit or for a secular cause (De officio regis, pp. 122/3-123/27, 270/3-19; De civilis dominio, IV, 449/3-23). Such an
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argument was relevant to two contemporary conditions about which the Wycliffites complained: the Despenser crusade in particular was reproved by Wyclif and his followers; the other was concerned with the increasing incidence of military service expected of the clergy; on the second, see B. McNab, 'Obligations of the Church in English Society: Military Arrays of the Clergy, 1369-1418' in Order and Innovation in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Joseph R. Strayer, ed. W. C. Jordan and T. F. Ruiz (Princeton, 1976), pp. 293-313, where the question is raised as to possible links between this growing trend and the rise of Wycliffism.

488 'Malcus here': the narrative of Malchus enhances the spiritual sense of the allegory: 'for si Crist helid Malcus ere, he wolde not þat he hadde hurte him werse' (Arnold, III, 264/11-17); cf. Augustine's specific denial that the incident precluded Peter's primacy, because immediately afterwards Christ enjoined Peter to be the pastor of the flock, just as Moses had been made rector of the synagogue in spite of his outrage against the Egyptian (Contra Faustum 22. 70, cited by Grabowski, 'Saint Augustine and the Primacy of Rome', 100, note 67).

492-3 'þe swerde of þe goste': while the clergy was denied the material sword, the spiritual sword, scripture, was urged as their responsibility. John 18. 10-11, Ephesians 6. 17 and Hebrews 4. 12 were key texts to support the mystical exegesis of the allegory and to reinforce the distinction between the secular and the spiritual jurisdiction of the clergy: 'And so it semþ þat þes wordis of Crist menþþ two jurisdicciouns, as spiritual and seculer. ... but as Seynt Poul techþþ, þat Crist menþ swerd of þe tunge, þat is, spiritual swerdis and lyflyche word of oure God' (Arnold, III, 265/17-25; cf. De civili dominio, III, 352/34-353/34). The 'papalist' text of Luke 22. 36-8 was also pertinent, interpreted according to the principle 'Reddite Caesari ' of Luke 20. 25; see e. g. Matthew, pp. 370/13-372/4.

497-9 'þe kinge & oþer lordes schuld constreyne wiþ þe swerde': for a parallel to the present passage, see De veritate sacrae scripturae, III, 235/23-237/5. To support the contention as to the correction of
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the clergy by the laity. Wyclif cited the Isidorean canon of Decretum II, C. 23. 5. 20 (Friedberg, vol. 1, 936-7) and other canons such as Decretum I, D. 10. 7-9; II, C. 23. 5. 25, 40 (Friedberg, vol. 1, 21, 938, 941).

500-3 'Ser Clerk, yeue it vp. . . bope in temperalte & in spiritualte': with this summation of the thesis of the dialogue, compare Wyclif's concern with the relative and divided authority of the two estates, the royal and the sacerdotal:

Quantum autem ad potestatem regendi rempublicam ille habet maiorem cui deus comisit virtutem ad regendum populum efficacius conformiter legi sue. . . . Potestas secularis sibi interdicitur et potestas spiritualis est sibi abscondita. Secularis autem potestas est mundo patula, et sic ordinavit deus prepositum cleri precellere in sacerdotali officio ex humilitate refrenante superbiam secularis. . . . Sic ergo videtur quod regalis potestas sit simpliciter maior quo ad temporalitatem quam sacerdotalis potestas, que est longe alterius racionis. Et tamen sacerdotalis potestas est maior quoad spiritualitatem. . . . (De officio regis, pp. 142/8-24, 33-143/4).
A DIALOGUE BETWEEN RESON AND GABBYNG

Trinity College Dublin MS. 245 (C. 5. 6)

1-5 'God moue> hooly churche. . . Crist & pe fende'. The introduction of the Dialogus concerns the language of communication and the form of the tract. It advocates the greater attraction of the Latin tongue: 'lingua latina plus regulariter dilatatur atque extensius, visum est quibusdam quod sentencia catholica collecta fidelibus in vulgari reseretur communius in latina' (Dialogus, p. 1/2-4). The vernacular work prevaricates. By allowing 'many maner of spechis', it appears to reflect the debate on the use of English for theological concerns, expressing either neutrality, or a mild apology for the principle of translation.

As for the use of dialogue form, Wyclif explained its use for delight and clarification, implying a claim for the rhetorical and intellectual value of the form: 'multi delectantur in loquela dialogi, moventur a deo duas personas adducere. . . que per modum disputacionis loquuntur in ista materia alternatim' (Dialogus, p. 1/6-9).

4-5 'Reson & Gabbyng, whech ben Crist & pe fende': a synopsis of Wyclif's allegorical exegesis where references to John 14. 6 (Veritas) and John 8. 44 (Mendacium) clarify the allegorical and polemical function of the two names (p. 1/3-12). For the use of Veritas for Christ and Mendacium and Lucifer as bi-names for Diabolus, see also Trialocus, De civili dominio, I, 17/24 etc.; Sermones, II, 148/8; in 'De diabolo et membris eius', Veritas and Diabolus appear as two contraries, one representing the predestinati and the other, the presciti (Polemical Works, I, 361/6-362/12).

Gabbyng, 'lies', 'deceit', is a common word in Lollard polemic; 'Sipphen gabbynge is rote of al manere yuel, gabbynge upon crist is ground of o perverse synnes. . . for such a blasfeme vpon crist god & man wole destroye cristendom' (e. g. Trinity College Dublin MS. 244, f. 212v.).

6-13 Reson: 'Sip I am God. . . pe werkis of him pat sent me'. The Latin changes to the impersonal form. Both texts are inconsistent in their use
of the personal pronouns, suggesting that both may represent a reworking
from a scholastic disputation. The vernacular version (lines 8–11)
reduces the original epitomization, to present a more concrete
version of the Latin (pp.1/17-2/3). In the same way, the
English of lines 7–8, 'alle men penn nc ... in bere conscience'
provides a concrete synopsis of the Latin 'racio exigit ...
regulentur' (p.1/15-17). The sense of these lines is amplified
by the explanation of the English 'Wherfore I bad pe Iewis ...
be weriks of him pat sent me' (11–13), based on John 10.24-35,
an addition to the original.

14–15 'I departid my churche in pre parties, in lordis, prestis & comynys'.
Some MSS. of the Latin version rubricate this section 'divisio ecclesie
militantis in tres partes in qua continue declarat officia parcium
eiusdem ecclesie usque ad capitulum' and 'Ecclesia dividitur in tres
partes'. These draw attention to Wyclif's definition of the church in
terms of the doctrine of the three estates, as the mystical body of
Christ whose identity was known only to God, comprising all those
predestined on earth; an animated, rational body, a human community of
the three orders of society (De ecclesia, p. 423/23-30; Opera minora,
pp. 363/8-364/4, 377/27- 379/24; cf. also his use of the motif to define
the composition of the state, De officio regis, pp. 50/20-51/10,
58/27-59/18).

15–18, 41–3 'pe fursd part ... of pis world': the concern here is not
with the right use of dominion, but with the need for decorum among the
estates. The designation of lords as 'vikers of my Godhed', though
primarily invoking the rex vicarius dei thesis, also alludes to the
analogy of the estates and the Trinity (see note to T2/38-45).

18–35 'pe secound part schuld be my clerkis. ... passe not pat'. The
vernacular omits the designation of the clergy as 'vicarius humanitatis
domini ihu christi' (Dialogus, p. 2/14-16). Otherwise it follows Wyclif,
defining the clerical estate as committed to imitation of Christ's
example of humility and poverty, living on alms alone. The vernacular
expands the Latin (p. 2/6-11), justifying the provision of 'sustynance'
to 'true preestis', that is to Lollard preachers (cf. also D/239-41).
This argument, which depended tacitly on texts such as Luke 10. 7, I
Corinthians 9. 7, 14, is found in orthodox contexts (e.g. 'Dialogus inter militem et clericum', Piers Plowman C XIII/107-13; Dives and Pauper, I. 1, 65/53-60, 194/25-44). Among Wycliffite writings see De officio regis, pp. 259/30-260/2; De civili dominio, II, 6/27-7/4; III, 140/29-38; De veritate sacrae scripturae, I, 155/2-14; Selections, p. 121/61-94 and note, p. 197.

The present text shows its Wycliffite bias in two points, (i) the emphasis on the duty of the clergy to preach and teach and (ii) in the implication that support was conditional upon preaching being faithfully fulfilled.

23'bo' is recorded (OED) as surviving into late ME only as a pl. demonstrative pron., but the form is retained here, as it had currency as the definite article in two Wycliffite sermon manuscripts, Leicestershire County Record Office, MS. Leicester Town Hall 3 and MS. Wyggeston Hospital 10 D. 34/6 (Anne Hudson, ed. English Wycliffite Sermons (Oxford, 1983), I, 211.

23-9 'true preestis', like 'true men' and perhaps also 'treue bischops' (T2/278), is a conventional phrase in Lollard vocabulary, often designating adherents of the movement. At T2/160, 178, 181, 278 the epithet signals distinctive Wycliffite doctrine; cf. T2/384, where it is used by Lucifer to signify papal adherents, probably an instance of conscious Lollard irony. Generally the vernacular phrase is an addition to the Latin analogue (but cf. Dialogus, p. 11/1 and T2/155-60).

29-35 'if a preest of lytle letturer': the portrait is of a priest, perhaps like the 'borell clerk' of D/338, who has to make good his deficiencies in learning by study in preparation for his Sunday ministry (see D/20-4, where the same phrase is used by the knight of himself).

36-7 'pe pridde part of my churche. . . sustenen bope lordis & clerkis': the vernacular version is close to the Latin, though it omits Wyclif's division of the 'vulgares' into operarii, mercantes et economi (p. 2/20-1) and the epithet infima (low, lowest) applied to the vulgares. The vernacular expresses the orthodox, conservative view of the role of the commons: 'And to laboreris it fallep to trauayle bodily and wiþ here sore sweþ geten out of pe erþe bodily liflode for hem and for oper parties' (Thomas Wimbledon, 'Redde racionem', ed. Owen, 178/28-9, 179/55-180/76)
38-45, 77-82 'charite knytt pis pre parties. . . be charite': sistris is used here as personification, translating L persona and partes.

The passage makes the statement that decorum should operate among the estates. Wyclif described the ideal as an 'imitacionem trinitatis' or 'similitudinem trinitatis appetere unitatem' (Polemical Works, II, 654/10-12, 15-17). The theme is introduced below, 79-82 (see commentary; and cf. the Lollard tract 'The clergy may not hold property', Matthew, pp. 362-4). This section epitomizes the Dialogue, pp. 2/23-3/13, 4/12-14, 23-6. 'Vulgarization' by omission, compression and simplification, makes the treatment of Wyclif's ecclesiology altogether less controversial, replacing Wyclif's predestinarianism ('membra diaboli', p. 5/6) with a veiled suggestion that predestined Lollards were represented in each estate (T2/44-5) and an innocuous statement on the ideal of separation and cooperation of the estates (T2/79-82). The vernacular omits details on the status of the estates, 'alii is duabus partibus inferioribus' and 'partibus duabus superioribus' (p. 3/3-4); it compresses 'vivere ipsis spiritualis ac quo ad mores mundius' (p. 3/4-5) to the exhortation 'clerik schulun be li3t to pis opur' (T2/39), and it uses pedestrian language in place of metaphorical (p. 3/12-13). The injunction to the Lords Temporal to act 'bi charite. . . to serue God & to comme to heuene' is more concrete and precise as well as more limited than the Latin 'domini temporales debet quadam austeritate modesta juvare partes alterutras extremales, et specialiter secundum legem dei in his que promovent ad beatitudinem [conse]quendam' (p. 3/7-19).

Neither version develops the metaphorical possibilities of caritas, explained as 'tercia persona in divinis', the third of the theological virtues (Dialogue, p. 2/23). Elsewhere Wyclif depicted charity as descending from Christ to the clergy and thence to the temporal lords and the vulgares, as an ointment of grace unifying the three estates (based on the text of Psalm 132 (AV 133). 1-2 and John 1. 16; see De blasphemia, pp. 87/31-88/13 and De civili dominio, III, 78/27-39); for fuller treatment of the theme, see De civili dominio, I, 103ff.

46-63 'I ordeyned lijf. . . pis synne pat departis pe puple me'. Following Dialogue, cap. 2, pp. 3/15-4/2 on the mode of living and the responsibilities of the clergy, the vernacular expands on Wyclif's view of the clergy as 'supremus et celo propinquissimus'. It also emphasizes the 'goostly' manner of clerical life and the duty to teach 'porous ensaumple of whom pe peple ben drawyn from vices to vertues' (T2/47-9). However, the vernacular omits the allusion to the vitae activa et
contemplativa of the Dialogus, pp. 3/22-4/2, where it was implied that the vita contemplativa consists of the life of poverty and virtue (cf. Sermones, I, 48/22-9; II, 147/1-149/18; IV, 387-388/19; Arnold, I, 383/13-385/2; Matthew, p. 190/31-2).

The controversial Wycliffite view was that the contemplative life was not exclusive to the enclosed clerical orders, and that the active life must in any case be abandoned before the final judgment (Sermones, IV, 388/1-2; De civili dominio. I, 162-85). This was probably closer to Gregory the Great's proposition of the 'mixed' life, whose aim was to bring 'the fruits of contemplation into the life of action' (Pearsall in a note to Piers Plowman C XVIII/81ff.). Rolle defined the 'mixed' life as that appropriate for priests and that of contemplation, for enclosed orders (see The Two Ways, ed. G. G. Perry, EETS 20 (1886), pp. 24-7).

47-50 'Clerkis. . . schulen lyue in pouert as I did here': a statement of the central theme of clerical poverty, an aspect of Wyclif's teaching singled out for condemnation; see the tenth item condemned in 1382, 'quod est contra sacram scripturam, quod viri ecclesiastici habeant possessiones temporales' (Wilkins, Concilia, III, 157); the view was refuted by Woodford, De dominio civili clericorum, ed. Doyle, 76-109 and 'De causis condemnationis' in Fasciculus rerum, I, 218-30, items 11 and 12; Netter, Doctrinale fidei, IV, passim. vol. 1, 817-989 .

51-62 'couetise. . . lichorie': the definition of the clerical vocation, 'a causis mundialibus et mundi sollicitudinibus maxime sequestratum' (Dialogus, p. 3/18-19) is amplified in the vernacular by the example of two vices, showing how these lead the clergy from the ideal of poverty to the evil of 'worldly wurschip'. The deadly sin of covetousness or avarice is the desire for gain, and its final end is lechery. It is a temptation for which 'mesure' alone is an antidote, e.g. Sermones, I, 126/4-25, 328/1-36. IV, 335/22-336/8: De ecclesia, pp. 52/16-28, 129/21-130/17; Arnold, III, 148/25-155/14).

Lichorie here carries the sense of 'self-indulgence', without the connotation of carnal lust; cf. Sermones, I, 127/11-38, II, 150/24-8, III, 366/3-11; Arnold, III, 163/31ff. and Matthew, p. 102/5-7, 168/25-169/6, where the criticism implies spiritual as well as carnal lechery. Orthodox moralists warned that Mede 'techeth/ And lereth hem to
lecherye þat louyeth here þeeftes' (Piers Plowman C III/160-1. They connected 'pompe & pryde in aray' with lechery, especially in the priesthood, as in Dives and Pauper, I. 2, 90-92/47; Piers Plowman C IV/108-17; XVI/255-63. The usual sense of lichorie was luxuria, mechia, fornicatio and venus, synonyms given in a late medieval lexicon (Promptorium parvulorum sive clericorum, Anglo-latinum princps, Camden society, 25 (London, 1843).

This allusion to the two sins, added to the vernacular, suggests familiarity with the tradition of the seven deadly sins. In Gregory's system, the vices were linked together psychologically, in a linear progression from anger to sorrow and despair, or from greed to gluttony and then to lechery. Wyclif rejected both the Gregorian distinction between spiritual and fleshly sin and the Thomistic view that each sin was an end or final sin. Instead he emphasized the progressive nature of sin. That is, the sin of cupiditas or avaricia in the clergy and accidia gave rise to gula and luxuria; see e. g. De civili dominio. II, 202/20-203/19; IV, 386/24-387/35, 576/31 -578/2, 625/4-626/17; also Arnold, III, 119-67; Lanterne of Li3t, pp. 44/17-45/23, 49/28-50/9. On this tradition, see M. Bloomfield, The Seven Deadly Sins: an Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept (Michigan, 1952), pp. 188-91; S. Wenzel, 'The Seven Deadly Sins: Some Problems of Research', Speculum, 43(1968), 1-22.

56-60 'Whenne Adam had synned. . . men nedid cloþis aftur þat time': Genesis 2. 25; Romans 5. 12ff, I Corinthians 15. 22, 45 are related texts. This passage is another addition to the Latin. It alludes to the doctrine of original sin, and to Adam as the progenitor of sin in the human race. Following traditional theology, Adam is attributed with original perfection. Created in a state of grace, he possessed immortality and impassibility, prerogatives which were lost through the Fall and which could only be restored to mankind by the second Adam (see the Glossa ordinaria and Lyra). Wyclif contrasted the life of the first Adam with the perfection of the second, citing the doctrine of the 'fortunate fall' (Sermones, IV, 276/31-277/12, 327/4-8; De apostasia, p. 14/33-7; see also Arnold, I, 320/32-321/10; Selections, p. 101/171-4; cf. the same motif in Piers Plowman C XIII/224-6.
64-9 'be secound part of my church pat ben lordis': the first sentence (64 - 66) follows the Latin (p. 4/3 - 5), but omits the remainder of the passage on the Lords Temporal, 'Sic enim deitas cohercet homines dando illis rerum affluenciam, et immiscet quodammodo potentiam coactivam' (p. 4/6-7). There Wyclif emphasized the theme of dominion, enjoyed by the divine gift of grace within the limits set for that estate (cf. De blasphemia, p. 33/11-16). The vernacular emphasizes instead the contractual and responsible nature of lay dominion. Lay lords are to live modestly, subject to divine law, their rule tempered by the fruits of grace (T2/66-9); cf. here Arnold, III, 206/11-207/2, 145/9-146/27 etc.; Matthew, pp. 473/32-474/4).

70-6 'be prid part of my church... is clepyd commyns'. The vernacular expands the Latin 'Terciam autem partem et infimam volo in labore corporali vivere et circa lucrum temporalium se cum moderamine occupare' (p. 4/8-9), by adding an epitome of the life endured by 'true laborers' and an analogy between the craft of the stone mason and the structure of the church (T2/74-6). The alterations have the effect of expressing a more sympathetic attitude towards the commons and perhaps pointing tacitly to an identification between the 'commyns' and Wycliffites. There may also be an intentional play on the word commyn in the etymological explanation of the third estate; commyn, adjective (T2/71), denotes something shared, affecting all the people as a class, as well as 'familiar', 'of low rank', 'secular', 'lay' (as it is used in Arnold, I, 20/9).

The parable of the stone mason balances the earlier image of the commons as the grounde, fundamentum of the realm and church (T2/36, Dialogus, p. 2/22). Cf. the allusions to the vulgares and laboratores as a metaphor for the foundation and support of the kingdom, or as the foundation of the house of which the clerical estate is the roof and the Lords Temporal the walls, In none of these examples did Wyclif particularize the inherent worth of the commons beyond its economic value (Polemical Works, I, 242/14-20; II, 421/21-422/3; (De officio regis, p. 59/1-13; Sermones I, 400/27-401/12).

In this sense, the passage may contain an implicit warning to the third estate: the spiritual reward, that 'her wonyng stid is mad in
blisse wip outen eende' (T2/74) emphasizes the dignity of 'commyn trauile'. Yet because their rightful role did not include 'worship & eese' (T2/73), there could be no justification for discontent and insurgency. The passage, while pointing to the social and political conservatism of Wycliffism, promotes the doctrine of contentment more delicately than Wyclif's explication: 'Operarii vero sunt plebei qui debent ecclesie in abieccioribus officiis ministrare' (Sermones, II, 401/9-11).

It is tempting to see in the vernacular expansion a reflection of the respect expressed also in political contexts for the commons, whether the Commons in parliament, the 'commons' of the 'operarii, mercantes, et economi' (Dialogus, p. 2/20-1) or those living 'de laboricio vel arte mechanica' (Sermones, I, 252/34). The rolls of parliament defer to the concerns of the estate of the Commons, that is, to the knights representing the shires, together with an implicit recognition of the economic importance of the common laboratores. On this theme, see Post, Studies in Medieval Legal Thought, p. 330; Ullmann, The Medieval Foundations of Renaissance Humanism (London, 1977), p. 120; Aston, 'Huizinga's Harvest', especially 15-17.

79-82 'I will pat no part of my spouse. . . in pis churche. The particular emphasis of the doctrine of the estates, decorum and cooperation, is reinforced by this comparison with the Trinity, a theme developed more expansively in the Dialogus, p. 4/8-5/11.

83-124 'And for I wold pat pis lawe. . . before resoun at domysday': this section exemplifies a typical Lollard method of extracting, simplifying and making concrete the ideas of the Latin original (as seen also in the Latin tract 'De triplici ecclesie', 389/3-42).

In all three texts, the Wycliffite dependence upon the authority of the bible is emphasized, though the expression is more moderate than many Wycliffite statements as to the superior value of scripture over all other authorities; cf. De veritate sacrae scripturae, I, 1-2/4, 39/12-15, 52/10-53/11, 205/11-206/31; II, 136/15-25; Arnold, III, 186-7; Selections, p. 22/36-8; ME Rosarium, pp. 74-6 and Apology for Lollard Doctrines, pp. 73-80.

Both texts adduce Numbers 18. 20-24 as a proof-text against
endowments. Thus the clergy is cursed for its defection from the law, as are the lords for their part as accomplices and agents of a worldly clergy. The Roman curia is in such disorder that it is incapable of convicting others of heresy (Dialogus, pp. 6/22-7/10). For Netter’s evaluation of this criticism, see Doctrinale fidei, II. 3. 46, vol. 1, 482.

The vernacular passage is more succinct, reducing the use of the figures of balance and antithesis found in the Latin (as at p. 6/16-21), while direct syntax and diction (as at T2/105-6) replaces lengthy syllogistic argument (T2/105-6; Dialogus, pp. 6/25-7/11).

84 ðe oolde lawe. . . ðe newe: for the division and distinctions commonplace in biblical exegesis, see the explanation in ME Rosarium, p. 75/18-39.

93-104 Numbers 18. 20-4 and the related texts of Deuteronomy 18. 1 and Ezechiel 44. 28 appear frequently to support the Wycliffite arguments against endowments, as at T2/107, 115; see also De civili dominio, III, 201/24-202/6, 259/11-31; Dialogus, pp. 298/6-10, 410/15-19; De officio regis, pp. 59/30-60/21; Matthew, pp. 366/19-368/11, 396/14-30; ME Rosarium, p. 83/11-32; Lanterne of Lyst, p. 95/20-5; Selections, p. 131/137-8. In two official condemnations, the heterodox use of these texts was noted (Woodford, ‘De causis condemnationis’, Fasciculus rerum, I, 218-20 and Netter, Doctrinale fidei, IV. 3. 34-5, vol. 1, 935-41).

The concern here is chiefly with the hypocrisy and greed associated with tithing (T2/102-4). The system of tithing was much abused and criticized (G. Constable, ‘Resistance to Tithes in the Middle Ages’, Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 13 (1962), 172-85), but the peculiar Wycliffite treatment turned criticism into heresy: ‘þat no man is holdoun to típe in manere nowe vsed of þe chirche’ (Selections, p. 19/7-8).

Theologically the tabernacle embodied and signified the presence of God among his people; key texts were Exodus 25-31, 35-40 and especially 33. 7-10; see ODCC p. 1336

100-1 ‘þe witt is opyn inow as þe bokis ben commyn to men’; (‘nec dubium’,
p. 6/16) : this assertion perhaps alludes to the literal sense of
scripture (‘pe witt is epyn inow’), alleged here to support the
contention over tithes, and to the general availability of scripture in
English (‘as pe bokes ben commyn to men’).

104-6 'And certis resoun at domesdaye. . . pis synne to regne': the
responsibility of the lay lords towards the church is here extended to
cover doctrine (cf. also De veritate sacrae scripturae, I, 136/10-18; De
civili dominio, I, 425/4-429/27, 436/21-9; II, 44/12-23; Opera minora,
pp. 150/27-42, 411/2-14). In contrast, orthodox reformers admitted that
some aspects of clerical discipline lay within the competence of lay
lords (as suggested by Langland’s injunction, ‘Taketh here londe, 3e
lordes’). Nevertheless they generally held that bishops were solely
responsible for the doctrinal orthodoxy of the clergy. Thus Langland
argued that bishops were responsible for the fulfilment of the law of
God, likening negligent ones to ‘pe dogge [that] dar nat berke’ (Piers
Plowman C IX/255-81).

107-14 'pe secounde witnesse of pe oold lawe': Deuteronomy 18. 1-2 forms
the basis of lengthy exegesis omitted from the vernacular (Dialogus, cap
4, pp. 7/12-9/10). Wyclif adduced the text as further authority against
clerical dominion, exploited 'ex concessione stulta cesaris' (p. 7/23).
He concluded that the clergy had been subverted by the first estate.
This and related texts support the contention that 'omnes clerici debent
pure vivere de decimis oblacionibus et privatis elemosinis laicorum, sic
quod omnia civilia dominia in regno debent esse in manibus secularium
dominorum' (De officio regis, pp. 59/30-60/11, 208/2-8).

115-24 'pe pridde lawe. . . prophete Ezechiel': the vernacular quotes only
the first verse of Ezechiel 44. 28-31 cited in Dialogus, cap. 5. The
condensed text supports the contention that priests are bound to obey
the divine law, a view also uppermost in the Dialogus. Wyclif also
attacked cupidity, simony and worldliness in the clergy. In contrast,
the concise commentary in the vernacular piece (T2/118-22) gives merely
the gist of Wyclif's argument, reducing the vehemence against the
clergy. The ironical reference to Antichrist is retained from Dialogus
p. 10/11, implying that the clergy have become the disciples of
Antichrist, a point made explicit in the *Dialogus* (p. 10/6-9).

125-32 'Rede þe byleue þat God hale þouen'. It is possible to consider the passage from T2/125-217 as one of authorial comment, in which the opening injunction refers to the exposition just delivered by Reson, alias God. See T2/218 below and commentary.

The theme of the reliability of scripture is expounded in both versions (*Dialogus*, pp. 9/25-10/3), though the vernacular is more emphatic, and adds a heterodox inference as to the contingency of obedience due to 'mannes biddyng' (T2/131-2).

126 'prestis ben made blynd': cf. D/372-80 on clerical ignorance, and the proverb applied against the friars, 'In wlgd dicitur, quod non equus in biga audacior quam est cecus' (*Polemical Works*, I, 267/6).

133 'new ordris': like 'new sects', the term was a favourite Wycliffite designation for the friars and part of the vocabulary of abuse used in Lollard writings.

133-4 'And here þese new ordris mowen be aschamed': In the Latin version this section is expanded with a comparison between the contemporary priesthood as followers of Antichrist, and the priests of Baal, followers of Belial (*Dialogus*, p. 10/6-10). With this criticism that the friars and other clergy show more respect for human law than for divine, cf. also *Polemical Works*, I, 284/16-22; Arnold, I, 28/36-29/5; III, 450/5-15; Matthew, pp. 127/4-14 etc. and C/394-5, 440-51, 496-502.

135-8 'Goddis lawe forbedip man. . . þe joc of Ihesu Crist': Proverbs 1. 10; 4. 27; Numbers 16. 26; Psalm 34. 14; Romans 12. 9; I Thessalonians 5. 22; I Peter 3. 11; I Timothy 5. 22 are all adduced in Wycliffite writings as commanding man to avoid sin; for the command to correct sin in others, see Leviticus 19. 17; Matthew 18. 5; Galatians 6. 1; James 5. 19-20. The orthodox view was that consent to sin was a component of mortal sin but was not present in venial sin (see Tentler, *Sin and Confession*, pp. 148-53).

The 'joc', a biblical metaphor depicting the ideal relationship between Christ and his followers, is understood both as a benign
implement (cf. Matthew, p. 425/18-19) and as one of discipline, the 'book of servage' (Matthew, pp. 228/3, 354/5).

138-9 'And sitt pe fend hap taust. . . hooly writ'. From this point through to T2/217, the vernacular version interpolates a section of mainly free composition between chapters 5 and 6. With the charge that the clergy allege scripture to support heresy, cf. also D/374-86; De veritate sacrae scripturae, I, 136/19-21, 148/7-15, 191/11-29, 199/13-23.

139-44 'Goddis lawe biddip . . . pei harmen hemself': Paul's teaching, as in Romans 13. 1-7, I Corinthians 7. 21, Ephesians 6. 5, Colossians 3. 22, I Timothy 6. 1, 1, Titus 2. 9 and I Peter 2. 18 enjoined obedience to rulers, apparently irrespective of tyranny, though he also condemned the sins of anger and avarice traditionally associated with tyrants, and asserted that tyranny was an effective denial of charity. This teaching was followed by Wyclif, as in De civili dominio, I, 199-206; cf. also Matthew, pp. 227/1-229/28; Lanterne of Liyt, pp. 82/6-84/25.

In Wycliffite writings the image of the tyrant usually epitomized the relationship between the clergy and the laity, especially Lollards (as in D/85-97, 170-80, C/1039-46). In this relationship resistance is enjoined. The limits of obedience are spelled out, that 'poore prestis & trewe men mekely wolen and wilfully obesche to god & holy chirche, & to eche man in erpe in as myche as he techip treuly goddis comaundemtis & profitable treupe for here soulis, and no more owip ony man to obeche to crist god & man, ne to ony apostle. . . & sip prelatis ben vikeris of crist, pei owen to suen to hym in pis obedience & axe no more of ony man' (Matthew, pp. 29/9-30/7).

145-7 'Sope it is. . . obeysers to good men': in particular obedience consists in translating doctrine into action (James 1. 22f£). Cf. Arnold II, 299/13-14 for the same admonition.

155-60 'And he pat were a knyvt of God. . . obedience done to tyrauntis': this section is drawn from the Dialogus, p. 10/23-26, amplifying the warning as to the persecution of faithful priests and applying the assertion to the persecution of the laity as well. It also omits the
political implications expressed by Wyclif: 'nec sufficient pauperes et pauci fideles sacerdotes resistere, nisi deus per seculare brachium . . . apposuerit adjutrices' (p. 11/1-3).

Persecution was traditionally seen as a guarantee of future comfort and as a sign of present virtue and blessing. The orthodox glosses to Matthew 5. 10-12, 44-5, and popular hagiographical writings are echoed in summary form by Langland:

For Crist saide tho seyntes pat for his sake tholeden Pouerte and penance and persecucoun of body Schullen haue more worschipie to wages [and worthier ben yholde]

Then angelis in here own degre... (Piers Plowman C XII/203-6)

Wyclif’s teaching on persecution, notably in the sermon on Matthew 5. 11, was that such treatment was a part of the truly apostolic life, a form of chastening by God, a means of blessing and a witness of righteousness (De civili dominio, I, 199/18-22; Sermones, II, 222/1-223/1; III, 330/33ff.; IV, 215/3-31, 276/11-30); a positive value when received for true discipleship (Polemical Works, I, 215/6-11; II, 398/3-12, 466/21-467/1; see also Arnold, I, 153/18-154/30, 204/17-205/9, 210/34-212/12; Matthew, pp. 5/1-12, 87/1ff. 138/12-25; Selections, p. 80/215-18; Lanterne of LiJt, passim, esp. pp. 80-127; at 43/8-15 the death penalty is specified.

Evidence suggests that from the early 1380s Wycliffites, both curati et laici were 'pursued, cursid & clepid apostata' by the ecclesiastical hierarchy; that persecution, including imprisonment, was often the experience of those preaching against clerical abuse before the end of the fourteenth century; and that there were also laymen, 'knights of God', who underwent scrutiny for suspected Lollard sympathy; on the pursuit of Wyclif's main associates at Oxford, see McFarlane, John Wycliffe, pp. 102-14; on Swinderby, see Knighton, Chronicon, II, 192; the clerks Lechlade and James of Oxford, both associated with the Lollard centre at Kemerton, were examined and expelled from the university (see Kightly, 'The Early Lollards', pp. 272-7); the clerical author of the Opus arduum wrote in carcere in 1389-90 and admitted to suffering persecution (Hudson, 'A Neglected Wycliffite Text', 278).

For the cases of laymen who were examined for heresy, see

Not surprisingly, practical aspects of persecution assume more importance in the vernacular works, pointing to the premonitory fears of Lollards, or to their actual experience, as one suspected of heresy confessed: 'I ligge in prisoun til I rote hond & feet and dye for colde; hit I mut nedis do al pis sacrifice to false mawmetis by strenge of pis article, and I do not, I schal be rettid as forswerun & cursid & prysoned to bodily deep by a signyficaut & be damnned be here doom wipouten ende (Trinity College Dublin MS. 244, f. 187, fragmentary).

Consideration of the procedures laid down for heresy trials reveals that the formulaic synopsis, 'pursued, cursid & clepid apostata' corresponded roughly with actual procedures for apprehending, trying and charging heretics. Thus detection was followed by an official charge and search, then citation for the suspect to appear in person before the bishop. Failure to appear involved a declaration of contumacy and trial proceeded in his absence; if the case was proved, the suspect was condemned as a heretic and if not, the failure to answer could lead to excommunication. After a year the guilt of heresy was incurred. The present dialogue contains a hint of these procedures (documented in Kightly, 'The Early Lollards', Thomson, *The Later Lollards*, pp. 220-34 and Hudson, 'The Examination of Lollards', 157).

159 'persecusioun mekly suffrid wiipoute grucching': the real opportunity for meekness came with the penances often imposed after a heretic's abjuration; see e. g. Thomson, *Later Lollards*, pp. 231-4.
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161-5, 201-2 'O Ihesu, what may amende pis erroure': The apostrophe introduces the topic of predestination, in this text modified by a strong sense of the effect of the human will on the final outcome of the individual (as at lines 163, 173ff.).

The error referred to may be the sin of despair, or it may be failure to obey divine law. 'Dispeire' was also used in the Wycliffite context to denote false hope (e.g. Arnold, I, 42), though the present reference is rather to the sin of despair, that is, of final impenitence against the Holy Ghost (Matthew 12. 31).

This sin was defined in orthodox morality as the cause of damnation: a man in despair remains in sin by neglecting contrition and restitution. In traditional morality, 'wanhope', despair of amendment, is characteristically the end of the sin of sloth (Piers Plowman C II/103, VII/59, XXII/159-60; Parson's Tale X/702-10).

164-5, 201-2 'pis synne hap regned so longe', that is, the clergy has long since departed from apostolic perfection. Wyclif dated this departure from the Donation of Constantine (see notes to D/137-59), although he also treated the pontificate of Innocent III as a watershed (see C/166-79 and note).

165-6 'Ihesu betokenip sauiour': this etymology derived from the Hebrew for 'saviour', and was the common name used during the lifetime of Christ on account of his role as saviour. Wyclif applied the name to the abbot of the church.

167-77 'rijtwise dome askip. . . our lenge trespasse': the Wycliffite doctrine of predestination asserted that there was an unbridgeable gulf between the predestinati, the elect, and the presciti, the damned, who, even if living a moral life, lacked the gift of grace.

Augustine used this division in his exposition of the city of God as consisting of the heavenly and the earthly, the saved and the damned, a division which though not apparent on earth was foreknown to God; on earth the good and the bad are not separated (De civitate dei, XIV. 26-8; XVIII. 49; XX. 9; see also Decretum, II, C. 23. 4. 14, Friedberg, vol. 1, 904). Wyclif, however, maintained that only the predestined were 'of' the church (as distinct from 'in' the church) and that the visible
church, including the damned as well as the elect, therefore had no claim to authority over man's spiritual condition because there could be no guarantee that its ministers were among the elect; see Leff, *Heresy* II, 516-20; Workman, *John Wyclif*, II, 8-11 where references are given to Wyclif's writings on the theme; and for Lollard expression of the topic, see *ME Rosarium, ecclesia*, pp. 66/30-67/19; Arnold, I, 287/17-25; *Selections*, p. 116/16-27 and the interpolated passage in the *Lay Folks' Catechism*, ed. T. F. Simmons and H. E. Nolloth, EETS 118 (1901), pp. 17/306-18/324.

The arbitrary and inscrutable nature of the Wycliffite doctrine is evident here, together with Wyclif's view that grace transcended human merit and failings. But he admitted a contradiction. On the one hand, that the predestinati could commit sin and still finally be saved, and on the other, he used the evidence of sin in the clergy to 'calculate' their foreknown status (see *Trialogus*, pp. 150-7, especially 152/29-153/7 and Wilks, 'Predestination, Property and Power', 225-6).

For examinations involving this doctrine, see e.g. *Heresy Trials* pp. 49, 61, 154; Hudson, 'The Examination of Lollards', 152, note 2 and 154, item 40; and for its condemnation by Woodford and Netter, see 'De causis condemnationis', *Fasciculus rerum*, I, 250-7; *Doctrinale fidei*, I. 1, 21-30; II. 2-3, 8-83 (vol. 1, 117-67, 274-696).

178-200 'herfore true men penkyn... our abbot is plesid': for the Lollards, perfection consisted chiefly in obedience to divine law, opposing clerical claims that perfection could be realized in the religious life. All ceremonies must be subordinate to the divine law (see *Opus evangelicu*um, I, 311-14; *Sermones*, I, 56/23-57/17; III, 17/26-30 etc.; Arnold, III, 156-8; Matthew, pp. 136/13-23, 86/23-32; *Lanterne of Liit*, pp. 39/14-40/2, 41/13-27; *Selections*, p. 86/122-8).

This criticism was connected with Wycliffite scepticism towards the 'vtward signes'. Christ's law had ordained freedom from the onerous ceremonies of the old law, yet they had become the staple of monastic and fraternal observances, not as a source of spiritual value, but of hypocrisy and deceit. Nor were signs any indication of membership among the elect (*Opus evangelicum*, I, 247/1-19; *Sermones*, III, 238/35-37; *Trialogus*, pp. 174/13-21, 284/13-32, 416/3-417/26; 429/12-430/18; *Polemical Works*, I, 120/15-121/7, 142/18-143/8, 334/3-335/10 etc.; *De
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civili dominio, IV, 493/27-497/3; Arnold, II, 420/18-28; Apology for Lollard Doctrines, p. 44/9-30; Jack Upland, pp. 59/125-70/382 (where the 'signs' of the mendicant orders are analysed; cf. also T1/382 and C/828-30).

180-1, 194-6 'wakyng at oonis togidre & aftur oo reule', a custom which is suspect because it places undue weight on regulations, especially the canonical hours, the times set apart for daily prayer. Known as the opus dei, the canonical hours formed a liturgical arrangement fixed by about the eighth century in the Western church and traditionally including Mattins, Lauds, Prime, Terce ('vndorne', T2/195), Sext, None, Vespers and Compline. The hours were deplored by the Wycliffites as encouraging hypocrisy rather than true devotion, though guarded approval was sometimes expressed, conditional upon the observances giving time for study of scripture and preaching (Polemical Works, II, 536/9-12; Trialogus, pp. 234/17-235/4, 365/18-21; Selections, p. 22/148-50; Arnold, II, 420/18-25; Apology for Lollard Doctrines, p. 44/31ff; Matthew, pp. 133/20-7, 317/31-318/20, 320/2-321/16; Lanterne of List, pp. 50/29-51/16; C/816-20). The teaching was condemned by Netter, Doctrinale fidei, De sacramentalibus, tit. 3. 20-7, vol. 3, 145-96; and by the Council of Constance, 'Articuli Johannis Wiclefi', Fasciculus rerum, I, 269, 276.

181-4 The proverb 'pe habit makin not pe monke' is found in orthodox anticlerical contexts where clerical corruption, vanity and luxury are characterized by the excesses of clerical habit; see e. g. Jean de Meun, Roman de la rose, lines 10990-11012 (or in Chaucer's translation, lines 6192-4).

The proverb probably derived from a poem ascribed to Anselm, 'Quid deocat monachum, vel qualis debeat esse', 'Admonitio morienti', and 'De contemptu mundi' (PL 158, cols 686-8). For the Latin proverb 'Cucullus non facit monachum' and its variants, see W. Haeckel, Das Sprichwort bei Chaucer, Erlanger Beiträge, II, vii (1890), p. 39, no. 133 and Walther, Lateinische Sprichwörter, I, no. 1010. For literary usage, see Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, 2nd ed., p. 116. A versified form of the proverb was quoted by Wyclif, De civili dominio, IV, 494/22-495/11 and Sermones, III, 239/13-14; see also the tag in the MS. of the ME Rosarium.
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Two points concern the dialogist: the habit is used to deceive, as an outward sign of inner holiness; and clerical vestments are an unnecessary luxury and a financial burden to the laity. This criticism is milder than the frequent allegations that the religious habit is used to generate superstition, to disguise apostacy, to deceive and waste (e.g. De potestate pape, pp. 278-92; Trialogus, p. 337/13-33; De civili dominio, IV, 494/10-495/15; Polemical Works, I, 26/8-14., 21-27/18, 35/8-9; Jack Upland, pp. 59/130-60/144; Matthew, pp. 12/21-2, 301/25-302/6, 315/18-316/24; the topic is touched upon at D/25-6, C/31-8, 386, 650-2, 670-90).

185-7 'In etinge & drinkynge our holy abbot made his apostles free': the criticism here is more moderate than many scathing and sceptical Wycliffite diatribes against clerical overindulgence and fastidiousness or the taste for exotic foods; cf. here Chaucer's attitude to the monk's love of a 'fat swan'. Such a gourmet taste hardly conformed to the ideal of eating 'in mesour, if fat hem medpi, sikh as commep before hem'(T2/186-7).

Fasting, though a useful means for overcoming the sin of gluttony and achieving 'mesour', was also a potentially hypocritical act of no intrinsic merit; and, as a signum sensibilium, it was dangerous in that it deflected men from the true rule of Christ (Trialogus, pp. 197/32-199/3, 429/9-430/18; Arnold, II, 420/11-421/9; III, 155-6; Matthew, pp. 6/13-19, 316/24-317/17; Lanterne of Litt, pp. 45/18-21, 48/14-50/9; Heresy Trials, pp. 75-6).

This attitude contrasts with Langland's orthodox view, that neglect of fast days was a matter for repentance, though Langland also warned of possible abuse (C Prologue/66-69, IX/219-33); cf. Chaucer's Summoner's Tale III/1879-84, 1923-37 and Parson's Tale X/1049-51 echoing the Glossa ordinaria and Lyra on Matthew 6. 16.

189-90 The Pater Noster is the prayer of the 'reule of Crist', as distinct from the rules of the orders. This prayer, proposed here as an alternative to fixed liturgical observances, came to have definite heretical associations in the Wycliffite context. They claimed that 'perinne is contenyd as myche as is nedeful to bodi & soule of eueriche
creature' (T2/189-90), thereby tacitly dismissing the role of the priest in the spiritual welfare of men. Moreover, Lollards asserted that the Pater Noster provided a precedent for the use of the vernacular for the bible and in the liturgy (Arnold, III, 96/21-97/20, 98/1-13; Matthew, pp. 429/30-431/1, 198-202, 16/25-9, 320/4-7; Lay Folks' Catechism p. 7/59-8/75).

Later, it was an indictable offence to have books containing the Pater Noster 'in lingua Anglicana' (Heresy Trials, pp. 69, 72, 81).

205-6 'he biddit every man. .. wiþouten money': Isaiah 55. 1 emphasizes the liberality of divine mercy, complementing the injunction to come 'freely & wilfully to þe free reule of Ihesu Crist' (T2/203-4). This slant provides a contrast with the emphasis on regulation in the religious orders.

Will is here shown to operate so as to bring about the work of grace by avoiding sin and undertaking true penitence (T2/205-17), a provision which mitigates the earlier determinism by its suggestion of prevenient grace: 'if God wol þyue him grace to see þis feiþ & stonde þerwiþ' (211-12). This echoes Wyclif's view of the balance between will and grace: that the predestinate also have a responsibility to accept and merit the gift of grace (De ecclesia, pp. 138/9-141/31); that free will affects the outcome of predestination (Sermones, I, 431/7-16; Arnold, I, 286-7); and that the choice to accept or reject is available (Sermones, III, 145-146/35; IV, 476).

207 (and 332) The etymology of arunt is not recorded in OED nor is the word listed in MED, but here and in other medieval texts its use suggests that it is cognate with 'aroint', used by Shakespeare in King Lear, III. 4, 129 and Macbeth, I. 3. 6, probably meaning 'to revile' or 'to drive away' (cf. Richard the Redeless, III, 221; Dives and Pauper, I. 2, 136/43). The word is discussed by Thomas Hearn in connection with a print of the harrowing of hell with the caption 'out out aronst' used by Dr Johnson as authority for 'aroint' in Macbeth (Hone, Ancient Mysteries Described).

The context rules out other senses for penytaucners, 'penances', 'those undergoing penance'.
208-10 'bope pe partis... is fouler aftur fyselfid in synne', an accusation referring to the simoniac abuse of absolution, which Wyclif and the Lollards condemned 'in opur placis' such as Polemical Works, II, 622/12-14; De blasphemia, p. 144/5-6, 29-35; D/112-28; Matthew, pp. 327-45 (on confession), 65/31-3, 66/32-5, 74/17-21, 181/1-182/16; Arnold, II, 100/18-23, 148/27-30; III, 151/34-8 etc.; ME Rosarium, p. 59/16-23. Langland also criticized the payment of a fee for absolution where there was no contrition, but he did not extend this criticism to a condemnation of the office or the priesthood (Piers Plowman C VI/256-7, XII/7-9). For further discussion of simony, see C/520-40, 622 and commentary.

212-17 'pise ben not feyned wordis... wiíouten ende'. Wyclif cited Isaiah 55. 7, Psalm 34. 14 on the need to renounce evil (Sermones, IV, 448/36-449/24). The prayer at T2/216-17 resembles conventional prayers of the Litany such as the Office for the Dead and the Offertory of the Mass (see e. g. The Prymer or Lay Folks' Prayer Book, ed. H. Littlehales, EETS 105 (1895), pp. 51/5-16, 56/11-14, 17-18, 77/25-30 etc., and the Lay Folks' Mass Book, p. 143/528-32).

218-84 'pre witnessis of Cristis word... apostles taufen aftur': If T2/125-217 is read as authorial comment rather than as part of Reson's speech, then the MS. rubric indicating the return to Reson at T2/218 should not be suppressed at this point.

In the vernacular version, the dialogue returns to the material of the Dialogue, caps 6 and 7, adducing the same 'witnessis' as the Dialogue, three biblical passages 'ex multiplici testimonio legis gracie'.

At T2/218-23 the more elaborate argument of the Dialogue, p. 11/5-17 is summarized before the quotation from 'Markis gospel' is introduced (Mark 10. 42-5; two MSS of the Dialogue have the annotation 'M. 20', i. e. Matthew 20. 25-8). These biblical authorities are also adduced in 'De triplici ecclesie', together with others drawn almost verbatim from the Trialogus, pp. 300/7-302/25. In the corresponding section in the vernacular tract there is one departure from the Dialogue in favour of exegesis found in the Trialogus (see note to T2/273-7).
221-9 Mark 10. 42-4 (and cognate texts) is one of the key texts in the Wycliffite argument against the temporal superiority of the clergy, see Matthew, pp. 368-72; ME Rosarium, p. 83/32-7 and Lanterne of List, pp. 95/20-97/33.

The complex interpretation of the text given by Wyclif (Dialogus, p. 12/2-22) is summarized at T2/221-2, that both priests and lay lords should give more attention to the ‘divers condiciouns’ of the evangelical state rather than to worldly ambitions. ‘Worldly lordis’ are included in the exegesis, instead of the less specific and even ambiguous ‘apostolos et sues vicarios’. The change suggests that the vernacular author was concerned to clarify and reinforce the role of the secular lords in the reform of the clerical estate.

232-6 ‘And þus Petur, prince of apostlis. . . folke of mekenesse’: I Peter 5. 2, glossed by an allusion to I Peter 5. 3. ‘Mekenesse’ is typically the virtue of patient humility and truth of action; see De civili dominio, I, 73/12-19; III, 251/2-20; Lanterne of List, pp. 45/22-6, 96/25-97/8, and ME Rosarium, p. 84/26-30, where meekness is contrasted with clerical learning; cf. also Dialogue, p. 14/8-13.

The phrase ‘not wiþ striuynyn’ translates the Vulgate non coacte of I Peter 5. 2. This phrase had the sense ‘not with compulsion’ (with which cf. WB 1, not constreynynge, WB 2, not as constreyned); striuynyn had only the sense of ‘contention’, ‘struggle’.

On the primacy of Peter, see D/112-14 and note.

235 ‘lordis in clergie’ is open to double meaning, referring either to the scholastic pretensions of some clerks, or to their ambitions within the ecclesiastical hierarchy. For an instance of play on the word clergie, see Matthew, p. 362/24-6, where the author emphasises the link by a cluster of synonyms, ‘kunynge’, ‘wisdam’, ‘bissy study’ (and cf. D/23-4, ‘a clerk connynge of clergi’).

236-8, 255-60 ‘wolde God þat alle decretals were suspendid’: the repudiation of canon law is a common Wycliffite theme; see Dialogue, p. 14/13-21, Trialogus, pp. 427/11-428/10; ME Rosarium, pp. 74-5; Selections, p. 126/163-72; Apology for Lollard Doctrines, pp. 76/12-80/33. The chief objection was that confusions and contradictions
existed in the decretals, in contrast to the clarity and consistency of 'Goddis lawe', recommended as a single source of true doctrine. Cf. here the implicit disparagement at D/36-9 within a text that adduces canon law copiously.

242-8 'foul wynnyng... dritt of worldly goodis', accusations of simony are added in the vernacular, using typical language of abuse.

245-60. This is possibly another passage of authorial comment interpolated into a rearrangement of the Dialogue, cap. 7, where Verita is the only speaker. This section recapitulates some of the points raised by Reson in the preceding section.

249-53 'her intent be pus infecte... pe frute pat schulde cunme perof': the metaphor of the infected root and fruit was a favourite Wycliffite image for the poison or rot of clerical wealth; (Matthew, pp. 408/16-18, 379/29-31, 286/23-4; Lanterne of Liit, pp. 38/29-39/1; cf. T1/361, C/511, 567; and for an extended image in an orthodox context, Piers Plowman C XII/218-33, where it is applied against a worldly clergy.


261-72 'beleeue of pe gospel... rest his heued': Matthew 8. 20, a locus classicus on the topic of voluntary poverty (see the Glossa ordinaria, Lyra and Jerome's commentary for examples). In Wycliffite writings poverty is eulogized as part of the argument against clerical involvement in temporal affairs (De civili dominio, III, 54/23-55/36, 98/9-99/34, 358/33-359/26; Opera minora, p. 426/5-7).

This text and that of II Corinthians 8. 9 are also used in the Dialogue, to show up the contrast between the Christian ideal and the reality of a church burdened with possessions 'ex dotatione Caesarea' (Trialogus, p. 186/22-9; cf. Polemical Works, II, 616/17-23).

269 'many ben merchaundis as foxes': an opprobrious image for the acquisitiveness, fraudulence and deceit of the clergy. Though the necessity and propriety of trade were commonly acknowledged (as in Piers Plowman C IX/22-42), this was not fully conceded by the Wycliffites,
whose references to Matthew 8. 20 follow rather the orthodox and proverbial view of the craftiness of merchants (see e.g. Matthew, pp. 25/1-15, with which cf. e.g. Speculum Christiani, a Middle English Treatise of the Fourteenth Century, ed. G. Holmstedt, EETS 182 (London, 1933), pp. 170/26-172/2: Castle of Perseverance, p. 28/849-53. For comparisons between priests and merchants, see further at Matthew, pp. 172/10-20, 185/28-186/14, 238/2-9; De civili dominio, III, 311/36-314/2.

In medieval imagery, the fox also provided an allegorical sign for the heretical seducer of the faithful (see Chaucer's Boece, IV. pr. 3/110, and for further examples, D. W. Robertson, A Preface to Chaucer (Princeton, 1962), pp. 251-2, notes 177-9 and p. 154, note 40). A favourite medieval taunt was to depict the preaching priest or friar as a fox, often in bishop's regalia with chicken or geese alongside, illustrating the proverb 'whanne þe fox prechyth, kepe wel þore gees' (Castle of Perseverance, p. 27/802; see further examples in M. P. Tilley, A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth Centuries (Ann Arbor, 1950, repr. 1966), F656). Illustrations of this motif in carvings and on pulpits are given by M. D. Anderson, The Medieval Carver (Cambridge, 1935), pp. 44, 114; History and Imagery in British Churches (London, 1971), plates 58, 59; and G. R. Owst, Preaching in Medieval England (Cambridge, 1926), p. 86.

273-7 'Also Crist spake... aftur worldly lordschipe': I Timothy 6. 8 was another authority used to support the ideal of clerical poverty, often connected with Wycliffite heterodoxy by its charge against clerical dominion (De civili dominio, III, 217/11-14, 219/31-220/10; IV, 400/2-22, 495/37-496/5; cf. ME Rosarium, p. 84/1-4; Matthew, p. 398/5-6; Arnold, III, 126/34-6).

The vernacular dialogue, closer here to the Trialogus, p. 301/16-23 and 'De triplici ecclesie', 391/1-4, does not pursue Wyclif's use of the text against the pope, denounced in the Dialogus as hereticus induratus (pp. 13/22-14/8).

277-79 'But þis is ægeynes Crist... þe world let hem nouȝt þus': the passage may include double entendre, referring under the same title both to Paul's ideal of a 'treue bischop' and to 'treue' Lollard preachers. In the Lollard view, all clerks, even bishops, were forbidden to hold
richly remunerative office, though the secular arm put no such constraint on clerical activities.

Wyclif's comment is that the papal position over temporal dominion was heretical in the light of I Timothy 6 (Dialogus, p.14/4-8).

279-82 'pe chosen vessells of God. . . taugt bi his help': among those to receive ignominious treatment were the martyrs Stephen and James, Silas and Barnabus, who were all prohibited from preaching; the biblical narrative emphasizes the poverty of the apostles (Acts 6. 1-4).

283-4 'pe newe laue techiþ. . . to leue al worldly richessis'; e. g. I Corinthians 12. 1-10, Hebrews 11. 26, James 2. 5; see Arnold, II, 221/20-222/4 for a summary of Pauline teaching.

284-8 'as men carien not her schippis forþer. . . in þe hour of deþ': this proverbial comparison added in the vernacular vividly expresses the burden of riches (cf. Matthew 19. 24, Jeremiah 17. 11) and also provides a concrete illustration for the abstract text of I Timothy 6. 7. The only record of a comparable proverb, 'Navibus assideo telluris inutile pondus' is in a seventeenth-century collection of European proverbs (Walther, Lateinische Sprichwörter, III, item 58a). The present usage compares with that of a Lollard sermon on Matthew 14. 22, that unless men follow Christ 'in poverté and mekenesse. . . [þei] ben raper drenchid in þis water . . . þei lasten not in þis boot, but ben drenchid in þis see' (Arnold, I, 374-5). Wyclif quoted FitzRalph's exegesis of Luke 5. 3 against the friars, that when the disciples left their nets and ships, they were abandoning ownership of possessions (quoted by Wyclif, De civili dominio, III, 131/20-132/18).

289-96 'Lucifer: I haue herd þee. . . many lawes of þe pope': this is the first appearance of Reson's opponent. The speech gives a loose and succinct paraphrase of Dialogue, cap 6, pp. 15/1-18, though it cuts short the reference to scholastic method and omits the illustration from Christ's life (Dialogue, p. 15/2-5, 6-9). Discussion on the priesthood is compressed to a simple contrast between the old standards and present-day ones. By a sleight of hand Lucifer equates canon law and the custom of endowment practised by temporal lords.
295-6 The sense of 'to pis acordiP lordis graunte' is clarified by reference to the Latin 'et cum ista sentencia concordant concessiones dominorum temporalium' (pp. 15/16-17). 'Lordis graunte' refers to the secular endowments and other privileges whereby the church's position within the state was secured. These were upheld by canons such as those guaranteeing clerical immunities and the inalienability of ecclesiastical possessions; for relevant decretals, see the note to D/271-9.

297-335 'Reson: We may not feyne. . . reson wiP Goddis lawe schuld oonly be acceptid': the reply loosely adapts Dialogues, caps 8 and 9, moderating the tone of criticism and expanding the biblist theme.

298-9, 313-14 'domesdaye', a motif expressing the notion of justice and punishment in the context of eschatology; it was also a favourite image in Wycliffite exegesis, often emphasizing the inscrutability of God's judgment (Trialogus, pp. 389-93; Arnold, II, 230/10-16 etc.).

299-307 'we knowe not bi reson. . . so gret kyndenesse': based on Dialogues p. 17/2-10, the passage asserts that priests under Christ's law of grace are more culpable than priests of the old law. This comparison constitutes a savage attack on the orders in the context of medieval antisemitism (see e. g. Piers Plowman C XVII/297-308, XX/96-113; and in Wycliffite writings, De blasphemia, pp. 12/23-13/3; De apostasia, p. 23/35-6; Polemical Works. I, 175/1-16; Matthew, pp. 2/11, 18-19, 27/18-30, 151/28-30 etc.; The Plowman's Tale, p. 167/629-30; C/425-34). A similarly savage attack is implicit in the confessions of Lollards who held that churches deserved no more reverence than synagogues (Heresy Trials, pp. 53, 61, 76).

The clerical threat 'a3eyne pe Godhed' (T2/303) is connected with the Wycliffite view that the Roman church had usurped the law-giving role of God (Dialogues, p. 17/14-18; De blasphemia, pp. 180/18-181/35; Arnold, I, 15/12-16/14).

307-9 'turnyng a3eyne to spuynge. . . pe oolde lawe': an image drawn from the biblical proverb of the dog returning to its vomit (Proverbs 26. 11, Isaiah 19. 14, II Peter 2. 22); cf. Dialogues, p. 16/2-3; Arnold, II,
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330/7-10; Matthew, p. 25/19-20). In the orthodox glosses, the proverb is treated as a warning against the stupidity of returning to mundane affairs.

309-11, 318-20 'pis lawe pat Crist saue. . . for evermore': based on Dialoquis, pp. 15/22-3, 16/14-17. 20-1. The authority and consistency of divine law is established in an allusion to Wyclif's metaphysical theory of the eternity of time and of the coextension of time past, present and future, 'omne quod fuit erit' (Fasciculi zizaniorum, p.56). See also De veritate sacrae scripturae and succinctly, Sermones, II, 41/3-42/3); on Wyclif's theory of time, see Smalley, 'The Bible and Eternity: John Wyclif's Dilemma'; Robson, Wyclif and the Oxford Schools, pp. 156-70.

312-18, 323-5 'men in state of innocentis. . . leue foule erpely pingis:

326-8 pe graunte of lordis: (Dialoquis p. 18/14-19/2). The author rebuts Lucifer's argument from precedent (T2/295-6), asserting that the Lords Temporal, by their endowments, had allowed sin in the church, ignoring divine law (Trialogus, pp. 307-11).

334-5 'pe popes lawe': Dialoquis, p. 19/2-7; cf. Apology for Lollard Doctrines, pp. 73-8, that canon law is 'contrari to pe lawe of pe gospel'.

336-9 'Lucifer: a presumpcioun. . . a senis a fewe eritikis' (Dialoquis, p. 19/14-19): the evidence of the saints supports endowment against the contrary opinion of a few heretics, the Lollards. The orthodox view was that it was the church's role as the sole guarantor of revelation to determine the canon of saints. With Lucifer's claim of a thousand
witnesses, cf. the Lollard hyperbole that a 'thousand powsandis bene moo seintis in heven þen we kanonysen in þo kalendar' (Arnold, III, 467/8-9)

342-5 'It is seid oft. . . and woo is him þat þenne trowip it not': at Dialogus, p. 20/17-18, Wyclif cited Augustine as authority for the assertion that belief is not held for its own sake, but because it is the law of God: 'Si christus hoc asserit ve illi qui non credit' (Enarratio in Psalmum LXVI, part 2, PL 36, 802-3); this exegesis supports the absolute truth of scripture (De veritate sacrae scripturae, I, 46/17-47/15).

351-70 This section depends upon Dialogus, cap 10, pp. 20/26-21/11 on canonization; p. 20/10-12 on endowment, and cap. 11, p. 22/9-15 on faith.

351-5 'anentis many seyntis. . . God forbede þat it were so': (Dialogus, pp. 19/22-20/16). Refuting the authority of the saints, the vernacular omits Wyclif's development of the theme in relation to the sins of saints, and also his exposition of the distinction between faith and opinion (pp. 19/22-21/11). He merely alludes to the common Wycliffite scepticism of the saints based on their condemnation of the papacy since the time of Sylvester; cf. Trialogus, pp. 234-8, De ecclesia, pp. 44/8-45/16; Matthew, pp. 83/12-21, 288/26-35, 380/34-381/1; Selections, pp. 27/110-13.

Wyclif did in fact allow a role for the saints and fathers of whom he approved. He named Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose and Gregory, Chrysostom, Hilary and Rabanus, Bede, Bernard and Grosseteste as adding to revealed authority even though they themselves were not the source of authority (e. g. Trialogus, p. 413/3-7 p. 413/3-7 and Laud Misc. MS. 235, f. 2, cited by Hargreaves, 'Popularizing Biblical Scholarship', pp. 180-1).


353-5 'if þe pope seye enyting. . . God forbede þat it were so': in this addition to the Latin, the vernacular emphasizes the contrast
between the fallibility of papal edicts and the absolute truth of divine law (see also De veritate sacrae scripturae, I, 216/20-217/5 etc; ME Rosarium, lex, p. 75/11-17). This view was not exclusively Wycliffite, but came to be identified with the heresy of the movement (see Wilkins, Concilia, III, 157, items 8, 9 and Selections, p. 19/19-21), and was frequently an item on which suspects were interrogated (Hudson, 'Examination of Lollards', 154, items 32, 33; Heresy Trials, pp. 58, 95 etc. Netter confirmed this as an aspect of Wycliffite heresy, Doctrinale fidei, II. 3. 36-7, vol. 1, 430-4.

355-9 'for penne the pope were neuer begiled. . . siche heresyes': the sin of covetousness, the fabrication of laws of convenience and the schism ('two popis') all totally discredit the papacy (T2/352, 356-7, 358-9; cf. ME Rosarium, p. 79/16-23). This topic is expounded more fully in the Dialogus, p. 22/10-25, where the objections extend also to the college of cardinals. The schism also demonstrated the contradictions of the 'virulent antichrists' (Trialogus, p. 454/9-12; Arnold, III, 247/12-16). For condemnation of Wycliffite teaching on the schism, see Netter, Doctrinale fidei, II. 3. 45-6, vol. 1, 476-87.

358 Wycliffite scepticism towards papal authority is expressed in this paradoxical taunt, that 'god mote falle to hem bope': that is, that both parties have an equal claim on truth.

The phrase 'diffyneden contraries' is understood in the sense of settling or putting an end to opposition (OED v. 1), but it may also mean that those opposing views are fixed, defined and specific (OED vv. 4, 5). In either case, the point here is that without the sanction of reason, then men will fall prey to the logical absurdity of believing that the edicts of both popes are true. The same warning against the logical absurdity of accepting papal teaching or allowing papal interference in English affairs is found elsewhere in Wycliffite writings; e. g. Arnold II, 192/23-31, III, 246/4-23, 351/14-20.

359-70 'If resoun prove . . . Goddis lawe teche it'. This section depends on Dialogus, cap. 10, p. 21/7-11 conflated with p. 20/23-30.

In both versions this section emphasizes the fallibility of merely human opinion, referring back to the testimony of the saints adduced by
Lucifer/Mendacium (T2/337; Dialogus, p. 19/14ff.). In contrast is the infallibility of reason, faith and divine law (T2/359-60; Dialogus, p. 21/7-11).

363–6 'trute of man is litle inou to be unrented wit Goddis lawe. an alteration of the sense of Wyclif's 'Videamus ergo...dimittere' which warns against imputing infallibility to mere opinion (sentenciam).

The amplification that follows also adds a curious new slant (366-8). If the MS reading 'mannes ymage' is retained, the sense may be that under such a limitation, man should not further limit himself by accepting unsound evidence.

367 Emendation to 'Goddes image' is preferred on the assumption of an intended allusion to Genesis 1. 26-7. The alteration emphasizes the theme of proper evidence already raised, and suggests that because man has the God-given capacity ('Goddis ymage') to comprehend the certainty of reason and divine law, then there is no need for him to be shackled by mere 'opynyoun'.

371–8 'witnesse of myche peple... deed hi ~is colour': Dialogus, cap 11 (pp. 21/13-22/49, omitting p. 22/10-25). Old testament exempla to illustrate Solomon's dictum that 'be noumbr of foolis is wipouten ende' (Ecclesiastes 1. 15), i. e. that popular following can be a sign of error; cf. Wyclif's argument on the falsity of the maxim vox populi, vox dei (Polemical Works, II, 605/1-21).

The incident from the apocryphal 'History of Susanna', an appendix to the prophecy of Daniel, demonstrates that opposing witnesses can create contradictions only resolved by anterior proof, that is by God (see also De civili dominio, I, 26/10-16; II, 221/19-223/7; De veritate sacrae scripturae, II, 59/1-9). The story was also cited to show how unjust rules of evidence can turn the course of justice (Matthew, pp. 74/33-75/8).

The persecution of Elijah (‘Helye’), emphasizes the value of patience and charity under the pressure of injustice cruelly inflicted.
The reference may be to the threats of those against whom he had preached (as in I Kings 19. 2) although the reference to stoning may be an error for the stoning of Naboth (I Kings 21. 13). The comparison between Christ and Elijah based on Matthew 17. 3 (T2/377-8), is not found in the Dialogus (but see Sermones, IV, 8/13-30. For use of the exemplum of Elijah see also the General Prologue, WB, p. 30.

381-5 'Lucifer: you spekest a3eyn pe courte of Rome': without emendation, Lucifer's speech would attribute to Reson the reverse of what he has contended: cf. the Latin, 'quia si in tali materia solum debet fidelis credere scripture sacre non crederet bullis papalibus vel diffinicioni curie romane' (Dialogus, p. 23/3-5).

Though the English epitomizes the Latin of Dialogus, p. 23/1-14, some changes emphasize the disparity between Lucifer and Reson. For example, Lucifer invokes the orthodox equation of canon law and divine law as derived from the canon of Decretum I, D. 1. 1, Friedberg, vol. 1, 1): 'a3eyn pe courte of Rome, & so a3eyns Crist & his lawe' (T2/381). He also asserts that the authority of 'many lettris of true men' will be undermined (rather than 'literis episcopalibus vel literis frateramitatum', Dialogus, p. 23/7-8). In this alteration Lucifer defends the clerical position with a veiled slander against the Lollards ('true men') by claiming that the purveyors of letters of indulgence and papal bulls are 'true men'.

384-5 'but who schuld penne trowe his bropur. . . ?', presents the gist of Dialogus, p. 23/10-14, that loss of clerical authority would also bring about the loss of credibility in such matters as oaths, contracts and wills. Without reference to the Latin, the vernacular here is too elliptical to be intelligible.

386-9 'Reson: you fostest as pe fend. . . he discayed mankynde': the vernacular departs from the abstract of the Latin to exploit affective alliteration, providing an exemplum on the sin of deceit practised by 'pe fend', pater mendacii (Dialogus, p. 23/15-17). For this connection between the 'opyn gabbyng' of the devil and Eve's 'freiltee' in temptation, not found in the Latin, see De civili dominio, I, 422/4-10; Matthew, p. 207/22-5. The interpolation introduces the doctrine of
original sin, that by Adam sin entered mankind; see more fully at T1/70ff.

387 'he asseyed... the womman': with the devil's assessment of (or assault on) the frailty of Eve, cf. Trialogus, p. 162/18-28, where it is argued that the devil appealed to *superbia anterior*, especially *superbia scholastica*, intellectual pride. Wyclif warned that this sin could infect clerks bothering over useless intellectual questions; cf. the comparison between the academic pretensions and ambitions of the friars and Eve's vain appetite for knowledge, Opera minora, pp. 323/24-324/4.

389-97 'per ben foure answeris to spechis': the present concern with the difficulty in ascertaining truth follows Dialogus, p. 24/6-25, 'Et sic dictum est communiter quod ad quesita sive proposita est quadruplex responcio adaptanda', giving four possible responses to *quesitum* (questioning) or *propositum*:

(i) Propositions which are above human opinion can be accepted as true, including truths of faith, truths perceptible to the senses and doctrinal truths derived from sure foundations (p. 24/8-10);
(ii) propositions may be considered false when opposed to the aforesaid truths (p. 24/10-12);
(iii) or they may be doubted, because the evidence does not allow them to be certainly known or contradicted (p. 24/12-14); and
(iv) there are propositions which are supposed to be true, as in the first mode, but the contrary cannot be ascertained either by faith or by reason (p. 24/15-18).

This analysis of propositions could have been derived from Aristotelian theory on the three modes (as in *De interpretatione*, ed. H. P. Cooke, Loeb ed. (London, 1938), pp. 121-5, 130-41). The three distinctions were also preserved by Boethius in his commentaries on Aristotle and Cicero (e.g. *In topica Ciceronis commentaria*, PL 64, 1048D-1049C, 1054A). For discussion of these antecedents, see G. Nuchelmans, *Theories of the Proposition: Ancient and Medieval Conceptions of the Bearers of Truth* (Amsterdam, 1973), chapters 8, 9.

I can find no other instance in Wyclif's writings of the material of Dialogus, p. 24 and T2/389-97, though he deals with propositions briefly, asserting that the truth depends on the meaning, not on the
form of the proposition and claiming that propositions alleged by scripture are capable of proof (De veritate sacrae scripturae, I, 194/3-17, 286/6-22; II, 74/11-76/7).

In Selections, pp. 82/305-18, and Arnold III, 339/22ff. the distinctions between certain knowledge, faith and hope are elaborated.

397-406 'As I have herd of a prelate. . . wordes feyned aȝeynes trupe': in this section the purpose of the preceding analysis of propositions is clarified. Knowledge about salvation is difficult to obtain because of the operation of predestination and the inscrutability of the will of God. However, against the pessimism of the four-fold division is a new mood, hope: 'Cum proposicio mihi si salvabor nec concedo nec nego nec dubito, sed spero' (Dialogus, p. 24/25-6; T2/399-401). Simplifying Wyclif's passages on contingency, speculation and determinism (pp. 23/22-24/6, 21-5), the vernacular author explicates the solution to the dilemma of uncertainty, that 'beleeue is a certeyne', thanks to the operation of divine power (T2/404-5); that is, because the divine will is the necessary cause of belief, then belief is distinguished from opinion and exempt from speculation.

404 'if God wolde pei may falle or fayle, but beleeue. . . may not fayle': alliteration marks the contrast between the uncertainty of opinion and the certainty of faith which alone allows a man to 'answere to wordes feyned aȝeynes trupe' (406). This assertion emphasizes the liberty, even capriciousness of the divine will to determine a man's final direction. In the Latin version, falli and fallere are applied explicitly to the papacy on account of its worldliness and ignorance of truth (p. 24/5). In subsequent chapters, Wyclif developed the distinction between opinion and belief: papal bulls, indulgences and other human judgments and contracts are not matters of faith but are subject to error as mere opinion (Dialogus, pp. 24/28-26/26). The vernacular piece does not pursue this theme.

406-9 'Cristen men . . . speke aȝeyns pe courte of Rome: a covert justification for Lollard criticism. On the Roman curia, see the note to D/33. In the Dialogus, pp. 24/28-25/3 Wyclif considers whether the Roman
curia is to be identified with the church militant; the vernacular concentrates on the need for reform, to end the discrepancy between the ideal church and its realization in Rome.

409-11 'And þus he schuld do bi charite . . . as Seynt Iame seip': there is no analogue in the Dialogus for this section. The correct reference should be to St Peter, i.e. I Peter 4. 8, a text which Wyclif used to support the function of charity (i.e. good works) in salvation; see Sermones, III, 118/25-7, 249/12ff.; IV, 422/30ff. The text of James 2. 20, 26 supported the same principle (Sermones, III, 11/15-24, Selections, p. 126/144-6). Two aspects of the doctrine of charity are collated: the 'works' of James 2. 20-26 and the gift of faith as expounded in Hebrews 11. 6: together they constitute 'charite'; both are necessary to gain the grace by which man can escape the 'everlasting payne of helle'.

415-16 'þe seuen warkes of mercy' was a favourite medieval division, based on Matthew 25. 35-6. The corporal works included the duties of supplying the needs of the hungry and the thirsty, clothing the naked, harbouring the stranger, visiting the sick, ministering to prisoners and burying the dead (the last derived from Tobit 2). Corresponding to these were the works of converting the sinner, instructing the ignorant, counselling the doubtful, comforting the sorrowful, bearing wrongs patiently, forgiving injuries and praying for the living and the dead.

Lollard writers regarded spiritual works as superior to the corporal, especially for the clergy (see e.g. Arnold, II, 46-8, III, 168-82. The present passage conforms to orthodox piety rather than to the usual Lollard emphasis on the spiritual works, though the exigency of rhyme rather than a belief in the equality of corporal and spiritual works may explain why only 'þeis dedis seuen' are mentioned in the final couplet.
A DIALOGUE BETWEEN A SECULAR CLERK AND A PRIAR

Trinity College Dublin MS. 244 (C. 3. 12)

1-2 'Moost worshipfullest. . . Duke of Glowestre': the dialogue is addressed to the duke in conventional terms. The reference is more likely to be to Thomas of Woodstock (1355-97) than to the later Humphrey (1391-1447). He had acted with John of Gaunt in defence of Wyclif in 1378; his power as a member of the king's council was considerable and apposite to the Lollard cause (Statutes of the Realm, II, 25-6; Rotuli parliamentorum, III, 124-5); Thomas's piety and learning were notable, and he is thought to have owned a copy of the earlier version of the Wycliffite bible. As a Lord Appellant he upheld the dignity of the crown out of concern for the welfare of the realm, enforcing observance of the Statutes of Provisors and Praemunire against unreasonable demands, whether by the pope or king; he was also concerned with the discipline of the church, as when he encouraged lay lords to assist with discipline at the abbey of Meaux: see Knighton, Chronicon, II, 216-25; McKisack, The Fourteenth Century, pp. 459-61; M. Aston, Thomas Arundel; A Study of Church Life in the Reign of Richard II (Oxford, 1967), pp. 49-51, 353-4; A Goodman, The Loyal Conspiracy: the Lords Appellant under Richard II (London, 1971), pp. 75-6).

The appeal is contradictory: as a Lord Appellant, Thomas was an ally of Thomas Fitzalan, afterwards Archbishop Arundel, a zealous opponent of Wycliffism. The duke's cordial relations with the abbey of St Albans, his action in alienating property in perpetuity to establish a chantry there and his patronage of ecclesiastical splendour would hardly have endeared him to the Lollards and suggest that the Lollard suit was unlikely to find support and protection from the duke.

An appeal to the later duke Humphrey is even more unlikely. Humphrey only succeeded as duke in 1414, at the time of the Oldcastle rebellion. From that time, when the lay power was implacably opposed to Wycliffism, the duke was personally active in carrying out the policy of his brother Henry IV against the rebels of 1414 (Roskill, 369
The Commons and their Speakers, p. 158).

2-3 'Houre servaunt sende!p jou disputusun... bytwixe a frere & a seculer Houre clerk': the friar is probably from the Dominican order (see T1/27, 'frere prechouris'), an order which established a general studium at Oxford in 1263. The clerk is a 'seculer', that is, an ordained member of the secular clergy, as opposed to the regular clergy, living in society and bound by no rule. The secular clerk owed obedience to the bishop and enjoyed the right to possess property. As a clerk of Gloucester, he may have been an incumbent of a living under ducal patronage, or a chaplain in the household; clerks were commonly seconded to temporal duties by their patrons (but in the light of Lollard criticism of this practice, as at D/309ff., it is unlikely in this case).

4-8 'For as seye!p oure bileue... ei!p!r partye': John 8. 32 is loosely paraphrased (see the same phrasing in Matthew, p. 435/19-20). 'Bileue' may refer specifically to the Athanasian Creed, the preface and conclusion of which confirm that belief in the truth is necessary for salvation. For Lollard use of this creed, see the interpolation in the Lay Folks' Catechism, p. 14/225-7; Selections, p. 82/301-5 and Arnold, III, 71-81, a translation and commentary interpolated into Rolle's commentary on the Psalms.

The citation attributed to Aristotle may be based on his advice not to debate casually with contentious persons (e. g. Topica, VIII. 14); it reflects the pseudo-Aristotelian Secretum Secretorum, though the exact maxim is not in the extant tracts (ed. M. A. Manzalaoui, EETS 276(1977), 1).

The present sense seems to be that it is a good thing to support honour and truth. The maxim is clarified by reference to a remark of Hus concerning the opposition of a former ally, that if both the ally and truth were his friends, 'it is holy to give preference to truth' (quoted by M. Spinka, in John Hus and the Czech Reform, p. 44 from the 'Responsio Magistri Ioannis Hus ad scripta M. Stephani Paletz theologiae doctoris', Historia et monumenta Johannis Hus et Hieronymi Pragensis, 2 vols (Nürnberg, 1558), I, 264).
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The metaphor of the 'fyle' and 'rust' was proverbial by 1500; see Whiting, Proverbs, G. 298, ('as the fyle the yren from rust maketh shyne'); for a figurative use, where the file is an agent or person that corrects and chastens, see Vices and Virtues, ed. W. N. Francis, EETS 217 (1942), p. 151/25; Ancrene Riwle (Pepys), ed. A. Zettersten, EETS 274 (1976), pp. 80/25-32, 124/14-16.

'Rust' may denote either filth, obscenity or moral corruption (as in Piers Plowman C VIII/75; Lanterne of Li3t, p. 35/32), or any impairing influence upon character or abilities, though for this usage there is only one medieval attestation, c. 1000 (OED n. 5). The phrase 'Rubbe a-waye the Ruste' (where 'rust' has the sense 'moral corrosion') is attested from a text of 1440 (OED n. 2).

8-11 [Friar]: 'pat þe hestis of God ... as tellip children sommes'. The scholastic context, and in particular the controversy over universals, is reflected in the friar's speculative proposition that the imperative mood is not subject to proof or falsification, and in the use of technical terms of grammar and logic. The friar expounds the Aristotelian view that only the indicative mood conveys a statement-making utterance: i.e. the nominalist teaching as to the distinction between signs and things (see Nuchelmans, Theories of the Proposition, pp. 195-225, 235-7, 243-71), asserting that sentences like prayers, commands, questions and the like are not propositions and therefore are neither true nor false (cf. Aristotle, De interpretatione, 17a. 5).

In contrast to the contingent nature of the imperative mood are the calculations that children make, reckoning their sums (line 11): they are either right or wrong.

There is no precedent for interpreting 'sommes' as the plural form of the indefinite article.

12-14 'pat ech hest of God is trewe. ... & noust a3enwardt': Psalms 18 (AV 19). 8-9 and 110 (AV 111). 8 reinforce the characteristic Wycliffite biblism concerning 'þe gretteste science of alle'; for the contrast between the two 'sciences' of logic and divine law, cf. De veritate sacrae scripturae, I, 28/8-29/17.
15-19 '\& forefore seip Seynt Poul': I Corinthians 13. 11. This is an inherently ironical remark in that the clerk reduces the 'sophemesse & ophere veyne resouns' of the friar's sarcastic taunt ('as tellip children sommes') to merely 'pilke pingis pat weren of childhoode'. With this denigration of scholastic learning in favour of theology, cf. Wyclif's warning that though scripture obeys the rules of logic and grammar, it is not susceptible to simplistic understanding as the speech of a child (De veritate sacrae scripturae, I, 44/5-7).

The passage may also draw on the common Wycliffite denunciation of the values held in childhood as being rooted in tyrannical pride; for references, see M. Wilks, 'The Early Oxford Wyclif: Papalist or Nominalist?', Studies in Church History, 5 (1969), 85-7.

Wycliffite treatment of sophistry was generally pejorative, commonly expanding the term to include specious dialectic and scholastic disputation. Wycliffism regularly equated papalists and the religious orders with the sophists and the moderni, as false thinkers, those sceptical towards scripture, and denounced them for their indulgence in this pseudo-learned discipline (e. g. De veritate sacrae scripturae, I, 148/7-23; Arnold, III, 227/5-12; Matthew, p. 6/8-12).

Though Wyclif advocated the postillating method of biblical exegesis as a means of eliminating arbitrary sophisms, he also used the term sophismata in a positive sense, approving the use of dialectic in theology (De blasphemia, p. 24/9ff.; De logica, I, 121; Smalley, 'John Wyclif's Postilla super totam bibliam', 187.

19-23 Seynt Poul: Hebrews 5. 12.

This translation represents a less literal (though still clumsy) and in some respects a more precise translation than those of WB 1 or 2; e.g. the Vulgate elementa (alphabet; first principles, rudiments), translated here by principles, is given in WB as elements 'or lettris' (WB1) and lettris (WB2); all translators had difficulty with Latin propter tempus, 'for tyme'; and all translate literally the ut clause as a 'that' clause instead of by the more colloquial infinitive. Similarly the Latin relative clause beginning quibus ... is translated more or less literally, without a pronoun (except in WBl) which is required in English.

23 sad: for other Wycliffite usage of this rare sense, see WB 1, Hebrews 5. 13 and II Timothy 2. 19, and Arnold, II, 259.

23-6 'wherefore we seyen. . . trewpe in dede answerynge to hym': invoking
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an Augustinian thesis in support of the absolute truth of scripture against the friar's scepticism on verbal moods, the clerk argues that utterances in the imperative and optative moods are also propositions like those in the indicative. They are correlatives of reality which can be inferred from the indicative. Since only that which is true or false can be so judged, then utterances in these oblique moods are also true or false (Nuchelmans, *Theories of the Proposition*, pp. 266-8). For another instance of a Lollard appeal to principles of grammar as part of the defensive argument, see *Selections*, p. 20/44-9.

27 [Friar]: 'frere prechouris havep no possessioum in Engelond': this proposition alludes to two controversies; (i) there was hostility over the friars' role in diocesan affairs, frequently opposed as being detrimental to the secular clergy and coupled with criticism of the friars for their neglect of poverty; and (ii) by nominating the Preachers, the friar is implicitly excluding the Dominican order from the scandal surrounding the Franciscan order on account of their doctrinal schism over the question of poverty and their disingenuous evasion of the vow of absolute poverty.

By 1223, absolute poverty was established for the Dominican order. Rents and revenues were renounced in favour of complete reliance on alms, though corporate poverty never excluded the order from owning churches, priories, the land on which these stood and accompanying land, for these did not bring in tithes or rents (W. A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order: Origins and Growth to 1500*, 2 vols (New York, 1965), I, 47, 148, 158; *The Early English Friars Preachers* (Rome, 1952), pp. 231-41). The Franciscans, on the other hand, by a series of decrees issued between 1230-1247, vested the ownership of their property in the papacy while retaining for the order legitimate use (*usus pauper*). Though this circumvention had been halted before the end of the thirteenth century, the arrangements were a source of contention both within the Franciscan order and between the two major orders, eventually giving rise to further papal enactments. These favoured the less austere Conventual Franciscans against the ascetic Spirituals on whose behalf the 'legal fiction' had been created. On this debate, see D. Douie, *The Nature
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The friar's claim is generally accurate. The sites of Dominican priories were modest and their buildings unpretentious at least until their success called for larger preaching naves late in the fourteenth century (Hinnebusch, History, I, 158; Early English Friars Preachers, pp. 67-70, 237). They received minimal rents in England in the years 1349-1350 and with virtually no permanent land endowments, the friars were forced to beg heavily (A. G. Little, 'A Royal Inquiry into the Property held by the Mendicant Friars' in Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait (Manchester, 1933), pp. 179-88; D. Knowles, 'The Monastic Buildings of England' in The Historian and Character (Cambridge, 1963), p. 209). However, as the Dominican order became localized and its preaching purpose established, manual labour vanished and its need for property grew. Then Dominican convents and fine churches became the butt of satirists (as of Matthew of Paris, Chronica majora, ed. H. Luard, 7 vols, Roll Series, 57 (1872-83), IV, 279-80; V, 184-5; Pierce the Plowman's Crede, pp. 7/153-9/218; Selections, p. 91/96-9).

28-33 [Clerk]: 'pat in dom place in Engelond...to whom is contrarious:

the claim that 'annuel rente' enables friars to live 'alle one wip opere seculeris' is ambiguous. Either the friars live as secular clerks whose vocation allows them to own property, or as secular lords whose legitimate way of life the friars had the illegitimate means to imitate; for comparison between the friars' manner of living and that of secular lords, see Sermones, II, 50/23-51/17 and Polemical Works, I, 198/3-9, 253/2-4, 12-23.

28 'in dom place', a phrase attested only in WB, where it is used to translate Latin forum (Acts 16. 19; 17. 17) and Latin tribunal (Acts 25. 10), 'market place' or 'judgment place'; a cognate term 'dom house' for Latin pretorium 'headquarters', was applied to the Roman curia (OED doom, sb. 11). Thus the clerk asserts that friars receive their 'rente' either as a result of judicial decision or by market transactions, neither of which lay strictly within the limits of the
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doctrine of poverty. 'Dom place' may also denote the domus, the house or convent of the friars, a use which is not attested until 1413, to signify a stately building (OED domus, sb. 1) or until 1691 in ecclesiastical use, as a loan word from the Italian for 'cathedral' (OED dome, sb. 2).

'annuel rente' may be understood as income from property or commercial transactions. 'Annuel rente' also had another sense, 'sin rent' the pejorative term for the fines paid for the purchase of absolution (see discussion in the note to D/117-20).

'pei blessen many men pat see[m] hem riche': this common charge that friars preached only to the rich went back to William of St Amore who claimed that the friars usurped the privileges connected with the offices from which canonical dues and donations might be expected by the parish clergy, such as confession, penance, preaching and sepulture; in the latter case they enjoyed the privilege only with respect to men 'riche & possessions hauyng'. Chaucer portrayed the pilgrim-friar as ministering selectively and enjoying an income at the expense of the parish priest (General Prologue I/222-3, 243-50); cf. also the taunt in Piers Plowman C Prologue/56-61 and for other examples see Mann, Chaucer and Medieval Estates Satire, pp. 51-3; C. Erickson, 'Fourteenth-Century Franciscans and their Critics', Franciscan Studies, 35(1975), 128-9. Among Wycliffite charges see De apostasia, p. 34/5-9; Sermones, II, 58/4-29, 59/3-10; Jack Upland, pp. 62/191-4, 64/226-32, 67/291-4; Selections, p. 92/116-17; Arnold, III, 396/2-8; see also C/517, 521-7.

'jit leuen it nou3t to whom is contrarious', probably a lament that the rich leave their wealth to the mendicant orders rather than to priests who may be 'contrarious' to the ecclesiastical hierarchy, such as 'poor priests' from whom no easy absolution would be forthcoming (see the same complaint in Pierce the Plowman's Crede, p. 3/70-1).

'Blessid be pilke pat leuep & deep not', John 11. 26. In the present context, leuëp is ambiguous: does it translate vivit or credit of
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John 11. 26? Cf. Sermones, IV, 11-16 where the theme of belief is developed at p. 16/1-9.

34-8 'So as Crist bileeue. . . make seynge men blynde': an analogy drawn from Matthew 15. 14; cf. the metaphor of 'blynde Baiard' applied to the clergy, D/376, C/980. For the 'bileeue' of friars, see the Lollard tracts outlining fraternal errors, 'Fifty heresies of friars', Arnold, III, 367-401; Jack Upland, pp. 58-71; Pierce the Plowman's Crede etc., though in all these it is the practices rather than the theology of the friars which are particularized.

In the present instance, the charge may refer to the friars' eucharistic teaching (cf. C/1088-94), or to their preference for canon law, chronicles and fables or their own rules to biblical teaching (D/374-6; Sermones, IV, 122/4-33; III, 107/28-109/29; Arnold, I, 274/21-5). Wycliffism commonly charged friars with blinding men by giving support for papal wars, or with robbing the parish clergy, despoothing the realm, slandering Lollards and prohibiting them from preaching, allowing only 'blind' priests to preach and so destroying those whom they lead (Sermones, IV, 122/33ff.; Lanterne of Li3t, pp. 11/4ff., 69/5-20); cf. D/254-66.

39-44 [Friar]: 'It is nou3t sope. . . for it is neipir good ne yuel'. The friar denies that an action not specifically ordained as 'bileeue' is therefore necessarily evil, and claims that a universally affirmative proposition cannot be inferred from a particular, negative proposition ('alle þing þat is nou3t of good conscience is synne'). To confute the Wycliffite doctrine of sin the friar alludes to conscience as this was defined in such texts as Romans 14. 23, I Corinthians 8. 4, 7-12, 10. 23, Titus 1. 15 and Hebrews 10. 1-2, 22, that conscience indicates the moral status of an action. In effect, the friar advocates relativism in place of absolutism; i. e. a bad conscience indicates sin, whereas a pagan ('not of bileeue'), acting in good conscience, does not commit sin.

The example, 'vnauysed rubbynge of a mannes berd' is drawn from the sundry laws pertaining to the priesthood and to the rites of mourning (Leviticus 19. 27, 21. 5, Ezechiel 44. 20).
The passage reflects texts such as Romans 13. 9-10, Galatians 5. 14 and James 2. 8; cf. De veritate sacrae scripturae, II, 136/15-138/3, 141/12-144/32 where Wyclif emphasized the contrast between the good engendered by scripture and the evil prevailing outside the ambience of divine law; cf. also Polemical Works, I, 122/11-23, Arnold, III, 82/1-2.

Wyclif valued Augustine's authority, citing De doctrina christiana, II, 63 on the comprehensive authority of scripture and I. 31-33, 39-41, on the decalogue (De veritate sacrae scripturae, I, 1-62, especially pp. 21/15-22/17, 48/24-49/3; 157/3-12, 389/13-23.

This precept, that to love God and keep his law was the highest good, had been adopted by the Dominicans from the Rule of St Augustine as a fundamental obligation of the order (Hinnebusch, History, p. 119).

The first premise of this syllogism extends the earlier equation of the 'ten hestis' and 'al holywryt'. The second premise concurs with Paul's exposition of sin as a breach of natural law (Romans 2. 14-16). Wyclif's explanation contrasted actions forbidden by the old law yet validated by conscience, with things commanded by the old law yet forbidden by conscience (De veritate sacrae scripturae, III, 187/10-188/11).

The Glossa ordinaria on John 1. 3 also denied that evil was made by God, but offered no precedent for Wyclif's idiosyncratic extension of
the doctrine.

62-4 'Seynt Jeremye': this seems to refer to Jeremiah 7. 22-3, 19. 5, 29. 23 etc., or it may allude to the false prophets who operated without divine authority, Jeremiah 14. 14-15, 23. 31-2.

65-6 'pe rubynge of a mannnes herd. . . wiþ yuel circumstaunce yuel':

the virtue or evil of an act inheres in the intention as determined by conscience; thus contrary laws are not necessarily contradictory and inconsistent but depend for their validity on due cause (cf. the use of this reasoning to defend biblical translation, Selections, p. 70/122-8).

70-4 [Friar]: 'P seip. . . he synneþ nouȝt aftirward in his slepynge'.

'P' is understood as an abbreviation for Paul. The citation collates Hebrews 10.26 and Romans chapters 1 - 6. However, the doctrine that the friar propounds hints of neo-Pelagian thought. Man, free to choose good by virtue of his God-given nature, is responsible for his actions, and is not hobbled by original sin. Though responsible for deliberate acts of sin, he cannot be blamed for sin committed before the age of reason and discretion any more than he can for events occurring while he sleeps (or possibly after death, 'aftirward in his slepynge'). The chief tenets of Pelagianism, especially as these were transmitted to the fourteenth century by neo-pelagianists were:

(i) the transmission of Adam's sin to his descendants was denied;
(ii) it was asserted that Adam would have died even if he had not sinned;
(iii) that new-born children are in the same condition as Adam was before the Fall;
(iv) that sin is voluntary and is generated by custom and example; it is not congenital;
(v) that divine grace can and must be merited; it is neither predestined nor determined;
(vi) that death and salvation are both the result of man's will and
are not necessitated;
(vii) that only avoidable evil is classified as sin;
(viii) that the impeccable life is possible, by will, and
(ix) that children are eligible for eternal life, even without baptism.


This passage, with its abbreviation of the name of Pelagius, uses the methods of disguise, innuendo and implication to impugn the putative friar as a heretic. This is both a rhetorical ploy and a polemical device by which the dialoguist equates Pelagianism with nominalism and fraternal doctrine and thereby discredits both. This method of branding an opposing viewpoint with the name of a heresiarch was an established rhetorical convention found elsewhere in Lollard writings (see Leff, *Heresy*, I, 311-12; Jack Upland, p. 78/157).

75-209 This whole section echoes Augustine's refutation of Pelagianism and Manicheism (*De libero arbitrio*, III. xv. 46-xx. 57). There he showed man to be impaired by the Fall but sustained by divine grace, a doctrine that corrected the pessimism of Manicheism and the imbalance between God and man implicit in Pelagianism with its emphasis on good works. Citing Romans 7. 15-25, Galatians 5. 17 and Ephesians 2. 3, Augustine argued that man through ignorance (or blindness) has not the freedom of will to choose, for this gift was lost by the Fall. Man is thus paradoxically caught up in involuntary sin, an inherited moral decrepitude creating the need for liberation by grace; see Oberman, *Forerunners of the Reformation*, pp. 127-8; M. E. Alflatt, 'The Development of the Idea of Involuntary Sin in St
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Wyclif's refutation of Pelagianism, for the most part implicit in his espousal of Augustinian doctrine, was also explicit, as in Trialogus, pp. 218-22 and De dominio divino, pp. 238/24-240/9, 242/20-243/20. He denied the Pelagian view that merit replaces necessity or that any man can have merit 'ex se sed ex Deo' [sic] and asserted Augustine's doctrine of original sin. That is, that sin is a privation of the good, a defect transmitted by human generation. In this way he opposed both the Pelagian view that man is meritorious without grace and the Manichean, that evil is attributable to God (De civili dominio, IV, 564/15-570/23; De ente predicamentali, pp. 185/25-188/41; Sermones, III, 225/6-229/5, 394/34ff.; Arnold, I, 91/36-92/2).

75-82 [Clerk]: 'W[e] seyen pat perse is twey maneere of synnes': The context suggests a change of speaker here, requiring emendation of MS. 'he seip', which would refer to the doctrine attributed to 'P', unlikely in the context of Romans 7. 15, 19. Though the context of Romans 7. 15 and 19 suggests the need for a negative to supply the correct sense of the Latin odi (15) or nolo (19), the ME verbal noun 'doynge a-sens' to translate the Latin facio or ago gives the necessary negative sense.

The clerk's exegesis uses a scholastic method of contrary relation, that just as sin can be of two kinds, omission and commission, so virtue can be defined as the omission of evil and the commission of good (Psalms 33. 15 (AV 34. 14) and 36. 27 (AV 37). Wyclif asserted that all sins of commission are first sins of omission, that is, of not willing to do good, and that sin generates sin, so that all subsequent sin has its origin in will improperly exercised (De civili dominio, IV, 573/27-41, 577/30-5; Trialogus, p. 118/16-17).

83-6 'bifore pe synne of omyssioun... to make of deliberacioun': Wyclif defined the origin of sin as 'omissio quippe emendacionis est inicium peccatorum' (De veritate sacrae scripturae, II, 240/1-4). This involved not only the Augustinian view that sin is an act of will
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('men souereynlyche doiþ here yuel dedes', T1/85), but also that sin was ordained by God and was involuntary to man though not necessitated or desired by God. This paradox he explained by the enigma that all that happens does so of necessity, as when man by his own omission necessitates sin, or when God allows sin, making it fulfil his own purpose (De blasphemia, p. 166/11-12; Opus evangelicu[m], I, 451/1-452/6).

85 'souereynlyche', difficult to read in the MS., could sensibly be emended to sou[deyn]lyche, 'suddenly', in the sense 'capriciously', to complement the sense of impetuosity of line 86. 'Souereynliche' has the sense here 'sovereignly' with the connotation 'egotistically', 'autonomously', 'as sovereigns', 'without reference outside themselves', 'independently': it also had the sense 'completely', 'supremely' (OED n. 1, 2).

87-90 'te wyl of him goop bifo]re ony resoun good or yuel and . . . non oþir delyberacioun': a distinction is made here between corrupt 'wyl', and 'resoun', the faculty of 'deliberacioun' or forethought, which may be good or evil but which has a bias towards evil. This distinction went back to Augustine's idea of man's nature as intrinsically noble but vitiated by sin (De c[ivitate de]i, XXII. 24; see further in Leff, 'Wyclif and the Augustinian Tradition', 35).

95-7 a monk. . . lieþ stille & sleepþ'. This exemplum of the sleepy monk compares with the exemplum recorded by F. Tubach, Index exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales (Helsinki, 1969), p. 339, number 4443. In the present instance, the exemplum alludes to memory, the third faculty of the soul. In Aristotelian theory, memory provided a link between past and present by a likeness, eikon, which allowed inner knowledge to be recovered (R. Sorabji, Aristotle on Memory (London, 1972), pp. 1-17, 47-51). For Wyclif, the faculty of memory was the highest part of the rational soul, where 'the spirit strives towards God', and whence the soul actually derives its knowledge of God that disposes a man to love God (Leff, 'Wyclif and the Augustinian Tradition', 31).
97-101 'as Seynt Gregorie ensaumpli... opere pan goode'. I have not been able to locate the exemplum in Gregory, but it belongs to the context of Gregory’s emphasis on the ubiquity of sin found throughout the De cura pastoralis. In any case, the attribution functions rhetorically, based on the advice that a writer should not presume on his own opinion (e.g. Hugh of St Victor, quoted by A. Minnis, "Authorial Intention" and "Literal Sense", Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, 75(1975), 24).

Both exempla express scepticism as to the value of the regulated life; cf. also T2/178-200 and Chaucer’s portrait of the lax and gluttonous General Prologue I/165-207; or Piers Plowman C V/146-67, VI/151-63; Gower, Vox clamantis, Book IV.

102-10 'I wot... synne of omyssioun wiþouten any delyberacioun, schal sclee hem': the clerk perpetuates the essential pessimism of Augustinian teaching: that ignorance and weakness do not condone sin, that ignorance itself is penal, and that children’s sin is voluntary because it derives from the free act of their first parents (De libero arbitrio, III. 18. 51-2; cf. De civitate dei, XIII. 14-15, 23; see further in Kelly, Early Christian Doctrines, p. 364 and C. N. Cochrane, Christianity and Classical Culture, rev. ed (Oxford, 1944), p. 449). This aspect of Augustine’s teaching, had been incorporated into the church’s teaching against heretics and the sons of heretics, as in the decretal 'Vergentis' of Innocent III, Decretales V. 7. 10 (Friedberg, vol. 2, 782-3; on the application of this decretal, see K. Pennington, "Pro Patrum Puniri": a Moral and Legal Problem of the Inquisition’, Church History, 47 (1978), 137ff.); see below, T1/140-6.

107-10 'seip pe wise man’, possibly an allusion to the apocryphal Sapientia 12. 10-11, although the texts of Psalms 50. 7 (AV 51. 5), 57. 4 (AV 58. 3) are also appropriate. The orthodox glosses allude to the doctrine of original sin; Lyra also refers to the narrative of Genesis 9 (see T1/140-6).

111-15 [Friar]: 'A child synne not... hymself': a sophistical equivocation expressing one of the condemned articles of Pelagianism
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(see note to T1/70-4, article iv), and exploiting the nominalistic distinction between 'being in sin' and 'sinning', that sin does not exist except as individual acts. Such a view was opposed to Augustine's view of man's penal condition. The friar simplifies Wyclif's thesis against the moderni on the question of grace (Oberman, Forerunners of the Reformation, p. 128).

113-15 'pe grace of Crist': in a context emphasizing that no sin has been committed, the friar alludes to the neo-Pelagian doctrine that grace is given according to merit, and that man's best efforts can merit grace de congruo by virtue of God's willing acceptatio.

This subject touches on the crucial debate as to whether good acts were the result of a particular gift of unmerited grace, as Bradwardine had asserted, or whether God gives grace to those who try, as the Dominican Holcot had argued in opposition to Bradwardine. God's mercy required him to alleviate misery irrespective of merit; his justice required him to reward according to merit. Since only rational creatures can merit or be blamed, children are not dealt with on these grounds (Oberman, Forerunners of the Reformation, pp. 130-6, 142-6, 154-62).

116-23 [Clerk]: 'We seyen wi pe apostle. . . sones of wreple alle': Wycklif used texts such as Romans 3. 9-10 and 23, Romans 8, I Corinthians 15. 22 to confirm that the doctrine of original sin gives no excuse for personal sin, and that grace, though not restoring man to original righteousness, does secure salvation (see e.g De civili dominio, I, 219/15-220/31; IV, 616/27-617/41). This thesis was supported explicitly by Augustine's traducianist theory of the soul, that each soul is generated by the parents' souls. Even if the unborn child is sanctified, as by baptism, nevertheless his soul has inherited the tendency of his parents, that is, that his soul will obey the flesh rather than divine law, thereby denying to him the possibility of a sinless state (De libero arbitrio, III. xx. 56-7; De civitate dei, XIII. 2).

With the present passage, cf. Wycklif's 'Responsiones ad argumenta Radulfi Strode', Opera minora, pp. 176/22-177/4, where the same argument regarding wilful sin is adduced.
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122-3 'And perfore seip pe apostle': Ephesians 2. 3 was interpreted by Augustine and followed by Wyclif as a statement of the doctrine of original sin (De libero arbitrio, III. xix. 54; De civili dominio, I, 242/5-12, III, 336/35ff.).

123-37 'And as it is but a foly. . . his man rennep': the metaphysical problem is treated as a semantic one, that there is no difference between being in a particular state and doing the action of that state(cf. the argument on verbal moods, T1/23-6). Insistence on a precise verbal distinction sharpens the sense of the scholastic ambience of the dialogue and provides an illustration of Wyclif's hermeneutic principle, 'Ad intelligendum verba subtilia huius sancti oportet notare distinctiones et equivocaciones communium terminorum' (Opus evangelicum, I, 443/33). This equation of condition and action emphasizes moral responsibility without diminishing the significance of original sin: 'Nec peccatum primi parentis fuit causa peccati mei, sed causa, quare peccatum meum fuit vel erit' (De ente predicamentali, cap. 19, pp. 185/25-188/41, especially 186/14-16; De civili dominio, I, 261/5-262/22, 377/7-8; IV, 519/22-8, 585/39-586/30).

129 in non synguler synne but in his owne: the use of 'his owne' after 'synguler' appears to be redundant. In the context, the author appears concerned to emphasize the particularity of sin, and the responsibility of the individual for his own actions.

130-2 'For in eche synne. . . pilke child himself' The MS. reading seems to be seriously corrupted by omission, haplography and/or dittography. The passage alludes to universals and singulars, that each child sins in a distinctively individual way in addition to the guilt of original sin which he bears 'ex infectione seminis'. Original sin is understood as the universal or the prototype of sin (Trialogus, pp. 219/21-220/12; De ente predicamentali, pp. 227/26-276/29).

135-7'in synne. . . synne. . . rennynge. . . renne: this passage depends on scholastic distinctions of the type already criticized as
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sophistic quibbling (23-6); here, the distinction is between the two forms of the present tense, one finite, the other continuous. Such an argument points to the accessibility of learned ideas to Lollard writers and to their familiarity with scholastic dialectic of the quodlibet and sic et non exercises.

138-40 'And perchere seip holy wryt... wicked himself': Ezekiel 18. 20. Wyclif used this text to support the thesis that grace, not hereditary succession, entitles dominion (De civili dominio, I, 153/1-21, 219/15-33, 241/1-6).

The orthodox glosses taught that sins are not born or transmitted at birth; cf. the decretal based on Augustine, 'Vicia parentium filiis non inputentur', Decretum, I, D. 56. 3; Friedberg, vol. 1, 220.

141-6 'God cursid Canaan... pe comynge of bodilyche synne': Genesis 9. 18-27. The Fathers attributed no guilt to Noah whose action was the result of involuntary ignorance, for as the first viticulturalist he could not have understood the potency of wine.

145-53 'for God is so good... he synne': This Augustinian view stresses the unconditionality and prevenience of grace; divine favour is not earned by good deeds, which are only generated by grace, for grace anticipates and inaugurates every vestige of man's will to do good. This view that it is impossible for unaided human action to have merit permeated Wyclif's theology (as in Sermones, III, 33/3-12; De ecclesia, p. 140/18-31 and Trialogus, pp. 151-4).

Wyclif attacked as 'modern Pelagians' those who defended the dignity and merit of man de congruo. He rejected the possibility that God can accept man for his own good will, de congruo. Man's merit flows 'per opera ex gratia' (but not 'ex operibus': De dominio divino, pp. 224-56, especially 241/6-242/12, 244/11-32). The present passage affirms the primacy of grace de condigno, 'wipouten oure desertis'.

154-6 [Friar]: 'pe children þat dient in orygynal synne... ne knowynge of it': this issue, which touches on another aspect of Pelagian
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teaching, was the kind that Wyclif parried as sophistic casuistry (De civili dominio, I, 13 and De dominio divino, p. 245; Opera minora, pp. 176/22-177/29).

157-61 [Clerk]: 'We seyen. . . ðe blisse of heuene': a further statement of the Augustinian definition of sin as privatio boni, due to corruption of the soul and a wrong determination of the will, finally confirmed by habit (De libero arbitrio, III. 19. 53; Retractationes, I. 15. 3). Wyclif used the same definition to stress the defective and privative nature of sin (Trialogus, p. 140/8-141/19, 219/4-20; De civili dominio, IV, 564/15-567/33; Sermones, II, 225/34-226/29).

A marginal gloss in De civili dominio, II, 142/13-19 summarizes Wyclif's views:

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privacio activa nec passiva

Peccatum non est

reatus sed est defectus
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The present passage stresses the link between sin and the privative nature of its punishment (T1/162ff.).

165-7 'in kynde þei were imarkid as a blynde man in birþe': Luke 18. 18-19. The figure of the blind man was a mystical type of human nature, his blindness brought on by sin, especially that of blinding pride, and his sight returned by virtue of humility. The simile stresses the reality and privation of original sin, with deterministic implications in the phrases 'in kynde', 'in birþe'; cf. Sermones, IV, 278/29-279/4).

170-5 [Friar]: 'Sum men dwellen longe in deedly synne. . . newe synnynge lassid þe synne'. The friar's credibility is undermined by tortuous sophistic logic and exaggerated distinction, seen in the paradox that 'newe synnynge lassid þe synne'. Mortal sin was a deliberate act against God (I John 5. 16), involving grave matters such as the sin of despair and non-perseverance or the seven deadly sins, committed voluntarily and with a clear knowledge of guilt.
These acts resulted in the loss of sanctifying grace and punishment by eternal damnation. Obedience to the ten commandments would preclude mortal sin (Lay Folks' Catechism, pp. 86/447-96/560; Mirk, Instructions for Parish Priests, pp. 142/1303-147/1404, 160/1643-6).

'Oon o[...e] synne' is presumably the lighter sin, peccatum venium. Though disposing the soul to death, venial sin did not wholly deprive it of grace and could be remitted by prayer. There was no obligation to confess venial sin though there were prescriptions for light penance where it was confessed (Lay Folks' Mass Book, p. 24/268-74; Mirk, Instructions, lines 6143-6; also 1303-1404).

176-91 [Clerk]: 'alle þe while a man is in deedely synne... alle goode werkis'. Titus 1. 15-16. Wycliffite morality was typically sceptical about the distinction between the two types of sin: 'ech synne shulde a man flee, lest it be dedli to him' (Arnold, I, 61/8-10; cf. III, 120/35-121/3, 452/21-38). Wyclif frequently argued that man cannot estimate the gravity of a sin, that the distinctions cannot be known, and that absolution is worthless where sin remains (De blasphemia, pp. 168/36-169/26; Sermones, III, 179/32-184/6; Opus evangelicum, I, 130/132-42; cf. Arnold, III, 452/38-453/3).

180-3 According to orthodox exegesis, the 'pree newe graces of God' were revealed in three divine activities, the life and death of Christ, the establishment of the church and the commission of apostolic ministers (ODCC, s. v. grace). The present elliptical explanation conforms to this explanation, but it is closer to Wyclif's variant of the same motif as (i) the gift of Christ's manhood on earth; (ii) the time given to man on earth to earn salvation by accepting God's freedom; and (iii) the gift of being able to serve God as his creatures. These three make real and intelligible the nature of eternal life ('De universalibus', Miscellanea philosophica, II, 13/29-14/3, 17/8-18).

181 In the phrase bodily duryng alyue, duryng is understood in the sense 'duration'; the pr. p. of the v. dure, to endure, was used in French and English in a construction derived from the L. ablative absolute
vita durante, 'life during', 'while life lasts'. In the present context, the first sense is preferred, though the second is also possible.

185 'Alle soure pingis be doon in charite': I Corinthians 16. 14 (cf. T2/38ff.). Charity is consistently held to be the highest theological virtue, leading to dilecio Dei and final beatitude, an intellectual virtue which enlightens the moral virtues (Trialogus, p. 136/25; Sermones, III, 286/32-291/29; 486/10-17; cf. Lyra's gloss, that without charity there is neither merit nor beatitude.

187-91 'perfore seip pe apostle': Titus 1. 15-16. The text refutes the distinction between mortal and venial sin. Cf. Wyclif's gloss, that the text refers to the infected will as the cause of all sin, Sermones, IV, 281/8-17.

For the translation, cf. WB 1 and 2, reprovable to 'blameworthy', for L reprobi, with the sense 'disqualified' (R.E. Latham, Revised Medieval Latin Word-List (London, 1965), reprobatio, 1197).

192-8 'a seruaunte pat hap trespassid': this and comparable parables occur frequently in Wycliffite writings (cf. D/310ff.), pointing to a special interest in the relationship between servants and lords as an aspect of estates doctrine.

198-201 'And jif wip good wil... to haue remyssioun of it'; cf Langland's view of repentance:

Ac fre wil and fre wit foloweth man euere
To repenten and to arise & rowe out of synne
To contricion, to confessioun, til he come to his ende.
For rather haue we no reste til we restitue
Oure lyf to oure lord god for oure lycames gultes.
(Piers Plowman C X/51-5)

212-16 [Clerk]: 'no man fulfille more... pe lawe & pe profetis'; cf. here Augustine's exegesis on Matthew 22. 37-40, that 'the end of the Law and of all the sacred scriptures' is no less than 'the double love of God and of our neighbour' (De doctrina christiana, I, 39-41; II, 10).

Wyclif's typical extension was to exhort an unconditional
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obedience to scripture as 'lex Christi, testamentum dei et fideles ecclesie' (De veritate sacrae scripturae, I, 100/15-16, 131/5-132/15 etc., II, 131/5 -132/15 etc.).

216-17 'whoso addep or lassip he is accusid of God', Revelation 22. 18-19.

218-22 James 2. 10.

225-7 [Friar]: 'Freris ben excusid ... servyce of God': the emphasis on devotion, study and exclusion from manual labour expresses the Dominican motto, 'Contemplare, et contemplata alis traders', derived from Aquinas. Under Dominic's rule, adopted from the Premonstratensian rule, it became a fault to neglect study, teaching and preaching, while manual labour was explicitly excluded (Hinnebusch, History, I, 46-7, 119-20, 147; Early English Friars Preachers, pp. 218-19, 332-42).

228-34 [The Secular]'We seyen pat sip biggynge wiçouten nede. ... to maynteyne a schrewed': Without this division of speakers here (instead of at line 241), it is hard to see the relevance of these remarks from the point of view of the friar. The view neatly applies to the issue of mendicancy the clerk's concern with the commandments of God.

'Strong' was a legal term used to denote an able-bodied person, fit to work (OED, ad. 2, n. d.); that is, a person 'biggynge wiçouten nede'; cf. Arnold, I, 23/33-7; II, 319/37-320/1, 27-32; Lanterne of Líst, p. 54/14-16. This term had a wider application, to beggars in general, whose presence in European society was a recurrent problem from the period of the plague. It is a persistent theme in Piers Plowman, as at C Prologue/41-6, VIII/205-15, IX/61-186. The connection between the able-bodied poor and mendicant friars was a strong form of abuse (see also T1/266-9).

Wyclif accepted that friars had the legal right to beg, but argued that begging was evil in that it had its origins in avarice (I Timothy 6. 10 was a key text); therefore friars were in danger of the 'monstrosity' of 'degenerate begging', and consequent hypocrisy and
apostacy (De civili dominio, III, 1-13, especially 7/8-13/13; IV, 417/34-420/28; De apostasia, pp. 31/23-31, 219-20, 235/1-11). In his last works, Wyclif condemned the whole clerus cesareus, especially the friars, as the most numerous, fraudulent and heretical, their way of life an offence against charity and no better than theft (Polemical Works, I, 252-6; Sermones, III, 107/28-114/20; 222/1-224/22, 464/25-40).

This criticism of the friars was not exclusively heterodox. Langland, Chaucer and Gower satirized the avarice often accompanying mendicancy, but they did not denounce the ideal as untenable; see e.g. Piers Plowman C Prologue 56-65; V/173-5; IX/134-52. Wyclif's antimendicancy, blamed for the hardships which fell upon the friars, was condemned in 1382 and by the Council of Constance (Eulogium historiarum, Continuatio, III, 354-5; Wilkins, Concilia, III, 158; 'Articuli Joannis Wiclefi', Fasciculus rerum, I, 278-9, 287).

234-41 'perfore þes stronge biggers. . . ben ifygured bi þe farisee' (cf. T1/301ff.): Luke 18. 10-14, an echo of the traditional antifrateral exegesis of the pharisee as a type of the religious hypocrite. The tradition went back to Christ's confrontation with the sect (see also Matthew 23. 13-33) and connected with criticism of the friars, as by William of St Amore (see his sermon, 'De pharisaeo et publicano', Fasciculus rerum, II, 43-7). There the pharisees, the pseudoapostoli or pseudo prophetae of Acts 20. 19 and the eschatological antichristi of I John 2. 18, 22 and II John 7 were analogues for the friars.

For Wyclif's use of Luke 18. 10-14 to emphasize the hypocrisy of the friars, see Sermones, I, 288/10ff.; Opus evangelicum, I, 247/1-30, and among Lollard writings, Arnold, I, 27-9; Matthew, p. 299/15-25; Pierce the Plowman's Crede, pp. 18/486-19/500. The term 'pharisee' came to form part of a Lollard vocabulary of abuse.

The heterodoxy of this comparison can be judged by the fact that neither Chaucer nor Langland included it in their antimendicancy (excluding Chaucer's translation of Jean de Meun; see note to T1/225-7). Their antifraternity was part of the wider and perfectly orthodox criticism of the clergy, largely dependent upon the criticism voiced against abuse and ignorance of the clergy from
within the ecclesiastical hierarchy. For discussion of the motif in the orthodox antimendicant context, see Szittya, 'The Antifraternal Tradition'.

235 'fastynge & wakynge & preyere': see also 301-2 and cf. T2/177-200 where the Lollard author systematically dismantles the whole scheme of devotion practised by the clerical orders.

241-5 'Sip charite bigynne at himsylf. . . no nede to begge'. This social doctrine, based on the twin virtues of charity and self-reliance, draws on the gospel ideal that the wealthy have the obligation to use their wealth in charity while even more so they are obliged to be self-supporting; cf. also lines 248-58 and Luke 18. 18 - 22; see further in Arnold, III, 372/8 - 23, 383/4 - 18; Jack Upland, pp. 59/117 - 20, 67/291 - 4; Pierce the Plowman's Crede, pp.27/719 - 27/747.

246-58 'And sip lordis han charge to reule. . . bi whom alle men lyuen': see below, lines 266-9.

II Thessalonians 3. 10, Deuteronomy 15. 4 (and 7-11 and Proverbs 30. 8) were standard texts in the antimendicant tradition (see William of St Amore, 'De periculis novissimorum temporum' in Fasciculus rerum, II, 39, 40 and FitzRalph's 'Defensio curatorum', trans. Trevisa, pp. 81/17-26, 88/18-89/11).

The texts are often encountered in Wycliffite antimendicant polemic; e. g. Sermones, III, 108/17-21, IV, 51/27-52/200; Polemical Works, I, 190/12-21, 366/20-367/4; Matthew, pp. 387/16-388/1; Selections, pp. 95/83-89, 96/95-99; Ancrene Riwle (Pepys), p. 4/28; Arnold, I, 200/1-12; III, 370/31-372/21.

Netter condemned this aspect of Wycliffism, maintaining that the texts were not a mandate but a promise (Doctrinale fidei, IV. 1. 7, vol. 1, 850).

With the present challenge to the lay lords, cf. also D/206ff., T2/15-18; C/1076-81, and f. 212v in the present manuscript (item 29, an unidentified fragment on the friars), 'herfore pore prestis preyen pe kyng & knydstis þat freris begge noþt in his rewme bi title of cristis beggynge bifiore þei haue tauþt wel þat crist begged þus, for
suche a blasfeme gabbynge vpon crist, god & man wole distroye cristendom'.

250 'almessdede to here nei3bores': on the heterodox Wycliffite teaching on alms, see D/285-8 and C/1100-2; and for canonical teaching on the relief of poverty, see B. Tierney, *The Medieval Poor Law* (Berkeley, 1959), chapter 1.

250-2 'but more men [to] hemsilf. . . goon & begge': without emendation the MS. reading is grammatically difficult, though the meaning is clear: that as far as man is able and allowed, he is bound by divine law to earn his own living, for 'both reason and nature frown on begging'; i. e. the principle of the dignity of labour advocated in estates theory applied just as much to the clergy as it did to the peasants.

252 With the collocation 'kynde & resoun', cf. 'Kynde' and 'Resoun' as tutors of consciousness and conscience in *Pearl*, lines 49-56, emphasizing the distinction between the lower or natural state of man and the higher, rational state.

257-8 The metaphor of 'a wede pat distroye pе goode herbis', based on the parable of the wheat and the tares of Matthew 13. 24-30, had become proverbial by the fifteenth century, as in the proverb 'the weeds overgrow the corn'; in Wycliffite polemic, the tares signify the endowed church, antipope and friars, while the 'sectis of þese newe religiouse' are likened to alien 'erberis' that destroy the pasture of Christ's religion (Arnold, I, 28/23-33, 95-7).

The metaphor was also applied punningly against the Wycliffites as lolia, 'tares', as in the pope's appeal to the university to clear heresy from its midst (Walsingham, *Historia Anglica*, I, 346); or in the anti-Lollard poem of 1381, ed. T. Wright, *Political Poems and Songs*, 2 vols, Rolls Series 14 (London, 1859), I, 232/6-8; and by Gower, 'Contra daemonis astutiam in causa Lollardiae' in *Political Poems and Songs*, I, 347/8-22.

259-62 'Forsoпе, berynge out of money . . . in þe rewme'; see also
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D/212-16 and C/1077-81. This was one of the most ubiquitous charges against the friars, in both orthodox and Lollard contexts. The gravity of mendicancy and its potential for sedition are emphasized by reference to the prohibitions against the export of sterling (3 Richard II, cap. 3. 2, 1380 and subsequently, as in 4-5 Richard II, st. 1, c. 2, 7 Richard II, c. 12, 16 Richard II, c. 5). These statutes theoretically excluded all practices whereby money was exported to Rome, as by indulgences, bills of preferment, privilege and dispensation; cf. the more bitter complaint about the 'lesyng of tresour of oure rewme, bi sending oute of pe first fruytis to oure enemies for symonye of benefices, and falce oppressyng of pore men by newe costomes & errours for here pride and coueytis; pei moten nedis do pis cursidnesse 3e a3enes 3e kyng and alle his wele willynge' (Trinity College Dublin MS. 244, f. 187v); see also Polemical Works, I, 103/17-21, 192/19-193/9; Trialogus, pp. 369/1-371/3, 373/8-15; Matthew, pp. 22/31-23/4; 66/8-12, 92/18-93/8, 144/12-24; Arnold, I, 58/27-8, II, 269/16-32; III, 416/30-33.

Many related complaints were enrolled in the records of parliament:
(i) those alleging that the gold paid to the pope was five times the sum paid to the king (Rotuli parliamentorum, II, 337);
(ii) or those that complained that the weight of taxation was enfeebling the realm to the benefit of the adversary France (Rotuli parliamentorum, III, 5. 11; 1 Richard II, 1377);
(iii) or that provisions to benefices were being usurped by Rome, resulting in the export of revenue and loss of patronal rights: 'le tresor du Roialme emportez as mains aliens, & tout l'estat de Seinte Esglise mesnez a meindre reverence' (Rotuli parliamentorum, III, 82-3, 95; 3-4 Richard II, 1379-80);
(iv) there are also petitions and provisions against the export of money, whether by merchants, private adventurers or the clergy (Calendar of Close Rolls 1369-74, pp. 13, 424; Rotuli parliamentorum, III, 126-7, 5 Richard II, 1381-2). On this topic, see Pantin, The English Church, pp. 93-8 and Knowles, The Religious Orders, II, 103.

263-4 'he pat destroye p e rotes... distroye p e leefes': a proverbial comparison drawing on the tree as a symbol for 'organic growth from
root to top’ (G. Ladner, 'Medieval and Modern Understanding of Symbolism: a Comparison', Speculum, 54(1979), 233-56 at 250). There is a related proverb, 'Radix sepe mala producit pessima mala' (Walther, Lateinische Sprichwörter, numbers 26238 and 82). Variants are found in antifraternal contexts, both Lollard (Matthew, p. 331/18) and orthodox (Piers Plowman C XVI/253-4, ‘Ac þer þe rote is roton, resoun woet þe sothe, / Shal neuere flour ne fruyt wexe ne fayre leue be grene’).

266-9 ‘þerfore þe lawe syuyl comaundiþ, & þe lawe of Yngelond’: for the enactment in civil law, see Corpus juris civilis, Codex Justinianus, ed. P. Krueger, 3 vols (Dublin and Zurich, 1967), II, Book XI, tit. xxvi (xxv), 'De mendicantibus validis', issued in 382. There is precedent for the citation of this law in an antimendicant context in William of St Amore and FitzRalph (see Fasciculus rerum, II, 33, 482).

The appeal to English law invokes a number of enactments against vagabondage, especially those passed after the plague of 1349. The Ordinance of Labourers, 1349 and 1351 (Statutes of the Realm, I, 307, 311, 23 and 25 Edward III, st. 2), were designed to prevent wandering labourers and forbade the giving of alms to able-bodied beggars. It was confirmed in a statute of 1388 legislating punishment of able-bodied beggars (Statutes of the Realm, II, 55-60, 12 Richard II, c. 7).

The collocation of 'lawe syuyl' and 'þe lawe of Yngelond', reinforces the binding nature of the law and entails a harsh judgment against mendicancy in its comparison of the mendicant orders with vagabonds and robbers.


The form thulleris is unattested, but corruption is possible as this is the only occurrence in the present text of the 'th' form for 'þ'. The word may be cognate with thilke, thellich, 'likewise', 'of this kind', from OE þe icle, 'the same' (OED, apparently obsolete after c. 1340); the present form may also be a plural formed from 'thulli', adj. 'such', from OE pullic, pullic, the '-eris' suffix
formed analogously with plurals such as ‘operis’, ‘freris’, ‘beggeris’.

272-4 [Friar]: ‘semeful to_begge. . . Crist neuere ensaumplid begging wi~outen nede’: the friar reflects the fact that mendicancy, received canonical sanction from Innocent III, Honorius III and Alexander IV. On the fraternal position, Netter compared Wyclif with William of St Amore and FitzRalph (Doctrinale fidei, IV. 1. 3-5, 9-10, vol. I, 829-43, 856-62).

275-9 [Clerk]: ‘But pe mekenesse of traueylynge. . . wi~ here hondis’: Acts 20. 34-5; cf. Sermones, III, 113/30-114/1; and Arnold, I, 178/19-24 where the homilists recommend that friars should 'take up Poul and oper apostoles for to traveile' because imitation of Christ is not possible. Further, Christ's life as a carpenter (based on the text of Matthew 13. 55) offered an example for the clergy who are vicars of Christ's manhood (see also Opera minora, p. 148/28-32). The present usage is closer to FitzRalph's argument that Christ and the apostles practised neither extreme poverty nor mendicancy but provided for the future (De pauperie salvatoris, Book VI, cited by Walsh in Analecta Augustiniana, 33 (1970), 253-4 and 34 (1971), 12-22; 'Defensio curatorum', trans. Trevisa, pp. 86-92).

278 'helpinge hem to here bope lyflode': i.e. helping them both to earn their sustenance.

Bope could be placed between the defining word and the substantive; the word is a relic of an old gen. pl. botheres (OED 3b); cf. Piers Plowman C II/67.

278-9 'and oure lady ... wi~ here hondis': this emphasis on Mary's refusal to beg is an unusual quirk, although the apocryphal narrative of Mary's life records that as a postulant in the temple she worked at weaving for six hours a day (Jacobus de Voragine, Legenda aurea, transl. G.Ryan and H. Ripperger (New York, 1941), p.523).

Though there was ample precedent in Wyclif's works, the clerk does not refute the friar's assertion as to Christ's mendicancy; see e.g. Sermones, III,108/22-110/2 and cf. Selections, pp.94/47-95/67; Arnold,III,415/8-21.

278 'here' was the usual East Midland plural possessive pronoun 'their', replaced by the N pair forms by the mid-fifteenth century.
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'Here' (279) is used rather that the more usual 'hire' for the singular possessive 'her'.

284-5 'wrongful coueytynge ... trauyale wip hondis': inverted word order and the ambiguity of god, sb. and adj. are confusing. An easier sense is obtained by reading god as a proper noun and revising the word order, 'and so manual labour does not hinder the service of God'.

286 'haue diden ... haue don': the preterite plural form is used for the past participle alongside the correct usage of the past participle.

288-91 'perfore seip Davip ... wipholdip hem pride': Psalm 72 (AV 73). 5-6; Wyclif used the text in a similar context, Sermones, III, 110/3-26.

The sense of the translation is 'pride controls them'; on the translation of 'tenuit eos superbia' by 'wipholdip hem pride' see p. 101 above.

292-5 'styrnge to almessedede': an allusion to texts such as I Corinthians 15. 10 and Galatians 2. 10; cf. T1/234-41, 301-10; Apology for Lollard Doctrines, pp. 105/28-106/9). Wyclif reflected the main stream of moral theology, classifying meekness (humilitas) as an aspect of the cardinal virtue temperance, a sufficient rule for the apostolic life, a means for eradicating pride, and as a measure of all other virtue (e. g. De civili dominio, III, 189/31-192/14; Sermones, II, 190/6-191/26; IV, 396-400, especially 400/5-36; Opus evangelicum, I, 17-24; Trialogues, pp. 164-8).

296-300 'And sip beggyngye ... wip here hondis. The author's scepticism towards mendicancy is total. Even the friars' repentance and meekness are superficial; they disguise spiritual pride and are therefore evil.

301-10 'And perfore pei seyen ... in raveyne of symple bestis': an allusion to the temporal ambitions of the friars: 'pei licken pe temporal goodis of pe erpe'. With the contrast between 'moup' and 'hert' (derived from Psalm 77 (AV 78), cf. the accusation of D/409.
In the curious metaphorical expression 'withe here feynd begyng ge þe licken þe temporal goodis of þe erpe', the word licken may refer to the chief concern of the friars, their love of worldly goods, and to their mouthing of hypocrisies. In addition to the sense given for licken in the Glossary, the sense might be extended to imply that the temporal goods of the realm are 'consumed' by the process of fraternal begging, that is, they are taken out of their proper secular use to the detriment of the state (cf. OED v. 1 c). This sense accorded with Wycliffite sentiment as to fraternal begging.

In the phrase 'temporal goodis of þe erpe', temporal, not found otherwise in this text, may have the sense 'temporary' (OED adj. 1, 1st cit. WB), or it may be understood in the sense 'worldly', glossed by the phrase 'of the earth'.

William of St Amore distinguished the 'pupplican' as a type of the secular man who, although a sinner, did not simulate piety but recognized his own state of sin and thereby exemplified the virtue of humility ('De pharisaeo et publicano', Fasciculus rerum, I, 46). For this exegesis, see also Sermones, I, 288/10-17; Arnold, I, 29/13-14, 397/1-14.

More commonly, medieval exegesis recalled the vocation of the publican as the tax-farmer for the Roman government, an official renowned for opportunistic exploitation of the system, and therefore much hated. Lyra's gloss on Matthew 19. 17 defined the publicans as 'those who chase after the wealth of the laity and who exact taxes by means of fraud, theft and perjury'. Medieval exegesis may also have owed something to the etymological explanation of the heretical sect of the Paulicians, popularly known as the publicani or populicani, 'heathen', 'heretics', from populi canes, 'dog people', using the connection of the dog with the devil and hell in medieval exegesis and iconography; cf. Trinity College Dublin MS. 244, f. 212/1-2, where the friars are designated as 'heretikis or pupplicans' because of their eucharistic doctrine. On the publican, see further in T. E. Vesce, 'On Identifying the Popelican(t)', Mediaeval Studies, 32 (1970), 352-3 and J. W. Marchand, 'On the Origin of the Term Popelican(t)', Mediaeval Studies, 38 (1976), 496-8.
305-9 'pe pupplican. . . passen [i-justified] fro pees beggeris': The interpolation '[be}s as pe lewid peple . . . & biddinge mercy passen [i-justified] fro pees beggeris' (T1/306-9) paraphrases Luke 18. 13-14. It makes explicit the comparison between the publican and 'pe lewid peple', parallel to the earlier comparison between the pharisees and the friars (T1/234-41).

With this paraphrase compare the translation of WB 1: 'and the pupplican stonding a fer nolde nethir reyse the y3en to heuene, but smoot his brest, seyinge, God be merciful to me, synnere. Treuli I seye to 3ou, this cam down in to his hous iustified of him' (cf. WB 2, 'was iustified fro the other').

The implied approbation of 'pe lewid peple' compares with that of 'borell clerkes' at D/375ff., perhaps a modest self-reference like 'poor priests'.

309-10 'wolues 3ollynge . . . symple bestis': Matthew 7. 15 and 10. 16. This figure had appeared regularly in the antimendicant context (as in 'De pharisaeo et publicano', Fasciculus rerum, II, 54); Pecham gives evidence of its use against the friars ('Tractatus pauperis' ed. A. G. Little, British Society of Franciscan Studies, 2 (1910), 63). It is common in Wycliffite denunciations of false priests (Polemical Works, II, 472/13-25; Opus evangelicum, I, 424-35; De civili dominio, IV, 497/12ff.; Arnold, I, 200/15-28; Matthew, pp. 103/8, 149/3, 26, 313/14-18, 418/20-22 etc.; WB Prologue, p. 31).

The metaphor was also applied against the Lollards by their enemies, as by Archbishop Courtenay on account of their russet habit (see Workman, John Wyclif, II, 204 and Knighton, Chronicon, II, 184-5), and as a literary metaphor by Friar Daw against Upland (Jack Upland, p. 85/ 382-5).

311-12 [Friar]: 'Seynt Iohun come to Seynt Edward': an allusion to the legend of Edward the Confessor who was visited by John the Evangelist in the guise of a beggar (see Vita Aedwardi regis, ed. F. Barlow (London, 1962); for a Middle English version, see the South English Legendary, ed. C. d'Evelyn and A. J. Mills, 2 vols., EETS 236 (1956), II, 609-10). The allusion has a rhetorical function, to represent fraternal views as being held by the most respected church
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authorities and to emphasize that the Fathers and saints have provided models for the friars. In the Wycliffite context, the point of the allusion is that the legend is post-biblical and therefore of little authority.

313-28 [Clerk]: 'We seyen pat no seynt. . . to pe erpely kyngdom ': against this witness, the clerk posits biblical authority, as of I Peter 2. 11, cited by Wyclif to deny that the saints in heaven can beg (Sermones, III, 213-24). Because the friars lack the authority of scripture, they have to resort to the evidence of apocryphal lives of the saints to establish their right to beg (Sermones, 220/26-221/4).

In his references to the legend, Wyclif reflected a long tradition of orthodox piety in the respect he accorded to St Edward, but he added a spiritual signification. Whereas St John more than compensated Edward, the friars plunder and deceive instead of bestowing spiritual benefits for the bounty they receive (222/1-21). By tropological and anagogical exegesis (T1/316-28) the vernacular expands on the idea of the spiritual benefits signified by the legend.

Langland praised Edward for the precedent he had set as a good king, a remark that must have had political overtones in the light of Langland's opinion of Edward III and John of Gaunt (Piers Plowman C XVII/345).

315 schamefast is attested only in the sense 'modest', 'bashful', and has no recorded sense 'shameful', though it is used in WB 1 in a nearly similar sense (OED adj. 3, shameful, adj. 4; WB Leviticus 16.4). In the present context the sense may be 'shameful', 'degrading', 'disgraceful' (OED shameful, adj. 3), though it could also be used in the sense 'shameless', 'insensible to disgrace' (unrecorded sense).

323-4 'Seynt Petir & Seynt Poul': for this pilgrim motif characterizing the Christian vocation, see I Peter 2. 11, Hebrews 13. 14.

330-1 'as a man in pe iawnes to whom alle colouris semep selewe': Chaucer attributed this proverb to 'the prophete' (Tale of Melibeus, VII/1701), though F. R. Robinson says the source is unknown. A
similar moral usage is found in Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, lines 3977-8, where the envious man is likened to a man with jaundice.

331 'So [to] a stronge begger, alle askynge semº beggyng, 'so all requests from an able-bodied beggar seem to be begging'; i.e. no amount of sophistic logic can justify mendicancy; with this criticism, cf. Wyclif's in the sermon on I Peter 2. 11, that the friars are merely quibbling with words, unable to see the difference between a spiritual vision (illi angeli) and their own begging, which he calls that of mali angeli or demones (Sermones, III, 222/8-21).

332-4 [Friar]: 'pe apostle begged ... stodyen at home?' On Paul's solicitations on behalf of the church, see Acts 11. 29-30; I Corinthians 16. 1; II Corinthians 8. 1ff., Acts 11. 29-30; Romans 15. 26-7. These texts were commonly adduced by mendicant apologists to uphold their doctrine of common ownership; e.g. Pecham, 'Tractatus pauperis', cap. 10, pp. 34ff.; Bolsenheim, 'Tractatus', cap. 5, pp. 156-9; cap 6, p. 162; Hardeby, 'De vita evangelica', cap 5, discussed by Walsh, Analecta Augustiniana, 34 (1971), 6-8.

335-52 [Clerk]: 'Here we seyen ... sildynge of here dette'. The clerk reflects the common medieval view of the church at Jerusalem as a model of poverty, equality and charity, contrasting the primitive church with the contemporary Roman church. The underlying assumption of the theological theory of property was that private property exists as a necessary consequence of the Fall. Property, like government, was regarded as an institution of human, positive law, subject to the law of custom and regulated by civil law. There was a suggestion in the new testament of a voluntary system of common property (Acts 2. 44-5, 4. 32-5 and 5. 1-4), but this initial fervour never developed into a complete 'community of goods' concept. In patristic and canonical teaching, community ownership of ecclesiastical property was upheld (e.g. Decretum II, C. 12. 1. 2, Friedberg, vol. 1, 676-7). More generally, emphasis was laid on the right and responsible use of private property for the common good:

(i) that no one should take more than his own needs (Decretum, I, D.
41. 3; D. 47. 8; Friedberg, vol 1, 149, 171-3); (ii) that one can only possess that of which one makes right use (Decretales, V. 40. 12, Friedberg, vol. 2, 915).

(iii) Lyra emphasized the need for charity; that common property signified fraternitas;

(iv) canon law supported the principle of common ownership of ecclesiastical property (Decretum, II, C. 1. 2. 1; C. 12. 1. 2; C. 17. 1. 3; Friedberg, vol. 1, 407-8, 676-7, 812-13).

Wyclif's theory of property was extrapolated from the example of the primitive church. For him, its special value lay in

(i) the unity of its doctrine;

(ii) the common ownership of property practised by its members;

(iii) their willingness to share property;

(iv) their egalitarianism;

(v) their conscientious preaching of the gospel;

(vi) their holiness of life;

(vii) their support of the apostles and

(viii) their distribution of clerical and other offices (see De civili dominio, III, 77/16-81/2).

Though property and possession were lawful and desirable, Paul did not collect for himself but for others, which was not begging any more than the collection of taxes and other dues for the king was begging. It was collecting what was owed ex titulo (De civili dominio, III, 142/13-143/18; Sermones, III, 220/13-25; cf. Selections, pp. 95/68-96/99).

Wyclif's doctrine of property was refuted by Woodford, 'De dominio civili clericorum' ed. Doyle, 82, item 15; by the Council of Constance, 'Articuli Ioannis Wiclefi' in Fasciculus rerum, I, 276; it was also a topic of interrogation in the heresy trials (Hudson, 'The Examination of Lollards', 154, item 37; 155, item 9).

353-6 'tis biddinge of God. ... coloured wiþ þe servyuce of God': cf. lines 249, 266-9 above and see note to T1/246ff.

Mawmet and schrewednesse, though well attested outside the Lollard canon, came to form part of the Lollard vocabulary of abuse.

The syntax, lacking a principal verb, suggests that lines 353-5 are defective. The lacuna can be reconstructed in several ways,
though the suggestions are all unsatisfactory as they supply only two letters, whereas the microfilm copy suggests space for three. Dr Rastall observes that the letters, though obscure, look like 'ler'. There is no recorded form 'lerstynge', but in the context the following are possible, emended to provide a finite verb, pr. 3 sg:

(i) *lestep*, v. *lasten* (+ prep. *to*) 'extends as far as', 'reaches' (OED v. 1 (iv), MED v. 8). This sense offers a suitable complement or gloss on the biblical quotation, augmenting its application to those 'pursuing the idol of wickedness, riches'.

(ii) *kestep*, v. *kesten*, *casten* (+ prep. *to*) 'speaks against' (MED 12d), a sense which links the quotation with the condemnation of mendicancy; the sense of OED v. 35, 'adds to' is also possible.

357-62 [*Pe Frere*]: 'pe more a man *seuep* ... pe fruyte one *'; this proposition is based on the fraternal defence that mendicancy was a sign of the friar's love of perfection in the evangelical life (Bolsenheim, *Tractatus*, 152).

For the metaphor, see the pseudo-Anselmian work, Eadmer's *Liber de sancti Anselmi similitudinibus*, cap 84, 'Similitudo inter monachum et arborem' (PL 159, 655-7). The parable illustrates that the life of the monk who offers his whole life is more acceptable to God than that of the secular men who offer only the fruits of good works. Wyclif used the metaphor to epitomize pejoratively the mendicant point of view, *De blasphemia*, pp. 208-9.

363-5 [*Clerk*]: 'pe mychelnesse of almesedede ... men *seuen here goodis*': cf. the well attested proverb, 'Arbor ex fructu, nequam cogniscitur actu' (Walther, *Lateinische Sprichwörter*, 1242 etc.). This Augustinian interpretation likens good works done in charity to the fruit of the good tree, emphasizing the primacy of the fruit (*Opus evangelicum*, I, 435-8; Arnold, I, 20/16-21; Matthew, p. 307/9-18).

On the need for charity in almsgiving, see *De civili dominio*, II, 140/12-20; *Sermones*, IV, 104/5-112, 126-129; *Trialogus*, pp. 305/22-306/5.
365-75 ‘And therefore seip Crist. ... pe priuat religious’: Mark 12. 42-4.
Exegesis on this narrative emphasizes that virtue depends on intention (see e. g. De civili dominio, III, 356/34-9; IV, 475/13-476/3). In the present context the doctrine of charity is extolled and implicitly mendicancy is repudiated. The same exegesis also underlies the ironic ambivalence of Chaucer’s use of the motif to illustrate the friar’s success, ‘For thogh a wydwe hadde noght a sho, ... / Yet wolde he have a ferthyng, er he wente’ (General Prologue, I/251-5).

371-3 ‘of no religioun but of pe comoune religioun of God’: this passage expresses the Wycliffite distinction between the religiones privatae, those living under a religious vow which involved their separation from society, and those of the ‘comoune religioun’, that is the religio Christi, religio communis, where biblical precepts take precedence over rules (Trialogus, p. 431/8-22).

The ‘comoune religioun’ is that of the beatitudes, promoting divine law and the general good (Sermones, III, 344/26-346/3; De civili dominio, III, 30-49; Polemical Works, II, 516/9-12, 528/11-19 etc.). The damnation of the privati is commonplace in Wycliffite criticism; the most serious charge was that the privati augmented divine law with their own fabrications, or substituted divine law for their rules, obliging men to make vows to men rather than to God; see the two tracts Wyclif devoted to the subject, ‘De perfectione statuum’ and ‘De religione privata’, Polemical Works, II, 449-82, 491-536; Dialogue, cap 14 (confuted by Netter, Doctrinale fidei, III. 3. 27-32, vol. 1, 799-816).

374-5 ‘sche more verrylykere. ... here werkis’: the metaphor of the tree and fruit is extended to include the concept of will, signified by the tree. Wyclif explained that the tree signified essencia hominis or substancia hominis, and the fruit, opera virtuosa: ‘whoever gives to God the fruit gives also the tree’, for as the fruit cannot exist without the tree, so good works cannot exist without the will (De blasphemia, p. 209/17-21).

Anselm used the analogy of the tree to expound the doctrine of the will as the instrument of the soul, effecting good works in man
(Liber de voluntate, PL 158, 487–90, especially 490A).

376-7 Epilogue: ‘pes pingis seip and sendip 3oure seruaunte... whanne se se 3oure tyme’: a final appeal to the Duke of Gloucester, ‘Þat se fulfillen in dede þe tewe’, where ‘fulfillen’ is in the subjunctive mood, expressing the wish that the duke will encourage the reform of the mendicant orders.

A DIALOGUE BETWEEN ION AND RICHERD

Trinity College Cambridge Manuscript B. 14. 50

1-5 'Siwen Crist biddip vs. . . Ion & Richard treten pis maner mater': Matthew 7. 15; 24. 11, 24 and II Peter 2. 1-4 underlie this analogy between 'fals prophetis' and 'false freres' (C/6-90), together with texts which denounced the pharisees' preoccupation with 'signes' such as Matthew 12. 39 and 16. 1-4; see also T1/234-11, 301ff. and 'Vae octuplici' (Selections, pp. 75ff.) which begins by quoting Matthew 7. 15 and proceeds with an exegesis of Matthew 23, a popular text in the antimendicant tradition; for its widespread use, see Szittyia, 'The Anti-Fraternal Tradition in Middle English Literature', 293 ff.

2 'be wat signes pat we schulden knowe hem': here pat is understood as a relative pronoun pleonastic with wat; the sense is 'he teaches us by which signs we should know them'.

5 'be per wiles' may describe the debaters as skillful and subtle, even cunning; wile was also possible as 'will' [OED n. 16], so the phrase could emphasize that the contestants debate willingly, by mutual consent.

9-13 'pe grette clerke Grosteheved. . . for to drecche men': this definition of the friars attributed to Grosseteste and much quoted by Wyclif, is found several times in Grosseteste's exegesis, as in his sermon 35 on John 11. 20-44 (cited by Netter, Doctrinale fidei, IV. 1. 20, vol. 1, 891-5 as being Wyclif's source). For the cadaver mortuum figure, see also Grosseteste's Dictum 135 (J. Loserth, 'Johann von Wiclif und Richard Grosseteste', Sitzungsberichte, Kaiser Akademie, 186 (Wien, 1918), 31-2). For Wycliffite citations of the figure, see Sermones, III, 128/22-6; Polemical Works, I, 15/14-16: Trialogus, pp. 336/23 - 337/17, 434/1- 435/34; De apostasia, pp. 26/30-27/10; De blasphemia, p. 230/33-5; Arnold, III, 60/21-6, 230/1-12; Matthew, p. 123/30-33 (in a note, Matthew locates the
pasage in Grosseteste's early sermon 9, Lambeth MS. 151, but I have been unable to verify this).

In these Lollard citations, Latin involutum is translated by wllappid or wrappid, 'to wrap'; elsewhere the form is also used to translate implicat and involvit (WB 1 and 2), but there are no other uses of the word recorded outside the Wycliffite canon apart from one instance in Pecock's Repressor, II, 306, where he quotes 2 Timothy 2. 4 from WB 2.

In view of this evidence of the exclusively Wycliffite usage of the word, wllappid has been preferred to the MS. reading wappid, though it should be noted that this form is attested in N and Sc texts for the period 1375-1542 (OED wap, v. 2, to wrap; etym. obscure, but probably from OE weorpan, to throw, cast).

10-11, 13-17 'pe cloyster of his soule. . . iche vice breke pis cloister': this application of Grosseteste's figure is linked with the text of Matthew 23. 27, where Christ applied the image of the 'whited sepulchres' to the hypocritical scribes and pharisees in his seventh 'woe'. Here, the function of the cloister, like that of the sepulchre, is to keep the soul from worldly taint, but this ideal is frustrated by the friars' abandonment of their true calling.

12 'clothes of deel and oper fals signes': a pejorative reference to the Habit worn by friars. The order of Friars Preachers legislated for rudimentary clothing and bedding. The cloth was to be unprocessed and undyed wool. Linen was specifically excluded as being too expensive. The cloth, colour and cut of the garments were all intended to signify the life and vows of the friar, as suggested by the description of deel, 'of mourning' (see also C/31-40). In Wycliffite criticism, the habit of all religious was rejected as a source of hypocrisy.

15 'foure cardinal vertues': this theme is developed at C/452-66; for Grosseteste's exegesis of the virtues as four towers of a castle, see his Chasteau d'amour (printed in a ME translation by H. Hupe, Anglia, 14 (1892), 415-55); and for the metaphor of the priest as the temple of God, comprising both corporeal and spiritual parts, see his
Templum domini (discussed by L. Boyle, ‘Robert Grosseteste and the Pastoral Care’ (1979), repr. in Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law, 1200-1400, Variorum Reprints (London, 1981), 10).

18-19 Richerd: ‘peise wordes may plese vertues men. . . declare hem more’: with this ironic taunt, cf. Friar Daw against Jack Upland for his failure to argue subtly, Jack Upland, pp. 81/278-82/281. Sophistry and learning were terms of praise in conventional usage, but in the Wycliffite context, they were frequently opprobrious (see discussion at T1/15-19).

*sophestre*, cognate with ‘sophist’, here has the sense ‘learned man’ (unrecorded, but derived from OED n. 1, a teacher from the Athenian academy), rather than the sense of OED n. 2. ‘one who deals in specious arguments’.

20-3 ‘Aftur þe elde of men . . . dispreue her sentence’: i. e. the Lollard has observed decorum; with this advice, cf. ME Rosarium, p. 89/9-34 on the ‘prechour’, and for Wyclif’s advocacy of decorum of expression according to the audience, see Sermones, I, 128/3-4, 130/30-1, 133/21-22, 164/1-3, 165/1-3.

The theory of decorum, as expounded from Aristotle by Cicero and Quintilian, was synthesized by Augustine in Christian terms (De doctrina christiana, Books 2 and 4). Accepted as a basic principle in the art of preaching, it was concerned with the need to ‘tune’ or adjust the ‘sentence’ and form of speech to the audience; cf. for example, Arundel’s advice that ‘praedicator. . . in praedicando clero sive populo, secundum materiam subjectam se honeste habeat, spargendo semen secundum convenientiam subiecti auditorii’, Wilkins, Concilia, III, 316).

23-30 ‘Suche a frere is a dede careyne. . . to heuenewarde’: the ideal of the enclosed life, expressed also in fraternal vows, was one of separation from the world and cultivation of virtue and devotion. These virtues provide the means for a soul to ‘clymbe euene to heuen warde’ (Hinnebusch, Early English Friars Preachers, pp. 229-30).

31-8 ‘bodily abite. . . peise clopes signifiep vertues’: the habit of
the Dominican order of Black Friars was a white tunic with a white scapular and hood over, covered by a black mantle, the *cappa*, with an attached cowl. The colours signified penance and purity; see note to T2/181-4.


*deformed* is ambiguous here; it may have the newly current sense 'disfigured' with figurative sense (OED v. (1), 1; ppl. adj. 1, 2, or 4 (fig.)); MED v. (2) a); or it may be used in the sense 'formed', 'fashioned', 'delineated' (OED v. (2), MED v. (2)), for which the only citation is from *WB* II Corinthians 3. 7. Both senses were possible from Latin *deformare*.

37 The girdle, worn at the waist next to the skin, was made of coarse string or thin rope and signified penance and penitence. For Wyclif's opinion of the girdle as an instrument of hypocrisy, see *Opera minora*, p. 321/6-10.

39-45 *pese signes croken from trewe... grege her synne*, based on Matthew 12. 39 (cf. *Sermones*, II, 99/22-34); in contrast to the friars' own ordinances, Christ has made no binding rules as to habit.

45-7 (and 645-50) *to destrie pis wedding wiþ signes... wiþ outen synne*: this ideal could have derived from the orthodox glosses to the texts of Matthew 27. 28-9, 31 (and Mark 15. 17, 20, Luke 23. 11), but its use to deny the validity of the habit is Wycliffite; cf. Matthew, p. 302/2-3.

48-53 *0 sïpen pese blasphemes... blemche fewe folke*: in this section (which extends to C/135), the Lollard Ion makes the traditional accusation, that the friars were seemingly allied with the laity against the secular clergy. The metaphor depends upon the text of Luke 17. 11-13. Bede's gloss included exegesis on the lepers as lacking the true faith and therefore propagating false doctrine (*In Lucae evangelium expositio*, 5. 17, PL 92, 542B-C). The *Glossa*
ordinaria interprets the lepers as heretics, as signified by their bodily deformity. Wyclif's sermon on the text and the vernacular version interpreted the lepers as the race of sinners praying for mercy and cited Bede, that the lepers 'bitoken heretikes of many colours pat schulden stonde aferr fro men' (Sermones, I, 304-10, Arnold, I, 35/29-33).

50-1 'God wolde pei were hermites in desert wip Seint Ion Baptist': John the Baptist was the model of the heremitical life, the life of true humility; (cf. Arnold, I, 296/19-31; II, 2/22-7/22; III, 59/20-60/18). St Francis in particular enjoined the heremitical life on his friars, who were to extend their preaching to the deserts and remote places; cf. Matthew, p. 15/1-7.

49-51, 101-4 'lordes and ladies... chamboris of ladies': this taunt concerning the friars' preference for the rich and the fortunate was part of the satirical attack on the mendicant orders (Mann, Chaucer and Medieval Estates Satire, pp. 51-3). The same theme emerged in Wycliffite criticism, especially in the attack on simony (Opera minora, p. 331/35-7, 340/29-35; Sermones, II, 58/4-59/25; Selections, p. 92/116-17; Matthew, pp. 17/28-18/2).

52-3 'For pe gospel seip... blemyche fewe folke': Luke 17. 12.

53-62 'But anticriste hiep hem... kynges and bischopis of harlates'. By the establishment under papal edict of fraternal priories in cities, the friars gained a strategic position in the cities, often at the gateway, where they enjoyed an advantageous position for their preaching activities. Wyclif likened the friars to Cain, rapaciously building a city, and to Solomon, aiming at kingly power (Sermones, II, 120/3-121/10, 123/5-12).

The point of the last sentence is that friars, in spite of their association with anticriste and his lies, and regardless of those from whom they draw support, cannot destroy the truth of Cristes religioun, that is, the gospel as preached by Lollard preachers.

55-6 'it fallep to per craft on many gates to lyen': possibly a double
entendre, 'to deceive in many ways', as well as being related to the friars' advantageous position at the city entrances.

57 In the phrase 'bagged wiþ lesinges', bagged may have the sense 'marked with a distinguishing sign' (derived from ME n. bagge, 'badge'); MED (sv. v. baggen) cites the Lollard-interpolated Rolle Psalter for this usage, that false friars 'ben baggid wiþ signes of ipocrysie'.

57-61 'beise apostataas . . . contrary to trewe': Wyclif asserted that all the mendicant orders had doubtful origins, punning on the terms mendacium, mendaciter and mendicantes (Triologus, pp. 361-5).

61-2 'ordour of worschipe is not ping fowled': in ordour of worschipe there is a possible play on the double sense of ordour, meaning both right and proper procedure, as in the order of divine service, and alluding also to the sense of 'rank', as depicted by kynges and bischopis of harlates. The comparison stresses that the proper order of worship is not destroyed or polluted by the friars, any more than the king or a bishop are dishonoured when their subjects include 'harlates', those of the lowest social and moral rank.

64-9 'freres ben fisches wiþouten water': this proverbial comparison is common in late medieval anticlerical contexts. Gower attributed the comparison to Augustine (Mirour de l'omme; Vox clamantis IV/277-80); Langland attributed it to Gregory the Great (Piers Plowman C V/146-51); in Canterbury Tales, General Prologue I/180 and ME Rosarium, p. 78/9-10 the comparison is applied to the monastic orders.

There was precedent for the application to the fraternal orders in William of St Amore's sermon 'De pharisaeo' (Fasciculus rerum, II, 43). There the simile is cited from a canon attributed by Gratian to Pope Eugenius (Decretum, II, C. 16. 1. 8, Friedberg, vol. 2, 764). For proverbial use, see Whiting, Proverbs, F233 and for further Wycliffite examples of its application, see Sermones, II, 128/29-31; Arnold, II, 15/28-31; Matthew, p. 449/29.
69-70 'eiʒte pereles . . . false freres': a reference to the texts of II Corinthians 11. 26 and Matthew 23. 12-23.

69 'anticristis clerkes': this recurring motif, commonly used to denote the friars, can be classified as an example of distinctive vocabulary by means of which the friars are brought into total disrepute, damned along with the pope whose responsibility they are (see also C/53-5, 271-3).

72 'gulardes wordes': this term of opprobrium, 'goliard', denoted the class of educated jesters, buffoons and satirical versifiers; when applied to the clergy in venality satire it covered any clerk who, like the jokers in the court, broke all the rules and dishonoured his vocation; see Bennett's note to Piers Plowman B Prologue/139 and H. Waddell, The Wandering Scholars (London, 1927, repr. 1954), pp. 200-4). Langland coupled the word with its supposed etymological derivation from Latin gula, in the phrase 'a glotoun of wordes'; Chaucer's goliardic miller told coarse tales (General Prologue I/560), while Langland's goliard mouthed faintly Wycliffite opinion (Piers Plowman B Prologue/141-2), thereby suggesting an allusion to Wyclif's garrulous followers and a comparison between Lollards and dishonourable goliards.

From the clerical point of view, this was an apt term to use against a Lollard. Many had abandoned the orthodox clerical vocation and were often on the run from ecclesiastical discipline. While the term was principally one of disfavour, there is also an ironic appropriateness, in that the cognate term joculatores was one that St Francis used, urging his followers to become joculatores Christi, an image suggested by texts such as I Corinthians 3. 18; 4. 10.

73-8 'O how scharpeli techip pe gospel. . . to repreue per vices ': an allusion to Matthew 23. Though the connections between the present dialogue and the Wycliffite sermon 'Vae octuplici' are not sustained.
beyond a few words or short biblical phrases, nevertheless the orientation of these and related texts is comparable, depending on a common biblical exegesis for their comprehensive denunciation of the fraternal orders.

77 sectes: in Wycliffite usage the term denoted primarily the four orders of friars (though it often covered all the religious orders), and became a distinctively Lollard word of abuse.

79-85 'And so per comensementes': technically, the entrance of a scholar into the privileges of a master or doctor at the university (see Higden, Polychronicon, transl. Trevisa, ed. J. R. Lumby, 9 vols., Rolls Series 41 (1865-86), VI, 259), although the term could refer to the beginning of any activity. The present allusion may be to the foundation of the mendicant orders, though the subsequent material is more relevant to criticism concerning the recruitment of new members into the orders and the display of personal ambition by those recruited (see Hinnebusch, Early English Friars Preachers, pp. 261-71 and History, I, 309-17).

81-2 'pei casten many weies and spenden pore mennes godes', alluding to the familiar criticism that the friars preached chiefly for their own gain, accepting money and alms that allowed them to live in great luxury. This criticism was probably considerably exaggerated in view of the regulations which governed the quest for alms by the Preachers, for friars were specifically prohibited from questing while preaching or hearing confession in order to prevent suspicion of self-interest (Hinnebusch, Early English Friars Preachers, pp. 242-3). For the criticism, see William of St Amore, 'De periculis', Fasciculus rerum, II, 36-7, items 11, 13; Matthew of Paris, Chronica maiora, V, 742; Matthew, pp. 13-16; Arnold, III, 372/8ff., 376/11ff.; Jack Upland, pp. 66/285-67/294; Pierce the Plowman's Crede, p. 9/216-30 etc.

82-3, 105-8 'chosen to pe chaier', an allusion to Matthew 23. 2, 6-10, on the chair of Moses. Allegorically, the allusion referred to the ambition attributed to friars to attain the magisterial chair (see

For Wycliffite use of the same charge, see *Opus evangelicum*, II, 7/3-16, 20/16-22/22; *Opera minora*, p. 321/17-32; *Selections*, p. 33/146-7; Matthew, p. 376/1-6; *Jack Upland*, p. 67/295-7.

85-7 'And siJ/en þe money. . . for Crist toke of þe erþe peise tempeal goodis': that is, Christ 'used' temporal goods as necessary for his sustenance, implying valid usus rather than dominion.

87-9 'sciens of alkemie. . . asaie if þu wilt': although alchemy was probably not regarded with universal scepticism at the end of the fourteenth century, it was at least partially discredited as the activity of deceivers (Canon’s Yeoman’s Prologue VIII/683-91, 700-19, and Tale, 720ff.; *Piers Plowman* B X/211-13). Wycliffites criticized the clergy for their abuse of scientific learning, as at Arnold, II, 408/20-1; Matthew, pp. 10/18ff., 442/7-8.

The present disclaimer that friars have no practical or theoretical knowledge of alchemy (C/88) may have consciously ironical overtones, to discredit profane learning in general and the learning of the friars in particular. In fact, friars had long been well represented among students of the physical sciences, notably by the Franciscan Roger Bacon and Dominican Albert the Great; see Knowles, *The Religious Orders*, I, 206ff; D. E. Sharp, *Franciscan Philosophy at Oxford in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1930). Under Grosseteste in particular scientific inquiry was encouraged at Oxford and throughout the later Middle Ages Oxford had an enviable reputation in this respect.

89 *asaie*: there may be a conscious play on words here. In common usage, the primary sense was 'to test', 'to examine', but there is fifteenth-century attestation for the sense 'to test the
composition’, ‘to determine the purity of a metal’ and for the
figurative sense ‘to test as a metal’ (OED v. 4, trans. and fig; MED
records this sense only in the substantive form assay, Canon’s
Yeoman’s Tale, VIII/1338). WB does not use the word to translate
probare, of gold or precious metals (as in Zechariah 13. 9,
Revelations 3. 18), but for probare and tentare of I Samuel 17. 39,
Hebrews 11. 29 etc., ‘to try’, ‘to attempt’.

96 contrarien, a favourite Lollard word to depict the conflict of the
contrary authorities of the contemporary church and Christ; see
further at C/528-37, where the friars’ doctrine and practice are
shown to be at odds; cf. Jack Upland, pp. 64/243, 67/297, 81/275.

98-100 ‘aftrur pat he comense[p]... costily as a lord’: an allusion to the
trend whereby friars could depart from the austerity of the dormitory
prescribed for the common life, with special concessions such as
private chambers, permission to be absent from the night offices and
the provision of servants; see Erickson, ‘Fourteenth-Century
Franciscans’ (1976), 115; Moorman, History of the Franciscan Order,
pp. 361-2, 503; Hinnebusch, History, I, 353-65; for related
complaints, see Arnold, III, 376/11-12; Matthew, pp. 15/8-14,
49/12-14.

100 On Wycliffite criticism of the canonical hours, see T2/177-200 and
note.

102 late doun is glossed ‘lately do’, referring to a contemporary trend
among the friars.

102-4 ‘he checip hym a tyme wann moost panke schulde falle him’: cf.

108-10; 419-24 Mekenes, the antithesis of venym henessse, pride,
arrogance or ambition for high status, was much prized by the
Lollards, especially as an aspect of poverty; e.g. T2/236, Matthew,
111-15 Richard: 'tis sentence ... pine owne moupe': Luke 19. 22, the parable of the talents; the charge alludes to the rivalry between the secular clergy and the friars.

123 'I coueited to be hire in scole': a remark probably to be taken as a rhetorical confession of former pride, but expressing also the anti-intellectual scepticism in the manner that Wyclif occasionally used, as in Dialogue, p. 54/6-30.

128 'tis dege com be an hepin costom': in Lollard terms, the status enjoyed by the friars did not have the authority of scripture.

128-35 With this sarcastic taunt, cf. the rhetorical method of the 'Epistola sathane ad clerios' and 'Tractatus de pseudo-freres', cap. 8, where the friars' supposed virtues are demolished by satirical contradiction (Selections, pp. 89-92, Matthew, pp. 315-24).

144-5 Richard: 'Telle jit grundely... how long si phen': this question gives the Lollard an advantageous position from which to adduce the favourite Wycliffite arguments from history. All the fraternal orders characteristically appealed to their historical origins as an aspect of their authority, the Franciscans specializing in the facts and legends surrounding the life of St Francis to emphasize the august foundation and pious intentions of the order (e.g. Jordan of Giano, Salimbene of Parma and Thomas of Eccleston; see A. G. Little, Franciscan Papers, Lists and Documents (Manchester, 1943), 25-41).

The Dominicans were generally more concerned with learned theology and with the compilation of universal histories for use in the schools; important writers were Jordan of Saxony, Martin of Troppau, Bernard Gui, Stephen of Salagnac, John of St Giles and Nicholas Trevet (see Knowles, The Religious Orders, I, 125ff., 163ff., Hinnebusch, History, II, 405-20). The Augustinians and the Carmelites produced 'propaganda' histories to enhance the venerable status of their orders as a means of competing with the two orders which enjoyed the prestige of having 'commanding founders' (Knowles, The Religious Orders, I, 194-201).
Commentary: Ion and Richard

146-7 Ion: 'In pis pat pou exist... hooly writ, felyng and resoun': i.e. there was no warrant for the friars in scripture; nor could they be justified on rational grounds or on the basis of experience.

Felynq may express the general notion of experience, especially as received through the senses, an emotional experience or a specifically spiritual one such as communion with God or having a sense of the presence of the grace of God.

The friars' lack of biblical foundation is a Wycliffite commonplace; see Polemical Works, I, 148/8-16, 371/18-372/13; Trialogus, pp. 437/5-438/4; Arnold, III, 353/15-354/4; Matthew, pp. 299/13-17.

147-9; 496-8, 780 'perfore take pat I sei... as cronicies or fabellis tellen': This passage is elliptical and possibly corrupt, lacking a grammatical referent for 'it' (lines 150(ii),151(ii).

The sense is concerned with the fact of the fraternal foundations as an evil that God had allowed in order to punish the institutional church, for it had neglected its true discipleship and instead pursued worldly ambition.

One Wycliffite criticism of the friars was that they depended on the authority of flimsy evidence such as chronicles and fables; cf. II Timothy 4. 4 and for another instance of the same criticism, see ME Rosarium, pp. 73-4; Lanterne of List, p. 55/26-30; Arnold, I, 176/22ff., 282/22ff.; II, 173/24-5; III, 299/30-2, 376/13-14 etc.; Matthew, pp. 16/231-5, 26/29-27/4, 50/32-4; Jack Upland, p. 64/233-6; Selections, pp. 75/15-16, 120/23-6.

Chaucer's parson also used the same text to satirize contemporary preaching fashions, probably with a conventional thrust against the friars (Parson's Prologue X/34). For defence of the friars against these charges, see Netter, Doctrinale fidei, II. 3. 72; III. 1. 6; 2. 32 (vol. 1, 629, 718, 807).

151-8 'fellenes of pe fende... olde vices regne'; cf. Wyclif's explanation that the church's neglect of scripture and preaching had allowed heresy to flourish, and that the fraternal orders had arisen as a substitute for the degenerate monastic orders; De civili dominio, III, 13/15-18/1-3; Polemical Works, I, 241-56; cf. also...
Matthew, pp. 68/17ff.; Arnold, I, 216/3-20, III, 345/27-346/9, 400/28-401/24 etc.

153 hem, 'themselves; that is, the members of the church, or friars who gained legal sanction from the highest authority in the church, the pope.

153 Chanounus, the canons regular, originating in the eleventh century in association with the Gregorian reform, had adopted the Augustinian rule which was later used by the Friars Preachers. Canons came under episcopal jurisdiction as a clerical order, and though in general they did not undertake parish duties, their religious houses were often the focus of hospice or other vocational work. Wyclif denied their claims to be associated with St Augustine (Polemical Works, I, 248/6-27).

155 'Good men hadden good purpose': presumably a complimentary reference to Francis and Dominic, whose dedication to preaching and poverty gained some approval. For the Wycliffites, the personal sanctity of the founders and the validity of their ideals in no way justified the 'sects' nor the consequent division of the church (De civili dominio, III, 17/35-7, 18/4-11; Polemical Works, I, 173/14-174/15; II, 437-40, 499-501/15; Trialogus, p. 361/15-20; Pierce the Plowman's Crede, p. 19/509-18).

159 II Peter 2. 1, one of the important texts in antimendicant propaganda; it was glossed by Lyra as condemning both those who taught doctrine falsely and those who failed to teach at all.

164-205 'as ayzens pe tyme pat freres comen inne. .. sufferep hem to symne': i.e. the friars stand condemned for their shaky foundations, dependent upon human laws and agents, for their false claims and for their unsound doctrines; for exposure of these issues, see Trialogus, pp. 361-362/4, 436/1-437/9; Pierce the Plowman's Crede, pp. 10/250-3, 12/306-16, 15/382-7 etc.; Arnold, III, 353/15-29; Selections, pp. 80/222-3, 91/94-92/141.

166-79 'Comune cronicles. .. vndur Heli pe prophete': either 'secular' chronicles, those concerned with secular history, or 'general',
including ecclesiastical and secular history. Most chronicles included the facts of the foundations of the friars, though understandably the monastic chroniclers were guarded (e.g. Matthew of Paris, Matthew of Westminster, Roger of Wendover and Ranulph Higden), and all omitted the more fanciful and mythical origins alluded to here but which were recorded in the friars' own writings. The present outline of fraternal claims, typical of Wycliffite exaggeration, represents an early example of scepticism towards these fictitious claims (see Knowles, *The Religious Orders*, I, 195-6).

166 'pe fende was losed': an allusion to the Joachist view of history. After the millenary captivity of the devil (Revelations 20. 2), the 'loosing' of the devil was believed to have taken place (Revelation 20. 7; see also the *Glossa ordinaria* and Lyra). Wyclif subscribed to this view of history, bringing it forward by his interpretation that Innocent III had 'loosed the fiend of heresy' with his pronouncements on transubstantiation and confession and for his role in the foundation of the mendicant orders (*De apostasia*, pp. 46/8-16; *Trialogus*, pp. 240/23-6, 249/25-250/3, 263/3ff., 361/10-20 etc.; *Polemical Works*, II, 393/2-8, 622/22-623/6; and among vernacular references to the same theme, *Selections*, p. 93/158-60; Matthew, p. 328/21; Arnold, III, 255/20-8, 449/10ff.; Trinity College Dublin MS. 245, ff. 144-144v (where Higden's chronicle is cited as an authority for the 'historical facts'; the author links the prophecy that 'Sathanas shal be unbounden' with Innocent III's decree on confession as well as with the interdict on England and with the subsequent provision of perpetual tribute and loss of English independence).

Wyclif's criticism of the friars was condemned in 1382 (Wilkins, *Concilia*, III, 158, items 21, 22); by the Council of Constance, *'Articuli Iohannis Wiclefi*, Fasciculus rerum, I, 278), and by Netter, *Doctrinale fidei*, II. 2. 15-16, 26, vol. 1, 312-18, 377).

179 For exegesis on Elijah (I Kings 17) which discredits the practice of begging, see *Selections*, pp. 93/14-95/60.

181-3 'pese foure kynredes. . . lastid euer sypen': this comparison,
distinctively Wycliffite metaphor, was drawn from the orthodox exegesis of the biblical character Cain, whose offspring stood allegorically for all wicked men (C/186-8). The present allusion is to the acrostic interpretation of the four letters of the name Cain denoting the four orders, Carmelites, Augustinians, Jacobites (Dominicans) and Minorites (Franciscans). For Wyclif's use of the figure, see especially *Trialsous*, pp. 362/15-25, 444/21-445/3; *Sermones*, II, 85/1-7; *Polemical Works*, I, 40/2; and among the many Lollard examples, see *Selections*, p. 107/23; *Jack Upland*, p. 58/86; *Pierce the Plowman's Crede*, p. 18/486-7: 'The orders of Cain' ed. R. H. Robbins, *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries* (New York, 1959), pp. 160/109-16; see also the indices to Matthew and Arnold, s.v. *Cain, Cavme*.

Netter defended the friars against the implications of this attack, censuring Wyclif for his harmful derivation of offensive names; Woodford objected that Wyclif had had to misspell the name in order to derive his antifratal exegesis (Doctrinale fidei, II. 3. 56, Vol. 1, 611, 614, 616; 'De causis condemnationis', Fasciculus rerum, I, 264-5).

183-5 'Popis Innocentis tyme. ... anticrist was more in þe chirche': during Innocent III's pontificate (1198-1216), dispensation for their foundation was given to the Minorites (1210) and to the Preachers (1215-16). The chronicles do not record lunar phenomena for these years, but in 1200 and 1202, soon after the first beginnings of the two fraternal orders, the appearance of five moons was recorded (Matthew of Paris, *Chronica maiora*, II, 475; Higden, *Polychronicon*, VIII, 185). It is possible that the allusion to the 'two mones' (C/184) refers to the episode of the chronicles, or the confusion may derive from the well known image used by Innocent of two lights (see his decretal 'Solite', *Decretaies* I. 33. 6, Friedberg, vol. 2, 198).
The image could also derive from the apocalyptic imagery of Luke 21. 25 and Revelation 6. 12-1; Wyclif's combined reference to 'Solite' and to the prophesies, *Sermones*, I, 84/2-9 suggests a precedent for such a collation.

The allusion to the two orders which were 'knocked out' may be to the decision of Innocent III and the Fourth Lateran Council to ban further new orders, thereby denying to the Beguines and Beghards the opportunity to be constituted as religious orders. On the other hand, the image may equally apply to the eradication of the Cathars and Waldensians by Innocent's inquisition; for the first, see *De apostasia*, pp. 10/40-11/5.

The 'tuo oper ordres. . . gederid togeder wane pe power of anticrist was more in pe chirche' are presumably the 'Austines', not established until 1256, and the Carmelites, only organized as a mendicant order c. 1247.

186-8 'pis ping is certen, as Cris[ostom] sei'. This explanation attributed to Chrysostom is from homily 74 of the pseudo-Chrysostom (*Patrologia graeca*, 58, 681-2), where Cain's action is cited in exegesis on Matthew 23. 29. Wyclif quoted this source (*De civili dominio*, I, 69/11-15; *Opus evangelicum*, II, 83/30ff), though he also cited Augustine, that Cain was the builder of the first city and originator of law (*De civili dominio*, III, 176/31-5) and FitzRalph (*De civili dominio*, III, 177/1-11).

The notion of the wickedness of Cain's descendants was a medieval commonplace (as in *Beowulf*, lines 107, 111; *Havelok the Dane*, line 2045). By rabbinical legend, Cain, conceived between the disobedience and the repentance of his parents, was the ancestor of all evil monsters and thus became a byname for the wanderer, vagrant, and thence a metaphor for the friars.

194-7 'alle these foure freres ben confermed of pe pope': i. e. the fact that the friars owed their foundation and their loyalty to the papacy was damaging evidence against them, both because of the scandal of the schism and because the papacy had been responsible for the endowment of the church.
197 'clouen in hemself, as per hede is clouen': the schism provides a simile to emphasize the divisiveness and divisions of the friars. The image of the cloven head occurs frequently in antipapal and conciliarist contexts, describing the situation of the two contending parties as a monstrum bicens (Jacob, Essays in the Conciliar Epoch, p. 10 and M. Harvey, 'Two "Quaestiones" on the Great Schism', 115).

For the image of the duo capita, see Trialogus, p. 454/11 and Arnold, III, 247/12-13.

198 'title of lesings founded þese foure orderes': an ironic taunt against the fraternal claims as to their foundation; the phrase is also an example of the characteristic Lollard way of arguing from historical evidence.

203 'wandryng in contres': an allusion to the widespread begging of the friars, and perhaps also to the fear of treason and subversion by the friars (see note to D/258-60).

205-6 'But of all... to synne': there may be a lengthy lacuna after fadur to the effect that 'in all that they do of evil is the devil their example' (or 'father'). This would account for the apparent ellipsis of the sentence.

The intention of the sentence seems to be that God is the progenitor of whatever is good in the friars, but he also suffers them to sin, presumably against his wishes but as an aspect of the punishment of the church (C/151).

210-11 'But who schulde be brenn but suche an heretike?': a reminder of the heresy incipient in antipapalism. The allusion may be to earlier papal inquisitions in continental Europe against Cathars and Waldensians; or to the known use of the death penalty in England for clerical apostacy; Ion may be issuing a premonitory warning, or he may be referring to the statute De heretico comburendo as a current reality. This statute allowed the penalty to be imposed 'überius et celerius'; see C/273-7, 428-30 and 1044 for Ion's acknowledgment of this form of punishment; and for use of the supreme penalty against an apostacized deacon by the Council of Oxford under Stephen Langton early in the thirteenth century, see Bracton, De legibus, II, 349.
212-16 'At pe bygynmyng... to sei Cristis lawe': no such pact actually appears at the beginning of the dialogue. At C/215-16 Ion had alluded to the prohibition placed on Lollard preachers; see also D/252-27 and Selections, p. 80/215ff.; Arnold, II, 69/3ff.; III, 375/30-5, 495/24ff.; Matthew, p. 11/35ff.; Jack Upland, p. 65/244-50.

218-27 On the pope as 'Cristis vicarie in erpe', see D/51-3. The 'glosatowres' included the many canonists who had interpreted canon law in order to establish the doctrine of papal plenitude.

221 'to fewe knyttis of Crist', that is, priests, or more widely, the faithful believers described as militia Christi in Ephesians 6.

221-2 'As blasphemes pese clerkes floreschon Cristis lawe': a typical Wycliffite taunt, that the friars have glossed and embellished scripture to support doctrines of convenience, or, reading floreschon as 'flaunt'(OED:flourish,v.10, MED v.5b), that 'friars flaunde scripture as if it supported their views; see also D/380-5 and T2/138-40.

224 'Iew or paynem': with this pejorative comparison, cf. also the allusion of C/432-4 and note to T2/299-307

227-50 'wy iche bischope of Rome schulde haue pis primacie... a man vnabel': a Wycliffite synopsis of the arguments put forward for Roman supremacy (see more fully in De potestate pape, cap. 8, pp. 166ff.). Wyclif denied that
(i) St Peter died in Rome (Sermones, II, 433/19-434/2). Peter's death in Rome was not germane to the main arguments for Roman supremacy. There is no mention of the tradition by Augustine; nor was any pope able to claim supremacy from the 'merely historical contingency of Peter's sojourn iife and death in Rome' (Ullmann, 'Leo I and the Theme of Papal Primacy', 26; Grabowski, 'St Augustine and the Primacy of the Roman Bishops'; ODCC, 2nd ed. pp. 1068-9);
(ii) Rome, as the centre of Christian martyring, gained a special sanctity. He argued (a) that martyrdom was accompanied by the 'pollution ' of evil; with C/236 cf. C/686-7 for typical Wycliffite scepticism; and (b) that martyrdom was an institution dependent on
human action and opinion, and (c) that Jerusalem had higher claims; De potestate pape, pp. 168/27-32 etc.;
(iii) Rome had been granted its special status by the Donation of Constantine; he dismissed this argument as having only the authority of fables and chronicles (De potestate pape, pp. 168/32-169/6 etc);
(iv) Wyclif also denied that the cardinals had maintained the primacy of Rome; their authority had been discredited by the schism (De potestate pape, pp. 195/7-197/28 etc.; Trialogus, pp. 450/22-451/24; De blasphemia, pp. 65-72/9; Selections, p. 125/126-35). for discussion on the Wycliffite opinion of the cardinalate, see the commentary to D/173-5.

246-9 'these cardenales haue vertue. . . lede his chirche': with this derision of the cardinals, punning on the dual etymology of cardinal n. and adj. (Latin cardo, n. hinge; cardinalis, adj. chief) cf. Matthew, p. 472/3ff.

251-73 'But where were more blasfemes. . . staaf of reedes & swen anticrist': the gist of this passage is that the only acceptable criterion for succession to Peter as Christ's vicar is resemblance to Christ in life and doctrine, an argument developed in the De potestate pape, caps 3 and 4, summarized at p. 166/12-25.

254-5 'Yndes & Grekes. . . pan pise Westerne fooles': an allusion to the schism between the Western and Eastern churches, Rome and Constantinople, that began in the fifth century and was complete c. 1054 (ODCC, 2nd ed. p. 1013). One of the issues at the heart of the break was that of papal supremacy, and hence Wyclif's inclination to favour the position of the Eastern Orthodox church against the Western: the Eastern church disregarded the Donation; Western insistence on its terms was blamed for the schism (De potestate pape, pp. 233/1-10, 234/19-34; cf. the same taunt at T2/353-5).

257-60, 265-6 'who euere most sewep Crist. . . wane pei ben conformed to God': a repudiation of the clerical estate in terms that border on a statement of the doctrine of lay priesthood and the priesthood of all believers; poverty and meekness are seen as the tokens of belief and
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grace, the meek are Christ's vicars on earth.

There is possibly play on the words profit, sb. 'prophet' and profit, v. 'to be of advantage', the pun emphasizing ironically that meekness such as was enjoined by Christ and the prophets was of more profit to the church than the Donation.

261-2 'a it is perel. . . to pe worlde': there is a danger that true meekness will be unknown or unfamiliar; that is, that those who live a 'more pore lijf' could be infected and destroyed through contact with the worldliness and pomp of the papacy which forces itself upon the attention of the world by its machinery of publicity ('blowing of name to pe worlde').

271; also 367; the n. patron can signify either a pattern, model, or a patron and protector. Either sense fits the present context, but at 366, in a similar context patron is used unambiguously, suggesting that this is the intended sense.

The earliest record for the verb in either sense is the seventeenth century, making the present usage an example of a nonce derivative.

272 'pei lenen vp on a staaf of reedes': cf. the biblical proverb of Isaiah 36. 6.

273-7, 428-30 'I trowe . . . pe emperoure & his knyttes': the author is consistently apprehensive as to the use of the death penalty in a manner typical of Lollard writings over a relatively long period; see further in the note to T2/155-60, and for more specific references to the death penalty in Wycliffite writings, see Selections, pp. 92/138-41, 67/20-3; Arnold, I, 205/1-6; Lanterne of Litt, p. 43/7-15, Jack Upland, pp. 63/214-15, 65/247-50, The Plowman's Tale, pp. 167/633-4, 641-2, 173/825-8.

276-7 'pei haue distrowed. . . pe emperoure & his knyttes', perhaps a reference to the spoliation of the temporal power and to the vitiation of the spiritual judgment of the lay ruler (cf. C/405ff; D/210-16, 252-66, 420ff.; Sermones, II, 52/15-20; IV, 10/19-11/1;
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Polemical Works, I, 104/3-106/2, 244/3-13; Trialogus, pp. 373ff.).

278-83 Richard: 'many pouesande sentis... trowe more al pese pan oo foole?' On the testimony of the saints, see D/186-8, T2/336-9. The friar defends saints 'sipen Siluester tyme' against the common Wycliffite denial of validity to the papacy since the Donation (see also D/200ff., T2/351, and C/298-9).

Of the 'foure docturis', Gregory the Great was the only one to be elevated to the pontificate. Presumably the 'oo foole' in Richard's mind is Wyclif.

284-6, 295-308, 311, 321-30, 341-6 Ion: 'We schulden trowe more pese gospel... for alle pese sentes erred'. By a rhetorical coup, the Lollard links the opinion of the 'oo foole' with the teaching of the gospel, implicitly claiming scriptural warrant for Wycliffism. For the Wycliffite view of the saints, see D/200-1 and T1/351.

286-91 'pis chirche peyriþ in lyuynge... al þat euer he did': the church itself is responsible for doctrinal error by its neglect of divine law and of Christ's perfect example (see also T2/100-6).

293-5 'Seint Ciprian techiþ... and here Crist in hym': an allusion to the decretal 'Si solus Christus audiendus est', Decretum, I, D. 8. 9 (Friedberg, vol. 1, 15-16), concerning the primary position given to the teaching of Christ over human custom. It was applied by Wyclif to matters such as the pastoral office, obedience due to the clergy, the reliability of canonization, and the validity of the Donation (Sermones, I, 173/17-23; III, 154/2-15; II, 154/23-33/18-36; Trialogus, p. 237/12-14; De blasphemia, p. 55/13-16).

St Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage (martyred 258 A.D.), probably attracted the Wycliffites by his austere stand on Christian doctrine and by his opposition to the papacy over its claim to absolute authority in matters of doctrine (ODCC, 2nd ed., pp. 367-8).

308 'þei schule repreue... to suffer dep'. The sense of this elliptical comment seems to be that the saints and martyrs of old would reprove the contemporary church so vehemently that they
themselves would suffer death for it.

This comment may carry a double allusion, first to an implicit likeness between the saints of old and Lollard preachers; and secondly, to the martyrdom that Lollards might expect as a consequence of their preaching.

310-11 'as woso tilled forpe a childe . . . to depe watur': the wording of this image, which may connect with the text of Matthew 23. 15, perhaps relates to the conventional taunt that the friars steal children and young men (FitzRalph, 'Defensio curatorium', trans. Trevisa, pp. 56/1-58/31; Hinnebusch, History, I, 310-21; Early English Friars Preachers, pp. 264-6; Moorman, History of the Franciscan Order, pp. 351-3; and in the context of the university, A. G. Little, The Grey Friars at Oxford (Oxford, 1892), pp. 80-1).

The charge, though not dealt with specifically in the present dialogue, was ubiquitous in antimendicant satire; for examples, see Erickson, 'Fourteenth-Century Franciscans' (1975), 116-18; and among Wycliffe comments, Opera minora, p. 339/29-39; Selections, p. 76/43-63.

313-15 'pe chirche were distroued': cf. D/5-12, 192-4 etc.

323-45 'wat pe seyntis seide. . . for pei ben not groundid': the clergy is to be obeyed only so far as it adheres to divine law. The accusation that the friars are to be avoided as coveting 'more wordeli goodes þane perfeccioun of vertues' (333-4) seems to allude to the legal fiction whereby the friars retained their possessions (see note to T1/27).

327-30 'a so þese seyntis. . . þer perfeccioun': with this prescription for apostolic perfection, including property owned in common, cf. T1/335-52.

346-9 'But God forbede any man. . . þe popes schulde euer more last': the comparison emphasises the contradictions in the clerical viewpoint; for Wyclif's doctrine that scripture embodied eternity, see note to T2/309-11, 318-20.
350-2 Richerd: 'it semep pat be freres swen most. ... Cristis religion;
the fraternal spokesman invokes the triple vow of poverty, chastity and obedience taken by the friars.


359-61 'our knyttis. ... pe best men of alle', a veiled allusion to Lollards as 'evangelists'. In the present context the author possibly implies that in their defence of the literal sense of scripture, Lollards showed themselves to be 'pe best men of alle'.

362-4, 505-8 'cloutes ben added to freres reule. ... more specked mantyl': this metaphor graphically emphasizes the author's abhorrence of friars, likening them to harlots (i.e. jesters) in respect of their parti-coloured costume. The word 'specked' also had a figurative, moral sense, but in the context of the simile, the emphasis is on the patched, composite nature of the fraternal rule, rather than on moral decrepitude; cf. the simile relating to the variety of their habit, 'as pei varien in habitis, so pei ben speckid in peir ordris', where a moral judgment seems to be implied (Selections, p. 122/92-3; cf. Opus evanqelicum, I, 313/14-15: '... omnes religiosi moderni se ipsos necessitant ut ypocrisi maculentur."

Harlots, until the later fifteenth century generally male and usually but not necessarily associated with lechery, were satirized for their appearance, with emphasis on the disgusting aspects of a diseased skin (see Mann, Chaucer and Medieval Estates Satire, pp. 138-9). This sense may be understood here, since mantyl could also have a technical, zoological sense, 'skin' (OED, first recorded 1460).

The primary sense of 'harlot' was to denote an itinerant jester, a buffoon or teller of ribald tales (as in Piers Plowman C
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VII/94, VIII/50 etc.; cf. also C/506-7), though it also translated the Latin meretrix, ‘prostitute’, usually given as ‘whore’ in the Wycliffite biblical versions; MED gives no female applications.

370-95 ‘But go we to resoun... so bei passen Cristis couent’: an attack on the fraternal vow of poverty. Wycliffites regarded the vow of poverty as having been broken by the excessive begging of the friars, by their ‘costily houses’ and habit and other forms of ‘excesse’, referring either to their large numbers or to their style of living; De civili dominio, III, 350/19-40; Selectione, p. 91/75ff.; Arnold, I, 58/8-37.

375-6; 388 Matthew 8. 20; cf. T2/266ff.


The name of Judas became a byname for a cowardly traitor. In Wycliffite exegesis Judas was variously claimed as a rapacious merchant (Trialogus, p. 191/24-6; Arnold, III, 471/5-15); or as the patron of worldly, simoniac priests (Opus evangelicun, II, 331/33-332/12, citing Augustine’s exegesis on John 13. 21-7), or as a type of the praesciti (Sermones, II, 80/35-8), and a precursor of the friars (Polemical Works, II, 525/3-9, 527/4-7; Matthew, pp. 318/34-319/2, 477/3-5; The Plowman’s Tale, p. 166/613-28). This association of Judas with the friars by Wyclif may be tacitly linked with the veneration of Judas by the gnostic heretics the Cainites (ODCC, 2nd ed., pp. 218, 763).

382-3; cf. 333, 566 etc. On ‘couoytise’, accidia, in the clergy, see D/211, T2/51-63 etc., T1/230, 284.

396-9 ‘as to chastite... vnyndely fro Crist’. Chastity, that is,
celibacy, was a practice scorned in much Wycliffite polemic, where it was argued that the married state was preferable for priests, though the sins of lust are also condemned; see Opus evangelicum, I, 165-77; Arnold, I, 364/4, III, 161-3, 188-201; Heresy Trials, p. 166 etc.

Wyclif’s principal concern on the issue of celibacy was with the contrast between spiritual chastity and spiritual fornication, the former defined as consisting of love of God, the life of true poverty and obedience to Christ (see De blasphemia, pp. 92/39-93/4). In the 'gostily fornicacioun' of their secular negotiations and ambitions, the friars depart unnaturally from Christ (see also Polemical Works, I, 32/15-16, 135/6-13). With the Wycliffite treatment of the theme, cf. Langland’s, that chastity is but a 'handmaid of Truth' (Piers Plowman C I/184-5; VII/273).

399-411 'But as to obedience. . . hem seeme antecristis clerkes': The friars regarded obedience as the highest good, involving renunciation of self-will and liberty to the prior who stood as the representative of God. The ceremony of religious profession emphasized the feudal nature of the vow by which the friar became the vassal subject of the prior, bound by the personal tie of allegiance (Hinnebusch, Early English Friars Preachers, p. 230; History, I, 129-33; M. D. Lambert, Franciscan Poverty (London, 1961), pp. 36-8; R. Brooke, The Coming of the Friars (London, 1975), pp. 26-9, 118-19; and for the Franciscan rule, see Bettenson, Documents of the Christian Church, 2nd ed., p. 129, item 2).

Wycliffite criticism regarded the friars’ vow of obedience to the religious superior as worthless unless it entailed prior obedience to Christ. But since the friars’ laws deviated from divine law, then their vow of obedience was harmful.

405-11 'suche feyned obedience dop myche harme to couentes & cuntres' connects with the contemporary anxiety, that the friars’ presence in England entailed political and economic danger to the realm; see note to T1/259-6.

412-14 Richerd: 'siplen freres kepen alle pat we do. . . more perfiszt pene oure': cf. the defence at T1/210-11. If Richerd is himself a
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414-16 'for ellis it were vnleful for to be a frere': Richard claims that fraternal perfection is exemplified by the notable success of the friars in recruitment of new members and of congregations, and by the approval of the papacy. On the increase of the friars in England, see Matthew of Paris, Historia minora 1067-1253, ed. F. Madden, 3 vols., Rolls Series 44 (1866-9), II, 298-9, 384; FitzRalph, 'Defensio curatorum', transl. Trevisa, pp. 59/31-60/1; Piers Plowman C XXII/266-70; Wife of Bath's Tale, III/864-72; and among Lollard notices, Jack Upland, pp. 69/354-70/365; Arnold. III, 400/30-401/6. See the also statistics in Hinnebusch, Early English Friars Preachers, pp. 260, 264-5.

417-31 'I trowe pat no man in pe worlde... don pus be charite'. The friars' unwillingness to accept correction was a fault noted by William of St Amore ('De periculis', Fasciculus rerum, II, 35, item 3; 40, items 32, 33).

In his exegesis of Matthew 23, Wyclif treated this aspect of fraternal abuse as a fulfilment of the prophecy of Matthew 23. 34-5 (Opera minora, pp. 350/26-351/19). For Lollard complaints of the revenge of the friars against critics, see T2/155-60, Selections, p. 80/215-18; Jack Upland, p. 65/251-6; Matthew, p. 18/14-34; Arnold, III, 375/30ff, 387/25ff., etc.

429-30 'ne helpe hadde be of seckular men', an allusion to the intervention of laymen on behalf of Lollard activists, at least from 1382, as documented and discussed by Kightly, 'The Early Lollards', and by Wilks, 'Royal Priesthood'.

432-4; 675-7 'Siopen bope merite & synne stondep in wille'; cf. here T1/75 on the role of the will in Wyclif's doctrine of sin; for the
comparison between the clergy and the Jews, see also T2/299-304 and note.

435 Ironical play on the word *reguler* emphasizes the view of the friars as manipulating their religious vows in order to perpetuate sin according to their rules. *reguler* in the eccles. sense, 'according to a rule', is first recorded from Trevisa (1387); in the sense 'with regularity', the 1st cits are from the sixteenth century and later for the various nuances.

435-9 'And so be þe epistil of Ion. . . anticristis couent': I John 3. 15-16; consent to sin is as damning as sin itself; see also C/1060-1 and T2/161-4, 359-63.

438-9 'Brolles of anticristis couent', 'children of antichrist', is a contemptuous phrase unrecorded except for its occurrence in Lollard contexts (Arnold, III, 195/7, 238/12). MED and OED record *broll* in a contemptuous sense, but without the defining epithet 'anticristis' or its cognates 'Sathanas' and 'Belial'. For use of the cognate word *bre'pel*, see *Promptorium parvulorum*, and in the Paston letters and other texts, see Davis:1954, 133.

440 [*t]akest is glossed as having the sense 'understand', 'perceive', 'intellectually apprehend' (OED vv 46, 47a), but the form is also found in N and Sc dialects meaning 'talk' (where the loss of 'l' before a consonant was a dialectal feature; see Jordan,$292).

444-5 'to expowne þe lawe. . . putten Goddes lawe abak': that is, to preach, using the postillating method of biblical exegesis; or to gloss the bible according to the fourfold method of exegesis; see Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 264-81; on Wyclif's achievements as a postillator, 'John Wyclif's Postilla super totam bibliam' and 'Wyclif's Postilla on the Old Testament and his Principium'; and on the Wycliffite glossed gospels, see especially Hargreaves, 'Popularizing Biblical Scholarship'.

452-4 'so siþen foure cardenal vertues schulden be foure wallis':
Christian moral theology took over the classification of the cardinal virtues from Plato and Aristotle. Referring back to the metaphor of the cloister (C/13-17), there is a possible allusion also to the etymology of 'cardenal', adj. and n. (see C/246-9 and note).

Langland used the etymology punningly to define the cardinal virtues as herre, 'gate-closers' (Piers Plowman C Prologue/131-2).

455-7 **Justicie**, the virtue needed for salvation; justicia, aequitas and rectitudo were thought of as synonyms for ME ri3twisnesse (Promptorium parvulorum, ed. A. L. Mayhew, EETS ES 102 (1908) and ME Rosarium, p. 80/15-16). Wyclif defined justicia as the source of all other virtues (Trialogus, pp. 131/25-132/8); cf. Matthew, p. 29/9-27, that justice constrains men to obey divine law, expressed also by Langland, Piers Plowman C XXI/297-309.

457-60 **Strenq~e**, i. e. fortitudo, the strength to remain within the limits of divine law (see Vices and Virtues, ed. F. Holthausen, EETS 89 (1888), pp. 80ff.; Piers Plowman C XXI/289-97, where strenq~e is a variant of patience. Wyclif defined the virtue as one that moves men to patience, even to death, in defence of justicia (Trialogus, p. 132/9-12).

460-2 **Prudence** or wisdom is here defined on the basis of Matthew 10. 16, 'Estate prudentium sicut serpentes' (as also in Vices and Virtues, p. 101). This interpretation was used by Wyclif (Trialogus, p. 132/13-23) and it underlies the metaphor of 'trubily & venemous watur'.

462-6 **Temperance**, 'moderation', 'regulation' was commonly emphasized as the virtue of the regulated life (Vices and Virtues, p. 107; Piers Plowman C XXI/281-8). Wyclif regarded the virtue as an aspect of reason. The present context contrasts the ideal with fraternal intemperance, as seen in the superfluity of their numbers.

468-9 'for pei iuge be pe face & not be pe werkes': John 7. 24 and I Samuel 16. 7.
470-5; 968-71 'Freres taken falsely pe reson of glotounes... failen pe freres more pean pharisees': i.e. the friars fail to observe 'mesure', a form of temperance (cf. T2/34-5, 77-9). The point is emphasized proverbially, 'the better a thing is, the more it should be taken', here ascribed as a proverb of gluttons; cf. Whiting, G 344 (used in Arnold, III, 126/20-1) and a variant, M 671 (found in Arnold, II, 31/4-5, 190/37-191/1). The same proverbial saw, 'the more the better' occurs again in the present dialogue, C/963-5, 968-71; Wyclif appealed to this general idea, Opera minora, p. 338/27-32.

475-7 'pe rites of pe olde lawe... Seint Poule techip': Paul, refuting pharisaical legalism and rigidity, emphasized liberation under the new law of grace, Romans 7. 6; 8. 2; II Corinthians 3. 17; Galatians 3. 21ff., 5. 1-4; Lyra's glosses reinforced this notion.

478-81 Richerd: 'pis seme1 wel seide... beleue of Crist were passed away': Richard rightly asserts the primacy of preaching for friars and echoes a traditional criticism that secular clerks, by neglect of this activity, had given ground for complaint (see e.g. Geoffrey Hardeby, 'De vita evangelica', cap xiv, discussed in Walsh (1971), 35). The raison d'etre of the friars' orders, to combat heresy by their ministry of preaching and teaching, ensured that the orders recruited with this principle in mind.

482-92 Ion: 'Sope it is pat freres don sum good... turnep to harme'. The Lollard was bound to agree with the friar's claim that 'prechyng mayntenep most Cristis religion', but as with much Wycliffite criticism, it was not the ideal but the reality with which they quarrelled.

484 curates: in strict terms, the curate or parish priest was an unbenefticed parish chaplain, hired for a small annual salary to assist or deputize for the parochial incumbent of a vicarage or rectory. He was the canellanus curatus, with cure of souls; curates were also appointed to proprietary churches by the lord of the living, where no vicarage was ordained, or they might be installed in a chapel dependent upon a parish church, in both cases with full cure
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of souls; see Thompson, The English Clergy, pp. 122-4. If this strict sense is intended in the present case, then the concern is chiefly with the proverbial ignorance and incompetence of the capellani curati, but not with their neglect through absenteeism and pluralism, 'Rome-running' and 'church-chopping', activities which were only open to the beneficed clergy (Thompson, pp. 101ff.).

485, 559-70 'Freres were superflu': an expression of the traditional complaint of excessive numbers, though it could also mean that the fraternal orders were superfluous to the needs of the church; cf. De blasphemia, p. 207/17-20 and Arnold, III, 400/30-401/6.

485-8 'But pe fende hap founden more gamen in per hode': that is, the devil has had more pleasure in their orders, among whom he has had a captive audience, in view of the large popular following of the friars. With this satirical taunt, cf. the denunciation of the 'seintis of pes private religiounse' (C/723-5) and the attack by ironical transposition in the 'Epistola sathanae' and 'Væ octuplici', Selectiona, pp. 89-93, 81/255-70.

hode from OE hōd, 'holy order', was also used in the senses 'person', 'state', 'condition', 'quality' or 'kind': all these senses seem to have been obsolete by the end of the fourteenth century and were rare from the end of the thirteenth century.

Another interpretation is also possible, though in the context of Ion's comparison between curates and seculeres, it is less likely. The form hode (from OE hōd) had the sense 'hood'; in this sense it was current as a proverb in the phrase 'to make game in their hood', meaning 'to make fun of them' (as in Chaucer, Troilus and Criseyde, II/1110; House of Fame, line 1810).

493-504 (also 698-9) 'And so good preaching is pe best werke': the 'reson of glotounes' is extended, that the greater the good of an activity, the worse its evil side; that is, the preaching of friars is evil in proportion to the great value of the gospel. Cf. Matthew, p. 4/5-6, where the same proverb is attributed to Grosseteste.

505-27 'freres schapen hem to begge. . . cursed & heretikkes hope': a
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A lengthy attack on simony begins, connected with the conventions of the fraternal quest which in the early commissions was explicitly dissociated from the preaching and confessional activities of the friars, so as to avoid the taint of simony (Hinnebusch, History, I, 160-3; Early English Friars Preachers, pp. 242-3).

Simony was acknowledged by the church as a serious abuse and was the focus of much reform, as by Gregory the Great and by councils of the church (see e. g. Decretum II, C. 1, especially 1-14, 28, 114; Friedberg, vol. 1, 357-61, 370-1, 402-3; Decretales, V. 3; Extravagantes commun. 5. 1. 1-2; Friedberg, vol. 2, 749-67, 1287-9).

In 1391 Archbishop Courtenay wrote to all bishops condemning simony and constitutions against its practice were periodically reenacted (Wilkins, Concilia, III, 215-17, 361). The incidence of simony was increased by the schism, especially among the friars, when the rival popes bought and sold favours and loyalties by trading in dispensations, as happened in the Despenser crusade.

In Wycliffite criticism, simony was regarded as being worse than the 'craft' of harlots who at least worked for their wages; see Arnold, III, 352/20-2 for a similarly pejorative contrast between harlots ('minstrels') and friars.

Harsh criticism was also voiced by the orthodox, as in Gower's barb that 'the prostitute is more profitable than the nun', Mirour de l'Omne, lines 20149ff. Langland condemned 'harlotes and hoores and also fals leches' who asked for pre-payment, a form of 'mede', though he did not condemn mercede, the payment of a debt for services received (Piers Plowman C III/290-307); see further in Wimbledon, 'Redde racionem', ed. Owen, 181/105ff.; Piers Plowman C IX/55: Vox clamantium, III. 12 (transl. Stockton, pp. 139, 153); The Friar's Tale III/1301-10 and The Parson's Tale X/780-91.

511-12 'For pane is pe stok cursed & pe fruste bope'. This type of image is a favourite in the rather narrow range of metaphorical language used in the dialogues (as in Lollard writing generally); see also C/567, T1/263-4, 361-2, T2/250, and cf. Matthew, p. 307/1-30 where a cluster of images from husbandry and horticulture are used to denounce the friars for their spiritual barrenness. Gower applied the image against negligent curates (Vox clamantium, III. 118 (transl.
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Stockton, p. 149).


537-52 'But freres forgeten pis reule. . . antecristes clerkes': an allusion which exposes abuse of the statute of Mortmain as it impinged upon the economic wellbeing of the realm, and by implication, as it operated to the spiritual detriment of the realm; on the statute, see D/217-19, 416-25.

544-9 'But wane pes goodes. . . schippes & poundes'. Playing on the double sense of profit, 'value', 'worth', and 'monetary gain', the sense of this ironic taunt is that such profits that do come from the friars' preaching and begging are of negative value in that they include blasphemy, lies about their financial position (548-9) and infringement of the law against mortmain (544-5).

547 On the controversy as to Christ's begging, see T1/272-4 and note.

548-9 'pei ben nedi. . . schippes & poundes': see De apostasia, p. 31/34-6 for Wyclif's charge that the friars shamelessly beg without need when their orders own ships and a treasury of jewels and money.

549-51 'popes & kynges penke wel. . . to performe her office': the present charge, linking the king and the pope in the role of correction, implies the orthodox definition of the two functions, one to protect the church from external enemies, the other to correct doctrine. But in the Wycliffite context, the definition was usually taken further, as it is here, to include correction of the clergy by the king.

553-8, 586-92 Richerd: 'pei profete miche be per confessiouns': Richard's claim that friars 'profete miche be per confessiouns' can be understood as ironically ambiguous. What he means is that they benefit those who confess to them; what the Lollard author undoubtedly implies is that the friars profit materially. The same ambiguity persists in the next phrase, 'pei be list of dispenses',
though there is doubt as to its exact sense; either it suggests that the friars live frugally, sparingly (dispense, 'means of sustenance'; cf. Selections, p. 77/77-80); or that they give easy dispensations and absolution to penitents (dispense, cognate with the v. dispense; Selections, p. 77/83-6).

Richard's defence of the friars' privileges of confession answers the traditional attack. Privileges had been granted to the friars as by the bull 'Ad fructus uberes' of 1281 and confirmed, though somewhat limited, in the bull 'Super cathedram' of 1300.

559-62 'it is no craft to hele. . . of oon seckenesse & make mo to', probably proverbial (untraced) is applied here to argue for the antecedence of the secular clergy over the friars; the maxim alludes metaphorically to the historical purpose of the friars to heal the divisions of heresy by their commitment to preaching.

564-5 'helid wiþ a schort medicyne. . . per office': this collates two aspects of the Wycliffite programme for clerical reform, both issues on which Wyclif was condemned in 1382, that alms should be withheld from unworthy priests and that temporal dominion is not appropriate to the clerical estate (Wilkins, Concilia, III, 158ff.).

568-70 'But wo to him. . . pat he miȝt better do'. With the dubious morality of this proverbial expression condemned by the Lollard, that the end justifies the means, cf. Whiting E 185, 194, 195.

571-85 'feyned confessiones of freres. . . al þe harmes in þe chirche': that is, friars give easy dispensations, waive contrition and absolution, deceive and mislead the influential, hide sin and 'disturbelen most remes'; cf. Langland's bitter reproach, Piers Plowman C III/38-67.

580-2 Matthew 3. 1-12; for the use of this narrative to repudiate private
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581 The MS. form pharetres has been emended to the usual 'z' form, as the '3' form was commonly copied in error; see Kuhn, 'A Preface', 259.

586-92 Richard: 'pis semep presumtuous... holi chirche hap ordeyned': the doctrine of confession was formalized and its sacramental focus confirmed in Innocent III's decree 'Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis' (Decretales V. 38. 12, Friedberg, vol. 2, 887-8). By this decree the Fourth Lateran Council obliged annual auricular confession to the parish priest and laid down that confession to another priest was only permissible with a licence from the parish priest.

Auricular confession had long been established canonical practice, but the thirteenth-century enactment gave the office unprecedented disciplinary power, including that of excommunication (Tentler, Sin and Confession, pp. 20-3, 57-82). Its importance is seen in the quantity of canonical exegesis which established for the doctrine a continuity between the primitive church and the contemporary church (Tentler, Sin and Confession, pp. 57-61).

The significance of the decree is reflected in Richard's assertion that should it be breached, then all the decrees and ordinances of the church might as well be flung away. At first sight it appears strange that Richard should invoke the decree, for it favoured the position of the parish clergy over that of the friars (see FitzRalph, 'Defensio curatorum', transl. Trevisa, pp. 46/26-54/14). However, unless we suppose a lapse by the Lollard polemicist in the orientation of the argument, the speech probably reflects that the friars had to a large extent been placated by subsequent bulls, 'Super cathedram' (1300), 'Inter cunctos' (1304) and 'Dudum' (1312). All of these reinstated and extended fraternal privileges in the major areas which caused dissension, preaching, confession and burial.

See Knowles, The Religious Orders, I, 183-8; II, 91-2 and Williams, 'Relations between the Mendicant Friars and the Secular Clergy', 23-44.

593-606 Ion: 'men schulden kepe pis ordinance... before pis schrift
be gane'. Two kinds of confession are alluded to here by John, 'general' and 'special'. The former was public confession, as made in the course of liturgical worship; 'special' confession was private or auricular confession to a parish priest, as established by Innocent III.

The phrase limitid to tyme (603), meaning 'circumscribed or assigned as to time', probably refers to the regulations promulgated by Innocent as to the frequency of confession, although it is possible that the phrase is also a pejorative comment on the recent origin of special confession and on its limitation as an invention of man.

These objections extend the Wycliffite criticism of confession, although the Lollard begrudgingly allows some virtue to the sacrament 'wil ledoun', that is, where it is observed without coercion:
(i) it was superfluous;
(ii) it lacked historical authority;
(iii) it was connected with Innocent III as the one responsible for 'vnloosing the fende';
(iv) it lacked spiritual justification; and worst,
(v) for its potential for simoniac abuse and sexual immorality (615-21).

For Wycliffite views on confession generally, see De blasphem, pp. 111-27; Opus evangelicum, II, 10/1-12/35, 305/13-40; Opera minora, pp. 316/26-319/21; Trialogus, p. 326/9-328/4; cf. also Matthew, pp. 327-45, especially 329/21-6; Arnold, III, 254/12-256/33.

605-12 'no man can telle. . . schrift begane'; that is, the time since Innocent's ordinance is of little authority in comparison with the extent of time preceeding it, when 'general schrifte' operated for the profit of the chirch.

612-14 'for we schulde trowe pat asoiling of prest. . . no more pan hi heele': Wyclif's scepticism towards absolution was expressed in terms of the inscrutability of predestination; cf. Trialogus, pp. 328/12-329/31.

615-17 'he pope wil for mede limite pore prestes. . . for schriuyngen of
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per children': a reference to the context of the quarrel between the seculars and the friars as to their respective regions of jurisdiction, which besides the right to hear confession included rights of preaching and burial.

The limitation of which John complains may equally refer to that of licensed preaching, though interestingly the first legislation regulating preaching by licence was formulated to protect the secular clergy against the friars; see Decretum, II, 16, 1. 19; Friedberg I, 391-2).

617-21 'And it mai falle. . . tempted as oher men may?' Job 31. 1. For this warning of sexual licentiousness in friars, see also Arnold, III, 358/10-16; Matthew, p. 330/15-16, and for orthodox criticism, see the references in Mann, Chaucer and Medieval Estates Satire, pp. 40-2; Erickson, 'Fourteenth-Century Friars and their Critics' (1975), 125-7, (1976), 140-1.

623-4 'no sacrament but confession & sepulture for her li3t wynnyng': the privilege of burial, as of confession, was granted under special conditions by the bull 'Super cathedram', though the extent to which the privilege really hurt the secular clergy is doubtful in that a high proportion of the dues and bequests won by the friars for sepulture were handed back to the secular clergy (see Williams, 'Relations between the Mendicant Friars and the Secular Clergy', 63-74).

The present taunt, that these were the only sacraments that interested the friars, is connected with the charge of simony; see other criticism in Jack Upland, pp. 63/220-64/225; Arnold, III, 374/16-22; Pierce the Plowman's Crede, p. 18/468-71; Matthew, p. 9/12-16 etc.

628-30 'But here ware prudence. . . seldome':

Ion reverts to the theme of lines 571-7, allowing that in some respects the ministry of friars might be helpful, but it is more usually negative.

631-4 Richerd: 'vertue to abitis. . . perpetue suche abitis?' The use of
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the friars’ habit by laymen for burial was intended as a symbolic entrance into the religious life, giving to the pious petitioner the spiritual benefits symbolized by the habit (see Hinnebusch, History, I, 296-7).

635-75 Ion: 'I graunt wele. . . of pis blasfemie comes harmes inowe'. Cf. T2/177-200. Criticism of the habit is fourfold:

(i) it was a form of deceit, covering the discrepancy that existed between the ideals of the orders, expressed symbolically by colour, and the daily realization of these ideals (636-7);
(ii) Christ gave no such example (644-50 and cf. Polemical Works, I, 27/10-18; Matthew, p. 302/2-3; Arnold, III, 389/22-5);
(iii) it was a perpetuation of hypocritical 'signes'; cf. C/681-3;
(iv) the habit encouraged vanity;
(v) its upkeep was a waste of time better spent preaching;
(vi) its traditions were surrounded by superstition.

635-43 Ion: I graunt wele. . . appliede to oper maner vse'. At 637-8 the author invokes the distinction between mai and schulde; this connects with the theme of this attack on the friars’ use of the habit, that there is a distinction between servitude under a law and freedom under Christ’s law; see also 474-7.

663-4 'And siyen wedding. . . littep bisines to God': the rituals which the friars assiduously observe involve little in the way of spiritual cure which all priests should exercise.

679-80 Matthew 10. 28; I John 3. 15-16.

681-3 Signs, deliberately formulated for deceit, involve the sin of hypocrisy. Matthew 23. 24-6 was a favourite Wycliffite text cited against this sin (Polemical Works, I, 132/6-13; Sermones, I, 364/19-22; De officio regis, p. 29/27-31; Opera minora, pp. 345/20-347/16; Opus evangelicum, II, 50/4-52/5, 53/33 - 54/2, 28 - 55/6; Arnold, I, 76/14-15; ME Rosarium, p. 63/14.
683 **fiep**: the sense of the passage is served by either meaning supplied in the glossary, but the first, from an Old Norse root is preferred in the context of Matthew 23. 24. **WB** 1 and 2 both give 'clensinge' for the Latin *excolantes* of the Vulgate.

686-7 Matthew 12. 1-8; cf. also C/804-5.

688-95; 760-70 'For*per* more pes freres... be *per* abite': a number of canons laid down that excommunication was the penalty for those abandoning the habit (e. g. *Decretales*, III. 35. 6; V. 9. 1, 5; *Sexti* III. 24. 2 (Friedberg, vol. 2, 599-600, 790-2, 1065-6).

Wycliffite criticism considered the charge of apostacy against a defecting friar to be unjust; from the Lollard point of view, defection was a virtue (*De apostasia*, pp. 3/36-8/11, 238/23ff.). For charges close to the present one, see also Arnold, III, 389/15; *Jack Upland*, pp. 59/125-60/136; and with special reference to defection, Arnold, III, 368/15-370/12; *Jack Upland*, p. 59/122-5, where the arguments seem to derive from Wyclif's *De apostasia*, pp. 3ff.

It is tempting to speculate that the Lollard defence of friars who renounced the habit was connected with self-defence, in that Lollard priests were similarly arraigned for abandoning the habit and tonsure, as in the case of William White (*Fasciculi zizaniorum*, p. 420, item 5).

692ff.; 764-5 'freres persouen *per* breperen & punyschen hem scharpeli'. Another possible emendation of MS. *persouen* would be to *p[risouen]*; see Arnold III, 383/31.

These accusations summarize the fuller treatment of Arnold, III, 372/24-373/15, 383/19-384/17.

698-9; 718-19 **Richerd**: 'And if a more custome... schulde gader [lasses] synne': a proverbial aphorism. In the context of Richard's views, the emendation is required, but the MS. reading may have originated by confusion with the proverb of Whiting E 191, 'Of little evil well may come a greater' (cited from Caxton's *Aesop*), or the proverb 'contrarium in contrarii amplius licet', Haeckel, *Das Sprichwort bei Chaucer*, p. 35, number 118; cf. the variant at C/718-19.
temperali\li\vsed: in the context of discussion on temperance, the emended form, with the sense 'moderately', gives an easier reading, though the MS. reading is possible, *temperali* being construed as 'temporarily' (OED adv. 1), i.e. that men's customs should serve only good ends within the temporal world.

730-4 'For pre parties of pe chirche were sufficient'; on estates doctrine as a basis of Wycliffite ecclesiology, see T2/14ff.; here the concern is with the need for a single order of the priesthood to replace the divisions of the clergy and those of the friars' orders. Cf. *Trialogus*, pp. 295-297/18, 437/27-438/4; *Selections*, p. 91/83-90.

737-45 'pe frere prechoures. . . scheuet per travel' (cf. C/32-4): Wycliffite objections to all the significations claimed by the friars for their colours were related to the charge that 'signs' were potentially a source of hypocrisy; see *Trialogus*, pp. 337/13-28, 435/17-23; *Polemical Works*, I, 26/10-27/18; *De blasphemia*, p. 161/26-33.

737-9 The claim that the black of the Dominican habit is a token of penance, 'mornyng of synne' (C/34), together with an allusion to Matthew 5. 4, *beati mites* provides a double entendre on 'mourning', and emphasizes the charge that the friars are divided amongst themselves in their competition for honour, even the honour of humility.

739-41 The regulations of the Minors, the Grey Friars, forbade either black or white (Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, pp. 185, 358). *Russet* denoted a coarse homespun woollen cloth of the peasant and rustic classes, of reddish-brown, grey or neutral (OED n. 1). Langland's distinction between 'gray russet' and 'clene scarlet' implies that grey was the clerical colour for humility (*Piers Plowman* C XVI/298-9; see also Little, *Studies in Franciscan History*, pp. 57-61; Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, p. 359). Whatever the colour, 'russet' cloth signified the life of manual labour, being the cloth of the humblest classes (*Piers Plowman* C X/1; its use by the Lollard is ironical here when he suggests that the russet cloth
was the chief evidence of the friars' labour.

'Russet' was also associated with the Lollard preachers by their critics, presumably a detail intended to denote the humble status of the poor preachers and to warn of their imposture in the garb of the Minors (see Walsingham, Historia Anglicana, I, 324; Knighton, Chronicon, II, 184-5).

740-41 'trauel. . . as Seint Poule seip': I Thessalonians 4. 11-12, a key text in the argument as to the worth of manual labour.

741-2 'pe Austeynes' also wore black, their habit being modelled on that of the Dominicans which in turn was derived from the Augustinian canons.

743-5 'pe Carmes' or White Friars wore a white mantle or cope over a brown 'russet' scapular, with a brown tunic beneath.

745-7 'Suche schameful stryues. . . pei bynde not'. The immediate point here is a warning against taking the friars' claims to be authoritative.

The taunt may also be connected to the fact that friars were outside the jurisdiction of the consistory courts and of the civil courts, and could not therefore be 'bound' over to keep the laws either of the church or of the land.

749 'Freres wolde make an ape seint'; cf. C/939, 962. This ironic figure of metamorphosis depicting fraternal deception reverses the more usual iconography associated with grotesque and animal imagery in which man becomes or is likened to an animal or grotesque as the result of perversion (see Robertson, A Preface to Chaucer, pp. 151-6).

750-1 'as hores strof before Salamon': I Kings 3. 16-27 (i. e. I Samuel).

754-9 'For by suche feynynge. . . pei reuerse Crist', a collation of Matthew 20. 20-8 and 19. 27-30, likening the friars to the two contending sons of Zebedee.
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760-8 'But more, freres ben munged. .. per religioun': the chief concern of this passage is to undermine the value which friars place on their habit, using reductio ad absurdum (767-8) to match the sophistry of the friars in establishing that their outer garments are a guarantee of inner perfection (760-2). The Lollard parries this claim. If the friars' perfection consisted only in spiritual virtues, then there would be no apostacy when they quit their habit, as they must do at night (763-8).

The criticisms alluded to here are expressed more fully elsewhere, as at Arnold III, 372/24ff, 389/15ff.; Matthew, p. 315/18ff. On the charge of apostacy against friars who left their orders in defiance of the bulls of Innocent IV (1252) and Clement IV (1268), see Hinnebusch, History, I, 324-5.

769 'Pei nede God to dippe per habites in nestis of grace'; that is, 'they need the gift of grace', an ironical taunt as to the worthlessness of fraternal signs.

775-7 Richerd: 'werkes of deuocioun': building fine churches, the provision of decoration, observance of the canonical hours, especially the austere night hours, fasting and special prayers were regarded as the hallmarks of devotion and constituted a significant contribution of the friars to the achievements in ecclesiastical life of the Middle Ages; see Hinnebusch, Early English Friars Preachers, pp. 135-57.

778-805 Ion: 'making of chirchis'. Several controversies underlie this passage:

(i) the right of the friars to solicit alms is denied by the reductio ad absurdum that 'pe more pat pei dispende, the more mede pei haue' (781);

(ii) the parish church is upheld against the great preaching churches being built by the friars, on the grounds that 'mesure & reson' are better than costly buildings; cf. Matthew, p. 14/31-6, that it is in the parish church that people 'schulde heere goodis worde';

(iii) the notion of the church not as a physical building but as a spiritual creation of Christ, the invisible church of I Corinthians
3. 16 is introduced; and
(iv) the view that religious observances and good deeds are only
valid if and in so far as they serve a spiritual purpose; inner
devotion is preferred to outward grandeur (779-81). See also Matthew,
pp. 321/22-323/3; Arnold, III, 380/1ff.; Selections, pp. 65/27-9,
91/97; Pierce the Plowman's Crede, pp. 5/119-20, 7/171-9/214.

Scepticism of fraternal extravagance was also expressed by
orthodox critics, but these did not go so far as to recommend that
friars would better fulfil their vows if they 'hadde no chirches but
bised hem to preche þe lawe of þe gospel'; see Piers Plowman C

796 In the context, the author seems to designate not just laymen as
'lewed rewde men', but more importantly those who are ignorant -
presumably, here, those ignorant of spiritual truth. This precise
sense is not recorded in OED, MED.

804-5 John 4. 20-4, adduced to summarize the spiritual, immaterial
definition of the church. WB 1 gives 'shulen preye' (glossed 'or
worschipe' in one MS) to translate the Vulgate adorabunt; WB 2 uses
'shulen worschipe'.

806-15 'ourenementis of chirche': in the contrast between inward devotion
and outward pomp, emphasis is placed on the virtues of a man's
soul; cf. Lanterne of liit, pp. 37/7-39/13, 41/36-42/25: Matthew,
p. 323/7-11; Selections, p. 28/163-71; ME Rosarium, pp. 69/28-71/4.

812 'peynting of ymages', i.e. ourenementis. Concern here is with
ostentation and hypocrisy rather than with the later Wycliffite
scepticism towards images, one of the commonest indications of
Lollard sympathy in the later phase of the movement (see Heresy
Trials, pp. 11, 13, where it is shown to have been one of the most
frequent items of interrogation; J. Russell-Smith, 'Walter Hilton and
a Tract in Defence of the Veneration of Images', Dominican Studies, 7

This topic was of little interest per se to Wyclif and early
Lollards writers (as of the Lollard sermon-cycle), who tolerated
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images or whose rebuke was part of the more general objection to ecclesiastical ostentation and superstition (see W. R. Jones, 'Lollards and Images: the Defence of Religious Art in Later Medieval England', Journal of the History of Ideas, 34 (1973), 30).

816-27 'werkes of devoutioun': Psalm 76. 7 (AV 77): these are dismissed as mere hypocrisy. Here they include the hours of devotion, prayer and fasting; see also T2/177 and Lanterne of List, where a series of contrasts is made between hypocritical observances in the 'fendes chirche' and those of pure devotion in 'Crístis chirche' (pp.48/14-53/20).

828-47 The condemnation of the friars' signes sensibili don (in preference to 'holdyng of Goddes lawe') has a striking Lollard flavour, together with the phrases 'kynrede of horedam', 'dai ance wip bilawes', 'putrie fordop religioun of Crist'.

The point here is that the friars obfuscate or obliterate spiritual concerns with their outward, physical observances.

848-60 Richerd: 'pu seist scharpeli... be reson pat pou madist': the MS. is probably corrupt in this section, as much of the material attributed to Richard by the rubricator after line 852 is inconsistent with his point of view, even allowing for the author's rhetorical irony in characterizing Richard as self-condemning (as at 852-4).

852-3 Matthew 22. 37.

855-61 Emendation at C/855 is suggested on the grounds that deprecation in the strong terms already used against the friars by the Lollard ('putten aback Goddis lawe', C/355, 451), does not comply with the pattern of rhetoric established for Richard. Corruption by omission seems likely, as the inconsistent passage of lines 855-61 does not supply a satisfactory beginning for a reply by Ion, while the appropriate sentence of 861, 'I were cursed of God if I faged freres' comes too late to supply the cross-reference that is usually found at the beginning of a new speech.
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863 'turnen as pe weder koc', a proverbial comparison emphasizing the vice of inconstancy; 1st cit. 1475 (MED).

864-5 'For beleue techip vs. . . good or yuelle'; the basis of this assertion is the text of Galatians 6. 7, on the theme of reaping and sowing.

865-81; cf. also 1082-94 'So we schul be charite talke to pes freres. . .
lettid be assent': the texts of Proverbs 3. 11-12 and Revelation 3. 19 introduce the favourite Lollard theme of correction (as found also in the 'Tractatus de regibus', ed. Genet, cap 7, p. 12; 'A Lollard chronicle of the Papacy', ed. E. W. Talbert, Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 41 (1942), 178/92; Arnold, III, 349/36; Matthew, p. 297/28).

868-73 'wet>er t>ei ben dammed or saued. . . al pat he dide': the full effect of Wyclif's austere doctrine of predestination is here mitigated by the notion that earthly punishment can reduce the severity of damnation, and moreover that man may reasonably hope in the mercy and charity of Christ; see also Selections, pp. 54/91-55/115 for a similarly moderate view.

878-81 'And it is licli. . . lettid be assent': the point of the sarcasm of this elliptical allusion to the text of Matthew 25. 31-45 is that, on the day of judgment, when 'Cristen men' (Lollards?) are called to give an account of the good that they might (and ought to) have done towards their bretheren, but which they have neglected by their tacit consent to sin.

882-5 The point of these lines is that hiding sin is more defamatory and destructive and openly admitting it.

891 bagged beggerie, a term of strong disapprobation; bagged, a rare word of unknown origin, is recorded only for Wycliffite texts. See also note to line 57.

893-6 Richard: 'It semep pat pis biddyng of God. . . lettip his loue': Richard answers Ion's insult by reductio ad absurdum, a device which reduces the credibility of the fraternal argument.
Commentary: Ion and Richard

896-7 'Whi mai not freres l[o]ue per reule ... oper craft?' Emendation is necessary here to correct what would otherwise be a reversal of Richard's earlier contention as to the permanency of the fraternal vocation (701-2), a typical item in Lollard attacks on the friars (as at 688-90, 760-73 and cf. Jack Upland, p. 59/111-13).

If the MS. reading is accepted, then Richard's remark is probably to be understood in terms of the friars' right to deviate from the strictness of the founders' rules. Better sense is supplied by emendation of MS. leue, leuen to loue, louen; the remark then accords with Richard's views and fits the context of Ion's attack (889-90, 902-4, 922).

The comparison between friars and 'lewde men' functions ironically as self-condemnation by Richard.

898-909, 915-21 Ion: 'Me penkep pat pis biddinge of God. . . more panne we may': an allusion to Matthew 22. 37-40, that to obey the first command is to obey the whole law; cf. T1/45-54, 212-24, and see Sermones, IV, 405/142/25).

906-7 'Crist bad [not] wiþouten cause men to kepe hem': a parenthetical style and probable corruption obscure Ion's argument from 905ff, but the point seems to be that men have been able to obey the first commandment (otherwise they would have been guilty of breaking all ten), and thus Christ's command to observe it was not capricious or indiscriminate ('wiþouten cause').

910-15 'But diverse men louen god. . . ground of per loue': variety in the religious vocation, as exemplified in the active and contemplatives of Mary and Martha, is acknowledged here in a more moderate view than was usual in later Wycliffite repudiation of the contemplative life (see note to T2/51). The reference to 'Maudelyne' is an error for Mary of Bethany whose life was devoted to contemplation.

918 'pe Trinite': for this notion that the triple nature of love towards God is an image of the Trinity, see also Sermones, IV, 412/5-25.
'pis craft of loue', that is, the friars' love of their rule (897).

so al if pat many men... his ed pe freres ouer him self': Ion makes the distinction between legitimate marriage and that of the friars to their rules. The Wycliffites approved matrimony for the clergy as well as for the laity, while the value of celibacy was made contingent upon the practice of perfect chastity; see Trialogus, pp. 315-23; Arnold, III, 188-201; Matthew, p. 170/17-27; the heresy trials show that later Lollard suspects were questioned on the value of the sacrament of marriage (Heresy Triels, ed. Tanner, pp. 46, 52 etc.).

Lucifers pride': see Isaiah 14. 12-15 and cf. Wyclif's citation of Grosseteste's letter to Innocent IV (Epistolae, p. 434), supporting the supremacy of divine law (De civili dominio, I, 388/11ff.).

pis apis argument': see also Matthew, pp. 412/8-9, 413/5; Arnold, II, 15/4. This use of the epithet 'apis' derives from the contemptuous figurative use of the noun to connote an imitator, fool or dupe, though the word is rare before the sixteenth century.

But God hap 3euen a sufficient reule': the irony of this reference to the 'heroes' of the orders depends on the fact that these were significant reformers. The taunt functions to denigrate the best aspects of the religious life as having brought 'venyme' into the church.

[Lette] telle me wat resoun... ever more aifter? The MS. is difficult to read, but looks like '[L]eise', perhaps cognate with the verb leisen, 'to release', 'deliver', 'unlock'. This sense is difficult in the context, so the reading has been emended to 'lette', imperative of let from OE lætan, to allow; here, 'cause to be told', a late fourteenth-century form of the 3rd sg. present indicative of the OE verb lætan, 'to give leave', 'permit', cognate with 'let'.

Ion: 'glotouns argument... pe more pe better': this version of
the proverb is unrecorded. The 'quart' measure is well attested for the fourteenth century, but the present instance of 'pynt' is an early example.

966, 967 *privilege, privilegis*: there is possible play on the eccles. sense here, with a tacit barb at the expense of the system of papal privilege whereby dispensations were a lucrative source of revenue for the papacy (in contrast to the *seftis* of God's *privilegis*).

971-8 'mennes ordinance ... Go[d]es *sifte*'; i.e. no man can assert permanence, since men do not enjoy dominion over time, and therefore their laws, such as those of the fraternal orders, can have no eternal validity; cf. T2/128-30 and see note to T2/309-11.

979-97 'But herto *pes folis.* ... deceuyen *pe* puple*': the opening allusion may be to the complaint that novitiates were 'pressganged' into the orders (see note to C/309-12).

980 'blynde Baierd'; see also D/376-7 and note.

980-1 'a *chalenqip* lorschip of comunite. ... propred to God*': on community of ownership see also T1/335 and note. Two allusions possibly apply here, one concerning the friars' disingenuous defiance of the vow of poverty, as by the Franciscans (see C/980-2 and T1/27); the other, that the clergy have challenged divine dominion, as by the privilege of inalienability (under the statute of Mortmain). The word *chalenqip* is ambiguous in the context. The more common sense, 'find fault with', 'discredit', 'dispute', 'call in question', is the probable sense here, where the Lollard accuses the friars of abusing the ideal of evangelical poverty by their ownership of private property. However, another sense is also possible, that the friars claim as a privilege or arrogate ownership of property in defiance of their own rule (the sense of MED vv 3, 4a and 5a).

982-7 'And if *pu seie.* ... magnifie *per ordere*'; cf. the Lollard commentary to the rule of St Francis for a fuller statement, Matthew, pp. 47-51.
Commentary: Ion and Richerd

988-91 'Seint Austenes reule': the Dominicans adopted the rule of the Augustinian canons; the present passage alludes to the long-standing Dominican jealousy of their autonomy (Hinnebusch, History, I, 233-42), but the chief point of the criticism is that the friars support their doctrinal position by false glossing and by contradicting even their own rules.

991-7, 1088-94 'a pus pei gile pe chirche of brede of pe auter': the charge is that the friars deny that the elements of bread and wine retain their natural identity after consecration, asserting rather that by the miracle of transubstantiation they are changed into the body and blood of Christ.

Wyclif attacked the friars on this doctrine, naming them moderni, pseudonrophetae and magistri mendaces who pretended to have 'the keys of knowledge outside the faith of scripture' (De apostasia, pp. 48/29-49/2). They propagate the blasphemous doctrine that the substance of the elements is annihilated as this had been taught by Duns Scotus and Ockham, 'grette dotturis' whose 'straunge speche' on this matter was declared heretical by Wyclif (see De eucharistia, pp. 139-41; De blasphemia, pp. 21/5-31/18, 75/10-20; De apostasia, pp. 46-61; Sermones, I, 395/9ff.; II, 84/1-10). Elsewhere Wyclif explained that the connection between the friars and the doctrine of transubstantiation lay in their common derivation from Innocent III.

Among the many Lollard works dealing with this subject exclusively or incidentally, see the tract on the eucharist challenging the doctrine of '3isturdaye heretikis', developed only since 'pe tyme pat Sathanas was vbunbben' and including 'straunge wordis vnknowen in hooly writ' (Selections, pp. 110-12, especially 112/75ff.); see also Selections, pp. 80/230ff, especially 81/234-7 for a charge close to the present one, in a section of the 'Vae octuplici' which is independent of Wyclif's 'Exposicio'; Selections, pp. 113-15; ME Rosarium, pp. 71-2; and among incidental discussions, see Arnold, I, 133/1-21; III, 378/28-379, 403/8-410/19; Matthew, pp. 19/13-17, 349/13-20, 352/21-30, 357/1-15, 465/23ff.; Jack Upland, p. 71/390-400.

In the present dialogue, the Wycliffite doctrine of remanence is not expounded, though it can be inferred from the oblique
references to the friars' doctrine of transubstantiation, as in the pejorative terms 'gile' and 'accident or ellis no ping'. The allegations against the friars' heresy imply the claim that the Wycliffite doctrine conformed to the received teaching as contained in scripture.

996 'tellen a straunge tale': a repetition of the charge of 992 as to the extreme doctrine of the moderni; the phrase also connects with the Wycliffite criticism of the friars for larding their sermons with miraculous tales of the eucharist (see De apostasia, pp. 246/8-247/23).

998-1001 Richerd: 'No man schulde be wedded wiþ noon vse. . . oþer ordinaunce': on 'Salisburi vse' see C/1027. Richard interprets Ion's position by reductio ad absurdum, giving a synopsis which had a measure of premonitory truth in it, in so far as the Lollard movement became increasingly sceptical and nihilistic in its beliefs, as in its denials of special merit to the sacraments, to the priesthood and to the customs of the church connected with saints and with ritual (Heresy Trials; Thomson, The Later Lollards, pp. 239-50).

The rhetorical technique used here includes the use of exaggerated accusations in order to make the Lollard position appear more reasonable; this compares with the radical 'Poyntis which ben putte be bischoppis ordinaris' (Selections, pp. 19-20).

1006-26 'Men schulde obeische. . . first vnto God': obedience is due uncompromisingly to God; to prelates, it is conditional upon their prior obedience to divine law; see also T1/131-2 on the conditionality of obedience.

This injunction, potentially seditious, was an aspect of Wycliffite heterodoxy well appreciated by the ecclesiasical hierarchy (see the eighth accusation of the bishops, Selections, pp. 19/19-21, 22/130ff.).

In the present dialogue it is spelled out that resistance is as much a duty as obedience and may be the only proper fulfilment of the obligation to obey ('obedience to ajenstande'; cf. D/170-5, T2/145-60).
Commentary: Ion and Richard

1019 'pis taut Grosteed'. To justify conditional obedience to the ecclesiastical authority, the dialoguist adduces Grosseteste's letter to two provisors of Innocent IV concerning the right and duty of resistance against papal pressure to negotiate a simoniac and nepotistic appointment (1253). Grosseteste asserted that the pastoral duty of a bishop was above all else, including obedience to a pope (Epistolae, pp. 423-7), though he also encouraged obedience and a cordial relationship with the papacy in so far as the pope was in harmony with the governing principles of pastoral care (Pantin, 'Grosseteste's Relations with the Papacy and the Crown', in Robert Grosseteste. Scholar and Bishop: Essays in Commemoration of the Seventh Centenary of his Death, ed D. A. Callus (Oxford, 1955), pp. 191-2; Boyle, 'Robert Grosseteste and the Pastoral Care', 22-33).

The present usage is typically slanted to suit Wycliffite propaganda; cf. De civili dominio, I, 384/26-390/16 for Wyclif's appeal to Grosseteste's letter and the Lollard example, Selections, p. 125/121; for other citations from Grosseteste, also used misleadingly, see De potestate pape, p. 190/16-28 (citing Epistolae, pp. 176-7 on papal exactions).

1027-34 'so Salisbirie vse schulde be now performed. . . pese false orderis': the Sarum rite was the main English modification of the Roman rite in medieval times. It was compiled by Bishop Poore of Salisbury (d. 1237), and extensively revised to include much more ritual. By the end of the Middle Ages it was commonly used throughout England.

Wycliffite objections centred largely on the usurpation of scripture by the liturgy (see De veritate sacrae scripturae, s. v. ritus; Polemical Works, I, 345/9-21 etc.), and among vernacular complaints, Matthew, pp. 170/8-16, 192/33-193/15; Arnold, II, 420/37-421/11, where Sarum and York are both dismissed as being unnecessarily binding and engrossed with the 'ordynale of pis ceremonye' to the exclusion of preaching which alone can 'dissolue errouris' in the religious orders; see discussion by B. Boyd, 'Wyclif and the Sarum Ordinal', Medium Aevum, 28 (1959), 96.

1035-8 Richard: 'pis sentence semep streit to seculer lorde': Richard's
Commentary: Ion and Richard

sophistic reduction of the argument for resistance concludes absurdly
that lords owe obedience to their servants, providing another
instance of the use of rhetorical exaggeration that suits the Lollard
polemical purpose.

1039-44 Ion: 'Goddis lawe biddi. . . to suffrin in al pis': Romans 13.
1-2, 1 Peter 2. 18, 1 Timothy 6. 1, Titus 3. 1 were key texts for the
Wycliffite doctrine of lay rule, though there is the characteristic
Wycliffite rider, that obedience is only valid in so far as the ruler
obeys God.

1044 I Peter 3. 14, 17; 4. 16, 19. For the warning that persecution is a
likely consequence of obedience, cf. T2/155-60. Lyra glossed these
texts by reference to Matthew 23. 34-5.

1046-52 'On pis wise did Mauris. . . sacrifice to his fals goddis': an
exemplum alluding to the martyrdom of St Maurice, the fourth-century
leader of the Theban legion. According to the fifth-century Passio,
the legion refused to comply with the custom of pagan sacrifices and
was therefore massacred in Gaul by the emperor Maximian during the
Diocletian persecution (see the accounts in Voragine, Legenda aurea,
pp. 566-70; ODCC, 2nd ed., p. 877). Wyclif regarded both Maximian and
Diocletian as prototypes of the persecuting tyrant, comparing them
with the endowed clergy in this respect (De civili dominio. IV,
412/13-17, 424/14ff.: Sermones, IV, 188/34ff.). For use of this
exemplum to justify resistance and martyrdom, see also Arnold, III,
264/35-265/1 and cf. the comparison between the clergy and Maximian,
Plowman's Tale, p. 156/293-5.

1052-3 'Suche a couent of freres. . . not seyntes in heuene': with this
phrase cf. Arnold, III, 232/1-4, a tract possibly related to the
present dialogue in its use of the cadaver mortuum image (C/9). The
reference there to 'Mauris and his felowes' is glossed by Arnold as
referring to the Benedictine monk of St Maur.

1059-60 'For 6 maner concense. . . to disceyue Cristis servantes': in
orthodox moral theology, the will must consent to and precede an
action before sin is said to have been committed (see T1/75-82 and note). The present concern is related to Wycliffite sacramental theology, that sin in the clergy invalidates the office (see note to D/289-97).

The six ways of consenting to sin were set out by Wyclif, De officio regis, p. 68/4-5, in a mnemonic verse:

Consentit operans, defendens, consilium dans,
Ac autorisans, non iuvans, nec reprehendens.

See also Arnold, III, 141/3-10 and Matthew, p. 417/30 for other allusions to this doctrine.

1061-9 'to speike of obedience... to God': texts such as I Peter 2. 13, Colossians 4. 1, Ephesians 6. 9 underlie this idea, expressed more fully at Matthew, p. 232/5-16.

1067-9 'signe of lordeschepe'; i.e. the theory of divine dominion, expressed here in terms of the feudal bond and its benefit to the one in service.

1069-72 'But anticrist clerkes... clepen þer beupere', i.e. they do not acknowledge divine dominion, looking back rather to Cain (C/180-7), Judas Iscariot (C/379-82, 390 etc.), Innocent III (C/169, 183, 600) and 'þer beupere', that is, their spiritual father, the prior to whom their obedience is due (see note to C/399-411). With the present reference to Innocent III as 'founder' of the friars, cf. Wyclif's sarcastic and ill-judged charge that the 'Robertines', that is the ultramontane anti-pope Clement VII and his supporters, took their authority from Innocent III while Urban VI and his faction were founded principally on scripture (Sermones, IV, 500/1-12).

1070 'folk wiþouten hed', a punning allusion to the anomalous position of the friars during the schism (cf. C/197) and to the conventional charge that they were 'headless', acephalum, i.e. ecclesiastics exempt from diocesan authority. The image recurs in medieval antifraternal literature, as in Gower's pun to discredit the papacy and the friars (Vox clamantis IV, 16/715-16, pp. 182-3).
Commentary: Ion and Richard

1074-5 'pei ben òeues. . . as Seint Poule seip': II Timothy 3. 4; Wyclif invoked this and other prophetic texts against the friars (I Timothy 4. 1-2, I Thessalonians 5. 1-3, II Peter 2. 1-3, 3. 3, Matthew 7. 15, 24. 11, 24), as in Poemical Works, I, 38-54; II, 570-1, 598.

1075 'Hildagar', i. e. St Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179), a Benedictine abbess noted for her prophetic visions and denunciations of ecclesiastical evil; commonly interpreted as a premonitory warning against the friars in Wycliffite polemic; see Poemical Works, I, 67/15-16; Opera minora, p. 165/1-5 (where she is designated as one of the false prophets with Merlin, adduced by Wyclif's colleagues 'extra fidem scripture'); Trialogus, p. 338/17-18, where Wyclif quoted from a letter of Hildegard. In the De apostasia, p. 19/23-6 Wyclif denied Hildegard any special position when he said he was not going to cite her visions and fables but would proceed 'secundum fidem scripture'; see also Matthew, p. 11/17-21, Arnold, III, 413/3-5.

The present interpretation of Hildegard's prophecies supplies the gist of a longer Latin 'Nota de destruccione fratrum per prophitiam' extant in Trinity College Cambridge MS. B. 14. 50, ff. 67-68v. There Hildegard's prophecies are invoked to discredit the mendicants for simony and other evils.

1082-92 'if òu wilt wite. . . kept in òe chirche?' The Lollard spokesman addresses the reader rather than the putative opponent, implying that each estate, having been duped or defrauded by the friars, is therefore responsible for the correction of the friars:

(i) Using an analogy from commerce, that in business, bargaining is not undertaken by an appeal to the emotions but on sound commercial principles, Ion implies that the friars are frauds, not using alms for 'profite to opere soules'. Clerical involvement in trade was denounced in Wycliffite polemic, though legitimate trade, that is, honest commercial enterprise by the laity, was approved (see Matthew, pp. 303/4-11, 414/32-415/2);

(ii) 'seculer lordes' are to inquire into the doctrines taught by friars; see also D/227-46, T2/16, 41-5; Selections, p. 18/58-61; and for the condemnation of this proposition in Wyclif's earliest
teaching, Wilkins, *Concilia*, III, 116-17, 123:

(iii) ‘persoun & pristis’, that is the secular clergy, are also enjoined to invigilate and reprove the friars for the doctrine of transubstantiation which involves annihilation of matter. For a passage recommending comparable examination of the practices and doctrines of the established clergy by the temporal lords, see *Dialogus*, pp. 70/25-71/8.

1084-6 ‘no man schulde chafer . . . serten of his chaffer’: the metaphor from commerce suggests that secular lords should expect a spiritual ‘return’ from the alms given to friars in the same way as they expect returns on their secular dealings.

1091-2 ‘if þei ben wers in kynde þan any eryne webbe’; literally a spider’s web, figuratively, a snare, allurement.


There was a significant distinction between Wycliffite teaching and orthodox. The orthodox doctrine proposed an alteration to the essence of matter, that the substantial elements of bread and wine were replaced or changed into the body and blood of Christ, leaving only the physical dimension, the ‘accidents’. With this teaching Wyclif’s realist philosophy was totally at odds. He argued that the essence of matter was indestructible: ‘so it is a heresie to trowe þat þis sacrament is Goddis body and no brede, for it is bothe togedur. . . verray brede and sacramentaly Goddis body’ (Selections, p. 18/33-4, 48). This was no merely semantic sophistry. Christ’s real presence was not substantial and corporeal, but virtual, spiritual and sacramental; the elements were a sign of the sacred thing, having
spiritual and moral effects (see here Leff, Heresy, II, 549-57 and a brief discussion in Selections, pp. 142-3)

1100-1 'on no wise schulde men ȝif hem of þer goodes': this advice is frequently offered in Lollard polemic; see e. g. C/563-5 and cf. the entry under elemosinae, 'Nota quod homines non deberent elemosinas dare fratibus', Trinity College Cambridge MS. B. 14. 50, ff. 64v-65 and ME Rosarium, 'dimes', pp. 62-3.

1102-3 'letter of fraternite': see also T2/383, where letters are listed as one of the several means by which the clergy communicated doctrine and law. These letters, the subject of much complaint, were the means by which a lay benefactor procured prayers and masses for himself and was promised a share in the spiritual benefits offered by the order.

The arrangements were much criticized by the Wycliffites as one aspect of their broad denunciation of simony; e. g. Trialogus, pp. 349-53, 367/21-5; Polemical Works, I, 35/5-10, 143/7, 193/19-21; Sermones, III, 501/10-14, 503/4-9 etc. Not only was the simoniac aspect condemned, but the letters were held to ignore the doctrine of predestination by attempting to bypass the divine prerogative of grace. See also Arnold, I, 67/29; III, 377/19ff., 420/1-423/2; Selections, p. 27/125; Matthew, pp. 353/7-11, 5/32-7, 19/20-2 etc; Jack Upland, pp. 62/187-90, 195-8.

1103 'wil not for miche more good þus, his bileue': unless the final sentence is corrupt, wanting a phrase to complete the sense after the modal verb wil, the ellipsis alludes to the common criticism that friars were unwilling to bestow 'miche more good', that is, spiritual benefits, as liberally as they did their worthless letters of fraternity.

1104 'suspecte of heresie': a favourite Lollard method of 'spoiling the Egyptians' was to brand the clergy as heretics, as they regularly did the friars for their eucharistic doctrine.
## APPENDIX

### CONTENTS OF MANUSCRIPTS

#### Abbreviations

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CONTENTS OF MANUSCRIPTS

Trinity College Dublin MS. 245 (C. 5. 6)

1. Crede.
   Inc: 'It is soop pat billeue is grounde of alle
       vertues'. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . f.1.
   Expl: 'Explicit credo in dominum patrem et cetera'.

2. Pater Noster.
   Inc: 'We shal billeue pat pis pater noster'. . . . . . . . f.2.
   Expl: '. . . panne shal we haue everlastynig fredom. Amen.
         Explicit pater noster. (1)

3. Ave Maria.
   Inc: 'Men greten comounly oure lady'. . . . . . . . . . . . . f.3v.
   Expl: 'Explicit salutatui sanctae Marieae virginis'.

   Inc: 'For false men multiplicen bokis of the chirche'. . . . f.4v.
   Expl: 'Explicit vii hereses contra pater noster.'

5. Pete ten commaundememts.
   Expl: '. . . as he loue God or pese blisse of heuene.
         Amen.'

6. Inc: 'For it is seid in holdynge of oure haliday'. . . . . . . f.27.
   Expl: 'Explicitiunt Feip, hope and charite.'

7. De operibus corporalibus.
   Inc: 'If a man were sure pat he shulde tomorewe come
       before a luge'. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . f.30v.
   Expl: '. . . us failip riit to dymes.'

   Inc: 'Sip we shulden serve oure parishens in spiritual almes'. f.55.
   Expl: '. . . as mede and mede and kynde techen cristen men.
         Explicitiunt opera caritatis et cetera.'

9. (Acephalous) Inc: 'Sip billeue techip us pat every
       yuel is opcr synne or comep of synne'. . . . . . . . . f.38.
   Expl: 'Explicitiunt septem peccata capitalis.'

10. De ecclesia et membris eius.
    Inc: 'Cristis chirche is his spouse'. . . . . . . . . . . . . f.63v.
    Expl: '. . . panne is his lijest vertu stabild. Explicit
           tractatus de ecclesia et membris.'

11. De apostasie cleri.
    Inc: 'Sip iche cristen man is holden to sewe Crist'. . . . f.76.
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Appendix : 1'2
Expl:
12.

'For many .beren beuy P~"~t freris .ben
clepid pseudo or ;pocrites anticristes" . . . . .
Expl: 'E::pl1'cit tract~'ltus de p...c:eudo .Freris. '
(Acephalous) Inc:

Expl:

14.

18.

f.81.

. . f.96.

'Pis gospel tell./P myc.lle wisdom pat Lc: bid
to man;' men '. . . . . . . . . . . . .
'E..rtplicit evangel.ium. ··

.

. f.101.

Of antecrist arrl his meynee.
Inc: 'IJ~"twd seip Lo..rrl sett pou a l~"twe !lk'zker ". . . . . . . .
Expl: 'Crist graunte vs grace Perto and beuen .blisse. Amen. ,.

. f. 11 7 .

Expl:

17.

.

Exposicio evangelii Mt. 24.
Inc:

16.

'Crist .biddip vs .bewar f.'iP Pes
fc."tlse prop/Jetes ··. . . . . . . . . . . .
'Here enden pe eis te wooes pat Cod wisbid to
freris. Amen. "

.

(Acephalous) Inc:

13.

15 .

'Explicit tractatus de apostasia et dotacione. "

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Expl: ·. . . lest J..'B t~9lten pe gr~"tce of &Odin veyne. ' . . .
Of praier a tretys.
Inc: 'Also .bLc:c.IJo.ps s freres putten to pore men' .
Expl: 'Explicit tractatus de oration&. "

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.

. f.126.

. . . . . . f. 12 7v.

no grounde in Cod. '
19.

(Acephalous) Inc: 'Cri...c:t .torsope did al pat

Expl:
20.

be coupe to o.beye to lo..rrl.is and me.kel_v and softly
speA:e to hem' .(2) • • •
• • • • • • • • • • • f.137v.
. . . pou sbep.herde & ydole forsakyng pi
f1oA: et ceten'l. '

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Expl: 'Alm_vs t_v Cod kepe h1's cburc.b fro such false prop/Jet.is

s here sotile ypoc.ris/ve
--~21

.

( Aee-Flfla-1-eBs-j----I-nc:

&

. . f .144.

.tals .!Jeresye. Amen. '

'GFdE-ester77-se;;i-l'-r"''-a~t-.t~~sGJlJeFS'---------

men ma.A:ynge .ic.be d.'lye nettis w.ip here bond1's '.f. 14 5 v .
'Into wb.icbe meA·enes & mercye Cod .for his endeles mercy to
endure to pe last eende. Amen. "
& .bl~vstouse

Expl:
22.

'Seynt Barna..rrl spekit pus to
Eugenye pe pope '. . . . . . . . . . .
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.

.

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(1) Bodleian MS. 789 contains a fuller version than either TCD 245 or Lambeth MS. 408.

(2) From this point the pagination in the MS. has been revised; the revised numbering is followed here.

(3) This title is blotted with ink, but can still be deciphered.

(4) Catchwords in charité indicate that the MS. is defective.

(5) A shorter version is also extant, in MSS JR. 1, Lamb., and a third version in B. 4, printed by Arnold III, 82-92 and in John Rylands MS. 90, printed by A. L. Kellogg and E. W. Talbert, 'The Wycliffite Pater Noster and Ten Commandments with Special Reference to English MSS. 85 and 90 in the John Rylands Library', Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 42 (1959-60), 345-77. See the entry by Talbert and Thomson, Manual, II, 524 item [12].

(6) All the tracts in this MS. have been transcribed by A. J. Butrym, 'An Edition with Commentary of the Wycliffite Tracts contained in MS. Trinity College Dublin 245', Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Rutgers University, 1971. Further reference to this edition will not be included.

(7) In MS. NCO the two pieces numbers 7 and 8 are treated as one piece, and Arnold has printed them as such.

(8) J. H. Todd, Three Treatises by John Wycliffe (Dublin, 1851).

(9) For the full list of sermon MSS. in which this text is extant, see Hudson, 'Bibliography', 451, item [9].

(10) Hudson, 'Bibliography', 451, item [10].

(11) The text in T2 covers only 'Point XV' of the longer version, as printed in Arnold III, 479-82.

(12) The text of this piece is found as 'Point XIX' in Arnold III, 486-8, part of the fuller version of D. 2.

(13) J. H. Todd, An Apology for Lollard Doctrines, Camden Third Series,
20 (London, 1842). (14) *christian*1) MS. *properiam* (?).

(15) MS. has an erasure and an *explicit* followed by a colophon not found in the printed version.


(17) These items are so fragmentary as to be unidentified with works so far known in the Wycliffite canon; they remain unprinted.

(18) J. H. Todd, *The Last Age of the Church by John Wycliffe* (Dublin, 1840).
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The glossary is intended to record and explain the vocabulary of the texts and to act as an index of words of topical interest which have particular importance in the context of the dialogues (and frequently also in the wider Wycliffite canon). These words are indicated by a vertical slash |. For this vocabulary, a complete, or at least wider range of examples is cited. Elsewhere, references are selective, and throughout, etc. after a reference or string of references indicates that more examples of that word or phrase and/or sense are to be found in the texts just cited.

Parsing is provided to discriminate forms and sense. Verbs are in the ind. mood unless otherwise stated. Citation is by text siglum and line number. Emended forms are marked by an asterisk. In passages quoted within entries, ~ represents the headword or the form that precedes it.

Wherever possible, the basic grammatical form is treated as the headword (that is, inf. for verbs, nom.sg. for nouns); morphological alternatives are listed in alphabetical order, with minor variants enclosed in parentheses. Cross-references are provided where variants are widely separated from the headword.

In the arrangement of the glossary, | follows q, p is treated as th in the appropriate position, vocalic y is treated as the equivalent variant of i and both forms are not recorded; consonantal y is treated as the consonant j and placed with that letter; consonantal y has its usual place; u and v are separated according to their value as vowel or consonant.

Etymologies are omitted except to explain unusual derivations and formations or to differentiate words which coincide in form though distinct in origin.

a exclamation Ah! D/269, 326.
a a worn-down form of ha, have, as an aux. in a died C/1056.
aback, abak adv. behind, in phrase putten (...), reject, repel C/451, 857, 858.
abbot(e, abot n. abbot, leader, head of an abbey T1/344, 347; transf. Christ, as head of the Christian order C/394; in phrases our (hooly) ~ T2/185, 188, 200, 204, 214, C/361.
abeggynge see under begge inf.

abhomynable adj. abominable, hateful, morally odious T1/190.

abide inf. to stay, remain, dwell T2/27; abide pr.pl. T1/86.

|abiite, abite n. clothing, esp. of religious orders C/31, 32, 46, 195, 201, 363, 646, 740 etc; abites, abitis pl. clerical vestments C/386, 447, 631, 673 etc; see also habit(e

abil, able adj. skillful, competent D/28; deserving, competent D/150; legally empowered D/148.

abil(e inf. (+ prep. to) to make fit for C/237; enable, to empower legally C/242.

abite see abiite.

abou3te, about(e, abowte adv. (+ prep. to + inf.) on the point of D/17, 169 etc, T1/18; approximately T2/320.

abou3te, about(e, abowte prep. about, on the subject of, concerning C/95: in phrases bisi(e/bisieled (...) ~ busy with, concerned with T2/32, C/724, 814(i,ii), 913; among, over, in phrase scatered ~ C/894.

aboue(n prep. higher than, above D/10, 60 etc.

abouen adv. above, on top T2/76; on the outside C/35.

abrege inf. to reduce, diminish, limit in power D/18, 177 etc; abreggid pp. D/395.

abreggynge vbl.n. lessening, reduction D/387, 463.

|absolucioune n. absolution, pardon D/127.

abusiuones n.pl. abuses, deceptions D/441.

accept adj. acceptable, pleasing T2/146.

accept(e inf. to take up, admit, agree to T2/131; acceptid pp. T2/335.

acceptable adj. acceptable C/790.

accepted ppl.adj. acceptable C/791.

|accident n. logic: an attribute, property or quality not essential to our conception of a substance; here theol: the material or physical attributes remaining in the sacramental bread and wine after consecration and transubstantiation C/996.

accidentalliche adv. incidentally, by chance C/642.

acusip pr.3 sg. accuses, casts blame on C/143.
acordauntlyche adv. in conformity with, in keeping with T1/318.

acorde n. agreement, harmony T2/81.

acorde inf. to agree with, be at one with T2/329; acordip(e) pr.3 sg. T2/132, 296, 323; acorde jussive subj. T2/379; acordynge pr.p. in phrase ~ wif, agreeing with T1/5.

acordinge ppl.adj. (+ prep. to) in conformity with D/499.

acursid pp. damned, excommunicated T1/217; see also corsid.

adde inf. to supplement, add to C/442; addep pr.3 sg. T1/216; added pp. C/362.

administracione n. service, performance of duty; here perh. stewardship D/131.

afers adv. far away, afar C/52, 287.

affermen pr.pl. affirm, confirm, assert the truth of C/341.

af(fer)ter, aftir, after adv. afterwards, then D/155, 403, 430, T1/93, 100, T2/186, 231, C/167, 184, 289 etc; as cj. in phrase ~ pat, after D/243, 244, 360, T1/150, C/98, 864 etc.

afied pa.t.sg.subj.refl. entrusted, in phrase ~ me in, entrusted myself to C/861.

after, aftir, after, æfter prep. (of time) after D/139, T1/145, T2/60, 218, C/166, 292; according to, in conformity D/334, 367, T1/363, 364, T2/11, 68, C/375, 766 etc; ~ (pæt), according to whether T1/24, 25, 150, C/755; for the attainment of, for, towards T2/199, T2/277, C/68; according to, proportionate to C/424, 916.

afterward, afterwarde adv. afterwards T1/74, 78, C/348 etc; in phrase ~ longe, long after C/170.

agayne, aȝeyne, ægene adv. again, back D/234; again, once more T2/307, C/276, 539; in return C/1066, 1068.

agene, aȝeȝne, aȝeyn(e), ægen(e) prep. against, in opposition to D/168, 385, T2/179, 303, 376, 381, C/700, 1073; agayne, aȝaynes, aȝaynes, aȝeyn(e)s, ægenes, ægens, aȝyns, æyns. æyns. æyns. æyns D/8, 82, 83, 86, 225, 393, T1/77, 309, T2/17, 123, 172, C/77, 149 etc; in phrase as ~ as concerning C/164: æjenst T1/93, 184.

aȝeynbyssing pr.p. ransoming, redeeming T2/229. [modelled on L red-imere]

aȝe(i)nward(e) adv. to the contrary T1/14, C/687.

aȝeneseyip pr.3 sg. disputes, denies, repudiates C/588; aȝeneseyen pr.pl. C/416. [modelled on L. contra-dicere]
a3enst adv. in opposition T1/94.

a3enstande inf. to resist C/1018; a3enstandip pr.3 sg. C/1017; a3enstanden pr.pl. C/410; a3enstode pa.t.sg. C/*1019. [modelled on L. ob-stare]

a3enward see a3e(i)nward(e).

a3yns see under agene.


ay(e ever, forever T2/130, 166, 199.


algatis, allgate adv. nevertheless, all the same T2/308; always, in every case D/354, T1/353, C/297, 1056.

alyue adv. in a living state T1/181.

alkemie n. alchemy, the science of transmutation of base metals into gold C/87.

al(l(e n. all, everything D/70, 71, 440, T1/18, 219, C/412, 548 etc; ping(eis, everything D/471, T1/4, 39 etc; everyone D/484, T1/337, 338, 343, T2/227, 414, C/46, 187, 188 etc.

al(l(e adj. all, every, the whole of D/10, 50, T1/12, 13, T2/7, 10, C/22, 34 etc; daie, all the time, continually D/17; pe while, all the time T1/176, 179 etc.

al(l(e adv. wholly, altogether, entirely D/182, *284, C/105, 124(i), 125, 262; in phrases (for) one, in the same manner, to the same degree T1/30; all the same T1/135, 136; as cj. in phrases but ~ only D/101, 136, 149, 370; (with negative) al onei, except D/100; only C/57, 294, 888; if, even if, T2/278, 349, C/24, 305, 499, 548 etc; be it, even if T1/32, 40, 67 etc; pour, although T2/168; (with subj. and inversion) be, be it, it es pat, although D/31, 285, 378.

allegeaunce n. allegation, expression of opinion D/167.

[almasful, almesful adj. liberal in giving alms, benevolent T1/240,424.

[almes(a)e, almos sg/pl. alms, charity D/220, 287, T2/19, C/783, 784, 1084. [On the form almos see commentary]
|almes(s)dede(s n.sg/pl. almsgiving, charity T1/250, 292, 293, 295, 297, 321, 348, 357, 359, 363 etc, C/800.  
almsessedede3euynge vbl.n. giving of alms T1/371.  
almi3thi, almy3ty adj. almighty, omnipotent T2/132, C/389.  
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als, as adv. (expressing likeness, exemplification) as D/69, 149, T1/15, C/68, 84 etc; ~ so, ~ wele, also D/266, 90; in phrase gode, as good D/329, 351; (introducing exemplification, with prep. of reference) ~ bi D/6; ~ at T2/173; ~ in T2/180; ~ before T1/72; ~ to, as for, according to D/94, C/161, 162, 631 etc; (introducing subordinate clause) D/11, 18, 26, T1/4, 10, T2/19, C/14, 23 etc; (introducing comparison) in phrases ~ miche ~, as much as, in so far as D/41, 237, 465, T2/78, 131, C/219; ~ elles, besides D/330: ~ ... ~ C/231; ~ ... so T1/34-36, T2/75-6, 85-86 etc; ~ wele, ~ wele ~, as well as D/40, 382, 407; ~ ferox ~, as far as D/464; (expressing concession, doubt, condition etc.) in phrases with prep. or cj. ~ if. as though, when T2/3, C/332, 596; ~ asens, ~ anentis/anente, as concerning T2/307, 326, C/164, 816, 822; as adv. in phrase ~ first, principally, primarily C/551.  
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al3ou3 cj. although T2/21, 104; see also þou3 cj.  
am see be.  
amend(e inf. to atone for, reform T2/161; reform. correct C/156; refl. ~ him of, make amends for, put right D/115; jussive subj. D/268; amended pa.t.pl. C/157.  
amendyng vbl.n. action of atoning for, reform T2/27.  
amys(se adv. wrongly, erroneously T1/180, 183, T2/143, C/116, 765, 877.  
among(e prep. amongst, among D/14, 193, T1/241, 247, T2/95, 251, C/40, 189 etc; refl. in phrase ~ herself/hem(self, among themselves C/82, 165 etc.  
amortaise inf. to deaden; here legal: to hold property by alienating it in mortmain, for perpetuity D/419.  
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any adj. any T1/109, C/215 etc; see also eny, oni.

any-ing pron. C/256, 918 etc. See also eny-ing, oni-ing

annuel adj. yearly, in phrase ~rente, annual income or service T1/30.

anoon adv. immediately, in phrase ~as, as soon as ever T1/121, 128.

anoer(e), ano-emur pron. another, something else D/409, T1/76, 342, T2/80, 81, C/416 etc; somebody else C/883, 978.

anoer adj. another D/304, 314, C/125.

answere n. reply C/807, 1101; legal: counter-statement, defence in phrase give hard ~ of D/303; answer(i)es pl. T2/290, 389, C/1101.

answere inf. to answer, respond D/89, 283; (+ prep. to) T2/406; theol: give an account on judgment day T2/299; answerest pr.2 sg. D/345; answeres pr.3 sg. D/457; answeren pr.pl. T2/141; answeren pr.pl. (+ adv. together) conform, agree C/856; answerenye pr.p. (+ prep. to) corresponding with T1/26; answerd pa.t.sg. D/479; answered pp. D/44.

|antecrist(e), anticrist(e) n. an enemy of Christ, the spiritual power of hell, esp. a synonym for the papacy T2/123, 136, 322, C/53, 185, 269, 273, 287, 312, 347, 550, 585, 674, 734, 1059, 1071; uninflected poss. D/243, C/343, 1069, 1104; anticristes, anticristis poss. T2/320, C/69, 139, 310, 411, 439, 552, 652.

ape n. monkey, ape; transf: dupe, fool C/749, apis pl. C/962.

apis adj. apish, stupid C/939 (or possibly n.pl.).

|apostasie n. apostacy, renunciation of established religious faith or doctrine C/885.

|apostata, apostita n. apostate, one who abandons the faith, or a religious order, a renegade T2/158, C/690, 842; apostata(a)s, apostatase pl. T2/135, C/57, 523, 677, 764, 851.

apostle n. an apostle, especially St Paul T1/40, 45, 116 etc, T2/273; apostil(e)s, apostil(l)is, apostils, apostles, apostlis pl. D/363, T2/126, 231, 280, C/125, 219, 299 etc.

appered pa.t.sg. appeared T1/324; pa.t.pl. C/184.

appliede pp. (+ prep. to) put, applied C/643.

apreue inf. to attest to, prove (or perh. commend) T1/4; ap(p)roue~ pr.3 sg. approves, sanctions, commends C/422, 937, 938; approue~ pr.pl.subj. C/942; approved, approued pp. T1/65, C/705.


arguen pr.pl. argue, reason C/963.
argument n. reasoning, argument C/939, 962.

arme jussive subj.refl. arm, equip, furnish; here fig: furnish himself with certain attributes T2/379.

arowes n.pl. arrows; here fig: dangers C/139.

art see be.

artycle n. item, matter; here theol: the separate clauses of the Apostles’ Creed T1/49, 52.

arunt(e inf. to revile, rail at T2/207, 332. [etymology obscure]

as see als.

asaie imper. examine, test C/89: asseyed pa.t.sg. T2/387.

aschamed ppl.adj. affected with guilt, remorseful T2/57; disgraced, put to shame T2/133; (+ inf. phrase) reluctant because of shame or pride T1/287(i, ii).

ask inf. to question, enquire C/1086; askist pr.2 sg. D/31; aske pr.pl. T1/205, C/993; asken pr.pl.subj. T1/48; aske inf. to demand, request D/118; ask(ist pr.2 sg. C/441, 505; askip pr.3 sg. T2/167.

askyng(e vbl.n. requesting, requests T1/331, T2/127.

asoyled see assoile(e)

lasoiling vbl.n. absolution C/612.

asse n. donkey, ass D/86, 93.

asseyed see under asaie.

assent n. consent, agreement, concurrence of will T2/163, C/881.


assentlyng vbl.n. agreement C/143.

|assoile inf.theol. to absolve D/122, 470; assoylen pr.pl. T2/208; a(s)soyled pp. D/124, C/746.

at(t(e prep. (enclitic form) at the D/117; (position) at. on T1/98, 334, C/106; (time) D/45, T1/95, 226, T2/104, C/83, 100 etc; (relationship) with T1/241, C/7; against C/22; in adverbial phrases - wittes ende, finally D/454; - pe laste, - pe last (eende), finally T1/35, T2/173, 378; - large, free D/119; - oonis togidre, all at once T2/180; - poynit deuys, perfectly C/291.

atteymte pp. (+ prep. in) infected with, corrupted T1/104.
attones adv. (enclitic form) at once D/309.

|auditours| n.pl. hearers, audience (here perh. catechumen) T2/146.


auter n. altar, place of sacrifice; here transf. and fig: in phrase brede of pe ~, the sacrament of the eucharist C/991.

autorite n. authority, authoritative statement or doctrine D/476, T1/347, C/144, 148; authority, power T2/321(i, ii), C/144, 150, 160, 162, 163, 641, 1078.

auaile inf.intr. to help, be effective D/125; auailip pr.3 sg.trans. is of use to, benefits T2/191.

auarice n. greed, avarice C/540.

auaunsid pp. advanced, promoted; here transf. and eccles: provided to a benefice in the church D/25, 318.

avoydide pa.t.sg. shunned T1/16.

awa(e, awey(e adv. away, gone C/886; in phrases chased ~, expelled C/504: take ~, remove, take away D/239, 277 etc, C/517; dop ~, removes, abolishes C/575; passed ~, disappeared C/481; off, in phrases caste ~, take off, discard C/767; puttyng ~, discarding T2/126: rubbe ~, rub, clean off T1/8; aside, astray, in phrases turnynge ~, deflection, leading astray T1/109; sclidyng ~, backsliding, slipping back C/459.

awe see a4t.

awen, awne adj. own D/147, 384.


axingis vbl.n.pl. requests C/1096.

bachiting vbl.n. the sin of defaming another, slandering C/524.

bad(e see under biddist.

bagged pp. swollen, bulged, in phrases ~ wip lesinges, ~ and clouted C/57, 891(ii) [MED, OED v.1(b), baggen]; (or perh. marked with a characteristic sign [origin uncertain; MED, OED v.2, from n.1 bagge, badge].

bagged ppl.adj. swollen, inflated C/891(i).
bayle n. bailiff, an agent of a lord D/312, 316.

bate n. discord, conflict C/679.

batilyng vbl.n. fighting, striving T2/162.

be, bi prep. (denoting means or agent) by, with, by means of, through D/6(i,ii), 7, 10(ii), T1/18(ii), 30, T2/1, 3, C/2, 4 etc; ~waye o, by means of D/113, 295; (denoting relationship) for, on behalf of C/936; according to D/10(i), 41(ii), T1/14(ii), 326, T2/9, 22, C/38, 162; ~itself/hemself, in itself C/583(ii), 830; in adv.phrases ~fourme, in the manner of T2/234; ~occacioun, because of, by reason of C/668 ~be contrarie, by contrary means T2/54; (of time) in phrases ~processe of tyme, ~tyme, in due time D/446, C/289.

be inf. to be D/38, 42, T1/6, 20, T2/15, 18, C/15, 68 etc; to occur D/353; (as aux. and forming passive voice or future tense) D/6, 35, T1/14, 21, T2/7, 54, C/13, 46 etc; in phrase laue ~, let it be, cease D/505; am pr.1 sq. D/20, T1/237, T2/6, C/21 etc; art, ert pr.2 sq. D/22, 39, 43 etc., C/1010; es pr.3 sq. D/15 etc; is pr.3 sq. D/196, T1/6, T2/55, C/9; beth, bep(e) pr.pl. are D/25, 201, 419, T1/9, 107 etc; ben(e) pr.pl. are D/10, T1/13, T2/4, C/28 etc; be(n) sq/pl.subj. D/28, T1/67(ii), 151(ii), T2/24, 79, C/24, 62 etc; in phrase all ~ although D/31, T1/67(i); jussive subj. T2/369; be imper. D/336, T1/7, 249; beyng(e) pr.p. T1/6, T2/235: was pa.t.sg. D/53, 54, T1/2, 15, T2/130, 219, C/152, 154 etc; (aux. forming pa.t.sg.) D/2, 66, T1/16, T2/57, 59, C/166, 171 etc; were(n) pa.t.pl. D/2, T1/16, 342, C/50, 88, 170 etc; (aux. forming pa.t.pl.) D/62, T1/165, T2/11, 276, C/136, 173, 176 etC; were pa.t.subj.sg/pl. D/149, 160, T1/96, 338, T2/21, 26, C/7, 117 etc; ben(e) pp. D/14, 43, C/34, 36 etc.

because, bicause adv. (with of) because, on account of C/617, 771 etc: as cj. ~pat, because D/20, 30, 190.

bede(n) see biddist.

beding see biddynge.

before, bifor(e) adv. before, previously T1/95, 98, C/82, 223 etc; beforehand T1/85, 92, 94, 101, T2/168, C/299, 813 etc; above all else, ahead T1/147; as prefix, ~deliberacioun T1/70; ~ordeynid T2/413; as cj. ~pat C/80, 178, 319, 402 etc.

befor(e), bifor(e) prep. (of time) earlier than, prior to T1/72, 83, 87, T2/304, 314, 413, C/93, 172, 177 etc; (of place, event) at, to, in the presence of T1/2, T2/187, C/751; in preference to T2/93, 165; in the judgment of T2/124, 391.

began(e) see bygynne.

beggaris see begger.
| Beggar(e) n. | pauper, one who begs for charity T1/247(i), 249, 329, 353, C/835; fig: friar, member of a mendicant order C/843; strong-e; able-bodied beggar T1/247(ii), 256, 331; beggaris, beggeris, biggers pl. T1/234, 238, 261, 265, 267, 270, 309, C/85, 373; ordre of; friars' orders T1/360. |
| Beggerie n. | extreme poverty C/845, 891. |
| Begging(e, bigginge) vbl.n. | begging, mendicancy T1/29, 228, 252, 274, 279 etc; C/201, 546; strong-e; able-bodied begging T1/229, 231. |
| Begiled, begylep see under bigile. |
| Beginnyng(e, bigynnyng) see bigynnyng. |
| Behalfe n. | side, behalf C/335. |
| Beholde imper. | notice, consider C/180. |
| Beldynge vbl.n. | action of building C/801. |
| Bel(e)ue, bileue n. | body of doctrine, esp. Creed D/82, 332, 360, T1/4, 6, 35(i), 36, 39, 42, 43, 46, *47, 48, 49(i, ii), 51, 52, 58, 61, 282, 318 etc., T2/125, 261, 328, 343, 355, 357(i, ii), 369, 391, 405 etc., C/148, 481, 488, 669, 864, 1003; article of; one of the statements of the Apostles Creed T1/49; faith, trust, conviction (as opposed to mere opinion) D/355, 357, 358, 359, 361, 363, T1/35(ii), 59, 191, T2/129, 171, 176, 192, 261, C/148, 241, 254, 285, 353, 400, 1032, 1103. |
| Bele(e)ue, bileue inf. | to believe, have faith in T2/362(i,ii), C/290, 574; pr.1 sg. T1/52(ii,iii), T2/399, 400, 403; bileue jussive subj. C/370; beleueuen jussive subj.' T2/344. |
| Ben(e) see be. |
| Benefices n. | eccles: preferments, livings T1/260. |
| Benefit(e) adv. | below, beneath, in an inferior position to C/35. |
| Benefy(e) prep. | below, outside, in phrase ~ beleue T2/361. |
| Benym(e) inf. | to take away, to deprive, despoil (as of property or rights) D/169, 170, 277, 290. |
| Berd(e) n. | beard T1/43, 65 etc. |
| Bere inf. | to carry D/88, to endure T2/34; fig: to carry or have a certain quality T1/138; ~ ... companye, to accompany C/1058; ... vp, support, carry T2/286; ~ vp my name, to support, witness to C/862; berest pr.2 sg. in phrase ~ me on hond, accuse, charge D/283; berep pr.3 sg. in phrase ~ wit(t)nes, establishes, alleges D/11, 69, 344 etc; berep pr.pl. D/475; bere(n pr.pl.
D/350, 495; ~ hem on hond, accuse D/224; ~ upon, oppress C/526;
born(e pp. born, living C/178; in phrase ~ doune, overcome D/191, 449.

bereres n.pl. carriers T1/265.
berynge vbl.n. (+ adv. out) carrying T1/259.
berkyng vbl.n. barking; fig: harsh speech, opprobrious words C/189.
beseeking pr.p. begging, requesting earnestly T2/204.
besides, byside, bisidis adv. as well as T1/340, C/446, 546, 895.
best adv. superl. best, in phrase mown ~ can best T2/183.
best(e adj.suprl. best, most virtuous T1/292, C/361(i), 493 etc; as pron. C/361(ii).
beste n. animal D/94; bestis pl. T1/310.
betene inf. to beat, in phrase ~ doune, to overcome, destroy D/61; bett pa.t.sg. flogged, beat C/87.
beth, bep(e see under be.
betinge vbl.n. flogging, punishment D/91.
betokenep, betokenip, bitoknep pr.3 sg. symbolizes, signifies, means D/495, T2/165, C/*/36, 37, 633 etc; betoken(en pr.pl. C/33, 967; betokened pp. D/96.
bett see under betene.
better adj.comp. better T2/258, C/254, 353; as pron. C/1028 etc.
better, bettur adv.comp. better D/46, T2/256, 258, C/32, 140, 971 etc.
betuix, betwixe, bytwixe prep. between T1/3, 135, 335, C/674, 834.
|beupere n. priest, ecclesiastical superior C/1072.
bewar inf. to be wary, cautious, prudent D/427, T2/196, C/886; (+ prep. wip) beware of C/1; beware imper. C/625; see also war(e adj.
bi prep. see be.
bi inf. to buy D/432. See also big(g)e.
|bibel n. scripture D/232.
bicause see because

biddist pr.2 sg. request, ask, urge, entreat D/505; biddep, biddiþ, bidip pr.3 sg. T1/199, T2/205, C/1021; etc; bidding(e pr.p. T1/193, 195, 308 etc; bede pa.t.sg. T1/345; beden, biden pp.
D/361, T2/24. biddephet, bid(d)idip pr.3 sg. commands, demands T1/53, 269, T2/139, 275, C/1, 359 etc; biddet pr.pl. T1/219, 323; bidden pr.pl. C/982; bidde pr.sg. subj. C/407; bad(e) pa.t.sg. D/105, 478, T2/12, C/906, 940, 1020. [OE biddan, to beg and beðdan, to command]

biddynge(e, bidding vbl.n. commanding, command T1/345, 346, T2/11, 131, C/108, 893, 898 etc; requesting, entreating, praying T1/197, T2/197, C/1085.

bifor(e) adv. and prep. see befor(e)

|bifor-ordeynid pp. predestined, planned T2/413.

bigan see under bygynne.

big(g)e inf. to buy D/434, 478, T1/260; bost pa.t.sg. D/437. See also bi.

biggers see begger(e).

bigginge see beggynge(e).

bigile inf. to deceive, delude C/32; begylephet pr.3 sg. T2/353; begiled pp. T2/356.

bigynne inf. to begin, commence C/7, 124; bigynnephet, bygynnyphet pr.3 sg. T1/73, 241, C/734; bygynne pr.pl. C/710; began(e, bigan pa.t.sg. D/3, T2/20, 91, C/181, 599 etc.

bigynnyng(e, begynnyng(e) vbl.n. introduction, outset, commencement D/45, 280, C/212, 559; beginning, birth T2/263; foundation; transf: founding C/38, 200 etc; fig: fundamental element T1/22.

|bisschope n. bishop, prelate D/304; bisschesopes pl. D/7, 187, 252, 261, 408; see also bischop(p)(e).

bilawes n. a body of customs or regulations as of a town, village, society, corporation etc. C/833.

bile(e)ue n. see beleue

bileue v. see beleue

|bynde inf. to bind, tie, obligate T2/155; theol: to condemn, curse, excommunicate D/112, 113, 116; bindest pr.2 D/71; byndet, byndidip prv.sg. T1/249, 253; bynde pr.pl. C/747; binding pr.p.refl. pledging T2/*163; bounden pp. bound, obliged D/243; cursed D/71.

biried pp. buried; here fig. hidden, C/27, 685.

birpe n. birth T1/165, T2/304.

|bischop(p)(e) n. bishop, prelate C/99, 104, 233; in phrases ~ of oure soules, Christ, the one with principal spiritual cure C/263; ~ of Rome, the pope C/223, 228, 253, 256; bisschesopes, bissches,
bischoppis pl. T2/275, 278, 281, C/62, 232, 313, 557, 572. See also bihasschope.

bisie adj. busy, concerned C/332.

bisie(e inf.refl. to occupy oneself T2/31, C/813; bisie pr.pl. in phrase pei ... ~it more, they are more busy about it C/836; biside, bisied pa.t.refl. concerned, occupied C/724, 794 etc.

bisied ppl.adj. concerned, occupied C/913.

byside(s, bisidis see besides.

bisili adv. diligently, earnestly T2/63, 67, C/1083.

bisines(se n. concern, busyness, activity C/94, 331; business, affairs C/137; fig. and transf: in phrases ~in soule, ~to God, cure of soul C/663, 664.

bitoke pa.t.sg. (with direct object) entrusted to D/105.

bitokne~ see betokene~.

bytwixe see betuix

blaberi~ pr.3 sg. babbles, speaks foolishy C/1021. [WB transl. L balbutiet; prob.imitative]

blackenes n. black, the colour of the habit of the Dominican order (Black Friars) C/738.

blake n. black, here used as n. for the Black (Benedictine) Monks C/954.

blame inf. to censure, rebuke C/936.

|blasfeme n. (1) (as an agent) blasphemer T2/378; blasfemes, blasphemes pl. C/48, 221, 982.
|blasfeme, blasfemie, blasphemie n.(2) blasphemy, insult, slander esp. against God C/53, 200, 656, 909; blasfemes pl. C/220, 251, 547.
|blasfemen pr.pl. blaspheme C/615; in phrase ~in God, blaspheme against God C/378, 391.
|blasphemye used as adj. blasphemous C/652.

blecke~ pr.3 sg. makes black, here fig: blackens morally, defiles C/622.

bлемythe inf. to damage, infect C/53.

bles(a)id ppl.adj. fortunate, happy, blessed T1/34, 378, T2/227, C/728.

|blesse, blis(se n. bliss, joy T1/169, 379, T2/324, C/127 etc; heaven T1/313, T2/2, 74, 311, 314, 400, C/908; fig: in phrase ~or
beuene, beuen - paradise, the joy of heaven T1/155, 157, 161, 164, 327, T2/216, 418 etc; C/739.

blessen pr.pl. bless, invoke a blessing upon T1/32.

[bl]ynd(e) adj. blind, without sight D/376, T1/165, 166, C/980 etc; fig: in darkness, blundering, deluded T1/38, T2/126, 141, C/771, 782(i,ii), 799 etc; blyndest comp.adj. C/247.

[bl]yndep pr.pl. make blind, deprive of sight; here fig: deprive of discernment, deceive D/221; blynden pr.pl. T2/143, destroy by making dark (MED v.3) C/826.

[bl]ynd(e)nesse n. blindness T1/167; fig: (of the soul or intellect) inability to perceive the truth, delusion T1/36.

blyndest see under blynd(e) adj.

blis(se see blesse n.

blowing vbl.n. making known, publishing, in phrase ~ of name to be worlde, making public C/261.

bo[~]dele(ch(e, bodili(che adj. earthly, physical, of the body (as distinct from the soul) T1/146, 181, T2/21, 29, C/14, 31 etc; temporal, physical (as distinct from spiritual) T1/293, 295, 364, T2/241, 416; C/800, 815, 1043; ~ chirchis, church buildings C/794, 795 etc.

bodeliche, bodily adv. in person, corporeally D/252, 259, 494, C/308.

bodle n. the corporeal body (as distinct from the soul) D/260, 362, T1/118, 122, T2/56, 190, C/24, 679 etc; in mystical sense, ~ of hooly churche T2/87; brede of Godis, the eucharistic element C/1094; bodies pl. D/221, C/67, 632 etc.

bojt see big(g)e.

boldest adj.superl. most confident D/376.

bonde n. pledge, obligation, in phrase in his ~, in pledge, on oath D/246.

bondis see bo(u)ndis.

bone n. favour, gift, in phrase of ~, by favour C/613.


borell adj. belonging to the laity, non-clerical; transf. in phrase ~ clerk, clerk with little learning D/338, 372, 375. [perh. derived from borel, burel, n. coarse woollen cloth]
born(e see here.

host n. boasting, pride C/661.

host, but adv. only T1/88, 123, C/97 etc; ~litile, only a little D/379, 381; ~schort tyme, ~for a litile tyme, only for a short while T2/319, C/348.

but, but adv. only T1/88, 123, C/18 etc; though C/*206, *762; except D/63, T1/70, 99, 103(i), T2/54, *382, C/59 etc: unless D/125, C/130(i) etc; ~for, unless T1/103(ii). 140, so long as C/1007(i): ~jeve/sif, ~jif pat, except that, unless T2/228, 344, C/753; ~sive/sif, ~siv pat, unless D/241, 333, 367, T2/12, 119, 191, 334, C/229, 507 etc: but if T1/317, C/355.

bope adj. both D/187, 221, T1/3, 167, T2/208, 321, C/169, 254 etc: as pron. T2/301, 358; (with demons.pron.) ~is ~both of them C/446; as poss. with pron. ~here ~of them both T1/278.

bope adv. both, together D/52, 503, T1/275, 293, T2/37, 40, C/90, 195 etc.

bounden see binde

bo(u)ndis n.pl. boundaries, limitations; here fig: limits as to lawful action T2/67, 92.

bowe inf. to turn away from C/297; imper. T1/79.

[bred(e n. bread; here theol: the eucharistic element C/991, 994, 1090, 1093.

breke pr.3 sg. breaks. destroys C/16; breke(n pr.pl. fig: break, infringe C/453, 851; broken pp. C/457 etc.

brekynge vbl.n. action of breaking; here fig: infringement T1/230.

[brent pp. burnt C/210, 430.

bre(n. breath, odour, stench C/52 [OE breþ] or wrath, anger, vengeful spirit [ON, OI brefi]

breþeren n.pl. brothers, followers, colleagues T2/10, 111, 229, C/176, 692, 765, 877, 880.

briddis n.pl. birds T2/266.

bring(e inf. to bring, carry C/1102; (+ prep. in) introduce T2/316; bryngip pr.3 sg. T1/35, 36, T2/200; broust pa.t.sg/pl. C/554, 560 etc; brousten pa.t.pl. C/157; bro(u)st pp. C/305; (+ prep. in) introduced D/157, T2/213, C/255 etc.

broken see under breke.

[brolles n.pl. children, brats; here fig. in phrase ~of anticristis covent C/438. [ML brollus; or perhaps cognate with broll.
abbreviated form of brethel, worthless fellow, wretched person, from OE pp. broden, v. bredan, to go to ruin]

broþur n. brother; here fellow friar T2/384.

brouȝt(en see under bryng(e.

[bullis n.pl. seals attached to official document; papal or episcopal edicts T2/354, 383.

but see bot.

buturflies n. butterflies C/485.

cas n. circumstance C/113; in phrase in ~ pat, in the event that, lest C/815.

cache pr.3 sg. catches; here transf: urges, incites C/63.

camele n. camel C/683.

cam(en see under com(e.

can can, to know, understand; kunne inf. to know, understand T2/85; can pr.1 sg. D/451; can(st pr.2 sg. D/378, 455; can pr.3 sg. D/462; pr.pl. C/88; conne pr.pl. D/374, 379, 458; couþ pa.t.pl. D/376; can pr.1 sg. am able, have the ability D/41, 464; canst pr.2 sg. D/40, 283; can pr.3 sg. T1/244, C/228, 606; pr.pl. C/942; commen pr.pl. T1/251; cowde pa.t.pl. could C/940.

|canone n. rule, decree; used attrib. in the phrase law ~, canon or ecclesiastical law D/12.

|canonysid pp. placed in the canon of saints, beatified, sanctioned by the authority of the church T2/351.

canst see under can.

capiteynes, capteynes n. leaders C/764; founders C/170.

cardenal, cardinal adj. primary, chief C/15, 452.

|cardenal(l)es, cardinales n.pl. cardinals, chief members of the pope's council D/174, C/245, 246, 247.

careyne, caren n. corpse C/11, 23.

carien pr.3 pl. carry, bring;fig. care about; in phrase ~ her schippis T2/285.

carpen pr.pl. talk; in phrase ~ for. talk about C/511.

carpenter n. one who follows the woodworking trade T1/277.
cart n. wagon D/377.

cast inf. (+ adv. for) to devise, scheme C/410 (OED vv.43, 44); casten pr.pl. C/81; caste pr.pl. (+ adv. away) discard, reject C/767 (OED v.19).

castel(l n. castle D/314, T2/75, 76.

castes n.pl. tricks C/988. [MED I(h)]

|cause n. cause, reason C/289, 521, 557 etc; reason, argument T2/227, C/230, 233 etc; cause, faction, side D/456, C/312; purpose, reason T1/65, 141, C/196, 518, 646 etc; causes pl. C/229.

|cautel n. stratagem, trick, in phrase ~ of pe fende C/403; cautelis pl. C/469.

certaine, certeyne n. certainty T2/405; in adv.phrases in ~ with certainty, certainly D/192, 197, 347; I am in ~, I am convinced T1/316; tyne Iymytid in ~, a particular or appointed time T2/194; a definite but unspecified amount of money, tribute, in phrase a ~ bi sere, an annual fee D/119.

certayne, certen, certeyn(e adj. sure, certain C/21, 120 etc.

certen, certes, certis adv. certainly, to be sure T1/261, T2/104, C/97, 107 etc.

chafer inf. to trade, to deal for gain C/1085.

chaffer n. business, trade C/1086.

chaier n. chair; here transf: the magisterial or chief position C/83; chaieres pl. C/106.

challengi(pr. pl. dispute, discredit, call in question C/981 (MED v.3); or perh. lay claim to as a privilege or due (esp. of lordship or property, MED v. 3, 4a); or arrogate (MED v.5a; see commentary).

chambor n. room C/99; chamboris bedrooms, apartments C/51.

changaunt adj. unstable, variable, diversified C/732. [1st cit. 1620; perh. cognate with ME changeable]

change n. and v. see cha(u)nge.

|chanoun n. canon, an order of the regular clergy T2/182; chanouns, chanounus pl. C/153, 168, 954, 1054.

|chapilen n. clerk who assists the higher clergy C/99.

|chapitre n. chapter, assembly or court of church officers C/105.

charge n. duty, responsibility D/256, T1/246; mandate, injunction D/249; bürden T2/183.
charge inf. to load; fig: to burden T2/367, C/563; chargid pp. C/491; charge inf. fig: to place weight or importance on C/682; charge pr.3 sg. fig: values C/711; chargen pr.pl. C/267, 500; charge jussive subj. T2/184, 194; chargid pp. T2/322; charge pr.3 sg. exHORTs D/348; chargid pa.t.sg. D/154.

chargyng vbl.n. burden, action of burdening C/492.

|charite n. kindness, good will, love T1/73, 241, T2/379, 409, 410, 411, C/83, 431, 850, 865; esp. the Christian virtue of love T1/184, 185, 202, 204, 364, 368, 373, T2/38, 41, 45, 69, C/63, 512, 516, 537, 873, 1056; grace T2/167.

|charter n. agreement, formal document D/141, 151; charteris pl. C/1098.

chased pp. (+ adv. awey) driven out, expelled C/504.

chaste adj. pure, disciplined C/351.


| chastite n. the virtue of sexual purity; here perh. theol: purity of spirit, innocence C/396, 397.

cha(u)nge n. alteration T2/257, C/569.

cha(u)nge inf. to alter, modify T2/357, C/415, 691; chaunged pa.t.sg. C/195; chaungid pp. D/74; chaunged changed, exchanged C/646.

chaunging vbl.n. change, alteration C/975.

chebi see chese.

cheef adj. principal, main T2/331.

ches see under chese pa.t.

chese inf. to choose, select T1/4, C/564, 797; checip pr.3 sg. C/102; chese pa.t.sg. T2/165; ches pa.t.pl. C/1055; chese inf. to elect C/*250; chesn, chosen pa.t.pl. C/245, 253; chosen pp. C/82.

chesing vbl.n. action of choosing, choice C/265; selection, choice C/266.

chidyng vbl.n. scolding, rebuke T2/340.

child(e n. child T1/15, 111 etc; C/310; Goddis ~ one of the elect T2/399; child(e)ren pl. T1/11, 71, C/754 etc; people, tribe, in phrase ~ of Israel/Levy T2/96(i,ii) etc; followers T2/138, C/617, 752; in phrase Cristis ~ the faithful C/438.

childhood n. childhood T1/17.
chois(e) n. power of choosing C/796; choice, selection C/946.

chosen ppl.adj. chosen, elect; here theol: predestined T2/279.

chosen pp. see under chese.

church(e) see chirch(e).

circumstance n. context, governing conditions, in phrases wiþ good ~ wiþ eurid ~ T1/68, 69.

cite n. town, city in phrase dwellynge ~, place of habitation T1/322.

clad. clapid. cledo see under clopid.

clarkes see under clerk(e).

cleerely, clerelichi(ch)e, clerly adv. clearly, well, entirely T2/237, C/923; plainly, clearly T2/341, C/346.

|chine adj. unpolluted, pure T1/187(i,ii), 188, C/789; simple, pure C/834, 911.

|chine adv. in purity C/65; completely, simply C/830.

|clenei adv. simply, wholly C/920, 927.

|cleness n. purity, innocence C/33, 651, 744, 790.

|clepi~ pr.3 sg. calls, names C/26; clepes pr.pl. D/174; clepen, clepy~ pr.pl. T2/4, C/1072; refl. C/368; clepид pa.t.pl. D/176; pp. T1/75, 277, T2/71, 147, C/107, 366 etc; clepi~ pr.3 sg. summons, invites C/258; cleped pa.t.pl. T2/20.

|clerelichi(ch)e see cleerely

|clergi(e) n. knowledge, doctrine D/24, 27, T2/235; in pl. sense, officers of the church as distinct from the laity; those of clerical status. D/7, 10, 16, 49, 77, 92, 167, 171 etc; poss. D/429.

|clerk(e) n. priest, scholar D/1, 3, 23 etc; T1/3, C/9, 1104; clarkes, clerkes, clerkis pl. D/13, 25, T2/18, 37, C/24, 70, 157 etc.

clymbe inf. to climb; fig: to strive to reach C/29; clumben pp. climbed C/457.

cloyster, closter n. enclosure, place of religious seclusion, esp. the monastic precincts C/14, 26, 64; transf. and fig: the spiritual
life C/463; in phrase ~ of soule C/10, 13, 17, 66, 453, 707; cloysteris pl. C/455.

close inf. to enclose C/707; closed pp. C/990.
closter see cloyster.
cloph n. cloth, fabric, clothing C/657.
clophes, clophis, clophing n. garments T2/56, 58, C/12, 38, 95 etc; esp. religious habit, vestments T2/61, 180, C/35, 38, 651, 653, 721, 770, 959.
clopid pa.t.sg. clothed, dressed C/647; cledpp. C/648; clad, clapid pp. fig. and transf: covered, as with clothes T2/59, C/34.
clouted pp. patched; here fig: pieced together, patched up, in the collocation bagged and ~ (MED pp. 3) C/891.
clouted ppl.adj. covered with a cloth or clout (or perch. fig: ragged, patched, wretched) C/843; patched up, pieced together; here perch. fig: falsely amended [MED v.3], in phrase ~ reule C/355, 357, 860.
cloutes n. patches, rags; here perch. fig: something added by way of a false amendment C/362.
clouen pp. split apart, broken asunder; here fig: split, disunited, divided C/197(i, ii). [OE v. cléofan, pp. clofen]
clumben see clymbe.
coynte adj. elaborate, skillfully made C/792.
colde adj. cold; transf: exposure to cold weather T2/56.
collectis n.pl. contributions T1/333, 345; poss.pl. in phrase makyng, instituting of contributions T1/336.
coloure n. pigment, colour T2/184; fig: reason T2/378; pretext D/443, in phrases bi~ 'vndir', under the pretext, in the name of D/219, T1/270; colores, colouris, colowres pl. T1/330, C/32, 637.
coloured pp. (+ prep. wiþ) under the guise of T1/355.
comandemente n. command, injunction C/450; comandmentes, comandmentes n. decalogue, the law of God D/56, 105.
comandinf. to command, demand, order D/64: comandidp. pr.3 sg. T1/266; comande pr.pl. C/1035; comandynge pr.p. T1/64; comandid pp. T2/188.
com(e, comme, cum(m)e inf. (+ prep. to) to come, reach, arrive at D/117, T2/2, 42, 206, C/65, 908 etc; (+ prep. to) to accept T2/183; (+ prep. of) to derive from D/145, 146, T2/252, C/129, 137, 641 etc; (+ prep. after) to succeed T2/186; com(m)e)p., comip. pr.3 sg. T1/147, T2/187, C/26, 86 etc; (+ prep. to) adds up to
comense inf. to begin, enter, to be initiated (esp. into the religious life) C/56; comense(n pr.pl. C/81, 84(i, ii); comensed pa.t.sg. C/98; comenseden pa.t.pl. C/125.

comensementis n.pl. initiation, esp. entrance into a religious order or into the privileges of a master or doctor at the university C/79.

comensing(e vbl.n. beginning, initiation; here esp. entrance into a religious order C/90, 105.

cominalte, comunite, comunte n. community, the citizens of a country T1/246, 254; common ownership (OED 1, MED 5), in phrase *of Pinges*, common property C/981.

comynte vbl.n. coming, arrival T1/145(i, ii), C/566.

comynly, como(u)nli adv. usually, frequently C/249, 490, 524, 621 etc.

com(m)yn, comone, comoune, comoun adj. ordinary, of low rank, in phrases *pupel/imen D/14, 189, 198, 206, 213, 486, C/704, 732, 1074 etc; shared T1/340, 342, T2/71; familiar T2/101; secular (OED adj, 11) C/166; and in phrases *here goode* ~ their shared property T1/350; ~*profitt*, general good T2/33; have in ~, share C/374; ~*seel*, the seal common to the order C/1083, 1088 etc; general, open T2/101; in phrase ~*religioun T1/372.

comyns, com(m)ouns n.pl. commons, the lay people T2/15, 36, 43, 71, C/1083.

comyssion n. action, deeds T1/81.[OED n.12; 1st cit. for this usage 1597, OED n.12: a neologism from v. *committen*, to perform an activity, especially something reprehensible, OED v. 6, a sense derived from common L usage, not cited in MED]

comone, comoune etc see comyne.

comonly see comynly.

comoune inf. to converse with, associate with T1/270.

comouns, commouns see comyns.

companye n. company, in phrase *here* ... ~ accompany C/1059; cumpanyes pl. companions, retinues, followers C/674.

comparison(e n. comparison, in phrases *without* ~, incomparably D/259; in ~*to*, compared to T1/326.
complexioun n. temperament or physical characteristics C/976.
comune see comyne, adj.
comun(i)te see cominalte.
con see under can.
concel, counsele v.(1) inf. to counsel, advise C/65, 889. [Late L. consiliare, O.F. conseiller]
concelep v.(2) pr.pl. hide, keep from the knowledge of others D/264. [L. concelare, F. concealer]
concense n. consent, acquiescence C/1059.
concluden pr.pl. conclude, bring to a close D/458.
conclusion n. conclusion, result C/728.
condiciouns n.pl. circumstances, positions in life T2/222.
\[conferme\] inf.v.(1) to confirm, ratify T2/120, C/356; conferme pr.sg.subj. T2/334; confermed pp. C/1032; (of possession) (+ prep to) ratified in, established in C/613; (+ prep. in) established in C/636; (+ prep. of) established by T2/214, C/194, 665. [L. confirmare, to make firm, to strengthen]
confermed (v.2) ppl.adj. (+ prep. to) formed, shaped, made in conformity with C/266, 1012. [L. conformare, to shape, fashion]
confermyng vbl.n. confirmation, support T2/241.
\[confescioun, confessioun(e) n.\] acknowledgement of sin, confession C/580, 607, 608, 610, 615, 623; the function of hearing confession and granting of absolution, in phrase office of - D/263; confessiones, confessiouns pl. C/555, 571.
confessed, confessid pp. used as n. the one who has confessed C/574, 618.
confessed ppl.adj. confessed, repentant C/578.
confessioun(e)s see confessioun.
confessiþ pr.3 sg. acknowledges C/817.
\[confessour(e) n.\] one who hears confession C/618; confessours pl. D/254, T2/207.
confirmacioun n. verification, ratification C/175, 354.
confusioun n. action of confounding, confutation; discomfiture T1/63.
conme(n see under can
connynge, cunnynge vbl.n. knowledge, understanding, skill D/29, 84, 390, T1/14.

connynge ppl.adj. skilled, competent, knowledgeable D/23, 26, 37.

conscience n. conscience, internal conviction of right or wrong T1/41, 42, 55, 56, 189, T2/8.

conseyue inf. to perceive, understand C/226.

consent inf. to agree to T2/135.

constreine pr.pl.subj. C/1045.

contemplative adj. meditative, in ~lyue, the enclosed life of a monk or recluse C/911.

contentyed pp. contained, included T2/189.

continuance n. persistence, continuation C/702.

contynuel(ly)che adv. continually, constantly T1/166, 186 etc.

contynuen inf. to persist in, continue T1/193; contynuep pr.3 sg. T1/178; contynue pr.pl. T1/171.

contrari(e) n. opposite D/369, T2/54, C/143, 269 etc; contraries pl. T2/358.

contrari(e) adj. contrary, opposed to, contradictory to T2/393, 395, C/61, 108, 418, 1014.

contrarie adv. opposite C/1009.

contrariopath. 3 sg. (+ prep. to) contradicts, opposes, is contrary C/531; contrarien pr.pl. C/74, 96, 377, 389, 417, 989; in phrase ~ togeteder, oppose one another C/529.

contrarious(e) adj. hostile, adverse T1/33; in phrase ~ to anotur, mutually opposed T2/80.

contrarious(e) n. contrary state C/526.

contres, cuntres n. countries C/203, 406.

contricioun n. remorse; here eccles: sorrow of heart, penitence for sin C/578, 582, 598.

contunely adv. continually C/581.

cope n. cope, cloak; here eccles: semicircular outer vestment C/738; copis pl. C/744.

corner n. corner; here fig: a small part C/858.
|corsid, cursed, cursud| ppl.adj. cursed, profane, damnable D/445, C/1023, 1024, 1040. anathematized, excommunicated T2/413.

corsid see under cursid

corsynge, cursyngynge| vbl.n. cursing, swearing T1/143, 144(i,ii); eccles: excommunication, in phrase bynde ... bi ~; excommunicate D/116.

cost| n. price, value C/791, 1097.

costi| adj. costly C/793.

costily| adj. sumptuous C/377.

costily| adv. sumptuously C/100.

costom, custom(e| n. practice, custom, tradition T2/337, C/128, 137, 698, 699, 709 etc; costomes, customes, custummes pl. T2/213, C/142, 418, 705, 706, 708, 710, 725 etc.

cote| n. coat, cloak D/478.

counsel, counsell(e| n. body of advisers, council D/5, 197; advice, counsell T2/193, C/63, 602; counseyle, counsaylis pl. advice, commands T1/211, 224.

counfort| inf. to encourage, urge C/1058; counforti pr. 3 sg. T2/176; counforted, counfortid pp. strengthened T2/171, C/739.

counse(y)le(s, counsaylis| see under counsel n.

countrollore| n. official who keeps a counter-roll so as to check on the one in charge of the accounts; hence, steward, household official in charge of expenditure D/305.

court(e| n. court D/2; esp. ~ of Rome, the curia D/33, 173, T2/381, 407, C/285.

coup| see under can.


coueit(e| inf. to desire strongly T2/281, 283, C/109; coueiti pr. 3 sg. C/333; coueityen pr.pl. T2/245, 342; coueited pa.t.sg. C/123; coueite(n pr.pl.subj. T2/251, C/877.

coueityngynge| vbl.n. avarice, covetousness T1/230, 284.

coueitise see couaitise.

coueitouse| adj. greedy, covetous T2/316.
couenaunt n. promise, agreement C/212, 619; theol: agreement between God and Moses, in phrase tabernacle of ~T2/98.

|couent n. religious house, convent, members of that house C/392, 548, 1052; disciples, followers, esp. of Christ T2/189, C/376, 395; of the pope in the phrase anticristis ~C/439; couentes pl. C/405.

couer inf. to cover, clothe T2/56; couered pa.t.sg. T1/141.

couetise, couoytise see couaitise.

cowardise n. cowardice T2/349, C/214, 1054.

cowardly adv. in cowardice, in a cowardly manner T2/102; cowardly C/936.

cowde see under can.

|craft n. trade, art, occupation, C/55, 59, 895, 897, 922; skill C/508, 561; craftis pl. C/40, 929, 938.

creature n. person, human being T2/145, 190, C/925; creaturis pl. T1/182.

cressing vbl.n. growth, action of increasing C/689.

cri(e inf. to ask, beg, in phrase ~mercy, beg for mercy T1/206, 207, T2/330; crien pr.pl. shout, announce publicly; transf. and fig: advertise, show C/721; cried pa.t.subj. T1/173.

criengye, cryynge vbl.n. supplication, prayer T1/202, 203.


Cristondom n. Christendom; here transf: the church of the faithful C/503.

crokepr pr.3 sg.intr. turns aside, changes direction; here fig: deviates C/265; croken pr.pl. C/39.

|chronicles n.pl. tales, narratives, esp. of history C/148, 166, 194, 286, 497.

cropon ppl.adj. crept C/11.

crowe n. cry, crow; in phrase kockis ~, the first canonical hour T2/195.

crowned pp. given a crown; here fig: made supreme C/59.

culpable adj. (+ prep. of) guilty of, liable for C/906.

cum(m)e see under come
cumpanyes see companye.
cunnynge see connynge.
cuntres see contres.
curates, curatis n.pl. priests with spiritual responsibility ('cure of soul'), esp. parish priests C/484, 551, 563, 564, 568.
cure n. care, attention; here eccles: in phrase ~ of mennes soules, benefice with spiritual care D/302, 311.
cursed ppl.adj. see under corsid.
cursid pa.t.sg. damned, cursed T1/141; corsid, cursed, cursid pp. C/512, 514, 523, 561; eccles: excommunicated D/117, T2/158.
cursed see under corsid pp.
cursedli adv. sinfully C/567.
cursyne see corsyne.
cursud see under corsid ppl.adj.
curteis adj. gracious T2/201.
custom(e(s, custummes see custom.
custumable adj. customary, habitual T2/61.
dai(e n. day D/158, C/961; in phrases all ~ continually, all the time D/17; ~ o dome, judgment day, D/303, C/121, 742, 755; pis ~ today, nowadays C/188, 1018; nist and ~ all the time C/382; on pe ~ in pe ~ in the daytime T2/195, C/820; ~ to ~ day in and day out T2/151; moni ~ many a day D/190; as adj. iche ~, daily C/647; daies pl. D/362, C/304.
daliance n. flirtation, intimacy (here, in fig. and transf. sense) C/833.
dampnabel, dampnable adj. worthy of damnation C/667, 955.
dampnacioun n. damnation, condemnation T2/170.
dampned ppl.adj. condemned, damned C/483.
dar pr.pl. dare D/444, C/221; pr.sg.subj. D/77; durst pa.t.sg. T2/156.
dawen, doune prep. down T2/8; in phrases betene ~, born ~, overcome D/61, 191, 449.

dec eyued, dec eyuen see under disc eyue.

declare v. to explain, expound C/19; declarep, declarip pr.3 sg. C/8, 599; declared pp. D/74, T2/210.

|decrees, decreez(e n. ecclesiastical laws especially those issued by the pope, canon law D/180, 232, 339, 401; in phrases clerkes o ~, canon lawyers D/43, 281: doctare of ~, doctor of canon law D/32, 381; boke of ~, Decretum Gratiani D/246; glose of ~, the glosses of Gratian and others on the decrees C/599.

|decretal(e)s, decretalles n.pl. papal letters having the force of law within papal jurisdiction T2/236, 256; in collocation decrees and ~ D/233, 339.

dede, deed adj. dead, lifeless D/362, C/11, 23, 25, 68, 234, 632 etc. [OE dead]

dede n.sq. deed, action T1/26, 233 etc; T2/40, 259, C/59, 627; dedes, dedis, dedus n.pl. actions T1/31, 85, 190, T2/9, 196, C/116, 520, 753 etc; ~ of mercy, ~ seven, the seven works of mercy D/103, T2/417. [OE død]

dede v. see under die.

|dedeli, dedelyche, deedely(che, deedly adj. mortal, in the phrase, ~ synne/s D/299, 300, T1/170, 172, 173, 176, 179, 186, 196, 205, 208 etc.

deden, deed adj v. see under do.

deed n. see under ded(e), adj.

deel n. mourning, grief C/12.

deepe adv. deeply T2/75.

deepr see under die.

defamest pr.2 sg. dishonour, disgrace C/850; defamep pr.3 sg. C/883; defamed pp. C/844.

defau(J)te n. fault, defect T2/156; in phrase in ~, faulty, at fault T1/124; lack, absence of in phrase in ~, lacking, for want of C/899; defaultis pl. C/426.

defautep pr.3 sg. fails, sins T1/124.

defend(e inf. to defend, protect, to speak in defence D/243, 246, 248 etc, T2/16, C/1003, 1065; defendi pr.3 sg. C/366; defendid pp. D/245.
deformed pp. disfigured, misshapen, distorted (OED, MED v. (1)); or formed, fashioned, delineated C/36 (OED v. (2)). [both from L deformare; see commentary]
defouled, defoulid ppl.adj. defiled, dishonoured, morally polluted T1/188, 189.

|degree(e n. rank, estate, social condition T2/89; eccles: rank in the ecclesiastical hierarchy D/342, 379, C/128; ~ of scole, university degree D/28; degrees pl. C/*110.

dekenys n.pl. deacons; eccles: name of an order of ministers, here applied to the Levites, an inferior order of Jewish priests T2/108.
dele n. portion, share D/212.
dele inf. to distribute, share D/101; delinge pr.p. D/103.

|deliberacioun n. deliberation, consideration, due thought T1/72, 84(i,i,ii), 86, 88, 89, 90 etc; (+ prefix bifore-) forethought, intention T1/70.
demen inf. to judge, adjudge, consider T1/152; demep pr.3 sg. T1/150; demynge pr.p. T1/147.

|demynge vbl.n. judgment T1/144.
deny .v.intr.inf. to deny, refuse T2/205, C/800; v.trans. to fail to acknowledge, denounce, disown C/1098; denyen pr.pl. T1/190, T2/392.
departe v.intr.imper. go away, depart T2/412; departid pp. (+ prep. from) T2/52; v.trans. departis pr.3 sg. divides, separates T2/63; departid pa.t.sg. T2/14; departen pr.pl. divide, share C/532; departed pa.t.pl. C/329; departid departid pp. T1/338.
departing vbl.n. (+ prep. from) separation from C/289.
depe adj. deep C/311: fig: serious, profound C/467; depepest adj.superl. most intense, most profound C/901.
depli adv. seriously, profoundly C/872.
deppest see under depe.
deseyuen, deseyue~ see under disceyue.
deseyuyng vbl.n. action of deceiving, deceit C/1080.
desert(e n.(1) wilderness. C/50, 176, etc. [O.F. desert, eccles.L. desertum, from desertus, pp. abandoned]
desertis n.pl.(2) worthiness, what is deserved, in phrase wi'pouten ... ~, without having deserved, undeservedly T1/113, 149. [O.F. deserte from v. desservir, to deserve]
desyre n. wish D/30.
desire inf. to wish C/685; pr.pl. D/176.

dessaiuep see under disceyue.

destruccione, distruczione n. destruction, ruin D/265, 463.

|dep(e n. death T2/264, 288, C/539, 958; (connoting persecution) C/214, 308, 318, 1044, 1046; in phrase don to ̃, to kill C/274, 430.
dette n. debt, obligation T1/348, 352.

|deuel n. Satan T2/414, C/13; transf: devilish person C/1062; deueles moupe, pit of hell D/320.
deuys n. scheme, arrangement; in adv. phrase at poyn ̃, perfectly, precisely, in perfect order C/291.
deuocioun n. religious fervour, worship, piety C/775, 792.
deuo(u)rse, diuorse n. dissolution, separation; here transf. and fig: estrangement C/673, 834, 846.
deuoute, deuowte adj. devout, pious, reverent C/818, 819.
did see under do.
differrence n. distinction T1/335; in phrase settip ̃, makes a distinction, discriminates T1/134.
diffyneden pr.pl.subj. bring to an end, settle T2/358.
dignitees n.pl. titles and marks of high rank or office T2/*251.
dippe inf. to immerse, soak C/769.
discencioun n. disagreement, discord C/730.
disciples, dissipills n.pl. followers, esp. of Christ D/235, 478; transf: in phrase antecrist ~, the religious orders D/243.

discrescioun, discussion n. discrimination, moral or rational discernment C/589, 1040; in phrase ~ of resoun, rational understanding, good sense T1/71.

discreteli adv. prudently, judiciously C/823.

discriuepr 3 sg. describes, defines C/10.

discriuynge vbl.n. action of describing, description C/8.

disper(e n. despair, hopelessness T2/164, 202.

disperde see under dissperde.

dispersing vbl.n. distribution, in phrase ~ of chirches, distribution to churches C/780.

dispensores n.pl. stewards, treasurers D/130.

dispensacioun n. exemption from church law, special licence to dispense with church law C/359.

dispenses n.pl. expenses, costs, means of sustenance C/90, *555.

dispensid pp. (+ prep. wip) excused from an obligation, granted exemption or release T2/123.

dispergepr 3 sg. dishonours, discredit, damages C/60.

dispite n. to despise, hold in contempt C/503.

dispiritiden pa.t.pl. debated, contended in argument T2/3.

disposing vbl.n. attitude, inclination, disposition T2/247.

dispreue inf. disprove, refute (or perh. disapprove of, disallow, OED v. 3, MEDv.c) C/23.

disputusum n. formal debate, reasoning, argumentation T1/2, 7.

dissaiites n.pl. deceit, false appearances D/444.

dissaiue see discyeuie.

dissipills see disciples.

dissolue inf. destroy, do away with C/1034; dissouled pp. C/1000; disassociated, disbanded C/674, 985.

disspende inf. (of time) to spend, pass C/140; dispende pr.pl. (of money etc.) distribute, dispense C/781; dis(s)penden pr.pl.
spend, use, consume C/86, 92, 134; dispended pp. (+ prep. in) spent on, distributed among D/276.

distincoun n. differentiation, distinguishing mark C/703.

distourbelen pr.pl. harm, disturb C/577.

distried, distroyed(d, distrowed, distrowed see destrie.

distruccione see destruccione

disturbed ppl.adj. confused, distressed C/913.

disturbeling vbl.n. agitation, disturbance, action of disturbing C/576.

disturbulance n. disturbance, harm C/489.

diuite n. duty, moral obligation Tl/326.

diuers(e adj. various, different D/169, T2/222, C/160 etc.

diuersite n. variety C/975.

divided ppl.adj. separated, set at variance, in phrase among himself, at odds with each other C/839.

|divinite n. theology, in phrase maistere o ~, university master in theology D/36.

division n. partition, division C/732.

diurse see deuorse.

|doctor(e n. university graduate; in phrases ~ of decreeze, ~ of [pe popes] laxe, the highest authority in canon law D/32, 39, 380; doctoris, dott(o)uris pl. C/992; in phrase pese foure ~, the four doctors of the church, Gregory the Great, Ambrose, Augustine and Jerome C/126, 281.

doing(e vbl.n. action, performing, carrying out D/383, T1/77, 78, 107 etc, C/943; business D/275, 438; doynges pl. actions D/264; in phrase worldly(e ~, worldly affairs D/229, 388.

|dom(e, doome n. judgment T2/167, 169; in phrases ~ place, court or headquarters T1/28; daye o ~, judgment day D/304, C/122, 742, 755; justice, righteousness T1/378.

|domesday(e, domysday day of judgment T2/104, 124, 298, 311, 314.

do(o, don(e inf. (substitute for v. or vbl. phrase D/208, 226, T1/19, 76, T2/174, C/76, 196, 507 etc; v.intr. to act, perform, accomplish, fulfill D/342, 468. T1/81, 82. T2/78, 88, C/119, 401 etc; in phrase to ~ wip, to be concerned with, associated with D/19, 218, 340. T2/287 etc; v.trans. D/114, 120, T1/64, 105, T2/122, C/95, 269 etc; dos pr.2 sg. D/26; dostow enclitic form of dost pow D/457; doit, doo, dop pr.3 sg T1/358, 359, T2/76, 145,
C/405, 569 etc; in phrase ~ *awaie*, removes C/575; do pr.pl. D/267, T1/85, C/95, 196; doip pr.pl. T1/85; don(e, doun pr.pl. T1/19, 37, T2/105, 134, C/102, 412, 431 etc; do pr.sg.subj. D/242, T1/177, 187, C/269, 1007; do imper. T1/79; in phrase ~ wele, D/349; doyng pr.p. T1/81, C/*627 etc; did(e pa.t.sg. and aux. in periphrastic pa.t. T1/124, T2/10, C/291, 429 etc; deden pa.t.pl. C/135; did(e)n pa.t.pl. D/202, 207, 209, T2/308, C/135, 192, 393 etc; dide pa.t.pl.subj. C/484; iden pp T1/286; don, don(e, doun, idon pp. D/156, T1/64, 185, 203, T2/11, 136, C/116, 579, 594 etc; in phrase ~ (*...) to dep, killed C/274, 430.

dott(o)uris see under doctor(e).

do see under do(o).

double adj. double, twice as much T1/233.

doumbenesse n. reticence, silence; here fig. and transf: neglect of preaching C/508.

doun pa.t., pp. etc. see do(e).

doune prep. see dawen.

dout n. doubt, uncertainty D/15, 29.

douten pr.p. doubt, dispute T2/394.


|dowing vbl.n. endowment T2/352, C/243, 327.

drawe inf.intr. to pull, fig: to endure T2/137; drowe v.trans. pa.t.sg. pulled D/488; drawn, drawyn pp. fig: pulled, attracted T2/48, C/330.

drecche inf. to trouble, afflict C/13.

drede n. fear C/214, 937; doubt, in phrase (*it is)no ~ (*there is)no doubt : C/150, 438, 522.

drede inf.intr. (+ prep. von) to fear C/872; drede pr.1 sg. refl. D/21, 42; drede pr.pl. D/276; dreden pr.pl. T2/133; drede imper. D/349.

dreynite pp. drowned, submerged; fig: sated T2/300.

drink(e n. drink D/432, T2/55, C/965.

drink(e inf. to drink T2/187, 206, C/461; drynkip pr.3 sg. T1/100.

drinkynge vbl.n. action of drinking T2/185.

dritt n. dirt, dross; fig: anything worthless T2/243.
dryuep pr.3 sg. drives, forces C/556; dryuen pp. (+ adv. out), expelled C/12.

drounken ppl.adj. drunk, sated C/963.
drowe see under drawe.
duely adv. duly, in due and proper time or manner T2/173.
dueil see under dwell.
duryng vbl.n. duration, term, in phrase bodily ~ aiue, the term of the physical life T1/181 (see commentary).
durst see under dar.
dwellynge n. habitation T1/323.
dwellynge ppl.adj. living, in phrase ~ cite, place of habitation T1/322.
ech(e adj. each, every T1/9, 12 etc, C/789.
ech(e pron. each (one) T1/338, 340, C/473.
edificacione n. action of building; here fig. and theol: in phrase make ~, to build up in faith and holiness, to impart moral and spiritual stability and strength by suitable instruction D/61.
edifie inf. to build; here fig: to improve, strengthen spiritually and morally D/107.
eelde, elde n. length of life, years, age C/20, 750, 975; maturity T2/315.
eende, end(e n. conclusion D/460, 506; purpose T2/373(ii); finality, completion; in adv. phrases uipouten ~, infinitely T2/74, 217, 311, 373(1); at pe last ~, at...wittes ~, in pe ~, finally, at the extremity D/454, T2/173, C/972; (as adj.) infinite T2/373(i).
eese n. comfort, prosperity, pleasure, leisure T2/73.
eecte n. attainment, operation, in phrase in ~, in fact, actually T1/147.
eft(e adv. likewise C/121, 464.
efter prep. see after
eftesoones adv. immediately T1/21.
eijen, ijen n.pl. eyes T1/37, 236 etc., C/812.
eiste num. eight C/70, 75.
eir(e n. air T2/267, C/485.
eipir adj. either, each T1/8.
eke adv. likewise T2/146, C/465.
elde see eelde.

|election n. election, choice C/252.

elles, ellis adv. else, otherwise D/448, T1/66, T2/361 etc; in phrase as either D330; or or else, otherwise D299, 378, T2/397, C/80, 447 etc; for for otherwise T2/257, C/414, 905 etc; not not otherwise D/116.

elles adj. other D/78; else, in phrase not nothing else T2/99.

|emperer, empyre empire, kingdom D/139, C/239.


empyre see empere.
enclinyng ppl.adj. inclined, disposed T2/53.

encroche inf. to seize, acquire illegally D/410.

end(e see eende.

endurid ppl.adj. hardened, indurate T2/333.

enemyes n.pl. opponents T1/260.

enfecte ppl.adj. diseased; here fig: tainted with fault or false doctrine T2/249.

enfourned pp. informed, taught D/227.

englaymed pp. covered with a sticky substance, soiled; here, fig: ensnared, enslaved D/210. [origin obscure]

eny adj. any T2/135 etc; see also any, oni.

enyping pron. anything T2/354; see also anyping, oniping.

ensample, ensaumpil, ensample n. example, exemplar, model D/471, T1/229, 268, T2/22, 48, 215 etc, C/726.
ensaumple inf. to give an example, to exemplify T1/272, 280, 281; 
ensaumpli pr.3 sq. T1/98; ensaumpled, ensaumplid pa.t.sg. 
T1/274, 275.

entent n. intention, purpose, design T2/246, 249, C/667, 874, 876.

enuey, enuye n. resentment, envy C/83, 524, 680.

epistil, epistle n. letter, esp.of the apostles T1/116, T2/232, C/435; 
epistilis pl. C/176.

equyte n. righteousness T1/232.

erd(e, erp(e n. ground T2/75; the physical universe C/421; human 
society, world D/51, 66, T1/303, 314, T2/11, 215, C/86, 218 etc.

ere n. ear C/582; see also here.

ereyne n. gen.sg. spider, used attributively in phrase webbe, 
C/1092. [var. of arain, vreyyn, spider]

[eretikis, eritikis n.pl. heretics T2/339, C/48. See also heretike.

]eritage, heritage n. that which devolves by right of inheritance 
T2/95; inheritance, the fact of inheriting T2/109, 116(i); 
anything given as a legal possession T2/112, 116(ii).

erre inf. to err, go wrong, deviate, stray C/250, 297, 1033; erri pr.3 sq. C/217; erred pa.t. C/296, 304, 604.

]error(e n. fault, sin T2/169, C/288(i,ii), 289, 310; theol: false 
belief T2/161, 332, C/159, 255, 467, 573, 695; error(e)s, 
erroris pl. C/150, 324 etc.

erst adv. in the first place, earlier D/435.

ert see under be.

erp see see erd(e

]erpely(che adj. mundane, worldly T1/326, T2/316, 325; secular T1/328, 
C/793, 1066.

es see under be.

eschewe inf. to avoid, shun C/109; eschewed pa.t.sg. C/159.

eskip 3 sg.pr. asks, demands T2/169; see also ax(e, aske.

ete inf. to eat T1/99, 248, T2/110, 186, C/709; eti pr.3 sg.pr. T1/100; 
pr.sg.subj. C/103.

eting vbl.n. eating T2/180; eccles: observing special feasts T2/185.
euen(e adv. exactly, consistently T2/11, C/714, 715; equally C/717; (as intensifier) right, just C/30.

euer(e adv. ever, always D/164, T1/172, 182, T2/216, C/182, 247 etc.; in phrase ~after, for ever D/155; (as intensifier) D/419; (added to pron.) what ~ gode, whatever good D/399.

euericher(e adj. every, each D/207, T2/31, 190, C/37 etc.; ~ a man, everybody D/238.

euerlasting vbl.adj. perpetual T2/170, 413.

euerlastingly adv. perpetually C/348; for ~, for ever T2/320; ~more aftur, ever afterwards C/961.

euydence, euydens n.sg. evidence T2/395, 397, C/268; euydensis pl. T2/368.

euilty adv. ever, always D/292, 383.

euvidence n. to examine, consider critically C/1099; examine imper. C/520.
|exessse n. extravagance C/791; in phrase in ~ of, excessive amount or provision for C/133, 385; excessive concern with C/790.

excusacions n.pl. excuses, defence D/322.


exiled pp. excluded, cast out C/83.

expowne inf. to explain, interpret C/444; expownep 3 sg.pr. C/1075; expoune pl.pr. C/449.

expresse adj. explicit, plain C/589.

exposiciones n.pl. explanations, interpretations D/486.

|fabeles, fabellis n.pl. stories, fictitious narratives; (perh. also transf: falsehoods) C/148, 780.

face n. face; transf: external appearance C/468.

fader, fadir, fabur n. biological father T1/139, 140, C/868 etc.; founder, precursor, progenitor C/187, 204, 206; in phrase forme ~ T1/113; spiritual leader C/204(ii); in phrase gosteliche ~ D/250; God, the father of Christ T2/11; fabur poss. T2/20; faderis pl. forefathers C/199.

fagist pr.2 sg. sooth, assuage, flatter C/848; fagen pl.pr. C/671; faged pa.t.sg.subj. C/861. [etym.unknown]
fagyng vbl.n. flattery C/207.

fayle intr.inf. to fail, be lacking, to cease D/355, 357, 360, T2/404, 405, C/972; faileþ, failîþ pr. 3 sg. D/504, C/466, 496; faileþ pl.pr. C/146, 472, 474, 874; failed, failîid pa.t.sg. D/363; in impers. construction in phrase hym ~ witte, he lacked understanding C/932; failed, failîid pa.t.pl. C/188; faile pr.sg.subj. D/361.

fainyng, feynyng vbl.n. pretence, deceit C/754, 882.

faire adj. fine, powerful, convincing C/175; beautiful, fine C/775.

|faiþ(e, feiþ n. faith, belief, esp. religious faith T2/211, 388, C/685, 944; doctrine, dogma C/574; in phrase in gode "; certainly D/34, 97, 196 etc.

faytour n. imposter, cheat T1/194, 197.

|falce, false adj. untrue, erroneous, spurious D/486, T2/124, 362, C/12, 89, 340, 343, 392, 395, 397, 569, 748, 777, 987, 1052; disloyal, treacherous, untrustworthy D/316, 317, T2/136, 151, C/1, 6, 10, 275, 454, 563, 567, 997; as a term of logic, false T1/9, 10, 24, 25.

falle inf. to fall T2/404, C/121; fall(e inf. to happen, befall, occur D/333, C/103, 617, 690; falleþ, fallîþ pr.3 sg. C/665, 692, 1031; falle inf. (+ prep. fro) to depart from C/342, 356; fallen pr.pl. C/357; falle inf. (+ prep. in) fig: to fall into a state or condition C/121; fallen pr.pl. C/105, 611 etc; pp. D/211; falle inf. (+ prep. to) to belong to, pertain to T2/358; falleþ, fallîþ pr.3 sg. C/55, 565, 795; fel(le pa.t.sg. C/484; pl. C/101.

false see falce.

|false(ly adv. falsely, wrongly C/177, 368, 430, 440, 470.

falseness(se n. falsity, dishonesty C/201; faithlessness, dishonesty C/318.

fals(se)hed n. falsehood, deceit T2/353, C/541.

faren inf. fare, get on, behave T1/329; farest 2 sg.pr. T2/386.

|farisee n. pharissee T1/235; fariseses pl. T1/370, 373; see also pharessee.

fast adv. eagerly, zealously C/749.

|faste pr.1 sg. abstain from food T1/237.

|fastynge vbl.n. abstinence from food as a mode of discipline T1/235, 302, T2/180, 188, C/776, 822; fig. and transf: refraining, abstaining T2/200.
fastre adj. comp. firmer, more steadfast T2/316.

fatte adj. plump, well nourished C/24.

faust(e), faute n. fault, blemish C/357, 358; neglect C/484, 888, 904; in phrase in his~ by his fault, by default D/251; faustes, fawttes pl. C/157, 866.

favorabil adj. partial, approving of, showing favour or good will; partial D/38.

fawour n. favour, approval, good will C/214.

feblip 3 sg.pr. weakens, impairs T1/260.

feede inf. to nourish; here transf. and fig: teach T2/233; in phrase goostly~ to give spiritual instruction T2/239; fedip pl.pr. fig: gratify C/812.

feel pl.pr. experience, know T2/305; felen pr.pl. C/428; feele pr.subj. T2/153.

[feend(e), fend(e n. enemy, here esp. any enemy of the Lollards T2/155, 156; the arch-enemy, the devil T1/355, T2/5, 17, 120, 138, 163, 213, 251, 316, C/39, 41, 152, 204, 309, 403, 469 etc. transf: Antichrist, in phrase ~ ... losed C/166; a devil C/639; fendes pl. damned spirits, devils C/343, 483; transf. and fig: friars C/539.

feile adj. many, in phrase (with uninflected pl.n.) ~ sipe, many times C/505.

feyne inf. to feign, dissemble, deceive T2/297; feynten pr.pl. C/430; feyned pp. invented, contrived T2/406, C/238, 399, 771.

feyned, feynid pl.adj. false, insincere D/222, 442, T1/232, 304, T2/213, C/405, 571; contrived, invented T2/374; (+ prep. to) C/344. See also feynt.

feyning see faintyn.

feynt adj. (1) false, dissembling, counterfeit T2/207; feebler, failing, weak T2/387. [OF feint, pp. from feindre, v.]

feynte adj.(2) feeble, weak, failing T2/387. [OF feintir]

feirernesse n. fairness, honesty, uprightness T2/59.

feip see faipe.

felawis n.pl. companions T1/334.

felen see under feel.

felyng(e vbl.n. experience, awareness, esp. spiritual or emotional T1/156, C/147.
fell(e) pp. see fall(e).
fellenes n. deceit, treachery C/151.
fend(e) see feend(e)
fer adv. far (away) T2/162, C/758, 825.
ferforp, forforpe adv. far away C/311; in phrases so ~pat, to such an extent that D/214; a(l)s ~ a(l)s, as much as D/464, T1/244, 251.
ferpe adj. ordinal fourth C/707.
ferper adj. further, additional D/161.
ferper, forper adv. farther D/451, 458, T2/285, C/622; moreover, in addition C/668.
ferthyn n. farthing T1/366.
feastes n. banquets, entertainment with feasting C/91.
fewe adj. few T2/338, C/53, 221; as pron. few people D/378.
fiep pl.pr. strain out, clean out C/683 [OED fey, feich v. 2; MED feien, fyn etc. v.2 from OI feogja, to cleanse; cf. OED fie, MED fiern, v. 2, from OF fier, to cry fie, to disparage; see commentary]
fifte adj.ordinal fifth C/824.
fyger(e n. form, symbol T1/320; theol: representation, prefiguration D/54, C/187.
figured, ifygured pp. prefigured, symbolized D/96, T1/235, C/182.
fyselid pp. corrupted, defiled T2/209.
fist(e inf. to fight, struggle, contend D/488, 491, C/1055, 1058; fiste3 sg.pr. C/209; fousten pp. T2/179.
fisstting vbl.n. battle, fighting C/1056.
fyle n. file, instrument for smoothing or sharpening; here fig: for correcting or criticizing T1/8.
filled pp. (+ prep. of) filled with, endowed with T2/282.
fynger n. finger T1/327.
f|fire n. fire, flames C/274.
firmament n. heavens, sky C/184.

first, furst adj. ordinal first D/117, T1/90, T2/15, C/157 etc; fig: primary, basic D/234, T2/393, C/372, 537; as pron. T2/226, 302, C/106, 285, 551, 715, 779 etc; primeval T2/386.

first(e, frist) adv. at first, firstly T1/78, 80, 337, T2/252, C/229, 288, 370, 658.

fisches, fisses n.pl. fish C/64, 68.

fyue num. five C/778.

fyuep adj. ordinal fifth T2/107.

flaterynge vbl. n. insincere praise D/261; flatering(e)s pl. D/264, C/93.

fle(e, fle3e inf. to escape from, shun T2/22, 199, 215; fle imper. C/1010.

fleynge vbl.n. shunning, avoiding T1/78.

fleschely adj. carnal, unregenerate T2/155.

flodes n.pl. streams, deluges C/66.

flok, floke n. flock, band; here transf. and fig; body of Christians whose shepherds are priests with cure of soul T2/233, 245, 253.

floreschon pl.pr. decorate, embellish C/222 (OED v.7); or flaunt, display ostentatiously (OED v.10; see commentary).

fode see foode.

folc, folke n. folk, people D/53, 55, 60, T2/236, 239, 413, 224, C/53, 1070.

|fole, foole n. fool, stupid, ignorant person C/283, 342, 1023, 1031; jester C/648; foolish poss. T2/257 (see commentary); foles, folis, foolis pl. T2/141, 281, C/32, 249 293 etc. [OF fol, n. madman]

foli(e n. folly, stupidity T1/123, 125, T2/141, 365, C/255, 560 etc; folies pl. C/770. [OF folie, fol, foolish, mad]

foly adj. foolish T2/154, C/635; see also foole.

folily adv. foolishly T2/106.

folis adj. foolish C/1033.

folis n.pl. see folc.

folk(e see folc.)
for(eo, folwe inf. to follow, obey D/88, 93, T1/288; foloweþ pl.pr. (+ pre. of) result from D/441; folowen pl.pr. pursue, haunt C/675; folwynge pr.p. T1/119.

fonde, fondoun see under fynde.

fo(o)de n. food, sustenance T2/29, 274, 276, C/95.

foole adj. stupid, foolish C/406

fooles, foolis see under £ole.

for adv. far, in phrase ~ forþ, far away C/311.

for cj. (in clause that states a reason or cause) for, because, since D/9, 10, T1/4, 9, T2/10, 19, C/8, 27 etc; as, in as much as T1/204; but ~, because C/336; except for C/174: unless, T1/103,140; so long as C/1007; elles, otherwise T2/257, C/905,953; 3ef (for) if D/170, T1/171, T2/382 etc; ~ al if, even if C/24; ~ all be it, although D/378: ~ pat, because D/347, T2/344(i, ii); ~ certes, to be sure, certainly C/107.

for(e) prep. for, on account of, because of D/114, 121, T1/225, T2/8, 26, C/173, 215(ii) etc; out of, in phrases ~ schame D/145(i), T2/60; ~ wantynge, T2/31; ~ contrariousté C/526; ~ pride, T2/347; concerning, as regards, about T1/199, T2/291, 295, C/774, 962 etc; in favour of, on behalf of D/155, 361, T1/6, T2/229, 233, C/213(i), 312(ii) etc; ~ hem/himself, on his/their own account T1/340, T2/139; for the sake of D/261, T1/357, C/4, *110, 213(1), 425 etc; for the purpose of D/273, T2/242, C/127, 150, 794 etc; against D/299; in exchange for D/435, 436, T2/24(1), C/379, 525 etc; in phrase ~ mede, for a bribe C/615; as, corresponding to T2/393, C/293; in phrase ~ alle one, all as one T1/135; for the space of, during (a period of time) in phrase ~ (... ) tyme T1/21, T2/24(ii), 310, C/348, 961, 972 etc; ~ evermore, forever T2/320; ~ pe moost part, mainly T2/28(i), (as purposive particle, pleonastic with to, for to and inf.) ~ to, ~ ~ to, in order to D/43, 313, 347, 350, 389, T1/99, 272, C/13, 19, 245, 317 etc.

forbedip 3 sg.pr. forbids T2/135, C/1045; forbed(e, forbet pat.sg. D/132, T2/49, C/346; forbede jussive subj. in phrase God ~, God forbid T2/355, 359, C/346, 726; forboden pp. forbidden D/230, 274 etc.

forbot n. prohibition D/393.

fordop 3 sg.pr. vitiates, destroys C/846.

forfendeþ 3 sg.pr. prohibits, excludes C/94.

forforpe see ferforpe.

forged pp. made, created; fig: fabricated, invented C/177.

forgeten, forseten pl.pr. forget, neglect T2/103, 104, C/537. forseten pp. D/331.
forgetting vbl.n. forgetfulness T1/93, 97.
forfeuen pp. see under forsyue.
forseyuennesse, forseyuenesse n. remission, pardon T1/149, T2/177.
forseyue inf. to forgive, pardon, excuse T2/201; forseyuen pp. C/584.
forme adj. primeval, archetypal in phrase ~ fadir, progenitor T1/112.
forme, fourme n. model, example T2/234, 235, 253, 415; outward manner, appearance T2/248; prescribed usage, in phrase in his ~ correctly T2/346; the wording or style of writing (as distinct from sentence) C/21.
formicacioun n. lechery; here fig: unfaithfulness towards God, as by idolatry C/398.
forrid ppl.adj. furred, trimmed with fur D/*26.
forsokyng vbl.n. renunciation, repudiation C/371.
forsope adv. truly, indeed T1/20, 259.
for(e adv. away, out (spatially) C/310; transf: in phrases teche ~ tell ~, tell more, explain further D/64, 106.
forper adv. farther, further D/451, 458, T2/285; see also ferper.
forpered pp. advanced, supported D/465.
forpermore, furpermore adv. moreover, in addition C/571, 671, 664, 688.
forpgoynge vbl.n. progress, transf: further discussion D/45.
fou(e adj. shameful; fig: morally or spiritually polluted T2/234, 242, 325; fouler adj.comp. T2/209.
foules, fowles n.pl. birds T2/270, C/29.
 founded pa.t.sg. founded, established C/198, 199; pp. grounded, based on C/60, 80. [L fundare, OF fonder]
founden, fondon see under fynde.
foure, fourre num. four T2/375, C/15, 27 etc.
fourme see forme
fourth, adj. ordinal fourth T2/93, 396, C/202, *244, 462.

fowled, ppl. adj. polluted, defiled C/62.

foure, see foure.

foxes, n.pl. foxes T2/266, 269.

|fraternite| n. brotherhood, religious order, in the phrase letter of, letter granted by a convent entitling benefactors to share in the benefits of its prayers C/1103.

|fre(e| adj. free, at liberty, unencumbered, unrestrained D/223, T2/150, 185, C/1070; generous, magnanimous T2/203, C/945.

|fredom| n. liberty C/476.

|freely, freli| adv. freely, unreservedly T2/40, 203, C/66, 473, 682.

freeltee, n. frailty, weakness T2/387.

frendis, n.pl. friends, allies T1/6.

|freere| n. friar T1/3, T2/182, C/9 etc; poss. C/935, 982; ~ Austynes, Augustinian order C/171, 192; ~ prechouris, Dominican order T1/27, C/167, 173, 737; ~ Menoures, Friars Minor, Franciscan order C/739; freeres, freris pl. D/254, 261, T1/225, 271, C/7, 22 etc; poss. T1/335, C/362, 468 etc.

frist, see first(e adv.

fro(m| prep. (place, position) from D/2, 314, T2/8, C/394 etc; her, from here C/342; (expressing negation, denial, abstention, subtraction etc) from, out of, in phrases fastyn, schaping, excusid, purgep, passe(n (...)) ~ drawyn ~ T2/49, 200, C/138, T1/114, 225, 308, C/954; from (time) T2/263, 285, C/188, 298; ~ to, T2/150; from, out of (cause) C/676; (expressing withdrawal) away from D/239, 262, 290, T2/255, C/16 etc; of, from, out of D/223, T1/114, T2/162, C/309; against D/243, T1/79, T2/56; from among C/704; (denoting relationship) in, with respect to, from the point of view of C/653; for, on behalf of, with respect to C/100.

fruate, fruyt(e, frute| n. fruit, crop T1/361, 362, fig: result, reward T2/252, C/97, 492, 512; fruytis, frutes pl. T1/374, C/104.

ful| adj. full, wholly made up of T2/216, C/381, 524.

ful| adv. completely, wholly C/218; in phrase ~ for to praise, wholly to be praised C/832; very C/758.

fulfille| inf. to perform, obey T1/212, 217; fulfillip 3 sg.pr. T1/219; pr.sg.subj. T1/218; fulfillen pl.pr. T1/210, 211; pr.subj. T2/377; fulfillid pp. obeyed T1/221.
fully adv. wholly T2/294.

furst see first(e adv.

furthermore see furthermore.

gabbyng vbl.n. lying, falsehood, deceit T2/388; as proper name, alias Satan, Lucifer T2/4. [from ME v.gab, OF gabb, to mock, deride; probably onomatopoeic]

gader, geder inf. to attract C/698, 699; gedere inf. to collect, gather C/91; to collect, lead C/890; gaderen, gederen pr.pl. C/133, 911; geder pr.pl.subj. C/540; gadered, gederid pp. C/94; (+ adv. togeder) assembled C/185; gedere inf. to understand, infer, deduce C/521.

gaf see give.

galpe inf. to yelp; also to yawn, open the mouth wide, transf. and fig. to desire to obtain C/68. [cognate with Middle Dutch gaipen, to bark]

game n.sg. amusement, revelry, festivity D/426; gamen n.pl. sport, pleasure C/486.

gardeyn n. garden T1/263, 264.

gates n.pl. ways, manner of doing something, in phrase on many ~, in many ways C/55. [ON, OI oata, path, cognate with ME manyoate(s, adv.)

gau see under give.

geder(e see gader

general adj. general, broad, comprehensive C/980; in phrase schrifte ~, general confession C/601, 602, 621.

gentilleste adj. superl. most noble T1/1.

gete inf. to acquire, procure C/383; refl. T2/268; (+ prep. of) C/538.

getyng vbl.n. (+ prep. of) acquiring T2/242.

gift n. gift D/156, 172; giftes pl. D/262; see also 3ef.

gile pr.pl. defraud, deceive C/991.

gilt inf. (+ prep. to) to sin against D/22.

girdel n. girdle, belt (here, of a religious habit) C/37.

giue inf. to give D/239; gaf, gaue pa.t.sg. D/86, 95. See also jeue(n, v.
glad adj. pleased D/31.

gladlich adv. happily D/24; gladlyer comp. more gladly, graciously T2/192.

glenen pl.pr.refl. (+ prep. to) glean, gather, acquire, in phrase ~ to hem, acquire for themselves C/538.

glorious adj. splendid C/812.

|glosatowres n.pl. interpreters, those who gloss a text C/219.

|glose n. gloss, explanatory comment T2/118, C/599, 604, 607; glosis pl. in phrase false ~, specious interpretations C/343.

|glosen pr.pl. interpret, comment on C/987.

|glotoun n. glutton, person with an intemperate appetite C/965; glotoun(e)s pl. C/470, 962, 963.

gnatte n. small insect C/683.


|God(d, God(e God, D/11, 22, T1/9, T2/*1, C/44 etc; poss.sg. God's D/19; God(d)es, God(is poss. God's D/8, T1/182, T2/28, C/117 etc.

|gode, good(e n.sg/pl. goods, wealth D/263, 329(i), 397, 399(i, ii), 413, 433, 434, 436, 437, T1/350, T2/52, C/371, 513; goodness, benefit, advantage T1/79(i,ii), 105, 106, C/129, 130, 161, 569, 608 etc; godes, goodis pl. goods, property D/8, 131, T1/255, 284, T2/65, 78, C/81, 87, 133, 329 etc.; good things C/137.

gode, good(e adj. good, reliable D/108, T1/41, T2/43, C/155 etc; in phrases in ~ saip, by my pledge D/34, 97 etc; ais ~, D/329(ii), 351.

godeli adj. used as n. a virtuous person D/471 (see commentary).

|Godhed n. theol: the Divinity, first person of the Trinity T2/16, 22, 303.

Godward adv. towards God D/203, 256.

goodenes, goodnesse n. virtue T1/146; comeliness, value C/766.

goon see under go.

|go(o)st n. theol: the Holy Ghost D/492, T1/286, T2/282, C/409, 575.

|go(o)stly(ch(e, gosteli(ch(e, gostily adj. spiritual D/136, 250, 387, T1/145, 293, T2/29, 33, 47, 241, C/398, 658 etc.; ~ chirche(s, the
spiritual rather than physical aspects and function of the church C/795, 797 etc; in collation bodily .../or ~, T1/293, 295, T2/416.

gostili adv. spiritually T2/239, C/14.

|gospel(l n. scripture D/69, 128, 296, 379, T1/277, T2/23, 32, 261, C/72, 73, 80 etc; esp. with reference to the four gospels D/131, 132, 231, 356, 499; T1/365, T2/221, 265, C/42, 52, 75 etc.

gost(e see go(o)st n.

goste v. see under go.

go\p see under go.

|gouernaile n. control, mastery, authority D/220, 423, 425.

|gouernance n. rule, government C/208.

gouerne inf. to govern, rule, control D/334, C/270; gouerned, gouernid pp. D/6, 193. 380.

|grace n. graciousness, good will D/90, C/68, 120; theol: unmerited favour D/427, 452, 459, 505, T1/149, 181, T2/127, 162, 211, C/129, 769; in phrases Goddes ~, ~ of Crist, D/287, 445, T1/113, 114, 180, 319, C/305, 583, 869; graces pl. T1/180.

granten see under graunt inf.

graunt(e n. donation, privilege T2/296, 326, 331; agreement, concession C/892.

graunt inf. to allow, permit, agree to T2/328; graunte 1 sg.pr. C/116, 635; graunte\p 3 sg.pr. C/969; graunte pr.pl. T2/149, 291; graunt(en) pr.pl. T2/390, C/762, 905; graunt jussive subj. D/446. T1/379: graunted, grauntid pp. D/73, 125, T2/393; ~ to, allowed D/125.

gredily adv. greedily, with avarice C/532.

greet, gret(e adj. much, great D/4, 55 etc, T1/335, 368, T2/62, 307; large, huge D/314, C/24; supreme D/142; severe D/315, T2/365, C/288; weighty C/196, 278; major, important C/9, 646, 682, 992; over ~ extreme C/342; gretter(e comp. more severe D/300, T1/178; grettetest(e most important T1/18; most T1/158; most severe T1/160, 169; ~ and mich, full, supreme D/142.

grege\p 3 sg.pr. increases C/44; greynge pr.p. T1/194. [aphetic form of aggrege]

grene adj. green; here fig: living, vibrant C/29.

gresse n. grass C/29.

gret(e, grett(e see greet.
greteli(ch adv. a lot, much D/144; severely D/214; abundantly, generously D/25, 210.
gretenesse n. the great number C/227.
gretter(e, grettest(e see under greet.
greue¶ pr.3 sg. makes heavy, aggravates (OED v.1b) C/829.
greuosliche adv. grievously, seriously T1/192; greuouselokere comp. T1/197.
gronded see under ground(e, inf.
gronde n. foundation T2/76; fig: support T2/36, C/878; fig. and transf: basis for doctrine or opinion, reason, fundamental principle T1/159, 160, C/915.
grounde inf. to depend on, rely on C/79; ground inf.refl. to base oneself on C/1087; grounded, grunden pr.pl.refl. C/165, 322; grounden pr.pl.subj.refl. T2/343; grounded pa.t.pl.refl. C/323; gruned pa.t.subj.pl. established, proved C/941; grounded, grounded, groundid, grundid pp. (+ preps in/on/onto) based on T1/282, C/111, 567, 644 etc; established, proved T1/283, T2/298, C/345; igrounded pp. T1/50, 55.
growe inf. to grow, increase C/503; growen, growyn pp. matured, developed T2/162, 294.
grucchen pr.pl.subj. (+ prep. after) grumble, murmur about/for T2/276; grucched pa.t.pl.subj. (+ prep. aeng) C/306.
grucching vbl.n. grumbling, complaint T2/159.
grunded, grunden see under ground, inf.
grundely adv. thoroughly, authoritatively C/144.
gulardes n.poss. of goliard(s, buffoon(s C/72.
gulles n.pl. throatfuls, mouthfuls; transf: speeches, talk C/68. [MED gole n.(1) and (2)]
jęf(2e see juelve, v.
jęe 2 pron.sg./pl. you D/130, T1/20, T2/94, 116 etc.
jęea, jée adv. (as exclamation of confirmation) certainly, indeed T1/207, T2/25.
jęef inf. see juelve.
jęer, jere n. year, in phrases once in ōe ~ bi ~ annually D/119, C/590; ōer, jere pl. T2/9, 320, C/172, 178.
sef cj. if D/227 etc; for ~ if D/170; seue D/47, 115 etc; but ~ unless D/241, 333; for ~ D/119, 312, 423 etc; pan ~ than if D/251, 258, T1/358 etc; ~ pat, if D/429. See also sif, if.

seffep see seeve, v.

sleft, sifte n. gift, donation D/161: theol: grace C/979; seftis, siftes pl. C/916, 967. See also gift.

selowe adj. yellow T1/330.

senge adj. young T1/120.

ser(e see seeer.

serne inf. to desire, long for T2/199.

sestes n.pl. acts, deeds C/769.

set adv. yet, besides, still, nevertheless D/161; sut C/54, 478, 609; see also sitt(t.

seue cj. see sef.


seuynge vbl.n. donation, act of giving T1/347, C/785, 932.

sif inf. see under seue(n.

sif cj. if, whether D/359, T1/48, T2/321, C/62 etc; in phrases pan ~ then if D/173; but ~ unless D/317, C/307 etc; for ~ , T1/171; al ~ even if C/305; sifue if D/266. See also sef, if.

sifte see under sleft: see also gift.

sildynge vbl.n. repayment, paying back T1/352.

sis adv. yes D/137.

sit(t cj. yet, besides, nevertheless D/125, 150, 227, T1/33, 43, 93, T2/138, 261, 399, C/218, 430, 534 etc; see also set

sit pron. it C/144.
3iue cj. see 3if.
3yue(n see under 3eue(n).
3oc n. yoke; here fig: instrument denoting restraint T2/138.
3ollynge pr.p. (+ prep. aeps) howling, crying out T1/309.
3onge adj. young T1/126.
3ou, 3owe 2 pron.nom./objective cases D/342, 348, T1/2, 7, T2/225, C/637 etc; refl. yourself, yourselves D/341, 385 etc.
3our(e poss.prn. D/391, T1/2, T2/226 etc.
3ouen see under 3eue, inf.
3owe n. youth C/135.
3ut see under 3et.

habe~ see under haue.

habit(e n. clothes C/670; esp. those worn by a religious order T1/181, C/761, 763, 766, 767; habites pl. C/769. See also abite.

d(e)n see under haue.

hald inf. to hold; here fig: to keep, maintain D/310; see also hold(e).

half n. half D/139; behalf. in phrase o pis ~ god, for God's sake, on God's behalf D/19. [MED 7a, b]; (or on God's side, as one of two opposing sides in a contest, MED 6c).

haliday n. holy day, a consecrated day, Sunday T2/32.

halow inf. to sanctify, consecrate C/236; to purify C/678; halowe~ pr.3 sg. C/686; halowid, halwid pp. T1/117, 120.

halowing vbl.n. purification C/237.

han see under haue.

hand, hond n. hand; fig: in phrase beren ... on ~ accuse, charge D/224, 284; control, in phrase Goddis ~ T2/380; handes, hondes, hondis pl. hands C/574; instruments of manual labour T1/29, 225 etc; transf. and fig: possession, control, in phrase in ... ~, in possession D/213, 418, 421, 429, 440.

hande~ pr.3 sg. depends T1/216. [transl.Vulgate pendet]

hard(e adj. strict, harsh D/303; difficult, troublesome C/91, 696; over ~, very troublesome C/336.
hard(e) adv. harshly, in phrase you gaste ~ to me, you treat me harshly D/269.

hardy adj. bold, rash, foolhardy T2/281.

harlot n. vagabond, knave, jester; man of licentious habits, prostitute C/363; (male; first cit. applied to women, 1432, 1483); harlates, harlotes pl.C/62, 506, 507.

harm(e) n. injury, damage; fig. and transf: deceit, moral evil C/69, 405, 553, *640 etc; loss, ruin D/315, C/492; harmes pl. evil C/572, 656.


harmenge vbl.n. ruination C/163.

harneyes n. harness, equipment; fig: in phrase priue ~ sexual organs T1/142.

hast see under haue.

hate inf. to hate, abhor C/327, 691.

happe see under haue.

haunted pa.t.pl.subj. frequented C/51.

haue inf. to have, possess D/146, T1/200, T2/54, C/99 etc; in phrase ~ to done wip, to associate with D/19; (as aux.) D/156, T1/286, T2/58; pr.1 sq. D/4, T1/238; (as aux.) D/15, T2/46, C/116 etc; pr.2 sg. D/135; (as aux.) D/37; pr.3 sg. T1/245; (as aux.) T2/123, 202; must (p inf.) in phrase (p inf. construction) I ~ to sei; must C/112; has, hast pr.2 sq. D/28, 30; (as aux.) D/80, T2/289 etc; has pr.3 sq. (as aux.) D/192; happe pr.3 sq. D/142, T1/26, T2/267, C/41 etc; pr.pl. (as aux.) D/164, T1/192, T2/112, C/128 etc; (as aux.) D/14, 16, C/489; habbe pr.pl. D/201; han pr.pl. D/49, T1/246, T2/17, C/379 etc; (as aux.) D/14, T2/171, C/231 etc; haue(n) pr.pl. D/123, T1/156, T2/314, C/205, 644 etc; (as aux.) D/35, T1/150, C/223 etc; in phrase ~ gode knonyng; understand well D/445; hauep pr.pl. T1/27, 31 etc; haue sg.pr.subj. T1/243, T2/202, C/373, 549; pr.pl.subj. T2/77, 98; jussive subj. T2/274; hauynge pr.p. T1/33; hadde(st) pa.t.sg. D/160, T2/30, C/120, 376 etc; (as aux.) D/36, 153, T2/57, C/429 etc; hadde(n) pa.t.pl. D/434, T1/350, T2/303, 312, 315, C/155, 327, 328 etc; (as aux.) D/281, T2/3582, C/434 etc; had pp. T2/312.

hauynge vbl.n. possessing T1/30.

haunted pa.t.pl.subj. frequented C/51.

heade(e, heyed, heued n.(1) head T2/267, 272, C/574; fig: chief, leader D/53, 68, 184, 199, C/197, 235, 1070 etc. [OE hēafod n.]
hede, heed(e), n.(2) heed, care D/477, T2/222, C/323, 423 etc. [OE hēdan v.]

he(e)le n. health, well-being, welfare T2/88, 90; fig. and transf: salvation C/614. [OE hælu]

heestis see heat(e)

heeyed see hede n.(1), and on this morphology, see commentary to D/53.

heijest see heije adj.

held(e) see hold(e).

hele n. see he(e)le.

hele inf. to cure, heal; here fig: restore, cleanse C/561, 562; help pr.3 sg. T2/410; helid pp. D/153; fig: C/564. [OE heðlan v.]

helle n. hell T1/160, 162, C/343, 545 etc; fig: loss of the bliss of heaven in phrase payne of . T2/413, C/244.

help(e n. assistance, aid D/273, 279, T1/315, T2/241, C/429, 862 etc.; in collocation to & help, for the assistance and well-being D/103, 367.

help(e inf. to assist, to be of use to, to benefit D/216, T2/41, C/141 etc; helpi7 pr.3 sg. C/87, 717 etc; helpe jussive subj.sg. C/875; helpinge pr.p. T1/278; holpen pp. D/215

|help(e n. health; here fig: (of the soul) well being D/104, 335, 368, T2/249.

hem pron.pl. acc. and dat. them D/106, 117, T1/19, 20. T2/27, 40, C/2, 7 etc; refl. themselves D/16, T1/306, T2/184,C/82,153 etc; in impers.constructions ~ own, they ought T2/67; ~ nedip, they need T2/187(i); ~ nedid, they needed C/67; ~ lacked, they lacked C/155.

hemself pron.pl.refl. and emphatic, themselves C/*165, 197, 526 etc; hemself T1/234, 250, T2/144 etc.

henesse n. loftiness of rank, high position, in phrase ~ of pe world C/109. See also hijenesse.

herby see under here, adv.

herbis n.pl. plants (as opposed to weeds) T1/263; transf.and fig. desirable way of life T1/257.

herd(e see under here v.

her(e pron.pl.poss. their D/93, 175, T1/29(i, ii, iii), 31, T2/21, 24, C/23, 44 etc; in phrase ~ bope, both their T1/278.

here pron.sg.poss.fem. her T1/279.

here adv. here D/51, 66, T1/314, 315, T2/9, 47, C/92, 440 etc; in this case D/131,132,C/629; prefixed to prep: her(e)bi, by this D/134, C/472;
herfor(e), therefore, for this reason T2/66, C/293 etc; hereinne, in this matter C/943; herfro, hence C/342; heroffe, of/from this C/728; herto, for this C/979.

here n. ear D/488. See also ere.

here inf. to hear D/293, C/293, 295(ii); in phrase of, listen to C/295(i); herip pr.3 sg. T2/192; heren pr.pl. T2/364; here pr.sg subj. T2/191; herimper. D/*137, T2/290; herde pa.t.sg. T1/7; herd pp. T2/289, 397.

herer(e)s n.pl. audience, listeners T2/146, C/20.

heresie n. heresy, doctrine contrary to received teaching C/673, 887, 1104; heresyes pl. T2/359, C/694, 1097, 1100.

heretike, herityke n. one guilty of heresy, esp. one who impugns the pope T2/378, C/211; heretik(k)es, heretikis pl. C/315, 523, 786, 889; see also eretikis.

herfor(e see under here adv.

heritage see eritage.

herip see under here inf.

hermites n.pl. hermits C/*50.

heroffe see under here adv.

hert(e n. heart; here fig: source of emotions D/82, 390, C/583 etc; in collocations moup and ... D/409; ... soule & ... mynde C/853; hertis pl. source of moral awareness T2/53.

herto see under here adv.

hes sg.pron.poss. his C/376.

hest(e n. command, esp. one of the ten commandments T1/9, 220, 253 etc; of God T1/12, 184, 231, 249; he(e)stis pl. T1/9, 13, 46, 119, 210 etc, T2/67, 113, 119, 169, 173, 415.

hepin adj. heathen, pagan C/128.

heue inf. to raise, lift; in phrase up his isen, fig: to pray T1/305. [transl. Vulgate levar e Luke 18.13]

heued see hed(e n.(1).

heuen(e n. heaven, kingdom of heaven, everlasting bliss, spiritual blessing D/70, 71, 187, 201, T1/127, 158, 167, 303, T2/8, 43, 48, 214, 241, C/28, 86, 127, 263, 305 etc; as adj. in phrases blisse of, blisse T1/155, 157, 161 etc, T2/216; fig: obedience of, spiritual obedience C/1064; fig: air, sky T2/266, 270, C/29.
heueneelyche, heueneely adj. divine, spiritual T2/324, C/28.

heueneelyche adv. virtuously T1/299.

heuen(e)ward adv. towards heaven; transf. and fig: towards spiritual perfection, salvation T2/41, C/30.

heuyer adj.comp. heavier, more burdened T2/286.

hid(de) ppl.adj. hidden, secret C/576; (+prep. vnto) C/660.

hide ppl.adj. hidden, secret C/828.

hidip pr.3.sg. hides C/445; hide pp. (+prep. fro(m) C/752, 828.

hiding(e) vbl.n. action of hiding, secrecy C/577, 885.

hie3este see under hie3e adj.

hiep see under hie3e inf.

hie3e adj. high, principal C/106, 804(ii); elevated, important C/123, 126, 233; impressive, fine C/373, 385 etc; heijest, hie3est superl. greatest T1/53, T2/81, 329, C/901.

hie3e adv. high up C/233.

hie3e inf. to elevate C/777; hiep pr.3 sg. C/54; hie3ed pa.t.sg. C/932; hie3ed pp. C/784.

hie3ed ppl.adj. elevated, important C/55.

hie3enesse n. greatness (of quality) C/753; see also henesse.

hie3est see under hie3e, adj.

hil inf. to conceal, cover T2/184. [OE helan]

hyl(l)yng(e) vbl.n. covering, clothing T2/274, 276.

him pron.sg. (objective cases) him D/52, T1/*26, 54, T2/13, 212, C/10, 103, 356; refl.and emphatic himself D/19, T1/327, T2/31, C/102 etc; in impers.constructions pat ~ ajt to have, what he ought to have D/396; ~ most hold it, he must hold it D/424; ~ nedede, he needed D/433; als ~ likid, as he liked D/438; for ~ do not, because he does not C/1007; wantip, he lacks C/25; failed wiitte, he lacked wisdom C/932.

himselff pron.sg,refl. himself D/11, T2/112, C/75 etc; itself C/*830; himself T1/115, 130, T2/57, 68, 113 etc.

hir pron.3 sg. (objective cases) her T2/387, 388, C/620; pron.poss. her T2/88(i, ii).

hyred pp. engaged, hired D/312.
his(e pron.poss. his D/5, T1/74, T2/2, C/11 etc; impers. its T1/24, 67, T2/315, 346, C/495, 810.

hit pron. nom. and accusative it T2/336, 354.

hode n. order, rank, condition; esp. holy orders C/486. [OE ħād]

hold(e inf. to acquire, own, have in possession D/423, 424; hold(en pr.pl. T2/17, C/*557; ho(o)ld(e inf. to uphold, maintain obey, keep D/354, T2/88, 119, 230, 318, C/474, 945; holden, holdin pr.pl. C/952; subj. C/950; helde pa.t.sg. T1/212; held pa.t.pl. C/169, 948; helden pp. T2/337, C/811, 893; holde pr.2 sg. consider, believe D/181; hold pr.pl. D/198; holde pr.pl.refl. D/167; helden pr.pl.refl. T1/306; held pa.t.pl.refl. D/207, 208; helden pa.t.pl. T2/352; helden pp. C/915, 916; holde inf. to keep, enclose C/453; holde, iholde pp. obliged, bound, beholden T1/96, 242, 244, 254, C/1065, 1068.

holding vbl.n. keeping, observing C/830.

holi, hooli adj. holy D/400(ii), 403, 414, T1/6, T2/175, C/750, 1023 etc; in phrases ~ chirche, D/6, T2/1, C/*4 etc; ~ wriht, D/11, T1/50, C/147 etc; ~ gost C/409 etc; ~ abbot, T2/185, 188.

holiche, hooli adv. wholly, completely D/417, C/890, 900, 948.

holines(se, hoolynes n. holiness, virtue D/443, 460, T1/270, T2/179, C/340.

holpen see under help(e).

home n. home, dwelling place, as adv. to their home T2/20; transf: friars' convent T1/334.

hond see hand

honeste adj. honest, fitting C/1096.

honesteliche adv. honourably, respectably D/154.

honour n. worthiness, high moral value, good reputation T1/6.

hool adj. whole T2/65.

hoold see under hold(e).

hooli adj. see holi.

hoolynes see holines(se.

hoolis n.pl. holes T2/266.

hoomly adv. familiarly, intimately T2/10.

hope n. expectation C/517.

hore n. whore, prostitute C/835; hores pl. C/751.

horedam, horedom n. prostitution; fig: idolatry, deviation from acceptable religious practice, in phrase kynrede of ~ C/43, 655, 751, 839.

hors n. horse D/377.

hou, how(e adv. how D/137, T2/94, C/49 etc; ~ pat, how T2/86, C/323; as rel.pron. what C/676.

hour(e n. time, moment in phrases last ~, ~ of dep T2/168, 288.

how(e see hou.

hous(e, howse n. house, shelter T2/21, C/376 etc., eccles: convent or monastery D/294, C/990; houses, housis, houses pl. homes T2/21, C/51; in adv. phrase out of ~, outdoors C/821; convents C/202, 373, 377, 385, 388, 465, 801, 804, 811, 812 etc.

hundered, hundre~; hundrid num. hundred D/251, T2/320, 375, C/172.

hungri adj. hungry; here fig: eager, greedy T2/199.

i- participial prefix T1/21, 22, 50, 163, 204 etc., C/136.

iche adj. each T2/44, 145, C/16, 141 etc; as pron. T2/88, C/1093; see also ech(e.

idampned see under dampne.

ydil adj. pointless, worthless T1/369.

idon see under do.

if cj. if T2/23, 25, C/89, 97 etc; in phrases a/ ~, even if C/24, 548 etc; as ~ T2/3: bot ~, unless D/367, T2/12, C/229 etc.; see also 3ef.

ifygured see under figured.

ifound see under fynde.

ignoraunce n. ignorance, lack of knowledge T2/172.

igroundid see under grounde inf.

ijen see eijen

iholde see under hold(e.
i-justified see under iustifie inf.

ilke adj. same, in phrase *pat* "that same one C/259.

illigence n. want of diligence, carelessness T2/172. [*il-* assimilated form in L. of negative prefix *in-* before initial *l*-; first cit. 1496]

imad, imade see under make.

ymage n. likeness T2/367; ymages pl. idols, statues, carvings C/812.

imarked see under marke.

indicatif adj. grammatical: the mood of the verb which states a relation of objective fact T1/24.

inedide see under nediþ.

in(ne adv. (denoting position) in, with *vv.*, bringiþ, comen, put, reste etc T2/200, C/154, 157, 315, 376, 641, 797 etc.

in(ne prep. (denoting position) in D/2, T1/27, T2/11, 57, C/50 etc; at D/32; on, on to T1/55; into D/315 etc; throughout D/65, T2/117; by, with D/12, 34, C/12; within C/66, 103, 990 etc; (denoting time) within D/392; during D/45, T1/237, T2/19 etc; from, at T1/96, 165(ii), C/38, 958, 972; (denoting relationship) within, among D/363, 364, T1/8, 296, C/6 etc; on C/60; in, with respect to D/134, 165, 387, T1/77, 79, T2/166, C/21, 59; by T1/74, 88; T2/121; for the purpose of D/55, 67, 320, T2/27, 28, C/90 etc; according to T1/26, 275, 282, 309; by means of, through, by the power of, with D/59, 293, T1/203, 301, T2/40, C/56, 377 etc; into T2/14; (denoting state) with, in, in a state like, in phrases ~ doubt, in doubt D/15, 29, ~ a were, troubled D/15; ~ (his) kynde, naturally T1/67, C/205 etc; ~ vast, wastefully C/81; ~ iawnes, with jaundice T1/330; ~ rauyne of symple bestis, in a state like ..., T1/309; ~ will, with determination D/126, T1/193(ii); ~ synne, sinful T1/125 etc; ~ defaulte, faulty T1/124; ~ mercy, with mercy T2/39; ~ conscience, according to conscience T2/7; ~ covetise, into covetousness D/211; (denoting state of affairs) in phrase ~ (…) office, in a secular position D/33, 304, 311; ~ destruccione, to the ruination D/265; (introducing adv. phrases) ~ sopenes, in truth D/125; ~ als Miche, in as much D/41, T1/299, T2/131, C/300 etc; ~ maner(e), ~ mani maners, in a way, in many ways D/3, 8, T1/30 etc; ~ mesure, moderately T2/35; ~ pis mater(e), in this affair D/22, 29.

innocens n. innocence, the pre-lapserian state T2/324.

innocentis n.pl. those who are innocent T2/312.

inobedient adj. disobedient C/443.

yno3e n. enough, plenty D/480.
yno3e, inou3, inow(e adv. enough, sufficiently T2/101, 278, C/346, 1075 etc.; generously C/55; in phrases little ~, insufficiently T2/366; longe ~ for sufficient time D/120.

inordinate adj. unregulated, immoderate C/676.

inowe adj. enough C/656.

inparatif(e adj. the imper. mood of the verb T1/10, 24.

inpertinent adj. inappropriate, unsuitable C/763.

impossible adv. impossibly C/654.

impreson pr.pl. imprison, confine C/988; imprisoning pr.p. (+ prep. of) C/765. See also prisoune.

inpunynyn pr.p. (+ prep. of) opposing, giving resistance to C/208.

insensible adj. so slight as to be incapable of being perceived by the senses, imperceptible C/288.

insufficient adj. inadequate C/395.

into prep. into D/275, 404 etc; up to, until C/188; for T1/63 etc; to (of place) T1/366 etc.

l hypocricye, ypocrisie n. dissimulation, hypocrisy C/40, 120, 122, 468, 487, 721, 1080.

lypocrite n. hypocrite C/31, 113; y pocrites, y pocritis pl. C/377, 757, 825, 966.

ypocrit(e adj. hypocritical C/654, 827.

irekened see under rekenes.

irreligiouse n.pl. those hostile to religion; here transf: the friars T2/136, 178.

is see under be.

ispende see under spende.

istabled see under stabed.

it pron.impers. it D/24, T1/6, T2/34, C/7 etc; ~ is, there is D/277; see also hit.

itau3t see under tech(e)n.

itself pron. itself C/588; see also himself.

yuel(le n. wickedness, evil T1/79, 107, C/133, 496 etc.
yuel(le adj. wicked T1/44, 66, T2/254, C/155, 387 etc.
yuel(le adv. badly, wickedly C/506.

iweddid see under wedded.

iauels n.pl. low, worthless fellows D/458.
iawmes n. jaundice T1/330.

iogy, joye n. bliss, pleasure T1/159; transfl. and fig: salvation T2/6.
iuge inf. to judge T2/6, C/269, 755; pr.1 sg. C/114; pr.pl. C/468;
iugement n. judgment, decision, in phrase be ~ of reason, by a rational
decision C/225.
iuges n.pl. judges C/396.
jjust adj. just, righteous T2/166, C/1029.
jjusticie, justicie n. justice C/711, 455.
jjustifie inf. to justify C/117; i-justified ppl.adj. absolved,
vindicated T1/308.

joye see ioye.
justicie see iustic.

|kaies n.pl. keys; here transfl. and theol: symbol of the spiritual
power conferred on Peter and his successors D/70,
kannot pr.1 sg. am not able C/71; see also can.

kep(e inf. to save, preserve D/246, 248, 303, T2/245, C/120, 960 etc;
keping pr.p. C/15; kept(e pp. D/245, C/727, 1091; kepe inf. to
observe, obey D/257, T2/68, 220, C/475, 591(i, ii) etc; kep(;
pr.3 sg. T1/222(i,11); kepe(n pr.pl. T1/223, 224, C/412, 441;
pr.pl. C/666, 837; kepid pa.t.pl. T2/237, 414, C/905; kepe
imper. D/45, 342; kep(e pp. D/64, C/700, 898, 971, 984.

keping(e vbl.n. action of saving, preserving D/320; action of obeying,

kestep pr.3 sg. (+ prep. to) speaks against T1/*354. [MED casten
v.12(d); cf. also v.19(c), to add to, augment]
kitchen n. kitchen D/306.
kylde, killed pp. killed C/434, 844.
killeris n.pl. killers, murderers C/1057.

kynde n. nature D/86, T1/252, C/1073 etc; in phrases in (his) ~, porur ~ by nature, naturally T1/67, 122, 165, C/495, 1092; al good of ~ natural good C/149; in ~ or vertues, of nature or virtues C/205.

kyndeli adv. naturally, rightly C/1021, 1022.

kyndenesse n. kind disposition T2/305; kindness, benevolence, favour T2/307.
kynedom, kyngdome n. kingdom, realm T1/328; ~ of heuene, the realm of the Church Triumphant D/70, T1/323; kyndomes pl. D/60.

king(e) n. king, ruler D/4, 16, 40, 76, 169, 170, 177, 189 etc, T1/321; ~ of heuene, God T1/328; kinges poss.sg. D/1, 85 etc; pl. D/63, 143 etc, C/62, 549.

kynrede n. kindred, associated group, race, in phrase ~ of horedam C/42, 654, 751, 838; kynreden, kyndrees pl. groups associated by belief T2/109, C/181, 189.
kirke n. church (Northern form) C/1073; see also chirche.

knawen, knownen ppl.adj. known, familiar D/141, C/7, 288, 428; in phrase ~ to litel, unfamiliar C/922.
nknow see under know(e).

knight, knyjt, knytt(e) n. military man, layman of property-owning rank, champion D/1, 4, 80 etc; ~ of God, ~ to Crist, lay champion of God, perh. Lollard T2/155, C/215; knyjt(t)es, knyttes, knyttis pl. knights, champions, laymen D/5, C/277, 580, 731; in phrases ~ of Crist, our ~, suche ~, lay followers of Christ, here Lollards C/221, 320, 360.

knytt pr.sg.subj. should join together, unite T2/38.

knocked pp. (p adv. out) struck; fig: put an end to, eliminated C/183.

know(e) inf. to perceive, recognize, understand D/28, 75, T2/2, 10, C/2, 97 etc; knowe pr.1 sg. C/137, 404 etc; knowe, knowe pr.3 sg. T1/166, C/614; knownen pr.pl. T1/163(i,ii), 190, T2/181 etc; knowe pr.sg.subj. C/753; knowe pa.t.sg. C/387; knowne pa.t.pl.subj. T2/92, 237; knownen pp. C/241, 399, 1100; know inf. acknowledge T2/87; knowe pr.1 sg. C/118.

knoweleche n. knowledge, information C/659.

knownen ppl.adj. see under knawen.

knowleche pr.pl. acknowledge T1/189; knowlechinge pr.p. T1/307.

koc n. cock, in phrase weder ~, weather cock C/863; kockis poss. in phrase ~ crowe, dawn, one of the canonical hours, presumably Lauds (2.00 a.m.) T2/194.

kumne inf. see under can.

[laborer(e)s n.pl. manual workers, labourers T1/262, T2/73.

lacken pr.pl. lack, are without T1/164; lackynge pr.p. T1/154; lacked pa.t.sg. in impers. construction hem ~, they lacked C/155.

lackynge vbl.n. lack, want T/168.

ladi n. lady, in phrase curre ~ Virgin Mary D/364, T1/278, 286; ladies pl. high-born women C/49, 51, 572 etc.

laie see ligget> • lait> pr.3 sg.trans. lays, places T2/75; leid pp. T2/76. [OE lecgan]

[land(e, londe n. land, dry ground T2/286; realm, nation D/17, 253, 421, 423, 439, T2/94, C/363 etc.; territory, property D/212, 418, 424.

langid see under longe>.

large adj. free; in phrase atte ~, free D/120.

lasse, lesse comp.adj. less T2/260, C/148, 307, 310, #699(ii) etc; in phrases in more ~, in all ways C/857; (ne) more or/ne ~, neither more nor less T1/218, 223; as pron. the less C/682; lest adj.superl. used as n. T1/19.

lasse, lesse comp.adv. less C/267, 508, 699(i) etc; in phrases more &/or (...) ~T2/86, 368, C/296.

lassip pr.3 sg. reduces, diminishes T1/217; lassen pr.pl. T1/261; lassid pa.t.sg. T1/175; pa.t.subj. T1/174; see also lessen.

last inf. to endure, persist, continue T2/319, 332, C/349, 972; laste pr.subj.pl. C/887; lastid pa.t.pl. C/182.

last adv. (of time) last C/1089.

last(e adj.superl. last, final C/204, 716 etc.; in adv. phrases atit pe ~, finally T1/35, T2/378; in pe ~ hour, at pe ~ ennde, finally T2/168, 173; in per ~ daies, finally C/304.
lasting vbl.n. endurance, tenacity C/633.
late adv. lately, recently D/2, C/102.
late imper. see under let.
| Latyn n. Latin D/338.
| law(e n. law T2/83, 102, C/451; in phrases mannens/mennes ~, secular law, either common or civil law T2/113, C/835; emperoures ~, Roman law D/53; ~ syuyl, civil law T1/266; ~ of Ingelond, civil law T1/267; transf. and fig: scripture, divine law T1/216; in phrases [Goddes] ~, D/8, 37, T2/2, 20, 28, C/141 etc; [Cristis] ~, ~ of Crist T2/16, 68, C/142, 153 etc.; ~ of pe gospel T2/32, C/802; old ~, Old Testament, new ~, New Testament D/52, 54, T2/84, 107, 219, C/475, 476 etc.; canon law C/589; in phrases ~ of holichirche D/274, 404 etc; ~ canone, [popes] ~, anticristis ~, ~ of prestis, joure aine ~ D/11, 39, 281, 293, 385, T2/120, 320, 334 etc; lawes, lawis pl. D/164, 168, T2/121, 259, C/446 etc.
lawfully adv. legally T2/375.
lede inf. to lead, guide C/249; lede pr.pl. C/572; led(de pp. D/56, 164, T2/282, 377, C/685; in phrase ~ wit, led by, governed by C/490.
ledger n. leader D/53.
leyinge vbl.n. leading, guidance D/55, C/302.
leefes n.pl. leaves T1/264.
le(e)ue n. permission T2/*66, 331, C/195, 256 etc.
leeue(n v. see leue v.1.
leeuyng e vbl.n. act of leaving, omission T1/76, 80.
left adj. (direction) left T2/412.
left, leften see leue, v. (i).
| leful, leueful adj. permissible, right, lawful C/444, 941. [ME leue, n. leave, permission]
| legeman n. loyal follower, subject of a king D/394, 406; legemen pl. D/253.
legioun n. legion C/1047 etc.
leid see under laip.
leying vbl.n. laying, placing, in phrase ~ of per handes on hede, action of giving a blessing C/574.
lemman n. lover, mistress D/294.

lenen pr.pl. lean, depend upon for support C/272.

lenge adj. long (in duration) T2/177; lenger(e) adj.comp. the longer T1/178, C/971.

leprosiis n.pl. lepers C/52.

leprous adj. afflicted with leprosy (or as n.pl. lepers) C/49.

lepur n. leprosy C/50.

lere inf. to learn D/30. [OE læran, to teach]

lerne inf. to learn D/24, 46, T2/377, C/3; lerned pp. D/338. [OE lærnian, to learn]

lesing(e) vbl.n.sg. falsehood C/199, 200, 201, 202; lesing(e)s, lesingis pl. lies D/264, C/56, 57, 58, 82, 93, 165 etc.; title of ~, an entitlement based on lies C/198.

lesse adj. see lasse.

lesse adv. see lasse.

lessen inf. to reduce, diminish D/18; lessid pp. C/728.

lessinge vbl.n. diminution, reduction D/389.

iste see under lasse adj.

let inf. to allow C/682, 966; leta pa.t.pl. C/158; leta pa.t.sg.subj. D/251; late imper. D/500; lette imper. grant, suffer in phrase ~ telle me, let me be told C/*959; letyn pr.pl.refl. behave T1/294 (OED v.16). [OE lætan]

lett(e) inf. to hinder, prevent D/248, T1/256; letti pr.3 sg. T1/283, 284, C/896; (with purposive particle for ~?inf.) C/215; letti pr.pl. D/253, C/566; letting pr.p. neglecting C/*936; lettid pa.t.pl. C/881; let(t) pr.sg.subj. T2/80, 279; lettid pp. T2/278. [OE lettan]

letter n. letter, in phrase ~ of fraternite (see fraternite) C/1102; lette(r)is n.pl. letters of the alphabet C/182; epistles, possibly either papal dispensations or letters of fraternity T2/384.

lettinge vbl.n. hindrance D/205.

lettrid ppl.adj. lettered, literate D/20.

letturer n. book knowledge, learning T2/30.

leue adj. dear, polite form of address, ~Sir D/326, 406.
leue n. see le(e)ue n.

leue, leue(n v.(1) trans.inf. to leave, stop, abandon, forsake D/302, T1/106, 196, 198, T2/51, 102, C/302, 318 etc; leuep pr.3 sg. C/711; leue(n pr.pl. C/394, 409, 500, 768, 1005 etc; leue jussive subj. C/324, 657; leue(n pr.sgsubj. C/297, 689; leuynge pr.p. C/627, 936, 1024; left(en pa.t.pl. C/330, 951, 953; left pa.t.plsubj. C/764; lefte pp. C/1028; leuen pr.pl. bequeath, leave behind T1/33; left pa.t.sg. C/270; leue v.intr.inf. desist, leave off C/318. [OE lēfan]

leue v.(2) imper. grant, allow, permit C/295; jussive subj. in phrases God may God grant D/451, 459, 505. [OE lēfan]

leuep v.(3) pr.3 sg. believes T1/34 (see commentary). [enclitic form of beleue; OE lēfan]

leue v.(4) pr.sgsubj. live T2/70. [OE lifian]

leuynge vbl.n. abandonment, action of abandoning C/583, 765.

leueful see leful.

leuefully adv. allowably, lawfully T2/24, 34.

|lewd(e, lewed, lewid adj. uninformed, foolish, ignorant C/230, 391; simple and unlearned, i.e. unable to read Latin, in phrase ~ preste, ignorant priest D/456; esp. with reference to laymen, in phrases ~ jauels D/458, ~ peple, T1/306; comone ~ pepil, D/486; ~ men, C/897; ~ rawde men, C/796.

liccherie, lichorie n. lechery, indulgence, lasciviousness D/299; here fig: spiritual self-indulgence T2/62.

liche adj. pleasing C/699.

liche adv. like, the same as C/72.

lickely, licly, likely, likly adj. likely, probable C/276, 311, 483 etc.

lickely adv. probably, likely C/133.

licken pr.pl. lick, taste; here transf. and fig: have a taste for, relish (OED v. 1 b) T1/304. [OE liccian]

lickenesse n. likeness, guise T1/311, 320, 325.

licly see lickely.

|lyen inf. to tell lies, misrepresent C/56; lie pr.pl. C/437, 667. [OE lēogan]

liep see liggep.
lyf, li3f, liif, lijf n. life, existence T2/19, 45, 231, 352, C/25, 116 etc; in phrase in pis ~ in this world T2/23, C/832, 894 etc; bi ~, by precept, action T2/51.

liif inf. to live (+ prep. bi) to subsist on D/278; lyfed pa.t.pl. C/328.

lyflode n. livelihood, means of corporeal sustenance T1/29, 278.

lyft see under li3ften.

liggep pr.3 sg.intr. lies, exists C/227; li3tt pr.3 sg. C/208; liep pr.3 sg. lies down, rests T1/97, laie pa.t.sg. D/362. [OE licgan]

ly3eris n.pl. liars C/59.

li3es n.pl. deceptions, lies C/61.

li3f see lyf n.

li3ften pr.pl. (+ adv. vp) lift up, raise T1/239; lyft pa.t.sg. T1/236.

li3t n. illumination, here fig: spiritual illumination T2/39.

li3t adj. easy, casual C/624, 945; light, economical C/555.

li3tli adv. easily, readily T2/365, C/250, 474 etc; li3tlier comp. C/927.

li3tt see liggep.

li3ttid ppl.adj. lit, illuminated C/684.

liif see lyf.

likely see lickely.

lykynge ppl.adj. pleasing, gratifying T1/158.

likip pr.3 sg. pleases (in impers. construction without expressed subject and dative of person) hem ~, it pleases them C/756; likid pa.t.sg. (impers. construction without expressed subject) him ~, he was pleased, it pleased him D/438.

likly see lickely.

lymes n.pl. limbs, body C/433.

limite in£. to specify; here eccles: to assign within bounds C/615; lymyt pp. appointed, assigned T2/66, 93.

limited, lymytid ppl.adj. limited, confined C/663; in phrases ~ to tyme, time explicitly appointed, confined to a particular time C/603; tyme ~ in certeyne, a particular time, here, the canonical
hours T2/194.

\textit{limites} pl. bounds, boundaries C/458.

\textit{litel, litil(e, lytle, littel}} adj. little, small D/485, T2/30, C/287, 348 etc; short C/820; \textit{inow}, too small, insignificant T2/366; as n. D/338, 374, C/330 etc; \textit{bot} \textit{\textasciitilde}, only a little D/379, 381.

\textit{litel, litil, little} adv. little D/20, T2/366, C/306, 820 etc; \textit{be \textasciitilde} \textit{\textasciitilde}, little by little C/309.

\textit{littelip} pr.3 sg. diminishes, reduces C/829. [OE \textit{lytlian}]

\textit{litet} pr.pl. reduce C/664. [OE \textit{lytlian}; cognate with ME \textit{littenen}]

\textit{lyue} n.sg. life, in phrase \textit{contemplative} \textit{\textasciitilde} C/911; \textit{lyues} pl. lives D/188, C/\*398; living, way of life C/831. See also \textit{lyf}.


\textit{lyueden} see under \textit{liue(n}.

\textit{lyues} see under \textit{lyue} n.

\textit{liuing(e} vbl.n. manner of life D/110, 111, 234, C/326, 258, 287 etc; used as adj. in phrase \textit{euyl \textasciitilde} \textit{prestes} D/292.

\textit{lo} interjection, Look! D/58, 73 etc.

\textit{loki} pr.3 sg. hopes, expects C/104; \textit{loke} imper.sg/pl. consider, examine D/98, C/423; take care T2/196; \textit{lo(o)ke} jussive subj. T2/35, 196, 211, C/831.

\textit{lond}e see \textit{lan}de.

\textit{long(e} adj. long in adv.phrase \textit{\textasciitilde} \textit{tyme}, for a long while D/32, 192.

\textit{long(e} adv. (denoting duration) long D/120, T1/86, 170, T2/161, 165 etc; in phrases \textit{afterward} \textit{\textasciitilde} long afterwards C/171; \textit{how} \textit{\textasciitilde} \textit{sifen}, how long ago C/145; \textit{as} \textit{\textasciitilde} \textit{as}, while, for the duration T1/172.

\textit{longe} pr.3 sg. belongs D/400, 472; pr. pl. D/140; \textit{langid} pa.t.sg. D/490.

\textit{looke} see under \textit{loke}.

\textit{lord(e} n God or Christ D/66, T1/64, T2/110, C/162 etc; ruler, nobleman, owner of property, master D/17, 266, 304, 310, 312, 316, 397, T1/1, 7, 193, C/100, 239, 974, 1042 etc; (as an exclamation) Lord! T2/99, 122, C/619, 661 etc; \textit{lordes, lordis} poss.sg. D/313, 315;

loge adj. hateful, distasteful; in impers. construction with dat. of person, subject not expressed, ~ me were, it would be hateful to me D/395.

luoe n. love, affection T1/220(ii), T2/69, 159, 234, C/331, 422, 522, 530 etc; in phrases Goddis ~, divine love T1/357, 358, C/859; in ~, in their esteem C/858(i, ii).

luoe inf. to love, honour T1/214, 220(i), C/513, 852, *897 etc; pr.1 sg. T1/54, C/867; loue> pr.3 sg. T2/75, C/31, 917 etc; loue pr.pl. C/855; louen, louyn pr.pl. T2/248, C/*897, 910, 919; loue> pr.pl. D/276; loue pr.subj.sg/pl. C/900(ii), 902(i); loued pa.t.pl. C/919, 920; louede pa.t.pl.subj. C/840; loue imperfect T1/213, C/902(ii).

louynge vbl.n. action of loving, honouring C/856(i, ii), 1085.

loue adj. humble, of low rank C/421.

lusty adj. full of desire T2/254.

moad, mad(e, maded, madist see make pa.t.
maded pp. enraged, maddened C/779.
magnifie pr.pl. praise, glorify, C/196; to make greater in importance C/987.

mai pr.1/3 sg./pl. may, can, have/has the power, am/is able D/49, 248, T1/151, 152, T2/24, 161, C/31, 159 etc; as aux. of subj. equivalent, might D/125, T1/158, 212, T2/85, 152, C/18, 440; in collocations ~ or can, can s" ~ D/464, T1/244; mou(e may pr.1, 2, 3 sg. D/28, 134 etc; pr.pl. D/142, 416, T1/251, T2/174; mou(e)n pr.pl. T2/133, 183; mist(e (as aux. of subj. equivalent, with
maynten(e) inf. to maintain, support, uphold D/40, 84, 407, T1/233, T2/42, C/556, 1065; mayntenep pr.3 sg. C/480; subj. D/236; mayntenened pp. D/465.

mayntenynge vbl.n. action of giving maintenance, support T1/229.

maister(e n. master, teacher of the highest order D/36, C/107; master, overlord, legal owner D/87, 88, 435, 437; maystres pl. T1/20.

maistri(e n. mastery, dominance D/270, 284; in phrase be ~, with superior strength D/177, 448.

make inf. to make, create, set up D/61, 313, T1/86, C/89, 252 etc; make pr.1 sg. C/396; makep, maki1> pr.3 sg. T1/92, 95, T2/75, 182, C/889 etc; make pr.pl. C/525; made pa.t.sg. D/68, T2/388; made, mad(e pp D/60, T1/16, 60, T2/74, 367; maked pp C/459, 834; imade pp. T1/22; make inf. to compose, present, bring about D/459; madist pr.2 sg. C/854; makep pr.3 sg. C/569; make(n pr.pl. D/322, C/446, 450 etc; made pa.t.sg. T2/356, C/354, 587 etc; maken pa.t.pl. in phrase ~... a covenant, agreed C/212; maked, made(d, imade pp D/282, T1/333, 345, C/580, 594, 970 etc; make inf. to make, cause, force T1/18, C/156, 551 etc; in phrase ~a gode ende, to finish well D/459; makep, maki1> pr.3 sg. T2/324, C/217, 487; maken pa.pl T2/324, C/510, 573 etc; made pa.t.sg. T2/327; made pp. T2/84, C/674; make inf. to cause to be (p adj.) T1/38, T2/199, 280, C/7; makep pr.3 sg. C/936; maken pr.pl. T2/286, C/667; made pa.t.sg. T2/185, C/243; maken pp. T2/126, 137, etc, C/241.

making(e vbl.n. construction C/775, 779, 795 etc; instituting, initiating T1/336, C/980.

malice, malis n. power to harm, harmfulness (OED adj. 2) D/446, C/428; evil intention, ill-will (OED adj. 4) T1/104.

mameli1> pr.3 sg. prattles, talks foolishly C/1013.

maner(e n. way, method D/42, T2/394, C/388 etc; in (fut) ~, in a way D/3, T1/30, C/608, in the way C/258; on/in no ~ in no way D/115, T2/405; in pehast ~ in the/that way D/233, 241; on good ~, in a good way C/884; suche ~ a way C/378; in adj. phrases all ~, all kinds of D/76, 133, C/107 etc; no ~, no kind of D/100, 136 etc; any ~, any kind of D/171, 433; many ~, many kinds T2/1; pis ~, this kind of C/5, 600 etc; to ~, to the kind of C/1011; practice, behaviour, in collocation entent & ~ C/874; as pl. diverse ~, many ways C/910; maneres pl. kinds of, ways T2/265, C/418; in phrases in-upon many ~, in many ways D/8, C/644; in ~, in their practice, in their way of life, in their own ways C/143; Godes ~, God's ways C/418.
manhode n. human nature T2/302.

many(e adj. many D/8, 371, T1/32, T2/1, 52, C/49, 54; as pron. many people T1/375, T2/27, C/418, 515 etc; see also moni.

mankynde n. mankind, the human race T2/389.

man(n(e n. human being, person D/9, 19, T1/105, 135, T2/34, 74, C/226, 252 etc; a ~ someone D/23, T1/73, C/20 etc; no ~ no one T1/70, C/79 etc; as adv. as a man T2/8; mankind, people D/113, T1/314, T2/58, 135, C/247 etc; adult T1/16; Cristen ~ Christian D/288, T2/131, 150, 210, C/141, 224, 872; in collocations ~ ne woman, T2/411, C/671; ~ a woman C/589; mannes, manner poss.sg. D/104, T1/43, T2/113, C/808 etc; men pl. D/5, T1/19, T2/3, C/13 etc; Cristen ~ D/50, 143, 184, T2/84, 102, 230, 261, C/2, 77, 143, 190 etc; men(n)es poss.pl. D/273, T1/230, T2/52, C/81 etc.

mannys see under man(n(e.

mansleing vbl.n. homicide, murder C/680.

mansleris n.pl. murderers C/435.

mantyl n. cloak C/364.

marchaudis n.pl. merchants T2/269.

marke inf. to notice, consider C/1011; imarked pp. marked, branded (as with a mark) T1/165.

|marteres, martires, merteres n.pl. martyrs C/126, 234, 235, 236.

|martired pp. martyred C/275.

|marturdom n. martyrdom C/1049.

|masse, messe n. mass, the sacrament of the eucharist D/294, 295, 296, C/1090; masses-seiynge celebration of the mass T1/227.

mate inf. to checkmate; transf: defeat C/782.

mater(e n. matter, subject D/13, 22, 35, T2/210, 297, C/5, 220, 227 etc; argument D/459.

matrimonio n. marriage C/938.

maundement(es see under mandement.

mawmet n. idol; here transf. object of affection other than God (OED n. 1 b) T1/354.

me 1 pers.pron. accusative and dative D/27, T2/7, C/135 etc; myself C/120, 861; in impers. constructions with dative of subject ~ pynke, I think, it seems to me D/18, 181, C/71, 124, 151 etc; faylen ~ I lack C/146; ~ seeme, it seems to me C/191, 216; ~ xondepe, I am amazed D/144, 377; lope ~ were, I would hate, it
would be hateful to me D/395; emphatic I drade ~, I fear D/21, 42.

mede n. immaterial reward T1/158, C/742, 781; pecuniary reward, fee, bribe C/615, 616, 781, 829.

medefully adv. worthily, with merit T2/407, C/627.

medelen pr.pl. mingle, mix together C/58, 1080; medelid pp. T2/16.

medelynge vbl.n. mingling, mixture C/154.

meden inf. to reward, remunerate T1/260.

medicyne n. remedy, cure (here fig.) C/564.


mek(e)li adv. humbly, patiently T2/159, 341, 380, C/118; mildly C/870.

mekenes(se n. meekness, patience, humility T1/272, 275, 280, 281, 288, 298, T2/236, 254, C/109, 132, 441.

mell inf. (+ prep. o, of) to mix with D/77; refl. to interfere with, occupy oneself with D/9, 19, 339 etc; mell pr.2 sg. D/388; mell ep pr.pl. D/7; mellid pa.t.pl. D/203.

mellinge vbl.n. mixing, meddling D/323.

membre n. individual person T2/44; membris pl. transf; bodily limbs; here fig. and theol: members of the Christian society C/294, 333, 383.

mendynge vbl.n. enhancement, improvement, in the phrase with pe ~ of joy, for your improvement T1/376.

men(n)es see man(n)e.

mene n. (as a course of action) a measured or middle way, in phrase ~ of vertu(e C/708, 811; (agent) conciliator, intermediary, negotiator D/155.

mene inf. to say, imply D/482; pr.1, 2 sg. intend D/40, 82, 416, 460; ment pa.t.sg. D/152.

merci n. mercy, pity, compassion T2/39, 176, 205, C/119, 878 etc; in phrases seven deeds of ~, workes of ~D/103, T1/273, 297; biddinge God(dis ~, crieng of ~, begging or crying for mercy T1/173, 195, 202 etc, T2/330.

meri adj. joyful; here, in a sound state, in good heart D/337.

merite n. merit, goodness C/432.

merteres see marteres.
meselrie n. leprosy D/154.

| mesour, mesure, mesure n. measure, amount C/473; standard, measurement, esp. connoting moderation C/456, 474, 977; in phrases in ~, with restraint, in moderation T2/35, 78, 187, C/472, 788, 903; wipouyst ~, without restraint, immeasurably C/792.

messe see masse

mesurably adv. moderately T2/56.

mete, mette n. food, meat D/432, T1/23, T2/55, C/960, 965; meal T2/98, C/106.


mi see under my(n)e.

mich(e adj. much, great, many D/142, T1/370, T2/270, 293, C/92 etc; used as n. D/198, T1/100, T2/78, 190, C/434. See also moche.

mich(e adv. much D/21, T1/57, T2/144, C/171 etc; in phrases (in) a(l)s/so ~ (as/p), as much as, so far as D/41, 465, 466, T1/299, 304, T2/78, 131, 284, C/300, 322 etc.

michel n. much D/392; see also mikel

mychelnesse n. greatness, generosity, value T1/363.

myddle, mydel n. middle, mid-point T2/95; as adv. in phrase in pe ~, in the midst C/421.

| myddenyst, mydni3t n. midnight; here theol: the first canonical hour T1/96, 227, T2/194, C/100, 776 816, 819.

mi3t n. power, strength, ability D/86, *93, 288; fig: in phrase of ~, having the physical resources D/216; in collocations ~ and grace, D/90; ~ & power D/65, 96.

mi3t(e v. see under mai.

my3ti adj. powerful D/333, T2/22.

mikel adv. much, in phrase in als ~ as D/237.

mylke n. milk T1/23.

my(n)e poss.adj. my D/21, 59, T2/9, 67, C/116, 862 etc.

mynde n. consciousness, mind T2/83; mental faculty, reason (as opposed to spirit or emotion) in phrase soul & ~ C/853, 918.

minister, minster n. officer, administrator D/149; servant T2/226; ministeris, ministers, ministres pl. in phrases ~ of God, Goddes ~, priests D/130, 134, C/1008.
minister, ministren inf. to administer, serve D/469, C/623.
mynster n. cathedral, monastery C/784, 785.
myracle n. marvel T1/37.
mischeue n. trouble, harm D/332.
misdoers n.pl. miscreants, criminals D/350.
miself pron. (emphatic) myself D/15; misilf refl. T2/400.
misleued pa.t.pl. misbelieved, were faithless D/353. [mis p leue, to believe]
mysschape n. a deformed shape, deformity; here perh. fig: perversion (MED n. b) C/657.
missescrupule pr.pl. (prob.) mis-measure D/286 [1st cit. v. scruple 1625, portmanteau or nonce-word derived from L. scripulum, a small weight; see Arnold II, 201 and WB for use of scripul; not recorded OED, MED]
missespend pr.pl. spend wastefully D/286.
misturned pp. turned in the wrong direction; fig: perverted C/58.
mysvse inf. to use wrongly, abuse C/968.
mo adv. more C/562, 563; 878.
moch adj. much T2/398; as n. T2/269.
modir, modre n.poss. mother’s T1/111, 112, 117; progenitor, in phrase first ; Eve T2/386.
mone, monei, mony n.(1) money D/435(i, ii), 436, 439, T1/259, 262, 266, T2/206, 208, C/85, 92, 93, 499, 525 etc. [OF moneie, n.]
mones n.(2)pl. moons C/184. [OE mōna, n.]
mony n. see mone, n.(1).
monk(e, mounk(e n. man in religious order T1/95, 347, T2/182; monkes, mounkes, mounkis pl. C/154, 954, 1054.
moores wasteland, desert C/174.
moost see under more adj.
more adj. more, greater D/250, T1/373, T2/221, 225, C/231, 251; as n. D/212, 419, T1/99, 210, T2/55, C/119, 134; moost, most(e superl. greatest D/460, T1/1, T2/28, 193, C/48, 102, 255 etc.; as pron. the greatest, the most extreme of the set C/70.
more adv.  more D/17, 190, T1/57, 142, T2/86, 134, C/132(ii), 259;
better, greater C/7, 8 etc.; rather D/258, 270, T1/119, 250,
T2/83, C/132(i), 185 etc; again, in addition D/297; (of time)
further, again, longer D/114, 126, T1/134, 172, T2/9 etc; moost
superl. T2/47, 53, C/193,257 etc.
morne(n pr.pl.  repent, feel remorse, are contrite C/737, 742.
mornyng vbl.n.  mourning, grief; in phrase ~ of synne, contrition for
sin, repentance C/34.
most(e see under more.
most v.  see under mot.

mot, must pr.2 sg.  must D/299, C/297, 1029; most pr.3 sg. in
impers.construction him ~ he must D/424; mot(e pr.3 sg. T2/85,
128, 250, C/355, 590 etc; mute pr.3 sg. T2/331; mot(e)n pr.pl.
D/299, T2/62, 262, C/354, 605, 705, 805 etc; mut(en pr.pl.
T2/287, C/89.

mou3t(e see mai.
moundes see monk(e.

mount n.  mountain C/178.

mou(e, mow(e n.  mouth; transf. and fig: speech, words, testimony
D/59, C/58, 115, 879; entrance, in phrase deueles ~, the entrance
to hell D/320; in collocation ~ ... & herte, word and thought
D/409; ~ ... & tunge, verbal testimony T1/303; mou(e)s pl. C/58.
mouepr pr.3 sg.  moves, urges, prompts, causes T2/1, C/233,244;subj.C/930;
mow(e)n may, see mai.
muk n.  filth, dirt; here fig: property, wealth, money, worldly goods
C/525.
multitude n.  great number T2/410, C/233; in phrase more in ~, greater
in number C/340.
mungeled pp. (+ prep. in) connected with, associated in common action
C/760. [ME mengen with added -e/- suffix, to be involved with]
must see under mot.
mut(e)n see under mot.

naked ppl.adj.  naked, bare, unadorned; here transf: plain, literal,
unglossed; or not supported or confirmed by proof or evidence (OED
adj. 14 c) C/286.
nakidly adv. openly, without reserve, unsupported by other authority C/296.

name n. name, appellation T2/165, 175, C/182, 247; reputation C/849, 862; in phrases in his ~ on the basis of his reputation or authority D/85; porow blowing of ~ to be worlde, making public his name or reputation C/261.

nameli(ch)e adv. in particular, for example D/254, T1/359, C/733.

nappip pr.3 sg. sleeps; here transf: is dormant, ceases C/202.

næpeles, neæpeles adv. none the less, nevertheless D/20, T2/73, C/25 etc. See also neærepeblattere.

nej cj. nor D/9(ii), 19, T1/9, 10, T2/80, 106, C/22, 43 etc.

nej adv. (with another negative) not D/9(i), 88, T2/85, 87 etc.

necessaries n.pl. necessities T2/55.

necligence, necligens n. negligence, carelessness T2/105, C/553, 559, 568.

necligent adj. inattentative to duty, careless C/152.

nede n. need, necessity D/215, T1/243 etc, C/533, 556; as predicative with ‘be’, necessary T1/22, 338, T2/291, C/551, 553, 603 etc; in phrases as myche as ~ is, as far as there is a need T2/284; how myche ~ were it, how necessary it is C/678; wipouten ~, unnecessarily T1/228, 274; nedes pl. affairs (OED n. 9), in phrase worldlich ~D/324.

nede, nedis adv. necessarily, in phrase mote(n ~ T1/318, T2/85, 129, 250, 262 etc.

ned(e)ful adj. necessary T1/99, T2/55, 78, C/579, 595 etc; needy, in want T1/240.

nedi, nedy(e) adv. needy, in want T1/314, 352, C/531, 532, 548.

nedis see nede.

nedip pr.2, 3 sg. need(s, require(s T1/21, T2/328; pr.3 sg.subj. in impers. construction with dative of subject T2/187; nede pr.pl. C/768; nedi pa.t.sg. T2/30, 58, C/251, 264; pa.t.pl. T2/60; nedede, nedi, pa.t.sg. in impers.construction with dative of subject D/433, C/67; nediid, inedide pp. T1/339, T2/58, 317.

nedly adv. necessarily C/705.

neijbore n. neighbour T1/213, 215, 243; neijbores poss. T1/284; pl. T1/250.

nei3ep pr.3 sg. comes near, approaches; fig: comes to resemble C/287; nyed pp. C/1057.
neiper, nei'ipr, nei'ipur, nei'per, noip'er, no'iper, no'aper, now'iper adv. neither C/938; in phrases ne ... ~ nor ... either D/375; ... ne/nor, neither ... nor D/443, T1/9, 29, T2/105, 109, 346, C/321, 506 etc; no ... ~; no ... nor T2/313; as pron. T2/404; as adj. in phrase no ~; no other D/275; ner ~; neither C/715.

ner see under nei'per.

nes, nys is not D/148, 300; nis no, is no T2/345 etc; nys but is only T1/194.

nestis n.pl. birds’ nests T2/266.

nepeles see na'peles.

neuer(e, never adv. never, not at all D/126, 152, T1/124, 273, T2/58, 198, C/77, 248 etc; in phrases ~ non (as intensifier) C/1052; ~ so, no matter how T1/120, 126, T2/175, C/406, 791 etc; ~ more, never again T1/134, 208.

neuerpelattere, neuerpeles adv. nevertheless D/36, T1/68. See also na'peles.

new(e adj. new, another T1/173, T2/357, C/459 etc; new, recent T2/350, in phrases ~ lave, the law established by Christ as contained in the New Testament D/52, T2/84, C/475 etc: child ~ newborn T1/126; (pejoratively in reference to the mendicant orders) in phrases ~ ord(e)ris T2/133, C/41; ~ sectis C/158; ~ lawe(s C/446 etc; ~ reule(s C/358 etc.

new(e adv. anew, again T1/186; ~ and ~, again and again T1/183.

next as adv. nearest, most closely T2/19, 48; (of time or sequence) next in order C/1072.

ny, nyse adj. near, close at hand C/301, 597.

nyed see neisep.

ni3t n. night, in phrase ~ and (...) day; continuously, all the time T2/196, C/382, 819; ni3ttes pl. in phrase on ~, at night C/768.

nill no3t will not D/285.

nis see nes.

nost, nou3t, nou3th n. nought, nothing D/181, 349, T1/60, 326, T2/334 etc.; as adv. C/750; in phrases ping of ~; nothing C/425; of ~; in no way C/404.

nost, not, nou3tt adv. not, not at all D/38, 49, T1/14, 41,57, 107, T2/12, 279, C/31 etc; ~ of, not pertaining to T1/39, 45 etc; ~ elliis, nothing else T2/99.

noie inf. to annoy C/977; noiep pr.3 sg. C/494.
noiper see neiiper.

non(e, noon adj. no (before vowel or h-) D/63, 148, T1/90, 108, T2/111, 116, 314, C/147, 376 etc, as adv. not C/1052.

none, noon adv. not D/41; in phrase or ~ T2/153.

none, noon pron. none T1/296, C/41, 388 etc.

none adj. own, C/398. [rare var. of own]

no(o adj. no (before consonant) T1/220, T2/95, 118 etc; see also non(e.

no adv. no, in phrase ~ more, nothing further D/114, 228, 336, 422, T1/219, C/119, 134 etc.

norische inf. to nourish, feed; transf. and fig: to encourage, foment C/552.

note jussive subj. note, mark C/286.

noiper see neiiper.

noping(e n. nothing D/82, 386, 429, C/213, 923 etc.

noping adv. not at all C/613.

now(e adv. now, at present D/38, 116, T1/127, T2/61, 118, C/124, 311, 582 etc; in phrase to nowe, until now T2/289.

now(t, Nowk thr see no3t, n. and adv.

noumbre, numbre n. number T2/372, C/464.

nouiper see neiiper.

nouelrie n. novelty T2/337.

now(e see nou3

nowiper, see neiiper.

numbre see noumbre.

O exclamation, Oh! T2/161, C/48 etc.

o num. one C/111, 955 etc.

o prep. (apocopic form ) of, with D/9, 19, 36 etc.

[obbediens, obediaunce, obedience, obediens, obediunce n. obedience, submission T2/136, 157, 160, C/399, 401, 404, 405, 408, 1000, 1011, 1016, 1034, 1041, 1061 etc; authority T2/153, C/1030; in phrase vmdur be ---- under the authority T2/151; obedience pl. C/1014.
obedient adj. obedient, submissive C/351.

obedientli adv. obediently C/1019.

|obeie, obieies, obeise, obische, obishe inf. (+ preps. to, unto) to obey, submit to T2/140, 148, C/400, 456, *1006, 1008, 1015, 1025, 1026, 1037, 1039, 1063 etc; obeiest pr.2 sg. C/1024; obeishe pr.3 sg. C/1017; obeisched pa.t.sg. C/1026, 1061; pa.t.pl. C/1026; obeishe imperfect C/1014.

|obeyschaunce n. obedience, submission T1/118; see also obbediens.

obeyesers n.pl. those who obey T2/147 (unrecorded in OED/MED; cf. OED obyeer, 1551).

oblychyn pr.pl.refl. pledge themselves, bind themselves by oath C/132.

obligacioun n. bond, agreement T2/154.

observaunce n. attention, obedience, esp. performance of a customary religious ceremony; obedience to an ordinance as of a religious order T2/163.

occacioun n. event, circumstance, in phrase by ~, by reason of, because of C/668.

ocupied pp. employed, busy T2/28.

of prep. (defining relationship, description, origin or possession) of, belonging to, pertaining to D/1, 7(ii), 28(i), 32, T/1, 9, 14, 343, T2/1, 13, C/3, 4, 11, 12(i) etc; defining part of a whole som ~ somdele ~D/5(i,ii,iii), 175; after num. T2/375(i), C/34(ii), 229 etc; about, on the subject of D/3, 13, T1/62, 73, 104, T2/2, 32, C/34 etc; with respect to D/23, 26, 265, T1/67(ii), 70, T2/177, 218, C/6, 37(i,ii) etc; with D/7(i), 8, 77, T2/30. 216, 282; by, from T1/93, 94, C/129, 576(ii) etc; according to T1/46, C/114,193; for C/119, 304 etc; over, above D/53, 410, 413, C/62, 107(i); 235 etc; because of T1/100, T2/205; (denoting position, possession, result etc) from D/153(ii), T2/111, 278, C/97, 105 etc; from, away from T2/167, C/10, 64 etc; off, from D/488, C/67, 86 etc; in, at D/33, T2/381, 407, C/179, 223 etc; (agent) by, by means of D/91, 215(i), T1/65(ii), 91, T2/11, 24, 26(i,ii), C/12(ii), 69 etc; from, by (agent) D/24, 51, T1/312, T2/17, 25, C/91, 94 etc; with D/7(i), to T1/3, T2/183; toward on behalf of T2/285, T2/236(i), C/331; among T2/224, 225, C/216 etc.

offend inf. to sin, stumble morally, to fail in duty D/22; offendi pr.3 sg. T1/221.

offens(e n. action of offending, cause of offence or injury T2/134(i,ii).

offered see under offrede.

offrede pa.t. sg. made an offering T1/369; offered pa.t.pl. theol: sacrificed, as in celebration of the sacrament of the eucharist C/995; offrid pp. made an offering, here esp. payment for absolution D/124.

offringis n.pl. dues, offerings T2/99, 103, 110.

oft(e, often adv. often D/14, T1/83, T2/326. C/122; in phrases ~ sipe(s). ~ tymes, frequently T2/19, C/303, 304, 626; ofter comp. more often C/479.

oiper cj. either C/296; see also eipir, ouper.

o(o)ld(e) adj. old, familiar, long established T1/194, T2/337, 357, C/158; ~ lawe, the law of Moses, the pre-Christian dispensation of the Hebrews as contained in the Old Testament D/52, 68, T2/84, 107, 4/75, 584 etc.

old(e)nesse n. antiquity, venerability C/171, 177.

omyssioun n. neglect of duty T1/80, 83, 109.

on prep. (indicating position) in, upon, at/D/51, 66, 426, T2/272, 412, C/509, 567 etc; fig.with verbs 'found', 'ground', 'take', 'trust', 'think' T2/7, C/80, 111, 619, 706 etc; in phrases put(t) ~, impute to T2/376, C/1054, 1098; venge ~ revenge against C/383; beren ~ hand, accuse D/224, *283: had ~, wore C/646; (indicating time during or when) T2/32, 195, C/45, 645 etc; (indicating manner, means, purpose etc) T2/19, 264, 394, 405, T1/239, 279, *368, C/55, 519, 884 etc; in phrases ~ Godis part/behalfe T2/114, C/335; ~ pe toper syde, on the other hand T2/147.

on(e, oo(n, oon(e num. and adj. one, only one T1/343, 349, T2/26, 181, C/191, 381 etc; in phrase for alle ~, all the same T1/135; as adv. only T1/362; as pron. one thing or person D/321, 409, T1/30, 75, T2/157, C/229, 279, 312 etc.

oneli(ch(e, onli, onlyl adv. only, solely D/51, 416, T2/140, 335, C/28, 127 etc; in phrases saw ~, except D/364: bot all ~, but only, except D/100, C/57.

ones, oonis adv. once D/429, C/590; in phrase at ~ toguide, at the same time T2/180.

oni adj. any D/124, 171, T1/49, 84, T2/322 etc.

onyting(e pron. anything D/402, T1/64.
onone adv. at once, immediately D/489.

old(e see oold(e).

ooned pp. united C/729, 734.

oonis see ones

open, opyn, opn adj. plain, evident T2/*101, 368, 388, C/454, 909 etc.; accessible C/28, 301; as adv. clearly, plainly T1/229, C/95, 433, 443; see also epyn.

openli, opinli, oponli adv. plainly, evidently, publicly D/48, 74, T2/210, C/374, 437 etc;

opynyoun n. opinion, view, belief (as distinct from knowledge) T2/368.

optatife adj. (grammatical) mood of wish, desire T1/24.

or cj. or D/76, T1/24, T2/26, C/95 etc; elles, or else D/299, T2/397, C/80 etc.

ordained, ordened see under ordeyne

ordeyne inf. to set up, establish, order C/21; eccles: to appoint, decree C/1099; ordynepp pr.3 sg. C/975; ordained, ordeyned pa.t.sg. D/67, 241, T1/333, C/45, 645; ordayned, ordeyned, ordeynid, ordened pp. D/59, 205, 343, T2/46, C/128, 592, 603 etc; with prefix bifor-, predestined T2/414; wordeyned pp. C/337.

orde(e, ordour, order, ordre, ordur n. rank, group, body of persons of the same status, vocation, occupation or profession such as religious —, society of persons living under the same religious rule, esp. monastic or fraternal C/39, 366, 367, 385, 415, 639, 702, 733, 761 etc; in phrases Cristes ~ C/163, 371; ~ of God C/516(ii); ~ of beggeris T1/360; order, regulation, fixed arrangement, constitution C/422, 473, 516(1), 836, 903; in phrase ~ of worship, the set form of the divine service C/61; condition of life, way of life, in phrase ~ of charite C/512; in ~pet, to the end that, for the purpose that C/924; orderes, orderis, ordres, ordris pl. religious orders, esp. the friars' orders C/180, 184, 543, 728, 743 etc; in phrases ~ of freres C/381, 889; fourere ~ C/199, 750; newe ~ T2/133, C/41, false ~, C/1034.

ordina(u)nce, ordynaunse n. regulation, authoritative decree, statute T2/89, 129, 328, C/38, 593, 595, 627, 649, 690 etc.

origynal adj. original; theol: innate depravity as opposed to actual sin, in phrase ~ synne T1/112, 131, 154.

ostis n.pl. sacrifices; here fig. and theol: the bread of the eucharist in phrase ~ sacred C/1091.

oper(e, opir, opur adj. other D/5, 109, T1/13, 17, T2/90, 109, C/12, 90 etc.
oper(e) adv. or C/861; ~ pan except T1/101; ~ wise adv. otherwise, in another circumstance D/41, 44, 116 etc.

oper(e, oper) pron. other things/people D/128, 292, T1/131, 132, 160, 162, T2/39, 44, C/217 etc; al/le ~ all others T2/166, C/178, 840.

out pron. anything, anything of value T2/331.

out v. see ast.

out, out(e) adv. out, out of, away from D/263, 320, T1/259, T2/167, C/10, 26 etc; out, forth T2/289, C/445; in phrases knocked ~, extinguished C/183; ~ of, without, excluded from D/358, T1/209; ~ of, not within, outside C/248 etc.

our(e, owre) adj. our, of us D/45, T1/4, T2/163, C/131 etc.

ourementes, oururementis, ourenementes, ourenementis n.pl. embellishments C/808; eccles: furnishings of a church C/776, 806, 810; fig: spiritual and moral attributes C/807, 814.

outer pron. each, either C/205; as cj. either ... or C/865, 994; see also eipir, oifer.

ouer(e, oure) prep. over, above in authority D/142, 143, *328, T1/4, C/933 etc; above, beyond T1/54, 213, 214, C/441, 598 etc; ~ of, moreover, beyond this C/360, 412 etc.

ouer adv. doubly, extra C/336, 342; moreover C/441.

ouerlede pr.2.sg. lead astray D/486.

ow exclamation Alas! D/454.

owen, own(e) adj. own D/22, 164, T2/141, C/36 etc; as pron. T1/129, C/931.

owep pr.3 sg. owes C/712; owen pr.pl. ought T2/148; in impers.construction with dative of subject, hem ~, they ought T2/67; see also ast.

owre pron.poss. our, of us C/212.

paciens n. patience, forbearance, long-suffering D/45, T2/377, 379.

pacient adj. patient, forbearing D/48, C/419.

pacientliche adv. patiently D/81.

paie inf. to pay, to satisfy with a money payment D/118, 119; paied pp. pleased, satisfied D/34, C/390 etc.
payde, payed, pay3ed ppl.adj. rewarded, satisfied D/168, 207, 209, T2/99, 274, 276 etc.

paynem n. pagan, heathen C/224.

paynen adj. pagan, heathen C/142.

paintid pp. drawn, esp. depicted in colour D/426.

paradise n. Garden of Eden, place of innocence T2/57.

parde interjection, exclamation: Indeed! Certainly! By God! D/137, 147 etc.

[pardoun(e n. pardon, forgiveness; here eccles: indulgence D/124, 125.

parfit adj. perfect T1/294, T2/68; see also perfis3t.

parische n. parish; used attrib. in phrase ~ chirche C/787.

part(e, parthe n. part, division D/297, 418, T2/15, 18, C/313, 365 etc; trans£: aspect T1/202; in adv.phrase in ~, partly C/277; share, allotted portion T2/95(i,ii), 109; side, party, cause T2/114.

parte inf. (+ prep. fro(m) to separate from, sever from C/953; parten pr.pl.refl. C/438; parted pp. C/839, 845.

partenyth pr.3 sg. belongs, pertains T2/184.

party(e n. group, side, faction T1/8, C/1085; parties, partis pl. T2/14, 38, 208, C/611 etc.

parting vbl.n. division C/734.

passe inf.trans. to surpass, outstrip, exceed, transcend T2/67, C/479; passis3t pr.2 sg. C/849; passis3 pr.3 sg. T1/371; passe(n pr.pl. T2/113, 302, ~. (C/387, 843 etc; intr. C/132, 831; passe pr.sg.subj. T2/35; pl.subj. T2/92; passe(n v.intr.inf. (+ prep. fro(m) to depart from, T2/114, 308, C/954; passis3 (,+ prep. into) pr.2 sg. transf; concerns itself with T1/303; passen pr.pl. T1/308, C/398; passed (+ adv. away) pp. left, departed C/481.

[Pater Noster n. the Lord's Prayer T2/189, 193, 198.

[patrone, patroun n. patron, founder, protector C/271, 366. [L.patronus] (or perh. model, exemplar, from OF patron).

patroned pp. (+ prep. of) patronized by, under the patronage of C/367 [L.patronare, 1st cit. 1624] (or perh. modelled on, patterned on, from F. patronner, 1st cit. 1608).

peyne n. pain, suffering, torment T1/7, 155, C/275 etc; punishment, in phrase ~ of helle T2/413, C/244.
peynting vbl.n. painting, decoration C/812.

peyriʃ pr.3 sg.intr. deteriorates, grows worse C/286. [aphetic form of appair]

peysibilliche adv. peaceably D/194.

|penance, penaunce n. penance, punishment for sin D/127, C/37; the actions undertaken in penitence, the sacrament of penance carried out by the penitent C/101; to do ~; to make restitution or satisfaction D/114.

penes n.pl. pence C/379, 1102.

penytauncers n.pl. priests who hear confession, confessors who assign penance and give absolution T2/207.

pepel, pepil(l, peple, pepul n.pl.(collective) people, mankind, the population of a nation D/14(ii), 56, 193, T1/256, 268, T2/20, 24, 48, C/467 etc; comone ~ the masses D/14(i), 189, 206; (comone) lewe ~; simple people D/486, T1/306; eccles: Goddes ~, Cristen ~; members of the Christian church D/106, 134, 320, 331. See also popel.

|perel, perile n. peril, danger D/265, C/6, 208, 277; used attrib. perilous D/251, 259, C/261; perel(l)es pl. C/70, 139.

|per(e)louse adj. perilous, dangerous C/914; perlouse (syncopated form) C/586.

|perfe(c)ioun n. perfection, faultlessness, full development C/330, 334, 366, 413, 533, 535, 761 etc; for his ~; for the complete achievement of his duty T2/26.

perfist adj. perfect C/193, 414 etc. See also parfit.

performe inf. to carry out C/551; pr.pl.subj. C/565; performed pp. C/1028.

perile see perel.

periche inf.intr. to decay, perish C/999.

perlouse see perelouse.

perpetue inf. to perpetuate C/634 [L perpetuare, 1st cit. OED 1530; cf. MED perpetuen, from OF perpetuer, to immortalize, make known perpetually, 1st cit. 1500]

|persecusioun n. harassment with injury (esp.against heresy) T2/159.

perseuer pr.2 sg.subj. persevere, continue steadfastly, persist T2/127.

|person n. individual, person T2/26; eccles: parson, priest with a benefice D/301; persones, persouns pl. people T2/3, C/4, 436, 681; priests C/1088. [both senses from OF. persone, L.persona]
**personel** adj. individual, particular T1/127.

**persouen** pr.pl. pursue, follow with hostility C/*692.

**pes** n. peace, tranquility, public order (including freedom from spiritual disturbance OED n. 5) D/193.

**[pharese(e)s, pharesies, phariseis, pharises** n.pl. a Jewish sect of strict observance C/73, 75, 76, 106, 427, 475, *581, 683, 871; see also farisee.

**pilgryme** n. pilgrim, one who travels to a sacred place as an act of piety T1/311, 322, 325.

**pinche** inf.intr. (+ prep. at) to find fault with, cavil at, carp at C/22, 71.

**pynt** n. half a quart C/963.

**pistel** n. (aphetic form) epistle; here eccles: lection from the gospel D/296; see also epistle.

**pite** n. piety D/222, 442. [L pietas]

**place** n. place, space, definite situation (either indoors or outdoors) D/2, 124, C/236, 681 etc; convent C/407; dom °, perh. place of judgment T1/28 (see commentary); places, placis, plases pl. C/620, 677 etc; transf: reference points, as in scripture or canon law D/231, 232, 308, 324, 371, T2/210 etc.

**plante** inf. to plant, establish, institute D/108(i); fig.and transf: (of a principle or doctrine) to firmly establish, settle D/108(ii), 110.

**plantes** n.pl. plants D/61.

**plases** see place.

**[plees** n.pl. pleas, appeals T1/259.

**pleyn** adj. plain, clear, simple T2/221.

**pleynly** adv. plainly, clearly T2/263.

**plente** n. abundance T1/255.

**plenteuouslyche** adv. amply, bountifully, abundantly T1/253.

**plese** inf. to please T2/411, C/18, 498 etc; plesi pr.3 sg. C/818; plesid pp. pleased T2/200.

**pocession** n. possession, in phrase in °, in ownership T2/97. See also possessioun.

**poyn(t)e** n. spot, position: fig. detail, essence D/178, T2/353, C/605; in phrases in ° tc, about to D/453; at ° deuys, perfectly C/291;
poyntes, poyntis pl. T2/391, C/109, 351, 385.
polute ppl.adj. polluted, desecrated, ceremonially unclean C/681.
poluten pr.pl. pollute, desecrate C/678.
pondrede pp. considered carefully, weighed mentally C/220.

|pope n. primate of Rome D/3, 6, 9, 16, T2/256, 296, 351, 353, C/194, 196, 205, 208 etc; popes, popis sg/pl.pos. D/96, T2/334, C/183; popes, popis pl. D/169, T2/258, C/281 etc.

popel, popil, pupel, pupil, puple, pupul n.pl. people, nation D/102, 203, 215, 343, T2/25, 63, C/40, 94, 221, 154, 172, 416 etc; in phrases comone ~; the masses D/14(i). 214, C/732, 1074; pore ~ C/89, 92; eccles: Goddes ~; members of the Christian church D/103. See also pepel.

|pore n.pl. paupers, those to whom charity must be given T1/240.

|pore adj. poor, humble T2/183, C/375(i,ii); in phrases ~ pepel C/89, 91; ~ ilijf C/259, 267, 328; ~ beggeris C/85; phrases with Lollard connotation ~ men(nes C/81, 329, 350; ~ prestes C/616; porest adj.superl. humblest, poorest T2/264;

porpos, purpose n. purpose, determination C/137, 155.

|posessioun, possessio(u)n n.sg. goods, property, wealth T1/27, T2/111, 117, 313; fig.and transf: that which is desired, wealth T2/118, 119; ownership, in phrase in ~ D/415; possessio(u)n(e)s pl. goods, wealth, possessions D/211, 220, 421, T1/31, 32; see also pocession.

postles n.pl. (aphetic form) apostles T2/185.
pounde n. a fixed sum of money C/1079; pondes pl. here proverbial, a large sum of money C/549.

|pouert(e n. poverty, condition of having little or no wealth D/234, T2/50, 253, 264, 292, C/132, 314, 372, 373; fig;(alluding to Matthew 5.3) C/370.

|powere n. authority, dominion D/10, 18, 41, 51, 55, C/185, 218, 248, 276, 425 etc; material strength, in phrase of ~ powerful T1/242, 244: powers pl. gifts of authority D/62: strength, fortitude C/920.

practisse n. practice, actuality (as against speculation) C/88.

praie see under preie.

|preche(n inf. to preach, to teach by exhortation D/102, 256, 343, 470, C/802; preche(n, prechin pr.pl. T2/23, C/479, 497, 506, 518, 529; preche sg.subj. C/101.
|preaching(e vbl.n. preaching D/110, 497, T1/226, 302, C/480, 481, 493, 494, 506, 509, 515, 518, 521, 523, 546.

|precho(u)res n.pl. preachers D/254, C/501; eccles: Dominican friars T1/28, C/742; in phrase frere ~ T1/27, C/167(i,ii), 173, 737.

precious(e adj. valuable C/770; fig. and transf: of spiritual value C/808, 809.

|predicacions n.pl. sermons, preaching D/256.

preieris n.pl. prayers C/826; see also preier.

|pre(e)st(e, preist n. priest, clerk in ecclesiastical orders who has cure of soul (as distinct from a layman) D/23, 290, 295, T2/26, 29, 34, 182, 399, C/239, 332, 335, 597, 612, 614, 1040 etc; in phrases his owne ~ parish priest C/590; gode ~ perhaps a Lollard preacher D/290; prestes pos.sg D/293; pre(e)stis, prestes, preistis pl. D/25, 133, 187, T2/14, 22, 62, 108, C/275, 331, 337, 491, 493, 1088 etc; in phrases gode ~ pore ~ true ~ perhaps Lollard preachers D/187. 354. C/616. T2/23; seculer ~ priests of the parish or other secular church, as distinct from priests in orders and under a rule C/397, 444.

|prey(e inf. to pray, beseech, beg, ask earnestly T2/189, C/805, 821; praie, preie pr.1 sg. D/27, 45, 81, C/19; preynges, preyng pr.p. T1/3, 236, T2/198; preyed pa.t.sg. C/819, 820; preie jussive subj. C/966.

preying(e vbl.n. prayer, act of praying T1/302.

|preier(e n. prayer, request (esp. to God) T1/235, T2/191, C/818 etc; preieres, preieris, priers pl. T2/192, C/776, 820.

preyng see under prey(e.

|preise v.trans.inf. to praise, value C/*778; v.intr.inf. for to ~ to be praised C/300, 822, 831, 832; preise pr.1 sg. C/1002; preyed pa.t.sg. C/788, 792; preised pp. C/817, 914.

preist see pre(e)ste.

|prelat(e n. prelate, church dignitary T2/152, 398, pre ~ the diocesan bishop C/1012, 1021, 1030, 1031; prelates, prelatis pl. D/109, T2/245, 255, C/292, 402, 560, 1008, 1025.

prented pp. (+ prep. wip), impressed with, imprinted with (as upon mind or memory, OED v. 2 b); inscribed with (OED v. 4 b, fig.) T2/366.

|preson, prison n. captivity, prison T1/267, C/843, 991.

|presthod(e n. priesthood, office of a priest T1/307, T2/89, 184.

presumcioun, presumpcio(u)n n. presumptuous assumption, supposition T2/336, 346, C/278, 392; usurpation (OED n. 2) C/652.
presumptuous adj. presumptuous, impertinent, arrogant C/586.

preuey, preuye, priue(y)e adj. private, secret, confidential D/444, T1/142, C/90, 159, 620, 660, 1059.

preuey pr.pl. demonstrate, prove T1/31.

pride n. pride, chief of the deadly sins T1/288, 291, T2/347, C/44, 98, 566, 935.

priers see preier(e).

prikid pa.t.sg. urged forward, spurred on D/87.

prikkyng vbl.n. goading, urging; here fig. torment D/91.

primacie n. supreme position, here eccles: the supreme position of the pope in Christendom C/229.

prime n. (time of day) early morning; here eccles: canonical hour of divine office for the first hour of the day, usually sunrise or 6.00a.m. T2/195.

prince n. chief, as in Peter, ~ of be apostlis T2/232; ~ of pis world, devil C/163; princes pl. leaders, rulers T2/224.

principali, principallich adv. chiefly D/238, C/216, 773.

principles n.pl. fundamental truth, law T1/21.

prior n. officer of abbey, next under abbot C/392, 407, 410.

prison see preson.

prisoune pr.pl. imprison C/986; priso(u)ned pp. C/844, 986. See also inpreson.

pryuaucioun n. privation, deprivation T1/161.

priet(e adj. private, withdrawn from public life; in phrases ~ religious/religiouns(e, religious orders, pejorative reference to the religious life of friars, monks, nuns etc, involving withdrawal from the community T1/373, 375, C/161, 723.

priue(y)e see preuey.

priuely adv. secretly, stealthily C/534.

priorilage n. prerogative right C/966; priuilegis pl. C/967.

processe n. course in phrase in/be ~ of tyme, in the course of time D/420, 438, C/289.

procuryng vbl.n. contriving C/275.
profetes see under profit(e n.(1).

profetis see under profišt n.(2).

profit adj. profitable, beneficial C/609.

|profit(e, profišt, prophete) n.(1) benefit, advantage, gain C/4, 494, 609, 965; in phrase comoun -, the general or public good C/33; profetes pl. C/546. [L. profectus, OF and Mdn Fr. profit]

|profišt, prophete) n.(2) prophet, one who speaks for God D/57, T2/115, C/179, 258; profetis, prophetis pl. T1/216; in phrase fals -, those who speak against God C/1; for references to specific names, see Index of Proper Names. [L. propheta, from Greek]

profit(e inf. to benefit, to do good to C/803, 869, 876, 1084; profeti√, profite√ pr.3 sg. T2/154, C/259, 372(i,ii), 594 etc; profiti√ pr.pl. C/43; profete, propheton pr.pl. C/545, 554; profeted pa.t.sg. C/611; profeten pl.subj. C/815.

prophecye n. prophecy, the utterances of a prophet foretelling events T1/144.

|prophete(s see profit(e n.(1) and profišt n.(2).

propred, proprid ppl.adj. (→ prep. to) owned by, belonging to T2/81, C/981.

|propur adj. belonging to them C/380.

prosperite n. prosperity, condition of success D/189, 206.

proude adj. proud, conceited T2/61.

prowe inf. to prove, to put to the test and establish as true T2/373, C/943, 949; prouip pr.3 sg. T2/227; proven pr.pl. C/756; provue pr.sg.subj. T2/360.

prowdely adv. proudly, arrogantly C/158.

prudence n. prudence, wisdom, the third cardinal virtue C/155, 460 etc.

publiche inf. to make known, spread abroad C/3.

|punysche inf. to punish C/841; punyschen pr.pl. C/693, 837; punysched pp. C/701, 842.

|punisching vb1.n. punishment C/151.

pupel, pupil, puple see pope.

pupplican n. Roman tax-gatherer T1/305.

pupul see pope.
purchase inf. to acquire; legal: to acquire by means other than inheritance D/419; purchases pr.pl. C/358.
pure adj. simple, pure, in phrase ~ almesse, alms free from corruption T1/348.
purge inf. to cleanse; here transf. and fig: to clear of a charge C/1097; purges pr.3 sg. T1/114.
purpose see porpos.
purpur adj. (used as noun) purple cloth C/648.
pursue inf. to follow with hostility, to persecute C/1050; pursued pa.t.pl. C/1051; pursued pp. T2/158, C/429.
purvey inf. (+ prep. for) to make provision for, supply T2/240; purveying pr.p. T2/233.
putrie n. unchastity, whoredom; here fig: wrongdoing, esp. wrong doctrine and religious practice C/846.
put(t)e inf. (of position) (+ prep. in) to put, place; putte pr.3 sg. C/54; fig: puts forward, proposes C/980; put pa.t.sg. C/315; putt pr.sg subj. refl. T1/360; putt pp. T1/267; putte inf. fig: to dress C/653; put(te inf. (+ prep. in, into) to entrust T2/179, C/1004; putten pr.pl. T1/303; putt pa.t.sg. D/319, 321, 437; putt pa.t.subj. D/315; put jussive subj. T2/380; put(te pp. D/415, C/797; put (+ advs. in, on, upon) to impute to, attribute to, in phrase ~ faute in C/357; putte(n, puttyng pr.pl. C/358, 386, 378; putte pa.t.sg. C/670; put pr.sg subj. C/1054; putte pp. C/1098; (+ prep. to) to put away; here, to sheath D/489; (+ prep. to) to add to C/360; putten pr.pl. (+ adv. aba(c)k) reject C/451, 857, 858; puttyng (+ adv. away) pr.p. rejecting T2/125; put(t) pp. (+ adv. ou(3)it) sent away, expelled D/263, C/990.
quantyte n. quantity, amount T1/363, 364.
quart n. one quarter of a gallon C/964.
questioun n. matter, problem C/996.
quick adj. alive T1/128.
quoynte adj. cunning, contrived, ingenious C/1016.
ratelid pp. (+ adv. out) chattered, uttered rapidly T2/289. [Middle Dutch, Low German, prob. onomatopaeic]
raperite adv. rather, instead, in preference T1/94, 250, 268; sooner, earlier, before (with pleonastic pane D/152).
ravyn n. ravaging, greed T1/310.

rauyshing, rausiching vbl.n. plundering, ravaging C/1043, 1077.

real(e adj. royal D/169, 178, 407.

realme, reme, reume, rewme n. realm, kingdom D/408, T1/259, 260, 261, 262, 265, 266, C/1079; remes pl. C/576, 577.

receuyynge pr.p. obtaining, receiving T1/28.

rede inf. to read aloud D/295; rede pr.sg.subj. C/102; rede imper. study, read T2/125; red pp. D/141.

redy adj. ready, prepared, at hand C/139.

redress inf. to restore, set right; here transf: to correct, amend D/242.

reduvid pp. brought back, recalled; here logic: of a syllogism or proposition, brought to another but equivalent form T1/25 (OED v.18; 1st cit. 1727).

reedes n.pl. reeds, in phrase staff of , proverbial, useless prop C/272.

regalte n. royalty, kingship, sovereignty D/417.

regne inf. to reign; transf.and fig: to flourish, predominate T2/106, C/158; regned pp. T2/164, 202.

reguler adj. bound by a rule, marked by uniformity or regularity of action, or by the presence of a steady principle, in phrase for to synne C/435. (OED adj. 3, 1st cit. 1594).

rehersest pr.2 sg. recount, relate, describe C/*775; reheresd pp. practised C/190, 746.

rekenes pr.2 sg. reckon, give an account of C/697; reknid, irekened pp. D/384, T1/296.

reknynge vbl.n. reckoning, account D/244.

[religio(u)n n. belief, doctrine T1/343, 349, C/60, 386, 480, 651 etc; pious action C/1092; religious life T1/372(i), C/761, 768; Cristis , discipleship of Christ C/65, 352, 421, 455, 491, 729 etc; comoune , a religion open to all the faithful, and not the preserve of those living under a religious vow T1/372(ii); religious(e pl. in phrase privat(e , the religious life of monks, friars, nuns etc. C/161, 723.

religious(e n.pl. those bound by a monastic rule or other vows T1/210, T2/186; in phrase privat , monks etc. T1/373, 375.

reme see realme.
remedi n. cure; here fig: cure for sin D/273.
remeuyd pp. removed, set aside, abandoned T2/54.
remyssioun n. forgiveness, pardon T1/201.
remitted pp. forgiven, pardoned C/580.
renewe inf. to restore, here theol: regenerate spiritually C/278.
renne inf. to run, flow C/67; rennepp.3 sg. T1/137.
remynge vbl.n. action of running T1/136.
rente n. income, revenue, tribute, tax in phrase annuel ~ T1/30 (see commentary); rents pl. C/1066.
repente pr.pl.subj. repent T2/173.
reprefe, repreuue v.trans.inf. to reproach, reprove, rebuke, censure D/86, T2/63, C/73, 78, 308; v.intr. in phrase for to ~ to be objected to C/833; reprouepp.3 sg. T1/19; reproued pa.t.sg. D/3, 489; reproued, reproued pp. C/113, 690; in phrase ~to alle good werkis, disqualified from T1/191 (transl. L. reprobii).
reproue n. reproof, rebuke C/871.
reproyng vbl.n. action of giving reproof, rebuking C/874.
required pp. asked, requested T2/*26.
resceyue in£. to receive T2/29.
reso(u)ns pl. T1/17, T2/291, C/161.
resonable adj. fair, reasonable C/689.
rest(e inf.intr.refl. to rest, to lie in peace C/376; ( prep.in/on) to lay, to place T2/267, 271.
restynge vbl.n. rest, repose T1/323.
restore inf. to cure, repair C/1048.
resume inf. to assume again, take up again C/276.
reuling vbl.n. ruling, ordering C/716.
reume, reume see realme
re reverence n. opposite, contrary T1/62, C/95, 514.
reverse inf. to contradict, overthrow, overturn C/338, etc; to revoke, abrogate (of decrees etc) C/1040; oppose, resist C/312; reversep, reversepr.sg. C/527, 1031; revertex(n pr.pl. C/340, 450, 515, 759; reverseing pr.p. C/669.
rewarded pp. rewarded, repaid C/244, 741.
rewde adj. ignorant, unlearned C/796.
ricches, riches(se, richessis n.(p1) riches, wealth D/236, T1/354, 370, T2/23, 268, 283, 284, 304, C/267 etc.
riche adj. wealthy T1/32, 369, T2/254, 293, 295, C/540, 684.
ri3t n. (1) right, just action C/566. [OE riht]
ri3te n. (2) rite, ritual, religious observance C/37; rites, ritis pl. C/448, 460, 475, 724. [L ritus]
ri3t adj. correct, proper, good C/208, 1034.
ri3t adv. (intensive with adj., adv.) very, completely D/31, 43 etc; exactly, just, precisely, in phrases ~as, ~so, just as, just so D/252, 396, 438, 456, T1/77, 79, 90, 113, 124 etc, T2/284.
ri3t inf. to correct, amend C/1027.
ri3tful adj. righteous, just T2/169.
ri3tfulliche adv. justly, lawfully D/400.
ri3twise adj. just, righteous T2/167.
ri3twisnesse, ri3twyssenes, ritwissenes, ritisnesse n. righteousness, justice T1/378, T2/170, 175, 199, 205, C/*298, 930.
rynge n. ring T1/327.
rise inf. to wake up, rise from bed T1/96; in phrase ~at myddenyJt. to observe the canonical hour of Mattins T1/95; ros pa.t.sg. rose, arose C/817.
risyng(e) vbl.n. action of rising; in phrase ~ at myddenyst, observation of the canonical hour T1/226, C/100, 776, 816.

rites, ritis see under ri3te n. (2).

robben pr.pl. rob, plunder C/1074.

ro(o)te n. root T2/*252; fig: foundation, basic provider, cause T1/262, founder C/186; rotis pl. T1/263, C/567.

roote inf. to rot, undergo decomposition; here, fig: to be subject to moral decay T2/250.

ros see under rise.

rote, rotis see ro(o)te.

rouned pp. whispered C/582.

rounyng vbl.n. whispering C/617.

rubbe inf. to clean, polish; in proverbial phrase ~ sweye pe rust, T1/8.

rub(b)ynge vbl.n. action of chafing, rubbing in phrase ~ of a mannes berde T1/42, 65, 67.

ruly adj. rueful, compassionate T2/204.

ruyling, rulid see under reule inf.

russet n. coarse woollen cloth, red-brown or grey in colour; cloth of rustics C/740, 745.

rust n. corrosion, rust; fig: moral corrosion or corruption; here transf: corrupt or impairing element T1/8.

|sacrament n. one of the seven rites of the Christian church C/623; sacramentes pl. D/102, 470.

sacred ppl.adj. sacred, holy C/*1091.

sacre(pr.3 sg. consecrates C/994; sacred pa.t.pl. C/1089.

sacrifice n. sacrifice, offering T2/110; in phrase do ~ make an offering C/1051.

sacring vbl.n. action of consecrating, consecration C/994.

sad adj. solid (as opposed to liquid) T1/23. [transl. Vulgate solido]

sai(e inf. to say, allege D/82, 121 etc; sai, saist pr.2 sg. D/47, 97, 409 etc; sai?p pr.3 sg. D/129 etc; saip pr.pl. D/217; sayen, sayne pr.pl. D/222, 260, 421; sayng pr.p. T2/*139; said pa.t.sg.
D/4, 13 etc; said pp. D/37, 80(ii) etc; see also seie.

saint(e, seint, sent n. a pious person Ti/313, 314, C/294, 295, 321, 749 (see Index of Proper Names for specific saints mentioned in the texts); saintes, seintes, sent(n)ties, sentes pl. those canonized by the church D/186, 201, Ti/167, T2/337, 351, C/280, 284, 296, 298, 299, 300, 302, 327, 323, 338, 699, 723, 950 etc; Christians (not canonized saints) Ti/341, 346, 332, 336, 339, 342, 349, 350, 351 etc, C/345; ~ in heuene, the Church Triumphant C/1053.

same adj. same, identical D/314, T2/109, C/112 etc; as pron. pe ~ pat;

sample (aphetic form of ensaumple) pr.pl. exemplify, give an example of Ti/288; saumplid pp. (+ prep. of) exemplified by T2/223. See also ensaumple.

satanas n. satan C/525.

satisfaccioun n. restitution for sin, the third part of penance C/579.

satt see under sitte.

saumplid see under sample.

Sauter n. Psalter Ti/289.

saue prep. (+ adv. onelich) except for D/364.

saue inf. save, preserve, deliver C/550; theol: to deliver from sin T2/212, C/596, 1048; jussive subj.in phrase God ~ C/69; saued pp. T2/262, 403, C/121, 188 etc.

sauer inf. to taste; here fig: to apprehend, perceive T2/324; sauered pa.t.sg. T1/15.

sauior n. one who rescues; here esp. the title of Christ T2/165, 201.

scatered, schatered ppl.adj. dissipated, squandered C/542; (+ prep. aboute) distracted by C/894. [early ME origin obscure]

schall(l), schul(l)e(n pr.sg/pl. (aux. expressing futurity) shall, will D/48, 70, Ti/139, 338, T2/6, 129, 384, C/99, 267 etc; (expressing notion of destiny) D/71, 72, Ti/110, 138, T2/116, 130, C/187, 274 etc; (aux. of necessity or obligation) must, have/has to, ought to, should D/117, 152, Ti/64, 290, T2/41, 44, C/113, 359, 383 etc; (forming subjunctive equivalent, conditional) should D/450, 502, 503, T2/164, 198, C/236, 303 etc; schallow pr.2 sg. with enclitic pron. b/46; schalt pr.2 sg. T2/127, 418, C/113; schuld(e, scholde, schulid pa.t.sg./pl. ind./subj. ought to, should D/6, 9, 64, Ti/76, 96, T2/12, 15, 366, C/79, 302 etc; (expressing destiny) D/155, 487, T2/157; (as subj. equivalent, conditional) should, were to, would D/327, 331, 339, 392, T1/25, 321, T2/146, 156, 280, C/121, 348, 447, 579 etc; schulde(l)est pa.t.sg. D/377, C/1015; schul(en, schulun pa.t.pl. T2/39, 47,
50, 54, 332 etc; shulden, schulden pa.t.pl. T2/7, 10, 43, 294, C/2, 3, 9 etc; sculd pa.t.sg./pl. T2/58, 87, 207, 363.

schame n. disgrace T2/56; for ~ ashamedly, in embarrassment D/145, T2/60.

schame inf. to feel shame, to be ashamed T2/319, C/18; schame~ pr.pl. T1/*252; schame pr.pl. C/506; schame jussive subj. C/637, 962.

schamefast adj. shameful, degrading T1/315 (see commentary).

schameful adj. shameful, wicked C/746.

schapelarie n. scapular, short cloak worn by Benedictine monks when engaged in manual labour C/745.

schapen pr.pl.refl. prepare themselves (OED v. 15, but perhaps also with sense of OED v. 7, transform) C/505; schapen pp. shaped, formed C/14.

schaping vbl.n. transformation (from OED v.76) C/138.

schap(p)e n. form, shape C/35, 36.

scharpe adj. harsh, severe C/71, 879; cruel C/318, 991.

scharpeliti, scharpily adv. strongly C/73; severely C/73, 75, 78, 207, 427 etc.

scharp(e)nesse n. harshness, severity C/37; speed, keenness T2/31.

scharping vbl.n. sharpening, honing C/138.

schatered see scatered.

schaunged pp. exchanged, changed C/46 (aphetic form for exchanged).

sche pron.fem.nom. she T1/278, 368 etc; see also scho.

sched pp. (+ prep. in) diffused into, cast into D/158.

schende~ pr.3 sg. destroys, corrupts C/262, 904, 1073.

schepe n.pl. sheep; here fig: persons under the charge of a spiritual pastor D/302.

scheue~ see under schewe.

schipp n. ship T2/286; schippes, schippis pl. T2/285, C/549.
scho pron.fem.nom. she D/364. See also sche.
scholde see under schuld(e).
schort(e adj. little amount C/564; (of time) short, brief D/392, T2/175, 310 etc.
schourged pp. scourged, flogged, punished T1/290.
|schrefte, schrifte (e n. confession D/114, 255, C/587, 588, 596, 599, 606, 607 etc; in phrases general ~ comprehensive confession made by the whole congregation C/601, 602, 621; special ~ private confession C/603.
schrewed adj. used as n. something wicked or depraved T1/234.
schrewednesse n. wickedness, depravity T1/233, 354.
schrift(e see schrefte
schriue inf. to hear confession and impose a penance D/470; schriuen pp. confessed D/122, C/590.
schriuynge vbl.n. hearing confession and granting absolution C/616.
schuld(e, schull(d, schulum see under schal(l.
science, sciens n. knowledge, learning, wisdom T1/18, C/87; scyences pl. branches of learning T1/13.
scyle, skil(l(e n. reason (as a faculty of the mind), power of discrimination D/380, T2/329; in the collocation resoune ne ~ D/456; cause, reason, argument T2/363; in phrase be pe (same/self) ~ by the same argument D/298, C/591, 638, 961, 1036; skill, cunning trick T2/371; skilis, skilles pl. D/282, 326, T2/290.
sclander n. slander, insult C/524.
sclae, sle inf. to slay, kill D/260, T1/110, C/433, 1047; to be slain D/251; slowen pa.t.pl. T2/302; slowe pa.t.subj.sg/pl. D/251, 258.
sclidynge pr.p. slipping; here, fig: lapsing morally, erring C/459.
scole n. the school of a medieval university D/28, C/736; (perh. esp. the theological school of the friars) C/123; business/mater of ~ scholastic affairs C/183, 760.
scome inf. to hold in disdain, despise C/225.
sculd see under schal(l.
se(e inf. to see; see pr.pl. T1/37: fig: to perceive, comprehend D/62, 73, T1/329, T2/211, 406, C/160, 440 etc; se pr.1 sg. D/30, C/553 etc; se pr.2 sg. T1/377; see\(^\text{\(\text{p}\)}\) pr.3 sg. C/598; scene pr.pl. T2/392; seen pa.t.pl. C/171, 176; see pr.plsubj. C/307; se imper. Look! Understand! C/437; sene pp. D/24, 123; seen, looked at D/141.

seche adj. such T2/364, 376; see also sich(e, such(e.

seche\(^\text{\(\text{p}\)}\), sechip, pr.3 sg. seeks C/43, 655.

seckenesse n. sickness, disease C/561.

seco(u)nd(e adj. ordinal second T2/18, C/200 etc.

sect(e n. class, kind: here, transf; religious order C/1096; sectes, sectis pl. esp. the friars’ orders C/77, 136, 158, 729, 955.

seculer(e adj. secular, non-clerical in phrase ~ office D/306; in phrases ~ men, laymen C/429, 479, 720: ~ lorde\(^\text{\(\text{s}\)}\), men in secular authority, esp. the Lords Temporal C/1035, 1039, 1058, 1086; eccles: secular as distinct from regular, members of the clergy not living under a monastic or fraternal rule, in phrase ~ prestis C/397, 444.

seculer n. a secular priest (see preceding entry) T1/3; seculeres, seculeris, seculers pl. T1/31, C/112. 441. 486, 554, 560, 722, 826.

secunde see seco(u)nd(e.

seed n. seed; here fig: source, in phrase ~ of errour C/159.

seey, sei(e, seien, seyne inf. to say, speak T1/102, 123, T2/195. 319, C/33, 112, 228 etc: (+ adv. out) to proclaim C/445; sei(e pr.1 sg. T1/207, C/147; sei, seist pr.2 sg. C/559, 848 etc; see\(^\text{\(\text{p}\)}\) pr.3 sg. C/598, 680; see\(^\text{\(\text{p}\)}\)(e, sey(e)p pr.3 sg. T1/4, 5, T2/146, 221, 345, C/42, 52 etc; seie, sey(e)n, seyn(e pr.pl. T1/23, 45, T2/142, 148, C/24, 408 etc; see\(^\text{\(\text{p}\)}\) pr.pl. T2/142; seye pr.subj. T2/353, C/947, 982 etc; seyd(e pa.t.sg. T1/63, 236. T2/94, 265, C/888 etc; seyde(n pa.t.pl. C/172, 177, 192 etc; seid(e pp. T2/112, 326, C/207, 224 etc; see also sai(e.

seel n. token, symbol in phrase comoun ~ seal belonging to the order in common C/1083, 1088, 1096, 1102.

seem see under semes.

seen see under se(e.

see\(^\text{\(\text{p}\)}\) C/598 see under se(e; C/680 see under seey.

seynge vbl.n. utterance in phrase masses~; saying of mass T1/227.

seynge ppl.adj. sighted T1/38.
seint(is see saint(e).

seke inf. to examine, search T2/67, search for, seek T2/127; seki> pr.3 sg. T1/322; soujt pp. sought T2/321.

sekyng vbl.n. seeking, questing C/127.

seldome adv. not often, seldom C/630.

self adj. same D/158, 298 etc.

sell inf. to sell D/433, 434 etc; sellen pr.pl. C/525; solde pp. D/436.

semeful adj. seemly, proper T1/272.

semes pr.2 sg. seem, appear D/23; seme>(e, semi> pr.3 sg. D/99, 150, T1/331, T2/305, 308, C/56, 110 etc; seem pr.pl. T2/*32; semen pr.pl. D/460, T2/224, C/411. 479; seme> pr.pl. T1/330.

semynge ppl.adj. apparent D/443.

sendinge vbl.n. action of giving, donating T1/351.

sendi> pr.3 sg. sends T1/2, 376; grants T1/149; sent pa.t.sg. T2/13; send jussive subj. D/505; sene see under se(e.

sen(n)t(is, sentes see under saint(e.

sensibli adv. in a manner perceptible to the senses C/829.

|sentence n. meaning, sense, matter C/21, 23, 209, 341, 445, 1035, 1095; meaning, opinion C/225, 273, 281, 850; authority T2/209, C/111, 1088.

sepulcre, sepulcur n. tomb D/362, C/11, 27.

|sepulture n. burial C/624.

ser, sir(e form of address, Sir D/13, 30, 326, 336 etc.

|sermones n.pl. sermons, religious discourse C/*973.

serten adj. certain C/1085; see also certen.

|serua(u)nt(e n. servant, subservient person in employment with worldly lord D/316, 317, T1/2, 192, 376, T2/227, C/114, 1063 etc; in phrase Godes ~ priest C/946; seruauntes, servauntes pl. servants D/133, C/875; God's ~ Cristis ~ priests D/101, C/1009, 1010, 1060.

|serve inf. to serve, work for C/1037; fig: to honour, serve (esp. God, lords etc) D/240, 292, T2/42, 43, C/333, 927; fig: to ~ pe worlde, to be worldly C/332; servu> pr.3 sg. is useful C/404, 799; serven pr.pl. C/626; serveden pa.t.pl. T2/98; served pp. C/99, 104.
|service, seruise(e| service, duty, work in service D/323, 468, T2/17, 228, C/260, 712, 1043, 1068 etc; in phrase temperall, secular work D/322; theol: worship D/321, T1/182, 227, *231, T2/79, 97, C/44, 329, 565, 718 etc; in phrase to pe fend, worship of the devil T1/355.

sett inf. to put, place; here fig: in phrase plantes, to plant, fig: to establish. D/61 (OED v.12); settip pr.3 sg. fig: places mentally, posits T1/134; sett pr.pl. T2/193; settynghe pr.p. T1/326; sette pp. established, ordained (OED v.48) C/458.

sette see under sitte.

sep en cj. since, because C/666; see also sipen.

seue see under sewe

seuen num. seven, in phrases dedes/warkes of merci D/103, T2/415, 417.

sewe, swe, sue inf. to follow, take as guide T2/19, 262, C/142, 156, 217 etc; to be followed C/301; sewe, sue pr.3 sg. C/217, 257, 268; v.intr. follows, derives from C/222, 728; swe, sue(n, sven pr.pl. T2/47, 265, C/272, 350, 384(iii) etc; sewed pa.t.sg. C/325: sewed, sed pa.t.pl. C/301, 303 etc; sewe pr.sg.subj. C/296; sue pr.pl.subj. C/384(i); sued pa.t.sg.subj. C/294. [OF suer, siwer]

sewynq, suyng vbl.n. pursuit C/152, 437.

shulden see under schal(l.

sich(e adj. such D/49, 148, 150, T2/33, 53, C/719, 1073; as pron. such a one T2/187; see also seche, such(e.

sicurly adv. certainly, surely C/121.

side n. (denoting position) side, T2/412: on pe topur, on the other hand T2/147; sidis pl. factions, parties T1/3.

signe n. sign, indication, token C/1067; signes, singnes pl. (pejoratively) tokens, omens T2/180, C/2, 12, 43, 45, 57, 655, 659, 662, 667, 668, 675, 827, 829.

signifie inf. to represent, betoken, indicate C/650; signifiep pr.3 sg. C/38.

sist n. sight; here fig: (mental) perception T1/35, 154, 157 etc.

simonie n. simony, practice of trading in sacred things C/622.

symple adj. simple, irrational, in phrase bestis T1/310.

sin(e see syn(ne.
synful adj. wicked C/596.

singnes see signe.


synguler adj. belonging to the individual, personal, private, one's own T1/129.

sinken inf. to become submerged, to founder; here fig. and transf: to fall low, degenerate, fail C/320; sunken pp. sunk. swallowed up C/543; in proverbial phrase ~into helle C/545.

|syn(n)e, sine n. sin D/114(i), 121, 273, T1/40, 43, T2/59, 61, 200, C/26, 34 etc; in phrases dedeli ~, mortal sin D/300(i), T1/170, 172, 174 etc; ologyss ~, the state of sin common to mankind since the Fall T1/112, 131, 154; ~of omyss.ion, sinful acts T1/81; ~of omyss.ion, failure to do what is right T1/83, 109; synnes, synnis pl. D/110, T1/75, T2/410, C/304 etc.

|syn(ne inf. to sin D/114(ii). C/74. 206 etc; synneh pr.3 sg. T1/70, 73 etc, T2/408; synnen pr.pl. T1/171, C/131 etc; synneh pr.pl. T1/72; synned pa.t.sg. T1/174, C/326 etc; synned(e) pa.t.pl. T1/117, C/724 etc; synneden pa.t.pl. T2/301; synned pp. T1/151, T2/57, C/122 etc.

synnynge vbl.n. sin, the act of sinning T1/174.

sistris n.pl. sisters; here, fig. and transf: the estates of the realm T2/41, 72, 77, 89, 90.

sitees n.pl. cities C/54.

sip adv. then, moreover T1/246: afterwards T2/252: after, since T1/369.

sip(e cj. since, because, seeing that T1/55, 59, 372, T2/6, 99, 191, C/91, 551 etc.

sipen n. time, in phrases feile ~, ofte ~, many a time C/505, 626; sipes. sipus pl. times C/75; in phrase ofte ~T1/84, 85, C/303, 1038 etc.

sipen cj. since, seeing that, because D/165, 210, T2/328, C/1, 6, 25 etc; in phrase ~pat, because, since D/384, C/94, 108, 299; see also sepen.

sipen adv. (of time) since C/145, 232 etc; then, afterwards C/183, 645, 814; in phrases ~pat, after, since D/337; ~... &~; then... and afterwards C/647, 648.

sitte inf. to sit, to be seated C/754; to occupy a position C/106; sittip pr.3 sg. in phrase ~at pe mete, sits to eat T1/98; pr.pl. in phrase ~upon, repress D/92; satt pa.t.sg. D/87; sette pp. C/104.
syuyl adj. civil, as distinguished from criminal, in phrase *lawa*; Roman law (OED adj. 19) T1/266.

six num. six C/172, 1102.

skil(l(e) see scyle

skil(l)full adj. reasonable, proper, natural D/83, 84.

skilfulli adv. properly, rationally D/317, C/536.

skriepr pr.pl. distinguish, characterize or make known, declare (used in fig. sense; see OED 'descry', v.(1)) C/637. [aphetic form of *descry*, OED v.2, to describe, originating by confusion of verbs 'descrive' and 'descry' v. (1)]

sle see sclee

sleepipr see under slepe.

sleing vbl.n. slaying, killing C/236, 237, 679 (i, ii).

slepe inf. to sleep C/709; transf. and fig; to neglect, be idle about T1/73; sle(e)ipr pr.3 sg. T1/95, 97; slept pa.t.pl. C/382; slepte pp. T2/349.

slepynge vbl.n. sleep; here fig: neglect T1/74.

slowe adj. slow; here fig: slothful, (or perch. slow in understanding) C/153.

slowe(n v.pa.t. see under sclee.

smacchepr pr.3.sg. smacks of, savours of; here fig. and transf: strongly indicates or suggests C/718; smacchepr pr.pl. C/721; smac(c)hen pr.pl. C/714 (i, ii).

smyte inf. to strike D/491, 492; smote pa.t.sg. (+ adv. of) D/488; smyten pp. smitten; here fig: infected, blemished (OED v.9) C/49, 935.

snibbe pr.1 sg. reprimand, reprove C/868.

so adv. (emphatic), so much D/38, 191, T1/19, 86, T2/61, 102, C/36, 324 etc; thus, therefore, in such a way D/2, 22, 150, 160, T1/34, 36, T2/59, 82, C/4, 16 etc; as well, also D/266, T1/58, 167, T2/170, 176, C/338, 377 etc; ~ at, accordingly, for that reason, therefore D/62, 354, 419, C/34, 498; in such a way that T1/120, T2/27, C/14, 75 etc; in order that T2/9; ~st ~; therefore D/252, 398, T1/79, 91 etc; ~f ~; ~if (+ subj.) therefore if C/294, 380.

softly adv. gently, mildly T2/341.

soget adj. subject D/163; see also sugett.
solde see under sell

solempne adj. solemn, grand, imposing C/805.

som pron.pl. some, a number D/4.

some adj. some, a few D/354.

somedele adv. somewhat, in some measure or degree D/21; as pron. a part, some part C/174.

somer n. used attrib. summer D/426.

sommes n.pl. numbers, sums, reckoning T1/11.

somme~ing, sum~ing pron. something T1/130; as adv. in some respects T1/132.

somounyngge vbl.n. calling together by authority (as by a summoner) D/118.

sondri adj. various, different D/308.

sone n. male child, son; esp: one who displays the spirit of a son T1/138, 139, T2/271; ~gostelf, spiritual follower D/250; mannes ~, Christ (transl. Vulgate filius hominis, Mark 10.45, Matthew 8.20) T2/228, 267, 271; sonen, sones pl. T1/123, 142.

sone adv. soon, straightaway D/281, C/167.

soope, so(e) adj. true D/110, 196, T1/39, 318, T2/142, 149, C/520, 607 etc; in phrase ~it es D/99, T2/145. C/482 etc; logic: true T1/9, 10, 24, 25, T2/397; (as n.) truth D/37, C/883; (as adv.) truly D/97, 223 etc, C/559.

|sophester n. sophist, learned man, one distinguished for learning (OED 'sophist' n. 2) C/18; sophistris pl. specious reasoners C/22.

soplaunt, supplant inf. to bring to nought, overthrow, dispossess D/16, 169, 177; supplauntid pp. D/392.

sori adj. repentant, in phrase ~for sym D/121, 126, T1/199.

sorowe n. grief, distress T1/298; remorse C/304.

sorrowed pa.t.pl. sorrowed, regretted C/958.

soteler adj.comp. more subtle, more cunning, more crafty C/41.

so(e) n., adj. and adv. see soo~
sop(e)li adv. truly, in truth C/426, 705, 955 etc.

sopenes n. truth D/125.

sotilte n. subtlety, craft, ingenuity D/410.

souen, sowen pp. sown, spread about C/83, 93, 203, 547. [OE ðahan]

souȝt see under seke.

[soule n. spiritual aspect of man D/104, 260, T2/190, 247, C/16, 499 etc; poss. T2/249; in phrases cloyster of ~ spiritual sanctuary C/11, 13, 66, 453, 707 etc; businesse in ~ spiritual concern C/663; chirche of ~ the spiritual church in contrast to the institutional church C/803; of ~ adj. phrase, spiritual D/335, C/652, 716, 793; soules, soulis, sowles pl. D/266, 274, T2/27, C/263, 513 etc.

souneþ, souniþ pr.3 sg. (+ prep. in/to) suggests by sound, inclines to, is consonant with, associated with or connected with T2/33, 102, C/719.

[souerayne adj. sovereign, supreme D/64.

[souerayne n. sovereign, lord, leader, head of the realm D/69, 397, 398; soueraines, souereyns pl. D/450, 451, 467, T2/137.

[souerainte n. supremacy, position as ruler, supreme authority D/423, 425, 468.

souereynliche adv. acting in a sovereign manner, as a ruler (OED adv. 2); here fig. and trans: autonomously, arbitrarily, independently T1/85 (see commentary).

sowen see under souen.

spake see under speike.

spare inf. to be sparing, hold back, refrain from C/213.

sparing vbl.n. showing mercy C/875.

[spetch(e. n. conversation, speech, discourse D/345. C/21, 212, 879, 992; in ~ manner of speaking C/586; spechis pl. statements T2/390; in phrase many maner of ~ many ways of speaking T2/1.

special adj. particular, individual C/603.

speciali adv. especially, particularly T1/247, T2/189, C/122, 235 etc.

specked ppl.adj. variegated, speckled, spotted (see commentary) C/364.

speculatif adj. used as n. speculation. theory C/88.

spede inf. to succeed, prosper C/976.

spendip pr.3 sg. spends; here fig: wastes T1/179; spenden pr.pl. C/81; ispende, sende pp. T1/183, 184.

spendynge vbl.n. spending, expenditure T1/30.

spensis n.pl. costs, expenses, expenditure C/133 (aphetic form: see also dispenses).

|spirit, sprit(e n. soul T1/118, 119, 121, C/371, 805; unseen force, T2/280; vital force C/25: spirites, spiritis pl. in phrase ~ in hell, damned souls T1/162, 168.

|spiritual(e, spirituelte adj. spiritual, immaterial (as distinct from bodily, material) C/800; eccles. sacred things (as distinct from secular) D/370, 398, 482.

|spiritualte, spirituelte n. eccles. estate or the property and revenue deriving from eccles. sources D/99, 100, 398, 467, 481, 502; spiritual condition or concerns or the state of being spiritual D/134, 149, 166, 203, 503.

spitten pr.pl. spit; fig: in phrase ~... wordes of venym, speak with strong emotion (OED v.1 c) C/509.

spoyle see under spoules.

spoken see under speike.

spores n.pl. spurs D/88.

spoules pr.3 sg. ruins, spoils C/813; spoyle pr.pl. despoil, plunder C/534; fig: ruin (in a spiritual or moral sense) C/653.

spouse n. wife; here fig. and theol: the church, bride of Christ T2/77, 79.

springe pr.pl.subj. spring, arise; here fig: originate, derive from C/676.

sprit(e see spirit.

spuyynge vbl.n. action of vomiting T2/307.

staaf n. staff, prop C/272.

stabled, istabeled pp. (aphetic form) established, made stable D/360, C/136.
stabilnesse n. stability, steadfastness C/633.

stanchéd pp. stopped, repressed, put an end to C/1082.

stande inf. to stand, wait in position C/52; ~de, to maintain, support C/936; standeþ, standiþ pr.3 sg. (+ prep. in) consists of C/6, 351, 1041; (+ prep. wit) belongs to C/929; standeþ pr.pl. C/432, 651. See also stonde.

state n.(1) condition D/207, 209, 234, T2/312, 323, 324, C/307; estate, one of the three estates or classes of the realm T2/66, 93, 277, 295, 304. [L status, OF; aphetic form of estat].

statutes n.pl. laws, decrees C/980, 983.

stedefast adj. resolute C/*597.

steward n. official who controls domestic or financial affairs, overseer D/305.

stif(e)ly adv. strongly, firmly C/460, 1046.

stille adj. silent C/879; as adv. quietly, calmly T1/97.

stynkyng pr.p. stinking, reeking C/3.

styr(r)(e) inf. stir; here fig: to incite, encourage T1/273, T2/230, 333, C/409; styrþ pr.3 sg. T1/298, T2/332; styrþ pr.pl. C/44.

styrynge vbl.n. incitement, encouragement T1/292, 297; incitement, provocation C/735.

stodie, studie inf. to study C/3, T2/255; stodyen pr.pl. T1/334.

stode see under stonde.

stok n. stump, main trunk of a tree; fig: race, line of descent C/511.

stonde inf. to stand, remain firm, endure T2/130, 151, 211, C/458, 459; in phrase ~wele, to be in favour D/502; ~to, to submit to C/252; ~ for, to defend C/312; stondeþ, stondiþ pr.3 sg. C/274, 825(ii); (+ prep. in) consists of C/371, 534, 825(i) etc; stonden pr.pl. C/675; stondeþ pr.pl. (+ prep. in) C/784; (+ prep. wit) C/1043; stonde imper. T2/125, C/1045; stode pa.t.sg. C/1045, 1049; stode pa.t.subj. C/314. See also stonde.

stoned pp. stoned (as a form of persecution) T2/378.

stonys n.pl. stones, foundation blocks T2/75.

stopped pp. filled up, plugged up (in the sense 'made good', 'repaired' OED v. 4) C/859(i); plugged up (in sense 'obstructed', OED v. 9) C/859(ii).
story n. history, legend (as relating to a saint's life) C/1050.

straite, streit adj. strict, direct D/244, T2/214; outspoken, direct (of speech) C/1035.

straitliche adv. strictly D/348.

strange see stra(u)nge.

stranglen pr.pl. strangle, kill; here transf. and fig: destroy spiritually C/510.

strau(n)ge adj. unknown, unfamiliar C/992, 996.

straungen intr.pr.pl. (+ prep. fro) differ from, are alienated in feeling from (OED v.5) C/757. [aphetic form of estrange]

strec(c)he't>(e intr.pr.3 sg. stretches; fig: extends to, has a specified range D/100, 162, 226; streche pr.sg.subj. D/98.

streit see straite.

strengpe n. authority, power T2/16; fortitudo, one of the cardinal virtues C/458.

|stryue(n pr.pl. struggle, content C/165, 749, 751; strof pa.t.pl. C/751.

|stryues n.pl. contentions, quarrelling C/*746, 752; berkyng of ~; the noise of contention, arguments C/189.

stryuing vbl.n. contention, struggling; here perh.transf: compulsion, force (transl.Vulgate coacte) T2/233.

|stronge adj. strong; here legal: able-bodied, in phrases ~bigginge, ~biggers T1/228, 231, 234, 238 etc.

studie see stodie.

studdinge vbl.n. studying T1/226.

subjectes see sugettes.

successores n.pl. successors, those who follow or succeed in time or office D/139.

such(e adj. such D/275, 295, T1/121, T2/123, 251, C/9, 23, 43 etc; see also seche, sich(e.

sue(n, sued etc. see under sewe.

suelowen pr.pl. swallow C/683.

|suffer, suffrin inf.intr. to suffer, endure C/308, 318, 1044; suffer pr.pl. D/91; suffered pa.t.sg. C/419; suffrid pp. T2/159; inf.trans. to allow, permit C/129; suffereɸ, sufferiɸ pr.3 sg.
suffering vbl.n. endurance, experience C/424, 1044 etc.
sufficed pa.t.sg. sufficed, was sufficient for C/956.
sufficient adj. adequate, satisfactory T2/128, C/270, 583 etc.
sufficiently adv. capably, ably T2/121.

suggett n. subject, servant, one bound by obligation to a superior C/1041; subiectis, suggettis, suggetes, suggetis pl. servants, subjects D/327, 347, 450, 472, 484, T2/68, C/1032, 1037, 1077.

sum(me) adj. some T1/170, T2/3, C/482 etc.; as adv. C/129; as pron. T2/6(i,ii), 86(i,ii), C/714(ii), 715, 892 etc. See also som.

sumtyme adv. once, formerly C/135; sometimes C/372, 629.

sumbing as adv. in some way T1/132.

sumwat adv. in some way C/725.

sungon see synge.

sumken see under sinken.

superflu adj. superfluous, unnecessary C/485.

supplant see under sopplaunt.

suppose inf. to expect C/1005; suppose pr.1 sg D/38; supposed pp. C/638; suppose, supposon inf. to conjecture, imagine, think (in contrast to certain knowledge) T2/152, C/303; suppose pr.1 sg. T2/398, 401(i,ii), 402, C/559; supposen pr.pl. T2/396, C/949, 950; suppose jussive subj. C/606.

sure adj. certain C/1048; secure C/1055.

surely adv. certainly T2/401.

suspect(e) ppl.adj. suspected, under suspicion, in phrase ~ of D/383, C/1104.

suspecte jussive subj. let us consider suspect C/1098.

suspended, suspendid pp. put in abeyance C/84, 100; legal: abrogated T/237.

sustene inf. to uphold, support, maintain C/317, 548; sustene pr.3 sg. C/365; sustenen pr.pl. T2/37; sustenyd pp. T2/72.

sustynaunce n. sustenance, support, means of livelihood T2/21, 25, 35.
swaged pp. appeased, assuaged T2/293 (aphetic form of assuage)

swe(n under see sewe.

sward(e n. sword, instrument of penal justice D/488, 489, 491: fig: symbol of authority D/350, 475, 481(ii, ii), 490, 492(ii), 495, 498: fig: in phrases ~ of pe goste, scripture D/492(ii); ~ of gode teching..., instrument of spiritual power D/496; swerdes, swordes pl. D/478, 479.

swete n. livery, suit C/297.

tabernacle n. shrine; in phrase ~ of covenaut, a portable shrine which was the sign of the agreement between God and Moses T2/98.

taght, ta3t see under teche.

take inf. to take, receive D/297, T2/25, 34, 80, C/726; (+ prep. or prep. phrase fro(m, awaie from) to take away, deprive, confiscate D/239, 277, 517(ii): dimin ish C/360; fig: in phrase ~ ensample, to follow C/726; takip pr.3 sg. T2/154; takep pr.3.sg (+ prep. in) fig: consumes C/471; taken pr.pl. (+ prep. of) C/1078; refl. betake themselves C/410; take pr.sg.subj. C/517(ii): taking pr.p. T2/306; took, took pa.t.sg. (+ prep. fro of) D/314, 320, T1/327, C/86; (+ prep. to) entrusted D/55; taken pp. C/717; (+ prep. in of) D/294, C/471; (+ prep. phrase awea fro) D/291; (+ prep. phrase oute of) excluded T2/167; take pp. fig: caught, captured D/487, C/681; in phrase ~ in his borde, promised D/245; in phrases with heede, pay attention, take heed D/477, C/323, 423, 464, 707, 979, 1077; take inf. (+ prep. upon, on, to) to undertake D/148, T2/275; take(n pr.pl. D/229, C/949; taken pp. D/16; takest pr.2 sg, understand C/440; taken pr.pl. C/470; take pr.subj.sg/pl. D/81; take imper. C/147; take pp. C/822; be occacioun ~, because of C/668.

tale n. story, account, explanation D/147, C/996, 998; talis pl. T2/364.

talke inf. to talk, speak C/865.

tallyages n.pl. levies, grants; esp, arbitrary taxes levied by Crown or municipalities on feudal dependants D/216.

tau3t, taute see under teche.

taxes n.pl. compulsory levies or subsidies paid to government D/215.

|tech(e)n inf. to teach, instruct, direct D/29, 46, 64, 102, 106, 255 T2/20, 30, 39, 50, 129, C/501, 512, 820, *941, 1058 etc; techep, techip pr.3 sq. T1/276, T2/145, 232, C/2, 49, 73 etc; techis pr.3 sq. T2/192; teche pr.pl. D/342, T2/25, C/29; techen, techn T1/36, T2/248, C/533; teche pr.sg.subj. T2/370; techen pr.pl.subj. T2/256; teche imper. D/39, C/1086, 1088; taght, ta(u)yt pa.t.sg. taught D/35, 235, C/108(2i), 1029; tau3t pa.t.pl. T2/231; itau3t, tau3t pp. T1/21, T2/115, *138,
demonstrated, showed T2/264.

teching(e vbl.n. teaching D/497, T2/28, C/271, 496.

tell(e, tele inf. to tell, recount, inform D/31, T2/156, 336, C/221, 578 etc; reckon, estimate C/606; in phrases ~ forp, relate publicly D/106; teche & (...) ~ D/255, C/502; tell pr.1 sg. D/284; tellep, tellip pr.3 sg. tells T2/94, 261, C/345, 375 etc; telle(n pr.pl. C/149, 426, 748 etc; (+ prep.by) esteem C/688, 836; tellep, tellip pr.pl. reckon, count T1/10; tell(e imper. tell D/27, 39, C/144, 1082; tolde pp. (+ prep.by) valued, honoured C/172.

telling vbl.n. proclamation; here transf: preaching, in phrase ~ of Goddis lawe T2/32.

|temparal, temperal(l(e, temperele adj. worldly, secular, lay, in phrases ~ mannes/men D/415, 431, 493; ~ lordschip D/152; ~ office D/304; ~ powere D/473, 482, 494, 498; ~ service D/321; ~ sword(e D/490, 491; temporal, worldly, in phrases ~ gode/goodis D/397, 410, T1/304, C/87, 530, 1078; ~ possessions D/211; as n. layman D/433; temporal(e)s with pl.n. lorde; ~ secular lords, i.e. Lords Temporal D/473, 474.

|temperall n. see under temperal, adj.

|temperalte n. temporal estate of realm D/5, 218, 222, 472, etc; secular affairs, material possessions and rights D/*/98, 165, 205, 481, 501, 503; temperaltes pl. D/397.

|temperance n. temperance, moderation; here, the fourth cardinal virtue C/463, 466, 472, 706.

temperatli adv. moderately, without excess C/*/708 (see commentary).

temple n. the Jewish synagogue T1/236, C/789, 791, 810; temples pl. churches C/805.

temptep pr.3 sg. tempts, allures, puts to the test T2/316; temptying pr.p. T2/386; tempted pp. C/621.

ten num. ten (esp. relating to the Decalogue) ~ commaundmentes, ~ hestis D/56, T1/46, C/906 etc.

tenauntes n.pl. tenants, leaseholders C/1078.

tendurly adv. caringly, attentively (OED adv.2 b) C/840.

tenpe adj.ordinal tenth T1/231.

|testament n. testament, agreement, will; theol: newe ~ the law of Christ's dispensation D/67.

|pai pron.3 pl.nom. they D/10, 43 etc. See also pei.
aim pron.dative pl. them D/11; refl.pl. themselves D/7.

pair poss.pron. their D/8, 122 etc. See also her(e, peire.

pan(n)e adv. then D/37, 46, T1/115, T2/412, C/65, 88 etc; when T1/199.

pan(ne cj. than D/44, 161, T1/101, 119, C/41, 52 etc; (pleonastic with rapere) T1/152(i,ii).

panke n. thanks, gratitude C/102.

panke pr.1 sg. thank T1/237.

pat demons.pron. that D/84, 94, T1/64, 140, T2/35, 103 etc; (introducing explanation of preceding phrase) C/112, 134, 186 etc; in phrases ~ as (to say), D/121, T1/52, 80, T2/55, C/33; (in apposition with following relative clause) ~, D/104(i), 106(i), 118(i), T1/37(i), 77(i), 80(ii), T2/382(i); as demons.adj. that D/35(i), 98, T1/72, 114, T2/60, 102, C/31, 83 etc.

pat rel.pron. (of things) that, which; (of persons) who, whom D/2, 6, T1/2, 7, T2/6, 13, C/10, 26 etc; (introducing rel. clause as subject or object, pleonastic with which, wat) who, which D/78, C/2; (with ellipsis of antecedent) what D/31, 112, T1/55, 76, C/147; (in apposition with demons.pron.) ~, D/104(ii), 106(ii), 118(ii), T1/37(ii), 77(ii), 80(iii), T2/382(ii) etc; (of time) when T1/71, C/46, 84 etc.

pat cj. that (introducing clause as subject or object of principal clause, or as complement of noun, or introducing clause of wish etc) D/4, 15, T1/21, 23, T2/138, 98, C/21, 42, 46 etc; (introducing adv. clauses of cause, purpose, result etc) because, so that, therefore, lest etc D/21, 28, T1/18, 60, 146, T2/12, 61, C/140, 347 etc; in cj.phrases so ~, so that D/3, T1/120, T2/9, 27, C/14, 34, 75 etc; in ~, inasmuch as C/325, 326, 339 etc; (pleonastic with cj. adv. or interrog. pron) because ~ because D/20, 30; siben ~ because C/94, 108, 300 etc: after ~, according to whether T1/25; after C/98; al be it ~, even though T1/32, 40, 67 etc; before ~, before C/80, 178 etc; how ~ how T2/86, C/323; whepur ~, whether T2/123; if ~ if T2/187, 334; (as object of unstated principal clause, introducing a proposition) T1/12, 27, 28.

pe def.art. the D/1, T1/4, T2/2, C/6, etc.

pe(e 2 pers.sg.pron. oblique cases you D/24, 27, 31, T1/237, T2/129, 170, C/19, 114 etc.

peere adv. there T1/64; see also per.

pefes, peues n.pl. thieves T1/229, C/1074, 1082.

pefte n. theft, robbery C/1081.

pei pron.pl.nom. they T1/32, T2/12, C/48 etc; see also pai.
peire, per(e) poss.adj. their T1/256, 263, T2/8, 71, 117, C/5, 32 etc; see also pair, her(e).

pe(i)se(e) adj.pl.demons. these T2/417, C/*18, 35 etc; see also pes(e), pis(e).

 pem pl.pron. oblique cases them T2/25, C/850; see also paim, hem.

pen(ne) cj. than T2/9, 55, 134, 309 etc.

pen adv. then T2/129, 238 etc.

penke, pennc inf. to think, consider (+ preps. on, upon) T2/7, C/550, 619; penkep, pink(ep) pr.3 sg. in impers.construction with dative of subject, I think D/18, 181, 412, 453, C/71, 124, 151, 226, 377 etc; penke(n, penkyn pr.pl. T2/178: refl. C/54: penke(n) imper. T2/128, C/640; in phrase ~ on, think about C/706; pousbe(n) pa.t.pl. C/156, T2/279.

per cj. where, in which D/351(i), 366, C/859; perto D/*124.

per(e) adv. there, then T2/58,216, 305,C/32; (unemphatic before v.) D/9, 192, T1/55, 75, T2/82, 389, C/62, 154 etc; (prefixed to prep./adv. to express neuter pron. 'it', 'that'): ~after for it T2/250; ~ajeyn on the contrary, against that T2/197; ~by by/through this D/141, 214, T2/2, 125, C/274; ~for(e) for that reason, in consequence D/27, 47, T1/7, 13, T2/341, C/8, 19 etc; ~in(ne) in that T1/148, 151, T2/62, 189, C/121, 227 etc; ~of about that D/15, 19, T2/253, C/130, 488 etc; ~on on that C/88; ~ouer, over it C/457; ~to to that end, to it D/140, 195, T2/361, C/229 etc; in addition C/390; ~torus, thereby T2/137; ~wip, with it D/240, 292, T2/212, 293, C/476.

per(e) poss.pron. see peire.

peras cj. whereas, in the case D/372.

pes(e) adj.pl.demons. these T1/28, 36, T2/72, 133, C/22, 39 etc; as sq.~sg.pron.pl. these C/778; see also pis(e).

peues see pefes.

pi(n)e poss.adj. your D/59, 147, T1/13, 213, T2/95, 127, C/114, 849 etc.

picee adv. freely, liberally C/*203; pickelier adv.comp. C/479.

pilk(e) demons.adj. that, those T1/16, 93 etc; as pron. T1/34, 117, 159 etc.

ping(e) n.sg./pl. thing(s, matter(s), affair(s) D/136, 433, T1/46, T2/101, C/61, 111 etc; in phrase alle ~ everything T1/5, 41, 45 etc; with prefixed adj./adv. sum/somme~ something T1/130; no~, nothing T1/188, T2/81, C/213, 923 etc; any~, ony~, anything D/402, C/256, 918 etc; ping(e)s, pingis pl. T1/16, T2/111, C/8 etc.
pink(e) see under penke.

pinking vbl.n. thought, consideration T2/197.

pis adj.demons.sg. this D/19, 29, T1/37, 51, T2/17, 23, C/3, 5 etc; as pron. this one, this thing etc. T1/63, T2/8, 199, C/97, 107 etc; pl. these D/62, C/23, 142, 161 etc.

pis pron.demons.sg. this C/93; pl. these T2/36, 38, C/130, 189 etc; as pron. these ones T2/212, 274, 404, C/216, 446 etc.

piself pron.refl./emphatic yourself D/47, C/112 etc; pisilf T1/213.

po def.art. the T2/23 (see commentary).

po adv. then D/206, 207.

po of cj. though D/149, 357, 485; in phrase ~ *at, though, nevertheless D/160.

po(o demons.adj.pl. those D/291, C/867.

porse, porous, porou, porou prep. through, by means of, because of D/287, 445, T1/122, T2/48, 59 etc, C/261.

pou, pow pron.2 sg. you D/13, 22, 42, T2/127, C/97 etc.

pous, pow cj. though T1/337, T2/72, 171, 174 etc, C/630; ~ al, although T2/168.

poust n. thought, mind T1/189, C/328, 654.

poust(en see under penke.

pousan(e, powsand num. thousand T2/338, C/279, 280, 311, 1079.

pousanfolde adv. a thousand times C/797.

pred(e, pride, pridd(e adj.ordinal third T2/36, 115, C/201 etc; ~ dele/parte, a third D/212, 418; as pron. ~ pe ~ the third one C/1071.

pre(e num. three D/362, T1/180, T2/14 C/32 etc.

pries adv. three times, thrice C/47, 646.

pristi pr.3 sg. thirsts; here fig: desires T2/206.

pritty num. thirty T2/9.

pu pron.2 sg.nom. you D/344, T2/417, C/89 etc.

pus adv. thus, in these words D/69, C/10; thus, in this way T2/3, 40, C/13, 67 etc.

thulleris pron.pl. others T1/271. [unrecorded but perh. cognate with pilke, helliche etc., of this kind]
til(l prep. until, to, as far as D/444, T2/333, C/585, 963 etc.
tilled pa.t.sg./pl. (+ adv. forp) attracted, enticed out C/310.
tyme n. (period, duration) time T2/25, 174, C/102, 135, 140 etc; in phrases longe " for a long time D/32, 192; short(e) " soon D/392, T2/310(i), 319; in processe of " in the course of time, in due time D/420, 439, C/289; be " in good time D/446; for " for litle " for a while T1/21, C/348, 972, 1005; in " eventually Ti/96; to pe " until Ti/71; lymytid, limitid to " appointed time T2/194, C/603; wipouten ende, eternity T2/310(ii); oft " often T2/342; occasion, era Ti/72, 181, 369, T2/60, 262, 285, 291, C/170 etc; in phrases Cayms " C/181, Innocentis " C/170, 183, Silvester " C/280, 298; arsen pe " from the time, since C/164; pat " then, in that era D/189, 204; when C/84; times (sg. for pl.) C/497, 666; pl. oft tymie(s, often T2/19, 342.
|tirantrie n. tyranny, oppressive rule C/504.
title n. title; legal: deed, title, that which justifies a claim, a recognized right, entitlement: eccles: certificate of presentment to a benefice, applied here derisively to the friars' claims concerning their foundation C/198.
types, tipis n.pl. a tenth, paid as dues T1/238, T2/97, 99, 103.
to prep. (direction) to, before, up to, in front of, into T1/35, 36, T2/40, 43(i,ii), 48, C/63, 65 etc; towards Ti/236, 239, T2/2(ii), 6, C/30, 132(i,ii) etc; into C/262, 311; as far as D/98, 99 etc; at D/125; (time) until Ti/71; in phrase from daye " daye T2/151(i); (purpose) in order to D/16, 60, 61, Ti/8, 233, 260, T2/1, 31, 42, C/3, 45 etc; for " in order to C/13, 19; (before direct object) D/132, 345, T2/12, 43(ii) etc; (before indirect object) D/10, 21(ii), Ti/7, 20, T2/49(ii), 78, C/41, 55(i); towards, concerning, with respect to D/38, Ti/118, 191, T2/39, 53(i); C/143, 399 etc; for, on behalf of, for the sake of D/103(ii), 194, *273, T1/249, 259(i), T2/46, C/44, 82 etc; against D/269,Ti/192,C/61,108; in phrase gilt " D/22; as " as for D/94, C/68; with, among D/155, T1/328(i,ii), T2/132, T2/101, C/329; by C/266; under D/327, 472(ii), 484 etc; in the view of, according to C/456(ii); in phrase put " add to C/360; in phrases speike, so to say C/14; don " dep C/274.
to cj. until D/193.
to adv. too D/21(i), Ti/100, T2/365, C/71 etc.; twice, in phrase so gode, twice as good C/964.
todai(e today, this day D/158; these days C/307, 313.
tofor(e adv. previously, before D/79, 148, 267, 384 etc.
togeder(e, togider, togidre adv. together D/2, C/988; in phrases at oonis " corporately T2/181; disputiden " debated T2/4; knytt ... " unite T2/38; gederid " founded C/185; contrarien " contradict
each other C/529; answeren ~ mean the same, are synonymous C/857.

toke, took see take.

token(e, tokyn n. sign, symbol D/302, T2/212; in phrase in ~ as a sign D/480, 490, T1/325, C/488.

tolde see tell(e.

tong(e, tunge n. tongue, the organ of speech; here transf: speech T1/303, C/508.

took see under take.

torn(e inf. to turn, change, substitute, become D/275; fig: (+ adv. agayn) to return D/233; turnep pr.3 sg. C/492; turnen pr.pl. C/454, 863; turne pr.sg.subj. T2/369; torned, turned pp. D/403, C/496.

toper, topur adj. (with prefixed article) the other, in phrases on pe ~ syde, on the other hand T2/147; pe ~ part, the other side T2/290; tophere as pron.sg/pl. the other(s T1/367, C/286.

touchinge pr.p. as prep. with respect to, concerning D/112.

trayterouse adj. treacherous T1/194, 196.

traitour n. one guilty of treason C/114, 118: traitors, traitours, traitourres, traituris pl. D/258, C/500, 1074, 1076.

trauail(le, traueyle, trauel(e, trauel n. work, labour T1/29, 254, 269, 285, T2/24, 29, 33, 37, 71, 72, 73, C/33, 518, 740, 745; trauayles pl. fig. and transf: sufferings T1/289.


trauaylynge, trauellynge, treueylynge vbl.n. action of working, labour, work T1/225, 275, 281, 292.

trauaylous adj. industrious T1/245.

traueyloures n.pl. workers T1/257.

tree n. tree, productive plant T1/361; fig: source T1/374.

tresore, tresoure n. treasure, wealth D/313, 318; transf: treasury T1/366, 370.

tresoreere n. treasurer, one entrusted to keep the treasure D/306.

tresoune n. treason, betrayal D/427.
trespas(s)e n. offence, sin T1/193, 195, T2/177, C/701, 843; trespasosis pl. T2/330.

trespas inf. to sin, offend C/841; trespasaun pr.pl. C/500; trespassid pp. T1/192.

treten pr.pl. speak about, discuss C/5.

|treue, trewe adj. honest, true, correct T1/12, 13, 53; faithful, steadfast T2/41, 44; perh. those of Lollard persuasion, in phrases ~ bishops, T2/278; ~ men C/253; ~ Cristen man C/224; see also true.

|treupe, trewpe n. the truth, that which is factual T1/4, 7, T2/2, C/61, 74, 226, 319: righteousness, faithfulness T1/377, T2/158, C/39, 213, 805; logic: true proposition or statement T1/26: truehis pl. logic: true statements or propositions T2/391. See also trupe.

trewli(che adv. carefully, correctly C/837; in phrase wele & ~D/202. See also truly

Trinyte n. the three persons of the Godhead T2/81, C/918.

trist inf. to trust, have confidence, to rely D/21, T2/176, C/487; tristen pr.pl. C/877; tristéjussive subj. C/863; tristinge pr.p. D/89.

tristily adv. on trust C/319.

troufulinges vbl.n.pl. trifles; transf: jesting talk C/497.


trubily adj. troubled, muddy C/461.

|true adj. faithful T2/97; perh. indicating those of the Lollard sect, in phrases ~ preestis T2/23; ~ laborers, T2/72; ~ Jordis, T2/41; ~ men T2/160, 178, 181, 384; see also treue.

truly adv. correctly, properly T2/30, 157.

trust n. trust, reliance T2/193.

|trupé n. truth, facts T1/5, T2/297, 346, 406; righteousness T2/301, 348, 361, 365, 380, 398; logic: truth, true propositions T2/393, 394. See also treupe.

tuele num. twelve C/390.

tunge see tongue.
tuo, two num. two D/479, T2/3, C/4, 34 etc; as pron. T1/135, 215.
turned, turnen see under torn(e).
turnynge vbl.n. (+ prep. phrase away to) action of returning to T2/307; (+ adv. away) deflection, deviation T1/108.
twey num. two T1/75.
tweyas adv. twice T1/237.
tweyn num. two T1/212; as pron. the two T1/6.
two see tuo.

vnabel, vnable adj. incompetent C/250; incapable T2/137; (+ prep. to) incapable of T1/191.
vnauysed ppl.adj. rash, imprudent, ill-advised T1/42.
vnbyme nde inf. to unbind; here theol: to forgive, absolve, 'loose' D/113, 120; vnbyndest pr.2 sg. D/72; vnbounden pp. D/72.
vncerteyne adj. unsure, dubious T2/367.
vnciaungeable adj. invariable T2/128.
vnclene adj. defiled; transf: evil C/677.
vndelyberacioun n. thoughtlessness, in phrase of, without due thought or consideration T1/100.
vnder, vndir, vndur prep. (position with respect to authority etc.) beneath, below, subject to D/78(i,ii), 220, 424, T1/344, T2/137, 151, C/179; under, in phrases of colour of, in the disguise of, in the name of T1/270; per comon seel, by the authority of C/1083 etc.
vndernym inf. to rebuke, reprove D/86.
vndernymbynge vbl.n. action of rebuking D/387.
vnderstande(n see under vnderstonde.
vndoynge vbl.n. destroying D/68.
vndorne n. third hour of the day (i.e. about 9.00 a.m.); eccles. the canonical hour of Tierce T2/195.

vngrounded pp. unfounded, not based on C/1036.

vnkynde adj. unnatural T2/306.

vnkyndely adv. unnaturally, in a degenerate way C/398.

vnknowen adj. strange, unfamiliar C/173, 261.

unleful adj. illicit, unlawful C/414. [syncopated form of unleueful, from ME leue, n. leave, permission]

vnpacient adj. impatient D/43.

vnri3tfull adj. unrighteous, unjust D/91.

vnri3tfullich adv. unjustly, unrighteously D/87.

vnskillfull adj. unreasonable, irrational, foolish D/94.

vnto prep. to T2/22, C/578.

vntrewe adj. faithless, false T1/188; unfaithful C/215.

vnworpi adj. unworthy, deficient in merit or reputation D/31.

vp adv. upwards, away, in phrases lyft ~ heue ~ raise T1/236, 239, 305; put ~ put away D/489; hold ~ bere ~ support, uphold, carry D/354, T2/287, C/862; seue it ~ stop, leave it alone D/500.

vpon prep. (of place) upon, on D/71; fig: D/87, C/80, 160, 272; (of manner) in C/590, 632, 644; out of C/873(ii); (of responsibility) upon D/16, 148; (of time) on C/645; in phrases drede ~ fear C/873(i); beren ~ bear down on, oppose C/526; puttyn ~ impute to C/378; penke ... ~ consider C/550.

vs, us 1 pron.pl. oblique cases, us D/92, T1/149, T2/163, C/1 etc.

vse n. use, practice, usage C/643; theol: religious ritual or observance C/592, 999; Salusbiri ~ the Sarum rite C/1000, 1028.


vsinge vbl.n. action of using C/632.

vtward adj. outer; theol: pertaining to the physical rather than to the spiritual T2/180.
vaken pr.pl. keep awake, keep watch C/382. [ON vakna]

value n. value, worth T2/260.

variaunce n. variation C/735.

varien pr.pl. vary, change, differ, deviate C/448, 1095; variden pa.t.pl. C/292; varied pp. C/363.

variing vbl.n. variability, mutability C/979.

vencuschepr.3 sg. vanquishes, conquers T1/5.

veyn(e adj. worthless, useless T1/17, 66.

venemous adj. poisonous; here, fig: corrupt C/461.

vengabel adj. retributive, vengeful C/425.

venge inf.refl. to avenge (themselves) C/383; venged pa.t.sg.refl. C/420.

vengeaunce, veniaunce n. vengeance, revenge, retribution D/298, C/877.

venym(e n. venom, poison; fig: evil D/157, 158, 461, C/109, 510, 716, 951, 1010.

vennymyd pp. poisoned; fig: corrupted T2/252.

verai, verrey adj. (emphatic) very, real, ture D/258, T1/35, 36.

verrylykere adv.comp. more truly T1/374.

| vertu(e n. power, vital force (as derived from the presence or action of virtue) C/246, 408, 528, 631, 670; in phrase be ~ of, through the power of C/408, 672; a virtue, goodness, moral excellence T1/68, 78, C/457, 460, 645 etc; in phrase mene of ~, the middle way of goodness C/708, 811: as personification, Crist pat is ~ C/645; vertues pl. virtues D/109, T2/49, C/15 etc;

vertues adj. virtuous C/18.

vessells n.pl. vessels, utensils, implements; here fig,and transf: those having the function or capacity of a vessel, capable of bearing the spirit and gospel of Christ T2/279 (transl. Vulgate vas electionis).

| vicarie, vicary, viker(e n. deputy, representative C/258; here eccles: the pope as the representative of Christ or God, in phrases Cristes ~, ~ of God/Crist, the pope D/51, 184, 200, C/218, 223, 242, 252; vikers pl. representatives T2/15.

vice n. sin, evil T1/68, T2/199, C/16 etc: vices pl. D/108, T2/49, C/78 etc.
vicious adj. - depraved, prone to vice C/249.

vyne n. wine C/963; see also wynne.

virgyne n. virgin C/619.

visyoun n. vision, miraculous appearance T1/317.

voice n. voice; transf: speech C/1013.

voidede pa.t.pl. removed, nullified; here theol: (of the eucharistic elements) annihilated C/1090.

vouchsaif inf. to condescend to do something (OED v.6) T2/204.

wai(e, weye n. path, route; fig: manner, means C/125, 310; in adv. phrases be (oni) ~, of/by (any) means D/113, 248, 295; by ~ of resoun, in a reasonable way T2/42; in pe ~, in the life T1/77, 79; weies pl. ways, manners C/81, 496.

wake v.intr.inf. to stay awake, be active and vigilant T2/62; wake v.trans.pr.sg.subj. activate T2/4350.

wakyng(e vbl.n. keeping vigil; here, observation of the night hours T1/235, T2/180, 188.

wal(l n. wall D/427; fig: signifying an aspect of morality necessary for the Christian life C/455, 707 etc; wallis pl. C/15, 28 etc.

wan(ne, wane adv. when C/77, 102, 603 etc; see also whan(e.


wantip pr.3 sg. impers. construction with dative of subject hym ~, he lacks C/25; wanten pr.pl. T2/73.

wantyng vbl.n. lack T2/31.

war(e adj. wary, prudent, cautious C/628; as adv. wary, cautious D/336, T2/369; see beware.

warkes n.pl. labours T2/415. See also werke.

was see pa.t. be.

wast n. waste, extravagance C/82, 657.

wat pron. what, which C/2, 97 etc; who C/9; interrog. what? C/923, 942 etc.

wat indef.art. whatever C/498, 536 etc.
water, watre, watur n. water T2/286, C/64, 69, 311 etc; fig: in phrase ~ of wisdom, that which conveys or endows with wisdom C/462(ii); wateris pl. C/66.

waxen pp. grown, become D/213.

webbe n. web (of a spider); transf. and fig: something which ensnares C/1092.

wedded, weddid, iweddid pp. married C/845, 895; closely associated with C/835; transf: bound, as in marriage T1/328; fig: obstinately attached, C/336, 626, 695, 930, 934, 998.

weddyng(e vbl.n. marriage; fig: close union C/45, 828, 1002; condition of being attached C/663, 832; weddings pl. C/43.

wede n. weed; here fig: an unprofitable or noxious growth T1/257.

weder n. weather, in phrase ~oe, weather vane C/863.

weis(e see wai(e.

wel(l(e adv.superl. well, excellently D/25, C/294, 506; fittingly, properly, carefully D/35, 40, 45, T1/217, 220, T2/35, 90, 145, C/286, 478 etc; (as an intensifier) certainly D/50, 62, T2/25, 149, C/122, 127 etc; in phrases als ~ also, equally, as well D/90, T2/76, C/662.

welle n. will, determination C/1020, 1022. See also wil(l(e.

wendep pr.3 sg. (+ prep. phrase out of) goes, departs, leaves C/10; went pa.t.sg. T1/368; pp. C/394.

wenen pr.pl. think, imagine T1/299; wenep pr.pl. D/123; wenynge pr.p. D/156.

went see under wendep.

werchen see under wirch(e

werde n. word T2/40; see also word(e.

were n. doubt, state of uncertainty, confusion D/15. [etym.doubtful; perh. cognate with OF werre, war; fig: confusion] 

were v.(1) inf. to wear C/364; werip pr.3 sg. in phrase as it ~ according to what it wears C/767.

were(n v.(2) see under pa.t. be.

were adv. where C/940; interrog. where? C/446. See also wher(e.

werip see under were v.(1).

werkday, werkmen, see under werk(e.

|werk(e n. task, labour, occupation D/313, 315(i,ii); transf: spiritual work, esp. cure of soul D/319. C/493: edifice, architectural
structure (OED n.11) D/314, T2/76; werkes, werkis pl. actions, deeds T1/191, 375, T2/10, 13, 398, C/101, 469, 661, 775, 864; ~ of mercy T1/273, 296; attrib. in compounds: ~ day n. days of the week except Sunday T2/31; ~ men n.pl. labourers D/314. See also werkes.

wers(e) adj.comp. worse D/428, T1/355, C/495, 767, 1092; as pron. a worse thing T1/195; worst adj.superl. C/1081; as adv. T1/193.

wete inf. to know C/9; see also wit(e), wist.

weper, wheper, whepir, whepur cj. used pleonastically to introduce a direct question: T2/164, C/282 (transl. L nonne); (introducing indirect question) whether D/28, *98, T1/205, T2/122, 152, C/397, 423 etc; used pleonastically to introduce an indirect question T2/245.

wham pron.rel. dative case whom T1/22; see also under who.

whan(e, whanne adv. when T1/15, 16, C/636, 1013 etc; see also wan(e), when(n)e.

what interrog.pron. (introducing indirect question) what, what kind of D/27, 255, T1/49, T2/74, 154 etc; (introducing direct question) what? who? T1/63, T2/101, 161, 280; as exclamation or intensifier, ~ be, what by/with D/448; ~ ever indefinite pron. whatever T1/177, 186; as adj. whatever kind of D/322, 399.

which(e) rel.pron. nom. who T2/4; ~ who T2/37, 53 etc: see also which(e, wic(h)e.

when(n)e adv. D/43, 66, T2/19, 56 etc; see also wan(ne, whan(e.

where(e) adv. (position) where C/831; (time, occasion) when, where D/357; interrog.(direct or indirect) T1/49, C/251, 1086; rel.pron. in which T2/162, C/760; prefixed to prep. ~ bi by which D/379; ~ for(e, wherefore, therefore D/75, 165, T1/23, T2/11, 62 etc; ~ in where, on which T2/267.

weper etc see under weper.

whi, wy adv.interrog. why? T1/280, T2/122, C/301, 620 etc; (introducing indirect question) T1/102, 163, C/228; in phrase ~ pe cause ~, why T1/141, C/196, 518 etc.

which(e) adj. which D/178, T1/89, T2/209 etc; relative pron. (of things and people) nom. D/78, T1/89; ~ pe ~, which T1/19, 40, 145, T2/178, 215; oblique cases D/18, 389, T2/126; ~ pe ~, whom T2/4; which T1/165, T2/59 etc.

wistinessse n. whiteness C/744.

whiit, white adj. white, in ~ monks, Cistercians C/954; used as n. white cloth C/647.

while(s adv. while, time during which, when D/201, T1/170, 206, T2/174, 290 etc; as n. ~ pe ~, the time T1/179, 185, C/960; see also wile.
who, whoever (indef. pron. who, whoever T1/248, T2/225, 226, C/257; interrog. who? T2/202, 384, C/59, 210 etc; whom rel. oblique cases T1/25, 33, T2/48, 49 etc; whomever whoever C/252; whos poss. whose C/160.

whoso (indef. pron. whoever, whosoever D/236, 462, T1/216, 218 etc; see also woso.

wy see whi.

wich(e) rel. pron. which T2/411, C/448, 535 etc; see also whech(e), which(e).

wicked, wickid, wickud adj. evil T1/140, T2/149, C/114 etc; used as n. wicked things C/953.

wickidly adv. wickedly T2/179.

wickidnes(se) n. evil, wrong doing T1/139, 140.

widewe n. widow T1/366, 371.

wifes n.pl. wives C/897, 929.

wiful, wilful adj. wilful, self-willed T2/163, 169; desirous, willing T2/201.

wis(t) inf. to know C/598; see also wete, wit(e.

wil adv. well C/914.

wil n. see under wil(l)e.

wil v. see under wil(l)e.

wile adv. while; here as n. in phrase a \~ time C/1100; see also while.

wiles n.pl. skill, cunning, subtlety; in phrase be per \~ skillfully, cunningly C/5 (OED wiles n.1(b)); (or in the sense of OED will, n. 16, wills, be per \~, by mutual consent, willingly).

wilful see wiful.

wilfully adv. voluntarily T2/151, 203, 235.

wilfulness n. self-will, stubbornness T2/172.

|wil(l)e n. desire, inclination D/89(i), 93(ii), 391, T2/30, C/238; in phrase Coddes \~ divine will D/89(ii), T2/219, C/265; intention, purpose D/175, 268, 270, T1/87, 196, 198, T2/43, 234, C/432(i,ii), 675, 1046 etc; in phrase in \~ willfully, stubbornly T1/193; willingly D/126. See also welle.

wil(l)e, wile v.trans.inf. to wish, desire D/384, T1/248, T2/38, C/908 etc; require, demand T2/79, 82; v.intr. to want to, desire to D/89, 92; to determine D/92, 114, 117, C/129; (as aux. expressing
futurity) D/42, 47, T2/105, 204, C/320, 517 etc; (as aux. + inf.)
to be accustomed to T1/368, C/1098; wil pr.1 sg T2/38, 79 etc;
wol(e) pr.1 sg. T2/70, 98; wolt pr.2 sg. D/38: will(e), wole pr.3
sg. T1/200, T2/212, C/129, 320, 842 etc; willip pr.3.sg. C/76;
will(e) pr.pl. C/908, 1098; willen pr.pl. T2/54, C/616; wol(l)e(n,
wolum) pr.pl. D/444, T1/280, T2/124, 338, 364, C/1069; will, wilt
pr.sg.subj. D/47, 359, T2/417, C/89, 97, 1082; wol, wolum
pr.sg/pl.subj. T2/250, 262, 404; willynge pr.p. T1/327; wold(e
pa.t. (conditional and indirect future) should/would like to
D/24, 44, 88, 118, T1/103, 268, T2/83, 91, C/18, 65, 119 etc;
pa.t.sg/pl subj. D/115, C/117; ~ God, would to God T2/236, C/50,
136; woldist pa.t.2 sg. D/37; wolden pa.t.pl. D/281, T1/280.
willi adv. willingly, voluntarily C/594.
wynne n. wine C/994; see also wyn.
wynne inf. to gain, reach; fig. and transf: to earn the right to
T2/241, 243; to acquire, gain C/499; wynnyng pr.p. winning C/522.
wynnyng vbl.n. gain, profit (in pejorative sense only in these texts)
T2/103, 234, 266, C/511, 517, 519 etc.
wirch(e inf. to work D/313, 319: worche C/876; werchen pr.pl. C/864,
in phrase ~areyne, opposed T2/303.
wirchyng vbl.n. deeds, actions T2/166, 247.
wisdam, wisdom(e n. wisdom C/67, 337, 462.
wise n. manner; on pis/pat  in this/that way T1/239, C/519, 1046; on
no  in no way C/1100.
wise adj. wise, prudent C/602; ~man, Solomon T1/108.
wist(e see under wit(e), pa.t.
wit prep. with C/339, 490.
wit(e, witt(e inf. to know D/50, 142, T2/219, 238, C/1082 etc; wot(e
pr.1 sg. D/197, 373, T1/102, C/122, 128; woste pr.2 sg. D/50,
368 etc; witen, witon pr.pl. D/183, T2/223, T2/390 etc; wiste
pa.t.sg. knew D/294, C/871; witte pr.sg.subj. T2/408: witte
imper. C/757, 758.
wi prep. (means) with, from, by D/82, T1/29, 37, T2/43, C/26, 50 etc;
together with D/33, 140, T1/31, 45, T2/16, 27, C/43, 45 etc; of,
in phrases be war  C/1; for the purpose of T1/376; according to
T1/5, 65: to done  to be associated with D/19, 218; dispensid ~
finished with, discarded T2/123.
wipal adv. as well, therewith T2/184.
wi3drae inf. to retract, remove D/262.
withdrawal, withholding C/520.

pr.3 sg. restricts, controls, keeps in bondage T1/290.
[transl. Vulgate tenuit]

prep. inside T1/121, C/27; in adv. phrase ~leile, within
a short time C/1099.

prep. without, lacking D/205, 259,
T1/60, 84, T2/159, 183, C/47, 68, 207 etc; in phrases ~resoune,
unreasonably D/285: ~ mesure, immeasurably C/792; ~ cause,
needlessly, C/906: ~eende, infinitely, endlessly T2/74, 217 etc;
~comparisoune, incomparably D/259.

adv. externally, everywhere C/676.

pp. denied, contradicted D/49.

inf. to oppose, resist D/77, 91, 228 etc; wipstondes pr.3

vbl.n. opposition, resistance D/391.

n.evidence, testimony D/11, 69, 344, T2/107, C/146,
340(i) etc: pl. C/340(ii); witnessis pl. T2/218.

to give evidence, testify T2/338, C/1087;

pr.3 sg. T1/*12; wit(t)nesse(n pr.pl. D/199, T2/371;

pa.t.pl. T2/375; witnesse v.trans.pr.pl. give evidence
of, bear witness to C/279; pr.sgsubj. T2/354.

see wit(e).

prep. without T2/411; see also wipou3t(en).

n. understanding, judgment D/22, T2/31, 100, C/632, 684 etc;

poss.sg. D/454; wit(t)is pl. C/28, 138 etc.

v. see wite.

adj. wise, omniscient C/390.

see witnes(see.

ppl.adj. wrapped, enveloped C/*11. [blending of lappe, v.2 and
wrap v; origin obscure, see commentary]

n. week T1/238.

wol(e, wolun, wold(e etc. see under will.

n.pl. wolves T1/309.
womb(e) n. womb; fig.: the prenatal state T1/111, 112 etc.

woman D/294; esp. Eve T2/387; the female members of the human race T2/411, C/589, 671.

wonder adj. astonishing, amazing D/76, 167, C/236 etc.

wonderful adj. wonderful C/264.

wonderfullich adv. amazingly C/345.

wondered pr.3 sg. in impers. construction with dative of subject, me ~

wonder, wonderer n. wonder, marvel C/1073; amazement D/4; litel ~ no ~
hardly astonishing D/485, 770.

wone inf. to dwell, live T2/216. See also wont ppl.adj. [OE wunian]

wonyng vbl.n. action of dwelling C/174.

wonyngstid n. a place of habitation T2/74.

wont ppl.adj. accustomed, in phrase ~ to do C/848. [stym. doubtful;
perh. a conflation of wone, n. habit, custom, and wont, pp. of v. wone, from OE wunian, to dwell]

wo(o n. woe, sorrow C/76; ~ is him, ~ to him, a curse on him T2/345, C/568.

worche see under wirch(e).

|worldely, worldli(ch(e, worldlice, worliche| adj. mundane, secular, carnal as distinct from the spiritual, concerned with earthly existence D/136, 223, 324, 369, T2/284, C/16, 306; in phrases a ~ lord, a layman, knight D/317, C/1064; ~ Lordes, knights, layman, Lords Temporal D/213, 328, 347, T2/222; ~ lordschips, secular authority D/229, 236, T2/275, 299, 303; ~ doyne(s, worldly affairs D/229, 388(i), 438; ~ gode(s, secular possessions D/239, 263, 328, 413, T2/52, 65, 78 etc; ~ office, secular position D/*312; ~ prestis, priests ambitious for temporal power T2/349; ~ worschip, secular honour T2/49. See also worde.li.

worldlynesse n. worldliness, secular ambition T2/51.

worliche adj. worldly D/388(ii); see also worldly.

|worship(e, worschip| n. worship, honour D/140, 153, 156, 194, 279, T2/49, 88, 348, C/98, 876, 884; privilege, dignity T2/73, C/98; ordour of ~ the order of the liturgy C/61; worschipes, worschipis pl. T2/246, C/267.

worshippe inf. to worship, give honour C/213; theol: to worship God, pay religious homage C/876, 1093; worschipid pa.t.pl. C/291.

worshipfulleste adj. most honourable T1/1.

worpe, worpi adj. worthy, deserving T1/306, T2/295, C/118, 241 etc; (ironical) C/56, 243; fitting, deserved D/176, C/673; effective, in phrase not ~, Noting ~, not at all effective C/400, 613.

wo so indef.pron. whoever C/310, 478; see also whoso.

wost(e, wot(e see wit(e.

wounder see wondur n.

wrep n. wrath, anger T1/123. [OE wrep]

|wri| n. the written word, in phrase holi ~ scripture C/449; see also writ(e.

|write(e, writt(e| n. the written word, in the phrase holi ~ scripture D/11, 21, 325, 339, 371, T1/50, 134, 138, T2/139, 360, 383, C/147, 248, 993.

write inf. to write, in phrase I have made to ~ it, I have caused it to be recorded T2/84; wrot pa.t.sg. C/175; written pp. D/179, 246, T2/107.

written ppl.adj. written T1/2.

wronges n.pl. errors D/226; injuries, insults D/419, 424.
wrongful(1 adj. wrongful, erroneous D/175; wicked T1/229, 284.

rot see under write.

wrope adj. angry, wrathful D/42, 281, 374. [OE wrāp]

wrou3ten pa.t. see wirch(e

wurching pr.p. see under wirch(e

wurching vbl.n. deeds, action T2/247. See also wirchyng.

wurschip see worship(e.
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