Dialogus

sive Speculum Ecclesie Militantis

John Wyclif

Latin text of Pollard's edition for the Wyclif Society (1886), with a new English translation and notes

Translated by Wilson Pruitt

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Dialogus: sive Speculum Ecclesie Militantis. English translation.
John Wyclif's dialogue between Truth and Falsehood on whether the church should own property, written in 1379. The Latin of Alfred Pollard's edition, with a new English translation and notes.

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Page numbers in the text, such as [4], mark the pages of the printed Latin edition, so a passage can be cited and found. Notes are footnotes.

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Chapter 1: The three parts of the church militant

Pollard pp. 1.1–3.13

> ***Occasion. Written "some time in 1379" according to its editor, since it treats the double papal election as a fresh scandal (Pollard, pp. xvi–xvii). It is a dialogue between Truth and Falsehood on the endowment of the church. Pollard's outline: chapters 1–10 make the case from scripture; 11–23 answer Falsehood's appeals to church authority; 24–33 meet the practical objections to disendowment; 34–36 conclude (pp. vi–vii). Truth speaks as God in the opening chapters, and "after Chapter 3 Veritas is Wyclif, and Wyclif only" (p. vi).***

> ***The text. Pollard prints the only English manuscript, Ashburnham XXVII C, and collates three Vienna manuscripts (ÖNB 3930, 1387 and 4505, his sigla B, B^1 and C respectively; pp. xxii–xxiii). Ten copies survive in all, nine of them made by Bohemian scribes. Our Latin is Pollard's printed text, checked word by word against six witnesses (the Fordham transcription and the OCR of five scans), with the words they could not settle read on the plates. In the printed scripture references the chapter numbers are Wyclif's; the verse numbers are Pollard's.***

> ***The move. Before any argument, Truth lays down the plan of the church. It has three parts, clergy, temporal lords and common people, each with its office, and charity binds them. The clergy are to live on alms and tithes, as Christ did; the lords hold what they have of Christ by service. Every later chapter measures the endowed church of 1379 against this plan.***

> ***Where it is answered. It has more surviving manuscripts than any other work of Wyclif's. It was banned from public lectures at Prague in 1408, and it stands first in the list of his writings condemned there in 1410. Loserth used it in proving Hus's debt to Wyclif (Pollard, p. v n. 1). No English translation has been traced.***

[1]**Since sameness is the mother of tedium, and graceful alternation delights the mind,[1] and the Latin tongue spreads more regularly and more widely, it has seemed good to some that the catholic teaching gathered for the faithful in the vernacular should be opened up more commonly in Latin.[2] For useful truth enlightens the minds of the faithful the more, the more widely it is spread. And since many delight in the speech of dialogue, they are moved by God to bring in two persons, namely Truth and Falsehood, who speak in turn on this matter by way of disputation. And since Truth is Christ, as is clear from John 14, and the devil is Falsehood itself, as is clear from John 8,[3] it seems reasonable that Truth should propound this discourse and, by the mediation of Christ's grace, establish it.**

Truth. **Since I am God, the maker of every creature, and will judge all men at the final judgement, whether to blessedness or to eternal punishment,[4] reason requires that all men be ruled by my law, both in their consciences and in all their outward works. For this is the reason why Christ had become incarnate and had lived for thirty years and more with his brethren: that by his gentle** [2]**sermons catholic truth might shine the more. And the end of so worthy and so constant a labour is that the men who are Christ's church may be blessed. Now I divided my church militant into three parts, of which the first should be my clergy, who are called priests of Christ, and who should follow me more closely in their manner of life, after**

[1] ***Fastidie*** **=** ***fastidii*****, as printed. The indicative** ***delectat*** **after** ***cum … sit*** **is also as printed; Pollard records no variant. The opening has the form of a proverb.**

[2] ***Collecta fidelibus*****: most naturally a dative, "gathered** ***for*** **the faithful". But medieval Latin allows an ablative of agent without** ***a*****: "gathered** ***by*** **faithful men". On the second reading the vernacular teaching was compiled by Wyclif's followers. The Latin cannot decide it, and the English keeps the likelier dative. Either way, the sentence presents the** ***Dialogus*** **as a Latin opening-up of teaching already current in English. Pollard observes that "nearly the whole of the work can be paralleled from the English writings", and explains the nine Bohemian copies by its popular character (p. v).**

[3] **John 14:6, "I am the way, and the truth, and the life"; John 8:44, the devil "is a liar, and the father thereof". Pollard notes that Truth speaks as God in chapters 1–3 but mentions Christ in the third person alongside (as at 1.16–19). After chapter 3 Truth is simply Wyclif (p. vi).**

[4] ***Cum ego sum*****: so Pollard's text (the Ashburnham MS). B and C read** ***sim*****, and Pollard's own introduction quotes the line with** ***sim*** **(p. vi). The mood does not change the English.**

the pattern of the apostles.[5] And so, to hearten them in humility, they should live on alms, as I did. For by this they would be more mindful of me, since I am God, who claim the tenth part as my own. For he who lives on the Lord's portion would remember the more freshly the Lord who bestows that portion so freely.[6]

The second part of my church militant should be the temporal lords, who ought to be vicars of the Godhead. Therefore Augustine often recalls how the king is the vicar of the Godhead.[7] But the priest, who ought to proceed according to humility and poverty, is the vicar of the humanity of the Lord Jesus Christ. And so these lords, according to power regulated by reason, ought virtuously to defend God's law. For by title of this service they hold of Christ, as chief lord, whatever they have.[8] Now the third part of the church militant is the common people, who are divided in many ways into workers, merchants and householders.[9] And this third and lowest part, as a foundation, sustains the two other parts in the bodily necessities of life. But charity, which is [3] the third person in the Godhead, ought to bind these

[5] The three parts are the medieval three orders (those who pray, those who fight, those who work), recast as parts of the church militant. *Instar apostolorum ... instar mei*: the apostolic and dominical pattern of poverty. The treatise's case against endowment starts here.

[6] The priests live on the Lord's portion, as the Levites did. Pollard notes that the Old Testament proof in the next chapters rests mainly on Num. 18:20 and Deut. 18:1, the Levites' having no inheritance but the Lord (p. vii). *Recencius*: "more freshly".

[7] "Augustine" is not identified by Pollard. It is the *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti* of Ambrosiaster, which circulated as Augustine's: the king *habens imperium Dei quasi vicarius ejus; quia omnis rex Dei habet imaginem* (q. 106, PL 35:2319; also q. 91, *Rex enim adoratur in terris quasi vicarius Dei*, PL 35:2284). Gratian took q. 106 into the *Decretum* under Augustine's name (C.33 q.5 c.13). The same attribution in *De officio regis* (13.8–9: *dicit Augustinus quod rex habet ymaginem dei sed episcopus ymaginem Cristi*) is q. 35, *Dei enim imaginem habet rex, sicut et episcopus Christi* (PL 35:2234). The apparatus to 2.13 shows the sentence omitted in some MSS (printed "om. B, B, C[1]", apparently a misprint). B reads *divinitatis* for the first *deitatis*, and has in its margin *Sacerdos vicarius Christi, Dominus vicarius divinitatis*. See the glossary, *vicarius deitatis*.

[8] Tenure language, kept literal: the lords "hold of Christ as chief lord", like a tenant-in-chief of the crown, and *titulo istius servicii*, "by title of this service". The doctrine that all just lordship is held of God, and by service, is the doctrine of *De civili dominio*.

[9] *Iconomos* = *oeconomos*. We render "householders": those who manage a household or holding. It may mean stewards, or husbandmen. Provisional; see the glossary.

three parts together.[10] For all these three ought to benefit and help one another reciprocally. Now the clergy ought to be a life to the other two, lower parts, and to live more spiritually than they and, as regards conduct, more cleanly;[11] and so, as much by life as by words, to teach them the way to merit blessedness. And the middle part, which is the temporal lords, ought with a certain measured severity to help both the outer parts, and especially, according to God's law, in the things that advance toward attaining blessedness.[12] And the third part, of the common people, ought from the heart, according to the rule of God's law, to serve the two higher parts; since all these three parts ought to be one body of the church, running joyfully in love toward attaining the blessedness of the homeland.

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[10] Charity as the Holy Spirit, "the third person in the Godhead", is Peter Lombard's thesis in *Sentences* I d.17. The house has its pilot at sententiae.wrootpress.com. *In divinis*: "in the divine [persons]", i.e. in God.

[11] *Esse vita aliis*: "be a life to the others". Pollard's side-note takes it as example ("must set a good example"). *Vita* may be an error for *via* ("a way"), but no MS reads so, and it stands. *Vivere ipsis spiritualius*: we take *ipsis* as an ablative of comparison, "more spiritually than they", rather than a dative ("live for them"). The comparative settles it.

[12] *[conse]quendam*: Pollard's brackets supply the syllable from B, B[1], C (apparatus to 3.9), so his base MS evidently reads *quendam*. At 3.6 *promerendum* is printed so; B has been corrected by another hand to *promerendam*. The English is unaffected in both places.

Chapter 2: Each part its rule of life

Pollard pp. 3.15–5.11

Truth. Correspondingly to the lives and offices of these three parts I have ordained rules of living for them, lest they be confounded in their offices. And the clergy, which ought to be highest and nearest to heaven, I ordained to be set apart most of all from worldly affairs and the cares of the world; and so it should not exercise lordship in a secular manner, but ought to be poor, like the state of innocence, after my pattern. And so it was to teach the two other parts to forsake the world, as much by deed as by word. And this life, like the eagle's, is, after the likeness of the angelic life, contemplative, [4] **more perfect than the active.[1] And whoever is unfit to live this life is unfit to be made a cleric.**

And the second part of the church ought to exercise lordship in a secular manner and be wealthy in temporal goods, because this is the instrument necessary to the office which I have assigned to this part of the church. For in this way the Godhead coerces men, by giving them abundance of things, and in a manner mixes in coactive power.[2]

And the third and lowest part I will to live by bodily labour, and to busy itself with moderation about the gain of temporal goods; and so I will all these three parts of the church to abound for their office, as much in the spiritual as in the temporal, so far as reason requires. And as in the uncreated Trinity there is the highest concord, so I will there to be in these three parts of the church a concord of love, strife

[1] ***Similis aquiline***: the eagle, believed to look straight at the sun, is the common medieval figure of contemplation, and of John the Evangelist. ***Contemplativa perfeccior quam activa***: we take ***contemplativa*** as the predicate and ***perfeccior quam activa*** as standing beside it, "contemplative, more perfect than the active [life]": the traditional ranking of the two lives. ***Indispositus***: "unfit", here and throughout.

[2] ***Dando illis rerum affluenciam***: ***illis*** may be the lords, to whom the Godhead gives abundance as the instrument of coercion (they are its vicars, 2.12–13), or the men coerced. The Latin allows both, and the English keeps the ambiguity.

being driven out according to the rules of virtue, since the church is a body of free choice, which is to be ruled by the influences of Christ its head. Let the body of the church therefore dispose itself, and especially its highest part, which according to Augustine ought to be mountains, so as to be fitted to the influences of this head; and then it will be well ruled according to the grace of Jesus Christ.[3] For as the lower part, in which the growths of the earth flourish, receives its influence from the light of the sun, so the lower part of the earthly church receives its influence, derived through the clergy, from the sun of justice. And nothing more perceptibly disturbs the church, or brings into it a diseased distemper, than that one part of it should take on the ministries of another, and correspondingly its offices, and consequently leave the offices assigned to itself. Nor is it possible for Christ to fail to assign an office and state to a part of the church, unless the inflowing grace fails [5] **that part through its own sin, [the part] which makes itself unfit to receive the said grace.[4] Nor do all the members of these parts perform equally the office that belongs to their state, but one more and another less, according as the ray of grace works with the man himself. But the other members, the devil's, which are sown in the church, are not properly parts of it, although they have a perceptible character and a name published as far as men's repute goes; because the true office which God requires of a person of a state of the church is a more evident sign than a sign humanly introduced. Therefore Christ says in John 10, "believe the works."[5]**

[3] **"According to Augustine": Pollard gives no reference. Augustine reads the *montes* of the Psalms as the great men of the church, apostles and preachers, who receive light first and pass it on, e.g. *En. in Ps.* 71.5 and 120.4. *Sol justicie*, just below, is Mal. 4:2, "the Sun of justice".**

[4] **4.25 *et correspondenter officia*: B, B[1], C read *consequenter* and omit *et officia*. *Christum deficere ... limitare*: *deficere* with an infinitive, "for Christ to fail to assign" (B reads *unum* for *Christum*, with *Christum* by another hand; B, B[1], C omit *parti*). *Que se ... indisponit*: the relative goes back to the part, not to grace.**

[5] ***Carecterem sensibilem*: "a perceptible character", the outward mark of orders and office, set below the evidence of the office done. John 10:38, "believe the works" (Pollard's margin reference, *John x. 38*).**

Chapter 3: The first law: Numbers 18

Pollard pp. 5.13–7.10

Truth. And because I wished that this law, and the clergy's especially, should be remembered the more freshly, I had it written more than once in the twofold testament. And as no one can be excused from knowing God's law in the degree that pertains to him, so no one can be excused from knowing, in some manner, his mother.[1] For as one must serve God, who is the head of the church, so one must honour mother church, who is chiefly his spouse. But as we have here little knowledge of Christ, as much according to his divinity as according to his humanity, so we have here a little and confused knowledge of the church. Hence ignorance [6] of the law of Christ and of the part of the church that lives here commonly makes members of the devil, and even sons of the church, rebel culpably against her. Whereas, nevertheless, by the first commandment of the second table every believer ought to labour for the healing of this mother, in the way God wills;[2] for in Numbers 18 it is written: "And the Lord said to Aaron: You shall possess nothing in their land, neither have you a portion among them: I am thy portion and inheritance in the midst of the children of Israel. And I have given to the sons of Levi all the tithes of Israel for a possession, for the ministry wherewith they serve me in the tabernacle of the covenant"; and it follows: "It shall be an everlasting ordinance in your generations. They shall not possess any other thing, but be content with the oblation or tithes,

[1] *In gradum qui sibi pertineat*: "in the degree that pertains to him", with *qui* agreeing with *gradum*. B, C omit *in gradum*, read *quid* for *qui*, and add *secundum* before *legem*: "knowing what pertains to him according to God's law". B[1] omits *quin ... excusari* (5.15–17).

[2] *Cum tamen ... debet ... laborare* has no main clause. We take it as the medieval independent *cum tamen*, "whereas, nevertheless". The first commandment of the second table is "Honour thy father and thy mother" (Exod. 20:12), here applied to mother church. The Augustinian division, which Wyclif follows, counts it fourth; Pollard's side-note calls it "the fifth", as English Protestant numbering does.

which I have separated for their uses and necessities."[3] From these words the believer should note that it is not the emperor or the pope who says this, but the Lord says it, as [a matter of] faith. Nor is there any doubt that the Lord directs these words to the first part of the church, namely his clergy; nor is there any colour for saying that these words were directed to the clergy of the old law and not to us, since we ought now to live more spiritually, like Christ. Why then do we now claim the tithes by virtue of this law, and abandon the first, negative part of this law?[4] In truth this testifies against us that we have degenerated from the clergy of Christ in his twofold law, being occupied with earthly possessions. If then they are cursed who decline from the commandments of the Lord, it seems manifest that the clergy which so obstinately, in temporal [7] **lordship, withstands God's law is an accursed heretic. And so it is believed that, if those who consent and those who act are alike accursed heretics, a great part of the [church] militant is, by divine judgement, an accursed heretic.[5] And from this they prove further: since such a one is, before God, unfit to convict others of heretical depravity, according to that in John 8, "He that is without sin among you, let him cast a stone at her," the Roman curia is all too unfit to convict others of heretical depravity.[6] Yet it presumes this rashly, because in the mystical sense it is the village that is over against Christ's apostles, as is said in**

[3] **Num. 18:20–21, 23–24; *et sequitur* marks the skip over v. 22 and v. 23a. Where the Vulgate has *nec habebitis partem* ("neither shall you have"), Pollard prints *habetis*, and we translate it; B, C read *habebitis*. The rest agrees with the Vulgate and is given in DR's wording.**

[4] ***Quare ergo ... deserimus*: printed with a full stop, but best taken as a question ("why then...?") that *Revera* ("In truth") answers. As a statement it would run "wherefore we claim...". The first person is the clergy's: Truth, who spoke as God at 5.13 (*feci illam scribi*), now speaks as one of the clergy. Pollard dates the change of voice from chapter 3 (p. vi).**

[5] ***Maledicti qui declinant a mandatis*: Ps. 118:21 (Vulgate numbering), "they are cursed who decline from thy commandments". *Consencientes et agentes*: cf. Rom. 1:32, "not only they that do them, but they also that consent to them that do them". *Militancium*: "of those militant", the members of the church militant.**

[6] ***Convincunt ... ad convincendum*: the same verb, first "prove", then "convict"; the subject of *convincunt* is unexpressed. John 8:7: Wyclif omits the Vulgate's *primus* ("let him first cast"), and his order differs; B, B[1] read *eam* for *illam*.**

Matt. 21.[7]

[7] **Matt. 21:2, *Ite in castellum quod contra vos est*, "the village that is over against you" (Pollard's margin reference, *Mat. xxi. 2*). In the mystical sense the curia is that *castellum*, "over against" the apostles. B, B[1], C omit *Christi*; B[1] reads *22°*. The subject of *presumit* is the curia.**

Chapter 4: The second law: Deuteronomy 18

Pollard pp. 7.12–9.10

Truth. **The second testimony of the old law is written in Deut. 18, in these words: "The priests and Levites, and all that are of the same tribe, shall have no part nor inheritance with the rest of the people of Israel, because they shall eat the sacrifices of the Lord, and the oblations, and they shall receive nothing else of the possession of their brethren: for the Lord himself is their inheritance, as he hath said to them."[1] From this law, with the interpretation of the law-giver, the Lord Jesus Christ, together with the deed of the so-called Roman church, it is expressly clear to the faithful how expressly the modern priests are contrary to God's law. For where God commands the negative, that the priests and Levites shall not have part and inheritance with the rest of the people, the clergy with the pope, by Caesar's foolish grant, establishes for itself as a perpetual** [8] **law that priests and Levites shall have in chief a perpetual inheritance, which throughout all Christendom is to be occupied from their brethren and lords.[2] Hence, since this violent and so unnatural thing, forbidden by God, is abominable to God and to the angels and to the church militant, no wonder if those who live among them**

[1] Deut. 18:1–2. Wyclif has *cum reliquo populo israel* for the Vulgate's *cum reliquo Israel*, and *oblaciones* without the Vulgate's *ejus* ("his oblations"; B, C *oblaciones eius*). Otherwise as the Vulgate, and in DR's wording. *Secundum testimonium legis veteris*: taken as the ordinal, "the second testimony", which suits the chapter's sequence (ch. 3 gave the "first law"); *secundum* could also be the preposition, "according to the testimony of the old law, it is written".

[2] *Capitaliter*: "in chief", the tenure word of *capitali domino* (2.19). Christ alone is chief lord there; here the clergy make themselves holders in chief. *A suis fratribus et dominis ... ocupari*: we take *a* as "from", the "possession of their brethren" of Deut. 18:2 taken over. Read as an agent ("to be occupied, i.e. held as tenants, by their brethren and lords") it also makes sense beside *capitaliter*: the clergy hold in chief and the laity occupy under them, an inversion of 2.19. *Ex concessione stulta cesaris*: the emperor's endowment of the church, which the *Dialogus* later calls *ista stulta donacio* (p. 18) and lays at Constantine's door (p. 72). B^1 omits *cesaris*; B, C *stabiliunt*.

are indignant at this so abominable lordship.[3] And therefore, no wonder, the said clerics are compelled to seize arms and fight more cruelly than the Maccabees. And so the office of the first part and of the second part of the church is overturned without qualification. Therefore, if the office of a heretic, insofar as he is such, is to teach falsely what is contrary to holy scripture, even in word, it is clear from this deed that the curia itself, teaching in deed so obstinately and so falsely what is contrary to the said scripture, is a manifest heretic, and the more plainly so as it publishes the said heresy so manifestly throughout the church militant. How, I ask, would this synagogue of Satan not be ashamed to publish to the people that it is the immediate and nearest vicar of Christ and of his apostles? And yet in life they oppose them so notoriously. Indeed a harlot's forehead is made for it, and therefore it is an evident sign that it is a hardened devil.[4] Nor does Antichrist's excuse avail, that they are not heretics unless it has been proved judicially that they are such, and that there remains no man on earth who could prove this of those very highest parts of the church; for their deeds, with their life, sufficiently indicate this to be true. And consequently, before Christ, the highest judge, our God, who beholds every human work before it is done, this is proved clearer than daylight. And [9] **by his proof and judgement the believer must abide, rather than by a Pilate's judgement. For Christ, as faith teaches, said to the faithless Jews in John 10: "If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not. But if I do, though you will not believe me, believe the works."[5] Now if Christ, God and man, as faith teaches, left to the Jews the judgement to be made from his works, who is this Antichrist who**

[3] ***Conversantes cum illis ... dedignantur***: "those who live among them" (the laity) "are indignant at" the lordship. Another hand in B glosses in the margin *scilicet qui aufugiunt dominacionem secularem*, "namely, those who flee secular lordship". B, C read ***non mirum quod*** in the next sentence (8.7).

[4] ***Sinagoga sathane***: Apoc. 2:9, 3:9. ***Frons ... meretricis facta est illi***: Jer. 3:3, where the Vulgate has ***Frons mulieris meretricis facta est tibi*** ("thou hadst a harlot's forehead"); Wyclif drops ***mulieris*** and turns it to the third person.

[5] ***Ex fide***: "as faith teaches", i.e. on the authority of scripture; so again at 9.5. It could be "in good faith", set against ***judeis perfidis***; we keep the sense Wyclif gives the phrase at 9.24 and 11.7. John 10:37–38 in DR's wording: Wyclif's ***nolite mihi credere*** only reverses the Vulgate's order. B, B^1, C omit ***Si autem ... credite*** (9.3–4).

will not be judged by men from works so patent in malice? For what is required of us is not a process in Caesar's court but a process in the court of conscience, for acting in the way Christ requires.[6]

[6] ***Judicio pilativo* (9.2): "a Pilate's judgement", the verdict of a worldly court like Pilate's (B[1], C *pilatino*). *In foro cesario ... in foro consciencie*: the external court and the court of conscience, the internal forum. *Ad sic quomodo Christus exigit operandum*: construed as *ad sic operandum quomodo Christus exigit*.**

Chapter 5: The third law: Ezekiel 44

Pollard pp. 9.12–11.3

Truth. **And the third law of the Old Testament follows, in Ezekiel, chapter 44, in these words: "Saith the Lord God: The priests shall have no inheritance; I am their inheritance. Neither shall you give them any possession in Israel, for I am their possession. They shall eat the victim both for sin and for trespass: and every vowed thing in Israel shall be theirs. And the firstfruits of all the firstborn of the cattle, and all the libations of all things that are offered, shall be the priests': and you shall give the firstfruits of your meats to the priest, that he may return a blessing upon his house. The priests shall not eat of any thing that is dead of itself or caught by a beast, whether it be fowl or cattle."[1] There are many such commandments of the Lord, as is clear to him who will rest faithfully in these three. And in these many ceremonies are touched on; but all of them, their base being passed beyond, are doubled into another sense.[2] And since Christ, as faith teaches, is the best interpreter of the law, [10] it is clear that, as he who came not to destroy the law but to fulfil it taught that it ought to be kept as much in deed as in word, so it is to be kept by the priests of the law of grace;[3] nor does this saying admit any excuse but this wicked one: that these priests whom you see offend against this commandment of God are not priests of Christ or part**

[1] Ezek. 44:28–31. *Ait dominus deus* is taken from the end of v. 27; *non erit sacerdotibus hereditas* stands for the Vulgate's *non erit autem eis hereditas*; *domui sue* for *domui tuae* ("upon thy house"). At 9.17 Pollard prints *omnium pecorum progenitorum*, which does not construe ("of all the cattle of the forebears"). B reads *primogenitorum*, "the firstborn of all the cattle", close to the Vulgate's *primitiva omnium primogenitorum*, and we translate B's reading. The rest follows DR.

[2] *Omnes ipse sunt cum basali prevaricancia ad sensum alium duplicate*: obscure. We take *prevaricancia* in its root sense, "going beyond" (below, *prevaricatores* are "transgressors"), and *basalis* of the literal base: the ceremonies are doubled into a second, spiritual sense and are no longer kept in the letter. B, B[1], C read *in* for *cum*. The construal is doubtful.

[3] Matt. 5:17, paraphrased: "I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil". *Legis gracie*: "of the law of grace", the new law.

of him; therefore these laws do not concern them, since they are rather priests of Baal or Belial; therefore they are bound to follow Antichrist, and consequently to oppose the Lord Jesus Christ in their life.[4] And so, if the Lord's law is to be believed, it is clear that such transgressors, with their abettors, are manifest heretics. Nor do we believe that Antichrist has dispensed from these laws, or suspended them for as long as it pleased him.[5] It is clear that these words are frivolous, and to be condemned on the day of the final judgement. For since there is as great a reason, or a greater, for the observance of these laws now, while greed grows strong, as there was in the time of the Old Testament, it is clear that it would be necessary for priests now to keep these laws against the avarice both of themselves and of the people, as it was in the time when greed did not burn so hot. And this sin seems to grow strong from a special wile of the devil, who envies Christ, who in the third temptation refused to exercise lordship in this way.[6] For by this simony has entered the more strongly, frugality is suspended, and the preaching of the gospel, with the other ministries enjoined by Christ, is forbidden to these priests by the devil. And by this the unqualified aspire to the higher grades of the priesthood and hinder the word of God from being preached among the people; and those who long for it they persecute as heretics, and this persecution is a manifest token of their own heresy; [11] **nor are the poor and few faithful priests sufficient to resist, unless God quickly lays helping hands to it, through the secular arm or from elsewhere.[7]**

[4] **The wicked "excuse" runs to *domino jhu Christo*: its own premiss, that these are not Christ's priests, convicts them. At 10.7 B, B[1], C read *quin* for *qui*: "nay rather, they are priests of Baal or Belial". The print's *qui* is kept.**

[5] ***[quod]*: Pollard's brackets, supplied from B, B[1], C. The same MSS read *Numquid* for *Nec* ("Do we believe...?") and the futures *dispensabit ... suspendet*. *Dispensare cum*: "to dispense from", the term for a papal dispensation.**

[6] **Matt. 4:8–10, the third temptation in Matthew's order: the devil shows Christ "all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them", and Christ refuses.**

[7] ***Pauperes et pauci fideles sacerdotes*: Pollard reads this as a reference to Wyclif's "poor priests", already at work and already resisted when the *Dialogus* was written (pp. xiv–xv; his index enters the passage under "Poor Priests"). *Per seculare brachium*: the secular arm, which in canon law carried out the church's sentences on heretics, is here asked to help the faithful priests.**

Chapter 6: The law of grace: Mark 10

Pollard pp. 11.5–12.22

Truth. From the manifold testimony of the law of grace it is clear how Christ, the first truth, authorised this teaching as much in deed as in word. And since, as faith teaches, he is the first author, because God and man, it is clear how this teaching is faith worked out the more vigorously.[1] And so every catholic ought to believe, preach and defend this faith. For on this account Christ so taught it, that it should be an exemplar to his priests, as is clear of the apostles, for living; indeed, to all the faithful, for forsaking worldly pride. And this is the reason why the gospel faith is so often taught in the church: because the whole gospel flows back into this teaching as into its end. And it suffices to bring forward a few testimonies here, in particular so that this faith may be remembered the more watchfully. For in Mark 10, after James and John had aspired to pre-eminence over the others, Christ says: "You know that they who seem to rule over the Gentiles lord it over them: and their princes have power over them. But it is not so among you: but whosoever will be greater shall be your minister, and whosoever will be first among you shall be the servant of all. For the Son of man also is not come to be ministered [12]**unto: but to minister and to give his life a redemption for many."[2] From this faith it is clear, clearer than light, how Christ, as much in deed as in word, taught the apostles and his vicars to relinquish worldly priority and greatness.**

[1] ***Fides elaborata vivacius***: literally "faith elaborated more vigorously", i.e. a teaching of faith that Christ worked out in his life as well as stated. C inverts the order (*viv. elab.*). ***Ex fide*** qualifies the whole clause: that Christ, as God and man, is the first author is itself of faith.

[2] Mark 10:42–45 (DR). Pollard's margin gives "Matt. xx. 35" and B^1, C read *20* for *10*, but the words are Mark's (Matt. 20:25 reads *principes gentium dominantur eorum*). Wyclif has *non est autem ita* for the Vulgate's *non ita est autem*, and *primus voluerit esse vobis* for *voluerit in vobis primus esse*; B, B^1, C read *in vobis*, which DR follows. At 11.20 the working transcription's *eorum um* is a transcription fault: the plate prints *eorum* with a broken *r*.

It is clear[, secondly,] how Christ, the best master, distinguished between these two priorities, namely the worldly and the evangelical, and separated the first from his priests: "It is not so," he says, "among you."[3] And it is clear, thirdly, by what evangelical priority or greatness ought to be measured. And he who is humbler, more serviceable and more patient is prior or greater before the Lord Jesus Christ. For such was he himself before God, and therefore he was first. And the prelates of the church, and the pope especially, should mark this faith; because, if they perverted it to the contrary sense and coveted worldly greatness after the manner of the Gentiles, they would be heretical prelates, the principal ones in this perverse dogma.[4] Since, therefore, Christ teaches this teaching so expressly in words, and so laboriously and for so long exemplifies it in deed, no prelate is a greater antichrist than he who is contrary to this faith in deed and word. And not only these antichristian prelates, but the worldly lords consenting to this crime are, as indeed they are, chief enemies of the Lord Jesus Christ, because they make a faithless party against Christ.[5]

[3] The plate prints *Patet 2°* ("Secondly, it is clear"), answering *tercio* below; the *2°* is missing from our Latin and is supplied here in brackets.

[4] *Principales* may go with *heretici* ("prelates who would be the chief heretics") or with *prelati* as translated; the sense is the same. The subjunctive *forent* makes it conditional: the perversion, if it occurred, would make them heretics.

[5] *Sunt, ut sunt*: "are, as indeed they are", the clause asserting as fact what the sentence states as a consequence. *Pocior* (12.17): "greater", i.e. more fully antichrist. B, C add *fidem* after *faciunt*, and B adds *etc.*

Chapter 7: Christ's poverty and the endowed clergy

Pollard pp. 13.2–14.21

Truth. Again, Christ teaches his poverty in words, in Matthew 8, to a certain man who feigned that he wished to follow Christ, while yet greed for earthly things was the cause: "The foxes," he says, "have holes, and the birds of the air nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head"; as if he said: Do not follow me in hope of earthly gain, since I am the poorest man in the world; as he says in his apostle, 2 Cor. 8: "For you know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, who for your sakes became poor, that through his poverty you might be rich."[1] And the whole gospel sounds in agreement to the same effect, from the birth of Christ, which took place in an inn, to his penal and poor death, which took place on the cross. Where, then, is greater unbelief than for prelates and other priests so blindly to desert the holy faith? Nor do the endowed presbyters alone desert it, but also the propertyless, blasphemously imputing to Christ that they were taught by him to beg in this way.[2] For Christ was the poorest of men, since his poverty resounded in the perfection of the virtues, and in every perfection of this kind he was highest; and yet, short of this begging, he kept himself in the mean, according to what the Wisdom of Solomon teaches, Prov. 30: "Give me neither beggary, nor riches: give me only the necessaries of life." And this moved the apostle, 1 Tim. 6, delivering [14] generally to priests as a rule this faith: "We brought nothing," he says, "into this world: and certainly we can carry nothing out of it. Having therefore food and where-

[1] Matt. 8:19–20: in the gospel the man is "a certain scribe" who offers to follow; *fingenti* ("who feigned") is Wyclif's reading of his motive. 2 Cor. 8:9: Wyclif has *qui* for the Vulgate's *quoniam* and omits *cum esset dives* ("being rich"). *In suo apostolo*: Christ speaks through Paul.

[2] *Exproprietarii*: "the propertyless", those who profess to hold nothing of their own, here the mendicant friars (Pollard's side-note: "friars who pretend to have learnt begging from Christ"). C reads *sed et* ("but also") and *blasfemiam* for *blasfeme*.

with to be covered, with these we are content."[3] And here it seems to the faithful, if they dared to bring it out, that the pope and his whole sect, endowed with temporal lordship, is a hardened heretic, because stubbornly contrary to scripture, which cannot be broken; now who is a heretic but such a one?[4] Hence Peter, in 1 Peter 5, commands: "Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking care of it, not by constraint but willingly, according to God: not for filthy lucre's sake but voluntarily: neither as lording it over the clergy but being made a pattern of the flock from the heart; that when the prince of pastors shall appear, you may receive a never fading crown of glory."[5] But as the life of the pope and of his caesarean clergy has lulled this teaching of Peter to sleep, so the decretal letters have lulled this faith to sleep. Therefore it seems evident that prelates who are ignorant of this faith, as much in deed as in word, are faithless antichrists.[6] And since, as faith teaches, it is plain to the faithful that in this single word of Peter there is a more wholesome teaching than in all the decretal letters or papal bulls, it is clear that clerics foolishly leave off learning this wholesome faith and study these apocrypha, which lead astray.

[3] Pollard prints *docet sapienciam salomonis*, which leaves *quod* with no clear object; B, C read *sapiencia*, "what the Wisdom of Solomon teaches", and we translate it. The plate prints *prov. 30*; the apparatus gives *26 vel 36* for the chapter. *Citra istam mendicacionem*: "short of this begging": his poverty stopped before mendicancy, at the mean of Prov. 30:8; B^1, C read *cum* for *tamen*. 1 Tim. 6:7–8: Wyclif adds *inde* and has *igitur* for the Vulgate's *autem* ("But having food..."); *possumus* and *simus* as Vulgate.

[4] John 10:35, "the scripture cannot be broken". *Pertinaciter*: stubborn persistence against scripture is what makes an error heresy in the canonists' definition, from Augustine: those who hold a false opinion *nulla pertinaci animositate* are not heretics, those who *resistunt contumaciter* become so (Gratian C.24 q.3 cc.29, 31). The singular *sit hereticus induratus* takes pope and sect together.

[5] 1 Pet. 5:2–4. Wyclif has *in clero* for *in cleris* and *ut ... percipiatis* ("that ... you may receive") for *percipietis* ("you shall receive").

[6] *Soporaverant*: pluperfect in Pollard, rendered as a perfect beside *soporavit*; B, B^1 correct to *soporaverunt*. *Tam opere quam sermone* may go with *perfidi* instead: "are, as much in deed as in word, faithless antichrists". *Antichristi* could also be genitive singular, "faithless [men] of Antichrist".

Chapter 8: Falsehood's reply: poverty for a time

Pollard pp. 15.2–16.31

Falsehood. **Too openly you lay bare the manner of life of the prelates, which you rebuke; but hear the other side in answers and rejoinders, and then you can proceed more clearly.**

I grant you indeed that Christ lived and taught a poor life, but he did not will it to be perpetual, since he says, in the apostle already cited, that Christ was made needy in such a way "that through his poverty you might be rich".[1] And the pride and greed of the priests of the old law, who had killed Christ, required Christ to live and teach so. But after these sins were repressed, the dignity of priests demands that the clergy return to its former glory; in token of which the estates with which the church is endowed are called "the patrimony of the crucified".[2] For Christ, by virtue of his passion and merit, acquired for his church all these lordships, and, if justice could take its course, greater ones; and with this teaching agree the grants of the temporal lords and the manifest lives and laws of the popes.[3]

[1] 2 Cor. 8:9, cited in the previous chapter. The Vulgate reads *propter vos egenus factus est … ut illius inopia vos divites essetis* ("he became poor for your sakes: that through his poverty you might be rich"). Pollard prints *illis inopia*, which does not construe, and the apparatus records no variant; we translate *illius*, the Vulgate's word (our emendation). B, B[1], C read *nos … essemus*, "that we might be rich". *Cum dicat* has no expressed subject: Christ speaking in the apostle is the likelier reading, Paul himself the alternative.

[2] *Patrimonium crucifixi*: "the patrimony of the crucified", a current name for the goods of the church, on which the clergy were held to live as stewards of the poor. At 15.12 a later hand in the margin of B, and C, read *patrimonii* for (or beside) *priorem*: "to the glory of the patrimony".

[3] *Et, si, justicia posset procedere, ampliora*: "and greater ones, if justice could take its course", i.e. by right the church should have more. B[1], C read *ut sic* for *et si*, B, B[1], C *in sciencia* for *justicia*, and B, C *ampliori*; none gives a clearer sense, and the print is kept. *Vite papales patule atque leges*: we take *papales* with both nouns and *patule* ("open, manifest") with *vite*: "the manifest lives and laws of the popes".

Truth. I see that you craftily mix certain true things with false. You do indeed grasp the truth of faith, that Christ, as much in life as in doctrine, taught that poverty was to be observed. But what you add next, that this judgement of Christ lasts for a short time, and that afterwards his clergy returns to the world more fully than the priests of the old law lived [in it], you prattle in unbelief and contrary to reason. For if Christ so long and [16] so harshly reproved this sin in the priests of the old law, how does he move a priest of the new law of grace to return to the said avarice, as a dog returns to its vomit?[4] For clerics, and the leading priests, are now more enriched and glorified in the world than the scribes, Pharisees or chief priests were enriched or glorified in the world. Therefore, since the reason for the perpetuation of this law of Christ is so great, as is clear from the state of innocence and the state of glory, it is clear that this law of Christ ought to be observed especially in the last times; for then the devil tempts men more to avarice. Therefore it is more necessary to apply the medicine in the clergy, which ought to be the mirror of the people. What reason is there, then, since greed so lords it today, why Christ's poverty is so much put down and Antichrist's rage so much exalted? Does reason agree that this law of Christ, eternal in its exemplar reason, should have been observed for three hundred years only, and the contrary antichristian law be perpetuated in times so perilous?[5] For to say this is the same as to exalt the devil above Christ, as if an unbeliever were to grant that the law of Christ, so necessary and wholesome, will last for a time, under colour of the divine good pleasure, but that the law of Antichrist, full of poison and deadly,

[4] *Quomodo sacerdotem ... movet*: we take Christ as subject: how can the Christ who condemned this avarice move a priest of the new law back to it? B, B[1], C read *sacerdotes ... moveret*, with the same construal. The dog is proverbial: Prov. 26:11 (*sicut canis qui revertitur ad vomitum suum*) and 2 Pet. 2:22 (*canis reversus ad suum vomitum*); Wyclif's *sicut canis redit ad vomitum* follows neither exactly.

[5] *In racione exemplari eterna*: "eternal in its exemplar reason", eternal as the idea of it in the divine mind. The "three hundred years" run from Christ to the endowment of the church under Constantine and Pope Sylvester, which Wyclif elsewhere treats as the entry of the poison into the church.

should last for ever, to stir men up to sin.[6] But what Christian would tolerate such a blasphemous little answer? Further, the catholic knows that there are two kinds of riches, namely temporal riches, and heavenly and spiritual riches. And the first riches, even held with the virtues in moderation, scarcely lead to the heavenly riches, which are the true ones, of which Christ's apostle speaks above.[7] Therefore you ought to be troubled in conscience over this heretical talk, which you hint at on the faith of the apostle's scripture. For it is by hardship and poverty here on the way that one must merit heavenly riches, and blessedness in the homeland.

[6] At 16.18 B, B[1], C read *fidelis*: "as if a believer were to grant". *Plena veneno atque mortifera* echoes Jas. 3:8, of the tongue: *plena veneno mortifero*, "full of deadly poison". *Ad horam*: "for a time", as in the Vulgate's *ad horam* (e.g. John 5:35).

[7] *Vix cum virtutibus moderate ducunt*: we take *moderate* as the adverb, "held in moderation" together with the virtues; the alternative joins it to *ducunt*: "scarcely lead, and then only moderately". *Supra*: 2 Cor. 8:9 again, where Falsehood read "that you might be rich" as licensing later endowment; Truth answers that the riches Paul promises are the heavenly ones. At 16.24 B, C read *sunt enim* for *scilicet*.

Chapter 9: The new chief priests

Pollard pp. 17.2–19.12

[TRUTH.] Further, for a further exposition of the heretical objection which you press,[1] it is to be noted that, as the avaricious chief priests and Pharisees of the old law killed Christ's humanity for fear of losing their temporal goods, so the richer chief priests in the time of the law of grace [have killed] Christ's divinity, because they have extinguished the truth of the gospel law as far as they were able. Therefore, as it seems to many, since they have received a greater kindness from Christ, they have sinned the more, as being more ungrateful.[2] Hence it is written in John 11: "The chief priests and the Pharisees gathered a council against Jesus and said: What do we, for this man doth many miracles? If we let him alone so, all will believe in him; and the Romans will come, and take away our place and nation."[3] Now the chief priests and Pharisees in the time of the law of grace have bulls and charters in writing, all of which make for their avarice and strive to extinguish the gospel truth; and they persecute, albeit fearfully, those who proclaim it.[4] And so, as it seems to many, our chief priests and Pharisees sin more, in many ways, because under a greater hypocrisy they are more ungrateful;

[1] The chapter continues Truth's reply begun at 15.19. The print gives no speaker's name here (plate n48), so "[TRUTH.]" is supplied. *Objectus heretici quem inculcas*: Falsehood's objection at 15.6–18 (chapter 8). Truth now takes its points in their order: the clergy's "former glory", "the patrimony of the crucified", the grants of the temporal lords, and the popes' lives and laws.

[2] The second clause has no verb of its own. *Occiderant* is understood with *divinitatem Christi*, and *quia ... extinxerunt* says how they kill it. The pluperfects *perceperant* and *peccaverant* speak of the present clergy and are rendered as perfects. *Gratitudinem* is the kindness shown to them, not their thankfulness; it answers *ingrati*. *Postquam* is taken as causal ("since"); temporal "after" is possible.

[3] John 11:47–48 in DR, with Wyclif's changes: he omits *ergo* ("therefore") and adds *adversus jhm*, "against Jesus", which the Vulgate lacks. At 17.10 B, B[1], C read *peccaverunt* for *peccaverant*.

[4] *Promulgantes eam licet trepide persecuntur*: we take *licet trepide* ("albeit fearfully") with *persecuntur*, recalling the fear of the priests in John 11. It may instead go with *promulgantes*: "they persecute those who proclaim it, though timidly".

and not only do they persecute Christ in his members with a greater multitude, but they despise the preaching of the gospel truth as the thing most hateful to them. The cause of which seems to be that they know from the catholic faith that they ought to follow Christ in their conduct; and the gospel, together with their life, teaches that they are exceedingly contrary to the life and doctrine of Christ. Therefore they hate that this should be made plain to the people. And so, as for the glory which you pretend ought now to belong to Christ's priests, it is clear that you call shame glory, since you urge that, in a more perilous state, the clergy should forsake the spiritual arms with which it ought to [18]**overcome the devil, the flesh and the world; and besides this you lay to Christ's charge a manifest blasphemy: that he, as though ignorant of this return, or neglectful of the manner of life of his church, passed this return over.[5] And as for the naming of "the patrimony of the crucified", it is clear that you multiply blasphemies against the clergy;[6] for it is a great sin to transgress the Lord's commandment in this way, but a greater blasphemy to lay to Christ's charge that he approves and necessitates clerics' sinning so. For so, like a second Adam, the clergy strives to turn its guilt back upon the Lord: "The woman," he says, "whom thou gavest me to be my companion, gave me of the tree, and I did eat," as is clear in Genesis 3. But the clergy lies by implication far more abjectly, since it says that Christ was crucified on the tree so that his clergy might afterwards lord it in this way. But what greater blasphemy than to lay such a fault on Christ? And consequently it is the highest blasphemy [to say] that Christ's clergy, by virtue of this poor and humble passion, ought thus to lord it over the whole world.[7] And as for the charters and grants of the secular**

[5] ***Reditus*** **is taken as the clergy's "return" to wealth: Falsehood's** ***clerus ad priorem gloriam revertatur*** **(15.9) and Truth's** ***redire*** **(15.21). The medieval sense "revenue" is possible: "as though ignorant of this revenue ... he gave up this revenue".** ***Dereliquit***, **literally "abandoned", is rendered "passed over".**

[6] **"The patrimony of the crucified": Falsehood's name for the church's estates at 15.10.**

[7] **Gen. 3:12 in DR; Wyclif adds** ***inquit***, **"he says". Wyclif plays on the tree: Adam's** ***de ligno***, **Christ crucified** ***in ligno***. ***Innuitive*****: "by implication".** ***Dominari*** **is pejorative here, "to lord it".** ***Virtute hujus passionis*** **throws back Falsehood's** ***virtute passionis sue*** **(15.12). At 18.9 B, B[1], C read** ***deum*** **for** ***dominum*** **("upon God"); at 18.11 they**

lords, it is clear that the clergy should blush to rest on so culpable a foundation. For the emperor and the other lords were in this led astray by the king of pride.[8] Therefore let them, lulled asleep in the slumber of this crime, awake, and let them recognise this principle, clearly demonstrable among catholics: that a human grant is of no force in anything unless leave has first been had from the chief lord. Since, therefore, they cannot show that they had leave from Christ for this lordship, it is clear that, by human law as much as by divine, this foolish donation is to be made void.[9] Therefore they must either blasphemously deny Christ's chief lordship over Caesar, or grant that the donation of this lordship is unlawful and consequently to be rejected by catholics, or, third, show Christ's special leave for it. And by as much as the clergy or the secular [19] **lords linger the longer in this crime, by so much do they harden themselves devilishly in the greatest sin. And as for the papal laws and lives, it is clear that [this] is a confirmation of the crime, as before. For what are these evidences worth unless they have been proved by reasons or by scripture? Now, since in Christ there is not "It is and It is not", it is clear that it is impossible by either of these to establish these papal traditions or the laws of men.[10] And I would wish that the clergy, murmuring against this expropriation, and even the pope, would answer this reasoning effectively.[11] And it is certain that no fruitful**

omit *de ligno*; at 18.14–16 they omit *quam ... blasfemia*, running the two sentences together: "But what greater blasphemy than that Christ's clergy ... ought thus to lord it".

[8] ***Rex superbie***: the devil, from Job 41:25, "he is king over all the children of pride". ***Imperator***: Constantine, whose endowment of the church is *ista stulta donacio* below (18.27) and is laid at his door at p. 72.

[9] ***Dominus capitalis***: the feudal chief lord of whom land is held; Christ is chief lord over Caesar (18.28), so no grant to the clergy holds without his leave. Compare the English mortmain law, under which land passed to the church only by licence (Statute of Mortmain, 1279). At 18.23 B reads *contraria* for *humana*, with *humana* in the margin. At 18.27 *irritanda*, "to be made void", has *evitanda* ("to be shunned") written above it by another hand in B; B^1 and C read *evitanda*, with *irritanda* in the margin in another hand.

[10] ***Est et non***: 2 Cor. 1:19, "was not: It is and It is not. But, It is, was in him". Christ does not contradict himself, so neither reasons nor scripture (*istorum alterutro*) can establish the papal traditions. At 19.5 B^1 reads *nisi est est et non*.

[11] ***Clerus ... remurmurans, etiam papa ... responderet***: the verb is singular. We take *clerus* and *papa* as joint subjects. Alternatively *clerus ... remurmurans* stands

answer remains except the restoration of a thing so long unjustly withheld; and this, with contrition, can by God's grace please the chief lord.

absolute: "since the clergy murmurs against this expropriation, I would wish that even the pope would answer". *Expropriacionem*: the taking of their property from the clergy. B, B[1], C omit *contra*; B reads *exprobracionem* ("reproach") with *correpcionem* between the lines; B[1] has *exprobracionem* in the margin in another hand.

Chapter 10: Faith and opinion: the custom of the saints

Pollard pp. 19.14–21.11

Falsehood. It seems a foolish presumption to attempt this matter in the last times. Many indeed were the saints canonized in the church who approved this endowment of the clergy in many ways. And if testimony or conscience is weighed, a thousand faithful men of right conscience can be had against a few heretics. To which side, then, is belief rather to be given? Therefore the custom of so many ancient saints, approved in holy church, would with one accord give faith.[1]

Truth. These are not words of reason but of contention and reproach; therefore they are to be passed over by the faithful humbly, wisely and patiently. And since, as faith teaches, all the saints short of Christ, as John confesses, have sinned in many ways,[2] it is clear that all short of Christ have had a very ancient custom of sinning. Therefore if Christ's [20] authority is infinitely more excellent than their custom, what faithful man would not believe the authority of their Lord, their custom being set aside? Since we take it, as faith teaches, that none of the saints, however greatly he excels in holiness, is to be believed in word or custom except in so far as it accords with Christ, who is the first truth.[3] And consequently, when livelier evidence for believing the contrary is had from Christ, that [word or custom] is to be given up on the strength of that stronger evidence.

[1] *Daret fidem*: "would give faith", i.e. would warrant belief. Truth's answer turns on the word: such custom gives only opinion, not faith (20.26–31).

[2] *Ut johannes confitetur*: 1 John 1:8, "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves", paraphrased, not quoted. *Citra Christum* (19.25, 19.26): B read *fidem vel Christum*, corrected by another hand to *deum*; B[1], C read *deum* at 19.25, and B *deum* at 19.26: "all short of God".

[3] This *cum* clause has no main clause; we take it as a causal sentence carrying the preceding one on ("[this is so] since ..."). B, C read *cum autem*. *De quanto* = "in so far as".

And so it might be not a foolish presumption but the prompting of truth that this teaching is now attempted in this way: because this endowment, just as in the beginning it sounded toward sin, so has continually turned aside more and more from the religion of the Lord.[4] And the error, at first imperceptible, indeed rather one that seemed to be alms, has now, from the growth of malice, been openly perceived. Therefore, to repress proud presumption,

men piously ask that they be not believed in this because they themselves, who may even be liars, assert it, but because it is the law of the Lord Jesus Christ;[5] and, as Augustine says, "If Christ asserts this, woe to him who does not believe."[6] And that this advocacy for the law of Christ may be the clearer, the men who promulgate this teaching seek neither worldly gain nor human friendship, but suffer the contrary. And so the love of God and of his law, with his honour to be repaid, ought to be given the greater weight by the faithful in this act;[7] and the principle for the faithful, on this point and on others, ought to be that they discreetly distinguish between faith and opinion, so that they accept nothing as faith unless it has been taught from the law of truth. Therefore canonizations and any papal operations whatever, [and] the customs or assertions of the saints, give opinion to those in whom there is evidence together with faith.[8] As it is of faith that Peter and Paul with the other saints often sinned gravely, and it is opinion that those canonized later by the Roman pontiff were saints, although they had not attained, in

[4] ***Sonuit in peccatum***: literally "sounded into sin", i.e. tended toward it from the first. B reads *incremento* for *cremento* (20.13); the sense is the same.

[5] ***Ipsi vel mendaces***: *vel* taken as "even, perhaps": "they, who may be liars". Pollard's side-note reads it as "their own erring wisdom". B, B[1], C read *hec* for *hoc* here and at 20.17.

[6] Augustine, *En. in Ps.* 66.1: *Si ego dico, nemo credat: si Christus dicit, vae qui non credit* ("If I say it, let no one believe it; if Christ says it, woe to him who does not believe"), quoted freely.

[7] ***Cum honore suo rependendo***: "with his honour to be repaid", *suo* referring to God; we take the gerundive loosely as an ablative of attendant circumstance. B reads *sibi* for *suo*; B[1] *impendendo* ("with his honour being paid out"). *Preponderari*: "to be made to outweigh" [other considerations].

[8] B, B[1], C read *citra fidem* for *cum fide* (20.28): "give opinion in those matters in which the evidence falls short of faith". The print, translated here, takes *illis* as persons: to the discerning faithful such things yield opinion only.

the proportion that pleases God, to the holiness of those [21] **whom holy scripture canonizes. And so there is no greater evidence [for the inference] "if these saints canonized by the Roman church had this custom, therefore they did not sin in this against Christ and his church" than [that] it follows, "if Peter and Paul blasphemed against the Lord, therefore they did not sin in this against Christ or his church."[9] Let us see, then, what infallible reason or God's law says, and let us imprint that on the mind as faith, or as infallible. It is shameful indeed to establish an empty teaching in the mind as faith, and to set aside the faith founded in scripture.[10]**

[9] **Two inferences are compared: the first is no more evident than the second, which is plainly false. *Quam sequitur* is elliptical ("than [it is evident that] it follows"); we supply "[for the inference]" to make the comparison visible.**

[10] **Translated from the variant. The print reads *sententiam et veritatem tanquam fide* ("a teaching and truth as by faith"), which gives no sense against *turpe*. In B another hand corrects *et veritatem* to *inanem*; B[1], C read *inanem*; B, B[1], C read *fidem* for *fide* (21.10). Pollard's side-note ("vain opinion") follows the same reading.**

Chapter 11: The majority and the two popes

Pollard pp. 21.13–22.29

Truth. And a lapse from faith, and especially because the probable is taken as faith, makes countless errors in the church militant. And he who believes the community or the people as [he believes] faith is at the door of being foolishly led astray, because in Ecclesiastes 1 it is written: "the number of fools is infinite" (Eccles. 1:15). And the wise Daniel [would have been in the wrong] when the people had condemned Susanna on the false testimony of the priests, if a multitude of witnesses were to be approved without distinction, the contrary of which is clear in the last [chapter] of Daniel; and Elias would have been overcome in the Lord's cause by four hundred priests of Baal, the contrary of which is clear in 3 Kings 18.[1] Therefore the prudent have this custom when a difficulty about some truth is aired. First of all they consider what the faith of scripture says on this point, and whatever this faith has defined in that matter they believe steadfastly as faith. But if the faith of scripture has expressed neither side of it, they set it aside as not pertaining to them, and do not wrangle or contend over which side has the truth. And this is the great prudence of the wise. Therefore it is foolish evidence [to argue]: [22] **"If the greater part of those in the church militant asserts so, therefore it is true", since it is a topical argument for inferring the contrary,[2] because God knows whether more sons of the father**

[1] The Daniel clause has no main verb; we supply "[would have been in the wrong]" from the parallel *helias foret … superatus*. The Vulgate calls Susanna's accusers "elders" (*senes*, Dan. 13:41), not priests. *Daniel ult°*: Susanna is Dan. 13; Pollard's margin gives "Bel and the Dragon" (Dan. 14, the Vulgate's last chapter). The Vulgate has four hundred and fifty "prophets" of Baal (3 Kings 18:22).

[2] *Argumentum topicum*: an argument from the topics, i.e. merely probable, not demonstrative. *Ad contrarium concludendum* is read as "fit rather for inferring the contrary"; possibly only "which could as well infer the contrary". *Militantum* (B, B[1], C *militancium*): members of the church militant, not "soldiers".

of lies are now in the church militant than sons of truth.[3] And as for the imputation of heresy, the faithful should arm themselves humbly with the deeds of the Lord; for heresy was often imputed to him, namely blasphemy, and he was persecuted as a heretic to be stoned, as is clear in John 8.[4] And the chief cause which they had falsely feigned in condemning Christ was the false imputation of heresy: in John 19 it is written, "We have a law; and according to the law he ought to die" (John 19:7).[5] For in this way peoples could today worship the pope as Christ, so that whatever he has defined in an earthly or a heavenly cause, they defend and uphold it as law. And if two popes have been elected through the sowing of Satan, different peoples approve those elections as faith.[6] And from such a schism infinite troubles could arise.[7] What greater unbelief, I ask, than to approve the elections of cardinals who, for all we know, are devils incarnate,[8] [holding] that if they have elected any person whatever as pope, then he is the most holy father and the immediate vicar of Christ? And this heresy, brought in by the devil in place of the apostles' lot by which they elected Matthias (Acts 1:26), can be cockle for setting catholics at discord in the faith. The remedy, therefore, would be for a catholic to reject such elections, since they are not apostolic, and to believe the works of the person while he is a wayfarer,[9] and altogether to reject what is doubtful or not of faith [when it is put forward] as catholic faith. And so let the faithful

[3] ***Plures*** **is Pollard's text; B (corrected from** ***plures***) **and C read** ***pulcrius***, **"more finely".**

[4] **The stoning is John 8:59; the charge of blasphemy is explicit at John 10:33. B, B[1], C read** ***fideliter***, **"faithfully", for** ***humiliter***.

[5] ***Legem*** **(22.9–10) was dropped at the line end by the extraction and restored from the plate (n53); the print agrees with the Vulgate.**

[6] **The double election of 1378 (Urban VI at Rome, Clement VII at Avignon), which opened the Great Schism.**

[7] ***Inconveniencia***: **what does not fit, in argument the absurd consequence, in affairs the disorder that follows (the glossary, CONTEXTUAL). Here the evils a schism brings, so "troubles".**

[8] ***Ex nobis dubio***: **literally "doubtfully on our part", i.e. for all we know. B, B[1], C read** ***ergo*** **for** ***rogo***.

[9] ***Viantis***, **participle of** ***viare***, **the verb behind wayfarer: the pope is judged by his works while still on the way, not taken as holy by election. B, B[1], C omit** ***et operibus ... refutare*** **(22.23–25).**

man agree with the law of the Lord, and arm himself with patience and charity, and humbly put his life in the Lord's hand, because dissensions arising from the divisions of the sects bring forth many evils in these perilous times.

Chapter 12: Belief, opinion and faith

Pollard pp. 23.2–25.3

Falsehood. I see that you involve many absurdities[1] in the stupid ravings that you utter; for if in such a matter the faithful man ought to believe holy scripture alone, he would not believe papal bulls or the definition of the Roman curia, and so all the faith that should be placed in faithful companions living among us would perish, and much more would indulgences not be believed, nor bishops' letters, nor letters of fraternity concerning spiritual suffrage.[2] But who, living the common life of men, would not then despair of his blessedness? Indeed, human contracts, which are commonly made by oaths and testimonies, would perish, and, what is more, inheritances according to human laws, since no one would believe that a young man had such a father. Now this would too greatly disturb the commonwealth and the political law.

Truth. I see that you have learned from the father of lies[3] to evade distinctions and equivocations, and you seem to infer absurdities that are at least apparent to you. And "to believe" is equivocal as regards: adhering with hesitation to a given teaching; or adhering to a given teaching without hesitation, yet as opinion; or, thirdly, adhering to a teaching as to faith, which is said to come from the first truth, although it is not, for all that, demonstrated by human means from any other source.[4] And so we suppose throughout this whole colloquy that "to believe" is taken for faith; but we do not

[1] *Inconveniencia*: what does not fit, in argument the absurd consequence, in affairs the disorder that follows (the glossary, CONTEXTUAL). Here, and at 23.16, the logical sense, so "absurdities".

[2] *Literae fraternitatum*: letters by which a religious order, chiefly the friars, admitted a lay benefactor to a share in the order's prayers and good works ("spiritual suffrage").

[3] John 8:44, of the devil: "he is a liar, and the father thereof."

[4] *Credere equivocum ad*: *ad* governs the three infinitive phrases that follow, the senses of *credere*; C reads *aliud* for *ad*. In the second sense B (corrected), B[1], C read *tantum* for *tamen* ("only as opinion"). In the third the print has *adherere sentencia*,

speak so loosely in this matter as Boethius, [holding] that whatever opinion anyone holds is faith to him; but we speak of the catholic faith, since it must transcend opinion, because it produces infallible certainty, for which the faithful man ought to expose [24] **his life to the peril of death.[5] And so a man can believe papal bulls as opinion; and especially if experience of the matter adds opinion over and above them; for they do not of themselves produce faith, and in many men they produce little or no credence, since both the pope and his curia could be deceived, and deceive, for the sake of gain and through ignorance of the truth. And so it is commonly said that a fourfold response is to be fitted to questions or propositions. For some are to be granted without qualification, above the opinions of men, as the truths of faith, perceptible truths, and doctrinal truths demonstrated from certain principles. And in the second degree some are to be denied without qualification, as the falsehoods opposed to the truths mentioned above. And thirdly some are to be doubted, as words proposed to men which, because of contrary evidence, they know neither to be true without qualification nor to be false without qualification. And in the fourth degree some are to be supposed, as matters of opinion falling short of the truths of the first mode, of which a man is not certain by faith or by demonstration, nor of their opposites, although he has no evidence for holding the contrary opinion; as, when one has experience of the manner of life of a priest who lives catholicly, it can be supposed by the one who has the experience that he is a member of the church, and yet this ought not to be believed by anyone as faith, because it is not known whether he is predestinate or foreknown to hell on account of a fall. Therefore we ought, as catholics, to abandon the famous childish principle that every proposition proposed is to be granted,**

which does not construe with *tanquam fidei*; B, B[1], C read *sibi* ("adhere to it as to faith"), with the same sense.

[5] *Credere fide sumi*: "'to believe' is taken for faith"; B, B[1], C read *fidem*. B, B[1], C add *loquitur* after *boicius*, and B, B[1], C read *quam* for *quoniam*: "the catholic faith, which must transcend opinion". The Boethius reference is unidentified; Pollard gives none.

denied, or doubted.[6] When it is put to me whether I shall be saved, I neither grant nor deny nor doubt, but hope.[7] And concerning other men I have none of these, but I suppose according to the evidence that I have, short of faith. And it is clear that one who has experience of the malice of the Roman curia can speak with prudence against it, [25]**although he does not [thereby] speak against Christ and his church; for it is not of faith that that curia is the church militant, although it has sometimes happened that it was the church here on the way.**

[6]**The "childish principle" is the rule of the scholastic disputation *de obligationibus*, in which the respondent must answer each proposition put to him by granting, denying, or doubting it.**

[7]**The print reads *Cum proposicio mihi si salvabor*, which lacks a construction; we translate *proposito* (B, B[1], C), an ablative absolute: "when it is put to me whether I shall be saved". B[1] reads *an* for *si*; *spero* in B is corrected by another hand from *suppono*.**

Chapter 13: Bulls, indulgences and letters of fraternity

Pollard pp. 25.5–26.26

Truth. From what has been said there is a middle term that leads on to answering the other points brought in afterwards.[1] For we ought not to receive papal bulls, or in general the sayings of that curia, as faith; since they are wayfarers able to sin and not in general inspired, and the experience of the eyes teaches that they are often deceived and often err against the rule of truth. And so we ought to believe, on sufficient evidence, the companions with whom we commonly live; but we are not bound, as faith teaches, to believe every spirit that we hear,[2] nor ought we to believe in indulgences, any more than the pope or his curia [ought], since he does not know whether the person to whom he grants the said indulgence is to be damned, just as he does not know whether it is of God's will to grant what he himself thus assents to in bulls. Therefore no great discretion or wisdom shines out in these indulgences, especially if they are not founded on Christ's deeds or words, nor on the wisdom of any pope before Satan was loosed.[3] What evidence, then, moves these satraps thus to set themselves against the will of the Lord?[4] Or what covetousness would urge this prelate thus to write and seal what is doubtful to himself, where it is likely that it is a presumptuous lie? Therefore it is evident to many that this presumption is

[1] *Medium inductivum*: taken as the logical middle term that "leads on" to the answers; *medium* may also be simply "a means". B, B[1], C omit *ad respondendum* ("a middle term leading on to the other points").

[2] Cf. 1 John 4:1, "believe not every spirit". *Non habemus ex fide credere*: we have no obligation of faith to believe; C reads *debemus* for *habemus*.

[3] The loosing of Satan after the thousand years, Apoc. 20:3, 7. Wyclif reckons it as having happened about the year 1000, so only popes before then are allowed some authority here.

[4] *Satrapas*: Wyclif's derogatory word for church officials with delegated power; Pollard's side-note takes these to be the bishops. B[1] reads *sapiencia* for *evidencia*; B, B[1], C *moveret* ("would move") for *movet*.

a sin; for with equal evidence he could condemn a predestinate son of God to Tartarus. Therefore some wayfarers say that on account of such a rash judgement [a man is] neither more nor less [blessed], but on account of merit or demerit with respect to God.[5] And the same is probably to be thought of many episcopal letters granting forty days of pardon.[6] And as for [26] **letters of fraternity: since it seems certain that they themselves do not know whether they are a reprobate band of the foreknown, what then does it avail them to sell a share in their suffrages, since they do not know whether any merits remain to them for attaining blessedness?[7] Nor is it inferred from these things that anyone of the church militant should despair; but that he should not trust in these apocryphal and uncertain things; indeed rather, that he should gather his whole hope in the grace of Christ. And that, to receive the fruit of that hope, he should labour in the good of merit according to the doctrine of the Lord's law. And this would do away with the final despair of many who have been deceived in these suffrages.[8] And as for human contracts or civil dealings, it is clear that they are commonly made with sin, since [they are made] with unlawful oaths and testimonies. Therefore forgive the apostolic man the wrong, who because of the danger avoids this.[9] And as for inheritances descending from given fathers, priests ought not to be anxious about such things; just as none ought to presume to charge a given heir that he is not descended from those parents, unless he has been moved by the Holy Spirit to impugn such**

[5] Printed *viantes*; B, B[1], C read *viatores*, translated here. The sentence is elliptical: judged by such a sentence, a man is no more and no less saved or damned; only merit or demerit before God counts.

[6] Forty days was the limit for an indulgence granted by a bishop (Fourth Lateran Council, c. 62).

[7] Letters of fraternity were issued by the friars, admitting benefactors to a share in the order's prayers and merits. *The foreknown*: those God foreknows will be damned, not "the reprobate". *Illis* is taken both times as the friars; the first could be the buyers ("what does it avail to sell to them").

[8] *Suffragiis* (26.10–11) is hyphenated *suf-*|*fragiis* on the plate; the extraction doubled the second half, now removed.

[9] *Donate ... injuriam*: "forgive ... the wrong", i.e. do not count it a fault in the apostolic man that he keeps out of contracts because of the danger of sin. B, B[1] read *hec* for *hoc*.

descent.[10] And so it is rightly inferred that there are many truths in human acts, present as well as past, about which wayfarers ought not to be anxious. Therefore it would be more prudent for a man to refuse for himself what is neutral or irrelevant to his blessedness, a by-way in which many sin, speculatively as well as practically; as is clear from the art of obligation and from contentions about temporal goods to be possessed by inheritance and in a temporal manner.[11]

[10] ***Ex datis patribus … dato heredi*: "given", i.e. the father and heir taken as such, the reputed ones (Pollard: "paternity should not be disputed"). B, B[1] correct to *patrum*; C *patrum*.**

[11] ***Ars obligacionis*: the scholastic disputation exercise (*obligationes*) in which a respondent is bound to maintain a posited proposition. B, B[1], C read *magna* for *magis* ("it would be great prudence"), *speculativi … practici*, *multum* for *multi*, and *contencionis*.**

Chapter 14: Prayers to the saints, and implicit faith

Pollard pp. 26.28–28.30

Falsehood. Again, you plainly hint that it is not, as a matter of faith, [27] to be believed that those are saints who are inserted in masses, in litanies, and in the other services of the church. To what purpose, then, should we speak of them,[1] unless we believed that they are blessed in the homeland? since the hope of merit in believers must be founded on stable faith.

Truth. It has been said here more than once that of the saints whom the church canonizes we suppose, but do not believe as faith, that they are blessed in the homeland. Yet the eleven apostles, with Paul, Magdalene and the others whom the faith of scripture implies to be saints, are to be believed as faith to be blessed; and the others, however greatly they excel in holiness in heaven, we believe to be in blessedness, but short of faith. And therefore the church has ordained that any prayer whatever offered to a saint be directed principally to God. And so every such prayer tacitly implies a condition: if and in so far as it pleases God, through the merit of such a saint, to aid us wretches.[2] And, as it seems to many, no prayer offered specially to a saint of Christ is praiseworthy except in so far as it sharpens devotion towards Christ; so that if all intentions and prayers could be united in Christ, more sincerely united directly in Christ, it would be more profitable for a Christian to offer all prayers specially to Christ.[3] Nor does it avail to believe falsely

[1] *Ad quid ergo diceremus de illis*, literally "to what [end] should we speak of them". B, C add *horarum officia* after *diceremus* (in B by another hand in the margin): "why should we say the offices of the hours of them".

[2] *Suffragari*, the verb of *suffragia* (suffrages): to aid by one's intercession. B, B[1], C read *placeat* for *placet*.

[3] *Sincerius directe unite in Christum* is taken as a second participle on *intenciones et oraciones*: prayers joined to Christ directly are joined more sincerely. Alternative: an elliptical apodosis, "[they would be] more sincerely united". At 27.19 another

that Christ, because of the height of his lordship, cannot easily be entreated by us wretches, [and] that therefore it is necessary to have other persons mediating;[4] for Christ, being come a high priest, flows immediately into the wayfarer, and with this is immediately joined to the Godhead. Therefore no saint is more merciful, or more ready to hear a wretch, than Christ is.[5] Nor do the prayers of other saints avail, except in so far as Christ first, of his grace, accepts them. Therefore some say that the offerings of prayers to these saints are often [28] superfluous or harmful.

Therefore it is granted that it is not an article of faith to appropriate to each saint of whom we speak a special article of faith;[6] but we suppose their blessedness according to greater or lesser evidence. Hence far be it that all the legends of the saints brought into the church should be the catholic faith, since on the feast of Corpus Christi it is written of the holy of holies that the accidents are in the eucharist without a subject, which was not the faith in Augustine's time.[7] Therefore he says in *On the Lord's Sermon on the Mount* that many true things, although they are inserted in such legends, are not the catholic faith; as he illustrates by the servant at the banquet, one of whose arms was torn off by a ravening dog.[8] It suffices, therefore,

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hand in B writes *scilicet sanctum* over *Christum*; B^1 has *ipsum* corrected from *Christum*; B^1, C read *est* for *esset*.

[4] *Ideo est necessarium habere alias personas mediantes* is taken as the second half of the false belief, still governed by *credere quod*, not as Truth's own inference.

[5] *Assistens pontifex* is Heb. 9:11 (DR "being come an high priest"). *Illabitur*: "glides into", "flows into". At 27.26 B, B^1, C read *audacius* for *auditivus*, and B, C *misereri* (B^1 *miserere*) for *miseri*: "more merciful or bolder to have mercy".

[6] *Appropriare ... specialem articulum fidei*: to assign each saint an article of faith of his own. B, B^1, C read *appropriate*, give *oras dicimus* at 28.2 (apparatus unclear), and add after *fidei adaptare quod in patria sit beatus*, "to adapt [it] so that he is blessed in the homeland".

[7] The office of Corpus Christi, first nocturn, lesson 2 (Pollard's margin, "In primo nocturno, Lectio II."), which states that the accidents exist in the sacrament without a subject. *De sancto sanctorum*: of the sacrament as "the holy of holies". B, C read *facto* for *festo*.

[8] Augustine, *De sermone Domini in monte* I.20.65 (Pollard's margin "i. 65"), where Augustine cites from an apocryphal writing the story of the servant who struck the apostle Thomas at a banquet and was killed, a dog bringing in his hand; Augustine says the writing is not received in the canon. The subject of *dicit* is Augustine, supplied from the preceding clause. At 28.12 B, B^1, C read *rabido* ("mad") for *rapido*; B, B^1 *enim* for *ergo*.

for such secondary prayers to have a probable supposition, and, of Christ, who is prayed to fundamentally, to have firm faith together with the other virtues; and the solution is clear. Yet in this matter the schoolmen say that some faith is explicit or expressed and some faith is implicit or tacit. And they say that implicit faith is any truth whatever, according to that saying of the apostle, 1 Cor. 13, "Charity believeth all things";[9] and yet infinite are the truths of which we need not have explicit faith here, since it suffices for the faithful man that he believe any truth according to the degree and form in which God wills him to believe it. As, there is an article of faith of the resurrection of the flesh for every Christian,[10] and yet one need not have, concerning each human person, an express article of faith that he will rise again. But God wills that by this general faith his church militant be excused. For he does not will that his church be burdened with truths unprofitably. And the common resurrection of the flesh will be, in everlasting time, still future, and afterwards in its own time present; but after the day of judgement it is past.[11]

[9] Wyclif joins the subject of 1 Cor. 13:4 (*Caritas*) to 13:7 *omnia credit*; DR 13:7 "believeth all things".

[10] *Carnis resurreccionis* is genitive: "an article of faith of the resurrection of the flesh", with *est* existential. At 28.23 B, B^1 read *resurreccionem et alios articulos.*

[11] B, B^1, C read *est in* for *erit*: "is, in everlasting time, still future". The point is that the proposition changes tense: future until the resurrection, present at it, past after the judgement.

Chapter 15: The saints in heaven and the prelates of today

Pollard pp. 29.2–31.9

Falsehood. Further, the whole multitude of the church fights against your teaching, since the church accepts the Roman curia, and holy bishops and abbots who, from the holiness of their past life, excel common priests and the people in holiness and in the efficacy of prayer;[1] and this same thing is confirmed by miracles still recent, and by miracles recorded in chronicles that are well enough known. Who then will believe your teaching, except one who has not faith that God will not blot out his past sin whenever it has been confessed?[2]

Truth. I perceive that you have, as if it were inborn, the cunning to set falsehood close to the truth,[3] so that by the devil's wile you may the more easily mix falsehood in. For so the devil, maliciously tempting Eve [with] why God had forbidden the fruit that was given, perceiving that Eve wavered in faith in the Lord by the adverb "perhaps", at once mixed in the lie: "By no means," he said, "shall you die."[4] And a catholic supposes, short of faith, that many popes, bishops and abbots, by the grace of Christ and their final contrition, are now blessed in heaven. But does this opinion, short

[1] *Ex sanctitate vite preterite* is taken with *excellentes* (they excel from the holiness of their past life); it could also go with *acceptat* (the church accepts them on the strength of their past life). *Sacerdotes vulgares*: ordinary priests, beside *populum*.

[2] The Latin has two negatives: *nisi qui non habet fidem quod deus ... non delebit*. Translated as printed; the sense wanted, as Pollard's side-note takes it, is "one who has no faith that God will blot out his sin". The second *non* is probably pleonastic. B, B[1], C read *quantumcunque*, "however great", for *quandocunque*.

[3] *Reseres* is taken from *reserere*, "to set, plant (again)", matching *commisceas*. Read as *reseres* for *reseras*, from *reserare*, it would mean "that you lay open falsehood close to the truth". The sense is the same either way.

[4] Gen. 3:1–4. "Why God had forbidden" paraphrases 3:1 (*cur precepit*). "Perhaps" is Eve's *ne forte moriamur*, "lest perhaps we die" (3:3). The serpent's words are shortened: Vulgate *Nequaquam morte moriemini*, DR "No, you shall not die the death" (3:4). B, B[1], C add *ne comederetis* after *fructum*; B, B[1] read *addicionem adverbii*, "the addition of the adverb".

of faith, now justify the popes, bishops and abbots who today turn aside the more from the law of the Lord? It is evident that if Peter, Stephen and Magdalene are now blessed in heaven from the faith of scripture, not for that reason is anyone whatever of the pure sect of Christ, whether man or woman, to be judged to be in a life approved by the Lord.[5] Therefore men about whom there is a common opinion, although they are seen to be blessed by the Lord, do not make evidence that those of their sect are blessed today; since saints shown from the faith of scripture [30] to be now in a blessed state do not make it so that men of the pure sect of Christ, as they themselves had been, are now saints.[6] True it is indeed that these three kinds of men, if they are now blessed, as is probably believed, [are so] not because of such endowment, nor because they turned aside from the poverty and life of the Lord, but because, keeping poverty and the law of Christ defectively, they repented fruitfully at the last. What evidence is there, then, that these three [kinds of] prelates, sinning the more today, therefore keep a holy state? Let us therefore keep the life of Christ alone as an infallible rule, or the life of others in so far as they have followed the Lord Jesus Christ. As: although Peter had followed Jesus, yet we ought not for that reason to deny Christ and, lying, to curse and to swear that we know not Christ, although we read in the gospel that the apostle Peter did so.[7] Let us therefore follow popes, bishops and abbots in so far as they themselves had followed the Lord Jesus Christ. And to this sense Cyprian says (dist. 8, ch. [10]), "if Christ alone", that from the apostles or other saints we ought to hear only the Lord Jesus Christ.[8]

[5] ***Pura secta Christi***: so printed. In B ***pura*** is corrected in the margin by another hand to ***privata***; B^1, C read ***privata***, and B, B^1, C omit ***Christi***. That reading gives "anyone of a private sect", i.e. of the religious orders.

[6] ***[vi]dentur*** is Pollard's supplement; B, B^1 read ***videntur***, C ***viderentur***. At 30.1 the print's ***esse modo beato*** is construed as "to be now [***modo***] in a blessed state"; ***modo beato*** could be "in a blessed manner". For ***esse modo beato ... sint*** B, B^1, C read ***tunc (om. C) non modo sciverant si sunt***.

[7] Mark 14:71, ***cepit anathematizare et jurare***, DR "he began to curse and to swear"; Matt. 26:72, 74, "I know not the man". Wyclif turns the denial into the first person plural, ***quod Christum non novimus***.

[8] Pollard's margin: Cyprian, ***Ad Caecilium*** § 14 (Ep. 63), where the words run ***si solus Christus audiendus est*** (B^1 adds ***audiendus***). Wyclif cites it through Gratian, ***Decretum*** D. 8; B, B^1, C read ***ut patet 8 d. decimo capitulo***.

For Christ speaks in them when they speak the catholic truth; and precisely to that extent let us hear other Christians. Teach, then, if you know it, that these persons are of the church to the extent that they exalt this pope, these bishops or abbots to blessedness.[9] But it is evident to me that you cannot prove this by even cursory evidence. How then should the unbeliever not blush, deserting the foundation in the law of the Lord, which cannot fail, and choosing before it sinful, apocryphal lives, according to that [part of them] in which it is not shown that they followed the Lord Jesus Christ? And especially setting aside [31] **that perfect thing in their lives in which they had followed the Lord Jesus Christ. As blessed Possidius relates of Augustine, when he wished the citizens of Hippo to have back those possessions which they had given him. Blessed Jerome would in no way accept such possessions, nor live outside the cloister, nor approve the estates of clerics.[10] And so of blessed Benedict, Gregory and Bernard: they possessed few temporal goods in poverty, and yet, as is believed, they repented at the last of that possession.**

[9] ***Iste persone*** **is taken as the church's multitude of Falsehood's speech (29.2), which "exalts" the prelates to blessedness. B, B[1], C read** ***illum*** **for** ***istum*****.**

[10] **Possidius,** ***Vita Augustini*** **23 (PL 32:53): Augustine told his people he was ready to give up the church's possessions to them,** ***sed nunquam id laici suscipere voluerunt*****; Wyclif tells the story again in the Epilogue (p. 88), where Pollard's margin gives "Vita Aug. c 23". For Jerome no single source has been found; compare his letters to Nepotian (Ep. 52.5: the cleric whose portion is the Lord can have** ***nihil extra Dominum*****, PL 22:531) and to Paulinus (Ep. 58.5:** ***si ... monachus, ... quid facis in urbibus?*****, PL 22:582–583). B, B[1], C read** ***quod*** **for** ***quando*****.**

Chapter 16: Miracles no proof of holiness

Pollard pp. 31.11–32.31

Truth. And if you give weight to holiness of life and its security, with what harlot's brow do you so highly accept the life of these prelates,[1] who have sinned often and gravely, and set aside the life of Christ, infinitely holier, infinitely more secure, easier and more common? And no one can evade [the conclusion] that in so doing you sin not moderately and plunge yourself into the devil's wallow. And so, if you object that I am inventing [the claim] that these saints finally repented of this turning aside from the law of the Lord, teach you that they are saints, and I will teach that they had, as a rule, finally so repented. The Evangelist indeed, who was far holier than these three,[2] says that "if we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves" (1 John 1:8). How then does he not honour these saints who ascribes to them that they so fruitfully repented at the end, since it is clearer than light that, in leaving this king's highway and choosing a doubtful way unknown to the earlier apostles, they sinned not moderately? And so we do not contend about this, that these three persons excel common priests and the people in holiness and in the efficacy of prayer; for of these three, of common priests [32] **and the people, we have no evidence that they are saints. And as for prayers and miracles, it is clear that they are illusions of the devil, dreamed up, since it is published today that any priest, in consecrating the eucharist, does infinite miracles, and as great as the Lord Jesus Christ did. And according to the apostle, 1 Corinthians 13: "If a wayfarer should have all faith, so that he could remove mountains, and have**

[1] *Tantum acceptas*: "so highly accept". *Tantum* may instead be "only": "accept only the life of these prelates ... and set aside the life of Christ".

[2] *Istis tribus*, *iste tres persone*: most likely Benedict, Gregory and Bernard, the last three named at the close of chapter 15 (31.6–7), who "held a few temporal goods in poverty" and "as is believed" repented of it. Augustine and Jerome are named just before them (31.2–4).

not charity, he is nothing."[3] Much more, then, do signs shown by God or by the devil in the presence of a dead body not indicate that it is holy. Therefore one of the devil's chief wiles, by which he deceives wayfarers, is deception in these signs. Let us therefore believe living works in conformity with God's law,[4] and set aside these frivolous signs, since Pharaoh's magicians, after Moses, had done great signs, as is clear in Exodus 7 and 8; and according to the truth of the gospel the foreknown will say on the day of judgment: "Lord, have not we prophesied in thy name, and cast out devils, and done many miracles?", as is clear in Matthew 7.[5] And Christ asserts in Matthew 24 that "false Christs and false prophets shall shew great signs and wonders" (Matt. 24:24). Blush, therefore, henceforth to be of the generation of adultery (Matt. 12:39), unless you know how to teach that these dead signs are miraculously done by the man whom you assert to be a saint. Since near the day of judgment Antichrist will work many signs. And so you should consider how these chronicles are apocrypha, outside the faith, and how in all probability many false things have been inserted into them to please the satraps. It is the same, therefore, to put the true law behind[6] and prefer these apocrypha, as to forsake the ancient of days and faithlessly accept new gods.[7] And as for the faith to be given to a man's absolution from sin, it is clear that one ought to hope this but not believe it as faith,[8] although a conditional faith is joined to such things, namely

[3] The Vulgate of 1 Cor. 13:2 is in the first person: *si habuero omnem fidem ... caritatem autem non habuero, nihil sum* (DR "if I should have all faith ... and have not charity, I am nothing"). Wyclif puts it in the third person and supplies *viator*. For *[1]3°* the MSS read *13* (B, B[1], C).

[4] *Conformiter legi dei* may go with *credamus* ("believe, in conformity with God's law, living works") or, as here, with *operibus*. B, B[1], C read *conformibus*, "works conformable to God's law"; C adds *signis* after *vivis*.

[5] Matt. 7:22, abridged: the Vulgate has *Domine, Domine* and repeats *in nomine tuo* before each verb.

[6] The print reads *legem Christo postponere*, "to set the law behind Christ", which gives no sense beside *ista apocrifa anteferre*. We translate B, C *veram legem*, with B, B[1], C omitting *Christo*.

[7] "The ancient of days": Dan. 7:9. "New gods": cf. Deut. 32:17, *novi recentesque* (DR "gods ... that were newly come up").

[8] The subject of *debet* is unexpressed: "one", i.e. the man absolved (*homo*, from *hominis*). *Tanquam fidem*: as an article of faith, against the conditional faith that follows.

that if a man fruitfully and finally repents, then he is absolved from all his sins that he had committed.

Chapter 17: The clergy's number and its perfection

Pollard pp. 33.2–34.26

Falsehood. It seems still that you tacitly threaten the ruin of the clergy, and consequently, after the manner of sinners, you refute yourself, and strive, but to no purpose, to act against Christ, who is the cleric of clerics. For since it is taken as a matter of faith that the clergy is the supreme and most perfect part of the church militant, and the clergy is increased by endowment of this kind, it seems manifest that, this endowment being withdrawn, the clergy, and consequently the most perfect part of the church, must be lessened. Who then would presume so to act against the heavenly marriage which one is bound by the fourth commandment of the decalogue to venerate?[1]

Truth. Although the devil and his members have multiplied lies against the worshippers of Christ, yet he would be too much a novice who for such lies would leave off defending the truth, since Peter, John and others persisted in harsher words.[2] We know indeed that we do not speak thus for love or gain of temporal goods, but for the zeal with which we are moved toward the gospel truth. And if at any time, by the devil's temptation, pride creeps in, we grieve over it. We intend, therefore, the purging and perfecting of the clergy, which we know stands not in the multitude of persons but in the observance of the state which Christ instituted; and as, were the whole body of a man turned into eyes, it would be more unfit than it is now, so the clergy, once made irregular with respect to the Lord's

[1] *Quod tenetur ... venerari*: *venerari* is deponent, so *quod* is its object and *tenetur* impersonal, "which one is bound ... to venerate". The fourth commandment in the medieval (Augustinian) count is "Honour thy father and thy mother" (Exod. 20:12); the heavenly marriage is Christ's with the church, whose mother-role Falsehood invokes.

[2] Peter and John before the council, Acts 4:19–20. *Neophitus*, "novice", is the Vulgate's *neophytus*.

state, however much increased, is both made imperfect in itself and harms mother church militant.[3] And it is clear that the assumption was begged from the father of lies:[4] for I wish the whole clergy, as also myself, to stand in the state which Christ instituted, because I know as faith teaches that Christ ordained it so out of love for the clergy.[5] I know besides, from the same faith, that Christ ordained his clergy to have no part in secular lordship. And I know, thirdly, that although the clergy might suffer penury in temporal goods, this [34] **is nevertheless safer than to have an abundance of temporal goods; since Christ ordained his apostles so to suffer, and so I ought to strive for the profit of my own soul, and to this end follow the rule of the Lord Jesus Christ. And so, although I may seem foolish in this, acting against my own profit, yet I know that the wisdom of God moves [me] to it, and I believe it profits me toward perpetual salvation if I persevere in this purpose. And so, the multitude of the caesarean clergy being diminished and its virtue increased, or rather [it being] converted into the clergy of Christ, the church would be purged of superfluous abscesses, and its sick parts conformed to the Lord's will according to the rule and form of healing.[6] But happy such an imitation! since hypocrites who feign holiness are abscesses more superfluous, and harm mother church more; since it is evident by many reasons that he who feignedly takes up the state of the clergy for worldly honour, secular dignity, or bodily pleasure, as a traitor to God, a simoniac and a heretic, wraps himself in the**

[3] The print has an ablative absolute, *clero facto irregulari ... quamlibet augmentato*, leaving *imperficitur* and *nocet* without an expressed subject; the clergy is understood. B, C read the nominative *clerus factus irregularis ... augmentatus*, which supplies it; Pollard notes *augmentato* corrected from *augmentatus* in B. B, C also read *sic* for *sicut* (33.22) and omit *est* (33.23). The English is the same on either reading.

[4] *Assumptum* is the premiss Falsehood assumed (that disendowment ruins the clergy); *mendacii mendicatum* is a pun, "begged from the father of lies" (John 8:44, "he is a liar, and the father thereof").

[5] *Ex deleccione cleri*: taken as *dileccio*, "love for the clergy". If read as *delectacio*, "out of delight in the clergy"; the sense is close.

[6] At 34.11 B, B[1], C read *salvacionis Christi* for *sanacionis*: "the rule and form of Christ's salvation". The print keeps the medical figure of the abscesses.

whirlpool of sins.[7] And so, beginning from the pope down to the lowest religious, heretics are sown thickly in the church. And so you suppose lyingly that by the very fact that anyone has, as far as the world goes, the name of cleric, he is a cleric of the supreme part of the church militant; but the chief priests, the Pharisees and Iscariot contradict [it]. And as once these of the sect of antichrist had practised against Christ, so today their seeds are left behind, which work more abundantly against Christ. For these are the harlots who strive by adulterous signs to defile the heavenly marriage.

[7] **The print puts a full stop before *Cum evidens sit*, leaving the *cum*-clause without a main verb. We join it to the preceding sentence as a second reason, parallel to *cum ipocrite ... nocent*. *Sed felix talis imitacio* is verbless, taken as an exclamation.**

Chapter 18: Noble prelates and the poverty of Christ

Pollard pp. 34.28–36.30

Falsehood. How can you escape [the charge] that you are striving to destroy our mother? For it is doubtful to no one that these greater prelates, [35] with their lordship and the alliance of great men of their own blood, extinguish many sins and heresies, give alms many and great, and keep a venerable house and a great household, which serves the kingdoms for strength and honour.[1] Who, then, would intend such noble prelates to beg? It seems that whoever contrives this intends to destroy the kingdom and to slacken the reins for men to sin.

Truth. We know that our intention is catholic, because [it is] faith.[2] For we intend the progress of the three parts of the church, according to the harmony and form which Jesus Christ had given.[3] But what unbeliever could taint this holy purpose?[4] For Christ was the noblest man in the world, and yet, after he had taken up this state of the clergy, he kept as a rule, both in himself and in his kinsmen, poverty, humility, and obedience to God.[5] And he made the others whom he had chosen as apostles, some of whom were his

[1] *De suo sanguine* is taken with *magnorum*: "great men of their own blood", the prelates' noble kin. *Familia* is the household or retinue a great prelate kept. At 34.29 B reads *dubium quin*, B^1 and C *dubium quod*; the sense is unchanged. At 35.5 B, B^1, C read *tenderet* for *intenderet*.

[2] *Quia fides* has no verb; we supply "it is". The likelier sense is that the intention is catholic because it is of the faith (grounded in scripture); an alternative takes *fides* as the subject of an unexpressed *scit* or *docet*: "because faith [teaches it]".

[3] The three parts are those of the church militant divided in *Dial.* cap. 1 (pp. 2–3): the clergy, the lords, and the commons who labour, joined by charity.

[4] *Inficere* is rendered in its own sense, "stain, taint". It may stand for *inficiari*, "deny": "what unbeliever could deny this holy purpose?" The print is kept.

[5] B, B^1, C read *ei* for *dei* (35.15): "obedience to him". B and C also add *et* before *humilitatem* (35.14). In the next sentence (35.15–17) the manuscripts vary: B, B^1, C have Christ's apostles themselves "observe" the rule (*observarunt*, *observarent*) rather than being made to observe it; the print is translated.

kinsmen, noble in virtue, observe this rule. How then would anyone not blush who, receiving this state freely, after receiving it degenerates from it? For in this he would make himself a servant of the devil and of sin.[6] And this is the greatest servitude, more horrible than the servitude of the world. And so magnates, striving to set their kinsmen over [others] in great dignities for the sake of worldly honours and the world's gain in themselves, in the first place degenerate from the Lord Jesus Christ, since they seem to be "companions of thieves" and abettors of heretics; which is against the deeds and words of the Lord, as is clear in Matthew 20 concerning the sons of Zebedee.[7] It is granted, then, that nobility of birth in prelates can be the occasion of much good, both in themselves and [in] the church, just as it can also be the occasion of much evil, especially if nobility of virtues is not joined [to it]. Therefore Christ, a prudent physician, in choosing his [36] **kinsmen as apostles, restrained them from worldly pride, from a voluptuous life and from avarice, and reserved this rule for Christians after him; for in John 13 he himself says: "A new commandment I give unto you, that you love one another; as I also have loved you, that you also love one another."[8] And it is clear that the working of such prelates, like the working of Lucifer, can by occasion extinguish many sins;[9] just as what is the despoiling of the goods of the poor, and an outrage against the simple of the church militant, can also be called alms and the honour of kingdoms; and such a manner of life would not be the honour or the benefit of kingdoms, but a contrivance of the devil brought in.**

[6] ***Erubesceret*** **governs the whole question;** ***accipiens*** **and** ***degenerans*** **both hang on** ***quis***, **rendered as a relative clause.** ***Gratis accipiens*** **echoes Matt. 10:8, "freely have you received";** ***servum ... peccati*** **echoes John 8:34, "the servant of sin". B, B[1], C read** ***esset*** **for** ***est*** **at 35.20.**

[7] ***Socii furum*****: Isa. 1:23,** ***principes tui infideles, socii furum***, **DR "Thy princes are faithless, companions of thieves". Matt. 20:20–28: the mother of the sons of Zebedee asks places for them, and Christ answers that "whosoever is the greater among you, let him be your minister". At 35.24 the manuscripts reorder** ***socii ... fautores ... furum ... hereticorum*** **(B: companions and abettors of thieves and heretics). At 35.27 B, B[1], C read** ***in ecclesia*****; at 35.29 they read** ***mergatur*** **for** ***jungatur***, **"is drowned".**

[8] **John 13:34. Wyclif's** ***sicut et ego dilexi vos*** **adds** ***et ego*** **to the Vulgate's** ***sicut dilexi vos*****; the English follows his Latin.**

[9] ***Occasionaliter*****: as an occasion, not as a cause, as Lucifer's malice occasions goods it does not intend. B, B[1], C read** ***sicut*** **for** ***sic*** **at 36.11, and omit** ***et*** **at 36.13.**

So then the riches and nobility of prelates can be an occasion, both to prelates and to others, of sinning by pride, avarice, and gluttony, and they can be an occasion of meriting both for themselves and for the church; and unless grace and virtue are present, the first effect comes about more commonly than the second. Therefore let us see the disposition which Christ applied for attaining grace and virtues; and either one must grant that Christ was a fool, or that the poverty which he himself disposed disposes bishops more to virtues. Nor does it follow from this that they ought to beg from man, since Christ, our exemplar, kept himself in the mean and reproved each extreme as culpable. Therefore this evidence is like the folly of the blind, who throw their staff at the stars so as, foolishly, to hurt them in their substance.[10] And it is clear that to pronounce this would not be to destroy the kingdom, nor to give men licence to sin. Unless perhaps an unbeliever should say, with the priests accusing Christ, that he subverted the whole kingdom of Judea and disturbed the emperor's empire. Therefore those who judge thus "according to the appearance" are commonly unbelievers, as much in words as in deed.[11]

[10] C reads *percuciunt* for *proiciunt* (36.23): "who strike at the stars with their staff". *Evidencia* is Falsehood's argument of 34.28–35.7.

[11] The accusation paraphrases Luke 23:2 ("We have found this man perverting our nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Caesar") and 23:5 ("He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Judea"), with John 19:12 ("If thou release this man, thou art not Caesar's friend"). *Secundum faciem*: John 7:24, "Judge not according to the appearance". B and C read *est* for *esset* at 36.25.

Chapter 19: The friars' silence on the clergy's lordship

Pollard pp. 37.2–39.2

Falsehood. **It seems that by implication you accuse in this all four sects of the clergy;[1] but who would dare to lay this on the Roman curia, and especially on the sects of the friars, since then, in governing lords, ladies and kingdoms, they would be their traitors, and heretics by consent? But who would dare so to accuse the wisdom of this clergy? For if the law of Christ in holy scripture said so, it is likely that so many and such great saints among the friars would make this known to lords, bishops and abbots.[2] Since, therefore, they are silent on this, indeed rather attack it as heretical, it seems that they not only consent but defend the contrary, as its authors. And if this concerns the salvation of the soul and the prosperity of kingdoms, it seems evident that by so dissembling or asserting they would be heretics and traitors of God, of men and of kingdoms.[3]**

Truth. **In this matter answer must be made by the sects and parties that you attack; for I do not know how to excuse the Roman curia in this, nor the friars or the other sects, but I still live in the faith of the Lord Jesus Christ that he taught his clergy to live so. Yet if, per impossibile, I should be taught the contrary, I am willing humbly to consent to catholic truth, and above all if I should be taught by the pope or by the superiors of the church, such as prelates. But I know that their manner of life and deed is not to be**

[1] ***Quatuor sectas cleri***: Wyclif's later writings reckon four sects in the clergy (the endowed secular clergy, monks, canons and friars); ***quatuor sectas fratrum*** (37.27) are the four mendicant orders, Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites and Austin friars.

[2] ***Dominis, episcopis et abbatibus***: taken with Pollard's commas as a series. Without them ***dominis episcopis*** would be "the lord bishops" (the glossary), leaving "to the lord bishops and abbots".

[3] ***Similando***: taken as ***simulando***, "dissembling", the friars' silence of the preceding sentence. B reads ***asimulando***, B[1], C ***asimilando***.

held by catholics as faith, since they can be infected with the stain of avarice, as worldly men are. For covetousness infected the first apostate, the human race, and many others who have fallen. And as for the four sects of friars, they are of age: let them answer for themselves,[4] because in this I do not know how to excuse them, and especially since they choose, on Christ's authority, the propertyless life [38] as more perfect than the rest.[5] Nor is there doubt that in words and deed they consent to the endowment of the clergy, since they so faint-heartedly keep silent from telling the truth on this in their preaching, in confessions and in other dealings.[6] And cursed be such a sect as compels them to nourish falsehood so traitorously. Therefore, as some assert, the faithful should not have dealings with them, nor say "God speed" to them, until they have openly disclosed their faith concerning this lordship of the clergy.[7] Now if they approved this lordship of the clergy, then they would be fools, [to go] begging in this way without Christ's authority, since it would be perfection for them to have secular lordship, which was approved by Christ in many ways, and never to beg in this way; and especially by men so able-bodied and massed in such numbers, for building such great edifices and for other expenses contrived against the gospel of Christ.[8] But if on the authority of scripture they reject this lordship of the clergy, and in so many ways keep it silent from men to whom in conscience they should publish it, who doubts that they are "a double minded man", inconstantly holding with the falsehood which he believes will prevail for a little while, like a reed?[9] And since

[4] John 9:21, *etatem habet, ipse de se loquatur* ("he is of age: let him speak for himself"), turned into the plural and to *respondeant*. *Ipse* is plural here (= *ipsi*).

[5] *Ex autoritati Christi*: printed so, the ablative in *-i*; B, B[1], C read *sibi* for *Christi*.

[6] *Vecorditer*: "faint-heartedly", the medieval sense of *vecors*; the classical sense, "senselessly", would also serve.

[7] *Nec ave eis dicerent*: 2 John 10, *nec Ave ei dixeritis*, in DR's "God speed". *Proderint* is printed; C reads *prodiderint*, "have disclosed", which is translated.

[8] *A viris tam validis et tanto numero glomeratis*: taken as the agents of the begging, the friars themselves (able-bodied, massed in convents). *A* could instead mean "from": begging from men so powerful. B, C read *in aliis sumptibus* for *et aliis sumptibus*.

[9] James 1:8, *vir duplex animo inconstans est in omnibus viis suis*; Wyclif keeps the singular after *sunt*. *Ut arundo* recalls the "reed shaken with the wind" (Matt. 11:7). B, B[1], C read *constanter*, "constantly holding with the falsehood", for *inconstanter*.

the deed teaches more than words, it seems from the profession of their order that their works, [teaching] that this exercise of lordship is unlawful, are more to be believed than their double words, to which they are hired for a temporal price. For a fevered man is more to believe a doctor, about the wholesomeness of herbs, who tells him that herb a is most wholesome and herb b deadly, if he fled herb a as poison and eagerly tasted herb b as a wholesome meal: more, I say, is such a deed to be believed than these words.[10] And so it seems with the friars. But one thing I know: that the faith of scripture does not totter because of their doubleness. Just as their order contains no perfection of the Christian sect except what is founded on the gospel; and if they were [39] **purged of superfluities down to that, nothing would remain to them but the clear and meritorious sect of Christ.[11]**

[10] ***Sicitato***, printed, gives no word; B, B[1], C read ***febricitato***, "fevered", which is translated, with ***ab homine*** as the agent of ***credendum***. B, B[1], C read ***gustaret*** for ***gustaverit***.

[11] ***Expurgate*** is feminine plural: its subject is the friars' sects (***secte***), understood from ***ordo eorum***. ***Usque ad illud***: down to what is founded on the gospel.

Chapter 20: The private religions and the pure religion of Christ

Pollard pp. 39.4–41.12

Falsehood. You still imply that all the canons regular, black and white,[1] and all the religious prudently brought into the church after them, such as the Hospitaller brothers, the Carthusian monks, the brothers Bonshommes, the nuns and the sisters, with the anchorites and the other recluses, should come to an end and put on the pure sect of Christ anew. But what greater heresy, more disruptive of the church's religion?

Truth. In part you infer truly that all these private religions should cease, and [their members] freely put on the pure and naked religion of Christ as before. Nevertheless there is no private religion, now tempered with prudence, but that men could undergo its prudent hardship within the pure religion of Christ, at the prompting of the Spirit of the Lord.[2] And this would be more free and more meritorious than is the perpetuation of this private religion, and as it were a foolish chaining-up of the Lord's religion. Hence this division from the religion of Christ attests a division in morals; just as the divisions in the themes of the friars and of others preaching today,[3] with the integrity of the living sense of scripture abandoned and fables brought in, attest causally a division from the charity of Christ, as a withdrawal from his ordinance; and so all divisions of

[1] *Canonici regulares, nigri et albi*: the black canons (Augustinian) and the white canons (Premonstratensian); *fratres boni homines* are the English Bonshommes (Ashridge, Edington); *sororisse* are sisters of an order, beside the *sanctimoniales*, nuns. B, B[1], C read *albi monachi* at 39.5.

[2] *Penalitatem ejus prudentis*: "its prudent hardship", *prudentis* agreeing with *ejus* (the private religion, taken at its prudent best). B, B[1], C read *prudenter*: "undergo its hardship prudently". At 39.14 B, C omit *nunc* and read *non moderata*.

[3] *Thematibus*: the *thema*, the scriptural text announced at the head of a sermon and divided in the scholastic manner. *Attestantur causaliter*: the divisions testify, as effects, to their cause, the division from Christ's charity. B, B[1], C read *causare* (22) and omit *Christi*.

this kind turn into sin. For all such novelties of rites add nothing whatever to merit, since all their meritorious works, if there are any, could be easier without such ceremony, and more pleasing to God. To whom, then, is it doubtful that [40] **such things were superfluously brought in by the father of an adulterous generation,[4] as would appear more evidently by running through in more detail these eight kinds[5] and the vices by which, on their occasion, they are entangled in crimes both hidden and public? Therefore it seems manifest that those who without the Lord's authority authorize these things, defend them, or consent to them, involve themselves in grave guilt against the Lord. Therefore men, and especially the greater ones in the church, have sinned in this sin of introducing a custom without the Lord's authority. For it seems that by deliberately introducing such a custom as perpetual, a man falls into blasphemy against God; for since it is proper to God to authorize such a perpetual custom, who then, mortal and momentary, would presume to introduce such a custom beyond his powers? And the foundation for establishing this whole teaching rests on this, that the law and ordinance of Christ is the best, without any possible defect, because, as is clear from John 8, no one can convince him of sin.[6] Since, then, Christ ordained a single sect militant, and that it should have three parts,[7] without these new rites, introduced as making it perpetually difficult and unfree,[8] it seems manifest that**

[4] ***Pater generacionis adultere***: the devil (Pollard's side-note), combining "an evil and adulterous generation" (Matt. 12:39) with "you are of your father the devil" (John 8:44).

[5] ***Istas 8 species***: the plate prints *8°*, dropped by the scan text. Apparently the eight kinds of religious Falsehood has just listed (39.4–8), though his list does not count out to eight unambiguously. B, B[1], C read *illas* for *istas* and add *ergo*.

[6] John 8:46, "Which of you shall convince me of sin?", turned into the third person; Pollard's margin gives "John viii. 46".

[7] The three parts of the church militant are Wyclif's three estates: clergy, lords, and the common people.

[8] The print's *tanquam difficultans ac illibertans perpetuum introductis* does not construe (a nominative singular with an ablative plural). Translated from B, B[1], C *difficultantibus ac illibertantibus*, agreeing with *ritibus*; B[1] reads *tanquam* for *ipsam* at 40.19, and Pollard notes B first read as his text.

to abandon this ordinance of Christ in the loosening of its liberty,[9] and to admit another, new one without authority, is a grave sin and manifest folly; especially since Christ did not imply by way of approval that such a perpetual custom is to be admitted as catholic. Who, I say, doubts that to admit such a bad custom and to despise a good custom is a grave sin? Now the ordinance of Christ, or his pure religion, excels all others in these three: in authority, in ease, and in security. [In authority,][10] because Christ, God and man, instituted it out of his omniscience. In [41] **ease it excels because it exempts [us] from all frivolous or superfluous occupations about signs; so, with the whole occupation about the superfluous knowledge of these signs spent instead on the wholesome knowledge of God's law, a Christian could run to the homeland by a shorter road than our religious now do, who are held back in these ceremonies. And in security this religion of Christ exceeds [them] because it can vary, as far as reason requires, without the dispensation of man, and the substance of that rule, since it is the gospel, cannot fail. And it is clear that these sects were brought into the church foolishly, because imprudently.[11] And so this teaching is not heresy but the catholic doctrine of Christ, helpful to the church, although it is disruptive of the synagogue of Satan.[12]**

[9] ***In laxacione sue libertatis*: taken as the ordinance's relaxing, i.e. its freeing, of liberty (its lightness of burden), which is abandoned. Possibly "by a slackening of its [the sect's] liberty", i.e. abandoning the ordinance is itself a loss of freedom.**

[10] ***In auctoritate*: supplied in brackets by Pollard from B, B[1], C (apparatus 28), which also omit *in* before *hiis*.**

[11] ***Stulte, quia imprudenter*: the reply to Falsehood's *prudenter in ecclesiam introducti* (39.5).**

[12] **"The synagogue of Satan": Apoc. 2:9; 3:9. *Turbativa* answers Falsehood's *religionis ecclesie turbativa* (39.9–10).**

Chapter 21: The cloisters and the open air

Pollard pp. 41.14–43.19

Falsehood. In your words you plainly imply that all the abbeys of monks, black as well as white,[1] ought to be converted purely into the sect of Christ; and so not only the rule which Pope Gregory made but the spiritual suffrages from perpetual alms would perish. But both arms of the church, that is, of the priests and of the secular lords, would deride this folly.[2]

Truth. The faith and religion of Christ must be spoken publicly, for if God wills, though not in our times, yet afterwards it will be put into practice, and the contrary error will little by little be made void. And so it must be granted that the whole congregation of these cloisterers ought to live the life of Christ purely, and freely give up the endowments and the traditions added [to it].[3] For Christ at his ascension into heaven did not ordain his apostles or disciples to live thus as cloisterers; and yet we know, as faith teaches, that Christ knew how, and was able, to have ordained, if it had profited his [42] church, that his apostles and their vicars should have lived thus in such cloisters;[4] but earlier, in the faith of the gospel, he said: "No man lighteth a candle and putteth it under a bushel, but upon a

[1] *Monachis tam nigris quam albis*: the black monks (Benedictines) and the white monks (Cistercians). *Regula quam fecit papa gregorius*: Gregory I (so Pollard's index), whose *Dialogues* II is the life of Benedict. Wyclif says elsewhere that the monks' patron is Benedict *et regula, quam ex eius sentencia beatus Gregorius compilavit* (*De Christo et suo adversario Antichristo* c. 2), and he ascribes the monks' rule to Gregory again at 42.26.

[2] *Utrumque brachium ecclesie*: the spiritual and the secular arm, glossed by Wyclif himself as priests and secular lords. B, B[1], C add *cum spremento*, "with contempt", after *derideret* (41.19).

[3] B, B[1], C omit *quod . . . debet* (41.23–24), which leaves the sentence without a clean construction; the print is translated.

[4] *Scivit et potuit ordinasse . . . apostolos . . . taliter vegetasse*: *ordinasse* governs the accusative-and-infinitive *apostolos . . . vegetasse*, "that his apostles . . . should have lived [thrived] thus"; *si ecclesie profecerit sue* is the condition. B, B[1], C add *sive discipulos suos sic vivere* after *apostolos suos* (42.1).

candlestick, that they that come in may see the light."[5] The Father's wisdom therefore willed that persons shining in the light of grace should shine openly to the church militant, for so he ordains the sun, the moon and the other stars to shine on the whole of our habitable [world]. Nor is there virtue in cloisters brought in by the devil, since all those signs are false, or the truth signified by signs of this kind is held back. Let a man therefore run through signs of this kind and see the more useful intention, and the virtue from which such an intention would arise, and he will see that the devil's fraud is mixed with the good. Do we believe that such cloisterers can please God more by such earthly stones, gathered superfluously from the goods of the poor, than the fathers of both the New and the Old Testament pleased [him]?[6] For Christ commonly stayed in the open air and spurned the building of the temple, and the patriarchs of the old law, before the building of the temple, pleased the Lord more in the open air. And as for the buildings that are joined to the cloister in abbeys of this kind, it seems that they are goads to desiring a perpetual dwelling on earth, and to abandoning the faith of the apostle, Hebrews 13, "We have not here a lasting city: but we seek one that is to come."[7] As, therefore, the heavenly influence is received more freely in the open air, so the prayer of a religious pierces heaven more freely in the open air than it comes to the Lord's ears in these cloisters. And it is clear that the rule which the good Gregory drew up ought reasonably to yield to the gospel of Jesus Christ, and the errors about the so-called perpetual and monstrous alms would cease, as it is necessary that they be ended on the day

[5] **A conflation: *accendit lucernam et ponit eam sub modio* is Matt. 5:15, *sed super candelabrum ut qui ingrediuntur lumen videant* is Luke 11:33 (Vulgate *supra*). Rendered in DR wording from both.**

[6] ***Superflue congregatis* agrees with *bonis*: the goods of the poor are superfluously gathered. B, C read *congregata*, B^1 *agregata*, agreeing with *saxa*: "stones superfluously gathered from the goods of the poor". At 42.6 B^1, C read *ordinavit*, at 42.7 B, B^1, C *habitacioni*, at 42.8 *cum autem*.**

[7] ***Fide[m]* is Pollard's bracket: *stimuli ad . . . affectandum et fidem apostoli . . . relinquendum*, two gerundive phrases after *ad*. B, B^1, C read *affectandam. Vide apostolum ad hebreos*, and omit *relinquendum* (42.23): "goads to desiring a perpetual dwelling on earth. See the apostle, Hebrews 13". Heb. 13:14 lacks the Vulgate's *enim*.**

of judgement, or before, when it shall please God.[8] And so we read of the life of Christ that he chose to do his deeds in the open air, since at a [43] twofold feast he fed his people in the open air, often preached in the open air, and, passing the night in the open air, prayed earnestly to his Father for the church; indeed, going out of Jerusalem, he not by chance arranged his capture in a garden in the open air, and offered up his own body on Mount Calvary for a notable cause, as the faithful must say.[9] Temples therefore and basilicas are to be desired with moderation, and the errors about them, and the worship unduly exalted, are to be abandoned in catholic fashion. And so let the faithful man consider prudently in what these modern private religions surpass the religion or sect of the Lord, and he will see that the whole excess consists in a perceptible affection for earthly things, which draws not toward the homeland but toward the world.[10] And it is certain, as faith teaches, that this evidence is disruptive of the Lord's religion;[11] for, as faith teaches, we ought to let go these temporal goods both in thought and in affection, and aspire to heavenly things, and so the devil's sophistries in these so-called spiritual suffrages would be laid bare.[12] And if both arms of the synagogue of Satan murmur against this for a time, yet when the church is without worldly affection this truth of faith will shine out.[13]

[8] *Bonus gregorius*: B, B[1], C read *beatus*, "blessed Gregory" (42.26); for *racionaliter* B, C read *racionabiliter*, B[1] *totaliter*, "yield wholly" (42.27). *Vocatis perpetuis*: "so-called perpetual".

[9] The open-air acts: the two feedings of the multitude, "upon the grass" and "upon the ground" (Matt. 14:19; 15:35); the night of prayer (Luke 6:12, *erat pernoctans*); the garden beyond the Cedron (John 18:1). B, B[1], C read *suo convivio* (43.1); for *pernoctando* B, C read *provocando*, B[1] *predicando* (43.2); B, B[1], C *exeundo* (43.3).

[10] For *antecellunt* B, B[1], C read *antecesserunt*, "went before" (43.10).

[11] *Ista evidencia*: apparently the manifest excess just described, the evident fact of the orders' earthly affection, rather than a proof. B, C read *in affeccione* (43.14).

[12] The print's *nudarent* has no object and no evident subject. Translated from B, B[1], C *nudarentur*, "would be laid bare" (43.16).

[13] *Synagoga satane*: Rev. 2:9. Answers *utrumque brachium ecclesie* (41.18): the two arms are now the synagogue of Satan's. B, B[1], C read *illud* for *istud* (43.17).

Chapter 22: The selling of prayers

Pollard pp. 43.21–45.19

Falsehood. I still see that you are blinded by unbelieving ignorance; for you do not consider how the church both of the militant and of the sleeping is helped by the prayers of the cloisterers and by spiritual suffrages founded on perpetual alms.[1] Who, therefore, but one possessed by a demon would hinder this suffrage of the church?

Truth. I see that you delight in fallacies that please worldly men. Therefore, lest I be blinded in the matter of this faith, I live in the faith of the Lord Jesus Christ.[2] Hence, although it may be supposed [44] that the earlier cloisterers helped the twofold church here on earth by the suffrages of their prayers, yet not as much as the earlier apostolic men who had lived outside the cloisters; and, as some reckon, not as much as the faithful labourers living alongside the cloisterers helped it.[3] Hence among the other trapdoors of the devil which he devised for making hypocrites deceive seculars, the worth of prayer is the chief, since he brought in, under colour of faith, that the prayer of one cloisterer of a new order which he devised surpasses all the temporal goods of this world;[4] and so he moved seculars, lords as well as labourers and merchants, to confer on the cloisterers both endowments and movable goods, as on men following [Christ] without property. And through this

[1] *Ecclesia tam militancium quam dormiencium*: the church of the living on earth and of the souls in purgatory (the "twofold church" of 44.2). The suffrages "founded on perpetual alms" are prayers endowed in perpetuity.

[2] B[1], C read *credis quod* for *ne*: "Therefore you believe that I am blinded in the matter of this faith. I live in the faith of the Lord Jesus Christ", answering Falsehood's *es cecatus* directly.

[3] *Claustrales priores* is taken as "the earlier cloisterers", matching *priores viri apostolici*, not "cloistered priors". B, B[1], C read *veri apostoli*, "true apostles", for *viri apostolici* (44.3).

[4] *Cataractas*: literally sluices or floodgates (the *cataractae caeli* of Gen. 7:11), in medieval use also a trapdoor or portcullis. Either way, openings the devil makes for deceit. In *quem invenit* the antecedent is *ordinis*, and the devil is the subject: he devised the new order.

fallacy of the devil they so abound in mammon.[5] Nor does it seem that the prayer of these cloisterers is so strong, unless on account of cheeks so red and lips so fat God so hears them more gladly than others; for otherwise, since every thing speaks itself to God, the faithful labourer would by his works entreat God better, and more profitably to the church.[6] And as for the apportioning of the merit of prayer, it is certain that, being unknown to us, it is to be assigned to the Lord as proper to him;[7] and priests who trade in worldly fashion with lay people in the market of their prayers should study this matter. For a merchant who sells purely temporal goods to his neighbour is reasonably troubled in conscience if the value of the thing sold is unknown to both, since otherwise, from what is doubtful to him, he would defraud his neighbour in the trade. How, therefore, would a cloisterer who sells the suffrages of his prayers simoniacally for broad estates not be troubled in conscience over this: that neither party knows whether these suffrages are worth anything, and consequently he does not know whether the temporal lord who enriches him is defrauded in such a trade, and consequently one who trades so doubtfully in so spiritual a suffrage, unknown to him, is an express or implied simoniac, [45] and consequently excommunicated by Christ, who condemned such trading?[8] For everyone ought to know that his prayer avails him or another precisely as much as God has accepted it for this end. Now no one who prays here on earth is so great a counsellor of God that he knows how far God accepts his prayer;[9] therefore he ought not to

[5] *Fallaciam* (44.12–13) is divided *fal-*|*laciam* on the plate; the extraction doubled the second half, now removed.

[6] *Quelibet res dicit deo seipsam*: every thing expresses itself to God, so the labourer's works speak for him as prayer. B, B[1] add *plus fundatis* after *operibus* (C *fundatis plus*): "by his works, more firmly grounded".

[7] *Incognita* agrees with *particionem*: the apportioning is unknown to us. *Appropriate* is the adverb, "as proper to him", i.e. God's prerogative. B[1] has *percepcionem* in the text, with *perticionem* in the margin.

[8] The clauses from "and consequently one who trades" may still depend on "troubled in conscience over this", as rendered, or may be Wyclif's own conclusion. The sense is the same. For *insinuativus*, "implied", B[1] reads *symiatus*.

[9] *Quilibet orator ... non est tantus ... conciliarius*: literally "every one who prays is not so great a counsellor"; the argument requires the universal negative, "no one".

sell his prayer so, tacitly or expressly. Similarly, no wayfarer knows whether he is predestinate to the homeland or foreknown; but it is certain that if he is foreknown, then he is a devil, and consequently his prayer is worth nothing towards blessedness, for himself or for another. With what face, then, or what conscience would he sell so dearly a thing unknown to him?

Similarly, as the trader is ignorant of the value of his merit, so he is ignorant of the worthiness of the person buying, whether at the given time he will rejoice in the fruit of the merit sold. Since, therefore, he is bound, against the day of judgement or in the homeland, to render the good, or to warrant what he sold, it seems that it belongs to God alone to distribute the goods of merit as he pleases.[10] And let hypocrites and the rich of the world who trade in such merits mark this faith.

[10] Printed *defendere* is translated in its legal sense, "to warrant" (as a seller warrants what he sells). B was corrected by another hand to *refundere*, and B^1, C read *refundere*: "or to pay back what he sold".

Chapter 23: The worth of prayer

Pollard pp. 45.21–48.11

Falsehood. It seems that you are plunging yourself headlong into the whirlpool of heresy; for you imply that prayer does not avail for the living or the dead, because, according to your old error, all things that will come about must of necessity come about. But what is more expressly against the faith of scripture? Since Christ in Matthew 6 teaches Christians to pray; and as to vengeance or punishment to be obtained by a man's prayer, James says in the last chapter: "Elias was a man passible like unto us: and with prayer he prayed that it might not rain upon the earth. And it rained not for three years and six months. And he prayed again. And the heaven gave [46] rain: and the earth brought forth her fruit."[1] For otherwise, with the hope of a man's praying withdrawn, scripture would for the greater part fail, and the wayfarer would as a rule despair. **Truth.** Do you not blush to infer blasphemy without evidence, when you cannot establish any colour of inference?[2] For I grant you that all things that will come about will come about of necessity; therefore it is necessary that men pray, and with worthy prayers aid by intercession both themselves and others; and so I grant every part of scripture, and especially that [passage] in Matthew 6 on the Lord's Prayer, and the others that sound to the efficacy of entreaty, as was said of James and like authorities in scripture. Nevertheless you have never learned that a man's prayer ought to be sold in such a way, nor that the wayfarer should magnify his own prayer, but that God willed the efficacy of our prayer to be unknown to us, lest we should traffic in prayer

[1] Jas. 5:17–18, in Douay–Rheims. Wyclif's *annis tribus et mensibus sex* for the Vulgate's *annos tres, et menses sex* does not change the sense. The future *dicet* is printed; rendered "says".

[2] *Consequencie colorem*: any plausible show of a valid inference from "all things come about of necessity" to "prayer does not avail". For *erubescis inevidenter* B, C read *evidenter videris* (B corrected from *potes*), B[1] *evidenter potes* with *videris* in the margin: "you are not seen to infer blasphemy evidently".

with pomp. For, as we take on faith, the more anyone (praying with discretion for another) is loved by the Lord, the more excellent is his prayer. Now who doubts that every predestinate [person] is loved by God as it were infinitely more than one of the foreknown, since God eternally wills that the first be beatified and the second perpetually condemned? Therefore, as the love of God with which the wayfarer is loved is unknown to us, so also is the worth of his prayer. Let the wayfarer blush, then, to commend the worth of his prayer above others. And yet in this the cloisterers greatly deceive lords, rich and poor, stupidly commending their prayer and merit.[3] Hence a crafty fiction has been invented by which the stupid may be seduced the more: namely, that priests, and especially cloisterers by virtue of their order, even the foreknown, merit unspeakably by their prayers in virtue of the church. And to [47] **this end the evidences of the father of lies play the sophist.[4] But if an order or sect advances priests so that their prayer is heard more by the Lord, the sect of Christ, and the order which he himself imprints so that the wayfarer is a priest in the homeland, advances infinitely more than a sect brought in without Christ's leave, or a perceptible character contrived by human ingenuity.[5] Likewise all such foreknown men, popes or cloisterers, are manifest devils of "the church of the malignant";[6] how then, by virtue of the church of Christ, which they infect, should they profit [others] by their prayers in this way? Do we believe that God is necessitated to pour the light of grace, through such abscesses as means, into his predestinate vessels, into which, it is supposed as faith teaches, he has flowed?**

[3] ***Dominos divites et pauperes***: taken as one object, "lords, rich and poor". It could be three: "lords, the rich, and the poor". B, B[1], C read ***suas oraciones***; at 46.24 they read ***Unde*** for ***Et tamen***.

[4] The father of lies is the devil (John 8:44, "he is a liar, and the father thereof"), and the phrase glances at the speaker Mendacium, Falsehood. ***Sophisticantur***, deponent: "play the sophist", argue speciously.

[5] ***Carectar*** is printed; B, B[1], C read ***caracter***, translated. The perceptible character is the mark imprinted in ordination, set against the order "which he himself imprints".

[6] Ps. 25:5 (Vulgate), ***odivi ecclesiam malignantium***; DR "the assembly of the malignant". "Church" is kept for ***ecclesia*** because the clause is set against "the church of Christ" that follows.

Truth. Likewise such a cloisterer, by turning aside from the law of the Lord, is very displeasing to him, and as such unfit to pray.[7] Hence in Proverbs 28 it is written thus: "He that turneth away his ear from hearing the law, his prayer shall become an abomination."[8] Likewise, as is supposed here, all things are the just's, and especially the poor in spirit's, however abominable they may be in the world's eyes; now the endowed clergy defraud these poor of their substance; therefore, because of this injury, God must of necessity repel their prayer, unless someone blasphemes that one displeasing to God is rather heard in his prayers because he is richer or more excellent in the world.[9] Hence, in confirmation of this assumed teaching, it is written in Ecclesiasticus 34: "He that offereth sacrifice of the goods of the poor, is as one that sacrificeth the son in the presence of the father."[10] Such are many testimonies in scripture, as Proverbs 1, Isaiah 1, Malachi 1, with others. Moved by these, blessed Gregory said concerning unworthy prelates: "We all plainly know that when one who displeases is sent to intercede, the mind of the angry one is without doubt provoked to worse," as is clear in his Pastoral [Rule]; and in the canon [law], [Causa] 3, question 7, "Si quis in [48]gravibus."[11] Hence Augustine, alluding to this teaching, says that one who duly observes the Lord's commandments praises God in whatever he does or whatever he says. And by consequence the transgressor, on the contrary, harms himself and brings evil on the

[7] *Est sibi valde ingratus*: *sibi* is taken of the Lord just named and *ingratus* as "displeasing"; "very ungrateful to him" is possible. So too *deo ingratus* at 47.21, where B, B[1], C read *deo sit gratus*: "blasphemes that [such a man] is pleasing to God". B, B[1], C omit *talis* at 47.13.

[8] Prov. 28:9. Wyclif has *aurem suam* and *fiet* for the Vulgate's *aures suas* and *erit*: translated from his Latin, otherwise DR.

[9] *Justorum sunt omnia*: the maxim that all things belong to the just, which Wyclif draws from Augustine, Ep. 93.12.50: earthly things are rightly possessed only *vel jure divino, quo cuncta justorum sunt, vel jure humano* (PL 33:345).

[10] Ecclus. 34:24 (Pollard's xxxiv. 20). Wyclif has *de substancia* for *ex substantia* and omits *sui* after *patris*; hence "the father", not DR's "his father". Pollard refers the three chapter-references to Prov. 1:28, Isa. 1:11–15, Mal. 1:7–8.

[11] Gregory, *Regula pastoralis* I.10, as Pollard's margin gives it; "Rule" is supplied for *in suo pastorali*. B, C omit *patet*. "In the canon": Gratian's *Decretum*, C. 3 q. 7 c. 5, which begins *In gravibus peccatis quis positus* and goes on with the same sentence of Gregory, *Cuncti enim liquido novimus …* (PL 187:694A); Wyclif's *si quis in gravibus* gives the incipit loosely and is left in Latin.

church militant. "If," he says, "you gorge yourself with drunkenness, whatever praises your tongue may utter, your life blasphemes."[12] Because of such things many reckon that many bedesmen of these four sects are in the chapter of Iscariot, of whom it is said in Psalm 108, "May his prayer be turned to sin," and in the chapter of those of whom it is said in Malachi 2, "I will curse your blessings."[13] Therefore from such prayers deliver us, O Lord.

[12] Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 146.2 (PL 37:1899–1900): the paraphrase gives the argument of the section (right eating and drinking praise God, *et cibus tuus et potus tuus laudat Deum*), and the quotation is its next sentence, *si vero ... vinolentia te ingurgites; quantaslibet laudes Dei lingua tua sonet, vita blasphemat. En. in Ps.* 148.2 makes the same point (*Non cesset bene vivere, et semper laudat Deum*, PL 37:1938). B, C read *violencia* for *vinolencia*.

[13] The print has *ps° 10°*; B, B[1], C read *108*, the Vulgate psalm (Ps. 108:7; Pollard's Ps. cix. 7), translated. It is the psalm Acts 1:20 applies to Judas Iscariot. *Capitulum* is both a chapter of scripture and the chapter of a religious house. *Plures oratores*: "many bedesmen" (glossary: *oratores*); *plures* could be "most". Pollard's index takes *hiis sectis 4or* as the four orders of friars ("Friars, the four sects of", 48, 6); Wyclif's usual "four sects" elsewhere are the Caesarean clergy, monks, canons and friars (*De quattuor sectis novellis* c. 1; *De Christo et suo adversario Antichristo* c. 2, *ut sepe dictum est*). The closing words take the form of the litany's petitions (*A ... libera nos, Domine*); B[1], C read *talibus* for *talis*.

Chapter 24: The fall of the caesarean prelates

Pollard pp. 48.13–50.31

Falsehood. If "he who exalts himself shall be humbled",[1] it seems that one who so openly attacks the pope and the lower prelates of the church must necessarily be suppressed;[2] for if they were to lack secular lordship, their estate and dignity would collapse. But who then would grant indulgences and privileges, consecrate bishops and other priests, and settle other doubtful matters that fall to them according to the laws of the church? Do we believe that Christ must always descend from heaven whenever his church is newly to be consulted? However you may speak here in corners, you would not dare to defend these things or say them before the pope. **Truth.** Trusting in the faith, I dare to say these things before God. And if I still fear temporal death, as Peter did, I reckon that I ought to defend this teaching before the pope. And so, as regards the gospel exaltation that you allege, I ought [49] to speak this teaching in a spirit of humility, and to hope that I shall thereby be humbled the more in virtue.[3] I speak this teaching, therefore, for the good of the pope and of the church; and if slaying or other penalty should come of it,[4] I ask my God to give me the virtue to suffer steadfastly and humbly. And as for the ruin of the estate and dignity of the

[1] Luke 14:11 and 18:14 (Matt. 23:12), cited loosely: Wyclif's *ille qui se exaltat humiliabitur* for the Vulgate's *omnis qui se exaltat, humiliabitur* (DR "every one that exalteth himself shall be humbled"). The English follows his Latin. Truth takes up the text at 48.27 ("the gospel exaltation that you allege").

[2] *Tam manifeste impugnans*: "one who so openly attacks", i.e. Truth; Falsehood applies the gospel text to him, as one who exalts himself. At 48.14 the apparatus reports *diffamans* (B, corrected from *infamans*; C) and *infamans* (B^1), "defaming", with *inferiores*. 48.16: B, B^1, C read *corruerent* (plural) and *dignitates*.

[3] 48.27 *exaltacionem*: B, B^1, C read *excitacionem*, "the gospel incitement". 49.1 *dicere*: B^1 has *docere* with *dicere* in the margin by another hand; C *docere*, "teach".

[4] *Pena exinde eveniat* (49.4) was run together in every digitised witness; divided from the plate (n80).

caesarean prelate, you could not accuse them more plainly in such matters, for you imply that, contrary to Christ and his apostles, they depend on secular lordship. But far from the faithful be such a dignity of a priest! For it seems that that [dignity] qualifies for a prelacy in hell which is founded, on the way, upon earthly goods or worldly honours; for it would be against God's law that this worldly elevation should directly exalt anyone in blessedness. Therefore, as a sinner, inasmuch as he is such, is contrary to himself, so, inasmuch as you strive to speak thus for the pope and the caesarean prelates, you speak against them. And so, since this name "pope" is a term outside the faith of scripture, it seems that it was invented at the endowment of the church presumed upon by Caesar.[5] And so, if it connotes this ordinance, as you imply, it would be wholesome for the church that there should be no pope or any cardinals; for the bishop of souls, the Lord Jesus Christ,[6] with his faithful servants, would rule the church militant far better without such a pope and other prelates. For so Peter and other poor priests did after the Lord's ascension, before the church was endowed:[7] why then should they not do so today? — since those estates are a seedbed of dissension and of strife over secular lordship. Therefore, if you should grieve over such a fall, the chief matter for grief seems to be the humbling of Antichrist. For the blasphemous grants of indulgences in the homeland, the wearisome burdenings of the faithful here on the way, together with the traditions and persecutions of Antichrist, would cease in the church; but a happy cessation![8] And so it is with all the works [50]

[5] ***In dotacione ecclesie presumpta per cesarem***: ***presumpta*** agrees with ***dotacione***, "the endowment presumed upon", i.e. undertaken without warrant, by Caesar; we take it of Constantine's endowment of the church, the usual target of Wyclif's ***cesareus***. ***Connotet***: the logical term, the name "pope" signifying this ordinance secondarily.

[6] ***Episcopus animarum***: 1 Pet. 2:25, "the shepherd and bishop of your souls". 49.20: B, B[1], C read ***alii*** for ***aliqui*** and ***dominus noster***.

[7] 49.24 ***est dotata***: B, B[1], C read ***erat dotata***; the English "was endowed" gives the sense of either.

[8] 49.29 ***in patria***: B has ***patria*** corrected by another hand from ***papa***; B[1] reads ***papa***, with ***patria*** in the margin by another hand. With ***papa***, "the pope's blasphemous grants of indulgences". With ***patria***, the grants that claim effect in the homeland are set against the burdens here on the way. 49.31 ***sed***: B, B[1], C read ***esset***, "it would be a happy cessation".

that are done thus loftily by such prelates; and so the church would prosper, with the person who is more excellent before God following the footsteps of Christ in conduct and the footsteps of St Peter.[9] Nor is there any doubt that then no pope, bishop, or any of the clerics would exercise lordship in a secular way, for it is manifest from the faith of the scripture of the twofold testament that so the Lord Jesus Christ lived and taught. And as for indulgences, privileges, and the regulation of the church under the new law, it is clear that it would be expedient for him, and for the whole church of wayfarers, that all such novelties be laid to rest.[10] For so it was in Christ's time, before Antichrist had so reigned, and so it will be after the day of judgement, or at an earlier time, when it pleases the Lord Jesus Christ. For all such things seem to be phantasms, founded neither on reasons nor on scripture. As, therefore, they lack a foundation in reason, so [they lack] advance in the merit of blessedness; and as they limp in their swerving from the truth, so [they limp] in progress towards meriting blessedness; so that all operations concerning caesarean priests, inasmuch as they are such, do not advance directly towards blessedness but hinder or retard [it]. And so it is with the three dignities or offices that the bishop reserves to himself, which are the confirmation of the young, the ordination of clerics, and the consecration of places.[11] For all these ring of desire, either of gain in temporal things or of honour. And so there is no need for Christ to descend from heaven for the sake of such desires, nor to keep such a vicar for himself on earth. Although, therefore, Antichrist seems for a time to lord it tyrannically over Christ's faithful, yet the faithful suppose that before the day of judgement Christ's party will be exalted and the contrary party pressed down; for it seems certain

[9] ***Sequente persona***: an ablative absolute. ***Que apud deum est excellencior*** describes whoever leads by holiness before God, not the pope by office; ***vestigia*** echoes 1 Pet. 2:21. 50.1 ***extollenter***, "loftily": B^1, C read ***excellenter***. 50.6: B, B^1, C read ***testimonii*** for ***testamenti*** (B^1 has ***testamenti*** in the margin by another hand).

[10] ***Sibi***: we take it of the pope, the head of the list at 50.5; it may be the church, with ***et toti ecclesie viatorum*** then widening it. 50.11: B, B^1, C omit ***antichristus***; 50.12 ***anteriori***, B, B^1, C.

[11] ***Clericorum ordinacio***: "the ordination of clerics", the sacrament of orders, not ***ordinacio*** as "ordinance" (49.18, tagged there). The glossary row covers only the latter.

that the faint-heartedness of the powerful and the servile fear of those who suffer is the cause why the devil's party is thus exalted today in a corner of the habitable [world].[12]

[12] ***In angulo habitabilis*: "in a corner of the habitable [world]", answering Falsehood's *in angulis* (48.21). B, B[1], C read *ab illis* for *habitabilis*: "is exalted today in a corner by them".**

Chapter 25: Priests' prayers, labour and wages

Pollard pp. 51.2–53.13

Falsehood. I see that you are plotting against the estate of the priesthood, just as you speak against the estate of the religious, confirmed by the pope and the whole church. For you would have priests not sell their prayers; but how, I ask, would they then live, or to what manual work would they apply themselves? Would they be ploughmen, or would those who daily consecrate the Lord's body pollute their holy hands with base manual work?[1]

Truth. God be my witness, I desire the spiritual prosperity and advantage of priests; yet I would not that they sell their prayers, nor that they be worldly merchants, nor occupied in usuries or other unlawful business. But I would that they apply themselves to the preaching of the gospel, or to mechanical labour, such as writing, or to other bodily [labour], provided that they keep themselves from avarice and other manifest crimes.[2] Indeed, as it seems to me, they could lawfully agree with seculars, or with others who hire them, how much they will receive in pay yearly, provided that, within the limits of the apostle in 1 Timothy 6, "having food and wherewith to be covered", they are with prudence content.[3] And [I would] above all that they beware of the greater sins and, idleness set aside, apply themselves to priestly works; and especially that through their

[1] B, B[1], C read *carucarii vel carnifices et consecrantes corpus Christi polluerent*: "ploughmen or butchers, and would those who consecrate the body of Christ pollute". B, B[1], C also omit *suas* after *preces* (51.5).

[2] *Ut scripture*: "such as writing", i.e. the copying of books, as a kind of *labor mecanicus*; so again at 51.25–26. B, B[1], C omit *predicacioni*, so that the priests' labour there is only "of the gospel or mechanical". For *affecto* (51.9) B, B[1] read *quod affecto*, C *quod aspecto*.

[3] 1 Tim. 6:8, recast in the third person: the Vulgate has *quibus tegamur, his contenti simus*, "wherewith to be covered, with these we are content". B, B[1], C read *contenti* for *contentati*.

covetousness they be not burdensome to the church, that is, that they be not incontinent or covetous, or occupied in worldly offices or sports.[4] And, as it seems to me, it would be more wholesome for priests, with these [conditions], to apply themselves to manual exercise, such as writing, teaching grammar, or other work to which [52] **God may move his servants, so that they keep themselves within the limits aforesaid. Hence we read of Paul in Acts 18 that he was of the tentmaking trade, and in Acts 20 he himself testifies of himself: "For such things as were needful for me and them that were with me, these hands have furnished."[5] But which of us is worthier than this Paul? The doing of such bodily labour indeed does not taint a priest, or make him unfit for the consecration of the Lord's body; but idleness does, proud occupation, or being a burden to the church, or anything else that taints his mind.[6] Let the priest therefore trust in the Lord and fight manfully against the devil, the world and the flesh, and not despair but that God will provide him the temporal things necessary to him, considering that passage of Matthew 6, how Christ tells his faithful that they are not to be solicitous about these things, admonishing them by the example of the birds and the lilies how God does not fail them in necessaries: how much more [will he] not [fail] his faithful servants, who are worthier. Let the faithful priest therefore put himself in the Lord's hand, and not set an obstacle against himself through sin, and there is no doubt that whatever befalls him will turn to the saving profit of his soul. Let him therefore suffer hunger, thirst and nakedness of body, yet not so much as the apostle, and in all these things give thanks to God.[7] And let him stand constant in faith that God cannot desert**

[4] ***Et omnino quod caveant*: the *quod*-clauses still hang on *vellem* ("I would that") of 51.12; *ut quod*, "that is, that", spells out what being burdensome means.**

[5] **The print reads *senefectiore*, which is not a word; the apparatus gives *senefactorie* in B, corrected from *scenofactorie*, and *scenofactorie* in B^1, the Vulgate's *scenofactoriae artis* (Acts 18:3), "tentmakers by trade". Translated from B^1. The quotation of Acts 20:34 departs from the Vulgate (*ad ea quae mihi opus erant, et his qui mecum sunt*); Wyclif's *in hiis que mihi necessaria erant* and *erant* are translated.**

[6] **For *aut aliud* (52.8) B^1, C read *est*; B omits *aliud*, and a later hand adds above *est ut invidia luxuria*, "as envy [and] lust are".**

[7] **The apostle's hunger, thirst and nakedness: 2 Cor. 11:27 (*in fame et siti ... in frigore et nuditate*); compare 1 Cor. 4:11.**

his faithful servants who faithfully persevere in their faith and life. But there are priests called from these four sects, and especially from the friars, who by sinning set an obstacle to themselves, as these, by deserting the liberty of the Lord's law, put on newly invented orders, and, beyond what God counsels, mass themselves together in superfluous friars, in sumptuous houses and other useless rites.[8] And such men must at times be perplexed by reason of the prior sin, in which, deserting the liberty of the Lord's law, they foolishly entangle themselves;[9] and such men are said to have [53] **this custom, that they take a yearly pension from many men at once, as though they were the particular bedesmen of each of them, and so they defraud these men and themselves;[10] since, if they kept themselves in the liberty of the Lord's law, they could live more easily and more fittingly and be less burdensome to the faithful. For one sin leads into another, as those who wallow in a pool are by that very thing sunk deeper. Nor do I see but that the foundation of this teaching is to be observed with greater diligence by the higher priests, such as are prelates and curates, taking care always that they be not idle in the church nor burdensome to their subjects. Yet it seems to me reasonable that a curate taken up, by God's ordinance, with bodily infirmity ought to be sustained by the parish by title of alms, as before, with moderation.[11]**

[8] The plate prints *IIIIor* (*quattuor*), "four"; the extraction's *iinor* is corrected to *4or*. Wyclif does not name the four sects here; *hiis* points back to the orders of 51.3. *Consulit*: B, C and a marginal correction in B[1] read *consuluit*, "counselled".

[9] *Perplexos*: "perplexed" in the moral theologians' sense, caught where every way out involves sin, the consequence of the *peccatum prius* of taking the vow.

[10] *Tanquam singuli eorum proprii oratores*: "as though [each of them were] the particular bedesmen of each of those men"; *eorum* is taken of the *multi homines*. *Oratores* are those who pray for a benefactor; Pollard's side-note gives "bedesmen". B, B[1], C read *capiunt* for *accipiunt* (53.1).

[11] *Sicut prius*: "as before", most likely "as [he was sustained] before [his infirmity]"; it could instead refer back to the moderation of pay set out at 51.16–19.

Chapter 26: The universities and their colleges

Pollard pp. 53.15–55.28

Falsehood. It still seems that you hint at the destruction of the clergy in England, and consequently of the law of Christ. Who, I ask, among the seculars would know how to defend the faith of the church against heretics, if there were not colleges in the universities established upon temporal lordships and appropriated churches,[1] as is clear from the heresy on the eucharist and other like ones which at the end of time the devil has sown more thickly?[2]

Truth. Once this teaching moved me, but he who separated me from the womb of proprietary affection told me that one must leave all these affections and put faith in the ordinance of Christ and of God.[3] Since, then, Christ did not ordain these universities or colleges, it seems manifest that they, like the graduations in them, are a vain heathenism brought in; in token of which the collegiates as well as the other graduates [54] in the universities "seek the things that are their own", forsaking the rules of charity; from which sprout envies, comparisons of persons and of homeland, and many other

[1] *Seculares*: most likely "a secular [cleric]", as against the religious, since the colleges Falsehood defends were founded for seculars; it could also mean "a layman". For *fidem* (53.17) B, B[1], C read *legem*; for *universitatibus collegia* (53.18) B, B[1], C read *universalibus collegiis*; for *ecclesiis* (53.19) they read *elemosinis*, "alms", and *stabiliti* for *stabilita*.

[2] For *in fine temporum* (53.20) B, B[1], C read *fratrum temporibus*, "in the friars' times". The eucharistic "heresy" Falsehood cites: Pollard (intro p. vi) calls the phrase "very Wyclifite language" in Falsehood's mouth, and at 54.23–25 Truth names as heresy the doctrine of the host as an *accidens ... sine subjecto* taught by the new sects. Read in character, Falsehood would mean Wyclif's own eucharistic teaching, already in dispute when the *Dialogus* was written (1379, Pollard pp. xix–xx); its condemnation at Oxford by Chancellor Berton's council came later, in 1380 or 1381 (Pollard p. xix n. 1 doubts the usual 1381).

[3] Gal. 1:15 recast: the Vulgate has *qui me segregavit ex utero matris meae*, "who separated me from my mother's womb"; Wyclif puts *affecionis proprietarie*, "proprietary affection", in place of the mother. B, B[1], C omit *et dei* (53.25).

seedbeds of the father of lies, as those know who consider this school closely.[4] Therefore the objections against the secular lordships of clerics and the appropriations of churches stand vigorously against these. And as to fruit, it seems certain that one unlearned man, by means of God's grace, profits more towards building up Christ's church than many graduates in the schools or colleges, because he sows the law of Christ more humbly and more abundantly, in deed as well as in word. Therefore if all cares superfluous to the building up of the church were cut away from these scholastics, either the whole or the greater part of this occupation would be scraped away from the church. Yet it is granted that all these, the studies as well as the colleges, have been of profit, as the devil's purposes are, but not directly; rather, by means of God's grace; and had they been purely according to his law and ordinance they would have profited the church more.[5] And as to the destruction of heresies, it seems to many that such studies are the nest and tinder of heresy; or if they sometimes profit by accident, as the sciences do which sometimes serve the graduation and confirmation of a lord of theology,[6] this rarely happens, and their sins, whether of omission or of commission, happen more often in these places. For example, what security is there in these [places] in defending that the consecrated host is not the Lord's body but an unknown accident without a subject, as the new sects disclose?[7] And so it is with other heresies newly sprouting

[4] ***Querunt que sua sunt***: Phil. 2:21 (compare 1 Cor. 13:5), in the Douay–Rheims wording. ***Patris mendacii***, "the father of lies": John 8:44 (***mendax est, et pater ejus***), with a play on the speaker ***Mendacium***. ***Patrie*** here is one's native country, the ground of rivalry between regions in the school, not the heavenly homeland.

[5] For ***proposita*** (54.15) B, B[1], C read ***peccata per accidens***: "as sins [profit] by accident". ***Suam*** refers to God, the nearest person named (***dei gracia***).

[6] Doubtful construal. The print is taken with ***que*** as subject and ***domini theologie*** as genitive singular: the sciences "serve" (***obsecuntur***) a master's degree in theology. Alternatively ***domini theologie*** is nominative plural, "which the lords of theology sometimes attend upon for their graduation and confirmation". B, B[1], C read ***ecclesie quemadmodum theologie ad decorem*** for ***sciencie ... graduacionem***: "as [they] sometimes serve the church, as [they serve] theology, for adornment". For ***omissionis ... commissionis*** (54.22) B, B[1], C read ***obmissius ... commissius***; for ***istis*** (54.23) ***multis***.

[7] ***Nove secte***: the religious orders (glossary: ***secta***). The position described, the host as an accident without a subject, is the one Wyclif rejects. ***Reserant***: literally "unlock", i.e. set out openly.

against the faith; for the inspiration of simple priests, in knowledge as well as in voluntary working, will profit the capacity of the faithful laity more than all the said universities with their adjacent studies, or with the privileges, hypocritically brought in, that press down the laity. Nor do we assert these things out of envy, but for love of [55] **the church's progress, and for the free course of the law of Christ.[8] And we say the same of the houses of the friars and of the other orders that are established in such universities. For Paul, once a Pharisee, as is clear from Philippians 3, for the better sect of Christ, and by his leave, abandoned that sect, as a prudent man;[9] why then ought not priests today to work in conformity with him? And this is the reason why cloisterers, of whatever sect they may be, or bound by whatever obligation or foolish oath, ought freely, by Christ's command, to go out of these bonds and freely put on the sect of Christ. For we take it, as faith teaches, that that sect in its liberty is better, easier and in every way more useful. Now what faithful man doubts that the good God gives his servants leave freely to choose this part and to let go the other, of the contrary condition? For the constitutions of the pope or other private rules cannot break this law. What reason, I ask, would lead a faithful man to be troubled in conscience over this, that he chooses what is better, more conformed to God's ordinance, and more useful to the church militant? And since he is not troubled in conscience over the omission of this will of the Lord, as over many grave sins which he commits both openly and in secret, do we not believe that by so preferring human traditions he, as by idolatry, sets up false gods for himself, since whatever a man loves preponderantly he sets up as his god?[10] Now by loving such human traditions preponderantly, beyond the Lord's ordinance, he**

[8] ***Cursum*** **is accusative and so depends on** ***propter***, **parallel to** ***amorem***, **not on** ***amorem*** **("love of ... the free course" would need** ***cursus***).

[9] **Phil. 3:5–7:** ***secundum legem pharisaeus ... quae mihi fuerunt lucra, haec arbitratus sum propter Christum detrimenta. Ex ejus licencia*****: by Christ's leave. B, B[1], C read** ***ad Phil.*** **(55.4).**

[10] ***Sicut super peccatis*****: "as [he is not troubled] over many grave sins"; possibly "as [he is troubled] over", setting the omission beside sins he does feel.** ***Numquid credimus*** **is taken as expecting assent; B, B[1], C read** ***quin sic*****, "do we believe otherwise than that so ...". For** ***perpetrat*** **(55.20) B, B[1] read** ***perpetrant***, **C** ***perpetravit*****; for** ***deos falsos*** **(55.22) B, B[1], C read** ***dominos plures*****, "many lords".**

prefers the one who ordained them.[11] And the same seems [true] of the temporal lords who, out of proprietary affection and [affection] for a worldly name, set up or consent to novelty of this kind. For all of them seem, out of a certain folly, in some manner to blaspheme.

[11] ***Prediligit ordinantem*: he loves more the one who ordained the traditions, i.e. their human author, above the Lord. B, B[1], C read *non prediligit*, "he does not love the Ordainer [God] more". *Sed* marks the minor premiss of the argument begun at *cum quicquid*.**

Chapter 27: The censures of Antichrist

Pollard pp. 56.2–58.5

Falsehood. I see that you are blinded by a foolish error, not fearing, like an unfeeling stone,[1] the censures of the church that are to be thundered against your teaching. For in defending these things you will be cited, you will be excommunicated, and you will be suspended from every useful fruit in the church. And this seems reasonable,[2] because you obstinately defend a manifest heresy to the church's harm. Nor is there any doubt that imprisonment and the most dreadful punishment of death will follow upon these.

Truth. I know that you sow contentious and terrifying words that have no foundation. Therefore, consoled by Christ and his law, I do not fear your words. For Christ bore humbly and patiently both reproaches and, in the end, a bitter punishment and a most shameful death. Who then, being a faithful servant of the Lord, would for such things fear to speak the truth prudently? For all the censures of Antichrist are nothing but false shadows, frightening the timid away from the way of the Lord. For if Antichrist cites a man to a place that he does not understand, and does not know whether, by the time of the citation, he will be established in hell with the devil, and Christ cites by his law, by prompting, and by the chances that he sends, to the contrary part:[3] who doubts that the Lord's citation must be obeyed? Therefore there would be no more evident sign to show that such a citer is Antichrist and a son of the father of lies

[1] *Lapis insensibilis*: a stone without sensation, hence "unfeeling". The the glossary's *insensibilis* "imperceptible" (paired with *sensibilis*) fits 57.20 but not this passive sense of the word; tagged there, not here.

[2] *Et* (56.6) was missed in the first plate read of this single-witness line; restored from the plate (n0087).

[3] The subject of *non intelligit nec scit* is taken as Antichrist: he summons to a court he does not understand and may himself be in hell by the day set. It may instead be the man cited. *Ad partem contrariam*, "to the contrary part", is taken as the opposite of Antichrist's summons. B, B[1], C read *instrumentum*, "instrument", for *instinctum* (56.19).

than such a false citation against Christ. And as to excommunication, it has been said at length elsewhere that it probably redounds to God's blessing, since in Psalm 108 it is written: "They will curse, and yet thou wilt bless"[4] (Ps. 108:28); and in Malachi 2: "I will curse your blessings" (Mal. 2:2); and in Matthew 5 Christ says: "Blessed shall ye be when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and speak all that is evil against you, untruly, for my sake" (Matt. 5:11).[5] Now Christ did not leave off [57] speaking the gospel truth because of such threats thundered by the devil. Why then should a Christian, secure in his faith, fear to live or to speak the truth of the Lord's law which he knows, although bodily persecution is the greatest evil that can be inflicted?[6] But in Matthew 5 it is written: "Blessed are they that suffer persecution for justice' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. 5:10). Behold a happy reward given in exchange for a momentary pain: therefore no one but one who trembles in faith, or an unbeliever, would dread this station in the Lord's faith.[7] And as to suspension, it is clear that the chief bishops of Jerusalem and their accomplices suspended Christ on the gibbet of the cross; why then can their vicars not suspend the gospel truth and the faithful servants of the Lord Jesus Christ?[8] For Antichrist and his vicars, after so great a kindness received from the Redeemer, seem to be more ungrateful than those high priests and Pharisees,[9] and consequently more wicked in a frivolous and groundless suspension. One consolation, then, the faithful man has: that all these censures, lyingly feigned, are not to be founded in Christ or his law, but are contrived

[4] Vulgate *et tu benedices*, "and thou wilt bless"; Wyclif reads *et tamen*, "and yet".

[5] Wyclif reads *beati eritis* ("blessed shall ye be"), adds *homines* ("men") and has *adversus*; Vulgate *beati estis ... adversum vos*, without *homines*.

[6] *Corporia* is printed (57.4), evidently for *corporea*, "bodily". *Cum ... sit* is taken as concessive. B, B[1], C read *non sit*: "since bodily persecution is not the greatest evil"; they also omit *vivere vel*, "to live or".

[7] *Stacio*: a post or station, as of a soldier on guard, anticipating the soldiers of 57.30. B, B[1], C omit *domini*.

[8] *Suspendere* carries both senses: the chief priests (*summi episcopi*) "suspended" Christ by hanging him on the cross, and Antichrist's vicars "suspend" preachers from office.

[9] *Ingratus* is here "ungrateful" (to the Redeemer, whose kindness they received), not "displeasing to God": the glossary, 's exception.

by Antichrist by way of threat. And as to the fruits of the church, it is certain that imperceptible merit is a better fruit than perceptible fruit; therefore, according to Solomon's proverb, "Cursed is he who for a morsel of bread forsaketh the truth"[10] (Prov. 28:21). Nor am I conscious of defending or speaking heresy, or [speaking] against the pope or any cardinal; but I speak Christ's teaching, which, though it seem painful for a time, yet is useful and wholesome as regards the salvation of the soul. And one who concealed this teaching would love no part of Christ's church, since he, out of the highest love, set this love as an example to his faithful.[11] And the faithful of the church may, after the likeness of Jeremiah, lament the valour of their soldiers.[12] The soldiers of Antichrist indeed dare, in their own cause or in a worldly cause that savours of their own gain,[13] to strive even to death. [58] **But the soldiers of Christ do not dare, as those others dare in the devil's cause, even lightly to expose themselves to impending danger, for the sake of the immensity of the everlasting reward infallibly promised to those who so strive; where no evident cause appears except unbelief sprouting up over the faith of the church on both sides.[14]**

[10] Vulgate *iste et pro buccella panis deserit veritatem*, "such a man even for a morsel of bread forsaketh the truth"; Wyclif makes it a curse, *Maledictus qui propter buccellam*.

[11] B, B^1, C read *Christus* for *ipse*, making Christ explicit as the one who set the example.

[12] *Strenuitatem ... lamentare*: to lament the state of their soldiers' valour, that is, its want (so Pollard's side-note, "less daring"). No single passage of Jeremiah is cited.

[13] Print *sapientem* (57.32) construes with nothing. B, C read *capiente*; B^1 corrects *capiente* to *sapiente*, agreeing with *causa mundana*: "a worldly cause savouring of their own gain". B^1 translated.

[14] *Ipsi* is taken as Antichrist's soldiers; *vel* as "even" (B, C read *saltem vel*, "at least even"). B, B^1, C read *periculis imminente causa*. *Utrobique*, "on both sides", is taken of both armies; it may mean "in both cases".

Chapter 28: Perpetual alms

Pollard pp. 58.7–60.14

Falsehood. By your folly you would trouble the consciences of many generations whose beginnings founded many perpetual alms.[1] Can you, then, prove that they founded them foolishly? And if those alms can be spent for a time to the honour of God and the profit of his church, why can they not be so further, until the day of judgement, since God is equally almighty and equally gracious at one time as at another? And especially since those alms are confirmed by many oaths of kings and secular lords, and by papal laws, and the wise have not dared until today to reject this alms: by what law or reason, then, or rather by what imprudence, do you attempt this?

Truth. I know, as faith teaches, that Christ is lord of time too, and with this almighty and also all-knowing. Now he did not found such alms, but rather spoke against them in the gospel; since he willed his clerics to live here as pilgrims and poor men, making their way to the homeland as heirs of blessedness and not of earthly possession, [and] to aspire to the goods of blessedness.[2] Therefore he commands in Matthew 6: "Be not solicitous for to morrow; for the morrow will be solicitous for itself. For sufficient for the day is the evil thereof."[3] But now the contrary of this doctrine of Christ, in perpetual alms, has been adopted as though it were prudence, as much by the clergy as by seculars. Yet we know out of the law that "Christ abideth for ever", and these temporal lords today [59] "flourish like grass,

[1] *Quarum principia*: "whose beginnings", i.e. the founding forebears of those generations. *Moveres* is "you would move", here of stirring consciences to scruple. Pollard's side-note gives "pious founders".

[2] *Ad bona beatitudinis aspirare* has no connective in the print; it is taken as a second infinitive after *voluit* ("he willed them to live ... [and] to aspire"). It could also hang loosely on *tendendo*, with the same sense.

[3] Matt. 6:34, Douay–Rheims. Wyclif's Latin reads *Nolite esse soliciti* (Vulgate *Nolite ergo solliciti esse*) and adds *enim* to the last clause (Vulgate *sufficit diei malitia sua*); the English follows his Latin. B[1], C read *precepit*, "commanded".

and tomorrow" are turned "into the oven".[4] Therefore it seems no prudence to establish, against the Lord, such bands of cloisterers or of other mortals, and mortals so frailly liable to sin; indeed, those who entered the dwelling on such a purpose sinned at the start, and within a notable time more perceptibly; nor does the evidence brought to the contrary move [me] more than if you argued: fish taken out of water can live for a time in the air, therefore for their perpetuity; or: men can remain for a time without breathing in air, on one breath, therefore they can live so long enough. For those on the way in the world must be tempered by tribulations and by water according to the Lord's influences, and, breathing towards heavenly things, be soothed by the refreshments of the heart.[5] And under this figure it is believed that Christ chose so commonly to converse with men in the open air. It seems, then, the same thing to call these joint dwellings foolish perpetual alms, and to call follies acquired against the Lord perpetual inheritances for diabolical men to dwell in. But what alms is it to perpetuate such a dwelling, since, whoever attempts this folly, the Lord ordains that it should not be? And so the generations of men would reasonably be moved to grieve over the sins of their past generation, and not to continue in its past fault, but to help that it may no longer turn to sin for their dead parents.[6] And so by manifold reason it is evident to me that they founded these things foolishly, since blasphemously, against the Lord's ordinance, they had exalted themselves above Christ. [Therefore it seems that temporal lords who perpetuate alms blaspheme against God in

[4] John 12:34, Douay–Rheims ("We have heard out of the law that Christ abideth for ever"); Wyclif has *scimus*, "we know", for *audivimus*. The lords "flourish like grass" (Ps. 89:6 Vulg., *floreat ... sicut herba*) and go "to morrow ... into the oven" (Matt. 6:30, *cras in clibanum mittitur*), with *convertuntur*, "are turned", for *mittitur*. The conflation is his.

[5] The figure continues the fish and the held breath: *aqua* is the water the wayfarer lives in, and *aspirando* ("breathing towards", also "aspiring to") picks up *inspiracio aeris* and *aspirare* above. B, B[1], C read *refrigerio integrari*, "be made whole by refreshment", for *refrigeria mitigari*. At 59.14 B, B[1], C omit *cum hominibus*; at 59.16 they read *deum* for *dominum*.

[6] *Ne amplius fiat parentibus suis mortuis in peccatum*: "that it may no longer turn to sin for their dead parents", taking *fiat in peccatum* as "become [a cause] of sin"; the unexpressed subject is the foundation. This answers Falsehood's charge (58.7) that Truth would trouble the consciences of the founders' descendants.

two ways. For, first, they seem implicitly to usurp [the claim] that they will make those almsmen fit for this for so long a time, which does not commonly please their God.[7] Secondly, on the other side, it seems that they tacitly say to their God that they will set their almsmen over such revenues, whether that chief lord will or no. [60] But let worldly princes know that it is hard for them "to kick against the goad", since one who defends a traitor incurs, as such, the sin of treason against the chief lord.][8]

And as for the oaths of the nobles, and their charters confirming these alms, it is clear that there is no oath or charter against the Lord, but all those, in conformity with the Lord's law, are to be dissolved the more speedily with shrewd prudence.[9] And in conformity [with this] the same is said of the papal laws in this matter; for all such seem to savour against the first commandment of the second table, of honouring Christ as father and the church as mother;[10] and so the Ancient of days, as much by omitting as by making law, has openly reproved this folly. Hence among the other wiles of the devil this is one, that the sins which he has slyly brought in he baptizes with the name of alms or of virtue.

[7] ***Communitus*** is printed; it is an attested adverb, "in common, generally", rendered "commonly". Pollard's side-note paraphrases the clause "when it may not please God". ***Illos elemosinatos ad hoc habilitabunt***: "make those almsmen fit (qualified) for this", i.e. guarantee their fitness for the whole term of the endowment.

[8] Pollard's apparatus: B, B[1], C omit the bracketed words altogether, and "our codex" (A) set them only at the foot of the page. "To kick against the goad": Acts 9:5, Douay–Rheims (also Acts 26:14). The ***capitalis dominus*** whose leave is ignored is God (cf. ***Dial.*** 2.19).

[9] ***Solvenda***: "to be dissolved", i.e. oaths and charters are to be released or annulled, not "paid". B, B[1], C read ***cartulas*** for ***cartas*** and omit ***eorum*** (60.4).

[10] The first commandment of the second table is "Honour thy father and thy mother" (Exod. 20:12; Pollard's side-note: "the fifth commandment"), read of Christ as father and the church as mother. "The ancient of days" is Dan. 7:9. ***Tam omittendo quam legem condendo***: God reproved the folly both by leaving perpetual endowment out of his law and by the law he made; the object of ***omittendo*** is not expressed.

Chapter 29: Alms without lordship, and the dead hand

Pollard pp. 60.16–63.11

Falsehood. But it is rejoined still more specifically that it is lawful for a cleric to be endowed in this way. For no one doubts that temporal lords can give the revenues of their lordships for a year, to be held in the dead hand and by friars,[1] and by the same token for any length of time whatever; also in this way perpetual alms granted by forebears can be kept up through the generation that succeeds by God's ordinance. It holds, therefore, that the lordship be kept in the hand of the principal secular lord, and that the priestly kind receive the bare fruits for any reasonable length of time whatever;[2] for so they could live continually in gospel poverty and faithfully distribute to the poor what is left over from the alms given them. Why therefore is it not lawful for lords to give their alms in this way, unburdening themselves and their posterity? And on the other side it is lawful for clerics prudently to distribute these alms, as the apostles and deacons did, as is clear from Acts 6; and so the [61] apostles gathered up the fragments, as is clear from Matt. 14 [and] 15,[3] but for what, except to distribute them to the poor? Let the clerics therefore act according to this gospel form, as they promise, and no one can attack them from reason or the gospel.

Truth. It seems to me that no more evident arrow has come out of your quiver. But as to your assumption, believers ought to suppose as

[1] ***In manum mortuam***: "into the dead hand", mortmain, the tenure of land by a corporation that never dies; English law let land pass to the church only by licence (Statute of Mortmain, 1279). ***Fratribus*** could also be "brethren", but the friars are Wyclif's usual target here (cf. ***sectis istis extraneis***, 61.14).

[2] ***Stat*** is the logician's "it holds, it is consistent" governing the two infinitives; B, B[1], C read ***licet***, "it is lawful". ***Concessa*** (60.21) does not agree with ***elemosine***; translated as agreeing. ***Puros fructus***: the fruits alone, without the lordship.

[3] ***M[t] 14. 15***: Matt. 14:20 and 15:37, both feedings (Pollard's margin); B, B[1], C read ***et 15***. B, B[1], C omit ***et diaconi*** (60.30) and read ***sicut*** for ***sic***.

a matter of faith that it is not lawful for worldly lords, or for angels from heaven,[4] to give temporal alms to anyone at all of the church militant, except in conformity with the divine will, for the edification of the whole church, and according to the authorization of the divine law, since God is the chief lord. Therefore by these things too it is said that revenues are not founded, as far as I understand, to be given into the dead hand, nor any bodily alms to these strange sects; but let them be converted purely to the sect of Christ, as they ought, and then such alms can be bestowed on them.[5] Nor do I see why the hand of the clergy should be called dead, unless perhaps because it is spiritually dead to the imitation of the working of the Lord Jesus Christ. And as to the quibble by which it is argued "by the same token", it is clear that the arrow lacks feathers, since it is the quibble of gluttons, by which they argue thus: if it is lawful to drink a quart of wine, by the same token [it is lawful to drink] double, since that holds double the virtue; and so on until the drinker is drunk. And by this quibble the devil seems to have deceived the first man, as though he hinted that the Lord's word, "Of the tree of knowledge of good and evil thou shalt not eat", is only a jest, or at least that [eating] is only a light sin, which can easily be purged by other merits.[6] [Therefore, as no one ought to accept alms except with God authorizing, so no one ought to give alms except with the chief lord authorizing. For as a secular lord ought not [62] **to accept the episcopal ministry, although an erring bishop has pretended to give him that power, so no priest ought to accept secular lordship, although an erring secular [lord] has pretended to give it him by way of alms, because**

[4] ***Angelis de celo*** **echoes Gal. 1:8, "though we, or an angel from heaven, preach a gospel to you besides that which we have preached to you".**

[5] ***Redditus non fundantur ... dari*****: "revenues are not founded ... to be given", i.e. no endowment rightly has the dead hand as its end; the verb is carried over to** ***nec sectis ... elemosine corporalis*****. The subject of** ***convertantur*** **is taken as the sects. B has** ***nisi*** **written over** ***sed*** **by another hand, and B[1], C read** ***nisi*****: "nor any bodily alms to these strange sects unless they are converted purely to the sect of Christ".**

[6] **Gen. 2:17: Wyclif has** ***ne comederis*** **for the Vulgate's** ***ne comedas*****; B, B[1], C read** ***comederitis*****.** ***Non est nisi leve peccatum*** **has no expressed subject; "[eating]" is supplied.**

the authority of the lord approving such a deed is lacking.][7] But let the argument be pressed with a qualification, thus: that by the same token it is lawful to give alms to the clergy so long as it should please the chief lord and profit the church militant; because it is certain that without such a qualification the quibble is worthless.[8] But I ask Falsehood to teach, if it knows, that this almsgiving pleases the Lord Jesus Christ for the edification of the church, or that it does not give the clergy occasion to grow proud, to commit many other sins, and to idle in Christ's ministry; indeed, that it would not be a greater alms to give to the other poor to whom Christ assigns these aforesaid alms in Luke 14 [:13]. And since Falsehood does not know this, it is clear that the Lord's safe rule must be held. For it ought to be to the believer as a principle that every work of which it ought to be evident to him that it deviates from the will or rule of Jesus Christ must be abandoned, since he ought to be troubled in conscience to do such a work.[9] Now it ought to be evident that so to enrich the clergy deviates from the will and rule of Christ; therefore the secular [lord] ought to abandon it. It is indeed evident that the clergy, through such plenty of temporal goods, sins in quantity and in quality, contrary to the will of the Lord Jesus Christ. In quantity, namely as to its number in proportion to the other parts of the church militant: it is indeed evident that such worldly prosperity makes the clergy seek this estate in superfluous number. For in the old law, where the labour was more burdensome, in slaughtering beasts and observing ceremonies, as is clear from Acts 15 [:10], there was a smaller number of priests and levites than there is in England relative to the rest of the people of our kingdom,[10] or at least they were not so richly endowed in proportion as our clergy is now [63]**enriched in England. And they had tithes and other small portions of the beasts; but**

[7] **The bracketed passage (61.28–62.5) is Pollard's: B, B[1], C omit it entirely, and his base codex has it only at the foot of the page.**

[8] ***Gravetur sic racio*: "let the argument be pressed [weighted] thus"; B, B[1] read *ideo*, C *scilicet quod*, for *racio*. B[1], C read *placet* for *placeret* (62.7).**

[9] ***Habere conscienciam* with an infinitive: "to be troubled in conscience to do"; the glossary's *habere conscienciam super*.**

[10] **C, the Bohemian copy, reads *Bohemia* for *anglia* here (62.30), and B, C *proprii* for *populi*. B, B[1], C read *dotati*, "endowed", for *ditati* (62.31).**

what is this compared with all the tithes in England, and the other revenues, together with the private alms, that our clergy receives? Therefore no believer could fail to see that the number of our clergy exceeds the number that our Jesus approves.[11] And as to quality, it is clear that the clergy's occupation about temporal goods, and their abandoning the preaching of the gospel, of poverty and of humility, which were commanded by the Lord, takes away quality, because [it takes away] the virtue of the clergy according to the limits named by the Lord.[12] Who then that is prudent would give these alms in such a form?

[11] Literally "to no believer would it be evident but that the number ... exceeds", i.e. every believer would see it. B, B[1], C read *Christus* for *noster*: "the number that Jesus Christ approves".

[12] *Quia virtutem cleri* is elliptical; *tollit* is understood again: quality is taken away because the clergy's virtue is. B, B[1], C read *precipitanter tollunt* for *precepta tollit*: "which [occupation and abandonment] precipitately take away quality". B, B[1], C read *ewangelice* for *evangelizacionis*.

Chapter 30: Perpetual alms, and the clergy as almoners

Pollard pp. 63.13–69.18

Truth. Again, I suppose that the clergy, out of desire for these temporal goods, should be willing to give up the endowment and to receive these goods under the form of perpetual alms, and so the same thing returns to the clerics as regards the fruits. But this is not evident to many, since then [the clergy] would fall from the title that Silvester accepted from Caesar;[1] nor would the truth of perpetual alms be preserved in England, since [the clergy] could not maintain that it had not often fallen from the title of alms because of the many and great sins it had committed, since it is not alms to nourish apostates in such a way.[2] Indeed, it is not taught or evidently shown that such a donation was ever alms conformed to the divine will; how then would they pretend that it is pure and perpetual alms? Do we believe that it is in the power of these men to perpetuate [64] **such alms of their clergy, as if they said against Christ, "I will that it be alms however they have lived and have been contrary to your law"; or, "I will that it live profitably to the edification of Christ's church, because undoubtedly God so wills; therefore my volition is fulfilled"? Stephen indeed, in Acts 7 [:51], denied this inference, when he said that the Jews, especially the religious and the bishops, often resisted the divine will. What colour, then, [is there for saying] that those who so enriched the church had done well, since**

[1] At *elemosine* (63.20) Pollard notes that everything from here to the end of the chapter is wholly omitted in his base codex and supplied from B^1 (Vienna 1387, a hand of about 1400; Pollard p. xxii). The title Silvester received from Caesar is the endowment of the church by the Donation of Constantine.

[2] The subject of *caderet*, *posset* and *perpetraverat* is taken as the clergy (*clerus*, 63.13). *Quin ... cadebat*: "could not maintain that it had not fallen", i.e. could not deny that it had. B, C omit *propter* (63.19; B^1 has it added in the margin by another hand). B, B^1, C omit *autem* (63.16).

they had such a will?[3] For God, notwithstanding a blameless will of this kind, takes away what was conferred on these clerics when they so offend; why then ought not the lords to [do] so, conforming themselves to God's good pleasure,[4] since in this lies no evident danger but conformity to God's law? For there is no doubt that the clergy, in the apostles and Christ's disciples, lived more securely and more perfectly, lacking such lasting alms, than our clergy lives or has lived. What spiritual fruit, then, or miraculous life would give evidence for continuing such alms begun in this way? And the defect of the following quibble is clear, when it is argued that perpetual alms granted by forebears could be kept up in this way through the generation that succeeds by God's ordinance. For it is not taught that these are perpetual alms founded by the forebears, nor that they are thereby exempt from perpetual damnation, nor that it would be meritorious for their generation to keep the said alms for a little while in this form; nor do I see evidence by this, except that these lords in this exceed and turn aside from the rule of the Lord Jesus Christ. Since, then, in such matters the safer side is to be held, it seems that it would be safer to restrain such a [clergy] to gospel poverty and not to exceed the limits of Jesus Christ.[5] And it could be granted that secular lords should keep and gather for the uses of the clergy all these revenues or fruits, and [65] **spend the rest of their own revenues on this servile collecting. But it does not follow that then [all is] well, because such servitude is not exemplified for these clerics in the Lord's law, and the clerics themselves, for the zeal they have for secular exercise of lordship, would not accept such service from seculars. But it is evidently inferred that bishops, or those who faithfully preach the gospel, would assign deacons to minister moderate alms. But what has this to do with perpetuation**

[3] ***Color*: a plausible pretext. B, C read *dum* for *cum sic* (64.10), and C *semper* for *sepe* (64.7).**

[4] ***Quare ergo non debent sic domini* has no infinitive: "[do] so", i.e. take away what God takes away. In B[1] and B *non* (64.11) is added in the margin by another hand, and B has *aufferre* supplied there: "why then ought not lords so to take away".**

[5] ***Talem* (64.28) has no expressed noun; taken as *clerum*. *Elemosinam* (64.24) restored from the plate; the extraction read *elemosmam*. B, C omit *domini* before *Jesu Christi* (64.26).**

or lordship, since according to the Lord's law insecurity in such alms is meritorious, and leads [a man] to trust not in temporal goods but in the life and hope that lead to blessedness? Do we believe that such men, by their Caim's castles, can overturn God's law and make an abiding city here, and worldly prosperity the reward of labour and the final wage of the wayfarer?[6] But it is argued that this office belongs to the priest, because in Matthew 6 and 8 it is read how Christ made his apostles minister to the people from the loaves and fishes that he had miraculously multiplied; therefore it is lawful for our bishops to have beyond the necessaries of life for sharing out to the poor.[7] But here the conclusion must be granted, since bishops ought to be given to hospitality, according to the apostle [1 Tim. 3:2]. But this topic from likeness seems rather to infer that they ought in their own person to minister to the needy the king's alms given to them.[8] But from this it does not follow that they ought to treasure up or waste the king's alms that are to be shared out to the poor. Nor does it follow from this that they may keep so many of the lord's alms for a day or a week, and much less for a hundred years.[9] And it is plain in fact that they neither minister these goods faithfully to the needy with their own hands, nor have them faithfully ministered through servants; for God knows whether it is contrary to his eternal will that it be done so. So this quibble is like the one by which it is inferred that bishops ought to let Christ or the pope wash their feet, because the apostles did so with the Lord. [66] **For [if] they ought so to do, then either the pope sins by not coming to do this**

[6] ***Hic manentem civitatem*** **recalls Heb. 13:14, "we have not here a lasting city"; Cain built the first city (Gen. 4:17).** ***Castra caynitica*** **("Caim's Castles", Pollard's sidenote) is Wyclif's name for the friars' houses, CAIM being read as the initials of the four mendicant orders (Carmelites, Augustinians, Jacobins, Minorites).**

[7] ***Math. 6° et 8°*****: the two feedings stand in Mark 6 and 8 (Mark 6:41, 8:6: "he ... gave to his disciples to set before them"); Matthew has them in chapters 14 and 15, as Wyclif cites them at 67.32. The printed reference is left as it stands. B, C omit** ***vite*** **(65.19).**

[8] ***Locus simealis a simili*****:** ***simealis*** **is printed so on the plate and has no variant; it is left untranslated, the phrase being taken as the dialectical topic** ***a simili*****, "from likeness". B reads** ***quod episcopi pocius debent*****, C** ***quod ipsi debent pocius*** **(65.22).**

[9] ***Elemosinas totidem domini*****: taken as "so many of the lord's alms", with** ***domini*** **the king or donor.** ***Multo magis*** **is rendered "much less" because the clause is under** ***nec sequitur*****: the longer the keeping, the less it follows.**

ministry so, or the bishops sin by not coming to him that this due ministry may be fulfilled.[10] And so it must be granted that it holds that the lordship be kept in the hand of the principal secular lord and that the priestly kind receive the bare fruits for any reasonable length of time whatever, because this would be made true by their receiving fruits however small, or for an hour. But that they ought to receive the fruits for so many years, as they now in fact receive them, is not asinine evidence.[11] And so the conclusion drawn further must be granted, namely that bishops may live continually in gospel poverty and faithfully distribute to the poor what is left over from the alms given them; because in all probability the apostles, who were bishops, did so, and many other bishops in that century in which they lived as the propertyless before the endowment of the church.[12] But what has this conclusion to do with justifying the endowment or alms of the clergy running on continually from the time of Silvester?

But because certain men who seem to be something [Gal. 2:6] weigh this evidence heavily, as often hinting at what is true, some are therefore compelled to dissolve it piece by piece, in order.[13] It is assumed, then, in the evidence: since clerics could live continually in gospel poverty and faithfully distribute to the poor what is left over from the alms given them, why is it not lawful for lords to give their alms in this way, unburdening themselves and their posterity, and, on the other side, lawful for clerics prudently to distribute these alms, as the apostles and deacons carried it out, as is clear from Acts 6 [:1–6]? Here it is said that this is so because the clergy ought to take away

[10] The plate prints *Si* at the end of 65.33 (*sic fecerunt. Si*); the extraction dropped it at the page turn; restored. B reads *episcopi* for *ipsi* (66.1).

[11] Literally "is not asinine evidence". The sense seems to be that the claim has no evidence, not even an ass's; possibly a *nisi* ("is no evidence but an asinine one") has fallen out. Pollard's side-note: "But not continuously, as at present." No variant is recorded.

[12] B, C read *tercentenario*, "in those three hundred years", for *centenario* (66.14), and *tantum dotacioni* for *ante dotacionem* (66.15).

[13] *Qui videntur esse aliquid*: Gal. 2:6, "them who seemed to be some thing". *Sicut sepe verum innuit* is taken with *hanc evidenciam*: the argument often hints at a truth. B^1, C read *ponderat* (66.19). *Ipsum* (masc.) has no expressed antecedent; taken as the argument. *Seriose*, "in order", point after point.

the occasion of sinning, and give others evidence for fleeing worldly sins, and altogether take example from Christ and his apostles for imitating them in life and manners and poverty. For that was the end for which Christ lived so poor [67] **and hard a life; according to this faith, 1 Peter 2 [:21]: "Christ suffered for us, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps."[14] If, then, evidence so plain and wholesome makes it evident to the clergy that it should follow the steps of antichrist, it may desert Christ and imitate the steps of this devil.[15] Indeed, by this folly a clergy that has vowed virginity may sleep daily with a woman and with this be preserved from incontinence by God's grace; why then is it not lawful for the clergy to do so, to increase its merit? Further, it is said that the higher clerics ought not to be continually occupied with distributions of this kind, as is clear from the choosing by the apostles, who, leaving this office, chose seven deacons, Acts 6 [:2–5]. And Stephen left the office because of its imperfection.[16] What religion of antichrist, then, would bind the pope, bishops and higher men of the church to share out such bodily alms, since a spiritual alms infinitely better, namely the preaching of the gospel, is exemplified by Christ and his apostles?[17] Lords, then, abounding in riches, may through the faithful ministration of those who serve them lighten the revenues of their poor tenants,[18] or assign other faithful laymen to this office, provided they do not burden priests with this abject office, since fairly certain experience makes it clear that the priests themselves**

[14] 1 Pet. 2:21: Wyclif has *nobis ... ut sequamur*, "leaving us ... that we should follow", for the Vulgate's *vobis ... ut sequamini* (DR "leaving you an example that you should follow his steps").

[15] *Evidet* is printed so on the plate, with no variant; taken as formed from *evidens*, "makes evident". The sentence is ironic: Falsehood's "evidence" would license following antichrist.

[16] Acts does not say Stephen left the office of deacon; Wyclif infers it from his preaching and disputing (Acts 6:8–10). B^1 reads *pauperiores* for *superiores* (67.9); B, C read *ut patet Actuum* (67.12).

[17] *Superiores* (67.14–15) is divided *su-*|*periores* on the plate; the extraction's stray mark is removed. *Religio antichristi* plays on *religio privata*, the orders.

[18] *Subtiliare redditus*: "to make the revenues thin", i.e. lighten what poor tenants pay, as the side-note's "not rack tenants" and *non sic extorqueant* (68.12) show. At 68.11 (*subtilient redditus in suis pauperibus*) the same verb may rather mean "dispense finely among their poor"; "lighten" is kept for both.

would within a fairly short time minister sinfully and unfaithfully. What bishop, then, or monk, or other endowed cleric would stand in this office, with his pride, covetousness or gluttonous lust, for the mere reward of ministering to the poor? And so our clerics have undoubtedly refused the form of the deacons, fairly like it in this respect.[19] Nor does it belong to the higher priests to do this so abject office, and in such a way to wed themselves and their posterity to it. And as to the following quibble, that the apostles gathered the fragments, as is said in Matthew 14 [:20] and 15 [:37], "why then is it not lawful for our [68] **bishops to do so?", this evidence is full of guile; because this deed of the apostles does not argue that the pope or bishops ought to lord it in such a way, but that they may, in a praiseworthy deed, humbly gather fragments to feed the poor. Nor can I teach from the gospel that the apostles distributed these fragments to the poor; but they could, if Christ willed, after this collecting, have assigned [them] to the needy for them to carry off, and the apostles meanwhile attended to a worthier ministry. Secular lords, then, ought to relieve the clerics of this vile office and assign them to the gospel, to prayer, or to some other more wholesome exercise according to the form of the gospel; and let them lighten, as was said above, the revenues among their poor through servants, and not so extort money from their needy tenants in order thus to enrich the convent of the devil. The lapse, then, of a faithless clergy in this ministry would give Christian lords occasion to confiscate these revenues. Since a king of England, against the clergy's resistance, is said to have confiscated the goods of a bishop, because that bishop would not, according to the form of the gospel, give up his office of the king, being a curate, and reside in his church.[20] And in truth it seems to many that this faint-hearted silence, to such peril of the king and kingdom, would be sufficient cause for confiscating all the revenues**

[19] ***Cum superbia cupidine vel gulosa libidine***: the vices the clerics would bring, i.e. none would stay in the office without them, for its reward alone. ***Satis similem***: the deacons' form, fairly like the office now proposed. B reads *induere*, "put on", for *indubie* (67.27), and *dispensare* for *desponsare* (67.30).

[20] The *cum*-clause has no main verb; it is rendered as it stands. ***Suum curatum officium regis***: literally "his curate['s] office of the king", i.e. a curate holding royal office who would not return to his cure. The king and bishop are not identified.

of clerics of this kind. But the king ought, as a lord, according to the form of the gospel, to put into practice the imitation of the Lord; and the endowed clergy may, as far as it knows how, attack this work of the king from reason or the gospel. Let the faithful theologian see to it, then, that the covetous clergy does not fall short in arguments to be fashioned from the form of the gospel,[21] and let him ground himself in the complete likeness, taking as of faith that Christ, from the instant of his conception to the hour of his death, was a most poor man, to exemplify poverty for his sheep; and this exemplifying ought to be more precious than the decrees of all the popes, even of John XXII, unless they are founded in the faith of the gospel.[22] And poverty in [69] **the apostolic life is more to be heeded by the faithful than all the lives of rich bishops or of other clergy, although they have been dreamed now to dwell in blessedness: for faith teaches that the poor apostles are blessed, but it does not teach that of these rich men; but rather it teaches in practice that the canonizations of these men were dearly bought for money. For Judas, whom Christ calls the son of perdition [John 17:12], still at the end of his life cast down the pieces of silver [Matt. 27:5], and so, although he despaired, went off poor enough; but the friars seem to surpass Iscariot, in that they inhabit an abiding city, as if they despaired of the heavenly Jerusalem; and the alms so called they at once make impossible to help the poor, or to be recalled by those who gave them, however far the friars have forsaken [their rule],[23] since beyond the example of Christ they make themselves sumptuous basilicas and hypocritically contrive that the greater lords and ladies be buried in their basilica, so that at least in this way the perpetuation of their place's dwelling**

[21] ***Videat … quod clerus cupidus non deficiat***: taken as "see to it that [the argument against] the covetous clergy does not lack gospel arguments"; literally the clergy is the subject. C reads *igitur* for *ergo* (68.25).

[22] John XXII, in *Cum inter nonnullos* (1323), condemned as heretical the assertion that Christ and the apostles had nothing, individually or in common. B omits *sue* before *concepcionis* (68.29).

[23] ***Inpossibilitant ut iuvent … vel … revocentur***: "make impossible that they help … or be recalled". C reads *viverent* for *iuvent*, and B has *iuvent* corrected from *viverent* (69.11). *Derelinquerant* has no object; "[their rule]" is supplied; B reads *deliquerant*, "however much the friars have offended" (69.12). B, C read *incolunt hic* for *incollunt* (69.9).

on earth may be defended by the progeny of those buried.[24] Nor is there doubt that it would be better for these dead to be buried in the field among the beasts.

[24] **The extraction read a stray *is* at 69.14 (*maiores is domini*); the plate has *maiores | domini*, and the *is* is removed. *Defendantur* is plural against *perpetuacio*; B, C read *defendatur* (69.17). B reads *sua* for *eorum* (69.15).**

Chapter 31: Who should disendow whom: the apish likeness

Pollard pp. 69.20–73.25

Falsehood. But it is still argued: if the clergy ought thus to relinquish its lordships, then, if it refuses to relinquish them freely, it ought to be compelled. Now this cannot come about through the secular arm, since the clergy is the more powerful, and this attempt would disturb the church too much. Nor can it come about through the spiritual arm, since the pope, the most powerful secular lord, is sworn to the opposite, and his subjects would freely resist him in this.[1] And it is confirmed from this, that the pope, from the universality [70] of his lordship, confers kingdoms: for thus he is said to have given Ireland to the king of England, and, one king of Spain having been degraded, to have given Spain to another king.[2] Who, then, would depose unqualified kings and bring in qualified kings except the pope, since he is the highest vicar of Christ and it pertains to the highest earthly office to attempt this? Nor can a reason easily be devised why it is lawful for worldly princes to take worldly lordships away from the clergy thus habitually offending, without its being lawful, by the topic from the greater, for the spiritual arm to take secular lordships away from the temporal arm habitually offending. And yet this happened more easily, and the greater authority is clear.[3] It seems that one ought rather to teach

[1] *Gratis sibi resisterent*: "would freely resist him", taking *sibi* as the pope, should he attempt disendowment; *gratis* as at 69.21 (*renuente gratis ipsa deserere*), of free will. Truth takes up the clause at 72.22–25.

[2] Pollard's side-note (70.1) identifies Ireland granted to Henry II and Spain to Henry of Trastámara.

[3] *Per loco a majori* is printed so (for *per locum*): the topical argument from the greater, i.e. *a fortiori* (Pollard's side-note). *Contigit* may be the perfect ("happened") or medieval spelling of *contingit* ("happens"); Truth throws the sentence back at 73.20 in the same words.

the converse: that the clerics should take away all secular lordship from the secular arm and reserve it wholly to themselves.

Truth. This quibble would not hold except by the topic from apish likeness and on the devil's authority,[4] as if the devil wished to destroy the whole authority of the Christian order by exalting the pope above all Christian princes. I grant, therefore, since it would make for the radical pacification of the church, that all three of its parts ought to labour with prudence toward this ordinance of the Lord: the clergy, by warning through the evidences of the faith of scripture, lest it fall into heresy by consent; the secular arm, by guarding henceforth against amortization, and, when an amortization comes into its hands, which often happens to the king of England, by withholding the renewal of the clergy's sin against the Lord.[5] And there are many particular prudent measures by which this transgression could be removed gradually: as by telling the friars and all the priests of the kingdom of England that, on pain of their legal standing,[6] they tell the king and the kingdom whether this endowment is consonant with divine law. Or otherwise, that on an equivalent penalty they tell the king and the kingdom, from the effective authority of scripture or from reason, what the consecrated host itself is in its nature. And such are many cases necessary to the knowledge of a faithful kingdom, in which the father of falsehood has blinded Antichrist and all his clerics to this day.[7] And if our clergy were asked publicly, under the same penalty, whether the state of honest poverty which Christ taught in word and deed is more perfect and more consonant with the church militant than [71] the caesarean state brought in today, and the clergy were compelled,

[4] ***Locus a simiali similitudine***: a pun on the *locus a simili*, the topic from likeness; *simialis* is "ape-like", a likeness that only apes the true one. It returns at 72.4 and 73.16.

[5] ***Mortificacio***: amortization, a grant of land into mortmain (compare *manus mortua*). ***Repplicacio*** here is not the disputation "rejoinder" (the glossary) but a regrant: Pollard's side-note (70.17) reads "not renewing old ones when they lapse". Only two of the *tres partes* are named; the third estate is left unstated.

[6] ***Sub pena legalitatis sue***: literally "on pain of their lawfulness", their standing as lawful men under the crown; Pollard's side-note has "on their allegiance".

[7] ***Pater mendacii***: "the father of falsehood" keeps the name of Truth's opponent, *Mendacium*, audible (cf. John 8:44).

as faith teaches, to prefer the pre-eminence of Christ's ordinance, especially in the last days, with the world declining into avarice and the clergy ceasing from its ministry because of the abundance of temporal goods, the clergy would of necessity have to infer for itself and confess the catholic truth. And so, with moderate prudence, the kingdom could be purged of many errors without uproar from the clergy or from the devil's party that adheres to this crime. But however it may be with such prudence, it is enough for the faithful to say that thus, according to the law of the Lord, it ought to be. And it would be a wonder that the kingdom of England should thus dare, in an earthly cause, to invade many kingdoms, and should not know how to gain in its own homeland, in God's cause . . .[8] especially since Christ, in Luke 14, teaches the secular arm to serve him by compelling the clergy to enter the state which he himself instituted.[9] Hence, for the devil to teach Antichrist, his disciple, to argue by this likeness is the same as if he argued thus: "It is lawful for the secular arm, which has power or the sword from God, to coerce bodily those who rebel against the law of the Lord; therefore by the same token it is lawful for clerics to fight bodily and to chastise secular lords by force of power."[10] But this madness moved popes, bishops and very many priests to rave, as if one argued thus: "Christ gave this sword to the secular arm; therefore by the same token he ought to have given this sword to the more prudent and worthier arm of the priests. And so, if Christ granted temporal lordship to secular lords, by the same token he ought to have granted that lordship to the priest." Nor is this founded in the faith of scripture, except (to speak ironically) on the devil's temptation in Matthew 4, by which in the

[8] The dots are Pollard's: a gap in the text, which survives only in the one manuscript (editor's footnote at 69.19, "Hoc capitulum in ceteris codicibus deest"). Similar gaps at 72.31, 72.33, 72.34. *Patria* is here the earthly homeland, England.

[9] Luke 14:23, "compel them to come in" (*compelle intrare*); Pollard's margin gives Luke xiv. 21.

[10] *Idem est diabolum docere ... arguere ac si sic argueret*: a correlative (*idem ... ac si*): the accusative-infinitive is the subject, "for the devil to teach Antichrist to argue by this likeness is the same as if he argued thus". The analogy is the step in the argument: the disendowment "likeness" is as absurd as arguing from the secular arm's right of coercion to the clergy's right to fight, and it is diabolical in origin. *Potestative*: "by force of power", as again at 73.11.

third temptation he tempted Christ the high priest, promising him presumptuously and falsely that he would give him all [the things] of the kingdom of the world if, falling down, he would adore him; "therefore the pope, his chief vicar, ought thus to lord it universally and to impart earthly kingdoms to his servants at his command."[11] But a faithful servant of Christ would deny such a quibble, content with the Lord's ordinance. For Christ ordained the secular arm, through coactive and coercive power, to be the vicar of the Godhead, giving it the bodily sword; and he ordained the priesthood [72] to be the vicar of Christ's humanity, by suffering and by imitating him in humility and tribulations, as Augustine teaches in many a place.[12] But the devil presumes that Christ ordained badly in this, since it ought to have been the converse; and so [comes] the topic from apish likeness, by which it is argued thus: "If the secular arm had to take from the clergy its own lordship, which the Lord gave it, then by the same token the priesthood ought to take from the secular arm the secular lordship which the devil usurped."[13] One who argues so, I say, is an all too evident sophist of the devil; and so the power of the caesarean clergy, growing strong over the secular arm by the devil's wile, has grown thus as a punishment for the sin of the secular arm. Therefore it ought to be tempered with Christ's prudence, and so the temporal power of the clergy ought to be mitigated with God's

[11] Matt. 4:8–9. *Nisi ut loquitur ironice*: *loquitur* has no expressed subject; the irony is Wyclif's (the only "scripture" for the claim is the devil's words), not Matthew's. Wyclif's *omnia regni mundi* departs from the Vulgate's *omnia regna mundi* ("all the kingdoms of the world"); translated as printed. The closing inference is the opponents' ("therefore the pope ..."). *Suus vicarius*: most naturally Christ's vicar; it can also be read as the devil's, which sharpens the irony. *Dominari* is pejorative here.

[12] The king as vicar of the Godhead and the priest as vicar of Christ's humanity, "as Augustine teaches in many a place": as in ch. 1 (n7), the "Augustine" is the *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti* of Ambrosiaster, which circulated as Augustine's: *Dei enim imaginem habet rex, sicut et episcopus Christi* (q. 35, PL 35:2234); the king *habens imperium Dei quasi vicarius ejus* (q. 106, PL 35:2319; also q. 91, *Rex enim adoratur in terris quasi vicarius Dei*, PL 35:2284). Gratian took q. 106 into the *Decretum* under Augustine's name (C.33 q.5 c.13). Ambrosiaster pairs the king with God and the bishop with Christ; "vicar of Christ's humanity" is Wyclif's sharpening of it.

[13] *Accipere a clero*: "take from the clergy", i.e. take back the secular arm's own lordship; Pollard's side-note (72.1) renders "receive".

wisdom. And as the English Constantine is said to have presumed [to begin] this devilish madness, so God could easily ordain the king of England, prudent with spiritual help, and his council, for its destruction, and give them the counsel of the Holy Spirit, that they may attempt this by a more fitting means.[14] But it is enough for us to expose the devilish quibbles fabricated to the contrary. And so, if the pope is sworn to the contrary, he is sworn with the devil against Christ, just as the acceptance of half the empire was usurped by the devil's wile.[15] And if the pope's subjects, disciples of Antichrist, should resist him in this, where in Christ's cause they would promote the contrary, they are to be inclined gradually, with Christ's prudence, to the path of truth. And God has ordained at this time means to this end which in days past were hidden from the world. And as for the confirmation from the pope's deed, some say that it is an accursed usurpation of Antichrist. Therefore, as the kingdom of England has prudently withheld the nine hundred marks in which it is said to have bound itself to him yearly on that account, so with prudence it will be able elsewhere . . . to attempt more in the name of the Lord.[16] And so, as for the kingdom of Spain . . . has presumed in this, it is nothing else than that the devil for a time small . . . Jesus Christ. Christ, therefore, deposes unqualified kings by his hidden institution; so kings must confess to their Lord their fault concerning the defending of [73] **God's law, most just;[17] and, as for what the pope or Antichrist thus attempts in secular fashion against kings beyond Christ's licence, they ought prudently to turn aside from this tyranny of the devil and to raise up**

[14] ***Constantinum anglicum***: Constantine the Great, held in medieval legend to be British-born. ***Prudentem*** agrees with ***regem***, not ***concilium***. ***Concilium*** is printed twice: first "council" (the king's), then "counsel" (of the Holy Spirit), the medieval spelling serving both.

[15] ***Accepcio medietatis imperii***: the Donation of Constantine.

[16] ***Nonagentas*** is read as ***nongentas***, "nine hundred"; ***nonaginta*** would be "ninety". King John's concession of 1213 promised 1,000 marks yearly (700 for England, 300 for Ireland), so Wyclif's figure is loose. Payment had lapsed since about 1333; when Urban V demanded the arrears in 1366, Parliament refused and repudiated the tribute. ***Ihm*** (72.34) = ***Ihesum***.

[17] ***Culpam suam de defendendo legem dei***: their fault concerning the defence of God's law, i.e. their failure to defend it.

the Lord's ordinance. For Christ humbly gave tribute to Caesar and in many ways enlarged his lordship, and acquired no such lordship for himself or his apostles.[18] And so it seems that the pope is not the vicar of Christ but the vicar of Antichrist, since, having abandoned the heavenly office, he thus unduly attempts the earthly one. And so caesarean prelates, forgetting the humble exhortation and holy preaching of Christ and his apostles, usurp by force of power the tyranny of Antichrist; and in such prelates, specially ordained, [it] is turned backward, and in their sons who follow them, leaving the doctrine of Christ and following the footsteps of Antichrist.[19] And from what has been said the reason for the difference in the apish likeness that follows is clear: since the spiritual arm is the vicar of Christ's humanity, disposed to patience and humility, and the secular arm is the vicar of Christ's divinity, inclined to a prudent and mild sword of vengeance on a rebellious people. And so neither did this happen more easily, nor is Christ's authority for it clear, since he taught the opposite both in deed and in words. Nor do I doubt that the clerics of Antichrist must in a short time be chastised by the Lord. Such are many quibbles of Antichrist, which it is easy for the faithful man to resolve, the Holy Spirit teaching [him] through his sevenfold gifts.

[18] Matt. 17:26 (the stater) and 22:21. ***Suum dominium*** is taken as Caesar's lordship, which Christ's tribute enlarged.

[19] ***Conversus est retrorsum*** has no expressed subject; it echoes Ps. 113:3 (Vulg.), ***Jordanis conversus est retrorsum***. ***Specialiter ordinatis*** may play on ordination.

Chapter 32: Glebe and church

Pollard pp. 73.27–78.9

Falsehood. But at last, and more freshly, the people argue that the glebe and the church are so joined that they cannot be separated from one another, just as neither can a substance and its attribute, or the accident that philosophers call inseparable.[1] Let him who holds this opinion, therefore, give up offerings and tithes, or else accept along with them [74]endowed churches, as the holy men before us accepted them according to the laws of the church; for one who murmurs against this, since he must perfectly restore what he held unjustly, must render the value of his whole glebe to the lords, because otherwise, by his own fiction, he would be condemned for a debt unjustly held.[2] Why then could it not be said that every private ecclesiastical person is a proctor and not a secular lord, but that the whole church militant itself, our mother, exercises lordship over all the goods conferred on the church?[3] Such are many sophisms of Antichrist, by which he throws many simple priests into confusion.[4]

Truth. But here the faithful man says steadfastly, according to the doctrine that Christ taught in deed as well as in word, that the

[1] *Populares*: "the people", the common folk, not a party. *Recensius* (= *recencius*) is the glossary's "more freshly"; Truth answers it at 75.29 (*hec via non est recens*) and 76.1 (*ordinum istorum recencium*). *Passio* is the proper attribute of a subject (the glossary); the three "objections" Truth answers at 74.17, 75.7 and 76.28 are the three steps of this speech.

[2] *Perfecte* (74.2–3) is divided *per-*|*fecte* on the plate; the extraction dropped the second half, now restored: "perfectly restore". *Ficticium suum*: "his own fiction", i.e. the opponent's claim that glebe and church can be parted. *Propter injuste tentum debitum*: "for a debt unjustly held"; *debitum* could also be taken with *tentum* as "what is owed, held unjustly".

[3] *Procuratrix* and *domina* are feminine to agree with *persona*: "a proctor, not a [lady and] owner". Pollard's side-note gives "proctor". The claim is that a single cleric only administers, while the church as a whole is the lord.

[4] Pollard's apparatus (74.9–10): "the scribe seems stupidly to have given the words *Talia ... sacerdotes* to Falsehood" (*Videtur scriba noster verba Talia ... sacerdotes stolide Mendacio transtulisse*); they read as Truth's verdict. B^1, C, D omit *Veritas* at 74.11. We keep the print's speaker division.

clergy ought altogether to live a poor and propertyless life, as heir of the heavenly kingdom, near to the life of innocence, as Christ [was]. For by this, that the clergy so lives of the Lord's portion, it differs perceptibly from a secular lord.[5] And as to the first objection, it is clear that, whether we call "church" the building itself, or the faithful who frequent it on feast days, or the rule of the rector governing the people, the church and the glebe differ perceptibly enough. Nor has Antichrist the power so to join these to one another that the one cannot be separated from the other, since Christ and his apostles bore the cure more excellently than our superiors, although they lacked such a glebe. Therefore this saying is a manifest lie of Antichrist, where he wants to put the glebe forward as the more perfect subject, and to put the spiritual cure after it as an imperfect accident;[6] since it is known to the faithful man, who is not besotted with worldly greed, that both the church building itself and the spiritual cure of souls such as [75] **Christ had with his own differ notoriously from the glebe, whether it be understood as the temporal thing so possessed or as the very exercise of lordship over it. Therefore what worldly men stammer on this point is a crude and unbelieving saying; yet it forecasts something, namely that the spiritual cure of which the Lord gave the pattern is put after, and that, according to Antichrist's ordinance, affection for temporal goods goes before. As to the second objection, it has been said that a curate who culpably keeps back this glebe must make restitution to God by contrition, since God is the chief lord; and, when opportunity arises, he must make satisfaction to the needy subjects whom he defrauded before. Yet I do not see that by any law he must restore this to the patron, the secular lord, since by divine law such patronage cannot be founded, and by human law such a patron conferred the glebe**

[5] ***De parte domini***: "of the Lord's portion", the Levites' inheritance (Num. 18:20). *Pars* can also be "party, side", and the phrase returns at 77.14 (***a parte domini sunt divisi***), where both senses are live. B[1], C read ***dominio*** for ***domino***: "from secular lordship".

[6] ***Mendacium antichristi***: "a lie of Antichrist"; ***Mendacium*** is also the speaker Falsehood's name. ***Proponere ... postponere***: "put forward ... put after", the spatial pair, not the disputation verb "propose" (the glossary). B[1], C, D omit ***proponere*** and add ***et glebam istam preponere*** after ***postponere***.

itself on that curate. And if the curate has received the fruit of this glebe, rejecting worldly exercise of lordship in his mind, faithful ministration can excuse him before God and men. Yet this seems [true]: that a faithful curate, when he has the opportunity, ought to renounce this secular lordship. For so blessed Possidius tells of his master, blessed Augustine, that he asked the citizens of Hippo to take back the estates which they had given him before, so that he could live purely on alms, as Christ and his apostles lived, or on tithes and offerings, as the priests and Levites of the old testament lived.[7] And although the citizens themselves refused this, yet it is likely that Augustine did not here act like "a dog returning to his former vomit",[8] but that, living purely on alms and ministering these estates to the poor, he was content with a poor life of alms. Therefore this way is not new, unfoundable in scripture, since it is founded in the law of the Lord. Hence let those who stammer so say, if they know, what possession or glebe [76] **these patrons of these recent orders had: Augustine, Benedict, Dominic, or Francis. But as the Christian sect abandoned the poverty of its patron Christ, which these patrons are said to have revived, though culpably and unlearnedly, so the followers of these patrons have accepted the glebe of temporal goods the more greedily.[9] And so in these patrons, and in the law of the eternal ordinance of "the ancient of days", this renunciation has been made ancient;[10] and not only in these patrons and in the friars, although it was practised sophistically all along, but many rectors have had by God's prompting a hidden synderesis, as those who read either law of the Lord have conceived [it] from**

[7] **Possidius, *Vita Augustini* 23 (Pollard's margin). B[1], C, D read *anima* for *antea* (75.22) and *discipuli* for *apostoli* (75.23).**

[8] **Prov. 26:11; 2 Pet. 2:22. Wyclif's *canis rediens ad priorem vomitum* is his own wording; the Vulgate has *canis qui revertitur ad vomitum suum* (Prov.), *canis reversus ad suum vomitum* (2 Pet.).**

[9] ***Licet culpabiliter et indocte* is taken with *suscitasse*: the founders revived Christ's poverty, but culpably, by founding private orders. It could instead qualify *deseruit*: the Christian sect abandoned it "culpably and unlearnedly".**

[10] ***Antiquata*: classically "annulled, made obsolete". Pollard's side-note ("has thus good authority") takes it as "made ancient, of long standing", playing on *antiqui dierum* (Dan. 7:9, DR "the ancient of days"); translated so. B[1], C, D read *eciam* for *et* (76.8).**

that law, more openly or more obscurely.[11] But the manner of so possessing temporal goods, in a secular way and as if by inheritance, is more culpable than the use of them; and so a man can virtuously accept offerings and tithes in measure, provided that he minister faithfully to the church in its need. Faithfully, I say, altogether, in spiritual things and in temporal, whenever occasion arises of so ministering. Nor let the curate mutter about where he will lie down, or where he will put his tithes, if he has no house of his own as though by inheritance; for let him lie "in the midday" of the fervour of charity, following Christ, who so slept, as it fell out and unknown, among his apostles; and let him cast away all his care, having his manner of life in heavenly things, for the gaining of blessedness and about the means of serving God and the church and of following Christ.[12] And let him not be anxious about offerings or bodily tithes; for Christ in his highest wisdom ordained that his curates should lack certainty or inheritance of these temporal goods, so that they might pant the more after heavenly things. But Antichrist has changed this divine order. As to the third objection, it is clear that the church militant, as to its second part and its individual members, exercises lordship; and so the whole church, according to that part and to that extent, is imperfect, [falling short] of heavenly things, and [77] removed from the state of innocence.[13] But assigning the church militant to Christ's clergy, who are pilgrims in this world, it is clear that secular exercise of lordship is fittingly forbidden to it, as its head, Christ, taught by the example of his manner of life as well

[11] ***Sinderisis***: synderesis, the scholastic name for the natural habit of conscience; Pollard: "a secret consciousness". ***Utramque legem***: both laws, the old and the new; ***ex ipsa*** is taken of the law they read.

[12] "In the midday": Cant. 1:6 (***ubi cubes in meridie***). Christ asleep among his apostles: Matt. 8:24 (B^1, C, D read ***sub*** for ***suis***). "Cast away all his care": cf. 1 Pet. 5:7 (***omnem sollicitudinem vestram projicientes***). ***Conversando in celestibus***: cf. Phil. 3:20 (***nostra conversatio in caelis est***). C. ***Et de mediis*** depends loosely on ***conversando***; construed "[taking thought] about the means".

[13] ***2^m partem***: the second part of the church militant, which Pollard's side-note calls "the second Order", i.e. the secular lords; B^1, C, D read ***terciam***. ***Et hinc***: "and to that extent". ***Imperfecta a celestibus***: "imperfect, [falling short] of heavenly things"; B^1, C, D read ***quod in perfecta***.

as by spoken doctrine.[14] Hence a clergy living contrariwise seems to be of the devil's lot, under Antichrist as captain.[15] And he is by name the secular chief lord, and those living under his banner seem to be proctors of the prince of darkness; who have this as their property, that these worldly goods are not common to them, since they are not divided to every one "according as he had need", as the mendicant friars and the other [kind], the possessioners, bear witness; but these goods have been parted most unjustly, to the great contention of that clergy.[16] Therefore, no doubt, this sophism of the devil, like many similar ones, teaches how they are divided from the Lord's portion: hence let the faithful man note the cloisterers, not only of different orders, nor only of the same order but of different houses, but of the same order and house [and yet] of different manners, and he will see how their temporal goods are most unjustly parcelled out; all of which are figured by Iscariot, who, although he had the fountain of grace as his captain and such gracious companions, yet out of avarice and his other sins offended so greatly against the Lord. Therefore the apostles, after the sending of the Holy Spirit, did not dare to enter such a confederation of religion, since the church ought to be content with the threefold bond of love.[17] Let the faithful man therefore see what is taught in the faith of scripture, and hold that securely, and whatever remains, let him leave it aside. Therefore certain faithful men religiously maintain that no human tradition is to be accepted, whether papal, or imperial, or other provincial, except in so far as it is founded in the law of the Lord. It is clear from this that the law of Christ is of the greatest weight,

[14] ***Limitando ecclesiam militantem ad clerum***: "assigning [the name] church militant to the clergy", i.e. restricting its reference; the glossary's *limitare*, "assign", is kept. B, D read *vocali* for *verbali*.

[15] ***De sorte diaboli***: "of the devil's lot" turns the etymology of *clerus* (Greek *klēros*, lot) against the clergy: the clergy should be the Lord's lot.

[16] Acts 4:35, DR "distribution was made to every one, according as he had need"; Wyclif puts it in the negative. ***Hoc proprium***: "this as their property", catching the pun on *proprietas*. ***Possessionati alii***: "the other [kind], the possessioners", the endowed orders set beside the mendicants.

[17] ***Confederacio religionis***: a league of a "religion", i.e. a religious order (the glossary: *religio privata*). ***Triplici amoris vinculo***: the threefold bond of love is not specified here; compare the "threefold cord" of Eccl. 4:12 (*funiculus triplex*).

[78] **because, being God's, it is the most sufficient and most complete director of every man. Therefore the clergy, which ought to know that law, degenerates too far, that clergy which attends to human traditions or customs not founded in God's laws.[18] Or if they are founded implicitly in God's laws, a clergy that does not degenerate ought to take the spring water of that wisdom from that altogether fitter source, and put the stagnant human water after it. And were that praiseworthy manner kept, God's law would be purified and the church purged of these errors brought in by the devil.[19]**

[18] **The period has two relatives: *clerus, qui debet ... cognoscere, nimis degenerat qui attendit*. The second *qui* is taken as restrictive, "that clergy which attends", so the degeneracy is limited to those who follow unfounded traditions.**

[19] ***Et* (78.8, *Et servato*) was dropped by the extraction and is restored from the plate.**

Chapter 33: True and false trade, buying and selling

Pollard pp. 78.11–80.20

TRUTH.[1] I see that our adversary does not argue effectively for his side by reasons or by scripture, but rather provokes his fellows and contends; but we have no such custom, nor the church of God, as Paul teaches, 1 Corinthians 2.[2] Therefore, setting aside all the traditions of men that are called laws, and the sayings of later writers, which are founded neither in the faith of scripture nor in reasons, it seems that in the end the catholic truth is to be spoken with silence.[3] But first, to make clear what has been said of the trade of priests and of simony, together with the other trades in use today, we must see what it is to buy and to sell. And it seems that this, taken analogically, is voluntarily to exchange one thing for another; and I understand the terms analogically in the way in which God is said to sell blessedness, and one who merits it by congruity to buy it. And in this way God seems to speak in Isaiah 55: "Come, buy wine and milk without money, and without any price."[4] And so, understanding trade as common to buying and selling, it seems that buying is for the person buying to make [79] **something be his own, and selling is for the person selling to make what is his own be the buying person's. And so God analogically sells blessedness, because he makes it belong to the person who merits by congruity;**

[1] The chapter opens with no speaker's name in the print. The speaker calls Falsehood "our adversary" and continues the argument of chapter 32, so it is Truth.

[2] The words quoted are 1 Cor. 11:16 (DR: "we have no such custom, nor the Church of God"), not chapter 2. The numbers *[1ª]* and *[2°]* are in the editor's brackets, and Pollard's margin gives "1 Cor. ii."; the English keeps the print's reference.

[3] *Cum silencio sit loquenda*: "is to be spoken with silence", i.e. without the contention just blamed on the adversary. It may also mean "while [all the rest] is kept silent", the traditions and later writers having been set aside.

[4] Isa. 55:1, which Wyclif quotes as the Vulgate with *et* added (*venite et emite*). DR renders *absque ulla commutacione* "without any price"; Wyclif's analysis turns on the Latin word, which in what follows is "exchange".

and the one who merits buys blessedness, because he makes it his own by exchange with the Lord. And so exchange can be understood in two ways: in the first way, properly, for an exchange of substance as regards the ownership of a possession, in the way in which one buying an ox exchanges silver or some other price for it (and in this way Isaiah seems to speak of exchange in the authority set forth, since God cannot be changed, nor is anything of the substance or nature of the one buying blessedness lost by the buyer);[5] in the second way, more loosely, for an exchange of anything whatever, of substance or of aspect, in the way in which relations and other truths are called things; and so the blessed one, although he has God as the substance of his blessedness, nevertheless has a relational blessedness proper to himself. And so he exchanges his merit, [had] from God's grace, for it.[6] And so trade seems to be twofold: the first true, reasonably approved by God as the principal seller; the second is fantastic or false trade, and that is done by the devil as chief trader, and in that way all simoniacal or unlawful trading is called trade disowned by the Lord.[7] With these premised, it seems to me that a priest may lawfully trade with his bodily labour and with perceptible wages; but that he should sell his prayer or merit is contrary to reason, because the worth of his prayer or merit is above his possession, in the hand of God. And so all who sell ecclesiastical benefices, or letters of fraternity or of merit,[8] seem to trade with the devil and to blaspheme against God, since they pretend to sell what is proper to God. Therefore, lest a priest fall into this blasphemy, it seems safe that [80] **he say at the outset that he wishes to accept food and covering purely by title of alms, and in return to labour in the priestly office as much as God will have accepted. And so it seems**

[5] The parenthesis takes Isaiah's "without any exchange" to deny exchange in this first, proper sense: nothing passes out of the buyer's substance, and God is not changed.

[6] *Is* (79.14) is taken as the pronoun "he", the blessed one. *Ex dei gracia* may attach to *meritum* ("his merit, [which is] from God's grace", so the side-note) or to *commutat* ("by God's grace he exchanges his merit"). *Pro eadem*: for the blessedness.

[7] *Deacceptum*, "not accepted, disowned" (plate: *de-*|*acceptum*). B, C read *deo* for *domino*, "disowned by God".

[8] *Aut meriti*: "or [letters] of merit". B had *merita*, corrected to *meriti*; B^1 reads *merita*, which would make it "or merits".

that the pope or other patron conferring an ecclesiastical benefice ought, purely by title of alms, to assign [it] to the express spiritual office of the curate; and at the outset to agree that the alms to be received is not his, but God's and the people's, who are to be revered; therefore, with no bodily recompense to be rendered to him, he awaits a reward from God, so that [the curate] may be beneficed sincerely and may profit the church spiritually.[9] And many such signs of priests and of the new orders, introduced today, seem to be signs of an adulterous generation,[10] and not approved by the Lord. And this is the reason why consecrations of bodies or of places customary among bishops, letters of fraternity, and other exchanges of priests for the consecration of the eucharist are not founded in the law of the Lord, but free and useful labour is, as it would be in the state of innocence; and secular trades are near to danger on account of fraud. Whoever, therefore, had this teaching clearly discussed could speak clearly of simony and of the other unlawful trades, and of the merits of blessedness.

[9] ***Sua***, ***sibi*** **and** ***exspectat*** **refer to the patron (so the side-notes: "not theirs, but God's and the people's"; "the patron should look to God").** ***Populi reverendi*** **is taken as "the people, who are to be revered";** ***reverendi*** **may instead go with** ***dei*** **as well ("of God and the people, to be revered").** ***Beneficiatur*** **passes to the curate as subject, as does** ***prosit*****.**

[10] **Matt. 12:39, "an evil and adulterous generation seeketh a sign": Wyclif plays on** ***signa*****, the outward signs of the priests and new orders.**

Chapter 34: Who must help: clergy, lords and labourers

Pollard pp. 80.22–82.5

Truth. It remains to see to which persons of the church it pertains to put into practice, and to help in, the teaching stated above; and it is clear beyond doubt that every person of the church militant ought to help his mother on behalf of that teaching in his own way: as clerics, by arguing with reasons and the testimony of scripture and by repelling diabolical answers; temporal lords, by coercing the church's enemies, and by withdrawing so-called alms from the Lord's enemies, both in their own persons and in their tenants, since otherwise they would treacherously consent with his enemies against God;[1] and the third [81] **part of the church, namely labourers and others trading with temporal goods, ought in this to minister to the two prior parts in temporal things according to the limits of reason.[2] And if the whole multitude of wayfarers concurred together in this purpose, it would be easy to confound the devil's party. Indeed, since help lies in God, especially on this point, every wayfarer ought to help by prayer or by merit, as the blessed do.[3] Hence, because the damned do not help in this but reject it, they do not merit, but by sinning continually do as they ought not.[4] But the more perceptible help on this point rests with the secular lords, and**

[1] *Vocatas elemosinas*: "so-called alms", i.e. the endowments given to the clergy under the name of alms, which the lords are to withdraw both from their own grants and from their tenants' (Pollard: "withdrawing alms from them"). *Inimicis domini* are the Lord's enemies, the worldly clergy. *Cum suis hostibus* is taken as God's enemies (non-reflexive *suus*); reflexively it would be "with their own enemies".

[2] B, B[1], C read *laborantes*, "those who labour", for *laboratores* (81.1); the sense is the same. The three parts are the medieval estates: clergy, lords, labourers.

[3] B, B[1], C read *racione*, "by reason", for *oracione* (81.7). Pollard's side-note follows his text ("by his prayers").

[4] The sentence is loosely built: *quia ... reprobant* gives the ground, *non merentur* the main clause. *Reprobant* is read "reject [it]" (the teaching); it could also be "condemn". The point is that the damned, unlike the blessed, cannot help.

clerics ought to rouse them to it according to the reasons and laws of the Lord. And since it would turn to the perceptible advantage of the third part of the church, that part would not murmur against it, but would rejoice together at the ceasing of the despoilings, and especially if it perceived something of the tendency toward blessedness in conformity with God's law.[5] Hence in this matter Christ's faithful can be plainly told apart from antichrist's disciples. The caesarean clerics, indeed, who savour the world and attend to lucrative arts, despise this matter and hinder its treatment as much as they know how, and few are on the Lord's side who defend this faith or help other simple folk in this. But it is some consolation that the Lord and his citizens must in the end help his party.[6] And if the bishops and the caesarean clerics, and with them the cloisterers, such as abbots and other endowed superiors, took to heart in this the life and law of Christ, and so freely renounced all worldly lordships, it would be more meritorious for them, and a glorious triumph of the church militant over the devil and his other members.[7] For not only the caesarean clerics but their accomplices, the secular lords, consent to antichrist on this point. And since, according to Christ's saying in Luke 11, "He that is not with me is against me" (Luke 11:23), the whole world is divided on this point, therefore the temporal lords and all who are on the way are to be exhorted not to consent to the devil in this respect, for it is certain, as faith teaches, that the opposing party will be struck dumb on the day of judgement. And this [82] teaching is not made up but the faith of the church, since all men who are to be saved must be Christ's soldiers and receive from him the most generous wage, for in blessedness is every good.

[5] *Perciperet de tendencia*: *de* is taken as partitive, "perceived something of the tendency"; possibly "perceived [it] from its tending toward blessedness". Pollard's side-note reads the pair as temporal and spiritual reasons.

[6] *Dominum et cives suos ... partem suam*: the Lord (God, as Pollard's side-note has it) and his citizens, i.e. the citizens of the heavenly city; both *suos* and *suam* refer to *dominum*.

[7] *Conciperent in hoc vitam et legem Christi*: literally "conceived in this", i.e. grasped and took to heart. *Alia membra sua*: the devil's other members, implying that the endowed clergy, while they hold lordship, are counted among them.

And antichrist's soldiers, faint-heartedly degenerating from Christ, must be condemned in hell.[8]

[8] ***In tartaris*: literally "in the Tartarean places", a common medieval name for hell (cf. 2 Pet. 2:4 Vulg. *in tartarum*). *Vecorditer* goes with *degenerantes*: they fall away from Christ through faint-heartedness.**

Chapter 35: How the devil brought in the clergy's lordship

Pollard pp. 82.7–83.31

Truth. **This exercise of lordship by the clergy was brought in little by little through the devil's wile over a thousand years and more, and in the course of time it was confirmed continually more and more in the worldliness of men, so far that today it is reckoned a natural thing consecrated by the Lord.[1] For of old it was known as [a matter of] faith that Christ was a man most poor, and [so were] the apostles and disciples following [him] by virtue of his command, who had all detested secular lordship as the more dangerous.[2] But, seizing a time for seducing the people, the devil moved Caesar [to hold] that, as he himself excelled the other secular lords, so his priest, whom he calls the Roman pontiff, ought to excel all other priests. And then he is said to be called pope and most holy father; and this sin can be urged by a hypocrisy contrived by the devil: Caesar and the other secular lords are oppressed in mind by secular lordship; now it would be a spiritual work of mercy to relieve those so oppressed; therefore the pope ought specially to help his lord Caesar by bearing the burden of earthly lordship. For so the apostles chose seven deacons, who excused them from the ministry of tables and set them free for the preaching of the gospel, and for prayer and contemplation, which is the higher office.[3] The pope,** [83] **therefore,**

[1] ***Censetur naturalitas***: "is reckoned a natural thing", ***naturalitas*** as predicate noun. B^1, C read ***naturaliter***: "is reckoned naturally consecrated by the Lord". B, B^1, C omit ***processum ... secularitate*** (82.9), and B, B^1, C read ***hominem*** (82.10).

[2] The clause is elliptical: ***apostoli et discipuli consequentes*** has no verb and is taken as a second subject of ***fuit ... pauperrimus***, with ***consequentes*** "following [him]". It could also be read "and consequently the apostles and disciples" [were poor].

[3] Acts 6:2–4, paraphrased: the Twelve will not "leave the word of God and serve tables" but "give [themselves] continually to prayer and to the ministry of the word". The whole argument from ***suaderi potest*** to here is the devil's plea, which Truth reports. At 82.23 B omits ***juvare***, with ***hortari*** in the margin in another hand; B^1

who has knowledge from God and power from Peter, knows best how to rule Rome and half the empire in conformity with the law of Christ. Hence particular endowments have been called perpetual alms, although the papal lordship is called, as if by hereditary right, the patrimony of the crucified.[4] And afterwards the master of this hypocrisy taught his school that the higher prelates should reserve to themselves certain special offices of ministering sacraments and sacramentals, which smack of lordship and gain;[5] of this sort are plenary absolutions, general excommunications and other censures, and powers, privileges and dispensations to be dealt out to all mortals: as that bishops should have confirmations, the conferring of orders, and the consecrations of places specially assigned to themselves, and that other prelates should go about with mitres or rings as it shall please that father. And God knows whether zeal for rule or appetite for gain comes in over the obtaining of these privileges.[6] And so the devil brought in, as though like a law of nature, that it is necessary for the pope and the other prelates to be pre-eminent in this way. And all this is a hypocritical falsehood, without foundation and contrary to the religion of Christ,[7] by which the church of the militant has been seduced.[8] And note the evidences that are brought for this teaching, and you will see plainly that either they fail in apocryphal foundations or other feigned falsehoods, or, secondly,

reads *in hoc facto relevare*. B, C add *ut ipsum exoneret* before *onus* (82.24), in B in the margin in another hand.

[4] *Medietatem imperii*, "half the empire", alludes to the Donation of Constantine. *Patrimonium crucifixi*, a current name for church goods held for the poor (ch. 8 n2), is here given to papal lordship "as if by hereditary right", beside the usual name "patrimony of St Peter" for the papal lands. B^1, C read *Petri* for *a petro* (83.1).

[5] *Officia specialia ... sacramenta et sacramentalia ministrandi*: the gerund with its objects is taken as a genitive on *officia* ("offices of ministering sacraments"), and *que sonent in dominium et lucrum* as the relative on *officia* ("smack of", literally "sound towards"). *Parciende* (from *partiri*) is "to be dealt out"; B reads *percipiendi*, B^1, C *parciendi*, and B, B^1, C read *ipsi* for *episcopi* (83.11).

[6] At 83.5 Pollard prints *magister* from B, B^1, C; his base manuscript reads *magisterio*. *Zelus magisterii* is rendered "zeal for rule"; *magisterium* may also mean the office of teaching, which would answer the *magister ... docuit scolam* just above.

[7] *Religioni Christi*: B has *legi* corrected to *religioni* in another hand; B^1, C read *legi*, "the law of Christ" (83.19).

[8] *Ecclesia militancium*, "the church of the militant": the genitive of persons, not the usual *ecclesia militans*, the church militant.

they fail in their inferences, inferring from the truth of faith what is irrelevant. Therefore the repute and custom of an inveterate error is the strongest topic for confirming this sin of the church.[9] And as the devil has perverted his priests from Christ's poverty to secular lordship, so he has perverted them from humility, from gospel preaching, and from every other ministry which Christ had enjoined on the priest. And when the higher parts of the church fall away from this regular ministry, a great part of the church must be transformed into members of the devil.[10]

[9] ***Locus*** **is the dialectical topic, the seat of an argument: custom is the strongest ground the defenders have. B, B[1], C read** ***ypocriticis*** **for** ***apocrifis*** **(83.22): "hypocritical foundations".**

[10] ***Regulari*** **is taken with** ***ministerio*****, "this regular ministry", i.e. the ministry Christ ruled for priests;** ***decidentibus ... partibus*** **is an ablative absolute.**

Chapter 36: The lords' remedy: seven years of poverty

Pollard pp. 84.2–85.29

Truth. Since this teaching has been confirmed in so many ways, that the clergy ought to keep evangelical poverty after the pattern of Christ and the apostles, as is clear from the faith of the twofold testament, and on the contrary side lies so great a peril, both future, in the soul, and temporal and perceptible for the present, each of the three parts of the church, but especially the temporal lords, ought to avoid this peril,[1] and first, in common talk, to say to these caesarean prelates that they do not wish to be damned for love of them, indeed rather for hatred of them.[2] And it has been told them by catholics that if they continue in this crime, enriching the clergy thus against Christ's rule and not repenting fruitfully of this folly, then they are to be condemned beyond excuse; nor does experience or human knowledge of prosperities or other worldly things teach the opposite. Therefore they wish to relieve the clergy of these lordships, as the clerics pretend to have relieved the secular arm for a time. They do not say for a thousand years, but for seven, or for so much time as it takes them to show clearly that this life of the clergy is founded on the law of Christ and does not result, for the secular arm, in the peril of souls.[3] And it seems that this is reasonable, since

[1] No speaker is named in this chapter: the voice continues Truth's from cap. 35, and at the close (85.26–28) it becomes the author's own prayer and explicit. *Quelibet trium parcium ecclesie ... debent*: a singular subject with a plural verb, construed by sense. The three parts are the clergy, the temporal lords (the secular arm) and the commons, the *tercia pars ecclesie* of 85.15 and 85.22.

[2] *Propter amorem eorum, ymmo pocius propter eorum odium*: *eorum* is the prelates. *Ymmo* corrects upward: to go on enriching them would be not love of them but hatred, since it ruins them. The alternative takes *eorum odium* as subjective ("for their hatred"), which fits the correction less well.

[3] *Sicut clerici fingunt se exonerasse per tempus brachium seculare*: the clergy's claim, rehearsed in cap. 35 (p. 82), that the pope relieves the emperor by bearing "the burden of earthly lordship". The lords offer the relief back, not *per mille annos*

both the clergy and the secular arm ought to call to mind with care that which so greatly concerns the salvation of his soul; and both the works of Christ and his doctrine seem to them expressly to sound in favour of this teaching. But the clergy, murmuring against it, in this signals itself guilty. How, I ask, should the temporal lords have continued this work of mercy for a thousand years, and the clerics have accepted it for so long a time, and yet the clerics murmur that [85] **for seven years the temporal lords should relieve them, a time in which they could live more easily and more in conformity with the law of Christ![4] Does it not accord more with reason and with the faith of scripture that the temporal lords should take up this burden than that Christ's clergy should be hindered by it from Christ's ministry? The friars, on this point at least, by their profession and rule, are willing to bear witness to the reasonableness of the said temporal lords.[5] And this exchange seems able to profit each of the three parts of the church militant. For it would profit the clergy, since it would put it in the number and measure that God disposed, and, other secular offices and pompous lives being shaken off, would assign the clergy purely and wholly to the office appointed by Christ. Secondly, it would profit the secular arm. But I set aside the perceptible worldly profit and consider another, spiritual profit: namely, that the temporal lords would not then be driven to make themselves debtors to the third part of the church,[6] nor would endowed cloisterers and others have to be burdensome to their tenants, as**

(the span of the endowed church in cap. 35) but for seven years, or *tantum temporis in quanto clare doceant*: "so much time as it takes them to show clearly"; Pollard's side-note: "till you can show that you ought to hold property". *Non cedat seculari brachio in periculum animarum*: we take *cedat* as "result", with a dative of the party affected; "does not yield to the secular arm" is also possible.

[4] 84.28 *et tamen clerici remurmurarent*: B reads *cum* (corrected from *tamen*), C *cum*, B[1] *tamen* (corrected from *cum*): with *cum*, "since the clerics murmur". We translate the print. The sentence is printed with an exclamation mark: an indignant question.

[5] *Pro racionabilitate dictorum dominorum temporalium*: "of the said temporal lords"; *dictorum* could also be the noun, "the reasonableness of the temporal lords' sayings". The friars' profession of poverty is itself the witness.

[6] *Indebitare se tercie parti ecclesie*: "to make themselves debtors to the third part", i.e. to lie under obligations to (or to exact dues from) the commons. Pollard's side-note at 85.14 reads it as "the need of oppressing labourers".

is said now.[7] For when an unnatural lordship is brought in by the devil's working, it vexes subjects more than a lordship assigned by the Lord. Therefore it is believed that the temporal lords would be more merciful and more gracious to their tenants than clerics, who are endowed against Christ's admonitions. And so the third part of the church would prosper both in bodily things and in spiritual. And the whole body of the church would be tempered according to the law of the Lord. Hence it seems to some that he is faithless to the Lord, and to every part of the church, as a traitor and heretic, who contradicts this teaching.[8] I pray God that he move all three parts of the church to consent fruitfully to the truth in this matter. Here ends the Mirror of the Church Militant.[9]

[7] Printed *onerosi*, agreeing with *domini* ("nor [would they need] to be burdensome to their tenants"), leaves *dotatos claustrales et alios* without construction. B, B[1], C read *onerosos*, which makes the cloisterers the accusative subject of *esse*; we translate it. *Suis tenentibus* may then be the cloisterers' tenants or the lords'. *Ut dicitur modo*: "as is said now", i.e. by common report.

[8] *Infidelis domino*: with a dative, "faithless to the Lord", not the row's "unbeliever", which would lose the construction; the sense is disloyalty, matched by *proditor*. *Cuicunque parti ecclesie*: literally "to whatever part of the church", i.e. to every part.

[9] 85.26: B, B[1] read *Rogo igitur*, C *Rogo ergo*; B, C read *istas* for *cunctas*; B[1] omits *veritati*. After *parte* the apparatus records, without siglum, "To whom be honour and imperial power for infinite ages of ages. Amen etc." (then in red letters); B: "Corrected in the year of the Lord 1414, the Friday after the feast of George"; B[1]: "Here ends the Dialogue of Master John Wic."; and, again without siglum, "And so is the end of the little treatise of M. Jo. W., namely the dialogue".

Epilogue

Part one: Prescription, charters and custom

Pollard pp. 86.2–92.30

It remains, finally, to draw this whole teaching together under a kind of epilogue, so that it may be clearer, to the honour of God and the benefit of the clergy, and consequently of the whole church militant. For we maintain that this church, and especially the clergy, be ruled in honest poverty according to the Lord's leading, to which it is bound according to the providence of the ordinance of the law of Christ.[1] That it should finally renounce secular lordship is clear from the twofold testimony and from Christ's interpretation, as much by life as by word; and that interpretation can neither directly deceive nor be deceived.[2] But the quibbles made to the contrary would not be worth remembering, were it not for the unbelieving ignorance of the blinded. For it is commonly argued that the temporal lords granted the clergy ample temporal revenues, for their own merit and honour and their forebears', and the clergy has been in possession for the time within which prescription runs.[3] [No one] therefore would dissolve, or scheme to dissolve, that gift, except one who would diminish salvation for souls both living and dead, and also the prosperity and peace of kingdoms.[4] But who intends this, unless he be antichrist? As to this quibble it has often been said that it fights

[1] ***Ad quod requiritur*: *quod* taken with *paupertate honesta* by sense ("the poverty to which it is bound"); it could also be read absolutely, "ruled, as is required, according to the providence of the ordinance".**

[2] ***Testimonio duplici*: the testimony of the twofold [testament], as Pollard's side-note takes it ("Both Testaments").**

[3] ***Prescripcio*: the canon- and civil-law acquisition of title by possession for a set term; the objection is that the clergy's title is now unassailable. Pollard's side-note: "their title is secured by prescription".**

[4] ***[Nemo]* is Pollard's supply; B[1], C, D omit it. C reads *diminueret* for *dirimeret* and *diminuere* for *dirimere*; C, D *dominium* for *donum*.**

directly for the catholic truth stated above, since reason drawn from faith testifies that an error contrary to God's law, attempted by the forebears and defended by the survivors, profits neither party to salvation, but harms by aggravating the sin, and especially as regards the salvation [87] of the soul in the blessedness to be possessed. And as regards worldly prosperity and peace, it is clear that it disposes to that, in so far as the survivors reasonably † the sin contrary to God's law, since no one would desire them except in so far as they are dispositions leading on to the prosperity and peace of the homeland.[5] Yet we know that the devil, by natural power and inborn malice, can, in punishment of a prior sin, counterfeit the peace and prosperity of the world, which are harmful to the soul's salvation, and consequently to the man himself as regards attaining blessedness.[6] And it is likely that the devil would attempt this perceptible prosperity and peace as far as suffices, and would destroy it among wayfarers, to the end of hindering the faithful from carrying out and fulfilling the law of the divine ordinance;[7] for so we know from the gospel that the devil troubled Pilate's wife through a dream, fearing that Christ's death would turn to the salvation of the faithful.[8] But the faithful man, and especially one attempting this gospel work, ought to be grounded, above the opinion and wiles of the devil, in the solidity of the faith of the scriptures; and then he ought not to cease on account of such devilish outcomes, for otherwise they would overcome the solidity of faith, and so they would prove beyond doubt a defect of faith in the faint-hearted man who so leaves off. And it is clear that, as this foolish endowment cannot be meritorious for those past or present, although it does much good, but not so much as †, so no

[5] The print has a dagger (†) after *racionabiliter* at 87.3 (the extraction's "t", corrected): a verb is lost, probably one meaning "amend" or "correct", and the sentence cannot be construed with certainty; the subject of *disponit* is not expressed. Translated as printed, the gap marked. *Patrie*: C omits it. The "homeland" here is probably the heavenly one (Pollard: "the peace of heaven"), though the earthly sense is possible.

[6] *Sophisticare* here is transitive, "to counterfeit, adulterate" (Pollard: "a deceitful earthly peace"), not the glossary's *sophisticari*, "to play the sophist".

[7] *Temptaret*: taken as "attempt [to produce]", with Pollard ("likely to try to produce it"); it could also mean "assail", which fits *destrueret* better. D reads *destruere*.

[8] Matt. 27:19: the Vulgate says only that she suffered "per visum"; the devil as the dream's author, seeking to prevent the Passion, is a commentary tradition.

effective and wholesome prescription can run before God.[9] For as they say of the privileges of the king of England, that he is always able, according to his age, to set right an injury done before, so by antonomasia it is with God, since, as faith teaches, God has granted men freedom, as long as they remain here as survivors, that in whatever they have sinned they can make satisfaction to God and be amended for the crime, unless they have been finally hardened in that sin.[10] The devil, arguing thus, implies that the nobles of our kingdom are, like the clerics, and especially the higher prelates, devilishly hardened in this crime. But let us heartily shake off [88] these fraudulent sophistries of the devil, and act manfully for the defence of the law and the restoration of the ordinance of the Lord Jesus Christ; for, as faith teaches, wayfarers cannot show him more love here, and according to the apostle he incurs anathema who has not loved the Lord Jesus Christ.[11] And the solution to the form and matter of the argument is clear to the student.

[88] Secondly it is argued thus: what has passed into the past cannot be undone, since according to the philosophers God is deprived of this: to make the past not past.[12] Now, as man and the charters of kings and secular lords testify, it has long since passed into the past that the church had been so endowed. Who then, or [even] God, can undo that past? For by the same token charters would not be proof concerning human revenues, [and so] secular lords would be left desolate by the ruin of their lordship.[13] And one who says that it

[9] A second dagger (†) after *quantum* at 87.23, restored from the plate: the comparison is incomplete. D reads *antequam* for *tantum quantum*. B[1], C, D read *Sicud* for *sic* (87.23): "so ... just as".

[10] The argument is about prescription: the royal privilege meant is that time does not run against the king (*nec ... currit tempus contra regem*, Bracton, ed. Woodbine–Thorne ii. 58), so that he can always recover what was wrongly taken. *Iuxta etatem* is obscure; it may point to the related rule that a king on coming of age may revoke grants made in his minority. *Iustificare iniuriam*: "set right an injury".

[11] 1 Cor. 16:22, loosely: Vulgate "Si quis non amat Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, sit anathema". *Non sufficiunt sibi ostendere hic plus amoris*: no greater love can be shown in this life. C, D invert *non suff. vian.*; B[1] adds *ex fide* after *sibi*.

[12] Aristotle, *Ethics* VI.2 (1139b10), quoting Agathon: God is deprived of this alone, to make undone what has been done. C reads *diminui* for *dirimi*.

[13] The sentence is compressed: "if charters were not proof (*facere fidem*) concerning human revenues, secular lords would be left desolate". C reads *habet* for *licet* (88.14).

is not lawful for secular lords to grant this implies that they are not full lords of the goods they possess. It is confirmed in three ways: first by this, that the king's great charter testifies that the king, with the unanimous consent of his kingdom, granted his clergy a privilege, to whose defence the king is specially sworn at the beginning of his coronation; and excommunications are fulminated, both beyond the sea and on this side of it, against all who infringe this privilege.[14] Secondly it is confirmed by this, that many saints, canonized too by the church, died in defence of this privilege.[15] Therefore, then, to destroy that privilege would be to subvert the whole church. Thirdly it is confirmed by this, that the pope, who is head of the universal church, both by deed and by writing confirms this deed in many ways.

[88] **To this it has been said elsewhere that this principal argument pronounces that no one can make satisfaction for his fault once he has sinned; whereas, just as a man can cease from an error he has begun [and] make satisfaction for the offence he had committed, so in the case before us kings and temporal lords can. In** [89] **confirmation of this the wise king Solomon, for the pacification of his kingdom, deposed the high priest and licitly instituted another, as is clear from the faith of scripture, 3 Kings 3.[16] Therefore these things that are written there "were written for our learning" (Rom. 15:4). We do not ask that God or the king make that error not to have been past, but that for the future he correct it, lest it continue any further to the harm of the church, against God. And as to charters, the faithful say that kings know that they cannot, by them or otherwise, grant anything licitly unless they have had leave for**

[14] The "great charter" is Magna Carta, whose first clause grants that the English church be free; the king's coronation oath to keep the church's liberties; and the sentences of excommunication against infringers of the charters. C, D invert *coronacionis sue*.

[15] The saints are chiefly Thomas Becket, killed in defence of the church's liberties. B^1 reads *defessione*. C, D reorder *priv. illum dest. foret* (88.23).

[16] Solomon's deposition of Abiathar and appointment of Zadok: 3 Kings (1 Kings) 2:26–27, 35. The printed *3°* (chapter 3) does not match; Pollard's margin reference is "1 Kings ii. 27". C adds *Abyatar* after *sacerdotem*. *Licenter*, "licitly", anticipates *licencia*, "leave", below.

it from God, who is chief lord.[17] And this is exemplified in human laws; but it can be demonstrated most certainly, as faith teaches, that a catholic must maintain this of God. Therefore no sufficient excuse remains for the clergy in this matter, unless it shows the leave of this chief lord for it. For otherwise it would not be [consistent that] an earthly king should prosecute such blasphemies under his law, and [that we] deny this of God, in whom there is cause of livelier faith.[18] Now we are certain, as faith teaches, that the person of the Word, who is God and does not change, cannot grant such leave, since he cannot be contrary to himself or give leave to sin. And as to this final quibble as well, [argued] by the topic from likeness, it is evident that the law of heaven in giving alms is one thing, and the law of the soil in granting an earthly inheritance is another.[19] And although secular lords are not fully confirmed in such inheritances, yet they can have evidence beyond doubt that they hold such inheritances for themselves and their heirs, especially while they rule them in conformity with God's law and faithfully render God the service due, which consists chiefly in the defence and service of his law. And as to fullness of lordship, it is certain by faith that they cannot attain to the fullness of divine lordship, nor does God will to grant them such lordship except under the condition, tacit or express, that they serve him faithfully and by that same service become worthy. As to the first confirmation, it is said [90] **that this great charter must be understood soundly. And although we neither intend nor are able to defend this charter in its entirety as faith, since we take one thing**

[17] ***Dicunt fideles reges cognoscere***: taken as "the faithful say that kings know"; also possible, "they say that faithful kings know". C, D read ***caveat*** for ***corrigat*** (89.6); B^1 ***nec*** for ***nisi*** (89.9).

[18] Literally "For otherwise not an earthly king would require such blasphemies according to his law, and deny this of God". Construed as: it would be absurd for an earthly king to prosecute unlicensed grants under his law while God's leave was held unnecessary. The human law meant is probably the English mortmain legislation, which required the king's licence for alienation to the church.

[19] ***Ius poli ... ius soli***: "the law of heaven ... the law of the soil", ***ius*** taken as body of law (Pollard: "heavenly law ... earthly law"). C, D read ***fori*** for ***soli***, giving the familiar pair ***ius poli / ius fori***, the law of heaven and the law of the court. C, D invert ***fin. sim.*** (89.20).

as faith teaches, that it is not valid, nor ought to be kept, except in so far as it accords with God's law,

[90] **otherwise it would be contrary to faith, which every faithful man ought to shudder at. But because it is not ours to suppose that, therefore we can put a sound understanding under this charter and turn it back to our purpose. For we do not suppose that in the aforesaid charter those things are called privileges of the clergy of England which are to its detriment, contrary to the law of Christ, since in that case they would be privileges to be abolished. Since therefore Christ and his apostles had from God these privileges, that they should live a poor and humble life, with others urging men on to this life, far be it from us to suppose in this solemn charter that God, its mover, willed privileges contrary to these to be understood in this charter.[20] And since the king and the kingdom are sworn to the catholic sense of this charter, it seems that by force of their oath they are bound to defend its said catholic sense; and so this evidence comes back to the catholic sense which we maintain from the faith of scripture. For Caiaphas, saying "that it is expedient that one man should die for the people", unknowingly prophesied a wholesome teaching (John 11:50–51).[21] And so it seems to some that, if that charter were faithfully followed, by its faithful teaching the clergy of England would be restored to the state which Christ instituted. Nor does it seem that the king and his nobles, with their bishops, could otherwise escape perjury in this matter. And in conformity with this it is said that the excommunications in that matter are to be understood. It would indeed be a thing of unbelief to turn the meanings of the terms in this charter against the truth of scripture's sense, calling depraved laws privileges, which deprive the**

[20] ***Et licet non intendimus ... defendere*** **(89.31–90.5): the *licet* clause has no main clause of its own; *aliter foret contraria fidei* belongs inside the *quod* clause ("that it is not valid ... except in so far as it accords with God's law, otherwise it would be contrary to faith"). The English keeps the anacoluthon. *Concitor*: "mover, instigator"; possibly an error for *conditor*, "founder, author". Translated as printed. *Cum aliis promoventibus ad hanc vitam*: "with others urging [men] on to this life"; the object is not expressed. C, D read *vocent* (90.9).**

[21] **John 11:50–51; Wyclif's *unum hominem mori pro populo* agrees in substance with the Vulgate; DR wording used. C, D omit *ad* (90.23 *ad statum*); C, D read *regnum* and B[1] *regni* at 90.16.**

clergy of grace and lead it into the greatest servitude.[22] As to the second confirmation, it has been said very often that one who argues thus is like a fool despairing of his cause, lapping troubled water, running in the marshes, [91] where he could more easily drink clear water from the living fountain, in the way the prophet speaks pertinently to this purpose.[23] Now the custom of Christ is unbreakable, of the highest ease and authority, and after him the custom of the apostles, running in clear rivulets from this fountain. But this fool who argues so leaves them and takes remote customs, like stagnant waters infected with the mud and heat of earthly things. And such a man, according to the prophet's doctrine, is exceedingly foolish, negligent in the things that concern the soul's salvation. Who then doubts that such a man sins not moderately, who leaves a custom supremely authentic and wholesome and leans on a custom of a corrupt, contrary condition, while he could take the prior custom more easily, more safely and better? And those who argue thus are in that folly, for while they argue by a topical or probable argument, they do not know whether they are taking the custom of this devil as their example.[24] For as the sacrifice in the old law, from the time of Moses up to Caiaphas and Annas, who had killed Christ, was continually worsening, so the sacrifice in the law of grace, from Christ and his apostles, has continually grown weaker through the greed of worldly men, so that today priests can say more evidently that they descended from the head of the stock, Iscariot, who sold the truth for thirty pieces of silver, than that they descend from the poor Lord Jesus Christ, since the greater likeness shows this to be true.[25] But we western Mahomets, who are few among the faithful of the church, believe that the whole world is ruled by our judgment

[22] The play is *privilegia que privant*: "privileges" that "deprive". C, D add after *privilegia*: *vel vocare cartas tales privilegia*.

[23] Jer. 2:13 ("the fountain of living water") and 2:18 ("to drink the troubled water"); DR wording for *aquam turbidam*. Pollard's side-note shows that the second confirmation, the witness of saints, is the "remote custom" answered here.

[24] *Huius dyaboli*: C, D read *unius* for *huius* ("of a devil") and *Si* for *sicut* (91.16).

[25] *In peiorari*, a gerund-like infinitive: "in worsening". *A principio generis Scariothis*: literally "from the beginning (i.e. the head) of the stock of Iscariot". Matt. 26:15 ("thirty pieces of silver"). C, D read *occiderunt* for *occiderant*.

and trembles at it, although there are more wise Greeks, or far more faithful Indians, who hold a custom opposed to ours in this matter.[26] Therefore custom or opinion proves or implies nothing except in so far as it has been founded in the custom of the Saviour. Since therefore our westerners, however great they may have been in wisdom or raised high in holiness, do not in this attain to the faith of scripture, or scarcely attain a topical argument, [namely] that they had been wise or holy.[27] Since therefore in every genus there is [92]one [member of the] category which is the measure of all the others, let us attend faithfully to this category: "This the Lord says", or [this is] from his law, "therefore this is to be observed unbreakably".[28] Now because customs fall short in this, therefore they are to be weighed by the faithful as nothing or little. Let the western maniac therefore blush at this quibble: "Such a custom, contracted in our [church] without the Lord's approval, has been confirmed; therefore it is to be observed catholicly."[29] And by this the reply is clear to the third quibble, made concerning the pope, by supposing as faith that he can sin and err like other wayfarers. For so Christ ordained that Peter should have sinned in this way, before the sending of the Holy Spirit and after it.[30] And I believe that no one, for shame, will dare to say that Peter, after so holy a life, was more capable of sin than the pope is. If therefore the stock of the clergy goes backward into worse until the coming of antichrist, it is evident

[26] *Occidui Machometi*: Wyclif's jibe at the Latin church as a "western" power claiming world rule, against the Greek and Indian churches. At 91.24 C reads *occidui*, B^1 *occidium*, D *occidunt*.

[27] The *cum*-clause has no main clause. Read with the next sentence's argument: the westerners' holiness yields at most a probable argument, not faith. *Sapienter*, an adverb, stands where the sense wants *sapientes*. B^1 adds *vel* after *fidem* (91.32).

[28] The principle that the first in each genus is the measure of the rest: Aristotle, *Metaphysics* X.1. *Predicamentum* is "category" (the glossary), here the standard member of a category. B^1 reads *sit* for *fit* (92.1).

[29] *In nostra contracta*: the feminine noun is unexpressed; "church" supplied, though "land" (*terra*) is possible. C, D read *vel* for *aut* (92.5).

[30] Peter's denial before Pentecost, and after it his rebuke at Antioch (Gal. 2:11, "he was to be blamed").

to many that he is a recent and most complete antichrist.[31] Who then would fear this quibble: "He asserts or excommunicates thus without reason or foundation in scripture; therefore his teaching is to be adhered to by all the faithful", since it is a topical argument in which the contrary is reasonably inferred? The faithful nearer to him, therefore, perceive this teaching the more; and it is clear that a falsehood is assumed, that the pope is head of the universal church, or Peter's vicar, or vicar of Jesus Christ; rather, among all mortals he is the farthest removed from them. Therefore in this, as in the other, earlier arguments, the adversary either assumes a falsehood, or fails in what follows, or silently implies that our teaching is true. For, as Averroes asserts, truth bears witness to itself in many ways; and according to faithful doctors, the more truth is rubbed, the more fragrant it grows to the faithful.[32]

Part two: The third argument, and the four feigned answers

Pollard pp. 92.31–98.5

Thirdly and principally the adversaries of God's law argue, seeing that [they are] devoid of the authority of God's law, by a sophistical argument cloaked over:[1] "It is manifest," they say, "that this teaching is contrary to reason, because it implies that the clerics, who by God's [93] law are appointed to contemplation and to prayer for the living and the dead, are forced to begging or to some other imperfect life. Now who doubts that this teaching, so much against reason and the Lord's honour, would disturb the commonwealth, because it diminishes the number of the supreme part of the church and

[31] *Quod sit recens et plenissimus antichristus*: the subject is unexpressed; taken as the pope, from the preceding comparison; also possible, "that there is a recent and most complete antichrist".

[32] *Quia aut* is odd; perhaps for *Quia autem*; translated as "For". Averroes's dictum that truth agrees with itself in every way (cf. Aristotle, *Prior Analytics* I.32 and *Ethics* I.8, "omni vero consonat verum"), and the figure of truth growing fragrant, like spice, the more it is rubbed.

[1] *Videntes quod auctoritatis legis dei expertes*: the clause has no verb; C, D read *sunt expertes*, which gives the sense translated ("seeing that they are devoid"). C, D also read *ludentes* for *videntes* (Pollard's apparatus, 92.31–32).

inflames against the Lord's law the knighthood, which attends more to insolence?[2] Now who doubts that this teaching

be contrary to reason?" Here it has been said quite often that, God being witness, unless the evidence of scripture, so far as we conceive, moved [us] directly in favour of that teaching, we would never labour so intently, incurring such indignation from many, and from greater men. For, so far as we conceive, in the whole body of scripture that fourfold sect, which so lords it in secular lordship, is not grounded, neither its life nor the rule which they so magnify; and if that should be taught, or if our teaching [should be shown] contrary to reason or to scripture, we are ready, as reason requires, humbly to revoke it.[3] We should be mad indeed, and wholly possessed by demons, if, [while] we labour so wearied in the flesh in that teaching, we did not believe it to be catholic and meritorious, and to profit the whole church militant and the bastard slips growing in it, which the gospel calls cockle.[4] And we have often said that not all are sufficient to conceive this teaching or to argue against it, since only reason or scripture is fit for this. Therefore three kinds of men, so far as concerns their art, are [not] fit to argue in this matter:[5] first the decretists, who rest purely on the papal laws, because what they have said in this matter is of no force but is to be despised; for it is evident [that it holds only] so far as it accords with reason or scripture. The second kind of men speaking in this matter are the civil lawyers, because the imperial law is not accepted by the faithful

[2] "The supreme part of the church" is the clergy, the first of the three parts. *Accendit* ("inflames"), with *contra legem domini* taken with it; B^1 reads *adaugeret*, "would increase", the sense of Pollard's side-note (93.5).

[3] *Dominatur* is pejorative: "lords it". *Que si docta fuerit*: *que* most naturally resumes the grounding of the sect ("if that should be taught", i.e. shown from scripture); the whole sentence is the submission formula (*revocare*), a retraction offer, not defiance.

[4] *Vitulamina*, the "bastard slips" of Wis. 4:3 (Douay–Rheims), identified with the cockle of Matt. 13:25. Pollard's side-note (93.11) glosses them as "the reprobate".

[5] Printed *sunt ydonei*, "are fit", restricted by *quantum ad artem suam attinet*. Pollard's apparatus (93.25) queries *[non sunt?]*, "are not fit" (his conjecture; no manuscript has it). We adopt it, bracketed: the three *quia* clauses that follow each disqualify a class (the decretists' word *non valet*, the jurists' likewise), so the sense needs the negative (checked on the plate). *Constat enim de quanto*: literally "for it is evident to what extent"; the words [that it holds only] are supplied.

in this matter except so far as it accords with reason. The third kind, of subtler men speaking in this matter, are the lawyers of the kingdoms, who, although they quite often excel in reason, yet their speech has no force in this matter except so far as they [94] **shoot with reason that accords with scripture. And whoever, being quick, has shot such an arrow, it is to be admitted with humility and reverence, because, as has often been solemnly declared, if anyone, even the devil, faithfully alleges the faith of scripture for his teaching, I would humbly accept it as authority. And as to the argument made, it was said above, as I have learned from certain men, that as holy scripture is most true, so it is most compendious and most useful, and in a wonderful way, as it includes in itself the sciences of the trivium, those of language, namely grammar, logic, and rhetoric, so it includes the sciences of the quadrivium, those of reality, namely arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy, so far as knowledge of them helps toward acquiring blessedness.[6] And so, with wonderful compendiousness, the author of scripture, in teaching how and on what the clerics ought to live, teaches sufficiently in what number and in what proportion they ought to stand toward the rest of the people. For if they did not have revenues, or [had them only] for the office that belongs to Christ's clergy, they would not be in so great a number and so burdensome to the church as they are now.[7] Therefore it is the church's sin that requires that they endow them and enrich them against the Lord's law, so that it is burdened with so many froward men. Let the twofold part of the church therefore keep the law of Christ in the endowment of the clergy, and it will be in its measured number.[8] And it is clear that the adversary of God's law has failed in this third argument, because, as a clergy sincerely**

[6] ***Sciencias trivias et sermocinales ... quadrivias reales*: rendered to keep the pair of the glossary's *philosophia sermocinalis / realis* (language / reality) visible.**

[7] ***Vel ad officium quod pertinet clero Christi* is elliptical; the supplied words give the likelier sense (revenues limited to the office of Christ's clergy). Alternatively *vel* = "even": "if they had no revenues even for the office".**

[8] **"'The twofold part of the church" is the lay estates, knights and commons, over against the clergy. The subject of *erit* is left open in the print (the clergy, or the church); C, D read *mensurata*, making it the church: "it will be measured in its number".**

following Christ in due proportion would profit the church, so a so-called clergy of the opposite condition, however monstrous it may be, would be contrary to wayfarers, since of them the saying of the wise man would be verified: "The number of fools is infinite."[9] And this verse *de bello clavo*: "Thersites increased the number, not the strength, of the Achaeans."[10] Let the clerics therefore who wish to keep this rule of Jesus Christ attend to other, mechanical arts, as they lawfully can according to the Lord's law. And this I dare affirm the more evidently, that it would be more useful to them, or otherwise less evil, because of the number of such as give scandal [95] Christ says that "it were better for him that a millstone should be hanged about his neck, and that he should be drowned in the depth of the sea"; nor do I see how the clergy would be proportionate to the rest of the church militant unless it is bound to Christ's manner of living by the prudent of the church.[11] And hence Christ in a parable teaches his knights that in the last days they should compel [them] to come in.[12] Let us therefore hold to the Lord's law, and with this he cannot fail them, but he will teach the way to the homeland, the proportion [and] number of the parts of the church, and whatever else is necessary for salvation.[13] And it is clear that feigned contemplation and unworthy prayer would harm Christ's people. Let us see then whether the clergy that lives so secularly is given to contemplation and prayer, or to the service of mammon and of another devil inciting the people to other crimes. And this extends not only to the secular clerics but to our religious, both possessioners and propertyless, since in them, as in all the others,

[9] Eccl. 1:15, Pollard's margin. *Monstruosus*: monstrous in size, i.e. swollen in number.

[10] The line (Thersites, the worthless Greek of *Iliad* 2) is not identified; nor is *de bello clavo*, clear on the plate (94.28), perhaps a title or a corruption of one. B^1 reads *in* for *et* and *sersites* for *tersites*.

[11] Matt. 18:6, Douay–Rheims; Wyclif has *circa collum*, "about the neck", for the Vulgate's *in collo*.

[12] Luke 14:23 (*compelle intrare*), applied to the *milites* ("knights"), whom Christ's parable charges with compelling the clergy to his manner of living.

[13] *[Et]* is Pollard's supplement. B^1 reads *quando* for *quin*.

foundation is lacking in their entry and in their progress alike.[14] And it is clear, since God's law is blameless, that its observance would set the number of the clergy in due proportion, and by God's grace would instruct the military arm in right living through the faithful preaching of a few priests, and would destroy many insolences and tyrannies of the knights [now] reigning;[15] for it would be a marvel if the body of the church, once emptied of these spongy growths that weaken it, did not recover its former health. For any member you please of this church would then be stronger to help the rest. Let us see then how in Christ's time, by his tacit ordinance, the knighthood was brought in, since he was burdensome neither to the knighthood nor to the common people, but strengthened both of those parts as reason required, since he gave Caesar the didrachma and the common people manifold grace.[16] But I do not read that Christ had a house or revenues for himself or his disciples; but he was born poor in an inn, and died outside Jerusalem and was buried in a garden, at the hands of soldiers; yet he willed to be buried gloriously.[17] [96] **But there are other arguments of fools which fight against their own head: as it is read in the Pentateuch that the priests had cities of refuge and pastures for feeding their beasts; how then should they not have more ample things under the law of grace?[18] And the same is confirmed from the Maccabean priests, who in their time had been more renowned and more noble than kings. To this it has been said at length elsewhere that the priests, for the time of the old law, had moderate possessions, as befitted their state. For far be it from a believer to believe that God had ordained so great a number of**

[14] ***Cum omnibus aliis deest fundacio*** **is compressed: taken as "since in them, as in all the others, foundation is lacking"; alternatively "since, along with all the others, they lack foundation". The foundation meant is scripture's.**

[15] ***[Nunc]*** **is Pollard's emendation; B[1], C, D all read *non*.**

[16] ***Milicia est adducta*****: "was brought in", i.e. drawn into Christ's order; the sense is uncertain. The didrachma: Matt. 17:23–26.**

[17] **"In an inn": Luke 2:7 (*in diversorio*). *In orto*: the garden of John 19:41. *A militibus* is taken with *mortuus* (put to death by soldiers); the order allows "buried by soldiers". The glorious burial is Isa. 11:10, cited at 97.27. C, D invert *gloriose voluit*.**

[18] **Num. 35:2–6: the Levites' cities with their suburbs for cattle, six of them cities of refuge. *Militant contra caput proprium*: arguments that fight against their own head, i.e. defeat themselves.**

Levites for killing beasts and sacrificing them figuratively, unless he gave them what was necessary for this work. And of the four cities of refuge I do not read that they were secular lords, or that they received revenues from the fugitives, although those cities had been assigned to them for a ministerial keeping.[19] And, since God is the same now as then, it is clear that, [if] it were now necessary to return to the figurative sacrifice

of beasts of this kind, God would ordain for them what was necessary for this work. But Christ, who is the Lamb of God, ending these figures, "rising again from the dead, dieth now no more"; therefore reason compels the faithful [to hold] that the means necessary for this work should cease.[20] Let our priests ground, if they can, that they ought now to attend to such unbearable figurative labour, and then they may claim from the Lord's law what is necessary for this work. And as to the Maccabees, it is believed, in proportion, that once the kingship was extinguished, according to Jeremiah's prophecy, those priests turned aside from the Lord's law out of pride, and so their malice grew until they had killed Christ.[21] And would that the pope with his satellites may not do the proportionate thing to the kings of the earth; for it is now reported that he has trodden the emperor underfoot, and he threatens many means by which he would destroy the other kings of the earth, as if he intended to revive the devil's false promise, by which he promised Christ to give him all the kingdoms of the world if, falling down, he would adore him.[22] But may God preserve [it], according to the rule of his ordinance, for the church militant. These few things I would say for Christ, ready (if need be) to revoke what has been said, should reason declare it not to be [97] **catholic.[23] But commonly to this fourfold objection there are four responses, feigned by the**

[19] Wyclif says four cities of refuge; Num. 35:6 has six.

[20] John 1:29; Rom. 6:9, Douay–Rheims (Wyclif *a mortuis*, the Vulgate *ex mortuis*).

[21] *Proporcionabiliter*, "in proportion", i.e. by analogy; it prepares *faciat proporcionabile* below. Jeremiah's prophecy is not specified; perhaps Jer. 22:30, that none of Jechonias's seed would sit on David's throne.

[22] Matt. 4:8–9. *Subpeditavit Cesarem*: the event reported is not identified.

[23] The print runs *conservet ... ecclesie militanti hec pauca ... dixerim* together; we divide it into a prayer and the submission formula. *Revocare facta*: "revoke what

father of lies.[24] The first feigns that "if thou release this man, thou wilt not be Caesar's friend,"[25] because there is so great a connection between the glebe and the right of patronage that, the glebe lost, the right of patronage perished. And by the same token anyone taking it away into the dead hand, with any revenue whatever, would lose his whole lordship.[26] But these false signs would not frighten the faithful away from the practice of God's law. For we know indeed that a right is a spiritual thing, independent of the land, so much so that, however that land may have been destroyed or consumed, the right will stand wholly unshaken. Therefore, as the papal right is not harmed by such a crushing, so neither is the right of the secular lord.[27] Let him beware, however, not to seek temporal gain from that patronage under a title mixed with simony, because such a right would be to him a scandal. The second response feigns that whatever is alleged from the old law infers nothing, since the greater part of it, and especially [so], has now ceased. But let [whoever gives] this response note how the decalogue and the law of tithes are grounded in the old testament.[28] And Christ, the supreme lawgiver and its best possible interpreter, interpreted strictly that his priests should lack such lordship. The third response feigns that God had intended his church to lack such lordship only in Judea, because he knew that that nation was of hardened heart. But this false fiction imputes to the other apostles, who had stayed outside it, a notable offence of negligence. The fourth response feigns that God willed a strict law, poverty, but when he was dead his sepulchre, as the prophet sang,

has been said" (literally "things done/made"). *Racione … declarante* is conditional: "should reason declare".

[24] *Quadruplicem* agrees with nothing; C, D read *quadruplex*, agreeing with *obiectum*, which is translated. "The father of lies": John 8:44.

[25] John 19:12; Wyclif *eris*, "wilt be", for the Vulgate's *es*, "art".

[26] *Quocunque redditu … illud auferens*: *illud* is taken as the glebe (or the right) carried into mortmain; *quocunque redditu* as "with any revenue whatever". The syntax is loose.

[27] *Ius* here in the subjective sense, "right". *Contricionem*: the crushing (destruction) of the land, not contrition.

[28] *Et specialiter* stands without a complement; [so] is supplied. *Noscat istam responsionem* has no expressed subject: "let [whoever gives] this response note".

was glorious.[29] But it is evident that the law of Christ is not so constrained by place or time, since it will remain perpetually among the good; for by the same token could one not feign that no law of God or of men concerning human observances had any notable period of time?[30] Therefore these four fictions, [since] they lack the evidence of reason or of scripture, are, with their like, to be despised because of the danger of [98] heresy. For a false interpretation of scripture is manifestly heretical. These few things I would say by way of a kind of epilogue, so that they may be more easily seen by the people, and their truths, as their falsehoods, more easily recognized.[31]

The end of the dialogue is completed, that God may be glorified, etc.

[29] *Legem strictam pauperiem*: *pauperiem* stands in apposition to *legem* ("a strict law, poverty"). "As the prophet sang": Isa. 11:10 (*et erit sepulchrum ejus gloriosum*, "and his sepulchre shall be glorious").

[30] *Per idem enim non possit fingere* is read as a question ("could one not feign?"), which the argument needs. C, D add *antichristus* before *fingere*: "could not Antichrist feign".

[31] *Veritates eorum ut falsitates*: taken as "their truths, as [also] their falsehoods"; *ut* may stand for *et*.

Glossary

The renderings held steady across the translation. Each row: the Latin term, its English, and a note where the choice needs defending.

The church

***ecclesia*: church.** Lower-case in English except in a proper title.
***ecclesia militans / triumphans / dormiens*: the church militant / triumphant / sleeping.** *Dormiens* = the souls in purgatory. Not "dormant".
***pars peregrinans; peregrinari*: the pilgrim part; to be a pilgrim.** Augustine's *peregrinatio* (Ench. 56).
***predestinatus, -i*: the predestinate (sg. "a predestinate [person]").** Never "the elect", which is *electi* and gets "the elect".
***prescitus, -i*: the foreknown.** Wyclif's technical term for those God foreknows will be damned. It is not "the reprobate" (*reprobi* → "the reprobate"). Explain it in a note at its first occurrence in each work. The English word misleads on its own and Penn explains it only once (T. p. 361 n. 12).
***presciencia*: foreknowledge.**
***viator*: wayfarer.** One still on the road, not yet in the homeland. Loserth: "a traveller on earth".
***viare; vians*: to be a wayfarer; [one] on the way.** The verb of *viator*; tag g:viator. (8 sites).
***via / patria*: the way / the homeland.** *Beatitudo patrie* → "the blessedness of the homeland". The earthly sense (one's native country) is also "homeland"; a note where it matters (*Dial.* 54.2).
***sponsa / sponsus*: bride / bridegroom.**
***corpus Christi misticum*: the mystical body of Christ.**
***mater nostra*: our mother.** Church as mother is the governing figure of *De ecclesia* I.
***symbolum*: creed.** *Utrumque simbolum* = both creeds, Apostles' and Nicene (T. p. 368).
***fides formata / informis*: formed faith / unformed faith.** Faith formed by charity.
***fides explicita / implicita*: explicit faith / implicit faith.** The scholastic pair (*Dial.* 28.16–17)..
***articulus fidei*: article of faith.** (4 sites).
***infidelis*: unbeliever; with a dative, faithless (to).** Two senses by construction. Pairs with *infidelitas*, unbelief. (10 sites).

***apocrifa; apocrifus*: apocrypha; apocryphal.** Wyclif applies it to the saints' chronicles as well as to books outside the canon. (6 sites).
***sacerdotes vulgares*: common priests.** The adjective; kept apart from *vulgares*, "the common people". (2 sites).
***neophitus*: novice.** 1 Tim. 3:6..
***Christicole*: worshippers of Christ.** .
***caritas*: charity.** Never "love". *Amor* and *dilectio* → "love". The argument often turns on charity as the Holy Spirit (Lombard, *Sent.* I d.17).
***suffragia*: suffrages.** The prayers and good works shared out by the church or an order. (11 sites).
***suffragari*: to aid by intercession.** The verb of *suffragia*. (2 sites). Where privileges or law, not prayers, do the aiding: "to aid" (*Eccl.* 241.1; cf. *suffragium* "aid").
***litere fraternitatum*: letters of fraternity.** Friars' letters admitting a benefactor to the order's suffrages. (4 sites).
***canonizare*: canonize.** The same English whether pope or scripture canonizes (*Dial.* 20.31, 21.1). (6 sites).
***viantes*: those on the road.** The participle beside *viator* (wayfarer); kept distinct so the reader sees which word Wyclif used. (≈22 sites in *De ecclesia*; first *Eccl.* 10.12).
***capitaneus*: captain.** Kept apart from *caput* "head": Wyclif grants the pope captaincy and denies him headship. (*Eccl.* 17.13, 19.21–24, 22.8).
***matrix ecclesia*: mother church.** The local mother church (cathedral or metropolitan); a C note at the first occurrence in each chunk, to keep it apart from the church as *mater nostra*. (*Eccl.* 23.12).
***universitas fidelium*: the whole body of the faithful.** (*Eccl.* 37.13).
***obedienciarius*: one who obeys.** Non-classical agent noun: the subject bound to obey (not the monastic officer). (*Eccl.* 39.3).
***elemosinarius*: almsman.** The one who receives alms (cf. *elemosinatus*). (46.21).
***caput*: head.** The card's key ruling, now a row: Christ alone is head of the church; kept apart from *capitaneus* "captain"..
***speculator*: watchman.** The bishop as watchman (Ezek. 3:17). (*Eccl.* 55.16).
***ecclesiastici*: CONTEXTUAL: clergy / those who belong to the church.** Usually the clergy; where Wyclif means every member of the church (*Eccl.* 81.4) render "those who belong to the church" and write a C note..
***placitare*: plead at law.** (85.8).
***iuvencula*: young girl.** The church militant as Christ's young bride; kept apart from the Song's *adolescentula* "young maiden" (DR). (*Eccl.* pp. 23, 37, 94.27).
***adolescentula*: young maiden.** Song 1:2, 6:7 (DR "young maidens")..
***prepositura*: office of superior.** The abstract beside *prepositi*. (95.3).
***filii imitacionis*: sons of imitation.** Children of Abraham by imitating him, not by flesh. (89.27, 90.7).
***regalia*: regality.** The king's royal right. (*Eccl.* 148.3, 151.12, 152.12).
***forisfacere*: commit forfeiture.** (152.13).
***ecclesia laycalis / secularis*: the lay church / the secular church.** (154.15, 156.3).

***orator*: CONTEXTUAL: bedesman / advocate / suppliant.** Plural *oratores* "bedesmen" (Dialogus ruling); of one who pleads the church's cause (*orator ecclesie*, *Eccl.* 165.25, 166.4) "advocate", with a C note.. Of one who prays to God himself (*devotus Dei orator*, *Pot. pape* 68.17) "suppliant", with a C note.
***privilegium / privilegiare / privilegiacio*: privilege / to privilege / privileging.** The key term of *Eccl.* 8–9..
***exempcio*: exemption.** (*Eccl.* 9).
***furce et puteus*: gallows and pit.** The franchise of capital justice. (*Eccl.* 9).
***expropriacio*: renunciation of property.** Never "expropriation" (seizure). (*Eccl.* 9).
***uxoratus*: married.** .
***membrum*: member.** The card's key ruling, now a row (with *caput*)..
***vicarius Christi*: vicar of Christ.** The card's ruling, now a row..
***elemosinans*: almsgiver.** The participle of *elemosinare*: the donor. (*Eccl.* 13).

Lordship, law, office

***dominium*: lordship.** Not "dominion". Titles: *De civili dominio* → *On Civil Lordship*; *De dominio divino* → *On Divine Lordship*.
***dominus; dominari*: lord; to exercise lordship / to lord it.** Pick by context (neutral vs. pejorative) and note the pejorative.
***dominium civile / naturale / evangelicum*: civil / natural / evangelical lordship.**
***regnum*: kingdom.** Every sense: the political state as well as the kingdom of God and scripture's kingdoms. Not "realm". Wilson, (27 sites).
***dominacio*: exercise of lordship.** Kept apart from *dominium*. (6 sites).
***ordinacio; ordinancia*: ordinance; of the sacrament, ordination.** Two senses by referent (not CONTEXTUAL): the sacrament (*clericorum ordinacio*, *Dial.* 50.21) is "ordination"; everywhere else "ordinance". (22 sites).
***consuetudo*: custom.** (28 sites).
***autorizare*: authorize.** (6 sites).
***familia*: household.** A great man's retinue..
***magnates*: magnates.** .
***capitalis dominus; tenere de*: chief lord; to hold of.** Feudal tenure language, kept literal: the lords "hold of Christ as chief lord".
***titulus*: title.** As in title to property.
***servicium*: service.** Pair with *dominium* (T. p. 363 n. 19 on the definitions). Liturgical *servicia ecclesie*, "services of the church", is untagged..
***ius*: right / law.** Two senses (subjective right vs. body of law). The chunk's note picks one wherever it matters.
***lex dei / lex Christi / lex evangelica*: God's law / the law of Christ / the gospel law.**
***vicarius deitatis / vicarius humanitatis Christi*: vicar of the Godhead / vicar of Christ's humanity.** King and priest respectively (*Dial.* 2.14–16; *Off. reg.* 13, 137).

***deitas / divinitas*: the Godhead / divinity.** Kept distinct; B reads *divinitatis* at *Dial.* 2.13.
***potencia regulata racione*: power regulated by reason.**
***elemosina*: alms.**
***elemosinare; elemosinatus*: to give alms to; almsman.** The almsman is the beneficiary of an endowment. (2 sites).
***manus mortua*: the dead hand.** Mortmain; kept literal because Truth's pun turns on it (*Dial.* 60.18, 61.14–17). (3 sites).
***ditare*: to enrich.** Kept apart from *dotare*, endow. (21 sites).
***appropriare; appropriacio*: to appropriate; appropriation.** Canon law: a parish church annexed to a college or house. (4 sites).
***affeccio proprietaria*: proprietary affection.** .
***decime; pars decima*: tithes; the tenth part.**
***dotacio*: endowment.**
***temporalia*: temporal goods.**
***prelatus*: prelate.**
***curatus*: curate.** In the old sense: a priest with the cure of souls. Note at first occurrence per work.
***sacerdos / presbiter*: priest / presbyter.** Kept distinct: Wyclif's argument on orders needs the difference visible.
***clerus; clericus*: the clergy; cleric.**
***clerus cesareus*: the caesarean clergy.** Wyclif's term for clergy in secular office.
***temporales domini*: temporal lords.** Kept apart from *mundani domini*, worldly lords. (22 sites).
***brachium seculare*: the secular arm.** (7 sites).
***milicia; milites*: knighthood; knights.** The second estate; Pollard's word.. *Milites Christi / antichristi* (the Pauline figure, 2 Tim. 2:3 DR "good soldier of Christ Jesus") → "soldiers"; the estate stays "knights"..
***coactivus; cohercere, cohersitivus*: coactive; coerce, coercive.** Kept apart: *potencia coactiva* "coactive power" (the ruler's), *cohercere* "coerce"..
***laboratores*: labourers.** The third estate..
***tercia pars ecclesie*: the third part of the church.** The commons (*Dial.* 85.15, 85.22)..
***prepositi*: superiors.** Heads of houses; kept apart from *prelatus*..
***ius patronatus*: right of patronage.** .
***prescripcio*: prescription.** The legal title by long use..
***sacramentalia*: sacramentals.** .
***secularitas*: worldliness.** Kept apart from *secularis*, a secular..
***simonia*: simony.** (3 sites).
***beneficium ecclesiasticum*: ecclesiastical benefice.** .
***patronus*: patron.** Of a benefice. (13 sites).
***procurator; procuratrix*: proctor.** Pollard's word..
***gleba*: glebe.** (12 sites).
***mortificacio*: amortization.** Land put into mortmain; with *manus mortua*. (2 sites). Of a privilege that dies by abuse (*mortificacio privilegii*, *Eccl.* 200.17): "mortification", with a G note.

***legalitas*: legal standing.** .
***castra caynitica*: Caim's castles.** The friars' houses; the Wycliffite English name (CAIM = the four mendicant orders' initials)..
***commutacio; commutare*: exchange; to exchange.** The argument on true and false trade turns on it (*Dial.* cap. 33). (8 sites).
***secularis (noun)*: a secular.** English keeps Latin's range (secular cleric or layman); a C note where the referent matters. (80 sites, *secular-*).
***censura*: censure.** (4 sites).
***citare; citacio*: to cite; citation.** Summons to a church court. (12 sites).
***suspendere; suspencio*: to suspend; suspension.** Note the pun on hanging where live (*Dial.* 57.10–16)..
***graduacio; graduati*: CONTEXTUAL: graduation / gradation; graduates.** Academic "graduation" (Dialogus, 4 sites); of rank or lordship (*graduacio dominii*, *Pot. pape* 293.33, 297) "gradation".; CONTEXTUAL.
***prelatus / sacerdos cesarius*: caesarean prelate / priest.** Extends *clerus cesareus*. (22 sites, *cesar-*).
***papa*: pope.** (34 sites).
***indulgencie*: indulgences.** (7 sites).
***oratores*: bedesmen.** Those bound or paid to pray for a benefactor; Pollard's side-note word. Not "those who pray". (5 sites).
***pencio annua*: yearly pension.** (3 sites).
***commercium; commercari*: trade; to trade.** (21 sites).
***conducentes*: those who hire them.** .
***episcopus; dominus episcopus*: bishop; the lord bishop.** *Dominis episcopis* → "the lord bishops". The courtesy is his, possibly barbed; don't sharpen it.
***religio privata; secta*: private religion; sect.** His name for the religious orders. Keep "sect".
***religiosi*: the religious.** Members of the orders. (8 sites).
***claustrales*: cloisterers.** (20 sites).
***doctrina*: doctrine.** Kept apart from *sentencia*, teaching. (12 sites).
***thema*: theme.** The scripture text of a sermon. (2 sites).
***frater*: friar (of the mendicants) / brother.** By context.
***possessionati*: the possessioners.** Endowed religious.
***satrapa*: satrap.** Derogatory: church-court officials wielding delegated power (T. p. 378 n. 58). Keep the word; note it at first occurrence per work.
***vulgares*: the common people.** The third estate. Not "the vulgar".
***iconomus (= oeconomus)*: householder.** *Dial.* 2.21., with a note.
***protestacio; protestari*: declaration; to declare solemnly.** The submission formula ("if anyone can teach me this is contrary to scripture or reason, I will humbly retract"). Penn and Lahey both inverted it (T. pp. 369, 378). Render it as a retraction offer, never as defiance.
***lex gracie*: the law of grace.** The new law, opposed to *lex vetus*. (*Dial.* 10.3; 7 sites).
***curia romana*: the Roman curia.** (*Dial.* 7.8; 5 sites).
***heretica pravitas*: heretical depravity.** The heresy courts' formula; keep it recognisable. (*Dial.* 7.5, 7.8).

***plenitudo potestatis*: plenitude of power.** The canonists' term for papal power. (6 sites in *De ecclesia*; first 13.6).
***bigamia*: bigamy.** Canon-law sense: a second marriage (successive, or to a widow), a bar to orders; a C note at the first occurrence in each chunk says so. (3 sites; first *Eccl.* 11.6).
***habitudo*: condition.** A person's present state, set against predestination (Richard of St Victor). *Habitudo ad*: "condition toward", a relation (180). (*Eccl.* 72.24).
***humidum radicale / fluens*: radical / flowing moisture.** The physicians' terms. (75.19).
***de virtute sermonis*: in the proper sense of the words.** Wyclif's recurring formula for the literal force of an expression. (*Eccl.* 115.6, 115.8).
***distrahens*: diminishing qualifier.** The logicians' *determinacio distrahens*, which takes away from what it qualifies ("a dead man"). (*Eccl.* 128.3).
***locus a maiori*: the topic from the greater.** The dialectical topic; for *a simili* see "the topic from likeness". (*Eccl.* 144.27).
***ficticia*: fiction.** A feigned ground in an objection (*Nec valet ficticia*). (145.19).
***gracia preveniens / comitans / concomitans / consumans*: prevenient / accompanying / concomitant / consummating grace.** (06-g).
***allegare / allegacio*: allege / allegation.** To cite as an authority; implies nothing about truth (the period sense). (*Eccl.* 162–165; as earlier chunks).
***insolubilia*: insolubles.** The logicians' paradoxes of self-reference. (*Eccl.* 175.11).
***perquisitum*: acquisition.** Property acquired, not inherited (the legal term). (*Eccl.* 215.4).
***contribules*: countrymen.** Lev. 25:17 (DR). (208.2, 214.20, 214.27).
***franchisia*: franchise.** (*Eccl.* 239.22).
***facinus*: misdeed.** Wyclif equates it with "felony" (239.13, 239.21)..
***privilegiandus*: the one to be privileged.** (*Eccl.* 12).
***elemosina temporalis / perpetua*: temporary alms / perpetual alms.** "Temporary" keeps it apart from *temporalia*; *perpetua* answers to frankalmoign. Where the sense is alms *paid in* temporal goods (as 335.11), "alms in temporal goods", with a C note. (*Eccl.* 13, 15).
***manucapcio*: mainprise.** (270.13).
***autenticus / autenticacio*: authentic / authentication.** The key term of *Eccl.* 13..

Logic, disputation, metaphysics

***quiditas*: quiddity.** Kept. Explain at first use per work ("what a thing is").
***inconveniencia; inconveniens*: CONTEXTUAL: an absurdity (in argument) · troubles, ill consequences (in affairs).** One word for what does not fit: the absurd consequence of a premiss, and the disorder that follows from an act. Dikaiosune rule: English by context, C note at first occurrence in each chunk

and wherever it leans the other way (*Dial.* 22.16 troubles; 23.2, 23.16 absurdities). (3 sites).
***opinio*: opinion.** Opposed to *fides* throughout (*Dial.* 20.24–31). (11 sites).
***credulitas*: credence.** With *credere*, believe (*Dial.* 23.17–24.4)..
***argumentum topicum*: topical argument.** Merely probable, not demonstrative. (4 sites).
***medium inductivum*: a middle term that leads on.** (*Dial.* 25.5).
***ars obligacionis*: the art of obligation.** The disputation genre *de obligationibus*. (2 sites).
***assumptum*: the assumption.** The premiss taken for the argument. (3 sites).
***sentenciare*: to pronounce.** The verb of *sentencia*. (2 sites).
***predicamentum*: category.** The Aristotelian category; never "predicament" (*Dial.* 92.1: the standard member of a category)..
***sequela*: CONTEXTUAL: what follows / following.** The logical consequence "what follows"; of following Christ (*sequela Christi*) "following" (*Pot. pape* 63.13).; second sense.
***practizare*: to put into practice.** (4 sites). With *contra* + person, "practise against" (plot), *Dial.* ch. 17..
***sophisticare (transitive)*: to counterfeit.** Kept apart from *sophisticari*, to play the sophist..
***respectus; respectivus*: relation; relational.** .
***racio (against* substancia*)*: aspect.** This technical sense only; *racio* elsewhere by context..
***locus a simili*: the topic from likeness.** Wyclif's jibe *a simiali similitudine*: "from apish likeness". (6 sites).
***sinderisis*: synderesis.** .
***fallacia*: fallacy.** .
***sophisticari*: to play the sophist.** (6 sites).
***insinuativus*: implied.** Paired with *expressus*, express..
***occasionaliter*: by occasion.** Occasion, not cause..
***quid nominis*: what the name means.** Not "the name" (T. p. 365).
***differencia*: difference (logical *differentia*).**
***subiectum / passio*: subject / attribute.** *Passio* in the *Posterior Analytics* sense (a proper attribute), never "passion".
***dicitur multipliciter*: is said in many ways.** Aristotle's *pollachōs legetai*.
***sumitur pro*: is taken for.** Supposition language.
***famosior*: best-known [sense].**
***simpliciter / secundum quid*: without qualification / in a certain respect.** Always opposable. Never "simply", "wholly", "directly", "naturally" etc. (T. p. 364).
***necessitas supposicionis / ex supposicione*: necessity of supposition / necessity on supposition.** Conditional necessity.; *ex supposicione* (34.12, 38.22).
***de congruo / de condigno*: by congruity / by condignity.**
***contingens ad utrumlibet*: contingent either way.** T. p. 364.
***consequencia*: inference.** Not "consequence" (T. p. 361 n. 13).
***consequens / antecedens*: consequent / antecedent.**

***sequitur*: it follows.** Introduces a stated inference, often quoted in the next words. Not tagged where it is not an inference ("the third law follows", *Dial.* ch. 5)..
***propositio copulativa / disiunctiva*: conjunction / disjunction.** Not "copulative proposition" (T. p. 365).
***claudit contradictionem / contradictorium*: it implies a contradiction.** Stronger than "is against reason". Keep the escalation visible.
***instancia; objectum*: objection.** Not "instance" (T. p. 373). Also "urgency" (*ad instanciam*, at someone's urging, *Eccl.* 154.16), with a C note.
***tollere (instanciam, argumentum)*: to dispose of, demolish.** T. p. 373.
***redarguere*: to refute.** T. p. 365.
***proponere*: to propose.** Against *postponere* (put after), "put forward" may keep the pair visible, with a note (*Dial.* 74.25–26).
***concludere*: to infer.** "Conclude" only when a conclusion is literally drawn (T. p. 365).
***instatur; obicitur*: it is objected.** The disputation's objection formulae (*Eccl.*). (Wilson, with the *De ecclesia* card).
***dicitur (opening an answer)*: the answer is.** Elsewhere "it is said" (*Hic dicitur quod …*, *Eccl.* 26.8: "To this the answer is that …"). (Wilson).
***respondetur*: the reply is.** (Wilson).
***descripcio*: definition.** Not "description" (T. p. 363).
***glosare*: to gloss.** Interpret so as to remove the difficulty (T. p. 366).
***argucie; argucia*: stratagems, quibbles; a quibble.** T. p. 367.
***sophisma*: sophism.** A proposition that can apparently be proved and disproved (T. p. 360 n. 10).
***successivum / permanens*: successive entity / permanent entity.** T. p. 368 n. 31.
***ens / esse / essencia*: a being / being (existence) / essence.** *Esse* is ambiguous; note when it matters.
***universale; ydea*: universal; idea.**
***ampliacio*: ampliation.** Logical term (T. p. 364 n. 23).
***metaphisica*: metaphysics.** *Inter omnes metaphisicas* → "among all the metaphysics": he counts the doctrine of the church as one (T. p. 368).
***philosophia sermocinalis / realis*: the philosophy of language / the philosophy of reality.** T. pp. 364–5.
***liberum arbitrium*: free choice.** The scholastic term, not "free will" (*voluntas*). (*Dial.* 4.15).
***ex fide*: as faith teaches; with a genitive, from the faith of [scripture].** "It is of faith", on scripture's authority. *Ex fide scripture / duplicis testamenti* → "from the faith of scripture / of the twofold testament". after a census (30 sites in the *Dialogus*). An adjective works like the genitive: *ex fide catholica* → "from the catholic faith". Not the formula when a verb or participle governs *ex* (*racio capta ex fide* → "reason drawn from faith", epil-a)..
***citra fidem*: short of faith.** The contrast with *ex fide*: held on evidence, not as faith teaches. (4 sites).

***sentencia*: CONTEXTUAL: teaching / sentence.** The position taught, incl. Falsehood's (*tua sentencia*, "your teaching"). Not "sentence" for a position taught. (51 sites in the *Dialogus*). A judicial sentence (of excommunication) is "sentence", with a C note (*Eccl.* 221.33).
***evidencia*: evidence.** "Proof" only where it names a demonstration, with a note. (41 sites).
***repplicacio; repplicare*: rejoinder; to rejoin · of a grant, renewal.** Two senses by referent: the disputation move / the re-grant of a charter or privilege (*Dial.* 70.24).
***concessio*: grant.** Of property or privilege. (5 sites).
***exproprietarii / exproprietarie*: the propertyless / without property.** The friars who profess to own nothing. (6 sites); the adverb (*Eccl.* 169.6); the adjective (*status exproprietarius*) "propertyless" (*Pot. pape* 146.25).
***reditus*: revenue(s).** (23 sites). Exception: *Dial.* 18 (ch. 9 n5), *reditus* = the clergy's "return" (to wealth), on *revertatur* 15.9 / *redire* 15.21; the note gives "revenue" as the alternative..
***formido (*sine / cum formidine*)*: misgiving.** The scholastic "fear of the opposite" that qualifies assent; "fear" only where it is plainly the emotion. (19 sites in *De ecclesia*; first 5.24).
***capitas*: headship.** Non-classical abstract of *caput* (*officium capitatis*). (*Eccl.* 18.19; B *capitis*).
***obicitur per*: it is objected, by appeal to.** Parallel to *arguitur per*. (*Eccl.* 21.27).
***aggregative*: aggregatively.** The church taken as an aggregate of its members. (26.21).
***de inesse*: as a matter of fact.** The assertoric (non-modal) proposition. (31.22).
***sillogismus expositorius / expositorie*: expository syllogism / expositorily.** A syllogism with a singular middle term. (28.13, 31.11).
***influxus / influere*: inflow / flow in.** The head's inflow of grace into the members; not "influence" (which renders *influencia*). (33–34).
***confuse / confusus (*fides, noticia*)*: indistinct(ly).** The scholastic *cognitio confusa*: known in the whole, not in its parts; never "confused". (42.19, 46.2, 46.6).
***viacio*: wayfaring.** The state of the *viator*. (42.30).
***citra Christum*: short of Christ.** As *citra fidem*. (45.8).
***color (*non est color*)*: colour (a plausible ground).** The period sense, as in "colour of title"; never "pretext". A C note at the first occurrence in each chunk. (Wilson; *Eccl.* 21.18, 23.5, 23.7).
***fucus*: disguise; pretence.** CONTEXTUAL. "Disguise" of hypocrisy, its recurring use (*Eccl.* 51.23, 53.24). "Pretence" of a specious argument (*ex isto fuco concluditur*, *Pot. pape* 12-f).; merged with the *Pot. pape* row.
***glosa*: gloss.** The noun beside *glosare*. (52.10).
***vocatus (*vocata bona, vocata ecclesia*)*: so-called.** (55.6, 62.7).
***libertas arbitrii*: freedom of choice.** Beside *liberum arbitrium*. (60.18).
***digestio*: digestion.** The recurring figure of the four digestions (Rom. 8:30). (60.29 ff.).

***concorporacio*: concorporation.** Incorporation into one body (Loserth's own English). (73.11).
***capitaliter*: as head (as chief lord).** (64.33, 76.9). Of a crown worn on the head (Apoc. 12:1, *Pot. pape* 143.20): "at her head", with a C note.
***penaliter*: in hardship.** The adverb of *penalitas*. (76.29, 76.34).
***participium*: participation.** Not the grammatical participle, except where Wyclif is doing grammar (*Pot. pape* 21.24 *participium neutrum*, G note). (85.6).
***suffragium sensus*: aid of sense.** As *suffragium* "aid"; not the church's *suffragia*. (97.22).
***dyameter / costa*: diameter / side.** The geometers' terms (the square's incommensurable diagonal). (97.21 ff.).
***dulia / latria*: dulia / latria.** Kept as the theologians' terms, glossed once per chunk. (95.17).
***conclusio*: conclusion.** The disputation formula (card)..
***terminus communis*: common term.** Aristotle's common boundary of a continuum (*Cat.* 6). (*Eccl.* 104.23 ff., 107.23).
***capitari / capitatus*: to be headed / headed.** The verb beside *capitas*. (116.21, 117.2–3).
***tyriaca*: theriac.** The medieval antidote to poison; a recurring medical figure, with *apostema*. (130.21, 131.1).
***inobedienciarius*: disobedient man.** The negative of *obedienciarius*. (146.11).
***suffragium (*legis, privilegii*)*: aid.** As *suffragium* "aid" (01-a) and *suffragium sensus*. (149.29, 152.8).
***ingratitudo*: ingratitude.** Toward a person. (156.8).
***indoles*: promise.** The natural promise of a thing (the midwives' argument, *Eccl.* 163.18, 164.1–12; Comestor reads *de dolo*)..
***colorare*: give colour to.** The verb beside *color*. (163.2).
***minoritas*: lesser standing.** Beside *maioritas* "greatness". (172.22).
***philargiria*: love of money.** 1 Tim. 6:10 *radix omnium malorum cupiditas*..
***mundialitas / secularitas*: mundanity / worldliness.** Kept apart. (*Eccl.* 9).
***laureola*: aureole.** The theologians' special crown (of virgins, martyrs, doctors)..
***sagena*: dragnet.** Matt. 13:47..
***impetrare*: obtain (by request).** .
***indispensabilis*: not to be dispensed.** .
***falsigraphus*: false writer.** The one who sets out false figures or texts. (*Eccl.* 9).
***iugum*: yoke (a pair).** (*Eccl.* 202.9 ff.).
***ociatores*: men of leisure.** (201.27).
***irreatus (*pene*)*: non-liability (to penalty).** Non-classical abstract. (*Eccl.* 239.30).
***subintelligere*: understand as implied.** Recurs through *Eccl.* 12..
***distribucio accomoda*: accommodated distribution.** The logicians' term. (268.19).
***compossibilis*: compossible.** (271.13).
***satispassio*: satispassion.** Set against *satisfaccio*. (270.11).

False friends and ordinary words that mislead

***sensibilis*: perceptible.** "sensible" (T. p. 362)
***insensibilis*: imperceptible; of a thing that cannot feel, without sensation.** Two senses by referent: what cannot be perceived / what cannot perceive (*lapis insensibilis*, *Dial.* 56.3). Kept visibly paired with *sensibilis*. (3 sites).
***zizania*: cockle.** Douay–Rheims (Matt. 13:25)..
***cautela*: wile.** Not "caution"; *cautela diaboli*, the devil's wile. (8 sites).
***apostema*: abscess.** A recurring medical figure. (3 sites).
***illabi*: to flow into.** .
***sub divo*: in the open air.** The refrain of cap. 21. (10 sites).
***vecors; vecorditer; vecordia*: faint-hearted; faint-heartedly; faint-heartedness.** The medieval sense, not classical "senseless". (5 sites).
***affectare*: to desire.** Kept apart from *affeccio*, affection. (3 sites).
***ingratus*: displeasing (to God).** *Ingratus deo*: unpleasing to God. "Ungrateful" only where a person is ungrateful to someone. (5 sites).
***perplexus*: perplexed.** The moral-theology sense: bound to sin whichever way one turns..
***cataracta*: trapdoor.** "Floodgate" in a C note where the Genesis image is live..
***globus*: band.** Derogatory collective (*globus reprobus*, *globos claustralium*). (2 sites). Of things (*globus temporalium*): "mass", untagged with a note.
***solvere (oaths, charters)*: to dissolve.** Not "pay" in this use..
***cohabitacio*: joint dwelling.** .
***idiota*: unlearned man.** Not "idiot"..
***deacceptus*: disowned.** .
***monita*: admonitions.** .
***indebitare se*: to make oneself a debtor.** Sense doubtful; C note (*Dial.* 85.15)..
***discoli*: froward.** Douay–Rheims (1 Pet. 2:18)..
***magisterium*: rule; of teaching, the teaching office.** Provisional; by context, C note (*Dial.* 83.15)..
***subtiliare*: to lighten; to refine (argue subtly).** CONTEXTUAL. "Lighten" provisional in *Dial.* 67.19, 68.11 (C note); "refine, argue subtly" of argument (*Pot. pape* 260.8).
***infidelitas*: heathenism, unbelief.** "infidelity" (T. p. 362)
***sciolus*: knowing, wise.** "smatterer" (the classical sense). Neutral in Wyclif.
***philocaptus*: besotted.** "philo-captive" (T. p. 363)
***hictericus*: jaundiced.** "hysterical" (T. p. 366)
***impresenciarum*: nowadays, at present.** (T. p. 366)
***ut plurimum*: for the most part.** "to the highest degree" (T. p. 366)
***inhabilis*: unqualified (to hold office).** "unwieldy" (T. p. 366)
***detegere*: to expose.** "wipe away" (T. p. 366)
***ignorare*: to be ignorant of.** "ignore" (T. p. 366)
***disciplinabilis*: teachable.** "impressionable" (T. p. 366)
***laude digni*: worthy of praise.** (T. p. 366)
***arguitur per*: it is argued by appeal to.** "X raises objections" (T. p. 366)
***autonomatice / antonomastice*: by antonomasia (pre-eminently).**
***in necessitatis articulo*: at the point of need.**

***processus (of a book)*: the course, the argument.**
***recencius*: more freshly.**
***mulier aliena*: strange woman.** Proverbs' figure.
***mulier fortis*: valiant woman.** DR Prov. 31:10.
***indispositus; (se) indisponere*: unfit; to make (oneself) unfit.** "indisposed" (now "unwell"). (8 sites).
***limitare; limites*: to assign (an office); limits.** "to limit" for the verb (i.e. never "to assign" where it means to restrict, as beside *restringere*, *Eccl.* 217.10). The noun *limites* stays "limits" (*in limitibus apostoli*). after a census (13 verb, 5 noun).
***prevaricator; prevaricancia; prevaricacio*: transgressor; transgression; transgression.** (*prevaricacio*, *Pot. pape* 155.10). *Basali prevaricancia* (*Dial.* 9.24) is doubtful: see its C note.
***carecter, caracter (sensibilis)*: (perceptible) character.** "reputation". The mark of orders. (*Dial.* 5.7).
***conversacio*: manner of life.** "conversation". (6 sites).
***mendicacio; mendicare; mendicitas*: begging; to beg; beggary.** Kept apart; *mendicitas* is DR's "beggary" (Prov. 30:8)..
***penalitas*: hardship.** "penalty"..
***gratitudo*: kindness (received).** "gratitude"..
***habere conscienciam super*: to be troubled in conscience over.** (5 sites).
***prioritas; majoritas*: priority; greatness.** Paired with *prior / major* in the argument (*Dial.* 12.4–8)..
***prevaricari*: to transgress.** The verb of *prevaricator*..
***servitivus*: serviceable.** .
***precipui sacerdotes*: leading priests.** Kept apart from *principes sacerdotum*, "chief priests"..
***intendere (a thesis)*: maintain.** Scholastic "hold, argue for": *intendimus quod* → "we maintain that" (epil-a 86.4, 90.19). "Intend" only for purpose..
***pietas / pie*: piety / piously.** Kept apart from *misericordia* "mercy". (*Eccl.* 12).
***irreligiositas*: irreligion.** .
***ecclesia cesarea*: the caesarean church.** The church as endowed by Caesar; pairs with *clerus cesareus* (§B). (*Eccl.* 13).
***elemosina cartalis*: charter alms.** Alms granted by charter. (*Eccl.* 13).
***ditarius*: almsman.** The one enriched by the alms (cf. *ditare*, §B). (*Eccl.* 13).
***pseudomonachus*: false monk.** Kept apart from *pseudofrater* if it appears. (*Eccl.* 13).
***elemosinator*: almsgiver.** Agent noun beside *elemosinans* (same English); *elemosinatus* "almsman" (the 09-28 row governs; conformed, *Eccl.* 16). (*Eccl.* 13).
***elemosinacio*: almsgiving.** *Temporalis elemosinacio* "almsgiving from time to time" against perpetual alms. (*Eccl.* 13).
***ius poli / ius fori*: the law of heaven / the law of the court.** Augustine's pair. (*Eccl.* 14).
***mundialis (noun)*: worldly man.** Beside *mundialitas*. (*Eccl.* 14).
***nolicio*: nolition.** Scholastic act of not-willing, against *volicio*. (*Eccl.* 14).

***dispensator*: dispenser.** As DR 1 Cor. 4:1–2; kept apart from *procurator* "proctor". (*Eccl.* 14). Inside a DR quotation of Titus 1:7, DR's "steward".
***clericatus*: clerical state.** (*Eccl.* 14).
***in capite (tenure)*: in chief.** Feudal tenure from the king directly. (*Eccl.* 14).
***ritus*: rite.** Any usage or observance, not only liturgical. (*Eccl.* 14).
***civilitas*: civil standing.** Kept apart from *dominium civile* "civil lordship". (*Eccl.* 14).
***ydiota*: unlettered man.** Never "idiot". (*Eccl.* 14).
***catholicare / hereticare*: to declare catholic / to pronounce heretical.** (*Eccl.* 14).
***dominatus*: lordly rule.** Bernard's word (*apostolis interdicitur dominatus*); kept apart from *dominium* "lordship". (*Eccl.* 14).
***ablacio*: taking-away.** Set against *restituere*/*restitucio*. (*Eccl.* 15).
***forisfactura*: forfeiture.** Noun beside *forisfacere* "forfeit". (*Eccl.* 15).
***subdominans*: holding lordship under.** Beside *dominari*. (*Eccl.* 15, 339.6).
***redempcio temporalium*: redemption of the temporal goods.** Chapters buying back seized goods. (*Eccl.* 15, 340.15).
***nominetenus clerici*: clerics in name only.** Recurs (*solum nomine sacerdotes*, 347). (*Eccl.* 15, 340.19). Of a pope (*Pot. pape* 147.31): "pope in name only".
***cognoscere super*: take cognizance of.** Legal sense. (*Eccl.* 15, 340.31).
***subautenticus*: sub-authentic.** Beside *autenticus*. (*Eccl.* 15, 345.15).
***ablatarius*: the one from whom it is taken.** Beside *ablacio* "taking-away". (*Eccl.* 15, 343.7).
***salvacio*: salvation.** Covers bodily and eternal; Wyclif pairs the senses. (*Eccl.* 15, 345.24–26).
***virtus*: power (faculty) / virtue (moral habit).** Split by sense. (*Eccl.* 15, 345).
***legii*: lieges.** (*Eccl.* 15, 343–344).
***redempcio (of a sentence)*: redemption.** Buying off a penalty; kept apart from *redempcio temporalium*. C note at first use. (*Eccl.* 15, 352.1).
***signa (of an argument)*: stages.** (*Eccl.* 15, 351.19).
***oculata fide*: with our own eyes.** (*Eccl.* 15, 352.27).
***susurrones*: whisperers.** As DR Rom. 1:29. (*Eccl.* 15, 356.13).
***pseudoprepositi*: false superiors.** (*Eccl.* 15, 358.24).
***dii subterranei*: gods beneath the earth.** (*Eccl.* 15, 357.30).
***brocardicum / brogardicum*: brocard.** The schoolmen's stock maxim. (*Eccl.* 16, 360.9).
***calumpnia (ponere / capere)*: challenge (to lay a challenge against / to be open to challenge).** The disputant's formal objection to a premiss. (*Eccl.* 16, 363.18, 363.24, 367.11).
***usufructus*: usufruct.** Beside *dominacio evangelica*. (*Eccl.* 16, 365.23).
***Romanus pontifex*: Roman pontiff.** Kept apart from *papa* "pope". (*Eccl.* 16, 366.29).
***clerimonia*: learning.** The clergy's lettered state (ME "clergy"). (*Eccl.* 16, 373–374).
***cantaria*: chantry.** (*Eccl.* 16, 16-d/16-e).
***collegiatus*: collegiate.** (*Eccl.* 16, 16-d/16-e).
***dominabilia*: the things held in lordship.** (*Eccl.* 16, 378.6).

***potencia absoluta*: absolute power.** (*Eccl.* 16, 375).
***presbiteri conducticii*: hired presbyters.** (*Eccl.* 16, 374).
***milicia / milites (the clergy as paid spiritual army)*: soldiery / soldiers.** Under the Pauline-figure clause of the 09-28 *milicia; milites* row, which governs; G note at use. The captive knight (381.1–2) stays "knight". (*Eccl.* 16, 384–385).
***collacio*: conferral.** Of a gift or endowment; paired with *ablacio* "taking-away". (*Eccl.* 16, 385–386).
***ficcio*: fiction.** As *ficticia*; Wyclif numbers six *ficciones*. (*Eccl.* 16, 385.7).
***amerciare; multacio*: amerce; fine.** Legal terms. (*Eccl.* 16, 387.19–21).
***monstracio*: muster.** (*Eccl.* 16, 384.11).
***legalia*: the legal precepts.** Of the old law, beside *cerimonialia* "ceremonial precepts". (*Eccl.* 17, 389.2–3).
***raciuncula*: little argument.** The opponent's ten arguments. (*Eccl.* 17, 398.15).
***signabile*: signifiable; assignable.** CONTEXTUAL. The logical noun (*omne signabile*, what can be signified) is "signifiable" (*Eccl.* 17, 398.29). As an adjective on a degree, instant or step (*in quocumque gradu/profectu signabili*) it is "assignable", any one could name (*Pot. pape* 11-j, 11-k).; extended (close-out R3).
***adequata ecclesia*: the adequate church.** C note at use. (*Eccl.* 17, 393).
***denominacio; denominare*: naming; to name.** The argument turns on it. (*Eccl.* 17, 391.17, 398.2).
***dotes (docium) beatorum*: the dowries of the blessed.** (*Eccl.* 17, 396.6).
***christianus in figura / in effectu / in fructu*: Christian in figure / in effect / in fruit.** (*Eccl.* 17, 397–398).
***Jesuani*: Jesuans.** (*Eccl.* 17, 400.11).
***diffinicio*: definition.** Beside *descripcio* (also "definition", frozen row governs): where the two stand together a C note gives the Latin. (*Eccl.* 17, 403.25).
***humidum naturale*: natural moisture.** Synonym of *humidum radicale* (row above); G note at use. (*Eccl.* 17, 410.2).
***color rethoricus*: rhetorical colour.** The figure of speech, distinct from *color* "plausible ground". (*Eccl.* 17, 405.3).
***argumentum ad hominem*: argument to the man.** (*Eccl.* 17, 405.13).
***habitus fidei*: habit of faith.** (*Eccl.* 17, 407–408).
***pars quantitativa*: quantitative part.** (*Eccl.* 17, 406–407).
***ecclesia nuncupativa*: the church in name only.** (*Eccl.* 17, 408.27).
***secundum presentem iusticiam*: according to present justice.** As against predestination; "present justice" is the established rendering (11 chunks; 18-a conformed). (*Eccl.* 18, 415–416).
***falsarius*: falsifier.** The opponent's epithet. (*Eccl.* 17, 414.6).
***adnascencia*: growing-on.** Adhesion without being a part. (*Eccl.* 18, 416.15).
***species specialissima*: most special species.** (*Eccl.* 18, 418).
***unum per accidens*: one by accident.** (*Eccl.* 18, 418).
***legiste*: legists.** Civil lawyers. (*Eccl.* 18, 420.20).
***persona successiva*: successive person.** (*Eccl.* 17, 414.1).
***capitales (noun)*: chiefs.** (*Eccl.* 18, 424.30).
***proprietarius*: proprietary.** (*Eccl.* 18, 425.5, 427.15).

***transsumptive*: transumptively.** (*Eccl.* 18, 431.30).
***circumscriptive*: circumscriptively.** (*Eccl.* 18, 423.24).
***acephala; incapitata*: acephalous; unheaded.** *Incapitata* pairs with *capitatus*. (*Eccl.* 18, 435.20–23).
***possessionatus (adj.)*: possessioned.** The adjective beside the noun *possessionati* "the possessioners". (*Eccl.* 18, 434–435).
***pseudocardinales*: pseudo-cardinals.** (*Eccl.* 18, 426.32).
***quadriga diaboli*: the devil's four-horse chariot.** (*Eccl.* 18, 427.12).
***vetula*: old woman.** (*Eccl.* 18, 431–433).
***summi pontifices*: highest pontiffs (of popes); high priests (of the Jewish priesthood).** Split by referent. (*Eccl.* 18, 424.19, 425.20).
***equivoce*: equivocally.** (*Eccl.* 19, 444; as in 05-a, 06-b, 06-f).
***limitacio (ad officium)*: assignment.** Follows *limitare* "to assign" (row above); where it means restriction, "limitation". (*Eccl.* 19, 445).
***gracia gratificans*: grace that makes pleasing.** (*Eccl.* 18, 441.8).
***deputacio*: deputation.** (*Eccl.* 19, 443.34).
***responsalis*: the respondent.** (*Eccl.* 19, 445.24).
***termini magistrales*: masters' terms.** (*Eccl.* 19, 445.23).
***continuacio*: continuity.** (*Eccl.* 18, 436.19).
***precaria*: precarial grant.** Wyclif defines it (*Eccl.* 453.21). (*Eccl.* 19).
***vir ecclesiasticus*: churchman.** (*Eccl.* 19, 450.18, 451.10).
***ecclesiasticus (sg. noun)*: ecclesiastic.** (*Eccl.* 19, 453.10).
***lex cesarea*: caesarean law.** Of the *clerus cesareus* family (pejorative), not neutral "imperial/civil law". (*Eccl.* 19, 451.17).
***indisposicio*: unfitness.** Noun of *indispositus*. (*Eccl.* 19).
***evidencia topica*: topical evidence.** Pairs with *argumentum topicum*. (*Eccl.* 19).
***locus evidencie*: topic of evidence.** *locus* = dialectical topic (cf. *locus a maiori*); not "place". (*Eccl.* 19).
***porisma*: porism.** A consequence drawn from a principle; kept apart from *corollarium* "corollary". (*Eccl.* 19, 462.22).
***confundere (supposition)*: make (a term) stand confusedly.** The logic of supposition; distinct from the *confuse/confusus* "indistinct" row. (*Eccl.* 19, 463.15).
***translative*: by transference.** Kept apart from *transsumptive* "transumptively". (*Eccl.* 19, 467.10).
***rectiloqui*: those who speak correctly.** (*Eccl.* 19, 468.15).
***habilis / habilitas; habilitare*: qualified / qualification; to qualify.** The positive of *inhabilis* "unqualified". (*Eccl.* 19, 469.4).
***perplexitas*: perplexity.** The noun beside *perplexus* "perplexed". (*Eccl.* 19, 470.3).
***raciones exemplares / seminales*: exemplary reasons / seminal reasons.** Augustine's terms; "seminal reasons" already used at 06-d. (*Eccl.* 20, 473.18).
***affidacio*: affiance.** Betrothal by plighted trust; keeps the play on *confidit*. (*Eccl.* 20, 475.22).
***institor*: merchant.** After Douay "merchant's ship" (Prov. 31:14); *mercantes* = "traders". (*Eccl.* 20, 478.20).

***predicacio secundum causam*: predication by cause.** One of Wyclif's modes of predication. (*Eccl.* 20, 481.14).
***preconium*: commendation.** (*Eccl.* 20, 488.20).
***excrescencia*: increase.** (*Eccl.* 20, 485.28).
***beatitudo essencialis / accidentalis*: essential / accidental blessedness.** The scholastic pair; follows *beatitudo* "blessedness". (*Eccl.* 20, 490.15).
***signacio / significacio*: signification.** B treats them as one word (492.9–10, 493.1). (*Eccl.* 21, 491).
***dampnacio*: CONTEXTUAL: damnation / condemnation.** Thomas's broad/strict senses turn on it; Douay "condemnation" kept in Luke 23:40. (*Eccl.* 21, 495.24). Of a judgement passed on a teaching (*dampnacio istius sentencie tamquam heretice*, *Pot. pape* 84.10) "condemnation".
***taxacio (pene)*: assessment.** (*Eccl.* 21, 498.8).
***sophista*: sophist.** Kept apart from *sophisma*. (*Eccl.* 21, 495.15).
***commentum (mendacii)*: fabrication.** Wyclif numbers the opponent's fabrications. (*Eccl.* 21, 498.31).
***signaculum*: seal.** (*Eccl.* 21, 500.21).
***laicatus*: the lay state.** (*Eccl.* 21, 502.7).
***partes potestative / subiective / aliquote*: potestative / subjective / aliquot parts.** The scholastic division of wholes. (*Eccl.* 21, 509.3–5).
***pars integralis*: integral part.** (*Eccl.* 21, 514.15).
***res sacramenti*: reality of the sacrament.** (*Eccl.* 21, 511.8).
***gracie gratis date*: graces freely given.** Kept apart from *gracia gratificans*. (*Eccl.* 21, 512.13).
***baptismus flaminis*: baptism of the Spirit.** (*Eccl.* 21, 514.24).
***caracter in actu*: character in act.** (*Eccl.* 21, 513.18).
***pseudoclerici*: false clerics.** Cf. *pseudomonachus*. (*Eccl.* 21, 511.17).
***ordo per accidens*: order by accident.** (*Eccl.* 21, 514.29).
***univoce*: univocally.** (*Eccl.* 21, 514.4).
***incompossibilis*: incompossible.** Beside *compossibilis*. (*Eccl.* 22, 522.1).
***beatificacio*: beatification.** (*Eccl.* 22).
***sacerdotes annales*: annual priests.** Priests hired to say masses for a year. (*Eccl.* 22).
***perfeccio secunda (mundi)*: second perfection.** (*Eccl.* 22).
***oracio absoluta / condicionata*: absolute / conditional prayer.** (*Eccl.* 22).
***bona de genere*: good in kind.** (*Eccl.* 22).
***bonum honestum / utile / delectabile*: honourable / useful / pleasurable good.** (*Eccl.* 22).
***exequie*: exequies.** (*Eccl.* 22).
***obsequium (for the dead)*: duty.** Kept apart from *servicium* "service", *officium* "office". (*Eccl.* 22).
***gilda*: gild.** (*Eccl.* 22).
***liga*: league.** (*Eccl.* 22).
***memoriale*: memorial.** (*Eccl.* 22).
***affeccio naturalis / deliberativa*: natural / deliberative affection.** (*Eccl.* 22).
***beatitudo circularis*: circular blessedness.** Hostiensis's term. (*Eccl.* 22).

***indulgere*: to indulge.** The etymology (*inde* + *algere*) turns on the verb. (*Eccl.* 23, 549).
***forum penitencie / penitenciale; forum ecclesie / Dei*: court of penance; court of the church / of God.** (*Eccl.* 23, 550.15).
***condonare; condonacio*: to pardon; pardon.** Kept apart from *remittere / remissio* "remit / remission". (*Eccl.* 23, 549.27).
***cambium*: barter.** Kept apart from *commutacio* "exchange". (*Eccl.* 23, 551.24).
***thesaurus ecclesie*: treasury of the church.** (*Eccl.* 23, 551.11).
***supererogare; supererogacio*: pay out beyond [what is owed]; supererogation.** *supererogata merita* "supererogated merits". (*Eccl.* 23, 551).
***reatus pene*: liability to punishment.** (*Eccl.* 23, 552.4).
***copia / habundancia*: plenty / abundance.** (*Eccl.* 23, 553.15, 555.20).
***relaxare; relaxacio*: to relax; relaxation.** (*Eccl.* 23, 554.9).
***satisfaccio; satisfacere*: satisfaction; to make satisfaction.** Cf. *satispassio*. (*Eccl.* 23, 556).
***participative / iuvative*: participatively / helpingly.** (*Eccl.* 23, 558.2).
***in athomo*: in an individual.** The logicians' *atomus*. (*Eccl.* 23, 558.4).
***Romanus episcopus*: the Roman bishop.** Kept apart from *Romanus pontifex*. (*Eccl.* 23, 563.10).
***palliacio; palliare*: cloaking; to cloak.** (*Eccl.* 23, 566.27).
***potestas iudiciaria*: judicial power.** (*Eccl.* 23, 565.26).
***papa superstes*: the surviving pope.** (*Eccl.* 23, 567).
***premium accidentale*: accidental reward.** (*Eccl.* 23, 565.6).
***laxare*: loose.** Kept apart from *relaxare* "relax". (*Eccl.* 23, 571.29).
***perdoniste*: pardoners.** (*Eccl.* 23, 572.24).
***venia*: forgiveness.** Kept apart from *condonacio* "pardon". (*Eccl.* 23, 573.4).
***taxare*: assess.** Beside *taxacio* "assessment". (*Eccl.* 23, 574.1).
***casus calculatorii*: calculatory cases.** (*Eccl.* 23, 574.32).
***pars quanta / quota*: a part of a quantity / a proportional part.** As at 519.1. (*Eccl.* 23, 572.29).
***colorabilis*: colourable.** Beside *color*, *colorare*. (*Eccl.* 23, 575.1).
***potestas ordinis*: power of order.** (*Eccl.* 23, 575.15).
***vicarius Petri*: vicar of Peter.** Kept apart from *vicarius Christi*. (*Eccl.* 23, 575.31).
***remissio; remittere*: remission; to remit.** Headword row (cf. *condonacio* "pardon", *venia* "forgiveness"). (*Eccl.* 23).
***potestas iurisdiccionis*: power of jurisdiction.** Paired with *potestas ordinis*. (*Eccl.* 23).
***potestas*: power.** Always "power" (*De pot. pape*, Wilson). Its kin by row: *potestas ordinis*, *iurisdiccionis*, *iudiciaria*.
***potencia*: CONTEXTUAL: potency / power.** "Potency" inside Aristotle's analysis of *dynamis* (active / passive potency, rational potency, the potency terminated); "power" elsewhere (God's power, free choice, might). Wyclif uses *potestas* and *potencia* interchangeably (*potestas vel potencia*, *Pot. pape* 4.7): a pair is "power or potency" with a C note. Keeps *potencia absoluta* "absolute power". Ruled by Wilson (*Pot. pape* 01-a review).

***potentatus*: CONTEXTUAL: sovereignty / potentate.** The abstract "sovereignty" (*Pot. pape* 4.27); of the person who holds power "potentate" (*Pot. pape* 14.20, 15.13, 16.17, 20.28, 22.20, 23.13, 27.13), no note needed where the person is plain..
***iurisdiccio*: jurisdiction.** Cf. *potestas iurisdiccionis*. (*Pot. pape* 23.17).
***gentilitas*: paganism.** Kept apart from *infidelitas* "heathenism, unbelief". (*Pot. pape* 29.26).
***pseudochristus*: false christ.** Matt. 24:24 (DR "false Christs"). (*Pot. pape* 28.32).
***Ardmacanus; dominus Ardmacanus*: Armachanus; the lord of Armagh.** Richard FitzRalph. The bare name stays "Armachanus" (as in *De ecclesia*); with *dominus* "the lord of Armagh" (card)..
***conficere*: to consecrate (the eucharist).** Of the priest at the altar; otherwise "to make up, compose". (*Pot. pape* 11.20).
***licencia*: licence.** Permission granted; never "power". Wyclif usually sets it against *potestas*, but can also identify the two where power is defined as a grant (*illa licencia est potestas*, *Pot. pape* 21.29): render "licence" either way and let the argument show which. (*Pot. pape* 41.21); qualified (close-out R1).
***primatus*: primacy.** Peter's and the pope's; *preeminencia* stays "preeminence". (*Pot. pape* ch. 3).
***primitas*: firstness.** Being first in order, as against *primatus*. (*Pot. pape* ch. 3).
***auctoritas*: authority.** (*Pot. pape* 63.16).
***procuratoria potestas*: proctorial power.** From *procurator* "proctor". (*Pot. pape* 63.9).
***archivicarius*: archvicar.** (*Pot. pape* 62.20).
***geromantici*: geomancers.** (*Pot. pape* 71.23).
***superintendencia*: oversight.** The bishop's office as *episcopus* "overseer". (*Pot. pape* 73.20).
***repugnare; repugnancia*: to be incompatible; incompatibility.** The logical sense; not "to fight". (*Pot. pape* 73–75).
***episcopus suffraganeus*: suffragan bishop. .**
***auctoritativus, autoritativus*: authoritative.** Beside *auctoritas* "authority". (*Pot. pape* 76–78).
***decretiste*: decretists.** The commentators on Gratian. (*Pot. pape* 81.27).
***officiarii*: officers.** (*Pot. pape* 86.19).
***religiositas*: religiousness.** (*Pot. pape* 86.21).
***coraula*: choir-leader.** (*Pot. pape* 92.17).
***negociatores*: dealers.** Kept apart from *mercantes* "traders" (*Eccl.*); the servants of the talents parable (Matt. 25). (*Pot. pape* 101.7).
***trahere in consequenciam*: draw into a precedent.** The legal idiom; *consequencia* stays "inference". (*Pot. pape* 94.13).
***primogenitura*: primogeniture.** (*Pot. pape* 103.2).
***potestas regiminis*: power of rule.** Paired with *potestas ordinis* "power of order". (*Pot. pape* 115.2).
***preco (Dei)*: herald (of God).** (*Pot. pape* 06-b, 06-d).

***criminosus*: criminous man.** (*Pot. pape* 06-c).
***deliramenta*: ravings.** (*Pot. pape* 06-c).
***Lincolniensis*: Lincoln.** Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln (S note at first occurrence), as in *De ecclesia*. (*Pot. pape* 59.8).
***seculares domini*: secular lords.** Kept apart from *temporales domini* "temporal lords". (*Pot. pape* 52.16).
***potestas dominativa*: lordly power.** .
***relacio racionis*: relation of reason.** Scholastic term (a relation in the mind only)..
***debitum (coniugale), ex debito*: the (marriage) debt.** Of spouses (1 Cor 7:3–4): "the marriage debt", not "what is owed". (*Pot. pape* 5.8).
***maneries*: kind.** .
***status (disposicionis, virtutis, ...)*: state (of disposition, of virtue, ...).** Ch. 6 turns on it (a man's state changed by sin)..
***preeminencia*: preeminence.** Kept apart from *primatus* "primacy"..
***primas (noun)*: primate.** .
***dominari (with a negative, 1 Pet. 5:3)*: lord it (over).** DR "lording it over"..
***correpcio fraterna*: fraternal correction.** .
***dileccio*: love.** Kept apart from *caritas* "charity"..
***gracia concomitancie*: by reason of concomitance.** Not *gracia concomitans* "concomitant grace": *gracia* + genitive = "for the sake of". (*Pot. pape* 06-h).
***Pseudo (as a noun)*: the Pseudo.** Wyclif's name for the false pope of the eleven conditions (ch. 6)..
***illapsus*: inflowing.** .
***generalis attornatus*: general attorney.** Legal term (a proctor with general powers)..
***claves potestatis / auctoritatis (sciencie)*: keys of power / of authority (of knowledge).** The pair kept fixed..
***suppeditacio (temporalium)*: treading (temporal goods) underfoot.** .
***fantasia*: imagination.** The faculty (scholastic *phantasia*)..
***propriacio*: owning.** The opposite of *expropriacio*; kept apart from *appropriacio* "appropriation"..
***paterfamilias*: householder.** DR's word (Matt. 20:1 etc.)..
***regulariter*: as a rule.** .
***capitalis (civitas, episcopus)*: capital (city, bishop).** Rome as capital (ch. 8); *capitalis dominus* stays "chief lord"..
***sessiva*: seisin.** So the manuscripts (Loserth 170.8, *ita cod.*); feudal possession that perfects a title..
***influencia (celestis)*: (celestial) influence.** Astrological sense..
***quaternarius / denarius / quadragenarius*: the four / the ten / the forty.** Number exegesis (the 153 fishes, ch. 7)..
***heresis realis*: real heresy (heresy in deed).** .
***pseudopapa*: pseudo-pope.** Cf. *pseudocardinales*..
***impertinens; impertinencia*: irrelevant; irrelevance.** .
***eleccio equivoca*: equivocal election.** Ch. 8's two elections (God's and men's)..

***apostolicus (noun, not the papal title)*: an apostolic man.** Where it is the pope's title, "the apostolic [lord]" with a G note..
***connexio*: conditional (proposition).** Logic: the "if ... then" proposition..
***tenacia*: tight-fistedness.** Avarice's vice of holding on..
***irregularitas*: irregularity.** Canonical impediment to orders or office..
***negociacio*: dealing.** Pairs with *negociatores* "dealers"..
***allocari (in an account)*: be allowed.** Accounting sense..
***Cestrensis*: the Chester [chronicler].** Ranulf Higden, *Polychronicon* (S note at first occurrence in a chunk)..
***infundabilis; infundabiliter*: without foundation.** .
***seniores; maiores natu*: elders; the ancients.** Inside a DR quotation, DR's word ("ancients", Acts 20:17)..
***pompare; pompacio; pompa*: boast; boasting; boasting.** .
***fantasticus*: imaginary.** Cf. *fantasia* "imagination"..
***extollencia*: exaltation.** Self-exaltation of the proud..
***servitus (laboris)*: servitude.** Kept apart from *servicium* "service"..
***capitalitas*: capital standing.** Rome's standing as capital; cf. *capitalis*..
***memorativa potencia*: memorative power.** A faculty of the soul (the "power" sense of *potencia*)..
***discrasia*: distemper.** Physicians' term..
***media (of an argument)*: middle terms.** .
***policia*: polity.** .
***carismata; carisma*: CONTEXTUAL: charisms / chrism.** "Charisms" (gifts; *Pot. pape* 176.1). Singular *misticum carisma* in Augustine's sense of the anointing that names Christians (*chrisma*, *Pot. pape* 312.16) "chrism", with a T note.; CONTEXTUAL.
***primicia (virtutum)*: being first (in the virtues).** Kept apart from *primatus* "primacy" and *primitas* "firstness"..
***bipapalis*: two-pope.** Of the church under two popes (1378)..
***defidare*: distrust.** .
***replicatur; replicatum*: it is rejoined; rejoinder.** A further objection against an answer; kept apart from *respondetur* "the reply is" (so 04-b)..
***potestas vicaria*: vicarial power.** .
***locus a simili*: the topic from likeness.** Dialectical topic..
***ordo cesareus / divinus*: the caesarean / divine order.** .
***malum culpe / pene*: the evil of fault / of penalty.** .
***neutra*: neutral things.** Things neither commanded nor forbidden (obedience *in neutris*)..
***reputative; assertive*: by estimation; assertively.** Opposed to *ex revelacione*..
***eleccio passiva / activa*: passive / active election.** .
***equivocacio*: equivocation.** .
***papa cesareus*: caesarean pope.** The pope as endowed temporal lord (chs. 10–12)..
***imperium (vicarium, autoritativum)*: command (vicarial, authoritative).** The power to command (*par in parem non habet imperium*); "empire" only of the Empire..

***corripere; correpcio*: reprove; reproof.** Kept apart from *corrigere; correccio* "correct; correction"; *correpcio fraterna* stays "fraternal correction"..
***credulitas explicita / implicita*: explicit / implicit credence.** Beside *fides explicita / implicita*..
***summus sacerdos*: high priest.** DR; kept apart from *summus pontifex* "highest pontiff"..
***preponderancia; dispensacio*: preponderance; dispensation.** .
***sensus compositus / divisus*: composite / divided sense.** The logicians' pair..
***precellencia*: pre-excellence.** Kept apart from *preeminencia* "preeminence"..
***summum sacerdocium*: high priesthood.** Cf. *summus sacerdos* "high priest"..
***preternecessarius*: beyond necessity.** .
***cultus Dei*: worship of God.** .
***pontifex (Old Testament, unqualified)*: pontiff.** Kept apart from *sacerdos* "priest"; *summus pontifex* of the Jewish priesthood is "high priest" (see *summi pontifices*)..
***superhumerale; racionale*: superhumeral; rational.** The ephod and the breastplate (DR)..
***penalis*: hard, of hardship.** Beside *penalitas*..
***pastor cesareus*: caesarean shepherd.** The *papa cesareus* family..
***vians*: wayfarer.** As *viator*..
***laxus*: lax.** (*Eccl.* 23).
***episcopus Nullatensis*: a bishop "of Nowhere".** (*Eccl.* 23).
***demereri*: to demerit.** (*Eccl.* 23).
***questores*: questors.** Kept apart from *perdoniste* "pardoners". (*Eccl.* 23, 584).
***bonificare*: make good.** (*Eccl.* 23).
***precellenter*: pre-excellently.** Adverb beside *precellencia* "pre-excellence"..
***difformitas; difformis*: difformity; difform.** Paired against *uniformitas*..
***archiprepositus*: arch-superior.** Formed on *prepositi* "superiors"..
***correptibilis*: open to reproof.** Beside *corripere* "reprove"..
***potencia ordinata*: ordained power.** Pair of *potencia absoluta* "absolute power"..
***necessarioritas*: greater necessity.** Non-classical comparative abstract..
***inhabilitas*: lack of qualification.** Beside *inhabilis* "unqualified"..
***vita suffraganea*: the suffragan life.** .
***calumpniator*: challenger.** Under *calumpnia* "challenge"..
***pallium privilegii*: cloak of privilege.** Kept apart from *palliacio* "cloaking"..
***sacramentum cesareum*: caesarean sacrament.** Ironic..
***interludium*: interlude.** .
***refuga*: deserter.** .
***remisse (of assent)*: with slackened [assent].** Opposed to full assent in the degrees of belief..
***gradus (of belief)*: degree.** The four degrees of belief (*Pot. pape* 327.18 ff.)..
***potissimus; pocior (Antichristus)*: foremost; greater.** Superlative and comparative kept visible as a pair..
***raciones topice*: topical arguments.** With *evidencia topica*..
***meander (dyaboli)*: meander.** Figure for the devil's tortuous wiles, with a C note..

***episcopi cesarei*: caesarean bishops.** Extends *prelatus / sacerdos cesarius*..
***pseudopontifices*: false pontiffs.** Cf. *pseudoclerici*..
***sophisticacio*: sophistry.** Noun beside *sophisticare*..
***procuratorium*: proctor's mandate.** .
***patronus (a saint)*: patron.** A second sense beside the benefice row; untagged..
***spissius (vivere)*: more closely.** Of living to a rule..
***evangelizans*: preacher of the gospel.** .
***prepositus (participle of* preponere*)*: the one preferred.** CONTEXTUAL beside *prepositi* "superiors" (the noun); untagged..
***capitalis eleccio*: the chapter's election.** .
***gracia (papal provision)*: grace.** The papal grant of a benefice; untagged..
***persona populi*: the person of the people.** .
***dominativa forma*: lordly form.** After *potestas dominativa*..
***pagina (of a law)*: page.** .
***latitudo (of a quality)*: latitude.** The intension/remission term..
***illibertare*: rob of liberty.** .
***provisio (papal)*: provision.** .
***proventus*: proceeds.** Kept apart from *redditus* "revenues"..
***civilitas cesarea*: caesarean civil standing.** After *civilitas* "civil standing" and *papa cesareus*..
***decimacio*: tithing.** .
***decimantes*: tithe-payers.** .
***involucrum*: wrapping.** .
***sophisticare quod (with a clause)*: argue sophistically that.** Takes *sophisticari*'s sense, not "counterfeit" (which needs an object)..
***gravandi*: those to be charged.** .
***inhabilitare*: disqualify.** Beside *inhabilis* "unqualified", *inhabilitas*..
***indiffinite*: without fixed bounds.** .
***principatus (pl., given to churches)*: principalities.** I.e. prelacies..
***contracta / contrata*: district.** Loserth glosses "country"..
***papatus; racio papatus*: papacy; the nature of the papacy.** .
***forum consciencie*: court of conscience.** Extends the *forum penitencie* row..
***dicere (logical use)*: signify.** Of a term or name..
***coloracior*: more colourable.** Comparative, with the *color* / *colorabilis* rows..
***obviare; obvia (logical)*: meet; meeting.** Of a case or argument..
***diccio procuratoria*: proctorial pronouncement.** C note gives *dicio* "authority" as the alternative..
***refrigescentia arma*: arms that grow cold.** .
***specularis prudencia*: the prudence of a watchman.** .
***ars cesarea*: the caesarean art.** After *papa cesareus*..
***servitus ydolorum*: servitude of idols.** Beside *servitus laboris*..
***ingeniacio*: wit.** .
***principaliter (*secundo/tercio principaliter*)*: as a main head.** Marks the compendium's main divisions against the counts within them..
***precellere*: excel.** Verb beside *precellencia* "pre-excellence"; not "pre-excel"..
***suadere*: make the case.** To persuade, not to prove..
***ditacio*: enrichment.** .
***cesaree (adv.)*: in caesarean fashion.** After *papa cesareus*..

***est dare*: one may posit. .**
***insolubiliter*: inextricably. Kept apart from *insolubilia* "insolubles"..**
***probabiliter*: with probability; by probable argument. Scholastic: argued from probable premisses, as against demonstration; not the modern hedge "probably". (close-out R1; *Pot. pape* 52.3).**
***nimis*: exceedingly. Medieval intensive (= *valde*); "too much" only where excess is the point. (close-out R2; *Pot. pape* 169.2).**