SELECT ENGLISH WORKS

OF

JOHN WYCLIF

EDITED FROM ORIGINAL MSS.

BY

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VOL. I

SERMONS ON THE GOSPELS

FOR

SUNDAYS AND FESTIVALS

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INTRODUCTION.

The present edition of selected works of John Wyclif, English and Latin, was undertaken by the Delegates of the University Press at the earnest instance of the late Canon Shirley, who devoted the best part of ten years of a life, alas! too short, to the study of the works and the age of the English reformer.

At a meeting of the Delegates of the Press, held on the 23rd of March, 1866, a resolution was passed, and recorded in a minute, of which the material portion is as follows:—

'Dr. Shirley's proposal to prepare for publication selected English works of Wyclif in three volumes 8vo . . . . was accepted; and he was authorized to negotiate with Mr. T. Arnold . . . . for the editing of the same under his own superintendence.'

Dr. Shirley intended, as general Editor, to have prefixed to the works an elaborate Introduction, in which he would have endeavoured to fix the exact theological position of the writer in reference both to his own and to later times, besides probably settling, so far as the means at our disposal allow, the chronology and authenticity of the immense mass of writings ascribed to Wyclif,—a subject which Bale left in utter confusion, and which Lewis has done very little to elucidate. Such minor matters as the critical collation of MSS., the preparation of a text for the press based on such collation, the verification of references, and the illustration of the text by occasional notes, he desired to commit to the hands of an assistant or assistants; and it was thus that he asked me to take a share

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in the work. I gladly consented,—having indeed already formed
the opinion independently, after reading the Fasciculi Zizaniorum
and Dr. Shirley's admirable Introduction to that strange miscellany,—
that the principal works of the reformer, particularly his English
works, ought long ere this to have been given to the public. Before,
however, any material step had been taken towards the execution
of his plans, this good man and ripe scholar was cut off by death.
A greater share of the responsibility of the edition has, in conse-
quence, been thrown upon me than was originally intended, or than,
to say the truth, I feel myself quite competent to meet. I have how-
ever spared no pains to give to the reader a faithful and readable
copy of those of the original works, which it has been resolved to
print, and for this purpose I have collated, in whole or in part,
a number of other MSS., preserved in various libraries, with the
excellent Bodleian Codex, upon which the text of the following
Sermons is based. I have also entered in the following pages, and
shall enter more at length in the Introduction to the third volume,
on the critical questions relating to the authenticity of the various
works ascribed to Wyclif, so far as the discussion is necessary in
order to justify the selection of his writings which has been made.

I desire to take this early opportunity of acknowledging the great
and invaluable assistance that I have received in the task of editing
from Professor Stubbs, whose learning and judgment, always most
kindly and freely imparted, have signally lightened my labours, often
directed me into the true path of investigation, and kept me from
falling into many errors.

Wyclif wrote both in Latin and English; but his Latin works are
far the most numerous and the most voluminous of the two. Ninety-
six Latin works are enumerated in Dr. Shirley's Catalogue a, and only
sixty-five English. It is proposed in the following remarks to give
some account of the English writings, to show what has been already
done towards making them known, and to explain the grounds on
which the selection resolved upon in the present work has been
made.

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English Writings.—Of the sixty-five English works included in the Catalogue, there are a few which I have not yet had an opportunity to examine. The most important of these are Nos. 61 and 62, De Officio Pastorali and De Papa, the only MS. of which is in the library of Lord Ashburnham. Another is the tract De Schismate, No. 59, the only MS. of which is in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. Others are Nos. 58 and 60, short tracts contained in the same manuscript. There are five or six others, one of which, for reasons presently to be given, I do not believe to be authentic, while of the rest I will defer the examination to the Preface of the third volume.

I have only met with one English writing of Wyclif's, large or small, which was not included by Dr. Shirley in his Catalogue. This is the Lincolniensis, a short tract, the only copy of which, so far as appears, exists in a Bodleian manuscript (MS. Bodl. 647). I have no doubt that this, like most of the remaining contents of that MS., was written by Wyclif.

Spurious and Doubtful Writings.—For some time after I had begun to read the works which the Catalogue ascribes to Wyclif, I was strongly disposed to question the authenticity of a considerable number of them, for various reasons. With regard to some of these, farther inquiry has not removed my doubts, while in the case of others, that internal evidence on which I relied to establish for them the high probability, if not certainty, of a date subsequent to the death of Wyclif, has been proved by fuller investigation to be far less cogent than I had at first supposed. I will take these two classes of probably spurious and doubtful writings separately.

1. No. 1 in the Catalogue is marked 'Early English Sermons;' it is a collection of fifty-four sermons on the Sunday gospels, together with five others on great festivals. No one, except Dr. Vaughan, has ever ascribed these sermons to Wyclif; they exist only in two MSS., and the partial examination which I was able to make of them at Cambridge last year, convinced me that they were the production of a traveller in the well-worn track of homiletics, who possessed no spark of the erratic and daring spirit of our author.
NOS. 6–9 are Commentaries on the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John, and on the Apocalypse. Even if they were certainly authentic, those on the Gospels, at any rate, could not be considered as worth printing, because the substance of them is wholly taken from the writings of the Fathers, chiefly from SS. Chrysostom, Jerome, and Ambrose, from Theophylact, the Venerable Bede, and Aquinas. The Commentary on the Apocalypse is indeed original, but contains, so far as I have examined it, nothing very remarkable. But there is good ground for believing that no part of these Commentaries, not even the prologues and epilogues, is by Wyclif. This I will first endeavour to prove as regards the Commentaries on the Gospels.

In the prologue to the Commentary on Matthew occurs the following passage b:

‘For his cause a synful caytif havyng compassion on lewed men declarip þe gospel of Matthew to lewed men in Englishe, wiþ exposicion of syntis and holy writ, and alleggiþ onely holy writ and olde doctours in his exposicion,’ &c.

In the prologue to the Commentary on Luke (MS. Bodl. 143) we read,—

‘Herfore a caihyf lettid fro prechyng for a tyme for causis knowun of God writiþ þe gospel of Luk in Englysh wiþ a short exposicioun of olde and holy doctours, to þe pore men of his nacioun.’ Farther on the writer again calls himself ‘his pore caiif;’ and towards the end he breaks forth into fierce denunciations, as does also the writer of the Commentary on Matthew, of the ‘ypocrisie, tirauntrie, and cursidnesse of Antecrist and his meynee,’ by whom he evidently means the hierarchy.

Lastly, in the short prologue to the Commentary on John (MS. Bodl. 243) occurs this passage:—

‘A symple creature of God, willinge to bere in party þe chargis of symple pore men, writiþ a schort glos in English on þe gospel of Joon,’ alleging, as he tells us, his authors ‘in general,’ and remitting

b In the Bodleian MS. (Laud, 235); the MS. at Trin. Coll. Cambr. (B. L. 38) is stated by Dr. Shirley to have a different prologue.
to 'pe grettur gloos writun on Joon where and in what bokis pes
doctours seyen pes sentences.'

The strong similarity of style noticeable in these three prologues,
particularly in the first and second, point to the conclusion that they
and the glosses which they describe all proceeded from the same
hand. If so, that hand was certainly not Wyclif's, for he was never
'lettid fro prechyng,' nor would he have been likely to describe him-
self as a 'caitif,' by which was then meant an abject, obscure, and
despised person. One would be rather disposed to ascribe the
authorship of these glosses to the same person who wrote a col-
lection of tracts under the title of 'The Pore Caitif,' which Bale,
Lewis, and Dr. Vaughan ascribed unquestioningly to Wyclif, but
without cause, as Dr. Shirley was the first to show, since Bishop
Pecock, a writer nearly contemporary, tells us that they were written
by a mendicant friar 'pro suo defensorio.' And that the author
belonged to a religious order, and therefore could not have been
Wyclif, might with some plausibility be inferred from a passage near
the end of the prologue to the Commentary on Matthew, where, in
the course of an invective against the 'religiose,' he says, 'In so
myche, that if ony of siche religiose, bounden to siche privat tra-
diciouns, wolde live as Crist and his posthis diden, and edifie truly
Cristen soulis bi the gospel, the potestatis of singular novelries crien
hym a cursed apostata and eretik distrier of Cristendome.' There is
a tone about these words, which certainly tends to make one believe
that the writer was describing his own experience.

The Commentary on Luke is based on the 'Catena Aurea' of
S. Thomas Aquinas, whom the compiler throughout the prologue
calls 'Alquin.' That on St. John's gospel is also based on the
Catena.

Bale, in his most inaccurate catalogue of the writings of Wyclif,
describes the gloss on Matthew as a 'Translatio Clementis Lantho-
niensis.' But the Commentary now in question is certainly no
translation from Clement of Lanthony (a monk of the twelfth

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\(^6\) Fasciculi Zizaniorum, xiii, note 3.

\(^4\) Illustrium Britanniae Scriptorum Summarium. Basle, 1559.
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century), since its compiler quotes among his authorities Robert Grossetete, who flourished in the thirteenth. Nor again does it appear to be based on the Catena; for although there are fewer extracts on the whole, and those which coincide in the two works are usually given more fully in the Catena, yet particular extracts may be found which are fuller in the Commentary.

With regard to the Commentary on the Apocalypse, internal evidence is, I think, decisive against its being the work of Wyclif. The Introduction seems to me the work of a man of softer and less robust nature. In his interpretation of chap. xviii., the writer expounds the Scarlet Woman to signify Antichrist, characterized by idolatry, 'mammeterie,' covetousness and lechery; but the seven hills on which she sits are—not Rome, but—the seven deadly sins. As the kings under Antichrist fought against the Lamb, so the kings that now were fought against holy Church, and not only 'in bodly pingis but in goostly also, for þorow þe taliage þat þei maken þei bringen þe simple folk into synne.' This is far enough from the position of the man who thought that the secular power might freely resume Church property, and was bound to do so if it were misused; rather it reminds one of the state of things under Henry III. and Edward I. Again, the host that followed him that sat on the white horse, 'bitoknen hem þat willen ðete æzen þe fend þorow lowness and wip conventise,'—i.e. in a conventual life; but Wyclif devoted all his powers during many years to the denunciation of the conventual life in all its forms. Again,—'As longe as Satanas is bounden, holy chirche regnÞ, and is free to serve God, and obedient to be Prelatis.' But it was the business of Wyclif's life to declaim against the prelates. Again,—'þat þe folk schulen gon in his liȝt bitokneþ,' that towards the end of the world, 'þe religious of God schulen wexe more and more, and men schul forsake worldly blisse for hope of þe blisse above.' But such a prospect of the spread of monkery would have been to Wyclif a most dreary one. The reader will probably think that sufficient evidence has been adduced to prove that Wyclif was not the author of the Commentary on the Apocalypse.

No. 24, entitled 'A Short Rule of Life,' &c., is conceived in a
beautiful spirit, but there is not a particle of evidence to connect it with Wyclif. Even the omnivorous Bale has not included it within the sweep of his catalogue. That it should be found in a MS. volume of tracts bequeathed by Archbishop Parker to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and loosely said by him to contain tracts by Wyclif, does not amount to evidence; for some of these compositions can be proved to be of different authorship, and the general statement of Archbishop Parker must not be taken for more than it is worth. Dr. Vaughan indeed says, after quoting a fine passage from this tract, inculcating the purest Christian virtues on different orders of men, 'The preacher whose counsels were of this description was not the man to become the agent of insurrection, after the fashion of John Ball and Wat Tyler, as some of his ingenuous opponents have insinuated.' This is quite true; but it would have been more to the purpose to prove that the tract is by Wyclif, instead of merely assuming it. So far as the evidence of style goes, I am myself greatly inclined to doubt its authenticity.

No. 48, a tract printed by Dr. Todd, in 1851, under the title 'Of Antecrist and his Meynee,' does not appear to be authentic. The style is narrower and more puritanic than that of Wyclif, and the allusions to the persecutions to which the writer and his party were subjected seem more suitable to a later time. Thus (p. cxlviii.) we are told that Antichrist 'harder al day punyschip, as al day now men may see.' Again, Antichrist and his followers 'kille treue men in her prison.' On the whole, this language suits a period subsequent to the constitutions of the archbishops Arundel and Chicheley better than the lifetime of the reformer; and as the evidence of style tends the other way, and there is not a tittle of external evidence attributing it to Wyclif, the tract not being included even in Bale's list, I think it may be safely struck out of the catalogue of the reformer's writings.

No. 47, 'Tractatus de Pseudo freres,' found in a single MS. at Dublin, is similarly destitute of all external evidence tending to asso-

* Tracts and Treatises of John de Wycliffe, p. 48.
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ciate it with Wyclif; but as no previous writer has given any other than the most general description of it, and I have not yet been able to examine it myself, the question of its authenticity must be left in suspense. Nos. 51, 61, and 64 must be included in the same category; there is no external evidence in their favour, but from the only MSS. of them being either in private libraries or at Dublin, I have not yet been able to examine them.

It escaped Dr. Shirley's notice that Nos. 49 and 50 are merely extracts from No. 63, which will be considered in the next paragraph.

II. A considerable number of English tracts still remains, chiefly those contained in the well-known C. C. C. manuscript at Cambridge, with regard to which there is indeed some slight amount of external evidence connecting them with Wyclif, but that evidence is not strong enough to establish their authenticity, should the analysis of their contents lead to an opposite conclusion. I propose to enter upon the full examination of the claims of this class to rank among Wyclif's writings in the Introduction to the third or miscellaneous volume of the present collection. I did indeed at one time conceive myself to have found a test, the application of which would in many cases establish the non-authenticity of a treatise without further trouble. In this, however, deeper research has proved that I was mistaken; and as the point is one which bears upon the authenticity of a portion of the sermons in the present volume,—those for the Commune Sanctorum,—it must be treated of here.

Relying upon the consensus of all the ordinary English historians, including Lingard, I came to the study of the questions affecting the authenticity of writings ascribed to Wyclif with the preconceived belief, that the attempts of the English state and hierarchy to coerce heretical or erroneous opinions had not, previously to the enactment of the famous statute commonly called De Haeretico Comburendo, in 1401, proceeded to the length of inflicting capital punishment, either on the gibbet or at the stake, upon the holders of those opinions. The common impression certainly is,—and it was shared by myself,—that no one had suffered death in England for his
religious opinions, by direct infliction at the hands of the magistrate, before William Sawtre, the first victim to the statute above mentioned. If then, in a tract, the style and handwriting of which showed it to belong either to the end of the fourteenth, or to the beginning of the fifteenth century, mention was made of death by burning or hanging as a fate ever impending over such as held the writer's opinions, the conclusion was ready, that the date of that tract must be subsequent to the passing of the statute of 1401, and that accordingly Wyclif could not have been its author. Tried by this test, the tracts numbered 12, 16, 18, 19, 29, 32, 33, 34, 38, and 63 (out of which all but the last, which is in the Bodleian, are found in the C. C. C. manuscript), since they all contain allusions to 'brennyng' as a punishment constantly impending over, or actually inflicted upon, the followers of Wyclif, would be proved to have been composed many years after the reformer's death.

But if this conclusion were to be considered irrefragable, it presently appeared that it would affect other writings, which tradition and common consent, and a fair amount of direct external evidence, had hitherto attributed to Wyclif. Such are the Homilies on the gospels contained in the offices of the Commune Sanctorum, forming the second division of Homilies in the present edition. In Sermon LXIV. (p. 201), in Sermon LXV. (p. 205), and again in Sermon LXVII. (p. 211), occur passages which it is difficult to understand in any other way than as testifying to the fact of a vigorous persecution of Lollards going on at the very time. The passages are subjoined in a foot-note. It immediately became a pressing question,

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f I use these words, because there is a case, mentioned by William of Newburgh in his history (lib. ii. cap. 13), where some thirty Paulician heretics, having entered England about the year 1163, were condemned at Oxford to be branded, whipped, and turned out of the city; after which, all persons being forbidden to harbour them or give them food, they 'misere perierunt.' For this reference I am indebted to Professor Stubbs.

g Wyclif died at Lutterworth in 1384.

h p. 201. 'oure prelatis . . . . . . . .

strangethen and killen men, and spoilen hem of her goodis.'

p. 205. 'jis word counsfortib symple men, hat ben clepid etretes and ene

myes to je Chirsch, for jei tellen Goddis lawe; for jei ben somynned and repre

vyd many weies, and after put in prison, and brend or kild as worse than heves.'

p. 211. 'alle þese [popes and bishops, helped by secular lords] bitraien Cristen

men to turment, and puten hem to deeb for hoolding of Cristis lawe.'
whether, in the face of these passages, the authenticity of at least this portion of the Homilies could be maintained.

The first point to be ascertained was whether all the best MSS. contained the passages in question, or whether any omitted them, or showed marks of interpolation. The MSS. of the first class in which these sermons are contained are, besides Bodl. 788, upon which the text of this edition is based, two in the British Museum (Bib. Reg. 18 B. IX. and Cotton. Claud. D. VIII.) and one at Wrex Park (No. 11). I have not had an opportunity of collating the last-named MS., but a reference to those in the British Museum showed that in each of these passages they agreed word for word with Bodl. 788, and exhibited no trace of interpolation. It further appeared that in one of the homilies for the Proprium Sanctorum, a division which in all the copies is associated with that for the Commune Sanctorum, and indisputably formed part of the same work from the first, namely in Sermon CII. (p. 354), mention is made of Richard II. as then reigning. Now, on the supposition that no persecution proceeding to the length of capital punishment had taken place before 1401, how reconcile the mention of Richard, whose deposition and death happened in 1399, with the passages importing that such persecution was actually going on?

Being thus led to examine narrowly the grounds of the supposition above mentioned, I came upon certain facts which tended to throw doubt on their sufficiency to carry the conclusion based on them. Mr. Bond, keeper of the MSS. at the British Museum, was good enough to point out to me a passage in the Chronicle of Meaux, lately edited by him for the Master of the Rolls, which is much to the purpose of the present inquiry. Abbot Burton says (vol. ii. p. 323) that the Franciscans, or a section of them, opposed certain constitutions of Pope John XXII., who thereupon caused many of them to be condemned and burnt, some in France in 1318, others at various places in France, Spain, Italy, and Germany, in 1330; and that among the severities practised on this last occasion, 'in Angliâ, in quadam Silva, combusta sunt viri quinquaginta quinque, et mulieres octo, ejusdem ordinis et erroris.' This is indefinite,
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certainly, but there seems no possibility of questioning its substantial truth; and if it be true, then men and women were burnt in England for heresy before 1401.

Again, though no chronicler records any actual execution in the fourteenth century, there is a passage in Walsingham which proves that it was threatened by at least one bishop, and, considering the imperfect nature of the communications between different parts of the country in that age, and the paucity of records, it would surely be hazardous to assert confidently, merely because the chroniclers are silent, that no such threat was ever carried into effect. Speaking of the Lollards in 1389, Walsingham, after blaming the culpable remissness of most of the other bishops, who instead of exterminating these pests went their ways, one to his farm, another to his merchandise, adds that the Bishop of Norwich, 'sit nomen ejus benedictum in secula!' set an edifying example of zeal for the faith, in that he swore that if any one of that perverse sect should presume to preach in his diocese, he should either be burnt or beheaded ('vel ignibus traderetur vel capite privaretur'). Walsingham adds that no Lollard coveted the honour of martyrdom, and that the diocese accordingly remained uncontaminated by their presence. If the Bishop could threaten this, one may suppose that without any violation of law it could have been done. And in fact, if one reads the statute of 1401 carefully, it becomes plain that the legislature which enacted it was not thinking of introducing forms of punishment hitherto unknown to and unsanctioned by the law, but only regularizing and extending uniformly over the country a penal machinery already existing and legal. The remedy is to be applied, not de novo, but 'uberius et celerius' than has been hitherto possible;—and because experience proves that the bishops 'per suam jurisdictionem spiritualem dictos perfidos et perversos absque auxilio dictae majestatis regiae sufficienter corrigere nequeunt;' inasmuch as the Lollards, by passing from one diocese into another, can with so little difficulty evade the citations served upon them. In truth, to societies whose evolution for many centuries had been presided over by the Catholic Church, the crime

of heresy appeared so tremendous that no punishment, however agonizing, could be commensurate with its turpitude; and when a provincial council, or even a diocesan court, had once declared the fact of heresy to be proved, and had handed over the culprit to the grasp of lay justice, the sheriff, or mayor, or bailiff, who received him, was little likely, unless there was a speedy and full retractation, to be incommode by prayers or murmurs from the people that execution might be stayed. That such a monster should both in body and soul be as soon as possible got rid of, erased and annihilated off the face of the earth which he cumbered, was the shuddering desire of the pious and the superstitious alike; and for this, fire offered the readiest means; the miscreant might be reduced to ashes,—those ashes might be scattered to the winds; and while his soul commenced to endure its secular torments, his hateful presence would in no possible shape afflict Christian people more. The legislature, which ordained that obstinate heretics should be burned 'coram populo in eminenti loco,' was not afraid that any sympathy with them in their sufferings would be exhibited by the people. I have entered into these considerations simply in order to mitigate the primē facie improbability that if any burnings or beheadings had taken place in the last twenty years of the fourteenth century, the chroniclers would have passed them over in silence. Things were changed in the sixteenth century, but at the time we are speaking of such a mode of dealing with heretics appeared to most men so obviously natural and right,—so much a matter of course,—that one can better understand how very severe punishments may have passed over absolutely without record.

On the whole, then, it appears that the mention of 'brennyng' in these tracts, and also in the sermons for the Commune Sanctorum, is not conclusive against their authenticity. There are, however, in the case of the tracts, or some of them, various other difficulties, the full consideration of which, as was said before, must be reserved for the Introduction to the miscellaneous volume.

The Homilies.—To proceed to the contents of the present volumes. It was Dr. Shirley's intention, both on account of their
intrinsinc importance, and because, among all the longer English writings, there was the greatest weight of evidence in favour of their genuineness, to print the Homilies first. This intention has been carried out, and the first two volumes of the present edition contain the entire collection,—Vol. I. giving the Sermons for the Sunday Gospels, and those for the Commune and Proprium Sanctorum, while Vol. II. contains the Sermons for the Ferial Gospels, and those for the Sunday Epistles. The original arrangement appears to have been, that the sermons for the Sunday epistles and gospels should be intermixed. This I infer, partly from the fact that such is the arrangement in a valuable MS. in the Bodleian (Douce 321), which, imperfect as it is, appears from the forms of the words to be somewhat more ancient than the manuscript I have printed from,—partly from the same arrangement being followed in one of the copies in the British Museum (Claudius, D. VIII.), and also in a curious MS. at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge,—but chiefly from a discovery, made in the course of my editorial occupations on MS. Bodl. 788, that the copy from which the writer of that manuscript made his transcript, must also have had the sermons so arranged. As, however, the majority of the MSS. adhere to the separate arrangement, and there is no reason to think that the two sets were written at the same time, or are in any way connected as to their contents, it seems upon the whole preferable to print them just as they stand in the MS. which is the basis of the edition.

The authenticity of these sermons, taken as a whole, cannot reasonably be questioned. Although, so far as I am aware, no one

\[\text{f} 2 \text{ in Dr. Shirley's Catalogue.}\]

\[1 \text{ At the bottom of page 62 of Bodl. 788, the scribe had arrived near the end of the gospel sermon for the Third Sunday in Lent. On turning the leaf, instead of the concluding portion of the gospel sermon, he has written down a portion of the epistle sermon for the next Sunday in Lent; nor did he discover his mistake till he had written about half a column; when at last he found out what he was doing, he drew a pen with red ink through the portion of the epistle sermon that he had written, and continued the transcript of the gospel sermon from the point where he had broken off. The conclusion is inevitable that the older copy which he was using contained the gospel and epistle sermons intermixed, so that parts of two sermons of each description would often appear on parallel columns, as may be seen to this day in Douce 321; such being the case, the scribe's eye on commencing a fresh page was caught by the wrong column, and thus the present appearance of the MS. is accounted for.}\]
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of the numerous and widely separated MSS. which contain them names Wyclif as the author in a handwriting contemporary with the copies themselves, yet they have all come down accompanied by the tradition of his authorship, and have never been ascribed to any one else. Again, the fact that the copies are so numerous attests their high popularity in the times before the invention of printing, and entirely accords with the statement of Leland\textsuperscript{m}, that even in his (Leland's) age, many of the reformer's writings, both in Latin and English, were religiously preserved and diligently read by certain persons, 'praesertim illa vernacula in plebis gratiam scripta.' Bale names the several divisions of the sermons in his catalogue, though not always in a way sufficient to identify them with certainty. For instance, his 'In Evangelia Dominicalia,' with \textit{incipit}, 'Homo quidam erat dives,' might just as well refer to the spurious collection of sermons described on a previous page\textsuperscript{n} as to those in the present collection. Again, the first words of his 'Sermones in Epistolos' do not tally with the opening of the first Epistle sermon in our present copies. But with regard to the sermons for the Commune and Proprium Sanctorum, and those on the Ferial Gospels, it may be held as certain that the works which he has catalogued are the same as those now printed. The authority of Bale indeed,—Bale, who sets down Wyclif's death in 1387, who takes him on a journey into Bohemia, who assigns to him a score of works which it is most certain he never wrote; moreover, who in his article on Chaucer, omits from the list of his works the \textit{Canterbury Tales}, and includes Lydgate's \textit{Falls of Princes},—is, if uncorroborated, of almost no value. Happily in the present case the weight of internal evidence tends strongly in the same direction; the authoritative tone, the proneness to subtle and recondite distinctions, so completely in harmony with what we know of Wyclif's fame in the schools, the special hostility to the friars, the allusions to contemporary events, such as the crusade of Bishop Spencer, and the grant of papal indulgences to those who engaged in it (p. 136)—events which occurred in 1383, and therefore would have been naturally referred to in a

\textsuperscript{m} Commentarium de Scriptoribus Britannicis, art. 'Wicoclivus.' \textsuperscript{n} See p. iii.
series of sermons preached in his parish of Lutterworth during the last two years of his life, after he had been compelled to retire from Oxford by the Council of 1382,—lastly, a distinct reference at the end of Sermon XXX. (p. 79) to a Latin work by the writer, which, it can hardly be doubted, was the *De Veritate Scripturarum*,—all these converging proofs, taken in connection with the unbroken tradition surrounding the MSS. which has been already referred to, appear to establish Wyclif in the authorship of these sermons beyond all reasonable doubt.

Assuming them, therefore, to be authentic, the questions which next present themselves for consideration relate, (1) to the form they bear, (2) to the nature of their contents.

1. Prefixed to the Sermons for the Commune and the Proprium Sanctorum, a few explanatory remarks will be found, from which the relation in which those sermons stand to the Sarum Missal, and to the general liturgical system of the Catholic Church in the fourteenth century, may be better comprehended. The collection of sermons for the Sunday gospels (which are for the most part the same as those in the English Prayer-book), needs no explanation. The originator of this style of sermon in the Western Church was Gregory the Great, whose forty Homilies, explanatory of the gospels read on various festivals, are most racy and profitable reading. Several passages in the opening sermons (see pp. 3, 6, 9) make it appear that Wyclif composed these homilies more as drafts, or skeleton sermons, which a preacher might take and fill in *ad libitum*, than as in themselves complete discourses. The curious MS. at Sidney Sussex College is a standing proof that he was sometimes taken at his word; in this MS. the sermon for the Sunday gospel is usually given entire, and followed by a few hortatory remarks enlarging upon Wyclif’s hints; to these succeeds a short instruction based on a text taken from the epistle for the same Sunday o.

o These instructions have been hitherto supposed (see Shirley’s *Catalogue*, p. 33) to be identical with the ‘Sermons on the Epistles’ hereafter to be printed; but a minute examination showed that such was not the case; they appear to be original compositions, the work no doubt of the amplifier of the Gospel sermons.
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2. To form a just estimate of the doctrinal and moral contents of these sermons, to realize and express the exact position which the writer, about whom so much windy declamation has gone forth during the last three centuries, occupied in face of the religious thought and life of his time,—this is a task for a theologian; and I am no theologian, but merely a literary editor. But I may be allowed to point out that the opportunity is now first afforded to the general reader of ascertaining Wyclif's opinions, not from four or five scattered sermons or tracts (some of which the learned editor, Dr. Todd, by clothing them in black letter, has left nearly as undecipherable to ordinary readers as if they were still in MS.), not from pamphlets, such as those so largely analyzed by Lewis, Lebas, and Dr. Vaughan, of which a large proportion are of highly doubtful authenticity,—but from a large collection of sermons, which, if any of Wyclif's English works are so, may be deemed thoroughly genuine. As some assistance to those who wish to embark in this inquiry, it may be mentioned that in this first volume opinions on the following important doctrines and practices will be found at the places indicated:—on justification, at p. 350; on purgatory, at pp. 121, 321; on the sacraments, especially the Eucharist, passim, but see in particular pp. 119, 248, 265; on the privileges, graces, and power of Mary, at pp. 246, 257, 345, 356; on Antichrist, at p. 350; on private confession, at pp. 333, 351; and on clerical celibacy, at p. 364.

FORMATION OF THE TEXT.—The following are the MSS. which have been consulted, with a view to the production of a correct text of the Sermons:—

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<tr>
<th>Title of MS.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bodl. 788.</td>
<td>A.</td>
<td>This truly excellent MS. contains, in a small thick folio, the whole collection of genuine Homilies, numbered 2 in Shirley's Catalogue. As to its history, nothing whatever is known. Not a single leaf is missing, and although of course not free from errors, it is one of those unusually correct and serviceable copies which rejoice the heart of an editor. It is in the same handwriting from first to last, a handwriting probably of the last decade of the fourteenth century. It is on good but thin parchment, sparingly ornamented with blue and red flourishes and head-letters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Univ. Library Cambr. ii. 1.40.</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td>This MS., a small quarto, is in the University Library at Cambridge. It contains only the sermons for the Sunday gospels and epistles. It is on the finest vellum, and the handwriting is of a very superior description; here and there it is richly illuminated. One may feel certain that it was executed for some wealthy person, who desired that no expense should be spared. I was at first inclined to rate its value very highly, but the remarkable family likeness between it and A soon struck me, and at length I discovered a proof, amounting almost to a demonstration, that one must have been copied from the other. In the text of Sermon LIII., 'Si quis diligite me,' while the MS. Douce 321 refers to the right chapter, John xiv., A and B both fall into the same error, referring to John xviii. The balance of probability against the coincidence being accidental is of course enormously great; either then both MSS. must be copies from some earlier MS., now lost, which contained the error, or else one of them copied it from the other. But the former supposition is gratuitous and improbable; they have then copied each other, and of the two alternatives, it is more likely that B, a partial copy, and a MS. de luxe, is copied from A, than A from B. The general conclusion is that B is of no value as an original authority; it has however the merit of not infrequently correcting errors of inadvertence or carelessness in A.</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<th>Title of MS.</th>
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<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laud, 314.</td>
<td>C.</td>
<td>This is a small MS. of but little value, in the Bodleian Library, containing, besides the tract called <em>Vas Octuplex</em>, only the sermons for the Sunday gospels. The hand is apparently of a period past the middle of the fifteenth century. This MS. is in the possession of Lady Cowper. It is a double-columned folio; at the foot of page 1 are the words &quot;Franciscus Comes Bedfordiae,&quot; and the date 1566. In respect of execution it is of a medium quality; the ornamentation is but slight, and the writing just mediocre. There are two changes of hand; in the first hand all the sermons are written except those for the Ferial gospels, the first portion of which is written in the second, and the remainder in the third hand. The first hand seems to be late fourteenth century; the third I should judge to be some fifty years later. So far as my examination extended, this appeared to be a good and serviceable MS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrest Park, 11.</td>
<td>D.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Douce 321. | E.                    | In this MS., which is unfortunately much mutilated, the sermons are arranged in a peculiar order, those for the Sunday gospels and epistles being intermixed, while the Proprium Sanctorum precedes instead of following the Commune. It is a good-sized quarto, written on coarse parchment in a large bold hand, and very little ornamented. From the forms of the words ('schal,' ' gode,' 'pynyd,' &c., instead of 'shal,' 'good,' 'pyned,' ) it seems to be rather more ancient than Bodl. 788. Its readings are often different from, and not unfrequently superior to, those of Bodl. 788; between which and itself there is no more connexion or resemblance than must subsist between two MSS. of the same work, both good of their kind;—each must be regarded as an independent authority. It is this quality of its readings which makes this MS., for collating purposes, one of the utmost value. Not that it deserves to be ranked on the whole above Bodl. 788; not to speak of its mutilations, it is disfigured by a far greater number of carelessnesses, omissions, and other blunders than its rival. For it must be remem-


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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baroness North.</td>
<td>F.</td>
<td>bered, that since Bodl. 788 has been adopted as the basis of the printed text, every necessary correction of it for which support is found in any other MS. appears at the foot of the page, while the more numerous and more glaring errors of other MSS. are passed over <em>sub silentio</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bib. Reg. 18.</td>
<td>G.</td>
<td>A MS. of medium quality, in the possession of Colonel North, containing only the sermons on the Sunday gospels. From the forms of the words, it appears to be intermediate in point of date between the complete copies already described and Laud. 314.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. ix.</td>
<td></td>
<td>This MS. is in the British Museum. It is a good and carefully written text, having the sermons for the Sunday and Ferial gospels, and the Sunday epistles, arranged in order of the season, commencing with Advent Sunday; then follow the sermons for the Commune and Proprium Sanctorum. So far as I have been able to collate it, its readings differ little from those of Bodl. 788. The sermons in the last division appear to be defective,—twenty-eight only, against thirty-eight in Bodl. 788.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. John's Coll.</td>
<td>H.</td>
<td>The arrangement of the sermons in this MS., which is very imperfect, at least fifty-five sermons being wanting, is the same as that in G, of which I believe it to be a copy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camb. C. 8.</td>
<td></td>
<td>This is a good MS., but imperfect at the beginning. The arrangement is nearly the same as that of the Douce MS. All the first portion of the volume containing it consists of a noble and apparently perfect copy of the ‘Statutes, Charters, and Customs’ of the university of Oxford.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton. Claud.</td>
<td>L.</td>
<td>This is a low class MS., somewhat dilapidated, in a hand of about the middle of the fifteenth century. It is inferior in every respect to the MS. at Wrest Park (D) already described.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. VIII.</td>
<td></td>
<td>A handsome folio, moderately ornamented. It is of the same class as Bodl. 788, the arrangement of which it exactly follows, down to the end of the Ferial sermons; the Epistle sermons are wanting. I think it is somewhat later than Bodl. 788, but my examination of it was not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title of MS.</td>
<td>Distinguishing Letter</td>
<td>Description.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrest Park, 38.</td>
<td>L.</td>
<td>long or searching enough to enable me to speak positively.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trin. Coll. Camb. B. 4. 20.</td>
<td>M.</td>
<td>This is a still commoner and poorer copy than J; also decidedly of later date.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidn. Suss. Coll. Camb. A. 4. 12.</td>
<td>N.</td>
<td>Its contents correspond to those of K; i.e. it has all the sermons except those on the epistles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trin. Coll. Camb. B. 14. 38.</td>
<td>O.</td>
<td>This is a copy, poorly executed, and exhibiting several serious lacunae, of all the sermons except those on the Ferial gospels. The arrangement nearly corresponds to that of Boll. 788.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harl. 1730.</td>
<td>P.</td>
<td>This is the remarkable MS. above referred to (p. xiv). It is in a rude handwriting, and upon coarse parchment, and conveys the impression of having been prepared by some poor parish priest for his own use.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Coll. Oxford, 95.</td>
<td>Q.</td>
<td>A small volume, containing only the sermons on the Sunday epistles; the hand is rough and difficult, and not of an early date.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. C. C. Camb. 336.</td>
<td>R.</td>
<td>One of the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, containing only the Epistle sermons, and ending defective in the sermon for the twenty-second Sunday after Trinity. So far as a brief examination enables me to speak, it appeared to be of no special value.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. John's Coll. Camb. G. 22.</td>
<td>S.</td>
<td>This MS. contains, besides a complete set of the sermons on the Ferial gospels, seven sermons on gospels belonging to the 'Proprium de Tempore,' but included by Wyclif under the head of Proprium Sanctorum. (See p. 295.) It also has one of the Sunday sermons, No. XXXI. The handwriting is of the first half of the fifteenth century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>This MS. (wrongly described in Dr. Shirley's Catalogue) contains the sermons for the Commune Sanctorum, and most of those for the Proprium Sanctorum and the Ferial gospels. My examination of it was too hurried to permit of my forming a definite opinion as to its merits.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>This is the MS. containing the homilies criticised on p. iii. Besides these it contains a poor and late copy, much mutilated, of the sermons for the Sundays from Advent to Trinity.</td>
</tr>
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The MS. Bodl. 788 has, as has been already stated, been adopted as the foundation of the text of the present edition,—being absolutely complete, singularly accurate, and probably older than, or equally old with, any of the others, except perhaps Douce 321. The arrangement of its contents has been adhered to in the printing, except that, in order not to break the series of sermons, the tracts Vae Octuplex and Of Mynystries in the Chirche (Nos. 4 and 5 of Shirley) which follow in the MS., one the Sunday gospel sermons, the other those for the Proprium Sanctorum, are reserved for the third volume. The orthography of the MS. is almost exactly reproduced, the characters ņ and Ŝ being retained throughout. The only deviations permitted are these: v is freely employed in the printing in place of u in the MS., wherever the sound appears to require it, because it is manifest that, except at the beginnings of words, the scribe employed the same characters for both sounds. He wrote lowe, but it would be absurd to doubt that he pronounced love. Again, the character į is used in the MS. both for that sound and for the sound of j; it is always įust, įiniurie, &c., instead of just, injurie; I have therefore printed į instead of i wherever the sound seemed to require it.

Like most of its class, the MS. Bodl. 788 contains the bare words of each sermon, and nothing more; there are no capital letters, no division into paragraphs, no punctuation. Passages quoted from Scripture are underlined with red ink. The editor is responsible for supplying the above-named defects, as well as for marginal analyses, biblical references, and the verse of the chapter from which each text is taken.

Of the transcript of the MS. the first part, down to p. 197, was made by the Rev. W. F. Cornish, of Lincoln College, the remainder by Mr. William Sorell; to both these gentlemen I am much indebted for the general fidelity and accuracy with which they performed their work.

In conclusion, I have much pleasure in taking this opportunity of returning sincere thanks to those whose assistance I have
INTRODUCTION.

benefited by in preparing the present volumes,—to Professor Stubbs, of whose valuable aid I have already spoken; to the Rev. H. O. Coxe, Bodley's Librarian; the Rev. J. Mayor, the late, and Mr. Bradshaw, the present, Librarian of the Cambridge University Library; to Professor Dunne, of the Irish Catholic University, who kindly examined for me some MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin; to Mr. Bond, custodian of the MSS. at the British Museum; to the Rev. W. Macray, of the Bodleian Library; lastly, to Mr. Caldwell, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and the Rev. J. J. Perowne, Fellow of the same College.

A complete Glossary will be subjoined to the last volume of the English works.

T. ARNOLD.

Oxford, October, 1868.
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<td>XXXII.</td>
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EVANGELIA DOMINICALIA.
HERE BIGYNEN

ÞE SONEDAI GOSPELIS,

EXPOWNED IN PARTIE.

ÞE FISTE SONEDAI GOSPEL AFTER TRINITE SONDAI.

[SERMON I.]

Homo quidam erat dives.—LUYK xvi. [19.]

Crist tellip in pis parable how richessis ben perilouse, for lîstli wole a riche man use hem unto moche lust. A parable is a word of stori, þat bi þat hydþ a spiritual witt. Þe stori telleþ;—Pere was a riche man þat disuside his richesse in pride and in glotonye, for he was clohid in purpur and bise, þat ben presciose cloþes boþe rede and white; and so he was an ypocrite, þat shewide him to þe world boþe austerne and clene, as worldly men done. And over þis, ech daie was he fedd shynynghþ, boþ for shynynge of vessel and presciose food, and þere was a pore man liynge at his ȝate þat was clepid Lazarus, full of sore biles; and he wolde be fillid by crummes þat felden fro þe riche mannes bord, but no man þaf him hema, for avarise of þe lord, but þe houndis of þe lord comen, and lickide his biles; and þis signifieþ compassioune of riche mennes servantis, þat þey have of pore men; but þei ben lettid to helpe hem. And it is maad by Goddis wille þat þis begger was deed; and was born by aungelis into Abrahams bosum; þis riche man was deed,

a This additional clause is found in the Vulgate: 'et nemo illi dabat.'

WYCLIF.
Wyclif’s

but not solemnly to God, and he was buried in hellæ, in token
that he shulde ever dwelle there. Abraham’s bosum is clepid
a place of reste that holy soulis restiden inne bfore Cristis
ascensioun. And here may we see that neiþer riche men ne
pore, in that they ben sicht, be blessid in hevene; sith Abraham
þe riche man toke Lazarus into his bosum; but disuse of
richesses and impacience of pore men ben damplied of Crist;
and elis not siche men; and þei ben not preisid of Crist but
bi contrarie virtues. Þis riche man lifte up hisen in his
 tormentis of helle, and sõz Abrahame a ferre, and Lazarus in his
lappe; and he criede, Fader Abraham, have mercy on me, and
sende þe lazor hidir, welynge his fyngres eende in water to colde
my longe, for Y am tormentid in þis flawme. Þe manner of
speche of holy writ is to undirstonde by names of bodi vera-
tures of þe soule, þat dwellen for a tyme in siche bodies; and
so, for þis riche man was boostful in speche and likeros in
foode, he was tormentid in vertu of his tunge; and þus men
in weye to blis, whanne þei traveilen in sutil and medeful
werkis, þei swagen in a maner þe payne of damplied men;
for þei have slakyng of þer payne in þat þat þey hopen to have
fewer felowis in helle, to be payned wip hem. And Abraham
seide to þe riche man, damnyd, Sone, have mynde how þou haddist
lust in this lyfe, and Lazar payne, and þerefor, bi rigt jugement
of God, he is now confortid and þou art now tormentid; for he
sufferide payne paciently and þou toke þi lusts synfulli. And
sum men þenken, for þis damnyd riche man clepid Abraham
his fadir, and Abraham clepid him æþen his sone, þat he was
an Æbreu, and Abraham was his fadir; but Abraham answeride
him, bi treupe þat God tolde him, þat þere was a myche void
place stablid betwene hem, derke and unordynel, þat lettid damnyd
men to come to hem, al þif þei wolden, or hem come to damnyd
men: for þei desiren it not, and þif sum seintis coveiten kyndely
to comerte þer frendis, þey have stronger wille to conforrne
hem to Goddis wille, and men may neiþer falle fro hevene to
helle, ne flee fro helle to hevene at þer owne wille. But þe
riche man preied Abraham to sende Lazar to his fadir hous, for

* 'Sepultus est in inferno:' Vulg.
he hadde fyve brepere, and he wolde pat hei weren warnid to
amenden hem of her lyf; not for charite pat men damned in
helle have to lyvyng men or ellis to damnd men; for as
seintis in heavene wanten envye, so damnd men failen in
charite; but he drede him of his peyne pat he shulde have
by dampnyng of hise brepere; for he assentide to hem in per
wickide lyf. But Abraham seide to him pat nei have Moyses and
prophetis in per bokes pat nei writen, heere nei hem spedely, and
kepe nei Goddis commandementis; and nei riche damnd man
seide to Abraham, Nay, Fadir Abraham, but if ony of dede men
wende to hem and warne hem, nei shal do penaunce, and flee per
dampnacioun. But Abraham seide azen, pat zif nei heeren nei
Moyses and prophetis pat spoken by God, nei shall not trave to
dede men; for per wordes ben of lasse evyndence, and it fallip
not to God to make a newe lawe and newe miraclis for ech
man pat shal be damnd, as Crist wolde not come doun of
pe crosse to conferme the fals Jewis.

In pat Gospel may preestis telle of fals pride of riche men,
and of lustful lyf of my3ty men of pat worde, and of longe
peynes of helle, and joyful blis in heavene, and pus lenghe per
sermoun as pe tyme axi3. And marke we how pat gospel tellip
pat pat riche man was not damnd for extorsion or wrong pat
he dide to his neibore, but for he failde in werkes of mercy;
and pus shulde we warne bop o man and ojer how sum men
shal be damnyd more felly for raveyne, and sum shal be
damnyd more softly, for misusinge of Goddis goodis.

**The secunde Sendai Gospel after Trynyte.**

[SERMON II.]

_Homo quidam fecit coenam magnam._—Luc. xiii. [16.]

Pat Gospel move3 men bi witt of a parable to desire spedely
to come to heavene. We shal undirstonde pat eche wordes of

*The language of this concluding paragraph shows that these homilies were written rather with a view to publication than to delivery from the pulpit.*
Goddis lawe is sop, alȝates if some men undirstonde it falsely; for so þey undirstondiden God, and þit þei maken him not fals; and so pryve undirstondinge of þis holy Gospel is alȝates sop, and þe storye bope. þe Gospel telliþ þat pere was a man þat makide a greet soper and clepide þereto many men. þis man is Jesus Crist, þat is bope God and man; and þis greet soper is the grete mangery þat seintis in hevene shall eten of Goddis bord; and þis shall ever last wiþout irkyng or noye, for þere shall noþing faie þat seintis woliten desire. And, for þis shall be þe laste mete, it is well clepid a soper, for soper is þe laste mete þat man takip in þe daie. And for foure causis it is a greet soper, for þe Lord is grete þat makeþ þis soper, so þat no man but he may make siche a soper; also the peeple is grete and many þat sitteþ at þis soper; also þe mete is prescious þat þei soupen wiþ, siþ Crist is al maner of mete and drynke, þat þei be fed wiþ; also þe tyme of sittynge at þis soper is wiþouten eende. þis lord clepiþ many to þis soper; for þere nys no man but þif he longe sum weie after blise; for ech man longip after good, and þe last good and best in which oonly man shulde reste is blisse. But þe gospel seip þat many men ben clepid, and fewe ben chosen, for alle men þat God þeveþ desirynge to blis ben clepide, but al oonly þese ben chosen, þat lasten in love of God to þer ending day, for to alle siche and oonly siche haþ God ordeyned blisse. And he sente out his servauntis in house of þis soper to seie to men clepid hereto to come, for now alle þingis ben redy. þe house of þis soper is tyme of þe Incarnacion, for in þat tyme was heven first persia, and men sett first in hevene wiþ Crist. þis servaunt sent out is the manheed of Crist, wiþ his membris þat here lyveden wiþ him, as Joon Baptist and oþer apostlis and oþer trewe servauntis. Alle þingis were redy; for the Godhede and manhede of Crist was for þat time redy to fede seintes in hevene, and Crist, as Paul seip, is alle þingis in alle men þat shal be savyd, and riþt so his lawe is þe first and þe laste and fully ynoþ, after which shulde be noon other lawe. For Anticristis lawe, cloutid of many, is full of errors, and disseyveþ many men, as law of Sarasyms and of þese newe

* 'pierced' is used in the sense of penetrated, or forcibly entered.*
ordris. And as þe gospel seip, al siche men bygan togipher for to excuse hem; for al þese men and al oonli siche þat tullen more bi siche lawe þan bi Goddis lawe excusen hem to come þe riȝt weye to hevene. And as þere is þre maner of synne, so þre maner men excusiden hem fro þis soper. Þe first seide þat he hadde bouȝt a toun and was nedid to go out and see it; and þis bitokenep proude men, þat for worldly lordship wenden out fro þe weye of God, and occupien her wittes about worldly heynnesse; and for þe first seide þat þis was nedeful, þerefore he preide þe lordis messanger to have him excusid. Þe seconde seide, þat he hadde bouȝt fyve yockis of oxen, and he wente to assay hem, and þerefore he preide him to have him excusid. Þes fyve yockis bitokenen plente of worldly goodis; for travel and fourre profits þat comen of oxen; and for þis bisynesse turnep rundely in hemself þerefore it is well seide þat þere ben fyve yockis. And for siche worldly men ben yockid togipher wiþ þe fend and þe world, þerefore the gospel clepip hem yockis. Þe pridde man seide þat he hadde wedded a wyf, and þerefore myȝte not come. Þis pridde bitokenep men þat ben overcomen wiþ fleshly synne, as glotonye and lecherie; and þes men more beestly excusen hem, not curteysly, as þese two first diden; but seien shortly, þay may not come. Þe first two men excusiden hem by þis, þat þey wolten be lordly to distroye Goddis enemyes, and þei wolten be riche to helpe pore men; but þe pridde, þat haþ his flesh as his wyf, maister of his soule, is an uncertais fool; and þerefore he answere þus. Þe servaunt turnide azen and tolde his lord þe answere of þese þre men; for ever creature seip to Crist fully himself. But þe lord was wroþ wiþ excusacioun of þese beden foolis, and haþ his servaunt wende out into stretis of þe citee, more and lasse, and brynge into þis feeste þis þre maner of men, pore feble men, pore blynde men, and pore lame men. Þese þre ben Goddis prisoneris, þat boþe God and man helpen wiþ almes. And it semeth þat þese and noon oþer shal come to hevene, for who shal come to hevene but if he be pore in spirit; who shal come to heven but þif he be feble in spirit and nedid to have mercy; who shall come to hevene but þif he bi liȝtned of his blindnesse; and who shal come to hevene, but he þat halte þe now hìȝe in vertues and now low in synnes?
Certis noon but þe lord of þis feeste; and to siche bodili pore men techeþ þis gospel men to do her almes; for we shall sue Crist, þat doþ specialy his greet almes to þese þre men, and of þese þre maner of men many comen to heven. But Goddis servauntes boþe of men and angellis seien after þis secounde maner of clepyng, Lord, it is done as þou comandist, and þit þere is a voide place, for men þat shulden soupe wip þee; for þis maner of clepyng of men to þe joie of hevene fíleþ not hevene of men þat God haþ ordeyned1 to blis, and herfore þe Lord of hevene in his þridde clepyng, þat shal be in tyme nyþ þe daie of dome, biddeþ his servaunts go out into weyes and heggies and constreyne men to entre þat my hous be fillid. For now in þe laste daies, whan preestis ben turnid to avarice, stonyþ shal crye and constreyne preestis þat maken hem a privat religiuþ as an hegge and oþer men þat suen hem in þe brode weye to hellward,—þese stoonys, þat ben myþty men in þe worlde, shal constreyne boþe preestis and peple for to entre into hevene bi holding of Goddis lawe, for drede of takinge of her goodis and punishmente of her bodies shal constreyne hem by drede to kepe þis streyte weye to hevene. And so þe noumbre of men þat God haþ ordeyned to blisse mut nedis be fillid, maugre Anticrist. But Crist seip to his Apostlis, þat noon of þe firste men þat God clepid to þe mete and wolde not come shal taiste his souper in ye blisse of hevene. For God haþ ordeyned whiche men shal be saved and which shal be damipned, and boþ þese noumbres mote nede be fulfilleþ; and lordis for her profit moten nedes helpe herto, and Anticristis feynynghe mote nedes be knownwun.

Here may men touche of alle manere of synne, and specialy of false preestis, traitors to God, þat shulden treuly clepe men to blise and telle hem ye wey of þe lawe of Crist, and make knowe to þe peple the cautelis of Anticrist.

1 So in B; the Bodleian MS. has ordeyned.
PE ÞRIDDE SUNDAY GOSPEL AFTER TRYNYTE SUNDAY.

[SERMON III.]

Accesserunt ad Jesum publicani et peccatores.—LUC. xv. [1.]

In þis gospel telliþ Crist two parablis of comfort, how his peple shal be saved alþif preestis grutchen þere ægen, boþe prelatis and religiouse, for her pryde and coveitise. Þe story of þis Gospel telliþ how publicanis and sinful men weren comyng to Jesus to here his lore; and he tretide hem graciously as a good lord; but scribis and Phariseis gruchiden ægens þis and blas-femiden ægens Crist, and seiden, He eie wiþ hem unlawfully; and þis dede may figure þingis þat falliþ now, siþ prelatis, as scribis, and religiouse, as Phariseis, grutchen ægens trewe preestis, membris of Crist, þat communen wiþ commounes as publicanis and seculer lordis, as sinful men; and seien it falliþ not to hem to knowe Goddis lawe. For þei seien it is so hey, so sutil and so holy, þat al oonly scribis and Phariseis shulden speke of þis lawe. And þes seculer prelatis may wele be clepid scribis, for þei boþe more and lasse writen þe money þat þei pilen of þe peple more bisily þan þei prynnten in her soulis þe knowyng of Goddis lawe. And þes religiouse ben Pharisees: for þei ben divydid fro þe comoun maner of lyvynge bi hir rotun rytyþ as Pharisees weren. Þre causis þere ben whi þis hevenly leche resseyvede freely þes synful men and eet wiþ hem,—ffirst, for he wolde converte hem to confusioun of proude prelatis þat lettiden þe fredom of Goddis lawes to have hir cours; by þis shulden þei mekely knowe þat heynes of state makiþ not a man evermore beter to God. Þe seconde cause is, þat Crist wolde ȝyve his preestis in tyme of grace lore and ensample to do wisely so, and to stonde for þe fredom of Goddis lawe. Þe þridde cause is,—for Crist wolde shewe his general lordship and savvyng not oonly of Jewis but of hehen men in dyverse statis. Þese prelatis wolden fayn þat all Goddis lawe were hongynge on hem for to spyle þe puple; for þanne
walde þei telle þis lawe, and put þereto fals undirstondinge, as 
þei myþten have more wynnynge of þe puple.— ¶ Þe first parable stondid in a question of Crist; he axid which man of 
hem hadde an hundrid shepe to kepe, and he were nedid to save 
hem ech on, and he hadde lost oon of hem; ne wolde he not leewe 
fourescore and nyntene in a sikir deserte and go and seke þis lost 
sheep til þat he fond it; and when he hadde founden it, wolde leien 
it on his shuldris wiþ joie and whanne he comid hoom, he clepeþ 
togidre his frendis and neþboris, and seip to hem, Be ye gladde 
and þanke me, for Y have founde my sheep þat was perishid. 
Certis Y seie to you þat þere shal be joie in hevene upon oon synful 
man þat doþ penaunce, þe þo more þan upon foure score and 
nyntene riþ-wyse þat have no nede of penaunces. Þis man is Jesus 
Crist þat was of þe Jewis, and he was herty and wyse and 
hadde in his kepynge þe aungelis confirmed in hevene, and 
wiþ hem mankynde. Nynty and nyne bitokeneþ þes aungelis, 
for þes nyne ordres þat ben knytted in Crist; and þis oo sheep 
is mankynde, þat acordid more to-gider þan þese nyne ordres 
of aungelis. Þis oo sheep þat was lost perishide by synne of 
Adam, as þe psalme seip. Hevene is clepid disert by many 
encesouns, for it is selde visited of men, þat slowly comen 
þidir, and it is not tilid1 as is erþe here wiþ us, and it is florishid 
wiþ goostly trees þat evermore ben grene, for grenesse in 
virtues may never faile in hevene. And þis is a sykyr place; 
for fendis tempten men not þere. Crist lefte þis aungel kynde 
dwellyng in hevene; for Crist toke not angels kynde but toke 
here mannis kynde, and bi his greet virtue he suffride peyne 
as oþer men þre and þretty þeer, and brouȝt mankynde to 
hevene, and bade þe aungelis his frendis, and man next him 
in manhed, rejoyeshe hem wiþ him, for he hadde saved man-
kynde þat was perishide. And bi þis aungels in hevene, 
mankynede, and feendis, shulde be gladde bi resoun; for þe 
more þat ben dampned þe more is fendis peyne, and þus is 
more joie in hevene of þis oo sheep, þan of nyne ordis of 
aungels þat neden noo penaunce, for þei synneden nevere. 
Þis o sheep þat is mankynde synede for þe more parte, and

1 For ‘tilled’ (?) D has tylid; C tillid.
was quykid bi Crist, þat was oon wip his breþering; and he, 
alþif he myȝte not synnnen, sufðride peyne for his sheep. And 
more joie is in hevene of him and his membris þan of nyne 
ordris of angelis, for þei ben beter and lyveden more medefully 
as trewe knyþis of God. Þe seconde parable of Crist stondþiþ 
in þis, þat a wyse womman þat hadde ten dragmes, þif she hadde 
lost oon, she wolde liȝte her lanterne, turne up hir house to seke 
þis lost dragme, and whan she hadde founden it, she wolde make 
joie as it was seid bfore of him þat lost þe sheep.—¶ þis 
womman is Jesus Crist, wysdom of þe fadir; þese ten dragmes 
ben his resonable creaturis, for þei ben maid alle to ymage and 
licenesse of þe Trinite. Þe ten þe dragme þat was lost is man-
kynede, þe lanterne þat was liȝtid is þe manhede of Crist, þe 
turning up of þis house is changinge of statis þat ben maid in 
þis world by manhede of Crist. For þe angel wolde not suffren 
Joon to knele and worship þe him, for his lord was Joones broþir, 
and þe aungelis wrenen hise servauntis; and so many þingis of 
þis world wrenen turnid up so down, siþ evry parte of þis world 
was beterid bi Cristis manhede.

We may touche in þis gospel what spedþ men and what 
þing lettiþ men for to be saved, for men mote nede do penaunce 
in berynge of þis sheep, and have liȝt of þis lanterne for to 
fynde þis lost dragme.

ULATE SONDAY GOSPEL AFTER TRYNYTE.

[SERMON IV.]

Easte misericordes.—Luc. vi. [36.]

Þis gospel moveþ men to mercy aþen þe ypocrisye of þes 
false Pharisees, and Crist biddþ first generally men to be 
merciful as your fadir is merciful. For whanne a general 
word is seid bi himself, it shall be taken for þe most famous. 
Þere ben many fadris, as fadir of kynde, and fadir of lore, but 
þe mooste propre fadir is he þat makiþ men of nouþt, for he is 
fadir of mennis bodies, and fadir of her soulis, and in vertue
of him worchen all oper fadris. And pis fadir shulden we sue in alle our werkes, for aliche we may not atteyne to pis fadir, nepes po dedis ben noustis pat ben not ensaumplid and wroust by pis fadir. Pe mercy of pis fadir can we not telle fulli, for he is pe mooste worcher pat may be in pis world, and he cannot worche, but zif he medle mercy, for he wroust by mercy whan he made pis worlde, sip he dide good to angelis, and makide hem perfyt, and brouste hem to heyre state wiþ-outen her disert. And so when he doip good to eny creature, he makip it perfyt of his pure grace, sip God Almiþty, al witty, and al godely, cannot worche but zif he worche by mercy. Be we þan mercyful for goodnesse of God. Pe lest mercy of men is among clerkins: þat wolent not þyve goodis of grace but zif þei silden hem, and þerefore þis synne is heresie before God, þe most and þe first þat parteþ men fro God, for þei weyen her wynnynges more þan þer God. And herfore all þat we done shulde be done in Goddis name, to wirchip of oure God, and profit of his church. Þe zif we ben holden boþe to God and man by resoun of dette to do a good dede, loke þat þis reson be first hidde in our þouþ, and so no man may excuse him fro werkes of mercy as no man may wante werkes of a good wille, for þat werke is þe first and heiest in man. First shulde a man have mercy of himself, and mercy of his modir, þat is Holy Chirche; and þan haþ he mercy of all his ende kyn. Pe secound word of Crist forbedip fool jugement; and resoun of þis stondip hereinne þat God may not folily juge ony man; and so as oure wille haþ nede to be cloþid wiþ mercy, so oure undirstondinge haþ nede to have riþ jugement. For many men wenen to be merciful to yppocrisis, and þei done harm to men to which þei wenen do profit; and many men wenen to juge þer breþeren, and þit þei jugen falsely and cruely of many; and eche man shulde tempere sich jugement aftir God, for God in his jugement may not faile for resoun. Pe pridd word bidditþ Cristen men beware of folly dampnyng þat þer payne of þer dampnacion; and al zif þis semeþ no comoun

* ende kyn. There is no difference of reading in the MSS. The phrase seems to mean ‘remoter kindred,’ as ‘ende-men’ signifies ‘borderers’ in Anglo-Saxon.
SERMONS.

synne among men, nepeles al maner of men synnen herynne; and prelatis, þat dampt men in maner of þer cursyng. And ofte tymes þei witen not how þei ben to God; and by reputacion þat shulde be take of Goddis lawe þes men done well as God biddip hem do. Lordis jugen ofte tymes þat ðoper men done amys, whan þei displesen hem in þir wronge wille; as we dampten Clement a wiþ his fautours, and þei dampten us, and o king damptip his adversarie, and he damptip him azen, and comounes dampten proude men and þopers to be ypocrates. And comounly foly jugement is þing þat men knowen not, for þei leden not þer witt after Goddis lawe, for þei presumen as þe fende to kunne þat þei knowen not.— ¶ De fourpe and þe fiþpe word biddip men for synve and synve sum maner of goodis, and so shal God rewarde hem. And not al oonly God, but seintis in hevene, shal rewarde men, after þat þey have done here to hem. For þese synve dedis alargid to alle men mut have sum men seintis in hevene. And þese seintis shulen reward men here in aboundance of four þinges; first, þei shal rewarde men in a good mesure, for seintis in hevene done beter to men þan þei diden to hem here in þis lyf; and where men diden scarsely good to þir breþeren, seintis fillen trewe men wiþ all manere of goodis; and þis fillynge is not voide but sadly replenchid, and at þe laste it is heepid as myche as it woole take. And siche metyng of corn, of mele, or ðoper þing, wolde be preisid among men fer þe largenesse of þe meter; and þis þing men have here in her bosum, but God fillip þe substance. For certis in sich mesure as men mesuren to her breþeren shal it be mesureid to hem bi jugement of God. ßif þe mesure be good, þei shal have good azen, and ßif þe mesure be unjust, þei shal have peyne azen. And, for deuate in al þis comip of ypocrisyre of prelatis, þat shulden teche pleynly Goddis lawe and not þer erply wynnynges, þefore seip Crist in his parable, þat ßif þe blynde lede þe blynde boþe fallen in þe dike. But for Crist shulde be our maister, and

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1 After dedis D inserts aren. A and C agree with B. 2 voydid but sadly replenysched, D.

a This allusion fixes the date of the composition of these Sermons to a time between 1378 and 1394, in which latter year the anti-pope Clement VII died.
we shulden not strange from him, we shulden leeve þes ipocritis and sue þe lore of þis good maister, siþ he may not leve treuþe, ne faile in teching of treuþe. And þus shulden men ben perfit, and Þei the rote of falshide. And þes prelatis have of þere maistris comounly þis manere, pat þei can see a mot in hir broþer′ eye, but a heem in þer owen iþe þenke þei not oon. For þere witt is sett to spuyle and to accuse, and not for to helpe hem ne oþer men, and þerefore her coveitise blindþip hem þus; but bi lore of Crist men shulden sei to hem, Þpocrïte, cast first þe beeme out of þin owne eye and þan maist þou poke beter þe mot fro þi broþir.

Here may men see þat sugettis shulden blame prelatis whan þey seen opynly greet defautes in hem, as defaute of Goddis lawe in keeping and teeching; for þis is a beeme bi which þe fende binedþ his hous and þei shulden knowe þes as þei shulden fele the lore þereof.

Fe fyfþe Sondai Gospel after Trinite.

[SERMON V.]

Cum turbae iiruerunt ad Jesum.—LUC. v. [1.]

Þe story of þis gospel tellþ good lore, how prelatis shulden teche folk under hem. Þe story is pleyn, how Crist stood by þe river of Genasereþ, and fisheris comen down to waishe þerynne þer nettes; and Crist wente up into a boot þat was Symonis, and presiede him to move it a litel fro þe lond, and he sate and tauþe the peple out of the boot. And whanne Crist ceesside to speke, he seide to Symoun, Lede þe boot into þe hey see, and late out your nettes to takynge of fishe. And Simoun answerynge seid to him, Comandour, at þe nyþt travellinge token we nouþt; but in þi word shal Y lose þe net. And whan þei hadden done þis, þei token a plentifulouse multitude of fishe, and þer net was broken. But þei bekeneden to þer felowis þat weren in þe toþer boot, to come and helpe hem; and þei comen and fylliden boþ botes of fishe, so þat wel nyþ were þei boþe dreyn. And whanne Petre hadde seen þis wounder, he fell
down to Jesus knee, and seide, Lord, go fro me for Y am a synnful man. For Petre held him not worüş to\(^1\) be wip Crist, ne dwelle in his cumpanye: for woundir came to hem alle in takynge of þes fishes. And so woundriden James and Joon, Zebedes sones, þat weren Symondis felowis. And Jesus seide to Symound, Fro þis tyme shal þou be takynge men. And þei setten þer bootis to þe londe, and forsook al þat þei hadden, and sweden Crist.—¶

Byefore we go to spiritual undirstonding of þis gospel, we shal wyte þat þe same Cristis disciple þat was first clepid Symoun, was clepid Petre after of Crist, for sadnesse of bively þat he toke of Crist, which Crist is a corner stoon, and groundip al treuþe. Over þis we shal undirstonde þat þe apostlis were clepid of Crist in many degrees; first þei weren clepid and acceptid to be Cristis disciplis; and yet þei turneden aþen, as Crist himsylf ordeyned, to lyve in þe world. After þei were clepid to see Cristis myraclis, and to be more homely wip him þan þei weren before; but yet þei turneden aþen to þe worlde by tymes, and lyveden worldelv lyf, to profít of folk þat þei dwelten wip. And on þis wyse Petre James and Joon wenten now to fishe. But þe þridde clepyng and þe moost was þis,—þat þe Apostlis forsoken holly þe world and worldly þingis, and turneden not aþen to worldly lyf, as after þis miracle Petre and his felowis sueden Crist contynnely. It is noo nede to depe us in þis stori more þan þe gospel tellip, as it is no nede to bisie us what hiþ Tobies hound. Hold we us apaised on þe mesure þat God haþ yovun us, and dreeme we not aboute newe pointes þat þe gospel leveþ, for þis is a synne of curioust, þat harmþeþ more þan pro-fitþ. Þe story of þis gospel tellip us goostly witt, boþ of lyf of þe churche and medeful werkins, and þis shulde we undirstonde, for it is more presciouþ. Two fishingis þat Petre fishide bitokeneþ two takingis of men unto Cristis religiuþ, and fro þe fend to God. In þis first fishinge was þe nette broken, to tokne þat many men ben convertid, and after broken Cristis religiuþ; but at þe seconde fishinge, after þe resurrectioun, whan þe nett was ful of many grete fishes, was not þe nett broken, as þe gospel seip; for þat bitokeneþ seintis þat God chesip to hevene. And so þese nettis þat fisheris fishen wip

\(^1\) om. A.
bitokenep Goddis lawe, in whiche virtues and treypes ben
knyttid; and oþer propreetes of nettis tellen propretes of
Goddis lawe; and voide places betweene knottis bitokenep lyf
of kynge, þat men han beside vertues. And foure cardynale
virtues ben þigourid bi knittyng of þe nett. Þe nett is brood
in þe bigynnyng, and after streit in ende, to teche þat men,
when þei ben turned first, lyven a brood worldely lyf; but
afterward, whan þei ben depid in Goddis lawe, þei kepen hem
streitlyer fro synnes. Þese fisheris of God shulden waishe þere
nettis in þis ryver, for Cristis prechours shulden chevely\(^1\) tellen
Goddis lawe, and not medle wiþ mannis lawe, þat is trobly
water; for mannis lawe conteyneþ sharpe stones and trees, bi
which þe nette of God is broken and físhis wenden out to þe
world. And þis bitokenep Genasarã\(^a\), þat is, an wounderful
birþe, for þe birþe by whiche a man is borne of water and of
þe Holy Goost is myche more wounderful þan mannis kynedly
birþe. Summe nettis ben rotun, sum han hoolis, and sum ben
unclene for defaute of waishing; and þus on þree maneres
failþ þe word of preching. And mater of þis nett and brek-
ynge þereof þyven men greet mater to speke Goddis word, for
vertues and vices and treupis of þe gospel ben mater ynow
to preche to þe peple.

\[ \text{PE SIXTE SONDAY GOSPEL AFTER TRINITE.} \]

\[ \text{SERMON VI.} \]

\[ \text{Nisi habundaverit justitia vestra plus quam Pharisaorum.}\]
\[ \text{Matt. v. [20].} \]

It is seide in þe nexte\(^b\) gospel what nettis preestis shulden
have for to drawe men fro þe see of þis worlde to þe drye lond
of þis lyf. Þis gospel teliþ of þe devylis nett, in which he

\(^1\) clesli, B.

\(^a\) Gennesaret is really a corruption of the older name, Chinmereth
(Smith's Dict. Bible); but Wyclif appears to derive it from the Greek
\(γεννησαρη\) or \(γεννησαρά\).

\(^b\) nexte. Meaning the last, proximus.
fishfed and drawt men to helle. Cristis nett is knytt wiþ riȝt-wisenesse to God aboven men, to creatures bineþe men, and to angels in oþer side of men; and þis cleþ God fully riȝt-wisenesse, and feyned falsely riȝt-wisnesse of ypocrisis cleþ Crist not riȝt-wisnesse, alþif ypocrisis clepen it so, but of scribis and Pharisees, þat is to seie, unriȝt-wisnesse, feyned as it were riȝt-wisnesse, of scribis and Phariseis. And as Crist seþ, *But ȝif your riȝt-wisnesse passe a point þe feyned riȝt-wisnesse of scribis and Phariseis, þe shal neuer come to hevene.* We may undirstonde by scribis and Phariseis men of þe sendis chirche, as we diden before; so þat scribis ben clepid seculer prelatis, and Phariseis ben clepid þese newe religious. þes men maken hem a riȝt-wisnesse bi hemsilf as þei maken hem a lawe of Anticrist; and certis þis law may Crist never conferme; and so, as Poul seþ, þes Anticristis disciplis heyen hem over Crist, boþ over his godhede and over his manhede. For riȝt-wisnesse generaly is fulfillinge of lawe, and so fulfillinge of Goddis lawe is verrei riȝt-wisnesse; and fulfillinge of mannis lawe is Anticristis riȝt-wisnesse. And so þre degrees ben in þe law of scribis; þe first and þe moost is in þe Popis welle; and as men of þe wolrde seien, þere is welle of riȝt-wisnesse; but þei gon ofte biside þe riȝt for þer roten ground; þei tristen on riȝt of mannis lawe, and gone ofte biside þe soþe. And þþ þei excusen þis fals lawe, and seien it mut nede juge fals, for ellis it faillide in his cours, and riȝt of þe wolrde were fordone. But þei þenken not how Crist forsoke to juge bi mannis lawe, teching þat ecche jugeþent þat is not done by Goddis lawe, is jugement of þe fend, and we witen not where it be riȝt. And þat man is a fool þat jugeþ after ony law, and woot not wheþir he juge bi God, or ellis by jugement of þe fend; and þif men avysiden hem on þis resoun, noone shulde juge bi mannis lawe. And þis fals riȝt is more feyned in consistorie law and in chapitre lawe. For algatis þei supposen þat witnesse may not faile, or ellis þe juge may not faile þat jugeþ after fals witnesse; and of þis roten blasfemye comeþ many fals jugementis. Juge we bi riȝt conscience þat God tellþ or specifieþ and leve we mannis jugement, and suffre we fewe wrongis þat falle, for mo wrongis shulen be don for foli of mannis dome. *Þe riȝt of þe Phariseis buriouneþ*
to harme of þe Chirche, not oonly among hemsilf, þat holden al þing wel done þat is done bi þer ordre, alþif it be a foly feyned by mannis witt, but how ever þei may gete good bi colore of þis feyned ordre, þei clepen it hey riȝt-wisneses. For þe ground good and holy triste we to Cristis religioun, for þat is beter þan þes newe; for ellis we comen not to hevene, but shulen be dampened wiþ ypocrisit. And witt of þese scribis is so myche sett in worldely goodis, þat þei clepen not riȝt-wisnesse but ȝif it be of worldely catel þat is geten by mannis lawe, alþif Goddis lawe dampe it. And so þe fals Phariseis tauȝten men þat Goddis lawe defendiȝ 1 not but man-slaȝter or oþer sensible wrong, and not oþir pryvey wrongs þat is worse roote hereof; and þis were blasfemye in God, to leewe þe worse and dampe þe beter. And herfore declar[i] Crist þre manere of wickid ire. Þe first maner of ire is whan a man is wrapþid wiþouen resoun, and sícþ is couparable aȝens God to be jugid to helle. For þis unkynedly venym aȝen þe state of innocence is roote of malice wiþoute-forþ, þat in caas is lesse yvel; and for þis cause men usen whan þei drawen to þer deþ to forȝeve men alle wrongis, and axe men mercy of here synne. Þe seconde degree of þis ire is whanne a man hap consëyved wrapþe and breþe out in scorneful wordis of his first consëyved ire. Soþely ire may falle to men for to venge Goddis cause, and so may men scorn oþer, for þei foliely synnen in God, as Hely a scornde þe preestis of Baal. But boþe þes ben perilous, and herfore he þat scorniþ þus is couparable to falle in conseile, where his foli shal be hardid, til þat he falle to more synne. Þe pridde degree of þis ire is whan a man spekiþ foliely, as he þat sclaunderþ a man or reþeþ him falsely; and þat man, as Crist seǐp, is couparable of þe fier of helle, for his ire is turned to hate, and as Seint Joon seǐp, al siche been men sleeris, þat ben worþi to be dampened. And so shulden men kepen charite boþe in wille and in word, and not oonly spare strekis, as Fariseis falsely seiden. And herfore shulden irrous men axe mekely forȝyvenesse, for ȝif þei wanten charite al is yvel whatever þei do. And herfore if þou offre þi

1 forfendiȝ, B and C.

a Hely. Elias.
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gifte to God, þat þe scribis preisen myche, and þou þenke þat þi þroþir, for þi synne, hap a cause ægens þee, leve þi oþfring at þe auter, and go first to be accordid with him. For meke oþfringe in mannis herte is betere þan oþfringe wiþoute-forþ. And þif þi þroþir be ferre fro þee, Goddis lawe is so resonable, þat it suffisip þat þou go out of ire and be recounsiled in herte wiþ him, and in hool purpos to make asep1 as soone as þou goodly mayst. By þis lore may we see how ferre it is fro socle of Crist for to chide or to plede or to fiþ as men now done.

PE SEVENYE SONDÆ GOSPEL AFTIR TRINITE.

[SERMON VII.]

Cum turba multa esset cum Jesu, nec haberent quod manducarent.—Mark viii. [1.]

For alle werkis of Crist ben good lore to Cristen men, to teche hem how þei shal lyve for to gete þe blisse of hevene, perfore þis gospel of Crist tellip how he bi boþe his kyndis did a miracle of mercy in fedynghe of þe nedy folk. Whan myche peple was wiþ Jesus, and þei hadden not to ete, he clepede his discipulis to gider and seide, Y have rûp upon þe peple, for þei have sued me þree daies, and now þei han not for to ete, and if Y go fœste home, þei shal faile in þe weye, for sum of hem komen fro ferre. And his discipulis seiden to him, Whereof myȝte a man fede þis folk here in þis waste place? And Crist axide hem, how many loves þat þei hadden, and þei seiden seven. And Crist commandide þe peple to sitle down on þe erfe; and takynge þes sevens loves and doinge hankinis to God, he brak hem, and zaf his discipulis to putte to þe peple, and þei zaven þis broed to þe peple. And þei hadden a fewe lîlit ðishis, and hem he blesseide and makide his discipulis zyve hem to þe peple. And þe peple eet, and was fúllfillid; and zit þei gedrîden seven berlepis a of relif þat

1 asep, B; asep, D. See Glossary.

a That is, 'carrying-baskets,' from the A.S. 'beran,' to bear, and 'leap,' have 'leepis' at the same passage.
was lyst. And here was of pe puple, hungry and longe fastinge, as it were foure thousand, and Criste lefte hem, and lete hem go home. Pe gospel telliþ of siche two feastis þat Criste maade here in erpe. In þe first were wynge þousaund fede, and in þe toþir foure þousand, and þis was þe seconde feste, as seint Mark telliþ. And of greet witt weren þes two, as seintis beren witnesse\(^1\); for two is þe firste noumbræ þat comeþ after oon-heed, and herfore men clepen it a noumbræ wiþouten fame; for it is þe firste noumbræ þat partiþ fro unite; and certis, if no man hadde partid from God bi synne, it hadde be noo nede to make siche feestis; for ech man shulde redely have mete whan him nedide, as beestis han gras\(^2\) in plentuous pasture. And so bi þis bodili werk of merci of Crist ben we taung to which men we shulden do sich almes; for Crist techiþ in þe gospel of Luke þat we shulde feden siche þat have greet nede, and if we feden oþir men, biside þe resoun of almes, þe fruyte of oure almes in þat is awey. And so curatis þat ben better occupied about spiritual nedis shulden for þer feblenesse, fer fro state of innocence, take bodily almes to perfourme þer office, þhe þif þei ben stronge in bodi in reward of oþer men; and þis title of almes is moost acording to preestis; but in state of innocens shulde þis almes be awey; for men shulde have redily fruýt þat þai hadden nede of; and þis feblenesse of bodi is falle to men for synne. Crist þat was boþe God and man hadde not þis feblenes, for he myþ have mete whan and wher he wolde; but we shal wite þat our Jesus Crist dide more miracle, and bad hise disciplis serve þe puple at þe mete, to teche us þat we ben mynystris and not autoursis of miracle. And þus he quykide Lazarus, and made his apostolis efte to lose him, to teche þat he forþeveþ þe synne, and his vikeris shewen it to þe puple. But þei assoileþ on oþir weye, as prestis in þe olde lawe telden bi signis of the olde lawe þat men weren cleen of lepre. And þif þe Pope and his vikeris wolden studie wel þis mater, þei shulden leve to assoile men so largely in þis fourme, for our bileve techiþ us þat no viker assoileþe here, but in as myche as Crist assoileþ first him whom he assoileþ in virtue of Crist. We shal see moreover

\(^1\) This is the reading of B. A has wittis.  
\(^2\) So in B; gresse, C; grace, A.
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}\at \pe folke \at Crist fedde here weren fedde comounly, and
not by maner of \pis world, for to dumpne riche mannis maneris
\at feden hemsilf coosdy, and ordeyne strange and likerous
mete, and in greet multituide, and excuse hem herbi \at relif
goip to pore men, for pore men mysten many mo be beter
fede wi\p comoun metis; and so \pis is a likerous pride, how-
ever we gabben to God. But go we nere to \pe witt \pe
gospel techip us, and we shall see \at eche preest shulde be
viker of Crist, and take of him oyle of grace, and so in a maner
be Crist, and fede \pe puple goostly wi\p \pe wordis of God; for
nei\per Crist ne hise Apostlis hadden ay bodily mete to fede
folk \pus; and Crist techip us in \pis \at goostly fode is beter
\pan \pis, and in token herof \pis secounde feste was algatis lasse,
but goostly feeste shulde encreese, \at ha\p fulli ende in hevene.
\Pes seve ne loves ben seve ne bokes of \pe newe testament, and
four gospellis, and \erwi\p stories of \pe Apostlis wisdom, of
bokes of Poul, and Apocalips of Joon. \Pes fewe litil fishes \at
\pei hadden to companage ben pistlis of reule of James and
Petre and Joon and of Judas. \Pe seven berlepis of relif ben
alle \pe sentences of seintis after, bi which \pei feden trewe men
by delyng of Goddis lawe. For many ben fedd by relif \at
kouden not ete \pis hole mete. \Pe multituide of just men ben
\pes fourre pousaund men, \at Crist grauntip her owne wille to
go to \pe house of hevene.

\ie eij\p Sonedai Gospel aftir Trinite.

[SERMON VIII.]

Attendite a falsis prophetis.—Matt. vii. [15.]

\pis gospel biddip Cristene men to be ware wi\p false prophetis,
\at comen in copping of sheep. And \pes wordis may be applyed
unto fals freris; for so\pe \pis lore of Crist wolde he not 3yve in
tyme of grace, but if siche men weren for to come which \pei
shulden flee. And so, be \pei freris or be \pei o\per \at spoken
falsely in \pe prechinge, oure good maister Crist bad \at we
shulden be ware wiþ hem. Pei ben prophetis, in þat þei speken affer of þe dai of dome, of blisse, and of þeynes; and þus seþ Crist þat he sendeþ prophetis to men þat ben of fals seþ, and þei shal tormente hem. And it is noo doute þat ne siche men ben prophetis, and þei ben false prophetis; if þei lyven þus þat þei shapen her lyf and her wordis boþe, more for ypocrisie and wynnyng of þe peple þan for worship of God or hel þe of her soule. If þei fynden novelty in þer fals habitis, and þit lyven as yvel as oþir comoun men, who shulde drede of hem þat ne þei ben fals prophetis? Al þer founden signes þei shewen oþir men, þat þei shulden crye þer holynesse over oþir Cristene men. But, Lord, whi shulden þei do þus? sif holynes shulde be priw, and þei myþten lyve as holþ lyf wiþouten siche signes. Certis it semeþ no cause but if it be ypocrisie, þat þei shewen to þe peple þer holynes as Phariséis doen, and so to be more told by, and liþlyer to wynne goodis, for take away þis eende, and her signes serven of nouȝt. And as Crist seþ a good lore to knowe hem were, to marke þer fruytis, þat specialy comen of hem. Wel Y wote þat þe Churche profítide before freris camen in, and sifen han ben sowen many fals lores, boþe in þer religiou, and preisyng of scribis; as we seen of þe sacrif oost, of þe begginge of Crist, of lettreis of þe breþheed, and oþir worldely lyvynge. Þe knowynge of siche signes shewþ wel þer fruyte, how þei ben chargeous to þe peple, and fals in þer entent; for greet nouþbre and costewle housis and greet dispensis of þis world, wiþ reulynge of worldely causis, tellen what ende þei worchen fore. And herfore seþ Crist, þat þei ben wþipinne wolves of ræweyne; wulves þei ben if þei loven more catel þan mennis soulis, and open þer mouþ to heveneward to fynne preestis power, þat neþþ þei can grounden in þe lawe of God, ne it may not falle to God himself, and bi þis power þei spuylen þe puple of þer goodis, and not assoilen hem freely for to save þer soulis. And bi þis fruyte may men knowe þe falsheþe of þes wolþys, for we shal wite as bileeþ þat who loveþ more mannis good þan he loveþ hel þe of his soule, he is wulf and fendis child. And þis may men wel see by þes preestis'
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bisynesse; and herfore seip Goddis word, that men gederen not of pornes grapis, to glade men goostly wiþ, ne gidere not figis of breris, for as þes trees han not of kynde to brynge to men siche fruyts; so siche children of þe fend feden not men goostly, neiþir wiþ figis of bileve ne wiþ grapis of devocioun, but þei han more bisynes to spuyle fro men þer worldly goodis, as boþe pornes and bryres reÁen fro sheepe þer wolle. And þus ech good tree þat God haþ ordeyned to þe hous of heven, bereþ here good fruyte and þe yvel tree bereþ venym; for riþt as Goddis children may not do but good þing, so children of þe fend may not do but harmful þing. For riþt as fendis semen to do good, and it turneþ at þe ende to þer harm, so Goddis children semen to do yvel, but God turneþ it to þer good. And to þis witt seip þe word of Crist, þat a good tree may not bere yvel fruyte, ne an yvel tree good fruyte. For þei may not turne as þe wynd, for alle þingis þat shal come mut nedis come as we taken here; and so eche tree here in þis world þat makip not þus good fruyte, shall be fellyd and putt to þe fier to brenne in helle wiþouten ende. And þus bi fruyte of preestis shulen þe knowe whos þei ben, and herby bewar wiþ hem, for condicions of her maistris. And it sufficiþ not to see, Lord, Lord, but it nedþ to lyve wele to a mannes lyves ende; and so it sufficiþ not to preestis to see, God be wiþ you, but þei mut seie wele in herte and wele in mouþe and lyve wele, for ellis a man shal not be saved ne broþ to liknes of þe Trinite. Ne þis lore is not oonly constreyned to fals freris, but generally to preestis, þat seien þat þei han care of mennis soulis; for worchyng bi riþt lyþ, endid after Goddis wille, makip a man Goddis child and come to þe blisse of hevene.

Men are justiﬁed by works.
PE NYNÊE SONDÆI GOSPEL AFTER TRINITE SONDÆY.

[SERMON IX.]

Homo quidam erat dives et habebat vilicium.—LUC. xvi. [1.]

Dis gospel tellij how men shulde make hem frendis of worldely goodis, for reward þat þei shulden have aþir in hevene. Þe parable tellij how a man hadde a fermour, as keper of a toun*, þat was defamyd to him as he hadde wastid his goodis; but not al fulli, for he hadde spendid hem unwarly, but þe lord hadde þe worship. Þis lord clepide þis fermour and seide þus to him, How heere Y þus of þee, þat þou wastist my good? Þife a rekenynge of þi baillyship, for þou maist be no longer in þis office. And þis servant seide wipyn to himselfe, What shal Y do? for my lord takip fro me þis office; deyne may Y not, and me shembe for to begge; but Y woot what Y shal do, þat whan Y am removed fro þis office, oþir tennauntis of þe lord shal rescue me into þere hovis, for goodis þat Y shal do to hem: while Y am in þis office. And he gaderide togidere alle þe detours of his lord; and axide þe first how myche he owyt his lord; and he seide he owyt him an hundrid barels of oyly. And he seide to him, Take þi caucioun and sitte soone and wryte fifti barellis. And eþe he seide to anþir, How myche owist þou? And he seide he owyt an hundrid skipis of corn. (Dis mesure of corn is more þan a quarter.) And he hadde him take his letris, bi which he was bounden, and wryte foure score. And þe lord preiside þe bailly of wickidenes, for he hadde warly done; for children of þis worlde ben more ware þan children of liȝt in þer kynrede. In þis parable we shulden wite þat Crist is þis lord, þat is kyng of kyngis and lord of lordis; þis bailly of þis

*‘toun,’ from the A.S. verb tynan, to hedge in or enclose, had originally pretty nearly the same meaning as the word ‘clearing’ has in our colonies now; it was the piece of land enclosed from the forest or moor and made habitable for men.
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lord, or keper of his litil toun, is eche man of pis world, seme he never so gret, for emperoure or kyng is tennaunt to pis lord and keper of his litil toun, to regard of Cristis greet lordship. For Crist is lord of hevene and helle and al pis erfe, the lord of al pis world, wiþ goodis of it opyn and hidde, and no conquerrour myȝte atyne to lordship of al pis erfe, for Alis-aundre and Julius leften myche to conquere, and God wolde not þat þer lordship were more here in erfe, techinge us þat þe fend prince of pis world haph but litil lordship of children of pryde, alþif he be now partener wiþ Crist of mo servauentis of þe fend þan shal come to hevene. But Crist is chefe lord of þe fend and al his lymes, and þei mut nedis serve him oþir wele or yvel, doinge wel þat þei shulden do, or ellis suﬃringe peyne. And siþ Crist haph lent ech man here al þat he haph, and wole axe of þis streite rekenyng, how he dispendiþ it, to ech man of þis world may þis parable be applied; and whanne men dispenden not warly Goddis goodis, þanne þei ben defamyd to him as þei hadden wastid hem, but dispending of alle goodis mut sowne to Goddis worship. For alle men shulden knowe þat alle þes ben Goddis goodis, and he wole þat þei be spendid þus to proﬁt of his Churche, and so spekyng of þis lord is movynge of mennys conscience, and þus God telliþ to men boþe more and lasse, how he knowiþ her traytery, whan þei done amys, and hou þei ben nedid to die from þis oﬃce, and hou þei ben nedid to God to rykene for þis servyse. And sum han drede how þei shal lyve after þis lyf, for after þer deþ þei may not delve, or do medeﬁlli to þer soule, and shameful þing it is to begge oþer of men þat here lyven, or of scientis in hevene, but as þei witen þat þei shulden helpe after þat men han her deserved while þei lyveden here in þis lyf. And so þis fermour grantide þre þingis þat men shulden knowe here in þis lyf. First he grantide þat aþir þis lyf he myȝt not wirche medeﬁlli. Aþir he grantide þat he shulde shame to begge more þan he hadde disservyd. And so stronge beggers here on lyf, ben more unshameful þan ben souls or in helle or in purgatorie, þat wolen not axe but þat þei han disservyd, for þei witen þat it were veyn to axe more of þer God. But þis baily turnede wisely him to a good conseil; þat while he lyvede
here in erpē he shulde make men his frendis wiþ goodis of God ṭat he kepiþ, and ṭei shulde helpe him whan he is deed. And ṭus it perteyneþ to kingis first to do worship to God, and siþ to do riþt to þer servauntis and so to alle men under hem. And þis discharge may baillies do wipouten injurie to God; for sum men þenken ṭat þis bailly þat forþafe fifti barels of oile and ṭerto twenty skippis of corn, dide wronge to his lord, and so þe lord preiside him not wele; but we shal wite þat þis lord is God, and þis bailly lord of þis world, and so God approveþ wele forþyvnge of mannis rente; and wiþ graunte of þe cheef lord, baillyes may forþyve þer dette; and so it were a medeful þinge to worldely lords to forþyve dette, and discharge þer pore tenantis of many chargis þat þei ben inne. And so as þis miȝte falle in dede, þat þis bailly was worldly wyse, so hevenly prudence miȝte falle to children of liþt, but þe first prudence falliþ more comounly þan þe secounde unto men, for pryde and coveitise of goodis blyndiþ men to do almes, but herfore goodis of fortune ben clepid bi a Þenis name, þingis of wickednessis, for þei ben ofte unjustly delt. But conseil and bidding of Crist, þat is chefe lord of alle, is þat men make hem frendis here of siche goodis of wickednesse.

Þe tenþe Sondai aftir Trinite.

[SERMON X.]

Cum appropinquaret Jesus Hierusalem videns civilatem.—Luc. xix. [41.]

Þis a gospel telliþ generaly, what sorewe men shuld be have for syne, siþ Crist, þat miȝte not do synne, wepte so ofte for synne. For we rede þat Crist wepte þries, and echë tyme he wepte for synne. And so telliþ our blyve in storye of þe gospel, þat Jesus seynge Jerusalem wepte þeron, for þe synne of

a In the margin of B here occurs the following note, in a late fifteenth century hand: ‘Noat this specially of thee clergy the only hurt unto thee Churche of Christe.’
it, and seide pat if pous knewe pous synne, pous shuldist wepe as Y do nowe, and certis in pis dai of pee pat shulde be comen in pees to pee, if pous woldist receythe pis day and pees of it, as pous shuldist, for alle hes hingis pat pous shuldist cunne ben now hiddle fro bi izen. For daies shal come in pee, for synne pat pous shalt do in me, and pin enemys schulen enyron pee as a palis al aboute, and parre pee in Jerusalem, as sheep ben parrid in a foold, and pei shal felle pee to pe erpe, and bi children pat ben in pee, and pei shal not leve in pee stoon liynghe upon a stoon, pat pei ne shal be removed, and pei wallis al distried, and pe cause of al pis shal be pe un-kynde unknowynge pat pous wolt not knowe pe tyme pat God bi grace hab visitid pee. Alle hes wordis waren shewide in dede, as Josephus maki mynde of hem, how Titus and Waspasian pe secounde and fourty yeer aftir pat Crist was stieied to hevene, comen at solemnite of Paske, and ensegiden Jerusalem, and distrieden men and wallis utterly pat pei founden pere. And pis is a pryvy synne wip which pe fend blindip men, pat pei sorewen not more for synne pean pei done for opir harm; for pous wille is mysturned, and men failen to serve God. And herefore techi Crist hise apostlis pat pei shulden not be aferd for perelis pat shal come for to venge synne pat is done, but pe moste drede of alle shulde be to falle in synne, for pat is worse pean pe peyne pat God ordeyned to sue herof. And pous in foure afeccionous pat ben groundid in mannis wille stondip alle mannis synne pat he doip axens God, for if sorwe and joie of man and hope and drede were reulid wel, his wille were ordeyned unto God, to serve him as it shulde do. After pis tellip pe storye how Jesus wente into pe temple and caste out bope bierts and selleris, and seide to hem pat it is writun, Myn hous shulde be an hous of preier, but ye have maad it a denne of peves. And for a long tyme after he was ech day techinge in pe temple. And in pis dede pat Crist dide, he techi his Chirche to bygynne for to purge his seintuarie, pat ben preests and clerks perof, pat ben pe moost cause of synne, and sip purge opir partis, whan pe rote is distried.—¶ And pis telde Crists wending into pe temple after hes wordis, as zif he wolde seie in his worching, Pe cause of synne pat Y have told is wickednesse of preestis and clerkes, and herfore Y bigyne at pe temple, not to distrie hem in her
persons, but to take from hem cause of her synne, and ordeyne pe Churche in temporal goodis as Y have ordeyned hem to lyve. And it is al oon to seie þat þese goodis ben þus sacrif and 3yven to preestis þat no man may take hem fro þes preestis, and to seie þat Anticrist hap so weddid þes goodis wiþ preestis þat noon may make þis dyvors; for preestis ben uncorrigible; but þes defamaciouns shulde preestis flee wiþ al þere myst, and preien þat þei weren amendid bi þe ordenance of Crist. For resoun shulde teche hem þat þei ben worse þan frenikes, and so þei hadden nede to be chastisid til þis passion were fro hem. For what man wolde bi resoun, kepyng a man in frenesie, 3yve him a swerd or a knyf bi which he wolde slee himself? or who þat kepeth a man in feveris, and wiste wele hou he shulde be reulid, and þat þis mete or þis wyne were contrarye to his helpe, wolde 3yve him at his wille þis foode þat shulde anoye him? so, sïþ preestis have goodis of men boþe of lordis and comouns, and þei disusen hem þus, þei myst and shulden by charite wiþdrawe þes brondis þat þus done harme to preestis, and in mesure and manere 3yve þes goodis to preestis þat he himself hap ordeyned him and hise to have siche goodis. And þis may bi charite be wiþdrawen by þe 3yvers þerof, sïþ no man may do yvel to men and not do good to þe same men, but if he be a quyke fend, þat we shulden not putte to seculers. And to þis ende shulden clerkes traveile and procure þat þis þing were done boþe for love of Goddis lawe and for love of clerkes and comouns, and ðif þe fend by envie, þat is enemye to charite, sïþ þis þing may not be done by þe lawe þat now is sett, he sïþ þat Anticristis lawe, founden aþens Goddis lawe, is strenger þan charite, and Anticrist strenger þan Crist. For þis ende shulden clerkes wepe and preie God þat his ordenance¹ were kepte in his strengþe and Anticristis lawe putt abac.

¹ ordenaunce, B.
SERMONS.

ΠΕ ΕΝΛΕΒΕΝΕ ΣΟΝΔΙ ΑΦΙΡ ΤΡΙΝΙΤΕ.

[SERMON XI.]

 Dixit Jesus ad quosdam qui confidebant tanquam justi.—Luc. xviii. [9.]

Psis gospel tellip in a parable how þat men shulden be meke and not justifie hemself and dispise oþir men, for þis is a spise of pride þat men clepen ypocrisie. Þis parable tellip þat two men wente into the temple for to preye, þe toon was a Phariseie and þe toþir was a publican. Þe Pharisee stood as a proud man and preied þes þingis bi himself; God, Y hanke þee for Y am not as oþir men of þe world, robberis, unjust men, avoutiers, as þis publican; Y fast twis in þe woke, and þyve tybes of alle my goodis. And þe publican stood afterre, and wolde not lifte his ißen to heven, but he smote upon his breest, to figure true confessioun, and seide, God be helplich to me þat am synful. But Cristes judgement seip þat, þis publicane wente hoom, made ristful fro þis Pharise for þe mekenesse þat he hadde, for ech þat þus heip himself shall be made lovese, bi peyne, and he þat mekip him, bi grace, shall be heyed, by mede of God. Of þis gospel may we wite how þe ﬁrst spice of pride, þat is ypocrisie, envenymeþ gretely þe churche, and, for þis ypocrisie is comounly amounge religiouse, þerfore bidd þ Crist his disciplis beware wip sour dow of Pharisëes, and Crist himself expowneþ and seip, it is ypocrisie. Pharisëis ben seid, as departid from oþir puple, and weren religiouse in Cristis tyme, as Saduceis and Essen. And al þes þree ordris of men Crist distried, and sayyd þe personeþ, siþ boþe Poul and Nichodeme weren Pharisëis, as Goddis lawe seip. And siþ al Cristis dedes ben ensaumples to trewe men, many men þenken þat þes newe sectis shulden be distried and þe personeþ saved, for þus ordeynede Crist maister best of alle; and Y clepe sectis newe mannes ordres, þat oon sueþ anþir as he shulde sue Crist, and so eche secte smatchþ many synnes;

1 So in B; publican, A.  
2 smaccþ, B.
but if it be ðat sect which Crist himsylf made, ðat Goddis lawe clepiþ secte of Cristene men, for we shal bileve ðat Crist may not ðo synne in ðvyynge of his reule to lede Cristene men. And so ðis secte is ðe beste ðat ony man may have, siþ Crist, almyghty, alwitty, and alwilful, ordeyne ðis sect covenable for eche man; but oþir newe sectis founden bi mannis witt mut nedis smatche synne for errour of ðe synder. And riþ as ðer weren þre suche sectis in Cristis tyme, so þer ben now monkes, chanouns, and freris; and dyyvysons in þes þree seien dyyvy- siouns in mennis wille. Al þes þree sectis mot nedis smatche errour, siþ þei grunyen a perpetuel reule to all men of þes ordres ðat þe gospel lefte by wisdom of Crist; and it were woundirful ðat þes synful foolis shulde fynde a betere reule þan Crist himsylf fond. For who shulde make a reule to men þat he knoweþ not, ne haþ no maiestrie of hem, ne techyng to kepyn it? but o complexion and oon elde axiþ o manere of lyvyngge and anoþir anoþir, þat þes patrons knewe not. And so oonly oure patron Crist, þat is boþe God and man, calenþþ as propre to himsylf to grunye siche ordres, and herfore seint Poul and Petre, wiþ oþir apostolis, fledden to grunde siche ordris for drede of blasfemye. And it were more suffrable to dwelle amonge Sarazynge or oþir paynym sectis as doen many Cristene man þan to dwellen among sectis of þese newe religiouse. And þat þei seyen, þat þei ben erberis betir þan comoun pasture, for erbis of vertue þat grown in hem, certis makinge of erberis in a comoun pasture wolde distrie þis pasture and lyf of þe comouns, boþe for dychyngg and heggynge and delvyngge of tounes. And siþ we marke alle siche erberis in Engeland, þat ben plantid of newe in comoun Cristis religioun, as þei spyuylen þe remen- naunt of temporal goodis, so, þat is more deel, þei spyuyl hem of vertues, for alle Cristene men shulden be of oo wille, and variaunce in siche sectis makþ variaunce in wille, and gendriþ discencioun and envye among men. And herfore ordeynede Crist but þree partis of þe Churche, ech to have nede and helpyng of oþir; but certis it is not þus of þese new religions. Of þis treuþe may be maad such a good resoun. It is a greet synne of two þingis to chese þe worse, whan a man may as freely have þe betere as þe worse; but þese new ordris ben
worse than his sect of Crist, and it is more liest, more fre, and more perfit, than any other sect that man may chese. And herefore it is a synful erour to chese siche sectis, sif he ordre of Crist wole betere occupie at full than any siche sect founden of men. And so sif these patrons hine no leeve of God to make siche erberis in his comoun pasture, law of pis cheef lord shulde distrie these sectis, sif Crist lovep more his comounes than these newe erberis. And thus menep he gospel that he pridde servaunt of God shal constreyn men to entre and soupe wip him in hevene, bope men in comoun weyes and these that dwellen in heggis, and thus was Poul constreyneyd to crepe out of his hegge, and holde that sect of Crist, forsakinge these sect of Pharisees; and thus pis publican that was a comoun laborer was beter than pis Pharisee, as pis gospel seip.

PE TWELFPE SONEDAY GOSPEL AFTIR TRINITE SONDAY.

[SERMON XII.]

Exiens Jesus de finibus Tiry.—MARK vii. [31.]

These gospel tellip a myracul of Crist to make men to love him and trowe in his power; how a deaf man and a doumb was helid of Crist. Jesus wente oule of pe contree of Tirus and he cam by Sidoun to pe water of Galite, and he cam pourz a contree pat men clesen Decalolios, which contre conteynep ten citees wipynne him, and men of pe contre brozen to him a deaf man, and doumb ealso, and preieden Crist to putte to him his kond, for pei conseveden pat bi pis shulde Crist fully hele hym. And Crist toke his syke man aside fro his puple, and putte his finges into bope his eeres, and spitting, wip his fyngir Crist touchide his tone, and Crist lokynge into hevene wip a deulful chere seide to his syke man, Be pi wittis opened; and anon weren his eeres opened for to here, and pe bond of his tone was opened for to speke arizt. And Crist bade these men to publishe not pis myracul; but ever pe more pat he had thus, ever pe more pei prechiden, and ever pe more pei woundriden, and seiden amonge hemsylf pat Crist hadde done.
Alle þingis wele, for he made deede to heere and doumbe men to speke.

It is seid comonly þat holy writt haþ foure undirstondingis. Pe first undirstondinge is pleyne, bi letter of pe storye. Pe secounde undirstondinge is clepid witt allegoric, whan men undirstonden bi witt of þe lettre, what þing shal falle here bifoire þe dai of dome. Pe þridde undirstondinge is clepid tropologik, and it techiþ how men shulden lyve here in vertues. Pe foureþe undirstondinge is clepid anagogike, and it telliþ how it shal be wiþ men þat ben in hevene. We shulde knowe þis secounde witt of þe gospel, for it is bileve of Cristene men in erþe; we shulden bileve þat mankynde felle fro þe staat of innocence for Adams synne and Eve, and Jesus, God and man, bouþte mankynde fro þe fendis prisoun, as þis gospel telliþ. And so oure Jesus wente fro þe lond of Tirus, whan he wente fro þe bosim of þe fadir of hevene, for Tirus is makyng, and God made of noþt boþe aungels and men and al þis brood worlde. He cam bi Sidon, þat is anke kynd, when he grette oure Lady bi servise of angel, and þis angel Gabriel wiþ all oþirs stondinge heelden pees wiþ God, and leften þe firste synne, and Sidon is helþe or leevynge siche synne. But oure Lord Jesus wente out to þe water of Galile, for he took þe staat of man slydun from innocence; for Galile is a wheel whereby whirlinge or passinge; and so dide mankynde aftir þat it hadde synned. Crist came þurþe þe cunte þat hadde ten citees, for he cam bi alle men þat weren segid wiþ þe fend; and þes men ensegid þus ben al þes citees, and mankynde þus ensegid bryngiþ to Jesus his kynde, þat was deef and dombe by þe synne of Adam, þfor þei leften to heeren God and herden þe fend, and trowiden to þe fendis lore, and lefte þe lore of God, and so weren þei deef to heere of God what þei shulden do. Jesus took mankynde þat þus was syke, not in ech persone but singulerly in oon, and Crist putt his fyngirs in eres of þis dombe man, whan he appliade his virtue, sutiliþ worchinge, for to teche man how he wente fro God, and wiþ his spotle he touchide his tonge, whan he þaf him virtue to herye God riþtliþ. And so Crist hadde sorewe of þes two synnes of

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*a* Tzor, the Hebrew name of Tyre, signifies a rock.

*b* Galil, whence Galilee is derived, means in Hebrew, circle, or circuit.  
(Smith's Dict. Bib.)
man, and bad þat þe bond of his witte shulde be opened. But Jesus bad þat þei shulden not preise him herfore bi his manhede, and for þis mekenesse þei preisiden him more bi his godhede, and seiden soþ þat he made alle þingis wele, for he made deef men to heeren and dombe men to speken. For men deefid in Goddis lore he made to heere what God spake in hem, boþ in mandementis and conseilis; and herbi þei lerneden to speke; and so þre miraclis did Crist togidere, in savynge of mankynde; he made men deef bi synne to heere what God spak in hem, and men dombe fro riȝt speche to speke opynly Goddis lawe, and so, bside þes virtues to heere and to speke, God moved mankynde to do as þei shulden; and so mai men see how myche þei ben to blame þat ben dombe and deef in þis manere of worching.

[SERMON XIII.]

Beati oculi qui vident quae vos videtis.—Luc. x. [23.]

Þis gospel telliþ bi a parable how eche man shulde love his even cristene; and, for siȝt pryntid in us of manheed of Crist techiþ þis lore graciously, þerfore bigynnep Crist and seip on þis manere. Blessid ben þe eyen1 þat seen þat ze seen; for Y seie to þou, þat many kyngis and prophetis wolden se þat ze seen and siȝen hem not, and here wordis þat ze heeren, and herden hem not. And to a wyse man of lawe roos and temptide Crist, and axide, Maistre, what shal Y do to have þe blisse of hevene? For he wiste wele bi skile þat it was not ynoȝ to see þe manheed of Crist for to come to heven; for many þingis, as Scarioþ and bestis, siȝen Crist, þat weren not able to have blisse. But Crist seide to þis logistre, What is writun in þe lawe? how redist þou? And he answeride and seide, þat þe lawe biddip þat a man shulde love þe Lord his God of al his herte and of al his soule, and of al his strengbis, and of al his mynd, and his neizborze as him sylf.

1 iȝen, B; ëyne, C.
And Crist seide to him that he answeride riȝt; do he pis indede, and he shal lyve in blisse. But pis lawier wolde justifie himself, and perfore he axide, who was his neiȝbore. And Crist tolde him a parable, that was sutil in wit, for Crist lokynge on him seide him pis parable, how a man wenete doun fro Jerusalem into Jerico and felde in þeþes handis, pat dispuyliden him and fastiden many sores on him and wented and leften him halfe quyke. And it fell þat a preest passide þe same wey; and he siȝ him lye þus hirt, and wente awaye and helpide him not. And a deken, whan he was niȝ þe place, and siȝ him sich, passide awaye. But a Samaritan making his weie bi þat place cam bi side him, and siȝ his state, and hadde mercy on him; and he cam nyȝe, and bond his woundis, and helde in hem boþe oile and wyn, and put him upon his hors, and brouȝt him in to stable of a toun, and þere he did cure of him. And anopir dai he toke two pens, and ȝaf hem to þe hosteler, and bade him have cure of him, and seide þus, What ever þou ȝyvest over, whan Y come aþen Y shal þay þee. And whan Crist hadde seide þis parable, he axide of þis man of lawe, which of þese þree men semede him to be neiȝbore unto þis syke man þat þus fell into beves handis. And he seide, þat þe þridde man, þat dide mercy on him. And Jesus seide to þis legistre, Go þou and do riȝt so. Þis man of lawe þat is here nemed was nepir civilian ne canonistre, but he was man of Goddis lawe þat wolde lerne þe wey to hevene. And Crist supposis þþ pis wise man þat ech man is to oþir a neiȝbore as nyȝ as he may, siȝ þei ben boþe of o kynde; but of neiȝborisheþ of place or dwellinge or of worldeþ frendship shulden men not recke here; but we shulden wite þat alle men þat God ordeynep to blis ben ful breþeren boþe of fadir and of moder, siȝ God is þer fadir, and his Chirche is þer moder. And so techip Crist in þis parable, how ech shulde be to oþir neiȝbore in good wil, boþe for we came alle of Adam and Eve, and specialy for we came goostly of Crist and his Chirche and þei ben oure nexte and most fadir and moder. Þis man þat cam doun fro Jerusalem to Jericho is oure firste eldris, Adam and Eve, for þei camen fro siȝt of þees to state of slydyng, as þe moone. Þes þeþes þat woundiden him ben þe fendis þat temptiden him, but þei lefte lyf in him, as God ordeynede him to blisse; but þei drowyn fro þis man goodis of virtu and of
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kynde, and woundiden him bothe in bodi and soule, and lettiden him to live just lyf. Pis preest hat passide first bi mankynde and sia myscheffe hat it was inne, weren patriarkes, bothe biforn pe lawe, and in tyme hat God ȝaf law. Pe dekenye hat passide bi pis weye weren prophetis and oþir seintis hat weren binebo þes first seintis, as dekenes ben under preestis; and bothe pei knewen hat pei myȝten not helpe neiþer oþer men ne hemsylf fro þe synne þat pei fellen yinne bi tempting of þe fend. But pe þridde Samaritan, þat was Jesus, helpide mankynde, for he was an alien as anentis his godhede, and he was keper of man bi bothe two kyndis þat he hadde, and he myȝte not do synne, siþ he was boþe God and man, and hadde not personale beynte of mankynde as oþer men hadden, siþ he hadde a ful beynte biforn tyme þat he was man. He helde in oile to make woundis softe, and to dispose man to be hool; for he putte man in hope to come to hevene bi feþ of Crist; and he putte in wyn þerwip, whan he spake sharpe wordis for to prike men fro synne. He put mankynde upon his hors, whan he made his own manhede to be oure broþer and to bere our syne; aliþ he oþhte not for his synne; he broþte mankynde in to a stable, whan he helide men in þis Chirche; and þis is but a litil stable to regard of al þe Chirche; and he curide men in þis stable bi sacramentis and hevenly ðiftes. And on oþir daie, after tyme þat he was deed, whiche was þe tyme of grace, and þe sunne was newe sprongen, he ȝaf two pens to þis keper, boþe of his godhede and of his manhede, to fede mankynde til þe daie of dome. And so þe keper of þis stable is alle þes men þat God haþ chosen to fede his Chirche wiþ his lawe, and Cristis godhede wiþ his manhede ben sufficient herfore, for þei ben wiþouten ende, as þes serkelis of two pens; and what ever þat prelatis traveilen unto spede of Cristis Chirche, Crist wole at þe daie of dome ȝelde hem graciously; and so ech trewe prelat þat helþ Crist to hele his Chirche, is trewe neiþore to þe Chirche and doþ in part as Crist did.
The healing of
the lepers.

Mystical inter-
pretation of
this miracle.

Wyclif's

Pet fourtenpe Sondai Gospel aftir Trinite.

[Sermon XIV.]

Cum iret Jesus in Jerusalem, transibat.—Luc. xvii. [11.]

Christ wolte teche bi þis miracle in þis parable þat riȝt bileve
is ground of mennes salvacioun. Whan Jesus went to Jerusalem
he went þurȝ Samarie and Galile, and whan he wente into a castel,
ten meselis comen æzens him, and þei stooden ofere and crieden on
him as þei myȝten, and seiden, Jesus, comandour, have mercy on us.
But whan Crist siȝ þes lepres men cryinge þus, and stondinge
togidere after, lest þei blemyschiden oþer men, he bad hem go and
shewe hem to presstis, as God bad in þe olde lawe, and as þei
wenta, þei weren hecid of her lepere. And oon of hem, whan he
siȝ þat he was þus hecid bi miracle, turnede æzen to Jesus wip
a greet vois presynge God, and he feld down in his face before
Cristis feete, and þankide him; and þis man þat þus cam æzen was
a Samaritan. And Jesus spake and seide þus of þis dede þat was
fallen, Ne ben not ten maad clene, and where ben oþer nyne? Þere
is noon founden þat cam æzen, and þankip God, but þis alien. And
Crist seide unto him, Rys and go whider þou wilt, for þi bileve
habe made þee saaf.

To þe witt of allegoric
1, bitokenep þis dede of Crist how he was
wendinge to hevene, þat is clepide Jerusalem, and he passide by
Samary and Galile, or he went to teche, þat he wolde save boþe
heþene men and Jewes. For it is knowen of Samarie þat þei weren
not of Jewes kynde but aliens þat dwelliden þere, fro þe time of
conquest of þat lond. And ten kyndredis of Israelis sones weren
ever putt out, as now ben Jewes, and herfore þe Jewes loveden not
þes Samaritanes, and to þe repreef of Crist þei clepide him a Samari-
tane, þat he grantide in a manere, and denyede þat he was ledd by
þe fende. Cristis wendinge in to þe castel bitokenep his litil Chirche,
þat is armed wip virtues as þe castel is kepe fro enemes; ten
leprous men ben alle þe synful þat mekeli axen forsevenes of
þer synnes. Þei stooeden first fer fro Goddis folk; and siȝ þei

1 allegorik, B; allegorie, C.
wenten to Cristis preestis, and bifore þei comen to hem God assoilide hem of þer synnes; for God seip in þe psalme how man in purpos to leve his synne seide þat he wolde shryve him to God, and God forçaf him his synne. And so Crist tauȝte bi þis dede þat assoilinge of men is not but ȝif God assoile biforn, as God himself assoilide þes leprous. And so preestis assoilien as Goddis vikeris, according to Goddis assoilinges, and ellis þei assoilen no more þan preestis of þe olde lawe heelide men of þer lepre, and þat myȝt þei not do. Þis alien þat cam aȝen to þanke God of his helpe, bitokene þrewe Cristene men þat dwellen in þis bileve; þes nyne þat ben many moo bitokene þen out of bileve, þat trowen þat it is ynow; þat her preest assoile hem, and specialty þe hey preest, how evere he erre in juge-ment, and how þei lyven biforn or after, þes men þat þus ben assoilid. And aȝenþ þis eresie shulde trewe preestis crye fast, for bi þis synne is synne hid, and assoilynge bouȝt and sold, as who so wolde bye an oxe or a cow, and myche more falsely. We shulden come aȝen to Crist, and confesse boȝe his kyndis, and make covaunent wiȝ him to leve oure synne from hennsforp, and þene þow how Crist bad þe woman go and wille no more do synne. For þis covaunent, kept wiȝ sorwe of synne and Goddis grace is ynow, alle ȝif men speken no more wiȝ preestis; but speche wiȝ hem is nedeful in þat þat þei techen men þis treuȝe, and mennys ordenaunce may not reverse þis sentence; and þus we graunten þat ech þing þat Petre bonde or assoilid on erpe, or ony viker of Petre, in þat þat þei acorden wiȝ God, is bounden or loosid in hevene, and ellis not, for ellis þei ben fals. And so ordenaunce of men in byndinge and assoilynge bryngiþ in many erroors and lettiþ trewe prechinge. But Bede seip þat þes leprouse men bitokenen heritikes of many colours þat shulden stonde aferr fro men, and turne to Crist bi riȝt feip, and knowe þat Crist bi his word myȝte have mercy on hem; and aftirward algatis þei shulden be aliens fro Pharisees *. And so alle synful men shulden crye mekely wiȝ þes leprous, þat Crist þat is boȝe God and man shulde have mercy on þer synne, for he is lord wiȝpouen endye, and þei han yvel wrath þid him, and so her synne

* The meaning seems to be: 'And even then, after having been healed, these lepers would still be counted aliens by the Pharisees.'
is so greet that but if Crist of his power and of his grace forgyve pis synne, it may never be forgyven. And for pis ȝing selþ þe Chirche in þer pryeris þat ȝoure God makyþ moost his myȝt knownen in sparynge and havynge mercy; for ȝif Crist did not so, no synful man myȝte be saved. But we shulde undirstonde þat as God is mercysful so he is riȝtful, and hatyn men þat breken covenaunt; and þerfore holde we covenaunt to God, and disseyve we not oure sylf, for God may not be disseyved, however preestis bigile us.

\[ SERMON XV. \]

\textit{Nemo potest duabus dominis servire.}—Matt. vi. [24.]

\textit{Þis gospel techiþ men hou þei shulden be bisye for blisse and leve ðer worldely bisynesse þat lettiþ men fro þis. First selþ Crist þis principle þat ech man shulde trowe, \textit{þat no man may wel serve two fulle lordeþ, for ofir shal he hate þe toon and love þe toþir, or susteynen cause of þe toon and dispise þe toþir;} þus algatis he serveþ anys.—If he serve hem togidere, þe cause is more pleyn; and if he serve first þe toon and siþ þe toþir, ðer he serveþ anys þe toon or þe toþir. In alle þes resouns we shul suppose þat þe gospel spekiþ of siche lordis þat nouþir is wel servaunt to ouþir, as ben God and þe fend; for if ðer ben two lordis and þat oon serve wel þat ofir, a man may serve wel to hem boþe, as we seen al daie; but þe gospel undirstondiþ of siche cheefe lordis þat han not above hem anþir cheef lord. And so is þis world dyvydþ in two maner of lordshipis þat ben Goddis and þe fendis, for alþif þe fend have no propre lordship\textsuperscript{a}, neþeleþ he calengiþ to have greet lordship, and so

\textsuperscript{a} Proper siefs were those only which were held on condition of military service, in which case there was a mutual benefit. Improper siefs were those held upon condition of various other kinds of service. The devil’s lordship over man is not ‘proper,’ because he has no right to demand of man that he should fight his battles for him; nor is his forced service to God ‘proper,’ because it is attended by no benefit to himself. See Hallam’s \textit{Middle Ages}, I. 181.
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maugre his he servep to God, and þis servise is unpropre, as is þe fendis lordship, siþ he servep not God to his owne mede but aȝens his wille he profitiþ to Cristis Chirche, and þus for generalite of lordship of Crist, he seip, who is not wiþ him is aȝens him, and þus seip Crist wel, þat we may not serve God and richesse of þe worlde, for þei ben contraries; for as we may not serve þe fend wiþ servise of God, so we may not serve þe world þat is þe fendis servant. But in al þis speche we shal speke of riþt servise and of unpropre servise þat þe fend mystakiþ, and þan we may see how siche heed servise may not acorde to God and to þe world. For þif a man travele for goodis of þis world, and haþ riþt entent for to worshippe God, he servep not þe world, but it servep him. But it is ful hard to have siche riþt entent, for sich entent mut be mesure of bisynesse, and noumber of travele, and weȝt of mannys wille, and herfor forbedip Crist bisynesse of foode and hilynge, for aboute þes two þinges shulden men sonnest be bysye, and Crist spekiþ of bisynesse most principal in man. And so trewe men witen wele þat ech man shulde cast al his bisynesse in God, as seint Petre biddip, and þus seip Crist, þat we shulde not be bise þe Oure lyf what we shulden ete, ne to Oure bodi what we shulde be cloþid wip; for siþ lyf is more þan mete and mannis bodi more þan cloþ, as God þyne þan man þes two, so wille he ordeyne for hem. Biholde þe þe foules of þe eire, how þei sowen, neþir repen, ne gederen not in to bernes, and siþ God fediþ hem, and siþ þe ben more worþ þan þei; God wole take more heed to you. For as þe bisien ȝou not of þe bodi, so shulden þe not bisien ȝou of hilynge þerof. For what wolde it profite to man to bise þim þus about his bodi; siþ he may not cast þerto a cubite, over þat kynde ȝyveþ him. And þus siþ God bi kynde of man ordeyneþ for mannis bodi, he will ordeyne for þe lesse, how mannis bodi shulde be hilid. And þif þou seie þat many men bi þis shulde sterve for defeute of mete, wel þe wote bi my bileve þat no man shulde faile of mete unto harmynge of his soule, but þif his synne be cause þerof, and so þat it be good and just þat he faile þus of mete; and þus Y rede þat God bad foulis and pore folk fede his prophete, and fedde

1 So in B; wiȝte in A, weȝte in C.
him as best was to profite of his soule. And of clopis what ben ye bisye? loke ye to pe lylyes of pe felde, how pei grove and ben cled and pei travelen not pereaboute, ne spynnen for per cloip, and zit Salomon in al his glorie was not cled as oon of pes is, for shap and colore of lely flouris is not made bi mannis crafte; and so, zif pe hay of pe feld pat now is, and to-morewe is brent, is bus cled bi Goddis wit, myche more wolde he clope men, pat he tellip more by. And so litlins of bileve maki men bus to be bisy, for pei witen not what manere of ping is profitable for mannis soule, and so, Be we not bisye what we shal eie or drynke or wip what pingis oure bodi shal be atired, ffor al sikh pingis seken helpen men faste, and so seke we frist pe kingdom of God and rizwysnesse of him, and all siche pingis shal be cast to us. ASENS pis lore synnen men of pe world, the preestis and clerkes and men of religioun, for pei bisien hem for atire and for foode also, pat profith not to pe soule, pat God forfendi here; and, for breking of pis heste brekip pe ten comandmentis, and al men of pis world ben ful ny3 to breke it, persore Crist and his apostlis, and Baptist, and oper prophetis kepten hem ferr fro pis peril, lest pei slydun perinne. And Crist wip his disciplis wolde not be weddil wip habitis ne manere of penaunt1 metis, lest pei weren to bisie for nouzt, and hou evere we denyen pat we ben to bisye here, nepeles Goddis lawe, pat is Crist, shal rykene wip us and juge us at pe daie of dome, wher pis be sop pat we seyen, and pan worship of pis worlde and curtais manere pat men aksen shall not excuse us, but resoun shall be our juge.

[SE R M O N X V I .]

Ibat Jesus in civitatem quae vocatur Naym.—LUCAE vii. [II.]

Pis gospel tellip of a myracle pat Crist dide of a deed bodi pat was pe secounde of pe pat Crist reinside fro dep to lyf. And so tellip pe gospel pat Jesus wente in to a cite pat is clepid Naym

1 So in B; penaunt, A; peynant, C; penaunce, E.
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wip his disciplis and oþer puple. And whanne he cam nyʒ be zate of be citee, cam a cors þat was born to be biried, þat was a childe of a widow, and myche puple of þe citee cam wip þis widow and made sorewe. And whan Crist sawe þis widow, he hadde mercy upon hir, and bad hir wepe not; but he went and touchide þe beere þat þei baren and þes men þat baren þe beere stoden stille to see the ende. And Crist seide to þe dede bodi, þoyng man, Y bidde þe aryse; And þe þoyng man þat was dedde saet up and bigan to speke, and Crist zat him to his modir. Al þe puple hadde drede, and þesiden God, and saiden, þat a greet prophete roos amonge hem, and þat God hadde visitid þis puple, for this miracle þat þei seien. Þe gospel telliþ of þre dede bodies þat Crist reiside fro deþ to lyf. Þe firste was þe persones douþer þat he reiside wip þe hous; þe secunde was þis widowes sone þat he quyked in þe zate; þe þridde was þe styngynge careyn þat he quyked in þe grave. And þis bitokeneþ þree synnes þat God forȝeþ þeir world. Þe firste bitokeneþ ful consense for to do aȝens God, but it comeþ not out in deede, as þe maide lay in þe hous. Þe secunde bitokeneþ þe secunde synne, whan a man to wickide wille putteþ to a wickide dede, but he comeþ not to custom as dide Lazarus þat was biried in a grave, and þis is þe þong man þat we speken of stonding in þe zate. Þe þridde synne addiþ to þes two a long custom to ligge in synne, and þis is Lazar þat foure daies lay stinkinge in his grave. Þe secounde is a widowes sone, for siche synners wanten God, and so þei, fallinge of spouse, of þe Chirche may wel be clepid a widow, but þei han sorwe of her synne, and oþir neiþbòris also. Crist biddiþ þe beere stoonde whan he ceessiþ men of her synne; and he touchiþ þe bodi, whanne he ȝyveþ hem contricion, and he comand þiþ þe to arise, whanne he comand þe medeful werkes, and þis man bigynneþ to speke, whanne he þankid God in grace, and Crist ȝyveþ him to his modir, whanne he makiþ him helpe his Chirche. And þus wente Crist into Naym, whanne he entride newe to his Chirche; for Naym is as myche to say as flowynge or movynge, for þe Chirche first flowide wip synne, and siþ was moved to God by bemes of þe Holy Goost, whan it hadde grace to come to hir. Wip Crist wente his disciplis and a greet route of folk, for
many weren helpers of God to bringe his Chirche to riȝt staat. 
þe ȝate of þis citee is entree to religioun of Cristis Chirche, in 
which ȝate ben many ȝonge men, blynde and deed goostli, for 
þei knowen not Cristis religioun how it passiþ alle ȝir. And 
so in þis ȝate ben two maneres of dede men. To summe lokip 
Crist, and quykeþ hem in grace, and þyþ hem power and 
wille to come clene to his order. And wite þat al oþer ordris 
ben chargious to men as myche as þei adden to Cristis reli-
gioun, for noon addicioun is worþ but ȝif Goddis lawe grounde 
it. 

Sum men ben deed in þis ȝate þat Crist aquykeþ not, but 
lasten in her olde errours to her deþ dai; and ben þes þat taken 
a lyf ungroundid in Goddis lawe, and þes men lasten in her 
errour out of þe bondis of Goddis lawe, and ben born fro þe 
ȝate to be beried in helle. But þere is a priuy quykenygge þat 
God doip neiþ þe deþþ, þat we can not telle of, but if God wil 
shewe it us, and þerefore folis jugement shulde be fled in þis 
mater; and þus þes men þat baren þis beere to putt þis deed 
man in erþe, ben men þat consenten and procure to wickid-
nesse. And so upon þes þree synnes God haþ mercy here, but 
upon þe fynþe synne God ceessiþ never to punnishe, for þei 
synnen to þe deþþ, and so azens the Hooly Goost, þat God mut 
needis punishe wiþouten ende, for þis synne may have noon 
eende in helle. In þis mater we shulden bewar of peril of 
ypocrisie, for many feynen hem in statis, and done reverse in 
her lyf; and þit þei seien þei ben perfiter þan weren þe first 
clerkis of Crist. And þus enemyes of Cristis religioun chalangen 
to be of his ordre, alþif þey done even þe contrarie to name þat 
þei beren; as þe Pope shulde be moost meke man, moost serv-
vysable and most pore, as we ben tauþt in Seint Petir þat was 
Pope next after Crist. And now men seyen þat þe Pope mote 
nedis reverse þis ordenaunce, and have more power for to do 
þingis þat touche excellence, and þus bishopis þat shulden be 
clerkis and pore men, as apostlis weren, ben moost lordis of 
þis world, and reversen apostlis lyf. Sum tymne weren mounkes 
lewede men, as seintis in Jerusalem; and þanne þei kept hem sylf 
fro synne as seynt Bernard berip witnesse; but now monkes 
ben turned unto lordis of þis worlde moost ydel in goddis 
travaile, and seyen þat þei ben betre monkes þan weren þe first
seintis. And so freris, þat weren breþeren in Crist, and not chargeous to þe Chirche, neiþir in noumbræ ne in cloþing, ne in mete ne in housyng, ben even turned æsen fro þe first lyf of hem, and ȝit bi þer ypocrisyie þei blynden þe Chirche many þatis, and þus names of offices and names of virtues also ben changid bi ypocrisyie, and cursed men reulen þe world.

Þe seventeneþe Sondai aftir Trinite.

[SERMON XVII.]

Cum intrasset Jesus domum cujusdam.—LUC. xiv. [1.]

Þis gospel tecliþ men how þei shal not by þer hiþ staþt hide þere synne, and disturble þe ordenaunce þat Crist hap made. þe story telliþ how Jesus entride in to a Pharisees hous on a Saturday to ele wiþ him, and þei asþedien to take him in defaute; and a syke man in dropesie was þer biffre Crist. And Jesus spake to wyse men of þe lawe, and to Pharisees, where it were levesful to hele in þe Sabot; and þei weren stille, lest þat resoun wente æzens hem; but Crist toke þis syke man, and heilde him þanne biffre hem, and Crist axide hem þis demaunde, þat zif þer oxe or þer asse felle in þe diche, wolde þei not dræwe him out in þer sabot daie; and þei wisten wel þat þei shulden by blyve of þere owen lawe, and þei myȝte not answere him to denye þat he axide. And upon þis arguyde Crist þat myche more it were levesful to helpe in þe Sabot a man þat in more peril, siþ þis work is more spirituel, and man is beter þan a beest. And, for þe synne of þese men stood in pryde of her statis, Crist folde hem a parable, techinge hem how þei shulden chese þe first statis; þat God lovede moost, þat was moost meke statis, but þei chosen as proute men þe first statis to þe world. But Crist biddiþ in his parable, Whan þou erti biden to þe feste, sitte not in þe first place, lest a more worshiful þan þou be beden to þe same feest, and þe lord of þe feste biddle þee, zive þis man stede, and þat þee dawn out of þi place, and þan shalt þou bygynne wiþ shame for to holde þe last place. And herfore whan þou erti beden to a feste, sitte dawn in þe last place,
so þat he þat hap beden þee seie to þee for þi mekenesse, Frend stye more up; þanne shalt þou have worship and joie bfore hem þat sitten at þe feste. For ech man þat hieþ him by presumcioun shal be mekid bi God, and he þat mekiþ him in his soule shal be heyped bi God. Þere we shalt undirstonde þat Crist spekiþ not here of worldly feste, ne of place, for þanne his sentence were nouþ; for þan strif shulde be for place, and oonli oon shulde do Cristis biding, and so Crist shulde ordeyne discencioun wiþouten fruyt among men; and herfore shulde we undirstonde þat þis feste is þe laste soper, þat shal be in heven of scintis aftir þe day of dome; and þe laste place at þis feeste shulde be mannis reputacioun, bi whiche he shulde not presume to be in heven bfore oþirs, but reste mekeli in þis þat he shal come to hevene. Eche man shal hope for to come to blisse; and if he lyve febly and make þis hope fals, himsïlf is cause whi his hope is suche. Ffor þis fals hope, þat sum men do clepen dispeir, shulde have anojpir qualite, and it shulde not be sich, when we witen þat we shulden hope for to come to hevene, after we maken comparisoun bytwene us and oþers; and many men for pryde hopen to passe oþers, and suche presumcioun of hope is sittynge here in hey place. We shulden reste in þis hope þat we shal come to hevene, and leve sich veyne comparisouns, lest we settun us here to hey, and þis is þe laste place þat þe gospel spekiþ of. And þus siche false presumcioun of heynes of state, and aftir þis presumcioun, of heynesse in hevene, makiþ a man to come at þe laste to þe loweste place in þe world, þat is to seïe, to depe helle, þat is þe myddil of þe world. And so spekiþ þe gospel on two weies of þe laste place. The laste place here stondiþ in meke reputacioun, but þe laste place at þe day of dome stondiþ in dampnacioun. And so knyttiþ Crist wel þe helynge of þis ydropesie, for as ydropses is an yvel of fals gretenesse of mennys lymes, and comiþ of unkyndli witir bitwene þe fleish and þe skyn; so pride of worldly goodis, þat ben unstable as þe watir, makiþ a man in ydropses, and falsely presume of himsïlf; as many men in greet astaate and in ryches of þis worlde þenken þat þei shulden þus in heven be bfore oþir men. For, as þei supposen now, þei lyven to God aftir þer staat, and so þei profiten more in þis world þan
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done men under hem, and after þat þei profiten more, þei shal be heiser in hevene, and so þei seien, as þei shulden hope to come to hevene, so shulde þei hopen here to be heier in hevene. But siche proude men, and presumptuous of her staat, shulden traveil in virtues þat þei begilen not hem silf; and þerfore techip þe wise man, þat ever þe more þat þou be here, ever þe more meke þou shuldist be, in al manere of mekenes. And so, if þou be greet here, þou shuldist reste in þe last place, and suppose mekeli of þi silf wipouten siche comparisoun. Ffor who is he þat may seie he serveþ God after his staat? and so statis here and statis in hevene, late or nevere acorden togidere, for fewe men here or noon serven God even to þer state; and so statis of men may cause þer dampnyng deep in helle, and for uneven service here in statis, may men ben ful lowe in hevene.

Þe lessoun of þis gospel is litil coud in þe Chirche, for lordis stryven wip hem silf, and religiose among hem silf, about heynes of þer staat, and þe rote of al þis is pryde. And þei shulden wite þat states here ben harmful unto men, but þif men after her statis serven treuly to þer God; ffor falsnesse in statis makip men to be low or dampned.

Þe eiþenþe Sondai aftir Trinite.

[Sermon XVIII.]

Accesserunt ad Jesum Pharisei auidentes.—Matt. xxii. [34.]

Þis gospel tellþ how Crist distroiede sectis, techinge us how we shulden traveile suying Crist in þis. þe storie of þe gospel seip þat when þe Phariseis hadden herd þat Crist hadde stemmed\(^1\) Saduceis, on of þe Phariseis, þat was a doctour of lawe, temptide Crist on þis wise, and axide him þis question, Maister, which is a greet mandement in þe lawe? And Jesus seide to him þus, þou

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\(^1\) The reading of B is stonyed, i.e. astonished; C, stoned, a 'y' being inserted by a later hand; stemnyde, E. Both Wycliffite versions have 'put to silence.'
shalt love bi Lord God of al bi herte, in al bi soule, and in al bi mynde; pis is pe firste and pe moste mandement of alle. And pis mandement is pe first of pre of pe first table, ffor pre of pe first table techen to love God, and conteyne pre partis answeringe to pe Trinite. It is seid comounly pat in tyme of Crist weren pre sectis of religions, Pharises, Saduceis, and Esses, but of pe two first makyd pis gospel menciou. Pe firste was moost mystic, and perfor it lastide lengest; for abundance of goodis, and long rotyng in pe sect, defenden pes sectis, and maken hard to distroie hem. But Crist distriede pes sectis and savede pes persones; as Poul and Nichodeme weren makid bi grace Cristen men. And herfore seip pis gospel, pat Crist stemned 1 Saduceis, not pat he distriede hem, sip he lovede pes persones; and so Crist distriede pe errors of Phariseis, as he distriede pe errors of pe ojer two. Sum men wenken licly pat pis doctour pat here temptide Crist, dreddde him of his sect pat Crist shulde distroien it, or elliis enfeblen it, as he distriede pe myddil sect, and pis is more licly tan pat pis doctour dide for veyn glorie or to be holde2 wise or to lerne Goddis lawe. He clepide Crist reverently maister, ffor it is manere of yopocritis and of sophists to fage and to speke plesantli to men, but for yvel entent. But our Pharisies to dat done wel wers, ffor pei putten abac goddis lawe and magnifien per ordres; and pes pei failen in pe first mandement, and so in al ojer. And many men trowen not ne suppsen pat pei ben men of holi Chirche, but suppsen pat pei ben lymes of pe fend. But he lovep God of al his herte pat lovep him of al his witt; and he lovep God in al his lyf pat lovep him in al his werkes; for Cristen men lyven in God, and ben moved to al her werkes; for Crist is forme of god, and in Crist we lyven, as Poul seip. And herfore we shall not take pe word of oure God in veyn. Pe pride part of pis mandement, answeryng to pe Holy Goost, biddip pe love bi God in al pi mynde, sip he is mynde of pe Fadir, and of pe Sone, and love of hem two; for undirstonding in a man, and acte of him, pat is his lyf, and refleccioun of lyf, pat is mynd

1 B here reads stemned, in agreement with A; C has stoned or stilled.
2 This is the reading of B; A has bobolden; be boldun, E.
and wille of soule, bitokene to Cristene men her God, þat is þe Trinity. And herfore biddip Goddis lawe, have mynde to holde þin halidai. And þan we loven þis Trinite perfitli as we shulden, whan we loven it more þan ony oþir þing; and as many men þenken, þif þis Pharisee kepte þis, he shulde leve þis straunge sect, as shulden þes newe religions.—De seconde mandement, þat is sevene, biddip þe love þi neþbore as þou lovyst þisilfe, and þat art þou tauþt by kynde, and in þese two manements hongip al þe lawe and þe prophetis. And whan þe Farisees were gederid, Crist axide hem a questioun of þing þat þei shulden bileve, What hem þouþt of þe kynde of Crist, and, whos sone Crist is; and þei seiden, He is David sone; and Crist reþplid aþens þis, how David cleþide him his lord, siþ Crist is David sone, and porer man þan David was. Þe psalm tellip how David seide of þe Fadir and þe Sone, þe Lord, þe Fadir, seide to my Lord, Sitte up on my riþt side as long as Y putt þi enemies in helle a stool undir þi feet. And siþ þis dampnyng shal be ever, God grantide here to Crist þat he shulde ever sitt in hevene on his Fadir riþt hond; Þfor þif David cleþip him Lord, how is pore Crist David sone? And þei myþe not here answere Crist, ne dursten not axe him more fro þat dai. —And here convyctide Crist þes men of open untrepe in hir bileve; and so mente privily þat þes sectis shulden be distried, siþ he shal reprove þe worlde of þe synne of untrepe. And it semeþ to many men þat alle þes sectis synnen þus, for þei loven not hir God as þe gospel biddeþ þe; for þif þei loveden wel God, þei shulden kepe þis word of him. Generaly þes newe sectis loven more þer owen ordre þan þei done þe ordre of Crist, which he þaf his owne persone; and þan þei loven her sect more þan þei loven þe sect of Crist. Þis sect of Crist by þat is lasse þat þei putten in þes newe sectis; siþ þei, kepinge Cristis secte, bi þat maken his sect more; and it is oon to love a þing and to willen þat þing good; but þei wolden þat al þis world were suget unto þer sect. And, Lord! if þat men wolden undirstonden, what it is to love a þing; and whanne men loven, loven þer god over al oþir þingis; þanne heresie of þes newe sectis, and oþir errours in þe worlde shulden be more knowen unto folk þan þei ben now for ypocrisie. Þes ypocrisie seien þat þer sectis and al þe deedis þat þei done is groundid upon
Crist, and is Cristis religioun; and so þei have none newe ordris, but newe customes, þat þei may leve; and so þei shulden seie bi resoun þat þer be not many ordris of freris, ne accepcions of persones to helpe or to punishe men; siþe ech man of Cristis religioun is of alle manere ordre; and so lawe of apostataas and of oþir reulys þat þei have founden, shulden ben contrarye to hemsilf, as freris dedis reversen þis lawe.

Þe nyntenþe Sonday Gospel aftir Trinite.

[SERMON XIX.]

Ascendens Jesus in naviculam.—Matt. ix. [r.]

Þis gospel tellþ of a miracle þat Crist dide before þe peple, and þerwþ reprevyde þe scribis; and how he doþ awei synne. Þe story tellþ how Jesus steye in to a boot, and cam to his citee, and it is seid comously þat he rowide to Galilee, and cam in to Nazareb, þat was citee of his birþe, and þere þey browzþen him a syke man by þalsie, liyng in a bedde. And Jesus seynge her bileve, seide unto þis syke man, Have trust, sone, þi synes ben now forþeven bee. And sum scribis seiden wipinne hemsilf; Jesus blasfemeþ in þis word. And whan Crist saw þir þouþþis wipinne, he seide, Whereto þei þouþþen þus yvel in her heris? And bi þis word he taunte hem þat he was God, for oonli God mai þis wise wite, what a man þenkiþ wipynne. Crist axide hem, Where is it liþþer, to seie, þi synnes ben forþyven bee, or ellis to seie, ðys and go? As þif Crist wolde mene þis resoun, he þat haþ power to do þat oon, haþ power to do hem boþe. And Jesus seide, For þe shulde wite þat Y have power to forþyve synne, þe seide to þe man in þalsie, ðys and take bi bedde anoon and go hool in to þi hous. And he aroos and wente in to his hous on þat manere þat Crist bad him, and þe þule seynge þis þing dredden, and glorifieden God bat 3af siche power to men. As to Jesus and his disciplis, þis storye of Crist may betoken þe lyþ þat Crist lyvede here; so þat þe takynge of his boot bitokenþ his manheed, or þe bodi of his modir; for mannis bodi is liche a boot. In þis boot Crist
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wente over þe water of peynes of þis worlde, and wente not oonli into hevene, þat is propre citee of Crist, but into Nazareth, in which Crist dide þis miracle. But boþe men and aungels offerd to Crist mankynde, þat was smytyn in palesie; for propor of þis yvel palasie is a sikenesse groundid in synewis of a man, þe which sinowis ben unstable to move a man as þei shulden; and moystnes of þes senewis þat ben wrappid in moyst þing is a cause of þis yvel, as philosophris seyen. Shaking in þe palesie is unstatinesse of bileve; for eche article of þe troupe shulde have a synowe for to lede it, and al þes articlis shulde come of Crist, þat is heed of holy Chirche. And, for þes þat ofreiden þis man ben o persone wiþ him, þerefore biddþ þe gospel wel, þat Cristís some shulde truste in him, and Crist forþeþ þim first his synne of untreuþe þat he was inne, for untreuþe is þe first synne þat comeþ unto man, and it fel not to þis lord to 3yve but a greet 3yfte, siþ ech 3yfte þat man 3yveþ shulde answer to þe 3yver. But scribis þat knowen not Cristís godhede seien þat Crist blasfemed in þis, for al oonli God may forþyve synnes; but Crist techþ þat he is God bi þe werkþ þat he doþ, for it is yliche 1 liht to do miraclis bi himsylf, and to forþyve synnes, for noon but God may do þes þingis. And hertore Crist helide mankynde of his goostly palesie, and put bileve in oþir men þat Crist hadde power to do þus, and þus wente mankynde, þat God hadde ordeyned unto blisse, fro error of his olde synne into þe hous of Cristís Chirche.

But here men douoten of þe letter, wher prelatis may forþyve synne, and it semeþ þat þei may, for preestís may assoyle of synne, and it is al oon to assoyle men of synne and to forþyve þe same synne. And it semeþ þat preestís mai not forþyve synnes unto men, for þere is noo synne here but þif it be offence of God; but no man mai forþeþ þis but þif it be God him sylfe. And so it semeþ þat oure prelatís may not here forþyve synne. Soþ it is þat men mai here forþyve trespas done to hem, and remitte mannís injurie as much as in hem is, but not remitte utterly synne done ægens God. Here it is nede to undirstonde how preestís assoilen men of synne, and how preestís forþyven synne,

1  ilieb, B; eliebe, C.
for boþe ben conseved wel and yevel: preestis may assoile of synne if þei acorden wiþ keies of Crist, and if þei discorden fro þes keies, þei feynen hem falsely to assoile. And so on two maneres men may be assoilid of her synnes; and first prynicipaly of God whan Goddis injurie is forþoven; and þe secounde is assoiling by a turne þat preestis han; and if þis assoilinge be trewe, þei kepen þe boundis þat God þaf hem, and þis assoilinge han preestis as vikers of goddis wille. And þere lien many disseitis in suche absolucioun, for if þis assoilinge be trewe, it mut acorde wiþ Cristis assoilinge, and to such assoilinge is needful boþe witt and power. And so on two maneres may a man remitte or deny þe trespas þat is done to him, and so remitte synne; first remitte wronge of God, þat is propred unto God, or ellis dismitte wronge of his broþer in þat þat it is made aþens him. And so remission is complete þat perteyneþ onle to God, or ellis remissioun incomplete þat men shulden have generaly, for ellis Crist wolde not teche men to preie on þis maner, Forȝyve us, Lord, oure dettes of synne, as we forȝyven oure dettours. Ʒif ony man wolde telle more pleynly þis sentence bi Goddis lawe, Y wole mekeli asente þerto, Ʒif þei grounden þat þei seien; and Ʒif ony man prove þis fals or aþens Goddis lawe þat Y have seid now here, Y wole revoken it mekeli, but wele Y marke þat þis gospel seip þat God þaf sîch power to men, but þis gospel seip not þat God þaf þis power to men.

[ SERMON XXX. ]

Loquebatur Jesus cum discipulis.—Matt. xxii. [1.]

þis gospel tellip in a parable what men shulde trowe of þis Chirche fro hennes to þe dai of dome, as it is touchid sumwhat bifiore.

Jesus spake wiþ hise disciplis in parablis and seide þus. Þe reume of hevene is maad liche unto a man þat is a kyng, þat made wedding to his sone; and sente his servauntis to cleþe þes men þat
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weren beden to be brydale; and, for þei wolden not come, he sente oþir servauntis and seide, Seie ȝe to men þat ben beden, Lo Y have made redy my mete, my boles and my volatils¹ ben kild, and al oþir þingis ben redy; come þe faste to þe feste. But þei dispididen his biddinge, and sum wente into his town, and sum into his chaf-farynge, and token þis kyngis servauntis, and þunishiden wip conete² and kiltiden hem. And þe kyng, when he say þis, was wroþ, and sente his ostis, and loste þes mansleeris, and brente hir citee; and seide þan to his servauntis, Metis of þis bridale ben redy, but men clepid were not worthi; þerfore go þe to eendis of weies, and whomever þe finde clepe ye to þe mete. And þes servauntis wenten out, and gedriden men al þat þei founden boþe good and yvel, and þe bridale was fulfillid wip men sittinge at þe mete; al þif þei weren not alle ful served. Pe Kyng cam in to se his gisitis, and saw þere oon wipoute bride cloþis, and seide to him, Frend, how entreidisti þou hider wipouten bride cloþis? and he was doumb. And þan þe lord bade hise servauntis to bynde him boþe hondis and fetes, and sende him into utter derknesse, þere shall be wþypyng and guastighe of teþ. For many ben clepid and fewe ben chosen. Pe kyndom of hevene is þe Chirche, þat takþ name of þe Heed, as þe gospel spekþ comonyly; and so þis rewme is liche a kyng; þat is þe Fadir in Trinite; and þis kynge made a mariage to Crist þat is his sone, and to þis Chirche þat is his spouse, and to damyselis þerof. For, as Salomon seþ, foure degrees ben in þis Chirche; sun ben quenes, sun ben lemmannes, and sun damyselis; but oone is spouse þat conteyneþ alle þes þree, and þat is al holi Chirche. And þus þere ben many chirches, and a newe chirche wip Crist; þe al þe chirche of men and angels is newid bi þe Incarnacioun.—Þe servauntis of þis spouse bidden men to þe feste, when þei moven men to come to blisse bi þer just lyfe; and þes servauntis weren prophetis and apostolis of Goddis two lawes; but þei weren clepid specialy whan Cristis birþe was shewid hem, for as it was seid biþore, þan alle þingis weren made redi; and many men in boþe

¹ volatiles, E. ² conete, B; conte, E; conekte, C; this is unquestionably the right reading; see Glossary.

a That is poultry, Fr. volaille.

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These tymes wolden not come thus to this feste. After these servantis he sent oþir, as men þat nexte sueden þe apostlis; and bolis and volatils weren slayn, and mete was redy to þis feste. Þe boles bitokenen þe olde þadrís, as patriarkes and David, for þei diden bataillis of God, and turneden his enemyes wiþ her horns, and þit þei kepten ful bisili þe grete mandemtis of God. Þe volatils þat serven seyntis at þe secounde cours of þis feste ben seintis of þe newe lawe þat wiþ þes mandemtis kepten Cristis conseilis; and þit men forsoken to come notwþþstondinge sample of þes seintis. And sum wenten aþir lordship of þis worlde, and sum after chaffare of þis worldely riches; but sum slowen Cristis serveantis, as emperours of Rome and preestis. Þe king of hem was wroþ herfore, and senter his oostis out to Jerusalem and slow þes seleeris of Crist, and brenþ þer citee, as Josephus tellþ. And þis dede done in Jerusalem þe two and fourty þeer after þe deþ of Crist bitokeneþ þe vengeauce of God for sleing of Cristis membris. And þus men þat stoonden bihynde, boþe in þe olde lawe and in þe newe, weren unworþi to fille þe nombre þat God ordeynede to be saved. And now in þes laste dæies God bade hise serventis clepen men boþe good and yvel in to þe Chirche þat weren out of þe riþ weye, and wenten bi weyes of erroirs þat weren hard for to wende; and so as Petir in his first fishinge toke two manere of fishes; sum dwelliden in þe nette, and sum borsten þe nette and wenten aweye; so here in þis Chirche ben sum ordeyned to blisse and sum to peyne, al if þei lyven justly for a tyme. And so men seien comounly þat þere ben here two manere of chirkes, holy Chirche or Chirche of God, þat on no manere may be damyped, and þe chirche of þe fend, þat for a time is good, and lastþ not; and þis was nevere holy Chirche, ne part þerof.

But þe king aþir þis feste came in at þe dai of dome, for God shewþ him þanne to alle, for he knowþ alle mennes lyf; and þes þat wolden not laste in grace weren not cloþid in bride cloþis; and alle þes ben o man þat hadde noo witt to answere God. But, for þis man wiþ parts of him proftide to Cristis Chirche, and was of þe same kynde wiþ Crist, Crist cleþþ him frend, as he dide Judas; but alle þes men can not answere how
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pei entren in to þe Chirche, for it was told hem opynli þat þei ben traitours but if þei lasten, and ben more worði to be dampned þan men þat nevere entriden þus. And so al siche men token payne bi just jugement of God, þat þer willis shulden be bounden and þer profitable werkes, and shulden be cast in to helle, where men shulden wepe and gnaste wiþ teþ; wepyngæ shall be sensible sorowe, and gnastyngæ shall be wantinge of blisse. Wherfore men shal moost grutche, siþ þei myȝt liȝtly have come to blisse, and aftir þis þei shal have noo wille neþer to desire ne to wirche wel, and þus many men ben clepid, but few ben chosen to blisse.

†E OON AND TWENTYþ SONDAY GOSPEL AFTIR TRINITE.

[SERMON X XI.]

Erat quidam regulus.—Joh. iv. [46.]

†is gospel tellþ how a kyng, þat sum men seien was an heþene man, bilevede in Crist, and disserved to have a myracle of his sone. þe story seþ, how in Galilee was dwelling a litil kyng, in þe citee of Capharnaum þat hadde a sond ful syke of þe feveris. And whanne he herde telle þat Jesus come fro Jude to Galilee, he came and mete him on þe wey, and preide him come down and hele his sone, for he was in point of deep. And Crist seide to þis kyng, to amend his bileve, þe bileven not in Jesus but if þe se signes and woundris; as þis man bilevede not in þe godhede of Crist, for if he hadde, he shulde have trowide þat Crist myȝte have savyd his sone þif he hadde not bodily come to þis syke man and touchid him; but þis kyng had more herte of helþe of his sone þan he hadde to be helid of untreþþ þat he was inne, and þerfore he tolde not herby but axide eft Crist to hele his sone. And in þis forme of wordis¹ in which he shewide his untreþþ, Lord, he seide, come down before þat my sondie. But Jesus, as wise lord and merciful, heeliode his sone

¹ wormes, B; wordis, C and E.

E 2
in siche manere þat he myþe wite þat he was boþe God and man; Go, he seide, þi sone lyveþ. And þerwil Crist tauþte his soule boþe of his manhede and godhede, and ellis hadde not þis king trowid; but þis gospel seip þat he trowid, and al his hous; and upon þis treuþe he wente homward and mette his men upon þe wey, þat tolden him þat his sone shulde lyve, for he is coverid of ðis yvel. And he axide whan his sone ferde beter, and þei seiden, þat þistirdai þe sevene hous þe feveres forsoke þe child. And þe fadir knewe bi his mynde þat þat it was þe same hous þat Crist seide, þi sone lyveþ, and herfore blyveþe he and al þis hous in Jesus Crist. And þerfore Jesus seide soþ, þat he and men liche to him trowen not but if þei se boþe signes and woundris; it was a signe of þe sike child þat he dide werkes of an hool man, but it was a greet woundir þat bi virtue of þe word of Crist a man so ferre shulde ben hool, for so Crist shewide þat he is virtue of Godhede, þat is everywhere; and þis virtue mut be God, þat dide þis þis myracle.

Þis stori seip us þis secounde witt þat God þyveþ to holy writt, þat þis litil kyng bitokeneþ a mannis witt bi synne slyden fro God, þat is but a litil king in regard of his maker; and his sone was syke on þe feveris, as weren þes heþene folke and þer affecciouns þat comen of þer soulis; but þei hadden a kyndli willi to wite þe treuþe and stonde þereinne. Þis kyng cam fro Capharnaum, þat is, a feld of fatnesse; for man fattid and alardid \(^1\) wendiþ away fro God. Þis mannis witt, whanne he herde þat Jesus cam to heþen men, and þat bitokeneþ Galilee, þat is, transmigracioun, mette wiþ Jesus in pleyn weie, and lefte his heþene possessioun, and preide God to heele his folke þat weren syke bi goostly fever. But Crist sharpide þes mennis bileve, for feþi is first nedeful to men, but undirstonding of man preide Crist come douþ bi grace bifoře mannis affeccioun die

\(^1\) alardid in B and C; but A probably preserves the true reading; lardid, E.

\(^a\) The meaning seems to be, 'It was a sign that the sick child should be healed at all; it was a wonder that he should be healed though a great distance off.'

\(^b\) Capharnaum, i.e. Kaphar-na-oum, means 'hamlet of Nahum.' (Bib. Dict.)

\(^c\) See p. 30, note.
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aboute erpely goodis. But, for men trowiden þe godhede of Crist, þei weren hool of þis sever, whan þei forsoken þis world and putte þer hope in hevenly goodis. Þes servauntis ben low virtues of þe soule, which, worching ioyfulli, tellen mannis wit and his wille þat þis sone is hool of sever. Þis severe bitokeneþ shakynge of man bi unkyndli distempoure of abundaunce of worldely goodis, þat ben unstable as þe water; and herfore seip Seint Jame þat he þat douteþ in bileve is lyke to a flood of þe see þat wiþ wynde is born aboute.—þat þes servauntis tolden þis king þat in þe sevenþe houre severe forsoke þis childe, bitokeneþ a greet witt, as Robert of Lincoln shewþþ. First it bitokeneþ þat þis severe goþ away fro mannis kynde bi seven giftes of þe Holy Goost, þat ben undirstonden bi þes houres. And þis clerk dividþ þe dai in two halves bi sixe houres, so þat al þe daie bitokeneþ liht of grace þat þat man is inne. þe firste sixe houres bitokenen joy þat man hæþ of worldely þing, and þis is bifoer spiritual joy, as utter man is bifoer spiritual. But in þe firste houre of þe secounde halve leveþ gostly sever man, for who so evere have worldely joie, ȝif he have grace on sum manere, ȝit he trembleþ in sum severe aboute goodis of þe world; but anoon in þe sevenþe hour, þat is þe firste of þe secounde halfe, whan wille of worldely þingis is lefte, and spiritual þingis begynen to be loved, þan þis shakynge passþþ fro man, and goostli helþþ comeþ to þe spirit. And so shadewis of liht of sunne fro þe sevenþe houre in to þe niȝt ever waxen more and more, and þat bitokeneþ goostli, þat vanite of þis world semþþ ay more to mannis spirit til he come to þe ende of þis lyf to lyf þat ay shal laste. And so þis man trowþþ in God, boþ wiþ undirstonding and wille, wiþ al þe maynþþ of his hous, whan al his wittis and alle his strengþþis ben obeshinge to resoun, whan þis fever is þus passid. Of þis undirstondinge men may take moral witt how men shal lyve, and large þe mater as hem likeþþ.
The two and twentieth Sunday Gospel after Trinity.

[SERMON XXII.]

Simile est regnum caelorum homini.—Mat. xviii. [23.]

'His gospel tellip bi a parable how bi riht jugement of God men shulden be merciful.—Pe kyngdom of hevene, seip Crist, is lyke to an erbes kyng pat wolde ryken wiþ hise serveuntis. And whanne he hadde bigun to rekoun, oon was ovrid unto him pat ovrid him ten thousand besantis, and whanne he hadde not to paye of, pe lord bad he shulde be soold, his wyf and his children and al pat he hadde, and pat pat he ouzt pe lord shulde be algatis paide. 'His serveunt fell down and praide pe lord and seide, Have pacience in me, and Y shall gyte pée al. Pe lord hadde mercy on him, and forsaft him al his dette. 'His serveunt went out and found oon of hise deitours, pat ouzt him an hundred pens; and toke him and stranglitde him, and bade him paie his dette. And 'his serveunt felle down and praide him of pacience, and he shulde bi tyme zelde him al pat he ouzt him. But 'his man wolde not, but wente out and putte him in prisoun, til he hadde paiet pe dette pat he ouzt him. And oþir serveuntis of 'his man, whan 'hei seynt 'his deede, mourned ful myche, and tolden al 'his to pe lord. And pe lord cleept him, and seide unto him, Wickide serveunt, al þi dette Y forsaft þe, for þou pretedst me; ne bihoved þee not to have mercy on þi serveunt, as Y hadde mercy on þee? And pe lord was wroft, and zaf him to tormentours, til he hadde paiet al þe dette þat he ouzt him. On þis manere, seip Crist, shal my Fadir of hevene do to you, but zif ye forgyve, ech on to his broþir, of your free herie þe trespas þat he hap done him.

'Pe kyngdom of hevene is holy Chirche, of men, þat now traveilen here; and þis Chirche bi his heed is lyke to a man kyng, for Crist, heed of þis Chirche, is boþe God and man. 'His kyng wolde ryken wiþ his serveuntis, for Crist haþ wille wiþouten ende to rykene wiþ men at þre tymes. First, Crist rykeneþ wiþ men whan he techip hem bi resoun how myche þei han hadde of him, and hou myche þei owen him; þe secunde tyme Crist
rykenep wip men, whan in pe houre of mannis depe he tellip hem at what point pes men shal ever justli stonde; pe pridde rekenyng is general, pat shal be at pe daie of dome, whan pis jugement generali shal be openli done in dede. As anentis pe first rekenyng, Crist rekenep wip riche men of pis worlde, and shewip hem, how myche pei owen him, and shewip bi riȝt-wisnesse of his lawe how pei and peires shulden be sold, and so make aseep bi peyne of pingis pat pei perfourmeden not in dede. But many sic men for a tyme have compunction in herte, and preien God of his grace to have pacience in hem, and pei shal in pis lyf serve to Crist treuly. And so Crist for-sevep hem upon pis condicioun. But pei wenden out, and seen not Crist per lord in mercy, but oppressen per servauntis pat owen hem but a litil dette, and putten hem in prisoun, and penken not on Goddis mercy; and oþir servauntis of God boþe in pis lyf and in pe topir tellen to God pis felines, and preien him of venjance. No doute God is wroþ at pis, and at two rekenyngis wip man, he resounep pis cruel man, and jugip him justli to peyne.

And therefore Crist biddip, bi Luk, al men to be mercyful, for per Fadir of heven pat shal juge hem is mercyful. But we shul undirstonde bi pis, pat pis mercy pat Crist axip is noþing aþen resoun, and so bi pis just mercy men shulen sum tyme forsyve, and sum tyme shulden pei punishe, but ever bi resoun of mercy. Pe resoun of mercy stondip in pis; pat men myþten do cruely pei done justli for Goddis sake, to amendement of men; and men may mercyfully reprove men, and punishe hem, and take of hem þere just dettis for beterynge of pes dettouris. On pis manere dþ God þat is ful of mercy, and seip þat he reprovep and chastisip his wantoun children þat he loveþ; and þus Crist reprovede Pharisees, and punishide preestis wip oþir peple, and puniship mercifulli alle damþed men in helle, for it stondip not wip his riȝt þat he punishe but mercifulli. God ȝyveþ goodis of kynde bi grace to þes men þat he damþep, and if he punishe hem more, ȝit he medlip mercy. But here men shulden be ware þat al þe goodis þat þei han ben goodis of her God, and þei nakide servauntis of God; and þus shulden þei warly flee to take

* By sufferinge pain, make amends for neglected duties.
tere owen venjance, but venge injurie of God, and entenden amendement. Pus Crist, mekist of all, suffride his owne injurie in two temptaciouns of pe fend, but in pe fridde he saide, Go, Såñ, and reprovede him sharpli bi autorite of God.—Pus Moises, myldest man of alle, killide many þousand of his folk, for þei worshipiden a calfe, as þei shulden worshippe God. And þus in oure werkes of mercy lieþ myche discrecioun, for ofte tymes oure mercy axiþ to venge and to punishe men, and ellis justises of mannis lawe shulden nevere punishe men to þe deep, but ofte tymes þei done amys, and þei witen not whan þei done wele, and so religiou of preestis shulde leve sich jugementis.

**Pe þre and twentye Sondai Gospel.**

**[Sermon XXIII.]**

Abeuntes Phariseei.—Matt. xxii. [15.]

Pe storie of þis gospel tellip how þe Phariseeis casten to disseyve Crist bi wordis of ypocrisie. And so þe Phariseeis wendinge out, fro þe weye of treuþe, maden a conseil bi hem siſfe to take Jesus in speche, and first þei spaken fagynge wordis, as ypocris doen, but þit þei senten her disciplis, and comen not hemself, lest þei weren convictid bi wisdom of Crist. þei sente to Crist two puplis, Jewis and Erodiains, to witnesse æzen him what ever he hadde seide, or æzen þe Jewis, or æzen þe emperoure. Maister, þei seiden, we witen wel þat pou art sad trewe, and þe weie þat ledip to God þou techist in treuþe, (and þou takist noon heede of man, but boldli techist þe soþe,) for þou reckest of no man but puttist God biforn. And aftir þei axiden þis questioun of Crist, þat he shulde telle þat him þουþ, and not bi oþer mennis witte, where it where leveful to þyve taliage to þe emperour. Hem þουþte þat Crist shulde nedis seie þhe or nay; þif he seide þhe, he spake æzen þe Jewis, for þei calengiden of

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1 So in B and C; A has to.
SERMONS.

'er fadirys to be sugueto no man; and iff he seide nay, he
were azenes þe emperoure, and so on ech side hem þouste þat
Criste was take. But Crist shewide first þe purpos of þes
ypocritis. Whan Jesus knewe þe wickidnesse of þes fals men,
he clepide hem ypocritis, and axide whereto þei temptiden him.
And efie Crist toke a meene weye, anopir þan þei þousten on;
Shewe þe me, seide Crist, þe moneye of þe taliage; and þei shew-
iden him a peny. And Crist axide over, whos ymage is þis,
and whos writing above? And þei seiden, it was þe emperours.
And Crist ȝaf hem þis answere, general and sutil, ȝyve þe
to þe emperoure þat is his, and to God þat is His. Bi which
word it semeþ þat Crist approvede þe emperour and subiec-
cion to him in þat þat he makiþ Goddis pees; and servise
propre to God shulde be kepte to Him; and so Cristis wordis
myste no man disprove.

Here men may touche þe malice of ypocrisie, for þere is no
wers synne, ne more general, ne more venymous; for it is more
yvel þat it þus contrarieþ to treuþe, siþ an ypocrite feynþe him
holy, and he is a fals fende. And herfore reproovede Crist ypocrisy
of ordris, for he wiste wel þat þei shulden after do more harm in
þe world. Ffirst sich ypocritis lyen on hemsilfe, and seien þei
done for holynesse what evere þat þei done, and so þei venymen
first hem silf, and afterward oþer men. And it is more general
þan many oþir synnes, for ech state of men is blemshid wiþ þis
synne, but first and moost, religions and clerkes, for þere is no
spedy cause whi þei usen siche habits but to devyde hem in
holynesse fro þe common peple, siþ as medeful werkes myȝten þei
done in seculer habits, and more privily, as Crist bidþiþ us
be holy. And herfore Crist biddþ to be war wiþ sour dow of
Phariseis, siþ þere is no resoun to ypocrisy but to shewe menys
synne, and to disseyve on ech side boþ þe ypocritis hem silfe
and oþir men þat dwellen wiþ hem. And so her religioune serveþ
to crye þat þei ben holy, and to make dyvysioun bitwixe hem and
oþer men. And siþ liknes is cause of love amonge men, sich dyv-
ysioun is cause of envye and hate. Goddis lawe and kynde
teþiþ þat ech beest loveþ beest like to him, and so experience
teþiþ þat oon ordre loveþ his broþir more þan a strange man

1 So B and C; A reads lyve.
ažen þe reule of charite. And sich gedring of lumpis bi sensible signs haþ not autorite of Crist but raþer reprevyng. For upon Good Friday Crist ordeynede him to be cloþid þrieþ ažens sich weddinge wiþ cloþis of colour and shap; and as Crist seþ in reprof of siche sectis, Kynrede of hordom sekiþ siche signes; alle þe dedes þat þei done sownen to ypopocrisie, and ažens no men spake Crist sharplier.

And alþif freris seien þat þei beggen for charite, whan þei have prechid for siche beggyng, and þat Crist beggíd so, and bad hem begge þus, neþþeþ þis speche is poudrid wiþ gabbinge, and, as ypopocris done, þei seken þer owen avantage and not þe worship of Crist, ne to profite of his Chirche. For if þei diden, þei wolden sue Cristis reule, and leve chargyng of þe puple boþe in noumre and begging, and leve her heye housis þat þei propren unto hem, siþ Crist hadde no propre hous to reste in his heed. And as Macometis lawe takþ myche of Cristis lawe, and meddliþ oþir lawis, and þere comeþ in venym, so doþ Anticrist in þis newe sectis; and as þei bringen in breþeren bi falshed of lesyngis, so ben þer ordris groundid in falshed in ech side. And siche men mote needis disturbale holy Chirche; and þus seculer clerkis ben ful of ypopocrisie, boþ popis and bishopis and clerkis under hem. Crist forfendide to putte miraclus þat he had done to þe manhede of him for errour in bileve; but þe send dreþ not to feyne absolucionous and indulgencis wiþ oþir þifis, þat God grantide nevere, to spuyle men of her money, and not for soule hele; for þan wolden þei þyve freely þes þifis, as Crist þaf himself and bad oþirs do. And þus lower clerkis traveilen bi water and bi londe for to have benefices and propre possessions, more þan þei done for helpe of mannis soulis; and how ever þei speken, þei lyven al in ypopocrisie; and þus whan men fîþen, pleden, or chiden, charite is not þere ende, but pride and propre havynge. And þus it is of seculers þat ben weddid men; and so charite of men is blyndid bi ypopocrisie, so þat no synne of þis world lettþ now more charite; and so ypopocrisie is more general synne, and more pryvy sin to begile men, and werst to distroien þe comoun peple, and al þis figureden Pharisæes ažens Jesus Crist.
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Æ FOURE AND TWENTIKE SONDÆ AFTIR TRINITE.

[SERMON XXIV.]

Loquente Jesu ad turbas, ecce princeps.—Matt. ix. [18.]

This gospel tellieth of his firste dede bode that Crist reiside to lyf, and how Crist helide a womman as he wente þidir. This storie tellieth that, as Crist spoke to the folk, a prince came to him and worshipide him wip honour, and seide to him, Sire my doughter is now deed, but come and putte þi hond on hir and she shal lyve, bi vertue of þe. We shal undirstonde þat in tyme of Crist were princes of preests, as princis of knyghtis, as Nichodemus was a prince, and bishopis of Jerusalem were clepid princes of preestis, and þis man here, þat was keper of a synagoge, as now ben persones; and þes men hadden comounly wyves and children, as preestis han wers now, for þei han out of wedloke. And Jesus roos up, and sued þis prince, and his disciplis, for he was redi to do good, and as he wente, a syke womman by flij of blood þat lastide xii wynter came bihynde Jesus and seide to hir self, If Y touche þe hemn of þe cote of Jesus, Y shal be safte for holynes of him. And Jesus turnede agen, and lokide on hir, and say her blyve, and saide þus to hir, Aftie þe, doughter, þi blyve haf made þee saif. And þe womman was saved from þe same houre. This gospel of Mattheu tellieth ferper, hou Crist came to þe hous of þis prince þat þe wenche lay deed inne; and whan Crist say mynysteris, and folk makinge nois, he badde hem go þenne, for þe wenche is not deed but stedip. And þei scorneþ Crist, for þei wenden þat he had erred. And whan þe folk was cast out, Crist wente in to þe hous, and toke þe hond of þe wenche, and saide, Wenche, rys up. And þe wenche roos, and dide werkes of lyf.

It is seid bfore how þis firste bode þat Crist reiside from deep to life bitokeneþ sicke men þat ben goostly deed, for ful concense to synne; but þei do not þe dede wipout; and þat is bitokned þat þe wenche was in þe hous þit. þis prince is mannis þouþ, þat kyndly haf sorewe þat þe spirit of it is þus fillid wip synne;

1 So in B; A has præcipes.

a See p. 39.
and þus it preieþ to God þat þis douþter be quykened. And when Crist entriþ to þe soule of þis maiden and moveþ wiþ his worchinge hond þe spirit of it, þan it riseþ to lyf and worchipþ by grace. And here men noten, how a ligginge man, þat shulde be areisid up, shulde sede his hond and þe reiser shulde take it, and so bi strengþe of hem boþe shulde þe man rise. Ech man in synne liþ1 at þe erþe, and God helpþ many men to rise up to grace, and if þe wirchen wiþ God to þis werke of lyfe, God wolde make hem stonde, and comfort hem to wirche. Þis woman þat was heelid,2 as Crist wente to þis hous, of þe flix of blood þat she hadde twelve þere, is every persone of man combrid wiþ synne, where it be symple persone or gedrid of many; and þes twelve þere bitokenen double age of two kyndis of man bi which he dwellip in synne. But man may spende al þat he haþ aboute oþir fiscians3 and gete him absolucions, þe after þe daie of dome, and many indulgensis, wiþ lettris of fraternite, þat bihoþipþ him to come to hevene, as soone as he is deed, and þit mai þe flix of blood rennen wiþ al þis, and he may be depper in synne wiþ al þes dispensis. And herefore mekenesse of Crist is a special medicine, þat a man þenke hou he is in þe last place beden of Crist to soupe wiþ him in hevene. And þus þis cloþing of Crist ben seintis þat he cloþid, and þe last of þis cloþing is þe last place þat men shulden repute hem inne bi mekenesse of herte, and doing awey þes presumpckiouns comen þei þus behinden, and Crist bi siche mekenesse þyveth hem grace to leve synne, and þis is beter þan medecynes þat fiscians sellen. And siche men ben confortid bi wordis of Crist, for Crist helþ noone bodiþly but þif he hele hem of synne, and þus ech storie of myraclis of Crist mai be moralisid to a good witt, ne is it no perel to varie in siche wittis, so þat men varien not fro þe trueþe, ne fro good lore, for þe Holy Goost, autor of þes wordis, ordeynþ men to have al sich wittis, and he ordeynþ þis tixt to move hem herto. Hou shulde sich sense be error in man? But siche wordis axen good jugement, for many heretikis seyen þat þei han witt of God, and þit it mai be oon of þe fendis heresies.

Here men douten, comonly when men synnen dedely

1 liþ, B. 2 So in B: fescisians, A; fescianeæ, C. 3 beten, B; bibeten, C.
SERMONS.

wipinne in þer soule, and done noon yvel dedes wipouten in þer bodi þat anoien men. And men moven over how resoun mai assente to ony synne of man, siþ ech synne is aþens resoun; and þit sum men seien þat it is alon resoun and mannis spirit; and so þif mannis spirit assente, resoun as
tenþ; for mannis spirit haþ al vertues in man honginge on him, and it mut nedelingis1 do what ony of þes vertues doþ. Here we shulen conseyve þat it is not nedeful here to wite which is dedely synne, and wite which is venial, but ech synne shulde a man flee, lest it be dedli to him. But clerkis seyen comounly þat man haþ two wittis, oon hongip on his bodi and haþ many partis; anoþir is aboven his bodi, þat dwelþ wip his spirit, whan þe spirit and þe bodi ben departed atwynne, and þis vertue in a man is sum tyme clepid resoun. And so, as in þe first synne Eve temptide Adam, and Adam synnedede not biforn he hadde assentid, so in ech synne in an hool man þe flesh temptþ þe spirit, and it synneþ not biforn it have assentid2 to lustis of þe flesh. And so power of þe spirit, þat sum men clepen resoun, assentþ aþen resoun to fleishli likingis, and so þe spirit is nedid to consente þus, but it is not constreyned, siþ it assentþ freeli. And bi þis may we se hou argumentis gone awei bi equivocacion of wordis þat men speken, as a man haþ many wittis boþe fleishli and spiritualy, and so many maneris he assentþ to a þinge. But sum foolis þer ben þat seien þat a man haþ no vertue of soule, but þif it be þe same soule, and þis errour bringþ in oþir, and þus resoun of man is sum tyme clepid treuþ þat God causþ wipouten ende, þif a man die, and sum tyme vertue of man þat goþ wip þe soule is clepid resoun of man to anoþir witt. Bi þis may men see sumwhat, how þei shulden answere to þe doutes þat ben maad, and to oþer also, for we shulde bileve þat men may be dampned for synne in her soule, þif þei worche not outward, for oryginal sin and actual3 also, and þus mai men be saved for þouþtis in þer hertis, al þif þei done not outward meritory werkes; and þus mai men done harm to oþer bi þouþtis of herte, and profite also to hem, þif þei ben ferre from hem, and siþ spiritual harmynge or profite is myche more bodiþ profite.

1 nedeli, B; nedely, C. 2 So in B; A has assentþ. 3 So in B and C; actual, A.
The first miracle of the loaves and fishes.

Wyclif's

Pe fyve and twentiþ Sondai Gospel aftir Trinité.

[Sermon XXV.]

Cum sublevasset oculos Jesus.—Joh. vi. [5.]

Dis gospel tellip a myracle how Crist fedde þe folk; and þis miracle techip men boþe good seip and vertues. It is seid bifornæ how Crist fedde þe folk þus twyes, and of þe secounde fedyngæ it is seid bifornæ, and of þe first fedyngæ shulde we speke now. Þe gospel seip þus, þat þis miracle was don whanne Jesus hadde cast up his eyn and seip þat myche folk was comen to him, to here Goddis word, he saide to Philip, Whereof þei shulden bigge breed for to fede þis folk, for he wiste þat þei hungriden. Þis seide Crist to Philip for to tempte him, for he wiste ful wel what he hadde to do. And Philip seide to Crist, þat loves of two hundred þens ne sufficiden not to hem, so þat ech on myȝte take a litle what of breed. But anoðir disciple, Andrew, Petris broðir, seide, þer was a child þat þere hadde fyve barly loves, and þerto two fisgis, but what wolden þes be amonge so myche folke. And Jesus bade his apostlis to make þe men sitte down to mete, for þere was much haw, þat þei myȝte sitte on, and þe men weren sette as it were fyve thousand. And Jesus tooke þan þes loves, and whan he hadde panned God, he delide hem to þe sittinge men, and also of þe fisgis as myche as þei wolden. And whan þei weren fillid, Crist seide to his disciplis, gedre þe þe reliñþ þat lefte, þat it perishe not. And þei gedrilen and filden twelve coffynesb of reliñþ of fyve barly loves, þat weren lefte of þis folke þat eþen. And þes men, whan þei hadden seen þe signe of þis myracle, saiden among hem-silfe, þat þis is a verrey prophete, þat is comen to þis world, as prophetis bifornæ hadde told. We shal suppose of þis myracle þat it is dyverse fro þe toþir; for ellis Mark wolde not have told þes myraclis so dyversly and in diverse places, for þat oon hadde

* See Sermon VII.

b In this word, by which Wyclif (as well as both Wyclifste versions in loco) simply Englishes the κοφίνοις of the original, we seem to have the source of the word 'coffin.'
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pen be fals, and it hadde be superflue to þus have told þis tale; and herfor we shall suppose þat þes waren two myraclis þat weren do in þis maners as þe gospel telliþ. And we shall suppose over þat as Crist quykid þre men for a notable cause, who so koud undirstonde it, so he made þes þwo festis, for a certeyn resoun. And it is seid comounly þat as þe nounbre of two is þe first þat comeþ from oonhede of nounbris, so þe two festis bitokenen þat men for þer synne ben fallen in þis nede to be fedde þus. For, if man hadde stonde in þe staat of innocence, he shulde have had no nede to be fedde þus, for man shulde have feelid no peyne bifoþ þat he hadde synned, and so he shulde not have hungrid for deaute of mete. But, for he wente first bi synne from oonhede of God, þerfore he felde þus twyes in peyne for his synne. And God telliþ suche treuþes on diverse maneres, now for o cause, and now for an-opir; and þus bi þis resoun curatis of pupilis, ðif þei ben hooli in bodi, ben pore feble men. þei ben pore men, ðif þei kepen her ordre, for þei shulden sue Crist in poverte, nerrer þan opir comounes, and þei ben feble, for þei have nede of sustenaunce þat þei shulde not have hadde in state of innocence; and þei mai not, as Crist, have mete where þei wolden; and þus for poverte and febilnes þei taken almes of comounes. þes fuye loves ben fuye bokes of Moises, þat ben boþe streite and sharpe, as seint Petir seip. þes two fïhis ben two bokes, of Wisdom and of prophetis, þat ben sonel to þes loves. And þis o child, þat haþ al þe mete, is þe child born to us, þat Þsay spekþ of. þis child makþ his puple sitte don in mekenesse, þenkinge þat þei ben hey whos floure falliþ, but þe goostly food is proposid of Crist for to be tokned bi bodly foode. And fye þousend of men fedde wiþ þis mete were al þo in which Goddis grace was greene; for al þes moten meken hem, and be fed wiþ Goddis word; for ellis may no man come to hevene blis. And þus men þat ben fallen doun bi pryde of synne, shal bi mekenesse of þe centre be brouþt unto hevene. For as lownesse of þe centre of þe world and þe erþe, is þe most lownesse þat God may make, so mekenes of Crist is þe mooste þat mai be, and

1 koude, B. 2 souvil, B; sowle, C.

Acts xv. 10.

Isaias ix. 6.

An allusion to the institution of 'four Priests.'
in his mekenesse mut a man grounde his toure, if it shal teyne to hevene, for pe toure of pe gospel pat man shulde wille to rere is undirstonde comounly heynesse of vertues, of which vertues mekenes is ground, and charite pe heyste parte, pat teyneþ unto hevene. After his mete weren gedrid twelve coffynes, for holy doctours after hes maters weren more sutil in witt of holy wriþ þan afterward ben doctours in witt of Goddis lawe. For sip, men stonden in sophymes and crafte of worldely wynnyng, and lore of fourde doctours is myche leid asleepe, napeles his relif shulde fede folk now, for neþer his hool mete ne relif þerof may rote or perishe, sip it is treuþe of God. And so al þes twelve coffynes ben alle þe mo\textsuperscript{1} sentencis þat first weren gedrid of witt of holy wriþt, but þe sevene lepis þat weren gedrid after weren fewere gode sentences þat weren take of Goddis lawe. And his myracle of multipliynge of Goddis lawe bi so fewe prechours among so fele folk was more myracle þan bodili woundris, and þerfore holy men turneden to God, glorifien him, and holden hym þer kyng.

\textsuperscript{1} moo in B.
HERE BIGYNNEP

ADVENT BEFORE CRISTEMASSE.

Æ FIRSTE SONDÆI GOSPEL IN ADVENT.

[SERMON XXVI.]

Cum appropriquasset Jesus Jerosolumis.—Matt. xxii. [i.]

This Gospel tellith of the secounde advent of Crist and it is
noo drede it techith us vertues, si þip alle þe dedes of Crist tellen
men how þei shulden do. Þe story tellith how Jesus cam to his
passioun unto Jerusalem, to teche þat he ordeynede himislf for
to suffre, for he myghte have fledde þis passioun of him, þif he
wolde himislf not have suffrid þus. And so men seyen co-
mounly þat þere ben þre adventis biseide þe comoun advent þat
Crist comeþ to mannis soule. In þe firste advent Crist cam to
be man, and þis advent aboden seintis of þe olde lawe, and þis
was no morynge but lassynge of God, ȝhe more lassynge þan to
aungelis, as þe psalme seþ, for God was made erþe whan he
was maad man. Þe secounde advent is cominge to Cristis
passioun; and of þis makiþ þe gospel mynde to daye. Þe
þridde advent shal be whan Crist shal come to jugement at þe
daie of dome, to vuge boþe good and yvel. And in al þes þe
adventis Crist visitide ever his sugetis to amende hem and not
to spuyle hem; and wolde God þat preelatis 1 wolde þenke on þis
now; þanne shulde þei not come in Anticristis name more to
spuyle þer sugetis þan to amende hem. Þe first advent of
Crist we bileven as passid, and þe þridde advent we abiden, þat
is to come; but to þe secounde advent we shulden maken us
redy to suffre in oure body for þe name of Crist.

Crist cam to Bethfage 2; þat is a litil toun in þe foot, of Olyvete,

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1 preelatis, B.

2 Bethphage is said to mean house. Wyclif was apparently thinking of
of unripe figs (Smith's Bib. Dict.). the Greek φάγω.

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a myle fro Jerusalem, and þis toun was ȝovun to preestis for
mete of her mouþis, for Bepþage is hous of mouþ, or ellis
hous of etynge—and bi þis tawþte Crist how he lyvede pore
lyf and ned[y] for love of man, siþ he dwelte in siche þropis
and he tolde hou preestis eten hym by envie. Þanne he sente
two disciplis to Jerusalem, þat was wallid, and þerfore Crist
clepþ it a castel þat was ægen holy Chirche. Crist bad his
disciplis to bringe him an asse and þe fole of þis asse þat þei
shulden fynden al redy, and bad þat þei shulden lose hem and
brynge hem to Crist; and þif ony seide ouþþ to hem, þei shulden
seie, þe Lord hap neþe of hem, and he shulde leve hem anoon.
And þis was fild, as Crist seide bi þrophe þe longe bbefore, Telle
t þe to Syon þe douþter of Jerusalem, Lo, þi kyng comeþ to þee,
homely, sitynge upon asse and upon þe asse fole; which asse
was a drawynge beest. And his discipulis wenien and diden
as þesus comandide hem. For alle þes þingis moten nedis be
riþt as Crist hadde ordeyned hem, and bi þis myþten þe
discipulis knowe þat þis Lord was al witty. And his discipulis
puttiden her cloþis upon þes two beestis, first upon þe fole, siþ
upon þe asse, to teche us þat heþeþe men, þat weren wanton
as foolis, shulden resseyve Crist and his lawes, and after Jewis
as assis, for þei shal bere to þe ende of þe world þe wþete of
þe olde lawe, as folt assis beren chargis what so ever be
leid on hem. And his discipulis maden Crist to sittþ upon þes
boþe beestis. But þære manere of folk cam out of Jerusalem and
dide worship to Crist, for comowes lovethe him riþt wele.
Myche peple þat was riþc spradden her cloþis in þe weye, and
porer schreden branchis of trees and spradden hem in þe weye,
and oþþir, boþe ȝong and olde, comyng befoþre and biþynde songen
þis song in worship of Crist; David Sone, we þreþen, make us
safe: þis we seien to David Sone, Blessid be he þat is come
þus to us in Goddis name!

Sum men seien þat þes discipulis þat weren sent to Jerusalem
ben herty preestis and worldely lordis þat shulde be boþe Cristis

1 þorpes, C. 2 This clause is rightly not written as a quotation
in C. 3 folis, B. 4 So in B and C; A has foli.

a Propis. Prop is given in Bos-
worth’s Dictionary as an alternative
form of þorp, village. b Folt—foaled.
c ‘Save, we pray,’ is the correct
translation of Hosanna.
disciplis, and brynge to Crist þis asse and hir folc to ryde to hevenly Jerusalem. And as Jerusalem was wallid ægens Crist and his apostlis, so þes religious to daie ben wallid ægens Cristen men. But þis wal is mennis fyndinge, hepid wipouten charite, for it is no charite to leve þe ordre þat Crist þaf, and to take þes stynkinge ordres, and telle more prys bi þis resoun;—þis synful patron bade do þus, þerefore we shulden do þus; þan bi þis,—Crist bad alle men do þus, þerefore þei shulden do þus. He þat.synneþ in þis feþ synneþ ægen bileve; ægen þe mandemtis of þe first table, and so ægen alle Goddis mandemtis. And þus shulden Cristen men bringe to Crist boþ þis asse and hir folc þat ben bonden in Jerusalem bi sich fals religiouse; and so þis asse and hir folc ben come to þes pryvat ordris, but not to alle Cristene men, al if þei ben betere and have more nede. 3it þes 3oldeα founden of men helpen al þer breþeren in nede boþe of temporal goodis and laten hem dwelle in Cristis ordre, but þes sectis of newe ordris helpen not þus þer breþeren, for, be þei olde, be þei þonge, be þei nevere at siche meshese1, þei wolwen not helpe hem wip goodis for to lyven in Cristis ordre, but raþer emprison hem or punishe hem ægens Goddis lawe. But bi þe reule of charite þei shulden selle þer hise housis and alle þe meblis þat þei have, and helpe þer breþeren in nede, and lyven al aþir Cristis lawe. þus Crist þaf boþe bodi and soule for relevyng of his enemies, but how lasten siche religious, or in mercy or in charite, þat wolen not 3yve þer ydel goodis for þe helping of þer breþeren? And þus hem wantþ hiest love and ech degre of charite, for þei loven more þer ydel muk, þan þei done þer breþeren in God. Feyned lettiris of fraterniteb wolen þei 3yve to symple men, but

1 myscbe, B; miscbe, C.

α Besides the old Anglo-Saxon Guilds (on which see Pearson's Early English History, i. 271) there were the merchant guilds, and the art guilds. The last class is probably referred to in the text. A curious account of the organization of the guild of painters at Florence in 1349, by Jacopo di Casentino, will be found in Crowe's Hist. of Painting in Italy, ii. 2.

b Chaucer, whom nothing escaped, has noted this practice of giving 'letters of fraternity,' which however had been practised by the monks for centuries before the friars were heard of. In the Somnour's Tale, Thomas, the farmer, asks the questing friar whether he is not his 'brother.'

'Ye, certes, quod the frere, trust-eth wel;
I took our dame the letter, under our seal.'

Among the Dominicans, and pro-
to lordis and to men that pei seyn that pei loven more, wolen pei not profre siche lettris, lest her falsheed be perseyved. For siche lettris of chartris profite not to men, but over to make men have riȝt, or ellis to defende her riȝt. Siche lettris maken no riȝt; the bi mannis lawe; and this riȝt is not encheched before this dai of dome; and if men shewen fish lettris oþir to God or his lawe pei profite noþing to hem ne defenden hem ægens God, and so þes lettris ben superflue, as ben þes ordris þat maken hem.

PE SECONDE SONDAI GOSPEL IN ADVENT.

[SERMON XXVII.]

Erunt signa in sole.—Luc. xxi. [25.]

This gospel telliþ derkely a prophecie of Crist; how it shall be in þis Chirche bifoð þe dai of dome. Crist seip, Per shal be signes in þe sunne and moon and in þe sterres of hevene, and in þe erpe pressure of folk, by movynge of hevene. For þis þre partis of hevene, sunne and moon and sterris, shal move togidere boþe see and watris; for þei ben more redy to be moved by hevene þan oþir erþe or eir, for þei ben bitwene þes two, neiþir to hevy ne to þinne; but large in quantite and disposid to take liȝt of þes þre bodies of hevene and to be confusid and to make noþse. And sip of þis see and watir rysen wyndis and blowen on londis, it is no wounder þif oure eire be chaungid in qualitees; and sip chaunginge of oure eire makiþ chaunginge in mennis bodies, it is no wounder þif mennis bodies be chaungid bi þis eire; and so maneres, þat suen þe chaunging of mannis complexioun, shal be chaungid in oure erþe þat men dwelle inne; and so, men shal wexe drye, boþe be siche erþely eir, and bi drede of over signes þat shal come among men. And þanne men shal fiȝte in erþ, o cuntree wiþ anoþir, for such chaunging in eir shal make chaunginge in mennis lyfe, and þis dede bodies bably among the Franciscans also, these letters admitted to the brotherhood of the third order, and imparted to the persons admitted the benefit of all the masses, fasts, prayers, and other good works done or to be done throughout the order. For the 'formula admissionis,' see Ducange (Paris, 1843), article 'Fraternitas.'

The reader will be reminded here of a passage in the Paradise Lost, Book iii. 485.
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cast in ĵe water or erṭe chaungen ĵe eir, and alle oure places ĵat we dwellen inne, oþerwise ĵan it shulde have be in ĵe state of innocens; for ĵanne our places undir ĵe mone shulde have be wiþouten siche medlinge; ffor hevene worciþ kynedly, dy-versely in dyvers materis. And after al ĵis shal men see Crist oure Lord come from hevene, and his angelis with him, to deme men ĵat dwellen here; for ĵe vertues of hevene, ĵat ben liþts, shal be chaungid here, and al ĵe governede of hevene shal be varied ĵus to men. And ĵanne men shal see Crist comyng doun in a cloude wiþ greet power and maieste, to men ĵat can rede ĵes signes; and Crist confortiþ his children, and biddiþ hem putte drede awaye, ffor comyng of siche signes bito-kene þat þer blisse is neiþe; and perfere shulden þei rere per heedis, and be gladde of þes signes, and nouþt honge þere heedis doun as men hevyed wiþ þe erþe. For what man wolde not be gladde whan he shulde go out of prison, and be brouþt to þe blisse of hevene and passe awaye fro siche peyne. And Crist seide to his disciplis þis similitude in kynde. See þe þe garþyn of figne trees and al oþer trees of fruyte; whan þei bryngen forþ fruyte of hem, ye witen wel þat somer is nyþe. (And somer is in sum contrees time to gedre fruyte of þe erþe.) And so whan þe seen þes signes be made, wite þe þat youre bigginge is nyþe. For biginge is clepid here fruyte þat comþ of þis bigginge, and Crist seþ soþþly þat þe kynrede of his children shal not passe out of þis world before þat alle þes pingen be done. Hevene and erþe shal passe in chaunginge, but Cristis wordis shal not passe þus. Wel we witen þe sunne stood and sum tymre it wente aþen, but þus mai not sentence be chaungid of þe wordis of our Lord; but þere is more stabilhede in wordis þat ben seid of Crist þan is in hevene or erþe, siþ Crist is above þes two, and comynge in þes twayne is not nedeful but for þat Crist haþ ordeyneþ it.

Þes wordis of Crist may be undirstonden goostli, so þat þe sonne be Crist, God and man, and þe mone be holy Chirche, and þe sterres in hevene be seintis in þe worlde. Signes ben made in hem, for þei moven erþely men, and chaungen as þe see temporal goodis, and for siche chaunginge chaungen men in wille, and membris of þe fend ben drye fro grace and ben adredde for Crist, and sentence of his chirche. Ffor vertues of
hevene shal move Cristene men to vencushe þe fendes lymes, and to feren hem, al if þei for a tyme maken greet soune, and stynkyn wiþ synne, and froþyn wiþ lecherie. And þe more fishes swelewen þe lasse; and cours of þis moone moveþ worldely men, and wyndis of pryde wawan þes floodis, so þat it is perilous to shippis for to wandre, al þif þei ben born up wiþ þe crosse of Crist. But wele Y wote þat men þat ben chosen of God may flottre in þe see, but þei may not perishe; for al þing mut nede come þat God himsylf haþ ordeyned. And þus sad bileve of þis priddc Advent shulde stire men fro synne and drawe hem to vertues. Ffôr þif þei shulden to morewe answere to a juge, and wynne greet rentis or ellis lese hem, þei wolde ful bisili shape for þer answere, and myche more þif þei shulden wynne or lese þer lyfe—Lord! siþ we ben certeyn of þe day of dome þat it shal come to us, and we wite not how soone, and þere we shal have jugement of hevenly lyfe, or ellis of deep of helle þat evermore shal laste, how bisie shulde we be to make us redy for þis! Certis defeute of bileve is cause of oure sleuþ; and þus shulden we fasten in us articlis of þe trouþe, for þei wolen be louse in us as nailes in a tree, and þerfore it is nedeful to knocke and make hem faste. For it is noo drede þat no man doþ synne but þif he faile in bileve upon sum manere. Sum men wanten bileve, and nevere hadden bileve, as Paynemes and oþer men þat nevere weren turned to Crist. Sum failen in bileve, for þer bileve sleþþ, and oþer þingis wakeþ þat þei trowen more; and þus faiþþ ech man þat is overcomen wiþ synne; for lust waiþþ in hem to whiche þe synne moveþ hem, and peyne and drede of his synne is leide asleepe; and þus failen in trouþe þe more part of men. We shulde þenke freishely on þe day of dome, and how no þing may þan lette Cristis jugement; þfor trouþe and resoun shal fulli go forþ þanne, and herfore selþ þe gospel þat men þan nakid fro charite shal be þanne dombe, and not shal answere to Crist. And for þis cause prophetis of Goddis lawe clepen þe daie of dome þe daie of þe Lord, for in þat daie not1 shal go aþens him, but þei clepen daies bfore daies of men, for þe fend and his membris have now þer purpos, al þif þei shal þan bie it ful dere.

1 nowe, B and C.
SERMONS.

Æ FœRIDE SUNDAY GOSPEL IN ADVENT.

[SERMON XXVIII.]

Cum audiisset Ioannes in vinculis.—Matt. xi. [2.]

His gospel telliþ a storie of Joon Baptist þat touchþ all þree adventis of Crist, but specialy þe þridde, to whom serven two bifoer. Baptist was in prison wþ Heroude Antipas, for he reprovede his advoutre wþ his broþer wyf. And Joon bounden in prison herde of Cristis werkes, and he made moche joie and preiside myche Crist, as oþer gospellis tellen, and specialy Jones gospel. Sum men in þe countre helden Joon more þan Crist, and Jones discipulis weren in þis errour; but þit þei trowiden þat þe greet prophete bihiþt in þe lawe, þat þei cleþiden Messias, was more þan Joon Baptist. And herfore sente Baptistis two of his discipulis, for to speke wþ Crist and purge hem of þis errour. And Jon bade hem axe þus Crist on his bihalve, Ert þou he þat is to come, and to save mankynde, þat þe law spekiþ of? or we abide anþer? We shal suppose þat Baptist was stable in his trouþe, and coveitide þat þe feþ of Crist and love of Crist growide, and bifoer þat he were deed, þat he trowide shulde come soone. For trewe men coveiten more þe honoure of God þan þer owen honour, for ellis þei weren unreasonable. And þus cast Joon þis weye to worship of Crist, and to þis entent of Joon Crist spake and wrouþte in dede. Go þe and telle æzen to Joon what ye have herd and sen, Blynde seen, crokiþe gone, meselis ben heled, deþe heeren, dede rysen, pore men ben preisid of God*, and blessid be þat shal not be sclaundrid in me.

And on two maneres men ben sclaundrid in Crist. Sum men bi worchinge putten errours in him, and þis manere of sclaundrynde is algatis yvel, sþ þei fallen in heresiþ þat þus troven of Crist. Þes men ben sufferingly sclaundrid in Crist þat fallen fro bileve þat þei shulden have of Crist. On þe

* This is a different mistranslation from that found in the Wycliffite versions, which is, ‘pore men ben taken to prechynge of the gospel.’
pridde maner we seyen þat men ben sclaundrid whan þei ben
defamyed of ony kyn þing þat þei have hem amys aboute ony
siche þing; and þus many holy men weren sclaundrid of Crist.
And so, of þes sevene myraclis, þe laste is þe moste; and alle þes
sevene miraclis techen how we shulden love Crist; for we þat
werten first blynde bi defaute of feip, sen aftir in oure soule what
we shulden trowe; and so first crokid in medeful werkes, wandren
after in holynesse of lyf; and so first leprous by heresyes of feip,
ben after clensid of alle þes heresyes; deef men fro Goddis
cword, heeren his lawe; and dede men in soule bi custome of
synne, rysen to spiritual lyf of þer soule; men þat weren pore
bifore for þer holy werkes, ben seid good lyvers of him ¹ þat may
not erre. And it semeþ þat Jones discipulis saien summe of þes
miraclis, or ellis hem alle, in feip þat Crist ʒaf hem.

And whan þei weren wente fro Crist, he preiside Joon Baptis-
t, techinge þat men shulden not preise a man in his presence
ne in presence of his, lest he were a faiuore ². Crist preiside
Baptiste, axinge of him þre þingis, so þat þe peple were nedid
to graunte þat Joon was holy. When ze seien Baptist in desert,
what wente ze to see? sawe ze a reede wawinge wip þe wynde?
nay, suche men ben unstable for loyynge of worldely mukke,
for Joon was stable in þe love of God, and so was he groundid
in þe stone of riȝt-wisnesse. Or what wente ze out to see whan
ye wente to see Joon? wher ze wenten to see a man cled in
softe cloþis? nay, lo, men þat ben cled þus drawen hem to kyngis
hous, and ben tenderly fedde wip metis þat plesen þe fleiske.
For Joon Baptiste was contrarie to such men in boþe þes,
sip he dwelte in desert, and was fedde wipouten foode þat
was maad bi mannis craffe, and so þe world and his fleish
overcame he perfittli, and it is no drede to us þe fende hadde
þan noon holde in him. But what wente ze out to see? certis to
see a prophet; þe Y seie to you, Joon was more þan a prophet,
for Joon hadde office of God to se Crist, and waisme him, and
to shewe hym at eye, þat is more þan prophetis office. And
he is of whom it is writen, þat þe Fadir spekiþ to þe Sone,
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Lo Y send myn angel, þat is myn Owen messenger, to fore þi face þat shal make redy þi weie tofore þee; for Joon Baptiste moveide men to trove in Crist many gatis.

Here men may touche many synnes þat rengnen⁴ amonge men, and specialy synne of clerkes þat lyven in lustis of foode and in lustis of atire contrarie to Joon Baptiste. And þus, as þe gospel seiþ, þei putten on Joon þat he hadde a fend, and was ladde in desert bi þis spirit þat susteynde him, and he lyvede not mannis lyfe, ne þaf ensample to sue him; and in Crist þei ben sclaunderid, and seiden he lyvede a lustful lyf and was fred to synful men, and þus shulden not men lyve. And þus þese newe religiouse fallen in heresie of Jewes, for neiþer þei make Baptist ne Jesus Crist þer patroum, but þei chesenen hem a newe patroum and newe religioun; þei seien þat Baptiste was to harde, and Cristis lyf was to large, but þei have founden a good mene and vertues to lyven inne. And þus boþe clerkes seculars and þese newe religiouse forsaken þes two weies and taken weie of þe fend; for þere is noon oþer weie but Cristis weie and þe fendis, siþ no man may lyve in vertues but zif þat he sue Crist, and no man may lyve in synne but zif þat he sue in þat þe fend. Boþe þes endes ben to blame, but more þes newe religiouse; for þes ypocritis leven Crist and Joon Baptiste his prophete, and chesenen hem a newe wey þat mut ofte tymes be cloutid and be dispesid wiþ bi Anticrist, as þe fend techiþ hem. þe seculars ben lasse ypocritis, but þei lyven al amys, siþ þei dwellen wiþ kyngis and lordis for to geten hem beneÞices; and in þe mene tyme þei lyven in lustis, and leven þe state þat þei shulden kepe; and þus blynde men leden þe blynd, and boþe fallen in þe lake. For þere nys noon oþer wey but ouþer wende upward aftir Crist or ellis to wende doun aftir þe fend into þe deppest lake of alle⁵. 3he, þes þat semen in þe heyer state suen Petir in his error, and seien, Sire, God forbede þat þou lyve þus in þi membris, for witt and worship þat þou shouldist have. And certis al siche ben Saþanas, for þei wolen reverse Crist, or addinge to Cristis lawe, or ellis wiþdrawinge þat he bad.

¹ regnen, B; regne, C.
² B agrees with A; C reads bel, which must surely be right.
Wyclif's
De fourthe Sundai in Advent.

[Sermon XXIX.]

Miserunt Judei ab Jerusalem.—Joh. i. [19.]

This gospel tell’t of godhede and manhede of Crist, and of mekenesse of Baptiste, how myche þat he loveþ Crist. De Jewes senten fro Jerusalem preestis and dekenes unto Joon, for to write what he was, and how he groundide his newe lyf. Þese Jewes semeden hire preestis of þe temple and Phariseis, and þes þat weren sent to Joon weren of Pharisees, for þei weren lasse of state and semeden of more religioun. But Joon confesside unto hem and denyede not treuþe, and so he confessid first þat he was not Crist, for it was most perilous to be holden Crist, and þerfore he putte first þe moost peril from him. And þus lowe preestis undir hire preestis of þe temple, and dekenes þat boþe kouden¹ þe olde testament, and weren more lyk Jon in manere of religioun, and betere shulden enquire of his newe ordre, lest þe toon erride and supplantide þat oper, weren sent to Joon to axe of his state. Þere was behiþt a greet prophete in þe olde lawe þat þei clepiden Crist, and þis myȝte Joon haþe be holden, if þif he wolde be proude. And here be we tauȝt to boste not of þis þat we ben membris of holi Chirche, and so selle our suffrages, for it is hid from us where we shall be savyd, and þif we shall not be savyd, we ben not membris þus, ne oure preier for þis is not worþy² to us siþe. And to gabbe þus in þis point is a greete synne, and to take mennis goodis bi sich a fals chaffare, for a worldly man wole not selle but þat he wote is his, and God haþ ordeyned þis privy þinge to be unknowe of us. For we shulde not þus boste ne disseyve oure neibores, and þus to putte of Goddis ordenaunce were a greet synne.—Dei axiden Joon þe secounde lyme, where he were Hely, and he seide he was not þis Hely in persone. De Jewes hadden in þe olde lawe þat Helye was ravyshid, and lyþe þit in a place, and shal come aþen biforn þe daye of dome, and þite wiþ Antecrist, and þus þei supposiden þat Baptiste was he, speciali for solitari lyf and penance in etynge. And to þis entent denyede Joon þat he was Hely, but Crist seide þat Joon

¹ So in B and C; A reads kouden boþe.
² worþi, B and C.
was Hely in figure, for riȝt as Hely figuride the firste advent of Crist, so Joon figuride þe þridde advent of him. And as sum men seien, þei boþe figuren þe day of dome; and þus þere nys no falshede in Crist ne in Baptist.—Þei axiden þe thridde tyme where Joon were þe prophete, and he seide, Nay, to þer undirstondinge, for name of prophete bi himself bitokeneþ þe more famous prophete. Crist seip þat Joon is a comoun prophete, and boþe þes weren soþe. And after þes þree purgingis, þei axiden of Joon who he was, þat þei myȝten answere to men þat hadde sent hem. And Jon seide mekely upon Ysay þe prophete, þat he was a vois of cryer in desert, to bidde men make redy þe weye of oure Lord. For riȝt as a vois shewiþ þe word of mannis þoȝt, so Jon shewide þe word of þe Fadir; and clerkes knowen wele þat a vois or soun is substanciali þat þing þat souneþ; and alþif Joon myȝte have seide þat he was cryynge, neþeþe he chees to speke more mekeli; for among alle þingis vois is a freel þing.

And þe messengeris axiden Joon, whereþo he baptiside and brouȝt in a newe ordre, sib he was noon of þes þree. But Jon answeride hem þat he baptiside in water, and on myddis of hem stood þat þei knowen not; and þat is þe greet prophete þat þei souȝten after, for he is boþe God and man to save mankynde. In þat þat he is God he is every where myddil, as he is þe myddil persone in þe holy Trinite; and in þat þat he is man, and heed of holy Chirche, he is myddil of alle men gedrid in his name. In vertu of þis man cam Joon þus, and baptiside in water to make redy bifoire Crist, as a rude werke goiþ bifoire a sutil. To þis prophete servede Joon, and dide him al worship in þat þat he was God. And, for he was þis man, he is to come after Joon, al if he be Joonis pryour. For he was not made bifoire Joon in tyme, neiþer bi his manhede neiþer bi his godhede, for Joon was man bifoire þat Crist was man; and as nentis godhede, Crist was not made. And þei travelen in veyn þat calculen þat Crist was conseveyd bifoire þe soule of Joon was knyttid to his bodi, for Joon spekiþ of forþerhede of manhede of Crist bifoire Joon in grace, and also in worlyynes; and herfore seip Joon, þat he is not worþ to louse 1 þe þuong 2 of Cristis shoo. And þis men undirstonden þus, þat Baptist is not

1 loose, B.  
2 þong, B.
worpi to declare Cristis manhede; but, as me ſinkip, it is beter and more suynge ſis gospel to seie, ſat Joon graunſip him not worpi to loose ſe orde of Crist, bi which Crist hadde ordeyneſd to be patroun of Cristene men. For ſis orde is a ſoune to bynde mennis willes togidere; and ſus me ſinkip ſat freris chiden in veyn. Prechours a seyn ſat Crist hadde hiſe shone as ſei have; ffor ellis wolde not Baptiſt mene ſat Crist hadde ſoungis of siche schone. Menours b seyn ſat Crist wente barfote, or ellis was shood as ſei ben, for ellis Magdalene shulde not have founde to ſus have washid Cristis feet. But leynge ſis chidyng, we supposen of oure Jesus ſat he tok ful litil hede of such manere of wendinge, but he chargide myche ſe wille of his religioun and affeccioun of his disciplis to be bounden fro worldely goodis. And ſus freris, as Pharisees, clensen ſe gnate and swolewen ſe camel; for ſei dar, above Baptiſt, founde hem newe ordes, of reulis ſat Crist chargide not, but ſiſ it were to dampane hem; and coveiſe of worldely goodis chargen ſes ordres not, ſiſ ſei be gete 1 wiſ fals menes, which treupe of Crist haſ dampyd. But ſis was done in Beſanye beſonde ſe water of Jordan, in ſe lond of two kynredis c; and so men seyen ſat ſer ben two Beſaniſes in ſat lond, oon biseide Jerusalem where Lazarus was reisid to lyf, and anoſer biſonde ſe water where Joon hadde mæter to baptiſe men. For Beſanie d sowneſ ſes ſre; it is hous of obedience and also hous of penaunce, and hous of Goddis ſiſte. Alle ſes names accorden to Joon; but ſei ben contrarie to alle ſes newe ordis ſat ben presumed aſens Crist.

1 geten, B. C.

a Fratres praedicantes, or Dominicans.

b Fratres minores, or Franciscans.

c 'Se lond of two kynredis.' For a long time I was unable to satisfy myself as to the exact meaning of this phrase. There is nothing in the Commentaries of S. Austin, S. Jerome, and the Venerable Bede, nor in the Homilies of Pope Gregory, which throws the smallest light upon it. Upon turning however to the Commentary of Nicholas de Lyra, written in the early part of the fourteenth century, I found some words which, I think, solve the difficulty. Distinguishing this Bethany (Bethabara in the authorized version) from the one near Jerusalem, De Lyra describes it as lying beyond the Jordan, 'scilicet in sorte duarum tribuum et dimidiae;' i.e. Reuben and Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasses. Wyclif probably meant to say the same thing, but inadvertently omitted mention of the half-tribe, of which indeed very slight notice is taken in the account (Numb. xxxii.) of the negotiation between Moses and the 'lynages' (Wycl. Ver.) of Reuben and Gad.

d Bethany signifies 'house of dates.' (Smith's Dict. Bible.)
Pe Sondai wipinne octave of Twelfe day.

[SERMON XXX.]

Vidit Johannes Jesum venientem ad se.—Joh. i. [29.]

Dis gospel tellip a witenesse, how Baptist witnesse of Crist, bope of his godhede and eke of his manhede. Pe storie seip pus, pat Joan say Jesus comynge to hym and saide pus of oure Lord, Lo, be loomb of God; lo him pat takip aweye the synnes of his world, for he is bope God and man. Crist is clepid Goddis lambe, for many resouns of pe lawe. In pe olde lawe weren pei wont to offre a lambe wipouten wem, pe whiche shulde be of o 3ere, for pe synne of pe puple. Pus Crist, pat was wipouten wem, and of o seer in mannis elde was offrid in pe cros for pe synne of al pis worlde, and where siche lambren pat weren offrid felden sum tymynge to pe preestis, pis lambe pat made ende of ope felde fulli to Goddis hond. And ope lambren in a maner forside pem synne of o cuntre, but pis lambe propere forside pem synne of alle pis worlde. And pus he was ende and figure of lambren of pe olde lawe, and pus shewip Baptist by his double spekyng pe manhede of Crist and his godhede; for oonly God my3te pus fordo synne, sip alle ope lambren hadden wemmes, pat pei mysten not hem silfe fordo. And so, al if preestis have power to relese synne as Cristis vikeres, nepeles pei have pis power in as myche as pei acorden wip Crist; so pat 3if pe re keies and Cristis wille be discording atwynne, pei feynen hem falsely to aseoi, and pan pei neip loosene ne bynden; so pat in ech siche worchynge pe godhede of Crist mut first wirche.

And herfore seip Baptist of Crist; Dis is he pat X seide of, After me is to comen a man, pe whiche is made before me, for he was anoon my priour. For ript as Crist was a man, pe first tymynge pat he was consevved, so God made him pan priour of al his religioun; and he was abbot, as Poul seip, of pe best

1 fel, C.
ordre þat may be. *And first Y knowe hym not;* I wiste in soule þat he was born, but Y koude not wip bodily eye knowe him fro anoþer man. And þis fallip comounly; but, *for to shewe hym in Israel,* þerefor Y baptise þus in water. *And Joon bare witnesse, and seide þat he sey a spirit come down as a culver from hevene and lefte oþer and dwelte on him.* But God, þat sente me to waishe wip water, he taugþ me and seide þus, On whom þou seest þe spirit come down and dwellinge upon him, þat is he þat baptiseþ men in þe Holy Goost. *And Y sey and bере witnesse þat þis is Goddis kyndely sone.*

We shal wite þat þis dowfe was a verre foule as oþer ben; and so it was not þe þridde persone in Trinete taken in oonhede of þis persone, as Goddis Sone toke his manhede; but for mekenesse of þe dowfe, and moo good propirtee þat she hæp, she bitokenep þe þridde persone; and þis persone is seid of hir, for Joon seip, The Spirit cam doun and dwelte long upon Crist;—and þis Spirit was þis dowfe. And so it semey þat þis dowfe was God; and so, al if þe two persones may be moved in creatures, nejeles þe Trinete may not be moved in his kynde. But it semey þat we may graunte þat þis dowfe was þe Holy Goost, as we granten þat þis persone was comyng doun in þis dowfe. And þus, as God seip in his lawe þat seyne oxen ben sevene þeer, and þat þe sacrid breed is verrely Goddis bodi, so it semey þat he seip, þat þis dowfe is þe Holy Goost. But clerkes witen þat þer ben two manere of seynge, þat ben personel seynge, and habitudinel seynge. þis dowfe myȝte not be God in his kynde, but bi sum habitude it signefieþ God, and þus bi autorite of God it is God. And if þou sey þat ech þinge bi þis shulde be God, as ech Goddis creature signifieþ his maker, as smoke kyndely signifieþ fier, and þus semey Poul to speke, whan he seip þat Crist shal be al þinges in al þinges to men þat undirstonden him; for after þe day of dome al þis worlde shal be a boke, and in ech part þerof shal be God wriþun, as God shal be in his kynde in ech part of þe world; and þus sip God is bitokened first and moost in ech þinge, whi may men not graunte þat God is ech þinge?—in þis men mut undirstonde dyversite in wordis, and to what entent þes wordis ben undirstonden. And þus bi autorite of þe
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lawe of God men shulden speke her wordis as Goddis lawe spekip, and strange not in speche from undirstondinge of pe puple, and algatis beware þat þe puple undirstonde wel, and so use comoun speche in þer owne persone; and þif þei spoken in Cristis persone wordis of his lawe, loke þat þei declare hem, for drede of privy errours.

And scorne we þe argumentis þat foolis maken here, þat bi þe same skile shulde we spoken þus, for God spekip þus in wordis of his lawe. Sich apes lickenes¹ passen beestis foly, for þei wolden brynge bi þis þat ech man were God. And so þyve we God leve to speke as him likeþ, al if we spoken not ay so bi þe same autorite; þes wordis þat God spekip shulde we algatis graunt, and declare hem to trewe undirstondinge. And rekke we not of argumentis þat sophistis maken, þat we ben redargued, grantynge þat we denyen, for we granten þe sentence and not oonli þe wordis, for þe wordis passen awey anoon when we have spoken hem. And as Aristotle seip⁴, contradicioun is not oonli in wordis but boþe in wordis and sentence of wordis. And bi þis we seien þat Crist in speche is not contrarie to him silfe, ne o part of his lawe contrarie to anoþir. And þus þif we graunted þat Crist is al þingis, it sueþ not hereof þat Crist is an asse, ne þat Crist is ech þing, or what þat we wolde nempen. For God seip þe tone and he seip nouþ þe topir. But we graunted þat Crist is boþe lombe and sheepe, for Goddis lawe grauntip boþe þes two of him; and so Crist is a lioun and a worm; and þus of many þingis þat holy writt tellip. And it is ynow to seie for dyversite, þat God hæþ special sentence of on and not so of anoþer. And þus þe comyn undirstondinge shulden we algatis holden, but þif Goddis wordis tauþten us his propre sense. And siche stryfe in wordis is of noo profite, ne proveþ not þat Goddis word is ony wey fals. In þis mater we have ynow stryfen in Latyn⁵ wiþ adversaries of Goddis lawe, þat seyen þat it is falsest of alle lawes in þis world þat ever God suffride.

¹ apis licenessis, B and C.
² Analyt. Prior. ii. 15.
³ Wyclif probably refers here to the treatise De Veritate Scripturæ.
\textsc{The baptism of Christ.}

\textsc{The gospel tellið how Crist tauȝte Baptist boȝe bi word and myracle how he shulde be meke. Þe storye tellið þat \textit{Jesus cam fro Galilee to Jordan to jōon Baptist, to be baptisid of hym. And þis was greet mekenesse, þat þe Lord wolde come so fer to his servaunt, and to take of him baptym, and Johan forfen-dide him, for woundringe of þe dede, and seide þat \textit{Y shal be baptisid of þee, and þou comest to me: to be þus baptisid. But Jesus answeride to jōon, and seide to him wiseli, Suffre now þis, for it fallið to us to fulfille al riȝt. It is opyn riȝt þat þe lasse be suget to þe more, and it is more privy riȝt þat þe evene obeishe to þe evene; but most privy riȝt of alle stondið in þis, þat þe hiȝeste of alle obeishe to his servaunt, as Crist priour of us alle obeishide to Baptist; and so was it sitinge Crist to teche þis mekenesse. And here schulen we wite, as men in comyn speche seien sum wordis rehercis hem of oþer, and sum wordis þei seien in her owne persone, (and þis may be varied after þre maneris; sum þing men seien, witinge þat it is soþ, affermyngþe þe sentence wiþouten ony condicion, as trewe men seien þat God is in hevene; sum þing men seien, proposeinge to fulfille it, but undirstonden, if God wole þyve hem grace, as men seyen þat þei shulen holde Goddis comandementis, and þus techiþ James, þat whan we speken of oure dedes þat we shulden do, we shulden undirstonde, ‘if þat God wole;’ but þit on þe þridde maner we supposen þat it shulde be þus, and neþer we witen it ne troven it;) and wiþ þis we undirstonden a condicion, ‘if God wole;’ and þus spake Baptist whan he forfendide Crist to be baptisid of him, and herwiþ he heeld obedience. But over þis we shulde wite, þat þere is greet diversite bitwixte servise of a þing and obedience þerof, for God obeishide to mannis vois, and servede not to him; but in

\textsc{Wyclif.}
mannys persone þei rennen boþe togidere, for þe more obeiship to þe lesse, and eke serveþ to him, for þe more is erþ, and þe lesse is spirit, and so he is boþe more and lesse to his servaunt. And þus Crist fullillide al manere of riþtwisnesse, for riþtwisnesse is comonly callid al manere of vertue, and so riþtwisnesse is al manere of mekenesse.

And þus John suffride Crist to tak þis servise of him, and þat he seide soiþ in wordis þat he spake, for Johun was baptisid of Crist as he shulde, siþ he was baptisid of the Holy Goost; and werkes of þe Trinite ben undepartid wiþoutenforþ. And wiþ þis cam Crist to be baptisid in water of John, as he shulde for many enchesouns. First to teche þis moost degree of mekenesse. Siþ, for to halowe þe water of baptym, for vertue of touchinge of Crist strechide ful fer. Þe þridde cause is to ȝyve us ensaumple to take mekely baptem, siþ Crist was baptisid þus. And ȝerfore John leet Crist to be baptisid of him, for Joon was tauþ in his soule þat it was Goddis wille. And here takþ men wel þat if a man avowe a þinge, and he wite after þat it were betere to leve it, þanne he shal leve it, and have sorewe of his foly biheste, but him nedþ not to go to Rome to perfourme þis medeful dede. And here manye ben disseyved in power of þer sovereynes; þei wenen þat hem nedþ to have leve of hem to do as þei shulden do; þis lore shulden men taken of þer prelatis above, and not travelen in veyn, ne dispende more þan þei shulden. And whan Jesus was þus baptisid, he wente anoon out of þe water, to teche us þat in siche meenes we shulden not dwelle more þan nede is₁, and to confermen al þis þing, hevenes weren opened, to Crist, and he siþ þe spirit of God comynge down as a dowve and comynge upon Crist. And þis þing þat he siþ wiþ his eye was a dowve, and þis þing þat he siþ wiþ his soule was God; and þus þe spirit of God cam doun in a dowve, and þere was a voþs comynge doun from hevene, and seide in þe persone of þe Fadir, þis is my Sone, þe, þat Y’kyndely love, in whiche Y’plieside to my sife, and þerfore, heere þe him.

And so bi autorite of þe Fadir of hevene and eke bi autorite of þe Holy Goost, and also bi autorite of Goddis kyndely Sone, was þe manhede of Crist here shewid wiþ his dedes. Bi autorite of Crist shulden Cristene men trowe, þat he is þe

₁ This clause is rightly written in B; in A and C it appears as a quotation.
best man, þe wiseste, and þe beste willid, þat mai be in þe world; siþ he is boþe God and man. And herof wole it sue þat Cristis owne ordre is beter þan ony newe ordre founde of synful men, for ellis hadde Crist failid in power, in witt, or in wille; and, for þis is ægens bileve, þerfore þei feilen in feip þat trowen þat þes newe religious passen Cristis religioun. And herfore he ordeynede his ordre to stonde in vertues of mannis soule and not in sensible signes. And as þe holy Trinite approveth Crist here, so it approveth þe ordre þat he madè, and putte it in þes pree þings, in obedience to God, in poverte, and chastite wel undirstonden. Men may undirstonden amys þis obedience to Crist, and trowe þat it stondid in doinge of ech þinge þat þi privat priour biddid þee do; and certis þanne þou puttest him to be unsynful above Crist, or ellis þat þou shuldist do his wille ægens Crist. Certis Crist haþ no power to lyve as þis prelat doþ, but if Crist hadde fredom to falle in synne, and þus þis pryour were more free þan Crist. And herfore shulde we trowe þat ech obedience to man is as myche worþ as it teche obedience to God; and if it falle herfro bi unobedience, men shulden leve þis as venym contrarie to obedience; for ech verrry obedience is obedience to God, and men shulden more obeishe to God þan to ony creature. And so unobedience brouþ þi þes newe ordes fouliþ many heepis of men bi foly of her prelatis. Soþeli in þes newe ordes men shulden obeishe to ech þing þat teche more obedience to God þan done siche prelatis. And it is not bileve þat þei techen betere obedience to God þan doþ ony oþer lawe or þingis þat speken to þes ordis. And þis moveþ Poul and oþer Apostlis to holden hem to Cristis ordre, siþ þe abbot is betere, þe reule, and þe knyþis; and algatis it is more free to holde Goddis comandementis. For þis feyned obedience lettiþ ofte to serve Crist, and herfore men shulden lerne obedience, to ægenstonde: Whan ony creature of God biddid þee do contrarie to þat þat þi prelat þiddid þee do bi expresse signes, and God bi his creature biddid þee do þe contrarie, þanne þou shuldist ægenstonde þi prelate in þis, and obeishe to God in what signe þat he usiþ. On þis maner Petre and oþer apostlis seiden þat men moten more obeishe to God þan to man, and Goddis lawe seip þat
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God obeishide to mannis vois; for to ech þing men shulden obeishre in þat þat it sowenþ obedience to God. And if þis bileve were kept wel, þis newe obedience shulde gone aweie.

ÞE FIRSTE SONDÆ GOSPEL AFTER OCTAVE OF TWELFÞE DAY.

[SERMON XXXII.]

Cum factus esset Jesus.—Luc. ii. [42.]

Dis gospel telliþ a lorne of Crist whan he was twelfe þeer olde, and þis lorne is ful of myraculis as œper dedis ben þat he dide. Þe story telliþ þat, whan Jesus was maad of twelfe þeer olde he wente wiþ Joseph and Marye unto Jerusalem, as þe hadden custom at Paske for to make þis pilgrimage. And whan þe daies were endid, of makeing of þis pilgrimage, his fadir and his modir wenten hoom, and Crist lette aloone in þe citee. And his fadir and his modir wisten not þat Jesus was left bhynde, for children hadden in free custom to cheze wheþer þat þe wolden wende wiþ fadir or wiþ modir; and þus Joseph wende þat Crist hadde come wiþ his modir, and oure Lady supposide þat Crist hadde come wiþ Joseph. And among Jewes was þis reliquioun kept, þat men shulden go bi hemself, and wymen bi hemself; for þei kepþen hem fro lecherie in siche pilgrimage; but now pilgrimage is mene for to do lecherie. And al þis ordeyned oure maister for to teche his Chirche to enfourme þe prelatis after general doinge1, for errore in hem is more, and more harmful to þe Chirche. And whan þei were met togidir, and wantiden þe child Jesus, þei wenden þat he hade2 ben in fellowship wiþ sum kyn of his frendis, and þei wenten azyn to seke him amonge hem, and oo dai þei wenten azyn and fond him not in þe wey. Þe þridde dale þei souþen in þe citee, and þei fond him not, and after þe þridde day þei fond him in þe temple, sitynge amonge doctours, heerynge and axinge hem. No drede þat ne Crist kepte good order in his doinge, fyrst heerynge and after axinge

1 doynis, C.  
2 badde, B; bad, C.

The meaning seems to be, 'in order to teach his Church so to fashion the mode of life of her pre-

lates as that it may serve for a general example.'
wordis of þe lawe. And alle þat herden him hadden wounder 
on his wisdom and his answeris, and seynge þe souȝte of þe 
childe þei hadden wounder of his dedis. And his moder seide to 
him, Sone, whi didist þou þus to us? lo, þi fadir and Y boþe 
sorwynge have souȝte þee. And Crist seide unto hem, Wherto have 
þe souȝte me? ne wisten þe not þat Y moste be in þe nedis of my 
Fadir? And here shulde prelatis lerne first to worship þe 
God, and to serve his Chirche, biforn þat þei bisieden hem 
aboute worldely werkes. For¹ ech man shulde serve God 
biforn þat he servede oper þing, for his first entent shulde be 
to worship God whatever he dide; and þis mut nede be in 
Crist, for he did al þingis as he shulde. But þei undirstooden 
not þe word þanne þat Crist spake here to hem. And Crist wente 
doun wiþ hem fro Jerusalem to Nazareth, and he was suȝte unto 
hem, in þingis þat þei baden him do. And his moder kepþe alle 
þes wordis, berynge hem in her herte. And Jesus profiteþe in 
wisdom, in age, and in grace boþe to God and to man.

We shal wite þat oure Jesus, siþ he was þis manched, and suȝte 
to oþer men, and growide² in wexinge and elde, he profiteþe in 
kunnyng þat cam of his wittis; but he had cunnyng of 
godhede and blesside cunnyng of man, bi which he was in al 
his tyme yliche wiþys and knewe al þing. Here may holy Chirche 
knowe boþ þe religioun of Crist and partis of þis religioun, as 
obedience and mekenesse. For Crist was suȝte to his lesse, and 
servede hem ful mekely, for Goddis lawe tautȝe þem þat þei 
weren in spirit more þan Crist was bodily. And Goddis reule 
shulde suffice to men, al if þei cloutiden not newe reulis. For 
Crist tautȝe perfþil a ful reule for al Cristene men, and it is a 
foul pryde to cloute our errours to his wisdom, for olde cloþ 
cloutid to newe makin more hole, as Crist seip. And we ben 
certeyne of oure bifleve, þat Crist haþ mesurid his ordre in liþ 
nesse and in fredom more þan oþer men kunnen shape. How 
shulden blynde foolis after amende þis reule þat Crist haþ ȝovun? 
And so God enforceþ men of þes pryvat ordres þat þre þingis 
of her ordres ben ydil and noþous; first þer clouting of þer 
reule, and siþ þer obedience, and after þer obligacioun to þer

¹ So B and C; A has 'And, for,' which gives no sense. ² So B; 
grown, C; A has grown.
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habit is and ojer uses. First, Cristis reule were full suffisant to alle men, and more free and more lust, and of more autorite. How myste ye fend for shame combre men wip sich cloutinge? And if a man shulde wende aweie, it were noo nede to charge him wip thongs yat weren unprofitable if he hadde ynow3 bisyde. And so as God forfendi his men to adde to his lawe, or for to drawe peerfre, for it is made in ful mesure, ri3t so we shulden holde his reule bi whiche he techi3 al Cristene men, neiper adde to ne drawe peerfre, lest we peiren Goddis ordenaunce. And litil error in his bileve growi3 to more in longe tyme, and his fendis blasfemye in God disturbil3 pe Chirche more and more. As anentis obedience, it is knowne yat Cristis obedience kept clene were sufficient to alle men here on lyf, and ojer obedience yat is cloutid doip harm manye weies. For it supposi3 yat his prelate erri3 not in his commandentis, but ever more biddi3 his sugettis pe same jinge yat God biddi3; and yus ech prelat shulde be yliche-wyse and evene wip God; and whan yei ben made prelatis bi synf menes as ofte falli3, God shulde algatis 3yve hem witt, and conferme hem in grace; for if yei mysten after do synne, yei mysten be proud in yer prelacie and reule yer sugettis amys az3n yer comandementis of God. And pan were it profitable to wante siche blynde leders, si3 affiance in God and proving of his governaile myste not faile to men but if yei shal faile first.—Lord! whi ordeynede not God siche ordris in pe olde lawe ne in state of innocense; but distryede newe yat weren mad? wher God be not as wise as he was in pe olde lawe, and ordeni3 now for his spouse as tendifly as he dide 3anne? And yus alle newe ordres ben ful of heresie. And as anentis y3s newe habitis, certainly yei ben of ye fend, but si3 yere be sum nedeful cause byndynge men yus to hem, for ellis yei weren superflue, and not of God but of ye fend, si3 yei tarrien a mennis wittis and her kepynge fro Goddis werkes. But it is knowne jinge to men yat y3s habitis profiten not to

1 This is the reading of C; A and B have ordeynede, clearly the wrong tense.

2 [Footnote: Some words seem to have dropt out here, (though the MSS. consulted all concur in the reading given in the text,) which would have completed the sense, which is, that to attach more importance to the friar’s habit than to counsels or commandments of God, is to do the devil’s work.]
werkes of vertues, but hidden þes ypocritis, siȝ þei may wiȝ siche
habitís be quyke fendis in þís world. And siȝ þei profite bi
ony caas, þei done harm ofter, as doȝ synne, and crien to men
ypocrisie of siche ordris þat usen hem. And siȝ þes signes ben
fals, þei maken men fals þat usen hem; and so algatis, siȝ
vertues myȝte be kepte wiȝtouen sicht signes more pryvyly and
sikirly, þei ben brouȝt in bi þe fende, and specialy, to charge
hem more þan conseillis or mandementís of God. Êch man
mut hav sum custom, but loke he wedde him not þerwiȝ, ne
byscale him not þat it be kepte of many men, for þei ben dyverse
and axen dyverse costoms aftir þat God moveȜ hym.

Þe secounde Sunday Gospel aftir Octave of Twelþe Day.

[SERMON XXXIII.]

Nuptiae factae sunt in Chana Galilee.—Joh. ii. [1.]

Þís gospel telliþ of þe first myracle þat Crist dide in presence
of his disciplis. And þus telliþ þe story, þat weβðingis weren
made in a liȝt dwellyinge place in þe contre of Galile, and Jesus'
moder was þere, wiȝ Jesus and his disciplis. For as men seyen
comounly, Joon Evangelist was weddied here,a, and Crist was his
cosyn, and Cristis modir was his aunte; and herfore þei weren
homelyer in þís weddinge of Joon. Studie we not to what
woman þís Joon was weddied, ne axe we not autorite to prove
þat Joon was weddied now; þfor þat þe gospel seþ þere is ynow
to Cristen feþþ. And whan wyn failide, at þis feste, Jesus modir
seide to þim, þei have noo wyn. And herby þís Lady ment on
curtayes manere as she durst, þat Jesus shulde helpe þís feste of

a This myth, for it is nothing
more, appears in its complete form
in De Lyra (Biblia Sacra, Lugduni,
1589). 'Dictur communiter quod
istæ nuptiae fuerunt Johannis Evan-
gelistaæ a quibus eum Christus vo-
cavit ante consummationem matri-
monii per copulam carnis.' There
is no trace of it in the works of St.
Austin or St. Jerome, nor, according
to Cave (Antiq. Apostolicæ, p. 118),
in any of 'the Fathers and best
writers of the Church.' Bede (Prol.
in Joh. Evangel.) says, 'Hic est Jo-
annes Evangelista ... qui virgo a
Deo electus est; quem de nuptiis,
volentem nubere, vocavit Deus.' But
he does not identify these 'nuptiae'
with the marriage at Cana.
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wyn bi his myracle. But *Jesus answerede*, strangely, *What is pat to me and to pee, woman?* as if he seide, Y have not by my manhede of pee for to do siche myraulis, but *pero nedip* my godhede; but afterward shal tyme come when Y shal offre my bodi *pat Y hadde of pee*, for savynge of mankynde. And herfore notip Austyna how Jesus Crist celepi specialy in pes two places his moder, woman, and here he figurede his speche in his passiou. And to pis entent seip Crist, *pat his hour is not zit comen*, in which he shulde bi sufringe putte his bodi in werke. But his modir, supposinge ay good of hir sone, *seide to pe mynystris to do what ever he seide*. And *perere were at pe feste sице water pottis sett*, and *ech of hem held a galoun or more.*—*Pe Jewis*adden a custoum to washe hem ofte, for touching or seynge of pinge clene yknow, as Seint Mark meneip in his gospel. *Jesus bade pe servauntis fille pe pottis with watir, and pei fylliden hem alle up to pe moupe.* And *Jesus seide pan, Hede out now, and here pe persoun:—* an architriclyn was he, *pat was clepid to blesse pe feeste, and principal1 in pe hous pat was of pe stages, as zif it were now a persone of a churche.* And *pei baren to pis persoun pe wyn pat Jesus hadde made.* And whan he hadde taster *perof, and wiste not how it came, but pe servauntis wisten wel pat drownen pe water, he clepide pe spouse of pe hous, and seide to him bus, *pes men pat festen oper putten first good wyn, whan per tast is freishe, for to juge pe goodnesse, and after whan pei ben drungken and per taist faitip, hanne he putip wers wyn, but zou doist even pe contrarie, for, zou hast kept good wyn unto his tyme.* *Pis was be bigynynge of signes pat Jesus deide in Galile, and shevide his glorie, bi doinge of pis myracle, and hisdisciplis trowiden in him.*

*Pis wedding bitokeneip love pat God hadde to his Chirche, how he wolde bcome man, and be newe weddid to it. And herfor was Crist not bigamus, ne brake not his matrimonye,*

1 So B; A and C have principaly.

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a The interpretation throughout this sermon is generally founded on S. Austin’s eighth Tractate In Iohannis Evangelium. Compare the following passage: ‘Miraclum autem quod facturus erat, secundum divinitatem facturus erat, non secundum infirmitatem; secundum quod Deus erat, non secundum quod infirmus natus erat. . . . Miraclum ergo exigebat mater, at ille tansquam non cognoscit viscera humana, operaturus facta divina, tansquam dicens, Quod de me facit miraculum, non tu genuisti; divinitatem meam non tu genuisti: sed quia genuisti infirmitatem meam, tunc te cognoscam, cum ipsa infirmitas pendebit in cruce.’
sīp þe same Chirche his wyf lastiþ ever more, but wip newe wenchis is Crist now weddid, and on newe maner he kepte his firste matrimony; as, if a spouse of a wife were newe cled, herfore were not dyvors made bytwene hem. A newe weddunge wip membris of þis grete womman makip not divors, ne bryngiþ in no bigamye; as, if a wyf growide and hadde many partis þat she hadde not bifoire, sche were not þerfore lefte. And þus Chana, þat is gelousnes, and Galilee, þat is a turnynge whele, bitoken þe love of Crist þat he hadde to conforte his spouse in þis weie, and brynge her after to blisse in þe chaumbre of hevene.—Þe turnynge of þis water into good wyn techiþ hou Crist made his lawe more savery, as þe wyne was beter þan þe water bifoire. And riþ as o substauice is firste water and sīþ wyne, riþ so o lawe is firste colde and sīþ hote; and herfore sīþ Crist þat he came not to fordo þe lawe but to fulfile þe lawe, and make it more savery. And drede we not þes philosophris to graunte hem aptly þat þe same substauice is firste water and sīþ wyne, ne drede we not dyvynes þat axen in þis cas, what was maad newe of Crist in þis myracle; sīþ qualite, as coloure or savoure of wyne, may not be by it sīlf. As Austyn seip, we shal wite þat myracle of Crist was wrouȝt here, so þat riþ as water, þat firste was in þe erþe, is drawen in to þe wyne tree, and sīþ in to þe grapis, and þy ne defysi til þat it be wyne, so Crist did þis chaunginge in a litil tyme; but more myracle was of beteringe of his lawe, and þe moste of alle, of swifte turnynge to it. þes sixe water pottis þat helden þis colde water ben men of þe olde lawe þat kepten Goddis lawe. But þei weren sixe, for fro þeer to þeer þei kepten þis lawe þat was hard as stones, and made hem colde on oþer manere þan þe newe lawe; for it makip men liȝt, and heþþ hem, and confortþ hem, as wyn doip mannis bodi. As philosophris seyn, þes mesures of þes vessilis ben þe olde cerymonyes þat weren beden of God, and þes sum founden of Jewis, and al þes weren fillid of Crist. But, to anoþer witt, þis archytryclyn was

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1 gelousnesse, B and C.  
2 defysi, B, C.

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* 'Sicut enim quod miserunt ministri in hydrias, in vinum conversum est opere Domini, sic et quod nubes fundant, in vinum convertitur ejusdem opere Domini. Illud autem non miramur, quia omni anno fit; asiduitate amisi admirationem.'—S. Aug. loc. cit.
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Þe manheed of Crist, for he made þis myracle bi his godhede. He was þe first þat tastide þis wyn and þaf it þes propreetes, boþe in him and ðepers; and doinge of þis myracle passide mannis feestyng, for God puttþ him silfe to be boþe mete and drynke to men þat he fedþ, and he is þe best. For worldely festynge is first savery to man, and siþ it is bittir as wormode1 to hym; but goostly foode ægenward first is unsavery, and siþ it is swete, whan men defien a it, for Goddis lawe savoirþ wele whan it is defoulid, as spicerye ȝveþ smell whan it is powned, but dritte, ȝif stired more, is more unsavery, and þus þe ȝyvynge of þe lawe of God was ground and bigynynge of Cristen mennis religioun. And þus þe disciplis of Crist, alle þat he hæp ordeyned for to come to hevene bi riþt blyve, trowen in him bi vertue of þis wyn; and þus is Crist glorified in hevene and in erþe bi strengþe of his lawe þat he þus þaf.

Fride Sondei Gospel after Octave of Twelfþ dai.

[SERMON XXXIV.]

Cum descendisset Jesus de monte.—Matt. viii. [i.]

Þis gospel tellþ of two myraclis þat Crist dide, and conteyneþ myche witt aboute þes two myraclis. Þe story tellþ how Jesus cam doun of þe hille, whan he hadde ȝovyn his lawe to his disciplis, and a myche peple sweude him, for devocioun þat þei hadden in his lawe, and eke in his wordis. And lo, þere cam a mesel man, and louide him and seide, Lord, ȝif þou wolt, þou maist hele me. And Crist seide he wold, and bade him be hole. It is comounly supposid þat þis leprous man trowide þat Crist was boþe God and man, and so Crist myȝte hele him, but of his owne worþinesse affide he not þis; and herfore he seide þat, ȝif Crist wolde, he myȝte hele him of his lepere, and þan was Crist God. And God wolde þat proude men and leprous heretikes wolden wel confesse þe feþþ, and þan shulden þei be hool. And Crist stretchid out his hond, and touchide him, and seide, Y wole make

1 wormood, B; wormode, C.

a The following passage, from the first Wycliffite version (1 Sam. xxv. 37), throws light on the meaning of the text:—'Forsóþe eerli, whanne Naabal hadde deþed þe wyn, his wyf shewide to him þes wordis.'
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pee hoole, and able pee þerto; and þus doip God to whom he 3yvep grace. And anoon was clensid þe lepre of þis man. And þis hasty helynge bitokeneþ þis myracle; and þat Crist touchide þis leprouse techip us now þat þe manhede of Crist was instrument to his godhede, for to do myracles þat he wolde weren do1, and þat touchinge of leprouse men was leveful to men þat þus wolden helpe hem. But Crist myȝt not be blemyshid by touchinge of þis leprouse; and so taȝte Crist his everlasting good wille, and taȝte us to performe þe good wille that we have. And after Crist bade him, See þat þou telle no man, but go and shewe him to þe prœest, and offre þat þys Þat Moises had in winnesse of siche helpe.

And so men seien, on þree maneris may þis word be undirstonden. First þat þis man shulde telle no man herof biforn þat he had offrid þat Crist bad him do. Þe seconde cause and betere is, þat Crist bad þis, to teche us to fleo boost, and þanke of siche men to whiche we done good bi maner of mercy; and þus we shulden not telle þis, bi entent of mannis þank. Þe þridde weye seip, þat Crist bad þis negatife, to fleo sclaudre of Goddis lawe and man, and fleo bostinge of himsylfe, and consevynge of yvel of God. And, for þe olde lawe was þan ceesid, Crist bad þille þis lawe as autor þerof. And þus whan a man shewip by his holy lyf, actif lyf, þat is two dowfe bryddis, or contemplative lyf, þat is a pare of turturs, bi siche signes he shewip þat his synne is forȝovun, and þat unto prœest þat wel undirstonden þis. And þus synful men shulden conseile with prœestis, and take of hem medecine to fle more synne.

Þe seconde myracle techip how Crist helide an heþene man, for love of centurion þat kepte Capernaum, þat was heed toun of þe contres of Galile. Þis centurio tolde Crist þat his child lay in his hous syke on the palesie, and was yvel turmentid. But Luke tellþ how þis knyȝt dide al þis by olde men of þe Jewis þat myche preisiden þis knyȝt, and seiden þat he was frend to hem, and bilde hem a synagoge. And Crist cam wiþ hem nyȝe to þis knyȝtis hous, and þis knyȝt seide þus unto Jesus Crist, Lord, Y am not worþi þat þou entre under my roof, but seie oonly wiþ word, and my servant

1 wer done, C.
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shal be hool. For Y am a man þutt in þis place bi power of þe emperour, havyng under me knyhtis, for to do myn office, and Y seide to on, Go, and he goþ, and Y seide to anoter, Come, and he comeþ, and Y seide to my servaunt, Do þis, and he doþ it. And bi þis wolde þis knyht mene þat Crist hadde no nede to entre in to his hous to hele þis seke man, siþ Crist is God Almyȝty, under no power. Jesus herynge þes wordis woundride in hise wittis: al if he wist and ordeyned bifoþ þat þis knyht shulde þus trowe¹, and herfore seide Crist to þe folk þat sueden him, Sôpely Y seid to you, Y fond not so myche feþ in al þe folk of Israel, neiþer preestis ne comouns. Crist mente not of hise apostlis ne of his modir ne of his maynè, for þei weren take from Israel, as Crist was here a strange lord. And herfore bihetþ Crist his Chirche þat shal be of heþene men, þat many of þe este and west shal come and reste wiþ patriarches in þe kyngdom of hevene, where children of þiş rewme shal be putt out, and cast into helle; þere shal be wepynge, þat is, sensible sorewe, and gnastinge of teþ, þat is more, for it is Peyne of harm of blisse, þat passþ al sensible peyn. And Jesus seide este to þis knyht, Go, and þi servant shal be hool; for as þou trowist, bi my grace, be it done unto þee. And þe childe was maad hoole in þe same houre, þat Crist spake þus. We shal wite þat feþ is a ȝiȝte of God, and so God may not ȝyve it to man but þiþ he ȝyve it graciously. And þus alle goodes þat men have been ȝiȝtes of God, and þus whan God rewardþ a good werk of man, he corounþ his owne ȝiȝte. And þis is of grace, for alle þingis ben of grace þat men have of wille of God; and Goddis goodnesse is firste cause why he ȝyveþ men þes goodes. And so it may not be þat God do good to men, but þiþ he do þes goodes freely bi his grace. And wiþ þis we shall graunte þat men dißerven of God; for in grace þei maken hem worthis to have þis goode of God; but we shal not undirstonde þat ech grace of God is a lump of þingis þat may be bi hymself, but grace is a manere in man bi which he is graciusse to God, and oþer grace on Goddis side is good wille of God. And for siche grace in God men resceyven grace in hem, and chiding of ydiotis, as was Pilagius and oþer, þat consevyn not

¹ So in B; towé, A; biþrewe, C.
pat a þing may be but þif it be bi himself, as ben substantis, is for to scorne and to leve to fools. For nyne kyndis of accidents have contrary manere, siþ ech of hem is a manere of substance of a þing, and it may not be by himself, as heretikes dreemen. And herfore leewe þis, and lerne we of þis knyȝt to be meke in herte in word and in dede, for he grauntid first þat he was under mannis power, and þif bi power of man he myȝt do many þinges; myche more shulden we knowe þat we ben undir Goddis power, and þat we may do noo þinge but by power of¹ God; and þif we disusen þis power, woo shal us be þerefore. And so þis rote of mekenesse shal gete óþer vertues to us, and grace of God to disserve mede of hevene and goodis of glorie, as it was in þe gentil knyȝte.

PE fourþe Sunday Gospel after Octave of Twelþe dai.

[SERMON XXXV.]

Ascendente Jesu in naviculam.—Matt. viii. [23.]

Þis gospel tellip a myracle þat Crist dide in þe water, and syche myraclis confermen þe feþ of holy Chirche ful myche in rude men; al þif þei ben hard. And so doinge of myraclis in water and londe bitokneþ þat Crist shewide his woundris to dyverse men. Sum resseyveden hem not to hele of her soule, for þei weren unstable as water, and fordiden soone Cristis prente²; but óþer men weren stable as lond, þat helden þe prente þat Crist putt in hem, and bi þe ground of siche feþ þei wenten fulli þe wey to hevene. Þe storye tellip of Jesus þat he stedide in to a boote, and his disciplis sueden him. And lo, þe water mowede fast, so þat þe boot was hid with waþis, for þe wynd and þe water weren contrarye to hem;—Cristo slepte in þis tyme³ in þe boot, as he hadde ordeyned. Þe discipulis comen and wakiden him, and seide þus to Crist, Lord, save us, for we perishen. And Crist seide to hem, What drenen ze of litil feþ? And Crist roos up anoon, and comandide to þe wyndis and þe water, and þei weren resid anoon. And al þe puple woundride

¹ om. A. ² prynte, B. ³ A and B include the words ‘in þis’ in the italics; C rightly excludes them.
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herof, and saiden among hem selve, What is he pis, for the wyndis and he see obeishen to him?

Sipe alle pe dedes pat Crist dide techen men how pei shulden do, pis restyng of Crist in pis boot bitokenep lore to be markid. We shulden be tymes reste, and preye to God in science1, and heere of him heeful lore pat we shulden after teche pe puple. And pis shulde techers flee preisyng of pe peple, as Crist dide. And pis is a pryvy synne amonge men pat prechen to pe puple, and certis it is a greet synne, for God shulde have al hool pe jank. And pis pe sleping of Crist bitokenep his verre manhede, and maki his2 myracle more, and to preye him hertlier in nede. And pis al oonli we dreden for defecte of feip in us, and Crist slepia not to us but for defecte of feip, for pe godhede may not slepe, and hit we spaken unto him, Ryse, why slepist thou, Lord? and helpe us in pis nede. And pis on two maneres failip bileve in men. First, when men wantip bileve, as pis pat trowiden not pat Crist was God; for if pei hadden trowid pis hooli, pei shulde have trowid pat Crist myste slepinge have done pis myracle and myche more. On pe secounde manere failip bileve, when it worchip not wele in dede, but is ydel as a slepynghe man; and pan clerkis seyen it is in habitea. And pis may no man do synne but if his bileve faile ouper on oo manere or on ouper; for if he hadde freishely bileve how foul his synne is, and hou myche it harmeip him, he wolde not for al pis worlde do pis synne, but fleden it. And herfore preyden disciplis to alarge him3 bileve, and Crist seide to Petre, Whi doutist thou of litil bileve? And Crist seide to a man pat he shulde trowe, for alle pings ban possible to men pat bileve. And shortly no kyn vertue was preisid more of Crist pan was riht bileve, for it is ground of alle ouper; ne doute we not how bileve may now be lesse and now be more, sip pan partis of bileve mysten go awey and come newe, and pan oure weren dyverse bileves for dyversitee of parties. Siche doutes we shulden sende to pe scote of Oxenforde, and we shulden wite wel bi God pat dyverse feipis in a man, now on4 and now ouper,

1 silence, C. 2 pis, C. 3 bem, B; bem in, C. Him is the purer and older form for the dative plural of the third personal pronoun. 4 con, B.

a That is, en éxi, to use the language of Aristotle, not en epepelq.
make no feip in him, ñhe, ñif þe tyme be dyverse þat þis feip þus comeþ or goþ. And þus may God encrese oure feip, and we by synne enfeblen oure feip; and Crist sleip often to us for siche slepyng of oure synne. For whan wyndis of mennis bost maken us to drede of worldly harms, and flogis of tribulacion comen to us, þei maken us dредen and crye on Crist to have helpe for fallinge in our bileve. For we shulden trowe þat noo siche a cas myȝte anoy us but for synne, and þif it come for oure synne, it is just, and Goddis wille. Whi shulde we be þus distemprid for þing þat is nede to come? Love we God, and do we his wille, and drede we noo þing but hym. For defaute in oure bileve mækiþ us to drede for siche þingis. For þes foure mannis affecciouns, drede and sorewe, hope and joye, changen a mannis wille after þat he haþ vertues. And if he be rootid in synne þei chaungen myche in a man, for he haþ drede of þing of not\textsuperscript{1}, and after joye of worldly þingis, and also sorewe of losse of þinge þat were betere to him to want, and hope of þingis ferre fro his helpe, as is welfare of þis worlde. And alle þes techen þat his wille is not sette on hevenly þingis, ne his bileve groundid in God for defaute of good love, for ech man shulde drede more loss of Goddis love by synne þan he shulde drede losse of ony worldly þingis. For as bileve techeþ us loss of Goddis love were wers, whi shulde we not drede þis more, siþ it bringþ more harm to us, and hope more helpe bi charite þan bi any mannis helpe? And þus cursiþ þe prophete him þat tristiþ þus in man. And here may men have a myrroure to juge wher þe love God and where þei ben in charite, bi þe ordre þat þei shulden have þif þei loven God wel; þei shulde more have joie of him þan of ony erþelye þinge. And so of his loss, þif it come; þif þei lesen þe love of God bi þer synne, þat þei shulden knowe, þei shulde have more sorewe þerof þan of loss of oþer þing. And þis joye, wiþ þis loss, wolde make men to fle synne. Siþ many men with diligence fleen losse of worldly goodis, and kepem hem þat þei ben not dampened in siche los by mannis lawe, and drede not so myche to lese goodis of grace þat be beter, it is open þat charite is not ordynel in
\textsuperscript{1} 
\textit{noyßt, B.}
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hem. And þus of goodes of kynde, men drede myche to lesen hem, as reule of kynde techiþ us, and comouns experiens; and ȝif þei comen to us, we joien ful myche, as we witen well; but goodis of grace we putten biynde, and þat fordóþ our charite. And ȝif we feynen falsehede in þes two þingis, boþe God and our bysynes shal be jugis ægens us. Lord! wheþer travelen we more, aboute goodis of þes two þingis or aboute goodis of grace? Oure owne travel shal juge us; what preest bisieþ him more now for to sue Crist in vertues, þan for to gete a benefice, or for to gete wordely goodis? And þis techiþ þat he joieþ more of wordely goodis þan goodis of grace. How ever þat we stryven now, oure juge shal dampe us at þe laste. And bi þis same skile, hope and sorewe shal jugen us, for we casten more oure bisynes in hope of a worldely prowe þan we done in hope of hevene oþ hevenly blisse þat we shulden have; and þus we dreden more of loss of wordely goodis þat we hopen þus, þan we done of goodis of blisse; and þis reversiþ al oour lyf.

ÞE FYFþE SONDAI AFTER OCTAVE OF TWELFþE DAI.

[SERMON XXXVI.]

Simile est regnum celorum homini qui seminavit.

Matt. xiii. [24.]

Crist in þis parable telliþ þe staat of his Chirche, and seþ þat þe kyngdom of hevene is lyke to a man þat sew good seed in his feld. Þe kyngdom of hevene telliþ boþe togidere, Crist and his maynè, but principali Crist. And herfore Crist is often cleyd þe kyngdome of hevene, and þe Chirche, þat is his wyfe, is o persone wiþ him. And þus þe kyngdome of hevene seþ þis spouse and his wyfe; but here is þis kyngdom take for Jesus Crist, þat is boþe God and man, and ordeyneþ wel for his Chirche. Þis man saw first good seed in þe feld of þis Chirche; for he puttide first good feþ in herte of his servauntis, and þis seed is Goddis word, as Crist himsylf seþ. Ffirst þis seed growide clene, and brouþt

1 So in C; om. A, B.
2 þis, C.
forþ good fruyt, but þe fend had envye þat þis seed growide þus;
and þis man þat is enemye to Crist and his Chirche cam and sew
tares whan men weren asteþe. For bi dowynge of þe Chirche
and neglencie of prelatis is mannis lawe medlid wiþ Goddis
lawe. And þes double mannis lawes, þe popis and þe emperours⁠
leßen Goddis lawe to growe, and gnaren þe Chirche, as tares
gnaren corn, and leßen it to þryve. And þe fend went awey,
and ceeside sum what to tempte men, for he was sikir of þis
tare þat it shulde myche lette þe Chirche. And þis is þe cautil
of þe fend, to wiþdraue his malice and shewe signes, as
myraclis, whan he haþ sowen yvel seed, as if God were wel
paied wiþ sowynge of siche seed. And as wete somers nurishen
siche tares, so lustful lyf of men þat shulden florished in vertues
bryngiþ in siche lawes bside wordis of bileve. And þis lettþ
trewe men to telle Goddis lawe, and lettþ þe Chirche to growe
in feþ and oþer vertues. And first, whan þe Chirche growid
wiþ þis tare, siþ it was hidd long after þe dowyngeb, but siþ
was þis tare shewid, and Goddis lawe hidde. For many wete
someres ben comen to þe Chirche, and so mannis lawe growiþ
and Goddis lawe is lettid, and speciali bi lawes of þes newe
ordres. But whan malice of þes lawes was knowan to trewe
men, þanne þei and angels spoken¹ to God and preyd Him
þat þei myþt gedre awey þes tares, so þat Goddis lawe myþte
renne freely as it first dide. But Crist denyeþ þis to hem, for
harm þat myþt come, for good corn myþte be drawun up
bifore þat it were ryпе, as trewe men in God myþte be sone
kild, siþ þei shewiden to myche þis cause, of clennesse of Goddis
lawe. But God haþ ordeyned his seed to growe til it be ryпе,
as God haþ ordeyned his membris to helpe ægens þe fendi
lymes, as longe as it is good þat þe Chirche profite here bi hem.
And þus siþ sowynge of þe fend tarieþ here Cristis Chirche, and
makiþ here Cristis corn ful þinne, and makiþ þicke þe fendi
lymes, neþeþs þis good corn groweþ more medefulli to þe
Chirche, for þei have more lettinge, but wel is him þat may
stonde. And herfor biddþ Crist, þat men shal suffre bopte þes

¹ So in B; spaken, C; spoken, A.
⁠a The canon law and the civil law. Church by Constantine under Pope
⁠b The supposed endowment of the Sylvester.

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two grove til þet yme of repinge, and þan shal he sey to þe repers, Giderere þe first þes tares togidere, and bynde hem in knytychis to brenne, but gedere þe þe good corne to my berne. Tyme of þis repinge is clepid þe day of dome, or ellis tyne nyȝt it, and þes repers ben good angelis, þat gederen partis of Cristys Chirche; and þes good angels shal bynde Cristis enemys in knytychis; and after þei shal brenne in helle bi þe ryȝtful dome of God, and trewe servauntis of Crist shall be gederid bi good aungelis and come to hevene as Goddis berno. And here supposen men, siþ it is nyȝe domes day, þat soone hereaftir shal be distryed boþe mannes lawe and her makers, and so, þiþ God wil, boþe ypocrisys and trynauntis 1 shal be distryed, as þe Antipope wip his court, and þes newe religioues. And þan shal Goddis lawe regne wip þe trewe partis of his Chirche; for, as þis gospel tellip, þes tares shal be gedrid first; but at þe day of dome Cristys lymes shal first be comfortid; and so it semeþ þat Crist spekiþ here of tyne before þe day of dome, and þus he moveþ many men for to trete þis mater now. And pray we al devoutely þat God do here as him lykeþ, and stonde we stif in Goddis lawe, and preise we it bfore þis tare.

Many men musen 2 of undirstondinge of þis gospel, and þenken þat it is folly to speke aȝens Anticrist, siþ treuþe of Goddis lawe tellip þat he shal vencuschen Cristene men for a tyne, and we may see þis at eye. And þus tellip þe gospel þat God 3 wolþ þat tare grove til þe day of dome among good corn, but who shulde reverse God and do aȝens his wille? Here shal we suppose comoun bileve and comoun distincchiouns, þat ben said in Latyn, and þanne me þinkip þat we shulden preien þat Goddis wille be done, as it is in hevene, so here in erþe. And over þis we shulden stonde sadde in bileve of God, and lyve in vertues as Goddis lawe biddip us, and assenten not to synne of Anticrist þat regneþ now, but have sorewe þerfore, siþ Crist hadde sorewe for synne and wepte never but þries for synne, as Goddis lawe techip us, and resoun accordiþ herwip; siþ synne is moost yvel, and so we shulden more have sorewe for synne þan for any

1 tirauntis, B; tyrantis, C.  
2 mosyn, C.  
3 So in C; om. A and B.
oper yvel. And þus, ȝif we myȝte lette synne, we shulden be Goddis proctours, al if we dien þerfore, and proftiȝn here no more. But lyve we wel, and God failiȝ not to consaille us how we shal do, and þus assente we not to synne but profite we as God biddiȝ us. And herby may we answere to þe fendis argument. Suppose we þat Anticrist shall vencushe trewe men for a tyme; but þis is in bodly victory and not in vencushing of treuȝe; for þus he vencuschiȝ no man, but ever is overcome him sylf. And þus trewe men shal ever have mater for to fiȝte goostly, boȝe wþ þe fend and his membris, þat ben wickide men of þis world. And so wþ þis undir-stondinge fiȝte we wisely wþ þis world, but algatis loke þat we be armed wþ pacience and charite; and þan þe fiȝting of þe fend may no wey do us harm. And if þis skile shuld move men to performe Goddis wille, never shulde man fiȝte wþ synne, for God wole þat synne profite. But what witen we wher tyme be come þat God wole þis tare be distryed? And herfor worchë we wiseli, and fiȝte we aȝens þe fend, sþ þis stondiȝ wþ Goddis lawe and wþ fillinge of Goddis wille.

**DE GOSPEL ON SEPTUAGESIME SUNDAY.**

**[SERMON XXXVII.]**

_Simile est regnum celorum homini patrifamilias._—MATT. XX. [I.]

Þis gospel telliȝ bi a parable how God hap ordeyned for his Chirche fro þe bygynnynge of þe world, as longe as it dwelliȝ here. _The kyngdom of hevene, seiy Crist, is lyke to a good huse-boonde_; þat wente first eerly to hire werkmen into his vynezerde. Þis houboonde is God, and þis vynezerde is his Chirche, and at þe bygynnynge of þe world he hyred men to wirche þerynne, for alle þes men þat comen to hevene wirchen wel in þis Chirche; and _hér hire is a peny þat þei taken_, for dai of hir lyf. And þis peny is hadde of men bi godhede and manhede of Crist. _And_
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After his acorde made, he sente his werkmen into his Chirche. And his housbonde went out in he priddle houre of his day, and say oper stondinge ydel in he cheping to be hired, and his fadir seide to hem, Go ye in to my wynegerde, and pat ping pat is riȝt Y shal ȝyve you. His werkmen ben seintis pat God hadde ordeynede for to travaile in his Chirche after his first age, and pat stoden ydel in his way to heveneward bfore pat God hadde moved hem to traveile in his Chirche. And God hiȝt pat he shulde ȝyve hem pat were riȝtful hem to have, and pat is his blisse of hevene, pat falliȝ to his large lord. For it is uncerteyne to hem where he shall perfourme his travall, herfore he biȝettiȝ to hem to ȝyve hem pat were riȝtful. And he wenten forþ and worȝten wyl, werke of his wynegerde; and his he did in his sixte houre and in his nynpe houre also. For God hirede laborers after his Chirche hadde nede, and so he bood first oo our and siȝt two to hire servauntries.

He wente forþ aboute his entenynpe hour, and fond oper men stondinge, and seide to hem, Whi stonde ze here al dai ydel fro travel af his wynegerde? And he seiden to him, for no man hadde hired hem; and he seide unto hem, And go ze in to my wynegerde. He made noon oper covenauȝt wiȝ hem, for two bfore were ynow.

His fyeve houres bitokenen boȝe he elde of his Chirche from his bigynynge til pat Crist cam, and trewe men pat travelliden perinne. For it is seid comonly pat pe world haþ sixe eeldis. Pe first was from Adam to Noe; pe toȝer from Noe to Abraham; pe pridde from Abraham to David; pe fyrȝe from tyme of David to passinge in to Babiloyne; and pe fyfte fro pat tyme til pe natuyte of Crist. Pe sixte age is undirstonde from pennes til pe day of dome. Pat shal the liȝt of Crist go doun fro dwellinge in his world, and shyne in pe toȝer worlde by mene of pe day of dome, and for notablete of Crist. He telliȝ not hiryng for his houre; and, for his tyme is to come, and Goddis lawe is ful hereof, he telliȝ not of his sixte hiryng, but undir-stondiȝ it in oper. Ne we shulde not knowe nowe pe quantite of his age pat lastiȝ fro Cristis ascencioun unto dai of judgemet. Pe traveile in his wynegerde stondiȝ in pes þe þingis: firste, digge aboute pe wyn rotis, and dung hem wel, and hile hem þanne.

1 abode, C. 2 So in C; A and B wrongly include the clause in the italics. 3 notabiliȝe, B; notabillite, C.
Pe secounde traveile in pis vynezerde is to kitte wel pe braunchis; and pe pryde traveile herof were to araile pes growynge vynes. Sum of pis pertyne to God and sum is done bi mannis traveile. God himself makip pes vynes, and plantip hem in his yerde; for God makip trewe men, and 3yvep hem witt to bryng good fruyte; and prechours ben helpours of God, and delven aboute bi bileve, but God 3yvep pe growynge, al 3if men planten and watren. For þus dide Jeromye in þe olde testament; and þus also dide Poul in þe tyme of grace. And so þes laborers have nede to delve aboute þes rotis, lest yvel eerbis growen þere, and bastard braunchis wiþouten bileve. Þei ben dungid wiþ fyve wordis, þat seint Poul wolde teche þe puple; þe whiche sum men undirstonden hevene and helle and weies to hem; but þe first word and þe fîfte is þe holy Trinite. Whan þes fyve sentencis ben prechid, and declarid on good manere, þan þes vynes ben dungid, and wele hilid wiþ erpe. But wise men kichten þes branchis, whan þei wiþdrawun cursid men þat ben superfleue in þe Chirche, and letten it to brynge forþ wyne. And to þis helpen myþi men þat drawen fro clerkis worldely goodis þat þei have ægen Goddis lawe, and done harm to his Chirche, but þei þat martiren Goddis servauntis, be þei knyþis, be þei preestis, þei be foxis þat ben aboute to distrie þis vynezerd. þe railynge fallip to prelatis and oþer vikeris of God, þat makip þe statis of men to stonde in þe bondis þat God haþ ordeneþ; and 3if wyndis or oþer weders putten doþ þes statis to þe erþe, bi vertue and strengþe of prelatis shulde þes statis ben holden up. And so ech cristene man shulde helpe þis vynezerde; for growynge of coolwortis and oþer wedis maken malencolie and oþer synnes, and gladen men not, to wende to hevene, but maken hem hevy to falle to helle. And whan everynge was come, þe lord of þis vynezerde seide to his proctour, and bade hem clepe þes werkmen, and 3yve hem her hire, bigynge at þe last werkmen unto þe first laborers.

þe lord of þis vynezerde is þe godhede of Crist, and þe proctour herof may be clepid his manhed. Þis everynge is þe day of dome, þat sum tyme is clepid myð nyȝt, and sum tyme clere dai, to dyverse men þerinne, as þe same tyme is clepid here day and here nyȝt, here faire tyme and
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hoot, and her soule wedir and coold. Clepynge of þes werk-
men is clepyng to goddis dome, þat is þe laste trumpe þat
seint Poul spekij of. Crist shal bigynne at men of þis last
tyme, for men of þis last age shal be more blessid, and be first
in worpynessse þan men of oþer ages, siþ þe manhede of Crist is
in þe sixte age, and his modir wiþ apostlis shulen passe oþer
in blissse, and so in oþer agis þe later hadden more grace, siþ
Crist is þe emperoure, þat wendij ever alarginge. þe sevenþe
age is clepid of men þat slepen in purgatorye, and þe eijte
age of blissed men in hevene, and in þes eijte agis endij
al þis world.

And so al þes laborers toke ech one his peny. But men of þe first
hour demeden þat pei shulden have more þan men of þe enlevenþe
hour, for þei travailiden first and longer. And þus þei gruchiden
azen þe houseborne, and seiden to him; þes comen in þe last houre,
and þou madist hem evene to us, þat baren þe charge and þe hede of
þe daie of traveile. But he answeride to oon of hem, and seide þus
to him, Frend, Y do þee no wronge; for of a peny þou cordist wiþ
me. Take þat is þine, and go ful paiëd, for Y wole 3yve þis laste
as myche as Y wole 3yve þee. Where it is not levesful to me to¹ do
wiþ my owne þing as Y wole? Wher þin even ben wickid for þat
Y am good? þus shal þe laste be firste, and þe first be last; for
many ben clopid, but fewe of hem ben chosen. þis gruchinge of
þes seintis is not stryvinge of hem, but woundringe in soule, as
Seint Gregore a seip. And so þis demynge and grutching þat þis
gospel spekij of is woundrynge in soule, and þankinge of
Goddis grace, þat he þat so myche joie to men for so litil
traveile. For more joie þei myþt not have, but fulli as myche
as þei wolden. And so shal al wiþen wel þat God doiþ no wrong
to hem, but þat he hiþ hem graciously, he haj fully 3yven hem;
ne noon of hem shulde grutchen azen goodnesse of þis just
fadir, for he may 3yve of his owne, more þan ony man may

¹ So in B and C; om. A.

* See the nineteenth Homily of
Pope Gregory (Benedictine edition,
Paris, 1705), vol. i. p. 1512. The
labourers that murmured are inter-
preted to mean the saints under the
old dispensation, who, though they
had merited heaven by their good
lives, yet obtained it not, till the
descent of Christ into hell had set
them free, and opened to them the
gates of Paradise.
diserve bi mannis riȝtwisnesse, or evenhede\(^1\) of ony chaffare\(^a\). And so God seip to ech seint þat he shulde take his mede by grace, and so go in to þe blisse of hevene where seintis shal ever dwelle in pees.

\[ \text{Sexagesime Sunday Gospel.} \]

\[ \text{[SERMON XXXVIII.]} \]

\[ \text{Cum turba plurima.—Luc. viii. [4.]} \]

\[ \text{þis gospel telliþ in a parable hou þat holy Chirche growide} \]

bi graciouse sowyng of Crist, and growinge of þis holy seed; and in tyme of Sexagesime men sowen bodili seed. Þe storie of þe gospel telliþ, \textit{Whan myche puple was come to Crist, and þei hastiden of citeis to heere of him Goddis word, he seide bi a similitude; He wente out þat sowiþ ay to sove his seed in his lond; but on foure maneres felle his seed upon his lond. Sum fellen bi side þe wey, and was defoulid, and foulis of heven ete it. And sum felle on a stone, and when it was sprongen, it dryed up, for it hadde no moisture. Sum felle among þornes, and þornes growinge strangliden it. And sum felle in to good erpe, and þat sprong up, and made an hundrid fold fruyt. And Crist, seying þes wordis, cryede and seide to þe puple, He þat hab eeres to heere, heere he, and undirstonde þis witt. And evermore, as seintis seyen, whan God biddiþ men heere þus, his sentence is preciouse and shulde be markid wel of men. And his disciplis axiden him what ment þis parable, and Crist seide unto þem, þat to hem was grauntid to knowe þe privyte of þe reume of God, and to oper men in parablis, þat þei, seyne wipouten forþ, se not wipynne in her soule, and þei heerynge þe wordis of þe parable undirstonden not þe witt of þem.} \]

\[ \text{Crist seide þat þis is undirstonding of þis parable. Þe seed is Goddis word, þat felle to men on foure maneres.—þis first seed is Goddis word, þat fell in sum biseide þe wey; for sum ben} \]

\[ ^{1} \text{ony nede, C.} \]

\[ ^{a} \text{The meaning is,' or according to the just understanding of any bargain.'} \]
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cumbrid wiþ pe fend, and so defoulid wiþ pe worlde pat pe erpe is not able to take þis seed and hilen it; and herfore cometh pe fend and taketh Goddis word fro þer hertis, for he putteth in her þouþt strange þing fro þis seed and so he taketh fro þer witt pe vertue of Goddis seed. And herfore it is perelous to dwelle þus biside pe weye, and be defoulid wiþ pe fend and wiþ sentence þat he wole teche. Pe fend taketh fro men Goddis word þat þei trowe not in it; and for, bi suche troupe, men may sundest be saif, pe fend purposeth to take away Goddis word, last þat men trowen in it, and so be saaf. Pe fendis may dwelle in comoun weye, where God wole not sowe his seed, and pike awaye pe seed biside, and aspie unsow place, and gedere pe seed þat is sowen. He haþ noo power of þis seed, but power of þe man by synne. And þus men out of bileve, þat ben hardid in þer untreуe, maken a comoun weye and playne, where fendis and beestis may freely go; and on londis biside þis weye ben many voide places, for many semen in bileve, but feip is voided fro hem. Pe secounde place of þis lond þat Goddis seed is sowen ynne, is stony lond wiþ brood stoonys, upon which þis seed fallith, and stones ben hard and erpe litil, and for a tyme þei taken wiþ joie þe wordis of God þat ben sowen, but hem wanteth rootis of charite; and so þei turnen to þe world, for coveitise of worldely goodis. And þis seed wanteth rotis of love to stonden in Goddis lawe, for þei loven more erpeyly goodis þan þe fruyt of bileve. For þis seed of Goddis word mut be rootid in charite, so þat neiþer povert e ne peyne ne manasse made of Antecrist make men falle fro Goddis lawe, for stabilnesse in þe roote. Pe briddel lond þat taketh þis seed is ful of þornes and yvel weedis, and þes grown up wiþ þe corn, and distrifie good seed; for siche ben þoven1 to worldely lustis, and lustful þing lykeþ hem, as þingis þat plesen þe bodi, as mete and drynke, and ydlenesse, and leichery, wiþ worldely goodis þat susteynen bodily lustis. And þus it fareþ as Gregory seip a: al þif rychesse liken þe fleishe, neþeleþ þei ryven2 þe soule, and maken it bisye aboute veyn þingis; and þus þei prycchen and wounden þe soule, as þornes done harm to þe fleishe.

1 So B; A has yve.
2 ryven, C.
3 S. Greg. Homil. in Evang. xv. § 3.
And þus þis lond is undisposid bi þree enemyes of a man, þe which be, þe fend, þe world, and þe sleishe wanton of a man. Of þes speken Joon and James, and Crist here in her 1 wordis; for þes þree leetten Goddis word to bryng forþ fruyte in mannis soule. And þerefore, 3if þou coveite in God þat his seed profite to þee, chastise wele þes þree enemyes þat leetten Goddis seed to growe, and þan þou hast good land and wel disposid to take þis seed, and it bryngþ þe in siche soulis fruyte to an hundrid fold; siþ goodis of blisse þat ben in hevene passen alle our goodis here, as an hundrid done oon. And þes in substanse ben þis seed, and þis lore is profitable to holi Chirche and makþ it growe, and reisiþ it fro þe erþe to þe heynesse of hevene. Þis seed haþ many propertees þat fallen to bodily seed, for it is litil in quantite and þe vertue of it is hid, but Goddis grace mut quykene it, as liþ of hevene quykeneþ oþer seed, and dewe of grace þat comeþ of God, wiþ þe hete of charite, norishen þis goostly seed, and maken it growe up to hevene. But as þe gospel of Joon seijþ, þe corn of whete fallþ in to erþe, and siþ it dieþ, and þan it groweþ many folde to myche corn. Þis whete corn is Cristis bodi, þat bicam man here in erþe, þat first was deed and siþ roos, and brouþte of him many partis; and þus growide holi Chirche from oon to hir ful noumbe. But beestis and lymes of þe fend be myche to blame for þis fruyte, for þei leetten it to growe many weies bi fendis cautelis, and sum, bifoere þat it be ryþe, þei kitten 2 and 3 leetten fruyte to come. And herþere heþwardis shulden be ware and do þer office in þe Chirche, for ellis þei ben traitours to God, in fals kepinge of his felds. And vertues of a soule, and specialy mannis pacience, ben as marle or dunge to men, and maken hem bryng forþ siche fruytis.

Aboute þis tixt may men doute, how þis seed may wexe drye, or faile in ony wyse, siþ it is Cristis word, and Crist seijþ þat hevene and erþe shal passe and faile, but not his word. But here we witen how treuþe of God may not faile in his substanse, siþ it is kynde of God, þat nedely is 3if ouþt be; but þe fruyte þat it shulde make may faile in men by synne of hem. And þus þis seed haþ many names, and bi

1 his, C. 2 om. E. 3 om. E.
many resouns is knowen, and bi diversite of resouns may men
asoiile þes doutes. But moreover þes men doute here, siþ
God is sower of þis seed, and He is ful of witt and myȝt, whi
sowip he in yvel lond? But here we shal undirstonde þat noo
defaute may be in God; but as he ȝyveȝ reyn and wedris to good
men and to yvel, so he offrid his seed boþe to lond good and
yvel; and al ȝif fruyte þat it shulde have perishe ofte for mannis
synne, neþeles substaunce of þis seed may not faile, siþ it is
God. And þus meneþ Anselme sắc, þat þere is no treuþe but oone,
for ech treuþe in his ground is þe first treuþe of alle. And leve
we to þonge men scole tretynge of þis matere, but þit men doute
what moveþ God to wiþdraue his grace fro men, and to lette
þis seed for to growe, as he shewiþ it in parablis. But here
seþ Poul þat no man shulde blame God for his good dede, siþ
he doþ þi his grace al þingis þat he doþ, and wiþdraueþ never
his grace, but ȝif man unable him selþe; and þan bi riþtwisnesse
of God nedþ þis synner to be punishid. But sum men seyen
þat alle þingis moten nedis come by God, and so what harms
comen in þis world, profiten unto þis world, eiþer¹ to make
good þing beter, eiþer to make good anewe², or ellis to preysþe
God and to joie for peyne þat is to men in helle. And so Crist
telliþ in parablis his witt for many causis. First, for men
unworþi to knowe it ben blyndid bi derke speche; moreover,
for men þat medefulli travelen for to knowe þis parable witt
boþe shal traveile more medefulli and betere printe þe witt þus
gate; and also, in siche parablis as myche philosophie is
knowen as is nedeful for a man for to cunne in þis weie.
And so, þif God ordeyne þus, it is best þat it be so.

¹ eþber, A; for, E; the reading in the text is that of B.
² So in B;
onewe, A; of newe, E; of new, C.

² 'Improprie hujus vel illius rei esse dicitur [veritas]; quoniam illa
non in ipsis rebus, aut ex ipsis, aut per ipsas, in quibus esse dicitur, ha-
bet suum esse; sed cum res ipsae secundum illam sunt, quae semper
praesto est his quae sunt sicut de-
bent, tunc dicitur hujus vel illius
rei veritas.' S. Anselm Dialog. de
Veritate, ch. xii. The heading of
the chapter is 'Quod una sit veritas
in omnibus veris.'
Wyclif's

Quinquagesime Sunday Gospel.

[Sermon XXXIX.]

Assumpsit Jesus duodecim discipulos.—Luc. xviii. [31.]

Jesus foretells his passion. His gospel tellip how Crist warned his disciplis bfore of his passioun, to teche þat he ordeyned it, and suffride not ægens his wille, but chees for love þat he hadde to man to suffre þus and bigge man. Jesus toke his twelve disciplis, and seide þus unto hem, Loo, we steien to Jerusalem, and alle þingis þat ben writun bi prophetis of mannis sone shal be endid, as þei nedis mote. Crist cleþþ himself mannis sone bleþeliche, for þis cause. Foure maneres þere ben of men þat ben brouþt in to þis world. Þe first man was made of erþe, but Eve was made of man. Þe þridde man cam of hem two by comoun gendrure of man; but Crist worshipid a womans kynd, and cam bi myracle of Marye, so þat whan þat Crist cleþþ himself wommans sone, or his modir womman, he specifiþ his manhede. And so, þif prophetis and oþer men weren sopeli seid mannis sones, naþele Crist was propreli sone of a persone of mankynde, for he was a virgyns sone, wipoute man þat gate² Crist of hir. þes forfadiris of whiche Crist cam, as Abraham, David, and oþer, gendriden not Crist of Marye, for she kepte ever her maydenheed. And so for worship of his modir, and of kynde of men and wommen, Crist wolde clepe him mannis sone, and specifiþ his manheed. Sixe þingis tellip Crist to come in his passioun. First, Þrist shal be ȝovnun to Pilat and knyþis, to be slayn; and alle þes weren hþene men, and figuriden³ þat þei shulden be turned. And ypocrisie of Jews, whan þei feynden unlevesful to hem for to see Jesus Crist, tellip þat þei shulden be endured b. After Crist was many weies scorneþ, and aer þe he was tormentid, and after he was spitt upon; and aer þis torment he was kild, and he roos on þe þridde day, as it was shewid aer in dede. But disciplis of Jesus undir-stoden not of þes sixe þingis; for al þif þei herden þe voicis, þei undirstoden þan noon of þes, for it was unsemely to hem þat

¹ belicbe, B, C, E. ² gat, B, C. ³ figurid, C.

a That is, dignified.  b That is, hardened.
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ony of þes þingis shulde falle; and so þei supposiden þat Crist spake mystily in þes wordis. And whan Crist cam nyȝe Jerico, a blynde man sate bi þe weye and beggide, for synne of þe puple þat wolde not helpe him wþouten siche begginge, al þif Goddis lawe forfende siche beggers for to be. Whan þis blynde man herde þe puple passinge wþ Crist in þe weye, he axide what þat was; and þei seiden azen to him þat Jesus of Nazarep passide þerbi. And he criede on him, and seide, Jesus, þat art David sone, have mercy on me. And men þat wenten bfore Crist blameden him, and bade him holde his þees; but he cryede myche more, David sone, have mercy on me. And Jesus bleþeli dide mercy whan he was clepid David sone, for it was soþ bi Goddis heste; and David was woundful meke, and figuride Crist specialty in many þingis þat felle to him. And þus stood Jesus, and made þis man be broute to him, and whanne he cam nyȝe, Crist axide him, what he wolde þat Crist did to him. And he seide, Lord, þat Y see. And Jesus seide to him, Þan loke þou, þi bileeþe hþat made þee saaf. And he saw anooun, and suede Crist, heriýinge\(^1\) God; and al þe puple, whan þei sawe þis, sawen loowyng\(^2\) to God.

De goostly sence of þis gospel moveþ men to vertues, al if fleishely disciplis undirstonden þis not. A vertuous man must suffre of his kynde six maner of sufferinge, as Crist dide here, and þan in siche pacience is þis man ordeyned to go to hevenly Jerusalem, as Crist wente here in erþe to bodli Jerusalem. A man shulde first be ðovun to þes heþene fendis; and þei first scornen þis man, and tempten him bi his fleishe; and siþ þei puten him on þe cros to chastise his fleish as Poul dide, and siþ to die to þis world, and siþ to ryse spiritaly, for þus men shulden fleþe þer fleishe and ryse to God in þer goost. And þif þes wordis ben scorned of fleishly men and worldely, nþeþeþ it shulde be þus, bi bileeþe þat men shulden have; and þus we shulden sue Crist, suffringe as he suffride, and we shulden wende bi Jerico, and speke wþ þis blynde man, and do werkes of mercy to him goostly as Crist dide.—Jerico is þe mone\(^4\), or smellynge þat men shulde have, for ech man in

\(^1\) So B, C, E; heerynge, A.  
\(^2\) keyng, E; keyng, C.  
\(^4\) Jericho means "place of fragrance," from יֶרֶךְ, ʿerēḵ, to breathe, יֶרֶךְ, to smell; older commentators derive it from יָרָא, ʿərāʾ, the moon." (Smith's Dict. of the Bible.)


pis lyf shulde smelle Crist, and sue hym. And riȝt as þe mone is principale planete after þe sunne, so Cristis manhede is principal after his Godhede. And as fadris of þe olde lawe smelliden Crist in þer dedes, so myche more we shulden now smelle Crist in alle oure dedes, and þanne we shulden sue þis moone, and eende sikirly þis weie. For þis smelle is Crist, clepid plantinge of rose in Jerico, and his weye is smellinge of a ful feld þat God hadde blessid, and þis smel hadde Jacob and oþer fadris þat trowiden in Crist. Þis blynde man is mankynde þat was blyndid bi synne, and beggide boþe of God and man, for it was nedid herto. Ech man mote begge of God and axe of him his ech daies breed, and begge goostly werkis of mercy of his breþeren, for þei ben slowe to do þes werkes as þei ben holden to do bi þe lawe of God. And þes men sitten bi þe weye þat ben temptid of þe fend, þat takip of hem Goddis word, and makiþ hem pore in bileve. Þes men heeren þat Jesus passid bi þis wey in many membris, and þei cryen fast on him to helpe hem in þis rede; but Jesus biddip siche blynde men to be brouȝt to him in þer bileve; and þei axen first of Jesus, to see wel in riȝt bileve. And men þat ben worþi herto, seen anoon in þer bileve, suyinge Crist and lovynge God, for þan þei witen how þei shulden lyve. But þes men þat comen bifoare blamen faste þis blynde man and letten him for to crye and axe helpe þus of Crist. For many comen not wiþ Jesus in þer lore þat þei techen, but comen bifoare him, and seien þat þei ben betere þan he, and suen him not in þer lyf, but holden a lyf þat þei have founden. And þes men þat smellen Crist in his lyf, and his lawe, þei clepen hem ypocrisis, and maken hem ceese to speke of Crist. But þes men þat saueren God bi suche wordis, speken more, and preien Crist to helpe hem to þe tyne þat þei ben dede, and ever þese¹ men smellen more of Jesus Crist, þat is þis rose. For good þing comfortþ men, þe more whan it is more defoulid. And þus þei seen and suen Crist to hevenly Jerusalem, and loven him in word and dede from þe tyne þat þei have þis sijþ.

¹ So in B; þes, C; þis, A.
SERMONS.

PE FIRSTE SONDAY GOSPEL IN CLEENE LENTUN.

[SERMON XL.]

Ductus est Jesus in desertum.—MATTH. iv. [1.]

This gospel tellth how Crist was temptid þre tyumes of þe fend, and how he overcam þe fend, to teche us, how we shulde do. þe storie tellþ þat Jesus was ladde of þe Holy Goost in to þe desert sone after his fastynge, to be temptid of þe fend. For þe fend temptþ men, whan he supposid þat þei ben moost feble. þe fend supposid þis of Crist whan he hadde fastid fourty daies, and resouns of þe fend, where Crist was boþe God and man, marrid him so þat he wiste nevere where þis was sop or fals. And þis coveitide he to wite, for þanne he wolde have lettid men to do Crist þus to þe deþ, lest he saveyd mankynde. It was not pleyne to þe fend þat Crist was God for þis fastynge. For Moyses and Ely boþe fastiden fully fourty daies, and þit neiþer of hem was God, as þe fend wiste wel. But Jesus bi his manere of fastinge passide boþe Moyses and Hely. For Crist fastide fourty daies, and neiþer ete ne drank in þis tyme, and he was in quyke age, and listide wel to ete, and he was not occupied on oþerwise as þes two weren. Moyses was in þe mount wiþ God, and fed wiþ him in al þis tyme. Hely was an oold man, and fedde wiþ drede of þe kyng. But Jesus was a þonge man, and fourty daies lyvede wiþ beestis, and suffrid of God for to hungre more þan ony oþer dide. And so Crist passide boþe þes two and Joon Baptist wiþ hem, al þif he lyvede after comoun lyf to þyve ensaunple to his Chirche, but Baptiste lyvede more comounly peynful lyf þan dide Crist.

þe fend bigan to tempte first Crist at pryde and glotonye, for him þouþ bi þes two he shulde sounest overcome Crist. þis tempter seide þus to Crist, þif þou be Goddis sone, sey þat þes stones be maad loves, for þe fend wiste wele þat þis myþte God liþly have do, for Crist dide more wounder whan he made þis world of not, and whan he fed so many folk wiþ fyve loves and fewe fishes, as þe fend wiste wele after, but þit þis was hidde.
fro him. And here we witen þat oure philargis ben more foolis þan is þe fend; for þe fend wote wele þat God may liȝtly make stones loves, but oure philosophris seyen as foolis þat þis þing may no wey be. And so þe fend supposid of Crist, þif he were God, he shulde do þis, boþe for shewynge of his myȝt and for to\(^1\) abate his hunger. But here answeride Crist to þe fend bi autorite of holy writ, and seide, *It is writun þere inne þat not oonly in breed lyvþ man, but in ech word þat comþ of Goddis mowþ; þat is, his vertue to speke to men in þer soule; and þis passiþ erþely breed. And so þe fend failide foule in þis temptacioun of Crist, for þif Crist wolde for pryde do þis myracle, and make þus breed of stoones, he wolde in comunalte\(^2\) do þis dede, and not þus oonli in desert. And þif Crist myȝt þus make breed, he myȝt þus make boþe fleish and fishe, and þan Crist hadde noo nede þus to hungre ægens his wille. And so þe fend was a fool whan he temptide Crist þus. But Crist answeride wisely, and for to þyve men ensaumple to answere bi Goddis lawe, and to love more it þan erþely þing.—A sophistre wolde denye þis resoun þat þe fend made to Crist, but he coude not teche þus þat Goddis word is more to love þan ony erþely mete, and so it shulde not be lefte þerfore. And þus þif we can answere covenably bi Goddis lawe whan þat we ben temptid of pryde, of glotonye or oþer synne, we may wel overcome þe fend and ech þing þat temptiþ us þus. For þif we love betere Goddis word þan ony mete þat we shulden ete, we shulden not leve Goddis word and chese þis mete ægens resoun.

De secounde temptacioun in which þe fend temptide Crist was done on þis manere, for to move Crist to pride. þe fend toke him in to þe holy citee, and as men seien comounly, þe fend bare him over Jerusalem, as Crist were fleynge in þe eire, and þutte him above þe þynacle of þe temple: þat sum men seyen weren þe aleis, and seide to Crist, þif he were Goddis sone, þat he shulde make him stil go down. And herto aleggid þe fend to Crist þe psalme, þat he myȝte surely do þis, for God bade his aungeles of Crist to keþe him in all his wores,  

\(^1\) So in B and C; om., A. \(^2\) communete, B.
SERMONS.

lest he hurte his foot at pe stooone. And myche more Crist shulde not hirte him at pe eire, ne in his falleng at pe erpe, ne at no ping pat Crist mette. And here men passen foly of pe fend. For he wolde alegge holy writ in temptacioun of Crist to prove him pat it were sykir; but Antecrist deynep not to alegge Goddis lawe for his power; but he seip pat if men"denyen it pei shal be cursid, slayn, and brenpt. But þus pe fend temptide not Crist, al þif he were of more power þan ben þes Antecristis disciplis to tempte Crist or Cristen men. But Crist answerebi bi holy writ as þe fend aleggide it to him, and seide to þe fend þat it was writun þat noon shulde tempte þe Lord his God. But it were al oone to lepe doun þus and to tempte God. And so, siþ Crist chargide more Goddis word þan ony worship or mete, myche more he chargide þe synne þus for to tempte God.—Lord! what nede shulde Crist have to lepe doun þus fro þe pynacle, siþ he myste on oþer maner surely come doun bi þe aleis. And þif men perseveyven not þe heynge of Crist to þe pynacle, ne berynge of him over þe citee, for mennys eyen as it is seide weren hid fro lokynge upon Crist, myche more men shulden not wite hou Crist cam doun to þe erpe. For lesse it is to come doun from an hey place þan to come þider. And þus seilide foly of þe fend to tempte Crist þus to pryde. But here men douten comounly what it is to tempte God, and it is seid comounly þat ech man temptïp God þat chesïp þe wersse weye, and leveþ þe better þat he shulde knowe. And so no man may do synne but þif he tempte God in a manere, for God dide no wronge to man þif he dampnede man for synne, were it never so list synne, and þif his temptynge were never so stronge. And þus þenken many men, þat who ever entre a newe religioun þat was not first ordeyned of Crist, he temptïp God and synneþ gretely. For two weyes ben putte to him. þe toon is religioun of Crist of whiche he shulde be sure bi feip þat it is þe best þat may be, and þe topir is new founden of synful servauntis of Crist, þat men shulden wite is not so good as Cristis ordre

a This passage alone would prove that there had been question among the bishops of resorting to the ultima

ratio of fire and faggot, many years before the enactment of the statute of 1401.
more list. And so 

And so this man tempteth God that 

unt to Crist is thus told. 

that Crist was pacient in two temptynngis before, but in 

and here men marken 

And in their temptaciouns our Lord Jesus overcam he fend by 

And if we marken wel 

And after these victories these greet fend lefte Crist, and 

But men seeen that this fend was Saphana, he moost of alle, 

And pus delveride Crist this world of this fend and his felowis, 

\[1\] schalt, B, C. 

\[2\] So B and C; A has to. 

\[3\] So B and C; A has AS. 

\[4\] anoideon, B; anoyden, E.
SERMONS.

PR secounde Sondeai in Lenten.

[SERMON XLI.]

Egressus Jesus secessit in partes Tyri.—Matt. xv. [21.]

Dis gospel tellip a myracle of Crist to stire men to hope mercy, al zif hei ben synful. De story tellip how Jesus wente oute of Jude and fel in pe contrees of Tyry and Sidon, pat were countres occupied wiþ heþene men, and nyse to Jude. And hem visitide Crist, and lo, a womman of Canaan wente out of hir coostis, and cryede upon Crist, and saide þus to him, Lord, have mercy on me, David sone, my douzir is yvel travelid of a fend. And Crist to contynue devocioun of þis womman, answeride not first a word to hir. And here may we lerne to contynue oure good werke, al zif God graunt not oure wille at þe bigynnyng; for God wol have oure herte devote to him wiþouten ende, here and in hevene. De discipulis cam to Crist and spake þus to him, Leve þis womman, for sche criþ after us. But Crist answeride and seide þus comounly1 a, Y am not sent but to þe perishid sheep of þe hous of Israel, wher þis woman be siche. And bi þis þis womman came and louide Crist, and seide, Lord, help me, and Crist answeride and seide, It is not good to take þe bread þat fallip to children and 3yve it to houndis to ete fro þes children. And þis womman answeride knowinge Cristis speche, and grauntide þat it were good; as if she wolde mene þus; siþ þou clepest me an hound, and Y suffire mykely, 3yve þou sum mete of children to þis hound, for whelpis eden of crummes þat fallen fro lordis boordis. And Jesus answeride to her, and wiste hir entent3 and seide, O womman, grete is þi feþþ; be it done to þee, riþ as þou wilt. And hir douer was heeld riþ in þat hour.

Here men douten comounly, where Crist mysseide þis womman or scornede hir, or putt on hir þat she was an hound.

1 So rightly in E; A and B include the words in the italics. 2 So rightly in B, C, and E. The clause is included in the italics in A. 3 So rightly C; clause included in the italics in A and B.

a comounly is equivalent to 'in general terms.'
Or ellis al þes wordis of Crist shulde be take axingly. —
Here we shal bivele þat Crist dide ale gatis evene as he
shulde do, and þus þif Crist scornede hir, þat Y dar not seye,
scornynge was leueful, as holy writt proveþ. For Hely þe
prophete bade priestis of Baal þat þei shulde strongly crye,
leste þe per god slepte, or spake wip oþer men, þat he myoste not
here hem. And þus scornþ Poul spekyenge to Corynypios,
Where Y dide lasse to you þan oþer apostlis diden, but þat Y
toke not of þou, forþye þe me þis wronge. And so ofte in
Goddis lawe is scornynge wel ment, as þif it were leueful done
on good manere. But it is seide comounly þat þe þingis ben
hard to men, to scorne men medefully, or medefulli plete wip
men, or ellis for to fiht wip man, bi þe wye of charite. But al
þis may be done, as wise men þenken. But for þei ben perelous,
many men supposen þat Crist uside hem never, but wente þe
kyngis hye wye. And so Crist axide¹ bi manere of ques-
tioune where it were not good to take children mete and 3yve it
unto houndis, as who seþ, Telle þou, and þus heþene men
woren clepid houndis of Goddis folc, for properte of houndis
acordinge to heþene men. But þis womman mekely graun tide
siþ question, and þus men clepid houndis may brome Goddis
children as it bife of many heþene, þat weren convertid to Crist
and made Cristene men. And þus Crist preiside þis womman
by hir greete feþ, and wip þis bodili myracle made hir soule
hole, and fiuride þat heþene folk shulden be turned to him,
and of men þat weren first houndis shulden be maad by grace
his children. And so þe word of Crist², þat he was not sent but
to þe seke children of Jacobis hous, was sooþ to þis entent,
þat he was sent to hele þes. For what man it be þat Crist
convertþ and saveþ him in heaven, he is Israelis sone, for he
supplantiþ þe fend as Jacob dide Esau, and he is maad a man
þat seeþ God bi feþ. And Crist is clepid þus boþ Jacob and
Israel, and oþer holy sadris þat figureden Crist, and þus men
ben maad by grace of þe hous of Jacob.

But it were to wite þe moral sense of þese wordis, siþ þis
kernel is more swete þan sense of þe storye. Tyrus and

¹ So B and E; axid, C; axinge, A. ² A and B insert here the word
showly, which makes the sentence ungrammatical; E and C have it not.
SERMONS.

Sidoun weren of þe lond of biheest, nye þe hill of Libanye, but Israel sufficde not to cast hem out of þis lond, and so heþene folk dwelten þere til þat Crist came. And so þis paynym womman is þe substans of mennis soule, þat is moved of God to preye for hir douȝtir heele. For boþe vertues of þis soule and werkes þeþof ben drecchid of þe fende and lyven unmedefully. And suche a soule wendiþ out of þe coostis of Chanaan, ffor it forsakid þe paynym life þat it was before inne, and it sekeþ not onely Crist in þe hous but upon þe weye, and cryeþ on him keneli whan by contemplacioun it is devoute in God. And in doinge of werkes it preieþ to him þat it do fully to plesaunce of God. And interpretaicioun of Canaan acordiþ, sip Canaan is chaungid or chaunging, and a soule þat is first heþene and þus turned to Crist is chaungid by myracle more ðan ony body. And Crist norishþp and scharþþ þe preier of siche soulis til þat þei ben worþi to have grace of him. And so þes soulis knowyn þat þei ben seke sheepe of þe hous of Israel þat have nede of confort. And þei seien þat siche whelpis shulden ete trenchours of lordis, and knowe how God haþ fed his children, and so do bi hem. For it is liþt to God to make of siche whelpis hool sheepe of Jacobis hous, and þus converte her soulis. And þus bi greetnesse of feþþ eþourmed wip charite ben siche soulis maad hool, and turned unto Goddis children. And ript as in Cristis tyme, and after bi his apostlis, he turnede many heþene men to Cristis religioun, so now in tyme of Antecrist ben Cristene men maad heþene, and reversen Cristis lawe, his lore and his werkes. As now men seyen þat þei shulden, bi lore of þer feþþ, werre upon Cristen men, and turnen hem to þe pope, and slee þer personeþ, þer wyves, and þer children, and reve hem þer goodis, and þus chastise hem. But certis þis came nevere of chastyme of Crist, sip Crist seþ he cam not to lese lyves, but save hem. And herfore þis is chastyme of þe felle fende, and nevere chastyme of Crist, þat uside pacience and myraclis. For Crist teþþþ in his lawes þat al þat we shulden

1 dretchid, E. 2 So B; kenely, C, E; A has keneely.

A allusion apparently to the crusade of Bishop Spencer.

* This sentence is almost literally translated from De Lyra.  
* See Excursus at the end of the volume.
wille þat men diden skilfulli to us, we shulden do to hem. But what man wolde by skile be þus chastisid of his broþer, for mannis obedience þat he douiþ to be a fend? Crist axide not siche obedience to be done to him, but who so wolde wiþ good wille obeishe to him wiþouten þiþte, Crist wolde take hem to grace; but þes men taken to tirantrie. But, as þe sixte sermon seip, scribis and pharisées seiden þat man-sleynge was forfendid, but neþer ye ne yvel word. But Crist diffine þus, þat who so is wroþ to his broþer is worþi of jugement, to be damnyd in helle; and who so wiþ þis ire spekeþ wordis of scorne, he is worþi to be damnyd bi counseile of þe Trinite. And whoso wiþ þis wraþe spekiþ folily wordis of sclaundre, he is worþi to be punishid wiþ þe fier of helle. Myche more þif preestis now wiþouten cause of bileve sleen many þousand men, þei ben worþi to be damnyd—Croiserye ne assoilineg feyned now of prelatis, shal not at þe daic of dome reverse Cristis sentens. And take we hede to þes þree þat Crist chargiþ bi ordre: wraþe, and scorneful speche, and foli speche of sclaundre; and to þes þree Crist shapiþ jugement, counseil, and þe fier of helle. It is hard to be damnyd bi jugement of Cristis manhede, but it is hardere to be damnyd bi counseile of þe Trinite, but it is hardest to be putt bi þes to þe fier of helle. Lord! þif God punishe þus wille and mannis wordis, myche more shal he punishe wille, word, and wickide dede.

DE FRIDDE SONDAY GOSPEL IN LENTEN.

[SERMON XLII.]

Erat Jesus ejiciens demonium.—Luc. xi. [14.]

Þis gospel telliþ how Jesus bi a myracle and witty wordis enformeþ his Chirche to fle synne and perel þerof. Þe storye telliþ how Jesus was castynge out a fend of a man and þis fend was doumbe. For he made þis man dombe. And whan he

1 So B and E; A has sien.

a See page 16, supra.
hadde cast out bis fend, bis man dombe bifoare spake and the puple woundrilde herof for gretnesse of pe myracle. But pe enemies of Crist, as weren scribis and pharisees, whan pei mysten not denye bis dede, for it was open to pe puple, pei interpretiden it amyis; and seiden pat Crist dide suche woundris in pe power of a fend, to whom he serve bi sily. And bis fend was clepid of hem Belchabub, a prince of ope. And pe men pat defameden Crist pues weren preestis or pharisees; but ope men bi lasse envye axiden of Crist a signe of hevene, to conferme pat he dide bis bi pe vertue of God. But Crist when he knew peo pouzis, pat pei weren turned pues fro trefpe, bi many resouns proved hem pat pei weren fals in pouz and word. And first he seide pues to hem, Ech rewme dividid in him silfe shal be desolad, and hous shal falle upon hous; and pues zif Sapanas be dividid in him silfe as ye seien, how shal his rewme sconde stably wipouten eende? For sip ye seien pat Y cast out a fend bi anojer, nedis o fend must be contrarye to anojer. Pe first word pat Crist toke is sop by open resoun, for pe strenghe of a rewme come of acord of pe partis of it, and zif oon contrarie anojer, nedis pe strenghe is enfeblid. And zif pe partis mut ever lashe and oon wite anojeris state, pat rewme mut nede be desolate, al zif pes partis shal laste ay; for on hous of a more mysti prince shal falle upon anojer hous, and bi fiztyng amonge hem shal al pe rewme be feblid, sip pes partis, ful acordid, shulden helpe bis rewme and make it strong. And riżt as a rynous hous fallip on anojer and brekep it, so o maynè of a rewme fallip on anojer and enfeblip it. And so shulde it be of pe fendis, zif o prince contraried anojer. And so zif Sapanas, prince of fendis, be pues dividid in him silfe, how shulde his rewme be strengip by dedes pat Crist doip? but myche more Cristis rewme, pat is strengip ażens the fend, shulde have anojer prince contrarie to Sapanas. Also, zif Y cast out a fend in vertue of Belchabub, zour children, pat ben my postlis, in whos name shulden pei cast out fendis? Certis not in my name, for pan Y were a wickide man, and sip pei done pues comounly in my name, pat is Jesus, pei shal juge zou as fals in pis interpre-

1 om. E.  2 Words rightly excluded from the italics by E, but included by A, B, C.
tacioun. *But certis zif Crist cast out þus þe fendis in special werk of God, þe rewme of God, þat is his Chirche, is comen⁠1 amounge hem. And so þe heed of þis Chirche, contrarye to Saånas, is comyn among hem, in whos vertue þes dedis ben done. And so bi chasynge of þes fendis done bi Crist in þis manere, myȝte þei wele wite þat Crist was evene contrary to þe fendis, and þan Crist was a spirit þat was nedis bope God and man.*

*Also zif a strong man wel armed kepe his castel, alle þingis þat he hāp þeþynne ben surely kep þ in þees: and zif oon stronger þan he com on him and vencushe him, he wolde take away his armes in which he affiede him.* And siþ þis is done to fendis, as þe may se bi þer dedis, þe mut graunt þat a prince more strong þan þe fend is comen. Þis strong man is þe fend; his armes ben his cautelis; his castel ben his lymes þat he dwellip inne. Þe strenger is Crist þat comþ upon þe fend; þat vencushide þe hede fend, in þis þre temptaciouns, and ofte tymes he cast out fendis of men. Al þe cautelis of þe fend toke Crist away, and kyndely vertues of men þat þe fend spuylide Crist delte graciously æsen, as þe gospel telliþ. And as Matheu seþ, Crist toke away þe vesselis of men þus segid wip fendis, whan he dide away her synnes, þat weren ful of venym to ȝeye men to drynke, and þe poweris of þe soule Crist fillid wip vertues. Also, þe generalte of lordship of Crist shewip þat þe fendis ben contrary to him; *for whoever is not wip Crist, he is æzens him, as whoever is not wip trouþe holdiþ wip false-hede; and who ever gederiþ not wip Crist, scateriþ of his good.* And siþ þe fend is not wip Crist, he mut nedis be æzens him; and herfore comaundide Crist þe fendis þat he caste out þat þei shulden not speke to witnesse his Godhede, for þes weren fals witness to prove siche treuþe. And here supposiþ Crist þat he is treuþe, and þat þe fend is fadir of lesyngis, and þat his lordship hāp noon enemye but falshede. And þanne is þe resoun pleyne bi his general lordship and bi his contrarite of þe fende þat was ofte shewid.

And after þes fyeve resouns Crist telliþ a sharpe sentence of malis of þe fend and how þat it is endid. *When an unclene spirit*
is went out from a man, he waunderip bi drye placis and sekip him reste; and whan he findip noon, he seip to him silfe, Y' shal turne azen to pat house pat Y' cam of. And whan he come ip to pat house, he fyndip it ydel, clensid wip besemes, and shynyngely arrayed. Pan he goip and takip wip him seveine oher spiritis worse pan him silfe, and pei, entrid in to pe man, dwellen in him, and pus pe laste of his man ben worse pan he was bifoire. Dis unclene spirit is pe heed fend, and pis man ensegid bi him is pe kynrede of pe Jewis, of whom Crist shulde come, and pefore he assailde it; but patriarches and holy fadris fouȝte wele azen pe fend, pat him fouȝte he hadde not pere a plesinge place to dwelle inne. And so he wente to heȝe folc pat weren wiȝtuten grace, and hit he likide not wip hem for pe kynedly resoun. And panne pe fend seide to him silfe pat he wolde go azen to generacion of Crist and perverte it more. And in tympe pat preestis reigneden, he entride to aspie it, and he fond it ydel from kepyng of Goddis lawe, and occupied wiȝ mannis lawe pat sownede unto coveitise. And bi pis pei swepten comynalte of men and maden hem bare and colde as flouris ben maad. But housis of preestis weren worldely arayed, and pei kepden as sacramentis many of her fynding, and bi pes pe fend fouȝte pat he shulde overcome hem. And he gidere to him al manere of fendis, and dwelte wiȝ pis peple, and made hem worst men; for pei growiden ever in malice, til pei hadden killid Crist. And pus, seip Crist, shal be to pisworste kynrede, siȝ ende of mennis wickidnesse was to slee Crist. And so, it is lickely2 pat pe Chirche fariȝ now bi slaynge of treȝpe pat is Goddis lawe, so pat men in erpe, clepid Cristen men, passen in malis3 Jewis and Sarasyynes. And rote of pis malice is coveitise of preestis, and levynge of Goddis lawe, and hiȝynge of mannis lawe. Bi pis is pe comynalte of pule maad pore, and swepte as pe pament from hilyynge of stree, and coldid in charite, boȝe pei and preestis. But housis of preestis ben worldely arayed, and pis aray is hid from partyng of comounes. And pis is wey of Antecrist, and ende of pe last yvel. And soone after pis lyfe shal come pe daie of dome, but bifoire, ijif God wole,
the Chirche shall be mendid. And pis is pe moost perelous harme pat pe Chirche hadde ever, for cautelis of Antecrist disseyven many men. And whan Jesus saide pes wordis, a womman of pe puple heyed1 her vois and seide bus to Crist, Blessid be pe wombe pat bare pe in to pis world, and blessid be pe tets pat pou hast soukid. But Crist blessid more pes men pat heere Goddis word and kepe it wiþouten lesyng, as oure Lady dide; for pis bi himsife makip a man blessid. And it is likely pat pis womman undirstood Cristis wordis, and herfore she blesside pe moder pat bare siche a child.

PE FOURPE SONDAY GOSPEL IN LENTEN.

[SERMON XLIII.]

Abiit Jesus trans mare.—JOHN vi. [I.]

Pis gospel telling pe first feste pat Crist made to pe puple, bi multipliynge of mete, as pe gospelis tellen. Pe story telling pat Jesus wente over pe water of Galile pat is clesid Tiberiades, and many oþer names, for contres and toums pat it ȝede bi-twene. And a greet multitude suede Crist here, for pe seien pe signes pat Crist dide on syke men. And Jesus whan he cam over pis water of Galile, he wente in to an hill and sate pe wiþ his discipulis. And Paske was ful nyze, a greet feste among Jewis. And whan Jesus cast up his ȝyen, and saw a ful grete multitude was comen to him, he seide unto Philip, Wherof shall we bigge looves, pat pes men ȝete. And pis seide Crist to tempte Philip, for he wis what he was to do. And Philip seide to Crist pat looves of two hundrid pens suffiden not to hem, pat ech man take a litil what. And oon of Cristis discipulis, Andrew, Petris brorer, seide to Crist, þer was a child pat hadde fyve barly looves and two fishes, but what ben pes among so many men? And Jesus seide to hem, to make hem sitte down to pe mete, for þere was myche hay in þe same place; and so þei sate

1 So B, C, E; beit, A.
SERMONS.

to be mete, as fyve housand men. And Jesus toke þes fyve looves, and ðaf þankynge to God, and delide among þes sittinge men, and also of þe fischis as myche as þei wolden. And whan þei weren fillid, Crist seide to his disciplis, Gedre þe þat ben lasfe relieves þat þei perishe not. And so þei gedriðen and filliden twelve coffynes of relyf of fyve barley loves and two fischis þat weren lasfe of hem þat hadden eþe. And þes men, whan þei hadde seen þe signe þat Crist hadde done, þei seiden þus of him, þis is a verre prophete þat is come in to þis world.

Þis bodily fode bi whiche Crist fedde þe folc, bitokeneð goostly foode bi whiche he fedeþ mankynde. His passynge over þis water with his disciplis, is passynge over worldely perils to take Goddis lore. Cristis sittinge in þis hille is rysynge to spiritual lyf, and Cristis lokynge on þe peple is goostly mercy do¹ to hem, and steiyng in to þe hille of Jesus wiþ his disciplis is takynge of goostly lyf for to lerne Cristis lawe. Axinge of Philip, þat was made to shewe þe myracle þe more, and for to have beter in mynde, is fillinge of Goddis word in dede. Þes fyve looves þat Andrew shewide ben harde lyf þat men moten lyve bifore þei kunne Cristis lore; and two fisches ben þenkinge of God and hevene. Sittinge doun in þe hey, is meke þouȝt of mennis freelite. And so Andreu undirstood more þan Philip þat God þat multiplied mete, as þe lawe tellip, by Helyse, myȝt liȝtly multiplie þis mete and so fede al þis peple. But wiȝouten myracle myȝte not so myche puple be fedde of Crist. And þes fyve ðousand of men, wiȝouten wommen and children, ben þe noumbr þat shal be savyd bi þis spiritual foode; for fyve is a round nombre þat turneþ wiȝouten eende in to him silfe. And so not al þat ben fed þus shal come to þe blisse of hevene. Þe twelwe coffynes of relieves, ben alle þe seintis gloses þat be gedrid of Goddis lawe to fede þe puple afterward. And goostly lore haþ properte to be multiplied in men; for of o lore comeþ anoþer, and al is þe same treuþe. And bi þis fode men þanken God, and seien þat Crist is þat grete prophete þat is to come in to þis world, and fille it of hevenly lore. For of oþer myraclis of

¹ done, E, C; to do, B.
Crist þis myracle is oon of þe most, þat so fewe disciplis of hise filliden þe world in so short tyme wiþ þe same gospel of Crist; and he it was þat dide þis myracle.

And here men moven þre doutis. First, how Criste absentide him fro Jerusalem at þis Paske, siþ Baptiste hertely reprovede Heroud, and Crist was more hardy þan Joon for to suffre passioun for þe love of mankynde. But here we tronen þat Jesus, siþ he was boþe God and man, dide alle his dedis at point devys, and myȝte no wey be amendid. And þus he absentide him now to prophile¹ more to his Chirche, for his tyme was not come to die at þe Paske, þat he hadde ordeyned. For, as men seyen comounly, Crist moste passe þis secounde Paske, and in þe priddle Paske die gladly for mankynde. And so Crist suffride more freely þan Baptist or þer martiris. But he was more nedid bi wisdom to suffre as him silfe had cast, and so, as Crist himsilfe hadde ordeyned, Baptist shulde die bifore, and so go to purgatorye and be taken out bi Crist. And þus Crist þaf ensaunple to us to flæ deþ, whan he moveþ us, as al his lyf was ensaunple to teche men how þei shal lyve. þe secounde doute is axid here, whi Crist wolde not take þe rewme of Judee þat was owid to him, siþ þe puple preferide him anoon, aftar þis myracle þat Crist had fed þus þe folk. But here men seyen, as to þe first, þat it were a manere of biggyngne to have þe rewme for suche a feste, and of puple þat was so symple. Also, al þif Crist was kyng, he wolde not þus regne worldely, ne him was owid no siche rewme, siþ God wolde not þat it were so. Also Crist ordeynede him silfe to lyve wiþouten wronge of ony man, and so he wolde not regne þus wiþouten þe empourer’s leve, þat men shulden wite þat his lyfe no weye reversid þe empoourer. And so witnessis þat accusiden him in tyme of his deþ weren opynly fals. And þus as oure Lord forsoke to be preisid of þe fendis, so he forsoke now to take þe rewme þus of þis puple.—Þe priddle doute þat sueþ þes two is, how Crist myȝte disserven in suffringe of his passioun, siþ he was nedid to suffre þus. But here we witen, as Crist was nedid to suffre and die as he hadde ordeyned, so he was

¹ profite, B, C, E.
nedid to have blis for þis wilful passioun, siþ al þis passioun of Crist was more wilful þan any other myst be. And for myche wilfulness was his passioun more medeful. And here þes blynde heretikes wanten witt as ydiotis, whan þei seien þat Petre synnede not in smytyng of Malcus ere, but ȝaf ensaumple to preestis to fiȝt. And þus Crist lettid him to fiȝt more; for hadde Petre and oþer apostlis fouȝtên þus, þanne þei hadden lettid þe passioun of Crist and savynge of mankynde. But here þes blynde heretikes, þat ben unable to conseyve sutilte of holy writ, shulden first lerne þer owen wordis. Soþ it is þat al þingis mut nedis come as God hath ordeyned, and so ech dede of Crist muste nedis be done as he dide it. And þus þif men shulden not sue Crist here, for he muste nedis suffre, no Cristen man shulde sue Crist in no þing þat he dide. For alle þe þingis þat Crist dide musten nedely komen as þei came, and so siche heritikes musten nede suen Antecrist and be dampnyd wiȝ him, for defeute of her bileve. And þif þei seien þat þis is fals, þat al þing mut þus nedely come, Lord! hou dremeden þes foolis þanne þat þif Petre hadde fouȝte forþ, þanne Crist shulde not have suffrid deþe, ne have bouȝt mankynd! Certis þes idiotis can not shewe hou þis shulde suen of ony treuþe, but þif þei supposen here, þat þus it mut nedis be. And þif we shulde herfore lette to take ensaumple to sue Crist, we shulden lette evermore to sue Crist and take his lore. But siþ Crist reprovyde Petre and saide a cause general, þat who ever smytþ þus wiþ sworde, he shal perishe bi Goddis word, it is knowun þing þat Petre synnede in þis fyȝtyng; and myche1 more shulden preestis fiȝt not for a cause of lasse value.

1 Soc: om. A, B, C.
Wyclif's

The Fifth Sunday Gospel in Lent.

[Sermon XLIV.]

Quis ex vobis arguet.—John viii. [46.]

This gospel teacheth believe by his wordis that Crist spake, and how men shulden lyve whereafter, and trowen in Crist and seun him. First axeth Crist that who of hem shall reprove him of synne; and he wolde mene that noon myste. And so Crist myste not do synne, for if he myste have synned, these Jews mysten have reproved him of synne, as they enforisiden many gatis, but they traveliliden in vein. And here we undirstonden reprofe for matere that is trewe for cause thereof. As false penye is noo penye, so fals reprofe is no repreese, for ech þing must have treufe in þat þat it hap beyng. And in this word Crist wolde mene that he was bope God and man, for if he hadde not be God, he myste have synned as angelis diden. And it were liç for to synne in vein glory or in gabbing, for ech gabbing is synne, and Crist gabbid, or he was God. And after this bileve of Crist, provey þat þei shulden trowe him. For siþ he seip but treuthe to hem, as he may noo gatis synne, þei shulden trowe unto þat treufe, siþ þat God knowiþ al treufe. And herfore seih þe word of Crist, þat siþ he seip treufe, whi trowen þei not to him. But as Crist sopele taketh, he þat is on Goddis syde, he heerþ Goddis wordis, or bodily or spiritualy; siþ no man may be but if he heere treufe or o tyme or oþer. And so þes hee preestis of Jews heeren not þus Goddis wordis, for þei ben not on Goddis halfe; and þanne þei ben wiþ þe fend.

But þes Jews conceyveden þes wordis how þei were sharply seid to hem, and þei hadde no way to answerne ne to replie aþens him. And herfore þei bigan to chide and accusiden Crist wiþouten cause. And two þingis þei putten on him, first þat he was a Samaritane, and 1 siþ þat he hadde a fend, þat was felowe and helpe to him. But Crist lefte answerne to þe first, and þei secounde he denyede; and so he grauntide in a manere þat he

1 om. B, C.
was a Samaritan, siō he was keper of mankynde, as he tellip in a parable. That man is seid to have a fend whom þe fend disseyveþ, as he is seid to have an heed þat is hedid bi þis hede; and so of oþer relatives as clerices knowen in manere of speche. And after þis answere Crist tellip how he doþ treuþe and þei done falsheþe æþen, þor he doþ worship to his Fadir and þei unworshipiden him; he sekip not his owne glorye, but his Fadir sekip and jugip. And þis is þe maner of speche þat Crist usip ofte, þat he bi his manhede doþ not suche þing, whan he bi þis kynde doþ not principalli þis þing. For Crist seip to þis entent þat his lore is not his, ne þe word þat he herde is not his, but his Fadris. And on þis manere semþe Ambrose a to graunteþ þat þe sacred breed is not after breed but Goddis body, for it is not after principaly breed but Goddis body, in maner as Austin seip b. But siþ al werkes of þe Trinite may not be departid, al þe þree persones seken glorie of Crist. But þe manhede of Crist is herto an instrument; and as þe ax hewþ not, but þe wrïþt bi his craufte, riþþ so Crist sekip not his owne glorye. But Crist to shewe bope his kyndis doubip þis amen, and tellip þat he seip sopel to hem; þat who ever kepþ his word shal not taste deep wiþouten eend. For he bi comoun speche kepþ a þing, þat wiþouten lesyng kepþ þe same þing, and þus whoever kepþ ony word of Crist, he shal never have þe deþ þat ever shal laste.

But here þe Jewis knoewn not þe manere of Cristis speche, and replieden æþen him and seiden, Now we wiþen wele þat pou

a S. Ambros. De Fide, lib. iv., cap. 5. "Nos autem quotienscumque sacramenta sumimus, quae per sacrae orationis mysterium in carnem transfigurantur et sanguinem, mortem domini annunciamus."

b I have examined scores of passages in the works of St. Austin, but have not found one which exactly corresponds to the reference in the text, so as to imply that the sacramental bread, after consecration, while it became principally the body of Christ, yet continued in a certain sense to be bread. For this is clearly the meaning of Wyclif's words, and this was in fact the main point of his controversy with the friars on the Eucharistic mystery; in which he quarrelled with their definition of the consecrated species as an 'accident without a subject' for this very reason, that it utterly denied the co-presence of bread in any sense, after consecration. It is therefore a point of much interest to ascertain whether St. Austin's works really contain any passage which would justify the reference in the text; in other words, which would support Wyclif's favourite theory of consubstantiation; and I shall be glad if this note should be the means of directing the attention of theological students to the search. (See note on p. 379, Serm. 112.)
hast a fend þat ledip þe in þi dedis. Abraham was deed, and oþer holy propheteþ, and þou seist, whoever kepþ my word shal nevere die. Lord! wher þou be more þan oure fadir Abraham þat is deed, and prophetis also; whom makist þou þee? wher þou be more þan ony of þese seintis? Here may we see þe folye of þes Jewis, for þei koud not knowe dyversite of þes wordis; who þat lyveþ þus, he shal not taaste þe longe déþ; and who so lyveþ þus shal nevere taste déþ. But Jesus lefte þis foly and spake to þe purpos; zif Y glorifie þus my sylfe, my glorie is not, but Y have a Fadir þat þus glorifieþ me; and se seyn þat he is zour God; but se have not knowe him; but Y have knowe him, and zif Y sey nay, Y shal be like to you, a lyer. Abraham zoure fadir hadde grete joie to se my daie, and he sey it and hadde joie. But here þe Jewis knewen not þe maner of ríght speche of Crist, for þei knewen not how Crist clepide God syngulerly his Fadir. For þan bi ríght speche God was his Fadir bi kynde. God is oure alþer fadir1 but who ever of us seip, God is my fadir, he blas-femeþ in God. Þis man is my fadir, zif þat Y have properte in gendrure of him bifoere oþer men. And þus þes foolis replienden azen þe wordis of Crist, and seiden; þou hast not zit fift þee in age and zit þou menest in þi speche þat þou hast seen Abraham. And, for þe first bylyndeneþ þat þei weren to blame fore, Crist spake more derkely to hem þan he dide bifoere, and seide, Sovely, soþely, to showe his two kyndis, Bifoere þat Abraham shulde be, Y am. And herfore þei weren depid in worse synne of dede, whan þei token up stoneþ to stone Crist to déþ. But Jesus hidde him and wente out of þe temple, as it was lîght to hym to hiden him among many; for boþe he myȝt stoppe her siȝt, and shewen him in dyverse formes. And here he tauȝt his disciplis in dede for to flee, but he tauȝt hem nevere for to fyȝte bodily. And siche blessid cowardise makh þ Goddis children, for Crist seip þat in þer pacience þei shal have þer lyf in pees. But þe fend techiþ his children to be hardy heere, and fiȝte wipouten hevenly cause, and þus þei lesen þer lyf; for techingis þus contrarye leden to contrarye eendis.

But we þat ben in blyve over þes blynde Jewis shulden

1 aller-fadar, C. See Glossary.
SERMONS.

knowe þes wordis of Crist þat he seid to hem, Biforn þat Abraham shulde be, Y am. But as we witen bi ounre blyve þat þes wordis ben ful of witt, so we witen þat in hem Crist shewide his godhede. For we witen wel þat þis word, Y am, bitokeneþ þe godhede, for godhede may not be chaungid, neþer from þonge to elde, ne from worse to beter; for it is ever oon, and a þousand þeer ben to him as þisterday; and, shortly, al þing þat was or ever shal be hereafter is present unto him, for streeching of his longe beying. And herfore telliþ God to Moyses þat he þat is, is his name, and þis is a memorial to God wipouten ende. But over þis we shulden wite whan Abraham shulde be. And certis, siþ þat God wiste, þhe 1, bifoer he made þis world, þat Abraham shulde be, þanne it was sop, and herfore seyen clerkes þat ech creature haþ beyng in his sample 2 þat is wipouten eende. And so, þat Abraham shulde be, is treuþe wipouten eende, but þit bifoer þis treuþe, is God þat knowiþ it. And so þis word, bifoer, bitokeneþ forþerhede of beyng, and not forþerhede of tyme, siþ al þis was wipouten ende. And so to blaberynge in þis speche mennis voicis ben not sufficient, but sum glymerynge we have in ounre soule of þis treuþe, and betere knowen it in ounre herte þan we can speke it in vois. And blessid be þe Holy Goost þat sette siche wordis in his lawe, þat alle men here in erþe can unneþe undirstonde hem. For Y am certeyn þif þou be never so wyse ne olde, unneþe þou wolt afferme þis shorte word of Crist, whan he seþ þat, Bifoer þat Abraham shulde be, Y am. And here tellen seintis cause of þis derknesse. First we shulden wel witen þat autour of þis gospel is more witty in himself þan we alle can conseyne.

1 So B and E; 36, A.

2 The belief that the ideas, or original patterns (exemplaria—®samples®), of all things and persons exist from eternity in the divine mind, borrowed by the schoolmen from the Platonic philosophy, is defined and adopted in the Summa of St. Thomas. The following extract is from the first Article of Quaestio xv., Prima Pars. ‘Dicendum quod necesse est ponere in mente divina ideas. Idea autem Graece, Latine forma dicitur. Unde per ideas intelliguntur formae aliarum rerum praeter ipsas res existentes. Forma autem alicujus rei praeter ipsam existens ad duo esse potest; vel ut sit exemplar ejus alicujus dicitur forma; vel ut sit principium cognitionis ipsius.’ Again (Art. ii.) quoting St. Austin, he says, ‘Ideae sunt principales quae dam formae, vel rationes rerum stabiles atque incommutabiles; quia ipsae formatae non sunt, ac per hoc aeternae.’
Also he wole þat his preestis traveilen fast in his lawe, and kepem hem medefullly from oþer occupaciouns; for noon of us haþ materie to say þat he can alle Goddis lawe, and so he haþ no more to lerne þerynne. Also we shulden trowe þat alle mennys wordis may not come to þe witt þat is in Goddis wordis; for we witen þai nouþt in hem is seid wiþouten chesoun, but in ech Goddis word is more witt þan we knowe.

PE GOSPEL ON PALM SUNDAY.

[SERMON XLV.] a

Altera autem die quae est post parascven.—MATT. xxvii. [62.]

We suffisen not here to tellen plenly þis gospel, but þe ende þeroþ makþþ mynde of oure bifeve, how, aþer þe tyme þat Crist hadde suffrid deepþ, þe nexte day after, þat is þe holy Sætirday, þes men þat hadden kild Crist gideren to gideren. For þe gospel tellþþ þat princes of prestis and þe Phariseis comen to gidere to Pilate, and þes two folk, as hie preestis of þe temple and þes religiouþ, diden Crist to deþþ. And herfore tellþþ Matheu how þes two dredden more þat þe name of Crist shulde growe among men, and so þer defamyng shulde growe, and þei shulden be distryed. And certis as þese two maner of folk diden Crist to þe deþþ, so þei ben now cheveteynes to distriuen his lawe; for þei letten þat þei may þe tereþe of þe gospel. And noo woundir is; for þei in þe lyvyngge reversen þe lyf of Crist, and ben weddid to contrarye lyf. And siþ þe gospel tellþþ dampnynghe of siche men, and hou þat men shulden fée hem as heretikes and fals prophetis, þei dreynd þat þer gile by þis shulde be knowe. And herfore þei seien þat Goddis lawe is fals, but siþ þei glossen it aþer þat þei wolen; and þus þer glose shulde be trowid as bileve of cristene men, but þe tixt of Goddis lawe is perelous to trowe. Þes two manere of folk comen to gidere to Pilate on þe nexte Sætirday aþer þei hadden kild Crist, and þus seiden to him,

a The style of this sermon rises occasionally to real eloquence.

WYCLIF.
Sire, we benken on pat pis gilour\(^1\) saide whan he was on lyve, pat he shulde ryse after pre daies; perfore commaunde his sepulcre to be kept til pe pridde day, lest his discipulis comen and stelen his body, and feyren to pe peple pat he is risen fro deþ; and so pe laste error shal be worse pat was pe former. And þes pagyn playen þei þat hiden þe treuþe of Goddis lawe. And Pilat seide to hem, your self have þe keþyng; goþ forþ and keþ þit as ye can, for þis is not myn office. And þus seyn þes two folk to princes of þe world, þat þes heretikes ben fals men aþens holy religioun, and þei casten to distreye lordshipis and rewmes; and þerfore commaundem hem to be dede or lette hem to speke. But lordis seien aþen þat þei shulde knowe þe lawe þat holy Chirche haþ, to punishe siche heretikes; and þerfore þei shulden go forþ and punishe hem bi þer lawe. And bi siche executioun of fals prelatis and freris, is Goddis lawe quenchid and Antecristis arerid. But God wolde þat þese lordis passiden Pilat in þis point, and knewen þe treuþe of Goddis lawe in þer modir tunge, and have þes two folk suspect, for þer cursid lyvynge and hydnyng of Goddis law fro knowynge of seculers. For bi þis cautel of þe send ben many trewe men quenchid. For þei wolen juge for heretikes al þat spaken aþens hem, þhe, þif þei tellen Goddis lawe, and shewe synnes of þes two folke. And þei wenten forþ, and keþen wiþ knyþis þe sepulcre of Crist, marthyng þe stoon þat was putt at þe dore in siþt of þe kepere, to marke þer diligence. And þus done oure heye preestis and oure newe religiouse. Þei dreeden hem þat Goddis law shal quyken after þis, and herfore þei maken statutis, stable as a stoon, and þei geten graunt of knyþis to confermen hem. And þis þei marken wel, wiþ witnesse of lordis, lest þat treuþe of Goddis law, hid in þe sepulcre, brest out to knowynge of þe comoun peple. O Crist! þi lawe is hid þit; whan wilt þou sende þin aungel to remove þe stone, and shewe þi treuþe to þi folk? Wel Y wote þat knyþis tooken gold in þis case, to helpe þat þi lawe be hid, and þin ordenaunce ceesse, but wel Y wote þat it shal be knowen at þe day of dome, or biþore whan þe likeþ aþen al þi enemys.

Here shulden men marke þe passioun of Crist, and prynent in þer herte sumwhat to shewe it, for it was most wilful

\(^{1}\) gylour, E.
passioun ðat ever was, and most hard passioun ðat ever man suffride. It was þus wilful and so moost medeful. And herfore tolde Crist þe forme of his passioun to his xii disciplis, whan he wente to Jerusalem; and herfore Crist, þat\(^1\) hidde him bifoire to come to þe citee, came\(^2\) now for to suffre, to shewe his free wille. And herfore he seip at his soper here, Wip desire Y have coveitid to ete þis Paske wip you. For desire of his godhede and desire of his manhede moveide him to ete þus and to suffre after. But al þis was mene and figure of his last soper ðat he etip in hevene wip men þat he haþ chosen. And þus sip noo contrariete was in Cristis resoun, to suffre þis passioun, and his witt was moost clene, no þing þat man dide was to him more willeful. And sip Crist suffride þus for synne of his breþeren, þei shulden suffre þancfulli for þer own synne. Crist axip not greet peyne in his breþeren, but þat þei have sorewe for þere synne, and purpos\(^8\) to forsaken it; and þis is cause whi þat God wolde have his passioun þus rehersid, for profit of his breþeren and not for his owne. Þis peyne of Cristis passioun passid al oþer, for he was moost tendir man and in his myddil age, and God leet bi myracle Cristis wytts suffre, for ellis he mynte bi joye have hadde noo sorewe. But alle circumstauncis þat shulden make peyne hard, weren in Cristis passioun to make it more medeful. Þe place was most solempne and þe day also; þe houre was most knowun to Jewes and to heþen men; and þe dispit was moost: for men þat moost shulden love Crist ordeyneden þis moost foule deþ, æþen Cristis moost kyndnesse. And we shal bileeve þat Crist suffride not in no manere but for certeyn enchesoun; for he, boþe God and man, þat made al þingis in noumble, shope his passioun to answere to byggynge of mannys synne. And so sevne wordis þat Crist spake on þe cross answeren woundirfully to alle synnes of men; and shortly, no þing þat Crist ever dide was done but for greet cause and profit of men. Suchæ causes shulde we studie, and prenten hem in oure mynde, for wyte wel þat al þis was done for profit of Cristen men. And þus trowe we not þes heretikes þat ben foolis out of bileeve, þat seien we may not sue Crist, and namely in his passioun, for Crist was nedid to suffren here al þat he

\(^1\) om. E.  
\(^2\) and cam, E.  
\(^8\) So B, E, C; in purpos, A.
suffrider. Certis þes founde\(^1\) heretikes shulden wel wite þat al þing mut nede come as God haþ ordeyned. And so we Crist afer in his blessid passioun, and gedre devout mynd of him, and kepe us aferre fro synne.

**PE GOSPEL ON ESTIR DAY.**

[**SERMON XLVI.**]

*Maria Magdalenæ.—Matt. xxviii. [I.]*

\(\text{Þis} \) gospel tellip hou \(\text{Þes} \) holy wymmen comen to bileve þat Crist was ryssen fro deþ. Sum men seien þat here weren but two Maries, þat was Marie Magdalene, and Marie James moder; and þis secourde Marye was boþe our ladys sister and Sálmens dauther. But sum men seien þat þere weren þree. But it is ynow to us to trowen þat þei weren two, and leve to knowynge of God þif þere weren moo. \(\text{Þes two Maries} \) boussten hem at even oynementis, for it was levesful to wirchen at even in þe Sabotis. *And eerly on þe Sonneday þei comen to þe sepulcre of Crist, at þe sunne rysynge, and seiden to gidere, Who shal turne to us þe stone fro dore of þe sepulcre? And þei lokiden þerto, and sizen it turned away, for soþe it was ful grete; and passide þes wommans power to removen it fro þe dore, by castynge of þe Pharisees; for þei seiden þat Cristis disciplis wolden come and stelen his bodi. And so þis stone was removed bi service of angeliis, for disciplis of Crist dreeden hem þit to walken. *And þes wymmen comen in to þe sepulcre of Crist, and þei seien an angel of God in forme of a yonge man silyng on þe riȝt side and hild\(^2\) wip a whiȝt stole. And þei woundriden of þe styȝ, but þe angeli seide to hem, Wole þe not drede, for Y knowe youre purpos, þe seken Jesus of Nazareth þat was done on þe cros, but he is rysen to lyve, and is not now here. For here is þe stede voide, where þei hadden putti him. But go þe and seie þe to Christis disciplis, and algatis to Petir, þat Crist shal go biforn you to þe contre of Galile. And þere shal þe se him as he saide you biforn; and he may not ly.*

\(\text{Ech} \) word of þis gospel bereþ grete mysterye. *First Crist*
apperide to þes holy wommen, fer to graunt a privylegie to wom-
man's kynde. For it is seid comounly þat Crist apperide ten tymes
from hour of his rysynge to his steiynge into hevene. First Crist
apperide unto Marye Magdalene, and made her sterre of þe see,
to ȝyve liȝt to men, and to put hir fro dispeire of hir first synnes.
We denyen not þat ne Crist biforn þis apperide to his modir,
hou þat he wolde, or in body or in soule, for she was ever sad
in seip. þe comynge of þes two Maries, þat was þe secounde
shewynge þat Crist shewide him on lyve þat þe gospel telliþ,
techiþ hou Crist wolde shewyn him unto many statis, and hou
men shulde be disposid to have the siȝt of Crist. þis eerly
comynge with liȝt of þe sunne is redy comynge in grace for to
serve Crist, and þat þe making redy on þe nȝt biforn is done of
Crist, but not in siche grace. The musing of þese wommen as
þei wenten by þe wey, bitokeneþ bisy þouȝt how men shal come
to serve Crist. But lore of good aungelis opneþ to men þis
lessoun, for þe stoone of unblivele is first ful grete in synful men.
þis entrynge to þe sepulcre is comynge to þe service of Crist.
þis aungel þat techiþ men treuþe is good aungel of God þat
sittiþ on þe riȝt side, to teche men þe wey to hevene, and to
sitten on Cristis riȝt hond on þe daie of dome. þe whitenesse
of þis stole is clenesse of victorye þat siche men have of þer
goostly enemies. And as Gregory notiþa, þe face of þis aungel
semed as liȝtnynge, and his cloþis whiȝt as snow; for Crist
and his aungelis ben dredeful to wickide men, and plesyng to
good men. þe, to þe day of dome þis aungel confortiþ men,
and riȝtiþ þer purpos, and telliþ hem how now Crist is sitiynge
in hevene, for his staat here in erþe is fulli performed. And
office of suche men is aftirward enjowyned hem, þat þei shulden
parte wiþ þer breþeren goostly werkes of mercy, not oonly wiþ
comounnes1 but also wiþ pralatiþ. þe goynge biforn of Crist to
þe contræ of Galile is, goinge biforn of Crist to hevene. þere he
shal shewen him to men as he haþ hiȝt to hem ofte in þe gospel.

1 comyns, E.

`In fulgure etenim terror timoris
est, in nixe autem blandimentum
 candoris. Quia verò omnipotens
Deus et terribilis peccatoribus, et
blandus est justis, recte testis resur-
rectionis ejus Angelus et in fulgure
vultus et in candore habitus de-
monstratur; ut de ipsa sua specie et
terret reprobos, et mulceret pios.'
Here after this witt men may large this gospel, and trete what mater pat bei wenen shulde profite to pe puple; but it is comonly told of pe sacrament of pe auter, and how men shal dispose hem now to take this sacrament. And it is seid comonly, pat as pes holy wymmen hadde lefte per former synne, and taken per freishe devocioun; so men shulden come to pe chirche to take this holy sacrament, and pes come wi this hooly wymmen wi liç of this sunne. And this men shulden clopen hem wi pes pre vertues, bileve, hope, and charite, to rescyeve this sacrament. Bileve is first nedeful; and algatis of this breed, hou it is Goddis body by vertue of Cristis wordis. And so it is kyndely breed, as Poul seî², but it is sacramentally verre Goddis bodi. And herfore seî³ Austin⁴, pat ping is breed pat pi içen tellen pee and pat jou seest wi hem. For it was not troiwid bifoire pe fend was losid⁵, pat pes worpi sacrament was accident wiþouten suget. And shit dwellen trewe men in pe old bileve, and laten freris foulen hem silfe in pe newe heresie. For we twonen pat þere is beter ping þan Goddis bodi, siþ pe hooly trinite is in ech place. But oure bileve is sette upon this point; what is this sacrid hoost, and not what ping is þere. Pe secony vertue pat shulde clope trewe men is pe vertue of hope, pat is ful nedeful; how men shulde hope bi peri lyfe here, and first, wiþ þe grace of God, for to come to hevene. And to þis entent men taken now þis sacrament, so pat bi takyne herof þer mynde be freschid in hem to þenken

² I do not know to what passage the writer refers.
³ I am indebted to the kind assistance of Professor Stubbs for the discovery of the passage in the works of St. Augustine to which the text probably refers, though some force appears necessary to make the words of the saint bear the meaning which Wyclif imposes on them. The passage is in a remarkable sermon, No. 272 (vol. v., p. 1704 of the Benedictine edition), addressed 'ad Infantes' on their due reception of the Eucharist. The impression left by the entire sermon might certainly, to a mind already prepossessed accord with the view of the Eucharist taken by Wyclif; on the other hand, the language is quite compatible with the view taken by his opponents, the friars. The words most to the purpose are these: 'Ista, fratres, ideo dicuntur sacramenta, quia in eis alius videtur, alius intelligitur. Quod videtur, speciem habet corporalem; quod intelligitur, fructum habet spiritalem.'
⁴ It had become a popular belief by this time, among the spiritual Franciscans and the various re- lutionary sects, that since the year 1000 A.D. the devil, after his millennial captivity (Apoc. xx. 2), had been set loose from the bottomless pit 'to deceive the nations.'
on kyndenes of Crist to maken hem clene in soule. And herfore seip Poul that he watetip pis ende, etip and drynkeithe his judgement, for he jugipet not the worpines of Goddis bodi, ne worshipe of his ordenaunce. These pridde vertue nedeful for to take pis sacrament is vertue of charite; for that is ever nedeful, sif no man cometh to Cristis fest but sif he have pis cloping. And that, as Austyn declarip, foure poynits that fallip to makinge of breed tetchen us pis charite, and algatis to have it now. For ellis we greggen our synne in etyng of pis breed. And sif we have pis clopinge, takinge pis mete in figure, it shal brynge us to hevene, there to ete Goddis body goostly wipouten ende; and that is mennis blisse.

**PE FIRSTE SONDAY GOSPEL AFTIR EESTIR.**

[SERMON XLVII.]

*Cum esset sero die una.—John xx. [19.]*

His gospel tellip of the fiphe apperynge, that was the last, and late done upon Paske daie, and pis is told wip oper to conferme bileve of the Chirche. As the seconde apperynge was to the holy wommen, so the first apperynge was alone to Marye Magdalene, as tellip the gospel of Joon in the same capite. The pridde tyme Crist apperide to Petir as Seint Luke tellip in eende of his gospel; and pis was, as sum men seyen, whan Petre and Joon comen fro the sepulcre, and Petre went bi himselfe woundrynge and musinge. The fourthe apperynge was maad to two disciplis that wenten to Emawes, and Crist soupid wip hem. Of pis tellip the eende of Seint Lukes gospel. The fiphe apperynge was pis that ore gospel tellip of, and pis was last of fyve, that Crist

1* fallen, B, C, E.

2* agreggen, E.

*a I have to thank Professor Stubbs for this reference also. In Serm. 272, already quoted, and also in Serm. 227, the various processes that enter into the making of bread are compared to the spiritual operations which combine to make the perfect Christian. But in Serm. 229, these processes are distinctly set down as four: threshing, which answers to conversion by preaching; grinding, which represents the discipline of fasting and exorcism; mixing with water, which is Baptism; and baking, which corresponds to the flames kindled in souls by the Holy Ghost.*
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shewide on Paske daye. And on þat dai sevne niȝt Crist apperyde þe sixte tyme, and of þes two apperingis tellip þis gospel. 

Þe storie seïp, when it was late, þe first day of þe woken þat came neste after þe Frydaye þat God was done to deþ on, and þat was in þe Sonenday next after þe Sabot. But it was late, and þe disciplis weren gedrid þere, to conforte hem to gidere, and for drede þat þei hadde of Jewes þat weren her enemys: þer þatis weren fast shitt, for drede of þe same folk; Jesus cam, not lettinge þat þe þatis weren shitt þus, and stood in þe myddis of his disciplis, and seide þus unto hem; Pees be to you, for Y am alvy, wole þe not drede þe while þe have siche a keper. And he shewide to hem his hondis and his side, and þe disciplis hadden joie\(^1\) when þei hadden seen þus þe Lord. For sorewe of his deþ and drede of Jewis weren clenly putt awey bi siȝt of þis lord. And Christ seide aȝen, Pees be to you, to tellen hem þe ful þe þe þei shulden have þerafter boþe in bodi and soule, for þere medeful pacience. And þei shulden not grutche for þis short pursuyng, for Crist tellip þat, as his Fadir sent him so he sendip þem, to suffre tribulacions; and þei shulden holden hem paied of sich form of sendinge. And when þe hadde seid þus, he blew on hem and seide, Take ye þe Holy Goost, for herby þe shulden be stronge by power and by witt, þat þe shal have by him.

Here we shal wite þat Crist blew not bi childhode upon his apostlis but bi greet witt; for herby Crist tauȝt þat þe Holy Goost comeþ boþe of þe Fadir and þe Sone, as wyne of erþe and water. And comynge forþ of þis Goost is not nativite, but sutil insiprine of þes two personeis, and herfore þei ben clepid o principle of þis Goost. And holy writt grauntip þat þe Sone sendip þis Goost, and herfore Crist grauntip þis privylegie to his disciplis, þat whos synnes þat þei forþoven, þei ben forþoven to hem, and whos synnes þat þei wiholden, þei ben holden to hem. And boste men not for þis privylegie grauntid to þe apostlis, for it is undirstonden in as myche as siche apostlis acorden wiþ þe keies of þe chirche above. And herfore shulden siche bostours ben certeyne at

\(^1\) So in E; A wrongly excludes the words 'and — joie' from the italics.
Wyclif’s

The firste that the ben verrey vikers of the holy apostles. And si de God enspirip 1 hem and sype hem witt and power to bynden and to lousen as Crist him silfe doip, or ellis hem wantip his power, and jane the shulde not boste that he have siche power, so he myste not pleyner shewen hem to have no siche power than fer to bargayn herwip, and boste hem to have siche power. For Jane the ben noon of hem to whom Crist saf his power; for sif the werden two popis, the too aens the topir, and the too looside alle that the topir boond, it were not for to dreme wherer of hem did sopeley, but wherer more suede Godis doynge and resoun. And si de God may not folde fro ris and resoun, it is knowen bi Godis lawe that no pope assolip but in as myche as Crist assolip first. And herfore Seint Petre and other Cristis apostulis asoilliden not jus, ne sype siche indulgenci; for he diden never siche dedis but when God enspiride hem. And so no ping is falser than ypoecrisis to boste jus, and sif men loke to resoun the may wele se that many siche feynyngis ben of he fendis scole. For ellis myste a pope asoille men bope of peyne and blame, for the killen per evene cristene, and ever while the done so; and sif the ceessen frö sich killing, per asoiline shal ceesse. But what men wolden triste to siche asoilinge? Wel we witen

1 So in B and C; ensipre, E; A has enspirit.

a This position recalls one of the twenty four conclusions, condemned by the ‘earthquake’ synod of 1382: ‘That no prelate ought to excommunicate any one, unless he first know that he is excommunicated by God.’ Lewis’s Wyclif, p. 108.

b The ordinary indulgence absolved poena sed non culpa. In theory, the guilt of sins, and the eternal punishment due to them, were remitted in the sacrament of penance; it was the temporal punishment only, the poena, which the indulgence professed to remit, in whole or in part. But it is well known that, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a great laxity prevailed, if not in the actual wording of indulgences, at any rate in the language of those to whom their distribution was entrusted. The form was probably observed strictly enough all along; so that the preacher’s words must be taken with some allowance. In turning over the pages of the Bullarium, I observe, under the year 1515, only two years before the first public appearance of Luther, the formal grant by Leo X of two indulgences, and in both cases the form of words is; — [Indulgenmus] ‘quod quilibet Christi fidelis . . . . plenarium omnium peccatorum suorum, de quibus corde contritus, atque ore confessus fuerit, indulgentiam et remissionem consequatur.’

c The allusion is to Bishop Spencer’s crusade. When it was over, and men should cease to kill their fellow-Christians, then the papal indulgence, or ‘assolinge,’ would also cease.
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that God is moost lord of al oper, and no man may do synne, but 3if he synne aqens him, and no synne may be forsovun but 3if God first for3yve it. And so it is propre to God to for3yve 3us offence, and 3if a man for3yve siche synne, that is bi power of viker; and siche power hap he not, but 3if God shewe it him. For ellis my3te he graunte pardoun for longe after 3e day of dome to men that God wole have dampyd, for a newe founde praier, and heien it for mannis love more 3an 3e Pater Noster: as men seien that a pope hap grauntid two thousand 3eer to ech man that is contrite and confessid of his synne, that seip pis orisoun 'Domine Jesu Christe' bitwene 3e sacringe of 3e masse and 3e pridd Agnus Dei. And 3an it were ydil to traveile for ony pardoun, si a man my3te at home gete him fourty thousand 3eer bi noone. And so that man that shal be dampyd, that is confessid and contrite, and seip 3us ofte pis praier, shulde have many thousand 3eer in helle after 3e daie of dome. Triste we to 3e old bileve that Crist assollip as he wole, and pis forme is hid to men as oper treuip that God wole hide.

Thomas oon of 3e twelve that is clepid Didimus was not wiip 3es ten whan Jesus came and dice 3us; and oper disciplis tellen him now that he saiien 3e Lord. But he seide unto hem, But 3if Y see in his hondis picching of 3e naillis, and pull my fynger in 3e place that Crist was ynaillid in, and put my hond in his syde where he was persid wiip 3e spere, Y shall nevye trouwen that oure Jesus is rysen. And on 3e Sunday nexte after, weren 3es disciplis inne and Thomas wiip hem; and Crist shewide him as bifoire. For he came whan 3e 3atis weren closid and stood amyddis, and saide, as he saide bifoire, Pees be to you. And after he seide to Thomas, that he sente after to Inde, Putt in here 3i finger and se my hondis and pull hidir 3in hond and pull in to my side, and wole you not be untrewful but trewe in bileve. Thomas answeride and seide to Crist, My Lord and my God. And Jesus seide to him 3an, For you say me 3us, Thomas, you bilevidst in me; but blessid ben po pat saiien not his, and trouwen as you doist. Many oper signes dide Crist in sif of his disciplis, but pes few ben writun in his book for his ende, that ye bileve that Jesus is Goddis sone, and that ye for his bileve have blisse in his name. Amen.

1 picbyng, E.
Christ telliç in pis gospel þe maners of a good herde, so þat herbi we may witen how oure herdis failen now. And defaute of siche heredis is moost peril in þe Chirche; ðfor, as riȝt office of hem shulde moost bringe men to heven, so defaute of þis office drawiç men moost to helle. Crist telliç of him sylf, how he is a good herde, for he is þe beste herde þat mankynde may have. For he is good bi him sylf and may no wey faile, for he is boþe God and man; and God may no wey synne. And þus we have þe mesure to knowe a good herd and an yvyl, for þe more þat an herd is lyke to Crist, he is þe beter, and þe more þat he strangiç from him, he is þe worse in þis office. And eftes when Crist hâp þeyve þe mesure for to knowe good herdis, he telliç þe heieste proprede þat falliç to a good herde: a good herde, as Crist seiy, puttîç his lyf for his sheþ; for more charite may noon have þan to putte his lyfe for his frendis, and ȝif he worçhip wysely, for to bring þes sheþ to hevene. For þus þe herde hâp moost peyne and þe sheþ moost profite.

Þus we may see, who is good herde and who failiç in þis office; for as Crist puttîç wisely his owen lif for his sheþ, so Antecrist puttîç proudly many lives for his foule lyfe. As, ȝif þe fent ledde þe pope to kille many þousend men to holde his worldely state, he suede Antecristis maneres. And siç þis pro-pirte of herde groundiç charite in men, eche man shulde have herof algatis more or lesse; as he is ferre fro þis maner þat wol not ȝyve his worldely goodis to his sheþ or his breðerên, whan þei have grete nede þerto, for sich goodis ben worse þan mannis lyfe. And þus semen oure religious to be exempte fro charite; ðfor nede a man nevere so myche to have helpe

1 om. E.
of siche goodis, ðee, alþif þei have stoonys or oþer jœwelis þat harmen hem, but þei wolen not þyve siche goodis ne value of hem to helpe þer breþeren, ne ceesse to anoye hem sîlf in bîlding of hye housis, ne to gaderen sich veyn goodis, ðif it do harm to þer breþeren. Sich averous men ben ferre fro maneres of a good herde, and so thes newe religious þat þe ðend hæþ tollid inne, bi colour to helpe þer former heerdís, harmen hem many weies, and letten þis ofÞice in þe chirche. For trewe prechinge and worldely goodis ben spuylid bi siche religiouse; and herfore techþ Crist to flee hem, for þei ben ravysinge wolvy. Sum wole, as breris, tere wole of sheppe and make hem coold in charite, and sum wole sturdly, as þornes, slye sheep of Holy Chirche, and þus is our moder shent for defaute of mennys help. And more mede myȝt no man have þan to helpe þis sôry wydewe; for princis of preestis and Pharisees þat calliden Crist a giloure have crochid\(^1\) to hem þe chesynge of many heerdís in þe Chirche. And þei ben tawþ by Antecrist to chese his heerdís and not Cristis, and þus failþ Christis Chirche. Lord! siþ heerdís shulden passe þer sheep as men passen bletyng sheep, how shulde Cristis Chirche fare, siþ þes heerdís weren turned to woolvy. But Crist seþ þat þus it fareþ among þe heerdís of þe Chirche, þat many of hem ben hired hyynes and not heerdís over þe sheep, for þe sheep ben not þer owun. And so þei loven to lîtil þe sheep, for siþ þei have þere temporal hire, þei recken not how þer flok fare. And þus done alle þes curatours, þat tellen more by worldely wynnynge þan by vertues of þer sugettis or soule hele to come to hevene. Siche ben not heerdís of sheep, but of dunge and wolle of hem, and þes shal not have in hevene joie of þer sheep þat þei kepen. Siche hyñen seen þe wolvy comynge to flookis þat þei shulde kepe, and þei fleen for drede of not\(^2\), and þes wolvy ravysen þe sheep and scateren hem, for þis eende þat þei þanne may souner perishe. And þus moved Poul to found none ordre, for Christis ordre is ynoȝ, and þanne shulde alle Cristen men be more surely in o flok. Lord! siþ cowardise of siche hyñen be þus dampned of Crist, how myche more shulden wolvy be

\(^1\) crochid, B, C, E. \(^2\) nouȝ, B, E.
dampnyd þat ben putt to kepe Cristis sheep. But Crist seip a clene cause whi þes hired hyren fleen þus. For he is an hyred hyne, and þe sheep perteynen not to him, but þe dung of siche sheep, and þis dung suffisip to hem, howevere þe sheep faren. Sum ben wolves wipouten forþ, and sum ben wolves wipinne, and þes ben more perilous\(^1\), for homely enymes ben þe worste. Yvel wolys ben reliouose, þat Crist seip in Mathew’s gospel, ben wolys ravyshinge, alþif þei comen in sheepis cloþis; for bi þis ypocrisy þei disseyven sonner þe sheep. And alþif þer dwellyng be wipouten parishens of þes sheep, and þei ben strange and newe brouȝt in by þe fend, ȝit þei forȝiten not to come and visite þe sheep. But comounly whan þei comen, þei comen moost for to spuyle; and þus done generaly boþ freris and monkes and chanouns. But þei ben wolys wipinne þat seien þat þei have cure of soulis, and ravyshen goodis of þes sheep, and feden hem not goostli, but raþer moven hem to synne, and waken not in heerdis office.

But Crist seip he is a good heerde, and knowip his sheep, and þei him. For þe office þat fallip to heerdis makip him known among hem, as my Fadir knowip me, and Y aþen knowe my Fadir. So seip Crist, Y put my byf to kepe my sheep aþen wolys. And as þis knowynge myȝt not quenche bitwene Crist and his Fadir, so shulden þes heerdis waken upon þer sheep; and þei shulden knowen him not by bodiþ feestis ne oþer synnes þat he doþ, but by þree offices of heerdis þat Crist haþ lymyttid to hem. It fallip to a good herde to lede his sheep in hole pasturis, and whan his sheep ben hirt or stabbid, to hele hem and to grese hem; and whan oþer yvel beestis assailen hem, þan helpe hem. And herto shulde he putte his lyfe to save his sheepe fro siche beestis. Þe pasture is Goddis lawe, þat ever more is greene in treuþe, and rotun pasture ben oþer lawes and oþer fablis wipouten ground. And cowardise of siche heerdis þat dar not defende Goddis lawe witnessip þat þei failen in two offices suyng after; for he þat dar not for worldes drede defende þe lawe of his God, how shulde he defende his sheep for love þat he haþ to hem? And ȝif þei bryngen in newe lawes contrarie

\(^1\) So B; perilouse, E; A has perolous.
SERMONS.

to Goddis lawe, how shulden þei not failen after in oþer offices þat þei shulden have? But Crist þat is heed of herdis seip, þat he haf oþer sheþ þat ben not zite of his flöken, and hem mut he tronge togidere, and teche hem to knowe his vois. And so shal þere be oo flöken, and oon herde over hem alle. Þes sheþ ben heþene men or Jewes þat Crist wole converte, ffor al þes shal make o flöken, þe which flöken is holy Chirche; but ferre fro þis undirstonding, þat alle men shal be convertid.

PE BRIDDE SONDAY GOSPEL AFTER EESTIR.

[SERMON XLIX.]

Modicum et jam non videbitis me.—Joan xvi. [16.]

HERE tellip Crist to his Chirche how þer wille shulde be tem-pred, for variynge of þer heed after his resureccioun. He seiþ ferst to his apostlis þat þer is ne a litil tyme and þei shal not see him, for he shal be deed and buried; for þes wordis of Crist weren seid þe nexte þursday before his deþ; and aftir Crist seiþ to his disciplis, þat þere shulde sce a more tyme and þan þei shulden see Crist, and ofte tymes be confortid by him. And þat was fro rysynge of Crist to þe tyme þat he steye to hevene. But for Crist haþ lyntyd tyme þat he shuld come to his Fadir, Crist seiþ þis tyme shal be litil, for he goþ to his Fadir. For boþ Cristis liynge in þe sepulcre and his dwellinghe here in erþe was litil tyme as God limitide, to answere to his ascenciouyn. And sum of disciplis of Crist saiden togidere, What is þis þat Crist seiþ to us, a litil and ofte ze shal se me, for Y go to my Fadir. And þei seiden, What is þis litil, for we witen nevere what he menþ. And Jesus wiste þat his disciplis wolden axe him of þis unknown þinge, and he seide þus to hem; Of þis ze axen among you, þat Y seide, a litil tyme shulde come, and þan ze shal not se me, and siþ a litil but more tyme, and þan ze shal see me. Forsoþe, forsoþe, Y seie to you, þat ze shal boþe grete and wepe, but þe world

1 So E; A and B wrongly italicise the word.
\begin{quote}
\textit{Panne shal joie, and pan shal ze be sorefull, but youre sorewe shal turne to joie. And pis was so\(\ddot{o}\) of \(\ddot{e}\) apostlis a\(\ddot{e}\) rysyng of Crist, for first \(\ddot{e}\)i maden more sorewe, and si\(\ddot{p}\) lasse, and si\(\ddot{p}\) joie. And worldly men contrarieden hem, \(\ddot{p}\)at first hadden joie and si\(\ddot{p}\) sorewe, for \(\ddot{e}\)i joieden of apostlis sorewe and sorewiden of apostlis joie. And esfe Crist tell\(\ddot{i}\)p a kyndely samiple, to prynte pis word more in \(\ddot{e}\)re herte.}

\textit{A womman, set\(\ddot{i}\)p Crist, \(\ddot{w}\)an she travaile\(\ddot{p}\) wip child, h\(\ddot{a}\p\)p sorewe of hir peyne, but a\(\ddot{f}\)\(\ddot{t}\)r whan she is delyverid, she h\(\ddot{a}\p\)p joie of hir child, and forzet\(\ddot{i}\)p her former sorewe, for man is bore in \(\ddot{b}\)e world. And perfore ze have sorewe now, but esfe \(\ddot{e}\) shal see you, and youre herte shal have joie, and no man shal take fro \(\ddot{y}\)ou your joie. Pis womman, to Cristis entent, isoure modir holy Chirche, and every party \(\ddot{f}\)erof \(\ddot{p}\)at is also holy Chirche. And as long as we lyven here, we ben travelynge of child, to bryne oure soule to surete fro bisie sorewe of pis world, and so to bryne forf \(\ddot{p}\)e hole man to blisse bo\(\ddot{p}\)e in bodi and soule. And when we comen to pis state we \(\ddot{f}\)enken not of oure former sorewe to oure a\(\ddot{f}\)oye or to oure mornyng, for joie of ende \(\ddot{p}\)at sue\(\ddot{p}\); but we \(\ddot{f}\)enken in oure herte \(\ddot{p}\)at for pis peyne \(\ddot{p}\)at we have now, we shal have myche joie whan we ben ful made in \(\ddot{f}\)e world. And \(\ddot{p}\)at shal nevere be done fully bifo\(\ddot{r}\)e \(\ddot{p}\)at we come to blisse, for we mornen til \(\ddot{p}\)at tyme. For we may li\(\ddot{t}\)ly perishe fro lyfe, but \(\ddot{p}\)anne a man is fully made, whan he is corouene in blisse, for \(\ddot{p}\)anne he is cereteyne to lyve evere in blis withouten peyne.}

Clerkis seien \(\ddot{p}\)at whan a man is brou\(\ddot{t}\) \(\ddot{p}\)us to Goddis chambre, \(\ddot{p}\)an he is fully spousid with God, and dowyd, bo\(\ddot{p}\)e in bodi and in soule, of foure doweris of \(\ddot{p}\)e bodi. Crist toke ernes\(\ddot{1}\) here in pis world, for whan he cam out of his modir he brak not \(\ddot{p}\)e cloister of hir, but, as \(\ddot{p}\)e su\(\ddot{n}\)e come\(\ddot{p}\) porou\(\ddot{p}\) \(\ddot{p}\)e glas, so Crist cam fro his modir wombe. And pis morw\(\ddot{y}\)ve\(\ddot{2}\) is clepid of clerkes, dower of bodily sultite, and ofte usid Crist pis dower fro \(\ddot{p}\)at tyme \(\ddot{p}\)at he was ry\(\ddot{s}\)en. \(\ddot{p}\)e secounde dower of \(\ddot{p}\)e bodi is clepid agilite, \(\ddot{p}\)at is swiftnesse \(\ddot{f}\)erof and to moven hou a man wole; and pis dower usid Crist whan he wente upon \(\ddot{p}\)e water, and specialy at \(\ddot{p}\)at tyme \(\ddot{p}\)at he stied in to heven. \(\ddot{p}\)e}
\end{quote}

\footnotesize

\begin{enumerate}
\item subtilty,
\item agility,
\end{enumerate}

\footnotesize

\textsuperscript{1} ernys, C. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{2} morwe-\textit{yve}, B; \textit{morwe-\textit{yfe}}, E; \textit{more yif}, C.
pridde dower of þe bodi is incorruptibilite, þat þe body may not
die ne be broke bi no þing; and þis dower knew þe fend whan
he aleggide to Crist þat he shulde not hurte his foot, þif he
lepte doun fro þe temple. And by vertue of þis dower þe knyþis
broken not Cristis þies, ne, whan he cam in at þe þatis þe bordis
broken not his bodi. Þe fourþe dower and þe laste is cleryling
of mannis bodi, when it shynþ þriþt in hevene as þe sunne or
oþer sterres; and þis dower toke Crist to him in tyme of his trans-
figuringe. And herfore seide Petre þanne, þat good was hem to
be þere, for þis is þe heiest dower þat fallþ unto mannis body.

And after þes fourþe doweris fallen fourþ unto þe soule. Þe
first and þe moste dower answerþ to þe last of þe bodi,
þat a soule blessid in hevene haþ clere knowynge of alle þingís, þat is or was or ever shal be. And siþ a man haþ
delite to see a pley here in erþe, or a lord, or þing of wounnder,
and þerwþiþ fedþiþ his bodi, myche more þis clere siþt of God
and alle his creaturis shulden fulli fede þe blessid soule, and
þereafter blisse þe bodi. And herfor seþiþ oure Jesus, in the
gospel of Seint Joon, þat þis is lyf wipwouten ende, to knowe þe
Fadir and his Sone. For þan men knowen in þis myrour al
creaturis þat may be; and þis clere siþt is more joyful þan ony
tunge may telle here. Þe seconde dower of þe soule is vertue
to keþe ful knowynge, so þat knowynge of oo þing contrarieþ
not to anoþer. And riþ þas bodi shal ever last, for acorde of alle
his partis, so mannis wittis shal ever last for lokyngne in þe first
myrour; and so man forþiþ not in hevene þingís þat he sum
tyme knewe. Þe þridde dower of þe soule is redynesse for to
knowe al þingís þat man wole, hou ofte þat he wole þenke on
hem; for þif he traveþid in þis þouþt ony þing aþens his wille,
he were not fully in blisse, ne wipwouten anoþus payne. And
neþþes we blyeven þat seintis have what þei wolen have, and
þei wolen noþ þing þat is yvel. And þus men grounden many
blyssis, but al ben brouþ to þes fourþ þat we can rekene in
seintis. As þe fourþe doweriþ of man in blis, answeryng to þe
first of þe bodi, is sultite of mannis soule, þat it takþ al kyn
treþþe, and herby is [not]1 undisposid to cast out oo treþþe by

1 The 'not,' which spoileth the sense, is rightly omitted in E.
anoðer; but as many blessid bodies ben togidere in o place, so many blessid knowyngis ben togidere in oo soule. Surete of siche goodis may not faile to þes seintis, siþ þei seen clerely in God how it is nede al þis to be. And so þei witen how þei have al þe joie þat þei wolen, siþ hem wantþ no kyn þing þat þei shulden desire to have.

Þe fourþe Sondai Gospel aftir Eestir.

[SERMON L.]

Vado ad eum qui misit me.—John xvi. [5.]

Þis gospel of Joon tellþ hie pryvete of þing þat is to come bifo þe day of dome. And, for Cristis assencioun is neþ, þerfore Crist tellþ a word of his assencioun þat his apostlis shulden trowe. Crist, to whom al þing þat shal be is present, seþ upon þe þursday þat he shulde die on þe morow: Þ go to him þat hap sent me to þe erþe, and þat is a myche office, to bye þe chirche of men. And for my steyng is so opyn, as² it is hid bifo þyme, noon of þou axip me whidir þat Þ go, but zit, for Y have spoke þes þingis unto þou, þe trownen not² but liþly þat þei ben soþe, and so onhbed³, sorow hæþ now fillid þoure hertis, for Y have told þou how þat Y shal suffre, hou Y shal be reproved, and how Y shal die, and how Y shal aftir be absentid fro þou; and how Y shal dwelle in hevene til Y come to þe last day to juge þe world to joye or to peyne. And þes words shulden make frendis to mourne among hem sifl, but Y seie þou trowþe, it spediþ to þou þat Y go, for zif Y go not, þe Holy Goost shal not come to þou, and þif Y shal go, Y shal sende him to þou. And when he shal come he shal reprove þe world of synne, of riþwis-nese, and also of jugement.

¹ and, E. ² now, E. ³ oon bid, B; unbid, E; on bid, C.

* The variations of the MSS. and the fact of their all including the words ‘and so onhbed’ in the italics, show that the scribes themselves did not understand this passage. I have restored the words to Wyclif, and explain the passage thus; ‘You readily believe that my words are true, and so unity;’ i.e. harmonious and self-consistent.

WYCLIF.
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But pis shall be undirstonde thus—God shal reprove pis world of synne of untreupe, for pei trowiden not in me. And pis is pe first synne, and moost unkynde pat pei mysten dow to God; ffor siþ Crist came to pis world and by-cam our broþer to bye us, and algatis to profite to mankynde, and he is so opyn treuþe shewid þus unto man, þis is a greet synne to trowe not here to Crist. For in synnynge in þis feþunkynde men untrown to his Fadir and to Crist and also to þe Holy Goost, for þis holy Trinite witnessþ þis journey. And as billeve is first vertue and ground of al oþer, so unbilleve is þe first synne of alle oþer, and þerfore synne take\(^1\) by himself is take for þis moost famous. Of þis synne shal the Gost reprove men of þis world.

Secoundly shal þis Goost reprove men of riȝtwisnesse þat þei shulden have to Crist and unkyndely wanten it. For siche a messanger should be worshipid of alle men, and heried, for siche a message, siþ it was so profitable. And so þe world shal be dampned for wanting of þis riȝtwisnesse, and specially, for sicþe a persone goþ æsen to his Fadir. And þat shewþ þat Crist is þe secounde persone in Trinite, and so bi his godhede evene wiþ his Fadir, and bi his manheed lasse, but even in kynde wiþ his breþeren. And þis riȝt wole axe þat þis persone were worshipid.

Þe þridde tyme shal þis Goost reprove men of þis world, for þei jugide follyþ þat Crist was led by a fend. And siþ þe most hie fend, prince of þis worlde, is now juged to helle, for he tempitide þus Crist and dide him unworshipipe.

\(\text{3it, seþ Crist, } Y \text{ have many piþis to seþ to you, but } ye \text{ may not bere hem now; but } ye \text{ spirit of treuþe shal come to you, and teche you alle treuþe, and make you strong to bere treuþe to sufryng of deþ. } \text{Perfore þis good maister shal here by-gynne for to teche } ye \text{ boke of lyfe, and he shal nevere ende to teche, til } þat \text{ his disciplis comen to hevene; and } þere \text{ þei shal clerely knowe echte treuþe } þat \text{ men can telle. } He \text{ shal not speke of himself, wipouten ony cause bifore, but al piþis þat he shal here of the Fadir and of } ye \text{ Sone shal he speke and telle}

\(^1\) taken, E.
30u, and þe shall after teche his Chirche. And þingis þat here after ben to come þal þis Goost telle you. For þe apostlis knewen here al þat now is nede to knowe, for in þis mesure ledde God hem, and movede hem to do his dedis. He chargide hem not wyþ ydel witt þat herfore þei shulden be proud, but alle þat nedide hem to kunne, þei kouden þat redele. Þis Goost shal clarifte me, for he shal take of myne and shewe you þe treupe þat Y am and þat Y have. And so in knowing of þis treupe þe apostlis shal wele knowe Crist, how bi his godhede he is ever wyþ þe Fadir, and anentis his manhede, he is ever in kynde wyþ his breþeren. But in grace of oonhede he passiþ alle oþer men þat may be, siþ no man may be God but he, and welle of grace as he is. And herfore Crist declarip him sylf, and seþ, þat alle þat he Fadir hæþ hen1 hise, and herfore he seide þat þe Goost shal take of his and shewe to his disciplis, as ben þe apostlis and oþer after.

And in þese heye wordis of witt, Crist techiþ how he wiþ his Fadir is þe same God in kynde, and bryngiþ forþ þe Holy Goost. For ellis þe Fadir hadde þis Goost, and Crist hadde not þis same Goost, and so not al þat þe Fadir hæþ had Crist as verre God. But siþ þis word of Crist is sop, it shewiþ openly þat Crist is God and of him wiþ his Fadir comeþ forþ þe Holy Goost. Þis Holy Goost may not be made, but ever comeþ forþ of þes two, as þif þe shynynge of þe sonne come forþ evere of liþt and briþnesse. But, for þis sentence is myche hid fro witt of þe comoun peple, herfore shulde preestis shapen of þe wordis of þis gospel, what myþ profite to his puple after undirstondinge of hem.

And we shulden marke þis word of Crist whan he seþ to his disciplis, but þif he go fro hem to hevene, he shall not sende to hem þe Holy Goost; and many men musen of þes wordis, siþ Crist was every where almyþty, and so he myþt as wele in erþe as in hevene sende hem þis Goost. Lord! what nedid Crist to stye and speke wiþ mouþ wiþ þis Goost. Sich wordis shewen men ful rude to consegve þis mater, and þerfore it were nede to hem to knowe witt of þes wordis. We shal trowe þat Cristis

1 is, E.
disciplis loveden him here to fleishly, and þei musten be þurgid
here of þis love bi þe Holy Goost; and þes þingis myȝt best
be done whan manhede of Crist was fro hem. And þus for
rudenesse of apostlis, Crist seþ þat it spedip þat he go fro hem,
but he dwellip bi his godhede and his vertue ever wip hem.
And herfore he seþ anoþer tyme, þat he is al daies wip hem
unto þe eende of þis world, bi Godhede and vertue of his
manhede. And þus whan Crist was went to hevene, his
apostlis weren clere in love, and leften þe love of erþely þingis,
and pouþten clenly of hevenly þingis.

And of þis witt taken sum men þat it fallip not to Cristis viker
ne to preestis of holy Chirche to have rentis here in erþe. But
Jesus shulde be her rente, as he seþ ofte in the olde lawe; and
þer bodily sustynaunce þei shulden have of Goddis parte, as of
dymes and offryngis and þer almes taken in mesure; þe which
by þer holy lyf þei abliden hem to take þus. Lord! siþ þe bodi of
Crist undisposid þe apostlis to take þis Goost, myche more shulde
worldely lordship unable men now to take þis Goost. And
siþ þei have now o Goost, it is lycly bi þer dedis þat þei have
a wickide Goost þat ledip hem an yvel wey. And in þes wordis
we may see hou religiouþ þat ben to day, drawen more to þer
abite and to þer stynkynge ordenaunce, þan Crist wolde þat his
apostlis chargiden þanneb presence of his bodi. And herfore
Crist sent his apostlis aloone, scaterynge into þe world, and
certis þei weren more able now þan whan he sent hem two
and two; for now þei weren rype by þe Holy Goost more sadly
þan þei weren bifoþre. But oure freris þat ben syke ben closid
now in cloistre togidere, mo þan twelve of Cristis apostlis;
and þis semeþ by þe fendis cautel, þat siþ on blec2 not his
broþer, anoþer worse shulde ðylen hem. And herfore sum
freris have witt to holde hem ferre fro siche a lymeþ and avente
hem in þe world; and þan shulden þei have good goost, for
þus did Crist wip his disciplis, and him þei shulden suen in lyf.

1 om. C; þe, E; þanne, B. 2 blecce, B, C; blecce, E. 3 defoule, B.

a abliden hem, that is, qualified
themselves.
b Unless þanne is to be taken as
representing the old form of the

A. S. masc. sing. accus. þone, the
reading of the Douce MS., þe, is
preferable.
Praying in the name of Christ.

Men who go to war cannot rightly use the Pater noster.

Amen, Amen, dico vobis, si quid petieritis.—John xvi. [23.]

Crist telliþ in þis gospel hou his disciplis shulden be helpid by vertue of her preier, whan he was styed in to hevene. And first he seij a general word, and takij boþe his kyndis to witnes, þat, ȝif þei axen ouȝt þe Fadir of hevene in his name, he shal ȝyve it hem. But, as Crist seij, unto þat tyme his disciplis axiden not in his name, and herfor afterward shulden þei axen þat þere joie were ful, and þei shulden take. Al þe hardnesse of þis mater is to cutte perfity to axe in Cristis name, for he shal have þat axiþ þus. But siþ ooure Jesus is treuþe and helþe of men þat trowun in him, þat man axiþ in Cristis name, þat axiþ in treuþe his soule helþe. Crist is moost lord of al, and þerfore he wole have dispit, but ȝif men axen him a greet þing; sfor ellis his lordship and þat axing acorden not to his name. And so, ȝif þou wilt axe in Cristis name, axe þe blisse þat evere shal laste; and siþ Crist is treuþe and resoun, loke þi axinge be resonable, and þan maist þou be sure to have þe þing þat þou axist þus. And herfore Crist in þis gospel biddeþ us to axe oure ful joie, and þan shal we have it, if þat we axen it in resoun; for no man hæþ but halþ joie, but ȝif he be ful of blisse. And þis greet lord wolþe not be axid but þis blisse, or menes þerto; and ȝif man axe þus in resoun þat he be worþi to have it, he shal have it wþouten doute whan best tyme were þat he hadde it; and he shal have on þe best manere þe þing þat he axiþ þus.

And herfore þe seven axingis þat Crist tecliþ in þe Pater noster meneþ þis forme of axinge; and algatis to axe in charite; and þerfore men þat lyven in werre ben unable to have þer axinge: but þei axen þer owne dampnynge in þe ﬁfte peticoun, for þer þei axen þat God forþyve hem þer dettis þat þei owen to hym, riþt as þei forþyven men þat ben dettours unto hem. And

So in B; mene, E, C; moveþ, A.
here we shal undirstonde þat eche man is dettour to God, and eche man owip to eche oþer to do him good in charite. And so faiinglye to love God of al þin herte and alle þi wille, þou rennest in grete dette boþe aþens God and man. And so in þis fift exing þes men þat werren now-a-daies, axen him as þei wolden mene,—forȝye us for we ben even wiþ þee, or ells take venjaunce in ire of us, as we taken vengeaunce of oure breþeren. And þis is noo good praiier, but more axinge of Goddis venjaunce; and for þis cause many men ben unherd in þer praiier, and turned in to more yvel for þere unskilful praiier. And siche men weren better to leve þan to preien on sich maner. For many men preien for venjaunce and for worldis prosperite, and in þe ire of God he ȝyveþ hem þat þei axen; but it were better to hem to preye not þus, ne to have þes þingis. And þus men of contrarie londis preien God in grete processiouns; and for unworþinesse of her preier hem were better to sitten at home. And, for men witen not for what þing þei shulden preie God in siche causis, þerfore good lyvynge pro- fittþ more, and þe Holy Goost axþ þan for hem. And who ever stere ð men to yvel lyfe, ȝif þei ben freris þat crien heyre, God heereþ hem not to good, but raþer to take venjaunce on hem. For Crist seþ, þat not eþ eþ eþ eþ eþ to him Lord, Lord, shal come in to þe blis of hevene, but he þat eendþ in riþ lyf, for he preieþ in þe name of þe Trinite. And þus ȝebedesus sones preieden for good, but in yvel manere. And so algatis ryȝt lyf is þe beste in mannis preier, for siche lyfe preieþ better to God þan hie voicis of ypocrisis.

And after seþ Crist to his apostlis, þat þes þingis he seide before to hem in proverbis and mystily; but now is come tyme when he shal not speke þus unto hem in proverbis, but aperty of his Fadir he shal telle hem as best is. In þat daie shal Cristen men axe in Cristis name unto þer blisse. And now he seþ unto hem þat he shal preie his Fadir of hem, for þei shal be mateer to Crist and make his rewme. Wherfore he preieþ, þat þe Fadir love þes apostlis and oþer men þat suen him, for þei loveden Jesus Crist and trowiden þat he cam fro God; þe, þat Crist bi his manhede
came of God in his godhede. *Crist cam fro þe Fadir and cam in to þe world*, and now whan Crist hap done his message, *he forsakip æsen þe world*, and goþ bi manhede to his Fadir. And Cristis disciplis seiden to him, *Lo, now þou spekist opynly, and þou seist now noo proverbe;* and *perfore we witen wele þat þou knowist alle þingis, and it is to þe no mede þat ony man axe þe ouȝt, for þou wost biforn þe axinge, what men shulde axen and what þingis leve.* In þis we trwen þat þou come fro God as his owne sone.

And þis bileve is ground to men to have of God what þat hem nêðê, and to wite what is best to hem, al ȝif it disples to þe world. But, as men þat ben in fevereis desire not þat were best for hem, so men here in synne coveite not best þing for hem. For þe world seide þat þe apostlis weren foolis and forsaken of God, and so it wolde see todaie of men þat lyveden lyke to hem, for worldis joie and eerþelþ good plesþ to hem, wiþ meenes þerto, and þei saveron*¹* not hevenly good ne riȝt suyng after Crist. And þis jugement now in þe world is open witnesse æzens men, þat þei be not hoole in soule, but turned amys to worldely þingis. For as a mouþ of a syke man distempered fro good mete, moveþ him for to coveite þingis contrarie to his helþe, so it is of mannis soule þat savoureþ not Goddis lawe. And as wanting of appetit is a signe dedly to man, so wanting of Goddis wit is signe of his seconde deep. And jugement þat now regneþ of worldely prosperite is token of men þat þei ben foolis and saveren not of Goddis lawe. For þe world seip comounly þat ȝif a man have worldely blisse and þe world leȝe*²* to him in killynge of his enemyes, þan God loveþ him and doþ miraclis for his sake. But, Lord! where is oure bileve þat we shulde trowe in love of God, þat it stondþ not in þis but ræþer hate of God! And, as Gregori seip*³*, as a bole þat shall be kild goþ in corn at his wille, and is not pyned*⁴* ne travailid wiþ oþer beestis; so a lyne of þe fend is left fro þe grace of God, to figure his dampnacioun, and suffrid

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¹ saveren, E. ² joye, C. ³ So in B; þynd, E; þynde, C.
A has þyndid.

⁴ I have been unable to verify this reference.
to do myche harme here, to large his peyne afterward. We shulden leve þes sensible signes and take ensample of holy men, as of Crist and of his apostlis; hou þei hadden not her blisse here. But here Crist ordeynede peynes and hate of þe world and pursuyng to men þat he moost lovede, to teche us þat come after hem. And þus signes of paciens and pursuyng in þis er þe shulde be tokens of Goddis love and not signes of Antecrist.

ÞE SIXTE SONDÆ GOSPEL AFTER EESTIR.

[SERMON LII.]

Cum venerit Paraclitus.—JOHN xv. [26.]

Crist telliþ his disciplis of comyng of þe Confortour, þe which is þe Holy Goost, and what lyf þei shal after lede. And ech man shulde cunne here þis lore, for þan he may be soulis leche, and wite, bi signes of his life, wher his soule be seke or hoole. Lord! siþ a fisician lerneþ diligentli his signes, in veyne, in pows, and oþer þingis, wher a mannis bodi be hool; how myche more shulde he knowe sic signes þat tellen helpe of mannis soule, and how he háþ him to God. Alþif siche þingis ben pryve and passen worldly witt of men, neþeles þe Holy Goost telliþ men sum of siche signes, and makiþ hem more certeyne þan men can juge of bodily helpe. And, for we shulden kyndely desire for to knowe þe soulis state, þerfore þe Holy Goost, þat techiþ us to knowe þes signes, is cepid a con-fourtour of men, passinge oþer confortours. And as a mannis soule is beter þan þe bodi, and endeles good passiþ temporal good, so þis knowynge of þe soule passiþ oþer mannis cunynge.

Crist seip þus to his disciplis, When þis confortour shal come þat Y shal sende you of þe Fadir, Goost of treuþ þat comþ forþ of him, he shal also bере witnesse of me; and þe shal also bере

1 pouwe, E; pouse, C.
witness, for ye ben wið me alway fro þe bigynnynge of my prechinge. But here may Grekes be moved to trowe þat þe Holy Goost cometh not forg but of þe Fadir and not of Crist þat is his sone; for þe toon seip Crist, and in þis gospel leveþ þe toþer. And it seemeth to sum men, þif þis were treuþe þat shulde be trowid, God wolde liþly telle þis treuþe as he teliþ ofþer þat we trowen; and ellis it were presumptioun to charge þe Chirche wiþ þis truþe, siþ neiþer auturite of God, ne resoun, techþ þat þis is soþ; and al bileve nedeful to men is tolde hem in þe lawe of God. Here me þinkþ þat Latynes synned sum what in þis poynt, for many ofþer pointis weren now more nedeful to þe Chirche; as it were more nedeful to wite, where al þis Chirche hange in power of þe pope, as it is seid comounly, and where men þat shal be savyd ben nedid here to shryve hem to preestis, and þus of many degrees þat þe pope haf liþly ordeyned. But me þinkþ þat it is soþ þat þis Goost comeþ boþe of þe Fadir and of þe Sone, and þes personeþ ben o cause of him; and me þinkþ, to noon entent shulde Crist seye, he sendþ þis Goost, or þat þis Goost is his, but þif þis Goost come of him. And to þis þat Grekes seien, þat Crist leveþ þis word, certis so doþ he many ofþer for certein cause, and þit we trowen hem; as Crist seip his lore is not his, for it is principaly his Fadiris; and þit we trowen þat it is his, but þe welle is in his Fadir. So we trowen þat þe wille bi which þe Fadir loveþ þe Sone comeþ of witt þat is þe Sone, but principaly of Goddis power. And in þis word Crist techþ us to do algatis worship to God. And þus þes Grekes may not prove þat we trowen fals in þis bileve, or þat Crist lefte þis treuþe, wþouten cause to telle it þus; for bi þis þat Crist seip, þe Holy Goost came of his Fadir, and leveþ þus þe comynge of him, he stopþ þe pride of þe Chirche and techþ men to worshipþe God. But when he seip þat he sendþ þe Holy Goost to his disciplis, and alle þat his Fadir haf ben his, he techþ cleryþ þat þis Goost comeþ of him; and ofþer wise shulde Crist not speke.

And þus Latyns ben to blame, for þei leven nedeful treuþe, and depen hem in ofþer treuþe, þat is now not so nedeful. And þus seien sum men þat þe bishop of Rome, þat þei clepen heed of þe Chirche, and þerto pope, and Cristis viker, doþ more harme to þe
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Chirche of Crist þan doîþ viker of Thomas in Inde, or viker of Poul in Gree, or þe Soudan of Babilon. For þe rote of which he came, þat is dowynge of þe Chirche and heyng of þe emperoure, is not ful holy ground, but envenymed wiþ synne. But þis venym first was litil, and hid by cautelis of þe fend, but now it is growen to myche and to hard to amende. Soþ it is þat ech apostle was obedient to ech oþer, as Petre obeisíð unto Poul whan he reprovede hym; and þus þenken sum þen þat þei shulden obeishe to þe pope, but no more þan Crist biddþ, no more þan to oþer preestis, but þif he teche bettre Goddis wille and more profite\(^1\) to men; and so of alle his ordenaunce, but þif it be groundid in Goddis lawe, sette no more prys þerby þan bi lawe of þe emperoure. Men shulden seie myche in þis matere, and oþer men shulden do in dede; but men wolden holde hem heretikes, as þe fendis lymes diden Crist. And so þick þen his membris þat who so holdþ wiþ Cristis lawe, he shal be schent many weyes and algatis wiþ lesyngis.

And þis tellþ Crist before unto his postlis, to make hem stronge and arme hem æzens siche persecuouns. Þes þingis, seif he, Y spake to you, þat ze be not sclaunderid. He is sclaunderid þat is lettid by word or by dede, so þat his riþ wille falle don from his witt; and so þif a man be pursued and suffre it paciently, he is not sclaunderid, al þif men synnen æzens him. Þe first pursuuyt æzens Crist shal be of false preestis, not al oonly lettyng þe membris of Crist to reule þe puple in chirchis, as curatis shulden do, but putte hem out of chirche as cursid men or heretikes. And herfore seip Crist þat þei shal make you wiþout synagogis. But þit shal more woodnesse come after þis, for þei procuren þe puple, boþe more and lasse, to kille Cristis disciplis for hope of grete mede. And herfore Crist seip certeyn of þis

\(^1\) profite, E.

* The tradition of the visit of the apostle Thomas to India is of later origin than the time of Eusebius, being first mentioned by writers of the close of the fourth, and beginning of the fifth century, such as Gregory Nazianzen, St. Ambrose, and St. Jerome. The Christians found in Malabar by St. Francis Xavier certainly called themselves ‘Christians of St. Thomas;’ but this is supposed by many to have arisen from a confusion between the apostle and a Nestorian missionary. (Dean Stanley, article ‘Thomas,’ Smith’s *Bibl. Dict.;* Kitto’s *Cyclopaedia.*)
mater, that hour is come that each man that killeth his good men, shall judge him to do to God medeful obedience. And to this ende procuremen freres, Antecristis disciplos, that well whyte it is wish now among Cristen men. Sum men be sumnyd to Rome and here put in prisoun, and sum ben cryed as heretikes among the comoun peple; and over this, as men seien, freres killen the own breveryer, and procuremen men of the world to kille men that seien hem treuere. And 00 drede lettip hem that thei stirte not to more woodnesse, for thei defenden that it is levesul and medeful, preestis for to fity in cause that thei feynen Goddis; and so 3if the parte be stronger than seculers, thei may move these preestis to fity aens the gentilmen. And as thei have robbid hem of temporal goodis, so thei Wolfe pryve hem of swerde as unable, and seie that sich fitying shulde best falle to preestis. This haddaken preestis this sword before that Crist cam, and thei drown so ferre out of religioun of God til that thei haddaken kild Crist, heed of holy Chirche.

Alle men shulden be ware of cautelis of the fend, for the sleepeth not, castynge fals weyes, and al these done fends lymes; for thei kownen not the Fadir and his sone be propertees of hem. The fend blindyeth hem so in worldly purpos, that thei knowen not strenghe of God ne wisdom of his bidding; for theip faille unto hem that thei loken not aferre, but ping that is nythe per eye, as beestis wipouten resoun. Alle his hab Crist spok to his disciplos that when tyme comeb of hem, thei shulden han have mynde that he hab seid hem thes perelis to come. And the Holy Goost movep ever sum men to studie Goddis lawe and have mynde of his wit; and so love of Goddis lawe and sadde savoure perynne, is token to men that thei ben Goddis children, but hit of the ende thei ben uncertyen.
SERMONS.

PE GOSPEL ON WITT SONDAI.

[SERMON LIII.]

Si quis diligite.—John xiv.1 [23.]

In pis gospel move\(\phi\) Crist his children to love, for charite is \(\phi\) best clo\(\phi\) \(\phi\) any man may have; and herfore se\(\phi\) Goddis lawe \(\phi\) love is stronge as deep, for love move\(\phi\) men to suffre deep gladly, in Goddis cause. And where deep is \(\phi\) moste ping \(\phi\) man dredi\(\phi\) here, pis love passi\(\phi\) kynde and maki\(\phi\) men to coveite siche deep; and pis wille is not harmful but glorious to men, si\(\phi\) b\(\phi\) siche love men brennen as coolis\(\phi\), and turnen in to Goddis clo\(\phi\) as angelis of hevene. First se\(\phi\) Crist \(\phi\) hus, zif any man love him, he shulde kepe his word, for \(\phi\) is \(\phi\) same treu\(\phi\); and si\(\phi\) God is kynde a\(\phi\)en to men \(\phi\) love him \(\phi\)us, Crist se\(\phi\) \(\phi\)at his Fadir shal love him a\(\phi\)en; and zif his Fadir love a man, \(\phi\) two o\(\phi\)er persones love\(\phi\)a him, and al siche love of God mut niedis be evermore. And \(\phi\)e manhede of Crist worship \(\phi\)us bi pis love; it shal brynge wi\(\phi\) Crist siche membris of him to hevene, and so to clere si\(\phi\) of \(\phi\)e holy Trinite.

And so Crist wi\(\phi\) his membris shal make here her dwelinge wi\(\phi\)-outen any ende, bi love of \(\phi\)e Holy Goost; for seintis in hevene may not passe pis ende, for \(\phi\)an \(\phi\)ei weren foolis chesynge a worse eende.

For Crist wolde shewen oonhede to love him and to kepen his wordis; perfore he se\(\phi\) este, He \(\phi\)at love\(\phi\) him not, he kepi\(\phi\) not hise wordis. And herfore Crist, discryvynge a man \(\phi\)at love\(\phi\) him, se\(\phi\)i\(\phi\) us after in \(\phi\)e same gospel, He \(\phi\)at hap ny comandememts and kepi\(\phi\) hem in his lyfe, he is \(\phi\)at ilke \(\phi\)at love\(\phi\) me wel\(\phi\). Here may we wite where a man love God, for zif he love\(\phi\) God, he love\(\phi\) his lawe and wordis.

1 So in E; both A and B have \(\phi\)vi\(\phi\), erroneously. 2 colis, B. 3 So E and B; A and C give no marks of quotation.

* This is the old plural present proceeding directly from the West indicative of the Southern dialect, Saxon form lufan8.
of þe gospel, for alle þei comen to oon; and þif he loveþ not Goddis lawe he loveþ not his God. And herfore ech man þat loveþ not Goddis word, þat he wolde not die þerfore to defende it, he loveþ not his God as he shulde love him; for it is al oone to love God and to love his word, and as myche as þou lovest God, shuldist þou love his word. But for love of þi God, þou shuldist lese þi lyfe, and so þou shouldist lese þi lyfe for defence of Cristis word; and in cowardise of þis love ben many men smyttid, but knyþtis bi þer ordre shulden be redy in þis love. But, for Crist haþ seid þat men shulden kepe his wordis, many men myþten muse what þing þat þese wordis. But Crist seip þat alle þes wordis ben treueþes, as ten treuþis of þe comandementis, and alle ben wiþouten ende; and so he þat kepþp not þe wordis of Crist, he kepþp not his o word þe which þei have herd, and þis o word which þei have herd is not Cristis, but his Fadríþ. For it is Cristis persone, and Crist is not Cristis sone, but þe Sone of þe Fadir; and þus we may see worþinesse of Goddis word. Wordis of God ben many by diversite of resoun, but al þei renne to gidere in o myddil poynhte, and so þei ben alle Goddis word, þat is him sylfe. And, for þes wordis ben mysty and derke to þe pulpe, þerfor 3yþp Crist hem a confort in þis matere, and seip, þat he haþ spoke þes þingis unto hem dwellyng þe þ ðem, and þei ben þit mysty; but þe Confortour þat is þe Holy Goost, þe which þe Fadir schal sende in þe name of Crist, schal leche hem alle þingis þat ben now hid to hem. And þus it fallþp unto men to know rudely first a þing and generaly, as philosophris speken, and after shulden þei knowe more sutilly þe same þing; and þus Crist bi his manheed told first mysty wordis, and siþ þi his fynger shewide sutilte of hem. And þit þis Holi Goost schal have order of þis lore, for first he shal move mennis eris in sensible voicsis, and siþ þe shal be slyden ynnne and leche mennis pouþþis, in alle þat Crist haþ spoke bifoire, in general wordis. Þei ne schal ceese anoon to lerne more sutilly, but ever in þis lyf þei wexen more rype til þat þei comen to hevene, and þere knowe al fulli.

And, for þees of mannis soule disposþþ þim to lerne, þerfore Crist byhotþþ his children þis þees, and seip þus, Pees Y love to you; and my þees Y 3yve 5ou. Crist wiste þat him sylfe
shulde soone passe fro his children; ffor on þe Pursdaie at niȝt he seide to hem þes wordis, and on þe morewe at noon he died for þer love; and herfor he biȝht hem þat he shulde leve hem pees. But Crist speciȝt þis general pees, whanne he seip þat he þyve þem his own pees; and þis shal be þirst wip pursuynge of body, but it shal grow after to moost ful pees. And herfor seip Crist þat not as þe world þyve, he þyve þem, but on contrary maner. þe world þyve þingis þat now ben likyng, but bi processe of tyme þei wexen more bitter, and so þei turnen to þeyne and sorewe, þat first weren likyng; and so pees of þis worlde is ever more decresynge, but pees of God growiȝ unto ful pees.

And bi þes wordis of wit Crist confortiȝ his children, and biddiȝ hem, þat per herte be not disturbled ne drede; for who ever troweþ fully þis sentence þat is seid, and hopiȝ fully þat he were of nombre of þes children, he were an untrew man þif þat he drede þus. Apostlis dredden hem of perelis þat weren nyȝte, but þei failiȝen not of þis treuþe, þat þei ne shulde have a good ende, and what þingis þat felle to hem, it shulde falle to hem for þe betere. And so as þe worlde is sikir of þing neyȝte it, and in doute of þing ferre, so in contrary manere ben Cristis children sikir of þer ferre enede, but of þer nyȝte menes ben þei sum tyme in drede. And grounde of þis sentence is Cristen mennis bileve, and herfore seide Crist, þe herden how þe seide to you, Y go and Y come to you; and he þat troweþ fully þes witty wordis of Crist he shulde not drede him of þis for seid sentence, for Crist seip, as God to whom al þing is present, Y go and Y come to you, for certeinte herof. And as Crist was certeyne of his deþe and his steiyng up and of his comynge aȝen at þe daye of dome, so shulden his children be certeyn of his forseid sentence. And þit Crist moveþ his children to have joie of his goyng, and þis was a point for which þei mourneden moost; and Crist seip þus to hem to abate þer mournyng, Certis, zif ye loveden me, þe shulden have joie for Y go to my Fadir, sib he is more þan Y; for þus bi manheed Y shulde encreese in bliss, and he þat joieþ not herfore, he loveþ not Crist. And it is told bifore hou ech man shulde love him; And now þe seide to you, bifore it is falle, þat whan it done, þe trowen in my wit;
and so shulde þei trowe to alle þing þat he hadde seid, for þus he is God þat can wel al þing. And Crist, teching his children to marke beter his wordis, seip, þat he shal speke now but few þingis unto hem, but þei shulde have moost enemyte here of þe heed fend þat Crist haþ overcome; and þerfore he tellip hem, þat þrynne of þis worlde is come for to tempte Crist, and he haþ not in him; and þus in þis overcomyngel shulde þei not drede þe fend. But al þis is done þat þe worlde knowe þat Y love þe Fadir; and so shulde þe do, for alle þingis þat Y do shulden be ensample to you. And herfor Y do as my Fadir comandide me, for wél Y woot in þis may I not faile. And al þis sentence of þe gospel of Joon is fully perteynynge to comynge of þe Holy Goost, and so redyng of þis gospel was wel ordeyned for þis day.

**Þe Gospel on þe Trinite Soneday.**

**[S E R M O N L I V.]**

Erat homo ex Phariseis Nychodeme.—John iii. [i.]

Þis gospel undir a story tellip of þe Trinite, and boþe þes ben harde, as comounly is Jones gospel. Þe storie tellip þat þer was a man of Pharisees þat hitþe Nichodeme, and was prince of þe Jewis; he cam to Jesus on a nyþt and seide þus to him; Rabi we witen wel þat þou art come fro God; and raby is as myche as maister in Englishe. And Nichodeme tolde þe cause whi he trowide þis, for no man may make, he seide, þes signes þat þou makist, but 3if God be wip him, and so he comep fro God. And Jesus answeride Nychodeme, and seide þus to him, bi my doubte kynde Y seie to þee, but 3if a man be born æzen, he may not se Goddis rewme. And þes wordis waren wounderful to Nichodeme, and þerfore he axide where a man myþe be bore whan he were an old man, wher he myþe crepe in to his moder wombe for tyme þat he was olde and be born æzen.

Þis Nichodeme cam in þe nyþt, þat figuride his ignoraunce, but to þe literal witt, he dredde him for his bereþer, to come
apertly in þe day, and speke wiþ Jesus Crist; and boþe þes undirstondingis shope þe Holy Goost. And so þis goostly birþe þat Nichodeme mut first have bitokeneþ þe Fadir of hevene þat þryngeþ forþ two oþer persones; and so Nichodeme to litil knewe þis persone of God, and for þis unknowinge he axide þis questioun. For he seide not þat Crist was kyndely Goddis Sone, ne þat he was Goddis word and so God him silfe; and so þis Nichodeme hadde nede to be cristened in feþ, and so Crist lovede his persone, alþif he hatide his ordre, for Crist savyde his persone and distryede his ordre. And þus Crist lovede Poul, þat seþ he was a Pharisee; but þe more part of Pharisées weren fals and hereties. And þis nativite shewþ Crist in þes wordis; Forsoph, forsoþ, Y seide to þee, but zif man be born of water and þe Holy Goost he may not entre in to Goddis rewume. And þus bi þis baptym, þis water and þe Holy Goost, Crist tolde him þe Trinite þif he koud consevye it. Þis baptym seþ þe Trinite, in whos name it is mad; þis water is þe waishinge þat ranne of Cristis herte; and so baptym and water and þe Holy Goost tellen Nichodeme þe Trinitee, and þerwip þe sacrament, for Crist is compendious in spekyng of his wordis.

But Crist makþ distynccion of two manere of birþis, and seþ þat þing born of fleishe is fleish in his kynde, and þing þat is born of spirit is spirit on sum manere; and perfore, wounder þou not þat Y seide to þee, þe moþen be born aþen, and þi Goost made children of holy Chirche, and so in spirit maad Goddis children, and so his spouse shal be your moder. Þis gendrure of þis Goost is boþe free and wilful, and herfor Crist seþ to Nichodeme, þat þe spirit breþþ þher he wole, and þou herest his vois bi which he moveþ þee. And on þis maner þe Spirit of oure Lord haþ fillid þis world wiþ witt of oure feþ, and þat þing þat holdþ alle haþ science of vois. And herfore at Wit-Sunday whan þis Goost apperide was a greet soun, and tungis of fier, to telle þat men shuld hen speke on hiþ to þer breþer, and þei shulden have charite, þe which seþ þe Holy Goost. And alle þif we knowen þe vois of þis Goost, neþeþes we witen not whennes þat it comeþ ne whidir þat it goþ, to men þat ben

1 beþst, E; beþþe, B; beþ, C.
biske us; for we knowen not þe ordenaunce of God, whi he enspireþ þes men, and to what ende, or whèþer he shal save þis man or wende away from him. *And so ech man þat is born of þis spirit* is unknown to ȝer by many hid resoun, and so ȝech man is sumwhat knowun and sumwhat unknown for wisdome of þis spirit.

But Nichodeme answerede and seide here to Jesus, *How may þes þingis be done?* And Crist seide to hym; *In þe lond of Israel ben manye blynde maisters, for þou art maister in Israel, and ȝit þou unknowist þes þingis:* and so it is noo wounder ȝif þis lond be mysled, for ȝif þe blynde leden þe blynde, þei fallen boþe into þe lake. And neþeles Y teche hem as myche as þei ben worþi; and so seþ Crist to Nichodeme, *Sohelie, sohelie, Y seye to þee,* defaute is not in me, in teching of þes puple, but in untrewye hardnesse of it; for, *þing þat we knowun, we telle to hem, and þat we have sene in Godhede, we witnesse, and þe taken not oure witnesse,* for þoure unkynde hardnesse. And þerfore ȝe knowen not þe gendurere of þe firste persone. *Yf Y seye to you erþely þingis and þe truwen hem not, howe, ȝif Y seye to you heevenly þingis, shal þe truwen hem?* Crist tolde here of bodily birþe, and ofte tymes of erþely truþe, but þei trowiden hym not for þer fole hard herte; but neþeles Crist tellþ þis man knowinge of þe secounde persone, and in an article of bilee, þat is, his ascensioun; and no man, seþ Crist, *steieþ in to hevene but þat cam doun fro hevene, mannis sone þat is in hevene.* And in þes wordis myþ Nichodeme undirstonde boþe þe godhede of Crist and þerto his manhed, and so shulde he knowe wel þe secounde persone of God. By þat þat Crist steied þus, and þus is mannis sone, miȝt he knowe his manhede bifoþe ȝer manhede; for ȝif ȝer men steieden a litil in þis eire, neþeles no man steieþ in to hevene þus but Crist. And so noon ȝer man comeþ to hevene but ȝif he be Cristis membre, and be drawun bi þe Trinite in to þis hey place. And þus seþ Crist sop, þat no man steieþ in to hevene, but him sif aloone; and seþ þere ben foure manere of bryngeþis forþ of man, and þe fourþe and þe laste, apropre unto Crist, is þat man comeþ cloë of womman wþout man. Crist cleþþ him wel here a sone of mankynde; and þus bi þes two wordis
myght he knowe Cristis manhede. And by oþer two wordis myght he knowe Cristis godhede; first by þat he seip þat þis man cam doun bifore fro hevene, and þis myght nevere be but ȝif Crist were God or a he were man. þe secounde word þat shewip þe godhede of þis persone, is, þat Crist seip þat he is mannis sone þat is in hevene, þhe, after þat he bycam man; ñor þus is Crist¹ two kyndes godhede for evermore, and evermore² in hevene drawynge to him whom him likeþ. And þus Crist techeþ wel ynoþ to knowe þe secounde person, boþ in godhede and in manhede, as myche as he shulde þan knowe him.

But to telle þe þridde persone, in pointis of bileve, Crist teellþ to Nichodeme, As Mosyes heied þe addre in desert to hele þe puple by lokynge on him, so mut mannis sone be hyed in þe cros, þat eþh man þat truþþ in him, þerþe not in helle, but have lyf wiþouten eende, þat is blisse of hevene. Here mut we knowe þe storye of þe olde lawe hou þe puple was hirt by stynging of addres, and Moses preied God to telle him sum medecyne; and God bade him take an addre of bras, and hong hym hye on a tree to þe puple to loke on, and he þat lokid on þis addre shulde be helid of þis yvel. And al þis was figure of hanging of Crist, for Crist was in forme of addris of venym, but he hadde no venym in his owene persone, as þe addre of bras hadde no venym in him. But as riþ lokynge on þis addre of bras savvyde þe puple fro venym of serpentis, so riþ lokynge bi ful bileve in Crist saveþ his puple fro synne of þe fendis. And þe fendis was þe first addre þat ever noyed man, and Crist was hongid in tre, as þis addre hongide in tree. But it were to wite over, hou þis story perteyneþ to þe Holy Goost, siþ al þis was done in Crist; but we shal wel wite þat ech of þes þe personeþe is in ech oþer, as ech bitokeneþ oþer. And siþ þat Crist seip þat no man haþ more love þan for to put his lyf for his fendis, þis blesside hanginge of Crist in þe crosse is þat hye charite þat God lovede man inne, and þis charite is þe Holy Goost; and þus was Nichodeme taþþ þe feþþ of þe Trinite, and in þis feþþ many oþer articlis, and þus is þis gospel appropriad to þis feste.

¹ Crist is, B, C. ² So E; A, B, C, om. and evermore.

* or = 'before that.'
Pere ben many witnessis and resouns to þe Trinite, but þis manere of lore is more plentenouse and more profitable to men; and herfore Crist seït it þus; and þus eche man shulde reule al his lyfe after þis holy Trinite, for ellis he must faile. Loke first þat he be groundid in stable bigynning, and siþ þat he procede in gracious mene, and siþ þat he ende in fulnesse of charite, and þan his lyfe is ensaumplid aftir þe Trinite.
COMMUNE SANCTORUM.
[The sermons which follow, on the gospels of the office of the Commune Sanctorum, are thirty-one in number. The order of the feasts, and the gospels themselves, appear to have been taken by the writer from the Sarum missal. Every separate office included in that missal is dealt with by the writer of the sermons except those for ‘Many Virgins’ and ‘Holy Women not Virgins,’ and for this omission there is an obvious reason, viz. that the gospels for those offices are the same as those for ‘One Virgin not Martyr,’ and ‘One Virgin and Martyr,’ and had therefore already formed the subjects of sermons. With one exception, all the gospels correspond with those in the Sarum missal. This exception is in the office for ‘One Apostle.’ Two gospels for this office are treated of by the writer, Hoc est praeceptum, (John xv. 12) and Haece mando vobis, (John xv. 17). The latter one of these gospels alone is given in the Sarum missal. But the Hoc est praeceptum is the gospel for the ‘Vigil of an Apostle’ in the present Roman missal.

Although of course there is a general agreement, the office of the Commune Sanctorum in the Sarum missal differs considerably from that of the present Roman missal. In one direction it is fuller, in another not so full. It is fuller, in that it has a greater number of distinct offices or masses, there being twenty-nine in the Sarum, and only twenty-four (including that for the anniversary of the Dedication of a Church) in the Roman. It is less full, because, though it has more offices for several of the feasts, certain festivals are not represented in it at all, e.g. those of ‘One Martyr not a Bishop,’ and of a ‘Martyr not Virgin.’

Out of the thirty-one gospels treated of by the writer, twenty-one are also found in the Commune Sanctorum of the Roman missal, and ten are different.]
HERE BIGYNNEP PE

COMOUN SANCTORUM,

PE SECUNDE PART OF PEIS BOOK.

PE GOSPEL IN VIGIL OF APOSTLE.

[SERMON LV.]

Ego sum viitis vera.—JOHN xv. [1.]

As comune þing is betere and bifiore oþer þingis, so þis gospel þat is red in comon story shulden men knowe sum what, and speciali preestis, for it is a foul þing þat prestis spelen as þies, and knowun not her owne vois more þan doumbe beestis, and speciali whanne þei reden bileve of holi Chirche, for þes men ben to ferre to preche þis to þe peple. þis gospel of Joon telliþ a parable of Crist, bi which he tauþte his disciplis for to dwelle in him, and for to love him, for ellis þei ben nouȝt. Crist seiþ þus: I am a verri vyne and my Fadir is tylyer of þis vynȝerde. For Crist bi hise twoo kyndis is a good herde; as anentis his godhede, he is þe same ſilier wiþ his Fadir, and as anentis his manhede he is heed of holi Chirche. And for þis seiþ Crist þat, ech braunche þat is in him, and berip not fruyt, his Fadir shal take away, for keper of a vynȝerde fallip þus to clense it, and algatis kepe þe vynes þat þei beren grapis. And, for alle þe Fadir dedis doip also þe Sone, þerfore seiþ Crist þat ech braunche of þe Chirche þat berip fruyt, his Fadir shal purge þat þe bere more fruyt; and so doip Crist, for he sendip water of wisdom to hise braunchis, and herof comeþ grapis to preche to
pe peple and gladen hem in Goddis lawe. Sum men ben braunchis of pis vyne, pat dwellen in holy Chirche, and hit pei ben not here, al if pei lyve of pis vyne, and ben siche pat gaderen gredili Cristis patrimonye, as dymes and offringis and rentis, pat pei seien weren sovun to Crist; and wiþ pis pei done not her office to quykene oþer branchis; and pei ben moost noious branchis pat ben plauntid in pis vyne, for pei maken most oþer men to rote and drye and falle fro pis vyne in to pe fier of helle. For no men ben of holi Chirche, al if pei ben þerinne, but pei men pat beren fruyt and han love wiþouten eende.

After seþ Crist to his disciplis, Now ze ben cleene for þat word þat Y seide to you, Dwelle ze in me and Y dwelle in you. Boþe goode men and iven moten be on sum manere in Crist, sip he is God þat susteynþ al þing; but men shulden be in him bi grace and take moisture of his lore, and so profite to oþer braunchis þat grown in pis vyne, and þus pei shulden take moisture of lore of þis tree, or ellen þei ben not of þis tree, al if her kynde be susteyned in it, but þei grown in kynde to make of a fier in helle. And þis vyne dwelleþ not in a man as for his membre, but if he helpe þis man to make here a good ende, and die in charitee to God and to his Chirche. And so, al if ech man shulde hope þat he be lyme of holi Chirche, neþeles he shulde suppose þis bineþe bileve and wiþ a drede, but if God tellde him specialy what eende þat he shal have. And þis triacle haþ God ordeyneþ aþens preestis and ypocrates, þat þei shulden not discveyve þe puple, bostinge þat þei ben of holi Chirche, for, be þei popis, be þei bishopis, or oþer preestis more or lasse, þei bosten and hewn above her heed, if þei ben proud of þis title. And herfore God, þat loveþ þat ech man shulde be meke, hidþ þis point from ech man þat he woot wole not holde mkenesse. And to conferme þis mkenesse, seþ Crist after in þis gospel, As a sioun mai not bere fruyt but if it stonde stable in þe vyne, so no Cristene man mai bere fruyte but if he be dwellinge in Crist. And herfore seþ Crist bi Matheu, þat a good tree mai not make yvel fruyte ne an yvel tree good fruyt, al if mennis jugement faile in þis, for þese þat God woot þat shal be saved, al if þei synnen for a tyme, neþeles her synful lyf shal turne to hem to fruyt of hevene. And so þese men þat shal be
dampned, al if þei done good for a tym, sít þei han an yvel maner þat quenchif þe goode þat þei done. And so it is unknown to men who dwellif þus in God; but ech man shal do good, supposinge þat he dwellif in God. And herfore rehersif Crist, as he haph seid to his apostlis, I am a vyn, and ȝe þe braunchis, and so þat man þat dwellif in me and I in him, he herif moche frouyte, and uppon þis shulden þe þenken, for ȝe moun do nouȝt wiþouten me. And so shulden we lerne þat vynes ben trees þat profite not to mennis work but in beryng of her frouyte. So shulden preestis in þis worlde shapen her lyf to Cristis Chirche, not to be enheridit here, ne to be riche, ne to fȝete, but to teche Cristis lore boþe in her lyf and in her word. And þus shulde ech man do, but sum more and sum lesse.

And aftir seip Crist, as here is seid, þat who þat dwellif not in him shal be sent out, as a kilt braunchi, and so he shal drye and sib be cast in to þe fier, and þere he brenneph wiþouten ende in þe fier þat evere shal laste. For fendis of helle shulen gadere him boþe in bodi and in soule, and witnesse æzens him how he servede hem æzens God. And over þis bihetif Crist þis privylege to his braunchis, þat if þei dwellen in him and his wordis dwellen in hem, bi brynginge forþ of hevenly frouyte, whatevere þei wolten þei shulen axe and it shall be done to hem. Þese hiȝe wordis þat Crist seip here, tellen witt hid to men. For many þenken þat summe ben fulli lymes of þe fend, and sít þei enden holi men and comen to hevene for her good lyf; and summe ben now holi men, as ancries heremytes and freris, and eftþe þei ben apostataas and dien enemyes of Crist. Al þis is hid þing, for if siche men semen to do yvel, and summe siche semen to do good, as ben many ypocriris, neþele þe ende is hid of which þei shulden take her name. And so God hidif þe qualite of siche werkis of men here, for men shulden not dampe hem ne preise hem to liȝtli. And þus men maken hem over wise in jugement of holi Chirche, and in demyng of mennis lyf, þat þis goþ to hevene and þis to helle, for God haph kept to him þe knowinge of an ende, þat makif al. Þou maist knowe þat þis man is ofþer a bishop or in sich office,
but wheßer he shal wende to hevene, God háp hid þe knowinge fropa þee; and síp after þat he is man of holi Chirche or a lyme of þe fend, it is wel seid þou maist not see þis point of þi bileeve, which ben lymes of holi Chirche, but þou shalt trowe þe general. And so þat þing þat þou trowist here, þou seest not here wiþ þi ȝisen, but þou trowist it above hope, and bileevest it bineþ science. And þus þese wordis þat Crist seǐþ shulden move men to lyve wel, and be meke, and leve pride of ȝiȝenesse of her staat. And wolde God þat men lerneden þis lessoun þat clepen hem men of holi Chirche, and bi colour of þis fendis synne spoilen men þat be undir hem; and in þis raveyn þei shewen wel, þat þei ben not of holi Chirche.

Þe GOSPEL IN ÞE DAÏ OF APOSTLE.

[SERMON LVI.]

Hoc est preceptum meum.—JOHN XV. [12.].

Þis gospel techǐþ Cristis apostlis, and in hem al Cristis Chirche, how þei shulden holde charite ech man to opération. Crist seǐþ, þis is my comandement, þat ze love logidere, after þat forme þat Y have loved you. More love þan þis hap no man, þan þat he put his lyfe for love of hise fendis. And þus, as fisik¹ techǐþ, þei shal þenke on a man þat is fulli hool wiþynne and wiþoute, and bi mesure of such a man þei shulden mesure mennis helpe; and whanne men axen, where is he þat is on þis wise hool, þei seien, þere is noon siche, but siche oon þei ymagynen; and after mesure of þis helpe þei heelen him þat þei delen wiþ. But blessid be oure science, and auctour þerof, for we seien þat þere is a love in þe heed of þe Chirche þat is moost in dede of alle loves þat mai be, and after þis love shulden alle opération be mesurid. But, for fisik shameþ to sette sich a mesure þat þei knowen not, ne witen not where² it be, herfore þei seien þat þer ben two helþis, oon to riȝtwisnesse and anoþer

¹ phisic, E. ² wheßer, E.
to weȝte. Pë firste helpe shulde stonde in a mannis membris, and in his complecioun, in humouris, and in elementis, which in suche acord ben knetid to gider, ðat noon of ðese mai be contrarie to anoðer; and sîp no man is sîk but bî sîch contrarie, ðis man ðat ðei spoken of mai nevere more be sîk. But hoolnesse of weȝte mai falle to a man; and ðat is nevere more wiþouten greet sykenesse, al ðif it be hid by governynge of ðisike. He is hool in weȝte ðat hâp of ech element as moche as he mai worche, wiþ dedes ðat fallen to men, and on ðis wise moun ðei maken men hool. But blessid be oure mesure, ðat Crist puttiþ in charite, for ðat is moost rial and ground of al oþer; and no man mai be saaf but if he knowe ðis mesure, and ðis mesure helpe him to gendre in him charite; and ðus shulden men in dede practise in ðis science, for veyn speche ðerof profiþ not, but harmeþ. Òis love was shewid in Crist, whanne he putte his lyf for love of his hreþeren, and brouȝte summe out of helle, and savede oþer þerfro; and herfore seþ Crist, for practisinge of ðis love and ensaemple ðerof, ðat ðei shulden love togidere as he hâp loved hem; and ðanne ðei ben al hool.

And herfore moten we nedis lerne þe bilee of þe passioun of Crist, and of his deþ suwynge, sîþ after forme of ðis love we shulden love togidere; and wantinge of ðis love is cause of ech synne and of ech harm ðat falliþ in þe Chirche; and perfore men shulden enforce hem more to lerne ðis love. And herfore travelide Poul in techinge of charite, and telden sixteen condiciouns, ðat shulden folowe it. And as many men seien ðat ðei ben hool in bodi, many men seien ðat ðei ben in charite, and loven God over al þing, and her neiþbore as hem sîf, but ðit ðei gabben opynli, as her lyf shewiþ. Òis lore ðat Cristis scole axiþ loveþ none gabbingis, but ðat ðei do in dede as her mouþ confessiþ. And, for Crist hâp teeld ðat ðis hîþe charite techiþ a man to putte his lyf for love of hise frendis, and ðis love is oonli in persone of Crist, he telliþ how hîse apostlis and oþer men ben hîse frendis. Òe ben þanne, seþ Crist, frendis of me ðat han ðis love, if òe done sadli þe þingis þat I bidde you. And so it is of oþer men ðat doen as ðese apostlis, for ðei ben

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1 om. A; perperam. 2 So E; no italics in A.
mesure after Crist to ojær men þat suen hem. And certeyn þei ben not frendis to Crist þat han not þis love, but oonli þei þat han þis love; and siþ þis frendis axiþ þat boþe frendis loven togidir, and þat þe love be shewid in dede, as philosophris seien, if we ben frendis to Crist, it is þus in dede bitwixe him and us.

And Crist seip eft þis word of love, Now shal Y not clepe ʒou servauntis, for þe servaunt woøt not in þat\[e\] what his lord doþ. And þus men seien comounly þat þer ben two manere of servauntis, servaunt of condicioun, and servaunt of mynysterie. And servaunt of mynysterie may ben on two maneris. Sum men be oonli servauntis of greet service outward, and sum ben servauntis of þes two, boþe of privy vountis and to do siche service. And on þis wise þe apostlis wren servauntis of Jesus Crist, as þey graunted comounly in bigynnynge of her epistlis; but on þe former manere wren not apostlis now servauntis, for Crist tawte hem his privyte and lymytide hem to worþi werkes. And þus spekiþ Crist here; and herfore wolde not þe aungel take worshiphe of Joon, as seip þe book of pryvytees, but þe aungel seip to him þat he was his servaunt, and hise breþer boþe, siþ Crist was man in hevane, and he hadde ordeyned so hise place for hise apostlis, and telden\[e] hem privyte unknown to aungels. And bi þis equivocacioun moun men liþli acorden to Cristis lawe; for, as clerkes witen wel ynowþ, contradicioun is not oonly in worðis. And þus seip Crist, þat he seip his e apostlis to be hise frendis from hennesforþ, for alle, he seip, þat Y have herd of my Fadir I have maad kownun unto ʒou. And þis is soþ, siþ Cristis apostlis knewen comunly þe book of lyf, and weren in lernynge of þis book, til þat þei knewen aboven aungels; and apostlis wisten þanne truþ þat weren hid from aungels. And chef cause of þis frendship stondeþ in Crist and not in hem, for þei chesiden not Crist her maisty, but he chees hem unto þis office, and þaf to hem vertue for to do al þe service þat he shope hem to.

Crist ordeyned þree þingis to be fillid bi hise apostlis, first þat þei shulden go forth in to þe world and preche his gospel,

\begin{flushright}
\textit{teilde}, E.
\end{flushright}

\[a\] in þat seems to mean, quæ servant.
and that pis shulde be fruytous to þus converte so myche peple, and sif þat pis fruyt dwelle, boþe in þis worlde and in þe toþer. And þes þree ben grete myraclis amonge alle þo þat Crist dide, for it passiþ mannis work to make fruyt þus to laste in heven. Men moun worche bi mannis craft figuris and bid qualitees; but þis is more wiþouten mesure, þus to fordo synne, and bringe in blis; and þus seip Robert Grosthed\textsuperscript{a} þat þis craft passiþ alkemy\textsuperscript{e}\textsuperscript{1}, for it makip soulis hoole, þat ben betere þan sunne or moone.

And þes þingis myȝten not ben do\textsuperscript{2} but bi special helpe of God; and þus telliþ Crist to his apostlis, \textit{hat what evere þei aken his Fadir in his name, he shal ȝyve to hem}, for þe love of him. And bi þis was shewide þe frendship bitwixe Crist and his apostlis, and here moun we knowe treuþe\textsuperscript{3} þat is nedeful for þis gospel, how þes men ben frendis to Crist þat shulen be saved bi his vertue. And, as it semeþ, oonli þes men weren saved bi Cristis deþ, and oonli for þes men Crist putte his lyf and bouþte hem; but wel Y woot þat Crist ȝaf ynowʒ to save moo men, if þei wolden take his medicine and ablen hem to vertue of it. And here we moun not putte foli to marchaundise þat Crist made, sif savynge of his Chirche is betere þan was lyf þat Crist lefte, for þis deþ was a meene to betere lyf; and al was Cristis. And þus Crist was not peirid by his deþ, but sum wey beterid, sif he loste not\textsuperscript{4} substaunce, but gat o betere habitude. But leve we þis, and speke of love, þat it profite to þe peple; for sif þer is no rewme, ne state of men, ne persone here, þat he ne failiþ in holdinge of þis love of Crist,—for ellis shulden men not þus synne,—alle we failen in þis love þat Crist haþ beden to his Chirche; for sif every man in erþe is niþbore to ech oþer, how shewe we in our lyf ful love to alle þes niþbors?

\textsuperscript{1} alkemy, E. \quad \textsuperscript{2} done, E. \quad \textsuperscript{3} pe treuþe, E. \quad \textsuperscript{4} no, E.

\textsuperscript{a} I cannot find this passage in the \textit{Opuscula} of Grossetete printed in the Appendix to Brown’s Fasciculus; it is probably in one or other of his many writings which exist at present only in manuscript.
Pe Gospel on pe day of oon Apostle.

Sermon LVII.

Haec mando vobis.—John xv. [17.]

Pis gospel telliþ sharpli, as Crist doþ ofte bi Joon, how men shulden love togidere and putte awei þe lettingis, for þe bigynnymynge and þe eendinge of Goddis lawe is love. Crist bigynnep þus and comandeþ hise disciplis: þese þingis I bidde to you þat þe love togidere. No þing is more beden of God þan þis love, and perfor, what man leveþ it, he despisþ God; but al were for to know þe craft of þis love, for it is oon to love a þing, and to wille good to þat þing. Ech þing shulde be lovd after þat it is good, and so God shulde be moost loved, and betere men more þan worse men. And we shulden for Goddis love love yvel men and yvel comunes, and for his love be bisie to ȝive hem mater to be betere, and as myche as in us is, to do good to ech man, sum to make betere and sum to make lesse yvel; but ȝo firstnesse of love shulde we have to us sylf, and to oure fadir and oure modir, savynge ordre of Goddis lawe. Pe firste lettinge of þis love þat Crist telliþ here, is hate of þis world to men þat kepþ þis love, for þe world is so blyndid þat it cleþþ hate, love, and love it cleþþ hate, for it errþþ in bileve. Al oure love shulde stonde in þe love of God, to kepe his lawe and move oþere to kepe it; but many, for defaulte of feþþ, holden þis a foolþ, for gooddis of þis world fallen not to siche men.

And herfore seþ Crist, If þe world hate you, þe shulden welþ wite þat it hatide me bifoþ; and þis worþinesse of Crist þat suffride þus for man, shulde move trewe men in God to suffre for Crist. If þou grutch þe aþens povert, and coveite worldeli worshiphe, wite þou þat Crist bifoþ was porer þan þou, sþþ he hadde not bi his manhede place to reste his heed yonne. If þou grutchist þat þi sugetis wolen not ȝive þee goodis, þenke how Cristis sugetis wolen neiþer ȝive him mete ne herberwe; and ȝit herfore he curside hem not, but dide hem moche good. And if þou grutchþ þat þe world doþ þee ony

1 folly, E.
injurie, and thou profitist to þe world aȝen in love and mekenesse; þenke how Crist biforn þe profitide þus more to þe worlde; and þit Crist suffride more wronge of hisu sugettis þan þou maist. And þus if þou woldist þenke on Crist, how he suffride for love of man, it were þe beste ensample þat þou shuldist have to suffre, and to cese þi grutching; for, as Austyn seip', no man in þis world mai synne but leyng þat Crist taȝte, or grutche aȝens þing þat he suffride.

And for þis, seip Crist after, If þe weren of þe world, þe woldes love þat is his; for þis lawe lastþ in good and yvel, þat o man loveþ lyk to hym, þhe, if þei shulen be damned for þis, as o synful loveþ anoþer for þe likenesse of her synne; and þit þei shulen boþe in helle suffre harm for þis likenesse. And þus it is no kynne¹ wounder if lymes of þe fend haten lymes of Crist, for þei ben so myche contrarie here, and after þe dai of dome; and þis meveþ many men to hate þes newe religiouïse, for þis newe dyversite quenchþ love and makþ hate. þhe, þit þei han sum fendis manere, þat þei haten her owne breþeren, and turmenten hem, for þei holden wiþ Goddis laue aȝens heris²b; and certis þei loven to litil opirs, but feynen, to spoile hem of her goodis. And þus seip Crist to his disciplis þat, for þei ben not of þis world, but he hæp chosen hem of þis world, herfor þe world hatþ hem. And if þou lernest of þe world to hate þus, þi love is quenchid, but if þou hatist bi Cristis laue men of þis world for þis synne, and wiþdrawist hem fro þe world, þanne þou lovest þese men in God. For þe world is takun here, for men overcome bi þe world, þat loven more worldeþ þingis þan Goddis laue, or good of vertues. And of þis world seip Crist, þat it hatþ his disciplis.

And, for þis lore passith oþer in profit and in holynesse, þerfore biddþ Crist hem to þenke on his word þat he hæp seid

¹ kyn, E.
² heres, E.

* The reference is probably to the treatise De Urbis Excidio, the concluding chapter of which especially, in a strain of eloquent and tender reproof, exhorts the Chrisian people of Rome, just after the sack of the city by the Goths, not to repine on account of their terrible sufferings, remembering the unapproachable circumstances of the passion of their Redeemer.

⁺ aȝens heris; i.e. against theirs,—the friars' law.
here to hem, for þanne þei overcome þis world; and herfore seip Joon evangelist, Breþeren, what man is he þat overcome þe world? Certis noon, but if he trowe þat Jesus is Goddis Sone. If we holden þis ground in feip þat Crist is verri God and man, and over þis trowe wel his lyf, and alle his wordis þat he seip, we shal overcome þis world and alle þe helpers of þe fend. For, as Crist seip sopeli, þer is no servaunt more þan his lord is; and so Crist is more boþe in vertue and in worþinesse þan ony oþer man mai be; and siþ Crist suffride þus and tauþte Cristene men þis lore, what man shulde we trowe or sue in our lyf but Crist? And neiþer þe world ne þe fend mai in þis harme a man; and so confort þis Crist his memris bi two knyttengis of treuþe, If men of þis world have pursued Crist, þane þei shulen pursue his membris; and if þei han kept his wordis, þei shulen kepe his disciplis wordis. And þis is list for to knowe; for al þat shal be moot nedis be; for it is more hard to fendis to pursue þe persone of Crist þan to pursue his membris, and þus þe liþter wolen þei do. But oo confort lieþ here, þat as Crist convertide summe þat weren men of þe world, so shulen his disciplis do. And þus þei shulen not worche in weyn to kepe his lawe as he biddip, for eþch man þat shal worche mote have an hope of sum good ende, for dispire of sich an ende wolde lette a man for to worche.

But þe blaydenesse of þe wórld þat turments Crist wiþ his lymes, is unknowinge in bilee¹, þat þei knowe not Cristis Fadir. For if þei knewe wel Cristis Fadir, þanne after þei shulden knowe his Sone, and þat þese two ben o God; but who wolde stryve ægens þis God? And so defeute of bilee, and uncunynge þat men have, gendren al yvel dedes; and þus ech synner is a fool; and if men knewen Goddis power and his witt in þes two persones, how he mai not forȝete synne to punishe it whanne it is tym, þanne shulden men dreyen to synne, for knowinge of þes two persones. But þis feip is oþer weye in wakynge² or in slepynge. But Crist reprofeþ þis unþilee, and seip, if he hadde not comen and spoke not þus wiþ hem, þis synne shulde not þei have hadde. For siþ Crist moste nedis have come in his manhede as he cam.

¹ The words þat—bilee are excluded from the Italics in E.
² oþer away in wanyng, E.
and alle þe dedes þat he dide, have do to men as he dide to hem, þis greet synne shulde not have be, of unkynde untreuþe of Jewes. For þis was gret unkyndnesse, to þis manere trete þere broþer, þat algatis mekelide dide so grete kyndness ægen; and it was an opyn untreuþe, to þis manere hate her God; but now þese Jewes han noon excusinge of þis synne. And herfore seip Crist þus, þat what man þat hatip him, he hatip also his Fadir, for þei ben boþe oo þing. And, for in ech kynde of þinges is oon first, þat mesuriþ alle opere þat ben in þat kynde, þerfore in maner of synnes moote be oon first of alle oþer synnes, and marke alle þe oþer, and þat is þe synne of preestis ægens Jesus Crist. And herfore seip Crist þat, if he hadde not do werkes in hem, þat noon oþer man dide, þei hadden not hadde þis synne, but now þei sizen þis feip, and zit þei hatiden boþe me and my Fadir. But þis synne was not done wiþouten grete cause, siþ God suffriþ noo synne wiþouten avauntage þat it doþ. And so was verified þe writinge in her owne lawe, þat þe Jewes hadden wilfulli Crist in hate.

ON dai of oon Evangelist.

[SERMON LVIII.]

Designavit Dominus Jesus.—Luc. x. [1.]

The mission of the seventy, two disciples.

Þis gospel tellip how Crist sente lesse discipulis to preche to þe peple, and ordeyne for þe apostlis; and þes wordis helpen moche for prechinge of simple preestis, for grete apostlis figuren bishopis, and lesse discipulis lesse preestis. But þese discipulis weren two and seventy in noombre; and so many, as men seien, weren langagis aftir making of Babiloyne*; and alle Cristis

* This very precise calculation appears to be taken from the De Civitate Dei of St. Augustine, who, (Lib. xvi. cap. 3-9), reckoning the posterity of Shem at 27, that of Ham at 31, and that of Japhet at 15. (Gen. x.) considers that the human race, after the flood, was divided into 73, or rather, as he undertakes to prove by a particular argument, into 72 nations. Till the building of the tower of Babel, these nations had all one common language; but after the dispersion which followed as a penal infliction upon that event, there came to be as many languages as there were nations.
disciplis traveliden to bringe to oon men of þe Chirche, so þat þer shulde be oon heerde and oon flok. Þis noumbe of Cristis disciplis sente he, two and two bifoire his face, into ech place þat he was to come to, for to preche and to teche, as weren citees and comune places. And here moun Cristene men se þe falschede of þese freris, how þei letten symple prestis to preche þe gospel to þe folk. For as þei feynen falsely, noon of Cristis disciplis hadde leve to preche til þat Petir hadde zovun him leve, and bi þis same skile, noo preest shulde preche to þe peple, but if he hadde leve of þe bishop or leve of þe pope. Þis gospel telliþ þe falsnesse of þes freris lesynge, for Crist sente þese disciplis to preche comunly to þe peple, wipouten lettre or axinge of leve of Seint Petir; and as Petir shulde not graunte þis leve in Cristis presence, so preestis in Cristis presence have leve of Crist, whanne þei ben preestis, to preche treuli þe gospel. And if þei prechen þus treuli þe gospel as Crist biddiþ hem, Crist is amyddis hem, and þe peple þat þei techen. And alþif prelatis shulden examyne preestis þat prechen þus, neþelis it were more nede to examyne þes freris, þat feynen hem to be preestis, for þei comen in of worse ground, and ben more suspect of heresie.

Lord! what resoun shulde dryve herto, to lette trewe preestis to preche þe gospel freeli, wipouten ony let, or ony fablis or flaterynge, and ȝye leve to þese freris to preche fablis and heresies, and afturward to spoile þe peple, and selle hem her fals sermouns. Certis þe peple shulde not suffre siche falschede of Antecrist. Also Poul, Cristis apostle, techiþ in bokes of oure bileeve, how God wolde þat he prechide to þe peple wipouten sich axing; for fro þe tyme þat he was convertid, þree zeer after, he prechide fast, and axide noo leve of Petir herto, for he hadde leve of Jesus Crist. Siche novelries of pseudo freris shulden prelatis and alle men ægen stonden, lest her falschede growide more and largerly¹ envenymede þe Chirche. Þus shulden preestis preche þe peple fregi Cristis gospel, and leve freris fablis and her begginge, for þanne þei preche wip Cristis leve; and herof shulden prelatis be feyn, siþ þei synnen moche on

¹largerly, E.
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oþer sidis, but if þei ben Antecristis preestis and shapen to quench Cristis lawe. But þe peple comunli trowde in Crist and lovede him, and þus þei obeschen\(^1\) to þis tyme, boþe to Crist and his lawe.

And Crist shewide þe cause and þe nede of þis prechinge, for he seide, Ripe corn is moche, and seve workmen aboute it. But for þis work is medeful, and Crist sovereynli performyde it, þerfore he techiþ his disciplis, to preie þe lord of þis ripe corn to sende hise workmen perto. And here Crist techiþ opinli þat men shulden not bie þis office, ne take no mede of þe peple to traveile þus in Cristis name, for þanne þei puttiden upon Crist þat he sillide prechynge of his word, and 3af leve to do symonye; and boþe þes ben blasfemyes. But Crist stiride his men to go, and telliþ hem þe peril bifoore, but he moveþ hem privly for greet mede to traveile þus; Go ye, seip Crist, for Y sende 3ou as lambren among wolves. And so we have manede-ment of Crist, and autorite to go, and foorme of þis perilous goinge, þat makiþ it more medeful. But Crist þyveþ his prechours\(^2\) foorme how þei shal lyve in þis work; Nyle ye, he seip, bere sachil ne scrippe, ne hosis, ne shoon, ne greee men bi þe weie, ne do þing þat shulde lette þis work. If ony siche helpe to þis work, Crist wolde not þat þei leften it. And þus seip Crist þat, In to what hous ye entren, ye shal first seie, Pees be to þis hous; and if þere be child of þees, youre þees shal reste upon him, and ellis it shal turne azen to 3ou, and so 3oure work shal not be idil. But if ypocritisworchen here, al þif þei seien sich wordis, þe housis and þe peple ben worse, þat þese false men comen among; for Crist doþ þese vertues, in whos name þese prechours speken, and if þei ben þe fendis lymes, comunly þei moven to synne. But Crist wolde not þat hise workmen wenten aboute wiþouten fruyt, and þerfore he biddiþ hem dwelle in þe same hous upon resoun; but þei shulden be not idil þere, ne curious in mete and drynte, but þe peple shulde gladly sede him, and þei shulden homly take þat þei founden, and þei shulden take no newe reule bi which þe peple were chargid. And neiþer part shulde grutchere here to do þus as Crist techiþ,
for it shulde turne wiþoute charge to mede of boþe partis; and
good lyf of sich workmen shulden move þe peple to do hem
good, and devocioun of þe peple should preie hem to take her
goodis. But gredynesse and avarice letten here þes two partis;
and al if boþe þes synnes letten moche fro Cristis work, neþeles
coveitise of preestis is more perilous in þis caas; for avarice
of þe peple mai be helpid on many maners, oþer to turne to
oþer peple, or to traveile as Poul did, or to suffre wilfulli
hunger, and þrist if it falle; but coveitise of wickide preestis
blemyshe þem and þe peple, for comunly þei shapen her wordis
aftir þe ende þat þei coveiten.

And here þenken many men þat siche prechours shulden
be war þat þey come not wiþ myche peple ne many hors
to preche þus, but be paied of comun diete, and þerwiþ redi
to traveile, for þei shulden be noo cause of synne, neþer
of hem ne of þe peple. And here it seneþ to many men
þat þese newe ordis of freris shulden eþer leve her mul-
titude, or traveile wiþ her hondis, and if þei diden boþe þes
two discretely, it were þe betere. Ne take þei not of Cristis
lyf to traveile not, as Crist did not, for neþer þey can ne
moun be occupied ellis as Crist was; but ruþer þei shulden
take of Poul and oþer apostlis for to traveile, and leve her newe
tradicouns, as Petir dide, wiþ oþer apostlis, and profitiden more
þan þes men done. We shulden þenke how Petir lyvède whanne
Cornelius sente after him, how symply he was fed and herborid,
and how he anseride; but now freris reversen Petir and mul-
tiplien newe lawes ¹ and persones of þei ordis, havynge more
þan Petir hadde. And herwiþ þei seien to men þat þei passen
bishopis and popis, and certis þei seien here þe soþe, if þei
menen passinge in synne, for unlevell excesse is passinge
to þes freris. And so as þei varien in abitís, so þei ben
speckid in her ordis, for as þe sect of Sarasynes ², þei han sum
good and sum yvele.

¹ So E; lauþes, A. ² Sarascenes, E.
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IN DAI OF OON MARTIR.

[SERMON LXIX.]

Nisi granum frumenti.—John xii, 24.

Þis gospel moveþ men bi wordis of Crist to martirdom. And first Crist spekiþ þus bi symylitute in kynde. But if þe corn of whele fallinge in erþe be deed, ellis it dwellþ aloone wipoute fruyt, þat springþ þeroft, and if it be deed in erþe, moche fruyt springþ þeroft; and thus it is of Cristis lyf, that licneþ him to whete corn. It is knowyn þing in kynde, and in sentence þat clerkis tellen, þat þe whete corn when it is sowun and wel hilid wiþ erþe, it takþ not a newe foorme, but if þe elde passe awei; and siþ it lyvede sum tyme, it must nedis þanne be deed. And if þis corn be þus deed, it bringþ forþ myche fruyte, for it growþ bi vertue of hevene first to gras and after to corn, and of oo corn comeþ an eere, and in oo eere ben many cornes. So it is in holi Chirche of Crist, and corn þat comeþ of him. Crist is bi sum proprete oo wheet corn among alle, and Crist mote nedis die, and after growe in hise apostlis, and bi hem growþ Crist in myche multitude of corn. And how ever clerkes speken þat þe same vertue is in þe seed þat is after in þe fruyt, and passþ from o fruyt to anoþer, we bileven þat in gendrure of holi Chirche it is þus;—þe vertue of þe firste corn, þat is Crist, of whom comeþ þe Chirche, dwellþ in ech corn þat comeþ in part of þis Chirche. But þis vertue is not an accident wipouten a suget, siþ þis suget is þe secounde persone of God, þat is in ech lyme of þe Chirche, and bringþ wiþ him a grace þat clerkes clepen predestynynge. And so, al þif Crist was bifoire his manhed hed of þis Chirche, neþeles bi his manhede þis corn hadde newe purginge and colour.

After þis mysty speche, knyttþ Crist anoþer word which semeþ woundirful in heerynge of many men. He þat lovet hys lyf, seþ Crist, he shal lese it, and æn, he þat hatþ his lyf in þis world, he kepþ it to lyf wipoulen eende. A man is
seid to love his lyf, þat loveþ it more þan oþer þing; and he is said to hate his lyf, þat puttiþ oþer love bfore it; for þe first is a passinge love, and þe toþer a maner of hate; and bi þis manere of speche many gospellis moun be knowyn, for it is a suynge þing to love a þing and to hate it þus. But in þe þridde word of þis gospel spekiþ Crist more speciali, how þes wordis longen to him, as to ground of good religioun. First Crist seip, If ony man serve to Crist, sue he him; and here he techiþ þat no man mai mynystre to Crist, but if he sue him; and þus moun we se how feyntþi we serve to Crist, for now we leven þe weie of Crist and bowyn bi a wrong weie, and now we gone ever abak to synne þat we han ﬁrst done. And so fewe men or noon suen Crist wiþouten deaute, for we speken of suynge in vertues, and not of suynge of bodiþi weie. And þis suynge stondiþ most in ordynal love of man, and herfore spekiþ þe gospel of love, and of hate next bfore.

But over þis, Crist seip þat, Where he is, his mynystre shal be, and þis is seid suynghli to þe word þat is seid bfore; for it semþ þat word þat it is hard to serve Crist, and herfür telliþ Crist þe meede þat men shulden have þat serven him; for he þat may not lye biheþi þat his servaunt shal be þere, boþe in blis and in place, where Christ is wiþouten eende. And siþ Crist is in hevene and in blis bi boþe hise kyndis, þis biheest shulde move men to sue Crist, al þiþ it be hard, for þe mede of þis suynge passiþ gretli þe traveile herfore; for Crist mai not rewarde men but if he zevæ hem over her traveil; as he mai not zyve a þing, but þiþ he zyve it graciously; for as he is al grace, so he medþiþ and ponishþiþ bi grace. But þe laste word here shulde move a trewe man to serve Crist, for he seip, If ony man serve me, my Fadir shal worshipe him. And þis worship mai not be, but if it make þis man Goddis sone, and so eir² of God, and zyve him goodis of all his rewme; and þanne he is maad worshipful, as we maken worship unto kyngis. And so alle eiris of Crist ben moche more þan erþeli kyngis.

In þis shorte gospel ben doutis, boþe of conscience and

¹ bowen, E. ² beyr, E.
of oþer. First philosophis douten, where seed leesip his forme, whanne it is maad a newe þing, as þe gospel spekip here; and sum men þenken nay, for siþe þe same quantite or qualite, or vertue, þat was first in seed, levþe after in þe fruyte, as a child is ofte lyk to his fadir or to his moder, or ellis to his eelde fadir, afir þat þe vertue lastþ,—and siþ alle þese ben accidentis, þat mai not dwelle wiþouten suget, —it semeþ þat þe same bodily is first seed and after fruyte, and þus it mai ofte change fro seed to fruyte and æþen. Here many, clepid filosophris, glaveren dyversely; but in þis mater Goddis lawe spekip þus, as diden eelde clerkis, þat þe substance of a bodily is bifoþre þat it be seed, and now fruyte and now seed, and now quyk and now deed. And þus many formes moun be togidere in oo þing, and speciali whanne þe partis of þat þing ben medlid togidere; and þus þe substance of a bodily is now of oo kynde and now of anoþer. And so boþe þese accidentis, qualite and quantite, moun dwelle in þe same substance, al if it be chaungid in kindis, and þus þis same þing þat is now a whete corn shal be deed and turne to gras, and after to many corne. But variance in wordis in þis mater fallþ to clerkis, and shewinge of equivocioun, þe which is more reði in Latyn; but it is ynow to us to putte, þat þe same substance is now quyk and now deed, and now seed and now fruyte; and so þat substance þat is now a whete corn mut nedis die bifoþre þat it be maad gras, and siþ be maad an hool eer. And þus spekip holi writte and no man can disproven it. Error of freris in þis mater is not here to rehearse, for it is ynow3 to telle how þei eren in bileve.

The secounde doute in þis mater is of suynge of Crist. It semeþ þat no man sueþ him but if he be martrid as was Crist, and siþ no man mai be saved but if he sue Crist in lyf, it semeþ þat no man shal be saved but if he be martrid. Here men seien truli, þat þere ben two martirdoms, martirdome in bodily and martirdome in wille. Martirdome in bodily nedþ not ech man to have, for many men ben seintis þat dien confessours. Generali to speke, þat man is

1 So E; A has equyvacion.
a martir þat is killid in charite and þus goþ to hevene, be he
killid of just men or ellis of þe fendis lymes. Þis secounde
manere of martirdom shulde ech man have, siþ ech man
shulde more love his soule þan his bodi, and algatis he shulde
more love God and his lawe; and who evere loveþ þus, is redi
to suffre deþ of his bodi for love of his God. And fewe seintis,
or noon, ben here on lyve þat ne þei maken hem martirs for
þe love of God; for to chastise her fleishe þey shorten her lyf.
But Y speke not here of martirdom of glotouns, for þei shorten
her lyf for love of her fleish, and taken to myche fode, wherfore
þei dien sunner; but þe firste men ßasten for love of her God,
and to have pees of her fleish þat ellis wolde be wantoun. But
þip men knowun not evenly þe mesure þat wolde lengþe her lyf,
þes men ben not mensleeris, for bi sich chesinge of þe betere,
þei lesen wysely þe worse; and so done bi Goddis heeste þes
bodily martris. And þus men shulden not folili slee hem silf,
neþer in fastinge ne in etinge ne in cause defendin, but stonde
for truþe if her deþ sue, willinge to maynteyne truþe, and mekelí
to suffre deþ, but not folily desire it.

OF OON MARTIR.

[SERMON LX.]

Si quis vult venire post me.—Matt. xvi. [24.]

Þis gospel techþ as þe former doþ, how a man shulde
ordeyne him for to suffre martirdom. First seþ Crist þat, who
ever wole come after him, he ðut denye him silf and take his
crosse and sue Crist. þat man denyeþ him silf þat loveþ him
silf lasse þan he loveþ his God or lawe of his God. For þis
principle of love moten men suppose, whanne þer ben two
þingis put in a mannis chois, and he ðut nede leve þe toon for
takinge of þe toþer. þat þing þat he leveþ, he loveþ þanne þe
lesse, and þis cleþ Crist denynge of þat þing, and in anoþer
place, hate of his lyf; and þus shulden alle men renounsen her
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goodis, for goodis moven men to love hem in ordre, and if men telen to þese goodes þat her love passe 1 resoun, þanne þei tellen aȝen a her answere to þese goodis. But þis synne is in men and not in goodis, and þis tellinge aȝen is renounsinge of hem; as if a man be temptid to love an erpelí þing more þan his God, for fals understondinge bi which he can not weye þe riȝt weȝte of love, þanne he forsakip his God, for love of þis erpelí þing. And if he staunche þis love, and see to þis þing þat he wole not love it so myche, for þe love of God, þanne he renounsiþ to it, þat here he wole forsake it. Þe secounde word þat Crist seipþ, þat men shulden take her crosse, biddþ þat men shulden make hem redi to suffre for Goddis love; for þe crosse bitokeneþ passioun in Goddis lawe, and þis purpos is nedeful Cristen men to have. And þe pridde word þat Crist techiþ here, þat whanne a man haþ þes two he shulde sue Crist, ech man shulde have in mynde and do it in dede; for he sueþ Crist, þat moveþ himsylf to holde Goddis heestis; for þis weie wente Crist and failide in no tyme to do his Fadris wille. And þis word answeriþ to þe Holi Goost, as two wordis bfore menen þe Fadir and þe Sone, for þe name of God þat is al myȝti answeriþ bi proprete to þe firste persone, and man shal denye himsylf for þis name; and so whanne we preien to God in oure Pater noster, we seien first to þe Fadir, Halowid be þi name. þe crosse bitokeneþ þe persone of Crist, for he was done on þe crosse for love of mankynde, and shape him evermore to suffre bi comun counceil. And here aȝen þis Trinite synnen many men; as, he þat bi mannis lawe is clepid to an office, in which he mai not kepe him sylf in charite, and answeriþ for þis name and takþ on him þis office, þis man synneþ aȝens Goddis name, and denyeþ not him sylf for love of God.

But after Crist yveþ a reule to kepe þese þree þingis, and seipþ, Who so wole make his lyf saȝf, mut nedis lesen it, lyvyngge in þis world, but he þat lesþ his lyf for þe love of Crist shal fynde it, in þe toþer world. þat man lesþ his lyf, þat putþ þe it

1 passiþ, E.

telle aȝen is meant as the literal rendering of re-nuntiare.'
bihinde and ye love of God bfore, whanne ye caas comeþ, and so it is al oon a man for to lese his lyf and denye himself, or ellis to hate himself; and who þat leesþ not his lyf here on þis manere, he failþ in charite and in þe firste mandement. But síþ a mannis lyf is ordeyned of God evermore to be, it is not lost to God, but he, for whom þis lyf is lost, kepþ it wele and ȝyveþ it him in blis in þe toþer world. And who wolde not chaffre þus wiþ his owne lyf? Clerkis witen wele how a mannis soule and a mannis lyfe ben boþe oon in a manere, for lyf is þe firste acte þat comeþ of a mannis soule, and of siche actis taken þingis names, as clerkis cleen angels undirstondingis. And þus spekiþ þe gospel of a mannis lyf, and Crist provede bi resoun þat men shulden chaffare þus, For what profiteþ it to a man, if he wynne al þis world, if he suffre þerbi þeiringe of his soule; or what chaunginge shal a man ȝyve for his soule. Síþ a mannis soule is persone of þis man, he shulde ȝyve al his catel for savynge of þis soule; and síþ a mannis bodi is worse þan his soule, ech man shulde more love his soule þan his bodi. And so he shulde hate his bodi for love of þis soule, and speciali síþ sich chaffare shulde turne him to betere. And ground of þis speche stondiþ in þis bilee, For Crist is to come fro hevene in his glorie at þe dai of doome wiþ his angelis to juge ech man, and þan þat he ȝyve to ech man after his workes. And síþ þis lore of Crist deserueþ hevene blis, he is a greet fool þat wolde not chaffare here. Deaute of bilee lettþ algis þis chaffare.

And for þis sentence is hard for to trowe, þerfore telliþ Crist of his glorifuyng, how he shal shewe him here glorious in his bodi, so þat bi þis shewayng here in þis lyf, þei ben more stablid in þis to trowe in Crist. Sobeli, seþ Crist, Ye seie to you, þere be sum of men þat stonden here, þat shulen not taaste dep, til þei seen me comynge in my rewele in blis of my bodi. And for þis was done in þe kynde of Cristis bodi, þerfore he cleþþ him here sone of a man; and þis was done in dede, as Matheu telliþ after, for Petir, Johun, and James

1 So both A and E; but the sense evidently requires love.

a Or ‘intelligences;’ a translation of the Latin intelligentiae.
werson here wip Crist, and his face shynede as sunne, and Moises and Helye apperiden to him. And þus Crist cam in his rewme, or þese disciplis were dened; and þis was a greet skile to move hem to trowe in Crist, and to traveile bisily to gete sich a blisse, for sich a bodili lyf were wel chaungid for þis lyf. And herefore seid Petir, It is good to us to be here and þerefore make we here þree tabernacles. And þus who so trowip wele bi love of þe gospel, he shal trowe to Cristis lore and lyve þerafter. Ne drede we þes sophists þat Crist seide here fals, whanne he seide ðat he cam here in hisrewme, for as part of þe Chirche is treuli clepid þe Chirche, so part of Cristis rewme is treuli clepid his rewme. And sip many angels comen wip þes þree men, and Crist cam to þes apostlis in dowers of his bodi, it was soþeli seid ðat he cam here in his rewme. For men here ðat shulen be saaf as werson Cristis apostlis, ben clepid his rewme in þe Pater noster; whi not þes seintis in which Crist cam here?

IN DAI OF O MARTIR.

[SERMON LX I.]

Qui vos audit, me audit.—Luc. x. [16.]

Þis gospel telliþ a lore of Crist, how he tauȝte his disciplis, to holde hem in mekenesse, and to flee veyn gloriae, ðat is a fendis synne. Þe gospel telliþ how lasse disciplis, ðat weren two and seventy, comen æZen to Crist wip joie, and seiden, as þe gospel telliþ after, and we shulen reherce. Crist ȝyveþ autorete first to hise disciplis, and spekiþ to hise membris as þes þat shulen be saved, and seip; He þat heerþ you, in þat he heerþ me and he þat dispisþ you, in þat he dispisþ me; for whanne a messanger spekiþ in name of a man, he þat heerþ him or dispisþ him þus, heerþ or dispisþ him in whos name he spekiþ. And bi þis cause shulden men worshipe prechours,

1 So E; A has þis.   2 doweris, E.
and dispisen hem †at prechen fablis or lesingis, for †ei komen in †e fendis name, as her work shewiþ. And þus if prehours holden hem prechinge in Cristis name, þei han ful autorite more þan prelatis moun ȝyve hem; and if a man preche aȝens Cristis biddinge, as in falshed, or for begginge, or for worldelī wynynge, þe autorite þat he hap comeþ of þe fend, for þe fend is his maistir, in whos name he prechĭþ, and þis is þe autour þat lettĭþ prechinge to profite. But Crist telliþ over, how hard it is to dispise him, for, who ever dispiseþ Crist, dispiseþ him þat sente Crist, and so he dispiseþ þe Fadir and al þe Trinite. And þus telliþ Luke þat after þis autorite ȝyven to Cristis disciplis, two and seuenti turneden aȝen, and hadden unskillful joie, and seiden to Crist; Lord, þa, þe fendis ben suget to us in þe name of þee. But Crist shewide þat he was God, and answeride to þes disciplis, not to þe wordis þat þei spaken, but to þe caas þat þei weren inne, and it is propte to God to wite þus synne of þe soule.

Crist seþ to þes disciplis þat he saiþ Sæphanas fallinge fro hevene, as þe þunder floon falliþ fro þe cloud. It is knowun to clerkes of þree þingis in þe þundir, þe liȝtning and þe noise and þe þundir soon. þe liȝtninge is first in brekinge of cloudis, as if two stoons on a nyȝt weren knockid togider, and þis noise is maad of þis hard hurtling; but liȝt is more swift þan heeryng in perseyvyng, as sowne comeþ softe, but liȝt comeþ soone; and þis is cause whi þat liȝt is perseyved bifoire soun, and þus comeþ mannis liȝt bifoire mannis heering. But þe þridde propirte þat falliþ sum tyme in þundir is as it were a whirleynd led aboute among cloudis, and comynge to þe erpe and doinge þere woundris; and þes men þat knowen þe worchinge of þe elementis, how manere of saltis and poudir fleþ fier, and worchip woundir þi craft in mevynghe of currauntes, woundren lesse of þis þundir floon. Sum tyme, it cleþþ grete okes in sundir, and sum tyme it meveþ grete stones fro her place; sum tyme it moltþ þe swerd in þe sheþe, and þit þe sheþe is al hool, and manyþe woundirs; and al þis is maad bi a sutil mater þat is moved fro þe cloudis bi

So E; om. A.
SERMONS.

kynde of þe elementis. And þus seip Crist, þat Saþanas bi pryde, and kynde of Goddis justice, fel sudenili fro hevene, and in þis fallinge he dide woundris, more þan þis þundir floor, and he was stinkynge wip synne, as þis blast stinkip sum tyme. And þis fal of þe fend sai Crist bi his Godhede; and al þis was of pride, þat God myȝte not suffere more, þat ne þe1 angel in hevene was dryvyn þus in to helle. How myche shulden men drede pryde, þat God wole þus punishe, and have no vein glorie þat þei ben Cristis aungels, and don woundris in his name in casting out of fendis! And to be war wip þis pride spekip Crist þus þese wordis, for Crist knewe wel her pryde þat þei hadden in her hertis, and to remove þis pride spak Crist to her hertis.

For as it is ofte seid, þer ben foure passiouns in a mannis soule, in which stondip synne or mede after þei ben reulid. And þes foure ben þes, joie and sorewe, hope and drede of þingis þat shulen come. Summe han joie of sich manere hijenesse, and summe han joie of synne or richesse of þe world, and sum men han sorewe of offer mennis welfare or lesinge of worldeli goodis, for þei loven hem to myche, and sum men han hope of welfare of þis world, and dremen of fallinge þerfro; but men shulden have sorewe for her synne and offer mennis. And þus Crist wepte þries, and ever more for synne, for synne is worse þan ony peyne mai be; and siþ þe worsnesse of þing is matere of sorewe, man shulde have more sorewe for synne þan for ony offer þing, and more joie of heveni blis þan ony worldeli welfare or hĳynge of mannis staat, were it neve:e so myche. And herfore seip Crist, Lo, I have seþun you power to defoule upon neddris2, for many seintis, as Margarete3, hadde power of God to defoule þe fendis þat weren

1 om. E.
2 adderis, E.

St. Margaret, whose legend makes her a native of Antioch in the fourth or fifth century, was so popular a saint in England from the eleventh century, that no less than 238 parish churches are said to be dedicated in her honour. According to the more popular version of her story here alluded to, the foul fiend, in the form of a dragon, visited her in the prison into which the persecuting governor of Antioch had thrown her, and swallowed her up; but immediately burst asunder, so that the holy virgin came forth unhurt. A good general account of her may be found in Mrs. Jameson's Sacred and Legendary Art. See also
in forme of dragouns, and sette her feet upon hem, and heeld hem ægens her wille. And þis was grete peyne to þes proude fendis; and sicch manere of power hadde Cristis disciplis upon fendis, for þei castiden hem out of placis þat þei wolden dwelle inne, and made hem to dwelle in placis þat þei wolden not dwelle inne, and sicch subjeccioun is noious to proude spiritis. But Crist badde his disciplis, joie not þus for suche power. And þus, to speke goostli, þis power to defoule eddris, and to defoule scorpiouns, is power to overcome þe fendis whanne þei tempten men to synne bi stengginge of her venym; and herfore seip Crist, þat he hæf zovun hem power upon al power of her enemye and he shal not noie hem. But nepeles, joie ze not in þis þing to vein glorie, þat spiritis ben suget to þou¹, for þis mai falle to damned men, as many men moun reise þe fend, and make him worche woundris, and þit in alle þes dedis þei moun be fendis as he is; for bi vertue of Crist þes fendis ben þus suget, and þes names han vertue to make þe fend drede kindeli. But Crist techip his disciplis to joie more of þis, þat her names ben writun in hevene, for to come to blisse. Of þis shulde þei have more joie, and holde hem in mekenes. And Crist tellip not þis to men as he dide to þes disciplis, but if he kepe hem in vertues and bringe hem to hevene, for allis Crist tautos hem to joie of þingis þat weren fals. And þus it seelp þat þese disciplis weren confermyd in manere, and þit God leet hem falle, to tache his Chirche to flee pride; and þus Crist leet Petir falle ofte, after þat he was apostle, and þat, to tache prelatis after, to joie not to myche of her staat, for sicch boost is fendis synne, þat stynkþ foule bifoare God, and it is maad in feyned power to loose men and bynde. Men shulden loke þat þei weren certeyn þat God wolde worche þus wip hem, bifoare þei spaken of þis power, and of þe dedis of þat to men, and þanne wip grete mekenes, to moven men to þanke God; for liyng in sicch a caas smatchide a myche more synne, þan was in þes disciplis þat Crist reprevyde so sharpli. For þei seiden

¹ This passage is rightly marked as a quotation in E, but not in A.

Sante Marberie The Meiden ant
Martyr (a version of the legend in
old English prose of the thirteenth
century), among the publications
of the Early English Text Society.
S E R M O N S.

soþ and herieden God, and in þes boþe failen prelatis, for þei for pride feynen falseli and coventise of wordeli goodis, to do þing þat þei moun not do; and þis is a grete synne, for it were synne to a pore man to defoule a kingis cloþis, moche more synne were it to men to putte falsehede upon treuþe. For þis is a foul blasfemye, þat is a foul synne of alle oþere; as, if a man putte on God falshede þat he myȝte not have, he dis-piside in þis his God more þan þe fende durste ever do. It is no drede alle þes popis þat seien þat þey graunten sich pardons, seien opinely ynowþ þat God grauntþ hem bifoþre, and if God knowe hem unworþi to have siche pardon of him, þes popis blasfemen in God more þan evere þe Apostlis dursten. And þus shulden prelatis be war to graunt no þing in þe name of God but if þei weren sikir bifoþre þat Goddis justice grauntide it, and þis myȝte þei not knowe but if þei hadden revelacioun; and if oure prelatis abiden ever sich revelacioun, þey shulden disseyve fewe men or noon in grauntinge of suche pardons; but as Petir held his pees in grauntinge of siche þingis, so shulden þei holden per pees, siþ þei ben lasse worþ þan Petir, and þe comun peple shulde not trowe hem in siche casis.

I N D A I O F O O N M A R T I R.

[S E R M O N L X I I .]

Si quis venit ad me.—LUC. xiii.[26.]

þis gospel telliþ men how þei shulden dispose hem to be discipleþ of Crist, and certis ellis þei shulden not come to hevene; for be he knyȝt, be he clerk, but if he be Cristis disciple þenke he not to come to hevene; and so it were good to lerne þis lore. Crist seip at þe bigynnynge, If ony man come to him and hate not þes seven þingis, he mai not be Cristis disciple, and so he mai not be saved, for ech man þat sueþ Crist is disciple of Crist; and þus knyzþtis in Cristis tyme wereh his privy disciplis, as Joseph of Armaþie, and centurio also, and Nichodeme, and oþer moo, as þe gospel telliþ us. First mut a man hate his
fadir and sip hate his modir; þe þridde tyme mut a man hate his wyf and þe fourþe tyme híse children; þe fiþe tyme he shulde hate his breþeren and þe sixte tyme his sisters; þe sevente tyme moost of alle he moste hate his owne lyf. First men shulden wite here what were to hate in þis gospel, for Crist movéþ algatis to love, and no tyme to envye; but here it is seid biforn þat þis hating is denying, and þís is, lovenge in ordre as þe þing shulde be loved. And so þes sevene þingis shulden be loved, but lasse þan Crist or þis lawe; and þus puttinge bihinde of love, is hating þat Crist spekiþ of.

But þit sophistris replien here and seien þat many men comen to Crist þat han not þes sevene þingis, and no man hatþ but þing þat is. But here men moten lerne to speke to þat witt þat Goddis lawe spekiþ. Here fewe men or noon comen to ordre of Crist, but if þei have fadir and modir oþer next or fer. Sum men have fadir and modir þat geten hem into þis world, and sum men han eldris biforn þat geten sich fadiris and modirs, and alle þes ben clepid fadir in Goddis lawe þat is trewe. Adam and Eve hadde noon sich fadiris, but þei hadden erþe and erþeli þing, and þes myþten be clepid here modirs, and her fadir was mannis kynde; and as þei mosten nede be saved, so God was her fadir. And sip ech word þat Crist seþ is trewe to his entent, and he seþ þat who evere doþ þe wille of his Fadir in hevene, he is his broþer and his sister, and his modir also, no man wantþ here þes frendis, al if þei wanten sich for a tyme; and if mennis eldris ben dede, þanne þei han suche for sum tyme.¹ And mannis fleishe is his wyf, and her workes ben híse children; and so ech haþ such a wyf, and sich children of his wyf; and so siche sevene þingis ben longînge to ech man, and alle þes sevene shulden men love lasse þan þei loven Crist her God. And þis is þe reule of Crist, þat passþ þe þes newe ordris, and who evere loveþ not Crist more þan alle þes sevene wantþ charite, and brekiþ alle Goddis hestis. And þis is veþn reliquion, and so, as we seiden biforn, who ever berþ not his crosse and comþ in lyvyng þat Crist,

¹ a tyme, E.
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mai not wiþ pis be his disciple. And pis is liȝt for to prove, for man shulde hate his own lyf, and so suffre for Cristis sake, and ellis he brekip Cristis ordre; and þes newe religiouse moten nedis breke þis reule of Crist, for þei loven more þes newe ordris þan þei done reule of þe gospel. And þus þei feynen ofte tyme to stonde wiþ lawe of þe gospel; and if men axen whi þei done so, þei seien þat ellis here ordre were loste, but God cursip alle sich ordris þat neden men to hate her God.

And to printe þis in mennis hertis Crist tellip two hard parablis. First he seip, þat, Ech of hem þat woldþ make an nedeful tour, shulde sitte first and aconte dispensis nedeful herefor þat he have to make þis tour, lest he faile afterward whanne he haþ sett þe foundement, and alle men þat seen þis bigynen for to scorn þim; and seien, þis man bigan to bilde þat he myȝte not make an ende. Þis tour is ful nedeful to ech man þat shal be saved. Þis toure is gedringle of vertues, and þe ground is mekenesse, grounded in Crist, þat is mene persone of God; and as no þing mai be lower þan is the myddil of þe world, so no man mai meker be þan is Crist, þat is þis ground. And siþ þis tour mute reche to hevene, men moten nedis take þis ground; and herfore seip Poul, þat no man mai sette oper ground þan is sett, þe which ground is Jesus Crist, for no man is meke but in his vertue. Þe higest part of þis tour is briteysing 2 of charite þat lastip into hevene, for charite fallip not doun, but lastip boþe in þis worlde and after þe dai of dome. Oper vertues put in ordre maken þe myddil of þis tour; and þus we shulde avise us what staat or religiouw were most accordinge to þis makinge, and reste þerinne, and make þis toure. And bileve techip us þat þe staat of Cristis sect is moost certein and nedeful to men, þat wolen arere þis tour, for no man mai arere it, but if he be of Cristis ordre. And þus boþe aungels good and yvel scornen men þat kepþ þis ground, and after wenden fro Cristis ordre, to newe ordris þat ben worse, for bi þis weye mai no man eende 3 þe laste breTai 4 of þis tour. Þis tour is algatis sure to men þat putten hem wel upon þis ground, and holden hem wel þeron, and reulen hem bi þe firste reule, þat þei baggen not þerþro;

1 a, E. 2 britasyng, E. 3 for eende, E reads wende but siþ be have. 4 britayse, E.
for none enemyes mai anoie þat man þat bildþ þus his tour, 
for þe fend and oþer enemyes moune not meve aþens þis ground. 
And þus a man in þis tour drediþ not arwis ne dartis, but arwis 
of Goddis Word overcomen enemyes þat ben wiþoute. Travelil 
þat men hav in vertues, ben dispensis to make þis toure, and 
suyng after Cristis lyf, as many gospels techen bfore, is þe 
hiþinge of þis toure, and growinge into caritie. And þus 
shulde ech man chese his staat, and do þe travel þat fallip 
to vertues, and algatis reule his wal¹ after Crist and his lawe; 
and if he have endeles lastinge here, he mai not faile of þis 
makinge.

But, for it fallip to a werriour sum tyme to go² out and fiþte, 
þe secounde parable of Crist tellip of þis fiþtinge, and seip:
What king shulde wende to do batel aþens anþer kyng, þat he ne 
wolde sitte bfore and þenke wiseli, wþeþer he myþte wiþ ten þousynd 
fiþte wiþ him þat cam aþens him wiþ twenti þousand; ellis whilis 
he ledþ afþer his oost, þe lesse kyng preieþ him of þees. Dyvers 
men unðirstonden þis text to dyvers wþitis bineþe bileve, but 
we weren wonten to telle it þat ech man shulde be a kyng and 
governe þe rewme of his soule bi keping of ten comandementis; 
and good keping of þes ten þousynd is ynowþ to ech man. Þe 
toþer kyng wiþ twenti þousend, is commonli seide þe fend, for 
Joob seip þat he is kyng upon alle children of pride, and he 
doubliþ þen þousynd of werriours aþens Crist; for he passþ fro 
unyte, as doþ þe noumbe of two, and aþens ech comandement 
he hap cautil of double entent. And if þese ten þousynd ben 
alle þo þat helpen Goddis part, and þes twenti þousynd alle 
þo þat loven doubleness to helpe þe fend, it semeþ not aþens 
Goddis witt, siþ his words ben plentenouse. If þis first king 
wexe coward and traiþour to his God, and love richesse of þe 
world and worldeli friendþip of men, and lustis of his bodi, 
and þees fro pursueris here, he sendþ message to þis fend, and 
many tokens of cowardise, and preieþ him of his þees, and 
he wole serve unto him; and þus failen many men from hardy-
nesse in Goddis cause and bicomen þe fendis servauntes, for 
þei seien þe world axþ þis, and so, þat þat her enemye axþ, 
þei graunten to him cowardli.

¹ walle, E. ² So E; goene, A.
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Oper wittis of pese wordis for shortnesse we leven here. But Crist sei in pe ende oo word of greet hardynesse; Deus ech of you hat renounsi not to alle pingis hat he hafi, mai not be my discipelt. For the she tellip azen to pe fend, to pe world, and to his fleish, pat his higheste charite is stabli sett in God, and he lovep noon oper pingis but in ordre of pis love; and Deus pe world, pat hapi lest colour, is overcome bi Goddis clerk, and pe fend, wi mannis fleishe, ben also overcomun wi pise word. For if a man have no desire ne no lust regnynge in him, pat ne he tellip pe same tale how he moost lovep his God, alle his enemies ben descumfitid bi pe first pousynd of his oost. And here men seien sopeli pat men renoumsen on many maneres; as Crist wi his apostlis forsoken pise world wi lastinge havynges, for he hadde no more of pise world but as him nedide to his lyf; and Deus shulden preestis do, pat entren in to Cristis ordre, for ellis goode and yvele wole scorne hem of her folie. But ech man pat shal be saved, renounsip alle pese worldeli goodis, when he levep alle hem biiynde to love more God and his lawe. But pis is pe fouleste synne pat fallip here to ony preest, to love more pese newe ordes pat to love Cristis lawe. Bi pis pe fend overcomep manye wi pe dart of ypocrisie, whanne he maka pise servauntis, pat ben oblishid to serve him, to seme holi to pe peple, and seme hooli to lyve so. And herfore Crist lyvede comun lyf, and hisi apostlis after him, and weren not weddid wi pese newe signs, as now pes ypocrizis ben. And herfore Crist, to purge his Chirche, distriede pes treet sectis, Phariseis, Saduceis, and Essees also, but pe fend bi his cautel hapi brougt inne now oper pree, as monkis, chanouns, and freris, and many braunchis of hem. And sich fals religiou, bi pe lawe of Antecrist, is bitwixe prelatis now and preestis pat ben her sugettis, but reule of Cristis lawe wolde pat alle men shulden renounsen to hem obedience or oper service but as pei shulden obeishe to Crist.

\[1\] lost, E.  
\[2\] world, E.  
\[3\] So E; wolden, A.
\[ \text{Sermon LXIII.} \]

\textit{Nihil operatum quod non reveletur.}—\textit{Matt. x. [26.]}\footnote{The true rule for preachers.}

\begin{quote}
\textit{Dis gospel conforti\̆p martiris, and telli\̆p hid syne \̆pat is in \̆pes newe ordris, biside \̆pe ordre of Crist. Crist sei\̆p \̆pat, \textit{nouz is hilid, \̆pat ne it shal be shewid and no \̆ping is so pryvy, \̆pat ne it shal be knowun. \̆Pes wordis ben of bileve, for alle \̆pingis ben knowun of God, and \̆pat myrrour shewi\̆p for\̆p \̆pe moost pryvy \̆ping in \̆pis world; and at \̆pe dai of dome, whanne bokis shulen ben opin, \̆pe whiche bokis ben mennis soulsis, and conscience of hem, \̆panne shulen bo\̆p gode and yvele knowe mennis \̆pou\̆tis and her werkes. And herfore shulden alle men hardeli stonde bi treu\̆pe, and speciali bi Goddis lawe, for \̆perinne li\̆p no shame; and herfore biddi\̆p Crist \̆pat, \textit{\̆pat he hap seid in derknes, \̆pe shulden seie oft in li\̆t, more comounli and more clereli, bo\̆p in lyf and in word. And \̆pis reule of Cristis ordre shulden men kepe, but algatis preestis, and to \̆pis entent biddi\̆p Crist \̆pat \̆pe have herd in her eere, \̆pe shulden preche opinli upon platrowes of housis, for \̆pis shulde \̆pe comunte of men betere undirstonde; and \̆pis Wolfe Crist, \̆pat alle \̆pingis \̆pat God speki\̆p to eeres of soule, shulden \̆pe heceri\̆s speke for\̆p, and drede no worldeli muk in housis. And \̆panne men prechen aboven hilingis, lyvynge comun lyf as briddis, and taken noon heede to worldeli goodis \̆pat ben closid wipinne housis. But, for sich prechinge axi\̆p hardynesse and marti\̆rdom, \̆perfore Crist conforti\̆p hise to drede not sleynge of bodi; \textit{\̆Nyle \̆pe, sei\̆p Crist, drede \̆pe se \̆pe \̆pat slee \̆pe bodi; and mai not after slee \̆pe soule, ne lette God to quyke \̆pat \̆ping \̆pat \̆pe killen, and to make \̆pat betere; but rafere drede him \̆pat hap \̆power to leese bo\̆pe \̆pe bodi and soule into helle for evermore, for to dwelle \̆pe in peyne. Ne ben not two sparowis sold for \̆pe leste moneie in chaffar-\̆inge,—for, as Luk telli\̆p, fyve ben sold for two \̆fer\̆pingis,—and \̆\̆sit God ordeyne\̆p for alle \̆pes foulis. And si\̆p \̆pes foulis ben}
\end{quote}
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litil of prys and uncerteyn in þeir mevynge, and ȝit God ordeynep for hem whanne ever þei liȝten upon þe erȝe, more God shulde ordeyne for ech man, þat haþ a soule to Goddis ymage; and speciali for such men þat serven truli to her God more þan ony fowl may, for þei ben not able to serve þus. And siþ God ordeynep þus for foulis, oþer men moten graunten God unwise, or moche more he shulde ordeyne for men, þat ben hise trewe servauntis. And þis resoun þat Crist makeþ moveþ trewe men þat han witt, to be hardi in Goddis cause, and for him to suffre martirdom; and no man can avoide þat oþer men shulden þus suffre, or ellis be untrewere to God, as ben þes heretikes. And þus seip Crist of Goddis wisdom, þat alle þe heeris of his disciplis ben noumbried to Goddis knowinge, and noon of hem mai fulli perishe; and siþ þes heeris of mennes heedis ben leste worþi of ony part of man, and noon of þese mai perishe þus, how shulden betere partis perishe? And þus ben martirs confortid to putte her bodies for Goddis lawe, for no part of her bodi mai þus perishe to harme of hem; and myche more soulis of siche men, and alle vertues of her soule, mai not perishe fro hem, for þe soule mai not be quenchid. And nedli after þe soule moten sue þe vertues þerof, as aftir a mannis bodi suen quantite and figure; and no drede, as God wolde ordeyne, whanne he restorip a mannis bodi, noumbre and quantite and figure þat is moost acordinge to þis bodi, moche more God ordeyneþ to the soule vertues þat it shulde have.

And trewe we not to foolis here þat seien þat þis ben accidentis which God mai putte bi hem sylf, and freeli take þes fro men, so þat neiþer in bodi ne in soule man hadde ony siche accidentis; as who seide, men moun be, al if þei hangen not on God, for siche a dependence of men is accident unto hem. Þese foolis moten lerne predicamentis and ten kyndis of þingis, and þanne þei moun se her foli, and folie of heresie þat groundþ hem. And of þis conclúdiþ Crist treuli to hise apostlis, þat þei shulden not wille to drede, siþ þei ben betere þan many sparewis; and oure bileeve techþ us þat God keþ þingis after her valu, for if ony þing be betere, God makþ it to be betere.

And so Crist spekiþ here a word þat shulde move men to
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Stonde wiþ him; 

\( Ech \ man \ patrian \ knowelich ^1 \ me \ before \ men \ bi \ bøpe \ my \ kyndis, \ I \ shal \ knoweliche \ patrian \ before \ my \ Fadir, \ to \ patrian \ mannis \ worship. \) Here we shulen undirstonde, patrian confessioun, patrian Crist nameþ here, is not rownynge in preestis erere, to telle him synne patrian we han done, but it is grauntinge of treuþe, þe which is aþerty seid, wiþ redines to suffre þerfore, what ever man denyþ it. And so patrian man confessiþ Crist patrian grauntiþ patrian he is God and man, and al þing patrian wole sue herof; and þese ben ful many treuþis, for al þe gospel patrian Crist seip, such a man mut confess, and al patrian sueþ of þe gospel, and þis displesiþ to sinfull men. And certis a man confessiþ not Crist, þat he is bøpe God and man, but if he confess of Crist þat he may no weie synne, ne gabbe, ne bere fals witnesse of no word þat patrian Crist hæþ seid. And so ech word of Goddis lawe is trewe, siþ Crist witnessiþ it, and ech treuþ þat is perinne; and so ech prest confessiþ Crist before men, þat tellen^2 to hem þat Crist is bøpe God and man; and þus Crist seip and mai not lie. Certis if a man seie þus, and faile not for cowardise to telle Goddis lawe to men þat synnen, he puttiþ him wel to martirdome; and every sich man, seip Crist, he shal confess to his Fadir. And þanne Crist wole confessiþ þis man to be trewe in Goddis cause, and worþi to have mede after worþinesse of his traveile, and to be crownyd wiþouten eende in hevene before þis greet lord, þat falliþ not to ȝyve such servauntis but if he ȝyve hem blisse of hevene; for gretnesse of siche a lord rewardiþ not lesse his knyþtis. O Lord, if a man þat travellþ in werre wiþ a capteyne, wolde telle myche^a þat þis capteyne wrooth of him to his kyng and seide þat he were a good werriour, and worþiþiþ and hardliþ travelide in þe kingis cause, and herefore þis erþe kyng shulde have him and hisse comendid; how mouche more were it worþ þat þe persone of Jesus Crist comendide bi his owne word a trewe servaunt unto God, and telde þat God shulde þenke on him and ȝyve him blisse wiþouten ende! And as confessioun of treuþe is to be loved of Goddis knyþtis, so confessioun of cowardise is to drede of men in erþe; and þus

^1 knoweliche, E.  
^2 telliþ, E.

^a That is, ‘would esteem it a great gain.’
defaute of bileve letiþ men to travele in Goddis cause. But wordis of þis gospel ben yvel undirstonden of manye, þat, bi logik þat þei han, graunten þat alle þe heeres of seintis be knowen wel of God, but God woot not how many þei ben, for noon heeris ben þes alle, siþ þanne þei weren wipouten noumbre, and ech greet þing in erþe were maad of partis indevysible. And siche errors þat men han in logik and in kyndeli science, bryngen men yn, as heretikes, to graunte after many fals þingís. Soþ it is þat God knowiþ alle þe partis of a man, and how many þese partis ben, for þei ben fewe to Goddis wit; and so ech þing þat God contynneþ¹ is maad of partis indvysible, and o gretter þing haþ mo siche. But þis is hid to mennis knowyng, but after þei shal wite it wel, whanne God shal shew it hem in hevene.

OF O MARTIR AND BISHOP.

[SERMON LXIV.]

Circuibat Jesus civitates.—Matheu ix. [35.]

Þis gospel telliþ of þe office þat shulde falle to Cristis disciplis. And so it telliþ how prestis shulde now, boþe more and lasse, occupie hem in þe Church in servise of God. And first, Jesus dide in dede þe lore þat he tauge. þe gospel seþ how, Jesus wente aboute in þe cuntre, boþ to more places and lesse, as citees and castellis, to teche us to profete generali to men, and not to lette to preche to a peple for þei be few, and oure fame shulde be lil, for we shulden travele for God, of whom we shulde hope oure þank. Castels ben undirstonden litil touns, but wallid, as Jerusalem is clepid a cite bi Matheu; and siche grete castels ben clepid citees. And no drede Crist wente to smale uplondishe touns, as to Bethsage and to Cana in Galile; for Crist wente to þese places, where he wiste to do

¹ conteyneþ, E.
good and he travelide not for wynnynge of moneie; for he was not smyttid wiþ pryde ne wiþ coveityse. He cheeze him places to teche in þe peple þat were moost able, as synagogis among Jewis. For synagogis weren among hem as churchis ben among us; and Crist was not lettid þanne bi feyned jurisdiccioun, to preche among þe folk, al if he wrappide þe prelatis; for þis use in iurisdicioun was not þit brouȝt in by cautel of þe fend, as it now is, to lette trewe prechinge. Crist prechide not fables, but þe Gospel of God, þat was good tipingis of þe kyngdom of hevene. And Crist was not occupied al oonli in þis prechinge, but in heeling of syke men, and men þat were in languishe. For two men hav nede of bodili heele. Sum men hav sykennesse or hurtinge in her bodi þat men moun see at iȝe, and þis is clepid sykennesse. Sum men have languishe, and þat on two maneris; as sum men ben syke wiþinneforp, but þis sykennesse is hid to men, as men þat ben in fevers or oþer sykennesse of herte; and sum men ben syke bi sorewe of herte, and of discounfort of þingis þat fallen hem. And þese men were in languishe, and ofte weren heelid by Crist; and if we hav not virtue to hele þese two sykennesse, þit we moun have wille to do þat is in us, and conforte and preie for men þat we delen wiþ.

And Crist ceeside not here to do good to men, but he ordeynede hise disciplis many, to traveile among men, þat þe people weren not alle travelid in heering of oo man. For, as þe gospel telliþ, Crist saie þe peple travelid in þis, and hadde mercy on hem, for þei weren travelid and ligginge as sheþ wih-oulen heerde; and þanne he seide to his disciplis, þere is myche riþe corn and fewe workmen þereaboute, and þerefore preie þe God to move his prechours, boþ in bodi and in soule, to traveile among þe puple, as gospelleris shulden. Crist bade hem wende forþ and preche to þe peple þat þe kyngdom of hevene skal come, al if hem þenke þat it dwelle longe; for many peplis skal turne to God fro þeir synful lyf, and afterward come to hevene whanne þat þei be dede. þe, þe dai of dome comeþ ful fast, siþ no tymne mai come faster þan þis dai comeþ. For, as clerks seien, tymne passiþ as swiftly as ony tymne mai passe, or come into þis world.
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And herfore Crist ȝiveþ power to hise disciplis of þis office, to heele speciali foure manere of siikenessis. First, he ȝiveþ hem power to heele men wiþynne forþ; but þe moste power in þis was of her wordis, þat Crist wrouȝte wiþ hem, and heelide þe peple in soule; and, for Crist wolde not þat his power were idil, þerefore he biddþ hem heele siike men. After he biddþ þese disciplis reise up dede men; þat mai be undirstondun upon two maneres. For þese disciplis hadden power to reise up dede men in bodi, and to quykene bi Goddis grace dede men in soul; and þis virtue is more, siþ þe soule is betere þan þe bodi. þe þridde tym þat Crist ȝiveþ hem power to heele mesele men; and boþ siche syknessis and ordes of hem shulde be more to charge in soule of a man, þan þei shulde be of a mannis bodi. Meselrie is comuni figure of heresie, or of ony oþer synne þat fouleþ men wiþoutenforþ, for þus done bodili meselis to men þat dwelle among hem; and herfore in þe eelde lawe shoulde meselis stond afer. And al if many synnes deþouleþ men bidse hem, neþeleþ heresies done myche harme. And þerfore men shulde bisili distrie sich heresies; as a greet heresie is, in dowinge of þe Church wiþ lordship of þe world, as it is now dowid. And breeþ of þis heresie fouleþ many clerkes, for it is seied in oþer placis þat Goddis lawe forbedþ sich lordship to clerkes, for alle þei shulden lyve in mekenesse and povertie. And to distroie þis heresie shulden lordis travelen bisili, for þis myþten þei do liþly and leve fulli to draw awei her owne goodis, by which þei harmen clerkes. For it were inowþ to us to have offringis and dyymes, siþ Crist and hise apostlis holden hem paien on lesse. þe fourþe and þe laste dede þat Crist bad hise disciplis do was, to caste out fendoþ þat dwelliden in men. And as God ȝaf hem power to cast hem out bodili, so he ȝaf hem power to caste hem out of þe soul, whanne he ȝaf virtue to his wordis to converte þe peple, and of a soule þat first was nest of þe fend, to make a nest of God, to dwelle by grace and by virtues.

And after þes foure vertuþ Crist telleþ hem a maner þat þei shulen algatis kepe in worchinge of Goddis work. For Crist seþ þus: þe token of God freely, and þerfore ȝyve freeli youre traveile to þe peple; and þanne shal it be medeful,
and ellis is it symonye. And here is begginge of prechours
forfendid of God, sið it is an hid sillinge of prechinge
of Goddis word. And for it is a privy synne, covered wiþ
ypocrisie, þis synne is the more and foulier before God;
and herfore techeþ Poul, to be siker of þis syne, þat preestis
shullen be paied wiþ mete and wiþ hilinge. It is leefull
us to take þese two, þat ben nedeðful to þis service of God,
and þere wiseli ceesse. But freris and preestis þat gadren
hem tresure, and maken riche churchis and housis wiþ oþer
gere, and algatis fynden a peple superflic and charginge,
passyn Goddis lawe bi a cursid ground, for Seint Poul biddiþ
þat he þat traveleþ not, shulde not ete by colour of þis office.
And preisyngge of preier þat is now brouȝt in, is a foule synne
among many preestis.

And Christ telliþ after how hise disciplis shulen bere hem
among yvel peple þat þei traveilen among, and so moun
þei liȝtyer dele wiþ good peple. Christ seþ, I send you
as sheep among wolves, and perfore loke ye be prudent as
nederis, and symple as dawes, for warnesse of þes two is
ynowþ to you to dwelle among men. And it is comunli seid
þat wolves be beestis of raveyne, and yvele for to daunte fro
spoilinge of meke beestis; and whanne þei bigynen to soule,
þei turnen her snowte to hevene ward. And so pseudo-clerkes,
for her greet covertenise, spuylen symple men as wolves doone
sheepe; and Crist cleþ þrewe men in God sheep for many
enchesouns; and as þe wolþ wiþ ȝoulinge makiþ sheep to flokke
for drede, so prelatis bi cursinges maken men to gadere hem
and ȝyve þese prelatis goodis þat þei wolten have. And þit þei
hav anoþer cautel þat þese ypocrisies usen: þei seien þat þei
wolten ȝyven suffragies goostli to menis soulis þat passen al þis
worldis good; and to coloure al þis ypocrisie þei turnen her
snowte to hevene, and seien þat God haþ ȝovun hem power to
ȝyve pardone as þei wolten. And here þei ȝoulen comunli,
and blasfemen in God, and where Crist biddiþ hem be sheep
dwellinge amonget wolves, oure prelatis, by þe fendis lore, ben
turned to þe contrarie, whan þei stranglen and killen men and
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spoilen hem of her goodis. And occupiying þat Crist bad hise prestis traveile inne is put al bihynde, and fendis service is putt before; and þus flokkis of sheep ben maid of lewyde men, and flokkis of wolves ben maid of preestis.

But Crist biddip hise disciplis be prudent as eddis. An eddre hap þis witt; whanne charmeris come to take him, þe toon of his eere he clippiþ to þe erþe, and wiþ þe eende of his tail he stoppiþ þe toþer. And so Goddis children, whanne þei be temptid to synne, þei þenken mekeli how freel þei ben maid of þe erþe, and wiþ greet þoust of her dep, þat shal come, þei witen not whanne, and drede of her jugement lest þei ben demyd to helle, þei stoppen her oþer eere and kepen hem wel fro synne. And þus þei hav prudence, þat God hap þovun to serpentis. And symplenesse of douves stondeþ in þis; þei hav no clawis to fiþte as oþer foulis, but whanne þei ben assailid of foulis of raveyne, þei tristen not to her owne strengþe, but fallen on stones, and þese haukis dreen þanne to smyte at hem, lest þei frushe\textsuperscript{1} her owne brest at þe hard stoon. So Cristis disciplis knowen mekeli her freeli, and liþten on þe corner stoon, þat is Jesus Crist; and þanne fendis of helle dreen hem to swippen\textsuperscript{2} at\textsuperscript{3} hem, lest þei harmen hem siff at þe stoon of hurtinge. And þus Cristis disciplis ben goostli dowves. But þis lore is forþete\textsuperscript{4}, and þe fendis lore take\textsuperscript{5}.

IN FEESTIS OF MANY MARTIRIS.

[SERMON LXV.]

Elevatis Jesus oculis.—LukE vi. [20.]

Þis gospel telleþ foure confortis of martiris, in whiche þei shulden have joie for pursuynge of Crist. þe gospel telliþ how, Jesus lifte up hise izen on hise disciplis, and seide þus;

\textsuperscript{1} flusche, E. \textsuperscript{2} ossayle, E. \textsuperscript{3} om. E. \textsuperscript{4} forþete, E. \textsuperscript{5} taken, E.

\textsuperscript{8} The bearing of this passage on sermons has been already discussed the authorship and date of these in the Introduction.
Blessid be pore men in spirit, for þe, þat þus be pore men, han þus certeniþ þe kyngdome of hevene. Þis poverte is a virtue þat men shulden first sue Crist inne, and it is hard for to use, and þerfore telleþ Crist þus þe meede. And þese men þat hav þis virtue, as weren Cristis apostlis, hadden here þe rewme of hevene, for þei hadden here Crist; and Crist, heed of þis rewme, is ofte tymes clepid þis rewme; for he is þe moste jewel of al þis rewme, in which ech part of þis rewme is many weies conteyned. And þus he mai by many causis be clepid al þis rewme. In þat he is God, he is ende of al þing, and in him we lyven, we moven, and we ben; and for him, as ende, we done alle our dedis. For in virtue of him al his Chirche worcheþ, and by þis moun men se wher men ben lymes of Holy Churche; for þanne þei ben groundid in his lyf, and his worchinge. And if þei ben in stait or werkes ungroundid ¹ in Cristis lyf, it is licly to men þat þei ben Antichristis disciplis; for Crist seip and mai not lye, þat, Who is not wiþ me, he is ægens me; and so he is wiþ Anticrist. And so if stait of þese freris be not groundid in Crist, and þei gabben many maneres upon þe lyf of Crist, as in begginge, and asoilinge, and oþer feyned lesyngis; þanne it is a tokene þat þei ben not of holy Chirche, but Sæþanas children whos dedis þei done. For if þei ben more bisie aboute worldeli goodis, þan þei ben of dedis þat vertu techip to do, þanne þei ben wiþ Mammon, and he ledip hem. For worldeli goodis, þe which Crist clepid Mammona of wickidnesse, ben moost souþ of sich men. And so þis fend ledip hem, and siþ unevene departinge of suche worldeli goodis makiþ dissencioun, þhe, þe mooste þat here is, it semþ þat sich freris ben cause of þis dissencioun. But þei have goodis in comun unevenly departid; þhe, more þan hem nedide ech man to have ynowþ; and þus þis nest of Mammon genderþ many strives, and þit þe fend techip hem to seie þat þei have nouþt, but ben more pore in spirit þan waren Crist and his apostlis. But certis þis is not poverte of which Crist spekþ here, siþ Crist spekeþ here of poverte in spirit, to mekeli holde men in havynge of wordli goodis, as moche as nedip to sus-

¹ þat ben not groundid, E.
teyne her office. And he Þat forsakeþ þus for þe love of Crist worldeli richesse, and fame Þat comeþ to þe world for havynge of siche goodis, is a pore man in spirit, as Crist spekiþ here. For þanne he synneþ not in havynge of goodis for to make feestis, ne to make riche housis, ne noo costli ornamentis þat fallen to men, but it is now3 to him to hav foode and hilinge. And al his bisynesse is to helpe Cristis Chirche, and he disseyeþ not men in multitude of coventis, but lokiþ how fewe prestis moun profite to Cristis Chirche, and how he mai holde þe office Þat Crist haþ bedun in his lawe; for his desire stondeþ in þe kyngdome of hevene. And þus ben vertues knyttid oon wiþ anoþer, and algatis in preestis, þat hiþer suen Crist. And, for suche poorte bringþ ofte tymes in hunger, þerfor in þe seconde blyss seip Crist1, Þat þei ben blessid now. And it is no drede Crist spekiþ of sich hunger Þat is vertuousli take2, after þe Trinite; for a þeef mai hunger ægens his wille in prisoun, and a werriour mai hunger for an yvel ende; but loke who haþ power to robbe mennis goodis, and ȝit he spareþ upon resouns, for þe love of God, and þat man hungrþ as Crist spekiþ here. And þus alle þese comunes of þes newe religiouse, þat3 wasten Goddis goodis, for fame of þe world, or love of her belye, synnen ægens þis virtue; and þei shulden hungrþ now to dep, as done þese martirs, or þei wastiden þus þese pore mennis goodis. And if þei han greet wille to do þis for Goddis sake, þei han now a maner of blis, delitinge in Goddis lawe; and it is no drede þes men shulen be fillid, whanne þei shulen have full joie in pleyn filling of Goddis wille. For after þe day of dome noþing shall displesse hem, for þei shulen wel wite þat God ordeyneþ al þings þanne, rjþ as it shulde be, by resoun of Goddis wille. And þis ordenaunce is so faire and so plesinge to seintis, þat þei shulden be fulfillid in wille of her soule, and þat shal be inow3 to hem to boþe her kyndis. For þanne þei shulen have no hunger of þing þat þei desiren, for þei shulen be fulfillid in bodi and in soule, and þus trowen seintis þat hungre endþ here.

Þe þridde blisse is seid to þe same entent.  

Blessid be þe þat

1 So E; A includes 'seip Crist' in the italics.  
2 taken, E.  
3 So in E; om. A.
Wepen now, for ȝe shulen leȝe. It is known that whose lastiȝ full in Goddis lawe he mut nedis wepe here, for enemys to Crist; for suche Goddis proctours shulen be pursued, for reprieveynge of synners ȝat ben Goddis enemys, and he is a coward aȝens God ȝat spekiȝ not boldly aȝens synne. And herfore Joon Baptist and Cristis apostlis token ensaumle of Crist to þus repreve synne; and þus ðei wepten for pursuyte, and algatis for synne, sȝp Crist in all his þre wepingis wepte for oþer mennis synne. For he loveþ nowȝt wel Crist and his Modir þat sorowȝ not for her injurie, and despite þat is done to him. And sych men of charite shall leȝe at þe dai of dome, for Salomon seip, þe Churche shall leȝe in þe last dai; and sych gostli gladness is clepid here leȝyng¹, for bodiȝi leȝyng is fer fro þis purpos. And of þese þree pursuyngis ȝat comen to þe Chirche, þe firste is leste of aþe, þe secound is myddil, and þe þridde is moost; and þus it is of þe ² þree rewardis.

Þe fouȝt word ȝat Crist seip conteyneþ þre pursuingis; ȝe shulen be bessid, seip Crist, whanne men shulen hate yow, and whanne ðei shulen departe yow, and after repreve yow. Cristis servantis on many maneris ben departid here. Worldeli men fleen hem, and leven hem by hemisif; þei ben cursid of Anticrist, and put out of chiris, and þei ben partid in prisouns fro oþer men of þe world. And in alle þes statis þei suffren reproves, and if þei ben certeyn, bi lore of her bileve, þat þei suffren in all þis fro cause of her God, þei moun be bessid and joiful for hope of þe ende, as a syk man gladli wole suftre peyne whanne he hopiȝ þerbi to come afþir to hele. And joie þat seintis shulen have whanne þei suffren þus is a manere of blisse þat þei han here, for it is more joie þan all þese worldli lustis. And, as Crist telliȝ, þese þat stonden in Cristis cause, han her names cast out as cursid men and heretikes, for her enemys ben so bynde, and so depe in her synne, þat þei clepen good, yvel, and yvel, good. But woo be to suche. And Crist biddiȝ his servantis to joie þat dai in her herte, and shewe a glad countynauunce, to men þat ben about hem, for certis her mede is moche in þe blisse of hevene. And þis word coun-

¹  leȝyng, E.  ² om. E.
fortiþ symple men, þat been clepid eretikes, and enemyes to þe Chirch, for þei telled Goddis lawe; for þei ben somynned and reprovyd many weies, and after put in prison, and brend1 or kild as worse þan þeves2. And maistris of þis pursuyng ben preestis more and less, and moost pryvy freris wip le singis þat þei feynen, as Crist was pursued wip Caiphas and oþer preestis, but privyli wip Pharisees þat weren his e falsesse2 enemyes. And þis gospel is confort to alle þat ben þus pursued.

But certis as tradiciouns maid bise Goddis lawe, of preestis and of scribis and of Phariseis, blyndiden hem in Goddis lawe and made it dispisid, so it is now of Goddis lawe by newe mennis lawis, as decretals and decres. And þe Sixte, wip Clementyns3, done myche harm to Goddis lawe, and enfeblen bileve. And þus done þese newe reulis of þese þree ordris, as þei harnem rewmes and cuntries þat þei dwellen inne. But remedie agens þis is used of many men, to dispise all þese lawis whanne þei ben aleggid, and seien unto men þat alegggen hem, þat falsehede is more suspect for winstes of siche lawis, siþ Goddis lawe tellþ al true þat is nedeful to men. In þis laste pursuyng of our modyr, þat is greet and perilous, haþ Anticrist moche part agens Jesus Crist, and feynþ bi ipocrisie þat he haþ þe righþ part. And defaut of bileve is ground of all þis errour.

1 brent, E.
2 falsest, E.

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a See note on p. 201.  
b The compilation of the Sixth Book of the Decretals was made by order of Boniface VIII, and promulgated by him in 1297. It is entitled Sextus, or the Sixth, as following and being supplementary to the five books of Decretals published by Gregory IX, in 1234, (on which see Milman's Latin Christianity, vi. 163):—

Gregorii noni post libros quinqu æcator
Sextus; nomen habens ordinis a numero *.

The Clementines were first published by Clement V at the Council of Vienne in 1312; they were afterwards given out in a fully digested form by John XXII in 1316. They treat of various points of canon law and church discipline, and are supplementary to the Sextus.

* These lines are in a fine copy of the Sextus in the Bodleian Library, edited by Giles Perrius, 1572.
PE GOSPEL] OF MANY MARTIRS.

[SERMON LXVI.]

Cum persecution vos in una civitate.—Math. x. [23.]

This gospel tellis a medicine of Crist, how his martirs shulen
do in tyme of her pursuynge. Crist biddiþ hise disciplis to flee
from her enemys; for vertuous pacience and siche manere
cowardice ben armes to Cristene men to overcome her enemys.
For hope of our victorie is in Jesus Crist, and þerfor we trustyn
in him þat he doþ þe dedis. And so Crist and Anticrist
striven togidere, and oon seip þat he haþ þe just part and þe
holi; and þe toþer reversiþ him and seip þat he haþ Cristis
part. And as anentis Cristis lawe þat men shulden gronde
hem inne, Anticrist haþ founþ þis cautel, to seie þat it is
myche fals. And if men seien þat Goddis lawe mut nedis
be soþ to Goddis entent, þei graunten þat þis is soþ, but þe
entent lieþ in hem. So, as princes of prestis, and Phariseis
joyned wiþ hem, wolen interprete Goddis lawe, aff hem shal
it be taken; and so her exposicioun is more in auctorite þan
is text of Goddis lawe; for by þe firste, men shulen be demyd.
And by þe cautel of þe fend þese ben maid myþt to þe world,
and by þis þat þei þyven to seculer men, and to sum clerkis,
þei hav many comunes wiþ hem, and of all manere of men,
and crien þat þus seip holi Churche, to which we shulden algatis
trowe, and do worshipe to it, and reve it nouþt but þyve it more.
And þus is Cristis cause feld doun for a tyme, but þit þere ben
many men stondinge þerewiþ, as þei doren. And þis reule han
many men to juge wel in þis mater; if a man lyve riþ lyf boþe
to God and to man, and have for him text of Goddis lawe, and
witt þat sowneþ to charite, and symplenesse in lyvynge, wiþ
forsakinge of worldeli liif, it is tokene þat þis man haþ þe riþ
tpart of Jesus Crist. For Anticrist drawiþ evere to pryde and

1 So E; A reads for, which gives neither sense nor syntax.
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to coveitise; and herbi moun men knowe what man holdip wiþ Anticrist. But beware with ypocrisie, for þat bigiliþ many men to trowe þat men ben Cristis children, alþif þei ben þe fendis lymes. And so bi loore þat Crist techiþ men shulden trowe to sich mennis workes more þan to her wordis, for þei speken ofte in striif, and Poul seip þat he and hise breþeren have noon custum to speke þus.

Þe first biddinge þat Crist biddip here stondip in þese wordis, þat we shulen kepe. And whanne many enemys shulen pursue you fro oon citee, þat þe have dwelt inne, fle þe into anoþer; but ever wiþ discrecioun, for if þis were ever keppt no men nedide to be martris, for þei myȝt fle fro toun to toun, and neveere countre wiþ her enemys; and þus Crist wiþ his disiciplis hadde do agens his owne lore. And here men studien wiþ rulys, whanne þei shulden flee þus, and whanne þei shulden stonde and suffre. In boþe þese taȝte Crist, and it is no doute to men þat ofte it profitip on boþe sidis to fleen from oo toun to anoþer, for bi þis fleinge ofte tymes hav boþe þe partis space to turne to Crist and profite, more þan þei shulden to suffre deþ, abidinge in oo place. And here Y can¹ not grounde of God, þat we shulden fle oure enemys, riȝt whanne þei folowen us and seen us in mennys presence, for þis were yvel cowardice, to feere men þat salien þis fiȝt; but Crist spekiþ here, as we þinkeþ, of hid removynge before. And þus Crist fledde ofte tymes, and hidde him among þe peple. And if þou axe whanne men shulden flee, and whanne stonde in Goddis cause, certis sum tyme men ben constreyned to come, and to answere for Crist; and so, if we lyven good lyf and lette not þe love of Crist, he shal teche us for to flee and to answere as we shulden.

But algatis be we war þat we confess þat falsheede, and denye not Cristis lawe, for no cais þat mai falsse. If we undirstonden not þe witt, graunte we þe forme of þe wordis, and confess we þe trúþe of hem, al if we witen not which it is. And þus faile we not God in liif, and he wole not faile us in loore; for þus he biholip þat we shal have in

¹ kan, E.
sich hour what we shulden speke. But here it is good to us, if we ben in myche pees, to knowe and love Goddis lawe, for bi þis we moun betir lyve, and wite how we shulen answere men whanne we ben opposid of fendis. But þit men miþen replie here þat Cristis lore were not ynowʒ, for men miþen liþlii take a citee where alle weren enemies and noon trewe men. But lyve we wel, and Crist wol teche to what a citee we shulen go; and herfore seip Crist after, Sōblī, I see to you, ze shulen not ende þe cītes of Iṣraeile til þat mannis sone come, at þe laste dāi of Jūgement. A flōk of trewe men is citee of Iṣraeile, for þese men seen God, and ben redi to helpe hise lymes, whanne þei be þus pursued, and suffre Cristis disciplis to traveile, and lette Anticristis bi her power; and such flōkkis shulen not faile, boþe to worche and to helpe. And in þe dāi of dome it shal be no nede to axe help, for þanne shal Cristis baner be rerid, and alle hise enemies shulen lurke.

And herfore seip Crist after, þer is no disciple abou þis maistir ne servant abou his Lord. But þus was Crist himself pursued, and þis forme kepeth Crist, in fleyinge and in answerynge. And it is ynowʒ to þe disciple þat he be as his maistir, and to servaunt þat he be as his Lord. In þis þing and bi þis weie shulden Cristis servauntis kepe mekenesse and hope in God, and wite wel bi her blyve þat þei moun not do wiþouten him. And herfore seip Crist; If þei cleftiden þe good Lord Belzabub, moche more þei shulden dorre1 myssie þe servauntis of þe Lord. And oþer pursuytis and bodili deþ shulen sue aftir, siþ Crist hadde hem, and herfore Crist telliþ ofte, how hishe shal be sikir of þese. And herfore Cristis armure is good to ech to Cristen man to hav, for it noieþ not hevely, neþer in pees ne in werre, and it makinþ Cristen men hardi ægens þe fend and alle hise lymes. And herfore seip Crist to hishe; þerfore drede þe hem not; for we have betere ground þan þei, and more helpe þan þei have; but our helpe is spiritual, hid to þis world and for² þe toþer. And þis lore is nedeful now in þis world, for Anticrist; for he hæþ turned hise clerkis to coveitise and worldli love, and so blindid þe peple and derkid þe lawe of Crist, þat hise servauntis ben

1 dore, E; meaning dare.  
2 fro, E.
SERMONS.

pikke, and fewe ben on Cristis side. And algatis þei dispisen þat men shulden knowe Cristis liif, for bi his liif and his loore shulde help rise on his side, and prestis shulden shame of her lyves, and speciali þes hiȝe prestis, for þei reversen Crist boȝe in word and dede. And herfore oo greet Bishop of Engelond, as men seien, is yvel paiëd þat Goddis lawe is writun in Englis, to lewde men; and he pursuþ a preest, for he writþ to men þis Englishe, and somonþ him and travelþ him, þat it is hard to him to rowte. And þus he pursuþ anoþer preest bi þe helpe of Phariseis, for he prechide Cristis gospel freeli wipouten fablis. O men þat ben on Cristis half, helpe ðe now aȝens Anticrist! for þe perilous tyme is comen þat Crist and Poul telden bifoire. Butt oo confort is of knyȝtis, þat þei savoren myche þe gospel and han wille to rede in Englishe þe gospel of Cristis liif. For afterward, if God wolde, þis lordship shal be taken from preestis; and so þe staaff þat makþ hem hardi aȝens Crist and his lawe. For þee sectis fiȝten here, aȝens Cristene mennis secte. Þe firste is þe pope and cardinals, bi fals lawe þat þei han made; þe secounde is emperours bishopis, whiche dispisen Cristis lawe; þe þridde is þes Pharisees, possessioners and beggeris. Alle þes þree, Goddis enemies, travelien in ypocrisy, and in worldli covetise, and idilnesse in Goddis lawe. Crist helpe his Chirche from þese fendis, for þei fiȝten perilously.

ÞE GOSPEL OF MANY MARTRIS.

SERMON LXVII.

Poniæ in cordibus vestris.—Luc. xxi. [14.]

Þis gospel tellþ, as oþer bifoire, how Crist helpþ his martris, whan þe fend and his lyms pursuen hem for Cristis lawe. For Christ suffrیدe for þis lawe al þe peyne þat he suffride, and his martris affir him suffrیدen for þis same law. Crist tauȝte

1 om. E.  2 om. E.  3 route, E.  4 So in E; A has oo.  5 So E; emperour, A.  6 dispensen, E.  7 So in E; xie. A, perperam.
opinli his lawe to þe peple, and þe hiȝe preestis of þe temple, 
wiþ Scribis and Phariseis, þouȝten þat þis was ðæsens hem; and
þus þei weren ðæsens him; and speciali, for Cristis wordis weren
ðæs þese þre mennis pride, and ðæsens her covetise, in which
þei disseyveden þe peple, but not bi so oþyn blasfemye as
prelati use to daie. For þei seien, þat þei han power of Crist
to asoile alle men þat helpen in her cause, for to gete þis
worldliworship, to asoile men of peyne and synne, boþe in þis
world and in þe topir, and so whanne þei dien, fle to hevene
wipouten peyne. And þus durst not þe fend fynne for þe tyme
þat Crist was here; and siche blynde leden blynde men, and
maken falle boþe in þe lake. And þus þis is a perilous tyme,
for many men ben dryvun to helle, and þat is more perilouse
þan ony deep þat þe1 bodi haþ here, and þe peril is þus more
for ðeronymge of ypocrisie; and we moun not see þis peril, ne
fele it in þis lif. And many witnessis ben ðæsens þis, and seien
þat it is fals; but, as þei seien, we han þe fals part, and þei han
þe goode religion. And so þis is more perilous þan sectis de-
partid fro Crist, as Jewis or Sarasines, or oþer heþene men;
for þese worchen bi ypocrisie and ben myþti heretikes, and
medlid among trewe men, and þus her fþting is feller.

But neþeles Crist supposiþ þat hise disciplis shuþen sue him,
and lyven wel after his lawe, and þei shulen be sure ynow3, for
þanne God shall fþte for hem ðæsens enemies of Crist. And
herfore bigynnþ Crist and biddþ hem, putte in þeir herris, not
to þenke before wiþ bisinesse, hau þei shulen answerwe to her
enemies, for Crist shal answerwe þanne for hem, and ʒyue hem
þanne mouþ and witt, to which alle her adversaries mouþ not
æȝstonde ne æȝenseiþ. And siþ þei ben not þo þat speken, but
þe Holi Goost spekiþ in hem, it is soþ þat God himself shal
answerwe for his part. It is seid ofte tymes, þat maner of
speche of Goddis lawe is to denye þe instrument, and to
graunte þe principal, and þus seþ Crist þat þei speken not but
þe Holi Goost in hem. But Crist prophecþ of betraying þat
hise shal hav: þe shulen be betrayed, he seþ, of your owne eldris,

1 So in E; om. A.

* See page 136, note.
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of youre breperen, and youre cosyns, and youre owne frendis. This lettre was verified of martiris of Crist, for alle þes foure consentiden to deþ of þese martiris, for þei þouȝten obeishe to God in killinge of Cristene men. And as Cristis lawe seþ þat sevene þingis shulden be hatid for Crist, as fadir and modir, wyves and children, breþeren and sistren, and mennis owne liif, so feynede þe fend þat þese foure frendis shal be hatid of man, for þe love of Anticrist. And þus many fadiris killiden her owne children, for þei confessiden Crist; and þus, as we suppose, þe Jewis diden. And to spoken generali of Anticristis sociale, þese popis ben fadiris, and her churches ben modirs, þese bishopis ben breþeren, and oþer prelatis ben cosyns; secular men for muk ben to þese prelatis, frendis, and alle þese betrainen Cristene men to turment, and putten hem to deþ for holdinge of Cristis lawe. And þis is more perilous for her fals feyning, for þei seien þat her Chirche mai no weie faile þat haþ lastid so longe in truþe and in holiness. And þus as Crist was pursued and kild of þese foure folk, so bi cautels of Anticrist ben men kild to dai. And þit þe pope is clepid holieste fadir, and þe bishopis hise breþeren, and abbotis his cosyns, and seculars ben frendis þat helpen to þis pursuyte; and þese foure goostli frendis ben most perilous. And Crist telliþ hise discipis how þei shulen be hatid of alle worldly men, for þe name of him; and þus ben men hatid now bi lesengris of freris, for þei holdin þe gospel and lawis of Crist. But Crist conforteth hise and telleþ hem þat no part of her bodi shal perishe at þe daie of dome; so þat an heere of her head shal not tanne perishe. And armere to fiȝte wiþ in Cristi men is pacience, for wiþ þis fouȝte Crist, and alle hise gloriousse lymes; and in þis pacience bihetiþ Crist to hise, þat þe shulen hav her soulis in pees, as Crist hadde his soule.

And here moven many men, siþ Cristis lawe is opyn, and his part is knowun good, and Anticristis wickid, and many devout men holden wiþ Crist, what moveþ Cristene men to move hem not to fiȝtinge? For siþ þe fend haþ but þree partis for his side, Cristene men myȝte soone meve to fiþ þe þree partis.

1 om. E. 2 Cristen, E.
For popis and bishopis and prestis of her sort, and þese new religious, possessionis and beggeris, and seculer men þat ben disseyved wip hem, ben þe moste enemys to Crist and his lawe. Whi wolen not holi seculers risen aþens þese þree, siþ þei moven seculers to fiȝte aþens her enemys? Here men þenken þat Cristene men shulden algatis loven þees, and not procure to fiȝte; for Crist is a pesible kyng, and he seþ in his gospel þat in oure greet pacience we shulen have oure victorie; and Crist shal fiȝte for us. But many men þenken þat seculer men helpe here, not to fiȝte bodili aþens Cristis enemys, but wipdrawe her conceile and consent fro þes þree folk; and þis dede were sure before God and man.

And siþ þese false freris camen last into þe Churche, it semþ þat at hem shulden men begynne to practise, for þei semen lest groundid or rotid in malice, al if her malice be sharpest, as seveere of a daie. þe rote of possessioners semþ harder to overcome, for þei ben rotid in richessis and frendship of þe world; but liȝtli miȝten trewe men discomfite þese freris, not but wipdraw her defence and consente to hem; and þese fendis shulden faile, as þei began wipouten ground. And here moun men liȝtli se wheþer seculers ben trewe men, for þei confessen communli þat þei loven Crist moost, and wolen stonde bi his lawe, and also bi his ordenaunce, for to suffre deþ, but þei failen in þes wordis. Hem nedþi neþer to fiȝte ne dispends ne traveile, but consent not wip þes fendis, ne defende hem aþens Crist, and þei shulden soone be destroyed among hemself. Wel Y woot þat begging holdiþ hem up, and oþer lesingis upon Crist and his Churche. Comune not wip hem, ne þyve hem noon almesse, bifoore þei hav declarid þese¹ gabbageis aþens bileve, and liȝtli shulde be an ende of þese false prophetis. Her preriis, and her massis, and oþer false signes, ben signes þat þei chaffaren wip disseyVyng þe peple. But dwelle we in þis bileve, and tell hem boldli þat þei witen never² wher þei ben fendis; and if þese ypocris ben fendis, her preriis doþi harm, þhe, boþ to hemself and to oþer men; and no man þat hadde witt shulde chaffare wip her preriis. And herfore biddþ Crist

¹ þe. E. ² not. E.
SERMONS.

flee from false prophetis þat come in cloþing of sheep, but þei ben wolves wiþ men, and her comyng is moost to ravishe bi ypocrisy.

As anentis her massis, a man þat hadde Cristis hert shulde seie hem soþeli, þat he wolde not truste þerynne, but if þei purgiden hem of heresie, of which þei ben suspect. It was taken as bileve, longe bifoþ þat freris cam ynne, þat þe sacriþ ost þat men seen at iþe is verrili Goddis bodi, bi vertue of hise wordis. Freris seien þat þis is fals, but it is an accident wiþouten ony suget, and þei gilen þe pepele. If a man charge Goddis lawe more þan fals in name of sich liyris in þe world, þat doþ myche harm. Comune he not wiþ hem, ne 3yve hem no goodis, before he have asaied weþer þei ben here heretikes; and seie he, þat Crist takþ not service of man but if he 3yve betere æcen, and þus shulden prestis done; and herfore, but if þe frere bringe under his comune seel, what is þe sacriþ oost, þei wolen not comune wiþ him. For, as Seint Joon seþ, whosþer gretþ an heretike shal hav of his synne, what man ever he be. And þus, if a trewe man love more Crist þan þe worldis fame, he mai liþli wiþ worship avoide sich fals freris. And certis þis dede were unsuspect boþe to God and man. For if þei hav a riþt bileve, þei shulden telle it for charite, and if her bileve were fals, þei shulden wille þat it were distroyed. And algatis þei witen wel, þat þei varien in bileve fro þe gospel and comun pepele, and many weies disseyve men. For þei tellen not what is þat, but þat þis is Goddis bodi. But þese idiotis shulen wite; þat boþe þere and everywhere is betere þing þan Goddis bodi, for þe holi Trinitie is in ech place. And so men axen what is þat, þat þe prest sacriþ, and aftur brekiþ, and þat men worshipen as Goddis bodi, but not accident wiþouten suget. And þus defaut of riþt bileve, practisid among þes freris, shulden dampne hem as heretikes, and take hem in her owne falsshed.

And so, bi alle oþer signes þat þei feynen in religioun, aspie how þes freris camen inne, and by whos auctorite; for if þei camen not in bi Crist, þat is dor of his Churche, þei ben þeves and heretikes, and stien up by þe roof. And þis proof were not costli, ne chargious, ne shamefuþ; and
for leyng of siche proosfe synnen men ful grevously boþe ægens Crist and his Churche, þe, ægens freres þat men þenken þei helpen. And þis shulden alle men do in dede, and stire oþer men þerto, sum bi love, sum bi drede; and þus shulden oure bilee be shewid, and rotyn heresie, hid now, shulde come to proof wiþ false lesingis. And here moun men wel assaie wheþer clerkis and knyþis wiþ her comunes love God as þei confessen, and doren stonde bi his lawe; for he þat is necligent in so litil þing for to do, wolde soon be necligent in harder þing of more charge.

þe Gospel of many Martris.

[SERMON LXVIII.]

Descendens Jesus de monte.—LUC. vi. [17.]

þis Gospel tellip, as we hav seid, how þe peple lovede Crist, and how Crist þafe hem loore þat was betir þan al þis world. And so Crist, as a good knyþ, stood now in hil, and now in pleyn, now in water, and now in erþe, to telle þat he was Lord of alle. But here he stood in the pleyn feld, for þer men miþten betere heere him; and þus he techip, þat he loveþ all men þat holden his lawe, be þei clerkis, be þei knyþis, or laborers þat maynteynen tilþe. And þus Crist cam don of þe hill, and stood in a feldi place, and to him cam dyverse folkis, as sum men þat weren hise disciplis, and a great multitude of oþer folk fro fyve places. Sum men camen fro fer countrees of þe lond of Jude, and sum camen fro Jerusalem, and sum camen fro þe see, and sum men fro þe lond of Tire, and sum fro þe lond of Sidon.

And men seien comunli þat men sueden Crist for fyve causis. Sum men camen to sue Crist, to lerne of him Goddis lawe; and þus sueden þe apostlis Crist þat speciali sueden him, and oþer trewe men, bi riþt entent to be informed in Goddis lawe, and speciali at þis tyme; for now þaf Crist his lawe, and so he ordeynede many folk to here alweie þis newe lawe. þe secounde cause þat men sueden Crist for, was to be heelid of
Crist. For alle manere of sykenessis of men he helid wiþouten hire; and so seip þe gospel here þat many folkis camen to Crist, to heere him, and to be helid of syknesse þat þei were inne. Þe priddie whi folk sueden him was for to se wondris of Crist, as men traveilen in fer weie to se pleies in þe world; and more woundris þan Crist dide was not seen bifoer ne aftir. Þe fourþe cause whi sum folk cam to Crist was cumpanye, þat oþer men cam to Crist, oþer for oo cause or for oþer. And þus þei camen to se Crist for sum cause þat here is seid. Þe fiftie cause, and þe worste, þat sum men camen to here Crist was to take him in wordis, as ofte tymes camen hise enemys, as Phariseyes and oþer servauunts of hise preestis of þe temple.

And þus seip þe gospel here;—pat men travelid of þe fëndis weren heelid, and al þe peple covetide to touche Crist, for vertue wente out of him, and helide alle men. And Crist cast up hisen in hisen disciplis, and seide foure wordis, as it is told bifoer in þe firste sermoun of martirs. First seip Crist, Blessid be þe pore men, for zoure is þe kyndom of God; and comunli such men þat ben pore of goodis here, ben also pore in soule, as seip þe gospel of Matheu. For sum men ben proude in her herte of fair chirchis and hise steplis, and sum of faire zate housis, and sum men of hise kyckynes; and so if pryde were fulli layd doun, few or noon wolden hav sikh housis. And if all þe good were weied þat comeþ of sich costli þing, it were but pure fantasie, and worldli pryde þat comeþ þerof. And if we þenken how Crist was pore, more þan ony of us mai be, we shulden not bolue for richesse of þe world, for no good þat comeþ þerof. And so we shulden understonde þese þree wordis þat come after;—Blessid be þe þat hungren now, for þe shulen aftir be fillid. Blessid be þe þat wopen now, for þe shulen leizze aftir; and blessid shulen þe be whanne þat men shulen hate you, and whanne þei departen you fro Cristene men þat þei loven, and whanne þei shulen reprove you, and caste out your name as iuel, for þe holde wip Cristis lawe, al if it displesi to þe world. 

1 for to see pleyes, E.  2 se, E.  3 kyckynes, E.

* See Sermon LXV, p. 201.
3e wipine, and make 3e glad countynunce wipouten, for lo zoure neede is moche in hevene; and by þis weie 3e deserven it.

As it is seid bifer, God haþ many enemyes þat feynen bi her profession þat þei ben pore as was Crist, and þit þei han worldi goodis, boþ meblis and unmeblis, and þei disturblen Cristis ordre, and contreis þat þei dwellen ynne, as monkis and chanouns wip her degrees, and ofþer possessioneris. Crist techeþ hem to be pore for love of him, but wilfully; and þei crepen ynne to be riche, bi falsenesse of ipocrisie; and þus ben lordis and rewmes poorid, to whos stait shulde 1 richesse falle; and þit boþ prelatis and lordis and ofþer folk ben so blyndid, þat þei holden up þis fendis cause and cursen trewe men þat letten it. And it is oon to do þus, and to curse Cristene men, for þei holden on Cristis side ægens þe fend, and his helpe; for he haþ so blyndid men bi unblivele of Goddis lawe, þat dedis þat ben ægens it ben holden good and nedeful: as twelve lawis ben aleggid how God ordeyneþ clerices to lyve, and confirmede hem bi his Sone, and bi liif of his apostlis, and þit men seien þei ben acursid, þat travelen to kepe þese lawis. But as þei feynen, þei han prelatis, and þe higeste is þe pope; and but if men have leve of hem no man shulde take þes goodis aweie. And heron ben lawis ordeyned and cursingis wipouten nombre, and lordis ben undermynded wip sutiltees of the fend; and but if God send a gretter 2 grace, þis heresie wole not be amendid, but if some conquest come, or þe laste daie of dome.

Bi many causis moveþ the fend to holde þis cause ægens ægens Crist, for herbi he haþ foundun pley in clericis, knyțis, and in comunes; for clericis herbi ben proude and worldli, and leve þe office þat God haþ bedun clerkis do to profite of his churche. For herbi clerkis ben ofþer lewid or occupied aboute þe world, so þat prechynge and techinge ben aweie for þe more part; and þes prelatis above seen þat bi þe same skile þei shulden wante her worldli richesse, as wantide boþ Crist and Petir, and herfore for to flee þis eende þei maken meenes in weie biferore. And síþ averise 3 drieþ more, þes

1 So E.; shulden, A.  
2 grete, E.  
3 averise, E.
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prelatis ben þus coveitous, and seculer lordis boþe, for lordship is taken fro hem. And þus þe pore comuns bien ¹ þe trespas of Goddis lawe, but not so myche as þes two oþer; for þei bien it more in helle. þe fend traveleþ bisili to holde þis nest ægeþ Crist, and ypocrisie of preestis is þe beste mene þat he haþ; and þus officeris of Cristis hous ben so turned in her service, þat if ² Peter were now alyve, and saie how preestis weren occupied, he wolde seie þei weren not preestis of Crist, but proctours of Anticrist. But, for þe fend dredþ him þat Cristene men shulden knowe þis wille, to ³ fordo þis fendis falsehede, and turne ægeþ to Cristis lawe, and algatis þat Cristis preestis shulden lyv in povertie as he dide, he haþ cast anþer weie to preise preiyinge of siche preestis, and telle þat it is more worþ þan al þe lordship of þis world boþe to lordis and to her eldris, and specialy at mydnyȝt, as þese religiouze preien. But here men speken ægeþ þe fend, and seien he blyndþ here but foolis, for men wilþ þat God loveþ more just liif þan siche preier, and it is a fendis folie to chaunge office of Cristis servaunts. Crist haþ ordeyned hise preestis boþe to teche and preche hise gospel, and not for to preie þus, and to be hid in siche closettis; and þus a liif of oo just man, þat held wel Goddis lawe, were worthi many such preiers as now ben procurid folily. And if þe fend alegþ þe Psalm, þat Davþ ⁴ roos at mydnyȝt to confesse to his God; whi shulden not we now do so? But here we axen þe fendis clerk, sîþ Crist dwellide at nyȝt in his preier, and in þe dai twaþ þe peple, and dide his workes privly for to flee ypocrisie, why shulden not preestis now do þus? and sîþ þe same Psalm seþ, Lord how Y have loved þi lawe, al þe dai it is my þouȝt, whi shulde we not holde þis more? sîþ it is moche betere þan to rise at mydnyȝt. And if Baal preest feynen þat þanne God mai here wele, and þanne lordis of þe worldlyven in lustes in hers bedde, and good it is þat God be sued ech hour of sum men; wite þei wele þat God lokþ betere to goode dedis þan to sich preiers. But neþele devoute men þat be disposed to preie þanne, God forbode þat þei shulden be lettid; but make we

¹ hyen, E. ² jif, E. ³ and, E. ⁴ Davyt, E.
no general reule to undispose men on þe dai, whanne þei shulden do worke of liȝt. Wel I woot þat þeves usen to worche on nyȝt and slepe on þe dai, and so usen þese neue þeves þat comen in abov þe dore; for Crist koude have taȝt þis preier if it hadde more plesid him, as he koude hav taȝte to preie, and lefte to preche his gospel to men. And sìp þich religiouse moun not preie God for hemself to come to hevene, for þei shulen be damned, how moche wole God here sich fendis preier for oþer men! However þe send seip here, þe office þat Crist haþ ordeyned of his servauntis in his hous is þe beste of oþer.

Pe Gospel on feeste of many Martris.

[Sermon LXIX.]

Cum audieritis praedia.—LUC. xxi. [9.]

Þis gospel tellip to Cristis martris, what peril shal falle on his house boþ before and after here, er1 þe dai of dome come. And þus shulden martris be confortid bi witt and ordenance of Crist, and suffre wiþ good wille, riȝt as þis Lord haþ ordeyned; for certis he ordeynep for þe beste, to his worship and to his Churche.

First spekip Crist to his discipulis; and biddip hem, þat þei shulden not be adred, whanne þei shulden here batels and contekes wiþ men2; for þes þingis moten nedis be, but zìt is not anoon ende. And þanne Crist seide to hem of seveñe perilis þat shulden come. Þe first peril of þese seveñe is, þat oo folc shulden rise azens anoþer, as Cristene men ðiþen wiþ Sarasynes, and oo secte wiþ anoþer; and þus boþe eldir men and þonger hatiden divisioun in þe peple, for suche divisioun is cause of bateillis and strives among men; ne it is not oo peple, but for oonhede of lord and lawes. And þus alle Cristene men shulden holde of Crist and his

1 or, E. 2 wiþynne, E.
lawe, and obeisses he to his bailies, in as myche as Crist biddip obeishe to hem.

The seconde harm pat shall come to Cristis Chirche for synne of men, is, pat oo rewme shal rise azens anoper for wantinge of charite, and cause hereof shall be defaute of kepings of Cristis ordenaunce. For Crist ordeynede his Chirche to stonde in sich an evene mesure, pat ech part shulde profite to ooper, and noon reverse ooper in liif; as partis of mannis bodi pat is hoole fiisten not togidir, but raiper oon helphi anoper, and kepif it fro many harmis. And þus partyng of lordships among preestis must nedis make fiistinge: and so sectis þat soutren þe peple ooper weie þan Crist ordeynede, as þese newe religiouse, moten disturble helpe of rewmes.

De þridde peril þat Crist telliþ here, is grete erþe-denes bi places; for as þe erþ-denes, as clerkis seien, comeþ of wyndis closid wiþinne þe erþe, so wyndis closid in proude preestis, and oþer men of þe world, ben fiugurid by erþ-dene. And þei distrien countreis and citees, for prelatiþ more and lesse here bosten more þan Goddis lawe techiþ, and þese wyndis be algatis closid wiþinne þe boundis of Goddis lawe, for þei ben evene as grete as Goddis lawe wole suffren hem. And as it wole close hem or ponishen hem, so it is; and whanne þei ben aventid, bi conquest or oþer manere, Goddis lawe lymyteþ how þes wyndis shulen passe aweie.

De fourþe and þe fiþþe peril, shal be pestilencis and hungris, for as distempour of þe eir shall se men and unable þe erþe, so distempour of wyndis of pride shall lette preching of Cristis word, and þanne comeþ pestilence of soule worse þan pestilence of bodi, as hungre of Goddis lawe is worse þan bodili hungre. And siþ hevene worciþ in erþe, after þat erþe is disposid, þere mut come into erþe pestilence and hungre. Pestilence shall come of distempour of elementis, and of oþer medlid bodies þat ben unkyndeli temprid; for þe fumes of þese blowen wiþ þe wyndis, and drawun in to man,
distemperen his bodi, and maken hise humours and alle hise lymes to wante her kyndeli tempour; and þus comeþ pestilence, boþe to man and beste. And siþ corn and oþer fruytis ben nourished by þis eir, and þis is so distemperid bi causes þat ben biforn seid, þe blewinge ¹ of þes fruytis mut faile for þis same cause, and so hungre mut come for defaute of sich fruyte. But Crist spekip more here of spiritual veniaunce þat is more to dere þan bodili peynes.

And so þe sixte and þe sevenþe perils þat Crist tellip ben. feringis fro hevene and oþer grete signes; and as þes muten come bi kynde for variance of þe erþe, so mut oo synne biforn bringe in anoþer synne, and þus shal Goddis veniaunce ² be varied after þes synnes. As it is distempour, þat erþeli men shal calengen here to be evene wiþ Crist, and do more þingis þan he wole do,—so after siche signes moten come to men peyneful wondris, as it is an hidouse þing þat men contrarien to Crist boþe in word and in dede, and, ledinge of oþer peple, seien þat þei moun do wiþ þis as myche as þe manhede of Crist, and wiþ þis senden out signes to witnesse þis blasfemye. Þese ben more hidous signes þan bodili comynge fro hevene. But Crist tellip to hise disciplis þat biforn alle þes sevene, þe ferventeste enemyes ³ to Crist shal caste hondis upon hem, and pursue hem, and ȝyve hem in to hondis of false preestis; and þei shulen putte hem in to feyned holdis, and punishe hem many weies, and after þei shulen drawe hem to kyngis and to justices, þat ben myþti in þis world. And þus for Crist shulen þei be ponished; and liche to þis fallip now by ponishing of Anticrist. But Crist seip to hise disciplis þat it shal faile in to hem into witnesse, þat þei ben on þe trewe side, þat þei shulen have clere answere, to which alle her adversaries shal not moun ⁴ ayenstonde; and þis shal be Goddis loore comynge to hem so privyli. And Crist seip as he dide biforn how he shal ȝyve hem alle þis wisdom, to þe witt þat is seid biforn.

And here men noten comunli how prelatis weren disposeid by Crist to take of him wisdom, to cunne reule his Churche; and so oþer Cristis bileve faileþ, or prelatis be undisposeid now to take

¹ blowynge, E. ² vengeaunce, E. ³ þe mooste enemy, E. ⁴ mowe, E.
wisdom of Crist to reule his Churche wel. And sìp a prelat mai not do, but if he hav keies of þe Churche, þe which ben power and science to dispence Goddis tresour, it semeþ þat prelatis now failen in boþe þes. For bi mannis traveile þei hav not passingli geten þis witt, sìp þei hav ben occupied in þe world, and ben simple of lettrey of Cristis lawe, and of inspiringe bi Goddis grace. It semeþ þat siche prelatis ben ful fer to take of God suche liȝtnyngge of Goddis cunynge, fer þei ben ful of worldeli witt in worldeli ocupacioun, and herbi uncleine in þouȝt, to take siche wisdom of God. And dedis of þes men, wiþ fruytis of her liif, shewen þat þei ben not ful cunynge in wisdom of Goddis lawe, and so þei benuntrewedispendersoftresour þat þei feynen of God. And sìp a wastour of worldeli goodis shulde be blamyd of God and man, how myche a wastour of betere goodis is more for to blame; and moche more if a prelate feyne by ypocrisie þat he haþ power and witt, ȝovyn of God to reule his Chirche, and doþ þe amys 1 in þis, and sueþ not God ne his lawe. Certis, syche an ypocris adþ a lesinge, and bi his feyned traitorie he ledþ amys Cristis sheep; and if wastinge of Goddis goodis be worse, þat þe goodis be betere, þis is worse wiþouten mesure þan wastinge of erþelı goodis. And þit men þat shulden be martris ben so smytun wiþ cowardise, þat þei deren not speke a word for riȝt bileve in þis matere; but þei constreynen men as bestis to bileve a falsheþe, þat þis prelate haþ power and witt of God to do þus. And whoever denyþ þis he cursþ hem, and pursueþ hem.

First þei begynnnen wiþ þis:—þat he is hede of holi Chirche; and of þis þei bringen forþ more, þat God mut comune wiþ his tresour; and where God haþ ordeyned to hide, wheþer men shal be saved or damned, þese ypocris seien þei witen wel þat þei ben heed of hooli Chirche, and þanne þei shulen be saif, and wite of Goddis prytyees, which man he wole have saif, and how longe þis shal be in peyne. And so he woot 2 bi Goddis lore whanne þe dai of dome shal be, fer he mai not for shame graunte pardon after þe dai of dome; for after þis dai ben but two places in which pardone mai be feyned, and in ne-

1 So in E, A has almys.

2 wote, E.
Ther moun suche prelatis pardoun profite to men þat þer ben. And whanne þei graunten many þousynd wynter of such pardone, oþer þei witen, þat þis tyme shal be before þis dai, or ellis þis pardoun shal serve of noußt. Sich ben many blasfeme lesingis feyned of popis and oþer prelatis; and whoso reversiþ hem in Crist he mai be martir if he dair; and betir cause of martirdom fynde we noon to Goddis servauntis. For as meynteynnynge of bieleve is a cause of martirdome, so mayntenynge of þing not bieleve shulde be reversid of Cristen men, for ellis miþte al bieleve be changid, eeld¹ put out, and newe brouþt inne. For þei seien þis is bieleve, þat þis is heed of holi Chirche, and what þing þat he feyneþ is performed of Crist. And more perilous heresie was never feyne of þe fend.

ON dAI OF MANY MARTRIS.

[SERMON LXX.]

Attendite a fermento Pharisaorum.—LUC. xii. [I.]

Þis gospel telliþ, as oþer hav don, how men shulen be confortid bi Crist, and stonde in his feþ to deþ, for good þat shal come þeroþ. Fle þe, seþ Crist, fro þe synne of Pharisees, þat is ypocrisie. For among oþer synnes þat þe comuns be blyndid bi, þis is oon of þe moste þat rengnþ² in prestis, boþe among prelatis and al maner religious. For as Crist liþ moost in good werk and wilful, so þe fend liþ moost in yvel werk and wilful. For as þe first mut nede be good, so þe toþer mut nede be yvel. And so men seien þat ypocrisie is fals feyninge of holynes, and falliþ whanne evere a man feyneþ þat he haþ spiritual good of God, and he haþ not þis good, but synne for his fals feyninge. And al if many spiritual goodis ben feyned of ypocritis, neþeles holynesse and witt ben feyned more comunli; and bi þese two ben folk disseyved, in þing þat touciþ soulis helþe. And, for þis

¹ olde, E. ² regnþ, E.
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The meaning seems to be:—as "sour doz," or leaven, is made from a mixture of pure flour with water, and, if left too long with fresh dough, spoils it,—so the doctrine of the hypocrites, being compounded, partly of Christian truth, partly of an unsound philosophy of their own invention ("wisdom of water pat is feyned"), if it has established itself firmly and for a long time in men's minds, makes them "bileve amys."
examyne it bi þe flour of Goddis lawe, þerfore Crist biddiþ flee fro it whanne we witen þat it is ungroundid. And so men hav tauȝt comuli þat men shulden not holde al gold þat shynæþ as gold, for many þingis ben fourboshid ful falseli. And so, but if Goddis lawe telle a feip, trowe it not, but fle it as falshide, and dispise þe techeris of it. And on þis wise spekiþ Crist to fle þis synne of Pharisës, for it is not ynow þen men to be spoiled þus of her goodis; but worse it is to be spoild of bieve and oper vertues. And if þis synne be now hid in soulis of yopocrisit, neþeleþ it shal be knowun at þe laste jugement of Crist; for he seip, þat nowþ is hitid þat ne it shal be shewid þanne, and nothing is privy now þat ne it shal be knowun þanne. Alle false castis and her ententis, shulen be knowun þanne to þe world; and so ript truþis of Cristis disciplis shulen be seid þanne in list, al if þei doren not seyen hem now opinli unto þe world.

And for sich cowardise in synne, þat many servantis spaken in drede, Crist seip to his disciplis, þat what þei hav seid in darknesis shal be seid þanne in liȝt, and þat þei rowned in erre in beddis, shal be prechid upon housis. And þus, as Crist haþ seid biforn, he hirtiþ and confortiþ his frendis, to be not aferd of þese men þat mai oonli slee her bodi, and hav no more to ponishe hem, neiþer in bodi ne in soule. For deed bodi feeliþ noo soore, and þe soule goiþ whidir is Goddis wille; for enemes moune not cacche þe soule and ponishe it, as þe bodi. And þus seip Crist, þat he shal shewe hem what lord þei shulen drede. Drede þe Lord of bodi and soule, þat after he haþ slawe þe bodi, haþ power to sende boþe þe bodi and þe soule in to heliþ. So, seip Crist, Y seie to you, drede ye þis Lord þat haþ þis powir. Ne ben not fyue sparewys sold for a weyte of two ferþingis; and oon of hem so lytil of priis is not forzetþ to fore zoure Fadir? Moche more God wole þenke upon hise owne childre here, þat tellen opynli his treuþe, and susteyñen his lawe to men. And for surete of þis feip, Crist seip, as he seide biforn, þat þe heeris of zoure heed alle ben noumbriþ unto God; and þerfore Crist biddiþ hem not drede, for þei ben betere þan many sparewys.

¹ bam rowned, E. ² eren, E. ³ hertiþ, E. ⁴ slown, E. ⁵ So in E; in A, the word, after being written, has been cancelled. ⁶ oure, E.
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And þus I see to you, seip Crist, þat ech man þat confessiþ me brefore men, þhe, if he die, I shal confess him brefore Goddis awngelis, how he was trewe servant to God.

And here men douten comunli of bileve of Cristene men; it semeþ þat þe pope mai ordeyne lawe even wiþ Goddis lawe, siþ he ponishïþ more for his lawe, þan he ponishïþ for Goddis lawe, and oþer he doeþ wrong in þis, or his lawe is betere þan þe firste. But who dar seie þat he doeþ wrong in such ponishinge for lawis? Also þe pope mai ordeyne sum lawe, as done Princis of þis worlde; but whi mai he not make as many as him likiþ to profite to þe Chirche?—what eþþou þat settist a mark þat he mai make þese, and no moo? For bi þis same skill he was longe siþen at his mesure, and þus shulden¹ him saile power now to reule þe Chirche bi his lawe. Also, ellis we diden amys in singinge, and in service seiynge, and so in al þat we doen, siþ we taken þis of þe pope; and þus in lower pralat moten we graunten siche power, for ellis failide obedienc, and alle þes ordis þat ben newe. Here men seien þat popis and bishopis and oþer men mai make lawis, so þat þei acorden wiþ Goddis lawe, and sumwise ben in Goddis lawe, for þus þei techen Goddis lawe more opinli þan it was tاعت brefore. But, for boþe erroour and pride suen ofte tymes to þis dede, þerfore seintis after Crist helden hem paied on Cristis lawis; for if þei weren executid, þei weren sufficient and ynow3. But newe turnyng of Anticrist to newe office in þe Chirche, mut nede bringe in newe lawis, and putte Cristis lawe abak; and þus seip þe Psalm of Anticrist, þat God shal putte a maker of lawe, and reule hem after her coveitise bideþ þe lawe þat Crist haþ ordeyneð.

And þis mai ben opynli seen in benefices departid to men, and newe ordis þat now ben maad, to greet chargis of Cristis Chirche. But folk shulde knowe þat þei ben men, and holden hem paied of Cristis boundis; for if þei ben reulid by resoun, Cristis lawe is best, and ynow3, and oþer lawis men shulden not take, but as braunchis of Goddis lawe. And herfore biddiþ bileve to men, neþer addde to, ne draw fro;

¹ _schulde_, E.
and if þei done, God cursip hem, and in þis cursing hav many men ben depid bi long tyme. And þis is ordenance of Crist put abak, and newe brouȝt inne. Ne it fallip not to us to justifie þes newe officis, ne to defende þat þei ben leueful, alle þe dedis þat prelatis done; for it is ynowþ to us to cusne and declare Goddis lawe, and shewe þat it were ynowþ, if oþer lawis weren aweie; and so amende by Goddis lawe þe ordris þat weren maad by Crist, and not for synne of þes ordris to bringe in newe ordris to hem. For alle moten lyve on þe peple a; and þe seconde ben þe worse, sþ betere were bi Cristis lawe to amende men of his ordre, þan to putte more unstable ordris, and algatis worse to þe Chirche. But litil errorr bringip inne more, and at þe laste goþ al douþ; and herfore boundis of Cristis ordenaunce shulde be holde of alle men. And it fallip not to us to assoile þese freshe resouns, þat þus þe Chirche doþ amys in many þingis þat it defendip.

IN DAI OF MANY MARTRIS.

[SERMON LXXI.]

Sedente Jesu super montem Olyveti.—MATTHEW xxiv. [3.]

In þis gospel tellip Crist how his membris shulen be pur-sued, and what perils þei shal be inne for holdinge wip him and his lawe. þe gospel tellip first, how Jesus sat on þe Mounte

a alle moten lyve on þe peple. There was a growing feeling in England towards the end of the fourteenth century, that the monastic and mendicant fraternities were becoming so numerous as to form a serious burden on the industry of the country. Besides direct statements to that effect, such as the passage in the text, and others that might be gathered from the Vision of Piers Plow-man, there is an exquisite piece of irony in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, which really says the same thing, though in such forms as became the tender and tolerant genius of the large-minded poet. In the prologue to her tale, the Wife of Bath, after saying that England was once 'ful-filled of faerie,' adds,—

1 spoke of many hundred yeres ago;
But now can no man see non elves no;
For now the gret charterize and prayres
Of limitoures and other holy frieres,
That serchen every land and every streame,
As thikke as notes in the synne-heme,
Blessing halles, chambers, kichenes, and bournes,
Cites and burgyes, castles high and toures,
Thropes and bernes, shepnes and dairies,
This makith that ther ben no faerie;
For ther as woot to walke was an elf,
Ther walkeith now the limitour himself,
In arennoles and in morweninges,
And sayth his matines and his holy thinges,
As he goth in his limitaleun.
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of Olyvete, and he wip hise disciplis spaken of þe makinge of þe temple, and how al þis shulde be distried, and how þe dai of dome shulde come, and of many þingis þat shulden be, as þe gospel telliþ biforn.

And þus telliþ þis gospel, how Cristis disciplis comen priyli; and axiden him of þese þingis, and what tyme þei shulden falle, and bi what signes men shulden wise þat Crist shulde come to þe jugement. For bi þis myþen þei knowe whanne þis worlde shulde be eendid. But Jesus answeride and seide to hem þingis þat waren betere for hem to cunne; and bi þis anweren moun we se how curioust of science or un-skilful coveiteise of cunnynge, is to dampe. For riþ as coveiteise of man is yvel sett for erþeli goodis, so coveiteise of cunnynge, þat profitiþ not to come to blisse. For man mai disuse cunnynge to his harm, as Poul seip, but if men coveiten to plese God and profite in charite. And in suche comune desiris mai not a man synne; but, as comun þing is ofte soþe, whanne þe singuler is fals, so it falliþ ofte tyme of comun witt and comune wille. And þus techiþ Crist here men, to knowe treüþe for her profit.

And þis is a comun synne among men now on lyve, for þei tellen more priþ bi lawe, civile or canoun, to cunne hem or oþer jappiþ, þan to cunne Goddis lawe; and for sich wrong cunnynge comeþ harm to many men. And many prelatis, for coveiteise settin her wille on sich cunnynge, for þei ben out of bileve, and coveiten more worldli muk þan Goddis worship, or hevenli bliss. And þis is a grevous synne, boþe among prelatis and comuns, for þis synne makiþ hem rude and unable to Goddis lawe, and unable in wille and maneres to lyve wel as Goddþ biddiþ. And herfore seien sum men, þat þe pope and his lawe ben cursid for sum part, for þei loven not Cristis lawe, but avaunsen and loven men þat holde wip his rotun lawe. For as men loven Jesus Crist, so shulden men love his lawe. But Poul seip, If ony man love not Crist, cursid be he; and þis cursinge is more þan any oþer prelatis cursinge. And for þis cursing seien sum men þat

1 japis, E.  
2 God, E.
że pope is more ypocriste, for he makiþ him Cristis felowe, and seþ he is ‘moost holi fadir.’ But Crist wole þat þis fole wite not wheþer he be a fend or not; and þis is moost ypocrisie, and moost æzens skile. For what cause shulde meve þe pope to make him clepid moost blessid fadir, siþ neþer trúþe ne leve of God moveþ þat he is ouþt blessid? But to morewe, whanne he is deed, ceessiþ þis ypocrisit name, for he hirþ his name, and þe hire goþ wiþ his deþ; neþeleþe, if he were blessid, he shulde be more blessid after his deþ. Alle þe ypocrisit in Cristis tyme dursten not speke so greet blasfemye, and of þis ypocrisie ben many œþer falsshedis coloured.

But Crist seþ to his discipulis, þat þei shulden loke þat noon disseyveden hem; and speciali in bivel for þis knowing is more nedeful, and þis peril shulde be better fled for þe word þat Crist seþ aftir: Many shulen come in my name, and seþ þat, I am Crist, for þe shulen heere batels and opynyons of batels. For now in tyme of oure popis ben many opynyouns of batels, siþ ech lond hþp opynyoun to fiþt for his pope; and pseudo clerkes and freris seien þat preestis shulden fiþten sounest. And sich disseit was not herd siþ þe tyme þat Crist was born, and certeinli it hþp ben gaderid of eelde synne of many popis. Crist is a comune name to preestis þat ben anointid of God, but Crist takun by himsilf bitokeneþ oon passinge œþer, as þe pope passiþ opere preestis, boþe in witt and power, and algatis in holynesse, as he makiþ men to seie. But Crist seþ þat such Cristis shulen disseyven many men; and no prophecie is œþer, ne more to note of trewe men, siþ þis disseit of Anti-crist is moost perilous of œþer.

But Crist confortiþ his discipulis, and biddþ hem loke þat þei be not troublid; for þese þing moten be, but not þit is þe eende. For of þis rote of striþ, shal folk fiþte æzens folk, as Sarasyonis æzens Latyns, þat clepen hem Cristene men; and rewne shal fiþte æzens rewne, as we seen now at iþ. And pride of þis cursid rote is cause of þis fiþtinge, for if þe empire were hool, and lordshipes of œþer rewmes, so þat þei were not cursidli partid among clerkes,—þanþe wolde God move seculers to lyve in pees, as he hþp bedun hem. But siþ God seþ in his lawe, þat hisse preestis shulden
not be lordis, pe pope and his holden his lordship aions pe law and wille of God, and more opini myste no fend agetonde God and his ordinance. But Joob axip, who ever azen stood God, and hadde pees in him sylf? And of these harmes comen aftir pestilencis and hungris, as it is seid, and alle these bigynyngis of sorowis, pat shal be bope here and in helle. Panne shulen pei put you to turmente, and opher pat wolen stonde wiþ trupe. And after pei shulen slee you, and pe shulen be in hate to alle folk for my name. And herfore haþ pe fend ordeyned to sende currous of his lesingis to diverse reymes and men, and move hem by his teþingis; and þus ben reymes troublid, and men sclaundrid and disseyved. And herfore seip Crist, pat þanne many shulen be sclaundrid, and shal bitraie hem togidir; and oon shal hate anoþer, and many pseudo profetis shulen rise and shulen disceyve manye. And þis semep to many men to be seid of false freris. And, for wickednesse shal be plentenous boþe biforn and þanne, pe charite of many men shal þanne wexe cold; but he pat lastep to þe eende shal be saif bi God.

And here it semep to many men, pat Crist spak of þis tyme, in which þes two popis Þiten þus togidir; for seip Crist is al witti, and love þel his Chirche, and tellþ in Apocalips of many lesse perils, whi shulde he not tell of þis þat is so perilous? And clerkis hav a rule, þat a word seid bi himsylf shulde be understanden for þe more famous. Wel Y woot þat many preestis hav comen in Cristis name, and ech seide þat, I am Crist, but noon oþer as þe pope; and herfore seip Crist in þe same chapter, þat þere shal be þanne greet tribulacioun, what maner was never fro þe begynynge of þe world to now, and shal not be after. For bodili turment is now ful greet, whanne oo pope sendþ bishopis and many men to sle many men, wymen, and children, and for þe toþer pope comen many aions hem; and cause of þis Þitinge is a fendis cause, for no man of erþe woot wheþer of þes popis be a fend to be dampnyd in helle, or ellis þei boþe. And bileve techþ us þat Crist reprovide Petir, for he wolde save his liïf, þat was beter þan þes boþe, and made him put up his swerd, and suffride pacientli, whanne he miþte wiþ a word have vencusid
hem alle. And Crist techip bi word þe maner of a good herde, howe he puttip his owne liif for his sheepe; and so of bileve he is Anticrist þat puttip many pou synd lyves for his owne foule liif. And however Anticrist speke here, it is opynli Cristis lawe þat men shulden not fiȝte þus, ne for sich a cause; þor þif þe pope shal be damned, as God woot wheþer þei boþ shal, þan ne men fiȝten for falsheþe in cause of a fend; and sich a cause was never herd so opynli æzens treuþe.

But gretter tribulacioun is in dampnyng of soulis, which ben in false bileve of þes ypocrisye; þor boþe sitten in Goddis temple and seien þei ben Cristis vikeris and hav more power þan even Crist hadde. For Crist had no power to graunte sich asoiling, and lyve on siche maner, as þes popis done. And so in many pointis þes popis feynen falselie þat þei passem in power oure Lord Jesus Crist. But Crist biddip his children to trowe not here neþer þe ferþer ne þe nerrer, but reste in oolde bileve. And not onli where men fiȝten is þis persecucion, but in fer cuntreis bitwixe contrarie parties. And so, if men tellen Goddis lawe opinli in þis matter, how men shulden not fiȝte þus, but reste in old bileve, þe fend haþ many proctours to pursue siche men; and so, siþ consente is evene wiþ þe dede, þe more part of men is partener in þis dede. Many oþere wordis seip Crist in þis chapître which mai be applied to þis tribulacion; but oo word of confort tellip Crist here, þat þe daies shal be abreggid of þis fel þrusyng, for men þat ben chosen unto blisse of hevene. Oþer men þat have tyme to expowne þis chapitlē, and ben taþte of God, and meved for to telle it, and speciali þif þei seen þe dede acorde wiþ þe speche, mai telle more of Cristis wordis here. But holde we us in bileve, of which we ben certeın.

1 capiître, E.
SERMON LXXII.

Nolite arbitrarī.—Matt. x. [34.]

This gospel techō men how þei shal riȝtfulli love God, and makyþ martirs hardi to suffre for Cristis sake. And, for many ben cowardis to suffre in Cristis cause, and seien þat it is wisdom to lyve here in pees, and entermete not1 of þingis þat wolen greve men, þerfore bidder Crist his children not to juge þat he cam to sende sich pees here in erpe. He cam not to sende sich pees but swerd. This swerd semeþ to many men not material swerd, or bodili fītinge, þat Crist techþ here, but wise wordis boþe of repreff2 and pacience, and suffringe for trúþe, þif þat deþ falle; for comunli in holy writ is swerd clepid word. And þis is a swerd sharpe on boþe sidis, boþe to kerve away synne, and to nurishe virtues, for sich a swerd of wordis kerveþ and departþ, and so plantþ love, and putþ out cowardise. And for witt of þis gospel shulden men first undirstonde, þat boþ þees and discord is on two maneres. First is veri pees bitwixe God and man; þe secounde is acord bitwixe man and his enemye. As, if þe fend and þi fleish and þe world acorde togidir, sich acord is clepid pees, al þif it be ægens God; and þus on two maneres is taken striif or discord. þis secounde is clepid pees, likyng to þe fleish, and þit it is to a man venymous discord. And of þis pees spekþ Crist, þat he cam not to sende it, but discord and fīting ægens sich pees. And þus seþ Crist þat he cam to parte a man ægens his fadir. For he techþ how a soule shulde more love God þan ouþte ellis; and so love þat man shulde hav to God shulde passe love and lawe of kinde, for al siche kyndeli love shulde serve to þe love of God. And so Crist cam to parte þe douþþæ ægens her modir; and þat he dioþ whanne fleishli wille holdþ wiþ God ægens þe fleish, as

1 entermete men not, E.  
2 reprove, E.
pei ȝat taken worldly ever in resoun, to serve God, and not
to lustli fede ȝe fleish, for likyng ȝat is ȝerinne. ȝe ðridde
tyme seiy Crist, he cam to departe ȝe housebondis broþer aȝens
his wyves sister; and ȝat is done whan love of manhede of
Crist puttiþ awei fleishli workis. And ȝus not oonli fleishli
fadir but goostli fadir shuld be left, whanne ȝei ben aȝens God,
for ȝat love shulde be kyng. ȝhe, ȝif ȝi pope or ȝi bishop or
ȝi persoun bidde ȝee do ȝat God biddyþ ȝee not do, leve hem
ȝanne and holde wiþ God. And we mai not seie to ȝes, ȝat
ȝei mai not erre, ne be aȝens mannis soule, siþ ȝei ben put to
reule it;—certis so ben many þings put bi kynde to helpe
and reule, and ȝit yvel custom of mannis enemy mai turne hem
to anoiþ ȝe soule, much more ȝes þree fadris a ȝat ben more
strange fro\textsuperscript{1} man. And ȝus seiy Crist, ȝat mannys enemies ben
his owne homely; for more enemies haþ no man ȝan is lust
ȝat sueþ his fleisle, and moche more ȝes þree fadris, ȝat shulden
helpe man to hele of soule. For ech þing þat lettþ þis hele, and
bringþ in siknes of soule, is enemy to þis man, ȝhe, more ȝan
ȝat sleeþ his bodi.

And to shewe ȝat al þis reule stondþ in skilful love of
God, seiy Crist moreover, ȝat whoso loveþ his fadir or modir
more þan Crist, he is not worþi of him, for he is not worþi
to have Crist in hevene, boþe God and broþer. And so
bi reule ȝat Crist ȝyveþ here, boþe fleishli fadir and modir
shulde be lesse loved þan Crist, and if ȝei stireden aȝens Crist
ȝei shulden be left, and dispisd, and moche more ȝes oþer
fadirs ȝat ben more strange to men. As, ȝif ȝi pope or ȝi bishop
or ȝi persoun bidde ȝee fite or ȝyve him of ȝi goodis aȝens þe
resoun ȝat Crist haþ ȝovun, dispise hem utterli, and holde þe
reule þat Crist techþ; and ever flei þis heresie, þat þes fadirs
mai not erre here. And to þis witt seiy Crist after, þat he þat
loveþ his sone or douþer more þan Crist, is not worþi of him;
and þis is soþ of fleishli children and of workes þat þe soule
doiþ, for summe ben workes of þe soule, and summe workes
of þe fleishe. And ofte tymes in boþe þes erriþ a man fro þe
reule of treuþ, as ofte tymes is a mannis soule occupied to

\textsuperscript{1} to, E.

* Namely, a man's pope, bishop, and parish priest.
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erner and teche worldli lawis; and God biddiþ þat his law shulde be tautþ before þese. And þes men loven more her sones, þan þei loven Jesus Crist;—for it is oon to love him, and in dede to love his lawe; and so whoso loveþ better goode gobetis, or lusti 1 workes þan he loveþ dedis of Crist, he loveþ more his owne douþter þan he loveþ þis holi abbot. And þus, he brekiþ his ordeþr for defaute of skiful love.

And, for þis love is shewid in dede, and speciali in mannis suffringæ, þerfore seiþ Crist afterward, þat he þat takþ not his crosse, and sueþ him, is not worpiþ of him. It is seid ofte tynmes bifoþre, þat þis croþ þat Crist spekiþ of is redynesse of mannis wille to suffre for Cristis sake, boþe to dispise alle erþeli þingis þat stretchþ doun to þe erþe, þat is þe stok of þis crosse, and to dispise alle frendshipis boþe of kyn and of þe worlde,—and þes ben clepid two armis of þis crosse. And þanne mannis love lokþ freeli to hise Jesu above him; and defaute of þis croþ bringþ men alle maner of synne. And þis is cause whi men now ben not martirs as þei weren wont; for a man shulde weie 2 þis love, and loke þat he hadde þis crosse, and suede Crist in wille and dede, redi to suffre for his sake:—but what clerk wole not now leve þe treuþe of Goddis lawe, ouþer for love of his fleish, or for love of þe world. And cause of þis defaute in love is scatering of mannis love; for men loven cloutid ordris, and þat lettiþ moche love of Crist; and sum men loven worldli worschippis, and wordly 3 lordshipis þat brigen hem inne; and sum men loven worldli goodis, boþe for worshipis 4 of þe world and for lustis of her fleish. And sich shenden Cristis ordeþre. And herfore Crist forbëde his preestis siche lordshipis, and siche goodis, for he woolde þat her love were hooli gaderid in him. And ech man, boþ knyþt and clerk, shulde be bisi to kepe þis lawe, and make oþer to kepæn it; or ellis þei loven not Jesus Crist. And what man þat haþ þis croþ, and seeþ Cristis lawe reversid, shulde putte him forþ for love of Crist, and fiþte wiþ swerd of wise wordis, and telle to men, as Joon Baptist, þat it is not leveful to lyve þus? And siþ ech

1 lusty, E.  
2 weye, E.  
3 So E; A om. worschippis and worldly.  
4 worship, E.
man shulde fiȝte þus wiȝ him þat doip aȝens Goddis lawe, sich a synner wolde þenke anoon þat he mooste do oon of þes two; or to sle siche a man, þat meveþ þus aȝens his wille, or ellis to amenden his lyf, as it is taȝt bi Cristis lawe. And þus shulden sum men ben martris, and sum mennis lyf be amendid. But charite of manye is woxen cold, and þat makiþ þe Chirche bareyne; for litil fruyt growȝ in wynter, for coldnesse þat is þanne.

And þus seip Crist afterward, þat, *Who þat hap founden his liif shal lese it, and he þat lesþ his lyf for me, shal afterward fynde in blis*. Þis sentence seip Crist ofte to meve hise martiris to sue him, for no man myȝte lerne here better chaﬀare or merchandise. For lese þi liif here for God in þe tyme þat is now present, and þou shalt trowe to fynde þy liif afterward in blisse of hevene. And bieleve mot grunden þis dede; for, as Poul seip, bi þis wrouȝten martiris. And þus failen now in men, feiþ, hope, and charite. And, for men shulden not forsake to holden þis reule þat Crist þeþe here, for drede of worldli sustinance, þat þe world shulde faile hem, herfore seip Crist to hise disciplis, *þat, who ever resseyveþ hem resseyveþ him and his Fadir þat hap sent him, and who resseyveþ a prophete in þe name of a prophete shal resseyve mede of a prophete*. And so it is of oþer vertues. *And he þat resseyveþ a just man, in þe name of þe first juste man, he shal take mede of ðis juste man; and who ever þeþe oþ of þe leste of þes in name of disciple of Crist, þe, a draȝt of cold water, sopeli Crist seip to us, þat he shal not lese his mede*. And þis vertue of Cristis wordis shulde meve men to helpe goode preestis, and to þyve hem of worldeli þingis, to done her office þat Crist biddiþ; for Crist mai not faile in wordis ne in dedis þat he hap ordeyned. For ouþer defaute is in þe preestis, or her peyne is profitable; as sum maken a newe reule to charge þe peple in noumbe and spensis. And þes men moten nedis falle¹ in peyne of her former synne; and þus cam in begginge and lying and failing of trewe preching. And to þes men shulden noon þyve goodis in name of Crist, as he biddiþ here, for þei reversen Crist as his enemyes, and travelen not in name of him.

¹ *foyle*, E.
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Þe Gospel of many Martris.

[SERMON LXXIII.]

Egressus Jesus de Templo.—Matt. xxiv. [1.]

Þis gospel tellip, as ø-per before, how men shulde lyve in þis world, and suffre persecucioun þat mut nedis falle here. Þe story tellip, þat Jesu wente out of þe temple, and his disciplis camen after him, to shewe him þe makyng of þe temple; for it was fallinge to his wordis þat he hadde seid before to þe peple, to wite, what Crist felide of þis makyng of þe temple. But Crist answeride and seid to him; Se þe alle þes. Sopeli, Y seie to you þat here shal not be a stoon lefte upon anoþer undistryed. And þis þing was fulliill, wijinne fifty þeer after, for þe secunde and forty þeer after þat Crist was steied to hevene cam two pryncis of Rome, Titus and Vaspasian, and ensegiden þe citee, whan it was ful of men at þe feste of Paske, as Crist tolde bifoere bi Luke. And þis oost enyrounde þis citee on ech side, and lettie þe peple to go out, and sleeue þe folk, and at þe laste toke þe cite; and þanne was þe temple distroyed, and al þe citee was turnid, so þat þe mount of Calvarie was sette fer wijinne þe citee, whan it was bifoere wipouten. And so was not a stoon left upon anoþer undistryed, for all þe citee and þe temple weren turned to make newe citee. And bi þes wordis men taken þat Crist tolde litil by þe temple, or ony siche workes of crafte þat passen þe state of innocence; for clene liif wipouten siche is beter to Crist þan siche churchis. Alle siche profiten not, but in as moche as þei helpen þe peple to heere Goddis word, and betere þere to preie God; and þis is comunli betere don in þe eire under hevene, but ofte tyme, in reyny wedir, chirchis don good on halidai. And þus curioust of foolis is ungroundid by Goddis lawe. And whanne Crist sat on þe hill of Olynete, þe disciplis comen and axiden Crist, to telle hem whanne þis shulde be, and whanne shulden be þe date of dome. But Crist tolde hem of sounere perils, þat was betere hem to knowe, and lefte þis þing hid to hem, as it is told bifoere.
And so men seien þat þree þingis wole God have hid to men. God wole þat tyme of deþ be comunli unknowun to men, and whanne þe daie of dome shal be. For men shulden ever more wake, and kepe hem from peril of synne, siþ þei witen never whanne God hall come; so þat whanne he come he fynde hem redi to take þe jugement of God. For servauntes shulden biden þe Lord, and not þe Lord abide hise servauntis; but whanne ful tyme is comen to God, þanne fallip him to make amende. And siþ God wole þat his tyme be hid, þei synnen gretli þat travelen here to knowe þis tyme, and leven ofer þing þat God wole þat men knowen and done; and þus, as it is seid bifoire, popis ben gretli to blame þat menen þat þei shulden knowe þis dai, bi fool¹ graunting þat þei graunten². þe þride þing þat God wole have hid to men is privyte of his ordenance, wheþer God have ordeyned to save þes men, or ellis to dampe hem for her synne. And cause of þis is as bifoire, for men shulden ever be redi to God, and ever serve þis Lord in drede, lest he dampe men at þe laste. And þus many men synnen in God æzens his firste comandement, þat wolen not rise out of her synne, but dwelle þerinne, and chese³ a tyme; for Crist seþ to false men þat he is Lord, þe of tyme.

And þus seþ Crist, þat of þat daie no man knoweþ in þis liif, but aloonli þe Fadir of Hevene³, and two ofer persone of þe Fadir; for þing proprid to þe Godhede is þus aproprid to þe Fadir. And herbi it is not denied to þe two Persones aþer. But þif it acorde to þe Fadir, in as moche as He is God, it mut nedis acorde to þe Sone, and also to þe Hooli Goost, siþ þei ben þe same God. But it fallip not þus to angels, ne to ony ofer creature, for in þat þei ben, þei ben divers from her God. And þus, whan þe Fadir haþ ony þing in þat þat he is God, þe Sone and þe Holi Goost hav comunli þis same þing, siþ þat it is comune and propre to hem for to be þe same God. And

¹ foole, E. ² chosen hem, E. ³ So E; no italics in A.

* No indulgence could conceivably be of any avail, except in the interval between death and the day of judgment; the writer means therefore, that by granting indulgences for specified terms of years, the popes did in effect assert the possession of a knowledge respecting the time of the day of judgment which Scripture expressly denies to all men.
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Thus the general understanding of the last day of Rome should be known unto men, and special knowinge should be hid, and whanne and how it shal be. And therefore Cristen men ben apaied in knowinge of Goddis lawe, for that is now to hem, and after he shulden lyve. And if heis ben idil from his knowinge, God wolde seie to his servant, that axde more than were now: Servant, holdist thou me a fool? how usist thou that thou hast? ne have you nove hee now of cunynge nedeful to hee? And moche cunynge hast thou hid, and puttist it not in werc; and thou shuldist wite that were better to worche after his cunynge than for to have newe cunynge, and thus to be idil with his. God is his lord that mesurip man bi cunynge that he see to him, and wole that man worche after his cunynge; and thus shal man occupie him, and not aboute newe cunynge, and leve he work that he shulde do. And thus synned vi ouris firste fadris, bi byheste that he fend hishe hem, that he shulden not die to ete thus, but be as Goddis, knowing good and yvel; and thus synneb ech man that is slow in Goddis service, for he leeveth to putte in work that he fend God hadseun him, and languisheth after a newe cunynge that come of his idilnesse; and this is a sinful ende, that mote nede bring in peyne. And so we synnen commun here bi that firste synne of that fend, and azens that witt of God, as if we wolde be al cunynge. Penke what witt thou hast of God, in which thou art now ydil, and putt wiseli that witt in work, and holde thee paied of Goddis grace; for this thou takist his grace in veyn, and runnest in det azens his God.

And this is a comune synne in prelatis, bohe more and lasse; for God hadseun hem witt in mesure, how hei shulden profite to his Chirche, and hei disusen ofte his tresour, and languished after witt as fendis; for he presumen and tempten God, and grauntent pardoun for longe tyme, and hei witen never where God hadseun ordeyned that his pardon mai stonde bi him. And thus if men wolde wel examyne dedis ungroundid in holi witt, hei

1 synneden, E.
shulden shame of þes dedis, how þei ben aȝens God. Trowe
we not, þat Petre wiste how he shulde spende Goddis tresour, and
how he shulde after, wiþ Goddis goodis, do profite unto his
Chirche? Who dar putt on Petre þis synne, þat he was necligent
in þis, þat he sparide Goddis tresour, þe which popis profesen
wiseli now? And þis shulden alle men, but algatis prelatis,
overse her astait and her liif, wheþer it be acordinge to Goddis
lawe or after customes of þe fend, and contynue þing wel don,
and mende þat is amys. And siche a rekenyng shulde a man
make ech dai wiþ him sìlf, for þis is a comun word þat many
seintis have in mouþ;—ech tyme þat God haþ ȝovyn þee, God
wole axe ful sharpli how þou hast dispended it; wel in his
service, or amys. And þis rekenyng shulde eech man drede,
but speciali þes hiȝe preestis; for her ofifice is more perilous,
and more medeful þif it be wel. Þefore is nede hem to wite
what dedis þat þei shulden do, and algatis faile not in her work,
for peril þat wole come þerof; sìþ synne of hem turnep to harm
of many sheep þat þei shulden kepe.

And however þat men ðeynen her ofifice, it is toold in Cristis
lawe, how þei shulden be occupied in þre officis of shepheardis.
þei shulden wiselie lede her sheep in sound pastoure of Goddis
lawe, and þe sheep þat weren scabbid heelen, and stablen
in good liif, and algatis putte her liif to save her sheep aȝens
wolves. And þes herdis shulden flee siche tyme, in which þeves
sleyn þe sheep, and coveiten more þe wole of hem, and þe
donge, wiþ oþer goodis, þan þei coveiten her soule helpe; for
þis is a wolvis entent, and þif þei taken þus þe ofifice of herde,
þei ben wolves at þe bigynynge. And so þis tyme is wasted to
hem, in which þei travelen, for her hie stait, or for coveitise of
richesse or ony oþer þing oþer þan Goddis worship, or oþer
þan profite of her sheep bi þe reulis of Goddis lawe. And þus
if þei hiden Goddis lawe, and hiȝen her owne lawe for þis eende,
þei lesen her tyme to þer dampanyng, and to harmynge of her
sheep. Sich þing shulden þes herdis þenken; for þei moten
nedis reken wiþ God, siþ þyme is a preciouse tresour, þat God
ȝeveþ to dispende wel. And þyme shal comen whanne we dien,
þat we hadden lever to have a dai þan al þe worship or richesse
þat hav fallen us in þis world. And þanne our jugement shall
be hool, and wille a þing after þat it is good. Siche oversiȝt of oure lyf, and speciali of hiȝe prelatis, helpiþ þis Chirche, and makiþ hem to drede God and serve him.¹

OF MANY MARTRIS.

[ SERMON LXXIV.]

_Dicebat Jesus turbis² Judeorum._—Luc. xi. [29.]

Þis gospel telliþ what prelatis shuld men do, and whereof þei shal be reproved. And þis wole bringe in martirdom, boþe in o man and in anoþer. And þus is told of martirdom þe begynnynge and þe ende. Crist spake here to princis of prestis and to þe comuns of Jewis, for in boþe þes was þe kynrede which slowþ þes martirs. Þer ben two kynredis þat Crist spekiþ ofte of, þe kynrede of Goddis children, and kynrede of fendis children; and at þe bigynnynge of þis world bigan þes two kynredis. Þe firste kynrede of martirs bigan in a man at Abel; þe secounde kynrede toke bigynnynge at Cayn; and þes two kynredis shal not faile bifoþ þe dai of dome come. Þe laste seint þat shal lyve here shal be of þe firste kynrede, and þe laste þat shal be damned shal be of þe toþer kynrede; and þes kynredis ben scatirid among many folke, ne þei gone not bi lyne of blood, but bi medling³ bi lynes of kynde. But þe firste kynrede hadde bigynnynge bifoþ þe toþer, for it bigan at Adam, siþ Adam is saved. Þe toþer began at Adames sone, þat slowþ þe firste martir. But, for Adam was not martir, þus slayn for Goddis love, and martirs ben þe moste and beste þat ben in þis kynrede, þerfore it is marked to begynne at Abel; for þe toþer kynrede was sum maner cause of þis forþer. And, as many men supposen, aboute þe daie of dome shal þis firste longe lyve here, whanne þe toþer shal be aweiþ; for bi vertue of Crist, þat is begynnynge and endinge, shal men þikke turne to him, and leev þe fend wiþ his workes:

¹ _serven him wel_, E. ² So in E; _A has turbas_. ³ _For bi medling E reads ben medlid._
But leve we now his mater, and sue we the storie of the gospel. Crist grette his kynrede and seide; *Woo be to you what maken the graves of prophets, and your sadris kildiden hem.* Certis se beren wittesse what se consenten to her workes; for al what hem maken faire her sepulcris, nēpēles se wolen kille Crist, what is heed of martiris. And bi what polishing, se tellen your ipocrisie, bi which se florishen your syne in killinge of martiris; for, as Crist seíp to what kyn, what demen in pis to obeishe to God. And Caiphas what saf you conseil seide, it helpip o man to die what for the folk; but al if what wordis weren so, 2it what ipocrisie seide hem falseli; and so what kynrede bi her ipocrisie telde how what wolden kille Crist. And whus seíp Crist here; *your sadris kildiden his prophetis, and se bilden her sepulcris,* as who seide, we wolen amende; but as Crist seíp bi Matheu, what penken what wolen fille what mesure of what what her sadris bigan, in killinge of what heed of prophetis. And herfore tellip Crist to hem, how what wisdom of God seide of what kyn; *I shal sende to hem prophetis and apostlis, and of these shal he hope pursue and kille.* What Jewis kildiden not alle what apostlis, for Joon was not what killid, but what kildiden James, and pursueden oper in oper contreis: so what what blood of alle prophetis, fro what begynnynge of what world, be souzt of what kynrede, sīp what hāp done hem alle to dep, fro what blood of juste Abel unto what blood of Zacharie, which what kynrede kildiden, bitwine what auter and what temple. It is no nede to trete which was what Zachariea, and which Barachie was his fadir, and whanne what martirdom was done; for sīp o persone hāp mony names, and Crist takip sum tymne what witt of what name, it is noo drede what ne Crist seíp so here, as nedip us to knowe it. And, for what prestis shulden print betir what wordis in her soulsis, perfore Crist rehersip to hem, and seíp on what maner; *3he, I seie to you, his blood shal be souzt of his kynrede.* For al if what kynrede hadde two divers

1 *what a man dye,* E.

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*There has been much dispute who this Zacharias was. From the time of Origen, who relates that the father of John the Baptist was killed in the temple, many of the Greek Fathers have maintained that this is the person to whom our Lord alludes; but there can be little or no doubt that the allusion is to Zacharias, the son of Jehoiada (2 Chron. xxiv. 20, 21).* — Smith's Bib. Dict. Article ‘Zacharias.’
partis:—he firste slew martiris from Abel unto his Zacharie, he secunde sloui martiris fro Zacharie to he laste;—nepeles bope alle his killeris and martiris pat ben killid maken two kyn-redis, and ech helpe oher. For as seintis taken part and helpe of oher seintis, so shrewis taken part and harm of her felowis.

And Crist gretip hem after, for po pat holden hem wise men, and seip; Woo be to you, wise men of he lawe, hat token awei he keie of cunningye, and ze entriden not inne; and oher men pat entriden ze have forfendid. And here streynepe he pope, what king is his keie; and he wole algats have pat it is not cunningye, for often tymes mony oher tan popis han moch more cunningye, and sit han not his keies. And herfore he feynepe pat his keies ben poweris, bope upon clerkis and eke upon seculers;—power of jurisdicion, and power to asoile and bynde. But many men penken here pat se shulden more trowe to Crist tan to many Pope Joonis, for he is suspect here. Crist cleip his cunningye here, he keie of cunningye, and alle pe fendis in helle shulden not move to denye Crist. His feyned poweris mai not be proved ne perceyved in dede; and perfere ben sei feynid, and by cautelis of ypocrisis is pe folk bigilid. And his trewe men seien here, pat per ben two keies: he firste is keie of cunningye, and pe toper keie of power. Pese keies hadden Peter and many oher apostlis; but Peter hadde prerogatif before hise oher breperen. Pis cunningye was not speculatif, of gemetrie, ne oher sciencis, but practik, put in dede, how men shulde lyve by Goddis lawe. And after pis science cam power to bynde and unbinde; and to whom God grauntip he firste grauntip he secounde. And oonhede of pis keies was not oonli 3ovun to Peter, siif hevene was open to oher folk in cuntriez pat Peter cam not inne, bi keies pat Crist saf to oher apostlis. And so pese feynede keies ben keies of helle, siif sei open helle gatis to children of pride; and siif pis pope hav cunningye to pis work, he is maister of pis keies. For God wole seve cunningye to teche his weie to hevene to whom ever him likip; and he is Petris viker, alsiif neiwer fendis ne cardinalis putten him in his trone.

1 Popis Johns, E. 2 So E; mowe, A.
Whanne Crist seide þese treupis unto þes hie prestis, Phariseis and men of lawe stoden gretli ægens him, and stoppiden his mouþ wiþ many false wordis, and lettiden Crist to speke more, as a man þat spak blasſemye. And herfore þes lawyeris, for þes wordis of Crist, layen in awayte more to do Crist to þe deþ. And God wote where þe court wolde þus shape for men, þat seiden sharpli to hem þis sentence of þe gospel; and if þei done, þei ben þanne of þe secounde kynrede. For þis kynrede lepiþ from oo folk to anoþer; for it is now among Jewis and now among heþen men, and now comeþ ægen, as þe fend hopiþ victorie, and failing of Goddis lawe, and growinge of mannis lawe. For noþing is beter post to likyng of þe fend. And siþ þis kynrede is now moost among prestis, as it was in Cristis tyme, trewe men shulden speke to hem sharpli as Crist dide. For þe fend haþ hem moost helperis in þis cause, and makeris of martiris bi pursuyng and sleyng. And ȝif þei senden men to hevene, þat is on wrong maner; but þei senden men evene to helle, as to her owne hous, for þei have exilid Goddis lawe, bi which þei shulden worche, and brouȝt in þe fendis lawe bi which þei rengnen.

And after seþ Crist, how þes lawyeris aspieden how þei myȝten take out of Cristis mouþ for to accuse him, and so do him to deþ; and þus þese ypocrisys feyneden to fulfille her law. And þus it is to daie of þes hize prestis; for þei hav newe lawis maad biseide Goddis lawe to dampne men to deþ as open heretikes. And to do þis dede þei counseliden not wiþ Goddis lawe, but wiþ foundun1 heresies þat hemsylf holden, þat þei mai not synne ne erre in siche jugementis. But þei juge for heretikes al maner of sich men þat seien þat þei shulden sue Crist, and leeve her worldli liif. ȝif þei leven Cristis liif, and ȝeven hem þus to lordship, þei ben þe fendis children and open Anticristis; for þei mai not be Cristis children, but ȝif þei suen him, and holden hem in his boundis, and go not out by newe lawes, and speciali holde hem in mekeness and poverte. And here we mai assaie where þei doren be martiris.

1 founden, E
SERMONS.

IN FEESTIS OF MANY MARTRIS.

[SERMON LXXV.]

Egregente Jesu de Templo.—MARK xiii. [I.]

This gospel tellip, as oþer bifore", how Crist mesuride his disciplis, boþe in wit and wille, to suffre for his love. This gospel tellip, as oþer bifore, how Jesus wente out of þe temple, and oon of his disciplis seide to him; Maister, loke what stooones and makingis ben of þis grete temple. And Jesus answeride and seide to him:—Seest þou þese grete bidingis. Þer shal not be a stoon lefte upon a stoon, þat ne it shal be distried. And whanne Crist satt upon þe Mounte of Olyves, aþen þe temple, his disciplis axiden him, þes foure bi hem sylf, Peter and Ioon and James and Andrew:—Telle þou us whanne þes þingis shal be don, and what lokene shal be, whanne alle þes shal bignyne to have an ende. And Jesus answeringe, bigan to seie to hem; See þe first þat no man disseyve you; for many shal come in my name, and seie þat Y am he þat governep holi Chirche, and þei shal disseyve many. But whanne þe shal here bateilis, and opynyons of batels, drez þe not, but be þe sadde in bileve.

Moo opynyons of batels, herden we never; for men wiþ þe oo pope seien þat it is needful to fiþte wiþ men þat holden wiþ þat oþer, and þei wiþ þe toþer pope have contrarious opynyons. And þit men wiþ oure pope hav þis opynyoun; þat prelatis and prestis shulden fiþte aþens þe toþer pope, and men þat holdiþ wiþ him, but if þei converte hem. Sum of us have þis opynyoun; þat preestis shulden not fiþte, but move men bi resoun and Goddis lawe to treuþe, and preie mekeli for men þat þei do after Goddis wille; and þat it is not bileve þat oþer þis, or þis, be Pope; for siþ he shal not be saif, he is noo part of holi Chirche. And so þis is no cause to Cristen men to fiþte inne; but raþer shulde boþe þes popis go mekeli to þe emperour, and renounse al her lordship þat þei have of seculers; and siþ

* See Sermon LXXXIII.
lyve a pore liif as Peter and Poul diden, and algatis move no men, ne counseille hem, for to fiaste þus. And in þis opynyoun resten many meke prestis. In oþer pointis of þis mater ben an hundred opynyouns among clerkes, and lewde men, and alle ben of bateiles.

And after, seib Crist, þat alle þes moten ben, but ȝit is noo eende, to make þe dai of dome. Folk shal rise æzens folk, as Sarains ægens Latyns; rewme ægens rewme, as Ingland ægens Franche; and erþe-dene shall be, bi placis, and hungris, as men hav feelid. Þes ben bigynnyng of sorowes; and þerfore loke wel you sylf, for þei shall bitraie you in her coun Cecilis, and in her sinagogis shall þe be belyn; and biþore kyngis and justises shall þe stonde, for me, in witnes to hem. And in alle folk moot first be prechid þe gospel. And þis ordeyneþ Crist of his grete wisdom; for biþore þei hadden killid þes hooli apostlis, þer was no maner of folk, Grekis ne Latyns, ne barbares, þat ne þei hadden þe gospel of Crist prechid unto hem. And whan þei shal lede you, and bitraie you to jugis, þenke þe not biþore bisil, what þe shal speke; but what shal be þouþen you in þat hour, speke þe þat, for þat seib God. For þe ben not spekinge, but þe Holi Goost, sib þe ben hise instrumentis, and he spekþ first;—O þroþer shal bitraie his þroþer in to his deb, and þe fadir shal bitraie his sone, and þe sones shal rise æzens her fadiris, and do hem to deb. And þe shal be in hate to alle men for my name; but þe þat lastþ þe eende he shal be saf.

Þe lettre of þis gospel is told biþore, and so it is ynowþ here

1 So E; om. A.  2 Englande, E.  3 Fraunce, E.  4 erþedene, E.  5 one, E.

This passage might be expected to supply the means of fixing the date of the composition of these sermons, but I have not found it so. In Professor Rogers's valuable History of Agriculture and Prices in England (i. 217), I find it stated that in the fourteenth century, 'the following are years of famine, the average price of wheat having risen above 10s. the quarter.—1315, 1318, 1321, 1351, 1360.' Again, 'It rose above 9s. in 1294 and 1370:' 'above 8s. in 1295, 1314, 1350, 1363, 1367, 1374, 1390.' In the years 1381-1386, within which these sermons must have been composed if Wyclif was their author, the price of wheat was remarkably low. These statistics refer to the southern and midland counties, and are thoroughly reliable. Either then, if Wyclif wrote the sermon, the reference must have been to a time of scarcity as far back as 1374; or, if we suppose the scarcity of 1390 to be pointed at, Wyclif was not the author of the sermon.
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to telle pleyne storie. Here men moven liżli, siþ Crist tolde alle þes perils, it seneþ þat þei mut nedis be; but who myȝte þanne lette hem? Here men seien comunli, þat al þing mut nedis be, and þit men moten nedis ægensstonde many of þes; and so þei moten nedis have mede of siche ægenstondinge. For as we moten nedis preie for þingis þat nedis moten be, as shewen þee þe firste axingis of þe Pater noster; so we moten nedis enforse ægens þingis þat nedis moten be. And of sich enforsinge mote nedis come mede; for ellis shulden no men lette yvel to come; and mede in ægenstonding, and conseillinge to goode, weren al aweye bi þis lewide resoun. And, for alle þes ben false, and many oþer þat suen, enforse we ægens yvel, and preie we for goode, alþif God have ordeyned þat þei moten nedis come. And, for men shulden do þus, þerfore hañ God ordeyned, þat comynge of many sich þingis ben unknownen to men.

But here men douten over þis, of ordre of þis help to þe Chirche; but here seien Cristene men, þat no man shulde doute to helpe þe Chirche, but alle men shulden help it here, ech man on his maner; siþ God tellþ us bi his lawe þat þis is his wille. Seculer lordis shulden helpe here principali, for many causis. Oon, for God hañ þovun hem swerd for to helpe his Chirche bi strengþe, and strengþe wiþ mennis drede is nedeful to do þis dede. Also lordis of þis worlde ben þo, to whiche þis harm is don, who shulde stonde more for þis cause, þan lordis þat hav lost þis lordship. Also, þat man þat hañ synned shulde algatis make aseenþ; but þe generacion of lordis bi folie broȝt in þis wrong, and herfore it fallþ to hem to make aseenþ for þis synne. And þus shulde knyþþis knowe, how þei shulden stonde for Goddis cause, and not al oonli kille men in mennis cause, as boucheris. þei shulden have shame how þei ben hardi in cause of þe world and of þe fend, but in þe cause of God þei ben boþ cowardis and fools. And neþes þis lord doþ worship and profite to knyþþis þat serven him, and þei mai not denye þis, þat ne for bylyndennesse and cowardise holdþ þe fend ægens God þis lordship þat þei shulden have.

But over þis, men have doute what ordre men shulden have, and where men shulden begynne to worche, in iust restoringe of
†es goodis. But here men seien, siþ þis wrong is brood sprad in Cristendom, and Goddis oost shulde be myȝtī to do þis dede ægens þe fend, in many placis shulden men worche on þis weie to helpen her modir. But siþ þe nest and heed hereof is at Rome, where it bigan, it semeþ to many men þat at Rome shulde þis riȝþting bigynne; and so shulde þis heed be stoppid to feyne censuris ægens God, and fere foolis bi cursingis for þei fulfille[n] Goddis lawe; and wiþ þis boþe lordis and comuns mai lette freris to harmen þe Chirche. And þus were Goddis word sop whanne he spekiþ to þe fend, and seip, a woman shal disquatte¹ his heed. And Marie helpe² þe Chirche þat it be so. For þiþ richesse and worldli lordship weren taken awayne from preratis and preestis, moche of þe fendis pride were abatid in þes clerkes; and Goddis name were not dispisid ech dāi as it is now, but his lawe shulde be betere holde, and Anticristis jugementis shulde ceesse.

But þit men douten wheþer þei shulden fiȝtten in þis cause ægens her enemyses;—speciali, siþ Crist movede two princiþ of Rome for to fiȝte, Titus and Vaspasian, þat distroieden Jerusalem. Here men þenken, þat Cristene men shulden not fiȝte but if Crist bad hem; for Crist seide þat his yoke is softe and his charge liȝt to bere. And so neiþer bodili swerd neiþer oþer armes, ne fiȝttinge shulde be here usid of Cristene men; ne oþer lawe but Goddis lawe, and lordis drede, and manassing to clerkis þat wolden ægenstonde. And to bindinge and prisoninge of hem shulde alle maner of men helpe; but bi Goddis grace þis shulde not falle, siþ clerkis shulde helpe here in Goddis cause, and feyn³ to be dischargid of eryþelī goodis, þat þei beren now. And þanne þei shulden go liȝt to hevene, and drawe þe world after hem; þer þei dopen now to helle, and drawen many men wiþ hem. Freris shulden help in þis cause, siþ þei ben groundid in povertie, and þei have but temporal goodis, þe which ben knytt to her hertis. And shortly alle maner of men, ȝhe, prestis boþe more and lesse, shulden helpe here in Goddis cause, for love þat þei shulden love her modir.

¹ disquate, E. ² helpe Marie, E. ³ feyn, E.

³ As opposed to lands or lordships.
But now þei clepen good, yvel, and harm, profit, and bondage, frendom; but þanne shulden þei wel witen how al þat helpiþ to hevene is good, and al þat shulde be by Goddis lawe were free and helpli to þis eende.

And þus þe lord preisip his baili, for he forþaf to his tenaunte ffty barels of oile. And so þis þifte was rihtful, siþ þis lord is God himself; and þis tenaunte is kynde of clerkis, for þei shulden þeve devocioun, and be paiied of litil corna. For, as Poul techiþ, þei shulden holde hem paiied wip bodili fode and hileyng. And þus shulden preestis preche to lordis, to holde hem paiied of worldli goodis, and sette her wille in hevenli goodis, which wille shulde make hem liht to hevene. But þe fend hap stranglig þese houndis wip talwe, þat þei mai not berke. And þus siþ secular men shulden be moo þan prestis shulden be, and prestis shulden have, by titil of almesse, her sustenance of þe peple, wip-drawing of her service æsen shulde move to wip-draw þes goodis. And whoever æsenstondiþ þis sentence is unlawful æsen God.

And so men shulden graunte in dede to obeishe to þe pope, as þe peple obeishide to Petre, and as Goddis lawe wolde axe; but it were to myche to pass þis, for þanne men obeishiden to þe fend, siþ Goddis lawe shulde be reule, and teche how God wolde þat men obeishe. And siþ þe freris accuse þe court, in matter of þe sacrid oost, and saien þat it techiþ þat þis oost is not Goddis bodi, but accident wipouten suget þat alle men knowen not, men shulden axe þis treuþe of þis court wip good groundingb. And þif þis court faile in þis, þei failen in

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1 helpiþ, E.  
2 talow, E.

a Does this mean,—the clergy should be content to retain for themselves litil corn, or temporal riches, just as the debtor in the parable retained only twenty for his own profit out of the hundred measures of wheat that he had to render to his lord, but they should rejoice in being permitted to keep an abundant measure (fifty out of a hundred barrels) of oile, or devotion? See Serm. LXXXV.

b The general drift of this remarkable passage seems to be as follows. The friars,—after the synod of 1382, which had been promoted, and indeed ordered, by 'the Court,' or, as we should say now, by the Government,—and after the sending down of letters patent into all the counties (see Lewis, p. 106), appointing inquisitors, who would be in many or most instances friars, to search out heretical writings and their fautors,—might well say that the Court taught their doctrine concerning the Eucharist, and condemned that of Wyclif. This is called by the writer, accusing the Court of teaching the said doctrine; because,
moost þat þei shulden do; for þei shulden teche men bileve þe which is ground of Cristis ordre. But Crist seif wip many seintis, þat þis oost is Goddis bodi, al if it be breed in his kynde, as Poul techiþ ofte tymes. Þus shulden rewmes stoppe first fruytes, and avaunsing of Cardinalis, wip oþer spoilingis of þis court, bi þe which rewmes and peplis ben chargid. And Þif men seie þat rewmes mai not defenden hem fro sich spoiling, certis þanne þei ben to feble to defende hem from oþer enemes; and Þif cowardise lette hem, bi feynyng of Anticrist, þanne þei ben to unstable for defaute of bileve. For neþer God ne man mai noie, and moche more alle fendis of helle, but Þif þe law of Holi Writ accuse men aþens God.

Wyclif's

The doctrine of the Eucharist.

The duty of watchfulness.

Þe Gospel of Oon Confessor and Bishop.

[Sermon LXXVI.]

Vigilate, quia nescitis qua hora.—Matt. xxiv. [42.]

Þese gospellis ben passid þat fallen to þes martiris, and now comen gospellis þat fallen to confessouris. And so þis gospel techiþ a wisdom of Crist, how men þat have cure shulden kepe þer sheep; and þis lore perteyneþ to moo þan to preestis, but þei shulden kepe passingli þe lore þat Crist techiþ here. Crist biddiþ first þat hise servantis wake, for þei wilen never whanne þe Lord is to come. And it is known to men þat Crist spekiþ here of wakinge fro synne, for þat is þe best wakynge, and þis beste Lord spekiþ of beste þing; for as creaturis tellen a man his God, so þingis of kynde tellen men how þei shulden serve God. It is known to clerkis þat man haþ fyve wittis, and stopping of þese wittis bringiþ in sleep to man; and þanne man is half

as he goes on to say, Christ and many of the saints unmistakably taught his doctrine. He proceeds to suggest, apparently in the hope of setting himself right with the Court by appealing to its self-interest, that the existing hierarchy was terribly burdensome both to Court and nation, and that to 'stoppe first fruytis,' and other ecclesiastical exactions, would be greatly to the advantage of the state. The advice was not acted upon till the year 1534.
deed, and unable for to worche or to defende himsylf æzens enemys þat wolen harmyn1 him. Œse wittis ben clepid siȝte and heering, smelling and taist, wiȝ groping; and alle þes shulden be fed wiȝ God, þat mai never faile fro mannis witt. But stopping of love wiȝ worldli þingis lettî þannis heed to perceyve God; and so, as clerkis seien, þes fyve wittis comen of a vertue wiȝinne in þe heed, and þif a man bi sleep be lettid in þis virtue, ouþer bi fumes, or drunkenes, or ouþer cause, þes fyve wittis ben stoppid and wanten her worching. And letting of þese fyve wittis is clepid mannis sleep. But al þat man haþ is ȝovun to him of God, for to serve his God, ouþer worching or suffring; and þif he leve þis service, þanne he sleþ goostli. And wit wiȝinne in mannis heed, þat is God himself, mut move his out-wittis to worche as þei shulden; and so al þat lettî man to be moved þus of God bringî in sleep of synne, and lettî him to wake. And so erþeli fumes comyng fro þe stomak ben grete cause of þis sleep, and lettî2 helping of God; for God dwellî not wiȝ man bisi aboute erþeli þingis. But worching of a mannis soule aboute siche þingis makiþ worldli fumes lette3 a mannis resoun to knowe hevenli goodis, and wake wiȝ hise wittis; for sich a man loveþ more goodis of þis world þanne he loveþ his God, for on hem his wille is more sett.

And þerfore cleþ Poul þese averouse men, serveris of mawmettis, and brekeris of Gaddis heestis; and alle wittis of sich men slepen fro Goddis service. We shulden wake to resoun, and knowe þat our siȝte is ȝovun us of God, to serven him and oure soules; and þif we failen hereof, for synne þat we ben inne, we misusen oure siȝte, and slepen wiȝ it. Siȝte is ȝovun to man as hiest out-witt, for to sue his profite, and flee þing þat harmed him; and þingis þat ben bisore him, þe which he shulde do, shulde a man wel knowe, and take to him þe profitable. And þus, as Crist techî, men synnen in siȝte of wymmen, for he þat seeþ a woman for to coveite her, he haþ in þat done lecherie in his herte. For, as Crist techî, þe rote of a man’s synne is wiȝinne in his herte bisore þat it be in dede, and herfore men shulden flee cause þat þus bringî synne to mannis herte. Þe

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1 harmen, E. 2 om. E. 3 and letî, E.
synne of siȝt is not þus oonli in lecherie of fleish, but it is also in coveitise of worldli goodis; as whanne þou seest erþelþ þing, and coveitist to hav it, aȝens þe wille of þi God, þou synnest þanne in þi siȝte. And þus seþ Seint Joon, þat in coveitise of iȝen is understonden al coveitise of oþer wittis aȝens resoun. Ne a man synneþ not in siȝt, al oonli on þes two maneres, but whanne he is idil in his siȝt, and asþelþ not his profit; as sum men loken to veyn plaies, and many siȝsis of worldli þingis, þe which profiten not to her soule, but raþer doþiþ hem harm. And siȝt is þe first witt stoppid whanne a man sleþelþ. Soþelþ we shulden ever loke upon God, as we mai here seen him bi mirrou, in a derknes of þingis þat he hæþ maad; þe, boþe niȝt and daiþ, sleþinge and wakinge, shulde we þus þenke on God and his lawe.

þe secounde utþir witt is heeringe of man, þat is brouȝt many weies in to sleþing of synne. For God hæþ þovun us þis virtue for to heeren him, and so to heeren pees and charite þat he spekiþ in us; but men ben now redi to heeren of unpees, batailis, and strives, and chidingis of neþboris; and cause of sicþ heeringe is assent to siche þingis, for litiþ worldli wynning and leþyng of pees. And bi sicþ heeringe men mai knowe whos children þei ben. We shulden witen þat heeryng was graunted to man for to cumne his bileve, as Seint Poul seþ; and so bileve is of heering, and heering is by Cristis word. And for þis, Crist wole þat men preche þe gospel; and for þis hæþ kynde ordeyneþ þat heering shulde be in a sercle, biþore men, and biþinde men, and onþ ech side of men, as bileve is of treuþis, biþore us, and biþinde us. And to oure bileve shulde we shape oure heering. And þis is o defeute þat men have in heeringe, þat þei wolent gladli heere fabilis, and falsehedis, and slaundraþ of her neþbouris, al þif þei knowen hem false. But al þif sicþ telleriþ ben moche for to blame, neþelþ sicþ heereriþ ben hatid of God. For kynde hæþ þovun to men to heeren voiciþ in þe eire, and not in erþe bineþen us, where voices comen not; in tokne þat we shulden þyve oure wittis to trowe þing þat mai be in eire, þat is aboven us, which

1 So E; oon, A.
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whaPing profiteth to our soul. And if we heeren such falsenes that we wite profiteth not, we shulden not heeren but wiþ peyne, and trowe not þerto, and algatis felle sich men þat tellen sich talis; for God haþ zovun us heeringe to heeren his workes, þat ben moo and sutiler þan þis witt wolde suisse to.

And herfore þe gospel telliþ how Crist dide a miracle, and heeilde a deaf man and domb upon þis manere: Crist toke him aside fro þe comune peple, and putte his fyngris in his eers, and wiþ his spitting touchide his tonge, and þaf him þanne vertue to heeren and to speke. God here techiþ man for to fe fable þat ben in comune peple, and take hede to him. Þe sutil workes of God ben hise smale fyngris, þat men shulden hear and trowe, and þerwiþ feðe þer wittis, and wiþ sich savery treuþis occupien her spechis. And þus mai we þenke how we ben defe and dumbe; but we shulden wiþ þes two wittis wake to our God, for he wole have rekenynge, boþe in our deep and at þe daie of dome, how we have dispendid vertues þat he haþ zovun us.

And siþ we witen not whanne þis rekenynge shalt fall, it is a greet wisdom to wake æzens þis tyme; and herfore seþ Crist, þis þing wite we wel, þat zif þe hosebonde wistte whanne þe þeef were to come, certis he wolde wake, and suffer him not to myne his hous. þis þeef is þe fend, joyned to man, to tempte him, and to harme him al þat he can, and speciali in tyme þat þis man shulde die; for if he take þeesli virtues fro þis man in hour of his deep, he doþ þise þeefte moost. And zif he have maistrie to sle siche a man, he chesiþ sich a tyme whanne he is moost unredt; and þanne he is ful bisie to bringe in þe worste synne, for þanne his ful victorie is endid in þat man. And here men douten comunli, what hour men shal dien, wheþer God shal take hem in her beste tyme. But here we shal wite, þat alle þo þat shal be saïf waken in hour of her deep, and over comen þe fend, and suffren him not þanne to undirmyne her hous. And so þes men dien, whanne þei ben moost ripe. But zif þe fend lede hem þanne as his owne servantis, and þei shal be damned, he waitþ him a tyme whanne he trowiþ best

a In the first Wycliffite version—' suffre not his hous to be undirmynd.'
to overcome þes men; and so þes men dien in her worste tyme, for in tyme þat þei have þe synne þat evermore shal laste. And þat is þe worste yvel, þat God mai suffre to be; for God mote nedis punishe þis synne in helle wipouten ende. And for þis peril of þis þeef shulden men waken warli; but, for þis harm of þis þeef is not but bi Goddis jugement, þerfore seip Crist to warn alle men; And þerfore be þe redi, for in þat hour þat þe hopen not Crist is to come. For, as it is ofte seid, deep is þe þridde þing a þat God wole have unknowun to man, for he shulde ever be redi.

And, for ech man shulde gourne alle his wittis, and make hem serve to hisse profite, as a man doip his meyne, þerfore seip Crist þus: Who, trouwest þou, is a trewe servant, þat þe Lord hath put to be upon his meynë, þat he þyve hem mete in good tyme to eae? Þis Lord is God himself, and we ben hisse servants; þis meynë of þis Lord ben alle oure wittis, which we þeven mete for to serve God, whanne we leden hem bi resoun to profite to oure soule. Blessed be þat servant, þat whanne his Lord is comen, he hath foundun him doinge so unto þis meynë; sopeli Y seie to þou, þat he shal putte him upon alle hisse goodis, and make him his eire. Þat man þat doip þus shal come to hevene, and þere shal he be Cristis eire, and ful lord of Cristis heritage; and þis lordshipe shal serven to alle Cristis children.

Þe Gospel of oon Confessor and Bishop.

[SERMON LXXVII.]

_Homo quidam peregre proficiscens._—Matt. xxv. [I.4.]

Þis gospel tellip a parable þat Crist tauȝte his disciplis, and, in hem, alle Cristene men, how þei shulden chaffare here. And þis parable tellip þe resoun whi men shulden wiseli chaffare þus:—A man, seip Crist, goinge a pilgrimage, clepide hisse servantis, and þaf hem his goodis. And oon he þaf þyve besaunitis,

a See p. 236.
and two to anoþer, and to anoþer von, ech on after his owne virtue. 
And whanne he hadde delid þus, he wente anoon his pilgrimage. 
And of þese þree servantis, þe first, þat hadde fyve besauntis, wente 
and wrouȝte in hem, and gat oper fyve; þe secounde, þat hadde two 
besauntis, wan oper two; but he þat took oon, wente and dalf in 
þe erþe, and hidde þe monie of his lord wibouten encresse. And 
after long tyme cam þe lord of þese servantis and rekenede wiþ 
hem. And þe firste, þat hadde fyve besauntis, cam to þe lord and 
offride him oper fyve, and seide; Lord þou szavest me fyve besauntis, 
lo I have geten over 2 oper fyve. And his lord seide 
to him; Wel be þe, good servaunt and trewe; for þou was trewe 
of tilit, upon many þingis Y shal putte þee; entre in to þe joie 
of þi lord. Þe secounde cam nytþ þat hadde two besauntis, and 
seide; Lord þou szavest me two besauntis, lo, oper two have Y 
wonne ouer. And his lord seide to him; Wel be þee, good ser-
vaunt and trewe; for þou was trewe of feve þingis, Y shal putte 
þee upon many þingis; entre into joie of þi lord.

Þis o man þat wente þus in þilgrimage is comunli seid, oure 
Lord Jesus Crist, for he is o man among alle opere. His wend-
inge on pilgrimage is taken on two maners; comunli it is takun 
for his steyng in to hevene, for dwelinge in hevene is strange 
to mannis fleish. Þe secounde maner of pilgrimage of þis o 
man is clepid dwelinge in þis world bi manheed of Crist; for 
þis was strange pilgrimage to Cristis Godhede. And algatis in 
þis pilgrimage clepide Crist hise servantis, and ȝaf hem his 
goodis to profite wiþal. But þese þre manere goodis ȝovun 
to þes þree servantis, is comunli understonden upon two 
maneres, as doctouris varien in þese two pilgrimagis. For 
as a man is two þingis, þe spirit and þe bodi, so Crist is two 
kyndis, þe Godhede and þe manhed. As anentis his Godhede, 
his waunderinge here, is pilgrimage; and as anentis his man-
hede, his steyng to hevene is pilgrimage. And he clepide 
hise servantis bi a long cleping, fro þe bigynnynge of þe world 
to þe laste dai, but at þis dai of dome he makiþ a ful rekenyng. 
And sip Cristis Godhede is everywhere, he mai wel clepe þese 
servantis, and ȝyve hem his goodis, sip þei have nouþ but of

1 dalve it, E.  
2 om. E.
God. It semeþ þat Gregory meneþ þus þes þree partingis of þes goodis. Sum men have of God her fyve outwittis wip her purtenaunce; and þes ben þe firste men þat have þese fyve besauntis. Þe seconde men wip two besauntis, ben siche trewe men þat passen not in þese wittis, but have good undirstonding, and þerwip riȝtful workes. After þis understondinge, þe þridde servant is wickid men wip sutil undirstonding, gaderid of her wittis wipouten and wipinne-forþ; but þei failen juste workes answeringe to þese wittis. And þes men delven her wittis in undirstondinge of þis worlde, and profiten not to heveneward, ne to þe Chirche, ne to hem sylf.

Þe seconde undirstondinge of þis parable of Crist is more sutil and travelous, and acording wip þe text, as boþe þes undirstondingis may be aplied to þe text. Þese fyve besauntis of þe firste man ben fyve maner of goodis þat God ȝeveþ to sum men, þat he wolde have saved. Goodis of grace ben þe firste, þat Austin tellip moche bi, and fallen to sich men þat lyven to Goddis worship and to profite of her soulis; for þei have ever goodis of grace in all oþer þat þei have. Goodis of kynde ben goodis of vertues, boþe bodili and goostli, bi which a man worship to disserve þe blisse of hevene. Þe þridde ben goodis of fortune þe which God ȝeveþ to men, to serven him and to wynne hem blisse, bi wise delying of þes goodis; and þus weren Job and Abraham riche, wip seintis of þe newe lawe. Þe fouþe manere of goodis þat God ȝeveþ here to men, ben goodis of good fame, þat God grauntip in þis world; for sum men have alle þes þree goodis and þerwip a good fame, þat þei serven wel to God, and to profit of his Chirche. Þe fift goodis, ben sparkelis of glorie, þat sum men have here in þis world; þe which ben joie of hevenli blisse þat þei hopen fulli to have, and blisse1 hem on 

1 blissen, E.

a S. Greg. In Evang, Homil. ix.: ‘Quinque ergo talentis donum quinque sensuum, id est exteriorum scientia exprimitur. Duobus vero, intellectus et operatio designatur. Unius autem talenti nomine, intellectus tantummodo designatur.’

b It would be idle to seek to il-
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sum manere\(^a\), pe while pei lyven here on erpe. Pes men ben pe firste servant, pat profite in pes fyve besauntis. Pe secounde servaunt wip two besauntis is undirstonden alle siche men pat have in plente goodis of kynde and goodis of grace, and worchen wip hem. Pe pridde servaunt wip o besaunt is undirstonden alle sich men pat have in plente goodis of kynde, and profiten not wip pes goodis, for worldi occupacions letten to disserve hem blisse. And pes men delven in pe erpe, and hiden pe goodis pat God ha\(p\) yovun hem. And to pes pree men, and no moo, parti\(p\) God here hise goodis. Pes two firste worchen wip God wip witt and wille pat pei have, and turnen al her lyvynge here to worship of God, and profite to his Chirche; and herfore pei maken hem worpi to take fulle goodis at pe dai of dome. And so doublyng of her workes is merite pat pei have added, bi which God maki\(p\) hem able for to have pe blisse of hevene; and alle pes goodis pat men have here ben but litil to hevenli goodis, for pere men shal have fulli alle pe goodis of hevene and erpe.

And God shal grete his trewe servauntis pus at pe daie of dome, whanne he shal seie; Come see pat ben blessid, my Fadris children, and take se now pe rewme of hevene, pat was maad redi to you fro pe bigynnynge of pe world. For ever God is making redi pe blis pat hise seintis shal have; and alle pe goodis pat we have here ben now but fewe and litil, to regarde of pe goodis pat we shal have in hevenli blis. For \(\text{\textit{si}}\)f man shal come to \(\text{\textit{pis}}\) joie, he shal have al pat he wole, and as fulli as he wole, and on what manere pat he wole; but here we languishen for o\(\text{\textit{pe}}\) havynge pat us falli\(p\) to have in hevene.

And here men seien pat goodis of fortune ben pe leste of pes fyve, si\(p\) a man wolde skilfulli \(\text{\textit{zyve}}\) alle pes goodis for his helpe, and heelp of bodi is good of kinde wip o\(\text{\textit{pe}}\) partis pat man ha\(p\). And si\(p\) a man shulde chaffare here, and lese all pes goodis of kynde for to wynne him goodis of grace, goodis of grace ben algatis better. And si\(p\) mannis

\(^a\) De Lyra's explanation does not differ much from this. He interprets the five talents to mean, the goods of nature, those of grace, those of knowledge, those of power, and those of wealth. *Bibl. Sac.* vol. v.
fame, 
Is his name writun in pe book of liif, is betere 
panne alle þes oþer, and þerof man shulde more joie, þese 
fourþe goodis ben betere þan þe goodis told biforn. 
And siþ a man travaileþ here for to gete þe fiftþ good, it moot nedis 
be beter þan þei, siþ it is eende of alle biforn. 
And in travaile 
aboute þese goodis, and algatis in priis of hem, stondþ al þe 
mede in þis liif, and al unþank of peyne of helle; for now þis 
worlde haþ blindid men æzens her wit and her resoun, þat 
goodis of fortune, þat ben lest, ben moost told bi of þes fythe. 
And for þes, and worldli name, men fiþten and traveilen hugeli; 
but al if þes ben goode in kynde, neþeles havynge of hem 
profitþ not to man here, but for vertues and goodis of blisse. 
And ofte it fallþ, þat þis havynþ þat philosophris tellen leest bi, 
harmeþ to man in oper goodis, for unskilful love of hem; and 
so in love of mannis soule, wiseli weyed as it shulde be, stondþ 
al þe mede of man, þat he haþ here in erþe. 
Loke þat he love 
moost his God, siþ he is þe beste þing þat mai be, and siþ, he 
love him self, and angeliþ wiþ neiþboris, as þe þat ben goode. 
But in þis love, man shal have ordre; as kynde haþ taþte him 
for to love first himself, and oper in kynde after þat þei ben 
nere to him. 
And in anoþer ordre of love, betere and ferþere, 
shal man love more; but þis craft of good love is turned now 
up so doun, for þis world and worldli goodis passen now in 
weighte of love. 
And herfore þes worldli men chaffaren aboute 
worldli goodis, and her traveile wiþ þer bisynesse techen þat þei 
loven moost þes goodis. 
And certis þei faileþ in craft of love, and 
comen not to þe goode of blisse; and bi þis cause haþ 
Crist ordeyned his prestis to be not worldli, but to lyve in 
povert of þis world, and in peyne of her bodi. 
For þus dide 
Crist wiþ his disciple, and tauþte us to sue him. 
And bi þis 
cause men supposen þat many prelatis of þis Chirche hiden 
Goddis tresour in þe erþe, to her owne dampnacion; and so 
at þe daie of dome, God shal not seie, Wel be þe, but God 
shal seie, austernli; 
Of þi mouþ Y juge þee, for þou shuldest 
have þis cunnyng, and lyve þerafter bi þy state. 
And þus 
diden þes confessouris, and so þei camen to joie of hevene;

1 fyse, E.  2 pris, E.  3 So E: A has love.  4 and, E.  
5 So E; A reads, love þerafter bi þe state, which is nonsense.
and þus þese martiris of þese werres, sîp þei ben þe fendis servantis, ben in martirdom of helle þat shal lasten wipouten ende. And her techeris more and lesse ben not confessouris of Crist but confessouris of þe fend, whos lawe þei holden and techen.

PE GOSPEL OF O CONFESSOR AND BISHOP.

[SERMON LXXVIII.]

Homo quidam nobilis abiit in regionem.—Luc. xix. [12.]

Dis gospel telliþ how men shulden lyve, as þe nexte bifore dide in a lyche parable, and knyttiþ þerto many treûþis. And it mai falle ful wel þat Crist in dyvers tymes seide dyvers parablis, þe which weren of liche sentencis. Crist seip þat, o noble man wente out into a fer contre for to take to him a rewme, and turne azen, whan he hadde do. Doctouris scien comunli þat þis nobleman is Crist, þat wente out of þe Godhede, and bicam man heere in erþe, for to gete him a rewme of þe Churche of trewe men. But Crist lefte not to be God, al if he made his manhede wipouten; and þus he styede azen to hevene, whanne he hadde made þis marchandise. And þis is a noble man, as þis regioun is ferre; for nobler man þan is Crist mai noon be in þis world, sîp speciali God is his Fadir, and his modir is wipouten synne, and þis child is God and man. But where mai be a nobler man? And as moche as Crist made him lasse, as fer fro Godhede is þis regioun. And here taken many men, how Crist þat is þis noble man was porest man here in erþe, and suffride for us many peynes. And noblei of oure prelatis shulde not lette hem to be pore, sîp þei ben sinful wip her eldris, and mai not come to Cristis noblei. And sîp al þat Crist suffride here, he suffride for love of his lawe, he loveþ to litil Crist or his lawe þat grutþip azen þis poverte. And false glosis seid in þis mater maken prestis synne more grevous, for it is a moche synne a preest to seie

\[1\] marchandise, E.
pat he is Cristis viker, and by auctorite of Crist reuliȝ fulli his liif, and sit he gabbip upon Crist and bi blasfemye bigilip þe peple.

Dis noble man clepide ten servantis, þat ben alle þe kynde of men, and þaf hem ten besauntis, þat weren delid among hem; and bad hem chaffare wip þis moneie til þat he come aȝen. Îses ten besauntis ben alle þe goodis þat Crist þaf here to mankynde, and her chaffaryng wip þes is her profitable worching; and Crist at þe dai of dome wole axe rekenynge of alle þes. It is no charge to us now to wite how moche þis moneie is, for moneie changiȝ ofte in priis, after þat þe prince wole ordeyne. þe citisenis of þis noble man weren hie þestis of þe temple, wip scribis and Phariseis; and al þis peple hate Crist and senten message after him, now bi þestis, now bi dekenes, now bi knyȝties of Heroude, and ever to take Crist in wordis to fynde hem cause to dampe him. And, for þei myȝten not bi her lawe, þei feyned many gabbingis. And ever þei meneden and seiden in dede, þat þei wolden not þat Crist renchede on hem; and neþeles Crist is higest king and regneþ upon al þis world. And cause of þis rebellion was þe lore of Cristis lawe, for he taȝt povertye and mekenesse, and lore to bringe men to hevene; and al þis displeside hem, for þei weren þe fendis children. And þus have cardinals pursued þe pope, and many sugettis her prelatis, and many prelatis pursuen trewe men þat grutchen aȝens her lordship; and alle þes seien in dede þat þei wolen not þat Crist renge over hem. And for þer message is fals, and faileþ þe ground of truþe, þefore seþ God þat þei senden a message bihinde him, for þis is feyned vanite, for to putte treuþe bihinde. But it is maad, longe after at tyme of þe dai of dome, þat Crist cam aȝen, whence he had gaderid al his rewme, for þanne shal holi Chirche be hool, and ever dwelle wip her kyng. And for hool cumynge of þis rewme we preien in our Pater noster.

1 senten, E. 2 and for þis, A; E om. and. 3 om. E.

a pursued the Pope. This seems to be an allusion to the rejection of Urban after his election by the majority of the Cardinals in 1378. The 'persecution of their prelates by subjects' may possibly refer to the rising of the Commons in 1381 and the murder of Archbishop Sudbury.
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Whanne pis kyng shal come azen for to juge alle maner men, he shal bidde clepe hise servantis, to whom he veg before his moneie, pat pei sheven how pei hadde chaffarid wip goodis, pat pei hadde take\(^1\) of God\(^2\). De just servant come and seide; Lord, pi besaunt hap geten ten. And pe kyng seide to him, Wel be pe, goode servaunte; for pou was\(^3\) trewe in litil, pou shal ben havynge power upon ten citese. Pes ten citese ben alle pe goodis pat seintis shal have in hevene. And pe loper servaunt cam, and seide; Lord, pi besaunt hap maad fyve. And pe kyng seide to him, And be pou upon fyve citese. And pe pridde wicke servante came, and seide to pe lord; Sire, to here pi besaunt, put azen in a sudarie. For Y drede pe herfore, pat pou art austerne\(^4\) man pat takist ping pat pou putist not, and repes pat pou hast not sowun. Pe king seip to him, Of pi owne mouh Y juge pe, wicke servaunt. Y seiest, pou wistist pat Y was an austerne man, taking ping pat Y putte not pere, and reping pat Y have not sowun; and whi yawest pou not my moncie to pe table, to be occurid\(^5\), and Y shulde have axid after my moncie, wip oker perof.

Per ben sum men pat lyven here in swete and bisynesse, and casten hem not for to professen wip goodis pat God hap lent hem for to wynne pe blisse of hevene, as God hap bodyn hem to do. And pes ben pe pridde servant pat shewip Goddis moneie in a cloip; for goodis of kynde shal man bringe to Goddis dome, mawgrey\(^6\) his. And his liif in pis world is money wlaappid in sweting cloip. But God jugip sich men of her owne conscience, sip ech man shulde wite, pat God, over goodis pat he zyvep, axip profite of mennis worke; but to men, and noon to him. And so, sip God putip in chauffar ping to profess bi mennis traveile, men shulden traveile fast perwip for to profess to hem sylf; and so God repip many pingis pat he sue\(^7\) not bi him silf, for he helpip man to worche, and al pe profit he zeyeip to man. And pes seip Austin\(^8\) pat Goddis oker is leueful and gracious, for God

1 taken, E.  
2 So E; A wrongly includes the words wib—God in the italics.  
3 wast, E.  
4 an austerne, E.  
5 to be ocurid, E, and excludes rightly from the italics; A includes.  
6 magrey, E.  
7 seeve, E.  
okurip not wiþ man, but ðif God make þe encrees; and al þe
vantage of þis okir, God kepþ to man and not to him. And
so man ȝyveþ Goddis moneie for to drawe at þe table, whanne
he puttþ Goddis ȝyftis to wynne him þe blisse of hevene; and
þanne þis kyng hæþ encrees to his worship, and mannis profite.

And so seþ Jesus Crist to aungels þat stonden biside; Take
þis besaunt fro þis þef, and ȝyve it him þat hæþ ten besauntis.
And þes seintis seiden to Crist, Lord, he hæþ ten besauntis. For
evry þing seþ himsïf, and ech þing seþ ðoper to God; and þus
telliþ Cristis jugement to men, þat Crist wole not bigile. For
soþe Y seie to þou; to ech þat hæþ shal it be ȝovun, and bi þis
ȝifte shal he have plente; but from him þat hæþ not, þat þat he
hæþ shal be taken away. For þis is trewe sentence of seintis,
þat just men þat han hevene, han alle worldli þingis bi resoun of
her Lord: and so alle unystone men, þat God ȝyveþ helhe for her
service, have not justli, al þif þei semen to have moche. And
þif þou axe who shal take aweiþ goodis fro þese unystone men, siþ
þei ben comulni myȝte, and no man dar take fro hem; Crist an-
swerþ þere and mai not gabbe, þis just man to whom God ȝyveþ
hevene takþ fro þis unystone man þat þat him semeþ to have; and
not bi his owne autorite, ne bi strengeþ of him sïf, but bi autorite
of God, and bi vertue of his lawe. And al þif worldli men
semen to have myche goodis, ȝit þis is a false havynge, for it is
unystone to God; and siþ God is chief lord, þat jugþ þem þus to
have and þus to wante bi his lawe, no man shulde aþen-seye þis.
And unystone occupacion, clepid havynge to þis world, is soþere
noon havynge, but holding of ðoper mennis goodis. And sum
men þat shal be saif, al if þei semen now pore, neþelles þei
have now hevene, and alle goodis of þis world: but þis havynge
is now hid, and yit unknowne to men, for Goddis riþt is not yit
put in possessioun. þis trewe sentence of seintis is now

modica, accipe magna. Vide quam
late crescat foenus tuum. Da tem-
poralia, accipe aeterna: da terram,
accipe coelum. Et cui dabo, forte
dicis? Ipse Dominus procedit
quem foeneres, qui tibi jubebat ne
foenerares."

* This favourite opinion of Wyc-
lif's, that mortal sin invalidates the
right to hold property or lordship,
both as regards laymen and as re-
gards ecclesiastics, is set forth at
large in his De Dominio Civili
and other treatises. Among the twen-
ty-four propositions condemned by the
Synod of 1382 (Lewis, p. 108), was
the assertion 'that a civil lord is no
lord, a bishop no bishop, a prelate
no prelate, whilst he is in mortal
sin.'
scorned bi mannis lawe; nepeles seintis have now alle þing þat þei wolen have. And as philosophris seien, havyng is on many maneres. And herfore þis gospel seip þat unjust man haþ not siche þing, and þe gospel of Mathew seip þat him semþ to have it; for if man robbe oper mannis goodis, and waste hem at his wille, nepeles he haþ hem not, but occupie þingis þat ben not his.

But Crist spekip at þe dai of dome of false prestis, þat weren his enemies, to angelis and seintis in hevene; þat þei shulden bringe hem bifoire hem, and sle hem in his presence, for þei shal be damned by Goddis jugement. And þis damnyng to helle is a manere of slying more noyous þan bodili slying. And seintis shal here juge wiþ God. And þe storie of þe gospel tellip, how Crist, whanne he hadde seid þes words, wente bifoire oper men and stieden1 into Jerusalem. And þis bitokenþ þat þis sentence, al if it be scorned here in erþe, þit it is kept saf in hevene, and is above mannis power.

Of oon Confessor and Bishop.

[SERMON LXXIX.]

Vide, et vigilate, et orate.—Mark xiii. [33.]

Þis gospel gaderip shortli þe sentence bifoire seid, and tellip how men shal wake, and specialy bishopis. First Crist biddip þree þingis þat2 hav hem in ordre; first, he biddip þat we shal see, and after þat we shal wake, and þe pridde tyme þat we shal preie, to contynue þes two. Þe firste is needful to prelatis; for riþt as þe witt of siþt shewip a man moost wakinge among oper wittis, so siþt of Goddis lawe makiþ a man moost wake to God. For þis lawe is bileve, þat man shulde moost stodie inne. Crist biddip þat man shulde see, not vanitees of þe world, ne unstable mannis lawe, for boþe þes siþœs don harm to men, but lawe of Crist þat is book of liif, and Goddis word, Jesus

1 styþeþe, E.  2 So E; A has þan.
Crist. And so here we ben bodun to eendyn oure firste witt at God. For pe secounde witt, seip David, peat he shal heere what God spekip in him; for he is certeyn of bileve pat God spekip pes to his peple. And so zif bullis bidden werre, to kille men for unknownn cause, it is ofer not Goddis bidding, or pe folk is pe fendis peple. Of pe priddde witt seip Poul, pat he and his felowis ben good smel of Crist to God, for pei suen Crist in lyvynge. Of pe fourpe witt seip pe Psalme; Taste pe and understonde, how pat pe Lord is swete, and ofer worldly pingis ben bittere; for al zif pei semen swete first, pe laste of hem is bittere as wormod. For pe fife witt, seip Crist; Take my 30ke upon you, and lerne of me pes two lessouns, pat Y am mylde and meke of hert; for my 30ke is swete and softe, and my charge is liet ynowʒ, siþ it drawiþ men upward, and puttiþ not down to helle. And so shulde we wake wel, and reste pes fynge wittis in God; for if a man have al bileve pat Goddis lawe techip ouwher 1, but zif he wake in charite, al siʒt of pis man is nouʒt. And perfore biddiþ pe secound word pat we shulden algatis wake to God. And, for we mai not laste in piso, but zif God contynue his grace, perfore pe priddde word biddiþ pat for pis grace we shulden preie. But, for pe secounde word of wakinge is ful nedeful here to men, and wakinge is loosing of wittis, to perseyve pingis present, and it is told of siʒt and hering a, of ofer þree wittis were to speke.

And first of smelling of a man, more spiritual þan ofer two, as þe nose is more hiser in þe heed þan is þe tunge. It is speche of holi wriþt, þat name þat man haþ in þis lyf to þe jugement of God is smeling of þat man; and so sum men ben good smelling and sum men stinking to God. And þus seip Poul, for he was certeyn þat þei sueden Crist in lyvynge, þat þei weren a good odour of Crist to God for her liif; for as we shulden be membris of Crist, so we shulden be odours of Crist. And so we shulden sue Crist here in al oure manere of lyvynge; and zif we lyven a contrarie lyf, and go fro Crist spirituali, we ben stinking bfore God bi synne and ypocrisie, for þat synne stinkiþ

1 ou3where, E.

a See Sermon LXXVI.
moost bfore God of alle oþer. And so, ȝif þat hys prelatis
taken þe fame of good name, and gon fro þe weie of Crist, no
man stynkþ more þan þei. And herfore ofte God heerþ not
þe preier of þe comune peple, for þe liif of her prelate is so
stinking bfore God. And þus spekiþ Goddis lawe, þat God
smellide brent þipes, for devocioun of hem þat offruden smellide
wel unto God; and þus preieþ David þat his preier stretehe to
God as incense. But stinke unto men, as Goddis children
stonke to Pharaoh, is not moche for to flee, but stinkinge to
Goddis jugement; and þus wake we in þis witt þat al oure liif
smelle wel to God, for alle þat sleþyn in synne ben stynkinge
bfore God.

Þe secounde witt of þes þree, is tastinge of mannis tonge;
and bi mannis speche mai we wite who tastþ of Goddis
sweetnesse, for þat man hap delite to speke of God and his
lawe. And oþer men ben in feveris, and tasten not of Goddis
word, but it semeþ bitter to hem, for her tast is turnd amys;
and þes moten be goostli heelid, as þei heelen men of feveris.
And deedli signe of sich syk men is þat hem wantþ appetit of
Goddis word, þat shulde be her food and lyf, as Goddis lawe
techþ. And herfore techþ Seint Petre, þat ȝif ony man speke,
loke þat he speke Goddis wordis; and bi þis tokene he is hool.
Here mai we see how mannis lawis hav distemperid kynde of
men, and turned hem into swyn þat þei savere not Goddis
word.

Þe þridde witt is felynge, þat is everywhere in þe bodi, boþe
above and beneþe, for it is so nedeful; and herfore hap kynde
ordyned his instrument bi al þe bodi, al ȝif it take roote of þe
herte, in which is jugement of taist. And it is ful nedeful to
fede mannis bodi in mesure, for þe bodi serveþ to þe soule, and
is horse to it in many goode workes. And þus all þes þree
wittis ben more fleishli þan þes oþer two, and moven man
unevenli to glotonye and lecherie; and herfore þe fend temptþ
algatis bi þis þridde witt, as he temptide Adam and Eve to ete
of þing þat God forbade. And ȝif we þenken on þat state, and
how we shulden ever sue God, and how excex and defaute in
þe feding of oure fleish, whanne it passþ good resoun,
smacchiþ synne aþens God, it is ful hard in þis liif to kepe
us fro synne of taist; but as his instrument is everywhere as a nett in mannis bodi, so þe fend haþ many willis, to make man slepe bi þis witt. And neþesles þis wakip last, among oþer wittis of man. And so þe fend, bi þis witt, bringip deep of oþer wittis, and makiþ a man falle fro God in dedeli synne, and fele not, al þif his wittis semen opyn to jugement of oþer men. And þis is þe fallinge yvel, in which mennis iþen ben sum tym opyn, and ȝit þei mai no more see, þan an ymage þat haþ noo witt. For her nerves of charite, bi which þei shulden love God moost, failen in her herte, and þere þei shulde moove her lymes to serve God. And þus we shulde wake to God in þre wittis of our soule.

Þe resoun þat Crist telliþ whi we shulden wake þus is told bifoþe bi Mathew, how we witen never whanne þe Lord comeþ. For þe witen never, seþ Crist, whanne is tymé for to wake; as a man þat wente in pilgrimage lefte his house, and ȝaf power to his servantis of ech work of his hous, and bad his porter wake wele. þis man þat wente in pilgrimage is Jesus Crist, boþe God and man, and lefte þe goodis of his Chirche in mannis hondis after him. And so alle þe goodis of þis world haþ he put in mennes hondis, but speciali in prelatis hondis; whom he biddiþ kepe his Chirche, and speciali soulis, þat þei shulden kepe and teche hem bi Goddis lawe. And siþ Cristis Chirche is men þat shal after be saþ in hevene, and þes men hav here al þis world, and moche more þis grete prelatis, þes shulden kepe alle Goddis workes, and algatis wake in charite. For þei shulden be fisheþis to God, and open and shette þe dore of hevene bi þe keies þat God haþ gøvun, oonli to profite to þe Chirche. And þus it semeþ to manye þat no man shulde take prelacie ne cure of soulis but in greet drede, lest þei weren unable to God and sich men þat shulden be damped; and þe sheep shulden be savyd. For þanne her care of prelacie doþ hem moche harm of soule, algatis ȝif þei taken sich cure for wynnyng or worldli worship; for God ȝyveþ men cure ynouse, and speciali unto his prestis, to whiche he ȝyveþ power and wit to govern his Chirche after his lawe; whereto shulde men take more care, siþ þis is hard and mouche ynowe. Þus Petre and oþer apostlis token care of
Cristís Chirche, and not bi chesing of man and jurisdiccioun þat is now usid.

But it is drede now þat prestis kepyn dritt and vanite, and to þis is her entent; and herto þei shapen lawis. For þe lawe þat Crist haþ zovun, and þe chesinge þat he haþ chosen, were ynowþ to governe his Chirche wipouten lawis now maad. And office for to preche þe gospel, wiþ few oþer sacramentis, weren service liþ and ynowþ to siche preestis for to kepe; and þis diden Petre and Poule and oþer apostlis everychon. Þei stryven not for mannis choise, ne for jurisdiccioun, for þit was not þe Churche dowid, for to take þes worldli goodis, but for to take mede of Crist for good kepinge of his Chirche. And not al oonli siche preestis have keping of Cristís Chirche, but kingis and princis of þis world, as Ysidere beriþ witnesse a. And so ech man þat God zyveþ power and witt for to knowe his wille, shulden, after her power and witt, profite to Cristís Churche; for God wole þis streitli at domes dai of alle siche men. For God haþ zovun þese men siche power to serve God þus in erþe; and to profite to her modir holí Churche þat þei shulde helpe. And þis bond is streite ynowþ, al þif man made noon oþer bond, for þis bindiþ ech man to profite to his modir. What nede is it to make newe bonds, þe which done more harm þan good, and man can neiþer kytte ne loose, but if God telle hem speciali.

And herefore biddiþ Crist men wake, and speciali for þis

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a I am again indebted to the kindness of Professor Stubbs for pointing out to me the curious passage to which the text probably refers. It is in the Sententiae of Isidore, Bishop of Seville, lib. iii. cap. li, and is so interesting in itself, that I quote it at some length:—'Principes seculi nonmundam intra Ecclesiam potestatis adeptae culmina tenent: ut per eandem potestatem disciplinam Ecclesiasticam muniant. Ceterum intra Ecclesiam potestates necessariae non essent, nisi ut, quod non praevalet sacerdos efficere per doctrinae sermonem, potestas hoc imperet per disciplinae terrorem. Saepe per regnum terrenum celeste regnum proficit, ut qui intrá Ecclesiam positi contra fidem et disciplinam Ecclesiae agunt, rigore principii contraruntur; ipsamque disciplinam quam Ecclesiae humilitas exercere non praevalet, cervicibus superborum potestas principalis imponat; et ut veneratioemeretur, virtute potestatis imperiat. — Cognoscant principes saeculi Deo debere se rationem reddere propter Ecclesiam, quam a Christo tuendum suspiciunt. Nam, sive augentur pax et disciplina Ecclesiae per fideles principes, sive solvatur; ille ab eis rationem exiget, qui eorum potestati suam Ecclesiam credidit.'
cause:—for þei witen not whanne þe lord of þis house shal come, in tyme of mennis deþ, ne in tyme of his laste dome. And þanne he shal speke in þis cause moost sharpli of alle ðeþer. For þis cause he chargiþ moost; siþ he loveþ more his Chirche þan ony persone þerof, and bad alle to worship þis modir boþe in þe olde lawe and in þe newe. And, for God shal come privyli to þes two jugementis at unknewinge of men, þerfore he is seid to come on þe nyȝt. A nyȝt is partid in foure houres; as evenynge and mydnyȝt, cockis crowinge and morowynge; and alle þes houres ben unknown. For if we departe our lif to our deþ in foure houres, or tyme to þe laste dome in foure houres, evene to hemself, we witen never how nyȝt or ferre is þe comynge of þis Lord. And algatis, ȝif we wolde be saved, we moten waken fro synne, so þat we be not foundun þanne on deed sleep. For þe trumpe shal waken us, ouþer to blisse or to peyne. And þis Lord shal damyne alle þo þat he shal þanne fynde sleping; for ech man þat shal be saved shal be clene at þe dai of dome. And þus Crist spekiþ generali, to printe þis love in alle mennis hertis; þat þing þat Y seie to you, Y seie to alle,—wake þe.

[THE GOSPEL OF OON CONFESSOR AND DOCTOUR.

SERMON LXXX.]  

Vos estis¹ sal terre.—Matt. v. [13.]

Þis gospel is seid of Crist, as it semeþ to many men, to alle þo þat he ȝyveþ witt to profite to his Churche. But it is seid speciali to bishopis, and to confessouris, and to techeris of Goddis lawe, for to alle þes God ȝyveþ salt. And Crist telliþ to alle siche what office þat þei shal have, and whanne þei faile in her office, and what wise þei shal be punished. First seþ Crist to þes serventis: þe ben salt of þe erpe. And ȝif þe salt vanishe awaye, in what þing shal þe erpe be saltid? Þis salt is not worþ after but to be casten out and be defoulid of men, þat shulden

¹ So E; Vos qui estis, A.
take hede to pis salt. Pis salt of pe erpe ben techeris pe whiche bi pe lawe of Crist speken sharpli to men, and tellen hem per defaultis. Pis pei done to erpele men whanne God rubbip hy hem his lawe. We shal first wite pe kynde of salt, and sip what properties it hap. And bi pis mai we wite where men pat komen as apostlis done pe office of her stat, or ellis pei failen of her office. Clerkis seien pat salt is maad of gravel and of water, wip hete of pe sonne or of fier, and maad hard wip blast of pe wynd. And by Aristotlis reule it is dissolved bi pe contrarie a. And so cold ping and moist dissolvip salt, sip hote ping and drie makiip it hard. Pes disciplis ben made salt, pat sum tymne weren unstable as gravel, bi pe water of baptem, and hete of charite, and wynd of pe Holi Goost, to savore men as salt doiip. And pes ben maad whittere pan snow fro pe blaknes of her synne. And kynde of water saddid in hem bitokeneip pe stable witt of God. And pus, for Goddis lawe commandip in offringe to be devocion and hete of charite, perwip Goddis lawe biddip, in figure of pis, in ech offringe to be salt offrid. And pus shulden doctours teche pe peple how pei shulden lvy to God, and how pei shulden do here almes. For zif coveitouse men rubben to hem, pei ben not salt but cold water.

Many propirteis ben of salt, and to telle few here is ynow3. O propirte of salt is pat it makiip fleish drie and kepip it fro rotting and fro stinkinge and fro wormes. So prestis, bi Goddis wordis, shulden have hem to fleishli men. Pei shulden drie hem from lecherie, and kepe hem from yvel conscience, and fro styning of synne, and panne pei hav pe kynde of salt. And pus salt makiip mete savory, and salt makiip pe erpe bareyne, and salt helip fleishli woundis whanne it is stoppid in hem. Bi pes pre propirtees of salt shulden doctours worchen in fleishli men, and avoide hem fro ivel workis, and make hem bareyne fro fleishli dedis. And pei shulden savore Goddis wordis, and declare hem bi resoun, and pronounce hem to pe peple, as pes wordis wolden plese to hem. And pus depe woundis in man pat weren groundid

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a oδην δοκεί ἣμα τὰ ἐνεντὶ ἐπιδέχεσθαι. Catog. 6, 18; compare Topicos, ii. 7. 4.
in old synne shulden be heelid bi virtue of God. And þanne men kepten þe kynde of salt, and failing in ony of þes wolde make failinge in oure salt.

And þus mai men wite wher bishopis or oþer prechours to þe peple failen in þis kynde of salt, or ellis done treuli her office. Crist teчиt þat þif þei faillen þei shal be cast out, and defoulid of men, and to þes two ben þei worþi. And þis shal be at þe last dome, whanne þese false men shal be cast out into þe fier of helle and to be defoulid of many men. But, as many þenken, sich men shulden be punishid here, and be put out of her office and be defoulid of oþer men. Þus þe wise kyng Salomon tretede þe hiþe preest of his fadir. For siþ lordis shulden reule Cristis Chirche, and þes don so moche harm þerto, a greet charite were it in lordis to put doun þes Goddis enemies, and bi forme of Goddis lawe to maken hem serve in her office. And þis is oon þe moste defaute þat regneþ now in þe Chirche. Þese prelatis þat shulden be salt and make Goddis lawe savory—for, as Seint Poul teчиt, oure word shulde be savorid wip salt—þei ben now fresh brotel¹ and stinkinge, and turnid al fro þe kynde of salt, and wip stinkinge wordis and lawe þei maken Goddis lawe unsavery.

And goodis put in preestis possessioun is rote of al þis synne; for þei wolden ellis be stable as salt and savoren her word and stonde þerbi, and suffre for Goddis lawe þeþ, and distrie þe fendis lawe. But now þei ben fresh as foolishs and wanten witt and charite. And herfore þe charite of many wexþ cold, as Crist haþ told.

¹ þe secont word of þis gospel seþ to þes Cristis disciplis: þe ben liþ of þe world. And foure propirtees ben in liþ, þat shulden acorde to þese techeris; and þanne Crist seþ sop of hem as he dide of his apostlis. þe first propirte of liþ stondþþ in þis þing, þat among bodili qualitees liþ is more spiritual. þe secounde propirte of liþ stondþþ in þis þing, þat among bodili formes liþ is mooþ general, for it bringþ forþ alle þing þat growþ þere in erþe. þe þridde propirte of liþ stondþþ in þis, þat in al his worchinge it worchip bi ordre; for

¹ britil, E.
reule of pe\(^1\) hise kynd ledip li\(\bar{e}\)t ever. Pe fourp propirte of li\(\bar{e}\)t stondip in pis, pat among o\(\bar{e}\)r qualitees it confortip more man; for a man kyndeli hidousip derkenesse and is gladid bi li\(\bar{e}\)t as oure witt tellip. As anentis pe firste propirte prelatis shulde be spiritual, and holden hem pained of litil bodili goodis; for so dide Crist and Baptist and o\(\bar{e}\)r apostlis; but now pei axen worldli fare in fode and aray. As anentis pe secounde propirte, prelatis shulden be comun and profite to alle men, and acorde wi\(\bar{e}\) hem in goode, and be to alle alle pingis, as Seint Poul was. For he shulde grutche a\(\bar{e}\)ens nou\(\bar{e}\)t but pat pat smacchi\(\bar{e}\) synne. After pe pridd propirte prelatis shulden worche wiseli, now prechinge, now preyngge, now wel lyvinge. And what li\(\bar{e}\)f ever pei lyveden shulde\(^2\) profite to pe Chirche, and wher pei my\(\bar{e}\)ten more profite, more pei shulden worche. After pe fourpe propirte a prelat shulde 3yve confort to lyve after Crist, and fle derkenes of synne, and nevere speke of peyne but for pis entent, to make men fle synne and 3yve hem to virtues. And al pe li\(\bar{e}\)f of prelatis shulde sourne counfort to pe peple. And shortli, no\(\bar{e}\)ing fallip to pe reule of preestis pat it ne is ensamplid in propirtees of li\(\bar{e}\). Li\(\bar{e}\)t worchip redili, and bo\(\bar{e}\) in fair and in foule, and takip not but beyng of pe place to which it profitip. And pis shulde prestis be li\(\bar{e}\)f of pis world, and gendre witt and charite among men pat pei delen wi\(\bar{e}\).

Pe pridd tymne lickene\(\bar{e}\) Crist his clerkes to a cite, and seip, pat it may not be hid whanne it is set on a hill. Prelatis shulde be a citee and take flying of pe contre whanne pei ben pursued of her goostli enemies. Li\(\bar{e}\)t and al maner of fode shulde pis cite hav, pat si\(\bar{e}\) it failide in pe contre peere shulden men fynde it. Al maner of marchaundise shulde it have to selle, and store pe contre wi\(\bar{e}\)bouten ony charging; for goostli ping encresip whanne it is more usid. And so as Ysaye techip, pei shulden not chaffere wi\(\bar{e}\) moneie; but as pei token freeli of God so shulden pei 3yve freeli. This cite shulde be sett upon an hill, pe which hil is Jesus Crist, pat is hied over o\(\bar{e}\)r hillis as Ysay tellip. For Crist is fondement and hill and dore bi many resouns. And no man shulde take pis state but in virtu of Crist, lest he be a smoky hill, wyndi, and of yvel wedris.

\(^1\) om. E.  \(^2\) So E; shulden, A.
And like the candle set on a candlestick.

There was a likeness of Christ in a light lantern, that men might see it in a dark house, that men might come in. And so, if a prelate imply him with secular nectar, he creepeth under a bushel and failith of his likeness. This house is holy Church, to which prelates shall profite without envie for taking of her light. And henceforward biddeth Christ to his disciples, that her light shall shine in presence of men, that they see her good work, and so may God have it. And here may we see how doing of ye Church is not tawd of Christ, but evene ye contrarie of it. For his preestis hid under ye bushel, and ye people see not ye postis work, but workes of ye world. And ye glorifieth not God bi hem, but preisen ye emperor. And wise men holden him a fool, for he derkide yis ye Church. And, for men mayten seien that Christ cam to unbinder ye lawe, and so office of his preestis shulden change fro ye olde lawe, as Anticristis preestis serven now to ye world,—henceforward seeith Crist, that men shulden not gesse that he cam to louse ye lawe, but for to fullfille it. And so as preestis in ye olde lawe weren bisee aboute her bestis, so preestis in Cristis lawe shulden be more spiritual, and liȝnte folk bi ye gospel, and become profetis. But ye send haþ turned these work at to worldli liif, alþif disciplis of his worlde shulden have here her bliss. And for filling of these law Crist seeith yis: Sōpeli, Y see to you, til ye heaven and erpe passe aweie, an i ne a title shal not passe fro ye lawe before alle þings ben done. And his word of Crist is aȝens lawe of Anticrist, for Crist spekiþ here of ye old lawe of God, and wole þat, as longe tyme as heaven goiþ aboute, and peple dwelliþ here in erpe by chaunging of men, þe leste manedment of God, [is] undirstonden bi leste lettre, ne þe leste counsell, or þe witt of ceremonie, shall not passe fro Goddis lawe til þe dai of dome come. For alþif Anticrist have brouȝt a lawe þat lettiþ þe use of Goddis lawe, þit þe treuþe

1 om. E; rightly.  2 So E; uss, A.

a Yōdh, or iōta, the smallest letter in the Hebrew alphabet.
of Goddis lawe and þe dette to usen it lastip evermore and bindip men ful harde. And it is not liȝt to unbinde oon of Goddis heestis; for Crist bihetip here; þat who ever doiȝ þus he shal be clepid lest in þis Chirche wandernge, siþ þe Chirche above jugip him in þis Chirche and not of þe Chirche, but to be dampeed in helle. And þis cleping of þe Chirche above mut nedelingis stonde; but defending and teching of þe lawe of God makip a man clepid of him grete in þe blisse of hevene.

OF OON CONFESSOUR AND ABBOT.

[SERMON LXXXI.]

Nemo accendit lucernam.—LUC. xi. [33.]

Þis gospel techip how ech confessour shulde kepe him, and speciali abotis and þes newe reliquíous. But, as it seme to juste men, Crist tellip litil bi þes ordris, but tellip ech man of his Chirche how he¹ shal profite þerto, and how he shal kepe himself in state of salvacioun. First spekip Crist in figuratife speche, and seip þat, no man liȝtþ a lanterne in derknesse, and putip it in oon of þes two infamous² places; neþer in hisd place³ ne undir a bushel. Ech man shulde be a lanterne liȝtid of God. Þe bodi of þis lanterne is mannis bodi; þe hornes of þis lanterne ben spiritus in man, and þe remanent of his bodi, as fleish and boon, ben óþer tres⁴ in which þis horn is picchid. Þe liȝt in þis lanterne is mannis soule, and liȝtnynge wiþinneforþ is witt þat God ðeveþ man. Þat man putþip his lanterne in hidd place or undir a bushel, þat lyþþ in worldli bisynes and not profiteþ to þe Chirche. For God hæþ þovun him soule and witt, to liȝt men here in erþe þat ben in derknes of synne, as ech man shulde liȝte to óþere; for ech man hæþ sum knowing þat fauþþ to anoþer man; and so ech man shulde be lanterne to liȝtnye sum men of Goddis hous; and herfore ðeveþ God

¹ So E; we. A. ² famous, E ³ placis, E. ⁴ trees, E.
pis liht to lihte sum men in pis world. And þanne þe liht failiþ
in pis lanterne whanne þe man is deed in bodi. And ȝif he be
deed in good workes þis lanterne is deed in a man. But riht
as lanterne wantiþ of himself liht to shyne wiþinne or wiþout,
somannis bodi wantiþ of himself liht of liif and of witt.

And so God biddiþ þis lanterne to be put on hye on a candil-
sticke to þewe men liht in Goddis hous, and algatis to liht þis hous.
And so þis candilsticke may be state þat God approvéþ to þis ende,
as sevene candilstickis of gold ben sevene statis of bishopis.
And, as many men þenken, alle þes newe religious ben hid bi
mannis ordenaunce to bere liht to Cristis Chirche; for ȝif a
man be closid in a cloistre, what profitþ he, bi Cristis orde-
nance, to make liht to his broþer þat felþiþ not of his profit?
And þus closing of þes cloistres, or hiþe housis, þat men hav
foundun, is bísise Cristis lawe, foundun of prince of þis erþe.
And so alle þes ben yevel hid fro profit of holi Chirche.

And þus spekiþ Crist generali to Cristen men, and seþiþ, Þe
lanterne of þi bodi is þin ȝe. And þat is on double manerse; for
sum men hav a simple ȝe, and þat eþe lihtþ al þe bodi; and ȝif
þin ȝe be wayward, þe, þi bodi shal be derk. Here is þe lanterne
clepid, þe liht þat shulde be in þis lanterne; for þis liht is þe
ende wherfore God haþ maad þis lanterne. And ȝif þis liht be
of riht entent þannte is þin ȝe simple; as men þat wolen profite
to Cristis Chirche, after Goddis lawe, hav a riht eþe and a
simple, even after Goddis wille. And so a simple ȝeþe is seid
wipouten folding fro þis riht. And þe liht of charite shynþ in
siche a lanterne; for as Poul seþiþ:—Charite sekiþ not his owne
wynnyng, but how it myȝte best profite to many men of þe
Chirche. But he haþ a blynd ȝeþe turned awayward from
God þat sekiþ more his owne wynnyng þan profite of Cristis
Chirche; and in þis angle of þis eþe is derknesse fro charite.
And þes men wanten liht of God, þat shulden shyne riþþi bi
hem. And but ȝif Goddis grace worche bi hem, þei ben derke
as to merite. And so seþiþ Crist, þat simple ȝe makþiþ al þe
bodi shynþ, and þe þat is turned amys makþ þe bodi al derk.
And þe bodi may be clepid þe multitude of mannis workes, or
mannis liif, þat is medeful or sinful bi sich ententis; for bi þes
man haþ charite or wantiþ charite in his workes. And herby
WyClif.
mannis lyf is medeful or damnable bi Goddis lawe. And þus þe charite of Crist stretchiþ riþli wipouten angle, to profit of Cristis Chirche, and not to profit of him silf. And þus Poul souȝte many mennis profit, and not his owne worldi wynnyng; for sich entent is algatis derk, and liþt of God goþ not þerby.

And herfore biddiþ Crist to us ðat we shulde see ðat liþt in us be not derknesse, bi yvel entent; for þanne it is an yvel liþt. No man is here in erþe þat ne God þeveþ him sum liþt: as sum knowing and sum entent in coveiting of sum good. And ȝif þis liþt be riȝtful, wipouten angle of crokidenesse, þanne Goddis grace shynþe wip him, and ellis his liþt is derknesse; for sich crokidenesse bringþ ægen derknesse of mannis liþ. And so, ȝif al þi bodi be al shynynge, haruynge noþ part of derknesse, it shal be shynynþ al, and it shal liþþe þee as a lantere of shynynþ. Þes wordis semen superflu and seid of Crist wipouten witt. But it is ægens bileve to trove þus of Cristis wordis; and herfore we shal undirstonde þat þer ben two goodnesse in workes; goodnesse in kynde of workes, and goodnesse in vertues. Þe firste mai be wipouten þe seconde, but þe seconde is þe betere; as ȝif a man bi ypocrisie þyve good to nedi men, þan his þyving is good and his work is ful of liþt; but it hap oonli liþt of kynde and not liþt of vertues. And þis techiþ Crist us: þat ȝif al þe bodi of oure workes be shynynþ bi liþt in kynde, and hav noþ part of derknesse, neiþer in kynde ne in vertues, þanne it shal be al liþt bi double liþt of kynde and vertues. And þis seconde liþt of vertues men shulden moche telle bi, and þe derknes in vertues, al ȝif þei have liþt in kinde. For God lokiþ to þis seconde liþt, and blessiþ men in hevene þerfore; and for þe first liþt of kynde a man mai be depe dampned in helle: as ȝif þou bi ypocrisie do good to þi neþbore, and die in þis ypocrisie, þou shalt be depe dampned in helle; and for þis good þat þou didist þou shalt be dampned wipouten ende. And ȝif þou ponishe a man of þe Chirche, for double love þat þou hast, boþe to þe Chirche and to þis man, al if þou erre in þis man, supposing þat he be yvel, and he be good to siþt of God, and God excusiþ þi ignoraunce for derkness hid to þee; ȝit þou maist be saif in hevene for þis yvel werk in his
kynde, and goodnesse þat it haþ in vertues. And þeþre loke to þis godennesse. And þus seip Crist: þat ʒif þi workes ben alle ful of liþt of kynde, and þei have noo derknes of vertues, þan þei shal be algatis liþt, and liþten þee as lanterne of shynyng. And þus þou shuldist riþte þi iþe, and algatis from derknes of vertues. And ʒif þou have þes two liþtis, it makip more shynyng to þee. But algatis have þis secounde liþt; for wiþouten it is noþt medeful. And herfore seip Crist here, þat þis bodi of þi workes shal liþte þee as a lanterne of shynyng bi Goddis grace. And þus, ʒif we studien wel, þes wordis of Crist, þat semen unsavery, and rehersid wiþouten witt, ben ful of witt þat men shulde knowe; siþ mannis entente shulde be reulid bi þei riþnes of his vertues, and man shulde also be bisie to done his workes good in kynde. But riþnes of þis oþer entent is algatis nedeful to man, siþ mannis entent moût nedis be reulid bi þe lawe of God, þat he do bi charite alle hise workes þat he doþ. And so blyndenesse of þe first liþt takiþ man in excusing; but blyndnesse of þe secounde liþt mai no way be excusid. But boþe þes blyndenessis shulden be fled; siþ þe firste bringiþ in þe toþer.

And blyndenes of þes neuwe ordris makip many men to be dampned; siþ þe state of preestis þat Crist ordeyned was liþt and esi for to knowe, but þe fend marieþ manye wiþ neuwe statis þat he brouþt inne; and he mooveþ hem to speke ægens þe lore þat Crist haþ taþt. And, for þes derke wordis of Crist maken many men to muse, men seken divers weies to undir-stonde Cristis wordis:—as sum men seien þat Crist techiþ here, þat ʒif alle workes of þi liif be, at þi deþ, shynyng by grace, þei shal be shynyng after in hevene, and liþte þee as a lanterne of briþnes; for men shal after be briþt in hevene, moche more þan þe we wenynþ here. How ever Crist undirstoode, we bilee þes wordis ben soþ, and ful of resoun and witt, and knowun to hem þat he wole shewe it.

1 marieþ, E. 2 wenynþ, E.

*In kynde,* that is, objectively, the persecution of an innocent man is an evil work; but *in vertues,* or subjectively, and by virtue of your pure intention, it may be a good work, and may help to make you *sai in hevene.*
PE GOSPEL ON FEESTIS OF MANY CONFESSOURS.

[SERMON LXXXII.]

Sint lumbi vestri praecincti.—Luc. xii. [35.]

Dis gospel techiþ alle men how þat þei shulden lyve to Crist, but speciali prelatis, þat shulden be liȝt to þe peple. And so, for confessours kepten þis lore in her liif bifoer oþer men, þerfore þe Chirche rediþ þis gospel whanne men seien of confessours. First Crist biddiþ to his disciplis, þat her lendis be girdid bifoer, and lanternes brennynge in her hondis, as þei shulden bide her Lord whanne he comeþ azyn fro bridalis. Þes lendis þat Crist spekiþ of ben þe fleischli kynde joyned wip þe soule. And þes lendis helpen þe spirit upon two maneres; and for þes two maneris þei ben clepid lendis. Þis fleisch serveþ to þe soule, sufringe as it shulde suﬀre, and doinge as it shulde do, whanne it is tauþ wel of þe soule. And þus scip Poul a, þat Crist was in Abrahams lendis. And so Crist techiþ here chaste, as Gregory seip b;—but not oonli chaste but alle fleischli vertues. þes lendis ben girded bifoer, whanne man, by discrecioun, drawþ from his fleisch þe norishment þerof; or chastiseþ it, on oþer manere, bifoer it falle in synne. Brennynge lanternes ben medeful workes þat men have in her vertue, bi whiche þei shulden worche; and, for þes workes comen boþe of bodi and of soule, þerfore þei ben clepid of Crist two lanternes, and þei ben inoure hondis whanne we worchen wip hem. For it is not ynowþ to kepe us fro synnes, but if we worken gode workes bi þes two lanternes.

But for þes bridalis, we shal wite þat þei ben taken on many maneris; ﬁrst for þe weddingis þat Crist is joyned wip þe soule; after for þe dwellinge þat Crist dwelliþ wip þe soule;

a Compare Hebrews vii. 10, Gal. iii. 17. The writer of the sermon appears to have misunderstood the first of these passages.

b S. Greg. Homilia xiii. 'Lumbos enim praecingimus, cum carnis luxuriam per continentiam coarctamus.'
and þe þridde for þe goostli fode þat soulis ben fed wiþ Crist in blisse. And so þei ben þree weddingis þat Crist is weddid here; first whanne he toke mankynde, and made it oo persone wiþ him; after whanne he takip his Chirche, and makiþ it oo spouse wiþ him; þe þridde wedding is particular, whanne Crist takip oo soul to him. And so Crist is seid to turne aþen fro bridalis on two maneris. First, whanne a man is deed þat Crist haþ ordeyned to come to blisse, Crist turneþ aþen to his soul from dwelling wiþ þe Chirche in hevene. But Crist leveþ not þis Chirche, but on new manere dwellþ wiþ þis soule. But þanne he must have dwelt bifoře, or ellis þis soule cam not bi þis state. And so we shulden be liche to men þat abiden þe comyng of Crist, in tyme of deþ, or þe dai of dome. And þis abiding shulde alle men marke, for þis comyng is uncertein, and þis tymne is perilous; siþ þis draþt mot be wel drawen þif oure liif shal ouþte profite. And so to þes comyngis of Crist shulde ech man make him redi; siþ Crist shal come and knocke at doris, and entre to hem þat ben wakinge, and redi to resseyve Crist wiþoughen sleping in synne. And þis openyng shal be doon anoon, as liþnyng of sonne 1 is in þe eir. And so Crist knockþ at oure doris whanne he techþ us signes of deþ, or signe of þe dai of dome; but þe laste knockynge is suðeyne. Þif a man be redi bifoře to dwellen wiþ Crist wiþoughen ende, þanne he openeþ to Crist, siþ þis openyng is redynesse. And þus seþ Crist ful sopli, þat þes servauntis ben blessid whiche, whanne þe Lord comeþ, he fynþ þus wakinge. Sopeli, Y seþe to zou, þat þis Lord shal girde him, and make hem sitte to mete, and passe and mynystre to hem. Þe sitting to mete of seinitis, is confermyng of hem in blisse; þe passing of þis Lord bi hem is his shewin to oon and oþer. And al þif þis shewing be togidere, þit her taking is divers; and her diversite is signefid bi þis passing of Crist. Þis service is liþt to Crist, for it is but Cristis shewing of his Godhede, and his manhede, in which seinitis shal be fed.

And þif þis Lord come in þe secounde vigile, and eke in þe þridde, and fynde sich redynesse in þes servauntis, ful blessid ben þes servauntis, siþ þei anoon ben blessid of God. Þes þre vigiles þat Crist tellþ

1 sunne, E.
SERMONS.

of here, ben þre wakingsis fro synne, and algatis fro þe laste synne þat is þe worste yvel þat mai be; and so we preien in þe Pater noster God to delyvere us fro þis yvel. Þes vigiles ben clepid þre, for þe Holy Trinite, for þouȝt of resoun of him, shulde make men to wake wel. And so ech tyme þat man lyveþ here is departid in þree parties, and tyme to þe dai of dome is also departid in þree; and, for þe quantite of þes þree is uncertein to man, þerfore he shulde ever wake, and þanne he wakip þes þree vigilis. Þe first þree hâp ech seint, bifore þe soule go fro þe bodi; þe toþer þre hâp þe Chirche, bifore þe dai of dome come.

And so unknowing of þes tymes, and knowinge how men shulden ever wake, profitiþ unto Goddis children, as done alle þingis. As Poul seip³, bi þat þat we knowun not þe quantite of þes þre tymes, shulden we ever more be in drede and ever wake out of synne.

And þis lore techip Crist in a parable to his children. Þis þing he seip, wite we¹ wel þat þif þe housebonde wiste what tyme þe² heþ wolde come, and stele his goodis, he wolde wake warli, and suffre not þis peef þus to breken his hous, and spoylen him. It is touchid bifore b how þis þeef is þe fend, þat doip al his diligence to tempte man whanne he shal die. For ech man and a fend ben couplid togider in a liste and fiȝten boþe niȝt and dai, and algatis whanne þe fend hopip to overcome. And so whanne þe nyȝt of synne blindip men to knowun hemsilf, þanne is tyme to þe fend to fiȝte fastip³ wiþ his make; for riȝt as nestis in a synne beem ben wel perceyved wiþ fiþp of man, so synnes ben wel perceyved of a man þat is in grace. Þis þeef worchip ever bi disseïtis, and fiȝtip bleþeliest⁴ on nyȝtis; and in tyme of mannis deþ he enforsip moost to overcome, for þis victorie shal ever laste, on wheþer side þat it falle. Þis housebondis hous is his bodi, þat his soule is kept ynnn; and undirmyynyng of þis hous mai be don on two maneris. First, whanne þe fend supposiþ þat a man shal die here, he gaderip togidere mannis spiritis, and temptip him to mony synnes, as to ire and lecherie, and algatis to dis-

¹ 3E. ² So E; om. A. ³ fast, E. ⁴ So E; biþyest, A.

*a The passage referred to is not in any of the Pauline epistles, but in 1 Pet. i. 17.
b See Sermon LXXVI, p. 251.
peire. But besse we us wip þe Trinite, and þenken on him in þis cais; and æzens þe fistre synne þenke we mekel on Goddis power, how God is stronger þan þe fend, and wipouten him mai we nouȝt do. And sich pouȝt of þe Fadir of Hevene shulde overcome þe fend in hour of dep. Aæns þe secounde synne of þe fend we shulden þenke on God þe Sone, how kyndeli he is spouse to us, and þouȝte us wip his precious blood, and how he mai not parte fro us, but þif our unkyndene-
nesse be in cause; how fair and good a spouse is Crist, and how foule is þe fend; and bi sich þouȝtis Crist wolde þeve vertue to men to overcome þe fend, whanne he temptiȝ man in hour of dep to þenke on lecherie. Aæns dispeir we shulden þenke on goodnesse of þe Holy Goost, how oure good God may not leve us, but þif our folie be in cause; and þif we hav synned nevere so moche, and nevere so longe have leien in synne, axe we God mercy in oure þouȝte, and have we sorewe for þis synne, and God is redi to forȝeve it, how ever þat preestis failen.—For þe fend may be awey fro mannis soule, but not God; and þe mercy of God is more þan is envie of þe fend, and goodnesse of God is more þan is hate of þe fend. What shulde move men to dispeire, siþ þei may so liȝtli be saiȝ?

And noþing is more in mannis power þan is pouȝt of his soule, but we mote have alone drede to oure God in þis hour; siþ we witen þat olde synne may be so hard þanne in oure soule, þat we shal not be þanne in power to æzonestonde tempting of þe fend. For as a þerde mai grewe so greet, and be so stiȝ in his strengþe, þat men shal not wriȝe it, þouȝ þei wolde never so fayn, so synne may grewe in man, and be so strong in tyme of dep, þat riȝtwisnes of God wole lette man to obei þanne þus to God. þis drede of God shulde we have, and algatis in hour of dep; and þis is a good defence æzens þe fend and dispeir. But þis mote be alone drede, and hope in þe love of God; how þat God haþ more love þan þe fend haþ envye; for Goddis love is wipouten ende, but þis envie is foule and feble; and þis envie mai not do but in vertue of Goddis love; for love þat God loveþ riȝtwisnesse makþ overcomyng in þis hour. Lord! siþ good God þeveþ us strengþe to love him, and to hope in him, and þe fend mai not lette to þenke on þis þisþe of God,
what man shulde dispeire of God, in our 1 ūat God departiþ pe soule? God suffriþ pe fend to have power to haste a man to his deþ, but gode God wole nevere suffre ūat ne man mai freli þenke on him; and ʒif þis power be for barrid 2, synne of man is þe cause, and resouns of þe fend ben blindid in þis matere. Þe fend puttiþ to us grete synnes þat we have done in work and þouþt, and for gretenesse of þes synnes Goddis riþtwisnes haþ hardid us. But þis foole shal wel wite how þat we wolen answere here. We graunte mekeli þat we have synned in þouþt, and word, and in dede; but we wite þat Goddis grace is moche more þan al o ure synne. And þis fool knowiþ not how þat God haþ mekid us now, for we felen þe grace of God, how we hopen in his goodnesse, and sorwen foroure synne. And þis þe fend knowiþ not, but ʒit þe fend arguþ þus: algatis sum man mote be dampned; but who shulde be dampned, but þou, þat þus hast ben unkynde to God? Here we answeren to þe fool, þat he takþ þe þing þat is soþ, but how can þis fend prove þat Goddis riþt wole have me dampned? ʒiþ Y have hope in my soule, þat is hid to þe fend. And wel Y woot þe fend knowiþ not þis pryvy ordenaunce of God, as he knewe not his owne dampnyng, how God shope it to blis of seintis. But ʒit þe fend arguþ þat alle þingis þat shal come mut nedis come bi þe ordenance of God, and þus þe fend mote have of me a glorious victorie. But here we answere to þis fend, and graunte him þat he takþ; and so he mut nedis be dampned for folie þat he is inne; for he travaliþ bisili to have victorie of us, but ʒit we hopen þat he shal faile, bi sparclis of grace þat we felen. And wel we witen as bileve, ʒif þe fend overcumus us, it shal not be glorious to him, but more to his dampnacioun; for ever þe more harm þat he doþ, ever þe worse shal he be punishid. And so men þat shal be dampned wiþ him shal be ever payneful to him, for he shal ever forþinken þat he dide so myche yvel. And so þe fend, concludid in insolible, shal ever forþinke and like togidere. What man þat knowiþ þis foolis castis shulde be overcomen wiþ þis fend, siþ o ure good God is so nyþe, and his mercy is so greet, and folie of þis proude fend in bostinge of þingis þat he knowiþ not is so stynkinge biforn God, and so knowun to Goddis children?

1 boure, E. 2 forbarrid, E.
The gospel telliþ how preestis shulden traveile in Goddis cause, and how kynde þat þei shulden be boþe to God and to þe peple. For wordis seid to Cristis disciplis shulden teche us preestis how we shulden do, siþ we shulden be vikeris of hem; and ellis Crist bindiþ us bi no lore. And þus a prest dampnep himsylf þat seip þat Crist spekiþ not here to him; for he seip in a maner þat he is þe fendas child. And for his unkyndnes Crist wolde not bidde him do Goddis work, but do as yvel as he mai; and Crist þerafter shal dampne him; and þis man beriþ upon him mater of his dispeiring. And þis shulde moove prestis alle to fille þe wordis þat Crist bad; for if þei dispisen þes wordis, þei mai dispeire as fendas children. And þus boþe bishopis and freris beren her dispeir wiþ hem, and þis will not be shaken of, but þif þei leven her olde synne, and suen þe love of Crist þat he techiþ in þis gospel.

Þis gospel telliþ how, Jesus sente his twelve disciplis, and comandide hem: Go þe not out azens my bidding in to weie of hopene men, and entre þe not into citees, þe which ben of Sama-ritans. Þese wordis moten be wel undirstondun to þe witt þat God spekiþ hem; for Crist himsilve wente ofte tymes to Gentilis and Samaritans; and he biddiþ at his departing þat þei shulden teche alle folk; and þus þes Gentile folk weren turned, many moo þan weren of Jewis. And herfore seien holi men þat Crist tauþe ordre in preching, how men shulde first go to her kyn, and first moove hem to turne to God; and þif God telde hem unablite of her kyn, þei shulden speke to ojer. And to þis entente dide Crist, and tauþe hise apostlis to do. And so men seien comunli þat Crist here forbed goinge

\[1 \text{ þe inablite, E.}\]
in to þe weie of Gentile folk; but he forbed not to go to hem; but Crist biddip raper go to þe sheep þat perischiden\(^1\) of þe hous of Israel. And it semep ðat þes sheep þen þo men þat shal be saif; for all þes ben of Goddis hous, and men þat seen God in hevene. And alle þes weren in point to perishe bificore Cristis treuþe was teld to hem. To þes folk shulden men preche; for Cristis word wolę florishe in hem, and mede and worship is in hevene to men þat prechen to þis peple. Crist bad hem go and preche þis:-þat þe kingdom of hevene shulde neixe. And þis is soþ; for Crist shal come to his laste jugement, and rekene sharpli wip hise, boþ wip servauntes good and yvele. And Crist is ofte clepid in þe gospel þe kingedom of hevene, for he is heed. And þis bileve, among oþer, shulde meve men to turne to Crist. For love of þis gode Lord and drede of his ponishinge shulde be two sporis to Cristene men for to drawe in Cristis 30k; but wanting of bileve makip many men dolle\(^2\) in þis.

And fyuve maneres enjoiynþ Crist to his prechours for to kepe. First, ðat þei shal hele sike men, oþer of bodili sykenesse, or þerwiþ of goostli sekenesse. Boþe þes hadde Cristis apostlis, but we have unneþe þe toon; for we have greet grace of God ðif we heele men fro synne. And we failen in þis craft whanne we bosten of our power, and leven Cristis lore, or\(^3\) to lyve or to preche. Þe secound manere þat we shulden have shulde be, to reisen up deed men; and þis mai be on two maneris. As it was seid of þe firste, algatis we shulden traveile to reise up men deed bi synne; for þis is more þan þe firste, and eende wherfore þe firste is good. And ðif we don oure diligence þat God hæþ 30vun us power to, we mai liðli do þes two; for synne is þicke sowen in londe. Þe þridde cure þat we shulden do, we shulden hele leprous men. And siþ leprous is heresie, a synne bi þe whiche men ben defoulid, we have power to do þis wondir, ðif we worchen after our power; and oo lepre left unheeld mai enembleisshe many folk. And þus we shulden be diligent to worche þis wondir in þe Chirche; for o leprous mai foule a flok, and a flok mai foule a more.a Þe fourþe work þat

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\(^1\) So E.; perischiden, A.
\(^2\) dul, E.
\(^3\) oþer, E.

a A tainted flock may taint a whole moor.
preestis shulden do shulde be, þat þei shulden caste out fendis. And þis we done on betere manere þif we casten out synnes fro men; for ech synne haþ a fend, þat goþ whanne þis synne goþ. But þe fend on two maneres is in diverse men. In sum men he is to tempete hem, al if he be not in her soule: In sum men he is incorporate, as in men þat have synne; and in þes soulis þe fend dwellip, as who shulde dwelle in his house. Þe fipæ manere þat prestis shulden have shulde be þankfula travelinge; for þif þei wolen have þank of God, þei shulden here fe symonie, and neiþer sille her preching ne oþer workes þat þei done. And þis forgeten many men, boþe more prestis and lesse; for popis wolen have þe firste fruytis for benefices þat þei þyven, and bishopis an hundrid shillingis for halewynge of oo Chircheb; and lordis wolen have longe service for o Chirche þat þei þyven, and þis is worþ þeer bi þeer moche rente or moche moneie. And howevere we spoken, God woot wel how þis chaffaringe is maad, pryvlyli or aperli; for God knowip al kyn þingis, and God biddip us do þes dedis and hope noþte here for hem; for þif we hopen to be here rewardid oure hope periship to have blisse.

And wþ þis synne ben freris bleckid þat shapen to preche wynnyng here; and herfore þei prechen þe peple fable and falshede to plesen hem. And in tokene of þis chaffare, þei beggen after þat þei have prechid; as who seip, þyve me þi moneie, þat Y am worþi bi my preching. And þis chaffare is sellinge of preching, however þat it be florishid. Soþeli preestis mai medefulli, after þer sermons, ete wþ folk; but not calenge for her sermons, neiþer bi dette ne bi custome. And herfore seien many preestis, þat no men þat have cure shal lyve but on Goddis part, as on dymes and on oferingis; and so bi clene

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a That is, gratuitous.
b This, if ever really exacted, must have been an excessive charge. Originally, the bishop was to receive nothing for consecrating a church; but by degrees the custom crept in of allowing a reasonable ‘procuration,’ not for the consecration itself, but for the expenses of travelling, lodging, &c., which it entailed on the bishop. The amount of this procuration varied, says Gibson, in different dioceses. He had collected scarcely any information on the subject, beyond the single fact that in the time of Archbishop Warham (circa 1530) the sum of £10 was paid for the consecration of three churches in the diocese of Bath and Wells, or at the rate of £3 6s. 8d. for each consecration. (Codex, Tit. ix, cap. 1.)
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titil of almes shulden þei have goodis þat þei have. For þus lyvede Crist, hiȝest pope. What art þou þat wolde not lyve þus? wolt þou be gretter þan Crist þat is Lord of al þis world? Also þis manere is more meedeful to men þat shulden fynde þes preestis, and more meke and lesse worldli to preestis þat shulden be susteyned. And so it is on boþ sidis more vertuous2 þan þes rentis now. And þanne God, wiþouten doute, biddþ þat þis manere be kept. Who dredþa þat ne it is more mede man to þeve wel his charite þan to þyven his worldeli dette which he oweþ bi worldli lawe? And who dredþ þat ne it is more meke to be paiæd on Goddis þart þan to calenge bi worldis titil more þan Goddis lawe axþ? For þis were neer to Poulis reule, þat preestis shulden be paiæd of foode and hiliyng wiþouten more worldli riches; and þanne our titil myȝte be groundid; and oþer is feyned of þe fend. Also men myȝten bi conscience þyve good men, and take fro truaunþis2 betere þan þei now done. And so þis were Goddis wille, bi what resoun shulde he have dymes and offerings of þe peple þat lyveþ in lustis and in ydilnes, and profiteþ not to þis peple? Certis þis were a fendis lawe, to þyve Goddis þart to sicþ men. And so comunes weren excluid of false þyvynge to alyens; as to popis, and cardinals, and siche Antecristis disciplis. Þei weren also excusid of þifte to persouns þat ben lordis clerkis, þat lyven unclerkluche; and þei weren excluid wel of þes Chirches þat ben aproprid to þyve Goddis þart to men which ben of þe fendis coventb. And cursinge noieþ not to man, but þif he lyve aȝens resoun. Freris wolten have anþer titil, and plete and fiȝte for siche goodis; but þis is Goddis lawe, however þe fend termyne. And þus curatis shulden not selle no kyn service þat þei done; but do freeli, and taken aȝen almes þat men wolten þyve hem; and never more curse, ne plete for sich almes of þe peple, but fieþ sicþ lawis þat techen þis, as þei weren lawis of Anticrist. And þus preestis shulden lyve clenli bi Goddis lawe, as þei diden first. And þus men shulden

1 So E; vertues, A.

2 tiraunþis, E.

a ‘who dredþ’ means ‘who can doubt:’ compare the expression, so constantly occurring in these sermons,—‘it is no drede.’

b That is, parishes, the tithes of which were impropriated to monastic communities, which then served the cures from their abbey or priory.
wipdrawen her hond fro freris þat beggen whanne þei have prechid; for þei ben coupable bi consente þat ȝeven hem on þis manere. For al þis chaunging shulde be free, þat man shulde do bi Goddis titil.

And þus seip þe gospel here, Siþ we token fredi of God we shulden fredi ȝyve to men, for hope of more mede in hevene. But here þe peple shulde be taulþ how þei shulden fredi ȝyve þingis þat ben nedeful to preestis, for tyme þat þei shulden serve hem; for þus ȝeveþ God to his servauntis þing nedeful to his service, and man ȝeveþ to his bodi þing nedeful to serve him. And herfore Poul seip it is litil ȝif we taken þing nedeful to us. But first, er¹ men done symony, þei shulden travaile wip her hondis, or go to anoþer peple, or rāþer serve in her bodi. But þis wolde falle late or never, but ȝif oure synne be in cause. And þus men þenken þat prestis mai take almes of her parishis; and go to scole, and gadere hem lore to teche hem ofte þe wey to hevene; but þis is fer fro dwelling of lorde², or from oþer unhoneste liif, or from wendinge to Rome to gete a fattere benefice. Myche þing shulden men knowe here þat is hid bi þe sent, and lettiþ service of Cristis Chirche þat he ordeynede to be done.

ÆGospel on Feestis of Oon Virgyn and Martir.

[SERMON LXXXIV.]

Simile est regnum caelorum thesaur.—Matt. xiii. [44.]

Þis gospel, in þre parablis, spekiþ of virgines; and here men reden it, whanne þei seien of a virgyn þat was virgin and martir, as was þe heed of virginis. Þese þree parablis ben þe lasse of sevene þat Crist seide togidere in þe gospel of Mathew. For God spake ofte in parablis; as David prophesiede of him, and seip, in Cristis persone, Y shal opene my mouþ in parablis and shal speke in proposiciouns þat weren beyng and hidd at

¹ or, E. ² wip lorde, E; which seems the better reading.
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The hidden treasure.

pe bigynnynge of pe world. Parablis on good manere tellen many faire treu[pis; and þus, for many causis, Crist spake ofte in parablis.

þe first parable of þes þree is seid þus of Crist; þe rewme of hevene is like to tresour hid in þe feld, þe which, whanne a man findip, hidip\(^1\), and for joie þerof goip and selliþ al þat he haþ, and goip and bieþ þat feld. þe rewme of hevene is ofte taken for heed of þis rewme, þat is Jesus Crist, for he is in manere al þis rewme, sıp Crist is in manere ech part of himself. And so þe rewme of hevene, of which Crist spekip here, is Goddis word, oure Lord Jesus Crist. þis feld is undirstonden þe feip of Holi Writt, and Goddis word is hid everywhere in þis feld; for every part of Holi Writt tellip Goddis word,—þe olde law in figure, and þe gospel expressly. Man findip þis tresour, whanne he takip þe feip of Goddis Sone of hevene, þat is þit hid; for bileve is a þing hid to men þat bileven, sıp bileve is a þing þat men kyndeli seen not. And so siþte of bileve, þat is an hid siþte, is ofte tymes clepid no siþte, but treuþe. He hidip þis tresour founden in þis feld þat keip Holip Writt in forme of her wordis, and keip þe witt of it in his soule; for no man shulde presume to amende Holi Writt, but kepe it in þe fourme þat God himself haþ zovun it. He goip for joie and silliþ alle his goodis to bigge þis feld, and after to traveile þerinne. He haþ first joie of þis foundun tresour, for man haþ moche joie of his riþt bileve. He silliþ al þat he haþ, þat renounsiþ al his erþeli goodis, and þeveþ him to þouþt and studie of Hooli Writt. And þus he biggiþ þis feld for erþeli substaunce, as prestis, þat wolen be pore for to be Cristis disciplis, and occupien her wittis in wordis of þe gospel. And alþip þis be wisdom to jugement of God, it is holden foli to men of þe world; but jugement of God mai no wey faile, and jugement of þe world is algatis fals and faillinge. And so þis chaffare of þis feeld is wiþe\(^2\) and profitable; for rotis of bileve hid in þis feld springen out into erbis and wel-smellinge flouris. And þis susteyneþ þe Chirche here, and bringiþ it to blis; and oþer worldli profitees ben nouþt to þis profite. And þus shulden

\(^1\) So both A and E. The Wyclifite versions render, 'whiche a man þat findip hidip.'

\(^2\) wise, E.
bishops and prelates chaffare, and studie in Holi Writt, and leewe worldly richesses, and þan þei miȝtȝe be doctours and disciplis of Crist.

De secounde parable of Crist is seid in þes wordis; Eft soone þe rewme of hevene is liche to a man marcounȝ pat souȝte good margaritees, and whanne he hadde foundun oon presciouȝe margarite, he wente out and selde al þat he hadde, and bouȝte þis margarite. De rewme of hevene is clepid here þe Chirche, waundringe after Crist; for Crist, heede of al þe Chirche, bigan þe newe Testament; and fadiris of þis lawe, wiȝ vertues of Crist, mai be clepid here þe kyngdom of hevene. Þis man þat chaffareþ here is clepid ech man þat comþ to Goddis lawe and lyveþ þerafter. þes margaritees ben treuþis foundun in Goddis law: Þis o margarite is Goddis word, treuþe of alle treuþis, oure Lord Jesus Crist, and þe same tresour þat was bifoþe foundun. Clerkis seien þat margarites ben presciouȝe stones foundun in þe see wiȝinne shellefish; and þei ben on two maneres: sum hoolid and sum hool. And margaritis ben a cordial medecine, and þei maken faire mennis atire, and conforten mennis hertis. Þis o margarite is oure Lord Jesus Christ, foundun in tribulacioun of see of þis world; and oþer margarites ben lymes of Crist, foundun in shellis of smale se fishes. De manheed of Crist is a margarite þat worshipþ his Chirche and confortþ mennis hertis. De shelle of þis fishe is bodi of Crist, þat was stable and stef in all his temptaciouns. And he wiþ his martiris weren hoolid margarites. And so Crist, bi his two kyndis, is o margarite, holid and unholod; for Cristis Godheed miȝte not be hoolid; but his manheed was hoolid, as shewen his fyve woundis. And to bigge þis margarite many seintis han traveileuþ in þe state of grace, and bicamen ful herty; for þis medecine of margarites haþ confortid alle martiris, and made hem herty for to die for þe love of treuþe. Confessouris and virgynes ben maad faire bi þis margarite, and ech state of men þat shal be saaf in hevene. Alle þes men sellen her goodis, as we have seid bifoþe, and bien þis margarite wiþouten any chaunging. For, as Ysay seþ, sич

1 bolide, E. 
2 see, E. 
3 stiffe, E.
men bien, wipouten silver and wipout chaunging, boþ wyn and mylk. For men þat chaffaren wip God and bien hem hevene lesen not þat þei þyven, but hav alle þingis betere þat þei hadden bifoire, and bi a stabler titel.

Þe þridde parable þat Crist tellijp is told in þes wordis: 

Eft soone þe rewme of hevene is liche to a net set in to þe see, and gaderinge in him alle maner of fishe; þe which net, whanne it was fillid, þei þat ledden it out, [and] ¹ sitting bi þe brinke, chesiden good fishes in to her vessilis, and senten out yvel fishes. So shal it be in endinge of þis world; angels shal wende out and shal deporte yvel men fro juste men, and shal sende yvel men in to þe chymeney of þer; þer shal be weeping and gnashing of top ². And after Crist axijp hem where þei undirstonden alle þes þingis, and þei seiden, þhe. And Crist seide to hem, þerfore, ech taue þe rewme of hevene is liche to an housebonde man þat bringijp forþ of his tresour boþe neve þingis and olde.

Þis rewme of hevene is þis fiþinge Chrirche, sent into þe see of þis world. And þis Chrirche hap lawis knyttide togidere; and in þe myddis þeroþ is Crist, a blessid worm ³, þat alle men coveiten kyndeli. And so alle maner of men ben gaderid into Cristis Chrirche; but on two maners ben men in þis Chrirche. Sum men ben in þis Chrirche, and eke of þis Chrirche; and þes men mai not wende out of þis nette. And oþer men ben oonli in þis Chrirche and not of þis Chrirche, and þes men wenden out; and in þe figure herof, Petre fisshide twytes; firste bifoire Cristis deþ, and þanne his net was broken; and eft after Cristis deþ, and toke many grete fishes; and alþif þei weren so many, þe net was not broken. For alle þes men þat God hap ordeyned to hevene, mai not wend out of þe nett þat is of Goddis lawis, siþ þei moten holde him in þe bondis of þe ten comandementis. And so Crist takiþ in his Chrirche two manere of juste men. Sum men þat he ordeynþ ever to be in blisse, and þes mai not

¹ ban, E. ² teþ, E. ³ tyng bysidis þe brynke, chesiden, &c.

The 'worm' must signify here the bait that is put in the net to attract the fish.
be dampned for strenge of Goddis ordenaunce. And sum men ben in Cristis Chirche juste for a tyme, þat fallen fro Cristis Chirche for her owne folie, siþ þei breken Goddis heestis, and lasten ever þus unkynde. But þes fishes gon not but wifulli out of Goddis net. But þis net is nevere ful biforesh þat men ben in þe Chirche, as many as God wolde have saved, wip oþer þat he wolde have dampned. Aungels of hevene ben þo þat sitten on þe banke and drawun þis nett in þe see of þis world, and bringen hem to Crist at þe daie of doom. And so þis fissinge lastþ in tyme of boþe lawis; but þes angels de-parten yvel men fro juste men; and bringen juste men to hevene, and senden yvel men to helle. And þus dwellingis in hevene for dyverse holi men ben diverse vessels into which þei ben takun. And þe chemyn ey of fier is þe fier of helle; for alle sich manere of fier, glowing of þikke mater, shal be closid in helle at þe daie of dome. And how þis shal be fillid þe gospel telliþ after. Þe weping þat shal be in helle is sorewe þat dampned men shal have; and gnashing of her teþ is harm of her lesing; and þis is more peyne þan þe firste is.

Alle þes þingis undirstonden Cristis discipulis; for oure good maistre tauðte hem more speciali. And herfore ech bishop and ech curate in þe Chirche shulde cunne þis lessoun, to teche it to þe peple. For at þe daie of dome þes uncunnynge prelatis þat can not þis lore shal be unkown for to come to blisse; and þerfore we shulden ouþer denye for to be prelatis, or, ʒif we ben prelatis, we shulden cunne Goddis lawe, and preche it to þe peple, ʒif we wolen come to hevene. And þus seǐþ Crist of sich goode prelatis, þat herfore ech writerere, tauðþ þus of God, is liche to an housebonde man þat ordeyneþ for his hous; siþ a prelate shulde more ordeyne for goostli fode þan an housebonde shulde ordeyne for bodili fode to his folk. And as þis ordeyning is betere, for þe soule passiþ þe bodi, so þis deñafe of goostli foode is more dampnable biforesh God. And þes prelatis ben not writeris þat ben tauðþ of God, for neiþer þei ben writun in þe book of liif, neiþer þei can write vertues in mannis soule. And so þes doumbe men ben not writeris in þe rewme of hevene, but raþer doumbe fools in þe rewme of helle; for as þe fend is a king, so he hap a rewme;

Wyclif.
and alle men yat shal be damped maie be clepid pe rewme of
helle. And yses ben rewme of pe fend, sip he is yer alpher-kyng.
But, as a good housebonde servep his mynne wiþ olde fruyte
and wiþ newe, pat ben of two yeris, so a good prelate, yat
shulde teche his peple, shulde cunne two Goddis lawis, and
how yei acorden togider, and teche his peple, and knowe two
weises, to go pe weye of hevene, and flee pe weie of helle, and
cast out now pe ritis of pe olde lawe. But mandementis of
pe olde lawe ben evermore newe; and, in tokene herof,
a bishop hap a mytre yat hap two hornes, oon behinde and
anoþer bifo[r; and yses two hornes bitokenen yat yei cunnen
two Goddis lawis; and if yei tokene falsy, he is a fals prelate,
and an horned devyl to be damped in helle.

OF A VIRGYN AND NOT MARTIR.

[SERMON LXXXV.]

Simile est regnum coelorum decem virginibus.—Matt. xxv. [i.]

Yses laste sermoun of pe Comoun is red in two manere of
festis:—in feste of o virgine, not martir, and in festis of many
virgins;—and it tellip pe state of pe Chirche, boþe now, and at
pe daie of dome; and speciali bi yses part yat shulde quyke pe
topher half. For, ript as a man is maad boþe of bodi and of
soule, so yses Chirche shulde be maad of actyes and con-
templatyves. And, for yses spiritual part shulde be more worþi
than pe toþer, as pe soule is betere than pe bodi, perforpe it hap
name of al pe Chirche. Crist seip yses at pe bigynnyng:—
pe rewme of hevene is like to ten virginis, pe which token her
lampis, and wente2 out aþens pe spouse and his wyf; but fyve of
hem were foolish, and fyve of hem weren ware. But pe fyve foolish
token her lampis, but yei token not oile wiþ hem: yei oþer fyve
war virginis token oile in her vessels wiþ her lampis.

Yses rewme of hevene is yses Chirche: yses ten virginis ben yei
pat ben spiritual, as ben prestis, and religious, and many ojer in þe Chirche; for as þe soule shulde quykene þe bodi, so þes shulden quykene þe actyve part. But þes ten virginis ben partid in two, in fyve foolis and fyve wise. Alle þei ben virgyns herfore, for þei ben chast of bodi, and kepen hem from outward synnes þat mai be knowun to siȝte of men. And boþe þes partis ben in fyve; for þe wise shal be in hevene evere in a sercle of blisse, as fyve is noumbr in a sercle; and þe toþer fyve foolis shal be dampted in helle wijouten eende. And as a sercle haþ noon eende, so shal not peyne of þes ypocritis. And þus telliþ Crist fair, how boþe þes partis ben fyve. Þis oile is riȝt devocioun, þat alle þes virgyns shulden have. Þes vesselis of þe virginis ben þe poweris of her soulis; for riȝt as a vessel holþiþ oile, so þe power of þe soule shulde holde riȝt devocioun in alle þe workes þat man doþ. And riȝt as oile makþ þe bodi soft, and ever more flæþiþ above, so

* * * 

† *Fyve is noumbr in a sercle.* On the mysterious virtues and signifi-
cance supposed by the ancients to reside in the number five, the reader may, if he cares to do so, consult the treatise in Plutarch’s *Moralia, Ἐπι τοῦ Ἐρμήν Λεοντίου ἐν Δίδακτος*, and Sir Thomas Browne’s *Garden of Cyrus.* The relation of five to the circle, and also to the sphere, is arrived at in two or three ways. Plutarch as-
cribes to Plato the opinion that if there are more worlds than the one which we inhabit, there must be five, neither more nor less; and that, even if there be only one, that one may be considered as compounded out of five subordinate worlds,—the four elements, and the sky, or fifth essence, ‘to which alone,’ he says, ‘amongst all bodies, the property of revolving in a circle naturally appertains.’ The apparent revolution of the celestial sphere round the earth is evidently intended. Again, Sir Thomas Browne, in noticing the singular frequency of the quinary arrangement in nature, observes (it is a thing indeed which many have observed independently) upon the very large number of flowers which have five petals, as if that was the simplest and most fundamental division of a circle into sectors. ‘Five-leaved flowers are commonly disposed circularly about the stylus, according to the higher geometry of nature, dividing a circle by five radii, which concur not to make diameters, as in quadrilateral and sexangular intersections.’ (Garden of Cyrus, p. 526, ed. Bohn.) The next para-
graph begins,—‘Now the number of five is remarkable in every circle,’ but as I cannot understand the reasoning which follows, I forbear to quote it. In a curious statement quoted by the editor of Browne from Mr. Colebrooke, it is clearly shown that the simplest distribution of groups of objects round a central and interior group is a quinary ar-
range ment, while at the same time, when the groups come to be mul-
tiplied indefinitely, it is necessarily spheroidal. The reader will remem-
ber also the quinary grouping of animals by Mr. Macleay, once so famous, and the remarkable vindica-
tion of the theory in the *Vestiges of the Natural History of the Creation.*

† See p. 247, note A.
devocioun of men makip hem soft in her traveile, and makip hem ever more liist to bisie hem for hevenli blisse. Pes lampis ben goode workes in kynde, þat boþ þes partiis of virgins done; but þes lampis brennen not ne shynen biforn God, but zif þei have rißt devocioun in þe workes þat þei done. And as oile hæp moche of þe eir and of þe fier, wel medlid wip water, som men of rißt devocioun han mouche of hevenli þougtis, and also myche of charite. And her tribulacioun seneþ litil, and herbi ben þei liist and glad to go þis litil wey. And þus Crist, heed of þe Chirche, was glad here to renne his wey; for he hadde greet desire to suffre peyne for mannis kynde. And so of his oile shulden we take part in goinge of oure travelous weie. Þes fyve foolis hadden lampis, but þei hadden noon oile wip hem; for many men in þis lyf, boþe oon and oþer, don myche good; but hem wantip rißt devocioun, bi which þei shulden go lißt to hevene. For al oure traveile here in erþe shulde be don for þis ende; to meete wip Crist and his Chirche rißli at þe dai of dome. And þe Chirche þat comeþ from hevene wip Crist at þe dai of dome is clepid þe wif of Jesus Crist; for þei ben weddið ever togider.

It were for to telle here how devocioun wantip in clerkis; as popís taken þer stat here for a foule devocioun, to be worshipid in þis world and have moche of worldly lordship. And so done þes cardinalis and þes bishopis also. Curatis taken benefices for þe same cause, but lesse; and preestis taken her ordis for devocioun of ten mark; religious possessionis respecting the salaries of non-beneficed clerks in England between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.

A constitution of Stephen Langton, dated in 1222, thus regulates the pay of vicars perpetual:—

'Statuimus, ut vicario perpetuo ad minus reditus quinque Marcarum assignetur, qui scilicet pro quinque Marcis solet dari ad Pirmam; nisi forte in illis partibus Walliae sit…. where the parish is too poor to afford so high a stipend.

Five marks then were esteemed a competent salary in the early part of the reign of Henry III. Nearly a
for devocioun of her bely; and many freris taken her stait to lyve lustili in þis world, for ellis þei shulden be laborers, and lyve hard lyf in lewd stait. And so devocioun of clerkis, fro þe firste to þe laste, is studie of avarice, and no trewe devo-
cioun; and so freris, in her statis, wanten riȝt devocioun; for þei taken not her degrees, neiþer in scole, ne in office, for riȝt devocioun to renne þe weie þat Crist haþ tawn. And þei wolen not be confessours,—speciali of lordeis and ladies,—for þe devocioun þat þei have for to make her souls clene, but for devocioun of worldli likyng, þat þei taken wiþ þes folk, (for þus þei ben exempt from cloistre and from risyng at mydnyht, and fro fastinge in her fрайtor 1, and oþer works of obedience,) and

century and a half later the standard had varied but very little. In a con-
stitution of 1362 Archbishop Islep ordains that a priest simply cele-
brating ‘annals,’ or masses by the year, for the repose of departed souls, shall be satisfied with five marks a year, but that if he have also cure of souls, he shall receive six marks. Following up this constitution, the act of 36 Edw. III (1363) prohibits under penalties any layman from paying more than five marks a year to a priest residing in his house, and having no cure of souls.

The next fifty years witness a rapid change in the value of money. Archbishop Sudbury orders that the stipends which Islep had fixed at five and six marks, shall for the same duties, ‘on account of the changed times,’ be raised to seven and eight marks respectively. But these were doubtless the minimum rates, and in practice more was usually given. There is even distinct evidence that ten marks was a customary rate of salary for a priest to ask. The act of 2 Henry VI (1414), after reciting the act of Edw. III previously mentioned and setting forth that the priests ‘which now be’ will not serve but for twelve marks, or ten marks by year at the least, to the great damage of the king’s liege people, enacts that seven and eight marks shall be the legal salaries, unless by special license of the ordinary; nine marks not to be exceeded even in that case.

But the changing times soon rendered this statute ineffectual, if it was not ineffectual from the outset. A constitution of Archbishop Chicheley, dated in 1415, ordains that all through the province of Canterbury the stipends of needy vicars shall be augmented as a general rule to at least twelve marks a year, if the parish revenues equal that amount.

The above particulars are found in Gibson’s Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani, pp. 748, 755, 938–9.

In the province of York the rates appear to have been lower. From the Testamenta Eboracensia, published by the Surtees Society (vol. ii, p. 118) it appears that at York, in the middle of the fifteenth century, the customary payment in respect of a single mass was fourpence. Thus in a will dated in 1446 we find—‘Lego ad quindecim missas pro animâ meâ in ecclesia Sti Nicholai apud Novum Castrum super Tinam Vs.’ And the ordinary annual payment at the same period, to a priest celebrating masses for the repose of souls, was in Yorkshire seven marks.

In preparing this note I have been greatly assisted by Professor Stubbs.
lustis, ṭat ṭei have wiþ ladies, oþer ṭan ṭei shulden have at hom.
And ṭus ṭes laste folk semen virginis; but ṭei ben foule putis.
And assaie her wordis and her lyves, and ṭanne ṭou maist betre wite. 
Defaute in ¹ oile of ² oþer beggers ṭat ben walkinge
in ṭis world mai men see ṭat take hede, and of oþer pore men boþe,
as trowauntis can feynen hem sike and defourme hem in bodi;
and ṭis is foul ypocrisie and no riþt devocioun. So it
is to drede to many ṭat ben pore and lyven chast, ṭat ṭei shal,
at ṭe dai of dome, wante oile in her lampis.

But whanne ṭis spouse made dwelling, alle ṭes virgines napten
and slepente. Bi which wordis God undirstondiþ many faire
wittis. And goode napping of ṭes fyve wyse virginis is short
deþ ṭat ṭei have here to tymte ṭe dai of dome. For ṭis deþ
is clepid slepinge; but ṭes foolis slepen ever bi slepe of ever-
lasting synne. And so ṭes ten al togidir slepente and nap-
piden on ṭis manere; but foolis slepente ṭis longe sleep, a part
here and a part in helle. And ṭus dwelling of ṭis spouse is
abidinge to ṭe dai of dome. Certis at mydniþ was maed a crie:
Lo! ṭe spouse comeþ, go ye out azens him. ṭanne risen up alle
🏾 pe virgyns, and maden ṭer lampis fair. And ṭes foole virginis
seeden to ṭes wise virgyns; ³yve ye to us of your eyle, for oore
lampis ben quenchid. And ṭes wise virgyns answeriden and seeden,
Lest it suffice not to us and to you, go ye raper to hem ṭat sellen
eyle, and bie ye oile to you sylf. And while ṭei wenten to bie oile,
ᵜe spouse cam. And ṭes virgyns ṭat weren redi entriden ³ in wiþ
ᵜe spouse; and anoon ṭe yate was shut.

ᵀis myddil of ṭe nyȝt is ṭe tymte ṭat Crist shal come to ṭe laste
dome. For certein enchesoun ṭis tymte is nyȝt; for it is derk
and unknowen to men whanne it shal be, and wheþer ṭei shal go
ᵜanne to hevene or to helle. And it is ṭe myddel for ṭis en-
chesoun. It is after ṭe derknesse, ṭat goþ biffer ṭis jugement,

₁ of, E. ² in, E. ³ So E; entride, A.

refreitor. It means the dining-hall of a monastery. In later times the
word was further corrupted to Frater-
house. Thus Davies, in his Ancient
Rites and Monuments of the Church of
Durham (1672), says, 'In the south
alley of the cloisters is a fair large
hall, called the Frater-House, finely
wainscoted on the north and south
sides, as also on the west.' See Hal-
liwell's Glossary. Bénoit, in his
Chronicle of the Dukes of Normandy, l. 10998, writes,—'Cloistre
i fist faire e dormor, Celier, quisine,
ᵜ refreitor.'
and before þe derknes þat ever shal be in helle. Þis crie is warn-
ynge of aungels, þat shal be to þis daie, þat Poul clepid þe laste
trompe, and sum, Gabriels horn. Þanne shal it be seid in sen-
tence: Lo, now comep þe spouse of holi Chirche; go þe ażens
him. And þis bidding of God shal not be ażenseid. And þus
men þat shal be savyd and dampned, shal rise ażens þis daie of
dome, and make hem redi to answere of dedis þat þei have
done. And þanne her conscience shal be open of alle þe
lyves þat þei have led. And þus shal þes foolish wite þat hem
failide devocioun, and herfore þei shal be dampned, but þif þei
can excuse hem. þe axing of þes foolish of men þat shal be
saif, is a privy wishinge of þes founed virgyns, þat þei taken
part of devocioun of seintis; and wel mai þes be foolish þat
þanne have siche desiris. But þes men þat now dremen an ac-
cident wipouten suget mai falle aborde wiþ þese foolish, and axe
þis as possible. þe answere of þes wise virginis tellip treuþe
to þes foolish, how devocioun þat þei have sufficiþ not for hem
boþe; and þerfore shulden þei go to seintis, þat sellen in wye
devocioun. But þat tyme is passid now; and so moten nedis
þei dispeire. And in tyme þat þei þenken þus, how þei shulden
have lyved ríftfulli, and have had devocioun in good workes
þat þei diden, comep Crist to þe dome, and takip to heven just
men. Alle þes þingis have ordre of kynde, al if þei hav not
ordre of tyme. At þe laste comen þes founed virgyns, and seien
to Crist in þis wise: lord, lord, opene to us. And Crist an-
swerip unto hem: sopeli, I see to you, I knowe you not: Goþ
forþ your weie. And þerfore, wake ye, seip Crist, for ye knownun
not þe daie, ne þe hour. þis comyng of þes fool virgins, after
þat seintis ben in blisse, is grutching of her conscience ażens
Goddis jugement; and criyng of openyng of Crist is languish-
ing to come to hevene. But answere þat Crist ȝeveþ ażen,
is stabling of her peyne in helle; for þei shal þanne be certein
þat her double peyne in helle moot nedis be, bi Cristis jugu-
ment, for her wickid lyving here. And so her double criyng
þanne is her unfaþous conscience; for þanne hem shal wante
fame, boþe of þis world and of þe toþer. And þus, as Crist
concludip ofte, alle manere of men shulde wake, sip þei knowen
not þe daie of dome, ne hour in which þei shal be deed.
PROPRIO SANCTORUM.

[Bishop Bale, in the later edition of his Summarium, dated Basle, 1559, thus enters the following series of sermons for the Proprium Sanctorum on his list of Wyclif’s works:—]

In Evangelia festivalia, lib. I. ‘Hoc Evangelium historicè narrat.’

The writer, whether Wyclif or not, composed the thirty-eight* sermons which follow upon gospels which he took, partly from the Proprium de Tempore, partly from the Proprium Sanctorum or Sanctorale, of the Sarum Missal. The title ‘Proprium Sanctorum’ is not therefore strictly appropriate. Those on gospels taken from the ‘Proper of the Season’ are ten in number, and are numbered in the present edition LXXXIX to XCVII and CIV. The offices for the first nine of the festivals thus included in the writer’s plan, stand all in close juxtaposition in the Sarum Missal, except that the office for St. Thomas of Canterbury (Thomas à Becket,) comes between those for the Holy Innocents and the Sixth Day after Christmas, and St. Sylvester precedes the Circumcision. The omission of St. Thomas’ feast by the writer is perhaps significant, and may be taken as the first premonitory symptom of the storm raised against the Archbishop’s memory, and against the popular devotion to him, in the reign of Henry VIII.]

* The Gospel on Seint Andreus Evyn.

[Sermon LXXXVI.]

Stabat Johannes.—John i. [29.],

Dis gospel tellip in storie, how Crist gederide his disciplis, and seip, pat Joon stood and two of Joones disciplis, and Joon biheld Jesus wandringe, and seide pus of him: Lo, he tomb of God. Joon Baptist was bifoire Crist to make he weie redi to

* By an error of the scribe these sermons are numbered as thirty-seven only in MS. Bodl. 788, the same number being assigned to sermons CIV and CV; and the mistake is repeated in Dr. Shirley’s Catalogue.
him; and al his entent was to hige Crist and his ordre. And þus whanne he clepide Crist þe lombe of God, he tolde þe innocence of Crist, and how he shulde die for man. And þis was figurid in sleying of þe Pask lombe. For as þe Pask lombe was offrid of oo þeer wipouten wem, so Crist was offrid at Pask to bie his Chirche, of þe firste preest; and þis preest is boþe God and man. And þus Crist is þe lomb of God; and as a lomb hæp no kyndeli gendure, but it is clene wipouten scabbe, so Crist was evermore a virgyn, and clene wipouten ony synne. And two disciplis of Joon herden him speke, and sueden Jesus. And Jesus turnede aþen and saw hem syng him, and seide to hem: What seke þe? And þei seiden to Crist, Maistre, where dwellist þou? And Crist seide to hem, þat þei shulden come and see. þei comen and sawen where Crist shulde dwelle, and dweliden wiþ him þat dai; and it was as þe ten þe hour. And oon of þe two disciplis was Andreu, Symondis brøper, þat \(^1\) herden þeir maistir Joon speke þus, and sueden Crist for good entent.

Søþ Joon Baptist hadde disciplis, to make hem redi to Cristis ordre. And þis priour grutchide not, but was fayne þat þei wenten to Crist; for he synneþ hugeli þat of two goodis chesiq þe worse. And woldre God þat oure newe ordris wolden wel undirstonde þis storie. Þanne þei shulden preise Crist and his ordre, and be mekel his disciplis, and make þer disciplis redi to come to Cristis ordre, and grutché not for þei wenten out fre from hem to Cristis ordre. For certis Baptistis ordre was betre þan ben alle þes newe ordris, and he grutchide not but was ful fayn þat þei þeden fro him to Crist. And so shulden alle þes privat patrons be fayn of þer disciplis whanne þei wenten fro þer ordre, and camen frelí to Cristis ordre; for Cristis ordre is betere þan is hern, as we taken here of bileve. And þus alle þes synnen greþli, þat taken þis worse and leven þe betere. And it is a fendis envie, on þis manere to harme þer breþren, and algatis, for a pride biforn, to hie aþen Crist þer rotun ordre. And þif þou seie þat þis skile wente forþ, þif Crist were dwelling here in erþe, and gedride to him\(^2\) disciplis as he

\(^1\) So E; A has and. \(^2\) forþe wente, E. \(^3\) hym, E.
dide in Baptist tyme; but now Crist is went to hevene, and men gaderen to hem disciplis; certis þis feyned skile wolde distrie alle þes ordris. For þer patroun, as þei seien, is went to hevene, and dwellþ wip Crist. And þif þer ordre dwellþ aftir, muchil more shulde Cristis ordre, sìp Crist is ever wip his disciplis oþerwise þan þes patrouns mai. And where þou seiest þat þes ordris gederen disciplis unto Cristis ordre, certis þanne þei erren foulli, to cloute þus to Cristis reule; as, if men varieden þus fro þer reule, þei wolden seie þei broken þer ordre, sìp þes ordris acorden more togidere, þan ony of þes and Cristis ordre, þat is comoun to Cristyn men, and was bifoře þes ordris bigan. Lord! sìp þes ordris wolden bere hevy þat men wenten to anoþer ordre, how shulden not Crist and hise bere hevy þat men wenten out of Cristis ordre? and moche more þif fendis lettiden to come æzem freele to Crist. Þis synne wole Crist juge, þat is weie, treupe, and liif, how men letten to wenden his weie. And errour wole not excuse, sìp Poul wende he hadde do wel plesing God whanne he blasfemyde. Þis prisonyng in þes ordris, þat letten men to go freele out of hem to Cristis ordre, is worse þan ony oþer sect, and liik to þe fendis ordre, þat lettþ men to go from him. For fro Crist mai men go freele unto þe fend; but þis condicioun of þe feend, foundun in þes newe ordris, is sprongen to popis and to kyangis boþe, þat consenten and helpen herto.

Þis Andreu fond first his broþer, þat is seid Symound, and seide to him: We han foundun Messis, þe which is þe grete Crist. It was comun in þe olde lawe þat a greet profete shulde come of þe kynrede of Jewis, and bringe hem to ful freedom; and þis was clepid Messias, and Crist bi o witt. And Andreu ledde Petre to Jesus; and Jesus biheld Petre, and seide, þou art Symont, be sone of Johanna: þou shall be callid Petre, and be maad capteyn of apostlis, for vertues þat Y see in þee. On þe morewe wold Crist go out into Galile, and fond Philip, and seide, Sue me. Þis Philip was of Bepsaid, þat was citee of Andreu and Petre. And Philip fond Nathanaeel, and seide to him on þis manere: Him þat Moises hþp writun in þe lawe and

1 So E; A has Anticristis, which gives no sense. 2 So in E; om. A. 3 So E; A has þis. 4 Messy, E. 5 clepid, E.
prophetis, we han founden, Jesus, Josepis sone, of Nazarep. And Nathanael seide to Philip, Of Nazarep mai sum good be? And Philip seide to Nathanael pat he shulde come and se Jesus. Jesus saw Nathanael comyng to him, and seide of him: Lo, verili, a man of Israel in whom is no gile. And Nathanael seide to Crist: Whereof hast thou knowe me? Jesus answeride and seide to him, Before pat Philip clepide thee, whanne thou was undir ye fige tree, Y saw thee. And here Crist techip his Godhede in a maner bi his speche pat he seip here. Nathanael was a wise man, and perfor spak more sutili. For as Poul seip, we spokken wisdom among wise men. Crist tellip here to Nathanael how he saw him undir ye fige tree. Pat mote be bi his Godhede; for bodili siȝt cam not þanne. And þus þat Crist knewe þe hert of Nathanael was bi his Godhede. And þus Crist tellip, but privly, whereof he knewe Nathanael,—for of his Godhede he knewe him, as Crist mente in his wordis. And Nathanael answeride and seide to Crist: Maister, þou art Goddis sone, and þou art king of Israel. Jesus answeride and seide to him, For Y seide to þee þat Y saw þee undir þe fige tree, þou bïlevest; þerfore þou shal se more þan þee. And Crist seide to þese men togider, Sôpeli, I see to þou, þe shal se hevene open, and aungels of God steynge up and comyng down upon me, al if Y be, mannis sone.

In þis story mai we see many treuþis þat we shulden trowe. First, how proctorours of Crist shulden gete disciplis to him bi skilful meyng ¹ of Goddis lawe, þat þei miȝten freeli come to Crist, and not bi chaffaryng of erpel þingis, as þese newe ordis chaffaren. Men þat comen to þes dowid ordis [and] ² bringen þer clopping wiþ hem, boþe for her bedde and bak; for richeþes letþip to þyve hem þese; and over þis þei moten bringe boþe a cuppe and spone to drynke and ete þeir potage; for on þes þingis is þer þouȝt. In þes ordis of þese beggaris þei have contrarie maner; for þei, al ful of disseit, not wiþouten gile as Naþanael, wiþ divers and liþil þiftis, and false wordis, disseyven children. For þei abiden not to ful age, as weren Andrew, Peter, and Philip; but bifoere men have discresicioun in þeir childhode þei ben þus begilid. And so þe first part of þes ordis tellip

¹ movynge, E. ² om. E; rightly.
SERMONS.

how þei shal ever be nedi, and þat oþer latter part telliþ how þei shal ever be bigilid; but on neiþer of þes maners chees Crist his disciplis; but þes men likli ben oblishid unto fendis—
to þe fend þat is Mammon, and to þe fadir of lesingis. And boþe þes ben fendis, as ben alle þat shal be damprned. But here þes orðris fagen, and seien, we knowun not þes entrees, for þes orðris wip possessiouuns bi þis cause taken men wip goodis, þat þe worlde shulde knowe þat þei take not beggers,
but riche, as þei shal ever be. þe freris seien, þei taken in children, for þei ben moost innocentis, and liþ to norishe in Goddis lawe, as þei ben at þe bigynnynge. But neiþer of þes grounden hem in Goddis lawe bi þer dedes. þe firste word of þe firste ordre teciþ how he partip wip þe toþer patroun, and þe toþer partip wip him in synne, as seintis parten in good. Soþli þes possessiour maken in þer profission þat þei professen povert, chastite, and obedience to Crist, and at þe bigynnynge þei moten nedes professen þe contrarie. And in tokene of þe firste, þat þei han renounsiþ povert, and ben oblishid to worldli richesse, þei bringen her cuppe and her spone, in tokene þat to drynke and pulment þei ben oblishid bifoþ oþer; and boþ þes ben no povert to sue Crist, but þe contrarie. þes freris, þat oblishen þer breþren bi falsched and oþer giles, maken þer protestacioun þat þei forsaken after treuþe; and in reule of þe fadir of lesingis þei wolen drawe to þe deþ dai. And þif disseit of þong men bi Goddis lawe shulde be damprned, muche more disseit of children þat wanten discrecioun, but han þer eldris for þer keperis; for þei wittis wanten kyndeli. And siþ God seþ in his lawe, þat whoso steliþ a man, he shal be kild bi Goddis lawe, it semþ þat alle þes benperis shulden be kild of God by sike; for siþ þeþe is taking of oþer mennis þingis, aþens þe wille of þe lord, it semþ þat þis takiþg of children, þat freris shulden have bi noo lawe, is taking of oþer mennis þingis, for taking of fadirþ þing and modirs. And þis tresour is moost preciouse and ful costli to þes fadirþ. And where it be aþens þeir wille, examine hem, and þei shal telle. And þes children comen in bi þeþe, and þei ben þeþes in al her lye, to

1 So E; renounsiþ, A.

a That is, are naturally deficient.
caste how þei shal cleke to freris alle þe goodis þat þei mai geten, ouþer of þer frendis or of oþer, bi what menis þat þei can caste. And þes ordris folwen more to fendis þan don þe firste ordris of Mammon.

Over þis, men douten comunly, whi Crist chees not Nathanael, siþ he was witty and good to be Cristis apostle. But here men seien comunli þat þer ben many chesingis of Crist. Crist chesþ sum to his disciplis for to come afterward to blis. And þus men supposen þat Crist ches þis Nathanael; for Crist preiside him ful myche, and algatis of virtu of treuþe. And þus Crist haþ many disciplis þat ben hid, as Nathanael, as was Joseph and Nicodeme and oþer, til þe daie of dome; for ever Cristis ordre shal laste, and tellen here oþer þer defautes. But þis Nathanael was to wiis to be chosen Cristis apostle, for Crist wolde shewe bi miracle, bi rude 2 men to turne þe world. And þus he wolde make up of fisheris and oþer comunes his apostlis, and make hem passe in witt and wisdom alle oþer men of þis world.

But þit men douten comunli how Crist chees here þes þree apostlis, and toke hem 3 not anon wip him, but lete hem wende into þe world and lyve comun lyf as laborers, as it was taugþ in Petre and oþer. But here we trowen þat Crist dide þus to confunde þes cloisteris; for Crist wiste wel þat þei shulden come and disseyve mucho of þis world, and seie þat it fallþ not to hem to labore, ne dwelle out of þer cloistre, siþ þei passen oþer men in newe signes þat þei han founden. And to distrie þis ypocrisie dide autor of religioun þis:—he chees not þes disciplis unto cloistre þat he dwelte inne, but into place removable, as was Moises tabernacle. And þis is better ordre here; siþ here we have noo citee dwellinge, but here we seken þe blisse of hevene. And þus wente Crist on þe morewe in to þe contre of Galile. But men seien comunli þat Crist clepide ofte his disciplis: first, to be homely wip him, and leve sumwhat of worldli curis; after, whanne þei weren more ripe, to suen him boþe dai and niþt, and siþ, after his resurreccioun, to don þer hiþe apostlis workes. And þus was Poul chosun to be apostle after þe

1 in, E. 2 bustouse, E. 3 So E; om. A.
assencioun of Crist; and anoon he wente and prechide and dide as higest apostle shulde do. And algatis we ben taught bi Crist to flee prisonyng of men as peves. But if pe wolen dwelle wip Crist, pe shulden freei do per werkes, and aventure hem in pis world, and be not weddid wip erjeli pingis. So it is pat Crist sum tyme constreyndede men, shewinge his Godhede; as Crist smot Poul doun, and turnede his herte to love of him. But he wolde pat his ordre stood in pacience, mekenesse, and charite, and speciali to turne pe world fro richessis and lustis of bodi: but pes newe religious reversen Crist in alle pes pingis.

**PE GOSPEL ON SEYNT ANDREUS DAY.**

**[SERMON LXXXVII.]**

*Ambulans Jesus juxta mare Galilæe.—Matt. iv. [18.]*

Dis gospel of Mathew telliþ how Crist clepide foure apostlis: Petre and Andrew, James and Joon, fro craft of þer fishing. And so seip Mathew þat Crist wandride bi þe water of Galile. Ebres clepen ech water a see; and so ech ryver is a see. And þis ryver of Galile likide Crist ofte to wende¹ biside it. Crist saw þes foure breþeren þat weren fisheris in þis water. First he saw Symound Petre, and Andréw þat was his breþer, putting þer nett into þe water; for þei weren fisheris. And he seide to hem, Come after me, and Y shal make zou to be maad fisheris of men. Crist spak ofte bi his manhede, and dide worship to his Fadir; as here Crist bad þes two disciplis þat þei shulden come after him,—neiþer go biore him ne come aside in þer lyyng,—but as þei sawen þer maistre lyve, so shulden þei sue him in þeir lyf. And herfore Crist reprovede Petre, as þe gospel telliþ after, and seide; Go bihinde me, Sathanas, for þou savorist not Goddis þingis. Crist clepide not þes two apostlis to his chaumbre to ete applis; but in þe comun feld, he clepide hem fro worldli travel, and tolde hem

¹ go, E.
of a betere traveile, in which þei shulden take men. And þes
two anoon leften þer nnettis, and þer boot, and sueden Crist.
Mathew telliþ not how þer þes apostlis sueden Crist; but oo
þing we twrowen as bilee,—þat no gospel contrarieþ to oþer,
and no part of þe gospel is fals; but ech part accordiþ to oþer.
We twrowen also þat Jesus Crist mevede þes men, boþe wiþinne
and wiþoute, and shewide his vertue in þer soulis, and made
hem bowe to his bidding. But God forbede þat we shulden
trowe, for men wolen not bowe to us, þat we shulden clepe
hem worldli, contrarie to Cristis cleping, or ellis grounde a
newe orde, as we wolden passe Crist. For if we wolen holde
Cristis orde, we moten nedeli sue Crist. And þus it semeþ
a
to many men þat pat patrons of þes newe ordis gon biforn Crist,
as Sathanas; and leeven and dispisen his orde.

And Jesus goinge forþ þennes, saw oþere two breperen, James
and Jooun, whiche wereþ Zebedees children; and wib þis fadir
in þe boot, beetinge þer nnettis to take fishe. And Crist clepide þes
two breperen; and þei anoon leften þer nnettis, and þer fadir, and
sueden him; for þes two disciplis wereþ meevyd of Crist, as
oþer two, and it semeþ þei loveden more Crist, for þei leften
more þer fadir; and þus þei wereþ worþi of Crist, siþ þei
loveden him so mucho. For Crist seïþ, whosoever loveþ ony
man more þan him, he is not worþi of him, and so not worþi
of hevenli blis. It is told ofte biforn of alle þes newe ordis,
how þei ben not groundid in Crist, ne in ony dedis þat he dide.
þei done sumwhat þat is good, and many þingis amys; and
so stondiþ þer cloutid reule, boþe in good and in yvel; and þus
is Macometis lawe and conjourisons maad. And shortli, noon
yvel is suffrid, but þif it be groundid in good.

But it were to wite over, wheþer þese chesingis þat preestis
maken, and þis dowying þat þei have, ben groundid in Goddis
lawe. And trewe men witen wel þat boþe þes reversen Crist.
As anentis þis chesing, foolis maken þis resoun. Crist chees
him apostlis, and prælatis shulde sue Crist, and speciali popis

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*a Two leaves of the MS. E (Douce 321) are here wanting; the hiatus, beginning at this point, extends to
the words 'muche in gloterie,' inclusive, on p. 306. The text is therefore solely dependent on A, up to that point.
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and bishopis; whi shulden not þei chese curatis? for ells shulden officeris perishe, and, bi defeute of hem, Goddis hous. And þus þes two þingis wolen sue: þat oþer popis shulden not sue Crist, or ells þei shulden chese prelatis, as þe popis lawe techþ. þe secounde þing þat sueþ here is foule inconvenient, þat þe pope, Cristis viker, þat hæþ his Chirche for to keþe, shulde lete þe Chirche perishe for defeute of siche chesinge. And it is fitting þat þe pope, þat hæþ more witt and autorite, shulde ordeyne for þis chesing, siþ he is heed of holy Chirche. Here we shal suppose, first, þat we spoken in þis mater, as if þe pope hadde not þit ordeyned lawis of sich eleccioun, but how Goddis lawe and resoun wolde teche for to worche here; and þanne many men þenken þat þis eleccioun shulde not be, siþ it mai not be groundid in resoun ne in Goddis lawe. And to þe resoun þat is maad for þe contrarie part, we shal suppose þat ech man, but algatis þe pope, shulde sue Crist. But þit, for dignite of Crist, men shulden ever putte him bfore, and þyve to Crist a worþines þat mai oonli acorde to him, for ells Crist were not abbot over alle oþer men, and maister over alle hise breperen, as he is bôþe God and man. And þus ech oþer preest shulde mekeli sue Crist, and neiþer go evene wip Crist, ne bfore him, as dide Petre, and þerfore he was clepide Sâpanas, and beden go bihynde Crist. And þus a perel in þe Chirche, þat Poul tauþte for to come, is, þat Anticrist hîþe him above Crist, bôþe God and man. And þus we graunten þat Crist chese to him apostlis and oþer disciplis, oþerwise þan þe Pope of Rome mai or can chese him servauntis; siþ Crist was bôþe God and man, and knewe alle þingis þat shulde be, and wiste fulli what was best, and wrouþte ever wiþoute defeute. And þus seþ þe gospel bfore, þat disciplis sawun where Crist shulde dwelle; for alle þingis þat Crist dide he shulde do so for þe beste. And þus sîþ Crist chees disciplis, þe pope shulde not þerfore chese þus; for þe pope mai not be evene wiþ Crist, in witt, ne in autorite; but he shulde sue Crist here as diden Cristis apostlis bfore. Goddis lawe tellþ, whanne þei chosen Mathi as þe twelþe postle of Crist in þe stede of Scarioth, þei keþten þis ordre in þis eleccioun: þei chosen two, þe whiche þei wisten moost able to be apostle, and moo þei wolden have
chosen þif þei hadden knowe siche moo; but, for þei knewun not þe better of Joseph and Mathi, þei putten it in Goddis juge-
ment wheþer of þes two Crist wolde have; and preieden ful 
devouteli, siþ Crist knewe þe hertis of men, þat Crist shulde 
shewe wheþer of þes two he hadde chosen, bi casting of lottis. 
And siþ Petre and ðeper apostlis weren in þis chesinge, and þei 
weren moo, and more witti, þan þe Pope of Rome, it semeþ 
þat he shulde after hem make his more eleccions. Aposþis 
chosen preestis in contres þat þei wenten bi, and maden hem 
dwellinge curatis; and þei hadden myche goodis. But apostlis 
weren algatis pore men and overseeris; for þis poverta was 
perfeccion þat felde more to hem. For Crist, her alþer 
maister, was moost pore man. But ðeper fourme of chesinge can 
we not grounde in Goddis lawe. And siþ Crist, God and man, 
chees so fewe men in þis office, and þe pope chesþ so many, 
wiþoute siþt in Godhede, it semeþ þat he is hied over Crist, 
and so over al þat is seid God. For certis Crist myȝte not 
make al þes eleccions; siþ Crist ne myȝte not chese, but þat 
he saw þe Godhede chese. But popis chesyn, for moneie or 
for preier of princis, many men þat ben unable to bere haly water 
in chirchis." Lord! siþ Crist myȝte not do þis,—and þis þei 
taken for excellence,—how sich men hien hem not above Crist 
and al þat is God! for certeinli Crist myȝte not make siche 
eleccions. þes men suen not Crist, as diden Peter and ðeper 
apostlis, but algatis gon bifoire Crist. And so Crist clepide 
hem Saþanas; siþ Crist acceptip not persones, but takþ ech 
man as he is worþi, sum mon goode and sum mon fendis, after 
þat þei suen Crist. And þus it semeþ to many men, þif þe 
Pope wolde be Cristis disciple, he shulde leewe þes eleccions, 
or use hem as Petre dide. Wel Y woot þat Crist forsook to 
judge in temporal goodis; and þis jugement, eyyl done, is myche 
worse to þe juge. And þus apostlis makinge preestis hadden
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shewing of God; for ells þei hadden do folili in þingis þat þei knewen not. And ȝif þe pope lefte þis þing for peril þat lep þerinne, holi Chirche shulde not perishe, but profite more þan it doip now. For þanne weren bishopis ful apostlis and pore men as þei weren first, and not chargious to þe peple, but doinge þingis þat felde to hem. And so, wipouten sich signes, miȝte þe chirche be wel governed. And þus is þis resoun aasoild þat was first maad for þe pope, þat he mot nede, for Cristis love, and for love of his Chirche, be þus occupied, for prelaci þat holi Chirche must nedis have. Certis þis is a false ground and mychel harm comeþ þerof. But whanne o blinde lediþ a blynde, þei fallen boþe in þe lake. And þus seien men, þat coveitise of worshipis and worldli goodis blinden prestis bi symonye, þat al þe chirche faripe þe worse. And þus mai men see here. If þes prelatis wolden sue Crist, and putte his Chirche out of peril, þei shulden leve þis, as Crist diþe. But boþe þis chesing of þe pope, and oþer þing þat bringþ a herto, is brouȝt in bi þe fend, and not bi Cristis autorte. For certis Crist miȝte not himself make þes eleciouns. But as þei seien, þe pope mai make a lewid man, for money, a greet bishop on his chirche; but þis is chirch of wickide men.

And þus alle þes popis lawes, biside þe lawis þat Crist made, and alle þe dedis þat he doip þat ben not groundid in Cristis liif, ben ful venym to þe chirche,—ȝif a man durste seie þus,—and popis lawis beren no strengþe ægens men þat holden þis. Lord, what vertue is in þis lawe!—þat ȝif two han þe popis grace, at o tymel, in oo cuntre, where many benefices mai falle, he þat presentip first his grace, he shal be sped before þe toþer. It hæp fallen ofte tymes, and so mai it falle hereafter, þat two men have grace at oo tymel of oo collacioun, and þe more unable man, þat loveþ more worldli good, presentip first his grace to patrons,—for Schariot slepiþ not,—and þanne, bi vertue of þis lawe, shal þis fend be putt before, and þis good man putt bihynde. But þis is yvel fruyt of lawe; and God miȝte not make þis lawe, for God miȝte not do amys. How mai ony viker of Crist sue Crist in doinge þus? But certis he goip bifoare

a That is, contributeth.
Crist, or ellis on oþer side weie. What woot þe pope þe stat of contres of many hundrid myle from him? And wordis of false coveitouse men shulden not in þis lede þe pope; but he shulde lyve as Crist hāp tauȝt, and not þus blyndeli lede þe Chirche. Of þis comen a þousand errours, þat siche prelatis fallen ynne. Þei seien þat þei mai not synne in þis state, as Crist myȝte not; for Crist hāp hiȝt to his Chirche, þat he shal never faile to it; and þus þe pope is God in er þe, and þe moste blessid fadir. Sich heresies ben sowen, þat a man þat lovde Crist, shulde, for to suffre deep, ægens stonde þes heresies; for it were all oon to seie þus, and to putt Anticrist above Crist.

**ON E[J3T]E]F DAY OF SEYNT ANDREU**

**[SERMON LXXXVIII.]**

Postquam autem traditus est Johannes.—Mark i. [14.]

Þis gospel tellip, as oþer bifoire, of chesing of Cristis Apostlis. And it seþ þat Crist prechide first whanne Baptist was taken to prisoun. And þif Crist prechide privyli bifoire Baptist was enprisouned, þat was in anoþer manere; for Crist wolde seve Baptist his time. After þe ðyme þat Joon was traied in to þe prisoun of Eroude cam Jesus in to Galile, þreching þe gospel of Goddis rewme; and seide, þat ðyme is fuþilkid, and þe rewme of God shal come. Mathew tellip how Crist bigan to preche fro þe ðyme þat Joon was taken, and toke þe same word for his teme þat Baptist toke whanne he prechide:—Do þe penauce, for þe rewme of God shal come. It is knowen of Goddis lawe, how mannis kynde was exilid for synne of our firste fadir þat stood muche in gloterie; and so resoun of God axide þat comyng æzens þis rewme shulde be gete bi penauce contrarie to gloterie. And herfore Crist,oure first fadir in

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*a* There is an office for the octave of St. Andrew’s Day in the Sarum missal, and from it the writer took the gospel here preached upon. The Roman missal has no office for the day.

*b* See note on p. 302.
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spiritual gendrure, tauthe us for to do penaunce contrarie to Adam's lore; and Baptist, that was Cristis spouse, tauthe before he same lessoun. And, for Goddis kingdom is to come, and not wijouten sich penaunce, ech man that wole have hevene shulde be aboute to do sich penance. And thus that cause of Crist is pleyn to men that wole undirstonde it. And this forsteaking is not ynow, but if troupe be joined therwiþ. And herfore seip Markus Gospel:—Forpenke ye and trawe ye to be gospel. Penaunce disposeth a man to take blyeave over a beest, and thane blyeve ordeynep him to be groundid in oþer vertues.

And Jesus wendinge forber biseide he see of Galile, saw Symount, and Andrew his bropher, castinge her netdis in to his water; for these two weren fisheris. And Jesus seide to hem, Come ye after me and Y shal make you to be maad fisheris of men; for my Fadir shal make pis. And anon anon withen her netdis and sueden him, as his disciplis.

It is noo drede Crist movede þes men, bi his Godhede, in þer soule, and dispose hem to religiouen fro þe tyme þat he 3af hem witt; for siche men wolde Crist have to grounden men in Goddis lawe. But here men douten comunli whi Crist lovede þus fisheris, and hunteris he lovede but litil, as Lameth and Esau. But here shulden we blyeve þat Crist accepteth noo persones; but after þat he makeþ hem good, he loveþ hem more or lesse. And so fisheris weren betere men, and þerfore Crist lovede hem more. But þit stondiþ þe doute moved, whi Crist made not hunteris betere men þan fisheris, siþ it is more gentil craft. Here is no greet questioun; for God mai worche as he wole. But þit men seien here, þat fishing is þe porer craft, and more acording to men, and neer þe state of innocence; and þerfore Crist lovede it þe more. Soþeli men hunten in Lenten, and gentil men,—to have þer game, whanne þei have noon oþer

1 Markis, E.

a St. Gregory (Homil. xx.), in commenting on the text, 'He that hath the bride is the bridegroom,' says, 'ac si [Johannes] dicet: ego sponsus non sum, sed amicus sponsi sum.' But our author, possibly from imperfectly remembering the passage, calls John the Baptist the spouse of our Lord, a title of dignity which I cannot find was ever conferred upon him by any of the Fathers or Doctors of the Church.
avauntage, al[i]f þer travaile be bisie and muche. But not so comunli falliþ pis in fishing. And fisþis ben ner þe elementis, and not so like to mannis fleish; and þerfore men holden an ordre to ete fishe and leve fleish; and þus fishe is neer to mete þat man shulde have in Paradys, and sleying of fishe is ferfer from sleying of men þan is sleying of erþeli beestis, which fleish heweris usen. And God wolde þat man hadde orror of sleying of his broþer; but now men usen a newe craft\footnote{This seems to refer to the recent introduction of gunpowder, the invention or the re-discovery of a friar, Roger Bacon, into the art of war.} to slee men comunli, more þan þis craft was usid fro þe tyme þat God was born; and seien, þat preestis shulden usen þis craft betere and more meedefulli þan shulde seculer men, as preestis shulden be lordis over hem. And þis lore is tauȝt bi freris bi myche merit feyned þerto. But what men þei shulden kille, oþer þer breþeren or aliens, þei holden þit in þeir purs; al[i]f þei practisen on þer breþeren. But þis peple is wyde scatexid,—sum in Engelond, and sum wiþout. And þes moo freris wiþouten seien þat men shulden moost kille English; and so lesse erroour at bigynnynge growiþ to mykil and perilous.

But leve we þis doute here, and tretwe we of þe Chirche dowyn; for bi þis mo men travailen bi symonie. For many, bi þe fendis cast, loven to be hye prelatis, for lordship and richesse, more þan to quykene þe Chirche aþer þe poorte of Crist. And we supposen, as declarid bi twelve lawis of þe two testamentis, þat preestis and clerkis shulden be pore, as Crist was wiþ his Apostlis. And in tokene of þis poorte, þes freris ben pore, as þei seien; and þit þei passen Scarioth in averice and worldli goodis. And herfore þes blasfemes seien þat begging is medeful, and þat Crist tauȝte hem to begge. And þus þes traitouris ben maad riche. Men have proved ofte tymes þat preestis shulden not þus be riche, ne þus be dowid in temporal lordship. Bi men of resoun, or of Goddis half, it is knowen þing ynowþ þat sum tyme weren preestis pore, and þanne þei shulden, bi Cristis lawe, profite to þe Chirche after þer power; but downing makþ hem lesse of power, and þei profiten not more þan þei mai. And so bi þis dowyn þei ben more holden, and
lesse done. Dat pei ben more holden bi pis downyge is liht to prove bi mannis lawe; for siche a rente or benefice mot axe sum reward azen, but no reward is more fittinge apan spiritual office of preestis. And dat downyng makihe hem lesse of power mai men shewe bi pis maner. Pei have no more of kyndeli witt apan preestis hadden bfore pe downyge; and sip pes wittis ben moche occupied about dowin and worldli pingis, pei have lesse witt to be occupied aboute God and hevenli pingis. And no man of witt hap drede dat ne pe world and worldli pingis distracten a man fro God and his service in spiritual pingis. And so it seme dat preestis moten nede ope seie dat pei weren ydil bfore pe dowin, or, bi dowin, pei ben more unablid for to serve God, and to profite to his Chirche, and helpe goostli to ony man. And here it seme dat pes preestis ben moche

unholden to seculer lordis bi pe dowynge dat pei have take; for pei ben harmed so myche þerbi. And so folie on boþe partis bringiþ in harm in ech side; for no man doþ azens God, but þiþ he have harm anoon. And it is knownyn bi Goddis lawe dat traveile bi Cristis ordinance dispositiþ a man to have grace, and to be more loved of Crist. And þiþ preestis lyveden as Crist ordeynede, pei shulden more encrese in vertues, and profite more to hem and to þe Chirche þan pei done reversynge Crist. And no man þat witt hap wole seie, þat Crist Þeveþ preestis more grace, for þei ben unkynde to Crist and leven þe ordinance þat he þaf hem. And over þiþ, it is knownen, þat he þat loveþ his God more shulde more profite to Cristis Chirche, and betere love his neþbour. But bileeve techiþ us þat God biddiþ men to love him of al þer herte, of al þer liif, of al þer mynde, and of al þer strengþe; so þat, after þe Þiftes of God, a man is holden more to serve him. And so, sip preestis shulden not be idil, but do good after ðeir power, þei shulden profite to þe Chirche bfore dowynge, as þei myþen. But bi double folie, brouþt in boþe in clerkes and worldli lordis, preestis ben of lesse power, boþe to serve God and his Chirche. And noo drede God axiþ acountis of þis folish chaffering.

But here þe fend techiþ his clerkis to seke after feyned an-

1 om. E.
sworis. And þei seien, first, þat bi þis dowyng þei ben in quiet and in pees, and so þei serven God betere, as þei bi resoun ben more holden. And þus þei ben holden in scote to lerne philosophris lore, oþer weie þan þei shulden be, þif þis dowyng wantide hem. Here Cristen men shulden wite þat þe send medliþ sopfæstnes wiþ falsheþe to bigile þe folk, and turne hem fro Cristis lore. Soþeli men lernen of gentil craft\textsuperscript{a} bi occasioun of dowyng, but not so muche as done þese beggers; for fadir of lesingis mai more in hem. Cristene men shulde lerne Goddis lawe, and holden hem paied þeroþ; and in þis mesure, and in þis nombre, and in þis weȝte, shulden þei lyven here, and abiden lore in hevene þat men shulden have over þis. For þis lore þat Crist tawte ys ynow þ for þis liif. And þif men lyven after him, þei shal have lore as þei have nede; and þus þis dowyng makiþ lore þat doþ harm to Cristis Chirche, boþe lore of vanite, and þerto lore of mennis lawis. Crist ȝaf lore, þe which he lovede, þat he wolde teche Cristen men; and oþer lore, and more, over þis, wolde Crist þat were suspendid. But þit men replien, and seien, þat bi þis dowyng prestis ben many; and so, in multitude of clerkis, doiþ þis dowyng muche profit; for clerkes wolden not be so many but þif þis dowyng were here. God techþ trewe men to graunte þat dowyng and feyned begging makiþ to multiplie prestis more þan God himselfh haþ ordeyneþ; for God coude ordeyne noo kyn þing, but in mesure, noumbe and weȝte. God wolde not þat alle weren prestis, ne alle knyȝtis, ne alle laboreris; but of alle þes þree partis, God wolde make his Chirche in mesure. And þif þou seist þat men Faylen witt to ateyne\textsuperscript{1} to Goddis noumbe, lyve men wel, and God wolde teche how muchel shulde be noumbe of prestis. For defaute of Goddis lawe makiþ defaute in þis noumbe. Lerne men wel Goddis lawe, and it shal teche mesure in þis, if men prechen wel þis lawe, and hiden it not fro þe peple. Wel I rede in Goddis lawe, whanne God wolde have myche travaile in beryng of þe tabernacle and sacrificis of many beestis, he wolde have, of twelve kynredis, but o kynrede of Levy, to serve his folk for preestis.

\textsuperscript{1} ateyne, E.

\textsuperscript{a} gentil craft appears to mean what we call secular knowledge.
and dekenes. And ȝit he wipdrowȝ many of hem and unablide hem to serve God þus for sykenesse þat he sente hem. And to alle þes preestis and dekenes God lymitide but dymes and offringis. Lord! ȝif Cristene men wolden be paiet of þe mesure of Goddis ordenance, and have þe twelfþe part of clerkis, and ȝyve her dymes and offringis to hem and hyris to lyve bi, ȝit it were now ynowȝ, siþ Apostlis wiþ lesse goodis profiuten more to Cristis Chirche. And þus wipdrawe we kyngis clerkis and clerkis þat ben in lordis housis, and algatis þese religious þat ben to charge of Cristis Chirche; and passe we not þanne þe tenþe part, to dowe clerkis over oure God, and he wole teche us, bi riqt liif, in what noumbre we shulden have clerkis.

FIS IS þE GOSPEL þAT IS RAD ON CRISTEMASSE EYN.

[SERMON LXXXIX.]

Cum esset desponsa.—MAT. i. [18.]

Þis gospel telliþ of Cristis birþe, how his modir was pore womman, and seip; Whanne Joseph was weddiþ to Marie, þe which Marie was Jesus modir, bifoare þat þei shulden com to gide, she was founden of her housebone, haunynge of þe Holi Goost; for Joseph perseyved wel þat oure Ladi was wiþ childe. Here holy doctors seien þat Joseph was weddiþ wiþ Marie, and, bifoare þei shulden go to bedde, Marie was gret of þe angel, and conseyved, of þe Holi Goost, Jesus oure Savyour. Soþeli þe Holi Trinite made þis concepcion; but siþ charite is prorpid to þe Holi Goost, and moost charite was, þat God wolde make himsilf man, it is soþ þat Crist was conseyved of þe Holi Goost. And bi þis þe two ônger Persones ben not excludid, but includid. Crist was conseyved in oure Ladi of her clene blood wipouten

1 om. E.  
2 boris, E.  
3 So in E; A includes the whole clause, except the word Marie, in the quotation.

* That is, 'if but a twelfth part of the population, as was the case among the Jews, devoted themselves to the service of the altar.'
man, and hadde anoon mannis forme, and growide in hir as 
opon done. And þus Joseph, bi lyȝt touching, or ellis bi þe lore 
of God, perceyvide þat she was wiþ childe, and wolde not dis- 
seuye oure Ladi. And seintis seilen þat Crist was conceyved 
after þis weddinge; for Crist wolde be consevied in wedlok of 
his fadir and modir; and ellis myȝten þe Jewis forsake Crist as 
unlawful, and not þe greet biiȝte prophete. And so Joseph 
shulde have oure Ladi more unsuspect, and more love Crist, 
and betere kepe him as his lawful sone, and serve him, and 
nurishe him. And so we ben more certisifed of maidenhed of 
oure Ladi; for Joseph, þif he wiste ¹ hir have knowe man bifoire, 
for repreef he wolde have told it. And, for joseph was a just 
man and loved of God, God tolde him bi an angel þat he shulde 
not drede to take Marie to his wif. Ech word of þis gospel 
shulde be take bi his sentence. And so, siþ Joseph was a just 
man, God myȝte not faile to him, how he shulde do in þingis 
þat wren hid to him. It is seid comunl, bi process of Lukes 
gospel, þat oure Ladi, fro þat she was grett of Gabriel, as Luk 
tellip, wente to Elizabeth, and dwelte wiþ her a long tyme, and 
in al þis tyme Crist growide in her wombe. And whanne she 
cam hoom to Joseph, he myȝte betere knowe hir wiþ childe; but 
Joseph wiste, bi Goddis lawe, þat þif oure Ladi were corrupt in 
þis caas, she shulde be punishid; but he coude not prove þis, 
and so he wolde not defame oure Ladi, ne put hir up to mannis 
jugement; siþ he trowide þat oure Ladi myȝte conceyve þus 
bi þe Hooli Goost. Not þat þe seed of þe Holi Goost was put 
in to oure Ladi, but þat God, of hir blood, gedride in place of 
hir wombe; and wiþouten oþer seed, God formede þis bodi, and 
þat it soule. And þus, bi þe aungel’s lore, Joseph was afer 
efourned, and not of alle þingis togidre, but now a litil, and 
now a litil; and þus he shulde betere lyve bi feiþ, and hope, and 
charite; for bi whiles he shulde be confortid bi speche of þis 
aungel, al þif he apperide to Joseph for þe tyme þat Joseph 
slepte. And þis is a beter siþ þan ben comune dreemes of 
men. And Joseph was clepid Davipis sone, for he shulde 
þenke þat Crist was bihiȝt for to come of Davipis kynde; and

¹ badde wiste, E.
so myȝte he muse, and þenke how Marie myȝte þus be wip childe. And he hadde noon occasioune to have Marie suspect, for þis tyme, and þes wordis of þe aungel, moveden Joseph to þis treuþ: for þat þat is born in her is of the Holi Goost. Wel he wiste þat ech man is maad of þe Holi Goost, but þis aungel mente sumwhat ellis; for ellis his speche hadde be veyn. And so Joseph undirstood þat Marie hadde conceyved bi myracle; and to þis witt he was disposad, but not to no more þit.

þe aungel seide þat Marie shulde bere a child, and he shulde clepe his name Jesus, as Gabriel hadde seid bifoore. And siþ Jesus is savyour, bi þis Joseph þouȝte more; and speciali, siþ þis aungel seide, þat þis Jesus shulde save his peple fro þer synnes. And þat is moche; for þanne he shulde boþe have a peple, and shulde save it fro synne, þat oonli God mai do. A man mai save fro bodili perilis, but oonli God mai save fro synne; and speciali fro þe laste synne, þat makiþ a man be damyped in helle.

Here men douten comounli, siþ alle men shulden sue Crist, how preestis shulde not have peple þat were suget to hem. And siþ þe peple shulde serve to preestis and do hem worldli worshipis, it semeþ þat for worship of God men shulden þus ȝyve hem rentis, and þus encreese hooli Chirche in devocioun of dowyn. Here we graunten, as we seiden next a, þat ech man after Crist shulde sue him, ferþer or nerer, or ellis he comeþ never to hevene. And herfore Crist ledde comun lyf, neiþer to large ne to streit, þe which liþ myȝte be ensaumple to alle men of þis world. But þit Baptist, ne ony oþer, myȝte not passe Crist in o vertue; for Cristis fasting was betere þan ony oþer fastynge myȝte be, and his passioun was more as his charite was gretter. But siþ Crist did þing þat he myȝte not be amendid, he myȝte not take worldli lordship to þe worship of his Chirche, for, if he hadde, he hadde fuylide b his stait, and fordone him and his Chirche. And þis wisten apostlis wel, and dwelten þerfor in þer povert. And þus pore staat of men is liker to staat of innocence þan is rich worldli staat, seme it

1 om. E.
2 So E; A has folið.

a See page 310.
nevere so glorious. And þus þe pope, takinge dowynge, — were
it Silvester or oþer,—fouleide 1 þe Chirche and dide it harm oþer
weie þan Crist myȝte do. And so it is not bileve þat ne þis
pope synnede myche. But men supposen þat he hadde sorewe
in his ende for þis synne; and so we supposen now, þat bi
grace þat Crist þaf him, he is a seint now in hevene, as oþer
men þat token þis dowynge. But oþer apostlis, bi oure bileve,
passen in heven sîch staat; for it is bineþe bileve þat þes popis
ben in hevene, sîp bileve of holi writt sêþ not þat þei ben
seintis. And so for blyndenes of þis world þei token to
worship þat was shame. And Crist myȝte not have do þus, for
Crist myȝte not have synned. And þus, where ypocrisis seien
þat þis dowynge doþ worship, it doþ myche shame to men, þif
riþt bileve coude conceyve it. For shame of synne is þe moste
þat ech man shulde eschewe, for it bringþ to þe moste shame,
þat shal be at þe daie of dome. Wel Y woot þat fendis lymes
wolen argue ægens þis sentence, and disprove oure wordis here;
but jugement of þe firste treuþe, and his liif, wþþ his reule,
techþ us sumwhat here how þis is Goddis treuþe. And sich
lordship of preestis, wþþ oþer synnes þat comen after, may
distroie rewmes here, and do harm to al þe Chirche. For, siþ sich
lordship is rote of bataulis and divisious, it mai falle bi þis
synne þat preestis taken fîþting fro lórdis; and so þes lórdis
shulden lyve as vikeris, and þes preestis shulden lyve as knyþtis.
And þus myȝte Cristis relijioun be reversid for þe more part.
And prelatis, boþe more and lesse, mai assent to þis sentence,
and freris mai falle wþþ hem, and chide bi wordis þat it is soþ;
as it fallþþ in þis tyme þat preestis fîþting is preisid, þhe, for
a feyned cause, þat noon in þis world can grounde. And after
þis synne mai falle, þat ladies ben taken privyly, and afterward
aperli, fro þer hosebondis, bi preestis. And þis wey may
fîþting falle wþþinne rewmes and distrye hem; for preestis mai
coveiten to myche of rewmes, and chef lordship of hem. God
shilde us fro sich perilis; for þif þei fallen in oure tyme, many
helpers shulden þei have of Anticristis clerkis þat darken now.
For Goddis lawe sêþ þus; þat þei ben cursid of him þat bowen

1 So E; A has failide.
fro Goddis comandementis; and þis cursing is more to charge, for þis Lord mai not erre. And herfore alle men shulden defende Goddis lawe on þer manere; for litil errour in þis lawe wole growe to a greet harme.

Crist axiþ here meknes and poverté, wiþ verri þees; and algatis in hise preestis þat ben hier in degree; and ever þe hiþere þat þei ben, þe more þei shulde have of þes vertues. And þif þou seie, þat þes richessis ben goode, and Cristis preestis ben more worþi; whi shulde not þei have þes goodis passinge biforn oþer men? many sich blynde resouns ben maad bi Anticristis clerkis; as sum men arguen for þeves, þat þei ben more hardi men, whi shulden þei not have þe goodis þat þei robben fro oþer men? Speciali, siþ bi Goddis lawe alle þingis shulden be comune. But here men seien, þat þeves ben hardi but to do synful dedes, and þei ben þe moste cowardis in doinge of dedes of vertue. And as a corde is a good þing, and þe tree is a good þing, but þit þe hanging on þe galewis is harmful to þis þef; so worldli goodis ben good, but mysuse of hem is yvel. For God háþ þat alle þingis in mesure, and passyng þeroþ is foul and yvel; as many creaturis ben good, and habitude of hem is yvel. And Goddis lawe techiþ þis ordre, and which of þis is better þan oþer. Certis, worldli richesse is good, but not so good as ben vertues; and cloþis of þe ordris ben good, but not so good as ordre in soule. Goddis lawe techiþ in what ordre hise servantis shulde use his goodis; and mesure of þis ordre is betere þan is havynge of þes goodis. And þus we graunten þat preestis shulden have peple þat were suget to hem, but first suget to Cristis lawe; and þus þei shulden have þis peple for þe traveile and þe service þat þei shulden do to þis peple. But Crist háþ in anoþer manere peple, and alle goodis of þis world; for he is boþe God and man, þat mai faile in noþing.
The Nativity.

 Ис dai men singen þree massis in worship of þe Trinite; but þe þridde and þe moste is of þe manhede of Crist, þe which is boþe God and man for þe love of mankynde. Þe gospil of þe firste masse, and of þe secundé also, tellen what þingis bifellen in þe birþe of þis child. Þe Emperour of Rome was þanne in his florís, and in þees on ech side, as þis autour of þees ordeynede. Men seien þat þis emperour was clepid Octavian; and in þe two and fourtiþ þeer, whanne he was in moost þees, was Crist born, God and man, in þe lond undir þis emperour. Men seien also, þat þis Cesare was moost in generale and larges, and þees of his lordship; for more generali þan oþer hadde he lordship of þis world. Of Julius he took þis name to be clepid Cesare; and August he was clepid, for he alargide a þe emperi. þis emperour sente a comandement to al þe peple of his emperi, to discryve alle his londis, þat was wel nyʒ al þis world. And he bigan at Sirie, for it was myddil of his emperi. And so Syryne b, þat was þere cheof undur þe emperour, bigan to make þis discripion, and gaderide tribute to þe emperour. And þus mysþe þe emperour wite what peple he hadde in his emperi, and what þei mysþen helpe him in tyme of nede, in men and moneie. And þus he devidide þis rewme in þree partis, þat men shulden come in nyne þeer to Rome, and bringe tribute for her lond. But al þis is passid now; for þe pope and his covent haþ c so put doun þe em-

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1 Restored conjecturally; the MS. (A) has only the letters e n, followed by the long stroke of a p.
2 Syryne, E.
3 ban, E.

a 'Augustus,' as if from augeo.
b In the authorized version, 'Cyrenius governor of Syria.'
SERMONS.

perour, that little remnes tellen liȝt by him. And so dukes, and eerlis, and lesse, wolen fiȝte wiþ him, and dispise him.

And so wente alle of Jude, that was ny Sirye, to make þer profession in her owne citee. Ech man hadde an heed towhat was next to his dwelling, and þat was clepid his citee; and sum men celen it cheping towh b.

And Joseph wente fro Nazareth þat was a towh in Galile in to þe towh of Bedleem þat was sett in Judee. For boþ Joseph and our Ladi weren þe hous of Davip; and þe cite of Beeldlem was Davipís bi sum propirte, for Davip was borne in þat citee, as þe Book of Kingis tellip. And so Joseph wente wiþ Marie, þat was his wyf, in to Bedeleem, to make þis professiouñ þat þe emperour bad make. þei brouȝten an oxe and an asse wiþ hem, as men seien, for þis enchesoun;—Marie was greet wiþ childe; þerfore shere rood upon an asse; þe oxe þei brouȝten for to selle; for Jewis haten begging. And Bedleem was fullid of men bifoer þei camen to þe towh; and so þei hadden noon herborwe, but dwelten in a comune stable, and þes two beestis wiþ hem, til tyme cam to use hem.

And it felle, while þei weren þere, oure Ladi bare hir child, þe which was hir firste child, for him she bar and noon oþer. And þis is maner of Goddis lawe, to cefe sich children first born,—not for oþer was born; bifoer ne after Crist she bar noon oþer. And she wrapt Crist wiþ cloþis, and putte him in þe crafte, for she hadde no betere place to put him in al þe hous. And so, as men singen and trowen, Crist lai bifoer an oxe and an asse. And breþ of þes two beestis keppe him hoot in þis cold tyme.

And herdis weren in þe same contre, wakiinge, and kepyn þe houris of þe nijȝt upon þer floc. For þis was maner in Judee, whanne þe nijȝt was lengest, to kepe þer sheep and wake þat

* This is an interesting allusion to the enfeebled condition of the 'Holy Roman Empire' since the fall of the Hohenstanfen dynasty, which was truly brought about, as the writer says, by the popes and their adherents. The emperor at this time reigning, Wenzel or Wenceslas, whose sister, Anne of Bohemia, was married to our Richard II, was so utterly weak both in character and resources that the princes of the empire deposed him a few years later, and elected in his room his brother Sigismund.

b That is, market town; as in Chipping Norton, Chipping Campden, Chippenham, &c.
niȝt. And so men seien þat Crist was bore at þe myddil of þis nyȝt, for þe myddil persone in Trinite lovede myddil in many þingis. And lo, þe aungerel of þe Lord stood bi þes heerdis, and clerenesse of God shynede aboute hem, and þei dreeden bi greet drede. But þe aungerel seide to hem, Wole þe not drede, for loo, Y telle you a greet joie þat shal be to al þe peple. For þis daie is born to us a Saviour, þat is Crist þe Lord, in þe cite of Daviþ. And þis shal be tokene to þou: ye shal fynde þe child wlaþpid wiþ cloþis, and þat in þe cratche, as Y shal telle þou. And sudeynli, þer was maad wiþ þis ausengel a multytee of hevenli knyȝtis, herynge God and seiyng; Glori be to God in hizeste hevenes, and þeþe þe to men in erþe which ben of good wylle.

Here mai we see how Crist lovede comun povert on many maners; for he chees to be herborid in comun place, wiþouten pryde, and wiþouten worldli helpe boþe of men and of wymmen, and he chees a pore cradil þat þe child was put inne. But he hadde, passinge oþer, a pryvylegie in many þingis; for he was born wiþouten peyne or sorewe of his fadir and modir. For as he brak not Mariþe cloister whanne þat she was maad wiþ childe, so he brak not his modirs wombe whanne he cam out of þis cloister. And so þis þaut folk bifoþre God weren betere þan myche worldli peple, kingis or lordis and ladis, and wiþ myche fare of þis world; for þis birþe was glorious, neer þe staat of innocence. þe secounde confort of Cristis birþ was of þes many aungerels; for þei weren betere þan many lordis, and her song was of greet confort. Ofte tyme, in þe olde law, apperiden aungerels to men, but not in siche a multytee, ne in siche a joieful speche.

And whanne þe aungerels wenten fro hem, þes herdis spoken to hem sylf, Passe we into Bedleem, and se we þis word þat is maad, þat þe Lord haþ maad, and shewid to us. And þei came hastinge, and fond þes þree persons, Marie and Joseph, and þe yong child put in þe cratche. And whanne þes herdis sawen þis þing, þei kneuen of þe word þat was seid to hem of þis child bi þe aungerel. And alle þe men of þe contre þat herden þis,

1 om. E.
wondriden, and of pes pingis, pat weren seid of pe heerdemen to hem. But Marie kepde alle pes wordis, and bare hem to-gidere in her herte. And no drede she hadde greet confort, and undirstonding over operd men. And pes heerdis turneden azen, glorisyng and herynge God in alle pingis pat pei herden and sawen, as it was seid to hem.

We supposen pat angels ledden hem to pis place in Beed-leem, and confortiden hem many gatis, bope in bodi and in soule. And pei wisten bi pes angelis, and bi pe good will pat pei hadden, how pei shulden have pees in erpe; and her-fore pei herieden God. And so, zif we taken hede, Crist hadde company of je. First, of his fadir and of his modir, pat weren bope holi folk; after, of herdemen pat lyveden symple and holi lyf. And pes weren licli mo pan two, and ny3 pe state of innocence; for God lovede Abel betere pan Cayn pat was his brofer. And pe first was an heerde, and pe toper a tiliyng man; and tiliyng men have more of craft pan have heerdis in per dedis. And as God lovede Jacobs sones, pat weren alle heerdemen, so he lovede pes heerdis pat camen for to visite Crist. And so pis nativite of Crist was more pan ony oper, 3he, and more pan Adames makynge, whanne he cam into pis world; for oure Ladi and Joseph passiden Adam and Eve, and pe company of angelis passiden frendis pat weren wip oure firste eldris; and pes heerdis pat camen to hem passiden Adams children. And algatis pe birp of Crist passide oper dedis pat ever God dide; for it is more to make God man, pan to make pis world of nou3t. It is maistrie to make a virgyn bere a child, and dwelle a virgyn, more pan to make Adam of erpe, or to make Eve of Adams ribbe; but it is wipouten mesure more to make God to be a man. For here mennis wittis moten faile. But oon ensample h3p kynde 3ovun us: as pe spirit pat is mannis soule is pe same persone wip him, so pe secounde persone of God is pe same persone wip pis man. But diversite is greet here and peere, whoso Wolfe loke. Leewe we pis and speke we of vertues. For pis child

1 So E; passiden, A.

a Literally rendered from the Vul-gate,—'omnes qui audierant mirati sunt, et de iis quae dicta erant a pastoribus.'
is Goddis virtue, and wisdom of þe Fadir of hevene. But þis is bi his Godhede; and mo redelis\textsuperscript{1} þan we can telle ben soþ of Crist bi his two kindis. And ȝif we taken good hede of him, Crist is þree kyndis, and o persone; for Crist is Godhede, and bodi, and soule, and ech oon of þes þree. And so, as sum men seien, Crist is sevne þingis, and ech of hem: for his spirit is þree þingis, and his bodi õer þree þingis, and Crist is, over þis, his Godhede, but oonli oo persone of it. And so, as sevne is ful nombre of universite of þingis\textsuperscript{a}, so Crist is ful rewme of hevene, and of þis world; for al þis world bi him is betirid, and as who made a newe world. For ech creature of þis world is beterid bi his birþ. For man is beterid sip he is bouȝt and maad Goddis sone and his eire, and þerwip þe broþer of Crist, which is boþe God and man; angelis in hevene be beterid, sip þei have more felowship, and sich felowship of seintis makip hem more glad togidere. And þus alle þe fendis in helle ben beterid ægens þer wille; for þer cumpany is maad lesse, and þei have harm of many felowis.

Al þis world bodili shulde serve to God and to man; and it wantide þis eende til þat Crist was maad man; for bifoire, þis world fauȝte wip God and tormentide man, but fro þat þis pees was maad, God made þis world to serve man. And herfore aungelis in hevene, for Cristis incarnacioun, wolden not take kneling of Joon, but seiden, þat þei were his servantis, and servantis of his breþeren; and þis þei fulliflid in dede. And so ech part of þis world shulde joie for þis nativite; but þe fendis maken sorewe, for old envie þat þei have. And for þei shulden make ioie, þei synnen in þis, and harmen hemsiþ. And herfore Crist is clepid a pesible kyng in þe Chirche; for he made pees in al þis world, and lefte fiȝtinge for more pees. For man fiȝtip wip þre enemys, to have more blessid pees in hevene. And so, as many men seien, alle þingis comen for þe beste; for alle comen for Goddis ordenance, and so þei

\textsuperscript{1} redelis, E.

\textsuperscript{a} The number seven, formed from the union of the triad, the ‘perfect’ number, with the tetractys, which Pythagoras venerated so profoundly, itself prime and masculine, marking the number of the planets, &c., &c., has been held sacred from the earliest times. See the article on ‘Arithmetic’ in the Encyclopaedia Britannica.
comen for God himself; and so alle þingis þat comen fallen
for þe beste þing þat mai be. Moreover to anoþer witt men
seien, þat þis world is beterid bi everyþing þat fallþ þerinne,
where þat it be good or yvel; so moche, þat þis world is betere
for synne þat is punishid in helle; for it fallþ to oure Lord
to have a prisoun and prisoneris, and do his merci to hem, and
savore more his seintis in hevenes. And herfore seip Gregori,¹
þat it was a blesful synne þat Adam synnede and his kynde,
for bi þis þe world is beterid; but þe ground of þis goodnesse
stondþ in grace of Jesus Crist.

But þit men mai muse how Crist is pesible kyng, siþ he seip,
he cam not to sende pees in þe erþe but swerd, and þat bitokeneþ
þiþting and noo pees. Here men seien soþeli, þat þer ben two
peesis, verri pees and fals pees, and þei ben ful dyvers. Verry
pees is groundid in God, whanne God loveþ a man, and to þat
pees sueþ pees wiþ alle creaturis; for to men þat þus loven
God done alle þingis good. And þis pees stondþ in pacience,
and mekenes, and oþer vertues; and þus was Crist pesible
kyng, and he and his hadden pees here. Fals pees is groundid
in reste wiþ oure enemys, whanne we assente to hem wiþouten
aþenstonding. And swerd aþens sich pees cam Crist to sende
into erþe; for þus fouþte Poul aþens his fleish, aþens þe world
and þe fend; and þus dide Crist, partinge fleishli frendis fro
þe love of oþer, for þe more love þat þei shulden have to Crist
þat is her God. Þis fals pees is cowardise, and enemye of
God; and auctor of þis pees is þe fend of helle. And Crist
contrariede þis pees, wiþ synnþes þat bringþ it in, as ben pryde,
envie and bateilis, ydilnes, and oþer synnþes. And where verry
pees techþ pacience, þis pees techþ þiþting, and blasfemeþ in
God, as it wolde be his maþir. And to þis undirstonding was
not Crist pesible kyng. And herfore þe prophete seip, þat in
tyme of Crist, þei shulden welle þer swerdþiþ to sharris¹, and þer

¹ sebæs, E.

A passage, not worded precisely
as here stated, but with the same
general meaning, may be found in
Gregory’s Commentary In Primum
Regum, lib. iv. cap. i. But there
is a passage in the Sarum missal, in
the office for Holy Saturday, con-
taining precisely the same thought;
‘O certe necessarium Adae peccat-
tum et nostrum, quod Christi morte
deletum est! O felix culpa, quae
talem ac tantum meruit habere
redemptorem!’
speris to sykelis. For of Crist seip anoþer prophete, þat Crist shulde do awei bateilis to þe ende of þe erþe, and instrumentis of bateilis, as bowe, and sheld, and swerd, and oþer engynes of batailis. Þus shulde it be; but þe fend reversþ þis.

ON SEINT STEVENYS DAI.

[SERMON XCI.]

Ecce, ego mitto ad vos prophetas.—Matt. xxiii. [34.]

Þis gospel is songen in worship of Seint Steven, þat was þe firste martir aftir Cristis assencioun; for he was oon of þe sevne dekenes chosen of þe apostlis, and stood styfli to his deep for bileve aþens Jewis. And so bileve techþ us þat he is an hooli martir. Crist seide þes wordis to two maner of folk, þat weren þe fendis capteyns in killing of martiris; and þes weren princis of preestis, and comunte of Jewis. Crist supposþ in þis speche, þat he is boþe God and man; and so al tyme þat was, or shal be, is present to him. And he supposþ also þat þer ben two kynredis; good kynrede, and yvel, of which ben man-sleris fro þe bigynyng of þe world to þe laste martir. And to þis kynrede shapþ Crist his wordis:—Lo, I sende to you prophetis, and wise men, and scribis; and al þis is for your good, to teche you Goddis lawe: and of hem shal þe kille, and do upon þe crosse, and of hem shal þe tormenten in your synagogis. And here mai we see þe malis of þis kynrede, for a synagoge, as þei seien, is an holi place; and hereinne þei turmenten just men. And þe synne was1 þe more, and bylyndenesse of witt also, for þei wenden to do wel in þis. And so þei pursuen Cristene men fro cite to cite, þat shal veniaunce come on hem2 at þe dai of jugement. And þus þei done her fadirs work, sleyinge martiris bi þer tyme, þat al just blood come on hem, þat is shed in erþe, fro þe blood of just Abel to þe blood of Zacarite, þat was Barachies sone, slayn of hem bitwixe þe temple and þe auler.

1 So E.; is, A. 2 The words And—hem are italicized in E.
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...is a blessid ende ordeyned bi Goddis lawe, for no synne mai be done, but ðis justise be ðerwip; and so, ðis justise makið ðe world more fair ðan ðis synne mai mak it foul. Mese we not of ðis Zacarie, how he was Barachies sone and whanne he was kild, as ðis gospel tellip; for many men have many names, and algatis in ðe olde lawe; and a man is a sone of a fadir longe biffer; and many ðingis ben hid to us, how ðei weren speciali done. And ðus we taken ðe word of Crist, and trwen it sop as bilee, sîp ech word of ðe gospel is trewe, sîp it is bileeve; sîp ech complect resoun tellip treuþe ðat we Schulde trowe, and ech part of ðis resoun bitokenep ðe same treuþe. Crist seip to ðis folk:—Soþli, Y seie to þou, alle ðes ðingis shal come upon ðis kynrede. ðes Jewis weren a part þerof, and so ðis kynrede was pere, and herde þes wordis of Crist, for a part of it herde hem. Afir, Crist declaims ðat ðis malice was oonli in hem; for God was of good wille to do good to his kyn; but sum of hem wolde not take ðis goodnes of God. And Þus seip Crist:—

Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how ofte wolde Y gadere þi children, as an heene gaderip her chekenes undir hir wynges, and þou woldest not, but toke in veyn Goddis grace.

And here men douten comunli how Goddis wille was reversid, sîp þe Psalme seip:—þat al þat God wolde, he dide generali in hevene and in erþe. But here it semep þat Austin wolde seie on þis manere:—þat Goddis wille mut nedis ever more be fulfillid; and so, as ofte as Crist wolde gadere children of Jerusalem, as ofte weren þei gaderid undir his proteccioun; and whanne he wolde not gadere hem, her synne was in cause, and bi rîþ wisnesse of God, þei musten nedis be punishid; and so Goddis wille was fulfillid in punishing of hem. God wolde sum þing uttirli, as þing þat he wolde be; and þes ðingis moten nedis be, sîp God is al myþti. And sum þing wole God upon condicioun; and tellip men his wille, how, bi his lawe, men shal be punishid þat breken þis general wille in ony part þerof, þat is fulfillid in sum part. And so, sîp God biddip do þis þing, and ordeynep to punishe for þe trespas, God wole on þis maner þat þis dede be don. And so ever Goddis wille is ful-

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[a] See p. 240.
[b] See St. Augustine's, Enarratio in Psalmum cxxxiv. § 10.
fillid, outher in dede, or penaunce. If a man do meedfully that God biddip him do, Goddis wille is riethli fillid in dede, as God biddip; if a man azenstondip God and doip azens his wille, sit Goddis wille is fillid asideli by punishinge of his man. And God haþ ordeyned ever more siche wille to be fulfillid þus. And so, as men spoken in Latyn, if God biddip þee do þis dede, God wole þat þou do þis dede, al if þou doist it not; for þou art in dette to do þis dede, and in þat is Goddis wille endid. But God wole not þat þou doist þis dede, for God knowip not þis treupe, but God wole þat þou do þis dede as God wole þat þou shuldist do þis. And so Crist doublip þis citees name to telle defaute of þer unkyndenesse; how þei seen Goddis prophetis, and stoone Goddis servauntis sent to hem, as was Stephen and many oþer, þe which al þis citee killide.

And after Crist tellip þe veniaunce þat shal be taken for þis synne. Lo, your houes shal be lefte to you desert, for defaute of dwellers. And þis þing cam after in dede, soone after þat Crist steþ to hevene. And so Christ seþ to þis kinrede; Certis, I seie to you, þe shal not se me fro hennis, til þat þe seien, blessid be he þat is comen in þe Lordis name. Anoon þis kynrede diede fro Crist, and þanne þei wisten þat he was God, and how he cam to þer profit, al þif þei weren unkynde to him. And þis knowing was peyneful to þis kynrede þat shulde be dampered; and þis folk suffride þis peyne ne biforn þat þei sawen Crist. For God is redi in peyne 3vyynge as he is redi to 3yve blisse; for his justise nedip boþe to þe toon and to þe toþer.

1 sydely, E.

a as men spoken in Latyn. The reference in the text is probably to the great work of Archbishop Bradwardine, the 'profound Doctor,' entitled De Causa Dei contra Pelagium, in which the whole subject of free will and predestination was exhaustively handled, and the popularity of which was very great. It appeared about the year 1340, and, as Sir Henry Savile says (pref. to edition of Bradwardine's De Causa Dei, 1618) was immediately on its publication 'tanto omnium doctorum exceptus applausu, ut per omnes fere bibliothecas totius Europae describeretur.' To this work Chaucer refers in the well-known passage in the Nun's Priest's tale, and reproduces some of its subtle argumentation in the fourth book of Troilus and Criseyde.

b God does not will thee to do a particular act in obedience to his command, because he is ignorant of the truth (that thou wilt not do it); but God wills thee to do the act, in so far as he desires that thou shouldst obey his precepts, though thou in fact does it not.
SERMONS.

ON SEINT JHONES DAY.

[SERMON XCII.]

Dixit Jesus Petro.—John xxi. [15.]

This gospel telleth how Crist ordeyned Joon to lyve and die, and how Crist wolde þat Joon cam to bliss without killing. Joon tellip how Jesus seide to Petir þat he shulde sue him,—not onli bi paas of feet,—but in suffringe deþ as dide Crist. And Peter knew þis witt of God, and wolde sayn wite how Joon shulde die. But Joon clepiþ himself bi þree names and leveþ his owne propre name. For þes wordis þat Joon tellip here souwen to excellence of him; and þanne God wolde þat men be pryvy, and þeve þe soþe to grace of God. And þus seip þis gospel of Joon, how Petir turnede him and saw Joon. And þe firste name of þes þree sownep in to Goddis grace, and is seid in þis maner: Petir, as he turnede him, saw þat disciple þat Jesus lovede, how he suede Christ, as Petir; but þit he wiste not of his deþ. And þis sownep to grace of Crist, þat he lovede þus Joon bifoere; for more grace mai not God þyve þan sich love bifoere disertis. þe seconde name þat Joon clepiþ him, stondip in familiarie of Crist: how Joon restide on Shir Thursdae, in þe soper on Cristis brest. þis homlynesse was a greet grace, and meveþ men for to trowe þat þis Joon hadde witt of Crist. And al þis cam of grace of Crist. þe þride name þat Joon clepiþ himself, þat Peter shulde knowe bi resoun, is þis þat Joon seide to Crist, Lord, who is he þat shal traye þee? þis word was seid on Shir Thursda, whanne Crist was at his soper, for þanne tolde Crist, but comunli, þat œon of

1 Seber Thursday, E.

* Shir Thursday is Maundy Thursday; 'so called,' says Nares in his Glossary, ed. 1859, 'from the custom of shearing or shaving the beard on that day.' He quotes from an old Homily.—'For that in old faders' days the people would on that day shære theyr hedes, and clyp theyr berdes, and pool theyr heedes, and so make them honest ayenst Easter day.'
hem shulde traye him; and Petir wolde wite which þat he were. For, as men seien, Petre wolde have fouȝte wip him. And Petre saw þat Joon was nyȝ Crist, and homly wiȝ him, and spake to Joon þat he shulde axe Crist which was he þat shul traye Crist, as Crist hadde seid. And al þis souneþ to Cristis worship, and to wisdom of Crist. And þus Joon nempnede þis þridde name, and leevþ to boste of himself. 

Whanne Peter sawȝ his disciple, þat was Joon Evangelist, he axide of Jesus what shal worþe of þis Joon. But Jesus answeride to Petir in wisdom and pacience, and seide: \( Y \) wole þat he dwelle þus til \( Y \) come; what is þat to pee? sue pou me. And it is ynowȝ þee to cunne, and to do at þis tyme, and axe no more. Here mai we se, how Crist wolde þat neiþer Petre ne Joon wiste þanne Judas name, whom Crist wiste þanne to traye him. And so Crist shewide togidere boþ pacience and charite. But Crist shewide after lore more to note; how men shulden not bisien hem to knowe þingis unpertinent to þe helþe of þer soule. And þus seide Crist: What is þat to pee. And so þis word vente among he apostlis, þat þis Joon shulde nevere die. And so wordis þat ben wel seid mai liȝtli be taken amys; siþ apostlis token amys þis word of Crist so pleinli seid. And þus Joon tellip þis defaute, and seide, þat Jesus seide not þat Joon shulde nevere die; but Jesus seide in þis maner: But I wole þat Joon dwelle þus till þat \( Y \) come, what is þat to thee. And Cristis wordis myȝten be verified on þis maner, iif Joon were deed; þat Crist wolde þat Joon lyvede longe, wiþouten martirdom in bodi, til Crist cam in his owne persone, and warnede Joon to come to him and ete in hevene wiþ his breþeren in Cristis feste þat he hadde ordeyned. And þus tellip þe storie of Joon, þat was longe after; as it bifel, Crist cam to Joon, and tolde him how he shulde come to his breþeren upon Sundai next after, and so Joon diede in his grave.

1 homely, E. 2 do þat, E.

Domini secundum Ysdomorum anno LXVIII, apparuit ei Dominus cum discipulis suis dicens, Veni, dilecte mi, ad me, quod tempus est ut tu mensa mea cum tuis fratribus opulit. Surgens autem Johannes coepit ire.
SERMONS.

of Crist mai be wel þus undirstonden, what shulde meve ony man to take fals wite bi hem? After þese meke wordis of Joon, and comendinge of Goddis grace, tellþ Joon of himsylf: _how he is Þat disciple Þat berþ þwitness of Þes þingis and wroþt Þes þingis in Þis gospel; and we witen Þat his witness is sop._ And s昀h a witness, unsuspect, shulde be trowid of trewe men and not be holden for fals, siþ it is our blyve. Provþ þou Þat Þis gospel is fals, and after dampne it if þou canst.

ON CHILDREN MASSE DAY.

[SERMON XCIII.]

Angell domini apparuuit.—Matt. ii. [13.]

_Þe Lordis angell apperide in sleepe to Joseph, and seide: Rise, and take þis child and his modir, and flee into Egypt, and be þou þere til Y seie to þee; for it is to come þat Eroude seke þis child for to lese him and his felowis wiþ him. And Joseph roos up, and toke in þe nyþ þis child and his modir, and fledge into Egypt. And Joseph was þere to þe deep of Eroude. And þis was done of Joseph, for to fyselle þat þat was seid by þe prophete, þat seide: Out of Egiþ Y clepe my sone, seieþ God of Crist. And þanne Eroude sawþ þat he was disseyved of þe kyngis, and was ful wroþþ, and sente into Bedelam, and slowþ al þis children þat wereþ in Bedelam, and in alle þe coostis biside, þat wereþ of two þeer and wþþinne, after þe tyme þat he souþe out of þes kyngis, þat Crist shulde be of age. For as men seien comunli, þe same þeer þat Crist was born, Eroude wente to Rome and brente þes kyngis

Cui Dominus, Dominica die ad me venies.' The legend goes on to describe how St. John caused his grave to be dug near the altar in his church at Ephesus, and laid himself down in it; from which point the story evaporates, as it were, in a cloud of miracles, and makes no mention of his actual death. This, however, our author might have found in St. Augustine, who, in Tract CXXIV In Johann. Evang., says that it was related in an apocryphal writing that the apostle, after his grave had been dug, 'ibi se tanquam in lectulo collocasse statimeque eum esse defunctum.'
ship, and dwelte þere aboute two þeer before he cam aȝen. And þerfore he slow alle þe children þat weren two þeer, for he dredde him of Christ þat he shulde take his kingdom; siþ þis alien was kynge bi þe graunte of Romayns, and he wiste not how Crist wolde do þat was bi kynde kynge. And þanne was fullfilid þat was seid bi Jeremye: A vois was herd in hiȝ, which vois was a wepinge and a greet weiling,—Rachel was weping for hir children and she wolde not be confortid, for þei weren not, quic þus.

Þis prophecie is undirstonden on many maneres of men. Sum men undirstonden it, þat Rachel wepte in spirit þat þei weren not hir children þat weren kild in Bedleem, but hir sistris children; for þei weren kild martiris. Oþer men undirstonden by Rachel holi Chirche; and þes martiris weren hir children þat she wepte fore, not for þe martirdom þat was in hem, but for þe synne þat was done aȝens hem. And þe remenant of þe word is undirstonden† denyingli, þat þe Chirche wolde not be confortid of þis, þat her children weren dede. For she þouhte it no discomfort by many enchesouns; oon, þat it mut nede be, as God himselfi hap ordeyne,—and he ordeyneþ evere for þe beste, þif we coudyn persayve it. How shulde we grutche aȝens God þat we troun doþ so wel? Also, we trown

† So E; A has undirstonding.

† brente þe kyngis ship. This singular legend is not found, so far as I can discover, in any writer of earlier date than Petrus Comestor, (the Mangiador of Dante, Paradiso, xii. 134), author of the Historia Scholastica, from whom De Lyra quotes it. Peter was a priest of Troyes in the twelfth century; the Historia is said to have been produced in the year 1181. In the dedication, addressed to the archbishop of Sens, Peter declares that he had written the work at the urgent entretry of many friends, in order to ‘elucidate the too brief and obscure narrative of holy scripture.’ Labbe, in his Scriptores Ecclesiastici, thus writes of him;—‘Historiam Ecclesiasticae consacravit emque glossis tum falsissimis tum insulisisimis refercivit, quae tamen ita tum ubique obtinuit, ut ipsi scripturae sacrae nudae ac purae pene pretereretur.’

The story of the veracious Petrus is, that while Herod was on his way to Rome, whither he had been summoned by Augustus with reference to the quarrels between him and his sons, he stayed for a time at Tarsus in Cilicia, and burnt all the ships of the people of Tarsus, in revenge for their having provided the wise men with a ship to return home in. Whereby the prophecy in the forty-eighth Psalm was fulfilled, ‘Thou shalt break the ships of Tarshish with an east wind,’ Tarshish being of course identical with Tarsus!

† Herod was an alien and no Jew, being the son of Antipater the Idumaean.
SERMONS.

That these seintis weren take in their best tyme, so that many ben betere than ye shulden have been unmarrid. Whi shulde ye Chirche sorowe for her grete goode? Many sich resouns ben maad, that men shulden be pacient and confoirme hem to Goddis wille, and enjoie of ye more goode. And thus men seien that ye Chirche is worshipid bi martirs. Crist is heed of martiris, and oonli bi himself; but his membris ben martris upon yer maneres: sum in wille and dede,—and thus was Stephen martrid; and sum in wille, and not in dede,—and thus was Joon martrid; and sum men in dede and not in wille, and thus weren these children martrid.

But men doute comunli how alle these weren martris, si p circumcisioon was yanne as nedeful as now is baptym. But licy many of hem weren kild bifore ye eisipe dai, and, bifore that, they shulden not be circumcidid bi ye lawe. Here many men ocenken that per ben many circumcisious, as per ben many baptemys, as it is knowen comunli. And God is not so oblishid to sensible sacramentis that ne he mai, without hem, synve a man his grace. And as God saf martiris grace, without baptym of water, bi baptym of ye Holy Goost and bi water of Cristis side, so mai men suppose of circumcisioon; and so these Innocentis werein circumcised in soule. Thus mai men suppose binepe bileve.

And many men supposen that more than of these seintis that now ben canonisid bi ye Court of Rome, for lordship, or money, or favour of partis; for thus may ye Court be blayndid in many sich canonisingis. Also, fals witnessis proven not biore God; whi shulden we bileve that these witnessis seien so? also, many sich signes that ben holden myraclis mai be done bi ye send, and many moo than that; what evidence is of these, that this soule is in hevne? Som soulis ben in hevne bi witnesse of holi writ, and these witnes is more worp than a thousand courtis; and bileve of Cristen men is that these ben seintis. But men supposen bileve bileve that ojer men ben seintis, after evidence that they have, ouer more or lesse: as sum men supposen, and sum leeen levefulli; and sum men trowen treuli, that alle sich seintis profiten not to men but if they maken hem love Crist. So, if men wolden betere love Crist withouten sich feestis,
it were beter to hem to wante sich seintis. But wip pis it is soþ, 
þat many ben seintis in hevene, as Laurence and Kateryne
alþif Rome canonise hem nevere. But sif þes seintis ben not 
expressid in þe lawe of holi writ, men ben not holden to 
trowe it expressli þat þes ben seintis in hevene: for after þat 
treuþe is in holi writ shulden men trowe þis treuþe. 
And so, as it is ofte 
seid, holi writ conteynde þat treuþe: sum treuþe expresli,—and 
þat shulden men þus trowe,—and sum treuþe pryvyli,—and þat 
shulden men trowe in comune. And God woot of þes festis, 
whereþer þe Chirche ben betere for hem; for if men loven more 
Crist and holden betere Goddis lawe bi þis multitude of festis, 
and bi þe seiynge of her houris, þanne it profitþ to sich men to 
keþe sich þingis wel. And þif þes festis, wip þes ymages and þes 
houris, weren left of men, and þanne þei loveden betere Crist, 
and diden betere service þat he bad hem; þanne it profitide to 
sich men to leve siche serymonies. And it semþe to many men, 
sip Crist, wip alle hise apostlis, lefte alle siche þingis and lyvede 
betere in charite, and kepþe betere þe bidding of God, so men 
myþten now do. But men shulden not here diffyne, but þif God 
tolde it hem; for boþe sich doying and sich lyvyng þe myþte do, in 
caas, harm or good. But algatis men shulden seie, þat þei shulden 
not leve þe office þat Crist bad hem expresly for sich newe 
ordenauce.

And it is knowne þat many harmes and many erroors 
fallen bi þes festis; first, in þe purchaseyg of canonisyng 
of seintis at Rome; after, in coveitous occupiynge togedre 
moneie bi siche seintis; and algatis in mystroyng þat men 
have of sich seintis. As sum men trowen þat Seint Thomas, 
Erchebishop of Cantirbirie, diede for dowynge of þe Chirche, and 
to defende goodis þerof. And it were more licly to men, and 
more acording to Goddis lawe, þat men shulden be seintis in 
hevene for to bringe holi Chirche to þe ordenance þat Crist

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* At the early period (middle of the third, and early in the fourth century) at which these saints lived, no formal rules for canonization existed. Yet St. Laurence is a strange instance to choose; for though he was not formally canonized, his feast was solemnly kept in the Roman church at least ever since the fifth century; and this was the more natural, because he was a native of Rome. See his life in Alban Butler (Aug. 10).
ordeyned; and þat was pore state of preestis. And herfore
trowen many men, þat cause þat made Seint Thomas martir
was, þat he spake aëns wolves þat weren aboute to murþere
lambren; and suffrede not, for deaute of preching, Goddis
vyneþerde passe to a wortþerd. And þus bishopis and clerkis,
wip kingis, holden stiði aëns Thomas; and þus we redyn ¹
of Seint Thomas, and trowen it betere, but lesse þan feþ. And
þus shulde we not sryve, as foolis, how hye þis Thomas is in
hevene, and what seintis in hevene he passþ; as done þes newe
foundun ordris of her patrouns ², for whom þei sryven how
hie seintis þei ben in hevene. And ÿþ þei can neiþer teche bi
resoun ne bi bívelye þat þei ben seintis in hevene, ne þat þei passe
þe leste in hevene. But men mai trowe, whoso wole, þes fäblis
for which foolis sryven. God yye us grace to love him, and
kepe his lawe, and love it; for þat is betere to Cristene men,
þan kepe þes festis of þes seintis. For ech prêier to þese
seintis moot be knytt wip helpe of God. For, if we loven Crist
in his ordre betere for love of siche seintis, þanne þes festis
profiten to us; but comunli þei done us harm. But al oure
craft were for to knowe what we shulden take as bívelve, and
what þing we shulden suppose, and what þing forsaken as fals.

¹ reden, E.

² as done þes newe foundun ordris of her patrouns. This looks like a re-
ference to the famous Liber Con-
formitatum of Bartholomew of Fisa;
but if it be, this sermon was not
written by Wyclif, for that work,
according to Gieseler (Eccl. Hist.
vol. iv. p. 155) was not written till
1385. In it is said, (I quote from
Gieseler) that the brother Pacificus
had seen in a vision many seats in
heaven, 'inter quas vidit unam em-
inentiorem alii et prae omnibus
gloriosius fulgentem, et ornatam
omni lapide pretioso;' of which
seat it was told him,—'haec sedes
fuit Luciferi, et loco ejus sedebit
humilis Franciscus.' It is, however,
probable that the exaltation of their
founder in Paradise was a favourite
theme with Franciscan preachers in
all countries, long before the ap-
ppearance of the Liber Conformita-
tum.
PE GOSPEL ON PE SIXTE DAY AFTER CRISTMASSE DAI.

[SERMON XCIV.]

Erat Joseph et Maria.—Luc. ii. [33.]

To sum men it plesiþ for to telle þe talis þat þei fynden in seintis lyves, or wiþouten holî writt; and sîng þing plesiþ ofte more þe peple. But we holden þis manere good,—to læve sîch wordis and triste in God, and telle sureli his lawe, and speciali his gospelis; for we trown þat þei camen of Crist, and so God seip hem alle. And þes wordis, siþ þei ben Goddis, shulden be taken as bileve; and more wolen þei quykene men þan oþer wordis þat men knowen not. And þus þes festis of þes seintis han þis good bísde oþer, þat man mai wel telle in hem þe understanding of þe gospel.

Þis gospel telliþ a treuþe to us, how Joseph and Marie, Cristis eldris, weren woundringle of þes þingis þat weren seid þanne of Crist; for alle þes wordis weren newe to hem, and seid of God, as we bileven. And as Austin seip on þe Psalm*: Trowe it not, for Y seie so; but, jîf Crist seie so, wîs is him þat trôwiþ it not. And as we shulden have bileve þat alle Cristis wordis moten nede be trewe, so we shulden have bileve þat þis sentence was seid of Crist; which sentence is told to us bi figuris and bi mannis writing. And þis is þe lest bileve þat we shulden have in al our eþeþ. And jîf we ben disseyved in þis, our owne synne is in cause. We shulden not trôwe in þis ynde, ne in þe skynnþe þat is clesid book, but in þe sentence þat þei seien, which sentence is þe book of liþ. For, al iþ þer ben many treuþs and dyverse resouns in þe gospel, neþeþs ech of þes treuþs is þe substance of God himþilf.

Symeon was an oold man, and blessid Marie and Joseph; for he bileveled þat Jesus hir son was togidere God and man, and so he trôwde þat bi him Marie and Joseph coulden be saved.

* I have not been able to verify this reference.
SERMONS.

*Ps Syeoun seide to Marie, *pat he trowide was Goddis modir:

Lo, *pis child is putt here into falling down and rysyng up of many folk *pat ben in Israel, and into a signe to which it shal be asenseid, of wickide men; and *pi soule, which is his, shal passe sword of compassiouen. For Marie suffride in herte wi Crist and hadde myche sorewe in *pis world. For to sich folk wolde Crist *xeue blisse, and *pus *jer blisse savouride more; for it is seid comunli *pat man may not passe fro *pis joie streight unto *pe joie of heven, for *panne hevenli joie savouride him not. And *pus ech man of worldli lust, *if he shal after come to hevene, mote nedis have a litil space to purge him of his worldli lyf; and *panne skal blisse savoure him, whanne he is purgid *pus fro *pis world. And so Crist, wi his modir and alle his apostlis, hadden here sorewe; and *pus *pei were disposid here to take betere *pe blisse of hevene. And it is no drede to clerkes *pat ne *pe spirit of oure Ladi, *pe which is lyf of hir, and in which Crist was wrappid, was a spirit of Crist; as alle *pingis moten nedis be hise. Lord! si* sophistris graunte *pat *pis fadir of *pe hound is myn, and *it he is not my fadir, whi shulde we not graunte also *pat oure Ladies soule is Cristis; and so myche more, as Cristis wille and hir wille was ever at oon? *Pe eende whi oure Ladi suffride *pus, was herfore ordeyned of God, for she shulde be more hooli, and more disserve to Cristene men, and beter printe Cristis dedes, and telli hem his evangellistes.

And *pus many men tellen *pis cause to dyvers ententis; *pat oure Ladi shulde have sorewe, *pat pouzis be shewid of many hertis. Sum men construen *pis *pus: *pat oure Ladi, bi *pis sorewe, lovede more tendirli mankynde, and made hem shewe her pryvy synnes. And so, bi *pis merit of oure Ladi, pouzis of apostlis and ojer were shewid of many hertis to God, bi confession; or ellis, *pat *pus oure Ladi pouzte betere on dedes *pat Crist didde, and shewide hem to Luke and ojer, to witnesse hem of many hertis.

1 So in E; A italicizes the words Goddis modir. 2 *he, E. 3 *pis, E.

* On the fallacies arising from ambiguity of the middle term, see the chapter on Fallacies in Whately's Logic, §§ 8–12, and the collection of examples in the Appendix, Part II.
And ther was an oold womman, Anna, hat was a prophete in his tym: she was douȝer of Fanuel, of þe kynrede of Aser. þis Anna wente wel in her dai, and she lyvede sevène þeer wiþ hir hosebonde þat was weddide wiþ hir frot hir maidenhood. And þis Anna was widewe unto foure score þeer and foure, þat wente not out of þe temple, but servede perinne, boþe nisf and dai, bi fastinge and devoute prayeres. And þis Anna cam þe same tym: and made hir confession to God, and spake of Crist, as of God and man, to alle oper, þat camen to hir and weren in bileve, and abiden þe biyng azyn of mankynde. Here men douten comunli how old þis Anna was, and wher þes foure score þeer and foure ben countid in hir two eeldis bifer, as in tym of hir maidenhood, and in tym of hir wedlok. But leve we þis witt to God, and wite we wel þat þis Anna was an oold womman; and so Crist wolde have witnesse of ages and statis of folk. Crist wolde have witnes of old folk, as weren Anna and Symeoun; and he hadde witnesse of yong folk, as weren Innocentis martrid for him; and he hadde witnesse of myddil folk, as weren his fadir, and modir, and herdis. But comunli Crist hadde witnesse of just folk of good name.

And whanne þei hadden do alle þingis in þe temple, þat fel to be done bi Goddis lawe, þei turneden azyn to Gaeth, to þe citee Nazareth. For, siþ Crist was circumcisid, and pore ofringle was maad for him, þer was no more þere to do bi Crist, of so tendir age; but whanne he was of twelfe þeer, he cam azyn wiþ his eldis and enfoormede þe doctours of þe temple, as þe gospel of Luk seþ. And in þe meene while, þe child wexide and was confortid, ful of witt, and þe grace of God was wiþ him.

1 So E; A reads and.
The Circumcision.

Postquam consummati sunt.—Luc. ii. [21.]

'his gospel tellip of Cristis circumcisiooun, that was done on 
'his eiȝtpe daie fro that Crist was bore. And 'his religiou 
began at Abraham 'patriark; and 'his religiou was done in hem 
longe after 'pere eiȝtpe daies a. But 'his was kep speciali among 
'his Jews; but now we kepen it not, but ëng ëat it figuraip. 
'his first book of Goddis lawe tellip of Adam and Eve, how ëat 
lyveden nakid in tym of ëer innocence. But fro ëat hadden 
synned, ëat wisten ëat ëat weren nakid, and ëat founded in 
lymes of gendrure rebelliouon to resoun; and ëat shameden herof, 
and hiliden ëes lymes, for man shamep kyndeli of workes of 
synne. And 'his God bad Abraham to ënke on 'his synne, 
that men shulden kitte away ëe skynne of ëer ëerde; and 'his 
kitting awei is clepid circumcisiooun. Many causes ëer ben 
whi 'his prophytid to Jewis; for, bi 'his ëat ëouȝten betere on 
'his synne of Adam; bi 'his ëat fledden more ëe soule synne of 
lecherie. And to 'his synne weren ëe Jewis ful redi; and her-
fore swynys fleisch was forfendid Jewis b. And bi ëat obedience 
that Jewis maden to God, weren ëat knowen from ëper men, 
whanne ëat weren slayn in bataile. Siþ Crist myȝte not synne, 
and algaþis in lecherie, Crist was circumcidid, to fulfille ëe lawe, 
and to telle men aftir how he clensisþ ëer hertis fro synnes ëat 
ëat han done, in dede, in word, and ëouȝt.

a Hoytpe, E.
b Hoyt days, E.

a For (Gen. xvii. 10) Abraham was ninety years old, and Ishmael 
thirteen, when the rite was practised on them, and on all the men 
of the household.

b Nicholas de Lyra (Biblia Sacra, 
in Levit. cap. xi.) explains that the 
flesh of the camel, the hare, the 
Hyrax Syriacus, or choerogryllus, 
(translated 'coney,' ) and the swine, 
was forbidden to the Jews, because 
by the first is mystically signified 
pride, by the second timidity, by the 
third avarice, and by the fourth fil-
thiness,—vices which are respec-
tively opposed to the four cardinal 
virtues, prudence, courage, justice, 
and chastity.
And pis is þe first erne1 þat Crist þaf for mannis kynye, and seide þat he wolde save it bi blood of þis Goddis lomb. Men seien þat Crist þries shed his blood for man: first, in circumcision of þis tendir membre; þe secounde tyme, longe after, whanne Crist swette his blood whanne he praiede for man, and drede to suffre deþ; þe þridde tyme, and mooost, whanne þe blood of Cristís bodi was drawyn out in many maneris bi violence of turmentouris. þe blood in his fleish was drawyn out bi scourging; þe bloood in his veynes was drawyn out bi nailis; and þe blood of his herte, where Cristís liif was tresourid, was drawyn out bi persing of sperre of a knyt. Lord! siþ Crist seip þat þe blood of just Abel shal be requyrid of Cayn, myche more þis blood of Crist. And siþ suffring bi charite is meritorie and helpynge, myche more þis suffringe of þe persone of Crist. And þus goostli circumcisioun was evermore nedeful; and it hadde vertue and ende in þe blood of Crist.

Þis gospel teliþ shortli of þis circumcisioun. Luk seip, Whanne εἰς τὰς δαίας ὄφειν ἠντίδι, þat þe child shulde be circumcidid, his name was clepid Jesus, þat was clepid of þe angel biforn he shulde be conceyved in wombe. It is knowun to trewe men þat Crist was þries clepid þus; oones, whanne he was circumcidid, as we clepen children whanne þei ben baptizid2; þe toþer tyme, whanne Gabriel spak wiþ oure Ladi, and telde hir how she shulden conseyve Crist, and he shulde be clepid Jesus. þe þridde tyme was Crist clepid Jesus in þe Trinite wiþinne; and þis was hiȝest cleping, and mooost of vertu. For by3 þe ordenance of þis oþer han þer power; and bi þis seip Poul, þat in þe name of Jesus ech knee is bowid, of hevene, of erþe, and helle; and ech tunge confessip þat oure Lord Jesus Crist is in þe glorie of God his Fadir. And so þis word Jesus, seid of trewe men, is of gret vertu aþens þe fendid. And, as sum men speken, þis name is often teld, sum tyme privyli, and sum tyme aþertli, and it was ofte figurid biforn þat Crist was bore. Jesus is as myche to seie as Savyour. And so Joseph in Egiþt was figure of oure Jesus. Josue, þat ledde Goddis folk, and

1 ernes, E.  
2 baptizyd.  
3 So E; biforn, A.

WYCLIF.
partide þe lond of biieste, figuride ounge Jesus bi many propor- 
tees; and so dide Jesus Sidrakis sone; and Jesus Nanes1 
sone a.

And, as men seien, in þis word 'Unne þe shal þe just man 
be saved,' is menyd þis word Jesus, whoso coude undirstonde 
it. For in þis word Vix ben but þree lettris, V, and I, and X. 
And V bitokeneþ fyve; I bitokeneþ Jesus; and X bitokeneþ 
Crist. And so þis resoun seip þat þe just man shal be saved 
bi þe V woundis of Jesus Crist ounge Lord.

þe Gospel on Twelvþe Evyn.

[SERMON XCVI.]

Defuncto Herode.—Matt. ii. [19.]

Dis gospel tellip how Crist cam from Egypt. For in tyme 
þat Crist was þere, þat is not made to us to knowe, was þe first 
Heroude deed, þat slouȝ þe children for Cristis sake. For in 
meke abiding sendip God remedy; and þus seip þe gospel þat, 
Whanne Heroude was deed, lo, þe aungel of ounge Lord apperide 
to Joseph in sleep, and bad him ryse, and take þe child and his 
modir, and go into þe lond of Israel, for þei ben dede þat souȝen 
þe childis liif. It is seid before, þat God is good maistir, þat 
sendip siche messangers to conforte his disciplis, and tellip but 
litil at oones, þat þei shulden not forȝete; but evere as þei han 
nede, þei shulden ben newe confortid. God woot al þing before 
þat it be done; and so he ordynede his angel to come to 
Joseph in Egypt anoon, whanne Eroude was deed, to telle him 
þes tīpingis. And so Joseph dide noȝt but þat þat God tolde 
him. And þif Eve hadde do so, she hadde venquisar þe 
fend, and not hadde daliance wip him til þat she hadde ben 
disseyyved.

And wite we wel, þat not oonli Heroude souȝe þe liif of 
Jesus, but many of his servauntings for love of him. And þus

1 mannes, E.

a That is, Joshua the son of Nun.
lordis seien, we wolen þat it be so. Two mañeres of sekyng þer ben of men: sum men seken men to do hem good and worship; and þus þe kingis souȝten oure Lord Jesus; and sum men seken a man to do him harm and dispit; and þus Heroude and his servanþis souȝten Jesus Crist; and þei wolden have kilde Crist. And þus þei souȝten Cristis liif; for his spirit þei myȝten not dere; and his bodi þei tolden litil bi, but þei wolden not þat his spirit hadde quiked his bodi.

And Joseph roos and took þe child and his modir also, and cam in to þe lond of Israel; but warli, as þe angil tauȝte him. And, whanne Joseph herde þat Archelaus, Heroudis sone, renynede in Judee for his fadir, he drede for him to go þidir. And Joseph was amoneschid in sleep bi angil how he shulde go; and wente into Galile. And Joseph cam and dwelle in a citee of þat contre, þat was clepid Nazareth; for to fulfille þe prophecie þat Jesus shulde be clepid of Nazareth. And so he was; for Pilat wroote upon his croþ þis writing, as þe gospel tellip; Jesus of Nazareth, King of Jewes. And so, as Luk tellip, oure Ladi was grett in þe citee of Nazareth, and þer she conceyved Crist; and þus bi many resons was Crist clepid of Nazareth.

Beside lettre of þis gospel, mai men meeve¹ dousis of scole; but me þinkel now, it is bettre to touche lore of vertues. We shal billeve þat al þe gospel, be it nevir so literal, techip what þing shal bifalle, and how þat men shal lyve. And so, as Crist in his youngþe was pursued by many men to dispise him and slee him in his owne persone; so, unto þe dai of dome is he pursued in his membris, and algatis in Goddis cause, bi resoun of Goddis lawe. We shulden not presume, but hope, þat we ben membris of Crist; but wel we witen, þif men haten us and pursuen us for Cristis cause, þanne þei pursuen Crist in his membris, and haten þe cause of Crist. For betere cause myȝte not Crist have þan defending of his lawe; for þis cause made Crist þe deed many weies bfore ober; and Crist, for þe beste cause, suffride here martirdome. Studie wel Goddis lawe, and þe treuþe þat sueþ ofit, and defende it booldli,—boþe to preestis and to þe world,—and þou shalt have enemyes to

¹ move, E.
pursue þee to þe de þ. And as Crist was pursued bo þe of preestis and kny þtis, so þou shalt be pursued of þes twoo bi diverse resouns. Sum tyme kny þtis ben chevetynes, as it fel of þe eemperours, and sum tyme preestis ben mastris, as it was in Cristis tyme. And so it mai falle now, bo þe of popis and bishopis. For þif men þenken Goddis lawe sharp¹, and to lette avantage of þis world, men of þis world, bi þe fend, wolen haten hem þat puple shen it. And so slou þe and cowardise ben cause of þis fals þees; and so wanting of þis þees is signe to many þat God love þe hem. Ech word of þis gospel mai be told to þis entent; but it suffisþ to have þe roote, and go li þli to oþer wittis. And muse we not how þis kingdom cam from Archilaus to Heroude; for if it hadde be profitable, God wolde have tolde it in his lawe. And so many treu þis profiten more while þei ben unknowen to men þan þei shulden profite knowyn; as Goddis lawe tech þe us.

**The Gospel on Twelfþe Day.**

**[SERMON XCVII.]**

* Cum natus esset Jesus. — Matt. ii. [1.]

þis gospel tellip, how þre kyngis camen afer out of þe eest to do worship to Jesus Crist, as þei weren taþt bi Goddis lawe. And þus seþ Mathew in þis gospel, þat whanne Jesus was born in Bedeleem of þe lond of Judee, for diversite of anþer Bedeleem, in þe daies of Heroude þe Kyng. (And þis was þe first Heroude, more þan þe two after, and he was kyng of Judee bi þe eemperour of Rome; and he hadde it in pees, þat tyme þat Crist was bore. And þus seþ þe testament of Jacœb, whanne he tolde of Judas his sone: ‘Þer shal not be taken awei þe ceþtre² fro Judas kynde, ne a duke þat shal come of him, til þat Crist come, þat is to be sent³; and he shal be abiding of heþene men,’ þat he shal turne. And þus it bifel

¹ to scharp, E. ² septre, E. ³ So E; seint, A.
of Heroude, for þe tyme þat Crist was bore; for þanne regalie of þe Jewis was taken aweie, and þovun to Heroude.) And þes þre kingis weren wise men, and lyvelden in worship after þer astat, and tauȝt en her peple Goddis lawe and resoun, as þei hadden be þree men of hevène. And fro þe tyme of Balam, þat was profete of Moab, þer weren kingis in þat contre to aspie his prophecie. For he seide þat a sterre shulde springe of þe kynde of Jacob, and Gentil folk shulde loute þat child þat shulde be bore in tyme of þis sterre. And so, whanne þis sterre appereide on Cristemasse niȝt, or bifoire, þes þree kingis ordeyned hem to come and worshippe þis child. And so þei camen upon dromedis wiȝinne þe þrittenþ Daic; for her weie was ordeyned redi, wipouten letting, how þei shulden come. And, for þei wisten þat þe Child was greet, þei camen to Jeru-salem, þat was þe heed cite of þe contre, and hopiden þat Crist was bore þere. And þere þei1 axiden opinli, Where is he þat is bore Kyng of Jewes, as Balaïm tolde in his prophecie, for we sawen þe sterre of him in þe eest, þat haþ led us, and we ben comen wip giȝtes to loute him, as we shulden. And whanne Heroude herde þes wordis, he was disturblid, bi many causis, and al þe cite of Jerusalem was disturblid wip him. He þouȝte þat so grete men wolden not come so sere þidir, but þif þei hadden wist bi certeyn tokens þat a kyng of Jewes were bore; and þis kyng shulde reve him þe kyngdome þat he hadde. Men seien þat þis sterre was sich þat it was bineþe þe moone in þe overmeste2 part of þe eir, and movede as God wolde þat it movede. And so þes þree kingis weren meved bi liȝt and leding of þis sterre; and so þei myȝten in litil tyme come to Jerusalem.

And Heroude gedrīde alle princis of preestis þat weren in Jerusalem, and alle þe scribis of þe peple, to wite where Crist shulde be bore. And þei seiden to him, þat he shulde be bore, In Beedleem of Judee; for so was it writun bi þe prophete, þat seide þus, of þis toun:—And þou, Beedleem, in þe lond of Juda, art not lest among þe princis of Juda; for of þee shal come out a duk þat shal reule my folk of Israel. Þanne Heroude made

1 So E; not italicized in A.  
2 overmeste, E.
SERMONS.

privoyle clepe pese pree kingis, and lernede of hem pe tyme of pis sterre pat apperide to hem, and sente hem into Bedele, and seide to hem, (but falseli):—Go ye, and axe bisili of pis child, pat is bore; and whanne ye hav foundun him, telle ye me azen, pat Y come and loute him. And whanne pei herden pe king þus speke, þei wenten out of Jerusalem; and lo, þe sterre þat þei sawen in þe eest meevede before hem til þat place þat it stood, euene above where þe child Jesus was. And whanne þes kingis sawen þis sterre, þei hadden myche joie wipal. And þei entriden in to þe hous, and foundun þe child, wip Marie his modir; and þei fel down before þe child, and loutiden him, devouteli. And þei openeden þer tresouris, and offriden to him þree ȝisiris, gold and mirre and encense;—as þei weren tauȝte to trowe of Crist þat he was boþe king and preest, and shulde die for mankynde. And þei token answere in þer sleep, þat þei shulden not turne azen to Heroude; and so bi anoþer weye þei turneden azen to þer lond.

Bi þis gospel mai we lerne, how Crist coveitide honest poverte; for he was not bore in þe kingis citee, but in pore uplondish toun,—not in þe beste place of þe toun, but in a pore comune stable. And þes kyngis weren enfourmed bi tymes what alle þes þingis menten. And so we singen in þe chirche, þat þes þree ȝisiris of þe kingis weren ȝovun of ech of hem, and bi certeyn causis ordyned of God. Bi þe gold þei myȝten bie þingis þat was nedeful for Crist, and bi þe mirre þei myȝten strengpe þe membris of Crist, and bi þe encence þei myȝten putte away þe stynke of þe stable. And Crist ordyned bi his lawe, þat he shulde not þus begge, but lyve in an honest poverte lik to þe state of innocençe. And þat þe þre kingis camen so fer to bringe þes goodis unto Crist, bitokeneþ Cristis lordship þat he hadde wiþ his pover. But me þinkþ þat þe witt is betere þat þe Chirche singþ of þis; gold is Cristis regalie, in encence his presthode, and in myrrre his sepulcre. And þus alle men shulden worship he. Seculer lordis shulden wor-shipe Crist, and þat þis gold shulde teche hem; preestis also

* The writer no doubt refers to the following passage in the Se-Épiphany (Sarum Missal):—

Huic Magi munera deforunt praeclara,
Aurum, simul thus cunm myrrha ;
Thoure deum praedican, auro regem magnum,
Homineem mortalem myrrha.
shulden worship Crist, bi þe lore of þis encence; and alle
comunes shulden worship Crist, for we ben alle dedli, and
in tym of oure dep and afturward we haue noon helpe but
him. And þis shulden we do in liȝt; for we shulden worche
discreetli. And, as Gregory techiþ, we shulden wenden fro þe
fend al bi anoþer weie þan we camen into þis world. For bi
synne we camen hidir, and contynned here in synne; but we
shal wende fro þe fend unto oure countre, þat is hevene, bi þe
weie of vertuous liif, and þanne we suen þes þree kingis.

[SERMON XCVIII.]

Ecce reliquimus omnium.—Matt. xix. [27.]

Þis gospel telliþ of þe mede þat Crist bihiȝte to his hie
knyȝis. Petre was of greet blyve, and hardi in axing, and
axiþ þus Crist:—Lo, we hav forsaken alle þingis, and we hav
sued þe; what mede shal be to us for þis suynge? Here men
douten comunli, how Petre seide soþ; siþ men forsaken not but
þing þat þei have hadde, and Petre was a fyshere, and hadde but
litil þing. Also þer ben many þingis þat Petre þouȝte nevere
on; but how shulde he forsake þing þat nevere cam in his
þouȝt? Also, Petre forsoke nevere þe Holi Trinite, ne þe
manheede of Crist, þat ben many þingis. How approvþ Crist
þes false wordis of Petre? Here it semeþ to many men þat
Petr understood þus,—þat þei forsoken alle þingis,—for alle
þes worldli goodis; siþ þei helden þer bisynesse and þer
wille fro þes goodis. And þis witt mente Crist, in his speche

1 So in E; A has vertues. 2 So in E; A has reliquimus. 3 The
words þat—þingis are om. in E.

a St. Gregory, Homil. X. 'A re-
gione nostra superbiendo, inobedi-
endo, visibilia sequendo, cibum
vetitum gustando, discissimus: sed
ad eam necessæ est, ut flendo, obe-
diendo, visibilia contemnendo, atque
appetitum carnis refrenando, redea-
mus. Per aliam ergo viam ad re-
gionem nostram regredimur; quo-
niam qui a paradisi gaudiius per di-
lectamenta discissimus, ad hinc per
lamenta revocamur.'
SERMONS.

After to Petre. And þus biddþ Crist bi Luk and Joon to forsake and hate seven goodis. And þes wordis mai serve wel to þis undirstonding; and þis witt was sop of Petre and oþer apostlis; sip a manere of forsakyng is to leeve wille to siche goodis, and þei hadden not suyd Crist þus, but Þif þei hadden left sich will. And it is liȝt to assoile objectis aȝens þis. To þe firste we seien, þat Peter, bifoere he suyd Crist, hadde in his affeccioun al manere of siche þing; and þis desire he lefte, and so alle siche þingis. To þe secounde word we seien, þat þer ben many þouȝtis and many desiris to þingis, as special or general. Petre hadde general desire to al manere of siche þingis, and general forsakyng axiþ sum mede. And clerkis seien, þat special mai not be wiȝtouten general, and þis forsaking makiþ hem to have þes þingis þe which þei forsoken,—3he, betere þan þei hadden bifoere; as, Þif a man forsake for Crist his fadir and modir, he haþ hem þanne betere þan whanne he lovede hem fleishli.

The þride object þat here is maad goip not aȝens oure sentence. For ech man mai wel wite þat Petre þouȝte not to leve Crist, sip Petre seip, next after, þat þei suen Crist; and þat is verri tokene þat þei forsaken not þus Crist, sip þei forsaken al manere of erþeli þingis for Crist; and þis axiþ grete mede, sip it is myche, and wilful; and mede biiȝt to travelours makiþ hem travelle betere. Oþer chartris he nedþ not but þþ word of Crist; for wordis of þe firste treuþe passen alle oþer chartris.

Jesus seide to hem, to whom he spak þes wordis: Sobelli I seie to you, þat ze þat þus hav suyd me, in þe laste making of men, whanne mannis sone shal sitte in seie of his majeste, ze shal sitte in twelve setes and juge twelve kynredis of Israel. Here shal we wite þat Crist spak not oonli to þes twelve, but generali to oþer seintis þat passingli suen Crist; for Þif Crist biiȝte þis to Scarioth, and lefte to þeþe þis mede to Poul, what trúþe were in Cristis wordis, or what mede to oþer men? It semeþ þat Crist undirstondþ his sitting at þe dai of dome; for þis seete of juging is propre to him, boþe God and man; and þefore it is

1 So E; A excludes making of men from the italics.

* It is easy to solve the objections raised against this text.
wel clepid, a seete of his majeste. Þis noumbrе of twelve is noumbrе of alle passinge seintis, þat nyȝ suen Crist in staat of apostlis, and algatis forsoken¹ þe world for the love of Crist. Þe noumbrе of þes seintis shall be partid in twelve, and juge alle lesse seintis, which ben also partid in twelve. And alle þes ben Jacobis sones, and seen all clereli God. And þus seien men comunli þat þre manere of men shal come to Cristis jugement. Sum, passinge seintis þat sueden nyȝ Crist, as patriarchis, and Baptist, and oþer Cristis disciplis. And þes, for þei weren liȝt and ensample to oþer, shal juge oþer þat sueden hem to þer boþe² worship. And þis jugement shal not be but þis witnessinge of treuve. Þe secounde part þat shal come to Cristis laste jugement shal be seintis þat shal sue þes grete seintis. And it is no contrarioust³ þat þes same seintis ben of þes boþe partis, bi dyverse resouns. Þe more part of men, in þe laste jugement, shal be men þat shal be damned, and þis is a greet part. Of þes men seip þe Psalm, þat þei risen not up in jugement; þei shal be jugid of God, and of alle hise seintis, for to go to helle for her wickid liȝf. And þis mede, bihiȝt of Crist, passiȝ alle þes worldli goodis. Blessid be þis duke of bataile, þat þus rewardiþ his knyȝtis; for þis is more confortable, and betere bi a þousand part, þan wages ȝovun in erelij batailis of knyȝtis or of clerkis. Lord! siþ þis suyng for⁴ Crist is forsaking of worldli goodis, and profiting in poverte after þat Crist lyvede, how myche shulden we preestis drede þat we failen in þis!

And for þis myddil part þat shal come to þe jugement, bihotiþ Crist, þat ech þat forsakiþ for him ony of þes eiȝte þingis⁵, shal have an hundred fold here in þis lyf, and, after, pesible possessioun of þe liȝf of blisse. Scorne we þes foolish þat seien, bi þes Cristis wordis, þat ech seint shall have here a hundrid wyves at þe laste, and so of oþer seveng þingis þat þe gospel rehersiþ. Here mark we alle þes eiȝte, which ben hous and breþeren, sistren, and fadir, and modir, wiþ or children, or feldis, wiþ oþer rentis. And marke we þe fruyt þat man hæþ of worldli havyng of þes eiȝte, and, on þe oþer side, havyng þat just men have here; and

¹ forsaken, E. ² breþeres, E. ³ contrarioste, E. ⁴ of, E. ⁵ So E; om. A.
SERMONS.

we shal wel undirstonde þat þis secounde havyng ge passiþ an hundrid fold þe first in fruyt and profit. And here we taken two þingis as Cristyn mennys bileve:—oon, þat sich men han al manere of þingis; anoþer, þat sich goostli havyng ge passiþ worldli havyng. And þanne mai we telle scorne by sich asse argumentis:—þif a man shal have here an hundred fold so good þing as is þis wif, þanne he shal have an hundred wyves! Kepe we wordis of þe gospel, and wit of it þerwip, and alle þe fendis or false men mai not disprove a word þerof.

ÞE GOSPEL ON CANDILMASE DAI.

[SERMON XCIX.]

Postquam impleti sunt dies.—Luc. ii. [22.]

It is seid comunli, þat oure Ladi haþ fyve festis: Concepcioun, Nativite, Annunciacioun, Purificacioun; þe fisste is Assumpcioun, whanne oure Ladi was deed. Þe fyrste of þes festis is seid in þis gospel, and is clepid comunli þe feste of Candilmasse; for Jewis hadden a lawe,—and we kepem þit sumwhat þerof in puriﬁyng of wymmen,—þat a womman, after þat she was deliverid of a knave child, shulde, in sixe wokes after, come to þe temple and be puriﬁed þere, after þat þe law lymytide. And al þif oure Ladi nedede not to be þus puriﬁed, þit, bi counsel of God, she fulﬁllide þus þe lawe. For her sone seip after, I cam not to undo þe lawe, but to fulﬁll þe; and so he made his modir do. And so tellip Luke, þat, fro þe daies were fulﬁlled of purifying of Marie, after þe lawe of Moises, þei brouȝten Jesus in to Jerusalem to sette him before God. For alþif God be everywhere, þit we seien he is in chyrchis on a special manere, as he is in juste soulis. And so þei offriden Crist to God; as þe law axide þat every male þat openeþ wommans bodi to his issue shal be halzlyd to þe Lord; and offride for him a cerceyn þing,—as a þeire of turturis or two briddes of dounes. For riche folk shulden ofre for purifying of wymmen a þong lomb of o þeer, as Goddis
lawe telliþ; and it sufficde to pore folk to offre a peire of
turturis, or two dowve briddis, for þe child þat was born. And
so we mai not denye þat ne Crist and his eldris weren pore
folk, for þei chosen þe secounde.

And þer was a man in Jerusalem þat was clepid Symeon; and
þis was a just man, and hadde dred of Goddis lawe. And þis
man abood conforting of Israel; and þe Holi Goost was in þis
Symeon. And þis man hadde answerve of þe Holi Goost þat he
shulde not se dep, but zif he saw first Crist. And he cam into þe
temple bi leding of þe Holi Goost. And whanne þei brouȝten þe
child Jesus, his eldris, into þe temple, þat þei shulden do after
þe custom of þe1 lawe for him, Symeon toke him in his armes,
and blessid God, and seide: Now, Lord, þou levest þi servaunt
after þi word in þees, for myn iȝen han seen Crist, þat is helþe
to þe world. And he is þi owne Sone, þe same God þat þou
art. And his helþe þou hast ordeyne bfore þe face of al manere
þeþle, to be liȝt to shawing of folk, and glorie to þi folk of Israel.

To þis feeste of oure Ladi answeriþ þe fourþe vertue, þat is,
hope of hevenli blisse. And it was fulli in hir; for, as bieleve
lastide in hir whanne it failide in apostlis, so she hopide ever
more þat she shulde come to blisse of hevene. For siþ she
trowide þat hir Sone shulde rise fro deep to lyve, and how and
whanne he shulde rise, as God himself hadde tauȝt hir, how
myȝte þis Ladi myshope þat ne she shulde come to hevene?
In þis we shulde sue þis Ladi, and þenke ever on hevenli
blisse, and travele þerfore, nȝt and dai, in hope for to gete
þis blisse; and what woo þat we have here, take it in ful
pacience, for þe joie þat we hopen to gete in þe blisse of
hevene. Lord! siþ a tiliynig man hopiþ ofte to have his fruyt,
how moche more shulden we have hope to come to blisse of
hevene. And þis hope is of þis kynde, þat it mote be con-
tynuel, and ever more meritorie, to large a mannis blisse in
heven. It makiþ a man mery and glad, and suffre al þat falliþ
to him; for it is groundid in riȝt bileue þat God doþ al for þe
beste. No man failiþ þis hope2 but if he synne on òper syde;
and algatis but if he forȝete to þenke on hevenli blisse. Men

1 So E; om. A. 2 in þis hope, E.
SERMONS.

of the world, thou art, or of lusts of her flesh, failen to please this Lord here, and follow her in her lust; and this thou madest not the Lord my heart, nor his spirit is glad in God. But thou didst our Lady Marie, as this gospel telleth of her. And this few men in this life wanten eresse of dispair; for this thou madest in synne, and penken not but on these worldly goodis, wanten hope of heavenli bliss, and this thou grewen in dispair. And on this shulden we prestis penken; and algest prestis of this world, that seeing not Crist in povert, but penken how this may be riche here. And this synne is more in conventis this thou groundid in her goodis, and ever this madest in this synne for deafeute of right hope.

THE GOSPEL ON THE CHAIRINGE OF SAIN PETRE.

[SERMON C.]

Venit Jesus in partes Cesarie.—Matt. xvi. [13.]

This gospel telleth how Petre apostle passide in bilee other apostles, for he was more sad and hardi to trowe of Crist that he shulde. Mathew telleth that Jesus cam into this side this siche a cite was inne sett that was clepid Cesarie of Filip. And of two men it hadde that name. This citee hadde three names; first, it was clepid Lachis; and sip it was clepid Dan, after his kinrede of Dan; and after of Philip, Heroudis brodar, that hadde this fourpe part of this rewe, it was clepid Cesarie of Philip, in worship of this emperour and him. And this citee was divers

1 *pis, E.*  2 *Cesare, E.*  3 *settynne, E.*  4 *Philip, E.*

*If the writer had consulted St. Jerome, he would have found (see Smith’s Bible Dic.) that Dan and Cesarea-Philippi were two different places, standing about four miles apart, at two different sources of the Jordan. But perhaps his authority was P. Brocardus of Strasburg, a Dominican friar who visited the Holy Land in 1283, and whose description of his journey is given in Canisius’s Thesaurus, vol. iv. Brocardus similarly confounds the position of Dan or Laish (he calls it Lesem), with that of Paneas or Cesarea-Philippi, to which he gives the additional appellation of Balenas.*
fro Cesarie of Palestine, in which dwelt Centurio. But alle

\[\text{bes weren worldly names; and bes men, to gete bes name lastinge here, but not in hevene, leften sich dedis here in erpe, over bes state of innocence. And bes done bes newe ordis, in cloisiris and in oyer housis, and benken to myche on hir liif here, and to litil on hevenli liif. We shulden benken on goode workes, to make men to forsake his world, and benken on Crist and on his liif; for sich poustis wolen lasten wip us.}

And bes axide Crist here, for greet witt pat was in him, among his disciplis, who he was, bi his manhede. For it is seid ofte tymes, pat on foure maneris is man brouȝt forp. Pe fourȝe manere, and prope to Crist, is, pat he cam of a virign oonli. And so to make mede in apostlis, and to teche pe Chirche after, Crist brouȝte in his questioun, and axide what men seide of him. As men hadden dyverse opynyonys of Baptist, what he was,—sum men seiden pat he was Heli, and sum men pat he was Christ, and sum men pat he was anȝer prophete, as techip Joones gospel,—so weren many opynyonys of Crist. And herfore seiden Cristis apostlis bi oon witt, how dyverse men hadden here dyverse opynyonys. For sum men seiden pat he was Baptist; as Heroude, and men of his opynyon, seiden pat Joon was risen to liif, and he hadde vertue to do miraclis, as pe dedis of Crist shewiden. Oper men seiden of Crist pat he was old Heli, pe prophete; for Heli was taken up in a chare of fire, and aftar he apperide no more. Pe pridde men seiden, bi Cristis workis, pat he was Jeremye pe prophete, or anȝer grete prophete. Somme seiden oon and sum anȝer. But Crist axide his disciplis, whom pei seiden him to be. But Peter answeride gloriously, as a trewe man, for alle pe apostlis, and seide on his maner, You art Crist, Son of God lyvynge. Bi pat pat Petre clepid him Crist, he knowelichide pat he was pe greet prophete, pe which was bihijt bi Moises to pe folk in pe oold lawe. And so Petre knowelichide pe manheed of Crist. In pat pat Petre seide after, pat Crist was pe Sone of God lyvynge, he knowelichide Cristis Godhede fro pes fals Goddis. Imagis and

\[\text{1 apostis, E.}

\[\text{\footnotesize * The writer seems to have mistaken the ‘Centurio’ of the Vulgate (Acts x. 1) for one of the names of Cornelius.} \]
SERMONS.

mawmetis ben falseli clepid Goddis, but þer is but oo lyvynge God, as þer is but oon þis Goddis Sone oonli.

And Crist answeringe seide unto Petre, Blessid art þou, Symount Barjona, for fleish and blood tolde þee not þis, but my Fadir þat is in hevene. Here we trowen, bi Cristis wordis, þat Petre moot needis be blessid; and so he hadde bileve wiþ charite ordeyned to blisse. And so, as Petre moste nedis synne, but he myhte not synne deedli, so þe boot 1 of Petre, þat is holi Chirche, mote nedis suffe tribulacioun, but it mai not perishe. Petre is now clepid Symount, bi his propre name, and now clepid Barjona, or sone of Johanna, and now clepid Petre, as Crist clepid him here.

And þis Crist seip to him here, þat he is Petre, and upon þis stoone shal he grounden his Chirche. Þis corner stoone is Crist, of whom Petre haþ þis name; and on þis same stoone is hooli Chirche grounded. And þis Petre and ech man signiþ þis stoen. And aftirward Crist tellip þe strenge of þe Chirche, and bhiþþ first to it, þat þe þatis of helle shal not have myþ azens it. Cristis Chirche mai here be troublid bi þe fendis lymes, and þes lymes mai be clepid þatis of helle. For bi þes many fendis kommen in and out, and þei ben þatis to many men to entre in to þe weie of helle. Þese þatis mai kille þe membris of Crist, but þei mai not harme hem, for Crist kepþ her soule, and victorie of it is betere þan bodili dep. And þes þatis in þis turmenting doen harm to hem silf, and profit to Cristis Chirche which þei weenen to distrye.

Þe secounde pruyvylege of Petre stondþ in þis; þat Crist shal zeve him þe keies of þe reveume of hevene. Þes two keies ben soþli seid witt and power, to teche men þe weie to hevene, and to opene hem þe þatis. And þes keies hadde Petre wiþ many oþer seintis, for alle men þat comen to hevene have þes keies of God. And so we shall not undirstonde þat þes ben keies of metal, þat oonli Petre berþ, to opene hevene þatis to men; but þei ben lore and power, þat men have goostli of God. And so þis laste word seid is nede to be undirstonden wele, þat, What kyn þing þat Petre bindþ upon erþe shal be bounden in hevene,

1 boot, E.
and what kyn ping he unbindip upon erpe shal be unbounden in hevene. And þes wordis weren not oonli seid unto Petre, but comunli to þe apostlis, as þe gospel tellip after, and, in persones of þe apostlis weren þei seid to prestis, and, as many men þenken, to alle Cristen men. For, if man have mercy on his soule, and unbinde it, or binde it, God bi his jugement in hevene jugip þe soule sich. For ech man þat shal be dampned is dampned for his owne gil, and ech man þat shal be saved is saved bi his owne merit. And þus men seien comunli, þat wordis of Crist ben undirstonden, whanne þes keies erren not fro þe keies above. And so it were nede here to wite what is holi Chirche, and what ben þe keies of hevene, or whanne prestis bynden or unbynden. In þis þrefold dissett ben many men blindid; for as bi þe firste lesyng was mankynde lost, so bi þis secounde lesyng is þe Chirche disseyved. Þe first lesyng was of þe fend, whanne he reverside God, and seide to Adam and Eve þat þei shulden not die. Þe secunde lesyng is of þe fend, and of1 Anticrist his viker; þe which lesyng is poudrid wiþ y pocrisie. He seip þat he is next Crist bi manere of lyvyng, and so whatever he seip mote nede be soþ; and bi þis foule heresie is þe Chirche disseyved.

PE GOSPEL ON SEINT MATHIES DAI.

[SERMON CI.]

Confiteor tibi, Pater, Domine.—Matt. xi. [25.]

þis gospel tellip how Crist answeride to feyned wordis of þe peple, and telde many hie treüpis to lore of his Chirche. And þes treüpis ben pertinent to chesyng of Mathi2, for þis feste tellip how Mathi was chosen in þe stede of Scarioth, aftir þat he hadde hanged himself. And so tellip Matheu, how Jesus in þat tyme answeride to þe peple, and seide on þis manere:—

I confesse to bee, Fadir, Lord of hevene and of erpe, þat hiddist

1 So E; om. A.  
2 Matby, E.
SERMONS.

pes treupis fro worldli wise men and ware, and shewidest hem to meke men, and dispisid of pe world. And pe laste cause herof is told pus of Crist: 3he, Fadir, pous didist pus, for pus it was liking to pee. We shal undirstonde here, pat not ech confessiou is rounyng in an eere of a mannis owne synne, but graunting of treupe wiþ graunting of God. And pus speip Crist, pat is of more auctorite þan alle þes popis þat ordeyned confessiou of rounyng. And here mai we see how God is Cristis Fadir wiþouten ende, wipinne, bísfore þat he be Lord; but he is ever Lord of þis brode world; and þis world is understonden bi hevene and bi erþe. Þis treupe þat Crist confessip, falling to þe apostlis, stonþ þin þis word; þat þei cowden many trewpis þat weren hid to olde wise men and war of þe world, as weren Scribis and Fariseis, and ðer worldli men. And cause of þis dede of God is open to trewe men; for God wole shewe to men how al wisdom is of him, and he wole þeve it þreli to meke men þat he loveþ. So þat nouþ likþ to God but for certein enchesoun.

And þus, for Mathi was meke, God chees him apostle. For it is not levesul, for vertue of bileve, to denye þat God wrouȝte in castinge of þes lottis, and in alle dedis of þes apostlis, þe whiche chosen Mathi. And, as it is seid bísfore, þis chesing were þit þetere, for mannis affeccioun is falsly varyed, and speciali whanne worldli wynnyng is knyttid to þe chesing. And þit men тrowen þis heresie as if it were bileve, þat þif ony be chosen bi mannis lawe þanne he is treuli chosen. And þit boþe þe cheseris, and he þat is chosen, in þis displesen to God. And practik of þis heresie doþ myche harm in chesing, as we mai see at eye in chesing of þes popis. Lyve þe cheseris a meke liif, and leeve þei to chese a worldli state, and kepe þei þe fourme of þis chesing, and þei shal chese wel. For, no drede, sich disturbyng cam never of chesing of þes popes, þif þei weren pore and meke, and lyveden as þe apostlis.

And, for disciplis of Crist shulden trowe to his speche, he tellþ what fallþ to him bi vertue of his Godhede. Crist seip

1 So in E; leste, A. 2 So E; A has boldun. 3 So in E; A gives the words 'Crist seiþ' as part of the quotation.

* See p. 304.
pat alle pingis ben zovun him of his Fadir, and no man knewe fulli Goddis Sone but his owne Fadir, and no man knewe pis Fadir but his Sone, and opere men to whom he wolde shewe. 

pe firste of pes pree wordis technp pat Crist is God, for ellis pe Fadir myste not zeeve him alle pingis. For pif we undirstonden bi alle pingis, alle creaturis, zit pe Sone is bifo pe pat he have alle creaturis; and in pat beyng bifo he mote nede be God. And zif we undirstonden al zing wipinne in God, pat Crist hap al pis zing zovun of his Fadir, zit Crist moot nedis be God, zif pis githe be trewe; for zanne Crist hap pe Holi Goost, and propirtees of pe persones, and pe Fadir of hevene in a manere, pe which mai oonli acorde to God. And so, for pe firste word is sop, Crist mot nedis be God. And of pis wole it sue pat Crist is almyst, all witti, and al wilful, as pe Trinite is; for Crist is pe same God pe which is pe Trinite. 

Of pis wole sue pe toper word after, pat no resonable ping knowip pe Sone at pe fulle but pe Fadir of hevene; for pei ben algatis evene. And after pis speche of pe Trinite, pe whiche is even in himself, shulde Crist speke of pis cunnyng, pe which is pe most pat mai be. Pe pridde word suep of peas: pat no man knowip pe Fadir but pe Sone, and pe men to which pis sone wole shewe pis knowing. Pe peple myste se at peh how pat Crist was verri man. And so Crist comep doun to mannis speche of knowing. Pe Sone, bi his Godhede, knowip evenli pe Fadir; and, bi pat pat he is man, he knowip as myche as man may knowe; and so his knowing moot be comuned to men after pat pei ben able. 

Pe Holi Goost is pe same kynde pat is pe Fadir and pe Sone, and perfore Crist, supposing pis, leevey to speke of pis Goost.

And of pis may men gadere how men shulde trowe here Cristis wordis, sihp he is God pat mai not lye, ne faile to man in his lore. And, for Crist is bope God and man, and hap brephere of his lesse kynde, perfore he turnep him to his brephere and confortip hem in per travaile. Come ze alle to me, seip Crist, pat travailen and ben chargid, and Y shall refete you. Take ze my zok upon you, and lerne ze of me pis lessoun.

1 refreesche, E.
SERMONS.

pat Y am mylde and meke of herte, and sue ze joure Fadir in 
pes two, and þanne, shal ze finde reste to joure soulis, in joure 
travell. For my zok is sweete, and my charge is liȝt. And þes 
wordis of Crist, to conforte religiouse men, ben betere þan alle 
þes newe reulis þat ben cloutid to Cristis wordis; for, in what 
staat þat þou be in Cristis religioun, lerne wel þe lessoun of 
myldenes and mekenes of Crist, how he kepethim in al his 
lyf, in what troublyng þat he was inne. And þif þou be on 
Goddis half, þou shalt lyve mekeli aftir Crist.

þe Gospel oure Lady Day in Lente.

[SERMON CII.]

Missus est Angelus Gabriel a Deo.—LUYK. i. [26.]

þis gospel telleþ to þe Chirche how þe auuangel grette oure Ladi, 
and how she, bi hir mekenesse, ablise hir to consevyve Crist. 
And þis pridd e feste of oure Ladi is a wondir hiȝe feste, for in 
þis was Crist maad man, and Crist passiþ alle oþer seintis. And 
so men seien comunli, þat oure Ladi hadde fyve joies. þe firste 
was at þis tyme whanne she conceyvede Crist bi mekenes. þe 
secounde was whanne she bare Crist wipouten payne at Cristemasse; þe þridde was whanne it was shewid to hir þat Crist 
was risen fro deep to lyve; þe fyrðe was whanne she saw hir 
sone stie in to hevene; and þe ﬁfþe joie was whanne she was 
deed and take to blisse. And to þes fyve joies ben answerynge 
fyve vertues þat we mai have; and þif we wolen worship þis 
Ladi, holde we þes vertues wel. þes fyve vertues ben in þis 
ordre: mekenesse and chastite, blyve and hope, and charite; 
and þif we kepethem we plesen God. And siþ Crist and his 
modir moten nedis be of oo wille, þus shal we plese to Marie, 
þe which is Goddis modir.

Luk telleþ how, Gabriel was sent fro God to grete Marie. And, 
for sum men ben clepid Gabriel, þefore þe gospel speciþe þat, 
þe auuangel Gabriel was sent fro God to Nazareth, þat was, a citee 
of Galilee, in which citee oure Ladi dwelte. And þis maiden was 
SERMONS.
weddid to Joseph, he which was of Davipis hous, and name of he virgyn was Marie. And wel she is clepid a virgyn so ofte in his Gospel, for she was virgyn whanne she was weddid, and a virgyn after to her def. And a litil before his wedding, his aungel grette his maiden hyss; and so was Crist consevved of hir in verri matrimonic of Joseph. It semep chat Ambrose, upon Luk, scip, chat he was were his weddid biforn, and bynone, bitwixe chat tyme and nyth, he aungel cam and grette Marie hyss. And algatis, on ech wey, oure Ladi was weddid in her same hour, or nyes chat hour her she was gret. Suppose we chat his gretting cam after, and neiþer wordis ne resoun semep to azen seie his. His aungel cam in to his maiden, and seide to hir on his manere, Hail, ful of grace, God is wip hec; blessid be hyou among wyommen. His angel clepide not now Marie bi her propir name, chat she was clepid, for common uss wip lordis and ladies axip, chat commun servauntsis of hem clepen hem not bi bi propre name, but bi name of excellence; as men chat speken of oure Kyng leaven to clepen him Kyng Richard, but seien chat his is he wille of he Kyng, or hyss he Kyng biddip to do. And cloutling of his word Marie to his gretinge of his angel is not worp ful myche pardone, but siif it be two thrusand yeer; as men seien he pope hath grauntid for he seying of an orison bitwixe he saclynge and Agnus Dei. But many penken chat he Pater noster is he bettere. And so it semep to many men chat God and he pope varien, siif God doip al ping upon resoun, and not but for certeyn causis.

1 gret, E. 2 use, E.

a S. Ambros. Comment. in Lucam, Lib. II, cap. 1.
b This indication of date, which confines the composition of these sermons within the years 1378–1399, has been considered in the Introduction.
c 'but siif it be' appears to be used here in the sense of 'much less.' But perhaps the sentence should be punctuated thus,—'myche pardone; but siif it be, two thousand yeer, as men seien, he pope hath grauntid,' &c.
d I have searched the Bullarium (that of Cocquelines, Rome, 1739), which however is very meagre for the pontificate of Urban VI, and toiled through the numerous proclamations of indulgence of that pope, which are thickly strewn over the pages of Raynaldus, the continuator of Baronius, but without finding anything to support the statement in the text. The usual indulgence granted to those who took up arms against the anti-pope was a plenary indulgence, on the same conditions and with the same privileges as were customary in the case of crusaders to the Holy Land.
Oure Ladi, whanne she herde pis gretinge, was troublid in pis word, and bouye, as a wise maiden, what manere shulde be pis gretinge. Pis troublinge in pis gretinge puttiȝ no synne or blame in Marie, siȝ Crist seij ṭat his soule is troublid, bifiore his dep. And pis angel seide to hir, Drede ṭe not, Marie, for ṭou hast foundun grace bifiore ṭe Lord of alle Lordis. And here pis aungel, for confort, clepine Marie bi hir propre name, to telle ṭat he knewe hir wel, and eke ṭe Lord ṭat siente him. For whoever ṭap founden grace of a lord is loved of him. Lo, ṭou shalt conseyve in wombe, and ṭou shalt bere a sone, and ṭou shalt clepe his name Jesus. And ᵇe pis shal be gret, and he shal be clepid ṭe sone of ᵇe hizeste Lord; and ᵇe Lord God shal yeve him Daviȝs seete, ᵇe which Daviȝ is ᵇis fadir; and he shal renge in Jacobis hous wiȝouten ende and of his rewme shal be noon ende. Bi pis mai men undirstonden ᵇat Crist was king, as Daviȝ was, but more spirituali, as his kyngdom was more spiritual. For ech worldli lordship mote nedis have an ende; and pis rengeyng wiȝouten eende in ᵇe hous of Jacob, and ᵇat of his rewme shal be noon eende, tellen how Crist rengeynp spirituali, and not contrarie to worldli lordis.

And Marie seide to pis angel, On what manere shal pis be, for I knowe no man fleischli? And pis angel answering seide to hir, ᵇe Hooȝi Goost shal come above in pee, and ᵇe verite of alper hizeste Lord shal make umbre unto pee. ᵇe verite of God makiȝ umbre, whanne in a lowe place it lettiȝ heete of synne, as it fel in oure Ladi; for she was lower in kinde ᵇan aungels, and she conseyvde wiȝouten synne. And perfore ᵇat holi þing ᵇat shal be born of pee shal be clepid Godis Sone, singulerli bifiore oþer. And lo, Elizabeth þi cosyn, and she ᵇap conseyved a sone in hir elde; and pis moneyp is þe sixte to him þat is clepid bareyne.

1 Jacobs, E. 2 So in E; om. A. 3 þe bete, E.

A a 2
For Zakary, Baptist fadir, hadde geten Joon sixe moneȝis bifoer; and so bi a litil tyme Joon was man bifoer Crist. But evene bi sixe moneȝis was Joon born before Crist; for Crist was man, but not Joon, fro þe tyme þat he was conceyved. And Zacharie in repref was clepid bareyne, wiþouten fruyte. *For no word þat God seþ shall be impossible to him*; and so, siþ God wolde have it þus, it mote algatis be so.

*And Marie,* as ful ripe in mekenesse, answeride þus to þe aungel: Lo, here þe handmaid of God; *Be it done to me after þi word.* And, as men seien comunli, in þis tyme Marie conseyvede Crist. For, as Eve, for þe tyme þat she was moost proud, loste mankynde, so Marie, for þe tyme þat she was most meke, won mankynde. And here, ʒif þou wilt plese Marie, or God hir sone, be algatis meke; for mekenes wolde plese to Marie, siþ she woot it plesþ to God. And herfore she seþ in hir song: God bihelde þe mekenesse of his maiden, and certis herfore, lo, alle kynredis shal seie þat I am blessid. And so, ʒif þou wilt plese oure Ladi, traveile þou to growe in mekenes. Also, siþ ech hiþ þing mote have a good and stable ground, and ʒif þou wilt come to hevene þou moost make a tour þidir, and so, ʒif þou wilt come to hevene, stable þee in Cristis mekenesse. And so as þe sentre is lowest of alle þingis, so Crist is þe mekest þat mai be. Also, þe lower þat a vessel is, þe more of licour wolde it take; and so þe mekere þat a man is, þe more of grace wolde he take. And so, ʒif þou wilt have grace of God, meke þee wele in þi soule; for mekenes meþþ to pacienc, and to al oþer manere of vertues.

1 So E; *for tyme,* A.
SERMONS.

THE GOSPEL ON PHILIPPIES DAII AND JACOB.

[SERMON CIII.]

Non turbettur cor vestrum.—John xiv. [1.]

His gospel telliȝ, how Crist confortide his discipilis upon Shire Thursdaie, as he dide comunli in wordis þat he seide hem þanne. Joon telliȝ in fynve capitlis wordis þat Crist spake after his soper; and, among oþer þingis, he tolde hem how he shulde be bitrayd, and how he shulde be after turmentid and deed, and how þei shulden have drede boþe wipinne and wipouten. And herfore he medliðe wip al wise wordis of confort. Crist biddiȝ first in þis Gospel, þat her herte be not troublid wipinne, ne drede for perilis wipouten, for confort þat þei shal have of him. ȝif þei ben sad in þis biloȝ, þat alle þes þingis moten nedis falle, and for þer betere afterward, boþe here and in hevene, þei shulden not be troublid wipinne to leese ony vertue; for þanne þei shulden falle fro vertues, for good þat God made to hem. And, bi þis same resoun, þei shulden not drede of bodili peril; for al þis shulde turne hem to good bi þis same biloȝ. And, for to make hem siker of þis, Crist seîp þis word, þe troven in God, and trove þe in me. As who seîp, þe moten nedis trove in God, or ellis ȝou failiȝ charite; and þe mai not trove in God, but ȝif þe troven in me, for Y am þe same God, þat is God þe Fadir. And so wordis þat Y telle ȝou moten nedis be soþ. ȝif God telle us a þing, who of us wolde drede þerof, siþ we ben certyn of biloȝ þat God mai not disseyve us? And oonhede in Godhede, wip Trinite in persones, is ofte seid in þis gospel, and in oþer boþe. And þus biloȝ shulde be ground to confort ðe men in þis weie.

And men shulden not muse on þis, þat ne þer ben diverse meritis. For, as þer ben in ech man diverse degrees of biloȝe, so þer ben in Cristis apostlis diverse degrees of meritis. And

1 So in E; A has turbentur.
for to quiete hem in pis Crist seip to his apostlis, tat in be hous of his Fadir ben many dwellingis; as who seip, Have ze sum degree of seip and hope and charite, and laste ze, creessyng perinne to your lyves eende, and your place is ordeyned in hevene after tat ze ben worpe. What man shulde herfor lette to serve God wel, but raiper he shulde enforce him to encresse in Goddis service. And tes disciplis shulden truste in pis meene persone Crist; for, as he seip sopli, zif ony ping in hevenli blis were lesse, or defauty, he wolde have told hem. And in proof of pis ping, he stiep up in his tyme, to make hem a place redi pere, as he dide afterward. And sip he is bope God and man, he woot wel how it is pere; and gabbing in sich a Lord were more synne hanne ever was.

And, for Crist mai not bigynne a ping but zif he make an eende perof, perfore he seip, tat zif he wende pus to hevene he shal come azen and take tes apostlis to him. And pis shall be verified at Cristis comynge at pe dai of dome, pat where Crist is evermore, bope in stede and in blisse, pei ben pere wip him after pis dai wipouten eende. And ze witen whidir Y go, and also ze knowe pe weie. And pus Crist certesiede hem pat pei witen pe ende, and pe weie how pei shulden come to blisse, over pat pe fadirs wisten in pe olde testament; and pus pei may trus in Crist as meene persone of God and man. But Thomas seide here to Crist, Sire, we witen nere whidir pou goist, and how mai we knowe pe weie? And Jesus seide to him: I am weie, trupe, and byf. As zif he wolde meene to Crystene men: Knowe ze me, and love ze me, and ze knowe alle pes pingis. For Crist wolde teche his disciplis bi litil and litil alle pes. And so pe liif pat Crist ledde here is pe weie to come to hevene; for but if we suen him in pis liif, we shal never come to blis. And pe trewe reule pat he zaf is trupe, to teche men pat wolden ellis erre. And he is liif many weies to susteyne men yn pis traveile.

And so Crist seip sopli, pat no man come to be Fadir but bi him; for his manhede is nedeful meene to make aseep for mannis synne, and his Godhede mote nedis meeve to come pis weie, so fer fro erpe. And muse we not of pe knowing pat

1 So E; A includes the word in the quotation.
we moten have of þis Fadir. For Crist seip sopli, pat ʒif þei hadde knoven him, certis þei hadden knowe his Fadir. For whoso knowiþ Cristis Godhede, he woot how God seip al þing; for þis word of God is his Sone and Crist, þat we shulden knowe þus; and þanne he knowe him þat seip, þe which is God þe Fadir. And after ze shal knowe þe Fadir beter þan ze ʒit done; and ze have sain þe him, bi bileve þat bringþ i þis knowing.

And, for þese wordis weren woundirful, þerfore Philip seide to Crist: Sire, shewe us þe Fadir, and it is ynow to us. And Jesus seide to Philip þanne, So longe tyme I am wiþ þou, and ʒit ze knoven not me, Philip. Whoso seeþ me, he seeþ my Fadir; how seist þou, shewe us þe Fadir? Ne trouwest not þou þat I am in þe Fadir, and þe Fadir is in me? þes wordis þat I speke, I speke hem not of mysylf: but, certis, þe Fadir þat dwelliþ in me is þat ilk þat doþ þe werkes. Ne troue ze not þat Y am in þe Fadir, and þe Fadir is in me? ellis, troue ze my Godhede, for þe werkes þat Y do. Sopol, sopli, I seie to þou, þat man þat trawþþ in me shal do þe werkes þat Y do; and þe moste of hem a shal he do, for I go to my Fadir, and my chirche, þat is my bodi, dwelliþ ʒit stille in erþe. And I shal not be idil in hevene, for whatever ze axen þe Fadir in my name, þat shal Y do.

Alle þes wordis þat Crist seip here axen sutil understand- ing, ʒhe, more þan we mai have while we lyven in þis liif. It is nedeful to knowe, how pe Godhede of Crist is oþir in kynde þan his manhed, al if þei boþe ben oo persone. And þis Godhede is so sutil þat it is comune to þre persone. And so, whoso knowiþ þis Godhede in oon mote nedis knowe it in ech of hem; for þes þree persone ben not diverse, as þree men, or þree oþer substances, but ech of hem mai no- wher be, ne ouþt do, wiþouten ech oþer. And þis mannis witt mote be clene þat shulde knowe wel þis matere.

a 'Majora horum faciet;' Vulg.
The Gospel on Ascension Day*

[SERMON CIV.]

Recumbentibus undecem discipulis.—Mark xvi. [14.]

This gospel telliþ in what form Christ toke his leve at his apostls. Mark seþ, þat enleven apostls restiden after þat þei hadden eten, and Jesus apperide unto hem, and reproveden untreuþe of hem, and hardnes of þer herte, for þei trowiden not to hem þat sawen þat he was risen from deþ. And Crist seide to hem, Go þe into al þe world, and preche þe þe gospel unto alle maner of men. He þat shal trowe and be baptisid shal be saaf; and certis he þat shal not trowe shal be dampted. And þes signes shulen folowen hem þat shulen blive in my name: þei shulen caste out fendis, þei shulen speke wip newe tungis, þei shulen take awei addris, and þif þei drynken ony dedeli þing, it shal not noie hem; þei shulen putte þer hondis on syke men, and þes seke men shulen fare wel. And sôþeli þe Lord Jesus, fro he hadde spoke þus wip hem, he was taken in to hevene and sitiþ on Goddis riþ side. And þei wenten her weie, and prechiden everywhere, and þe Lord wrouhte wip hem, and confermede her wordis wip þes signes suing.

Here men shulden note þes wordis, for ech of hem beriþ greet wit; first, how Crist toke leve at his disciplis fro þe tyme þat þei hadden eten. He þaf þe sacrament to hem after þer mete comunli, and Crist spak wip hem comunli after þat þei hadden sumwhat eten. And no drede to Cristene men þat ne Crist dide þus for certeyn cause. O cause was herfore, þat men shulden eten in good mesure, þat þer wittis weren more sharp, and þei more able to serve God. And Crist wiste þat men shulden ordeyne reversingeli to Cristis dede, and herfore he ordeynede þus, to telle þat þe contrarie is leveful. And þis shulden þes men note þat proven þat þe ost is not breed; for

* This sermon is not found in MS. E (Douce 321).
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panne, þei seien, man brake his fast, etinge þe oost whanne it is sacrif, and þanne he shulde not take afterward Goddis blood þat is sacrif in þe chalis. Lord! whi witen not þes foolis þat per accidentis maken men drunken whanne þei taken hem above resoun, as Poul witnessþ? And witt proveþ where þis man be excusid of gloterie, for he is drunken of an accident. And sîp taking of þis þing in mesure was no synne in Cristis tyme, what vertue hap mannis statute to make þis be synne more þan þanne? þes founed wordis fordone Cristis fredom, and bileve þat men shulden have. 3if þis be no synne to God, it is no synne for to charge to eeten in mesure bifoþ þe masse, and after to synge and use.

Afterward we shulden wite, how Christ reprovede unbleve and hardnes of apostlis hertis, þat weren bifoþ, and þanne weren taken awei, for þei hadden not sorewe ynowþ for þese errours þat þei weren inne. And þei shulden note þe wordis of Crist þat he spak þat tyme to hem. And þis is anoþer note, how Crist bad hem þanne go and preche þe gospel freli to alle manere men. And wo be to hem þat letten þis, for jurisdictioun or oþer cause; as wo is to hem þat leven þis, and prechen dremys, fables, and gabbingis. And it is not ynow to have nakid bileve, but men moten have charite, þat shal fourme oþere vertues. And þis baptisiþ men wiþ baptym of þe Holi Goost.

But 3it men douten of þes wordis þat Crist speken aþur. It semeþ þat alle men þat bileven moten nede have þes fuye signes; and sîp noon of us hap hem, noon of us hap bileve. Here men seien comunli, þat seintis at þe first tyme hadden alle þes fuye signes betere þan we have now. But trewe men have in a manere alle þes signes now. For whanne þei deþyveren hem of synnes, þei casten out fendis in þe name of Crist. And þei speken wiþ newe tunges, for alle þingis þat men done in grace be newe bi titil of grace. And Crist seþ, in Apocalips*, þei taken awei addris þat þei have of þer fleish; for þer will is awei to displese God bi þer lust. And dedli drynke, 3if þei taken it, or oþer þing þat comeþ to hem, anoþer

* Is the reference to Apoc. xii. 9?
hem not, but bringe hem to blisse þat God hap ordeyned to hem. And þif þei blessen men, or what þing þat þei done, Cristene men shulen be beterid, wheþer þei be saved or damped. And so it semeþ þat þes men oonli tronen þus, þat God hap ordeyned to blisse; for oþer men ben in greet synne and in greet unbleve, alþif it be florishid for a tyme.

But men noten last here, how Crist sittip on þe riht side of his Fadir, siþ his Fadir is oonli Godhede, and hap no figure as man hap. And here men knowen as bilee þat Christ sittip not on þe bodili side of his Fadir in hevene, for his Fadir hap noo sich side; but þe Fadir hap sum men ordeyned to dampnacioun, as ben fends in helle and men þat shulen be damped þere; and þes ben þe left side of þe Fadir, on which Crist shal not sitte. Sum men ben on þe riht side; as alle men þat shulen be saved, and ordeyned to come to blisse after Goddis firste ordenaunce. And þus Crist bi his manhede sittip on his Fadiris riht side, for no þing mai be nerre Godhede ne more blessid þan is Cristis manhede. And so he sittip on his Fadiris riht side on oþer manere þan ony oþer mai sitte.

Þe Gospel on Mydsomer Evyn.

[SERMON CV.]

Fuit in diebus Herodis.—Luc. i. [5.]

Þis gospel telliþ a playen1 storie how þat Joon Baptist cam forþ. Luk telliþ, how þer was in daies of Heroude kyng of Jude o prest clepid Zacarie, of þe gendrure of þe prest Abia. And loft 2 fel to þes preestis to mynstre in þe eiþiþe woke. And Zacaryus wif was of Aarons dowters, and hir name was Elisabeth. And boþ þes two weren just before God, going forþ in alle Goddis mandementis and in alle justifying of þe Lord wipoulen pleint. Fadiris of þe olde lawe weren myche chargid over men now; for þei kepten þes same ten mandementis, þat we kepenu

1 pleyn, E. 2 So E; lo it, A.
in þe newe lawe, and over, þif þei wolden be juste, þei mosten kepe cerymonyes, and many lawis judicialis, þat us nedip not now to kepe. And, for þes two kepten al þis wipouten grete blame of God or man, þerfore Luk preisip Baptistis eldris in keping of þe olde lawe. But woo is to hem in tyme of grace, þat þus have chargid þe newe lawe, þat we have now more to kepe þan þei hadden in þe olde lawe. For 1 þes men have distroyed freedom, and pervertid Cristis Chirche, and so, as myche as in hem is, þei have maad Crist unfree, and þis unfredom is worse þan al þe richessis of þis world.

And þei hadden noo child þit, for þe womman was bareyne, and þei weren bope olde, passid wel in tyme of her eelde. And it fel þat Zacarie dide his preestis office in þe temple, as it fel to his tyme, and custom þat þanne was. He wente herbi adone to offre ensence in þe inner part of þe temple; and al þe peple was wipouten preiynge in þe tyme of þis ensence. And oure Lordis angel apperide to him stonding on þe riȝt side of þe auter. And þis preest Zacarie was disturbil, and dreedde herfore. But þe angel seide to him, Drede þee not, Zacarie, for þi preier is herd; and Elisabeth þi wyf shal bere to þee a child, and his name shal be clepid Joon, and joie and gladnes shal be to þee, and many shal enjoie in his birpe. He shal be greete before God, and wyn and sidir a he shal not drynke; and he shal be fild wiþ þe Holi Goost ȝit fro his modir wombe. And he shal turne many of þes children of Israel to þe Lord God of hem. And þis Joon shal go before Crist, in spirit and vertue of Helye; for Joon was Hely in figure, as Christ seip þat mai not lye. And þis Joon shal converte þe hertis of þe formere fadris in to þe love of þer sones, þat tellen hem þat Crist is comen; and men out of bilee Joon shal turne to prudence of juste men. For it was a greet prudence to trowe þe signes of Crist, þat he was þe prophete biȝt to þe fadirs of þe olde lawe. And so Baptist made redi to þe Lord a perfect folk in riȝt bileeve.

1 So E; And for, A, which leaves the construction incomplete.
2 sidir, E.

a Both Wycliffite versions render the siceram of the Vulgate in this place by sidir. Ducange identifies sicera (other forms of which are sisara, cicer, and cisara) with the French cidre, whence comes our 'cider.'
Here mai men douanten, and trete of þe staate and liif of prestis; how þei ben dowid and wyflees ægens Goddis autorite; for Crist forfendid dowying bope in him and in hise apostlís, and approvede wedding in apostlis and many oþer. And þis is þe caste of þe fend, to kyndle fir in¹ heerdís; for or þei moten bope brene, or þe kepere mote leevæ his craft and traveile to kepe þis fir a. And prestis shal not do bope wel.

PE GOSPEL ON MyDSOMER DAI.

[SERMON CVI.]

Elizabeth impletem est tempus parienti.—Luc. i. [57.]

Þis gospel telliþ of þe forme þat Joon Baptiszt was born inne, and seiy; To Elizabeth was tyme fulfillid to bere child. For þe Wise man seiy þat alle þingis have þër tyme. And siþ al þing mote nedis come in tyme þat God hæp ordeyned it, muche more þe tyme of Joon, þat God ordeyned² so speciali. And þus Elizabeth bare þis child. And her neizbories and her cosyns herdien þat she was delyverid, and helden þat God hadde maad his mercy greet wyþ þis olde wiþ, and jofulli þankide God wyþ hir. And it fel in þe erþiþ daie, þei camen to circumcide þe child; and þei clepiden him Zacarie after his fadirs name. And his modir answeride and seide, Nay, but he shal be clepid Joon. And þei seiden to Elizabeth, þat no man was in hir kyn þat was clepid bi þis name; whi shulde he be clepid so? But þei bekenedid to his fadir, what he wolde þat he were clepid, and he axide a metal pointel³, and wroote, and seide, Joon is his name.

And so mirakle was wyþ Joon Baptiszt, bope before his birþe and aftir; for, as men taken of þe gospel, Zacarie trowide not

¹ and, E. ² So E; ordeynþ, A. ³ pointel, E.

a The meaning appears to be:—it is a wife of Satan to promote the celibacy of the clergy, because thereby he kindles the fire of unlawful passion ('melius nubere quam uri') in Christian pastors, who then either continue to burn with it (and so fall into sin), or have to leave their proper pastoral work in order to take such measures as may keep this fire under control.
to þis aungel, and þerfore bi þe wille of God he was doumbe
til þis tyme, and here he recoveride his speche, and tolde what
þe child shulde hatte. For boþe his eldris helden in þer mynde
how Gabriel wolde þat he híȝte Joon. And herfore woundride
folk al aboute. And anoon his mouþ was opened, and his tunge
was unboundun, and he spak and blesside God for þe þing þat
bifel þus. And drede was on alle her neizhoris. And þes wordis
weren publishd upon alle híȝe coostis of Judee. And alle þat
herden of þis þing puttiden in þeir herie and seiden, Who, trowist
þou, shal þis child be? for þe hond of oure Lord was wip him.
Sacarie was a famous man, wip Elizabeth his wyf, and many
myraclis wereن biffallen aboute þe birþe of þis Joon; and þus
þe contre preiside him muche, for many causis þat weren in
him. It was a miracle þat þe aungel telde him in so holi a
place; it was miracle þat Sacary was dombe, for he wolde not
trowe þis aungel; it was miracle þat so ool folk brouȝten
forþ þis child in her olde daies; it was miracle þat his eeldris
on þis manere namyde þe child; and al þe lyf þat Joon lyvede
was ful of miraclis bifoire and after.

And þus his fadir profeicede, bi fylling of þe Holi Goost;
Blessid be þe Lord God of Israel, for he hæp visited and maad
þe biyng æzen of his þeple. And so Joones fadir and his modir
and he himsylf weren maad prophetis. And here mai trewe
preestis touche how þis world is blyndid bi foli, when it sueþ
men as patrouns þat weren foolis and ful of synne, and leven
Crist and Baptist þat weren bigyneris of oure ordir. And herof
pleynede Crist in þe gospel, þat þei singen neiþer wip him ne
wipen wiþ Baptist, but wiþ oþer foolis whos liif is biside
bileve.

1 bote, E.                2 wepen, E.
The calling of
St. Peter.

Christ's charge
to him.

\[\text{[SERMON CVII.]}\]

\textit{Dixit Jesus Symoni} \textsuperscript{1} Petro.—\textit{John xxii. [15.]}\n
\`his gospel telli\`p how Petre and o\`prr preestis shulden love God, and travailen in his chirche. And, for \`his love stondi\`p in \`he grace of God, perfore \textit{Crist cle\`p} Petre, Symount, Joones soone. For whoso prech\`p to \`pe peple and tech\`p hem Goddis lawe, he is \`pat ilke in whom is Goddis grace; and juste eldri\`s may disseve grace to \`pe children, as it is teld bifo\`r of eldri\`s of Joon Baptist. Crist in his laste speche wip Petre apostle axide him \`pries where\textsuperscript{2} he lovede him; and his bileve is aweie, \`pat trowe\`p not\textsuperscript{3} \`pat Crist seide \`hus for to prynte his love in Petre, and his successouris.

And \`hus Christ axide first, Symount, Joones sone, lovest \`hou me more \`pan \`pese? And Petre seide to Crist: \`he, Lord, \`hou wost \`hat \textit{Y} love \`pee. Petre\textsuperscript{4} was here curteys and temprid fro presumpcioun, for he seide not \`pat he lovede Crist betere \`pan any o\`per apostle, but he seide, Crist wiste wele \`pat he lovede him. And here Petre confesside \`pat Crist knewe al \`ping. \textit{But Christ seide to Petre}, in shewing of \`his love, \`hat he shulde fede his lambren, bi \`he lawe of Crist; as who seip, if \`hou love me, \`hou most do \`his dede. \`pe secounde tyme axide Christ where Symount Joones sone lovede him. And Petre seide to Crist, \`he, Lord, \`hou wost \`pat I love \`pee. And Christ seide to Petre, to conferme \`his word, \`hat he shulde fede his lambren, in lore of \`pe soule. For as mannis soule is betere \`pan is \`pe bodi of him, so feeding of his soule is betere \`pan is feeding of his bodi. And sip lambren of Crist ben oo bodi wip Crist, more love my\`ste no man shewe \`pan \`hus for to fede his lambren. \textit{But \`zit Christ axide \`pe priddre tyme, where Symount Petre lovede him. And Petre hadde sorewe \`pat Christ axide \`his \`hus ofte, and seide ayen to Crist, Lord, \`hou

\textsuperscript{1} So E; Symony, A.
\textsuperscript{2} whever, E.
\textsuperscript{3} So E; the words \`hat trowe\`p not are om. in A.
\textsuperscript{4} So E; Petre is italicized in A.
SERMONS.

woost alle pingis, pou woost pat I love pee. And Crist bad him shewe pis in dede, and fede his sheep, pat is more pat pes oper, as sheep passen lambren.

No man pat is in bileve dreidp of pis gospel, pat ne Crist chargide pes wordis ech bi resoun; and so he tauzte apostlis to feede his sheep in pasturis of holli writt, and not in roten pasturis, as ben fablis and lesingis and lawes of men. Pe pasture everemore grene wip treupis pat nevere more failen, is pe lawe of holli writt, pat lastip in pe toper world. But, for a good heerde shulde kepe his sheepe fro wolves, and defende hem fro scabbis and fro rendinge, perfore Crist bad Petre pryes pat he shulde kepe his sheepe. Crist tauzte not to his heerde to reise up a croyserie and kille his sheep, wip his lambren, and spoilen hem of peir goodis; but pis is lore of Anticrist, pat pe fendo hap now brougt in; and bi pis it is knoen pe ben not Petris vikeris.

And Crist techiþ Petre, and in him alle his vikeris, how it fallþ to him to do aßen his firste will. Sobli, sobli, I seie to pee, whanne pou were zonge pou girdist pee, and wentist whidir pat pou woldist; but now, whanne pou wexist oolde, anoper shal girde pee, and shal lede pee pe weie which pou wolt not, of þi sifl. And pis word seide Crist for to telle to þe Chirche bi what deþ Petre shulde clarifie God. For Crist seþ bifoer, in þe gospel of Joon, pat þe moste propirte þat followþ a good herde is, þat he putte his lyf for his sheep, for þus dide Crist, and wolde þat Petre þus suede him. And þe moste contrarie condicioun, þat suþ Anticrist, is to putte his sheepis lyves for his cursid lordship.

ON OCTAVE OF MYDSOMER.

[SERMON CVIII.]

Dixit Zacarias.—Luk i. [18.]

Pis gospel telliþ pe middil of a storie of Seint Joon Baptist. Pe vigile of Baptist telliþ how Gabriel biiyte him, and pis
storie tellip how Zacarie mistrowide. And so Luk tellip, how Zacharie seide to pe angel, Wherof shal Y wite pis, pat Y shal gete a child; for I am an oold man, and my wif is passid in eilde? Here pis Zacharie trowide not to pe angel; but Marie trowide to pis angel pat he seide her sop, but she wolde be certefied more of pe manere. And pis sum men reden as two wordis pis axing, On what manere shal pis be, for I knowe not man. But pis Zacarie mistrowide, and maad perto his evy-
dence; and so bope pis weren troublid, but Zacarie more, for pe troubling of hym refte him bileve. But Gabriel telde him, wherfore he shulde trowe. For I am Gabriel, pat stonde before God, and I am sent of him to telle pees good tippingis; and siç it is püs, I mote nedis seie sop, for I mai not see but treupe in pe book of liif, and an angel pat is confirmed mai not lye to a man. And lo, pou shalt be domb, and pou shalt not mowe a speke unto pe dai pat pes pingis be done; and pis penance shalt pou have, for pou trouvedist not to my wordis, which shal be fild in pes tyme. And here mai we se, bi logik of pis angel, how al ping mote nede be; for noping mai ever be but pat pat God háp ordeyned to be in his tyme; for ellis hadde Gabriel seid fals, pat he myyte not speke til þanne.

And pe peple abood Zacarie, and wonndride pat he taryede in pe temple. And whanne he cam out, he myyte not speke to pe peple; and pei wisten pat he hadde seen sum visioun in pe temple. And he was bekenyng to hem, and dwelle dombe for pe tyme. And whanne he daies of his office weren fulfillid, he wente hoom to his hous, and þanne was Joon geten. And after pe daies conseved Elisabeth his wiif; and she hid hir for shame fewe monepis aftir. And she seide to hirself; For þus háp oure Lord do to me, in pe daies pat he caste to take away my reprofe among men. And þus cam Elisabeth hoom, whanne she feelide pat Joon was quike; and so he myyte witnesse pe comyng of Crist in þe wombe of Marie, whanne she cam to Elisabeth. For Joon made þanne joie in manere of dancing in presence of

1 So E; om. A.

"mowe" is the lost infinitive of the verb 'may'; it is the English form corresponding to the German mögen. It occurs in this place in both Wyclifite versions.

Wyclif.
Críst, as þe gospel seip. And so trowe not to hem þat seien, þat it is six moneþis before þat þe soule a be couplid wiþ þe bodi, and before it haþ plantid soule b, and siþ soule of beeste b; but as we blyve þe words of þe gospel, þat Baptiste was glad in comynge of Crist, so we supposen þat he was on lyve a litil bfore þat Jesus was conseyved, but we musen not how muche, siþ it is Goddis priyte.

Of þis gospel mai we take, how it is grete synne to mystrowe to holi writt, siþ God punishide Zacarie for he trowe not to his aungel; and more ben words of God þan words of þis aungel. And þus defaute in blyve is bfore alle oþer synnes, and siþ God seip al trenye, no trenye shulde be denyed; but summe may men doute, and sum trowen wiþ drede, for God seip þis trenye, or ells God seip it not. O how myche ben þei to blame þat seien þat Goddis lawe is fals, for mysundirstonding of a fool or an heeretik. Certis, bi þe same skile þei myþten seie þat God is fals, siþ God signifieþ to hem fals undirstonding, in peyne of þer former synne, bi which þei ben blindid, and þus God were þe falseste þing þat evere was in þis world. For þei seien þat falshede is no defaute in a þing, whi seien þei not þat God is fals for perfeccioun of God, siþ God meveþ fals men, for þer former falshede, to undirstonde

1 plautis of soule, E.

a That is, the rational or human soul.

b The writer appears to repudiate, with Aquinas, the doctrine which held that before the rational soul,—anima intellectiva,—in virtue of which man is man, was joined to the embryo, it had been animated successively by a vegetative and a sensitive soul, so as to be conformed to plants during the first, to animals during the second period of gestation. In the treatise De Spirituali Creatione among the Quest. Disputatæ, Aquinas writes (art. 4): 'Quidam vero dixerint quod a principio inest anima vegetabilis, et illa edam cum fuerit magis perfecta fit anima sensitiva, et tandem fit anima intellectiva.' But the Christian philosopher, holding out for the oneness and incorruptibility of the human soul, will not admit this; he looks upon the embryonic changes as indicating successive stages of the one soul, but no more. 'Sic cum in embrione primo sit anima vegetativa tantum, cum perventum fuerit ad majorem perfectionem tollitur forma imperfecta, et succedit forma perfectior, quae est anima vegetativa et sensitiva simul, et ultimo cedente, succedit ultima forma completissima, quae est anima rationalis.' To these three elementary stages St. Augustin, in the De Quantitate Animae, adds four more, that of moral effort, in which the soul is seeking virtue, that of moral perfection and rest, that of spiritual effort or tendency towards God, and that of the soul's union with and rest in God.
falsly? and þanne þei seien þat God is fals. And þus God shulde meve men falselie, whanne evere þey synnen, and þus he were a fals God in punishing of sinful men. For, sê fals-hede in God is good, þeve we him ynow þe þerof; for God mai not have a name, but þif he passe al ðeper þing. Blessid be treuþe, þat made us passe alle sich fals fantasies, and wite þat alle creaturis ben trewe in þat þat þei ben of God.

ON TRANSLATION OF SEINT MARTIN.

[SERMON CIX.]

Nolite timere pusillus grex.—[LUKE xii. 32.]

In þis short gospel Crist confortid his servantis, and biddip hem not drede; for treuþe is strengere þan alle þer enemies. Men shulden not drede but for synne and lesing of vertues, for peyne is just and of Goddis wille; whi shulden men drede or sorewe þe þerfor? And þus sinful men shulden have drede and hope togidere, of diverse þingis; as þei shulden have sorowe and joie togidere of dyverse þingis. And þus synne concludiþ men moost of al þing þat mai be; for it bringip man to fynge markis more noyousli þan ðeper skillis. Crist seip here to hise apostlis, þat þei shulden not drede, al þif þei ben a liil flon. For to rekene þe firste treuþe, and alle þe augels þat ben wiþ him, þe part of a just man is betere þan fals part of a þousaund; and þus biddip þe prophete his child, þat he shulde not drede him, for many moo ben wiþ hem þan wiþ þe contrarie part. Stonde a man in vertu and treuþe, and al þis world overcomeþ not him. For if þei over comen him

1 So E; be synneþ, A.

pusillus, E; a clerical error for pusillus.

2 om. E.

The feast of the translation of St. Martin's relics (July 5) is not in the Roman missal, the office for the day being of the octave of SS. Peter and Paul. The gospel which the Sarum use appropriated to this festival is found in the Roman missal among the gospels for the Common of a Confessor not a Bishop.

b bringip man to fynge markis. This seems to be a proverbial expression, used of a person who was brought to poverty, or into any desperate strait.
wiþ þis, þei overcomen God and his aungels; and þanne þei shulden make hym¹ not God, but betere þing shulde make þis.

But here men seien comunli, þat þer þen þre manere of dreidis: kindeli drede, and drede of sones, and þerwilþ drede of servantis. Kindeli drede was in Crist, whanne he dredde to suffre deep. But þis drede cam þit of synne, for ellis no man shulde have suffrid peyne. And þus peyne is unkindeli, for to loke to bigynnyng þerof. Þe seconde drede haþ many degrees, after þat men ben betere wiþ God. Sum is bigynnynge drede, whanne men drenen to wrapþe God; and þis is bigynynge to þe synne, and rote of alle mannis wisdom. Þit, whanne man dredeþ more for to synne ægens his God, and his tempting is overcomen þat shulde moove him to synne, þanne haþ he chast drede; but wel is him þat haþ þis drede. þe þridde degree is best of alle, þat men clepen holi drede; and þis dwellþ here in erþe, and evermore wiþ man in blis. And þis drede haþ no peyne, but unpower for to synne. And þus aungels have þis drede more þan ony oþer þing. But þe Godhede mai not drede, for it bi kynde mai not synne. Boþe þes dredis bringen not in synne. But þe þridde servant drede. Whanne a² man synneþ ægens God, and mote nede be ponished of him, þis is oon³ unkindeli drede, as it is unkindeli to synne; and þis drede forfendþ Crist in þes wordis þat he seip here. And þus men seien comunli, þat man shulde not drede to fiþte þif his cause and manere be good, for noþt but synne makiþ man coward. For þif man fiþte wiþout cause, to be holden an herti man, he berþ wiþ þim þe synne of pride, þat makiþ him coward ægens God. And þus þingis þat loven pees ben moost hardi, as þingis in hevene.

And Crist tellþ here a cause to make his disciplis hardi, þat þei shulden not drede þus: For it likide to þer Fadir to zev þem þe reume. Here mai we see many treþis in þes wordis þat Crist seip. First, how þe Godhede of God is Fadir of alle þat he þeveþ blisse. Þe seconde treþe in Cristis wordis is nede to 3yve þis blisse. For, as þingis þat ben passid nedli moten have be passid, so al þat God ordeyneþ nedeli moten

1 So E; not make him, A.  2 om. E.  3 an, E.
have be ordeyned. And þe þridde treuþe of þes wordis is, þat Crist shewide to þes disciplis þat þei shulde come to blisse, for he tellþ þer Fadir likede so. Here may we gadere opun resoun þat Cristis children shulden not drede; for þif God þeve a betere þing, he þeveþ al þat sueþ þerof; as God mai not þeve a bodi, but þif he þeve quantite and figure. And so, siþ þeþe sueþ of þis blisse, God mote þeve þeþe whanne he þeveþ blisse. Also, siþ God is almyþtti, alwitti, and al wilful, no þing þat is æzens God mai overcame him þat is wiþ God; for siþ God seþ þis fiþing, or him faþþ power or wille, þif his ser-vault be overcomen in fiþing for Goddis cause. And þus trewe men ben confortid to putte awei þis þridde drede; for be þei never so fewe or feble, þei bileeþ þat þei mai not be disconfittid. And þus þe cause þat Crist here tellþ makþ his knyþtis to be hardi.

And þus Crist confortid his apostlis, for to sue him in povert: He biddþ hem sille þat þei have and þeve almes prudentli. For certis, among alle cowardisis, cowardise of richesse is þe moste. For many men þat have richessis dare neiþer seie a soþ, ne defende a soþ seid, for drede of leesing of þis richesse. And so men loven richesse more þan þei loven treuþe of þer God. And in þis cowardise ben freris and oþer ordris þat ben dowid. And unneþe ony riche man wantþ clene þis cowardise. And þis is more þan cowardise of bodi, þat comeþ to man for drede of bodi; for a man shulde kindeli love more his bodi þan his goodis, siþ goodis of kynde ben mouche betere þan ben goodis of fortune. But Crist tellþ ofte to his martiris, þat þei mai not be his disciplis but þif þei loven more him þat is treuþe þan loven þer owne liþ. And wiþ þis feþþ was Baptist armed, and oþer apostlis, wiþ Cristis martiris; for þei wisten wel þei myþþen not faile in victorie, to die þus. And þus, for richesse of þis world makþ moost cowardise, Crist bad his knyþtis be pore, and sille her possessiouþ, and of þat priþe þeve almes, or ellis of meeþlis þat þei hadden. But wite wel, it is noon almes to make ypocrisit more cowardis, or to þeve þes newe ordris þingis þat þei ben chargid bi, for þis is not work of almes, but work of unmercy to men.

1 God is fiþing, E. 2 mercy, E.
And þus Crist meeveþ to be pore bi resoun of surete. Make ye to you sachels þat wolen not waxe oold, but tresour þat, failip not in hevene, whidir þe hef coméþ not, ne þe mouȝþe discriþ; for, certis, where is þi tresour, þer is þi herte, and þi wille. Tresour is clepid comunli, precious þing þat man tellip muche bi and hidip sumwhere. And so men þat shal be saved maken þer tresour in God; for þis tresour is of oþer kynde þan ben þes riche men, and it is precious good, for it is good of grace. And siþ Crist is al þing þat seintis have nede of, þis tresour is more nedeful þan al þis erþeli tresour; for þeves mai not stele þis, as jewels or moneie, and mouȝþis mai not feble þis, as þei mai cloþis or jeweles. And so, siþ þis tresour is more preciuous and more sikir, what man shulde not travele moost for to have þis tresour? Þif þou travele treuli to have þe blis of hevene, þou hidist þis tresour where it mai not faile; for God shal be þi cloþing þat mai not wexe oold, for he is charite; and he shal be þi peny þat mai never be rusty; and þeves mai not come to hevene, ne take of hevenes blis. Þis is eende of wisdoms, to travele for sich a tresour. And drede we not þat ne man mai bi good liif wynne him God, þat is al maner of tresour, to make him blessid in hevene. For þis is kyndeli eende to whichþ man is ordeyned; for man is ordeyned 1 to blisse, and to laste ever more, and have wiþout deaute al þat hem nedip.

PE GOSPEL ON OCTAVE DAII OF PETRE AND PAUL.

[SERMON CX.]

Jussit Jesus discipulos assendere in naviculam 2.—MATT. xiv. [22.]

Þis gospel tellip a storie that ech man shulde wite, but speciali apostlis and vikeris of hem. Crist bad his disciplis stie into a bole, and go bifore him on þe water til þat he lefte þe peple. And Crist lefte þe peple and stiede in to þe hil, for to preie aloone

1 So E; A om. the words for—ordeyned. 2 errors of the scribe for ascendere and naviculam.
for staat of his Chirche. And so, whanne pe evenyn cam, he was per aloone; for his disciplis were in pe water, and pe peple hadde left him. And pe boot, amyde pe water, was shaggyd1 wip waviss, for pe wynd was contrarie to hem. And pe fourpe vigile of pe nyȝt, þat was nyȝt pe dai, Crist cam to his disciplis walkinge on pe water. And pe disciplis, seeyng him walking upon pe water, weren troublid among hemsıle, and seiden it was a fantum². And for drede þei crieden. And anoon Jesus spak to hem and seide to hem þus: Have þe trust, I am; drede þe not. And Petre answereide and seide, Lord, þif þou be Crist, comande me to come to þee upon þe waters. And Crist seide to Petre, Come. And Petre wente doun out of þe boot, and walkide³ on þe waters, for to come to Jesus. But Petre, seeyng þe wynd grete, dreedde him of þe peril; and whanne he bogan to drench, he criede and seide, Lord, mak me saaf. And anoon Crist held forþ his hand, and toke Petre, and seide to him, þou of litil bileve, whi doutidist þou here? And whanne Crist steie in to þe boot, þe wynd cessid, and þei þat weren in þe boot camen and loutiden Crist, and seiden, Verrili þou art Goddis Sone.

Þis storie men tellen to þe secounde witt of Goddis word, and seien, þat þis boot travelinge in þe water is þis Chirche here þat wandriþ to þe daie of dome. Þis wending of Crist to þe hill is his styng to hevène. Dere he preieþ aloone for man-kinde here; for alþif oþer seintis preien þere in spirit, nepes in bodi and soule preieþ Crist ðit aloone. And whanne þe sunne wente doun, was Crist aloone preiëþ þus. But he visitide his Chirche þe fourþe vigile of nyȝt, whanne he shewþ perilis to his Chirche þat fallen to men here in erþe. But Crist goþ upon þe water, for worldli soris⁴ noien him not. And þis boot is troublid here, but it drenchiþ not utiþli. Petre is þe moste man þat sueþ Crist in his Chirche; and he wolde sue Crist here, but he failiþ in bileve. But he mai not be drenchid, for Crist wole have his Chirche saved. Crist comeþ into þis boot whanne he haþ alle þes men to hevène, and þanne ceessen alle þe tempestis þat men suffren here in erþe, and þei knowen verrili how þat Crist is Goddis Sone.

¹ seboggyd, E. ² E om. the words and—fantum. ³ So E; walking, A. ⁴ sores, E.
SERMONS.

And pis witt applieþ pe pope, wiþ his cardinals, to hem, and seien þat þei ben Christis Chirche þat frooterip 1 þus in þis boot; and þei mai never be drenchid, al if þei fallen in many perilis. But þes men shulden wite, first, þat þei sue 2 Crist in lyvying in poverte and mekenesse, and in lore of þe gospel; for ellis þei gon not biforn Crist on þis water, to make redi to him, but ben ræjer drenchid in þis water, and seken after worldli goodis; or ellis ben þe peple þat Crist leveþ, þat disturblen him and hise. Bileve techþ trewe men þat þis Chirche goþ not bi kynt, but bi manere of suynge of Crist in perfit weie of vertues. But as preestis weren worse til þei weren at lowest degree, as preestis of þe olde lawe þat weren fordone in Cristis tyme, so mai þis court drede for liif contrarie unto Crist, leste þei ben þe worste men þat lyven here in þis Chirche. For ypocrisie makin hem not good, but more stynke biforn treuþe. And þei ben not porest here, making hem tresour in hevene, for al þer breetþ and þer liif is about worldli goodis; and þus þei lasten not in þis boot, but ben drenchid in þis see. And þus þei axen not Crist helpe, as dide Petre, whanne he sank; but al þer hope and desire is in þingis þat ben bineþe. For þif þei lyven contrarie to Crist, in þis world ben no falser men. And neiper kynrede ne place maken men Cristis vikeris, but suynge in weie of vertues, what manere men þat ever þei ben. Errour in sich wittis makin many dremeris to faile, for þei taken noon hede to good liif, but to fals opynyouns here.

PE GOSPEL ON PE FEESTE OF SEVENE BRIþEREN.

[SERMON CXI.]

Loquente Jesu ad turbas.—Matt. xii. [46.]

Pis gospel telliþ a storie þat touchiþ mouche witt, and telliþ how Cristis children ben knyttid here in charite. Matheu telliþ, how Jesus speke to þe peple; and lo, his modir and his breþeren

1 floteþ, E.  
2 sueden, E.
stooden wipouten to speke wip him. And sum men seien þat Cristis breþeren weren men of his kynrede. But his apostlis weren wip him, and herden him speke to þe peple, as þei weren in streitere place, and more hard to come to. And on seide to Crist, Lo, þi modir and þi breþeren stonden wipouten, sekyng þee. And Crist answeride to him þat tolde him þis, and axide who was his modir and his breþeren. And Crist stretching his honds to his disciplis seide þes wordis of witt: Lo, here my modir and my breþeren. For who ever doþ þe wille of my Fadir þat is in hevene, he is my breþer, and my sistir, and my modir also.

þes wordis of Crist ben scorned of gramariens and devynes. Gramariens and philosophis seien, þat Crist knewe not his gendris; and bastard dyvynes seien algatis þat þes wordis of Crist ben false, and so no wordis of Crist bynden, but to þe witt þat glosiris tellen. But here we seien to þes trowantaþ þat þei blaiberen þus for defaute of witt. Leeve we þes heretikes as fools, and seie we sum witt þat God haþ gowyn us. Sopli, Crist techþ here þe preciousite of his preaching, þat man shulde not, for fleishli kyn, lette to teche Goddis word. And þes wordis seip Crist to him þat was aboute to lette his lore. And þus tellþ Crist a sutilte þat is of goostli breþeren in God; for, be it man or be it woman þat serveþ God treuli, he is on þes þree maneres knitt to Crist in sibberide. For distincsioun of kynde is litil to telle bi in þis matere. First, he is Cristis broþer bi his soule, þat is his spirit; siþ, he is Cristis sistir bi his fleish, þat is worse; and after, he is Cristis modir bi þis hool kynde, made of hem two. For þis modir haþ consevved Crist, and norisþ Crist wiþinne hir; and þis is betere cosynnage and more sutil þan is of kynde. And make þes gramariens sorewe þat þei knowe not þes gendris, and so þes founed philosophis shulden sorowe of þer error, þat þei witen not of oo man þat he is ech of þes þree þingis; he is soule, he is bodi, he is man, maad of þes two. But to þe hool man is merit or demerit propreþ. Leeve we here þese trowaunt disutiis, and enforce us to lerne Cristis wordis, to preche hem to þe peple, and leeve þing þat is lesse worþ, and þanne fleishli cosynnage shulde not lette us to do þis.

1 So E; dyvenes, A.  
2 blaberen, E.  
3 sybred, E.  
4 to, E.
SERMONS.

The Gospel of Maudelein Dai is red on Fridai in † Quarter Tense † a in Septembre among Ferials

On Seynt James Dai.

[SERMON CXII.]

Accessit ad Jesum.—Matt. xx. [20.]

This gospel telliþ how fleishli kyn procuriþ ofte harm to þe soule, and how a womman, Cristis aunte, Mary, James modir and Joones, þat was Sebedeus wiif, cam to Crist for þis enchesoun. But she cam wiþ þes children and loutide Crist, and axide him; for it is seid comunli þat wymmens preier is wel herd. Crist axide hir1 what she wolde, and she seide to him, Comaunde þat þes two apostlis, þat ben my sones, and þi cosyns, sithe next þee in þi rewme, þe toon on þi riȝt side and þe toper on þi left side. Crist knewe wel þis wommans witt, and how it cam of þes apostlis; for þei herden biforn of Crist, how þat he shulde have a rewme, and þei trowiden þat Crist shulde be an erþeli kying in þis world; and þere þei wolden be nyȝ Crist, for cosynnage and traveile here. Crist spekinge to þes apostlis, and leynge to speke wiþ þeir modir, seide how þis cam of hem, and how men shulden have ordre in speeche, evermore speking þere where þei hopen moost to profite. Crist seide to þes apostlis, þe wilen not what þe shulden gladli axe; for þing þat profite to mannis soule shulde he axe, and nouȝt ellis.

And, as Joon setþ wiþ þe gilden2 mouþ, þis word of Crist liþtþ þe world, and dampleþ here many men, þat co Vieten here to be popis cardinalis or bishopis, or oþer worldli

1 So E; berw, A.
2 golden, E.

a The MS. has two words here inexplicably contracted; but they evidently stand for ‘Quatuor Tempora,’ or, as it is called in Ireland, Quarter Tense; for the gospel read on St. Mary Magdalens’s day (July 22) is the same as that for Ember Friday in September, on which there is a sermon (No. 112 of the Ferial Sermons) in the present collection.

b St. Chrysostom, Homil. in Matth. XXXV.
dignite, not for hele of þeir soule, but to have here worldli wynnyng. And all þis dampneþ Crist here. For þis wille is venymous; and it fallip ofte tyme þat sich havynge of worldli worship dampneþ men ever more in helle; and so it doþ harm to þe soule. But þif men wolen be hye in hevene, þei moten lerne anoþer lessoun, to proﬁte to þe Chirche þat þei mai, and to leee worldli worship. And þis proﬁt nedip ofte to suﬀre anoies here in þis world, þat þese prelatis ﬂeen algatis, for þei wolden here have þe contrarie. Þerfore Crist axide of þes disciplis a questioun pertinent herto, Mai þe two drynke, seip Crist, þe chalis þat I shal drynke? And wiþouten drede Crist undirstood bi þis chalis his passioun. And þes two disciplis myþen not for shame denyne to drynke of þis coppe. And þus þei grauntiden to Crist, þat þei myþen drynke of his coppe; for it were al aþens skile to coveite sich a prelacie, but þif men have þe ende þerof wherefore þei shulden coveite it. And siþ Crist is al wiys, and drinkip himsilf of þis coppe, what man shulde resoun forsake to drynke herof? For bi þis is þe soule fed, and disposi to come to blis, but bodili fode is for þe bodi, and makiþ worms mete redi. And þus Crist grauntip þes apostlis þis betere drynke, and leeeþ þe toþer. But þiþ Crist, of his curtasie1, interpretip þer wordis to goode; and doþ worship to his Fadir bi trewe wordis, as he shulde. Supposing þat þei undirstonden sitting in þe rewme of hevene, Crist seip, þat it fallip not to him to graunte hem sich sittinge, but sich sitting shal þo men have to whom it is ordeynid of his Fadir. Here grutcen Anticristis disciplis and seien, þat Crist seip here fals; for siþ Crist is þe same God þat is þe Fadir and þe Goost, whatever þe Fadir þeþor or grauntip, þe same þing grauntip Crist. But here þese foolis moten undirstonde, þat Crist spekeþ ofte bi his manhede; for þe peple knewe his manhede, and undirstood it speciali. And þus, whanne Crist biheetip to hem þat him fallip not to þeþe hem þis, he undirstood þes wordis þus, þat he shulde not, bi his manhede principali, þeþe þem þis; but he shulde þeþe to hem þis, to which it is ordeyned of his Fadir. And so, þif þei disserven þis, he sikerid hem þat þei shulden have þis.

1 curtesie, E.
And þis speketh Ambrose, saynge comun speche of Crist, þat þe sacrid oost is not breed, for it is not principal breed. And such error blindeth many, in þe sacrament of þe auter, to seie þat it is an accident wipouten suget, and no breed, as Ambrose seip. But þes foolis mystyn better seie þat neþer James ne Joon ben blesisid for Crist seip þat him fallip not to graunte hem ony degree of blisse. But þis is ful of eresie, as falsede in which it is groundid. And defaute of understanding þat shulde be of Goddis lawe and of þis doctour, Ambrose, blyndip here þes eretikis.

ON ASSUMPTIOUN EVYN.

[SERMON CXIII.]

Loquente Jesu ad turbas.—Luc. xi. [27.]

Þis gospel tellib how it is more to heere Goddis word and kepe it, þan to bere Crist bodili and norishe him, as Mary dide. And so a litel storie is told in presing of our Ladi; and after is knitt a blessid sentence bi distinctcioun of Crist. þe storie tellib how Crist spak to þe peole of soule helpe. And a womman of þe peple hadde devocioun in his wordis, and burst out in an hyse vois, and seide on þis manere to Crist: Blessid be þe wombe þat bare þee, and þe tetis þat þou didist soke. And Crist answeride to þis womman, and tolde a more presciouse treuþe, and seide þat, but bi more resoun, blessid be þei þat heeren Goddis word and kepen it.

But we shal undirstonde here, þat on two maner is Goddis word herd,—first bodili, bi eeren of bodi, and eke goostli, bi eeren of soule. þe firste heeringe is litil worþ, but in as mouche

1 preysyn, E.

a St. Ambrose, De Sacramentis, lib. iv. cap. 5: 'Antequam con-secretur, panis est; ubi autem verba Christi accesserint, corpus est Christi.' Wyclif in his Confessio (Fasciculi Ziziniorum, p. 127) quotes a passage from the same work, differing slightly in words, but precisely to the same effect. The 'for it is not principali breed' is Wyclif's gloss upon the words of St. Ambrose.
as it helpeth to þe toþer; siþ Scarioth herde Crist þus, and beestis and bridris myȝten also. On þe toþer manere heerþ no man but þif he knowe sentence of Goddis word. And on þis wise seþ þe Psalme¹ þat I shal heere what þe Lord God spekiþ in me; but wel Y woot þat he shal speke þees and love to his peple. And þus, on two maneris, may a man kepe Goddis word; first, to printe þe witt in his soule, and after to reule his liif þerbi. And þus shulde ech Cristen man heere and kepe þe word of God. But over þis kepyng shulde preestis kepe wiseli þe word of God, and shape hem for to preche it, for profit of þe Chirche; and þis is þe beste work þat ony man mai travaile here. And þus mai we liþli see how þis sentence of Crist is sop; siþ no man mai come to blis but þif he heere and kepe Goddis word; but many men and wymmen ben saved þat baren not Crist bodili; ne our Ladi myȝte not come to blisse, but þif she hadde herd and kepte þis word.

And herfore God ordeynede hir to be maistresses to his apostlis, for she fel not fro þe feþ, ne fro þe wordis of hir sone, but kepte hem wel in her herte, and caste wel what þei menten. And herfor it is no wondur þif she be more blessid þan oþer. þe Chirche singiþ of oure Ladi þat she hap distroied alle heresiesᵃ, for she is special maistresse to distroie þes heretikes. And siþ she is aftir þe dai of dome, whanne þei shal no more noe þe Chirche, it is sop to þis entent þat she hap distroied alle heresies.

And siþ she was occasioun of þe wordis þat Crist seide here, se we how þes wordis helpen men to distroie þes vices. A comune heresie þat now rengeþ in þe Chirche is lettris of fraternite, generali among þes ordisᵇ. And herfor se we how þes lettris stonden wip Goddis lawe. Heryng and kepyng of Goddis word is betere þan þe birþe of Crist; þis birþe is betere þan þes lettris; and so herbyng and kepyng of Goddis word is algatis betere þan þes lettris. But Cristis word in no place techiþ þat men shulden have þes lettris; and perfore

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¹ So E; Salm, A.
ᵇ See p. 67, note B.

ᵃ 'Gaude Maria virgo, cunctas haereses sola interemisti.' Tract used in Masses of the B. V. M.
shulden men reste in þes wordis, and traveile not aboute þes lettiris. For as ful and sufficiant is Cristis lawe as his manhede; but his manhede is ynow3 wîpouten oþer to come to hevene; and so his lawe is ynow3, to here his word and to kepe it, for to come to blisse of hevene, wîpouten ony sich lettiris. And þis þing mai be confirmed. For þif a man have a þousand of sich lettiris, but þif he kepe Goddis word, he shal be dampeed in helle. And þif he kepe wel Goddis word, wîpouten havyng of sich lettiris, he shal be savyd in hevene, as oure bîleve techip us. And so havyng of siche lettiris is oþer impertinent to blis, or ells it is harmful, letting men to come to blisse. Also bi siche lettiris is not sibbiere1 getun of Crist; but þif þei brouȝten a man to hevene, þei maden þat man Cristis broþer and sister and his modir, as þe gospel berip witnesse. For Crist seip, Whoever doip þe wille of his Fadir þat is in hevene, he is Cristis broþer, and his sister, and his modir. Also, þif sich lettiris diden þis good to men, brennyng or distroiyn of hem shulden pryve þes men fro sich good, ouþer in bodi or in soule. And so, þif we hadden þes lettiris brent, or eetem wîp myis2, or distroiied, we shulden wante þe profite of þes lettiris; ðe, þif we weren þan ne betere wîp God. Bi siche resouns þîken many men þat þes lettiris mai do good for to covere mostard3 pottis, but not þus for to wynne men blis; sîp sich men þat grauntent þes lettiris wyten not wheþer þei ben fendis lymes, or þat her preier shal ouȝt avale to hem sîf or to oþer. And þes resouns letten many to chaffre wîp þeir preier. For preier of men mai profite to oþer, but not þus bi chaffaring; sîp parting of meritis of men hangip oonli in Goddis wille, and not in shewing of sich lettiris, neiþer to God ne to man; sîp we oblishen not us bi hem to þing þat is not in oure power. And þus þis help is newe feyned to injurie of God, sîp it is propre to God to grauntent sich help to whom he wole. And þes lettiris helpen not þerto, but raþer letten, for blasfemye. And sich broþirheed of blasfemes shulden be fleted, for fendis sibreden.

1 sibreden, E.  
2 myis, E.  
3 mustard, E.


\[SERMON CXIV.\]

**Intravit Jesus in quoddam castellum.—Luc. x. [38.]**

\textit{Quis gospel telliæ a storie of Crist, how he tawste to his Chirche which is þe beste stat here. Luk seip, þat Jesus entride in to a castel, and a womman þat histe Marthe toke Crist in hir hous, to fede him and his apostlis. And manye men þinken here þat þis castil was a wallid toun, for ofte tymes þe gospel cleipiæ sicch wallid touns, castels. Men supposen over þis, þat þis Marthe and hir sistir, and Lazarus þer broþir, hadden al þing in comune; and þis Marthe was beste hous-wyf, and best coude ordeyne for hir hous; and þus she hadde speche to men bifoire hir broþir and hir sistir. Þis sister was Marie Mawdeleyn, þat was a ful devout womman fro þe tyme þat she was purgid of Crist, and sett in þe weie of hevene. And so þis Marie Mawdeleyn, fro þe tyme þat Crist cam to hir hous, sat mekiæ at Jesus feet, to heere Goddis wordis of him. For Jesus hadde þis maner, to speke ever Goddis wordis whanne he wiste þat þei shulden profite to ony peple þat herden hem. And so Crist prechide ofte, now at mete, and now at soper, and what time þat it was covenable ony peple to heere him. And so Marthe fedde Crist bodili, but he fedde hir sistir goostli. And so he þaf þe beter for þe worse, as it falliæ God to þeve. Marie enforside her bistli to serve Crist and his disciplis, but Marie sat stille at Cristis feet to heere þe wordis þat he spake. And Marthe stood bifoire Crist, and playnede to him of hir sistir\(^1\). Sir, she seip, takist þou noon heede þat þis Marie, þat is my sistir, had left me aloone to serve to pee, and to my gueneis? I preie þee, seie to hir, þat she rise and helpe me. And þus Crist, þat was taken for juge to acuse Mawdeleyn, was maad avocat of þis Marie; for he holdiæ ever for trewe part\(^2\). And þus many trewe men, boþe apprentis}

\(^1\) So in E; A includes \textit{of hir sistir} in the italics.  
\(^2\) \textit{be trewe part}, E.
and avocatis, wolen no procure in a cause biforn þat þei heeren it, and þis cause to þer witt haþ þe part of riþwises; for ellis þei maden hemself avocatis æzens treuþe wiþ þe fend. And æzens þis foule synne shulden men speke upon resoun. For al ȝif Goddis lawe teche þat procuraturis shulden have hire, and jugis shulden have noon hire of men þat þei travailen fore, neþeles þis is mys-turne, for riþ is turned to coveite. Crist spak a meene weye, and tuaþe þe Chirche in þes wymmen, and spak in þes wordis: Martha, Martha, pou art bisie and troublid aboute ful many þingis; but certis, o þing is nedeful, and betere þanne þes many þingis: Marie haþ chosen þe beste part, þat shal not be taken from hir.

It is seid comunli, þat þes two wymmen ben two lyves, actif and contemplatif; þe first is Martha, and þe toþer Marie. And actif liif axþ þe usuale þingis aboute worldli þingis; and alþif þis liif be good, þe toþer liif is moche better. And so, for men failen ofte in þis liif fro love of God, Crist doublip þis word Martha, for two passen fro unyte. Crist tellip how actif liif mut nede be troublid for many þingis; but contemplatif liif stondip in oo þing, þat is, God, and haþ no bisynes aboute þingis of þis world. For as a man bisieþ him not how his shadewe shal passe þe water, so men þat ben contemplatif bisie

The two sisters signify the active and the contemplative life.

not. E.

a apprentices and avocatis; that is, barristers practising in the common law courts, and pleaders belonging to the church courts. By the term Apprentitius (from the French apprendre, to learn), as applied to the legal profession, was originally meant, according to Ducange, a law-student merely,—one who frequented the courts and universities in order to gain legal knowledge. But at an early period it became, in England at least, a more honourable appellation. In Fleta, the author of which wrote under Edward I, the Apprentitius appears as the lowest kind of legal practitioner admitted to the king's courts;—"in curia autem regia sunt servientes, narratores, attornati, et apprenticii" (lib. II. cap. 37). In the reign of Edward II, the term seems to be used much in the same way as 'barrister' is now-a-days; thus the jurist Andrew Horn (on whom see Selden's Dissertatio ad Fletam), dedicates his treatise Speculum Justiæarum (Justiciariorum?) to the 'Apprentitii ad barras,' Spelman (Glossarium in voce), says that the Apprentitius, after a course of legal training extending over seven years, was permitted 'cancellos salutare,' i.e. to come up to the bar, and there to plead. He thus corresponded to the 'outer barrister' of modern times; and so completely is this the case, that Fortescue (quoted by Spelman), with Selden, Plowden, Sir Henry Finch, and Sir Edward Coke (quoted in Cowell's Interpreter), speak of Apprentitius as being only another name for barrister-at-law.
hem not aboute worldli goodis, but þei trusten and hopen in God þat alle þes þingis shal falle to hem. And oonli in swe-
nessse of God þei bisien hem, and taken þe toþer in mekenes
and in poverte, as Crist haþ tauþt in word and dede.

But men supponen over þis, þat Crist approveþ here þree
lyves. þe first is good, as children lyven whanne þei ben
cristened. þe secound liif is þe betere; and þis is clepid
actif liif, whanne men travailen for worldli goodis and kopen
hem in rіþtwisnesse. And þis is hard, but it is possible;
and alþatis þif coveitise be left; for Crist techiþ bi Matheu þat men
shulden not be besie aboute her fode and hilyng, but bisynesse
shulde be for hevene, þat shulde be eende of mennis traveile.
And excès of þes goodis lettiþ ofte tymes þis eende. þe þridde
liif is þe beste, as Crist seiþ þat mai not lye. And þis is sum-
what here in erþe, but fulli in þe blisse of hevene. And here
douten many men wheþir of þes two lyves is betere. But men
þat biiholde1 bieþe of Crist witen þat þis þridde liif is best;
for Crist seiþ þus þat mai not lye, and chees to lyve ever þis liif.
For, alþif Crist dide erþeli workes, neþeles he dide on sich
mesure þat his soule was ever fed in contemplacioun of God.
And in þis many apes weenen to sue Crist here and þei slippen
into þe fendis weies for defaute of Cristis lore.

Dree resouns ben comune þat þis þridde is þe beste liif. Oon,
for Crist þe beste maistir seiþ þus, and mai not lye. Also, þis
liif mote nedis laske in blis of hevene wiþouten ende; but þes
oþer two lyves moten nedis be eendid here. And so þis liif þat
makþ men betere, and more lastþ wiþ hem in joie, mote nede
be betere þan þe toþer þat alþatis moot be taken from man; and
þis is þe resoun of Crist in þe laste word of þis gospel. Also,
an eende þat kinde ordeyneþ to come to men, bi certeyn
meenes, is alþatis betere þan þes meenes, þat comen neure but
for þis eende; as, siþ mannis liif is eende of his eting and oþer
dedis, þis liif is betere þan þis eting, or ellis kynde ordeyneþ
amys. And so, siþ þes two firste lyves ben meenes to þis þridde
liif, alþatis þis þridde is þe beste, þat God ordeyneþ to ende þes
two. And in no persone ne ony stat ben þes first2 lyves for

1 holden, E.  
2 two first, E.
to preise, but zif þei ben quykened bi þis þridde, þat shal laste evere perfíli.

And zif þe pope hap maad a lawe contrarie to þis sentence, or zif an aungel come from hevene or from helle, reversing it, trowe not to þes aungels, but trowe to Crist þat seip þis sentence. And resouns aþens Crist ben not worþi to be rehearsed; as sum men seien, þat1 ellis þe pope lyvede evere a synful liif, zif he chesip þe worse and þe hardere for þe betere. But here we graunten to þes men þat þis is sopþ whanne þei have proved þat þe pope leveþ þe þridde liif for 2 þe secounde. For þe Chirche shulde beter be governed zif alle preesstis lyveden þis þridde liif; for þus it was in Cristis tyme, and in tyme of his apostlis.

Þe Gospel on Seint Bartulimew Dai.

[SERMON CXV.]

Facta est contencio interb.—Luk. xxii. [24.]

MEN seien þat Seint Bertolomew was nobleste of þe apostlisb: and herefore in þis daie is þis gospel red. Men seien þat Cristis apostlis streven for a good cause; for þei wolden have a captain aftir þat Crist was deed. But I can not excuse hem of a vein wille. But however it be of þis, þis gospel seneþ to teche us þat synne of prælatis now-a-daies passiþ þis presupscioun. For apostles streven þanue, not who shulde be more to God, ne more to þe world, but, who shulde be holde more; for ellis miþte strif be among hem which shulde be put biforn, and desisioun of þis myþte oonyys for ever ceesse þis discord. But

1 So E; and, A.  2 or, E.

a In the Roman Missal this gospel is assigned to the feast of St. Apollinaris (July 29); that for St. Bartholomew's day is taken from Luke vi. 12-19. The writer of these sermons, like the Prayer-book, follows the Sarum use.

b Referring to this legend, Cave says, in his Antiq. Apostolicae,—' By some [St. Bartholomew] is thought to have been a Syrian of noble extract, and to have derived his pedigree from the Potomies of Egypt, upon no other ground, I believe, than the mere analogy and sound of the name.'
now, among oure prelatis, we moven not who shulde be holde
more, but which is more, uttirli, boþe to God and to þe world.
And here we synnen doubli, deniyng þat we knownun not, and
reversing Cristis sentence of morenesse þat he spake of. But
oure goode maistit, Crist, determynede þis discencioun; and
seip þat þer is double gretnes among men here in erþe,—
gretenesse among knygtis, and gretenesse among clerkis.
Cristis disciplis shulden not coveite gretnes of knygtis, but
gretenes of clerkes is morenesse of mekenesse and morenesse in
service, wiþouten ony booste.

And þus seip Crist, þat kyngis and gentilefolk have lordship
of hem, and þo þat have power on hem ben clepid goode doeris.
But þe shal not þus lyve, in noon of þes þre pointis. For worldli
lordshipis shal not be among þou; ne power to prisoun shal
be in oon upon oþir; ne your goode dediþ shal not stonde in
3yyynge of worldli goodis; but þe þat is more amonge þou be
maad as þonger, and he þat goþ before, be he as a servere. Þat
is to seie, þe mekere of þou is more of þou, and oon shal go
before anþir, not for worldli worship, but to serve more mekeli
to oþir of his felouship. And þis mai þe seip Crist, bi my
lyf among þou: Wheþir holde þe more him þat settip, or him þat
serveþ? Certein þe holde more him þat settip at þe mete. But
Crist is among hem as a good servere. On þe day bifoþre, Crist
washide her feet and wipþe hem wiþ a cloþ, as þe gospel of
Joon tellþ; and þanþe he putte in dede soyling of þis ques-
tiouþ. And sib apostlis hen þo ilke þat weren wiþ Crist whanne
he was temptid, and Crist ordeynede siche meenes to ægenstone
prydþe, preestis shulden þenke on þis lore, and travele aboute
mekenes. And þis lyf is not wiþoute mede, bi witnesse of
Crist. And herfore he ordeynede hem þe kingdom of hevene,
as his Fadir ordeynede hym, for mekenesse þat Crist hadde.
And þanþe shal þei ete and drynke upon Cristis bord in his
rewme; and þis is mede wiþouten eende, more þan ony worldly
mede. For þanþe shal þei sitye upon troones and juge kinredis
of Israel; whiche kinredis ben seintis in hevene, þat shal knowe
bi apostlis þat more mekenesse in þis world axþþ more hyennesse
in hevene.

1 So E; moressse, A.
And wel were him þat coude þis lore, ʒif þe gospel tauȝte him no more. And reversing of þis lore now, bi dowynge of þis Chirche, hàþ maad al newe preestis and ọper ordir fro Cristís Chirche \(^a\). For more worldli lordship axiþ þe more service to preestis, and letiþ hem to be more servauntings, and more hie in Cristís rewme. And þus, whanne Crist biddiþ þat his preestis shulden not lyve þus, þat preest is now holden betere þat lyveþ more lordli. And þis pride of þe fend distriþ myche of þe Chirche; and Y can see no more mede þan to distri þis \(^1\) preestis pride. Take awei þes brondis ʒif þou wolde quenche þe fier.

\[SERMON CXVI.\]

\*Misi Herodes.—Mark vi. [17.]*

Þis gospel telliþ þe cause and forme whi þat Baptist was do to det, and seip, how þat Heroude þe kyng sente and held Joon Baptist, and bonde hym in pryson for a womman, Herodias, which was wiȝf and weddiz to Philip, Heroudis broþir. For Joon seide to þis Heroude, It is not leeviful to þee for to have þi broþeris wiȝf, while þe boþe ben on lyve. And herfore þis Herodias aspiede Joon many gatis, how he myȝte be do to det. But aþif she wolde do þis, ʒit she myȝte not com þerto. þe cause of envie to Joon was his tellinge of treuþe, þat shulde be profitable to Heroude and eke to þis wickide womman. And þis cause shulde glorifie martirdome of a man; for it touchiþ Goddis riȝt, and profit of þe yvel part, and charite of þe martir þat telliþ þis for Goddis sake. And beter cause hàþ no man in suffringe of martirdome. Þis Heroude dredde Joon Baptist, for

\(^1\) þes, E.

\*That is,— church-endowment, practised in defiance of the teaching of Christ, has separated the modern clergy, as well as the cloistered orders, from the true Church of Christ.*
he wiste pat he was a just man, and herto an hooly man, and kepte him more tenderly. For men have kyndely drede of God and of his lawe. And perfore Heroude herde Joon, and aﬅer him dide many pingis, and herde Joon wip good wille, in pingis pat touchide conscience. And whan a covenable day fell to Heroude and pis wicke womman, Heroude, in þe daie þat he was born inne, made a feste to tribunes and to princis of þe temple, and to þe greteste maistris þat dwelten in Galile. And þus many men þenken þat Heroude was an yppocrity; for he caste to slee þis Seint Joon, and florishide it wip falshide. And as men supposen, al þis cast cam first of þis false womman. For as wymmen, where þei ben goode, passen oþer creaturis, so, where þei ben turned to yvel, þei passen many oþer fendis.

And whanne þe douzler of þis womman was entrid in þe halle, and þeside to Heroude and his gestis bi tumbleris lepyng*, þis kyng seide to þis wench þat she shulde axe what she wolde. And he swore to þis wench þat whatever she axide him he shulde yve it to hir, if it were half his rewme. And bi þes wordis it semþ þat þis fraude was cast bi þis womman and Heroude; or ellis he were to greet a fool, to yve half his rewme for lepyng of a strumpet. And þis wench wente forþ and axide at hir modir, what she shulde aske of þis kyng Heroude. And hir modir bad hir axe þe heed of Joon Baptist. And whanne þis wench cam in anoon wip haste to þe kyng, she axide and seide, I wolde anoon þat jou yve me þe heed of Joon Baptist in a dishe. And þe kyng was sori; for his grete oþ and for his gestis he wolde not make þis wench sorowful, but sente for a man-sleere, and bad brynge to hym þe heed of Joon Baptist. And he gird of his heed in prisoun, and brouȝe his heed in a dishe and yaf it to þis wench, and she yaf it to hir modir. And whanne þis ping was herd, þe disciplis of Joon camen and token his bodi and putten it in a seþulcre.

* The ὅρπσαμένη of the original is rendered in the Vulgate "quam saltasset," which the first Wycliffite version naturally translates, "whanne the douzter... hadde lepte," and the present writer understands of a tumbler or female acrobat. Such displays were common in the middle ages. Chaucer, in describing a festive meeting (Romant of the Rose, near the beginning), speaks of "sailouris:"—

'There was many a tymbester,
And sailouris that I dar wel swere
Coulde her craft ful perty.
SERMONS.

What man wolde not suppose, pat ne al pis ping was done bi fraude of pis fals womman, for treupe of Joon displeside hir? And doyng of Heroude was not wipouten blame, for he shulde not swere puse to a long strumpet; and zif pis fool hadde swore puse, he shulde not fulfille pis oof; for folie hepid upon folie grevep God more. She axide pis heed in a dishe bi feyned addicioun, for so she myste more liyl to brynge pis heed in to pe kyng, and wite more sikiri bi pe sithe of many men pat it was Baptistis heed pat she hadde in pe dishe. And men pat sawun pis done shulden not rebelle azens pe kyng, for it was done in pe prisoun pryvyly fer from men.

And feyned treupe of pe kyng semep to foolis to excuse pis deed, and so it semede no help to venge pe dede pat was done. And sich a cautil of pe fend is in many grete synnes. For men feynen bi ypocrisye pat pis ping moste nede be done, and goodnesse wiþ treupe of hem excusip hem of pe dede. And, for wymmen ben of short witt, pei ben meenes to siche dedis. But folie and lustis of men ben more to blame þan wymmen. As, zif wymmen knewun not Goddis lawe in dowynge of preestis, and it semep to wymmens wit boþe almes and merci, and pei meeven lordis herto,—as þes wymmen diwen Eroude,—þis synne is in þes proctours, but more in þes lordis. And þus fendis wilt of freris aqveynten hem wiþ ladies, and pei ben meenes to lordis to have þat þes fendis axen. And þus is feþing brouȝt in, and Goddis lawe reversid. For who may denye þat ne lordis done aftir ladies, or þat freris conseilen wiþ ladies, or myche synne is now up bi workes of lordis? And knynte alle þes togidere, and freris ben ground þerof, more sutil and sinful þan þis lepynge strumpet. But unknowynge of Goddis lawe excusip hem not here, for þat shulden lordis trowe, and not þes fals meenes. For fendis and þer giles shulden be put bihinde God, and treuþis of Goddis lawe shulden be taken in worship.

1 So in E, which has the word boote, crossed out, before help; A reads no but to venge.
\[SERMON\ CXVII.\]

\textit{Liber generationis. -- Matt. i. [1.]} \footnote{1 So E; Matbu, A.} \footnote{2 \textit{hat bist} Raab, E.} \footnote{3 Uries, E.}

\textit{His\ gospel\ tellip\ he\ gendrure\ bi\ which\ Crist\ cam\ of\ Jewes.\ For\ he\ cam\ of\ his\ modir,\ and\ she\ and\ Joseph\ weren\ of\ oo\ kynne.\ Matheu\ was\ taught\ of\ God\ to\ write\ his\ booke,\ and\ in\ this\ fourtenes\ to\ eende\ his\ gendrure.\ He\ taki\ two\ bigyneris,\ Davi\ and\ Abraham;\ for\ to\ these\ two\ was\ speciali\ Jesus\ Goddis\ Sone\ bihi\ st.\ Davi\ was\ putt\ bfore\ for\ worshippe\ and\ acordaunce,\ ali\ Abraham\ was\ bfore\ and\ brouthe\ for\ hol\ kynredis.\ Abraham\ gat\ Isaac,\ and\ Isaac\ gat\ Jacob;\ Jacob\ gat\ Judas\ and\ his\ oper\ bre\ peren.\ And\ these\ opere\ patriarchis\ weren\ pree\ holi\ men.\ Of\ these\ twelve\ Jacobis\ sones\ Judas\ was\ the\ beste;\ nei\ pere\ the\ firste,\ ne\ the\ last,\ but\ cam\ of\ his\ firste\ wyf.\ And\ of\ him\ tolde\ Jacob\ hat\ Crist\ shulde\ come.\ Judas\ gat\ Phares\ and\ Zaram\ of\ Thamar.\ These\ Phares\ and\ Zaram\ weren\ bo\ getun\ togidere;\ and\ this\ Thamar\ was\ not\ the\ firste\ wyf\ of\ Judas.\ Phares\ gat\ Esrom,\ and\ Esrom\ gat\ Aram;\ Aram\ gat\ Amynadab,\ and\ Amynadab\ gat\ Nason;\ Nason\ gat\ Salomoun,\ and\ Salomoun\ gat\ Booz,\ of\ a\ woman\ hat\ was\ Raab,\ which\ was\ an\ alien,\ and\ helpide\ mouche\ Jewes;\ Booz\ gat\ Obeth\ of\ Ruth,\ hat\ was\ an\ alien;\ Obeth\ gat\ Gesse,\ and\ Gesse\ gat\ Davi\ be\ king.\ And\ in\ these\ firste\ fourtene\ ben\ aliens\ and\ synful\ folk,\ for\ Crist\ wolde\ save\ aliens\ and\ oper\ synful\ men.\ Davi\ the\ laste\ of\ these\ fourtene\ is\ clepid\ a\ kyng;\ for\ God\ made\ him\ kyng;\ and\ bfore\ these\ Davi\ weren\ patriarches\ and\ jugis,\ and\ no\ kyngis\ of\ Jewis,\ as\ Goddis\ lawe\ tellip.\ Saul\ was\ the\ firste\ kyng\ of\ Jewis\ bfore\ Davi,\ but\ he\ was\ a\ wickide\ man,\ and\ Crist\ cam\ not\ of\ him.\ Davi\ gat\ Salomon\ of\ his\ hat\ was\ Uryus\ wyf;\ Salomon\ gat\ Roboam,\ and\ Roboam\ gat\ Abias;\ Abias\ gat\ Asa,\ and\ Asa\ gat\ }
SERMONS.

Josephat; Josephat gat Joram, and Joram gat Ozias; Josias\(^1\) gat Joathan, and Joathan gat Achaz; Achaz gat Ezechie, and Ezechie gat Manassas; Manasses gat Amon, and Amon gat Jose; Jose\(^2\) gat Jeconie, and oþir breþeren whanne þei weren taken to Babylon, bi wrere of þe kynge. Þis is þe toþir fourtene þat Matheu telliþ, and leeviþ here fouru kyngis wipouten liynge. For he þat bigetiþ a sone bigetiþ his sones sone; and so foure kingis weren left\(^a\), soplþ for greet cause.

And whanne þes kyngis weren ceessid of worship of þer kynge dom, but not of þer gendrune, Jeconie gat Salatiel; Salatiel gat Sorobabel; Sorobabel gat Abyut; Abyut gat Eliachym; Eliachym gat Azor; Azor gat Sadoc; Sadoc gat Achym; Achym gat Elyut; Elyut gat Eliasar; Eliasar gat Mathan; Mathan gat Jacob, and Jacob gat Joseph, Maries housebonde; of which Marie is Jesus born, þe which is clepid Crist. And so, to counte Joseph Marie and Crist, is þis þridde fourtene fillid þat þe gospel spekiþ of. And aþiþ we have not þis þridde gendrune in holi writt, þit we trowen þat it is soþ\(^3\) bi autorite of Mathew, as we trowun þe firste gendruris boþe bi autorite of Genesis. Mathew comþ downward in rekenynge of Cristis eldriþ, and Luk goþ upward, rekenynge of more fadris. For it sufficce to Mathew to telle how Crist bicam man bi þes þree fourtene, biginnynge at Abraham. But Luk, figure of preestis\(^b\), tellþ more diffuseli how man stiþ up to God, from Adam to þe Trinite. And variþ of names, wiþ leeviþ of sum fadris, techþþ how Matheu and Luk varien not in sentence\(^c\).

\(^1\) Osias, E.\(^2\) Josy, E.\(^3\) So E; A has soþ.

\(^a\) The four kings left out are—Ahaziah, Joash, Amaziah, and Elia- kim. See the note on the subject in Dean Alford’s Greek Testament.

\(^b\) Luk, figure of preestis. The figure of the calf in the Apocalypse (ch. iv.) was very early associated with St. Luke, who was thought to treat more fully than the other Evangeliists of the priestly office of Christ. See Cave’s Antiq. Apost., p. 169. In the Legenda Aurea, it is said, ‘Lucas figuratur in vitulo, agens de Christi sacerdotio;’ and it is shown at great length how this evangelist was ‘recte ordinatus,’ in relation to God, to his neighbour, to himself, and to his office of writing the gospel.

\(^c\) Dean Alford (in his notes on Matt. i. and Luke iii.) thinks that no attempt to reconcile the two genealogies has succeeded, laying stress at the same time on the fact that both give the line of Joseph, not that of Mary.
And þis text moten preestis knowe, to undirstonde Goddis lawe, and to defende it from false men þat arguen aþens it. For siþ it is our bileeke, we troun fulli þat it is soþ; and many helpis þer ben to undirstonde þis gendrure. For we may wite how Crist cam of aliens, and how þis comyng was ﬁgurid in oþir dedis þat Crist dide; as þe gospel of Luk tellip how Crist cam to Jerusalem, boþe þour þ Samarie and þe cuntre of Galile; and siþ Samarie was þanne in þe hondis of gentile men, and Galile was þanne in þe hondis of Jews, þis comyng bitokeneþ þe gendrure of Crist, how he cam boþe of Jews and gentil folk. And þis bitokeneþ over, how he wolde save hem boþe. Crist cam not evere of þe ﬁrste sone, but ofte of þe toþer sone; to teche us þe lore þat spiritual gendrure is ﬁgurid by Cristis comyng, and God tellip more þerof þan of kyndeli gendrure. And þus ech word of þe gospel were lore to Cristene men, to travaile and to undirstonde þe privytees of God. And þus shulden preestis yve hem to contemplacioun, and leve worldli occupacioun, wiþ vanyeþes of þe world. For wordis of Poul techen us þat what kyn þingis ben writun ben writun to oure lore, and to confort of us. And so bi suche confort we shal growe in hope.

ON HOLI roode DAY in hervest.

[SERMON CXVIII.]

Nunc judicium est mundi.—JOHN xii. [31.]

þis gospel tellip how þat Crist in al his liif was aþens þe fend, and speciali in his passioun þat he sufﬁride of so greet love. And þus seþ Crist of greet witt; Now is jugement of þe world, now þe prince of þis world shal be cast out. —Here men undirstonden þe world, þo men þat lyven worldli, and mesuren hem not bi Cristis lawe, for to go þe weie to hevene. Al þe folk of þis soort is a world þat shal be damyped. Al þe liif þat

1 So E; A has soþ.
SERMONS.

Crist lyvede here was a jugement of his world, for it was an open mater to juge it at þe dai of dome. For no man may excuse þis, siþ God and man lyvede þus to teche men þe weye to hevene and þe þe falsnesse of þe fend, and ȝit man leveþ Cristis lore, and goip þe weie þat þe fend techip, þat ne þei leden a liif here to make hem dampad afterward. And so damnacioun is taken now for dampanyng executid. And now, for cause of þis damnpanyng, as þis gospel spekiþ here, þis world þat þus shal be dampad háþ a capteyn, þat is þe fend, þe which is clepid kyng and prince; for he is kyng of alle þe children of pryde, and he is prince of þis world, for he ledþ his lymes þis weie. But Crist seþ here þat þis prince shal be cast out bi him. For Crist overcam þis fend, and tauþte anoþer good lore, how þat men shulden come to hevene, and leeve þe fendis weie þat he tauþte. For alþif þe fend have children þe whiche he bigiliþ þus, neþeles þe ground is Gods, siþ þei have her kynde of God. And so þe fend, in al his werkes, is a tirant and a þeef.

But here shal we undirstonde þat al þat God háþ ordeyned to peyne moten nedis be dampad in helle; but many, bigiliþ bi þe fend, waren ordeyned to turne to Crist; and þes weren ever ordeyned to blis, and nevere to be dampad in helle. And to þis entent spekiþ Crist in þe word þat comeþ afþir, þat zif he be hízed fro þe erþe, he shal draue alle þingis to him sílf. No doute Crist spekiþ here of his passioun of þe crosse; for þanne Crist is hízed fro þe erþe to many undirstondingis. And zif Crist semede þanne faile power to do ouþt, zit he was þanne almyþiþ, and his drawing was ful strong, for þanne he drowþ bi his vertue alle men þat he shooþ to blis. And so he drowþ fro þe fend many þat he wenede to have, and so þes þat leeven undrawen wanten þe eende þat þei shulden have, and so þei ben clepid nouþt ofetymes in holi writþ. And þus spekiþ Crist here, þat þei ben alle þingis þat he drawþ. Defaute is not in þis drawer whi þes fendis lymes ben not drawun, but defaute is in hem, þat þei fasten not on þis drawere, siþ noon is drawun but wilfulli, and he wantþ good will; þei ben so slipre and so hard þat Gods word takþ not in hem.

1 and þus þey leden, E. 2 þe, E.
Pis same gospel expownep to what entent Crist seide pis wordis. Certis Crist seide pis, to telle what deep he shulde die. But þe þuple answeride to Crist, and seide þei have herd of þe lawe þat Crist dwellip wipouten ende, and how seist þou þat mannis Sone mote be hiredd? who is he þis mannis Sone, and how shulde he suffre þis deþ? But Jesus saw how þis peple undirstood sumwhat bileve, and þei failiden on oþer side of þingis þat þei shulden undirstonde. And þerfore seip Crist þus: Þit a litiil liȝt is in you. Walke þe while þe have liȝt, þat derknesse take you not. It semeþ þat þis peple wiste how Crist tolde þat he shulde die upon þe crosse for mankynde, and þerbi drawe his children to him; but it semeþ þei wisten not now þat Crist was boþe God and man, and bi his soule he mai not die, as he dieþ not bi his Godhede; but whanne he is deed bi his fleish, his soule passip and drawip from helle. And þus Crist seip þei have a litiil liȝt, for þei have but litiil bileve. But þei shulden walken in þis bileve, and so come to more liȝt; for þif þei walkyn in derkenesse of unbileve, þei gone amys, siþ al þat is not of bileve mote algatis be synne. For Crist seip afterward, þat, He þat walkip in derknes, he woot not whidir he goip. And so it is in goostli walking; he þat wantip bileve of Crist woot not for þat tyme wheþer he goip to hevene or helle, for liȝt of feþ wantip him.

And, for Crist is bileve, þe which þat men shulden trowe here and se aftir clerli in blisse whanne þei ben clene come to hevene, Perfore, seip Crist afterward, þe while þe have liȝt, bileve þe in liȝt, þat þe ben children of liȝt: þe which liȝt is God himsylf. Here mai we se, in bileve, how feþ is nedeful for to have, and how fleishli lif here is contrarie to Cristis crosse, and how þat worldli liif is dirk and makiþ men go from God.
SERMONS.

DE GOSPEL ON SEYNT MATHEU EVYN.

[SERMON CXIX.]

Vidit Jesus publicanum. — Luc. v. [27.]

This gospel tellis how Matheu was chosen, and how heretikes grutchiden herfore; for treupe haþ evere adversaries, þat beren hevy þat it shulde shyne. Þe gospel tellis þat Jesus saw a publican þat hizle Levy. And þis Levy was Mathew, as many men have diverse names,—as þis Mathew, Petre, and Poul, varieden þer names whanne þei weren apostlis. And þis manere have þe popis, whanne þei ben newe maad popis. But God wolde þat þei changed to vertues as dide apostlis of Crist. But sum men seien þei changen to synnes, for her chesynge is not of God; þei ben not clepid of Crist to mekenesse, but to pride and worldli liif. And þus al is ypcrisie, and no fruyt to þe Chirche þat þei done, in þis chesing bi ordenance of mannis lawe; and þis envenymeþ myche of þe Chirche bi process of tyme. Jesus siþ þis Levy sitting at þe tol-bope, and seide to him, Sue me. And wip þis word he þaf him vertue.

And here þe fend blyndiþ men whanne þei proven bi Goddis lawe þat þei shulden make siche chesing, for Crist clepide his apostlis. But certis an ape is not so blynd in knowing of diversite. It semeþ þat bi Goddis lawe men shulden purge first þe popis state, and algatis þat he were pore and witti, and willi for to profite to þe Chirche after Goddis lawe; and þanne chese him, as Mathi was chosen. And þis were sum similitude to sue here Crist and his apostlis. For wel Y woot þat alle þes cheseris witen not wher þei chesen a fend; as þei witen not wher þei lawe be evene azens Goddis wille. And þes two ben to dirke weies to lede alle Cristyndoom to hevene.

þe storie telliþ how þat Mathew forsok al þat he hadde, and

1 So E; Vidit Ihesus publicanum, A.
2 So E; Matbu, A.
3 willi, E.
4 Mathi, i.e. Mathias, is the reading of E, and seems preferable; A has Matbu.
5 lawe, E.
6 So E; Matbu, A.
suede Jesu, boþe in place and in vertues. Þis Leevy made Crist a greet feeste in his hous, wiþ mouche folk; for, as Þe gospel tellip, her was moche purge of puplicans, and of oþer men, his aþeainis, þat weren come to ele wiþ him. And Phariseis and scribis of hem grutcheden æzens Crist, seying to his disciplis, Whetin ȝe and dryken boþ wiþ puplicans and sinful men? Sich men ben puplicans þat travelen aboute comune work, to gadere tollis and comyne rentis, to þe use of þe emperour. And þis travail damnyden Jewis, as traveile of sinful men; and for using of þis work þei damnyden1 men þat comyneden wiþ hem. 

And Jesus answeyring seide to hem, Hool men have noo nede of leche, but seke men in þer bodi. And so, siþ Crist cam to heele men, and seþ þat sich men mai be hool, he moot bi resoun comune wiþ hem, and maken hem hool as he disposip. For Crist cam not to clepe just men, but sinful men to do penance.

Here mai we see þat it is good to sum men to comune wiþ sinful men; but þei moten be as Crist was, not to be worsid wiþ þes men. But whanne þei mai do hem good, it were synne to lette þis good. But þes scribis and Phariseis magnefieden þer owne stat, þat no man shulde take from hem, but encreese in worldli goodis. And þis seien now oure Phariseis, boþe religiouse and preestis. But Crist tellip not bi þis sentence, for it is nest of coveitise. For stat þat Crist ȝaf to his apostlis is now to generali dispisid, þat men shulden be apaid wiþ foode and wiþ hiliyng to her bodi. And al mennis bisynesse shulde2 be set to gete vertues to þe soule, for Þanne þei seken þe rewme of God, and riȝtwisnesse of þis rewme. And wiþ þis God mai not faile of þes two þingis to mannis bodi; as Crist proveþ bi Matheus gospel, boþe bi foulis and bi lilies. For if men failen in foode or hiliyng, þat is for her synne bifoire. And þat is more for þer profiþ, þif þei ben wise and pacient; for a betere wey to hevene is algatis more profitable, and he is an overmyche fool þat wole have al his goodis here.

1 So E; dampnen, A.
2 So E; ábul, A.
SERMONS.

†E GOSPEL ON SEINT MATHEUS DAY.

[SERMON CXX.]

Cum transiret Jesus.—Matt. ix. [9.]

†is gospel †at Mathew seip here is nyʒ al oon wiþ þe laste; but ðit oo gospelere¹ expowneþ anoþer, and varieþ sumwhat to oure lore. Matheu² tellþ, þat Jesus passinge saw a man þat was clepid Matheu³. And þis he meneþ bi himself, for it sowneþ to Goddis worship and to repreef of himself. What worship shulde þis Mathew have, þat he sat in þe tol boþe, occupied wiþ þe worldli workes, and þus fer fro þe liif of Crist? Grace and mercy is in Crist þat he wolde clepe þus siche a man, boþe bi vois and bi wille, to leeve siche worldli workis, and to go riȝt þe weie to hevene in suynge þis good duke. Matheu leeveþ of his feeste, for it sowneþ to worldli fame, and tellþ how, Jesus eet in þe hous, and puplicans and many sinful wiþ him. And þis word sowneþ not to boost of Matheu⁴, but to mercy of Jesus Crist. But Fariseis of Cristis tyme hadden desdeyn of þis dede, and seide to Cristis disciplis, in repreef of him and his, Whi etþ your Maistir wiþ puplicans and sinful men, þat is unleeveþ? For who shulde comune wiþ cursid men, lest þat he were foulid wiþ hem? And þis word wolde be liȝtli seid now of men þat we feynen cursid; for we holden a more synne to ete and drynke wiþ siche men þan us⁵ to do a cursid dede þat were aȝens Goddis worship. For Phariseis coveiten þer owne wynnyng, and leeven þe worship of God. But Jesus herde þes blynde wordis, and seide to þes Phariseis, A leche is not nedeful unto men þat fareν wel, but to syke men þat fareν wel; and so it is goostli. And Crist bad þese men go forþ and telle folk what it is, þat he wolde mercy and not sacrifice.

And who so cam þis dai in þe Chirche, and tolde þis ordre

¹ gospeller, E. ² So E; Matbu, A. ³ þus, E.
wip pis\(^1\) sentence, preestis wolden clepe him eretike, and
moven ojer men to holden him siche, for \(\text{f}e\)i tellen more bi
\(\text{f}e\) wynnyng \(\text{f}a\)n bi treupe of Goddis lawe. \(\text{f}i\) fow wolt asaie
pis now, preche opinli to \(\text{f}e\) peple \(\text{f}a\)t God tellip more bi
workes of mercy, \(\text{f}e\) which ben in a mannis soule, \(\text{f}a\)n bi
offring, or by dymes, or ojer goodis 3ovun to freris, and \(\text{f}o\)
shall have enemies anoon to bere heresie on \(\text{f}e\)e. For \(\text{f}e\)i
holden as bileeve \(\text{f}a\)t \(\text{f}i\) \(\text{f}e\) ordre \(\text{f}a\)t Crist ordeyne\(\text{d}e\) were
holden streitli, as he bad, holi Chirche were distroied. But
Crist seip \(\text{f}a\)t he cam not to clepe just men from \(\text{f}e\) weie, but
to clepe sinful men from \(\text{f}e\) errour \(\text{f}a\)t \(\text{f}e\)i ben inne. Here
mai we wel witen \(\text{f}a\)t Crist move\(\text{p}\) alle good men; sum yvel
men Crist clepip from wrong weie \(\text{f}a\)t \(\text{f}e\)i ben inne; and sum
good men Crist moove\(\text{p}\) to go gladlier her ri\(\text{p}\)t weie. And so
Crist move\(\text{p}\) ever to good, and from errour \(\text{f}a\)t men ben ynee.

ON MY\(\text{e}\)HELMASSE DAI.

[SERMON CXXI.]

Accesserunt discipuli ad Jesum.—Matt. xviii. [I.]

\(\text{f}i\)s gospel tellip how Crist love\(\text{p}\) men \(\text{f}a\)t dwellen in \(\text{f}i\)s world.
And we shulen take as bileeve \(\text{f}a\)t Crist love\(\text{p}\) more vertuous
men, which he ha\(\text{p}\) ordeyne\(\text{d}e\) to blisse, \(\text{f}a\)n all \(\text{f}e\) men \(\text{f}a\)t
shal be dampned, for Crist love\(\text{p}\) ech \(\text{f}i\)ng af\(\text{t}\)ir \(\text{f}a\)t it is good.
And \(\text{f}u\) seip \(\text{f}e\) storie of Matheu, how, Discipils cam to Jesus
and axiden him, who, he hopip, is more in \(\text{f}e\) reume of hevene ?
Leeve we gramariens dou\(\text{t}\)is\(^a\) wher ‘quis putas’ be two wordis
or oo word, and of what part, and what is \(\text{f}e\) witt perof; for
here us \(\text{f}i\)nkip it is o word and \(\text{f}i\)s is \(\text{f}e\) witt perof; What is
\(\text{f}i\) jugement, which man is more here; for hope of Crist, \(\text{f}a\)t

\(^1\) So E; \(\text{f}e\)e, A.

\(^a\) De Lyra mentions no such
doubts, and it is difficult to realize
the state of mind of that ‘gramarien,’
who should speculate on the possi-

bility of ‘quis putas’ being one
word. Both Wycliffite versions
translate, ‘Who, gessist thou.’
mai not erre, is his rist jugement, and this word wanting nounbre and persone and witt of wordis bi hemsilf.

And Jesus taught his answere in dede, for it is profitable to men; sìp whomever Crist jugip more is more algatis, sìp jugement of þe world and of men failip ofte. *Jesus toke a littil child*, in quantite and in soule, for he was litil in bodi, and þe þe he was meke. Rekke we not who þis man was, ne trowe we not to mennis talis þat þis was Marcial, or Joon, or anoþer apostle; for þif Crist wolde þat we couden þis, he wolde have tolde þis in his gospel. But kepe we us in mekenesse þat Crist wolde put us inne. For ignorance of þis doute doþ noon harm to Cristen men, and knowynge þerof shulde do no good to getting of þe blisse of hevene. Crist toke þis litil man, and *putte him in myddil of apostlis, and seide to hem, Sopi, but þif ze ben convertid, and be maad as litil children, þe shal not entre into þe rewme of hevenes, for you pride. For, ever as a man is more meke, evere þe betere man he is. And so, as Crist is beste man, so is he þe mekest man. And as nouȝt mai be lowere þan centre, so noon mai be mekere þan Crist. And it is oon to suppose þat þis is þe mekest man and þat þis man is Crist, ouþer on o manere or oþer. Alle men of þe rewme of hevene drawun to þis centre, to make þis rewme. And þis centre holdip up al þing, and put it in his degree. But þis centre is everywhere, and not only in oo point.

þis word of Crist may wel be proved unnderstanding sadnesse in vertues; for no man mai have ony vertue but þif he have mekenesse, ground of alle. And sìp no man mai come to hevene, but þif he be cloþid in vertues, it is open to trowe men þat no man mai come to hevene, but þif he have mekenes to grounde his toure up to hevene. And sìp bileve techip us þat holi Chirche is a bodi, and þis noble bodi is ordeyned of Crist, bi every part and joynture þerof, it semeþ to many men

1 as, E. 2 putep, E.

* St. Jerome, in his commentary on this passage, is silent respecting the identity of the little child. But Petrus Comestor in the Historia Scholastica (cap. xc.), and Nicholas de Lyra, both give the tradition referred to in the text, namely, that this little child grew up to be a certain St. Marcialis, who was sent into Gaul by St. Peter, and preached the faith to the people of the Limousin.
that all these new orders are rot inverted postures, and tattered clouts. Lord! since your brothers were vilified tainting of men's cloaks, how much were it to blame tainting of the Church's clouts. But that these new orders are leaven in manna's siest, be fulfilled in our mould, that is a betere person. For all these orders were clouted by Christ's religious without his authorite, and departed among them sly. And it seems to many men that be the charge of the church, and enpier their Christ's ordre his lawe and his ordenaunce. And thus herein many men that were shuddled be suspect, before that be had grown in her life in Christ's lawe, and many men have conscience to forbid these orders, in word and in deed, before that be built that Christ approved these orders; for all be reversed in Christ and were wry Anticrist. And so all these novelries, that be not grown in Christ's lawe, men supposed as heresies till that be built that be contrary. And dymes, and offering, and defending of this person that doth aens God's lawe, semen be lawe of conscience to be aens God's will, and so shulled men leaven them. But leave we this materie, and trowe to Christ's word, that who so meketh him, as his young man, he is more in his renown of heavens. And who so taketh such a little oon in his name of Christ, he taketh Christ; at he erst in his membre. For we supposed that Christ pleased not to send in his young man. And who so slandrieth oon of these little that it be used in me, it spedeth to him that a mylne soon be tied in his neck, and that be be dreyn in his dependents of him. And, as Gregori seib, it spedeth to this man that he have heavy worldly charge to do him in worldly travel; for thanne he shuld mekelier in cas be dam'ned in hell than he now shulde. Woe be to the world of slandering! For it is needful that slandering comen, but neheles woe be that man be whom slandering come.

1 grete charge, E.
2 dreyn, E.

Commenting on this passage of St. Matthew in his Moralia (lib. vi. § 57) St. Gregory says that by the sea we must understand this world,—by the mill-stone, worldly business,—and that there are some who, forsaking the common life of the world, and betaking themselves to spiritual contemplation, not only go astray themselves, but mislead the little ones of Christ. 'Qui ergo unum de minimis scandalizat, melius illi fuerat, alligata collo mola asinaria, in mare proiect; quia nimium perversae menti expeditius esse potuisset, ut occupata mundo terrena negotia ageret, quam per contemplationis studia ad multorum perniciem vacaret.'
Slandre is wrong dede, þat makaþ man falle in synne. And þis fallþ boþe in worldli men and ofþer, and speciali in ypocrisie of þes newe religiouns; for þei done woo to ofþer ordris, and jugement of ofþir men for her ypocrisie makaþ many men be sclandrid. For novelries in our lawe maken errors in jugement, and so þei harnen þe Chirche boþe in soule and bodi. Crist biddþ afterward, ʒif þi hond or þi foot sclauðir þee, kitte it of, and caste it fro þee. Here men seien sopli, þat bi her bodili lymes ben undirstonden mennis workes and mennis affections; and þes ben kittid fro men whanne þe vertue of þeir soule wantþ sich workes, and occasioun to do þus. It is beter to þee to be here feble or crokíd, and, wip þis, come to hevenli liif, þan to have here þes lymes and after be sent to helle. þis word is ful dredeful to men þat wolen here be greet, and have many servantis, or many of her ordre, and after, for parting of her synne, ben dampned to helle. And þus was Joon Baptist e wipouten hondis or feeete here, and so he was mystþ in hevene for his symple meeknesse. And to þis entent seiþ Crist, ʒif þin ʒe sclauðre þee, pyke it out, and caste it fro þee. Bi þis ʒe we undirstonden yvel siȝte of a mannis eye; as leecheros and coveitous have ofte wickid ʒen. Caste awei þes wickide workis, and turne þee to medeful siȝte. And ʒif þou be a greet maistir, as bishop or erchedekene, and þou have a wickide servaunt þat turneþ þee to coveitis, putte him out of his office and remeeve him fer awaye. It is betere to þee to come wip on þe liif, þan here have two liþen and after be sent to þe fier of þe helle, as it is betere to men to lyve here a simple liif, and come after to hevene for mekenesse of þe herte, þan after myche myrþe here be dampned in helle.

Be þe war þat þe dispise not oon þat is litil here; for sopli þe seie to þou, þat her aungels seen evre þe face of my Fadir which is in hevene. Alþif men seien comunli þat ech man hþ two aungels, a good and an yvel, to do him good and traveile him,

1 So E; ber, A.

* The words must not be taken literally, for no such astounding legend was ever afloat concerning John the Baptist or his martyrdom, so far at least as I can discover,—but simply as meaning, 'in this sense John the Baptist, after he was thrown into prison, was helpless and resourceless, reaping thereby a greater reward in heaven.'
neþeleþ men þat shal be saaf have algatis blessid angels which in al her worching seen evere God clereli, for God is everywhere, and seeþ syche gode werkis. And þis meeþ many men to dispise not þes pore men and of simple state here; for we witen not how God loveþ hem. And among evidence þat shulde meeve men to mekenes, bileve of þis gospel shulde meeve men to flee dispite. For ȝif a man were ayre aparant of England or of France, many men wolde do him worship for þis worldli titil; myche more ȝif a man be eire of þe blisse of hevene. And apparaunce of þis heritage is more lice to trewe men, bi good lyf of men after þe lawe of Crist, þan apparaunce of worldli lordship bi dissence of heritage. And so wickid liif of men makþ hem serve þe fendis children; as it is seid þat a bishop hap a þousand ȝisen to noie, but he hap not half an ȝise to profit after Goddis lawe. And þis many men supposen þat þes ben blynde fendis children. For many men have molworpis ȝizen, þat þinken evere of worldli goodis, and þes ben no good lederis to teche men þe weie to hevene.

THE GOSPEL ON ALLE HALWEN EYVYN.

[SERMON CXXII.]

Respiciens Jesus in discipulos.—JOHN xvii. [11.]

Þis gospel telliþ how Crist preied for his apostlis upon þe Þursdai þat he shulde die on þe morewe. And so he medliþ many treuþis, boþe hize and sutil. Joon seþ þat, Jesus lokynge upon hise disciplis seide: Holi Fadir, keþe hem in þi name which þou hast ȝouþn me, þat þei ben oon, as we two ben oon. And here it is seid comunli, þat ech oonhede is of sum fourme. And so þer ben foure oonhedis þat men spokens of comunli.

1 So E; A reads seen wiþ sicbe workes, which makes no sense. 2 So E; om. A. 3 beþr apparaunt, E. 4 moldwarpis or mollis, E.

* In the modern Roman missal this gospel belongs to the mass 'for the removal of Schism'; the gospel for All Hallows eve is taken from Luke vi. 17–23.
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Pe leste oonhede is in peple\(^1\), pe which ben oon in kynde; and zif pei ben oon in vertues zan pei ben more oon. Pe secounde oonhede is of man; pat many partis of him ben knitt in oo soule and governed bi pe vertue of it. Leeve we ojer oonhedis of ojer bodies bi her fournes. Pe pridde onhede is of pe Chirche and of her partis, oon in God; and pis is more woundirful zan ony man can her\(^2\) telle. Pe ferpe oonhede and pe moste, pat is rote of alle opir, is oonhede of pe Trinite, in pe fourmne of oo Godhede. And pis pree persones ben oon, and noon ojer mai pis be oon. Nepelles Crist prei\(\bar{v}\) pat hise apostlis ben oon, as pe Trinyte is oon; but not in pe same manere; but as pe Trinite is oon in oonhede of substancce, so Cristis apostlis ben oon in pe same Godhede, and mai nevere after be severid, as pis pree persones mai nevere be severid. And pis is sum similitude, al zif it be fer fro God. And betere preier migte no man preie to God for synful men. Crist seib of his apostlis: Whanne he dwelte wip hem, he kepte hem in his Fadirs name, and noon of hem perishide but pe child of lesyng, pat moste nedis be lost, for he was a quyk fend, to fulfille Holi Writt. And here men doute comunli whi Crist chees Judas, sip Crist wiste pat he shulde be dampened. But here we seien pat\(^a\) for helpe of pe Chirche pat Crist wiste pat he shulde do, and, as Crist himself seib here, to fulfille holi writ. And pe same questioun maist jou axe, whi God made men pat shulde be dampened, sip pat God wiste of pese men al pat shulde befalle of hem? sip God ordeynep good for hem, and good pat fallip to his Chirche; for pei have levere pis to be dampened zan nevere to have be; but pei wolen not pis expresli, alzif pei wolen pis pryvili. And myche good cam of Judas, wherefore we shulde tanke God, and dampe pis traitour to Crist, and flee siche bi ensaumple of him. Lord! sip Scarioth was ordeyned to be in Cristis religioun, pe which is pe beste pat mai be, and Crist suffride him to go out pereof, whi shulden not pes newe ordris suffre men to go from hem, and speciali whanne pei synnen

\(^1\) pe peuple, E.  \(^2\) here, E.

\(^a\) Understand, after pat, the words 'Christ chose him.'
and men wolden go out for vertues? And many of þes newe ordis passen Scarioth in covetise, and for averise of goodis þei ben traitours to treuþe.

Many þingis tellþ þe gospel of Crist and of Scarioth, þe which ben liþ to men after, þif þei wolden take hem. Crist tellþ bifoire of traiterie of Scarioth, and how he shal be dampened to helle, notwþstanding his ordre. Crist seþ aftirward, þat he comeþ to his Fadir, and spekiþ þes þingis to his disciplis, þat þei hæve his joie fulþillid in hem. And, as Crist myȝte not faile of þis, so þei myȝten not faile of þis ende. And alþif Crist was evermore in wending to his Fadir,—for he myȝte not gon abak, ne erre in his weye þi synne,—neþeles, in tyme of his ðeþ, he wente out of þis worldi lyf. Crist zæf to his disciplis Goddis word for to preche, and þe world hatide hem, for þei ben not of þe world, as Crist is not of þis world; and þerfore weren þei goode prechours. He þat loveþ worldli goodis and worldli dwelling, as propre to him, is lettid to seie þe treuþe, as we mai se in þes ordis. Crist preieþ not to take hem zit out of þe world, but to kepe hem here fro þe greet yvel, and þat þei profite to þe Chirche in þe name of þe Trinite. Crist seþ of hise apostlis, þat þei ben not of þe world as he is not of þe world. And þis men undirstonden þus; þis world is alle þo men þat ben dampened for love of þe world. And þanne þis word of Crist is open, for þei loven heven and litil þis world. For sich as is þis fadir and priour of þe ordre of Cristyn men, sich ben his children of his covert, and haten þe welþe of þis world. And bi þis mai men knowen which ben disciplis of Crist.

And Crist preieþ to þis ende, þat his Fadir stable hem in treuþe, and þanne he stablijþ hem in his word; for his word is þe firste treuþe. He biddijþ not stable hem in worldli wordis, as ben fablis and feyned lesingis, but in treuþe of Jesus Crist, which þei shuldþ trowe and teche. And, to conferme þis preier, Crist spekiþ to his Fadir, As þou sentist me in to þis world, so I sente hem inþis world². Crist cam in to þis world to witnesse treuþe, and to liþe þis world; and as Crist bøþe God and man cam hidir to þis entent, so alle his disciplis

¹ into, E. ² So E; in A the words As—world are not italicized.
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traveilen þus unto her deþ. How shulde treuþe not kepe hem þat stonden þus to defenden treuþe? Crist, and Baptist, and oþer moo hadden not here reward for þis, but in hevene blis, hid fro men, for þe world is unworthy to take it. And trowe we not þat clepid miraclis þat ben maad at þe tumbis of seintis maken hem more blessid in hevene þan oþer þat done not here sich miraclis. And to confirme þis word of seintis, seip Crist of himself: For hem I conferne myself, þat þei ben confermed in truþe. Alle þe dedis þat Crist dide here were so stabled in God, þat boþe þei and manere of hem moten nedis come as þei canem. And þes dedis of Cristis liif were maad ensaumple to his disciplis, þat þei shulden sadli do Goddis workes, and take þerto ensaumple of Crist.

Crist þeveþ us after a confort and seip, He preieþ not oonli for hem, but for alle þat comen after and blyve in Crist bi her word. And þes wordis seid of Crist shulden quykene men þat ben dede, and, þif blyve stood in hem, make hem do as apostilis diden. For alle men þat shal be saf, riþt to þe dai of dome, moten nedis in þis sue Crist, and ellis þei shal not make oo Chirche.

And þus seip Crist, þat his preier moot nedis make alle seintis oon; for o bodi, þat is holi Chirche, drawiþ1 to Crist, as erþe to þe centre. For as it is seid biforn, holi Chirche moot nedis be oon, as þe Fadir is in þe Sone, and þe Sone is in þe Fadir; and so, bi stabilnes of Cristis membris, þat þe world trowe þat God sente him2. And now prelatis travelen to litil to maken men trowe þis blyve, for þei gon not in Cristis weie, neiper bi word ne bi dede. And Crist seip of þes membris, þat he zaf hem þe clarite3 þat his Fadir zaf hem; þat þei ben oon after oonhede of Persones; and so þis oonhede be þus maad,— þat Crist be in his lymes, as þe Fadir is in Crist. And so þei ben endid in oon, be fillid4 in þe blisse of hevene, for þus shal þe Chirche wite how þe Fadir sente his Sone and lovede membris of þe Chirche, as he hap loved Crist. Fadir, þo þat þou zavest me, Y woole þat þei be þere þat Y am, þat þei see my clarite5 which

1 So E; þat drawiþ, A.
2 So E; the clause is not italicized in A.
3 clarite, E; clerenesse in both Wyclifite versions.
4 and so þey ben in one, and þis endynge in one schal be fulfyllyng, E.
5 clarite, E.
You have sworn me. And confirming of his prayer is true of those words, that he Fadir loved Crist before he making of this world. Juste Fadir, his world has not known thee, but ye have known thee, and those known that thou sentest me. And ye have made known this name to them, and I shall make it known, that he love that thou hast loved me be in hem and ye in hem. And in this higher unity is ended that bliss of his Church.

The Gospel on all Halloween Day.

[Sermon CXXIII.]

Videns Jesus turbas ascendet.—Matt. V. [I.]

This gospel telleth of these blessed that answeren to these virtues in these ways, and by these shulden Cristyne men dispose hem to come to bliss. Jesus seeing the people stede in to an hill, and whanne he was sett his disciplis camen to him. And he opened his mouph and taught hem and seide, Blessed be these men in spirit, for hern is th' rewe of heaven. Each word of this gospel is of greet wisdom. For it is ful notable that Jesus saw these peple able to be lerned, and hadde mercy on hem, and saf hem so plentifully these sight of goodly mercy, for these sight ben betere than sight of bodily mercy. Crist wente into an hille, and his disciplis wenten wip him, to teche that they shulden be nyʒ hevene that shulde teche or lerne this lore. And this molde-worpis1 that wroten that erpe ben unable to this loore. Sitting of Crist in the hille bitokeneth stablines in this lesson. And herfore seintis writen mouche of this sermon of our Lord in this hille, for auctorite of this doctour, and many circumstance of him, makiŋ this lore notable to alle Cristene men after. For what man of billeve trowiŋ that Crist openede this his mouph, (and he is wisdom of this Fadir and this same God wip him, and as he opened his mouph to speke, so he opened herti of men to heere and understande these words, and teche hem men that camen after), that ne

1 mollis, E.
he wolde forse him to knowe hem, bope for worshippe and for profit?

Crist scip first, Blessid ben þo þat ben pore in spirit; and here Crist techip mekenesse, aens pride of worldli men. And here men seien sopli, þat Crist clepide povert in spirit, for bodili poverte is nost, but þif it have þis povert. For bope vertues and synnes ben first in þe spirit. And wanting of goodis standip wip a dampned man; as beggeris and þeves ben ofte porer þan Joob was; but povert in spirit stondip in mekenes,—wanne a man knowip þe makere above, how he is riche wipouten eende, and we ben pore beggeris,—and putiþ hem 2 mekel in þe ordenaunce of God. How þat God wole ordeyne for his servaunt ouþer do or suffer, he holdeþ him wel paied; sif God is a ferour 8 and he is Goddis instrument, redi wher God wole make him hamer, or tongis, or a stipie, to suffer howevere þat God wole. And certis noon comeþ to hevene but sif he be þus pliable; for a ferour formeþ not his metal, but þif it wole be temperid, and þis vertue lastip bope here and in hevene. And þerfore scip Crist, þat sich pore men have þe rewme of hevene. For þe blisse of hevene fallip not to a creature but þif he be þus pore; as Crist, and aungels, and ouþer blessid seintis have fulli þis povert, and þerfore þei ben blessid. And no man myȝte here lerne more nedeful lessoun þan bigynne at þis povert, and grounden him wel þerinne. And so shulden men note þe firste proude noumbre, and aen ech part of it grounden hem in mekenesse. Sum men ben proud for holynesse þat þei feynen; and þes men ben ypocrisit moost perilous of alle ouþere. Sum men ben proud for cunnyng þat þei have; as þe laste frend of Joob seide, his beli was ful as

1 bisyen, E. 2 putten hym, E. 3 ferour, E.

a The number 2 is probably meant by the "firste proude noumbré." The Pythagoreans called it τεχνη among other things, and assigned it to various revolutionary attributes. But no author that I have consulted speaks of the number 6 otherwise than as synonymous with perfection, as symbolizing matrimony, creation, and a hundred other excellent things. The number 9 on the other hand was treated with great indignity; Peter Bungus says that it denotes the ruin of the angels, who fell through pride, and of whom there were nine orders, that it embraces all heretics, and characterizes infidels and idolaters, &c., &c. See the Denarius Pythagoricus of Meursius in Gronovius' Thesaurus, vol. IX, and the Numerorum Mysteria of Petrus Bungus.
a toune fillid wip must þat wantide aventing. And þus seien wise men, þat Crist, in þe firste word, undirstondþ bi spirit þe wynd þat a man hap, for it fallþ to meke men to be wiþouten bostynge, for sich proude bostours hav to mouche of sich wynd. But þit oþer proude men bosten of bodili strengþe; and summe of beute of bodi, as Roboam and Absolon. Þe fipþe pride, and þe laste, is pride of wordli richesse,—as þe gospel tellþ of bosting of a proude man, how he wolde reste in his goodis and alarge his bernes. And as many þiftis as man hap of God may he be proud of but oonli of vertues. And so sum men tellen sixe þe second proude ¹ noumbræ a, how sum men ben proud for nobley of her kyn. But povert of spirit is medecine for alle sich. Bigynne here þis poverté and ende it in hevène. For þif þou be þus pore, þou dispisist þis world.

Þe seconde vertue in þis weie nedeful to us here, is myldenes in beryng, þat sueþ of þe firste; for whoever is pore in spirit is mylde to his neþbore, boþe in word and in dede, and not óle as a lioun. And as pride is quenchid bi poverté of spirit, so bi þes two vertues ben quenchid envie and ire. And Crist seþwiseli þat mede of þis vertue shal after be, havynge of þe lond of lyf. And þis is for to come, as þis myldenes is here; for in hevène mai no man be austerne to oþer. And aþif sich myldenes makþ men here lordis, neþeleþ bi þis lond Crist undirstondþ þe lond of blisse. For alle þes eþte vertues have for her mede þe blisse of hevène by diverse resouns.

Þe pridd word of þis eþte is seid in þis maner: Blessed be þei þat weilen, for þei shal be confortid. ²if a man avise him how Goddis wille is reversid by synne þat rengþeþ in þe world, in persones and comyneteþes, he shal have mater to morne, and litil to be glad. For, siþ ech man is holden to confourme his wille to Goddis, he is not on Goddis side þat is glad of sich synne. For aþif God sorew not as men maken sorowe, neþeleþ, bi Goddis lawe, God is seid to be ireful, and algatis wip sovereyne joie God ordeyneþ for peyne; and þis is mater to morne to men þat ben in charite. And ðif a man be glad for

¹ So E; om. A.
² See note on preceding page.
sich synne, wiþ oþer men of his lond, for him þinkip þat hardynesse or worldli profite come þe of, he assentiþ on two maners to þe synne of hem. And for sich assenting God poneshiþ juste men wiþ shrewis, boþe in pestilence and weris, and oþer comyne veniauncis. Forfewe or noon ben in þe 1 rewmes þat ne þei assenten þus, ouþer faillinge in helpe to distrye siche synnes, or faillinge in repreef of men þat synnen þus. But in blisse, where we shal see þat God doþ al for þe beste, and men shal be confortid boþe of joie and peyne, men shal be fulli confortid for sich weiling here. And þis mooveþ many men to seien her Pater nosters, and preie in þe þrid 2 word þat Goddis wille be done. And so of þe same þing men mornen and have joie. And so, 3if we þenken of weiling of oure owne synne, and mournynge of oure neiþboris synne þat we dwellen wiþ, and tariyng of oure blisse þat we shal have in hevene, we have litil mater for to laushe, but raþer for to morne.

For companies and castelis maken us not syker here.

Crist seip in þe ferþe word: Blessid be þei þat hangered and þirste riþtwisnesse, for þei shal be fulid in þe blisse of hevene. And as þe nexte, mornynge, lettiþ slouþe in Goddis service 3, so þis fourþe, hungring, lettiþ men fro coveitise. For 3if we þenken on Goddis lawe, and speciali of preestis, how þei des-foulen Cristis ordenaunce, turnynge æsen to synne of fleishe þe world and þe fend, a just man shulde hangered and þirste þe riþtwisnesse of sich men. And more desire þat man shulde have to perfourme þis riþtwisnesse can Y not see here, þan wille þat Cristis ordenaunce were fillid in mesure and noembre and weîste þat Crist haþ ordeyned for his Chirche; and algatis in povertie of spirit þat his prestis 4 shulden have. For 3if þe state of preestis be more worldli þan knyþis state, who drediþ þat ne pride wole sue, wiþ averice and lecherie, and leevynge of þe office þat Crist bad his prestis do? And so, in stede of heerdis þat shulden teche þe weie to hevene, þe Chirche is ful of wolves þat sinken and drawun men to helle. For Cristis ordenaunce was riþtwise, and speciali of preestis povertie; alþif newe sectis seien now þat Cristis ordenaunce were now ful of venym. Þis
shulden lordis þenken on, and travelen to amende þis; for ellis þei shall not be fullid in hevene bi blisse of þe lymes of Crist. For whoso seip þat þei consenten not to þis synne, þat is rote of ðir, he disseyveþ þes lordis in lore þat schulde¹ be her soulis helpe. But alþif sum men mornen, and crien of þis defaute in þe Chirche, sit þe fendis part is so strong þat grete and harde gobetis wolne laste to þe tyme of þe laste dome. And so we shal hungir here and after drynke softeli riqwisnesse. For after domes dai, we witen wel þat þe fendis part shal not be þus strong.

Þe fift word of Crist is þis: Blessid be merciful men, for þei shal sue² mercy, þat shal be comyn to al þe Chirche. And here þe send bindip men, and tellip hem þat mercy axip 3ving of riches and of worldli pinges þat mooven men to do aþens God. Þese heretikes þenken not how Crist poniship here his children, which he wole be pore here, to be riche after in hevene. And þis vertue serveþ aþens al synne, but aþatis aþens averise.

Þe sixte word þat Crist seide stondip in þis forme: Blessid be men of clene herte, for þei shal see God. And þis vertue is bridl aþens fleishli synnes, and aþatis aþens leccherie. For love of sich men, which ben as beestis, is fer from þe love of God. And alþif men changen her willis after her eldis, nepes þe pree willis ben here to oure purpos. Sum men have childis wille, þat feden her wittis wiþ sensible pinges and 3aping³ a of childis gamen, as ðif þei weren foolis, and after þis komen to mannis witt þat holdip al þis foli. But þei 3yven hem to justing and sheeting⁴ and wrastling⁵; and þes suen ofte more foli þan doþ

¹ So E; shulden, A. ² save, E. ³ japing, E. ⁴ sheeting, E.

Chaucer says of his Pardoner (Prologue to Canterbury Tales),—

'And thus with fained flattering and japes,
He made the persons and the popic his aþes.'

And we read in Gower (Confessio Amantis, lib. II),—

'This Gota forth bejaped went,
And yet ne wist he what it meant.'

b to justing, sheeting, and wrastling; in other words, to the favourite pastimes of the upper, the middle, and the lower class respectively.

With regard to the first, it must be remembered that our author wrote but a few years after the death of Edward III, the reviver of the Round Table, and the founder of the order of the Garter, whose reign was the culminating period in England of the spirit of Chivalry. Justing was then, and continued to be for a century and a half afterwards, the favourite amusement of persons of condition. It was usually practised with 'arms of courtesy,'
SERMONS.

The firste elde. In þe pridde eelde men have fleishli willis, and wille of worldli goodis to maynteyne hem longe. And þis lastip in worldeli men wel ny to her eende. But sum men, after þes þre, have good wille or yvel, as men þat delit hem in riȝtwisnes of God, or ellis in þe fendis synne, þat ben calendis¹ to þe toþer liif. And peril in þis liif is most for to flee. For whanne fleishli liyngis passen from a man, þif he shulde be damned, he haþ pride, envie, and ire, and coveitise of worldli goodis lastip ever wiþ him; and þis he berip in his soule aftir þat he be deed. And men of sich unclene hert ben leed² in to tempting. And liif þat men shulde lede evere is begunne in þis eelde; and þus it were ful nedeful to lyve wel in þis laste elde. For as worldli lustis ben fer from aungels, so worldli desiris ben passid fro þis eelde. Lovynge of clenesesse and riȝtwisnesse for þis tyme shulde occupie mannis soule, as it doip in hevene: for ellis he haþ a fendis liif, and occupieþ him in þes foure,—in pride, envie, and ire, and coveitise, þat never is fillid.

Þe sevenþe vertue þat man haþ is for to make pees, or to procure pees, or ellis to preie for pees, or to lyve riþli for to procure men³ to pees. And of þes pesible men, Crist seip, þat þei ben blessid, for þei shal be clepid aftir Goddis children. And meede of alle þes sixe is markid for to come, for eende of hem

¹ kalendis, E. ² led, E. ³ riȝtwisly for to stire men, E.

that is, headless lances, and blunted swords without points; but sometimes, as when certain knights undertook to maintain the honour of their country in a foreign land, weapons à l'assaut were, though under regulations, employed, and most often with deadly effect. Chaucer gives us the whole order and regulation of a tournament in the Knight's Tale. (See Scott's Essay on Chivalry among his Miscellaneous Prose Works.)

Shooting with the bow was an out-door occupation which was well-nigh universal among the middle and lower classes in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The men exercised in shooting regularly, to keep their hands in as archers. Even ladies, as the illustrations of old MSS. shew, were much given to the use of the bow, both with the sharp-headed arrow in the pursuit of deer, and with the blunt arrow in bird-bolting.

Wrestling was a popular amusement with our forefathers as far back as the Saxon times; in the Middle Ages it is mentioned along with bull and bear baiting, putting the stone, throwing the bar, football, and the like. It does not appear that they were sufficiently brutalised at that time to enjoy boxing. See Wright's Domestic Manners in England during the Middle Ages.