THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

A SELECT CONCORDANCE OF SOME 400 MIDDLE ENGLISH
TEXTS: A STUDY OF WYCLIFFITE DISCOURSE WITH
PARTICULAR DISCUSSION OF THE ISSUES OF
CONTEMPORARY POVERTY, PIOUS PRACTICE,
SUBSTANTIVE LAW, AND ANTICLERICAL STYLE

being a Thesis submitted for the Degree of PhD

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by

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Table of Contents

Abstract

The first part of this thesis, which is closely connected to the second part and reliant on the concordance data therein, considers a selection of vocabulary data from heterodox texts associated with the range of positions often referred to as Wycliffite or Lollard. As the more flagrantly heretical statements, for example on dominion, translation, pilgrimage, or transubstantiation, have already received much scholarly attention, this study also seeks evidence of Lollardy in vocabulary that is less commonly associated with the heresy. This vocabulary, which forms the basis of the four chapters, is clearly linked to Wyclif, and reveals Lollardy both in the more and in the less vituperative texts. Following the Introduction, the concordance results frame the four supporting chapters, showing the extent to which less obvious topics such as Chapter 1's Contemporary Poverty, Chapter 2's Pious Practice, Chapter 3's Substantive Law, and Chapter 4's Anticlerical Style are Lollard concerns, whereas there is statistically less representation of the more notorious vocabulary. This apparently innocuous vocabulary often links back to Wyclif, reveals misconceptions about the heresy, and functions as alternative doorways into more notorious heretical positions. The second part of this thesis presents the first publication, in Lollard studies, of a concordance, designed to provide quantitative data both for the present study and to supplement further qualitative examination of Lollard discourse. This Select Concordance of 395 headwords is drawn from 432 of the vernacular texts generally treated as having Lollard affinities. All concordanced texts treat at least one, if not more, of the four chapter areas. As the Conclusion states, the Select Concordance encourages consideration of issues thought heretofore to be less than heretical and hints at what else these Lollard texts might impart about their heterodoxy and about their connections to John Wyclif.

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Introduction

The first part of this thesis, which is closely connected to the second part and which emerges from the concordance data therein, considers a selection of vocabulary data from heterodox texts associated with the range of positions often referred to as Wycliffite or Lollard.[1] Although more flagrantly heretical terms, for example on dominion, translation, pilgrimage, or transubstantiation, are not ignored, they have already received much scholarly attention; moreover, they appear infrequently in the vernacular texts. For these reasons, this study seeks evidence of John Wyclif's influence in vocabulary that is less commonly associated with the heresy. This vocabulary, which forms the basis of the four chapters, is clearly linked to Wyclif, and it reveals heterodoxy both in the more and in the less vituperative texts. The concordance results have framed the four supporting chapters following the Introduction, and they show the extent to which less obvious topics such as Chapter 1's Contemporary Poverty, Chapter 2's Pious Practice, Chapter 3's Substantive Law, and Chapter 4's Anticlerical Style are important Lollard concerns, whereas there is statistically less representation of the more notorious and contentious vocabulary.

A brief sample of the types of ideas revealed by the Select Concordance is provided as context for the discussion to follow. Four general areas of inquiry emerged from the concordance data: anticlerical style, contemporary poverty, substantive law, and pious practice. The first area, idolatry, forms part of Wycliffite anticlerical discourse. It is a mainstay of the questions put to alleged heretics; however, the topic itself, while undeniably mentioned in the texts here concordanced, claims far less attention than suggested by medieval trial questions

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[1] The terms Wycliffite and Lollard are used as rough synonyms, as this thesis shows a continuity of thought between Wyclif's Latin texts and the Middle English texts. Wycliffite denotes ideas traceable to Wyclif's Latin works, likewise Lollard here denotes a heretical slant derived from Wyclif. For a complete list of texts here concordanced, 151-160. For the Headword List, 172-181; for the Variants and Occurrences, 182-211.

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and by modern scholars in the field. A. Hudson[2] has suggested that specific

questions on iconography and veneration thereof might be easier for the

prosecutors to frame and less conducive to prevarication by the accused. Where

idolatry is mentioned in the texts, it is often used figuratively for a sham cleric who

is a priest in appearance only. The second area emerging from the concordance

data is the problem of contemporary poverty. The idea of the poor preacher or poor

priest[3] is commonly associated with Lollardy; however, this is more of a modern

conception than a medieval textual reality. Forms of poor priest or preacher are

actually very rare in Lollard texts. The word 'povre' itself appears over 1,000

times, but almost exclusively in reference to the grinding economic situation in

which many people found themselves. The socio-economic status is contrasted

with the perceived opulence of the church and the clergy's conspicuous

consumption. The third general area of inquiry revealed by the concordance data is

substantive law which underpins Wycliffite thought, doctrine, and practice.

Though the Eucharist[4] may be a matter of doctrine in the Middle English texts it is

also a legal issue: in promoting transubstantiation the church is disregarding divine

authority. The Sacrament of the Altar is not mentioned as many times as one might

anticipate. Hudson has noted variation or evolution in Wyclif's position to

something nearing consubstantiation.[5] Furthermore Hudson has pointed to the fact

that later, less educated Lollards lacked Wyclif's erudition, and has traced a similar

strand of practical reason late into the movement.[6] If this is so, both factors fit

Wyclif's Realist philosophy and its later manifestations in the vernacular texts.

Wyclif frequently refers to Christ as both God and man, by itself, unsurprising in

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[2] Hudson, A. *The Premature Reformation* (Oxford, 1988), 'Images and Pilgrimages', 301-309. On idolatry, 133-135.
[3] Discussed, 39-46.
[4] For example, Hw 1 'accident', Hw 352 'subget', Hw 354 'substancialite', Hw 28 'auter', Hw 323 'sacrament', Hw 324 'sacren', and Hw 176 'Eukarist'.
[5] Hudson (1988), 'The Eucharist', 281-290.
[6] Hudson, A. 'The Mouse in the Pyx: Popular Heresy and the Eucharist' *Trivium* 26 (1991): 40-53.

Western post-Chalcedonian Christianity. But this explicit connection of both of Christ's natures has philosophical implications that are carried over into the vernacular texts here concordanced. In the texts, this emphasis on Christ's dual nature proceeds from Realism and makes a significant statement on the Sacrament of the Altar. For that reason, the collocation of 'God and man' together with other Eucharistic terminology, have been examined in the concordanced texts. This 'God and man' emphasis impinges not only on Wyclif's Realism but also rejects the repeated emphasis on Christ's human suffering, as this affective emphasis implicitly ignores the other half of Christ's nature, that of the Logos, the divine, the Pantocrator. The fourth area relates to Wyclffite pious practice. The Seven Deadly Sins and the Five Wits,[7] common in orthodox pious literature are very, very rare in what is allowed to be Lollard literature. There is a total of three tracts: one on the Seven Deadly Sins, and two on the Wits, one inner, one outer. The two tracts on the Wits are very short. E. Duffy[8] and M.V. Hennessy[9] have pointed out that the Sins and the Wits were often talking points in the orthodox confessional. The Wits, according to Hennessy, were tied to contemplation of the Five Wounds of Christ, an affective devotional tool that Lollard literature generally avoids as it does the confessional. It follows that, with Lollardy's general rejection of auricular confession to a priest and with its rejection of Passion-centred affectivity, the heretics would not approve of these texts, at least not in their full, orthodox versions. Where sins are discussed, the most common are avarice, envy, theft, 'manquelling', and lechery, virtually all in reference to what evil clergy allegedly perpetrates. Discussion of these grave sins is not directed, as one might expect, at the lay audience which is often exhorted to eschew sin in the orthodox context. It is

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[7] Discussed, 58-61.
[8] Duffy, E. *The Stripping of the Altars* (London, 1992).
[9] Hennessy M.V., 'Passion Devotion, Penitential Reading, and the Manuscript Page: 'The Hours of the Cross' in London, British Library Additional 37049' *Mediaeval Studies* 66 (2004): 213-252.

of no particular surprise that Lollard texts lack the style of affectivity present in orthodox texts; however, the absence of Passion-centred affectivity in the vernacular Wycliffite texts has generally been undocumented, and the Select Concordance underlines this conspicuous absence by revealing a statistically significant lack of affectively-charged vocabulary. Apart from one example in G. Cigman,[10] references to Christ's suffering are negligible. Where Christ is discussed, time is spent on his role as Logos, the word spoken by the preacher or priest, not on Christ as suffering, salvific victim. If Duffy is correct about the vibrancy of orthodox Catholicism in its final days, the richness of the pious imagery, and the power of affective devotion, then the Lollard texts, as a group, exclude all this.

These topics suggested the four supporting chapters that follow: contemporary poverty, pious practice, substantive law, and anticlerical style. Though initial analysis focused on the Wycliffite anticlerical style, it became clear that this anticlerical discourse was very closely related to the problem of poverty, the method of pious practice, and the issue of substantive law. At least one, and generally more, of these topics are present in all concordanced texts. These themes together with the additional questions they pose[11] are located at a thorny nexus of belief, community, and discourse;[12] however, as persistent questions and debates on poverty, practice, law, and anticlericalism appear in non-heretical Medieval literature, the Select Concordance reveals usages that both help to set Lollardy apart from orthodoxy. This thorny nexus is here briefly illustrated by three examples of the fox metaphor from Judges 15.[13] Two orthodox Benedictine

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[10] Cigman, G., ed., *Lollard Sermons*, EETS 294 (Oxford, 1989), 69/148-72/244.
[11] Discussed, 4-11.
[12] Discussed, 11-15.
[13] All biblical quotations are from the Douay version. Vexed by his frustrated marriage plans (Judges 15.1-3), Samson seeks revenge in Judges 15.4-6: 'And he went and caught three hundred foxes, and coupled them tail to tail, and fastened torches between the tails. 5 And setting them on

writers—respectively in a sermon and in a chronicle— and heresiarch John Wyclif, also in a sermon, deployed this metaphor against opponents between the 1370s and 1426-27. As the following examples show, the polarising effects of alternative beliefs divide communities and are seen to incite social unrest or religious irregularity; these undesirable effects are blamed on the seditious discourse of the opposing community, whether spoken or written. Because of discourse perceived to be premeditated particularly to deceive and to destroy, the following three writers engaged in counter polemic, each using the semantic force of the same but re-defined metaphor.[14] Both orthodox and heterodox employ signification from long literary traditions[15] and/or their own personal interpretations to label their opponents as heretical threats to the faith. In the Medieval battleground of intellectual and religious opinion the aim was to discredit the opposition as erroneous if not heterodox, a trend later evident in England between the church and the group which came to be known as Lollards.

In March 1414 Abbot Thomas Spofford of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary's in York voiced his fears of Lollard discourse, as it had been credited with the 'brandys of fyre' fueling the Oldcastle Rebellion just three months prior to his exhortation.[16] Taking advantage of his Sunday sermon to drive the combustible nature of heretical belief home, Spofford boldy engages in criticism of the heretics whom he casts as Samson's vulpine fire-starters of Judges 15[17]: 'Trewly þai [the Lollards] may wele be lykenyd to þe foxis þe qwylk Sampson . . . toke and fest

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fire he let the foxes go, that they might run about hither and thither. And they presently went into the standing corn of the Philistines. Which being set on fire, both the corn that was already carried together, and that which was yet standing, was all burnt, insomuch, that the flame consumed also the vineyards and the oliveyards.'

[14] The fox metaphor is a part of the Lollard anticlerical style discussed, 113-115.

[15] In this case the tradition of anticlericalism, but in many other cases contemporary poverty, pious practice, substantive law, discussed respectively in Chapter 4, Chapter 1, Chapter 2, and Chapter 3.

[16] O'Mara, V., ed., *Four Middle English Sermons: Edited from British Library MS Harley 2268*, MET 33 (Heidelberg, 2002). On the case for Spofford as preacher and compiler of these sermons, 37-50; on the dates the sermons were preached, 22-27, especially 26.

[17] This gloss on Judges 15 does not appear in the *Glossa Ordinaria*.

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þere taylys togydyr and band to þame hate brynnyng brandys of fyre and so he sette þame into þe feeldys of hys enmyis emang þe qwete qwan yt was ripe, þe qwylke þai defowlyd and brynt and vttyrly distroyid.'[18] With this metaphor Spofford dehumanises Lollardy as a pack of tormented, burning foxes running about wildly; he also demarcates the lines of community as the 'foxis' are the means of utterly destroying Samson's 'enmyis' fields. Orthodox England, the ripe 'qwete' victimised by the 'brynnyng brandys', is a community on the verge of destruction by heterodoxy. The second fox-type metaphor is that of the cunning, subtle villain, and Spofford combines it with the fiery destruction of the former, possibly for greater impact, as he derides Lollardy's discourse. 'Trewly þus the Lollardys, as þe fox ful of al sotyltye and sleyghtys of desayuyng of Crystys pepyll, qwase taylys are knyttyd togedyr wyth hate brandys of fyre, þat is to say, þere intent and þere conclusion allway of þere techyng is ful of þe wykkyd fyre of enuye, errour and synne.'[19] The 'wykkyd fyre' of Wycliffite doctrine provide both a hellish preview of the fate that those unwary of heretical 'sleyghtys' may meet at the Last Judgment and a frightening allusion to recent events. In the timeworn tradition of discrediting one's religious opponents, Lollard dialogue, in verbal or literary form, deliberately deceives the innocent believer with the intention of teaching falsehood, and Spofford reminds his audience that there is a correspondence between irascible doctrine and social unrest made tangible in the recent insurgency. 'Loke now late, als ȝe here weele, how grete nowmbyr are knyttyd togedyr at London and qwath late fyre of enuye and veniauns þei had kyndelyd.'[20] The rebellion kindled, he alleges, by the fires of the Lollards' teaching might have razed the capital city were it not for divine intervention: 'þe grete mercy of God þai had brynt– ȝa!– and distroyid mykyll crystyn pepyll, þe qwylk

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[18]O'Mara (2002), 99/797-801.
[19]O'Mara (2002), 99/801-805.
[20]O'Mara (2002), 99/805-807.

thorow þere fals doctryne hauys enuenomyd many of þe good cytes and townys in

þis reme.'[21] From Spofford's orthodox perspective, Lollard 'techyng' is deceitful

and destructive both from its premeditated malice and its inflammatory content.

The fire of heterodox dogma and the fire of open rebellion are, to this preacher, the

collective fall-out of heretical discourse threatening the ripe wheat of the orthodox

Christian community.

Some 12 years after Spofford's sermon the metaphor of the fiery foxes was

reapplied to the Lollards' dialogue in the *Annales Monasterii Sancti Albani*. In an

entry for the year 1426-7: 'surrepsit fama gravis contra viros varios seorsum in

exempta jurisdictione commorantes, quasi ipsi, ad instar vulpium Sampsonis,

facies haberent aversas, sed tamen caudas colligatas ad invicem; sicque per agros

discurrentes dominicos conarentur Catholicum granum comburere, ac radicitus

enervare fidem.'[22] The heretics are in the image of the joined foxes; they run about

to burn and to destroy the fields of spiritual grain together with the very roots of

the orthodox, Catholic faith. The abbot has called this synod to address the

problem of Wycliffite discourse—their predication and educational efforts—

designating those actively preaching as 'pseudo-praedicatores' and indicting those

'possessores liborum in vulgari idiomate' who are presumably teaching proscribed

material to themselves or to others.[23] In variation from Spofford's sermon which

only specifically mentions 'techyng', the *Annales Monasterii* invokes the activities

of preaching and teaching by defaming the Lollards as false preachers and by

citing the suspect repositories of heretical dogma, vernacular texts. Heretical

discourse, proselytised in oral or in written format, is deemed conflagrant enough

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[21]O'Mara (2002), 99/805-809.

[22] Riley, H.T., ed., *Annales Monasterii Sancti Albani*, Rolls Series (1870-1), 222. I am grateful to D. Bagchi for kindly sharing references that clearly connect Wyclif's usage to the orthodox clerical establishment, specifically Pope Innocent III. The metaphor of Samson's foxes clearly connects the Latin of the church, the Middle English of Spofford, and the Latin and Middle English Wycliffite writings—all on the issue of heresy.

[23] 222-224.

to warrant synodal attention. Both Spofford and the St. Alban's chronicler perceive the generally incendiary nature of vernacular heresy reasoned and shared abroad, especially when such not only incites aberrational religious practice, but also dangerous social movements. The discourse of orthodoxy's opponents teaches 'sutyll errourys' and 'fals doctryne'; its proponents are 'fals pepyll' who threaten the 'crystyn pepyll' with doctrinal and communal destruction.

Well before the time of Spofford and the St. Alban's chronicler, late in the fourteenth century, John Wyclif, generally credited with kindling the flames of large-scale unorthodoxy in England, had, somewhat ironically, also utilised the fiery foxes metaphor of Judges 15 in the sermon 'Dixit Jesus Simoni' on John 22.15 for the Translation of St. Martin.[24] Like Spofford and the St. Alban's chronicler, Wyclif sees a contemporary group of individuals as burning threats to the unity of the orthodox Church community. His strident criticism of the regular and secular clergy from the parish to the curia is unmissable in his Latin sermons or polemical works, and it might be said that extra spleen was directed at the fraternal orders.[25] Some time in the 1370s Wyclif elected to attack the friars in a sermon which employs features typical and not so typical of antifraternalism.[26] Along with the familiar rapacious wolves, the less familiar fiery foxes are used to malign the friars.

> Secundo in dicto discessionem meam **lupi rapaces** in vos, non
>
> parcentes gregi. Et ex vobis ipsis **exsurgent viri loquentes**

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[24] *WLS* II XVI 122/14-27. W. Mallard has considered the dates of Wyclif's Latin sermons in 'Dating the *Sermones Quadraginta* of John Wyclif', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 17 (1966), 86-105.
[25] Against the heresies of all branches of contemporary clergy at large: 'principales heretici sunt de tribus partibus cleri nostri ut de secularibus simoniacis, de possessionatis regularibus tamquam apostatis et de mendicantibus vel blasphemis' *Sermo* I 9/31-34. Against prelates, most particularly their, lack of preaching: *Sermo* LI 404. Against the pope: 'Nec dubium quin tales non sunt Christi vicarii sed procuratores precipui Antichristi' *Sermo* XX 173/34-35. Specifically against the friars as sons of Satan and disciples of Antichrist: 'Et tunc indubie ista persona fratrum ostendit, quod sit precipuus filius satane et discipulus Antichristi' *Sermo* IV 40 9/11.
[26] Neither P. Szittya's nor W. Scase's studies on antifraternalism and anticlericalism mention the fox as a feature of antifraternalism or anticlericalism.

perversa, ut **abducant discipulos** post se. Et licet in **lege nova** sunt

multa dicta similia que **pseudofratrum** versucias prophetant

planius, tamen tercium exemplum misticum abducitur ex facto

Sampsonis (Judicum XV, 4): Perrexit, inquit, **Sampson** et cepit

trecentas vulpes discurrenrent; que statim perrexerunt in segetes

Philistinorum quibus succensis et comportate iam fruges at adhuc

stantes in stipula concremate sunt in tantum ut **vineas** quoque et

oliveta flamma consumeret.[27]

The foxes in this sermon symbolize the new sects ('sectas novellas' and

'pseudofratrum'), as the friars are often called, whose joined tails represent their

perverse league ('perversa foederacio') into fraternal orders. Apart from Wyclif's

use of the fiery foxes metaphor which is atypical of the antifraternal tradition, his

exposition on the faults of these new orders is quite in keeping with antifraternal

polemic. Their evil speech seduces followers, and, in the New Law or Testament

('lege nova') the coming of many cunning, false brothers ('exsurgent viri loquentes

perversa' and 'pseudofratrum') is prophesied. As in the Spofford example, fox-like

cunning is linked to the metaphor of Judges 15, the mystical sense of which Wyclif

provides as an example of the destructive effects of the friars. The foxes' fiery tails

represent their sins, most notably pride and envy, the same sins of which Spofford

accuses the Lollards. The flames from the running foxes consume the vineyards

and olive-yards, the fields and parishes of the Lord, with the fire of their vicious

characters and evil teaching.

These three examples of the fiery foxes metaphor[28]—Spofford's 1414

Annunciation/Passion sermon, the *Annales Monasterii Sancti Albani* in 1426-7,

and Wyclif's sermon in the 1370s—illustrate their authors' convictions that at the

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[27] *WLS* II *Sermo* XVI 122/7-31. Textual emphasis in quotation, mine.
[28] For the fiery foxes metaphor as appearing in the vernacular Wycliffite/Lollard texts,108-110.

time of their writing there are two antithetical communities, the 'fals' and the 'treu'; the false has destructive powers that threaten the spiritual harvest of the universal church. For Spofford and the St. Alban's chronicler, the threat is the Lollard heresy which is being transmitted in the vernacular, for Wyclif, in this instance at least, it is the fraternal orders. The fox metaphor illustrates at least two points: first, how each community, the orthodox and the heterodox, views itself as the true half of a pair of binary opposites, though A. Hudson[29] and J. Havens have noted that this binary between orthodoxy and heterodoxy may have been more of a rhetorical flourish or authorial fantasy than textual reality, as there is actually a broad spectrum of opinion from the rabidly heretical to the fundamentalist orthodox; both scholars have discussed the problematic 'grey area' which contains both the more tepidly heretical and the more hardcore radical.[30] However, this range of extreme partisan views and remonstrations, as that illustrated by the fiery foxes metaphor as well as less extreme statements,[31] is encapsulated in the discourse attributed to each.[32] The second point is the almost incestuous textual relationships existing between late medieval texts. Much of the source matter used and reused with such frequency is from Holy Scripture; to this important source, theological writings, contemporary history, medical works, mythological stories, or popular literature may be added. It is true, of course, that two of the three examples of the fiery foxes metaphor above mentioned are in Latin. One of the writers is known to be Wyclif; the other, an orthodox chronicler recording a synod concerned

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[29] Hudson, A., 'Some Problems of Identity and Identification in Wycliffite Writings' in *Middle English Prose: Essays in Bibliographical Problems*, eds. A.S.G. Edwards and D. Pearsall (New York, 1981): 81-90.

[30] Havens, J.C., 'Shading the Grey Area: Determining Heresy in Middle English Texts' in *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale* ed. H. Barr and A.M. Hutchison (Turnhout, 2005): 337-352. Havens has traced Hudson's earliest use of the term 'grey area' to her 1981 publication, (2005), 337 n.1.

[31] For example the Seven Deadly Sins.

[32] Texts' allegiances have been difficult to judge, as not all make clearly contentious statements in line with Wycliffite heresy and are therefore ambiguously located between the communities of heresy and orthodoxy. For this issue, 10-11.

about the spread of the vernacular heresy traceable to Wyclif's influence. The

remaining example of the fiery foxes metaphor is vernacular, but used against the

Lollards by a clearly orthodox writer, Abbot Spofford. In this is evident the tangle.

Quite obviously, neither orthodox nor heterodox texts of the late medieval period

exist in isolation. The connection between the writers using the fiery foxes

metaphor is difficult to discern, as this metaphor does not appear in the *Glossa*

Ordinaria or in modern studies of the antifraternal tradition, such as that by P.

Szittya. Yet, in many other cases, there is evidence that non-heretical and heretical

writings influenced each other, and they may occasionally be found in the same

manuscripts.[33]

'Venerabilis doctor magister Iohannes Wyclyf' to 'execrabilis seductor'[34]

As this study examines the recurring themes and issues that influenced the

vernacular Lollard discourse here concordanced, this section briefly recounts what

is known of the man whose preaching and teaching captured imaginations and

incited furore.[35] Many of the details of Wyclif's life are lost to history, but he is

thought to have been born in the area of Richmond in the North of England,

possibly *circa* 1330; the date of his death can be more specifically fixed to 31

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[33] Hudson (1985) has shown that MS Bodleian Don.c.13: 'is the only surviving text systematically to remove material from the sermons; at first inspection, it would appear that the expurgation was designed to remove ' [Wycliffite] 'statements offensive to orthodox believers', 201. Also: 'It is well known that Lollard 'farcing' of orthodox writings was carried out fairly frequently: Lollard versions of the *Ancrene Riwle* . . . and of Rolle's English Psalter survive to reveal this process. Less common was the attempt to render Lollard writings innocuous', 203.

[34] Hudson (1978; repr. 1997): 'In 1379 or 1380 Adam Stocton, an Austin friar at Cambridge, copied a tendentious passage from Wyclif's *De Potestate Pape* into his notebook, now Trinity College Dublin MS 115, p. 179. Against it in the margin he added 'Hec venerabilis doctor magister Iohannes Wyclyf'. Within a very short time, probably only a year, he erased 'venerabilis doctor' and substituded 'execrabilis seductor', 1. Ironically, the accusation of seducing and leading 'away from the councils of prelates' was applied to the fraternal orders in the mid-thirteenth century by William of St. Amour, as Szittya (1986) has observed, for example, 22.

[35] Emden, A.B., *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500* (3 vols., Oxford, 1957-1959), vol. iii, 2103-2106. The most commonly cited biographies are: Workman, H.B., *John Wyclif: A Study of the English Medieval Church* (2 vols., Oxford, 1926; repr. 1966). McFarlane, K.B., *John Wycliffe and the Beginnings of English Nonconformity* (London, 1952). Dahmus, J., *The Prosecution of John Wyclif* (Hamden, 1952; repr. 1970). Kenny, A., *Wyclif* (Oxford, 1985). Catto, J.I., 'Wyclif and Wycliffism at Oxford 1356-1430' in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. J.I. Catto and R. Evans (Oxford, 1992), 175-261. Wilks, M.J., 'Jean Wyclif', in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité xvi* (Paris, 1994), 1501-1512.

December 1384.[36] His northern roots secured the patronage and protection of the

Duke of Lancaster, John of Gaunt.[37] It might be said that Wyclif's was a life

devoted to the written and spoken word. The majority of Wyclif's career was spent

in residence at the University of Oxford where he took his DD in 1372.[38] In Oxford

he devoted his time to study, teaching, and writing; some 234 works are credited to

Wyclif's pen.[39] Excursions beyond the university halls are recorded, particularly

for diplomacy and preaching. In 1374 he was involved with an unsuccessful

diplomatic mission to Bruges; the mission's failure has been attributed to Wyclif's

lack of statesmanlike subtlety.[40] What he may have lacked at the negotiating table

he found in the church pulpit. Some 35 of Wyclif's sermons can be dated between

February 1376 and September 1379,[41] and these illustrate his active commitment to

preaching which earned him a popular following amongst the laity.[42] Under the

year 1377 chronicler Thomas Walsingham reports that Wyclif dashed from church

to church in London distributing his poisonous ideas unmitigated by the obscurity

of the Latin language. Wyclif's controversial positions – especially relating to

questions on dominion, disendowment, authority, translation, and

transubstantiation– and activities resulted in a variety of condemnations including

papal bulls in 1377 as well as summons to St. Paul's in 1377 and Lambeth in 1378

to account for his propositions;[43] however, no action was taken on the bulls, and

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[36] McFarlane (1952), 1-4; Dahmus (1952), 1; more recently Hudson, A., *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford, 1988), 64.
[37] McFarlane (1952), 4; Dahmus (1952), 1; and Hudson (1988), 64.
[38] Workman (1926), vol. i, 203.
[39] Hudson, A., ed., *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings* (Cambridge,1978; repr. Toronto 1997). The introductory material presents a chronology of Wyclif's life and lists the dates of key Latin works: *De Veritate Sacre Scripture* and *De Ecclesia* in 1378; *De Officio Regis, De Potestate Pape*, and *De Eucharistia* in 1379; in 1382 *Trialogus*; and *Opus Evangelicum* in 1384, ix-x.
[40] McFarlane (1952), 51; Dahmus (1952), 4; Hudson (1978), ix and 1; Hudson (1988), 64.
[41] The *Sermones Quadraginta* are discussed by Mallard (1965) and Hudson (1988), 65.
[42] Hudson (1988), 64 observes: 'as a preacher Wyclif was well known outside the academic world of Oxford.'
[43] On St. Paul's, Dahmus (1952), 15; McFarlane (1952), 62-64; Hudson (1978), ix and 4-5; Hudson (1988), 110: 'He [Wyclif] was evidently protected by Gaunt in the investigations into his views in February 1377 in St. Paul's and again in March 1378 at Lambeth.' On Lambeth: Dahmus (1952), 35; McFarlane (1952), 69.

the proceedings at St. Paul's and Lambeth were interrupted and left incomplete.

There was official Oxford condemnation of Wyclif's heresies in 1380 when the

University voiced formal objection to his Eucharistic teachings.[44] 1381 saw the

violence of the Peasants' Revolt for which at least three contemporary or near-

contemporary writers[45] blamed Wyclif's seditious and provocative discourses; the

same year Wyclif retired to his rectory at Lutterworth.[46] In 1382 the Blackfriars'

Council further condemned Wyclif's works, though he continued to write

vituperatively.[47] His apparent immunity to arrest or punishment suggests that

Wyclif seems to have benefited from influential political protection up to his death

in 1384.[48]

Depending upon which biographical account is consulted, John Wyclif may

have been a Protestant ahead of his time, a bookish and blindly vindictive

hypocrite, or a rebel hiding behind the coats of a powerful patron. Chronicler

Henry Knighton describes Wyclif's academic reputation: 'maxime nitebatur

aliorum ingenia subtilitate sciencie et profunditate ingenii sui transcendere, et ab–

opinionibus eorum uariare.'[49] That a doctor of theology would strive to change

others through his subtlety and profundity would be normal; that he would strive to

change others' opinions within the university might also be considered normal in

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[44] McFarlane (1952), 84-85. Hudson (1978), 2: 'The official attack on Wyclif's teachings began in 1377, but it was not until 1380 that a formal condemnation by an English authority was issued.'
[45] Walsingham, T., *Chronicon Angliae*, ed. E.M. Thompson, Rolls Series (London, 1869). Knighton, H., *Chronicon Henrici Knighton*, ed. J. R. Lumby, Rolls Series 92 (London, 1895). *The Anominalle Chronicle 1333-1381*, ed. V.H. Galbraith (Manchester, 1970).
[46] Hudson (1978), 2.
[47] Hudson (1978), 2: 'In 1382 at a council held at Blackfriars in London, often known as the Earthquake Council from the earth tremors that were felt during its proceedings, ten heresies and fourteen errors drawn from Wyclif's writings and embracing many of his most fundamental doctrines were condemned.'
[48] Hudson (1988), 111: 'The apparent absence of any attempt to pursue Wyclif in Lutterworth, despite the evident hostility of the diocesan John Buckingham and the metropolitan William Courtenay, and despite the stream of writings that continued to come with no concealment from his pen, seems to require the assumption of powerful political protection.' On his retirement and death: Hudson (1978), 2.
[49] Knighton *Chronicon*, 242.

the course of disputations.[50] Yet, Wyclif is known to be the means whereby controversial academic topics gained currency in vernacular circles. Quite unusually, Wyclif's ideas, replete with inflammatory political and religious statements, were carried outside the university where they reached the laity in written and in oral format, and in the public arena one striving to change others' opinions might well provoke more than heretical thought. Hudson observes that 'Wyclif's preaching was perceived by near contemporaries as one of the most dangerous ways in which his views had been disseminated.'[51] His relationship to the revolt in 1381 is not entirely clear, but John Ball and the rebels may have, states Hudson, 'gained some encouragement to their actions from the London sermons of John Wyclif.'[52] S. Justice acknowledges that some insurgent vocabulary might have been available from non-Wycliffite vernacular works such as *Piers Plowman*;[53] however, 'no other likely and proximate source but Wyclif names disendowment as a responsibility owed by rulers to the poor.'[54] It is unclear whether or not Wyclif fully condoned the anarchy of the summer of 1381. Justice suggests that his ideas might have been commandeered by those unable to access

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[50] There are numerous studies on Wyclif's thought on a variety of issues. Aers, D., 'John Wyclif: Poverty and the Poor', *Yearbook of Langland Studies*, 17 (2003), 55-72. Komowski, W., 'Chaucer and Wyclif: God's Miracles against the Clergy's Magic', *Chaucer Review: A Journal of Medieval Studies and Literary Criticism* (2002), 5-25. Kenny, A., ed., *Wyclif in His Times* (Oxford, 1986). Wilks, M., *Wyclif: Political Ideas and Practice* (Oxford, 2000). Wood, D., ed., *Life and Thought in the Northern Church, c. 1100 - c. 1700: Essays in Honour of Claire Cross, Studies in Church History Subsidia* 12 (Woodbridge, 1999). On the disputations, McFarlane (1952), 11: 'The anxious interference of papal and episcopal superiors, intermittent as it was bound to be, was quite ineffective as a check upon the speculative license permitted in the schools. It was only when Wycliffe's heretical teaching threatened to subvert a whole university that the authorities brought themselves to be decisive against it'.
[51] Hudson (1988), 65.
[52] Hudson (1988), 69.
[53] By 'insurgent vocabulary' Justice (1994) refers to the six vernacular letters, authorship unknown, attributed by the chroniclers Knighton and Walsingham to participants in the revolt. For transcriptions, 13-14. As is well known, one of the names taken by the rebels was 'Trewman', and M. Peikola has considered the legal implications of 'trewman' and 'treuth' in orthodox, ambiguous, and unorthodox texts in Peikola, M., *Congregation of the Elect: Patterns of Self-Fashioning in English Lollard Writings. Anglicana Turkuensia* 21 (Turku, 2000).
[54] Justice (1994), 90.

the context of his Latin works and the specificity of his arguments,[55] though

Hudson has noted that Wyclif's own remarks on this topic are very ambiguous.[56]

In the minds of secular and religious authorities, and perhaps the laity, revolt and

heresy were inextricably connected, remarks M. Aston.[57] His academic, political,

and pastoral experiences together with his personal qualities made him, perhaps,

ideally suited, even if unintentionally, to form the basis of a new community

devoted to the concepts and actualities of teaching and preaching. From its

beginning onwards Wycliffism has been the subject of religious controversy and

academic debate; therefore, the present study finds its place in a wide and complex

body of historical, ecclesiastical, linguistic, and literary scholarship which requires

some examination.[58]

Previous Scholarship on Wyclif and Lollardy

Both parts of this thesis, the discursive section and the Select Concordance

originally began with a more general interest in the vernacular texts and the

concerns they express, but more specific areas of inquiry emerged: respectively,

contemporary poverty, pious practice, substantive law, and anticlerical style. These

areas have received little attention. Before, however, outlining the contentions of

this thesis on these topics and questions in greater detail, the scholarly context of

Wycliffism is here briefly reviewed. The order is generally chronological.

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[55] Justice (1994), 81: 'The real question about popular heresy in these years is not so much what Wyclif said between his summons to London and the outbreak of eucharistic controversy, but what he was heard to be saying by those who did not have access to his Latin theological writings (which was almost everybody). Also, 89-90: 'By invoking the rights and authority of the poor, Wyclif put into circulation a vocabulary that was available to purposes very different from his own. Abstracted from its place in the struggles between Gaunt and the bishops, it was ready for insurgent use.'

[56] Hudson (1988), 68-69.

[57] Aston (1984), 44: 'The nature of heresy, of the society in which it spread, and of the government which had to deal with it, were such that its religious implications could not be considered alone . . . Sedition and dissent had come of age together.'

[58] Since the mid 1960s research on Wycliffism/Lollardy has burgeoned notably. It is impractical to mention all studies here. Emphasis is on how, generally, the present study fits into the larger scholarly context, with specific topical elements being taken up in further detail in the relevant chapters.

In the studies from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, P. Lorimer, T. Arnold, W.W. Shirley,[59] F.D. Matthew, H.L. Cannon, and H.B. Workman[60] were quite sure of the historical and the textual connections between Wyclif and those (who might be thought of as disciples) who espoused and proselytized an outlook quite similar to his heresies. The controversial dogma that Wyclif had taught to his original disciples was carried abroad by generations of poor priests, thus creating and perpetuating a strong belief in the need for preaching and teaching of the Wycliffite programme. The connecting link between the academic and lay communities was Wyclif's discourse, that is language, expressed, as was earlier thought, bilingually through the written text and the spoken word. The vehicle for broader discursive conveyance, the poor priest. The poor priest is a figure that has become virtually iconic in status, though this icon of heterodoxy is more an interpretive fiction than a literary reality.[61]

In the mid twentieth century resistance to a close mentoring between the 'Doctor Evangelicus' and the Lollards arose. Research utilizing historical, governmental, and ecclesiastical records with little explicit reference to the writings of Wyclif or his heretical followers, such as that by K.B. McFarlane and J.A.F. Thomson, have tended to disassociate Wyclif and learned Oxford men from the unlearned vernacular believer.[62] Absent, generally, in the work of McFarlane[63] and Thomson are significant references to the heterodox texts which provide

[59] Peikola (2000) has surveyed Shirley's rather unscientific method of surmising if a vernacular text was written by Wyclif a practice later continued by Arnold and Matthew, 45-53.
[60] Lorimer, P., trans., *John Wycliffe and His English Precursors* (2 vols., London, 1884). Shirley, W.W., *A Catalogue of the Original Works of John Wyclif* (Oxford, 1865). Matthew, F.D., ed., *The English Works of Wyclif hitherto unprinted* (EETS 74, 1880; 2nd rev. ed., London, 1902). H.L. Cannon, 'The Poor Priests: A Study in the Rise of English Lollardy', *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1899* 1 (1900), 451-82.
[61] As Chapter 1 argues, there is little textual support for the poor priest in the vernacular texts, 39-46.
[62] McFarlane (1952), Thomson (1965).
[63] McFarlane only refers to John Clanvowe's *Two Ways*, and Hudson (1988) has argued that his discussion of this single text is insufficient, as it ignores the broader literary context associated with the Wycliffite heresy.

literary evidence of at least one connecting thread, a commonly held emphasis on preaching and teaching. Some overzealousness of previous scholarly generations may explain McFarlane's decision to remove what he calls the 'ignorant repainting of several layers of rich brown protestant varnish'[64] obscuring Wyclif and his alleged coterie of preachers. A great many hagiographic layers are removed; however, the remaining pictures of Wyclif and his followers ignore the lingering similarities between the learned scholar and the unlearned population.

More recently, scholars such as M. Aston, A. Hudson, and M. Wilks have cautiously begun to reconnect Wyclif to Lollardy and have described the activities of adherents to the heresy, some of whom might have considered themselves poor priests.[65] Aston has also drawn attention to the activities of such heretics as William White and the function of women in the Lollard community.[66] Aston's study of heretic William White depicts him as an early fifteenth-century manifestation of a poor priest or preacher, though she does not explicitly refer to him as such. 'We can observe heresy that was academic, more or less in origin, passing through active proselytizing and Lollard schools into the sometimes limited intelligences of glovers and skinners, and into the domestic talk of enthusiastic women. As it did so, its content changed—and moved measurably further from Wycliffe.'[67] Aston underlines that the species of Wycliffism represented by William White and the other teachers brought to light by the Norwich heresy trials has undergone some adaptation, and perhaps the fifteenth-century heretics taught by White are yet another evolutionary age away from that of Wyclif; however, Hudson has shown that, even while far removed from the heretical master, there are in the pragmatic views later Lollards espoused on the

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[64] McFarlane (1952), xii.
[65] Aston has surveyed a variety of specific areas of interest to Lollard studies including sedition, literacy, language, disendowment, and iconoclasm.
[66] Aston (1984), (1993).
[67] Aston (1984), 99.

Eucharist vestiges of genetic connections back to Wyclif's own more subtle arguments. 'It was part of the crusade of Wycliffism to take learning and learned ways of thought out from the university to the rural and urban populace.'[68] The issue of whether or not women could, at least in theory, serve as priests is another thin but connecting thread between Wyclif and later Lollards. Aston shows that the evidence as to whether or not women practiced priestly roles in Lollardy is slim, but the debate as to whether or not they could perform other sacerdotal offices in principle, since they could perform the sacrament of baptism in urgent situations, is present in Latin and vernacular texts.

Wilks has sought to exhume the historical viability of the poor preachers,[69] giving them a new and upper class identity.[70] They are politicised as the anti-papalist royalist party against the papalist hierocratic. In Wilks' model, the early spread of Lollardy is explained by the Lollard Knights, 'a unique combination of a religious order with a military fraternity', men of stature who transmitted Wyclif's ideas through their existing and extensive household and political networks. After the Oldcastle Rebellion, the loss of noble support reduced it from a political tool to a popular movement persecuted, ultimately, because of the lack of the political power it, as a Royalist appendage, once enjoyed.

The collection of essays edited by Aston and C. Richmond centres on the cooperation of the commons and the gentry. This cooperation fostered—through funding, protection, complaisance, or sympathy—free-thinking tendencies, in some areas, right through to the sixteenth century.[71] Hudson has given the most comprehensive and even-handed panorama of Wycliffism, and her study, in

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[68] Hudson (1993), 50.
[69] Discussed in Chapter 1, 39-46. As above mentioned, this shadowy figure is rare in the vernacular texts here concordanced.
[70] Wilks, M., 'Royal Priesthood: The Origins of Lollardy' *The Church in a Changing Society: CIHEC Conference in Uppsala, 1977* (Uppsala, 1978), 63-70.
[71] Aston and Richmond (1997).

balancing historical facts with literary documentation lays the foundation for studies of the present nature,[72] and a chronological listing of her published writings appears in *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale*.[73] C. von Nolcken has examined the Lollard tendency to hagiography, noting how some in the Wycliffite community viewed Wyclif a saintly figure, in spite of their criticisms on the cult and veneration of non-biblical saints, and also looks at Lollard Richard Wyche.[74] S. McSheffrey has researched the role of women and the extent to which they may have contributed to the private communal life and public outreach of Lollardy; her conclusion is that –though women were undeniably a feature and a force within the movement, it was generally male-dominated.[75] All are important in establishing a connection between Wyclif and his followers and a community of ideas. A collection of articles *Lollards and their Influence*, edited by F. Somerset, J.C. Havens, and D. Pitard, treats the reputation, thought, literacy, and dissidence of the sect. *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale*, a collection of essays dedicated to Hudson, celebrates her contributions to the field and follows some of the threads her work has facilitated.

F. Somerset has considered clerical discourse and writing at a time when composition in the vernacular could be dangerous.[76] In particular, she considers the vocabulary associated with the construction of academic arguments as these

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[72] Of the many studies by her, the most influential for the present study are: Hudson, A., *Lollards and Their Books* (London, 1985). 'Wyclif and the English Language' in *Wyclif*, ed. K. Anthony (Oxford, 1985), 85-103. 'Wycliffism in Oxford 1381-1411' in *Wyclif*, K. Anthony (Oxford, 1985), 67-84. Hudson (1988). 'Poor Preachers, Poor Men: Views of Poverty in Wyclif and his Followers' in *Häresie und vorzeitige Reformation im Spätmittelalter*, ed. Šmahel, F. and E. Müller-Luckner (München, 1998), 41-54.

[73] Trudel, G., 'A Bibliography of the Published Writings of Anne Hudson' in Barr and Hutchison (2005), 407-414.

[74] von Nolcken, C., 'Another Kind of Saint: A Lollard Perception of John Wyclif' in A. Hudson and M. Wilks *From Ockham to Wyclif*, Subsidia 5 (Oxford,1987), 429-43.

[75] McSheffrey, S., *Gender and Heresy: Women and Men in Lollard Communities 1420-1530* (Philadelphia, 1995).

[76] Somerset, F., *Clerical Discourse and Lay Audience in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1998).

featured in the *Testimony of William Thorpe*.[77] Holy Scripture, 'appreued seyntis

and doctoris', and 'open reasoun' inform Thorpe's arguments.[78] Thorpe is not the

only heretic to employ an academic style of argumentation, heavily indebted to

Holy Scripture, approved authorities, and human reason. As Somerset notes:

'Educated Wycliffites who employ scholastic techniques of argument appear to

have espoused a similar theory: scripture is itself logical, and reason when properly

employed arrives at conclusions that accord with and may be illustrated from

scripture.'[79] To bolster his arguments, especially on the question of swearing, when

they may falter, 'Thorpe prays for grace' according to the New Testament

promise.[80] Throughout 'Thorpe uses technical terms to build an exposition.'[81] If, as

Somerset argues, handbooks like the *Rosarium* are conceived to facilitate the

learning and remembering of 'various senses of a word' and 'gives a polemical

argument for a Wycliffite position',[82] this paves the way for the legal, academic,

and rational discussion here presented, what might be called an extended look at

what Somerset calls 'alternative Wycliffite 'clergie'[83] as portions of this

curriculum are represented in the four supporting chapters on contemporary

poverty, pious practice, substantive law, and anticlerical style.

M. Peikola, like Somerset, sees discourse as a method for interrogating

Wycliffite/Lollard texts for further information. Like the present study, Peikola has

considered Wycliffite discourse–vocabulary, genre, and language– from a

vocabulary perspective.[84] Peikola has also created a concordance,[85] though it was

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[77] Chapter 6 of Somerset (1998), 179-215.
[78] Somerset (1998), 180.
[79] Somerset (1998), 182.
[80] Somerset (1998), 182-191.
[81] Somerset (1998), 194.
[82] Somerset (1998), 200.
[83] Somerset (1998), 204.
[84] Peikola, M., 'On the Trail of Wycliffite Discourse: Notes on the Relationship Between Language Use and Identity in the Wycliffite Sect' in *Topics and Comments: Papers from the Discourse Project*, Ed. S.K. Tanskanen and B. Warvik (Turku, 1994), 75-88. 'Whom Clepist Thou Trewe Pilgrims?' Lollard Discourse on Pilgrimages in the Testimony of William Thorpe' in M.

not published as part of his study on Wycliffite *Self-Fashioning*. The selection of a

Lollard core was a key goal in his study, and towards establishing it, Peikola

reconsidered and dismissed the claims by Samuels, Johnston, and Lindberg for

Wyclif's actual authorship of certain of the vernacular texts.[86] He elected, instead,

to build his textual core around 'doctrinal criteria' clearly in line with heretical

positions, and this basis is also found in Volume IV of *EWS*:

> 'Gradon and Hudson's analysis is focused on the doctrinal
>
> affiliations of a single work occupying a central position in early
>
> Lollard thought and textual production . . . The sermon-cycle seems
>
> to be capable of fulfilling the touchstone function when judgments
>
> about the textual output of the early Oxford-based Lollardy are
>
> being made on doctrinal grounds . . . Almost all of the ideas in the
>
> vernacular sermons can be traced back to Wyclif.'[87]

Like Gradon and Hudson, Peikola's basis for selecting his core Lollard texts is

clear testimony of heresy, and by extension his basis for grouping texts as 'grey' or

orthodox; therefore, Peikola refers to the doctrinally identifiable texts as 'The

Lollard core'[88] which is supplemented by 'Later Lollard writings'[89] and 'Other

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Gustafsson, *Essays and Explorations: A 'Freundschrift' for Lisa Dahl* (Turku, 1996). 'And after all, my Aue-Maria almost to the ende' *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede* and Lollard Expositions of the Ave Maria', *Studi Medievali*, 40 (1999), 119-37. 'The Catalogue: A Late Middle English Lollard Genre?' *Discourse Perspectives on English, Medieval to Modern*, ed. R. Hiltunen and J. Skaffari (Amsterdam, 2003), 105-135. 'Individual Voice in Lollard Discourse', *Approaches to Style and Discourse in English*. ed. R. Hiltunen and S. Watanabe (Osaka, 2004), 51-77.

[85] Peikola's table of contents lists 11 headwords: 'trouthe', 'trewe', 'men', 'trueman', 'god', 'pore', simple', 'feithful', 'juste', 'leued', 'mek', iii-iv (2000).

[86] Peikola (2000), 55-61.

[87] Peikola (2000), 69-70.

[88] Peikola (2000), 301-309. The core text selection in Peikola (2000) and the present study is quite close with a few exceptions. The present study does not include: 'The Confession of John Aston'; 'The Confession of Nicholas Hereford and Philip Repingdon' in Aston (1987); *Tracts in Favour of Scriptural Translation* comprised of 12 tracts and 5 glosses in Hunt (1994); 'Trevisa's Translation of the Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum' and 'Trevisa's Translation of Defension curatorum' in Perry (1925); or 'Trevisa's Dialogue between a Lord and a Clerk' and 'Trevisa's Epistle . . . upon the translation of Polychronicon' in Waldron (1988). Peikola (2000) does not include: *Super Cantica Sacra* and 'Concerning the Eucharist [2]' in Arnold (1869-1871); *SEWW* 5-9, 11-12, 14, 16, 21B [overlaps with A31], or 26; *Four Lollard Dialogues* in Gordon (1983); *The Works of a Lollard Preacher* in Hudson (2001); 'Preface to a Fifteenth Century Concordance' in Kuhn (1968); 'Ten Commandments' in Talbert (1960); or *Wyclyffes Wycket* in Early English Books Online.

potentially Lollard writings'[90]—both of which are less stridently heterodox and thought to date from later in the movement. Also included in Peikola's textual categories are 'Grey area control works,'[91] texts that express neither clearly heterodox or orthodox doctrinal positions, and 'Orthodox control works.'[92] Through these Peikola traces the collocation of 'trewe men' and associated in-group terms, analyzing their function in the creation of a sect identity, though, as he notes: 'the notion of sect idiom needs to be viewed as an element of a broader discursive framework; it also quite importantly suggests that a relationship might exist between the text-type of a work [genre] and features of Lollard discourse.'[93] Hudson's article 'A Lollard Sect Vocabulary?' posits the idea of computerized concordance analysis to investigate the possibility of a shared idiom in the heretical or heretically charged texts.[94] Peikola mentions two ways of taking up Hudson's challenge: one method being a synchronic view of a body of texts closely dated/datable to or around the time of the *English Wycliffite Sermons*, the other a more diachronic method: 'Demonstrably later texts . . . could be used as material . . . for possible diachronic changes which Lollard discourse underwent, but it appears a reasonable decision not to include them in the textual core itself.'[95]

While there is a certain logic to this approach, this is a delicate ground to tread, as the suggestion may near the conclusion that early Lollardy was somehow

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[89] Pcikola (2000), 310.
[90] Peikola (2000), 310-314.
[91] Peikola (2000), 314-315. *Dives and Pauper*, vol. 1 part 1, vol. 1 part 2, EETS 275, EETS 280 (London, 1976, Oxford, 1980); *The Vision of Piers the Plowman* [B-Text and C-Text], EETS 28, 38, 54, 67, 81 (London, 1867-1885); and *Wimbledon's Sermon Redde Rationem Villicationis Tue: A Middle English Sermon of the Fourteenth Century* Duquesne Studies: Philological Series (Pittsburgh, 1967).
[92] Peikola (2000), 315. *Friar Daw's Reply* in Heyworth (1968); 'Defend Us from All Lollardry' in Robbins (1959); *Nicholas Love's Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* in Sargent (1992); *Mirk's Festial* in Erbe (1905); and *Three Middle English Sermons from the Worcester Chapter Manuscript F.10* in Grisdale (1939).
[93] Peikola (2000), 295-296.
[94] Hudson (1985): 'Can a case be made out for a distinctive Lollard vocabulary or idiom? Anyone who has worked for a long time on the vernacular Lollard texts, particularly amongst the 'central' texts from which I have here drawn my examples, will probably answer firmly that there is; but can this be objectively established, and can its components be defined?', 174.
[95] Peikola (2000), 70.

more pure than the later. Though it would be unlikely that anyone would deny a strong academic influence or presence in the earlier texts, to claim that the later texts were somehow less Lollard, albeit possibly less learned, would be to rend Hudson's carefully crafted arguments for the movement as a whole and the persistence of its heretically-charged positions. However, the Select Concordance data of the present study reveals a problem with doctrinal criteria as the primary classification for Wycliffite texts. The typical heretical vocabulary associated with the most common heretical tenets simply does not appear in statistically significant numbers across the body of 432 texts. Moreover, if the guiding criteria for textual classification remains tethered to an arbitrarily defined doctrinal basis not borne out by the texts themselves, then the so-called 'grey' or doctrinally tepid texts are effectively condemned to languish in the 'grey' area indefinitely. The present study considers less-typical but statistically significant vocabulary which is clearly linked to Wyclif's Latin works and which encourages reconsideration of what constitutes Wycliffism or Lollardy, and in reconsidering what is Wycliffite or Lollard the nature of the 'grey' area is also reconsidered.

This Study

Though the writer of the present study was unaware of Peikola's work in 1997 when the Select Concordance began taking shape, it happens that—also inspired by Hudson's 1985 article— this study took the other route Peikola mentions, the more diachronic view as represented in *The Premature Reformation*;[96] thus this study is more concerned with the texts appearing throughout or at least circulating throughout the roughly 150 years of heterodoxy. Though the present study differs from Peikola (2000), our lists of concordanced texts are only marginally different. Peikola includes Clanvowe's *Two Ways* and the

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[96] Peikola (2000), 67-68.

tracts edited from CUL Ii.6.26 by S. Hunt, together with a number of orthodox control texts.[97] The present study includes the *Four Lollard Dialogues*, *The Praier and Complaynte of the Ploweman*, and *Wycklyffe's Wycket*, not included in Peikola. As the present study already includes 432 texts and 395 headwords, inclusion of the texts that Peikola classifies as 'grey area' and orthodox texts was untenable; however, these and other texts may be included in the future published version of the concordance.

The starting point for Lollard text selection[98] was the bibliography by E.W. Talbert and S.H. Thomson,[99] together with the revisions to this list by Hudson.[100] A variety of studies have further influenced and informed the selection of texts included in the Select Concordance: articles re-published in *Lollards and Reformers* and *Lollards and Their Books*; the discussion of numerous texts and their context within Wycliffism/Lollardy in *The Premature Reformation*;[101] 'A

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[97] As these tracts are known to be of mixed allegiance, they have not been included in the Select Concordance. Hudson (1988): 'The compiler who put together the manuscript now CUL Ii.6.26, including in it the prologue to the Middle English version of Robert of Gretham's *Mirror* as well as tracts associated with the bible translation and *Glossed Gospels*, and a redaction of a certainly Lollard commentary on the Pater Noster, was anxious to assemble as many documents to support the legitimacy of vernacular scriptures as possible, and was not fussy where they came from; catholicity lies here with the Lollard', 424. However, Connolly has found that the tract referenced by Hudson and edited in Hunt (1994) 'relates to the *Mirror*' . . . but 'should . . . be seen as an independent text in its own right and not as an extract of the *Mirror*', xx. Connolly, M. and T. Duncan, eds., *The Middle English 'Mirror': Sermons from Advent to Sexagesima Edited from Glasgow University Library, Hunter 250 with a Parallel Text of the Anglo-Norman Mirror Edited from Nottingham University Library, Mi LM 4* MET 34 (Heidelberg, 2003). I am grateful to V. O'Mara for drawing this to my attention.
[98] The complete list of texts with their abbreviations appears v-viii.
[99] Peikola (2000), 39-41. Peikola is critical of what may be still the most commonly used bibliographic reference work for Lollard texts.
[100] 'Additions and Modifications to a Bibliography of English Wycliffite Writings' in Hudson (1995), 249-252.
[101] This confirmed interest in the *Ploughman's Tale*, the *Preire and Complaynte of the Ploweman*, and *Wycklyffes Wycket*, but not so with J. Clanvowe's *The Two Ways* discussed in Hudson (1988), 7, 9, 387, and 422 which states: 'Though McFarlane was convinced of Clanvowe's implication in Lollardy, he could find nothing 'recognizably' Wycliffite in the tract beyond certain silences, on the subjects of confession, pilgrimages, veneration of saints, the priesthood, that might be significant, and the authors apparent expression at one point of alliance with *lolleris and losels*. It is worth noting also that the two surviving copies of *The Two Ways* are both to be found in manuscripts whose contents are otherwise of unimpeachable orthodoxy. . . It is hard to imagine that the compilers of these manuscripts had any sympathy with the wilder reaches of Lollardy reflected by a contemporary of Clanvowe's such as Swinderby.'

New Look at the Lay Folks' Catechism';[102] the analytical material in *EWS* IV;[103]

editions unmentioned in Talbert and Thomson and Hudson's revisions or published

after 1985;[104] the Lollard Society Bibliography;[105] and, finally, Peikola's 2000

study, as his textual lists have been a useful comparison against those in the present

study. The present study presents three early printed texts not appearing in known

medieval versions have been included in the Select Concordance: the *Ploughman's*

Tale, the *Praier and Complaynte of the Ploweman*, and *Wycklyffes Wycket.* [106] A.

Wawn has made a case for 'an early Lollard origin for' *The Ploughman's Tale*

which, with some reservation, Hudson has accepted.[107] A case may also be made

for the inclusion of the *Praier and Complaynte of the Ploweman*. Hudson has

concluded that: 'the balance of probability is against the likelihood that the

strongly archaic language of the *Praier and Complaynte* was composed by a

sixteenth-century forger'.[108] Moreover Hudson has observed that 'there seems to

me nothing in the *Praier* that would be out of place in a Lollard tract of the early

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[102] Hudson, A., 'A New Look at the Lay Folks' Catechism', *Viator* 16 (1985): 243-258. Hudson has discussed the editorial problems posed by *The Lay Folks' Catechism*, eds. T.F. Simmons and H.E. Nolloth (EETS 118, 1901). The textual complexities have been oversimplified in the EETS edition which suggests a clean division between an orthodox and a heterodox version; however, as Hudson shows, the manuscripts, including their relationships and allegiances, are not so easily categorized. Lambeth Palace Library MS 408, Simmons' and Nolloth's so-called Lollard version in their parallel edition, is shown by Hudson to be undeserving of a heretical label: 'the description of it' [Lambeth 408] 'as a 'Lollard' version of the *Lay Folks' Catechism*' should be abandoned', 257. Because of the textual complexities and because of Hudson's findings that the Lambeth 408 text is not Lollard, *The Lay Folks' Catechism* has not been here concordanced
[103] *EWS* IV, 41-182.
[104] For example, Gordon's edition of *Four Lollard Dialogues*, Cigman's *Lollard Sermons*, Hudson's *Two Wycliffite Texts*, and Hudson's edition of *The Works of a Lollard Preacher*, all mentioned below.
[105] http://lollardsociety.org/bibhome.html.
[106] Hudson (1985): 'It is well known that there are a number of English Wycliffite texts that were printed in the early Reformation period during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. Equally familiar is the fact that a group of texts found their way into print then that claim or imply Lollard origins, but which are untraceable in manuscripts of the early Lollard period. Best known of these are *Wycklyffes Wycket* and the *Ploughman's Tale*, the latter foisted upon Chaucer; less notorious is the *Praier and Complaynte of the Ploweman* ', 227; discussed, 230-231.
[107] Wawn, A., Hudson (1985): 'Whilst I am not entirely convinced by Wawn's dissection of that early poem' [*Wyclyffes Wycket*] 'into a basic debate and a revised version with interpolation, his arguments for an early Lollard origin for the work seem to me entirely persuasive. The evidence that Wawn used was both ideological and linguistic', 246.
[108] Hudson (1985), 246.

fifteenth century'.[109] The case for the *Wycket* seems somewhat less clear due to 'the terms in which the Eucharist is discussed'[110] and the lack of the 'usual Wycliffite citation of patristic proof texts' Yet, Hudson draws attention to the notoriety of the *Wycket* at trial from 1518-1532; she also remarks Bale's record of William Grocyn's 'tract against it' and Bale's ownership of the rebuttal, now lost. On this evidence the *Wycket* would have been composed 'certainly before 1518 and more probably well before this,'[111] though elsewhere Hudson admits 'Even if the printer reproduced a medieval exemplar faithfully, placing the text's origin at any particular point between 1390 and 1500 is, in truth, guesswork.'[112] While the case for inclusion of the *Tale* and the *Praier* seem somewhat firmer, that for the *Wycket* is not without some merit. The tract, in whatever version, was implicated in heresy trials; it was rebutted on evidence from Bale. Its title, in mentioning Wyclif, deliberately attempts to claim a heretical heritage, a move potentially dangerous, and the act of printing it, politically charged. Though alluding to Wyclif might have served Protestant polemical purposes, the *Wycket* may testify to that hazy period during which Lollardy met Lutheranism.[113] Its inclusion in the Select Concordance may provide evidence on the latter portion of the movement. Quantitative analysis may reveal more about this problematic text and whether its origins lie within Lollardy or within that ambiguous 'grey area' between orthodoxy and heterodoxy.

The present approach, including a wider variety of heretical texts but without the 'grey' and control texts, is believed to be conducive to the diachronic method, as it allows greater space to consider more specifically the Wycliffite or

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[109] Hudson (1985), 246-247.
[110] Hudson (1988), 11, 452.
[111] Hudson (1985), 247.
[112] Hudson (1988), 452.
[113] Hudson (1988): employs the example of Thomas Harding as 'a miniature of how an old Lollard became a new Lutheran, but carried with him notions from an earlier period', 507.

Lollard texts over a greater period of time, and possibly may aid towards

establishing a working Lollard corpus, more reflective of the entire period, not

simply favouring its earlier flowering. To the extent that such is possible, it has

been the goal of the present study. If concordanced, the corpus could be searched

for all manner of vocabulary materials found within Lollard discourse, and from

that basis, branch out further to tackle the 'grey' or orthodox texts for detailed

quantitative studies of similarities and differences. By the same token, though, the

power of computerized analysis may disprove the status of some texts allowed in

the current corpus. Perhaps the best case scenario would involve textual proof

needed to declare a text's allegiance, though that may well be a nearly impossible

hurdle. It is the position of the present study that a select concordance of the texts

most commonly associated with Wycliffism/Lollardy is the place to begin for

concordancing and advanced textual analysis.

Select Concordance

Headword Selection

395 headwords from 432 texts have been selected for concordancing. This

list is comprised both of vocabulary commonly associated with Lollardy and terms

not so commonly noticed. Many of the most frequently occurring terms have yet to

be formally identified in scholarship in the area.[114] There are a number of eclectic

choices which may be of more general interest to studies of late, Middle English

religious literature, and some words anticipated to appear in the Lollard texts

actually do not.[115] Words are here grouped for convenience of overview into a

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[114] Those relating to contemporary poverty, pious practice, legal issues, and anticlerical style are discussed in chapters 1, 2, 3, and 4, respectively. On the number of texts: This number may require some explanation. Each of the 294 Wycliffite sermons is counted as a separate text; the same applies to those editions including multiple works, such as the 18 sermons in Cigman, the *Four Lollard Dialogues*, *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings*, Arnold, and Matthew. The *General Prologue* is counted separately from the Wycliffite Bible which is not here concordanced but would be counted a s a single, large text; likewise with individual prologues to biblical books. Only the *General Prologue* is here concordanced.
[115] These are all noted in the Variant and Occurrence List, 178-209.

number of broad categories: ecclesiastical authority, religious orders, priestly

office, grammatical qualifiers, literary practice, doctrinal issues, devotional

practice, pious discourse, contemporary life, and Lollard anticlericalism.

i. Ecclesiastical Authority

Ecclesiastical authority is seen in obvious references to the church

hierarchy and power. With 'aggregat' negative reference is made to the entirety of

the church structure as a monstrous, sometimes tailed creature; while 'ambidexter'

and 'hermofodrita' suggest a dim view of clerics holding both secular and sacred

office. 'Anti-pope' is a critical reference to the Great Schism and the fissure in

ecclesiastical authority. 'Bishop' may be marginally less critical than 'prelate', but

the episcopal seat 'chair' references both the office of bishop and the scriptural

reference to Moses' chair, a seat, which Christ pointedly remarks, is now occupied

by the Scribes and Pharisees.[116] The documentary power of the church is

questioned by use of vocabulary such as 'bulle', 'constitution', 'decre', 'decretal',

'determination',[117] 'lettre',[118] 'licence', while the power to declare saints, by

'canonizen' and 'canonizing'. The authority vested in universities is occasionally

negative, as the 'bacheler', 'maister', or 'doctour' may reveal both anticlerical

tendencies or the strain of anti-intellectualism evident in some texts; however,

there is not full disownment of university learning, so long as it is in harmony with

heretical views.

ii. Religious Orders

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[116] Matthew 23.1-8: 'Then Jesus spoke to the multitudes and to his disciples, 2 Saying: The scribes and the Pharisees have sitten on the chair of Moses. 3 All things therefore whatsoever they shall say to you, observe and do: but according to their works do ye not; for they say, and do not. 4 For they bind heavy and insupportable burdens, and lay them on men's shoulders; but with a finger of their own they will not move them. 5 And all their works they do for to be seen of men. For they make their phylacteries broad, and enlarge their fringes. 6 And they love the first places at feasts, and the first chairs in the synagogues, 7 And salutations in the market place, and to be called by men, Rabbi. 8 But be not you called Rabbi. For one is your master; and all you are brethren.'
[117] Hw 92 'bulle', Hw 119 'constitution', Hw 140 'decre', Hw 141 'decretal', Hw 157 'determinen' and Hw 158 'determininge'.
[118] Hw 254 'lettre', Hw 255 'lettred'.

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Religious orders, long attacked for their shortcomings and abuses in orthodox literature, are further attacked in the Wycliffite texts for their very existence, a step that even the most vehement anticlerical writers did not take. Special criticism is, unsurprisingly, vented at the 'cloistre' and on those 'private' religious wearing the 'habit', such as friars and monks.[119] The vocation of the wealthy possessioners[120] is denounced, as the definitions 'actif' and 'contemplatif'[121] life are disputed. The 'mendicaunt' lifestyle of 'poverte' and 'clamorous' begging[122] is unmasked as non-biblical, especially when verbal flattery[123] is employed to gain the financing that a 'finding' should afford. Perhaps a more serious charge is that friars hold it 'apostasie'[124] for one to leave the 'fraternitie', as if the four orders hold their rules above the order that Christ himself established.

iii. Priestly Office

The office of the 'prest' is defined and held up as an example, thus drawing attention to the fact that, by Lollard standards, most contemporary priests are not following the model established by Christ and the Apostles for tending the Christian 'flok'. Evil priests[125] may nullify their pastoral efforts[126] in the parish and in the confessional.[127] Moreover, their worldly 'arrai'[128] proves them agents of a corrupt ecclesiastical hierarchy, though opulent array is also a charge laid at the regular orders.

iv. Grammatical Qualifiers

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[119] Hw 110 'cloistre', Hw 301 'private', Hw 221 'habit, Hw 206 'frere', Hw 275 'monk'.
[120] Hw 292 'possessiouner'.
[121] Hw 3 'actif', Hw 121 'contemplatif'. Also Hw 120 'contemplacioun'.
[122] Hw 273 'mendicaunt', Hw 293 'poverte', Hw 108 'clamorous', Hw 45 'beggen', Hw 46 'beggere', Hw 47 'beggerie', Hw 48 'begging'.
[123] Hw 195 'flateren', Hw 196 'flaterer', Hw 197 'flatering', Hw 193 'finding'.
[124] Hw 20 'apostasie', Hw 21 'apostata', Hw 203 'fraternite.
[125] Further described, 32-35 and 104-138.
[126] The mass is mentioned below in section vi Doctrinal Issues, 30.
[127] Hw 1 'absolucioun', Hw 26 'assoilen', Hw 27 'assoiling', and Hw 118 'confessioun'.
[128] Hw 23 'arrai', Hw 24 'arraien'.

Adjectival and adverbial qualifiers such as 'povre', 'treue', 'treuli', 'fals', and 'falsli' are, as long been noted, in the Lollard texts distinguishing marks of the heretical position—often further signalled by 'Christes' and 'simple'[129]—against the orthodox position which is quite hopelessly 'blind', 'foltish', 'fonned', 'ignorant', 'leude',[130] 'pseudo', 'singulere', and 'weiward'.[131] To this list are added 'prive' and 'apert', indicating the way in which scriptural truths or clerical abuses can be proved privately and openly.[132]

v. Literary Practice

Literary practice is suggested in a variety of terms. There is the common opposition of the earned and the unlearned in 'lerede', 'lettred', 'librarie', 'lai', 'lai-man', 'leued'.[133] Amongst the literary generes mentioned are: 'bille', 'bok', 'cronicle', 'fable', 'famulorum', 'parable', and 'sermoun'. Ecclesiastical 'tradicioun' is often set against 'scripture' which may mean the complete Holy Scriptures, portions thereof, or other Lollard-approved sacred 'writ'. The senses of scriptural interpretation receive some attention: 'allegoric', 'anagogik', and 'literal'.[134] The relationship between the linguistic sign and the semantic signifier is suggested by 'figuratif'[135] and 'signifien'.[136] Support for philosophical or doctrinal positions held is signified by 'grounden',[137] while lack thereof, by

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[129] Hw 294 'povre', Hw 295 'povreli', Hw 375 'treue', Hw 376 'treuli', Hw 181 'fals', Hw 182 'falsli', Hw 123 'Cristes', Hw 339 'simple', Hw 340 'simplenesse', Hw 341 'simpli'.
[130] Hw 78 'blind', Hw 199 'fol', Hw 200 'foltish', Hw 201 'fonned', Hw 236 'ignorant', Hw 235 'ignoraunce', Hw 257 'leued', Hw 256 'leudest', Hw 258 'leuednesse'.
[131] Hw 303 'pseudo', Hw 345 'singulere', Hw 385 'weiward', Hw 386 'weiwardli'.
[132] Hw 302 'prive', Hw 18 'apert', and Hw 19 'aperteli'.
[133] Hw 252 'lerede', Hw 255 'lettred', Hw 259 'librarie', Hw 248 'lai', Hw 249 'lai-man', Hw 257 'leued', Hw 256 'leudest', Hw 258 'leuednesse'.
[134] Hw 60 'bille', Hw 83 'bok', Hw 125 'cronicle', Hw 126 'cronicling', Hw 177 'fable', Hw 183 'famulorum', Hw 279 'parable', Hw 328 'sermoun', Hw 366 'tradicioun', Hw 327 'scripture', Hw 395 'writ', Hw 10 'allegorik', Hw 9 'allegorie', Hw 13 'anagogik', Hw 12 'anagogie', Hw 261 'literal'.
[135] Hw 191 'figuratif', also Hw 192 'figure'.
[136] Hw 332 'signifien', also Hw 331 'significat'.
[137] Hw 215 'grounden', Hw 214 'ground', Hw 216 'groundinge', Hw 378 'ungrounded'.

'ungrounded'. The process of translation, 'Englishen' and interpretation, specifically 'glosinge',[138] are addressed at some length.

vi. Doctrinal Issues

Doctrinal issues include those related to the validity of indulgences,[139] the veneration of objects, the payment of tithes, and the doctrine of transubstantiation. To the Lollard position, the orthodox position is 'heresie'.[140] The concern for infraction of the second commandment is voiced in 'dulia' and 'latria', as well as in 'idolatrie', 'idolatre', 'idole', 'image', 'imagerie', 'maument', 'maumetrie', and 'picture'. Forms of 'peinten' may suggest verbal sophistry or violation of the second commandment, at least in the Lollard view. Tithes or revenues due to the church are suggested by 'dime', and almsgiving may be a humanitarian alternative to lining the pockets of corrupt clergy. The Lollards bring the philosophically charged terms 'accident' and 'subiect' into the vernacular as they challenge the issues underpinning the sacrament of the 'auter' or the 'Eukarist'.[141]

vii. Devotional Practice

A number of objects and rituals associated with orthodox piety are censured by Lollardy, but not with the statistical representation that one might expect of a movement thought to be strongly iconoclastic: 'antiphonere', 'bede', 'belle', 'candel', 'Candel-masse', 'crois', 'crucifix', 'pilgrimage'.[142] An antiphoner may signal a service that sorely lacks 'trewe preching'. Bells and candles may either be normal parts of observance or the tools with which Excommunication is

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[138] Hw 174 'Englishen', and Hw 212 'glosinge', Hw 209 'glosatour', Hw 210 'glose', Hw 211 'glosen'.
[139] Hw 238 'indulgence'.
[140] Hw 225 'heresie', Hw 226 'heretike'.
[141] Hw 168 'dulia', Hw 250 'latria', Hw 233 'idolatrie', Hw 232 'idolatre', Hw 234 'idole', Hw 237 'image', Hw 271 'maumet', Hw 272 'maumetrie', Hw 'picture, Hw 342 'simulacioun', Hw 343 'simulacre', Hw 280 'peinten', Hw 281 'peintinge', Hw 282 'peintorie', Hw 283 'peintour', Hw 159 'dime', Hw 365 'tithe', Hw 2 'accident', Hw 352 'subget', Hw 354 'substancialite', Hw 29 'auter', Hw 321 'sacrament', Hw 322 'sacren', Hw 176 'Eukarist'.
[142] Hw 15 'antiphonere', Hw 44 'bede', Hw 51 'belle', Hw 95 'candel', Hw 96 'Candel-masse', Hw 124 'crois', Hw 130 'crucifix', Hw 289 'pilgrimage', Hw 288 'pilgrim'.

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administered. While the cross is crucial to orthodox devotions, Lollard texts

generally eschew graphic representation which may cause idolatry or may

misrepresent the scenes they are meant to depict. Orthodox discourse is often

affective, centring on the violence and suffering Christ suffered during the

Passion,[143] a pious practice that is generally absent from the heretical texts.[144]

vii. Devout Discourse

There are a variety of themes in the Lollard texts. To consider the role of

women, 'widwe', 'wif', and 'womman' have been concordanced, while references

made to the 'plough' and 'plough-man' may be a nod to the occupation and figure

of the *Piers Plowman* tradition.[145] 'Conventicle' may provide information on the

allegations that there were illicit 'Lollard' gatherings. A common Lollard theme is

the misinformation that curates are sharing with their flocks. Forms of 'bigilen',

'blenden', 'bleren', blind-fellen', indicate how curates obscure the spiritual vision

of those in their care. At worst, orthodox teaching is 'blaspheme' and 'trecherie', at

best 'cautelous', 'clouting', 'colouring', 'dreming', 'faging', 'feining, 'fantasie',

'ipocrisie', and 'lesinge'. The duties and rights of substantive law are addressed:

the wielding of 'temporal'[146] power is suggested by 'endouen',[147] and 'tiraunt';[148]

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[143] Hw 74 'bleden', Hw 75 'bledinge', Hw 81 'blod', Hw 82 'bobben', Hw 84 'bon', Hw 56 'beting', Hw 90 'buffeten', Hw 91 'buffeting', and Hw 129 'crucifien'.
[144] Discussed, 53-62.
[145] Hw 387 'widwe', Hw 388 'wif', Hw 394 'womman', Hw 290 'plough', Hw 291 'plough-man', Hw 54 'bene-bred'. Barr, H., *Signes and Sothe: Language in the Piers Plowman Tradition* (Cambridge, 1994).
[146] Hw 122 'conventicle', Hw 262 'Lollard', Hw 58 'bigilen', Hw 59 'bigiling', Hw 76 'blenden', Hw 77 'bleren', Hw 78 'blind', Hw 79 'blind-fellen', Hw 80 'blindnesse', Hw 67 'blaspheme', Hw 68 'blasfemen', Hw 69 'blasfemers', Hw 70 'blasfeminge', Hw 71 'blasfemour', Hw 72 'blasfemous', Hw 371 'trecherie', Hw 372 'trecherous', Hw 373 'trecherousli', Hw 374 'trechour', Hw 105 'cautelous', Hw 104 'cautel', Hw 113 'clouting', Hw 111 'clout', Hw 112 'clouten', Hw 116 'colouring', Hw 114 'colour', Hw 'colouren', Hw 167 'dreming', Hw 164 'drem', Hw 165 'dremen', Hw 166 'dremer', Hw 180 'faging', Hw 179 'fagen', Hw 189 'feining', Hw 187 'feinen', Hw 188 'feiner', Hw 184 'fantasie', Hw 239 'ipocrisie', Hw 240 'ipocrite', Hw 253 'lesinge', Hw 251 'laue', Hw 360 'temporal', Hw 361 'temporalte'.
[147] Hw 169 'endouen', Hw 170 'endouing'.
[148] Hw 363 'tiraunt', Hw 364 'tirauntrie'.

while those failing in clerical duties may be accused of 'traitorie'[149] or of behaving

'trecherousli',[150] and those who attempt to silence heretical 'prechinge'[151] and

'techinge'[152] are going expressly against the 'fredom' of the Gospel.[153]

ix. Contemporary Life

Specific people and places in near-contemporary and contemporary life

receive relatively little attention in the Lollard texts, though more generally one's

'estat' is more statistically significant. 'Berengar' of Tours is cited particularly for

his positions on the doctrine of transubstantiation. Reference is made to the

orthodox preacher Richard 'Alkirton'[154] and to Archbishop 'Arundel'[155] whose

notorious constitutions curtailed the unlicensed preaching of followers of Wyclif,

such as John 'Aston.' Wycliffism is known to have been exported to Bohemia, and

this country, 'Beme', is cited by Pecock as an example of the strife that heresy

brings. Bishop Richard 'FitzRalph'[156] is a cited source, especially on the issues of

dominion and poverty.[157] William 'Peraldus' is cited both by Wyclif and his

followers, particularly for his comments on the sin of avarice. William of 'St.

Amour', who was crucial in the development of antifraternalism, influenced

Wyclif and is cited in Lollard texts.[158]

xi. Lollard Anticlericalism

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[149] Hw 368 'traitourie', Hw 367 'traitour', Hw 371 'trecherie', Hw 372 'trecherous', Hw 374 'trechour'.
[150] Hw 369 'traitourli', Hw 373 'trecherousli'.
[151] Hw 297 'prechinge', Hw 296 'prechen', Hw 298 'prechour'.
[152] Hw 359 'techinge', Hw 357 'techen', Hw 358 'techere'.
[153] Hw 205 'fredom'. Discussed, 98-103.
[154] Hw 175 'estat', Hw 'Berengar'. On Hw 182 'Alkerton', O'Mara, V.M., ed., *A Study and Edition of Selected Middle English sermons: Richard Alkerton's Easter Week Sermon Preached at St. Mary Spital in 1406, a Sermon on Sunday Observance, and a Nunnery Sermon for the Feast of the Assumption* Leeds Texts and Monographs ns 13 (Leeds, 1994).
[155] On Hw 25 'Arundel', (1353-1414) Archbishop of York and later Canterbury (1396-1414), *ODCC*.
[156] Hw 28 'Aston', Hw 53 'Beme'. On Hw 194 'Armachanus', (c.1295-1360) *ODCC*.
[157] Walsh, K., *Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh: a Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate* (Oxford, 1981); and Szittya (1986) 'The Antifraternal Ecclesiology of Archbishop Richard FitzRalph, 123-151.
[158] Hw 285 'Peraldus'. On Hw 349 'St. Amour', Szittya (1986) 'William of St. Amour and the Perils of the Last Times, 11-61.

Lollard anticlericalism includes a wide variety of unflattering descriptions

of orthodox clerics: 'Baiard', 'bosards', and 'borrell'. There is what might be

called English xenophobia or anglophilia in the heretical texts: 'Britaine',

'Engelond', 'English', 'English-man', versus 'alien', 'Fraunce', and 'Rome'.

Biblical insults are taken from the Old and New Testaments; some have been

identified as part of the antifraternal tradition: 'Antechrist',[159] 'bastard',[160]

'Balaam',[161] 'beli',[162] 'Belial',[163] 'Belzebub',[164] 'Caim',[165] 'Gomorrha',[166] 'dai-

þeues', 'Pharise',[167] 'Saduce',[168] 'simon',[169] 'sinagoge' of 'satan',[170] 'thef',[171] and

'transfiguren'.[172] Orthodox language is described as nonsense, an

incomprehensible cacophony of: 'babelinge', 'blaberen', 'gabbinge',[173]

'grucching',[174] 'jangling', 'japinge', and 'tateren'.[175] Orthodox rejoinders to

Lollard positions are, to the heretical view, 'bak-biting'. Clerical abuses primarily

focus on the trappings of fiscal excess which are particularly ironic given the vows

of poverty taken by those in religious orders. Their horses are bedecked with

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[159] Hw 14 'Antecrist'. 1 John 2.18, 22; 1 John 4.3; 2 John 1.7.

[160] Wisdom 4.3: 'But the multiplied brood of the wicked shall not thrive, and bastard slips shall not take deep root, nor any fast foundation.'

[161] Numbers 22.5-34.

[162] For example, Philippians 3.19: 'Whose end is destruction; whose God is their belly; and whose glory is in their shame; who mind earthly things.'

[163] Various texts, but especially 2 Corinthians 6.15: 'And what concord hath Christ with Belial? Or what part hath the faithful with the unbeliever?'

[164] Various texts, but especially Luke 11.18-19: 'And if Satan also be divided against himself, how shall his kingdom stand? because you say, that through Beelzebub I cast out devils. Now if I cast out devils by Beelzebub; by whom do your children cast them out? Therefore they shall be your judges.'

[165] Genesis 4.1-17; 1 John 3.12: 'Not as Cain, who was of the wicked one, and killed his brother. And wherefore did he kill him? Because his own works were wicked: and his brother's just'.

[166] Various texts including: Genesis 18.20, 19.24, 28; Deuteronomy 29.23; and Matthew 10.15.

[167] Various texts including Matthew 23.26: 'Thou blind Pharisee, first make clean the inside of the cup and of the dish, that the outside may become clean.'

[168] Various texts including: Matthew 3.7 and Matthew 16.6.

[169] Simon Magus, various texts including Acts 8.9, 13, 18.

[170] Apocalypse 2.9: 'I know thy tribulation and thy poverty, but thou art rich: and thou art blasphemed by them that say they are Jews and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan.'

[171] John 10.1: 'amen, amen I say to you: He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up another way, the same is a thief and robber.'

[172] 2 Corinthians 11.14: 'And no wonder: for Satan himself transformeth himself into an angel of light.'

[173] Hw 32 'babelinge', Hw 62 'blaberen', Hw 208 'gabbinge'.

[174] Hw 220 'grucching', Hw 218 'grucchen', Hw 219 'grucchere'.

[175] Hw 243 'jangling, Hw 241 'janglen', Hw 242 'janglere', Hw 247 'japinge', Hw 244 'jape', Hw 'japen', Hw 'japer', Hw 356 'tateren'.

glittering bridles,[176] and they live in or frequent the 'wast' houses of the wealthy.[177] A leisurely lifestyle affords time to enjoy 'hauking', and other non-spiritual diversions. The religious may dine or dress 'shiningli', as in *Dives and Pauper,* and their expensive taste is satiated by 'deintevous', 'delectable', 'delicat', and 'delicious' meat and drink; this is censured as scandalous 'wastinge' of poor men's goods. Animal imagery dehumanizes sinful churchmen with applications drawn from canon law, the moral vices, and Holy Scripture.[178] Featured are the: 'ape', 'basilisk', 'crou', 'dogge', 'dragoun', 'fox', 'nedder', 'wolf', and 'moldwarpis'. Evil clergy are shown to be perpetuators of all manner of vices: 'avarice', 'babewinrie', 'man-quellinge', 'man-slaughter', 'man-sleinge', 'ravine', and 'ravishinge'. The evil cleric is 'blak' with sin, a 'catif', 'careine', a 'fautor', a 'fend', a 'fol', an 'idiote', an 'ipocrite', a 'man-queller', a 'man-sleer', a 'pseudoclerk', a 'pseudocrist', a 'pseudofrere', a 'wastour', a 'pseudophrophete, and a 'ravinour'. Collectively they 'ravishen' the laity and, more seriously, 'withdrauen' the seed of divine word.[179]

In general, much of this vocabulary is innocuous on the surface, but it often links back to Wyclif's Latin works, revealing more about the texts produced both by the Oxford theologian and the anonymous vernacular writers influenced by his sectarian, if not seditious, thought. Though there have been numerous learned studies on Wyclif and Lollardy, there is much that computerised analysis of the

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[176] Hw 38 'bak-biting', Hw 36 'bak-biten', Hw 37 'bak-bitere', Hw 278 'palfrei', Hw 88 'bridel'.
[177] Hw 381 'waste', Hw 101 'castel'.
[178] Hw 224 'hauking', Hw 'hauker', Hw 330 'shiningli', Hw 143 'deintevous', Hw 144 'deintevousliche', Hw 145 'delectable', Hw 146 'delectacioun', Hw 147 'delicat', Hw 148 'delicatli', Hw 149 'delicious', Hw 150 'deliciousli', Hw 383 'wastinge', Hw 382 'wasten', Hw 17 'ape', Hw 42 'basilisk', Hw 127 'crou', Hw 128 'crouen'.
[179] On the anticlerical headwords: Hw 162 'dogge', Hw 163 'dragoun', Hw 202 'fox', Hw 276 'nedder', Hw 393 'wolf', Hw 274 'moldwarp', Hw 30 'avarice', Hw 33 'babewinrie', Hw 266 'man-quellinge', Hw 265 'manquellere', Hw 267 'man-slaughter', Hw 269 'man-sleinge', Hw 309 'ravine', Hw 312 'ravishinge', Hw 63 'blak', Hw 94 'caitif', Hw 99 'careine', Hw 186 'fautor', Hw 190 'fend', Hw 199 'fol', Hw 231 'idiote', Hw 240 'ipocrite', Hw 268 'man-sleer', Hw 304 'pseudoclerk', Hw 305 'pseudocrist', Hw 306 'pseudofrere', Hw 384 'wastour', Hw 307 'pseudoprophete', Hw 310 'ravinour', Hw 311 'ravishen, Hw 391 'withdrauen', and Hw 392 'withdrawinge'.

texts can tell us, as the Select Concordance at once has the ability: to reveal misconceptions about the heresy; to confirm what is already known with quantitative data; and to open alternative doorways into the area of Lollard discourse.

In the case of the present study, all 432 of the concordanced texts do treat at least one, if not more, of the four chapter areas, and have forged the chapters themselves: Contemporary Poverty in Chapter 1, Pious Practice in Chapter 2, Substantive Law in Chapter 3, and Anticlerical Style in Chapter 4. The variety of the discussion produced by the Select Concordance and elaborated in the present study generally supports Hudson's and Peikola's belief in the potential of computerised analysis to reveal more about these heretically-charged texts and the ideas they contain; however, the concordance results also encourage reconsideration of the heresy linked to the Latin works of John Wyclif. These results also challenge the tenets that have traditionally constituted scholarly understanding of vernacular Wycliffism.

Chapter 1: Contemporary Poverty

The first alternative doorway into more notorious heretical positions is the issue of poverty. On the general problem of clerical abuses and excesses, orthodox texts such as *The Canterbury Tales* and *Piers Plowman* are also critical; however, they part company with Wyclif and the texts here concordanced on the causes and the solutions for the problem. In Wyclif and in these Middle English texts the issue of poverty is taken out of the abstruse arena of arguments over mendicancy and property and faced squarely as a contemporary socio-economic problem plaguing far too many ordinary English people. It is a problem seen to be directly related to the religious arm, rather than to the secular arm, military conflict, or natural disaster. The question of mendicancy, the religious orders, and the church hierarchy is not about various uses and associated rights, but rather the economic drain that all levels of the church pose to society, particularly the most vulnerable levels of society. Clerics who enjoy comfortable livings at the expense of the poor are seen as parasitic and predatory dangers to the general socio-economic good, a situation that flouts Christ's apostolic injunctions and that is embodied in hollow parodies of daily pastoral care. In the heretical view, clerical abuses—an escalating problem since the infamous *Donation of Constantine* and compounded by the advent of the fraternal orders—proceed from property and ownership and have been enabled by the secular arm upon which the onus lies to audit, to prune, and to curb ecclesiastical assets, should the church be unwilling to divest itself of its accumulated and corrupting wealth.[1] Thus, references to contemporary poverty can in context be heretically-charged and can educe a range of issues around the

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[1] For example, *Purgatorium Sectae Christi* in Buddensieg, R., ed., *John Wicklif's Polemical Works in Latin* vol. 1 (London, 1883), particularly chapters VIII-X, 309-313. In Buddensieg, R., ed., *De Veritate Sacrae Scripturae* (London, 1907), cap. XXV 11/6-16; cap. XXV 16/14-17/12; XXXI 238/27-241/11. *De Blasphemia*: cap. II 33/30-34/34; cap. IV 55/3-56/14; ch IV 62/8-63/37; cap. XV 227/31-228/37. *WLS II* sermo. VI 37/33-38/2; *WLS II* sermo. VI 40/32-41/2; *WLS II* sermo XXV 186/1-6; *WLS III* sermo. XXXVI 305/15-30; *WLS III* sermo. XLIII 372/16-26.

issue of *dominium* discussed in Chapter 3. The present chapter, however, identifies and describes the problem of poverty as articulated in the Wycliffite texts, focusing on the significance and prevalence of forms of poor in the vernacular texts as an impecunious socio-economic status rather than as an idealized or self-referential adjective for a particular sort of priest, preacher, or teacher. To decry poverty in a Christian society is of no particular surprise; to place the full blame for contemporary poverty on clerical affluence, without reference to lay fortune, economic pressures, or natural calamity is decidedly Wycliffite.

The problem of contemporary poverty is evidenced in the occurrences of forms of 'povre' and 'poverte' in the vernacular Wycliffite texts. These terms appear in statistically significant numbers: 'povre' at 1,414 occurrences, 'poverte' at 329 occurrences. If forms of 'poverli' are added, there are an additional 10 occurrences. Total forms of these three headwords amount to 1,753 occurrences. By way of comparison, forms of 'treue' and 'treuli' together amount to 1,398 occurrences, and forms of 'simple' amount to 211 total occurrences. As to two commonly occurring negative adjectives: 'Neue' is at 1,140 occurrences, while forms of 'fals' amount to 1,611 total occurrences. In the light of this Select Concordance data, clearly forms of 'povre' are significant across the body of texts here concordanced. But the assumption that the majority of forms might appear with forms of 'prest', 'prechour', or 'techere' would be incorrect. Forms of poor are rarely associated with the virtually iconic poor priest, preacher, or teacher; rather, they refer to a disadvantaged, socio-economic status plaguing a large portion of the laity. In The Invention of the Poor Priest the iconic poor priest, preacher, or teacher is shown to be an assumption rather than a fact in the Lollard texts. The next section, Priestly Poverty, reflects on forms of 'povre' and reveals the Lollard concern for the impoverished situation of many; perhaps this might go

some way toward understanding at least part of the movement's popular appeal. Contemporary Poverty considers what the Lollard texts consider to be the root cause of poverty, the church. Unlike what one might expect, blame is not placed on temporal but on ecclesiastical shoulders, as shown in Clerical Affluence.

The Invention of the Poor Priest

The spectre of the poor priest seems to haunt the steps of Lollardy. H.L. Cannon conceded the paucity of historical documentation supporting the poor priests and yet expressed conviction that, documentation aside, these shadowy figures surely sought actively to convert the entire country. 'We possess a surprisingly small amount of exact information . . . They appear to have been a loosely associated body of men . . . who, awakened by Wiclif' [sic] . . . 'somewhat trained by the influences he brought to bear upon them, and supplied . . . with the matter for their sermons . . . zealously set out to evangelize all England'.[2] Cannon dates what he calls 'the rise of the Poor Priests to the period in or just preceding 1376-77' on the basis of chronicles and editions.[3] Eschewing verbal ornamentation and 'subtle speech', this straight-talking, truth-telling evangelical force was allegedly conceived by Wyclif 'to give the people not merely sermons in English, as the friars had done, but were intended to present to the people the gospel itself as clearly as possible, and hence in English, as the other preachers had not done'.[4] The idea of a priesthood of all believers seems refuted, as Cannon distinguishes three levels of ordination: 'regularly ordained', 'irregularly ordained', and 'lay preachers'. While it is true that the vernacular texts here concordanced do not unequivocally support the concept of a priesthood of all believers, Cannon's

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[2] Cannon (1900), 451.
[3] Cannon (1900), 455. Cannon's cited sources are listed as follows: *Continuatio Eulogiarum*, III, 354-355; *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, 273, 275; *Trialogus*, I, 413-415, II, 5.ii; *Sermones*; *Dialogus*; *The English Works of Wyclif Hitherto Unprinted*; *Polemical Works*; *Chronicon Angliæ*, 115-117; MS 13.D.i; Walsingham, and Knighton.
[4] Cannon (1900), 458.

distinction between irregular ordination and lay preachers seems un-sustainable. If

heretical priests understood their sacerdotal powers to encompass ordination[5]—

whether they fit the category of 'regularly ordained' or 'irregularly ordained'—

then laymen, untrained according to accepted orthodox practice, could become

priests.[6] The difference between a layman, in Cannon's terms the 'lay preacher',

confirmed as a heretical priest and a layman unconfirmed as such is in the

performance of an ordination rite, however informal and irregular.[7] On this basis,

he concludes that 'Wiclif had no lay preachers, and moreover had no place for

them in his scheme for reform.'[8] Though J. Loserth traced a gradual trend from

'poor priest' to 'gospel man' in Wyclif's Latin works, Cannon refutes this, arguing

the terms are synonymous. Whether or not his arguments are accepted, Cannon

defines the 'poor priest' as an entity invested with the responsibility of preaching

and teaching, while the 'lay preacher' was not so invested. Cannon's distinction,

while possibly reflective of early Wycliffism, becomes mired when one moves

forward and considers the recurring collocation of 'pore preacher'. Whatever

distinction, if any, there may have initially been between the poor priest and the

poor preacher, vernacular discourse indicates these terms came to carry very

similar if not the same meanings.

In the light of the previous observations, H.B. Workman's chapter entitled

the 'Poor Preachers', seems to add to any confusion over nomenclature or identity.

According to Workman's chronology, possibly as early as 1377, before the

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[5] Cannon (1900), 460.

[6] Cannon (1900): 'It would have been an easy matter for such laymen as joined this group of teachers to become irregularly ordained priests, and thus laymen could have been drawn upon as recruits', 461.

[7] Cannon (1900): 'If the divine ordination be present any priest can conver the ecclesiastical sacraments equally well with the Pope', 460.

[8] Cannon (1900): Also 'Wiclif had a clear conception of the . . . church militant, and of the duty of each part . . . All members out to be shepherds or else sheep, that the shepherds are to be priests or deacons, who are to preach; while of the layman, those who are not secular lords are to perform the more humble duties. There certainly appears to be no place in such a system for the lay preacher', 461.

translation of the bible and the English works, the 'poor preachers' were Wyclif's

preferred means of disseminating his message. In a footnote he has noted 'the

absence of a uniform title' for poor preachers— he provides 10 examples that he

treats as synonyms, but makes no case for the terms he lists synonymously with

poor preachers —, and suggests this 'would seem to show growth to meet

contingencies and not the plan of an order'.[9] Yet on the same page Workman

describes the responsibilities of Wyclif's 'order of 'poor priests' or 'itinerant

preachers' [who] 'should denounce abuses, proclaim the true doctrine of the

Eucharist, and teach the right thinking from which, as he deemed, right living

would follow'.[10] Their discursive duties are finally fused when Workman observes:

'Wyclif's poor priests were above all preachers.'[11] Early on in the Wycliffite

heresy, Workman claims that no laymen preached, though this gradually changed;

how this changed is not mentioned. Thus we are still faced with ambiguities as to

name and identity. Cannon had also argued against 'lay preachers', at least in the

period he calls 'the rise of the poor priests'.[12] The connection of priesthood and

preaching may somewhat clarify the relationship of 'poor priests' and 'poor

preachers'; however, in spite of Workman's chapter title, there is virtually no

discussion of the poor preachers themselves, possibly because of the paucity of

sources noted by Cannon's earlier study. Since the chapter 'The Poor Preachers'

precedes that entitled 'The Peasants' Revolt', presumably the author aimed to keep

his focus on the period from 1377-1381. Yet we learn nothing more, and possibly

less, of the nature of the poor preachers than was cited in Cannon. They may be a

function of Wyclif's agenda, but they do not command the full attention of the

chapter. The focus is more on Wyclif's divergence from orthodox preaching

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[9] Workman (1926), ii, 201, n. 2.
[10] Workman (1926), ii, 201.
[11] Workman (1926), ii, 206.
[12] Cannon (1900), 451-455.

content and style.[13] Presumably, the poor preachers would follow his example, whether or not they fully understood the impact of Wyclif's unorthodox position or the characteristics of orthodox preaching.[14] In the end Workman observes that these followers of Wyclif, preaching without artifice, living without benefice, and dressing in russet, were likely to fail in the climate of late medieval preaching. The surprise for Workman is that Wyclif succeeded as much as he did at attracting converts.

Cannon and Workman's treatments of the poor priests or the poor preachers, who allegedly served as discursive transmitters between the Oxford theologian and the English population, are perhaps more perplexing than illuminating. If the priest is also preacher, the nature of preaching and teaching activities, as these are outlined in the vernacular texts, remain largely undiscussed[15] outside Cannon and Workman. The evidence in the contemporary chronicles has been pursued to some extent through related Latin and vernacular literature; however, with a few exceptions the poor priests or preachers have remained generally unexplored, possibly because of views that this area may be unfruitful or that exploration on this topic is deemed a type of inquiry typical of a previous age of scholarship. Whether or not poor priests or preachers may be found in historical documents, they are strikingly absent from the vernacular texts associated with the Wycliffite heresy.

Two other, much later studies must also be noted. M. Wilks has sought to connect the poor priests with the Lollard knights, and G. Cigman has considered how the Lollard preacher was viewed. Quite confidently Wilks states 'the Wycliffite preachers ranged the land, but looking back always to Wyclif and Oxford as the co-ordinating and command centre of the movement. It was very

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[13] Discussed at some length Workman (1926), 215-220.
[14] Workman (1926), 202-203.
[15] OED, 'undiscussed'.

much Wyclif's affair, and it was essentially ecclesiastical: the poor preachers were

to be priests.' Yet Wyclif, according to Wilks, is not to be blamed for any sedition,

but his over-zealous followers.[16] The key to the riddle, according to Wilks, lies in

the 'so-called Lollard knights.' Notables, and sons of notables, 'the Lollard

Knights were an aristocratic body forming part of the cultivated literary circle at

court.' These courtly circles encouraged and supported poets such as 'Chaucer and

the author of *Piers Plowman*; and one of them at least, Sir John Clanvowe, was

himself capable of writing both a love poem and a distinctly puritanical devotional

treatise.' These knights served, according to Wilks as a buffer, at least during the

'last two decades of the fourteenth century.'[17] This buffer would, presumably, have

protected poor priests, though Wilks admits the term ''poor priest' is unhelpful,

since it could be stretched to cover any royalist cleric, bishops more than anybody

else.'[18] Finally, he concludes with a view of the '*secta Lollardis*' which if seen to

be a movement of protest, 'must be seen in the first instance as an official protest

by a quasi-theocratic monarchy against the continuing claims of papal

supremacy.'[19] In Wilks' study poor connotes a cleric disposed to support the king

over the pope, a position in tune with the Wycliffite heresy; however, once again,

the collocation of poor and priest or preacher does not appear in statistically

significant numbers in the Middle English texts.

From Wilks' top-down theory we move from the political world—a world

that might have enjoyed great financial advantages had the dream of disendowment

come true at that time—to the literary perception of the preacher in G. Cigman, but

this preacher is not poor but a divinely inspired source of truth and spiritual light.

Acknowledging the 'difference between the esoteric seminal movement in Oxford .

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[16] Wilks (1977), 63-64.
[17] Wilks (1977), 65.
[18] Wilks (1977), 68.
[19] Wilks (1977), 69.

. . and that of the popularizers[20] of selected aspects of teachings of that movement',

Cigman recognizes the pure 'zeal of men who . . . believed that they alone were

purveyors of truth.'[21] This truth was to be articulated in unadorned discourse, and

Cigman has examined the *Lollard Sermons* 'as the verbal expression of a powerful

religious sensibility' . . . [which is] 'alert against the contrivances and distortions

of language which render the false plausible and persuasive.'[22] Cigman has further

observed that an examination of both 'sermon composition' and 'Lollard attitudes

to preaching . . . can better be understood if considered in relation to their image of

the preacher as the medium of transmission of the word of God.'[23] While

somewhat dubious of the idea of Lollardy,[24] Cigman allows for, at least in the case

of the *Lollard Sermons*, a certain degree of harmony on the idea of the preacher as

a speaker of the holy. However, the preacher, the conduit of divine word though he

may be, is not described, generally, in the vernacular texts as simple or poor.

The general absence of the poor priest may be explained by consideration

of Wyclif's position on poverty, which has yet to receive significant scholarly

attention. D. Aers has observed that 'while there are a number of studies devoted to

Langland, poverty, and the poor, there seems to be rather little work on this aspect

of Wyclif's theology and politics.' Aers argues that redistribution of the clerical

wealth into temporal coffers, as advocated by Wyclif, would do nothing, in real

terms, to ameliorate poverty. Apart from the irony of 'a situation where powerful

and wealthy Christians use carnal force to impose evangelical poverty on a tiny

minority of their fellow Christions', there is, to Aers, the fallacy of the 'trickle-

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[20] OED 'popularizer'.
[21] Cigman (1988), 69.
[22] Cigman (1988), 80.
[23] Cigman, G., '*Luceat Lux Vestra*: The Lollard Preacher as Truth and Light' *RES* 40 (1989): 479-496. Quotation, 480.
[24] For example, Cigman (1989): 'A totally misleading appearance of unity was imposed on the phenomenon called Lollardy by the term itself, and by the charge of heresy levelled against all who were so labelled', 481. No suggestion is here made that all Lollards thought or expressed their opinions in perfect harmony. This study examines and presents quantitative data that does reveal, however loosely, an affiliation with Wyclif and with those that were called Lollards.

down effect' . . . [the position that] 'if the powerful few award massive material

benefits to themselves from the social wealth made by collective labor, then the

poorest groups of the society will also, somehow, benefit.' It is worth questioning

the practicalities of such a scheme for the poor. Would the magnates truly use re-

appropriated ecclesiastical resources towards relieving poverty? They would if

Wyclif's vision were followed. The entire clergy should, in accordance with their

sworn duty, embrace an evangelical style of poverty that is content with the

essentials for life, while the secular arm, justly headed and overseen by 'the secular

sovereign whom the theologian' [Wyclif] 'exalted as the vicar of God's deity.'

Presumably, the secular sovereign would, unlike the contemporary church, move

actively to fight poverty, a position which, as Aers notes, is different from

Langland who 'carefully, very deliberately does nothing to strengthen the political

and economic power of lay elites'. What Aers' article does illustrate is the

uniquely Wycliffite position on poverty as argued in this chapter, particularly its

cause, the clergy, and its solution, lay authority.[25] I.C. Levy further refines

Wyclif's positions on poverty and helps to explain the relative absence of the poor

priest or preacher. Levy shows Wyclif's endorsement of evangelical poverty as

articulated in *Exiit qui seminat* issued by Pope Nicholas III in 1279. Far from

rejecting all papal authority, this, notes Levy, 'provided Wyclif with legal

authorization for the evangelical poverty that he reckoned the perfect expression of

Christian life.' Moreover, Wyclif was interested in applying '*Exiit*'s principles to

the entire clergy, mendicant and secular alike.'[26] Though, as Levy notes, clerical

poverty goes beyond the essentials for life to encompass the essentials of

spirituality. 'The foundation of evangelical poverty is not simply the bare lack of

temporal goods, since even the most vicious person can lack much . . . [but it]

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[25] Aers (2003), 55. Aers (2003), 62. Aers (2003), 67-68. Aers (2003), 69-70. For example, *WLS* I
233: Kings as priests.
[26] Levy (2003), 95. Levy (2003), 98.

'must be founded upon the fervor of charity.' Both Aers and Levy illustrate a heretical slant to the issue of poverty in Wyclif that is also present in the vernacular Wycliffite texts. The poor preacher may be thought to warrant little discussion as, according to Wyclif's scheme, all clergy would be expected to be poor, and all clergy would be expected to fulfill its most important priestly function, preaching;[27] therefore, the poor priest or preacher would, in Wycliffite thought, be an unnecessary statement of the obvious.

Priestly Poverty

In fact forms of 'povre' have less to do with priest, preacher, or teacher,[28] at least in the Lollard texts, than one might imagine. Priests, preachers, and teachers are statistically significant in the Wycliffite texts, and forms of these three nouns occur 4,721 times in the texts here concordanced; if other grammatical forms are added, namely forms of the verbs teaching and preaching, this total becomes 7,046.[29] Quite clearly, the idea of the priest, preacher, or teacher together with his activities are significant beyond Cigman's assessment.[30] In fact this statistic, while perhaps patent to readers of Lollard vernacular texts, is somewhere beyond significant, according to the concordance data.[31] That being said though, consideration of forms of 'povre' together with forms of priest, preacher, or teacher, reveal an even more, possibly, surprising statistic. Exclusive of titles and headings, there are only 63 collocations of variants of 'povre' with any form of 'prest' or 'prechour', and the only form of 'prechour' is combined in 'pore priests þat prechen in engelond'.[32] There is also reference to the 'pore statis of preestus' as

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[27] For example, *WLS* I 110: preaching the word of God as the most perfect work, even more important than administering the Sacrament of the Altar.

[28] Respectively Hw 298, Hw 296, and Hw 357.

[29] Specifically Hw 294 'prechen', Hw 295 'prechinge', Hw 356 'techen', and Hw 358 'techinge'.

[30] Cigman (1989): 'My observations are based predominantly on a collection of eighteen sermons recently published, for the first time, under the title *Lollard Sermons*', 480.

[31] Forms of Hw 249 'laue' alone have 4, 853 occurrences.

[32] <L 1><T MT19><P 276>, the title of this tract is *Of Poor Preaching Priests*. Of the total of 63 occurrences of poor with some form of priest or preacher: 2 appear in titles: MT 16 and MT 19. The

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ordained by Christ.[33] However, there are no forms of 'povre' with forms of 'techere'. The results reveal that the collocation of the poor priest, preacher, or teacher is not widespread in the Lollard texts. For whatever reason, possibly Protestant zeal, the concept of the poor priest or preacher seems to have caught the imagination of some, but this idea is textually insupportable, as the Select Concordance data confirms.

Even though there are few collocative pairs combining forms of 'povre' with priest, preacher, or teacher, the idea remains of a self-sacrificing lifestyle modeled on Christ and the apostles, abandoned by the fraternal orders, and forsaken by the church. Priests, preachers, and teachers should have the essentials for life, but should desire no more. Of course, this idea was taken up by the mendicants and challenged by the anti-mendicants in the multitude of arguments over apostolic poverty. However, the Lollard texts revisit the argument in their reference to St. Paul's comments in I Timothy 6.8.[34] Food and covering, 'hilinge'[35] for the body, are all that are necessary, in St. Paul's view at least. In its current, wealth infused state, the church, directly controverting Christ and the Apostles, forfeits its lordship.[36] This is evident in several places, for example in *Epistola Sathanae ad Cleros*.

> For he' [Christ] 'lyved in great pouerte and penance wiþowt wordly
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> lordschipe and wordly covrtlynes, and also chese to his apostles and

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remaining 61 occur in the following texts: 4LD, A19, A 22 (12 occurrences), A23, A24 (2 occurrences), A25, A29, CG04 (2 occurrences), EWS2-MC, EWS3-148, MT01 (4 occurrences), MT02 (4 occurrences), MT03, MT04 (9 occurrences), MT08, MT13 (2 occurrences), MT15 (3 occurrences), MT16 (7 occurrences), MT17, MT19 (2 occurrences), MT27, OP-ES (3 occurrences).

[33] <L 102-103><T EWS2-93><P 225>.

[34] I Timothy 6.8-10: 'But having food, and wherewith to be covered, with these we are content. 9 For they that will become rich, fall into temptation, and into the snare of the devil, and into many unprofitable and hurtful desires, which drown men into destruction and perdition. 10 For the desire of money is the root of all evils; which some coveting have erred from the faith, and have entangled themselves in many sorrows.'

[35] The collocative pair of 'fod' and 'hilinge' (MED a roof or clothing), though not here concordanced, appears some 22 times, with 'fode and in clothyng' appearing once.

[36] Discussed, 85-90, 91-92. For example, *WLS* I 160: Christ's advice on how the lay arm should monitor the clergy.

disciples ryght poor men, and if any were riche he made them poore

bothe in sperett and in wordly good. So he taw3t þem to lyve in

mekenes and pouerte, and preastis and clarkis that wold be his

successouris and his disciples euermore aftur he taw3t þem to kepe

þat rule, as himself berith witnesse in his gospell.'

This status of poverty was emulated by St. Peter and St. Paul who testify to it in

their epistles. Following Christ's example and words emboldens apostles to

challenge the avarice-ridden and power-hungry clerical establishment of their day;

and by extension, authorizes Lollards to do likewise.

'And Petur and Poule taw3t euery man to lyve after Crist, as it is

open in þer epistles. And so long as Crist lyvyd amongst þe Iues, he

reprovyd þe byschopis and þe princis of preastis and þe scribes and

pharesies, whiche were of our religion and lyvyng, whiche were

contrary to Cristis lyuing and his teachyng, for þei were all gyven to

auaryce and to lordschipe, and by ypocrisie seamyd holy in þer

abytis and þer lyvyng.'

Often Christ had spoken of the Kingdom of Heaven based upon a concept of

lordship contrary to that now followed in contemporary England. 'To his disciples

and preachyd to þem þe kyngdome of hevyn whiche is contrary to our lordschipe.'

However, since Christ's resurrection, the clerical sense of lordship has become

overblown and distorted, more likely to carry one to hell than to heaven. 'þe way

of our lord-schipe of hell' . . . [waxed] 'all to-growun . . . for þei lyvid in pouerte,

as wrechys in lowlynes of hart, schewyng to þe pepill examples of Cristis lyvyng,

þat is comon. And in this maner we were almost distroyed, and our lordschipe.'

While the examples, 63, are few, the message is clear. Apostolic poverty is the

ideal flouted by the contemporary church set on temporal lordship and on financial

gain. This state of affairs bears most heavily on the poor. William Thorpe's

Testimony illustrates how members of the clergy should avoid being parasitic.

Clerics should earn their own sustenance and help the poor. 'As Poul witnessiþ

aftirward whanne he was ful pore and nedi, prechynge amonge þe peple, he was

not chargiouse to hem, but wiþ his hondis he traueilide to gete not oonli his owne

lyuelode but also for þe lyuelode of oþer pore and nedi creaturis.' This lesson is

missed by contemporary clergy who, ensnared in covetise and avarice, further

oppress the poor. 'And siþ þe peple was neuere more couetous ne so auerouse, I

gesse, as þei ben now, it were goode counseile þat alle prestis toke now good heede

to þis heuenli lore of Poul, seuynge him hereinne in wilful pouerte, noþing

chargynge þe peple for her bodili lyuelode.'[37]

Contemporary Poverty

So, if 'povre' does not often appear in collocation with any form of priest,

preacher, or teacher, what does this signify? The Select Concordance reveals a

concern for contemporary poverty which supersedes all concerns for the priest,

preacher, or teacher. The emphasis of the 1,414 occurrences of forms of 'povre' is

on the socio-economic status felt by many in medieval England, a status that is

made worse by a church shown to be greedy for riches. The financial trail should

lead the other way, to the assistance of poor bedridden men, poor blind men who

may also be lame, poor feeble lame and blind men, poor widows, as well as to poor

men in general: whether the poor, poor men's goods, poor men's livelihood, poor

men's blood, or poor needy men, poor neighbours, or poor of goods, poor pilgrims,

poor people, or poor parishioners. Apart from the 63 references to poor priests, all

other references are, predominantly to the poor, the apostolic version of poverty, or

the clergy's exploitation of poverty. Space does not permit discussion of every

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[37] Hudson (1993), 68/1452-1455. Hudson (1993), 68/1455-1459.

occurrence or collocative pair/group, but the evidence may be found in the Select

Concordance. A quote from Sermon 12 of the Sunday Epistles in the *English*

Wycliffite Sermons is illustrative. 'Here cristene men may see how þe secounde

secte newe browt in fayluþ in mercy and charite of oure Lord Iesu Crist. Marke þei

þe lordschipe þat þei han by title of þer holynesse, and how lordis and þer pore

tenauntis my3ton be releuede by þis lordschipe'. The sects formed since Christ's

original order, and more recently the fraternal orders, should emulate Christ's

charity, using their lordship to relieve the financial stresses of their poor tenants.

Yet to them, mercy and charity are distant: 'so myche ben þei fer from mercy and

charite.' In fact, they have no business being involved in worldly lordship at all.

'Þei schulden by byddyng of þer patroun be not þus seculer lordis, but þei

dispuyson þis byddyng of God and drawon to a worldly patroun.' The sermon

writer attributes this to their desire for lordship, lack of divine love, and lack of

mercy. 'And þis is wantyng of loue to Iesu Crist and alle hise seyntis, and wantyng

of mercy to pore men dwellyng in rewmys þat þei inhabiton.'[38] Failing to mitigate

the dire effects of contemporary poverty proves that the church is failing in its

humanitarian duties, more wolf-like[39] than shepherd-like. The results are the

physical and spiritual manslaughter of the impoverished laity.[40]

Clerical Affluence

An unedited pious text, though not a sermon, in Trinity College Cambridge

MS O.1.29 reveals a similarly Wycliffite slant on the issue of poverty, though it

appears in a manuscript otherwise trending towards the orthodox.[41] The heading on

the text is 'Hic incipit documentum Roberti Grosehede [sic] episcopi

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[38] <L 74-83><T EWS1SE-12><P 527-528>. For example, *WLS* I 132: confiscation of church property would be better than overtaxing the poor.
[39] Discussed, 110-116.
[40] For example, *WLS* I 119: failure of priestly duty makes priests guilty of spiritual homicide.
[41] I am indebted to V. O'Mara for providing me with the reference to this text. The text occurs on ff. 73r-74v of Trinity College Cambridge MS O.1.29. I am preparing an edition of this text for publication.

lincolniensis', a factor of some interest, as Grosseteste is a known Wycliffite

source. The text begins 'þe worthi clerke Roberte Grosehede beschope of lincoln

sayd in a sermone þat he made vnto þe pope', though L. Mooney and S. Paul have

noted difficulties with this attribution.[42] O'Mara's commentary and transcription

continue: 'However, after this, Grosseteste is forgotten about and the writer goes

on to cite Bernard and Jerome saying that whatever things are in the possession of

clerks actually belong to the poor.' O'Mara's statement is significant as it shows

that the Trinity College Cambridge text is clearly in line with the Wycliffite use of

Grosseteste, Bernard, and Jerome on the question of poverty, as, for example, that

found in *The Thirty-Seven Conclusions*. The parallels with Wycliffite views on

poverty continue as 'overleaf on f. 73v Bernard is cited again addressing the

prelates of the church, 'A 3e prelatez and mased folez in þe gouremale of holy

kyrke what doose golde or syluere in 3oure sadellez in 3oure bridelles and also

3oure horsez are chargedd with gemmes and with iewells and pore men hungire

and thirste and haue nakyde syddes.' Though the text's orthodoxy or heterodoxy

may be yet unproven, it addresses the problem of contemporary poverty in

vocabulary and with sources strikingly similar to those found in known heretical

texts, and the cause of contemporary poverty, as in Wycliffite texts, is conspicuous

clerical consumption.

How can those following in the steps of Christ, St. Peter, and St. Paul take

on such worldly trappings? *The Thirty-Seven Conclusions* provides one answer:

'Truli it semeth that the greete pride and auarice[43] of worldli prelatis[44] and of

false[45] freris[46] founden out these feynid[47] indulgencis[48] in steringe of the deuil to

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[42] Mooney, L.R., *The Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist XI: Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1995), [5]. S. Paul, who has edited some Grosseteste sermons, has kindly informed me that this text does not seem to by a Grosseteste sermon.
[43] Hw 30 'avarice', Hw 31 'avaricious'.
[44] Hw 297 'prelate'.
[45] Hw 179 'fals'. Also Hw 180 'falsli'.

spoile the puple bothe pore and riche, fro verri feith and greete meritis of trewe[49]

almes.'[50] Religion has become a financial business. This enables the finery of

secular lordship and its leisure: the clergy enjoy the not-so-clerical pleasures of

leisure: 'daliaunce', and 'hauking'.[51] Religious may wear fine array,[52] but in so

doing they despoil the church and the poor. 'Prelatis other curatis that ben ouir

gredi and auerous, and wasten the godis of the chirche, that ben the godis of pore

men, in pride, glotonie, and lecherie, and nice arai of the world with othere

vanitees, ben theuis and sleeris of pore men, and tretouris of Jesu Crist and of

symple cristene men.'[53] Their fine clothing makes the clergy thieves if not killers

of the poor. They move about grandly on fine horses[54] with glittering and jingling

bridles,[55] perhaps the modern day equivalent of a 'tricked out' sports car, with all

the options. The first of the *Lollard Sermons* describes this irony. Christ enters

Jerusalem on a donkey, while medieval prelates ride in style.

> 'And heere au3ten proude men of þis world, but principalli prelatus
>
> and prestis, be sore aschamed to see her Lord and her Mayster,
>
> whom þey schulden principalli suen, ride in þus pore aray, as is
>
> seide bifore, and þey to ride so proudeli in gai gult sadeles wiþ
>
> gingelinge brideles and v score or vi score hors of prout arayid men,
>
> as þou3 hit were a kynge rydinge toward a reuel, and her chariottis

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[46] Hw 204 'frere'.
[47] Hw 185 'feinen'. Also Hw 186 'feiner'; Hw 187 'feining'.
[48] Hw 236 'indulgence'.
[49] Hw 374 'treue'.
[50] <L 8-13><T 37C><P 9>.
[51] Hw 261 'lordshipe'. Respectively Hw 131 and Hw 221.
[52] Hw 23 'arrai'.
[53] <L 12><T 37C ><P 7>.
[54] Hw 276 'palfrei'.
[55] Hw 86 'bridel'. 'Ande efte Bernarde sais, Seye, 3ee bischoppis, what dos golde in 3oure bridel? <L 28><T A29><P 473>.

wiþ her jeweles goynge tofore ful of grete fatte hors fed for þe nones.[56]

The extravagance in transportation comes with a grim price tag, as the writer of *How the Office of Curates is Ordained of God* reminds the audience: 'and hou euyl it is to suffre pore men perische for hungire and þriste and cold, and here curatis han fatte hors with gaye sadlis and bridelis.'[57]

The proverbial hammer will, though, fall on those clerics who seek financial aggrandizement, as *The Plowman's Tale* states: 'And all to holden greet array, To multiply hem more metall, They drede full litell domes day Whan all such fals shall foul fall.'[58] There are numerous other examples, both heterodox and orthodox, which depict clerical finery and excess. However, in the interim, it is the 'povre' that live on the edge of survival, and it is little wonder that the Lollard writings found a receptive audience in an age wracked by plague, famine, and poverty. There are too many 'pore men' [who] 'hungire and thirste and haue nakyde syddes.'[59] In a world where this may have been all too real, this message may have resonated. The writer of *Of the Leven of Pharisees* states:

> '3if þei' [the clergy] 'gederen to hem self many wast and precious cloþes bi feyned beggerie and sotil ypocrisie, and partiþ not with pore nedy men þat han nakid sidis and torne sleues and here children steruen for cold, neiþer here owen breþeren, be þei is neuere so gret myschef & cheueren for cold, hou cloþe þei naked men, whanne bi ypocrisie þei drawen fro hem þis bodily almes bi

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[56] <L 30><T CG01><P 1>.
[57] <L 5><T MT07><P 149>.
[58] <L 329><T PT><P 157>.
[59] Trinity College Cambridge O.1.29 f. 73v.

whiche þes poralis schulden be cloþid of pore and riche, and ben

irreguler bifor god for myschefous deþ þat þes nedy men suffren.'[60]

Once again the similarities between the Trinity College Cambridge text and a

known heretical text become apparent. To those with 'nakid sidis' facing bone-

chilling temperatures, to those who lack adequate food and shelter, the perversion

of a well-heeled, well-dressed clergy riding in a style enjoyed by secular magnates

must have been excruciatingly ironic. To this impoverished audience, at least, the

conviction of the *Apology* writer surely would have been refreshing. All he asks is

the essentials of life. 'Fode and heling hauing, wiþ hem I schal be content, and

nakyd I schal folowe þe nakid cros.'[61] The 'povre'—enduring the privations of

cold and hunger—might hear in Lollardy a criticism of an opulent church and an

empathy to contemporary poverty more immediately compelling than any doctrinal

statement.

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[60] <L 8-17><T MT01><P 14>.
[61] <L 29><T APO><P 43>.

Chapter 2: Pious Practice

The previous chapter considered the backdoor heretical position on poverty, articulated through forms of 'povre'[1] and 'poverte'[2], which appears in the Wycliffite texts here concordanced. The Middle English texts do not support the heretical notion of the poor priest,[3] preacher,[4] or teacher[5] which has achieved an unwarranted status as iconic and commonplace in Lollard discourse. The simple[6] or poor priest or preacher does not lurk behind every hedgerow, and appears infrequently in the Latin Sermons and in the vernacular texts. In Wycliffite thought, all clerics should be categorized as poor—that is content with the basic essentials of life— on principle. Where priests or preachers are mentioned in the Lollard texts, they are depicted as the human vehicles for preaching[7] and teaching,[8] and as such are to be learned in evangelical precepts and pure in personal life. These priests, preachers, and teachers are more accurately identified, not as unbeneficed and unlearned, but as the bearers of truth, as individuals siding with truth[9] in the binary of truth versus untruth:[10] thus 'true', 'Cristes',[11] 'Goddes', and his (when the pronoun referent is to Christ, God, or an accepted Wycliffite authority) are more apt and more accurate adjectives when describing those who,

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[1] Hw 292. Also Hw 293 'povreli'.
[2] Hw 291.
[3] Hw 298.
[4] Hw 296.
[5] Hw 357.
[6] Hw 338. Also Hw 340 'simpli'; Hw 339 'simplenesse'.
[7] Hw 295. Also Hw 294 'prechen'.
[8] Hw 358. Also Hw 356 'techen'.
[9] Peikola (2000) has shown the significance of 'trew man' and corollary terms to Wycliffite identity. This polarity is also discussed in C. von Nolcken, 'Richard Wyche, a Certain Knight, and the Beginning of the End' in *Lollardy and the Gentry in the Later Middle Ages,* ed. M. Aston and C. Richmond (Stroud, 1997): 127-154. The Lollards 'represent the struggle they are engaged in not so much as between particular persons at a particular time as between Christ and Antichrist or, in slightly less essentialised terms, as between a group of *trewe precours, trewe preestis, pore cristen, men, pore prestis,* and the like, headed by Christ, and a group of *false prechouris, false prestis, veyn religious, anticristis clerkis,* and the like headed by Antichrist', 127-128 (emphasis hers).
[10] Green (1999) has shown the difficulties in defining truth in its various senses (legal, ethical, theological, or intellectual—as Green groups the MED definitions) and over time as meaning accrued, 9. Thus referring to the opposite of truth in a single antonym is challenging. Untruth has been selected, as the 'un' prefix negates or opposes whatever denotation truth may carry in any given instance.
[11] Hw 121.

on the basis of verbal and textual instruction, make a considered, rational choice to adopt the Lollard agenda. Forms of poor and poverty, where these do appear in the Lollard texts, overwhelmingly refer to the dire socio-economic status endured by many people. This problem is exacerbated by a wealthy church whose prelates[12] are seen to ignore pastoral responsibilities, to disregard God's law,[13] and to seek worldly riches. To Wyclif and the Lollard writers this state of affairs is not only a religious and ethical outrage, it is also a theological heresy about Christ and the style in which he should be worshipped. While heterodoxy emphasizes Christ's combined natures and minimizes reference to his physical suffering, orthodoxy embraces Christ's humanity and cultivates an affective response to the violence and pain of the Passion.

Context

    i. Nicholas Love and Lollard Texts: Christ's Dual Natures

    In canvassing learned and contentious issues, a fact that is eventually seen to warrant secular and ecclesiastical legislation,[14] heterodoxy goes well beyond the church-set catechetical essentials.[15] The heresy also generally rejects or redirects

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[12] Hw 297. Also Hw 61 'bishop'.

[13] Hw 249.

[14] The secular government passed *De Heretico Comburendo* in 1401, which allowed the burning of heretics, discussed, for example in McHardy, A.K., '*De Heretico Comburendo, 1401* in *Lollardy and the Gentry in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. M. Aston and C. Richmond (Stroud, 1997): 112-126. Archbishop Arundel's *Constitutions* were drafted in 1407 and published in 1409, for example Hudson (1988), 15.

[15] Stating what the average lay person should know may also place a ceiling on what the lay person may not or should not know, as eventually occurs under Archbishop Arundel. Under the year 1382 the chronicler Knighton complains how 'magister Iohannes Wyclif' has made the Gospel, heretofore under the purview of 'clericis et ecclesie doctoribus', available to 'laycis et infirmioribus personis' in 'de latino in Anglicam linguan non angelicam'. Worse still, to the chronicler, the Gospel material is now open to lay persons, even to women who may read, where such access was previously for the use of literate and learned clerks. To Knighton, Wyclif has spread the pearls of the Gospel to be trampled by the feet of swine. Archbishop Arundel's *Constitutions* attempted to curb the written and spoken promulgation of heretical belief, and the numerous heresy trials illustrate the lay persistence in accessing and promoting doctrinal and religious topics that it should neither consider nor share. The First Constitution re-instates 'ignorantia sacerdotum' of 1281. Sermon-writer John Mirk complains that, under the Lollard influence, parishioners query their priests on points they should simply accept on sacerdotal authority. Abbot Thomas Spofford of St. Mary's York condemns the Lollard heresy, while former Bishop Reginald Pecock was charged with heresy for making a detailed, vernacular effort at countering Lollard positions. Whether less formally, in outraged clerical protest, or more formally in ecclesiastical statute, or heresy trial, the

the penitential models for lay piety. In traditional form these depend on an emotionally charged encounter with the results of personal sin on the tortured flesh of Christ,[16] re-crucified with every sin committed.[17] Nicholas Love (d. 1423/4), Prior of Mount Grace and author of the *Myrrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ*, is known to have written this work as a remonstrance to the Lollard heresy. In it Love denounces the heretical rejection of affective meditation on Christ's life and passion, and reasserts these as the beginning of a heart-wrenching meditative session. The audience is to begin with a fervent desire to 'haue sorwefull compassioun thoru3 feruent inward affeccioun of the peynefull passioun of Jesu'. The first step is a cognitive decision to put Christ's divinity to one side and focus on his humanity:

> 'thou moste in thy mynde depart in manere for the tyme the my3t of the godhede fro the kyndely infirmyte of the manhede· though it so be in sothenes that the godhede was neuer departed fro the manhede.'

This is crucial as there are individuals emphasising Christ's divinity over his humanity. 'There beth many so blynded gostly by vnresonable ymaginacioun of the my3t of the godhede in Jesu that thei trowe not that eny thing my3te be peynefull or sorwful to hym as to another comune man that hath only the kynde of man· and therfore haue they non compassioun of the peynes that he suffrede supposynge that for also moche as he was god there my3t no thing be a3enst his wille or dere hym.'

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church clearly sought to limit lay religious instruction to the essential elements of faith, observance, and moral behaviour.

[16] For example, as described in Duffy (1992) 'Devotions to the Passion', 234-238; 'The Mass of St. Gregory and the Wounds of Jesus', 238-248; 'The Seven Words on the Cross', 248-256.

[17] Hebrews 6.4-6: 'For it is impossible for those who were once illuminated, have tasted also the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, 5 Have moreover tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, 6 And are fallen away: to be renewed again to penance, crucifying again to themselves the Son of God, and making him a mockery.'

Love counters this, and in fact, on the principle of emphasising one or the other of Christ's dual natures, the Lollards agree. Love stresses the importance of Christ's divinity as well as his humanity: 'it so be in sothenes that the godhede was neuer departed fro the manhede', and later in the passage underlines this by noting that— although the *Mirrour* is explaining how to 'haue trewe ymaginacioun and and ynward compassioun of the peynes and the passioun of oure lorde Jesu' or an affective meditation devoted to the pain suffered— Christ is truly divine and human by immediately appending 'verrey god and man' as an appositive phrase to 'oure lorde Jesu'. This phrase 'very god and man' also appears both in Wyclif's writings and in the vernacular texts, and may itself seem unsurprising or obvious in late medieval Christianity; however, as this chapter argues, Lollard use of this phrase both protests affective piety and its overemphasis on Christ's humanity and signals a heretical position on the doctrine of transubstantiation.[18]

ii. Scholarly Studies on Orthodox Passion Narratives and Affective Piety

Before turning to the Select Concordance data, a few observations on orthodox Passion narratives will be made. L. LeVert has considered the process traceable to St. Gregory and to Hugh of St. Victor forward to the portion of Nicholas Love's *Mirror* that depicts the Passion.[19] LeVert observes that the 'know, feel, act' process 'corresponds with' Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*, a process that saw continuation in the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. LeVert draws attention to D. Despres' statement that: 'vicarious participation in gospel events . . . marks a fundamental historical and theological tie between affective piety and the developing sacrament of penance and is consequently a prominent factor in late-

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[18] Wyclif discusses Christ's dual natures often in close association to the Sacrament of the Altar and in the way Christ is present in the consecrated host; for example, *WLS IV* sermo. II 14/8-15/24; *WLS IV* sermo. XXIII 200/5-14; *WLS I* sermo. XXIX 196/16-26.
[19] LeVert's method is examining these 'in the light of medieval and modern reader-response theories and in the context of medieval affective piety while considering some recent work on affectivity and on the efficacy of visualizing devotional scenes.' LeVert (1998), 73.

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medieval penitential literature.'[20] The type of institutionally sanctioned knowing is to some degree subjective. 'Within a medieval Christian context, didactic and moral purpose go hand in hand with devotional, affective experience: feel, know and act.'[21] Feeling, knowing, and acting, centrally located on Christ's life and Passion, were catalyzed not only by personal meditation, but also by pious texts, religious iconography, the sacraments, and the liturgical cycle. Duffy has observed that 'All the sacraments . . . took their meaning and power from the blood of Christ' and that 'the centrality of the Crucifix in the surroundings of late medieval English men and women was matched by a similar emphasis on the Passion as the centre of their private devotion'.[22] M.L. Hennessy has remarked on the pervasiveness of 'Passion imagery' in late medieval England[23] and its connection to meditation and instruction. The technique of 'vividly imagining the Passion' also referred to as 'active remembering', 'the practice of the devotional present', or 'biblical day-dreaming' encouraged readers to imagine themselves into the events commemorated by Holy Week.[24] This meditative technique was also harnessed by writers of moral instruction, and Hennessy draws attention to an unusual 'Hours of the Cross' poem that incorporates 'affective and penitential strategies that appeal to the reader's five senses.'[25] More commonly occurring is the connection between

[20] Despres (1989), 20.

[21] LeVert (1998), 77.

[22] Duffy (1992), 234. As shown by Duffy this private devotion found various means of expression in funerary bequests, religions artwork, and vernacular literature. On didactic artwork, 'from the late fourteenth century onwards wall-paintings illustrating the moral framework of the teaching of the confessional manuals abound', 63; on the type of literary works available to the laity, 'How the Plowman Learned his Paternoster', 53-87; on the growth of lay literacy, 'the crucial factor in the growth of a well-instructed laity in fifteenth-century England was the spread of literacy down the social scale, even to many women', 68.

[23] Hennessy (2004): 'By the late Middle Ages, there was a remarkable amount of interest in the details of the torture, suffering, and violence of the Crucifixion. . . Passion imagery was virtually everywhere in England—in prayers, sermons, lyrics, devotional treatises, mystery plays, stained glass, sculpture, and manuscript illumination', 213.

[24] Hennessy (2004), 218.

[25] Hennessy (2004): 'The senses are 'organs with which to perceive' the events of the Passion— vehicles that animate their experience and memory of the Passion', 222. 'Matching the liturgical hours to the events of the Passion was traditional. But how does one connect these to the five senses

the five senses and the five wounds Christ suffered, his torment becoming both the

remedy for 'fallen bodily senses' and an incentive for corporeal mortification.[26]

The Five Wits could also, often with the Seven Deadly Sins, function as talking

points in the confessional.[27] From Hennessy and Duffy, then, a few conclusions

may be drawn. Clearly, the Passion was central in public and private spheres.

Readers were encouraged to revivify the events of Good Friday, personalizing the

narrative in a specific meditative style.[28] The powerful images resulting from this

meditative style were borrowed by writers who connected the suffering of Christ to

the five senses in admonitory literature or confessional manual; thus wiring private

affective recollection of the Passion directly to the church's more public

programme of catechesis.

By contrast, in non-orthodox circles— though there is a range of opinion on

the efficacy and validity of iconic representation— the focus of the heretical texts,

whether for public or private use is less affective, as will be argued here. It is

almost taken as read that Lollard heresy, so known for its literate background and

representations, would be un-affective or logocentric; however, that is just the

problem. Lack of Lollard affectivity is taken as writ, but relatively little has been

written about this lack. The present chapter investigates the extent to which the

style of affective piety is absent in the vernacular texts. The Select Concordance

data reveals the extent of the general absence of affective, Passion-centred

elements in Lollard literature. The inclusion of learned material and the general

exclusion of the affective elements common to orthodox texts both point to a style

of piety that rejects personal, emotive narrative intended to incite contrition for

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and the ethical qualities? The poem' ['Hours of the Passion'] 'asks readers to heighten their sense
of Christ's suffering, and in turn to use their own senses as pathways to the sacred', 228.
[26] Hennessy (2004), 230.
[27] Hennessy (2004), 231-232. In the confessional 'one searches one's conscience in respect to the
seven deadly sins, moving on to the senses to determine if they have been used in an errant manner.
Another lyric on fol. 30r in Additional 37049 similarly uses Passion meditation as a remedy for the
seven deadly sins. The 'Hours of the Cross' was a product of this confessional context', 232.
[28] On Wycliffite rejection of personalizing the narrative to each believer's own storyline, 74-78.

rationally positioned exegesis that urges doctrinal engagement. F. Somerset has

considered *Five Questions on Love*, a 'translation and adaptation of the *De Amore*'

and its implications for a Wycliffite style of spirituality.[29] While not dismissing all

affectivity from heterodoxy, Somerset does acknowledge that 'Wycliffites value

learning very highly, but are distrustful of simple affective devotion, and in

particular the use of narratives or images to instruct the laity. Lollard writers

strongly advocate a rationalist approach to religion, even for those without formal

education.'[30] Somerset sees in *Five Questions* an alternative means of spiritual

expression through the actions of loving and maintaining God's law even if these

actions will result in martyrdom, 'the highest love of God'.[31] While not without

heartfelt conviction, this 'self-abandoning asceticism' does not derive from

contemplation or meditation on the Passion but from devout study of Holy

Scripture.[32]

The chapter that follows supports the general absence of the Christo-

centric[33] affectivity in the vernacular Lollard texts and the question of how the

faithful should perceive this Divine and Human element of the Holy Trinity. Three

issues relating to Christ are discussed, with orthodox examples,[34] and then

contrasted with the Select Concordance data. The first section is entitled Images of

Christ and considers how the Lollard texts controvert the concept of Christ's flesh

as a written document and as a wounded lover. Section two explores Elements of

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[29] Somerset, F., 'Wycliffite Spirituality' in *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, ed. H. Barr and A.M. Hutchison (Turnhout, 2005).
[30] Somerset (2005), 376.
[31] Somerset (2005), 384-387.
[32] Somerset (2005), 385.
[33] OED 'Christo-centric'.
[34] Here selected are the *Charter of Christ*, Nicholas Love's *Myrrour*, Bishop Thomas Spofford's exemplum of the 'Knight with the Bloody Shirt', *The Book of Margery Kempe*. Obviously, many other examples or versions might have been selected. Those examples here discussed have distant associations with the heresy. References to *The Charter of Christ* appear in *The Lay Folks' Catechism*, once thought to be Lollard, and in the tenth of the *Lollard Sermons*. Nicholas Love wrote his affective *Myrrour* against the Lollards. Abbott Thomas Spofford related his 'Knight with the Bloody Shirt' exemplum in the same sermon featuring fulminations against the Lollards.

the Passion from selected orthodox sources, noting their general absence in the texts here concordanced. Section three discusses the Personal Affective Narrative, commonly recommended in orthodox pious practice and meditation, but seen as dangerous to a sect that values Holy Scripture as the ultimate conduit to Christ.

Images of Christ

i. Christ's Flesh versus Written Document

This section supports the lack of affectivity in Lollard discourse by demonstrating the general absence of the metaphor of Christ's crucified body as a written document and a strong tendency to distrust human documentary culture: Christ, truly God and human, is to be received as the evangelical *logos*, the word, rather than as suffering flesh. *The Charter of Christ*[35] is compared and contrasted with the concordance data relating to human documentary culture and Holy Scripture.

The Charter of Christ, appearing in prose and verse, is extant in over 40 manuscripts, which attests to its popularity. There are three versions: the *Carta Dei*, the Short and Long Charters.[36] In it Christ's crucified body is the legal document guaranteeing humanity's salvation in exchange for its love for him. This metaphor merges the literary and the physical. In graphic detail, Christ's body becomes the parchment upon which the promise of salvation is brutally inscribed; the writing implements being the very devices of his Passion. Like parchment, Christ's skin is prepared by softening and stretching: 'Till a pyler I was pyght Tuged & tawed all a nyght / And waschen in myne awen blode / And straytely / strened on þe rode / Streyned to dry on þe rode tre / Als parchemyne aw for to

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[35] Spalding, M.C., ed., *The Middle English Charters of Christ* (Bryn Mawr, 1914).
[36] Described by R.R. Raymo, 'Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction' in MWME, vol. 7, 2343-2344; this information, 2343. There are also two Latin versions: *Carta Libera Domini Nostri Ihesu Christi* and *Carta Domini Nostri Iesu Christi*, 2343.

be.'[37] Having prepared the parchment, the writing process is described: 'Here now & yhe sall wyten / How þis charter was wryten / Opon my neese was made þe ynk / With Iewes spyttyng on me to stynk / Þe pennes þat þe letter was with wryten / was of skourges þat I was with smyten.'[38] The ink is the spittle of his tormentors; the pens are the scourges. The number of the letters on this charter equates to the number of Christ's wounds: 'How many lettres þare-on bene / Rede & þou may wyten & sene / ffyue thowsand four hundreth fyfty & ten woundes on me bath blak & wen.'[39] Yet, moving as this account of Christ's personal anguish may be, the personification of the page limits the literary and maximises the affective impact of the suffering. It is not so much a literary depiction, albeit literary terms may be appropriated, as a focal point for orthodox meditation of what happened during Passion Week, and what reoccurs with each sin committed.[40] The narrative is unstable to some degree, as each person imagines him/herself into it, and it is less written than felt. The page does not turn, but curls back towards the same, painful image; the image, compelling as it is, is cyclic, and this document is to be reread, re-vivified every day; therefore, while literary modes may be borrowed, they are not truly emulated. The affective calls the person back, over and over, to highly emotionally charged events, rather than freeing him/her to complete the story, which does not end in Christ's suffering but in Christ's triumph.

E. Steiner has sought to connect *The Charter of Christ* specifically to Lollardy;[41] however, the data from the Select Concordance proves the attempted link between the orthodox *Charter of Christ* and the Lollard vernacular works cannot be at all substantiated. Referring to *The Charter*, Steiner writes 'Just around

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[37] Spalding (1914), 26/75-80; this specific quote is from the Bodleian MS Rawlinson Poet. 175. version, as there 3 different MSS containing the same passage, lines 73-92 on this page.
[38] Spalding (1914), 26/81-86, same MS as above.
[39] Spalding (1914), 26/87-90, same MS as above.
[40] Hebrews 6.4-6, above quoted.
[41] Steiner, E., 'Inventing Legality: Documentary Culture and Lollard Preaching' in *The Letter of the Law: Legal Practice and Literary Production in Medieval England*, ed. E. Steiner and C. Barrington (Ithaca, 2002): 185-201.

1350 a strange literary form appeared on the English scene: the fictive legal document, a lyric or prose tract in the form of a charter or last will and testament. Fictive documents are perhaps best described as apocryphal retellings of Christ's life through the tropes of affective piety.'[42] Knowing Lollard aversion to exempla, chronicles, glosses, japes, lesings, tales,[43] it would be perverse to appropriate fictitious elements which, in being apocryphal, are not faithful to Holy Scripture. Therefore the claim that 'fictive documents reveal some important features of Lollard polemic'[44] is inaccurate; a search for fictive documents in the Lollard texts reveals instead antipathy to fiction and a mistrust of the human documentary culture. While it is true that Lollardy berates indulgences and letters of fraternity (themselves fictitious) it does not resort to fiction to do so.[45] Steiner admits to possible Lollard objections to *The Charter*[46] while asserting that these objections could be overcome 'because it' [Christ's charter] 'appeared to be a kind of foundational grant coequal with Christ's crucified body and with Scripture.'[47] Though on the one hand it would be clever to appropriate a popular image and incorporate it into heterodox polemic;[48] on the other hand the appropriation of this fictitious image, especially as Lollard texts avoid borrowing exempla, chronicles, and fables, would be illogical.

Forms of charter seem, in Steiner, assumed rather than affirmed, and these are not fully investigated in the article's text selection or in the broader context of the heterodox English texts. Steiner's text selection includes: *The Lay Folks' Catechism*, which Hudson has suggested is categorised as Lollard on the basis of

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[42] Steiner (2002), 185.
[43] Respectively, Hw 123, Hw 175, Hw 208, Hw 242, Hw 251, and Hw 354.
[44] Steiner (2002), 186.
[45] Steiner (2002): 'Patently heterodox sermon writers borrowed the image of Christ's charter to contest the legitimacy of indulgences and letters of fraternity, and to describe what would come to be identified as a Lollard ideal of spiritual and textual community', 186.
[46] Steiner (2002): 'Christ's charter belonged to a literary and iconographic tradition that Lollards should find in extremely bad taste', 189.
[47] Steiner (2002), 189.
[48] Steiner (2002), 190.

dubious manuscript selection,[49] the tenth of the *Lollard Sermons, The Great*

Sentence of the Curs Expouned, the *Testimony of William Thorpe,* and the Latin

record of Margery Baxter's trial testimony. It is true that two brief references to

The Charter exist in the tenth of the *Lollard Sermons,* but the passage containing

both is short on violence associated with affective piety and on the fictive

elements.

> Þei schullen stidefastli bileue þat alle we beþ breþeren of oo Fadir
>
> in heuene, and breþeren to oure Lord Jesus Crist, and into his
>
> broþerhede we beþ receyued bi þe worschipeful **chartre** of þe hooli
>
> Trinyte: Fadir, and Sone, and Hooli Goost. Þe **chartre** of þis
>
> breþerhede is þe blessid bodi þat hynge on a cros; writen wiþ þe
>
> worþi blood þat ran doun fro his herte, seelid wiþ þe precyous
>
> sacramente of þe auter in perpetuel mynde þerof. And þis blesside
>
> breþerhede schal abiden for-euere in blisse (whanne alle false
>
> faitouris schullen fare) wiþ hire Fadir.[50]

In this case the reference to physical violence, 'þe worþi blood þat ran doun fro his

herte' is minimalist when compared with other depictions of the Passion. Crucially,

this example is not explicitly linked to Holy Scripture, but it is linked to Christ's

human suffering commemorated in 'þe precyous sacramente of þe auter', and is a

distinct exception to the other 431 texts in the Select Concordance. In *The Great*

Sentence of the Curs Expounded there are eight occurrences of charter, and none is

linked to *The Charter of Christ* or to the idea of the crucified Christ as a document.

Focus is centred on the issue of *dominium.* Forms of charter also appear in *Of*

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[49] Hudson, A. 'A New Look at the Lay Folk's Catechism' *Viator* 16 (1985): 243-258. The *Lay Folks' Catechism* in the Douce and Lambeth MSS 'does not even properly belong to that 'grey area' between conservative Lollardy and radical orthodoxy, an area occupied by texts such as *Dives and Pauper*. It simply lacks any kind of theological consistency. The prominence it has gained by its appearance and categorization in the EETS edition is all out of proportion to its intrinsic importance', 258

[50] <L 279-284><T CG10><P 113>.

Dominion, the twenty-first text in Matthew (1902), but there is no connection to

The Charter of Christ; rather, *Of Dominion* contrasts men's laws and divine laws:

> But here we schal supposen as cristen mennes bileue, þat no mennes
>
> lawis ne chartirs maad of men han strengþe but in as myche as
>
> goddis lawe confermeþ hem; for what is ony chartre or ony lawe
>
> worþ, But 3if god conferme it by his lawe? and so þis grete chartre
>
> wolde moue bi goddis wytt, þat kyngis and here rewmes schulde
>
> maynteyne þe chirche by þe ordeynaunce of god, and distroie þe
>
> contrarie. and 3if we taken hede boþe kyngis and rewmes bi here
>
> opyn oþis schulden take awey þes rentis þat þe fend haþ dowid wiþ
>
> clerkis a3ens cristis ordeynaunce.[51]

This example is clearly controversial. Divine *dominium* is the source of the more

limited human *dominum* headed by the monarchy under whose *dominium* the

church falls to the extent that the secular government should disendow[52]

ecclesiastical 'rentis þat þe fend haþ dowid wiþ clerkis a3ens cristis ordeynaunce.'

This, and the other of the eight examples of charter refer to *dominium*, substantive

law, and are cerebral rather than affective in nature. Though cited by Steiner, *The*

Testimony of William Thorpe contains no forms of charter. Finally, the last of

Steiner's supports for the heretical adoption of the Charter is from the Latin record

of Margery Baxter's testimony; however, it is not actually from the English texts

attributable to the movement.

Wycliffism does, of course, embrace elements of learned discourse to

promote its beliefs, as Steiner and others have noted;[53] however, it generally

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[51] <L 18-27><T MT21><P 287>. Discussed, 85-92.

[52] OED 'disendow'.

[53] Steiner (2002): 'Documentary language and practices always constitute the matter from which
even an anti-establishment agenda may proceed', 201.

eschews the affectivity associated with the Charters of Christ.[54] While the heresy

has undeniable literate elements, it does not indiscriminately embrace literate or

legal modes and expresses a strong suspicion of human documentary culture with

adjectives such as 'fals' 'mannes' 'neue', 'suspect', and 'ungrounded.'[55] The

documents uncompromisingly attacked are those of the church: 'bulle', 'decretal',

'determinacioun', 'lettre', and 'license'.[56] References to Christ's law, God's law,

or Holy Scripture are nowhere explicitly likened to any form of charter. In total, 30

occurrences of forms of 'chartre' appear in the Lollard texts, and where they

appear in the vernacular Lollard works they are generally negative or neutral. The

negative occurrences pertain to issues of *dominium*, previously discussed. While

the number of surviving manuscripts and early printed books attests to the

popularity of *The Charter of Christ*, apart from one brief reference, this affective

image was not adapted by Lollard writers.

ii. Christ as Lover

Forms of love occur infrequently in the Lollard texts,[57] and these texts do

not romanticize the love between Christ and humanity as do orthodox texts, thus

illustrating the lack of this type of affectivity in the heretical vernacular writings.

In this section two examples of Christ as lover, the 'Knight with the Bloody Shirt'

exemplum from Abbot Spofford's sermons and the divine romance and marriage to

the Godhead in Margery Kempe's *Book*, are considered and contrasted with the

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[54] This affectivity is often tied to the orthodox position on the Sacrament of the Altar. For example, Spalding (1914): 'Of bred and wyne the sacrament / For ever to be in my testament / wyche ys my fleshe and my blode / To thoo þat levyn in mylde moode / And to þoo þat dyen out of charyte / here damponacioun for evyr to be / Here wold I you foure wordys teche / And to the peple I pray you hem preche / Hoc facite in meam commemoracionem / And that they have hem ever in mynde / here mede in hevyn there shull þey fynde / These wordys tovchyth the sacrament / That men receyuen verament / hit semyth many and ys but oon / hit semythe bred and it ys noon / hit ys qucke and semys dede / hit ys my bodi in forme of breede / Thys made I oonly for man-kynde / My wonderfulle dedys to haue in mynde / Who-so resseyvyth it in clennes / Savid shall be and come to blys / And to have in mynde my passioun / The wyche shall be thy sauacyoun', 55/105-56/126.
[55] Respectively Hw 179, Hw 275, Hw 352, and Hw 377. 'Mannes' is not here concordanced.
[56] Respectively Hw 90, Hw 139, Hw 154, Hw 252, and Hw 258.
[57] Not here concordanced, but there are only some 485 occurrences in the Lollard texts. Where forms of lover appear, it is in reference to the hypocrisy of clergy having illicit relationships.

Lollard texts which discuss the love between Christ and humans in less sexualized or erotic language.

R. Woolf has observed that 'Christ as Lover-Knight' is 'one of the commonest allegories in medieval preaching books.[58] She notes that this romantic allegory is particularly conducive to articulating 'the dominant idea of medieval piety, that Christ endured the torments of the Passion in order to win man's love', and that in the twelfth century focus shifted towards a 'personal and emotional relationship between God and man.' This shift from what Woolf refers to as the 'doctrine of the devil's rights' to 'satisfaction theory' of salvation took on 'the conception of chivalric conduct in the Arthurian romances', adopting chivalric themes and language involving knights and ladies. Brave and daring knights fight to secure the love of their ladies. A lady may be abducted by an enemy whom the knight will fight bravely so as to secure her freedom; the knight may assist her in gaining back her stolen property; or he may win jousting competitions. But to gain a lady's love he must engage in knightly battle.[59] In the Lover-Knight allegories the knight is fatally wounded, and the distraught lady 'lovingly treasures the shirt or arms of the dead knight as a memorial of him.'[60] When the Lover-Knight idea is linked to Christ, Christ's redemptive love becomes that of a knight's love for his lady, the human soul; the tyrannical enemy, the devil. The shirt or arms the knight wears into battle may be further allegorized in terms of the virtues.[61] This development of the *sponsa christi* theme, as Wolf observes, was tremendously popular.[62]

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[58] Woolf, R., 'The Theme of Christ the Lover-Knight in Medieval English Literature' *Review of English Studies* 13 (1962): 1-16, 1. Tubach, F.C., *Index Exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* (Helsinki, 1969), number 4020.
[59] Woolf (1962), 1-2.
[60] Woolf (1962), 6.
[61] Woolf (1962), 11.
[62] Wolf (1962): 'The allegory of the Lover-Knight occurs in so many places that it would be tedious to enumerate and examine each one', 14.

Spofford seized upon the popularity and affective impact of the Lover-Knight for his sermon writing.[63] In Spofford's 'Lover Knight' or the 'Knight with the Bloody Shirt' exemplum Christ is cast as 'þe kynggys sone' who learns of a noble maiden's troubles: she has been 'be a wykkyd tyrant and her enemye spoylyd and dysheryte of hyre herytage.'[64] For the love of this 'maydyn',[65] the prince takes up arms against the tyrant, fighting him publicly and defeating him. The defeat of the tyrant allows the maiden to recover her 'hyre heritage agayn';[66] however, 'in þat batell and conflykte'[67] the prince is slain. The lady takes up his bloodstained armor and places it in her chamber 'þat scho myth thynk vpon hym. And ay qwan scho beheldyth, scho girt and vttyrly refused all oþer louys.'[68] Spofford clarifies that this lady is the human soul who has lost her heavenly inheritance, and the evil tyrant is the devil through whose envy 'manys kynde was spoylyd of hys herytage.' However, the prince, Christ the Son of God, was sent into this world to do battle to recover humanity's heavenly inheritance.[69] Like the maiden, 'crystyn man an woman . . . should take hys' [Christ's] 'armour and set yt in þe chawmbyr of hys hert'.[70] The exemplum then describes the allegorical significance of the evil armor of the devil: a serpentine coat of mail, a shield of original and deadly sin with a field of uncleanness and the filth of sin and various colours depicting delectation of sin. Pride, disobedience,[71] and concupiscence are

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[63] The entire allegory, including discussion of Christ's armor for the *Annunciation/Passion Sunday Sermon* appears in O'Mara (2002) 95/643-97/726.

[64] O'Mara (2002), 95/644-645.

[65] O'Mara (2002), 95/643.

[66] O'Mara (2002), 95/647.

[67] O'Mara (2002), 95/646-647.

[68] O'Mara (2002), 95/648-651.

[69] O'Mara (2002), 95/655-660.

[70] O'Mara (2002), 96/670-671.

[71] O'Mara, V. and S. Paul, *A Repertorium of Middle English Prose Sermons*, 4 vols. (Brepols, 2007). O'Mara and Paul (2007) list other occurrences of Christ as the lover-knight which appear in sermons: CUL/Gg.6.26/001; BL/Royal 18.Bxxiii/014; Bodl/e Mus 180/030. In CUL/Gg.6.26/001 the lover-knight is actually a brother-night, as Aeneas comes to the aide of his sister who 'was deprived of her possessions by a tyrant', vol. 1/30-31. In Bodl/e Mus 180/30 the lover-knight is also Aeneas who seeks to gain love by engaging in battle, but his prospective beloved refuses him. Aeneas sends 'a letter pointing out everything she possessed' had been 'won with his blood', vol.

the three points of the enemy's shield. A trident-like spear representing phases of temptation completes the battle gear.[72] By contrast Christ's shirt of mail is his humanity, formed in the Virgin's womb, and his shield is the cross to which his hands and feet were nailed. The shield field is the 'skyn of hys body', coloured by the streams of blood from his wounds. The allegorized virtues of Christ's shield, the crucifix, directly controvert those of the devil: meekness to defeat pride; obedience to counter disobedience; and self-sacrifice to banish sinful delectation. The spear is represented by the nails which pierced his hands and feet.[73] The allegorized armor of Christ draws the reader to consideration of the virtues that defeat sin, but it also carries an affective impact by depicting the armor as Christ's suffering humanity. Like the maiden, listeners are to collect this bloodstained armor and to keep it in the chamber of their souls where it can be seen. In times of temptation the mind's eye can be cast to 'þese armys and þis scheld' to overcome and to despise sin and to find comfort.[74] With this introduction, Spofford urges the audience to reflect on the bitter wounds of the passion and recommends a short prayer with which believers may 'worchyppe ilke wounde', thus continually directing the attention of the of the maiden-soul to Christ, the Lover-Knight's suffering flesh represented in the crucifix.[75]

Spofford's use of the Lover-Knight allegory, while not without the romantic application of the knight and the lady, reads rather tamely when contrasted with the Christ as lover elements in *The Book of Margery Kempe*. Margery's style of piety is charged with an affectivity that centres around the manhood of Christ and her love and desire for him. He first appears to her 'in

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3/1876-1878. In BL/Royal 18.Bxxiii/014 the lover-knight fights 'for the love of a maiden falsely disinherited by a tyrant, on the sole condition that she would hang his bloody armour in her chamber in remembrance of him, if he were killed', vol. 2/1406-1408.

[72] O'Mara (2002), 96/673-683.
[73] O'Mara (2002), 96/684-699.
[74] O'Mara (2002), 96/703-706.
[75] O'Mara (2002), 97/714-718.

lyknesse of a man, most semly, most bewtyuows, & most amyable þat euyr mygth

be seen wyth mannys eye'.[76] He is clad in a mantle of purple silk, and sits on her

bedside. After querying why Margery has forsaken him when he has never

forsaken her, he is taken up into the sky.[77] His words evoke the unfaithful wife

version of the Lover-Knight allegory.[78] And though she is occasionally wayward,

Christ instructs her to have a ring made and engraved with the words 'Ihesus est

amor meus.' While Margery is on pilgrimage in Rome God addresses her:

'Dawtyr, I am wel plesyd wyth þe in-as-meche as þu beleuyst in alle þe

Sacramentys of Holy Chirche & in al feyth þat longith þerto, & specially for þat þu

beleuyst in manhode of my Sone & for þe gret compassyon þat þu hast of hys

bittyr Passyon'. Her meritorious belief earns Margery a mystical marriage

proposal: 'Dowtyr, I wil han þe weddyd to my Godhead.' Yet she is frightened of

the godhead, and admits to having no skill in 'dalyawns' with the godhead, for all

her love and affection 'was set in the manhode of Crist.' This love and affection

was so consuming that ordinary sights on the Roman streets, like women carrying

children in their arms, could cause her to 'cryin, roryn, & wepyn' as she

recollected visualising Christ in his childhood; while the sight of a handsome man

would set her weeping and sobbing on Christ's manhood. Margery is unable to

answer the Father, so Christ, 'whoys manhode sche louyd so meche', asks for her

answer to the mystical proposal. When she still cannot speak, Christ intercedes and

excuses her silence. The vows are spoken in the presence of the Virgin and all the

other saints.[79] This event illustrates the culmination of the lover-knight's courtship;

he has fought bravely and earned the lady's love with her hand in marriage.

Following the spiritual marriage, Christ reminds Margery that they are free to enter

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[76] Meech, S.B., ed., *The Book of Margery Kempe*, EETS o.s. 212 (London, 1940; repr. 1997). All references are to the 1997 reprint.
[77] Meech (1997), 8/14-25.
[78] Woolf (1962), 3-5.
[79] Meech (1997), 86/9-87/26.

the marriage bed. 'It is conuenyent þe wyf to be homly wyth hir husbond . . . þei

must ly to-gedir & rest to-gedir in joy & pes . . . Þerfore most I nedys be homly

wyth þe & lyn in bed wyth þe.' Knowing of her desire for him, Christ as lover and

husband encourages intimacy: 'þu mayst boldly take me in þe armys of þi sowle &

kyssen my mowth, myn hed, & my fete as swetly as thow wylt.'[80] This

consummation of the spiritual marriage of Margery and Christ as lover is

affectively romantic. He has won her through his Passion, of which she is

constantly reminded; his humanity and suffering[81] are revisited for powerful

emotionalized religious experiences that appeal to the heart rather than to the head.

Lollard texts reject the orthodox affective for the heterodox intellectual. On

the surface, this may appear quite obvious; however the extent to which this is the

case is striking. The concordance data reveals a lack of the romanticized affectivity

associated with the Lover-Knight image so popular in orthodox literature. Christ as

the Lover-Knight does not appear, and the blood-soaked elements of what would,

in the Lover-Knight allegory, be Christ's battle scene (the Passion) are related in a

much less graphic and much more minimalist style in the Lollard texts. As

previously mentioned, forms of love appear infrequently, and not in the romantic

sense. Margery Kempe engages in spiritual dalliance with Christ, but in the

Concordance data terms for romantic exchanges or encounters, such as 'daliaunce',

are almost entirely negative accusations of clerical promiscuity. For example, in

Tractatus de Pseudo-Freris: 'And 3if freris after þis feyned pouerte wandren in

reumes aftir here lustis, and chesen to ete wiþ riche men where þei may fare

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[80] Meech (1997), 90/10-26.
[81] Mentioned numerous times, for example Meech (1997), 70/9-17 when Margery visits Mount
Calvary and visualizes the crucified Christ whose body suffered more wounds than the openings in
a dovehouse; phrase used by Richard Rolle in *Meditations on the Passion*, 291 note 70/10. Like
Marie d'Oignies, St. Birgitta of Sweden, and other European mystics, the 'fire of love' *incendium
amoris* is kindled in her breast, 292 note 70/21 and 302 note 88/26, and she cries loudly, 290 note
68/12 and 291 note 68/23.

lustfulliche, and haue heere daliaunce wiþ wymmen for here leccherose lyues.'[82]

Forms of the less romantically or sexually charged term 'charite' appear some

1,278 times,[83] so the Lollard texts are not without reference to this virtue; however,

the emphasis is on doing good and alleviating the suffering of one's neighbours,

rather than on the allegory of the Lover-Knight designed to inspire meditation on

Christ's Passion. If one is to be wedded to something, it should be to God's law:

'Weddynge wiþ Goddes lawe is ful for to preise, and daliance wiþ bilawes is for to

repreue.'[84] This is a matter of regard for God's law, above all, rather than concern

for 'neue', manmade statutes;[85] and adoration of divine power as the *logos*, the

word, rather than as suffering flesh.

Elements of the Passion

    Valuing Holy Scripture as much as Lollards are known to have done

suggests that no liberties were to be taken with any part of it. Though the *General*

Prologue to the Wycliffite Bible is clearly heretical, the *Prologue* also agonizes

about translating Holy Scripture accurately.[86] In the Decalogue tracts, heretical

opinion is inserted,[87] but the actual text of Exodus 20, if cleared of the Lollard

commentary, is something with which, on its accuracy, orthodoxy could not

quarrel, even if the very existence of the translation was questionable, if not illegal.

Having re-emphasised the well-known Lollard veneration of Holy Scripture, then,

this section examines the general lack of violent embellishment when discussing

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[82] <L 2><T MT22><P 309>.
[83] Not here concordanced.
[84] <L 833><T 4LD><P 272>.
[85] Discussed, 85-92.
[86] For example, as discussed in Hudson (1988) a complex four step process involved in the production of the Wycliffite Bible noting that rather than representing a 'sequence of activities', this 'does not necessarily imply that one stage was completed before the next began. It is inherently likely that further difficulties would be noticed' [as work progressed] 'and that this would initiate further investigations of commentaries, glosses, and even other copies of the Latin Vulgate in hope of elucidation', 243. On the number of manuscripts containing all or portions of the bible (or which may have done), Hudson (1988), 232. On the *General Prologue*, Hudson (1988), 237-238.
[87] Jefferson, J.A., *An Edition of the Ten Commandments Commentary in BL Harley 2398 and the Related Version in Trinity College Dublin 245, York Minster XVI.L.12, and Harvard English 783 Together with Discussion of Related Commentaries* (unpub. PhD thesis, Bristol, 1995).

Christ. References to Christ's life and Passion, while faithful to Holy Scripture, are, almost invariably, without the zoom lens on the violence and blood-spilling crucial to affective piety. A few orthodox examples are briefly mentioned and contrasted with the Lollard texts' views of Christ's life and Passion.

i. Blood and Bones

Thus far it is evident that, in the metaphor of the charter and the Lover-Knight, are enclosed, affective, and extra-biblical[88] narratives of the Passion. These are romantic, vivid, and violent; the focus is on Christ's human suffering. After the lover-knight falls in a battle to defend her inheritance, the maiden takes up her lover's bloodied armor and treasures it in her chamber, as has been seen in Spofford. Margery Kempe eroticizes the romantic and violent aspects of Christ as Lover. She imagines his numerous, painful wounds, and is devoted to his manhood, or human nature. His prowess in the spiritual battle, exemplified in the crucifixion, wins Margery as his lady to whom he is mystically wed. Their spiritual matrimony culminates in the marriage bed. Physical combat, in Christ's case the human suffering of the Passion, makes him worthy, in chivalric terms, to obtain the affection of his *sponsa christi*.

In *The Charter of Christ* the number of Christ's wounds is tallied at 5,460: 'How many lettres þare-on bene / Rede & þou may wyten & sene / ffyue thowsand four hundreth fyfty & ten woundes on me bath blak & wen'.[89] Margery Kempe sees Christ's crucified body riddled with wounds, in her words: 'hys . . . body' . . . [is] 'mor ful of wowndys þan euery was duffehows of holys', an idea traceable to Richard Rolle's *Meditations on the Passion*: 'Efte, swet Jhesu, þy body is like to a dufhous. For a dufhous is ful of holys, so is þy body ful of wounds.'[90] While

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[88] OED 'extra' as prefix conjoined with 'biblical', in the sense of outside what is to be found in Holy Scripture.
[89] Spalding (1914), 26/87-90.
[90] Quoted from Meech (1997), 291 note 70/10.

referring to the idea of Christ's multitudinous wounds, Margery finds these following particularly compelling: 'þe corown of thorn up-on hys heuyd', 'hys blysful handys' [and] 'tendyr fete nayled to þe hard tre', and the 'grevows wownde in hys precyows side schedying owt blood & watyr for hir lofe & hir saluacyon.'[91] Contemplation of the *arma christi* (literally Christ's armorial bearings, or the instruments of the Passion) obviously inspired Margery into tears of contrition, and they evoke the courtly and affective Lover-Knight image designed to wring a deep emotional response from the audience. As R.H. Robbins observes 'devotion to the Passion had at that time' [the middle ages] 'been greatly intensified, and the preoccupation with the gruesome details of the physical sufferings of Christ on the cross led to an interest in the several instruments which were employed in the crucifixion.'[92]

Yet this is not the case in the Lollard texts which do not generally carry the potent affective images of violent, extra-Scriptural imagery, particularly that depicting Christ's life and passion. As the *Twelve Conclusions of the Lollards* remarks sardonically: 'Þe seruise of þe rode, don twyes euery 3er in oure chirche, is fulfillid of ydolatrie, for if þe rode tre, naylis, and þe spere and þe coroune of God schulde ben so holiche worchipid, þanne were Iudas lippis, qwoso mythte hem gete, a wondir gret relyk.'[93] The fifteenth of the *The Lollard Sermons* is a slight aberration to this pattern, and should be mentioned: 'After, he wes sente to þe mylle (þat is, on þe cros) and þere, bitwix two harde mylle stonys (of heþen men and of þe Jewis), he wes grounden in þe crosse into þe tyme þat þe clennest floure of his blode came oute.'[94] In an unusual stylistic twist, the cross is likened to

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[91] Meech (1997), 70/12-17.
[92] Robbins, R.H., 'The '*Arma Christi*' Rolls' *The Modern Language Review*, 34 (1939): 415-421. Quoted, 415.
[93] <L104-108><T SEWW03><P 27>.
[94] <L 368-371><T CG15><P 193>. Of course there is some debate as to whether or not the *Lollard Sermons* are strictly Wycliffite.

a mill, where his blood is ground into clean flour between the millstones of the

Romans and the Jews. It should also be noted that— the flourish of the metaphor

notwithstanding— it is related matter-of-factly, without elaboration on the pain and

gore appearing in orthodox texts. In general, in the Lollard texts, no veil is drawn

across the facts, but they are conveyed succinctly; for example, *The Pater Noster*

[2]: 'he was ybounde and ybete wiþ scourges, þe blod rennyng adoun by his sydes,

þat þou scholdest kepe þy body clene in his service.'[95] Quite obviously, the

scourging would be flesh rending, but instead of dilating upon the extent of the

wounds and their pain, the writer draws a simple lesson. In this point the sixth of

the *Lollard Sermons* appears to go somewhat further, and is here cited for that

reason. Yet each occasion is firmly backed by Scriptural reference; nothing fictive

appears, though the writer does briefly mention the bloody consequences of the

events. 'But heere 3e schulleþ vnderstonde þat fyue tymes, and in fiue placis of his

boodi, we reden þat þis blessid Lord schedde oute his blod fro þis dai ito þe laste

ende of his li3f, and þe sixte tyme after þat he was ded.'[96] Christ's circumcision

was the first time:[97] 'þis dai whan he at þe eyte dayes of age schedde his blood in

his tendere lyme. In þis dede he 3af vs gret matere of loue and also gret ensaumple

of clannesse and chastite, and for to refreyne vs fro al maner of lecherie in þou3t,

word, and dede.' The second occasion was Christ's night of agony in

Gethsemane:[98] 'he knelyng preyede to his Fader in wakynge, þe ny3t tofore he

suffride deþ. And, at þat tyme, as Luke makeþ mynde, he preiede so hertili þat his

swot was maad as dropes of blood rennynge doun into þe erþe.' This, the writer

reminds us of Christ's love and his example of sincere prayer: 'In þis also he 3af vs

gret matere of loue, and also gret ensample to traueile bisili, wiþ deuocion in

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[95] <L 11><T A04><P 107>.
[96] <L 150><T CG06><P 69>.
[97] Luke 2.21: 'And after eight days were accomplished, that the child should be circumcised, his name was called JESUS, which was called by the angel, before he was conceived in the womb.'
[98] Luke 22.44: 'And his sweat became as drops of blood, trickling down upon the ground.'

preier, for oure owne synnes.' The third time was the scourging, and the writer

supports his claims by quoting Isaiah 1.6.[99] 'His cloþes weren strept of his blessid

bodi, and he so al nakid was bounden to a piler, and wiþ scharpe schorges so beten

his tender bodi þat þe blood barst ou3t at euery strook, so þat 'fro þe toppe of þe

hed', as Isaiah þe prophet seiþ, 'non hool place was founden in him doun to þe sole

of þe foot.' The fourth time is the placement of the crown of thorns on Christ's

head:[100] 'þe cursede mynistres of Pilate token a coronne of scharpe þornes wriþen

togidere and, in scorn of his kyngdom and in stide of a corowne of golde, presten

doun on his hed, þoru whiche þe blood barst oute at þe veynes, and guschede out

into his i3en, and so doun into al his face.' Admittedly, this is a painful and

unpleasant image, and the Gospel accounts are actually silent on the bloodshed and

pain that the head injuries resulting from the crown of thorns must have caused.

Yet, this and the scornful spittle notwithstanding, the writer draws from this a

lesson in meekness; the lens does not stay long on this dreadful image. The fifth

was the nailing to the cross, which is wrenching to ponder, even in understatement.

'þe blesside hondes and armes of oure Lord Jesus Crist weren streytli streyned

vpon þe cros and grete bustus nailes dryuen þoru oute hem into þe tree, and oute of

þe woundes, as oute of grete goteris, largeli þe blood ran oute on eueri side.' But

the writer stops at the obvious; the driving of the nails, not to mention the force of

gravity on the body, would cause a profusion of blood. The focus turns to Christ's

embracing posture; he is not a Lover-Knight, but a person who gathers humanity in

a platonic embrace of religious love and forgiveness. This gesture should remind

those who do harm to others, or would do harm, to avoid such: 'And in þis he 3af

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[99] Isaias 1.6: 'From the sole of the foot unto the top of the head, there is no soundness therein:
wounds and bruises and swelling sores: they are not bound up, nor dressed, nor fomented with oil.'
[100] Matthew 27.29: 'And platting a crown of thorns, they put it upon his head, and a reed in his right
hand. And bowing the knee before him, they mocked him, saying: Hail, king of the Jews.' Mark
15.17: 'And they clothe him with purple, and platting a crown of thorns, they put it upon him.' John
19.2: 'And the soldiers platting a crown of thorns, put it upon his head; and they put on him a
purple garment.'

to vs ensample to naile fast oure hondes wiþ þe drede of God fro al maner of

sleynge[101] and wrongful smytynge, ex-torcions, robberie, and lecherous

handelynge, falce deceytes in wi3tes and mesures, and alle oþer wrongful doynges

in displesynge of God and harmynge of oure breþeren.' The sixth occurrence is

Christ's removal from the cross, when a nearby soldier uses his spear to 'test' for

signs of life: 'out of whiche wounde cam oute þe laste blood and watir also þerwiþ.

In þis blesside payment and ouerpassynge kyndeli dede, he schewide to vs þe

moost and þe hiest cause of loue.'

This is the most effusive example in the Lollard texts, and to be fair, while

it seems on the Lollard fringe, it still lacks the excessive bloodletting and the

devotion to the instruments of the Passion noted by R.H. Robbins in orthodox

works. Passion vocabulary outlining Christ's cruel treatment before the crucifixion,

such as 'beting', 'bleden', 'bobben', 'buffeten', and 'buffeting' appear with

relative infrequency,[102] collectively 38 times in the Select Concordance. The

'crois'[103] on which Christ was nailed or the 'crucifix'[104] commemorating his

Passion[105] appear with greater frequency, for a collective total of 246 occurrences:

with only 28 occurrences of 'crucifien'. The cross, occurring 210 times is generally

commemorated as a pivotal legal event meant to remind believers to obey God's

law; for example, as in *The Holi Prophet David Saith*:

> 'Crist strecchid forth hise armes and hise hondes to be nailid on the
>
> **cros**, and hise leggis and hise feet also, and bowide doun the heed to
>
> schewe what lowe he hadde to mankynde, so alle cristene peple
>
> schulde strechyn forth here armes and hondis and alle here menbris
>
> to enbrace to hem silf the **lawe of God** thourg veri bileue and trewe

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[101] This is significant, as evil clergy are depicted as 'manquellers'.
[102] Respectively Hw 56, Hw 73, Hw 80, Hw 88, and Hw 89.
[103] Hw 122.
[104] Hw 128.
[105] Hw 127 'crucifien'.

obedience therto, and trewe mayntenaunce therof to here lyues

ende.'[106]

Christ's outstretched arms are not a point of affective lamentation but a perpetual

reminder to embrace God's law through true believe, obedience, and support.

Forms of 'blod'[107] occur 436 times, and primarily refer to the Christ's blood

commemorated in the Sacrament of the Altar, a point of belief confirmation or

ecclesiastical criticism. *On the Twenty-Five Articles* urges the clergy to 'make 3e

nowe alle 3oure godis comyne to **pore**[108] **men in nede**, and lyve in penaunce,

prayer, ande holy teching in dede and worde, leste Crist dampne owe for

traytouris[109] and **monquellers**[110] and scheders of his blode for 3oure

unpityuousnes.'[111] Whether eucharistic discussion, biblical quotation, or clerical

criticism, 'blod' is a doctrinal or legal issue rather than an emotive issue.

Where the events of the Passion are discussed, they are related very

similarly to the record of Holy Scripture, without lingering on the grisly tortures

and without conjecturing the human emotional response outside the biblical

accounts. Without ignoring the Passion, as related in Holy Scripture, and its

salvific significance. Rather than suffering flesh, Christ, truly God and man, is

taken as the word, as the speaker of Holy Scripture.

Personal Affective Narrative

i. The 'Story of Scripture'

While orthodox texts encourage the 'biblical day-dreaming' previously

mentioned, the same cannot be said of Lollard texts. At least part of the problem

may lie in the flexibility of personal narration of Christ's life and death and the

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[106] <L 03><T Dea1><P 456>.
[107] Hw 79.
[108] Hw 292.
[109] Hw 366.
[110] Hw 263.
[111] <L 18><T A29><P 474> (emphasis mine).

potential for aberration from the accounts in Holy Scripture. Also, though this

flexibility is designed to increase personal engagement in the events and therefore

to encourage the penitential process, heterodox objection to auricular confession is

well known. Finally, even where a biblical narrative is related accurately, if it lacks

exegetical context that goes beyond orthodox moral and religious instruction, it

fails in being theologically instructive. Though it may be difficult to separate these

motives, the absence of non-biblical exempla, the obvious dependence on Holy

Scripture to evaluate and to challenge church sanctioned doctrine point away from

affective piety to a general logocentric piety in the Lollard texts. For orthodox

examples, this section takes Nicholas Love and Margery Kempe to build contrast

with the Select Concordance data.

In his *Myrrour*, Nicholas Love provides two different possibilities for the

means by which Christ was actually crucified, that is the position from which he

was nailed to the cross. Love's instructions and these alternative possibilities

illustrate the flexibility of personal narrative whose jumping off point is Holy

Scripture. He begins this section of the *Myrrour* by stating how the events on

Calvary should be viewed: 'see whan our lorde Jesu was comen to that **stinkynge**

hulle of Caluerie how wickedly thoo **cursed werkmen** bygonne to worche on alle

sides that **cruel werk**. Take hede now diligently with all thyn hert alle thoo thinges

that be now to come and make the there presente in thy mynde'.[112] Logically, a site

of crucifixion might reek of decomposition; theologically the non-Christian

soldiers may be cursed, and the soldiers' work could hardly be called anything less

than cruel. Yet, these are all evidence of authorial tone, and are not biblically

accurate. Through words such as stinking, cursed, and cruel, a macabre tone is set

for the events the audience is to imagine; the audience is prepared to reflect upon a

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[112] CMEV, 238 (emphasis mine).

ghastly scene. In the first version of the crucifixion the cross is set into the earth, with a ladder to each side of the horizontal bar: 'There ben sette vppe tweie ledders one byhynde and another bifore at the lifte arme of the croys vppon the whiche tho wicked mynistres gone vppe with nayles and hameres· and another schort ladder is sette bifore the crosse that lasteth vp to the place there his feet schulde be nayled.'[113] After climbing up the shortest of the three ladders, Christ submitted to the crucifixion. Love's second version involves Christ lying on the cross to which he is nailed; the cross is than elevated to a vertical position. 'first liggynge the crosse on the grounde thay nayled hym theron· and after / with hym so hongynge / thay liften vppe the crosse and fasteneth it downe in to the erthe. And if it were done in this manere / than my3t thou see how vileynsly they taken hym as a ribaude / and caste hym doun vppon the crosse.'[114] This flexible mode of 'biblical daydreaming' is designed to focus each person's attention on the life of Christ and his Passion, rather than to function as meticulous exegesis.

Margery Kempe, herself accused or arrested on suspicion of heresy, is proved innocent of those allegations.[115] Though she believes whole heartedly in church doctrine, as related to her by numerous priests, friars, and confessors, Margery repeatedly seeks established clerical confirmation of her voices and visions.[116] While occasionally she torments unwilling audiences,[117] with the story of scripture and pious tales, her knowledge of Holy Scripture seems to have extended to the 'story of scripture', the essential narratives, into which she writes

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[113] CMEV, 239.
[114] CMEV, 239.
[115] For example, Meech (1997), 28/29.
[116] For example, she visits with Bishop Philip Repingdon at Lincoln, Meech (1997), 33/24-35/15; Archbishop Arundel, Meech (1997), 36/4-37/14; the Vicar of St. Stephens in Norwich, Meech (1997), 38/18-40/20; Friar William Southfield, Meech (1997), 41/1-42/7; and Julian of Norwich, Meech (1997), 42/7-43/20; as well as to 'many a worthy clerke, to worshepful doctorys of divinyte, boþe religiows men & oþer of seculer abyte', Meech (1997), 43/21-23.
[117] For example, Meech (1997), in Bologna her company rejoins her, but stipulates she 'schal not speke of þe Gospel . . . but . . . schal syttyn stylle & makyn mery' [as do her companions] 'at mete & at soper', 65/29-36.

herself while meditating, not to sensitive doctrinal issues. Imagining herself

handmaiden to St. Anne, mother of the Virgin, Margery takes the infant Mary,

caring for her 'wyth good mete & drynke, wiyth fayr whyte clothys & whyte

kerchys' until the girl is 12 years of age. Later she becomes handmaiden to the

Virgin and cares for the infant Christ. From this perspective she imagines the flight

of Mary and Joseph into Egypt, and assists the Virgin each day by 'purueyng hir

herborw'.[118] Eventually, Margery writes herself into the events of Passion Week,[119]

and is moved by the sites of pilgrimage[120] and by her visions into fits of intense

crying and roaring. Her affective response could not be claimed to be typically

orthodox, but even milder forms of orthodoxy recommended writing one's self into

the Gospel narratives to evoke pity and tears of contrition which prepare the soul

for confession and are paramount for proper taking of the Eucharist.

If such flexibility is permissible in narration of the crucifixion, how far

might this extend? As Hudson has observed 'the idea that God's word was the

more faithful representation of God than the Eucharist survived right through the

fifteenth century.'[121] Therefore, to take creative liberties with God's word would

be a most serious matter. Those misconstruing God's word and presenting Christ

as suffering humanity are extending Christ's human nature to the sacrament

commemorating the crucifixion. This is a misinterpretation and debasement

promulgated by beggars, dreamers, blasphemers, feigners, flatterers, friars,

heretics, and hypocrites.[122] The sacrament, said to be Christ's actual flesh and

blood, empties it of the dual signification it should have.[123] Though Wyclif's views

on the matter are complex and though some later Lollard texts were prepared to go

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[118] Meech (1997), 18/9-19/35.
[119] Meech (1997), 70/4-72/13.
[120] Meech (1997), xlix cites Margery's 1413 departure to the Holy Land and Italy, and the 1417
journey to Compostella.
[121] Hudson (1991), 48.
[122] Respectively Hw 46 'beggere', Hw 67 'blasfeme', Hw 70 'blasfemour', Hw 164 'dremer', Hw
186 'feiner', Hw 194 'flaterer', Hw 204 'frere', Hw 224 'heretike', and Hw 238 'ipocrite'.
[123] Hw 85 'bred' 492 occurrences; Hw 'win' 178 occurrences.

much further than Wyclif, both positions hinge on the bread and wine (accidents) remaining substantially unchanged while gaining another layer of reality, 'the spiritual being of Christ; just as Christ was God and man, so the elements of the Eucharist were bread and wine and body and blood of Christ.'[124] The Lollard texts exhibit a strong distaste for anything outside Holy Scripture, a point on which Bishop Reginald Pecock refutes them;[125] however, the Lollards discount the extra-biblical or fictive narratives, their disdain recorded in a number of negative words: 'blasfemous', 'cautelous, 'clouting', 'cronicling', 'dreming', 'faging', 'fantasie', 'flattering', 'glosinge', 'lesinge', 'suspect', and 'tale'.[126] Those who are seen to take creative license with the record of Holy Scripture or with the Sacrament of the Altar, even if for pious purposes, evoke tears over Christ's humanity to persuade the audience towards the confessional while lacking the literate and theological grasp of Christ as word. It is not suggested that Wycliffism may not be without its own affectivity, but the vernacular texts patently lack the affectivity of the Passion, in word and in sacrament, present in many manifestations in the non-heretical texts; the Select Concordance reveals the trend in these texts is for a logocentric and generally unembellished style of piety based on a literal understanding of the divine word traceable to Wyclif.

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[124] Hudson (1988), 282.
[125] Babingdon, C.B., ed. *The Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy*, by Reginald Pecock, Rolls Series 19 (London, 1860): 'her' [the Lollards] 'proofis ben weel adauntid the wanton and vnkunnyng bering of hem whiche wolen not allowe eny gouernaunce to be the lawe and seruice of God, inlasse than it be grondid in Holi Scripture', vol. 1, 51.
[126] Hw 72 'blasfemous', Hw 105 'cautelous', Hw 113 'clouting', Hw 126 'cronicling', Hw 167 'dreming', Hw 180 'faging', Hw 184 'fantasie', Hw 197 'flattering', Hw 212 'glosinge', Hw 253 'lesinge', Hw 353 'suspect', and Hw 355 'tale'.

Chapter 3: Substantive Law

The previous chapter considered the Wycliffite style of pious practice. As was shown, the Middle English texts here concordanced are generally without the blood-drenched, heart wrenching, ecstatically transporting affectivity centred on the violence of the Passion. Where reference is made to Christ's crucifixion, the details are related in a factual way that echoes the accounts appearing in the four Gospels; however, much more textual space is allowed for Christ as the logos, the word in the mouth of the preacher or on the written page. Literary devices such as the Charter of Christ are absent, as are the colourful exempla that feature in orthodox sermon-making. Heretically-leaning texts are characterized by unadorned language that limits itself to the elucidation of Holy Writ or that comments on problems such as clerical corruption and contemporary poverty.

A third alternative doorway into Wycliffite thought is the question of law. The problems of contemporary poverty seen to be caused by clerical excesses are of grave social concern, but these problems also raise considerable legal concerns and revisit the perennial debates over the larger questions of *dominium*, grace, and ownership. At the centre of Wycliffite legal thought and positioning are two types of law, substantive law—ultimately deriving from divine authority or *dominium* and filtering downward through human hierarchies—outlines rights, duties, and privileges and adjectival law which defines the procedures and methods whereby substantive law is administered.[1] The vital importance of Holy Scripture as the manifestation of substantive law is well-known, and the Wycliffite distrust of ecclesiastical legislation on substantive or procedural issues is equally well-known, and the supremacy of Christ's law is repeatedly juxtaposed against that of Antichrist, the pope, the church, or man. The right to legislate or the obligation to

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[1] This term is taken from Green (1999) who uses this term to indicate law relating to rights, duties, and privileges as opposed to what he calls adjectival law which relates to the procedures whereby the legal process is conducted.

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abide by a given statute is asserted or challenged by vocabulary found in the

vernacular texts revealing lay awareness of the same complex legal issues found in

the Latin writings of Wyclif. It is true that certain vocabulary such as *dominium* or

dominion is lost, but echoes of this philosophical concept and its manifestation in

'laue' are carried on by other terms such as 'fredom', 'lordshipe', and forms of

perfidy, all three of which pertain to substantive law, fredom and lordship referring

to rights or privileges over people or property, with forms of perfidy relating to the

shirking or abuse of rights or privilege outlined in substantive law. The chapter that

follows will briefly outline the context of these legal issues

Dominium, Grace, and Ownership

The present chapter considers the significance of legal issues, clustering

around these questions, in the vernacular Lollard texts that, like Wyclif, described

the contemporary church's doctrinal error and ignoble misconduct as disregard for

God's law, a legal issue, not as the eschatological greed, buffoonery, or malice

symptomatic of a sinful world or prophesied of the last days. St. Augustine had

seen 'private property' [as] 'a direct result of the Fall of man' [because,] 'the ideal

state is one of communal ownership'.[2] This would be a state emulating that of the

Early Church based on the *vita apostolica*, where goods were held in common and

shared so that essential needs were met, an arrangement that attempted to emulate

the prelapsarian state of grace of propertylessness.[3] Wyclif took the position that

'all just human *dominium* derives from God' [and that] 'no private property

relations, which serve as the underpinnings for all human mastery, are just without

grace.'[4] Therefore he saw a particular issue with the extensive property owned by

the church because 'the Church is the re-established ideal state' [and] 'grace does

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[2] Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (2006), an online resource. Hereafter this title is abbreviated as SEP.
[3] OED derivative of 'propertyless'.
[4] SEP (2006).

not provide for its just ownership of any property whatsoever.'[5] The church's

extensive ownership of land, buildings, and artefacts was a refutation of grace.

Consequently he argued that the king was bound by God to relieve the church of its

property, and to rule over it as a divinely appointed steward.[6] Thus the monarch,

though perhaps imperfect and tyrannical, was given *dominium* by God, and was

eligible for just private property ownership as he and the secular arm were not

sworn to grace, a state impossible with property. This is the reverse of the findings

of Giles of Rome who argued that the papacy, as God's representative on earth,

held sacred *dominium* which made the authority of the church, even in secular

matters, 'absolute.'[7] Giles locates all temporal authority, both secular and sacred,

in the Holy See: 'not only is secular power reliant on papal authority; all property

ownership, insofar as it is just, is . . . dependent on an ecclesiastical foundation.'

Quite unlike Augustine, Giles saw grace in the sacred duties and functions of the

church, thereby justifying its ownership of property and implying that 'the

combination of ownership and temporal power' were '*dominium*.'[8] This union of

Giles went on to impact the simmering controversy regarding property and the

mendicant orders.[9] FitzRalph and Wyclif did allow for certain 'grace favored cases

of human dominium', though love, not *dominium*, was the force behind it, and it

was a pattern that did 'not replicate the authority of God's *dominium*.'[10] God lends

humans the merit to receive his *dominium* through his grace;[11] however 'Man's

lordship is at once ownership and jurisdictive[12] mastery, but when a human lord

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[5] SEP (2006).
[6] SEP (2006).
[7] SEP (2006), 4.
[8] SEP (2006), 4. It should be noted that Giles 'did not explicitly define the ownership of property and temporal authority as *dominium*, but in putting those two terms together in that particular way he influenced 'the next generation of Augustinian theorists', 4.
[9] For example, Dawson, J.D., 'Richard FitzRalph and the Fourteenth-Century Poverty Controversies' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 34 (1983), 315-344.
10 SEP (2006), 6.
[11] SEP (2006), 7-8.
[12] OED 'jurisdictive'.

governs, or gives, or receives, or lends, these acts are only just insofar as the lord

recognizes that his is the authority of a steward,'[13] a point repeatedly emphasised

in *De Dominio Divino*.

Human Dominion and Holy Scripture

Holy Scripture is fundamental to the revelation of the divine justice that

enables human *dominium* and is 'the foundation of all that is right (*ius*); the record

of this is in God's word: 'The laws of Scripture are the purest expression of

uncreated right available to human eyes . . . and are most clearly expressed in the

Ten Commandments of Exodus 20, and again in the two greatest commandments

of Matthew 22.37-40.'[14] Holy Scripture is a repeated concern in the Latin sermons

of Wyclif as well as in the English texts considered here,[15] and it is seen as the

only true representation of law. In the sermons at least Wyclif's comments on the

uselessness of academic disciplines, including theology and law, perhaps carry a

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[13] SEP (2006), 8.

[14] SEP (2006), 8.

[15] Hudson has shown the complex nature of the relationship between the Latin and English sermons and the other vernacular texts. Porter notes a variety of conflicting views on natural and moral law in the thought of earlier medieval thinkers than Wyclif such as Thomas Aquinas, Gratian, Isidore, the author of *Summa Lipsiensis*, and the author of *Summa 'Tractaturus magister'*. Some viewed natural law as reflections of external reason, others as direct grounding of reason. 'These authors did not assume that reason is the *ground* of the natural law; for many of them, reason . . . *is* the natural law'. However, others such as Huguccio of Ferrara approached 'law as being primarily an intrinsic principle of order, which can be expressed in judgments and actions without being reduced to them', 216. Porter's examination of the definitions of natural law shows two points of convergence. The numerous authors, 'all . . . take the natural law to be expressions of rationality in some form'. Also, 'the natural law is considered to be pre-conventional or non-conventional, in the sense of being temporally or logically prior to human customs and positive legislation.' Porter sees this as 'the key to unifying the different meanings of the natural law in this period', as 'unwritten law' . . . could be considered a kind of natural law'. To this the problem of Gratian's twofold definition of natural law as 'the Golden Rule' [written] and 'an instinct of nature' [unwritten]. However this problem was viewed, the suggestion of written law implies the post-lapsarian, sinful state; whereas unwritten, natural law suggests an equity and egalitarianism not evident in human institutions. 'By the natural law, all persons should be free and all possessions should be held in common; but clearly, this was not the way society was structured', 224. An uneasy balance was achieved by a third sense of natural law which 'indicates what would be best, or ideal, or even just permitted', 225. Some writers sought support in Augustinian thought, and brought the discussion into the realm of theology. 'Human institutions can be interpreted in the light of the purposes of nature, not as those purposes are self-evidently manifested in the natural world, but as they are discerned through a theological interpretation of nature. . . [This] taken together with the knowledge that 'human institutions reflect human sinfulness and limitation . . . [permits affirmation of] the naturalness and goodness of the basic forms of human social life, and to acknowledge the ways in which they are deficient or sinful', 227. As Workman (1926) and Lahey (2006) show, Wyclif's thought was significantly influenced by Augustine.

hint of irony as they were written by a well-established schoolman.[16] Yet, as may

also be expected from the *doctor evangelicus*,[17] the Latin sermons, like other of

Wyclif's works, are consistent in asserting divine law[18] over all aspects of human

thought and activity and in their active lobbying for the reordering of the

accumulated statutes and trends of contemporary, and sometimes competing, legal

systems;[19] it is, naturally, the church which would feel the force of the proposed

restructuring. Wyclif's proposed hierarchy would place the laws of God over the

accumulation of man-made, ecclesiastical laws on matters from dogma and

mission to religious vocation, fiscal responsibility, pious practice, and pastoral

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[16] *WLS* II, III 12-36/18-1-16/19.

[17] Hudson (1988), 29: on the repeated references to '*doctrina evangelica*' which takes on a subversive quality both in its repetition and in its 'proximity of the term to Wyclif's Latin by name *Doctor Evangelicus*. . . The reader comes to be convinced that the writer was deliberately exploiting the ambiguity of that apparently innocent phrase, and deliberately suggesting the equivalence of *doctrina evangelica* and *doctrina doctoris Evangelici*'. Wyclif's reputation for gospel teaching has earned him unwarranted credit for the first English translation of the bible, as mentioned in Hudson (1988), 228, 241; but also in Hunt (1994). Hunt's position is that Wyclif began 'to advocate or even mention vernacular scriptures' late in life and 'in a cautious and limited way', 2. In Hunt's analysis, notwithstanding Wyclif's dismay about the state of the late fourteenth-century church, 'Wyclif maintains the belief that the office of priesthood, properly carried out, is the proper vehicle for the ministering of God's word to the laity. . . The most appropriate vehicle for this ministration is preaching', 9. Ordinarily, vernacular education on divine word through 'skilled and effective preaching and teaching of God's word is the way in which the laity—apart from, perhaps, the temporal lords—should become acquainted with God's word', 13. This is quite different from the views of the English texts described in Hudson (1988), 268-277.

[18] Hunt has considered Wyclif's complicated definition of scripture which encompasses more than 'the written word of the bible'. '*Scriptura sacra*' predominates, but '*scriptura*' may appear alone. To these are added '*lex Dei*' and '*lex Christi*'; absent is '*biblia*' which Hunt states 'is never used as an equivalent' for holy scripture.' Hunt summarizes Wyclif's definition of holy scripture: the first equates the incarnate Christ as the word 'tota lex Christi est unum perfectum verbum, procedens de ore dei; thus it is the same to love God and to love his law, 'qui idem est essentialiter lex Dei et ipse Deus', placing God as the primary and ultimate 'of the many senses of sacred scripture', 4. Examining Hunt's analysis, it might be said that Wyclif's view of holy scripture and its relationship to divine law seems evolutive rather than decided if one considers *De Benedicta Incarnacione, De Veritate Sacre Scripture, De Apostasia,* and *Trialogus*; however, there is a link between holy scripture and '*lex*' as divine word or as divine law, and thus has a bearing on Wyclif's and the Wycliffite's views of law.

[19] Lahey, S., 'John Wyclif's Political Philosophy', *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (10 June 2006): accessed online where the pages are unnumbered; if printed, the article is automatically numbered consecutively page one through ten, and page references are in accordance with the printed article. Section 'Natural *Dominium*': *De Civili Domino* begins with the motto, 'Civil justice presupposes divine justice; civil *dominium* presupposes natural *dominium*.' 'Man's *dominium* is threefold—natural, civil, and evangelical—but comprehensible as an instantiation of the justice of God's *dominium*. As he moved into his general analysis of human *dominium*, Wyclif's thoughts turned to . . . the Scriptural commandments.'

care.[20] Should Wyclif's vision have materialized, his proposed restructuring would have significantly curtailed episcopal, curial, and papal prerogative. Where these could be shown to be erroneous according to divine law, the latter would be subject to judgment and revision.[21] In the Latin sermons, at least, the thorny issue of interpreting divine law and how it is to be applied on a practical level is not fully articulated; however, one of the divinely-given duties of the secular powers, according to Wyclif, is to compel ecclesiastical revision if its officers are unwilling to change.[22] Unsurprisingly, the freedom of Christ's law ('libertatem legis Christi'[23]) and Christ's law ('legi Christi',[24] 'lex Christi'[25]) feature recurrently as agents of universality, truth, and reform, together with other analogies one of which likens God's law ('lumina legis Dei'[26]) to a brightly burning lamp. The divine, civil, and ecclesiastical legal systems and the right and free exercise of these under the ultimate jurisdiction of divine law, is a general point with which orthodoxy might find it hard to disagree in principle; however, one of broad acceptance of divine jurisdiction is quite different from invoking it as a force by which to refashion the religious arm, if necessary by the force of the secular arm, and in so doing to set secular authority as military and spiritual guardian of England.[27] One might expect a firebrand theologian, preacher, and writer to take

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[20] Lahey (2006), section 'Wyclif's Later Works', 1-2: 'Government and the relation of divine justice to human law, both secular and ecclesiastical, figure as occasional themes throughout the treatises of the *Summa de Ente*. After . . . 1373, his [Wyclif's] attention began to focus more completely on these topics. . . *De Domino Divino* . . . serves as a bridge from the later, formal theological treatises of the *Summa de Ente* to the political, social, and ecclesiological subject matter of the *Summa Theologie*. . . *De Mandatis Divinis, De Statu Innocencie, and De Civili Domino* . . . [provide] the theological foundation for the radical transformation of the church he prescribes in *De Ecclesia, De Potestate Pape, and De Officio Regis*.'
[21] *WLS* II, LV 11-14/407.
[22] *WLS* II, III 4-17/21. *WLS* III, V call for secular lords to divest the church of its endowments 18/36-26/36; followed by a call for voluntary episcopal renunciation of endowments 33/36-2/37.
[23] *WLS* III, XVIII 38/140-14/141: 'Prelati cesarei' and 'religiosi privati' . . . destroy 'libertatem legis Christi'.
[24] *WLS* II, III 16/21. *WLS* III, III 29/16. *WLS* III, XVIII 12/141.
[25] *WLS* II, VIII 16/57.
[26] *WLS* II, LV 40/401: The 'lumina legis Dei': prelates ought to bear the burning lamp of Proverbs 6.23, the commandment which is law and life, in their hands, 40/401-2/402.
[27] *WLS* II, LV 11/407-9/408.

such a stance; this might be less expected of ordinary, lesser educated individuals generations later.

Substantive Law and the Vernacular

The above-mentioned issues relate to substantive law, a fact that may at first appear unusual when discussing vernacular texts, but the concept circulates in the Latin and the vernacular spheres. The term substantive law may at first appear unusual when discussing Wyclif and the English Lollard texts; however, it is a key connecting thread. Aspects of substantive law, as discussed and defined by R.F. Green were current and significant in medieval literature and debate. FitzRalph and Wyclif had both argued against their perceived issues against the friars and, in the case of Wyclif, the entire 'visible' church. FitzRalph's argument in front of the Curia had, in the end, been unsuccessful, but his arguments on dominion clearly, as scholars such as Szittya have shown, were in the end ineffectual. Yet, FitzRalph's arguments were still influential on Wyclif who, to some extent, relies on FitzRalph's argument for the issue of dominion. This issue, while generally abstruse, mired somewhere in theology, logic, and philosophy, and possibly unknown to the laity (except perhaps in FitzRalph's London sermons), actually seeps out in vernacular forms. While Wyclif, the learned Oxford theologian, might, as a matter of course, debate such issues, the provincial Lollard, or provincial English person, could not be expected to apprehend such precepts. This should not be expected, and yet they do: in terms perhaps less erudite than those of Oxford theologians, but the idea persists, and is compelling enough to adopt and to share, on pain of prosecution. Substantive law has not generally been a focal point of studies in the area of Lollard literature. In fact, substantive law itself is, as Green has shown, a difficult medieval issue. In orthodox English texts, as well as Lollard,

the use of legal idiom exhibits what Green has described as characteristic of the medieval division between substantive law and adjective law.

> 'When most medieval people thought at all about substantive law (the kind of law that spells out the actual rights and duties of individual members of society) they thought of it as something permanent and unalterable; the only law they would have regarded as subject to human interference, even then only to a very limited degree, would have been what we should call adjective law (that is, the legal rules and procedures by which rights are defended and duties enforced). For such people, the constitutional struggle between king and magnates would have appeared primarily, not as a battle to decide who should make the law, but rather as a context between those who were bent on changing the law and those who were sworn to preserve it'.[28]

Essentially, then, substantive law relates to the obligations, rights, freedoms, and duties impinging on all classes of people according to their position in life. Here again is the concept of ultimate *dominium* working its way down the human social staircase. Concepts of substantive law not only constitute what a liegeman might owe his lord, as well as the labourer to his employer, but what those in a position of dominion (who Wyclif states are after all only stewards themselves under God) owe to God and their underlings. The Lollards were prepared to extend this beyond secular constraints. While secular allegiances were certainly owed, ecclesiastical authorities also owed allegiances they were seen not to honour and held property that was contingent upon their perpetually seeking a state of grace; therefore failures of dominium in the areas of freedom, lordship, and truancy were seen to

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[28] Green (1999): 238.

bear heavily on the church. This is, again, because, in post-lapsarian terms Wyclif and the Lollards saw a church structure devoid of grace, clogged with property, and failing in its obligations both to God and to man. The church was seen as shirking its duties to God and to its parishioners, all the while and specifically against the law of God, lining its pockets with the hard-won goods of the poor.

By extension then, the power struggles between secular and ecclesiastical authority could be viewed in the same way. In the Wycliffite texts the church is seen to be changing law, thus secular authorities are called to keep their pledges to preserve justice. Though there are references to practical details of what is in Green's terminology 'adjective law', step-by-step procedures and checklists of protocols, and hierarchies of duties are absent in both Wyclif's Latin works and in the vernacular heterodox literature. The king and nobles should preserve law and should correct a recalcitrant church, adding or permitting new laws, with secular political and financial might. Disendowment is a key concept discussed, but the practical and particular methodologies for accomplishing it—legalization, authorization, mobilization, organization, and implementation—are not fully expressed; in fact, Wyclif and his English followers seem far more concerned with substantive rather than adjective law, the contest Green describes as between those 'bent . . . on changing the law and those who were sworn to preserve it'.[29] Those English Lollard texts here concordanced are similarly concerned and thereby show their connection to Wyclif's ideas, however far removed from the Latin page.

Vernacular Literary Context

Vernacular Wycliffism is, of course, not alone either in its presentation of full vernacular translations of Latin texts or in its borrowing of aspects of learned idiom, content, and argument in propounding literary viewpoints. Various studies

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[29] Green (1999), 238. For example, *WLS* I 160: Christ's advice on how the lay arm should monitor the clergy.

have investigated questions relating to: the emergence of English as a political and literary language,[30] the trend toward English translations;[31] a growing and educated vernacular readership;[32] the authorial decision to write in the vernacular;[33] or the vernacular styles of expression, education, or entertainment. The heterodox texts here concordanced fall within this late medieval timeframe; therefore, it may be useful briefly to note an exemplary selection of Middle English vernacular literature of roughly the same time period as prelude to discussion of the distinctive heretical usage of learned material[34] that may initially appear prosaic, stereotypical, or inoffensive, but which is also charged with controversy and anticlericalism.

Aspects of learned, usually academic terminology, whether medical, scientific,[35] political, legal, philosophical, or theological, and translations from Latin are not unknown in orthodox Middle English literature; though perhaps

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[30] Clanchy, M., *From Memory to Written Record*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1993). Richardson, M. 'Henry V, the English Chancery, and Chancery English' *Speculum* 55 (1980): 726-50. Fisher, J.H., 'Chancery and the Emergence of Standard Written English in the Fifteenth Century', *Speculum* 52 (1977), 870-899. Green, R.F., *Poets and Princepleasers: Literature and the English Court in the Late Middle Ages* (Toronto, 1980).

[31] For example, J. Trevisa's translations of Bartholomaeus Anglicus. The *DNB* remarks of Trevisa: 'In the 1370s and 1380s Trevisa's periods of residence in the Queen's College, Oxford, partly coincided with that of Wyclif and his associates, but there is no evidence that he worked with them on their translation of the Bible (or that he produced at any time a translation of the Bible himself). Like them, however, he was engaged in opening to the laity (in his case the baronial laity), through translation into the increasingly important vernacular areas of knowledge formerly the preserve of ecclesiastical, Latin learning'. Getz, F.M., *Healing and Society in Medieval England: A Middle English Translation of the Pharmaceutical Writings of Gilbertus Anglicus* (Madison, 1991). Hanna, R. III, 'The Difficulty of Ricardian Prose Translation: The Case of the Lollards', *Modern Language Quarterly* 51 (1990), 319-340.

[32] Aston (1984): 'Devotional Literacy', 101-133; 'Lollardy and Literacy, 193-217.

[33] Waldron, R. 'John Trevisa and the Use of English', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 74 (1988), 171-202. Somerset (1998) focuses on the period when English composition and translation could be potentially risky activities: 'For a short time, in between the beginnings of an extensive translation of Latin learning into the vernacular from the mid-fourteenth century onward and the growing legitimation of English as an 'official' written language of government and administration during the reign of Henry V' [the Wycliffite writer of 'A Petition to the King and Parliament' engages in what Somerset shows as] 'a strategy of argument' [that] 'requires what is temporarily a highly controversial sort of translation', 3-4. Also, 'The period c. 1373-1410 seems to have been extraclergial writing's most oppositional phase, when transferring the terms, modes, and topics of academic argumentation to English carried a special charge, and claims to write clergially for a wider audience had a kind of untried excitement', 17.

[34] For example the Wycliffite positions on contemporary poverty, pious practice, and anticlerical discourse, discussed respectively in chapters 1, 2, and 4.

[35] 'Works of Science and Information', *MWME*, vol. 10.

vernacularized[36] works lack the prestige of their Latin originals.[37] Medicine

witnessed a striking growth in Middle English works.[38] The work of the learned

surgeon Lanfrank of Milan[39] was translated into the vernacular; as was that of John

Arderne (fl. 1307-1370).[40] Tudor physician Andrew Boorde (1490-1549)

contributed to medicine later in the latter part of period c.1380-1530 with *The*

Compendious Regiment, or, Dyetary of Health[41] and *A Breviary of Health.*[42]

Preparations for a variety of conditions are also represented in the medical

materials.[43] Explorations of natural science may be represented by John Trevisa's

translation of the encyclopedic work *De Proprietatibus Rerum.*[44] Political and legal

concerns are evident in a wide range of Middle English texts.[45] Thomas Hoccleve's

The Regiment of Princes advises the future King Henry V on the principles of good

government, including a brief reference to the Lollard heresy followed by a

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[36] *OED*, 'vernacularize', v.
[37] Getz, F.M., 'Gilbertus Anglicus Anglicized', *Medical History* (1982), 26: 436-442. Medical knowledge, states Getz, was divided between the Latin 'universities, physicians and learned tradition on one side, and English, empiricism, surgeons, and popular superstition on the other . . . The difference in language separated the relatively few university-trained physicians. . . from the unlatined others', 436.
[38] Getz (1982), 436: 'The advent of the fifteenth century in England brought 'a remarkable increase in the amount of practical material available to readers in the vernacular. . . everything from hawking to astrology. . . and even Latin grammar books. . . But nowhere was this growth more striking than in the field of medicine. It has been estimated that the number of medical manuscripts in the vernacular was six times what it had been in the fourteenth century'. Also: 'When the major works of Middle English medicine are catalogued, they are, in face, translations of important and widely-circulated Latin texts. The surgeries of Lanfrank of Milan, Guy de Chauliac, and John Arderne, were all available in English by the fifteenth century.'
[39] Fleischhacker, R.V., ed., *Lanfrank's Science of Cirurgie: Edited from the Bodleian Ashmole MS 1396 (ab. 1380 A.D.) and the British Museum Additional MS. 12,056 (ab.1420 A.D.)*, EETS os 102 (London, 1894; rept. 2002).
[40] Power, D., ed., *Treatises of Fistula in Ano: Haemorrhoids, and Clysters*, EETS 139 (Oxford, 1968).
[41] Furnivall, F.J., ed., *Andres Borde's Introduction of Knowledge and Dyetary of Helth*, EETS es 10 (London 1870; repr., 2000). For the *Regiment* EEBO lists 5 printed copies under: STC 3378.5, 3380, 3380.5, 3381, 3382, 3383, 3385. Scarlett, E.P. 'A Tudor Worthy: Master Andrew Boorde of Physycke Doctour' *The Canadian Medical Association Journal* June 38.6: 588-595.
[42] For the *Breviary* EEBO lists 6 printed copies under: STC 3374, 3375, 3373.5, 3377, 3378.
[43] For example: Keiser, 'A Middle English Rosemary Treatise in Verse and Prose', *ANQ* 18.3 (2005): 7-17. Keiser, G.R., 'Verse Introductions to Middle English Medical Treatises', *English Studies*, 84.4 (2003): 301-317. Grymonprez, P., ed. 'Here men may se the virtues off herbes', *Scripta* 3 (Brussels, 1981).
[44] Seymour, M.C. et al, ed., *On the Properties of Things: John Trevisa's Translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus De Proprietatibus Rerum* (Oxford, 1975-1988).
[45] Green, R.F., 'Medieval Literature and Law', *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. Wallace, D. (Cambridge, 1999). Green, R.F., *A Crisis of Truth: Literature and Law in Ricardian England* (Philadelphia, 1999). Steiner, E. and Barrington, C., ed., *The Letter of the Law: Legal Practice and Literary Production in Medieval England* (Ithaca, 2002).

restatement of the orthodox position on the Sacrament of the Altar.[46] Geoffrey

Chauncer's *Tale of Melibee* promotes the idea of heeding wise counsel and allows

the principle of forbearance to triumph over that of vengeance; it may comment

generally on the disorder of the period and specifically on the practice of

maintenance seen in the tale to frustrate the course of justice.[47] *A Common-Place*

Book of the Fifteenth Century provides 12 forms for eight types of grants, three

types of bonds, and one type of summons in both Latin and English.[48] Though

these may stand as records of transactions, they also may serve as cartularies or

models for the composition of common legal documents needed by the landholder.

[46] Furnivall, F.J., ed., *Hoccleve's Works*, EETS 72 (London, 1897). Accessed from online TEAMS edition by Blyth, C.R., *Thomas Hoccleve: The Regiment of Princes* (1999). Lines 281-294 treat the burning of the heretic John Badby: 'Sum man for lak of occupacioun/ Musith ferthere than his wit may strecche,/ And at the feendes instigacioun/ Dampnable errour holdith, and can nat flecche/ For no conseil ne reed, as dide a wrecche/ Nat fern ago, which that of heresie/ Convict and brent was unto asshen drie/ The precious body of our Lord Jhesu/ In forme of brede he leeved nat at al;/ He was in nothyng abassht ne eschu/ To seye it was but brede material./ He seide a preestes power was as smal/ As a rakers or swich anothir wight,/ And to make it hadde no gretter might', lines 281-294. Lines 295-315 redact the princely petition to Badby that he renounce his heresy, but it is to no avail. Badby clings to his heretical position for which he is put to the flames, lines 316-322. P. McNiven's *DNB* entry for Badby places the date of the burning to 5 March 1410. On Badby, McNiven, P., *Heresy and Politics in the Reign of Henry IV: The Burning of John Badby* (Woodbridge, 1987). Strohm, P., *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and Language of Legitimation 1399-1422* (New Haven, 1998): particularly 'Two Poets and Their Prince', 180-191.

[47] Dame Prudence offers her husband advice regarding counsel and counselors, for example: 'Now, sire, sith I have shewed you of which folk ye shul take youre conseil and of which folk ye shul folwe the conseil,/ now wol I teche yow how ye shal examyne youre conseil' (1200-1201/224). Melibee listens to and acts upon his wife's 'conseil' (1870-1874/239). On the discussion of maintenance in the tale, Kennedy, K., 'Maintaining Love through Accord in the *Tale of Melibee'*, *Chaucer Review* 39 (2004): 165-176.

[48] Smith, L.T., ed, *A Commoun-Place Book of the Fifteenth Century Containing a Religious Play and Poetry, Legal Forms and Local Accounts, Printed from the original MS at Brome Hall, Suffolk by Lady Caroline Kerrison* (London, 1886). The MS is held by Yale University's Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library and designated MS 365. On this complex type of work, Wenzel, S., *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany* (Ann Arbor, 1995). On what this type of work should be called (miscellany, anthology, common place book), Revard, C., 'From French Fabliau Manuscripts and MS Harley 2253 to the *Decameron* and *The Canterbury Tales*', *Medium Aevum* 69 (2000): 261-278. Revard uses 'anthology, because this nowadays connotes (not, admittedly, in older titles such as Anthologia Graeca) that the compiler and/or scribe deliberately selected, arranged, and copied or assembled a diverse set of texts for a unitive purpose', 272. On medieval anthologies, Lerer, S., 'Medieval Literature and Early Modern Readers: Cambridge University Library Sel. 5.51-5.63', *PBSA* 97 (2003): 311-322; Havens, J., 'A Narrative of Faith: Middle English Devotional Anthologies and Religious Practice' in *Journal of the Early Book Society* vol. 7 (New York, 2004): 67-84; Erler, M.C., 'Fifteenth-Century Owners of Chaucer's Work: Cambridge Magdalene College MS Pepys 2006', *Chaucer Review* 38 (2004):401-414; Pope, N., 'A Middle English Satirical Letter in Brogyntyn MS II.1', *ANQ* 18 (2005): 35-39.

Other works like the *Charter of Christ*[49] fuse the legal, academic, and theological

terminology and may, at least ostensibly, be couched in the style of parliamentary

or academic argumentation. A few examples invoking theological and legal

questions are: Piers' tearing of the pardon which queries the means of salvation;[50]

and the 'Harrowing of Hell' narrative, for example in *Piers Plowman*[51] and in *The*

Harrowing of Hell and Destruction of Jerusalem, which features a one-sided

debate between Christ and Satan on the satisfaction for the sin of Adam and the

post-crucifixion lordship of the souls inside Hell's gates.[52] En route to Canterbury

the Wife of Bath espouses support for the marital state, and sequels thereof,

through inept use of a variety of allusions and quotations from legal, theological, or

literary sources such as the bible, St. Jerome, Ovid and Theophrastus.[53] Chaucer

and the other authors or texts briefly mentioned above show that learned idiom

features widely in the context of Middle English literature. The creation and

survival of these texts imply that the lay audience had at least a basic, if not in

some cases advanced, understanding of at least some aspects of political, judicial,

and academic disciplines.

Vernacular Wycliffism

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49 Spalding, M.C., ed., The Middle English Charters of Christ (Baltimore, 1914). Steiner, E., 'Inventing Legality: Documentary Culture and Lollard Preaching' in Steiner and Barrington ed. (2002): 185-201.
50 B-Text VII 105-117/344; it is torn in 115/344.
51 Vernacular manifestations of legal, academic, and theological discourses have been investigated in *Piers Plowman* at some length. For example, various studies, Somerset (1998): 22-61; Green (1999). Justice, S., *Writing and Rebellion: England 1381* (Berkeley, 1994): '*Piers Plowman in the Rising*',
52 On the 'Harrowing of Hell' as a narrative, *ODCC*. The 'Harrowing of Hell' scene appears in *Piers Plowman* B-Text XVIII 260/676-409/686; C-Text XX 270/677-451/687; also in Marx, C.W., ed., *The Devil's Parliament and The Harrowing of Hell and Destruction of Jerusalem*, MET 25 (Heidelberg, 1993): 133-147.
53 Her confessions of her treatment of her former husbands could be said to undermine her sources and her case for marriage, serial if necessary, as her own admissions and the message of the *Prologue* and *Tale* may support what generations of misogynist literature have said of women. Allen, J.B. and Gallacher, P., 'Alisoun Through the Looking Glass; or Every Man His Own Midas', *Chaucer Review* 4 (1970): 99-105. Pratt, R.A. 'Jankyn's Book of Wikked Wyves: Medieval Antimatrimonial Propaganda in the Universities', *Annuale Medievale* 3 (1962):5-27.

Circulation of this type of 'popular learning' amongst the lay audience was, Somerset observes, 'viewed by academics as a largely innocuous distraction for the laity.' It was only when 'learned vernacular writing' began either to combine academic 'terms, modes of argument, and topics currently of interest to highly educated academics' with 'popular learning' or to disseminate them in 'undiluted' form that controversy arose.[54] Such controversy arose with vernacular Wycliffism. In the late medieval climate of literary burgeoning and social volatility, writing that went beyond lamenting and criticizing the state of the church or excoriating the imperfections of clergy to critique and to correct points of doctrine and theology was potentially explosive.[55] 'Materials and methods of counterargument made accessible to the laity could potentially authorize them to argue, and even act, against the clergy, while information about just how the clergy are abusing their positions might galvanize them to do so.'[56] Three insurgencies are commonly associated with Lollardy, but perhaps equally insidious, from the perspective of ecclesiastical hierarchy, would be the corpus of English Wycliffite texts which combine learned argumentation, strident anticlericalism, and heretical dogma, often with social consciousness.

The English Wycliffite texts present extended discussion on a variety of learned questions with contentious doctrinal implications, some of which are well-known; for example, disendowment, transubstantiation, translation, pilgrimage, and images.[57] Other issues are less well known and include poverty, piety, law, and anticlericalism. The exhortative and didactic content of the Lollard corpus may be viewed through vocabulary quite apart from the primary heretical tenets. This

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[54] Somerset (1998), 12.
[55] Justice (1994), 'Wyclif in the Rising', 67-101.
[56] Somerset (1998), 14.
[57] As the Select Concordance reveals, these hot-button issues, rather surprisingly, do not appear in statistically significant numbers. Terms relating to contemporary poverty, pious practice, substantive law, and anticlerical style appear with much greater frequency.

vocabulary may be broadly grouped as legal and arranged under three key sections: freedom, lordship, and perfidy. The headwords and corollaries falling within these categories may be viewed in two ways: first, as a concerted effort to employ legal methods to justify the heretical position and second to criticize that of the orthodox by casting it as illegal.[58]

It might seem somewhat perverse for writers whose work and activities, which earned suspicion, allegation, or conviction of heresy, to vex ecclesiastical and civil justice further by—in addition to promoting heresy and sedition—undermining its authority to sit in judgment. Legal references, often other than those associated with heterodox dogma, might be seen as efforts both to challenge the prevailing legal systems' definitions of heresy or sedition and, in challenging hegemonic definitions, to justify and redefine its own heretical status. The numerous legal references in the English texts form an important part of Wycliffite discourse, not widely explored.

i. 'Fredom'

As listed in the MED 'fredom' carries a variety of signification that spans civil and ecclesiastical law;[59] the Lollard texts employ three of the four denotations there listed, but there is always the caveat that the purest form of substantive law, divine 'fredom' or prerogative appears in Holy Scripture. The word 'fredom' can

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[58] Chapter 2 emphasises an informed and logocentric piety over an emotive, irrational, and affective piety. A complex interaction of the intellect and the will may be said to be facilitated through reason, and it is this thought-intensive process that the Lollard texts seek to activate. The Lollard texts here considered emphasize a reasoned apprehension of religious material rather than an emotionally charged response to pious stimuli. In this emphasis the texts reveal a significant aberration from orthodox literature. Orthodoxy encompasses a wide variety of expressive modes from the cult of the Holy Name to the Five Wounds, but the central emphasis in lay piety is on the receipt of Christ as flesh. Heterodoxy is not so accommodating, as it rejects virtually all affectivity which centres on Christ as flesh, and promotes the rational receipt of Christ as word.

[59] 4 denotations appear in the *MED*. Holsinger, B., 'Vernacular Legality: The English Jurisdictions of *The Owl and the Nightingale*, in Steiner, E. and Barrington C., ed. (2002): 154-184; 155. As the second MED denotation for 'fredom' is very rarely present in the Lollard texts, the imaginative force of the word lies quite firmly in a tangle of civil, ecclesiastical, and natural legal terminology, a position not uncommon in medieval English literature. Of *The Owl and the Nightingale* B. Holsinger has observed that 'As a contested juridical category and a constant source of written reflection, jurisdiction provides compelling social and historical models for re-thinking the nature of the relationship between properly 'legal' and 'literary' forms of writing.'

relate generally to a non-villein social status, national self-determination, or to a

spiritual state free from post-lapsarian[60] bondage 'to sin or the Devil.'[61] For the

individual, 'fredom' can connote the power of choice in thought, will, or action,

whether such power is held by an individual in autonomy or held over an

individual in fealty. More abstractly reference can be made to the workings of the

human conscience in relation to the 'inward compulsion of the New Testament'

over the 'external compulsion of the Mosaic law'.[62] 'Fredom' may describe open-

handed largesse or nobility of character.[63] 'Fredom' also comprehends liberty and

prerogative, but can have other specific legal connotations relating to special rights

or privileges held by persons or entities, the rights, ownership, and fruits of

temporal possessions, dispensation from fiscal or feudal obligations, courts of

judicature, or indemnity from punitive measures. There is also a collective form

invoking the entirety of the rights and privileges asserted by a group of individuals

or nationals, the Catholic Church, 'a specific church', or by municipal entities,

such as the city or town.[64] In Wycliffite texts the question of freedom, that is

whose right it is to legislate, appears in a contest over Christ's law versus man's

law.

No form of 'fredom' occurs in the A, B, or C, version of *Piers Plowman*,

while only five forms appear in *The Canterbury Tales*.[65] Where some reference to

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[60] *OED*, 'lapsarian', adj. Together with prefix 'post'.
[61] *MED* denotation 1a.
[62] *MED* denotation 1b.
[63] *MED* denotation 2. This is the denotation appearing in *The Canterbury Tales*, as well as in 5 other Chaucerian works including *Troilus and Criseyde, Lenvoy de Chaucer a Bukton, Boece, Anelida and Arcite, the Legend of Good Women*. The occurrences, quotations, and citations appear below in n. 65.
[64] *MED*, 'fredom', n.
[65] *General Prologue* 46/24: 'Trouthe and honour, fredom and curteisie'; *The Knight's Tale* 2791/62: 'Fredom, and al that longeth to that art'; *The Man of Law's Tale* 168/89: 'Hir hand, ministre of fredom for almesse'; *The Monk's Tale* 'Alexandro' 2672/250: 'He was of knyghthod and of fredom flour'; and *The Manciple's Tale* 126/283: 'As wel in fredom as in chivalrie'. In other writings by Chaucer, forms of 'fredom' appear at least 11 times. *Troilus and Criseyde* I, 235/476: 'The fredom of youre hertes to hym thralle'; *Lenvoy de Chaucer a Bukton* 32/656: 'In fredam, for ful hard is to be bonde'; *Boece* I, Pro. 4, 171/403: 'the fredom of Rome, what aperteneth me'; *Boece* V, Pro. 3, 7/459: 'thinges and that ther is any fredom of liberte'; *Anelida and Arcite* 106/377: 'Her fredom

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'fredom' might be anticipated in Thomas Hoccleve's *The Regiment of Princes* or in Sir John Fortescue's *The Governance of England,* these works contain none.[66]

Three forms of 'fredom' appear in John Trevisa's translation of *De Proprietatibus Rerum* by Bartholomaeus Anglicus.[67] Bishop Reginald Pecock's work *The Repressor of Overmuch Blaming of the Clergy* contains 10 occurrences of 'fredom'. As the *Repressor* was written specifically against Lollardy, the appearance of 'fredom' may be unsurprising and represents—apart from texts such as registers or chronicles where the legal issue of 'fredom' may be logically expected, for example, *The English Register of Oseney Abbey*[68] or *The English Register of Godstow Nunnery,*[69] *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*[70] or *Polychronicon*[71] —one of the highest concentrations of 'fredom' in non-Wycliffite literature. Yet, when the total number of occurrences of 'fredom' in orthodox texts such as the *Repressor* (10 occurrences), or *Piers Plowman* (zero occurrences) is considered, the 182 heterodox occurrences of 'fredom' become significant, if puzzling. This number is, considering the fact that the Wycliffite texts are neither strictly legal or historical documents, remarkable for at least three reasons: first, it may further illustrate the Lollard tendency to circulate learned material in the vernacular for its own polemical purposes; second, it suggests that the concept of 'fredom' is of no small importance to the heretical; and third, it

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fond Arcite in such manere'; *The Legend of Good Women* 'Dido', 1010/609: 'Of gentillesse, of fredom, of beaute'.

[66] Furnivall, F.J., ed., *Hoccleve's Works*, EETS 72 (London, 1897). It may be noted that no form of 'fredom' appears in any of the other texts in this anthology. Plummer, C., ed., *The Governance of England: Otherwise Called the Difference between an Absolute and a Limited Monarchy,* by Sir John Fortescue (Oxford, 1885).

[67] Seymour, M. et al, ed., *On the Properties of Things: John Trevisa's Translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus De Proprietatibus Rerum A Critical Text* (Oxford, 1975-1988).

[68] Clark, A., ed., *The English Register of Oseney Abbey by Oxford, Written about 1460,* EETS os 133, 144 (London, 1907, 1913).

[69] Clark, A., ed., *The English Register of Godstow Nunnery near Oxford: Written about 1450,* EETS os 129, 130 (London, 1905, 1906).

[70] Wright, W.A., ed., *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester,* RS 86 (London, 1887).

[71] Babington, C., and Lumby, J.R., ed., *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis: Together With the English Translations of John Trevisa and of an Unknown Writer of the Fifteenth Century* RS 41 (London, 1865-86).

indicates a specifically uniquely heretical usage that invites further scrutiny of the manmade ecclesiastical structure and its right to legislate and to own property. Forms of 'fredom', as the manifestation of substantive law[72] are conspicuously absent from contemporary orthodox texts and are significant to Lollard discourse. Variants of 'fredom' occur 182 times, all of which cannot be discussed here; however, a few examples may be given.

The writer of *The Thirty-Seven Conclusions* observes: 'It is not oo mannis werk neithir o yeris writinge,[73] to declare sufficientli alle the leesingis[74] and blasfemis[75] of false[76] freris[77] of the feynid[78] excellence of here privat[79] ordre above the ordre of apostlis and above the ordre of preest[80] with the perfyt reule of the gospellis with his fredom, wherynne Crist lyvide, and confermide it for most perfyt.'[81] With their adjective laws, the church has superseded Christ's rights, his *dominium* and substantive law as written in Holy Scripture,[82] and duties to set the example for both religious orders and doctrine. The next example again resets the priorities. *How Men Ought to Obey Prelates* states that divine freedom will always trump temporal freedom, particularly that of the church whose *dominium* is contested. 'Eche man is somoned first of god to worschipe him . . . before þat a

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[72] Hw 203. 'fre' (*MED*, adj) There are 126 occurrences in 2 variants, 'fre' and 'free', in the English texts, though this word does not appear in the select concordance. The most common collocation is forms of 'fre' with forms of 'wil(le' (*MED*, n) Variant 1, 'free' with 'wille': LL 9/31, MT5 26/110, MT5 19/111, MT17 20/256, PRO 27/17; 'free' with 'wylle': EWS1-45 64/426. Variant 2, 'fre' with 'wil': 37C 16/143; 'fre' with 'wille': A22 23/311, EWS2-MC 931/362, EWS3-202 8/239, and EWS3-218 16/271. There are 11 collocative pairs of 'fre' and 'wil(le'. A related collocation is 'fre' with forms of 'chois' (*MED*, n) appearing twice: 'fre chois' in SEWW14 193/72 and 'free choise' in LL 28/23. An interesting collocation is 'fre' with forms of the headwords for the Select Concordance 'preching(e' (*MED*, ger) There are 7 collocative pairs of 'fre' and 'preching(e': 'fre preching' in OBL 336/ 165, OBL 341/165; 'fre prechinge' in 37C 17/147, 37C 11/156, and A24 25/368; 'fre prechynge' in MT4 11/55; and 'free prechynge' in MT14 14/225.
[73] Hw 395.
[74] Hw 251.
[75] Hw 67.
[76] Hw 179.
[77] Hw 204.
[78] Hw 185. Also Hw 186 'feiner' and 'Hw 187 'feining'.
[79] Hw 299.
[80] Hw 298.
[81] <L 17><T 37C><P 96>.
[82] Discussed, 85-92.

wordly prelate somone hym to renne aboute.'[83] To this end, then, only God can summon a person. 'þanne bi vertue of þis cheef domesman' [God] 'he owiþ to be excused fro þis somonynge of worldly prelat but be þe suget ware of feynynge here, þat he waste not ne mysvsse þe ჳiftis of god vnder colour[84] of þis fredom.'[85] God's freedom is God's ultimate *dominium.*

Indication that freedom is of importance is evident, and a unified and consistent concept of 'fredom' emerges from the English Lollard texts. 'Fredom' is a learned concept whose roots lie in legal and moral discourse. The exact chain of influence may be untraceable, but certain points of connection to Wyclif can nevertheless be established. In law, 'fredom' represents the license to act, think or exist in a justified state, relating to *dominium.* Assertion and reassertion of personal, collective, and spiritual denotations of 'fredom' demands scrutiny of the legality of both orthodox and heterodox positions, slanted in the English texts with obvious favour towards the latter. Whatever conclusions may be ultimately drawn, querying the justness of church doctrine and practice is an intellectual exercise, albeit somewhat distantly related to the university debates, engaging reason over the will or affect. In moral theology 'fredom' is the license or ability to act or to decide upon 'in adapting a thought or action to some end'.[86] It may refer either to the ability or to the actuality of exercise. Though the agents and processes may differ according to the persuasion of the medieval author, the main components of the moral schema comprise the intellect, the will, and reason.[87] However, to

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[83]<L 29-31><T MT02><P 32>.

[84] Hw 112. Also Hw 113 'colouren' and Hw 114 'colouring'.

[85] <L 34><T MT02><P 32>.

[86] *OED*, 'reason'.

[87] Workman (1926) 'Wyclif's Place among the Schoolmen' 102-150 summarizes the university debates of the Thomists and Scotists into which he contextualizes Wyclif's thought. Workman shows Duns Scotus and William Ockam to be similar in what may be termed extreme voluntarism, as both emphasize the overarching divine will perceived through human faith, 109-112. This is in opposition to the reasoned approach of Thomas Aquinas who valued 'a sane mysticism based upon communion with God', 104. Wyclif, while accepting this rationality, carried its implications much

juxtapose divine freedom with that of Anticrist, the church, or mankind, is constantly to question the ecclesiastical structure, its laws, doctrines, and property; this is a heretically-charged position that asserts a particular understanding of Christ's law over human law.

ii. 'Lordshipe'

The concept of human lordship derives from divine *dominium* afforded, in Wycliffite terms, to the monarchy and only in limited terms to the church which is subject to the monarchy. The reverse side of lordship is tyranny, which Wyclif and the Wycliffite texts allow to be legitimate, if abusive; however, it is religious tyranny that is the problem. The prime target is Antichrist and his minions, seen in Lollard terms to be running the church according to their own new laws that affront the freedom of divine laws. Whereas in the Lover-Knight metaphor[88] the wicked tyrant is shown to be the devil himself, in the Lollard texts the tyrant is Antichrist (1,174 occurrences) seen to be served by the clerical establishment.[89] The 743 occurrences of 'lordshipe' are significant; they either endorse clerical disendowment or show how clerics have encumbered themselves to secular rather than religious concerns.

Though the full range of references to 'lordshipe' is present in the Select Concordance, a few examples will be noted. *The Power of the Pope* questions: 'Lord, wher þe bishope of Rome is more contrarie to Crist in wordis, deedis and lawes, and in seculer lordshipe forboden of Crist specially to clerkis, more þanne oþer bishopis ben contrarie to Crist?'[90] The *Apology* questions papal authority in issuing substantive or adjectival laws. 'Lord, whethir the bisshop of Rome is more contrarie to Crist in wordis, dedis, and lawis, and in seculer lordshipe forboden of

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further, 104-105. In their emphasis on rationality the English Lollard texts are more similar to Wyclif than to contemporary English orthodox literature.

[88] Hw 367, Hw 368, Hw 369, Hw 371, Hw 372, Hw 373; also Hw 374.

[89] Hw 14.

[90] <L 64><T SEWW24><P 124>.

Crist, speciali to clerkis, more than othere bisshopis ben contrarie to Crist!'[91] To

the Lollard view the church is primarily encumbered with the ecclesiastical, doing

the least justice to the latter. Numerous other examples appear under the headword

'lordshipe', which is not a secular problem, but an ecclesiastical problem which

treads heavily upon the ideas of *dominium*. In its most volatile forms it urges

secular lords to re-establish stasis by being secular defenders of divine law.

iii. Perfidy

The idea of perfidy encompasses a number of duty shirkers and traitors[92] to

God's law, as perceived by the Lollard texts here concordanced. This term

encompasses forms of 'traitour, 'traitourie', traitourli, with 'trecherie, 'trecherous,

and 'trecherousli'.[93] The Holy Scripture to the Lollards is indicative of the ultimate

truth and essence of substantive law,[94] therefore those who cheapen Holy Writ[95]

are perfidious, and those seen to be most guilty of betrayal are the clergy.

A failing member of the clergy is, for example, in *De Precationibus Sacris*,

seen to take sides against divine *dominium*: 'and he is Goddis traitour and heretik

til he amende þis entente, and do wel þis gostly office, as Crist tauȝte.'[96] *Of the*

Leaven of the Pharisees dilates this point further: 'vpon þe text of þis gospel bi

ordre of seynt matheu Ion with þe gildene mouþ seiþ þat a prest is in dette to teche

openly and treuly þe treuþe of goddis lawe, and ellis he is traitour to þe treuþe of

holy writt.[97] On the basis of the perceived superiority of God's law, any priest is

required to teach it openly and truly, those who do not are guilty of treachery. *Of*

Prelates paints the scene in terms of secular law. The clergy should be Christ's

greatest magnates, yet 'whanne þei schulden be principal dukis in crist oost to

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91 <L 10><T 37C><P 69>.
92 Hw 366. Also Hw 367, Hw 367, and Hw 368.
93 Respectively, Hw 366, Hw 367, with 'trecherie, 'trecherous, and 'trecherousli'.
94 Discussed, 85-92.
95 Hw 394.
96 <L 35><T A18><P 226>.
97 <L 1><T MT01><P 26>.

fiȝtte and teche oþere men bi here ensaumple to fyȝtte aȝenst synnes, as false traitouris þei turnen þe bak and techene cristene men to offre hem redy to þe deuelys sacrifice.'[98] The writer of *Of Servants and Lords* exhibits the combination of epithets hurled at failing clergy and explored by the present study.

> 'Men of kunnynge and lyuynge to benefices wiþ care of many soulis, and taken to hem self þe profit of þe grete benefices for many ȝeris, and holden many benefyced men in here chapelis for nouelrie of newe song, and maken summe prestis stiwardis of here housholde, and summe prestis clerkis of here kechene, and summe prestis here auditours, and summe prestis tresoreris, and summe aumeneris, and summe stiwardis of here courtis, and summe conseileris and reuleris of here worldly plees, arraies and worldly dedes.'[99]

Learned and beneficed clergy take on secular employment when they should not. This state of affairs implies that there is no learned secular person able to do the job: 'As þouȝ no man coude worldly office.'[100] Yet the clergy persist in their lucrative secular posts.

> 'But þei and wolen not suffre hem goo teche þe soulis for whiche þe schullen answere at domes day, and for whiche crist schedde his precious herte blood,[101] but suffren and meyntenen þe wolues[102] of helle to slee cristene mennus soulis bi synne,[103] and letten almes

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[98] <L 14><T MT04><P 63>.
[99] <L 1-10><T MT15><P 242>.
[100] <L 10><T MT15><P 242>.
[101] Hw 79 'blod'.
[102] Hw 392 'wolf'. Discussed, 115-121.
[103] Hw 30 'avarice', Hw 31 'avaricious', Hw 263 'man-quellere', Hw 264 'man-quellinge', Hw 265 'man-slaughter', Hw 266 'man-sleer', Hw 267 'man-sleinge'.

dede boþe gostly and bodily, and so þei ben cursed traitours to god

and to his prestis and his pore peple.'[104]

Secular pursuits prevent the proper teaching of God's word, spiritual alms, while

clerical avarice prevents the giving of monetary relief to assist the poor. To the

writer of *Of Servants and Lords* this is damning evidence of predatory clergy and

secular 'lordis' who abuse their lordship to improve their staff.

Friar Daw laments the sorrow and ruination wreaked 'Sith that wickide

worme Wiclyf be his name Began to sowe the seed of cisme in the erthe, Sorowe

and shendship hath awaked wyde, In lordship and prelacie hath growe the lasse

grace.'[105] The result is less grace in secular and ecclesiastical spheres caused by the

harvest seeded by Wyclif. If his followers continue their spiritual rebellion, Daw

promises a multitude of curses including those of the pope and Holy Church which

Jack ignores at his peril: 'And if thou sett this at nought, God mowe sende thee

more: The curse that He hath yovun to Caym, and Choreis sone also; Thou shalt

also have the curse that Crist yaf to Phariseis, Figurid in the figge tree that nevere

bare fruyte aftir. Thou shalt have the weleaway of Gelboth hilles, The sorowe of

Sodome and al sinful citeis.'[106] Other biblical curses invoked are 'the malisoun of

Moab and Ariel' and 'The benysoun of Bethsaida', and 'the malisoun that God yaf

to brekers of His lawe, In the book of Deutronomye, the seven and twenty

chapitre.'[107] If the curses of the pope and church go unregarded by Upland – as

treatises such as *The Grete Sentence of the Curs Expounded*[108] suggest they will –

Daw appends a peroration of seven biblical curses, but apparently without hope

that even scriptural references used by a friar will be taken seriously, as the

purpose of the conclusion seems more likely to goad than to reform. Advice not to

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[104] <L 11><T MT15><P 242>. <L 10-16><T MT 15><P 242>.
[105] <L 71-74><T UR><P >.
[106] <L 907-913><T FDR><P >.
[107] <L 916-921><T FDR><P >.
[108] <T A22><P 271-337>.

preach against the friars or to insult them is followed by a final and bullying threat

that, should friars gain the power, it will go all the worse for Jack and like-minded

individuals.[109] This provocative and unacademic[110] discourse is hardly the means

of reclaiming heretics who are already disenchanted with the fraternal orders and

with the church. Daw's diatribe may have inadvertently aided the germination of

the Wycliffite 'seed of cisme'.

Amongst a lay group growing more conversant in learned, controversial

writing Daw's threats are likely to cause the very type of heterodox expatiation

feared by the church and, in part, voiced in the *Testimony of William Thorpe* who

speaks expressly against the various threats personified by the figure of Friar

Daw:[111] 'siþ Crist Iesu diede vpon þe cros wilfully to make man fre, men in

chirche now ben to bolde and to bisie to make men þralle, byndinge hem vp peyne

of endeles curs, as þei seien þei mouun, to manye obseruaunces and ordynaunces

whiche neiþer þe lyuynge ne techinge of Crist ne of hise apostlis appreuen.'[112] The

very existence of the fraternal orders is obliquely questioned by Thorpe's allusion

to what has been approved by the life and teachings of Christ and his apostles. In

other Wycliffite texts, this dual approval is seen as the establishment of Christ's

original and only order; those arising in the centuries thereafter are new-comers,

seriously suspect if not patently illegal. Thorpe's use of the terms 'fre' and 'þralle'

invokes the opposition of the status gained by Christ's willful sacrifice designed

'to make man fre' and the church's inessential legislation allowed, if not designed,

'to make men þralle'. To William Thorpe and the Lollards, Friar Daw and those

like him represent the fraternal orders who are unbiblical, ecclesiastical

fabrications; friars also symbolize an institution whose dubious 'obseruaunces and

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[109] <L 931-933><T FDR><P >.
[110] OED, 'unacademic', adj.; further details, 'un' prefix.
[111] No suggestion is here made that Thorpe refers specifically to Dawe, but Dawe is resorting to the type of cursing that Thorpe claims 'men in chirche' now employ boldly and busily.
[112] <L 1951-1955><T Thp><P 84>.

107

ordynaunces' perpetuate servitude. As with Wyclif, the Latin texts stress that Holy Scripture is the only guide for substantive law; all 'newe' laws are fabrications of a church that violates the freedom of the Gospel, that should be divested of secular lordship, and that shirks its true duties, making the ecclesiastical structure truant and traitorous.

Chapter 4: Anticlerical Discourse

The previous chapter considered the ways the vernacular texts are legally

and heretically significant, as these words invoke a conservative position on the

primacy of substantive law (rights, duties, and privileges), a position also found in

Wyclif's Latin Sermons.[1] While a general conservatism on substantive law may be

unsurprising in the medieval English context,[2] the idea of lay regulation of clerical

authority becomes doctrinally significant. In heretical hands this position relocates

the onus for authority, oversight, and reform from the contemporary church to the

secular government. Those who should defend religious law, the secular

authorities, are urged to stand against an ecclesiastical establishment seen to

supplant its divine mandate. As has been shown, 'fredom' appears rarely in

roughly contemporary orthodox texts, such as those by Chaucer and Langland, and

where 'fredom' does appear, it is generally in the sense of largesse or nobility;

whereas in the texts here concordanced, 'fredom' carries the legal sense, a sense

that might at least be declared theologically erroneous if not heretical because

secular power is deputized to hold ecclesiastical power to a range of scripture-

centric opinion commonly associated with Wycliffite heresy.[3] 'Lordshipe' and

'dominium', well known terms from the poverty debates surrounding the fraternal

orders,[4] were shown to be heretically charged, relating to 'fredom' as well as

'truaunt'[5] (a shirker of duty) and 'tiraunt'[6] (an abuser of power. Both 'truaunt' and

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[1] For example, *WLS I* sermo XXIII 160/6-28; *WLS II* sermo III 20/11-21/17; *WLS II* sermo XIV 100/6-101/4; *WLS II* sermo XIX 142/11-24; *WLS II* sermo XXIV 176/4-27; *WLS II* sermo XLVI 337/9-15; *WLS II* sermo XLVIII 348/23-349/12; *WLS III* sermo III 16/27-32.

[2] Discussion based on Green (1999), especially 238; 'The Sources of Law', 237-247.

[3] Wyclif's Latin sermons reveal the same position. For example, *WLS III* sermo XVIII 141/11-26; *WLS III* sermo XXII 174/20-33; *WLS III* sermo XXX 242/8-19.

[4] For example, as discussed in Dawson (1983) and Lambert, M.D., *Franciscan Poverty* (S. Bonaventure, 1998).

[5] 'Truaunt', for which the MED shows the Latin gloss 'disclos', appears in a variety of orthodox texts concerned with false beggars, for example *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, quoted from the MED entry: 'J go speke with the trewaundes and make hem to seeme embossed or contract or deff or down.' Though *Piers Plowman* is concernced with fraudulent beggers, forms of 'truaunt' do not appear in the A, B, or C version.

'tiraunt' also circulate in non-heretical literature, but generally in non-anticlerical ways. These terms together may be viewed as unorthodox when considered as a legal position: ultimately, the secular arm is urged, on the basis of unorthodox interpretation of Holy Scripture, to exert is power, to do its duty to reform the church whose clergy abuses freedom, ignores duty, and misuses power.

The present chapter considers the heretical style of anticlericalism which is the fourth alternative approach to Wycliffism. As Szittya has argued, the Wycliffite style of anticlericalism is both indebted to the earlier work of William of St. Amour[7] and yet unique.[8] In anticlericalism before Wyclif, metaphors drawn from Holy Scripture[9] had been employed to satirize the foibles and failures of the church, yet, apart from the legal efforts of FitzRalph, which were in the end unsuccessful,[10] criticism of the fraternal orders and the established church lacked the impetus and influence to agitate for serious reform, prior to Wyclif and the Lollards. As the vernacular texts reveal, clerical violation of the ideals of self-denial and poverty is a serious matter, and the vernacular texts borrow and adapt material from numerous sources to blame this sin. What may be unique about this

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[6] 'Tiraunt' is used to describe despots; for example, in Powell (1981), the fifth sermon refers to Herod the Great (Matthew 2.16-18), who ordered the death of the Holy Innocents, as a 'tyraunt' who 'pursued Ihesu to haue slayn hym', 86/159-160. 'Tiraunt' also may describe Christ's evil opponent. The MED only lists Antichrist, but 'tiraunt' may also refer to Satan; for example, in O'Mara (2002), Spofford's 'Annunciation/Passion Sunday Sermon', the opponent of the Knight with the Bloody Shirt is 'a wykkyd tyrant' (95/643) later defined in the exemplum as 'þe fend' (95/653).

[7] Szittya (1986): 'He' [Wyclif] 'employs a vocabulary never before seen in antifraternal literature, and favors some new Biblical texts. At the same time, however, Wyclif stands recognizably within the tradition of antifraternalism descended from William of St. Amour', 154.

[8] For example, Szittya (1986): 'Wyclif is unique among fourteenth-century antifraternal writers because he does not represent the vested interests of the secular clergy or the monastic orders' . . . [but] 'Wyclif began to be disaffected with the established church. As his anticlericalism became more and more extreme, he finally denied the authority of the entire 'visible church.' The only true church was 'invisible' and consisted of those predestined for salvation', 153.

[9] Not all of the anticlerical images derive from specific texts in Holy Scripture, such as the fox or the mole; though these animals are mentioned, their symbolism derives from other sources. For example, the fox lying as if dead to lure prey to its mouth or the mole's blindness and fixation on worldly goods features in bestiaries, fables, and tales. These are outlined in *MWMW* XI 'Medieval English Animal Literature', 3138-3328, 3472-3570.

[10] Walsh, K., *A Fourteenth Century Scholar and Primate: Richard Fitzralph of Oxford, Avignon and Armagh* (Oxford, 1981). Szittya (1986) summarises FitzRalph's legal, exhortative, and literary efforts against the mendicancy, 125-131.

is that criticism of the church was generally given by the church in private form; criticising the church's fiscal policy and theological positions, publicly and in the vernacular, is something quite different.[11] While heavily exegetical and reliant on Holy Scripture, the texts here concordanced also reveal influence from the natural world, some common to the anticlerical or antifraternal traditions, some less so.

The present chapter argues first in Zoomorphic Imagery that the animal imagery, below discussed, is closely linked to 'povre'[12], a socio-economic status endured by many lay persons.[13] The animals, here secular and religious clergy, while obvious and longstanding symbols of hypocrisy and duplicity, are also symbolic of physical and spiritual manslaughter.[14] Hypocrisy may be the means, but that is only half the problem. Hypocrisy aides the predatory ways of these foxes, wolves, moles, dogs, and fowl who are not only guilty of the more typical anticlerical evils,[15] but also of physical and spiritual murder. The fallout is a laity cheated out of its physical and spiritual nourishment, and in danger of both sorts of death through clerical chicanery. While duplicity is unacceptable, 'manquelling' on any level is a far worse crime. These clerical animals prey upon the goods and trust of the laity, thus playing a far more dangerous role than eschatological heralds of antichrist; they exacerbate contemporary poverty and endanger lay souls. The second portion of this chapter, Clerical Characters, explores how the texts here concordanced describe orthodox preachers and teachers: specifically their language

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[11] Of course Szittya (1986) describes FitzRalph's public, vernacular preaching, but he worked within the framework of the existing church to amend it: 'nearly everything in FitzRalph springs from or returns to the proper constitution of the church', 148.

[12] Hw 292.

[13] Discussed, 45-49.

[14] The failing members of orthodox clergy damn themselves by their failure to feed (spiritually) and their greed which exacerbates hardship; and thereby proving themselves as base and selfish, as animals, guilty of Hw 30 'avarice' and Hw 267 'man-slaughter'; Hw 266, 'man-quellinge', Hw 265 'man-quellere', Hw 266 'man-quellinge', Hw 269 'man-sleinge', Hw 267 'man-slaughter'.

[15] For example, Szittya (1986): 'concupiscence of the flesh (luxuria), concupiscence of the eyes (avaritia), and pride of life (superbia). The hypocrites of whom FitzRalph speaks (implicitly the friars) are afflicted by these three vices, which impel them to seek fleshly delights, wealth, and honor. To obtain honour, they feign humility; to obtain wealth they feign holy begging; to obtain such delights they pretend to holy conscience', 149.

and their teachings. Some descriptions, or aspects thereof, may be well-known.

Likewise decrying orthodox clergy of all types occurs both in orthodox and

heterodox texts; however, the Lollard views of orthodox clergy, while obviously

negative, may be investigated quantitatively and described. What is mild satire in

the *General Prologue* to *The Canterbury Tales* and a sincere wish for reform in

Piers Plowman, in the texts here concordanced becomes more than righteous

lamentation and apocalyptic fear over the state of the church. The church's pastoral

methods, messages, and doctrines are seriously challenged if not sharply refuted.

Not only are orthodox preachers and teachers sin-spattered in some of the more

typical anticlerical ways, to the heretical mind their sermons and doctrines are

simply wrong. Therefore anticlericalism combining concern about the language

and teachings seems a possible marker for heresy. The third section of this chapter,

Effeminates and Sodomites, treats a generally unremarked feature of

anticlericalism, sexual deviancy: specifically, effeminacy and sodomy. Charges of

illicit sexual and homoerotic behaviour were, of course, earlier levelled at the

Cathars and the Templars,[16] and one of the charges against Joan of Arc was that

she dressed and behaved as a man.[17] In Chaucer the Pardoner and Summoner may

be read as having homosexual tendencies, but the description seems more amusing

than harsh; while in *Piers Plowman*, a text linked to Wycliffism, the topic is

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[16] For example Barber, M., *The Trial of the Templars* (Cambridge, 1978), 190-191. On suspicions that the Templars may have been influenced by Islam and Catharism, 191. Also, Moore, R.I., *The Birth of Popular Heresy* (repr. Toronto, 1995). For documents relating to Catharism, 101-154.
[17] The Medieval Sourcebook < http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/joanofarc-trial.html> offers an online version of the 1932 edition of Joan of Arc's trial from Barrett, W.P., *The Trial of Jeanne D'Arc Translated into English from the Original Latin and French Documents* (New York, 1932). On the 'Maid's' masculine apparel the University of Paris Faculty of Decrees judged, among other points: 'That this woman is apostate, for the hair which God gave her for a veil she has had untimely cut off, and also, with the same design has rejected woman's dress and imitated the costume of men', judgment III, 319. On her refusal to remove her masculine attire, even if this lost her the rights of confession and mass: That this woman, in law and in presumption of law, deviates from the faith: for in the first place when she is anathema by the authority of the canon law she remains so long in this condition; in the second place, by declaring that she preferred not to receive the body of Christ, not to confess herself at the time ordained of the Church, rather than assume woman's dress. She is, moreover, vehemently suspected of heresy and should be diligently examined on the articles of the faith', judgment V, 319.

unmentioned. Finally, contemporary critics of Lollardy use aspects of anticlerical language against the heresy, but accusations of homoeroticism have not been identified. Yet, accusations of sodomy do appear both in Wyclif's *De Simonia* and almost verbatim in the vernacular texts. Thus, casting orthodox clergy as effeminates and sodomites seems a unique marker of Lollard anticlerical discourse.

Zoomorphic Imagery

i. Foxes

Sampson's foxes were mentioned in Chapter 1, as tortured, burning animals running about and setting enemy fields alight, an image used both by Wyclif and by orthodox writers.[18] However, a different, non-biblical version of the fox also emerges.[19] It is depicted in ancient lore and the Lollard texts as a crafty hunter. Though forms of 'fox'[20] appear only 26 times in the texts here concordanced, the appearance of this well known animal metaphor may be noted as part of heretical anticlericalism. The fox's malicious craftiness enables it to feign death so as to lure birds to its mouth, a symbol that D.A. Scheve has briefly outlined, in western literature, from the first century AD through the publication of *Volpone* in 1608,

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[18] Discussed, 4-11.

[19] The fox as feigning death to attract and to catch birds does not appear in Holy Scripture. Unlike the wolf, the fox is more difficult to connect to specific texts in Holy Scripture. Forms of fox appear 10 times in Holy Scripture. The first two occasions relate to Samson's foxes in Judges 15.4-5: 'And he went and caught three hundred foxes, and coupled them tail to tail, and fastened torches between the tails. And setting them on fire he let the foxes go, that they might run about hither and thither. And they presently went into the standing corn of the Philistines. Which being set on fire, both the corn that was already carried together, and that which was yet standing, was all burnt, insomuch, that the flame consumed also the vineyards and the oliveyards.' The next three instances show the fox as a scavenger or a creature of the wastelands. Psalms 62.11: 'They shall be delivered into the hands of the sword, they shall be the portions of foxes.' Lamentations 5.18: 'For mount Sion, because it is destroyed, foxes have walked upon it.' Ezechiel 13.4: 'Thy prophets, O Israel, were like foxes in the deserts.' The sixth occurrence taunts the ability of the Jewish people to build a high wall. 2 Esdras 4.3: 'Tobias also the Ammonite who was by him said: Let them build: if a fox go up, he will leap over their stone wall.' Appearances seven and eight are the same and refer to Christ's lack of a place to rest. Matthew 8.20: 'And Jesus saith to him: The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air nests: but the son of man hath not where to lay his head.' Luke 9.58: 'Jesus said to him: The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head.' Only in the last two instances might the fox be construed as cunning. Canticles 2.15: 'Catch us the little foxes that destroy the vines: for our vineyard hath flourished.' Luke 13.32: 'And he said unto them, Go ye, and tell that fox, Behold, I cast out devils, and I do cures to day and to morrow, and the third day I shall be perfected.'

[20] Hw 200.

and though it is unclear how Lollard writers would have become heir to the tradition, it is a tradition that, according to Scheve, includes, among others: Isidore of Seville, Rabanus Maurus, Hugh of St. Victor, Odo of Cheriton, Albertus Magnus, Jacques de Vitry, and Bartholomaeus Anglicus.[21] Because of Lollardy's academic roots, heretical writers may have borrowed from any of these sources.

Owing to its clever maliciousness, the clerical fox is not to be trusted in a position of authority. The writer of the *Prologue* to the *Wycliffite Bible* cites Robert Grosseteste's sermon *Premonitus a venerabili patre*.[22] The quote speaks of the evils of following the council of clergy who are unwise and covetous: 'To be led bi the council of hem' [covetise men and unwise] 'is to dispose of henne cotis bi the counceil of foxis'. In the *Prologue* the writer draws upon Grosseteste's metaphor of the fox to label the prelates or clergy in contemporary England. Clerics, as foxes, are too malicious and crafty to be left in charge of the rich 'henne cotis' that are the church's assets. Lollard discourse labels these sly, vulpine predators. Accusations of clerical slyness and hypocrisy which had existed in the long tradition of anticlericalism and antifraternalism are well known,[23] but these are not, according to the two major studies in this area, linked to the fox. Yet the audiences long used to accusations of crafty clerics and aware of the antics of Renard the

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[21] Scheve (1950) locates this vulpine lore in Oppianus, a first century AD 'Roman writer of Greek works on hunting and fishing', 243. Scheve's brief list illustrates: 'how persistent the tradition was from Oppianus in the first century to Jonson at the end of the sixteenth. It occurs, among others, in these writers and works: Oppianus, Aelianus, the Greek and Latin *Physiologus*, Isodore of Seville, Rhabanus Maurus, Hildebert of Mans, Hugh of St. Victor, Philippe de Thaon, Alexander of Neckam, Odo of Ceritona, Albertus Magnus, Guillaume le Clerc, Vincent of Beauvais, Jacques de Vitry, the Middle English Bestiary, Bartholomaeus Anglicus ... William Caxton, Pierre Gilles, George Agricola, Conrad Gesner, and John Maplet. After the publication of *Volpone* in 1608, the tradition continued with Edward Topsell and John Swan to the first third of the' [seventeenth] 'century', 244. The connection of the fox to clerical discourse is mentioned n. 22 page 7 of this study.

[22] On Grosseteste's written works, Thomson, S., *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste Bishop of Lincoln 1235-1253* (Cambridge, 1940; repr. 1971); on his sermons 160-191; on the sermon 'Premonitus a venerabili patre', 164, 173-174. The sermon is not listed on the Electronic Grosseteste Sermons: 16 ('Tota pulchra es'), 30 ('Ecclesia Sancta celebrat'), 33 (Ex rerum initiatarum'), 43 ('Non est veritas'), 84 ('Maria optimam partem'), 85 ('Nostra conversacio in celis est'), 114 ('Ecce nunc dies salutis').

[23] Scase (1986); Szittya (1986).

Fox,[24] may well have appreciated the Lollard image of the clergyman as a sly fox. Clergy are to be dead to the world,[25] but are really just foxing or playing dead. Feigning death in this vulpine manner, draws not birds but worldly goods which they should reject to live the *vita apostolica*.[26] This clerical foxing is again alluded to later in the same text along with examples of 'soft living.' This concept of soft-living can be traced to the third chapter of Isaiah and the *Glossa Ordinaria* on it. Soft-living is also corruptive: 'Ffor þei ben confessoures, prechoures, and reulers comynly of alle men, and þei techen hom not hor foule synnes, and periles of hom, bot suffren hom in hor synnes, for wynnynge of stinkynge muck and lustis of hor owne bely,[27] þat is fouler wormes meeter and a sack of dritt.'[28] The clergy is pretending, through its holy vocation, to be alive to spiritual things and dead to worldly things, while all the time reveling in the 'soft living' and worldly possessions that their falseness allows them to attract and to catch.

ii. Wolves

The wolf occurs 109 times in the texts here concordanced, and is the most common negative zoomorphic metaphor in the English Wycliffite texts. It is employed by 'Grosted'[29] as well as Guido de Baysio whose *Rosarium* is mentioned in the *Prologue* to the *Wycliffite Bible*. The writer seems to give special *gravitas* to the quoted biblical passages— the roaring lion and ravenous wolves,[30] to which

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[24] For example the work of *Reinardus: Yearbook of the International Reynard Society*. B. Levy, co-editor of this special issue, 'The Fox and Other Animals', kindly shared a copy with me; this featured his article 'Monde des bêtes et bête humaine: images de l'animal dans les fabliaux', 63-73.
[25] Colossians 2.20: 'If then you be dead with Christ from the elements of this world, why do you yet decree as though living in the world?' Hw 206 'frer'.
[26] As discussed, for example, in Dawson (1983).
[27] Hw 49 'beli'.
[28] <L 23><T A24><P 387>.
[29] In the sermon *Premonitus a venerabili patri*.
[30] The writer of the *Prologue* or de Baysio was alluding to I Peter 5.8 for the roaring lion: 'Be sober and watch: because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, goeth about seeking whom he may devour. For the ravenous wolves, Matthew 7.15: 'Beware of false prophets, who come to you in the clothing of sheep, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. Luke 11.39 is not specifically linked to wolves, but it does mention the rapine and hypocrisy of which the clergy is frequently accused: 'And the Lord said to him: Now you Pharisees make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter; but your inside is full of rapine and iniquity.'

evil prelates are here likened—because these allusions came from the pen of a famous doctor of 'the popis lawe'! The writer further explains. 'Erchedekene in Rosarie, which is oon of the famouseste doctouris, and of the popis lawe, writith thus, 'an yuel prelat is seid a rorying lyoun,[31] and a wolf rauysching prey'. Here the wolf metaphor is conflated with that of the roaring lion, but both are dangerous spiritual predators: the conflated images divest the laity of its goods by rapine and stop the word of Christ, whether by design, complicity, or apathy. In this well-known verse[32] false prophets are predicted to attack the Christian church; these will be ravenous wolves disguised in sheep's clothing. The adjective 'rapaces' is significant. Wolf, of course, already denotes the sharp-fanged predator; 'rapaces' further connotes frenzied nightmarish creatures who prey beyond their needs for sustenance. The semantic impact of 'lupi rapaces' is intensified, as these are more dangerous and blood-thirsty wolves who imperil human souls, not simply their safety or their livestock. Sermon 70 of the *English Wycliffite* sermon cycle identifies and explains the 'lupi rapaces.'

> 'Crist bydduþ us be war wiþ þese false prophetis þat comen in
> cloþing of schep and ben wolues of raueyne. And þese ben specially
> men of þese newe ordres, and moste þese frerys þat last comen in,
> for þe feend sutileþ euer a3ens Holy Chirche. Crist telluþ ei3te
> woys to þese Pharisees; and not only wischeþ hem, but ordeyneþ
> hem to come to þese ypocrites, for þei disseyuon his people.'[33]

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[31] The *Glossa Ordinaria* has a most interesting interpretation on I Peter 5.8: Tanquam leo rugiens,. etc. Sicut **rugitus leonis impedit aures**, ne alium sonum excipiant, sic diabolus fidelium mentes terrendo, et illicita suggerendo, a via veritatis, **ne vocem Christi audiant, avertit'** (emphasis, added). The lion's roaring prevents the hearing of Christ's voice; an idea with which the Lollards would have agreed, but do not exploit. It should be noted, however, that Szittya has shown that Wyclf's antifraternalism was in part different because it was not as dependent on the *Glossa Ordinaria.*
[32] Matthew 7.15, above quoted.
[33] <L 8><T EWSII-70><P 1>.

The 'newe ordres' particularly the 'frerys þat laste comen in' are the false prophets of which Christ gave warning because of their deceptive appearance. There is first the problem of duplicity, the untruth inherent in disguise of one species pretending to be another. Untruth in appearance, deed, or doctrine is what the Lollard discourse of preaching and teaching most deplores. The 'raueyne' of the friars is achieved through deceit. They 'disseyuon' by their appearance; their tonsures and habits suggest those who have taken vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity. And the believers are fleeced, because the friars and other evil clergy not only seek financial gain but also fail to preach the truth. They deceive through their appearance, their avarice, and their teachings.

Sermon 67 from the English Wycliffite sermon cycle also exhibits this link between 'raueine' and 'ypocrisie': 'herefore bydduþ crist fle fro false prophetis, þat comen in cloþing of schep, but þei ben wolues wiþinne, and þer comying is moste to rauysche by ypocrisye.' The deliberate deceit of the laity confirms friars and other false clergy as hypocrites. They appear like sheep, but are wolves. They appear to live lives of poverty, but do not. They claim to teach and preach the truth, but do not. So clerical and fraternal hypocrisy in the areas of appearance, rapacity, and doctrine feature prominently within the wolf metaphor. Though the wolf alone can and does suggest hypocrisy; the word 'rapaces' or 'rauyne' also suggests this attack via hypocrisy. In fact, in several instances the English texts here concordanced omit the wolf but use forms of the word 'raueyne' in place of the wolf as a sign of dangerous, predatory hypocrisy. The language of the wolf, fangs bared, is kept in the way the evil clergy are said to take the hard-won goods of the poor.[34] With the imagery of Micah 3.2[35] we see that of the 'lupi rapaces' from Matthew 7.15.

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[34] They become 'manquellers', by taking the funds that could purchase food, clothing, and shelter for the poor.

'þes prelates bi extorsions and maistrie taken þe litel good þat þei'

[the poor] 'schulden lyue bi þat þei geten bi gret swoot of here

body, & þus, as god seiþ of tyrauntis,[36] þei taken here skyn fro the

bak, & eten & drynkyn mennus blood, whanne þei by raueine &

ypocrisie disceyuen hem of here goodis bi whiche here bodely lif

schulde be susteyned, & whiche goods þei gate bi hard traueile &

wastyng of flech & blod; & þus þei ben manquelleris & irreguler bi-

fore god & his aungelis.'[37]

In this case prelates are guilty of 'raueyne' through hypocrisy. Prelates are

expected to live lives that conform to the *vita apostolica*; that is they are expected

to *be* as they appear—pious, fortuneless, and truthful. They are to teach through

their lives and through their instruction.[38] Yet this Lollard writer claims that

prelates are not emulating the expectations of their offices. They, through extortion

and manipulation deprive the impoverished of the few goods they have earned

through back-breaking labour. This example states that— when prelates by

'raueine & ypocrisie disceyuen' the poor of 'here goods' upon which they must

depend upon for survival—these prelates become 'manqueleris & irregular bi-fore

god & his aungelis'. Here, though wolves are not mentioned, the passage describes

the predatory nature of these clerical predators. In being rapacious these prelates

are already hypocrites, as they flagrantly ignore the requirements of their office *as*

shepherds; rather than protecting the flock, they prey upon it. The term 'ypocrisie'

seems to refer the means—that is the lies told—to coerce the poor to donate their

hard-earned goods to the church. The act of 'raueine' is coupled with blood:

prelates can be seen as murderers because they take what the poor need to survive,

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[35] Micah 3.2: 'You that hate good, and love evil: that violently pluck off their skins from them, and their flesh from their bones?'

[36] Hw 363 'tiraunt', Hw 364 'tirauntrie'.

[37] <L 22, 25><T MT04><P 73>. <L 19-26><T MT04><P 73>.

[38] This is, of course, not a novel idea.

goods that the poor have gotten 'bi hard traueile & wastyng of flech & blod.'

Through this and the examples to follow the name of the wolf is not specifically

mentioned, but strongly evoked in the term 'raueyne.'

Of Clerks Possessioners claims: 'it is þefte, raueyne & sacrelegie . . . alle

þes tiþes ben pore menus liflod, & þei ben manquelleris in defraudynge it &

manyfold cursed & grounded in gret heresie.'[39] Similarly How the Office of

Curates is Ordained of God states: 'whateuere þing curatis holden of the auterage

our a sympule liflode & cloþinge is nys not here but othere mennus, & and it is

þefte & raueyne & sacrilegie.'[40] These two Middle English Lollard texts support

the argument that 'raueyne' alone can carry the meaning of wolf, and the

accusations appear to be aimed at curates of all levels. They should take only the

essentials for 'sympule liflode'. Curates are reminded that tithes are the 'liflode'[41]

for the poor. Those who take more than a basic allowance are guilty of theft,

'raueyne', sacrilege, murder, and heresy in the former example, and in the latter

example theft, 'raueyne', and sacrilege as well. 'Raueyne' carries with it the

signification of the wolf because the sense here is on the depredation carried out on

the poor,[42] also a theme in heterodox texts.[43] They are the targets for the grasping

curates, just as their souls are prey for the 'lupi rapaces'. So, as has been shown,

the metaphor of the 'lupi rapaces' used together or appearing only as 'raueyne'

describe the predation of the church on its Christian flock. The shepherds are

preying upon the sheep for which they are to care,[44] potentially killing them body

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[39] <L 24><T MT06><P 132>.
[40] <L 1-3><T MT07><P 149>.
[41] Not here concordanced, but is closely linked to 'food and hilling', the essentials needed by a curate.
[42] Discussed, 45-49.
[43] But without the idea of expropriating the goods of the church and without exhorting the secular arm to due its duty to the substantive law against a church set on changing law.
[44] The problem of shepherds feeding themselves while leaving the sheep unfed is stated sharply in Ezechiel 34.2-3: 'Son of man, prophesy concerning the shepherds of Israel: prophesy, and say to the shepherds: Thus saith the Lord God: Woe to the shepherds of Israel, that fed themselves: should not the flocks be fed by the shepherds? 3, You ate the milk, and you clothed yourselves with the wool,

and soul. An example of the wolf metaphor appearing alone, the *Prologue* to the

Wycliffite Bible lists simply 'a wolf', allowing the reader to infer the semantic

force which that word carries: 'Also an yuel prelat is seid a wolf, as the lawe

witnesith in the lxxxijj distinction ch. *nichil.*'[45] Elsewhere in orthodox and Lollard

writings the wolf is further developed as a symbol of duplicity (wolf in sheep's

clothing) and symbol of rapine. The *Prologue* here is concerned not with

developing the symbol of the wolf, but with simply adding weight to the idea that

evil prelates are *not* human; evil clergy are lupine, ravagers of the poor.

We have seen how the wolf metaphor can be used in Lollard texts to show

a predatory and hypocritical nature rife in members of the clergy. It may also be

noted briefly that the wolf metaphor is associated with and symbolic of

covetousness, lechery, and gluttony.[46] Elements of envy or covetousness have been

evident in the examples cited above. Both *Of Clerks Possessioners* and *How the*

Office of Curates is Ordained of God depict curates as being guilty of theft,

implying ingrained envy or covetousness. Having secured their ill-gotten gains,

curates are free to finance their worldly tastes, though the opportunity is not taken

to lecture the audience on the perils of these sins.[47] A Lollard writer laments,

instead, the excesses that rapacity has afforded the clergy:

> 'A lord! siþ prelatis comen in stede of apostlis, hou may þei for
>
> schame lyue so contrariously aȝenst here pore lif, in was seruauntis,
>
> in gret fatte hors & nedles, in shynyng vessel, in gret aray or cropis,

---

and you killed that which was fat: but my flock you did not feed.' These prelates (whose rapacity
predates on the purses and lives of the laity) are intent upon their own maintenance and not that of
the sheep. 'and in the xxxiiij ch. of Esechiel, he is seid to feede him self and not the sheep.'

[45] <L 10><T Pro><P 31>.

[46] There is only one Lollard tract on the Seven Deadly Sins.

[47] *The Parson's Tale* describes the cardinal sins of gluttony and lechery as the right and left hands
of the devil. Luxuria is a category of sins that M.D. Jordan has stated is quite difficult to classify. It
includes concepts such as a love for 'soft living' plus a variety of sexual sins. Woolfish stalking is,
in the English Lollard texts, a reference the clerical desire for sexual misconduct, and references to
'soft living' are also linked to sodomy, discussed below. 'Soft living includes a taste for fine
clothing, fine houses, elaborate furnishings, and an excess of anything expensive or 'delicate' or
'schyning'.

3e more þan many grete lordis . . . O lord what tokene of mekenesse

& forsakynge of worldly ricesse is þis, a prelat as an abott or a

prior, þat is ded to the world . . . to ride wiþ foure score hors, with

harneis of siluer & gold, & many raggid & fittrid squyeris.'[48]

These wolves in sheep's clothing, are not simply the friars, or the monks, but

prelates, in fact the entire endowed church seen to swindle the poor to enable its

indulgence in vices.

iii. Moles

The third zoomorphic metaphor to be examined is that of the mole.[49]

Medieval lore believed the mole was blind,[50] apparently because the creature's

habitat is under the ground in the dark. It is a creature that is tied to the earth, the

matter from which humans were made and to which they return—a sign of post-

lapsarian and the earthbound. The MED mentions the creature primarily in regards

to the earth, its subterranean habitat; occasionally its use in a recipe or potion is

cited, and references to mole hills, mounds of earth made by these animals, are also

given. A point of interest, though, is the fact that the figurative signification for

'moldwarp' seems, according to the MED, to derive entirely from Lollard texts.

Seven examples are given, and all seven are from Lollard writings. It is true that

this figurative usage may appear elsewhere in texts not included in the MED or not

yet examined, but the Lollard inclusion in the MED is suggestive. This animal is

inextricably connected to the earth; and it is used as a metaphor of one who is blind

to the truth. This figurative use, when applied to the clergy, shows it to be blind to

its vocation.[51] Those who have forsaken the world should have their sights set on

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[48] <L 22-32><T MT04><P 60>. Related to Hw 89 'bridel', as a symbol of the conspicuous consumption of the clergy.

[49] OED: 'Any of various small burrowing insectivorous mammals of the subfamily Talpinae (family Talpidae).'

[50] OED: 'Freq. in similes, etc.: used with reference to the proverbial blindness of moles.'

[51] MED: 'a mole, *fig.* a cleric who is overly concerned with worldly things.'

the celestial rather than on the temporal, and are blind to this truth. Living in the soil of worldly 'muk' and 'stynkyng drit' proves this clerical blindness. The mole's figurative lack of sight is limited to spiritual matters, because the clerical mole is not entirely sightless; he can see what he cares about, the earthen tunnels in which temporal treasures are hidden. A Lollard writer denounces mole-like tendencies: Prelates 'resten as mold-warpis in wrotynge of worldly worschipe & erþely goodis, as þoug þere were no lif but only in þis wrecchid world.'[52] The soil in which the mole makes its home and hides its treasure is symbolic of avarice and corruption; the soil is also symbolic of mortality. Human flesh eventually returns to the compound from which it was originally fashioned. To be a creature of the soil is to be tied to mortality, to flesh which inevitably decays. In the case of churchmen, being mole-like endangers not only their own souls but also the souls of those in their care. In being mole-like, curates identify themselves as children of the devil. The connection between the mole and the devil seems to lie in their relationship to the soil, to the earthbound. After its deception of Adam and Eve, the serpent is cursed to crawl on its belly in the dust. Not only serpents, but shrews, lizards, and moles are listed among the unclean ground-dwelling animals in Leviticus 11.30.[53] The 'moldewerpe' seems to be damned as are its human equivalents: 'After þis lambe schal come a Moldewerpe acursede of Godes mouþ, a caitif, a coward as an here.'[54] The imagery often associated with the devil seems to be combined with that of the mole. In the case of bishops their devotion to worldly things makes them ground-dwellers, and in this role they follow after the fiend. 'And so wickeded lif of men makuþ hem seme þe fendis children; as it is seyd þat a byschop haþ a thowsande ey3en to noye, but he haþ not half an ey3e to profy3te

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[52] <L 11-13><T MT07><P 147>.

[53] Leviticus 11.30: 'The shrew, and the chameleon, and the stello, and the lizard, and the mole: All these are unclean. He that toucheth their carcasses shall be unclean until the evening.'

[54] MED: 'c1400 Brut-1333 (Rwl. B.171).'

aftur Godis lawe.[55] And þus monye men supposon þat þese ben blynde feendus children, for monye men han moldywerpus e3en þat þenkon euere on worldly goodis.'[56] Bishops, ever-watching with their 'þowsand ey3en to noye', observe their diocese (perhaps too close an eye out for the comfort of heretical preachers and teachers), but they lack the ability to see the spiritual, above the temporal, and thus fail to 'forfy3te aftur' God's law. These bishops jealously guard their administrative and financial turf on this earth, they are blind to the spiritual territory, at least as staked out by the Lollards in Holy Scripture. Worldly moles, because of their attachment to temporal possessions and authority, are symoniacs[57] and heretics:[58] 'worldly moldwarpis ful of symonye and heresie make so open lawis so profitable and so trewe, and god with his helperis makeþ derke lawis vnprofitable and vntrewe.'[59] Earthbound curates, corrupted with symony and heresy, claim that the 'open lawis' laid down by 'god' and 'his helperis' are 'vnprofitable and vntrewe.' They cannot or will not see the light of divine inspiration, and in their apparent refusal to be guided by God's law, actually grasp keys more likely to unlock hell than heaven.

> 'Þes worldly moldwerpis taken keies of helle in stede of keies of þe
> kyngdom of heuenenes, for þei taken ypocrisie of worldly
> tirauntrie[60] and bostful worldly lif, and meynteynge of synne bi fals
> pardon and fals absolucion and cursed preiris, and leuen kunnynge
> and techynge of holy writt and edefiynge of cristene soules to heuen
> by good ensaumple of here holy lif.'[61]

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[55] Discussed, 82-88.
[56] <L 111-116><T EWS2-120><P 314>.
[57] Related to Hw 334 'simon', Hw 335 'simoner', Hw 336 'simonie', and Hw 337 'simonient'.
[58] Hw 224 'heretike'. Also Hw 223 'heresie'.
[59] <L 19-22><T MT04><P 89>.
[60] Hw 363. Also Hw 362 'tiraunt'.
[61] <L 7-9><T MT04><P 95>.

Such church leaders are of serious concern for Lollardy. The mole metaphor

carries with it references to limited sight and earthly dirt. These tonsured moles,

blind to spiritual things, stay tunnelled in temporal darkness, their focus on the

earth rather than on heaven which would be intolerable for them.

English Wycliffite sermon number 68 juxtaposes the earthbound with the

heaven-bound. In teaching his disciples, Christ leads them to a hill where they are

physically closer to heaven. From this high point, which may also symbolize the

moral high ground, Christian principles are given.

> 'Crist wente into an hul, and hise disciplis wente wiþ hym, to teche
>
> þat þei schulde be ni3 heuene þat schulden teche or lerne þis lore;
>
> and þus moldywerpis þat wroton þe erþe ben vnable to þis lore.
>
> Sittyng of Crist in þe hul bytokneþ stabulnesse in þis lessoun and
>
> herfore seyntis wryton myche of þis sermoun of Oure Lorde in þe
>
> hul, for auctorite of þe doctour, with mony circumstaunsis of hym,
>
> makuþ þis lore. Sittyng of crist in þe hul bytokneþ stabulnesse in þis
>
> lessoun and herefore seyntis wryton myche of þis sermoun of Oure
>
> Lord in þe hul, for auctorite of þe doctour, wiþ mony circumstaunsis
>
> of hym, makuþ þis lore notable to alle Cristene men aftur.'[62]

The physical location on 'þe hul' and Christ's words confirm his authority and

distance from things earthbound. Those 'moldywerpis þat wroton þe erþe' cannot

accept and comprehend Christ's teachings.

iv. Dogs

Another zoomorphic metaphor is that of the dog,[63] which appears 27 times in the

texts here concordanced. The dog may represent unchaste behaviour, or it may be

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[62] <L 11><T EWS2-122><P 320>. <L 11-16><T EWS2-122><P 320>.

[63] Dogs also have diabolical associations in orthodox circles. For example, O'Mara (1994). In the Easter Week Sermon, the deadly sins are likened to the 'doggis of helle which þat schuln berke ech daie a3eins þee, and bite þee', 58.

incompetent as a canine sentinel. The former may be represented by the *Prologue*

to the Wycliffite Bible which cites canon law: 'Also for defaute of gouernaile he'

[the evil living clergyman] 'is seid an vnchaast dog,[64] as austyn witnessith in ij

cause of vij question ch. *qui nec*.' The latter, a direct reference to Isaiah 56.10.[65]

The writer of the tract *Of Prelates* is concerned about the dangerous times. Clerical

dogs are expected to guard their territory but are in fact unreliable. Their warning

barks are silenced by temporal riches and concerns.

> 'Prelatis ben doumbe houndis þat may not berke in tyme of most
>
> nede but ben traitours[66] to god and his people; for þei ben so chokid
>
> wiþ talow of worldly goodis and occupacion abouten hem, þat þei
>
> may not preche þe gospel and warne þe peple of þe deuelis
>
> disceitis', [and this] 'doumbnesse' [and worldly concern] permits
>
> Christian souls to be 'stranglid wiþ woluys of helle.'[67]

Failure to preach the gospel and to warn of the devil's snares leaves the Christian

flock vulnerable, financially and spiritually, to rapacious wolves, in clerical and in

demonic form.

v. Fowl

Failing clergymen are occasionally described in avian terms. In the case of

the evil living curate, the *Prologue* borrows from canon law to describe him as 'a

crowe,[68] either a rauen, for the blacknese of synnes, as the lawe witnessith there, in

ch. *non omnis*.'[69] Also in the *Prologue* curates who cannot or will not preach are

spiritually impotent and described as capons:

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[64] Hw 160 'dogge'. <L 12><T Pro><P 31>.
[65] Isaiah 56.10: 'His watchmen are all blind, they are all ignorant: dumb dogs not able to bark, seeing vain things, sleeping and loving dreams.'
[66] Hw 366.
[67] <L 1-9><T MT04><P 104>.
[68] Hw 125.
[69] <L 13><T Pro><P 31>.

'Also he is seid a capoun, for he hath the manere of an hen, for as a

capoun crowith not, so an yuel prelat[70] crowith not in preching;[71]

also an yuel prelat gendrith not bi preching of Goddis word, neither

he fiȝtith for hise sogetis; also as the capoun clepith not hennis, so

an yuel prelat clepith not pore[72] men to mete; also as a capoun

makith fat himself, so an yuel prelat makith fat himself.'[73]

Here the animal images associated with evil curates overlap with those *non*-male to

be discussed below. The 'capoun' which does not crow, mate, or fight. Neutered,

the sexually impotent 'capoun' cannot crow to engender belief or protect his

parishioners.

The evil clerics, who are cast as these animals, are riddled with hypocrisy,

but are guilty of far worse offences, namely physical and spiritual manslaughter.

These tonsured predators have been shown to seek their own gain and ease at great

cost to the lay persons in their care. The fiscal burden falls hardest on the poor

whose meagre resources stand in sharp contrast to the opulence of the church.[74]

Rather than emulating the model of Christ and the Apostles, who were content

with the basic necessities, the clergy debases and dehumanizes itself to animalistic

predation, stalking for luxuries beyond simple food, clothing, and shelter. The

guise of holy vocation, hypocrisy, enables them to catch their quarry, leaving

victims impoverished in purse and un-taught in faith. While gain-seeking,

hypocritical members of the clergy are certainly criticized and satirized elsewhere,

Lollard anticlericalism presses the point much farther, specifically accusing these

clerical foxes, wolves, moles, dogs, and fowl of both exacerbating the ills of

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[70] Hw 297.
[71] Hw 295. Also, Hw 294 'prechen' and 296 'prechour'.
[72] Hw 292.
[73] The *Prologue* writer cites his source clearly: 'Erchedekene writith als this in xliij distinction in ch. *sit rector*, and on the word *muti*', 31.
[74] Discussed, 42-49.

126

contemporary poverty and thereby potentially slaying innocent Christians, body and soul.

The section above has discussed the anticlerical zoomorphic images in the vernacular Lollard texts here concordanced. Here the focus will shift to the general characterization of orthodox preachers and teachers in Lollard discourse.

Clerical Characters

Much has been written on the topic of anticlericalism, and it seems virtually mandatory that heretical writers use and develop their own anticlerical themes, symbols, and imagery. The texts here concordanced are unstinting in their criticism of orthodox preachers and teachers, regular or secular. From the zoomorphic imagery and its link to social poverty attention turns to a few of the ways contemporary men of the cloth are characterized in Lollard discourse. Although many aspects might be discussed, the following section will consider the language and teachings of failing clergy. If animalistic clergy deprive the poor of its livelihood, thereby potentially being guilty of manslaughter, this section considers the inefficacy of their message and lifestyles. Failure to teach and to preach 'goddes lawe' in word and deed, at least to the heretical perspective, causes the clergy to be guilty potentially of spiritual 'man-quelling.'

i. Language

H.L. Spencer relates an anecdote from a medieval sermon in which a woman wept bitterly during a preacher's sermon, but these were not tears of contrition.[75] The preacher's vocal delivery and intonation reminded her of the braying of a beloved donkey that she had lost.[76] As this common anecdote illustrates, not all preachers were favoured with pleasing voices, and criticism of a

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[75] Spencer (1993): 'The purpose of sermons was to stir hearers to contrition. Preaching and confession were causally connected . . . This intimate connection between preaching and penance was at the heart of the quarrels between the friars and seculars over the Mendicants' rights to hear parishioners' confessions', 102.
[76] Spencer (1993), 103; sources cited in endnote 98, 402.

preacher's language spanned the orthodox and heterodox. Yet, in Lollard discourse, criticism of clerical language goes beyond speaking tone and delivery style; it works with criticism of orthodox teachings and clerical characters to describe the inefficacy of preachers and teachers and the perceived heresy of their message and lives.

Orthodox language is described as nonsensical and reactionary. Sermon 55 in the English Wycliffite cycle describes the nonsensical preaching of priests.

> 'As comun þing is betture and byforn oþre þingis, so þis gospel þat is rad in comun sanctorum schulde men knowe somwhat and specially preestis. For it is a fowl þing þat prestis spekon as pyes and knowe not þer owne voys more þan doon bestis, and specially whon þei reedon byleue of holy chirche; for þese men ben to fer to preche þis to þe puple.'[77]

Their magpie-like cawing stems, for this sermon writer, from priests' ignorance of Christ's true message. Similarly, orthodox preachers are said to 'blaberen'[78] and 'tateren'.[79] In a term commonly associated with friars they 'flateren'[80] and 'glosen',[81] speaking nonsense, or empty words, rather than the truth. Evil preachers 'gabben',[82] and they 'bak-biten'[83] and 'grucchen' against the model of Christ and the Apostles and those who would follow it by preaching and teaching truthfully. Non-heretical preachers 'janglen'[84] and 'japen'[85] clownishly or mockingly and without substance.

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[77] <L 1-6><T EWS2-55><P 1>.
[78] Hw 62.
[79] Hw 355.
[80] Hw 193. Also Hw 194 'flaterer' and Hw 195 'flatering'.
[81] Hw 209. Also Hw 210 'glosinge' and Hw 207 'glosatour'.
[82] Hw 205. Also Hw 206.
[83] Hw 36 'bak-biten'. Also Hw 37 'bak-bitere' and Hw 38 'bak-biting'.
[84] Hw 239. Also Hw 240 'janglere' and Hw 241 'jangling'.
[85] Hw 243. Also Hw 244 'japer', Hw 245 'japinge', and Hw 242 'jape'.

This nonsensical description of orthodox preachers and teachers illustrates the Lollard distain for their language which is incomprehensible and untrue because it is semantically empty due to the nature of the evil preacher's life[86] and teachings. It is clear that in orthodox circles priests were expected to emulate the virtues taught in their sermons; however, in Lollard discourse these nonsensical terms reveal more than the common concern of clerical misconduct. Sermon 87 of the Wycliffite vernacular cycle illustrates its zero-tolerance policy on ecclesiastical corruption at all levels: 'And þus seyn men þat coueytyse of worschipus and worldly goodys blynden[87] preestus by symonye,[88] þat al þe chyrche faruþ þe werse. And þus may men see here; 3if þes prelatus wolden suwe Crist and putte his chirche owt of perele, þei schulden leue þis as Crist dyde.'[89] The fiendishly inspired[90] papal choices for clerical office stand in stark contrast to Christ's unsullied authority to appoint those who were to carry his message. 'As þei seyn, þe pope may make a lewyd[91] man, for money, a gret buschop[92] on his chyrche; but þis is chyrche of wyckede men.'[93] Clerical vice notwithstanding, of equal or greater import is their doctrinal error. These nonsensical terms are also linked to erroneous doctrine which upholds novel legislation, the 'popus lawys'[94] over 'Cristus lawe þat men schuldon growndon hem inne.'[95] Not only are ecclesiastically sanctioned preachers shown live in the hypocrisy of immorality and corruption, they also preach the error affirmed by the church, imperilling the

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[86] Spencer (1993): 'Sacerdotal ignorance . . . was deplorable, yet the faults which arose from unsatisfactory education were venial compared with the graver charge that a preacher did not practice what he preached . . . It was a commonplace that a priest instructed as much by his example as by his word, and he would be held accountable for both at the day of final reckoning', 98-99.
[87] Hw 74.
[88] Hw 336. Also Hw 335 'simon', Hw 335 'simoner', and Hw 337 'simonient'.
[89] <L 130-134><T EWS2-87><P 191>.
[90] <L 136><T EWS2-87><P 191>: 'browt in by þe feend, and not by Cristus auctorite.'
[91] Hw 255. Also Hw 254 'leudest' and Hw 256 'leuednesse'.
[92] Hw 61.
[93] <L 137-139><T EWS2-87><P 191>.
[94] <L 140><T EWS2-87><P 191>. Hw 249 'laue'.
[95] <L 8-9><T EWS2-66><P 60>.

Christian souls in their care. The nonsensical terms represent the utter nonsense of

a clergy 'lyeng and faylyng of trew prechyng', the absurd inversion of a church

which is seen to 'reuerson Crist as hise enemyes, and traueyle not in name of

hym.'[96]

ii. Teachings

Commentary on the anticlerical language used to describe orthodox

teaching will concentrate less on the familiar heterodox dogma than on somewhat

satellite issues. Though topically these often link back to the more notorious

heretical tenets, exploration of less traditional vocabulary may reveal heretical

markers in texts of less strident content.[97] The following discussion investigates an

area that may bring discursive elements into somewhat more specific, Lollard

context: this area relates to concepts surrounding idolatry.[98] The issue of idolatry is

related to Wyclif's Realist metaphysics and his express opposition to Nominalism,

traces of which may be found in the texts here concordanced.[99] Therefore, first, a

brief summary of some scholarly observations[100] on Wyclif's positions is given for

context. Szittya has described Wyclif's anticlericalism[101] in terms of his rejection

of nominalism and its main proponents, the fraternal orders. Key to Wyclif's

antifraternalism is, Szittya states, a connection between the Nominalists and 'the

fostering of 'signs.''[102] The friars are:

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[96] <L 123-126><T EWS2-72><P 99>.
[97] I am not suggesting that heretical markers would fully decide text's orthodoxy or heterodoxy, but they may inform explorations of what may be alternatively referred to as ambi-doxy: from OED prefix 'ambi' for 'both' or 'on both sides; and from OED suffix 'doxy', denotation 2, 'Opinion (esp. in religious or theological matters); in adjectival form as ambi-dox.
[98] OED prefix 'anti'; OED 'sacramentarianism'.
[99] Albeit if these traces appear with less subtlety and erudition, for example, as discussed in Hudson (1991).
[100] There are numerous studies on Wyclif's thought, including Robson, J.A., *Wyclif and the Oxford Schools* (Cambridge, 1961). For the purposes of this brief summary, Conti (2005) has been consulted, and Workman (1926), Szittya (1986) have been cited.
[101] Szittya (1986): 'Wyclif's antifraternalism was only a part, indeed a minor part, of his broader, and extreme, anticlericalism', 154.
[102] Szittya (1986), 154-155.

'sign worshipers (*cultores signorum*), teachers of signs (*doctores signorum*), and 'an adulterous generation seeking signs' (*generacio adultera querens signa*)[103] . . . They live by 'sensible signs' (*signis sensibilibus*) . . . signs perceptible to the senses, and by outward signs (*signis extrinsecis*); they are those who . . . 'have set up their signs, signs, and knew them not (Posuerunt signa sua, signa, et non cognoverunt).'[104]

Though this position, not appearing in William of St. Amour, could be Wyclif's singular gloss on hypocrisy, Szittya suggests reading 'signum' as a metaphysical term tying the friars to nominalism.[105] Nominalism denied the reality of universals, dismissing these as intellectual fabrications devoid of reality outside the mind constructing them; universals were, in the words of Workman, 'a mere *flatus vocis*'.[106] Nominalism embraced the position of Duns Scotus that 'reason' . . . . [related] 'solely to the realm of the sensible'.[107] The senses allowed the perception of accidents or signs, an act purveying knowledge. Wyclif criticized the separation of the sign or the particular from a signification or essence external to the mind, and argued for the existence of independent, immutable, and external universals. To Wyclif's realism, knowledge was achieved through a reality combining particulars with universals, the accident and its substance; he united signs with their essential signification. As Szittya observes, the Nominalists' emphasis on the '*terminus*' rather than the '*res*'; the letter (*sensus corporalis*), not the spirit (*sensus spiritualis*); *signum*, not *signatum*' was a metaphysical outrage contrived by the

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[103] Matthew 12.39, 16.4.
[104] Szittya (1986), 155. Psalm 73.10: 'Our signs we have not seen, there is now no prophet: and he will know us no more.'
[105] Szittya (1986), 155.
[106] Workman (1926), 112, 113.
[107] Workman (1926), 109-110.

'*doctores signorum*'.[108] Wyclif's Realist position against Nominalism set the stage for his clashes not only with the mendicant orders, but with the entire 'visible church', its 'visible sacraments',[109] its clergy, and its doctrine.

It has been briefly shown above that the separation of the accident or sign from its substance or signification was abhorrent to Wyclif. This fact affords a less traditional way of exploring the vernacular texts for evidence of Wycliffite Realism, Realism which impacts the areas of idolatry, Christology, and anti-sacramentarianism in the vernacular texts here concordanced.

Hudson has described the Lollard view of images,[110] and has noted a range of heretical opinion on the subject. It seems that later heretical writers were prepared to go further with the topic than Wyclif himself.[111] Vocabulary relating to religious iconography appears in a variety of headwords here concordanced: including forms of 'crois', 'crucifix', 'idolatre', 'idolatrie', 'idole', 'image', 'maumet', 'maumetrie', 'peinten', 'peintinge', 'peintorie', 'peintour', 'similitude', 'simulacioun', and 'simulacre'.[112] While the quantitative data does to some extent support the range in opinion on the topic of iconography, not all forms of these terms relate to the non-literary arts. In revealing a combined total of 531 occurrences, the data also reveals the number of texts in which this vocabulary does not appear. If the number of occurrences across the total number of texts is considered, vocabulary such as 'laue' command far more textual space than terms

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[108] Szittya (1986), 155.
[109] Szittya (1986), 153.
[110] Hudson (1988), 301-307.
[111] Hudson (1988): 'The topic is one on which Lollard moved beyond anything found in Wyclif, both in the extent of its hostility and in its vehemence. Wyclif had necessarily touched on the question when writing on the first commandment in *De Mandatis*; his opinion there, and in the relatively few references in his later texts, is not extreme . . . The 1382 condemnation did not mention the subject', 302. 'By no means all Wycliffites supported instant iconoclasm.' Opinions range from extreme iconoclasm, 303, to Swinderby's grudging acceptance of images (Hw 237) 'image' as reminders, to the destruction of images, with permission by the king, lords, and 'trewe clergie'. Some heretics may have salved the consciences by distinguishing types of veneration by 'dulia' (Hw 166) and 'latria' (Hw 248), 304. There is also debate about how images of the Trinity may be misrepresentative, 305; and the legitimacy of crucifixes, 307.
[112] Respectively Hw 122, Hw 8, Hw 230, Hw 231, Hw 232, Hw 235, Hw 269, Hw 270, Hw 278, Hw 280, Hw 281, Hw 333, Hw 341, and Hw 342.

related to the complex issue of iconography which is often tied to the veneration of saints, the act of pilgrimage, and the problem of poverty.

There are, though, at least two other ways of considering the idol, first as a representation of 'someone who is false or untrustworthy.'[113] By extension, then, idolatry[114] becomes the act of hypocrisy,[115] the archetypal sin of the Scribes and Pharisees and the fraternal orders, both groups appearing to be something which they are not. The second is the 'idolatrer' who is figuratively 'a wicked or avaricious prelate',[116] an image also associated with the hypocritical Scribes and Pharisees and the friars. With either of these figurative meanings the sign is disconnected from its signification (or at least what it *should* signify), a disconnect rejected by Wyclif's Realism.

The *Prologue* to the *Wycliffite Bible* specifically refers to evil clergy as mere idols, simulacres,[117] or simulations[118] of the offices they represent.

> 'A doumb prelat is an ydol, and not a very prelat; a doumb prelat is
>
> not a very prelat, sithen he vsith not the offis of a prelat, but he hath
>
> oonly the licnesse of a prelat, as an ydol that vsith not the offis of a
>
> man is oonly lijk a man, but is noo man; therfore such doumbe
>
> prelatis moun ri3tfully be seid symylacris, either ydolis.'[119]

The writer supports these claims by citing Baruch 6.7.[120] In this text the Babylonian gods are shown to be unable to speak.[121] Likewise in the *Prologue* those who are prelates only in appearance are dumb idols, silent representations of what they should be. Appointing an idol for a prelate makes the one conferring the

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[113] MED 'idole', denotation 1 b.

[114] Hw 231.

[115] Hw 237 'ipocrisie'. Also Hw 238 'ipocrite'.

[116] MED 'idolatrer' denotation 1b.

[117] Hw 342.

[118] Hw 341.

[119] <L 25-28><T PRO><P 31>.

[120] Baruch 6.7: 'For their tongue that is polished by the craftsman, and themselves laid over with gold and silver, are false things, and they cannot speak.'

[121] This dumbness or inability to speak is also connected to sins of sodomy discussed,129-132.

office an idol, a mere facsimile, and damns him. Those who 'maken such prelatis

ben lijk him, whiche makers schulen be dampned with such prelatis.'[122] Just as

'hethen men' in biblical times had six types of 'symylacris' of 'cley, of tree, of

bras, of stoon, of syluer, and of gold' there are six types of evil prelates. Those of

clay are 'fleschly' and linked to the earth, specifically the streets.[123] Simulacres of

wood are 'vnwise', 'boistous', and 'without wit', trees 'wlappid in siluer'.[124] The

writer goes on to liken this mixture of wood and metal comprising the idols to

'beestis clepid chymeres' which 'han a part of ech best', freakish creatures unable

to opine, to speak, or to do anything, and whose existence is unnatural.[125] Brazen

simulacres have 'oonly worldly eloquence, for whi brasse 3eueth greet soun.' The

writer cites the hollow clanging of I Corinthians 13.1[126] to illustrate the empty

words of these prelatical idols. The stone 'symylacris' have abandoned

righteousness and virtue for 'temporal strengthe' and are not the Christ-like corner

stone[127] but the 'stoon of hirtyng and of sclaundre'.[128] Silver simulacres are 'maad

bi moneye, eithir richessis' and are Judas-like in their willingness to betray Christ:

'what wolen 3e 3eue vs, and we schulen bitraie Crist to you'.[129] Finally, golden

'symylacris' seek 'worldly nobleie', as gold signifies nobility, and these prelates

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[122] <L 30-31><T PRO><P 31>.
[123] Psalm 17.43: 'And I shall beat them as small as the dust before the wind; I shall bring them to nought, like the dirt in the streets.'
[124] No specific text is cited only 'holy scripture', 31/36; however, several references to idols made of wood covered with silver and gold are made, for example Baruch 6.3, 50, 54, 69, and 70.
[125] <L 37-39><T PRO><P 31>.
[126] 1 Corinthians 13.1: 'If I speak with the tongues of men, and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal.'
[127] No specific biblical text is cited, but the idea of the 'stoon which is set into the heed of the corner' in <L 43-44><T PRO><P 31> reveals near exact phrasing to six biblical passages. Psalm 117.22: 'The stone which the builders rejected; the same is become the head of the corner'; re-quoted in the three synoptic Gospels Matthew 21.42: 'Jesus saith to them: Have you never read in the Scriptures: The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner? By the Lord this has been done; and it is wonderful in our eyes'; Mark 10.12: 'And have you not read this scripture, The stone which the builders rejected, the same is made the head of the corner'; Luke 20.17: 'But he looking on them, said: What is this then that is written, The stone, which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner?'; also re-quoted in Acts 4.7: 'This is the stone which was rejected by you the builders, which is become the head of the corner'; and I Peter 2.7: 'To you therefore that believe, he is honour: but to them that believe not, the stone which the builders rejected, the same is made the head of the corner'.
[128] <L 42-44><T PRO><P 31>.
[129] <L 44-1><T PRO><P 31-32>.

make themselves the head of Nabuchodonosor's image in Daniel 2.32.[130] The writer likens lords and prelates who, like Manassas,[131] have set up these idols in 'Goddis hous', and enjoins them to follow Manassas in 'very repentaunce' and reparation to God and men.[132]

Though the *Prologue* represents the most overt statements likening idols and simulacres to clergy, these same figurative meanings for idol, as a false person, or simulacre, as an avaricious prelate are implied by other vocabulary such as collocations of 'fals'[133] with forms of preacher, teacher, or priest.[134] Avaricious clergymen;[135] those who pretend to be dead to worldly matters; those who engage in simony; those who betray Christ; and those who pretend to be something they are not are mere shams, idols and simulacres of those clergy whose vocation should be more than a Nominalist sign. Their signification, as heirs to Christ and the Apostles is missing. The tonsure and the habit, the preaching and teaching are divorced from the universal of true priesthood.

Effeminates and Sodomites

Here the focus will shift to the characterization of evil curates with *non* heterosexual male qualities. Lollard texts depict corrupt orthodox clergy as epicene figures. There are a number of passages in the English writings which describe evil clerics, of all levels, in non-male terms—that is as bad women, effeminates, and homosexuals. Heresy (of which Lollards accused orthodox clergy) had, in ecclesiastical minds, been linked with sexual deviancy at least as early as the

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[130] Daniel 2.32: 'The head of this statue was of fine gold, but the breast and the arms of silver, and the belly and the thighs of brass.'
[131] IV Kings 23.12: 'And the altars that were upon the top of the upper chamber of Achaz, which the kings of Juda had made, and the altars which Manasses had made in the two courts of the temple of the Lord, the king broke down: and he ran from thence, and cast the ashes of them into the torrent Cedron.'
[132] <L 6-8><T PRO><P 33>.
[133] Hw 179.
[134] Hw 296. Also Hw 295 'prechinge' and Hw 294 'prechen'.
[135] Hw 31. Also Hw 30 'avarice'.

eleventh century.[136] Yet, possibly due to the unmentionable nature of

homosexuality[137] English antifraternal and anticlerical polemic does not seem to

make great use of the charges of effeminacy and homosexuality.[138] In the English

Lollard texts, though, we find the assertions that evil clerics are: transvestites,

effeminates, and sodomites. This section considers their appearance in Lollard

anticlericalism.

Lollard anticlericalism owes something to the anticlerical controversies of

the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as these texts include scraps of anticlerical

images, discourse, and polemic drawn from orthodox writings, but with a different

spin. Anticlerical writers had long described failing clergy as various animals and

as biblical texts come to life; however, the orthodox clergy is not generally

satirized by accusations of non-maleness, emasculation, or homosexuality. At first

Chaucer's goat-voiced Pardoner and Summoner might spring to mind as examples

contrary to this point, yet these are literary examples with primarily intent to

entertain rather than to reform.[139] If we turn to the two major works on

anticlericalism, accusations of homosexuality or effeminacy do not appear. P.

Szittya traces the emergence of what eventually became Sire Penetrans Domos of

Piers Plowman from William of St. Amour's *De periculis novissimorum temporum*

through the antifraternal polemic of Richard FitzRalph and John Wyclif. *De*

periculis spawned the exegetical reading from II Timothy 3.1-6[140] which fueled the

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[136] Goodich, M. *The Unmentionable Vice: Homosexuality in the Later Medieval Period* (Santa Barbara, 1979). Boswell, J. *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality* (Chicago, 1980). Foucault, M., *The History of Sexuality*, trans. Robert Hurley (London, 1988). Jordan, M.D., *The Invention of Sodomy in Christian Theology* (Chicago, 1997).
[137] Frantzen, A.J. 'The Disclosure of Sodomy in *Cleanness*', *PMLA* 111 (1996): 451-64.
[138] We may queer Geoffrey Chaucer's Pardoner and Summoner, but literary satire is something less dangerous than heretical writings.
[139] I am grateful to Stephen Morrison for drawing my attention to R.F. Green's different understanding of the Pardoner's sexuality. Green, R.F., 'The Sexual Normality of Chaucer's Pardoner', *Mediaevalia* 8 (1982 for 1985): 351-358; 'The Pardoner's Pants and Why They Matter', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 15 (1993): 131-145; 'Further Evidence for Chaucer's Representation of the Pardoner as a Womanizer', *Medium Ævum* 71 (2002): 307-309.
[140] II Timothy 3.1-6: 'For of these sort are they who creep into houses, and lead captive silly women laden with sins, who are led away with divers desires.'

antifraternal tradition for the next two centuries: among the results, was the

infamous *penetrans domos*, herald of antichrist and heterosexual predator. Scase

shows how the early antifraternal tradition had, by the fourteenth century,

shifted—largely due to the antifraternal polemic of Richard FitzRalph—so that

both friars and secular clergy were under anticlerical fire. In Scase's work, though,

the once virile *penetrans domos* is now less interested in sexual predation than in

capitalistic gain.

What may be interesting about these studies highlighting the heretical,

eschatological, and predatory friars (and in Scase, the secular clergy as well) is that

the unflattering metaphors and charges are not linked with predation involving

transvestism, effeminacy, or homosexuality. Thus, though the

antifraternal/anticlerical traditions, as described by Szittya and Scase do not link

clergy with these traits, the English Lollard literature (which while unique, was

heir to the rich anticlerical traditions) *does*. This is an aspect of Lollard discourse

that has yet to receive significant notice.[141] Studies on homosexuality in the Middle

Ages[142] and studies on Lollardy[143] do not tend to overlap. While studies on

heresy[144] do mention sexual deviancy in relation to religious heresy, the extent of

investigation is limited. Studies on the history of homosexuality, such as that by

Goodich, while mentioning Cathar heresies in passing, are not broad enough in

scope to consider Lollardy or Hussitism. Goodich traces the evolution of the link

between heresy and sexual deviancy, showing how the medieval church at least

discussed the sin of sodomy[145] in both theoretical and practical terms. Sodomy

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[141] Scanlon, L. in ed. R. Copeland, D. Lawton, W. Scase (Oxford, 1998): 37-64 and Somerset, F. 'Mark him wel for he is on of tho': Training the 'Lewed' Gaze to Discern Hypocrisy', *English Literary History* 68 (2001): 315-34 have mentioned the issue, but in a different way.
[142] Goodich (1979), Boswell (1980), Foucault (1988), and Jordan (1997).
[143] Hudson (1988).
[144] For example, Moore, R.I., *The Birth of Popular Heresy* (reprt. Toronto, 1995), 5.
[145] Which Foucault (1980), 101 describes as 'an utterly confused category'; elaborated in Goodich (1979) and Jordan (1997): 'The category 'Sodomy' has been vitiated from its invention by fundamental confusions and contradictions', 9.

emerged as the archetypal sin, equivalent with manslaughter. The results of

ecclesiastical debates on homoerotic activities were distilled in confessional

guides, penitentials, and canon law.[146] Thus, it is evident from the cited studies that

there was an ongoing debate on homosexuality, and that accusations of

homosexuality did not seep out into popular anticlerical discourse, as other heated

topics of ecclesiastical debate had.

Why is it that medieval writers, in general, do not seem to incorporate

accusations of homosexuality into their anticlerical polemic while vernacular

Lollard writers do? The short answer to this question may lie in the fact that it had,

at least since the time of Gregory the Great, been an unmentionable vice,[147] and

one Lollard writer protests, on the evidence from 'þe Bible', 'þe suspect decre þat

seyth we schulde not nemen it.'[148] Scholars of Lollardy have not generally dealt

with alternative sexualities beyond the occasional footnote, yet there are significant

instances of effeminacy or homosexuality in the vernacular Lollard texts; moreover

some of these, instances discussed below, are exact translations of Wyclif's *De*

Simonia. Evil clergy are described as pampered effeminates, and blatant sodomites.

i. Pampered Effeminates

Jordan observes that: 'Extravagance, pride in power, and sexual perversion

go together for Raguel' [the author of a work on the passion of Pelagius[149]] 'as

they do in late Roman notions of *luxuria*, in patristic commentary on the story of

Sodom, and in early medieval categorizations of sin . . . Erotic disorder is caught

up in a system of causes with **opulence**, which is itself **viewed as feminizing**, and

with arrogance, which is the root of all spiritual disorder.'[150] Jordan also examines

Peter Damian's discussion and observes that Damian 'often puts clerical

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[146] Jordan (1997), 40-41.
[147] Jordan (1997) and Frantzen (2001) on Peter Damian's Latin work *Liber Gomorrhianus*.
[148] <L 27-28><T SEWW03><P 25>.
[149] Jordan (1997), 11.
[150] Jordan (1997), 17 (emphasis mine).

unchastity[151] and avarice together; indeed he insists that they should go together.'[152] This combination of sexual sin and avarice also appears in Ezechiel 16.49: 'Behold this was the iniquity of Sodom thy sister, pride, fulness of bread, and abundance, and the idleness of her, and of her daughters: and they did not put forth their hand to the needy, and to the poor.' The idea that the 'soft living' that wealth affords is feminizing and linked to sexual sins is significant. Evil clergy are accused in the Lollard texts as being avaricious,[153] lecherous, and wealthy, while refusing much needed alms to the poor. Their 'soft living' effeminizes them, placing them on par with the sin of Sodom. Moreover, Goodich states that 'as early as the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, theologians had begun to associate heresy with sodomy'.[154] Further characterizing failing clergy as heretics.[155] Worse yet, to be associated with the sin of Sodom, already linked to avarice, wealth, and sexual sin, is to be associated with murder. Goodich writes 'sodomy' [was] 'regarded in canon law and theology as the most heinous of sins, comparable to homicide.'[156] The 'soft living' clergy— living in fine accommodation, feasting on the best foods and wines, wearing expensive array,[157] and riding fine horses[158] with gilded and bejeweled bridles— are more prone to avarice and sexual vice,[159] a group of vices linked, also to heresy and murder,[160] a connection supported by the Select Concordance data. The Lollards see the 'soft living' effeminized clergy as manslayers, as they take the goods of the poor.[161]

ii. Blatant Sodomites

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[151] OED 'unchastity'.
[152] Jordan (1997), 64.
[153] Hw 31. Also Hw 30 'avarice'.
[154] Goodich (1979), 7.
[155] Hw 224 'heretike'. Also Hw 223 'heresie'.
[156] Goodich (1979), ix.
[157] Hw 23. Also Hw 24 'arraien'.
[158] Hw 276.
[159] Hw 130 'dalien'. Also Hw 131 'daliaunce'.
[160] Hw 263 'man-quellere', Hw 264 'man-quellinge', Hw 265 'man-slaughter', Hw 266 'man-sleere', and Hw 267 'man-sleinge'.
[161] Discussed, 42-49.

Perhaps the most striking term for labeling false clergy is the accusation of spiritual sodomy, an accusation generally related to simony.[162] It is a tool used both by Wyclif in his Latin writings and later employed by vernacular writers. For his equation of simony and spiritual sodomy Wyclif identifies his source as 'Parisensis' (William Peraldus) the Dominican author of *Summa virtutum et vitiorum*.'[163] For the purposes of the discussion below the passage from Wyclif's *De Simona* is quoted.

> 'Unde Parisiensis in tractatu suo De Avaricia narrando octo que
>
> faciunt ad destacionem huius peccati dicit in eiu horrorem, quod est
>
> **spiritualis sodomia**. Sicut enim in corporali sodomia contra
>
> naturam semen perditur, ex quo individuum humani generis
>
> formaretur, sic in illa sodomi semen verbi dei deicitur, per sicut
>
> sodomia fuit tempore legis nature contra ipsam naturam unum de
>
> peccatis gravissimis, sic symonia est tempore legis gracie ipsam
>
> graciam gravissimum peccatorum.'[164]

In both the English and Latin sodomy appears to be a both a physical act and species of spiritual onanism.[165] Seed which might engender a child is wrongly spilled in physical forms of sodomy. Wayward curates who could impregnate Christian souls with the word of God (allowing them to be reborn into everlasting bliss) are wrongly preventing the seed of God's word and holy example from

[162] The only link I have found as to how the equation of simony and spiritual sodomy was transmitted into English writings is Wyclif's citation of Peraldus. The MED suggests that the equation in English might have come from the Wycliffite texts. The entry 'sodomie' offers a literal denotation and a figurative denotation 'gostli sodomie, simony.' Hw 345 'Sodome', Hw 346 'sodomie', and Hw 347 'sodomite'.

[163] I consulted the 1588 edition published in Antwerp. *De Auaritia* appears in volume II 24r-77v, chapter VII, p. 51, sect 12. F.N.M. Diekstra has edited a text that combines *Le Somme le Roy* with Peraldus' work on the vices and virtues. It is significantly tamer that Peraldus' who likens avaricious and symoniac clerics to spiritual sodomites.

[164] *De Simonia* 8/24-92.

[165] Based on the biblical figure Onan in Genesis 38.7-8: 'He knowing that the children should not be his, when he went in to his brother's wife, spilled his seed upon the ground, lest children should be born in his brother's name. 10 And therefore the Lord slew him, because he did a detestable thing.' Goodich (1979): notes Alan of Lille's *Liber poenitentialis* in which Alan 'defines' [sin] 'against nature as the expending of one's seed outside its proper vessel', 34.

inseminating believers' souls: because of this seed wasting, evil curates and

prelates are committing graver sins than physical sodomites.

English examples closely resemble Wyclif's words. The *37 Conclusions*

actually states that its source is also 'Parisience in his treetis of symonie',[166] the

same source Wyclif cites.

> 'But these weiward prelatis or curatis, that withdrawen the seed of
>
> Goddis word and of good ensaumple fro the puple, withdrawen
>
> gostli seed and mateer bi which cristen soulis myghten and shulden
>
> be gendrid into euere lastinge blisse.'[167]

Other Lollard examples express somewhat freer versions of this statement, but the

message clearly links sodomy to the withdrawing of God's word. For example,

later in *The Thirty-Seven Conclusions*:

> 'Therfore as alle resonable men han greet abhominacioun of bodili
>
> sodomie as ful orrible synne agens kynde, so thei shulden haue
>
> moche more abhominacioun of this withdrawynge[168] of Goddis
>
> word and holi ensaumple, and of symonie which is gostli sodomie
>
> and eresie, as Parisience in his trectis of symonie and the Lawe
>
> witnessen in the j· cause, vij· questioun, c·⁰ Patet.'[169]

The writer of *Simplices Christiani* also links these sins.

> 'And curatis þat prechen not þo gospel, wiþ clene lyvyng and for
>
> love of mannes soules, bene dede in hemself, slears of mennys
>
> soulis, Antecrists[170] heretikis, and Sathanas transfigurid[171] into an
>
> aungel of ly3t, and þat þai bene more abomynable to God and to þo

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[166] <L 6-8><T 37C><P 7>.

[167] <L 11, 12><T 37C><P 06>.

[168] Hw 391 'withdrawinge'. Also Hw 390 'withdrauen'.

[169] <L 5, 6><T 37C><P 07>.

[170] Hw 14.

[171] Hw 369.

court of heven þen þe cursudde synne of Sodome, þat for hidouse

synne sanke into helle.'[172]

Not settling for a single negative epithet, the writer compounds four to emphasize

the seriousness with which he views priestly responsibilities. While the sin of

Sodom is 'cursudde', worse yet is the sin of curates who fail in their duties to teach

the Gospel in word and deed, as curates carry the responsibility for the spiritual

deaths of parishioners in their care.

Like Wyclif the writers of the vernacular texts portray clueless or vicious

priests as non-human. They may be animals or effeminates. With the more

traditional wolves are found foxes and moles; with allegations of sexual deviancy

are found charges of spiritual sodomy and spiritual manslaughter. Wycliffite

anticlericalism is not randomly Goliardic, rather it satirizes failing clergy because

of the gravity it attaches to the duties incumbent on curates. That the Middle

English texts carry the same anticlerical images as Wyclif's Latin works is a strong

argument for the case that there is a Wycliffite style of anticlericalism.

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[172] <L 12><T A29><P 470>.

Conclusion

The first part of this thesis has considered the ways in which positions not commonly linked to the Lollard heresy are actually heretically-charged: poverty, piety, law, and anticlericalism. These positions on contemporary poverty, pious practice, substantive law, and anticlerical discourse appear both in Wyclif's Latin works and in the Middle English texts associated with the heretical movement. The data is provided by the Select Concordance, not heretofore published in Lollard studies, which forms part two of this thesis. The 395 headwords in the Select Concordance include vocabulary evocative of positions both more commonly and less commonly viewed as heretical.

The argument of the first part has relied on the data produced from the 432 heterodox texts[1] associated with the range of occasionally inchoate positions often referred to as Lollard. Each of the 395 headwords could be not discussed fully, and in fact were not meant to be in this single study; however, many of these headwords have framed the preceding Introduction and the four supporting chapters on contemporary poverty, pious practice, substantive law, and anticlerical style. These topics have not typically formed part of the academic discourse on the movement better known, perhaps inaccurately, for its controversial positions against revered and traditional orthodox doctrine and piety, but the vocabulary, which forms the basis of the four chapters, is clearly linked to Wyclif, however distantly, and reveals Lollardy both in the more and in the less vituperative texts.

Following the Introduction which set out the context for the study to follow, Chapter 1 focused on Contemporary Piety, revealing the misnomer of the poor priest. Variants of 'povre' with any form of priest, preacher or teacher occur only 63 times in the texts concordanced. Forms of poor rarely are associated with

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[1] Listed in the Concordancing Principles.

the virtually iconic poor priest, preacher, or teacher; rather, they refer to a disadvantaged, socio-economic status plaguing a large portion of the laity. In section one The Invention of the Poor Priest the iconic poor priest, preacher, or teacher was shown to be an assumption rather than a fact in the Lollard texts. Section two Priestly Poverty reflected on forms of 'povre' and revealed the Lollard concern for the impoverished situation of many; perhaps this might go some way toward understanding at least part of the movement's popular appeal. Section three Contemporary Poverty examined what the Lollard texts consider to be the root cause of poverty, Clerical Affluence. Unlike what one might expect, blame is not placed on temporal but on ecclesiastical shoulders. Therefore Wycliffite positions on poverty become heretically charged.

Chapter 2: Pious Practice illustrated the general absence of the Christo-centric affectivity in the vernacular Lollard texts. Reference to the physical sufferings of Christ during Passion Week mirror the Gospel accounts, and no zoom lens is turned upon the physical violence suffered, as suggested in the first section Context. The second section Images of Christ considered how the Lollard texts controvert the concept of Christ's flesh as a written document and as a wounded lover. Christ as Lover explored Elements of the Passion from selected orthodox sources, noting their general absence in the texts here concordanced. Section three Elements of the Passion discussed the general absence of the gore and suffering of Christ's Passion. Section four, Personal Affective Narrative, briefly outlined the commonly recommended orthodox pious practice of meditation on the gorier elements of Passion Week; however, lingering on the blood-letting is seen as dangerous to a sect that values Holy Scripture as the ultimate conduit to Christ.

Chapter 3: Substantive Law briefly outlined the questions of *dominium*, grace, and ownership in five sections: *Dominium*, Grace, and Ownership, Human

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Dominium and Holy Scripture, Substantive Law and the Vernacular, Vernacular

Literary Context, and Vernacular Wycliffism. Having set the context, the legal

significance of terms relating to *Dominium*, Grace, Ownership, Holy Scripture and

Substantive Law were considered in three sections revealing vernacular awareness

of the same complex legal issues found in the Latin writings of Wyclif. These three

legally charged areas are: 'fredom', 'lordshipe' (and related terms), perfidy (and

related terms).

Chapter 4: Lollard Anticlericalism argued in Zoomorphic Imagery that the

animal imagery is closely linked to 'povre'[2], a socio economic status endured by

many lay persons. The animals, in Lollard texts secular and religious clergy, while

obvious and longstanding symbols of hypocrisy and duplicity, are also symbolic of

physical and spiritual manslaughter.[3] These clerical animals prey upon the goods

and trust of the laity, thus playing a far more dangerous role than eschatological

heralds of antichrist; they exacerbate contemporary poverty and endanger lay

souls. The second portion of this chapter, Clerical Characters, explored how the

texts here concordanced describe orthodox preachers and teachers: specifically

their language and their teachings. The third section of this chapter, Effeminates

and Sodomites, treated a generally unremarked feature of anticlericalism, sexual

deviancy, linked to Old Testament corruption brought on by soft living.

The second part of this thesis presents a Select Concordance.[4] Implicit in a

Select Concordance is choice that, however well intentioned, cannot be quite

independent of a concordancer's view of what should and should not be included.

The exercise of choice in selection is to some degree arbitrary and impressionistic;

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[2] Hw 292.
[3] Discussed in Chapter 4, for example p. 113.
[4] The rationale is more fully outlined in the Introduction where the headwords are divided into general categories for the convenience of the reader; however, some may fit into more than one category: i. Ecclesiastical authority, ii. Religious Orders, iii. Priestly Office, iv. Grammatical Qualifiers, v. Literary Practice, vi. Doctrinal Issues, vii. Devotional Practice, vii. Devout Discourse, ix. Contemporary Life, xi. Lollard Anticlericalism. For the complete list, Headword List.

yet, the headwords here represented were largely the product of textual

investigations conducted from 1997 onwards. The exigencies of space have not

permitted a full discussion of each headword selected. However, a few general

comments may be made. The starting point for the headwords for the Select

Concordance was Hudson's article, 'A Lollard Sect Vocabulary', and many of her

words appear.[5] As investigation and concordancing progressed, words that seemed

to reoccur, to the mind of the present writer, across a variety of texts were also

included. Sometimes these have taken the shape of scriptural refrains in the

English Wycliffite texts, sometimes un-cited, describing the evils of contemporary

clergy, such as in Philippians 3.19[6] or in II Corinthians 11.13-15.[7] Other

headwords arose from questions such as 'What role does human documentation,

such as charters, deeds, bulls, and letters, play in Lollard discourse?' 'What role

does Holy Scripture play in the texts?'[8] Some headwords arose out of knowledge

of medieval controversies such as that over poverty and the mendicant orders.[9] On

occasion headwords selection has been by necessity abridged, so instead of all the

references to God or to Christ, this query was limited to the possessive form of

Christ's, which may turn up collocations regarding apostles, church, law, gospel.

Curiosity drove some headword selection.[10] The English texts seem less inclined to

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[5] Hudson (1985), 165-180. For example, Hw 375 'treue', Hw 298 'prechour', Hw 271 'maumet',
Hw 45 'beggen', Hw 46 'beggere', Hw 47 'beggerie', Hw 48 'begging', Hw 207 'gabben', Hw 212
'gabbinge', Hw 214 'ground', Hw 215 'grounden', Hw 216 'groundinge', Hw 210 'glose', and Hw
211 'glosen'.
[6] 'Whose end is destruction; whose God is their belly; and whose glory is in their shame; who mind
earthly things.' Also noted by Szittya as being part of the anticlericalism witnessed in the 'English
poetic tradition', 210.
[7] 'For such false apostles are deceitful workmen, transforming themselves into the apostles of
Christ. And no wonder: for Satan himself transformeth himself into an angel of light. Therefore it is
no great thing if his ministers be transformed as the ministers of justice, whose end shall be
according to their works.' This appears numerous times in the English texts as 'transfiguren'.
[8] For example, Hw 57 'bibel', Hw 60 'bille', Hw 92 'bulle', Hw 119 'constitucioun', Hw 125
'cronicle', Hw 140 'decre', Hw 141 'decretal', Hw Hw 156 'determinacioun', Hw 254 'lettre', Hw
259 'librarie', Hw 260 'licence', Hw 327 'scripture', Hw 328 'sermoun', and Hw 395 'writ'.
[9] For example, 'frere', 'bar-fot', 'bar-hed', 'beggen', 'beggere', 'beggerie', 'begging', 'Caim',
'flateren', 'flaterer', 'flatering', 'poverte', 'povre', and 'poverli'.
[10] For example, words associated with clerical excesses: 'wast', 'wasten', 'wastinge', 'wastour'; or
words associated with academic practice or debates: 'silogisme', 'silogistik', 'ambidexter',

affective styles of piety, but is this actually the case?[11] Apart from what may be

deemed the obvious vocabulary associated with Lollardy, the present writer was

also interested in terms, some of which are perhaps lesser-known,[12] that may

further illuminate what is known of Lollard discourse.

The Select Concordance results suggested the four supporting chapters,

above mentioned, showing and substantiating that less obvious topics are important

Lollard concerns widely appearing in the vernacular literature. The notoriety of

heterodox positions on disendowment, translation, pilgrimage, or

transubstantiation is not entirely borne out by the text themselves where there is

statistically less representation of the more infamous vocabulary. This is not, of

course, to suggest that these ideas are not canvassed, with vim, by some

anonymous writers, yet the majority of the concordance data reveals three key

points: first, that where these radical viewpoints are discoursed, they are often

approached through more backdoor vocabulary;[13] second, that what is thought of

Lollardy may reflect the lists of questions put to those suspected of heretical belief

which, to be practical, had also to be more categorical than nuanced;[14] and what is

thought of Lollardy may reflect the understandings and impressions of scholars,

past and present, of the movement.[15]

Hudson has argued that, though the texts do pose some difficult textual

problems, the texts themselves may yet communicate more of Lollardy than

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'anagogie', 'anagogik', 'Berengar', 'Eukarist', and references to FitzRalph as 'ardmachan', his
episcopal see.
[11] For example, 'affeccioun', 'affect' versus forms of 'resoun', as well as terms associated with the
Passion 'beting', 'blod', 'buffeting', and 'crois'.
[12] For example, 'fredom', 'trecherie', 'traitour', and 'tiraunt'.
[13] For example, Chapter 2 shows a Wycliffite style of piety that eschews the affectivity featuring in
orthodox religious texts; while Chapter 3 shows forms of freedom, lordship, and perfidy to relate to
substantive law and the issue of *dominium*.
[14] As observed by Hudson (1988).
[15] For example, Chapter 1 establishes that poor is generally not a reference to unlearned or
penurious priests, so iconic to Cannon and Workman, but to an extreme socio-economic financial
status. Chapter 2 demonstrates the general lack of affectivity and distrust of human documentary
culture disproving Steiner's argument for the significance of the Charter of Christ poems in Lollard
preaching.

ecclesiastical records or scholarly opinion, however useful. This study also

corroborates Hudson's and Pekola's assertions there is much that computerised

analysis of the texts can tell us.[16] A Select Concordance can at once: reveal

misconceptions about the heresy; confirm what is already known with quantitative

data; and open alternative avenues into the area of Lollard discourse. Perhaps most

intriguing is the potential of what else the concordance may reveal about the

literature of this 'Premature Reformation' and the influence, however far removed,

from the Latin writings of John Wyclif.

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[16] As mentioned, 20-23.

Concordancing Principles

As is, of course, well known, at least part of the tradition of classification of texts as Wycliffite or Lollard comes from the earlier ascriptions of Wyclif himself as their heretical author[1] whose life was elaborated if not virtually canonized by later generations of admiring Protestants[2] and whose works were repeatedly catalogued.[3] Peikola has described the lengthy and haphazard process by which texts acquired the status of Wycliffite or Lollard and which has influenced the modern bibliographies of heretical vernacular works.[4] Hudson has noted the tendency of critics from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries 'to ascribe almost all Lollard writings to either Wyclif or Purvey', due to a dislike for anonymity.[5] Even without a named author, as it is now thought most of the English writings are,[6] these writings still may, as has been repeatedly urged, reveal much about

[1] There is a long history of cataloguing Wyclif's works. Perhaps the best-known earlier bibliographizer—OED 'bibliographize'— was J. Bale, *Scriptorum Illustrium Maioris Brytanniae . . . Catalogus* (Basle, 1557-59, Facs. Westmead, 1971) and *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, ed. R.L. Pool and M. Bateson (Oxford, 1902; rpt. Woodbridge, 1990).

[2] For example, Lewis, J, *The History of the Life and Sufferings of the Reverend and Learned John Wiclif, D.D.* (London, 1720; new ed. 1820; rpt. New York, 1973). Peikola (2000) states: 'English biographers of Wyclif in the later 18th and early 19th centuries . . . generally witness a tendency to portray Wyclif as an enlightened patriotic genius surrounded by the barbaric and superstitious forces of scholasticism and catholicism', 45. Pekola's statement indicates the type of 'hagiographical intention' that McFarlane (1952) sought to debunk. 'The first task of an impartial biographer must . . . be destructive: to free his subject from a great deal of ignorant repainting and several layers of rich brown protestant varnish', xii.

[3] Peikola (2000) notes that 'no systematic attempts were made to indicate which of the generally latinized titles stood for in the English writings before Lewis', 43. In the nineteenth century Shirley's *A Catalogue of the Original Works of John Wyclif* (Oxford, 1865) also listed Latin and English texts. J. Loserth's *Catalogue of the Extant Latin Works of John Wyclif* (Wyclif Society, London, 1924). This list of Latin works has been superseded by Thomson, W.R., *The Latin Writings of John Wyclif: An Annotated Catalog* (Toronto, 1983).

[4] Peikola (2000): A variety of biographical, publishing, motives governing the classification of Wycliffite or Lollard texts are discussed: Wyclif as the 'nationalist and anti-catholic' father of English non-conformity and possibly of English prose untainted by 'licentious continental influences', 46; the ambiguities presented by Bale's titles and their continued use, 45; the surge of scholarly editions in the nineteenth century associated with the emergence of the OED and the Early English Text society, 41; the impressionistic nature governing Shirley's selection of the English entries in his Catalogue, also evident in the work of Arnold and Matthew, 48-52; the problems, for example with Jones, of comparing stylistic elements other texts against those which are deemed authentically Wycliffite, 48-52; the inefficacy of an authorial based and impressionistic approach to arrive at a Lollard corpus and to examine its discourse, 39-41.

[5] Hudson (1988), 9.

[6] Hudson (1985): 'The attempt to assign authors to the English writings is, I would suggest, doomed to failure and largely futile. Wyclif is almost never mentioned by name, or by his Latin title of *Doctor Evangelicus*, in the manuscripts (an exception to this is found in the case of works dependent upon the Latin *Floretum* or *Rosarium*) . . . This is not to say that these anonymous texts

Lollard thought. Critical studies, particularly in the last 30 years, have done much to correct, clarify, or challenge accumulated assumptions; however, in redirecting critical focus from an authorial based classification of texts to a linguistic or thematic based classification, ambiguity of another sort arises. The paradigm shifts from 'is this a text written by Wyclif or one of his followers?' to 'is this a heretical or a non-heretical text?' As Hudson and, more recently, Havens have observed, Middle English texts do not always fall neatly into doctrinal categories; many inhabit a shadowy region, a 'grey area', between fully declared orthodoxy and heterodoxy.[7] Whether authorial, linguistic, or thematic, the bibliographic starting points may be less ideal than preferable, they are nonetheless starting points. Difficulties in bibliographic classification of texts may caution but need not deter further study; in fact these difficulties seem to demand further investigation in the direction taken here.[8] To wait until the corpus of heretical texts is satisfactorily defined may be to wait indefinitely. In the interim, a concordance may assist by presenting quantitative linguistic data for analysis and examination, as initially suggested by Hudson and as reaffirmed by Peikola.[9] In addition to illuminating facets of heretical discourse, a concordance may facilitate exploration of the grey area between heterodox and orthodox writings.

Text List and Abbreviations

In the table below, texts are arranged alphabetically by editors' surnames; or, where no editor is listed, the first significant word of the title: these

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never derive from Wyclif's Latin writings' [, but] 'the complexities of relationship . . . between the Latin tracts of Wyclif and his followers . . . and the vernacular treatises . . . are only confused by ill-founded speculation connecting the last with known disciples', 10.

[7] Hudson (1988), 21-24, 398-408, 422-425, 429. More recently in Havens (2005): 'the only way to colour this amorphous collection of texts, to map the 'grey area', is not to limit ourselves to the religious affiliations of texts based solely on content, but to include a close examination of their language and manuscript associations to learn how their earliest readers responded to the heresy or orthodoxy of the religious views they contain', 339.

[8] At least two previous studies have utilized concordances: Hudson (1985) and Peikola (2000). However, a version has yet to be made available to a wider audience.

[9] Hudson (1985): 'Computer-generated concordances would obviously be essential to make information [on Lollard discourse] accessible, 174.

150

bibliographic cells are highlighted by grey-fill in the lines where the full references appear. Abbreviations for text titles appear in the left column; page numbers are specific to the actual edition cited, exclusive of prefatory material and appear in the centre column. The title for the text/s abbreviated appears in the right column. Source information for the electronic text files appears in the footnotes following the bibliographic citations in the grey-filled cells.

Table 1: Text List and Abbreviations

Title Abbreviation	Pagination in Printed Version	Title in Printed Version
Arnold, T., *Select English Works of John Wyclif* (3 vols., Oxford, 1869-1871).[10]		
A01	5-81	Super Cantica Sacra
A02	82-92	The Ten Commandments
A03	93-97	The Pater Noster [1]
A04	98-110	The Pater Noster [2]
A05	111-113	Ave Maria
A06	114-116	On the Apostles' Creed
A07	117	On the Five Outer Wits
A08	117-118	On the Five Inner Wits
A09	119-167	On the Seven Deadly Sins
A10	168-182	Þe Seven Works of Mercy Bodyly
A11	183-185	Five Questions on Love
A12	186-187	On the Sufficiency of Holy Scripture
A13	188-201	Of Weddid Men and Wifis and of Here Children Also

[10] Volumes one and two of Arnold's edition have been superseded by Gradon Hudson (1983-1996). Source of electronic file: scanned and OCR-ed.

A14	202-203	De Stipendiis Ministrorum
A15	204-208	A Schort Reule
A16	211-212	Simonists and Apostates
A18	219-232	De Precationibus Sacris
A17	213-218	Church Temporalities
A19	230-232	Lincolniensis
A20	233-241	Vita Sacerdotum
A21	242-266	De Pontificum Romanorum Schismate
A22	271-337	The Grete Sentence of Curs Expounded
A23	338-365	The Church and Her Members
A24	367-401	Fifty Heresies and Errors of Friars
A25	402-429	De Blasphemia, contra Fratres
A26	430-440	De Apostasia Cleri
A27	441-446	Seven Heresies
A28	447-453	Octo in Quibus Seducuntur Simplices Christiani
A29	455-496	On the Twenty-Five Articles
A30	500	Concerning the Eucharist [1][11]
A31	502-503	Concerning the Eucharist [2][12]
A32	504-506	Letter to Pope Urban
A33	508-523	A Petition to the King and Parliament

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[11] This appears in Hudson's SEWW01, below cited.
[12] This appears in Hudson's SEWW01, below cited.

Bühler, C.F., 'A Lollard Tract on Translating the Bible into English' *Medium Aevum* vii (1938): 167-183.[13]		
BUH	167-183	A Lollard Tract on Translating the Bible into English
Cigman, G., *Lollard Sermons*, EETS 294 (Oxford 1989).[14]		
CG01-CG11	1-130	[Sermons 1-11]
CG11A	131-148	[Sermon 11 A]
CG12-16	149-206	[Sermons 12-16]
CG-DM	207-240	Sermon of Dead Men
Deanesly, M., *The Lollard Bible and other Medieval Biblical Versions* (Cambridge, 1920; rpt. 1966, 2002).[15]		
DEA1	446-456	The Holi Prophet David Saith
DEA2	457-461	Epilogue
Forshall, J., *Remonstrance against Romish Corruptions* [*Thirty-Seven Conclusions of the Lollards*] (London, 1851).[16]		
37C	1-157	Thirty-Seven Conclusions
Forshall, J. and F. Madden, *The Holy Bible . . . made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his Followers*, (4 vols., Oxford, 1850; rpt. New York, 1982).[17]		
Pro	1-60	Prologue
Gordon, B., *Four Lollard Dialogues* (PhD thesis, Otago, 1983).[18]		

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[13] This was previously printed in Deanesly (1920), 437-445, as 'Agens hem that seyn that hooli wrigt schulde not or may not be drawun in to Engliche'. Source of electronic file: scanned and OCR-ed.

[14] Source of electronic file: I am grateful for the editor's kind permission to download it from the Oxford Text Archive.

[15] The text which Deansely calls 'Purvey's Sixteen Points' 462-467 has been superseded by Hudson's SEWW02 19-24, below. Deansely's 'Epilogue' has since been re-edited in Hunt (1995), G3 383-389. Source of electronic file: scanned and OCR-ed.

[16] Also Compston, H.F.B., 'The Thirty-Seven Conclusions of the Lollards', *English Historical Review*, 26 (1911), 738-749. Source of electronic file: scanned and OCR-ed.

[17] Source of electronic file: scanned and OCR-ed.

[18] Source of electronic file: scanned and OCR-ed. I am grateful to B. Gordon for kindly granting permission to access her thesis and for arranging a copy to be sent to me.

4LD-1	286-335	A Knight and a Clerk
4LD-2	336-368	Reson and Gabbyng
4LD-3	369-404	A Friar and a Secular Clerk
4LD-4	405-459	Ion and Richerd
Gradon, P. and A. Hudson, *English Wycliffite Sermons* (5 vols, Oxford, 1983-1996).[19]		
EWS1-1	223-274	[Sermons 1-54 Sunday Gospels]
EWS1SE-1	475-701	[Sermons 1-55 Sunday Epistles]
EWS2-1	1-177	[Sermons 55-85 Commune
	178-327	Sanctorum]
		[Sermons 86-122 Proprium
		Sanctorum]
EWS2-MC	328-365	Of Mynystris in þe Chirche
EWS2-VO	366-378	Vae Octuplex
EWS3-1	1-318	[Sermons 123-239 Ferial Gospels]
Halliwell, J.O., *Reliquiae Antiquae* (London, 1841-43).[20]		
Hal	42-57	Halliwell
Heyworth, P.L., *Jack Upland, Friar Daw's Reply and Upland's Rejoinder* (London, 1968).[21]		
JU	54-72	Jack Upland
UR	102-113	Upland's Rejoinder
Hudson, A., *Selections of English Wycliffite Writings* (Cambridge 1978; rpt. Toronto,		

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[19] Source of electronic file: scanned and OCR-ed, for volumes 1 and 3. Source of electronic file: for volume 2, I am grateful for the editor's kind permission to download it from the Oxford Text Archive.

[20] Also in Mätzner, E., *Altenglische Sprachproben* (Berlin, 1867-1969), I.ii. 224-242. Partially edited by Hudson (1978), 97-104; also in Davidson, C., *A Treatise of Miraclis Pleyinge* (Medieval Institute Publications: Early Drama, Art, and Music Monograph Series 19, Kalamazoo,1993). Source of electronic file: scanned and OCR-ed.

[21] Source of electronic file: scanned and OCR-ed. An electronic copy of 'Friar Daw's Reply' was also scanned and OCR-ed, but is not included in the Select Concordance as it is an orthodox rebuttal.

1997).[22]		
SEWW01	17 / 17-18	Wyclif's Confessions on the Eucharist [2 versions][23]
SEWW02	19-24	Sixteen Points on which the Bishops accuse Lollards
SEWW03	24-29	Twelve Conclusions of the Lollards
SEWW04	29-33	Thorpe's Evidence about Wyclif's University Followers, 1407[24]
SEWW05	34-37	Confession of Hawisia Moone of Loddon, 1430
SEWW06	40-41	Wycliffite Bible: Isaiah 53
SEWW07	42-45	Wycliffite Bible: the Book of Jonah
SEWW08	46-49	Wycliffite Bible: Luke 15.22-24
SEWW09	49-52	Glossed Gospel Commentary on Luke 15.22-24
SEWW10	52-56	Sermon on Luke 15.22-24[25]
SEWW11	58-59	Wycliffite Bible: John 10:11-18
SEWW12	60-64	Glossed Gospel Commentary on John 10.11-18
SEWW13	64-66	Sermon on John 10.11-18[26]
SEWW14	67-72	Prologue to the Wycliffite Bible Chapter 15[27]

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[22] Tract 25, 127-131, was previously printed as 'Tractatus de Regibus' in J.P. Genet's *Four English Political Tracts of the Later Middle Ages* (Camden Fourth Series, vol. 18, London, 1977), 4-19. Source of electronic file: scanned and OCR-ed.
[23] In Hudson's edition these two short statements together comprise the first work.
[24] This overlaps partially with TWT in Hudson's 1993 edition.
[25] This overlaps with EWS.
[26] This overlaps with EWS.
[27] This partially overlaps with PRO in Forshall and Madden's edition above.

SEWW15	75-83	The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy [Vae Octuplex][28]
SEWW16	83-88	Images and Pilgrimages
SEWW17	89-93	Epistola Sathanae ad Cleros
SEWW18	93-96	Mendicancy[29]
SEWW19	97-104	Miracle Plays[30]
SEWW20	107-109	Biblical Translation
SEWW21A	110-112	The Eucharist I[31]
SEWW21B	113-115	The Eucharist II[32]
SEWW22	115-119	The Nature of the Church[33]
SEWW23	119-122	The Duty of Priesthood[34]
SEWW24	122-127	The Power of the Pope[35]
SEWW25	127-131	The Function of the Secular Ruler [Tractatus de Regibus]
SEWW26	127-131	Church and State[36]
SEWW27	131-134	The Lollard Disendowment Bill
Hudson, A., *The Works of a Lollard Preacher: The Sermon Omnis Plantacio, the Tract Fundamentum aliud neo potest ponere, and the Tract De Oblacione iugis sacrificii,* EETS 317 (Oxford, 2001).[37]		
OBL	157-256	De Oblacione

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[28] This overlaps with Gradon's EWS2-VO above.
[29] This partially overlaps with M26 'The Clergy May not Hold Property' in Matthew's 1880/1902 edition below.
[30] This partially overlaps with Halliwell's 1841-1843 edition above.
[31] This is the same as A30 in Arnold's 1871 edition above.
[32] This is the same as A31 in Arnold's 1871 edition above.
[33] This partially overlaps with LL in Swinburn's 1917 edition below.
[34] This overlaps with EWS above.
[35] This partially overlaps with 37C in Forshall's edition above.
[36] This partially overlaps with 4LD in Gordon's 1983 edition above.
[37] Source for electronic text: scanned and OCR-ed.

OP-ES	2-143	Egerton Sermon
OP-LT	157-256	Lambeth Tract
Hudson, A., *Two Wycliffite Texts: The Sermon of William Taylor 1406, The Testimony of William Thorpe 1407*, EETS 301 (Oxford, 1993).[38]		
SWT	3-23	Sermon of William Taylor, 1406
TWT	24-93	Testimony of William Thorpe
Kuhn, S.M., 'The Preface to a Fifteenth Century Concordance' *Speculum*, 43 (1968), 258-273.[39]		
15CC	270-273	Fifteenth Century Concordance
Matthew, F.D., *The English Works of Wyclif hitherto unprinted*, EETS 74 (London, 1880; rev. ed. 1902).[40]		
M01	1-27	Of the Leaven of Pharisees
M02	29-38	How Men Ought to Obey Prelates
M03	40-47, 47-51	The Rule and Testament of St. Francis
M04	55-107	Of Prelates
M05	109-113	Speculum de Antichristo
M06	116-140	Of Clerks Possessioners
M07	143-163	How the Office of Curates is Ordained of God
M08	166-179	The Order of Priesthood
M09	181-186	Three Things Destroy this World
M10	188-196	Of Feigned Contemplative Life

[38] Source for electronic text: a floppy-disc copy of these texts was kindly posted to me by the editor.
[39] A. McIntosh had printed this preface previously as 'Some Linguistic Reflections of a Wycliffite' in *Franciplegius: Medieval and Linguistic Studies in Honor of Francis Peabody Magoun, Jr.*, ed. J.B. Bessinger and R.P. Creed (New York, 1965), 290-293. Source for electronic text: scanned and OCR-ed.
[40] All pagination is according to the 1880 edition. Source for electronic text: scanned and OCR-ed.

M11	198-202	The Paternoster
M12	204-208	The Ave Maria
M13	210-218	How Satan and His Children Turn Works of Mercy Upside Down
M14	220-225	How Religious Men Should Keep Certain Articles
M15	227-243	Of Servants and Lords
M16	245-253	Why Poor Priests Have No Benefice
M17	255-262	How Antichrist and His Clerks Travail to Destroy Holy Writ
M18	264-274	How Satan and His Priests . . .
M19	276-280	Of Poor Preaching Priests
M20	281	Augustinus
M21	284-293	Of Dominion
M22	296-324	Tractatus de Pseudo-Freris
M23	327-345	Of Confession
M24	347-355	Of Faith, Hope, and Charity
M25	357-358	De Sacramento Altaris
M26	362-396 396-404	The Clergy May Not Hold Property[41]
M27	408-457	De Officio Pastorali
M28	460-482	De Papa
The Praier and Complaynte of the Ploweman vnto Christe [STC 20036.5][42]		
PCPM	1-82	Praier and Complaynte of the

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[41] This appears in Hudson's 2001 edition, 3-153.
[42] Source for electronic text: transcribed from EEBO.

		Ploweman vnto Christe
Skeat, W.W., *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede*, EETS 30 (London, 1867).[43]		
PPC	2-28	Pierce the Ploughmans Crede
Skeat, W.W., *The Plowman's Tale*, in *Chaucerian and Other Pieces* (Oxford, 1897), 147-190.[44]		
PT	147-190	The Plowman's Tale
Swinburn, L.M., *Lanterne of Li3t*, EETS 151 (Oxford, 1917).[45]		
LL	1-136	Lanterne of Li3t
Talbert, E.W., 'A Lollard Chronicle of the Papacy' *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, xli (1942), 163-193.[46]		
LCP	175-193	Lollard Chronicle of the Papacy
Talbert, E.W. and A.L. Kellogg, 'The Wycliffite *Pater Noster* and *Ten Commandments* with Special Reference to English MSS 85 and 90 in the John Ryland's Library' *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 42 (1960), 345-377.[47]		
TK10C	371-377	Talbert and Kellogg 10 Commandments
Todd, J.H., *An Apology for Lollard Doctrines* (Camden Society, London, 1842).[48]		
APO	1-113	Apology for Lollard Doctrines
Todd, J.H., *The Last Age of the Church* (Dublin, 1840).[49]		
LAC	23-36	The Last Age of the Church
Todd, J.H., *Three Treatises by John Wyclyffe* (Dublin, 1851).[50]		

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[43] Source for electronic text: from EEBO.
[44] Source for electronic text: transcribed from Skeat's edition.
[45] Source for electronic text: scanned and OCR-ed.
[46] Source for electronic text: scanned and OCR-ed.
[47] Source for electronic text: scanned and OCR-ed.
[48] Source for electronic text: scanned and OCR-ed.
[49] Source for electronic text: scanned and OCR-ed.
[50] 'Of the Church and her Members' and 'Of the Apostasy of the Church' were both reprinted in Arnold (1871) 338 and 430 and are here concordanced as A23 and A26.

AM	115-154	Antichrist and His Meynee
von Nolcken, C., *The Middle English Translation of the Rosarium Theologie*, MET 10 (Heidelberg, 1979).[51]		
Ros	55-104	Rosarium
Wycklyffes Wycket Whyche He Made in Kyng Rycards Daye the Second in the Yere of our Lorde God M.CCCCCV [STC 25590].[52]		
WW	1-21	Wycklyffes Wycket

Summary of General Procedure

With the exceptions of *Lollard Sermons*, *EWSII*, and *The Sermon of William Taylor 1406*, *The Testimony of William Thorpe 1407*, which were generously shared by their editors, these texts were created by transcription or by scanning and OCR (as above listed) during the period of 1997-2004. The first full version of the Select Concordance was created in 2004, and the final version 2005-2006. A brief summary of this otherwise lengthy process follows.

Where texts were transcribed, they were keyed-in, tagged by page and title, and saved directly as ASCII files;[53] where texts were scanned and OCR-ed, Textbridge converted the scanned images to text which was saved in ASCII format; these files were later opened in Word when page and title tags were added manually. Among ASCII's disadvantages was the absence of thorns or other medieval features in its character set; thus, lowercase thorns were represented as #, uppercase thorns as %. Though initially the DOS-based programme, TACT, was used, in 2002 a switch was made to the Windows-based programme, Concordance,

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[51] Source for electronic text: scanned and OCR-ed.
[52] Source for electronic text: transcribed from EEBO. Pages 22-38 are 'The Testament of Maister Wylliam Tracie esquier, expounded by Wylliam Tyndall'.
[53] ASCII was the required text format for the DOS-based programme, TACT which I was then using.

by R.J.C. Watt.[54] This programme accepts ANSII source text files, which permits

preservation of thorns and any other special characters lost in ASCII format.[55]

These ANSII source text files were used by the programme—in conjunction with

the picklists (lists of words to be selected) and lemma lists (imposition of desired

grouping and ordering on picklist words)—to create the raw Select Concordance

data.[56]

The Concordance produced ANSII files are opened in Microsoft word

where formatting, pagination, and layout have been adjusted. Much

experimentation with formatting has occurred, so that characters, punctuation, and

tags are readable by concordancing software and so that output appears in an

accurate and reader-friendly format. The process of formatting the raw

concordance data is complex, as this data contains no tabs, and entries and line-

spaces are separated by numerous spaces. The formatting of the raw concordance

files is illustrated in the table below printed.

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[54] http://www.concordancesoftware.co.uk/. Concordance outputs to its proprietary file type, readable only by those who have the software, HTML, and ANSII. Thus, ANSII proved the most practical and accessible option.

[55] Therefore all my existing ASCII files were transferred to ANSII format, and all new files were automatically saved as ANSII.

[56] Stage one involves making a full concordance of all words, then selecting those to be saved as picklists; there is one picklist per headword represented in the alphabet. These picklists are then opened in the lemmatiser (there is one lemma file per headword represented in the alphabet) where they are grouped under the relevant headwords. The amount of contextual material to be produced for each variant is set within the Concordance programme under 'Contextual Styles' in the Text menu for 'from start of sense unit' to 'end of sense unit'. Default settings are for the number sign (stand-in character for the double vertical line), the at sign (stand-in character for the punctus elevatus), the fullstop, the exclamation point, the question mark, and the semicolon; the comma and the punctus are not included, as they often separate individual words or punctuate abbreviations that do not form the actual end of a sense unit. Under the 'Text' menu, 'References' brackets and tag abbreviations are selected, these appear in Table 3, below. Also under the 'Text' menu, the 'Alphabet' and 'Word Separators' are defined. Next Concordance is run with picklists engaged to limit output to selected words from picklists; then the lemmatiser is run to organize variants under the appropriate lexeme. This procedure is followed for each letter of the alphabet represented by the headwords. In the concordance running phase: first created are the original text files which are tagged to include title and page information. These are then line-numbered by TLBN software to create numbered text files which are the files actually used by the application to create the raw Select Concordance data. The raw concordance files are opened in Word, where formatting occurs. Effort has been made generally to separate headwords and variants according to their grammatical functions as listed in the *MED*; however, some grammatical forms overlap with others or are ambiguous; for example, forms of 'lai' may be adjectival or verbal depending on the context. Where decisions have been taken to group occurrences and variants in one place versus another, footnotes indicate this.

Table 2: Concordance Output Formatting Process

Control and H Keys	Find	Replace
1. Regularizing Spacing: As above mentioned, the Concordance programme output is ANSII text without tabs or columns: the separation of words and lines in the raw data achieved through numerous instances of spaces.		
	Instances of 5 consecutive spaces	Nothing
	Instances of 4, 3, or 2 spaces cannot be removed at this stage, as in Concordance raw data files some regular word separations will be from 1-4, possibly because of invisible codes;[57] there is the risk of fusing words.	
	Instances of 4 consecutive spaces followed by a ^p	^p
	Instances of 3 consecutive spaces followed by a ^p	^p
	Instances of 2 consecutive spaces followed by a ^p	^p
	Instances of 1 space followed by a ^p	^p
	Instances of – and space	-
2. Separating the Tagline from the Context		
	Instances of <L	^l<L
3. Removing Hyphenation from Context: As advised, hyphens have been removed from the context.		
	Instances of 4LD-1	4LD+++1

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[57] Table 4 below. The regular code for a hard line ending is ^p. The code ^l forces the line following this code to remain with at least one previous line of text, thus preventing separation of tags from context.

	Instances of 4LD-2	4LD+++2
	Instances of 4LD-3	4LD+++3
	Instances of 4LD-4	4LD+++4
	Instances of EWS1-	EWS1+++[58]
	Instances of EWS1SE-	EWS1SE+++
	Instances of EWS2-	EWS2+++
	Instances of EWS3-	EWS3+++
	Instances of OP-ES	OP+++ES
	Instances of OP-LT	OP+++LT
	Instances of -	Nothing
	Instances of +++	-

4. Font Adjustments: At this stage the font is changed from the default font Courier New to 10 point Times New Roman. Junicode versions of the punctus, punctus elevatus, and superscript o are added. Due to the vertical spacing differences between Times New Roman and Junicode, the line spacing is forced to exactly 11 points throughout.

	Instances of Times New Roman font _	Junicode font ·
	Instances of Times New Roman *	Junicode font ○
	Instances of regular font {	Italics {
	Instances of regular font }	Italics }

5. Page and Column Formatting: Page size, margins, numbering are adjusted to suit A4 paper size and binding margins. Layout is set to 2 columns.

6. Entry Checking and Formatting: All entries are checked. MED headwords are added in bold, with a footnote listing the number of occurrences and variants. At

[58] This could be any character string. The purpose is temporarily to insert a character string that does not appear elsewhere so that it can easily be recognized and replaced.

its first appearance, a new variant appears in capital letters followed by the number of times it appears. Occurrences of the variant under consideration are underlined.
7. Duplication Removal: Where the same variant occurs two or more times within the same context, the Concordance programme prints two separate entries. To avoid repetition and to preserve continuity of the context, these duplicate entries are combined by hand, with the extra being omitted.

This process has been repeated for all 19 alphabetical sections of the Select Concordance.[59]

Text Tagging and Line Numbering

Text tagging and line numbering have been the most problematic issues faced. Some experimentation was done with Cocoa tagging and other formats represented in TACT and the accompanying book;[60] however, it was a relief when Concordance was found, as it offers a great deal of flexibility in its tagging without requiring a great deal of programming knowledge. The following table represents the types of tags selected for and featured in the concordanced texts; these are the text, page, and line tags that are visible in the Select Concordance.

Table 3: Visible Text Tags

Visible Text Tags	
Tag Format	Tag Significance
<	Opening bracket for any tag
>	Closing bracket for any tag
T	The **T-tag** Title of text referenced by the tag; for

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[59] Letters k, o, q, v, x, y, and z are not represented by headwords.

[60] Lancashire, I., et al, *Using TACT with Electronic Texts: A Guide to Text-Analysis Computing Tools, Version 2.1 for MS-DOS and PC DOS* (Modern Language Association of America, New York, 1996).

	example:
	<T A01>
P	The **P-tag**
	Page of text referenced by the tag; for
	example:
	<P 111>
L	The **L-tag**
	Line of text referenced by the tag; for
	example:
	<L 22>

This Select Concordance has made special effort to synchronize itself with existing texts, so that any others who might consult it may be accurately referenced. Line numbering was highly problematic, as there was a great variation in line width from printed text to printed text. In some editions there are lengthy titles, preliminary discourses, and various quotations that cause the first line to appear physically at, say the third full line of a page. Finally, there are the problems of texts that display errors in their line numbering or numbers that correspond to biblical verses rather than regular lines. The line-counting features in both TACT and Concordance simply count each line, beginning at one. Thus, texts can appear three or more lines off the printed versions. H. Duggan generously shared a Perl script with me that counts line numbering by hard returns at the end of each line, and this has been very helpful; however, it does begin counting at the first hard return, and thus preliminary material had to be deleted for the Perl script counter to be accurate. Autumn 2006, B. Bennett very kindly created a programme,

TLBN,[61] which allows one to force the line to continue past its visual end or to

force a line ending in the middle of a continuing line by the inclusion of certain

characters based on the invisible textual divisions used in these texts.

Table 4: Invisible Text Tags

Invisible Text Tags	
Tag Format	Tag Significance
\<div1\>	Beginning of a textual division that resets page and line numbering
\</div1\>	End of a textual division that ends ongoing page and line numbering
¿	Indicates that this line is visibly reaching the right margin and should not be counted as ending, but as continuing until the next ^p is reached
@@@	Indicates that this line should be counted as ending at this point; thus forcing the counter to climb by one number
^p	Code for the hard line ending in Word at which the counter climbs by one number
^l	Code to keep the line that follows with the previous line in Word, so that taglines are not separated from more than one line of the text they notate

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[61] 'Thy Lines Be Numbered'. I am most grateful for his assistance.

Long titles, preliminary matter, and quotations can cause the first line to appear physically on a line other than line one. Examples of how the ¿ character with the ^p code functions may be seen in the following example, taken directly from the source file rather than the concordance file, so that the invisible tags are rendered. The following example is from *Four Lollard Dialogues*:[62]

<div1>
<L 01><T 4LD-1><P 177>DIALOGUE BETWEEN A KNIGHT AND A CLERK
¿ A kni3t of þe kinges of Yngeland & a clerk of Yngland
<L 02>þat was late comen fro þe courte weren togider in a place, so
<L 03>þat þe clerk bigan to speke of þe pope, & in maner repreued þe
<L 04>kni3t & said, 'I haue grete wonder,' he said, 'þat þe kinge & som
<L 05>of his counseil & of his kni3tes & oþer men of þe temperalte,

Here a space, the ¿, and the ^p allows the line concluding with 'CLERK' to continue to its proper ending at 'Yngland'. In the source file for 4LD-1 the header information is useful, but if, literally counted, would make the line numbering inaccurate. This is common to the texts here concordanced and may be further illustrated by another example from *Arnold*:[63]

<div1>
<L 01><T A01><P 05>THE THANKSGIVING OF ISRAEL_[64] ¿ ISAIAH, ch_
xii_ ¿ {Confitebor tibi, Domine, quia iratus es michi; con-
<L 02>versus est furor tuus, et consolatus es me:}[65] I schall schryve
<L 03>to þee, Lord, for þou art wraþþed to me; turnyd is þi breeþ and
<L 04>þou cumfortidist me.

The space, the ¿, and the ^p combination[66] allows header information (of whatever length and which might be useful) to appear while also allowing the text proper to line one to appear on line one. This same technique has been used on long lines.

Occasionally editorial line numbering may be inaccurate. There are three instances in 4LD where line numbers, as listed, are unchronological.[67] In the

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[62] Numbered text file: 4LD-1, P 177, L 1-5.
[63] Numbered text file: A01, P 5, L 1-4.
[64] The underscore takes the place of a punctus or a full-stop that serves as abbreviation but does not end a sentence; it is replaced by a mass find and replace in the Select Concordance.
[65] Curling brackets are used to indicate Latin portions of the English texts.
[66] Literally rendered space¿^p without break.

editorial line numbering from *Four Lollard Dialogues*, represented below, two line

95s are counted.[68]

wiþ his spores for he ne wold no3t bere his maister ne folowe
his will a3aynes Goddes will, I will speke & answere þe, tristinge
<L 90>to God þat he will als wele 3eue me mi3t and grace to speke &
wiþstonde þe vnri3tfull betinge & prikkynge þat we suffer of þe
pope & of þe clergi þat sitteþ vpon vs. For we ne will no3t
folow her will a3eynes Goddes will, als he 3aue mi3t to þe asse þat
<u>was an vnskilfull beste.</u>
<L 95><u>And þerfore as to þat þat þou hast said, þat be þat mi3t &</u>
<u>power þat God gaf to Moyses & to Ieremye in þe olde lawe es</u>
figured & betokned þe popes mi3t & his powere, in gode faiþ,
þou saist soþe.
<T 4LD-1><P 181>Loke þan wheþere þat power streche to temperalte
or to spiritualte. And as it semeþ and soþe it es, þat it
<L 100>ne streccheþ no3t bot all oneli to spiritualte & to no maner
Line 94 should end at 'was an vnskilfull beste'. Line 95 should begin 'And þerfore
as to þat þat þou hast said, þat be þat mi3t &'; however, in the printed marginal
notation, line 95 appears beside 'power þat God gaf to Moyses & to Ieremye in þe
olde lawe es'.

In the Select Concordance text files the ¿ prevents the line number counter

from rising one number when reaching the visual end of a line. The numbered text

file appears as follows:

<L 95>And þerfore as to þat þat þou hast said, þat be þat mi3t & ¿ power þat God
gaf to Moyses & to Ieremye in þe olde lawe es
<L 96>figured & betokned þe popes mi3t & his powere, in gode faiþ,
<L 97>þou saist soþe.
<L 98><T 4LD-1><P 181>Loke þan wheþere þat power streche to temperalte
<L 99>or to spiritualte. And as it semeþ and soþe it es, þat it
<L 100>ne streccheþ no3t bot all oneli to spiritualte & to no maner

In inserting the ¿ the Select Concordance complies with the printed edition.

Without implementation of the ¿, the lines of the Select Concordance would be off

by one number in this case.

Occasionally the marginal notation in *SEWW* refers to biblical verses rather

than line numbers, as in the excerpt from Isaiah 53. In this example the visual end

of each printed line does not represent the end of a verse:[69]

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[67] *OED*, unchronological.
[68] Original text file: 4LD-1 P 180 L 88 through P 181 L 100.
[69] Numbered text file: SEWW06 P 40 L 1-3.

<div1>
<L 1><T SEWW06-A><P 40>WYCLIFFITE BIBLE: ISAIAH 53 ¿ (A)_Early Version ¿ Lord who leeuede to oure heering? and þe arm of þe Lord to ¿ whom is it shewid?@@@
<L 2>And it shall ste3en vp as a quik heg biforn hym, ¿ and as a roote fro þe þrestende erþe; þer is not shap to hym ne fairnesse, ¿ and wee se3en hym and he was not of si3te.@@@
<L 3>And wee desireden hym ¿ dispisid and þe last of men; man of sorewis and witende infirmyte. ¿ And as hid is his chere and dispisid; wherfore ne wee setten bi hym.

'Shewid' is the last word in verse one; 'si3te', the last word in verse two. The line counter seeks the hard returns, generally appearing at the end of a line, to guide its counting. Where a line should continue, the ¿ instructs the counter not to rise at the present hard return, and the @@@ forces the line counter up by one number, wherever it appears in a line. This combination permits the numbered text files reflect editorial marginal numbers, whatever the physical layout of the line.[70]

Textual Conventions[71]

The texts here concordance range from those in early printed books to newly edited volumes; thus there is a great difference from text to text in abbreviation, capitalization, and punctuation. These texts represent material as closely as possible to the printed version. If a printer or editor has expanded an abbreviation, it is also expanded in the concordance files; if an abbreviation has not been expanded, it is left unexpanded. Capitalization is rendered as in the printed texts, as is punctuation, with the medieval punctuation marks, such as the virgule, punctus, punctus elevatus, and the superscript o being retained.[72] Two exceptions are brackets and hyphenation. Square brackets noting foliation or emendation have been omitted, as they show up as words or as characters within words. Triangular brackets have been used in the original and numbered concordance files for

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[70] The sequence @@@ was chosen because it does not normally appear elsewhere.
[71] The use of bold, italics, underlining, capitalization, footnotes, and two-column layout in the Select Concordance are above mentioned.
[72] In the original and numbered text files these are respectively represented by: the forward slash, the underscore, the at sign, and the asterisk.

tagging, thus editorial use of triangular brackets cannot be represented. Curling

brackets are reserved to indicate Latin words, phrases, or quotations. Parenthetical

brackets are rendered as in the printed edition. On the basis of advice received,

editorial hyphenation appearing within the body of the texts here concordanced has

not been preserved, whether used within a line to compound two words or

spanning hard line endings. The Concordance programme does not combine the

portions of hyphenated words, and these have been hand-combined in the Select

Concordance files. When the hyphenated word spans a line-break, the hyphenated

word is counted as appearing on the line upon which it began. The only hyphens

remaining are those within the T-tags which can become long and are separated

with hyphens for the convenience of the reader. Peculiar spellings or errors in the

printed texts are not corrected in the concordance files, as they purposely mirror

the printed texts for ease of reference.

Headwords appear in alphabetical order according to the MED. The

Concordance programme allows lemmatizing, therefore variants have been

grouped under a single headword accordingly. Moreover, the Concordance

software allows results to be sorted by title and line number, thus ensuring orderly

presentation of the results of each headword and sequence of variants will be in

order according to title and line number. For example, the Hw13 'anagogic' results

are organized alphabetically by variant spelling, then by the text in which the

results appear.

ANAGOGIC.......2
þe fourþe wit is <u>anagogic</u>, þat bytokneþ þing to hope in blis.
<L 21><T EWS1SE-19><P 557>

<u>anagogic</u> techith whedir thou owist "to go;
<L 42><T Pro><P 52>

ANAGOGIK.......5
literal, allegorik, moral, and <u>anagogik</u>.
<L 23><T Pro><P 43>

Anagogik is a goostly vndirstonding, that techith men, what blisse thei schal haue
in heuene.
<L 29><T Pro><P 43>

to anagogik it singnefieth hooly chirche regnynge in blisse either heuene, and tho
that ben therinne.
<L 33><T Pro><P 43>

if thingis ben referrid to singnefie tho thingis that scholen be hopid in blisse to
comynge, so it is anagogik sense.
<L 40><T Pro><P 52>

bi sence "anagogik it singnefieth the chirche rengninge in blisse, bi is oure modir,
is free;
<L 6><T Pro><P 53>

ANOGOGIC.......1
þe fowrþe vndirstondyng is clepud anogogic' and hit telluþ how hit schal be wiþ
men þat ben in heuene.
<L 23><T EWS1-12><P 269>

ANOGOGIK.......1
therfore bi the singnyfying "bi wordis is taken the literal vndirstonding, either
historial, of holy scripture, and bi the "singnefying which is maad bi thingis is
taken the preuy, either goostly vndirstonding, "which is thre maneres, allegorik,
moral, either tropologik, and anogogik.
<L 36><T Pro><P 52>

The above examples illustrate the method of layout for the entries in the Select

Concordance.

Headwords

A[1]

1. absolucioun[2]
2. accident[3]
3. actif
4. affeccioun
5. affect
6. aggregate (a number of persons or entities comprising a single unit)
7. alien (a foreigner, outsider, or one who is not the rightful owner)
8. Alkerton, Richard (an orthodox preacher; fl. c. 1406)
9. allegorie (one of the four levels of biblical exegesis, spiritual)
10. allegorik
11. ambidexter (one who improperly occupies two offices)
12. anagogie (the highest of the four levels of biblical exegesis, mystical)
13. anagogik
14. Antecrist (eschatological entity; but often the orthodox clergy in Wycliffite texts)
15. antiphonere
16. anti-pope
17. ape
18. apert (evident or obvious)
19. aperteli
20. apostasie
21. apostata
22. apostate
23. arrai
24. arraien
25. Arundel, Thomas (1353–1414; Archbishop of Canterbury 1396-1414)
26. assoilen
27. assoiling
28. Aston, John (d. 1407; early follower of Wyclif; heretical preacher)
29. auter (altar)
30. avarice
31. avaricious

B[4]

32. babelinge
33. babewinrie (grotesque ornamentation)
34. bacheler
35. Baiard (a bay-coloured horse; a name for a horse; an insult meaning aimless, heedless, or blundering)
36. bak-biten
37. bak-bitere
38. bak-biting

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[1] Those words whose meanings or spellings may give rise to difficulty are glossed, and all unusual proper nouns explained. A: 31 words; 2 of these words appear in Hudson (1985) 'A Lollard Sect Vocabulary?', as below noted.

[2] Word in Hudson (1985), 172.

[3] Word in Hudson (1985), 173.

[4] B: 61 words; 7 of these words appear in Hudson (1985) 'A Lollard Sect Vocabulary?', as below noted.

39. Balaam (biblical character sent to curse Israel; his way is barred by an angel at first only seen by his donkey until his eyes are opened)
40. bar-fot
41. bar-hed
42. basilisk
43. bastard
44. bede (a bead, as in prayer beads)
45. beggen
46. beggere[5]
47. beggerie[6]
48. begging[7]
49. beli (in anticlerical writings a biblical accusation leveled originally at the fraternal orders but also generally applied to clergy; Philippians 3.19: 'Whose end is destruction; whose God is their belly; and whose glory is in their shame; who mind earthly things.')
50. Belial (the Devil, an officer of the Devil, or followers of Antichrist)
51. belle
52. Belzebub (a god of the Philistines; one of the devils)
53. Beme (the country of Bohemia to which Wycliffism spread)
54. bene-bred (bread containing bean meal)
55. Berengar (c.999-6 January 1088; known for his controversial positions on the Eucharist; cited in Wycliffite writings)
56. beting
57. bibel[8]
58. bigilen[9]
59. bigiling
60. bille
61. bishop[10]
62. blaberen[11]
63. blak
64. blaken
65. blaking
66. blaknesse
67. blasfeme
68. blasfemen
69. blasfemers
70. blasfeminge
71. blasfemour
72. blasfemous
73. blaunchen
74. bleden
75. bledinge
76. blenden
77. bleren
78. blind

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[5] Word in Hudson (1985), 170, 178, 180.
[6] Word in Hudson (1985), 172.
[7] Word in Hudson (1985), 170, 180.
[8] Word in Hudson (1985), 172.
[9] Word in Hudson (1985), 171.
[10] Word in Hudson (1985), 172, 173, 175.
[11] Word in Hudson (1985), 170, 178, 180.

79. blind-fellen
80. blindnesse
81. blod
82. bobben
83. bok
84. bon (a bone)
85. borell (belonging to the laity; unlearned, rude; rough)
86. Bosardis (worthless, stupid, or ignorant persons; often with the adj. blind)
87. bred
88. bridel
89. Britaine
90. buffeten
91. buffeting
92. bulle (a papal edict)

C[12]

93. Caim (Cain, biblical son of Adam and Eve; first fratricide)
94. caitif
95. candel
96. Candel-masse (the feast of the purification of the Virgin Mary; 2 February)
97. canonizen
98. canonizing
99. careine (carrion)
100. cast (an argument or stratagem)
101. castel
102. casten (to construct arguments or stratagems)
103. casting
104. cautel[13] (craftiness, deceitfulness)
105. cautelous
106. cavillacioun (trivial, insincere objections; spurious arguments)
107. chaiere (a chair, a position of spiritual; in relation to the position held by Moses, the Scribes and Pharisees, and the bishops)
108. clamorous
109. clergie
110. cloistre
111. clout
112. clouten (to add or amend falsely; to patch together)
113. clouting[14]
114. colour[15]
115. colouren (to argue speciously)
116. colouring
117. communioun
118. confessioun
119. constitucioun
120. contemplacioun
121. contemplatif

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[12] C: 38 words; 4 of these words appear in Hudson (1985) 'A Lollard Sect Vocabulary?', as below noted.
[13] Word in Hudson (1985), 170, 178, 180.
[14] Word in Hudson (1985), 170, 178, 180.
[15] Word in Hudson (1985), 178.

122. conventicle
123. Cristes
124. crois[16]
125. cronicle
126. cronicling
127. crou (a crow)
128. crouen (to crow)
129. crucifien
130. crucifix

D[17]
131. dai-þeues
132. dalien
133. daliaunce
134. daliinge
135. dame
136. damisele
137. daunce
138. dauncen
139. dauncing
140. decre
141. decretal
142. degre
143. deintevous
144. deintevousliche
145. delectable
146. delectacioun
147. delicat
148. delicatli
149. delicious
150. deliciousli
151. demen
152. deming
153. desir
154. desiren
155. desiringe
156. determinacioun[18]
157. determinen
158. determininge
159. dime (church tithe)
160. discolis (Latin gloss on 'truaunt')
161. doctour
162. dogge
163. dragoun
164. drem
165. dremen
166. dremer
167. dreming

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[16] Word in Hudson (1985), 172.
[17] D: 38 words; 2 of these words appear in Hudson (1985) 'A Lollard Sect Vocabulary?', as below noted.
[18] Word in Hudson (1985), 173.

168. dulia[19] (reverence that may be given to angels and saints)

E[20]

    169. endouen
    170. endouing
    171. Engelond
    172. English
    173. English-man
    174. Englishen
    175. estat
    176. Eukarist

F[21]

    177. fable
    178. faculte
    179. fagen (to flatter, to beguile, to deceive)
    180. faging
    181. fals
    182. falsli
    183. famulorum (either of two prayers in the Mass, one commemorating the living, the other the deceased; both beginning 'Memento, Domine, famulorum')
    184. fantasie
    185. fantom
    186. fautour
    187. feinen
    188. feiner
    189. feining
    190. fend
    191. figuratif
    192. figure
    193. finding (the provision of support for the necessities of life)
    194. FitzRalph, Richard (c. 1300 – 16 December 1360; Bishop of Armagh; antifraternal polemicist; cited in Wycliffite writings)
    195. flateren
    196. flaterer
    197. flatering
    198. flock
    199. fol (a fool)
    200. foltish (unwise, foolish, or silly)
    201. fonned (unwise, foolish, or silly)
    202. fox
    203. fraternite
    204. Fraunce
    205. fredom
    206. frere[22]

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[19] Word in Hudson (1985), 173, 180.
[20] E: 8 words.
[21] F: 30 words; 1 of these words appears in Hudson (1985) 'A Lollard Sect Vocabulary?', as below noted.
[22] Word in Hudson (1985), 166, 171, and 172.

G[23]

    207. gabben (to lie; to practice deceit; to speak derisively or mockingly)
    208. gabbinge[24]
    209. glosatour
    210. glose[25] (an explanatory comment on a text; specious interpretation)
    211. glosen
    212. glosinge
    213. Gomorrha
    214. ground[26] (the basis for doctrine or opinion)
    215. grounden
    216. groundinge
    217. groundli[27]
    218. grucchen (to murmur or to grumble)
    219. grucchere
    220. grucchinge

H[28]

    221. habit
    222. hauk
    223. hauker
    224. hauking
    225. heresie
    226. heretike
    227. hermofrodite (fig. one who improperly occupies two offices)
    228. Hobbe (A variation of the Christian name Robert or Robin; formerly a generic name for a rustic, a clown)
    229. homli
    230. homlinesse

I[29]

    231. idiote
    232. idolatre
    233. idolatrie
    234. idole
    235. ignoraunce
    236. ignoraunt
    237. image
    238. indulgence
    239. ipocrisie (hypocrisy)
    240. ipocrite

J[30]

    241. janglen
    242. janglere

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[23] G: 14 words; 4 of these words appear in Hudson (1985) 'A Lollard Sect Vocabulary?', as below noted.
[24] Word in Hudson (1985), 170, 178, and 180.
[25] Word in Hudson (1985), 170, 178, and 180.
[26] Word in Hudson (1985), 170, 171, 172, 174, and 178.
[27] Word in Hudson (1985), 172.
[28] H: 10 words.
[29] I: 10 words.
[30] J: 7 words.

243. jangling
244. jape[31]
245. japen
246. japer
247. japinge

L[32]

248. lai (a non-clerical person)
249. lai-man
250. latria[33] (the highest form of worship due only to God)
251. laue (law)
252. lerede (learned)
253. lesinge (a law, falsehood, or untruth)
254. lettre
255. lettred
256. leudest
257. leued (unlearned)
258. leuednesse
259. librarie
260. license
261. literal
262. Lollard
263. lordshipe

M[34]

264. maister
265. man-quellere
266. man-quellinge
267. man-slaughter
268. man-sleere
269. man-sleinge
270. manhede
271. maumet (an idol)
272. maumetrie[35]
273. mendicaunt
274. moldwarpis (moles; ground-dwelling creatures)
275. monk

N[36]

276. nedder (an adder)
277. neue

P[37]

278. palfrei
279. parable

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[31] Word in Hudson (1985), 178, 180.
[32] L: 16 words.
[33] Word in Hudson (1985), 173.
[34] M: 12 words.
[35] Word in Hudson (1985), 177, 185.
[36] N: 2 words.
[37] P: 31 words.

280. peinten
281. peintinge
282. peintorie
283. peintour
284. penaunce
285. Peraldus, William (c.1190-1271; William Perault; author of *Summa de virtutibus et vitiis* quoted in Wycliffite writings)
286. Pharise[38]
287. picture
288. pilgrim
289. pilgrimage
290. plough
291. plough-man
292. possessiouner (a beneficed member of the clergy; a member of an endowed religious institution)
293. poverte[39]
294. povre[40] (lacking in money and material possessions)
295. povreli
296. prechen
297. prechinge
298. prechour
299. prelate[41]
300. prest
301. private
302. prive
303. pseudo
304. pseudoclerk
305. pseudocrist
306. pseudofrere
307. pseudoprophete
308. pseudoprest

R[42]

309. ravine
310. ravinour
311. ravishen
312. ravishinge
313. reasonable
314. religioun
315. religious
316. remembrauncing
317. remembren
318. rememoratif (serving as a reminder)
319. resoun[43]
320. resounen

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[38] Word in Hudson (1985), 180.

[39] Word in Hudson (1985), 170.

[40] Word in Hudson (1985), 171.

[41] The word 'prelacie' appears in Hudson (1985), 173.

[42] R: 14 words.

[43] The word 'appraising' which the MED defines as 'Evaluation; esp., the critical interpretation (of Scripture), exegesis', is surprisingly absent from the Lollard texts here concordanced.

321. resouninge
322. reuerse

S[44]

323. sacrament
324. sacren (to consecrate the elements of the Mass; to celebrate the Eucharist)
325. Saduce
326. satan
327. scripture
328. sermoun
329. shininge
330. shiningli (resplendently; sumptuously)
331. significat (something signified or referred to; a referent)
332. signifien
333. silogisme (a syllogism)
334. silogistik
335. simon (Simon Magus who sought to purchase the power of the Holy Spirit in Acts 8.10-22; his name became synonymous with simony, the buying or selling of ecclesiastical office)
336. simoner (one who practices simony)
337. simonie (simony)
338. simonient
339. simple
340. simplenesse
341. simpli
342. simulacioun
343. simulacre (an image or representation)
344. sinagoge
345. singulere
346. Sodome
347. sodomie
348. sodomite
349. St. Amour, William of (dates; progenitor of antifraternalism)
350. St. Brigitta of Sweden (1303-23 July 1373; female mystic; founder of the Bridgittine Order)
351. story
352. subget[45] (philosophical concept referring to the essential nature of something)
353. suspect (of questionable validity)
354. substancialite (occasionally used interchangibly with 'subget')

T[46]

355. tale
356. tateren (to speak foolishly; to babble)
357. techen[47]
358. techere
359. techinge

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[44] S: 32 words; 1 of these words appears in Hudson (1985) 'A Lollard Sect Vocabulary?', as below noted.
[45] Word in Hudson (1985), 173.
[46] T: 23 words.
[47] Word in Hudson (1985), 170, 171.

360. temporal
361. temporalte (secular properties or possessions of the church)
362. thef
363. tiraunt (a despot; a religious persecutor or oppressor)
364. tirauntrie
365. tithe[48]
366. tradicioun
367. traitour
368. traitourie
369. traitourli
370. transfiguren (to transform the appearance; to present oneself deceptively)
371. trecherie
372. trecherous
373. trecherousli
374. trechour (one who is faithless to an obligation; a traitor)
375. treue
376. treuli
377. truant (one who receives alms; a beggar; a mendicant friar; a shirker of duty)

U[49]

378. ungrounded
379. universite
380. uplondishe (of the country; provincial; unsophisticated)

W[50]

381. waste
382. wasten
383. wastinge
384. wastour
385. weiward
386. weiwardli
387. widwe
388. wif
389. windoue
390. wine
391. withdrauen
392. withdrawinge
393. wolf
394. womman
395. writ

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[48] Word in Hudson (1985), 178.
[49] U: 3 words.
[50] W: 15 words.

Variants and Occurrences

A

Hw 1   absolucioun
ABSOLICIUN	1
ABSOLUCION	24
ABSOLUCIONES	1
ABSOLUCIONS	7
ABSOLUCIONYS	2
ABSOLUCIOUN	9
ABSOLUCIOUNE	1
ABSOLUCIOUNS	5
ABSOLUCOUN	4
ABSOLUTIOUN	1
10 var.	55 occ.

Hw 2   accident
ACCIDENS	1
ACCIDENT	74
ACCIDENTE	1
ACCIDENTES	1
ACCIDENTIS	39
ACCIDENTTIS	1
ACCYDENTE	6
ACCYDENTES	1
ACCYDENTIS	5
9 var.	135 occ.

Hw 3   actif
ACTIF	15
ACTIFIS	1
ACTIUE	1
ACTIUIS	1
ACTYF	1
ACTYFE	1
6 var.	20 occ.

Hw 4   affeccioun
AFFECCION	17
AFFECCIONE	2
AFFECCIONES	3
AFFECCIONS	7
AFFECCIONUS	1
AFFECCIONYS	1
AFFECCIOUN	15
AFFECCIOUNES	1
AFFECCIOUNS	9
AFFECCOUN	6
AFFECCOUNIS	1
AFFECTION	1
12 var.	64 occ.

Hw 5   affect
AFFECH	1
AFFECT	2
EFFECTE	2
3 var.	5 occ.

Hw 6   aggregat
AGGREGAT	9
AGGREGATE	1
2 var.	10 occ.

Hw 7   alien
ALIEN	45
ALIENE	8
ALIENEN	1
ALIENES	1
ALIENS	12
ALIENUS	1
ALIENYS	1
ALION	2
ALYEN	11
ALYENEN	1
ALYENS	4
ALYENUS	1
ALYENYS	4
13 var.	92 occ.

Hw 8 Alkerton, Richard
ALKIRTOUN	2
ALKIRTOUNS	1
2 var.	3 occ.

Hw 9   allegorie
ALLEGORIE	7
ALLEGORY	2
2 var.	9 occ.

Hw 10 allegorik
ALLEGORIC	3
ALLEGORIK	5
2 var.	8 occ.

Hw 11 ambidexter
AMBIDEXTER	1
1 var.	1 occ.

Hw 12 anagogie
ANAGOGY	1
1 var.	1 occ.

Hw 13 anagogik
ANAGOGIC	2
ANAGOGIK	5
ANOGOGIC	1
ANOGOGIK	1
4 var.	9 occ.

Hw 14 Antecrist
ANNTECRISTE	2
ANTECHRIST	2
ANTECHRISTE	1
ANTECRIST	358
ANTECRISTE	7
ANTECRISTES	3
ANTECRISTIS	73
ANTECRISTS	3
ANTECRISTUS	1
ANTECRYST	2
ANTECYHRIST	1
ANTICHRIST	13
ANTICRIST	461
ANTICRISTE	12
ANTICRISTES	3
ANTICRISTIS	208

ANTICRISTS	1
ANTICRISTUS	19
ANTICRISTYS	1
ANTICRYST	1
20 var.	1173 occ.

Hw 15 antiphonere
ANTIFENERS	1
1 var.	1 occ.

Hw 16 anti-pope
ANTEPOPE	2
ANTEPOPIS	1
ANTIPOPE	1
3 var.	4 occ.

Hw 17 ape
APE	9
APES	2
APIS	14
APUS	1
4 var.	26 occ.

Hw 18 apert
APERT	19
APERTE	3
2 var.	22 occ.

Hw 19 aperteli
APEERTLI	4
APEERTLY	2
APERTELY	3
APERTILY	2
APERTLY	23
5 var.	34 occ.

Hw 20 apostasie
APOSTASIE	32
APOSTASIES	2
APOSTASYE	6
APOSTASYIE	1
4 var.	41 occ.

Hw 21 apostata
APOSTAAS	2
APOSTATA	33
APOSTATAA	1
APOSTATAAS	14
APOSTATAIS	3
APOSTATAS	14
APOSTATIS	2
APOSTOTAAS	2
8 var.	71 occ.

Hw 22 apostate
APOSTATAES	8
APOSTATASE	1
APOSTATES	3
3 var.	12 occ.

Hw 23 arrai
ARAI	4
ARAIE	8

ARAY	39
ARAYE	6
ARRAY	13
5 var.	70 occ.

Hw 24 arraien
ARAID	1
ARAIED	15
ARAIES	2
ARAIEÞ	2
ARAYD	2
ARAYED	18
ARAYEDE	2
ARAYES	1
ARAYID	3
ARIED	1
ARRAIED	3
ARRAIES	1
ARRAYED	1
13 var.	52 occ.

Hw 25 Arundel, Thomas
ARNEDEL	1
ARRUNDEL	1
ARUNDEL	1
3 var.	3 occ.

Hw 26 assoilen
ASOIL	1
ASOILE	13
ASOILED	3
ASOILEN	1
ASOILID	2
ASOULE	1
ASOULED	1
ASOULEDE	1
ASOULEÞ	1
ASOYL	1
ASOYLE	12
ASOYLED	4
ASOYLEN	1
ASOYLEÞ	3
ASOYLID	6
ASOYLIDE	1
ASOYLIÞ	1
ASOYLLE	1
ASOYLUN	1
ASOYLYD	1
ASSOILE	26
ASSOILED	5
ASSOILEDEN	1
ASSOILEN	5
ASSOILID	15
ASSOILIDE	2
ASSOILITH	1
ASSOILLE	2
ASSOILLIÞ	1
ASSOULEÞ	1
ASSOULIÞ	1
ASSOYL	2
ASSOYLE	45
ASSOYLED	10
ASSOYLEDE	2

ASSOYLEDEST	1
ASSOYLEN	21
ASSOYLES	3
ASSOYLETH	1
ASSOYLID	5
ASSOYLIÞ	5
ASSOYLLE	8
ASSOYLLED	4
ASSOYLLID	3
ASSOYLLIÞ	4
ASSOYLUD	3
ASSOYLUDE	2
ASSOYLUÞ	7
ASSOYLYN	1
SOYLE	3

50 var.   246 occ.

Hw 27 assoiling
ASOILING	5
ASOILINGE	1
ASOYLING	6
ASOYLYNG	6
ASOYLYNGE	2
ASSOILING	5
ASSOILINGE	12
ASSOILLYNG	1
ASSOILLYNGE	2
ASSOILYNG	4
ASSOILYNGE	9
ASSOLING	1
ASSOYLING	2
ASSOYLINGE	2
ASSOYLLINGE	2
ASSOYLLYNGE	1
ASSOYLYNG	23
ASSOYLYNGE	6
SOYLYNG	2

19 var.   92 occ.

Hw 28 Aston, John
ASTON	2

1 var.   2 occ.

Hw 29 auter
ALTERES	1
ALTREZ	1
AU3TER	21
AUTEER	12
AUTER	123
AUTERE	4
AUTERIS	22
AUTERS	10
AUTIR	2
AWTER	5
AWTERS	1

11 var.   204 occ.

Hw 30 avarice
AUARICE	43
AUARISE	3
AUARYCE	3
AUERICE	3
AUERIS	1

AUERISE	2
AUERYCE	1
AVARICE	19
AVARISE	1
AVERICE	1
AVERYCE	1

11 var.   78 occ.

Hw 31 avaricious
AUAROUS	12
AUAROUSE	5
AUARUS	2
AUERISS	7
AUEROUS	12
AUEROUSE	1
AUEROWS	1
AUEROWSE	1
AVAROUS	3
AVAROUSE	2
AVEROUSE	1

11 var.   47 occ.

B
Hw 32 babelinge
BABELYNGE	1

1 var.   1 occ.

Hw 33 babewinrie
BABWYNRIE	1

1 var.   1 occ.

Hw 34 bacheler
BACHELER	2
BACHELERS	1
BACHITAR	1

3 var.   4 occ.

Hw 35 Baiard
BAIARD	2
BAIERD	1
BAYARD	1
BAYARDE	1

4 var.   5 occ.

Hw 36 bak-biten
BACBITE	2
BACBITEN	4
BACBITIÞ	1
BACBYTEN	1
BAKBITEN	1
BAKBITEÞ	1
BAKBITIÞ	1
BAKBYTEN	1

8 var.   12 occ.

Hw 37 bak-bitere
BACBITARS	1
BACBITEARS	1
BACBITER	1
BACBITERE	1
BACBITERIS	2
BACBITERS	6
BAKBITER	2

BAKBITERS 2

8 var.   16 occ.

Hw 38 bak-biting
BACBITING   2
BACBITINGE   2
BACBITYNG   3
BACBITYNGE   5
BACBITYNGES   1
BACBYTYNG   1
BACBYTYNGE   2
BACKBITYNGIS   1
BAKBITING   1
BAKBITYNGIS   1
BAKBYTYNG   1

11 var.   20 occ.

Hw 39 Balaam
BAALYM   4
BALAAM   12
BALAHAM   1
BALAM   1
BALAMS   1
BALYM   1

6 var.   20 occ.

Hw 40 bar-fot
BAREFOOT   2
BAREFOT   1
BAREFOTE   2
BARFOT   3
BARFOTE   1

5 var.   9 occ.

Hw 41 bar-hed
BAREHEED   1
BAREYNHEED   1

2 var.   2 occ.

Hw 42 basilisk
BASILISK   1

1 var.   1 occ.

Hw 43 bastard
BASTARD   17
BASTARDE   4
BASTARDIS   2

3 var.   23 occ.

Hw 44 bede
BEDE   1
BEDES   2
BEDIS   1
BEDYS   1

4 var.   5 occ.

Hw 45 beggen
BEG   19
BEGGE   81
BEGGED   14
BEGGEDE   4
BEGGEDEN   1
BEGGEN   25

BEGGES   5
BEGGID   32
BEGGIDE   36
BEGGIS   1
BEGGON   4
BEGGUDE   2
BEGGUN   1
BEGGYD   1
BEGGYDE   1
BEGGYN   1
BEGON   1
BIGGIÞ   3

17 var.   232 occ.

Hw 46 beggere
BEGARE   1
BEGERE   1
BEGERS   1
BEGGAR   3
BEGGARE   5
BEGGARES   1
BEGGARIS   1
BEGGARS   6
BEGGER   35
BEGGERE   7
BEGGERES   12
BEGGERIS   31
BEGGERS   30
BEGGERUS   7
BEGGERYS   2
BIGGERS   1
BYGGHERYS   1

17 var.   146 occ.

Hw 47 beggerie
BEGGERIE   23
BEGGERY   2
BEGGERYE   2
BEGRY   2
BEGRYE   2

5 var.   31 occ.

Hw 48 begging
BEGGEYNGE   1
BEGGING   54
BEGGINGE   7
BEGGYNG   54
BEGGYNGE   92
BEGGYNGIS   2
BIGGING   3
BIGGINGE   1
BIGGINGS   1
BIGGYNGE   4
BYGGING   1
BYGGYNGE   1

12 var.   220 occ.

Hw 49 beli
BELI   8
BELIES   2
BELY   24
BELYES   1

4 var.   35 occ.

185

Hw 50 Belial
BELI	1
BELIAL	20
BELIALIS	1
BELY	1

4 var. 23 occ.

Hw 51 belle
BELL	3
BELLE	7
BELLES	1
BELLEZ	1
BELLIS	6

5 var. 18 occ.

Hw 52 Belzebub
BEELZEBUB	1
BEL3EBUB	2
BELSABUB	3
BELSEBUB	4
BELSEBUL	2
BELZABUB	1
BELZEBUB	4

7 var. 17 occ.

Hw 53 Beme
BEEM	6
BEEMES	2
BEEMERS	2
BEMYS	2

4 var. 12 occ.

Hw 54 bene-bred
| BENEBRED | 1 |

1 var. 1 occ.

Hw 55 Berengar
| BERINGARIE | 4 |
| BERINGARY | 1 |

2 var. 5 occ.

Hw 56 beting
BETINGE	2
BETINGIS	2
BETINGS	1
BETYNG	2
BETYNGE	8
BETYNGIS	4

6 var. 19 occ.

Hw 57 bibel
BIBEL	8
BIBIL	1
BIBILE	2
BIBLE	46
BIBLIS	10
BYBLE	1

6 var. 68 occ.

Hw 58 bigilen
BEGILE	1
BEGEYLIÞ	1
BEGILED	1
BEGILID	3
BEGILIÞ	1
BEGYLE	5
BEGYLEN	3
BEGYLEÞ	1
BEGYLID	1
BIGILD	7
BIGILE	23
BIGILEN	12
BIGILES	1
BIGILEST	1
BIGILEÞ	3
BIGILIDE	2
BIGILIDEN	1
BIGILIÞ	4
BIGILUN	1
BIGYLE	7
BIGYLED	1
BIGYLEN	2
BIGYLES	1
BIGYLID	1
BIGYLIÞ	3
BYGILE	4
BYGILED	1
BYGILEN	4
BYGYLE	7
BYGYLEN	3
BYGYLON	4
BYGYLUD	2
BYGYLUDE	3
BYGYLUÞ	3

34 var. 118 occ.

Hw 59 bigiling
| BIGILING | 1 |

1 var. 1 occ.

Hw 60 bille
| BILLE | 4 |
| BILLUS | 1 |

2 var. 5 occ.

Hw 61 bishop
BISCHOPS	44
BIHSSCHOPE	1
BIHSSCHOPES	6
BISCHEPIS	1
BISCHONS	1
BISCHOP	157
BISCHOPE	29
BISCHOPES	7
BISCHOPIS	202
BISCHOPPE	4
BISCHOPPES	1
BISCHOPPEZ	1
BISCHOPPIS	28
BISCHOPUS	4
BISHOP	20
BISHOPE	13
BISHOPES	1
BISHOPIS	12
BISHOPPES	3

BISHOPS	31
BISSCHOP	2
BISSCHOPIS	4
BISSHOP	99
BISSHOPE	1
BISSHOPES	4
BISSHOPIS	48
BISSHOPPES	1
BISSHOPS	4
BOSCHOPE	1
BUSCHOP	5
BUSCHOPIS	1
BUSCHOPUS	2
BYSCHEPE	1
BYSCHOP	18
BYSCHOPE	2
BYSCHOPES	3
BYSCHOPIS	34
BYSCHOPUS	12
BYSCHOPYS	4
BYSSHOP	1
BYSSHOPPES	2
BYSSHOPS	8
42 var.	826 occ.

Hw 62 blaberen
BLABER	2
BLABERE	9
BLABEREN	6
BLABERERE	1
BLABEREST	1
BLABERIST	1
BLABERIÞ	2
BLABERON	1
BLABERST	1
BLABERUDE	1
BLABERYN	1
BLABERYNG	1
BLABIREN	1
BLABORON	1
BLABRE	3
BLABRED	1
BLABREN	3
BLABUR	4
BLABUREN	1
19 var.	41 occ.

Hw 63 blak
BLAC	5
BLAK	3
BLAKE	5
3 var.	13 occ.

Hw 64 blaken
BLECKE	1
BLECKED	1
BLECKEÞ	1
BLECKID	3
BLECKUD	1
BLICKID	1
6 var.	8 occ.

Hw 65 blaking

BLAKNING	1
1 var.	1 occ.

Hw 66 blaknesse
BLACKENES	1
BLACKNESSE	2
BLACNESSE	1
3 var.	4 occ.

Hw 67 blasfeme
BLASFEME	9
BLASFEMES	4
BLASFEMIE	22
BLASFEMIES	3
BLASFEMIS	1
BLASFEMY	2
BLASFEMYE	61
BLASFEMYES	9
BLASPEMYES	1
BLASPHEME	16
BLASPHEMES	3
BLASPHEMIE	2
BLASPHEMY	1
BLASPHEMYE	58
BLASPHEMYES	1
15 var.	193 occ.

Hw 68 blasfemen
BLASFEM	1
BLASFEME	10
BLASFEMED	11
BLASFEMEDE	2
BLASFEMEDEN	2
BLASFEMEDON	1
BLASFEMEN	29
BLASFEMEÞ	7
BLASFEMID	11
BLASFEMITH	4
BLASFEMYD	1
BLASFEMYDE	2
BLASFEMYN	1
BLASFEMYÞ	1
BLASPHAMEÞ	1
BLASPHEME	16
BLASPHEMED	8
BLASPHEMEN	16
BLASPHEMES	5
BLASPHEMEÞ	4
BLASPHEMYD	2
BLASPHEMYES	8
22 var.	143 occ.

Hw 69 blasfeminge
BLASFEMYNG	2
BLASPHEMYNG	1
2 var.	3 occ.

Hw 70 blasfemour
BLASFEM	1
BLASFEMARS	1
BLASFEME	10
BLASFEMER	3
BLASFEMERE	3

BLASFEMERIS	1	BLYNDE	237
BLASFEMERS	2	BLYNDED	9
BLASFEMES	8	BLYNDEDON	1
BLASFEMIS	2	BLYNDEN	19
BLASFEMYERE	1	BLYNDES	2
BLASFEMYES	1	BLYNDEST	2
BLASFEMYS	2	BLYNDEÞ	4
BLASPHEME	4	BLYNDID	29
BLASPHEMERES	1	BLYNDIDE	1
BLASPHEMERIS	1	BLYNDIDEN	2
BLASPHEMES	36	BLYNDIS	1
BLASPHEMYS	2	BLYNDIÞ	13

17 var.   79 occ.

		BLYNDON	2
		BLYNDUD	5
		BLYNDUDE	6
		BLYNDUT	1
		BLYNDUÞ	7
		BLYNDYN	2

Hw 71 blasfemous

BLASFEME	23
BLASFEMIS	1
BLASFEMOUSE	2
BLASFEMY	3
BLASFEMYE	1
BLASPHEME	12
BLASPHEMYE	1
BLASPHEMYS	1
BLASSEFEMYS	1

9 var.   45 occ.

23 var.   412 occ.

Hw 77 blind-fellen

BLINDFELT	1
BLYNDEFELD	1

2 var.   2 occ.

Hw 72 blaunchen

BLAUNCHID	2

1 var.   2 occ.

Hw 73 bleden

BLEDDIST	1
BLEDE	2

2 var.   3 occ.

Hw 78 blindnesse

BLINDENES	2
BLINDNES	3
BLINDNESSE	1
BLYNDENES	2
BLYNDENESSE	38
BLYNDENESSIS	1
BLYNDNES	6
BLYNDNESSE	30
BLYNDNESSES	2
BLYNDNESSIS	1

10 var.   86 occ.

Hw 74 blenden

BLEENDE	1
BLEND	2
BLENDE	1
BLENDED	3
BLENDEN	5
BLENDEÞ	2
BLENDID	1
BLENDIÞ	1
BLENDUD	1
BLENDUÞ	1
BLENDYÞ	1
BLENT	3
BLENTE	2
BLEYNE	2

14 var.   26 occ.

Hw 79 blod

BLOD	57
BLODE	103
BLOOD	259
BLOODE	10
BLUD	5
BLUDE	1

6 var.   435 occ.

Hw 80 bobben

BOBBE	1
BOBBID	1
BOBBIDEN	8

3 var.   10 occ.

Hw 75 bleren

BLEERE	1
BLEREN	2

2 var.   3 occ.

Hw 81 bok

BOCK	1
BOK	62
BOKE	71
BOKES	15
BOKEZ	1
BOKIS	98
BOKS	2
BOKUS	1
BOKYS	1

Hw 76 blinden

BLIND	3
BLINDE	11
BLINDEN	1
BLINDIÞ	1
BLYND	53

BOOC 11
BOOK 303
BOOKE 20
BOOKES 2
BOOKIS 66
BOOKYS 4
BOUKE 1
16 var.   659 occ.

Hw 82   bon
BONE 6
BONES 12
BONIS 8
BONYS 9
BOON 9
BOONES 6
BOONIS 3
BOONS 1
BOONYS 6
9 var.   60 occ.

Hw 83   borell
BORELL 6
1 var.   6 occ.

Hw 84   Bosardis
BOSARDES 2
BOSARDIS 1
BOSARDUS 1
3 var.   4 occ.

Hw 85   bred
BREAD 1
BREADE 1
BRED 250
BREED 243
4 var.   495 occ.

Hw 86   bridel
BRIDEL 6
BRIDELES 2
BRIDELIS 5
BRIDIL 2
BRIDILS 1
BRIDLIS 1
BRYDELES 1
BRYDUL 1
8 var.   19 occ.

Hw 87   Britaine
BRETAYNE 1
BRYTAYN 1
2 var.   2 occ.

Hw 88   buffeten
BUFFATE 1
BUFFET 2
BUFFETEN 1
BUFFETIS 1
4 var.   5 occ.

Hw 89   buffeting
BUFFETYNGE 1

1 var.   1 occ.

Hw 90   bulle
BULLIS   47
1 var.   47 occ.

C
Hw 91   Caim
CAYM 22
CAYME 2
CAYMES 14
CAYMS 5
4 var.   43 occ.

Hw 92   caitif
CAITIF 2
CAITIFTE 3
CAYTIFS 1
CAYTYFEZ 1
4 var.   7 occ.

Hw 93   candel
CANDEL 7
CANDELE 1
CANDIL 2
CANDILS 1
CANDLES 2
5 var.   13 occ.

Hw 94   Candel-masse
CANDLEMASSE   1
1 var.   1 occ.

Hw 95   canonizen
CANNONISID 1
CANONI3ED 2
CANONI3ID 4
CANONI3IE 1
CANONISE 1
CANONISID 1
CANONIZID 1
CANONYSE 3
CANONYSED 1
CANONYSEDE 1
CANONYSES 1
CANONYSID 3
CANONYSUDE 2
CANONYSUÞ 1
14 var.   23 occ.

Hw 96   canonizing
CANONI3ING 2
CANONYSING 1
CANONYSYNG 2
CANONYSYNGE 2
4 var.   7 occ.

Hw 97   carcine
CAREN 3
CAREYNE 6
CARIEN 2
CARIONE 1
CARIOUNS 2

189

CARYONE	2	CAWTELOUS	1
CARYOUN	1	CAWTELUS	1
7 var.	17 occ.	8 var.	43 occ.

Hw 98 cast
CAST	115
CASTE	103
CASTIS	4
3 var.	222 occ.

Hw 99 castel
CASTEEL	1
CASTEL	45
CASTELIS	13
CASTELL	2
CASTELLIS	9
CASTELS	17
CASTELUS	1
CASTELYS	1
8 var.	89 occ.

Hw 100 casten
CASTEDEN	3
CASTEDON	1
CASTEN	47
CASTEÞ	1
CASTID	2
CASTIDE	11
CASTIDEN	12
CASTIDEST	1
CASTIÞ	18
CASTON	9
CASTUD	1
CASTUDE	1
CASTUN	7
CASTUÞ	5
14 var.	119 occ.

Hw 101 casting
CASTING	9
CASTYNG	7
CASTYNGE	6
3 var.	22 occ.

Hw 102 cautel
CATELL	2
CATTALL	1
CATTEL	1
CAUTEEL	2
CAUTEL	28
CAUTELLS	1
CAUTELS	23
CAUTIL	2
CAWTEL	4
9 var.	64 occ.

Hw 103 cautelous
CAUTEELUS	1
CAUTELIS	27
CAUTELOUS	2
CAUTELUS	3
CAUTELYS	6
CAWTELIS	2

Hw 104 cavillacioun
CAUELACIONS	1
CAUELLACIONS	2
CAUYLLACIONS	2
CAVELLACIONES	1
CAVYLLACION	1
CAVYLLACIONS	1
6 var.	8 occ.

Hw 105 chaiere
CHAAR	2
CHAIER	18
CHAIERIS	1
CHAIRE	6
CHAYER	4
CHAYERES	1
CHAYERIS	1
CHEYRE	1
8 var.	34 occ.

Hw 106 clamorous
CLAMEROUS	3
CLAMOSE	1
CLAMOUR	3
CLAMOURS	1
CLAMOUSE	1
5 var.	9 occ.

Hw 107 clergie
CLEREGYE	1
CLERGI	38
CLERGIE	167
CLERGY	21
CLERGYE	11
5 var.	238 occ.

Hw 108 cloistre
CLOISTER	5
CLOISTERIS	1
CLOISTRE	7
CLOISTRIS	5
CLOSTER	1
CLOYSTER	8
CLOYSTERIS	2
CLOYSTRE	15
CLOYSTRES	5
CLOYSTRIS	6
CLOYSTRUS	1
11 var.	56 occ.

Hw 109 clout
CLOUT	1
CLOUTE	7
CLOUTIS	2
CLOWTE	1
4 var.	11 occ.

Hw 110 clouten
CLOUTED	7

190

CLOUTEN 3
CLOUTID 4
CLOUTIDE 2
CLOUTUDE 1
CLOWTED 2
CLOWTEDE 1
CLOWTEN 1
CLOWTID 1
CLOWTIDE 1
CLOWTIÞ 1
CLOWTON 1
CLOWTUD 1
CLOWTUDE 1
CLOWTYD 1
16 var. 28 occ.

Hw 111 clouting
CLOUTING 2
CLOUTINGE 2
CLOUTYNG 1
CLOUTYNGE 2
CLOWTYNG 4
5 var. 11 occ.

Hw 112 colour
COLOR 6
COLORES 1
COLOUR 140
COLOURE 42
COLOURES 3
COLOURIS 1
COLOURS 6
COLOURYS 1
COLOWR 4
COLOWRE 1
COLOWRES 1
11 var. 206 occ.

Hw 113 colouren
COLOURED 2
COLOURID 7
COLOWREDE 1
COLOUREN 16
4 var. 26 occ.

Hw 114 colouring
COLOURYNGE 2
1 var. 2 occ.

Hw 115 communion
0 var. 0 occ.

Hw 116 confessioun
CONFESCIOUN 2
CONFESSION 48
CONFESSIONE 3
CONFESSIONES 3
CONFESSIONS 6
CONFESSIONYS 1
CONFESSIOUN 52
CONFESSIOUNE 1
CONFESSIOUNS 3
CONFESSON 4

10 var. 123 occ.

Hw 117 constitucioun
CONSTITUCION 6
1 var. 6 occ.

Hw 118 contemplacioun
CONTEMPLACION 2
1 var. 2 occ.

Hw 119 contemplatif
CONTEMPLATIF 11
CONTEMPLATIFIS 1
2 var. 12 occ.

Hw 120 conventicle
CONVENTICLIS 3
CONVENTYCLES 1
2 var. 4 occ.

Hw 123 Cristes
CHRISTES 1
CRISTES 67
CRISTIS 1793
CRISTUS 485
CRISTYS 19
5 var. 2363 occ.

Hw 122 crois
CROIS 4
CROOS 8
CROS 145
CROSE 4
CROSS 2
CROSSE 42
CROSSIS 1
CROSUS 1
CROYS 3
9 var. 210 occ.

Hw 123 cronicle
CRONECLE 1
CRONICLE 2
CRONICLES 5
CRONICLIS 6
CRONYCLE 3
CRONYCLES 1
CRONYCLIS 16
CRONYCLYS 1
CRONYKLIS 1
9 var. 36 occ.

Hw 124 cronicling
0 var. 0 occ,

Hw 125 crou
CROWE 8
1 var. 8 occ.

Hw 126 crouen
CROWITH 2
1 var. 2 occ.

191

Hw 127 crucifien
CRUCIFI3E   1
CRUCIFIE   1
CRUCIFIED   18
CRUCIFIEDEN   2
CRUCIFIEN   1
CRUCIFIERIS   2
CRUCIFIETH   1
CRUCIFIID   1
CRUCIFIXED   1
9 var.   28 occ.

Hw 128 crucifix
CRUCIFIX   4
CRUCIFIXE   4
2 var.   8 occ.

D
Hw 129 dai-þeues
DAI- THEEF   1
DAI-ÞEEF   1
DAI- ÞEUES   2
DAI- ÞEVES   1
DAY- ÞEYES   1
5 var.   6 occ.

Hw 130 dailen
DALYE   1
1 var.   1 occ.

Hw 131 daliaunce
DALIAUNSE   1
DALIANCE   1
DALIAUNCE   7
DALLIAUNCE   2
DALYAUNCE   1
5 var.   12 occ.

Hw 132 daliinge

0 var.   0 occ.

Hw 133 dame
DAME   3
DAMME   1
2 var.   4 occ.

Hw 134 damisele
DAMISSELLE   1
DAMOSELES   1
DAMYSEL   1
DAMYSELIS   2
DAMYSELLIS   1
DAMYSELYS   2
6 var.   8 occ.

Hw 135 daunce
DAUNCE   2
1 var.   2 occ.

Hw 136 dauncen
DAUNSEN   1
DAUNSID   1

2 var.   2 occ.

Hw 137 dauncing
DAUNSING   1
DAUNSYNG   2
DAUNSYNGE   7
3 var.   10 occ.

Hw 138 decre
DECRE   43
DECREE   2
DECREES   51
DECREEZ   4
DECREEZE   1
DECREIS   12
DECRES   5
DECRESE   1
DECREZ   1
9 var.   120 occ.

Hw 139 decretal
DECRET   1
DECRETAL   8
DECRETALE   2
DECRETALES   1
DECRETALEZ   1
DECRETALIS   8
DECRETALLES   1
DECRETALLIS   3
DECRETALLYS   1
DECRETALS   10
10 var.   36 occ.

Hw 140 degre
DEGR   2
DEGRE   90
DEGREE   34
DEGREES   34
DEGREIS   5
DEGRES   7
6 var.   172 occ.

Hw 141 deintevous
DENTEUOUS   1
1 var.   1 occ.

Hw 142 deintevousliche
DEYNTEUOUSLY   1
DEYUTOUSLY   1
2 var.   2 occ.

Hw 143 delectable
DELICATABLE   1
1 var.   1 occ.

Hw 144 delectacioun
DELECTACION   1
DELECTACIONS   1
DELECTACIOUN   2
3 var.   4 occ.

Hw 145 delicat
DELICAT   9

192

DELICATE	2
2 var.	11 occ.

Hw 146 delicatli
DECLIATELY	1
DELICATLI	1
DELICATLY	4
3 var.	6 occ.

Hw 147 delicious
DELICES	4
DELICIOUS	4
DELICIS	2
DELICYS	1
DILICIOUS	1
5 var.	12 occ.

Hw 148 deliciousli
DELICIOUSLICHE	1
1 var.	1 occ.

Hw 149 demen
DEEME	12
DEEMED	1
DEEMEN	3
DEEMYD	2
DEEMYDE	2
DEMD	1
DEME	114
DEMED	22
DEMEDE	5
DEMEDEN	4
DEMEN	50
DEMES	1
DEMEST	2
DEMEÞ	19
DEMID	6
DEMIN	1
DEMIST	2
DEMIÞ	9
DEMON	2
DEMUN	1
DEMYD	7
DEMYDE	1
DEMYEN	2
DEMYST	1
24 var.	270 occ.

Hw 150 deming
DEEMYNGE	4
DEMING	4
DEMYNG	9
DEMYNGE	12
4 var.	29 occ.

Hw 151 desir
DESIER	4
DESIIR	1
DESIJR	1
DESIR	31
DESIRE	85
DESIRES	9
DESIREZ	1

DESIRIS	26
DESYR	18
DESYRE	25
DESYRES	4
DESYRIS	3
DISYRE	1
13 var.	209 occ.

Hw 152 desiren
DESIRED	4
DESIREDE	3
DESIREDEN	4
DESIREN	22
DESIREST	2
DESIREÞ	22
DESIRID	12
DESIRIDE	2
DESIRIDEN	1
DESIRIÞ	16
DESIRUÞ	2
DESYRED	2
DESYREDEN	1
DESYREN	6
DESYREÞ	2
DESYRIDE	1
DESYRON	2
DESYRUD	1
DISIREN	2
19 var.	107 occ.

Hw 153 desiringe
DESIRING	1
DESIRINGE	2
DESIRYNG	3
DESIRYNGE	7
DESYRYNG	2
DESYRYNGE	1
6 var.	16 occ.

Hw 154 determinacioun
DETERMINACION	2
DETERMINACIONS	1
DETERMYNACION	2
DETERMYNACIONS	1
DETERMYNACIOUN	7
5 var.	13 occ.

Hw 155 determinen
DETERMEN	1
DETERMENE	5
DETERMENED	8
DETERMENEÞ	5
DETERMENYD	8
DETERMINE	1
DETERMINED	1
DETERMYNE	2
DETERMYNED	5
DETERMYNEDE	3
DETERMYNEÞ	2
DETERMYNETH	2
DETERMYNID	1
DETERMYNITH	1
14 var.	45 occ.

Hw 156 determininge
DETERMENYNG   1
DETERMINING   1
DETERMYNYNG   1
3 var.   3 occ.

Hw 157 dime
DYME   2
DYMES   105
DYMIS   3
DYMUS   1
DYMYNG   1
DYMYS   1
6 var.   113 occ.

Hw 158 discolis
DISCOLIS   1
1 var.   2 occ.

Hw 159 doctour
DOCTOR   18
DOCTORE   2
DOCTORIS   8
DOCTORS   34
DOCTOUR   50
DOCTOURE   11
DOCTOURES   19
DOCTOURIS   74
DOCTOURRIS   1
DOCTOURUS   55
DOCTOURUS   2
DOCTUR   4
DOCTURIS   3
DOCTURRS   1
14 var.   282 occ.

Hw 160 dogge
DOG   1
DOGGE   13
DOGGIS   13
3 var.   27 occ.

Hw 161 dragoun
DRAGON   1
DRAGONNESSE   1
DRAGOUN   4
DRAGOUNS   3
DRAGOWNES   1
DRAGUN   1
6 var.   11 occ.

Hw 162 drem
DREEM   3
DREEMES   1
DREM   3
DREME   8
DREMES   16
DREMIS   6
DERMYS   7
7 var.   44 occ.

Hw 163 dremen

DREMED   4
DREMEDE   2
DREMEDEN   1
DREMEN   4
DREMEÞ   1
DREMON   2
DREMYDE   1
DREMYDEN   1
8 var.   16 occ.

Hw 164 dremer
DREMER   1
DREMERIS   1
DREMERS   1
DREMERUS   1
DREMRIDARS   1
5 var.   5 occ.

Hw 165 dreming
DREMYNG   5
1 var.   5 occ.

Hw 166 dulia
DULIA   3
1 var.   3 occ.

E
Hw 167 endouen
ENDEWE   0
ENDEWID   0
ENDEWIDEN   0
ENDOW   0
ENDOWE   2
ENDOWID   18
ENDUWID   1
ENDWID   0
8 var.   21 occ.

Hw 168 endouing
ENDEWING   0
ENDEWYNG   0
ENDOWING   3
ENDOWYNG   1
ENDOWYNGE   5
5 var.   9 occ.

Hw 169 Engelond
ENGELOND   12
ENGLAND   5
ENGLOND   46
ENGLONDE   4
ENGLONG   1
INGELONG   6
INGLOND   1
YNGELAND   2
YNGELOND   6
YNGELONDE   11
YNGLAND   2
YNGLOND   8
YNGLONDE   3
13 var.   107 occ.

Hw 170 English

194

ENGELISCH	1
ENGLI3SCH	7
ENGLI3SCHE	1
ENGLICE	1
ENGLICHE	15
ENGLIHS	1
ENGLISCE	1
ENGLISCH	19
ENGLISCHE	23
ENGLISH	50
ENGLISHE	4
ENGLISSHE	2
ENGLYSCH	2
ENGLYSHE	5
ENGLYSS	1
ENGLYSSCHE	5
17 var.	138 occ.

Hw 171   English-man
ENGLI3SCHMEN	2
ENGLISCHEMEN	1
ENGLISHEMEN	2
ENGLYSCHMAN	1
4 var.	6 occ.

Hw 172   Englishen
ENGLISCHID	2
ENDLISHEN	1
ENDLISSHID	2
3 var.	5 occ.

Hw 173   estat
ASTAAT	29
ASTAATIS	2
ASTAT	5
ASTATE	14
ASTATES	1
ASTATIS	14
ESTAT	2
ESTATES	2
STAAT	288
STATE	196
10 var.	553 occ.

Hw 174   Eukarist
EUKARISTA	1
EUKARISTIA	2
EUKARISTIE	5
3 var.	8 occ.

F
Hw 175   fable
FABELES	2
FABELLIS	1
FABLE	5
FABLEN	3
FABLES	11
FABLIS	64
FABLUS	2
FABLYS	1
8 var.	89 occ.

Hw 176   faculte

FACULTE	1
FACULTEES	1
FACULTES	1
3 var.	3 occ.

Hw 177   fagen
FAGED	1
FAGEN	2
FAGIST	1
FAGON	1
PHAGHEN	1
5 var.	6 occ.

Hw 178   faging
FAGYNG	4
FAGYNGE	2
FAGYNGIS	1
3 var.	7 occ.

Hw 179   fals
FAL	20
FALCE	21
FALS	602
FALSE	718
FALSEE	1
FALSHE	1
6 var.	1363 occ.

Hw 180   falsli
FALSELI	16
FALSELY	66
FALSELYCHE	1
FALSELYE	1
FALSLI	39
FALSLICHE	4
FALSLY	116
FALSLYCHE	2
8 var.	245 occ.

Hw 181   famulorum
FAMULORUM	3
FAMULORUMA	1
2 var.	4 occ.

Hw 182   fantasie
FANTASIES	6
FANTASYE	3
FANTASYES	2
3 var.	11 occ.

Hw 183   fantom
FANTOM	2
FANTUMS	1
FANTYM	1
3 var.	4 occ.

Hw 184   fautour
FAUTORIS	1
FAUTOURIS	11
FAUTOURS	17
FAWTOURS	1
FAYTOUR	3
FAYTOURS	13

6 var.   46 occ.

Hw 185 feinen

FAYNED	4
FEINED	1
FEINID	1
FEYN	4
FEYND	1
FEYNE	43
FEYNED	247
FEYNEDE	36
FEYNEDEN	3
FEYNEDON	2
FEYNEN	113
FEYNES	3
FEYNEST	1
FEYNET	1
FEYNEÞ	35
FEYNID	25
FEYNITH	2
FEYNODE	1
FEYNON	27
FEYNOT	1
FEYNT	2
FEYNTE	1
FEYNUD	4
FEYNUN	2
FEYNYD	13

25 var.   576 occ.

Hw 186 feiner

FEYNAR	2
FEYNARS	1
FEYNER	2
FEYNERS	2

4 var.   7 occ.

Hw 187 feining

FAINYNG	1
FEYNING	3
FEYNYNG	33
FEYNYNGE	13
FEYNYNGIS	2
FEYNYNGUS	5

6 var.   57 occ.

Hw 188 fend

FEEN	3
FEEND	427
FEENDE	8
FEENDES	3
FEENDIS	125
FEENDUS	38
FEENDYS	27
FEND	512
FENDE	212
FENDES	54
FENDIS	316
FENDUS	14
FENDYS	9

13 var.   1748 occ.

Hw 189 figuratif

Hw 189 (cont.)

FIGURATIF	6
FIGURATIJF	5

2 var.   11 occ.

Hw 190 figure[1]

FIGER	2
FIGERID	3
FIGERIS	7
FIGUR	5
FIGURE	121
FIGURED	14
FIGUREDE	17
FIGUREN	11
FIGURES	5
FIGURID	25
FIGURIDE	15
FIGURIS	16
FIGURITH	3
FIGURUS	1
FYGURE	13
FYGURED	2
FYGURES	3
FYGURID	4
FYGURIS	1
IFYGURED	1
YFYGURED	1

21 var.   271 occ.

Hw 191 finding

FYNDING	9
FYNDINGIS	5
FYNDYNG	7
FYNDYNGE	8
FYNDYNGES	2
FYNDYNGIS	3
FYNDYNGUS	1
FYNDYNGYS	1

8 var.   36 occ.

Hw 192 Fitzralph, Richard

ARDMACAN	1
ARDMAKAN	3
ARMACAN	1
ARMACHANUS	1
ARMAW3	1
ARMAWH	1
ARMAWHE	1
ARMENIES	1
ARMENORUM	1

9 var.   11 occ.

Hw 193 flateren

FLATER	3
FLATERE	3
FLATEREN	4
FLATERID	1
FLATERYN	1
FLATRE	1
FLATREN	2

7 var.   15 occ.

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[1] As in the Select Concordance, noun and verb forms are combined.

Hw 194   flaterer
FLATERARS	1
FLATERER	1
FLATERERE	2
FLATERERIS	1
FLATERERS	1
FLATIRARS	1

6 var.   7 occ.

Hw 195   flatering
FFLATERYNG	1
FLATERING	8
FLATERINGE	6
FLATERINGES	1
FLATERINGS	1
FLATERYNG	14
FLATERYNGE	19
FLATERYNGES	1
FLATERYNGIS	1
FLATERYNGS	1
FLATIRYNG	1
FLATIRYNGE	1
FLATRING	1
FLATRINGE	2
FLATRINGIS	1
FLATRYNG	3
FLATTERYNGE	1

17 var.   63 occ.

Hw 196   flock
FLOC	41
FLOCK	2
FLOCKE	5
FLOCKES	2
FLOCKIS	5
FLOKUS	1
FLOCKYS	1
FLOK	25
FLOKIS	1
FLOKKE	2
FLOOK	1
FLOOKE	1

12 var.   87 occ.

Hw 197   fol
FOLE	32
FOLES	12
FOLI	19
FOLIS	45
FOLYS	1
FOOL	80
FOOLE	25
FOOLES	9
FOOLIS	181
FOOLUS	21

10 var.   425 occ.

Hw 198   foltish
FOLTHIS	1
FOLTISCHE	2

2 var.   3 occ.

Hw 199   fonned
FONDE	8
FONNED	19
FONNEDE	3
FONNID	2
FONNYD	18
FONNYDE	1
FONNYSCHE	1
FOOND	10

9 var.   64 occ.

Hw 200   fox
FOX	6
FOXES	10
FOXIS	10

3 var.   26 occ.

Hw 201   fraternite
FRATERNITE	12
FRATERNYTE	17
FRATERNYTES	1

3 var.   30 occ.

Hw 202   Fraunce
FRANCE	1
FRAUNCE	15
FRAUNCEIS	11
FRAUNCES	3
FRAUNCEYS	5
FRAUNSE	2

6 var.   37 occ.

Hw 203   fredom
FREDAM	22
FREDAME	2
FREDOM	121
FREDOME	23
FREDOMES	1
FREDOMS	1
FREDOOM	1
FREDUM	1
FREEDAM	6
FREEDOM	4

10 var.   182 occ.

Hw 204   frere
FFRERES	2
FFRERIS	4
FREERE	1
FREERIS	1
FREERS	1
FREERUS	2
FREERYS	2
FRER	4
FRERE	165
FRERERS	1
FRERES	226
FRERIS	758
FRERS	1
FRERUS	50
FRERYS	20

15 var.   1241 occ.

G

GAB	1
GABB	1
GABBE	17
GABBED	1
GABBEN	13
GABBIDE	1
GABBIDEN	1
GABBON	4
GABBUST	1
GABBYDE	1

10 var.   41 occ.

Hw 206   gabbinge

GABBING	4
GABBINGIS	5
GABBYNG	19
GABBYNGE	3
GABBYNGIS	13
GABBYNGUS	4

6 var.   48 occ.

Hw 207   glosatour

GLOSARS	1
GLOSERIS	3
GLOSATOURES	1
GLOSATOURIS	1
GLOSATOWRES	1
GLOSOURS	1

7 var.   9 occ.

Hw 208   glose

GLOOS	18
GLOS	11
GLOSE	72
GLOSED	1

4 var.   102 occ.

Hw 209   glosen

GLOSEN	15
GLOSES	5
GLOSID	4
GLOSIS	12
GLOSON	4
GLOSUN	1
GLOSUS	1

7 var.   42 occ.

Hw 210   glosinge

GLOSYNG	1
GLOSYNGE	5

2 var.   6 occ.

Hw 211   Gomorrha

GOMO	14
GOMORRE	2

2 var.   16 occ.

Hw 212   ground

GRONDED	3
GROUND	139
GROUNDE	154
GROUNDES	4
GROUNDIS	7
GROWND	54
GROWNDE	15
GROWNDUS	1

8 var.   377 occ.

Hw 213   grounden

GROUNDED	18
GROUNDEDE	2
GROUNDEM	1
GROUNDEN	13
GROUNDID	163
GROUNDIDE	4
GROUNDIDEN	1
GROUNDIST	3
GROUNDUD	4
GROUNDUT	2
GROUNDYD	3
GROUNDYN	1
GROWNDED	7
GROWNDEDE	1
GROWNDEN	5
GROWNDET	3
GROWNDETH	1
GROWNDID	6
GROWNDIDE	3
GROWNDON	7
GROWNDUD	10
GROWNDUDE	7
GROWNDUT	4
GROWNDUÞ	3
GROWNDYD	2
GROWNDYT	3
GROWON	3
GROWYDE	5

28 var.   285 occ.

Hw 214   groundinge

GROUNDING	4
GROUNDINGE	2
GROUNDYNG	3
GROUNDYNGE	8
GROWNDYNG	5

5 var.   22 occ.

Hw 215   groundli

GROUNDLI	6

1 var.   6 occ.

Hw 216   grucchen

GRUCCHE	34
GRUCCHED	2
GRUCCHEDEN	2
GRUCCHEDON	3
GRUCCHEN	23
GRUCCHES	1
GRUCCHEST	1
GRUCCHIDE	5
GRUCCHIDEN	4
GRUCCHIS	1
GRUCCHIST	2
GRUCCHIÞ	12

GRUCHCHE	4
GRUCHCHEDON	1
GRUCHCHEN	4
GRUCHE	3
16 var.	102 occ.

Hw 217 grucchere
GRUCCHERIS	2
1 var.	2 occ.

Hw 218 grucchinge
GRUCCHING	11
GRUCCHINGE	1
GRUCCHINGIS	1
GRUCCHYNG	14
GRUCCHYNGE	18
5 var.	45 occ.

H
Hw 219 habit
ABIT	3
ABITE	44
ABITIS	13
ABYTE	2
ABYTIS	2
HABIT	8
HABITE	35
HABITES	5
HABITIS	24
HABYT	1
HABYTE	2
HABYTES	2
HABYTIS	1
14 var.	142 occ.

Hw 220 hauk
HAUKIS	5
HAWKYS	1
2 var.	6 occ.

Hw 221 haukere
HAUKERE	1
1 var.	1 occ.

Hw 222 hauking
HAUKYNGE	4
HAWKYNG	1
2 var.	5 occ.

Hw 223 heresie
HERESYES	21
HERYSE	1
2 var.	22 occ.

Hw 224 heretike
HERETEKIS	1
HERETICOUS	1
HERETICUS	1
HERETIK	44
HERETIKE	14
HERETIKES	46
HERETIKIS	192
HERETIKKES	1
HERETIKS	6

HERETIKYS	4
HERETIKZ	1
HERETYK	1
HERETYKE	10
HERETYKES	24
HERETYKIS	4
HERETYKS	1
HERETYKUS	8
HERETYKYS	3
HERITIKES	5
HERITIKIS	4
HERITYKE	2
21 var.	373 occ.

Hw 225 hermofrodite
0 var.	0 occ.

Hw 226 Hobbe
HOBBE	1
1 var.	1 occ.

Hw 227 homli
HOMELI	5
HOMELY	23
HOMLI	3
HOMLICH	1
HOMLY	12
HOMLYCHE	1
HOOMLY	5
7 var.	50 occ.

Hw 228 homlinesse
HOMLYNESSE	2
1 var.	2 occ.

I
Hw 229 idiote
IDIOT	2
IDIOTIS	8
2 var.	10 occ.

Hw 230 idolatre
ADOLYTERS	1
IDOLATRE	6
IDOLATRERS	5
3 var.	12 occ.

Hw 231 idolatrie
IDOLATRI	2
IDOLATRIE	54
2 var.	56 occ.

Hw 232 idole
IDOL	17
IDOLIS	21
IDOLS	18
3 var.	56 occ.

Hw 233 ignoraunce
IGNORAUNCE	32
1 var.	32 occ.

Hw 234 ignoraunt

0 var.   0 occ.

Hw 235 image
IMAGE   5
I var.   5 occ.

Hw 236 indulgence
INDULGENCE	7
INDULGENCES	6
INDULGENCIS	47
INDULGENCS	2
INDULGENES	1
INDULGENS	8
INDULGENSE	3
INDULGENSES	3
INDULGENSIS	12
INDULGENSUS	1

10 var.   90 occ.

Hw 237 ipocrisie
HYPOCRICE	1
HYPOCRISY	2
IPOCRISIE	37
IPOCRISYE	3
IPOCRYSIE	1
YPOCRICIE	4
YPOCRICYE	1
YPOCRISIE	274

8 var.   323 occ.

Hw 238 ipocrite
HYPOCRITES	2
HYPOCRYTES	1
IPOCRITE	25
IPOCRITES	2
IPOCRITIS	41
IPOCRITUS	1
IPOCRYTIS	1
YPOCRIT	4
YPOCRITE	40
YPOCRITES	48
YPOCRITIS	246

11 var.   411 occ.

J
Hw 239 janglen
IANGELYN	1
IANGLEN	2
JANGLETH	1

3 var.   4 occ.

Hw 240 janglere
IANGLERIS   1
1 var.   1 occ.

Hw 241 jangling
JANGELINGIS	1
IANGING	1
IANGLING	2

3 var.   4 occ.

Hw 242 jape
IAPES   8

IAPIS	24
JAPE	1
JAPES	4
JAPIS	3

5 var.   40 occ.

Hw 243 japen
IAPEN	3
IAPID	1
JAPEN	1
JAPID	1

4 var.   6 occ.

Hw 244 japer
JAPER	1
JAPERERS	0
JAPERES	1
JAPERIS	1
JAPERS	2

5 var.   5 occ.

Hw 245 japinge
IAPYNG	1
IAPYNGE	3
JAPYNG	2
JAPYNGE	2

4 var.   8 occ.

L
Hw 246 lai
LAY   25
1 var.   25 occ.

Hw 247 lai-man
LAYMEN   3
1 var.   3 occ.

Hw 248 latria
LATRIA   5
1 var.   5 occ.

Hw 249 laue
LAW	211
LAWE	4170
LAWES	170
LAWIS	302

4 var.   4853 occ.

Hw 250 lerede
LERE	9
LERED	3
LERID	8
LERIDE	1
LERUD	1
LERUDE	2

6 var.   24 occ.
[Laurie lere an adj?]
Hw 251 lesinge
LEESING	3
LEESYNG	12
LEESYNGE	7
LEESYNGES	5
LESING	38

LESINGE 13
LESINGES 1
LESINGIS 14
LESINGS 10
LESSINGE 2
LESSINGIS 10
LESSYNGES 1
LESSYNGIS 11
LESYNG 69
LESYNGE 37
LESYNGES 25
LESYNGIS 141
LESYNGS 1
LESYNGUS 23
19 var. 423 occ.

LETERE 1
LETTER 39
LETTERE 17
LETTERES 4
LETTERIS 20
LETTERS 5
LETTIR 6
LETTRE 106
LETTRES 26
LETTRIS 97
LETTRURE 4
LETTRUS 2
LETTURER 1
LETTYR 1
14 var. 327 occ.

LETTRED 1
LETTRID 6
2 var. 7 occ.

LEWEDESTE 1
LEWIDERST 1
LEWIDERSTE 1
LEWIDESTE 2
4 var. 5 occ.

LEEWID 5
LEUDE 2
LEWD 9
LEWDE 49
LEWED 20
LEWEDE 8
LEWID 108
LEWIDE 8
LEWYDE 6
9 var. 215 occ.

LEWDNES 1
LEWIDNES 1
LEWIDNESSE 2
3 var. 4 occ.

LIBRARIES 2
LIBRARY 1
2 var. 3 occ.

LICENCE 20
1 var. 20 occ.

LITERAL 28
LITTERAL 3
2 var. 31 occ.

LOLLARD 1
LOLLARDIS 4
LOLLERS 8
3 var. 13 occ.

LORCHIP 1
LORDCHIP 43
LORDCHIPE 4
LORDCHIPIS 8
LORDCHIPUS 1
LORDCHYPE 2
LORDECHIPIS 1
LORDESCHEP 5
LORDESCHEPE 7
LORDESCHEPES 1
LORDESCHIP 54
LORDESCHIPE 9
LORDESCHIPIS 21
LORDESCHIPPIS 3
LORDESCHIPS 3
LORDISCHIP 10
LORDISCHIPE 34
LORDISCHIPES 3
LORDISCHIPIS 57
LORDSCHEP 3
LORDSCHEPPES 2
LORDSCHIP 104
LORDSCHIPE 111
LORDSCHIPEN 2
LORDSCHIPES 6
LORDSCHIPIS 18
LORDSCHIPP 2
LORDSCHIPPEN 1
LORDSCHIPPES 2
LORDSCHIPPS 2
LORDSCHIPS 2
LORDSCHIPUS 3
LORDSCHYPE 2
LORDSHEP 1
LORDSHIP 173
LORDSHIPE 11
LORDSHIPES 3
LORDSHIPIS 12
LORDSHIPPE 4
LORDSHIPPES 5
LORDSHIPS 2
LORDSHYPPE 1

LORDYSCHYPE 1
LORSCHIP 1
LORSCHIPES 1
LORSCHIPIS 1
46 var. 743 occ.

M
Hw 262 maister
MAISTER 74
MAISTERE 1
MAISTERIS 2
MAISTERS 9
MAISTIR 98
MAISTIRE 1
MAISTRE 6
MAISTRES 4
MAISTRI 4
MAISTRIS 51
MAISTRY 5
MAISTUR 5
MAISTYR 1
MASTERS 3
MASTRY 1
MAYSTER 62
MAYSTIR 44
MAYSTRES 4
MAYSTRIS 16
MAYSTUR 21
20 var. 412 occ.

Hw 263 man-quellere
MANQUELLARS 1
MANQUELLER 1
MANQUELLERE 6
MANQUELLERIS 16
MANQUELLERS 2
MANQWELLERS 1
MONQUELLERES 1
MONQUELLERS 3
8 var. 31 occ.

Hw 264 man-quellinge
MANQUELLING 1
MANQUELLYNG 3
2 var. 4 occ.

Hw 265 man-slaughter
MANSLAU3TER 3
MANSLAU3TIR 5
MANSLAWT 1
MANSLAWTRE 1
4 var. 10 occ.

Hw 266 man-sleere
MANSLEAR 4
MANSLEARS 2
MANSLEER 7
MANSLEERE 4
MANSLEERES 1
MANSLEERIS 7
MANSLEERS 5
MANSLEERUS 2
MANSLERIS 1

MENSLEERYS 2
10 var. 35 occ.

Hw 267 man-sleinge
MANSLEING 2
MANSLEYNG 9
MANSLEYNGE 3
MANSLEYNGIS 1
4 var. 15 occ.

Hw 268 manhede
MANHED 94
MANHEDE 106
MANHEED 33
MANHEEDE 15
MANHOD 6
MANHODE 12
6 var. 266 occ.

Hw 269 maumet
MAUMETIS 6
MAUMMETIS 1
MAWMENTIS 2
MAWMET 2
MAWMETE 3
MAWMETIS 7
MAWMETTES 2
MAWMETUS 1
8 var. 24 occ.

Hw 270 maumetrie
MAUMETREE
MAUMETRIE 12
MAUMETRYE 6
MAWMETRIE 10
MAWMETRY 2
5 var. 31 occ.

Hw 271 mendicaunt
MENDICAUNTIS 1
MENDINAUNTIS 1
MENDYCAUNTIS 1
MENDYNAUNTIS 8
4 var. 11 occ.

Hw 272 moldwarpis
MOLDEWARP 1
MOLDEWERPIS 2
MOLDWARPIS 3
MOLDWERPIS 1
MOLDYWARPIS 2
MOLDYWERPIS 1
MOLDYWERPUS 1
7 var. 11 occ.

Hw 273 monk
MONK 23
MONKE 23
MONKES 24
MONKEZ 2
MONKIS 33
MONKS 1
MONKUS 1

MONKYS 8
MOUNKES 2
MOUNKIS 25
10 var. 142 occ.

N
Hw 274 nedder
ADDIR 5
ADDRE 5
ADDRES 5
ADDRIS 10
ADDYR 2
EDDRE 1
EDDRIS 4
7 var. 32 occ.

Hw 275 neue
NEW 156
NEWE 984
2 var. 1140 occ.

P
Hw 276 palfrei
PALFRAI 1
PALFRAY 1
PALFREIS 1
PALFREYES 1
4 var. 4 occ.

Hw 277 parable
PARABLE 75
PARABLES 4
PARABLIS 16
PARABLUS 4
PARABLYS 1
5 var. 100 occ.

Hw 278 peinten
I-PAYNTED 1
PAINT 1
PAINTID 2
PAYNTED 2
PAYNTEN 1
PAYNTID 2
PAYNTIS 1
PAYNTUD 1
PEYNED 8
PEYNTE 5
PEYNTED 8
PEYNTEN 4
PEYNTID 34
13 var. 70 occ.

Hw 279 peintinge
PAYNTING 1
PAYNTYNGE 4
PAYNTYNGUS 1
PEINYNGE 1
PEYNTYNG 3
PEYNTING 2
PEYNTYNGE 6
PEYNTYNGIS 3
PEYNTYNGUS 1

PEYNTYNGZ 1
10 var. 23 occ.

Hw 280 peintorie
PEYNTORIE 1
PEYNTORYE 1
2 var. 2 occ.

Hw 281 peintour
PAYNTOURIS 1
PEINTURE 2
PEYNTOUR 1
PEYNTOURS 6
PEYNTURE 1
5 var. 11 occ.

Hw 282 penaunce
PENANCE 36
PENAUCE 1
PENAUNCE 280
PENAUNSE 0
4 var. 317 occ.

Hw 283 Peraldus, William
PARISIENCE 6
PARISIENS 2
PARISIENSE 1
PARISIENSIS 9
PARISIEUS 1
PARSIENS 1
6 var. 20 occ.

Hw 284 Pharise
FARISEE 1
FARISEES 12
FARISEIS 3
PHARAOUSE 1
PHARESEES 4
PHARESES 2
PHARESEZ 1
PHARESIES 5
PHAREZES 1
PHARISE 4
PHARISEE 18
PHARISEES 240
PHARISEEZ 2
PHARISEIIS 1
PHARISEIS 30
PHARISES 13
PHARISEUS 6
PHARISEY 1
PHARYSEES 3
PHARYSEIS 1
PHARYSEUS 1
PHARYSEYS 1
22 var. 351 occ.

Hw 285 picture
0 var. 0 occ.

Hw 286 pilgrim
PILGREME 2
PILGREMES 2

203

PILQREMEZ	1		Hw 292 povre	
PILGRIM	0		POOR	1
PILGRIME	4		POORE	62
PILGRIMES	18		PORE	1314
PILGRIMIS	1		PORER	2
PILGRYM	5		PORERSTE	0
PILGRYME	2		POREST	3
PILGRYMES	9		PORESTE	0
PILGRYMS	4		POUER	22
PYLGRIMES	4		POUR	5
PILGRYMYS	1		POURE	2
PYLGRYM	1		POVERE	3

14 var.   54 occ.   11 var.   1414 occ.

Hw 287 pilgrimage

PILCRIMAGE	1
PILGREMAGE	14
PILGRIMAGE	61
PILGRIMAGES	1
PILGRIMAGIS	8
PILGRINAGE	3
PILGRYMAGE	12
PILGRYMAGIS	5
PILGRYNAGE	1
PYLGREMAGE	1
PYLGRINAGE	4
PYLGRYNAGE	6
PYLGRYMAGIS	0

13 var.   117 occ.

Hw 293 povreli

PORELI	5
PORELY	4
PORLY	1

3 var.   10 occ.

Hw 294 prechen

PRECH	10
PRECHE	477
PRECHED	18
PRECHEDE	12
PRECHEDEN	11
PRECHEDIST	3
PRECHEDON	1
PRECHEN	114
PRECHETH	3
PRECHID	67
PRECHIDE	28
PRECHIDEN	7
PRECHIN	3
PRECHIST	2
PRECHITH	3
PRECHON	6
PRECHUD	1
PRECHUN	2
PRECHUÞ	2
PRECHYN	4
PREECHE	2
VPRECHED	2

22 var.   776 occ.

Hw 288 plough

PLOU3	5
PLOUH	5
PLOW	7
PLOW3	2
PLOWE	2

5 var.   21 occ.

Hw 289 plough-man

PLOU3MAN	1
PLOU3MEN	1
PLOUGHMAN	1
PLOUHMAN	1
PLOWEMEN	1
PLOWMAN	8
PLOWMANS	1
PLOWMEN	1

8 var.   15 occ.

Hw 295 prechinge

PRECHING	132
PRECHINGE	65
PRECHYNGE	1
PRECHYANGE	1
PRECHYNG	117
PRECHYNGE	156
PRECHYNGES	1
PRECHYNGIS	1
PRECHYNGUS	1

9 var.   475 occ.

Hw 290 possessiouner

POSESSIONERS	1
POSSESIOUN	1
POSSESSIONE	1
POSSESSIOUNS	1

4 var.   4 occ.

Hw 296 prechour

PRECHEOUR	2
PRECHER	1
PRECHERERS	1
PRECHERS	1
PRECHOR	2

Hw 291 poverte

POUERT	191
POUERTE	79
POVERT	56
POVERTE	3

4 var.   329 occ.

PRECHORIS	2
PRECHOUR	31
PRECHOURE	19
PRECHOURES	26
PRECHOURIS	35
PRECHOURS	66
PRECHOURUS	2
PRECHOWRES	7
PRECHOWRUS	5
14 var.	200 occ.

Hw 297 prelate
PREELATUS	1
PRELAAT	1
PRELAT	119
PRELAT3	1
PRELATE	39
PRELATES	33
PRELATEZ	2
PRELATIES	1
PRELATIS	753
PRELATS	21
PRELATTIS	3
PRELATUS	30
PRELATYS	12
13 var.	1016 occ.

Hw 298 prest
PREEST	130
PREESTES	31
PREESTIS	248
PREESTUS	76
PREESTYS	1
PREIST	1
PREISTIS	1
PREST	467
PRESTE	74
PRESTEES	1
PRESTES	175
PRESTEZ	16
PRESTI	1
PRESTIS	1668
PRESTS	10
PRESTUS	45
PRESTYS	27
PRIESTS	2
PRIST	8
PRISTIS	13
20 var.	2995 occ.

Hw 299 private
PRIUAT	27
PRIUATE	6
PRIUATIS	1
PRIUEITE	2
PRIVAT	26
PRIVATE	8
PRYUAT	1
PRYUATE	4
8 var.	75 occ.

Hw 300 prive
PREUEY	1

PREUYE	1
PRIUE	53
PRIUEE	6
PRIUEI	4
PRIUEIE	1
PRIUEY	19
PRIUEYE	1
PRIUI	2
PRIUY	13
PRIVEE	1
PRYUE	32
PRYUEY	3
PRYUYE	2
18 var.	179 occ.

Hw 301 pseudo
PSEUDO	14
PSEUDOES	3
PSEUDOIS	1
3 var.	18 occ.

Hw 302 pseudoclerk
PSEUDOCLERKS	0
PSEUDOCLERKYS	2
2 var.	2 occ.

Hw 303 pseudocrist
PHESEUDO-CHRISTUS	1
PSEUDO-CRISTUS	1
2 var.	2 occ.

Hw 304 pseudofrere
PSEUDOFRERE	2
PSEUDOFRERIS	0
2 var.	2 occ.

Hw 305 pseudoprest
PSEUDOPRISTIS	1
1 var.	1 occ.

Hw 306 pseudoprophete
PSEUDOPROPHETE	1
PSEUDOPROPHETIS	8
PSEUDOPROPHETUS	1
3 var.	10 occ.

R
Hw 307 ravine
RAUEINE	1
RAUEYN	8
RAUEYNE	18
RAVAYN	1
RAVAYNE	3
RAVEYN	12
RAVEYNE	10
RAVINS	1
8 var.	54 occ.

Hw 308 ravinour
RAUENORS	1
RAUEYNORIS	1
RAVENOUR	1
RAVEYNERS	1

RAVINERE 1
RAVINOUR 1
RAVYNOURIS 1
7 var. 7 occ.

Hw 309 ravishen
RAAUYSCHED 1
RAUESCHED 1
RAUESHID 1
RAUEYNEN 1
RAUYSCHE 6
RAUYSCHED 6
RAUYSCHEN 5
RAUYSCHID 3
RAUYSCHIÞ 2
RAUYSCHUD 1
RAUYSSHE 3
RAVISCHEN 1
RAVYCHID 1
RAVYSCHED 1
RAVYSCHID 3
15 var. 36 occ.

Hw 310 ravishinge
RAUISHING 1
RAUYSCHING 3
RAUYSCHYNG 1
RAUYSCHYNGE 3
4 var. 8 occ.

Hw 311 reasonable
RESONABLE 96
REASONABLI 1
RESOUNABLE 4
VNRESONABLE 1
VNRESOUN 1
5 var. 103 occ.

Hw 312 religioun
RELIGION 3
RELIGIOUN 5
2 var. 8 occ.

Hw 313 religious
RELIGIOUS 5
RELIGIOUSE 2
RELYGIOUS 1
3 var. 8 occ.

Hw 314 remembrauncing
0 var. 0 occ.

Hw 315 remembren
REMEMBRE 2
REMEMBREN 1
REMEMBRITH 1
3 var. 4 occ.

Hw 316 rememoratif
0 var. 0 occ.

Hw 317 resoun
REASON 6

REASOUN 1
RESEN 2
RESON 194
RESONE 9
RESONES 13
RESONS 12
RESONYS 7
RESOUN 540
RESOUNE 11
RESOUNS 55
RESOUNYS 1
RESOWN 12
RESOWNES 5
RESOWNYS 33
15 var. 871 occ.

Hw 318 resounen
RESOUNNEÞ 1
1 var. 1 occ.

Hw 319 resouninge
0 var. 0 occ.

Hw 320 reuerse
REUERSE 47
REUERSEN 21
REUERSEÞ 2
REUERSIÞ 22
REVERS 1
REVERSE 17
REVERSEN 13
REVERSIDEN 6
REVERSITH 6
REVERSYN 1
10 var. 131 occ.

S
Hw 321 sacrament
SACRAMENT 384
SACRAMENTES 10
SACRAMENTIS 164
SACRAMENTS 29
SACRAMENTUS 4
SACRAMNENT 1
SACRAMONT 1
SACREMENT 0
7 var. 593 occ.

Hw 322 sacren
SACRE 13
SACRED 40
SACREN 3
SACREÞ 4
SACRID 120
SACRIDE 2
SACRING 5
SACRUD 3
SACRUDE 2
SACRYD 2
SACRYNG 2
11 var. 196 occ.

Hw 323 Saduce

SADUCCES 1
SADUCEIS 10
SADUCES 4
3 var. 15 occ.

Hw 324 satan
SATAN 6
SATANAS 22
SATHAN 8
SATHANA 1
SATHANAS 176
5 var. 213 occ.

Hw 325 scripture
SCRIPTURE 366
SCRIPTURES 13
SCRIPTUREZ 3
SCRIPTURIS 43
SCRIPTURRE 1
5 var. 426 occ.

Hw 326 sermoun
SARMOUN 1
SEREMONYES 2
SERMON 32
SERMONE 27
SERMONES 6
SERMONIBUS 4
SERMONS 4
SERMONUM 3
SERMONYALIS 1
SERMOUN 61
SERMOUNS 11
11 var. 152 occ.

Hw 327 shininge
SHYNYNG 9
SHYNYNGE 2
2 var. 11 occ.

Hw 328 shiningli
SCHYNYGLY 1
SCHYNYNGLY 1
2 var. 2 occ.

Hw 329 significat
SIGNE 42
SIGNES 185
SYGNE 15
SYGNES 29
SYGNIS 2
SYNGNYS 3
6 var. 276 occ.

Hw 330 signifien
SIGNIFI3ED 1
SIGNIFIE 2
SIGNIFIED 5
SIGNIFIEÞ 16
SIGNIFY 1
5 var. 25 occ.

Hw 331 silogisme

0 var. 0 occ.

Hw 332 silogistik
0 var. 0 occ.

Hw 333 similitude
SIMILITUDE 1
SYMILITUDE 3
SIMILITUDES 0
SYMYLITUDE 6
3 var. 10 occ.

Hw 334 simon
SIMON 2
SIMONUNDIS 1
SYMON 25
SYMOND 7
SYMONDUS 1
SYMONDYS 2
SYMOUN 1
7 var. 39 occ.

Hw 335 simoner
SYMONERES 1
SYMONIERIS 2
SYMONIOURS 1
3 var. 4 occ.

Hw 336 simonie
SIMONIE 4
SYMONIE 56
SYMONY 25
SYMONYE 278
SYMONYNE 1
5 var. 364 occ.

Hw 337 simonient
SYMONIENT 12
SYMONIENTIS 10
SYMONYEN 2
SYMONYENS 6
SYMONYES 1
SYMONYAN 2
SYMONYANS 3
SYMONYENT 7
SYMONYENTIS 22
SYMONYENTS 1
10 var. 66 occ.

Hw 338 simple
SIMPLE 31
SYMPLE 146
SYMPLICHE 2
SYMPULE 1
6 var. 182 occ.

Hw 339 simplenesse
SYMPLENES 5
SYMPLENESSE 11
SYMPLINES 1
SYMPLINESSE 2
SYMPULNES 1
5 var. 20 occ.

207

Hw 340   simpli
SIMPLI   5
SIMPLY   1
SYMPLELY   1
SYMPLY   4
4 var.   11 occ.

Hw 341   simulacioun
SYMYLACION   1
1 var.   1 occ.

Hw 342   simulacre
SYMYLACRIS   12
1 var.   12 occ.

Hw 343   sinagoge
SYNAGOGE   40
SYNAGOGIS   16
SYNAGOGUS   3
3 var.   59 occ.

Hw 344   singulere
SYNGULAR   1
SYNGULER   25
SYNGULERE   6
SYNGULERIS   3
4 var.   35 occ.

Hw 345 Sodome
SODOM   33
1 var.   33 occ.

Hw 346 sodomie
SODOMYE   5
1 var.   5 occ.

Hw 347   sodomite
SODOMIT   1
1 var.   1 occ.

Hw 348   St. Amour, William of
0 var.   0 occ.

Hw 349   St. Bridget of Sweden
0 var.   0 occ.

Hw 350   story
0 var.   0 occ.

Hw 351   subget
SUBGET   1
SUBGETT   1
SUBIECIT   1
SUBIECT   4
SUBIECTES   4
SUBIECTIS   4
SUGET   102
SUGETE   1
SUGETIS   109
SUGETT   24
SUGETTE   6
SUGETTIS   12

SUGETYS   1
SUGGETTES   1
SUGGETTIS   2
SUGHET   3
16 var.   276 occ.

Hw 352   substancialite
SUBSTANCE   16
SUBSTAUNCE   3
2 var.   19 occ.

Hw 353 suspect
SUSPECT   43
SUSPECTE   14
2 var.   57 occ.

T
Hw 354   tale
TALE   20
TALES   11
TALIS   23
3 var.   54 occ.

Hw 355   tateren
TATEREN   1
TATERUDE   1
TATRID   1
3 var.   3 occ.

Hw 356   techen
TA3T   2
TA3TE   4
TAGHT   8
TAU3EN   1
TAU3T   226
TAU3TE   205
TAU3TEN   47
TAU3TON   1
TAU3TTE   2
TAU3TTEN   1
TAUGHT   26
TAUGHTEN   3
TAUGT   3
TAUGTEN   1
TAUHT   1
TAUT   5
TAUTE   1
TAUTEN   2
TAUW3T   1
TAW3T   20
TAW3TE   20
TAWT   20
TAWTE   35
YTAU3T   1
24 var.   635 occ.

Hw 357   techere
TECHARS   1
TECHER   3
TECHERE   7
TECHERERIS   1
TECHERES   1
TECHERIS   1

208

TECHERIS 18
TECHERS 13
TECHERUS 4
TECHOWRUS 2
10 var. 51 occ.

Hw 358 techinge
TEACHE 8
TECH 8
TECHE 500
TECHEN 252
TECHENE 1
TECHES 25
TECHEÞ 184
TECHING 82
TECHINGE 64
TECHIS 53
TECHIST 11
TECHIÞ 389
TECHON 14
TECHUS 1
TECHUÞ 25
TECHYN 3
TECHYNG 77
TECHYNGE 212
TECHYNGES 1
TECHYNGUS 1
TECHYTH 1
21 var. 1913 occ.

Hw 359 temporal
TEMPARAL 2
TEMPARALE 2
TEMPERAL 152
TEMPERALE 13
TEMPERALES 2
TEMPERALL 23
TEMPERALLE 2
TEMPERALS 2
TEMPERELE 1
TEMPORAL 101
TEMPORALE 9
TEMPORALL 2
TEMPORALLY 1
TEMPOREL 6
14 var. 318 occ.

Hw 360 temporalte
TEMPERALTE 18
TEMPERALTEES 20
TEMPERALTES 14
TEMPORALTE 2
TEMPORALTEES 17
TEMPORALTES 1
TEMPORALTIES 2
7 var. 74 occ.

Hw 361 thef
ÞEEF 30
ÞEF 27
ÞEFES 3
ÞEUES 48
ÞEUYS 34

THEVES 3
6 var. 143 occ.

Hw 362 tiraunt
TIRANTES 0
TIRAUNT 2
TIRAUNTIS 36
TIRWNTES 0
TYRAUNT 6
TYRAUNTES 1
TRYAUNTIS 18
7 var. 63 occ.

Hw 363 tirauntrie
TIRANTRIE 3
TIRAUNTRIE 30
TIRAUNTRY 5
TIRAUNTRYE 2
TRAUNTRYE 2
TYRAUNTRIE 5
6 var. 47 occ.

Hw 364 tithe
TIÞE 13
TIÞINGUS 1
TIÞIS 81
TYÞES 12
TYÞIS 10
5 var. 117 occ.

Hw 365 tradicioun
TRADICION 4
TRADICIONES 4
TRADICIONS 35
TRADICIOUNS 27
TRADICOUN 1
TRADICOUNS 6
TRADYCION 1
7 var. 78 occ.

Hw 366 traitour
TRAITORS 2
TRAITOUR 22
TRAITOURS 46
TRAITURIS 1
TRAYTOR 2
TRAYTORES 1
TRAYTORIS 2
TRAYTORS 4
TRAYTOUR 18
TRAYTOURE 1
TRAYTOURES 11
TRAYTOURIS 7
TRAYTOURRES 1
TRAYTOURS 17
TRAYTOWRES 1
15 var. 136 occ.

Hw 367 traitourie
TRAYTERIE 1
TRAYTEROUSE 2
TRAYTORIE 3

209

TRAYTORY 2
TRAYTORYE 3
TRAYTORYS 1
TRAYTURYE 1
7 var. 13 occ.

Hw 368 traitourli
TRAYTOURLY 2
1 var. 2 occ.

Hw 369 transfiguren
TRANSFIGER 1
TRANSFIGURE 1
TRANSFIGURED 2
TRANSFIGURID 21
TRANSFIGURIDE 1
TRANSFIGURIÞ 1
6 var. 27 occ.

Hw 370 trecherie
TRECHERIE 3
TRECHERY 1
TRECHERYE 1
TRECHORIE 2
4 var. 7 occ.

Hw 371 trecherous
TRECCHEROUS 2
TRECCHOURIS 1
TRECHEROUS 3
3 var. 6 occ.

Hw 372 trecherousli
TRECHEROUSLI 1
1 var. 1 occ.

Hw 373 trechour
0 var. 0 occ.

Hw 374 treue
TREU 3
TREUE 24
TREW 80
TREWE 924
TRUE 110
TRWE 13
TRUWE 4
7 var. 1085 occ.

Hw 375 trueli
TREUELY 7
TREULI 11
TREULY 53
TREWELI 14
TREWELICHE 1
TREWELY 64
TREWELYCHE 1
TREWLI 7
TREWLY 64
TRULI 60
TRULY 30
TRWLY 1
12 var. 313 occ.

Hw 376 truaunt
TRIAUNTIS 1
TRUAUNTIS 4
TRWAUNTIS 1
TRYANTE 1
TRYAUNT 0
TRYNAUNTIS 3
TRYUAUNT 1
TRYUAUNTIS 5
TRYAUNTUS 1
TRYAUNTYS 1
10 var. 18 occ.

U
Hw 377 ungrounded
UNGROUNDED 5
UNGRUNDID 1
VNGROUNDED 13
VNGROUNDID 22
VNGROUNDIDE 1
VNGROWNDED 1
VNGROWNDID 1
VNGROWNDIDE 1
VNGROWNDUD 2
9 var. 47 occ.

Hw 378 universite
VNIUERSITE 6
VNYUERSITES 1
2 var. 7 occ.

Hw 379 uplondishe
VPLONDISCHE 2
VPLONDISSHE 1
2 var. 3 occ.

Hw 380 waste
WAST 57
WASTE 49
WASTES 1
WASTI 1
WASTIS 2
WASTY 1
6 var. 111 occ.

Hw 381 wasten
WASTED 8
WASTEDON 1
WASTEN 63
WASTID 14
WASTIDE 3
WASTUD 2
6 var. 91 occ.

Hw 382 waistinge
WASTING 9
WASTINGE 1
WASTYNG 8
WASTYNGE 9
4 var. 27 occ.

Hw 383 wastour

210

WASTERE	1
WASTERIS	2
WASTERS	2
WASTOUR	3
WASTOURIS	1
5 var.	9 occ.

<u>Hw 384 weiward</u>
WAIWARD	1
WAIWERD	1
WAYWARD	1
WEIWARD	43
WEYWARD	10
5 var.	56 occ.

<u>Hw 385 weiwardli</u>
WEIWARDLI	2
2 var.	2 occ.

<u>Hw 386 widwe</u>
WEDER	3
WEDEWE	7
WEDEWIS	3
WEDOWES	1
WIDEWE	9
WIDEWIS	16
WYDEWE	3
WYDEWES	2
WYDEWIS	1
WYDEWYS	1
WYDOW	2
WYDOWE	1
WYDOWIS	1
WYDWE	8
14 var.	58 occ.

<u>Hw 387 wif</u>
WIF	66
WIFES	9
WIJF	23
WYES	1
WYF	34
WYFE	5
WYFES	6
WYUES	39
WYUYS	1
WYVES	7
10 var.	191 occ.

<u>Hw 388 windoue</u>
WYNDOWE	3
WYNDOWIS	4
WYNDOWNES	1
3 var.	8 occ.

<u>Hw 389 wine</u>
WYN	73
WYNE	103
WYNNE	2
3 var.	178 occ.

<u>Hw 390 withdrauen</u>
WITHDRAWE	15
WITHDRAWEN	8
WITHDRAWES	1
WIÞDRAWEÞ	4
WITHDRAWITH	3
WIÞDRAWON	1
WIÞDROW	1
WIÞDROWE	1
WITÞDRAWEST	1
9 var.	35 occ.

<u>Hw 391 withdrawinge</u>
WITHDRAWING	3
WIÞDRAWYNG	8
WITHDRAWYNGE	1
3 var.	12 occ.

<u>Hw 392 wolf</u>
WOLF	17
WOLUE	1
WOLUES	50
WOLUIS	5
WOLUN	4
WOLUYS	25
WOLVES	3
WOLVIS	2
WOLVYS	2
9 var.	109 occ.

<u>Hw 393 womman</u>
WOMAN	59
WOMMAN	278
WOMMANNYS	2
WOMMANS	3
WOMMANUS	1
WOMMANYS	3
WOMMEN	34
WOMMON	14
WYMEN	6
WYMMEN	249
WYMMENES	1
WYMMENS	2
WYMMENY	3
WYMNEN	1
14 var.	656 occ.

<u>Hw 394 writ</u>
WRI3T	1
WRIT	226
WRITE	54
WRITT	313
WRITTE	76
WRITTES	4
WRYT	59
WRYTE	6
WRYTTE	1
9 var.	740 occ.

<u>Hw 395 writinge</u>
WRITYNG	14
WRYTING	6
2 var.	20 occ.