

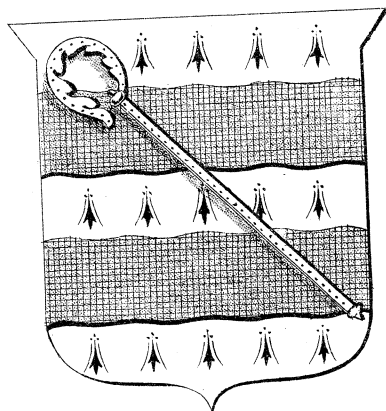
THE MISSENDEN CHARTULARY AND THE CELIBACY OF THE CLERGY.

BY JOHN PARKER, F.S.A.

THERE is so much of interest to the historical enquirer in such well-preserved records as those of Missenden, that I conclude I cannot do better than to continue to present to the Members of our Society such of the Charters as appear to me to claim attention. The interest may be varied. The foundation Charter is, of course, important—then as to those which follow. One Charter may disclose the internal arrangements and control of the Abbey; another may be worthy of selection, though its special claim to attention is limited to the locality, as referring to the names of persons or places which bring to light and account for much that is familiar to us in modern times; another may disclose to us the social condition of the priests of the period; whilst another may remind us of the great over-lord, under whom the founder of the abbey was but a sub-tenant. Five Charters having these different characteristics I may have an opportunity of presenting to the reader.

But before entering into an examination of them I wish again to call attention to the founder's pedigree, more particularly because on consideration I find that the identity of the founder's descendants needs further examination. Hugh, the son of William the Founder, took the surname of Nuiers or Nowers, and was living in 1165. He had a son, William, who died s. p. in the reign of Hen. II. His second son was Hugh. This Hugh inherited from his brother, William—he paid a fine for his brother's lands, 1 Ric. I. (Rot. Pip.) Hugh the second was the father of Johanna de Sandford, whose Charter, No. XXII., has been previously considered and translated.*

* THE RECORDS OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE, Vol. VII., p. 137, *et seq.*



The . arms . of
Missenden . Abbey .

It appears that the Charters of Hugh de Noers are those of the son of the founder of the monastery, and that therefore the William referred to in his Charters was the grandson of the founder. The fact of this William having died without issue, and his brother Hugh having succeeded to his estates, seems to have been lost sight of by some in considering the founder's pedigree, and thus the error has arisen of supposing him to have been the great-grandson instead of the grandson of William the Founder.

Having cleared up this point, let us now turn to the Charter to which attention will be directed in this paper. The following is a copy of the original, and the translation:—

Carta Hugonis de Nuiers de VI. denarios pro communi pastura et quadam parva terra.

Notum sit, etc., quod ego Hugo de Noers dedi in perpetuam elemosinam Canonis de Messenden VI. denarios annuatim quos Gilbertus filius Radulfi presbiteri de Messenden et Thomas mihi reddere solebant de terra que jacet inter magalia eorum pro salute anime mee et omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum. Ita tamen quod predicta terra jaceat sicut prius ad omnem pasturam excepta quadam parva particula quam predictis canonicis in puram et perpetuam elemosinam assignavi sicut novum fossatum includit. Testibus.

[No witnesses are mentioned.]

The Charter of Hugh de Nuiers concerning 6 pence for common pasture and a certain little field.

Be it known, etc., that I, Hugh de Noers, have given in perpetual charity to the Canons of Messenden VI. pence yearly which Gilbert, the son of Ralph the priest of Messenden, and Thomas were accustomed to pay to me out of the land which lies between their sheds, for the salvation of my soul and of all my ancestors and successors. On condition, nevertheless, that the aforesaid land may lie as heretofore open to common pasturage except a certain little piece I have assigned to the aforesaid canons in pure and perpetual alms as the new ditch incloses. As witness.

The Charter (VII.) of Hugh de Nuiers I have selected on account of its mentioning Gilbert, the son of Ralph the priest of Missenden, who, with a certain Thomas, paid rent of sixpence annually charged on certain land—this rent charge Hugh de Nuiers gives to the monastery.

Now the fact of Gilbert being the acknowledged son of the priest of the parish in which the abbey was situate, and that he was living in the twelfth century, leads to an interesting enquiry as to the marriage of the clergy at that period. Some remarks, therefore, by way of introduction to this Charter, showing the gradual steps by which the clergy became bound to a life of celibacy, and their position in regard to this rule at the date of the Charter, seem fitting. The enquiry, too, may be appropriate at a time when the subject is under discussion in ecclesiastical circles at Rome and possibly in this country. In looking into this question it appears that it was not until the fourth century that celibacy became obligatory on the priest; in other words, for the first three centuries of the Church's history the marriage of the clergy was permitted. So distinguished a father as Tertullian did not recognize celibacy, and wrote letters to his own wife. From the fourth century the question, though fitfully, engages the attention of the Church's councils—assemblies which had a recognized authority, subsequently supplanted by the papacy. Thus the first prohibition of the marriage of the three orders of the clergy at their ordination appears to have been decreed at the Council of Elliberis, in Spain (A.D. 305), which canon was set aside by the Council of Nicæa—then in one of the Councils of Neocæsarea (A.D. 314) is a canon that a presbyter should be removed from his order if he marry. But the memorable first Council of Nicæa (A.D. 325) claims for its canons a greater and more enduring authority. By the canons of that Council none but “leaders or singers” admitted to the clerical order unmarried should be allowed to marry—whilst by another canon the matrimonial union of the clergy with their wives is fully sanctioned.* By the fifth canon of

* For further information on this point see *Blunt's Theological Dictionary*—“Celibacy.”

that Council it is enjoined, "if any bishop, presbyter, or deacon, put away his wife under pretence of religion, let him be excommunicated, or if he persist, deposed." It appears, therefore, that in the fourth century celibacy was becoming the usage, though not binding on the clergy by positive law. Pursuing very rapidly the history of this question, we find, in A.D. 385, an authoritative law in the decretal of Pope Siricius imposing celibacy on the clergy of the Western Church. What had before been a custom, as Blunt says, which more or less prevailed "was now for the first time made obligatory upon the three orders of the ministry." Yet it is conjectured that this decretal was not widely and uniformly promulgated if we consult the action of the Councils of the Western Church, and more particularly the first Council of Tours.

There can be no question that the corrupt state of morals in the Church in the Middle Ages brought into prominence so commanding a figure as Hildebrand, who, with characteristic energy, imagined that the only remedy for the evil that wounded the Church, was to fall back on the decretal of Pope Siricius, and to re-impose with rigour and determination, celibacy on her clergy. It would be quite beyond the scope of this paper to examine how far Hildebrand's action affected the conduct of those it was intended to reach. It will, however, be of interest to consider somewhat more precisely the position of this question in England, starting from the early history of the Church in this country. The evangelization of Britain was, for the most part in the first instance, undertaken by monks. Augustine himself, selected by Gregory to convert Britain, was, as we know, the prior of the Monastery of St. Martin in Rome, and he was accompanied chiefly by monks in his missionary enterprise, but according to Bede (*Beda H. E. I.*, 27) clerics also were of the band. Augustine, we are told, separated his monks from the canons, placing the latter in Christ Church, Canterbury. Kemble, in his work on *The Saxons in England*, gives us evidence of clerical marriages, gleaned from various sources. For instance, the son of Wilfrith, bishop of York, is mentioned by Eddius. "In a Charter of Emancipation, we find among the witnesses Elfsige the priest

and his son (Cod. Dipl. No. 1352), by another document a lady grants a church hereditarily to Wulfmær the priest and his offspring, as long as he shall have any in orders, contemplating in the gift a succession of married clergymen. Again we read of Godwine at Werthig, Bishop Elfsige's son, and of the son of Oswald, a presbyter under Edward the Confessor; we are told of Robert the deacon, and his son-in-law, Richard Fitzscrob, and of Godric, a son of the King's chaplain Godman."*

Kemble is a learned writer, and his authorities for the evidences he produces are abundant and conclusive. He meets the objection that the children may have been the issue of marriages contracted before the father entered into orders, by giving instances, as proofs to the contrary, in distinct cases; thus, Florence (Flor. Wig. an. 1035) speaks of the newly-born son of a certain *presbyterat* or priest's wife. Kemble also cites a passage from Simeon of Durham "which distinctly mentions a married presbyter about the year 1045, and the History of Ely records the wife and family of an archpresbyter in that town" (His. Eliens Anglia Sacra. I., 603), and he further calls attention to the repeated allusions to the removal of the canons or prebendaries from the cathedrals and collegiate churches, by Ethelwold and Oswald, on account of the contravention of their rule by marriage.

"We may be certain," says Kemble, "that not only in England, but generally throughout the North of Europe, the clergy did enter into quasi-marriages, and as late as the thirteenth century the priests in Norway replied to Gregory IX. by setting up uninterrupted custom."† Kemble has no sympathy with this proscribing of marriage, the "setting up," as he asserts, of "a rule essentially false," which the more reflecting, even of the clergy themselves, admitted, and he makes an apt quotation from Roger of Wendover, on the occasion of the excommunication of married priests in 1102, by Archbishop Anselm. Wendover records the act, and expresses

* See Kemble's *Saxons in England*, Vol. II., pp. 444, 445.

† "Episcopa," "presbytera," and "diaconessa," were titles of honour for the wives of bishops, priests, and deacons.

‡ Kemble's *Saxons in England*, Vol. II., p. 447, quoting *Diplom. Norweg.*, No. 19, Vol. I., p. 15.

a doubt about its prudence, "Hoc autem bonum quibusdam visum est, et quibusdam periculosum, ne dum munditias viribus majores expeterent, in immunditias labarentur." (Wend. II., 171.) Considering the great power of the religious houses at the period, and the close connection then existing between the episcopate and the monastic orders, the words of Wendover claim our special attention.

The efforts of the Roman Missionaries in endeavouring to destroy the influence of the married clergy in England, seem to have had but partial success. Boniface in the eighth century directed his energies in Germany to attain this object, but it was Dunstan, in the tenth century, who in this country undertook the restoration of the strict rule of St. Benedict, which had been established at an early period, and had, we are told, very generally ceased to be maintained till his time. Many of the conventual churches were disconnected from the monastic orders, and their chapters were filled by secular canons. "The religious foundations known in Wilfred's time, and long afterwards," says Soames, "were colleges, rather than regular monasteries. They provided accommodation for ordinary clergymen, education for youth, and a home for some few ascetics bound by solemn vows.* The triumph of monasticism was delayed to the Conquest, and was not even then complete, but, as it is truly said, the struggle that achieved it is due to the energy of so powerful a mind as Dunstan. With all our present knowledge of the foundations of our cathedrals, there appears to be nothing precise as to the rules that governed those which were originally connected with abbeys; and in using the term "originally" is meant the earliest period of the history of the Church in this country, which is admittedly obscure. No doubt the latter foundations were provided with stricter rules of life, of which celibacy was one, though these may not necessarily have been monastic. Prominent among them would be residence, temperance, soberness, chastity, and regular attendance on the divine offices. Yet the Saxon Chronicle gives us an insight into the state of the Church at Winchester in

* Soame's *Anglo-Saxon Church*, p. 146; see also *Wharton Angl. Sacr.* II., p. 91.

the tenth century, which shows how monasticism was struggling for the mastery, encouraged in its conflict through the evil lives of the secular canons. It says, "In this same year," Ann. 963, "Abbot Ethelwald succeeded to the bishopric at Winchester, and he was consecrated on the vigil of St. Andrew; it was Sunday that day. In the year after he was consecrated then made he many ministers, and drove the clerks out of the bishopric, because they would not observe any rule, and he set monks there."* The canons are accused in the annals of Winchester, and in Wulstan's Life of Ethelwold, "of violating every one of their obligations. Some of their body are charged by the last biographer of having deserted their wives they had taken, and in living in open and scandalous disregard of morality, as well as canonical restraint.†

A more special reference, however, is due to Dunstan, who so powerfully influenced the movement in favour of the celibacy of the clergy. He had joined the order of St. Benedict. The famous Abbey of Glastonbury owes its origin to Edmund the King, and its earliest importance to Dunstan the king's chaplain, and its abbot. The Benedictine rule had been known before Dunstan's time, but he it was, with his monks at Glastonbury, who first established it in its strictness and integrity in this country. As a leader of men Dunstan made his will felt, and the principles he maintained naturally permeated through the ranks of the clergy.

A witenagemot held in about 943 under Edmund, at which the two Archbishops Odo and Wulfstan and a large clerical and lay gathering assembled, legislated by its first enactment in restraint of marriages of ecclesiastical persons, and this *Great synod*, so-called in the preamble, powerfully assisted Dunstan in his projects and future efforts. To follow up the fortunes of the Benedictines in England in the tenth century, and so to watch the growth of monasticism would necessitate our acquaintance with the history of the rise and checkered career of two great religious houses, namely, the Abbays

* *Chron. Ann.* 963.

† Kemble, p. 456, quoting *An. Wint.*, p. 289, *Vit. Ethelw.*, p. 614.

of Glastonbury and Abingdon. But Dunstan's elevation to the see of Canterbury, raising him to the position of the most powerful man in England, must be reckoned as the most important event in the struggle then in progress between the secular and regular clergy. Edgar was then king, his reign is thus described as "happy and joyous in the English nation when King Edgar furthered Christianity, and reared many monks' livings." Dunstan was his adviser, and under his influence the Benedictine system was rooted in this country. Edgar is described as the hero of monastic story. During his brief reign, says Soames, he seems to have established no fewer than forty-eight monasteries.* As an instance of the social war that was waging under Edgar, we are introduced to Oswald, Bishop of Worcester, who resolved to convert his cathedral into a monastery. The canons made a determined opposition to his plans. He then founded a rival house close to the chapter, supplied with monks. The Benedictine church was crowded with worshippers, whilst the cathedral was comparatively deserted, and the altar of the canons was deprived of its accustomed offerings. Oswald's stratagem, we therefore see, was eminently successful; and his conduct gives us a striking insight into the progress of monasticism in the tenth century. Nor was Oswald satisfied by the success achieved in the establishment of a rival church. Wensine, one of the senior canons of Worcester, and much respected, it is said, by his brethren, yielded to the popular side, learnt the Benedictine discipline at Ramsey, returned to Worcester as prior of the monastery which Oswald had now succeeded in substituting for his former chapter (Eadmer de Vitâ S. Osw. Angl. Sacr. II., 203), and where other canons, beside Wensine, became monks. Kemble, however, would dissuade us from believing that the clerics were entirely expelled. The signatures to several Charters of this chapter are those of clerics, and in the Charter signed in 991, the year before Oswald's death, the signatures of Clerics, though diminished, are not entirely gone.

In 971 Oswald became Archbishop of York; this see

* Soame's *Anglo-Saxon Church*, p. 168, quoting Eadmer de Vitâ S. Oswald Archiep. Ebor. Angl. Sacr. II., 201.

he held for a time with Worcester, and though he was Archbishop for twenty years, it appears that he made no change in his cathedral of York, or "introduced a single colony of monks, or changed the constitution of a single clerical establishment within the diocese."

The attempts to reform the cathedrals, therefore, were isolated. Oswald's success at Worcester seems to have been a solitary one. Ethelwold's attempt at Winchester was resisted by the canons, till they received compensation, and we do not hear of other reforming bishops.

In consequence of this apathy, therefore, churches of the old foundation can at the present day boast of their corporate antiquity. Much as Dunstan favoured the growth of monasticism, the prominent part in the movement was really taken by Oswald and Ethelwold. Dunstan, we learn, never disturbed the canons of the cathedral of Canterbury in their property or dignity, and it was not till the time of Lanfranc that the monks gained complete possession of the Church. It seems, too, doubtful whether, even from the time of Augustine, it had been monastic.* The moderation of Dunstan may be accounted for from the fact that he possessed the broader views of a statesman. His object, undoubtedly, was to convert the churches into Benedictine monasteries; but in accomplishing this he wished the change to be gradual, and to allow the secular clergy to abide by their rules, which were sufficiently strict.

The question, however, which immediately concerns us is the position of clerical celibacy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and this brings us to the periods when Lanfranc and Anselm were successively Archbishops of Canterbury. Dean Hook, in his *Lives of the Archbishops*, says, "We have no direct information of Lanfranc having been a married man. It is a subject which biographers, in their unholy depreciation of the holy estate of matrimony, were likely to pass over in silence. There was no reason why a lawyer, or a teacher unconnected with an ecclesiastical office, should not have taken to himself a wife, but the biographers would rather leave the impression that he had always been a bachelor. Nevertheless, there was certainly a tradition of his

* See *Chron. Sax. Ann.*, 995.

having had a son named Paul, who, in 1077, was preferred to the Abbey of St. Albans."* Hook speaks doubtfully on the subject, giving as his reason that his only authority was Matthew Paris, at the same time enforcing the probability of the truth of the conjecture from the fact that when Lanfranc became Archbishop of Canterbury he refused to press upon the Church of England the celibacy of the clergy with that stringency with which it had been enforced in the Church of Rome. But when we consider Lanfranc as an ecclesiastic, we must associate him with the monastic life, first as the Prior of Bec, and then as the Abbot of St. Stephen's, Caen. His most important work, known as the *Decreta pro ordine Benedicti*, was written, it must be remembered, after his appointment to the primacy of England, and after he had converted his cathedral; this work was addressed to Henry, last dean and first prior, for the regulation of the new society.

During the Saxon period many attempts were made to remove the secular canons of Canterbury, and to supply their places with monks; but the actual change was due to Lanfranc, and down to the Reformation the regular clergy formed the chapter of the cathedral. However much there was in Lanfranc's character of statesmanship and moderation, his sympathies, as an ecclesiastic, it must be borne in mind, were with the cloister, and this is strikingly exemplified in an incident which occurred during his archbishopric. In the year 1077 he was invited to take part in the consecration of the new church of the abbey of Bec, to which he was so warmly attached by many associations, and especially as the spot where he had gained his spiritual instruction. He threw off, it is said, on that occasion, all the pomp which was then the accompaniment of the episcopal office, his ring, worn when officiating in the offices of the Church, being his only distinction from an ordinary monk. "He was determined to be a monk among monks." †

Lanfranc, however, notwithstanding his predilections, shows his moderation at the synod of Winchester in

* Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, Vol. II., p. 80.

† *Ibid.*, p. 134.

1076 when the question of the marriage of the clergy was under deliberation. Before Dunstan's time we learn that marriage had been the rule and celibacy the exception, and at the time of the synod it seems that still the secular clergy were generally married men. The synod took into consideration the circumstances of the times, and limited its restrictions to the marriage of unmarried priests, or to those hereafter to be ordained to the order of priest or deacon; but those who were in holy orders and married were not required to dismiss their wives.

Lanfranc died in 1089, and the position of the clergy seems to have remained at the time of his death, as it had been left by the synod of Winchester; and then the great theologian, Anselm, succeeds to the primacy of England, a monk at twenty-seven, and successively Prior and Abbot of Bec.

In Anselm we study the character of a recluse breathing the atmosphere of the monastery, a student whose life would, but for the reputation he had gained for learning and sanctity, and for fitness to fill the highest offices of the Church, have been naturally associated with the library of his religious house. His imperfect knowledge of the world is clearly seen in his conflicts as Archbishop of Canterbury with William Rufus and Henry I. All his convictions would tend, so far as his authority could prevail, to make celibacy the universal rule among the clergy, and yet he was living in times of laxity, as is revealed to us at the synod held in the year 1102, "in St. Peter's Church at the west end of London."

Dean Hook gives a full account of this synod. We learn that six abbots were then and there deposed for simony; the enactments of the Council disclose that the immorality of the Anglo-Normans was horrible and indescribable; the bishops are called to account, and it was, amongst other things, decreed that "they should be appareled not as laymen, but as becomes religious persons, and have honest men about them to bear testimony to their conversation." The enactments further enjoin "That no archdeacon, priest, deacon, or canon should marry a wife, or retain her if married; that *the sons of priests should not be heirs of their father's churches*; that priests should not go to drinking bouts, or drink to pegs; that priests'

clothes should be all of one colour, and their shoes plain ; that the Crown of the Clergy, *i.e.*, the tonsure or circle on the crown of the head should be visible . . . and that no one should exercise that wicked trade which had hitherto been practised in England of selling men like beasts." The italics referring to the sons of the priests are my own.

It seems that foreigners on the look out for rich family livings in England were embarrassed by the difficulty they experienced in dispossessing those who had obtained preferment as the sons of priests.*

Dr. Hook thus gives an account of another synod held by Anselm and Thomas the Elect of York in 1108, which had especial reference to the enforcements of celibacy. "They," the clergy, "were forbidden to have in their houses any women except near relations. Those who had married since the Council of 1102 were to discard their wives so entirely as not to be with them, or to meet them knowingly even in a friend's house ; if they had to speak with them on business, it was to be in the presence of two witnesses ; those who determined to remain with their wives were to be deprived of their benefices, and put out of the choir, being first declared impious, archdeacons were to make oath that they would not take money to connive at the transgression of this statute ; those who chose to leave their wives—who were styled adulterous concubines—were to undergo a penance at the bishop's discretion for forty days, during which time they might have vicars to officiate for them in their respective churches."†

These stringent, and to many minds, offensive canons bear out what might have been expected as the prevailing influence during Anselm's primacy, who, even in his own time, was esteemed as better fitted to be a monk than an archbishop.

During the primacy of William of Corbeuil, which extended from the year 1123 to 1136, the canons were evaded by lay patrons presenting their relatives to livings

* See Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland. — *Papal Letters*, Vol. I., A.D. 1198–1304. Edited by Bliss.

† Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, Vol. II., p. 264.

who would take minor orders but refuse to be ordained to the priesthood; these latter would employ a priest to discharge the duties they were incapable themselves of performing, as a beneficed priest by the canon, it should be understood, would be deprived for "the crime of matrimony," yet they allowed themselves the happiness of married life, and followed the pursuits of laymen. Briefly stated, we find the position of this question, at the period we are considering, was this: The archbishop was a legate of the Court of Rome, and Rome was for enforcing celibacy with severity; the bishops of England were, at the time, for the most part seculars, and took a more lenient view; their leniency was doubtless the cause of the Primate's resorting to the secular courts. The King was in no way loth to enforce the canons, unless a dispensation, which put money into his coffers, were purchased, and this it appears was granted on easy terms, and enabled the clergy to reclaim their wives.*

I have taken a rapid review of this question to about the date of the Missenden Charter, the notes on which have already extended to too great a length. Yet in spite of this I cannot refrain from quoting from Skelton—the poet laureate in Henry the Seventh's reign—not only to show that the question continued to be a vexed one in the history of this country for a period extending into the sixteenth century, but because Skelton's amusing way of encountering the difficulty of the canon law in his own case illustrates the consequences to society of the prohibition of the marriage of clerks, on which the reader will be able to draw his own conclusions.

Skelton took orders in 1493. He was, it should seem, a man of circumspection, as we find he was chosen tutor to Arthur, Prince of Wales, Henry VII.'s eldest son. Skelton secretly married, and through the influence chiefly of the Dominican Friars, he was suspended from his ministerial functions by his diocesan. On his death-bed it is said that he conscientiously regarded the woman whom he had married as his lawful wife.†

I now quote from his *Tales* which, in these days, seem

* Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, Vol. II., pp. 316 and 317.

† See A. Dyce's Edition (1843), of *The Poetical Works, etc., of John Skelton—Poet Laureate*.

to be passing out of recollection. Tale VI. records his failure to propitiate his Bishop after his suspension, and the way in which he meets his rebuff; and Tale VII. narrates the way in which he defended himself before his parishioners the Sunday after his visit to his diocesan.

“How Skelton was complayned on to the bishop :

“TALE VI.

“He brought two capons to the Bishop to pacify him, but the Bishop would not receive the present. Skelton said, ‘My Lord, my capons have proper names; the one is named Alpha, the other is named Omega. My Lorde,’ said Skelton, ‘this capon is named Alpha; thys is the first capon that I dyd euer geue to you. And this named Omega that is the last capon that euer I wil giue you, and so fare you well.’”

“Howe Skelton when hee came from the bishop made a sermon.

“TALE VII.

“Skelton the nexte Sundaye after went into the pulpet to prech and sayde, ‘*Vos estis, vos estis,*’ that is to saye, ‘You be, you be.’ ‘And what be you?’ sayd Skelton. ‘I saye that you bee a sorte of knaves, yea and a man might say worse than knaves, and why I shall shew you. You have complained of mee to the Bishop. . . . I have begotten a fayre boye as I do thinke; and as you all shall see. Thou wyfe,’ sayde Skelton, ‘that hast my childe be not afraid—bringe me hither my child to me,’ the whyche was done. And he, shewynge his child naked to all the parishe, sayde, ‘How saye you neighbours all? is not this child as fayre as the best of all of yours? It hath nose, eyes, handes, and feete, as well as any of yours—it is not like pygge nor a calfe, nor like no foule nor no monstrous beast. If I had sayde Skelton broughte forthe thys childe without arms or leggs, or that it wer deformed being a monstrous thyng I would neuer have blamed you to have complained to the bishop of me, but to complain without a cause, I say as I said before in my antethem, *Vos estis*, you be, and have be and wyll and shall be knaves to complayne of me without a cause reasonable.”

And then follows on a discourse from the text, “He that exalteth himself shall be abased.”