

A BRIEF TRACT ON THE  
DANCERS OF THE LAST  
Days

WILLIAM OF SAINT-AMOUR

Translated by Jonathan Robinson

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### Disclaimer

The following translation has been based on the reprinted version of the 1632 *Opera omnia* edition of William of St-Amour's works. It is not a critical text; thus, while I have tried to remain faithful to the text as printed, once in a while I have had to emend the text for it to make sense. I have noted these points of departure in the footnotes. I have also verified many, but not all, of William's citations, discounting those glosses to the Vulgate. We know from a recent edition of his *opuscula* (Traver, 2003) that he is generally accurate in this respect; this seems to be true in the present work as well. But until a proper edition of the text is done: *caveat lector!* The same applies to this translation: I make no claims for exceptional accuracy, even if this has always been my goal—and even if William's Latin does not present any serious difficulties to one used to scholastic Latin. I offer it merely in the hope that someone find it useful sometime. And of course it is very likely that this translation will change, further citations be identified, and so on over time. Any and all suggestions for improvement are welcome, from misprints to glaring errors: contact [jon.de.robinson@periculis.utoronto.ca](mailto:jon.de.robinson@periculis.utoronto.ca) (remove the words that don't belong).

**Version 1.1**

**last revised: September 7, 2008**

## Prologue

**B**EHOLD, THEY THAT SEE *shall cry without, the angels of peace* *Isa. 33:7*  
*shall weep bitterly: Isaiah 33.*<sup>1</sup> Just as the prophets in sacred  
Scriptures are called seers (for one who is called a prophet today  
was once called a seer in 1 Samuel 19),<sup>2</sup> so those unacquainted  
with the Scriptures who yet explain them can rightly be called seers: since  
they themselves are even called Prophets in the same letters, Ephesians 4:  
*And He gave some apostles, and some prophets;* the Gloss: ‘prophets, that *Eph. 4:11*  
is interpreters of Scriptures’.<sup>3</sup>

Since, therefore, these prophets see by means of Scripture that dangers  
threaten, they are obliged to proclaim it publicly—that is, indicate it to  
others. Otherwise, due to their negligence, they can fear that they are be-  
coming vain in their thoughts, and their foolish heart is being darkened  
according to the image of the Pharisees and philosophers who *although they* *Rom. 1:21*  
*had known God, they glorified him not as God . . . but became vain in their*  
*thoughts, and their foolish heart was darkened: Romans 1.* And they are  
especially obliged to reveal these dangers to those who might be able to  
resist them—namely those to whom the governance of the Church has been  
entrusted; even if they are those who are to hold (and should hold) knowl-  
edge of Scriptures for others, they are nevertheless less able to be free for  
inspecting them because they are shackled by the frequency of business; and  
those also, who, after they will have understood the recounted dangers—if  
they would be true priests of God—they will be mightily stricken with grief,  
and they will be anxious to repel them.

This is noted in the aforesaid authority, where it is said *the angels of* *Isa. 33:7*

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<sup>1</sup> Scriptural citations and close paraphrases have been italicized. But note that I have translated such passages as they occur in William’s text, which often differs in minor details from the Vulgate as we know it. (Even so, I have generally compared it with the Douay-Rheims Bible, which has frequently guided my own translation).

<sup>2</sup> William (or the printer, ‘Alithophilos’) probably means 1 Samuel 9, where there are multiple references (e.g., vv. 9, 11, 18-19) to seers (*videns*).

<sup>3</sup> Note that I have not yet begun the task of verifying William’s references to the so-called ordinary gloss to the Bible. But, to judge by other works of William’s which have been properly edited, his citations are exact enough that we can be fairly certain that he wrote or redacted his various texts with a copy of a glossed bible in front of him (this was standard practice at the time).

*peace shall weep bitterly.* For priests are called the Lord's angels in Malachi  
*Mal. 2:7* 2: *The angel of the Lord of hosts*; and in Revelation 1: *the seven stars are*  
*Rev. 1:20* *the angels of the seven churches*; the Gloss: 'that is, the bishops of those  
 same churches'. But bishops are called angels of peace, for the messengers  
*Eph. 2:14* of Christ, who *is our peace*: Ephesians 2. However, those priests or bish-  
 ops, who are zealots for the salvation of souls, shall especially weep—to  
 such an extent that they may deservedly be called Jesus, that is, saviours  
 /18/ (not by authority, but by office). And just as our Jesus, namely the  
 author of our salvation, seeing the dangers of the city, that is, of the final  
*Lk. 19:42* Church, wept over it, saying in Luke 19: *for if you also had known*; the  
 Gloss: 'you certainly would have wept over what you now exult'. That  
 the authority is understood [to be speaking] about the Church, the Gloss  
 shows, saying: 'mourn the condemned who do not know why they are being  
 mourned'; and below: 'They flee who foresee the dangers which disturb  
 temporal happiness'.

Consequently, we professors of the Christian faith, although unworthy, studying in Paris, who examine the sacred Scriptures from the assumed college (*ex assumpto gymnasio*), though we do this poorly according to the poverty of our ability, we do so frequently, noting that in those writings the dangers of the last days, and things similar to, as it were, already nearly threaten the whole Church, we have decided that they must be recalled to the remembrance of all.<sup>4</sup> And especially according to that prophecy of the

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<sup>4</sup> William will claim in his *Responsiones* (Edmond Faral, ed., 'Les « Responsiones » de Guillaume de Saint-Amour', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 18 (1950–1): 337–94) that he was merely one of several collaborators on this project of 'alerting the public' to the perceived dangers (that the mendicant orders posed). According to William (pp. 359–60; my translation): 'Concerning the book which is said to have been reproved by the lord pope, the publication of which I am blamed for, I say that, when the prelates of France (anxious that they protect the Gallic Church entrusted to them from the dangers of the last days, which will arrive through the pseudo and invaders of homes) requested masters of theology that they collect the authorities of divine and canonical Scripture who speak about this material, and that they give it to them [the prelates] in writing, since cannot find time for the inspection of books, I, together with other masters and students of theology and masters of canon law (*decretorum*), collected the aforesaid authorities; and through many collations I and the other aforesaid compiled them into one volume under clear rubrics.' This, combined with his claim (*ibid.*, pp. 360–61) that there were several versions of the text in circulation (and only earlier drafts had potentially erroneous content), was naturally meant to safe-guard William from responsibility for whatever others might take amiss.

Apostle, where he preaches, in spirit, certain dangers of the last days, of which similar ones already threatened in his days, but now more seem to threaten, saying in 2 Timothy 3: *Now know this, that in the last days dangerous times will threaten.* And below on that verse, *From those come those who penetrate homes,* the Gloss says, ‘Already certain ones are heralds, but there will be many in the end’. But because he predicted it prophetically, the Gloss consequently says in the fourth chapter on that verse, *They will amass masters for themselves,* ‘It is a prophecy of the holy Apostle, who was knew of future things’. Similarly in 1 Timothy 4, where he speaks on the same subject, saying *But the Spirit*—the Gloss: ‘Holy’—*clearly says*—the Gloss: ‘in my heart’—*that in the last days*—the Gloss: ‘against which it must be guarded against even more now’—*certain*—the Gloss: ‘notable’—*ones will depart from the faith*; the Gloss [explains]: ‘Which the Holy Spirit will have revealed to them for the instruction and security of the Church. It is not silent so that the Church, forewarned, is solicitous lest it be defrauded by men of that kind.’

Since, therefore, the Apostle forewarned and foretold twelve hundred years ago so that the future dangers may be avoided, it is agreed that now Christians ought to be warned even more strongly about avoiding the ever approaching dangers. This is especially true since the Apostle commanded that these things are to be preached to everybody, whether willing or not; for, after he had predicted that the aforesaid dangers will come to pass, and that they ought to be avoided in 2 Timothy 3, he consequently subjoins in the fourth chapter, saying: *I testify before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead through his advent and his kingdom: preach the word; be instant /19/ in season, out of season; reprove, that is entreat the willing, rebuke, the resolute with hard words, exhort with all patience those who disagree (repugnantium) and doctrine those who listen (accipientium).* That is, as the Gloss says, ‘so that you patiently sustain the dissidents, and instruct those who listen’. Therefore, it is clear that necessity impels us to preach the said dangers, and for prelates to be solicitous about investigating and foreseeing them.

In explaining these dangers, we shall proceed in this way.<sup>5</sup> **First**, we shall show that there will be many great dangers in the Church of Christ. **Second**, through what kind of men these dangers might come. **Third**, how able and suitable they will be for introducing the aforesaid dangers. **Fourth**,

<sup>5</sup> What follows is a chapter-by-chapter summary of the contents of the *De periculis*.

what kind of dangers they will introduce. **Fifth**, how they will proceed in introducing those dangers. **Sixth**, that those who do not foresee those dangers, or those who, having foreseen them, do not take precaution, will perish in them. **Seventh**, in what dangers they who will procure the aforesaid dangers for others will be established. **Eighth**, lest someone say that care need not yet be taken for the aforesaid dangers (as they are still remote), we shall show through certain signs that those dangers are not far removed, but close enough; and therefore that their investigation and repulsion must not be deferred any longer. **Ninth**, we shall show who is to foresee, announce in advance, and repel the dangers from the faithful. **Tenth**, we shall show how those who are bound to foresee, announce in advance, and repel the dangers from the Church, will incur punishment—if they do not foresee, announce, and repel them. **Eleventh**, lest it seem impossible that they be repelled because they are predicted prophetically, we shall show that they will be able to be repelled in time, if they are resisted strongly. **Twelfth**, we shall show how they ought to be repelled, or how they can be repelled. **Thirteenth**, because the aforesaid dangers cannot be repelled unless they who will procure the dangers are recognized, we shall show how and where the said perilous men will be able to be found. **Fourteenth**, we shall give many signs, some infallible, but some probable, through which the said men will be able to be recognized.

In truth, if any philosopher or subtle disputator should think of opposing those things that are going to be said below, in order to turn the mind of the reader from the simplicity of truth, let not the reader be quickly shaken from his impression (*sensu*) on that account, but let him deign to have recourse to us since we are prepared, /20/ God willing, to answer any objection made against any material—not through disputation and a philosophical debate (or sophistry), which is of no use beyond the subversion of the audience, but through a catholic conference, which alone ought be take place amongst servants of Christ, according to the doctrine of the Apostle in 2 Timothy

2 Tim. 2:14

2, saying, *Do not contend with words, for it is to no profit except for the subversion of the audience*; the Gloss: ‘Because contention can do nothing but subvert the audience, since a verbose man seems equal or superior to a catholic man. For contention often generates a less stable scruple; for such people are accustomed to be opposed in contention with an argument of malevolence eliminated, so that they move the minds of foolish brothers.’ And below: ‘For no one suffers himself to be conquered, though he knows that what he hears is true; therefore a conference, not altercation, ought to

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take place amongst the servants of God.’


We protest from the beginning, however, that everything here is for the security and instruction of the universal Church; not against any person, nor against any state approved by the Church; but we will speak against the sins of the wicked, and the dangers of the general Church. We have collected [these things] not from our own invention, but from the truth of sacred Scripture.<sup>6</sup> None the less, we offer everything for correction by the Church, if anything in it shall seem to require correction.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> William doubtlessly added this final thought because he knew from previous experience how strong the mendicant reaction to this text would be. We can also be certain that no one took this disclaimer very seriously.

<sup>7</sup> A common claim of William’s; cf. the *Responsiones*, p. 353 (no. 38).

# 1 That in the General Church the dangers of the last days will be many and great

 CONCERNING THE FIRST CHAPTER, it must be observed that the Apostle predicts in 2 Timothy 3 that in the final Church many dangers will threaten the universal Church, which he says in these words, *Know this also: that in the last days perilous times shall threaten*; the Gloss says: ‘for the holy’. But all who are of the Church, not only by number, but by merit, are called holy; and therefore they will threaten the universal Church. Nor should it be believed, however, that only in the very last days—namely in the time of the Antichrist—will the dangers threaten; the Gloss says consequently on the verse, *From them come those who penetrate homes*, that even in the primitive Church there were certain such people through /21/ whom the dangers will appear; but, with the final Church approaching, they will come in greater numbers. And thus the Gloss says this: ‘Certain of these are already harbingers, but there will be more in the future’.

And let it not be said ‘in the end’, that is, only ‘in the time of the Antichrist’ because that time (*tunc*) is called the time of the Antichrist, when a similar persecution threatens the persecution of the Antichrist, *we know since it is the last hour*; the Gloss: ‘that is, similar to the last [hour], since it is similar to the future persecution’.<sup>1</sup> And in the same place, *But now there are many Antichrists*; the Gloss: ‘For you have heard that to the extent that the Antichrist will come with fury and terror, those ones will also come with the same violence’. And, speaking of the Antichrist, the Apostle says in 2 Thessalonians 2, *the mystery of iniquity already works*; the Gloss: ‘in the very beginnings of the attack (*accessionis*) iniquity is already found, but [it is] mystical’, that is, palliated by the name of piety so that they wish to be considered ministers of Christ since they are pseudo. Thus it is therefore clear that after the final Church, and even before, many dangers shall threaten the universal Church.

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<sup>1</sup> William’s point is this: Do not confuse the time I am talking about with the actual time of the Antichrist, for this time comes after the time I am talking about.

## 2 Through whom, or through what kind of men, the dangers of the last days will come

**S**ONCERNING THE SECOND CHAPTER, namely through whom the dangers will appear, the Apostle preaches that *there will be* in the Church certain *men loving themselves*, through whom the said dangers will appear. But they are said to love themselves who, although they wish to correct others, do not wish their own deeds—though they be sometimes perverse—to be corrected by others. Such men, therefore, love themselves more than the truth, and therefore more than God, *who is truth*. For, as Gregory says in the [*Regula*] *pastoralis*: ‘He who wishes to commit perverse deeds and wishes others to keep quiet about them, is a witness [against] himself because he wishes himself to be loved more than truth which he does not wish to be defended against him.’<sup>1</sup> Likewise, he delights in himself more than God who seeks his own honour more than the honour of God. Thus Augustine *On the Christian Life*: ‘They love God who do not work at anything other than that the name of God be glorified.’<sup>2</sup> They, therefore, especially those who are in the state of perfection, that desire and seek their own temporal honour, /22/ even when they offend others (*cum multorum offendiculo*), love themselves more than God.

But from this perverse love of the self, as if from a certain evil root, those *men loving themselves* will fall into various kinds of sins,<sup>3</sup> so much so that [1] some of them will become lovers of money or mundane glory; [2] others will become proud (*elati*) against God or against the Lord—namely, because they will not want to be subject to, but placed above, prelates; [3] others will become proud concerning the honours extended to them; [4] others will

<sup>1</sup> Gregory the Great, *Regula pastoralis* 2.8 (PL 77.43B): ‘Qui ergo et prava studet agere, et tamen ad haec vult caeteros tacere, ipse sibimet testis est, quia plus veritate se appetit diligi, quam contra se non vult defendi.’ (He, therefore, who both strives to do depraved things and yet wishes the others to keep silent about them, he is a witness for himself that he desires to be loved more than the truth, which he does not wish to be defended against him.)

<sup>2</sup> Ps.-Augustine, *De vita christiana* 9 (PL 40.1039).

<sup>3</sup> The following list is based upon 2 Tim. 3:2–4.

become, through heresy, blasphemers against God; [5] others will defy their parents—that is, the prelates of the Church; [6] some will become ungrateful about the goods extended to themselves; [7] others will become wicked in the grave sins to be perpetrated—who exceed the mode of sinning, and they kill their souls or the souls of others, like those who trade evil for good with the ones correcting them; [8] others will become without affection, not suffering with the infirm—namely, sinners—but rather disdaining them; [9] others will become slanderers, that is people imposing the crime on others, or detractors, namely people trying to stain the fame of the saints; [10] others will become incontinent, not restraining the wicked cupidities of gut and lust; [11] others will become without benevolence, not knowing to help others; [12] others will become betrayers, namely betrayers of the secrets of another, when they reveal what they know ought to remain hidden; [13] others will become impudent or shameless, that is those things that ought to be treated or done modestly—namely, as concerns other men, they treat or do immodestly; [14] others will become blind, that is not understanding what they affirm, nor do they attend to them; [15] others will become puffed up, namely inflated in the heart; [16] others will become lovers of pleasure more than of God, that is, people placing carnal delights before spiritual things. And this the Apostle says in these words: *And there will be men loving themselves*; the Gloss: ‘And because of this’, as if it said, *Therefore perilous times shall come, because there will be men in the Church loving themselves, covetous, proud, blasphemers, unthankful, wicked, without affection, without peace, slanderers, incontinent, without benevolence, betrayers, impudent or shameless, puffed up, lovers of pleasure more than of God.*

*2 Tim. 3:2*

*Cf. 2 Tim. 3:2-4*

From all those kinds of sinners, however, some will come to join (*convenient*) that sect, through which the perilous times will appear. Hence after those words in 2 Timothy 3, *And there will be men loving themselves, covetous, proud, etc.*, the Apostle adds, *From them come those who penetrate homes*, that is, amongst those kinds of sinners are some who come to join the sect of those who penetrate homes—through which penetrators those dangers will appear, as will be clear. But who the /**23**/ penetrators of homes are, the Gloss literally explains: ‘They penetrate homes who enter the homes of those for whom they do not have the guiding (*regimen*) of souls; and they pry into their personal affairs (*proprietates*)’, that is, ‘their secrets’. But this cannot happen unless they impose themselves for

*2 Tim. 3:2*

*2 Tim. 3:6*

the sake of hearing their confessions;<sup>4</sup> for this is to penetrate the homes of the preachers' men, namely to pry into their consciences—which are called 'homes' in Ecclesiasticus 32 *Hasten first into your home*; the Gloss: that is, 'into the home of your conscience'. The rector of souls (who has the *cura* entrusted to him by the Church) enters into this home through the door; he is instructed in Proverbs 27, *Discern the face of your flock*; the Gloss: 'The pastor of the Church is told: "Diligently employ the *cura* for those who happen to be in your charge; recognize the souls and deeds of every single one; and if you should find some fault among them, remember to chastise them quickly."' Hence, the door of a house ought to be opened to a pastor through confession, according to that line of Boethius, 'if you expect medicine, it is necessary that you uncover the wound'.<sup>5</sup> A stranger, however, who has not the *cura*, should not be received in the home. Ecclesiasticus 11: *You should not bring every man into your home, for there are many deceitful snares*. And in the same book, *Receive a foreigner and he will overturn you in a whirlwind and alienate you from your own*. And therefore the Apostle says of such a foreigner in Romans 14, *Who are you, who would judge the servant of another? He stands with his Lord, or falls*. The foreigner, therefore, if he pries into the conscience of another's charge (*subditi alieni*), he does not enter through the door but climbs in some other way; and therefore he is said to penetrate the home as both thief and brigand. John 10: *He who does not enter through the door into the sheepfold, but climbs in some other way, he is a thief and a brigand*. Therefore we consider those to be such who penetrate homes.

Consequently, the Apostle says in the same chapter of 2 Timothy 3, *And*

<sup>4</sup> Shortly after the death of St Francis, the friars found themselves in conflict with the parochial clergy on the issue of hearing confessions. The clergy were generally opposed to the idea that the friars should be allowed to do so, but Gregory IX strongly supported them in this matter—which culminated in the publication of *Nimis iniqua* (= X 5.31.16) in 1231. This, of course, only made matters worse in the eyes of many. In 1254, partly through the efforts of William, the pope, Innocent IV, revoked many of the privileges which had poured forth from the Holy See to the mendicants with the bull *Etsi animarum*. Unfortunately for William, he died a few days later and his successor, a nephew of Gregory IX, revoked the revocation (*Nec insolitum*) as one of his first acts as pope. The *De periculis* appeared in the aftermath of having his hopes partially realised and then dashed.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Consolatio philosophiae* 1.p4.1 (CCSL 94.7): 'Si operam medicantis exspectas, oportet uulnus detegas.' (If you are hoping for the aid of a healer, it is necessary to uncover the wound.)

*they lead captive women burdened with sins*; the Gloss: literally, ‘they seduce women with deceitful and wily words—and through them their men—just as the Devil first seduced Eve, and Adam through her.’ And in the same way, they seduce seducible men according to the manner of the women, that is, they lead them to themselves or to their councils for so this word ‘seduce’  
*Rev. 20:7!* is expounded in Revelation 19: *Satan shall be loosed, and he will seduce the peoples*; the Gloss: ‘that is he will lead them from Christ to himself.’ Similarly, they will seduce both women and seducible men; that is, they will lead them from the councils of the prelates to their own councils, and at length they will capture them—that is, they will render them unto their own authority, namely obliging them to live according to their own counsels; for ‘to take captive’ is to be brought under another’s authority from the proper authority, or from the authority of the one whom he is under. Thus, we therefore hold that /24/ the dangers of the last days shall come through those who penetrate homes and lead women captive, burdened with sins. And who are the penetrators of homes?

### [The Penetrators of Homes]

*Mt. 24:11* The dangers shall come through the Pseudo-Preachers. Matthew 24: *Many pseudoprophets shall rise, and seduce many.* But the Pseudo-Preachers are all who preach unsent, no matter the degree they may be literate and holy—even if they were they to produce signs and miracles. Romans 10:  
*Rom. 10:15* *How shall they preach, unless they are sent?* The Gloss: ‘They are not true apostles, unless they have been sent’; for no signs of virtue offer testimony for them. And, as Cyprian says in distinct. 50, can. *Si quis praepropere*, ‘The martyrs command some things to be done; but if what they command are not written in the Lord’s law, it is so earlier so that we know they have obtained from God what they are asking for the written law of God they are not what they command, before it is so that we know that they have obtained what they have asked from God’.<sup>6</sup> But they have not been sent except for those who are rightly chosen by the Church; just as they  
*Heb. 5:4* are not called by God except for who are rightly chosen;; *nor does anyone assume honour for himself, except for he who is called by God, as Aaron was*; the Gloss: ‘He is called by God who is rightly chosen’. But ‘bishops, who succeeded the apostles, and the parochial presbyters, who succeeded the seventy-two disciples and hold their place’, however, are rightly elected

<sup>6</sup> D. 50 c. 27 (1.188; the incipit of this canon actually reads ‘Si quis praepostera’).

by the Church. Dist. 21, can. *In Novo Testamento*.<sup>7</sup> Hence the Gloss says at the beginning of Luke 10: ‘As the form of the bishops is in the form of the twelve apostles, so is the form of the presbyters in the form of the seventy-two disciples.’ And more grades have not been established in the Church for its guiding. Thus the chorepiscopi, because they usurped the office of the bishops in some way, were removed from the Church: ‘For since we know that there are not more than two orders amongst the disciples of the Lord, that is, the twelve apostles and seventy-two disciples, we are entirely ignorant from where that third order has proceeded; and it is necessary to uproot what lacks a rationale.’ So it is read in D. 68 c. *Chorepiscopi*.<sup>8</sup>

### [An objection concerning Archdeacons]

If someone objects about archdeacons or vicars, who exercise the *cura animarum* in the place of others, we say that such hold authority in the Church as helpers—that is, they bring help to their superiors. Thus Paul in 1 Corinthians 12: *Indeed, God set some in the Church: first the apostles, second the prophets, third the doctors; then the virtues; after that the graces of healing, help*—that is, as the Gloss says, ‘those who bring help to their superiors, like Titus to the Apostle, or archdeacons to the bishops’. No one, therefore, has the direction of souls except the bishops, the parochial presbyters, or their helpers bring them help, and those legitimately established or called by them. /25/ 1 Cor. 12:28

### [An objection concerning the authority of the Pope]

But someone will say ‘everyone can preach who has the authority of the Lord Pope, or of the diocesan bishops’, since it is said in *Extra, De Haereticis*, cap. *Excommunicamus* § ‘Quia vero’, ‘let all those who have been prohibited or not sent, and yet have presumed to usurp—privately or publically—the duty of preaching (except for the authority received from the Apostolic See or the catholic bishop of that place), be bound by the chain of excommunication’.<sup>9</sup> Hence it seems by a contrary sense that anyone can preach by the authority of the Apostolic See or diocesan bishops.

We respond that we do not wish to argue about the power of the Lord

<sup>7</sup> Cf. D. 21 c. 2 (1.69–70).

<sup>8</sup> D. 68 c. 5 (1.255).

<sup>9</sup> X 5.7.13, § 6 (2.788).

Pope. But since [1], according to laws human or divine, there can only be one rector in the one Church—otherwise the Church is not a spouse but a whore: q. 2 cap. *Sicut in unaquaque*.<sup>10</sup> And [1a] there should not be many heads in one church, lest it become a monster: *Extra, De officio Iudicis ordinarii*, cap. *Quoniam in plerisque*.<sup>11</sup> Also [2], since in the guiding of the Church the office of preaching is very important (*existit prae-cipuum*), just as the order of preachers is important: *Extra, De haereticis*, cap. *Cum ex iniuncto*.<sup>12</sup> [Then] if, perchance, the Lord Pope should grant the power of preaching everywhere on some people, it must be understood [to mean] ‘where they will have been invited for this’. For even bishops, unless they have been invited for this purpose, must not go beyond their diocese concerning the appointing of ecclesiastics (*super aliquibus ecclesiasticis disponendis* [sic]): 9 q. 2 cap. *Non invitati*.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, a prince does not want prejudice of another’s jurisdiction to be generated through his mandates: *Extra, De usu pallii*, cap. *Ex tuarum tenore*;<sup>14</sup> *Extra, De off. Iud. ord.*, cap. *Licet*;<sup>15</sup> ff. *Ne quis in loco publico*, lege 2 § Si quis a principe.<sup>16</sup> So that injustices, God forbid, do not seem to arise thence from where rights are born: C. *Unde vi., meminerint cuncti*;<sup>17</sup> and *Extra, De accusationibus*, cap. *Qualiter & quando*.<sup>18</sup> Rather ‘an apostolic man (*Apostolicus*?) creates an injustice for himself who disturbs the rights of his brothers’: 25 q. 2 cap. *Quod vero dicitis*.<sup>19</sup> And since, according to the Apostle, no one should glory in the things entrusted to the guidance of another. 2 Corinthians 10: *We shall not glory beyond measure beyond the measure of the rule,*<sup>20</sup> *which God has measured for us.* It is not realistic that the Lord Pope, against the teaching of the Apostle, should grant a licence of preaching to the people of another to an infinite number or very many people, unless they have been invited by the priests. Since he says in 25 q. 1, capitulum *Sunt quidam*

<sup>2</sup> *Cor. 10:13*

<sup>10</sup> C. 21 q. 2 c. 4 (1.855).

<sup>11</sup> X 1.31.14 (2.192).

<sup>12</sup> X 5.7.12 (2.784–7).

<sup>13</sup> C. 9 q. 2 c. 9 (1.605).

<sup>14</sup> X 1.8.5 (2.101–2).

<sup>15</sup> X 1.31.12 (2.191).

<sup>16</sup> Dig. 43.8.2.16 (1.731).

<sup>17</sup> Cod. 8.4.6.pr. (2.332).

<sup>18</sup> X 5.1.17 (2.738–9).

<sup>19</sup> C. 25 q. 2 c. 10 (1.1014).

<sup>20</sup> The Vulgate reads: *sed secundum mensuram regulae* (but according to the measure of the rule).

/26/ But if the Roman Pontiff ‘were to try (God forbid) to destroy what the apostles and prophets had taught, he would be proven to not give a [legal and binding] decision but rather to err’.<sup>21</sup> Even the Apostle himself did not want to preach to another’s flock for the same reason, so as to not build upon another man’s foundation, as it is read in Romans 15: *Thus Rom. 15:20 have I preached the gospel, not where Christ was named, lest I should build upon another man’s foundation*; the Gloss, ‘Lest I were to preach to those already converted by others’. And: *Not glorying beyond measure in other 2 Cor. 10:15 men’s labours*; the Gloss, ‘where another would have set the foundation of the faith’. And below: *Having hope . . . do not glory . . . in another man’s cf. 2 Cor. 10:15–16 rule*; the Gloss, ‘In the things entrusted to the guidance of another’.

Likewise, if one person, or infinite persons, had the power of preaching everywhere uninvited, since this is the foremost duty of bishops, there will then (*iam*) be an infinite number of universal bishops, which is against the laws, or said to be, namely that someone be a universal bishop: dist. 99 cap. *Nullus*<sup>22</sup> and *Ecce*.<sup>23</sup>

Likewise it is agreed that wages or sustenance (*procuratio sive sumptus*) are owed to all those who preach by authority (*potestate*): *God ordered 1 Cor. 9:14 those who preach the gospel to live from the gospel*. Therefore, if an infinite number of persons were to have the power of preaching in any church whatsoever, each church will owe an infinite amount of wages, which is absurd to say. For the parish priests, who have their own apostles, i.e., bishops, and their helpers, namely the archdeacons, and archpriests, must give wages to their visitors, according to ecclesiastical decrees: And faithful laymen, who have their own priests to whom they offer the owed wages according to the ordination of the Church, should not be burdened further: 10 q. 3 cap. *Cauendum*.<sup>24</sup> If, then, bishops send preachers to preach through their own dioceses, those same bishops must provide the preachers with the necessities of life, not the priests, nor the lay faithful: Extra, *De off. ordin.* cap. *Inter caetera*.<sup>25</sup>

Nor ought new apostles be established in the Church of God, ‘Since the church itself has existed divinely ordained, both from the apostles’—i.e., the bishops—‘and from the other ministered, once through the apostles and

<sup>21</sup> C. 25 q. 1 c. 6 (1.1008).

<sup>22</sup> D. 99 c. 4 (1.351).

<sup>23</sup> D. 99 c. 5 (1.351).

<sup>24</sup> C. 10 q. 3 c. 7 (1.624–5).

<sup>25</sup> X 1.31.15 (2.192).

counsels of the holy fathers by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, according to the example of Moses shown on Mount Sinai, as Blessed Dionysius says in the fifth chapter of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*.<sup>26</sup> Since, therefore (as it is said there), there are only two orders in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, which is ordered to the image of the celestial order; that is, the *ordo perficientium*,<sup>27</sup> which is superior and /27/ has three grades, namely bishops, priests, and deacons (or ministers); and the *ordo perficiendorum*,<sup>28</sup> which is inferior and also has three grades: men, namely regulars (who are also called monks there), the lay faithful, and catechumens. The Angelic Spirit, however, was not permitted to work beyond what was ordained by God, as Dionysius says in the third chapter of the *Celestial Hierarchy*.<sup>29</sup> But it was ordained by God that no inferior exercise the office of a superior, nor flow over him (*influat super eum*), but to be content with his own office, as it is said in the same chapter.<sup>30</sup> It remains that regulars, who are called monks by Blessed Dionysius, while they remain in the *ordo perficiendorum*, which is the inferior order, can in no way exercise the office of their superiors, i.e., the *ordo perficientium*, which is to purge, illumine, and bring to perfection (as it is said in that same chapter),<sup>31</sup> i.e., the office of teaching, preaching, and administering the sacraments. And therefore it is said in the sixth chapter of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* that ‘the monastic order must not be preferred to others’—or according to another translation, ‘the monastic order is not subsidiary to the others’,<sup>32</sup> namely through preaching and teaching.

Thus, on this point, the ecclesiastic constitutions: ‘because monks might glory in the name of however so great science, may not preach publicly’ (just like laymen may not): 16 q. 1 cap. *Adiicimus*, with its concordances.<sup>33</sup> Though they may be received for the office of preaching—i.e., to the episcopate or priesthood, through canonical election as it is said in 16 q. cap. *Sic viue*.<sup>34</sup> And Gratian thus determined this in 16 q. 1 § *Ecce sufficienter*.<sup>35</sup> But it is not likely that a mortal man is permitted to change the aforesaid most

<sup>26</sup> Ps.-Dionysius, *Ecclesiastica hierarchia* 5.1.2 (PG 3.501C).

<sup>27</sup> Literally, ‘the order of those who perfect’.

<sup>28</sup> Literally, ‘the order of those to be perfected’.

<sup>29</sup> Ps.-Dionysius, *Coelesti Hierarchia* 3.2 (PG 3.165B).

<sup>30</sup> Ps.-Dionysius, *Ecclesiastica hierarchia* 5.1.7 (PG 3.508C).

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Ps.-Dionysius, *Ecclesiastica hierarchia* 5.1.3–7 (PG 3.504A–509A).

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Ps.-Dionysius, *Ecclesiastica hierarchia* 6.3.1 (PG 3.533C).

<sup>33</sup> C. 16 q. 1 c. 19 (1.765).

<sup>34</sup> C. 16 q. 1 c. 26 (1.768):

<sup>35</sup> C. 16 q. 1 d.p.c. 40 § 2 (1.773).


sacred hierarchy, especially since Pope Leo said this in 25 qu. 1 cap. *Que ad perpetuam*:<sup>36</sup> Those things, ‘which were generally instituted for the perpetual utility must not be changed by any mutation’. And thus ‘the Roman Pontiff cannot destroy what was decreed by the apostles and prophets, or he will be proven to err’, as Pope Urban says in 25 q. 1 cap. *Sunt quidam*.<sup>37</sup> But how could some mortal change the divinely ordered [and] most holy ecclesiastical hierarchy? Or even recall it? For none of the prelates *was given the power for destruction, but for edification*.<sup>2 Cor. 10:8</sup> Even if, therefore, the office of preaching could be entrusted to others, such as regulars, it would nevertheless seem from the aforesaid, that, with the /28/ ecclesiastical hierarchy preserved, the office of preaching cannot be entrusted to regulars, while they remain in the inferior grade of *perficiendorum*. Therefore, if regulars insert themselves into preaching, it would seem that they have not been sent by God, and, for that reason, should be considered ‘pseudo’. On the basis of the aforesaid, therefore, it is clear who penetrate homes, and who are pseudo; and it is also clear that the dangers of the last days shall come upon the universal Church through such men.

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<sup>36</sup> C. 25 q. 1 c. 3 (1.1007).

<sup>37</sup> C. 25 q. 1 c. 6 (1.1008). See above, n. 21

### 3 How suitable, and fit, the dangerous men will be for introducing the dangers

 CONCERNING THE THIRD, namely how suitable and fit the aforesaid dangerous men will be for introducing the aforesaid dangers, the Apostle predicts, saying that *there will be men having the appearance of piety*, i.e., ‘of the Christian religion, on account of which they are dangerous’, as the Gloss says, ‘but denying its virtue’ (i.e., charity); the Gloss: ‘not by words, but by deeds’. For although they embrace the office of prelates, namely the office of preaching, correcting, and hearing confessions (as will be said below), they deny charity by their deeds; for *charity is not ambitious*: 1 Corinthians 13. Likewise, since they cannot sustain correction (as will be said below), they deny charity by their deeds; for *charity sustains all*: 1 Corinthians 13. Likewise, since they cannot bear injuries (as will be said below), they deny charity by their deeds; for *charity is patient*: 1 Corinthians 13. The Apostle, however, says this in his words, *Having the appearance of piety, but denying its virtue*.

The Lord says in Matthew 7 that they will deceive in a simulated religion of words and deeds with the words, *listen to the false prophets, who will come to you in the guise of sheep, but who are rapacious wolves on the inside*; the Gloss: ‘Who walk in humility from a false religion; and therefore beware lest they tear you apart with lies and deceit’. And their works, which they might openly show, and which might seem to be good, are not to be believed; for they do them through deceit, clearly /29/ so that they seem to be holy although they are not. Whence it follows there on that text of the Gospel—*you will know them by their fruits*—the Gloss says, ‘they are similar to the ministers of justice in the sight of men when they fast, pray, and give alms, but they are not their fruits, for they take it to be a sin’ (*pro vitio eis reputatur*). As if it were to say they cannot be known by their manifest works, which externally seem good, for they do them with depraved intent; but they can be known by those works which they dare not show, but strive to hide in that they are mundane and tend towards the mundane.

Likewise, that the simulation of sanctity makes them able to deceive others, the Gloss says on the passage in 2 Corinthians 6 *in unfeigned charity* ‘the pseudo simulate charity in order to deceive’. Similarly, on that

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passage of 2 Corinthians 11 *the pseudo-apostles are workers of deception, 2 Cor. 11:13 transforming themselves into the apostles of Christ*, the Gloss says ‘cunningly deceiving under the appearance of religion’. And on that passage in Colossians 2 *let no one seduce in humility and religion of angels*, the Gloss *Col. 2:18* has ‘who seem like messengers of God through the appearance and humility of religion, for these are the things by which men can easily be seduced’.

Likewise, that they will deceive under the habit of religion it is said in Revelation 6: *and when the fourth sign had appeared, I heard the voice of the fourth animal saying ‘I have come, and behold! the pale horse etc.; the Rev. 6:7–8* Gloss says ‘The Devil, seeing that he cannot accomplish [his goals] through open tribulations or open heresies, sends forth false brothers who attain the nature of the red and black horse under the habit of religion by perverting the faith’. That is, they will cause as great a persecution in the Church as did the open tyrants, whom the Gloss calls the red horse, and the open heretics, whom the Gloss calls the black horse. Whence, their persecution will be made equal to the other two finished persecutions. And therefore, because they will deceive under the appearance of piety, they will be able to harm the Church more than the others not pretending an appearance of this kind; for, as Gregory says in the *Pastoralia*, ‘No one harms more in the Church of God than those who, acting perversely, have the name of sanctity and order’.<sup>1</sup>

Likewise, they will be able to do more harm, for they will be familiar enemies. For the faithful of Christ will believe them to be friends, receiving them into their homes, revealing their secrets to them through their confession, acquiescing to their counsels (as will appear below)—which none would do unless they thought them to be their friends. But, on the contrary, they will send them into error (as will appear below, in the next chapter). Whence, it is agreed that they will be familiar enemies; and therefore /**30**/ they will be especially dangerous; for, according to Gregory, ‘there is no plague more able to effect harm than a familiar enemy’.<sup>2</sup>

Likewise, they will very seriously and suddenly harm the Church, for they will seem and believed to be elect members of the Church. Whence, on that passage in Job *disasters shall rise in that very spot to the right Job 30:12*

<sup>1</sup> Gregory the Great, *Regula pastoralis* 1.2 (p. 4, in ed. cit. above, p. 7))

<sup>2</sup> William has perhaps confused the source of this adage: cf. Boethius, *Consolatio philosophiae* 3.p5.14 (CCSL 94.45): ‘Quae uero pestis efficacior ad nocendum quam familiaris inimicus?’ (But what plague is more able to effect harm than a familiar enemy?)

*of the Orient*, Gregory says ‘disasters shall rise up in that very spot to the right of the Orient, for they who are believed to be the elect members of the Redeemer will burst forth for the persecution of the Church, and because they are not foreign who persecute it, evils will arise suddenly and in that same spot.’<sup>3</sup> And thus it is clear how suitable and able those dangerous men will be for introducing the aforesaid dangers.

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<sup>3</sup> Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* 20.22.49 (CCSL 143A.1039): ‘Ad orientis ergo dexteram calamitates surgunt quia hi quoque ad persecutionem prosiliunt, qui electa membra Redemptoris nostri esse credebantur. Quas uidelicet calamitates recte ilico asserit surgere, quia dum non erant extranei qui persequuntur, ab eis repente mala et ilico fiunt.’ (To the right of the East, therefore, disasters arise, for these ones spring forth for persecution who are believed to be elect members of our Redeemer. Disasters, namely, which he rightly asserts arise in that very spot, for as long as they are not foreign who persecute, evils are made by them suddenly and in that same spot.)

## 4 Which dangers to be mindful of, or of what kind they will be

**S**ONCERNING THE FOURTH, namely of what kind the dangers to the Church will be, which the aforesaid seducers will introduce, the Apostle predicts in 2 Timothy 3, saying that: just as Jamnes and Mambres, Magi of the Pharaoh (on whose counsels the Pharaoh King of Egypt, and people relied), due to their simulated wisdom which they displayed, coveting glory and power, resisted Moses, the messenger of God, by performing false miracles—namely, by overturning king and people so that they would not assent to Moses—, so, too, will those same seducers, after they have seduced the Christian princes and people through their own simulated wisdom and sanctity, which they will display for their own glory, in such a way that the people will fully acquiesce to their counsels, they will then turn them away from the counsels of the prelates of the Church, who are figured by Moses. Turning away, that is, the princes and people so that they would rather obey their counsels than the counsels of their prelates.

And the Apostle predicts this in these words: *Just as Jamnes and Mambres resisted Moses, so these ones resisted the truth*; that is, the true doctrine of the prelates, who are figured through Moses—namely, turning the princes and people of God away from the documents and counsels of prelates, and inducing them to follow their own counsels, just as the Magi of the Pharaoh induced the people trust them more than Moses. Since, though, their counsels will be very dangerous, /31/ for they will be corrupt finally in traditions, and, finally, they will be base in faith, as the Apostle says in the same place with these words, *Men corrupt in mind, base in faith*; the Gloss: ‘of corrupted reason, base in works’. But, in the end, mindful of the Christian princes and people, when they will have turned them away from the counsels by the described means, and have made them draw back from the obedience of the prelates, then they will more easily send them into errors, both against good customs and the faith. And the Apostle predicts this in the same place with these words, *wicked men*—the Gloss: ‘in themselves’—*and seducers*—the Gloss: ‘of others, who are of this office’—*shall profit in evil*, namely, *straying* from the good, *and sending* others *into error* by the same act. For they will not only teach perverse things, but also do

them.

It is thus clear in general what the dangers will be, and what kind they will be, which the said seducers will introduce; namely how far they will turn the faithful away from the counsels and obedience of the prelates, and afterwards lead them into errors and against good morals, and, finally, against the faith. Hence, the faithful who listen to them shall perish in them, since they are thieves (as will be shown [below](#)) and since the faithful are sheep, but will lose the name of sheep when they allow themselves to be seduced, for true sheep do not listen to thieves: Thus, on that passage in *cf. Jn. 10:1-18* Ezechiel 2, *son of man . . . you live with scorpions*, the Gloss says ‘it is said in the Gospel “sheep did not listen to them”’. Those, therefore, who have listened to thieves and brigands have lost the word of sheep, and shall perish not as sheep, but as vipers, foxes, and scorpions. In general, therefore, those are the dangers which will come through the predicted seducers.

But in order to descend to the dangers in particular, we say that after a while such great dangers will come through those, that just and faithful men will find no faithful refuge among men. Jeremiah 9: *Let everyone guard himself from his brother, and have no trust in his brother, for every supplanting brother will supplant, and every friend will advance fraudulently.*

Rather, just men will not find those to whom they might safely dare to bare their heart. Micah 7: *believe not your friend, believe not your leader, guard the doors of your mouth from she who sleeps in your breast; for the son dishonours the father, and the daughter rises up against her mother, the daughter-in-law against the mother-in-law: and the enemies of man are of his own house.* Finally, though, with the time approaching, the dangers will be so great that *brother will betray brother unto death, and the father his son, and because sons shall rise against their parents*, that is, against the prelates, *and afflict them with death*, as it is said in Matthew 10. /32/ *And the tribulation will be so great, such as have never been from the beginning of the world until now, nor shall ever be . . . to such an extent that even the elect (if it can be done) will be led into error*, as it is said in Matthew 24. These are, therefore, the dangers of which some are already at hand, but others are perhaps not to distant.

## 5 How the aforesaid dangerous men will cunningly proceed in introducing the dangers

**S** CONCERNING THE FIFTH, namely how those seducers will go about cunningly to introduce the mentioned dangers, the Apostle warns, saying consequently that although they would not have the *cura*, or the direction of souls entrusted to them, they would none the less cunningly sneak into the homes of individuals under their own authority, searching out everybody's personal affairs (*proprietates*) or secrets. But, it is agreed, this could not happen if they did not impose themselves [on others] in order to hear their confessions. Yet when they will have sought out men's secrets and properties through their confessions (or some other way), then they will first seduce the women with deceitful and cunning words; afterwards they will seduce their men through them, just as the Devil first seduced Eve and Adam through her. Besides the women, they will also seduce the men, whom they find seducible after the fashion (*ad modum*) of the women. They will seduce them so much—that is, to themselves, or lead them to their own counsels—that they will render them unto their own power as if they were captives. In other words, ensuring, by binding them (*adstringendo*) through either oaths or vows, that—when the counsels of their prelates has been abandoned (who preside over the guidance of their souls, and whose counsels they ought to seek, both to live and die according to them)—they might adhere rather to their counsels, and order themselves and their own to them, both in life and death. [They do all this] even though they cannot loose or bind them.

And the Apostle says this in these words: *Amongst these are they who penetrate homes and lead away captive the women burdened with sins*; according to which the Gloss explains, if his words are well pondered, in this way: '*They penetrate homes*, literally, they enter the homes of seducible women and men and pry into everybody's private affairs; *and lead captive*, that is, seduce *the women*, first them, and after them their men, just like the Devil first seduced Eve, and Adam through her.' Similarly, the Gloss [on] *lead them women captive*, 'that is, seduce seducible men /**33**/ like the women', that is, lead them from the counsels of their prelates to their own

*Rev. 20:7* counsels. For this word ‘to seduce’ is thus explained in Revelation 19, *Satan shall be loosed, and seduce the nations*: the Gloss, ‘that is, lead them away from Christ to themselves’.

Similarly, the consciences of the faithful of Christ is their home. Ecclesiasticus 32: *Run first into your home*—the Gloss: ‘that is, into the home of your conscience’. A stranger should not be received into this home. Ecclesiasticus 11: *Do not receive every man into your home, for many are insidious or deceitful*. And below, in the same chapter: *Admit the stranger to yourself, and he will overturn you in a whirlwind, and he will alienate you from your own*. It is said to this stranger in Romans 14, *Who are you, who judges another’s servant? Stand with your lord, or fall*. But in the home of your conscience, he who has the *cura* of souls should be received. According to Boethius in the *Consolation of Philosophy*: ‘if you are hoping for medicine, it is necessary to uncover the wound’.<sup>1</sup> For the very entrusting of the *cura* is the door through which the prelate ought to enter the house, that is, into the conscience of his parishioner, according to that verse of Proverbs 27: *Know diligently the face of your flock*; the Gloss: ‘this is said to the pastor of the church, “diligently extend the *cura* to those over whom you happen to be in charge of; discern the minds and deeds of each one, and if you find some fault in them, remember to chastise them”’.

It is agreed, however, that a pastor cannot discern the minds and deeds of individuals except through their confessions. It is therefore necessary to hear their confessions at least once a year. And this is commanded in a general council, *Extra, De paenitentibus & remiss.*, cap. *Omnis utriusque sexus*.<sup>2</sup> And parishioners are not free from this necessity of confession to their proper priest at least once a year however much they might confess to another priest, since the other priest is not able to remove the danger to the safe-keeping of souls (*periculum custodiae animarum*) from the proper priest of he whose confession he hears; nor even from him whose confession he hears, unless he takes the place of the proper priest (who indeed otherwise receives to penitence another’s parishioner), will lie exposed to the danger of his own grade (*gradus sui periculo subiacebit*): *De paenit.*, dist. 6, cap.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Boethius, *Consolatio philosophiae* 1.p4.1 (CCSL 94.7); cf. p. 9, above.

<sup>2</sup> X 5.38.12 (2.887–8). This famous decretal derives from the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). The approval of this canon (no. 21) codified the earlier custom that every adult Christian is to confess all his or her sins to the (parish) priest. The problem in this context is that it is not at all clear that a friar was (not) a suitable candidate for this confession. Naturally, William thought this text was a point in his favour.

*Placuit.*<sup>3</sup> Those ones, therefore, to whom the *cura* is not entrusted, do not seem to enter through the door, but from elsewhere; and thus they seem to penetrate homes and be thieves according to that of John 10: *He who does not enter the sheep's sheepfold through the door but climbs in elsewhere is a thief and a brigand.* *Jn. 10:1*


The aforesaid seducers, moreover, will especially seduce those whom /34/ they will find unstable and changing in their heart—and therefore always desiring novelties (*nova*). And the Apostle predicts this in his words *those who are led astray by their changing desires*; and the Gloss explains thus, ‘just as it is said, if it is diligently and carefully (*intime*) considered’. *2 Tim. 3:6* But from this seduction it happens that Christ’s faithful, seduced by them, will offer them greater reverence and obedience than to their proper prelates, even though they cannot bind or loose them. And thus they will make the keys of the Church be held in contempt, and the prelates of the Church despised, just as the Corinthians contemned the true apostles on account of the pseudo by whom they were seduced. *2 Cor. 11:6* 2 Corinthians 11: *For if unskilled in speech*; the Gloss: ‘the Corinthians preferred the pseudo to the true apostles because of the accurate speech’. Contempt for the prelates by the subjects, however, is a great danger in the Church, for hatred for the prelates by the subjects follows from it. Hence on that verse of 1 Timothy 3, *For a good priest it is necessary to have testimony from those who are outside so that he does not fall into disgrace and into the snares of the Devil*, the Gloss says ‘so that he does not fall into contempt amongst the faithful’—namely his subjects—‘and thus afterwards fall into hatred’—namely against his subjects. After they will have made the keys of the Church be held in contempt, and the prelates despised, they will easily introduce errors and dangers, according to which it will be clear below; and therefore both in the text and in the Gloss they are called ‘seducers’ or ‘those who seduce’ (*Seducentes*), that is, those who seduce away from Christ to themselves—for

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<sup>3</sup> D. 6 de pen. c. 3 (1.1244): ‘Placuit, ut deinceps nulli sacerdotum liceat quemlibet commissum alteri sacerdoti ad penitentiam suscipere sine eius consensu, cui se prius commisit, nisi pro ignorantia illius, cui penitens prius confessus est. Qui uero contra hec statuta facere temptauerit gradus sui periculo subiacebit.’ (It was pleasing that then it was permitted to no-one of the priests to take anyone entrusted to another priest to penitence without the consent of the one to whom he first entrusted himself—except due to the ignorance of the one to whom the penitent first confessed. But he who will try to act contrary to these statutes will lie exposed to the danger of his own grade.)

*Rev. 20:7(!)* so the Gloss explains on the aforesaid Revelation 19, *Satan shall be freed, and seduce the nations.* And thus it is clear in what way and how craftily the said seducers will proceed in order to introduce the aforesaid dangers.

## 6 That those who do not foresee the dangers, or who do not forewarn of the foreseen dangers, shall perish in them

 CONCERNING THE SIXTH, namely that those who will not have foreseen the aforesaid dangers—or that those who do not take precautions against the foreseen dangers—will perish in them. It ought to be known that those who have not foreseen these dangers will without doubt be transferred from the city of God into the city of the Devil, and will be held captive there. *My people, therefore, are led captive, for he had not /35/ knowledge.* They will also die there in their iniquity: *He himself will die, for he had not discipline, and be deceived in the multitude of his foolishness.* For, just as it is said in 1 Thessalonians 5, *The Day of the Lord, like a thief, so he will come in the night,* the Gloss: ‘for those sleeping and unprepared’, that is, for those who will not have foreseen the dangers of the last days, and who do not do what is necessary to repel them. For those who see the dangers and do not work to repel them seem to love danger: *But he who loves danger shall perish in it,* as it is held in Ecclesiasticus 3.<sup>1</sup>

Isa. 5:13  
Prov. 5:23  
1 Thes. 5:2  
Sir. 3:27

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<sup>1</sup> William also preached a sermon that began with this verse, which I have also translated (‘Qui amat periculum’).

## 7 In what dangers they will be founded, who shall procure the aforesaid dangers for others

*cf. Sir. 17:12*  
*Prov. 24:11*

**S** CONCERNING THE SEVENTH, namely in which dangers will they who will procure these dangers for others be established. Since *everyone is commanded concerning his neighbour*: Ecclesiasticus 17. And it is said in Proverbs 24 *destroy those who are led to death*, therefore so that we do not seem to neglect the dangers of those seducers (through whom others are endangered) from which dangers they ought to be drawn away, especially by prelates (? *a quibus periculis eruendi essent praecipue a Praelatis*). Behold! We propose for them that four dangers are to be preached and taught by them,<sup>1</sup> in which the seducers themselves, who will procure the dangers for others, are established.

[1] First is that they are thieves and brigands. For they who penetrate homes enter the sheepfold, that is, the congregation of the faithful for preaching and teaching from other than through the door. For by entering through the door, they do not penetrate; those, therefore, who penetrate houses, and through whom the perilous times threaten.

*Jn. 10:8*  
*Jn. 10:1*

*Jn. 10:10*

John 10: *are thieves and brigands. He who does not enter the sheepfold through the door, but climbs in elsewhere is a thief and brigand.* Similarly, they are thieves because they usurp the prelates' power over their subjects, and they turn them away from the prelates' guidance and counsels. John 10: *A thief does not come except to thief*—the Gloss: 'to alienate by usurping' —*and destroy*—'by diverting from the faith', that is, from faithfulness, which one owes his prelate—*and ruin*—'unto eternity and damnation', as the Gloss explains.

[2] The second danger of these ones is that they are pseudo, or false prophets. For they who penetrate the homes of the faithful, /36/ approach them unsent. For if they were to approach sent, *the doorkeeper would open [it] for them, and they would not enter from other than by the door.* By entering through the door, however, they would not penetrate; therefore, if they penetrate, they approach unsent. But

*cf. Jn. 10:1-3*

<sup>1</sup> It is an easily confused sentence: the two *eis* should be taken to refer to the prelates.

they who approach unsent the faithful of Christ in order to preach to them, and to rule them through their own doctrine are pseudo. Romans 10: *How shall they preach if they are not sent*; the Gloss: ‘they are not true apostles unless they are sent, for they will offer no signs of virtue as testimony to them’. Therefore, those who preach unsent are pseudo, or false prophets; and they are a wide gate which leads to death. About which it is said in Matthew 10, *turn from false prophets*; the Gloss: ‘those whom he called a little while back a wide gate which leads to death he here openly calls false prophets’. Therefore they are in maximum danger because they are pseudo, or false prophets, and a wide gate which leads to death. Similarly, because they are false prophets, they therefore try to defame all those who blame them and do not praise them. Hence on that verse of Jeremiah 23, *pollution exits from the prophets of Jerusalem over all the land*, the Gloss says, ‘it does not suffice for them to injure their neighbours, but whom they once hate, they try to defame throughout the whole world’.

- [3] The third danger of these ones is that although they *come in the clothing of sheep they are rapacious wolves*, as it is read in Matthew 7. For just as sheep supply their owners with carnal food and garments, namely milk and wool, so too do those who approach to preach to the faithful of Christ unsent: they outwardly pretend that they approach to supply the faithful of Christ with spiritual food and garments, namely spiritual doctrine and good examples; but inwardly they intend to be rebuilt and be dressed from the carnal goods of others. Just like wolves approaching the sheep, they approach them to be restored from their flesh. Hence in Acts 20, on that verse of Paul, *I have desired no man’s silver or gold*, the Gloss says because ‘they are known to be wolves in this because they desire such things.’ And it is therefore said in Matthew 7 that *they come in sheep’s clothing, but inwardly they are rapacious wolves*; the Gloss: ‘for they walk in humility from a false religion’. Similarly, the Gloss: ‘this is understood about all who show one thing in habit and sermon and another in works’. Nor is this to be understood about exterior works, which they pretend, for those seem good; but about those which they intend, yet do not pretend; hence on that verse in the same chapter, *you will know them by their fruits*, the Gloss says, ‘they are similar in the sight of men to ministers of justice when they fast, /37/ pray, give alms; but their fruits are not, for it is reputed a vice by them.’ Such people, therefore, are rapacious

*Jn. 10:12* wolves, about whom it is said in John 10, *the wolf seizes and scatters the sheep*; “seizes” another’s subjects by usurping, “and scatters” them from the teaching and counsel of their prelates by turning them away’. They are, therefore, in great danger since they are rapacious wolves.

[4] The fourth danger of these ones is that, finally, they are corrupt in faith, and will desert Christ in the end; and thus *they will be damned amongst the wicked*, just as the Apostle says about the penetrators of homes. *Men*, he says, *corrupt in the mind, base concerning the faith*. But it is agreed that *no one is reprobate* except he who *will finally desert Christ*. Therefore such people are in many and great dangers, not only in the aforesaid ones, but many others as well. But these suffice for the present.

*2 Tim. 3:8*

Those, however, who do not fear the aforesaid dangers have a hard heart, and therefore it will turn out badly for them in the end (*finaliter male accidet eis*). Ecclesiasticus 3: *He will wickedly have a hard heart in the last [days]*. Similarly, those who are in the aforesaid dangers and do not wish to desert so perilous a state seem to love danger, and will therefore perish in that state. Ecclesiasticus 3: *He who loves danger shall perish in it.*<sup>2</sup>

*Sir. 3:27*

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<sup>2</sup> See n. 1 on p. 25 above.

## 8 That the dangers are not far off, but are close, or have already begun. And that their investigation and repulsion must be deferred any longer

**G**ONCERNING THE EIGHTH, namely, that those dangers of the last days are not far remote, and that their investigation and repulsion must not be deferred any longer: because it is clear that, just as the Apostle says in 1 Corinthians 10, *We are those upon whom the end of the ages have come*; the Gloss: ‘for we are in the last age of the world’. Truly after the sixth age, which is [the age] of those who fight (*pugnantium*), with which the seventh age which is [the age] of those who rest (*quiescentium*), there is no other coming age except the eighth, which is [the age] of those who rise again (*resurgentium*). Therefore, we are in the last age of this world; and that age has already endured more than the others, which run through a thousand years; for it has endured for 1255 years. Therefore, it seems very probable that we are /38/ near the end of the world. Therefore, we are closer to the dangers of the last days, which will exist before the advent of the Antichrist—especially since it is said in James 5, *Behold! The Judge attends near the door*. Likewise, in Hebrews 10: *For yet some small amount of time, He who is to come will come, and he will not delay*. Likewise, *We know, for it is the last hour*; the Gloss: ‘We know that the day of Judgement will come without delay’. Again: *He went out around the eleventh hour*; the Gloss: ‘which is the hour from the advent of the Lord until the end of the world’. And it is certain that 1255 years of this eleventh hour have passed. It remains, therefore, that these are the last days, or we are really close to them.

But in addition to these authorities, we will demonstrate through eight signs that the aforesaid dangers are now approaching.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Although it is not found in the version I have translated, M. Reeves (*The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* [Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993 (1969)], p. 62) quotes a section from around this part which contains an explicit reference to the Ps.-Joachim *Super Hieremiam*. For those who are interested, the edition she consulted has the *De periculis* edited by E. Brown as an appendix to O. Gratius, ed., *Fasciculis rerum expetendarum*

- [1] First is that already 55 years have passed in which some have laboured to turn the Gospel of Christ into another Gospel, which they claim will be more perfect and more worthy, which they call the ‘Gospel of the Holy Spirit’, or the ‘Eternal Gospel’;<sup>2</sup> [and] at the arrival of which, the Gospel of Christ, they say, will become empty, as we are prepared to show in that cursed Gospel. But this is a manifest sign that the time of the Antichrist is near (about whom it is said in Psalms 9, *Establish, O Lord, a law-giver over them*; Gloss: ‘the Antichrist is a depraved giver of law’. And in the same chapter, *Your judgements are removed from his face.*)
- Ps. 9:21*
- Ps. 9:26*
- [2] The second sign is that that doctrine (viz, the *Eternal Gospel*), which will be preached in the time of the Antichrist at Paris, where the study of Sacred Scripture flourishes, was already posited to be publicly taught in 1254. Hence, it is certain that it was already being preached unless there were something else that would detain it. But you know what might detain it: without doubt, it is the sovereign authority (*imperium*) of Peter and of those who hold the place of the apostles, the bishops. *For unless there come a revolt first, and the man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition: 2 Thessalonians 2.* For that reason, let the bishops beware, lest the said pseudo-preachers procure their casting out, that is, the removal of their authority (*potestatis*), as it is signified in the *Eternal Gospel*.
- 2 Thes. 2:3*
- [3] The third sign is that just as in condemned Babylon, after the hand writing *Mane, Tekel, Phares* was seen, its overthrow quickly followed:<sup>3</sup> Daniel 5; so in Babylon, the Lord’s beloved: Isaiah 21—that is, in the Church—since the said writing has already been seen, /**39**/ it is agreed that its dangers are near. But those three words have already been seen in the Church, for they were written in that cursed book, which
- cf. Dan. 5:25*
- Isa. 21:4*

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(London, 1690), under the title *Scriptum scholae Parisiensis, de periculis ecclesiae compositum an. 1389* (pp. 18–41).

<sup>2</sup> Around the same time as a full version of this tract was circulating (1256), William preached a sermon entitled ‘Si quis diligit me’, which talks about the same amount of time having elapsed and a ‘cursed book of Joachim’. There is thus little reason to doubt that he connected the Joachitism popular in mendicant circles (predominantly Franciscan) with the scandal of the ‘Eternal Gospel’. The sermon is found in A. G. Traver, ed., *The Opuscula of William of Saint-Amour: The Minor Works of 1255–1256* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2003), pp. 179–89, here p. 188.

<sup>3</sup> The text reads ‘cito sequuta est subuersio eius’; I assume ‘sequuta est’ is a variant of ‘secuta est’.

they call the Eternal Gospel, and which has become manifest in the Church.

The first word, *Mane*, that is, as Daniel explains, *God has numbered your kingdom, and has finished it*; for there the kingdom of the Church is numbered, namely, the Gospel of Christ, and it is concluded in 1260 years from the Incarnation. Likewise, there is found *Tekel*; that is, *it is weighed in the balance and found wanting*, as Daniel explains; for there the Gospel of Christ is compared to the *Eternal Gospel*, and it is found to have less perfection and dignity than the *Eternal Gospel*; by how much less does the moon shine than the sun! of how much less value is the shell than the kernel!<sup>4</sup> And many such comparisons are written there,<sup>5</sup> by which it is proved that the Gospel of Christ is of less value (*minus valere*) than the *Eternal Gospel*.

In that Scripture, namely in the *Eternal Gospel*., are found *Phares*, which is interpreted, *Your kingdom is divided from you*, as is explained in Daniel; for it is found there that, after the aforesaid time,<sup>6</sup> the kingdom of the Church will be divided from those who maintain the Gospel of Christ, and it will be given to those maintaining the *Eternal Gospel*.. Thus it is therefore certain that that writing, *Mane, Tekel, Phares*, has been seen in the Church; whence nothing else remains for the princes of the Church who sit at the table of the Lord; and, similarly, for the doctors who sit at the table of Scripture—unless so that they rise up from the table in order to meet the over-throwers of the Church, according to which, the Lord commanded through Isaiah (where he speaks about that same table) saying in Isaiah 21, *eating and drinking*—the Gloss: ‘the flesh and blood of the Lord’—*arise O princes, and take up your shield*—the Gloss: ‘take up the arms of the Apostle, and the sword of spirit, which is the word of God, in which you might be able to extinguish the fiery missiles of the Devil.’ Nothing even remains for the guardian of the Church, that is, the prelates, except to climb the watchtowers,<sup>7</sup> so that they might announce whatever they

<sup>4</sup> *Quanto minus valet testa, quam nucleus*. The idiom seems a little obscure, but cf. Plautus, *Captivi* 3.4.655: ‘nucleum amisi, retinui pigneri putamina’ (I have lost the kernel and kept the shell for a pledge). (See the entry in Lewis & Short, s.v. ‘nucleus’; but note that the reference is inaccurate.)

<sup>5</sup> Presumably in the *Eternal Gospel*.

<sup>6</sup> Presumably after 1260.

<sup>7</sup> The terminology here is very similar to that used in the so-called Apology of the

- Isa. 21:6* might see, according to the precept of the Lord just a little below: *Go and establish a guardian so that he might announce whatever he might see*; as if to say, ‘Incite the prelates to be on watch (*speculandum*)’.
- [4] The fourth sign is that with the end of time approaching, and the advent of the Antichrist, certain ones who will appear more holy in the Church, since they do what displeases Christ, they will be corrected by /40/ some according to the vision of the Blessed John in Revelations 2 and 3 about the correction of the churches. But they themselves [the “more holy”] will give the correctors into tribulation, and they will ensure that they are hated by everybody, and that some of them be killed. And this is what is said in Matthew 24: *then they will give you into tribulation, and kill you; and you will be hated by all men on account of my name; and then the consummation of time will come.* For this sign, and the three following are of the signs close to this consummation, and the beginnings of sorrow, which will exist in the time of the Antichrist; hence it is said in the same place, but *all these things are the beginnings of sorrows*, namely, which will exist in the time of the Antichrist.
- cf. Rev. 2 & 3*
- Mt. 24:9*
- Mt. 24:14*
- Mt. 24:8*
- [5] The fifth sign is that with the approaching consummation of time those who seem to be more holy in the Church will be seized with regard to their false sanctity and presumption. For this reason many—namely they themselves and their protectors—will be scandalized; and this, consequently, will be said in Matthew 24: *And then many will be scandalized.*
- Mt. 24:10*
- [6] The sixth sign is that with the approaching consummation of time, certain preachers will arise in the Church commending themselves, contrary to the Apostle in 2 Corinthians 10: *We dare not impose ourselves or compare ourselves to certain ones who commend themselves*—the Gloss: ‘like the pseudo, who commend themselves, not God them’—extending themselves, *and glorying beyond the measure of the rule by which God measures them.* That is, as the Gloss says there, ‘beyond the people measured for them by God’ (*ultra mensuratum sibi a Deo populum*); for they will be gloried by the people, or not by their people.
- 2 Cor. 10:12*
- 2 Cor 10:13*

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Parisian Masters (*Excelsi dextra*) ‘to the prelates and scholars of the Church in which the religious orders, especially the Dominicans, are accused’. It is likely that William played a chief role in its composition. For the text of this letter, see H. Denifle and E. Chatelain, eds., *Chartularium universitatis parisiensis* 4 vols. (Paris: Ex typis fratrum Delalain via a Sorbonne dicta, 1889-97), 1.250-8 (no. 230).

And they will seduce many under the appearance of sanctity—that is, they will lead them from the counsels of the prelates to their own counsels; and this is why it is said in Matthew 24: *Many pseudo-prophets will arise and they will seduce many.* cf. 2 Tim 3:5 Mt. 24:11

- [7] The seventh sign is that, with the approaching consummation of time, certain ones who especially seem to be zealots for the faith (*zelatores fidei*), and especially love Christ, will desert the Gospel of Christ and adhere to the *Eternal Gospel*, which will completely devour the faith of Christ; whence the charity by which the word of the Lord is protected will cool. John 14: *If someone loves me, he preserves my Word.* And then the sign will be fulfilled. Matthew 24: *And since iniquity has abounded;*<sup>8</sup> the Gloss: ‘that is, infidelity, the charity of many will cool’.
- [8] The eighth sign is that, with the approaching consummation /41/ of time, the nearby signs of the consummation will be announced in the Church so that those fearing Christ may so understand that the consummation of time is near, and the sorrow which will exist in the time of the Antichrist—according to that Psalm, *You gave yourself as a sign for the afraid, that they might flee from the bow.* But with these signs announced, then will the consummation come; hence after the Lord commanded those things to be announced, he immediately subjoined, saying in Matthew 24, *And this Gospel of Kingdom will be preached over the whole world, and then the consummation will come.*<sup>9</sup> Jn. 14:23 Mt. 14:22 Ps. 59:6 Mt. 24:11

<sup>8</sup> In both cases, these quotations would make more sense if the future tense were used (as it is in the Vulgate).

<sup>9</sup> The idea that the end of days would be signified by the fact that some people would be announcing this fact apparently seemed too convenient for some, for William was forced to defend this claim in his *Responsiones* (Faral, ed., pp. 352–3, no. 35): ‘Likewise, he [speaking about William] frequently said that he knows that he will suffer many grave dangers, of things and of his body, and even death, for the things will he preaches. But he does not care, as he says, because he is prepared to die for that truth. And he proclaimed this frequently in his sermons. [William] *I respond*: When the Apostle prophesied the dangers of the last days in 2 Timothy 3—*know this, that in the last days perilous times shall come*, etc.—and against those dangers he commands it to be preached instantly, and, in the following chapter, saying, *I testify before God and Christ Jesus*—the Gloss: “I promise you before God”, etc.—*preach the word, be instant in season and out*, etc.—the Gloss: ‘the prophecy of the holy Apostle, who, foreknowing the future, commands in doctrine that one is to be instant so that, against what was to come, the Church is prepared’. For that reason, since some will not be able to sustain the spoken truth of that

Since, therefore, the aforesaid signs have already been announced, and it is necessary that they be announced since they are already apparent, it is clear enough from the Lord's words that the consummation of time is to come quickly. And he who does not see that these signs are already in the Church, seems to be asleep; whence, he acquiesces to the counsel of the Apostle in

<sup>1</sup> *Thes. 5:6* 1 Thessalonians 5, Let us not seek, *but be vigilant*. Therefore, *wake up Ye*  
*cf. 1 Cor. 15:34* *Just*, as the Apostle says in 1 Corinthians 15, and through the aforesaid

signs which are now apparent, you will see that the consummation of time is near, and that the sorrow that will exist in the time of the Antichrist is now beginning.

It is clear, therefore, that the observation for and repulsion of the said dangers must not be deferred any longer—especially since, from the time of the Apostle, the Apostle commanded that they be preached with urgency to the willing and unwilling, to the arguers and the listeners; and he subjoins a reason, namely since it was the future when many would not receive sound doctrine, but they would want only those things to be preached to them that they listened to gladly. And we see this in those times, since certain men cannot bear that the truth of the said dangers be preached.

<sup>2</sup> *Tim. 4:1-3* This is what the Apostle said, *I charge you, before God and Jesus Christ*, that is, I swear to you witness God the Father and Jesus Christ, *who shall judge the quick and the dead, and by His Advent, and by His Kingdom, preach the word, be instant in season, out of season; reprove, entreat, rebuke in all patience and doctrine* (see the Gloss [for this passage] in the Prologue above<sup>10</sup>) *for there will be a time when they will not endure sound doctrine*—the Gloss: ‘as if it were a burden for them’—*but they will, according to their own desires, amass teachers for themselves*—the Gloss: ‘many who teach them what they wish’. And this is said in the Gloss: ‘The prophecy of the holy Apostle, who, foreknowing the future, commanded

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preaching because that truth seems hard for them—according to what the same Apostle prophesied, saying in the same place consequently: *For there will be a time when they will not sustain sound doctrine, but, according to their own desires, they will pile up masters for themselves*—the Gloss: “who would teach them these things, who would listen gladly, for truth will seem hard to them”. Therefore, so that they shrink from killing me more, especially since I heard many threats in secret, sometimes I said in public that perhaps it would happen that I would meet with dangers on account of the truth about the dangers of the last days, which I was preaching about. And, in truth, what I feared happened.’ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 353 (no. 36).

<sup>10</sup> See p. 3 above.

one to be instant in doctrine, so that the Church would be prepared against this, which was to be in the future; for he says such will exist who want to be taught according to their own desires, so that they are turned away from the constant and true masters to those who teach them these things that they gladly hear; for the truth /42/ will seem harsh to them, so that, with true doctrine abandoned, they are free for fables.’ And below: ‘If only we grieved at the foolishness of such who sing in the theatres and marvelled not at the audacity of such who have been able to contrive against the Lord.’ And thus it is clear from the aforesaid, that the said dangers are not far off, but are near; and that both their investigation and repulsion must not be deferred any longer.

## 9 That it is the duty of the prelates of the Church to forewarn, announce, and repel the aforesaid dangers

**C**ONCERNING THE NINTH, namely whose part it is to enquire into, foresee, and repel the said dangers, it must be known that [the duty lies with] the prelates: to whom the Lord is about to say in judgment that of Jerimiah 13 (*quibus dicturus est Dominus in Iudicio illud Ieremiae 13*), *Where is the flock which is given to you, your celebrated herd?* Who are held to render the damage of the flock, like that in Genesis 31, *I shall render all damage to you; whatever was destroyed in secret, you drove away from me.* To whom it is also said in Proverbs, *Destroy those who are led unto death; and do not cease to free those who are dragged. If you say, 'the resources are not sufficient, he who is the inspector of your heart will himself understand; and nothing deceives the saviour of your soul.* Those very prelates,<sup>1</sup> I say, who are the guardians (*speculatores*) of the Church—as it is said in Ezechiel 3, *I gave you a guardian for the house of Israel*—ought to climb the watchtowers and examine whether they can see far off whatever is to come; and if they foresee the dangers of the said type (*si pericula, qualia dicta sunt, praeviderint*), they ought to forewarn the subjects of their avoidance (*de illis vitandis*).<sup>2</sup>

Hence on that verse of Isiah 52, *the voice of your guardians*, the Gloss says, ‘They are guardians who are in the watchtower so that they foresee all, and warn the subjects’. And on that verse of 1 Timothy 4, *In the last days certain people will depart from the faith*, the Gloss says, ‘against whom it must be guarded even more now, in order that the forewarned Church is aroused (*sollicita*) so that it is not surrounded by those men’. For it is the duty of bishops to resist the pseudo-preachers, as the Gloss to the beginning of 1 Timothy says with these words, ‘the Apostle wrote to the bishop Timothy, left behind in Asia, about episcopal duty, namely how he should resist the psuedo-apostles’. Hence Bishop Ephesinus is recommended this

<sup>1</sup> This line picks up what is asked at the start of the chapter; but since the syntax would become so convoluted if I followed William’s long ‘periodic’ sentence, I have broken it up and supplied in square brackets what William concludes here.

<sup>2</sup> See above, n. 7 on p. 32.

in Revelations 2 by the Lord with these words, *I know*—that is, /43/ I approve, *your works, and your labour*, that is, tribulation—and *since you can sustain evils*—the Gloss: ‘but that you correct or drive [them] out’—and you have tested *those who say that they are apostles*, yet and are not’—that is, they say they are sent by God so that they might deceive more easily—and *you have found them to be liars, and you have patience*—the Gloss: ‘in evils, which those ones conjoined [to them] introduce through terrestrial powers’—*and you have sustained them on account of my name*—that is, not for the sake of human praise.

Similarly, this is a power of bishops: that they inquire, punish, and avenge in their own dioceses, without the impediment of another—even, if it is necessary, by convening public help: *Extra, De offic. ordin.*, cap. 1.<sup>3</sup> For they must purge their own dioceses of the wicked men, wherever they might be, according to the form of the protector of the province: *Digest, De officio praesidis, lex Praeses*;<sup>4</sup> and with nothing hindering this privilege: Cod., *ubi de crimine agi oporteat, aut qua in provincia*.<sup>5</sup> They especially must purge their own diocese of heretics and those who sow errors; otherwise, they ought to be deposed, and others ought to be substituted in their place, who want and are able to do this: *Extra, De hereticis, cap. Excommunicamus*, § ‘Adiicimus’<sup>6</sup>. And it is thus clear whose part it is to investigate into, foresee, and repel the aforesaid dangers from the Church—namely, the prelates.

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<sup>3</sup> X 1.31.1 (2.186).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Dig. 1.18.3 (1.44).

<sup>5</sup> This appears to be a reference to Cod. 3.15 (2.128–9), though the title here is ‘Ubi de criminibus agi oportet’, and there is no ‘law’ with that incipit. (There are two in this title: ‘Quaestiones eorum criminum’ and ‘Sciens liberum venundando’.) It is possible that these Roman law citations are due to a confused reference in the so-called *glossa ordinaria* to one of the decretals William cites in this chapter.

<sup>6</sup> X 5.7.13, §7 (2.788–9).

## 10 How the prelates of the Church, both now and in the future will incur punishment if they will have been negligent about the aforesaid dangers

**C**ONCERNING THE TENTH, namely, what penalty the prelates of the Church shall incur if they stand forth as negligent concerning the aforesaid dangers, it must be known that if the bishops did not make these said dangers, their blood, who will perish in those dangers, will be required of their hands. Ezechiel 3: *I shall require his blood from your hand.* And, besides this penalty, which will occur in the future, they will be punished even in the present, for, as it is said to Daniel, a man of desires, and standing in his grade. Daniel 10: *I have come to teach you what will come upon your people in the last days.* Conversely, then, with respect to the bishops not standing in their grade—that is, those bishops who are negligent about the aforesaid [dangers]—their hearts will be blinded so that they will not be able to understand the said dangers, /44/ nor guard against them; and will therefore perish in them. And this is what is said in Isiah 6: *Blind the heart of this people, and oppress their ears, and close their eyes.*

Similarly, even the guardians of the Church will be punished, if they will not have stood on their watchtowers in order to foresee and pre-announce the dangers to the Church,<sup>1</sup> since, when on account of their own negligence they are seen by that very fact to say that there is peace and security, a sudden ruin will come on those and on their subjects according to what the Apostle says in 1 Thessalonians 5, speaking about the end times, *For they will have spoken peace and security; then, suddenly destruction shall fall upon them.* Both the prelates and their subjects, then, will incur these aforesaid punishments, if they be negligent in the aforesaid [matters].

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<sup>1</sup> See above, n. 7 on p. 32.

11 That, although the aforesaid dangers  
were prophesized, they can yet be  
repelled at present, if they are strongly  
resisted

**C**ONCERNING THE ELEVENTH, so that the prelates, whose duty it is to repel those dangers, are not able to say ‘we cannot repel those dangers because the Apostle prophesized that they are sure to come’,<sup>1</sup> For that reason, that same Apostle comes to mind, saying in 2 Timothy 3, that if the prelates, whose duty it is to defend the Church, strongly oppose themselves by powerfully resisting those seducers, their seduction will become manifest, and they will be conquered—just as Moses, with the displeasure of the king and people of Egypt not hindering (whose favour the aforesaid Magi had), overcame them by strongly resisting them (for they failed in the third sign in Exodus 8); and thus the insipience of the great, which was earlier reputed to be great by the Egyptians, was made manifest by Moses. And so, the prelates of the Church, who are figured by Moses, if they strongly resist those seducers, with the displeasure of kings, princes, people, and Christians not opposing them (*non obstante offensa Regum, . . .*)—whose favour and grace they have acquired through evil tricks, according to what Seneca says to Lucilius, ‘popular favour is sought through evil tricks’<sup>2</sup>—they will no doubt overcome them, and make manifest their insipience, which was earlier reputed wisdom. cf. 2 Tim. 3:8–9

And the Apostle predicted this in these /45/ words, *But they will not profit further*; the Gloss, ‘by seducing’. For, in short, they will fail, overcome by the prelates, whose duty it is to defend the Church. *Indeed insipience*—the Gloss, ‘which is now reputed wisdom’—*will become manifest to all*—the Gloss, ‘through good men’ (namely prelates or doctors)—*just* 2 Tim. 3:9

<sup>1</sup> Literally, ‘since it will be so’ (*ex quo ita futurum esse*); it is tempting to emend ‘futurum’ to ‘futura (pericula)’, but William is simply referring to a future state of affairs in the abstract, rather than the dangers themselves. The point William wants to make of course, is that the fact that the dangers will come does not preclude the possibility of (in the end) repelling them.

<sup>2</sup> Seneca, *Epistulae morales* 29.11 (3.8) (in L. D. Reynolds, ed., *L. Annaei Senecae ad Lucilium epistulae morales* 2 vols. [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965], 1.83).

as their insipience (namely of the great men) was made manifest through Moses, who bears the figure of prelates.

But, lo! how will their insipience, which was earlier reputed wisdom, be made manifest? For when the Christian princes and people, who have entrusted their souls to be ruled by the aforesaid seducers;<sup>3</sup> and when they have placed the hope of their salvation in them, according to their preaching and outcry, as if they were their spiritual fathers, through the exhortation of the prelates and doctors of the Church, they will notice that they do not have the power of ruling souls (which they are usurping to themselves), and thus they will realize that they have been deceived. Then, when they have abandoned those [seducers], they will return to the counsels and precepts of their prelates, and *then* the insipience of the aforesaid seducers—which was earlier reputed wisdom—will become apparent.

And Augustine says this in the Gloss there, reciting the authority of *cf. Jer. 17:11* Jeremiah who compares those seducers to the foolish partridge, which congregates at his outcry foreign chickens (*pullos alienos*) which he did not produce, and makes them riches; that is, he claims them as his own. But, in the end, the chickens, recognizing that she is not their mother, leave her, and then the partridge's foolishness becomes apparent. And the Gloss says this: 'He compares those seducers to the Magi of the Pharaoh, whom *cf. Jer. 17:11* Jeremiah compares to the foolish partridge, saying *the partridge* shouted and congregated what she did not produce, and made them riches, not with judgement, that is, rashly, *they will abandon her in the middle of his days, and in her last days she will appear foolish*, that is, that partridge will appear foolish.' Similarly, those ones will also be made manifest, and will appear foolish. Thus it is apparent, therefore, that the aforesaid dangers will be able to be repelled in time (*ad tempus*), if the prelates will lead strongly for the sake of resisting (*duxerint [ad] resistendum*). /46/

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<sup>3</sup> Reading 'qui dictis Seducoribus suas commiserunt animas *ad regendas*' for '... ad regendum'.

## 12 How one must proceed in repelling the said dangers



CONCERNING THE TWELFTH, namely how the said dangers are to be repelled, it ought to be known that six things will be necessary in order to repel them.

- [1] First is to consider carefully who are they who penetrate homes, and whether they they have already come to the Church of Christ. This is warned in Isiah 21 in these words, *Go, and station the guardian*, that is, *rouse the guardians to watch for the aforesaid* [dangers]. And the good guardians gladly do this, according to what he says in Isaiah in the same place: *I stand on the watchtower of the Lord ceaselessly.* *Isa. 21:6*
- [2] Second is that, when this is discovered, it be indicated to those who do not know. Hence in Isaiah 21, after it is said *station the guardian*, it is immediately subjoined, *so that he announce whatever he shall see*: for the guardian cannot otherwise free his soul: Ezechiel 33 33 *cf. Ez. 33* (throughout the whole chapter).
- [3] Third is when they have indicated [the dangers], they command them to be avoided as the Apostle says in 2 Timothy 3, *Avoid these ones as well*, where he speaks about such people. *2 Tim. 3:5*
- [4] Fourth is to forbid them the licence of teaching<sup>1</sup> or preaching; for as it is said in 1 Corinthians 15, *they corrupt good customs with depraved speech*. But they will have wicked speech, for just as it is said in 2 Timothy 3, *just as Iannes and Mambres resisted Moses, so those ones will resist the truth.* *1 Cor. 15:33*  
*2 Tim 3:8*

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<sup>1</sup> In order to be able to teach, one needed a *licentia docendi*. Alexander III recognized the right of a chancellor or master of a school to grant this licence (c. 1170). Generally the idea was that he should grant it to any suitable candidate and not simply those who were willing or able to pay for the privilege; but this did not always work out so smoothly in practice. In Paris, the masters attempted to regulate the process by claiming the right of examining (and passing) candidates. Finally, it should be remembered that receiving a licence to teach did not automatically mean one was now a ‘master’ (of a faculty) the way, e.g., William was: for that, one still had to incept—and in Paris in the 1250s, there were only twelve theology chairs to which one could incept. Control over these chairs was likely a serious motivating factor in the secular-mendicant controversy of this period.

- [5] Fifth is to command those who are of their sect to desert it; for such  
 2 Tim. 3:8 people will finally desert Christ: 2 Timothy 3: *Men corrupt in mind, reprobate with regard to the faith.*
- [6] Sixth is to prevent those who are not of their sect from becoming part  
 2 Tim. 3:9 of it; for their sect *shall not profit* by learning or teaching, *but their foolishness will become manifest to all*: 2 Timothy 3.

And if these six things would be done, the aforesaid dangers would be sufficiently repulsed, as far as the the penetrators of homes are concerned.

But as far as all the pseudo are concerned in general, it must be known that it is necessary to avoid them in like manner. Hence it is said about  
 Rom. 16:17-18 them /47/ in the last chapter of Romans, *But I ask you, brothers, that you observe them*—the Gloss: ‘that is, discern’—*who make dissensions and small offences, contrary to doctrine which you teach*—the Gloss: ‘from the true apostles and in this he touches upon the pseudo, whom he warns must be guarded against in the whole Church, and to turn away from them—for people of this kind do not serve the Christ but their own belly’—the Gloss: ‘they flatter some, and detract from others, so that they can fill their own stomach’—*and through sweet speeches, they seduce the hearts of the innocent*—the Gloss: ‘they commend their own tradition with composed words, with which they deceive the hearts of the simple’.

Now, concerning the otiose, gyrovags, and curious—who all must be avoided: since they frequently become pseudo as well, they both become dangerous to the whole Church for that reason, and live contrary to the doctrine of the Apostle—it ought to be known that the Apostle says in 2  
 2 Thess 3:6 Thessalonians 3, *We denounce you, brothers, in the name of the Lord*—the Gloss: ‘we command you through authority of Christ’,—*so that you withdraw from every brother walking unorderedly*. Augustine, in his book *On the Work of Monks*, where he recites this authority of the Apostle, he says  
 2 Thes. 3:6-7 (*ponit*) ‘restless’ for what is [actually] said: ‘unorderedly’.<sup>2</sup> And below: *And not according to the tradition which they have received from us; for you yourselves know that we were not restless amongst you*—the Gloss, ‘just like  
 2 Thes. 3:8 those who worry about others’ business, wandering hither and thither’—*nor have we freely eaten bread from anyone, but working in labour and weariness, day and night*. It is thus therefore clear how the said dangerous men

<sup>2</sup> Augustine, *De opere monachorum* 3,4 (CSEL 41.536). Augustine ‘misquoted’ Paul as William notes.

are to be avoided, and how the aforesaid dangers, which are imminent in them, are to be repelled.

If, however, *breviori manu* the prelates of the Church wished a sermon from the aforesaid in a briefer fashion (*breviori manu prædicationem a prædictis*), and consequently take precautions (*prævideant*) to remove the dangers, which follow from their sermon, from the Church, so that they are *not* able to demand or receive expenses. For doubtlessly they would not preach long if they were not to receive, as the the Gloss says on 2 Corinthians 11, *in order that I might shorten the occasion for those who wish one*; <sup>2 Cor. 11:12</sup> the Gloss, ‘the Apostle removed the occasion of taking expenses from the pseudo-apostles, for they know that if they did not receive any, they would not preach for very long’. For there are two things which offer solace for their sermon (*prædicationi fomentum præstant*), namely, *because they wish to live from the Gospel with otiose hands*; and because they mostly wish to live from curiosity, that is, from worrying about others’ business—both of which is unlawful for them. <sup>cf. 1 Thes. 4:11</sup>

For because they are unable to live from the Gospel who are not true apostles, or who do not have their power, from which it is clear, since /48/ on that verse of 2 Thessalonians 3, *working day and night*, the Gloss says, <sup>2 Thes. 3:8</sup> ‘those pseudo ought to live more from labour because they do not have this power’, namely, of living from the Gospel. Likewise, 1 Thessalonians 2: *nor were we sometimes in an occasion for avarice, since we can be a [cause for] burden, so that the Apostles of Christ*; the Gloss: ‘he calls it the due of apostolic power a burden on account of the pseudo, who would demand it inconveniently from the people, usurping unduly’. Augustine also expressly says this in the book *On the Work of Monks*, speaking about certain regulars who wish to live from the Gospel, saying thus:<sup>3</sup> <sup>cf. 1 Thes. 2:5–7</sup>

Those brothers of ours, however, rashly claim for themselves (as far as I estimate) that they have a power of this kind, namely, of living from the Gospel; for if they are Evangelists, if ministers of the altar, if dispensators of the Sacraments, I confess they do have [that power]—

<sup>3</sup> Augustine, *De opere monachorum* 21.24 (CSEL 41.569–70): ‘Isti autem fratres nostri temere sibi arrogant, quantum existimo, quod eiusmodi habeant potestatem. Si enim evangelistae sunt, fateor, habent: si ministri altaris, dispensatores sacramentorum, bene sibi istam non arrogant, sed plane vindicant potestatem.’

as if he said, if they do not have these duties, nor do they have the power of living from the Gospel. Yet it is agreed that they do not have these duties except those who have a people subject to them, as it was shown above.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Thes. 5:12* Similarly <sup>1</sup> Thessalonians 5: *We ask you, brothers, that you know, that is, [that] you show that you know, those who labour among you, that is in your guidance and doctrine, and they are ahead of you in dignity.* And in this: <sup>1</sup> *Thes. 5:12* *in the Lord, that is, in the ordination of the Lord.* Expenses, therefore, are owed only to those who have responsibility (*praesunt*) in the guidance of souls and in the dignity of office.

Yet that it is not lawful for them to live off of curiosity, or off of worrying about other's business is clear through the Apostle saying, <sup>2</sup> *Thes. 3:7* *for we were not restless amongst you;* the Gloss, 'like those who worry about other's business, wandering hither and thither'. And below: <sup>2</sup> *Thes. 3:11* *For we have heard certain ones among you walk about restlessly, doing nothing, but act curiously;* the Gloss: 'from another's business, and they deserve to be fed in this way'; to which deed lordly discipline is adverse (? *Quod factum abhorret disciplina Dominica*; for their God is their stomach, who provides necessities to them with foul care. Hence those can truly be said to insert themselves in secular business, since from such care they collect much money, contrary to the Apostle, saying <sup>2</sup> *Tim. 2:4* *No one fighting for God involves themselves in secular business;* the Gloss, 'that business is secular, since the soul is occupied by the care of the money to be collected without labour of the body, for he works with care, not the hands'.

Similarly, because such people must live from the labour of the body; rather, all Christians [must live from the labour of the body] who have nothing from which they might live, yet are able in body (with nothing hindering)—*even if* they are free for spiritual works, which are better. The <sup>1</sup> *Thes. 4:11* Apostle says in <sup>1</sup> Thessalonians 4, *Work with your hands, just as we command you, and /49/ you will desire something for no one;* the Gloss, 'still less ask'. And in <sup>2</sup> *Thes. 3:10* <sup>2</sup> Thessalonians he repeats the same thing, saying *For even when we were among you, we declared this to you, since if someone does not wish to work, nor let him eat;* the Gloss of Augustine says,

they say, indeed, that the Apostle had commanded this about spiritual works; otherwise, if he said this about bodily work, on what either the farmers or the helpers (*opiferes*) laboured, they would seem to think contrary to the Lord, who says in the

<sup>4</sup> See above, starting on p. 13.

Gospel, *Do not be solicitous, saying ‘what shall we eat?’*. But they try superfluously to lay down a fog for both themselves and others so that what charity usefully warns, they not only not want to do it, but nor do they wish to understand, for the Apostle most openly teaches what he thinks here in many other places of the Epistles. For he wants the servants of God to work corporally, from which they might live, so that they are not compelled to seek necessities out of poverty.

*Mt. 6:31*

### [Some objections about the value of mendicancy solved]

If it is asked here, of what sort is the danger in seeking or begging necessities? We respond that since those ones who live from mendicancy, become flatterers, detractors, liars, and thieves, and turn away from justice.<sup>5</sup> Hence on that verse of 2 Thessalonians 3, *that we give ourselves as a form for you in order that you imitate us*, the Gloss of Augustine: ‘The Apostle gave himself as a form for them, who were a weak substance in the people, so that they learn not to lose their liberty’. And below: ‘It is necessary that one given over to leisure who frequently comes to a stranger’s table flatter the host—even though our religion calls men to liberty.’<sup>6</sup> Behold the danger of flattery! Similarly, on that verse of 1 Thessalonians 5, *we ask you, brothers, that you know those who labour in the Gospel*, the Gloss says, ‘just as riches produce negligence towards salvation, so does need turn away from justice as long as it seeks to be sated’. And in Proverbs: *Give me neither mendicancy nor riches*; and below: *lest . . . I become a thief, compelled by need, and perjure the name of the Lord*; the Gloss: ‘lest I fall into the oblivion of eternity (*in obliuionem æternorum*) in the wealth or poverty of transient things’.

*2 Thes. 3:9*

*Prov. 30:8*

*Prov. 30:9*

<sup>5</sup> Cf. gl. ad 1 Thes. 5:12.

<sup>6</sup> The term *religio*, here translated as ‘religion’, can be misleading. According to Dominic Monti, OFM (‘The Friars Minor: An Order in the Church?’ *Franciscan Studies* 61 [2003]: 235–252), the term was meant to designate ‘the practices an individual adopted to express devotion to God’; thus ‘a religious [*religiosus, religiosa*] was a person who had publicly bound himself or herself to this type of [more rigorous than normal] commitment within the Church’ (p. 237). William used this gloss to try to identify these newer orders with traditional monastic ones (as he does elsewhere); whether he was justified in doing so may be an open question, but, generally speaking, the friars themselves tended to see themselves as different from their monastic brethren.

But someone will say, ‘Surely it is a work of perfection to leave everything behind for Christ, and afterwards beg for Christ?’

We respond: to leave everything behind for Christ, and to follow Christ, *Lk. 18:21* by imitating him in good works, is a work of perfection. Luke 18: *Sell everything that you have and give to the poor . . . and follow me*; without doubt, by working well, but not by begging, for this is prohibited by the Apostle, as was said above.<sup>7</sup>

How is the perfect man to live then, you will ask, after he has left everything behind? /50/

We respond: either by working bodily with their hands, or by entering a monastery, where they might have the necessities for life. On the first *Lk. 12:33* [option] it is said in Luke 12, *Sell what you possess, and give alms*; the Gloss: ‘so that, with all your things once spurned for the Lord’s sake, you afterwards work with labour of your hands, whence you might live’. On the second [option], it is said in Acts, *Everything was common to them*, and there was no need among them. And an ecclesiastical constitution is published on this point, 12 q. 1 c. *Videntes*,<sup>8</sup> where it is said concerning the things of the Church, ‘the bishops and faithful dispensers ought to minister all necessities for all those wishing to live a common life, exactly as they will be able to live better, so that no one be found needy amongst them’. And below: ‘If someone shall come forth today or in the future to try to take this away, let him be stricken with a writ of damnation’.

This is also understood in the example of the Lord, *who*, where it is said of Judas that *he was a thief, and holding a purse*; the Gloss, ‘guardian of the Lord’s purse’; and Augustine in 12 q. 1 c. 17, ‘The Lord had a purse, conserving the offerings from the faithful, assigning them for both their own necessities and for other needy’.<sup>9</sup> Similarly, both the Lord, and his apostles carried about Christian wives, who offered them servitude, and *1 Cor. 9:5* ministered [to their] necessities, just as the Gloss says on that verse, *Do we not have the power of carrying about a sister, a wife?* But after the Lord, who ministered necessities to the apostles out of his own purse (as it is said) receded bodily from those very apostles through his death and resurrection, the apostles did not turn to begging: though they were preachers, and were due to have expenses from those to whom they preached, they nevertheless

<sup>7</sup> See, e.g., p. 44 above.

<sup>8</sup> C. 12 q. 1 c. 16 (1.682–3).

<sup>9</sup> C. 12 q. 1 c. 17 (1.682–3).

asked nothing from them, nor did they beg; however they did seek victual by means of their licit method (*arte*) when they did not have anything from which they might live. Hence, on that verse of John 21, *Simon Peter said to them, go fish*, the Gloss says,

‘after the spirit of the insufflation (*insufflationis*) was received, after his words *just as the Father sent me, so I also sent you*, suddenly they became apostles because they had been fishermen, namely, not of men, but of fish. But it must be known that they were not prohibited to seek victual by their licit method, while the integrity of the apostolate was preserved. When they had not whence they might live, and thus God provided (*adiexit*) the necessities, which he promised, to those labourers’.

But they received offerings, for the apostles knew that it is not to be given out of necessities, or out of sadness,<sup>10</sup> and they sought nothing for that reason: *Each and every one, as he has determined in his heart, not out of sadness or necessity; for /51/ God loves a cheerful giver*; the Gloss: ‘He who gives on account of present modesty (*pudorem*), or so that he be free of an alm-seeker’s disdain,<sup>11</sup> he loses both the thing and the merit’. On the contrary, they were content with offerings, and sought the remaining necessities by the labour of their hands. Hence on that verse of Luke 10, *Eating and drinking what was amongst them*, the Gloss says, ‘He granted expenses from preaching; in such a way, though, that they would be content with the offered food and drink (*oblatis cibo & potu*). Indeed, even when asked, the apostles did not wish to receive [anything], fearing that they would burden the offerers. Hence the apostle says in 2 Corinthians 8, *With much begging, begging of us grace and communication of the ministry, which was done towards the saints*. That is, as the Gloss says, ‘For, being afraid, I would not agree with them that we would permit them to have the grace and communication of the ministry which was done towards the saints; they begged us that it be licit to give them their things, not as their own, but as if they were common’. And yet the bread of the apostles was not free; hence on

<sup>10</sup> The text is somewhat faulty here: the ‘d’ from the first word (*destinavit*) of the last line on the page has been inserted into *tristitia*, which is broken over the third and second to last lines: viz, *tristidtia*.

<sup>11</sup> Literally, ‘so that he lack the loathing of a molester’ (*ut tædio interpellantis careat*), but in the context of the *De periculis* we can be fairly certain that William wants us to think about people who accost people for alms—and expect them to be given.

<sup>1</sup> *Cor.* 9:7 that verse of 1 Corinthians 9, *Who feeds the flock, and does not eat on the milk of the flock?*, the Gloss says, ‘Whatever is given to those placed in command by the people is called milk of the flock’; and with these words the Apostle indicates that the apostles do not usurp to themselves beyond due, if they, as the Lord established, living from the Gospel eat the wages (*sumptus*) from those to whom they preached gratuitous grace (*gratuitam gratiam*). But (*quin*) in that which they have received, they did not seek their own interest, but the merits and fruit of the givers. Philippians 4: *I seek not the gift, but I require the fruit.*

### [That Christ and the Apostles never begged]

But that the Lord, or his apostles, begged, it is never found.<sup>12</sup> For what he sometimes sought from the Samaritan wife—in John 4, *Give me drink*—was not mendicancy, since the use of water is common; nor did he wish to drink corporal water, since he had not yet eaten, but he had sent the disciples into the city, so that they would purchase food; but it is said in the same place that he sought spiritual water from them, that is, faith, and he warned *that it itself sought the Holy Spirit*, as the Gloss says in the same place.

Similarly, it is thus clear that Christ could not beg from them to whom he preached. For it is agreed that he was a pastor: *I am a good pastor.* <sup>Jn. 10:11, 14</sup> Likewise, *he was sent to the sheep, who had perished in the home of Israel.* <sup>cf. Mt. 15:24</sup> But whether a pastor or preacher, to take wages from those whom he feeds like a flock, is not mendicancy but a legal power (*potestas*), as the Gloss <sup>2 Tim. 2:6</sup> says on that verse of 2 Timothy 2, *It is right that the agricultural labourer secure the first fruits.* Therefore, since Christ was the Pastor, and was sent to preach, it remains that he was not able to beg from those to whom he preached. On the contrary, he who says /52/ that he had not begged says that he was not a pastor, nor that he was sent by the Father, nor, consequently, that he was the Messiah promised in the Law, nor that he was the Son of God. Hence he who says this destroys the foundation of the Christian faith, and is not only a heretic, but also a heresiarch.

<sup>Lk. 19:5</sup> Likewise, what the Lord said in Luke 19, *Descend, Zacheus, swiftly, for today I must remain in your home*, was not mendicancy, but affability (*urbanitas*). For the Lord knew that Zacheus, even if he had not yet invited him, he nevertheless had the intent (*animum gerebat*) of inviting him: hence the Gloss in the same place, ‘Uninvited, he invited [himself], for though he

<sup>12</sup> Cf. William’s question ‘On the Quantity of Alms’, p. 80.

had not yet heard the word of the inviter, he had nonetheless heard his affection.

**[Other religious are not able to beg]**

Moreover, that the able-bodied are not permitted to beg, it is stipulated expressly in human law: *Codex, De mendicantibus validus, L. unica*,<sup>13</sup> and 31 q. 1 c. *Quomodo virginibus*,<sup>14</sup> where Jerome says, explaining that verse of the Apostle in 1 Timothy 5, *Let a widow be chosen of no less than sixty years of age*,<sup>1 Tim. 5:9</sup> ‘This here is a common precept about these widows, who are fed on the alms of the church’ And below: ‘and the age is prescribed for this reason: that only they who cannot now work receive the food of the poor’. And in D. 82 c. 1, it is said that a bishop give victual and vestment generously (as much as it should be possible for them) to the poor or infirm who through some debility (*debilitate faciente*) are unable to work with thier hands.<sup>15</sup> The healthy and able-bodied must not be given the alms of the poor mendicants, especially when they unjustly seek [them] in despising the precept of the Apostle in 1 Thessalonians 4, *work with your your hands, just as we commanded you*.<sup>1 Thes. 4:11</sup> And therefore, we must not give them what they ask, but correction instead. Matthew 5: *He who seeks from you, give to him*; the Gloss: ‘and if not that which he asks, but better, since you correct the one asking unjustly, for it is more useful that bread be taken away from the hungry if, secure from food, he neglects justice, than bread be broken with him so that, seduced, he acquiesce to injustice’. 5 q. 5 c. *Non omnis*.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, just as a cleric able to be sustained by the goods and resources of parents, if they receive what is of the poor, they certainly incur and commit sacrilege, and through the abuse of such things, they eat and drink their own indictment, as it is read in 16 q. 1 c. *Quoniam quicquid*.<sup>17</sup> So it seems that one able-bodied who can live by his own labour or from some other means without sin, if he receives alms of the poor, he commits sacrilege.

But someone will say: ‘There are in fact Regulars who, though able-bodied, yet the Church has permitted them to beg for a long time. Are

<sup>13</sup> Cod. 11.26(25).1 (2.435).

<sup>14</sup> C. 31 q. 1 c. 1 c. 10 (1.1111-2).

<sup>15</sup> D. 82 c. 1 (1.289).

<sup>16</sup> C. 5 q. 5 c. 2 (1.549-50).

<sup>17</sup> C. 16 q. 1 c. 68 (1.784-5).

such to be perpetually permitted to beg?’ /53/

We respond: No, since they act against the Apostle, and other Scripture; and the length of time does not diminish sins, but augments them: *Extra, De simonia, c. Non fatis*.<sup>18</sup> For this reason, if it were even confirmed by the Church through error, it must yet nevertheless be recalled when the truth is ascertained. For we do not deny that a sentence of the Roman See cannot be changed for the better (*in melius*): 35 q. 9 c. *Sententiam*.<sup>19</sup> And just as truth often roused grows splendid in the light, so also disaster recalled into judgement grows more serious, and without penitence—that is, let him be condemned with great seriousness, to the extent that it is not necessary to repent successively. For divine fruit is more often to be reckoned justice: so it is read in 35 q. 9 c. *Grave*.<sup>20</sup> And because some say that having nothing, neither individually, nor in common, is of greater perfection than having nothing individually, but having something in common, like the monks do, is contrary to the truth, since Prosper says in 12 q. 1 c. 13, ‘It is expedient that the resources of the Church be possessed’.<sup>21</sup> And below: ‘By virtue of this fact, he shows enough both that individual goods must be despised for the sake of perfection, and that the resources of the Church, which are perfectly common, can be possessed without being an impediment to perfection’.

Therefore having common possessions does not impede the Church, the Regular, nor diminish their perfection. So, therefore, it clearly appears from the aforesaid that neither the preacher, nor another Christian is permitted to beg perpetually if they can have the necessities of life from somewhere without sin. It is also clear that through the subtraction of begging, of the seeking of the necessities of life, the usurpation of preaching is taken away from the pseudo-preachers. And so it is clear, how the dangers which threaten the Church through those who penetrate homes, and through other pseudo, the lazy, curious, and gyrovagues can be repelled from the Church.

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<sup>18</sup> X 5.3.8 (2.750–1).

<sup>19</sup> C. 35 q. 9 c. 6 (1.1285).

<sup>20</sup> C. 35 q. 9 c. 8(7) (1.1286).

<sup>21</sup> C. 12 q. 1 c. 13 (1.681).

## 13 How and where the aforesaid dangerous men can be found

**S**ONCERNING THE THIRTEENTH, so that no one say ‘How can those seducers be kept away by the prelates, and be avoided by /54/ men, unless they are recognized? How, moreover, can they be known or where will they be found, or from where will those seducers come?’ For this reason, we professors, the aforesaid prelates, wishing to inquire into this, we will help through Scriptures in this way (Lord permitting) so that they will be unable to deviate.

It is certain that those seducers will not be from among the Barbarians, the Gentiles, or the Jews; but they will be from among the Christians, since the Apostle says about them in 2 Timothy 3, *Having the appearance of piety*; the Gloss, ‘that is, of the Christian religion’. Therefore it is agreed that they will be from among the Christians. 2 Tim. 3:5

Likewise, it must be known that among the Christians some are openly evil, and some, who seem to be good, are secretly evil. The seducers will not be found among the openly evil, but among those who seem to be good, since the Gloss says on that verse of Matthew 7, *Turn from the false prophets*, that is, ‘those who walk in humility out of a false religion’. Similarly, on that verse of 2 Corinthians 6, *Not in feigned charity*, the Gloss says, ‘the pseudo simulate charity in order to deceive’. It remains, therefore, that they will be from among the good-seeming (*apparentibus bonis*), for otherwise they could not deceive. Mt. 7:15 2 Cor. 6:6

Similarly, since among the secretly evil and the good-seeming, some are always free for the study of literature, [and] some are not always free. Those seducers will be found among those who are always free for the study of literature; hence the Apostle says about those in 2 Timothy 3 that they will be *forever learning*. And what follows, *Yet never arriving to the knowledge of truth*, must be understood from the truth of life and good operation leading to eternal life, to which, in the end, they will not arrive since even if they know many true things by the truth of cognition (or enunciation), they will yet not arrive—that is, in the end come to the truth of life and good action. On which, the Lord says in John 3, *He who does the truth comes to the light*; according to which Anselm distinguishes truth in the book *On* 2 Tim. 3:7 Jn. 3:20-21

<sup>2</sup> *Tim. 3:8* Truth.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, in the end *they will resist the truth, just as Iamnes and Mambres resisted Moses*, as it follows in the same place. For the Apostle called the knowledge of truth ‘the way’, which leads to life. Hence on that  
<sup>2</sup> *Tim. 3:7* verse, *Never arriving to the knowledge of the truth*, the Gloss says, ‘they always walk, and never arrive to the way. Let us, however, always walk in the way, until we shall arrive to where the road leads’, that is, until we shall arrive to eternal life. Thus it is therefore apparent they will be found among those /55/ who are always free for the study of literature.

Similarly, the Gloss of Gregory (in book thirteen of the *Moralia*) says  
<sup>Job 16:10</sup> that they will be found among the literate: *My enemy examines me with frightful eyes*. Gregory: ‘Just like Truth Incarnate has chosen poor idiots and the simple in his preaching, so, contrarily, will the Antichrist choose the cunning and two-faced of this world to preach his falsity’;<sup>2</sup> that is, ‘such as who convert the knowledge which they have to the cunning (*astutias*) of this world’.

Also, they are to be sought amongst the literate; not of all types, but among those whose counsel is reputed to be of great value: the highest and the best—as if he consults the Lord. So it is said about Achitophel in <sup>2</sup> *Kgs. 16:23* Kings 16, *Achitophel’s counsel, which he gave in his days, as if he consulted the Lord, both when he was with David, and when he was with Absalom*. But they will rightly be signified through Achitophel, who were first with David, and afterwards adhered to Absalom; for thus will they first adhere  
<sup>2</sup> *Tim. 3:5* to Christ: <sup>2</sup> Timothy 3: *Having the appearance of piety*; the Gloss: ‘for they will receive the same sacraments with us’. But, in the end, they will be contrary to Christ, since they will recede from Him, and from his faith:  
<sup>2</sup> *Tim. 3:8* <sup>2</sup> Timothy 3: *Men corrupt in mind, reprobate concerning the faith*.

Similarly, amongst the ones free for the study of literature, some are obliged only to the Lord’s precepts (and not to the counsels), but some are obliged to the counsels and the precepts—as do those who profess the

<sup>1</sup> Anselm, *De veritate* 5 (F. S. Schmitt, ed., *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi opera omnia* [Edinburgh, 1946], 1.173–99, at 181–3).

<sup>2</sup> Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* 13.10.13 (CCSL 143A.676): ‘Nam sicut incarnata Veritas in praedicatione sua pauperes idiotas et simplices elegit, sic e contrario damnatus ille homo quem in fine mundi apostata angelus assumet, ad praedicandam falsitatem suam, astutos ac duplices atque huius mundi scientiam habentes electurus est.’ (For just as Truth Incarnate has chosen poor idiots and the simple in his preaching, so will the damned man, whom the apostate angel will take up at the end of the world, chose cunning and two-face men who have knowledge of this world to preach his falsity.)

highest humility, the highest poverty, and the highest continence.<sup>3</sup> And those ones seem to be elect members among the members of the Church. Amongst those, however, the aforesaid seducers will be found, who will persecute the Church by usuping the power of the Church to themselves, and at length by sending the faithful of Jesus Christ into error, as was said above.

And Gregory says this on the verse of Job: *My misfortunes have arisen in that very place, to the right of the Orient*; Gregory: ‘The misfortunes rise up in that very place, to right of the Orient, for those ones will spring forth to the persecution of the Church who are believed to be elect members of the Redeemer’.<sup>4</sup> So, therefore, since those who obliged themselves to the counsels, and profess those three which were mentioned before, are believed to be elect members of the Church. It remains, according to Gregory, that those seducers will be found amongst those who have obliged themselves to the counsels profess the highest poverty, continence, and humility. /56/

Similarly, that those seducers must be found amongst those who will appear holier and wiser in the Church can be had through this, which the the Gloss says on that verse of Matthew 2, *It will be that Herod seeks a boy in order to kill him*, the Gloss: ‘As quickly as Christ appeared to the world, a persecution against him began, which figured the persecution of the saints’. And according to that gloss, just as those who opposed Christ at his first advent seemed wiser and holier than others, namely the scribes and Pharisees, so will those who will in the end resist Christ’s witnesses, that is, the preachers of truth, appear wiser and holier than others who will be in the Church.

Therefore, those seducers will be found among pious seeming Christians, ever given to the study of letters, cunning, and sciolists, famous in giving counsels (*in consiliis dandis*), obliging themselves not only to the precepts of the Lord, but also to the counsels. And such people, who will appear wiser and holier in the Church, on which account they will be believed to be elect members of the Redeemer. And for that reason, they will violently and suddenly injure the Church, for they are not extraneous to it, but established, as it were, in the viscera of the Church in the opinion (*reputatione*) of men.

<sup>3</sup> In this and the following paragraphs, William makes it clear that we are to connect the pseudo and heralds of the last days with the mendicant orders.

<sup>4</sup> Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* 20.22.49 (CCSL 143A.1039); cf. p. 18 n. 3 above.

And this is what Gregory subjoins in the aforesaid gloss on Job saying, ‘He asserts rightly that those ones will rise on that very spot against the Church, for while they are not extraneous who persecute, they [are] unexpectedly from them, and produce evils in that very spot.’<sup>5</sup> For now false men and hypocrites gather little by little in the Church under the appearance of religion so that they produce a great people from their own and other followers for their coming Antichrist. Hence on that verse of 2 Thessalonians 2, *The mystery of iniquity already works*, Augustine’s gloss says (taken from the nineteenth chapter of a book *On the City of God*), ‘Some think that all this is said of the evil and false, who are in the Church so long, until they attain such a number, who make a great people for the Antichrist; and this, they say, is the mystery of iniquity, for it seems secret’.<sup>6</sup> So, therefore, it is clear amongst whom the aforesaid seducers are to be sought and found.

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. 18 n. 3 above.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 20.19 (CCSL 48.732): ‘Alii uero et quod ait: “Quid detineat scitis” (2 Thes. 2:6) et “mysterium operari iniquitatis” (2 Thes. 2:7) non putant dictum nisi de malis et fictis, qui sunt in ecclesia, donec perueniant ad tantum numerum, qui Antichristo magnum populum faciat; et hoc esse mysterium iniquitatis, quia uidetur occultum.’ (But what others say—You know what detains and what the mystery on iniquity works—they do not think it said except about the evil and false men who are in the Church until they come to so great a number, which makes a great people for the Antichrist. And that this seems to be the ‘mystery of iniquity’, for it seems hidden.)

## 14 Many signs, some infallible, some probable, through which the aforesaid men can be recognized

**S**ONCERNING THE FOURTEENTH, besides the deduction already made, since the aforesaid seducers will say that they are apostles, or sent by God to preach and to save souls through their ministry, according to that verse of the Apostle in 2 Corinthians, *The pseudo apostles are the workers of deceit, transforming themselves into the apostles of Christ.* For this reason we will show certain infallible signs, though some probable, through which the pseudo-apostles will be able to be distinguished from the true apostles of Christ. 2 Cor. 11:13

[1] The first sign is that true apostles do not penetrate homes, nor lead captive women burdened with sin, as the pseudo do. 2 Timothy 3: *They are from thoe who penetrate homes, and lead captive women burdened with sins.* And this is explained in above in the second and fifth chapters. Those preachers, therefore, who penetrate homes and lead captive the women burdened with sins are not true apostles, but pseudo. 2 Tim. 3:6

[2] The second sign is that true apostles do not deceive the hearts of the simple with composed words by which they commend their own traditions, as the do the pseudo. Romans, last chapter: *Through sweet sermons and benedictions, they seduce the hearts of the innocent;* the Gloss, ‘They commend their own traditions with composed words, by which they deceive the hearts of the simple’. They seduce hearts of the simple so much, however, that they make them follow their own sect, which they call ‘religion’.<sup>1</sup> And those who lived in simplicity earlier, after their entry, they became cunning, hypocrites, pseudo, and penetrators of homes, together with them—and sometimes they become worse than them. Hence in Matthew: *Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites for you encircle the sea and the desert (aridam), that you make one proselyte, and when you have made him, you make him the son of Gehenna doubly more than you.* Those who do this, therefore, are not true apostles, but pseudo. /58/ Rom. 16:18  
Mt. 23:15

[3] The third sign is that *true apostles, if they accused, they bear it patiently.* 2 Corinthians 12: *Signs of my apostolate are made over you in all* 2 Cor. 12:12

<sup>1</sup> See above n. 6 on p. 45.

*patience*; the Gloss, ‘He recalls patience, which pertains to the customs of the preacher’. He who does not sustain correction, therefore, are not true apostles; indeed, they show that they are not Christians. <sup>1 Cor. 12:3(!)</sup> 3: *No one can say ‘The Lord Jesus’ unless in the Holy Spirit*; the Gloss, ‘Christians must be humble so that they patiently accuse themselves, not mollify with adulations’. Similarly, such people show themselves to be carnal, though they will pretend that they are spiritual. <sup>Gal. 4:16</sup> Galatians 4: *Speaking the truth, I have therefore made myself your enemy*; the Gloss, ‘No carnal man wishes to accuse an errant man’. Those preachers, therefore, who do not sustain correction do not seem to be true apostles, but pseudo.

[4] The fourth sign is because true apostles do not commend themselves. <sup>2 Cor. 4:5</sup> 2 Corinthians 4: *We ourselves do not preach*; and 2 Corinthians 19: <sup>2 Cor. 10:12(!)</sup> *We do not dare to impose ourselves, or compare ourselves to anyone who commend themselves*. The Gloss: ‘like the pseudo, who commend themselves by certain arts—not God them’. Similarly, true apostles, even if they render themselves commendable in the conscience of men (not only in the sight of men) through good works, as the Apostle says in 2 Corinthians 4, <sup>2 Cor. 4:2</sup> *Commending ourselves in the conscience of men in the presence of God*, they nevertheless do not commend themselves in the comparison to others. Hence, the Gloss in the same place: ‘Making ourselves commendable without the comparison of others’. Indeed, they prefer the virtues of others to themselves. Hence on 2 Peter, last chapter, *Just as our dearest brother Paul, according to the wisdom given him by God has written to you*, the Gloss: ‘The first of the apostles, forgetful of his primacy, marveled at the key to be given him, the wisdom given to Paul; for it is the custom of the elect that they marvel more at the virtues of others than their own.’ And <sup>Phil. 2:3</sup> Philipians 2: *Superiors judging themselves in turn in humility*. They, therefore, who do the contrary, saying that their state or traditions are better than others, if they are preachers, are not true apostles, but pseudo.

[5] The fifth sign is that true apostles do not need letters of commendation;<sup>2</sup> nor do they make themselves be commended by men to men through letters. <sup>2 Cor. 3:1</sup> 2 Corinthians 3: *Why do we need letters of commendation like some?* The Gloss: ‘Like the pseudo’.

[6] The sixth sign is that true apostles do not preach unless sent. <sup>Rom. 10:15</sup> Romans 10: *How will they preach, unless they are sent?* The Gloss: ‘They /59/ are not true apostles unless sent, for no signs of virtue exhibit tes-

<sup>2</sup> Reading ‘commendatitiis’ for ‘commendatiis’.

timory to them'. But who might be sent is said above, in chapter two.<sup>3</sup> Those, however, who preach unsent are pseudo.

[7] The seventh sign is that the Pseudo, since they do not have authority from God, they claim authority in their own name. Hence on that verse in 2 Corinthians 10, *We do not dare to impose ourselves, or compare ourselves to certain ones*, the Gloss says, 'the Pseudo, with power not received but usurped from God, wish to dominate, claiming authority in their own name'. And, therefore, although they perhaps say that they are sent by God through inspiration or through spiritual prophecy—as John the Baptist says, *I am the voice of the one crying out in the desert, as the prophet Isiah says*: John 1. Or through a miracle—just as Moses turned the staff into serpent, and back again in Exodus 7—out to be excommunicated until they cease from preaching: Extra, *De haeret.*, cap. *Cum ex iniuncto*.<sup>4</sup> And although they might produce miracles, they are nevertheless not sufficient testimony of [their] mission, since they are frequently produced by evil men: 1 q. 1. cap. *Teneamus*.<sup>5</sup> And [this is true] especially in the final Church, where miracles ought to be suspect, since the Lord says in Matthew 24: *Pseudo-prophets shall rise, and give great signs and prodigies*. Those, therefore, who claim authority in their own name, since they do not have it from God, are not true apostles, but are pseudo.

[8] The eighth sign is that the Pseudo, pretending wisdom in superstition and humility, call their own traditions 'religion', which are rather sacrilege,

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> X 5.7.12 (2.784–7); cf. n. 12 on p. 12 above, but note that William is using it to make a slightly different point here.

<sup>5</sup> C. 1 q. 1 c. 56 (1.379): 'Teneamus, unitatem fratres mei. Preter unitatem et qui facit miraculum nichil est; in unitate erat populus Israel, et non faciebat miracula; preter unitatem erant magi Pharaonis, et faciebant similia Moysi. Populus Israel, ut dixi, non faciebat miracula. Qui erant saluandi apud Deum, qui faciebant miracula, an qui non faciebant? Petrus apostolus resuscitauit mortuum. Symon magus fecit multa. Erant quidam Christiani, qui non poterant facere quod faciebat Petrus, nec quod faciebat Symon. Sed inde gaudebant? quia nomina eorum scripta erant in celo.' (My brothers, let us hold onto unity. Beyond unity, the miracle one performs is nothing. The people of Israel lived in unity, and performed no miracles; the magi of the Pharaoh were not in unity and the performed miracles similar to Moses. The people of Israel, as I have said, did not performed miracles. Who were to be saved with God, those who performed miracles, or those who did not? Peter the apostle brought back the dead. Simon Magus performed many. There were some Christians who could not do what Peter did, nor what Simon did. But did they rejoice for that reason? For their names have been written in heaven.)

since they usurp the rights of others to themselves, namely, by glorying in others' people. Hence speaking in Colossians 2, the Apostle says about the pseudo, *According to the precepts and doctrines of men, which are indeed holding the reason of wisdom in superstition and humility*; the Gloss: 'That is, in simulated religion, since it be sacrilege, for what is against the author, is contrived by an impious mind' (*sacrilega mente inuentum est*). But it is certain that wishing to rule people by the mandate or authority of he who is a *plebanus* is against the author, that is, against God. Deuteronomy 23: *Having entered the vineyard, eat the grapes as much as it please you; but do not take away an account (acceptum)*;<sup>6</sup> the Gloss: 'One can correct or admonish others in the church of another bishop, but he is not permitted to rule the entire people, or treat of great business'. And what a bishop is not permitted [to do] in another's diocese, he is not permitted who has no /60/ jurisdiction.' For this, he does what is read in 6 q. 3 cap. *Scriptum est*,<sup>7</sup> and the whole of 9 q. 2.<sup>8</sup> Those preachers, therefore who call their own traditions contrary to God, or contrary Divine Scripture, "religion" they are not true apostles, but Pseudo.

**[9]** The ninth sign is that the Pseudo wish to live from the Gospel, not the labour of their own hands even though, by what power they have, they are not evangelists or dispensers of the sacraments—contrary to that verse of the Apostle in 2 Thessalonians 3, *Nor have we eaten bread from anyone for free, but working day and night in labour and weariness*. The Gloss: 'Those Pseudo who do not have the power which we have', namely of living from the Gospel, 'ought to live from their own labour much more'. And Augustine expressly says this in the book *On the Work of Monks* in these

<sup>6</sup> The text reads 'ne aufer acceptum' here; the Vulgate: 'ne efferas tecum'.

<sup>7</sup> C. 6 q. 3 c. 1 (1.562): 'Scriptum est in lege: "Per alienam messem transiens falcem mittere non debes, sed manu spicas conterere et manducare." Falcem enim iudicii mittere non debes in ea segete, que alteri uidetur esse commissa, sed per affectum boni operis frumenta dominica uiciorum suorum paleis expolia, et in ecclesiae corpus admonendo et persuadendo, quasi mandendo, conuertere.' (It is written in the law: "When going to a strangers table, you must not employ the sickle, but crumble the ears by hand and eat" (cf. Dt. 23:25). For you must not employ the sickle of judgment that seems to have been entrusted to another against that grain, but, through the a love for good work, convert the husked dominical grain of your neighbours even for the body of the Church, by admonishing, persuading, and, as it were, eating.)

<sup>8</sup> C. 9 q. 2 (1.602–5). The question Gratian posed in this section was: 'Secondly, whether it is licit for a bishop, archbishop, primate, or patriarch to ordain (*ordinare*) another's clerics without the proper (*propriis*) letters?' (1.600)

words:

Those brothers of ours, however, rashly claim for themselves (as far as I estimate) that they have a power of this kind, namely, of living from the Gospel; for if they are Evangelists, if ministers of the altar, if dispensators of the Sacraments, I confess they do have [that power].<sup>9</sup>

As if he had said, if they are not such, they do not have the power of living from the Gospel. Those preachers therefore, who, although they do not have the power of living from the Gospel, or dispensing ecclesiastical sacraments (in as much as, those who do not have a people, and are not in charge of the guiding of souls), wish to live from the Gospel are not true apostles, but Pseudo.

[10] The tenth sign is that Pseudo apostles rejoice in praising themselves rather than the doctrine of God. But true apostles, on the other hand, in *1 Thessalians 2*, *are not seeking the glory from men*; the Gloss: ‘He mentions the pseudo who wished to praise themselves rather than the glory of God; but the Apostle, who sought glory not for the present but for the future, made himself humble in order that preaching for God be exalted’. Those preachers, therefore, who wish to praise themselves rather than God’s doctrine are not true apostles, but are Pseudo. *1 Thes. 2:6*

[11] The eleventh sign is that true apostles preach only for God’s sake and for salvation of souls, not on account of temporal profit. *2 Corinthians 4*: *We ourselves do not preach*; the Gloss: ‘Our preaching tends not to our glory or profit, but to the glory of Christ’. But the preaching of the pseudo tends to the opposite; hence on that verse of *Philippians 1*, *Let Christ be announced either by occasion or by truth*, the Gloss says, ‘The Pseudo evangelize according to /61/ opportunity, seeking their own advantages, whether pecuniary, of honours, or of human praise, wishing to receive gifts from anyone, not seeking the salvation of the one to whom they preach (*annuntiant*), but their own advantage’. And below: ‘Whoever seeks something from God besides God, does not seek God chastely’. Hence on *2 Corinthians 12*, *I do not seek what are yours*, the Gloss: ‘Not your riches in gold or silver, but you’. The Gloss, ‘Which he otherwise would not have done, were I not to abstain from expenses’. And below: ‘So that, understanding that he put them before money, they would at last recognize his *2 Cor. 4:5*  
*Phil. 1:18*  
*2 Cor. 12:14*

<sup>9</sup> Augustine, *De opere monachorum* 21.24 (CSEL 41.569–70); quoted above on p. 43.

affection (*affectum*) for them'. Those preachers, therefore, who preach either for temporal profit, mundane honour, or human praise, are not true apostles, but are pseudo.

But how will it be known, when they preach for their own glory? We  
<sup>2 Cor. 10:17(!)</sup> reply that when they preach not having been called. 2 Corinthians 11: *He who glories, let him glory in the Lord*; the Gloss: 'Which he cannot do who does not have power from the Lord'. But he does not have power from the Lord who is not called by God, that is, by the Church. To that verse on  
<sup>Heb. 5:4</sup> Hebrews 5, *Nor does anyone assume honour to themselves but he who is called by God, like Aaron*, the Gloss: 'He is called by God who is rightly chosen by the Church'.

**[12]** The twelfth sign is that the Pseudo pretend that they have a greater zeal for souls than the rectors and pastors of souls do. Yet since they do not have the *cura* of them, it is against that which the Gloss says on that  
<sup>cf. 1 Thes. 2:7</sup> verse of 1 Thessalonians 2, *We became like children among you, as if the nurse fostered her sons*, the Gloss: 'the woman nourishes other people's sons for wages, not out of love; but her own [children] out of delight'. Those preachers, therefore, who pretend that they have a greater zeal for souls than their rectors, are not true apostles, but are pseudo.

**[13]** The thirteenth sign is that true apostles do not study for eloquence, or the composition of words. But, on the contrary, the pseudo do. <sup>2 Cor. 11:6</sup> 2 Corinthians 11: *For if unskilled in sermon*; the Gloss, 'The apostles were not eloquent, but the pseudo composed words'. Similarly, on that same verse, the other Gloss: 'The Corinthians preferred the pseudo to the true apostles, on account of their carefully performed (*accurati*) sermon'. Similarly, on <sup>1 Cor. 1:17</sup> 1 Corinthians 1, *Not in the wisdom of the Word, so that the cross of Christ be purged*, the Gloss: 'Not in the charm and adornment of words, for the Christian religion does not need pomp, and the polish of speech. Similarly, on <sup>1 Cor. 2:13(!)</sup> 2 Corinthians 1, *What we say is not in the learned words of human wisdom*, the Gloss: 'Just like the pseudo /62/ did'. For the apostle preferred to offer his words by the sole purity of truth than to darken the oration with eloquence. Those, therefore, who study for eloquence or the composition of words, are not true apostles, but pseudo.

**[14]** The fourteenth sign is that true apostles do not flatter men for profit, like the pseudo do—about whom it is therefore said in Ezechiel 13, *Woe to those who sew together little pillows of the hand under every bed, and make cushions under the head of every single age*—the Gloss: 'that is, gratifying adulation'—*and they dishonoured me to my people for a handful*

*of barley, and a crust of bread*—the Gloss: ‘that is, for the refreshment of the stomach’—*so that they kill the souls which are not dying*—the Gloss: ‘calling them dead if something is not put in their mouth’—*and quicken the souls which are not alive*—the Gloss: ‘False prophets prophesized death and misfortune to the just ones living in the Lord, and giving nothing to them; and they prophesized life and prosperity to the unjust, who are dead through sin, on account of their gifts’. Similarly, on 2 Corinthians 6, *We exhibit ourselves as ministers of God*, the Gloss: ‘Ministers of God do not flatter like the pseudo do, striving for profit’. And for that reason true apostles do not deal in the courts of princes and magnates, knowing that verse in Matthew 11, *Behold! Those who are dressed in soft clothes are in the houses of kings*; the Gloss: ‘A tough life, and preaching must turn away from the palaces of the soft, which flatterers frequent, dressed in soft clothes’. Those preachers, therefore, who linger about in courts, or who flatter in other places, are not true apostles, but are pseudo.

[15] The fifteenth sign is that true apostles do not beset men so that they give them temporal goods, whether in life or in death; rather, even having been asked, they do not wish to receive them. Hence in 2 Corinthians 8, the Apostle says, *Begging us with much exhortation*; the Gloss: ‘Since, scared, I would not assent to them that we are permitted by them to have thanks and the communication of ministers, which is done for the saints; they begged us that they be permitted to give their goods, not as individual goods, but as common’. But the pseudo, on the other hand, either seek importunately, or at least charmingly obtain [things]. 2 Corinthians 7, *We beset no one*; the Gloss ‘With a fraudulent removal of their things, as the pseudo do, who obtain things charmingly’. Similarly, in Matthew 24, *Woe to you, Scribes, and hypocritical Pharisees, who devour the homes of widows, praying long prayers*; the Gloss: ‘You who intend nothing by your superstition except that you make plunder from your subjected people’. And on Luke 20, *Who devour the homes of widows /63/ fashioning a long oration*; the Gloss: ‘They pray more prolixly so that they appear more religious, so that they receive praises and money from the weak, as if from a patron; whose oration turns into sin, for they effect salvation neither for others, nor for themselves. Rather, they will be damned more for these very orations since they will have deceived others through them’. Through this, however, that they receive gold and silver, it appears that they do not preach for the sake of the salvation of others, but for profit. Matthew 10: *For those who hold these things seem not to preach for the sake of salvation, but for profit*. Similarly,

*cf. Mic. 3:11* Jerome says on Michaea 3, that because certain prophets received money, their prophecy is made divination; that is, their prophecy is not to be a prophecy, but a divination—that is, not to be from God, but to be from the Devil. And this is read in 1 q. 1 cap. *Numquam*.<sup>10</sup> Those preachers, therefore, who beset men so that they give temporal goods to them, whether in life or in death, are not true apostles, but are pseudo.

**[16]** The sixteenth sign is that the Pseudo, when some harsh (*aspera*) unaccustomed truth is preached to them, they are irritated and bark the *Phil. 3:2* contrary.<sup>11</sup> Hence the Apostle says of them in Philippians 3, *See the dogs*; the Gloss, ‘that is, learn that they are dogs, barking—not from reason, but from habit—against an unaccustomed truth’. And below: ‘He well compares [them] to dogs, for just as dogs follow habit more than reason, so the pseudo-apostles hold to the law of custom, and irrationally bark and criticize against the truth’. Similarly, *2 Tim. 4:3* *They will collect masters for themselves according to their desires*; the Gloss, ‘Who teach them what they gladly would hear, for the truth will seem harsh to them’. Those preachers, therefore, who bark against a truth unaccustomed to them, and harsh to them, and ensure that that truth be passed over in silence, are not true apostles, but are pseudo.

**[17]** The seventeenth sign is that true apostles do not introduce annoyances to those who do not wish to receive them, but they send them away so that they do not seem to seek any terrestrial goods. Matthew 10: *Whosoever shall not receive you, departing from the city, shake off the dust from your feet*; the Gloss, ‘so that you show there is no appetite for terrestrial goods in your disposition (*affectibus*)’. Those preachers, therefore, who contest through lawsuits so that they may be received by men are not true *1 Cor. 11:16* apostles—especially since the Apostle says in 1 Corinthians 11, *If someone seems to be contentious among you, we do not hold such a custom in the Church of God.* /64/

**[18]** The eighteenth sign is that true apostles do not provoke princes, whose favour they have acquired, against those who do not wish to receive them. Accordingly, it is read in the *Vita Simonis & Iudae Apostolorum*, where it is said that an irate duke ordered a massive fire to be lit so that the pontiffs be cast therein, and all those who were seen to hide the apostles

<sup>10</sup> C. 1 q. 1 c. 24 (1.368).

<sup>11</sup> This may be an allusion to the pun on ‘Dominicans’ as *Domini canes*, i.e., ‘the Lord’s Hounds’.

of Christ; but the apostles prostrated themselves before the duke saying, ‘We beseech you, O Lord, that we not be the cause of their death, lest we who have been sent here for the salvation of men seem to bring the dead back to live, to kill the living. Those preachers, therefore, who procure princes more favourable to them against those who do not receive them (or hate them), are not true apostles of Christ, but are pseudo.

[19] The nineteenth sign is that apostles of Christ do not only have knowledge of those things which God has done, but also of those things which he will do at the end of the world. Hence in Revelation 4: *The animals were full of eyes before and behind*; the Gloss: ‘that is, the faithful having knowledge of those things which God has done or will do at the end of the world’. Therefore, those who say that they are ignorant of the dangers of the final Church, which are predicted, or do not care about those things as if they were ignorant, do not have eyes before and behind. Hence they are not true apostles; therefore, when they say that they are apostles, they are pseudo. *Rev. 4:6*

[20] The twentieth sign is that true apostles do not take temporal goods of those to whom they preach—through which they are distinguished from wolves, that is, pseudo. Hence Acts 20, *I have desired the silver and gold of no one*; the Gloss: ‘In this wolves are recognized because they desire this’. And below: ‘Those hands ministered to those things of which I and those who were with me had need’; the Gloss: ‘An example of working for even bishops, and a sign by which they are distinguished from wolves’. For such who seek from those to whom they preach (or another in their name) seem to commit simony, after the image Giezi, about whom it is read in 3 Kings 16 that he sought clothing from Naaman Syro, to whom his Lord, namely Elisaeus, gave the gift of health; and for such it is said that Giezi had sold the gift of health to Naaman Syro although he had sought the clothing without his lord’s knowledge, as Gregory Nazianzus says in 1 q. 1 cap. *Qui studet*.<sup>12</sup> Someone will say, Surely a preacher can seek wages (*sumptus*) from those to whom they preach, by begging at least? /65/ *Acts 20:33*

We respond: If he preaches from power—so that he feeds his flock like a true pastor with the food of the Word—he can receive wages. But this is not mendicancy, but power. 2 Timothy 2: *It is fitting that the field-worker receive the first-fruits*; the Gloss: ‘He makes the chaste evangelist secure, and wishes to understand that taking necessities from those whom he feeds *cf. 2 Kgs. 5:19–27*

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<sup>12</sup> C. 1 q. 1 c. 11 (1.360–1).

like a flock is not mendicancy, but power'. But nowhere is it found in sacred literature that a preacher can beg; rather mendicancy is prohibited to every Christian by the Apostle, abhorred by Salomon, and condemned by Augustine and other holy expositors as was shown above in the twelfth chapter.<sup>13</sup> Thus it is therefore clear that true apostles do not take, nor even beg temporal goods of those to whom they preach. Those, therefore, who seek from those to whom they preach (or another in their name) do not seem to be true apostles, but pseudo.

**[21]** The twenty-first sign is that true apostles are patient in tribulation, nor do they render evil for evil. Hence Matthew 10: *Behold I am sending you like sheep into wolves*; the Gloss: 'He who takes up the place of preaching, must not introduce evils, but tolerate them'. And with this example of the Lord, about which in 1 Peter 2, *Who does not curse when he cursed, but traded himself with the judge unjustly*. Those, therefore who do not tolerate evil, but introduce it instead, are not true apostles, but pseudo.

**[22]** The twenty-second sign is that true apostles were badly received when they first arrived, as the Lord says in Matthew 23, *You will be hated by all men on account of my name*, but they conquer afterwards. On par is that verse in 1 John: *Everything which conquers the world is from God*. Those therefore, who on the contrary are loved (*laetantur*) in the beginning, and well received, are yet spurned in the end; they do not seem to be true apostles, but pseudo.

**[23]** The twenty-third sign is that true apostles do not go to preach to those who have other apostles, for they do not wish to glory in another's people. Romans, last chapter: *But I have so preached the Gospel: not where Christ has been announced so that I do not build on another's foundation*. And 2 Corinthians 10: *Not glorying in another's labour beyond measure*; the Gloss: 'Where another had placed the foundation of faith'. Also on the same verse: 'Not having the hope to glory in another's rule', that is, in those committed to another's rule. Especially since Gregory says in the *Moralia*, 'When a superior place is commanded, he who /66/ obeys to participate in these things (*ad participanda haec*) empties the merit of obedience for himself, if he gasps after them by decree'.<sup>14</sup> Similarly Augustine: 'Honour

<sup>13</sup> See above, starting on p. 42.

<sup>14</sup> Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* 35.14.30 (CCSL 143B.1794): '... cum locus superior imperatur, is qui ad percipienda haec oboedit, oboeientiae sibi uirtutem euacuat, si ad haec etiam ex proprio desiderio anhelat.' (When a superior position is ordered, he who obeys in order to secure these things empties the merit of obedience

ought to seek you, not you honour'. Similarly Chrysostom: 'Primacy desires the one fleeing, it shrinks from the one who desires. Those, therefore, who ensure and enjoy to preach uninvited to another's people, which is an office of honour, especially in councils, synods, and important gatherings (*conuentibus magnis*), and indeed even in the curias of kings and prelates, are not true apostles, but pseudo.

[24] The twenty-fourth sign is that true apostles, even when they make great progress in the Church, are not thence raised up. Ezechiel 3: *Son of Man, I have given your face, like adamant.* Adamant, when it attracts iron, is not thence raised up, nor changed; similarly, a true apostle, when he attracts the hardest sinners through his own preaching, just like iron, he is not thence raised up. Likewise, in Luke 17: *When you have completed everything which has commanded of you, say 'we are useless servants'.* And Psalms 113: *Not to us, O Lord, give not glory to us, but to your own name.* They, therefore, who say of the fruit that they made it in the Church of God, arrogantly boast about themselves, saying 'We have illuminated the universal Church, which had been blind before our time, and we have extinguished the flame of sins in the Church of God', since they perhaps have promoted more hypocrisy, are not true apostles, but are pseudo—about whom it is said in the Canons of Judae, 'their mouth speaks in pride'.

[25] The twenty-fifth sign is that true apostles do not seek the world's approval, nor to be pleasing to men. Galatians 1: *If I were still pleasing to men;* the Gloss: 'that is, [if] I wished to please, I would not be a servant of Christ'. Hence 1 Thessalonians 2: *Not, as it were, pleasing to men;* the Gloss: 'That is, seeking to please, for nor do we have the appearance of one who pleases'. Those preachers, therefore, who seek the world's approval, and work to this end, are not true apostles, but pseudo.

[26] The twenty-sixth sign is that true apostles are content with the food and drink offered them, and do not seek more elegant rations. Like that verse in Luke 10: *Eating and drinking, what is among them;* the Gloss: 'He granted wages from the Gospel, to the extent nevertheless that they be content with the food and drink offered them'. Those preachers, therefore, who, although they are not holding any power, are none the less offended when more elegant food is not supplied to them, are not apostles, but pseudo.

[27] The twenty-seventh sign is that true apostles love the law of Christ

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for himself, if he gasps after them out of his own desire.)

*Prov. 7:2-3* more than their own honour, according to that /67/ verse in Proverbs 7: *Preserve my law, like it was the pupil of your eye; bind it in your fingers; Ps. 118:72 and write it on the tablet of your heart.* And on that verse in Psalms 118, *The law of your mouth is good to me, above the thousands of gold and silver,* the Gloss says, ‘Christ loves the Law of God more than cupidity loves the thousands of gold and silver’. He, therefore, who sees the Law of Christ crushed and removed through that cursed [work], which they call the *Eternal Gospel*, neglects and despises it [i.e., Christ’s Law], or perhaps consents to it through dissimulation, and yet does not dread to undertake lawsuits or incur scandals in order to preserve or seek his own honour: such a person, if he is a preacher, does not seem to be an apostle of Christ, but pseudo.

[28] The twenty-eighth sign is that true apostles do not seek wealthier lodging (or where better things may be procured), but more honest things, and where they might be given to them more freely. And they only receive from those whom they trust to think that a greater favour be done them if their gift were received than if a gift were given to them. According to *Mt. 10:11* Matthew 10: *Whichsoever city or fortress you enter, ask who be worthy in it and stay there until you leave.* The Gloss: ‘A host ought to be chosen by the testimony of the neighbours so that the preaching does not offend by cause of his dishonour’. Nor should one run about through homes, but *Rev. 5:2* in order to divert him immediately, *Who is worthy?* The Gloss: ‘He who knows who has more grace than he gives.’ That is, he who freely gives for Christ, not for some other advantage.

Similarly, true apostles do not receive from those who still lie in their own sins, but from those who have corrected their ways. Hence *2 Cor. 8:5* 2 Corinthians 8: *But they first gave themselves to the Lord;* the Gloss: ‘Those emending their old errors and vices of manner have vowed have vowed themselves to God, then offered their gifts to the brothers; for otherwise it was to have been received by them, because the gifts blind their eyes, and they weaken (*inclinant*) the laws of authority. But those who give so that they are not [themselves] accused, do not have the fruit of giving.’ Those preachers, therefore, who seek lodging where they might be better fed, and receive the gifts of evil rich men, so that they hide their own evils; or who receive their gifts, who give more in order to remove importunity, or to present modesty, than God; these are not true apostles, but pseudo. According to that in *2 Cor. 9:7* 2 Corinthians 9: *God loves the cheerful donor.* The Gloss: ‘He who gives something due to present modesty in order to lack the tedium of interrupter,

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loses both the thing and the merit.’ Hence he who receives from such does not seek the fruit but the gift against that of the Apostle in Philippians 4: *Phil. 4:17*  
*I do not seek a gift but require the fruit. /68/*

[29] The twenty-ninth sign is that true apostles do not labour to attend to (*curare*) another’s affairs in order to be fed therefrom, for the god of such is the stomach, according to 2 Thessalonians 3: *2 Thes. 3:11*  
*We heard that some walk restlessly amongst you, working nothing, but acting curiously.* The Gloss: ‘About the affairs of others, and in this way<sup>15</sup> they deserve to be fed. But dominical discipline abhors the fruit, for their god is their stomach, which provides necessities for them by means of a filthy concern. Those preachers, therefore, who do such things, are not true apostles, but are pseudo.

[30] The thirtieth sign is that true apostles do not rejoice in miracles, or other, more elegant, things which God does through them in order less so that they desire to be honoured for them, but rather so that they rejoice in salvation which they hope for from the Lord. According to that in Luke 10: *Lk. 10:20*  
*Do not rejoice in this: that the spirits are subjected for you; but rejoice that your names are written in the heavens.* Those therefore who glory in their own miracles, or those of their own people, and in this, that many are saved through their ministry (so they say), do not seem to be true apostles, but pseudo.

[31] The thirty-first sign is that true apostles never seek their own glory in this life, but the glory of Christ. According to that in John 7: *Jn. 7:18*  
*He who speaks about himself, seeks his own glory; but he who seeks the glory of he who sent him—that is, from whom he says that he was sent—is true.* Those therefore, who seek those things which pertain to the glory of this world (one of which is to assist those ruling, according to that of Boethius, *On the Consolation of Philosophy*, ‘Those who desire to be raised up in power, either reign themselves or try to cleave to those ruling’;<sup>16</sup> the other, though, is to wish to conquer, where there is no reward with God. Hence on that of Galatians 5: *Gal. 5:26*  
*Let us not be made desirous of inane glory,* the Gloss: ‘Empty glorying is to wish to conquer where there is no reward.’) In so far as they seek such things they do not seem to be true apostles, but pseudo.

[32] The thirty-second sign is that true apostles flee the solemnities

<sup>15</sup> The text is illegible here but seems to read *modo*.

<sup>16</sup> A paraphrase of *Consolatio philosophiae* 3.p2.6 (CCSL 94.38): ‘Sunt qui summum bonum in summa potentia esse constituent; hi uel regnare ipsi uolunt uel regnantibus adhaerere conantur.’ (There are those who establish the highest good in the highest power; these ones either wish to rule themselves or try to cleave to those ruling.)

of man, and the salutations, and the feasts. According to that [letter] of Jerome to Nepotianus, ‘I beg you, whether you are here or there, flee the crowds of men, the salutations, the offices, the feasts, as if they were certain chains of pleasure’. Those therefore who seek and love fellowship (*consortia*), feasts, and the offices of powerful seculars and rich men do not seem to be true apostles, but pseudo.

**[33]** The thirty-third sign is that true apostles do not /69/ frequently gather another’s table lest they become adulators, according to what the *2 Thes. 3:9* Gloss says on 2 Thessalonians 3, on that verse, *That we have given ourselves as a form for you so that you imitate us*, the Gloss: ‘He who frequently gathers at another’s table, given to idleness, it is necessary that he flatter the one feeding him; still, since our religion, namely Christian, calls men to liberty.’ Those, therefore, who freely and frequently gather at a stranger’s table, with corporal leisure, do not seem to be true apostles, but pseudo

**[34]** The thirty-fourth sign is that true apostles do not hate men, even enemies and those hating them. According to the teaching of the Lord in *Mt. 5:44* Matthew 5: *Love your enemies, and do them well who hate you*. Pseudo-prophets, however, injure and defame their neighbours. Hence on that *Jer. 23:15* verse of Jeremiah 23, *The pollution left from the prophets fo Jerusalem over all the land*, the Gloss says: ‘It does not suffice for them to injure their neighbours, but those whom they once hated, they strive to defame throughout the whole world’. Those preachers, therefore, who hate those whom they consider enemies, and defame them, they are not true apostles, but pseudo.

**[35]** The thirty-fifth sign is that the pseudo, when they are examined or tested, whether they are true apostles or liars, they do not patiently put up with this (which true apostles do), but rather they persecute thsoe who so wish to test them, and, in order to persecute them,<sup>17</sup> they immediately join themselves to (*per*) all terrestrial powers, just as certain psudo did in the primitive chruch, against the bishops of Ephesus, to whom the Lord says in Revelation 2, *I know—that is, I approve—your works, and your labour—that is, tribulation. And since You cannot sustain the evil men; the Gloss, ‘but that you emend or expell them’. And since you have proved thsoe who say that they are apostles, and are not; the Gloss: ‘That is, those who say they were sent by God and were not, in order to deceive more*

<sup>17</sup> The text reads *ad persequendum illos*; according to the rules of classical Latin, we should expect *ad persequendos illos*, but it was not altogether uncommon at this time for a gerund with *ad* to govern a direct object.

easily'. And *you have found them to be liars, and you have patience*; the Gloss: 'In evil things, which they themselves, conjoined, introduce through terrestrial powers'.

[36] The thirty-sixth sign is that true apostles do not go about, about to preach to those who were already converted by another. But they equip themselves rather for converting those who have not already been converted through others. *Lest I build upon another man's foundation*. Just as Blessed Paul did in Romans 15: *I laboured to such an extent that from Jerusalem through the circuit right until the Illyricum Sea I have replenished the Gospel*. The Gloss: 'That is, I have preached fully.' In which a great virtue of the Saint appears, which is so many peoples throughout /70/ they will receive the Gospels. And below: *But so have I preached the Gospel: where he has not been named—lest I build upon another's foundation*. The Gloss: 'Lest I preach to those already converted by others'. Similarly 2 Corinthians 10: We are *not glorying in the labours of others beyond measure*. The Gloss: 'Where another may have placed the foundation of faith; for doing this would be to glory beyond measure'. Similarly on the same: *Not having hope to glory in the rule of another, namely, 'in these which were prepared*; the Gloss: 'by other preachers; for the Apostle preached to those to whom it had not been announced, so that he would seek glory by his own labour'. Those preachers, therefore, who do not go about to convert, but rather to the converted, who have proper apostles, and proper bishops and priests, and thus who glory in the people of another, are not true apostles, but pseudo.

[37] The thirty-seventh is that true apostles, when they are sent, rush into their own mission (*legationem*), not to that of another—just as Paul, sent to the Gentiles, went to preach to those in Acts 13: *Separate for me Paul and Barnabas unto the work to which I have taken them*; the Gloss: 'According to the agreement of Jacob, Cephas, and John, he set out for the magisterium of the Gentiles'. But those preachers who stand on their own feet (on which surface, the position is touched less by the earth), that is, those preachers who have less of the terrestrial goods, on account of which they are freer to be sent wheresoever it is pleasing to the Lord—those, I say, the Lord sent to preach to not the orthodox, but to the infidels. Hence Ezechial 2, after the Spirit of the Lord set Ezechial on his feet (on which surface, the position is touched less by the earth), he said to him, *Son of man, I send you to the apostate Gentiles, who have withdrawn from me*, that is, to the Jews, heretics, and those Gentiles who were once Christian,

like the Egyptians, Babylonians, and all who hold the law of Mohammad. Such, therefore, if they rush to the orthodox, who have their own apostles, namely their bishops and priests, do not rush into their own mission, but only to another. Hence they are not true apostles, but pseudo.

And it is to be supremely feared that through such the Church endangered, unless they are expelled from it—just as happened for Jonah, who, when he was sent by the Lord into *Niniven* (which is interpreted as ‘spacious’), did not go there, but wished to flee from the face of the Lord into *Tharsis* (which is interpreted as ‘Exploration of joy’), and therefore, the ship, which he boarded so as to be carried to *Tharsis*, was endangered, until, Jonas himself, was ejected from it. Jonas 1 and 2. Thus, those sent /71/ to preach to the Ninevites, that is, to those who walk on the spacious path which leads to death—viz, to the aforesaid infidels—do not rush to those according to the Lord’s command, but are converted to another direction, fleeing the face of the Lord in Tharsis, which is interpreted ‘exploration of joy’(or ‘of happiness’), that is, they rush to those who make them happy, and they receive with joy, and take good care of them, namely, for devote and good Christians. And therefore it is to be very much feared that the ship in which they live—that is, the Church—is endangered, unless they themselves are ejected, or they enter upon their own mission. And therefore not without cause did the Apostle call such pseudo: 2 Timothy 3: *And avoid those*; the gloss: ‘such people’. As if he were to say ‘As long as they are such’—that is, pseudo—‘avoid them’.

[38] The thirty-eighth is that true apostles do not speak arrogantly, nor attribute [anything] to themselves except what God does through them. Romans 15: *For I dare not say anything of those which Christ did not effect through me*; the Gloss: that is, ‘I speak only of those things which Christ did through me’, that is, ‘my ministry’. Those, therefore, who arrogantly say many things, and attribute many things to themselves which did not come to pass through them, are not true apostles, but pseudo.

[39] The thirty-ninth is that true apostles do not contend with or rely upon logical or philosophical reasoning. 1 Corinthians 2: *I have come not in the sublimity of speech or wisdom*; the Gloss: ‘I have not come in order to use logical or philosophical reasoning’. Those preachers, therefore, who contend with and rely upon reasoning of this kind, are not true apostles, but pseudo.

[40] The fortieth sign is that true apostles do not love carnal things, but hold in hatred whatever opposes them in the servitude for God. Luke

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14: He who *does not hate is father, and mother, [...] and brother[s], and sisters, still more his own soul cannot be my disciple*. That is, he who does not hate whatever opposes him in the servitude for God, is not worthy of my discipleship, nor can he remain in it. Since, therefore, true apostles be true disciples of the Lord, it remains that those preachers, who promote their own nephews and relatives, although unworthy, to prosperity (*proventus*) and ecclesiastical honours against the will of God, or do something else which opposes them in the servitude for God, are not true apostles, but pseudo.

[41] The forty-first sign is that true apostles do not procure for themselves friendships of this world. Jacob 4: *He who wishes to become the friend of this world, is established an enemy of God*. Those preachers, therefore, /72/ who procure for themselves friendships of this world are not true apostles, but pseudo.

Since, therefore, the truth of divine Scripture is infallible—Matthew 24: *Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not perish*—and since the Holy Spirit, who spoke in the Apostle prophesying (as was shown above in the first chapter<sup>18</sup>), cannot lie—for *not at any time was prophesy produced by human will, but holy men of God spoke inspired by the Holy Spirit*—it remains that all people who are held to defend the Church should rise up to its defense, according to that of Proverbs 24: *Root those who are led unto death; and those drawn to ruin, do not cease to free*. Nor let them pretend frivolous excuses, for so it is said in the same place: *If you should say, 'my strength does not suffice', he who is the inspector of the heart understands, and nothing deceives the Saviour of your soul, and he shall render to each one according to his works*. For whatever perishes in the Church due to a defect of the pastors, the whole shall be demanded from them in judgment, just as Jacob confessed to Laban, Genesis 31: *I returned all damages to you, and whatever disappeared from theft, you exacted from me*. And Ezechial 3: *I require his blood from your hand*—it is said to the pastor, or prelate.

If, however, the rest of the aforesaid does not move carnal prelates, this, at least, ought to move them: that since the spiritual power of the Church, which consists in the exercise of preaching, hearing of confessions, in enjoining penitence, is being stolen from them step-by-step. ('For the wolf eats the sheep bite-by-bite': 13 q. 1.<sup>19</sup>) Afterwards, from the whole, it [the spiritual

<sup>18</sup> See above, p. 6 f.

<sup>19</sup> C. 13 q. 1 c. 1, § 4 (1.719). (Reading 'frustatim' for 'frustratim'.)

power] will be translated from the prelates to those who, by reason of their order, or profession, or apostolic concession, already arrogate to themselves this power. Surely the jurisdiction of public affairs, which are lucrative to those same prelates, and indeed the possession of the temporal goods of the Church shall not remain much longer among those same prelates. For why will they have the carnal goods of the Church, who do not minister spiritual things? Especially since it is said in 1 Corinthians 9: *Know you not that they eat what is of the sanctuary because they work in it? And that those who serve the altar, partake with it?* Therefore, just as the body does not live without the soul, so too neither do the corporeal goods of the Church exist long without spiritual goods: 1 q. 1, cap. *Si quis obiecerit*.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> C. 1 q. 3(!) c. 7 (1.413).