

William of Saint-Amour

A Sermon on the Verse

'He Who Loves Danger...'

Translated from:

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1. *He who loves danger will perish in it.*¹ *The sermon of the Lord became like a raging fire in my heart.* Sir. 3:27
Jer. 20:8–9
 2. The verse proposed second is written in Jeremiah, who suffered many taunts and tribulations on account of the word of the Lord that he was announcing; and he himself sustained them all, and, finally, broke out into these words, saying *the sermon of the Lord was made*, etc. And he added below: *I have heard the insults and fears of many [...] but the Lord is with me like a mighty warrior.* Jer. 20:10–11
 3. There are the words of the Prophet, and I can say these words about me. *I know* that certain dangers threaten the church, and it cannot be but that they happen. Thus, I cannot be silent, but it is necessary that I make them known according to what I can draw forth from Scriptures. But because it is not pleasing for everyone to hear of these kinds of dangers, certain ones, [upon] hearing that I speak of these things, therefore deride and slander me. But I have the truth with me! Hence if they deride me, this is to my advantage; and therefore I may not abandon speaking the truth, which is useful for the whole church. And so that I may do this more ardently and diligently, in the beginning, let us pray.
 4. *He who loves danger will perish in it.* That verse is written in Ecclesiasticus, in which it is shown that it is necessary that they who love and seek danger for the sake of their own power (*pro posse suo*) perish in it. And this is what Isaiah says: *Moreover, my people are led into captivity /156/* Sir. 3:27
Is. 5:13
1. Quotations and relatively faithful paraphrases of biblical passages are denoted by italics. Other references are not documented here as they may all be found in Traver's edition of the text. Note also that the bold-face numbers in the margins correspond to the paragraph numbers found in Traver's critical edition of the text. Cross references refer to them. The numbers enclosed in backslashes (e.g., /157/) refer to the beginning of a new page in Traver's edition.

because they had not knowledge; for a mind without knowledge perishes.
Prv. 5:22–23 Solomon: *He will die in his iniquity because he had not discipline; and he will be deceived in the multitude of his foolishness.* Namely, the sinner: *he who has not discipline; because if he has not the knowledge of the dangers to be avoided, he will perish. All mortal sins are dangers; and not any danger whatsoever, but dangers of eternal death. But among dangers great and small, that which is a danger for two or three, or ten or a hundred, that is a great danger. But a danger that threatens everyone and the whole church is the greatest danger. And therefore care must be taken for the kind of danger that is common to all.*

5. Hence, certain ones wonder why *I* do not preach of luxury, pride, avarice, and gluttony, but instead about the sin of hypocrisy in particular. And they also slander me amongst the magnates and in the curia of the lord pope. And they say that I do not preach against the pomp of the world, nor against luxury, but only against hypocrisy. But this is the reason why I do this: because if there were some physician who had the whole world in his care,² and saw that nearly all were in a state of great infirmity, he would not be considered a good physician if he did not employ the greater cure and concern for that grave infirmity [that affects] everyone than for the small infirmity of two or three. Thus on this point (*parte*), I say that all mortal sins, whatsoever they are, are dangers; but yet the whole world does not commit these sins, since luxury does not reign over good religious,³ nor avarice over good active men, and so also for the rest. And therefore the danger of some sinners is not common to all like the sin of hypocrisy (with which nearly the whole church or the greater part is infected). And therefore it is very useful to preach about such a danger, so that those who hear are able to protect themselves from it. /157/ Hence, after the commendation and praise of the holy apostles

2. The word *cura* can mean both ‘cure’ and ‘care’, and I have used both here. William’s example is even more apt when we bear in mind that the mandate of bishops and priests involves, in their own diocese or parish, the *cura animarum*, or the ‘cure of souls’.

3. ‘Religious’ here as elsewhere has a technical meaning: a religious is a member of a religious order. William of course is thinking primarily of members of the mendicant orders (e.g., the Franciscans or Dominicans), but the term refers equally to members of monastic orders as well. A lot of William’s arguments against the activities of the mendicants stem from his (intentional?) refusal to see that the mendicant orders are not the same as monastic orders. Worth reading in this connection is Monti 2003, pp. 235–52.

Philip and Jacob—whose feast day it is—has been put aside, let us see about these dangers.

6. Concerning these dangers, five things can be noted: For first it must be shown that these dangers ought to come; second, what the dangers may be; third, through whom these dangers will come; fourth, by what means they will send these dangers into the world; [and] fifth, how those ones through whom [the dangers] will come might be recognized.
7. [1] First, it must be seen that these dangers have to come. And that they have to come, I show through these authorities: namely through the Apostle and Christ Himself. For the Apostle said, *But this I know: that in the last days perilous times will threaten.* Therefore dangers will come. But Christ says in the Gospel, *But the tribulation will be so great, such as was not from the beginning of the world.* And he says that these things, amongst the dangers he numerates, have to come before the Antichrist himself. And this could be proved through other witnesses, but those ones suffice. Therefore, it is agreed that the dangers will come. 2 Tm. 3:1
8. [2] Second, it must be seen what these dangers that are to come might be. However, let me tell you that what these dangers are, and I will add nothing of my own, but I will prove [it] through scriptures. Jeremiah says, *Let each and every one guard himself from his neighbour, and he will not have faith in his brother.* Is this not a great danger? (And not only of the body, but even of the mind—since a man can make himself certain about the salvation of the soul in no one.) This danger is also spoken on in Micah: *Don't believe a friend, don't trust in the flesh: guard the doors of your mouth from that which rests in your bosom.* Will this not be, therefore, a great danger because a man will not be able to manifest his secret to his wife (with whom he is one body)? Hence the Gloss on that verse: 'that is, pseudo-prophets, who pretend that they are friends and are not; pseudo are false prophets'. The Lord says to the same [end] in the Gospel: *Brother will deliver brother unto death, and father son; and the sons will rebel unto the death of their father. /158/* Will this not also, therefore, be a great danger? And it is impossible that this not happen since Truth says this; and therefore it must be that these things occur. There will be many other dangers, but I tell you of these ones at present. Jer. 9:4
9. [3] Third, it must be seen through whom these dangers will come. But will these dangers come first through princes and barons? Certainly not principally; yet they, through whom they will come, will have many princes and barons on their side. Or will they come through the armed Mi. 7:5

soldiers or through the well dressed burghers? Certainly not. But [they
cf. 2 Tm. 3:5 will come] through those who externally feign an *appearance of sanctity*,
 but internally are full of deceit and malice.

10. And that this is so, I show through the Apostle, who says after he
 enumerated the many dangers to come he says that they will come
cf. 2 Tm. 3:2-4 through those who seek more their own honour than praise for God.
2 Tm. 3:5 And these ones will be full of sin, feigning an *appearance of piety*; the
 Gloss: 'that is of religion'.

11. But how may it be known that they seek their own honour more than
 praise for God? There is one sign for this: that they love themselves
cf. 2 Tm. 3:2 more than the truth, since they cannot suffer that the truth be said about
 themselves. Hence Gregory says, 'He who wishes to act perversely, and
 wishes to be silent of these things to others, that one is a witness of
 himself that he wishes himself to be loved more than he does not wish
2 Tm. 3:2-4 to be defended against himself'. And the Apostle says, *that they will love*
their own honour more than the truth, and they do not wish that evil be
2 Cor. 6:6 said about them. Hence on that verse of the Apostle, *Not in fictitious*
charity, Augustine's gloss [says] 'the pseudo simulate charity so that they
 may deceive more easily'. Therefore these dangers will come through
Col. 2:18 those who simulate charity. Hence the Apostle says, *Do not be seduced*
into the religion of angels; 159/ namely 'unto those who seem to be angels',
 through externally honest conduct. 'For angels are the messengers of
 the Lord'—which Augustine expounds, saying: 'they who seem like
 messengers of God through the appearance and sanctity of religion can
 easily deceive men'. Thus it is therefore clear through the aforesaid of the
 saints that the dangers will come through those who feign publicly an
cf. 2 Tm. 3:5 *appearance of sanctity* for the purpose that they may deceive more easily.

12. But since there are some who believe the words of Christ more than
 the words of the saints, I will therefore induce the testimony of Christ
 to this end. And yet the saints ought to be believed (just like Christ)
Mt. 10:20 because what they say, Christ says; for as it is said in the Gospel, *You*
are not who speaks, but the Spirit of your Father who speaks in you. But for
 the greater confirmation, see what Christ Himself says when he speaks
 of the dangers that will come before the time of the Antichrist. For he
Mt. 24:11 speaks thus, *Many pseudo-prophets will arise, and they will seduce many*; the
 Gloss: 'Those who go about in humility and false religion'; and they will
2 Cor. 11:13-15 deceive many. Hence, says the Apostle: *For there are pseudo-apostles of this*
kind deceitful workers and transfiguring themselves into apostles of Christ. And

this is not wondrous, for the angel of Satan transfigured himself into an angel of light. It is no great thing therefore, if his ministers transfigure themselves into apostles; who are the ministers of God. On that word 'deceitful', the Gloss of Augustine says 'deceiving cunningly under the appearance of religion'.

13. But someone might say: 'We see well that the dangers will come through those who feign an *appearance of sanctity* but yet this is not true of good people.' /160/ I of course concede this. But nevertheless the works of those through whom the dangers will come will be of the genus of good [works]. And do not wonder that I call the prophets preachers, because the Gloss says 'Prophets, that is, explainers of scriptures'. But that they do works of the genus of good works, the Lord says, *You will know them by their fruits*; the Gloss: 'through enduring fruits'. But another Gloss says that 'the works that they display should not be attended to'. Hence the Gloss: 'In the sight of men they are similar to ministers of justice when they fast, pray, or give alms; but these are not their fruits because they do this in order to deceive.'
14. But then someone might say: 'Should everyone be believed who preaches of sins well?' Clearly not all such should be believed, since the Lord says in the Gospel, *Many will come on that day, saying 'Lord, have we not preached in your name, ejected demons, accomplished mighty works?'* And the Lord will respond to them, *Depart from me, you who work iniquity*—and He will say this to such in judgment. Therefore not all should be believed who preach of sins well. /161/
15. But then someone might still say: 'Were we to see that they preached well, should we not believe them? Were we to see that they performed miracles and mighty works, should they not be believed?' Certainly not. For the Lord, when he works miracles through such people, he rightly does so on account of the conversion and utility of those to whom they preach; but they should not be more believed on this account. Hence, on that verse [Mt. 7:22], the Gloss says: 'One must be extremely cautious of those who perform miracles in the name of Christ (which the Lord did for the sake of the faithless); and let us not think that there is invisible wisdom where there is a visible miracle.' 'How much, therefore, has the world need of a clear eye (*simplici oculo*) in order for wisdom to be found amongst so many deceptions of hypocrisy.' Hence on that verse, *And the fourth seal is opened, and I heard the voice of the fourth beast; and he said: come and see; and lo! there was a white horse, and his name that sat upon*

cf. 2 Tm. 3:5

Mt. 7:16

Mt. 7:22

Mt. 7:23

Rev. 6:7-8

him was Death, the Gloss says that ‘John places two prophecies and the threefold persecution of the church signified through the three horses he saw—namely the red, black, and white horse’. (This is the sense, not the words.)

And it is said there that through the red horse is signified the persecution of the church made through the tyrants, who exercised their cruelty against the apostles and the holy martyrs. Through the black horse is signified the persecution of the church made through the heretics in the time of blessed Augustine and Hilarius; for in their time, the church sustained a great persecution by heretics. But the white horse signifies the persecution threatening the church through the hypocrites. Hence the Gloss says there: ‘The Devil, seeing that he cannot accomplish his aims through open tyrants /162/ and manifest heretics, sends forth false brothers, who, under the habit of sanctity, subvert men.’

In truth, the Devil tried, through tyrants, to destroy the church by this act because they [i.e., the tyrants] dealt death to the apostles and other saints. But, in truth, the church was exalted and sublimed more in this act, as is clear in France in two places. Through the death of St Dionysius, the church at St Dionysius was enriched; and the king himself was converted to the faith, along with all his men. This is also clear in the church of Reims, which was enriched and sublimed through the death of St Nicasius. Hence, when the Devil saw that the faith of the church was multiplied and confirmed through the tyrants, he later sent heretics, against whom St Hilary and St Augustine defended the faith to such an extent that the heresy was swept away. But seeing that he could accomplish nothing through those two horses, he, in the end, sent the white horse—‘that is, the hypocrites, the false brothers’, who might throw the church into confusion under a habit of sanctity.⁴ And this third persecution of the hypocrites will be greater than the two preceding ones, just like Augustine says in the Gloss on the Psalter on the first *I will confess*.

Ps. 9:2

16. What, therefore, must be done, since their habit should not be trusted, nor miracles, nor fasts, nor even their orations? The same thing is certainly asked in the Gloss. And it is responded [there]: ‘How much,

4. The phrase *sub habitu sanctitatis* (under the expression, demeanour, or character of sanctity) is meant to recall William’s references to the *appearance of sanctity* (2 Tim. 3:5) as well to the actual clothing of the mendicants.

therefore, has the world need of a clear eye in order for wisdom to be found amongst so many deceptions of hypocrisy.' Therefore, there is a great danger, because the dangers threatening the church will occur through such whom all believe. Gregory [writes]: 'No one kills more in the church of God than he who, while acting perversely, holds dignity or honour.' And Augustine says of false /163/ religious: 'Just as I have not found better people than those who made progress in a monastery, so I have not found worse people than those who have faltered in the cloister.'

Therefore it is clear that the dangers are about to come, and what they might be, and through whom they must come (since [they will come] through those whom everyone trusts). And the danger consists especially in this fact.

17. [4] Fourth, it must be seen how those who will introduce the dangers will come. And the Apostle shows in many places that they will be those who have not the care of souls and preach through the whole world and fight for positions of ecclesiastic authority (*praelaturis*) and for having dignities. They are false apostles who will preach when they haven't been sent, for, as the Apostle says, *How will they preach if they have not been sent?* Ro. 10:15 The Gloss says there 'They are not true apostles unless they have been sent'. For only two kinds of preachers have been sent: viz, the twelve apostles and the seventy-two disciples. And the Gloss says cf. Lk. 9:1 that 'the apostles are bishops, the disciples presbyters'. Hence the Gloss cf. Lk. 10:1 says: 'Bishops have the form of the apostles, but presbyters have the form of disciples.' It is true that others are vicars, just as archdeacons are the vicars of bishops, and they are able to stand in for bishops. Hence the Apostle /164/ to the Corinthians, *helpers (opitulationes)*. 1 Cor. 12:28 The Gloss [explains]: 'that is, people bringing help for their betters, as archdeacons do their bishops'.

For a bishop, if he does not wish to preach in his own diocese, can call another [to preach]; otherwise, another cannot preach in his diocese, just like the bishop cannot preach in another's diocese unless he has been called. And on this point it is held throughout the whole of 9 q. 2,⁵ and in the decree *Hortamur* in 6 q. 3,⁶ that a bishop cannot exercise any

5. The second question in *Causa* 9 of the *Decretum* reads: 'Whether it is licit for a bishop, archbishop, primate, or patriarch to ordain another person's clerics without proper letters'.

6. William seems to have mistakenly combined two references into one. Although the

office outside his diocese unless he has been asked; thus neither can any presbyter [do so] outside his own parish. And what I say about bishops must be understood about archbishops and greater prelates. Hence the Apostle says: one who wishes to preach when he hasn't been sent, his preaching is not in order to honour God, but he seeks to be honoured, *2 Cor. 10:18* for *he is not approved whom men commend, but whom God commends*. The Gloss: 'He who preaches, not having been sent; for such a person is not suitable, but someone who presumes (*praesumptor*) and base.' And such people are separated from Christ. Hence on that verse in 2 Corinthians, *2 Cor. 10:17* *He who boasts, let him boast in the Lord*; the Gloss of Augustine: '*Let him boast in the Lord* which he cannot do if he was not sent; for such a person, if he preaches, seeks his own glory.'

But how will those unsent individuals, who will preach thus, be able to deceive, since they say good things? (For it seems that the faith is strengthened rather than weakened through this.) And to this I say that */165/* when they will preach, they will labour only in their preaching to speak well; and they will preach [so] that their preaching to the laity will be more pleasing than the preaching of prelates, although they still do not say anything different than the prelates. But because they will have more refined and ornate words, their preaching will therefore be loved the more. Thus, the apostles preached simply, but the pseudo-apostles laboured with such ornate words that they were listened to with more *2 Cor. 11:5* care than the apostles themselves. Hence the Apostle says *I judge that I have done no less than the great apostles*; the Gloss: 'Some cherished the pseudo from whom they heard the very same thing (but with composed words) because the apostles' words were unaffected.' And again: 'Some messengers are of this kind, but there will be more in the end.' And *2 Cor. 11:6* Augustine says on that verse, *Even if unskilled in speaking, still not unversed in knowledge*; in the Gloss: 'The apostles were not eloquent, but the pseudo composed their words'; in the Gloss: 'The Corinthians preferred the pseudo to the true apostles because of a carefully prepared (*accurate*) sermon,' for the apostles were seeking to speak only the truth. But prelates now take care to speak only the truth; others, in truth, adorn *1 Thes. 2:6* their words. Hence on that verse, *We are not the ones seeking glory from men*; the Gloss [says]: 'He borders on [being] pseudo who wished to commend

third question of *Causa* 6, that is, 'It is not licit for anyone to seek out the judgment of another province's archbishop', is important for William's claim, the only *capitula* with the incipit 'Hortamur' are D. 71 c. 8 and C. 3 q. 9 c. 20; only the former is

himself more than the doctrine of God; but the Apostle, who did not seek glory at present but in the future, made himself humble so that his preaching would be exalted.' And there is the Gloss of Augustine: 'For the apostle, when he converted many to the faith of Christ, did not want that this be attributed to the knowledge and eloquence of this world, but to divine power and goodness.' /166/

18. But there are many who desire more that it be said of them, 'That one preached well', than that it be said of them, 'That one brought forth fruit for God'. But the Apostle says *Not in speech learned in human wisdom*, etc. And through this one richly adorned with words they will make it so that, for the most part, nobles and lay magnates and even clerics are obedient to, and adherents of, them. Hence, then, there will be a time when the subjects will not love their prelates, nor prelates their subjects. And therefore the Apostle says, *It is necessary that bishops have good testimony from outsiders, so that he does not fall into contempt, hate, and the snare of the Devil*. Augustine's Gloss: 'So that he not fall into contempt amongst the faithful; and from this follows a hatred against them'; and at that time there will be great danger. 1 Cor. 2:13
19. But will these ones make it worse? Without question. Hence the Apostle says in his prophecy, and I speak rightly with 'in prophecy' because this is a prophecy of the Apostle, which revealed the future through the Holy Spirit. And there the Apostle says, *Amongst these ones are those who invade homes, and lead captive foolish women*. 'For they will work to this end so that they learn the consciences of men—first the consciences of wives, and, through them, the consciences of men; just as the Devil, by seducing Eve, seduced Adam.' The Gloss on *They will enter homes*: 'For whoever wishes to violently enter a home, as long as he enters, he does not make a path through which he enters the place.' They will, therefore, break the homes; but in what way? By means of an axe? No; rather, they will break the home, i.e., the conscience. That a home might be the conscience, Ecclesiasticus says, *Run first into your home*; the Gloss: 'That is, let us receive ourselves into the home of our conscience.' But that one breaks the home who enters the conscience other than through the door. The door of the conscience is the one who has the cure of souls; and he who enters the consciences of men other than through that door /167/ is a brigand in the testimony of the Lord, *He* 1 Tm. 3:7

relevant.

who does not enter through the door, is a thief and a brigand. Concerning this home, which they thus invade and break, it is said elsewhere (and it is in *cf. Sir. 11:31* Ecclesiasticus): *Do not receive every man into your home: for there are many cunning snares.* In confession, you must not disclose your conscience to anyone, for there are cunning ones who care more about their own praise than to the salvation of souls. Hence the following verse: *Admit a foreigner and he will subvert you, and alienate you from your proper paths.*⁷ That is, if you confess to one who does not have the key to (*de*) your conscience, he will not be able to absolve your soul, for men trust such men more than their bishops and presbyters. Therefore, they break your homes.

2 Tm. 3:6 But why? The reason for this follows immediately after: *And they lead captive, by means of diverse desires, foolish women burdened with sins—* when, namely, they lead away subjects beyond the authority of their own prelates, and this is a sufficiently great danger. And the Apostle, and Holy Spirit through him, say this. But will they do more? Certainly!

2 Tm. 3:8 For *to the extent that Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so do these ones resist the truth.* For those two were enchanters, and they resisted Moses in Egypt; and they worked miracles through their incantations to such an extent that the king did not believe Moses. Thus those ones also may resist the truth. But what next? There will be evil men and corruptors of the faith, and they will go astray and send others into error. Hence it is said to Timothy: *The Spirit clearly says that in the last days certain ones will depart from the faith, attending to malignant spirits and errors.* Hence *Ps. 9:21* on that verse *Establish, O Lord, a legislator over them, as on the first I will praise you.* *Ps. 9:2* The Gloss: 'That is, the Antichrist, a proposer of perverse **168**/law. And not only will the Antichrist make bad law, but his members will also make many bad laws.

20. Now, about these new dangers, consider some at Paris—namely a certain book, which is called *The Eternal Gospel*. And we ourselves saw nothing but a small part of that book, and I heard that wherever it may be, that book contains as much or more than the whole Bible! For it is taught there that Christ is not God and that the sacraments of the Church

7. The Vulgate reads *from your own affairs* (a tuis propriis).

are nothing,⁸ and that the Gospel of Christ is not the true Gospel.⁹ And it is taught there that that book is the Gospel of the Holy Spirit, and it is said to be the eternal Gospel.¹⁰ And it is said there that the Gospel of Christ will be preached only for five [more] years.¹¹ Nor are those dangers of this book entirely new; rather, fifty-five years have passed since they first began; and therefore it is that those, through whom these dangers will come, will give another law for living, and they will otherwise dispose of the Church.¹²

This is a very execrable and abominable things to say, for the Church, which preserves the faith of Christ, is disposed to His rule (*modum*) /169/ which the Lord showed Moses on the mountain, where it is said: *Look, and act according to the exemplar that was shown to you on the mountain.* Ex. 25:40 This Church was ordered according to His rule of the celestial curia; for the Lord showed the Apostle Paul the Church Triumphant, and He ordered the Church Militant to follow its shape and form (*ad cuius exemplar et similitudinem*). For [Pseudo-]Dionysius says in *The Angelic Hierarchy* that, just as they are ordered in the angelic hierarchy—that some govern, some are governed—so it ought to be the case in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, for some ought to govern, others ought to be governed. Those who govern are bishops or presbyters;¹³ but they ought to be governed according to a threefold distinction: namely as Christians, catechumens, or religious. Hence insofar as they are religious, the religious must not govern, but be governed. It is true, if a religious were to become a bishop, he can

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8. Benz 1932, pp. 415–55, offers a critical edition of the excerpted errors of Gerard's. Here William is referring to this one: 'Likewise, in that book is found (on the discussion of the history of Judith) that the sacraments of the new law will not endure in the future (*amodo*) except through the six years computed from the time of the composition of the book: viz, right to the year 1260 of the Lord's incarnation' (pp. 425–26; all translations from Benz are my own).
 9. Benz 1932, p. 416: 'Second is that the Gospel of Christ is not the Gospel of the kingdom, and, through this, it is not for the architects of the church.'
 10. Benz 1932, p. 419: 'Second is that, at the arrival of the Gospel of the Holy Spirit or the work of Joachim becoming illuminated, which is called the *Eternal Gospel* or *The Gospel of the Holy Spirit*, the Gospel of Christ will become empty.'
 11. Cf. *De periculis* 8 (p. 30 of my translation).
 12. Benz 1932, p. 417: 'Fifth, that those who will exist after that time are not held to receive the New Testament. Sixth, that another gospel will succeed the Gospel of Christ, and thus a different priesthood will succeed the priesthood of Christ.'
 13. William is probably referring to Pseudo-Dionysius's *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, in Luibheid 1987, p. 238.

govern, or if a religious order has the cure of souls attached to it (like the regular canons), they, and no others, can direct. Hence, when such a one comes to you who must be directed and not direct, and says to some of you, 'Entrust yourselves to me and my care', say to him, 'You cannot, nor ought you, govern others'. And I do not say that there are such now, but there will be at some point. Hence in all of Scripture, no mention is made of any vice like there is of that one. And therefore, I am preaching these things to you, so that when they should come, you will know to protect yourselves. Nor do I preach here or in any place unless I have been called. And I am extremely astonished that few or none preach about these vices, and that those who do preach these things are hated, and live in bodily danger.

21. [5] Fifth and last it must be seen through what signs those ones (through whom these dangers will come) may be recognized. For the whole power consists in this: namely how they might be discerned from the true preachers. Since it was seen that they are not able to be recognized in habit, nor in speech, nor in the production of miracles, how, then, must they be recognized? Let me tell you certain signs, through Scripture, by which they can be recognized. /170/

22. Such is one way of recognizing. First, let us see whether the sort through whom these dangers will come might be Saracens, Jews, or Christians. And I say that they will be neither Saracens nor Jews. And I will prove this through the Apostle, who says that they will have an *appearance of sanctity* and religion, and they use our sacraments for a time. Hence on that verse that John says in his canon, *They issued from us*, the Gloss [says]: 'For they accepted the same sacraments as us.' It remains, therefore, that they are neither Saracens nor Jews; thus, they must be sought amongst Christians. But amongst Christians, there is the laity and the clerics, the religious and the seculars. It is adequately agreed from the aforesaid that they will not be laymen, seculars, or clerics, but false religious—for they will not be kings and magnates at first, but they will have many magnates on their side. Therefore, they will be lettered men, feigning an *appearance of sanctity*.

¹ Jn. 2:19

It is true that at Paris there are many lettered men, but not all are equally believed. If some cleric with a reddish cloak, either with holes (*foraminata*) or with a long-sleeved cloak, were to begin preaching some new ideas (*aliqua nova*) to you, he would not be trusted that easily; but were he to have an intact (*clausam*) cloak like a presbyter, you would trust

him more. But if he were to feign in his exterior habit, some *appearance of sanctity*, you would still trust him more, and he could more easily deceive you and lead you into error. Thus, it is necessary that they be men feigning an *appearance of sanctity*, as it was sufficiently shown.

But will they be wise men? Certainly they will possess great knowledge; for they strove very hard in study. On this point, the Apostle says: *Ever learning, and never attaining to the knowledge of truth.*

2 Tm. 3:7

23. But how can it be that they are always learning and never reach the understanding of truth? I say that the Apostle is not speaking there about /171/ the truth of words or the truth of sermons, but he speaks of the truth of the way. For they will not reach the understanding of the truth of the way, for as it is said in John: *He who acquires the truth, comes to the light; but he who acts wickedly, hates the light.* And about this truth, the Apostle is speaking here of the truth of the way, for they will not rightly have a familiarity with the truth in the truth of words of Scriptures. Therefore, through the Apostle, it is clear that they will be lettered men.

Jn. 3:20–21

24. Likewise, on that verse in Job, *My enemy looks at me with frightful eyes*, the Gloss [says]: ‘Just like Christ chose the idiots and the simple in his preaching, so, on the contrary, the Antichrist will choose the two-faced (*duplices*), the astute and people who have the knowledge of this world in order to construct his deceit. And afterwards: ‘They will kill the confessors of the Christian faith.’ The Antichrist will not only choose such, but his members will as well, for [as] Christ and his members—namely everyone who are one—so also are the Antichrist and his members are one.

Jb. 16:10

25. Nor is it astonishing if those ones will ensure that the confessors of the Christian faith be killed, for it is said in Revelation: *I saw the beast with seven heads and ten horns ascending from the sea.* And John says in his canon: *Already the Antichrist comes from the sea; ‘that is, from many people.’* The Gloss says [on] *having seven heads*, ‘that is, the universal princes’; [and on] *And ten horns*, ‘For through princes they oppose themselves to the ten precepts’. And therefore they who live under the law of Christ, rightly ought to guard themselves when they see such people, since they will be lettered and learned men—but to the extent that they are more learned and wise, to the same extent they out to be more feared and guarded against. /172/

Rev. 13:1

cf. Rev. 13:1

26. Likewise, they will slay those who preach and disclose these dangers. Hence, it is said of them in Revelations: *And they will torment with the*

Rev. 9:5

cruelty of scorpions. [The Gloss:] ‘The scorpion is a small creature that entices with its mouth¹⁴ and stings with tail; and that puncture can scarcely be perceived, but unless a remedy is quickly applied, the venom will kill a man.’ And this they will also do. Hence the Gloss says that ‘they will not torment through themselves, but they will accuse before (*apud*) secular princes’, for they themselves will accuse before secular princes those who speak and preach the truth about them. Thus, it is therefore clear that they will be lettered men.

27. But since many people are lettered, we are still therefore too long a ways off. Hence we will approach closer so that we may be more specific. For many are lettered at Paris, as I’ve already said; but some are believed more, others less. And since such people must deceive men, it is necessary that they feign an *appearance of sanctity*, as I’ve said, for otherwise they are unable to deceive. Hence Scripture also says that such will be those who are reckoned to be members of Christ, because they are trusted more than the elected members of Christ. Hence on that verse of Job, *to the right of my arising*, etc., Gregory says: ‘These ones, who are believed to be elect members of the Redeemer, will spring forth for the persecution of the Church.’ And so it is clear that they will be of the kind who are considered to be perfect members of Christ.

28. But we are still too remote; thus, it must be approached more closely, since they themselves will be men of great counsel, and he who can have them in his counsel will be to have the counsel from God. Hence it is said in the book of Kings /173/ [that] David had his son, who was called Absalom, who had a counsellor Achitophel. And this Achitophel ensured through his counsel that Absalom would eject his father David from the kingdom. And it is said there *that he was with father and son. The counsel of Achitophel in his days was like a counsel of the Lord when he was with David, and when he was with Absalom*. By ‘David’, Christ is understood, who is interpreted to be ‘strong in hand’ and ‘desirable in appearance’. ‘Absalom’ is interpreted as ‘irritation’.¹⁵ Achitophel is interpreted as ‘my brother, invading, discussing, or reflecting’. By ‘David’, therefore,

Jb. 30:12

cf. 2 Kgs. 14–16

2 Kgs. 16:23

14. William would find the idea that a scorpion *blanditur ore* highly significant because the verb means, in addition to ‘entice’, it also has the sense of ‘to flatter, delude, or fawn—which is precisely what he thinks the ‘invaders of homes’ and ‘pseudo-preachers’ do.

15. William has *amaritatio*, which is probably a variant of *amaricatio*, which means ‘embitterment’ or ‘irritation’, or even, according to DuCange ‘grief’.

Christ is signified; by 'Absalom', Antichrist, who will be a man and creature of God because even the Devil is a creature of God. They are 'Achitophel' who are first conjoined to Christ, and are later against him, just as Achitophel was first with David and later opposed to him. For as long as they will be with us, they will be considered as great councillors; but after a while they will oppose themselves to the Christian faith. And therefore when you encounter such people, don't put yourselves in their care.

29. I will give seven signs right now through which they may be recognized; although I could reveal many, due to the need to be brief, let these suffice none the less:
30. [1] Thus the first sign is that such people wish to live off of the Gospel and hearing confessions. But that such people are not true preachers is clear through the Apostle, who says to Timothy: *Thinking piety is profit; /174/* the Gloss: 'They do a work of piety, i.e., they preach, so that they may receive temporal gains; for they preach for profit, not for the benefit of souls, because they wish to be honoured and praised.' Likewise, another gloss on that verse to the Colossians, for there is truth in deceit,¹⁶ *whether Christ be announced by occasion or by truth, in this I rejoice*: 'The pseudo evangelize from pretext, seeking their own rewards, either pecuniary, or for human honour and praise.' There is truth in the deceit, because (*quando*) they do not preach, unless for temporal reward. The Gloss says: 'For such people seek from this (namely, from preaching) three rewards: praise, profit, and food and drink.' For they of course preach from truth, but they do seek these three things.
31. But someone will say: 'Surely if they preach, ought they not to live off of the Gospel?' For the Apostle says, *The Lord ordained that they who preach the Gospel live from the Gospel*. And I say that this is true about those who preach; they are held [to live off of the Gospel]. For, if your presbyter, who must direct and teach you, were in such a state that he needed your help, you are bound to help him. But, God be blessed, today the Church is not in such a state that it need your help.
32. [2] Likewise, the second sign by which false preachers are recognized is if they are impatient, and not able to bear that truth is said about them. Hence the Apostle, *Behold the dogs, behold the wicked workers, behold the*

16. William makes it sound like this clause is part of the biblical quotation, but it is not (despite the italics in Traver's edition).

destruction. ‘Dogs, that is pseudo’, says the Gloss. (Who are called dogs, for according to Augustine, ‘he is a dog when, if he sees a man entering the home of another, he barks’.) Thus, they themselves strenuously resist, if they see that someone preaches the truth about them. /175/

33. [3] Likewise, the third sign is if they have pretty and ornate speech by which they win many over to their side. Hence on that verse, *we defrauded no one*, the Gloss: ‘by means of fraudulent praise in sermons, just as the pseudo who seductively steal your things’. On this point, the Lord says, *Woe to you, Scribes and Pharisees, you hypocrites who devour the homes of widows in long orations*; the Gloss: ‘Who seek from your superstition nothing other than’ etc. *who devour the homes of widows*; the Gloss: ‘Who, in order to appear more religious, pray in an even more lengthy manner.’ And below: ‘Whose oration is in sin.’¹⁷

34. [4] Likewise, the fourth sign is that true preachers do not rush to preach in a place where there is an abundance of preachers, but to where there are none who might announce the Word of God. Hence the Apostle says, *I preached the Gospel thus, when I announced Christ, lest I built upon another’s foundation*. For he who has the desire to preach ought to go to the Saracens and infidels where there is no one who might preach. And therefore, when you come across such preachers, who desire to preach where there is an abundance of preachers, and they wish to preach where there is not a need and scarcity of preachers, may you understand that they are not true preachers. /176/

35. [5] Likewise, the fifth sign is that the true apostles were patient and put up with abuse for the sake of Christ, for, *The apostles left from the sight of the council rejoicing that they were held worthy to suffer injury on behalf of the name Jesus*. Hence the Lord says to them, *Lo! I send you like sheep among wolves*, for the sheep puts up with everything that the wolf does to him. Likewise: *As the Father sent me, I also sent you*; Gloss: ‘Not for delights, but for sufferings. For he who takes up the office of preaching, must not inflict evils, but sustain them; and Christ showed us this in Himself. Hence Peter in his canonical letter: *Who when he was cursed, cursed not; when he was whipped, threatened not; but he gave himself to the one surrendering him unjustly*. Thus, when you see such people who cannot sustain anything, but should injury or violence be introduced to

17. The piling up of quotations from the Gloss on this same verse makes it hard to render this section into good English.

them, they will scurry off to the curia of the Pope and seek letters of excommunication, and go to secular princes so that those who harass them are incarcerated—you should consider such to be false religious.

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36. [6] The sixth sign is, that the apostles of Christ were, in the beginning, very much despised and so hated (*exosi*) that they were killed, but, on account of their slaying and death, the prelates of the Church were welcomed and accepted—for the Lord had said this to the apostles: *There will be time when anyone who kills you will consider that he performs the duty for God*—for those who killed the holy martyrs believed that they did well and for the gods that they worshipped. Hence, if you should see some who say that they are the apostles of Christ, even if they are welcomed and accepted in the beginning, but in the end are despised by their acknowledged works, it is a sign that they are not true apostles of Christ, since it will be on the contrary about them. Hence, as John says in his canons, *Everything that is born from God conquers the world*. But they are accepted more in the beginning than in the end. Jn. 16:2
37. [7] Likewise, the seventh sign is that true apostles do not seek their own honour, but that of Christ, for the Psalms say, *Not for us, O Lord, not for us; but give glory in Your Name*. And the Lord: *When you will have done everything that you ought to do, say: We are useless servants, because we did what we ought to have done*. But when you encounter such who seek their own glory and not that of God, who say, ‘We have illuminated the whole Church, and ejected the men from sin, and shown the way of attaining to life’, may you not believe them. Ps. 113:1
Lk. 17:10
38. I have heard that a certain religious was preaching in some city and said: ‘Our Order is very much exalted, for before our Order, the whole world was in darkness. But the blessed Virgin came, and fell to the feet of her Son, and lay prostrate before him for three days. And the Lord said to her that He would want whatever she wanted. And then she said that she wished that one Order be made that would illuminate the whole world, and the Lord granted her this; and she said then to someone that he would create this Order, and this is our Order. Hence it is not astonishing if it is so exalted.’
39. But this one did not act like the apostles of Christ, to whom it is said that they ought to say that *they are useless servants*. Hence that one, [when] it was discovered that he had said this, was compelled by the bishop to say, in everyone’s presence, that he had lied. Lk. 17:10

40. Hence, dearest ones, great caution must be taken against those false apostles. They wish to be men without being an object of contempt, poor without lack, dressed without solicitude; they wish to have choice, exquisite, and elegant food, yet are openly praising evils in the street; are robbers in secret; are outwardly feigning a hard life, while inwardly seeking delights; are biting like dogs, cunning like foxes, proud like lions, mockers like serpents; they are wolves on the inside, on the outside they love the honey of human praise (like bears); they wish to be judges without acquiring knowledge; witnesses without vision; false accusers lacking all truth.

*Here ends Master William of St-Amour's
on the day of the holy apostles Jacob and Philip.
Amen.*¹⁸

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18. These closing lines are of course not found in Traver's edition, but are found in William of Saint-Amour 1632, p. 506.