

nisi invicem, mortuum non sepeliat, nisi monachum in monasterio secum commorantem. *Ut XVI. q. i., Placuit. Et est sancta Nicena synodus.*<sup>139</sup> *Et ibi in c. Placuit, ii, dicitur:* Neque penitentiam dare neque baptizare neque infirmum visitare neque mortuum sepelire, sit claustrum suo contentus.<sup>140</sup>

8. Religio munda et immaculata aput deum patrem, hec est: Visitare pupillos et viduas in tribulationibus eorum, et immaculatum se custodire ab hoc seculo. *Jacobi primo.*<sup>141</sup> *Infirmus fui et non visitastis me, etc. Mat. xxv.*<sup>142</sup> Ille egregius predicator qui dissolvi cupit et esse cum Cristo, fortis preliator, detineri intra claustra noluit sed certaminis campum quesivit; *ut XXIII. q. v., Ibi adunati.*<sup>143</sup>

9. Religiosus enim velle vel nolle non habet, quia arbitrium voluntatis religiosi dependet ex imperio sui superioris, quem vice dei super caput suum posuit; *ut De electione, Si religiosus, Libro VI.*<sup>144</sup>

10. *Dicitur autem Sap. xv.,* Quod deus constituit hominem ab inicio et reliquit eum in manu consilarii sui; *dicit Lira:* id est, in potestate sui liberi arbitrii.<sup>145</sup> Ipsi autem non habent velle neque nolle. Qui autem perspexerit in lege perfecte libertatis et permanserit in ea, non auditor obliviosus factus sed factor operis, hic beatus in facto suo erit. *Jac. i.*<sup>146</sup>

11.\* *Nimia religionum diversitas gravem in ecclesia dei confusionem inducit; Extra De religiosis domibus, c. ult., et est concilium generale.*<sup>147</sup>

12. *Secundum Jeronimum in c. Olym. supra:* Huiusmodi studia in religione instinctu dyaboli sunt facta, ut diceretur in populis; ego sum Pauli, ego sum Appollo, ego autem Cephe, etc.<sup>148</sup> *Nonne hodie dicitur, ille est Benedictinus, ille Celestinus, iste Cisterciensis, ille Premonstratensis, et sic de aliis.* Nec nomen aliud est sub celo datum hominibus in quo oporteat salvos fieri, et non in aliquo alio salus quam in nomine Christi Nazareni. *Act. iii.*<sup>149</sup>

13. Favore religiosis multa contra rationem statuuntur; *ut Digestum, De religiosis et sumptibus, Sunt persone.*\*\*<sup>150</sup>

14. Spiritus manifeste dicit, *I. Thim. iii.* Quia in novissimis temporibus discedent quidam a fide, attendentes spiritibus erroris et doctrinis demoniorum in ypocrisi loquencium [f. 247'] mendacium et cauteriatam

mand upon all, that no monks assign penance to anyone, except to each other, that they not bury the dead, except if it be a monk living with them in the monastery. (*The Holy Synod of Nicea, in Decretum, XVI. q. i, c. 1.*) *And in XVI. q. i, c. 8, it says:* He should neither give penance, nor baptize, nor visit the sick, nor bury the dead, but let him be content with his cloister.

8. Pure religion and undefiled before God the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from this world (*Ias. i, 27*). I was sick and you visited me not (*Mat. xxv, 43*). That most outstanding preacher who desired to be dissolved and to be with Christ, that strenuous warrior refused to be shut up behind walls, but sought the field of battle (*Decretum, VII. q. i, c. 49* [*St. Gregory writing about Paul*]).

9. The religious have not to say yes or no, for the will of the religious depends on the rule of his superior, whom he has set over himself to hold the place of God (*Sext, I, vi, 27*).

10. It was God who made man in the beginning, and left him in the hands of his own counsel (*Ecclus. xv, 14*). That is, in the power of his own free will (*Nicholas of Lira*). But the religious "have not to say yes or no"! But who so looketh into the law of perfect liberty, and continues therein, he being not a forgetful hearer, but a doer of the work, this man shall be blessed in his deed (*Ias. i, 25*).

11. An excessive diversity of religious orders causes grave confusion in the church of God (*Decretals, III, xxxvi, 9: Fourth Lateran Council*).

12. *According to St. Jerome (Decretum, XCV. dist., c. 5), as quoted above, such "rivalries arose in religion at the Devil's incitement" so that it was "said among the people, 'I am Paul's,' 'I am Apollo's,' 'But I am Cephas's,' etc." But is it not said today, "He is a Benedictine," "He is a Celestine," "That one is a Cistercian," "He is a Premonstratensian," and so on? "There is none other name under heaven given to men whereby they must be saved," and "there is no salvation in any other" than in the name of Christ the Nazarene (*Acts iv, 10, 12*).*

13. Many things contrary to reason have been decreed to favor the religious (*cf. Digest, XI, vii, 43*).

14. *The Spirit says expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to the spirits of error, and to doctrines of demons that speak lies in hypocrisy and have their consciences seared with*

<sup>139</sup> XVI, q. i, c. 1 (Friedberg, I, 763).

<sup>140</sup> XVI, q. i, c. 8 (Friedberg, I, 763).

<sup>141</sup> Jac. i, 27.

<sup>142</sup> Mat. xxv, 43.

<sup>143</sup> *Recte:* VII, q. i, c. 49 (Friedberg, I, 587).

<sup>144</sup> *Liber Sextus, I, vi, 27* (Friedberg, II, 962).

<sup>145</sup> *Recte:* Ecclus. xv, 14; *ubi legitur* "in manu consilii sui." *Glosa est in loco, sed interlinearis, non Lyrana.*

<sup>146</sup> Jac. i, 25.

\* Religiosis domibus.

<sup>147</sup> *Decretales, III, xxxvi, 9* (Friedberg, II, 607); *canon Concilii Lateranensis quarti.*

<sup>148</sup> XCV. dist., c. 5 (Friedberg, I, 332-333); *cf. I Cor. i, 12.*

<sup>149</sup> Act. iv, 10, 12.

\*\* Reliquiis et sumptibus funerum.

<sup>150</sup> *Cf. Codicem Lib. III, xlv, et Digestum Lib. XI, vii, 43 (Corpus Juris Civilis (Lipsiae 1720): Cod., col. 147-148 et Dig., col. 273).*

habencium conscienciam prohibencium nubere et abstinere a cibis quos deus creavit.<sup>151</sup> *Et II Tym. iii*: Erit enim tempus, cum sanam doctrinam non sustinebunt, sed ad sua desideria coacervabunt sibi magistros \*\*\* prurientes auribus, et a veritate quidem auditum avertent, ad fabulas autem convertantur.<sup>152</sup> *Et ibi, iii*: Hoc autem scito, quod in novissimis diebus instabunt tempora periculosa, et erunt homines se ipsos amantes, cupidi, elati, superbi, blasphemi, parentibus non obediētes, ingrati, scelesti, sine affectione, sine pace, criminatores, incontinentes, immites, sine benignitate, proditores, protervi, tumidi, ceci, voluptatum amatores magis quam dei, habentes speciem quidem pietatis, virtutem autem eius denegantes; et hos devita. *Concordant: Rom. i, Gal. v, Eph. ii.*<sup>153</sup>

15. Opportet deo magis obedire quam hominibus, non enim possumus que audivimus et vidimus non loqui. *Act. iii, et v.*<sup>154</sup> Illi ergo profecti predicaverunt ubique, domino cooperante, et sermonem confirmante sequentibus signis. *Mar. ult.*<sup>155</sup> In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum. *Psa. xvii.*<sup>156</sup>

16. *Crisostomus*: Totus mundus mirabatur Cristum per apostolos mundum convertisse; huius autem quadruplex causa fuit: pecunie contemptus, glorie despectus, secularium occupationum segregatio, et terribilium perpeccio.\* Eicere demonia comune opus est inter ministros dei et dyaboli; veritatem confiteri et iusticiam facere privatum est opus tantummodo sanctorum; ideo quem videris demonia eicientem, si non sit confessio veritatis in ore eius, nec iusticia in manibus eius, non est homo dei. Si autem videris veritatem confitentem et facientem iusticiam, etsi demonia non eicit, homo est dei.<sup>157</sup>

17. Mendicantes sunt qui certas possessiones, vel redditus non habent sed per questum publicum eis victum prebet incerta mendicitas, ut Predicatores, Minores, Heremite Sancti Augustini, et Carmelite; *ut De electione, Quorundam; De religiosis domibus, c. unico Libr. VI., et in glosa.*<sup>158</sup>

18. Beatus qui excutit manus suas ab omni munere. *Gregorius, I. q. i., Sunt nonnulli.*<sup>159</sup> *Jeronimus, ad rusticum monachum de cottidianis operibus monachorum, et ponitur, De consecratione, Di. V., Nunquam: Facito aliquid operis ut semper [f. 248] dyabolus te inveniat occupatum. Si apostoli habentes potestatem de*

a hot iron, forbidding to many and commanding to abstain from foods which God has created (*I Tim. iv, 1-3*). *And II Tim. iv, 3-4*: For the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine; but after their own lusts shall they heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears; and they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned to fables. *And II Tim. iii, 1-5*: This also know, that in the last days perilous times shall come. For men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, puffed up, arrogant, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy, without natural affection, without peace, false accusers, incontinent, fierce, unkindly, traitors, impudent, pompous, blind, lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God, having indeed an appearance of piety but denying its true virtue. From such turn away. (*And to the same sense are: Rom. i, 24-32; Gal. v, 19-21; Eph. v, 3-5.*)

15. We ought to obey God rather than men; for we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard (*Acts v, 29; iv, 20*). Therefore they went forth and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them and confirming the word with signs following (*Mark xvi, 20*). Their sound has gone out into every land (*Psa. xviii, 5 [King James xix, 4]*).

16. *Chrysostom*: The whole world was amazed that Christ had converted the world through the apostles. But there were four reasons why this was possible: contempt of money, scorn of praise, exclusion of worldly concerns, and endurance of dreadful things. To cast out demons is work common to ministers both of God and of the Devil, but to confess the truth and do justice is the peculiar work of the saints alone; whom therefore you see casting out demons, if there be no confession of truth in his mouth nor justice in his hands, he is not a man of God. But if you see one confessing the truth and doing justice, even if he not cast out demons, he is a man of God.

17. Mendicants are those who do not have definite possessions or incomes, but a loose sort of mendicancy provides them with a livelihood, at public expense. Such are the Preachers, Minorites, Hermits of St. Augustine, and the Carmelites. (*Sext., I, vi, 24 and gloss; and III, xvii, 1.*)

18. Blessed is he that shakes his hands free from every gift (*St. Gregory, in the Decretum, I. q. i, c. 114; cf. Isa. xxxiii, 15*). *And St. Jerome, writing to a country monk about the daily work of monks; in the Decretum, De cons., V. dist., c. 33*: Always be doing

<sup>151</sup> I Tim. iv, 1-3.

\*\*\* Blandientes magistri.

<sup>152</sup> II Tim. iv, 3-4.

<sup>153</sup> II Tim. iii, 1-5; cf. Rom. i, 24-32; Gal. v, 19-21; Eph. v, 3-5.

<sup>154</sup> Act. v, 29; iv, 20.

<sup>155</sup> Mar. xvi, 20.

<sup>156</sup> Recte: Psa. xviii, 5.

\* Condiciones veri predicatoris.

<sup>157</sup> Non inventum.

<sup>158</sup> Glosa ordinaria in verbum "mendicantium," *Liber Sextus*, I, vi, 24 (*Edit. Lugdun., col. 146*): cf. *Sext.*, I, vi, 24 et III, xvii, 1 (*Friedberg, II, 961-962, 1054-1055*).

<sup>159</sup> I. q. i, c. 114 (*Friedberg, I, 402-403*); cf. *Isa. xxxiii, 15*.

ewangelio vivere laborabant manibus suis, ne quemquam gravarent et aliis tribuebant refrigeria, pro quorum spiritualibus debebant metere carnalia, cur tu non prepares in usus tuos successura? Vel fiscellam texe iuncco, vel canistrum plecte, seratur humus, inserantur fructuose arbores; apum fabricare alvearia. Texantur et lina capiendis piscibus. Scribentur [sic] et libri ut manus operetur cibos, et anima lectione saturetur. In desideriis est omnis ociosus. Egiptiorum monasteria hunc morem tenent ut nullum absque opere et labore suscipiant, non tam propter victus necessaria quam propter anime salutem, ne vagentur perniciosis cogitationibus, et instar fornicantibus Israhel omni transeunti diffaricent pedes suos. *Questio: Quid? Ergo peribunt omnes, qui in urbibus habitant? Ecce illi fruuntur rebus suis, adeunt balnea, unguenta non respuunt, et in omnium flore versantur. Ad quod nunc breviter respondeo, me in presenti opusculo non disputare, sed monachum instruere. Hec ille.*<sup>160</sup>

19. Nec existimat abbas quod super habenda proprietate possit cum aliquo monacho dispensare; quia abdicatio proprietatis, sicut et custodia castitatis adeo est annexa regule monachali, ut contra eam nec summus pontifex possit licenciam indulgere, ut [recte: quod] si proprietas aput quemquam inventa fuerit in morte, ipsa cum eo in signum perdicionis, extra monasterium in sterquilino substernetur: secundum quod Beatus Gregorius narrat in Dyallogo hoc fecisse. *Ut Extra de statu monachorum, Cum ad monasterium, par. Tales, et par. Quod si.*<sup>161</sup> *Et dicitur in glosa: Quod abdicatio proprietatis et custodia castitatis sunt de substantia monachatus. Et ideo dixerunt Vincencius et Johannes quod papa non potest dispensare ut monachus habeat proprium existendo monachus.*<sup>162</sup>

20. *Illud Mar. x*, "Nemo est qui reliquerit domum aut fratres aut sorores aut patrem aut matrem aut filios aut agros propter me et ewangelium, qui non accipiat cencies tantum, nunc in hoc tempore,"<sup>163</sup> *secundum Liram*, potest exponi de reliogiosis qui pro uno patre carnali vel fratre dimisso habent spirituales patres et fratres multos et eciam possessiones et agros in quantum ex possessionibus omnium fidelium sufficienter sustentantur. *Secundum illud Apostoli, II Cor. vi.*: Tamquam nichil [f. 248'] habentes et omnia possidentes.<sup>164</sup> *Hec ille.*<sup>165</sup> Ypochritas multos sub habitu monachorum usque quaque dispersit callidissimus hostis, circum-

some sort of work, so that the Devil may always find you busy. If the apostles who had the power of living from the Gospel worked with their hands, so as not to be a burden to any, and indeed gave help to others from whom they had a right to ask material support in exchange for spiritual benefits—why should you not provide things for your own use? Weave baskets of rushes or wicker-work; let the soil be sown and fruitful trees be planted; make beehives; let lines be braided for catching fish. Let books be written that the hand may earn food and the mind filled by reading. A man who is idle is always in want. The monasteries of Egypt hold to this practice, that they receive no one who will not work and toil—not so much on account of the necessary means of life as for the sake of the soul's salvation, lest the brethren drift into deadly thoughts and, like the whores of Israel, spread their legs for everyone passing by (cf. *Ezek. xvi*, 25).

*A question: What, will everyone perish who lives in a town? For see, they enjoy their goods, they go to the baths, they do not refuse to be anointed, and they are surrounded by the best of everything. To this point I answer, briefly, that in the present tract I am not engaged in disputation but am instructing a monk. (Thus far St. Jerome.)*

19. No abbot will suppose that he can give a monk a dispensation to have property; for abdication of property, like the preservation of chastity, is so much a part of the monastic rule that not even the Supreme Pontiff can license an exemption from it. So much, indeed, that if property be found with any monk at his death, then it and he are thrown in a dung-pit outside the monastery, as a symbol of his damnation: and this according to what St. Gregory in his *Dialogue* says he had done. (*Decretals*, III, xxxv, 6.) *And it says in the gloss [ibid.]*: Abdication of property and preservation of chastity are of the substance of monasticism. It is for this reason that Vincent [Hispanus] and John [Teutonicus] have said that the pope cannot grant a dispensation allowing a monk to have private property while he remains a monk.

20. "There is no man that has left house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or children, or lands, for my sake and the gospel's, but he shall receive a hundredfold now in this time"—this text of *Mark x*, 29-30 can, according to *Lira*, be applied to the religious, who have given up one fleshly father or brother and have many spiritual fathers and brothers in exchange, and also possessions and lands inasmuch as they are adequately supported from the possessions of all the

<sup>160</sup> De cons., V. dist., c. 33 (Friedberg, I, 1420-1421); *ubi ultima particula legitur*: "me in praesenti opusculo non de clericis disputare, sed monachum instruere."

<sup>161</sup> *Decretales*, III, xxxv, 6 (Friedberg, II, 599-600); *loco* "par. Tales" *deberet poni* "par. ultimo."

<sup>162</sup> *Glosa ordinaria in verba* "Abdicatio proprietatis," *Decretales*, III, xxxv, c. 6 (*Edit. Lugdun.*, col. 1297).

<sup>163</sup> Mar. x, 29-30.

<sup>164</sup> II Cor. vi, 10. Cf. Augustini, *De Civitate Dei*, XX, c. xix (*MPL*, vol. 41, col. 685-687).

<sup>165</sup> *Lira*, *glosa*, *in loco*.

venientes omnes provincias petunt omnes, exigunt aut sumptus lucrose egestatis aut precium simulate sanctitatis. *Hec Augustinus.*<sup>166</sup>

21. Pseudopropheta qui predicabit anticristum erit simulacio paupertatis quo ad se. *Sicut enim secundum Augustinum, De civitate dei*, per aliquos pontifices ydolorum castissimos [MS: castissimus] multa impudica circa culturam ydolorum decens [sic] fieri consulebant, ut sic sub specie honestatis pontificum plebs ad ipsam traheretur:<sup>167</sup> Sic fiet, et tunc anticristus sic consulit et laudabit divicias, qui tamen ad maiorem fraudem in aliquibus casibus ac temporibus et personis quendam ypochritalem paupertatem fovebit. *Hec glosa, Mat. xxiii, super isto, "Ecce in deserto est Christus."*<sup>168</sup>

22. Rogo autem vos fratres, ut observatis eos qui dissensiones et offendicula, preter doctrinam, quam vos didicistis, faciunt, et declinate ab illis. Huiusmodi enim Cristo domino nostro non serviunt, sed suo ventri, et per dulces sermones et benedictiones seducunt corda innocencium. *Rom. ult.*<sup>169</sup> Ex hiis enim sunt qui penetrant domos, et captivas ducunt mulierculas oneratas peccatis que ducuntur variis desideriis, semper discentes et numquam ad scienciam veritatis pervenientes, etc. *II Tym. iii.*<sup>170</sup> Et ego gloriabor, ego: in laboribus plurimis, in carceribus habundantius, in plagis supra modum, in mortibus frequenter. A Iudeis quinquies quadragenas una minus, accepi. Ter virgis cesus sum, semel lapidatus sum. *II Cor. xi.\**<sup>171</sup>

23. Triumphale martirium nomen letis obsequiis complectamur, qui per diversa tormentorum genera Christi passionem non lacessentibus precordiorum mentibus imitabantur, alii fero perempti, alii flammis exusti, alii plagis verberati, alii ictibus perforati, alii vivi excoreati, alii lapidibus obruti, alii ligvis [sic] privati, alii vero truncis manibus sive ceteris membris spectaculum contumelie inter populos nudi pro nomine domini portaverunt. Sancti "per fidem vicerunt regna, operati sunt iusticiam. Alii distenti sunt; alii ludibria et verbera experti, insuper et vincula et carceres: lapidati sunt, secti sunt, temptati sunt, in occisione gladii mortui sunt, circuierunt in melotis, in pellibus caprinis, egentes, angustiati, afflicti, quibus dignus non erat mundus: [f. 249] in solitudinibus errantes et montibus, et in speluncis, et cavernis terre. Et hii omnes testimonio fidei probati sunt." *Heb. xi.*<sup>172</sup> *Prophecia Beate Hildegardis, ultimo, In diebus illis.*<sup>173</sup>

faithful. Thus according to the Apostle, *II Cor. vi, 10*: "As having nothing, and yet possessing all things." (*Thus far Lira.*)

The most cunning of enemies has scattered many hypocrites far and wide, under monastic garb, and they go through every province, all of them asking or demanding the costs of their profitable indigence, the price of their simulated holiness. (*Augustine, De opere monachorum, ch. xxviii.*)

21. The false prophet who will preach the Antichrist will himself present a false appearance of poverty. For just as, according to Augustine's *The City of God*, many shameless things used to be done in connection with the cult of idols, by priests of those idols, themselves most chaste, in order that the people might be attracted to the cult by the apparent worthiness of the pontiffs—so it will happen then, when the Antichrist will commend and praise riches but, in certain cases, times, and persons, to improve his deception, will foster a hypocritical poverty. (*The gloss on Mat. xviv, 26.*)

22. Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them who cause divisions and offenses contrary to the doctrine which you have learned; and avoid them. For they that are such serve not our Lord Christ but their own belly, and by sweet words and benedictions seduce the hearts of the innocent. (*Rom. xvi, 17-18.*) For of this sort are they who creep into houses, and lead captive silly women laden with sins, led away with divers lusts, ever learning, and never arriving at knowledge of the truth (*II Tim. iii, 6-7*). I too will glory, I too: in labors more abundant, in prisons more frequent, in stripes above measure, in deaths often. Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one. Thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned. (*II Cor. xi, 18, 23-25.*)

23. Let us embrace the triumphal name of martyrdom with joyous homage—martyrs who imitated the passion of Christ in divers kinds of torments, which they had not provoked in mind or heart. Some were killed by the sword, others burned in flames, scourged with stripes, run through with thrusts, flayed alive, or buried under stones; others had their tongues cut out, while yet others, their hands or other members cut off, a spectacle of shame among men, naked have begged for the sake of the Lord's name. The saints "through faith have subdued kingdoms and wrought righteousness. Some were tortured on the rack, others had trial of mockings and scourgings, and moreover of bonds and imprisonment; they were stoned, they were sawn

<sup>166</sup> Augustinus, "De opere monachorum" c. xxviii (MPL vol. 40, col. 575-576); "O servi Dei, itane dissimulatis callidissimi hostis insidias . . . tam multos hypocritas sub habitu monachorum usquequaque dispersit, circumeuntes provincias, . . . et omnes petunt, omnes exigunt, aut sumptus lucrosae egestatis, aut simulate pretium sanctitatis."

<sup>167</sup> Non inventum.

<sup>168</sup> Cf. Mat. xxiv, 26 (*Glosa non ad manum*).

<sup>169</sup> Rom. xvi, 17-18.

<sup>170</sup> II Tim. iii, 6-7.

\* De corea ecclesie primitive.

<sup>171</sup> II Cor. xi, 18, 23-25.

<sup>172</sup> Heb. xi, 33-39.

<sup>173</sup> Non inventum.