





No 49991





IOHANNIS WYCLIF

TRACTATUS

DE APOSTASIA.

NOW FIRST EDITED FROM THE VIENNA MSS.

1343 AND 3935.

BY

MICHAEL HENRY DZIEWICKI.

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## INTRODUCTION.

*De Apostasia*, which is now printed for the first time, has been hitherto known to the public only by Shirley's valuable catalogue of Wyclif's works. His notice, however, is not without a few errors, which ought to be corrected first of all, before I make any further remarks concerning the editing of the work, and the work itself.

It runs thus: “*De Apostasia*. In two chapters. *Incipit*: Restat ulterius ponere aliud principium. *Desinit*: fratrum commodum quoad deum. — MSS. Vienna: CCXCI, ff. 37—124; CCCX, ff. 49—128. Univ. Prague: III F. 11, ff. 70—134; III G. 11, ff. 208—220. Trin. Coll. Dub.: C. 1, 24, pp. 293—310. — The Prague MSS. seem both to be imperfect. — *Auth.* Author's name on the Vienna MSS.; Walden, *De Sacramentis*, *passim*; Bale, title only.”

On p. 63, he quotes the Vienna catalogue: “Undecima, de Apostasia, 18 capp. Restat . . . in fine, *hoc venerabili sacramento*”.

The corrections are as follows: There are 17 chapters, not 2 nor 18; the second chapter ends with *fratrum commodum &c.*; the seventeenth, as in the Vienna catalogue. The Vienna MSS. are respectively CCCXCI (or cod. 1343) and CCCCX (or cod. 3935). There are three MSS. at Prague University, the one omitted here being C. 73: only one of the three (III G. 11) is imperfect, ending at about the middle of the second chapter. — C. 1, 24, Tr. Coll. Dub. is imperfect, breaking off at the end of the second chapter. The author's name is only in cod. CCCXCI; in CCCCX, C. 73 and III F. 11, there are his initials.

For the sake of uniformity with the other works published by the Wyclif Society, I have lettered these MSS. in the various readings. Thus, cod. 1343 (or CCCXCI) will in future be A; this was the MS. copied for the text of the work. Cod. 3935 (or CCCCX) is B; C. 73 is C; III F. 11 is D; III G. 11 is E; and Tr. Coll. Dub. C. 1, 24 is F.

## I.

I may now briefly describe the six MSS., from indications kindly supplied by Dr. Herzberg-Fräncel, of the Imperial Library, Vienna, who transcribed the work, and by the various collators. And here I wish to acknowledge the great pains taken both by the transcriber and the collators, which has considerably lightened my task; though I did not think it worth while to preserve all the various readings. Some presented only a philological or palaeographic interest; most of these have been set aside. They become much rarer after the end of the second chapter, when both E and F are wanting; it is unfortunate, as these two seem to have been copied from sources independent of the rest, and often give us the right sense when the others are at fault. Many a doubtful sentence would probably have been explained, had these been complete. The readings of C and D are comparatively the least useful; B serves on many occasions to supplement the text of A.

A belongs to the same collection as the MS. of Poole's *De Dominio Civilis*, and his general description of that MS. may be applied to this. The title of the work, in red ink, on f. 37, runs thus: *Incipit tractatus de apostasia, liber XI* (meaning that it is the eleventh book of Wyclif's *Summa Theologica*). At the end, on f. 124, there are the words: *Explicit tractatus de apostasia magistri Johannis Wiclef doctoris ewangelici*. This is written in the same hand as the text. Lower down, there is: *Respic finem, 1517*, in a later hand, followed by some cyphered writing, perhaps the owner's name, or some indications relative to the scribe himself. The handwriting and other external peculiarities of the MS. are identical with those of the Nimburg collection, near Kolin, in Bohemia.

B. Paper, each sextern enclosed in leaf of parchment; binding, leather and boards. At the beginning, inside the cover, stands an index of the works contained in the volume, in XV<sup>th</sup> century writing: a proof that the binding dates at least as far back. Beneath, there is written: *A fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos. De Blasfemia, cap<sup>o</sup> 15 substancialiter corporaliter ibi corpus Christi*. These words are the same as a marginal note on f. 201. One date in the volume (1453, Assumptionis) points to the middle of the XV<sup>th</sup> century as the time

at which it was copied; this is also borne out by the handwriting. *De Apostasia*, *De Blasfemia*, and the side-notes, are all in the same good steady hand. Two columns to each page.

C. A paper folio volume, belonging to the Chapterhouse library, Prague (Domkapitelbibliothek) and containing *De Blasphemia*, *De Apostasia* (ff. 76c—151a), *De hostia consecrata ad Urbanum VI*, *De potestate Pape* (not entire) and *De Prophetia*. Written in two columns, in a good legible hand, of about the beginning of the XV<sup>th</sup> century. At the end of *De Blasphemia* are these words in Bohemian *vtyress ty'e buoh* (God comfort thee!) and after *De Prophetia*: *Neb gest toho dobrze hoden* (for he is well worthy thereof).

D. A paper MS.; small 4<sup>to</sup>; belongs to the University Library, Prague. Same contents as C; probably a copy from it, made a few years later. Handwriting much inferior, with many mistakes. Two columns on each page. *De Apostasia* begins f. 70b and ends f. 136b.

E. A paper MS., small 4<sup>to</sup>; also belonging to the Prague University Library. Contents: extracts from Wyclif, Huss, Origen, Chrysostom, &c. Three different hands: from beginning to f. 154b; from 154b to 286a and from 286a to 286b. Probable date of writing: 1425 to 1445. The fragment of *De Apostasia* that is here begins at f. 209b, and ends f. 221b. Dr. Buddensieg has described this MS. in his Introduction to *Wyclif's Polemical Works*.

F. Written in good legible hand, though much abridged; date, XV<sup>th</sup> century; on parchment, much stained in some parts. Binding, leather and boards. Contains *De Veritate Scripture*, *De Simonia*, *De Apostasia* (pp. 292—310), and *De Blasphemia*. Numerous corrections, carefully made; in a similar hand, if not in the same. A blank space is left for initial letters all through the MS.; there are therefore no illuminations. Frequent marginal notes. Verso of p. 305 and recto of p. 306, very much stained.

With the aid of these various readings, I have sought to make up a text easily intelligible to the reader. In general, I have departed from the reading given by A only when it is evidently wrong and one or more of the other MSS. seem to give a better; in a few instances I have risked a guess, and set all the readings aside as faulty; always, of course, giving notice of the fact by a foot-note. But before I proceed to say anything of the work itself, I must

gratefully acknowledge the kind and assiduous help supplied to me by Mr. F. D. Matthew, whose great knowledge of all that concerns the *Doctor Evangelicus* has been invaluable, at the same time that his unwearying patience with an inexperienced editor was very encouraging. I do not know if it is possible to be more indebted to anyone than I have been to him; and the work finished, my most hearty thanks are due to him principally: not forgetting what I owe to Dr. Furnivall, the Founder of the Wyclif Society, and in general to all those who have contributed to the editing of this work.

## II.

*De Apostasia* is the eleventh of a series of theological works called by Wyclif *Summa Theologica*; but this series bears no resemblance either in scope or in plan to the great masterpiece of Aquinas. They are merely an exposition of such of his theological opinions as differed from the views generally held, set forth with a great deal of polemical vigour, and (in some cases at least) without any attempt at a regular plan. They are besides coloured to a very great extent by the writer's personal feelings at the time, so that, for instance, the tone of *De Apostasia* is moderation itself when compared with *De Blasphemia*, that seems to have followed it shortly after; and they usually contain some allusions to contemporary circumstances that enable us to fix the date of the work with more or less precision. Thus, in the case of the present work, Wyclif alludes to a certain *cruciatum langridum infinitum*. A crusade, he says, was going on at the time, but in a very languishing manner. Now from these words we may gather, as exactly as possible, the date of a composition which must have cost many months' work, even to a man of Wyclif's facility and exuberance of thought; for in the year 1383, Bishop Spenser preached a crusade throughout England, to be undertaken in Flanders on behalf of Urban VI against the antipope Robert of Geneva. It lasted from May to October; it was hailed with much enthusiasm and began with 60,000 volunteers; but it soon met with difficulties. When the first bad news reached England, towards the beginning of August, Wyclif was writing his *De Fundacione Sectarum* (see W's Pol. Works, p. 7). The disaster was only known in October. Here we may note his extraordinary activity. As we see,

*De Apostasia*, and *De Fundacione Sectarum*, a tract of 80 pages, were both writing at the same time; simultaneously appeared his tract *De Cruciatu* (44 pages). *De Dissensione Paparum* belongs to the same time, though perhaps it is a little earlier, according to Dr Buddensieg. *De septem donis Spiritus Sancti* (22 pp.) was written immediately after *De fundacione Sectarum*, between July and October, 1383; without mentioning several other short works, written either in the spring or in the autumn of the same year. Few men have worked so much as Wyclif; for this outpour was not limited to one year or to one period only; it embraces the whole of the man's career.

This work itself possesses peculiar interest, on account of the great length at which Wyclif discusses the doctrine of Transubstantiation. It is by no means easy at first sight to perceive his exact position, especially when we see him adhering with great energy to the condemnation of Berengarius, and not only asserting the real presence of Christ in the Host, but even using the very word *trans-substantiation* (p. 58, l. 17, and elsewhere); while at the same time he asserts that the substance of bread remains, denies impanation, and says that Christ is present only in figure. But, though I cannot deny that Wyclif, like every man who ventures on so vast a task as framing a scheme of religion for himself, often is and must be inconsistent, yet I think that the careful study of *De Apostasia* will clear away most of the seeming contradictions to which I have just alluded, and show how what is contradictory to us, is not so to him.

To understand it completely, we ought to possess the light of his philosophical works, which have not yet been published. We all know that he was a Realist, and this fact bears an important part in the explanation of his system; but how far he ventured beyond the very moderate Realism of Aquinas, or the system, hardly less cautiously reserved, of his Franciscan rival, Scotus, remains yet to be ascertained. From this point of view, we might regret that the philosophical works of Wyclif were not published first; but it was evidently impracticable to delay the appearance of his best known works until the long series of his forgotten books on scholastic philosophy was exhausted.

In proceeding to give an analysis of *De Apostasia*, I ought to point out that the work cannot properly be said to have a plan, in

the sense of dealing with certain subjects in one part to the exclusion of others. It looks more like a series of scholastic debates upon Transsubstantiation, to which the first two chapters form the introduction by an attack upon the friars, who are responsible for this heresy, as Wyclif calls it. If it were not so, I should be quite at a loss to see how a man of even a weak memory could so often repeat the same arguments, refute the same objections, and use the same invectives, over and over again, in almost the very same words. These repetitions have decided me to undertake the analysis, after the first two chapters, in a very free manner. I intend adding all remarks that I think useful to point out Wyclif's exact position, so far as I understand it; at the same time, I shall only notice in each chapter those arguments that have not been dealt with before. For such readers as should wish for a more complete summary, there are abundant side notes.

Ch. I. Apostasy, according to Wyclif's theory, is but a general denomination for every grievous sin, in so far as it loosens the bond of religion between God the Father and man; similarly, blasphemy (sinning against the Son) and simony (against the Holy Ghost) are not specific sins, but mere aspects of every mortal sin. The book examines (1), Apostasy in itself (ch. 1, 2); and (2), Apostasy in its chief result (chs. 3—17). This divides the whole work into two very distinct parts; for Wyclif looks upon the theory of Transsubstantiation, as understood by the Friars, as the great effect of the apostasy which he contended was general throughout the Church; but he first of all deals with the Friars as the most notorious apostates. To do so, he takes two definitions, one for each of the first two chapters; the first defines apostasy by means of its contrary — religion; the second is the definition given by Holy Writ.

Religion may be defined either as the simple observance of Christ's law, or of certain rites and ceremonies superadded thereto. This second observance Wyclif calls *private religion*, and then examines certain questions relative to those called 'religions' in the second sense; some of these questions seem useless, but all, as we shall see, tend to establish his proposition: *A man may, without apostasy, leare any of these private religions.* Of this the converse appears in the second chapter: *A man may, without leaving any private*

*religion to which he belongs, incur apostasy*. Both these propositions seem intended to bring over to Wyclif's band of 'poor priests' some wavering Franciscans or Dominicans, who, struck and attracted by his austere doctrines, were yet held back for fear of apostasy. This hypothesis is strengthened, *first*, by the comparative moderation in tone to which Wyclif keeps all through the book, *second*, by several passages that we shall notice as we go on, and *third*, by the general tendency and evident *à propos* of the arguments.<sup>1</sup>

*Preliminary Question:* Whether the habit is essential to religion (pp. 3—9). I. Whether 'religious' life is better than ordinary Christianity (pp. 9—13); II. Whether it would not be better for those Orders not to exist (pp. 13—16), and III. Whether perpetual vows are expedient (p. 16—19).

*Preliminary Question.* The Decretal treats as apostates those who put off the habit; orders that are distinct, though professing the same rule, can be distinguished only by the habit; and to practise the contrary doctrine would produce confusion. But, on the other hand, religion is in the soul; apostasy cannot depend upon bodily clothing; if it could, any change in the habit would (an absurd consequence) produce a corresponding change in religion; and were the habit essential, even the Pope could not grant a dispensation. It is therefore not so, but only the external characteristic by which the Orders are known to differ. What distinguishes them is their obligations, e. g. to wear certain clothes. So far, Wyclif is quite orthodox; but his corollary, viz. that anyone may, without permission or dispensation, set aside the habit of his Order, is not. The Pope has no power granted him for evil; but it is manifestly evil to punish a man for having laid aside a mere sign. '*And yet, some are called apostates, who have done so, in order to live more piously in a more devout community.*' He goes on to complain loudly of their imprisonment as illegal, encroaching upon kingly rights, and contrary to the Christian law. From some passages in *De Blasphemia* it appears that Wyclif's propaganda amongst the monks was very active at this time; he avails

<sup>1</sup> This of course was not Wyclif's *only* intention in writing the first two chapters; but it seems probable that the idea was in his mind, and influenced him to some extent.

himself with much skill of every motive they could have to be discontented with their Superiors. On the other hand, it would appear from these lines that his activity was met by activity in the opposite direction, and that a Friar could not go over to Wyclif without considerable personal danger.

I. 'Religious' life is not better than ordinary Christianity; for the latter is more simple, more necessary, and more authorized. Monks strive to become Bishops, i. e. to be loosed from their vows and return to ordinary Christianity; if that were apostasy, they could not be allowed to do so. And the objection that monks keep the law of Christ and add thereto, is worthless; they add, as it were, a heap of rubbish round the walls of a perfect building.

II. Would it not be better if no Orders existed? That they were founded by Saints, proves nothing in their favour. Saints are not infallible, and may have sinned. These orders have indeed produced many Saints; but a bad father may have a good son. The Pope has confirmed them *for ever*; i. e. as long as God shall will their existence; besides, we must suppose that the Pope approved what was praiseworthy in them, not their defects. They ought to be suppressed on account of their members' inordinate love for their own sects, which causes dissensions in the Church, and is a sort of idolatry.

III. Perpetual vows are not expedient. Obedience is good, if rendered to God, not if to man; or if to man, only in so far as it coincides with what is due to God. *So that sometimes it is a virtue to rebel.* Obedience rendered to a proud and worldly Superior is without merit, even when he commands what is good for his subject. Here Wyclif, before in strict agreement with Aquinas and Catholic theology in general, approaches nearer to heterodoxy, and denies that the virtue of obedience sanctifies an order given by a Superior, if he is a fool or an ignorant man.

Ch. II. If we recollect that it was the custom in old times to speak much more plainly than we do now; if we compare the conditional tone of this chapter (*if the Friars have done these things . . .*) with the unmeasured invective employed in some other works, and if we note the exception that Wyclif explicitly makes in favour of his friends in the cloister, we shall see that in the severe indictment of

the Friars that follows, there is nothing calculated to destroy the effect which the previous chapter may have produced upon the waverers; on the contrary, the thesis that apostasy is often, nay, almost always incurred within the convent-walls, must have acted in a very different way. This idea is developed somewhat in the form of a sermon or homily, with remarks, explanations and amplifications of the Scripture text (Prov. VI, 12—14): 1<sup>st</sup> *Homo apostata, vir inutilis* (pp. 20—24); 2<sup>nd</sup> *graditur ore perverso* (pp. 24—28); 3<sup>rd</sup> *annuit oculis* (pp. 28—31); 4<sup>th</sup> *terit pede* (pp. 31—35); 5<sup>th</sup> *digito loquitur* (pp. 35—39); 6<sup>th</sup> *pravo corde machinatur malum* (pp. 39—43); 7<sup>th</sup> *et omni tempore jurgia seminat* (pp. 43—45).

1<sup>st</sup> *Homo apostata, vir inutilis.* Uselessness and sins of omission, are the first marks of backsliding. The great omission that Wyclif cannot forgive the Friars is, that they refused to join with him in the war against Church possessions. They were instituted only to renew the life of the Apostles, in strict poverty; to that mission they ought to be faithful. It is a work of spiritual mercy, far more important than deeds of charity done to the body; yet Christ condemns those who omit the latter. Worse traitors than Judas, they betray Christ glorified; Christ, who came but to bear witness to the truth. — The fact is, Wyclif is so positive that the Church should not hold property, that he cannot understand how a body of men, poor in theory, can refuse to think as he does without being false to their own principles. He pictures them bringing forward a few miserably weak excuses. “Time, place, circumstances, do not allow them to speak. “But”, he replies, with a burst of eloquence, “NOW is the right time; the Prince of this world has spread his armies throughout the whole universe, and the King of kings has promised to assist His Church even unto the end of the world. And John the Baptist and so many martyrs have striven in this cause, knowing that Truth overcometh all things. Then let a Christian excuse himself how he will; before Him that shall try the heart and the reins at the Last Judgment, this negligence and idleness will find no excuse.”

He deals in the same manner with all the other excuses, very poor ones indeed. “No more remains to be done, since there are now no enemies of the Church; bishops should not be attacked; if

the Friars exasperate those that have possessions, they will suffer for it." . . . And therefore, he concludes significantly (p. 24), *the religious and intelligent Friars break away from these apostates.*

*2<sup>nd</sup> Graditur ore perrero.* Sins of the tongue: lying, flattery, evil-speaking. *Lying* is dismissed with a few strong words; the proverb: 'A Friar has said thus and thus, so it is false', is quoted. The *flattery* here attacked is the flattery of the public, by sermons uttered to please, not to edify them. To relate fables and put human traditions in the place of God's word, is the very worst kind of flattery; thereby they become spirits of error, demons, or rather, as dead to the world, corpses wandering about, moved by a demon. They delight in repeating all *evil* they have heard; which is a still more grievous sin, if they are bound to silence.

*3<sup>rd</sup> Annuit oculis.* In a mystic sense, 'the eye' meaning the intention, to wink with the eye signifies to prefer private interest to the public good; for instance, when they entrap men, and especially boys, into their Order. This is at any rate a sin against prudence; for the persons thus influenced may have no call from God; and thus, though serving the order, they would harm the Church. Seeking our private welfare, sin can hardly be avoided; and *that is why civil ownership always savours of sin* (p. 30). Here incidentally we see a Socialistic conclusion that necessarily flows from Wyclif's principles; another appears still more clearly at the end of ch. 7.<sup>1</sup>

*4<sup>th</sup> Terit pede.* 'The foot' in Scripture signifies the affections, which are perverted amongst the Friars, who love temporal things; they beg clamorously, continually, shamelessly, for rich communities, in order to waste the money; and they refuse to share what they have with their poorer brethren, who have more right to ask alms of them than they of the people.

*5<sup>th</sup> Digit loquitur.* 'The finger' taken in its mystic sense, means the power of acting. Three points in which the Friars go to excess: *1<sup>st</sup> Indulgences and absolutions.* He who is contrite gets indulgence from God by the very fact; indulgences can only be of use when contrition exists already. *2<sup>nd</sup> They extol masses, penances, funerals, and all functions that bring them money.* *3<sup>rd</sup> They 'make broad*

<sup>1</sup> 'To savour of sin' however, does not mean *to be sinful* in Wyclif's language.

their fringes' by letters of fraternity, admitting laymen into the Order; but this is concealed simony, being based on the tacit understanding that the lay Brother will help them with his money: take that away, and their spiritual aid is withdrawn. But merit, God's grace, can be neither bought nor sold. And this has no connection with the payment given to oratory-priests, which they deserve.

6<sup>th</sup> *Praro corde machinatur malum.* The root of all intrigues is sectarian feeling. They consider only their sect's advantage, and thus sin more grievously as a body than so many separate individuals. Christ lived with His Apostles, but He knew whom to choose and how to instruct them; and they were afterwards dispersed. The Friars are as bad as the endowed monks. Their union crushes even the most legitimate opposition, for they employ every influence to gain their point. And all are responsible for this. Some good men remain amongst them; *others fly in despair, but if taken are put to death or in prison for life.* A curious quotation follows, comparing the Friars to wild geese; then comes an urgent appeal to Wyclif's friends amongst them to help him in exposing the others.

7<sup>th</sup> *Et omni tempore jurgia seminat.* Wyclif accuses them of sowing divisions in their own order, wars throughout Christendom, and dissensions in the Church; he attempts to prove the latter point from history. They do good, but also harm; and we know by faith and God's grace that the latter exceeds the former. — All this has no bearing upon some Friars *who are Wyclif's most dear sons* (p. 44); but if any do what is here denounced, it is the Holy Spirit, not Wyclif, that calls them by the name of apostates. All this has been said for the good of the Church, and of the Friars themselves.

Ch. III. Though the Eucharistic debates are, so far as I can see, independent of each other, it is yet not impossible to introduce a little order amongst them by classifying them as they stand. The *first*, beginning with Ch. III and ending at the close of Ch. VII, is so to speak a general attack upon the then universally received theory of the Eucharist. The *second*, beginning with the VIII<sup>th</sup> Ch. and ending with the end of the IX<sup>th</sup>, deals specially with the multiplication of Christ's body in the Eucharist. The *third* (Ch. X) is an enquiry into the essence or 'quiddity' of the Sacrament. The *fourth* (Chs. XI

to XV) is a more detailed attack on the accident-theory: going through many classes of accidents, Wyclif asserts that none can be absolute in the sense required. Chapters XV and XVI seem to be a written reply to some treatise or treatises composed against him. He carefully goes over all the authorities quoted by his adversaries, explains their meaning agreeably to his own views, and adds several very important remarks concerning his doctrine. Ch. XVII is principally a historical review of the institution of the Mass. Of course there is not a single chapter in which something extrinsical, either concerning the Friars, Church temporalities, or the power of the Pope, does not occur; but as I said before, unless something particularly worthy of notice comes to hand, I am obliged to confine myself to the main question and to overlook repetitions.

It is necessary to offer a few remarks as to the dogma of Transubstantiation, and the philosophical theories connected therewith in the Catholic Church. Scholastic theologians were from the beginning in face of a universal belief in the real presence of Christ's Body in the Holy Eucharist; and that belief was borne out by the written tradition, both of the Fathers, of the Apostle Paul, and of the Gospels themselves. Here a difficulty occurred: the bread seemed to remain, assuredly; but if it remained *really*, how could Christ's body be *really* there? Nothing can be where it was not before, unless by a change of place, or by conversion of something else into itself.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, as Christ does not leave Heaven, the bread itself, remaining to all the senses as it was before, is changed into Christ's body; the substance, or as we might perhaps call it, the *noumenon* alone is changed, all the *phenomena* are what they were (Aq. S. Th. qu. 75, art. 2). This is a fresh mystery, which also requires to be explained: for how can appearances possibly exist, without anything that appears?

There is here a split amongst Catholic philosophers. The Scholastics answered the question thus: Every accident, while belonging to the substance, possesses a certain amount of reality, of entity, which is different from the latter; a bent finger being really different from a finger that is straight, that which makes the difference must

<sup>1</sup> This axiom Wyclif (p. 186, l. 2) is constrained to call heretical; for it is evidently in contradiction with his system, as we shall see.

be something real. Some of these realities are in their nature such that they cannot even be conceived without a subject; for instance, movement without something in motion is unthinkable. But we can imagine an accident of greater perfection than these, so that, though naturally requiring the support of a subject, its entity might miraculously exist, even were its substance to fail. From this results the Scholastic conception of quantity, which, according to Aquinas, remains in the Eucharist as the subject of form, colour, movement, taste, and all the other phenomena observed in the visible and tangible Host. The reader will of course ask: Can quantity exist without anything that *has* quantity? but the very question indicates that he has not sufficiently understood this hypothesis. Quantity is not a mere abstraction, nor a mere mode of being; it is quite different from extension, for it is that which *makes* extension, and may be defined as a force that extends material substance: *vis extensiva materie*. This force is really distinct from its substance, not as a mode differs from what it modifies, but as a thing differs from another thing, to which it belongs. Thus, after the words of consecration, the substance of bread is no longer there, but quantity takes its place, and upholds the other accidents naturally, being itself upheld by God's supernatural power; and therefore, whatever the bread could do, — even to feeding the body — is now performed by the quantity that remains (Cf. Th. Aq., S. Th., 3<sup>a</sup> Pars, qu. 77, art. 1, 2, 3, 6). On the other hand, though St. Thomas admits that the bread is nowhere after consecration, he denies that it is annihilated, since it is changed into Christ's Body (ib. qu. 75, art. 3); which is hard to understand, and is not, I believe, an article of faith. Neither is it *de fide* to maintain, as he does, that Christ, though really present, is not *locally* present in the Host, either as a body (*secundum modum commensurationis*) or as a spirit (*definitive*) but rather as the substance of bread was present before — identical in every part of the volume it occupied (ib. qu. 76, art. 4, 5).

So long as the old School held its sway, this theory, however mysterious, however unsatisfactory it may appear, remained the most popular, and most of the explanations that sprung up to supersede it approached the confines of heresy, if they did not go beyond them. Descartes, however, was a sincere Catholic, and yet would not admit

the Scholastic theory of quantity. According to him, it may be remembered, actual extension was the very essence of bodily substance, and the idea of absolute accidents seemed as absurd to him as it does to Wyclif. In his celebrated *Réponses aux objections de M. Arnauld*, he gives several arguments very like those employed in *De Apostasia*, and concludes thus: "Therefore, if I may here speak my mind truly and simply, I venture to hope that a day will come when the opinion admitting real accidents will be banished by theologians as suspicious in faith, revolting to reason, and quite incomprehensible; while mine will be received in its place, as indubitably certain". His opinion, briefly stated, is as follows: The existence of a bodily substance is known to us only through the continual movements of its surface, which proceed from the underlying substance and produce sensation in us. Now, the surface belongs as much to the surrounding substance as to that which is surrounded. (A vacuum, according to Descartes, is absolutely impossible). Suppose therefore that Transubstantiation consists 1<sup>st</sup> in the *taking away* (whether by annihilation or otherwise) of the bread-substance; 2<sup>nd</sup> in the conservation of the surface with all the movements that would have been imparted to it, had the bread remained; 3<sup>rd</sup> in the real presence of Christ below that surface; and you have an explanation which is intelligible to the mind, which does not contradict the belief that the bread disappears, nor the opinion held by most Fathers, that *aliquitas panis*, something of the bread, remains. For the surface is the same.

There are several other theories; but I may now sum up the principal, four in number, none of which have been condemned as heretical; at least I believe not.

1<sup>st</sup> That of St. Thomas, who, believing with Aristotle that the *esse* of an accident is, and is only, in the substance, seems to admit the production of a new entity, by which quantity would exist alone, and could not do so otherwise; which he calls, not *substance*, but *subsistence* (*Sum. Th. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars, qu. 77, art. 1. Ad 4<sup>m</sup> dicendum . . . ;* and *Com. in Sent. l. 4, dist. 12, qu. 1, art. 2*). This opinion is the nearest to Wyclif's, though not identical; for the one imagines a new *subsistence* coming to uphold the accidents; and the other conceives them as still upheld by the old *substance*.

2<sup>nd</sup> That of Scotus, to whom the theory of absolute accidents, as above set forth, is to be ascribed. (Cf. Migne, Dict. de Th. Scolastique, art. *Substance et accident.*)

3<sup>rd</sup> That of Descartes, and in general the theory that ascribes a certain outward movement, resistance, &c., in the place where the bread was, due to supernatural agency.

4<sup>th</sup> The theory of intentional (or imaginary) accidents, that have nothing corresponding in the external world, and are purely subjective; which is exposed to the double inconvenience of making all our senses lie by Divine agency, and of taking no account of the belief that the appearances remaining are something really objective.

With regard to these theories, we must remark that most of Wyclif's arguments are merely directed against absolute accidents and the theory of Aquinas; some, however, go further; as when he says that, bread being called bread only on account of its sensible appearances, if these remain, the name cannot rightly be changed. This is almost a foreshadowing of a modern philosophical school. Lewes, in his *Problems of Metaphysics*, says very decidedly, "A thing is its qualities"; which amounts to the very same.<sup>1</sup>

I may now begin to examine Wyclif's Eucharistic doctrine.

As the result, he says, of the general apostasy in this second millenary after Christ, Satan being loosed, dreadful heresies concerning the Eucharist have crept into the Church. The theory which affirms the destruction of the substance of bread and wine<sup>2</sup> is opposed to the words of the Church services and hymns, to St. Paul, the Acts of the Apostles, and to the Gospels themselves. We ought to stand by Scripture; what Scripture, in six different places, declares to be bread, is bread. It is never called an accident, at any rate, as these lying masters say. If we begin to wrest words from their right sense, our faith will soon be perverted; for if the Pope has a right to do it in this case, why not in all others? Tradition too speaks likewise: Augustine,

<sup>1</sup> Though at present unable to identify the quotation, I am quite sure that it is in the work mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> We have already seen that St. Thomas formally denies annihilation, though in a very inexplicable way; it would therefore seem that Wyclif's opponents, either unawares or driven by the force of argument, had actually admitted it; the more so, as Wyclif alludes to this very often and very energetically.

Ambrose, Jerome, all use the same language; and Augustine calls the Eucharist Christ's Body *only in a certain way* (i. e. figuratively). John of Damascus says the bread and wine are joined to Christ's Body; and his example of a live coal, as wood united with fire, shows his position still more clearly. Even the words of this Saint, that 'the bread and wine are not a type, but the very body and blood of Our Lord', are to be understood in a figurative sense. A quotation from St. Ambrose, and a remark against the glossators who explain this Saint in the wrong way in several places, close the chapter.

Ch. IV. Continuation of the general thesis. After a protest against any authority but Holy Writ in matters of faith, the author brings in an argument which, under different forms, recurs very often in the book. Is *what we see* Christ's Body? If the adversaries answer Yes, he says: Then how can what we see be an accident without substance? Is Christ's Body an accident? And he points out (at least he does so in other places) the abject entity of an accident, which is lower than the vilest of substances, and less perfect than the worst poison: thus making of those who answer in the affirmative heretics of the most blasphemous sort. If, on the contrary, they answer No, then they admit that the visible and felt Sacrament has a nature which is not identical with Christ's Body; and this nature Wyclif calls the nature of bread. This argument is subtle and deserves attention, on account of the great stress our author lays upon it, and because, under another form, it may be and often has been used by philosophical controversialists. A man sees his friend in a mirror; being asked whom he sees, he answers, 'his friend'. The reply comes, 'Then your friend is only an image'. Or, 'Is this statue made by you?' — 'Yes'. 'Then you have made a piece of marble'. This class of arguments Aristotle calls fallacies *παρὰ τὸ συμβεβηκός*. And such arguments are very common indeed in metaphysical matters. Take, for instance, the subject of debate between Realists and Idealists at the present day: "What we perceive is only a modification of ourselves; now, what we perceive is the world; therefore, the world is only a modification of ourselves". It is clear that in any of these cases, to answer simply Yes or No, would be to stand committed to self-contradiction. We have, however, no interest in enquiring what the distinctions of Wyclif's opponents may or may not have been. On the other hand it is right,

I think, to point out that the Catholic Church really considers as idolatry the worship of the accidents *as such*;<sup>1</sup> and Aquinas (S. Th. 3<sup>a</sup> pars, qu. 76, art. 7) absolutely denies that Christ's Body can be seen in the Sacrament by any bodily eye, even that of a glorified Saint. If Wyclif only meant that, and chose to call the Host, as the Fathers often do, by the name of bread — merely asserting Christ's invisible presence, and saying that what appeared was not Christ, not to be adored, and only the sign of his presence, he could say all that, and yet remain orthodox. In *De Blaspomia* (yet unpublished, but of which I have had the advantage of seeing the MS.) Wyclif inveighs with just reason against those priests who let the people believe that their bodily eyes, seeing the Host, saw Christ, because this erroneous belief contributed, as they thought, to increase devotion, although it could not be reasonably maintained. But it may be as well to point out that the sentence: "What you see is bread", may be emphasized either thus: "What you *see* is *bread*"; or thus: "What you *see* is *bread*"; and it was certainly in the second way that Wyclif emphasized it.

Here, in order to understand better the strength or the weakness of our author's position, a short synopsis of the whole system of Realistic Philosophy is necessary. When we have a universal idea, as of *man* or of *animal* in general, the *object* of our thought is also universal: *one*, though *existing in many* individuals. This, denied by Nominalists and Conceptualists, was affirmed by the whole school of Realistic philosophers. But they split into moderate Realists and ultra-Realists. The former, with Aquinas and Scotus at their head<sup>2</sup> asserted that the *One in Many*, as in the external world, and the *One in many*, as in our thought, exist in two absolutely contrary ways. For instance, in our mind, *animal* is really and formally one; only fundamentally and potentially does it exist in many, i. e. when our mind applies it to all the individuals A, B, C . . . Z, of which it

<sup>1</sup> I happened once to come across a French prayer-book in which there was this expression: *ces espèces (species) adorables*; these adorable *appearances*. Of course, we must allow for looseness and inexactitude in a mere book of piety; but I feel convinced that, taken as they stand, these words might be condemned as heretical.

<sup>2</sup> I take no note here of the minor, yet considerable differences that separate these two philosophers

can be predicated. In the external world, the contrary takes place. *Animal* is really and formally as many different animals as there are individuals A, B, C . . . Z; and it is only fundamentally and potentially<sup>1</sup> one, in so far as it gives a *foundation* by means of which, and the mind's abstractive power, it *can* become *one*. This, the reader may note, is not very far from Conceptualism, as expressed by some of its ablest exponents.

Now, this was not sufficient for the Ultra-Realists. They contended that the Universal existed in the world of things in the same way as it did in the world of ideas. Of course there were many different varieties, school within school; Prantl says there were as many as thirteen shades of Realism. Some went very far. David of Dinant admitted the identity of God with matter and spirit, "because, if not identical, there would be a Universal Entity wider than all, which would be above God, as embracing both matter, Spirit, and God". "Guillaume of Champeaux taught", says Abé'ard, "that the same thing or substance was present in its entirety and essence in each individual, and that individuals differed no whit in their essence, but only in the variety of their accidents".<sup>2</sup> They seem to have made of the world a bundle of universal qualities, of which the presence in some things, combined with their absence in others, creates all the differences that individuate material and immaterial existences. I may not have understood them properly; but if I do, their world was composed of Universals much as the chemist's material world is made up of elements; with this difference, however, that the oxygen in a given drop of water and in a given specimen of marble are only absolutely similar, not identically the same. And then, there would be the

<sup>1</sup> I was much disappointed not to find, in the very able article on Scholasticism in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, the slightest mention of this distinction which is of supreme importance, as may easily be seen. All those distinctions between *universalia ante rem*, *in re*, and *post rem* are secondary. The great question which the opposite Schools had to answer was this: How can the same word, applied to *different* individuals, *mean the same thing*? Nominalists answer: It means the same thing i. e. the same *word*; Conceptualists say: It means the same thing, i. e. the same *idea*. Realists are forced (and I believe rightly) to say: It means the same thing, i. e. the same *object of the idea*.

<sup>2</sup> See Encycl. Brit., art. *Scholasticism*.

universal *Metalloid* present wherever there was *oxygen*, and in many compounds where oxygen was not: and so on. Wyclif admits this identity; at least *generic* identity, as he calls it. A man and a horse were indeed specifically distinct from each other; but they were generically identical, both having within them the element *animal*, meaning *the same thing* in both. That our author upheld this doctrine, even to the uttermost limits of making Being identical in all things, appears from his *De Ente Predicamentali*, now publishing, in which he affirms that Being is a univocal term, i. e. *means the same thing* in its individuals, like the other Universals. But if Being is the same and identical in all things, how is difference possible? It will be curious, when his philosophical works are published, to see how he manages to escape that pantheism to which the first ultra-Realists were driven. His doctrine of the Eucharist is an evident deduction from his Realism. Not to mention other points that will appear later, everyone admitted that an *aliquitas* of the bread remained in the Host; now this *aliquitas*, according to him, was identical with the *aliquitas* of Christ's Body that supervened: so there must in every case be a subject of the change, if it can be called a change. He develops a similar argument very cleverly and at some length in an account of a debate between himself and certain bishops, which I have copied from *De Blasphemia* to point out his doctrine more clearly; in *De Apostasia* he only alludes to it by the way.

"These heretics are said to condemn as heretical two propositions concerning the Eucharist . . . God moved a *certain secular Catholic doctor*, that he should not consent but contradict their foolishness. And he is said to have asked them if they intended to condemn as heretical the Saints' opinions respecting Universals *ex parte rei*, from which their signs take their names according to logicians. But they denied that, being ashamed. But he said: 'From this it follows that the substance of material bread remains in the consecrated Host. I say that the genus *substance* is wherever any individual of the genus is: But in the said Sacrament there is an individual of the genus *substance*; for, as you yourselves affirm, Christ's Body is there bodily; therefore the genus *substance* remains in the Host, and as it is a substance (because it is the essence of every material substance) it is thus bread. It follows that the substance of material bread

remains in the consecrated Host. And because they knew not how to remove this evidence, he sent them back as foolish men (*De Blasphemia*, c. 16)".

There would be many interesting questions connected with this theory of Wyclif, but it seems preferable to examine them as we go along, and continue the analysis for the present. — The chapter, a very short one, closes with two rather poor arguments. The sacrament is round, white, heavy, &c.; therefore it is the *subject* of roundness, &c. Evidently, only a logical subject is meant here. Still, *Ens* being univocal in Wyclif's theory, whatever is logical is real too; so, from his point of view, and his theory admitted, the argument may have weight. Again: if the Sacrament be the Body of Christ, and Christ's Body be thus without a subject, it follows that no Christian ought to be subject to Christ. Wyclif, feeling that many would set this aside as an idle quibble, points out that St. Peter uses the word subject in a sense relative to authority, and not as Aristotle uses it. But this argument seems to use it in both senses, and therein the fallacy would lie. He concludes by attacking the Friars with great vehemence for not stamping out this heresy; which negligence proves that they are either simoniacal heretics, or traitors of whom the land must be purged.

Ch. V. This chapter and the following ones until the eighth, are devoted to refuting the objections raised against Wyclif's theory. Grosseteste's authority, which is very great with Wyclif, probably on account of his resistance to the Pope in a certain well-known case of ecclesiastical discipline, is brought to bear against him. Here, however, and in general, whenever an authority is quoted, the candid reader will perhaps find that our author carries the liberty of explaining away texts that are against him rather too far. When Grosseteste and others affirm that the accidents exist *per se* in the Host, he adds, "that is, in the act of our mind's contemplation"; when they say that the bread and wine disappear, he makes this to signify "disappear from our mental vision". There is really no reason why he should not make his contemporary antagonists be also of the same mind as he was; for it is hard to conceive more expressive language than this. The fact is that Wyclif is much displeased with the glosses, of which he often complains, on account of the explanations they give to many

sentences that seem in his favour, thus turning them against him; and he no doubt wishes to show that, to use a homely expression, two can play at that game. Besides, his great contention is that Scripture alone is to be followed, and that both the Pope and the Fathers can mistake; so he is all the less scrupulous in explaining their words. If the explanation be unsatisfactory, they mistake, and that is all. — In the answer to the quotation of Grosseteste, we find a clue to his doctrine of the existence, at once figurative and real, of Christ's Body in the Host. After consecration, he says, we think Christ's Body present, the bread having become the sign of that presence. Time, the Universal, and the Sensible, have no actual and real *esse*, except in so far as the mind knows them; and so it is of the *esse* of every sign, *qua tale*. And yet every sign, besides the real *esse* that it acquires on becoming a sign, has also an independent natural *esse*. Thus, the bread being the sign of Christ's Body is Christ's Body in reality, according to Wyclif's system; while, at the same time it is mere bread from another point of view. Logically, I suppose that Wyclif would admit that a statue has two entities; the one, as being of stone, &c., shaped in a certain fashion; the other, as representing this or that person. St. Dionysius is also explained in the same manner; St. Ambrose likewise (pp. 62—65). Innocent III may have declared that the accidents remain without a subject; but besides his accustomed explanation of the sense (see above, for Grosseteste), Wyclif points out: 1<sup>st</sup> that any other sense would imply annihilation, which is inadmissible; 2<sup>nd</sup> that Innocent neither spoke by inspiration, nor grounding his decision on Scripture; and that therefore, 3<sup>rd</sup> he may have been as wrong as when he levied a tribute of 900 marks upon England.<sup>1</sup> Here Wyclif goes out of his way to deplore the growing perversity of the times, the doctors that uphold lying in Oxford, and the multiplication of heretics who consent to simony; concluding that Innocent's decree went no farther than did Nicolas' decision against Berengarius; and that if it did, we ought to respect it only in so far as it agrees with Scripture (pp. 65—68). When, v. g. Innocent goes beyond Scripture to determine doctrines

<sup>1</sup> Wyclif often returns to those 900 marks, which evidently rankle in his memory, as a good patriot. See p. 204, l. 20—23.

relative to the Holy Trinity, as in the Lateran Council, he would have done better to have let the matter alone, and contented himself with reforming the Church. It were blasphemy to say that all decrees of the Roman Pontiff are infallible; if he goes beyond Scripture, he is probably wrong. The antiquity, sanctity and science of the Roman See proves nothing as to infallibility (pp. 68—74). Notwithstanding the violent language that Wyclif very often employs with regard to the Roman Curia, and his evident disbelief in the dogma of infallibility, he generally admits the Decretals as binding, and even (p. 175) speaks vaguely of admitting the decision of a general Council on the Eucharistic question. Still, his principle of the necessity of personal righteousness (or rather of *predestination*), of which we never can be certain, to constitute a true Priest, Bishop or Pope, strikes at the root of all belief as to the infallibility even of a general Council; for we are never sure whether all — or even any — of the members of a Council are members of the Church at all. Should they decide in our favour, we might indeed believe that they were; but if they decide against us, they cannot be members of the Church. This shows that, though widely different in its starting-point and first principles from the Protestant forms of thought that had so much vogue at a later period, Wyclif's system is no less antagonistic *in practice* to the authority of the Church. Wyclif says explicitly: We must obey the Head of the Church, the Vicar of Christ. But that Vicar of Christ is the holiest, the most God-enlightened man in Christendom; which the Popes are certainly not.

Ch. VI. One objection against the reality of the presence ascribed by Wyclif to the power of the sign, is that Christ would be equally present in Holy Writ, which is His Word and His manifestation. The answer is not hard to find; there can be no equality, after Christ's express declaration. Any bread might be taken as the sign of Christ's Body (spiritual food); but "not every bread is consecrated with a mystic prayer", as Augustine says. If the argument ran otherwise, however; if Wyclif were asked whether any piece of bread, looked at by a Christian as the image of Christ, food of our souls, would be not equally but really Christ's Body, he would, I believe, have had consistently to answer in the affirmative. To point out this more clearly by an illustration, the Crucifix ought to be adored on

account of the real presence of Christ therein, less perfect than in the Host, but still real; since it really is a sign, an image of Christ, and that figurative entity constitutes a real presence, as we have seen. “Universals exist in the thing *as they exist in the mind*”. Thus, we find in the next paragraph how he replies to the objection that in his system the whole world (including not only inanimate things, but good and bad men, and even devils) is a manifestation of God, and is consequently to be adored. He points out (pp. 72—73), that, according to the Apostle (I. Cor. VI, 28) Christ will after the Judgment Day be *omnia in omnibus*; which Wyclif takes to signify that Christ’s Humanity will exist figuratively in every point of mundane space; and that (though he only expresses an opinion) this existence will extend only to the Blessed; so that, by His union with them, He will become the whole human race. Why this existence should be extended only to the Blessed, Wyclif does not stop to consider; nor does he explain why Christ will become the whole human race only *after* the Judgment, when, as may be seen at length in *De Benedicta Incarnatione*, Christ’s assumption of the Universal “Humanity” really common to all men, identified Him with the whole human race from the very first instant of His conception. Probably the difficulties resulting from Christ’s identification with such members of humanity as are reprobate, induced Wyclif somewhat to modify his theory; for it must be remembered that *De Benedicta Incarnatione* is one of his earliest theological works.

A long quotation follows (pp. 73—75) from a work called *De Divinis Officiis*, which is absent from the extant copies of that work. I was at great pains to identify this particular quotation, on account of the beauty of the passage, which is really admirable by its eloquence; but unfortunately I had to give it up. Some student of the Fathers may perhaps know at a glance whose it is by the very style; but for one little versed in that branch of study, and with no indication but the doubtful one given by Wyclif, who ascribes it to Ambrose, such a search is not likely to be always successful. From this passage, which he contends is completely in his favour, he goes on to bring forward again his theory of the binding of Satan (which means, he says, the diminution of his power to tempt man). During the first millenary after Christ, Satan was bound; now he is free, and the consequences to the Church are terrible. Gog and Magog (signifying

Antichrist and his accomplices) have led it astray from Christ (pp. 76–78). It has often been remarked by editors of Wyclif, that “Gog”, “Magog”, “Antichrist”, “satraps” are merely general expressions used by him to denote any persons following tendencies which he considers to be deleterious to the Church, and especially those who happened to be their chief exponents. But I do not know whether the influence of his general philosophical position on this view has been much noticed. As an ultra-realist, Wyclif was bound to call Antichrist any man who concentrated in himself the most of the Universal, “Antichristianism”, which, we must never forget, was a non-entity, existing in its subjects as a defect. This explains how Wyclif, though he often personifies that non-entity in a vague manner, never thinks of attaching it to any particular institution, as, v. g. some Protestants, calling the Popes Antichrists, and admitting that individual Popes may be good men, are bound to admit that ‘some Antichrists may be saved’; a most astounding conclusion, from which Wyclif’s principle “In so far as any man is contrary to Christ, in so far is he Antichrist”, always saved him. This may also explain why he never falls into those personalities in which Luther so frequently indulges, and why the names of the lower animals, coupled with those of his opponents, never degrade his pen.<sup>1</sup> To him, the Universal, as real as each particular personal entity, is far more important on account of its wide spreading influence for good or for evil. It is a curious fact that Luther, so remarkable in an opposite way, is said by Melanchthon to have even during his monastic life preferred the Nominalist Occam to all other doctors.

The chapter ends with a short discussion about a particular theory which, so far as I am aware, never had any great notoriety, and which Wyclif easily proves to be self-contradictory. It holds that the bread and wine remain after consecration, but not in their nature; they become an accident. But, Wyclif argues, if it is admitted that the white colour which they see is bread, then the nature of bread must remain. And if the bread is the Body of Christ, it is no longer an accident; if not Christ’s Body, we fall into the error of Berengarius.

<sup>1</sup> Not that he had no talent of invective. His opponents in this very volume are treated *in general* as wild geese, magpies, mad dogs (28, 42, 82).

If it is meant that the very nature of bread becomes an accident, that is absurd; the very idea of nature implies substance: unless indeed they meant (which they do not) "becomes an accident *in the minds* of the faithful". They indeed hold with Wyclif that bread is Christ's Body; but they degrade that bread into the lowest of entities, whereas he maintains its natural perfection. This heresy, expounding Scripture against the Spirit and the interpretations of the early Fathers, is absurd in its consequences and worthy of punishment by fire (pp. 78–81).

Ch. VII. In this chapter Wyclif keeps closely to his plan of answering all objections drawn from authority (here Gregory and Augustine) in the same way; pointing out contradictions with other passages, explaining the sense by a distinction and (implicitly at least) appealing to Scripture: with the difference that he here denies the authenticity of the work *De Eucharistia* ascribed to St. Augustine, and is probably in the right; though I have not been able to identify the passage that he quotes (pp. 82–86). He then attacks, not without reason, the Nominalistic explanation of the text "As often as ye shall eat of that bread", making it refer to Christ, because the same material bread can be eaten only once. Occam's disciples, who said that every substance is in its nature individual, and universal only in the mind, would of course not admit that any one could eat the *same* bread several times. Wyclif and all the Realists, on the contrary, maintaining that the essence of the bread already eaten is identical with that which is to be eaten, assert that the manducation of the same bread can take place more than once. He takes great pains to prove his assertion by quotations and arguments (pp. 86–90); and then, setting on the responsibility of the Nominalists all the corruption of the Church, he launches into a digression concerning temporalities, arguing that the clergy should have all things in common, and refuse endowments. To the possible objection that his arguments go so far as to prove that even temporal lords ought to have all things in common, he answers boldly: *So they ought* (p. 91). It is clear that he neither overlooked nor shrank from the Socialistic consequences of his doctrine.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There being infinite shades of Socialism, the word is not used here in any invidious sense. It is certain that Wyclif was practically a strong upholder of social *order*, as all his works show; and so are some Socialists at the present day.

Ch. VIII. It is a Catholic doctrine that Christ's Body is present, complete in all its parts, at every point of the Host; thus being multiplied indefinitely, as many times as there are points in the Host, and as there are different parts of the world, yet all the time remaining only one Body. This can be understood, Wyclif says, in three ways: either it is *dimensionally* in several places, or *virtually* though in its own nature (p. 92, l. 13; p. 110, l. 3—6); or virtually as in figure. I believe we may identify the first 'way' with the Thomist system; the second seems to coincide with the celebrated Scotist distinction, 'formalis ex natura rei';<sup>1</sup> the third, I need hardly say, is Wyclif's opinion. The whole of the eighth chapter is a refutation of the Thomist doctrine; the ninth is partly an attack on the system of Scotus, partly an argumentation in favour of his own, partly a return to the debate relative to absolute accidents. Whilst, however, I recapitulate the many absurdities which Wyclif ascribes to the doctrine that admits the dimensional presence of Christ in the Host, I must in mere justice observe that some of them do not exactly hit the mark; if they did, St. Thomas would be conclusively proved to be no better than an idiot. His system, however, supposes Christ, with His dimensions, to be spiritually present, like the soul of man in his body, "totum in toto, et totum in qualibet parte", and therefore without any *extension* other than that which the Host itself occupies. It is a complete misunderstanding to imagine that Aquinas' theory encloses the length of six feet within the narrow limits of the smallest possible particle of the consecrated elements. This quantity, these dimensions of Christ's Body, have become spiritualised, idealised so to speak, to the point of no longer occupying space at all. In a word, the *force that extends* is present in Christ's Eucharistic Body; but its effect — i. e. actual extension — is miraculously absent, counteracted by Divine omnipotence. Any student of St. Thomas knows that this is the right explanation of his theory. I may now point out the chief issues in this chapter.

1<sup>st</sup> Every quantity, says Wyclif, is indefinitely great; if quantity is multiplied, so is its measure, space. 2<sup>nd</sup> Quality, by a like reasoning,

<sup>1</sup> I am not sufficiently acquainted with the details of the Scotist system to know whether it applies this distinction to Christ's presence in the Host; but it is a convenient one, and I should think it very likely to be applied.

would be infinitely intensified. 3<sup>rd</sup> Negative qualities would be also infinite; v. g., the Sacrament would be infinitely dense and rare at the same time. 4<sup>th</sup> Men could be put, however distant from each other, into instantaneous communication. 5<sup>th</sup> The whole world, were it thus transsubstantiated, could be held in a man's hand; which is blasphemy. 6<sup>th</sup> The meanest of things would become God. (This wanders from the present question, being an attack on the accident-theory.) 7<sup>th</sup> Why should the Sacrament possess only *dimensional* quantity? Why not the other sorts: time, place, &c.? And if these are also miraculously preserved, it is no longer an entity, but a collection of incongruous entities. 8<sup>th</sup> If the absolute accidents, v. g. of a man and a woman, should beget a son, and that sinfully, yet they could not sin; they might be damned, and yet cannot suffer; nor can they beget. 9<sup>th</sup> A subdeacon, if he had power to transsubstantiate bread into the world, while a priest could transsubstantiate it only into Christ's Body, would be higher than the priest. 10<sup>th</sup> As the world essentially depends on the whole of its matter, a priest could not celebrate Mass without destroying the world; for he would destroy the substance of bread.<sup>1</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> A vacuum, abhorred by Nature, would be possible in the Host, where there is nothing present but quantity. 12<sup>th</sup> If contrary qualities can belong to the same thing in different places, a man, bilocated — existing at the same time in England and in India — might be living in England and dead in India.

Ch. IX. How then is Christ present in the Host? As the thing signified is present in the sign; the golden calf was a calf only figuratively, but this figurative entity was present in every part of the gold. So too of the brazen serpent; so too of the angels that represented the Trinity to Abraham; each of these types had its own separate and physical existence. The Sacrament is thus of a double nature, earthly and divine; not identically Christ's Body, though really so, our Lord's words being true. Thus there is but one Body, Christ's, as principally to be thought of. Its terrestrial nature is forgotten, absorbed by faith; yet we must not suppose that He is

<sup>1</sup> Annihilation, we may here observe, is still more repugnant to Realists than to other philosophers. For, material essence being in all things *absolutely* identical, the smallest amount of matter destroyed implies the destruction of *all matter*.

identified with the bread, 'impanated'; still less, become an accident (pp. 103—110). The same objection as before noticed recurs: is the world Christ's Body? Wyclif considers it prudent to believe Scripture and go no farther. Perhaps, after the Judgment, all things will be Christ — figuratively. As for bilocation, he denies its possibility; the same thing cannot be in two places at once. St. Ambrose could not have been at St. Martin's funeral and at Milan at the same time. Can the *soul* be at once in several places? It is doubtful; at any rate, matter cannot. True, great doctors have thought differently; but they have also contradicted one another. Wyclif's rule is to reject any proposition, not only when manifestly absurd, but when not proved by reason or revelation to be true. For that second reason, he would deny that the soul can exist in two places at once (pp. 110 to 115). But, it is objected, *is* implies identity between subject and predicate. Anything then would be identically Christ, since everything *is* Christ figuratively. Wyclif answers, admitting generic but denying numerical identity; the latter would be  $a = a$ , so that there can be no possible difference between the two. But Baptist *is* Elias, in so far as he represents him: no farther. The lowest degree of this identity is that given by natural signs, as smoke signifying fire; the next, by a supernatural institution, as the Paschal Lamb; the highest, by the miraculous coexistence of the thing signified; which is the Eucharist (pp. 115—118). I confess I do not see how, in Wyclif's theory, this coexistence is miraculous; but the unanimous language of the early Fathers whom he so much esteems, seems to have determined him to bring in a miracle.

Ch. X. A fresh debate commences here, on the essence or quiddity of the Sacrament; with, however, few points that have not been touched upon already. The exceptions are: 1<sup>st</sup> the statement that when an accident is the subject of other accidents, it necessarily becomes a substance (p. 121); which Wyclif might have developed into a much better and stronger argument; and, 2<sup>nd</sup> the answer to an objection taken from St. Thomas, concerning the Eucharistic fast. If the bread remains, how can a priest say two Masses in one day, since he must say the second fasting? The difficulty is so weak that it is surprising Aquinas should have made use of it; but Wyclif avails himself of the occasion to say boldly that the great point is to fast from sin (pp. 123—124).

Ch. XI. We here come to another attack upon ‘absolute accidents’; here again consisting mainly of repetitions. The idea of an accident able to exist apart from its substance destroys the very nature of the term accident. Wyclif takes one meaning of the word, and will not allow that they can give another to it. In any case, he says, you have to posit *extension*, which cannot exist by itself; what is the use then of imagining besides a quantity that can do so? Quantity is but the ‘being so great’ of a substance (132—134). And if neither substantial form nor primal matter can exist alone, how can that which depends upon them do so? Abstract quality must exist in a subject, or be infinite, like the attributes of God (pp. 134—136). Names should be given to all things according to their qualities; if these accidents have all the qualities of bread, they should be called so. The arguments borrowed from the peculiar nature of quality, those against a vacuum, and those combating annihilation follow, rather more fully developed than before, but on the same plan (pp. 136—146). He closes by denouncing the pride of those who exalt themselves, under colour of magnifying God’s omnipotence, and the fallacy of this assertion: The Pope admits transsubstantiation: therefore absolute accidents exist (pp. 146—150).

Ch. XII. This chapter examines the different theories concerning the accidents supposed to remain in the Host. Some take it to be quantity (pp. 151—159); some, a congeries of different accidents (p. 159 to the end of the chapter); and some, quality (ch. XIII). — Quantity must have a subject. It is separable from its subject, more or less. Now even inseparable accidents, such as the power of laughing in man (an instance taken from Aristotle) are not conceivable without a subject. The Sacrament is active, which quantity is not. Existing in the concrete, quantity can be neither increased nor diminished; a number, if increased, is another number by the very fact. Now we see that quantity is increased in the Sacrament. The Nominalists change both religion and the laws of Nature; they would make all things infinitely great, quantity extended within quantity *ad infinitum*; and the absurd hypothesis of ‘compressed quantity’ cannot save them.— It is still more absurd to call the Eucharist an aggregate of accidents; every reason that makes against one, makes against the whole aggregate. A collective entity is no entity at all; the Fathers

never mention this scandalous theory, which resembles the apotheosis of Pagan idolaters, who made a god out of nothing. The Sacrament has weight; that cannot be accounted for on the hypothesis of an aggregate of accidents. This theory makes out the Sacrament to be (even after consecration) only a sign of Christ's Body; which is the heresy of Berengarius.

Ch. XIII. Quality, as an absolute accident, is here discussed. Of all the theories, it is the least improbable; a sacrament is a *form* of grace, and in so far a quality; some Saints besides have favoured this opinion, which is however inadmissible. The arguments already brought to bear against quantity are conclusive here too. Quality within quality would be multiplied *ad infinitum*. We cannot say that the Sacrament is whiteness, heaviness, &c. but that it *has* them; and for that reason Aquinas made quantity the basis that *has* (pp. 165—168). If however the substance of bread failed, when passing into the substance of Christ's Body, *nothing* would pass. Baptism does not annihilate the convert to whom it gives a new being. How this change is conceivable it is hard to say; whether natural, as in the eduction of forms, or supernatural, as in the present case. Whatever Pope Innocent may have decided, we are not under the Old Law now, and it is not practicable for the whole world to await the Pope's decisions. He ought not to be consulted, unless he is learned in Holy Writ. It is no matter what modern doctors think; Augustine denied the possibility of absolute accidents; and these doctors have often been in error: as v. g. in the question of temporal power (pp. 168 to 177). If any accident could be absolute, it would be either empty space or time: yet neither could exist without a world existing extendedly and subject to change.

Ch. XIV. Three Nominalistic theories respecting the essence of the visible Sacrament. The *first* says that the Host, having (like the Universals) no existence as such, except in the mind, is not Christ's Body as an actuality but in signification (*in actu signato, non exercito*). But then the Sacrament would be only a figure of Christ; nothing proves this theory; and any one could in that sense call himself God (pp. 186—187). The *second* asserts that the substance of bread is — i. e. has become — Christ's Body. But it were idolatry to worship bread; and bread cannot be said to become anything, when it totally

ceases to exist (pp. 187—188). The *third* maintains that the Host is not, but *has* Christ's Body. But this goes against Christ's own words at the Last Supper (pp. 188—190). The chapter closes with complaints against the glossators, and a Wycliffian gloss of contrary opinions, making them coincide with his own (pp. 190—193).

Chs. XV. and XVI. These chapters, which we must analyse together, seem to be an answer to tracts written by four opponents, and especially to one who had made up a 'genealogy' of testimonies against him, from his time up to Christ. They are perhaps the most important in the whole book; not so much, however, the answers to the authorities quoted, as what follows, towards the end of Ch. XVI. The answers come first, and take up the whole of Ch. XV (pp. 193—206) and a part of Ch. XVI (pp. 206—217). — (1) The *Doctors of the Sects* are set aside: they contradict each other. (2) *Grosseteste* contradicts himself. (3, 4) *Lombard* and *Comestor* are contradicted by the Sects. (5, 6) *Lanfranc* and *Guitmundus* wrote against Berengarius, whose error Wyyclif detests. (7, 8) *Gandofilus* and *Paschasius* are mere make-weights. (9) *Arnulfus* does not go into the question. (10) *Bernard* is mistaken. (11) *Anselm* can be explained. (12) *Innocent's* words are not a decree *de fide*; even were they so, we ought not to follow them. A long debate about the Pope's authority follows, from Wyyclif's usual standpoint. (13) (Beginning of Ch. XVI, and of the second series of witnesses — writers of the *first millenary*) *Raban Maur* is inconsistent. (14) So is *Bede*, unless explained. (15) *St. John Damascenus* is of Wyyclif's mind: his expressions point either that way or to impanation or consubstantiation, and these two last systems are not admissible. Here our author gives by the way (p. 210) his definition of transsubstantiation: a change *from* the exclusion of any entity but bread *to* Christ's sacramental coexistence. (16, 17) *Urso* and *Isidorus* may be quoted against the accident theory. (18) *Ambrose* seems against Wyyclif in only two passages, which, if against him, would be in favour of Berengarius. (19) *Jerome* teaches that Christ's word "Hoc" means bread. Here Wyyclif remarks (p. 213) "I have often confessed that Christ's very Body, numerically the same that was born of the Virgin . . . that same body and substance is truly and really the sacramental bread, which the faithful perceive in the hands of the Priest. Yet I venture not to say that Christ's Body is identically,

substantially, corporally, or identically that bread". . . . If the reader has followed the explanation here given, I think he will see that in these words there is no contradiction; they are merely the outcome of Wyclif's philosophical position. At the bottom of the same page he even admits in a certain sense that Christ is *substantially* present, i. e., as a substance. (20) *Augustine* is either inconsistent or must be explained: besides, the work quoted may spurious. (21) *Gregory* can also be understood in Wyclif's sense. As for (22, 23) *Ignatius* and *Dionysius*, they never mention accidents at all. If to these we add *St. Paul*, we have a second dozen of testimonies; and to crown all, Christ's words (pp. 213—217). But even the agreement of all the Fathers would amount to no more than probability, being only testimonial evidence; and they disagree (pp. 217—222). But how can we say that Christ's body is present just as in the Crucifix, *in signo*? Wyclif replies: Christ's Body, though only present *in signo*, is present otherwise than *ut in signo* (p. 223). I confess that this last distinction has puzzled me much. It seems to admit another sort of existence of Christ's Body in the Host, besides the 'sign existence'. And then Wyclif would perhaps be no more than an ordinary orthodox believer, who chooses to call by the name 'substance of bread' its visible and tangible appearances. But this again would clash with his Realistic theory. On the other hand, I am not inclined to think that he would take refuge in a mere verbal evasion of the question, though the whole of the book seems to point to that conclusion. This distinction seems hopelessly inconsistent with his former utterances. He goes on to say: Bread is not united to Christ's Body in the unity of one Person, but as nearly as possible to that union (p. 224). If I at all understand his theory, it runs thus: Every sign receives a certain figurative entity of the thing it signifies; and in proportion as the sign proceeds from a higher authority, this entity becomes more perfectly present. Our fancy may consider a lamb as the image of Christ, and it then *is* Christ — to a certain extent. But the Paschal lamb was much more so; and the highest possible perfection was reached, when Christ said of the bread: This is my Body. Thus I understand it: but then, 1<sup>st</sup>, the difference would be only one of degree, not of kind: how then can Wyclif say: *est tamen ibi aliter quam ut in signo?* And 2<sup>nd</sup>, the authority of Christ would suffice,

without the miracle that Wyclif everywhere asserts. Perhaps some Wyclif student may be able to point out where my exposition falls short, if it does fall short; for after all, he may have been inconsistent. — The chapter closes (p. 224—233) with an appeal to the authority of several of the early Fathers, in support of Wyclif's doctrine.

Ch. XVII. This is not a debate, though it of course contains much debatable matter. It reads much like a supplement or appendix. Its principal feature is an account of the gradual additions to the Mass, and the writer's opinion of them; with much against Friars, Orders, perpetual vows, and the power of the Pope. These last being mostly repetitions of what was said before, I can dismiss them without further notice. Before examining the ceremonies of the Mass, Wyclif relates a legend about an old monk who doubted whether bread was Christ's Body, until convinced by a miracle (p. 246—247). He then returns to the main question, and states that the Mass at first consisted only of the Lord's Prayer and of the words of consecration, and was said in the evening. The hour was soon changed; one pope ordered the whole Psalter to be sung before Mass (this was probably the origin of the Canonical Hours); another compiled an *antiphonarium* and introduced the *Kyrie Eleison*; another brought in the *Gloria in Excelsis*; others were the authors of various tracts, hymns, and prefaces, and ordered the *Credo* and the *Agnus Dei* to be chanted. Wyclif by no means approves of these innovations, though his tone is very reserved. If it is a sin now to change the established form of Mass, what was it then to have changed the form that Christ established? All these rites may be aids to piety, but it would be better if we could do without them. The argument of Solomon's temple, if urged, would allow burnt-offerings in our churches. Ceremonies are too much thought of in these days, and the spirit is held of too small account (p. 247—250). Wyclif, concluding *De Apostasia*, throws down a challenge to the Nominalists, or 'sign-worshippers'. This doctrine will be given to the public; let them also produce theirs.

If we set aside the strange distinction on p. 223, perhaps given to avoid a serious difficulty, I think we may come to the conclusion that the Realist Wyclif and the Nominalist Berengarius held objectively the same views on the Eucharist, and only varied in their manner

of expounding it. If the bread remained and there was only a figure of Christ in the Host, Berengarius had, consistently with his principles, to deny that this was in any sense a real presence;<sup>1</sup> it was only nominally Christ. Wyclif's theory, on the contrary, gave reality to the figure itself. Hence there is no tergiversation nor insincerity in his protestations that it is really and even substantially Christ; nothing can be more hearty than his condemnation of Berengarius; for, condemning him, he condemns the whole philosophical school of sign-worshippers.

I think I cannot do better than to quote in conclusion some remarks made to me by Mr. Matthew, in a recent communication on the subject.

"The truth is that Wyclif would like to avoid saying *how* Christ's Body is present. Christ's institution makes it clear that He is in the Sacrament otherwise than by that universal immanence by which He is in all things. If his opponents would let him, he would be content to say Christ was present *sacramentally* (as he does say sometimes). 'In signo' but not 'ut in signo' means that although His presence is figurative, it is not simply a figure, but has a special efficacy. What that is precisely he cannot tell, and loses himself in trying to express it. He is sure that the current explanations are carnal and wrong, but does not know how to replace them. See Arnold's *Select Works of Wyclif*, III, 426."

.... "There is a very good summary of his view in Lechler (Germ. ed.), I, 626; but neither Lechler nor anyone else can get a satisfactory and clear exposition, for the simple reason that Wyclif did not know what it was, though he thought he knew what it was *not*."

.... "He would have liked .... Queen Elizabeth's quatrain:

'Christ was the Word that spake it;  
He took the bread and brake it;  
And what that Word doth make it,  
That I believe and take it'."

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<sup>1</sup> The writer of the article Berengarius in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* says that he did not deny the real presence of Christ. But it is clear, from his whole doctrine, that he must have meant something quite different from what is meant here: v. g. a reality of grace, present in the soul, &c.

## CAPITULUM PRIMUM.

A 37<sup>a</sup> Restat ulterius ponere aliud principium pro ambitu  
B 49<sup>a</sup> heresis symoniace pertractando. Quamvis enim symonia, Another principle to be established.

blasphemia et apostasia convertantur ad subsistendi consequenciam, cum nemo potest peccare in unam

5 personam divinam nisi peccet in quamlibet, tamen Simony, blasphemy and apostasy are inseparable as to existence, but the signification of the term is different.  
ratio huius peccati triplicis, vel pocius eius informitas, est diversa. Peccatur enim in patrem (et per conse- Any act that loosens the bond of worship between man and the Father is a sin against the Father.

Jac. quens in totam trinitatem) quando liga qua coleretur I, 27 omnipotens pater dissolvitur: et ideo Jac. I, dicitur:

10 "Religio munda et immaculata apud deum et patrem, hec est". Nec est possibile quemquam incidere in mortale, nisi sit de tanto apostaticus et per consequens blasphemus et symoniacus. Ideo dicit decretum, 79<sup>a</sup> distincione, a capitulo X: *Si quis, quod papa qui solum debet deponi* The pope, when he has broken by heresy the bond of Divine service is no longer Apostolic but Apostate according to the Decretal.

15 pro heresi (ut innuitur 40<sup>a</sup> distincione, capitulo *Si papa*) postquam ruperit ligam qua religiose debet servire Christo in suo officio, quod non apostolicus sed apostaticus habeatur.

Et concordat nomen *apostasie*, que *apostotare* procurat; 20 quod fit, quandocunque persona a lege domini recedit.

Et dicitur secundum grammaticos ab *apos.* quod est *retro,* Prov. et *stolos, missio;* inde *apostota,* perversus refuga retro VI, missus. Unde Augustinus vocat antichristum refugam.

12—14 Et sic loquitur scriptura Prov. VI: "Homo apostota, vir A 37<sup>b</sup> inutilis, graditur ore perverso, annuit oculis, terit | pede, B 49<sup>b</sup> Job. digito loquitur; pravo | corde machinatur malum et XXXIV, omni tempore iurgia seminat." Et sic loquuntur scripture Eccl. de apostotare, ut patet Job XXXIV et Eccl. X et XIX.

X, 14 XIX, 2 2. perscrutando BE. 6. huius modi CD. 14. capitulo *deest* F. 22. per se perversus CD. 26. malum in D. 27. et omni virga E.

28. Eccles. ABCDE. 13. Decr. Grat. 1<sup>a</sup> Pars. Dist. LXXIX. c. 1. 15. Decr. Grat. 1<sup>a</sup> Pars. Dist. XI. c. 6.

To know what apostasy is, we must know what its contrary i. e. religion, is. Ad cognoscendum autem apostasiam, oportet precognos-<sup>B.</sup> cere religionem, cum contrarium privativum oportet cognoscere per suum contrarium positivum.

Dupliciter autem appellatur religio; primo modo observancia legis Christi; et illa describitur, Jacob. 1<sup>o</sup> 5 word 'Religion' 1<sup>st</sup> Observation eius capitulo, ut alias diffuse exposui. Sic eciam vocatur miles Cornelius vir religiosus (Actuum X<sup>o</sup>) eciam ante-Christ.

Examples of the word used in this sense: quam loquebatur cum Petro. Et sic indubie Ethiops eunuchus Candacis regine (de quo actuum VIII<sup>o</sup>) antequam VIII.<sup>o</sup> Act.

Cornelius and the eunuch of Queen Candace conversus fuerat a Philippo: quia interna dei inspiracio religiositatem illam inducit, licet non autorisata fuerit,

Remark that neither of these owed his religion to Peter. approbata vel cognita ab inferiori preposito. Quod docet fides scripture de istis duobus religiosis militibus, quorum primus factus est religiosus a Christo antequam loquebatur Petro et secundus post religiositatem quam 15

Christus instruxit, instructus est a Philippo, non Petro; ut vel sic discamus religionem et alia opera meritoria ecclesie per se sufficienter dependere a Christo, non Petro; et multo evidencius non a posteriori Romano pontifice. De multis namque est evidens vel dubium 20

quod non sunt membra sancte matris ecclesie. | Et sic A 37 eorum auctorisacio non per se pertinet ad religionem quam Christus instituit, sed per se nuda approbacio Christi et instinctus quem ipse inspirat. | Et sic legitur B 49<sup>e</sup> Act. 1<sup>o</sup>, quod erant habitantes in Jerusalem Judei genere Act. 5 viri religiosi per dispersionem captivitatis ex omni II., genere nacionis. Et utinam non forent hodie plus sophisticati religiosi quam illi fuerant.

Second meaning of the word religion: peculiari ritus by which some men are distinguished from the rest. Secundo modo vocantur religiosi qui per adinventas sectas et tradiciones cum aliis ritibus sensibilibus a 30 residuo populi distinguntur. Et isto modo narrat magister hystoriarum super evangelia, quod tempore Christi tres secte fuerant in Judea, scilicet: Pharisei, saducei et Essei; et narrat distinciones ac observancias quas servabant. Isti autem vocantur sic famose religiosi, 35 licet in scriptura infundabiliter; quod nomen tocius religionis quam Christus in fide scripture instituit, est extinctum.

No Scripture warrant for this use of the word.

4. Tripliciter BE. 5. vere observancia BEE; *ib.* et illam describitur E; illam describit B. 9. candatis regimine A. 10. dei *deest* F. 11. religionem BE; religionem illum C; religioni illum D; *ib.* auctorisata E. 10. non a Petro D. 22. per se *deest* EF. 23. inspiravit E. 26. dispersionem A; dispositionem E; *ib.* capacitatis E 28. sophistici F. 31. ritu *pro* residuo E. 32. in hystoria scolastica super E.

32. See note to Engl. Works of Wyclif, Matthew, pag. 480.

C. Sed notandum est diligenter ulterius, quod religio illa intelligi potest dupliciter: vel simpliciter, ut dicit aggregatum ex humanis ritibus et essenciali religione quam Christus instituit; vel personaliter, ut dicit per se religionem Christi et religionem privatam, de quanto religioni illi consonat accidentaliter adiacentem. Et isto modo videtur michi scripturam loqui Act. XXVI, ubi

<sup>Act.</sup> <sup>XXVI, 5</sup> Paulus sic loquitur: „*Secundum certissimam sectam nostre religionis vixi Phariseus*“. Et propter aliquas obser-

<sup>10</sup> vancias eorum laudabiles, contendunt quidam inaniter,

<sup>A 37<sup>a</sup></sup> quod Christus | fuerat Phariseus. Non dubium Paulus non sic fuit desponsatus cum illo ordine phariseico;

<sup>B 49<sup>1</sup></sup> sicut nec Nicodemus, de quo Joh. III<sup>o</sup>; vel alii sancti

15 religionis istius | , quod eo ipso quo ritus istos adiectos

dimitterent, forent apostate. Et in illis religionibus

privatis sunt et fuerunt multi sancti clerici et subtiles.

Primum autem membrum istius divisionis voco religionem

privatam simpliciter, et secundum membrum voco reli-

gionem privatam per accidens.

<sup>20</sup> Dividitur autem religio privata aliter in possessionatos et exproprietarios; possessionati vero dicuntur religiosi, quibus sunt redditus elemosinarii perpetuo humanitus assignati; ut monachi atque canonici. Exproprietarii vero sunt religiosi viventes dumtaxat de elemosina temporali: ut fratres. Et intelligendo divisionem pre-

dictam de religiosis privatis per accidens, patet quod religio possessionata fuit exproprietaria et econtra. Sic enim dicit beatus Bernhardus in libello intitulato *apologeticum*,

<sup>30</sup> quod idem est ordo et eadem religio mon-

chorum que fuit pauperum Jerusalem, tempore aposto-

lorum. Et illi fuerunt pauperes indubie exproprietarie,

habentes omnia in communi.

Est autem difficultas et dissensio, ut sepe tetigi, unde individuantur et distingantur ordines fratrum ab ordinibus

<sup>35</sup> possessionatorum.

<sup>A 38<sup>a</sup></sup> Et videtur decretalem (in 5<sup>to</sup> decreto, titulo *de apo-* statis) innuere, quod habitus corporalis | individuat et distinguit ordines illos ab invicem. Nam ibi sic scribitur in capitulo I<sup>o</sup>: „Clerici qui relicto ordine et habitu suo.

The latter sense of the word can be taken in two ways. Either simply, as an aggregate of human rites, with Christ's religion or personally, in so far as a man's personal religion happens to correspond with the former.

Wyclif divides private religion into simply private and accidentally private.

Another division: men with and men without possessions.

Who are those with possessions.

Who are those without possessions.

That Religion, which now holds property was formerly dispossessed; and vice versa.

St. Bernard compares monks with the members of the Church at Jerusalem, who were certainly without possessions.

A difficulty as to what makes one order differ from another.

For the Decretal seems to say that it is the monastic garb Decree quoted.

2. tripliciter BEF. 6. accidenter C. 10. quidam eorum E.  
12. fuerat sic E. 15. regionibus B. 21. dicuntur E. 27. Sicut E.  
30. paperum A. 31. exproprietarii CE. 38. describunt. 39. in deest E.

30. S. Bernard. *Apologia ad Guillelmum*, c. X. (t. 182, pag. 912, ed. Migne). 36. Deccr. Gregor. IX, lib. V, tit. IX, c. 1.

in apostasia tanquam laici conversantur, si in criminibus comprehensi tenentur per censuram ecclesiasticam, non

Proofs that the habit is essential:  
I. Putting off the monastic garb makes an apostate.  
Item, inter 4<sup>or</sup> ordines mendicantium est distincio specifica; quia aliter liceret sine dispensacione ab uno transire ad alium. Sed non sic distingwerentur, si non per habitus corporales: igitur conclusio. Nam, quantum ad regulam, tres istorum ordinum preter fratres minores profitentur regulam Augustini; sicud et 4<sup>or</sup> alii famosi ordines possessionati. Opportet igitur dare aliquam differentiam sensibilem secundum quam a populo distingwantur.

II. That which makes a specific distinction is essential; but the orders of friars are specifically distinct.  
In any order, only the garb and the rule distinguishes it; but they all profess the same rule.

III. If the garb was not essential, any one might set it aside at will; and all the different orders would be in confusion:

which is against the Decretal.  
It says 'that a monk, if he have received

Holy orders when in a state of apostasy, cannot exercise sacred functions without a special dispensation from Rome.'

Item, si quilibet talis habitus foret accidentalis ordini 15  
rioris, habitu tali dimisso, alienum induere; et foret confusio ordinum, cum cuilibet religioso liceret habitum quemcunque — eciam layalem — quo cienscunque et quamdiu libuerit induere atque exuere: quod videtur esse contra decretalem pape (in quinto decretalium De Apostatis, capitulo A nobis) ubi docetur quod abi- 20  
cientes habitum licet stricto carceri mancipare. Et capi-  
tulo finali | dicitur quod monachus in apostasia recipiens A 38<sup>b</sup>  
aliquem sacrum ordinem, eciam reconciliatus per peni- 25  
tenciam suo abbati, absque dispensacione Romani pontificis ministrare non potest in ordine sic suscepto.

Et prima consequencia videtur ex hoc quod, posita tanta accidentalitate, staret servata religione vel ordine in multis casibus habitum talem licenter exuere, quia 30  
ex quo stant cum ordine licet | priori precipere virtute B 50<sup>b</sup>  
obediencie, quamdiu voluerit habitum talem dimittere; et sic de aliis casibus infinitis. Si enim impossibile potest cadere obedienciario sub precepto, multo magis accidentale possibile, religioni indifferens, ymmo quod 35  
potest esse meritorium et rationabiliter faciendum.

In oppositum videtur quod omnis vera religio con-E.  
sistit in animo, et per consequens est cuiuscumque habitui corporali impertinens. Quis, inquam, dubitat, quin habitus mentis non dependet ab habitu corporali?

9. exire F. 13. ergo EF; ib. ergo dare aliam regulam B. 20. eruere A.  
21. in deest E. 22. septimo nobis D. 24. ultimo E. 31. hoc statu  
pro quo stant E. 38. anima F.

21. Decr. Gregor. lib. V, tit. IX, c. 5.

Item, ut logici arguunt, aliter consumpta et inveterata foret proporcionaliter talis religio, ut contingit pannorum consumpicio; et, abiectis pannis, gracia mutacionis vel balnei, sic mutans in apostasiam incideret! Ymo cum 5 religio servatur in pannis, moveretur cum illis; et laicus ydiota vel asinus, habitum talem indutus, fieret ut sic illius religionis vel ordinis.

Nec valet fingere quod oportet exuentem habitum essencialem propter causam necessariam partibiliter in-  
A 38<sup>e</sup> duere alium habitum | pro eodem tempore quo prior habitus partibiliter est exutus; quia ordo sic vetera- sceret et susciperet magis et minus ut inducio vel mutacio talis habitus, cum aliis multis adducendis, que sunt similia deliramentis puerilibus.

15 Item iuxta istam sentenciam papa non posset dispensare cum ordine, variando habitum et ritus alias corporales: consequens impossibile. Et consequencia sic probatur: Nichil quod est differencia essencialis vel passio potest vel per deum separari a subiecto rema-  
B 50<sup>e</sup> nente, igitur evidencius papa | hoc non potest; quia aliter posset in contradictoria, ultra deum. Ideo dicit Bernhardus glozator cum textu super 3<sup>o</sup> decretalium de statu monachorum (capitulo, *Cum ad monasterium*) quod monachum potest papa facere proprietarium, sed non 25 potest facere quod simul sit monachus et proprietarius.

Ex quo patet quod aliquis ritus est essencialis ordini, preter habitum corporalem, cum quo papa dispensare non potest stante ordine. Sic enim limitatus est habitus a papa nigris canonicis, sic et variantur albi monachi 30 a nigris in habitu, stante ordine, sic etiam mutatus est habitus Carmelitarum stante eodem ordine, ut patet notanti cronicas istius materie. Et evidencius potest ostendi per hoc quod papa dispensat cum multis ordinibus de esu carnium, etiam in refectorio; cum igitur hoc sit pro- 35 pinquius religiositati, quam habitus corporalis; multo evi- dencius potest dispensare cum illis quo ad talem habitum.

F. In ista materia non delectat fidelis contendere quia est tradicio humana preter fidem scripture. Videtur

If so, religion would be used up and worn out as the rags themselves wore out.

An ass, dressed in the garb, would belong to the Order.

Further, the Pope would have no power to change the garb of an Order; but this is impossible, because he cannot be said to have more power than God.

But God Himself is unable to take away an essential difference, the subject

remaining the same: For He cannot do what involves contradiction.

The Pope makes many changes of garb. He even grants dispenses concerning the use of fleshmeat.

Conclusion:  
The garb is not an essential.

5. moveretur struck out A; servaretur B; moneretur D. 9, 10, essentialem — habitum deest C. 12, induccio ACD. 16, alios ritus E.  
17. Conclusio E. 18. essencialis deest E. 23. capitulo — monasterium deest E; ib. ad modum E. 29. alibi ABD. 30, 31. sic — ordine deest AD.

Neither tamen michi probabile, quod nec ritus, nec habitus ceremonies nor garb are corporalis sit essencialis cuicunque bone religioni vel essential to any ordinis, sed cuicunque bono religioso debet esse indifferens good religion.

A good ritus vel habitus corporalis. Sic tamen, quod non det 'religions' ought scandalum fratribus; quia cum quocunque tali habitu 5 to be indifferent to all that, so far as no scandal is given Christus instituit. Ut si duo iuga ordinum fratrum to his brethren commutarent simpliciter habitus corporales et de comp- possibili meliorarentur in operibus religionis foret me- | B 50<sup>1</sup> lius ecclesie et placencius deo, quam est modo. 10

Solution of difficulties.

I. Bodily garb is a sensible sign by which religious orders distingwi ab invicem, non causa distinctionis. Sed in happen to be known to differ; but it is not the cause that makes them to differ. An order combines Christ's religion with a tendency towards certain practices; which last vary according to circumstances.

Ad primum trium argumentorum que fiunt in oppositum, dicitur quod habitus corporalis est signum sen-

sibile sed per accidens quo cognoscuntur illi ordines distingwi ab invicem, non causa distinctionis. Sed in-

telligendo ordinem privatum simpliciter potest dici, 15

quod est unum aggregatum ex religione Christi et pri-

mentis ad tales ritus

corporales vel habitus observandum; et sic habitus tales

in anima videntur obiective terminari ad genus ritus

et habitus corporalis succedens pro suo tempore. Et 20

sic necessitantur loquentes in ista materia ponere cum

extensione temporis res communes, ut frater non tenetur

de essencia ordinis | habere hunc vel illum habitum A 39<sup>2</sup>

corporalem sed tenetur pro loco et tempore habere

talem, saltem adiacente possibilitate parium cum hoc 25

vovit; et irrationabiliter solvens hoc votum, induendo

habitum alterius generis secundum leges signa queren-

cium tamquam apostola est punitus.

II. The four orders of friars are distinguished by their obligations and disposition to certain practices, but not by the practices themselves: the former would distinguish them even if the latter perished.

Ad secundum argumentum conceditur, quod isti 4<sup>or</sup> G. ordines distinguntur specifice penes obligaciones et 30 habitus mentales ad talia genera particularis observan-

cie; sed non penes particulares habitus corporeos, nec

penes illa genera distinguntur; quia stante obligatione

et habitu mentali et eciam pereunte toto genere ritus

vel habitus corporalis, non minus distinguerentur illi 35

ordines, licet signa sensibilia quibus recognosceretur

ordinum illorum distinctio desint simpliciter. Et patet

quod minor | argumenti est falsa, cum ordines tales B 51<sup>3</sup>

distinguntur penes obligaciones et habitus mentales;

cognoscuntur autem a populo distingui penes habitus 40

corporales. Unde sicut illa noticia est accidentalis or-

<sup>19.</sup> ostenduntur C. 24, 25. sed — talem deest C. 26. ei raciona-  
biliter CE. 34. eciam deest F.

dini, ita sepe in illis signis populus est seductus. Et patet quod regula non per se distinguit, cum regulam Christianam fratres et possessionati omnis sexus fidelium sacerdotes et layci profitentur. Augustinus autem dedit regulam scripture pro perfectis clericis in communi viventibus, nec curavit de specie forme, coloris vel precii habitus corporalis; ideo propter adiectiones talium A 39<sup>b</sup> rituum sunt multi ordines adinventi et infiniti alii possunt addi; ut omnes cathedrales ecclesie et omnes 10 conventuales clerici debent ut ego estimo servare regulam Augustini. Unde adiecta variacio et subtilizatio est a malo.

Ad tertium argumentum videtur michi, quod conclusio est concedenda; nam licet fratri minori in tempore necessitatis habitum veterem proicere et novum induere licentia Romani pontificis non petita, sed indui habitum alienum abieccorem; et limites illius generis nescit Romanus pontifex diffinire, sicut nec scit specificare strictitudines istorum ordinum quas patriarche qui 20 ipsos fundaverant statuerunt.

H. Ideo sepe dicit se dispensare cum ordine et apostando alienum peiorem instituit, ut minus degenerarent fratres predicatorum, si cum esu carnium quilibet eorum fuerit uxoratus, quam cum predicto esu quilibet eorum 25 fuerit civilis proprietarius. Minus eciam degenerarent, B 51<sup>b</sup> si quilibet eorum factus vicarius, rector sive episcopus quam quod manendo penaliter claustrales contra Christi pauperiem conspirarent. Et tercio minus degenerarent quicunque religiosi induendo habitum 30 alieni coloris vel forme, quam induendo habitum preciosum eiusdem coloris et forme, habitu mentali Christiani ordinis plus mutato. Ideo ad regulandum hos ordines, necesse est regulam scripture et religionem A 39<sup>c</sup> suam attendere, quia papa sepe in talibus decipit atque 35 decipitur. Nam, ut dictum est, papa non habet potestatem, nisi ad edificandum ecclesiam sive statum, et sepe per suggestiones falsas et dispensaciones symoniacas facit contrarium; unde credo quod papa plus prodisset ordinibus precipiendo eis virtute obediencie annuatim 40 alternare in ritu et habitu corporali, vel melius nulli

As to the rule, it cannot distinguish them by itself, no more than the observance of Christ's law can distinguish clergy from laity.

Augustine laid down a general rule to which the cathedral and conventional clergy ought to have been kept.

III. We grant the conclusion, viz., that any one may set the garb of his order aside, when necessary; and that without asking the Pope's leave.

Dispenses are delicate things. And it would be better to enter the secular clergy than to conspire against poverty in the cloister. And better to change the colour or form of their dress than, keeping to them, wear costly stuffs.

2. illa regula E. 5. protectis E. 6. colorat E. 8. modernorum rituum CDEF. 19. parochiane E. 20. ipso C. 22. alios peiores: alium peiorem in margine B. 23. sed E. 34. quod C: ib. decipit E. 38. plus deest ABCD.

It would be better if the Pope were to change all rites than to punish any one on account of mere signs.

Religious men are called apostates, only for having changed their garb.

Why the Pope claims authority over all Orders:  
1<sup>st</sup> to get more money; 2<sup>nd</sup> to be praised everywhere by them; 3<sup>rd</sup> to be more evidently great by ruling over them.

This apostasy of pride makes the Pope grant dispenses rashly. Blindness with which he grants dispenses, and lays claim to authority.

Let him note what Hugo has written on dispenses; saving that there can be no dispense without compensation: the word coming from *dispendium*, and in itself meaning loss.

tali ritui obligari, quam sic punire religiosos propter tradiciones signorum. Necesse est tamen generacionem adulteram signa querentem, precedente peccato, in signis sacramentalibus signa false attendere plus signatis; ut hodie vocantur apostate, nedum qui habitum alienum induunt, sed qui religiose in comitivis honestioribus conversantur. Unde, sicut singitur ordo et apostasia, sic singitur sepe irrationabiliter pena gravior pro actu religioso vel apostatico stante fama, quia satrapi plus petunt apparençiam mundanam quam existenciam vere religionis qua deus placaretur.

Et correspondenter irreligiose puniunt. Papa eciam dicitur vendicare de privatis ordinibus regimen capitale atque dominium | propter tria: primo ut pecunia sedi B 51<sup>e</sup> sue copiosius cumuletur; secundo, ut nomen sue sancti- 15 tatis sophistice per illos dispersos in populo publicetur; et tertio, ut sua pomposa excellencia per regulacionem ordinum quibus insidet patencius promulgetur. Et hec apostasia superbie facit papam in accidentibus suis, scilicet colore et figura, cum religiosis temere dispensare; dispensat enim faciendo religiones in toto novas, et sepe nescius illudit plebi atque ordinibus post quantitatatem in eukaristia in isto duplici genere qualitatis. Et sicut cece confert omnia beneficia regnum, sic dispensat et auctoritatem vendicat in religiosis qui lanam 25 induunt, propter causam triplicem assignatam.

Notaret, inquam, dictum Hugonis De Sacramentis parte 12<sup>a</sup> capitulo 5<sup>10</sup>. "Dispensacio esse non potest ubi recompensacio esse non potest: dispensacio quippe nomen *dispendii* est et detrimentum sonat quantum in ipso 30 est; stultum vero est voluntarie dampnum sustinere ubi nullum lucrum sequitur. Ubi autem in parvo detrimentum tolleratur voluntarie, ut in maiore lucrum prove- niat; hec bona est dispensacio". Et post declarat, quod non cadit dispensacio super lucro anime merendo beatitudinem; sed quid papa scit si commutaciones quas facit ordinibus, faciunt ad detrimentum anime? Viden- dum est igitur de apostasia qua a deo receditur, et illa

5. homines EF. 6. qui *deest* in EF; ib. committis F. 9. quam *pro* vel F. 10. appetunt E. 12. plus puniunt EF. 16. potestatis EF. 17. per rationem E. 19. suis *deest* in CDE. 20. scilicet *deest* in E: ib. signa *pro* figura E. 23. quantitatis E. 33. voluntarie tolleratur E. 34. plus *pro* post D.

27. Hugo a Sancto Victore, *De Sacramentis*, lib. II, parte 12, c. 5 (p. 522, t. 176, ed. Migne).

sola est laudabiliter punienda. Unde glossa Bernhardi super primo capitulo de apostatis in quinto decretalium B 51<sup>a</sup> narrat de apostasia triplici: scilicet perfidie inobedientie et irregularitatis adinvente. Sed indubie omnis 5 ponderanda apostasia est perfidie, inobedientie et irregularitatis contra religionem quam Christus instituit. I. Nec scit papa si commutacio quam facit sit dispensacio vel dispendiosa commutacio ad anime detrimentum, cum prudens animus illud optime in se ipso discerneret 10 et a Christo inconsulto papa dispensacionem acciperet.

Nec dubium quin pena incarcerationis et privacionis quam imponit vocatis apostatis sit sepe illicita et regaliis regum contraria; quia regum est et non pape imponere legiis regum penas huius modi corporales. Sicut igitur 15 talis incarceration religiosorum procedit ex temeritate cleri presumpta, sic ista tolleratio principum quo ad suos legios procedit ex culpabili eorum negligencia, ut ostendi in tractatu *de rege*.

Ideo quererent domini regnorum qua auctoritate sic 20 faciunt religiosi sui; si auctoritate dei, ostendant locum legis sue, ex quo licet eis sic facere; si auctoritate prin-

Matth. cipum, debent ostendere quod licet eis auctoritatem cui XVIII,<sup>17</sup> talem conformiter scripture exequi, cum Christus pre- Tit.

III, 10 cipit, Matth. XVIII<sup>o</sup>, apostamatalem sic ut ethnicum et 25 publicanum relinquere. Et apostolus precipit ad Titum III<sup>o</sup>

A 40<sup>b</sup> hereticum huius modi devitare. | Quid igitur comodum insurgit regibus, quod consenciant suos legios tam irregulariter cruciari? Augustinus autem precipit tales a B 52<sup>a</sup> societate sanctorum proici, indubie sine concussione | 30 ut fecerunt apostoli; sed glozatores perfidi, ut alia dicta sancti, sic sinistre intelligent: *proiciatur*, id est, *in artum et tetrum carcerem detrudatur*. Ad quid, rogo, diceret sanctus, ‘eciam si ipse non abscesserit de nostra societate proiciatur’, nisi quia talis apostata gratis cum gaudio 35 societatis potest recedere et non per incarcerationem improvidam consorcium amplius contaminare.

Sed dubitatur, primo, si talis religio privata sit perfeccior quam communis religio Christiana: et patet quod

8. dispensa EF. 13. regum *deest* E; *ib.* contraria: illicita quidem, quia infundibilis in Scriptura; et regaliis contraria, quia BF. 14. leges B. 16. tali E. 19. querent E. 22. cui *deest* F. 30. licet E. 32. penaliter detrudatur EF. 33. vestra BE.

2. Decr. Gregor. lib. V, tit. IX, c. 1. 28. Aug. *Regula ad servos Dei*, art. 7. *De fraterna correctione* (p. 1381 of t. 32, ed. Migne).

And the pope cannot say whether the changes he makes are a real dispense or a change costly to the soul.

The punishment of incarceration, commanded by the Pope, illegal, as encroaching upon kingly rights, proceeds from temerity of the clergy, and culpable negligence of the king.

An apostate, by Christ's teaching, is to be as a heathen and a publican.

St. Paul prescribes to Titus the avoidance of such a man. Augustin rules that such must be 'cast out of the society of the Saints' surely without violence.

This word cannot signify imprisonment, by the context

Return to main argument:

First question: Whether 'religious (i. e. monastic) life is more perfect than ordinary Christianity.'

Negated.

non, ex sepe et diffuse dictis alibi. Pro quo suppono quod religio privata intelligatur simpliciter pro aggregato ex omnibus votis et obligacionibus, quibus religiosus astringitur, ut in tali ordine, et communis religio Christiana que in scriptura sacra est expressa, ad quam omnis fidelis de necessitate salutis astringitur.

1<sup>st</sup> The general Christian life, as more simple, necessary, and authorised, is more perfect — 1<sup>st</sup> more simple. Every 'private' religion must add to this.

2<sup>nd</sup> More necessary. For it alone is necessary to salvation.

3<sup>rd</sup> More authorised.

Ordinary Christianity was promulgated by Christ, followed by Him, and handed down to the Apostles now nothing of this is true of the other 'religions'.

2<sup>nd</sup> 'Private' religion, as more difficult, more needy and more complex is less perfect. 1<sup>st</sup> More difficult. Christ's religion is 'an easy yoke': one reason why the new law is better than the old.

2<sup>nd</sup> More needy. A private religion requires Papal authorisation; Christ's religion is the authorisation of the Pope's life, if laudable.

Et tunc probatur conclusio negativa; primo sic: Communis Christiana religio est simplicior, necessarior et autoritativior; igitur est perfeccior. Est, inquam, simplicior, quia oportet quamcunque religionem privatam <sup>10</sup> isti superaddere; ideo solebam dicere, quod religio ipsa presupponitur ad alias, sicut forma substancialis ad formas accidentales, et talis est perfeccionum comparacio. Et quod sit <sup>15</sup> necessarior, patet; cum ista et non alia <sup>40</sup> requiritur ad salutem. Nam per istam religionem sine <sup>15</sup> alia crevit ecclesia, per istam rapuerunt apostoli et alii magis sancti regnum celorum et sine ista principante earum in fide scripture. Nam ex fide capimus quod omnis <sup>20</sup> veritas est ex scriptura, et ut necessarior est expressior; <sup>52<sup>b</sup></sup> B aliter enim autor religionis summe potens, sciens atque benivolus foret improvidus, nisi religionem cariorem magis exprimeret. Illa igitur quam ore sua expressit, in persona sua servavit et apostolis atque carioribus eius discipulis <sup>25</sup> servandam tradidit, exedit aliam adiectam cui non convenit laus ista.

Item, religio ista privata est magis difficilis, magis indigua et diffusa; igitur est minus perfecta. Consequencia patet ex testimonio Christi, Matth. XI<sup>to</sup>, comendantis <sup>30</sup> religionem suam ex hoc quod iugum suum suave est <sup>Matth. XI, 28</sup>. et onus suum leve. Ex hoc enim lex nova excedit in perfeccione legem veterem; et patet de ratione, cum religio ista brevius et compendiosius attingit finem legis. Plenitudo autem legis est dileccio, quam plene et breviter <sup>35</sup> docet communis religio Christiana. Et quod religio privata plus indiget, patet ex hoc quod ad confirmationem eius requiritur auctorisacio papalis; ad legem autem Christi non sic; sed <sup>40</sup> oportet quod ipsa vitam papalem, si sit laudabilis, autoriset. Unde narrat Cestrensis, libro <sup>40</sup> 7, capitulo 24, quomodo sub Innocencio III<sup>o</sup> ordines

5. que *deest* F. 7. necessaria E. 11. istam F. 20. in fine CD.  
26. suo F. 26, 27. cui laus ista non convenit BEF. 28. ideo E.  
30. tenet *fro* patet B; *ib.* V<sup>to</sup> ACD. 41. 24 *deest* CD; *ib.* capitulo  
*deest* EF; *ib.* 24 *deest* F.

predicotorum et minorum inceperant, et ad confirmandum What difficulties  
eos ipse se reddebat difficilem; sed confirmatio eorum  
per Honorium III<sup>m</sup> immediate sequentem fiebat, ut  
notatur in eadem cronica; et taliter sunt alii ordines  
non prophani per Romanos episcopos confirmati. Et  
diffusio privati ordinis ex hoc patet, quod vix sufficit  
homo per vitam suam ceremonias et ritus eius plene  
cognoscere, et continue egent interpretatione et correc-  
tione multiplici: quibus caret religio Christiana.

the Dominicans  
and Franciscans  
were under  
before they  
could be  
authorised.  
3<sup>rd</sup> More  
complex. A  
whole lifetime  
is hardly  
sufficient to  
learn all the  
observances.

B 52<sup>e</sup> Item periciores privati ordinis | sumptuose laborant  
et eligunt illo exui et militare sub religione simplici  
Christiania, quod non fieret nisi illa foret perfeccior;  
igitur conclusio. Argumentum patet de proveccioribus  
et sapiencioribus privati ordinis qui laborant ut statum  
15 episcopalem accipient et per capellaniam papalem vel  
alia media obedienciam in qua consisteret maior ordinis  
sui perfeccio se exuant.

Nec valet dicere quod in hoc errant, cum papa And they do so  
approbat et religio non inpugnat. Nam frater vel rightly; for  
what is  
20 monachus nacto episcopio vivit perfeccius, quia aliter approved by the  
retrocederet in lege domini tanquam apostata: quod tam  
A 41<sup>a</sup> clerus quam laycus inopinabile reputaret. |

Again,  
The best men  
of each Order  
strive to become  
Bishops, i. e. to  
leave it and join  
the simple  
religion of  
Christ, which is  
therefore better.

Sicut igitur episcopi gerunt vicem apostolorum, sic  
sunt in statu perfectissimo quem deus dignatus est in  
25 ecclesia sua statuere et papa supra episcopos qui dicitur  
gerere vicem Christi. Et constat quod status episcopalis  
vel est statui religionis private in pertinens vel repugnans.  
Nam omnes tradiciones adiecte supra legem Christi non  
regulariter tenetur episcopus observare; quia aliter omnes  
30 apostoli et omnes seculares episcopi ante istos ordines  
et post forent vel irregulares episcopi, vel saltem minus  
regulares quam nostri religiosi: quod est incredibile;  
non solum quia ecclesia plus approbat et canonisat  
priores episcopos, verum quia in privatis ordinibus non  
35 traduntur speciales regule episcopio pertinentes, sed  
apostolus in Thymotheo tradit 15 regulas plenius et  
perfeccius regulantes statum episcopi.

Otherwise a  
Friar becoming  
a Bishop, he  
would be an  
apostate.  
The state of a  
Bishop is the  
most perfect of  
all.

But if these  
observances  
were really a  
source of  
perfection,  
Bishops, not  
being obliged to  
observe them,  
would be  
inferior to  
Religious.

Tria igitur sunt, que catholicus ut fidem debet cre-  
dere: primum quod status episcopalis, quem Christus in  
B 52<sup>d</sup> apostolis suis instituit, est perfeccior | quam status  
privati ordinis; quia plus ecclesie regulativus et anime

So Catholics  
must believe:  
1<sup>st</sup> That a  
Bishop's state,  
instituted by  
Christ in His

8. dispensacione et EF. 12 foret EF; ib. esset EF. 13. assumpta-  
tum EF. 15. per deest F. 17. exuant reputaret EF. 22. clero  
quam laico est E; ib. reputaret deest E; reputarem D. 25. sibi pro  
supra E. 38. debet ut fidem E.

apostles is the most perfect of all.

To deny this would be blasphemy.

<sup>2<sup>nd</sup></sup> That though a Bishop may fall off from what he should be, his state remains the same.

<sup>3<sup>rd</sup></sup> That neither the Superior could designate, nor the people could receive a Religious as their Bishop, unless they believed the latter state to be preferable. A man who becomes a Bishop for pleasure, pride or money, is a simoniac, and will infect the whole flock.

Conclusion: the faithful must confide in the Bishop of souls.

Answer to objections.

1<sup>st</sup> Objection.

A Religious observes Christ's law and adds thereto.

Answer: The assumption is false.

lucrativus. Nam nimis blasphemum foret, quod aliquis privatus ordo adinventus excederet primum ordinem quem Christus instituit, quia hoc foret implicare maiorem prudenciam in adinvencionibus humanis quam in deo, et per consequens extollere antichristum super omne quod 5

dicitur deus. Secundo credimus quod licet episcopus degenerat a statu primevo et confundit eius noticiam, tamen status ille manet in fide scripture invariabiliter perfectus succedente universalis statu prelati in moribus. In cuius signum religiosus privati ordinis (factus epis- 10 scopus), relinquit regulam privati ordinis, ut repugnans, et intendit regule apostoli, quam secundum quod perficit est laudabilis, patet ex dictis alibi de quiditate

status. Tercio credimus quod nec superior constitueret O. nec populus acciperet religiosum privati ordinis in 15 suum episcopum, nisi utrobique crederet et confiteretur statum quem accipit plus perfectum. Cum enim perfeccio status sit dispositiva ad beatitudinem anime aquirendam et status perfeccior sit plus dispositivus, insanis foret omniisque quelibet pars et caritati con- 20 traria, si gratis permitteret religiosum apostolare a statu perfecciori ad statum episcopalem (minus) perfectum. Nam ecclesia debet cognoscere, quod religiosus possessionatus vel exproprietriarius appetens illum statum propter voluptatem, fastum, vel questum seculi est symoniacus vene- 25 nosus; et per consequens benedicendo confirmando vel ordinando quemquam in sua dyocesi venenose dampnificat se et plebem. Et idem est iudicium de | suffraganeis. B 53<sup>a</sup>

Ideo, ut sepe dixi superius, oportet fideles contemptis apostatis servare legem dei et confidere in episcopo 30 animarum.

Sed replicatur contra istud per hoc, quod religiosus privati ordinis | obligatur et servat quicquid Christianus A 41<sup>v</sup> de lege communi servaverit, et super hoc addit per fectionem adinventam; igitur superaddit in perfectione 35 religionis; et, ut dixi alias, ad hoc sunt leges ecclesie. Sed dicitur (ut sepe alias) quod falsum assumitur. Nam P. ut dicit Sapien. IX<sup>o</sup> deus disposuit omnia in mensura, Sap. numero et pondere. Quod expressit Augustinus (*De pro-* XI, 21

13. laudando E; laudandus F. 15. populum religiosum CE.  
18. disposicio B. 19. adquerendam E. 38. disponit. 39. Augustinus exponit E.

40. Aug. *De Trinitate* lib. XI, c. 11. Numerus, pondus, mensura (p. 908, t. 42, ed. Migne).

*prietatis trinitatis).* sic quod mensura, sicut religio, correspondeat deo patri. Cum igitur deus dedit regulam completam religionis in lege scripture, videtur quod omnis religiosus privati ordinis deficit in observancia illius mensure, ad quam Christianus religiosus vocatus secularis debet attendere. In ista igitur perfeccione mensure excedunt omnes religiosos privati ordinis. Ideo videtur simile de ipsis et adiciente ad parietes domus perfectos de quadris lapidibus lутum et inordinatum acervum lapidum; quod licet adaugeat magnitudinem et numerum, sepe tamen monstruose facit fundamenta putrescere.

Secundo dubitatur utrum expeditius foret ecclesie non esse tales privatos ordines; et videtur quod sic, ex dictis evidentiis: cum sapiunt imperfectionem qua caruit primitiva ecclesia quando crevit. Sed contra istud instatur: primo per hoc, quod nedium sancti fundarunt hos ordines, sed ex illis creverunt multi gloriosi viri ad magnam edificationem ecclesie. Sed supposita veritate B 53<sup>b</sup> du | bii, ad istud dicitur, quod evidencia non procedit; 20 nam multi sancti comiserunt multas blasphemias, ymo A 41<sup>d</sup> sanctissimi citra Christum | continue peccaverunt, cum L. 10. paronymphus dicat (I<sup>a</sup> Joh. 1<sup>a</sup>): "Si dicimus quod peccata 1, 8 non habemus, nos ipsi seducimus et veritas in nobis non est". Ideo ut docet decretum (8 distinzione, capitulo 25 tulo: *Si solus Christus audiendus est*), solus Christus capi debet inter homines pro exemplo in vita et opere, secundum hominem quem assumpsit vel secundum membra sua, in quibus ut in sanctis operatus est, et quos ad suam sentenciam inspiravit.

Q. Ideo est pura fallacia, si sancti homines sic fecerunt et ordinaverunt totam suam sectam sic perpetuo facere in futurum, igitur bene. Nor enim est evidens Christum taliter ordinasse, vel membra sua movisse ad instituendum religionem huiusmodi, cum Christus ordinavit se ipsum 35 indui nunc veste purpurea et nunc alba, (ut patet, Math. 27 et Luce 23): ymo quando misit discipulos Luce ad predicandum (Luc. X<sup>o</sup>) prohibuit eis ferre duas tunicas, X, 4 habere peram vel baculum vel calcamenti in pedibus, et tamen illud intelligi voluit non perpetuo sed solum

8. ad parietem domos E. 8, 9. perfectas D; ib. illicitam E. 11. monstruosa E. 13. ordines deest D. 15. credit E. 17. religiosi E. 22. dixerimus E; diximus D. 24, 25. capitolo deest EF. 25. solus deest E. 28. instructis E 29. inspirat E. 39. cum C; ib. pro perpetuo F.

God made all things in measure.  
He gave a complete rule of religion in Scripture law. And every religious departs therefrom. That these observances add, is true; but it is like adding a heap of rubbish round the walls of a perfect building.

*Second question.*

Would it not be better, if there were no such orders in the Church? There were none in the first times.

*Objection.*  
These Orders, founded by Saints, have produced many holy men.

*Answer.* The objection proves nothing; for many Saints have done wrong; and all have sinned. Christ alone ought to be taken as example to go by.

What a fallacy to say: The men who regulated their sect thus and thus were saints: therefore they did right!

And when Christ forbade his disciples to take two coats, &c. it is understood that he meant only for a time, not for ever.

And the Apostles' life proves this. Why must the commands of Benedict, v. g. be binding for ever, when those of Christ were not so? And had they been thus, it does not follow that these Fathers could imitate Him in that. St. Bartholomew made a hundred genuflexions in a day; and yet he never founded a sect that had to do likewise, under severe penalties. And it would be perilous to follow them, even though their sin were light and their merits great.

It was an act of blindness to amplify the rule of Augustine, which mentions neither colours, perpetual vows, nor prison.

*Answer to Second part of the objection:*  
*'Many saints in those Orders,'* Granted; but it proves nothing.

quando ab officio apostolico retardaret. Quod non solum testatur vita apostolorum, qui quando expediebat ritum istum dimiserant, sed et ordines fratrum laudabiliter illud hodie non observant. Quis igitur color si Benedictus Dominicus aut Franciscus sic statuit faciendum; 5 igitur non licet alicui de secta sua ad contrarium declinare, cum de Christo non sequitur? Nec sequitur, si Christus sic statuit ad sensum expositum, igitur licet A. 42<sup>a</sup> patribus predictis prudenter statuere | ut tota sua secta B. 53<sup>c</sup> omnes ritus observet continue quos in se religiose in- 10 venerant. Bartholomeus enim legitur religiose in die cencies flexisse genua: et tamen non audebat statuere post se sectam perpetuam, que sub pena apostasie et tribulacionis severissime hoc observet. Quis igitur color: "si patroni ordinum sic statuerant, igitur bene"? 15 Sed sicut Silvester peccavit in recipiendo dotacionem ecclesie, et tamen postmodum penitens fuit factus, sic R. stat de patronis predictis. Ymmo licet omnes predicti meruerunt in isto peccando venialiter, tamen pericu- losum et dampnabile est sequi vel approbare eos se- 20 cundum rationem qua sic peccaverant. Non igitur est color concludere, quod illi prudenter vel inculpabiliter fecerunt, secundum rationem qua in sectis suis obser- vanciam talem perpetuam rituum statuerunt.

Et gravatur cecitas in signa colentibus, quod ultra 25 hoc quod Augustinus patronus in communi statuerat illis qui gratis voluerunt servare regulam suam, quam- diu placuerit, gravantur alie particule et ramificantur in ecclesia ex sancta radice vitulamina viciata. Non enim lego in regula (beati) Augustini de professione perpetua, 30 de colore vel figura vestium vel de incarceratione: sed de apostate abieccione.

Quoad secundum obiectum, patet quod nichil antecedenti et conclusioni concesse. Nam, ex radice infecta primi Adam, virtute secundi Adam | multa sancta et A. 42<sup>b</sup> gloriosa plantaria succreverunt; sicud et occasione 'felicis culpe et necessarii peccati Adam', ut loquitur

5. Francus ABCD. 7. nec sequitur *deest* F. 10. 11. observave-  
rant B. 11. in die religiose B. 18. vnde E. 21. peccaverunt B.  
27. grate E. 28. iam inficitur E. 29. in *deest* E; *ib.* ex insecta fro-  
ex sancta E. 34. vel B. 38. beatus E.

37. The words '*O certe necessarium Adae peccatum*' . . . etc. are in the Sarum Office for Holy Saturday (*Benedictio cerei paschalis*); but I have not been able to trace them to St. Gregory.

B. 53<sup>a</sup> sanctus Gregorius, multa | ecclesie comoda acreverunt; et tamen radix illa fuit valde culpabilis. Et sic inter privatos ordines possessionatorum et fratrum creverunt et sunt multi sancti clerici et solemnes, quo tamen non obstante regula ordinis sapit stulticiam et peccatum.

In cuius signum est inter sectas (illas) contencio, et Act. concomitatur eas detrimentum ecclesie. Tales autem XXVI.<sup>b</sup> apostolus vocat *sectas* (Actuum XXVI) et sic videtur scrip- Gal. V. 20 turam loqui de sectis (II Reg. II); et ad Gal. V<sup>to</sup>. Sicut S. 10 igitur vitis suffertur a lignis infructuosis et rosa germinat inter spinas, sic sancti et subtiles clerici germinant in secta minus laudabili. Sed omnes illi, ut reor, vel in hora mortis, vel ante, percipiunt quod secta est defec- tuosa et gravis, et non [nisi] ut facilitat ad legem 15 domini observandam. Ideo licet et oportet ipsam dimit- tere, sicut licuit dimittere ritus quos Christus instituit.

Nec oportet timere de multitudine et permanencia talis secte, quia tales affecciones private indicant amorem inordinatum hominis ad sua, postpositis bonis com- 20 munibus legis dei. Quilibet enim Christianus affectaret per media licita quod, facta toto humano genere magis unicordi et simili, secta sua et quelibet alia privata A. 42<sup>c</sup> foret sagaciter dissoluta: quia aliter oporteret | reli- giosos in diversis sectis habere licite affecciones con- 25 trarias et voluntati dei, quia sibi invicem repugnantem.

T. Tercio arguitur per hoc, quod papa et alii prelati tales ordines perpetuo confirmarunt: vel igitur oportet B. 54<sup>d</sup> ordinaciones papales | dissolvere, vel omnes illas sectas fovere et defendere. Hic dicitur quod multi prelati sunt 30 (in isto) patronis magis culpabiles, ut illi qui fovent symoniace sectas tales. Ideo dicitur, quod papa approbat totum quod est laudabile in sectis huiusmodi, et aliud contempnit; sicut, condicione tacita, confirmat illas pro periodo, qua deus decreverit quod durabunt; multe 35 autem suborte defecerant, et alie deficient pro termino noto deo; deus enim ordinavit illas secundum totum bonum in eis succedere, proficere et finire, sed modo civilis dominii propter imperfectionem non intrant patriam, ymo cum una sit contraria alteri et deo atque ecclesie, 41 oportet ipsas cessare; dicitur enim quamlibet istarum sectarum secundum multa supposita velle omnem reli-

For the root may be very bad and yet the offshoots holy and glorious: as in us, children of Adam. There have been and are many good men among them; and yet the rule of their Order is foolish and sinful.

The reason these sects have lasted so long is that human and private afflictions have been too strong; but every Christian should wish them to be abolished, that all men should become 'of one mind.'

3<sup>rd</sup> Objection. The Pope and other prelates have approved these orders for ever, so we have either to quash the Pope's decision or to be friendly to these sects.

We may say that the Pope approves only what is praiseworthy in these orders, not the rest; and it that for ever means so long as God will allow them to exist.

Another reason for their destruction is that they are contrary to each other, to God,

8, 9. scriptura B. 9 II *deest* F. 10, II. et rosa — spinas *deest* F. 17. multiplicacione CE. 18. mundificant B. 22. similiter A. 38. infeccionem AB. 39. et sic *pro* et deo CDE. 41. sectarum *deest* EF.

and to the Church; striving to draw all goods to themselves, and doing harm to the commonwealth by their wrangling. The fact is that they love their own sect inordinately; which is proved by the disproportion of their punishments when God's commandments or their rules are broken. This is sheer idolatry. I use the word *idolatry* since to think more of a man or of his rule than of God, is idolatry. Third Question. Whether vows of perpetual obedience are expedient. Negated: same reasons as above. It is tempting God; for the Superior may be a fool. We have no Scripture warrant for such obedience. And it savours of worldliness since a professed religious is more strictly bound than a lay vassal besides destroying liberty. But nothing is better than obedience to God; and "Obedience is better than sacrifice" evidently refers to this.

gionem esse de secta sua et omnia bona communia religiosis dari singulariter secte sue; quod cum sit contrarium voluntati divine et utilitati reipublice, patet quam inseparabile est istis privatis ordinibus proprietarie inordinate appetere, et ordinem suum ac regulam 5 inordinate diligere. Quis enim de tali secta multis mandatis dei non plus ponderat regulas secte sue? patet | ex punicionibus que emanant ex communi con-A 42<sup>d</sup> sensu, quod pauci vel nulli a tali ydolatria sunt immunes. Quomodo igitur non fieret sibi et matri nostre utilius, 10 quod intellectus et affectus, dimisso istorum onere, occupati forent circa celestia vel circa media utiliora et faciliora in lege Christi expressa? Talis igitur secta, diffusa per ecclesiam, foret perfeccior; et signanter loquor de ydolatria, | quia qui ponderat hominem vel B 54<sup>b</sup> ordinacionem suam plus quam deum, vel ordinacionem multi peccant, quia quandoque tradiciones humanas nimis preponderant.

Sed tertio dubitatur, si expedit ecclesie tales parti- 20 culares obediencias fieri sub voto perpetuo privato preposito. Et videtur quod non, ex rationibus factis contra privatos ordines. Similiter stulticia et dei temp-tacio videtur hominem obligare se ad obedienciam cuiuscunque talis privati prepositi, sive discretus fuerit, 25 sive stultus. Similiter talis obediencia non est exemplata in scriptura ad laudem prudencie. Cum igitur in scrip-tura sit omnis veritas et specialiter Christiana religio, videtur quod obediencia sit a clericis fugienda; sapit enim civilitatem, cum professus devenit homo sui pre- 30 positi, eciam usque ad carcerem vel mortem striccius quam vasallus obligatur domino seculari. Tollit eciam libertatem | merendi, ut docet Augustinus in "De que- A 43<sup>a</sup> stionibus veteris et nove legis", capitulo 124<sup>10</sup>; et sepe intricat obedienciarium cum stulto preposito. 35

Hic dixi, quod nichil est religiosius quam obediencia facta deo, ut docet decretum 8 (questione 1, capitulo Sciendum); ymo, ut dicit Samuel I. Reg. XV. "Me-lior est obediencia quam victimae, et quasi ariolandi est

1. communiter CD; data communiter BE; bona data communiter F.  
8. excommunicacionibus E. 19. ponderant F. 29. quod talis EF.  
30, 31. devovens hoc suo preposito E. 34. capitulo 124<sup>10</sup> deest FF.  
35. prepositi E. 38. quod Samuel dicit E. 39. victimae BE.

*peccatum repugnare, et quasi scelus ydolatrie nolle acquiescere*". "Sola obediencia", inquit decretum, "est virtus que fidei possidet meritum, sine qua quilibet esse infidelis convincitur, eciam si fidelis esse videatur. "Victimis", 5 inquit, "mactatur caro aliena, sed per obedienciam mac-  
B 54<sup>a</sup> tatur voluntas propria". Ubi patet | luce clarius quod loquitur de obediencia deo debita.

X. Et patet quantum blasfemant privati prepositi, qui ex scriptura vel lege ecclesie vendicant sibi istam obe-  
dienciam. Sicut enim baptisant religionem et ordinem,  
sic et obedienciam, et professionem, et alia quibus exec-  
ecant subditos. Saul enim in lege veteri et omnis fidelis sub pena dampnacionis debet taliter obediare;  
sed procul hoc ab obediencia adinventa. Debet enim 15 secundum religionem Christi quilibet fidelis obediare cuilibet; et melior debet esse obediencior, cum deus obedit creaturis, ut patet ex fide scripture (Josue X), et alibi diffuse prosequeutus sum.

It is blasphemy  
for a man to  
claim such  
obedience.

A 43<sup>b</sup> Et preter istam religiosam obedienciam est dare obe-  
dienciam privatam ex voto vel pacto, | qualiter uxor obedit marito et subiectus suo episcopo. Et ista obe-  
diencia nec valet nec est servanda, nisi de quanto preparat ad priorem obedienciam debitam legi dei.  
Ideo, ut diffuse exposui, virtute istius obediencie, tene-  
tur subditus in casu rebellare contra iniustum prepo-  
situm, ut virtute istius obediencie Paulus in facie re-  
Gal. II. 11 stitit Petro, quia reprehensibilis erat, ut dicitur ad II. Gall. II. Et sic episcopi et omnis populus debet resistere Y. pape symoniaco vel prelato tali concorditer; cum obe-  
diencia debita deo sit infinitum pocior, nec est ser-  
vanda inferior obediencia, nisi de quanto instrumen-  
tatur per illam ad destruendum vicia et virtutum plan-  
taria inserendum. Quod si prelatus preficitur secun-  
dum leges regis superbie ut fratres suos excellat im-  
35 perio et ut prospere ac voluptuose vivat in seculo;  
B 54<sup>a</sup> tunc, secundum predictam le gem beati Gregorii, obediencia talis, si aliquid concupiscentie de suo ha-  
buerit, nulla est, eciam si prospera subiecto preceperit: For the will of  
quia non valet nisi de quanto fit deo ad perficiendum  
40 quod ipse precipit.

Religious  
obedience is  
only due to  
God; private  
obedience, due  
to man, ought  
to obtain only  
so far forth as  
it is an auxiliary  
to the first.

There are cases  
when, like Paul,  
the subject  
ought to 'resist'  
his superior.  
For instance,  
in the case of  
a simoniacal  
Pope or Bishop.

Obedience in  
such a case is  
without merit,  
even if the  
command is for  
the good of the  
subject.

For the will of  
God ought to  
be first  
considered.

2. veritas. 9. ex lege E; ib. usurpant seu vend. B. 17. obeditiv E;  
ib. creature E. 27. ut dicitur ad deest EF. 31. inferiori E.  
31. 32. ministratur D. 34. et pro ut F. 38. et pro eciam E.  
39. sit BDE. 40. ad quod ipse precepit perficiendum B.

Et patet quod religione secundum tradiciones hominum declinante ad seculum, periculosum et stultum est religiosum cuiunque preposito, qui successerit pro suo perpetuo obligari. Nam vir ex voto non copulatur uxori simplici, nisi contractus in suo inicio fuerit con-

As a husband sonus legi dei: igitur multo magis non obligaret se sic cannot be joined cece et infundabiliter multis uxoribus. Et multo evi- to one wife, dencius | prudencia serpentina horreret religiosum obli- A 43<sup>e</sup>  
unless the gari sic stulto preposito, quod faciat quicquid ipse  
contract is mandaverit; quod posset bene fieri, quia sic solveretur 10  
according to God's law; and many wives: so religio ex eleccióne stulta et culpabili minus boni;  
the religious cannot be bound to obey whatever a superior may order him. meriti minus proficere, subditus dicitur postponere  
An ignorant melius quod deus precipit. 15  
superior commands what is not good for his inferior, and the latter has to believe that by obedience it becomes good, because commanded.  
If so, the superior needs the infallibility of God.

Et ultra blasfeme garritur, quod virtute sompniate obediencie sit melius subdito quicquid prelatus precepit. Et tunc indubie est impeccabilis sicut deus, quia facillime peccare poterit in ducatu huiusmodi gregis sui. Ideo cecantur multi de melioracione me- 20 riti ex mandato prepositi vel ex voto; nam si secularis ex tanto fervore caritatis meruerit, ad quod est sepe extra religionem inventam disposicior, tam laudabiliter vivit et securus extra talem ordinem sicut intra.

That obedience sometimes happens to render good service is no objection. Patet ex gestis apostolorum et lege dei, que istam 25 cautelam subticiunt, nec obest quod | talis observancia B 55<sup>a</sup> quandoque prodest per accidens cum deus aliter non sineret ipsam esse.

2. declinantes E. 3. successerit taliter BE. 4. non copulatur *deest* E. 5. dei *deest* D; *ib.* ergo E. 10. potest E. 11. culpabiliter B. 12. integrato E. 16. et fuit B. 17. subiecto E. 18. peccabilis CD. 22. ex toto F. 23. dispositus E; dispositionem B. 24. infra EF. 26. subiectum C; substituit EF.

## CAPITULUM SECUNDUM.

### De Symonia Religiosorum.

Restat videre ulterius si in religione exproprietaria possunt esse symoniaci, sive apostate. Nec dubium quin illud contingit crebrius, licet apostasia sit mundo abscondita; oportet enim primum apostatam cum bono religionis apostasiam absconditam subtilius commiscere, cum scola sua crescit continue in subtilitate malicie.

Suppono autem quod loquamur de religione et apostasia conformiter legi dei; ut dicunt habitus tales simpliciter quo ad deum. Alia autem sunt nominetenus talia et non simpliciter, cum variantur secundum humana iudicia, et multiplicantur secundum hominum fantasias. Secundo suppono quod apostasia committitur, quandounque quis in mortali peccato ceciderit; quia semper tunc dirumpens religionem domini retrocedit; et hoc sonat apostasiam, ut dicunt grammatica et decretum 26, questione ultima, capitulo “*Non obserretis.*” Quamvis autem omnis apostasia sit gravis in homine, tamen apostasia in religiosis et specialiter in expoprietarie viventibus est deo et ecclesie magis odibilis, quia ubi votum strictitudinis vite est deo solemnius et mundo patencius apostatatur gravius.

Et istis duobus suppositis intendo procedere, non secundum vaticinium Hildegardis vel fabulas, sed secundum fidem scripture et secundum possibilitatem latovie apostasis. Et sic neminem accusabo, sed dicam

Can there be simoniacs and apostates in a ‘religion’ in which possession is not allowed? There can be, and there are, but in a hidden manner.

Before proving this, the author notes:

First, that he is speaking of apostasy according to the meaning given to the word in God's law, not in man's.

And, second, that every mortal sin, being a backsliding, is an apostasy.

1. De symonia religiosorum *deest* ABDEF. 5. apostasiam E.  
8. q. apostata F. 14. peccato *deest* F. 16. grammatici B. 17. capitulo *deest* F. 21. striccius E. 24. Eldegaris ACD; Hildegardis F.  
26. sic *deest* E.

24. St. Hildegard (1098—1179) abbess of St. Rupert, near Bingen. For life and works, see the whole of t. 197 of Migne's edition of the Fathers. Her correspondence (145 letters) illustrates the state of the Church at the time. The Lollards often quoted her. See Matthew, W.'s E. W. pp. 11, 492; Buddensieg, W.'s Pol. Works, vol. I, p. 67; Trialogus p. 338. — She also wrote three books of visions, an account of ten other visions, and a curious work on Natural Science.

<sup>2<sup>nd</sup></sup> Conditiones modos quibus contingit apostatare et annexam conditionem: si frater sic graditur, tunc est in lata via | B 55<sup>e</sup> non one, but pointing out the apostate; ut conscius per dei gratiam resipiscant.

of an apostate: Potest autem totum genus apostasie fratrum reduci ad septenarium quem Salomon recitat Prov. 6<sup>to</sup>, et 12—14 recitatur in principio huius: *homo, | inquit, apostata, vir A 44° inutilis*, ubi primo notatur terrena fragilitas retrocedens, dum dicitur: homo apostata; et secundo adiungitur primus gradus apostasie, dum dicitur: vir inutilis; et tertio coniungitur unio fortitudinis malicie, dum vocatur vir. <sup>10</sup>

<sup>1<sup>st</sup></sup> *Frailty of man denoted; homo apostata — backslider.* Sicut enim tota ecclesia est unus homo et persona Prov. muliebris fortis, ut patet Prov. 31, sic tota multitudo XXXI. <sup>10—31</sup> <sup>2<sup>nd</sup></sup> First degree: apostatarum est una persona virilis, contra naturam uxori dyaboli et ex fragilitate terre faciliter in preceps graditur.

The first sin of apostasy is a sin of omission; for one cannot do wrong without omitting to do right. This is the 'foot of pride' of the Psalmist, and the 'beginning of pride' of Ecclesiasticus. And this omission is signified by the word *inutilis*. The order of Friars was instituted to make up for the defects of Prelates, and to revive the life of apostles. That is their first duty. If deficient in that, no matter what else they do, they are simoniaics and apostates.

The devil does his utmost to discourage; and therefore Christ gave for our encouragement the parable of the talents. Primum igitur peccatum apostasie est peccatum obmissionis. cum impossibile sit hominem peccatum comittere, nisi prius omittendo peccaverit, ut suppono Psalm. ex declaratis alibi. Ideo vocatur in psalmo 35, "Pes XXXV, superbie." "Non veniat michi, inquit, pes superbie, et manus peccatoris non moveat me." Pro illo adduci potest illud Ecclesiastici "Inicium superbie hominis apostolus Ecclesiasticus 14, stotare a deo." Ista autem omissio exprimitur per hoc quod apostata est persona inutilis. Constat quidem B. quod totus ordo fratrum subintroductus est in ecclesiam ut suppleat defectus prelatorum et evagancium clericorum et per consequens ut vitam apostolorum resuscitet in vita et opere. Quod si fuerit in officio isto inutilis, quis dampnabilius apostotat omittendo, dico, evangelizare et veritates evangelicas verbo et opere declarare, et usque ad mortem, si opportet, defendere. Hoc igitur est primum fratrum officium, quo omisso sequitur totum residuum esse inutile, quia B 55<sup>e</sup> quicquid oraverint vel ministraverint, ex crimen symonie et apostasie nocet ecclesie. Symonia dico, quia apostolicam dignitatem vendunt pro lucro tempore rali abieco pro quo recorditer ita tacent. Unde quia dyaboli est primo detergere milites Christi inducendo Matth. 25, recordiam, ideo Christus Math. X<sup>o</sup> animavit eos ex XXV, similitudine sui et augmento meriti ac ex pena servata servo inutili ad fiducialiter predicandum. <sup>40</sup>

3. celerius resipiscant EF. 8. dicit E. 9. vir *deest* EF. 10. connectitur E; annectitur B. 10. hominem *deest* E. 18. orature E. 19. "Non—pes *deest* E. 21. Eccles. ABII; ib. hominis *deest* E. 22. per hoc *deest* E. 24. est *deest* C. 25. suppleatur B. 28. omittendo omitendo CF. 38. M<sup>o</sup> 10, et alibi BF; ib. et alibi generaliter *pro* animavit E.

Et revera fides modica ut granum synapis torpentes resloveret in lacrimas pro omissis, et ad virilem satisfactionem genua debilia roboraret; infidelitas enim evitat servum taliter ociantem. Si igitur vocatus es in domum domini ad ewangelizandum, fac ad quid venisti. Quia ut ait Crisostomus operis imperfecti: "Prudens pater familias non contentatur, quod serwus vivat et comedat in domo ecclesie"; sed, ut ayt Gregorius: "Serwum a bono opere torpente dampnat." Si enim dampnabit in die iudicii eciam activos pro omissione operum misericordie corporalis, ut patet Math. XXV<sup>to</sup>, quomodo credimus non agravabit penam in contemplativos, quibus ad hoc talenta comiserat, dum ociantur in pecunia accepta domini, cum sciunt, quod deus infinitum plus appreciatur VII A 44<sup>e</sup> opera misericordie spiritualis quam opera misericordie corporalis? "Messim quidem multa, operarii autem pauci."

Et tertio moveret quod omnes tales ex vecordia omittentes istud officium sunt proditores veritatis magis B 55<sup>d</sup> quam Scarioth; ut docet Crisostomus omelia 45<sup>ta</sup>

20 operis imperfecti; et ponitur in decretis XI, questione 3:

*Non licet.* "Scarioth quidem abscondebat prodidit veritatem nondum glorificatam post pauca carismata, isti autem patenter produnt veritatem ad multorum perditionem; et hoc post eius glorificacionem, post ewan-

25 gelii publicacionem et tot carismatum et exemplorum salutarium acceptionem." Ideo cum omnes et singuli faciunt unam proditionem, verisimile est quod ingratitudo culpe sit gravior. Recolerent, inquam, quomodo dicunt et iactant se similius sequi Christum, et quo- 30 modo Christus ad hoc natus est, et venit in mundum Joh. ut testimonium perhibeat veritati, Joh. XVIII, et tunc XVIII, possunt considerare quantum apostatando post dominum 37 falsitatis degenerant. Si enim attornatus vel procurator terreni negocii sit negligens in negocio post acceptam 35 mercedem, dominus eius iuste debet ipsum ut infidelem diffidere, et ut serwum inutilem contempnere; quanto

If they are called by God, let them do that which they are called to do.

If Christ will condemn for the omission of works of corporal mercy, what will he do to those who omitted the deeds of spiritual mercy, much more desired by Him?

To omit these duties is to be a worse traitor than Judas.

He betrayed Truth, but not yet glorified Truth: these betray it after its glorification.

They say they follow Christ; Christ came into this world only to bear witness to truth. Have they not degenerated? If an attorney is negligent, his earthly lord spurns him.

1. torpens B. 2. et *deest* E. 3. roboraret *deest* D. 3. 4. itaque evirat F. 4. evirant E. 6. dicit F; ib. omelia operis EF; ib. Prudens E. 12. credibilis *alia manu* B. 14. dum E. 19. 49 EF. 21. absolute ACD. 28. culpe corum F. 36. nequam EF.

6. The author referred to is not Chrysostom, but, as Baroniuss and Tillemont believe, an Arian posterior to Theodosius. See Migne, Patr. series Greca, I. 56, p. 601. 8. St. Greg. Lib. I. Hom. in Ev. N° 9 (p. 1106, t. 76 of Migne). 21. Quotation not to be found there, nor anywhere near.

How much more the Lord of glory, in so much greater a cause, with a reward so much rancior, quo merces preaccepta est copiosior et quo more abundant, obligacio est stricior atque utilior.

5

Nec capit remissionem excusacio de oportunitate C.

loci et temporis, de assistencia instrumenti sive iuvaminis et de exemplacione precedenti contra pompam hostis imbecillis. Ecce, inquam, nunc tempus acceptabile, in quo princeps mundi huius cum milicia sua 10

arma ubique terrarum diffuderat, et rex regum promisit ecclesie, quod sibi assisteret omnibus diebus, B 56<sup>a</sup>

usque ad consumacionem seculi. Ac tercio in ista causa decertarunt baptista et cuncti martires, scientes III. Esdr.

quod super omnia vincit veritas. Quomodounque itaque IV,

palliaverit Christianus, negligencia vel ocium non ex- 35—40

cusat eum apud iudicem scrutantem corda et renes in finali iudicio; sed adhuc ex comentis dyaboli ostenditur

maior excusacio in peccatis.

And John the Baptist and so many martyrs have bled in the cause of Christ.

No excuse is possible for a Christian before the Judge.

*Second excuse:*  
They say that no more remains to do; but the life of Christ tells us that even our priests are far from what they should be.

Bad priests ruin the people; and therefore

Christ was always against them.

They are all worldly, from first to last, idolatrous soldiers of the Devil.

They live as if faith, hope and charity were dying out.

*Second excuse:* Nothing should be said against Bishops.

Dicitur enim quod tota communitas servat fidem, et 20 non restat hostis ecclesie, quem fidelis impeteret. Sed legamus vitam Christi et apostolorum, et videamus quantum ab ipsa eciam sacerdotes nostri degenerant; et tunc habemus ad similitudinem Christi exemplum contra principes sacerdotum invehere. Nam iuxta testimonium 25

beati Gregorii causa ruine populi sunt sacerdotes mali.

Et hec racio, quare Christus contra illos instituit inopportune. Revera a maximo usque ad minimum omnes infideliter sunt mundo dediti; et sic ubique terrarum A 45<sup>a</sup>

sparguntur ydolatre milites principis mundi huius. Sic 30

quod fides, spes et caritas extinguntur; nam in re dicunt hodie, quod sicud tempus exigit variaciōnēm

ad contrarium in vita presbiteri, sic oportet fidem, spem, et caritatem variari a virtutibus prioribus quasi

contrarie. Fratres autem considerarent statum profesionis sue, et invehērent efficaciter contra ista commenta dyaboli. Secunda excusacio est, quod episcopalis dignitas eximit et tradiciones humane sentenciant, quod

non dicatur aliquid contra tales. Sed istam blasphemiam debent fratres destruere. Non enim est lex, sed blasfemia 40

3. sevius B. 4. lepidior ACD. 7. ministerii B; ministri F. 8. precepti E. 15. Ezdre 2<sup>o</sup>. Quomodounque ita E. 17. revere E. 22. fidem E; ib. et videamus deest ACD. 25. doctrinam B. 26. beati deest BEF. 30. principes huius mundi E. 32. homines pro hodie EF. 36. tormenta E. 40. est deest AB.

contra deum. Ipse autem reprehendit severe principes sacerdotum et Scarioth; et irreligiosa dotacio non facit dignitatem pontificum nostrorum plus inclitam, sed accusans pocius magis fedat.

Christ blamed  
the High  
Priests.  
And an impious  
endowment  
pollutes the  
episcopal  
dignity.

B 56<sup>b</sup> Inveteratur itaque | irreligiosa sacerdotum malicia; sic quod ex vi consuetudinis inficit magnam ecclesiam. Nec videtur quomodo secure sanaretur ista infirmitas, nisi subtrahendo secundum formam quam Christus instituit causam morbi. Fratres autem, licet 10 ex professione et ordine coguntur illud concedere, tamen querentes multiplex subterfugium vecorditer retrocedunt. Fatentur enim, quod status eorum, quia exproprietarius, est perfecior et vite Christi similior, in tantum quod quotquot eciam de prelatis possessionatis A 45<sup>b</sup> fuerint fratres profitentur quod viverent | perfeccius, habendo moderate et exproprietarie omnia in communi. Et tamen, sibi ipsis contrarii, vel odiunt vel tacent quod perfeccius foret totum clerum vivere exproprietarie, sicut Christus instituit atque vixit.

The Friars,  
obliged to grant  
this, seek  
subterfuges, and  
backslide.  
They grant that  
their own life  
is more like  
Christ's as  
being without  
possessions.

D. Tercia excusacio est turpior, quod si fratres exasperarent contra possessionatos defendantes predictam sentenciam, tunc prelati insurgerent contra illos, et privarentur elemosinis populi; et sic dissolveretur sua religio. Ideo fertur, quod in communibus eorum 25 ciliis diffinitur vel quod non predicent aut foveant predictam sentenciam, vel quod invehant tacite contra illam. In hoc enim ebilit eorum apostasia ydolatra, quia non propter timorem pene corporis, sed propter avariciam temporalium apostatant contra Christum. 30 Nonne ex fide scripture laudatur Hebreorum laycalis religio, quia rapinam bonorum suorum cum gaudio Hebr. X. Nonne talis avarus ex testi- X, 34 Col. monio apostoli ad Colocens. III<sup>o</sup> est dampnandus ydo- III, 5 latra, quia stercora temporalium tanquam deum suum 35 veritati preponderat? Nonne pharisei uno consensu ex hinc conspiraverant contra catholicam veritatem?

And yet they  
hate the idea of  
the whole clergy  
living so.

Third excuse:  
If the Friars  
exasperate the  
possessors,  
their order will  
be starved out.  
It is said that  
in their  
councils they  
have decided  
not to preach  
this opinion,  
or to oppose it.  
It is for  
temporal greed  
that they act  
against their  
convictions;  
such greed is  
damnable  
idolatry; the  
very motive that  
made the  
Pharisees  
conspire against  
Christ.

B 56<sup>c</sup> cunque | elemosinas corporales vel defensionem vite, cum dicunt, ut sic, tanquam infideles apostate, quod

Nothing could  
render them  
more unworthy  
of getting any  
alms.

2, religiosa E. 4, excusans B. 10, cognoscuntur E. 11, 12, rece-  
dunt E. 15, fuent E. 17, cum C. 21, contra predictam E. 24, nam pro-  
ideo EF; ib, quibus pro communibus B. 21, 25, consiliis. 26, tante E.  
27, autem pro enim E. 32, suscepertur EF. 32, 33, vel anser secundum  
testimonium E; ib, Augustus secundum testimonium F. 35, prepon-  
derant E. 36, conspiraverant infideliter BE. 39, sint; alia manu sic B.

As for the  
existence of the  
Order, they  
should,  
according to  
Scripture, let  
the whole world  
perish, rather  
than consent  
to a falsehood.

Traditions or  
professions  
bidding the  
concealment of  
Gospel truth  
have no weight.  
They should  
prefer the  
destruction of  
their Order,  
to being silent  
on the truth.

*Il. Graditur ore perverso.*  
This denotes  
the sins of the  
tongue.

Three sorts of  
sins to be noted  
here: lying,  
flattery, and  
evil-speaking.

1<sup>st</sup> Lying.  
Whoso follows  
the Father of  
lies is an  
apostate.  
Lying in jest  
or to render  
service is said  
to be frequent  
among the

Friars.  
Common  
saying: This is  
affirmed by a  
friar; therefore  
it is false.

favor infidelium et lucrum populi est prestancior | quam A 45<sup>a</sup> salus hominum vel veritas legis dei. Et quantum ad ordinis continuacionem, patet ex fide scripture et testimonio sanctorum doctorum, quod cicias permitte-rent totum mundum dissolvi, quod est plus quam 5 omnes religiones private, antequam consentirent huius modi falsitati.

Ideo religiosi et subtiliores de fratribus cognoscentes istam perfidiam defendant et detegunt tales veritates catholicas, dicentes de apostatis ipsis contrariis illud 10 psalmi II<sup>i</sup> "Dirumpamus vincula eorum et proiciamus a nobis iugum ipsorum". Non enim valent tradiciones vel profesiones istorum ordinum que movent quod veritas ewangelica sit celata; prius igitur optarent disolucionem sui ordinis perpetuo, sicut fuit tempore 15 prosperitatis ecclesie, antequam minimam veritatem fidei reticerent. Hec igitur est cautela dyaboli solemnisare sic privatos ordines et adinvenciones hominum, ut diligentur et defendantur attencius quam lex dei. Ista igitur infidelis omissio est prima apostasia quam 20 concipio contra fratres.

*II. Graditur ore perverso.* Secunda vero apostasia describitur per hoc quod E. vir apostata *graditur ore perverso*; in quo notatur vicium lingwe primum inter omnia sensibilia peccata commissionis apostatis istis competere. Sicut enim primo 25 et precipue convenit apostolis inter actus sensibiles honorare deum in lingwa ad | edificacionem ecclesie, A 45<sup>a</sup> sic primo apostotatur in viciis istis contrariis. Quamvis autem secundum Parisiensem sint in lingwa 14 vici-orum genera, sufficit tamen notare tria | genera pro B 56<sup>a</sup> presenti, scilicet mendacium, adulacionem et detrac-cionem.

Mendacium autem committunt multi apostate; et per consequens sequendo patrem mendacii apostotant a domino veritatis; quia, ut diffuse declarat Augustinus, 35 inter VIII genera mendacii mendacium iocosum et of-fiosum, que sunt levissima, sunt in viris qui debent esse perfecti ut fratres mortalia peccata. Et tamen dicitur quod inter fratres crebrescit hoc peccatum; in tantum quod arguitur tanquam argumento probabili: 40

3. ordinacionem E. 14. collata D; ib. ergo E. 17. recipierent B.  
20. prima et gravissima C; ib. gravissima apostasia EF. 28. si E.  
29. 30. 24 genera viciorum EF. 37. sunt *deest* E. 38. cum E.  
39. Vitium F. 40. arguitur *deest* E.

“Frater, vel scribendo vel eloquendo, auctorisat istam sentenciam; igitur falsum”; et sic ille qui debet ponere ori suo custodiam post iniunctum silencium contra sentenciam Jacobi apostoli, in loquacitate magis effrenis elabitur. Et ubi alii mendaces ex residencia paucos insciunt, talis apostata, vagando per patrias, seminat spissim mendacia.

So the Friar  
is a babbler;  
and a most  
hurtful one,  
because he goes  
about sowing  
lies.

Ideo dicit signanter sapiens, quod graditur ore per verso, perverso, dico, a loquela Christi virtuosa atque iustificativa ad fabulas mundi viciosas atque falsidecas.

Note the word  
*perverso*:  
turned away  
from Christ's  
teaching.

Recoleremus, inquam, quod verba sacerdotis qui debet esse os domini sint ut ewangelium Christi iuxta preceptum Christi in Petro 1<sup>a</sup> Petr. 4<sup>to</sup> "Si quis loquitur," A 45<sup>a</sup> libret | loquelam sic veritate sagaci quod proferat 15 "quasi sermones dei." Et sic omne genus peccati, cum sit contra filium potest dici mendacium.

**2<sup>nd</sup>** Flattery.—  
**1<sup>st</sup>** General  
principles.  
Abominable to  
God  
everywhere,  
flattery is still  
worse in the  
mouth of a  
preacher.  
He ought to  
beget spiritual  
children; he  
begets  
adulterous  
children of the  
Devil.  
He ought to

termos inios procerabit. *Hic autem ex sinceritate lo-  
quitur predicando, qui non propter questum, vel pri-  
vatum commodum, sed pure propter honorem dei et  
30 edificationem proximi in persona Christi loquitur.* Talis  
autem vitabit fabulas et quicquid est isti fini imper-  
tinens; et per consequens tenebit veritatem non quam-  
cunque sed edificativam de deo, et tanquam cognoscens  
F. deum cui servit cuncta prospicere, ut dicit apo-  
35 stolus; “*loquitur coram deo*,” et propter verba quinque,  
scilicet verbum fidei, verbum virtutum amplectendum,  
verbum viciorum fugiendum. propter aquirendum  
terminum vie virtutum, scilicet beatitudinem quam  
speramus, et propter fugiendum terminum viciorum,  
A 46<sup>b</sup> scilicet dampnacionem perpetuam quam | odimus. Dicit

He adulterates the Word of God, who uses it to turn the people away from Christ's service.  
And he speaks sincerely, who speaks only for God's glory, not for gain.  
Such a one will speak five sorts of words.  
Words of faith in favour of virtue, contrary to vice, leading the soul to Heaven and warning it away from Hell.

2. si EF. 3. stricciorem custodiam EF.

12. Christi deest F.

13. in Petro deest E.

*deest* E.

#### 18. predicationibus E.

20, 21. petet quod —

generabit *deest* C.  
Christo. CD. 35. 20.

leest C.

21. filios deest ABC.  
eane dant E. 36

in proximo pro im-

Christo CD. 35. qu  
tulum E 30. crimen

35. qu  
30 crimen

*enque deest E.* 36. v.  
*pro terminum F.*

*um pro verbum vir-*

The Apostle prefers five intelligible words to ten thousand in an unknown tongue.

apostolus <sup>I. Cor.</sup> 1<sup>a</sup> Cor. XIV. "In ecclesia volo quinque verba sensu meo loqui, ut et alios instruam, quam decem milia verborum lingua." Hec autem quinque verba secundum cooperacionem sensus limitat nobis apostolus, ne evagemur in verbis floridis et diffusis, que questum vel fastum sapiunt, sicut faciunt qui se ipsos predican et non Christum.

The apostle's prophecy about evil days to come, doctrines of devils, men speaking lies in a fide, attendentes spiritibus erroris et doctrinis demoniolorum, in ypocrisi loquencium mendacium, et cauteri-

<sup>2<sup>a</sup></sup> Application atam habencium conscientiam." Illi autem discedunt of preceding principles and a fide, qui dimisso ewangelio preponderant tradiciones texts to the hominum, sicut faciunt hodie illi, qui "coacervant sibi

Friars.

Their love of magistros prurientes auribus, a veritate avertunt auditum et ad fabulas convertuntur," ut loquitur apostolus <sup>I. Tim.</sup> II<sup>a</sup> Thim. IV<sup>o</sup> et sic discedunt a fide tam ewangelicas santes quam ewangelisandi, et utrique dupliciter: vel preponderantes | tradiciones hominum, vel fabulas extra <sup>IV. 3</sup> fidem scripture. Per spiritus erroris, intelliguntur illi, qui spiritualiter vivunt, ut religiosi et clericci. Illi enim vocantur spiritus: Luc. IX<sup>o</sup>: "Nescitis cuius spiritus estis," dicit Jesus suis apostolis; et tunc sunt spiritus erroris, quando seminant doctrinam extraneam ad invenientam, ad quam attendunt layci | ut ewangelium. Et A 4<sup>o</sup> superiores istorum vocantur demona in ypocrisi loquencia. Demonia sunt, quia spiritus iuxta dicta; et mali indubie: et sic demona.

According to Grosseteste, a monk that leaves his cloister is a dead body wrapped in funeral bands, and leaving its sepulchre, moved by the Devil.

Unde Linconiensis dicit, quod religiosus de claustrō egressus, et specialiter de claustrō anime, est cadaver mortuum, pannis funebris involutum, de sepulchro egressum, a dyabolo inter homines agitatum. "Cadaver," inquit, "mortuum, quia corpus quod mendaciter profitetur se mortuum quo ad mundum et sic ex carencia spiritus vivificantis est fetens mortuum quo ad deum: et de sepulchro egreditur, quando sic exit de claustro in quo debuit sepeliri." Et hos dicit apostolum prophetare. II<sup>a</sup> ad Thim. III, cum dicit quod penetrant illi, 6<sup>a</sup>

1. duo E. 5. verbis *deest* F. 6. alloquitur E; aloquitur B.  
11. a fide *deest* E. 13. suam conscientiam BEF. 15. illi homines BEF.  
19. uterque ABE; ib. Iripliciter EF. 21. errorum C. 22. spiritualiter C.  
25. errorum CE. 31, 35. quia corpus — mortuum *deest* EF. 35. sed  
pro se D. 38. dicitur E; ib. apostolus E. 39. dicens BEF.

domos et captivas ducunt mulierculas. Panni autem religiosi dicuntur ex qualitate indumenta funebria. "Nec dubium," inquit doctor "quin, si talis sit a dyabolo valde fugibiliter et horride inter homines agitatus, non solum a persona Luciferi, sed a papa vel capitaneo talis secte"; talis enim propter sensibilem eius paten-  
Psalm. XC.<sup>6</sup> ciam vocatur psalmo XC: *Demonium meridianum*, cuius doctrina est loqui in ypocrisi quia, simulando sanctitatem loquitur mendacium, dum falsitatem loquitur:  
que est scola patris mendacii.

G. Sed si quis remurmurat contra hunc sensum, dico primo quod oportet prophetiam apostoli ut fidem credere, cum profiteatur quod "spiritus manifeste dicit."

B 52<sup>a</sup> Secundo dico | cum apostolus dicat | tales futuros  
A 40<sup>a</sup> 15 in tempore periculo et in Thimoteo docet ecclesiam  
huiusmodi devitare, fidelis et specialiter Theologus  
daret operam ad habendum sensum spiritus in dicta  
prophecia apostoli. Et tertio, dico quod sive papa sive  
fratres sive seculares perfecerint excellencius proph-  
20 tatam sentenciam: illi sunt quos describit apostolus  
devitandos.

Ideo, quicunque volueris eximi a dicta secta, cave a condicionibus quas describit apostolus, quia perficiendo predictas condiciones pestiferas, tu es ille refuga quem  
25 spiritus sanctus predicit ecclesie fugiendum.

Tertia vero species peccati lingwe, quod est proprium dictis apostaticis, est serpentina detraccio. Ipsi enim more Luciferi delectantur mordere membra Christi mendacio, non quocunque, sed quod sonat denigracionem

30 status personae quam mordent; et ut coloracius fingant facinus venenosum, dicunt quod sic audierant: et sic hoc referunt ut auditum, non propter caritatem quam habent ad personam quam mordent sed ut facinus quod concipiunt in persona quam odiunt amplius  
35 dilatetur. Esto, inquam, quod talis apostola vel alius audavit a se ipso hoc venenum pestiferum; adhuc examinaret fructum loquele et intencionem loquendi, antequam in talia verba superflua ebulliret. Hec igitur  
A 47<sup>a</sup> condicio tortuosi serpentis est a cunctis Christianis | et  
40 specialiter exproprietariis et qui astringuntur silencio

And he is moved by the devil, in person, as represented by the Pope and the heads of the order.

He is a 'noontday devil' simulating sanctity and telling falsehoods. This prophecy of the Apostle must be believed by all Christians.

So all Christians should understand the sense of these words, to avoid those who are thus noted.

But take care that you are not among them, yourself, if you fulfil the conditions.

3rd Evil speaking. Evil speakers delight in biting the members of Christ. They say that they have heard this or that.

But supposing that they had heard it, they ought to examine well whether the repetition of it would be of any utility.

3. doctor *deest* E. 1. agitatus ACD. 19. extollencius C; ex-  
cellerint F. 24. illas EF. 29. quomodocumque E; *ib.* dignitatem EF.  
32. referant BE. 35. enim *pro* inquam B.

Especially if they are of an Order bound to silence. fugienda, quia Eccles. X<sup>o</sup> scribitur: "Si mordeat ser- Eccles.  
pens in silencio, nichil eo minus habet qui occulre X, 11  
detrahit." Unde vocatur canis rabidus. Et hinc Augustinus,  
St. Augustine's pater religionis multiplicis, fertur fecisse sibi scribi in  
motto, inscribed patulo mense sue. B 57<sup>a</sup>

*Quisquis amat | dictis absentum rodere ritam  
Hanc mensam indignam norerit esse sibi.*

Isto igitur modo species secunda apostasie committitur.

The three other marks of apostasy, 'winking with the eye, beating with the foot, and speaking with the finger', though literally true of apostates, can also be taken in a figurative sense. By the eye is meant the intention according to the Gospel; for it directs all the movements of the soul. To wink with the eye means to turn aside from general good to private interest. This is to be a self-lover. It is almost impossible for any particular 'religion' to be without this sin. One perversion: men are entrapped into the Order at any age, in order to increase its numbers. This is foolishness; for Christ's religion is more perfect than the others into which men are induced to enter.

Tres autem alie species possibles inesse fratribus in innuuntur dum sequitur: "Annuit oculis, terit pede, inconstancia corporalis inquit apostatis, cum agitantur a malo spiritu qui in- and speaking with the finger', ordinate commovet omnia membra sua, tamen videtur per intellectum dirigitur tota alia operacio cognitiva anime, sicut omnia membra hominis diriguntur oculo corporali.

Ille igitur apostata facit nutum oculis, qui dimissa intencione boni communis annuit vel assentit privato comodo, quod est maxime Christiane religionis destruc-

cio. Ideo apostolus vocat tales apostatas homines se ipsos amantes, ut patet II<sup>a</sup> Thim. III, II<sup>a</sup> Cor. XIII et ad Philippens. II. Et ab isto peccato impossibile vel | dif- A 47<sup>b</sup>

ficile est, quod privatetur privata religio. Primus igitur error in intencione privata videtur, quod ad magnificandum privatum ordinem homines seducti in quaunque etate fallaciter inducuntur. Videtur igitur esse stulticia sic obligare pueros vel quoscumque; primo, quia status religionis Christiane simplicis est undequaque 30 perfeccior, cum tradiciones sibi adiecte sint difficiles, periculose, et ex debilitate egentes confirmatione humana. Cum igitur quocunque opus meritiorum potest homo facere liberius extra talem ordinem privatum,

quomodo non est stulcius ipsum ingredi ad merendum ? 35 Frater igitur, qui ipsum ingressum annuit dum statum perfecionem tollit, peccat | non mediocriter contra re- B 58<sup>a</sup>

1. Ecclesiastici CEF; ib. dicitur BEF. 4. sic B. 5. quis *deest* E; ib. absentem A; verbis B. 9. in nituntur E 13. sanctus *deest* E. 16. cognita B; ib. intellectu F. 17. minora *pro* membra C. 20. dimisso comodo comuni E. 23. ad *deest* E. 28. faci-liter ABCD.

Et multo evidens ille, qui inducit pueros per mendacia et dona zophistica; quia ista videtur esse temptacio mali spiritus meridiani. Item non est prudenter dissolvere proporcionem et numerum quem deus voluerit in ecclesia observari, sed obligans hominem ut sit frater vel notorie vel ex sibi dubio dissolvit hunc ordinem: igitur undique peccat. Nam faciens hoc scienter peccaret graviter; et presumens in tam sibi ambiguo peccaret etiam, cum homo debet facere certe meritorium, dimisso ambiguo. Et hinc videtur Christum A 47<sup>a</sup> reprobasse Phariseos Math. XXIII. | “Ve vobis”, inquit, Matth. “scribe et Pharisei hypocrite, qui circuitis mare et aridam ut XXIII. 15, faciatis unum proselitum; et cum fuerit factus, facitis illum filium Yehenne, duplo quam vos.”

It is imprudent to change the proportion of numbers in the Church: and he who tries to increase his Order's numbers, either changes it, or risks doing so, and consequently sins in any case.

15 Quantum ad dissolucionem ordinis Christi patet ex fide, quod deus wult non omnes esse ewangelistas vel fratres; sed quosdam laycos, quosdam unius secte, quosdam alterius, ad edificationem ecclesie. Ideo dicit I. Cor. XII. 15 apostolus 1<sup>a</sup> Cor XII<sup>b</sup>, “quod non expedit, sed officit 20 ut omne membrum corporis humani sit oculus”. Quid igitur scit talis fratrifactor si dissolvit hunc ordinem, I. et perturbat rem publicam? Item cum ex principio religionis quilibet debet privatum bonum contempnere et bonum commune attendere, patet quod quilibet 25 fratrifactor debet mensurari hac regula; sed quis scit, si naturalis complexio vel impulsus spiritus in illo quem obligat plus sit, ut sit frater vel religiosus alterius ordinis exproprietarii vel possessionati? Ymo si

All cannot be evangelists or friars.  
Some must be laymen, some of different sects.

The whole body, as the apostle says, cannot be the eve.  
And does this friar-maker know if he will not destroy the whole order?

Does he know if the divine inspiration will lead the man whom he wishes to influence rather into his order than into any other?

And if he should lead an apostolic life in the world, would he not be better there?

B 58<sup>b</sup> vivat apostolicam vitam | in seculo, cum notum sit,

30 quod tales seculares sunt multis claustralibus meliores?

Cum igitur talis fratrifactor nescit quod bonum est deo plus complacens vel utilius sancte ecclesie, videtur quod presumptiva dei temptacio foret sic facere talem fratrem.

35 Unde quidam pueri dicuntur sagaciter respondere temptantibus, quod vellent libenter esse religiosi illius A 47<sup>a</sup> ordinis, quem | deus plus approbat et qui foret eis plus competens; cum ignorando veritatem in isto, peccarent graviter utrumque. Si enim hoc movet, “id foret

2. esse deest E. 3. prudenter ABCDE. 4. quo CI). 7. hoc deest F; ib. undique multum BEF. 12. et deest E. 11. reprobare F. 15. solucionem B; ib. Christi deest EF. 16. sufficit E. 24. privatum pro commune C; commune Ecclesie E. 25. quid CE; ib. scit deest E. 32. vel utilius deest CI); utile F. 33. habere E. 35. dicunt E. 37. plus deest E. 39. utrumque C.

Should anyone michi et ordini meo utilius, ideo est michi optacius", think: — "This would be more statim sic motus dicitur esse in capitulo illorum omnium, qui querunt que sua sunt et non domini Jesu Philip. therefore I will Christi. Quod dampnat apostolus, Ad Philipp. II<sup>o</sup>, et II, 21 try to bring it about", he per consequens talis non ex caritate sed invidia faceret 5 would be among those who seek their own, not Christ's interest. talem fratrem; cum 1<sup>a</sup> Cor. XIII dicit apostolus, quod I. Cor. XIII, 5 "caritas non querit que sua sunt." Et servata ista caritatis regula, videtur quod nullus unius ordinis procuraret personam, vel lucrum suo ordini, antequam nosceret hoc prodesse et non esse ad deterioracionem 10 cuiuscunque ecclesie. Et hec est racio quare Christus et apostoli contentati sunt de religione communi nulli contraria. Et apostolus propter securitatem religionis I. Cor. VII, 7 cupid omnes alios vivere ut se ipsum, ut dicitur 1<sup>a</sup> Cor. VII, 7

The universal good is set aside by the sects.

when each seeks after a particular good.

We ought therefore to lay aside all these particular religions.

The rule of Augustine was opposed to neither layman nor clerk; there is no contrary to the general idea of Order, but only to their particular forms.

That is why ownership always savours of sin.

Suppose that four friars, one of each of the four orders, intend to make some one a member of their order.

Their intentions ought all to be for the good of the Church. Now they would result in the same man belonging at once to four orders.

Secte igitur faciunt illud bonum Christi commune 15 dimitti, cum unum utile uni privato ordini sit alteri displicens et repugnans. Abiciamus igitur religiones et utilitates privatas, quia II<sup>a</sup> Petr. II<sup>o</sup> "fuerunt vero et II. Petr. 1 magistri mendaces, qui introducent sectas perditionis, 20 et eum qui emit eos Dominum negant, superducentes dimittit, cum unum celarem perditionem." | Regula, inquam, Augustini B 58<sup>a</sup> non fuit clerico vel layco alicui contraria, sed prodes-sens; | ymo sicut substancie nichil est contrarium se- A 48<sup>a</sup> cundum logicos, sed qualitati, ita videtur generalem 25 ordinem nulli esse contrarium, sed privatum; qui signa et speciem inutiliter substituit tanquam ordini Christiano necessaria. Et hec racio quare civilis proprietas inseparabiliter sapit peccatum; nec homo debet sine peccato quicquam facere, nisi de quanto est certus ipsum 30 prodesse toti ecclesie: ut sunt opera virtutum et alia privata, ad que est instinctus spiritus consulentis.

Unde solebam ponere quod 4<sup>or</sup> fratres 4<sup>or</sup> ordinum pro simul intendant facere quemquam fratrem sui ordinis; et signatis illis 4<sup>or</sup> intencionibus, non eis est 35 fingendum, quare una earum foret licita quin per idem et quelibet; et per consequens finis proximus ab eis intentus foret utilis ecclesie; et sic, quod eadem sim-plex persona sit simul frater istorum ordinum: quod resultat esse impossibile, nisi inter istos ordines non 40

3. non que BEF; *ib.* domini nostri EF. 4. ad *deest* E. 5. facit E; facit et F. 7. privata E. 7, 8. caritate E. 10. esse ad *deest* ABCD. 11. est *deest* DEF. 13. The MS. E goes no further. 14. sic dicitur *pro* ut dicitur F. 18. 2 dicitur CD. 19. vobis. 32. instructus B.

foret talis distinccio. Nec secundum condicionatam volucionem, subintelligendo, ut dicit beatus Jacobus, <sup>Jac.</sup> "si deus voluerit," procederent licite sic ad opus, quia IV, 15 sic possent licite quocunque opus nephandum com-<sup>5</sup> mittere. Ideo videtur temerarium cuiquam non inspirato consulere ad statum privatum vel talem accipere; sed in religione communi et per se operum, virtutum, quiescere. Et patet quam temera est apostasia in faciendo fratres, non assistente spiritu consulente. Et 10 tantum dictum sit de apostasia ex nutu oculi obli-

A 48<sup>b</sup> quantis a regula | caritatis.

K. Quantum ad quartam apostasiam fratum que po-<sup>B 58<sup>d</sup></sup> test in isto verbo intelligi, "terit pede," patet quod Joh. XIII, 10 per pedem intelligitur affecio in scriptura ut Joh. XIII,

I. Tim. 15 "Qui lotus est non indiget nisi ut pedes lavet." Sic igitur affecio inordinata quam fratres habent ad temporalia causat in eis apostasiam multiplicem, et ydo-<sup>VI. 10</sup> latriam. Ideo dicit apostolus, 1<sup>a</sup> Thim. VI<sup>a</sup>, quod "radix omnium malorum est cupiditas": potest eciam in 20 fratribus esse hec ydolatria ex defectu mendicandi, ex defectu utendi, et ex defectu retinendi; licet autem mendicare sit licitum, tamen mendicare inordinate facit apostatas. Potest enim mendicacio esse tam clamorose et importune continuata quod eius superfluitas sit 25 detestabilis et inverecunda. Apostoli autem innuitive ad magnam indigenciam mendicarunt; sed necesse est fratres, propter irreligiosum globum eorum atque superfluum, indebite mendicare. Ideo causa huius peccati debet primo precidi; quod perfecte fiet, si pure

30 viverent apostolice seiunctis suis tradicionibus adin- ventis. Tunc enim foret communitas eorum perfeccior quam est modo. Ideo non mirum, si discrasia in morum principio, causat peccatum patencius consequenter. Mendicant autem fratres pro communitate cuius unum 35 membrum habet naves in mari, thesaurum iocalium atque pecuniam, que foret communitati diu sufficiens. Quomodo igitur non debet subtrahi a tali communi- tate elemosina pro consensu nefando? Et eadem est consideracio de fratribus, qui episcopantur et fiunt A 48<sup>c</sup> mundo | divites, dum debent habere omnia in communi.

This is not justified because they say they submit to God's will.

4<sup>th</sup> mark of apostasy: "beating with the foot".

The foot in Scripture language means the affections.

Thus the inordinate affection which friars have towards temporal things causes apostasy among them. Their begging attacked.

Its First defect: they beg when they are not in want.

To beg is indeed not illicit; but he who begs to excess becomes an apostate. Mendicancy, clamorous, continual, shameless, is not that of the Apostles. The cause of this can be destroyed only by an Apostolic life.

They beg for a community that has ships and jewels, and enough money for many years. Ought not alms to be refused to such?

7. virtutum *deest* CD. 8. quod temeraria B. 12. autem ad F.  
 14. ut patet B. 19. est *deest* F. 20, 21. ex defectu — retinendi  
*deest* B. 24, 25. delectabilis ABCDF. 29. fieret BCD. 30. aposto-  
 lici A; ib. relictis F. 32. distractia ABD. 35. caritate Cl). 35. sed D.  
 38. est *deest* F.

*Its second defect:* they take from poor people, and render them poorer still.

*Its third defect:* the ungodliness of their intention; they spend in luxuries the substance of Christ's poor.

Though the community be poorly fed, yet the chiefs are not.

But worse than all is the superfluity of their ornaments and unnecessary houses.

They are said to have palaces and extravagant churches.

*Excuses:* 1<sup>st</sup> It is for the glory of God.

2<sup>nd</sup> Rich men have given them money on purpose for these adornments.

3<sup>rd</sup> Such churches will last longer.

This only proves that their first spirit slumbers; that they care more for the god of this world than for Christ, or His love.

The perfect mean is the example of Christ.

Devout persons and clergymen of the order who consent to these abuses are blamable.

Et sic est secundus defectus mendicacionis fratrum, dum mendicant a paupere populo laicali plus indigo per mendacia et multiplices artes | demonii; ut patet B 59<sup>a</sup> inferius. Et tertio, deficit mendicacio propter irreligiositatem finis intenti; ut quando in vescibilibus et ornamentis et domibus sumptuosis terunt irreligiose magnam pauperum Christi substanciam; licet autem communitas fratrum parce vescatur, capitanei tamen ut graduati et mendici validi laute vivunt, ut dicitur esse in eorum incepionibus et privatis conviviis. Sed istorum maliciam superat sumptuosa et superflua ornamenta cum domibus excessivis. Illi enim qui debent de religione primeva habere tuguria abiecta vel casulas et oratoria, ad memorandum Christum pauperem, que concordent pauperibus qui doceant mundi contemptum 15 et quod "non habemus hic manentem civitatem sed futuram inquirimus." Illi, inquam, dicuntur habere aulas et domos regias ac excessivas basilicas in quantitate, in subtilitate et sumptuositate ac ornamenta mundo splendencia; per hec, inquam, cultus dei contempnitur, locus a laycis religiosis despicitur et fratum mundialis affeccio reseratur.

Et quomodo cunque glozaverint, quod hoc est ad honorem dei exigentis in servis suis cultum honorificum, quod mundo divites hoc requirunt, | qui dant illis A 48<sup>b</sup> ad hoc subsidium, vel quod hoc est utilius, quia diuicius permansivum. Quotquot autem sunt huiusmodi excusaciones in peccatis, indicant quod primeva religio est sopita, dum plus intenditur placere populo adulterinis aspectibus, quam ut mundum lugeant abiectis in actibus, plus alludere eis mundanis applausibus quam edificare eos virtutibus. Et omnino | commenta dyaboli B 59<sup>b</sup> concludunt fratri taliter excusanti, quod deus huius seculi et favor mundi plus appetiatur ab eis, quam dominus virtutum vel ex imitacione Christi pauperis 35 amor dei. Et patet apostasia in defectu multiplici L mendicandi. Medium enim virtuosum, non mundi vel milonis, sed medie persone divine mundo pauperis, est captandum. Et omnino reprobandi sunt devoti et subtiles clerici istorum ordinum, qui non resistunt sed 40 favent fratribus per consensum. Illi autem sunt magis

1. mendicantium F. 2. indigo B; indigente F. 11. deficit mendacio B. 8. per se ACD; communiter parce F. 14. qui B. 19. in pro et F. 27, 28. excusaciones tales F. 20. attenditur B. 30. virtutibus pro in actibus F. 34. appetiantur B.

inimici domestici; nec dubium quin ista irreligiosa mendicacio inducit bonorum dei consumpcionem illicitam.

Et specialiter in isto quod omnes hii ordines et fratres singuli debent omnia habere in communi. Sic enim habuit primitiva ecclesia quo ad sexum, etatem, et genus patrie differens; ergo multo magis fratres, quos non distingwit nisi privata religio. Apostoli quidem et episcopi facti per ipsos habuerunt omnia in communi, sicut debent habere episcopi et seculares A 49<sup>a</sup> clerici, ut patet 1<sup>a</sup> questione 2<sup>a</sup> per multa capitula |: itaque cur non fratres? Item, fratres habent super suis usibilibus pure dominium ewangelicum, non civile; sed quo ad illud omnes boni fratres vel Christiani sunt 15 pares. Igitur debent parificari in usibus moderatis.

Suppono autem, quod dominium eorum distingwitur ab usu; quomodo igitur negabit habundans in vescibiliis vel aliis usualibus fratri eiusdem ordinis eciam alienigene vel fratri alterius ordinis tam indigo et tam 20 digno? Revera videtur esse dei iniuria et personarum accepcio. Item, fratres iuste vendicant a clero seculari B 59<sup>c</sup> et populo domicilium | et vescibilia quando egent; sed maior undique debet esse communicacio fratum quorumcunque adinvicem: igitur illi sufficietes debent 25 ministrare in istis fratribus quibuscumque egentibus. Nec tollit particularitas ordinis vel humana institucio hoc vinculum caritatis; nisi forte fingantur fratres al-

Gal. V, terius ordinis indigniores suffragari de alienis fratribus; 20, 21 et econtra. Cum apostolus ad Gal. V<sup>10</sup> coniungit sectas 30 atque invidias, illud, inquam, accusat quod tradicio religionis invente sit contra regulas caritatis.

Nec excusat parcitas limitata hiis fratribus, quia Tob. IV, 8, 9 (secundum doctrinam Thobie IV<sup>10</sup>) proporcionaliter IV, 8, 9 ad possessionem debet possessor egenis tribuere; quia

A 49<sup>b</sup> aliter evidencius pauper secula | ris, a quo fratres mendicant, diceret eis quod vix habet sufficientiam sibi et sue familie. Et specialiter, cum licet seculari

Math. facere provisiones annales, sed fratres (secundum evan- VI, 34 gelium Matthaei VII<sup>10</sup>) non debent pro crastino providere.

These orders ought to have all things in common among themselves. Thus it was in the Primitive Church, though the differences were much greater, but the friars are only distinguished by their particular order.

Can a friar who has in abundance food &c., deny anything he has to another friar who is in want?

Friars rightly ask of the people food and lodging; but their needy brethren have more rights on them than they on the people.

One bad excuse is the poverty required of all friars.

We must all give to the poor according to our ability.

7. differens *deest* omnes MSS. 18, vel *pro* eciam F. 19, vel *deest* F. 19, 20, tam indigo et tam indigo B; et tam indigo ACD. 27, fin- gatur ACD. 28, indignior F. 36, quod *deest* B.

11. Decr. Grat. C' I. quaest. II. passim.

Nec obest cunctis ordinibus fratrum habere omnia in communi, cum totum genus cleri debet sic habere, superiores in dies ad moderatam vite mensuram et inferiores superhabundans temporalium provide ministrando. Unde accusaret fratres non modicum, quod 5 conferant propter retribucionem temporalem mundi divitibus eciam ministrallis refocillacionem lautam in vescibilibus et domicilio et negent hoc fratribus et iustis aliis plus egenis.

In hope of gain they treat the rich to luxuries, which they deny to their own brethren.

Another bad excuse: Friars of different orders may not live together, or all distinctions of orders would be destroyed. Sed contra istud instatur per hoc quod iuxta istam 10 M. sentenciam licet fratri unius ordinis cohabitare et vesci cum fratre alieni ordinis, eciam in presencia propria ordinis plus indigentis: consequens apostaticum et distinctionis destructivum. Hic videtur, quod sic arguens legeret factum apostoli | (ad Gal. II<sup>o</sup>) et tunc B. 59 concederet conclusionem, nedum tanquam catholicam, Gal. sed a divisione sectarum irreligiose inductam ad unitatem ewangelicam reductivam; sic quod omnes ordinates fratrum sint unus ordo. Licit autem tam fratres quam alii cognoscant istam sentenciam, tamen tacitur- 20 nitate consensus dampnabiliter permittunt tradiciones humanas superexcrescere regulas caritatis.

But what harm would there be in that? We come to absurd conclusions, 1st by giving a new signification to an old word; as, "Socrates" (meaning an individual) tells a falsehood"; 2nd by raising a mere human custom into divine right; as in the case of slavery; and 3rd when there is a hypothesis implying contradiction. Now here, 1st a new sense is given to "religion". Sicut enim insolubile | apud logicos tribus modis A. 49<sup>o</sup> suboritur; primo modo, quando dimissa significacione recta communi antiqua significacioni novelle intenditur: 25 ut patet in ista: "*Sor dicit falsum*". Secundo modo, quando solemnisatur tradicio humana ac si per se ficeret ius ut deus, sicut patet de obediencia servorum post condicionem communem adiectam; et tertio modo quando contradiccionē tacite innuitur; ut patet in casu 30 de pertransizione pontis. Sic peccatum insolubiliter redarguit eos qui volunt ipsi intendere: primo ex viae professionis private, dimissa communi religione antiqua, ut patet, in religione novella, secundo humane legis institucio ac si ipsa per se iustificet, ut 35 patet in electionibus, eciam de papa; et tertio, in omni peccato seducitur peccator putans bonum quod

3. indices pro in dies F. 13. indigentibus B. 14. distinctionis ordinum CDF; egenitis F. 17. ad missionem B; ib. inducta CD. 21. assensu B; ib. dampnabilis BF. 25. invente novelle BF. 26. isto B. 27. ac per se CD. 28. de deest F. 30. facenter F. 35. confusio vel conficio pro institucio ABCD.

26. *Sor*, or *Sortes*, is short for *Socrates*, a name very much employed by medieval logicians for any individual whatever.

officit, et tamen insolubiliter admittenti casus peccati concluditur. Theologi igitur debent radicibus casus istos detegere, ne fundamentum falsum exuperet veritatem. In tertio vero membro huius blasphemie patet 5 quod fratres ydolatre reservant sibi temporalia, innuendo se in ipsis plus considerare quam in deo. Et tantum hic de 4<sup>a</sup> blasfemia.

<sup>2<sup>nd</sup></sup> Human is confounded with divine law, and 3<sup>rd</sup> right and wrong are supposed identical.

5<sup>a</sup> vero blasfemia notatur in 5<sup>to</sup> verbo: "digo loquitur", non intelligendo quod religiosi claustrales lo-

<sup>5<sup>th</sup></sup> mark of apostasy: "speaking with the finger".

cuntur ludicra cum adinvencionibus signorum, post

B 60<sup>a</sup> iniunctum silencium, sed intelligendo | per "digitum" po- By the finger is Ex. testatem agendi, modo quo loquitur scriptura (Exod. VIII). power of acting, as in Scripture: A 49<sup>a</sup> "Digitus dei est hic": hoc est, | potestas singulariter "The finger of God" is here.

operandi. Sic, inquam, pseudofratres blasphemant in po-

First blasphemy: concerning indulgences, absolution, &c.

15 testate spirituali presbiteri pro pecunia de simplicibus acquirenda. Potest autem blasphemia fratrum in ista

Danger to prelates who exaggerate their power in this matter.

materia potestate loquencium in tria dividi. Primo

Danger to triars who defend them.

menciendo de absoluzione a pena et a culpa, vel de

Danger to simple persons who trust in them.

indulgenciis, aut aliis ficticiis machinatis. Et de isto

Absolution given by a prelate is:

20 expeditem est alibi. Nam periculum est in prelatis qui

1<sup>st</sup> Immortal: Let a man repent, and that will be enough.

ultra fundamentum scripture blasphemie magnificant di-

It alms-giving &c., increase his devotion, then God will grant him indulgence; it not, not.

gitum suum in isto; periculum etiam est in fratribus

2<sup>nd</sup> Hurtful: Often, by putting trust in vain things, hope in Christ is diminished.

N. qui istam blasphemiam excitant et defendant; et tertio,

periculum est in simplicibus qui infideliter confidunt

25 et laborant in talibus. Fides, inquam, ortodoxa docet

quod a Christo secundum meritum recipiet contritus

absolucionem vel indulgenciam, cui prelatorum nostro-

rum concessio est impertinens vel repugnans. Imper-

tinens dico, quia mereatur homo et conteratur apud

30 deum quantumcunque absconde, et secundum hoc

habebit a deo tantam indulgenciam, sicut si cum hoc ha-

buerit a papa mille bullas. Quod si a raro contingentibus,

contricio et devocio et meritum hominis provocentur

per hoc quod dat populo vel prelato elemosinam vel

35 laborat non infideliter circa illam, tunc tale ministerium

promovet ut habeat de tanto a deo indulgenciam ampliorem. Et dico indulgencias tales repugnare quan-

doque, quia sepe vane sperando in frivolis, spes que

40 stultus consumitur; sic quod raro vel nunquam talis remissio vel indulgencia fit ad bonum.

21. blasphemie CF. 23. et inntiliter BF. 34 quod = elemosinam  
vel deest B. 36. a deo de tanto C.

*Second blasphemy:*  
They magnify those of their functions which savour of lucre; robur; such as masses, penances and funerals.

*Third blasphemy:*  
They get confederates among laymen by their confraternities and Third-Orders.  
So they make broad their phylacteries, etc.

The phylacteries signify letters of fraternity. They magnify their fringes, in that they put the meanest trair, above any Saint, however great, if not of the Order.

A convincing proof that all this is done for lucre, is: take away the hope of gain, and their spiritual help is withdrawn; concealed simony.

Secundo loquitur super digito magniticando sua sacramenta que lucrum sapiunt, ut celebraciones penitentias et sepulturas, que ex sanctitate ordinis habent 5 richardus episcopus Ardmacanuſ, et noverunt rectores et sacerdotes rurales quomodo per istam machinam sua stipendia subdole subtrahuntur.

Et tertio loquitur super digito suo, non dei, subtilius confederando sibi laycos conventiculis fraudulentis spargendo in huiusmodi testificacionem litteras fratnitatis; sic quod instar Phariseorum dilatant philateria et magnificent simbrias, ut dicit Christus Matth. XXIII. Sieut enim philateria erant earthule in quibus Phariseorum magistralia sunt inscripta, sic littere tales quo ad numerum et pretensionem spiritualis suffragii dilatantur, et ultra Phariseos ad seduccionem populi sunt signatae. Magnificant autem simbrias, quia in colore et figura vestimentorum suorum ponunt tantam vim numinis, quod abiectissimum fratrem, servitorem, vel colligatum tanquam simbriam suo ordini in sanctitate et religione magnificant ultra quemcunque sanctum qui fuerit impertinens secte sue. Et ita ut symoniace predicant statim post sermonem ad hoc aptatum colligendo pecuniam vel sibi equivalens, sic vendunt talem fraternitatem pro annuo redditu et confederacione fraternitatis illicita modis subdolis defendenda. Causa A 50<sup>b</sup> autem talium facta pro temporali lucro ex hoc convincitur, quod, subtrahendo in re et spe hoc lucrum, subtrahitur hoc simulatum spirituale suffragium et patet subdola symonia. Patet eciam ratione multiplici blas-

1. sub AB. 8. Sed pro et C. 21. quantumcumque B. 25. fraternitatem spiritualem CEF; sic per talem fraternitatem spiritualem pro B.

5. Richard Fitz Ralph (1347) two or three of whose works, enumerated by Ware, have been printed, and whose tract "De Pauperie Salvatoris" is now being published by the Wyclif Society, was neither beatified nor canonised, except by the Wycliftites. See S.E.W. (Arnold) III., 281, Engl.W. of W., p. 128, and note as to his miracles on p. 507. The only 'Beatus' of that name was Richard, abbot of Saint-Vannes de Verdun (1004); the only saint, Saint Richard, bishop of Chichester (1244). 13. Letters of admission to the Third-Order. Silvera (opuscul. 38) assigns the date 1221 to the first foundation of a Third-Order, by St. Francis of Assisi.

femia; primo, in hoc quod magnificant infideliter et infundabiliter signa sua; secundo, in hoc quod fingunt ex cultu signorum per se adesse meritum fratrifacto; et B 60<sup>a</sup> tercio, in hoc quod promittunt et vendunt | participium sui meriti, quod deo est proprium: et hoc pro comodo temporali. Talia, inquam, conventicula possent faciliter perturbare rempublicam ex comparacionibus dignitatum; talis autem stultus cognosceret quod vix aut minus habet ipse cum tota secta sua scintillam meriti ad 10 beatitudinem consequendam. Consideret secundo, quod deus dividet dignis suis de communione meriti sine taxacione merentis et sic propter presumptionem istam blasphemam sit indignus, et quilibet sibi consciens, ut sibi vel alii mereatur. Magnificemus itaque fideliter 15 istum articulum fidei, communionem sanctorum, quod secundum distribucionem deo propriam consequitur dignitatem et meritum quo ad deum.

O. Sed ad colorandum istud obicitur: Quilibet potest quicquid suum est vendere et donare; meritum igitur 20 suum potest frater donare, sic quod donatarius faciat recompensam. Ad istud argumentum Symonis respondetur negando assertum, quia meritum hominis est sic in manu dei et condicione connexum, quod repugnat eius translocationem fieri tali pacto: de quo alibi.

A 50<sup>a</sup> Secundo, obicitur per hoc | quod ex fide unus potest mereri alteri; nec repugnat isti merito quod ipsum participans gratis retribuat elemosinam corporalem; Gal. VI, 6 igitur factum tale est licitum. Unde ad Gal. VI<sup>a</sup> mandat apostolus "Communicet autem is qui cathechizatur

30 verbo ei qui se cathechizat in omnibus bonis". Nam propter talēm retribucionem promerens libencius mereretur. Nec aliter quisquam conducearet oratores. Hic dicitur, quod verum assumitur et verum annexitur, sed istis non pertinet, quod quis vendat meritum ex 35 presse vel tacite. Ideo nimirum contractus talis vel paccio est deo odibilis. Oportet igitur notare primo, quod opus sit de genere eorum que deus instituit ad edificationem ecclesie; oportet secundo notare quod

B 60<sup>a</sup> modus operandi sit licitus; | et oportet tertio pensare 40 quod occasio data de fratri scandalo subtrahatur.

5. deo deest B. 9. sanctificata pro sua scintillam F. 10. consideraret F. 11. itaque deest F. 12. fide C; ib. communione C. 10. dominii B; ib. censetur. 18. tolerandum F; ib. istum articulum obicitur sic B. 20. donatoris C. 22. assumptum BF. 24. eius translacioni tali fieri B. 30. se deest F. 32. Hic verum F.

These foolish men ought to know: I. that their sect has no merit that can win bliss;

II. that God gives His deserving servants communion in all merits without making them pay; and that such presumption renders them undeserving, as well as those who consent to sharing their merits with them.

Objections:  
1<sup>st</sup>. To give away or sell one's own, i. e. merit, is lawful.

Answer: merit cannot be dealt with thus.  
2<sup>nd</sup>. To share one's merit with another is allowable: so is to give corporal alms: now this is all that takes place.

Answer: The conclusion: This is all that takes place, is false. For there is a compact, either tacit or express; and that is illicit.

These 'letters of fraternity' are condemned by Scripture. And the sale of merit has no excuse.

The instance of money given to 'oratory-priests' does not bear on the point: there is in that case a fixed amount of bodily labour and of stipend. But here grace — i. e. God — is sold.

The Church is 'bought with a great price'; a man can sell himself to the devil, and to the state too, as a slave; but God, His grace, &c. cannot be possessed exclusively and are thus unbuyable.

St. Paul wishes the spiritual teachers to receive enough to support them.

It is foolish to make oneself answerable for another's sins, as the Friars do: for the reprobate, though they have to answer for other people, are only punished for their own misdeeds.

III. If money can be given to oratory priests on account of

Talis autem cartha fraternitatis non exemplatur in scriptura, sed multipliciter innuitur reprobata tanquam superflua et nociva; modus autem tacite vendendi meritum caret colore, cum nec sit subiectum potestati fratris, quod opus suum sit meritum, nec quod alter<sup>5</sup> merito suo supposito ipso participet. Ideo secus est de isto et de conductione presbiteri vel oratoris, quia ibidem labor corporalis et stipendum ad hoc necessarium limitatur. Hic autem gracia — et sic deus — vendi presumitur, quod est omnino inordinatum, cum deus licet sit hominis, tamen vendi non potest cum non potest ab homine singulariter possideri, cum oportet ipsum dominative et equivoce haberi | a qualibet crea-

<sup>A 50d</sup> tura; tota autem ecclesia vendi potest, cum dicitur 1<sup>a</sup> Cor. VI<sup>o</sup>: *Precio magno empti estis*. Homo eciam potest vendere animam suam dyabolo, ymo se ipsum I. Cor. in servum civilem, sed deus cum gracia et aliis sibi IV. 20 propriis caret ratione emibilis. Regnum tamen celorum a deo venditur et a servo suo emitur secundum racionem, qua a deo distingwitur: et sic wult apostolus eum 20 qui cathecizatur (hoc est, in fide instruitur) communicare cum informante tam bonis corporalibus quam spiritualibus: quod fit si virtuose ministrat ei temporalia necessaria ad hoc opus, ut docet apostolus (1<sup>a</sup> Cor. IX). Quod si alter eorum errat ex affectione singulari in cambio, tunc non communicat in omnibus I. Cor. bonis. Ideo statim annectit apostolus: "Nolite errare, IX, deus non irridetur, que enim seminaverit homo, hec et metet"; quasi diceret: contractus talis non est utilis coram deo; quia ut paulo ante dicit, "unusquisque onus 30 suum portabit." Ideo stultum est hominem mercari cum alienis peccatis vel | obligari ut pro peccatis alterius B 61 ex hoc libere respondeat coram deo. Quamvis autem omnes dampnandi et specialiter prelati respondebunt pro peccatis suis et aliis, tamen correspondenter quo 35 ad suum demeritum, ut dicit apostolus, dampnabuntur. Sed tertio instatur ad colorandum hoc factum per P. hoc quod licet conducere eciam oratores pro opere corporali; licet igitur dare fratribus ut annuatim et specialiter post mortem hominis notificatam fratribus 40

5. meritorium BF. 11. sit deest ABCD); *ib.* non potest *deest* C.  
12. tamen C. 17. deo F. 21. cathecizatur C. 23. *nt deest* C.  
21, 25. Apostolus 1<sup>a</sup> *deest* F. 28. enim *deest* F. 31. homini B.  
32. per peccatum AB. 33. libere A; *ib.* respondens B 37. colorando B;  
colendum F. 40. notificatum B.

A 51<sup>a</sup> solemnisent eius exequias: Pro tali igitur labore cor-  
porali possunt accipere pecuniam gratis datam. Hic  
dicitur quod in ipsis factis sunt tot palliaciones dyaboli,  
quod infinitis modis sophisticari potest symoniace scola  
sua. Talis igitur palliator caveret primo ne det scan-  
dalum erroris fratri suo, dicendo sibi quod non temere  
confidat in alieno merito sed ex vi communionis sanc-  
torum, proporcionabiliter ut ipse se ipsum dignificat  
per graciā prevenientem, sic communicabit et meritis  
10 tocius ecclesie. Sic quod est in potestate dei et super  
potestatem fratris, ut alius communicet secum in me-  
rito; et carthe ac talia sacramenta inducta sunt nedum  
impertinencia sed blasphemie inhabitantes undique ad  
merendum.

15 Et preter hec sunt multe conspiraciones illicite in contractu abscondito: ideo odiunt fratres, ut in lucem  
veniant, cum favor unius secte contrariatur alteri. Si  
igitur placet benefacere ipsis sectis, tribuatur eis ab-  
solute seorsum elemosina, ut dissolvantur colligaciones  
20 inpietatis et reducantur ad perfeccionem religionis  
primeve. Sic enim habebuntur utilius oratores, et sicut  
pro illis multa milia missarum, vel aliud opus pre-  
ponderans ubi iam utrimque tollitur communicatio in  
B 61<sup>b</sup> merendo. Servet, inquam, homo legem Christi et  
25 zelet pro ea, destruendo novitates infundabiles, que  
surrepunt, et habebit totam ecclesiam multiplicius,  
efficacius, et affectuosius oratricem. Unde ista infidelis  
ymaginacio de adiutorio merendi, propter similitudinem  
adiutorii corporalis, execeat simplices per yppocritas se-  
30 ducentes: et tantum hic de ista apostasia.

Q. Sexta et septima includuntur in his verbis: "pravo corde machinatur malum et omni tempore iurgia se-  
minat." Radix autem communionis huius apostasie est  
35 inordinata machinacio proprietaria intellectus. Machi-  
natur enim, quid foret sibi vel persone aggregate mon-  
struose, hoc est toti secte sue, utilius; et dimissa lege  
dei ac utilitate communi ecclesie illud studiose prose-  
quitur. Nec dubium quin ista sit prava intencio, quia  
machinatur perfidere malum culpe; nichil enim deo  
40 communi, preponderanti bona communia, magis con-  
trarium, quam, illo bono contemptu, privato et pla-

their bodily labour, the same may be offered to Friars; for instance, to celebrate funeral rites.

*Answer:*  
Before all things, we must take care not to be stumbling-blocks to our brethren.

There are many secret workings in these understood bargains which the Friars do not wish to come to the light; *sect conspiring against sect, &c.*

If were better to give alms to each separately, it at all, to avoid such intrigues. All this harm proceeds from false analogies with which simpletons are deceived by hypocrites.

*Last marks of apostasy: evil intrigues and sowing of quarrels.*  
The root of this: that they only consider the advantage of their sect.

This intention is most perverse.

13. blasphemie F; *ib.* inhabitantes B. 18, 19. absconde: absolute in marg. F. 19. collaciones F. 30. cuius est F.

A sect sis  
more grievously  
by covetousness  
and worldliness  
than the same  
number of  
separate  
individuals.  
For sin, as fire,  
does the more  
harm in  
proportion as  
it is more  
concentrated.  
  
Both monks and  
rectors waste  
the goods of the  
poor; but the  
monks are  
worse, each  
consenting to  
the sin of all.  
For that reason  
the first monks  
lived alone, like  
John Baptist.

cenciori comodo plus inniti. Sicut enim persona agrega-  
ta, que est secta religionis possessionate, peccat gra-  
vius intensive et extensive in avaricia et moribus mun-  
danis quam totidem persone simplices disperse, quarum  
quilibet sit nimis mundo dedita, sic est de persona  
secte exproprietarie in comparacione ad tot heremitas  
ypocritas, quia culpa more ignis nocet intensius cum  
fuerit congregata. Ut notemus unum cenobium mona-  
chorum, quod excessive in persona propria, in sumptuosa ac superflua familia, et adiacente extra comitivam, 10  
consumit mundialiter bona pauperum; et notemus  
totidem rectores quorum quilibet inordinate consumit  
bona pauperum: et constat quod nullus eorum per B 6<sup>re</sup>  
se tenet tam inordinatam | et excessivam domum tot A 5<sup>re</sup>  
peccatis implicitam. Cum igitur omnes et singuli 15  
monachi perpetrant totum peccatum id ex consensu ne-  
phario, dum placet eis, et pompat de opere, vel sal-  
tem non sufficienter corripiunt nec recedunt, patet quod  
quilibet illorum monachorum peccat intensius et dif-  
fusius quo ad seculum, quam aliquis talis rector. Et 20  
hinc credo spiritum sanctum movisse primo sanctos  
monachos vivere instar baptiste vitam solitariam sive  
monasticam. Sic enim vixit Ieronimus et multi sancti  
patres ante tempus sancti Benedicti. Communitas enim  
prona ad mundum machinatur peius et exequitur for- 25  
cius malum culpe, quam faceret una persona simplex  
et per se posita.

*Objection:*  
Christ lived,  
with His  
disciples; but  
He was more  
perfect than  
John Baptist.

*Answer:* Christ  
knew how  
to choose the  
few whom He  
knew to be fit.  
And Christ  
instructed His  
disciples in the  
very best way,  
in order to  
ripen and  
disperse them  
afterwards in  
the world;  
Whereas our  
Abbots and  
Prelates do  
nothing of the  
sort.

Et si obicitur quod Christus qui vixit in communione R.  
cum fratribus est perfectior quam baptista, dicitur quod  
defectus talis similitudinis excecat plurimos; nam 30  
Christus scivit eligere paucos quos voluit; et scivit esse  
ad societatem talem ydoneos; prelati vero hodie hoc  
ignorant. Christus eciam scivit secundum optimum  
magisterium discipulos suos instruere et a viciis coher-  
cere ut maturati spersim seminentur per mundum ad 35  
edificationem ecclesie; abbates vero nostri, et alii pre-  
lati possessionati, in isto omnique deficiunt. Et  
tercio maxime, quia Christus voluit se et XII vivere  
tantum exproprietarie, quod nec habebant proprium  
domicilium, nec bona in communi vel propria 40  
secundum humanam prudenciam limitata; sed omnino

1. omitti D.      5. minus ACD.      8. aggregata B.      10. illud BE.  
27. et deest F.      28. dico pro quod F.      35. maturatim sparsim CD;  
sparsim B.

A 51<sup>a</sup> contrarium est in conventibus monachorum. | Ideo respiiendo ad vitam modernam et vitam Christi collegii verecundarentur facere huiusmodi argumenta. Prius

B 61<sup>a</sup> enim vixerunt sancti | vitam heremiticam, sed non ad perfectionem apostolicam contigerunt; secundo vero collecti per beatum Benedictum vixerant minus sancte, sed servantes vitam exproprietariam et alias condiciones apostolicas maturarunt se sic in sanctitate quod ecclesie vicine gaudebant de illis habere episcopos. Sed tam-

10 quam magi pharaonis in tercio signo deficiunt, dum excessive quia symoniace appropriant sibi redditus et ecclesias; et tamquam corvus de archa egrediens invento cadavere sunt plus culpabiliter mundo dediti quam aliqui seculares. Et correspondenter in conven-

15 tibus fratrum est malum multiplex aggravatum; nam tota secta machinatur media ad colorandum apostatas: et propter multitudinem acceleranter exequitur accumulando sibi indebita bona pauperum. Nec sufficit una

simplex persona, eciam in causa iusta, prosequi contra 20 illos; colligantur enim cum dominis et dominabus, cum blasfemia confessionis, cum liga adulacionis et cum participio ypocritice devacionis. Cum autem persona

talis secte excedit personam simplicem in peccato tali, quo ad multiplicitatem, quo ad peccati gravitatem, et 25 quo ad induracionem, ac omnia membra talis secte conparticipant ex consensu, patet quantum est periculum coniungi tali corpori. Si, inquam, candens invidia vel complacencia adulatoria fuerit in tali secta ad

A 52<sup>a</sup> quamecumque | personam extrinsecam, dicitur quod in- 30 trinsecus corrodunt ut canes per verba detrahentia; ex-

trinsecus denigrant ut fornax per machinamenta mendacia. Et ut pars eorum sit forcior, non est matrimonium, divorcium, vel alia mundialis causa, quin se

B 62<sup>a</sup> intro | mittant, quasi rectores negotii tacite vel expresse.

S. 35 Nec obest quod multi sunt sancti et subtiles clericci inter eos, quia Christus et apostoli ex generacione pessima processerunt; ymo inter infidelissimas sectas multi sancti proruperant. Exercitium igitur sciencie experimentalis plus viget inter dyabolos; et exercitium vir-

10. defecerunt B. 16. corroborandum F. 27. cadens C. 31. ma-  
china B. 33. se deest CF.

39. This seems to allude to the charge of sorcery, more directly made elsewhere (see Buddensieg's Polemical Works of W., p. 700), to which the Friars' ardour for experimental science exposed them. See Brewer's preface to Monumenta Franciscana, XLIV. XLV.

Christ and the twelve had no property: monks do not live so.

The first hermits were less perfect than the Apostles; the next group, under St. Benedict, still less; but so long as they lived without endowments they were good. But now they seize upon revenues and churches, and are worse than seculars.

So also of the Friars.

No private person, be his cause ever so just, can stand against them: they use every influence to gain their point. How perilous to belong to such a body, when each member is responsible for all!

They backbite within the Order, and meddle without.

There are indeed, many Saints among them: but Christ and His disciples came from a perverse race:

Devils are cleverer than they in experimental science; and there are few exercises of virtue among them.

When their saints and learned men are in despair of their hardness of heart, they fly from them; but if taken, are slain or imprisoned for life, as apostates.

Their evil machinations are countless; They are said to be like wild geese: destroying the seed of faith, as geese destroy crops; fattening on sin as they in cold; babbling irreligiously, with gooselike screams.

Wyclif appeals to his friends among the Friars, who are not apostates, to help him in detecting these bad men.

He will be better able to support their attacks if helped. Who impugns the foregoing doctrine proves himself an apostate.

tutum, corripiendo, parcum est in illis sectis. Quod si dicti sancti et subtile eorum desperaverint propter maliciam induramat, prudenter aufugiunt; prudenter dico, quia aliter tamquam apostate occiduntur vel perpetuo carceri mancipantur. Nec est noticie in experte numerare machinaciones malas, que fiunt ex talibus apostatarum conventibus.

Unde quidam comparat eos auctis silvestribus, que congregantur gregaliter sine numero limitato, penetrant aerem volando ad modum trianguli, repente assunt segetes consumentes, in temporibus gelidis inpinguantur, et in aura placente vel dissona irregulariter formant voces. "Sic", inquit, "fratres contra naturam domesticorum fidei tanquam fere gregaliter congregantur, nec conver santur nisi subdole cum auctis domesticis, nec limitatur numerus conventibus | edificacioni eccl<sup>ie</sup>-A 52<sup>b</sup> clesie; secundum apostolum, 'penetrant domos' in simplicitate trianguli, dum bini primo penetrant cuius binarii, gravior persona primo penetrat et consequenter binario dat ingressum; ubi fuerit distribucio temporalium assunt prompte, non solum congregando semina corporalia, sed semen fidei dissipando; quando refregescit caritas multorum cum fetore temporalium inpingwantur, ut dicit commune proverbium:

Dum peccatum regnat

B 52<sup>b</sup>

in secretis cameris | bursa fratrum pregnat;

et demum irreligiose garriunt, tam in tempore prospero quam in adverso." In isto siquidem circulari numero ambulant predieti apostate, ad quos sermo iste dirigitur.

Ideo confido de bonis sociis, qui michi confidenter in causa dei astiterant, quod non sibi consuei usque in finem assistent, quia nichil illis et dictis apostatis; sed cum gudio suscipient et confirmabunt detectionem eorum, ut et caucius caveantur, et insultus eorum ex multorum iuvamine micu suferantur. Nec videtur fratrem patencius posse se ostendere esse de dictis apostatis quam inpingnando vel se molestando contra dictam sentenciam. Boni itaque per dei graciā grata ter accipient istam sentenciam confirmantes; et malorum aliqui convertentur ad religionem Christi prime-40

8. Comparant omnes MSS. 10. ad medium CD. 11. seges CD.  
 12. aurora F. 10. binarius B; ib. prima penetrant B; dant B.  
 23. 24. impingwatur ACD. 31. in deest ACD. 33. detencionem B.  
 34. et deest F. 35. micu deest D.

vam. Alii autem presciti in sua pertinacia dampnabuntur. Et tantum de sexta apostasia.

T. Quo ad septimam et ultimam, que exprimitur in A 52<sup>o</sup> hoc | verbo: "omni tempore iurgia seminat," notandum, 5 quod proprium est apostatis seminare discordias. Si, inquam, tales apostate filii sathanæ seminant sic septemplicem apostasiam in populo, necessario iurgia et adversanie in republica pululabunt; ipsi enim, tam corporaliter quam spiritualiter, sedule seminant semen suum; et non deest dyabolus cum membris suis, qui 10 foveat et ad pullulacionem accelerare faciat dictum semen. Cum enim ipsi sunt in se ipsis divisi, quia omnis apostata, sicut pater suus, est deo, toti mundo et sibi ipsi contrarius, patet quod ducendo populum tan- 15 quam patres spirituales, seminabunt discordiam; deus enim propter tales subtrahit graciā. |

B 62<sup>o</sup> Unde signum est triplex huius fructus discordie, primo quod nedum una secta est alteri contraria, sed eadem secta eciam secundum modicam partem est 20 contraria sibi ipsi. Iterum, quasi quilibet dominus secularis habet unum fratrem confessorem vel consiliarium, et cum domini nec machinantur nec exequuntur ea que pacis sunt, sed belli; et iustificaciones fratrum qui, licet bella in sermonibus suis palliant et tam publice 25 quam private ipsa iustificant, satis indicant quod bellis consciētūt et ad ipsa excitant omissione vel opere. Aliter enim publicarent constanter pacem esse servan- dam, non obstante perdīcione temporalium mundani honoris vel presentis vite, propter premium inde se-

V. 30 quens. Tercio vero signum eiusdem est, quod a tem- A 52<sup>o</sup> pore quo intro | ducti sunt fratres in ecclesia, invalu- erunt iurgia et facta paci contraria: quod cum factis apostatarum indicat, quod ipsi non rogant efficaciter que pacis sunt, sed nocte et die quamdiu apostatant 35 continue iurgia seminant. Nam iuxta Cestrensem (libr. 7, cap. 24) fratres predicatorēs incepérant iuxta annum domini 1200 sub Innocencio III<sup>o</sup> anno 6. Et post illos paulatim alii fratres incepérant; notantes vero cronicas possunt perpendere, quantum illo tempore turbabatur 40 ecclesia, non solum inter seculares, sed inter sacerdotes, ut Romanos pontifices. Nec tunc incepit, sed tempore

7. inter pro necessario F. 11. patet deest F. 16. unitivam B: unitivam F. 35. Sestrensem ACD.

35. Higden's Polychronicon. I. VII. c. 33.

*Seventh mark  
of apostasy:  
"sowing  
quarrels".  
This is the  
characteristic of  
apostates.  
If they sow  
apostasy,  
quarrels and  
discord must  
spring there-  
from.  
And the devil  
is there with  
his angels,  
ready to foster  
the seed they  
sow.*

*A three-fold  
sign of this  
discord.*

*1<sup>st</sup> Each sect,  
while contrary  
to the others,  
is also divided  
within itself.*

*2<sup>nd</sup> Every  
warlike prince  
has one of these  
friars for his  
confessor; and  
they all excuse  
every war that  
takes place.*

*3<sup>rd</sup> Proof from  
history.  
Ever since their  
rise in the  
Church, there  
have been  
perpetual  
quarrels.*

*In 1200, the  
Dominicans  
began; and the  
other friars  
soon after.  
Troubles in the  
Church  
especially on  
account of the  
Roman Pontiffs,  
have greatly  
increased since  
then.*

Sergii monachi, tempore Iuliani apostate. Et quando alie introducte sunt, factum est per eos magnum scisma et sectarum divisio in ecclesia militante. Nec dubium quin apostasia a symplici religione quam Christus

instituit, sit in causa. Certissimum | itaque et notifican-

The Church should be told that the endowment of the clergy and the formation of vatarum, particular sects is the cause of all these evils; good is done by them; if it were otherwise, no one would be deceived.

dum est ecclesie, quod causa omnium istorum est contra religionem Christi cleri dotacio et sectarum pri- multiplicatio. Nec obest quod per illas sectas eveniunt ecclesie multa bona, quia nisi dyabolus sophistarum maximus in scola 10 comisceat vera falsis et bona malis, facta sua non haberent apparenciam credulitatis; et sic nulos vel paucos seduceret. Et hec ratio quare sic immiscent sophistice bona malis.

If any ask: How can it be known that they do more harm than good? The answer is: By faith and God's grace.

Quod si queratur quomodo possunt ista discerni, cum multi | et magni capitales ecclesie sunt in ipsis con- trarii; dicitur quod fide, et gracia potuerunt hec dis- cerni. Nam in fide scripture, prescindendo omnes adin- venciones apocrifas, quiescit fidelis; in ipsa autem plane

patet forma qua Christus sacerdotes suos instituit; a qua declinando necesse est corpus ecclesie a religione Christi ruere. Ipsa enim tam sapienter et tam prudenter est posita, quod sub pena maximi anathematis non licet illam diminuere vel augere. Unde illi quos in religionibus exproprietariis vocavi filios karissimos, non sunt de dictis apostaticis; sed excelenter observantes illud bonum religionis Christi, quod dyabolus immis- cuit cum tradicionibus adinventis, ut parvipendentes aut contempnentes tradiciones illas nisi de quanto subministrant atque facilitant ad observanciam legis dei; et hii eavent tamquam venenum quod plus ponderat ritus adiectos quam legem dei et plus zelent pro statu pri- vate sekte quam pro bono publico; quia tunc indubie- forent apostate quos descripsi.

Objection against the whole doctrine of seventold apostasy: That it is not founded on Scripture, but is a wresting of God's word.

Sed obicitur quod dicta sentencia de apostasia sep- templici non est sentencia de fide scripture spiritus sancti, sed heretice ficta pocius | et extorta. Hic dici- tur, quod sive fratres, sive papa vel angelus de celo perfecerit opus nefandum, in ista scriptura septemplici

1. Sergei F; ib. Iniane C. 2. alie sexte F. 4. quin deest ABCD.  
 6. causa istorum omnium malorum B. 8. apostatae B. 12. crudeli-  
 tatis F. 13. immisceret ACDF. 15. Quod — discerni deest F.  
 17. quod in F; ib. potuerint ABF; ib. hoc B. 20. apostaticis AF.  
 22. cum B. 28. et pro ut F. 30—32. et — legem dei deest ACD.  
 36. de fide spiritus CD. 37. sancti deest F.

prefatum, tunc spiritus sanctus ordinavit in ea ad tutelam fidelium istum sensum; ideo non restat eius in A 53<sup>b</sup> probacio nisi probando efficaciter, quod dicte apostolice stasie non convenient sectis fratrum. Quo facto concedam 5 cum eis, quod spiritus sanctus non illos intenderat in hoc loco. Et hec racio quare locutus sum sic condicionaliter, relinquens iudicium populo et toti ecclesie si a fratribus ista fiunt; que si sint vera, videtur michi quod est triplex remedium contra tales apostatas. Primum est quod scolastici, et specialiter clerici istorum ordinum, detegant istorum apostatarum versicias, et pulsent prelatos ecclesie pro remedio apponendo; secundum quod temporales sunt instruendi ne tales apostatas contro legem Christi foveant. Fides enim dictat 15 quod tota tradicio sua que non est ex evangelio Christi Luc. est subdole contra Christum, ut patet Luce XI<sup>a</sup>. "Qui XI. 23 non est mecum, contra me est". Et tertium remedium in quo magis confido est quod populus subtrahat a talibus temporale subsidium; non enim tantum fulcitur 20 eorum calliditas contra ecclesiam extorquendo ab ea bona pauperum, sicut in religione possessionata, cuius calliditas est diuinus indurata. Sic igitur, tam in bonis condicionibus quam in malis, hii in quibusdam possessionatos religiosos superant et in aliis superantur. Et 25 ista dixerim teste deo ad utilitatem ecclesie et fratrum commodum quo ad deum.

*Answer:* If any have done the evil therein denominated the Spirit has warned us against such. Let them prove that they have not. If guilty, the remedy is: 1<sup>st</sup> that the scholars and clergy of these orders beg the Prelates to destroy the evil; 2<sup>nd</sup> that the laity be warned against favouring such apostates:

3<sup>rd</sup> that the people should not sustain them: the best remedy of all.

Conclusion: God taken to witness that all this was said for the good of the Church and the Friars.

2. suorum fidelium BF. 6. hec deest E. 10. est deest E. 13. domini temporales BF; ib. quod non pro ne E. 16. ut deest E. 20. in B. 21. sed corrected to sicut B; ib. bonis eius B. 22. est deest B. 23. in deest C1).

## CAPITULUM TERTIUM.

We have now  
to deal with the  
error  
concerning the

Sacrament,  
because it goes  
together with  
apostasy.  
The Church  
is troubled by  
a lie,  
proceeding  
from these  
apostate

'religious', who  
worship signs;  
for being in her  
second  
thousandth year,  
Satan is loosed.

*First attack on  
the Church.*

The Church  
prays that this  
oblation may  
become *unto  
us*, Christ's  
body; not that  
the bread and  
wine be  
destroyed.

This, says the  
man of sin, is a  
heresy, for God  
cannot make  
bread to be His  
body, but makes  
His body out  
of it.

*Refutation:*  
This is against  
Scripture; for  
since His  
ascension  
Christ  
assimilates  
nothing into  
His Body.

Quia error de eukaristia et error apostasie ut | plu-<sup>B 63<sup>b</sup></sup> rimum se sequuntur, ideo pro | maiori declaracione A 53<sup>c</sup> utriusque materie, oportet parumper mixtim procedere.

Mendacium enim fictum a cultoribus signorum tam pro-<sup>5</sup> prietarie quam exproprietarie viventibus et specialiter in ista materia de eukaristia modo perturbat ecclesiam.

Ideo ulterius notandum quod in secundo millenario matris nostre, quo solutus est sathanas ut dicitur Apok. XX. Oportet per patrem mendacii et membra <sup>10</sup> sua multiplicari mendacia, et per consequens infideli-<sup>Apoc.</sup> tates tam deo quam homini et peccata. Medium autem <sup>XX, 3</sup> quo dyabolus illudit ecclesie, est irreligiositas insignis;

et specialiter sacramentis, ut patet de sacramento eukaristicie et penitencie. Non enim contentatur homo <sup>15</sup> peccati, nisi in despectu trinitatis eructet blasphemiam.

Suggerit enim, quod usus ecclesie in imitacione fidei scripture sit summe hereticus, ut in canone misse docet ecclesia sacerdotes orare, "ut hanc oblacionem" scilicet

panem et vinum, deus trinitas sic sanctificet, non ut <sup>20</sup> destruatur omnino, sed "ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat domini nostri Iesu Christi." Hoc, inquit, est summe hereticum; quia deus non potest facere panem et vinum esse carnem sui et sanguinem, sed de ipsis substancialiis ita facit. Ecce dogma fidei scripture contrarium, cum <sup>25</sup>

deus post ascensionem de nullo facit partem suam, sed panem et vinum facit fore carnem suam et sanguinem sacramentaliter in figura.

Secunda antichristi perfidia impugnat cantum ecclesie ex pravitate heretica, dum sic canit:

30

1. After the title, in red ink: Hic tractat de Eukaristia per magnum passum B. 7, isto modo C; ib. minus D. II. multiplicare CD. 29. blasfemia A; in marg. B.

1. The MS. of Trinity College, Dublin (here marked F) goes no further.

A 53<sup>a</sup> "Verbum caro, panem verum  
Verbo carnem | efficit,  
Fitque sanguis Christi niterum;  
Et si sensus deficit,  
5 Ad firmandum cor sincerum  
Sola fides sufficit."

*Second attack.*  
The Church  
Hymn contains  
three catholic  
truths:

B 63<sup>c</sup> In quo | versu notantur tres catholice veritates: Prima, B. quod virtute verborum sacramentalium verbi dei fit panis  
verus caro Christi; secunda, quod eadem virtute fit  
10 vinum seu merum sanguis Christi, et tertia; quod sensus  
deficit in iudicando hoc solum esse panem et vinum,  
cum fides verborum Christi vere iudicat hoc esse corpus  
Christi et sanguinem modo suo.

1<sup>st</sup> That *true bread* becomes  
the flesh of  
Christ,  
the 2<sup>nd</sup> that *wine*  
becomes His  
blood,  
3<sup>rd</sup> that the  
*sense fails*.

Tertia blasfemia nequissima Antichristi dicit quod  
15 quatuor ewangeliste, Paulus apostolus et Actus apostolorum in vocando hoc sacramentum regulariter panem aut vinum, dicunt de virtute sermonis verbum hereticum et blasphemum; cum deus non potest facere panem illum aut vinum esse carnem suam vel sanguinem, nisi se  
20 ipsum annichilet et se neget. Consideremus itaque cautelas dyaboli, quibus illudit ecclesie; docet enim omisso signato ad signa attendere, et negare predicaciones signi de signato, ne forte pacis concordia per signatum ad sensum mysticum sit concepta. Sed seminando divisionem mirabilem, docet blasfeme divisionem inter accidens et suum subiectum, ut per illud mendacium introducatur divisio inter deum et hominem.

*Third attack:*  
on the  
four Gospels,  
the Acts and  
St. Paul.  
They all use  
the expression  
'bread' as a  
real thing:  
which  
according to  
Antichrist, is  
heresy.  
For God, he  
says, cannot  
without self-  
annihilation,  
make bread,  
remaining the  
same, to be His  
body.

Thus, division  
everywhere: he  
separates  
accident from  
subject, and God  
from man.

Reasons against  
this doctrine.

The Sacrament  
ought to be  
called, not  
accidents, but  
bread, as the  
Holy Ghost  
calls it; or it  
would be a  
wrong or  
useless word.

Possunt autem fieri pro via veritatis aliique raciones;  
primo sic, sicut spiritus sanctus dedit fidelibus senten-  
30 ciam fidei in scriptura, ita dedit eis formam verborum  
in quacunque lingwa; sed spiritus sanctus regulariter

A 54<sup>a</sup> vocat sacramentum | altaris panem et nunquam accidens,  
igitur fideles debent hoc observare. Argumentum patet  
ex hoc, quod aliter spiritus sanctus superflue dedisset  
35 fidem in lingwis, nisi ille forent servande. Similiter  
B 63<sup>d</sup> aliqua forma verborum | est servanda; sed illa est po-  
tissima, igitur etc.

16. realiter C. 23. in signato A; *ib.* fortis B. 25. blasphemie B.  
28. Possunt *deest* D; Nunc autem *pro* autem D. 33. servare B; *ib.*  
Assumptum B. 36. alia C.

1. Hymn *Pange lingua*, for Corpus Christi day; ascribed to Aquinas.

The words  
*Hoc, &c.*, either  
mean, Christ  
pointing to  
bread, or to  
accidents, or to  
anything, or to  
nothing; now,  
the three last  
alternatives are  
absurd, the  
authority of  
Scripture being  
null, unless it  
means what it  
says.

God cannot  
require any  
other faith of  
man, but that  
which He gave  
in the Bible.

You will  
nowhere find  
the Eucharist  
called an  
accident of the  
genuis quantity.  
And therefore,  
we have not to  
admit what has  
not been  
revealed.

To say we  
must believe  
what is not to  
be found in  
Scripture is the  
arch-blasphemy  
of Antichrist.  
Saint Peter  
quoted against  
those 'lying  
masters, who  
will introduce  
sects of  
perdition' &c.

These are the  
words of Pope  
Peter.

And who are  
these 'lying  
masters'?

Similiter, aliter periret scripture sacre auctoritas,  
*Hoc* cum aliter posset fangi, quod bufo demonstratur, vel  
accidens quodcunque elegerint pro nomine istius: "hoc  
est corpus meum" vel quod nichil demonstratur, sicut  
multi singunt hodie. Minor autem argumenti patet de  
sex locis quibus fit mencio de eukaristia in scriptura.  
Unde sancti sacerdotes primi millenarii etatis ecclesie,  
quando ligatus est sathanas, vocaverunt regulariter  
ipsum panem, licet in hoc infami millenario solucionis  
sathane, aliqui glozatores vocent sacramentum accidentis,<sup>10</sup>  
aliqui quantitatem et aliqui qualitatem, et sic de mille  
opinionibus in materia fidei, cum tamen secundum  
apostolum ad Ephes. IV<sup>10</sup> "una fides". Item repugnat Eph.  
divine sapientie atque clemencie, fidem requirere a  
sponsa sua vel homine, nisi quam dederit in altero 15  
duorum testamentorum; sed fidem primo exigit ante  
omnia alia opera vel veritates; igitur est in fide scrip-  
ture tamquam in per se fonte completo fidelibus qui-  
escendum. Sed volvat quicunque quam diligenter volu-  
erit rimas scripture, et nunquam inveniet quod sacra-<sup>20</sup>  
mentum eukaristie sit accidentis de genere quantitatis.  
Assertum patet ex hoc, quod repugnat iusticie divine  
requirere a famulo suo, quod nec dedit, nec ad illud A 54<sup>b</sup>  
solvendum talentum vel thesaurum aliquem adaptavit.

Unde videtur, quod antichristus non posset in maiorem 25 D.  
blasphemiam prorumpere, quam quod opportet Christianum aliquam fidem credere, que non est reperibilis in  
scriptura.

Unde de talibus | prophetavit ille propheta eximius sanctus Petrus, II<sup>a</sup> Petr. II<sup>b</sup>. "Fuerunt", inquit, "in populo 30  
pseudoprophekte, sicut et in vobis erunt magistri mendaces II. Petr.  
qui introducent sectas perditionis, et eum qui emit eos II. 1-3;  
dominum negant; per quos via veritatis blasphemabitur; et 10, 17  
in avariciam sietis verbis de vobis negligebuntur. Au-  
dace, sibi placentes, sectas non metuunt introducere 35  
blasfemantes: Hui sunt fontes sine aqua etc." Ecce quod  
papa Petrus qui habuit cerciorem propheciam quam  
vates legis veteris, prophetat futuros in ecclesia magi-  
stros mendaces, qui introducent sectas. Qui autem  
sunt magistri illi, nisi qui fingunt se habere claves 40

6. fit deest D; ib. mencio est B. 7. doctores B. 8. sathan C:  
ib. vocavit B. 11. multis B. 16. secundum B; ib. primo deest B.  
22. assumptum BCD. 24. adoptavit B. 29. eximus deest A.  
34. nobis AB. 39. sectas deest CD.

sciencie extra fidem scripture, in qua secundum Augustinum est omnis veritas. Hii autem introducunt sectas religionis private, ut mendaciter magnificent nomen suum; secundo hii negant Christum, cum eius pauperiem et eius conversationem predicant tam verbo quam opere renuendam. Tercio hii blasphemant contra veritatem, cum dogmatisant scolam Christi esse diminutam in fide et solum pro brevi tempore esse observandam. Quarto ex avaricia ydolatra fingunt leges per quas A 54<sup>a</sup> negotiantur quomodo subditos spoliabunt. Et quinto audacter sed blasphemant introduce sectas, quas ex confirmatione sua singent in perfectione excedere religionem, quam Christus instituit. Sed beatus Petrus prophetat eos ex defectu fidei scripture, ut fontes siccose 15 excidere et arescere. Fidelis igitur non debet credere in materia fidei fontibus sic siccatis.

Those who  
reign to have  
the key of  
science without  
Scripture;  
who deny  
Christ, denying  
His poverty  
and life;  
who blaspheme,  
when they  
teach that the  
school of  
Christ is of  
slight account,  
and who  
introduce sects  
which they say  
exceed in  
perfection the  
religion of  
Christ.

E. Item, si sine auctoritate scripture licet variare vocando sacramentum, quod ipsa vocat panem, non panem sed quantitatem, vel aliam vanitatem (et non est finis potencie sic glosantis), videtur quod totam scripturam sacram pari auctoritate poterit sic glosare et sic totam fidem scripture antiquam pervertere et novam inducere, ut totam historiam gestorum Christi negare ad literam et glossare ad suum oppositum: et sic de 25 aliis que in biblia inseruntur. Sic enim dicitur quendam pretendere se esse papam summum Christi vicarium et caput ecclesie, licet fuerit Christo contrarius et capitale membrum dyaboli, et sic possent fingi indulgencie et privilegia inaudita ac super istis leges 30 erigi et fingi censure summe horribiles, in omnes eis contrarios fulminande; et sic de ministris ecclesie a contrariis officiis nominandis; ut sicut apostaticus dicitur apostolicus, sic episcopus dicatur proditor divini gregis subdolus, et rector ille blasphemus qui est raptor 35 magis sacrilegus bonorum: et sic de cunctis officiis ecclesie et preceptis domini.

III. If it be  
allowed to call  
quantity, that  
which Scripture  
calls bread,  
all Scripture  
can be  
explained away  
likewise

Thus Christ's  
enemy and the  
Devil's friend  
may claim to  
be Pope.

A 54<sup>a</sup> Cum igitur hoc dato sequerentur inconvenientia infinita, nec tollendum est argumentum per locum "A simili", non restat fideli nisi obstare principiis. Si enim papa potest licite tollere sensum scripture, dicendo 40 quod regulariter intelligit per panem quem ponit sacra-

And so on for  
the Church's  
ministers; it  
'apostate' may  
stand for  
'Apostolic',  
'traitor' may  
stand for  
'Bishop', and  
'ravisher', for  
'Rector'.  
There is no  
resisting the  
argument of  
analogy; so we  
must strive  
against the very  
beginnings.

6. veniendum D. 8. esse deest B. 15. excidere A; excidere deest B; ib. crescere pro arescere B. 17. initial I in red ink B; ib. vagare B; vocare D; vacare C; pro variare. 39. nec A.

If the Pope can mentum non panem sed accidens, quare non potest change the sense of Scripture as to the Host, why not as to Christ's life? conduci aliquis ad glossandum quod Christus non fecit opera que de ipso narrat ewangelium, sed assumpta humanitas: et multo magis de quolibet sensu scripture. Ewangeliū enim est fides Christiani precipua; ipsum autem sophisticatum est et negatum, non secundum quamlibet eius partem, sed potissime secundum cor eius, quod | dixit veritas caput ecclesie dominus Jesus Christus, B 64<sup>c</sup> ut patet de isto: "Hoc est corpus meum; hoc est iste panis quem benedixi; et vobis omnibus ex hoc, ideo manducare precepi, quia *hoc est corpus meum.*"

IV. Arguments from tradition.

The Holy Ghost used these terms that the catholic sense might be elicited therefrom; and there are in favour of this sense, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome; doctor each of whom is worth a thousand of our present ones.

Jerome, that great doctor, praised by Augustine, writes thus: "The bread that the Lord broke . . . was the body of Christ . . . which sense must be taken figuratively".

And Augustine: "The sacrament of Christ's body is Christ's body in a certain manner".

10. iam B. 13. cause enim ut *omnes* MSS. 19. legi; *in margine, alia manu* scole B. 34. ipsa ACD. 36, 37, et . . . Christi est deest D.

22. The only letter of Augustine to Cyril is spurious, and does not contain these words, as they stand. 25. Ad Heliabim Hier. Ep. CXX. Migne t. 22, p. 980. 30. Aug. Ep. XCVIII, ad Bonifacium, Migne t. 33, p. 364.

Unde creditur, quod spiritus sanctus ideo ordinavit F. istam notam cause enim ut eliciatur iste sensus catholicus; unde allegavi sepe pro hoc sensu Ambrosium, Augustinum et Jeronimum doctores precipuos in primo 15 millenario etatis ecclesie, quando ligatus est sathanas, pater mendacii; et quilibet eorum valet mille duodenas doctorum vel paparum sequencium, quando solitus est inimicus veritatis, seminans mendacia contraria scole Christi. Jeronimus enim fuit in fide scripture doctor 20 precipuus, ut patet ex sanctitate vite sue, quam declarat Augustinus in epistola ad Cirillum; "Sanctitate dico iuncte cum dono noticie linguarum sibi dato et diuturnitate | studii scripturarum." Scribit enim epistola ad A 55<sup>a</sup> Helbidiam de XII questionibus, questione 2<sup>a</sup>. "Nos", in-25 quit, "audiamus panem quem fregit dominus, deditque discipulis, esse corpus domini salvatoris, ipso dicente ad eos: Accipite et comedite; hoc est corpus meum, quod dictum oportet intelligi ad sensum tropicum." Unde Augustinus, epistola 12<sup>a</sup> ad Bonifacium. "Si", in-30 quit, "sacramenta quandam similitudinem rerum earum quarum sacramenta sunt, non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque eciam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt. Sicut igitur secundum quandam modum sacramentum corporis Christi 35 corpus Christi est, et sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est, ita sacramentum fidei fides est." Et

B 64<sup>a</sup> illud sacramentum describit expressius | sermone 55<sup>to</sup>  
 de verbis domini; ubi promittens se narraturum quid  
 sit hoc sacramentum; "panis," inquit, "iste, quem videtis  
 in altari sanctificatus per verbum domini dei corpus  
 5 Christi est." Cum igitur hii duo sancti fuerunt in ex-  
 ponendis scripture sancte misteriis doctores precipui,  
 ut patet in confessione tocius ecclesie de oracionibus  
 quas de ipsis canimus (et patet distinctione 20) insane  
 videtur ipsos deserere et doctores hesternos in ista fide  
 10 attendere. Talis igitur figurativa locutio fideli qui vo-  
 luerit intelligere scripturam sacram est precipue atten-  
 denda.

And also:  
 "this bread  
 which you  
 see . . . is the  
 body of Christ".

Now these two  
 being such  
 great doctors,  
 it were madness  
 to desert them,  
 and attend to  
 doctors of  
 yesterday.  
 We must notice  
 that Scripture  
 often speaks  
 figuratively.

It is thus that  
 Augustine  
 explains the use  
 of blood for  
 life.

Unde Augustinus, super questionibus Levitici, capitulo 74,  
 G. exponens illud Levitici XVII. "Quid est", inquit, „quod  
 A 55<sup>b</sup> prohibens sanguinem dicit: *Anima omnis carnis | san-*  
*guis eius est?*" et sequitur: "illud appellatur anima quod  
 signat animam. Solet autem res que signat eius rei  
 nomine, quam signat nuncupari, sicut scriptum est:  
 Gen. XII, 26 *Septem spice septem anni sunt;* non enim dixit: *septem*  
*20 annos signant;* et: *Septem boves septem anni sunt;* et multa  
 I. Cor. huiusmodi. Et hinc est quod dictum est: *Petra autem*  
*X, + erat Christus.* Non enim dixit 'Petra signat Christum',  
 sed tanquam hoc esset, quod utique per substanciam  
 non erat, sed per figuracionem. Sic et sangvis qui  
 25 propter vitalem quandam corpulenciam animam signat  
 in sacramentis, anima dictus est". Et sic intelligitur  
 dictum suum in epistola ad Bonifacium, quod "secundum  
 quendam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus  
 Christi est", et illum modum explicat Augustinus, non  
 30 secundum substanciam, sed secundum significacionem.  
 Ego autem dico hoc debere intelligi secundum quen-  
 dam tropum vel figuram et non secundum ydempti-  
 ficationem vel naturam.

B 65<sup>a</sup> Et per ista potest intelligi dictum Damasceni | 4<sup>to</sup>  
 35 sentenciarum suarum, capitulo 85<sup>to</sup>, quando dicit: "Non  
 enim typus panis et vinum corporis et sanguinis Christi;

This quotation  
 explains his  
 words "is  
 Christ's body  
 in a certain  
 manner",  
 i. e., not  
 substantially  
 but  
 significatively.

John  
 Damascenus'  
 words rendered  
 intelligible by  
 this point  
 of view.

4. domini deest BC. 5. 6. exponende B. 11. scripturam deest CD.  
 18 occupari CD.

1. Aug. serm. CCXVII. Migne, t. 38, p. 1090. 8. Decr.  
 Grat. 1<sup>a</sup> Pars, dist. XX, c. 1. 14. Aug. Quest. in Heptateuchum,  
 lib. III, c. 57. Migne t. 34, p. 702. 27. Aug. Ep. XC VIII, ad  
 Bonifacium. Migne, t. 33, p. 364. 35. Joh. Dam. De Fide  
 Orthodoxa, lib. IV, c. 13. Migne, t. 94, p. 1147, series Graeca.

"The bread and absit! sed ipsum corpus domini deificatum, ipsius do-  
mine dicentis: *Hoc meum est, non typus corporis, sed corpus et non tipus sanguinis, sed sanguis.*" Hic B.  
forbid! but the  
very Deified  
Body of the  
Lord saying,  
This is my  
*Body*".  
This is exactly  
Wyclif's  
position.

quia consuetudo est hominibus aqua lavari et oleo  
ungi, quibus iuncta gratia spiritus sancti fit | lavacrum A 55e  
regeneracionis; sic, quia consuetudo est hominibus  
panem comedere, vinum et aquam bibere, coniugavit  
deus ipsis sui ipsius deitatem et fecit ipsa corpus et 10  
sanguinem sui ipsius; ubi patet expresse quod ipse  
wult panem, aquam et vinum esse corpus ipsius et  
sanguinem. Unde notandum quod alia est figura pre-  
cedens temporaliter figuratum, sicut agnus typicus

For he says  
further that the  
bread and wine  
are joined to the  
body and blood  
of Christ.  
Distinction  
between figures  
that prefigur,  
or types, and  
figures that  
require Christ's  
actual existence.  
That is why he  
says "the bread  
is no type".

precederat corpus Christi, et illud; quia non asseritur 15  
in scriptura esse corpus Christi, sicut panis et vinum,  
qui ad esse suum sacramentale requirunt corpus Christi  
precedere et Christus dicit ipsa vere esse carnem suam  
corporis Christi, hoc est figuram ante signatum vel 20  
figuram distanciam corporis Christi, sed ipsummet

It were a crime  
to deny that  
the bread is the  
body of Christ.

corpus Christi et figuram eius presencialem. Unde hor-  
rendum foret fidelem negare panem esse corpus Christi  
vel post consecrationem naturam panis secundum de-

It is changed  
into Christ's  
body, which  
alone must be  
considered by  
the faithful.

nominacionem corporis principalissimam remanere, cum 25  
convertitur in corpus Christi; ad quod fidelis, suspen-  
dendo consideracionem aliam, quantum sufficit debet  
attendere. Et patet ista sententia ex textu doctoris.

"A live coal",  
says  
Damascenus,  
"is not mere  
wood, but wood  
united with  
fire; so the  
bread is not  
mere bread, but  
bread united  
with Deity".

Unde statim post scribitur: "Carbo autem simplex lignum non est, sed unitum igni, ita et panis communionis | B 65b  
non panis simplex est sed unitus deitati." Et paucis  
interpositis: "Spiritus", inquit, "vivificans est caro  
domini; quia ex vivificativo spiritu concepta est. Quod enim generatum est ex spiritu, spiritus est; hoc autem  
dico | non destruens corporis substanciam, sed vivi- A 55  
ficativum et divinum eius manifestare volens"; et sequitur  
in fine: "Omnes enim unum corpus sumus, quia ex  
uno pane assumimus, quem ad modum ait apostolus;  
antitipa autem, id est, resfigurativa futurorum dicuntur,  
non ut non encia vere corpus et sanguis Christi; sed 40

1. ipsius verbis B. 5. subdit BCD. 7. sit CD. 10. divinitatem B.  
II. expressissime B. 20, 21. vel figuram deest B. 22. principalem B.  
28. ex vivificato CD. 30, 31. vivificatum CD. 39. anticipa ABD.  
40. ut pro non ut D.

quoniam nunc quidem participamus ipsam Christi deitatem, tunc autem intellectualiter per solam consideracionem."

I. Ex istis tribus dictis huius magni philosophi patent  
5 tria: primo, quod videtur dicere panem qui est sacramentum non esse pure panem, sed cum hoc corpus Christi, sicut carbo ignitus ignis dicitur; et illud nomen secundum notabilem excellenciam debet post consecrationem, sopito priori nomine, sibi competere, sicut,

10 rege et scurra existentibus in eodem loco et habitu, ministri debent, scurra postposito, ad regem attendere.

Secundo patet quod loquitur tropice, quando dicit, quod caro Christi est spiritus, licet substancia carnis vere substernitur. Et tertio patet quod exponit se ipsum de  
15 tipo vel antitipo, quod est figura futurorum, non ut sacramentum altaris; quia figure legis veteris non sunt corpus Christi, sicut est panis consecratus, cum Christus nunquam dixit de agno tipico: "Hoc est corpus meum."

Quod si dixisset, fidelis pari auctoritate concederet  
20 quod ille agnus est corpus Christi. Unde istum modum quo panis fit corpus Christi, dicit Damascenus esse credibilem, cum veritas illud dicit, sed non ulterius queribilem.

A 50<sup>a</sup> Tercium | testimonium preter Augustinum et Jero-

B 65<sup>c</sup> nimum | est testimonium magni Ambrosii in libro suo

K. de *Sacramentis*; et ponitur in canone de consecracione, distinccione 2<sup>a</sup> (capitulo, *Panis est in altari*) ubi probat primo multipliciter, quod panis potest esse corpus Christi per miracula veteris testamenti. Ideo dicit, quod

30 virtute verborum Christi, panis fit corpus Christi. In quo dicto, sicut loquitur indubie de pane materiali, ita loquitur de faccione figurativa vel sacramentali.

In isto autem dicta huius sancti oportet discredere doctoribus nostris et glose ordinarie decretorum, cum 35 ipsi glozant dicto sanctorum per suum oppositum; ut gloza ordinaria dicit super illo verbo Ambrosii: "Panis est in altari", quod dictum huius sancti est impossibile: quod si sit verum, cum sit materia fidei, indubie foret hereticum, et sic maior pars fidei scripture. Secundo 40 dicit eadem glossa ordinaria, super capitulo *Sacer-*

Three things are therefore made clear:  
1<sup>st</sup> Damascenus says that the body of Christ is present with the bread.

2<sup>nd</sup> That when he speaks of Christ's body being spirit, he uses a figure.

That, as to 3<sup>rd</sup> the type and the antitype, the latter was only figure of the future.

Christ tells us that bread is His body; so we must believe it, not enquiring how.

Testimony of Ambrose, who proves that bread can be Christ's body.

As he speaks of material bread he speaks of a figurative or sacramental 'becoming'. But we must beware of the glosses that explain this Saint in a wrong sense. Many instances of this; they deny some of his writings to be genuine, make him say that the Sacrament has no weight, &c.

25. suo deest B. 38. unum pro verum B.

39. Decr. Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars, dist. II, c. 30.

*dotum*, quod sacramentum non est ponderosum; et per idem nec quantum nec quale: et cum sit manifeste sensibile, patet quod omnimoda foret quantitas et qualitas in abstracto. Tercio dicit super capitulo *Timorem*, quod nichil demonstratur pro nomine in 5 verbis sacramentalibus; et tunc indubie sacerdos nichil plus conficit quam pica, quia requiritur ad confeccionem pronominis signacio, et sacerdotis recta intencio. Quarto dicit, super capitulo *Non iste panis*, quod corpus Christi non transiet gulam suam; et indubie, nisi corpus 10 Christi sit ad omnem partem sui intrinsecam, dampnabitur tamquam obstinatus hereticus. Et sic dubitat, si aranea tangat eukaristiam; utrum remaneat corpus

As the Pope's word cannot prevail against the Gospel, we must seek another Master. fidei est querendus.

9. non est iste B.

8. Decr. Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars, dist. II, c. 56.

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## CAPITULUM QUARTUM.

B 65<sup>a</sup> | Quarto sic: non per se, sed per accidens, est canonisacio fidei vel heresis condemnacio in ore cuiuslibet Christiani; sed omne per accidens est reducibile ad aliquid per se; igitur oportet dare aliquod exemplum 5 dirigens papam vel alium quemcumque ad taliter iudicandum. Quod non est fingendum, nisi fides scripture. Major patet ex hoc, quod multi pape erraverunt in fide, et quilibet illorum potuit magis oberrasse; cum non sit plus confirmatus, quam Lucifer vel Machomet; 10 sicut oportet fidelem credere qui non confitetur ipsum esse hominem peccati, elevatum super omne quod dicitur deus. Oportet igitur dare pape sic flexibili aliquod fundamentum in istis actibus cui ut veritati immobili innitatur. Cum igitur iuxta fidem Christus dedit 15 duo testamenta fidelibus, tamquam medium sufficiens II.Tim. pro hoc fine, et secundum apostolum II<sup>a</sup> Thim. II<sup>a</sup>, 13 ipse deus verax est et "se ipsum negare non potest", videtur quod in isto fundamento fidelibus est instantium; aliter enim posset papa presumere canonisare 20 ysagogas Porfirii et predicamenta Aristotelis, dampnando ewangelium tamquam hereticum: quod quidam A 56<sup>c</sup> putant contigisse de facto: Nam in potentia pape statuisse credendum est ut fidem catholicam, quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens sine subiecto. Et fides 25 scripture cum beato Augustino dicit quod est naturaliter panis sanctificatus et figurative vel alio modo incognito corpus Christi. Si igitur oportet fidelem credere ut fidem catholicam, quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens sine subiecto, et Porfirius et Aristoteles in isto 30 verissime ac pertinentissime laborarunt. oportet in isto B 66<sup>a</sup> canonisare sentencias suas. Sequitur enim: | Sacra-

No Christian can rule faith or condemn heresy by his mere affirmation: Therefore we must give a rule to direct the Pope in his judgments. Whoso has erred in fact, and can err in principle, cannot judge of faith by himself: but such is the case for the Popes.

A sure foundation is the Bible, given by the true God.

Otherwise, the Pope might declare the Isagoge of Porphyry and Aristotle's Categories to be inspired;

if so, these writers who have said much about accidents and subjects, are above Scripture.

4. ad aliquod B. 11. peccato B. 12. populo B. 16. fieri B.  
20. per synagogas B. 23. est deest AC.

The sacrament mentum altaris est accidentis sine subiecto; igitur tam  
is an accident without its  
accidentis quam subiectum est, sed antecedens oportet  
subiect; quemlibet fidelem ut fidem credere atque cognoscere:  
therefore it is equally subiect et consequens. Oportet igitur ad istos duos  
and accident.

If the antecedent is *de* *fide*, so is the consequent.  
Now this is just the doctrine of Porphyry and Aristotle.

Multi enim blaterant in ista materia 5  
voces proprias de subiectis et accidentibus, ignorantes;  
ponit enim Porphirius quinque esse universalia, scilicet genus, speciem, differenciam, proprium et accidentis.  
Illud autem quintum universale sic describit. "Accidens est, quod adest et abest preter subiecti corrupcionem." 10  
Sed quantum ad subiectum (quod oportet fidelem vigilans cognoscere) dividit Aristoteles ens principale in B. quatuor ista membra. "Eorum," inquit, "que sunt, aliqua dicuntur de subiecto, et non sunt in subiecto, ut universalia de genere substancie; aliqua autem dicuntur 15 de subiecto et sunt in subiecto, ut universalia de genere accidentis; aliqua vero non dicuntur de subiecto, sed sunt in subiecto, ut singularia de genere accidentis; quarto autem sunt | aliqua que nec dicuntur de subiecto A 56<sup>a</sup>

But "subject" has three meanings: subject by predication, subject by change, and subject by veneration; as in this text: "Be subject to every human creature for God's sake." Porphyry and Aristotle, though great philosophers, have nothing to do with explaining an article of faith.

Quamvis autem Aristoteles et Porphirius dicant multas necessarias veritates, nunquam tamen credidi expectasse diem in quo ille articulus fidei ab Aristotele et Porphirio indigeat declarari. Et revera multi et 30 magni blaterant ut articulum fidei credendum, quod sacramentum altaris oculo corporali visum post consecrationem sit accidentis | sine subiecto; et tamen nec B 66<sup>b</sup>

And many persons of note say that what we see after the consecration is an accident hoc admirerent fidem scripture, et sine ypocrisi palam without subject: detegent heresim, quam sic fingunt. Modo autem C. not knowing what they mean, dicunt quod scripture dicens quod panis sit corpus

2. omnem B. 4. ergo de fide B. 6. substancius B. 20. nec deest D.  
33. ut pro nec B

9. Πορφυρίος Εἰσαγωγή. Συμβεβηκός δέ ἐστιν, ὁ γίνεται καὶ ἀπογίνεται χροὶς τῆς τοῦ ἐποκειμένου φύσεως. 13. Αὐτοτ. Κατηγορία. Τῶν δύτων τὰ μὲν καθ' ἐποκειμένον πινός λέγεται, ἐν ἐποκειμένῳ δέ οὐδέπει ἐστιν κ. τ. α.

Luc. Christi est impossibilis; ut quando ewangelium dicit XXIV, Luc. XXIV, quod cognoverunt Christum "in fraccione They say that 35 panis", qui panis fuit indubie sacramentum eukaristie, "to know Christ in the breaking of bread" refers, not to the Sacrament, but to common bread.

5 non intelligit panem sanctum sed usualem, quem fregit tamquam attentus figure levitatis, ac si foret scissus cultello acutissimo. Alios tamen panes scimus Christum precepisse apostolis dare populo ad edendum; ut patet A 57<sup>a</sup> de duobus | miraculosis conviviis. Math. VI et VIII, quibus 10 Christus de paucis panibus pavit populum in deserto.

Non enim decet autorem vite benedicere, frangere, et dare panem suis discipulis ad edendum, nisi fuerit panis sanctus. Unde Augustinus in libro sermonum

sermone 61 pro feria secunda Pasche (et ponitur de consecrazione distinccione II<sup>a</sup>. "Non omnis panis"):

"Mementote," inquit, "carissimi, quemadmodum dominus Jesus ab eis quorum oculi tenebantur, ne illum agnoscerent, in fraccione panis voluit reagnosci." "Non,"

inquit, "omnis panis, sed accipiens benedictionem 20 Christi, fit corpus Christi." Ideo illi fingunt formam

verborum ewangelii esse impossibilem; sed sic deberet intelligi: "cognoverunt eum in fraccione accidentis,"

ut puta qualitatis vel quantitatis, que non poterit esse B 66<sup>c</sup> panis. Et ista videtur glossa extraordinaria decretorum. |

25 Sic igitur in penam peccati cecatur ecclesia, quod vix in tota Anglia invenies duo capitula vel prelatos

D. qui sciant quid sit sacramentum altaris. Sciunt autem eorum ministri opponere ordinandis de numero sacra-

mentorum, et quomodo sacramentum altaris differt ab 30 aliis; sed cum ipsimet nesciunt quid sit illud, patet

quod nesciunt distinguere ipsum ab aliis. Querit enim secularis ex naturali ingenio, si debet credere utrum

illud album, rotundum, et aliter accidentatum, sit corpus Christi; et coacti respondere ad illam questionem sim-

35 pliciter dicunt quod non est corpus Christi, sed acci-  
dens sine subiecto; quia per idem, ut arguunt, que-

A 57<sup>b</sup> libet eius | particula foret idem corpus Christi, et per consequens quelibet pars hostie foret idem cuilibet; et sic hostia foret omnino indivisibilis, sine parte. Et

The sense would then be: "They knew him in the breaking of the accidents." In punishment of our sins the Church is blinded on this point.

The Priests do not know what they mean. "Is that white round thing which I see, Christ's body?" asks a layman. "No," they answer; "it is an accident": for there are parts in what you see, and if it were Christ's body there would be none."

1. unde D. 11. docet C. 13. in deest B. 17. oculi deest B.  
18. recognosci B. 25. enim pro igitur B. 30. tamen D. 34. Christi  
deest D.

15. Decr. Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars, dist. II, c. 61. Aug. Serm. CCXXXIV  
(Migne, t. 38, p. 1116).

habito per sacerdotem, quod non sit corpus Christi, querit laycus naturali ingenio, quid igitur est, substantia vel accidens, caro, vel piscis? Et hic stabat Johannes. Michi autem videtur quod secunda divisio est sufficiens, cum sit caro, quia caro Christi. 5

They say we  
must not  
examine.

Let them rather  
grant that they  
know neither  
what

distinguishes  
this Sacrament  
nor even the  
number of the  
Sacraments.

For the question

"What?"

precedes; "How

many?" and

"of what

quality?"

Men and mice  
knew what  
it was before  
consecration.  
After, this  
knowledge  
ought to be  
clearer, not  
more obscure.

A shrew-  
mouse will  
distinguish it  
from iron, after  
its fashion.  
Shall we say  
that God  
enlightens it,  
and denies  
judgment to  
man?

Again, a curate  
gives the  
communicant a  
consecrated  
host.

But does he  
know *what* he  
has given him?  
If not, he gives  
his parishioner  
"that which  
he knows not".

Illi autem qui eligunt secundam partem divisionis prime fingunt ad excusandum excusaciones in peccatis, quod non debet queri quid sit hoc sacramentum, cum ipsi bene examinati hoc nesciunt. Sed oportet eos primo dicere, quod nesciunt distinctionem huius sacramenti ab aliis, et per consequens nec numerum sacramentorum, nec aliquam passionem; nam questio "quid est" presupponitur ad duas alias questiones. Secundo, tales nimis ostendunt suam ignoranciam et defectum, cum cocus corporis non admittitur nisi cogit, 15 noverit quidditatem cibi corporei quem ministrat; quanto magis cocus | anime quo ad cibum in quo B 66<sup>a</sup> iacet infinitum maius periculum! Nec valet dicere quod E. corpus Christi est ibidem; tum quia hoc ignoratur, tum eciam quia hoc non queritur, cum scitur divinitatem esse infinitum verius et infinitum excellencius ad quemlibet eius punctum. Tercio, tam homo quam mures sciverunt ante consecrationem, quid sit illud; et per consecrationem et assistenciam tanti luminis non extinguitur prior noticia; ergo post debet sciri clarus, 25 quid sit illud quod | sacerdos consecravit. Sorex enim A 57<sup>b</sup> scit modo suo distingwere illud a lamina ferri vel alterius, quod non optat sic edere; et dicere quod illuminat sic vermem et negat iudicium sensus humani, in tanto miraculo foret nimis magna blasfemia. 30

Quarto, patet quod oportet curatum concedere, quod ministravit communicato suo hostiam consecratam, et per consequens aliquam hostiam dedit sibi; et per consequens oportet dare cumparibus, quod "hoc" dedit illam quam sibi concedit, foret nimius ydiota. Concessa igitur propositione, quero quid demonstrat per hoc subiectum "hoc". Si scit, tunc oportet quod sciat quid est illa hostia; si nescit, tunc nescit quid dedit subdito, vel quid ut sic adorat; sed ut Samaritanis in- 40 fidelior, de quibus Joh. IV, adoraret infideliter "illud Joh. IV, 22

3. aut B. 5. quia caro *deest* B. 10. docere B. 23. post B.  
24. 25. et — clarus *in marg.* A; *deest* C.D. 33. ostiam AB.  
38, 39. si — hostia *deest* ACD. 40. aderat B.

quod nescit". Et illa communis sieticia qua dicitur What a heresy  
quod sacramentum eukaristie sit accidens sine subiecto, to call the  
est nimis heretica; quod autem non sit accidens patet Eucharist an  
alibi; et quod non sit sine subiecto, patet, primo, ex absolute  
5 hoc quod tunc est sine aliquo subiecto, et per consequens tunc non habet deum vel humanitatem Christi accident!  
ad quemlibet eius punctum; quia utrumque istorum Heresy of  
necessario est subiectum: deitas, relacioni racionis, et calling the  
B 67<sup>a</sup> humanitas omni | generi accidentis. Nec impedunt illa Eucharist 1<sup>st</sup>  
10 analogice implicancia relacionem descensum a termino without subject.  
stante mobiliter, ut sequitur: Petrus est sine substancia 1<sup>st</sup> point proved  
A 57<sup>a</sup> vel accidente; B est substancia | vel accidens: igitur elsewhere;  
Petrus est sine B. Nec dicit subiectum relacionem no substance; if  
expressius quam substancia, vel accidens; igitur est par  
15 racio inferendi. Nec est dictum illud auctoritas scrip- no God, and no  
ture quam oportet ex fide concedere et glosare. Item, manhood of  
ipsum sacramentum et quelibet eius particula est subiectum aliis accidentibus: igitur ipsum non est sine Christ in any of  
subiecto secundum aliquam eius partem. Et idem patet 2<sup>nd</sup> if no subject,  
20 ex hoc, quod qualitas sensibilis est sacramentum, ut it is parts.  
patet ex distinctione sacramenti; et ipsa non est sine subiecto, cum subiectetur, ut inquiunt, in quantitate:  
et ipsa quantitas non est per se illud sacramentum;  
tum quia nulla quantitas potest per se taliter acciden-  
25 tari, ut accidentatur hostia; tum eciam, quia nulla quantitas eadem in numero potest maiorari vel minorari, sicut videmus hostiam transmutari.

Item, si sacramentum sit sine subiecto suo, tunc est Again, the  
sine supposito subiecto sibi; et cum sit verum corpus sacrament is the body of Christ;  
30 Christi, sequitur quod omnis Christianus non est subiectus corpori Christi et sic Christo; consequens but the sacrament is impossible, ad minimum pro beatis in patria. Ymo cum sacramentum sit plene sicut debet esse, sequitur quod therefore the body of Christ is without a debet esse sine subiecto sibi, et per consequens nullus subject.  
35 Christianus debet sibi subici, contra quam blasphemiam It follows that II, 13 mandat beatus Petrus: "Subiecti estote omni humane no Christian is creature propter deum." Si, inquam, omni humane subject to Christ.  
40 creature debemus subici, et corpus Christi sit humana creatura precipua, quia Christus, sequitur quod sibi debemus subici. Non est igitur catholicum predicare,  
B 67<sup>b</sup> quod nemo debet esse subiectus | eukaristie, quia licet A 58<sup>a</sup> nimis pauci sint debite | sibi subiecti, post seminacionem

huius heresis, omnes tamen Christiani debent esse sibi subiecti.

*Objection:* You equivocate as to the senses of the word 'subject'.

*Answer:* No. The faithful ought to have the signification given by Peter more in their minds than that of heathens.

This doctrine is therefore a useless fiction, except to show off the treacheries of the leech's disciples.

The leech has two daughters, simoniacal heretics and traitors. And the land cannot rest, until purged of such.

It is the Friars' fault: hardly one of them raises his voice against this evil.

They do all they can to become confessors of princes,

but deceive the princes whose confessions they hear;

and thus they lead the kingdom astray.

If they loved their penitents they would 'abour for their salvation.'

Doing the contrary, they are traitors.

Et si dicatur quod equivocatur in "subiecto" domini G. contestor et suam ecclesiam, quod subieccio beati Petri debet esse fideli usitacione quam subieccio Por- 5 phirii vel alterius ethnici. Loquendo eciam ut ipsi loquuntur, quodlibet singulare est subiectum predicationis; quelibet eciam ostia consecrata est subiectum transmutacionis, cum potest ferri de loco ad locum; potest eciam per se solam descendere et potest putre- 10 fieri et pulsione, traccione, vecctione et vertigine transmutari. Ideo non videtur istam ficticiam introductam de quidditate hostie consecrata valere, nisi ut in penam peccati illudat ecclesie; licet per accidens iuvat ad manifestandum fallacias proditorias discipulorum san- 15 guisuge. Sanguisuge enim due sunt filie in avaricia stabilitate, dicentes Affer, Affer, scilicet symoniace hereticis, et proditores veritatis et regni. De symoniace hereticis, patet in tractatu *De symonia*, capitulo I<sup>o</sup> et infra. Nec dubium fideli, quin impossibile est regnum esse stabile 20 atque pacificum, nisi de illis hereticis fuerit expurgatum.

Et licet maior pars regni fuerit ista heresi viciata, vix unum fratrem invenies qui audeat contra istud periculum dicere unum verbum. Quomodo igitur non sunt ex consensu dampnabiles et regni (quod plus pon- 25 derant hodie) infidelissimi proditores. Item, procurant se fieri regum, principum, dominorum | secularium et A 58<sup>b</sup> dominarum omnimode confessores; | et tamen non ob-B 57<sup>c</sup> stante quod sint custodes anime, nec cognoscunt cibum eukaristie quem propinant, sed ignorancia cecati sunt 30 in ydiotarum capitulo plus quam illi; nec dicunt vel peccati gravedinem, ut prudentes medici, et defensores regni, ac adiutores dei; sed cecis promissionibus absolucionum et falsis ac fictis sanacionibus cicatricum, decipiunt confessos prodicione nimis aspera; et sic 35 regnum. Item, si amarent confessos, ut simulant, et H. salutem anime sue plus quam favorem mundanum, honorem aut questum, ipsi laborarent, aliis dimissis, circa ea que utilia media sunt ad illam: sed cum faciunt omnino contrarium, manifeste convincitur, quod 40

6. vel Aristotelis vel B. 8. hostia CD. 11. uncione CD.  
17. second after in marg. A; deest CD. 25, 26. ponderatur ACD.  
29. sicut B. 31. idiotarum et laycorum BCD. 33. eciam B. 37. so-  
lum B. 39. utilior B.

sunt proditores principum, populi, et regnum. Quis enim foret pater spiritualis regis titulo confessionis, videndo eum tanquam maniacum precipitanter currere ad abissum, qui non secundem possibilitatem suam 5 mitigaret maniam et principem a puteo revocaret? Would any confessor of the king, seeing him rushing to an abyss, not try to stop him?

Multo magis salvaret animam ab inferno. Modo autem debet constare cunctis fidelibus quod regum officium foret precipue heresim symoniacam de regnis suis extingwere; et tamen fratres, confessores principum,

10 videndo confessos suos per heresim istam currendo ad infernum defendere et fovere, non laborant ad destructionem huius pestis consulere; sed student quomodo

A 58<sup>e</sup> in se ipsis possent | pingwem episcopatum | perquirere;

B 67<sup>t</sup> et sic utrumque ad enervacionem ecclesie heresim

15 symoniacam adaugere. Numquid credimus tales esse proditores regni? Constat quod sic, cum secundum Augustinum ut alias diffuse exposui, rex et regnum in virtutibus et viciis sibimet reciproce, ut plurimum, correspondent. Totum igitur regnum debet contra tales

20 pseudoprophetas insurgere, nec fictionem mendacii ab ipsis recipere. Si enim fingunt quod non possunt talem infidelitatem in confessu suo extingwere, quare nolunt secundum formam ewangelii obstinatum talem deserere;

consumpicio enim morosa bonorum regni in consorcio 25 talis desperati facit tales apostatas ex consensu esse particeps mali sui.

2. familias ACD; *ib.* et regis B. 7. Christi B. 14. utrumque BD;  
*ib.* curacionem CD. 15. esse *dees* B. 16. regni *deest* B. 17. et ACD.  
 20. et CD.

But instead of crushing this heresy they only try to get into fat bishoprics.

This is that treason: the king and his kingdom being related for good or for ill.

If they say that they cannot destroy this heresy, let them give up their charges.

## CAPITULUM QUINTUM.

Objections brought forward and refuted.  
Grosseteste's opinion on the Eucharist:  
'That the many sensible parts are united in One;  
the sensible parts of the bread, in the unity of Christ's body; of wine, in that of His blood;  
the former, having us subsistence by themselves, are yet not the accidents of Christ's body.'  
Others use like expressions, which require explanation to avoid absurdity. They probably mean that the accidents of bread are in the thoughts of the faithful, while its substance is absent. Instances as to Time, the Universal, and the Sensible; each of which, to exist, depends on Mind.

Sed contra dicta arguitur per dominum Linconiensem super capitulo III<sup>a</sup> *Ecclesiastice ierarchie*, ubi sic loquitur: "Assumentes sensibiliter partita et multa, non vere profiterentur communicatores, nisi ipsa multa in aliquo unirentur; uniuntur autem ea multa in que dividitur panis consecratus in unitate veri corporis Christi. et ea multa in que dividitur calix in unitate sanguinis ipsius. Et forte dicuntur ea multa, que sensibiliter multis distribuuntur, fieri, seu esse in hiis; quia iste sensibiles forme non habent alias subsistencias ipsas in esse tunc supportantes; non enim est tunc sub forma panis aut vini materialis substancia panis aut vini. Nec tamen sunt ille forme sensibiles in corpore et sanguine Christi, ut in subiectis ab eis denominatis." Et eadem B 68<sup>a</sup> sentenciam dicit | Hugo de sancto Victore, Petrus Lum-A 58<sup>a</sup> bardus et alii moderni doctores concorditer. Hic sepe dixi, quod presumptuosa temeritas foret scandalizando imponere impossibile istis doctoribus, dum possunt aliunde evidenter glozari. Ideo sepe dixi tanquam probabile, quod ipsi intellexerant accidentia per se esse in actu consideracionis fidelum, dum panis et vini quidditas quoad consideracionem huiusmodi sit sopita.

Sic enim loquuntur philosophi quos ipsi videntur sequi in verbis, "quod tempus, universale, et sensibile,<sup>25</sup> non habent esse in actu, nisi per animam"; ut, per consideracionem anime, cognoscatur tempus secundum rationem qua mensurat motum tamdiu post et ante in motu. Universale etiam, secundum rationem qua communicatur multis eius suppositis, et sensibile secundum rationem qua est reducibile ad actum senciendi. Sic

1. Capitulum *deest* AB). 5. confitentur AB; *ib.* ipsa via CD.  
9. sanguis *pro* calix ... sanguis AB. 23. modi *deest* B. 31. qua  
communicare CD.

est de sacramento secundum rationem qua signum; quidditas enim panis aut vini quoad illud sopita est et ratio accidentium per se sensibilium exercefacit animam ut consideret sacramentum actualiter tanquam signum. Sed sicut universale sensibile et tempus non eo minus habent esse naturale, licet esse cognitum secundum rationem qua huiusmodi sit suspensum, sic quodammodo est de eukaristia.

B. Unde pro isto sensu Linconiensis est primo textus beati Dyonisii quem exponit; ipse enim vocat regulariter sacramentum panem et nunquam accidens, sicut faciunt apostoli, quibus fuit iste sanctus contemporaneus. Unde vocat Thimoteum cui scribit librum illum propter iuuentutem puerum. Secundo moveret quod iste doctor

A 50<sup>a</sup>  
B 68<sup>b</sup>

vocat | sacramentum regulariter panem, sicut autor | quem exponit. Non igitur debet presumi, quod tam subtilis logicus sit ita recenter contradictorius sibi ipsi. Nec movet, quod ipse non vocat sacramentum secundum naturam vel substanciam panem, sed simpliciter panem, quia fides nostra vocat salvatorem nostrum Jesum et non exprimit eum sub nomine substancialie hominis vel nature, et tamen fidelis credit, quod Christus vere sit substancia hominis vel natura et non fantasma accidentis, ut infideles gariunt.

25 Tercio movet, quod iste doctor approbatice recitat super prima ratione capituli 3<sup>ii</sup> beati Dyonisii, quod sacramentum illud est caro Christi. "Est," inquit, "eukaristia secundum beatum Ignacium caro salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi pro peccatis nostris passa, que imbecilles infirme accipiunt." Sacramentum itaque vocat panem consecratum et corpus Christi, non accidens.

C. Unde ad hoc quod fructuose communicemus in hoc sensibili sacramento, oportet nos reduci ad triplicem unionem. Primo, oportet nos multos fieri unum corpus

I. Cor. dicit apostolus Cor. X; secundo, oportet, quod multipli IX, 17 tudo hostiarum reducatur ad unum corpus Christi, sic quod quotquot sunt ostie vel in quotunque partes sunt divide, omnes et singule sunt idem corpus Christi; 40 et tertio omnia illa sacramenta sensibilia, suspensa consideratione de quidditate substrate substancialie, redu-

Thus also the esse of any sign as a sign depends upon the mind that knows it as such. But this does not exclude an independent natural esse.

In favour of this rendering is St. Dionysius, who calls the Sacrament 'bread'.

Why suppose him to be inconsistent? He does not indeed say 'the substance of bread', but 'bread'. But neither does our faith call Jesus the 'substance of man', but 'man'.

And he calls the Sacrament 'the consecrated bread' and 'the body of Christ'; not 'an accident'.

To communicate fruitfully we must be united in a threefold manner.

1<sup>st</sup> We, being many, must become one body of the Church.  
2<sup>nd</sup> The multitude of hosts must be one body of Christ;  
3<sup>rd</sup> All those sensible signs must be

1. significatur B. 10. exposuit B; ib. regulare B. 14. parvum CD.  
15. regulare B. 22. materia B. 25. moveret CD. 36. in Cor. 10 D.  
38. hostie CD. 39. idem deest B.

referred, cuntur quo ad consideracionem et cultum fidelium ad without thought unicum corpus Christi, in quod omnia convertuntur. of their quiddity, to the Unde, quia hoc casualiter evenit, ideo dicit | Linconiensis, A 59<sup>b</sup>  
body of Christ into which all quod "forte ille forme sensibiles dicuntur sic uniri,  
is changed. And note that quia ille forme sensibiles non habent alias subsistencias 5  
Grosseteste, ipsas tunc in esse | supportantes", supple "in actu con- B 68<sup>c</sup>  
says 'Perhaps, when he denies sideracionis fidelium". Nec est facile fingere, quomodo  
a subject. doctor ad alium sensum insereret hoc adverbium  
"forte".

And when St. Ambrose says after the consecration we must believe there is nothing, but Christ's body he means "we must then think of nothing else". Et sic intelligitur dictum beati Ambrosii positum de 10  
consecracione, distinccione II, capitulo "*Omnia que- cunque*", ubi dicit quod panis et vinum post conse-  
crationem nichil aliud quam corpus Christi et sanguis  
credenda sunt, quia non est tunc cogitandum de alia  
quidditate. Et sic intelligitur dictum Augustini de verbis 15  
domini, sermone 28. "Dixi vobis quod ante verba  
Christi quo offertur panis dicatur; sed cum verba  
Christi deponita fuerint, iam non panis dicitur sed  
corpus Christi appellatur"; et intelligitur indubie corpus  
Christi, ut patet sermone 53. "Sacramentum", inquit, 20  
"pene omnes corpus Christi dicunt."

So also of many other expressions; as when Grosseteste says: "That there is no material substance of bread or wine." Et idem patet in aliis dictis sanctorum similibus;  
et ad eundem sensum refertur sequens negativa Linco-  
niensis dicentis, quod "non est tunc materialis sub-  
stancia panis aut vini", supple "in actu consideracionis 25  
fidelium", quia ipse indubie loquitur de qualitatibus  
sensibilibus, quas oportet tam secundum modernos  
quam antiquos fundari in quantitate corporea; et per  
consequens non poterunt per se esse.

Yet whether before or after the consecration it is good to remember how the nature of bread is reduced to unity: Augustine quoted. Notandum tamen quod, ante verba consecracionis 30 D.  
et post, licitum est et meritorium memorari, quomodo natura panis secundum gradus unionis redigatur ad unam integritatem, ut patet sepe per beatum Augustinum; ut patet, III<sup>o</sup> de trinitate capitulo septimo; et in libro sermonum, | sermone 55<sup>o</sup>. "Aliud," inquit, "est sacra- A 59<sup>d</sup>  
mentum, aliud virtus sacramenti." Sacramentum enim ore percipitur, virtute sacramenti, homo interior sa-

8. interret B. 14. aliqua CD. 25. vult vini sub forma panis et vini BC. 28. quam secundum B. 29. potuerunt CD. 35. After 55<sup>e</sup>; Idem docet Rabanus in "de naturis rerum", libro 5 capitulo XI. Aliud etc. B. 55<sup>f</sup> capitulo CD.

11. Decr. Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars, Dist. II, c. 74. 20. Aug. Serm. CCCLIV. Migne, t. 38, p. 1563. 35. Aug. In Joh. Tract. XXVI. Migne, t. 35, p. 1611.

ciatur igitur, quia panis corpus hominis confirmat,  
ideo ille congruenter corpus Christi nuncupatur; vinum  
B 68<sup>a</sup> autem, quia sanguinem | operatur in carnem: ideo ad  
sanguinem Christi refertur. Et possunt glozari quotquot  
5 doctores qui videntur dicere, quod sacramentum sit  
accidens sine subiecto; sed postquam generacio adultera  
signa querens in ista materia multiplicavit mendacia,  
publicata est ista blasfemia, quod eukaristia sit accidens  
sine subiecto.

10 Secundo obicitur per hoc, quod papa Innocencius III,  
qui habet spiritum et potestatem exponendi fidem  
scripture, determinat quod est accidens sine substancia;  
ut patet III decretalium de celebrandis missis, capitulo  
*Cum Marthe*. Sed hoc non habet necessitatem vel  
15 colorem ponere, nisi in sacramento eukaristie; igitur,  
ibidem est accidens sine subiecto; quo habito, opportet  
ponere illud accidens esse sacramentum, quia certum  
est quod aliquod sensibile signum remanet; si illud  
sit panis, tunc non est accidens; si illud sit accidens  
20 quod prius fuit in pane, ipso pane remanente, tunc  
non est accidens sine subiecto; ideo necesse est ponere,  
ut moderni fingunt, quod illud signum sacramentale  
sit accidens quod quondam fuit in pane, natura panis  
destructa. Illic sepe dixi, quod nec deus nec homo  
25 potest facere accidens sine subiecto. Et quantum ad  
dictum pape potest dici, quod ipse intelligit accidens  
esse in sacramento sine subiecto naturali, actualiter et

A 59<sup>a</sup> prin | cipaliter a fidelibus apprehenso; cum tota con-  
sideracio fidelium debet esse suspensa in corpore  
30 Christi, quod est figurative sacramentum sensibile;  
sicut, videndo carbonem ignitum, homo non considerat  
utrum sit lapis vel lignum; et sic de eius qualitate  
naturali correspondenter secundum Johannem Damasce-  
E. num est de eukaristia iudicandum. Sed ulterius cum  
B 69<sup>a</sup> non docetur | istum fuisse sensum pape predicti, scilicet  
Innocencii III<sup>ii</sup>; notandum quod nulli pape est creden-  
dum, nisi de quanto docuerit se loqui ex spiritu sancto,  
vel se fundaverit in scripture. Petrus enim et ceteri  
autores scripture docuerunt in facto, quod deus in eis  
40 locutus est sentenciam quam scripsierunt; posteriores

'As bread strengthens man's body, as wine makes blood, each is properly called the body and blood of Christ.'

*Second  
objection.  
It has been  
declared by  
Pope  
Innocent III  
that the  
Eucharist is an  
accident  
without subject.*

*Answer.  
If that accident  
be the  
sacrament,  
we must say  
that the  
accident  
remains, the  
nature of  
bread being  
destroyed.  
But even God  
cannot make an  
accident  
without subject.  
The Pope's  
declaration can  
be explained as  
that of the other  
doctors.*

*Still, as we are  
not sure that  
Innocent had  
this sense in  
mind,  
we must only  
believe the  
Pope when he  
speaks by  
inspiration of  
the Holy Ghost,  
or grounding  
his decision on  
Scripture.*

8. publicana AB; *ib.* est B. 12. subiecto B. 13. celo B.  
18. signi B. 20. pane *deest* B. 34. de *deest* AB.

14. Decr. Greg. lib. III, tit. 21, c. 6.

autem pape et quatuor magni doctores non devenerant ad hunc gradum.

Such is the doctrine of Augustine.

It is a ground for suspicion that the Pope did not allege Scripture for this doctrine.

We are not more obliged to believe it, than to think him right in levying tribute of 900 marks on England.

And as he did not learn this doctrine from Scripture, so neither by revelation.

It is not credible that this should have been revealed to Innocent now, and hidden for so long from so many Saints of the early church.

*Digression on the ancient and present times.*

Of old, God stopped heretics' mouths. But at present the lying spirit has been loosed,

Ideo sepe docet beatus Augustinus quod nulli eorum quantumcunque magna sciencia vel sanctitate prepolleat, credendum est, nisi de quanto se fundaverit in scriptura; ut patet 9<sup>a</sup> distinccione. Unde suspecta videtur presumpcio, cum in scriptura sacra sit omnis veritas, ut patet II<sup>o</sup>. *De doctrina Christiana*, in fine, et quantum oportet explicite fidelem credere, est ibi explicitum, quod papa iste noluit allegare fidem scripture pro ista sentencia. Item, extranea exposicio quam dat scripture De maioritate et obediencia, capitulo *Solite*, reddit hominem plus suspectum. Non enim oportet ecclesiam in isto sibi credere ut autori veritatis quam detegit: nec ut testi veritatis plus creditur in isto auctoritati sue quam in penitencia qua obligavit Angliam solvere nongentas marcas annuatim sedi sue. Sed illi | A 60<sup>a</sup> discredimus; cur igitur non isti, in quo contrariatur sanctis doctoribus? Item, cum non habuit ex se istam noticiam vel auctoritatem, oportet quod habeat ipsam 20 a deo per scripturam vel inspiracionem; nulla scripture sacra vadit ad hoc, cum regulariter et vere indubie vocat eukaristiam panem, et ad sensum alium | corpus B 60<sup>b</sup> Christi. Nec docetur revelacio, cum vite mundialitas et eius auctoritas, "in quo non fuit Est et Non" patule 25 contradicant; nec est credibile quod ista quidditas hostie latuisset autores scripture et cunctos sanctos episcopos et doctores per mille annos et amplius; et secundo millenario quando solutus est pater mendacii, et clerus excidit a religione Christi, sit ista veritas fidei revelata. 30 Volvat, inquam, homo sanctos primi millenarii, et non inveniet quod eukaristia sit quantitas vel qualitas sine subiecto, sed sepe contrarium; sed si hoc novissent, plus quam Innocencius ecclesie dixissent.

Unde deus obstruxit ora pape Innocencii et tocius 35 secte sue precedentis et sequentis usque ad demonium meridianum, quod nullus eorum audebat asserere quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens sine subiecto. Diebus autem nostris sunt magis laxata mendacia: in tantum,

1. decparant B. 4, 5. prepoleant B. 11. dant B. 23. Et deest B.  
27. scribere B. 28. in B. 36. subsequentes B.

6. Decr. Grat. 1<sup>a</sup> Pars. Dist. IX, c. 10. 8. Aug. De Doctrina Christiana, I. II, c. 42. Migne, t. 34, p. 65. 11. Decr. Greg., lib. I, tit. 33, c. 6.

quod quidam doctor, cuius religio foret secundum veritatem pacis in claustro quiescere, docmatizavit publice Oxonie scolam patris mendacii quod in multis casibus licitum et meritorium est mentiri. Licit autem in primo

so that a certain doctor has taught at Oxford that a lie is often a good deed.

5 millenario erant cum sanctis multi heretici, qui reprehensibiliter per sanctos doctores in mendacio sunt signati; non tamen in comparacione ad tempus secundi milenarii, cum tot sunt symoniaci, quod inter centum hereticos vix unum fidelem invenies; et specialiter 10 propter eos qui excusando et non reprobando consciunt symonie. Illi autem sunt magis proditorie

B 60<sup>e</sup> heretici ex consensu, dicente decreto Innocencii, distinctione 83, capitulo, *Error*, "non caret scrupulo G. societatis occulte, qui manifesto facinori desinit obviare".

Heretics are multiplied, especially those who consent to simony.

"Not to hinder a crime gives a share in it."

15 Ideo propheta precipit Ysaie LVIII: "Clama, ne cesses; Is. quasi tuba exalta vocem tuam et nuncia populo meo

We ought to raise our voices with Isaiah against such manifest crime.

LVIII,<sup>1</sup> sclera eorum." Nunquam enim ab origine mundi fuit manifestius facinus, quam est hodie symonia; et plures defendantes et tacentes non legi, et per consequens

20 non plures hereticos. Cuius magna causa est apostatarum taciturnitas. Unde in prima ciliade etatis ecclesie, mortuis quatuor magnis eius doctoribus, surrexit secta Machometi per instinctum unius cultoris signorum Sergii. Sed illi non erant ita copiose et regulariter heretici, 25 sicut sunt hodie satrape irreligiosi ecclesie. Ideo illi nimirum infideliter commixti fidelibus instar aque fervide, in aura gelida refrigescere faciunt caritatem multorum, ut dicit Christus in ewangelio.

In the first millenary, Mahomet and Sergius did less harm than the present sects.

Sed, redeundo, dicitur quod decretum pape non 30 asseruit sacramentum altaris esse accidens sine subiecto.

As a fact, the pope has not decreed that the Sacrament is an accident without subject

Et ideo stultum foret mendacium illud sibi imponere et super illud aliud sibi mendacium cumulare; ut

A 60<sup>e</sup> puta quod sit qualitas aut quantitas sine subiecto.

Et dictum pape potest glozari ut supra, sine hoc quod 35 illud accidens ponatur eukaristia. Nam secundum inventores huius mendacii, accidens potest remanere sine subiecto pane remanente. suspensa illius accidentis

The doctrine of those who sustain this goes much farther than what he says.

7. ad comparacionem B; ib. secundi B. 11. manifesto C. 16. annuncia B. 21. ciliade erased; clade A. 24. irregulariter B. 30. astruit omnes MSS. 31-33. Et — subiecto deest ACD.

13. Decr. Grat. 1<sup>a</sup> Pars, Dist. LXXXIII, c. 3. 23. Wyclif often refers to the Mohammedan religion as a heretical sect. This point of view would be true enough, without the allusions to Sergius.

informacione, et remanente panis prima significacione; quomodo ergo concludunt ipsi ex dicto pape quod sacramentum altaris sit accidentis?

Wyclif holds  
to Pope  
Nicolas'  
decree:  
"That the  
bread and  
wine are, not a  
mere sign, but  
Christ's body  
and blood".  
This doctrine  
ought to be  
maintained by  
all.

The laity should  
know that the  
bread, trans-  
substantiated,  
becomes  
Christ's body.

The Pope's  
decree should  
be respected if  
he agrees with  
Scripture.

Many think  
that he is often  
in  
disagreement.  
For instance,  
one of his  
positions about  
the Holy  
Trinity, at the  
Council of  
Lateran, seems  
to have no  
foundation in  
Scripture, in  
reason, or in  
the Fathers.

Ideo alias dixi, quod nolo contendere circa sensum pape in isto, sed in benedicto | decretali Nicolai secundum quiescere; De consecratione, distinctione II<sup>a</sup>. *Ego Berengarius*"; sicut prius dicit ecclesia, profiteor panem et vinum que in altari ponuntur esse post consecrationem, non solum sacramentum, sed corpus et sanguinem domini nostri Jesu Christi. Istam autem sententiam confirmatam ex fide scripture, et expositam per quatuor magnos doctores ecclesie, debet doctor credere et populo predicare et non remanere in capitulo infidelium excedente symplices ydiotas, qui dicunt quod

nec volunt nec sciunt dicere quid sit hostia consecrata.<sup>14</sup> Layci enim debent scire, quod est corpus Christi, et quod est panis, qui dum est sanctificatus convertitur et transsubstanciatur et fit corpus Christi; et qui non credit ac scit illud, non est dignus nomine sacerdotis. Quantum autem ad dicta papalia, dicitur, admittendo H. et honorando illa de quanto secundum aliquam scientiam veritatis sunt in scriptura fundabilia et non ultra.

Unde videtur multis quod multa dicta huius pape nimis exiliter sunt fundata. Nam dicta sua posita de summa trinitate, capitulo *Firmiter*, que dicuntur facta in concilio Lateranensi, | videntur nimis levia, non fundata; ut in isto: Natura divina nec gignit nec gignitur"; quia nec fundatur istud in scriptura sacra nec in ratione, nec in sanctis doctoribus. In scriptura sacra non, quia Ysaie LXVI dicit divina substancia: "Numquid ego qui alios parturire facio, sterilis ero?" quasi diceret, Is. LXVI, 9 ego natura divina communis tribus personis, prius produco verbum ad intra in patre, quam facio creaturam

<sup>14.</sup> excedentem CD.      <sup>24.</sup> sunt *deest* D.      <sup>30.</sup> dicit dicit ABD.  
31. quod dicit B.      33. verba B.

<sup>6.</sup> Decr. Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars, Dist. II, c. 42.      <sup>28.</sup> These words, as they stand, are not to be found either in the Decr. Greg. lib. I, tit. I, c. 1 or c. 2; though the c. 2 is obviously alluded to here. The Abbot Joachim had written a treatise against Peter Lombard, accusing the latter of making a fourth person of the Trinity: viz. the Divine Essence, common to the Three Persons. This treatise was condemned by the fourth Lateran council. C. 2 says: *Quaelibet trium personarum est illa res . . . natura divina . . . Et illa res non est generans, neque genita, nec procedens . . .*

B 70<sup>a</sup> aliquam parturire. | Nec est fundabile in scriptura sacra oppositum. Notaret igitur dictum beati Dyonisii in De divinis nominibus: "Non est", inquit, "audendum aliquid dicere vel cogitare de supersubstanciali et 5 occulta divinitate, preter ea que nobis per sacras scripturas de deo divinitus sunt expressa." Melius igitur foret illum hominem in isto tacere et exequi decreta ewangelica de symonia ad correccionem ecclesie. Quan- 10 tum ad raciones omnes palliantes eum per terminos ultimate abstraccionis, nescierunt evadere quin sicut natura divina producit universitatem creatam, sic pro- 15 ducebat filium ad intra sicut deus. Notaret igitur onerans ecclesiam docmatibus istis fantasticis, dictum beati Ambrosii dicentis: "Quid," inquit, "inveniri iniquius 1. presumpsisse me velle credere quod non lego?" Et 20 quantum ad testimonia sanctorum, patet quod Augustinus sepe concedit de deo, quod est substancia de sub- stancia et essencia de essencia. Quid igitur moveret 25 papam et concilium quorum mille non valerent in A 61<sup>a</sup> materia fidei unum Augustinum, sic temere diffinire | quod nesciunt? Numquid credimus favorem Petri Lombardi, quia episcopus Parisiensis, et odium abbatis Joachim, quia detexit defectus Romane ecclesie, movere ad onus ecclesie, ut condempnetur veritas et falsitas confirmetur? 30 Et quantum ad obiecta est pudor eis ipsos detegere. Et eodem modo sentitur de ista blasphemia decretali de maioritate et obediencia, capitulo *Solite*, et de illa lege inqua de pena et remissis, capitulo *Omnis 35 utriusque sexus*, cum aliis que iste papa instituit; sic non est color sed blasfemia, quod si Romanus pontifex quicquam instituit, tunc est iustum. Sed est argumen- 40 tum topicum, quod si quicquam preter scripturam

But the contrary opinion is no better grounded.

Better pursue simoniacs, who try to elude the Church's decisions by all subtleties, than teach mysteries about the production of the Word in God.

Besides, the Council seems to contradict Augustin, who is worth a thousand of those doctors.

Was it love for Peter Lombard or hatred of Abbot Joachim, that made them promulgate it? This were shameful.

That all things decreed by the Roman Pontiff are right is blasphemy;

1. fundabile C. 2. omnium B. 3. audiendum *omnes* MSS.  
7. ista B. 9. quam B. 11. dicentis sic B. 19. de essencia *deest* D.  
20. valent B. 21. quod *deest* D. 23. et . . . . . Joachim *deest* BCD.  
24. onere D. 25. falsitas ut D. 26. objectus *omnes* MSS. 27—31. de-  
cretali . . . blasphemia *deest* ACD. 32. multum D.

3. St. Dionysius Areop. De Divinis nominibus, c. 1. See Migne's Series Graeca, t. 3, c. 586. 22. For Joachim abbot of Flora in Calabria, see *Biographie Universelle*. It is worth notice that the condemnation in question took place in 1215, 13 years after his death. He does not seem to have been disliked at Rome, for Clement IV. in 1360, took the first steps towards his canonisation; and though he was never formally canonised, services are allowed in his honour on the 29<sup>th</sup> of May.

it is probable  
that whatever  
he decrees  
beyond  
Scripture is  
false.

If he defines  
the sense of  
Scripture,  
we should  
inquire how  
far he agrees  
with the  
Fathers.

The antiquity  
of the See of  
Rome proves  
nothing in  
favour of its  
holiness or its  
science.  
The patriarchs  
were before  
Christ.  
If nearness to  
Christ before  
his coming,  
and distance  
after, brought  
sanctity, we  
should have  
absurd results.  
God gives us  
light according  
to our holiness.

decreverit, tunc est falsum. | In hiis vero que nescit celaret vel publicaret suam ignoranciam et non in fide ambiguum oneraret ecclesiam. Ymmo fideles non attenderent dicta sua, nisi de quanto ipsa in scriptura fundaverit. Quod si sensum ponit scripture, videndum est de fundacione sensus, quomodo concordat cum sanctis doctoribus primi millenarii etatis ecclesie; si extraneat vel discordat ab eis, est suspectus; et specialiter si urget fideles sibi credere. Nec valet sed inficit allegacio auctoritatis sciencie vel potestatis paparum, qui debent sine pompa veritatem suam ostendere instar beati Petri, et quod ex eleccione dei sunt immediati Petri vicarii.

Nec movet antiquitas temporum, quod sint in sanctitate et sciencia prepollentes; quia ex fide patet quod in medio temporum incarnata est lux vera sapientia dei patris, et ante ipsam precesserunt Adam, Noe et Abraham; post ipsos vero Moyses, David et prophete, post Christum vero successerunt apostoli, martyres et confessores. Unde insanis est credere, quod proportionabiliter ut prelati sunt ante Christum tempore sibi propiores, et post Christum tempore tardiores, sic sunt sancctiores; quia sic Caifas excederet Moysen et regulariter nostri episcopi Augustinum. Cum autem deus sit lumen liberum illuminans, copiosius illuminat in fructuosa sciencia quemcunque qui ipsum propinquius imitatur in moribus.

6. quem D. 18. vere ACD. 20. insanis *omnes* MSS. 23, 24. regulariter *deest* B.

## CAPITULUM SEXTUM.

Sed obicitur per doctores primi millenarii. Videtur *Objection from  
the Fathers  
refuted.*  
B 70<sup>e</sup> enim quod aliter sit corpus Christi in altari quam presencia vel significacione; quia aliter foret eque vere 5 in aliis signis suis: ut puta in scriptura, in ianuis per quas intravit et in corpore celesti quod penetravit in ascensione. Et non solum hoc, sed corpus Christi foret a pari omnia illa corpora, cum mille aliis inconveniencias que secuntur.

10 Hic dicitur quod plures ista obiciunt, sed dimittunt radicem: cum igitur conceditur quod "non omnis panis, sed panis benedictionem accipiens sit sacramentaliter corpus Christi", quia Christus hoc dicit. Et sic intelligi potest Augustinus 3<sup>o</sup>. *De trinitate*, capitulo 7<sup>o</sup>, 15 quando dicit, "Apostolus Paulus potuit signando predicare dominum Jesum Christum et aliter per linguam, aliter per epistolam, aliter per sacramentum corporis et sanguinis eius: nec linguam quippe eius, nec membranas et atramentum, nec signantes sonos lingua editos, 20 nec signa literarum que scripta sunt pelliculis, corpus and that Christ, Christi et sanguinem dicimus, sed illud tantum quod said of that bread: This is A 61<sup>e</sup> ex fru etibus terre acceptum et prece mistica consecratum, rite sumimus ad salutem;" cuius causa videtur my body; and not of the other things.  
quod Christus qui mentiri non potest, panem illum dixit 25 corpus suum, sed non sic alia recitata.

Ideo illum modum sacramentalem essendi dicit It is His body, Damascenus esse inexplicabilem. Est itaque hoc sacramentum corpus Christi non ydemptitate, sed figurative. not identically, but in figure.  
Ideo dicit Augustinus in quodam sermone de corpore

4. vere *deest* CD.  
24. quia B.

10. pueriles ACD.

20. corporis B.

6. The crystalline spheres and the *primum mobile*, believed to be solid. 14. Aug. *De Trinitate*, lib. III, c. IV (t. 42, p. 873, 874 of Migne).

Christi: "Corpus Christi est veritas et figura est veritas, dum corpus et sanguis virtute ipsius, in verbo ipsius panis et vini substancia efficitur. | Figura vero est illud B 70<sup>a</sup> quod exterius sentitur." Et idem patet super titulum B. psalmi XV. Nec audivi aliquem sane intelligere, quin 5

Augustine, id quod Augustinus dicit esse corpus Christi et saying: "What is of the fruits guinem quod est "ex fructibus terre acceptum et prece of the earth, mistica consecratum", debet esse panis aut vinum verbis taken and consecrated by sacramentalibus consecratum. Unde, ut recitatur de a mystic prayer is the body and Consecracione, distinccione 2<sup>a</sup>, Augustinus dicit, quod 10 blood of Christ": "non omnis panis, sed qui accipit benedictionem a evidently means Christo, sit corpus Christi." bread and wine.

Wyclif's description of the Sacrament under its two forms.

None of the nine sorts of accidents were 'taken from the fruits of the earth', and 'consecrated with mystic prayer'.

A question: whether in Wyclif's theory any part of the world, since Christ is present, may rightly be called Christ?

After the judgment Christ will be all in all; therefore all will be Christ, His humanity existing through all space.

Unde solebam describere sacramentum siccum, album et rotundum, quod est panis, factus per verba sacramentalia corpus Christi. Et sacramentum calicis est 15 vinum, factum per verba sacramentalia sanguis Christi.

Unde nulli dubium, qui vidit dicta Augustini et novit verba philosophorum, quod Augustinus non intelligit per id quod ex fructibus terre acceptum est aliquod novem generum accidentis, quia notum est, quod nec 20 quantitas, nec qualitas illa fuit accepta ex fructibus terre, cum sepe tam qualitas quam quantitas variata est, sed essentia naturalis | , que quondam fuit in terre A 61<sup>a</sup> fructibus, componit panem sanctificatum. Et in pertinens ac irrationabile foret credere accidentis esse per se prece 25 mistica consecratum; sed totum ministerium iacet in pane et vino, cuius sentencia est hodie omissa.

Sed difficultas est utrum quelibet pars mundi, cum habet humanitatem Christi sibi presentem, et sit signum Christi efficax, sit quodammodo ipse Christus. Et videtur 30 quod sic ratione *a simili* et ex textu apostoli quem indubie dicit Christus Cor. XV et Coloc. III, quod post diem iudicii Christus erit omnia in omnibus: ex quo | B 71<sup>a</sup> sequitur, quod tunc omnes essentie erunt Christus. Et C. confirmatur ex hoc quod Christus erit humanitus ad 35 omnem punctum mundi; sed ubicunque erit humanitus, erit aliquid ibi existens; igitur Christus ad omnem punctum mundi erit aliquid ibi existens. Ex quibus cum veris infertur, quod sicut in sacramento altaris

1. et omnes MSS. 2. in verbo *deest* D. 3. in verbo ipsius post efficitur D. 20. nomen D; *ib.* accidere B. 25. omne pro esse CD. 27. amissa B. 29. sit *deest* CD. 30. sit propterea B. 33. in *deest* AB. 37. aliud CD. 37, 38. igitur — existens *deest* B.

Christus multiplicatur et est ipsa hostia, ita post diem iudicii erit omnia; nam in qualibet creatura beati videbunt humanitatem Christi, clarius quam nunc videmus in sacramento altaris. Quo ad istud dico opinative citra fidem, quod aliquod istorum trium probabiliter posset dici; *primo*, quod Christus, secundum significacionem et non secundum substanciam, erit tunc omnes et singule creature; ut est tactum. Vel, *secundo*, quod erit omnia genera creaturarum in beatis ad sensum expositum; sed non erit aliquis dyabolus vel dampnatus. Vel *tercio*, quod erit omne genus hominum in memoris suis per assimilacionem; homo enim vocatur in evangelio omnis creatura, et quodlibet membrum Christi dicitur quodammodo ipse Christus. Nam nimis leve videtur quod Christus erit omnia, hoc est ydee, que sunt omnia, quia hoc necessario est semper.

A 62<sup>a</sup> | Sed, dimisso isto sensu, ad hoc michi opinabiliter D. notandus est auctor Ambrosius in libro suo *De divinis officiis*, vel ut aliis placet, autor *De divinis officiis*, qui cepit istam sentenciam de beato Ambrosio, ut probabiliter creditur, ex secreto medie misse natalis domini. Unde vidi librum solemnem et antiquum intitulatum: "Ambrosius, de divinis officiis." Scribit autem iste doctor catholicus et solemnis, quicunque fuerit, capitulo, B 71<sup>b</sup> *de sacramento altaris* sic: "Materia | , inquit, "vel substancia sacrificii quod erat tunc, et nunc est in manibus pontificis nostri, non simpla est, sicut nec pontifex ipse solius divine vel humane solius substancialiter est; est enim tam in pontifice, quam in sacrificio divina substancia. Est et terrena; terrena in utroque est illud quod corporaliter vel localiter videri potest; divina in utroque verbum invisible, quod in principio erat deus, apud deum; nam cum diceret idem magnus pontifex, panem et vinum tenens: *hoc est corpus meum,* 35 *hic est sanguis meus;* vox erat verbi incarnati, vox

Wyclif's opinion (*not belief*).

<sup>1<sup>st</sup></sup> That Christ will then be all things but only metaphorically.  
<sup>2<sup>nd</sup></sup> He will be all things in the Blessed only.  
<sup>3<sup>rd</sup></sup> That by union with them He will be the whole human race.

Return to main point; *De Divinis officiis* quoted at length.

The matter of the sacrifice, like the nature of Christ, is not simple: for in both there is the divine and the terrestrial nature. In both, that which is seen is terrestrial. When Christ said: This, etc. he joined the bread to His flesh.

5. potest B. 17. opinabili ACI). 18. beatus Ambrosius BI). 19. vel — officiis deest CI). 21. dominii omnes MSS. 28. solus ACI).

20. The book entitled *De Divinis Officiis* was ascribed to Alcuin, but was probably by a later writer. (See Migne, Patr., t. 101, p. 1173.) But this passage does not occur in the work; there is not even a chapter of that name; so it is probable, as will be seen later, that Wyclif's copy was much interpolated; and as this passage is really worthy of the best times of the Church, it may have been written by Ambrose. 21. Secr. ad Missam in Aurora, die Nat. Dom. (Missale Sarum.)

eterni principii, verbum antiqui consilii, verbum quod humanam acceperat naturam, idem in carne manens, panis et vini accipiebat substanciam, vita media, panem cum sua carne, vinum cum suo iungebat sanguine; quem ad modum in corporis sensibus menti et cor-<sup>5</sup> pulento aeri, media lingua intervenit et, utrumque coniungens, unum sermonem efficit: quo in aures demisso, id quod audibile est cito absumitur et | transit; A 62<sup>b</sup> sensus autem sermonis et in dicente et in eo qui audit integer permanet et inconsumentus. Sic verbum patris 10 carni et sanguini quem de utero virginis assumpserat et pani ac vino quod de altari sumitur, medium interveniens, unum sacramentum efficit; quod cum in ora fidelium sacerdos distribuit, panis et vinum absumitur et transit. Partus autem virginis cum unito sibi verbo 15 patris et in celo et in hominibus integer permanet et E. inconsumentus; sed in illo in quo fides non est preter | B 71<sup>c</sup> visibiles species panis et vini nichil de sacrificio per- venit; quem ad modum asinus ad liram, cum irracio- nales aures erigit, sonum quidem audit, sed modum 20 cantilene non percipit." Et paulo post: "Panis," inquit, "invisibilis, qui de celo descendit vita est; panis visi- up out of the earth' and of the 'invisible bread that came down from heaven' as being 'one bread.' bilis qui de terra crevit, unus tamen panis est, quo- modo qui de celo descendit et qui conceptus est et natus de utero virginis, Christus unus est. Qua propter 25 qui visibilem panem sacrificii comedit et invisibilem a corde suo non credendo expellit, Christum occidit, quia vitam a vivificato seiungit, et dentibus suis laniat mortuum corpus sacrificii, atque per hoc reus est cor- poris et sanguinis domini. Sed dicit adversarius: vivens 30 et sensibilis in corpore suo mobilisque est deus et homo Christus; corpus autem sacrificii vitam non habet, mobile non est. Hoc assumpto, concludit sic: Corpus igitur domini non est, Christus non est. Ad hec, in- the latter consisting in the five senses. requiris; est enim vita animalis, est et vita spiritualis; But the latter vita animalis quinque sensibus fungitur: visu, auditu, gustu, odoratu et tactu. Hec vita animalis est, carnalis If the Jews had carnally eaten est, caro est. Dominus autem dicit quia caro non Christ's body, it would not profitest quicquam. Si enim Judei carnem quam crucifi- 40 xerunt comedere et devorare sicut carnem agni maluis- Jo. 64 contrary.

2. huiusmodi B. 12. medium deest B. 13. sacrificium B.  
16. et deest D. 24. qui deest B. 28. a vivificativo A. 34. hoc pro  
hec B. 35. quomodo B.

B 71<sup>a</sup> sent, aut potuissent integrum vivamque absorbere, sicut  
cetus maris viventem absorbuit | Jonam, nichil illis  
profuisset; ymo maiori sacrilegio conscientias suas  
polluissent. Animalis igitur vita, quia caro est, si in  
5 corpore domini adesset, nichil nobis prodesset; ac per  
hoc istam requirere superfluum est. Numquid celestis  
homo per sacrificium hic administraret, quod nobis  
non deerat? non enim prudencie eius est curiositatem  
nostram non necessariis pascere miraculis. Querebat hoc

10 curiosus Herodes, quando erat *ex multo tempore cupiens*  
*Luc. Jesum ridere, quia sperabat signum aliquod ab eo fieri;*

8, 11 *quod quia non fecit sprerit illum, et remisit indutum*  
*alba teste.*

XXIII. Solam igitur vitam spiritualem in sacrificio  
nobis administrare sapienciam eius decebat. et nostre

15 necessitatibus expediebat, que est sanctificatio et benedictio,  
misericordia et veritas et pax. Hec autem eius vita

A 62<sup>a</sup> spiritualis sic est in corpore sacrificii, absque vita  
animali, quomodo lux solis absque colore eius

in corpore lune nobis presentatur. Igitur hiis pariter

20 ex rebus sacrificium nobis construxit summus pontifex,  
quibus totus homo vegetatur, id est, ex verbo dei, in

quo vivit homo, et ex terre fructibus quibus solum  
vivit corpus; hiis dumtaxat, qui omnium primi sunt.

Panis enim eorum, que ad esum, vinum eorum que ad  
25 potum pertinent, primum est".

F. Ex ipsis verbis doctoris Ambrosii precipui seu sui  
discipuli, patet sententia sepe dicta. Unde in doctoribus

non incarceratis in claustro secundum tradiciones  
humanas viguit fides eukaristie secundum aliquid: ut

B 72<sup>a</sup> patet de quatuor magnis doctoribus, | et specialiter de  
dicto Ambrosio in primo millenario, et de hesternis

doctoribus, licet nimis seductis. Henricus Gawnt dicit  
vere quod remanet post consecrationem quedam "panis

aliquitas"; et Ardmachanus dicit cum Ambrosio, Jeronimo

35 et Johanne Damasceno quod panis demonstratur pro-  
nomine verbi Christi: "hoc est corpus meum"; et ita

sensit balbuciens glossa ordinaria, super capitulo *Non*  
*omnis panis de consecratione, distinccione 2<sup>a</sup>.*

Animal life  
would only have  
satisfied  
curiosity; and  
Christ would  
not satisfy the  
curiosity of  
Herod.

That we get  
only spiritual  
life from the  
sacrament was  
ordained by  
His wisdom;  
the Word feeds  
the soul; and  
the fruit of the  
earth, the body.

All this  
confirms our  
doctrine.  
The four great  
doctors of the  
first ten  
centuries agree  
with him.

So do others:  
e. g. Henry of  
Ghent, Fitz-  
Ralph, and the  
Gloss.

13. spiritualem in marg. A; deest CD. 18. calore CD. 20. in-  
struxit B. 25. sunt B. 32. seductus Henricus gawnt D; Gawnt de  
Gandano B.

32. Henry Goethals of Ghent, a pupil of Albert the Great and  
a fellow-pupil of Aquinas, was born in 1217, and died in 1293.  
Author of a work on Theology in three folio vols. See Valère André,  
*Bibliotheca Belgica*, p. 445; *Nouvelle Biographie générale*, t. XXI.

It is therefore  
doubtless that  
Christ made  
the bread to be  
His Body.

Blindness of  
the second  
thousand years.

Digression  
concerning the  
binding of  
Satan,  
which means  
the less or  
greater power  
he has to  
tempt men.

According to  
Augustine, the  
'thousand  
years' means  
most probably  
the sixth  
thousand,  
when Christ  
was born.

He says that  
as Adam was  
created and fell  
on the sixth day  
it was fitting  
that Christ  
should come in  
the sixth age of  
the world.

Christ, the  
strong man  
armed, took  
possession of  
the sixth age.

Et correspondenter indubie oportet dicere de nostra  
propositio[n]e sacramentali quod Christus demonstrat  
panem, quem fecit corpus suum.

Et talis cecitas contigit post ligacionem sathane mille  
annis pro tempore solucionis sue, de quibus Apok. XX. 5  
Pro quo notandum primo quod ligacio sathane ac eius  
solucio non erunt nisi restriccio et laxacio potestatis  
sue ad temptandum et seducendum populum | Christi- A 63<sup>a</sup>  
anum. Secundo notandum est dictum spiritus sancti  
Apok. XX ubi dicit sathanam esse ligandum mille annis; 10  
et, post solvendum magnum populum, seducturum per  
Gog et Magog, de quibus Ezech. XXXVII. Sed tertio G.  
notandum secundum Augustinum, 20 *De civitate Dei*, ca- Ezech.  
pitulo 9, pro intellectu prophecie Johannis, quod per illos  
mille annos quibus ligatus est Sathanas, probabilius 15  
intelligi potest sextus millenarius, in quo natus est  
Christus Constat autem secundum catholicos calculantes  
quod fluxerunt quinque etates mundi terminate ad  
Noe, Abraham, David, transmigrationem et Christum;  
et currebant in illa etate quinque millia annorum; et 20  
amplius secundum varie calculantes fideliter annunt  
Christum natum in 6<sup>o</sup> millenario | etatis mundi. Quod, B 72<sup>b</sup>

secundum Augustinum, fuit consonum, quia sicut in  
fabrica mundi in principio primus Adam fuit 6<sup>o</sup> die  
creatus et perditus, ut patet Genes. I et III, sic secundus 25  
Adam in 6<sup>o</sup> millenario etatis mundi fuit natus de  
virgine, et per ipsum primus Adam cum genere suo  
est redemptus; ita quod millenarius annorum correspon-  
deat diei in prima seculi septimana. Christus igitur,  
fortis armatus, pro suo millenario custodivit atrium 30  
domus sue; et ideo dicitur, Luc. XI<sup>o</sup>: "Cum fortis ar- Luc.  
matus custodit atrium, in pace sunt omnia que pos- XI, 21  
sidet" Licet enim sathan dissolutus sit ad tempus  
modicum in 6<sup>o</sup> millenario, movens membra sua ad  
occidendum Christum, sicut sexto | die solutus fuit ad A 63<sup>b</sup>  
temptandum primum parentem, hoc tamen fuit ad  
comodum domus Christi. Nec sic seducti erant de H.

1. debet CD. 5. 2<sup>o</sup> D. 7. relaxacio B. 18. quod deest CD;  
ib. a pro ad B. 24. fabricae ACD; in deest ACD. 31. Dum ACD.

25. It was believed during the Middle Ages that Adam was  
only 7 hours in Paradise. Cf. Dante, *Paradise*, XXVI, v. 139  
and seq. Gary's note quotes Petrus Comestor: "Quidam tradunt  
eos fuisse in Paradise septem horas". 26. Aug. De Trinitate,  
I. IV, c. 4. (t. 42, p. 892, of Migne).

familia domus dei, ideo omnia que Christus possidet ad beatitudinem sunt in pace, ut patet de apostolis, martiribus, confessoribus et virginibus: quantum paro-  
 tibus domus sue. Illi enim purgantur et meliorantur  
 5 tribulacionibus, quas ex membris dyaboli paciuntur;  
 heretici enim et presciti non sunt de familia Christi,  
 licet Gog et Magog Christianos simplices persequantur.  
 Gog enim qui interpretatur *tectum* secundum doctores  
 catholicos, signat antichristum; quia secundum leges  
 10 quas invenit, palliat et *tegit* eclipsacione dampnabili  
 legem Christi, et introducit sectas dampnabiles, qui ut  
 loquitur Jacobus, quasi velamen habentes malicie liber-  
 tatem, in ypocrisi decipiunt Christianos. Hii sunt qui  
 B 72<sup>c</sup> blasfeme preponderant religionem | quam statuant supra  
 15 religionem Christi, quam in quantitate et figura ac  
 colore corruptibilis habitus et non in vita Christi et  
 moribus palliant sectam suam; hii gerunt velamen per  
 quod excecant simplices et in velamine docent in eis  
 20 malicie libertatem. Et error in hiis signis adinvencionum  
 religionis private, sicut et heresis symonie necessitando  
 precesserant errorem de accidentibus sacramenti. Magog  
 autem qui interpretatur *de tecto*, signat complices  
 antichristi, cuiusmodi est tota secta sua, sive sint  
 A 63<sup>c</sup> legiste de scola sua, sive seculares domini | , qui per  
 25 Magog, id est Antichristi complices, sunt seducti, sive  
 religiosi possessionati vel exproprietarii, qui tenent cum  
 Gog et celant et tegunt legem Christi. Lex vero perfecte  
 libertatis docet omnes Christianos debere sequi Christum,  
 sine velamine tegentes eius vestigia, sic quod humilior,  
 30 pauperior et in nomine Christi ordinate faciens quic-  
 quid fecerit devocior, dicitur ex fide ewangelii esse  
 maior. Sed Gog et Magog simulant quod, ut sunt  
 mundo maiores, plus solemnes et cupidi, sunt ex in-  
 stitucione sua apud deum maiores; licet sint membra  
 35 dyaboli tegentes, ut plurimum, viam Christi. Et ista  
 l. infidelitas Antichristi nimis perturbat ecclesiam; nam  
 ex fide capimus, quod nullus ducatus vel papatus in  
 mundo per se prodest, sed obest fidelibus, nisi de  
 quanto servavit et tenendam docuerit viam Christi. Gog  
 40 autem cum tota secta sua facit oppositum. Cum enim  
 Matth. Christus dicit: "Qui non est tecum contra me est,"  
 XII, 30 patet quod dicit: Gog in vita | et doctrina non observat  
 B 72<sup>d</sup>

Though the devil was loosed for a while, it was for the good of the Church, which triumphed by its Saints.

Gog, whose name means a roof, is the Antichrist; because he will cover the law of Christ with damnable excuses.

Of such are those who prefer their private religion to Christ's, thus bearing a veil to blind the simple.

Magog, whose name means 'of a roof' signifies the accomplices of Antichrist, and comprises all those who hide the law of Christ. This law teaches all Christians to follow Christ's footsteps without a veil.

Worldly and greedy, these men claim to be great with God. This infidelity troubles the Church exceedingly; for the pope does rather harm than good, unless he keeps to the path of Christ; from which Gog and his sect go astray.

It. quia ACD. 10. ad invencionum D. 22. deteccio B. 23. modi deest B.  
 26. ut D. 33, 34. instinzione CD. 36. fidelitas D. 39. servaverit CD.

precipue vitam et legem Christi; non est Christi vicarius, B.  
sed de dyaboli familia mendacissimus Antichristus.

If the 'thousand years' mean all the devil's reign, St. Augustine has nothing against this.

Si autem per mille annos intelligatur universitas temporis per quod dyabolus sic regnavit in Gog et Magog, sanctus doctor non contradicit; sic tamen quod nullus fidelis sequatur prelatum, nisi de quanto tenuerit et docuerit viam Christi; quia aliter tegit, obliquat et obnubilat viam ad patriam. Et perfecta libertas foret carere tali preposito. Ymo ! videtur, quod quicunque A 63\* scienter communicat cum tali heretico, sit excommunicatus a deo. Brachium autem seculare conculcans tales hereticum, non communicat eius operibus, sed extinguit.

We must stick to the form of Scripture words. Cum itaque fidelis debet tenere formam verborum scripturae sacre cum sensu catholico, quod est longe melius quam vagari in sensu ambiguo, negatis verbis, potest.

words, quam vagari in sensu ambiguo, negatis verbis; patet<sup>15</sup>  
It is better to say simply that quod catholicus debet concedere sathanam ligari mille  
Satan is to be bound a thousand years. Gog et Magog seducere multas gentes. Sive autem per  
annis, ut dicit prophetia Johannis, et post solvi et per

Sog et Magog seducere malius genes. sive autem per illos mille annos intelligatur sextus millenarius in quo natus est Christus, sive universitas temporis in quo sua 20 malicia reprimetur, potest utrumque intelligi satis catholice. Concedamus igitur formam verborum fidei quam Christus instituit, quia ipsa multum excedit formam verborum, quam extraneando scimus adipisci. Item ob-K. servacio illius forme adducit in sensum quem deus 25 intendit, unde ydiote presbiteri observant hanc formam meritorius sine sensu quam despicientes hanc formam circa sensum curiose vagando.

This rule Item, si licet fideli hanc formam abicere, licet totam

scripturam sacram corrigere et magnam eius partem 30  
tanquam hereticam condempnare. Sic enim concedunt  
socii quidam, quod hereticum et impossibile est panem

There are some that, holding to this rule, say that the bread and wine remain after consecration, contrary to what is ascribed to St. Thomas; but that the bread itself becomes an accident. et vinum remanere post consecrationem. Sed moderni socii dicunt concorditer, de quo I gaudeo, quod panis A 64<sup>th</sup> et vinum sanctificata sunt hoc sacramentum. Et nullus 35 eorum audet dicere fidem, que inponitur sancto Thome et doctoribus de ordine fratrum minorum. Ex confessione itaque eorum sequitur, quod panis et vinum remanent post consecrationem; quod concedunt, sed negant quod natura panis remanet sacramentum, sed ille panis est 40 accidens, nesciunt cuius generis. Contra hoc primo

4. regnat ACD. 5. tamen deest D. 25. inducit B. 31, 32. condempnare et impossibile est panem et socii CD. 31. Sic — concedunt deest C.

manifeste patet, quod si natura istius albi remanet et hoc album est panis, tunc natura panis remanet. Item, cum nec sit fundabile in scriptura sacra nec in dictis sanctorum de sexto millenario, quod panis ille sit quantitas aut qualitas, vel alicuius generis accidentis, videtur presumptuosa stulticia glozare sic fidem scripture, per unum insolitum et infundabile. Securum igitur est qui-  
escere in nomine panis concesso ab omnibus Christianis, quoque glossa illa per impossibile sit educta.

But this is evidently false, and has no foundation either in Scripture or in the early Fathers.

It is safer to keep to the word bread, without these explanations.

L. 10 Item, vel est panis ille corpus Christi vel non. Si sic, non est fundabile quod ille sit quantitas aut qualitas; nec est exponentis glossare speciem limitatam per unum analogum, cuius pars que est genus generalissimum plus quam exponenda species specialissima  
15 ignoratur. Nam hoc foret remocius quam sic dicere:

If the bread is the body of Christ, it is not an accident.

It were better to say: "Bread (i. e. substance) is the body of Christ."

For that were nearer than to say: Bread (i. e. an accident).

"panis est corpus Christi", hoc est: "substancia est corpus Christi"; quod tamen foret nimis remotum, exponere speciem specialissimam propter suum genus generalissimum; longe plus michi foret alienum exponere  
B 73<sup>b</sup> speciem specialissimam per unum ana | logum sibi extraneum, cum illa significacio non fundatur. Si autem A 64<sup>b</sup> ne | gatur panem illum qui est sacramentum esse corpus Christi, inciditur in errorem Berengarii renovatam per Romanam ecclesiam, ut patet De Consecracione  
25 distincione 2<sup>a</sup>. *Ego Beringarius.* quod est contra fidem scripture, et quatuor magnos doctores. Videat igitur fidelis et iudicet inter ista: textus fidei scripture dicit quod panis est sacramentum altaris et corpus Christi; textus autem alias, fictus et non fundatus,  
30 simulat quod non panis, sed unum genus accidentis ignotum, est sacramentum altaris.

And if the bread is not Christ's body, Berengarius' error is renewed.

Secundo fidelis dicit quod secta ista intelligit per accidens per se non accidens sed panem et vinum, quorum consideracio est sopita. Sed adversarius scripture sine evidencia dicit se intelligere per panem accidens sine subiecto, quod secundum precipuos doctores M. non potest adeo intelligi. Et tertio fidelis glosat dicta dicencium, quod accidens est sine subiecto, hoc est, sine subiecto suo principaliter: et sic de consideracione  
40 fidelium existente. Sed adversarius dicit, quod tam

It by "accident" the nature of bread and wine is meant, how can it be without a subject?

And if it be said: without a subject in the minds of the faithful, the distinction is disallowed.

9. edocta ACD. 10. vel B. 24. ut deest B. 37. glossa B.  
38, 39. hoc — principaliter deest ACD.

24. Decr. Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars, Dist. II, c. 42.

autenticum dictum intelligi debet omnino sine glossa.  
Et sic qui concedunt quod sacramentum altaris est

We speak more painis factus sacramentaliter corpus Christi, dicunt hono-  
honourably of the sacrament, rabilius quidditatem sacramenti, quam illi qui singunt  
saying that its quiddity is bread, i. e. a substance.

episcopi nec intelligent accidens nec subiectum; quo-  
modo igitur introduceretur preter fidem scripture tam  
extranea et impossibilis novitas ad difficultandum fideles

specialiter? cum illud accidens quod vocant panem sit

infinitum imperfeccioris nature quam panis materialis. 10

An accident has the lowest possible quiddity.

Non est igitur honor vocare illud accidens corpus Christi,  
vocandus est itaque panis ce | lestis, sicut vocat | Augu- A 64<sup>e</sup>  
stinus, non imperfeccior in natura quam panis materialis,  
sicut singunt, quod corpus Christi sit abiectissimum in

15

Both our opinion and theirs hold that the bread is the body of Christ.

Conveniencia itaque duarum sectarum istius materie  
stat in isto quod utraque concedit panem sensibilem esse  
tam sacramentum altaris quam etiam corpus Christi.

Sed diversificatur in sentencia, cum nostra secta dicit  
quod hoc sacramentum est in natura substancia panis 20

corporaliter motiva, sicut dicit autor "De divinis officiis"

But ours makes superius recitatus; sed secta contraria dicit, quod panis  
it natural bread; ille est accidens per se sine subiecto; et sic intelligitur,  
and the other, ut inquit, quelibet scriptura sacra vocans sacramentum  
an accident without subject. altaris panem. Sed hoc videtur michi difficile propter 25 N.

But, 1<sup>st</sup> it is heretical to expound Scripture contrary to the Spirit.

tria; primo, quia secundum beatum Jeronimum, quicun-  
que pertinaciter exposuerit sacram scripturam aliter  
quam spiritus sanctus flagitat est hereticus; sed spiritus  
ille veritatis non flagitat in predictis scripturis fidei illum

sensem: igitur etc. Minor patet ex illo Luc. XXIV. 30

Quotations to prove that this is not the sense intended.

"Cognoverunt eum in fraccione panis"; et ex illo 1 Cor. X: "Panis quem frangimus, nonne communicacio I. Cor. X, 16  
corporis domini est"; et ex illo 1 Cor. XI<sup>o</sup>. "Prohet and  
autem se ipsum homo, et sic de pane illo edat." Se- XI, 28

cundo movet me quod magni sancti qui exposuerunt 35  
fidem scripture pro millenario veritatis Christi, quando  
ligatus est pater mendacii, exposuerunt illam fidem scrip-  
ture ad sensum contrarium: ut patet ex dictis Ambrosii  
in multis locis. Et tertio movet me horror in con-

3<sup>rd</sup> Many absurdities flow from this theory.

5. apostolus B. 10, quasi D. 13, quasi D. 29, in — scripturis  
deest B. 32, Panem CD; ib. cui benedicimus B. 33, corporis deest D.  
35, exposuerant ACD.

26. Jeron. Comment. in Jeremiah, l. 5, c. XXIX (t. 24, p. 859  
of Migne).

veniencium que sequuntur; inter que hoc unum recito,  
 quod panis qui est sacramentum altaris et per con-  
 A 64<sup>4</sup>sequens corpus Christi, est infinitum | imperfeccius in  
 natura quam panis materialis non consecratus quem  
 B 73<sup>5</sup> pistor efficit vel quam mice | quas edunt catelli de  
 mensa dominorum; vel eciam quam minuta cuiuscunque  
 abiecti panis extrahendi de pera pauperis peregrini, quia  
 est panis abiectissimus quem deus umquam potuit pro-  
 creare. Que si ego pertinaciter defenderem, forem tan-  
 to quam hereticus comburendus, quia in precipua fide  
 scripture "hoc est corpus meum", fingerem sensum  
 iuxta quem deus faceret ignotum accidentis corpus suum.

For instance,  
 that the bread  
 which is  
 Christ's body,  
 is much more  
 imperfect in  
 itself than  
 common bread.

Which if I  
 defended,  
 I ought to be  
 burnt as a  
 heretic.

4. quasi *pro* quam D. 5. quem *pro* quam C; *ib.* catuli B. 7. extra-  
 hendum ABC; corr. D. 8. deus *deest* D.

## CAPITULUM SEPTUM.

Some say: Sed ulterius arguitur per beatum Gregorium et usum Christ is received under ecclesie, qui dicunt quod corpus Christi in altari sumitur the appearance in forma, specie, vel similitudine panis, que non possunt of bread: these are now poni nisi accidencia et eukaristia: unde *De Cons. distinc-* 5 *to be confuted.* They allege the cione 2, capitulo: *Species.* "Species et similitudo illa- liturgy and Augustine. rum rerum vocabula sunt, que ante fuerunt: scilicet panis et vini. Unde in fine cuiusdam misse oratur et dicitur: *Perficiant in nobis domine quesumus tua sacra- menta que continent, ut que nunc sub specie panis et 10 vini gerimus rerum veritate capiamus.*" Et eadem videtur sententia Augustini in libello, *De Eukaristia;* ubi dici- turi ibi scribi. "Nec dubitare debet aliquis, quin panis et vinum convertantur in veram substanciam Christi, ita ut non remaneat substancia panis et vini: cum multa 15 eciam alia in operibus dei non minus miranda videmus; hominem enim substancialiter mutat deus in lapidem, ut uxorem Loth; et in parvo artificio hominis fenum et silicem in vitrum. Nec credendum quod substancia panis | A 65\* et vini remaneat, sed panis in corpus Christi et vinum 20 in sangwinem mutatur, solum qualitatibus panis et vini remanentibus."

Especially in his work, 'De Eucharistia'.

But the minor of their argument (i. e. Augustine and the Liturgy mean what we mean') is false. They do not even know what they mean, and their words are like those of magpies.

Hic dicitur, quod minor est falsa. Unde musitantes B. super isto instruerent scolam fidelium | de significacione B 74\* forme, speciei et similitudinis, quia aliter vere diceretur 25 quod sicut loquuntur ut pice, ignorantes quid sit sacra- mentum altaris, ita voces ignorant proprias de nomi- nibus harum rerum. Conceditur igitur quod corpus Christi 26. est pro sit ABC.

3. que pro qui B. 5. ponit deest D. 7. autem AC. 9. Pro- ficiant B. 11. genus B; ib. veritatem B. 14. convertatur B. 18. in deest D. 19. filicem ACD. 26. est pro sit ABC.

6. Deecr. Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars, Dist. II, c. 34. 9. St. Greg. Lib. Sa- crament. Sabb. in XII lect. (t. 78, p. 142 of Migne). Also, Postcom. Sabb. IV Temp. Septembris (Sarum Missal; Dickinson, p. 550).

decretum Gregorii, sed constat quod ex illo non sequitur quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens per se sine subiecto, vel quod nec panis nec vinum remanet sacramentum; sed bene infertur oppositum. Sequitur enim: species et similitudo sunt vocabula panis et vini que ante fuerunt, ergo remanent panis et vinum que ante fuerunt; quia aliter forent nimis falsa vocabula rerum que non possunt esse: que foret conclusio ydiote. Et sic sub specie panis et vini gerimus hic figuram eus celestis, quo manducabimus in patria visione beatifica loco fidei corpus Christi.

Et quantum ad allegatum de beato Augustino videtur tam ex stilo quam ex sentencia quod nunquam erant in ista verba vel sentencia Augustini, quia nec sunt in 15 legibus vel posterioribus doctoribus communiter allegata; sed eorum opposita in libris Augustini communibus C. crebrius inculcata. Ideo dicunt quidam quod ista sunt verba cuiusdam gandofoli, qui istud mendacium dicitur fabricasse; secundo dicitur quod ista dicta sunt sermones 20 cinaliter ab Augustino, Anglorum episcopo; et tertio dicitur quod quidam discipuli magni Augustini post eius A 65<sup>b</sup> obitum taliter fuerunt locuti: ut Aurelius et alii. | Sed esto quod ista sint verba magni Augustini doctoris scriptis suis famosis contraria; tunc dicitur quod primum est 25 verum, quod panis et vinum convertuntur in corpus B 74<sup>b</sup> Christi et sanguinem. Secundum dictum est | verum et pertinens quod sicut uxor Lotu[m] versa est in statuam Gen. XIX, et fenum et silex in vitrum ut testatur XIX, 26 salis, Genes. XIX, et fenum et silex in vitrum ut experientia, sic quodammodo miraculose panis et vinum 30 convertuntur in corpus Christi et sanguinem, sed in dictis mirabilibus manet eadem essentia sub utroque terminorum, sicut in transsubstanciacione ista supernaturali remanet tam panis quam vini essentia; et cum sit miraculose corpus Christi et sanguis, sopita consideracione quidditatis panis et vini, sortitur nomen excellencius secundum religionem quam ex fide scripture credimus: cum vere et realiter virtute verborum sacramentalium fiunt corpus Christi et sanguis. Quomodo autem hoc fiat, cum nec fiat per viam ydemptificationis, 40 nec inpanacionis, debet fidelis sedule perscrutari. Ego

Christ is indeed received under the appearance of bread.

But if the appearance correspond to that which was before, then the bread really does remain.

Authenticity of the quotation denied, because it is never cited anywhere.

It may be that one Gandofolus forged these words;

that St. Augustine of England or a disciple of the great Augustine spoke them. But were they by Augustine, he would contradict himself; so we should stand by the other passages.

Besides they can be explained. In the instance of Lot's wife and flint changed into glass, their essence remains.

So also of the Eucharist.

This is done neither by identification nor by impanation:

3. remaneat B. 15. pastoribus CD. 16, 17. sed — inculcata *deest* B.  
22. Ancelinus B. 28. *filex* ABD. 29. sed C; *ib.* sed miraculose C.  
32. sic B; *ib.* translacione B. 36. sed C; sed secundum D. 37. ex virtute B.

but rather by a sacramental conversion.

To make Augustine say that only the qualities remain is to slander him: for all admit that not only qualities, but quantity, and seven other sorts of accidents, remain.

Yet we may say that the sensible qualities alone remain because they alone are present to our mind.

And the word 'form' can be taken for the substantial form (as in Scripture).

And also for the accidental form:

So when the substantial form of bread is seen by the mental eye, Christ appears under that form.

autem intelligo hoc fieri per viam sacramentalis conversionis, aut quoconque alio nomine ista mutatio catholice sit detecta. Tercium autem verbum impositum d. Augustino: quod non remanet substancia panis aut vini, sed solum eorum qualitates, capit calumpniam: cum 5 necesse sit quantitates et septem alia genera respectuum remanere; in tantum quod subtiliores et famosiores ecclesie dicunt quod sacramentum per se remanens est quantitas. septem aliis generibus accidentium informata. Illi igitur impugnabunt istam sentenciam. Sed potest dici 10 quod panis et vinum non remanent post consecrationem | in actu distincto consideracionis fidelium, sed A 65<sup>e</sup> tantummodo sensibiles qualitates. Licet enim | quantitas B 74<sup>e</sup> remaneat, tamen iuxta testimonium Averrois non est de genere activorum, sed consequitur materiam primam que 15 habet dimensiones interminatas. Non valet igitur Gog et Magog pro tempore solucionis patris mendacii fingere super isto sancto mendacia.

Sed ulterius notandum, pro istis tribus vocabulis, quod forma quandoque accipitur pro forma substanciali, et 20 quandoque pro forma accidental. Exemplum primi est dictum ad Philippens. II<sup>o</sup>: "Cum in forma dei esset, non rapinam arbitratus est esse se equalem deo, sed semet ipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens"; ubi fideli non debet verti in dubium, quin per "formam 25 dei" et "formam servi" intelligitur deitas atque humanitas, quibus Christus est duplex substancia, scilicet deus et homo Secundo modo accipitur pro forma accidental E. accepta largius vel striccius, ut in scriptura communiter accipitur pro qualitate secunda ex substancia quantitate 30 et qualitate prioribus resultante. Et sic corpus Christi videtur per fidem sub forma panis, quando forma substancialis panis videtur oculo mentali et forma accidentalis panis videtur oculo corporali, sed corde creditur quod corpus Christi veraciter est in pane. Species autem 35

1. hec B. 16. et deest C1. 21. primum D. 23. rapina AD.  
24. semet deest ACD. 26. intelliguntur D.

20. We may note here that 'substantial form' can be taken in two senses, both of which imply that the substance exists. In one, the form is only a part, but the part that determines the rest to be what it is. In the other it is the abstract expression of all that makes the subject: as, *humanity*. Wyclif cleverly avails himself of these scholastic senses of 'form' to get out of the difficulty.

accipitur, nunc pro forma substanciali communi vel in-  
 Gen. I dividua, ut patet Genesis I<sup>o</sup>; et nunc pro forma acci-  
 passim.  
 Ps. dentali, ut psalmo XLIV<sup>o</sup>: "Specie tua et pulchritudine  
 XLIV,<sup>5</sup> tua"; et ita similitudo nunc accipitur pro forma sub-  
 stanciali, exemplata a suo principio; ut verbum dei et  
 spiritus hominis dicuntur "similitudo dei patris" vel "ad  
 B 74<sup>d</sup> similitudinem trinitatis"; et quandoque accipitur | "si-  
 A 65<sup>d</sup> miltudo" pro forma | accidentalis: sive sit relacio sive  
 qualitas secunda in quantitate fundata. Unde Augustinus  
 10 in sermone "De sacramento altaris" et ponitur: *De con-  
 secratione* distinccione secunda "*Utrum sub figura*" —  
 "Nichil," inquit, "racionabilius quam ut, quia nos si-  
 militudinem mortis Christi in baptismo accepimus, simili-  
 tudinem quoque corporis et sanguinis eius sumamus."  
 15 Illa autem similitudo non potest esse accidentis sine  
 subiecto.

Per ista potest intelligi textus Gregorii loquentis de  
 nomine vel vocabulo reali; "sed absit fidelem concludere  
 accidentis esse sine subiecto; ut non opportet sed repugnat,  
 20 si spiritus sanctus apparuit in specie columbe, ut dici-  
 tur Luce III<sup>o</sup>, tunc illa species fuit accidentis sine subiecto.  
 Deus enim nunquam illudit hominibus per ista mendacia,  
 licet talibus sepe similitudinibus substernat peregrinas  
 F. substancias". Unde Augustinus in "De Agone Chri-  
 25 stiano" sic inquit: "Hinc accedit magnum sacramentum,  
 ut, quia per feminam nobis mors acciderat, vita nobis  
 per feminam donaretur; ut de utraque natura scilicet  
 feminea et masculina devictus dyabolus cruciaretur; qui  
 de ambarum subversione letabatur, cui parum fuerat ad  
 30 penam si ambe nature in nobis liberarentur nisi eciam  
 per ambas liberaremur. Neque hoc ita dicimus, ut domini-  
 num Jesum Christum solum verum corpus dicamus  
 habuisse; spiritum autem sanctum fallaciter apparuisse  
 oculis hominum, sed ambo illa corpora vera credamus  
 35 corpora". "Sicut enim," inquit, "non oportebat, ut homines

9. qualitate B. 13. accepctius AB. 23. et peregrinas D. 27. da-  
 retur B; ib. scilicet deest B.

11. Decr. Grat. Dist. II, c. 72. This 72<sup>nd</sup> chapter seems made  
 up of quotations from Paschasius, according to the note of Fried-  
 berg's Leipzig edition. Olgerus ascribes it to Augustine, 'De sacra-  
 mento altaris'; which is not the title of any of his works now  
 extant. 24. Aug. De Agone Christiano, c. XXII (t. 40, p. 303,  
 of Migne).

And the word  
 'species' is  
 taken for both  
 accidental and  
 substantial  
 form.  
 Examples.

And the word  
 'similitude' is  
 also taken for  
 'substance'  
 sometimes; as  
 in Augustine,  
 who speaks of  
 receiving the  
 similitude of  
 Christ's body.

St. Gregory  
 says we must  
 not suppose  
 that  
 'appearance'  
 means an  
 accident  
 without subject.  
 when the Holy  
 Ghost was seen  
 under the  
 appearance of  
 a dove;  
 For God does  
 not delude men.

And Augustine,  
 speaking of the  
 Incarnation,  
 says that  
 Christ's body  
 was a true one.

falleret spiritus | Dei | sic non oportebat ut homines A 66<sup>a</sup>  
falleret spiritus sanctus sed salvos faceret; omnipotenti B 75<sup>a</sup>

And that it was autem domino deo, qui universam creaturam de nichilo,  
as easy for God to create the body of Christ, corpus sumere columbe, sive aliarum columbarum mi- 5  
as the body of a dove; so as nisterio figurare, sicut non fuit difficile ei verum corpus  
not to deceive men. sumere in utero Marie sine virili communione; cum  
creatura corporea, et in visceribus femine ad formandum  
hominem, et in ipso mundo ad formandam columbam,

All the Doctors agree that God does not delude His Church. imperio domini voluntatique serviret." Voluit autem iste 10 G.  
sanctus, sicut et omnes fideles doctores, quod sicut deus

non simulat mendacium nec illudit ecclesie, sic non sunt  
fingenda miracula nec scripture sentencia, nisi ex deo  
fuerint evidenter patencia.

Such opinions as imply the contrary are blamable. Unde culpandi sunt qui claudicantes utroque latere 15  
blasphemant in sensum scripture apostoli. Hii vero fin- I. Cor.  
For instance, when they make the word 'bread' in I Cor. X apply to Christ alone because the same material bread can be eaten by only one man once. gunt, quod loquitur I ad Cor. X solum de pane Christo, X,  
qui de celo descendit. In cuius evidenciam notant tex- 16, 17  
tum apostoli dicentis "Quocienscunque manducabitis panem", quod solum potest intelligi de Christo, cum 20  
nec multi, nec aliqui multociens manducant eundem panem materialem. Sed sic arguentes notarent logicam scripture ad convincendum suam stulticiam, ut in prin- Act.  
cipio religionis sue Act. IV<sup>o</sup>, quo dicitur quod "multi- IV, 32  
tudinis credencium erat cor unum et anima una"; et 25  
I<sup>a</sup> Cor. X: "Unus panis et unum corpus multi sumus"; et  
signanter Levit. XXIII: "Vocabi : tis hunc diem celeber- A 66<sup>b</sup>  
rimum atque sanctissimum; omne opus servile non Lev.  
facietis in eo; legitimum sempiternum erit in cunctis XXIII,  
habitaculis et generacionibus vestris". 30

Which assertion is proved by Scripture to be untrue. Istis notatis patet quod quicunque quocienscunque B 75<sup>b</sup>  
comederint hostiam consecratam manducant eundem II.  
panem materialem, cum omnes ille hostie sunt idem panis in numero; et sic multociens comedit homo datum panem; quia, ut noverunt philosophi, homo interpolat 35  
multociens in quocunque esu corporali cum dicit se accepisse a domino, quomodo Jesus accepit panem in manus suas, pro nocte cene; et de illo pane ac sibi correspondente prosequitur, et unum dicit esse ebrium

Many offerings may be one bread individually. The Apostle describes the Lord's Supper among Christians: his remark.

1. sanctus *fro* Dei ABCD. 1. 2. sic — sed *deest* ACD. 4. difficile ei ACB. 7. viri commixtione B. 17. I *deest* C. 17—21. pane Christo . . . cum *deest* ACD. 39. dedit B.

10. The whole of this passage varies much from the text of Augustine. After *communione*, l. 7, Augustine has *fabricare*.

et alium esurire post cenam illam, in qua indubie cenantes vescebantur pane et vino corporali, ut per hoc pascantur spiritualiter in memoriam passionis Christi. Ideo apostolus vocat eam cenam dominicam.

5 Unde glossa communis (et sumitur a beato Ambrosio) exponit illud verbum apostoli 1 Cor. XI "unusquisque enim cenam suam presumit ad manducandum." "Notat," inquit, "illos qui munera que offerebant altaribus sibi resumebant, nec aliis non habentibus communicare vole-

10 bant; offerebant enim divites panem et vinum habundanter, ut benedictione et consecracione sacerdotali sanctificaretur, et dominici corporis et sanguinis sacra-  
15 mientum confirmaretur. Post celebracionem vero sacri misterii et consecracionem panis et vini, suas oblaciones vendicabant et, aliis non communicantibus, soli sume-

A 66<sup>e</sup> bant | ut inde eciam inebriarentur, aliis esurientibus". Et

The Gloss explains this passage, saying that the rich refused to share their offerings with the poor.

hec fuit irreligiosa presumpcio facta in memoria Christi

I. qui dilexit in ordine suo habere omnia in communi. Et

B 75<sup>e</sup> patet quod apostolus loquitur de pane corporali. Et

20 tercio moveret fidelis forma verborum apostoli; nam cum 'quotiens' dicit interpolationem, debemus autem manducare spiritualiter corpus Christi in natura sua quotidie atque continue, patet quod apostolus loquitur de manduacione corporali que per vices debet fieri;  
25 scribit enim Augustinus, super Joh. omelia 25<sup>a</sup>: "Crede et manducasti": cum igitur semper debemus credere, patet quod semper debemus spiritualiter manducare, sed sacramentaliter per vices: turpe itaque foret quod ignorancia merdosa sophismatis in uno ydiota seduceret ec-  
30 clesiam in antiquo sensu fidei scripture.

Sed homo peccati nititur multipliciter cumulare inconveniencia super ecclesiam. Nititur enim inpugnare ut heresim illum cantum ecclesie.

Hic presens testatur dies  
35 Currens per anni circulum,  
Quod solus a sede patris  
Mundi salus adveneris.

And thus some were drunken, and some hungry. It is evident that the Apostle here makes mention of corporal bread.

The word 'quotiens' implies a thing done several times. Augustine has words to the same effect.

It is therefore shameful ignorance and sophistry to suppose that we cannot eat sacramentally more than once.

All this proceeds from the malice of the Man of Sin.

7. enim *deest* B. 17. in memoriam CD. 18. dixit B. 20. fidelis A.  
29. mardosa CD: *ib.* sophistis C.

7. Wyclif is mistaken in his quotation. The Glossa ordinaria is by Walefridus Strabo; this passage is from Raban Maur's Enarr. in Epp. Pauli, l. XI, c. 11 (t. 112, p. 102, of Migne). 25. Aug. In Jo. Tract. XXV, t 35, p. 1602 of Migne. 34. Hymn at Matins on Christmas Day, *Sarum Breviary*, Procter I, CLXXI. Ascribed to St. Ambrose. See Migne, t. 17, p. 1201.

The same day  
can occur  
several times  
as the Church  
hymn says.  
Every year we  
sing: 'This is  
the day that the  
Lord hath  
made'.

And the priest  
repeats every  
day: *As often  
as ye do  
this . . .*  
All this could  
be done only  
once!

*Digression. The  
Man of Sin  
proclaims  
heretical the  
right of  
temporal lords  
to take the  
temporalities  
from the  
Church;*  
Yet the bishops  
rob the poor:  
which is worse.

And as the  
Church goods  
belong to the  
poor, the king  
dom ought to be  
aided by them,  
when necessary.

*The unjust  
division of  
endowments  
makes 'one  
priest to be  
drunken and  
another  
hungry'.*

If we wish for  
the fruit of the  
sacrament, we  
must share our  
temporalities  
with others.

Si enim conceperit quod eadem dies natalis domini evenerit annuatim, posset faciliter intelligere quod ecclesia annuatim manducat hanc cenam domini. Ad cuius noticiam expergesaceret quod ecclesia canit annuatim in repetita solemnitate paschali, "Hec dies quam fecit dominus". Et sacerdos quotidie celebrando dicit sine mendacio quod Christus "acepit hunc preclarum calicem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas." Et quod plus A 66<sup>a</sup> movet, sacerdos auctoritate Christi quottidie repetit; "Hec quocienscumque feceritis in mei memoriam facietis." Sed io K. iuxta istam insaniam hec facta singularia nullociens possent fieri. Sicut igitur procuravit quod | nendum regnum B 75<sup>a</sup> nostrum, sed ut ipsi episcopi publicarentur heretici, ita vellet hereticare usum universalis ecclesie.

Vellet enim hereticare, quod domini temporales possent auferre temporalia ab ecclesia delinquenti; et per consequens regnum et episcopi qui in parliamentis consciunt quod domini temporales regni nostri licite auferunt temporalia ab ecclesiis exteris, eciam spoliando; sed per tallagia auferunt multa temporalia a paupere 20 regno ecclesia Anglicana. Lex vero dei precipit, quod cicias omnes dotaciones quibus clerus dotatur in Anglia auferantur, antequam iste ablaciones sic continuenter. Unde, ut alias declaravi, regnum nostrum instaret in parliamentis quod de bonis temporalibus cleri magis vacanti- 25 bus rex et regnum ad eius subsidium releventur; omnia enim ista sunt bona pauperum, de quibus propter superfluitatem et ocium regnum debet pro tempore necessitatis citissime relevari: et potissime cum istud posset fieri exoneratis religiosis et episcopis habentibus religiose tan- 30 tum de temporalibus, quantum oportet ad explecionem sui ministerii. Et communitas populi regni nostri in qua super alia regna stat eius prosperitas salvaretur. Moveret | A 67<sup>a</sup> autem sacerdotes qui debent confidere corpus Christi supra dicta sententia apostoli, quod ipsi precipue debent 35 habere omnia in communi, sed unus esurit et aliis est ebrios propter iniquam particionem patrimonii crucifixi. I. Cor. Recolerent, inquam, illius sentencie apostoli I. Cor. X. X. 17 "Unus panis et unum | corpus multi sumus, omnes qui B 76<sup>a</sup> de uno pane et de uno calice participamus." Si igitur 40 vendicamus fructuose participare corporis sacramentum,

4. eciam B. 6. quasi quotidie B. 10. meam B. 20. tallagia B.  
23. oblationes CD; ib. continuenter B. 29. istis CD; ib. potest B.  
36. unus quidem B. 37. inquam C. 38. Ideest CD. 41. sacramenti C.

debemus observare legem naturalem, membrorum communicando temporalia quantum opportet ad sustentacionem cuiusque membra, sine superfluo reservato. Quod cum pertinaciter omittimus, manifeste patet, quod non sumus fructus corporis Christi participes.

L. Ex isto textu apostoli videtur probabiliter inferri, quod in tempore suo et continue post servabatur fides in Grecia, quod sacramentum altaris sit essencia panis et vini; quia tantum organum spiritus sancti non omisisset to discernere hanc heresim, si cum istis paribus scivisset esse hereticum quod post consecrationem panis et vini substancia remaneret. Nunc autem vocat ipsum reguliter panem et nunquam accidens; sicut beatus Ambrosius, Johannes Damascenus, et usus illius ecclesie usque 15 hodie contestantur. Secundum devium, in sensu scripture nimis peccat in logica, ponens regulariter sanctum apostolum intelligere per panem sacramentalem vel cenam dominicam, non panis substancialm, sed accidens sine subiecto; et sic nedum intelligit per panem in scriptura A 67<sup>b</sup> apostoli illis | duobus capitulis accidens sine subiecto, sed regulariter in quadruplici ewangelio per panem sacramentalem intelligit accidens sine subiecto.

This passage of the Apostle proves the faith of the Greeks; for it had been heretical to believe that the substance of bread and wine remained after consecration, he would never have used those terms.

Et ista heresis ad tantum perturbat ecclesiam quod prelati eius vix intelligunt oracionem dominicam. Scribit enim Augustinus libro II<sup>o</sup>, "de sermone domini in monte", quomodo ista quarta peticio: *panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie*, que ponitur | Math. VI<sup>o</sup> intelligi potest sane tripliciter: primo quod per panem quotidianum intelligitur universitas vescibilium. que huius 30 vite necessitatem sustentant. Quamvis enim docemur regnum dei et iusticiam eius primo querere, tamen post triplicem petitionem correspondentem trinitati increate, licet nobis istud petere quod Christus pangit nobis adidere. Et ista videtur sententia Johannis Crisostomi, opere B 75<sup>b</sup> imperfecto, omelia 14: Unde quia non debemus esse solliciti circa panem istum in crastinum, ideo Christus vocat ipsum quotidianum et nobis esse hodie exhiben- M. dum. Secundus sensus catholicus quem Augustinus ap- 40 probat est quod per 'panem quotidianum' intelligitur sacramentum altaris, quod licet non quotidie sacramen-

This heresy troubles the Church so much that she cannot even understand the Lord's Prayer.  
'Give us our daily bread' can have three several senses: the first, referring to mere corporal food:

the second, to the Holy Sacrament.

9. omissis C. 20. duabus B. 21. irregulariter B. 29. intelligatur B.  
37. ipsum deest B.

25. Aug. De Sermone Domini etc., l. II, c. 7. Migne, t. 34, p. 1280.

taliter sumamus, tamen quotidie in ecclesia conficitur, vel a fidelibus spiritualiter sumitur ad salutem. Unde, ad commemorandum nostram quotidianam egenciam,

The third, to  
the observation  
of God's law.  
The signanter petitur hodie nobis dari. Tercius sensus quem sanctus plus approbat, est quod per panem quotidianum intelligitur preceptorum divinorum observatio, de qua idem precipit Joh. 6: "Operamini non cibum qui perit"; et post exposicionem istius sensus catholici concludit sanctus: "Si quis," inquit, "illam de victu corporis necessario,

And St. Augustine says that we must take these three meanings together, as one. vel de sacramento dominici corporis sentenciam istam wult accipere, oportet ut coniuncte accipientur ista tria: ut scilicet panem quotidianum simul petamus, et necessarium corpori et sacramentum visibile et verbum dei invisible".

Now the new heresy renders it impossible to understand the words in this manner. Ista autem heresis tantum obnubilavit | ecclesiam quod B 76<sup>e</sup> prelati, eciam maiores, ignorant hunc sensum medium 15 oracionis dominice. Balbucunt enim fideles petere: "panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie"; hoc est, "Give us our accident without its subject," their prayer should be. tale accidens nobis dari.

Even heathens would laugh at that, Teneamus igitur antiquam sentenciam de oracione N.

Digression explaining the different parts of the Lord's Prayer. dominica, quomodo dividitur in duo: primo, quod tria petuntur in quibus trinitas est placata, in cuius signum triplex pronomen *tuum* in triplici prima peticione sibi 25

Three petitions referring to God; dirigitur. Sed in secunda parte, continent peticiones quatuor pro sancta matre ecclesia, quadruplex pronomen

Four, to the Church, nostra et nos inseritur, ad denotandum quod debemus super omnia deum diligere et consequenter debemus

We must love our holy mother, the Church, more than ourselves. plus nobis diligere sanctam matrem ecclesiam: et cum 30 hoc sit de lege communi nature, patet quod antichristus non potest hoc tollere, nec cum contrario dispensare;

This being law of nature, it follows that there is no dispense for it. igitur clerici dispensatores sacramenti altaris debent vere pauperem vitam et habere omnia in communi, a quo si perti | naciter deficiunt sunt symoniace heretici, A 67<sup>d</sup>

Therefore the clergy ought to lead a life of poverty and have all things in common. It not, they are spiritualibus commutanti: ut patet primo capitulo "De

7. non *deest* B; non *perit* B. 8. *huius* B. 11. *omnia ista* B. 15. *ignorant* B. 18. *nobis hodie* B. 29. *deum deest* BCD. 30. *ecclesia deest* BCD.

30. "Describunt autem periti symoniam, quod est inordinata volicio temporalia pro spiritualibus commutandi" (*J. Wyclif, De Simonia*, c. I, p. 2).

*symonia*". Cum igitur omnis affectans dotacionem cleri supra statum expropriatarium, quem Christus instituit, habet huiusmodi volucionem inordinatam, manifeste patet

and no one desiring the endowment of the clergy can escape heresy.

O. quod omnis talis sit symoniace hereticus. Et confirmatur B 70<sup>a</sup> ex hoc quod seculares principes habent precipue potestatem in seculari dominio, quam clerus ntititur per suam dotacionem minuere; sed hoc est ordinacioni dei

To strive for an endowment is to diminish the resources of the State, and to resist the Powers.

Rom. XIII, 2 resister. Unde pertinenter dicit apostolus Rom. XIII;

"Qui resistit potestati, dei ordinacioni resistit"; deus enim ordinavit seculares potestates stare in suo dominio, et clerum suum ordinavit vivere de temporalibus elemosinis secularium, ad revocandum eos tam per vitam quam per doctrinam a seculo. Sed constat ecclesie, quod Anti-

christus resistit utrinque ordinacioni divine in secta sua

15 omnimode procurando contrarium. Non tamen credi debet, quin secularis debet secundum formam ewangelii clericis de vite necessariis providere; quia, nisi hoc fecerint in mensura, numero et pondere, exciderent a suo dominio, sicut exidunt dando stulte contra trinitatem

20 predictam clero dotacionem perpetuam. Et in pertinacia istius heresis totus mundus corruptitur. Et secunda pars patet ex hoc, quod contra sacras leges sapiencie

Yet it is the duty of the secular powers to provide the clergy with what is necessary to its maintenance; they will come to ruin, if they do not.

2nd Blasphemers and sacrilegious men;

for they seek to pollute the Church with worldliness.

3rd they are anathema.

For, not keeping Christ's law, they do not love Him:

those especially who ought to protest and who do not.

A 68<sup>a</sup> dei patris studiose maculabant cum mundo magnam partem ecclesie, hii consensu et hii opere; et hoc est

Objection: Your argument goes to prove that temporal lords too should have all in common.

Answer: So they ought, in a different way,

but all should be for the good of the Church.

P. 25 blasphemum sacrilegium. Tertia pars patet ex textu ap-

I. Cor. stoli I Cor. ultimo: "Si quis non amaverit dominum XVI, 22 Jesum Christum anathema sit": Nemo autem amat ipsum.

Jo. nisi observaverit legem suam, cum ipsem dicat Jo-

XIV, 23 hannis XIV: "Si quis diligit me, sermonem meum ser-

Jac. II, 10 vabit" cui iunctum illud Jacobi II<sup>o</sup>: "Qui offendit in uno factus est omnium reus", patet in facto, quomodo

B 77<sup>a</sup> clerus anathematizatus apostata et specialiter proditores veritatis qui mutescunt clamare contra has hereses; sunt

enim causa quare corruunt leges Christi. Quod si obi-

35 citur: iuxta istam sentenciam dominos temporales debere habere omnia in communi; concedi debet conclusio;

quicquid enim habuerit potentatus seculi, et non ad edificationem tocius ecclesie conformiter legi Christi,

habet illud tyrannice, sed sicut aliam quantitatem et

40 qualitatem cibi habent musculi et aliam oculi, sic debet esse de membris ecclesie, cum clerus de subtili vivens

debet cibaria residuo subtiliter preparare.

Objection: Your argument goes to prove that temporal lords too should have all in common.

Answer: So they ought, in a different way,

but all should be for the good of the Church.

14. utrique B.  
31. cum pro in B.

25. I deest C.

30. iunctum CD: ib. ultimo B.

## CAPITULUM OCTAVUM.

### De multiplicacione corporis Christi.

Ulterius restat videre de multiplicacione corporis Christi, in qua materia, sicut multiplicantur sicutie de multiplicacione sacerdotum et membrorum ecclesie, sic multiplicantur mendacia de multiplicacione corporis Christi in eukaristia.

Three ways of  
understanding  
this word:  
“multiplication  
of Christ’s  
body”.

1<sup>st</sup> That the  
same body  
should be  
quantitatively  
in several places  
at once.

2<sup>nd</sup> Quantita-  
tively in one  
place, virtually  
in many.

3<sup>rd</sup> By nature  
in one, by  
power in many  
Instances of  
this third way:  
a king is  
somehow in  
all his kingdom;  
a universal in  
all its  
individuals.

I. The first way  
is inadmissible;  
for any  
quantity would  
then be  
infinitely great.

Tribus autem modis potest intelligi multiplicatio corporis Christi. Primo, quod idem corpus in numero secundum se totum dimensionaliter simul sit per quantumcunque diversa loca; secundo i modo, quod idem A 68<sup>b</sup> corpus in numero simul sit dimensionaliter per unum locum et virtualiter in natura sua per alium. Et utraque istarum multiplicacionum est famosa apud diversas sectas in materia de eukaristia. Tercia via, quod idem corpus sit tantum per unum locum sibi adequatum secundum naturam eiusdem sed in signis aut virtutibus sit simul per diversa loca, sicut corpus Christi est in qualibet particula hostie consecrata, et rex secundum Augustinum est simul in multis partibus regni sui. Sicut enim idem 15 commune multiplicatur in qualibet eius supposito, cum sit illorum quodlibet, sic corpus Christi multipliatur B 77<sup>b</sup> in qualibet hostia consecrata, cum sit quodammodo illarum quelibet: nec in natura sua recipit denominaciones varias, licet ipsa signa multipliciter variantur. Et sic 25 corpus Christi est vel virtualiter, vel cum hoc sacramentaliter hic nobiscum.

Contra primum replicatum est alibi quod omne quantum est infinitum magnum; quia da quod non, pedalis

1. Capitulum et titulus desunt ABD. 9. Christi deest ACD; ib. primo modo E. 21. comune CD. 21, 22. cum sit illorum quodlibet deest ACD.

28. Here Wyclif commences a series of arguments that are very difficult to follow, partly on account of the reasoning in itself (*reductio ad absurdum*) partly because of probable copyists' errors. There is a like and still less comprehensible series in *De Benedicta Incarnatione*.

B. quantitas contra ipsa est tam magna sicut potest esse; sed infinitum magna potest esse; igitur infinitum magna est. Supposito maiori, patet minor ex opinione; quia illa quantitas potest per multiplicacionem secundum d<sup>5</sup> versas partes extendi per totum mundum et per consequens equari toti mundo; et sic in infinitum. Et sic punctus foret linea, superficies, et corporeitas et qualiscunque species figure, foret figura contrarie speciei; et sic qualiscunque numerus sensibilis multiplicatorum hominum foret qualiscunque numerus: et eodemmodo de tempore et loco. Si enim hora secundum partes esset A 68<sup>e</sup> infinitum continuata, infinitum longum tempus foret; sed hoc iuxta adversarios posset fieri; igitur infinitum longum potest quocunque tempus esse; et periret omnis certitudo quantitatis. Et cum illa sit maxima, periret omnis certitudo.

A foot, v. g.  
measured  
against it would  
be as great as  
it could be;  
i. e. infinitely  
so; for the  
multiplication  
of this quantity,  
by hypothesis,  
is indefinite;  
therefore also  
that of its  
measure.  
Other  
absurdities  
noted.

Eodem autem modo reducitur de qualitate; nam naturalis potentia multiplicata in infinitum multum posset facere, et sic infinitum magna potentia foret; ymmo quelibet qualitas corporea infinitum intensa foret; quia per viam varie extensionis infinitam intensionem sub equali quantitate posset aquirere; ut cum hoc posset B 77<sup>e</sup> esse sine alteracione eiudem qualitatis, sequitur quod omnis talis qualitas sit infinitum intensa. Si enim eadem 25 albedo foret infinites multiplicata, per eundem situm foret infinitum immutativa visus et sic de ceteris qualitatibus, et ratione duarum qualitatum eque forcium coextensarum et qualitative componencium unum totum, foret qualitas resultans in duplo intensior; et sic in 30 infinitum. Et sic ad omnem punctum foret infinitum intensa qualitas; quia infinitum foret varie composicio qualitatis: et tamen tota foret eadem qualitas. Et sic eadem species singularis in anima potest significare naturaliter infinita. Et conformiter arguitur de aliis 35 generibus accidentis.

The same argument may be applied against the hypothesis of the same natural quality existing in several places: as all quality has some force, there might be an infinite amount of force.  
Concrete example: whiteness.

C. Tercio arguitur de qualitatibus, que sapiunt privacionem, ut de raritate, de azimitate, claritate et suis

This quality being the same, would thus be infinitely intense as existing in all space.

Another argument, drawn from negative qualities.

1. ita B. 2. sed deest CD. 3. Supposita CD; *ib.* quod B.  
6. in deest B. 12. contaminata B. 16. quelibet BCD. 21. coextensionis B. 22. essenciali CD; *ib.* et B. 26. aliis BD. 27. secundarum B. 28. qualitudine D. 32. cum *omnes* MSS.

37. *Azymitas*, a word barbarously coined according to the School (*panitas*, *equinitas*, *asinitas* etc.) to express the state of being unleavened.

The Sacrement oppositis. Videtur enim quod infinitum magna sit raritas  
 would be infinitely rare relecta in hostia consecrata; quia omnis que fuit in ali-  
 and dense at once; qua parte materie panis infinitum magna fuit in aliqua  
 eius parte intensiva; | quia, ut singunt, infinite materie A 68<sup>a</sup>  
 prime poterunt coextendi; ex quo cum dei omnipotencia 5  
 sequitur, quod infinitum magna sit raritas in sacra-  
 mento altaris. Et certum est quod comiscetur aliqua  
 densitas. Non enim negandus est sensus, quin sicud  
 sacramentum est album, ut dicit Thomas super distinc-  
 cione 12, questione prima, sic est tam rarum quam 10  
 densum cum aliis denominacionibus que prius infuerunt  
 pani. Et sic ecclesia nostra occidua habet sacramentum  
 infinitum azimum: quia ita azimum sicut deus potest  
 unleavened too; while the sacrament of the Greeks, infinitely leavened, would consequently be of a different species from ours.  
 creare, cum sit pure sine fermento: et alterius speciei  
 foret sacramentum nostrum | a sacramento Grecorum. B 77<sup>d</sup>

Besides, a priest could, if he had the power to multiply quantity in this fashion, put two men, one in England and the other in India, in instantaneous communication with each other. And these two persons, moving however slowly thus multiplied in quantity could be together at once. Which would overthrow the laws of movement and of time.

posset communicare Petrum in Anglia cum Paulo in India, neutro umquam movente localiter adversus reli- 20 quum, posito quod Petrus sacerdos habeat potestatem multiplicandi idem alimentum in numero in corpora 25 istorum duorum in istis duobus locis continue quietorum; et posito quod istud alimentum pro B instanti assimiletur utrique; tunc patet quod pro B partes Petri et Pauli copu- 25 lantur ad eundem terminum communem; et sic vere copulantur cum partibus recitatis; et tamen non obstante quod sint sic immediati, sunt parvi homines tan- tum distantes moti a se invicem continue minorati. Et sic posset eadem parva persona infinitum cito pertransire 30 eandem distanciam, quantumcunque per viam multiplicacionis quantumcunque tarde movendo; et perirent regule | de velocitate motuum quorumcunque: ut, posito A 60<sup>a</sup> quod idem punctus in numero multiplicetur per situm equinoccialem causando tempus, ut modo, tunc periret 35 veritas exprimenda de velocitate motus et temporis; ut diffuse dictum est alibi.

Quinto, videtur sequi, quod cultores signorum sic D. opinantes possent continere in pugillo, in liripipio et in

1. sit D. 3. materie prime panis B. 5. potuerunt CD. 20. aliud versus CD. 24. minori ero B B. 25. pro deest CD; ib. Pali AB. 26, 27. ad — capulantur deest B. 27. paribus ACD. 39. liripio D.

parvo loco suo quantumcunque abscondite totum mundum manentem eque magnum ut est modo: quod videtur deo esse proprium, quod sit "mundum pugillo continens" extra mundum: et videtur blasphemum dicere

Again, by means of this multiplication of quantity, a man could hold the world in his fist. Which is blasphemy.

B 78<sup>a</sup> quod os et membra sic opinancium | sint sic infinitum Job. capacia. Nam de tali potest dici illud Job penultimo.

XLI, 4 "In medium oris eius quis intrabit?" Et illud Job, XI, 18 "Absorbebit fluvium et non mirabitur; habet fiduciam quod influat Jordanis in os eius." Si enim quilibet reli-

10 giosus infinitum magnum sufficeret capere in os suum, quomodo non est immensum supra dyabolum? Et deduccio patet ex isto, quod stat istum mundum per viam multiplicacionis contineri, in quantumcunque parvo corpore cum tota quantitate sua; et sequuntur dicte conclusiones, et infinitum magis mirabiles; et per viam coextensionis replicate stat mundum secundum se totum extendi per quantumcunque parvum locum.

If a monk can take the Infinite into his mouth, is he not greater than the devil?

E. Sexto, deducitur quod est in potestate cuiuscunque presbiteri, facere rem abiectissimam deum suum; quia 20 confiendo facit accidens deum suum; quia corpus Christi, quod est Christus, ut concedunt; ille autem panis est infinitum imperfeccior in natura quam panis

An accident is the meanest of things; so a priest makes the meanest of things his God.

A 69<sup>b</sup> equinus vel ratonis: | quia precise est perfectus in natura sua, sicut quantitas aut qualitas huius panis; 25 infinitum imperfeccior est quecunque quantitas aut qualitas ipso pane; igitur infinitum imperfeccius est ipsum per se sacramentum ipso pane. Nam naturalis perfectione

For an accident has no natural perfection by itself.

est nulla vel modica; tum quia accidens illud non potest sic alterari; tum eciam, quia omnis creatura, eciam dyabolus, concomitatur et signat deitatem. Magna itaque blasfemia esset sine auctoritate vel ratione presumere

It is blasphemy to pretend that so mean a thing can be Christ's body; and a great thing to say that bread can be.

B 78<sup>b</sup> quod quilibet sacerdos facit tam abiectam | rem corpus

The expression 'of the fruits of the earth', again quoted.

35 domini; magnum itaque est, quod panis triticeus, infinitum imperfeccior predictis panibus, sit eukaristia. Et illum panem describit autor "De divinis officiis", qui

"esse terrenam sub-

stanciam, corpus sacrificii, collectum ex terre fructibus."

"The earth", again quoted.

2. manente AB; *ib* materia B. 7. Job ultimo B. 21. ut concedunt deest A. 22. panis ut concedunt ACD; *ib*. perfectior D. 23. communis B. 24. huiusmodi BC. 21, 25. huiusmodi ipso pane igitur infinitum imperfectius est ipsum per se sacramentum D. 24-26. panis - qualitas deest C. 35. Christi B; quia B. 36. accidentibus B. 37. fulgencius in marg. A.

Sic, inquam, exponit doctor panem illum qui accipiendo benedictionem fit corpus Christi.

Another great difficulty: why ascribe to the Sacrament only one sort of quantity dimensions—and not the other sorts: time, place, &c. All are in the unconsecrated Host.

If God could conserve one species of quantity, why not the others?

And if it be said that these other species are conserved, we may reply that the sacrament is nothing, being

a collective mixture of diverse entities.

If the Sacrament is nothing, it is worth nothing either socially or naturally.

A case put: A man may be born of parents who are to be damned on account of his birth, and yet can neither sin nor suffer! For if we posit with the absolute accidents of their bodies, it will be so.

Septimo, angustiatur pars adversa, dum videt, quod F. non est racio, quare sacramentum altaris sit unum genus quantitatis, quin per idem et quodlibet; et potissime 5 tempus et locus; et sic de quacumque qualitate que prius fuit in pane non consecrato. Ideo est aggregatum ex illis omnibus, cum accidentibus respectivis ipsa consequentibus. Non enim licet blasphemare, quod deus potest servare unum illorum per se, quin per idem et quod- 10 libet. Nec est somnienda racio, quare differenter sic fecit de uno et non de quocunque, cum foret maius miraculum; quo | concessu ultra subtilizat, quod sacra- A 69<sup>c</sup> mentum altaris nichil est vel nichil valet. Nam cum sit res diversorum generum, videtur, si "populus" nichil est 15 evidens hoc sacramentum nichil est; minor est famosa apud modernos, quos alloquor, iuxta hoc metricum:

Populus est aliquid; sed populus nichil est;  
quia aliter oppoteret concedere quod multi homines  
sunt unus homo. Et sic de aliis monstris. Vel aliter, 20  
quod aliquid est, quod nec est substancia, nec accidens;  
et quod aliqua substancia est, que neque est corporea,  
neque incorporea; et sic de aliis divisionibus generum,  
que forent simpliciter incon | plete.

B 78<sup>c</sup>  
Concesso igitur quod principale sacramentum nichil 25 est, evidens est quod nichil valet; quia nichil valet civiliter; nec valet aliquid in natura. Quia, esto quod precise valeat substanciam vel quantitatem, et patet quod oportet unum genus entis equiparare in valore vel bonitate naturali rei alterius generis: quod est in- 30 possibile.

Octavo, proponitur hoc enigma: possibile est quod G. iste homo fuit temporaliter generatus univoce et non ab aliquo animali; licet parentes eius, conversantes cum eo in fide, ipsum instruxerint, qui licet a deo perpetue 35 dampnabuntur, non tamen possunt peccare vel puniri in corpore aut anima, sicut non possunt in altero horum B of the parents, anime humane, et omnibus accidentibus absolutis cor- poreis, que sunt in Petro et Martha optime complexio- 40 40  
their bodies, it natis constituantur duo supposita, subducta in eis omni will be so.

14. cum deest CD. 16. est deest CD. 19. alter B. 20. aliter deest B.  
27. aliud D. 28. prevaleat pro precise valeat CD. 29. parari B.  
33. univoce deest ACD. 39. anime deest ABC; in marg. D.

materiali substancia, et quod ista que sunt A et B peccat<sup>4</sup> | dampnabiliter procreando Paulum, compositum ex corpore et anima; de quo Paulo verificant conclusio-  
 nem. Nam sicut A et B, mediantibus aliquibus suis ac-  
 cidentibus corporeis, possunt operari eque efficaciter et  
 satis univoce, ut patet de operibus nutritivis et sensitivi-  
 vis; ita videtur de accidentibus generacionis. Et per  
 consequens, sicut A et B habent potestatem gignendi et  
 aliter operandi secundum quascunque qualitates quas  
 10 habent, sic possunt esse parentes et coniuges, hominem  
 procreantes. Et patet cum casu prima pars conclusionis;  
 et secunda pars probatur per hoc quod nec A nec B  
 B 78<sup>d</sup> est | substancia animata sensibilis, quia non corpus;  
 quia, pari evidencia qua foret substancia, foret tam  
 15 quantitas quam qualitas. Et patet tertia pars ex casu,  
 cum tam A quam B potest exercere omnes operaciones  
 tam organicas quam non organicas. Et patet quomodo  
 tam virtus quam vicium potest inesse illis spiritibus:  
 et sic tam A quam B potest damnari perpetuo, cum  
 20 habet libertatem flexibilitatis arbitrii, sicut ponitur de  
 inesse. Ultima vero particula videtur per hoc quod  
 H. nec A nec B potest esse animatum sive corporeum;  
 quia tunc foret alienae nature omnino a natura cuius  
 est modo; ex quo sequitur, cum neutrum istorum potest  
 25 esse sine accidente, cum tunc foret purus spiritus ac-  
 cidentatus, quod totum accidens sit essenciale utrique  
 supposito; et per consequens, cum omne agens naturale  
 in agendo reputatur, videtur quod nec A nec B potest  
 agere vel pati accione corporea, et specialiter procreare.  
 30 Ymo, si capta una duricie uniformi et coextensa unica  
 A 79<sup>a</sup> mediate cum alia et sic | insinicies usque ad super-  
 ficialem duriciem qua linearetur ad extra undique, vi-  
 detur quod nulla armatura, ymo infinita acucies, non  
 posset huiusmodi penetrare. Quod si tota gravitas esset  
 35 ablata, tam ab A quam B, cum predicta armatura,  
 quam gloriosum suppositum foret et agile!  
 Nono, subtiliatur de ordine ministrorum ecclesie, quod  
 stat alicuius ordinis subdiaconum infinitum in potestate  
 spirituali exceedere sacerdotem; ut posito quod deus det  
 40 cuilibet subdiacono potestatem transsubstanciandi panem  
 in mundum, et cuicunque sacerdoti potestatem ad maxi-

Absolute accidents can do all that the substance does; therefore A and B can beget a child; and that sinfully.

But they cannot sin, not being human entities, composed of body and soul.

And yet, as they can exercise all organic and spiritual activities, they can act virtuously or viciously, and therefore may be damned; having free will. But neither A nor B can suffer; these accidents being supposed essential, they can lose nothing of them; and therefore cannot suffer from external bodily action. Nor can they beget.

These accidents would defend them wonderfully from all attacks Ninth argument: A subdeacon's function might be higher than that of a priest,

I. naturali CD. 9. quasdam B. 23. materia B. 30. sita pro  
 unica C; una D. 37. ecclesie deest AB.

if a subdeacon could transubstantiate bread into the world, and a priest, only into Christ's body.

Ita subdeaconem transubstantiandi panem in corpus Christi, ut B 79 de facto ponitur. Et ex illo subtiliantur conclusiones I. infinite; nec fas est, ut inquiunt, fideli negare blasphemam possibilitatem huiusmodi quo ad deum, cum iste qui potest dare potestatem sacerdoti cuiuslibet ad faciendum corpus domini de quoconque pane signabili, habet potestatem ad faciendum quamcunque partem mundi, licet prius fuerit de pane quolibet. Et sic, posito quod deus concedat Petro sacerdoti potestatem transubstantiandi A panem in corpus suum et potestatem Paulo 10 subdiacono transubstantiandi eundem panem pro eodem tempore in totum mundum sensibilem, et incipiunt huius duo simul proferre verba sua sacramentalia que efficaciter consequantur ex dei omnipotencia fines suos, patet quod in fine ad omnem punctum accidentis, A est tam 15 corpus Christi quam eciam totus mundus etc. Et cum accidens derelictum sortitur nomen sui subjecti et sui | A 70<sup>b</sup> signati in quod convertitur, ut patet supra "De sacramento altaris", quod dicitur panis et corpus Christi: videtur quod illud accidens remanens sit simul corpus 20 Christi et totus mundus: et sequuntur intricaciones innumerabiles per conversionem propositionum et alias regulas logicas.

Et sic subtiliant quidam, quod panis pro eodem instanti simul potest converti in rem que incipiat per 25 remacionem aut positionem de presenti et rem que desinat dupliciter esse. Et sic concedunt panem esse corpus quod non est, cum agnus paschalis verbo dei dicente posset fieri in tempore Moysi corpus Christi.

And thus the Paschal lamb might in the time of Moses have been Christ's body. Concedunt eciam | quod possibile est, nedium quantitatatem hostie converti in quantitatem corporis Christi B 79<sup>b</sup>

They admit that not only one quantity can be changed into another, but everything into everything else.

Christ might have said "Everything is my body".

quod panis sit corpus suum, quin per idem potuit dixisse de quolibet singulariter vel communiter ipsum esse corpus suum; quia aliter nimis blasphemam restingeretur Christi potencia. Et cum sit ille qui "dixit et facta sunt" nec mentiri poterit, sequitur a pari 40 quod panis est corpus Christi et quidlibet foret ipsum;

1. ad transubstantiandum B. 10. eciam deest B; ib. etc. deest D.  
26 in rem BCD; in rem potentiam B.

et sequeretur magna confusio, ut argutum est in materia de ydemptitudine.

K. Decimo, magnificatur potestas Gog et Magog, quod impossibile est suum presbiterum celebrare, nisi cor-  
5 rumpendo mundum antiquum quem deus creavit, faciat nowum mundum. Nec mirum, quia immutat leges nature

A 70<sup>e</sup> in sui contrarium. | Nam iste mundus secundum fideles philosophos dependet ut a partibus essencialibus a tota essencia sue materie et toto genere spirituum perpetuo-  
10 rum. Sed ut singitur, quandocunque Gog et Magog celebrat, tollit, destruit et corruptit partem essentialem prime materie quam deus creaverat, et sic patet conclusio; alias enim foret mundus in casu quo deus destrueret omnem creatam substanciam, servando ac-  
15 cidens; et sic secundum alietatem tocius essencialis materie que secundum philosophos est incorruptibilis,

B 79<sup>e</sup> opportunet mundum | variari. Nam corruptibiles forme substanciales sunt essencie mundi accidentales. Unde Aristoteles, primo, *De celo*, quia posuit illam materia-  
20 lem essenciam esse ingenerabilem et incorruptibilem,  
et mundum constare ex tota materia sua possibili, posuit istum mundum incorruptibilem, posse maiorem nec alium generari; non enim sufficit ad ydemptitatem numeralem istius mundi ydemptitas dei vel sue anime,  
25 si ponatur; quia tunc frustra deus creasset celum et terram ad constitutionem mundi, et frustra dedisset illi materiali essencie incorruptibilitatem et exemptionem a quocunque contrario.

Ymmo, ut patet alibi, corrupta secundum se totam prima materiali essencia, vel oportet equivalens recreari, vel mundum minorari, vel vacuum derelinqui, quorum quodlibet foret nimia presumptione sacerdoti; totus enim situs mundi repletur prima materiali essencia, et quanti-  
l. tates eorum sibi mutuo correspondent. Et ex istis vi-  
35 detur quod quot sunt hostie consecratae, tot sunt foramina

A 70<sup>d</sup> va | cua a substancia corporea: et sic mundus foret de tanto minor aut rarior. Nam corpus Christi non plus occupat locum illum quam deitas, nec ponentes vacuum

2. ydemptificacione? B. 6. quoniam C. 10. Gog et deest B.  
15. socius C. 17. variare B. 22. vel BCD. 30. illis BCD; ib. reci-  
tari C. 3t. quolibet quod foret D.

22. Arist. *De Coelo*. l. 1, c. X et seq. (t. 2, p. 383 of Didot).  
35. This is a strong point; for the whole School, following Aristotle, denied the possibility of an absolute vacuum.

This exalts overmuch the power of Gog and Magog whose priests cannot celebrate Mass without destroying the world.

The world depends essentially on the whole of its matter.

Therefore, annihilating an essential part of the world, the celebration of Mass destroys it.

For primordial matter cannot be changed but by annihilation.

And therefore Aristotle asserted that the world is incorruptible. For the world's identity is not saved by that of God or of the soul.

It would have to be again created, or lessened, or a void would be left.

As many consecrated Hosts, so many vacua without substance.

For a vacuum negabunt quin sit repletum quantitate et figura. Nec  
 does not exclude space and form which are here. evadent blasphemantes in dei potentiam, quin a pro-  
 bably sit vacuum per totum mundum, et extra mundum  
 vacuum infinitum. Non enim potest poni consecrata  
 hostia, cum sit unum nichil vel accidens pars sub-  
 stancie vel corporis sublunar. Et per tales hereses  
 potest verificari illud | Gen. 1<sup>o</sup>: "Terra autem erat <sup>B 79<sup>4</sup></sup> Geu. I. 2  
 inanis et vacua." Et idem Jerem. IV<sup>o</sup>: "Respxi terram Jer.  
 we go back to et ecce vacua erat a nichilo." Quod est contra hor-<sup>IV, 23</sup>  
 Chaos. tacionem apostoli Cor. VI<sup>o</sup>. "Ne in vacuum graciam dei <sup>10</sup> II. Cor.  
 recipiatis," deus enim dedit graciam fidelibus noscendi <sup>11</sup> VI, 1

Such a void is contrary to Divine Wisdom. repugnare divine sapiencie, quod sit tale vacuum; ut patet alibi. Cum autem "spiritus domini replevit orbem terrarum," ut dicitur Sap. 1<sup>o</sup>, non imponamus sapiencie divine tantam blasphemiam, quod aperiet mundum <sup>15</sup>

The very laws of Nature are changed. mutantur cum, ut inquiunt, tota quantitas et qualitas

All the quantity, corporis Christi est in qualibet particula hostie con-  
 all the qualities secrete secundum sui naturam; et cum deus, qui dat  
 of Christ's body are in every illis esse spirituale tali miraculo multiplicatis, non <sup>20</sup>  
 minutest particle of the Host!

Also all Christ's human qualities. impedit eorum denominacionem spiritualem, sed a probabili promovet: videtur probabile quod corpus Christi sit septipedale in infinitum modica parte hostie. Et sic de omnibus dotibus humanitatis Christi, quas omnes Magog absorbet ut olera, cum sint | gracie que poterunt per A 71<sup>a</sup> se esse, et dicit esse loca vacua per que vadit.

Even contrary qualities can be present (they say) in different places. Quantum ad leges de contrariis dicit, quod eidem M. singulari simul tempore insunt denominaciones contrarie per loca distanca; ymo stat quod eidem singulari insint pro eodem instanti et secundum eandem partem <sup>30</sup>

Peter, ill in a cold country, may be well in a hot one. quantumcunque contraria; ut, posito quod Petrus esu-  
 riens in regione frigida sit infirmus, in regione vero

5. nichil *deest* D. 6. sublimaris C. 10. 2 Cor. B. 15. apponet B.  
 16. per vanitates CD. 18, 19. consecrata D. 21. nec B. 23. sit  
*deest* AB. 25. insorbet ACD; *ib.* poterunt CD. 29, 30. insit C.  
 32. non B.

23. *Septipedale*, an expression commonly used by Wyclif and scholastics of his time to denote 'a certain definite size'. 31. The whole of the argument that follows can be understood only by referring to the Scholastic belief in the possibility of bilocation; which, as we shall presently see, Wyclif denies. They argued: If everything is absolutely possible which does not involve self-contradiction, bilocation is possible. A negation of existence in the place where it exists would be absurd; but the positing of the same existence in two places at once is a very different thing.

contraria denominetur opposite; et cum hoc multiplicetur subito et secundum dei omnipotenciam, coextensus  
 B 80<sup>a</sup> datur cum se ipso secundum deno | minaciones contrarias; quem casum concedit *a similis*. Et sic variantur  
 5 leges commune et logice.

Contra secundam sentenciam que negat possibilitatem prioris sententie videtur quod blasfeme derogat divine potencie: Nam, posito quod deus multiplicet corpus Petri existentis dimensionaliter in India per multa loca  
 10 secundum naturam suam in Anglia, tunc Petrus habet verum esse et reale in Anglia independens a suo modo extensivo essendi in Yndia; igitur deus de potentia sua absoluta posset corrumpere et destruere omnem modum essendi Petri in Yndia, servato modo essendi in Anglia.

15 Quandocunque enim sunt duo modi impertinentes vel unus reliquo perfeccior, modus imperfeccior eciam secundum speciem potest destrui, modo perfecciori servato; specialiter si non sint religiones, sed modi absoluti tantum distantes; nam esse multiplicatum quo Petrus  
 A 71<sup>b</sup> est in Anglia est perfeccius, et | modo essendi dei similis quam modus essendi materialis quo extenditur N. in Yndia. Item stat Petrum vulnerari vel percuti in Yndia, cum hoc quod non sic paciatur in Anglia, et per consequens deus de omnipotencia sua posset separare  
 25 animam Petri a corpore suo in Yndia, cum hoc quod maneat sic copulata in Anglia. Et per consequens Petrus posset ibi mori, occidi vel aliter transmutari in Yndia, cum hoc quod maneat quietus in Anglia. Nam nimis videretur artari divina potencia, quod ipse non posset

30 cum ipsis paribus rapere animam Petri de corpore suo in Yndia, nisi raperet eandem de corpore suo in Anglia: et sic de aliis denominacionibus positivis. Non enim B 80<sup>b</sup> ne | cessitatur, si cum ipsis paribus creat in corpore Petri accidentis quodcunque in India, quod perinde creet  
 35 illud idem accidentis in corpore suo in Anglia. Et sic staret eundem hominem esse simul vivum et mortuum.

Et sic de quibuscunque denominacionibus contrariis positivis. Cum igitur secunda sententia dat antecedens ad hec omnia; videtur, quod sit falsa, cum deus qui  
 40 multiplicat Petrum secundum substanciam suam tam differenter in Anglia posset extendere ipsum secundum

And if he was in both at once, these qualities could belong to him likewise.

Their arguments in favour of this. The contrary limits God's power.

Peter, v. g. can be (by a miracle) in England and India at the same time; so he could be killed in India while living in England; i. e. dead and alive at the same time, but in a different place.

Why should God Almighty be compelled, because Peter dies in India, to make him die in England too?

The same holds of all contrary qualities.

And if God can do that, He can extend Christ's body in like manner.

4. capitulum AB. 12. extensive B. 15. modi *deest* AB. 18. ab<sup>u</sup> A;  
 obiecti B. 19. quo *omnes* MSS. 22. Petrus AB. 24. separari D.  
 25. quod *deest* BCD. 33. partibus B.

esse suum naturale, non obstante resistencia esse sui  
in Yndia, cum hoc foret facilius.

Besides, several bodies can exist at once in the same place; a sufficient similitudine stat idem corpus esse simul <sup>5</sup>

Therefore a body can be at the same time in different places. Item, secundum adversarios, stat diversa corpore esse O.

At with the multiplication of the loaves, &c. and other miracles recorded of the Saints.

As simul tempore per eundem locum; igitur per locum de quibus in ewangelio A 71<sup>e</sup> Marc. VI et VIII, de multiplicacione femine ex costa viri,

de qua Genes. III, et de miraculo narrato de beato Ambrosio et de aliis; et videtur omnino derogare potencie <sup>10</sup> divine, quod ipse non posset manendo in celo humanitus ostendere se ipsum in sacramento miraculose in forma pueri. Et ita videtur, quod nulla existencia corporis in Yndia potest impedire, ne deus posset cum hoc extendere et qualitercumque voluerit movere idem corpus <sup>15</sup> quod habet in Anglia.

One of these two opinions is certainly heretical; each contradicts the other as to God's omnipotence.

Et certum est quod altera istarum viarum est omnino heretica, quia sunt summe contrarie in precipua materia fidei de dei omnipotencia; ideo certum est, quod que-

cunque istarum fuerit falsa, est absolute impossibilis et <sup>20</sup> per consequens implicat formaliter quemlibet articulum B 80<sup>e</sup> fidei esse falsum: ut, posito quod sit catholicum et sic verum, quod deus non potest in talia, patet quod tunc deus non potest in talia; nisi quilibet articulus fidei sit verus, deum posse in talia, tunc possibile est deum <sup>25</sup> posse in talia; et sic deus potest in talia. Ex alio latere, si sit catholicum quod deus potest in talia, tunc est absolute necessarium quod deus potest in talia; et per consequens negans hoc implicat oppositum cuiuslibet articuli fidei Christiane. Magis autem videtur quod <sup>30</sup> secunda sententia sit magis heretica.

6. tempora *pro* loca *omnes* MSS. 11. meando AB; mando CD.  
22. et *deest* BD; *ib.* sic *deest* CD; *ib.* esset *pro* verum D; esset *pro* sic B.

## CAPITULUM NONUM.

Discuciendo de multiplicacione corporis Christi in hostia, necesse est primo videre quomodo est ibidem; nec phas est fidelem ambigere quin corpus Christi sit A 7<sup>1</sup> ad omnem punctum hostie, sicut | Christi humanitas, non solum virtualiter, sed sacramentaliter; quomodo autem sit ibidem, egregie declarat autor "De divinis officiis"; et concordant doctores moderni, dicentes concorditer quod communiter in scriptura in predicacione

10 secundum causam signum suscipit predicacionem sui Gen. signati; ut Genes. XVIII dicitur quod Abraham vedit tres XVIII, viros, tres vident et unum adoravit, ubi angeli nedum

2 vocantur viri, sed eorum triplicitas signat trinitatem; sicut enim illi vere erant vii et homines, sic Abraham 15 adoravit in eis trinitatem vel verbum dei, quem fide

Joh. vedit hominem incarnatum iuxta illud Joh. VIII. "Abraham 56 pater vester exultavit ut videret diem meum, vedit et gavisus est." Iste autem est vir de quo dicitur Jer. XXXI

quod "mulier circumdabit virum". Nam pro primo in B 80<sup>d</sup> stanti incarnationis sue fuit auto | nomatice vir virens Ex. virtutibus. Secundo adducitur illud Exod. XXXI, ubi vitulus XXXII, conflatilis expresse vocatur vitulus, et tamen non habuit

4 nisi similitudinem vituli, ubi etiam patet signum vere vocari nomine sui signati; nec dubium de isto; ideo 25 misticus sensus est querendus.

Notatur enim ex ista historia, quod absente Moyse legifero ydolatratur populus faciendo contra mandatum domini appareniam religionis vel elemosine. Sed dyabolus in penam prevaricationis prioris aptat apparen 30 ciā boni ad illam peccati voraginem, ad quam clerus

We may not doubt that Christ is present in every point of the Host; but how?

The sign, as doctors allow, is spoken of as the thing signified:

As Abraham adored one of the 3 angels, representing the Trinity;

As the molten image of a calf is called a calf.

Hint at a likeness between the golden calf and Church temporalities.

10. casum BCD. 18. cst *deest* AB. 19. multipliciter *pro* mulier AB.  
27. preceptum A.

7. De Divinis Officiis (See t. 101, p. 1260 of Migne).

et | plebs est prouior ut ex dotacione ecclesie in Christi A 72<sup>a</sup>  
absencia. Ex hoc enim adulterantur dupliciter insolentes.

As the brazen  
serpent is called  
merely a  
serpent.

Development of  
the mystic  
signification of  
that sign.

Tercio, adducitur textus Num. XXI, quod serpens eneus B.  
propter similitudinem dicitur simpliciter esse serpens; Num.  
et illud notat Salvator Joh. tercio. "Sicut Moyses,"<sup>5</sup>  
inquit, "exaltavit serpentem in deserto, ita exaltari Jo.  
oportet filium hominis." Cum autem in istis et eis III, 14  
similibus apparet utrobius veritas scripture de virtute  
sermonis, restat evacuando sterilitatem videre sensum  
alium. Serpens autem carnalis signans calliditatem pru- 10  
dencie dicit dyabolum, quo genus humanum seducitur;  
et serpens eneus, ad quem intoxici debemus aspicere,  
signat Christum venientem in similitudinem carnis pcc-  
cati, ad cuius celestem prudenciam debemus attendere,  
et virtutes ac imitaciones eius, quantum sufficimus,<sup>15</sup>  
intueri.

But does this  
prove that the  
angel, the calf  
or the serpent  
were absolute  
accidents?

What is  
literally absurd  
must be taken  
figuratively.

'But an  
accident, or  
an abstraction,  
is often called  
a subject: so  
the appearance  
of bread can be  
called bread'.

True; but it  
does not follow  
that an accident  
can be without  
its subject.

Every thing  
might then be  
an accident,  
and substance  
and accident  
would mean  
the same.

Unde non presumo imponere doctoribus meis tam  
scandalosam stulticiam ut ipsi ex istis arguant accidens  
esse vel posse esse sine subiecto | cum scriptura utro-B 81<sup>a</sup>  
bique signat contrarium; sed istud concludunt, quod 20  
predicacio nominis signati de nomine signi debet ad-  
mitti, quod fidelis debet concedere secundum signaciam  
et figuram, ubi renuet predicationem secundum sub-  
stanciam vel naturam: ut patet in materia de eukaristia.

Sed arguitur per locum a sufficienti similitudine quod 25  
per idem accidens nominandum est nomine subiecti;  
ut accidentia panis et vini vocentur panis et vinum. C.  
Hic concedi debet conclusio, ut exemplificat scriptura,  
creberrime | dicens, et canit ecclesia: A 72<sup>b</sup>  
"Jesu nostra redempcio,  
Amor et desiderium."

Sed absit fidelem concludere ex isto, quod accidens  
potest esse sine subiecto, quia vel dicet quod omnis sub-  
stancia est accidens et econtra, vel turpiter decipietur  
luciferina fallacia. Sed iuxta primum concederet quod 35  
nendum Christus noster est solum accidens, sed nullum  
potest esse subiectum nisi accidens, et sic idem foret dif-  
finire accidens esse sine subiecto et blaterare substan-  
ciam esse sine subiecto: quod foret verecunda stulticia.  
Si secundum accipit, tunc oportet discere soluciones fal- 40  
laciuarum, et specialiter fallaciam figure diccionis et

20. istud *deest* B. 33. diceret B.

30. Hymn at Compline, Vigil of the Ascension.

fallaciam accidentis. Nam accidens et figura decipiunt multos Magog, ut recitat Anselmus in "De grammatico." "Si," inquit sophiste, "grammaticus est accidens, et omnis grammaticus vivit, componitur ex corpore et anima 5 et facit qualescumque operaciones vitales: igitur res sic vivens et sic composita ac sic agens, est accidens." Mutatur autem suppositione a simplici in personalem, ut dicunt logici, cum in maiori grammaticus supponit simpliciter abstractive, et in minori supponit personaliter B 81<sup>o</sup> concreтив. | Et sic equivocant negantes quod accidens et accidencium aggregatio est panis sive substancia; et alii, concedentes in predicacione secundum subiectum vel causam predicaciones huiusmodi.

Ego autem precise utor predicacione formali vel 15 essenciali, nisi limitet scripture auctoritas; et tunc de- tego equivocationem predicacionis secundum simili- A 72<sup>o</sup> tudinem vel secundum subiectum aut secundum causam: ut nego quod motus est mobile, et sic de aliis generibus D. accidentis, et est michi pro regula quod quandocumque 20 scripture utitur verbo substancie, vel intelligit ipsam substanciam vel perfecciorem substanciam: ut apostolus 1<sup>a</sup> Cor. X et XI quando loquitur de sacramento altaris N. sub nomine panis intelligit substanciam veri panis. Sed Joh. VI veritas sub nomine panis intelligit perfecciorem 25 substanciam, quia verbum domini figuratum: perfeccius enim trahit ad suum sensum, reliquo sensu minus per- Ps. 4<sup>o</sup> fecti. Sed postquam avaricia traxit graves corde ad IV, 3 diligendum vanitatem et querendum mendacium, intellexerunt ydolatre in sacramento altaris per "panem" 30 accidens panis quocunque voluerint, et deserentes proprietates veri panis naturalis, omiserunt effectualiter intelligere panem celestem, scilicet corpus Christi et sanctam ecclesiam, quorum utrumque non est accidens, sed celestis substancia; unde si non fallor, nunquam 35 reperies in scripture, quod nomine substancie principa- liter intelligitur accidens, sed econtra. In figuris autem, ut quando vitulus et serpens signat substanciam inferioris nature, peccatum est in causa; et utrobique signatur idem in genere. Et nusquam in scripture im- B 81<sup>o</sup> plicatur accidens esse sine subiecto. Sed sacramentum

A fallacy.  
"Grammaticus" is an accidental quality; Does an accidental quality live, because the grammarian does?

You first suppose an abstraction, and then apply it to a person.  
So also for the Eucharist.

I should deny v. g. that movement is movable; for it is only an essence, not a subject.

Whenever Scripture speaks of a substance, it means either the substance itself, or something higher.

But now the word 'bread' is meant as the accidents of bread; and the higher meaning of Divine food is forgotten.

Scripture never literally means an accident by the name of a substance; only figuratively.

1. fallacie ACD. II. vel *pro* et B; *ib.* est *pro* et C. 20. idolatre *deest* B. 3<sup>a</sup>, 4<sup>o</sup>. multiplicatur B.

2. Anselmus, De Grammatico, c. 1 (t. 158, p. 561 of Migne).

altaris dicit fides scripture esse in natura panem aut vinum et in figura corpus aut sanguinem Jesu Christi.

But the power of Gog is so great, that he publishes that Scripture is false, that lying is allowed, and that the sacramental bread is viler than what is vilest. So horrible a doctrine, condemned by Scripture, the Fathers, and reason, should be put down, even by fire.

Unde Gog in diebus nostris ad tantum invaluit, quod primo publicat per eos de tecto le | gem scripture divine A 72<sup>a</sup> esse falsissimam; secundo dicit per alios, quod nedium 5 licitum, sed eciam meritorium est mentiri; et tertio dicit de sacramento altaris, quod sicud sacramentum panis est in natura infinitum imperfeccius quam panis ratonis, sic sacramentum calicis est in natura infinitum imperfeccius quam venenum. Et certum est, cum ista conclusio sit tantum horrenda, vel scriptura vel sancti doctores vel fortis racio urgeret hanc ponere. Modo E. autem militant hec tria ad directe contrarium. Ideo, ut dixi, quicunque pertinaciter ista defenderit est expresse hereticus; in tantum quod si ego ista defenderem, 15 vellem quod essem combustus tanquam hereticus, vel quod errorem illum prope revocarem; et sic debet esse de aliis, cum non sit personarum accepcio aput deum.

Wyclif's doctrine: That the Sacrament is of a double nature, like the substance of Christ — earthly and divine;

Supponatur igitur iuxta autorem de divinis officiis, quod sicut Christus est due substancie, scilicet terrena 20 et divina, sic hoc sacramentum est modo suo equivoco corpus panis sensibilis, qui de terra crevit, et corpus Christi quod verbum in Maria suscepit; et sicud verbum non amisit per incarnationem substanciam eternam, sed mansit illa natura noviter faciendo aliquid quod 25 prius non fuerat, sic quodammodo corpus panis, servando panis substanciam, est miraculose factum cum hoc corpus domini, non audeo dicere ydemptice secundum substanciam vel naturam, sed tropice secundum signanciam | vel figuram; non tamen false et inproprorie B 81<sup>a</sup> dicitur corpus Christi, sed vere et proprie, sicut Christus vere et proprie dicit illum panem esse corpus suum. | Unde substancia sacramenti non debet dici duo A 73<sup>a</sup> corpora, sed unicum quod est principale et automatice

he will not however say that it is identically Christ's body but figuratively and as a sign. Yet not falsely nor improperly, but as truly as Christ's words are true.

So there are not two bodies, but one — Christ's, as the principal.

It is thus that he understands the author of 'De divinis officiis',

35 Et sic intelligo autorem de divinis officiis, capitulo de offertorio misse; "prope", inquit. "est verbum fidei in corde tuo et in ore tuo, cuius verbi flumen si super panem et vinum effuderis, ordine quo ab ipso statutus est, statim de ipso dicto altari panem et vinum in corpus 40 et sanguinem suum transferendo suscipit eadem potentia virtute et gracia, qua nostram carnem de virgine Maria

suscipere potuit, quomodo voluit, nec duo corpora dicuntur aut sunt, hoc quod de altari et illud quod receptum est de utero virginis, quia videmus unum idemque verbum, unus idemque deus sursum est in 5 carne, hic in pane. Alioquin et ille panis quem heri sacrificavimus et iste quem hodie vel cras sacrificabimus, plura sunt corpora; nec rite dicimus offerri pro ecclesia corpus domini, sed melius diceremus corpora, quia quotidie pene tot offerrimus panes, quot habentur in 10 ecclesia sacerdotes: sed hoc prohibet causa, convincit racio. Unitas enim verbi, unitatem efficit sacramenti: sic enim unum verbum et olym carnem de Maria virgine sumpsit et nunc de altari salutarem hostiam accipit. Igitur unum corpus est, et quod de Maria ge- 15 nitum in cruce pependit et quod in sancto altari ob-  
 B 82<sup>a</sup> latum, quotidianus nobis ipsam innovat passionem domini".  
 A 73<sup>b</sup> Pro istis et similibus verbis sanctorum notandum, quod F. non est intentionis eorum negare multa esse corporea panis et vini consecrata, sed omnia illa in figura unum 20 sunt, sicut secundum beatum Johannem sunt spiritus aqua et sanguis. Et ita intelligunt non multa esse corpora domini in sacrificio, nec ipsum sacrificium et corpus domini esse univoce multa corpora; sed omnia illa esse quodammodo idem corpus longe perfeccius 25 quam fuit oblatio legis veteris, cum Christus dicit de pane: "hoc est corpus meum"; et sic non dicit de agno paschali vel figura veteris testamenti.

Ideo negant sancti quod hoc sacramentum est pure panis aut tipus vel antitipus, cum sit veraciter corpus Christi et habet substanciam corporis Christi ad quamlibet eius partem. Unde sicut errant heretici de Christo, alii quod est pure creatura, et alii quod est creator et non creatura, sic est duplex heresis de sacramento altaris; ut illi dicunt quod est panis et vinum qui 35 prefuit sed in natura imperfeccius quam panis furfuris vel venenum. Alii autem remissius heretici dicunt quod hoc sacramentum non est terrena substancia collecta de terre fructibus sed omnino ydemptice corpus Christi. Catholici autem dicunt, quod sicut Christus est duplex 40 substancia, scilicet deitas et humanitas, et sic creator et creatura, sic sacramentum altaris in natura non est

saying that 'one and the same God is above in the flesh, and here below in the bread';

That 'it is the same body which was born of Mary . . . and is offered on the altar'. But these words of the Saints do not deny the plurality of the consecrated breads, which however are figuratively one.

They only deny that, having the substance of Christ in all its parts, it is mere bread.

A two-fold heresy:  
One saying that the bread remains, but in a most imperfect form.

The other, that there is but the identical body of Christ. Catholics say it is an earthly substance, but that this

12. Sicut B. 13. et — salutarem bis A. 18. corporea ABD.  
 35. furfuris AB. 41. est deest BCD.

should be forgotten and our attention fixed on Christ's body that it represents.

abiectum accidens, sed terrena substancia, cuius consideracio est sopita et in signacione, | figura vel modo A 73<sup>c</sup> quo apcius vocari potest, est sacramentaliter corpus Christi; ad quem sensum fidelis omnino debet attendere.

Et ista est | sentencia synodi ecclesie sub Nicolao 2<sup>a</sup>, B 82<sup>b</sup> ut patet de consecracione distinccione 2, capitulo *Ego Berengarius*. Et ista est plane sentencia autoris “*De divinis officiis*,” ut patet superius. Et ne ecclesia tradat oblivioni istam sentenciam, incorporatur in secreto secunde misse nativitatis domini sub hiis verbis: 10 “*Munera nostra quesumus domine nativitatis hodie*ne apta proveniant, ut sicut homo genitus idem refulsit deus, sic nobis hec terrena substancia conferat quod divinum est”. Unde notum est quod loquitur de terrena G. substancia que est sacramentum, quod illa sit medium 15 conferendi nobis divinam substanciam, cum panis fiet virtute verborum sacramentalium corpus Christi sicut homo Jesus refulsit deus. Tunc enim aptantur munera solemnitati ecclesie. Secundo patet, quod non est intencionis ecclesie dicere quod hec terrena substancia in 20 consecracione destruatur vel desinat, sed sicut dicit Augustinus recreetur in melius; et, ut dicit Ambrosius, ut fiat et fit veraciter corpus Christi, quia aliter non illa terrena substancia, sed unum abiectum et ignotum accidens conferret ecclesie hoc divinum. Nec valeret 25 ordo verborum, nisi sicut eadem persona maneret simul homo et deus, sic idem sacramentum maneret in natura, licet equivoce terrena substancia et divina. Nam terrena substancia pertinencius expectat benedictionem quam accidens, ut patet supra per autorem *De divinis | officiis*. A 73<sup>d</sup>

The Church says:  
“As Christ, begotten a man, shone forth as God, so may this terrestrial substance give unto us what is divine.” So the earthly substance is not destroyed but changed for the better.

And Christ was man and God at the same time: so the comparison of the Church is perfect.

That God's presence should destroy the bread's nature is absurd.

That sects of yesterday should prevail over so pious,

Ideo ridiculum foret quod hostia usque ad benedictionem remaneret substancia; et per benedictionem, quando fieret panis deifer, destruatur mutata hostia in infinitum deterius. Et nota quod dicit “hec munera” H. que sunt | oblata, hostia consecranda in corpus Christi B 82<sup>c</sup> non frustra destruenda, esse terrenam substanciam, non benedicendum accidens ignoratum, ut creditur istis mille annis; accepta fuit ab universali ecclesia hec sentencia beati Ambrosii. Ideo grave videtur quod secte hesterne destruerent tam pios usus, tam antiquos atque 40

6. capitulo *deest* B. 15. quod BC. 33. mutata *deest* BCD.

10. Sarum Missal, *ubi supra*. 22. Ambr. *De Sacramentis*, I. IV, c. L (t. 16, p. 440 of Migne).

catholicos; ista enim fides antiqua mansit in ecclesia quousque per cultores signorum et antichristianam heresim est cecata. Unde, De consecracione distinccione 2 capitulo. “*Hoc est*,” dicitur sub auctoritate Augustini 5 sacrificium ecclesie duobus constare scilicet visibili elementorum specie et invisibili domini nostri Iesu Christi carne et sanguine sicut Christi persona constat ex deo et homine. In omnibus autem istis oportet cavere hereses de idemptificacione et inpanacione in 10 quibus laborant ydolatre, et ex alio latere cavere heresim stultissimam de accidentacione, quod accidens sit per se sacramentum et per consequens corpus Christi; et secure ire per medium istorum errorum notando equivocaciones predicationum, in quibus non est contradiccio; 15 dicente Augustino super psalmo XCIII et ponitur De consecracione distinccione 2<sup>a</sup> capitulo. “*Non hoc corpus*

A 74<sup>a</sup> *quod videtis:*” “Manducaturi estis et bibituri | estis illum sanguinem quem effusuri sunt illi qui me crucifigent; ipsum quidem et non ipsum, ipsum invisibiliter, non 20 ipsum visibiliter”. Credendum est itaque quod indigne celebrante et inrite Christum commemorante est corpus Christi virtualiter, et cum hoc in pane sacramentaliter dicente autore De divinis officiis, capitulo *De secreto*

B 82<sup>a</sup> *missee,* | “quod vivo pro flumine verbi dei super panem 25 et vinum confluente tam veram divinitatem veramque humanitatem Christi in celo sedentis et regnantis excipimus, quam veram substanciam ignis a sole supposita cristalli sphera exigua fere quottidie mutuare possumus.

In talibus autem devotis exemplis oportet cavere de 30 heresi, ne ex totali similitudine concludatur quod corpus Christi sit dimensionaliter in hostia secundum naturam corporis glorificati, vel quod ipsum sit ex pane vel atteritur in natura sua, sed in signo solummodo; ut dicit decretum Nicolai 2<sup>o</sup>. Per ista patet de multiplicazione, quomodo corpus Christi nedum est virtualiter ad omnem punctum hostie consecrate, sed est significative quelibet particula illius hostie; et sic vere multiplicatur per totam hostiam modo suo.

2. quosque B. 13. negando BCD. 21. Christi *pro est* B. 22. sacravit B. 23. autore *deest* B. 28. mutare; mutuare *in marg.* A. 30. tali corr. from totali A.

3. Decr. Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars, Dist. II, c. 48. 16. Decr. Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars, Dist. II, c. 45. 21. Some words are probably wanting here in the MSS.

ancient and Catholic a belief is most grievous.

According to Augustine, the sacrifice consists of visible elements and the Invisible Lord.

But let us beware of the ‘identification’ and ‘impanation’ heresy, and of that stupid heresy of the accidents.

Christ's blood in the Sacrament is the same and not the same as on the Cross; the same invisibly, not the same visibly, as Augustine says.

And the author of *De Divinis Officiis*: “Christ's body is received in the Host, as the true substance of the sun's fire is got through a burning lens.” But these pious instances must not bring us to fancy that Christ's body is present in its dimensions, &c. Only as in a sign, according to Pope Nicholas' decree.

Et si queratur quid est corpus Christi formaliter in hostia, dicitur quod corpus Christi est realiter corpus

Two opinions: Christi et ipsa hostia ac quelibet eius particula." Sed one, that it is formally the formaliter dicunt quidam, quod est corpus Christi et body of Christ, quicquid est per se primo; non tamen est dimensionaliter 5 and yet not in its dimensions; in hostia quia non in sua natura, licet sit illud quod est dimensionaliter in hostia. Alii autem dicunt quod corpus

the other, that Christ is neither formally nor essentially anything in the Host. Christi non est formaliter quicquam in hostia, | sicut homo A 74<sup>b</sup> est eternaliter in deo et tamen non est formaliter aliquid sic in deo. Et sicut corpus Christi non est essencialiter 10

Wyclif prefers the second. in hostia, sic non est aliquid essencialiter ibidem. Et

How great is the Body? As great as the Host. in ista equivocacione laborant multi. Et ista secunda

via est michi plus consona. Et si queratur, quantum est corpus Christi, ibidem dicitur, quod tantum quanta est hostia vel quelibet eius particula, cum sit illa. Et 15 tota quantitas corporis Christi in celo | non est in B 83<sup>a</sup> sacramento, sed qualitas activa potest dici esse ibidem virtualiter, non dimensionaliter, secundum naturam propriam, cum impossibile sit accidentis esse alicubi, nisi

Objection: If Christ be only present virtually, He is just as well present throughout all His Kingdom. So He is really present, as God's Power and Wisdom. secundum suum subiectum ibi principalius existens. Et 20 K. si obiciatur quod humanitas Christi nedum est virtualiter in sacramento sed ad omnem punctum regni Christi, quid igitur est ibidem? dici potest, quod virtus regativa mundi; et sic, cum sit dei virtus et dei sapientia, est

Is Christ all in all things? Let us believe the Bible and go no farther. 25 Utrum autem deus sit omnia in omnibus ut dicit apostolus, et sic multiplicatissimus, videtur michi prudencia concedere scripturam ut fidem et non plus sapere quam oportet. Posset tamen probabiliter dici quod post diem iudicii deus erit omnia in omnibus, cum omnia 30 signabunt eum esse summam sapientiam et summam virtutem. Nunc autem quamvis hoc idem signant, cum quadam tamen respersione rebellionis deo contrarie hoc faciunt; sed pro tunc detrudentur in infernum quecunque sunt tunc contraria Christo, passura penam 35 iustissimam. Nec tunc ebullient in iniusticias, sicut

But after the Judgment day we may say that then all things will be God, figuratively. And accidents then? If God assumes them, capitul a signo, concedi potest quod tunc | omnes sub- A 74<sup>c</sup> capitulo a signo, concedi potest quod tunc | omnes sub-

2. Christi *deest* B. 6, 7. quia — hostia *deest* A. 14. quantum B.  
27. multiplicatissima A. 33. responsione D; *ib.* rebellione ABD.  
35. passam D. 41. significacionis B.

huiusmodi qualitates, manifeste patet quod iste non sunt accidentia sine subiecto, cum sint naturaliter in substanciis et secundum signanciam deus ipse. Nec fundatur alicubi quod ista que sunt in natura accidentia sint substancie non inherencia, cum naturalis passio accidentis sit substancie inherere.

they will certainly not be absolute; besides, their substances will still continue to exist.

B 83<sup>b</sup> Alia enim ponitur ratio philosophorum univoca licet ana | loga cuiuslibet essencie create, et multo magis alia est ratio accidentis: que non est fingenda, ut patet in respectibus, nisi formaliter inherere. Et patet quante difficultatur ecclesia secundum scolam dyaboli de multiplicacione corporis Christi, cum fundamentum illius scole sit fictum mendacium ab utilibus occupacionibus retractum. Nec valent evidencie quibus arguitur hoc subiacere potestati divine. Sicut enim deus non potest facere eandem rem in numero esse simul per diversa instancia, sic non potest facere eandem essenciam materialem esse simul per diversa loca, nec diversas substancias materiales esse simul tempore per eundem locum adequatum; cum corpora secundum dotem subtilitatis se ipsa penetrant, et non sunt proprie coextensa; deus enim non potest in contradiccionem. Et quante distinccio instancium individuatur a distinccione motuum, tante individuatur distinccio situum a distensione es-

Every being has its own essence and that of the accident is 'the belonging to a subject'.

And even God's power cannot make it not to belong to a subject.

For God cannot do what involves contradiction.

A 74<sup>d</sup> Et patet solucio ad primum argumentum factum in fine proximi contra opinionem | secundam, pro prima L. ficticia. Et per hec patet responsio ad secundum argumentum. Non enim admittitur, quod eadem materialis essencia sit simul secundum naturam suam per diversa loca; et sic Petrus non posset mori vel mutari in Anglia, cum hoc quod simul mutetur contrariis vel quomodounque in Yndia. Nec oportet subtiliare, quas denominaciones esset possibile eandem materialem essenti-  
35 ciam habere simul per diversa loca, quia deficit possi-  
bilitas fundamenti. Et per hec patet responsio ad tertium, negando possibilitatem diversarum materiarum simul  
B 83<sup>e</sup> per eadem | loca, quia tunc variaretur situs ad varia-  
cionem materie; et forent multi situs coextensi.

This answers both the first and the second argument at the end of the former chapter, in favour of the first opinion. The same thing cannot be at once in several places. Therefore: Peter could not die in India, without dying in England.

40 Et quantum ad miracula, dictum est alibi diffuse, secundum sentenciam Augustini. quod in miraculis alleged, we may say with

3. significativa B. 7. Aliqua A. 8. enilibet B. 9. aliqua C1;  
corr. from alia A. 22. in deest B. 23. distensione omnes MSS.;  
distinccione in marg. A. 24. statuum B. 25. simul deest B.

Augustine that new matter was invisibly supplied: as in the case of the loaves. Christi subito vel insensibiliter ministrabantur alienae materie que cum aliis comixte sunt; et faciunt tam numerosam multitudinem, sine hoc quod eadē materialis essentia pro eodem instanti occupet tales situs.

Et sic, sicut quinque panes fuerunt quasi fermentum 5  
toti pani ex quo saciata sunt tot milia hominum, sic  
est de costa viri, quo ad fabricam mulieris. Aliquid  
enim fit parcialiter ex alio, ut in exemplis propositis,  
et aliquid fit totaliter ex alio, quando est rei facte  
adequata materia. Unde quia materia de qua fit mencio, 10  
fuit secundum hystoriam notoria et principalis in opere;  
ideo dicitur, quod tale compositum fit ab illo. Et quantum

As for Ambrose being at present at St. Martin's funeral, and elsewhere at the same time, it is incredible. ad beatum Ambrosium, patet quod nulla experientia potest convincere, quod eadem persona secundum ultimum singulare | sue materie, fuit simul in exequis A 75<sup>a</sup> beati Martini et distanter alibi; deus tamen posset esse, si idem anima corpore suorumque similiis et

But God may give a second similar body to a man: which is quite a different question. sic facere eundem hominem esse simul secundum diversa corpora in diversis locis. Nec circa hoc versatur ista difficultas. Et eodem modo posset dici quod puer cruentatus posset apparere in sacramento altaris, qui sit Christus secundum animam, licet corpus eius in celo resideat; vel vere credatur ut absolute necessarium, quod non est possibile idem corpus in numero multi-

On the whole, taking each of these two first explanations, neither is far  
a via heretica.

*habetur* is far from heresy. Sed replicatur contra dicta de multiplicacione per M.  
*First objection:* hoc, quod anima potest esse simul per diversa loca,  
The soul can be in many places at once, et ubicunque ipsa fuerit, deus potest aptare sibi idem 30  
in each God can give it a body; thus, one man would be in many places. corpus in numero; igitur stat idem singulare multiplicari simul per loca distanca. Et illud confirmatur per hoc quod, si anima multiplicetur et ipsa est homo, tunc homo multiplicatur. Ille dicitur, quod tota difficultas est de multiplicacione nature corporee, quod ipsa sit 35 simul per diversa loca secundum suam substanciam;

*Answer.* This quod negatur. Sed quantum ad materiam argumenti, cannot be: God could not put a thousand bodies into one square foot. foret in quantumcunque modico situ globus corporum 40 And besides, it is not likely that any spirit could be thus in two *separate* places.

distanter posset situari, cum hoc quod determinet sibi situm per subtilacionem situs, per quem multiplicatur; ut, licet potest esse in utroque polo simul, huic tamen repugnat, quod non sit in medio intercepto, et situs tam longus posset gracilitari ad distanciam liniarem; et ita non videtur possibile isti vie, quod idem spiritus secundum idem corpus in numero sit per loca distanca; idem autem spiritus posset esse simul per loca distanca secundum corpora similia. Utrum autem idem spiritus posset esse simul intercise per loca est problema neutrum multis, cum spiritus in natura sua non occupat locum, et ex celeritate motus corporis alterati ab insensibili ad sensibilem, a loco abscondito ad patentem, fit crebro sensus decepcionis.

This, however,  
is a problem  
hard to solve,  
and apt to  
beget delusions.

B 84<sup>a</sup> Secundo replicatur contra | dicta de multiplicacione, N. per hoc quod multi et magni doctores tenent contrarium istis dictis, nec efficaciter improbantur. Igitur pro magnificanda omnipotencia dei defendi debent ne incidantur in heresim. Hic dicitur quod maior est vera, 20 sed conclusioni inpertinens, cum iidem multi et magni doctores sunt sibi ipsis contrarii; ideo fundare super ipsos quamcunque sentenciam foret nimis instabile fundamentum. Nam solum scriptura sacra, que includit in se omnem rationem, est fundamentum cui fidelis 25 debet attendere. Unde videtur michi religiosum, quod Christianus stet in fide, et discussione huius triplicis veritatis: in veritate in scriptura sacra exemplificata, in veritate ab infallibili ratione elaborata, et in veritate A 75<sup>c</sup> assensu cognita. Omnia autem | alia, licet vera, sunt 30 tanquam apocrypha responda; ut unus pro uno tempore sentit et noscit veritatem cuius noticia est alteri in pertinens tunc et semper; et sic excuteret fidelis rumor audiciones et prophanas eronicas; quod videtur hodie eo necessarius, quo pater mendacii sollicitius est cum 35 Gog et Magog per mendacia perturbans ecclesiam. Et quantum ad materias scolastice practicandas, videtur michi quod standum est in declaracione fidei scripture cum sua logica. Et isti regule innitebantur doctores de millenario Christi; ideo sunt ut plurimum concordati.

O. 40 Sed fantastici, querentes vanum nomen subtilitatis sue,

*Second  
objection:*  
The contrary  
opinion would  
not be  
sustained by so  
many and great  
doctors, were  
it heresy.

*Answe:* These  
very doctors  
contradict each  
other.

We cannot  
found any  
opinion upon  
them; only on  
Holy Writ.

Three sorts of  
truth: truths  
of revelation,  
truths of  
deduction, and  
truths of  
intuition.  
All other  
authorities are  
to be rejected,  
even when  
right.

The logic of  
Holy Writ is  
the best  
scholastic  
method of all,  
and ought to be  
followed.

Vain men,  
seeking renown,  
forget this rule,  
and go astray.

1. determinet C. 3. posset BCD. 4. interceptio B. 7. idem post secundum deest B. 8. idem — distanca deest BCD. 9. Utrumque D. 13. ad sensibile C. 18, 19. incidatur BCD. 21. supremis B. 28. inestabili B. 31. nescit BCD. 32. fides B. 38. innitebantur D.

fuerunt pro millenario mendacii multipliciter evagati. Et hec racio quare in scriptis eorum tot repugnancie sunt reperte, et specialiter in veritatibus de possibili.

Any proposition ought to be rejected  
1<sup>st</sup> if it is manifestly impossible, or  
2<sup>nd</sup> if it does not belong to the three classes of truth just mentioned.

Ideo videtur michi | religiosum concedere predictam B 84<sup>b</sup> triplicem veritatem de possibili, et aliam quamcumque 5 renuere. Unde, quando proponitur talis proposicio de possibili, videtur michi quod potest abici propter duo: primo, quia est manifeste impossibilis; sicut sunt multe moderne proposiciones de multiplicacione eukaristie, et alie novelle propter curiositatem fantasticam intro- 10 ducte; secundo, quia non patet eius possibilitas ex predicta triplici veritate; et sic nego multas proposiciones de possibili; non quia scio eas efficaciter improbare, sed quia non sunt de numero predicte triplicis veritatis; | et sic sophistis sum dissonus, scole evaganti A 75<sup>a</sup> contrarius, et propter religionem Christi fatuus reputatus. Et patet exoneracio difficultatis predicte, cum nec admittitur animam multiplicari per loca disparia intercise, nec cum informacione corporis extra ipsum informiter per situs sibi continuos evagari: probato tamen quod 20 tale sit possibile, volo ipsum admittere, si non assit michi occupacio utilior; tamen iste cui foret occupacio laudabilis posset dicere quod eadem substancia spiritualis posset simul continue vel intercise, communi cum actuacione corporis vel sine, multiplicari per loca 25 quantumcumque distanca et simul gaudere vel tristari de eodem secundum diversas potencias, vel disparem rationem; sed destrui non potest, cum sit naturaliter immortalis. Multiplicacio autem nature corporee propter manifestam contradiccionem est neganda ad sensum 30 expositum.

The rule laid down, if carried out, would enable theologians to devote their time to more useful matters. The doctrine that spirits could be in two places at once, though erroneous, is less so than the other.

Sed videtur quod scole predicte regule debemus inniti, cum tunc studium et occupacio theologia forent utiliter breviata, et tota | lex imperialis et antichristiana B 84<sup>c</sup> cum privatis regulis ordinum, suspensa a consideracione 35 fidelium, et multo evidencius ymaginaciones fantasticce errabunde. Unde videtur michi quod foret minus hereticum admittere situm corporeum per multiplicacionem substancialis, subducta omni materia, quam ponere situm corporeum fundatum in situacione huius- 40 modi accidentis, subducta omni materiali substanciali: | A 75<sup>a</sup>

20. continue BCD; corr. A; ib. probacio B.  
ib. cum deest BC. 35. a deest CD.

24. commune A;

sed utrumque credo omnipotencie dei repugnare. Ideo scola antichristi creditur lapsa in heresim per multa blasfema mendacia de dei omnipotencia.

P. Tercio replicatur per hoc quod Christus et per consequens corpus suum potest esse quelibet creatura; et per consequens est summe multiplicabile. Nec tollitur instance per hoc quod non quilibet est ydemptice sed solum tropice corpus Christi: quia, si Petrus est Paulus, est evidens idem Paulo, cum triplex sit ydemptitas, scilicet generalis, specialis et numeralis. Ideo videtur sequi, si quidlibet sit corpus Christi, tunc est idem suo corpori, non econtra; et stant raciones alibi facte de ydemptificatione. Sicut enim Christus potuit de pane dixisse: „Hoc est corpus meum”; ita de quolibet alio assignando; et per consequens potuit ydemptificasse quidlibet sibi ipsi; et currunt argumenta multiplicia.

Hic dicitur quod laboratur in equivocis, cum multi errando credunt quod panis tantum ydemptificatur corpori Christi, quod nec sit inter illa realis distincio, nec distincio rationis; et per hoc intelligo ydemptificationem numeralem, quam dico non posse fieri. | In predicacionem autem signativam vel tropicam, non negabit qui sacram scripturam admittit. Ideo concedo ad sensum equivocum predicandi predicacionem huiusmodi figurativam, stante diversitate naturarum cum signis simplicibus; et nego predicacionem huiusmodi cum signis specificatis per istum terminum in numero vel sibi equivalens; ut concedo cum Augustino quod septem spice sunt septem anni, quod Baptista est Helias, quod petra erat Christus; et tamen nego quod subiecta ista sint idem in numero predictatis, cuiusmodi loquendi fundamentum est scripture sacre auctoritas. Verumtamen notandum quod in predicacione ista secundum significacionem vel figuram sunt gradus multiples. Primus gradus et supremus est quando figura presupponit in

2. videtur B. 11. est deest B. 16. multiplicatio C. 18. panis deest B. 23. concedit AB. 30. quod deest BCD. 30—33. subiecta — quod in marg. A.

6. This is to a great extent an argument *ad hominem*. We must remember Wyclif's position as a Realist, admitting that universals exist *a parte rei*, in the same way as they do in our minds. When we say, *A dog is an animal*; and, *A cat is an animal*, *animality* is absolutely the same in *dog* as in *cat*. It would follow that the dog and the cat are identical *a parte rei*. Wyclif escapes by a distinction.

*Third objection:*  
Anything might  
be the body  
of Christ as  
well as bread;  
therefore his  
body is  
multiplicable.  
For in every  
theory the word  
*is* implies a  
certain amount  
of identity  
between subject  
and predicate.

*Answer:* This  
is an  
equivocation.  
Numerical  
identity implies  
that between  
the subject and  
the predicate  
there shall be  
neither real  
nor logical  
distinction;  
which is  
denied. The  
subject is  
identical with  
the predicate,  
but not in  
number.

For instance,  
John Baptist is  
Elias; i. e.  
identical in so  
far as one is  
the figure of  
the other. But no  
further.

Three degrees  
of figurative  
identity;  
1<sup>st</sup> when the  
figure requires  
the miraculous  
coexistence of  
the thing  
figured;

2<sup>nd</sup> when one  
thing becomes  
the type of  
another by the  
institution of  
the Holy Ghost;

3<sup>rd</sup> When  
anything is  
naturally the  
sign of another:  
as smoke is the  
sign of fire, or  
an accident of  
its subject.

A confusion  
between these  
identities and  
absolute  
identity has  
led great minds  
astray.

Granting that  
Christ can be  
all in all, we  
grant the  
multiplication  
of his body,  
not in substance  
nor in place,  
but in figure.

Thus the  
confusion of  
numerical  
identity is not  
to be feared.

tempore figuratum, et requirit virtuosam et miraculosam eius existenciam ad quemlibet eius punctum; et secundo, ut figuratum quod mentiri non poterit asserat figuram eiusmodi esse figuratum; et isto modo panis et vinum verbo Christi consecrata fiunt et sunt corpus Christi 5 et sangwis. Et facere tam magnum miraculum est Hebr. Christo proprium, quem apostolus dicit ad Hebr. primo 1, 3 esse figuram substancialie dei patris: nec hoc est sibi Ps. difficile, cum sit ille qui *dixit et facta sunt omnia*; 9 XXXII, secundus gradus et medius est, quando spiritus sanctus 10 instituit unam rem distantem in tempore aliam figurare; et ille gradus non requirit preexistenciam et virtualem coexistenciam figurati cum sua figura, sed econtra; et isto modo oblaciones et sacrificia legis veteris figurarunt res de lege | nova, dicente apostolo II ad Cor. de B 85\* patribus legis veteris quod omnia in figura contingebant 1. Cor. illis. Et talis figura vocatur proprie tipus; et frequenter X, 11 predicanter de se | invicem in scriptura, et quandoque A 76\* removentur a se invicem secundum predicaciones equivocas in figura et in natura, ut sepe dictum est. Sed 20 tercius gradus et infimus est, quando ex ordinacione nature create effectus figurat naturaliter suam causam. Et isto modo fumus signat ignem, et quodlibet accidens sensibile suum subiectum, et sepe nomina eorum de se invicem predicanter. Et sic oportet notare pro scriptura 25 intelligenda predicacionem figuralem, predicacionem essencialem, predicacionem substancialiem, cum suis subdivisionibus et signis limitantibus. Et noticia equivocationis dissolvit apparencias contradiccionis. Et forte in ista equivocacione de gradibus predicacionis figuralis 30 laborarunt Berengarius, Lanfrancus, Wymundus; et alii, ymo multi et magni, usque hodie sunt cecati.

Istis premissis, admitto ut supra quod deus sit omnia R. in omnibus et sic quod equivoce multiplicetur, non secundum substancialitatem et situm, sed secundum signum; 35 cum sit equivoce multorum singulum, et tamen omnia illa differunt essencialiter a se invicem et a deo. Ideo non contingit ex istis confusio, sicut sequitur ex ydemptificatione, ut patet alibi; sic etiam corpus Christi et tota eius humanitas multiplicatur secundum suos limites 40 aliter in eukaristia et aliter per loca, ubi sua species

1. tempus BCD. 13. coexistenciam vel existenciam figurati B.  
15. Il omnes MSS. 16. contingebantur B. 18, 19. in — invicem deest BCD.  
25. principiantur B; ib. figura pro scriptura B. 38. confuso AB.

vel virtus diffunditur. Nec oportet, si quelibet particula hostie sit corpus Christi, quod propterea quelibet earum A 70<sup>a</sup> sit quelibet, | aut non aliter sit in sacramento quam B 85<sup>b</sup> ut est virtualiter ubilibet, vel in celo. | Natura enim 5 panis sacramentalis remanet, et sic numerabiliter distinguuntur multe hostie consecrate, licet omnes ille sint corpus Christi, sicut multa supposita sunt sua species et tamen numeraliter distinguuntur. Et conformiter de accidentibus et subiectis: ut subiectum est multa acci- 10 dencia distincta in genere, et econtra, licet non sit aliquod istorum idemtice, sive formaliter, sed solum signative. Et istud vellem eos attendere, qui ponunt accidencia esse sine subiecto; accidens enim non est essencialiter subiectum, sed subiectaliter vel subiective 15 significative; ideo oportet exprimere predicacionem equivocam et in sensu univoco convenire. Nec audeo dicere quod corpus Christi sit, vel multiplicetur, secun- dum suam substanciam vel naturam in hostia conse- crata, quia secundum autorem "De divinis officiis" in 20 sacramento altaris est vita spiritualis non animalis, quia aliter posset ex se progredi, sicut homo. Et tolluntur instancie quibus alii de scola contraria laqueantur.

S. Et patet quomodo fideles qui videntur contrarii in materia ista equivocant, ut hii concedunt quod corpus Christi videtur oculo corporali, atteritur et quantumcunque varie transmutatur; quorum sensus sanus non singitur, nisi quia panis sanctificatus sic variatur qui est equivoce corpus Christi. Illi autem negant quod corpus Christi oculariter videtur in hostia, vel aliter A 77<sup>a</sup> transmutatur: quod potest dupliciter sane intelligi; vel quia corpus Christi in natura sua non sic movetur, vel quia sacramentum non sub ratione qua est corpus Christi sic se habet. Alii autem ad tantum desipiunt B 85<sup>c</sup> quod ignorantes equivocaciones et sensuum distinc- 35 ciones dealbantur veneno heretico: quia secundum Averoys, assuefacti inpossibilibus tanquam assuefacti veneno letifero, ipsa accipiunt ex consuetudine tanquam vera. Et sic pater mendacii per ignoranciam equivocationis decipit scolam suam et facit simplices ab- 40 horrere, quod ille panis non sit corpus Christi, nisi secundum figuranciam et figuram; quia per idem ut

4. est *pro* enim D. 15. significacione B. 27. ergo *pro* quia B.  
34. sensum B. 34. 35. non distinciones BCD: it. after distinciones h. A.  
35. debeatur *omnes* MSS.

Each Host is Christ's body: yet it is distinct from every other, on account of the nature of bread that remains: as individuals, belonging to the same class, are yet numerically distinct.

This principle applied to the doctrine of absolute accidents: an accident is but the sign of the subject, not the subject itself. Christ's life in the Sacrament is spiritual, not animal; so we may not say that the nature or substance is multiplied.

Some say that we see Christ's body with the bodily eye; this is an equivocation: they mean the sanctified bread. Yet they deny that we see Christ corporally; which may be true; but their distinctions are heretical.

suggerit quidlibet quod ipsum corpus significat, foret  
How this bread eque veraciter corpus Christi. Modus autem quo ille  
is the body of Christ, though in figure and not by identity,  
is quite inexplicable to us; but to say that the bread does not remain  
ydempticus est inexplicabilis a nobis viantibus, licet  
in confuso sciamus, quod non sit naturaliter corpus  
Christi; et verba doctorum multos infatuant, qui dicunt quod post consecrationem non est panis eo quod  
non est tunc principalissime corpus panis; et proportionabilis equivocatio fit inter apostatas.

p. non inconfuse B.

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## CAPITULUM DECIMUM.

Tractando de quidditate sacramenti altaris, oportet primo supponere predictam sentenciam *de divinis officiis*, capitulo de quidditate sacramenti altaris quod est in natura substancia et corpus panis et vini et in significacione et figura est corpus Christi et sangvis; quam sentenciam est impossibile impugnare. Secundo recitatitur per viam opinionis sententia communis de quidditate accidentis. Et tertio procedetur profundius

A 77<sup>b</sup> rimando sentenciam de quidditate huius | sacramenti, in qua discordant doctores.

Supposito autem primo, quantum ad secundum pro noticia accidentis, notandum secundum Avicennam quod ens prima impressione imprimitur: sive igitur senciendo 15 sive cogitando rem esse, cognoscitur prima essencia et B 82<sup>a</sup> sic deus; et cum | unumquodque sicut se habet ad esse sic ad cognosci in illo analogo, cognoscitur prius essentia substancie quam essentia accidentis. Ad generalem itaque noticiam post istam analogam, expergeficit sensibilis noticia accidentis, iuxta illud Aristotelis, primo posteriorum in principio: "Omnis noticia intellectiva, (supple quidditativa) oritur ex preexistente noticia sensitiva". Nam sensus communis cognoscit primo ens analogum ex mocione sensibilis, et prius cognoscitur subiectum ut tale quam accidens tanquam tale. Et hinc Porphyrius ponit subiectum in descripcione accidentis: omne tamen ens sub uno involucro primo sub esse concipitur.

Videndo igitur essenciam sacramenti ut est alba vel aliter accidentata, videtur albedo, rotunditas vel aliud

What is the essence of the Sacrament?

We shall lay down that it is in nature bread; in signification, Christ's body.

Examine the common opinion about accidents.

And 3<sup>rd</sup>

Investigate the essence of the Sacrament.

Avicenna's position that: pure Being is known in the thought that a thing is.

If so, 'substance' is known before 'accident'.

1. Capitulum *deest omnes* MSS. 4. *hiatus* after capitulo AB.  
5. *vinum* B. 10. *quoque* B. 27. *sub uno deest* Cf.; *ib.* *fuisse* BCD.  
28. *est deest* B.

13. Avicenna (properly *Husain ibn Abd-Allah*, called *Ibn-Sina*), born in Persia 980 A. D.; died 1037 A. D. His works, translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona (XII<sup>th</sup> century) were first printed in Venice, 1483 and following years. 21. Aristotle begins the work in question with these words: *Πάσα διδασπεῖται καὶ πᾶσα μέθησις διανοητικὴ ἐξ προϋπαρχόντης γίνεται γνώσεως.*  
25. Porph. Isagoge.

Thus when we see the Sacrament 'as white' &c., we

see whiteness &c. *in it*, not separately. It is therefore impossible to understand that any accident can exist without the essence of which it forms a part.

And although the bread may cease to be in our thoughts, it does not cease to sustain the accidents.

As God is the basis of all creatures, so substance is the basis of all accidents. Quantity only means "the being great of substance" either in number (as a people) or in magnitude (as lines, surfaces, volumes).

Likewise of situation and duration;

accidens, cum albedo sit essenciam substancie esse albam. Et ita de aliis. Et hinc vere dicit doctor Egidius B. quod homo non potest intelligere essenciam substancialiem esse accidentatam sine substancia subiecta. Sic igitur videmus colorem, figuram et quantitatem sacramenti, dum videmus essenciam esse coloratam vel figuratam; quia hoc est illud accidens. Sed iuxta Lincolniensem forte nos non consideramus de quidditate essencie sic accidentate, cum tota intencio nostra debet suspensi in corpus Christi quod est perfectius quam panis materialis; licet autem desinat esse in actu considerationis nostre, non tamen desinit esse vel visa accidencia subiectare.

Et ex ista consideratione potest patere fidei philosopho distinctio accidentis; sicut enim substancia divina est basis cuilibet creature, sic genus create substancie est basis cuiuslibet accidenti. Sic quod quantitas sit veritas que est "substancialium esse quantum": | quod intelligi potest dupliciter; B 86<sup>a</sup> vel quo ad multitudinem vel quo ad magnitudinem. Prima quantitas est numerus, ut populus qui est una persona est multitudo hominum. Si autem persona sit magna, hoc intelligi potest tripliciter: vel quod sit linealiter magna quod est linea, vel superficialiter magna quod est superficies, vel corporee magna quod est corporeitas, crassitudo vel altitudo. Quantitas autem rei in comparacione ad partes suas intelligi potest dupliciter; vel quo ad locacionem aut situacionem, vel quo ad duracionem. Primo modo est locus vel situs qui est veritas, que est mundum situari vel locari secundum se aut aliquam sui partem. Unde locus expanditur per totum mundum, sed duracio mundi secundum transmutacionem est tempus. Et ab illis duobus generibus quantitatis originantur duo generalissima ubi et quando, sic quod ubicacio sit locacio partis mundi, et quandalitas sit duracio partis mundi. Et sicut ubicacio mensuratur situ mundi, sic quandalitas mensuratur tempore, ut docet autor "Sex Principiorum". Et ita consideran-

1. significat *pro* sit B. 4. *substancia deest* D. 9. *accidentato* AB;  
ib. *intencione* C. 15. sic B. 35. Et sic CD.

2. *Egidius*. I can find only two writers of this name. One was archbishop of York in the XII<sup>th</sup> century; the other was a deacon of Paris who wrote some Latin poems about the year 1200. Nothing that remains of their writings bears on the subject.  
36. Gislebertus Porretanus (Gilbert de la Porée), Bishop of Poitiers, and author of the short but valuable treatise here quoted (see t. 188, p. 1258 of Migne). It was commented by Albert the

dum est de aliis generibus accidentis. Cum autem deus sit veritas, patet quod sicut non potest permittere creaturam esse sine se ipso, sic non potest permittere accidentens esse sine subiecto; quia, secundum apostolum

Now, as no creature can exist without God, so no accident can exist without its subject.

<sup>5</sup> 2<sup>a</sup> Thim. II<sup>o</sup>, Deus verax est, se ipsum negare non  
II. Tim. potest. Talia autem accidentia quandoque intelliguntur  
II. 1<sup>3</sup>

nominaliter abstractive, et quandoque occasionaliter concretive, ut dicit Aristoteles in *post predicamentis* de

"eccitate" et "ecum esse", et conformiter equivocatur

B 86<sup>b</sup> in deo et universitate | creata. Sicut igitur deus mandat fidelibus quod vocent sacramentum altaris panem vere indubie, sic pater mendacii precipit scole sue quod vocet mendaciter sacramentum altaris accidentis sine subiecto, ut per illud mendacium subtrahatur subiectus huic

15 venerabili sacramento. Sed non erubesco ewangelium  
vocando hoc sacramentum panem, sicut spiritus sanctus  
vocat; et detestando conclusiones patris mendacii, quod  
ipsum sit panis infinitum abieccior in natura quam panis  
equi vel ratonis, cum sit panis celestis, panis sanctus,  
20 et quodammodo corpus Christi. In natura vero sua est  
panis triticeus, panis azimus et panis fructibus terre  
elementatus et pistus, propter sensum mysticum quem  
meminit Augustinus. Constat autem quod nec quantitas  
fermentatur, subicitur sic accidentibus vel pinsatur.

D. 25 Iterum constat, quod si illud accidentens foret corpus Christi,  
Christus pertinentissime tractasset ipsum in manibus,  
A 78<sup>a</sup> ipsum demo | strasset pronomine et in eius noticiam  
docuisset: cuius oppositum testantur nedum fideles ecclesie  
sed adversarii, qui dicunt concorditer quod nesciunt quid  
30 sit illud sacramentum quod sit accidentis per se sine subiecto. Et revera, deus non potest subicere fidem huic  
sacramento; ideo vere dicunt, quod non habet subiectum.

But if it were so, Christ would have said so; which all must admit not to have been the case.

Item, tale accidentens absconditum ab olym ignotum ecclesie, quod ponitur modo esse de fide, habet racio-  
35 nem per se substandi omni generi accidentium: et illa  
est per se racio substancie; igitur illa est illius generis,  
quod deus fecit substanciam. Si dicatur quod miracu-

If an accident can become a subject of other accidents, it becomes a substance. And if it be said to do so by miracle,

<sup>3.</sup> i. accidentis esse deest D.      <sup>7.</sup> oracionaliter BCD; corr. A.  
<sup>8.</sup> post deest D.      <sup>15.</sup> universalis B.      <sup>19.</sup> rationis B.      <sup>37.</sup> facit B.

Great, and many others; and had the unique honour of being placed in Hermolaüs Barbarus' translation of Aristotle (even in the early printed editions) immediately after *De praedicamentis*, which it supplements. He was, with Abailard, St. Bernard's adversary at the council of Reims (1148).    8. Arist. ed. F. Didot, vol. I, p. 18, l. 45.

then God continually works usless miracles.

And if such miracles are made on account of an accident, what will be done on account of real substances?

Three weak arguments in favour of this doctrine.

I. The Decretal of Innocent III.

II. The Decretal, asserts transsubstantiation.

III. Respect for the Sacrament, which, if the bread remained, would be digested, &c.

But the same difficulty would follow in any case, Christ's Body being present.

The Body of Christ is uncontaminated, and impassible. Wizards think to harm men by hurting their w<sup>o</sup> images, and only hurt themselves; so it is with Christ's body.

lose per se subiectat sic accidens | tunc oportet ponere B 86<sup>c</sup> cultores signorum facere continue miracula que non prosunt. Quid, inquam, prodest quod tale ignotum accidens sine subiecto per se recipiat transmutaciones culpabiles, ut tractacionem, alteracionem et passionem illicitam sacramenti? Revera evidencius quicquid agit vel patitur creata substancia continue subiectat miraculum, cum non sit racio quare factum accidens ex naturali sua potencia facit miraculum, quin evidencius substancia creata et servata miraculose a deo continue 10 facit miraculum; sed deficientibus veris miraculis, oportet quod fingantur falsa miracula; et sicut finguntur false officiorum nominaciones, religiones et absoluciones, sic fingitur falsa fides de accidentibus, ut utrobique seminator mendacii illudat ecclesie. 15

Tres autem evidencias arundineas facit dyabolus ad E. con | cludendum quod illud sensibile sacramentum sit A 78<sup>b</sup> accidens sine subiecto; primo ex hoc, quod decretalis Innocencii 3<sup>ii</sup> dicit quod accidens est sine subiecto; ut de celebracione missarum, „*Cum Marthe*,“ ubi multa 20

recitantur de dicto Innocencio opinata. Secundo, quia primo decretalium, titulo primo, capitulo „*Firmiter*“, in fine dicitur panem et vinum transsubstanciari in istis concludere quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens 25 sine subiecto, ideo palliantur alie rime doctorum, cum inquiunt, sacramentum altaris transit ad stomachum, si ibi remaneret materia, reciperet transmutaciones pudendas. Sed patet quod idem inconveniens sequeretur de pane quem ponunt accidens, cum precise tam diu 30 remanet ibi | corpus Christi sacramentaliter, quam diu B 86<sup>a</sup> ibi remanet forma panis; et quantumcunque polluitur illud accidens, corpus Christi remanet inpollutum. Cum enim illud non sit ydemptice corpus Christi, absit fidelem credere, quod propter eius pollutionem corpus 35 Christi polluantur; sic enim fingunt incantatores infideles, quod sciunt facere ymagines et cruciare in oculis vel aliis partibus inimicum quantumcunque distantem; sed per tales ficticias hereticas nocent sibi ipsis et non Christi fidelibus et multo magis non fedant vel cruciant 40

1. si pro sic C. 5. panacionem C. 25. sic pro sit C. 30. si D.

19. Decr. Greg., I. III, tit. XL, c. 6. 22. Decr. Greg., I. I, tit. I, c. 1.

corpus Christi. Unde mures ipsum non lacerant, nec  
A 78<sup>a</sup> homines ipsum dentibus atterunt vel comburunt | . Licet  
Ps. enim multi indicent legem Christi esse hereticam, cum  
XCVIII, 1 “dominus regnavit irascantur populi”, quia recipiunt  
5 equivoce nomen Christi; tamen hoc faciunt ad eorum  
F. deterioracionem, non ad dampnum Christi. Est autem  
dificultas scolastica, quam predicationem in signo  
Christus recipit, cum videtur decretum *Ego Berengarius*  
dicere quod corpus Christi dentibus atteritur. Et sic  
10 clamant multi quod vident corpus Christi in missis  
oculo corporali, et sic de mille aliis conclusionibus in  
quibus populus est seductus. Ideo cum equivocatur in  
talibus, quod Christus sic tractatur in persona propria  
vel in signo, expedit negare ista sophistis et argacias  
15 quibus hec inferunt, detegendo quomodo membra vel  
signa Christi talia paciuntur; et sic glosande sunt scrip-  
ture et dicta sanctorum. Sed secundo obicitur per  
doctores mendacii eo quod tunc non liceret homini bis  
B 87<sup>a</sup> celebrare | in die, quia comedendo panem et potando  
20 vinum in prima missa dissolveret ieunium reddendo  
se ineptum ad iterum celebrandum; igitur oportet quod  
sacramentum sit accidens. Hic dicitur quod per illud  
sacramentum contigit solvere ieunium, cum secundum  
apostolum post illam cenam dominicam unus esurit,  
25 alius ebrius est: et secundum autorem “*De dirinis  
officiis*” illud sacramentum est substancia panis, corpus  
panis et panis visibilis, qui de terra crevit; cum illo  
igitur contingit hominem solvere ieunium, sicut cum  
G. sumo vescibilium. Sed notandum quod ieunium a pec-  
A 78<sup>d</sup> cato | debet servari in cenantibus cenam dominicam, et The great point  
corporale ieunium non est curandum nisi de quanto  
disponit ad istud ieunium. Unde nostri concedunt  
quod contingit ministrantem vel aliter laborantem come-  
dendo et bibendo servare ieunium ecclesie, sicut patet  
35 de bibentibus et comedentibus vocatas species tam ante  
prandium quam post: ymo Christus dedit corpus suum  
discipulis suis post cenam; sicud homines infirmi,  
quando egerint plus digne corpus Christi assumere, com-  
municantur post prandium. Ideo absit fidelem credere  
40 quod ordinacio qua decretum est homines celebrare  
ieiunios, faciat accidens esse sine subiecto. Nam eccl-

But a decree  
seems to say  
that Christ's  
body is ground  
with the teeth.

Only the sign  
is thus treated,  
not the thing  
signified.  
They say: it  
the bread  
remains, the  
Priest cannot  
say Mass twice,  
since the fast  
is broken.

But the fast is  
really broken  
in any case,  
according to  
the Apostle's  
words.

The great point  
is to fast from  
sin.

Christ's  
disciples  
communicated,  
when not  
tasting; nor do  
the sick fast.

This is a commandment of the Church, which might be abolished.

Again, words of the Saints are quoted against us.

But if these Saints say that only the qualities remain, they contradict St. Thomas; quality, implying 'more or less', is the subject of quantity; which he rightly denies.

It would be stultifying their doctrine to say that all accidents are qualities.

When therefore they speak thus we understand them to mean the visible and material essence of the Sacrament.

sia potuit ordinasse racionabiliter quod celebrans parum ante comedat et multo magis quod post locionem cum aqua vel vino iterum celebret eodem die. Et patet nuditas istius evidencie ad probandum quod non sit sacramentum altaris sensibile, nisi accidens. Tercio adducitur testimonium sanctorum sinistre conceptum, et allegatur | de Augustino, Anshelmo et aliis, quod solum B 87<sup>a</sup> qualitates remanent in sacramento post consecrationem.

Nam tunc solum qualitates sunt sacramentum; et per consequens, cum ille qualitates possent maiorari et minorari, ille qualitates forent subiecta quantitati eis formaliter inherenti; quod est contra sanctum Thomam super 4<sup>a</sup> distinccione 12 questione prima articulorum. Sicut enim quantitas est dimensio que immedie consequitur materiam primam | existentem primum fundatum nature, sic alia accidentia non possunt ipsam in natura precedere. Nec valet dicere, quod omnia H. genera accidentis sunt qualitates, quia hoc foret imponere philosophis et sanctis doctoribus nimis magnam stulticiam. Nam substancialis qualitas, ex 5<sup>to</sup> Methaphysice 20 et principiis grammaticorum, est qualitas quam necesse est per se esse; et sic nichil esset vel posset esse nisi qualitas. Sed videtur michi probabile sanctos doctores intelligere per visibles species essencias materiales ut sunt sensibiles, sicut in predicacione secundum causam 25 vel secundum subiectum sive materiam; fides autem scripture sic loquitur: "Christus est propiciatio pro I. Joh. peccatis nostris", prima Joh. II<sup>o</sup>; et II<sup>a</sup> Cor. V<sup>to</sup> Christus II. 2 vocatur "peccatum". Et Ecclesiastici XLIV de iusto sacer-

dote dicitur, quod "in tempore iracundie factus est reconciliatio". Et isto modo videtur autorem supradictum loqui ubi supra. "In illo," inquit, "in quo fides non est, preter visibles species panis et vini, nichil de sacrificio pervenit." Ideo solebam dicere quod si sacrificium altaris sit accidens, illud est solum illud fictum sacramentum quod recipit infidelis | . Certum est tamen B 87<sup>a</sup> quod iste maior intelligit per visibles species panis et vini illam essenciam ut est sensibilis. Unde consequen-

14, 15. sequitur B. 24. intelligi CD. 28. patet B. 31. supradictum deest B. 35. illud deest B.

12. St. Th. Aq. *In Libris Sent.*, l. IV, Dist. 12, art. 1, quest<sup>la</sup> 3<sup>a</sup> Resp. *ad primum*. 20. Arist. ed. F. Didot, vol. II, p. 526, l. 5: p. 521, l. 8, 36.

ter dicitur, quod vita animalis caro est. Et locutio secundum illam predicacionem est crebrior in scriptura, quia certum est quod ad interiora tam infidelis quam I. muris venit materialis essentia sacramenti. Unde, ut supra tetigi, potest intelligi per speciem et similitudinem de quibus loquitur Gregorius, ipsa essentia | ut est sensibilis et mistice similis corpori Christi. Et sic intelligi potest dictum Anshelmi, quod false ascribitur Augustino, quod nichil de pane remanet post consecrationem, nisi sensibilis qualitas. Sunt enim verba venerabilis Anshelmi in quodam libello de sacramento altaris; et verisimile est quod allegaret magistrum suum Augustinum, si forent ex integro verba sua; sic enim facit in Monologion ubi capit nude sentenciam Augustini. Ideo vel mendaces vel scriptores propter similitudinem nominum Augustini et Anshelmi fecerunt, quod illa verba ascriberentur magno doctori Augustino. Non enim ita leviter moveret tantus doctor, quod solum qualitas remaneat post versionem uxoris Loth in statu tuam salis et silicis in vitrum. Quid enim pertinent ista ad inferendum quod accidentis est sine subiecto? Unde swadent quod illa miraculosa conversio sacramenti sit deo possibilis, et infinitum magis mirabilis propter immensitatem miraculi, quam dictum opus nature.

K. 25 Et quantum ad sensum doctoris Anshelmi videtur B 87<sup>a</sup> michi ipsum intelligere quod solum qua | litates panis et vini remanent forte in actu consideracionis; non tamen wult negare, quin remanent in sacramento alia octo genera accidentis. Unde miror quod moderni socii 30 tantum ponderant illud dictum, cum venerabilis Anshel mus dicit in libro suo De veritate, capitulo finali, quod accidens non potest esse sine subiecto, | sicut dicit A 79<sup>c</sup> Augustinus; secundo, quia sanctus Thomas, cui illi innuntur, vere dicit quod impossibile est talem qualitatem 35 naturalem esse, nisi fuerit fundata in quantitate, que est primum genus accidentis; et tertio quia ipsimet

This mode of speech (taking the abstract for the concrete) is common in Scripture.

The words attributed to Augustine belong to a work of Anselm.

Besides, from his instances, Lot's wife changed into a pillar of salt, &c., Augustine could hardly say that quality alone remained.

And he can be understood in our sense.

He says himself that no accident can exist without a subject.

And St. Thomas asserts that quality must be based upon quantity.

4. nutrit C: ib. et A. 9. beatus Gregorius CD. 9. remaneret B. 20. filicis AD. 24. miraculis pro mirabilis B. 27. consideracionis fidelium C 33. Augustino omnes MSS; ib. quod BC.

11. Ans. Ep. CVII. *De corpore et sanguine Domini* (Migne, t. 159, p. 256). 30. St. Anselm, has the following words in the last ch. *De Veritate*: Existente namque corpore, colorem eius necesse est esse; et pereunte corpore, colorem eius manere impossibile est (Migne, t. 158, p. 484). 33. St. Th. Aq. In lib. Sent. c. IV, Dist. XII, art. 1. *Et ideo dicendum est.*

And all agree doctores dicunt michi, quod sacramentum altaris quod  
 that the equivoce panis dicitur, est quedam aggregacio accidentis  
 Sacrament if not bread, is cium quantitatis et qualitatis. Cum igitur dictum An-  
 an aggregate of shelmi asserat quod solum qualitas remanet, directe  
 quality and quantity.  
 How then can obviat iste sentencie, et manifeste patet quod nichil eis  
 Anselm mean in pertinencius quam allegare pro se hoc dictum. Nam  
 that quality allegacio non valet eis, nisi ut dictum id dampnetur,  
 alone remains?

Those who quote this text should do so only to condemn it.  
 vel ut glossa eius infundabilis cumuletur; cum itaque secundum antiquos sanctos et modernos impossibile est quod solum qualitates remaneant, patet quod deus ordinavit hoc dictum ascribi Augustino et Anshelmo ut sensus eorum predictus concorditer sit scrutatus, et multo magis ut verba fidei defendantur.

Again, they say that the word 'bread' is to be understood metaphorically, as the semblance of bread.

But, according to Scripture, Ambrose and Augustine, this is not possible.

Unde ob reverenciam scripture concedunt socii cum Ambrosio, Augustino et usu ecclesie, quod sacramentum altaris est panis sensibilis et corpus Christi, sed valde equivoce; quod dicitur panis eo quod similitudo panis, cum in natura sua sit accidens; et dicitur corpus Christi, quia figurat sacramentaliter corpus Christi. | Sed B 88<sup>a</sup> patet ex dictis, quod oportet intelligere scripturam 20 L. I<sup>a</sup> Cor. X et XI de substancia panis, ut dicit Ambrosius I. Cor. et Augustinus in De sacramento altaris: "Corpus Christi X, 16; et veritas et figura est. Veritas | dum corpus Christi XI, 24 et sanguis, virtute ipsius, in verbo ipsius, panis vinique A 79<sup>d</sup> substancia efficitur; figura vero est illud quod exterius sentitur. "Et iste videtur sensus cantus ecclesie:

Verbum caro, panem verum

Verbo carnem efficit etc.

The bread becomes something better; if so, it surely is not annihilated.

Unde panis non anihilatur, sed melioratur, dicente Augustino eodem, ubi prius, in "De sacramento altaris": 30 "Credendum est quod in verbis Christi sacramenta confiantur: cuius enim potencia creantur prius, eius utique verbo ad melius recreantur." Si autem ad melius recreantur, non omnino destruuntur, dicente Quotation from Cypriano in quadam epistola (et recitat eum Wymundus) 35 Cyprian, contradicting annihilation.

2. est deest D. 5. iste AB. 6. per pro pro. 17. quia AB.

22. Decr. Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars Dist. II, c. 79. 35. Cypr. Epist., I, 1, 6. Quoted by Guitmundus, *De Corporis et Sanguine Domini veritate* (Migne, t. 149, p. 1450). — Wymundus, also called Guitmundus, Witmundus, &c., archbishop of Aversa in Italy, is also known by the name of *Christianus*, which he afterwards took, as pointed out by Chifflet (Migne, t. 148, p. 1452, 3). His name occurs several times in *De Apostasia*. Wyklif's aim is to show his own orthodoxy by his agreement with one of the greatest adversaries of Berengarius.

"Denique", inquit, "unanimitate Christianos firma sibi atque inseparabili caritate connexos eciam ipsa dominica sacramenta declarant; nam quando dominus corpus suum panem vocat de multiplici granorum adunacione congestum propter nostrum quem portabat indicat adunatum, et quando sanguinem suum appellat de botris atque acinis plurimis expressum atque in unum coactum gregem nostrum signat commixtione adunate multitudo copulatum." Et idem dicunt sancti de millenario Christi concorditer.

M. Unde solebam ponere tres conclusiones in ista materia, quas catholicus debet usque ad mortem defendere: Prima, quecunque persona vel secta est nimis heretica, que pertinaciter defenderit quod sacramentum

A 80<sup>a</sup> altaris per se existens in natura sua infinitum abieccior  
 B 88<sup>b</sup> equi pane ac in perfectione est; secunda, quicunque pertinaciter defenderit quod dictum sacramentum sit accidens, quantitas, qualitas aut eorum aggregatio, incidit in heresim supradictam; tercua, panis triticeus in quo solum licet confidere est in natura infinitum perfectior pane fabino vel ratonis, quorum uterque in natura est perfectior accidente. Patet conclusio ex hoc quod quicunque defenderit sic, defendit pertinaciter doctrinam scripture sacre contrarium, quia tractatui apostoli stoli 1<sup>a</sup> Cor. X et XI de corpore Christi vel cena dominica, ut patet per expositionem Ambrosii, Augustini et aliorum sanctorum, qui fuerunt pape precipui. Nam verum panem cenaverunt Christi discipuli; et foret nimis absolutum a fide scripture quod Christus pavit suos discipulos pane infinitum peiori quam est panis ratonis vel panis alias venenosus. Hoc enim non excitaret, sed revocaret catholicos ex nimietate horroris accipere sacramentum; nec posset tale sacramentum perfici per accidens, cum non poterit alterari.

35 Sed quia Wymundus in tractatu suo de sacramento altaris contra Berengarium videtur esse autor capitalis N. sic opinancium: ideo arguitur ex eius testimonio, quod impossibile est sacramentum altaris quod est eukaristia, esse quacunque materiali substancia abieccius in natura. Scribit enim libro suo secundo, quod eukaristia sit sacramentum corporis domini intransitive loquendo,

Three conclusions:  
 1<sup>st</sup> that the Sacrament by nature an abject thing is a heresy;

2<sup>nd</sup> that its nature consists in being an accident;  
 ditto;  
 3<sup>rd</sup> that wheaten bread is more perfect than any accidens.

The first two propositions are unscriptural and therefore a heresy.

Value of Guilmundus' testimony as the adversary of Berengarius.

He says that the Sacrament is the body of Christ and a sign of the grace of God.

16. est deest BCD. 22. patet conclusio patet CD. 23. sic defen- derit sic CD. 31. racionis C.

id est, vere corpus domini et sacramentum aliarum rerum, scilicet bonitatis redempcionis et communionis corporis Christi mystici; ipsa tamen est corpus Christi proprium et corporis quod est ecclesia sacramentum.

His words quoted:  
"Not a figure of Christ's body, but the reality".

"Sacri," inquit, "altaris | oblacio, cum substancia corporis Christi veraciter sit, alia mysteria de ipso domino vel eius ecclesia absque | fidei periculo signare potest; sed non est signum vel figura corporis Christi proprii, cum sit substancialiter ipsum corpus." Unde libro 1º ita inquit: "Tota hostia est corpus Christi, ut nichil minus unaqueque particula separata sit totum corpus Christi: nec tamen tres particule separate sunt tria corpora, sed unum corpus; nec ipse eciam particule a se tanquam plures differunt; quia quod corporis tocius una est, hoc et cetera sunt. Itaque iam non plures particule dicende sunt, sed una pocius hostia integra et indivisa, licet officio sacerdotis videatur quasi dividi. Similiter et si dentibus vel quo alio hec frangi videntur, intelligimus non hec frangi. Unde consequenter, libro 2º: "Quis," inquit, "illud negat, quis enim non ut pocius libenter fatetur, quod sacramenta mense dominice rite panis et vinum vocantur, vel quia prius panis et vinum fuerunt, vel quia panis et vini similitudinem substancialiter transmutata servant?"

Another passage.  
"Three particles of the Host, are not three bodies but one Body".

"The Sacrament is rightly called bread and wine because after the change it still appears to be so."

Ex hiis et aliis dictis suis patet, quod inter omnes scribentes plus alienum fuit a proposito huius episcopi concedere quod sacramentum altaris per se existens sit in natura accidens vel aggregatio accidentis. Ipse enim dicit quod accidens non potest esse sine subiecto.

This doctrine is supported neither by Scripture nor by the Fathers

Item, non est fundabile in scriptura vel sanctis doctribus de millenario Christi, sed pocius reprobatum, quod eukaristia sit accidens; igitur cum sit ita dissonum in materia | fidei, videtur quod pertinaciter illud defendere foret hereticum. Argumentum patet ex dictis, cum fides scripture, sancti doctores, leges, et usus ecclesie vocant regulariter ipsum panem, et, ad sensum alium indubie | equivocum, corpus Christi. Unde Augustinus, De fide

4. corpus B. 6. aliqua B. 17. officiosa ABD. 18. alio modo  
*pro* quo alio CD; aliquo *pro* quo B.

5. Guitmundus, ubi supra. Migne, t. 149, p. 1461; but the words following *potest* are wanting in the text. 9. Guitmundus, ubi supra. Migne, t. 149, p. 1454.

ad Petrum: "Firmissime tene et nullatenus dubites ipsum unigenitum verbum carnem factum, qui se pro nobis obtulit sacrificium et hostiam in odorem suavitatis, cui cum patre et spiritu sancto a patriarchis et prophetis et sacerdotibus tempore veteris testamenti animalia sacrificabantur, et cui nunc, id est, tempore novi testamenti, cum patre et spiritu sancto cum quibus est illi una divinitas, sacrificium panis et vini in fide et caritate sancta ecclesia catholica per universum orbem terre offerre non cessat." Item beatus Bernhardus in quodam sermone qui sic incipit; "Misereor," declarat quod panis accipitur septempliciter in scriptura;

"sacrifice of bread and wine".

Bernard says that "the seventh meaning of 'bread' in Holy Writ is the Eucharist".

<sup>Jo.</sup> VI, <sup>52</sup> "septimo," inquit, "accipitur pro eukaristia, ut Joh. VI<sup>10</sup>:

*Panis.* inquit, *quem ego dabo, caro mea est pro mundi vita.*" Et idem dicit Wimundus et doctores usque hodie concorditer; que igitur foret devocio sive religio, quod sacerdos sceleratissimus facit quotidie creaturam abiec-

<sup>II.</sup> <sup>10</sup> <sup>Jer.</sup> tissimam vel pocius unum nichil imperfeccius ligno vel lapide deum suum? Revera hoc excedit infideles in <sup>11</sup> Dan. veteri lege et sacerdotes Baal; ut patet Jeremie II<sup>9</sup> et XIV, <sup>4</sup> Danielis ultimo. Isti enim posuerunt istas esse substantias et figurare | deum deorum, qui non deteriorat suam fabricam; nostri autem ponunt unam aggregacionem accidencium, nesciunt quorum, esse panem sanctum

To adore such an accident is worse than idolatry; idolaters at least take a substance, v. g. wood, as their God.

<sup>25</sup> et corpus Christi; et per consequens deum nostrum; abieciorem autem panem in natura sua deus non posset facere, tum quia ille panis nullius nature est, nisi fuerit generalis nature accidentis; tum eciam quia <sup>B 89</sup> non quilibet potest esse | panis, sed solum substancia vel accidens panis materialis. Et hic miror quod concedunt deum facere abiectissimum panem quem potest, et negant eum facere perfectissimum panem quem potest.

P. Secta autem ista est ad tantum maniacorum quod dicit errorum suum fulciri ab universalis ecclesia ac si crederet se ipsam supponere totam ecclesiam; sic quod

This sect goes to the mad extreme of asserting that the universal Church favours their error.

<sup>4.</sup> et A. <sup>5.</sup> et sacerdotibus *deest* B. <sup>17,</sup> <sup>18.</sup> abiectissimam *deest* D.  
<sup>35.</sup> si *deest* CD.

1. *De Fide ad Petrum.* Migne, t. 40, p. 772. This work, proved by Erasmus to be spurious, is now believed to have been written by Fulgentius, on account of the discovery of a very old MS. at Corbie. 13. Bern. Serm. i pro Dom. VI post Pent. in fine (Migne, t. 183, p. 339).

The Spouse  
of Christ is  
indeed  
persecuted by  
Gog and  
Magog;

who cry out  
that he who  
holds the  
ancient doctrine  
of the Saints is  
against the  
Church.

There have  
been three  
opinions  
concerning the  
Eucharist.  
1<sup>st</sup> That of the  
first 1000 years.

2<sup>nd</sup> That of  
Gaitmundus.

3<sup>rd</sup> That of our sed tercio magi pharaonis magis defecerant, ut hii Q. modern doctors  
who affirm it  
to be mere  
quantity,  
or sensible  
quality, existing  
by itself; or a  
mere bundle of  
accidents.

Fallacies of Gog  
and Magog;

nulla sit militans ecclesia, quam non regit. Sed talis maniacus consideraret quomodo sancta mater ecclesia ab origine mundi usque ad diem novissimum est una persona, mulier fortis et sponsa Christi. Hec in medio etatis sue fuit copulata sponso suo Christo noviter in carnato. Post cuius millenarium per unum meditullium temporis, soluto patre mendacii, et tanta mania percussus est Gog et Magog, quod putat quicquid Gog non autorisaverit et Magog non invenerit, est contra deterioracionem ecclesie universalis; ut pro toto mille-nario Christi nesciunt invenire suum trimembre genus sacramenti altaris, sed directe contrarium. Et tamen clamant et blaterant quod tenens antiquam sanctorum sentenciam, | contradicit universalis ecclesie; Magog putat A 81<sup>a</sup> enim quod ab ipso per se regente universalem ecclesiam pendeat totus mundus. Tres itaque variaciones notari possunt in materia de quidditate eukaristie; prima regnante veritate pro millenario Christi dicit quod ipsa hostia est substancia panis in natura, sed sacramentaliter corpus Christi, ut dicunt sancti; et ista 20 fides manet semper apud catholicos. Secunda fuit pro millenario solucionis sathane multiplex variacio in materia de quidditate hostie, ut tempore Beren | garii B 89<sup>b</sup> et Wymundi; ipse enim videtur dicere quod sacramen-tum sit in natura vel substancia solummodo corpus; 25 3<sup>rd</sup> That of our sed tercio magi pharaonis magis defecerant, ut hii Q. modern doctors  
who affirm it  
to be mere  
quantity,  
or sensible  
quality, existing  
by itself; or a  
mere bundle of  
accidents.  
capiunt a doctore communis quod ipsum sit quantitas, cum ipsum per se existit et sit multipliciter sensibile, sed sola quantitas, ut inquiunt, subiectat sensibiles qualitates. Hii autem capiunt a doctore subtili cum 30 secta sua quod sacramentum sit qualitas sensibilis per se existens. Et hii tercio pessime sompniant, quod ipsum sacramentum nichil est nec potest videri oculo corporali, cum sit aggregatio accidentium, quorum multa non poterunt sic videri. Teneamus igitur fidem quam 35 Ambrosius et Johannes Damascenus egregie declarave-runt; et caveamus de fallaciis Gog et Magog. Arguit enim: Si sacramentum altaris in natura sit imperfeccius

8. et deest CD. 9. 10. deterioracionem omnes MSS. 11. Quia Magog omnes MSS. 37. et deest C.

27. Unless *Doctor communis* stands here for *Doctor Universalis* (Alanus de Insulis) I think it must be the surname of some theologian in Wyclif's time. Migne's biographical Index of writers anterior to St. Thomas contains no such surname.

Lucifero et serpente, igitur per idem est imperfeccius  
vicio et veneno; sed mandat deus credi a cunctis fide-  
libus, quod optimum vinum sacramentale quod Christus  
unquam propinavit ecclesie sit in natura infinitum de-  
B 81<sup>e</sup> terius quam | venenum; et tertio concludit fideles de-  
bere credere Christum fecisse eque bene vel melius tam  
in natura quam moribus ad profectum ecclesie, ser-  
vando naturalem substanciam sacramenti, nisi ecclesia  
in ipso determinasset oppositum. Sed procul a fidelibus  
io hec venena! Augustinus enim ponit sacramentorum sub-  
stancias in melius recreari.

v. g. that the  
best wine is  
worse than  
poison;  
or that Christ  
would have  
done better to  
have kept the  
natural  
substance of  
bread as it is,  
unless the  
Church had  
decreed  
otherwise.

i. perfectius AB.    ii. creari etc. B.

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## CAPITULUM UNDECIMUM.

Can an accident exist without its subject: i. e. quantity, quality or relation. Restat videre directe ulterius, si accidens possit manere sine subiecto; et, ne equivocetur in terminis, suppono quod per accidens intelligatur: quantitas, qualitas vel respectus. | Et cum dubium verificaretur B 89<sup>e</sup> potissime de duabus prioribus, arguo de illis, quod non

Negated.  
1<sup>st</sup> Proof. The essential difference between substance and accident is that the latter is necessarily inherent in the former.  
Guitmundus quoted in support of this. "If accidents were anything, they would exist in their subject".  
Distinction: they can exist without a subject supernaturally, not naturally.  
Answer: Then to inhere would no longer be essential.  
A substantial form might become an accident.

possunt esse sine substancia quam informent. Primo sic: Differencia essencialis per quam accidens differt a substancia est formaliter inherere; sed nulla differencia essencialis potest tolli, igitur nec illa inherencia ad 10 subiectum. Confirmatur per Wymundum, libro De eukaristia, de accidentibus sic dicentem: "Si," inquit, "aliquid essent, in subiecto essent; sed, contrariis supervenientibus, nec in suo possunt remanere subiecto, nec ad alia transmeare." Si igitur ille tam acceptus a cul- 15 toribus accidentis hoc asserit, stultum videtur inniti eius testimonio ad ponendum quod solum accidens per se existens sine subiecto sit eukaristia.

Nec valet ficticia, qua dicitur accidens non posse naturaliter, sed supernaturaliter per se esse; primo, quia 20 sic inherere foret accidentale accidenti et non quantitati aut qualitati per se differencia, sed solum | respecti- A 81<sup>e</sup> bus, qui equivoce dicuntur accidentia respectu priorum; secundo, quia sic posset deus facere formam substancialis materiale inhereere, cum potest actionem 25

1. Capitulum deest omnes MSS. 7. possent D. 22. qualis C.

9. The word *formaliter* has many different meanings in the Scholastic language. Here I take it to mean 'as a form, i. e. as a perfection, as an actuality (opposed to potentiality)' in the substance. And therefore *necessarily*. It is the important word in the argument. Defenders of absolute accidents would merely describe them as *having a natural tendency* to inhere: which might be counteracted by miracle. 12. Guitmundus, ubi supra, Migne, t. 149, p. 1443.

sui remanentis omnino suspendere; tercio, quia iuxta  
adversarios deus posset facere dictas res per se esse de  
communi cursu nature, et formas alias quas dicimus  
substanciales formaliter inherere; et per consequens  
5 posset mutare genera rerum faciendo quidlibet esse  
quidlibet, cum inherere vel per se esse sit accidentale  
B. cuicunque create essencie. Item, deus nichil agit super-  
flue: sed superflueret ponere quantitatem et qualitatem  
que possent per se esse, cum illis positis oporteret  
10 ponere quantitatem et qualitatem sufficientes informare,  
omnino sicut ille facerent, que non potuerunt per se  
B 89<sup>d</sup> esse; igitur deus non facit huiusmodi qualitates | et  
quantitates. Si igitur sunt, sunt a deo Manicheorum.  
Assumptum patet ex hoc quod deus non potest quic-  
15 quam facere, nisi gratia finis debiti et manifesta ratione;  
cum aliter foret insipiens. Et minor patet ex hoc quod,  
posita quantitate vel qualitate que singitur accidenta-  
liter informare, oportet preter ipsam ponere informa-  
cionem, qua subiectum sit formaliter quantum vel  
20 quale; et illa sufficit sine alia ficta, positis partibus  
substancialibus cum suis modis. Si enim A quantitas  
informat B subiectum et manebit in fine et non in-  
formans ipsum, oportet ponere informacionem distinc-  
tam, que sibi accedit: et notum est, si illius fieret  
25 alia informacio, foret processus in infinitum in talibus.  
Ideo secundum Augustinum 5<sup>to</sup> De trinitate, capitulo  
A 81<sup>d</sup> 13<sup>o</sup>, | sufficit ponere quantitatem que sit substancialis  
esse quantam, et qualitatem que sit substancialis esse  
qualem. Cum igitur hoc per se sufficit, hoc non potest  
30 esse sine subiecto, ut hodie blasphematur; nichil enim  
plus blasfemat in deum quam imponere sibi autorisa-  
cionem operis sine causa ad finem quem compendiose  
intendit. Nec dubium quin oportet ponere informacio-  
nenem istorum accidentium distinctam: ut, posito per eis  
35 possibile, quod deus infinies suspendit tam qualitatis  
quam quantitatis A subiecti informacionem, manente  
utraque essencia in eodem loco: manifestum est, quod  
A per vices sic intensum et remissum minorabitur,  
alias mutabitur aquirendo et deperdendo per vices

1. quod B. 3. quas deest B. 5. mutare omnes MSS. 9, 10. que —  
qualitatem deest BCD. 22. et deest BC. 33. incedit B. 34. posito  
deest D. 35. a sub informacionem BC; corr. A; aut sub D.

27. What comes nearest to the sense here indicated is, I believe, De Trin. I. VII, c. 1 (Migne, t. 42, p. 935).

And every  
thing,  
everything else.

Why should  
God make a  
'quantity' that  
can exist by  
itself, if one  
that cannot has  
to be posited  
in any case?

Such a scheme  
of things would  
come from the  
Evil God of  
Manichaeus.

If a quantity  
having to  
inform a  
subject does not  
inform it by  
itself, another  
form will be  
required to do  
so: and so on  
forever.

Quantity  
defined:  
"the being so  
great of a  
substance";  
Quality  
likewise.

If they were  
separate  
entities, the  
subject might  
be with and  
then without  
them.

Then they would be superfluous.

It cannot be said that an accident is distinct from its subject, unless a substantial form be also capable of existing without subject; it being more perfect than any accident.

Quantity follows matter; quality depends on the substantial form; matter and form are in some sort substance: which accidents cannot be.

Pope Innocent says that the bread-ness and wine-ness remain after consecration.

This the adversaries deny.

But bread-ness and wine-ness are the substantial forms of bread and wine.

Even the *materia prima* cannot exist by itself.

Nor can the substantial forms either.

qualitatem et quantitatem. Cum igitur subiectum sufficit cum illis in omnem utilitatem in quam sufficit cum accidentibus illis absconditis, manifestum est, quod ille superfluerent. Nec dicetur aliquid | accidens distin- B 90<sup>a</sup> gwi a subiecto, nisi ponatur illa esse accidentia, per 5 quorum aquisicionem et deperdicionem subiectum tam varie moveretur. Item proporcionabiliter ut aliquid est C. in natura propinquius substancie, potest ipsum per se stare; sed forma substancialis materialis et materia prima est propinquior in natura substancie quam genus 10 aliquod accidentis; igitur ipsa possunt evidencius per se stare. Maior patet ex hoc, quod illa est racio substancie in quantum talis. Et confirmatur ex testimonio adversariorum, qui propterea ponunt solum quantitatem posse per se esse, quia est primum genus accidentis, 15 consequens materiam que est prior forma; vel | secun- A 82<sup>a</sup> dum alios solum quantitas et qualitas ponuntur per se esse, quia qualitas de propinquuo consequitur formam substancialiem. Et minor argumenti patet ex hoc, quod utrumque istorum elementorum est modo suo substancia, et idem quodammodo substancie composite; hoc autem non potest competere accidenti. Unde in confirmationem istius papa Innocencius 3<sup>us</sup>, qui creditur esse autor istius opinionis, dicit in tractatu suo de eukaristia, quod panitas et vinitas remanent in sacra- 25 mento post consecrationem; sed secte, tanquam ingratii filii, dicunt cum Aristotele, quod hoc non potest esse. Sed de accidentibus (quod est evidencius et Aristoteles dicit expressius) nolunt revocare errorem, quin ipsa oporteat per se esse. Nec dubium quin panitas et vini- 30 tas sunt forme substanciales, que cum remanent patet ex opinione Innocencii III<sup>ii</sup>, quod remanent sacramen- tum. Si enim materia prima remaneat per tempus informis, cum non sit quid nisi per formam, sequitur quod per | illud tempus pure remanet nichil. Et ista B 90<sup>b</sup> est sentencia illius fidelis philosophi Ursonis, qui capitulo 3<sup>o</sup> libri sui "De mixtionibus elementorum" dicit, quod materia est medium inter substanciam et accidentis, nec accidens, ut inquit, poterit per se esse. De forma

33. maneat CD. 34. sed pro sequitor BC.

36. Urso, a scholastic and natural philosopher of the XI<sup>th</sup> century, quoted by Wyclif in *De Compositione Hominis*, *De Ente Predicamentali* and elsewhere. His Aphorisms and other writings are in the Bodleian library.

autem substanciali patet, quod si ipsa est, tunc ipsa informat substanciam; ut, si igneitas est, tunc secundum ipsam aliquid est formaliter ignis; ymo, ut adversarii vere concedunt, si quantitas est secundum ipsam, aliquid est formaliter quantum. Si igitur panitas et vinitas sunt, est dare aliqua que secundum ipsas sunt formaliter panis et vinum; et sic, si forma substancialis materialis A 82<sup>b</sup> non poterit per se esse, longe evidencius forma | accidentalis materialis non poterit per se esse.

D. 10 Item, si forma substancialis vel accidentalis per se esset, ipsa de se foret formatum non per accidens sed se ipsa; ut, si essenciam esse quantam, que indubie est forma, foret per se ipsa, foret illa quantitas; et sic de aliis formis tam substancialibus quam accidentalibus. Et ideo declarat Lincolniensi quod "deus est prima forma." Cum igitur quelibet forma, in quantum accidentalis, habet in se quandam potentiam cui accedit informari, videtur quod quelibet forma, in quantum accidentalis, includit in se suum subiectum. Ideo dicit Lincolniensis super 2<sup>o</sup> posteriorum 2<sup>o</sup> capitulo:

"Causa," inquit, "eadem rei est eius causa formalis; quia forma totum verum esse rei in se habet, et si sit forma que non egeat materia, ipsa est vere res ipsa;

et forma que eget materia, si posset subsistere absque 25 materia, esset verius res ipsa quam res materiata; sicut

B 90<sup>c</sup> si figura statue posset esse | sine materia, esset ipsa figura verius res ipsa quam res materiata." Si igitur quantitas et qualitas sacramenti remanent sine subiecto, ipse informant se ipsas ut deus; cum certum est quod 30 sicut est unum quantum continuum, ita est unum figuratum album et sapidum, quia sensus aliter nimis illudentur circa illa sensibilia. Nec est racio quare quantitas per se existens quanta, quin per idem albedo si per se afficit, foret alba. Nec dubium quin oportet

35 ponere unam potentiam sive essenciam que substernatur varietatibus istorum accidencium: quia aliter, ut ait

Augustinus 5<sup>th</sup> De trinitate, capitulo 3<sup>o</sup>, forent deus,

A 82<sup>c</sup> Nam | distincio est inter *corpus esse album* et *hoc corpus esse sic album*. Ideo, cum ista albedo sit natura

How then can accidental forms, less perfect, exist by themselves? No form can possibly be accidental, if it exists by itself:

Thus God is the 'primordial form'.

The formal cause includes the whole esse of anything; and if it could subsist without matter, it would be the perfect and ideal thing.

Thus quality and quantity in the Sacrament would be self-sufficient like God.

An abstract quality must exist in a subject that is other than itself; indefinite in itself, it is either limited by a subject, or infinite, as God.

2. informatur substancia BCD. 5. Sic igitur AB; sic igitur si C; si igitur si D. 13. ipso BCD. 18. informare D.

21. *Rei* is in the dative here. "A cause identical with the thing itself...." 37. Chapter IV. of the same book (Migne. t. 42, p. 913) seems to come nearest to Wyclif's meaning.

posterior hoc corpore, ista albedo non potest esse sine hoc corpore, sed econtra; genus autem vel species albedinis potest esse sine hoc corpore, sed de ultimo individuo accidentis.

Names should  
be given to  
things  
according to  
their properties;  
so the

Sacrament,  
having all the  
properties of  
bread, is  
properly named  
so.

It has even  
essential  
properties, such  
as action and  
passion.

Innocent says  
that when the  
Host is altered  
(chemically)  
the same  
individual  
materia prima  
returns; it must  
therefore have  
existed all the  
time.

When the  
substance is  
changed, the  
name changes  
too.

If an accident  
could acquire  
the properties  
of substance, it  
should be called  
so;  
an unnecessary  
miracle, since  
the permanence  
of the substance  
would suffice.

Item, ex proprietatibus debet res sortiri nomen reale,<sup>5</sup> E. non ab institutione humana; sed dictum sacramentum habet plene proprietates substancie panis; igitur deus vere nominat ipsum nomine panis: et sic quadruplex ewangelium et apostolus regulariter vocant ipsum panem. Si enim accidentalis similitudo pensatur, patet quod nichil potest esse pani similius quam hoc sacramentum est simile substancie panis; et si intelligitur proprietas essencialis, non potest convinci in alio pane substancialis proprietas quin hoc sacramentum habet consimilem, ut patet de per se accione et passione; in tantum <sup>15</sup> quod Henricus Gawnt videtur asserere | quod, generato B. <sup>go<sup>1</sup></sup> verme de hostia, illa accidentia per se subiectant animam sensitivam. Et Innocencius 3<sup>18</sup>, in tractatu suo de eukaristia, dicit quod, deformata hostia, redit eadem materia prima in numero: quod non foret singendum, nisi illa <sup>20</sup> materia foret presto continue et per consequens idem panis; Deus enim non destruit substanciam, nisi prius natura vel tempore accidens eius destruxerit; aliter enim non foret causa destruccionis talis substancie, ut repugnat bonitati divine punire hominem, nisi peccatum primum sit <sup>25</sup> in causa. Ad quid igitur destrueret panis substanciam? | A. 82<sup>d</sup>

Confirmatur ex hoc quod, mutata essentia in aliud, mutatur et nomen substancie: ut homo secundum corpus transformatus vere dicitur esse terra, aut secundum animam, dicitur esse dyabolus: et iuxta sanctos factus <sup>30</sup> est aliud: sic igitur, si illud quod prius fuit accidentis panis habet miraculose proprietates substancie, debet vere dici et esse substancia. Quamvis autem hoc esset maius miraculum, foret tamen superfluum, cum prior panis sufficeret; et consonat quod ille sit in melius, <sup>35</sup> quia in corpus domini recreatus. Sicut igitur ille panis sacramentalis habet proprietates prime substancie, sic

28. et ACD.

18. Innocent III wrote *De Sacro Altaris Mysterio*. I have not been able to identify the quotation, which, if exact, would contradict the whole scheme of Catholic belief. For if the *materia prima* returns, as said here, it must have been present somewhere all the time; and instead of transubstantiation, there is only transformation.

et nomen. Sed sicut dyabolus docet bonum dici malum et econtra, sic transfert veritatem et nomina signorum in quibus seducit populum. Sic enim apostasia vocatur religio, elemosina dicitur serenitas, et globus istorum cumulatus 5 symoniace vocatur mendaciter patrimonium crucifixi. Sic, inquam, oportet quod in isto venerabili sacramento,

B 91<sup>a</sup> quo Magog tantum abutitur, sunt mendacia cumulata. |

F. Item si talis quantitas et qualitas per se producerentur et post per se corrumperentur, tunc crearentur et 10 adnichilarentur; sed non sic se habent, quando producuntur et corrumpuntur in substancia; igitur regulariter agens creatum posset creare et adnichilare; argumentum est falsigraphis satis possibile; et contraria videtur ex hoc quod tam qualitas quam quantitas cre-

A 15 ditur una res que potest per se existere, ut anima, et evidencius quam materia prima. Si igitur | materia

prima non poterit sic produci nisi creacione, evidencius talis forma. Unde falsigraphi dicunt quod materia prima non potest esse informis; quia, cum non potest 20 esse aliquid nisi per formam, si per tempus foret informis, per idem tempus foret non aliquid. Et minor argumenti videtur de anima et aliis tribus que secundum se totas producuntur de potentia subiecti; nisi que sunt quodammodo subiectum per transmutacionem 25 eius accidentalem; sic quod non dicant essenciam, que poterit per se esse; ut est de respectibus, et, secundum Aristotelem, de quibuscumque formis materialibus.

Et in ista difficultate laboravit Wymundus; et secte adverse confirmant illud per hoc quod deus prius 30 producit hoc accidens quam producitur ab agente creato. Ymmo, prius quam recipitur in subiecto, ut patet de prioritate communi, et pro illa priori oportet quod creetur: igitur quelibet talis forma in producione creatur, et per idem in corrupcione adnichilatur; 35 et ita dicerent philosophi, si sic sentirent de per se permanencia accidentis et quomodo independeat a subiecto. Sic enim conceperunt philosophi formas materiales educi de potentia materie.

A 91<sup>b</sup> Item, maior est dependencia accidentis | ad substanciam quam econtra; sed nulla substancia potest esse sine accidente; igitur evidencius nullum accidens potest

It quantity etc.  
became by  
themselves and  
then no longer  
so, there would  
be annihilation.

They are  
supposed to  
exist per se;  
which *materia prima* cannot do.  
Now the  
latter requires  
creation, and  
the former too.  
Therefore they  
say *materia prima*  
can never  
be without  
form; for if it  
were, it would  
be nothing.  
They escape by  
saying that  
God, not the  
priest, elicits  
the creative act.

There is a  
greater  
dependency  
of accident on  
substance than  
*vice versa*;

6. quod *deest* BCD. 10. non minus CD. 21. non *deest* CI. 25. qua B. 32. illa *corr.* A. 36. independent AB. 37. conceperunt C.

but no substance can be without accident; there fore no accident without substance. esse sine substancia que subiectat. Maior est nota fidelibus, cum substancia sublunaris dependeat per accidens ab influencia celesti et lumine in communi; accidens autem sic dependet a subiecto | in quo est, quod sine A<sup>83b</sup>

illo non potest esse propter necessarium ordinem cau- 5 sandi; et minor patet ex hoc quod posita substancia ponitur eius relacio ad deum, que evidencius distingwitur ab extremis quam relacio personarum divinarum

If any creature was without accidents, this would be accidental itself. Matter is in space and time, and therefore has accidents. And immaterial beings have unity, the source of quantity. si substancia creata per se sit sine accidente cum posset 10 esse accidentata, privacio accidentis accidenter sibi in- est. Similiter si substancia materialis est, tunc est quanta, figurata et alicubi, et per consequens accidentatur. Si autem substancia immaterialis est, tunc inest sibi unitas que est principium quantitatis discrete, et multipli- 15 catio per situm accidentaliter sibi inest. Unde Augustinus, epistola 40 *ad Dardanum*: "Spacia locorum tolle corporibus, et nusquam erunt, nec erunt: tolle ipsa corpora a qualitatibus, nec erit ubi sunt; et ideo necesse est ut non sint. Et si moles ipsa corporis, quanta- 20 cumque sit, auferatur, penitus auferantur qualitates eius, nec erit ubi sint, quamvis non mole meciende sint."

Substance cannot exist without some quantity and quality; so neither can the latter without substance. And the gloss is wrong to distinguish between natural and supernatural possibility. God does nothing uselessly; now, if so, quantity and quality cannot exist alone. Ex istis patet quod genus quantitatis et qualitatis non possunt a materiali substancia separari: et evidencius non potuerunt per se esse. Unde sinistra videtur michi<sup>25</sup> glosa ponens Augustinum intelligere, quod necesse est naturaliter ita esse, quamvis supernaturaliter ut in sacramento altaris possit oppositum evenire. Nam in eadem epistola tractat de sacramento altaris, et | videtur, B<sup>91</sup> quod tam subtilis logicus non foret tante immemor<sup>30</sup> fidei sacramenti.

Item, supponendum est tanquam per se notum fideli philosopho, quod natura prima agit compendiosius quo ad finem totalem quo potest; sed, eo ipso, nulla quantitas vel qualitas poterit per se esse: igitur hoc est<sup>35</sup> necessarium. Maior patet ex hoc quod deus, dispendiose agens sine innovacione finis vel comodi, ageret de tanto superflue: et per hoc principium probant philosophi quod oportet mundum esse sphericum, cum inter

1. maior et D. 10. sicut CD; *ib.* possit CD. 18-20. corpora — ipsa deest BCD. 21. auferatur deest omnes MSS. 22. mentiende C. 29. est deest BCD. 38. superfluo BC.

omnes figuras ysopometras illa sit capacissima. Per hoc etiam probant philosophi, quod oportet angulum incidie esse equalem angulo reflecciónis, quia aliter natura non ageret ita compendiose et breviter sicut potest; et sic de multis conclusionibus abditis in natura.

Et minor argumenti ex hoc evidet, quod posita quantitate vel qualitate substancie materialis per se vel cum subiecto suo vel extra, suspensa informacione subiecti fixi et quieti, foret substancia materialis quanta et qualis per quantificacionem et qualificacionem, que non poterint per se esse; ideo produccio illius accidentis per se foret omnino superflua. Et confirmatur ex hoc

It is useless to attribute to a substance quantity and quality that can exist alone, when the other sort, that cannot, acts just as well.

H. per se foret omnino superflua. Et confirmatur ex hoc quod materialis essencia non est nisi gracia essentie spiritualis. Sed eque potest vocatum accidentis per se

If these accidents do all that the substance does, why not suppose a substance?

15 hec omnia facere, sicut materialis essencia. Igitur superfluit talem ponere. Accidens enim, quod est sacramen-  
tum, ut inquiunt, potest per se quomodounque moveri: ideo precluditur philosophis omnis via ponendi mate-  
rialis substanciam. Et quantum ad autores scripture,

20 glozari possunt pari auctoritate, quod loquuntur de globo accidencium, sicut scriptura, ut singunt, | vocant  
accidencia, que non sunt materialis substancia, panis

A 83<sup>a</sup> et vinum. Et talis consideracio | movebat Augustinum tanquam per se notum concedere quod omnia acci-

Augustine lays down as self-evident that accidents cannot exist by themselves: that things are 'in another', either locally or as in a subject on which they depend: except intuitive truths.

25 dencia sunt res que non potuerunt per se esse. Sribit enim 2<sup>o</sup> Soliloquiorum capitulo 13, "esse aliquid in aliquo non nos fugit dici duobus modis, uno localiter, ut corpus seiungi atque alibi esse possit, ut hoc lignum, in hoc loco et sol in oriente. Altero autem modo

30 ita est aliquid in subiecto ut ab eo nequeat separari;

ut in hoc ligno forma et species quam videmus: ut in

sole lux, et in igne calor, et in animo disciplina. Et si qua sunt alia, ista," inquit, "vetustissima nobis sunt,

et ab ineunte adolescencia studiosissima percepta et

35 cognita; quia non possum, interrogatus de hiis, quin ea sine ulla deliberacione concedam, et sequitur illud

vero quod interrogasti." Quis concesserit, aut cui posse

Is this the case with absolute accidents?

fieri videatur ut illud quod est in subiecto, maneat ipso interente subiecto? Monstruosum quidem et a

17. quocunque BCD; *ib.* movere B. 20. loquitur C. 26. aljud D.  
30. negant C: nequit corr. D. 34. studiosissime CD. 37. aut deest B.

23. Aug. Sol. I. II. c. 12 (Migne, t. 32, p. 895).

veritate alienissimum, ut illud quod non esset, nisi in ipso esset, eciam cum ipsum non fuerit, possit esse.

Every separable form has a tendency of its own; the want of which argues that qualities are not separable:

e. g. the human soul.

Also, every possible substance,

Item quelibet forma accidentia separabilis, habet appetitum proprium et nata est habere actionem propriam naturalem; sed hoc repugnat quibuslibet qualitatibus convenire; igitur et separabilitas non potest eis competere. Maior patet de anima humana et de qualibet re per se possibili, sicut habet proprium esse, sic habet appetitum proprium ad suum esse, ut patet de tribus rebus quas Augustinus ponit uniri ad modum | trinitatis A 84<sup>a</sup>

Every substance has a tendency to self-conservation, a love of self, and repose in itself; and therefore must have a

proper resistance to what harms it.

tis in qualibet tali essentia. | Habet enim potentiam conservandi et appetendi se ipsam; et secundo, quantum potest se appetere, tantum appetit se naturaliter; et tertio, tantum quietatur naturaliter in se ipsa. Sicut igitur quelibet talis forma activa per se posita resistet suo contrario propter appetitum quem haberet ad esse proprium, ita inseparabiliter habet huius modi appetitum; et patet quod impossibile est ipsam agere nisi agat propriam actionem, cum accio individuatur ab agente. Minor autem argumenti patet multipliciter, primo, quia alia accione agit subiectum et alia sua qualitas; secundo, quia qualitas, cum nata sit per se manere se ipsam, ipsa posset per se exire subiectum localiter et per consequens requiritur ligamentum distinctum ab ipso et subiecto, quo ipsa ad invicem colligentur; sic enim ponuntur unio et continuacio distincta ab extremis. Tercio, quia qualitates non possent communicare acciones suas subiectis, sicut non possunt communicare agencias suas alienis qualitatibus, vel materie prime; et utrobique est tanta racio vel maior, ratione coaccionis vel causacionis; quomodo igitur forent

But a quality acts in a quite different way, nor can it properly be said to act at all.

If a quality had subiecta alterativa? Quarto, videtur quod omnis genera proper action of its own, it would act without changing its substance, and we should never know anything experimentally. As for moral qualities, if such could act by themselves, better not to have them.

ratio qualitatis sit in pertinens alteracioni substancie; quia, supposito quod qualitas non informet substancialm, quod non potest esse isti vie, nisi per revelationem notum vel cognitum, tunc non alteratur subiectum per induccionem qualitatis: et periret omnis motus noticia, omnis experientia et per consequens omnis demonstracio

vel consideracio philosophica. Quinto, videtur quod qualitates morales, ut summa liberalitas, semper inclinantur A 84<sup>b</sup> ad eque dandum, quomodounque subiectum fuerit

21. illa corr. A; BCD.

10. Aug. De Trin., I. IX, c. 12 (Migne, t. 42, p. 970, 971).

B 92<sup>b</sup> passionatum; conclusio, si foret virtus vel | vicium bonum, bonum esset carere, cum eius regimen per rationem requireret magnam solicitudinem. Sexto videtur, cum res est eo perfeccior in natura quo est perfeccius accidentata, quod caliditas sit perfeccior in natura quam ignis, si aliquis sit talis, quia illa est per se calefactiva; et quomodounque ignis foret activus per unam rem sibi illinitam, eius accio per accidens ex nuda concordancia mutuatur. Septimo, videtur quod omne corpus elementare foret mixtum ratione naturarum per se possibilium commixtarum; nam unumquodque eorum habet propriam raritatem et densitatem ac per se existenciam, sicut haberet ipso de possibili extracto cum eisdem passionibus.

K. 15 Nec valet quod philosophi aliter locuti sunt de mixtione, de varitate, et densitate qualitatum; quia aliter indubie locuti sunt de quidditate earum; ymmo, si sic grosse conceperint de illis accidentibus, posuissent alia sequencia consequenter: ut duo sacramenta calicis, que ponuntur accidentia, poterunt comisceri ad invicem et varie transmutari; sed hoc est alienum a qualitate: qualitas enim non est nisi substanciam esse qualem.

Et per hoc tolluntur omnes instancie predice; nec dubium fideli, quin propter innovacionem modi qui non 25 potest per se esse, stat opposita vicissim verificari et A 84<sup>c</sup> subiecta varie trans | mutari, cum sola substancia poterit per se esse. Et ista videtur sententia Augustini in

*De quantitate anime*, capitulo 4<sup>o</sup>. "Prorsus," inquit, "non dubito corpora omnia longitudine, latitudine, et 30 altitudine carere non posse, sed numquid potest cogitari B 92<sup>c</sup> ista tria esse nisi in corporalibus?" | "Non intelligo," inquit, "quomodo esse alibi possunt." In retractando itaque illum librum et servando istam sentenciam confirmavit.

35 Item qualitates, ut virtutes et gracie, sunt multis substancialiis meliores: quod non posset esse nisi ipse includant formaliter virtuosam substanciam, et dicant eius modum laudabilem. Igitur ille qualitates non possunt esse sine subiecto et per idem nullum aliud accidens. 40 Assumptum videtur, eo quod ille qualitates sunt eligi-

Heat, would be hotter than fire: heat heats by itself, while fire borrows its action from heat.

All elements would be compounds; v. g. rarity; density &c., proper to themselves, would be distinct from their subjects.

That philosophers have spoken otherwise of the mixture of qualities is no matter. Wine may be mixed in two chalices, but this has nothing to do with quality.

Some qualities are of a higher order than some substances; this could not be, unless their idea included the substance to which they belonged. So quality should not be set apart from substance.

1. que pro conclusio A. 3. solitudinem B. 5. accidentia omnes MSS.  
20. potuerunt CD. 22. aliud nisi B.

biliores datis substanciis: ut patet de diviciis; ymo videtur quod nemo exideret a caritate pro toto mundo  
 Charity is better than the whole world; but a houseful of virtues, set apart from their subjects, would be worth nothing at all.  
 salvando, quod de natura eligibilis virtus illa sit homini optacior et sic melior toto mundo; quod non potest salvari, si fuerit res per se possibilis. Nam domus plena talibus qualitatibus per se positis, non valet obolum, et cum impossibile sit esse secundum et accidentale rei excedere esse suum primum et essenciale, a quo dependet illud esse secundum, manifestum est quod tales virtutes non habent esse primum separabile a subiecto. 10

The same argument also applies to vices. Et idem est argumentum de viciis quorum informacio-

Vice is infinitely evil, since its accidental presence as a form is so great an evil: not even the devil is worse than his sin. nem nemo reciperet pro deo vel quoquam possibili. Nam, ut sic, homo peccaret et per consequens ficeret aliter quam deberet. Ex quo | logici inferunt quod vi-

A 84<sup>d</sup>  
 cium sit infinitum malum, cum eius informacio sibi 15 L.

accidentalis sit tam mala; dyabolus enim non est peior

peccato suo, licet alio modo fuerit malus, quia tunc

foret homo abieccior virtute sua; et loquor abstractive

de virtutibus ut sunt qualitates, non ut sunt deus.

Virtus enim foret confirmata, ut angelus. 20

It is false that virtues and vices cannot exist by themselves, while material qualities can; for if so, the latter would be more perfect than the former. Nec est color singere, quod aliique qualitates, | sed B 92<sup>d</sup>

non virtutes aut vicia, poterunt per se esse; quia ille

ex condicione dignitatis possent potissime per se esse.

Ymo, qualitates materiales forent perfecciores sub-

stantia, cum omnem alteracionem et actum substancie 25

possent per se facere, substancie autem non nisi ex acco-

modacione earum; ut caliditas per se ignire posset quot-

libet combustibilia. Deus igitur dando sibi talem virtu-

tem daret sibi proporcionabilem perfeccionem; nec est

ratio quare deus potest colligere quantitates et alia 30

accidencia corporalia, sic quod sint secundum se tota

ad omnem punctum hostis, quin per idem posset ex-

tendere virtutes et vicia, cum par sit utrobique distanca.

In tales blasfemias evanuerunt cultores signorum, po-

nentes quod mors per se moveatur per patrias, et ex 35

adverso veniant omnia genera morborum que mortem

crucient et occidunt, et videntur sonare ad hoc dicta

prophete: *O mors ero mors tua;* sed error consistit in

deteccione predicacionis formalis et predicacionis se-

cundum subiectum, quomodo Augustinus super illo 40

Where the error lies: in an abstract predication of the form,

11. est deest B. 26. non deest omnes MSS. 28. combustialia B.  
 34, 35. possibilitates B; corr. A. 35. moneatur D; ib. primas B.  
 37. dicta deest B.

40. Aug. Enarr. in Ps. LXVIII (Migne, t. 36, p. 814).

A 85<sup>a</sup> psalmo LXVIII. "Non est substancia |," dicit quod omnis creatura est substancia. Et sic indubie accidentia que mendaces ponunt esse sine subiecto sunt de facto panis et vinum. Sed consideracio illarum naturarum est sopita propter excellenciam substancialium; sicut sensatio carbonis extinguitur propter ignis dominium, ut docet Damascenus. Accidentia autem sicut non habent aliud esse quam inesse, sic non habent aliam perfectionem quam informare. Sed secundum rationem qua accidentia, ut quantitates aut accidentia huiusmodi speciei, B 93<sup>a</sup> sunt sic | perfecta; ut quantitas dimensionalis, quia consequitur materiam primam, est minime perfecta; ideo maxime elongatur ab esse sacramenti et post illa qualitates alie corporales.

M. 15 Item, ut tactum est, posito accidente sine subiecto, quod sit sacramentum altaris, oportet ponere vacuum; consequens impossibile: igitur antecedens. Si enim situs sacramenti sit vacuus, tunc per idem extra mundum foret vacuum infinitum; quia aliter, ut inquiunt, deus 20 non posset movere mundum versus oriens quantumcumque velociter, nec posset creare mundum alium extra istum, nec extendere aliquod corpus positum in mundi confinio extra ipsum: que omnia, ut inquiunt, derogant divine potentie. Sicut igitur deus potest, servatis parietibus domus, anichilare totum aerem interceptum, non subinducto novo corpore, sic potest de situ hostie: et sic facit, cum corpus Christi non supplet plenum, nec accidens per se excludit vacuum; quia, ut tactum est, oportet (si vacuum est) quod in ipso sint qualitates et 30 quantitates.

Quod autem hoc sit impossibile, videtur multis A 85<sup>b</sup> do | citoribus: quia tunc foret vacuum infinitum, deo coeternum, nec creator nec creatura, sed omnino superfluum, cum ablato de illo infinites infinito, residuum 35 sufficeret ad omne eius officium. Nec subiacet divine potentie replere illud corpore, ipsum destruere vel movere; sed foret de illo mundus coeternus deo infinitum sensibili mundo perfectior, quia prior in natura, cuius destruccio tolleret deum nostrum. Igitur infinitum B 93<sup>b</sup> bonum foret illud cuius infinitum mala foret pri | vacio. Si igitur pedale illius foret aliquantum bonum, totum foret infinitum bonum, cum deus non posset sine ipso

contounded with the concrete predication of the subject. Augustine says, every thing created is substance, then so are these accidents. The perfection of accidents is the 'being-in-a-subject'. Quantity, following the *materia prima*, is the lowest is of all.

Who posits absolute accidents asserts a vacuum; this is absurd; so is that. If the place where the Sacrament is be void of all substance, then there must also be an infinite void.

Neither Christ's body nor the accidents fill it.

Now this is impossible.  
I. It would be infinite, but neither uncreated nor created.  
II. God could neither fill, move, nor destroy it.  
III. As necessary as God, it would be infinitely good.

IV. Two Gods: quicquam facere; ipsum igitur foret deus malus. Multa contrary to  
faith; limiting God's power. sunt talia, ex quibus videtur domino Ardmachano quod  
repugnat fidei ecclesie esse vacuum, ut patet in tractatu  
suo *de pauperie salvatoris*. Non enim consonat divine  
potentie quod ipse non possit creare mundum sine hoc 5  
vacuo sibi coaterno, vel quod non posset destruere hoc  
accidens sine aliquo in ipso vacuo noviter introducto,  
sicut singitur prius destruxisse substanciam; vel quod  
non posset movere vacuum istud localiter, quo posito  
posset movere aliud vacuum coextensum post ipsum; 10  
et sic infinitum.

A void should be admitted only for some good reason; but there is none. Item, si gemme vacuorum foraminum ponuntur in N. ecclesia ratione hostie consecrate, aliqua est racio carum apud deum et aliqua utilitas ecclesie; sed neutrum istorum est singendum: | igitur nec antecedens hoc in- A 85<sup>a</sup>

It amounts to ferens. Quo ad deum, videtur quod implicat in eo in-  
the annihilation of the world; if God can annihilate bread, He can annihilate the world. providenciam, quod creet mundum plenum materiali  
essencia, et det sibi incorruptibilitatem, et tunc anichile-  
let sine causa; anichilet, dico, quia post consecra-  
cionem nusquam est secundum aliquam sui partem; 20  
nam non sit pars corporis Christi, ut inquunt, nec est  
in situ hostie, nec alibi; nec pocius convertitur in cor-  
pus Christi quam unum penitus anihilatum preter sua  
accidencia converteretur in substanciam succedentem.

They themselves admit that the body of Christ comes only when the bread is annihilated. Et confirmatur ex principiis adversariorum, qui ponunt 25  
deum posse anihilare vel destruere corpus panis, cum  
hoc quod sub illis accidentibus succedat corpus Christi  
when the bread is sacramentaliter; | et per consequens prius naturaliter B 93<sup>b</sup>  
est ipsa anihilatio panis sive destruccio, antequam sit

Nothing remains of the bread, not even the materia prima. illa facta conversio. Si enim panis erit corpus Christi, 30  
ut dicit beatus Ambrosius, vel si remanet eadem com-  
munis materialis essencia, ut fuit de conversione  
uxoris Loth in statuam, ut patet de exemplis per que  
probat Ambrosius possibilitatem conversionis panis in  
corpus Christi, tunc non destrueretur alia materialis 35  
essencia; sed Gog tollit omnem efficaciam et pertinen-  
ciam argumentorum beati Ambrosii, et statuit sibi unam  
transsubstanciacionem quam eciam Magog fatetur se  
non posse intelligere: quomodo igitur informaret sim-  
plices in hac fide? Et quo ad utilitatem ecclesie, certum 40  
videtur quod hec foramina vacua nichil prosunt, cum  
foret deo convenientius et ecclesie | utilius accipere A 85<sup>c</sup>

There comes an unexampled and incomprehensible change. If God can make bread to be His Body, without destroying it, the vacuum is a useless fiction. 10. movere deest B. 13. alia BCD; corr. A. 15. ut B; corr. A.  
32. fuit deest B.

pabulum spirituale de situ repleto substancia; sed vide-  
Prov. tur istam ficticiam figurare boum carenciam, quia  
XIV, 4 Prov. XIV dicitur: "Ubi non sunt boves, presepe va-  
L. Cor. IX, 6 eum est," Constat autem secundum apostolum 1<sup>a</sup> Cor. IX:  
"boves triturantes" sunt mistice dei adiutores ecclesiam  
edificantes; ideo, si foramen hostie sit vacuum, indubie  
desunt boves. Si enim deus potest facere panem esse  
corpus suum, ut dicunt sancti, ad quid essenciam ma-  
teriale destrueret? Nec dubium quin deus hoc potest.  
10 ut patet in exemplis sanctorum.

Q. Et iterum manifestum est quod mundus iste depen-  
det a quacunque materiali essentia; ita quod illud  
nephandum sophisma excludatur. "dependet a materia,  
sed a nulla materia dependet." Nam est ordo essen-  
tialis et prioritas naturalis causacionis inter totam ma-  
B. 93<sup>a</sup> teriam mundi | et ipsum, quia aliter nulla materia foret  
causa sui materiati; et per consequens est dare mate-  
riam distinguentem illam causacionem; sic enim est  
dare materiam hominis, domus et similium, a qua de-  
pendent.

Item, si ista materia posset secundum se totam par-  
tibiliter anichilari, cum hoc quod maneat iste mundus:  
per idem sic foret de forma, et per consequens deus  
non posset creare mundum aliud; quia ad unitatem  
25 dei, posito mundo, starebant idem mundus in numero.

Item, iuxta istam insaniam, melius foret quod tota  
materia mundi, forma et accidens, converterentur in  
partes Christi et sua accidencia, quam quod maneret sic  
disparsa; igitur nec a materia nec a forma dependet  
A 86<sup>a</sup> iste mundus. | Sicut enim dependet a specie materie  
vel forme, sic dependet a specie multiplicitatis accidentis,  
et sic posset Christus et quelibet eius pars quantitativa  
esse iste mundus; et sic nedium quelibet pars quantita-  
tiva Christi vel mundi superfluerit, sed anima Christi  
posset converti in animam mundi et quidlibet ydempti-  
ficari cuiilibet. Nam assimilata tota materiali substancia  
mundi corpori Christi, sine hoc quod ipsum plurificeretur  
vel maioretur dicunt quod nulla materialis substancia  
anichilatur sive destruitur, sed pocius recreatur in melius,  
poterit desinat esse; quod non haberet colorem nisi rema-  
neret idem mundus; et cum ille non posset singi nisi  
corpus Christi, sequitur quod corpus Christi possit esse

And as a proof  
that He could  
do so, we have  
already seen  
the instances  
given by the  
Saints.

This world  
depends on  
every part of  
its material  
essence, and  
therefore the  
annihilation of  
any part  
would prove  
the destruction  
of the whole.

If each material  
part of the  
world could  
thus be  
annihilated, so  
could each  
formal part;  
and God could  
not make  
another world.  
Thus the world  
might be  
independent  
both of matter  
and of form,  
and become  
Christ's body  
by annihilation.

The soul of  
Christ would  
become the  
soul of the  
world, and all  
would be  
confused.  
But as nothing  
is absolutely  
annihilated, but  
only changed  
for the better,  
this world  
require that the  
world remained  
world as it  
was; and  
Christ's body  
was changed  
into it.

iste mundus et econtrario; et per idem omnis materialis substancia posset esse quelibet, quia da quod lapis non potest esse lignum. Contra, transsubstanciato lapide in lignum aut qualibet tali substancia in quamlibet, transsubstanciatum non propter hoc destruitur, sed ut sancti locuntur fit et est substancia in quam fit transsubstanciacio. Non enim est aliqua pars eius, et si corrum-<sup>B 94</sup> pitur ad corrupcionem sue materie, per idem mundus corrumpetur ad transsubstanciacionem cuiuscunq[ue] hostie consecrate. Et sic si desinit; quia aliter posset <sup>10</sup> quelibet pars corporis desinere, ipso remanente salvo; ut, posito quod celum totum transsubstancietur in spheram corruptibilium et ipsa in spheram terre, que eciam transsubstancietur in centrum; et fiat proporcionaliter transaccidentacio: Et videtur quod unum punc-<sup>15</sup> tale remanet, tam substancialiter quam accidentaliter, sicut fuit in principio, magnus | mundus. A 86<sup>b</sup>

Details of  
absurdities that  
this would  
necessarily  
imply.

In tales errores philosophie incidentur heretici contra P. Christum, quia extollunt se ut dictum est in materia de multiplicacione supra deum. Fingunt enim quod possunt <sup>20</sup> facere lapides et quantumcunque abiectas substancias: ymmo ipsum accidens, corrumpendo quemcunque sanctum in celo: ut, posito quod deus concedat illis potestate, tam in statem faciendi beatitudinem et alia accidentia in beatis spiritibus, informare lapides aut quantumcunque abiectas <sup>25</sup> substancias, vel esse, destructa quacunque creatura beata. Nam, ut inquiunt, nisi deus posset dare illis talem potestatem, deus non esset omnipotens. Sicut igitur deus dat potestatem presbytero ut, virtute verborum suorum, faciat omnem partem panis desinere, et omnia <sup>30</sup> accidentia que prius fuerunt in pane sine subiecto remanere, sic potest sacerdos habere a deo potentiam, ut virtute verborum dei transsubstanciet quemcunque beatum in lapidem, et facere qualitates que sunt in sancto informare illum lapidem; nam tam quantitas <sup>35</sup> quam qualitas extensa potest multiplicari, ut inquiunt; quare igitur, cum | tanta sit utrobique distanca non <sup>B 94<sup>b</sup></sup> possit accidens multiplicatum extendi, et iterum unio Q. forme cum materia, proporciones suarum parcium et numerus earum cum quotlibet similibus, multiplicatur <sup>40</sup> in lapide; quare igitur non possent virtutes et beatitudines.

According to them, material qualities can be multiplied and extended to other subjects: why then should not virtues and blessedness have the same properties?

<sup>7.</sup> alia BD; corr. A. <sup>8.</sup> ut corrumperetur AB. <sup>13.</sup> speram omnes MSS.  
<sup>17.</sup> dominus D. <sup>19.</sup> quod BCD. <sup>21.</sup> quemcunque AC. <sup>29.</sup> ut deest B.  
<sup>32.</sup> potestatem B. <sup>39.</sup> proporcionis B.

dines? Hoc enim foret minus quam illos esse per se: quod, ut inquiunt, fieri potest, cum qualitates materiales | minus perfecte et plus dependentes a materia ita possunt, ut fingitur; ille igitur qui posset dare illis accidentibus potentiam per se esse, posset habilitare subiectum ut supportet ipsa, et ut inclinent ad movendum ipsum subiectum atque communicent subiecto actiones suas; cum aggregatum agit communiter actionem cuiuslibet partis sue. Et iterum, accidentia multa mediate denominant et informant secundum istam sectam.

Quid igitur sciunt, utrum blasphemant, negando deum posse facere ista informare quamcunque materialem substanciam? Sed fingunt se non blasphemare deo, menciendo quod alia eque incredibilia potest facere: 15 ut, quod quantitas aut qualitas infinita, secundum partem informet quocunque subiectum; et quod omne genus respectus sit sine subiecto, sicut fingitur de transubstancialione, cuius termini queruntur, sed subiectum destruitur. Sic, inquam, generacio hec querit lucrum et admittit perditionem subiecti.

Ultimo arguitur pro parte nostra quod nedum philosophi sed omnes sancti de millenario Christi tacuerunt accidens esse sine subiecto vel sacramentum esse accidens; unde igitur oriretur tam scandalosum mendacium? 25 Et confirmacio istius est, quod loquentes nostri sine ratione vel autoritate sunt contrarii sibi ipsis: quod evidenter docet istam ficticiam processisse a patre mendacii, quia subtiliores et quo ad illuminacionem fidei clariores ciecius novissent istum fidei articulum, B 94<sup>a</sup> quam posteriores illusibles | in penam peccati quod in signis perpetrant.

R. Nec dubium, quin in minori fide de dotacione de testanda, de symonia destruenda cum similibus diuiciis erravit ecclesia nostra occidua; quod non capies penes nostrum arbitrium sed penes fundacionis et racionis carenciam et penes testimonium Augustini contrarium et penes militacionem contrarie racionis. Omnes enim adversarii nesciunt fundare in scriptura, in ratione, in testimonio sanctorum vel legum papalium, quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens; sed, accumulantes mendacium mendacio, concludunt ex isto consequi, quod

This would be less difficult to conceive than that material qualities should exist without matter.

Is it not blasphemy to deny God's power in this, if He can make infinite quantity exist partially in every subject, or relations obtain without anything being related?

The partisans of this error contradict themselves and each other.

The Church has certainly long been in error on many points, it Augustine and the evidence of reason are to be trusted. And if the adversaries were right, it would prove that the early Church was wrong.

14. possunt B.  
20. dimittit ABC.

15. aut qualitas *deest* D.  
29. cariores *omnes* MSS.

19. generacione B.

nimir diu ecclesia stetit in errore: quo concesso, ri-  
mandum eis esset, quomodo et quando fuit error iste  
in ecclesiam introductus; et, si non fallor, quando  
fratres tacendo et loquendo docematisant quod ex-  
pedicius foret ecclesie sic dotari. quam vivere pauperem  
vitam exproprietariam quam Christus instituit; ipsi enim

The Friars,  
at least by their  
acts, assert that  
it is better for  
the Church to  
have  
possessions.

verbis, omissionibus, procuracionibus, et apostatacionibus  
aspirando ad altitudinem status proprietarii mundani,  
dicunt in facto, licet sibi ipsis contrarie, quod perfec-  
cius et religiosius eis foret in dotacionibus temporalium 10  
habundare. Unde in altis edificationibus et sue secte  
appropriacionibus, dicunt in facto istam irreligiosam  
versuciam, ita quod hec heresis alludit ut finis omni  
errori.

This heresy,  
contrary to the  
ordinary run,  
takes no trouble  
to quote  
Scripture for  
itself:

Non enim legi de heresi Christiani, quin appa-  
renter fundat se super scriptura | sacra. Hec autem A 87<sup>a</sup>  
heresis tanquam alter deus non petit fundacionem | a B 94<sup>d</sup>

v. g. as to the  
present  
question.

Scriptura for  
itself:  
deo bono, et patet fidelibus notorietas heresis; nam om-  
nis veritas, et precipue articuli fidei catholice, est in  
scriptura. Sed ista sentencia de quidditate sacramenti

Yet all things  
of faith are in  
Scripture: if  
not revealed  
God acts  
unjustly when  
He wills them  
to be  
believed under  
pain of  
damnation.

non est in scriptura: igitur conclusio. Maior patet per 20  
beatum Augustinum. secundo "De doctrina Christiana", S.  
in fine; et confirmatur per hoc quod aliter inponeret  
deo, cuius perfecta sunt opera, blasphemiam quod ipse  
incomplete celavit fidem quam voluit suos sub pena  
dampnacionis credere. Unde adversarii, ad evacuandum 25  
istam blasphemiam, dicunt quod utrobique scriptura in-  
telligit per panem sacramentalem accidens sine subiecto,  
et sic heretice accumulant heresim super heresim. Nam,  
ut ipsi arguunt, per istos ducentos annos perseveravit  
ista sentencia in magnis doctoribus, igitur vera; sic 30

They reply:  
this opinion,  
held for 200  
years, is true;  
we retort: the  
other was held  
for 1000 years.  
Never before  
was Scripture  
understood  
thus.

evidencius arguitur: per mille annos et amplius perse-  
veravit nostra sentencia in maioribus doctoribus quando  
Christus plus illuminavit suam ecclesiam, igitur vera.  
Nusquam enim invenitur sanctos sic exponere sacram  
scripturam ad sensum contrarium. Et evidencia est, quod 35  
non habent sensum suum ex deo, eo quod non sunt  
unicordes, ut unus exponit nomen panis per unum genus  
accidentis et aliis per aliud; tertius autem monstruosus,  
per aggregacionem accidentis; et iste hereses non fun-

3. quod CD. 7. et apostatacionibus deest AB. 12. religiosam BCD.  
21. secundo deest BCD. 38. aliud CD.

24. *Celavit* is obviously a mistake; but *revelavit* is too far  
from the form. Perhaps we should read *complete celavit*.

dantur, sed antichristus primo tollit certitudinem scripture, et secundo retorquet sibi scolam Christi quod A 87<sup>b</sup> debet sibi omnibus credi. Quantum | ad sensum dicit, quod in hoc non debet credi sensui de ista substancia materiali, cum deus ordinat ista accidentia signare hominibus false et erronee. Nec valet certitudo racionis naturalis, cum nemo scit, si aliquid informat substancia B 92<sup>a</sup> ciam; | cum, ut inquiet, contingentissimum sit quod informacio suspendatur, quod tota substancia destruatur, et quod a mundi principio illud quod ponitur naturale fuit vel falsum vel supernaturale, et id quod ponitur iam supernaturale fuit ex ordinacione divina factum, secundum communem cursum nature. Nam sic potuit esse, ut inquiet; nec est racio quin sic fuit. Et sic corrumpunt cursum ecclesie, que ante introductionem istius erroris orat in 2<sup>a</sup> missa natalis domini in secreto, quod "hec oblatio" quam vocat terrenam substanciam, "nobis conferat quod divinum est".

T. Caveamus igitur ab istis fallaciis Antichristi; papa 20 dicit fideliter quod panis et vinum transsubstanciantur in corpus Christi et sanguinem, igitur sacramentum altaris est accidens sine subiecto. Si papa dicit erranter quod aliqua accidentia sunt sine subiecto, tunc fidelis debet credere quod sacramentum sit accidens sine 25 subiecto. Si doctores diu continuant in isto errore, igitur semper ulterius debet credi. Quidam enim grosse concipiunt accidentia corpora subtilia: ut pictores et tinctores vocant colores corpora, quibus alia corpora sunt linita. Quidam autem subtilius intelligunt subiectum 30 deesse illis qualitatibus sensibilibus sacramenti quantum ad actualem consideracionem quidditatis et nature sui subiecti. Sed supponendo generalem distinctionem novem generum accidentis, patet quod alienum est quod sacramentum sit accidens sine subiecto. Tota itaque multitudo subterfugiorum ponencium sacramentum altaris esse unum fantasma incognitum, stat in isto: vel quia equivocant, vel loquuntur de accidentibus et sub B 95<sup>b</sup> stanciis materialibus, non secundum suas | naturas, ut sapientes diffinierunt, sed transferunt nomina ad sensum 40 equivocum; sicut sophiste contendunt, quod homo potest esse felicitas, fides, spes, et caritas et per idem quid-

They forbid us to believe in the evidence of our senses, so that we do not know if what we call natural is not either a false seeming or a supernatural appearance.

Fallacies of Antichrist: "the Pope asserts trans-substantiation; therefore absolute accidents are true". "He makes a mistake; therefore we are to follow him".

Differences of ideas as to accidents; some speaking as if they were thinly corporal; others as the substance, considered thus and thus.

All these subtleties, making of the Sacrament a fantastic appearance, are resolved into mere equivocations.

Just as sophists contend that a man is his abstract qualities;

2, tertio D. 7, sed pro si B. 11, 12, et id - tuit deest B.  
16, erat D. 23, alia B; corr. A. 20, ideo B. 33, accidentis deest A.  
34, est B.

libet nominandum et pari ratione quidlibet potest esse quidlibet. Sed scola intendit de sacramento sensibili corporis Christi, quod sacerdos in missa consecrat, virtute verborum Christi, postquam ipsum tanquam hostiam consecrandam antea offerebat. Ipsum autem est illud

so they say  
that the  
sacrament is  
roundness,  
whiteness, &c.  
But they ought  
to be punished  
for deluding  
the Church, by  
a denial of alms,  
until they have  
said what the  
Sacrament is.

album et rotundum intinctum quod fidelis corporaliter manducat et terit dentibus et quod ecclesia dicit ante consecrationem fuisse verum panem, factum sacramen-

taliter corpus Christi. Cum igitur in isto ecclesie fideliūm tantum illuditur, videtur iuri consonum quod 10  
seculares non dent fratribus vel alicui presbitero ele-  
mentum they have mosinam corporalem antequam ipsi plene docuerint,

quid sit illud venerabile sacramentum. Illam enim cathechizacionem de sacramento altaris, tenetur pres- J. Cor.  
biter seculari inpendere, ut innuitur 1<sup>a</sup> Cor. IX<sup>o</sup>; ideo IX, 14  
petenti elemosinam a layco, debet dici con | stanter A 87<sup>4</sup>

quod nichil habebit ab ipso, antequam detexerit sibi fidem catholicam in hac parte. Et cum multe secte in isto variant, exigatur a fratre quod in scriptis certificant illam esse communem sentenciam secte sue. Illud enim 20  
foret seculari necessarius quam littere fratnrales; po-  
tissime cum aliis orthodoxis propter antiquam fidei sentenciam imponunt heresim; et quecunque pars fuerit in hoc falsa, seminat de Christo blasphemie mendacia, et indigna est vivere de bonis ecclesie, quia in fide 25  
per cautelas dyaboli seducit populum. Non igitur com-  
municari debet cum talibus antequam in isto detexerint rectam | fidem; nam vel laborant invidia, perfidia vel B 95<sup>4</sup>  
ignorancia et undique prudenter examinati, accusabunt se ipsos tanquam in fide contrarios.

ii. debent B.    iij. innuit CD.    ij. certincent C.

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## CAPITULUM DUODECIMUM.

Restat ulterius videre, quomodo in materia de quiditate hostie Antichristi discipuli sunt divisi. Ponunt enim aliqui, ut sepe repecii, quod sacramentum altaris sit quantitas; et cum sex sunt genera quantitatis, sacramentum ponitur corporeitas, crassitudo vel altitudo que condam fuit in pane. Et ista opinio ascribitur sancto Thome super 4<sup>o</sup> distinzione 12. Racio autem ad hoc ponendum est talis: Impossibile est qualitatem

A 88<sup>a</sup> materialē (cum consequitur formam) esse, nisi fundetur in quantitate consequente materiam; sed sacramentum hostie est accidens; igitur est p̄imum et fundamentale  
15 accidens im | mediatum substancie: quod secundum philosophos est quantitas. Item, sacramentum istud est coloratum et diversimode qualificatum, sed hec non potest competere qualitati; ideo oportet quod ipsum sacramentum sit quantitas, que subiectet huiusmodi qualitates; cum secundum philosophos albedo est primo in superficie. Et per idem qualitates corporee in pro-  
20 funditate. Item, sacramentum istud est vere continuum et alterabile, quod non potest competere qualitati; ideo relinquitur quod sit quantitas. Qualitas enim non est quanta vel continua nisi per quantitatem, cum substancia non possit esse huiusmodi; multo magis qualitas  
25 non est per se magna sive continua. Multa sunt talia argumenta, que inevitabiliter concludunt quod si ipsum sacramentum sit accidens sine subiecto, ipsum est quantitas.

B. Sed primo improbatur hec triplex evidencia: patet B 95<sup>a</sup> autem quod prima | consequentia non valet, cum totum antecedens sit verum et consequens impossibile. Nam  
30 qualitas, licet sit fundamentum religionis, non sibi

Divisions of the Sects: some say that the Sacrament is quantity: volume, thickness or depth.

Why?  
1<sup>st</sup> Because quality, based on form, could not exist unless by quantity, based on matter.

2<sup>nd</sup> Quality cannot have qualities as the Sacrament has: therefore they are based upon quantity.  
3<sup>rd</sup> The Sacrament is extended, and quality is not extended by itself, only by quantity.

I. Answers neither quality nor quantity can exist without a subject to sustain them.

4. aliquid AB. 26. ipsum ipsum C. 31. quantitas CD: *ib.* et note omnes MSS.

8. St. Th. Aq. *In lib. Sent.* I. IV, dist. XII, art. 1. *Et ideo dicendum est.* 31. *Religionis* is in all the MSS.: but I fail to understand what it has to do here.

Quality is not subicitur, sed substancia que illi qualitati subicitur; sic  
its own subject,  
but the  
substance  
which has the  
quality.

quantitas, quia inseparabiliter consequitur ad materiam  
primam, que requiritur fundamentaliter ad formam sub-  
stancialem, quam qualitas ipsa consequitur: ideo quantitas  
requiritur, ut fundamentum huiusmodi qualitati,<sup>5</sup>  
sed neutra illarum potest esse sine substancia subiec-  
tante. Quantum ad secundum argumentum, patet quod  
peccat in materia et in forma; supponit enim hoc im-  
possible, quod sacramentum sit accidentis sine subiecto;

II. The thing  
supposed is  
impossible;  
viz. that such  
accidents can  
exist.

For even  
inseparable  
accidents are  
not  
conceivable  
without their  
subjects: much  
less size, which  
is separable.

For *separable*  
does not mean  
separate  
existence; only  
what the  
substance can  
lose, v. g.  
movement.

III. True,  
the Sacrament  
is extended; but  
it follows that  
it has the nature  
of bread, not  
only its  
quantity.

albedo enim est primo in superficie ut in fundamento,<sup>10</sup>  
non in subiecto: quia substancia superficialis subiectat A<sup>88b</sup>  
utrumque. Unde videtur quod puderet istos allegare  
pro parte ista philosophos, cum ipsi vere dicant con-  
corditer quod accidentis non potest esse vel intelligi sine  
subiecto; ut patet VII<sup>o</sup> Metaphysice. Nam accidentia<sup>15</sup>  
inseparabilia, ut simitas et risibilitas, non possunt intel-  
ligi sine suo subiecto; igitur multo magis accidentia  
minoris existentie et tante dependencie ad subiectum.  
Quamvis enim motus et alii respectus sint accidentia  
separabilia, nullus tamen tam stulte intelligit quod illa<sup>20</sup>  
accidentia poterunt per se esse et separari a subiecto:  
sed subiectum potest esse sine illis; et sic genus ac-  
cidentis talis posset separari a substancia per carenciam  
inherencie sui individui. Omnes igitur qualitates cor-  
poree fundantur in corporeitate et tam illam quam<sup>25</sup>  
qualitatem oportet fundari in substancia subiectante.

Quantum ad tertium patet quod verum assumitur, C.  
sed impertinenter falsum concluditur. Est enim sacra-  
mentum istud secundum terrenam substancialiam vel na-  
turam panis qui de terre fructibus quo pascitur homo<sup>30</sup>  
corporaliter, sicut primo inter sacramenta pascitur | B<sup>90</sup>  
eukaristia sacramentaliter et primo potatur vino sacra-  
mentaliter; et sic pastus ille sacramentalis in digne  
recipientibus est partim corporalis et partim spiritualis.  
In omnibus autem istis frons meretricis assumitur in-<sup>35</sup>  
putenter ab impudicis hereticis, et nunc negant more  
diaboli veritatem et nunc cespitant super veritate supini.

i. sit pro sic omnes MSS.      10, 11. albedo — subiecto *deest* BCD.  
10, et *deest* CD.      19. sicut pro sint CD.      20, 21. nullus — accidentia  
*deest* BCD.      21. poterunt D.      23. separari C.      28. subiectum BCD: corr. A.  
30. que BCD.      31. spiritualiter *pro* corporaliter BCD.      31, 32. sicut —  
sacramentaliter *deest* BCD.      32, 33. corporaliter *pro* sacramentaliter BCD.  
33. et *deest* B.      36, 37. et — veritatem *deest* CD.      37. ut omnes MSS.

16. Arist. ed. F. Didot, vol. II, p. 542 (c. V).      16. *Simitas*  
(to be snub-nosed) and *risibilitas* are frequent examples of in-  
separable qualities, taken from Aristotle.

Vident enim ad oculum quod sacramentum est sensibile, et unum continuum, ac per se mobile; ideo cum predicamenta sint distincta, negato quod sit qualitas vel respectus, concludunt quod sit quantitas; quia blasphemati statuant, quod deus non accepit substanciam ut sit sacramentaliter corpus suum, sed accidens a deo alienissimum; cum materia prima non sit sub gradu accidentis. Et sic a perfeccione vel condicione Christi maxime elongantur. Unde tripliciter arguitur quod ipsum sacramentum non sit quantitas supradicta: primo, quia nulla talis quantitas est activa; ipsum sacramentum est activum: igitur ipsum sacramentum non est talis quantitas. Maior patet: primo, ex hoc quod materia prima que est subiectum primum illius quantitatis, non est activa; 15 igitur nec ipsa quantitas. Patet consequentia ex hoc, quod agente accidente subiecti, oportet ipsum subiectum prius agere. Secundo, quia quantitas non informatur subiective, sed fundamentaliter aliqua qualitate; sed hoc non sufficit ad denominandum ipsam agere; quia sic foret 20 eque multipliciter et prius activa, sicut aliqua materialis substancia, quia nulla materialis substancia nisi mediante ipsa quantitate foret activa: quod non conceditur communiter, cum quantitas non sit sapida calida vel sonora. Tercio, quia, rarefacto subiecto per totum, 25 continue innovatur quantitas secundum se totam; et per consequens nulla una agit continue, licet subiectum

B 95<sup>a</sup> egerit mediante qualitate. Et confirmatur ex hoc quod D. si quantitas sic egerit, qualiscunque quantitas conformis figure sic ageret, et per consequens quecumque substantia conformiter figurata; ideo cum consequens sit impossibile, patet quod oportet scrutari aliud principium actionis. Et hec racio quare Averois dicit, super 4<sup>to</sup> phisicorum, quod quantitas non est de genere acti-

A 88<sup>a</sup> vorum. Et patet sicut urina, dieta et substancia dicuntur equivoce sana, sic subiectum et quantitas dicuntur equivoce colorata: quantitas, quia est fundamentum coloris, et subiectum quia principiat subiective colorem mediante sua forma substanciali, que ipsam dirigit ad

Reasons against this theory.  
a) Quantity cannot be active, as the Sacrament is, for its subject, primordial matter, is inactive. An accident cannot act without its subject. Quantity has no form, but by qualities; and a quality is not active by itself.

When there is rarefaction, quantity is renewed completely, and therefore in this case cannot act.

Qualities are not univocally ascribed to quantity and to substance. The former is only the basis e. g. of visible qualities or colours.

3. notato B: corr. A. 6. ht B. 11. quod BCD. 12. non est accidens BCD. 13. in natura BCD. 15 nec est D. 18. alia quantitate B. 20. alia C. 28. sic -- qualiscunque deest D.

32. Averr. Comm. in Arist. (*Ven. ap. Junctas*, 1562) I. IV. Physic. *De Vacuo*, c. III, fol. 151 M. "Dimensiones enim, quando abstrahuntur a materia, non habebunt potentiam."

agendum. Quia autem quantitas est basis trianguli visibilis, et non sic de aliis qualitatibus, ideo ponitur pocius fundamentum coloris quam aliarum qualitatum.

That the Sacrament is active can be proved by the visibility and changeableness of both the elements.

We must be ready to deny our senses, or admit this.

b) No quantity, existing in the concrete, can be increased or diminished; now the Sacrament can. A number, if increased, is no longer the same.

So also of place and time.

A line, pulled out to its double, is longer; i. e. an new quantity arises.

To deny this would lead to saying that motion without anything moved is possible.

You cannot call in a miracle to do what is self-contradictory.

Minor autem principalis argumenti patet, discurrendo per multa genera accionum. Est autem sacramentum <sup>5</sup> per se descensivum, visibile, et aliorum sensuum mutativum, sicut patet per experimentum; est autem alterabile, sicut patet de sacramento calicis, quod potest calefieri, aciesi et valde varie transmutari. Et de sacramento panis, non dubium quin sit tam varie activum <sup>10</sup> et passivum, sicut aliis panis non consecratus. Potest enim fieri mucidus, humidus, calefieri, comburi. Ideo vel oportet negare omnem sensum et per consequens rationem, vel concedere cum universalis ecclesia quod ipsum sacramentum sit terrena substancia; et per consequens non est quantitas sine subiecto.

Item, iuxta principia philosophorum, nulla una quantitas secundum ultimum singulare potest maiorari vel minui; sed illud sacramentum secundum ultimum singularare potest tam maiorari quam minui, ut patet ex <sup>20</sup> dictis; igitur ipsum non est quantitas. Maior patet discurrendo per sex genera quantitatis; nam numerus est istius nature | quod, addita vel subtracta unitate indi-

B q<sup>6</sup>e viduali, remanet alius numerus in specie: locus autem est immobilis; et de tempore, quantumcunque | modicum A <sup>8q</sup><sup>a</sup> sit additum vel ablatum sit tempus aliud. Et idem patet de linea, superficie et corpore. Si enim linea pedalis potest maiorari vel minui, manens idem ultimum singulare, ponatur quod maioretur ad duplum suum, et patet quod oportet quantitatem linearem generari. Et <sup>30</sup> per consequens vel in toto, vel ex antiqua et nova oportet lineam novam fieri. Si enim A potest maiorari sine generacione vel deperdicio quantitatis, et multo magis a pari, notabilis substancia potest maiorari et minorari sine aquisitione vel deperdicio quantitatis. <sup>35</sup>

Et sic fieret motus sine eius materia vel mensura, penes quam eius velocitas attendi poterit. Ymmo nulla foret quantitas distincta a substancia; et sic de multis obiectibus communiter adductis. Et idem est argumentum de superficie et corpore. Nec valet tollere hanc <sup>40</sup> rationem per miracula, quia ipsa non possunt in contradictionem. Si igitur deus facit quod A movetur vel

6, 7. immutativum A; mutatum BCD. 26. sit BC. 28. ultimum, ultimum C.

majoratur, tunc facit ea que ad huiusmodi requiruntur; quia aliter non foret nisi illusio. Ut si deus per impossibile multiplicaret eundem punctum, vel eandem quantitatem in numero, foret nedum sacramentum sed tota moles sensibilis sine aliqua quantitate continua permanente. Hoc enim foret miraculosius, compendiosius et perfeccioni divine propinquius et undique a deo

F. eque possibile et evidenter ex datis deducibile. Et B 9<sup>a</sup> patet | maior principalis argumenti. Si enim quantitas

A 89<sup>a</sup> maioratur vel minoratur, illa est quantitas communis aut successiva cui partes varie aquiruntur vel deperduntur | minor autem principalis argumenti patet ab ex-

A 89<sup>a</sup>perimento certissimo. Nam ut loquar secundum rationem Innocencii 3<sup>ii</sup> 3<sup>o</sup> decretalium, capitulo "Cum Marthe",

15 possibile est duo accidentia calicis commisceri et replere maiorem situm calicis et per consequens sacramentum potest maiorari. Ipsum igitur, cum non potest esse quantitas, oportet ponere materialem substanciam, cui proprium est per se suscipere maius et minus de 20 formis contrariis, ac subiective mutari secundum maiorem constanciam quam est quantitas vel genus aliquod accidentis. Et ita, ut supra, oportet concedere cum universalis ecclesia quod sacramentum sit terrena substancia.

Et ita, sicut cultores signorum mutant ordinem reli-

25 gionis Christiane, ita opinione immutant regulas et leges

nature, ita quod de illis potest verificari id psalmi

Ps. LXXIII<sup>o</sup>: *Posuerunt signa sua, signa, et non cognoverunt,*

5 *sicut in exitu super summum.* "Posuerunt" inquam,

quia deficiente fundamento scripture ad probandum

30 sacramentum esse accidentis declinaverunt ad commenta sophistica fingentes ex dei omnipotencia sic posse fieri,

sicut ponunt, et more sophistarum sic ponunt fieri de

inesse. Nec est fundamentum aliud opinionibus istis in

ista materia, quantumlibet variatis. Unde, quia quilibet

35 habet istius erroris opinionem propriam de sacramento

quod ut sic est signum sensibile, signanter dicitur quod

"posuerunt signa sua", non signa ecclesie; ipsa enim

ponit, ut sepe repecii, quod illa hostia sit materialis

substancia: et cum sic declinant a veritate, et per con-

B 97<sup>a</sup> sequens | ab unitate, signanter geminantur, mendax

A 89<sup>a</sup> binarius, cum dicitur quod "posuerunt signa sua, signa".

Can God multiply the same point, the same individual quantity? Better bring in a sensible mass without quantity, if you will have a miracle.

Only successive or abstract quantity, can be increased; not concrete, here and now.

Now the Sacrament can be increased in quantity, e. g. by pouring the wine element from chalice to chalice.

Vigorous digression against the Nominalists, who change Christ's religion and the laws of nature.

Psalm: *Posuerunt signa sua.* Why *posuerunt?* because it is a baseless position of theirs;

*signa sua;* because it is their doctrine, not the Church's:

*signa* is repeated twice because of their duplicity;

5. alia CD. 6. m'a et pro miraculosius D. 7. et deest D.  
26. quod deest AB. 27. 2<sup>nd</sup> signa struck out A, deest CD.  
28. textu ACI, corr. B. 31. sicut G. 36. signum deest B.

Signa enim ecclesie que Christus instituit denegant esse signa. Et ita videtur michi quod dictus infamis binarius signorum potest signare in eis mendacium signorum sacramentalium in quod ob penam peccati prioris miserabiliter sunt deducti. Et signanter sequitur 6. quod “*non cognoverunt*”, quia ecce circum palpitantes, nec cognoverunt aufugium quo inconveniencia fidelium devitarent; omnes enim de scola sathanæ sunt etiam a se ipsis insolubiliter redarguti, et non cognoverunt post rimas laboriosas quomodo fundacionem secte sue pal- 10 liarent. Nec mirum; quia “*super summum*” blasphemant in supremo gradu “*exitus*” apostasie sue a religione Christiana. Ideo necesse est ut stulti facti sint, propter dyabolicam sapienciam simulatam. “*Super summum*” dico, quia deum ponunt dicere, quod signa sua accidentia sunt corpus Christi; et per consequens deus ipse. Ideo necesse est ut *exitus* iste mendacii *super summum* superinducat ignoranciam cognoscendi. Aliter autem humiles Christi discipuli cognoverunt eum, et per consequens veritatem, in fracione panis; quia non 20 musitarunt nec intellexerunt, quod panis ille sit sine subiecto genus aliquod accidentis.

Item videtur ex propriis principiis huius secte quod nedum sacramentum eukaristie sed quodlibet corpus sit infinitum magnum; quia nedum asserit quod quantitates et essenciales materie coextendi posse 25 terunt, sed A 89<sup>a</sup> infinitas quantitates ponit coextendi, que unam constituant. Nam omnem quantitatem que prius fuit in pane, ponunt remanere post consecrationem; sed infinita quantitas prius fuit in pane; igitur tanta remanet 30 post consecrationem. Pro deduccione minoris suppono H. quod materia prima de dei omnipotencia componatur ex suis partibus intensivis; quod swadetur tripliciter sectam istam debere concedere; primo, quia ponit deum nedum posse sed de facto coextendere corpora, et per 35 consequens materias que prius fuerant separata. Et certum est quod materias que possunt unam rem componere sic applicatas deus componit, vel potest componere. Et iterum certum est quod quilibet earum habet vel habere potest propriam quantitatem, sicut 40 37, rem deest omnes MSS. In the same manner as they assert that quantities can be coextended in the

<sup>a</sup> 13 sunt D. 18. indicat *pro* inuidat B. 25. Fit B. 35. co *deest* BC.

quantitates calicum posse coextendi, sic debent conce- Sacrament, they must suppose them so in everything else.  
dere quodlibet posse coextendi. Et idem patet de illa famosa opinione quod elementa sunt in mixtis, quam decretalis Innocencii 3<sup>ii</sup>, capitulo, "Cum Marthe," re-  
liquit tanquam probabilem. Si enim elementa sunt in pane, cum extenduntur secundum veram mixtionem, ut inquiunt, oportet materiam primam componi ex suis partibus intensivis, quia aliter eque densus foret ignis in pane vel plumbo, sicut terra, cum forma sua sub 10 equali quantitate eandem materiam in numero actuaret; It, according to the decretal of Innocent, it is probable that the elements exist in the compound, it would follow that bread contains several quantities and primordial matters, all coextended in the same place.

A 90<sup>e</sup> et cum penes illud habet densitas corporis attendi, oportet dicere quod eque densus foret ignis in mixto ut terra; vel aliter, quod forma ignis actuat dumtaxat unam raram partem intensivam totalis materie. Et se-  
B 97<sup>e</sup> quitur iuxta dicta quod in pane sunt multe quantitates et materie coextense, et iuxta opinionem tot taliter remanent in hostia consecrata.

I. Tercio, probatur ad hominem pro dicta sentencia per hoc quod sunt multe qualitates, tam eiusdem speciei quam disparium, coextense, et quelibet earum habet propriam quantitatem; igitur oportet esse correspondiam in fundamento nature. Argumentum deducunt per hoc quod aliter nulla foret qualitas remissa, cum non potest intendi vero motu, nisi aquirendo unam qua-  
25 litatem super priorem. Ideo dicit Averroys, super 3<sup>o</sup> *De celo et mundo*, comento 67, quod forme elementares possunt intendi et remitti tanquam media inter substancias et accidencia; et sic sunt in mixtis secundum formas remissas. Et sic inquiunt quoscunque debere ponere, Many qualities exist in bodies, each coextended, and each having its own quantity (so they say).  
30 qui ponunt formas materiales posse intendi et remitti. Unde, ad roborandum quod qualitates componuntur ex partibus intensivis, adducunt coextensiones luminum et aliarum qualitatum spiritualium: quo concessso, probatur isti secte quod quelibet talis materialis qualitas 35 habet propriam quantitatem que foret sibi accidens. Ideo non est ratio quin sic habeat, eo ipso quo exten-  
ditur, cum sit prior sua quantitate, que sibi accidit. Et quotlibet talibus evidenciis convincitur, quod oportet A 90<sup>e</sup> istam sectam ponere infinitas quantitates coexten- Averroes says that the elementary forms, half substances, half accidents, can be more or less intense. Which (with the examples of several coextended qualities, brings them to the above conclusion. This varying intensity being a true quantity of these qualities, is an accident. They therefore are extended, have another quantity; and so on for ever.  
40 sas in quolibet sacramento altaris, tam ratione materiarum

1, 5, relinquit CD. 22. Et istum pro argumentum B. 23. quan-  
titas B. 36. quia D. 36. ergo AB.

25. Averr. *ubi supra*.

Therefore in the Sacrament there are an infinite number of coextended quantities.

This is absurd; for though A (sacrament or anything) be not infinitely great, it has an infinite amount of quantity.

That quantity is 'rolled up' does not matter; a thread rolled up is just as long as when unrolled.

And in the Sacrament the quantity will be no less; if infinite before consecration, then infinite after.

Even if these quantities coexist only intensively; the subject is as great by one as by all.

Besides, to suppose that compressed quantity is smaller than uncompressed, is to admit that individual quantity can be increased or diminished; which has been proved false.

If it be said that, extracting these quantities, we compose a new one that was not there before, — we

et formarum substancialium que prefuerunt in pane et vino, quam ratione qualitatum materialium remanentium; cum omnes ille forme accidentales, ut inquiunt, sunt servate. Quibus premissis, arguitur primo proposita K. conclusio; quia, da quod | A. sacramentum vel corpus B 9<sup>a</sup> pedale, non sit infinitum magnum, contra ipsum est ita magnum sicut totalis eius quantitas, cum vel sit illa quantitas vel sibi equalis; sed infinitum magna est quecunque talis quantitas; igitur conclusio. Nam ita magna est, ut supponitur ex dictis, sicut potest esse; 10 sed infinitum magna potest esse. Si enim unum pedale A quantitatis foret ex dei omnipotencia extractum et per situm equalem A immediate per se positum et continuatum, et sic infinitum versus omnem differenciam positionis. patet quod quantitas composita foret in-15 finita. Et ita magnum est modo, licet quantitates fuerint convolute, sicut filum est ita magnum convolutum in globo sicud foret extractum in longum.

Nec valet dicere quod deficiet quantitas pedalis extrahendo, quia quot fuerunt materie prime pedales co-20 extense, tot remanent in sacramento quantitates pedales; et iterum, ratione qualitatum remanent in sacramento eciam infinite quantitates pedales; et de totidem infinitis quantitatibus pedalibus non communicantibus possunt extrahi versus omnem differenciam positionis eciam in-25 finite. Nec valet dicere quod i quantitates coextense non A 9<sup>a</sup> quantitative sed intensive componunt aliam: primo, quia subiectum est eque intense magnum per unam, sicut foret per quotlibet coextensas. Ideo dicunt philosophi quod quantitas non suscipit magis et minus. 30 Secundo, quia nulla quantitas potest maiorari vel minorari secundum ultimum singulare, ut declaratur in proximo argumento; sed quantitas convoluta et iam expansa est sic magna; igitur ipsa fuit pro tempore B 68<sup>a</sup> coextensionis parcium ita magna et per consequens partes, sicut solum quantitative fuerunt, sic quantitative suum totum composuerunt. Nec valet tertio dicere quod L. quantitates sic extracte et novo modo composite componunt quantitatem novam, que non prefuit; quia, sicut quantitates possunt extrahi integre, ita possunt unum 40 componere; et cum prefuerint componentes unam quando fuerunt coextense, videtur quod eandem componunt

14. in pro sic D.  
38. sint pro sic ECD.

17. involute D.

37. quod quod CD.

modo. Sufficit enim ad individuationem tocius ydem  
titas omnium suarum parcium, licet habeant modum  
alium componendi; ut linea recta potest fieri circularis,  
vel aliter figurata, ut alibi deductum est. Nec valet,  
quod in confinio parcium compositarum generatur  
nova quantitas, quia aliter foret composicio continui ex  
non quantis; tum quia illud est verum; tum etiam quia  
per idem corrumpentur due quantitates extremales,  
loco unius generate; et sic foret quantitas expansa  
A qd<sup>a</sup> minor quam fuerat convoluta; quia plus de illa | cor-  
rumperetur, quam ad illam generaretur. Ideo, notata  
tota quantitate antiqua que remanet iam expansa, patet  
quod illa est infinitum magna et per consequens ita  
magna fuit antea convoluta. Similiter impossibile est  
15 quantitates sic coextendi, nisi fuerint infinite que non  
adequate componunt aliquod tertium, et per consequens  
est dare quantitates sic extensas que possent separari  
ab invicem, ipsis manentibus continuis in extremis, cum  
B q<sup>b</sup> hoc quod in fine precise componant. | ut modo: et per  
20 consequens tantum sunt modo ut forent in fine: et se-  
quitur quod infinitum posset resultare ex quocunque  
corpo, precise secundum compositionem qua modo  
M. componuntur partes ad invicem. Et ex istis deducunt  
philosophi quod in quolibet situ puncti, linee vel super-  
25 ficie sunt infinita huiusmodi simul: quod supponitur  
hic esse impossibile. Ideo manifestum est quod com-  
posicio ex partibus intensivis materie, forme vel acci-  
dentiis, non stat cum veritate. Ideo oportet fidelem dicere,  
quod continuum componitur ex non quantis, quod ista  
30 opinio detestatur. Et patet evidenter ex principiis huius  
secte, quomodo sequitur quod omne sacramentum vel  
corpus sensibile sit immensum; sed nichil est illo magis  
hereticum. Ideo ipsum est iuxta dicta in capitulo 10 a  
fidelibus respuendum. Nam secundum deductionem alibi  
35 declaratam, talis infidelitas foret omnino superflua et  
sapiencie divine contraria.

A q<sup>a</sup> Ideo fingunt alii tanquam profundio res heretici,  
quod eukaristia non sit accidentis unius generis sed agre-  
gatio accidentium diversorum in genere sine substancia  
40 subiectante. Isti autem ficticie novelle deficit primo fun-  
damentum; quia nec in scriptura nec in doctoribus  
novis vel antiquis, nec in ecclesie legibus est fundata,

answer that a  
line is no  
shorter when  
curved than  
when straight.

We are  
therefore  
reduced to  
admit an  
infinite  
quantity; but as  
this is  
impossible,  
coextended  
quantities are  
a false  
hypothesis.

The continuum  
is not composed  
of parts having  
size; otherwise  
each body, and  
not only the  
Sacrament is  
infinitely great.  
Conclusion:  
this theory is  
inadmissible.

Others say that  
the Eucharist  
is an aggregate  
of accidents; a  
groundless and  
still more  
absurd  
assertion.

6. foret *ærest* B. 24. punctus BCD.

Every reason  
that is against  
each accident,  
is against their  
aggregate.

The Sacrament  
is nothing and  
worth nothing;  
reason and  
sense are alike  
insulted.

It is scandalous  
to call an  
aggregate of  
accidents what  
St. Ambrose  
names a  
'terrestrial  
substance'.

Why should  
he speak of this  
substance and  
forget to  
mention this  
bundle of  
accidents?

And the  
Church must  
have been blind  
during the first  
thousand years  
of its existence.

Also all the  
early Fathers  
and Doctors;

Why should  
Christ  
annihilate the  
Host, if the  
martyrs were  
changed for the  
better by their  
sacrifice?

sed expresse contrarium. Item, cum non pertinet ad opinionem istam intelligere hanc agregacionem simpli-  
citer abstractive, sed concretive; scilicet pro illis acci-  
dentiibus aggregatis, patet quod quecunque racio militat  
contra aliquod | illorum, militat etiam contra huiusmodi B. q. 8<sup>a</sup>  
aggregata. Item videtur, ut supra, quod illud sacramen-  
tum non sit aliquid vel quicquam valens, quod non  
competit corpori Christi, sed contradicit tam rationi  
quam sensui; non enim convincet racio vel sensacio,  
quod aliquid sit corpus sensibile vere continuum, quin idem  
per idem sic foret de hostia; et ille qui simpliciter  
meliorando procedit, sicut acceptavit hostiam oblatam  
que fuit terrena substancia, sic melioraret hanc hostiam  
non acceptando unum et destruendo priorem hostiam  
sine causa.

Item nimis magna foret presumpcio scandalisare uni- N.  
versalem ecclesiam que istis mille annis, ut creditur, ex  
doctrina beati Ambrosii, vocat hanc hostiam post consecrationem et oblacionem terrenam substanciam. Foret enim ecclesie scandalum nimis insipiente, quod si sa- 20  
cerdos offert illam aggregacionem accidentium que ex-  
pectabit consecrationem, et fieri quodammodo corpus  
Christi, et illa terrena substancia destructur, nichil con-  
ferens ecclesie vel sacramento futuro, | quod faciat A. q. 1<sup>b</sup>  
mencionem de illa terrena substancia et omittat no- 25  
minare illum fasciculum accidentium, qui remanebit sacramentum honorandum; et post consecrationem faciet totum opus sacramentale, potissime cum vocando ipsum fasciculum accidentium sine subiecta substancia consecrandum, tolleretur occasio credendi quod hec terrena 30  
substancia remanet sacramentum et informaretur ec-  
clesia in fide de quidditate sacramenti usque hodie incogita. Si igitur hoc foret ad tantum melius, nimis  
stulta ceci | tas occupavit ecclesiam in mille annis in B. q. 8<sup>a</sup>  
tam solemni secreta illud omittere et tantam stulticiam 35  
seminare. Et eadem stulticia convincitur de cunctis doctoribus millenarii Christi, qui omnes omiserant illud gloriosum genus eukaristicum iam repertum. Et iterum vi-  
detur difficile fingere causam quare Christus offert hanc terrenam hostiam et post in puncto profectus omnino 40  
destrueret: cum Ysaac oblatus, Christus et martyres sui

17. qua ABD. 19. et deest omnes MSS. 21. 22. expectabat B.  
24. facit B. 30. convincitur ABC.

per oblationem mutantur; igitur melius, servata persona. Numquid ydolatre alludent erroribus pontificum ydolorum, qui perditis magnatibus morte duplice singunt quod rapiuntur, ut socii, in deorum suorum collegium? Sic, inquit, panis convertitur in corpus Christi, non sicut accidens in natura servatum; sed nusquam rei ipsius relinquens aliquid, tam secundum materiam quam O. formam omnino destruitur.

A god was made out of nothing in Pagan apotheosis: is this a copy of them?

A 91<sup>a</sup> Item, multa sunt accidentia in | hostia consecrata  
10 que subiectantur, ut oportet fideles credere de accidentibus respectivis; quantitas et qualitas, cum possunt acquiri et perdi, sunt in aliquo subiective; igitur illud iuxta descripciones philosophorum, oportet esse substancialm distinctam a novem generibus accidentis:  
15 et cum illud sit aliquid suis accidentibus informatum, oportet concedere ipsum esse sacramentum altaris, et non fasciculum nichili supradictum; omnia enim dicta accidentia reducuntur ad ipsum tanquam ad aliquod unum agens quicquid fecerint illa accidentia.

Many accidents in the Host require a subject so the Eucharist must be a distinct substance, not a bundle of nothingness.

20 Unde adversarii concedunt quod omnia reliqua accidentia subiectantur in quantitate que, informata ac-  
B 99<sup>a</sup> ei | dentibus, sit sacramentum; ut patet per famosiores doctores, Thomam, Egidium, Scotum, et alios: Non enim potest quantitas in pertinens esse fundacioni qua-  
25 litatis, sicut nec prius fuit, pane manente. Sicut igitur fundat qualitatem, sic subiectat, si non sit subiectum ad subiectans utrumque; et per consequens, sicut quantitas informatur figura, sic quoconque accidente alio quod subiectat; quod cum sit impossibile, ut patet ex 30 dictis, patet quod opinio illud gignens. Nam sacramen-  
tum calicis potest guttatum dividiri, ut patet ad oculum; igitur per idem potest reuniri et continuari, et per con-  
sequens constituere unum continuum descensivum; nichil enim per se descendit nisi gravitas, vel habens in se 35 gravitatem; iste autem fasciculus non habet in se gra-  
vitatem, quia nulla pars eius; gravitas enim est aliena a quantitate et quoconque alia qualitate.

Our opponents grant that the other accidents have quantity for their subject.

Quantity, basis of quality, informed by figure, &c. would itself be the subject, were there no other.

This being impossible, the opinion is false.

Weight has nothing to do with quantity and other accidents; but the Sacrament has weight.

A 91<sup>d</sup> Item, ex dictis sequitur quod dictum | sacramentum P. non sit visibile nec activum, quod est manifeste in-  
40 opinabile et hereticum; consequenciam deducunt logici per hoc quod, si hoc sacramentum sit visibile, et per consequens res visibilis, et sic aliquid est ipsum sacra-

Consequences: the Sacrament is a) invisible; b) inactive. a) 1<sup>st</sup> If visible, a visible thing; it a thing, a substance.

1. in C. 6. in *deest* BCD. 14. accidentium B. 28. figuratur  
omnes MSS. 35, 36. iste — gravitatem *deest* CD. 39. ut *pro* quod BCD.

mentum. Sed dimissa ista contencione logica, videtur quod hoc sacramentum non sit visibile, quia nec secundum totum nec secundum partem: non, inquam, secundum totum, quia multe sunt qualitates et quantitates aliorum sensuum que non sunt visibles ut sic, oculo corporali, de qua visione primo loquitur. Nemo videt quantitatem que fuit materie prime; sic nemo videt gravitatem, duriciem, saporem et similes qualitates; et sic non videt ipsum sacramentum secundum se totum; | nec B 99<sup>b</sup>

<sup>and</sup> At least partly invisible, for many qualities are not to be seen.

Neither is even a part visible; 'nothing' is not made up of parts.

An aggregate of abstractions cannot be seen; but the Sacrament is, according to them, such an aggregate.

The Sacrament, as an aggregate, has no collective existence, like that of a people; for it has no quantitative unity.

homo ipsum videt secundum sui partem, quia ex nulla parte aliquo modo componitur, cum nichil sit. Et si loquamur extense de parte, per idem loquendum est extense de toto corpore, et continuo quod ipsum sit aliquid terminans basim pyramidis visualis. Et hec conclusio evidencius sequitur, si sacramentum sit aggregatio in abstracto, quia nullus respectus videtur, cuius extrema videri non possunt; ut nemo unionem anime cum corpore, nec videt multiplicacionem aliquorum, quorum multa non sunt visibilia. Specialiter, si non constituant unum aliquid ab eis distinctum; ut nemo audit, gustat, 20 olfacit vel tangit multiplicacionem insensibilem angelorum et ydearum in deo, cum multiplicacione sensibilium: quia sic sensibile foret insensibile, visibile invisible, cum secundum plurimam partem sui non foret sensible. Nec foret sacramentum aliquid unum, sicut est exercitus vel cumulus qui nedum est una substancia, sed unum corpus vel una persona. Ideo locus a simili non concludit, quod sit visibile activum vel passivum, ut populus; quia per idem foret sacramentum infinitum longum, infinitum latum et infinitum magnum, ac contrarie qualificatum, ut est de suis partibus. Et patet quomodo Gog concludit scole sue, cum unus dicit quod videt in sacramento corpus Christi oculo corporali; alias autem dicit, quod nemo potest sic videre ipsum sacramentum, cum illud quod videmus sit color et non ipsum sacramentum; et sic foret sacramentum omnino insensibile | sicut est nobis incognitum. B 99<sup>c</sup>

b) The Sacrament is not active, any passivum: ut multitudo ex deo et aliis non est creativa,

5. sint BCD; 6. prime ABC; ib. vidit D. 10. videt *deest* CD.  
13. de corpore C. 23. visibile et AB. 26. tumulus ABC. 34. nemo  
*deest* D. 39. creatia AB.

39. Multitudo ex Deo et aliis: *suppl.* composita.

dampnata et beata cum aliis denominacionibus contrariis. Et per idem aggregacio rerum tam disparium in genere nec agit nec patitur, si non earum quelibet sic se habet; quia aliter, mota una quacunque specie 5 motus, omnia moverentur eadem: quod non dixerunt maniaci quos reprobat Aristoteles. Ex multis talibus patet gradus falsissimus huius vie. Ex istis probabilitate convincitur, quod inter omnes hereses que unquam de sacramento altaris surrepserant, heresis de eius quiditate, qua singitur quod sit accidentis sine subiecto vel talium aggregacio, est magis subdola et blasfema. Cum enim ex fide et sanctorum testimonio illud sacramentum sit quodammodo corpus Christi, non secundum suam A 92<sup>a</sup> substanciam sed miraculo verbi dei, parvipensio | illius 15 hostie est correspondenter parvipensio corporis domini et sic dei. Sed non plus posset parvipendi, quam non solum reputando sed credendo et predicando quod est imperfeccio in natura sua quam substancia creata. Ymmo est realiter unum nichil. Tales, inquam, non 20 adorarent hanc hostiam; sed dimissa veritate ewangelii fingerent monstruosum et infundabilem modum corporis Christi absconditum, et illum mendaciter adorarent.

R. Item, iuxta decretum De consecracione distinccione 2<sup>a</sup>. *Ego Berengarius*, anathematizanda est omnis heresis que B 99<sup>a</sup> ponit sacramentum altaris post consecra | cionem esse solum sacramentum et non corpus vel sanguinem Jesu Christi; sed hec heresis dicit istud et superaddit blasphemiam. Ponit enim quod ille panis sit sacramentum et non corpus Christi, et ponit implice quod corpus 30 Christi induitur superflue accidentis per se, destructa panis substancia sine causa. Quod cum secundum sanctos non possit esse, patet quanta blasfemia mciendo de Christo incurritur; et licet consecratores accidentis cognoscant quod populus adorat hoc sacramentum tanquam corpus 35 Christi, quod dicunt esse ydolatriam, tamen reticent, timendo quod quereretur ab eis quid sit hoc sacramentum, et perciperetur eorum mendax versicia. Et revera tota communitas fidelium debet communicacionem et corporalem sustentacionem subtrahere a talibus here- 40 ticiis apostatis et blasphemis.

more than a multitude composed of God and other things; for this multitude has neither action nor passion.

These proofs show how cunningly blasphemous this heresy is.

The sacrament is the body of Christ; to make it an accident is therefore to slight Christ's body.

Its nature would be most imperfect.

To say that the Sacrament is only a sign after consecration has been condemned as heretical. Now that is exactly their position.

These accidents clothe Christ's body quite superfluously.

They know that to adore a mere sign is idolatry; yet they let the people do so. Such apostates ought not to receive any alms from the faithful.

4. unacunque BC. 10. quia pro qua B. 15. corporis Christi B.  
20. adorent B. 20. fingeret BCb. 24. anathemanda omnes MSS.  
20. multiplicite B. 33. consecraciones BC. 35. recident B.

11. Cf. Trialogus, p. 248.

God can — and  
they do not know that He  
does not —  
make bread to be His body;  
and yet they deny it.

Item, deus potest consecrare panis substanciam faciendo ipsam esse | corpus suum, ut ex fide scripture A 92<sup>e</sup> et testimonio sanctorum clare convincitur; sed nesciunt quin sic facit de facto: igitur magna foret presumpcio simpliciter hoc negare. Consequencia patet ex hoc, quod 5 dato antecedente ex dubio presumptor assereret heresim contra Christum. Per hoc enim argumentum captum a propositione de possibili concludunt adversarii, quod sacramentum illud de facto sit accidens sine subiecto; quia deus, ut inquiunt, posset hoc facere, et testes 10 multi hoc asserunt. Maior patet ex evidenciis beati Ambrosii adiuncto dicto Christi: "hoc est corpus meum"; blasphemum igitur foret negare deum posse hec facere.

Et quantum ad veritatem | de inesse, patet ex uno latere B 100<sup>a</sup>

St. Augustine and others affirm that an accident cannot possibly exist without its subject.

quod beatus Augustinus cum ceteris affirmat deum non 15 S. posse facere accidens sine subiecto. Nec scriptura sacra innuit cum sanctis doctoribus sacramentum esse accidens, sed vocat ipsum panem cum testimonio sanctorum. Ideo periculosum videtur exuere illud nomen, et infundabiliter induere alienum. Non enim docetur ex ratione scriptura 20 vel decreto ecclesie, quod ipsum sacramentum sit accidens sine subiecto, cum nec hoc movet ratio, nec testimonii revelacio, nec scriptura. Sed ex alio latere sonant ad oppositum hec tria.

Conclusion: we find that the only foundation of this theory is a lie about Innocent III. Examinanda igitur foret fundabilis revelacio, super 25 qua fundaretur ista sentencia, sed toto facto non est originalis fundacio nisi mendacium factum de ecclesia et Innocencio III<sup>o</sup>; talem autem errorem in fide de sacramento sine subiecto, oportet sine veritatis fundamento fingi ex antichristi mendacio.

30

3. nescit omnes MSS. 8. preposicione C. 23. testimonium.  
29. scilicet CD. 30. et AB.

## CAPITULUM TREDECIMUM.

A 92<sup>a</sup> Ultima via dicit i quod sacramentum altaris est qualitas; et ista, ut tetigi, habet minus improbabilitatis quam reliqua; quia, cum qualitas consequitur formam, decens videtur quod sacramentum sapiencie que est forma dei patris sit vestigium forme et non materie prime, sed accidentium ac verbi divini ostensivum cuiusmodi solum est qualitas inter genera accidentis. Item, maioris constancie in rarefaccione et condensacione est qualitas quam quantitas, vel dicta agregacio accidentis; sed decet hoc sacramentum esse permansivum et activum; ideo foret congruencius qualitas quam quantitas vel agregacio supra dicta. Qualitas enim eadem in numero potest esse nunc minor et nunc maior, quod non potest competere quantitati. Item ex generali sermone de sacramento ipsum est invisibilis gracie visibilis forma, ut similitudinem gerat et causa existat, quod inter formas accidentales magis competenter qualitati. Et concordant testimonia sanctorum dicencium quod species, forma et similitudo panis remanet; ideo certum est, si sacramentum est accidens sine subiecto, ipsum est qualitas.

Concordando autem quantum fides permittit opiniones predictas, dico, quod impossibile est hoc sacramentum esse formaliter qualitatem, quantitatem vel aggregacionem multorum generum accidentium. Sed admittendo predicacionem secundum materiam vel subiectum, ut facit scriptura, conceditur quod hoc sacramentum est tam quantitas quam qualitas, quam eciam accidentia diversorum generum congregata. Et sic sacerdos magnus Christus factus est reconciliatio omnibus qui volunt humiliter sequi ipsum in logica; sed superbi dicentes Jo. cum hereticis retrorsum abeuntibus: "Durus est hic VI, 6

The opinion that the Sacrament is a quality, is the least improbable.  
For I. Quality is a vestige of the form, and thus better than quantity.  
II. Quality changes less, and is thus more able to be a subject.

III. A sacrament is a form of grace; so is quality a form.

IV. And Saints have favoured this view.

Yet it is not admissible, unless we give this quality a subiect.

9. et D. 18. quantitati B. 21. quantitas B. 26. naturam B.  
29. aggregata D. 31. in deest BC. 32. abeuntes B.

In one sense  
the Sacrament  
is many  
accidents; but  
they are not  
absolute. It is  
in one sense  
earthly  
substance, and  
in another  
Christ's body.

And thinking  
of His Body,  
we eat Him  
spiritually.

Otherwise we  
only eat the  
accidents, sign  
of Christ's  
body;

we multiply  
prayers, and  
are yet  
without charity.

We pray to  
learn to love  
our enemies,

and say we do  
so, but it is  
false.

The false  
teachers as to  
the Eucharist  
do all this.

A concrete  
quality cannot  
be increased or  
diminished.

sermo et quis potest eum audire?" perierunt in propriis vanitatibus et, dicentes se esse sapientes, stulti facti sunt, propriis funiculis laqueati. Quamvis enim sacramentum altaris sit multiplex accidens ad sensum equivocum, non tamen est sine subiecto, cum ad alium 5 sensum subicitur formaliter cuilibet huiusmodi accidenti; et stat sentencia Augustini et philosophorum quod nul-B. lum accidens potest esse sine subiecto et per consequens ipsum sacramentum non est accidens sine subiecto, sed in natura sua terrena substancia et ad sensum 10 alium corpus Christi, ad quod | omnis fidelis in mente B. 100' debet attendere, pastis sensibus exiliter circa accidencia quantum oportet, et suspensa consideracione circa naturam vel quiditatem materialis substancie sacramenti. Tota autem sollicitudo fidelium debet esse in cogitatione, 15 in affectione et imitacione, corpori Christi, quod sursum est intendere, et ipsum fide formata spiritualiter manducare, et specialiter secundum panis et vini significanciam in caritate fundari, quod habeant omnia in communi.

Aliter enim ad sui iudicium manducant corpus mortuum sacramenti, quod ostenditur in generacione signa terrena querente, et in contencione ac emulacione, accidens quod est signum corporis domini comedente. Multiplicantur enim oraciones, variantur religiones et 25 onerantur fideles per humanas tradiciones; et tamen ab origine mundi non fuit caritas tepidior quam est modo. Rogamus enim dari nobis disciplinam inimicos diligere, ordinamus religiosos qui hortantes ad pacem | A 93<sup>b</sup> doceant mundum contempnere, et instamus cordate, ut 30 fingimus, pro libertate ecclesie: et tamen per solucionem sathane patris mendacii novimus hec dicere, sed contrarium omnino facere. Quod cum sit falsitas veritati opposita, patet quam torve retrocedimus tamquam discoli discipuli antichristi. Et hec omnia scola verbi et 35 operis circa sacramentum eukaristicie efficit vel figurat.

Redeundo igitur ad scolam priorem, probatur quod C. sacramentum altaris non sit qualitas sine subiecto. Nam nulla qualitas potest intendi vel | remitti secundum B. 100<sup>d</sup> ultimum singulare; sed hoc sacramentum potest, ut 40 patet ex dictis; igitur ipsum non est formaliter scilicet qualitas. Maior patet ex hoc quod ideo est motus ad

6. cuius libet B. 18. sed BC. 19. fundati omnes MSS. 31. fin-gamus B.

qualitatem ut per se terminum, quia nichil potest There can be alterari nisi aquisierit vel perdiderit qualitatem. Et <sup>no movement,</sup> unless towards istam sentenciam neverunt qui ponunt qualitatem com- a quality as an poni ex partibus intensivis vel continue esse novam; <sup>end.</sup>

nam intensio vel remissio qualitatis non est nisi qua-  
litas, cum per idem quantitas et locus non requiruntur  
ad hoc quod aliquid in illis generibus moveatur.

Item, iuxta dicta de quantitate, sacramentum foret The Sacrament infinitum intensum, eo ipso quod intenditur, nam ita would be not infinitely extended, but infinitely intense: for nothing could make this quality more so.

intensum est sicut potest esse; infinitum intensum potest esse: igitur etc. Minorem non negat adversarius, et maior patet ex hoc quod eadem qualitas non posset intendi, nisi vel per condensacionem vel per qualitatis aquisitionem. Primum membrum aufugunt, cum poeius,

A 93<sup>o</sup> ut inquiunt, per condensacionem remitteretur qualitas, ut patet de caliditate, de raritate et similibus. Et si videatur qualitatem intendi, hoc est quod una noviter

generatur. Similiter, si eadem qualitas sacramentalis posset intendi, posset una cum alia coextendi, et per consequens, continuata tali intencione per tempus in- finitum, intensa foret talis qualitas ante finem cuius- cunque partis eiusdem temporis: quia infinite partes

D. eque intense non communicantes forent coextense. Simi- liter omnis intensio qualitatis est qualitas, ut patet ex

25 descripcione qualitatis: et concordant emuli. Sed sa-

B 101<sup>o</sup> cramentum intensum per tempus aquiret latitudinem intensionis; et sic infinitos gradus, quorum quilibet remanebit cum alio: igitur tota qualitas sacramentalis erit in fine infinitum intensa. Multa autem talia argu- 30 menta possunt evacuari per logicos vere ponentes substanciam subici istis accidentibus que sunt insolubilia isti vie.

Item, cum in sacramento sunt multa genera quali- The Sacrament tatum, nec subest racio, quare ipsum foret una quali- is either its own qualities or their subject. 35 tas, quin per idem et quelibet, videtur quod sacra- But it is not singula earum, sicut videtur glosam dicere de con- heaviness, for instance: so there must be a sacerdote distincione 2<sup>a</sup>, super capitulo "Sacerdotum": subject that is certum quidem est quod sacramentum vel est sic qualita- 40 ficatum vel ipsa qualitas. Sed non est ipsa qualitas secundum glosam, cum non sit ponderositas: igitur est

If a quality in the Sacrament could become more intense, it might be coextended with another, and so become infinite. Its intensity is a quality; which, having permanence, has another quality, and so on, till quality is infinite.

St. Thomas makes quantity the subject of the other accidents: for quality cannot be qualified.

subiectum | distinctum; et hoc est evidens, Thome et A 93<sup>a</sup> aliis dicentibus quod proprium est quantitati esse quantum, sic quod qualitas non sit qualis, quia tunc, ut inquiunt, virtus foret virtuosa, beatitudo beata, sessio que sederet et sic forent in hostia consecrata multa 5 genera sacramentorum. Non enim potest poni prior qualitas, quia per idem foret quelibet qualitas prima

If the Sacrament is all those qualities, then quantity must be added too: with all its difficulties.

et potissime, que continue est nova. Si igitur sacramentum sit omnes ille qualitates coniunctim, per idem iungenda est quantitas cum aliis accidentibus, ut dicit 10 secunda opinio; et sic quodlibet argumentum quod movet contra aliquam horum trium movet etiam contra istud. Tunc enim non haberet sacramentum istud con-E. stanciam permanendi et denominaciones notorias recipiendi, ut motum, benedictionem, vel actionem, vel pas- 15 sionem, ut non posset calefieri, commisceri, | sanctificari, B 101<sup>b</sup> agere, vel videri; quorum aliqua contradicunt experimen-to certissimo, et alia obviant rationi sacramenti,

This view is contrary to known fact.

If the sacramental quality is called the Sacrament, it will be so only by means of the other qualities.

Cum non sanctificatur nisi sanctitas et virtus sacra-mentalnis inducatur: que cum sit potissima, cui omnes 20 alie qualitates subserviunt, videtur quod illa sit potis-sime sacramentum vel pars eius principalis; sicut anima est pars hominis, cum sacramentum sit sensibile. Et sic ipsa non per se est sacramentum sed alie qualitates quas induit.

The contrary opinion (that the substance remains), confirmed by Augustine and others,

is denied by the opponents, because the bread is trans-substantiated; which, this granted, could not be true.

Multe sunt tales instance ex quibus manuducitur fidelis diu quod sacramentum altaris sit panis sanctifi-catus, ut dicit Augustinus, et per consequens substancia panis, ut dicit autor de divinis | officiis capitulo 5<sup>10</sup>, A 94<sup>a</sup> “De canone misse”, ubi exponit istum quinarium: 30 hostiam sanctam etc. “Per quinarium,” inquit, “crucis signaculum panis et vini inprimit substanciali Christo sedenti ad dextram dei patris veraciter, ut dictum est, concorporate.” Sed contra dicta obicitur per hoc quod F.

27. fidelis unitas diu A.

1. St. Thomas says (S. Theol. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars, qu. LXXVII, art. 2. “Respondeo . . . etc. Unde et ipsa quantitas dimensiva secundum se habet quamdam individuationem”. But he carefully distinguishes extensive force from extension. “Quantitas dimensiva . . . non est quantitas mathematica (ibid. ad 4<sup>a</sup> dicendum . . .)”. 29. The exposition of these words in *De Divinis Officiis* is quite different. 32. The sense is not clear; but if *sacerdos* be added, as subject of *inprimit*, and *quinarium* taken as a substantive, there is a meaning to the whole.

panis et vinum transsubstanciantur in corpus Christi et sanguinem, ut patet primo decretalium capitulo "Firmiter". Sed istud secundum famosos doctores nostros et glosam decretalium non potest salvare, nisi panis et

<sup>5</sup> vinum desinant esse secundum quamlibet sui partem.

Hic dicitur, ut patet alibi, quod signacio extranea est petita et non fundata, quia includit oppositum in adiecto. Si enim substancia transit in substanciam, quod est

transsubstanciacio, tunc oportet dare subiectum huius

<sup>10</sup> motus remanens, quia aliter transiret in nichilum. Ideo,

ut alias dixi ex sentencia beati Ambrosii et Augustini,

B 101<sup>a</sup> in | hac benedicta conversione, panis fit aliquid quod

prius non fuit. Unde beatus Ysidorus in quadam ser-

mone, post declaracionem conversionis multiplicis, sic

<sup>15</sup> inquit: "Sicut baptisatus ante invocacionem nominis

Christi et mortuum et putridum membrum est, sed post

invocacionem membrum vivum et corpus Christi est,

sic substancia panis et vini ante consecrationem panis

et vinum est; post consecrationem corpus Christi et

<sup>20</sup> sanguis Christi est." Ecce planum testimonium huius

G. sancti quod substancie panis et vini sunt post conse-

cracionem corpus Christi et sangvis. Et eadem est

sentencia Ambrosii et aliorum sanctorum dicencium

quod panis erit corpus Christi, licet posterius per glosas

A 94<sup>b</sup> ordi | narias eorum sentencia sit retorta; ut hii dicunt,

quod panis, *hoc est, accidens vel forma panis*, erit cor-

pus Christi; illi, quod non illud *accidens* sed in illo

*accidente* erit corpus Christi; et illi quod non ille *panis*,

sed ex *pane* fiet corpus Christi.

<sup>30</sup> Et sic relicta sanctorum logica et scripture vix per

decennium durat logica ficta per istos apostatas; et

cum tanta mania percussi sunt ut dicant, si principium

secte sue et almanac suum annale sentenciant dandam

sentenciam, tunc ipsa est determinacio universalis ec-

<sup>35</sup> clesie. Unde quia non habent ab Innocencio III<sup>o</sup> vel

papa alio quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens sine

subiecto, recurrent ad commenta mendacii et glosas

doctorum indiscretorum, qui per eis similes sunt se-

ducti. Et sic, ut fabulatur de presbitero Johanne quod

<sup>40</sup> pransus licenciat ut tunc comedat totus mundus. sic

*Answer.* This sense cannot be the right one, as it includes such contradictions. If there is a passage of one substance into another, what passes?

St. Isidore compares the Eucharistic change with that of baptism, but does the neophyte turn to nothing?

Other Saints, whose sense is improperly wrested by the gloss, say the same.

Remarks on the arrogance and folly of the glossators.

Unable to ground their theory on Innocent's decree, they recur to glosses.

These madmen think all their opinions are those of the Church.

30. scripture ABC. 33. almanant D.

15. Isid., t. 83, p. 1228 of Migne. Wyclif's quotation is very free.

30. Cf. Sermones. III, 77.

isti ma | niaci impudenter asserunt, quod si ipsi sic B. 101<sup>a</sup> sentenciant, sentencia illa est decretum universalis eccl<sup>esi</sup>e.

Thus the solution of the difficulty is that the bread and wine are changed into Christ's body, their substance remaining.

If it is asked, How: let them say how a rod became a serpent, &c.

Conversion, or transsubstantiation does not signify destruction but permanence; I. Naturally, by eduction of a form:

as accident is to substance, so is substantial form to matter;

naturally, when bread becomes Christ's body, or a sinner is converted: in se ipsum: et hec est mutatio dextre | excelsi deo pro-

Et patet solucio instancie supradicte, cum argumentum concedi debeat ad hunc sensum, quod panis et vinum convertuntur in corpus Christi et sanguinem, cum ipsa aliquomodo, servata natura eorum, sint corrupti Christi et sanguis, non sicut adversarii singunt formam panis, vel accidens quod panem nominant, fieri corpus Christi. Et si musitant, quomodo panis trans- 10 substanciatur vel convertitur in corpus Christi, cum remanet, dicant quomodo hoc competit sacramento, | A. 94<sup>c</sup> dicant secundo quomodo essentia virge transsubstanciatur in serpentem, essentia corporis uxor Loth transsubstanciatur in statuam salis, essentia aque fit vinum, 15 quomodo membrum dyaboli convertitur et transsubstanciatur in membrum Christi et tamen utrobius remanet eadem essentia in numero non destructa. Conversio II. enim, vel transsubstanciatio, non dicit destruccionem essentie, sed eius remanenciam. Et ita est duplex con- 20 versio, prima propinqua motui naturali, quando, educta forma substanciali, alia nova in essenciam naturalem inducitur: ut patet in exemplo triplici supradicto, et iuxta philosophiam ac logicam scripture. Substancia unius modi erit substancia alterius modi, ut Joh. II<sup>b</sup> 25 subtiliter dicitur aquam factam vinum. Sicut enim ac- Jo. II, 9 cidens contingit substancie, sic forma substancialis materialis contingit materiali essentie.

II. Super-naturally, when bread becomes Christ's body, verus deus et verus homo, facit conversum quodammodo or a sinner is converted: in se ipsum: et hec est mutatio dextre | excelsi deo pro- B. 102<sup>a</sup> both cases the subject remains pria. Et fit dupliciter: vel illabendo anime peccatoris, the same. faciendo ipsum quodammodo ipsum Christum, vel assistendo sacramentaliter terrene substancie faciendo 35 ipsam quodammodo corpus suum; quomodo autem hoc fit, subiacet communiter scrutinio et fidei cunctorum fidelium. Christus enim dixit panem sacramentalem esse corpus suum. Sed cavendum est, ne margarithe fidei ventilate in glosis legum hominum eccl<sup>ysi</sup>psentur; quia 40

7. fuit AB. 10. sic pro si omnes MSS. 18. substancia B.  
21. motu D. 22. materialem AD. 29. motus AB. 30. periculus ABC;  
corr. D. 31. fecit D.

A 94<sup>a</sup> secundum | Jeronimum: *Quod medicorum est, medici tractant, fabrilia fabri.*

I. Secundo, obicitur per hoc: in ambiguis sub pena mortis standum est isti determinacioni pape et universitatis ecclesie; sed ipse determinat, quod substantia panis non remanet, sed quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens sine subiecto; igitur standum est isti decreto.

Si enim in lege veteri fideles debent summo sacerdoti adeo obedire, multo magis in nova lege, quando plus

10 debent esse obedientie filii. Sed Deuteronomii XVII<sup>o</sup> do-

Deut. cetur: "Si ortum fuerit ambiguum inter iudices, refera-

XVII, 8—12 tur ad sacerdotes; si non steterit sacerdotis iudicio

morte moriatur." Hic dicitur, quod illi qui preponderant

istud dictum nimis cecantur, iudaizantes et intendentes

15 destruccionem. Pro quo declarando noto primo quod

dicta contencio inter iudices non fuit de fide immediate,

sed de iudicio seculari, ut de accusacione vel alio

simili: quia blasphemus, ut patet in eodem capitulo, de-

buit lapidari. Noto secundo, quod patens diversitas est

20 inter hanc legem ceremonialem veteris testamenti et legem

B 102<sup>b</sup> gracie, cum summus sacerdos debuit secundum | legem

Luc. Judaycam vel divinum oraculum iudicare. In lege autem

XII, gracie est omnino oppositum, cum Christus Luc. XXII<sup>o</sup>

13, 14 ausfugit tale iudicium; et apostoli in causa blasfemie

25 vel fidei scripture non habuerunt istum modum. Papa

autem constituit sibi leges novellas secundum quas

judicat. Noto tertio quod quantum ad materiam fidei

A 95<sup>a</sup> vel secularia iudicia, non | recurret tota ecclesia ad Ro-

manum pontificem: tum quia est infundabile, tum eciam

30 quia careret ut plurimum rationale; magna enim pars

Christianismi requereret terminacionem iudicii, antequam

veniretur ad Romanum pontificem, et illuc deuento,

sunt multi proprius qui melius deciderent tales causas:

K. ideo sic iudaizantes nimis artarent Christianisnum. Sed

35 supposito quod causa ista de eukaristia devoluta fuerit

ad Romanum pontificem, patet quod hucusque per

ipsum vel suos, non est decisum, ut hic assumitur.

Another  
objection: We  
must obey  
the Pope; now he  
has decided that  
the substance  
of bread does  
not remain.

Answer: This  
objection, taken  
from the Old  
Testament, is  
Judaical in  
spirit.

1st The text  
refers only to  
secular matters.

2nd We are not  
now under the  
ceremonial law,  
but the law of  
grace.

Christ refused  
to judge  
between two  
adversaries.

Why should  
the whole world  
recurr to the  
Pope?  
It would often  
be long to wait  
for his  
judgment.

4. est deest BCD. 14. necantur B; ib. intelligentes B. 22. iudai-  
cum D. 23. XXII<sup>o</sup> ACD. 24. tale C. 35. fuit B.

1. I have left this quotation as it stands, not having been  
able to trace it to St. Jerome. Of course it is perverted from  
Horace, Ep. I. II, 1, 115—6. .... Quod medicorum est Pro-  
mittunt medici; tractant fabrilia fabri.

Supposing that Unde posito per impossibile, quod tota ista materia sit  
 this matter were laid before posita in suo iudicio, patet quod ipse non habet potest  
 the Pope, he can statem decidendi unum aliud, nisi ut ex scriptura sacra  
 judge only according to vel revelacione notoria sibi fuerit intimatum; ad quo-  
 the Bible or by revelation, rum utrumque ex multis diebus inter multos episcopos 5  
 est ineptus.

The faithful need fear nothing in this point, and may await a general council. Ideo quantum ad eukaristiam, debet fidelis in fide scripture quiescere et ortis aliis questionibus vel omnino pausando ipsas abicere vel in generali concilio ecclesie responsum spiritus sancti expetere. Unde consonum foret 10 Innocent would dictum Innocencium III<sup>o</sup> multas leges quas condidit et have done better specialiter multa dicta sua de eukaristia | omisisse; B 102<sup>c</sup> to let the matter alone. nichil enim diffinit ex ratione vel fide scripture, sed dicitur multa posuisse tanquam legifer Christo contrarius, ut patet in lege “*Omnis utriusque sexus*”, cum 15 sibi similibus, in qua nichil auctoritatis vel racionis miscetur, sed zizania seminatur ad dissensionem et illibertatem ecclesie; ut patet ex fructibus huius legis. Et sic in materia de sacramento eukaristie |, antequam A 95<sup>b</sup>

Before he meddled, the Host was adored as God-bearing bread. After, many heresies arose, and much idolatry.

Better to have kept to Pope Nicolas' definition. Horrible heresy: the sacramental bread and wine are in their nature of less worth than rats' food and poison.

These are fictions like that of Death or Feyer personified.

ipse posuit impossibiliter accidentia esse sine subiecto, 20 cum aliis sibi ambiguis, bene stetit ecclesia, colendo hoc sacramentum ut panem deiferum, et quodammodo corpus Christi. Et ex post decrevit continue ydolatrarum devocio et multiplicabantur hereses circa materiam de quidditate hostie, sic quod maior pars sibi intendencium 25 in fide fluctuat. Ideo non dubium melius fuisset ipsum I. declarasse legem scripture de eukaristia et legem benedictam Nicolai II<sup>i</sup> De consecracione distinccione 2<sup>a</sup>. “*Ego Berengarius*”: tunc enim non horruisset ecclesia occidua de ista heresi seminata, quod sacramentum 30 altaris est panis, sed in natura imperfeccior pane rationis; et sacramentum calicis est vinum, sed in natura sua imperfeccius quam venenum; multi namque fideles asserunt, quod si scirent hoc esse verum, nunquam celebrarent vel acciperent sacramentum. Ideo ad nichil 35 videtur valere hec infundabilis heresis seminata, nisi ad negandum sensum et principium per se notum, ac difficultandum ecclesiam que prius fuit libera circa impossibilia que secuntur. Sic enim terrentur layci, quod mors sit quidam invidus | vadens villatim cum lancea, B 102<sup>d</sup>

2. posita deest B. 28. 2<sup>a</sup> deest C. 30. accidna D. 37. ac ad CD.

15. Decr. Greg. I. V. tit. 38, c. 12.

cuius iectus nullus potest aufugere: sicut febris est unum per se existens, quod infirmos exagitat; sicut poterit corpus inanimatum aut mortuum eciam ipsum accidens infirmare. Sed procul a fidelibus tales in-

5 sanie!

A 95<sup>e</sup> Nec est putandum quod | universalis ecclesia militans sit decepta hac heresi, sicut nunc ecclesia nostra occidua, in qua sunt multi maniaci; cum deus reliquit sibi milia qui non curvaverunt genua sua ydolatre ad 10 sacramentum accidencium per se existencium. Et patet nuditas dicencium quod opinio sua sit determinacio M. universalis ecclesie; ad quod solum adducunt illud primi decretalium capitulo "firmiter" quod panis et vinum transsubstanciantur in corpus Christi et sanguinem; et 15 sic ex cautela dyaboli venenum heresis sub novello nomine transsubstanciacionis introducitur. Sed oportet fidelem, ut dictum est, per transsubstanciacionem novel- lam ecclesiam intelligere conversionem, ut loquitur beatus Ambrosius et alii sancti de millenario Christi.

20 Nec est recurrendum in diffinizione fidei ad Romanum pontificem, nisi notorie deus dederit sibi super-eminentem noticiam scripture; sed habemus super-substancialē pontificem dominum Jesum Christum, cuius instinctibus et testimonio debemus intendere et 25 non super Romanum pontificem omnes causas ecclesie cumulare; quia tunc foret indubie non Christi vicarius, sed integer Antichristus, cum auferret a temporalibus dominis suum seculare dominium et civilibus iudicibus sentenciam iuris sui; cum Magog sentenciat quod in

All are not deceived however; thousands have not bowed the knee before Baal.  
To say that the opinion of a sect is the Church's decision is barefaced impudence.

B 103<sup>a</sup> omnibus iudiciis ubi est orta contencio | stabitur finaliter sub pena mortis suo decreto; quo dato conquereret in brevibus cuncta regna et iudicans in illo quod nescit, destrueret papam alium; et econverso. Et patet

In matters of faith, the Roman Pontiff should not be consulted, unless he has studied Scripture deeply. Christ is our Supreme Pontiff whom if we set aside for the Pope, we make of the latter an Antichrist.

A 95<sup>d</sup> locus a simili | de obediendo Romano pontifici, quia 35 sic obediendum fuit summo sacerdoti in lege veteri, claudicat in duobus: primo, quia non fundatur in scriptura quod quicunque Romanus pontifex sit caput universalis ecclesie militantis, sicut fundatur de summo sacerdotio Aaron et sui seminis; secundo, quia non 40 taxatur in scriptura pena obviancum decretis papalibus; sed Christus, Petrus et alii paciendo in novo testamento docuerunt contrarium fieri pro tempore legis nove.

The analogy with the Jewish Priesthood, faulty:

<sup>1st</sup> Not every Roman Pontiff is head of the Church, like Aaron and his successors.

<sup>2nd</sup> Scripture assigns no penalty to those who do not obey his decrees.

<sup>3d</sup> Objection: The possibility of absolute accidents, upheld for more than 100 years, should not be denied.

Answer: Augustine expressly denies it.

The gloss says that his words mean *natural* possibility; but he surely meant what he said, and no less.

If you tamper with his words, we retaliate.

You make him say: Accidents must have a subject, i. e., naturally; we make the Pope say: 'Accidents can do without constat, a subject, i. e., a subject which is actually in our thought.'

100 years are nothing, if we think of the ages before the birth of this theory.

We need take no account of these erring and self-contradicting doctors,

Sed tertio obicitur per hoc quod remanencia accidentium sine substrata substancia est possibilis, ut patet per Innocencium III<sup>m</sup> capitulo "Cum Marthe" et consona ac testificata per centum annos et amplius verificari in sacramento altaris; igitur hoc non est simpli- citer negandum. Hic dicitur, ut sepe alias, quod falsum assumitur, cum Augustinus cum philosophis sepe dicit ut per se notum, quod accidentis non possit esse sine subiecto; ideo mirificare hoc sacramentum cum tanto mendacio et sine ratione foret in deum blasphemare. Et to quantum ad glosam Augustini qua dicitur ipsum intelligere hoc non posse fieri per naturam, patet quod nimis leviter glosant, cum tam sanctus et tam subtilis logicus habens in ita recenti memoria totam veritatem credendam de eukaristia in dicto suo illud exciperet, 15 cum amplissime loquitur de divina potencia et generali- liter vocat sacramentum panem, aut corpus Christi et B 163<sup>b</sup>

nullibi accidentis. Ideo ut sepe dixi, si isti ita perfuntorie | glosant Augustinum, licet nobis pertinencius glo- A 96<sup>a</sup> sare Innocencium et alia dicta doctorum que videntur 20 sonare accidentis in sacramento esse sine subiecto; hoc est quod sit sine subiecto in actuali consideracione fidelium, quo ad suam quidditatem specificatam; quia Ideo dicit logicus deridendo quod sicut ipsi glosant 25 Augustinum, quod accidentis non potest esse sine subiecto naturaliter, sic illi glosantur quod accidentis potest esse sine subiecto impossibiliter, si deus voluerit et non possibiliter; nec est color amplior in fundacione glose sue quam in nostra. 30

Et quantum ad doctores qui videntur testificari istam O. sentenciam centum annis et amplius, patet quod nimis levius est evidencia, cum per tantum tempus tante fuerunt maiores hereses de symonia, apostasia et blasfemia. Quid igitur nobis, si illi doctores cum sectis suis tam 35 diu erraverant? Nec oportet sollicitari in glosis eorum, cum ipsi nimis sinistre glosant Augustinum cum aliis sanctis in ista materia. Sed quia contradicunt sibi ipsis, nec adducunt raciones vel scripturam pro sua sentencia, testatur, quod eorum testificacio est inepta. 40 Nec est diffiniendum quod aliquis eorum moriebatur in

6. verificare ABD. 20. qui AD. 23. specificatam struck out; specificam A. 27, 28. naturaliter - subiecto deest BCD. 28, 29. si - possibiliter deest D. 38. quod BCD

hac heresi, nisi forte apud illum, cui hoc fuerit revelatum. Unum tamen scio, quod isti doctores cum sectis suis meruerunt racione erroris sui in religione Christiana plus seduci. Ideo catholicus adduceret raciones eorum

nor can we  
know whether  
they died in  
their heresy.

B 103<sup>c</sup> et taceret sua testimonia, cum nimirum sint | inepta.

A 96<sup>b</sup> Sed supposito | per impossibile Innocencium III<sup>m</sup> decreuisse quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens sine subiecto; manifestum est quod nec sibi credendum esset in isto, cum contrarius sanctis doctoribus fingeret hoc | 10 sine fundamento. Nec ex hoc convincitur error universalis ecclesie, cum maniaci blaterant quod non sit ecclesia, nisi quam ipsi rexerint; sicut filie Loth crediderant non superesse hominem superstitem preter ipsum.

Nam eo ipso quo hoc finxerint, forent nimis alieni a 15 sancta ecclesia; nec est credibile, quod ipsi tam diu P. in isto erraverant, cum maiores errores per tantum temporis comiserunt. Ideo quod spiritus sanctus assistat eis protegens ne errant in fide scripture, est leve dictum et infundabile, cum omne mortale habeant hunc 20 errorem diuicius. Igitur errarunt in materia de civili dominio clericis cumulato. Ideo non mirum si, correspondenter ad istud accidens quod est de adiacencia temporalium, errant profundius in alio accidente: et ita generaliter quicquid decreverint extra fidem scripture, 25 est eo suspectius de falsitate. Ideo, ut sepe dixi, foret ipsis utile tenere se in suis limitibus, ne constituant huiusmodi infundabiles novitates, quia per hoc difficultant et illibertant ecclesiam, nec inducunt utilitatem aliam.

Returning to  
Innocent's  
decree, Wyclit  
denies its  
authority.

These doctors,  
like Lot's  
daughters,  
fancy that they  
are alone in  
the world.

Quod si fingunt mirabilitatem eukaristie, dicant con- 30 sonancius quod remanet panis substancia, et omnia illa accidentia sine eius informacione; vel dicant (ut A 96<sup>c</sup> videtur | Wymundum dicere) quod non | est fraccio vel

I. No proof  
that the Holy  
Spirit assists  
them.

II. Proof that  
He does not;  
they have erred  
as to civil  
lordship; they  
may err yet  
more in this  
question.

Let them keep  
within bounds.

If they want a  
miracle in the  
Eucharist, they  
may take our  
opinion, or that  
of Guitmundus  
who makes all  
an illusion.

4. catholicis AB. 19. habeant deest BCD.

B 103<sup>d</sup> 19. *Habeant* makes no sense and is not in the other MSS. I have left it however, as there is nothing to gain by striking it out. It would seem there is a lacuna here, without which *igitur* in the next sentence can hardly be accounted for. 31. This is Wyclif's doctrine, which he states to be even more wonderful than the others; for he admits the double presence of Christ and bread. As will be seen further, though Christ is there figuratively, He is there really also. 32. Guitmundus, in his zeal against Berengarius, goes so far as to deny that the Host can be touched by mice, digested, &c., saying that it is an illusion, and that Christ's body is taken away by angels. See Migne, t. 149, p. 1448, 1449.

V. g., when  
the Sacrament  
seems to be  
burnt, angels  
put a wafer  
instead of  
Christ's body.

The Devil  
invented this  
theory to  
degrade Christ's  
body,

and bring  
difficulties on  
the Church.

But God has  
set reason and  
Scripture  
against him, and  
his own  
disciples against  
each other.  
met repugnare. Nam, ut notant quidam, antequam secte  
iste suborte sunt non errabatur sic de hostie quidditate.

Another  
invention of  
Hell: the Pope,  
temporal  
power.  
An inordinate  
pretension.  
Et cum hoc presagio duro difficultati sunt status ec-  
clesie, ut iam dicitur pape adiacere civiliter tantum de-  
Romano imperio, quantum sufficeret | multis regnis; et A 96<sup>a</sup>  
super hoc inordinate spoliat multas ecclesias. Inordinate 25  
dico, quia apostatice | vendicat ista ex universalitate sui B 104<sup>b</sup>  
domini, et tum ubi secundum istum titulum caperet  
ubi forent bona sua magis vacancia, rapit de pauperi-  
bus, quia ipsos promovet, ubi est patencior symonia.

Thence comes  
the sacrilegious  
rapine of lesser  
officials, who  
also fancy that  
their position  
requires  
temporalities.  
This heresy  
resembles that  
of the accidents;  
Christ's  
members  
require a better sic  
support than  
the accidents of  
carius, caput ecclesie et corpus Christi mysticum foret  
in officio civilis adiacencie temporalium. Sicut enim 40  
omne accidens oportet habere maioris permanencie  
substratum subiectum, sic oportet omne membrum

Christi pro adiacencia temporalium habere causaliter precedens dignius Christi officium.

R. Unde notari debet prepositis, cum quam parcis temporalibus apostoli solemniter executi sunt ecclesiasticum ministerium, et secundum formam eorum debent diminuere in temporalibus et in profectibus spiritualibus adaugere; scientes indubie quod scola antichristi et principis huius mundi est omnino contraria. In cuius signum illaqueat suos cum perplexitatibus temporalium A 97<sup>a</sup> et subtrahens | a cultu divino, sicut dicit eos ad cruciatum langwidum infinitum, sic propinat eis poculum infundabile cupiditatis temporalium insaciabiliter sitandum.

I relates should remember the example of the apostles, and think how contrary the school of Antichrist is to that: The Devil catches them by temporal things and crusades.

Questiones autem infinite sunt de quidditate eukaristie, si sit accidens sine subiecto; sed videtur michi potissime quod foret locus aut vacuum, tempus vel ewum. Nam

Space or time would be absolute accidents, if any could be so.

B 104<sup>b</sup> si aliquod accidens foret sine subiecto, potissime foret locus, quia ille videtur naturaliter presupponi ad materialem substanciam; et cum potissime subiecta- 20 retur in illa, videtur quod pro illo gradu prioritatis nature foret sine subiecto, sicud Augustinus dicit primam materiam esse informem; sed hec evidencia est vacua a ratione, cum iste mundus sensibilis presupponitur ad locum, ut eius subiectum: quod si 25 foret per impossibile alias mundus, foret alias locus; nec pars mundi posset annichilari, servato residuo in loco suo. Cum autem secundum Aristotelem, locus est ultimum corporis continentis immobile primum: sacramentum autem non est ultimum corporis conti- 30 nentis, sed pocius foret unum vacuum in ultimo corporis continentis, nec aliqua eius pars haberet locum sibi adequatum; manifeste videtur quod non sit locus, nec quelibet pars sacramenti. Si non est pars corporis, non habet ultimum corporis, quod sit locus. Et sic si 35 ad omnem punctum sui intrinsecum non foret locus, sacramentum secundum se totum nec esset locus nec

For space seems to precede, not follow, material substance.

Still place is impossible without the world, its subject. Place, according to Aristotle, is the limit of the containing body; if the sacrament is not a body, place cannot be predicated of it.

So it would be nowhere.

10. dicit deest B. 12. capit. AB; capit. CB. 16. ewanglium B; corr. A. 18. presuppositione AB. 30. in ultimi ACD; ultimum B. 31. alia BCD; corr. A.

11. These three words serve to mark very exactly the date at which this work was written. The Crusade in Flanders had not yet come to its disastrous end, but was very near it. See *Introduction*. 21. Aug. Conf. I. XII, c. VII, VIII. Migne, t. 72, p. 828, 829. 27. Arist. ed. Didot, t. II, p. 200, l. 39.

Besides, place  
is immovable;  
not so the  
Host.  
  
locatum; non enim est per eukaristiam materia informis,  
nec elementum, nec aliqua extensa substancia. Et s.  
quantum ad rationem immo | bilis, patet quod illud A 97<sup>b</sup>  
sacramentum moveri potest quadruplici motu locali, et  
multipliciter alterari. Ideo, vel omne locatum est locus, 5  
vel eukaristia non est locus.

It ought to be  
time, for time,  
without subject,  
depends neither  
on the world  
nor on any  
part of it. And  
any other  
accident has  
been proved  
impossible.

But time is not  
visible nor  
tangible; the  
Host is both.

Let us therefore  
leave this  
heresy, and  
cleave to the  
old faith.

Argument in  
its favour for  
the simple.

For 1000 years  
a terrestrial  
substance was  
offered in the  
Mass.

And this  
substance was  
made Christ's  
body.

Now we cannot  
possibly call an  
absolute  
accident a  
terrestrial  
substance.

It would be as  
well to gloss  
Genesis, and  
call Heaven  
and Earth an  
absolute  
accident.

Quod autem sit tempus vel ewum videtur ex hoc  
quod, ut dicitur, est quantitas successiva, que non est  
nisi tempus; et iterum tempus videtur non dependere  
a subiecto, quia nec a mundo nec a parte eius, cum 10  
ut fingitur, deus potest in ista hora sepe destruere  
istum | mundum, sicut potest servare totum genus sub-B 104<sup>c</sup>  
stancie destructo quoque accidente preter ewum;  
cum quo posito de possibili quod habeamus sacramentum  
altaris, relinquitur eis ponere quod sit ewum: quod est 15  
manifeste falsum, cum nec tempus nec ewum sit corpo-  
raliter visible nec palpabile, cuiusmodi est indubie  
sacramentum altaris.

Ideo reicta hac ficta heresi, quod sacramentum  
altaris sit accidens sine subiecto, teneamus antiquam 20  
fidem quod sacramentum sit naturaliter terrena substancia  
et sacramentaliter corpus Christi. Ad quod, ut  
sacerdotes et alii simplices habeant plus parate evi-  
denciam, sic arguo: Iстis mille annis et amplius fuit  
hostia oblata in missa *terrena substancia*, ut patet in 25  
secretis medie misse diei natalis domini et secretis  
serie 4<sup>e</sup> quatuor temporum in septembri. Sed eadem  
oblata fuit consecranda et facienda corpus Christi ac  
sacramentum altaris; ut patet in canone misse, immediate  
ante verba consecrationis, ubi rite orat ecclesia quod 30  
hec oblatio | "fiat corpus domini nostri Jesu Christi": A 97<sup>c</sup>  
igitur conclusio vera. Nec valet infamis ficticia qua  
primo dicitur quod hoc accidens quod est sine subiecto  
sit terrena substancia, quia coloracius diceretur, quod  
quodlibet corpus sensibile sit accidens sine subiecto, 35  
cum deus tunc plus compendiouse et miraculose con-  
stitueret mundi fabricam. Et quantum ad illud Genes.  
primo: "In principio deus creavit celum et terram"  
cum omnibus eis similibus que sonant substanciam,  
diceret hec glosa blasfema quod intelligit per ista-B 104<sup>a</sup>  
nomina accidens sine subiecto. Et eodem modo irridetur  
secunda blasfemia, qua dicitur quod hostia oblata, que

est terrena substancia, non potest expectare consecratio-  
nem, sed desinit esse in consecratione secundum  
quamlibet sui partem; quia frustra et stulte oraret  
ecclesia, ut illa substancia fieret corpus Christi. Quia  
non est supponenda in sanctis doctoribus tanta logice  
ignorancia, ut dicant vel deum vel sacerdotem facere  
aliquid corpus Christi, quod non potest esse illud corpus,  
nec pro illo tempore erit quidquam. Et hec racio  
quietaret fideles.

q. Here is written in Bohemian on the MS. marked C: Oprav-  
tho myssku (i. e. Improve upon that, monk!).

## CAPITULUM QUATUORDECIMUM.

In presence of evasions, wresting of testimonies, and bravadoes as to the strength of the opposite arguments, Wyclif reasons thus:

Sed ulterius, quia maior pars sociorum claudicat in dicendo quid sit sacramentum altaris, nec adducunt aliquod sit accidentis de illis que sunt per se nota fidelibus, nunc de dubitatione de rebus citra fidem assertis, et nunc de aliis sinistre conceptis; glorianturque in argumentis, quod volunt unicuique satisfacere pro sua sentencia: ideo, ut materia fidei sit nocior, arguo sic pro parte veritatis A 97<sup>1</sup> fidei. Omne quod est panis sacramentalis post eius consecrationem fuit ille panis ante consecrationem; sed solum corpus Christi est ille panis sacramentalis post eius consecrationem: igitur idem corpus Christi fuit ille panis ante eius consecrationem. Consequens impro- 15 habitur et consequentia supponitur; pro noticia vero quid nominis suppono, quod per panem sacramentalem intelligatur illud sensibile quod sacerdos post consecrationem tractat in manibus et videtur a fidelibus oculo corporali. Sic enim vocatur hoc sacramentum ab ecclesia 20 et a sanctis doctoribus panis sanctus. Secundo, suppono B 165<sup>2</sup> quod omnis huiusmodi panis sacramentalis habuit esse panis eciam temporaliter prius quam ille panis fuit consecratus; istud conceditur concorditer, tam ab illis qui concedunt panem illum esse accidentis sine subiecto, 25 quam ecclesia ab illis qui concedunt panem illum esse terrenam substanciam. Nam eque fuit panis ante consecrationem sui sicut post. Ideo dicit Ambrosius in De sacramentis, "et ponitur in De consecracione 2<sup>a</sup>, capitulo,

By 'sacramental bread' we mean that which the priest is seen to hold after the consecration. And this had certainly the nature of bread before consecration, as much as after.

So the same "hoc" which is after, was natural bread before.

1. capitulum *deest omnes* MSS. 6. non B, corr. A. 7. de rebus *deest omnes* MSS.; *ib.* asseritis BCD. 10. sit *deest* D. 12-14. sed — *consecrationem deest* BCD. 19. oculo *deest* B. 25, 26. accidentis — *esse deest* BCD. 29. de *consecratio*nē distinctione CD.

26. *Ecclesia*, perhaps a mistake for *eciam*. As it stands, it has no sense. 28. Deer. Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars. Dist. II, c. 55.

*Panis est in altari:* "Quod," inquit, "erat panis ante consecrationem iam corpus Christi est post consecrationem"; et loquitur de substancia panis indubie. Et prima pars antecedentis probatur tripliciter. Primo sic:

Ambrose says:  
what was bread  
before, is  
Christ's body  
after.

5 Solum "hoc", demonstrando essenciam illius sacramenti, est panis sacramentalis, ut hic supponitur; et hoc idem fuit ille panis ante dictam consecrationem; igitur maior vera.

B. Similiter, iuxta opinantes contrarie, eadem res in numero posset una vice esse unica res et alia vice res 10 numero quecunque differentes in specie, non ut partes eius A 98<sup>a</sup> quantitative aut qualitative, sed sicut complete sint singule earundem; sed hoc est impossibile: igitur impossibile est talem plurificationem esse. Similiter, si 15 hoc sacramentum per consecrationem fit et sic corpus Christi, tunc in corpore Christi subiectatur quodlibet istorum accidencium, quia in hoc sacramento et ipsum est corpus Christi: et per consequens nullum istorum accidencium est sine subiecto, quia non est sine corpore 20 Christi quod subiectat eorum singulum, cum quodlibet eorum sit in corpore Christi, non ut pars eius, sed ut forma sibi accidentalis; cum idem corpus Christi potest remanere idem sacramentum, quoecunque tali accidente remisso vel perduto. Et patet maior argumenti principialis; minor autem secundum exposiciones communes B 105<sup>b</sup> duo implicat, scilicet quod corpus Christi sit ille panis post consecrationem et quod nichil aliud quam corpus Christi sit ille panis post consecrationem. Sed primam partem concedit maior pars doctorum, non solum quia 30 timent communitatem de inpetizione heresis, propter quam forent rationabiliter destruendi, verum quia fides scripture cum sanctis doctoribus confirmat illud concorditer; nam Veritas dicit panem esse corpus suum; beatus Ignatius dicit sacramentum esse corpus Christi, 35 ut recitat Lincolniensis super ecclesiastica ierarchia capitulo 30. Et idem dicit Augustinus, epistola 14 ad Bonifacium, et alii sancti concorditer. Sed et socii mei multiplicant ad hoc testimonia, quod concedunt quo C. ad secundam partem exclusive. Videlur quod sequitur:

These accidents, if Christ's body is present, are not without a subject.

If so, the body of Christ, being the substance to which the accidents of bread belong, is bread.

All doctors admit that Christ's body is the Sacramental bread.

12. sit ACD. 15. sic *pro* sit AB. 16. iam *pro* in CD. 27, 28. et — consecrationem *deest* BCD. 32. confirming AB.

34. Ignatius, t. 5, p. 600, of Migne (*series graeca*). 37. Aug. Ep. ad Bonifacium, Migne, t. 33, p. 364.

It seems to follow that it is nothing else, distinctorum in genere singulum et per consequens panis sacramentalis, cum sit corpus Christi, videtur quod non sit aliquid aliud. Similiter si aliud quam A 98<sup>b</sup> corpus Christi sit ille panis sacramentalis, potissimum foret natura eiusdem panis; sed ipsa est corpus Christi, sicut et ille panis: igitur ipsum non est aliud quam corpus Christi. Similiter tunc esset possibile idem corpus in numero esse univoce duo corpora non communicancia, et per consequens recipere secundum illa 10 predicaciones quantumcumque contrarias: quod negant doctores de sacramento altaris, ut autor De divinis officiis negat quod sacramentum est duo corpora, sed unum tantum. Alii autem negant quod est duo panes, sed unus tantum: et per idem corpus Christi foret 15 infiniti panes quantumcumque differentes, et singulus eorum, et tamen apostolus dicit 1<sup>a</sup> Cor. 10: "Unus I. Cor. X, 17 panis et unus corpus multi sumus."

These reasons seem to be against my position.

But I say that Christ's body is present in figure:

whereas my adversaries say that it is present in substance.

They deny that bread can figure Christ's body, but how can an accident?

According to Scripture, what Christ pointed to *hoc* was Christ's body: now, Christ pointed to natural bread.

33, nam *pro* non *omnes* MSS.

Sed replicatur per hoc quod multe istarum rationum B 105<sup>c</sup> videntur eque procedere contra fidem quam ego teneo; 20 D. meum igitur est respondere ad illa. Sed nimis leviter replicatur; nam ego pono equivocationem secundum quam solum possunt solvi raciones predice. Et illam equivocationem abhorrent adversarii tanquam hereticam, ut ego dico quod panis ille est corpus Christi, non 25 ydemptice, secundum suam substanciam vel naturam, sed tropice secundum excellenciam cuiusdam figure sacramentalis. Adversarii autem dicunt quod sacramentum istud est in natura sua corpus Christi, subducta figura. Ideo cum non contentantur de isto et responsione 30 sequenti, illis remanet alia solucio declarativa, quomodo illud abiectum accidens sit tam venerabile corpus A 98<sup>c</sup>

Christi, non panis triticeus, vel corpus Christi per verba sacramentalia superfusa; quia talem panem Christus accepit in manibus et de illo dixit: "hoc est corpus 35 meum", ut dicit Ambrosius, et nunquam de monstruoso accidente quod singitur; illum autem panem dicit scriptura non esse naturaliter vel substancialiter, sed sacramentaliter corpus Christi.

Item nichil est singendum in articulis fidei sine auctoritate scripture; sed articulus fidei est quod demonstratum a Christo in tali propositione sacramentali:

"Hoc est corpus meum," sit corpus Christi; igitur, non est singendum in tali propositione sacramentali aliquid demonstratum, nisi ex auctoritate scripture. Sed non patet ex auctoritate scripture quod demon-  
stratum sit accidens sine subiecto, et sic corpus Christi:  
igitur non est ponendum in hoc articulo fidei; maior  
patet ex hoc, quod aliter posset singi nova fides totaliter  
B 105<sup>a</sup> et antiqua penitus aboleri; et minor | patet ex hoc  
quod Christus sic dicit ad edificationem fidei ecclesie;  
10 et concordant doctores, tam veteres quam novelli.

Ulterius patet negativa assumpta ex hoc, quod nullibi An accident is  
in scriptura docetur, nec testantur sancti doctores, not what is  
quod demonstratur pronomine accidens sine subiecto. pointed to, but  
the underlying substance.

E. Ex quo videtur quod non est intencionis fidei dicere  
15 quod illud sacramentum sit accidens sine subiecto. Si  
enim illud sacramentum, virtute verborum sacramen-  
talium, sit factum corpus Christi, plus verisimile foret,  
quod illud pro nomine demonstretur. Et inconveniens  
videtur quod sacerdos faciat accidens huiusmodi deum  
20 suum, quia non posset hoc nisi haberet auctoritatem  
a Christo; et per consequens ista auctoritas innotescenda  
est ecclesie, ne blasphemet. Sieut igitur singitur tale ac-  
cidens esse sine subiecto, sic singitur quod Christus  
dedit potestatem faciendi tale accidens corpus suum; et  
25 hoc sine fundamento. Non enim sonat in pietatem vel  
religionem, quod tale accidens sit corpus Christi, quia  
ut patet in materia De incarnatione, ipsum corpus est  
Christus, et sic deus: aliter enim Christus non iacuisset  
in sepulchro, nec descendisset ad inferos, ymo ut loquar  
30 populo, aliter nulla persona videret deum suum, nec  
ipsum manducaret in eukaristia; magnum igitur testi-  
monium fidelis requireret antequam crederet tam abiec-  
tam rem esse deum, ne sit infideli deterior, cum  
ydolatre plus honorificant deos suos. Et probabiliter  
35 creditur quod Christus non potuit esse alia natura  
quam racionalis, que sit particeps sue beatitudinis,

B 106<sup>a</sup> quia aliter deus | foret imperfeccior homine. Omnes  
igitur fideles insurgerent potencia et virtute concorditer in  
quoscunque qui facerent tale dedecus corpori Jesu Christi.

F. 40 Sed obicitur contra me idem inconveniens; nam se- Retort: I am as-  
cundum me panis inanimatus imperfeccior serpente fit impious, saying  
that bread is Christ's body:

III. assertio A. 33. deum suum CD. 34. ydolatrie D.

27. Wyclif. *De Benedicta Incarnatione*, c. III and IV especially.

<sup>a</sup> God more imperfect than a plant.  
Answer: it is Christ only in sign, as a painting.

Bread, in its nature less perfect, is as a sacrament infinitely more so than a plant.  
It is God sacramentally. Thus the priest does not produce Christ's natural, but His sacramental esse.

The expressions used by Saints should be understood of the miraculous sacramental esse produced.

As for the reasons to the contrary:  
1<sup>st</sup> It does not follow that on breaking or burning the Host, Christ's body is thus treated; so even if the priest made the bread, he would not make Christ's body.

sacramentaliter corpus Christi et per consequens sacerdos celebrando facit sibi deum abieciorem plantam: quod foret inconveniens | nisi pictor fingeret ymaginem A 99<sup>a</sup> quam fabricat esse deum. Hic dicitur, quod adversarii multipliciter exuberant in inconvenientiis; quia ego dico quod panis infinitum perfecior secundum suam naturam quam venenum sit illud sacramentum et quodammodo corpus Christi. Ipsi autem dicunt quod res infinitum imperfeccior quam venenum sit illud sacramentum, et sic ydemptice corpus Christi, cum sit corpus Christi in natura, ut inquiunt. Conceditur ergo quod panis consecratus est in natura sua imperfeccior planta, et tamen est infinitum perfecius sacramentaliter quam planta, cum sit corpus Christi taliter: et sic facere sibi deum abieciorem planta. Unde difficultas communis est utrum sacerdos celebrans facit corpus Christi; et videtur michi quod non, sed facit substanciam quam consecrat esse quodammodo corpus Christi et sanguinem. Sed quia hoc sit miraculose per verba domini, et sacerdos solum ministratorie concurrevit, ideo dicitur solum confidere. Sunt tamen quedam dicta sanctorum et raciones sophistice, que videntur concludere corpus Christi fieri per verba sacramentalia. | B 106<sup>b</sup>

Sed quantum ad dicta sanctorum, dicitur quod intelligunt 25 G. substanciam consecratam secundum rationem qua ipsa est corpus Christi, esse corpus Christi et confici a sacerdote, non secundum rationem qua absolute est corpus Christi, cum ipsum sit perpetuum et iterum infactibile; sed factum cadit super veritate miraculi, 30 scilicet quod panis sanctificatus est | corpus Christi; A 99<sup>b</sup> hoc enim potest dici sacerdotem facere, sicut absolvit, dat spiritum sanctum et facit alia officia spiritualia sacerdotis. Raciones autem sunt multe; ut quidam replicant, si sacerdos facit hoc sacramentum, et hoc sacramentum est corpus Christi, tunc ipse facit corpus Christi. Et pro antecedente ponitur quod sacerdos celebrans prius fecerit panem quem conficit et post det sibi esse sacramentale. Sed ad istud dicitur quod sicut non sequitur: sacerdos videt oculo corporali hanc 40 hostiam consecratam, frangit ipsam tractando manibus

6. nam deest BCD. 10. sic ydemptice *pro* quodammodo C; corr. A; sic non ydemptice B; sic sacramentaliter D. 22. deficere B. 27. con-  
ficietur B. 31. Christi deest CD.

et comburit, igitur sic alterat corpus Christi; ita non sequitur in proposito, licet sacerdos faciat hoc sacramentum faccione duplii, et ipsum est ad sensum equivocum corpus Christi, quod faciat propterea corpus Christi. Quando enim equivocatur in medio termino, deficit paralogismus.

H. Sed secundo obicitur per hoc quod est dare faccionem et transmutacionem realem quod Christus et sacerdos conficiunt in complectione istius sacramenti,

10 Sed non est singendus terminus ad quem, nisi fuerit corpus Christi: igitur corpus Christi pertinenter terminat istam faccionem mirabilem; quod non foret nisi quodammodo ipsum fieret. Nam quod ipsum sacramentum

B 10<sup>5</sup> est corpus Christi | vel nichil est vel respectus. Hic

15 dicitur quod transsubstanciacio dicitur equivoce mutacio, in comparacione ad mutationes alias naturales. Unde conceditur quod deus et sacerdos suus conficiunt hoc sacramentum et faciunt ipsum esse corpus Christi non ydemptice, | sed tropice; sed non faciunt ipsum corpus,

20 et faccio terminatur ad hoc esse corpus Christi, quod est respectivum et valde salubre fidelibus.

Sed tertio obicitur per hoc quod corpus Christi habet in sacramento esse tam reale, quod ipsum posset sic ibi esse cum hoc quod non esset alibi, quod non

25 foret nisi ibi generaretur. Sic enim dicit apostolus: "In Christo Jesu ego vos genui"; corpus ergo Christi quod habet ibi esse tale spirituale sine hoc quod descendat e celo ad illum locum, oportet ibi fieri. Hie dicitur quod assumptum est impossibile; sicut enim

30 similitudo non est sine illo cuius est similitudo; sic esse sacramentale, quod habet corpus Christi in hostia,

non potest esse sine esse dimensionali quod habet in

I. Cor. I. celo. Et quantum ad dictum apostoli II<sup>a</sup> Cor. IV, patet

IV, 15 quod est necessarium, cum apostolus iniecit in eis semen

35 verbi dei et plantavit eos in orto ecclesie, sed deus illapsus per graciam incrementum dedit; et sic habuerunt

per apostolum quoddam esse spirituale in quo sunt geniti per graciam viri qui est sponsus ecclesie: non

tamen intelligi debet gracia, forma que posset per se

40 esse sine subiecto, cum sit, creaturam rationalem esse gratam deo, non sicut Pelagius grosse conceperat quod

B 10<sup>6</sup> homo potest salvari sine creata gracia informante. |

<sup>2<sup>nd</sup></sup> Nor., because God and the priest work together in the Sacrament, is Christ's body made. Transubstantiation is only improperly called a change. The new *esse* is but a new relation.

<sup>3<sup>rd</sup></sup> We cannot suppose that the reality of Christ's *esse* is such that it nowhere else. He would be in the Sacrament, for then He would be there, not as He is in the souls of His faithful — i. e. spiritually — but in all His dimensions:

immovable as  
in Heaven,

living with  
animated life,  
acting in all  
things like man,  
&c., which is  
against  
authority and  
experience.

If Christ were  
present by  
identity, the  
Host would be  
animated; for  
Christ lives.  
But the Host  
putrefies, the  
wine becomes  
vinegar; which  
His glorified  
body could not  
do.

Nominalist  
theory:  
Universals  
having no actual

Nec oportet corpus Christi descendere de celo usque ad locum hostie; quia, ut patet ex dictis alibi, hereticum foret pertinaciter concedere, quod impossibile sit | ali- A 99<sup>a</sup> quid esse alicubi, ubi prius non fuit, nisi vel moveatur illuc, vel aliud convertatur in ipsum: corpus igitur Christi 5 quiescit in celo, nec movetur localiter nec alteratur, et multo evidencius non generatur propter hoc, quod noviter habet esse sacramentale in hostia consecrata. Item, si K. L. sacramentum altaris sit corpus Christi ydemptice vel aliter quam figurative, tunc ipsum vivit vita animali, et 10 posset ex se moveri et agere sicut homo; consequens contra autorem De divinis officiis et contra experimentum; quia quantumcunque hostia pungitur, comburitur vel inhonorifice tractatur, non plus movet se quam panis aliis. Et cum corpus Christi mortale vivificatum per 15 animam aufugit hostes; ut patet in conversacione Christi, multo magis corpus Christi, tam gloriose vivificatum, mala huiusmodi declinaret. Non enim est ad meritum Christi vel sue ecclesie quod taliter paciatur.

Quod autem illa hostia vivat videtur, si sit ydemptice 20 corpus Christi; quia corpus Christi non est ibi exanime, cum gracia concomitancie multiplicantur omnia accidencia absoluta; igitur multo evidencius vita sua. Non igitur est hoc sacramentum corpus Christi mortuum, cum habet ad omnem eius punctum animam beatum 25 actuarem; illud autem foret nimis blasphemum, quia dyabolus non tantum cecavit ecclesiam, quin vident experimento certissimo quod hostia consecrata, | ex B 107<sup>b</sup> naturali inclinacione dimissa, sit fetida et putrescens; A 100<sup>c</sup> quod non potest competere corpori domini sic dotato; 30 quia impossibile fuit corpus domini mortuum putrescere in sepulchro: ut patet Act. II<sup>d</sup> et psalmo XV. "Non dabis sanctum tuum videre corrupcionem." Et idem M. potest esse de sacramento calicis; potest enim servari in vase vitro, quoisque versum sit in acetum et venenum, 35 quod repugnat virtuti regitive sanguinis Jesu Christi.

Nec valet ficticia de actu exercito et signato. Ponunt enim doctores signorum, quod non est dare universalia

5. igitur deest B. 26. minus AB. 27. quando B. 36. sanguis C.

3. The impossibility of a thing being where it was not before, unless either brought there, or changed (which Wyclif had to deny), is the great argument for Transubstantiation. See Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.* qu. 75. art. II.

ex parte rei; ideo pro glozandis dictis philosophorum invenerunt hos terminos: ut quando philosophi dicunt, quod universalia sunt perpetua, ubique et semper, "hoc est verum" inquiunt, "non *in actu exercito*, sed *in actu signato*"; ut universalia, cum solum sunt termini vel conceptus quos non facimus, non habent in naturis suis huiusmodi passiones sed *in actu signato*, hoc est signata per talia universalia sic se habent: ut patet de substancia, quantitate et multis aliis signatis per terminos universales, sic inquiunt: "Panis sacramentalis non est *in actu exercito* corpus Christi, cum sit pure accidens longe plus distans in natura a corpore Christi, quam panis materialis; sed est corpus Christi *in actu signato*, hoc est, sacramentaliter signat corpus Christi."

<sup>15</sup> Sed contra istud instatur, primo, per hoc, quod sacramentum foret solum signum vel figura corporis Christi; ut dicit Berengarius quod sic loquentes ponunt hereticam: Item, cum illud esse quo sacramentum <sup>A 100<sup>b</sup></sup> est | corpus Christi, non sit aliter ibi quam in signo, <sup>B 107<sup>b</sup></sup> magnum itaque foret inconveniens quod hec fides non N. sit detecta ecclesie. Item per idem quocunque signatum quod deus instituit signari per signum vel terminum, communicaret vere nomen suum illi signo et per consequens sicut quilibet impostor potest facere signum, <sup>25</sup> signans sibi deum omnipotentem, qui creavit mundum ex nichilo, qui summe gubernat ecclesiam quam redemit et qui finaliter iudicabit seculum tanquam summus iudex. Et Bar. VI. 11 ut breviter dicatur, Jeremias nunquam copiosius replicavit et seq. contra ydolatras Egypcios (de quo Baruch VI), quin <sup>30</sup> copiosius secuntur inconveniencia contra istos ydolatras.

Ideo dicunt alii econtra, quod substancia panis est corpus Christi, ut dicunt sancti doctores et leges ecclesie, ad illum sensum exercitum; hoc est, transsubstanciatur in corpus Christi; sed non est corpus Christi intelligendo signa *in actu signato*, quia ille sunt omnino desperate substancie, que non possunt ydemptificari. Contra illud replicatur primo, quod substancia panis per adversarios desinit esse pro instanti transsubstanciacionis, nec ante est corpus Christi, nec per idem iuxta sua principia potest esse; quia illum panem esse corpus Christi non potest tempore mensurari. Item, si panis sacramentalis non potest esse corpus Christi, et totus

4. non deest BCD; ib. scilicet *pro* sed BCD; corr. A. 5. tibi D.  
S. temporalia B. 23. nomine AB. 35. fuit AB.

being, except  
*in actu signato*  
in the mind  
that thinks  
them, the Host  
is not Christ's  
body in *actu exercito*, but  
*signato*; i. e.  
it only signifies  
Christ's body.

Theory refuted:  
1<sup>st</sup> because the  
sacrament  
would be only  
a figure of  
Christ;  
2<sup>nd</sup> because we  
have no  
warrant of its  
truth;  
3<sup>rd</sup> because if  
signs have so  
much force,  
any impostor  
could say he  
was God — in  
*actu signato*.  
This leads to  
idolatry.

Some say that  
the substance  
of bread is  
Christ's body  
*in actu exercito*.

But how can  
that be, if it  
ceases to exist  
in the moment  
of consecration,  
as they say it  
does?  
And if it still  
exists, is not  
idolatry  
committed?

populus iuxta doctrinam scripture, doctorum et legum ecclesie adorat illum panem tanquam corpus Christi, videtur quod committit ydolatriam adorando, et ille <sup>A 100<sup>e</sup></sup> error fuisse in ecclesia nimis diu a sanctis doctoribus

The likeness of et eius legibus toleratus. Item, illa similitudo | panis B 107<sup>e</sup>  
bread that que remanet post consecrationem est plena similitudo O.  
remains after

the panis materialis, et propterea vere dicitur esse panis;  
consecration is rightly called sed plus pertinens foret vocare ipsum corpus Christi,  
bread; but why ut credit ecclesia, propter signaciam et figuram, quam  
not Christ's body, rather than the bread panem illum qui secundum se totum desiit; et non est 10  
compossibile sacramento; igitur, panis sacramentalis  
that is no longer: And if bread, it would qui remanet, foret pocius corpus Christi; videtur enim  
be material, and yet there is no matter, they est panis propter dictam similitudinem, sic  
say. enim vocantur condiciones materiales et forme mate- 15  
riales, licet nec sint materia, nec in illa materia sub-  
iectata. Conformiter igitur diceretur panis sacramen-  
talnis remanens panis materialis, atque panis substancia.

Another theory: Propter ista dicit tercia responsio, quod nec panis  
the likeness of qui prefuit nec similitudo panis que remanet, est vere 20  
the bread that remains has the aut realiter corpus Christi, sed habet ipsum corpus  
body of Christ in all its points, virtute verborum sacramentalium ad quemlibet eius  
but is not the punctum. Contra istud sepe invectum est, primo quia  
body of Christ. hierarchia tocius ecclesie, dominus noster Jesus Christus  
But they admit that the words, dicit de pane materiali: hoc est corpus meum; et demon- 25  
Hoc est &c. made what they mean. stratur panis ille, ut dicunt eciam adversantes, ponentes

Are they false? then the whole dogma must go. quod illa proposicio est factiva et conversiva: sed  
nimis expectant eius verificacionem, cum dicunt quod  
in fine, primo cum non fuerit, erit vera. Si igitur hoc  
principium Christi sit fundamentum ad dicendum quod 30  
corpus Christi est | ibidem, si hoc principium sit falsum, A 100<sup>d</sup>  
patet quod deficit fundamentum ponendi corpus Christi

Are they true? then Christ is virtually in the Host. esse ad aliquem punctum hostie consecrate. Quia autem  
hoc principium est verum, patet quod corpus Christi  
est virtualiter ad quemlibet eius | punctum, et sacra- B 107<sup>d</sup>  
mentaliter quelibet pars eiusdem hostie.

The same body cannot be multiplied in several places: which this theory would require. Item, ut superius deductum est, impossibile est idem P.  
Augustine quoted. corpus in numero dimensionaliter pro eodem instanti  
multiplicari per loca distanca; sed hoc oportet iuxta  
istam responsionem; igitur responsio falsa. Et idem 40  
confirmatur per Augustinum epistola 2<sup>a</sup> ad Volusianum:

18. substancialis B. 27. conversativa B.

41. Aug. Ad Volusianum, t. 33, p. 517, of Migne.

"Corpora," inquit, "sunt, quorum nullum potest esse ubique totum, quin ut per innumerabiles partes aliquam alibi habeat necesse est; et quantumcunque sit corpus, seu quantulumcunque corpusculum loci occupat spaciū, eundemque locum sic impletat ut in nulla eius parte sit totum." Ista autem via dicit quod substantia corporis Christi, sicut est secundum se totam in qualibet parte loci hostie consecratae, sic potest esse per situm tocius mundi, quod inmediate repugnat verbis et sentencie beati Augustini. Item, si corpus Christi sit substancialiter ad quemlibet punctum sacramenti, tunc est eque magnum, ubicumque fuerit, cum non poterit esse alicubi, non quantum. Unde videtur sanctum Thomam dicere in De veritate theologie libro 6º capitulo 14. "Inter alia," inquit, „miracula huius sacramenti primum est quod est idem corpus Christi in tanta quantitate, sicut fuit in cruce, et sicut iam est in celo." Oppositum videtur Augustinus expresse dicere.

A 101<sup>a</sup> Unde epistola 39 ad Dardanum | in qua, quia tractat de sacramento altaris, memoraretur de corpore Christi in illo, et cum, distingwens inter modum essendi dei ubique et modum essendi mundi mole magni, notat quomodo quantitas et qualitas in condicionibus distinguuntur; „cum," inquit, „sit corpus aliqua substancia, quantitas eius | est in magnitudine molis eius; sanitas vero eius cum sit ubique per ipsum, non quantitas, sed qualitas eius est; non" inquit, "potuit obtinere quantitas corporis quod potuit qualitas. Nam ita, distantibus partibus, que simul esse non possunt, quoniam sua queque spacia locorum tenent, maiores maiora. et minores minora, non potuit esse in singulis quibusque partibus tota vel tanta, quanta per totum." Illud

21, 22. dei — essendi deest D.  
Christi B.

23. sic pro sit Cl; ib. corpus

This theory contradicts his words.

And if it be true, Christ is present with His whole size at every point of the Host; as St. Thomas says; seeming flatly to contradict Augustine.

Augustine says: "Quantity is in size; quality is in the being itself; so quantity cannot be all in one part, like quality."

14. No work of St. Thomas bears that name at present. The nearest approach to this quotation that I have been able to find is the following passage: "*Credit . . . Ecclesia . . . sub illa parva hostia contineri et esse veraciter totum corpus Christi ita magnum et ita perfectum sicut fuit in cruce*" (Opusc. LII. *De Sacramento Eucharistie*, c. III). We must always bear in mind that St. Thomas, with the whole School, denies that quantity gives *actual extension*, but only *tends* towards doing so. Thus, by a miracle, Christ is without dimensions in the Host, and yet is as great as in Heaven. 24. Aug. Ad Dardanum, Migne, t. 33, p. 836.

igitur quod iste sanctus dixit non posse esse, fingimus esse in hostia.

Wyclif's theory  
agrees with  
Augustine's.

Ideo, sicut dixi superius, corpus Christi multiplicatur Q. per situm hostie non substancialiter sed sacramentaliter, nec alteratur; non putrescit, non comburitur, licet sacramentum illud quod est sacramentaliter ipsum taliter alteratur.

Glosses of  
ignorant men  
who except the  
case of a  
miracle in  
Augustine's  
words. With an  
adverb they  
destroy the  
value of all  
authority.

Sed glozatores ignari nimis seminant hereses in ista materia; ut dicta Augustini dicunt debere intelligi secundum rationem nature et non secundum rationem miraculi; ut quando crebro dicit, quod accidentis non potest esse sine subiecto, et hic quod corpus Christi non potest esse sine adequacione eius cum loco: "Hoc", inquit, "debet intelligi quod non potest *naturaliter* ita esse". Et sic modicum valeret fundacio sententie ex testimonio auctoritatis, cum potest tolli per unum ad 15 adverbium. Hoc primo tollit evidencias quascunque

But this can be done on the other side too; we can say 1<sup>st</sup> that the accidents are without a subject that subjects them merely naturally; Christ's mystic presence implying a miracle.

13. potest deest D. 17. tolli C. 29. dicit AB. 35. dñe C;  
ib. videntur CD. 40. 41. debet -- fieri deest D.

captas a testimonio sanctorum. Pro quo notandum quod in duobus stat nostra variatio in ista materia: primo in propositione affirmativa, qua dicitur quod accidentis est sine subiecto; secundo, in propositione negativa, qua dicitur quod non remanet substancia panis aut vini post consecrationem. Per duo igitur adverbia tollo collaracius ambo iusta, et scilicet *pure naturaliter*; et B. 108<sup>b</sup> si mille testimonia sunt adducta, ut quecumque sonuerunt, quod accidentis sit sine subiecto, hoc potest sane intelligi, quod ipsum accidentis sit sine subiecto suo *pure naturaliter subiectante*; quamvis enim substancia panis sacramentalis subiectat eadem accidentia que prius, hoc tamen fit miraculose, cum simul sit substancia panis, cuius quidditas quo ad considerationem fidelium est sopita, et cum hoc modo equivoco sit corpus Christi: in quo consideracio fidelium est collecta.

And 2<sup>nd</sup> that the substance of bread does not remain in a purely natural way; for it is miraculously Christ's sacramental body.

Et quantum ad propositiones quascunque negativas R. secunde sententie que videtur dicere quod substancia panis post consecrationem non remanet, omnes possunt intelligi quod non remanet *pure naturaliter*, cum panis valde miraculose remanet sacramentaliter corpus Christi. Nec dicetur racio quare Augustinus, dicens quod hec non possunt fieri, debet intelligi quod hec non possunt fieri naturaliter, quin per idem homines minores auc-

13. potest deest D. 17. tolli C. 29. dicit AB. 35. dñe C;  
ib. videntur CD. 40. 41. debet -- fieri deest D.

toritatis et inevidencius, dicentes quod panis non remanet,  
debent intelligi quod ipse non remanet pure naturaliter.

A 101<sup>a</sup> Unde videtur glosam impositam Augustino esse | nimis  
superficialem. Primo, quia, si accidens potest esse  
5 sine subiecto, potest esse naturaliter sine subiecto; sed  
antecedens, ut inquit, est absolute necessarium: ideo  
relinquitur quod glosa sit simpliciter impossibilis; argu-  
mentum videtur ex hoc quod, sicut deus potuit ordi-  
nasse formas illas fuisse generaliter sine substancia  
10 materiali, sic potest adhuc compendiosius ordinare.

Sed tunc fuisset accidens naturaliter sine subiecto. Item,  
eo ipso quo deus dat forme potentiam, potest ipsa  
forma naturaliter denominari ab illa potentia. Sed deus  
B 108<sup>b</sup> dat qualitati | et quantitati sacramentali potentiam es-

15 sendi sine subiecto, agendi et paciendi in toto confor-  
miter ac si esset subiectata; igitur post datam potentiam  
hec potest facere naturaliter, aliter enim nulla creatura  
posset post supernaturalem creacionem aliqualiter natura-  
liter se habere. Sicut igitur hostia consecrata manet  
20 per mensem naturaliter sine subiecto, tam agens quam  
paciens, sic potest manere. Licet enim modus super-  
naturalis conservacionis concurredit cum modo naturali  
in qualibet creatura, tamen ille non impedit quin modus  
naturalis datus concurrens denominet subiectum, tam  
25 naturaliter quam supernaturaliter, taliter se habere; ut,  
sicut naturaliter agit et patitur, sic naturaliter est; et  
cum hoc miraculose est: ideo, melius fuisset glose gemi-  
nare adverbia, dicendo quod accidens non potest esse  
S. pure naturaliter sine subiecto. Item non est fingendum  
30 aliquid miraculum sine ratione et utilitate ecclesie:

A 101<sup>c</sup> sed nec foret | racio nec utilitas ecclesie quod in sacra-  
mento sit accidens sine subiecto; igitur conclusio.  
Fingendum dico, quia nec sensus, nec racio, nec scrip-  
tura docet quod ibi sit miraculum; sed, sicut singuntur  
35 potestates clavium et spirituale suffragium, sic et illud  
miraculum. Et que, rogo, racio vel utilitas foret ecclesie  
quod substancia panis et materia prima secundum se  
totam desinat, ubi eque vel utilius posset fieri iuvamen  
ecclesie, tota substancia remanente. Nam eque posset  
40 corpus Christi esse in hostia, eque dari gratia et eque  
glozari possent testimonia servata substancia, sicut modo;

B 108<sup>d</sup> et super hoc per substraccionem essencie materialis |

To exist without a subject is to exist naturally without one.  
If those forms could possibly exist without matter, that would be in their nature.

And this power being in their nature, is rightly called natural.

For the supernatural order must be founded on the natural.

So the Gloss ought at least to have added a second adverb: merely. This would be a useless and therefore an inadmissible miracle.

What use is there in inventing a disappearance of the substance when, keeping the substance, you do just as well?

19. Sic B. 40. esse dicit B. 33. per deest D.

ad tantum deterioraretur mundi machina et infructuosis  
 ac fictis difficultatibus oneraretur ecclesia. Posset enim  
 glozari Innocencius tercius ut supra et concordari cum  
 declaracione subtili Romane ecclesie sub Nicolao II<sup>o</sup>,  
 ubi docetur concorditer ad scripturam et sanctos doc-  
 tores quod panis et vinum ante consecrationem sunt  
 post consecrationem non solum sacramentum, sicut  
 dixit Berengarius, sed corpus Christi et sanguis; et  
 cum hoc transsubstanciantur in illa, quia convertuntur  
 et fiunt, ymo sunt, ut dicit Ambrosius, corpus Christi 10  
 et sanguis. Et hinc, nec panis nec vinum remanet post  
 consecrationem pure naturaliter, sed sunt corpora nobis-  
 liora; sic quod, suspensa tota consideracione fidelium  
 de quidditate sua, in consideracionem corporis et san-  
 guinis suspendantur: et ita rite suscepta sine mendacio <sup>A 102\*</sup>  
 habent in se vitam spiritualem; sicut medicina in se  
 virtualiter continet sanitatem. Utrum autem papa Inno-  
 cencius tercius sic intellexerit, vel solum contrarium  
 erroneum, non contendo; sed licet utrumque sit satis  
 possibile, pium tamen est, nisi patens evidencia doceat 20  
 contrarium, supponere primam partem. Glosatores  
 autem inscii nimis perturbarunt ecclesiam in hac fide.

I do not maintain that that was the real meaning of Pope Innocent; but I piously prefer supposing that it was.

## CAPITULUM QUINDECIMUM.

Inter 4<sup>or</sup> evangelistas qui ingeminant contra me in materia de eukaristia, unus laboriose nititur deducere sentenciam suam ascendendo a tempore instanti usque ad Christum, quod mansit continue fides ecclesie, sacramentum altaris esse accidens vel agregacionem acci-

B 109<sup>a</sup> dencium | sine subiecto. Sed in tribus deficit. Primo,

in hoc quod extraneat in genologia. Non enim capit omnes testes suos pro conclusione illa, sed nunc pro una sentencia et nunc pro alia. In cuius signum ipse met fluctuat in sentencia quam probaret. Secundo capit in duodena sua testes valde suspectos fidelibus: ut patet inferius, et oportet ipsem negare illos in materia ista; et dicere quod tantum acceptat eos quantum con-

i 15 cordant cum sua sentencia et in alio negare eos, foret nimis suspecta ficticia. Et tertio, deficit in hoc quod non deducit genologiam suam ad deum inclusive, sed sicut deficit in generacione "qui fuit", sic deficit in ultimo verbo "qui fuit dei". Sicut enim Christus deus

A 102<sup>b</sup> 20 noster fuit yerarch tocius ecclesie, in cuius virtute depen | dent omnia testimonia in ista materia vel alia adducendum, sic virtute istorum verborum, "Hoc est corpus meum", dependet tota fides que de eukaristia catholice est credenda. Ad discuciendum igitur istud

25 verbum "qui fuit dei", primo intenderet.

Sunt autem 23 testimonia ad confirmandum predictam sentenciam: primum est multitudinis doctorum, qui sunt capita sectarum: sed quia discordant in se 30 ideo sub uno involuero quo ad istam materiam repel- B. luntur. Ulterius adducuntur Lynconiensis. Petrus Lum bardus et Petrus Comestor, qui videntur sentenciare

One of my  
adversaries has  
attempted a  
genealogy of  
testimonies  
against me,  
from now to  
Christ.

Three defects:

a) He takes some witnesses that are for, and some that are against him.  
b) He accepts the testimony of very suspicious witnesses.

c) He does not go to the beginning, i. e. dares not quote the "Hoc est corpus meum."

Examination of the 23 witnesses in number.

I. The Chiefs of sects objected to because they do not agree.

II. Grossly contradicts himself:  
I can explain him as I choose.

1. Capitulum deest omnes MMS. 8. rapit BC. 20. noster deest D.  
22. ad deducendum BCD. 26. etenim pro autem 23 B.

quod in sacramento altaris sit accidentis sine subiecto. Quantum ad primum doctorem, patet quod ipse dicit sine formidine [ quod accidentis non potest esse sine B 109<sup>b</sup> subiecto, quia tunc foret verius res ipsa; ut, si forma artificialis domus vel cultelli foret per se sine materia, tunc ipsa foret verius domus vel cultellus quam ista artificialia que habemus. Et si glosetur doctor in isto, super capitulo 2<sup>o</sup> 2<sup>i</sup> Posteriorum, quare non licet nobis glosare eum coloracius in ista materia? Ad cuius sensum eliciendum reliquit non superflue adverbium illud 10

III, IV, Lombard and Peter Comestor, who often say what these doctors consider heretical, may be dismissed.

Hoc est "forte". Et conformiter possunt glosari duo doctores sequentes. Sicut enim Lincolniensis ponit compositionem continui ex non quantis, et alia multa que doctores moderni dicunt esse impossibilia; sic magister sentenciarum [ dicit opinative multa in ista materia, que A 102<sup>c</sup> doctores isti dicunt esse heretica. Ideo isti debent ab eis renui in enuesta.

V, VI, Lanfranc and Guitmundus rejected, because they only attacked the doctrine of Berengarius.

Preter istos 4<sup>or</sup> testes, sunt quinque alii prelati plus suspecti; scilicet Lanfrancus, Wimundus, Gandofilus, Pascasius et Arnulfus. Duo autem primi prelati invexerunt contra Berengarium, in hoc quod posuit panem et vinum remanere post consecrationem solum sacramentum, sic quod non corpus et sanguinem Jesu Christi, quod publice posterius revocavit coram Nicolao II<sup>o</sup> et concilio Romane ecclesie; ut patet de Consecracione, 25 distincione 2<sup>a</sup>, capitulo *Ego Berengarius*. C.

Nec oportet alias cronicas apocryphas in istis attendere; And the latter seems to say that bread is identically Christ's body: a very useless witness, for he denies that the sacrament is an accident.

Isti autem erant nimis ignari logice. Unde iste Wymundus ad tantum compalpit, quod videtur asserere panem sacramentalem esse ydemptice et substancialiter corpus Christi, nec mutationem esse in sacramento, sed appareniam fantasticam, [ et angelis in celum deferentibus B 109<sup>c</sup> corpus Christi, mira celeritate panis alias subrogatur. Iste autem Wymundus est testis doctori nimis inutilis, cum ponit accidentis non posse esse sine subiecto, et 35 omnino illud sacramentum non esse accidentis per se, sed sine figura esse substancialiter corpus Christi; ideo inter omnes testes allegabiles iste est magis contrarius huic secte. Et sic de Gandofilo atque Pascasio; isti, in-

VII, VIII.  
Gandofilus and  
Paschasius are

34. autem deest B. 36. accidentis deest D.

39. St. Paschasius Radbertus, abbot of Corbie in 865, was the author of a treatise *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, and several other works. See Migne, t. CXIX. Wyclif ought to have counted him among the doctors of the first millenary. Cf. p. 206, note.

quam, prelati apponuntur ad augendum numerum, ut  
A 102<sup>a</sup> tersites. Et quantum | ad Arnulfum, patet quod ipse in  
quinq[ue] percuntacionibus suis dicit multas notabiles  
veritates que non sunt ideo credende, quia ille dicit  
5 eas, sed quia scriptura dicit illas: que scriptura dicit  
de vero pane, non de accidentibus sine subiecto, "hoc  
est corpus meum". Est autem iste Arnulfus in multis  
contrarius huic seete; primo, inquam, in questione 4<sup>ta</sup>  
dubitat, si corpus domini quod sumitur de altari sit  
10 animatum et immortale; tales autem difficultates dicit  
posteriorius, sicut secta Machometi, non esse querendas:  
sed capiendum ut fidem, quod illud sacramentum sit  
corpus Christi et sangvis, et quod virtute verborum  
Christi panis et vinum fiant corpus Christi et sanguis.  
15 "Et firmissime," inquit, "scimus quod carnis Christi  
cuius substancia adest, qualitatem illam adesse sen-  
ciamus." "Non recte," inquit, "querimus an illa caro  
sit mortalis vel immortalis, mortua vel viva, sicut non  
D. recte queritur an in hostia sacrata panis existat." Con-  
20 trarium omnium istorum tractat ista secta ut fidem,  
cum dicit quod hostia sit panis, quia accidens sine  
B 103<sup>a</sup> subiecto: et una pars istius seete dicit quod illa | hostia  
est corpus Christi: tota tamen secta in hoc convenit,  
quod corpus Christi est ibi vivum et immortale cum  
25 omni qualitate existente in corpore vel carne Christi  
in celo. Quomodo igitur convenient tales testes huic  
seete, cum tam patule contradicunt? Ego autem intelligo  
quod panis ille fit et est corpus Christi post conse-  
A 103<sup>a</sup> cracionem, | et accidencia remanent sine subiecto suo  
30 pure naturaliter subiectante, cum panis ille sit mira-  
culose corpus Christi, quod non potest subiectare illa  
accidencia: et solum est tunc principaliter corpus Christi.  
35 Melius igitur esset allegare Bonaventuram, Dokhink,  
Occam, Fishacrem et Albertum, quia ipsi videntur sapere  
clarius in hac fide, nec sunt sectis ipsis tantum contrarii.

5. dicit *deest* BCD. 10. *animatum omnes* MSS. 13, 14. et quod —  
*sanguis deest* BCD. 24. *vinum* D. 33. Dokhink CD.

3. There is another similar allusion to Thersites in *De Be-  
nedita Incarnatione*, p. 82. It seems to be a general scholastic  
term for anything worthless. 33. *Dokhink*. Perhaps Thomas  
Docking, 7<sup>th</sup> Divinity lecturer at Oxford in 1308. Monum. Fran-  
cisc. I, p. 550, 552. Wadding, p. 220, mentions 23 Works of his.  
34. Fishacre of Devonshire; a learned Dominican and a great  
friend both of Grosseteste and of Robert Bacon (also a Dominican).  
Died 1248. See *Chalmer's Biography*; *Stephen's Dict. of Nat. B.*

X. Bernard says that all the senses but hearing are wrong as regards this Sacrament.

But all the senses help towards our faith; none alone, but each in its proper share.

And though hearing is in this case first, yet it has been also the occasion of many heresies, and diversities of opinion.

XI. Anselm says that Christian piety has always abhorred the idea that bread remains in the pietas Christiana; hoc, inquam, potest sic sane intelligi, F. Sacrament.

Which may be explained that it does not remain principally or supernaturally.

Anselm, saying elsewhere that an accident is not without its subject, would thus escape inconsistency.

Sed pro completa duodena millenarii quo solutus est pater mendacii, adducuntur alii tres testes; primus est Bernhardus super cantica, ubi dicit quod sensus alii deficiunt in materia fidei preter auditum, ut inquiunt, visus, olfactus, gustus et tactus, indicant sacramentum esse panem; sed, cum secundum apostolum ad Rom. X “fides ex auditu”; Christus autem dicit: <sup>Rom. X, 17</sup> “Hoc est corpus meum”; auditus indicat hoc sacramentum esse corpus Christi. Hic patet quod non solum E. auditus sed alii quatuor sensus conferunt ad noticiam fidei <sup>10</sup> quod hoc sacramentum sit corpus Christi; nullus autem illorum sensuum per se, sed quilibet illorum discernit quod suum est, et super omnes illos autor fidei illuminat intellectum et dat fidem qua creditur hanc hostiam et quamlibet eius partem | quantitativam esse <sup>B 110\*</sup> corpus Christi; auditus autem illud non indicat, sed licet habeat quandam supereminenciam in adminiculando intellectui, ex auditu tamen per cautelas dyaboli multiplicantur multe hereses | in ista materia; ut unus dicit <sup>A 103<sup>b</sup></sup> quod nichil demonstratur pronomine propositionis <sup>20</sup> sacramentalis, alias autem dicit quod solum corpus Christi demonstratur: et sic nec panis nec eius accidens potest esse corpus Christi. Ego autem dico quod substantia panis demonstratur pronomine, et fit ac est corpus Christi virtute verborum sacramentalium; et <sup>25</sup> omnes iste diversitates capiunt originem ex auditu. Ulterius, dico quod post consecrationem panis ille solum est corpus Christi supernaturaliter, licet essencia maneat subiectans naturaliter illas formas.

Et per hec patet solacio ad dicta secundi testis <sup>30</sup> Anshelmi, qui dicitur in quadam epistola dicere quod panem remanere post consecrationem semper abhorruit in pietas Christiana; hoc, inquam, potest sic sane intelligi, F. quod illa essencia que fit corpus Christi post consecrationem non remanet principaliter vel supernaturaliter <sup>35</sup> panis ut ante, et sic non remanet pure panis; sed secundum quandam actualitatem quam haberet ex consideracione fidelium desinit esse, licet remaneat in essencia naturali. Et sic possunt concordari dicta Anshelmi, dicentis in fine libri sui *de veritate* quod ac- <sup>40</sup> cidens non potest esse sine subiecto, et talia dicta de

18. intellectum AB. 22. nec deest CD. 35. remanet non remanet CD.

39. Ans. De Veritate, c. XIII. Migne, t. 158, p. 484, 485.

eukaristia. Nunquam enim fuit intencionis cuiusquam sancti dicere quod corpus Christi sit illud accidens sine subiecto, vel quelibet particula panis sancti secundum B 110<sup>b</sup> dum | corporis Christi substanciam vel naturam. sed A 103<sup>c</sup> secundum esse | sacramentale vel figuram.

Unde sicut universale, verbi gratia, species ignis, est quilibet ignis particularis, et tamen non generatur, corruptitur vel movetur proporcionabiliter ut sua individua; sic quodammodo corpus Christi est multe hostie consecrate, et quelibet earum, et tamen non generatur, corruptitur, agit vel patitur, ut quelibet earum. Licit autem hec similitudo in quibusdam conserat, in multis tamen capit diversitatem, tam in modo loquendi quam eciam in re ipsa; quia universale est substancia vel 15 essentia cuiuslibet sui suppositi, sic quod ipsum perse et non per accidens est illa species; et sic sunt partes subiective speciei, que est quodammodo totum universale respectu eorum. Non sic autem de hostiis consecrandis, cum manent per tempus illud quod erant 20 antequam fuerunt corpus Christi. Et istam sentenciam de universalibus approbat Anshelmus, ut patet *de incarnatione* capitulo 7<sup>o</sup>. Non igitur est religiosum scandalizare doctores sed, quantum fides permiserit, concordare.

Unde Anshelmus in eodem libro in principio dicit, 25 quod sicut in mensa nupciali, aqua in vinum mutata, solum affuit vinum in quod mutata est aqua, sic in mensa altaris solum adest corpus Christi, in quod vere mutata est substancia panis una, nisi quod de aqua nichil remansit in mutacione illa; de pane vero mutato 30 ad peragendum sacri institutum ministerii, sola remanet A 103<sup>d</sup> species visibilis. | Ideo, quantum ad triplicem instanciam G. sophistarum, patet quod debet tolli per sensum quem B 110<sup>e</sup> doctor | debet pretendere.

Primo, inquam, arguunt, quod in miraculo de quo 35 Johannis II<sup>a</sup> non solum vinum affuit, cum tam materia Jo. II, quam forma, quam eciam multa genera accidentium 1—10 affuerunt. Ideo videtur debere intelligi quod solum vinum affuit illa essentia, que prius erat aqua; et per hoc tollitur secunda instancia sophistarum qua arguunt

Christ's body is there like a universal in its particulars; not generated, incorruptible, unchangeable.

Yet not quite so, for the universal is substantially in each individual, and makes them what they are.

This is Anselm's opinion; and it is better to reconcile doctors than set them against each other.

"The water made wine is like the Eucharistic change; but something remains in the first case, not in the second".

Though not only wine but also accidents were present in this case; the essence that had been water became only wine.

a. est adest BCD. 21. de universalibus adest BCD. 26. qua AB:  
ib. si pro sic B.

22. Ans. De Fide Trinitatis, c. II. Migne, t. 158, p. 265.  
St. Anselm here defends Realism against the Nominalist Roscelinus.

non posse esse quod in mensa altaris solum adest corpus domini, cum sacramentum et multa accidentia remaneant. Videtur enim sanctum sentire quod solum remanet principaliter corpus Christi. Et sic tollitur tercia instancia sophistarum qua arguant repugnare<sup>5</sup> quod miraculo Christi de aqua nichil remansit, cum illa essencia que est materia prima cum accidentibus ipsam consequentibus remanserant.

If the bread  
and accidents  
remain, you  
cannot say  
"Only Christ's  
body." But  
Anselm meant  
principally.  
  
What had been  
water before,  
became wine by  
miracle. And  
Scripture  
speaks of "the  
water made  
wine." So the  
master of the  
feast tasted  
water, tasting  
the wine.

Thus the  
essence that  
was before pure  
bread,  
afterwards  
becomes  
Christ's body;  
a sacrament,  
because one  
thing is seen  
and another is  
understood.  
Ambrose  
quoted.

The book  
ascribed to  
Anselm, and  
falsely to  
Augustine, is  
spurious.

Ideo videtur quod sane posset intelligi nichil remanere de substancia aque principaliter in actu consideracionis<sup>10</sup> fidelium post eius conversionem in vinum; certum est enim secundum doctrinam istius philosophi et Augustini, quod illud quod prius erat aqua, per miraculum posterius esset vinum. Ideo dicit fides subtilis scripture, quod dum "gustasset architriclinus aquam vinum factam" etc.<sup>15</sup> Ex qua fide sequitur et ipsum architriclinum gustasse<sup>11</sup> aquam; et per consequens ipsa remanserat vere vinum. <sup>A 104</sup> Et eodemmodo intelligendum est de conversione uxoris Loth in statuam salis, et artificiali factura vitri ex silice. Non, inquam, valet scandalizare tantum philosophum,<sup>20</sup> quod vel ignorat philosophiam vel non reduxit exempla sua ad proposi<sup>12</sup> tum. Eadem igitur essentia, que prius<sup>B 105</sup> fuit pure panis, sit posterius per verba sacramentalia corpus Christi, ut dicunt beatus Ambrosius et Augustinus cum decreto ecclesie. "Quod erat panis" inquit Ambrosius, "ante consecrationem iam corpus Christi est post consecrationem; et Augustinus, ut allegat Anshelmus ibidem, "Quod videtur," inquit, "panis est, et calix quod oculi renunciant; quod autem fides postulat instruenda, panis est corpus Christi et calix est sanguis.<sup>25</sup> Ista ideo dicuntur sacramenta, quia in eis aliud videtur et aliud intelligitur."<sup>13</sup> Et sic nichil valent hec testimonia, nisi ad docendum quod panis et vinum sunt hoc sacramentum et tamen quodammodo corpus Christi et sangvis; ut exponit decretum Romane ecclesie: "Ego<sup>30</sup> Berengarius." Et recitantur dicta Ambrosii et Augustini eadem distinctione, capitulo. "Panis est in altari" et capitulo, "Qui manducant."<sup>14</sup> Qui autem voluerit defen-

<sup>8.</sup> convenientibus B; corr. A. <sup>10.</sup> filice ACD. <sup>21.</sup> non deest BCD.  
<sup>27.</sup> per CD. <sup>34.</sup> cum omnes MSS.

<sup>25.</sup> Ambr. De Sacramentis, I. IV, c. 4. Migne, t. 16, p. 441.  
<sup>28.</sup> Aug. Sermones. Migne, t. 38, p. 1246, 1247. <sup>38.</sup> Declaratio Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars. D. II. c. 58.

dere hunc libellum qui inponitur Anshelmo et mendacius Augustino nimium onus capit in manibus. Ideo talia dicta apocrita vel sunt totaliter omittenda, vel aliter est veritas catholica a falsitatis fecibus exsugenda.

A 104<sup>a</sup> 1. 5 12<sup>a</sup> et ultimo quantum ad istum secundum millesimum allegatur papa Innocencius | tertius, qui quasi abbas tocius undenarii prioris dicitur suam sentenciam insolubiliter confirmare. Duo vere sunt dicta Innocencii tertii, ut sepe repecii, ex quibus singitur ista blasfemia;

10 primum est dictum primi decretalis capitulo "Firmiter," ubi dicitur, quod panis et vinum transsubstanciantur

B 111<sup>b</sup> in corpus Christi et sanguinem. Sed sepe dictum est | ex isto sequi opportere substanciam panis et vini remanere ad subiectandum transsubstanciaciōnē illam pas-

15 sivam, quia accidens respectivum non potest esse sine subiecto. Si igitur aliquid subicitur transsubstanciacioni, tunc ipsum est, quia aliter id quod nichil est moveretur. Supponendum igitur est Innocencium tertium loqui

conformiter ad priores sanctos in ista materia; ad sensum 20 igitur quo ipsi dicunt panem converti in corpus Christi, fieri corpus Christi, et esse per consecrationem corpus Christi. supponitur papam istum intelligere panem illum transsubstanciari: et tunc patet quod, si

sic mutatur, tunc remanet: et si dicitur quod hoc sit 25 impossibile, patet quod non, ex dictis sanctorum: nec est significacio termini transsubstanciaciōnis ad sensum contrarium fundanda; et eo quo mutatio ista est mirabilior, est sacramento consonancior, cum adversarii glorientur in fictis miraculis huius sacramenti mirabilis.

30 Et ad hunc sensum possunt concordari decretum Nicolai III<sup>i</sup> et decretalis huius pape sequentis, ut supra K. exposui. Secundum dictum est eiusdem Innocencii III<sup>i</sup>

A 104<sup>c</sup> in 3<sup>a</sup> Decretalium, capitulo "Cum Marthe", que videtur dicere, quod accidens sit sine subiecto: | quod non foret

35 pertinens, nisi illud accidens fuerit hoc sensibile sacramentum. Sed constat quod multa dicta in tertio Decretalium in ista materia sunt tanquam probabiliter opinata.

Et illud de permanencia accidentium sine subiecto ex instinctu spiritus sancti est omissum in decretali Gregorii noni: quod si foret tam necessarium ad fundamen-

B 111<sup>b</sup> dum fidem ecclesie, deberet primo inseri. aliis preter-

XII. Pope  
Innocent III in  
two places  
seems to uphold  
that doctrine.

1st when he  
declares that  
transsubstantiation  
takes place.  
But if there is  
a change, the  
substance of  
bread and wine  
must endure.  
If nothing  
remained, what  
would be  
changed?  
Nothing.

That this is  
impossible is  
contrary to the  
writings of the  
Saints. The  
more  
mysterious it  
is, the more  
worthy of the  
Sacrament.

2<sup>nd</sup> When, in  
another place,  
Innocent seems  
to admit  
absolute  
accidents.

But a) this is  
only affirmed  
as probable:  
b) it was not  
inserted in  
Gregory IX's  
Decretal:

17. movetur AB. 20. quoniam CD. 21. fieri — Christi deest B.  
30. recordari D.

necessariis pretermissis. Sed supposito quod inseratur in decretali novo ecclesie, patet quod non sequitur quia licet cum possit esse, ut inquit, quod substantia panis plene remaneat et quod illud accident<sup>s</sup> per illam substanciam extendatur, cum hoc quod eius informacio<sup>s</sup> et panis subiectio suspendatur: et hoc foret maius mirabile. Et sic iuxta principia eorum plus cederet ad honorificenciam sacramenti. Et patet quod neutrum dictorum istorum necessitat ad ponendum quod sacramentum altaris sit accident<sup>s</sup> sine subiecto. 10

Even supposing  
that such were  
the decision of  
Rome we ought  
not to follow  
her when the  
contradicts  
Scripture.

The Pope and  
his Cardinals  
may be  
foreknown;

for they can  
sin mortally,  
and fall away  
from God, the  
first article in  
our creed.

He can not  
claim Christ's  
assistance as  
Pope or bishop  
of Rome.

Sed cum sit possibile, ut patet per glossatores, quod ista fuit sententia Romane ecclesie, suppono papam cum cardinalibus declarasse universalem ecclesiam sensisse quod sacramentum altaris sit accident<sup>s</sup> sine subiecto: hoc enim foret satis possibile. Tunc dicitur, quod fidelis credere nullum Romanum pontificem citra Petrum cum quantocunque clero esse credendum in materia fidei, nisi de quanto se fundaverit in scriptura. Cum igitur non potest fundari in scriptura quod corpus Christi sit accident<sup>s</sup> sine subiecto, patet quod non est credendum in isto cuicunque Romano pontifici. | cum A 10.<sup>4</sup> quotquot suis complicibus. Stat enim omnes illos esse prescitos et non partes sancte matris ecclesie; igitur non est de necessitate salutis credere quod quicquid ut fidem decreverint est credendum: quia tunc in casu quis debet credere falsum, fidei Christiane contrarium, quod Christus non potest precipere. Similiter totum L. tale collegium potest peccare mortaliter, et per consequens potest deficere a credendo in deum, qui est primus | articulus fidei, et esse infideli deterior, pro-B 11.<sup>4</sup> fitendo se sequi Christum simillime, et tamen in vita seculari secundum fastum et questum a Christo maxime elongari. Quare igitur non posset talis persona, sicut ipsa est decepta in fide, sic subiectos sue symonie conscentientes in fide decipere? Non dubium, quin posset faciliter, licet extollatur "super omne, quod dicitur deus". Similiter si habet talem virtutem quod non posset subvertere populum in fide, hoc haberet in quantum Romanus pontifex sive papa, cui opportet Christum assistere. Sed hoc est vel in pertinens Christi 40 assistencie, vel dispositio ad antichristum, cui Christus non sic assisteret, sed permitteret in penam peccati

1. pertinenciis propter necessariis B; ib. insaniretur C, 2. quod rro qma BC. 8, 9. doctorum BCD. 14. est B. 29. accedendo AB.

plebem in fide subvertere. Et testantur hoc leges multe, ut patet de Symonia capitulo 3<sup>o</sup>. Ideo supponitur quod sicut papa perverso nullus est maior apostata, sic nullus est aprior sathanæ ad infide populum seducendum. Et confirmacio istius est quod diebus nostris Gregorius XI<sup>us</sup> dampnat duas veritates absolute necessarias, ut dampnatissimam et sceleratissimam; scilicet quod domini temporales possunt auferre temporalia ab

A 105<sup>a</sup> ecclesia delinquentे; et quod non  $\mid$  eo ipso quo papa

10 pretendit se quovismodo solvere vel ligare, eo ipso sic solvit vel ligat; quam dampnacionem mundi, eciam quantumcunque sint dominis temporalibus inimici, nesciunt vel defendere vel assensu heretico excusare. Ideo

Gal. I, 8 cum apostolus dicat, "si quis aliud ewangelisaverit B 111<sup>d</sup> quam ewangelisatum est, licet fuerit  $\mid$  "angelus de celo, anathema sit." Cum igitur papa potest pretendere se licite dispensare contra apostolum, manifestum est quod talis anathema potest in fide subvertere multas gentes.

Nec sunt evidencie contrarie digne memorie. Arguunt enim quidam quod Christus promisit ecclesie eidem:

"Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus, usque ad consumacionem seculi"; igitur cum Christus non potest mentiri, non potest in isto deficere. Conceditur conclusio; sed, si papa non sit de numero illorum propter 25 extraneacionem a sequela in moribus, quid sibi et adverbio illi "vobiscum"? Non enim humana statuicio sive eleccio cogit Christum ut sit cum filiis suis per gratiam, sed predestinatione et imitatoria filii operacio facit ipsum esse de eorum numero, quibus Christus

30 sic loquitur: quod est vel ambiguum vel evidenter falsum de Romano pontifice, propter vitam eius Christo contrariam. Ideo absit illa fides a fidelibus, quod quiunque Romanus pontifex sit caput eorum quibus

M. Christus sic loquitur. Secundo obicitur per hoc quod 35 oportet in ecclesia esse unum caput pro fide et causis ecclesie decidendis, quem oportet esse Romanum pontificem immediatum Christi vicarium; aliter enim ecclesia foret acephala. Hic conceditur assumptum, cum Christus sit caput militantis ecclesie, cum ipsa perpetuo; et si 40 contingat Romanum pontificem esse pauperrimum et humillimum, et proxime sequentem Christum inter sin-

And Gregory XI has condemned as heretical two truths which must be believed.

He has incurred anathema, attempting to change the Gospel.

Answer to arguments for the Pope.  
I. Christ has promised to be with His Church.

But what if the Pope does not belong to the Church?

If the Pope's life is contrary to Christ's, the promise was not made to him

II. The Church must have a head.

But Christ is the Head of the Church, and the Pope only in so far as he is like Christ; to say otherwise were blasphemy.

2. in de C. 19. memorit C. 21. et B. 38. acephalia AB.

2. De Simonia. p. 27.

gulos viatores, tunc ipse est immediate Christi vicarius; ut creditur fuisse de beato Gregorio. Sed statuere unam legem quod quicunque et qualiscunque fuerit Romanus pontifex, sit caput tocius ecclesie, videtur sapere manifestam blasphemiam, cum non sit in hominis potestate statuere quemquam esse partem ecclesie, multo magis non spectat quod sit summus in ecclesia quo ad deum. Casualiter igitur ex ordinacione divina ex talibus blasphemis bona eveniunt, ut dictum est de provisione pape, de eleccione et multis aliis humanis legibus que sunt mala. Caput igitur ecclesie foret Christus; et lex sua, que est voluntas dei derelicta in terris, foret regula sufficiens ad quascunque causas fidei vel sentencias ecclesie decidendas. Sed suspenso ritu gentili prefecctione Romani episcopi, foret ecclesia per Christum perfectius capitata; sic enim fuit a tempore Christi usque ad stultam dotacionem ecclesie Romane. Sic eciam vivunt multi fideles in divisione Urbani et Roberti, nec non in aliis contrattis conversis per alios apostolos, qui ignorant utrumque istorum. Sufficit enim ad salutem credere in dominum Jesum Christum. Nec debet fidelis sequi talem privatum prepositum, nisi de quanto tenerit et sequentibus serva-

III. There must verit viam Jesu. Tercio obicitur per hoc quod oportet in ecclesia esse unum principaliter interpretantem et exequentem legem ecclesie, cui credita sit dispensacio spiritualis thesauri Christi, per quem ut montem superium post Christum derivetur lux inferioribus, ut vallibus, cui oportet credere finaliter in ambiguis. Quo ad istud sepe dictum est, quod Christus voluntarius distributor sapientie istius ordinat quem voluerit ad istud officium, et non legem ecclesie, cui credita sit dispensacio, consequitur instituciones et electiones humanas, sed per opera et virtutes movemur a deo ad istius noticiam. Unde pape Augustino plus debemus credere in ista materia quam omnibus Romanis pontificibus post beatum Gregorium. Et voco hunc magnum Augustinum papam, quia sic vocat eum sanctus Prosper in quadam epistola; "domino," inquit, "beatissimo pape ineffabiliter mirabili, incomparabiliter honorabili, prestantissimo patrono Augustino, Prosper"; cum igitur

11. materia BC. 16. in deest B. 25. unam BC. 33. per deest B.  
36. quod D.

16. Robert of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII,  
38. Prosper ad Augustinum, Migne, t. 33, p. 1002,

Digression as  
to the Pope's  
claims to define  
faith. These  
may in some  
cases have had  
good results,  
though false.

The heathen  
rite of choosing  
a Roman  
Pontiff might  
be given up  
with advantage.

III. There must  
be a dispenser  
of spiritual gifts  
in the Church;  
who can be  
none but the  
Bishop of  
Rome. But  
Christ ordains  
to that office  
him whom he  
pleases, v. g.  
Augustine,  
who, as pope  
(Prosper calls  
him so), ought  
to be believed  
rather than any  
Roman pontiff.

in sanctis prioribus non vigebat tanta adulacio; sicut modo videtur, sic scripta docent quod beatus Augustinus fuit scripture sacre interpres prudencior quam omnes isti Romani pontifices. Sic igitur quelibet patria <sup>A 105<sup>a</sup></sup> habitat ex ordinacione divina unum interpretem, ita quod non opportet currere ad Romanum pontificem pro quibuslibet causis ambiguis decidendis. Et quantum ad execucionem legis, quilibet fidelis debet exequi ipsam concorditer, iuvando alium sine repugnancia. Et quantum ad dispensacionem thesauri ecclesie, patet quod illud est presumptum blasphemum officium, cum deus per se dispensat sicut wult; nec scit <sup>A 105<sup>b</sup></sup> Romanus pontifex, quomodo sit ad regulam dispensandum; ut dictum est de indulgenciis. Non enim cognoscit gravitatem peccati, <sup>B 112<sup>c</sup></sup> nec distinctionem mortalis a veniali, aut ordinacionem dei de pena vel premio servi sui. Et quantum ad exemplum ulterius quod ponit de lege veteri, sepe dictum est quod foret nimis hereticum servare modo legalia veteris testamenti que fuerunt antitipus Iesu nostri, quia foret idem hoc credere et expectare anti-christum futurum <sup>f 1, 2</sup> tanquam deum. Nam plures facti sunt sacerdotes summi in lege veteri, ut omnes prefigurent Christum habentem sacerdotium sempiternum; ideo oportet in lege nova, loco sacerdotum legis veteris, succedere apostolos; qui omnes sunt socii, ut docet Gal. apostolus, Gall. I<sup>o</sup>; illi autem debent esse missi, tanquam exproprietarii, ut aquirant populum et honorem domino Iesu Christo. Maioritatem autem non debemus expectare inter eos, ut deus dederit eis humilitatem maioris servicii. Si autem questio orta sit, debent convenire et cuicunque qui a deo plus racionis habuerit debet credi. Si autem deficit in penam peccati divina inspiracio, non dedignentur decreta primorum patrum consulere; et omnino caveant quicquam in fide statuere sine auctoritate scripture.

P. Modo autem diffinitum est ante Innocencium III<sup>m</sup> per Nicolaum II<sup>m</sup>, quod panis et vinum remaneant post consecrationem tam sacramentum quam corpus Christi <sup>A 106<sup>a</sup></sup> et sangvis. Ideo foret nimis stultum <sup>26.</sup> presumere, quod dictus Innocencius tercius illam sentenciam fidei revo- caret, specialiter cum possunt concordari, ut dictum

Christ appoints an interpreter of his own in every country.

The execution of the divine law is the duty of all the faithful.

God Himself dispenses His treasures. The Pope does not know which sins are mortal, which venial.

We should not allege the Jewish High Priests.

They were but types: Christ's Apostles and their successors were poor, the least the greatest; difficulties settled by believing those who were best inspired, or consulting the Fathers, and following Scripture.

It having been already declared that the bread and wine remain, it is absurd to understand Pope Innocent's decree in a contrary sense.

2. sicut *omnes* MSS. 26. Christi B. 29. nisi ut CD: *ib.* humilitatem BCD. 37. remanent B.

They may draw conclusions from the word <sup>trans-substantiation; but nothing condemns us explicitly.</sup> est. Si autem in fide sit questio et non occurrit auctoritas decernendi, salubre foret in cortice scripture quiescere et neutrā partē sensus ut fidem temere confirmare. Unde quia Gog non habuit expresse ex decreto Innocencii III<sup>ii</sup>, quod sacramentum sit accidentis sine subiecto, fixit mendacia, quod non est transsubstanciatio nisi substancia, servatis accidentibus, omnimode destruatur. Sed, supposito quod dictus Innocen-

It Innocent had cius cum toto suo collegio decrevisset istud | explicite, B 112<sup>a</sup>  
the intention non foret sibi credendum, nisi docta revelacione; cum 10  
they ascribe to him, we should expresse contradicit sanctis doctoribus, decreto ecclesie,  
not believe him, et racioni. Unde verisimile est, quod spiritus sanctus  
inspirasset autores scripture et sanctos doctores priores  
ecclesie in isto articulo, si sit verus; evidencia autem  
est presumptionis, quod non consuluit leges et decreta 15  
priora istius materie, quod non est credendum ex sua  
sentencia accidentis per se remanens esse sacramentum  
altaris. Nec movet quod fratres predicatores inceperant  
in sexto anno huius Innocencii III<sup>o</sup> aut quod commovit  
regnum Francie cum aliis contra regnum nostrum et 20  
extorsit finaliter ut Anglia solveret sibi annuatim non-  
gentas marcas, ut dictum est alibi, nec alia eius insignia  
nominanda.

But in any case Quiescendum est igitur in priori sentencia et glosanda his decree must be explained as sunt dicta Innocencii, sicut supra. Et sic finaliter non 25 above. posset doceri ex fide scrip*t*ure quod sacramentum sit A 106<sup>b</sup>

Two extremes: one, that the Sacrament is the very body of Christ; which is idolatry; p[ro]p[ter]tate docet ei, haec ver[itas] p[ro]p[ter]tate quia sacramentum sit accidens sine subiecto; cum racio ad hoc non valeat, non debet credi catholice. Sunt autem duo extrema in quibus dyabolus seducit ecclesiam; unum est, ut credatur sacramentum illud ydemptice esse corpus Christi; et 30 ista ydolatria nimis laborat in laicis, qui credunt istud tam realiter, quam realiter aliquis ydolatra credit ali-

The other, that  
an accident is  
Christ's body:  
which is a  
clever trick of  
the Devil. quod scriptite esse deum. Sed dyabolus declinavit ab  
isto ad aliud extremum; cum vidit populum ex naturali  
ingenio satis cognoscere illum panem non esse corpus Christi, subtiliavit in signis, seducendo generacionem  
adulteram, quod illud sacramentum sit accidens sine B  
subiecto; et sic, sicut conceditur simpliciter, ut faciunt

13. prioris B. 13. sculptile C: *ib.* declinavit deest B. 14. in pro  
ad B.

12. *Rationi.* Here Wyclif, as is seem, would admit revelation, even if it contradicted reason expressly; this goes *beyond* Catholic belief.

doctores ex auctoritate scripture, quod illud sacramentum sit corpus Christi, ita concedunt quod accidens sine subiecto sit etiam corpus Christi. Et ista est maior blasfemia: quia illud accidens vel nichil est vel vacuum; et concedere hoc de corpore Christi et deo foret summa blasfemia.

But also a greater blasphemy; and God is neither nothing, nor a void.

R. Ideo non est in potestate antichristi vel dei illud statuere. Sed sicut fabulatur quod presbyter Johannes prandendo eloquitur: "nunc comedat totus mundus," sic posset papa occiduus cadere in tantam maniam quod credat totum residuum mundi, tam in temporalibus quam in spiritualibus ex suo arbitrio dependere: et virtute potestatis huius sine fundamento vel subiecto, non sine ipso ecclesiam gubernari: ita quod non solum

A 106<sup>a</sup> omnes res corporales | sublunares, sed etiam omnia spiritualia dona dei ut gracie et virtutes ab ipso dependant. Hoc autem est tam blasphemum credere, sicut

The pope has reached such a pitch of madness, that he claims to dispense even God's grace.

quod corpus Christi sit in natura imperfeccius quam sterlus ratonis. Rato enim est animal melancolicum, et

This is as mad as to say that Christ's body is less perfect than rat's dirt: for the rat is a melancholy animal; melancholy begets madness; and Magog dwelt in the West where men are melancholy.

20 mania secundum philosophos ex melancolia gignitur; Gen. Magog autem legitur Genes. fuisse filius Yoseph, cuius X, 1, 5 generacio dicitur partes occiduas magis melancolicas occupasse. Negabitur lex conversionis, quin sequitur,

We must seek arguments that give us more than mere probability.

"imperfeccius quam alia substancia est corpus Christi: 25 igitur corpus Christi est imperfeccius quam alia substancia". Et antecedens patet ex posicione, cum hoc sacramentum sit corpus Christi, et ipsum sacramentum sit imperfeccius quam aliqua substancia. Et ultra vide-

B 113<sup>b</sup> gracie et veritatis, quod | corpus Christi sit naturaliter

imperfeccius quam corpus Christi. Cum igitur non sequitur: "Papa Innocencius cum concilio Lateranensi decrevit istam sentenciam: igitur verum"; oportet querere aliam evidenciam antequam illud concedi debeat tan- 35 quam fides: argumentum enim fidei debet excedere quodeunque argumentum topicum.

9. predicando B. 20. maniacum BCD. 26-28. Et antecedens — substancia deest BCD. 20. alia C 32. Innocencius tertius BCD.

8. See note *supra*, p. 169. 23. The text is perhaps corrupt here; or Wyclif may be joking. The latter supposition seems probable. If we compare this with the text that follows, we find that he objects to any reasoning that is not conclusive. What precedes may be a specimen, like the Scholastic jest: *Caesar ricit Pompeium; ergo datur purgatorium.*

Objection answered.  
Bread is less perfect than a worm; Christ's body therefore cannot be bread.  
We must here distinguish between formal and essential predication.  
Christ's body is essentially, not formally, less perfect than a worm.

So for the sophism, concluding that the Host consecrated in England is the Host consecrated in France.

*Answer:* The Host is the Host in both countries: therefore both should love each other.

Sed obicitur, quod idem sequitur contra me; ut puta, S. quod corpus Christi sit naturaliter imperfeccius verme; et sic de aliis inconveniencieis reducendis, quia panis ille qui est corpus Christi est huiusmodi. Sed hic notanda est super equivocationem distinccio inter predicacionem 5 formalem et essencialem; et tunc conceditur pro illa pane, quod corpus Christi est essencialiter sed non formaliter imperfeccius quam vermis, et sic Christus est imperfeccius, sed non in | perfectione quam est ser-A 106<sup>a</sup> A 106<sup>b</sup> pens; sicut conceditur quod corpus Christi est inequale 10 patri, quia caro assumpta, et tamen Christus est equalis patri, quia eadem natura. Verum tamen est magna diversitas utrobique; nunquam autem debet concedi quod corpus Christi sit accidens vel imperfeccius substancia. Et sic respondeatur ad tales paralogismos: *Omne corpus 15 Christi est hostia consecrata in Anglia; omnis hostia consecrata in Francia est corpus Christi, ergo omnis hostia consecrata in Francia est hostia consecrata in Anglia;* et sic quelibet pars hostie foret totum. Ad talia, inquam, commenta laboramus, sed ad concordandum gentes et 20 regna omittimus! Conclusio tamen, sequens ex premissis in Barbara, foret ista: corpus Christi, quod est omnis hostia consecrata in Francia est hostia in Anglia; quod concedendo debemus reducere populum unius dominii ad fraternam caritatem. | B 113<sup>c</sup>

10. corpus AB; Christus CD. 11. Christus deest omnes MSS.  
10. in utrobique D. 11, 15. corpus — est deest BCD. 19. omnis  
deest BCD. 20. Francia — Anglia deest BCD.

25. The devil, according to Wyclif, was bound for the first 1000 years after Christ; so he divides the doctors into those of the second millenary, when (Rev. XX, 3, 7) the devil was loosed (15<sup>th</sup> Chapter), and those (16<sup>th</sup> Chapter) who wrote before that time, and consequently had more authority.

## CAPITULUM SEDECIMUM.

Superest una undena de millenario Christi pro supra-dicta sentencia allegata, scilicet Rabanus, Beda, Johannes Damascenus, Gregorius, Augustinus, Ambrosius, Eusebius, 5 Isidorus, Ignacius et Dyonisius, Jeronimus.

Eleven more  
testimonies  
remain to be  
sited.

Rabanus autem videtur dicere, accidencia in sacra-  
mento manent sine subiecto; sed principium debet esse  
testi fidei, quod non variet in eadem materia, con-  
trarius sibi ipsi; quia ut sic foret testis patris mendacii.

10 Rabanus autem dicit, ut allegavi superius, libro 5<sup>to</sup> de  
A to 7<sup>a</sup> naturis rerum capitulo XI<sup>o</sup>. "Igitur," inquit, "quia  
panis corpus confirmat, ideo illa corpus congruenter  
nuncupatur. Vinum autem, quia sangwinem operatur  
in carne, ideo ad sangwinem Christi refertur." Melius  
15 igitur foret concordare doctores, dicendo quod post  
consecrationem sacramentum non remanet principaliter  
panis, cum sit quodammodo corpus Christi.

I. Rabanus Maur,  
though he  
affirms absolute  
accidents, is  
not a faithful  
witness;

for he says  
elsewhere that  
the Sacrament  
is rightly called  
bread and wine.

Quantum ad testimonium Bede, possunt credere qui  
voluerint, quod asseruit contrarie fidei scripture, sanctis  
20 doctoribus, eciam sibi ipsi, quod non remanet panis  
post consecrationem; sed non est michi evidens quod post  
Jo. 1, 29 consecrationem, sic fecit. Nam super illo Joh. I<sup>o</sup> "Videt Johannes Jesum  
venientem ad se", sic scribet et legitur in ecclesia,  
dominica infra octavas ephisanie: "non solum," inquit,  
25 "lavit nos a peccatis nostris in sangwine suo, quando  
sangwinem suum dedit in cruce pro nobis, vel quando  
unusquisque nostrum ministerio sacrosancte passionis  
sue baptismi aqua ablutus est; verum eciam quotidie  
tollit peccata mundi lavatque nos a peccatis nostris  
B 113<sup>d</sup> quotidie in sangwine | suo, cum eiusdem beate passio-

II. I will not  
believe that  
Bede  
contradicts  
Scripture,  
the Fathers, and  
himself.

A passage of  
Bede quoted.

i. Capitulum *deest omnes MSS.* 6. dicere quod CD. 9. patri BCD:  
*corr. A.* ii. quod C. 22, 23. Jesum se *deest* D.

11. Rabanus Maur, De Universo, I. V, c. 11 Migne. t. IIII,  
p. 136.

nis ad altare memoria replicatur, et panis et vini creatura in sacramentum carnis et sangwinis eius ineffabilis spiritus sanctificacione transfertur; sicque corpus et sangwis illius non infidelium manibus ad perniciem ipsorum funditur et occiditur, sed fidelium ore suam sumitur in salutem".

in which we must note that he makes no mention of the destruction of substance, but says: the creature of bread... becomes Christ's body.

If not understood thus, he contradicts himself; which ought not to be admitted.

III. John Damascenus, who is said to affirm the non-permanence of the bread, is absolutely of my mind.

For he says, God has joined to the bread

His own divinity.

Thus the bread is not destroyed, but perfected.

All that Scotus could say of this is that it points to Transubstantiation;

Ex isto textu | doctoris videtur primo, quod utitur A 107<sup>b</sup> construccione intransitiva et predicacione ydemptica, B. quando dicitur quod panis creatura transfertur in sacramentum carnis et sangwinis Jesu Christi; hoc est: crea- 10 tura que est panis et vinum, fit sacramentum carnis et sanguinis salvatoris. Non autem loquitur de trans- lacione qua substancia panis destruitur vel deterioratur, sicut sacerdotes ydolorum dicunt nobiles suos dupliciter mortuos translatos in societatem deorum; sed quo- 15 dammodo, sicut corpus translatum in gloriam fit corpus nobilis, sic corpus quod ante consecrationem pure est be panis, fit et est per consecrationem quodammodo cor- pus Christi. Et sic non remanet post consecrationem principaliter pure panis. Hoc autem est melius quam 20 inducere repugnanciam in doctorem.

Quo ad tertium testem, scilicet Johannem Damascenum, cui imponitur quod non remanet panis post consecrationem, manifestum est ex dictis, quod ipse expresse testatur nostram sentenciam. Ponit enim in 25 sententiis suis, libro tercio, capitulo 84, "quem ad modum in baptismo consuetudo est hominum aqua lavari et oleo ungi, coniugavit eis deus graciam spiritus sancti, et fecit ipsum lavacrum | regeneracionis; sic, B 114<sup>c</sup>

quia consuetudo est hominum panem comedere, et vinum 30 et aquam bibere, coniugavit ipsis deus sui ipsius divinitatem et fecit ipsa corpus et sangwinem | sui ipsius: A 107<sup>c</sup> ut per consweta secundum graciam fiamus". Ecce quod panis fiet, et per consequens erit, corpus Christi, et sic non destruetur sed perficietur per mutacionem super- 35 naturalem. Nec scivit Scotus aut alii capitanei sectarum invenire calumpniam in hiis dictis, nisi quia ponit

8. et deest AB 9. 10. in sacramentum in C.

26. Jo. Damasc. De Fide Orth., l. IV, c. 13 (Migne, t. 94, p. 1142, series Graeca). St. John Damascenus seems to express himself here and elsewhere in a manner which agrees with Wyclif's view; and St. Thomas' explanation of the text (Summa Th. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars, quaest. LXXV, art. II) appears to be rather strained.

transsubstancialacionem: ponit etiam quod sacramentum illud non est antitipus vel umbra, sed presencialiter corpus Christi. Hec tamen debet intelligi, quod sit sacramentaliter corpus Christi, nec adversarii dicant de suo accidente; nam secundum eos hoc sacramentum est duo res, et earum utraque, licet equivoce: quia illud quod in natura sua fuit ante consecrationem, quod est essencialiter, et illud quod est post consecrationem scilicet corpus Christi, quod est supernaturaliter ad sensum equivocum. Hoc enim concedit tam generacio signa querencium, quam etiam filii ecclesie, qui concedunt quod sacramentum est secundum naturam panis et vinum. Si igitur secundum Ambrosium, et autorem "De divinis officiis" eius discipulum, sacramentum non sit post consecrationem principaliter duo corpora, sed solummodo corpus Christi, patet quod per idem non est due res sed solummodo corpus Christi; et, cum ydemptificatio ac impanacio non sit possibilis, non superest eis alius sensus, nisi quod sacramentum sit solummodo principaliter vel supernaturaliter corpus Christi. Et sic oportet intelligi quod accidentia que non sunt sacramentaliter corpus Christi remaneant, et quod panis secundum esse pa[n]nis principaliter vel supernaturaliter non remanet. Et iste videtur sensus ecclesie, dicentes accidentia remanere sine subiecto, ut fides locum habeat et sensus a deceptione immunes reddantur. Fides autem habet locum, quando, loco consideracionis quidditatis panis, occupatur anima circa consideracionem corporis Christi; et sensus a deceptione immunes redduntur, quando indicant essenciam esse albam, sapidam, duram vel aliter accidentatam: nam cognoscere quiditatem panis est accio intellectus. Et cum sit verum quod illa essencia est sic accidentata, patet quod sensus verum iudicans non in hoc decipitur, cum vere concipit essenciam esse huiusmodi, quod eadem essencia vere est.

B 114<sup>b</sup> Sed dubitatur utrum debet concedi simpliciter quod sacramentum sit tantummodo corpus Christi; et videatur, iuxta exponentes, ut tactum est, quod hoc debet concedi simpliciter cum panis ille sit corpus Christi, et non sit aliud quam corpus Christi, nec sit illud quod

for the  
Sacrament is  
not a type nor  
a shadow.

It is partly  
what it was  
before and  
partly what it  
is after  
consecration:  
all parties must  
hold this.

If therefore  
after  
consecration  
there are not  
two bodies, but  
one, and  
impanation or  
identification is  
impossible, then  
the substance  
of bread must  
be there.

Faith frees our  
senses from  
error by  
contemplating,  
instead of  
the essence of  
bread, Christ's  
body.

And the sense,  
judging of the  
essence as being  
white, round,  
&c., is not  
deceived.

May we grant  
that the  
sacrament is  
only Christ's  
body? Yes, for  
the bread is  
that, and  
nothing else.

3, 4. Hec — Christi deest BCD. 4. dicant C. 15. principaliter  
duo corpora deest CD. 16, 17. Christi, patet — solummodo corpus  
Christi deest AB. 3t. non C. 33. est sic accidentata deest D.  
35. vere A. 37. modo deest BCD.

non est corpus Christi. Et eadem est difficultas contra illos qui ponunt sacramentum altaris esse accidentis,

Thus the Sacrament is both bread and Christ's body, in two distinct senses.

utrum illud sit solummodo corpus Christi. Ideo notandum quod in istis laboratur in equivoicis; nam, intelligendo esse analogice ad esse ydempticum et esse figuratum, concedendum videtur cum Ambrosio et autore De divinis officiis, quod sacramentum sit solum corpus Christi. Et licet per idem sit solum terrena substancia, tamen nomen dignius acceptatur et nomen inferius religiose suspenditur. Et ita conceditur cum autore, 10 quod sacramentum sit | equivoce utraque istarum duarum substancialium. |

The adversaries' arguments.

A real change implies generation and corruption: which require destruction of the bread. But I mean by transsubstantiation, a change from the exclusion of anything but bread, to the coexistence of Christ.

De A 108 B 114<sup>r</sup>

Sed difficultas manens doctoribus ad glosandum Damascenum stat in isto quod ipse ponit panem et venum transsubstanciari. Ista, inquit, transsubstanciacio, 15 cum sit motus realis, requirit aliquid generari et aliud corrupti. Corruptum autem non est singendum, nisi essentia panis secundum se totam destruatur. Sed, ut sepe dictum est, illi nimis subtiliant de motu, quem ponunt motum realem et nichil illo moveri; sufficit, 20 inquam, ad illum motum miraculosum, quod terminus a quo sit exclusio cuiuscunque corporis per datum locum preter nudam existenciam panis, et terminus ad quem sit principalitas existencie corporis Christi per eundem locum vel forma secundum quam panis denominatur formaliter esse corpus Christi.

Et ista videtur esse sententia illius subtilis philosophi et magni theologi magistri Ursonis in libro suo "de mixtionibus elementorum", ubi capitulo tercio declarans materiam primam ante tempora extitisse, ponit eam 30 inter aliquam substanciam et nullam: "cum", inquit, "omnis substancia substet accidentibus, nec accidentia possunt esse sine suis subiectis. Cum enim aliquid yle non poterit dici accidentibus subiectatum, non

7. solummodo C. 14. hoc C. 16. aliquid ACD. 27. esse deest BCV; ib. subtilis deest CD. 33, 34. aliud yle ACD; aliud universale B.

16. *Motus* is generally taken by Scholastics in the wide sense of *change*. Aristotle, enumerating seven sorts of movement, counts alteration and variation amongst them. 28. See p. 134, note. 34. *Yle* means, in Aristotelian philosophy, the material cause of anything (*ὕλη*, wood); it here means the primal matter underlying substantial changes.

potest dici substancia". Et infra, capitulo 8<sup>o</sup>, ponit sepe quod unum elementum transsubstanciatur in aliud; ideo manifestum est, cum ponit in omni tali generacione materialem essenciam remanere, | quod non fuit 5 intencionis sue dicere motum illum transsubstanciacionis non esse in aliquo subiective.

E. Et ista videtur esse sententia beati Isidori in sermoni de corpore et sancto gwine Christi, qui sermo sic incipit: "Magnitudo celestium beneficiorum et angustias 10 humanae mentis excedit." "Tibi," inquit, "impossibile esse non debet quod in Christi substancialiter terrena et mortalia commutentur." Et declarat illud per exemplum notabile. "Te ipsum," inquit, "qui iam in Christo renatus es, interrogo, dudum alienus a vita, peregrinus 15 a misericordia, a salutis via intrinsecus mortuus exulabas; subito iniciatus Christi legibus et salutaribus mysteriis innovatus, in corpus ecclesie, non vivendo sed credendo transisti, et de filio perditionis adoptivus dei fieri occulta potestate meruisti in mensura visibili per 20 manens; maior factus es te ipso invisibiliter, sine quantitatis augumento, cum idem atque ipse es multo aliter fieri fidei processibus meruisti. In exteriori nichil additum est, et totum in interiori mutatum est; ac si homo Christi filius effectus, et Christus in hominis 25 mente formatus est. Sic igitur sine corporali sensu, peccati vilitate deposita, subito novam indutus es dignitatem. Et sicut hoc quod in te deus lesa curavit, in 30 A 108<sup>e</sup>fecta diluit, maculata | detersit, non oculis, sed sensibus sunt credita; ita et cum reverendum altare cibis sacramandus ascendis, sacram dei tui corpus et sanguinem fide respice, honora, mirare, mente contingere, manu cordis suscipe, et maxime gusto interiori assume." Sive autem iste sermo fuerit Ambrosii sive Ysidori, sive B 115<sup>a</sup> Eusebii, cum fuerint una fistula spiritus sancti, | manifestum est, quod exemplo docent supradictam sententiam, cum aliter forent in pertinencia, quod prius non diceret. Unde sequitur in eodem sermone: "Adverte quam evidenter constet vini creaturam Christi sanguini-

and when he speaks of one element being transsubstantiated into another.

So does Isidorus.

Quotations from this author.

It is evident that the Holy Ghost dictated these expressions.

1. ponitur BCD. 7. esse *deest* C. 11. iuxta D. 14. interroga ACD; *ib.* peregrinis AC. 15. anima *pro* a misericordia D. 17. innovatis BC. 22. aliter CD. 27. sic A. 29. 30. sacandis ostendis BCD. 30. sacram A; sacramentum BCD; *ib.* cui *omnes* MSS. 31. honore BCD. 34. fuerit A. 35. exempla BCD. 38. constat B; *ib.* sanguinem *deest* BCD.

9. Isid. *ubi supra*. Migne, t. 83, p. 1225.

If wine should nem nuncupandam." Nec dubium quin panis et vinum  
be called Christ's blood, then it is so. non forent nuncupanda caro Christi et sangwis, nisi  
forent huiusmodi, cum religio Christiana odit menda-  
cium.

The four great  
Doctors'  
authority  
alleged:

Ambrose seems  
against me in  
only two  
passages.

"What was  
bread, is now  
Christ's body."

And again  
.Christ's word  
can make what  
was to be other  
than it was."

These passages  
seem but are  
not contrary;  
witness the  
Church's decree  
against  
Berengarius.

And Jerome  
teaches that the  
word Hoc,  
spoken by  
Christ, means  
bread.

Sed post istos allegantur quatuor magni doctores; 5 certum est tamen quod licet accusentur a scandalisantibus fratres suos, dicunt tamen concorditer nostram senten- ciam. Quantum autem ad beatum Ambrosium non sunt F. ultra duo loca, in quibus videtur contrariari nostre sentencie; primo in libro suo de sacramentis. Et poni- 10 tur, de consecratione, distinccione 2<sup>a</sup>; ut sepe reppeci. "Quod erat panis," inquit, "ante consecrationem, iam corpus Christi est per consecrationem". Secundo dicit Ambrosius, et ponitur secundum partem in eadem distinccione. "Si," inquit, "vis tanta est in sermone do- 15 mini Jesu, ut incipient esse que non erant; quanto magis | operatorius est ut sint que erant et in aliud A 108<sup>d</sup> commutentur. Celum non erat, mare non erat, terra non erat. Sed audi dicentem; *ipse dixit et facta sunt.* Igitur ut respondeam tibi: non erat corpus Christi ante 20 consecrationem sed post consecrationem, dico tibi, quia iam panis corpus Christi est, *ipse dixit et factum est, ipse mandavit et creatum est;* tu ipse eras, sed non eras, vetus creatura. Postea quam consecratus es, nova creatura esse cepisti. Vis scire, quia nova creatura igi- 25 tur didicisti, quod ex pane fit corpus Christi et quod aqua et vinum in calicem | mittitur, sed fit sangwis B 115<sup>b</sup> consecracione verbi celestis." Nisi, inquam, ista duo dicta beati Ambrosii sint contra nostram sentenciam, nulla penitus sunt sibi contraria. Et pro tollenda ista 30 contrarietate invoco in testem decretum ecclesie contra Berengarium, quod quilibet gramaticus potest ut fidem sibi construere.

Quantum ad beatum Jeronimum, notum est quod ipse eodem spiritu docet eandem sentenciam; unde 35 epistola ad Elpidiam, ut supra exposui, docet quod panis demonstratur pro nomine propositionis sacramentalis: et certum est quod illud demonstratum fit virtute Christi caro et sangwis eius. Aliter enim foret sacra-

13. post CD. 23. et ipse D. 24. postquam BCD. 27. sit AB.  
33. sibi deest CD. 36. dicitur *pro docet in marg.* A. 38. sit D.

12. Ambr. De Sacramentis, l. IV, c. 4 (Migne, t. 16, p. 440).  
34. Jer. Ep. ad Hedibiam, c. II. Migne, t. 22, p. 986.

mentalis proposicio nimis falsa: quod esset blasphemiam  
 G. defendere. Ideo sepe confessus sum quod idem corpus  
 Christi in numero, quod fuit assumptum de virgine, quod  
 A 10<sup>a</sup> passum est in cruce, quod pro sancto | triduo iacuit  
 5 mortuum in sepulcro, quod die tercia resurrexit, quod  
 post 40<sup>d</sup> dies ascendit in celum, et quod sedet perpet-  
 tu ad dexteram dei patris; ipsum inquam idem corpus,  
 et eadem substancia, est vere et realiter panis sacra-  
 mentalis vel hostia consecrata, quam fideles sencidunt  
 10 in manibus sacerdotum. Cuius probacio est, quod Chri-  
 stus qui mentiri non potuit nec potest sic asserit. Non  
 tamen audeo dicere, quod corpus Christi sit essencialiter,  
 substancialiter, corporaliter vel ydemptice ille panis;  
 ymo sicut corpus Christi extensum est ille panis, sed  
 15 ipsum corpus non est extense vel dimensionaliter ille  
 panis, sic dicendum est cum aliis adverbiis essencie,  
 substancie et corporis. Ista autem adverbia vere et rea-  
 B 11<sup>b</sup> liter, cum sunt adverbia transcendencia, dicunt | modum  
 20 essendi analogicum quo Christus est ille panis. Unde,  
 ad tollendum istam ydolatriam atque blasphemiam, dicit  
 Augustinus, ut recitatur in de consecratione distincione  
 2<sup>a</sup>, capitulo, *non hoc*, "corpus ipsum et non ipsum."  
 Ipsum, inquam, corpus Christi secundum sacramen-  
 talem figuram manducaturi sunt fideles et non ipsum  
 25 secundum sui naturam.

Unde in tanta equivocacione laborat sophista dyabolus quod seducit ecclesiam cum adverbiis modorum, quod possunt determinare nomen corporis sacrificii secundum sui naturam, vel nomen corporis Christi secundum sui naturam. Et sic, sumendo corpus Christi A 10<sup>c</sup> equivoce pro substancia, | que est ydemptice Christus ipse, vel pro substancia panis, ut figurat sacramentaliter ipsum corpus; ut videtur beatus Jeronimus dicere de consecratione, distincione 2<sup>a</sup> capitulo "*Dupliciter*": sic, 35 inquam, concederet equivocans quod corpus Christi est substancialiter ille panis; et quod corpus Christi plurificatur et extenditur, sicut ille hostie. Et ita videtur loqui decretum Nicolai secundi.

Christ's body  
is really and  
truly the  
Sacramental  
Bread:  
though not  
essentially,  
substantially,  
corporally,  
identically;  
extensionally or  
dimensionally.

Augustine's  
teaching.

These adverbs,  
being  
transcendental,  
are equivocal.  
Taking the  
body of Christ  
as *substance*,  
it might be  
thought that it  
was bread  
substantially;  
which it is not.

3. Christi *deest* CD. 5. mortuum *deest* B. 10. analogum BCD.  
 28. deteriorare BD. 29, 30. vel — naturam *deest* D.

34. Decr. Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars, Dist. II, c. 40.

I choose to understand now in one sense, now in another, the texts that seem against me.

Ego autem teneo sentenciam, et propter periculum vario in logica cum baptista; et sic glosa dicta que videntur contraria ut quando dicitur quod corpus Christi videtur oculo corporali, frangitur et movetur quomodounque sacramentum movetur, intelligitur de 5 sacramento quod est corpus Christi. Et sic intelligitur illud sermonis Eusebii: "his", inquit "et aliis, si plures sint signacionibus conservatis. conservetur eciam fides

Thus I explain the word 'substancialiter' of Eusebius to mean that Christ is not present as a quality.

substancialiter creditur, ut quod ipsa veritas omnino 10 verum esse testatur; nostra fallacia falsum aut ymaginarium esse non | opinetur." Illud autem "substancia-B 115 liter" refertur ad substancialiter sacramenti; quod si per impossibile foret qualitas per se, tunc corpus Christi foret ipsum qualitative, sed servando fidem verbi dei 15 teneamus quod panis ille est vere corpus Christi. Nam deus et anima substancialiter sunt per loca multa, quia habent esse spirituale cui non repugnat, in quantum sunt id quod sunt, esse essencialiter per loca multa.

A body must fill space in a corporeal and extended way; so if it is in one place it cannot be in another.

Sed, cum non stat corpus esse nisi sit corporaliter et 20 dimensionaliter replens | locum, et repugnat quod simul A 109<sup>c</sup> replet dimensionaliter multa loca, ut patet in materia de multiplicacione; ideo repugnat idem corpus esse sic substancialiter per multa loca, quia in quantum substancia illius generis, si replet unum locum sibi ade-25 quatum, hoc deest a quounque loco alio; ideo potest corpus multiplicari secundum alias modos essendi ut virtualem et sacramentalem; non autem secundum modum substancialiem vel corporalem, quo ad naturam propriam.

By this reason Augustine proves that body cannot become spirit.

Et hec ratio Augustini, quare quodlibet corpus potest mutari in quodlibet, sed non corpus in spiritum; et super isto errore fundantur secte erronee de multiplicacione. Sicut enim spiritus non potest extendi per locum, sic corpus non potest esse non extensum. 35

As for the words of Augustine, which explicitly say that the bread does not remain, he may have erred.

Quantum ad beatum Augustinum, ubi dicitur in quo-II. dam loco intitulato *heretice*; "noli timere asserere quod panis transit et non remanet post consecratio-

2. loyca AB 6. corporis Christi B. 9. que BCD. 11. ut pro aut CD. 3. ubi deest BCD.

2. Wyclif, laying himself open to the charge of inconsistency, alludes to John Baptist, who baptized Christ after refusing to do so, and was right in both cases. 31. Aug. De Genesi, I. VII, c. 12, 21. Migne, t. 34, p. 362, 365.

nem"; possunt credere qui voluerint, illa fuisse verba Augustini, quia possibile est quod errasset, quod opinative locutus fuisset; vel quod nobis ignorantibus equivocasset.

B 116<sup>a</sup> Non est autem bonum mentiri super sanctos | ad eorum

scandalum. Ideo cum beatus Augustinus dicit expresse quod accidens non potest esse sine subiecto, sicut exemplificat de quantitate; ut patet De quantitate anime capitulo 4<sup>o</sup>; ille autem liber est notorie Augustini, ut patet in libro Retraccionum; illi libro et verbis suis

A 109<sup>b</sup> in illo debemus credere specialiter, cum librum | illum diligenter retractat, nec errorem illum de impossibilitate accidencium sine subiecto revocat; que negligencia in tanto philosopho tantum cavente periculum in fide non

But as he says elsewhere, in an authentic work, that accidents cannot be without their subjects, we must either explain these words or say they are spurious, or that he is inconsistent.

15 quod ista erant verba Augustini tunc pium videtur ipsum sane intelligere isto modo quod panis vel sub-

stanceia panis transit in consecratione non ad forum sed in corpus Christi, hoc est, sit et est corpus Christi

20 per consecrationem; et sic non remanet pure panis cum sit per consecrationem corpus Christi. Sic enim

loquitur magister Augustini Ambrosius.

Et quantum ad beatum Gregorium in sermone de solemnitate paschali ut recitatur de consecratione distinctione 2<sup>a</sup>, capitulo "Species et similitudo", ubi

Gregory mentions the appearance of bread; but we may say that the appearance of bread is bread; as an abstract noun may mean its corresponding concrete.

25 videtur dicere quod sacramentum altaris sit species

panis aut vini, conceditur quod in predicacione secundum subiectum, substancia panis et vini vere est

Eccles. XLIV, species panis et vini; sicut sacerdos magnus "in tem-

17 pore iracundie factus est reconciliatio." Et signanter

30 substancia panis vocatur illo nomine quod oportet esse in memoria quo ad sensum. Responsio autem illorum

qui in isto coniiciunt quod species panis sit accidens sine subiecto, est responsio ignari sophiste et heretici

ydyote. Et patet, quomodo isti quatuor doctores intellecti

A 110<sup>a</sup> catholice sicut debent, non faciunt pro magnificacione | accidencium sine subiecto, nec quod panis non re-

B 110<sup>b</sup> manet | corpus Christi, sed docent directe contrarium.

Quo ad Eusebium et Isidorum patet ex dictis, quomodo ipsi militant pro nostra parte contrarii parti

It is clear that these doctors, rightly understood, are not in favour of the 'accident' doctrine.

Eusebius and Isidorus again examined.

4. fratres pro sanctos A. 5. expresse deest BCD. 7. ut - quantitate deest CD. 10. in illo deest CD. 16. sane ipsa BCD. 17. de fociis B. 18. et est deest AB. 21. Augustinus omnes MSS. 29. concedetur D.

8. Aug. Retr., I. I, c. 8. Migne, t. 32, p. 594. 24. Decr. Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars. Dist. II, c. 34.

adverse. Et patet sentencia Eusebii de consecratione distinctione 2<sup>a</sup> capitulo "Quia corpus assumptum", ubi repetitur sentencia supradicta beati Ysidori. Quo I. ad beatum Ignacium et Dyonisium patet quod non faciunt pro illa sentencia, cum illi sint autores qui, ut 5 scripture, raro vel nunquam locuntur de nomine accidentis. Sed postquam invaluit opinio de terrenis diviciis, que possunt dici alienissime homini accidere, tunc invaluit error, quo generacio signorum gravi corde nititur trahere corpus domini, quod sursum est, se- 10 cundum suam substanciam, versus terram. Sed Paulus dicit econtra: "Que sursum sunt, querite"; sic igitur si istis XI<sup>em</sup> testibus adiunctus fuerit ille magnus philosophus sanctus, Urso et testes illi examinati fuerint secundum regulas scripture, dirigente Christo 13<sup>mo</sup> "in 15 quo clamamus: abba pater"; perfectus foret conventus testium. Paulus enim dicit, quod accepit sensum istum I. Cor. a domino, quod "dominus Jesus in qua nocte trade- 11 batur, accepit panem, benedixit et fregit", precepit 23, 24 quoque manducare ex illo omnes, quia ipsum est cor- 20 pus suum: "probet", inquit, "se ipsum homo, et sic de pane illo edat". Ubi | non dubium, non valet simulacio A 110<sup>b</sup>

Magog, quod Christus sic sophisticatus est: accepit verum panem, cuius substanciam benedixit, quo sub-tracto fregit abiectum | accidentis sine subiecto, et pre- B 116<sup>c</sup> cepit manducari ex illo accidente, cum ipsum, non substancia panis, sit corpus Christi. Revera non solum testimonia sanctorum, sed ingenium naturale horreret istam perfidiam. Sicut igitur veram substanciam panis accepit, benedixit, fregit et manducare precepit, sic 30 eandem substanciam fecit corpus suum et ad illam substanciam refert apostolus, quando dicit quod homo probatus in fide sua de pane illo edat. Et hoc dictum unicum quod Christus loquitur in suo apostolo, valet plus quam quotquot duodene huiusmodi. Constat autem 35

The Apostle's evidence is of most value.  
Three sorts of evidence:  
a) That of faith and internal light, the best.

illapsus veritatis, que de se illuminat intellectum; et ista est evidencia prima et certissima, ita quod excedit omnem demonstracionem philosophicam; quod si fides 40

5. qui, ut deest omnes MSS. 13. testibus deest CD. 14. sanctus deest B. 22. quod non BCD. 38. clapsus B. itaque CD.

Ignatius and  
Dyonisius, since  
neither employs  
the term  
'accident'  
cannot be  
quoted.

If we add to  
these eleven  
last witnesses  
Christ and  
St. Paul, their  
agreement will  
be perfect.

Paul's account  
of the bread  
broken, &c.  
differs  
completely from  
the 'accident'  
theory of the  
moderns.

Christ, taking  
the true  
substance of  
bread, made it  
His body.

scripture sic asserit ergo verum. In hoc tamen possunt esse equivocaciones, cum dyabolus potest seducere mendaces in antecedente, fallendo quod scriptura sacra dicit multa que non dicit. Ideo oportet fidem que est

though here  
too may be  
shares, making  
Scripture say  
what it does  
not.

5 datrix muneris esse principium nostre intellectionis, nec oportet ultra eius certitudinem querere ulteriore.

A 110 Sed illa fide habita | facile est respondere argumentis dyaboli et dare pie querentibus fidei rationem; hoc enim docet Petrus fideles et specialiter sacerdotes

But we can  
answer the  
Devil's  
arguments with  
sound reasons.

10 debere facere, licet secta Machometi et Sergii mandent

contrarium. Nam fides nostra est tam firma et in-

B 116<sup>a</sup> fringibilis, quod de quanto plus modeste terretur, de | Hebr. tanto plus rutilat, micans fidelibus; ymo ipsa fides

For our faith  
is firm.

XI, <sup>11</sup> non est qualitas, sed "substancia rerum sperandarum,

15 argumentum non apparen- cium". Ipsa autem substancia

It has the surest  
foundation, the  
Word of God.

est fundamentum primum, quo aliud nemo potest

ponere, cum sit realiter verbum dei. Ipsum enim est

essencialiter veritas credita, et per consequens sub-

stantia beatitudinis et aliorum insensibilium speran-

20 dorum; nec solum se habet ut causa materialis vel

objiectiva, sed ut causa efficiens evidenciam vel motiva

ad noscendum tales veritates absconditas; ideo signanter

dicit apostolus Hebr. XI<sup>b</sup>, quod illa fides est argumen-

25 tum non apparen- cium; hoc est, insensibilium lumine

naturali.

K. Secunda est evidencia demonstrativa, que procedit ex

Evidence that  
comes from  
demonstration  
by natural  
principles.

veritatibus prioribus et nocioribus, concludendo veritatem

minus cognitam. Est autem multiplex demonstracio

This is of many  
sorts:

secundum logicos, vel ostensiva, vel dicens ad impossibile,

direct;

30 que tenet per veritatem implicitam. Et est demonstracio

indirect;

ostensiva, vel propter quid, que vocatur potissima, vel

*a priori*;

A 110<sup>a</sup> demonstracio; quia que procedit a | posteriori in natura

*a posteriori*;

ad eius causam natura priorem, licet sit arguenti minus

universal,

nota. Quedam etiam est demonstracio universalis et

particular;

35 quedam particularis, quedam affirmativa, et quedam

affirmative;

negativa, de quibus logici intromittunt. Sed tria sunt

negative, &c.

digna memoria theologi. Prima, quod ante talem

Three things to  
be noted by  
theologians:

demonstracionem fides presupponitur tanquam causa.

1<sup>st</sup> that every

Patet ex hoc, quod ante omnem demonstracionem

demonstration implies faith;

40 presupponitur noticia, si est de subiecto. Nemo enim

for it implies a

demonstrat aliquid de subiecto, nisi sciverit ipsum esse;

subject, which

2. esse deest C1). 10. mandet AB. 12. territorur omnes MSS.

16. qua A. 23. ad hebreos BCD. 3<sup>t</sup>. vocantur AB.

can be known

only by faith.

sed cum non possit haberi no[n] tacia de subiecto, nisi B 117<sup>a</sup>  
per fidem, patet conclusio. Et in signum istius nemo  
cognoscit litteras vel aliquid, nisi crediderit, iuxta illud

<sup>2<sup>nd</sup></sup> That every truth can be proved *a posteriori* by the trinity of the soul. Ysaie VII<sup>b</sup>: "Nisi credideritis, non permanebitis." Se-VII, 9 cunda conclusio: Omnis veritas poterit demonstrari ex 5 trinitate anime *a posteriori*; et hoc est veritas difficillima ad demonstrandum, ergo etc. Iterum ista veritas: Nichil simul est et non est, potest negari, sicut patet 4<sup>c</sup> Methaphysice; sed illi insipientes possunt manuduci in eius noticiam per veritatem posteriorem: ergo illa veritas 10 potest quoddammodo demonstrari, et negans illam esse demonstracionem abutitur terminis. Nam eque fortiter ex eque necessariis plus nobis notis, potest conclusio talis eque cognita inferri; sicut philosophus naturalis infert ex antecedente suo primum motorem esse; quare 15 ergo foret unum de necessario et non | reliquum? A 111<sup>d</sup>

<sup>3<sup>rd</sup></sup> That the faithful need no demonstration as to Catholic truth; it binders spiritual progress.

Thus the dispute concerning the Sacrament can be closed: it is the Body of Christ, though by nature bread.

The most probable opinion is that the form of bread is changed into Christ's Body.

<sup>a</sup> aliud B. 7. Item B; *ib.* vel A. 10. illa igitur C. 11. infertur D.  
<sup>b</sup> demonstracio A. 24. in natura BCD 32. et BCD. 35. substancia A.

5. I can only understand this sentence by supposing Wyclif to mean that it can be proved that our soul is the image of the Trinity; and that, as all truth is in the latter, it is also in the former, as in its image.

secreta; quia illud sacramentum quod subicitur cuilibet huiusmodi accidenti; verumtamen corpus Christi non subicitur alicui eorum, nec informatur eorum aliquo, licet sit sacramentaliter illud quod sic informatur; sicut A 111<sup>b</sup> deitas est extensem, quia Christus, sed non | extenditur. In quibusunque autem aliis difficultatibus huius materie doctus a quoconque volo humiliiter stare decreto ecclesie, stante fide.

Tertia autem evidencia est probabilis vel topica, The third sort  
of evidence  
gives only  
probability.  
As when the  
form is perfect,  
but the  
premises  
doubtful.

10 sive fuerit quo ad materiam, sive quo ad formam. Quo ad materiam, sicut in sylogismis dyalecticis, ubi forma est absolute necessaria, sed antecedens est valde contingens, ut patet in isto: Omnis comptus est luxuriosus, Petrus est comptus, ergo Petrus est luxuriosus. Et ad 15 illud genus evidencie reducuntur omnia argumenta topica, a testimonio humano; ut patet in probacionibus politicis et argumentis captis a testimonio doctorum, eciam quantumcunque sanctorum citra autores scripture, ut sepe docet Augustinus, sicut patet 9 distinccione 20. . . . . Unde argumentum nude captum a testimonio talium doctorum, et multo magis ex testimonio Romane ecclesie, non sufficit per se hereticare quicquam, quia B 117<sup>c</sup> omnes illi possunt | decipi atque decipere, et sic contra dominum diffinire; ac successor katholicare quod predecessor hereticavit, et econtra Ideo oportet recurrere ad fontem veritatis, scripturam sacram, et docere quod illa sententia heretica sit sibi contraria et post aufugere mores heretici in effectu. Non autem constat ex scriptura, quod sacramentum sit accidens sine subiecto, sed 30 contrarium, ideo nemo potest hereticare negativam eius, A 111<sup>c</sup> sed cum ipsa sit nota | impedire scolasticos ne amplius retractetur: credimus enim quod triplex est modus essendi corporis Christi in hostia consecrata, scilicet virtualis, spiritualis et sacramentalis. Virtualis, quo bene 35 facit per totum suum dominium secundum bona nature vel gracie. Modus autem essendi spiritualis est, quo corpus Christi est in eukaristia et sanctis per gratiam. Et tertius est modus essendi sacramentalis, quomodo corpus Christi est singulariter in hostia consecrata. Et

To this sort  
belong  
testimony, the  
Fathers and the  
decrees of the  
Church, which  
cannot give  
entire certitudine.

as Scripture  
can and does

Thus even the  
agreement of  
the Fathers in  
favour of  
absolute  
accidents would  
not give  
certitude.  
Christ has three  
modes of being  
in the Host:  
virtual,  
spiritual, and  
sacramental.

6. huiusmodi BCD; corr. A. 9. est deest AB. 10. habuit B. 15. omnia deest CD. 38. est deest BCD; ib modo deest B.

10. Decr. Grat. 1<sup>a</sup> Pars, Dist. IX . . . c. III. "Noli meis litteris quasi canoniceis scripturis inservire, etc." Also c. V.

The second requires the first; the third, the second.

sicut secundus modus preexit primum, ita tercarius modus preexit secundum: quia impossibile est presertim carentem fidem secundum iusticiam presentem confidere. Qui ergo credit, sive conficiat, sive non conficiat, manducavit, ut dicit Augustinus super Johanne 5 omelia 25. Et ille modus essendi spiritualis est in anima verior, est etiam verior atque realior quam prior modus essendi, vel secundum membrum secundi modi essendi in hostia consecrata, cum sit per se causa illius modi, vel efficiens, vel finalis; et per se causa est 10 magis ens suo causato. Modus autem essendi spiritualis quo corpus Christi est in hostia, est modus verus et B 117<sup>4</sup> realis, cum autor muneris qui mentiri non potest, dixit: "Hoc est corpus meum", et reliquit suis sacerdotibus virtutem similiter faciendi. Hoc autem totum ex 15 fide scripture colligitur; ideo Christus est specialiori modo in isto sacramento quam in aliis, cum sit | simul A 111<sup>4</sup> veritas et figura, non sunt autem sic alia sacramenta.

Three other modes of being that Christ's body has in Heaven: Substantial, corporeal, and extended being.

Et patet iste miraculosus modus essendi sacramentalis; M. cultores autem signorum nesciunt fundare quod suum 20 sacramentum sit tam realiter corpus Christi. Sed preter istos tres modos essendi corporis Christi, est dare tres alios modos essendi realiores et veriores, quos corpus Christi appropriate habet in celo, scilicet modus essendi substancialiter, corporaliter, et dimensionaliter. Et grosse 25 concipientes non intelligunt alium modum essendi materialis substancialie preter istos. Illi autem sunt valde indispositi ad concipiendum archana eukaristie et subtilitatem scripture; ideo dico illis quod duo modi priores in subiecto corporali coincidunt, nisi quod substancialiter 30 consequitur corpus Christi in quantum substancia, et modus essendi corporalis consequitur corpus Christi secundum rationem qua corpus. Modus autem essendi dimensionalis consequitur ad duos priores, sicut passio

Some can conceive no other existence but this.

ad subiectum, et quilibet istorum trium modorum est 35 realior et causa prior quam priores. Nullo autem istorum modorum trium est corpus Christi in sacramento, sed in celo; quia tunc foret corpus Christi septipedale in hostia. Sicut ergo corpus Christi est illa hostia, sic est | B 118<sup>5</sup>

The two first are together in every bodily thing.

And these three modes, more real than the former three, are absent from the Sacrament.

4. sive non, manducavit C. 13. verus D. 15. virtutum deest BCD.  
16. tollitur BCD. 18. pro sunt BCD. 22. tres deest D. 30. substancia BCD. 32. consequit B.

5. Aug. Tract. XXV. In Joh. Migne, t. 35, p. 1602.

substancialiter, corporaliter ibidem et dimensionaliter,  
attendendo ad modum hostie secundum naturam suam,  
et non attendendo ad corpus Christi secundum naturam  
A 112<sup>a</sup> suam, ut dictum est superius. Et ita | conceditur quod,  
5 sicut corpus Christi est substancia corporea in ipsa  
hostia, sic illo tercio modo est in illa hostia, sed non  
secundum rationem qua est corpus Christi. Et ita con-  
ceditur quod corpus Christi est quantumcunque varie  
quantificatum ibi, cum sit quelibet pars quantitativa  
10 illius hostie; et tamen non quantificatur aliqua huius-  
modi quantitate. Et sic est varie magnum in diversis  
partibus illius hostie, sed non in se formaliter magnum  
aliqua tali magnitudine.

X. Sed ulterius notandum quod magna diversitas est  
15 in loco a testimonio, cum quilibet illorum quatuor  
magnorum doctorum valuerit mille de millenario sequenti  
in materia fidei. Obicitur tamen quod ipsi variarunt  
multipliciter in exposicione scripture, ut patet ex illo

Luc. II, 35 Luc. II<sup>b</sup>. "Tuam ipsius animam pertransibit gladius,"  
20 ubi aliqui videntur dicere, quod beata virgo fuit in  
triduo percussa gladio infidelitatis: et alii contradicunt.

Sed pro isto notandum quod sancti aliquid dicunt  
opinative sive probabiliter, et aliud asserunt supra  
opinionem tanquam fidem. In talibus autem sensibus  
25 scripturarum ambiguis tenuerunt se in specie opinionis  
quodlibet facere. Sed sepe contigit in hoc culpabiliter  
deficere, cum in penam peccati potest deficere sanctis  
spiritus consilii, quod longe crebrius contingit eciam de  
A 112<sup>b</sup> sectis in millenario | mendacii quam contigit de istis  
B 118<sup>b</sup> doctoribus. Ideo longe | minus credendum est illis, cum

sint tam crebro contrarii sibi ipsis. Tercio contingit  
sanctos equivocare, sicut equivocamus communiter viva  
voce. Ut, "multitudo credencium" cuius "erat cor  
unum et anima una", potest dici habere animam unam,  
35 que sit tam Christi quam Marie, et illam animam per-  
transivit gladius infidelitatis secundum partem in triduo,  
licet beata virgo tunc in se servaverit fidem ecclesie  
sine culpa et pie dubitaverit de quibusdam.

Circa ipsam quidem, que cunctas hereses singulariter  
40 destruxit sunt contenciones sectarum inutiles, ut una

As Christ's body is the Host, it is substantially, corporally and dimensionally according to the Host's mode of existence. So it is corporally in the Host, but not *qua* Christ's body.

Divergencies among the Doctors.

Even the early Fathers do not agree.

But they are far from taking a dogmatic tone when Scripture is not clear. This want of light sometimes comes from sin.

At times they understand scripture in two senses: thus, "The believers were one heart and one soul," can be understood differently.

Useless questions raised as to the Blessed Virgin's, Conception, sinlessness, &c.

5. est *deest* AB. 6. est *deest* CD. 8. est *deest* B. 11. modi  
*deest* CD. 13. alia D. 15. quatuor *deest* BCD. 16. valuit BCD.  
10. pertransivit AD. 21. contradicunt A. 22. aliqui CD. 26. quod  
licet CD; *ib.* contingit CD.

dicit, quod fuit concepta in originali peccato, quod venialiter peccavit in triduo et quod fuit mortua in corpore; et alia secta frontose contrariatur.

Contrary positions as to the Sacrament.

That bread becomes Christ's body: that it does not.

That it becomes Christ's mystic body; that it is a pure accident.

That there is a subject of the accidents; that there is none.

A conclusive argument.  
The Host cannot be an accident unless Christ said so: but Christ did not say so.

Can an accident be by any means a body?

Sed inanis est periculum in fide prima quo viantes de via cito variantur. Ponunt enim fideles ecclesie<sup>5</sup> quod panis verus fit et est per consecrationem corpus Christi; secte autem dicunt quod nullo modo potest esse ipsum corpus. Fideles dicunt quod ille panis habet similitudinem cum utroque corpore Christi, cum sit idem in genere cum corpore Christi vero et conficitur ut corpus Christi mysticum; ideo Christus vere dicit quod est corpus suum. Sed secte dicunt quod unum accidens sine subiecto incognitum sit corpus Christi, quod impossibile est Christum dicere. Fidelis dicit quod omne accidens in hostia consecrata subiectatur in pane qui est subiectum dignissimum; secte autem singunt, quod omne illud accidens sit sine A 112<sup>e</sup> substancia subiecta. Sed cum ista variatio sit sine fundamento, donent filiis ecclesie istam iniuriam. B 118<sup>e</sup>

Racio autem quietans me in ista materia stat in 20 isto. Hostia consecrata non foret accidens sine subiecto nisi Christus hoc diceret; sed Christus hoc non dixit, ergo hostia consecrata non est accidens sine subiecto. Maior patet ex hoc quod illud foret precipuum miraculum, quod non potest fieri, nisi Christus hoc dixerit. 25

Omnis enim hostia consecrata est corpus Christi, ut hic supponitur. Et minor patet Augustino et aliis veritatem zelantibus, qui vident quod precipuum accidens non potest esse sine subiecto. Nec negabit

ista sentencia, quod corpus Christi et hoc sacramentum accidens sine subiecto; igitur hoc sacramentum accidens sine subiecto est corpus Christi: et conversim.

Nam premissae et termini eorum convertuntur. Et eadem est racio tropica vel figurativa concedendi quod illud accidens sacramentum sit corpus Christi, que foret racio concedendi quod illud sacramentum sit corpus Christi, cum sit idem; et utrobique est eadem racio veritatis.

*Objection:* Is ista sentencia, quod corpus Christi non sit in eukaristia only in figure;

1. et pro quod C. 5. de viatico C. 6—8. quod — dicunt deest BCD. 13. sit B 27. per pro patet B. 34. eorum A.

aliter quam in signo. Sic autem est in ymagine crucifixi. Hic dicunt fideles quod corpus Christi non est in celo, vel humanitate assumpta aliter quam in signo, A 112<sup>a</sup> quia tunc aliter foret ibi quam in aliquo | signo; et 5 cum utrumque istorum sit signum, foret aliter ibi quam foret ibi. Ideo dicunt quod licet corpus Christi Answer: Christ is in the Sacrament only in figure; but otherwise than as in figure.

B 118<sup>b</sup> est signum, cum Lue. II<sup>o</sup> dicitur, quod “positus | est hic in ruinam et resurreccionem multorum, et in signum cui contradicetur.” Et secunda pars conclusionis patet ex hoc quod alias est modus essendi signum corporis Christi et alias modus essendi vere et realiter, 15 virtute verborum domini, corpus Christi. Conceditur tamen quod isti duo modi inseparabiliter concomitantur. Hoc tamen signum est intinatum prestancius quam signa corporis Christi in lege veteri, vel ymagines in lege nova, cum sit simul veritas et figura. Intelligo 20 autem dicta mea in materia ista secundum logicam scripture, nec non secundum logicam sanctorum et decreti Romane ecclesie, quos suppono prudenter fuisse locutos. Non enim valet scandalisare tantam Romanam ecclesiam, quando dicit panem et vinum esse post 25 consecrationem corpus et sangwinem Iesu Christi. Et, non obstante errore glosancium, ista fides mansit continue in ecclesia apud laycos. Cum ergo fidelis non optaret comedere corporaliter, sed spiritualiter corpus Christi, patet quod omnisciens aptavit illum modum A 113<sup>c</sup> spiritualem essendi corporis sui in hostia quo | debet comedti a fideli. Alium autem modum essendi, cum foret superfluus, abstrahebat. Unde infideles murmurant, vel cum illis qui abierunt retrorsum dicentes: “Durus hic est sermo”, cum corpus Christi sit corporaliter 35 manducandum; vel cum illis observatoribus legalium legis veteris, qui non putant esse prestanciorem gradum in signo eukaristie quam fuit in signis legis veteris, vel quam est insignis humanitus institutis. Et hii tingunt B 119<sup>d</sup> quod accidentis potest fieri | corpus Christi, et quod 40 melius ac planius dixisset Christus; hoc accidentis sine subiecto signat corpus meum. Utraque autem istarum

The sign has one mode of being, and the reality that Christ's words produce has another.

These two modes are however inseparable. Reality and figure are together.

This is according to Scripture, the Saints' belief, and the decrees of the Roman Church.

Christ's body receives a spiritual mode of being; which was hard to believe for some, who therefore imagined their doctrine of accidents.

2. non est deest B. 11. et in B. 16. modi essendi CD. 21. sanctorum doctorum BCD.

24. qua A. 30. que A. 38. sit BCD.

sectorum ex ignorantia graduum in signis est infideli  
deterior.

Thus bread becomes and is Christ's body by a miracle. Not identically, as the unity of person in two natures, but as nearly as possible after. This avoids all inconvenience about the accidents.

Teneamus igitur quod virtute verborum Christi panis P. ille sit et est miraculose corpus Christi ultra possibili-  
tatem signi ad hoc humanitus instituti. Verumtamen 5 ista unitas vel unio sive accepcio non attingit ad uni-  
tatem ydempticam naturalem vel unionem ypostaticam;  
sed creditur quod sit immediate post illam. Et sic accidencia corporalia corporis Christi, ut quantitates et  
qualitates corporales corporis Christi, videntur non 10 multiplicari concomitanter ad corpus Christi in hostia:  
et per idem alia accidencia respectiva que fundantur in istis: quia omnia ista accidencia preexigunt esse | A 113<sup>b</sup>  
corporale sui subiecti ubicunque fuerint; ut si hic sit septipedalitas, color vel gloria corporalis corporis Christi, 15 tunc hic est, quod corpus Christi est septipedale, colo-  
ratum, et corporaliter glorificatum; et per consequens corpus Christi habet hic existenciam corporalem. Quod cum sit falsum, negandum est talia accidencia secun-  
dum condiciones materiales multiplicari concomitanter 20 ad corpus Christi in hostia consecrata. Partes autem quantitative corporis Christi habent esse spirituale in hostia: ymmo habent esse sacramentale ibidem, cum sit quodammodo quelibet pars quantitativa ipsius hostie,  
et multo magis multiplicatur anima Christi per hostiam, 25 secundum quoddam esse spirituale posterius quam est illud esse quod habet in corpore Christi in celo. Et | B 119<sup>b</sup>  
causa huius multiplicacionis anime Christi est, quod ipsa est principalius ipso corpore persona verbi. Quali-  
tates autem immateriales, que subiectantur in anima 30 Christi, commultiplicantur cum ipsa per hostiam, ut sciencia, iusticia et alie virtutes anime Christi, que non requirunt, ubicunque fuerint, Christi preexistenciam cor-  
poralem. Ipsa enim fuerunt cum Christo; quia cum eius anima in inferno, sicut per totam hostiam est 35 Christus virtuosus, sic est per illam virtus Christi.  
Unde autor De divinis officiis opinatur quod, propter esse spirituale corporis Christi in hostia, est ibi con-  
comitancia angelorum. Quia tamen | sophisticari potest A 113<sup>c</sup>  
ista oblatio ex defectu potestatis fidei et verborum 40 presbiteri, ideo multi religiosi adorant conditionaliter hanc hostiam et in corpore Christi, quod substancialiter

Thus the quantitative parts of Christ's body exist sacramentally in the Host; also the soul of Christ, but not so perfectly as in Heaven. Christ's soul is more Divine than His body.

But as Christ's body is not there substantially, many religious persons adore it under condition; whilst idiots murmur, not granting it to be Christ's body.

5. ab D. 15. gla A; glossa BD. 30. materiales AB.

et infallibiliter sursum est, querendo celestia, sunt infallibiliter quietati. Sed ydyote remurmurant querentes quomodo corpus Christi est ille panis sanctus, cum non sint idem secundum substanciam vel naturam. Sed ipsos oportet addiscere fidem de incarnatione, quomodo due substancie vel nature valde differentes sunt idem suppositum, et tamen non sunt eodem, quia utraque earum est Christus: et tunc possunt a posteriori ascendere ad cognoscendum istam miraculosam unionem, servata utraque natura non ydemptisicata verbo dei. Sed oportet ipsos cognoscere gradus in signis, et deponere infundabilem blasphemiam de fictis miraculis accidentis, et credere virtutem verborum Christi: et tunc possunt cognoscere, quomodo ille panis est bene, mihi raculose, vere, et realiter, spiritualiter, virtualiter et sacramentaliter corpus Christi. Sed grossi non contentantur de istis modis, sed exigunt quod panis ille nichil saltem per illum sit substancialiter et corporaliter corpus Christi; sic enim volunt zelo blasphemorum Christum comedere, sed non possunt.

A 113<sup>a</sup> Adducitur autem pro hoc testimonium | Hugonis de Q. sancto Victore, libro 2<sup>o</sup>. De sacramentis parte 8<sup>va</sup> capitulo 7<sup>o</sup>. "Quemadmodum species illic cernitur, cuius res vel substancia ibi esse non creditur, sic res ibi realiter et substancialiter presens creditur, cuius species non cernitur." Quantum ad illum doctorem patet, quod ipse subtiliter inculcat katholicam sentenciam supradictam. Wult enim quod species sensibilis ibi cernitur, et quod illa species essencialiter sit panis et vinum; et quod eciam cernitur, licet per accidens. Ideo sepe vocat ipsam panem et vinum, que sunt alimenta solita, et principalis substancia alimenti: ut patet in dicto capitulo. Et capitulo sequenti. "*Illum autem panem*", dicit habere rem vel substanciam que creditur, non cernitur, cum sit corpus Christi.

Sed pro adverbio "substancialiter" notandum, quod quandoque sumitur simpliciter pro modo substancie; sic quod idem sit corpus Christi esse ibi substancialiter et esse ibi modo substancie: et sic loquitur Hugo;

If they knew the doctrine of the Incarnation, and how two natures can be identified in one person, they could see how two natures could be all but identified.

But their gross minds are thus driven to a blasphemous doctrine.

Hugo of St. Victor's words concerning 'sensible appearance' confirm my doctrine.

Also those concerning 'the bread that has the substance believed, not seen'.

'Substantially' may mean as a substance, or in the bodily essence, as such.

8. eorum AB. 17. nihil deest B; vel pro nihil CD. 19. zelus CD.  
21. per ABD. 22. beato A. 37. quandoque B.

21. Hugo a S<sup>to</sup> Victore, De Sacram. I. II, pars 8<sup>a</sup>, c. 7. Migne, t. 176, p. 466. 33. Hugo a S<sup>to</sup> Vict. ib. ubi supra.

quandoque autem superaddit reduplicative rationem corporis in quantum *talis* substancia. Et sic proprie ego intelligo adverbia. Unde eodem capitulo dicitur quod corporaliter secundum corporis et sangwinis Christi virtutem Christum sumimus in altari. Quod oportet sic 5 intelligi quod spiritualiter sumimus carnem Christi; et ille est verus modus corporis, licet | non sit modus B 110<sup>a</sup> consequens corpus in quantum corpus, quia Joh. | VI<sup>b</sup> A 114<sup>c</sup> dicit Christus: "Caro non prodest quicquam"; cum VI, 64 nec sententia carnalis nec manducacio corporalis cor- 10 poris domini quicquam prodest. Nam invisibiliter sumi- tur, quantum ad formam corporis sui, ut dicit doctor capitulo 3<sup>d</sup>, eiusdem partis, sed visibiliter quo ad substancialiter sit esse accidentaliter, esse corporaliter sit esse spiritualiter, esse carnaliter sit esse virtualiter, et esse dimensive sit esse multiplicative: et periret modo- 20 rum distincio. Sicut igitur conceditur quod corpus Christi teritur in simbolis vel in hostia, et sentitur et tamen non sic movetur, quia non secundum naturam corporis Christi vel in quantum ipsum corpus; sic conceditur quod corpus Christi est in hostia modo 25 accidentaliter substancialiter: quia modo spirituali et sacramentali, presupponente tres alios modos realiores ipsius corporis preexistere causative. Sic autem non fuit in figuris legis veteris vel signis legis nostre humanitus institutus.

30

Et sic possunt distingwi modus prior quo est | in A 114<sup>e</sup> celo et modus posterior quo est in sacramento. Sic R. autem in tribus discrepamus a sectis signorum: primo in hoc quod ponimus venerabile sacramentum altaris esse naturaliter panem et vinum, sed sacramentaliter 35 corpus Christi et sangwinem. Sed secta contraria fingit ipsum | sacramentum esse unum ignotum accidentis sine B 120<sup>f</sup> substancialiter subiecta. Et ex ista radice erroris pullulant nimis multe varietates errorum, ut secta nostra adorat sacramentum, non ut panis aut vini substancialiter sed 40 ut corpus Christi et sangwinem. Sed secta cultorum accidentium, ut credo, adorat hoc sacramentum, non

This explains a  
discrepancy,  
when Hugo  
says that we  
receive Christ  
corporally.

But 'the flesh'  
as such,  
'profiteth  
nothing.'  
My way, the  
second, of  
understanding  
'substantially,'  
is the right one.  
Thus Christ's  
body is ground  
between the  
teeth &c. in the  
legis veteris declarandam. Not in  
symbol; not in  
its own nature,  
but in the  
nature of bread,

Differences  
between this  
doctrine and  
that of the  
Sects.

1<sup>st</sup> The  
Sacrament,  
naturally bread,  
is sacramentally  
Christ's body.

2<sup>nd</sup> Therefore it  
is to be adored;  
but the Sects  
adore the  
accident as a  
sign of Christ's  
body.

Now God is  
everywhere  
more truly than  
Christ's body in  
the Host.

25. in hostia *deest* D. 38. sine subiecto BCD.

ut est accidentis sine subiecto, sed ut signum sacramentale corporis Christi et sangwinis. Signa autem cultus sui ostendunt quod adorant hoc sacramentum, cum adorant crucem et alias ymagines ecclesie, que habent minorem rationem adoracionis quam habet hoc venerabile sacramentum. Nam in qualibet substancialiter creata est deitas realius et substancialius quam corpus Christi est in hostia consecrata. Ideo, nisi ipsa fuerit virtute verborum Christi corpus suum, non est ratio tante excellencie adorandi. Tercio, secta nostra, per equivocationis detectionem et aliarum fallaciarum, tollit argucias adversancium; ut aliqua loquuntur sancti de sacramento ut panis, et alia dicunt de illo non ut ydemptice, sed sacramentaliter corpus Christi. Sed secta A 114<sup>a</sup> adversariorum inculcat | difficultates inutiles et singit inconsequenter miracula de operacionibus accidentis. Sunt autem pro nostra sentencia dissinicio summi iudicis domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui in cena noctis tradicionis sue accepit panem in manibus suis, bene- 20 dixit, fregit et manducare ex illo generaliter precepit: "Hoc," inquit, "est corpus meum." Cum autem demonstratur panis quem tociens replicavit pronomine B 120<sup>b</sup> demonstrandi, et totum resi | duum proposicionis, signat ille qui mentiri non potuit, ipsum esse corpus suum; manifestum est ex auctoritate et dictis Christi quod panis ille fit et est sacramentaliter corpus suum.

S. Adducuntur autem septem testes ad testificandum ecclesie iudicis huius sentenciam; primus est beatus Ignacius apostolis contemporaneus, qui ab illis et cum 30 illis accepit a domino sensum suum. Et recitat eum Lincolnensis super ecclesiastica ierarchia capitulo 3º: "Sacramentum," inquit, "seu eukaristia est corpus Christi." Secundus testis est beatus Cyprianus in epistola sua II. St. Cyprian, de corpore Christi. "Calicem," inquit, "in die passionis relating the 35 accipiens, benedixit, et dedit discipulis suis dicens." "Accipite et bibite ex hoc omnes: Hic est sangvis testamenti qui pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Amen, dico vobis, non bibam amodo ex ista creatura vitis usque in diem quo vobiscum bibam

6. quacumque BCD. 13. aliqua AD. 20. manducari BCD.  
26. sit pro fit A. 28. sunis C. 32. sive C.

20. Ign. Migne, t. 5, pp. 690, 713, series Graeca. 33. Cypr.  
Ad Coecilium. Migne, t. 4, p. 380, 381.

<sup>3rd</sup> We answer all difficulties by detecting sophisms and equivocations; whereas the Sects do the contrary, accumulating difficulties.

Seven witnesses as to the meaning of Christ's words, I. St. Ignatius, contemporary of the Apostles.

II. St. Cyprian, relating the institution of the Eucharist, says that wine was called Christ's blood

novum in regno patris mei." "Qua in parte," inquit sanctus, "invenimus calicem mixtum fuisse quem obtulit,

III. St. Ambrose et vinum fuisse, quem sangwinem | suum dixit." Tercius A 114<sup>d</sup>  
in his book of  
the Sacraments. testis est beatus Ambrosius in libro suo de sacramentis;

et ponitur de consecracione distincione II<sup>a</sup>, capitulo; 5

*Panis est in altari:* "Quod," inquit, "erat panis ante consecracionem, iam corpus Christi est post consecracionem."

IV. St. Augustine in a sermon about Emmans. Quartus testis est beatus Augustinus in quodam sermone exponens illud Luce XXIV: "Cognoverunt eum in fraccione panis." "Non omnis panis," inquit, "sed 10 accipiens benedictionem Christi, sit corpus Christi"; et

V. St. Jerome in a letter to Ebdia. ponitur in canone ubi supra. Quintus testis est beatus Jeronimus in epistola ad Elpidiam: "Nos," inquit, | B 120<sup>e</sup>

"audiamus panem, quem fregit dominus deditque discipulis suis ad manducandum esse corpus domini sa'- 15 vatoris, ipso dicente ad eos: accipite et comedite, hoc

VI. The decree of Nicolas II. with III bishops. est corpus meum." Sextus testis est decretum Romane ecclesie que sub Nicolao II<sup>a</sup>, 114 episopis dictavit prudenter secundum rectam logicam, que debet capi a tota ecclesia; quod panis et vinum que in altari ponuntur sunt post consecracionem non solum sacramentum, sed verum corpus et sangvis domini nostri Iesu Christi;

VII. The custom of the Church, as expressed in the canon of the Mass. ut patet in canone ubi supra. Septimus testis est usus T. ecclesie que in canone misse orat "ut hec oblatione fiat nobis corpus et sangvis domini nostri Iesu Christi". 25

Illam autem oblationem vocat ecclesia terrenam substancialiam, ut patet in secreta medie misse nativitatis domini. Et in secreta ferie 4<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>or</sup> temporum in septembri vocatur sacramentum "constans ex terre fructibus".

30

Ista autem septem | testimonia sic insciunt glosatores A 115<sup>f</sup> quod dicunt tacite omnia talia dicta sanctorum debere intelligi per suum contrarium; et sic negari finaliter cum scriptura. Penset itaque fidelis, si sanum fuerit hereticare vel in hoc scandalisare istos testes et similes 35 multos. Penset secundo, quid tenderet ad honorem corporis Christi vel devocationem populi, quod ipsum corpus dignissimum sit unum accidentis sine subiecto, quod

These testimonies oblige the glossators to explain everything by its contrary; which amounts to denying both them and Scripture. Consider besides, which doctrine gives more honour to Christ's body.

2, 3, quem — fuisse *deest* B. 7. est *deest* B; *ib.* per D. 18. sub Nico<sup>a</sup> 3<sup>b</sup> et n<sup>3</sup>cim CD; 113 B. 26. ecclesia *deest* BCD. 27. secreto BD. 28. Et *deest* D; *ib.* in secreto D. 31—36. Penset — multos *deest* BCD; in marg. A.

5. Decr. Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars. Dist. II, c. 55.

B 120<sup>a</sup> Augustinus dicit non posse esse; vel si est, est unum nichil vel abiectissimum in natura | : tunc, inquam, foret Augustinus nimis constans hereticus, quia in epistola 14 ad Bonifacium de *fide ecclesie* ita scribit: "Si," inquit, "sacramenta quandam similitudinem rerum earum quorum sacramenta sunt, non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerunque iam ipsarum rerum nomina recipiunt. Sicut ergo secundum quendam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est et sacramentum sangwinis Christi sangvis Christi est, ita sacramentum fidei fides est." Ubi planum est quod loquitur de sacramento sentito, quod fingitur accidens sine subiecto. Sed que, rogo, similitudo eius ad corpus Christi? Revera fructus istius demencie foret blasphemare in deum, scandalisare sanctos et illudere ecclesie per mendacia accidentis.

A 111<sup>b</sup> Ad tantum quidem testimonium sanctorum per glossatores subvertitur, quod commixto sensu equivoco quod-  
20 cunque dictum | eciam scripture non facit fidem pro-  
tervis. Scribit enim Hilarius, ut recitat de Conser-  
crazione, distinzione 2<sup>a</sup>, capitulo *Corpus Christi*; "Corpus  
Christi, inquam, quod sumitur de altari, figura est, dum  
panis et vinum extra videtur; veritas autem, cum corpus  
et sangvis Christi in veritate interius creditur". Ecce  
25 quam plane panis et vinum sunt hoc sacramentum; ut  
V. dicit decretum "*Ego Berengarius*". Unde ad detegendum  
equivocacionem istius materie scribitur ibidem secundum  
verbum Jeronimi in capitulo "*De hac quidem*". "De  
hac quidem hostia que in Christi commemoratione  
30 mirabiliter fit, edere licet; de illa vero quam Christus  
in ara crucis obtulit, secundum se nulli edere licet",  
B 121<sup>a</sup> ubi planum est | quod loquitur de esu corporali: et  
distinguit inter has duas hostias secundum sui substancias vel naturas; licet panis ille sit secundum aliam  
35 rationem, quia sacramentaliter ipsum corpus: ut ipse-  
met sanctus dicit in epistola ad Elpidiam, ut recitatur  
superius. Voluntas dei est ut benefacientes obmutescere

Augustine says that the sacraments resemble what they signify: but which resembles Christ's body more, bread, or an accident?

These glossators equivocate everywhere and will not even believe the Scriptures.  
St. Hilary quoted: 'Christ's body that is taken from the altar is a figure.'

St. Jerome's words: 'Christ on the cross cannot, in the Sacrament can be eaten'. This is just the distinction between 'substantially' = 'corporally as such,' and = 'as a substance.'

1. potest A; *ib.* est esset *pro* est est B. 3. qui C. 8. accipiunt BCD.  
10. sangwinis, sangvis BCD. 25. quod B. 27. scribit D. 36. reci-  
tat BCD. 37. ut *deest* AB; *ib.* benefacere B.

4. Aug. Ep. XCVIII. Ad Bonifacium. Migne, t. 33, p. 364.  
21. Deqr. Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars. Dist. II, c. 79. Note: "Ivo etiam citat ex Hilario, et infra eadem c. *In Christo*, in extremo, refertur una cum verbis Hilarii, apud quem tamen non est inventum."

faciatis in prudencium hominum ignoranciam 1<sup>a</sup> Pet. II<sup>b</sup>; I. Petr. cum dyabolus sit divisus in se, quomodo stabit sententia eius heretica? Voluntas itaque dei est ut discipuli

veritatis diligenter interrogent ab hereticis antichristi

discipulis, quid sit sacramentum altaris sentitum a nobis

viantibus, quod non est ydemptice corpus Christi; et

non | vidi hereticum, quin vel confusus obmutuit, vel A 115<sup>c</sup>

ignorando vocem propriam in fundacione defecit, vel

querens subterfugia ad convicia secundum scolam ma-

gistri mendacii declinaverit; ut querente Christiano pru-

denter, instanter et humiliter quid sit hoc sacramentum,

circa quod stat hodie in apostatis tantus error, non

superest nisi benefaciendo obturato hoc blasphematio binio

adversarius obmutescat. Queratur secundum doctrinam

Petri constanter propter habendam obmutescenciam, quid

secundum naturam suam sit hoc venerabile sacramentum.

Nec quiescendum est in blasphemis balbuciencium,

quod ibi est albedo sine albo, figura sine figurato, et

quantitas sine quanto. Non enim queritur quid ibi fuerit

sed quid sit hoc sensibile sacramentum in natura sua.

Et patet quam spissim cultores signorum sunt in materia

ista heretici; nedum quia imponunt heresim fidelibus,

qui elucidant istam fidem, et accusatio de heresi ob-

ligat ad penam talionis, verum quia | falsificant et sic B 121<sup>b</sup>

We must not  
be satisfied with  
an evasion,  
saying what is  
there; we want  
to know what  
it is of those  
who, accusing  
us of heresy,  
are heretics.

If Christ's word negant dominum Jesum Christum. Nam nichil debemus 25  
ought not to be believed on this

point, but rather

Innocent's, then what shall we believe in

Holy Writ? Christus dicit, ve qui non credit | .” Nec debemus cre-

dere aliquem sensum ewangelii, si non istum. Ideo, ve X.

generacioni adultere que plus credit testimonio Innocen-

cii vel Raymundi, quam sensui ewangelii capto a

testibus supradictis! Idem enim esset scandalisare ipsos

in isto et imponere eis heresim ex perversione sensus

scripture precipue. Et iterum ve ori perverso apostate

accumulantis super ecclesiam Romanam mendacia, qui-

bis singit quod ecclesia posterior priori contraria cor-

rexit fidem, quod sacramentum istud sit accidentis sine

Woe to those  
who accumulate  
lies upon the  
Church of  
Rome, making  
her contradict  
her former  
decrees!

2. tit BCII. 7. quando C. 10. declinavit A. 31. sensum esse CD.

33. Raymund de Pegnafort, general of the Dominicans, who inserted in his collection of the Gregorian Decretals the chapter “*Cum Marthe*”, of which Wyclif does not approve.

subiecto et non panis verus et vinum, ut dicit evangelium, cum decreto! Nam, teste Augustino, tale accidens sine subiecto non potest sacerdos Christi confidere; et tamen tantum magnificant sacerdotes Baal mendaciter (indubie iuxta scolam patris sui) consecrationem huius accidentis, quod reputant missas alias indignas audiri vel dissencientes suis mendaciis inhabiles alicubi graduari. Sed credo quod finaliter veritas vincet eos.

But truth will conquer them in the end.

A 116<sup>a</sup> Augustinus in quodam sermone pro secunda feria pasche qui sic incipit: "Hoc quod in altari dei videtis"; "quod" inquit, "vidistis, panis est; calix, quod oculi vestri renunciant; quod autem fides vestra postulat instruenda, panis est corpus Christi, calix est sangwis Christi." Et idem ponitur de Consecracione, distinzione 2<sup>a</sup>: "Qui manducat" | : Quidditatem autem illius panis declarat posterius, supponens ex fide scripture apostoli quod sit panis. "Panis," inquit, "non fit de uno grano, sed de multis, quando exortizabamini quasi molebamini, quando baptizati estis quasi conspersi estis, quando spiritus sancti ignem accepistis quasi cocti estis. Estote quod videtis, et accipite quod estis; hoc de pane dixit apostolus. Jam de calice quid intelligeremus, eciam non dictum, satis ostendit. Sicut enim, ut sit species visibilis, multa grana consparguntur tanquam illud fiat, quod de fidelibus ait scriptura sancta: *Erat illis anima una et cor unum in deum*, sic et de vino fratres recolite. Unde fit vinum grana multa pendent ad botrum, sed liquor granorum in unitatem confunditur."

Y. 30 Ex ipsis dictis istius sancti patet luce clarius quod ipse intelligit per panem et vinum que dicit esse hoc sacramentum corpus et sangwinem. Unde, in alio sermone qui sic incipit: "Redendum sermonis," declarans quomodo hoc sacrificium sive sacramentum sit corpus Christi et sangwis, sic infert: "Accipite," inquit, "et edite corpus Christi; eciam ipsi in corpore Christi facti, iam membra Christi accipite et potate sangwinem Christi, reddemti per sangwinem Christi; et ne dissolvamini,

A sermon of Augustine quoted: 'the bread is the body of Christ.'

Another passage in which Augustine compares the sanctification of the faithful to the making of bread and wine.

Whence I conclude that the Sacrament is real bread and wine.

Again, Augustine says that by eating of this bread we shall be changed into the Lord.

4. sacerdotes baal magnificant C. 12. Quicquid BCD. 15. 2<sup>a</sup> capitulo BCD. 24. non deest A. 32. et corpus Christi et BCD.

11. Aug. Serm. CCLXXII. Migne, t. 38, p. 1246. 14. Decr. Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars. Dist. II, c. 75. 33. Aug. Sermo De Sacramento altaris, ad Infantes. Migne, t. 46, p. 827.

manducate vinculum vestrum; ne vobis viles videamini, bibite precium vestrum. Sicut hoc in | vos convertitur, A 116<sup>b</sup> cum illud manducatis et bibitis, sic et vos in corpus Christi convertimini, cum obedienter et pie vivitis." Ex

Nothing can be istis patet quam audacter iste sanctus dicit cum aliis<sup>5</sup>  
clearer than these expression.

et decreto ecclesie, quod panis et vinum sunt corpus Christi et sangwis. Illa autem non dicit accidencia sine subiecto, sed secundum | naturam inferiorem verum B 121<sup>d</sup>

An accident is not changed into a man, but perishes. panem et vinum, consimilem aliis; quia, ut dicit epis-

to stola 14<sup>a</sup> ad Bonifacium, non forent sacramentum, nisi 10 haberent quandam similitudinem cum corpore domini;

To deny that this bread is Christ's body, is to deny that it is a sacrament. nec accidens sine subiecto convertitur in hominem,

quia desinit esse, ut inquiunt, sine hoc quod quicquam eius remaneat; quod non est converti. Et ita, sicut

Augustine alludes to the sacrifice of bread and wine.

negant panem sacramentalem esse corpus domini, ita 15 negant implicite quod sit sacramentum. Et ita nimurum

Ambrose points out that

ponit Augustinus in De fide ad Petrum quod ista demencia sit nimis heretica: "Firmissime," inquit, "tene et nullatenus dubites, sacrificium panis et vini per orbem offerri." Hec verba sunt in capitulo 16 intercisa, ubi 20

non dubium intelligit intransitive sacrificium quod est

Noah's dove was the appearance or type (species) of the Holy Ghost; and that the latter, appearing as a dove, was the reality.

panis et vinum, quia aliter foret contrarius sibi ipsi.

Et in fine declarat omnes 40 articulos esse tante catholicos, quod quicunque voluerit alicui eorum con-

turnaciter contraire sit hereticus ex omnibus catholicis 25 anathematisandus, quia Christiane fidei inimicus.

Gregory calls the Sacrament the appearance of bread and wine.

Et sic intelligit beatus Gregorius cum aliis catholicis Z.

But this means real bread and wine: for Ambrose points out that

vocantibus sacramentum | species panis et vini. Idem A 116<sup>c</sup>

Noah's dove was the appearance or type (species) of the Holy Ghost; and that the latter, appearing as a dove, was the reality.

enim est species panis et vini quod panis et vinum,

Ambrose points out that

sicut egregie declarat beatus Ambrosius in sermone de 30 divinis mysteriis, qui sic incipit: *De moralibus*. "Quare

Noah's dove was the appearance or type (species) of the Holy Ghost; and that the latter, appearing as a dove, was the reality.

descendit spiritus, sicut columba, nisi ut tu videres, ut

Noah's dove was the appearance or type (species) of the Holy Ghost; and that the latter, appearing as a dove, was the reality.

tu agnosceres eciam illam columbam, quam Noe iustus

Noah's dove was the appearance or type (species) of the Holy Ghost; and that the latter, appearing as a dove, was the reality.

emisit de archa, istius columbe speciem fuisse, ut tipum

Noah's dove was the appearance or type (species) of the Holy Ghost; and that the latter, appearing as a dove, was the reality.

agnosceres sacramenti? Et fortasse dicas, cum illa vero 35 columba | fuerit que emissa est, hic quasi columba des-

Noah's dove was the appearance or type (species) of the Holy Ghost; and that the latter, appearing as a dove, was the reality.

cenderet. Quomodo illic speciem esse dicimus, hic veri-

2. Sic *pro* sicut A. 3. illud *deest* B. 9. convertimini *deest* A.

9. consimile C. 11. domini *deest* BCD. 12. in hominem *deest* BCD.

14. esti; converti *deest* CD. 23. infime AB; ib. illos *deest* BCD; ib. caute BCD.

25. contrario *omnes* MSS. 28. speciem BCD. 32. nisi

in CD. 33. cognosceres BD. 34. ex CD. 35. cognosceres B.

17. Fulgentius, *De Fide ad Petrum*, c. XIX. Migne, t. 40, p. 772.  
31. Ambr. *De Mysteriis*, c. 4. (Migne, t. 16, p. 306). The first words of the book are, as Wyclif says, "*De moralibus*".

tatem, cum secundum Grecos in specie columbe spiritum descendisse sit scriptum, sed tam verum quam divinitas que manet semper? Creatura autem non potest veritas esse, sed species que facile solvit atque mutatur; simul quia eorum qui baptisantur non in specie debent esse, sed vera simplicitas; unde dominus ait: *Estote astuti sicut serpentes et simplices sicut columbe.* Merito igitur, sicut columba descendit ut admoneret nos simplicitatem columbe debere habere. Speciem autem pro veritate 10 accipiendam legimus; et de Christo et “specie inventus ut homo”; et de deo patre “neque speciem eius vidistis.”

Ex 110<sup>o</sup> istis videtur sanctos vocare sacramentum specienti panis et vini, quia consideracio de quidditate substancie sue est sopita, et illa substancia est sacramentum, ut taliter sumpta. | Et iterum, in quantum similitudo corporis Christi est species, sicut quelibet creatura est species quo ad deum.

Sed absit fidelibus credere quod si sit species istorum corporum, tunc non est panis aut vinum; cum sequatur 20 oppositum, sicut sequitur: spiritus sanctus est visus in columbe specie, igitur illa species est columba. Et patet quomodo ista Antichristi conclusio de quidditate hostie consecrata, quod sit accidentis sine subiecto, est manifeste heretica, cum fides scripture, naturalis ratio, testi- 25 monia sanctorum et decreta ecclesie contradicunt.

8. amoveret A; eos AB; ib. simplicitates ACD; simplices B. n. est pro ut A.

The word  
'species' is  
very often used  
to mean  
'reality'.

'Species' does  
mean  
appearance or  
image; which  
bread is in  
many respects;  
but it is none  
the less real.  
For the Dove  
that represented  
the Holy Ghost  
was a real Dove.  
*Conclusion:*

The doctrine of  
absolute  
accidents is  
heretical.

## CAPITULUM SEPTEMDECIMUM.

The Sacrament  
is Christ's body  
under the form  
of bread; and  
this form is  
bread-ity, *that*  
*by which bread*  
*is bread:*  
therefore, real  
bread.

*1<sup>st</sup> Objection:*  
‘Christ’s body  
becomes bread’.  
*Granted.* Then  
Christ is trans-  
substantiated  
‘into bread’  
*Denied.* Why?

a) Because  
conversion is a  
change for the  
better.

b) It takes place  
by His power,  
and c) He alone  
is thought of.

Finaliter complendo tractatum de apostasia, supponendum est sacramentum altaris esse corpus Christi B 122<sup>b</sup> in forma panis. Illa autem forma est panitas, ut dicit Innocencius 3<sup>us</sup> in tractatu suo, De eukaristia. A Gregorio autem et aliis sanctis vocatur species panis, que indubie est quiditas panis, forma substancialis sive essencia et per consequens verus panis, ut dicit ewangelium quintuplex cum fide ecclesie.

Sed arguitur primo, quod iuxta istud, sicud panis fit corpus Christi, sic corpus Christi fit panis, et per consequens corpus Christi eque vere convertitur et transsubstanciatur in panem, sicut econtra. Sed hic conceditur assumptum et negatur consequencia; nam sicut incarnatione deus fit homo et econtra, sic ista miraculosa confeccione Christi corpus fit panis et econtra.

Conversio autem proprie est mutatio rei in melius. A 117<sup>a</sup> Ideo, cum corpus Christi sit infinitum melius quam panis, et virtute corporis Christi fit illa conversio et non virtute panis presuppositi, tanquam materia ad corpus Christi presuppositum secundum esse suum spirituale in sua existencia; ac tertio, consideracio de pane debet esse sopita, tanquam terminus *a quo sine materia;*

et consideracio de corpore Christi tanquam termino *ad quem* debet esse in fide fidelium experrecta; signanter 25 dicitur quod panis convertitur in corpus domini, non econtra.

1. capitulum *deest omnes* MSS. 6. ant CD. 9. duplex A.  
II. corpus, sic A. 14. negetur B. 16. conjectio D. 18. Christi  
*deest* CD. 25. experrecta A.

5. Innocent in this treatise, *De Sacro Alt. Myst. I. IV passim* (Migne, t. 217) very often speaks of *species panis* and even *forma panis*; but never of *panitas*, so far as I have been able to see. If he did, he would contradict himself palpably.  
6. Wyclif evidently counts St. Paul’s words in I. Cor. X as a fifth Gospel.

Sed secundo obicitur quod corpus Christi sit abiecius quam testudo, quia corpus panis; sed omne corpus non vinum abieccius est vino. Hic oportet notare distinctionem inter predicacionem essentiale et formale;  
 5 et cum ille predicaciones dicuntur equivoce, patet quod probabiliter potest negari assumptum, formaliter intellegendo, quod corpus Christo | inferioratur testudine in natura. Sic enim concedit Augustinus Christi discipulis, quod non ipsum corpus quod vident liniari membris  
 10 Christi sunt carnaliter comedusti. Extendendo autem predicacionem ad essentiale et habitudinale, sicut conceditur catholice quod corpus Christi et sic deus sit materialis essencia, et sic materia prima que est substancia abiectissima in natura; cum iuxta apostolum,  
 15 ad Philipp. II<sup>o</sup> "Christus semetipsum exinanivit, for  
 A 117<sup>b</sup> mam servi accipiens:" | Sic concedendum est quod corpus Christi sit panis secundum sacramentalem habitudinem; et sic corpus Christi est imperfeccius quam testudo, et ita secundum disparem predicacionem re  
 20 cipit denominaciones contrarias, sicut persone verbi secundum disparem eius naturas. Corpus enim Christi est multorum singulum, ut in una ecclesia tanta est et talis hostia et in alia est hostia alia variata. Nec sonat hoc in variacione corporis Christi secundum suam  
 25 essenciam, cum nulla earum sit ydemptice corpus Christi; sed totum sonat in bonitatem largifluam Jesu nostri.  
 B. Sed ulterius restat videre, quomodo cultus eukaristie fuerat in missis institutus; quod egregie declarat auctor De divinis officiis. Sive autem Petrus sive Jacobus vel  
 30 quicunque alias apostolus celebraverit primam missam post Christum, probabile est quod multos ritus iam introductos dimiserat. Unde probabiliter creditur, quod dumtaxat dixit oracionem dominicam cum verbis sacramentalibus; et post prandium vel in cena isto modo  
 35 confecerat et tradidit populo partem suam. Et ista  
 B 122<sup>a</sup> videtur esse sententia apostoli 1<sup>a</sup> | Cor. 10, ut superius exponebam. Narrat autem Cestrensis, libro 4<sup>o</sup> capitulo 4<sup>o</sup>, quando  
 A 117<sup>c</sup> secundum Cassiodorum facta est tam magna solis |

<sup>2<sup>nd</sup> Objection:</sup>  
Christ's body,  
being bread, is  
more imperfect  
than, e. g. a  
tortoise.  
<sup>Answer.</sup>

Apparently so,  
granted;  
essentially so,  
denied.

Thus in one  
sense, God is  
Christ, Christ  
is matter,  
matter is  
materia prima,  
or the meanest  
of things.

Christ not being  
identical with  
bread, this  
shows His  
bounty and  
does not  
degrade Him.

How the Mass  
was instituted.  
Many of its  
rites have varied  
from the very  
first.

It may at first  
have consisted  
only of the  
Lord's Prayer,  
the sacred  
words, and the  
giving of  
Communion.

3. Hinc A. 11. sic A. 18. est *deest* BCD; *ib.* *perfecius* B.  
 20. verbi *deest* BCD. 22. *essencia* BCD; *ib.* *est tanta* C. 24. *in varia-*  
*cionem* CD.

St. James the Less, first bishop of Jerusalem said the first Mass.

defeccio, qualis alias nunquam fuit. Hoc autem anno circa pentecosten ordinatus est ab apostolis Jacobus minor episcopus Jerosolimorum, qui primus inter eos missam celebravit, eodemque anno Petrus apostolus cepit presidere in partibus orientis, ubi quatuor annis 5 pontificavit missasque celebravit, dicendo: *pater noster*.

As for the hour of saying Mass, the first was certainly said after a meal.

Other rites, good in themselves, have been wrongly added to the first.

Et quantum ad tempus celebrandi scribit Augustinus ad Januarium, et ponitur in *De consecracione*, distinctione 2<sup>a</sup>; "liquido apparet, quando primo acceperunt discipuli corpus et sanguinem domini, non eos accepisse 10 ieiunos"; sed post fuerunt ritus religiosi et particulatim appositi, qui, licet sint liciti et honesti in multis, tamen sunt ad onus ecclesie, sic quod melius foret sibi atque salubrius hec ommitti. Primo, quia ecclesia deteriorando et illibertando procedit; ideo modus quem observarunt 15 Christus et sui apostoli fuit magis autenticus et lenis. Unde ad nimis pauca respiciunt, qui dicunt quod necesse est papas capitales ecclesie ad regendum et supplendum defectus residuos legis Christi.

Which rites are the best to follow? those of Christ and His Apostles; all other prayers superadded savour of sin more or less, though they may be licit.

We now think it a great sin to change the established form; but to change the form Christ gave was worse.

Item, in lege et modo colendi Christi et apostolorum 20 C. fuit forma virtuosius colendi deum, et quilibet ritus religiosus de tanto est melior. Igitur | religio illa pri- A 117<sup>a</sup> meva a qua ceciderant fuit sequente perfectior. Cul- pandus, inquam, foret princeps religionis omnipotens et omnisciens, qui in exemplari religionis omittaret 25 necessarium observandum. Sic enim precipit | Matth. VI<sup>a</sup> B 123<sup>a</sup>

compendiose orare, dimittendo deprecaciones prolixas. Nec dico quin licet orare secundum oraciones alias, Matth. sed oportet quod alie oraciones et earum obligaciones VI, 7 peccatum sapient plus vel minus. Nam Christus dif- 30 finivit medium virtuosum, et ut capit in minori argumenti, iste est optimus modus orandi et colendi deum. Igitur presumpcio foret eum dimittere. Item, si

religiosus vel usuarius tradicionis adiecte humanitus adicit vel subtrahit quo ad usum illum, reputatur pec- 35 care graviter; igitur evidencius quo ad usum religionis quam in tanta auctoritate et mensura Christus instituit.

Unde ultra vires nituntur, qui intendunt excludere

1. nunquam fuit *deest* B. 3. Jerosolimitarum B. 6. *noster* etc. D.  
11. quod C. 16. leuis C. 18. papas esse BCD. 25. religionis  
*deest* BCD. 26. Sic A; *ib.* precepit B. 27. oracionem C.  
33. ipsum BCD. 36, 37. religionis quam *deest* B; illum reputatur *fro*  
religionis quam CD.

talem onustatem ecclesie a peccato, cum infinitum foret  
gravius apostotare a religione quam Christus instituit,  
quam a tradicionibus posterius adinventis. Non enim  
est fides vel racio, quod eo ipso quo Romanus pontifex  
vel alias citra Christum quicquam instituit, Christus  
adest ac illud instituit et confirmat. Tunc enim foret  
talis institutor impeccabilis supra deum. Item, ut ex  
fide supponitur, nulla ordinacio Christiani est licita,  
nisi de quanto auctorisata et prius ordinata fuerit a  
 A 118<sup>a</sup> deo; sed generaliter tales | condiciones private sine  
revelacione adiecte religioni Christi non sunt prius  
ordinate et auctorisata deo, ergo non sunt licite.  
Maior patet, ex hoc quod omnis vita et operacio  
Christiani licita ex hoc est licita quod est prius a  
15 deo facta atque volita. Et ex isto principio videtur  
primo, quod multi Romani pontifices usurpando sibi  
 B 123<sup>b</sup> nomen summi Christi vicarii in terris | sepe blasphemant.  
Videtur secundo, quod in dando absoluciones a pena,  
ignorando gradum contritionis, non minus blasphemant.  
 20 Videtur tertio, quod in ordinando indiscrete officia ad  
onus ecclesie, cadunt in eandem blasphemiam; ut  
canonizaciones sanctorum et festa, in quibus post  
oscula et ritus alios concedunt indulgencias infunda-  
biliter, et per consequens indiscrete. De isto onere ec-  
 25 clesie conqueritur Augustinus libro primo ad Januarium,  
ut sepe exposui. Nam credi debet ut fides, quod nulla  
canonisacio sancti citra Christum nec aliqua oracio  
sibi facta, valet facienti ad meritum vel sancto ad  
honorem, nisi de quanto adauget caritatem aut de-  
 30 vocationem fidelium ad Christum, et promovet ad ob-  
servanciam legis sue. In cuius signum nulle vel pauc  
erant observancie in ecclesia primeva; et post multi-  
plicate sunt propter fastum et lucrum, dimissa atten-  
cionem fidelium ad virtutes. Et propter hoc deus neces-  
 35 sitavit ordinatores oracionum ecclesie, quod in qualibet  
tali oracione preces suas ad Christum dirigerent.  
 A 118<sup>b</sup> spera | rent et crederent ad instanciam talis sancti.  
Et creditur quod sepe propter affectionem et insti-

1. ecclesie *deest* BCD. 6. conformat B. 11 primus AB.  
15. et BCD. 10. gradus A. 28, 29. ad honorem *deest* BCD.  
20. et CD. 30. in Christo BCD. 31. multe AB. 32. primitiva BCD.  
33. factum et *deest* CD.

25. Augustine (Ad Januarium; Migne, t. 33, p. 200) complains in general terms of unnecessary observances.

No evidence  
of Divine aid  
to frame the  
liturgies.

Unless such  
rites come from  
God, they are  
unlawful.

The Popes  
often go too far.  
1<sup>st</sup> in taking the  
name of  
Christ's Vicar.  
2<sup>nd</sup> in granting  
absolutions at  
random;  
3<sup>rd</sup> in burdening  
the Church  
with rites.

No such  
observance is  
good, unless it  
increase  
devotion.

And it often  
tends to do the  
contrary.

tucionem inordinatam sit displicencia deo et sanctis et per consequens evenit deterius oranti. Nam in solum Christum, qui est sanctus sanctorum, debemus credere membra eius, de quanto ad Christi amorem excitant et ad sequelam vie sue preparant solum attendere. <sup>5</sup>

Among these innovations are the 'private religions'; which imply that a man entering and remaining therein, worships God better.

Orders were at first purely for God's glory and the good of souls.

Perpetual vows, unlawful. Christ cannot compel men to serve Him.

So imprisonment in these cases ought to be given up; if it were, all would be done by charity.

A foolish vow does not oblige anyone; nor a vow to do wrong.

4<sup>o</sup>, videtur quod in ordinando tales religiones privatas perpetuas, consistit magna blasfemia; nam sic ordinans instituit, quod quicunque | religionem illam B <sup>123<sup>e</sup></sup> ingreditur, de quanto in illa permanet, de tanto perfectius colit deum. Quod deus indubie non ordinat; <sup>10</sup> et sic, tanquam antichristus, ordinat aliquid contra I. Cor. deum. Et hec racio quare apostolus <sup>1<sup>a</sup></sup> Cor. I<sup>o</sup> et III<sup>o</sup> I, <sup>10</sup> prohibet tales sectas capitum citra Christum; quia III, <sup>3</sup> distrahunt ab observancia legis Christi, seminant dissensiones in ecclesia et ex confederacionibus temporalibus <sup>15</sup> causant vecordias in defensione cause dei. Augustinus autem, et si qui alii meritorie constituerant tales sectas, hoc fecerunt illis qui gratis venire voluerant ad honorem dei et ad utilitatem ecclesie atque sui. Et quando- cunque sentirent quod aliquod istorum trium defuerit, <sup>20</sup> nedum habeant licenciam sed debeant secundum Christi obedienciam illas sectas dimittere.

Nec licet secundum aliam perpetuitatem, qualis E. so | lemnisatur hodie, sectas statuere. Nam Christus A <sup>118<sup>e</sup></sup> non potest compellere quemquam intrare religionem <sup>25</sup> suam, nisi gratis voluerit, nec potest quemquam cogere servare religionem suam, nisi gratis voluerit. Quomodo igitur potest Magog statuere quod homo servabit suum ordinem, velit, nolit? Gloriosa itaque foret condicio, si relicto ritu gentili incarcerationis sit in libera pote- <sup>30</sup> state cuiuscunque religiosi privati servare ritus humanos precise quantum viderit hoc prodesse ecclesie, et ad honorem dei vergere; et alios ipsos dimittere. Tunc enim solverentur confederaciones dyabolice contra Chris- tum, et ordo ecclesie secundum religionem Christi <sup>35</sup> primevam tenderet ad unitatem caritativam, consumpta invida comparacione | sectarum, de qua conqueritur B <sup>123<sup>d</sup></sup> apostolus <sup>1<sup>a</sup></sup> Cor. 1<sup>o</sup>. Nec obligat votum fatuum, quod

6. in *deest* C.D. 7. blasphemie *deest* B.C.D.; *ib.* sicut C.D. 13. qui C.D.  
16. dissensione C. 19. ad *deest* B.C.D. 20. aliquid A. 26, 27. nec —  
voluerit *deest* B. 30. incarnationis B. 31. observare B.C.D. 32. se B.C.D.  
33. pergere B.C.D.; *ib.* alias B.C.D. 37. invidia B.

23. *Aliam perpetuitatem* seems here to be in opposition with *religiones privatas perpetuas* of l. 6, 7; perpetuity of the Orders, perpetuity of vows in the Orders.

libertatem Christi dissolveret. Sic non frangit votum qui vovens malefacere proximo benefacit. Cum enim omne votum debet deo fieri, patet quod deus per se dispensat, cum filio suo quem movet peccatum stulti voti dimittere. Nec oportet licenciam antichristi in sordibus expectare. Et ex istis videtur quod nullus mundo dives vel alius debet ministrare tali clero temporalia, vel consentire secundum rationem qua integrant conventus huiusmodi, cum ut sic ageret A 118<sup>a</sup> contra Christum. Iuvent itaque fideles religiosos i | stos, exonerando eorum sarcinas, secundum rationem qua observant religionem Christianam, vel ipsam augent.

Nec ecceutur argumentis dyaboli, quibus sic arguit: Matth. XII, 24 Tales religiosi honeste serviunt deo, habent pulchras domus atque ecclesias scopis mundatas, et alia ecclesiastica ornamenta. Nam deus huius seculi, ut trahat ad terrena deorsum et ut distrahat mentes hominum a celestibus, et impedit que sursum sunt querere, multiplicat talia argumenta. Foret ad honorem corporis Christi et ad devocationem populi, quod forent talia ornamenta. Conceditur, inquam, quod necesse est habere talia, de quanto sustentant et augent cultum dei. Si autem distrahant affectionem fratrum et impediunt 'que sursum sunt querere et non que super terram'; non dubium, quin tunc culpabiliter noceant. Ad quod medium attingendum oportet aspicere serpentem Christum et suos sequentes eum propinquius, et non mundum. Aliter enim B 124<sup>a</sup> deficeret homo nimis elongatus a via Christi. |

Nec sunt evidencie facte in contrarium digne memoria, 30 ut hii arguant quod templum Salomonis pro cultu dei fuit celebre, ergo magis est ecclesia Christi. Sed isti iudaisantes non considerant, quomodo Christus pauper excedens sapienciam Salomonis, iam sursum sedens A 119<sup>a</sup> attendit celebritatem virtutum, non solemnitatum | quo 35 ad seculum. Devocio autem contemnendum plus edificavit ecclesiam in virtute. Conversacio autem Christi docet quomodo religiosa devocio intendetur.

F. Secundo, obicitur quod Paulus fecit collectas sanctis Igain: St. Paul made collections for the Saints in Jerusalem. So 40 idem, meritorium est sic facere in presenti. Sed sic arguentes attenderent quod sit undique sufficiens pari- this can still be done.

1. sicut CD. 6. Et *deest* BCD. 9. integrat BCD. 14. servant B.  
21. concedetur D. 26. attinendum AB. 31. est *deest* CD. 34. solemnitatem BCD. 38. quomodo BCD. 40. pro BCD.

But are the circumstances the same? same purity of life, dearth of food, &c.?

*3<sup>rd</sup> Obj.: These Orders founded by Saints, have produced saints: to attack them were wrong.*

*Antecedent granted; conclusion denied.*  
Saints can sin.  
And the very fall of Lucifer has had good results.

These Saints may have erred through misguided zeal.

Peter sinned, even after the coming of the Holy Ghost.

So also of the founders of Orders; they burdened the faithful with observances,

and filled the Church with dissensions, loading themselves and others uselessly. Who is now as poor, as humble, as holy est hodie, qui tam stricte vivit in vescibilibus ut primitus, as his Founder was?

tas. Primo, quod communitas vivat pure sine traditionibus onerosis adiectis, ut vixerunt sancti illi Jerusalem. Secundo, quod prevalente caristia sterilitatis, ut tunc, nostri religiosi sint adeo hostibus circumsepti, quod non superest religiosis temporale relevamen subsidii aliunde. 5

Tercio, obicitur per hoc quod multi pii patroni fundarunt hos ordines et multos sanctos successores reliquerant, qui omnes secundum istum sanctum ordinem militarunt; hereticum igitur foret ipsos super errore impetere vel confirmationem pape super istos ordines <sup>10</sup> impugnare. Hic conceditur assumptum; nec obviat quin illi patroni peccarunt, saltem venialiter, introducendo huiusmodi novitates; sicut probabiliter creditur de beato Silvestro auctorisante dotacionem ecclesie. Et sic conceditur eciam secunda proposicio; ymmo quod adinvenciones iste faciunt multa bona ecclesie; cum ruina primi angeli cum suis | membris longe magis prodest B 12.4<sup>b</sup>

ecclesie. Et sic foret valde catholicum probabiliter opinari, quod dicti sancti ex ce | ca devocione pecca- A 11.9<sup>b</sup> verunt. Qui licet modo purgantur, tamen vestigium 20

erroris relictum debet diligenter caveri; ut patet de vestigiis aliarum culparum sanctorum. Nam Petrus peccavit post missionem spiritus sancti ex observancia novitatis private: ut patet Gall. II<sup>o</sup>. Non tamen est Gal. II, 11 comendandus propterea, vel sequendus. Multo magis 25 patroni plus peccantes, introducendo sectas et ritus ad onus ecclesie. Illi ergo patroni sunt imitandi, de quanto sequentur religionem Christi, servando eius consilia et mandata. Sed de quanto in adinvencionibus humanis exorbitant, sunt detestandi a fidelibus, eciam a se 30 ipsis. Sic autem supponitur sanctos illorum ordinum militasse;

et melius ac expedicius eucurrisse, in casu quo exonerati fuissent ab ipsis ritibus; sed onus ac observancia istorum invaluit et Christi religio decrescebat. Aliter enim non forent tot divisiones in sectis Augustini, 35

Benedicti, Francisci et aliis, que omnes obligant se multiplicius, striccius et onerosius quam sancti illi requisiabant, et religionem sonantem in conversacionem Christi Who is now as per dispensaciones subdolas derelinquent. Quis, inquam, poor, as humble, as holy est hodie, qui tam stricte vivit in vescibilibus ut primitus, 40 as his Founder was?

1. uniat ACD. 2. illi *deest* D. 5. religiosus *omnes* MSS. 6. per hoc *deest* CD. 7. fundaverunt BCD. 9. ipsas A. 11. quod BCD. 12. saltim AB. 13. conceditur AB. 15. secunda *deest* A; propositum A. 19, 20. peccaverant CD. 20. non B. 23. observania AB. 24. 4<sup>to</sup> BCD. 29. in advencionibus ABD. 31. istorum CD. 37, 38. requerant A.

tam humiliter contentatur in tegumentis indumentorum  
 A 119<sup>a</sup> corporis et | domorum? et omnino qui tam excellenter  
 sanctificando se super alios edificat ecclesiam ut sui  
 B 124<sup>c</sup> patroni | primevi fecerant? quin ymo commixti inter  
 5 gentes didicerunt opera eorum, eciam amplius seculariter  
 plus voluptuose et plus impie conversando.

Illud igitur nec papa nec Christus potuit confirmare;  
 sed omnes fideles debent iuvare modo suo dissolvere.  
 Quod foret potissime, si totus Christianismus foret unus  
 10 populus habens sine talibus onerosis adinvencionibus  
 cor unum et animam unam, pure, libere et leviter  
 observando secundum gradum quem deus donaverit  
 religionem Christianam. Nam quod amplius est obligans  
 sectas regulariter sapit blasphemiam, quia observancia  
 15 que in uno proficeret in alio secundum variacionem  
 persone, loci, temporis magis officeret.

H. Quamvis autem Christus dedit religionem suam se-  
 cundum limites ineffabilis libertatis, tamen propter  
 divisiones et mendacia multi ab ea exorbitant; quanto  
 20 magis in religionibus privatis, que non ad tantam  
 sanctitatem, sapientiam et dei auxilium devenerunt.  
 Cum igitur debent reparari ordines, debent ad illum  
 gradum quem Christus instituit reparari; quod foret  
 facillimum, si quilibet Christianus diligeret et soveret  
 25 se et alium in quantum Christianus, et odiret quem-  
 cunque in quantum servat ritum privatum humanitus

A 119<sup>a</sup> adinventum. Si autem spiritus | movet quemquam ad  
 servandum supereminenter legem Christi, non ordinabitur  
 propterea lex sive religio obligans generaliter novam  
 30 sectam. Nam sic quilibet apostolus reliquisset propriam  
 sectam. Omnes tamen preter Scarioth de secta Christi  
 contentati fuerant, ut patet prima Cor. I et III. Apo-  
 B 124<sup>d</sup> stata | igitur divisionem in religione Christiana faciens,  
 "omni tempore iurgia seminat", multiplicando mendacia.  
 35 In cuius signum post sectarum istarum multiplicacionem  
 introductam, multiplicate sunt divisiones et iurgia in  
 sancta ecclesia.

Sed, ut quidam prenoscitat, violencia istarum sectarum  
 et per consequens occasio licium infra tempus modicum  
 40 subtrahetur. Cuius evidencia est, quod sicut affectus  
 consequitur intellectum, sic mendacium seminatum de

5. plus BCD. 16. et temporis CD. 18. tamen *deest* AB.  
 21. deveniant A. 22. reparari debent C. 25. sic BCD; *ib.* adiret BC.  
 29. proprie D. 33. Christi BCD.

Nay, they are  
worse than  
Gentiles.

All should  
labour to end  
this state of  
things:  
which could be  
done if Christ's  
religion were  
observed.

What avails one  
person, time  
and place is  
hurtful to  
others.

Even Christ's  
perfect religion  
is not enough  
followed: how  
much less the  
imperfect  
inventions of  
men!

It does not  
follow, because  
God moves a  
man to certain  
practices, that  
he must found  
a sect: why did  
not each Apostle  
do so?

As it is, the  
Church is  
divided by  
them.

It has been  
foretold that  
the violence of  
these sects will  
shortly pass  
away.

Their theory of speculativa eucaristia precedit prenoscite mendacia divisionis ecclesie. Nunc autem creditur mendacium de dicta hostia esse summum. Olym enim dicebatur in introducione sectarum, quod ipsa hostia sit aliquid, quia accidentis sine subiecto quod est abiectissimum in natura, quia infinitum imperfeccius quam quantumcumque abiecta materialis substancia. Et hii erant bipartiti, ut una secta dicit quod ipsum sacramentum sit quantitas et alia secta quod sit accidentis imperfeccius: scilicet, materialis qualitas. Et sicut utraque posuit suum accidentis 10. esse sine subiecto, ita sentencia sua caruit fundamento. Nunc autem, diebus nostris, surrepsit bifurcata via blasphemorum; quarum utraque dicit, quod venerabile sacramentum altaris nichil est. Prima autem dicit, quod est aggregatio accidentium diversorum in genere, ut 15

quantitatis et qualitatis sine substancia subiecta; secunda dicit, quod est qualitates sine subiecto, que quidem fuerunt in pane vel vino. Nec superest quid dicant ulterius in dedecus sacramenti, quam quod sit res abiectissima in natura ac quod sit incomposite pure 20

And having come to the extreme point of blasphemy, a reaction must ensue.

We must note how the words of the Church oppose their inventions.

Their recriminations on this subject proceed from shame; for they feel that their doctrine dishonours the Eucharist.

nichil. Cum igitur oportet mendaces cadere, cum fuerint in summo gradu blasfemie, necesse videtur ipsos in tercio signo descendere.

Sed ecclesia fidelium attenderet quomodo ante istos ecclesia orat in canone misse, "ut hec oblatione panis 25 et vini nobis corpus et sanguis fiat domini nostri Iesu Christi". Illam autem oblationem vocat terrenam substanciali, ut patet in secreta secunde missae natalis domini. Iste autem secte in toto adversantur tam fidei usui sancte matris ecclesie, cum dicunt, quod illa 30 oblatione non potest esse corpus et sanguis Iesu nostri. Sed illam oportet omnino destrui, et unum imperfeccius quam corpus abiectissimum a fidelibus sacramentaliter adorari. Et quia verecundantur de revelatione huius fallacie, pervertuntur ad solita commenta mendacii, 35 imponentes nobis illam dehonorationem sacramenti huius venerabilis, quod sit imperfeccius in natura quam abiectissimum corpus mundi. Sic enim ipsi prius fronte defenserant esse rendo ut fidem, quod ipsum A 120<sup>b</sup> sacramentum sit accidentis quod prius informavit panem, 40 quam sentenciam mendaciter imponunt Romane ecclesie.

1. eukaristie ABC; ib. prenoscite C. 3. est BCD. 10. unum BCD.  
11. subiecta deest D. 18. aut BCD. 21. istas BCD. 26. vel pro nobis B.  
28. secreto B. 30. sanctis BCD. 31. Christi pro nostri B. 32. vinum D.

K. Nos autem usque ad mortem invehere volumus contra istam perfidiam et contrarium ex fide defendere; scilicet, quod panis et vinum quod ipsi fingunt accidentis sit naturaliter ante consecrationem panis et vinum, sed post consecrationem corpus dignissimum, quia vere et realiter corpus Christi. Consideracio autem de priori natura sopita est, sicut consideracio nature ymaginis, suspensa tota attencione fidelium in signato. Et sicut exemplificat doctor, natura carbonis suspenditur, dum ignitur.

10 Si, inquam, plene instruerentur fideles quod non communicent cum istis sectis nec participant eis temporale subsidium, antequam sub signo patente sui capitanei docuerint quid naturaliter sit illa hostia post

B 123<sup>b</sup> consecrationem, quam fideles | vere credunt esse quo-  
15 dammodo corpus Christi, et corporaliter senciunt ac sciunt fuisse in hostia ante consecrationem; O quam gloriosa foret exclusio falsitatis perfide et enuclacio veritatis! Sed per cautelas dyaboli fides postponitur et mundo antichristiane attenditur. Occupacio tamen

20 foret prelatorum ecclesie dilucidare populo fidei veritatem. Sed ad reges et potentatus pertinet illud a clero suo exigere. Modo autem ex cautela dyaboli,

A 120<sup>c</sup> concedunt sectis licenciam incarcerandi proditorie | suos legios, ut puta iuvenes pro fide ecclesie et bono 25 rei publice decertantes. Hoc autem nedum est infidelitas, sed regalie regum destruccio. Nec mirum de ista cecitate ecclesie, quia secte quedam, inconsultis regibus, dant pape omnium suorum dominium quod sufficiunt de regnis perquirere; quod non est aliud quam legem

30 dei subvertere et ad questum antichristianum disponere.

Nam illi, ut fingunt, non possunt propter perfectionem ewangelicam tale dominium possidere: quomodo ergo possent in alios derivare? Iterum, cum rex habeat omnium temporalium regni sui capitale dominium,

35 quomodo licet eis tot bona regni alienare ad exteros, L. eciam inimicos? Iterum, cum ex confessione sua papa debet esse maxime ewangelicus, perfectissime sequens Christum, quomodo licet eis temptando onerare caput suum cum stercore temporalium, quod propter turbacionem morum a se ipsis excuciant? Talia, inquam, inconveniencia vident quidam sequi ex sectis privatis

We shall maintain unto death that the Sacrament is Christ's true and real body.

The nature of bread indeed remains, but is forgotten: ignited charcoal is fire.

They should be forced to declare what the Host is, or receive no temporal aid.

Exhortation to the secular powers to interfere.

The King is wrong to let the Sects imprison youths who struggle for the Faith and the good of the State.

This destroys kingly power. Many sects besides give the Pope lordship over all they have.

The Pope should follow Christ perfectly, why tempt him with temporalities? Some members of these sects, feeling their false position,

3. figurant B. 9. suppenditur A. 10. sic pro si D. 24. in invenies D. 28. omnium bonorum BCD. 30. antichristum CD.  
31. pro non BCD; ib. propter deest B. 33. in alios deest A.

cum infinitis tradicionibus execucionem legis Christi tardantibus. Et ne dent scandalum prudenter dissimulant. leave it lawfully and unlawfully: Quidam autem in secta succumbunt recorditer. | Unde B 125<sup>a</sup>

lawfully, to serve the Church better; unlawfully, by obtaining dispenses to live at ease.

dupliciter exeunt quidam sectas huiusmodi, scilicet licite et illicite; licite, videndo quia aliter quam in clastro vel privatis conventiculis plus prodessent ecclesie; et illicite multis modis: | ut procurando exemptionem, A 120<sup>a</sup> episcopatum vel licenciam standi extra vel in cura seculari; ut plus laute, plus effrene et plus ociose voluptentur et magis in causa dyaboli contra dominum 10

These are truly apostates. Et tales sunt qui extra sectam, propter episcopatum vel secte firmamentum cum dominabus vel dominis vel quomodocunque in seculo evagantur. Et tales indubie sunt apostate inter homines a dyabolo agitati, cuiusmodi sunt episcopi propter copiam temporali. Illi quidem seducunt ecclesiam et potentes, ut They do much harm. constet sua privata religio. Illi quidem cupide colligunt temporalia ad hunc finem. Et breviter omnes qui impediunt ne servetur Christiana religio in sua pristina

If the care given to the Sects were bestowed on Peter's bark, she would hold a better course. Et sic pauci sunt quin sunt apostate plus vel 20 minus, quia alienati a religione Christi, quam impediunt; on tota solicitude viancum dispersa in sectas privatas, si foret debite collecta ad trahendum Petri naviculam in fluctibus huius seculi pure secundum religionem Christi, militaret tunc contra procellas quam modo 25 militat. Ideo ve illis apostatis qui impediunt illud navigium!

Even if human inventions help towards sanctity, we must admit that they do so less than Christ's ordinances. Similiter, posito quod adinvenciones humane et fictae M. obediencie iuvant secundum religionem Christi ad meritum: adhuc oportet concedere quod non tantum quantum pura religio Christi; quia aliter blasphemaretur in ipsum et scandalisa | rentur apostoli, qui hoc instituere | A 121<sup>a</sup> B 125<sup>a</sup> ex negligencia vel ignorantia omiserunt. Cum igitur non valet privata obediencia nisi de quanto fit Christo, sibi autem posset fieri eque meritorie vel meritorius subductis religionibus privatis, ut patet de apostolis, manifestum videtur quod tales religiones non iuvant ad meritum, sed retardant. Similiter, de quanto religio est deo propinquior et a confirmacione humana independens, est ipsa perfectior; sed pura religio Christiana 40 est huiusmodi respectu cuiuslibet religionis private

The nearer to God, and the less dependent on man any religion is, the better it is: this is eminently true of the pure religion of Christ.

7. exceptionem A. 9. ocie A. 13. quocumque ACD. 33. omiserant A. 35. 36. subditis CD.

adiecte humanitus: igitur est qualibet tali perfeccior. Non enim dependet a confirmacione pape vel hominis citra Christum; nec fundari potest vel dari ab alio, quia non consistit in signis extrinsecis; sed in bonis anime, "que sursum descendunt a patre luminum". Et si dicatur quod religio ista est aggregatum superaddens religioni Christi bonum ab homine ordinatum et de tanto est melius, certum videtur quod totum quod est vera religio, oportet appropriate a Christo descendere. 10 Et ritus superadditus ex obligacione maiori et inordinata preponderante destruit religionem Christi, et instituit novum genus religionis dyaboli.

*It they answer  
that to Christ's  
law is added  
man's good  
ordinance, we  
see that the  
latter destroys  
the former.*

Sic enim est de scriptura sacra per Sergium et de sentencia eukaristie per cultores signorum. Olim enim fuit fides ecclesie quod virtute verborum Christi panis sensibilis fit et est corpus Christi; modo autem sophistica sticantur scriptura et dicta sanctorum, quod ille panis nullomodo potest esse corpus Christi, sed in accidentibus abiectissimis est corpus Christi absconditum. Unde improbant fideles qui adorant hoc sacramentum; quia, secundum eos, omnis abiecti corporis particula est ipso sacramento dignior, et natura divina perfeccior corpore Christi est realius, substancialius et virtuosius ad quemlibet eius punctum. Sed non sic sensit ecclesia primitiva; nam ipsum corpus panis credebatur fieri sacramentaliter corpus Christi; et cum superaddit per illud miraculum super esse deitatis, ibidem adorant fideles illum panem sanctum quem vident de quanto est corpus Christi, et sic adorant finaliter ipsum deum.

*Example in the new doctrine of the Eucharist.*

30 Sic enim sensit beatus Ignacius, ut dictum est superius, et sic sensit beatus Cyprianus, ut patet in libro suo ad Cecilium de sacramento corporis et sangwinis domini, ubi declarans quod non licet in pura aqua conficeret, sic scribit: "Calicem," inquit, "in die passionis accipiens benedixit et dedit discipulis suis, dicens: 'Bibite ex hoc omnes; hic est enim sangvis testamenti, qui pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Dico vobis: non bibam amodo ex ista creatura vitis usque in diem illum, quo vobiscum bibam novum in regno

*How can anything so mean as an accident be adored?*

*Such was not the doctrine of the early Church.*

*The faithful used to adore God in this Sacrament.*

*Ignatius and Cyprian were of this mind.*

*Quotation from the latter.*

5. descendant A. 11. preponderancius BCD: *ib.* inficit CD. 12. religiosus *deest* BCD. 13. sicut BCD. 14. signum BCD. 15. sicut *pro* fuit BCD. 36. enim *deest* BCD; *ib.* novi testamenti B. 37. in *deest* D.

patris mei." "Qua in parte," inquit sanctus, "invenimus calicem mixtum fuisse quem obtulit, et vinum fuisse quod sangwinem suum dixit." Et Johannes Damascenus Grecus scribit | in sententiis suis quod deus A 121<sup>c</sup> "coniugavit pani et vino deitatem suam et fecit ipsam 5 corpus et sangwinem". Et idem dicunt sancti con-O. corditer.

Words of  
St. John  
Damascenus.

Anecdote by  
the Abbot  
Daniel in the  
*Lives of the  
Desert Fathers.*  
An old Father,  
holy in life,  
believed that  
the sacramental  
bread was only  
the figure of  
Christ's body.

He was told to  
believe that the  
bread was  
really Christ's  
body.

But, he not  
being satisfied  
with their  
reasons,

they said: 'Let  
us pray this  
week'.

He consented  
and prayed.

So did the  
others.

Unde, in Vitis Patrum narratur capitulo 18, quomo-  
modo narravat abbas Daniel dicens: "dixit pater noster  
abbas Arsenius de quodam sene, qui magnus erat in 10  
hac vita, simplex autem in fide; et errabat pro eo  
quod erat ydiota et dicebat naturaliter non esse cor-  
pus Christi | panem quem sumimus, sed figuram eius B 126<sup>b</sup>  
esse. Hoc autem audientes duo senes et scientes quod  
magna esset vita eius, cogitaverunt quia innocenter 15  
et simpliciter dixit hoc. Et venerunt ad eum, et dicunt  
ei: 'Abba, sermonem audivimus cuiusdam infidelis,  
qui dixit quia panis quem sumimus non naturaliter  
corpus Christi, sed figura est.' Senex ait eis: 'Ego  
sum qui hoc dixi.' Illi autem rogabant eum dicentes: 20  
'non sic teneas, abba, sed sicut ecclesia catholica  
tradidit. Nos autem credimus, quia panis corpus Christi  
est, calix ipse sangvis Christi secundum veritatem et  
non secundum figuram. Sed sicud in principio pulverem  
de terra accipiens plasmavit hominem ad ymaginem 25  
suam, et nemo potest dicere quod non erat ymago dei,  
quamvis incomprehensibilis. Ita et panis quem dixit  
quia *corpus meum est* credimus quia secundum veri-  
tatem corpus Christi est.' Senex autem ait eis, quia  
'nisi re ipsa cognovero |, non michi satisficit racio A 121<sup>d</sup>  
vestra'. Illi autem diverunt ad eum: 'deprecemur deum  
ebdomada haec de misterio hoc, et credimus quia deus  
revelabit nobis'. Senex vero cum gudio suscepit ser-  
monem istum, et deprecabatur deum dicens: 'Domine,  
tu cognoscis, quoniam non propter maliciam incredulus 30  
sum rei huius, sed per ignoranciam dubito. Revela  
igitur michi, domine Jesu Christe, quod verum est.'  
Sed et illi senes abeuntes in cellas suas rogabant di-  
centes: 'Domine Jesu Christe, revela seni misterium  
hoc, ut credit et non perdat laborem suum.' Exaudivit 40

4. quia B. 6. corpus suum C. 10. dixit B. 22. panis ipse BCD.  
23. Christi est CD. 29. dixit CD. 32. ministerio B. 40. nonque B.

6. De Vitis Patrum l. v. libello 18. Migne, t. 73, p. 978, 979.

dominus utrosque, et ebdomada completa venerunt do-  
 minico die | in ecclesiam et sederunt ipsi tres soli  
 super sedili de cirpo, quod ad modum fascis erat  
 ligatum. Medius autem sedebat senex ille. Aperti sunt <sup>Their eyes were</sup>  
 5 intellectuales oculi eorum, et quando positi sunt in <sup>opened.</sup>  
 altari panes, videtur illis tantummodo tribus, tanquam <sup>And they saw</sup>  
 parwulus iacens super altare. Et cum extendisset pres- <sup>on the altar a</sup>  
 biter manus ut frangeret panem, descendit angelus do- <sup>little child</sup>  
 mini de celo habens cultrum in manu, et sacrificavit <sup>sacrificated by an</sup>  
 10 puerum illum: sangwinem vero eius excueiebat in <sup>Angel.</sup>  
 calicem. Cum autem presbiter frangeret in partibus <sup>And the old</sup>  
 parvis panem, eciam et angelus incidebat pueri mem- <sup>man, instead of</sup>  
 bra in modicis partibus. Cum vero accessisset ut ac- <sup>the Host,</sup>  
 ciperet sanctam communionem, data est ipsi soli caro <sup>received</sup>  
 A 122<sup>a</sup> sangwine cruentata | quod cum vidisset pertimuit et <sup>bleeding flesh;</sup>  
 clamavit dicens. 'Credo quia panis qui in altari po- <sup>and he believed</sup>  
 nitur corpus tuum est; et calix tuus est sangwis.' Et <sup>and the flesh</sup>  
 statim facta est in manu eius panis secundum misterium, <sup>was again</sup>  
 et sumpsit cum ore, gracias agens deo. Dixerunt ei <sup>bread.</sup>  
 20 senes: 'Deus scit naturam humanam, quia non potest  
 vesci carnibus crudis; et propter ea transformavit cor-  
 pus in panem et sangwinem in vinum hiis qui illud  
 in fide suscipiunt.'

Ex ista narracione, vera supposita, patent tria: primo <sup>Conclusions:</sup>  
 25 quomodo in illa etate ecclesie vocarunt panem regula- <sup>a) that Christ's</sup>  
 riter corpus Christi; nondum enim introducti sunt <sup>body was then</sup>  
 cultores accidentium, qui finxerant accidens sacramen- <sup>regularly called</sup>  
 tum. Patet secundo quod non est intencionis miraculi <sup>bread;</sup>  
 dicere quod panis sacramentalis sit ydemptice corpus <sup>b) that the</sup>  
 30 Christi, sed sufficit quod supra rationem figure panis <sup>miracle does</sup>  
 B 120<sup>a</sup> ille sit realiter corpus | Christi. Et patet tertio pro- <sup>not produce</sup>  
 isto termino 'naturaliter' quod doctores primitive ecclesie, <sup>identity:</sup>  
 et specialiter Hylarius libro 7<sup>o</sup> De trinitate capitulo 6<sup>o</sup>, <sup>c) that the</sup>  
 dicunt corpus Christi esse naturaliter, corporaliter et <sup>early Doctors</sup>  
 35 carnaliter ipsum panem, ad excludendum figuram pre- <sup>call Christ's</sup>  
 cisam qualis fuit in lege veteri, et qualis est in signis <sup>Body natural</sup>  
 nostris humanitus institutis: quia aliter Christus dixisset <sup>bread.</sup>  
 superflue: "hoc est corpus meum", nisi signum illud  
 panis haberet quandam efficaciam super illa. Sed ut <sup>bread.</sup>  
 A 122<sup>b</sup> dictum est, adverbia debent intelligi simpliciter. |

3. medium CD. 7. extenderet B. 8, 9. Domini deest B.  
 15. sangwine deest B. 17. est deest A: ib. est illa BCD. 18. ministerium B.

3. *Scirpo*, in the text quoted.

Return to the question: the variation of rites in the Mass.  
The author of *De Divinis officiis* says: Of old Mass was celebrated less splendidly.

As David and Salomon perfected the sacrifices of Moses, so has the Roman Church done in later times.

Pope Celestinus ordered that the whole Psalter should be sung before Mass, by anthems.

Pope Gregory arranged the anthems, composed the *Kyrie eleison*, added some words to the Canon.

Redeundo ergo ad variacionem rituum in missa, cum Q. illa varia<sup>c</sup> possit bene fieri, videndum est de eius origine, quam declarat auctor *De divinis officiis*, sub hiis verbis: "Olym non tanto exterioris apparatu decoris missarum solemnia celebrabantur, nec ab uno quolibet homine religiosi obsequii gloria consummata et perpolita. Pontifices quippe sacri, splendida Romane sedis luminaria, sicut diversis temporibus effulserunt, ita paulatim studii sui claritate venustatem huius salutaris officii perfecerunt. Et sicut traditum a domino per Moysen sacrificii veteris ordinem, precipue David et Salomon, sacerdotum et Levitarum ministerio, tantorum multiplici numero psalmorum divinorum, tripudio, templi vel altaris illustri gloria, sacrorumque multitudine vasorum splendidius ampliarunt; sic traditum a domino mirabilem novi sacrificii ritum per primos apostolos sancta Romana ecclesia suscipiens religiosa fide amplexata est, fideli cura conservavit, diligenter apparatu exornavit. Que ergo quique eorum con*tulerunt*, iam B. 127<sup>a</sup> dicemus magis secundum ordinem eorum que ordinata sunt, quam eorum qui ordinaverunt. Celestinus papa 42<sup>us</sup> constituerat ut psalmi David centum 50 ante A. 122<sup>c</sup> sacrificium canerentur antiphonatim ex omnibus; quod ante non fiebat, sed tantum epistola et ewangelium recitabantur. Ex hoc instituto excepti de psalmis in- 25 troitus, gradualia, offertoria, communione cum modulacione ad missam in ecclesia Romana cantari cuperunt. Gregorius 65 antiphonarium regulariter centonisavit et compilavit, *Kyrieleison* a clero ad missam cantari pre*R.* cepit, quod apud Grecos ab omni populo cantabatur; 30 *alleluya* extra penthecosten ad missam dici fecit, in canone tria verba superaddidit hostie: 'diesque nostros

10. intraditum ad nomen domini D. 18. fidei D: *ib. con-deest* BCD.  
20. sed pro secundum C. 25. communionem CD. 28. regulariter *deest* A:  
*ib. teutonisavit omnes MSS.*

21. According to the Benedictine chronological list, St. Celestinus (422) was the 44<sup>th</sup> Pope, counting St. Peter. In *De Divinis officiis*, ascribed to Alcuin, there is the following passage: "Celestinus papa . . . constituit ut psalmi CL ante sacrificium psallerentur antiphonatim ex omnibus; quod antea non fiebat, nisi tantum epistola Pauli recitabatur, et sanctum Evangelium" . . . Here we have, as also in some other similar passages, evident proof that Wyclif quotes from this work, though very considerably interpolated, as we have seen from other extracts that are nowhere to be found. 28. St. Gregory the Great (590) was the 65<sup>th</sup> Pope.

in tua pace disponas; 'ab eterna dampnacione nos cipi,  
et 'in electorum tuorum iubeas grege numerari.' Oracionem  
quoque dominicam post canonem super hostia  
censuit recitari. Simacus 53<sup>us</sup> omni die dominico vel  
natali martirum Gloria in excelsis ad missam cantari  
constituit; quem ymnum Celestinus Telesphorus papa  
a beato Petro nonus nocte tantum natalis domini ad-  
missas a se in ipsa constitutas cantari instituit, et in  
eo ad angelorum verba que sequuntur adiecit. Gelasius

10 47<sup>us</sup> tractus et ymnos composuit, et sacramentorum  
prefaciones tanto zelinato sermone dictavit. Innocencius

A 122<sup>1</sup> 38<sup>us</sup> pacis osculum ante communionem dari decrevit;  
Leo 43<sup>us</sup>, qui in omelii declamandis multum invaluit,

addidit in canone 'sanctum sacrificium, inmaculatam  
hostiam.' Damasus 36<sup>us</sup>, 'Credo in unum deum' cantari

B 127<sup>b</sup> instituit ex decreto sancte universalis | Synodi a centum  
50 episcopis Constantinopoli celebente. Alexander 6<sup>us</sup> ad

consecrationem eukaristie instituit, quod sicut de latere  
crucifixi domini effluxit sangvis et aqua, ita aqua vino

20 misceatur in ipsa consecratione; nec vinum sine aqua,  
S. nec aquam sine vino offerri debere decernens. Sixtus

7<sup>us</sup> ympnum Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, cantari instituit;  
Sergius 80<sup>us</sup> ultimum hoc instituit, ut inter communica-

candum 'agnus dei' a clero cantetur.

25 Sic studiosa divine legis ecclesia Romana paulatim  
de thesauro suo protulit nova pietatis monumenta, et  
quoddam velud ex auro lapidibusque preciosissimis religiosi  
officii sancto sacrificio fabrefecit ydioma. Non quidem  
sanctius hinc est quod erat prius, cum ad sola verba

30 domini solamque dominicam oracionem consecrabatur.  
Sed maxime docuit, ut fides que adhuc erat illo tem-

pore rudit et, ut ait quidam, tam doctus quam fidelis:

... Agresti turbida culti

Nuda humeros, intonsa comas, exorta lacertos'

A 123<sup>a</sup> ubi ornari | potuit maxime in hac parte, tanquam in  
capite suo deauraretur, et earum rerum que superius  
dicitur sunt veneranda similitudine fulgeret."

9. sequentur ABD. 11. zelimate CDE. 15. Damasus D. 17. eccl-  
brante B. 20. ipsa deest D. 21. aqua B. 31. in illo BCD.  
34. comis BCD; 35. sacerdos BCD. 39. deauretur BCD.

4. Symmachus (498); 52<sup>nd</sup> Pope. 6. St. Telesphorus (127);  
8<sup>th</sup> Pope. 6. St. Gelasius (492); 50<sup>th</sup> Pope. 11. St. Innocent I (402); 41<sup>st</sup> Pope. 13. St. Leo the Great (440); 46<sup>th</sup> Pope.  
15. St. Damasus (366); 38<sup>th</sup> Pope. 17. St. Alexander (106);  
6<sup>th</sup> Pope. 21. St. Sixtus I (119); 7<sup>th</sup>. 23. Sergius I (687); 85<sup>th</sup>.

and put in the  
Lord's Prayer.

Pope  
Symmachus  
ordained that  
the *Gloria*  
should be sung  
out of  
Christmas-tide.

Pope Gelasius  
composed the  
Tracts, hymns  
and Prefaces;  
Innocent, Leo,  
Damasus,  
Alexander,  
Sixtus and  
Sergius also  
made some  
changes.

Thus the  
Roman Church  
has little by  
little, adorned  
the Ritual of  
the Mass with  
rites; faith, no  
less sacred than  
before, is more  
splendid now.

These ceremonies certainly aid piety, though not so safe as the first ones, instituted by Christ.

The same may be said of other rites,

good only in so far as they incite to Christ's love. Still, it would be better if we could do without them.

We are far from the fervour of early times.

Solomon was perhaps wrong in giving such splendour to public worship; and we are under a new dispensation;

This argument would allow concubines, and burnt-offerings, &c.

The lies of these last times have given too great prominence to these ceremonies.

Everything depends, not on the act, but on the spirit in which it is done.

Licet autem verisimile sit, quod modus quem observarunt Christus et sui apostoli fuit securior et plus prodesset ecclesie, tamen iste modus superadditus multis prodest. Et sic de multis sanctorum canonisacionibus, de multis festorum celebracionibus et aliis perpetuis institutionibus; certum quidem est quod omnia talia precise de tanto sunt laudabilia, de quanto excitant ut Christus plus ametur. Sic quod, si Christus | plus B 127<sup>a</sup> amaretur ab ecclesia, non existente solemnitate festivitatis alicuius apostoli vel sancti citra Christum, nec 10 ordinacione adiecta de cultu ecclesie, plus prodesset ecclesie quam modo proficit. Cuius veritas ex isto convincitur quod ante omnia hec plus profuerunt ecclesie actus apostolici; et multiplicatis successive hiis ritibus continue plus fuerant peiorati. Ideo videtur quod nec 15 propter questum, nec fastum, sed pure propter honorem dei, excitante revelacione, sunt talia acceptanda.

Nec movet de David et Salomone, tum quia non T. docetur quin ipsi in hoc peccaverunt, tum etiam quia multi ritus fuerunt in eis liciti, qui propter adventum 20 figurati et attencionem ad sensum mysticum sunt hodie omittendi, creditur templum Salomonis et eius ornamenti fuisse destructa. Nec oportet prelatos nostros propter eorum consequenciam habere totidem concubinas vel premi purgacionibus | et oblacionibus bestiarum cum A 123<sup>b</sup> ceteris ritibus. Sicut igitur ipsi et gesta sua signarunt Christum venturum, qui iam venit et alleviavit onus illud importabile, sic debemus servando eius libertatem secundum sapienciam suam veteres ritus excutere; et sic melius foret ritus huius sacramenti et alias in- 30 troductos dimittere, nisi ad amorem Christi promoverent, et per consequens ad observanciam legis sue.

Sed multiplicata mendacia circa sacramentum altaris maioritas observancie ritus novelli supra virtutes; et sic distraccio a magis bono videntur multis concludere 35 quod melius foret multiplicitatem istam dimittere. Melius, Amos inquam, foret vellere siccomoros in maiori caritate quam VII, 14 audire | quotquot missas cum oracionibus numerosis B 127<sup>c</sup> profusis, quia magis virtuosum. Sic enim baptista, qui nunquam audivit missam, manducavit meritorius corpus 40 Christi. Sic enim loquitur Christus de bibacione vini,

10. nec pro vel D. 17. attemptanda C. 19. peccaverant A; ib. et pro eciam B. 26. figurant BCD. 28. illud eis C. 36. fore A; ib. multiplicacionem BCD. 41. scilicet quam tales in marg. A.

hoc est, sangwinis sui Math. XXVI et Luc. XXII quem biberet novo modo post mortem; sicut loquitur Augustinus super Johanne, omelia 25<sup>a</sup>. Manducacio autem sacramentalis non proficit, nisi de quanto subservit man-

A 123<sup>e</sup> ducacioni spirituali, que fit in anima. | Illa vero per se sufficit, cum implicat virtutem et meritum ex memoria passionis et viacionis Christi a corpore suo mistico, quod est ecclesia imitandum.

This is  
Augustine's  
doctrine.

V. Sunt autem tres famosi obiectus ut sepe repecii; primo videtur quod si corpus Christi sit hostia consecrata et quelibet eius particula, cum infinita sunt huiusmodi, corpus Christi foret infinita contrarie accidentata; vel ex alio latere quodlibet illorum foret idem in numero euilibet eorum. Ad istud sepe dictum est quod foret insolubile, nisi quia corpus Christi est *equivoce* et non *ydemptice* aliquod illorum. Et illud docet Augustinus, ut recitat decretum de consecratione, distincione 2<sup>a</sup> capitulo. "Non hoc corpus," inquit: "quod videtis manducaturi estis, et bibituri estis illum sangwinem quem effusuri sunt illi, qui me crucifigent; ipsum quidem et non ipsum; ipsum invisibiliter et non ipsum visibiliter," "necesse est", inquit, "illud celebrari visibiliter; sed necesse est ut illud invisibiliter intelligatur". Ubi patet quod Augustinus equivocat modo scripture. Et cum utraque pars sit concedenda cum Augustino, quia propter equivocationem non est contradiccio, manifestum est quod ipse vere intelligit quod corpus Christi non A 123<sup>d</sup> est comedendum secundum illum modum substancialis,

B 128<sup>a</sup> corporalem, vel dimensionalem, quem habet in quantum illud corpus. Et propter illum modum essendi equivocum, patet quod deficit discursus sylogisticus in ista materia. Non, inquam, oportet, si panis ille frangitur, comeditur vel putrescit, et ille sit corpus Christi, quod ipsum corpus propterea sic movetur, quia est equivoce corpus Christi; et sic movetur taliter in hostia, sed non sic movetur, quia non sic movetur in sua substancia; multiplicatur tamen, cum sit multorum singulum.

Secundo argumentatur quod corpus Christi sit quelibet eius pars quantitativa, ut puta caput, pedes, manus etc.

Three great  
objections to  
the Eucharist.  
I. That  
Christ's body,  
being  
everywhere the  
Host, each Host  
would be every  
other; it is  
soluble by our  
distinction  
alone.

Augustine says  
that the Body  
we eat is and  
is not the same  
as that which  
was crucified;  
the same  
invisibly, not  
visibly.

Here syllogisms  
fail, because of  
the difference in  
the very modes  
of being.

II. Christ's  
Body in the  
Sacrament is

6. virtutem *deest* A; virtutem C. 12. accidentia B. 15. quod BCD.  
22, 23. necesse — sed necesse *deest* A. 30. per C. 34. qui BCD.  
36. quia — in *deest* A. 38. arguitur BD.

1. Aug. Tract. XXV. In Joh. Migne, t. 35, p. 1602. 17. Decr.  
Grat. 3<sup>a</sup> Pars. Dist. II, c. 45.

identical with quia quelibet talis pars est illud sacramentum quod His head, feet, est corpus Christi. Cum ergo quecunque sunt eadem &c. So His head is there identical with his feet?

alicui tercio sunt eadem inter se, videtur quod omnes ille partes idem corpori Christi sunt idem inter se. Hic X. suppono quod fiat locutio de substanciali ydentitate 5 numerali: et tunc patet, quod conclusio est impossibilis.

*Answer:* If we speak of substantial identity, the conclusion is wrong; if of Christ's mystic members, and their union in charity, it is right.

Sed videtur secundum logicam apostoli quod est quedam similitudo ad sensum mysticum vel sacramentalem; ita quod, sicud sacramentum est corpus Christi et singule eius partes, sic quicunque predestinati sunt qualia- 10 cunque membra corporis Christi mystici. Sribit enim apostolus 1<sup>a</sup> Cor. X: "Unum corpus et unus panis X, 17

multi sumus | omnes, qui de uno pane et uno calice A 124<sup>a</sup> participamus"; hoc est, omnes predestinati qui participant eukaristia quoad meritum vel premium, nedum 15 sunt unum corpus natura, sed unum corpus Christi, quod est ecclesia, et ipsa est quodammodo unus panis. Ideo, ad Rom. XII. "Multi unum corpus sumus in Rom. XII, 5 Christo; singuli autem alter alterius membra." Sicut enim hostia consecrata est sacramentaliter corpus Christi, 20 et quodlibet eius membrum, sic est quodammodo sancta mater ecclesia et quodlibet eius membrum. Idem | dicit B 128<sup>b</sup>

auctor De divinis officiis, quod "in sacramento altaris, nedum est corpus Christi et concomitancia angelorum sed tota ecclesia; et sicut ipsa hostia et quelibet eius 25 particula est corpus Christi et quodlibet eius membrum, sic mistice quodlibet membrum ecclesie est quodammodo Christus Jesus, ut locuntur multi sancti; et quodlibet membrum ecclesie debet esse mistice qualemque membrum alterius; ut prelatus nedum est stomachus, 30 oculus et sic de aliis membris ecclesie, sed debet esse in consilio membrum cuiilibet alteri eius membro; quia, ut docet apostolus, debemus esse singuli alter alterius membra".

For the Sacrament is mystically the whole Church; and each of its members ought thus to belong to and be in another.

III. If all the members of Christ are in the Host, they are there with all their shapes, &c.

Sed tercio obiciunt carnales: si corpus Christi et 35 Y. omnia | eius membra sunt vere in hostia, tunc quantitas, A 124<sup>b</sup> figura et continuacio illorum membrorum est consequenter in ipsa hostia. Et ad istud vellent carnales urgere me per sua mendacia, non per argumenta, ut concedam corpus Christi esse septipedale in hostia et quomodo- 40 cunque figuratur, vel qualificatur in celo secundum

2. et est CD. 11. corpori D. 10. idem corr. A; ib. naturaliter CD.  
18. Ideo dicitur CD. 19. sic CD. 21. et deest AB. 22. Ideo CD.  
30. debet esse BCD. 35. nec BCD.

aliquid accidens corporale. Sed sensus et ratio fidei contradicunt. Conceditur igitur quod corpus Christi est non quantum, non figuratum, non corporaliter qualificatum ibi, quia est spiritualiter et non dimensiona-  
 5 liter ibi. Verumtamen corpus Christi non est non quantum vel non corporee qualificatum, quia tunc non esset alicubi illo modo. Corpus Christi igitur non habet in hostia aliquem modum propriæ substancialiæ illi corpori, quia tunc posset esse ibi illo modo, cum hoc quod non  
 10 esset per alium locum, quod esse non potest. Conceditur tamen quod accidentaliter et secundum modum sibi accidentalem est in celo, cum sit ibi substancialiter. Et impossibile est aliquid corpus esse alicubi substancialiter,  
 B 128<sup>e</sup> nisi fuerit ibi accidentaliter, | sed econtra. Quia quamvis  
 15 sit in hostia corpus Christi modo quo uniuertuntur partes eius ad invicem, et modo quo anima sua actuat corpus  
 A 124 illud, tamen ille est modus aliis, quia | modus spiritualis corporis; qui deficit sibi in celo. Unde modus substancialis est prior naturaliter quam modus unionis  
 20 anime cum corpore, vel parecum quantitativarum ad invicem, cum sit modus materialis quo est illa attonia. Nec latet logicos quomodo iste termini substancialiter et secundum substancialiam possunt quandoque sumi cathegorice et quandoque sincathegorice et sic reducere immediate secundum causalem et condicionalem  
 25 et alias mediate, quod logici negant de isto termino *in quantum*. Corpus itaque Christi non habet in hostia aliquod accidens formale, sed loco quantitatis habet corpus Christi ibi magnitudinem virtutis, et loco qualitatis corporalis habet ibi qualitates spirituales, et loco continuacionis membrorum suorum habet ibi graciæ  
 30 continuandi per caritatem membra ecclesie ad invicem et cum Christo.

Sic igitur instruendus est populus quod sacramentum  
 35 altaris est secundum suam naturam panis et vinum, sed secundum verbi dei miraculum est corpus Christi et sanguis. Et dicendum est scolasticis quod sacramentum, secundum quod panis aut vinum, subiectat  
 naturaliter omnia illa accidencia que sentimus; sed  
 40 secundum quod corpus Christi, confert graciæ fidelibus ipsa dignis. Istam autem sentenciam propono publicare

*Answer: His members are there spiritually, not dimensionally.*

*Though Christ's body has dimensions, it has none qua in the Sacrament*

*But in Heaven it has all its dimensions, being there substantially.*

*Terms that signify a substance can be taken either for what they denote or for something similar.*

*Thus instead of dimensions, Christ has greatness of virtue.*

*The People and the learned are to be taught the same thing in different terms; that the Eucharist, natural bread, is Christ's sacramental body.*

14. accidenter B. 15. sit *deest* B. 19. natura BCD. 21. attoma C.  
 27. inquam BCD. 41. dignius B.

*Conclusion: a* in populo. Et cultores signorum iuxtaponant suam challenge to the sentenciam, quod sacramentum ipsum sit aggregacio sign-worship- accidencium sine substancia subiecta: Deus autem qui pers. This doctrine will be published, let them set forth their; and let God multiply the number of the faithful. *Certum, inquam, est, quod multiplicata apostasia generationis signa querencium multiplicanda est errorum varietas in hoc venerabili sacramento.*

Explicit Tractatus de Apostasia Magistri Johannis Wiclef doctoris ewangelici.

10

9. Explicit tractatus de apostasia per reverendum doctorem J. W. cuius anima per misericordiam altissimi requiescat in pace C; Explicit tractatus de apostasia per reverendum doctorem J. W. cuius anima per misericordiam altissimi D; per reverendum doctorem J. W. cuius anima per misericordiam altissimi requiescat in pace. Amen B. 10. Respic linem 1517 A alia manu.

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- <sup>1</sup> According as *subject matter* or *words* are taken as guides, an index approaches on one hand to a mere summary, on the other, to a concordance. But there are already two summaries, one in the Introduction, and the other in the side-notes; and to write a complete concordance would be useless and impossible. I have endeavoured therefore, to restrain the scope of this Index chiefly to what is most interesting and strikes most. Quotations from the Fathers being very numerous, I have taken especial pains with them; not however always repeating the reference, if the same quotation occurs several times.

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