



CHRIST'S POVERTY IN ANTIMENDICANT DEBATE:
BOOK VIII OF *DE PAUPERIE SALVATORIS* BY
RICHARD FITZRALPH, AND WILLIAM
WOODFORD'S *DEFENSORIUM*

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ABSTRACT

This thesis comprises a study of two fourteenth-century texts, written as part of the mendicant controversy, book VIII of *De pauperie Salvatoris* by Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh, (c. 1300-1360) and its response, *Defensorium Fratrum Mendicantium contra Ricardum Armachanum in Octavo Libello de Pauperie Christi*, by the English Franciscan friar, William Woodford (c. 1330-c. 1397). It introduces each theologian, speculating why such significant fourteenth-century thinkers are not more widely known to scholars of this period. It briefly explores how contemporary understandings of the practice of mendicancy have become obscured within a historiography which seems reluctant to turn to the works of the critics of the mendicant friars for information.

Based on a close-reading of each text, the thesis examines FitzRalph's declaration that Christ did not beg, and Woodford's assertion that he did, noting how each theologian uses scripture, the writings of the Church fathers, those of mendicant theologians, and mobilizes arguments from the classical philosopher, Aristotle, to construct their opposing viewpoints. Focussing especially on discussions about poverty, and about the life and activities of Christ, it suggests that information valuable to social historians is located in these texts, where each theologian constructs their own worldview, and rationalizes their position. Of particular interest is FitzRalph's radical fashioning of Christ as a labouring carpenter, and Woodford's construction of a socio-economic and an anti-semitic argument to disprove it.

Finally, the thesis probes the accepted hypothesis that followers of the late fourteenth-century Oxford theologian and heresiarch, John Wyclif, and collectively classified as 'lollards', incorporated wholesale the views of FitzRalph into their own writings. Studying a number of lollard texts, it notes rather a strategic adoption and an equally significant omission, especially concerning FitzRalph's depictions of poverty, and his framing of Christ the carpenter.

DECLARATION OF ORIGINAL AUTHORSHIP

Declaration

I confirm that this is my own work and the use of all material from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged.

Bridget Riley

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ABBREVIATIONS

MS 75	Magdalen College, Oxford, MS 75
MS 144	Oxford, MS Bodley 144
MS 65	St John's College, Oxford, MS 65
MS 180	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 180
MS 64	Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, MS 64
MS 121	Lambeth Palace Library, MS 121
PL	Patriologia Latina
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
ST	Summa Theologiae

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Introduction

Richard FitzRalph and William Woodford: Methodology

This thesis comprises a study of two fourteenth-century texts, book VIII of *De pauperie Salvatoris* by Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh, (c. 1300-1360) and its response, *Defensorium Fratrum Mendicantium contra Ricardum Armachanum in Octavo Libello de Pauperie Christi* (hereafter *Defensorium*), by the English Franciscan friar, William Woodford (c. 1330-c. 1397).¹ Both texts were composed as part of theological disagreements in the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century between secular clergy and representatives of the mendicant orders, and known collectively as the 'mendicant controversy'. Neither text has been edited in a modern edition or studied in detail. For this reason, the thesis contains extensive quotations and footnotes from each text to provide evidence and context for its arguments and analysis.²

The phrase the 'mendicant controversy' refers generally to a sustained period of disagreement between secular and mendicant theologians, which began in the 1250s, shortly after the emergence and rapid expansion of the four orders of 'mendicant friars', Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians and Carmelites, and which by the fifteenth-century had shifted to encompass wider disagreements over doctrine, between lollards (the name given to followers of the Oxford theologian and heresiarch, John Wyclif [d. 1384]), or others deemed to be heretical, and orthodox theologians.³

¹ Various forms of punctuation or spelling for FitzRalph's name and for the title of his text are used throughout the secondary material. Within this thesis quotations will reflect these variants, but otherwise FitzRalph and *De pauperie Salvatoris* will be used.

² On this point see Hudson, A. *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite texts and Lollard History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 2.

³ For a summary of lollard sermons which are critical of the friars, see Gradon, P. and Hudson, A., eds. *English Wycliffite sermons, iv* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp.121-145. A number of lollard sermons will also be examined in chapter four.

These texts were selected for a number of reasons. Book VIII is the least known part of *De pauperie Salvatoris*. Books I-IV were edited by Reginald Poole in the nineteenth century.⁴ Books V-VII were studied for two doctoral theses in the early twentieth-century.⁵ No work has yet focused on book VIII, whose very survival came to light fairly recently.⁶ Furthermore, Book VIII alone elicited a systematic mendicant rebuttal, Woodford's *Defensorium*, making this pair of texts a valuable historical resource.

Richard FitzRalph composed the earlier books I-VII of *De pauperie Salvatoris* between 1351 and 1356 as part of a campaign against the mendicant friars, which took up the last decade of his life. The campaign, which began in 1350, comprised sermons critical of the friars, the writing of *De pauperie Salvatoris* and various tracts, and an unresolved lawsuit he embarked upon against the friars in 1357 in the Avignon papal courts.

Book VIII, a late addition to the campaign, was written between 1357 and his death in 1360.⁷ The *Defensorium* was composed by Woodford some forty years later.⁸ This thesis draws its material for book VIII from Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 180, fols 90^{ra}-128^{vb}, and for the *Defensorium* from Magdalen College, Oxford, MS 75 fols 1^{ra}-178^{va}. Transcriptions and translations are my own.⁹

⁴ Poole, R. L., ed. Iohannis Wycliffe, *De Dominio Divino Libri Tres*, to which are added the first four books of the Treatise *De Pauperie Salvatoris* by Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh (London: The Wyclif Society, 1890), pp. 273-476.

⁵ Hughes, H., *An Essay Introductory to the De Pauperie Salvatoris of Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, (University of Manchester 1928); Brock, R. O., *An Edition of Richard FitzRalph's De pauperie Salvatoris: Books V, VI and VII*, Unpublished PhD thesis, (University of Colorado 1953).

⁶ At the time of writing his article on FitzRalph and the 'apostolic poverty controversy', James Dawson was unaware of the existence of an eighth book, concluding: 'the *De Pauperie* may be read as the final document in that controversy'. Dawson, J. D., 'Richard FitzRalph and the Fourteenth-Century Poverty Controversies', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 34:3 (1983), 315-344, pp. 317, 339, n. 66. See also fn. 84. An explanation of the 'discovery' of book VIII appears in chapter two, see fns 379-382.

⁷ FitzRalph referred to *De pauperie Salvatoris* as consisting of seven books in an antifraternal sermon he preached in London in December 1356. '*scripsi de ille materia septem libellos*' MS 144, fol. 94^v. (The full text of this sermon is found in MS 144, fols 92^v-98^v, and also MS 65, fols 75^v-79^r).

⁸ 'Woodford's *Defensorium* was written about 1395/96'. Doyle, E., 'A Biographical List by William Woodford, O.F.M.', *Franciscan Studies*, 35 (1975), 93-106, p. 94.

⁹ Similarly, unless specified otherwise, transcriptions and translations from other manuscripts are my own (including the use of punctuation, modern capitalizations, and the expansion of abbreviated words).

FitzRalph and Woodford were recognized by their peers as important theologians, their works read and cited by contemporaries and subsequent scholars.¹⁰ Historians acknowledge their significance within fourteenth-century theological discussion.¹¹ Yet the writings of both remain curiously unstudied.¹² This omission is known to historians, William Courtenay noting: 'modern historians have seen [FitzRalph's] thought as far less original and profound than that of many of his contemporaries'.¹³ Involving a close-study of each text, this thesis aims to promote their arguments, especially those concerning poverty, to provide, among other things, a fresh insight into the 'lived religion' of the fourteenth century.¹⁴

This thesis presents FitzRalph as an original thinker.¹⁵ Walsh described *De pauperie Salvatoris* as 'the most original study of evangelical poverty to appear in the course of the mendicant controversies'.¹⁶ Dunne sees originality early in FitzRalph's academic career.¹⁷ Fiona

¹⁰ Katherine Walsh describes FitzRalph as 'one of the most prominent and frequently quoted prelates of the later Middle Ages'. Walsh, K. *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), p. 469. See also Dunne, M., 'Richard FitzRalph's *Lectura* on the *Sentences*', in *Medieval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, ed. P. Rosemann (Boston: Brill, 2009), 405-437, p. 405; Lahey, S. E., 'Richard FitzRalph and John Wyclif: Untangling Armachanus from the Wycliffites', in *Richard FitzRalph: his Life, Times and Thought*, eds. M. Dunne and S. Nolan (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013), 159-185, p. 159.

¹¹ Pantin declared 'FitzRalph is one of the most important English theological writers of the fourteenth century'. Pantin, W. A. *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), p. 152. Eric Doyle wrote that William Woodford: 'was acknowledged in his own time as a powerful adversary and as a writer of considerable authority'. Doyle (1983), p. 19. See also Scase, W. '*Piers Plowman*' and the *New Anti-clericalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 7; Minnis, A. J., "'Authorial Intention" and "Literal Sense" in the Exegetical Theories of Richard FitzRalph and John Wyclif: An Essay in the Medieval History of Biblical Hermeneutics', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature*, 75 (1975), 1-31, p. 2.

¹² Gordon Leff observed: 'whereas the majority of later medieval thinkers are remembered through their work rather than as individuals, for FitzRalph the converse is true'. Leff, G., 'Richard FitzRalph's *Commentary on the Sentences*', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 45:2 (1963), 390-422, p. 390. Doyle argued Woodford's defenses of mendicancy: 'make them indispensable sources for the study of the controversy'. Doyle (1983), p. 19. See also Doyle, E., 'William Woodford, His Life and works together with a study and edition of his *Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*', *Franciscan Studies*, 43 (1983), 17-187, p. 33.

¹³ Courtenay, W. J. *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 268; also (Dawson, Richard FitzRalph and the Fourteenth-Century Poverty Controversies), p. 315.

¹⁴ This phrase is championed by John Arnold, see Arnold, J. *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe* (London: Hodder Arnold, 2005), p. 9.

¹⁵ See Kitanov, S. V., 'Is it better for the king of England to be a king of England than a duke of Aquitaine? Richard FitzRalph and Adam Wodeham on whether beatific enjoyment is an act of the intellect or an act of the will', in *Richard FitzRalph: His Life, Times and Thought*, eds. M. Dunne and S. Nolan (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013), 56-78, p. 57.

¹⁶ Walsh, K., 'The Manuscripts of Archbishop Richard FitzRalph of Armagh in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna', *Römische historische Mitteilungen*, 18 (1976), 67-75, p. 70.

¹⁷ (Dunne, Richard FitzRalph's *Lectura* on the *Sentences*), p. 433. See also Dunne, M., 'Richard FitzRalph on Time, Motion, and Infinity', *Mediaevalia philosophica Polonorum*, 37 (2008), 20-36, p. 36. Katherine Tachau debunks a misapprehension about his theology which Walsh had wrongly thought to be a 'middle way' between

Somerset finds innovation in his discussion of 'excitative speech', that saints overcome by devotional affection may utter things not literally true.¹⁸ Graeme McAleer highlights a 'theological anthropology that is unusual for his time'.¹⁹

Valuable work is now being undertaken to contextualize FitzRalph within his intellectual world, and to understand better his academic writings.²⁰ The publication in 2013 of an edited volume, *Richard FitzRalph: His Life, Times and Thought*, has served to fill a gap largely left vacant since the 1981 publication by Katherine Walsh of *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*.²¹ Michael Dunne has worked to rehabilitate FitzRalph's academic ability and scholarly output.

This thesis also builds on the work of Eric Doyle OFM, who wrote widely on William Woodford. Doyle died of cancer in 1984 at the age of 46, his typescript of *William Woodford, His Life and works together with a study and edition of his Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos* arriving at the publishers a fortnight before his death.²² Additionally, the late Jeremy Catto's work on Woodford has provided the foundation for much of the analysis of the friar.²³

Thomas Aquinas and John Duns Scotus. Tachau, K. H., 'Adam Wodeham and Robert Holcot as witnesses to FitzRalph's thought', in *Richard FitzRalph: His Life, Times and Thought*, eds. M. Dunne and S. Nolan (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013), 79-95, p. 84. On FitzRalph's response specifically to Duns Scotus, see Duba, W. O., 'Conversion, Vision and Faith in the Life and Work of Richard FitzRalph', in *ibid.* 103-127, pp. 116-9.

¹⁸ Somerset notes: 'this category is apparently original to FitzRalph: certainly it is cited as his by near contemporaries'. Somerset, F., 'Excitative Speech: Theories of Emotive Response from Richard FitzRalph to Margery Kempe', in *The Vernacular Spirit: Essays on Medieval Religious Literature*, eds. R. Blumenfeld-Kosinski, D. Robertson and N. B. Warren (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 59-79, p. 63.

¹⁹ McAleer, G., 'De Vitoria on FitzRalph: an adequate assessment?', in *Richard FitzRalph: His Life, Times and Thought*, eds. M. Dunne and S. Nolan (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013), 186-198, p. 187.

²⁰ Haren, M., 'Richard FitzRalph and the Friars: The Intellectual Itinerary of a Curial Controversialist', in *Roma, Magistra Mundi: Itineraria Culturas Medievalis: Melanges offerts au Pere L.E. Boyle a l'occasion de son 75e anniversaire*, ed. J. Hamesse (Louvain-La-Neuve: Federation Internationale des Instituts D'Etudes Medievales, 1998), 349-367; Dunne, M., 'A Fourteenth-Century Example of an *Introitus Sententiarum* at Oxford: Richard FitzRalph's Inaugural Speech in praise of the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard', *Mediaeval Studies*, 63 (2001), 1-29, and (Dunne, Richard FitzRalph's *Lectura* on the *Sentences*).

²¹ Dunne, M. and Nolan, S. *Richard FitzRalph: His Life, Times and Thought* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013). (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*)

²² Editorial, 'Eric Doyle, O.F.M.: 1938-1984', *Franciscan Studies*, 43 (1983), 3-6, p. 5.

²³ See especially Catto, J., *William Woodford, O.F.M., (c. 1330-1397)*, Unpublished DPhil thesis, (University of Oxford 1969).

The project also builds on the work of John Fleming and Guy Geltner, who made accessible the antifraternal writings of William of St Amour, and who studied the mechanics of antifraternalism within a broader context.²⁴ Anne Hudson, Pamela Gradon, Wendy Scase, Penn Szittyta, Fiona Somerset and also Lawrence Clopper have done much to contextualize and understand lollard antifraternalism within a literary context, and this study builds upon their comprehensive contributions.²⁵

Theological Ideas

One purpose of this thesis is to return FitzRalph's antimendicant views to the arena of orthodox theological discussion. In a sermon he preached in London at St Paul's Cross on 18 December 1356, FitzRalph recounted how he wagered his Bible that no biblical text might be found to suggest that Christ had begged.²⁶ This 'sermon wager' was taken up by a friar, commonly assumed to be English Franciscan Roger Conway (d. c. 1360), Woodford's mentor, who responded—according to FitzRalph—by accusing the archbishop of only using scripture, and not any glosses (*solum textum repexi, non glosas*).²⁷

²⁴ See for example Cusato, M. F. and Geltner, G., eds. *Defenders and Critics of Franciscan Life: Essays in Honor of John V. Fleming* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), Fleming, J. V., 'The "Collations" of William of Saint-Amour Against A. Thomas', *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 32 (1965), 132-138, Geltner, G., 'William of St Amour's *De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum*: A False Start to Medieval Antifraternalism?', in *Defenders and Critics of Franciscan Life: Essays in Honour of John V. Fleming*, eds. M. F. Cusato and G. Geltner (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 105-118, Geltner, G., 'Antifraternal Polemics: from Literature to Social Realities', in *Frate Francesco e i Minori Nello Specchio Dell'Europa* (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi Sull'Alto Medioevo, 2015), 315-331, Geltner, G. *The Making of Medieval Antifraternalism: Polemic, Violence, Deviance, and Remembrance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), Geltner, G., 'Brethren Behaving Badly: A Deviant Approach to Medieval Antifraternalism', *Speculum*, 85 (2010), 47-64, Geltner, G., 'Faux Semblants: Antifraternalism Reconsidered in Jean de Meun and Chaucer', *Studies in Philology*, 101:4 (2004), 357-380.

²⁵ See for example (Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite texts and Lollard History*); Gradon, P., 'Langland and the Ideology of Dissent', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 60 (1980), 179-205; (Scase, 'Piers Plowman' and the New Anti-clericalism); Szittyta, P. R. *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); Somerset, F. *Clerical Discourse and Lay Audience in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Clopper, L. M. *Songes of Rechelesnesse: Langland and the Franciscans* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997).

²⁶ 'dicebam quod si quis in evangelio id reperiret, illi bibliam mean darem'. MS 144, fol. 94^v. For the full sermon, see MS 144, fols 92^v-98^v and MS 65, fols 75^{ra}-79^{ra}. For more on the wager, see Gwynn, A., 'Archbishop FitzRalph and the Friars', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 26:101 (1937), 50-67, p. 57; (Scase, 'Piers Plowman' and the New Anti-clericalism), p. 80; (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), p. 410.

²⁷ MS 144, fol. 94^v. For the attribution of Conway as FitzRalph's respondent, see (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), p. 410. No record of Conway's response has been found.

FitzRalph included the 'sermon wager' story to illustrate his scriptural theme: John 1:23, '*Follow the way of the Lord*', from which he argued that mendicants were promoting an alternative way of following Christ.²⁸ This is the underreported core of FitzRalph's argument, namely that divergent and incompatible 'ways' of following the Lord produced disagreements over the actions and teachings of Christ.²⁹

Walsh separated the Archbishop's 'theological' works from his 'anti-mendicant' works, an anachronistic division echoed by other historians, yet not signalled in the primary material.³⁰ While a political dimension is understandably important, this thesis returns to the essentially theological foundation of FitzRalph's arguments. For example, Woodford spends much energy discrediting FitzRalph's portrait of Christ. Furthermore, it is as a biographer of Christ, not just a critic of the mendicants, that the late fourteenth-century encyclopedia, *Omne Bonum*, chooses to represent FitzRalph.³¹

Historiographical narratives position arguments critical of the friars more generally as political phenomena than theological.³² Yet fresh perspectives are gained by broadening the focus

²⁸ '*Dirigite viam Domini*'. See fn. 26 for the manuscript reference.

²⁹ A contemporary concern over the content of mendicant preaching can be seen in a letter composed by the prior of Norwich Benedictine abbey between 1357-1363. '*Mote namque fuerant materie contra sane doctrine iusticiam et ecclesie libertatem per quosdam fratres, quos per veram doctrinam a devio refrenavit, et in brevi, Deo dante, penitus conculcabit...Perhorrescimus utique, Deus novit, tantam comitivam offendere, seu tantum florem ordinis congregatum quovismodo ficticiis obfuscare*'. Oxford, MS Bodley 692, fol. 116^v. Reproduced in Pantin, W. A., ed. *Documents Illustrating the Activities of the General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks, 1215-1540, 3 vols, III* (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1937), p. 29.

³⁰ 'FitzRalph's literary output can be loosely divided into two major groups: theological treatises and sermons on the one hand, and the anti-mendicant literature on the other.' (Walsh, *The Manuscripts of Archbishop Richard Fitzralph of Armagh in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna*), p. 79. '[T]he *De Pauperie salvatoris* was a long detour between two bouts of not very original anti-mendicant preaching.' (Dawson, *Richard FitzRalph and the Fourteenth-Century Poverty Controversies*), p. 342.

³¹ Sandler, L. F. *Omne Bonum: a Fourteenth-Century Encyclopedia of Universal Knowledge*, 2 vols (London: Harvey Miller, 1996), pp.121-2. See also (Szittyá, *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature*), Appendix B (unpaginated); Szittyá, P. R., 'Kicking the Habit: The Campaign against the Friars in a Fourteenth-Century Encyclopedia', in *Defenders and Critics of Franciscan Life: Essays in Honor of John V. Fleming*, eds. M. F. Cusato and G. Geltner (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 159-175, pp. 165-166; (Somerset, *Excitative Speech: Theories of Emotive Response from Richard FitzRalph to Margery Kempe*), p. 61.

³² For example, see Shogimen, T., 'The Relationship between Theology and Canon Law: Another context of Political Thought in the Early Fourteenth Century', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 60 (1999), 417-431, p. 417; Zuckerman, C., 'The Relationship of Theories of Universals to Theories of Church Government: A Critique of Previous Views', *ibid.*, 36:4 (1975), 579-594, p. 594; Coleman, J., 'FitzRalph's Antimendicant "*Proposicio*" (1350) and the Politics of the Papal Court at Avignon', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 35:3 (1984), 376-390, pp. 376-77; Ocker, C. *Johannes Klenkok: A Friar's Life, c.1310-1374* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1993), p. 3.

from *dominium*, a topic already widely written about.³³ There is historical disagreement over whether FitzRalph's arguments about poverty and *dominium* operated together, or not.³⁴ Yet generally references to poverty are treated as inferior to his more 'political' discussions on *dominium*.³⁵

This thesis promotes FitzRalph's writings on poverty, arguing his treatment of the poor and his analysis of the complexity of poverty reveals much, and challenges perceptions of a normative late-medieval worldview on poverty.³⁶ FitzRalph's points regarding poverty are significant in their own right, and should be appreciated in their theological and socio-economic

³³ Pantin declared "'Dominion by Grace" is one of the fourteenth-century theories most familiar to students of history'. (Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century*), pp. 129-30. For more general discussions on the issue of *dominium*, see Wood, D. *Medieval Economic Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 17-41; Tierney, B. *The Idea of Natural Rights: Studies on Natural Rights, Natural Law, and Church Law, 1150-1625* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), pp. 46-86.

³⁴ Swanson positioned FitzRalph's arguments about poverty separately to those on *dominium*. See Swanson, R., 'The 'Mendicant Problem' in the Later Middle Ages', in *The Medieval Church: Universities, Heresy, and the Religious Life: Essays in Honour of Gordon Leff*, eds. P. Biller and R. B. Dobson (Woodbridge: Published for the Ecclesiastical History Society by the Boydell Press, 1999), 217-238, p. 219. Walsh subsumed FitzRalph's discussions on poverty within his discussions on *dominium*. (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), p. 403.

³⁵ See Lahey, S. E. *Philosophy and Politics in the Thought of John Wyclif* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 51-63 for a comprehensive summary of FitzRalph's argument on *dominium*, including where it differs from that of Wyclif. As Hudson puts it, Wyclif used his particular theory of dominion 'almost exclusively as a rod with which to beat the church', (Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite texts and Lollard History*), p. 360. For the original text, see Poole, R. L., ed. *Iohannis Wycliffe: Tractatus de Civili Dominio: Liber Primus* (London: Published for the Wyclif Society by Trübner & Co., 1885), pp. 50-51. For different viewpoints of FitzRalph's arguments on *dominium*, see Walsh, K., 'The 'De Vita Evangelica' of Geoffrey Hardeby, O.E.S.A. (c. 1320-c.1385)', *Analecta Augustiniana*, 33 (1970), 151-261, p. 228; Gwynn, A. *The English Austin Friars in the time of Wyclif* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940), pp. 60-1; (Brock, *An Edition of Richard FitzRalph's De pauperie Salvatoris: Books V, VI and VII*), p. xxxvii; (McAleer, *De Vitoria on FitzRalph: an adequate assessment?*), pp. 186, 193; Dunne, M., 'Richard FitzRalph of Dundalk (c. 1300-1360) and the New World', *Archivium Hibernicum*, 58 (2004), 243-258, p. 251. A helpful summary of FitzRalph's use of *dominium* in *De pauperie Salvatoris* is found in Crassons, K. *The Claims of Poverty: Literature, Culture, and Ideology in Late Medieval England* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), pp. 143-4. See also (Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite texts and Lollard History*), pp. 359-62 for an overview of Wyclif's arguments on *dominium*.

³⁶ Miri Rubin suggested: 'understandings of poverty are constructed at the intersection of two processes: the process of economic, demographic and social change which refashions areas and forms of need on the one hand, and the cultural perceptions of need as they are translated into idioms of charity and evaluations held by diverse social groups on the other'. Rubin, M., 'The Poor', in *Fifteenth-Century Attitudes: Perceptions of Society in Late Medieval England*, ed. R. Horrox (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 169-182, p. 172.

contexts, not narrowly as political points to explain *dominium*.³⁷ Book VIII's discussions of poverty are insightful discourses on socio-economic reality, worthy of their own investigation.³⁸

This thesis considers how ideas about Christ, and about poverty, differed between FitzRalph and Woodford.³⁹ A number of questions are asked of each text: how do they locate and explain the actions and teachings of Christ, particularly whether Christ begged, and taught others to. It explores how these two theologians positioned their opposing views within a 'permanent Biblical present' reconstructed by each.⁴⁰ The thesis examines how each writer understood and explained poverty, both in its socio-economic state and as an idealized or 'perfect' way of life. The final chapter looks to the wider context, exploring what was adopted and ignored by FitzRalph's lollard admirers.

The Introduction to a recent book stressing the importance of religion to intellectual history, stated its aim to: 'reorder the priorities of intellectual historians by demonstrating the importance and the fruitfulness of the study of religious ideas'...because...'religion often plays such an important part in the construction of meaning'.⁴¹ Ian Forrest highlights how medieval readers and audiences appreciated the significance of *meaning* within discussions about

³⁷ Making her case for 'a more political and legal interpretation for the events in which FitzRalph involved himself', Janet Coleman made it clear she was focusing on FitzRalph's first antimendicant sermon of 1350. See (Coleman, FitzRalph's Antimendicant "*Proposicio*" (1350) and the Politics of the Papal Court at Avignon), p. 378. Yet this specific context becomes forgotten, and Coleman's conclusions extended to encompass FitzRalph's campaign in its entirety. See for example, Metzler, I. *A Social History of Disability in the Middle Ages: Cultural Considerations of Physical Impairment* (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 167, fn. 111. Genet's positioning of *De pauperie Salvatoris* within an essentially political context is shown by his paper's title: Genet, J.-P., 'Ecclesiastics and Political Theory in Late Medieval England: The End of a Monopoly', in *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. R. B. Dobson (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1984), 23-44.

³⁸ Of the archbishop's arguments, Meersseman stressed: 'Nous tenons cependant à répéter qu'il est absolument nécessaire d'y distinguer deux manières différentes: celle qui touche à leurs privilèges et celle qui se rapporte à leur idéal de pauvreté'. Meersseman, G., 'La défense des ordres mendiants contre Richard Fitz Ralph, par Barthélemy de Bolsenheim O. P. (1357)', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 5 (1935), 124-173, p. 128.

³⁹ Fiona Somerset has highlighted that 'tracing the history of [an] idea requires us to investigate how ideas move, and what changes when they do.' Somerset, F., 'Before and After Wyclif: Consent to Another's Sin in Medieval Europe', in *Europe after Wyclif*, eds. J. P. Hornbeck and M. v. Dussen (New York: Fordham University Press, 2017), 135-172, p. 135.

⁴⁰ These words are taken from Williams, M. S. *Authorised Lives in Early Christian Biography: Between Eusebius and Augustine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 111, as cited in Brown, P. *Treasure in Heaven: The Holy Poor in Early Christianity* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2016), p. 80.

⁴¹ Chapman, A. and Coffey, J., 'Introduction: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion', in *Seeing Things Their Way: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion*, eds. A. Chapman, J. Coffey and B. S. Gregory (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), 1-23, pp. 4-5.

conflicting orthodoxies.⁴² Michel Mollat declared: 'we cannot hope to resolve the ambiguities of poverty simply by analyzing medieval terminology and investigating the various dimensions of the problem. We must also consider people's attitudes'.⁴³ The attitudes of FitzRalph and Woodford, and the language they use to convey those attitudes, are a main focus here.

Historians of mendicancy are sometimes reluctant to drill-down into the semantic bedrock of key mendicant terms of description such as 'evangelical perfection', 'idealized poverty', or 'perfect poverty'. Doyle acknowledged the complications inherent in trying to convey a mendicant worldview to those unfamiliar with such a concept.⁴⁴ Yet these terms are discussed in book VIII, and the concepts are decoded by FitzRalph.

Scripture and Tradition

Kantik Ghosh signals the significance of interpretation within Christian theological understanding, drawing attention to 'the basic tension in Christianity as the evolving religion of a (constantly reinterpreted) text'.⁴⁵ Ghosh defines this tension: 'between source and supplement, between the divine Word and human glossing...[which]...assumes overt prominence in self-conscious academic textual discourses which are centred around reading and exegesis'.⁴⁶ The texts studied for this thesis are situated within that interpretative tension. FitzRalph and Woodford make distinct claims about the appropriate relationship between scripture un glossed, and the interpretations of patristic writers (theologians who lived predominantly between the fourth and seventh-centuries), and additionally for Woodford, those who expounded Franciscan

⁴² Ian Forrest quotes the fifteenth-century bishop Reginald Pecock, who 'explained the opacity of heresy in terms of the relationship between speech, writing, and the will: "*an error or heresy is not þe ynke writen, neiþir þe voice spokun, but it is þe meenyng or þe vndirstondyng of þe writer or speker signified bi þilk ynke writen or bi þilk voice spokun*".' Forrest, I. *The Detection of Heresy in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), p. 17.

⁴³ Mollat, M. *The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 8.

⁴⁴ Doyle concedes: 'within our own well-defined universe of discourse we know what we mean by the word "poverty". It has a canonical connotation entailing obligations and rights and it is enhanced with a spiritual meaning'. Doyle, E., 'Poverty and Credibility - Towards a New Understanding', *Religious Life Review*, 1 (1981), 16-28, p. 16.

⁴⁵ Ghosh, K. *The Wycliffite Heresy: Authority and the Interpretation of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 7.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

ideology.⁴⁷ Their perspectives are instructive because they precede that doctrinal divergence found in lollard texts.⁴⁸

Writing in 1963, Heiko Oberman distinguished between two strands of theological thought concerning the relationship between Scripture and Tradition, which he dated from early in the fourteenth century, and which he named 'Tradition I' and 'Tradition II'.⁴⁹ Paraphrasing a fellow scholar, Oberman explained: 'until the early decades of the fourteenth century, Scripture and Tradition were seen as mutually inclusive, a view which implies the coherence of Scripture and Church. Then, however, the synthesis breaks asunder and the organic understanding of the relation of foundation and interpretation is undermined'.⁵⁰ Ghosh sees the emergence of lollardy, and its positioning as a heretical movement, as the crisis point which impacted upon and radicalized discussions between Scripture and Tradition, discussions which this thesis's two texts fit within.⁵¹

This thesis does not seek for seeds of Reformation thought in FitzRalph's theological views, nor does it personify Woodford as an upholder of 'Tradition', as some have.⁵² It avoids anachronistic positioning of either as pointing forwards or backwards along a historical timeline.⁵³ Recent scholarship has softened the uncompromising view that Reformation battle-

⁴⁷ Even though it is a post-Reformation construct, the term the 'Church fathers' will be used within this thesis to refer to the great early theologians of the Church, notably St Augustine, St Jerome, St Basil, St Ambrose, St John Chrysostom, who are cited and quoted by FitzRalph and Woodford.

⁴⁸ 'Lollardy therefore seeks to restore the Bible to the position of centrality that is its due, and finds one of its primary concerns in the notion of "right" reading.' (Ghosh, *The Wycliffite Heresy: Authority and the Interpretation of Texts*), p. 7.

⁴⁹ Oberman, H. A. *The Harvest of Medieval Theology: Gabriel Biel and late Medieval Nominalism* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1963), pp. 365-393. Oberman defined his terms thus: 'we call the single-source or exegetical tradition of Scripture held together with its interpretation "Tradition I" and the two-sources theory which allows for an extra-biblical oral tradition "Tradition II"', p. 371.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 364.

⁵¹ 'By its unprecedented placing, at the centre of a scrutiny which was both academic and popular, of learned discourses of hermeneutic engagement with the most important text of medieval culture, it radically problematized issues fundamental to the very definition of Christianity, and to the perceived validity of the social, political and intellectual discourses traditionally enjoying its sanction'. (Ghosh, *The Wycliffite Heresy: Authority and the Interpretation of Texts*), p. 15.

⁵² See fn. 63.

⁵³ '[T]here is good reason to look at the later Middle Ages for the beginnings of a new era'. Oberman, H. A., 'The Shape of Late Medieval Thought: Birthpangs of a Modern Era', in *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion*, eds. C. E. Trinkaus and H. A. Oberman, 1974), 3-25, p. 3.

lines were drawn up along the lines of 'Scripture' versus 'Tradition'. Fruitful research is being undertaken into the rich and protean nature of theological discussion from the late-medieval and into the early modern period.⁵⁴

The Historiography

This thesis suggests the writings of these theologians have been overlooked for a number of reasons, one being a powerful historiographical framing of the period as 'an age of continuous controversies'.⁵⁵ Thus the historian is primed unconsciously to discount the significance of writings in a polemical context, seeing them only as part of an ongoing fourteenth-century *zeitgeist*.⁵⁶ Arguments and perspectives are thus generalized and flattened. For example, Maurice Keen pronounced that FitzRalph 'treated the whole structure of mendicant religion to a terrible trouncing in his *De Pauperie Salvatoris*', continuing: 'Langland and Wyclif are full of echoes of his denunciation.'⁵⁷ Later chapters of this thesis highlight key aspects of the archbishop's arguments taken up neither by Langland nor Wyclif.⁵⁸ This small point illustrates the danger of a misleading homogenization when broad descriptive labels are applied.

⁵⁴ An illustration of this is in a recent publication demonstrating Catholic and Protestant adoptions of the *Imitatio Christi* from the fifteenth-century onwards. See especially Von Habsburg, M. *Catholic and Protestant Translations of the Imitatio Christi, 1425-1650: from Late Medieval Classic to Early Modern Bestseller* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 19, 145, 177. Peter Marshall reminds us: 'In seeking to identify roots and origins of religious change, determinism of any kind is misplaced'. Marshall, P., 'Catholic Puritanism in Pre-Reformation England', *British Catholic History*, 32:4 (2012), 431-450, p. 450. '[Bishop John Fisher (1469-1535)] regarded tradition as the key to the treasure chest of the scripture, and of course the Church (and pre-eminently the successor of St Peter) held that key'. Rex, R., 'The Polemical Theologian', in *Humanism, Reform and the Reformation: the Career of Bishop John Fisher*, eds. B. Bradshaw and E. Duffy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 109-130, p. 117.

⁵⁵ (Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century*), p. 123. This quotation is repeated and endorsed by Eric Doyle. See (Doyle, William Woodford, *His Life and works together with a study and edition of his Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), p. 17. Oberman also stated: 'The most obvious and pervasive factor in our period is the phenomenon of crisis'. (Oberman, *The Shape of Late Medieval Thought: Birthpangs of a Modern Era*), p. 6.

⁵⁶ 'What is at issue, therefore, is how historians use documents not to establish discrete facts, but as evidence for establishing the larger patterns that connect them.' Evans, R. J. *In Defence of History* (London: Granta, 1997), p. 80.

⁵⁷ Keen, M. *England in the later Middle Ages: A Political History* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 173.

⁵⁸ David Aers has also pointed out the ways that Langland's critique of the friars was not like FitzRalph's. Aers, D., 'Piers Plowman and Problems in the Perception of Poverty: A Culture in Transition', *Leeds Studies in English*, 14 (1983), 5-25, pp. 19-20.

Such a long-standing historiographical construct discourages fresh inquiry, leading to the conclusion that neither FitzRalph nor Woodford were saying anything particularly novel or important.⁵⁹ FitzRalph's arguments are written-off as 'simplistic'.⁶⁰ Furthermore, he is dismissed as a mediocre scholar.⁶¹ Dunne finds evidence of unhelpful reductionist thinking, noting that Gordon Leff: 'sought for some radicalism in FitzRalph's *Lectura* as an anticipation of the polemical Amachanus'.⁶² This view also reduces Woodford to a cipher, writing merely for 'the cause and defense of orthodoxy'.⁶³ Marcia Colish explored a similarly damaging marginalization of the writings of Peter Lombard, who had 'fallen through the cracks, in modern historiography of medieval thought', due to 'a succession of unsympathetic appraisals'.⁶⁴

Another means of marginalization is the ascribing of personal motivation to FitzRalph.⁶⁵

There exists an unchallenged historiographical narrative in which critics of the mendicants tend

⁵⁹ 'One has the impression that the *De Pauperie salvatoris* was a long detour between two bouts of not very original anti-mendicant preaching'. (Dawson, Richard FitzRalph and the Fourteenth-Century Poverty Controversies), p. 342.

⁶⁰ *Defensio curatorum* was 'recklessly simplistic', according to Terence Dolan, who dismissed it as a 'game of text-slinging'. Dolan, T., 'Richard FitzRalph's *Defensio Curatorum* in Transmission', in *Ireland, England and the Continent in the Middle Ages and Beyond: Essays in Memory of Turbulent Friars, F. X. Martin, O.S.A.*, eds. H. B. Clarke and J. R. S. Phillips (Dublin: University College Dublin, 2006), 177-194, pp. 189-190. 'Simplicity became one of the sticks regularly used by angry scholars to beat their opponents, and that includes some very angry scholars indeed: Richard FitzRalph, archbishop of Armagh and enemy of the friars in England and at the papal court in the middle of the fourteenth century'. Ocker, C. *Biblical Poetics before Humanism and Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 118.

⁶¹ Gordon Leff believed there to be 'serious defects' in FitzRalph's *Commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*: 'it is perhaps, then, not surprising that the most immediate impression gained from FitzRalph's *Commentary* is a remoteness from the important contemporary issues'. (Leff, Richard FitzRalph's *Commentary on the Sentences*), p. 396. This view has been challenged by Michael Dunne. See (Dunne, Richard FitzRalph on Time, Motion, and Infinity), pp. 23-24. James Dawson concluded: 'much of the *De Pauperie* is difficult to interpret; it is a long and ill-organized work filled with apparent irrelevances and contradictions, and its obscurity is worsened by the dialogue technique', finally judging the work 'a failure'. (Dawson, Richard FitzRalph and the Fourteenth-Century Poverty Controversies), pp. 334, 341.

⁶² (Dunne, Richard FitzRalph's *Lectura on the Sentences*), p. 420. For an example of Leff's anachronistic positioning, see Leff, G. *Richard FitzRalph, Commentator of the Sentences: a Study in Theological Orthodoxy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1963), p. 32. See also fn. 61.

⁶³ (Doyle, William Woodford, His Life and works together with a study and edition of his *Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), p. 33.

⁶⁴ Colish, M. L. *Peter Lombard* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 3-4. An edited volume of essays on Bishop John Fisher (1469-1535) similarly positions the Reformation theologian as marginalized within a historiographical narrative which elevated his contemporary Sir Thomas More: 'If Fisher's life and works are to be rescued from the twilight region to which posterity has consigned them, the great need is for specialist studies, undertaken by scholars with the necessary technical and conceptual equipment'. Bradshaw, B., 'Bishop John Fisher, 1469-1535: the Man and his Work', in *Humanism, Reform and the Reformation: the Career of Bishop John Fisher*, eds. B. Bradshaw and E. Duffy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 1-24, p. 1.

⁶⁵ 'FitzRalph's abrasive, not to say pugnacious, personality and his purist or even literalist tendencies were probably the predisposing factors in his anti-mendicantism'. Kerby-Fulton, K. *Reformist apocalypticism and Piers Plowman* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 151. Aubrey Gwynn characterized

to be described as acting 'vehemently' and with 'hostility' towards the friars.⁶⁶ The trenchant response of mendicants, if referred to at all, is seldom conveyed through similarly inflammatory language.⁶⁷

Framings of FitzRalph as an aggressive personality have dominated the narrative, overshadowing his theology.⁶⁸ While acknowledging the existence of 'decadent friars', Eric Doyle attributed FitzRalph's criticisms to frustrated personal reasons.⁶⁹ Bede Jarrett discounted FitzRalph entirely, cautioning against appraising 'the cynicism of Fitz-Ralph as real sober history'.⁷⁰ These assessments by Doyle and Jarrett, a Franciscan and a Dominican scholar respectively, reiterate the need for historians to avoid what Wickham terms 'cultural solipsism'.⁷¹ Doyle had argued more generally that lollard opposition to mendicancy should be attributed to

FitzRalph's fourth London sermon as 'a declaration of war'. (Gwynn, Archbishop FitzRalph and the Friars), p. 59. Terence Dolan rationalized FitzRalph was 'consumed with hatred' for the friars. Dolan, T., 'Langland and FitzRalph: Two Solutions to the Mendicant Problem', *The Yearbook of Langland Studies*, 2 (1988), 35-45, p. 44. Rouse and Rouse assume arguments in *Defensio curatorum* 'must have been hyperbole' without substantiating their claim. Rouse, R. H. and Rouse, M. A., 'The Franciscans and Books: Lollard Accusations and the Franciscan Response', in *From Ockham to Wyclif*, eds. A. Hudson and M. Wilks (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), 369-384, p. 375. See also (Kitanov, Is it better for the king of England to be a king of England than a duke of Aquitaine? Richard FitzRalph and Adam Wodeham on whether beatific enjoyment is an act of the intellect or an act of the will), especially pp. 56-57; (Gwynn, Archbishop FitzRalph and the Friars), p. 59; (Ocker, Biblical Poetics before Humanism and Reformation), p. 118; (Dolan, Richard FitzRalph's *Defensio Curatorum* in Transmission), pp. 189-190; Haren, M., 'Richard FitzRalph of Dundalk, Oxford and Armagh: Scholar, Prelate and Controversialist', in *The Irish Contribution to European Scholastic Thought*, eds. M. Dunne and J. McEvoy (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009), 88-110, p. 88. Walsh highlights this problem, see (Walsh, A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh), p. vii.

⁶⁶ See for example Schlosser, M., 'Bonaventure: Life and Works', in *A Companion to Bonaventure*, eds. J. M. Hammond, J. A. W. Hellmann and J. Goff (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 9-59, p. 49. Kevin Hughes refers to William of St Amour's 'hasty and aggressive response' to Bonaventure. Hughes, K. L., 'Bonaventure's Defense of Mendicancy', in *ibid.* 509-541, p. 522. See also fn. 227.

⁶⁷ See fn. 63.

⁶⁸ See fn. 65.

⁶⁹ Eric Doyle acknowledged the existence of 'decadent friars', yet attributed FitzRalph's criticism to frustrated personal reasons: 'one has to take into account the personal interests, disappointed ideals and psychologies'. (Doyle, William Woodford, His Life and works together with a study and edition of his *Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), p. 20. See also (Keen, England in the later Middle Ages: A Political History), p. 173; (Haren, Richard FitzRalph of Dundalk, Oxford and Armagh: Scholar, Prelate and Controversialist), p. 88; (Szittyta, The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature), p. 123; (Coleman, FitzRalph's Antimendicant "Proposicio" (1350) and the Politics of the Papal Court at Avignon), p. 377; Ó Clabaigh, C. *The Friars in Ireland, 1224-1540* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012), p. 153; (Walsh, A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh), p. 420.

⁷⁰ Jarrett, B. *The English Dominicans* (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1921), p. 149. Against this, Chris Wickham reminds us historians ought to be 'neutral analysts of the past'. Wickham, C. *Problems in doing Comparative History* (Southampton: Centre for Antiquity and the Middle Ages, University of Southampton, 2005), p. 3.

⁷¹ (Wickham, Problems in doing Comparative History), p. 2.

disapproval of 'the orthodoxy of the friars and their fidelity to the papacy'.⁷² His views do not take into account sustained criticism of the friars from orthodox quarters, including the papacy, secular clerics, and monks of other orders.

The accepted narrative undermines FitzRalph's orthodoxy, a view persisting that he steered 'a doctrinally dangerous course'.⁷³ He is characterized as a 'dissident within the Church'.⁷⁴ Yet evidence speaks of his orthodoxy.⁷⁵ Cistercian monk and fellow Irishman Henry Crumpe (d. c. 1401), incorporated theological arguments of FitzRalph's.⁷⁶ For his (equally orthodox) criticism of mendicant privileges, Crumpe was likewise accused of heresy by the friars.⁷⁷

FitzRalph is also routinely pigeon-holed as a fourteenth-century acolyte of an earlier critic of the friars, Parisian academic William of St Amour (c. 1200-1272).⁷⁸ The archbishop's perspectives become subsumed within the assumption that there existed a generic: 'polemical theology of antifraternalism'.⁷⁹ A number of factors challenge this view. Firstly, FitzRalph was presented as original, and cited by name, by contemporaries and subsequent generations, lollard admirers styling him '*Saint Armachanus*'.⁸⁰ Secondly, Woodford composed the *Defensorium* as a

⁷² (Doyle, William Woodford, *His Life and works together with a study and edition of his Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), p.117.

⁷³ Kerby-Fulton, K. *Books Under Suspicion: Censorship and Tolerance of Revelatory Writing in late Medieval England* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), pp. xxxiv, 135; Catto, J., 'A Radical Preacher's Handbook, c. 1383', *English Historical Review*, 115:463 (2000), 893-904, p. 897. Chris Wickham writes: 'Historians have their own, more or less consciously formulated, interpretations of the past, that they use to structure their material'. Fentress, J. and Wickham, C. *Social Memory: New Perspectives on the Past* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), p. 145.

⁷⁴ (Dolan, Richard FitzRalph's *Defensio Curatorum* in Transmission), p. 177.

⁷⁵ See fns 183 and 188.

⁷⁶ Larsen writes of Crumpe's 'deep respect for Richard FitzRalph'. Larsen, A. E., 'The Career and Condemnations of Henry Crumpe, O. CIST.', in *Studies in Later Medieval Intellectual History in Honor of William J. Courtenay*, eds. W. Duba, R. L. Friedman and C. Schabel (Leuven: Peeters, 2017), 437-466, p. 465.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 446-7. Crumpe's text opposing mendicant privileges of confession can be found in British Library MS Royal 7 E. X.

⁷⁸ James Dawson described FitzRalph's: 'century-old arguments, derived ultimately from William of Saint-Amour'. (Dawson, *Richard FitzRalph and the Fourteenth-Century Poverty Controversies*), p. 342. See also Reiter, E. H., 'A late fourteenth-century Dominican defense of mendicant confessional authority: the Super Clementinam of "Magister Maximus"', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 67 (1997), 61-112, pp. 64-66; (Crassons, *The Claims of Poverty: Literature, Culture, and Ideology in Late Medieval England*), p. 143.

⁷⁹ Szittyá, P. R., 'The Friar as False Apostle: Antifraternal Exegesis and the *Summoner's Tale*', *Studies in Philology*, 71:1 (1974), 19-46, p.20.

⁸⁰ See for example the sermon preached by the lollard, William Taylor, probably in November 1406. Hudson, A., ed. *Two Wycliffite texts: The Sermon of William Taylor 1406. The Testimony of William Thorpe 1407* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Early English Text Society, 1993), pp. xiii, 21.

systematic and comprehensive response to book VIII only, and within which William of St Amour and other critics do not feature.

A normative framing of FitzRalph as a peddler of boilerplate antifraternality is challenged here, which argues book VIII was primarily antimendicant and not antifraternality, its purpose to propose a counter-argument to the ideology of Christ as a resourceless beggar.⁸¹ This key point constituted a small part of the argument of William of St Amour, and is only cited obliquely by another critic, Gerard of Abbeville (1220-1272) in his *Contra adversarium perfectionis christiane*.⁸² For this reason, the term 'antimendicant' will be used throughout to denote FitzRalph's argument, rather than the unspecific 'antifraternality'.

A further reason FitzRalph has been overlooked is the belief his campaign has already been sufficiently studied.⁸³ Yet many scholars seem unaware that FitzRalph composed an eighth book, typically positioning book VII as 'the final book' of *De pauperie Salvatoris*.⁸⁴ Due to her authoritative biography of the archbishop, Katherine Walsh's assessment of FitzRalph's campaign is seen as definitive, yet she—incorrectly, this thesis suggests—defined book VIII as an analysis of the papal bull published by Pope Nicholas III (r. 1277-1280) in 1279, *Exiit qui Seminatus*, which

⁸¹ For FitzRalph's association with other critics of the mendicants Gerard of Abbeville and John de Pouilly, see (Scase, 'Piers Plowman' and the New Anti-clericalism), p. 18. Gerard's criticisms have been edited in Clasen, S., 'Gerard of Abbeville. *Contra adversarium perfectionis christiane*', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 31 (1938), 276-329, and Clasen, S., 'Gerard of Abbeville. *Contra adversarium perfectionis christiane*', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 32 (1939), 89-202. For more on John of Pouilly, see (Walsh, A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh), pp. 355-6; (Hughes, 1928), p. 129. For FitzRalph's specific rejection of John de Pouilly's argument about the limits of papal power, see (Scase, 'Piers Plowman' and the New Anti-clericalism), pp. 24, 30. See also (Doyle, William Woodford, His Life and works together with a study and edition of his *Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), p. 93.

⁸² Hammerich appreciated this point, referring to book VIII as a tract, *De Mendicitate*, although it should be noted this title never actually appears in book VIII. Hammerich, L. L., 'The Beginning of the Strife between Richard FitzRalph and the Mendicants, with an Edition of his Autobiographical Prayer and his Proposition *Unusquisque*', *Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser*, 26:3 (1938), 3-85, p. 15. William of St Amour's argument on begging only takes up one chapter of the fourteen chapters in *De periculis*. Gerard of Abbeville's text takes a more theoretical approach, discussing the correct form of Christian abdication in the context of Christ's life and teachings. See especially (Clasen, Gerard of Abbeville. *Contra adversarium perfectionis christiane*), pp. 284-286, and (Clasen, Gerard of Abbeville. *Contra adversarium perfectionis christiane*), pp. 101-102, 167.

⁸³ Penn Szittyá resolved: 'the story of FitzRalph's quarrels with the friars has often been told, most recently by Katherine Walsh. There is no need, therefore, to do more than outline the chronology of events.' (Szittyá, *The Antifraternality Tradition in Medieval Literature*), pp. 123-4.

⁸⁴ Catto believed book VIII lost when he wrote his doctoral thesis on Woodford, see (Catto, William Woodford, O.F.M., (c. 1330-1397)), p. 33. See also fn. 6.

granted a new degree of legitimacy and authority to the Franciscans.⁸⁵ Walsh also believed the motive for book VIII was an attempt to recover from what she perceived as shortfalls in books VI and VII.⁸⁶ Book VIII does not itself give any indication of having been composed according to either hypothesis.⁸⁷

An additional argument for a fresh look at book VIII is to free the Archbishop from the limitations imposed by the powerful posthumous association with theologian John Wyclif and to his lollard followers, both of whom claimed FitzRalph as an inspiration.⁸⁸ FitzRalph figures historiographically as a John the Baptist-figure to Wyclif, another form of demotion.⁸⁹

Doyle and Catto suggested that Woodford responded to FitzRalph because he felt threatened by Wyclif, an argument which gives FitzRalph a subsidiary role.⁹⁰ Walsh perceived the *Defensorium* to be equally an attack on Wyclif as FitzRalph.⁹¹ No historian has challenged these views. Yet a prosecutor of the lollards, the Carmelite Thomas Netter (c. 1374-1430), did not link FitzRalph and Wyclif, but positioned William of St Amour as 'one of Wyclif's chief mentors', and the inspiration for Wyclif's attacks on the friars.⁹²

⁸⁵ (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), p. 440. For *Exiit qui Seminatus*, see Gay, J. and Vitte, S., eds. *Les registres de Nicolas III (1277-1280)* (Paris: Thorin et Fils, 1898), pp. 232-41.

⁸⁶ (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), p. 388.

⁸⁷ See Appendix A.

⁸⁸ Jeremy Catto wrote: 'FitzRalph's ambiguous affinity with John Wyclif has ensured that his fierce onslaught on the mendicant friars has a part in the prehistory of Lollard polemic'. Catto, J., 'Review of *Richard FitzRalph: His Life, Times and Thought*, ed. Michael W. Dunne and Simon Nolan, O.Carm.', *English Historical Review*, 129:541 (2014), 1470-1472, p. 1470. On the dangers of conjoining FitzRalph and Wyclif, see (Lahey, Richard FitzRalph and John Wyclif: Untangling Armachanus from the Wycliffites), especially p. 167. See also (Lahey, Philosophy and Politics in the Thought of John Wyclif), especially pp. 49-51, 58, 62-3.

⁸⁹ 'FitzRalph is, of course, the source of the doctrine of dominion and grace elaborated by Wyclif some twenty years later'. (Dawson, *Richard FitzRalph and the Fourteenth-Century Poverty Controversies*), p. 338. See also Walsh, K., 'Preaching, Pastoral Care, and *Sola Scriptura* in Later Medieval Ireland: Richard FitzRalph and the use of the Bible', in *The Bible in the Medieval World: Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley*, eds. K. Walsh and D. Wood (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), 251-268, p. 268, and (Minnis, "Authorial Intention" and "Literal Sense" in the Exegetical Theories of Richard FitzRalph and John Wyclif: An Essay in the Medieval History of Biblical Hermeneutics), p. 13.

⁹⁰ See fns 782 and 783.

⁹¹ See fn. 762.

⁹² Hudson, A., 'A Neglected Wycliffite Text', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 29:3 (1978), 257-279, p. 264.

In the Preface to his edition of Wyclif's *De Dominio Divino*, Poole elided the hermeneutics of FitzRalph and Wyclif, proposing that Wyclif 'added no essential element to the doctrine which he read in the work of his predecessor [FitzRalph]'.⁹³ Katherine Walsh contributed unconsciously to this teleological perspective, positioning FitzRalph's writings as a preparation for Wyclif.⁹⁴ This understanding has been challenged recently, but more work is needed.⁹⁵ Woodford has similarly been overshadowed by a historiographical focus which legitimizes him solely as a respondent to John Wyclif.⁹⁶

Bookending book VIII and the *Defensorium*, and their writers, are two powerful concepts, the 'myth of apostleship' and 'the myth of the Reformation'.⁹⁷ Historians have sometimes dangerously understood the texts and arguments of the mendicant controversy through the distorting lenses of these two concepts, rather than from the circumstances which prompted their composition. The 'myth of apostleship' was evoked less by St Francis of Assisi himself, and more by hagiographers and biographers who worked retrospectively to flesh out the saint's sometimes confusing and incomplete instructions. FitzRalph and Woodford use apostolic language sparingly, if at all, both resorting to other means and concepts to convey their points. Yet it has become commonplace for historians to turn to the concept of *vita apostolica* as a way to explain mendicancy, rather than highlighting either an absence, or the range of explanations within

⁹³ (Poole, Iohannis Wycliffe, *De Dominio Divino Libri Tres*, to which are added the first four books of the Treatise *De Pauperie Salvatoris* by Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh), p. xxxiv. Poole included books I-IV of *De pauperie Salvatoris* solely as background material for Wyclif's text. Stephen Lahey reminds us: 'Wyclif himself is responsible' for the close association between both theologians. (Lahey, Richard FitzRalph and John Wyclif: Untangling Armachanus from the Wycliffites), p. 159.

⁹⁴ Walsh writes: 'one can almost foresee Wyclif nodding approvingly in the wings'. (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), p. 401.

⁹⁵ See especially (Lahey, Richard FitzRalph and John Wyclif: Untangling Armachanus from the Wycliffites), p. 185.

⁹⁶ Eric Doyle suggested that without Wyclif, Woodford would not 'have been especially worthy of note in the study of the period'. (Doyle, William Woodford, *His Life and works together with a study and edition of his Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), p. 18.

⁹⁷ For discussions on the 'myth' of apostleship and the primitive church, see Chenu, M.-D. *La Théologie au Douzième Siècle* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1957), p. 252. Catto evoked this sense within his doctoral study of William Woodford, referring to Woodford's 'place in the mythology of the Reformation'. (Catto, William Woodford, *O.F.M., (c. 1330-1397)*), p. 1.

primary material.⁹⁸ This thesis believes this omission is significant, requiring a rethink of the accepted association of mendicant ideology with apostolic identity.

The 'myth of the Reformation' seeks to locate seeds of the Protestant Reformation in lollard theology, and also in FitzRalph's use of scripture.⁹⁹ FitzRalph is routinely positioned as a quasi-heretic, possibly in anticipation of the centuries-later break with Rome.¹⁰⁰ Yet proof of FitzRalph's orthodox status is given in two successive papal campaigns for his beatification, initiated by Popes Urban VI (r. 1378-1389) and Boniface IX (r. 1389-1404) respectively.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, recent historical investigations have cautioned against applying narrow definitions of what late medieval orthodoxy might encompass.¹⁰²

Thesis Outline

Chapter one is divided into two sections. The first sets out FitzRalph's early life, education and career, as well as the start of his antimendicant campaign. Attention will be paid to how FitzRalph framed his criticisms differently to thirteenth-century critics, to whom he was, and is still, frequently likened. A second section contextualizes the 'mendicancy controversy', and explores how certain concepts to explain mendicancy have been given prominence in the historiographical narrative. Basing its analysis on the suggestion that 'History, as we know, is a

⁹⁸ See fn. 214 for a Benedictine criticism of the friars as claiming falsely to follow the apostles.

⁹⁹ 'Protestant historians err if they see the immediate roots of the Reformation only in late medieval heresies.' Mallard, W., 'John Wyclif and the Tradition of Biblical Authority', *Church History*, 30:1 (1961), 50-60, p. 50. This point is illustrated by the generous use of the Church fathers as interpretative authorities within the lollard *Glossed Gospels*. See fn. 149.

¹⁰⁰ Lahey has charted the hereticization of FitzRalph by his opponents. See (Lahey, Richard FitzRalph and John Wyclif: Untangling Armachanus from the Wycliffites), pp. 163-167.

¹⁰¹ (Walsh, A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh), p. 2.

¹⁰² In his study of the *Doctrinale* of Thomas Netter, Alban concedes: 'Late medieval orthodoxy...emerges as a far more complex and nuanced body of opinion than perhaps hitherto acknowledged'. Alban, K. J. *The Teaching and Impact of the Doctrinale of Thomas Netter of Walden (c.1374-1430)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), p. 265. Kitanov reminds us: 'a diligent and sympathetic reading of the works of scholastic authors can help overcome to some degree the dangers of oversimplification and anachronism when telling the history of western thought'. (Kitanov, Is it better for the king of England to be a king of England than a duke of Aquitaine? Richard FitzRalph and Adam Wodeham on whether beatific enjoyment is an act of the intellect or an act of the will), p. 78. For an example of oversimplification within the historical narrative, see Duffy, E. *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400-c.1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 65, 234-6, 245.

construction',¹⁰³ the section examines how our understanding of the history of mendicant discussion and antimendicant criticism has been established. The troubled legacy of St Francis, and its impact on Franciscan identity, which in turn influenced the identities of the three other main mendicant orders, Dominicans, Carmelites and Augustinian friars, is also briefly considered.¹⁰⁴

Building on the context sketched out in chapter one, chapters two and three examine each text in turn, comparing how arguments are constructed and weighted.¹⁰⁵ Chapter two looks at how FitzRalph deconstructs key mendicant terms of reference in book VIII, such as 'wilful begging' and 'evangelical perfection'. FitzRalph's explanation of how the biblical Christ lived, through a combination of scripture and Aristotelian logic, is also discussed. A focus on the biographical figure of Christ was not innovative.¹⁰⁶ What is surprising, however, is how FitzRalph characterizes Christ's relationship to resources, and to their acquisition and retention.¹⁰⁷ FitzRalph figures the adult Christ as a carpenter. By foregrounding Christ in this way, he moves beyond a normatively-assumed theological 'metanarrative', in which poverty was framed as an inner and idealized state, to articulate the poverty of Christ as a socio-economic state without moral weight.¹⁰⁸

A second focus will be on FitzRalph's constructions of an understanding of poverty.

Helen Hughes suggested: 'it is probable that FitzRalph himself looked upon his descriptions of

¹⁰³ Law, J., 'Power/Knowledge and the Dissolution of the Sociology of Knowledge', in *Power, Action, and Belief: A New Sociology of Knowledge?*, ed. J. Law (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), 1-19, p. 1.

¹⁰⁴ For the lesser-known mendicant orders, see Andrews, F. *The Other Friars: the Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), pp. 175-230.

¹⁰⁵ 'Comparison is essential. I don't think you can properly do history without it'. (Wickham, *Problems in doing Comparative History*), p. 2. See also (Ghosh, *The Wycliffite Heresy: Authority and the Interpretation of Texts*), p. 2.

¹⁰⁶ Fiona Somerset notes: 'virtually every fraternal defense after 1350 copes with the contradiction between Christ's riches and poverty using some distinction between Christ's divinity and humanity'. (Somerset, *Clerical Discourse and Lay Audience in Late Medieval England*), p. 177.

¹⁰⁷ Stephen Lahey had argued that the argument in book VI: 'is wholly on what Christ and the apostles possessed and not about how they obtained it'. (Lahey, *Richard FitzRalph and John Wyclif: Untangling Armachanus from the Wycliffites*), p. 176. Book VIII does discuss how Christ obtained resources.

¹⁰⁸ William Ocker stated that for 'late medieval intellectuals...the Bible was a book that was supposed to transcend scholars' idiosyncrasies. It provided a kind of universal "metanarrative". (Ocker, *Biblical Poetics before Humanism and Reformation*), p. xii.

wealth and poverty as the most important part of [*De pauperie Salvatoris*].¹⁰⁹ Yet his investigations into poverty have received scant attention from scholars.¹¹⁰ This thesis argues that, notwithstanding the complicated context for those unfamiliar with medieval philosophy, of this dense theological text, FitzRalph's use of the language of poverty is a valuable resource, which gives an insight into medieval perceptions of poverty.¹¹¹

A perplexing assumption exists among some scholars that the Bible contains a homogenous understanding of poverty and the poor, and of wealth and the wealthy.¹¹² This view can lead to a perception that mendicancy followed--in some obvious sense--instructions or guidance found in the Bible.¹¹³ Such a supposition is unhelpful when analyzing mendicant discussions of poverty.¹¹⁴

Chapter three focuses on the *Defensorium*. It examines those arguments Woodford deals with head-on and notes those he overlooks. It considers his alternative portrayal of Christ.

Woodford counters FitzRalph's presentation of Christ as a carpenter by arguing such a portrayal

¹⁰⁹ (Hughes, *An Essay Introductory to the De Pauperie Salvatoris* of Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh), p. 168.

¹¹⁰ Madeline Kim believed: 'often polemicists like FitzRalph and Wyclif seemed more concerned with their political cause against the friars than with the involuntary economic poor'. Kim, M., 'Hunger, Need, and the Politics of Poverty in *Piers Plowman*', *Yearbook of Langland Studies*, 16 (2002), 131-168, p. 135. Not all historians would agree with this view, see (Coleman, FitzRalph's Antimendicant "*Proposicio*" (1350) and the Politics of the Papal Court at Avignon), p. 384.

¹¹¹ '[E]vidence does not cease to be evidence because it is not ideal'. (Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite texts and Lollard History*), p. 8.

¹¹² Philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre declares: 'the New Testament clearly sees the rich as destined for the pains of Hell'. MacIntyre, A. C. *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), p. 162. Chris Wickham writes: 'the Christian gospels put so much stress on poverty', without qualifying what type of poverty he means. Wickham, C. *The Inheritance of Rome: a History of Europe from 400 to 1000* (London: Allen Lane, 2009), p. 58. Neither of these views is, in an unqualified sense, borne out in the Bible.

¹¹³ For more a nuanced understanding of perceptions of poverty in the late Classical and early Medieval periods, see Brown, P. *Poverty and leadership in the later Roman Empire* (Hanover: Published for Brandeis University Press by University Press of New England, 2002); (Brown, *Treasure in Heaven: The Holy Poor in Early Christianity*); Brown, P. *Through the Eye of a Needle: Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350-550 AD* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012); Finn, R. *Almsgiving in the later Roman Empire: Christian Promotion and Practice (313-450)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), Miller, T. S. *The Orphans of Byzantium: Child Welfare in the Christian Empire* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2003), Brown, P. *The Ransom of the Soul: Afterlife and Wealth in Early Western Christianity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015), and Ganz, D., 'The Ideology of Sharing: Apostolic Community and Ecclesiastical Property in the Early Middle Ages', in *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages*, eds. P. Fouracre and W. Davies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 17-30.

¹¹⁴ For example, Jussi Hanska has suggested that 'the friars were not free to decide how they would react to the problem of the poor and poverty, [as] their reactions were predetermined by the Bible and other Christian authorities (i.e. the Fathers)'. Hanska, J. *And the Rich Man also died; and He was buried in hell: The Social Ethos in Mendicant Sermons* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1997), p. 14.

was theologically incorrect, since it presented Christ in a historically-accurate, and thus Jewish manner. Woodford uses anti-semitic arguments to neutralize his opponent.

The chapter considers how Woodford responds to FitzRalph's discussions of poverty, noting where and how he resorts to generic mendicant tropes of 'perfect poverty', and where he is obliged to identify socio-economic poverty. It also notes how Woodford legitimizes a mendicant pastoral presence equally in urban and rural communities, and provides an explanation for the actual practice of begging.¹¹⁵

The fourth chapter explores each theologian's legacy, but focusing on the degree to which lollard texts adopted FitzRalph's theological views. It does examine the text Woodford wrote immediately before the *Defensorium*, in which he responded to a list of lollard accusations against the mendicant friars. Yet the bulk of the chapter will study lollard presentations of Christ, of poverty, and of the labouring poor, to demonstrate that FitzRalph's explanations were taken up selectively—if at all—in lollard texts, which themselves have been argued to 'refashion social relationships'.¹¹⁶ Noting strategic omissions in these uses of FitzRalph's arguments, the chapter suggests that lollard presentations of poverty are actually circumspect and conservative when compared with FitzRalph.

Two appendices are included. Appendix A contains a transcription of sections from book VIII: the Prologue, the chapter outlines, and transcriptions of chapters one, two, twenty-one and twenty-two. Chapters one and two exemplify FitzRalph's methodological approach, deconstructing and grammatically analyzing the terms for poverty, and for begging wilfully. Chapters twenty-one and twenty-two quote and develop arguments taken directly from the most

¹¹⁵ Neslihan Şenocak observed: 'few historical works contextualize Franciscan aspirations and activities such as preaching, governance, or papal service within the larger trends of the medieval world, making it difficult to situate the intellectual and educational activities and aspirations of the Franciscan Order.' Şenocak, N. *The Poor and the Perfect: the Rise of Learning in the Franciscan Order, 1209-1310* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), p. 3.

¹¹⁶ See fn. 1310.

well-known of FitzRalph's sermons, *Defensio curatorum*. They are included here to illustrate the close relationship between book VIII and the sermon, a point not previously noted.

Appendix B contains brief summaries of each chapter of book VIII, provided here to complement those chapter summaries FitzRalph himself sets out in the work's Prologue.

Terminology

Historians believe FitzRalph focussed on the Franciscans.¹¹⁷ Yet in book VIII he uses friar and Franciscan interchangeably, pausing for clarification in circumstances involving Franciscan practice and the Franciscan Rule and Testament. As the title to his work implies, Woodford writes on behalf of all friars. In general, the term friar will be used to refer to representatives of all four orders, changing only to a specific descriptor when indicated by the text.

For the purposes of consistency and clarity, *spontaneum* is translated not as 'spontaneous' or 'voluntary', but as 'wilfully'.¹¹⁸ In the 1380 Middle English translation of *Defensio curatorum*, John Trevisa, the text's translator, rendered *spontanee* as 'wilfulliche'.¹¹⁹ The semantic sense Trevisa strove for is echoed here. Quotations from *Defensio curatorum* will also be taken from Trevisa's translation.

The term 'lollard' will be used rather than 'Wycliffite', to identify those who held views deemed heretical by the established Church.¹²⁰ This enables the term to encompass

¹¹⁷ See fn. 190.

¹¹⁸ The OED records that '*voluntarie*' is first recorded in a text from the mid-fifteenth century, and '*spontaneous*' first used in the mid-seventeenth century by Thomas Hobbes.

¹¹⁹ See Perry, A. J., ed. John Trevisa: '*Dialogus inter militem et clericum*', Richard FitzRalph's sermon '*Defensio curatorum*', and, Methodius: '*þe bygynnyng of þe world and þe ende of worldes*' (London: Published for the Early English Text Society by H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1925), p. 39.

¹²⁰ See Somerset, F. *Feeling like Saints: Lollard Writings after Wyclif* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), p. 16-20. For another view, Edwin Craun chooses Wycliffite over Lollard within his text. Craun, E. D. *Ethics and Power in Medieval English Reformist Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 101. See also Cole, A., 'William Langland's Lollardy', *Yearbook of Langland Studies*, 17 (2003), 25-54. An argument to treat the two terms as synonyms can be found in (Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite texts and Lollard History*), pp. 2-4; see also Hudson, A. *Lollards and their Books* (London: Hambledon Press, 1985), pp. ix-x.

concepts which did not originate with Wyclif, but can be identified with FitzRalph. This is particularly important for discussions over whether Christ had begged, a central focus for FitzRalph. William Taylor, burnt as a lollard heretic in 1423, clearly saw FitzRalph as a source of theological knowledge, as his 1406 sermon demonstrates. One of the main 'proofs' of his heresy, was his Fitzrovian assertion that Christ had never begged.¹²¹

¹²¹ See (Hudson, Two Wycliffite texts: The Sermon of William Taylor 1406. The Testimony of William Thorpe 1407), pp. 19-21; (Somerset, Excitative Speech: Theories of Emotive Response from Richard FitzRalph to Margery Kempe), pp. 68-9. The Lollard tract *De Blasphemia* quotes FitzRalph's argument that Christ never begged. In contrast, Wyclif presented Christ as a beggar, albeit one whose begging was not overt. See fn. 1253. Lahey writes: 'there is a sense in which Wyclif stands with the friars against William of St Amour and Richard FitzRalph'. (Lahey, Richard FitzRalph and John Wyclif: Untangling Armachanus from the Wycliffites), p. 177.

Chapter One: Richard FitzRalph, Poverty and the 'Mendicant Controversy'

Richard FitzRalph

The Introduction provided a general historiographical background to book VIII and the *Defensorium*. Chapter one begins the work of contextualization, starting with a biographical introduction to Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh (c. 1300-1360).

FitzRalph was born in Dundalk, Ireland, around 1300 to an Anglo-Irish family 'in the borderland between the English lordship and Gaelic Ireland.'¹²² He was educated at Oxford, Ireland having no university.¹²³ His main contribution there was a *Commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*.¹²⁴ Due to a misunderstanding about the piecemeal nature of surviving manuscript versions, this work was dismissed by Gordon Leff.¹²⁵ Michael Dunne has worked to rehabilitate the text, highlighting its impact on contemporaries.¹²⁶ Scholars have noted that in his *Sentences* commentary, FitzRalph 'seems to lean towards the general Franciscan position' in his treatment of the Holy Spirit, a fact made noteworthy by his later antimendicant campaign.¹²⁷

¹²² (Haren, Richard FitzRalph of Dundalk, Oxford and Armagh: Scholar, Prelate and Controversialist), p. 88.

¹²³ 'From the thirteenth century onwards the most usual place for Irish students of both Gaelic and Anglo-Norman backgrounds to choose was Oxford'. (Walsh, A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh), pp. 10-11. 'Certainly, for Irishmen (both Gaelic and of the lordship) in search of university training throughout the late Middle Ages, Oxford was an obvious choice of destination.' (Haren, Richard FitzRalph of Dundalk, Oxford and Armagh: Scholar, Prelate and Controversialist), p. 97.

¹²⁴ See Friedman, R. and Schabel, C., 'Trinitarian Theology and Philosophical Issues III: Oxford 1312-1329: Walsingham, Graystones, Fitzralph, and Rodington', *Universite de Copenhague. Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen Age grec et latin*, 74 (2003), 39-88, p. 42 for the suggested dates. For a survey of a typical fourteenth-century theological education, see Courtenay, W. J., 'The Bible in Medieval Universities', in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible. Volume 2: From 600-1450*, eds. R. Marsden and E. A. Matter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 555-578, pp. 567-572.

¹²⁵ Leff condemned the work as: 'essentially derivatory and frequently perfunctory', concluding: 'the work as a whole suffers from a looseness and vagueness'. (Leff, Richard Fitzralph's *Commentary on the Sentences*), pp. 395-396.

¹²⁶ FitzRalph's *Lectures* on the *Sentences* clearly had an influence, judging from the number of manuscript copies that survive and from the number of extracts made. He was quoted by some of his contemporaries and throughout the fourteenth century by other authors commenting on the *Sentences*'. Dunne, M., 'Accidents without a Subject: Richard FitzRalph's Question on the Eucharist from his *Lectures* on the *Sentences*', in *Richard FitzRalph: His Life, Times and Thought*, eds. M. Dunne and S. Nolan (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013), 11-29, p. 28. See also (Walsh, The Manuscripts of Archbishop Richard Fitzralph of Armagh in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna), p. 75.

¹²⁷ (Friedman and Schabel, Trinitarian Theology and Philosophical Issues III: Oxford 1312-1329: Walsingham, Graystones, Fitzralph, and Rodington), p. 42.

FitzRalph was Chancellor of the University between 1322 and 1324, during which the 'Stamford schism' arose, partly out of tensions between the 'southern' and 'northern' factions in the University.¹²⁸ A satirical poem mocking him survives from this period.¹²⁹

After his time at Oxford, FitzRalph acted as tutor and travelling companion to the nephew of John Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter, (r. 1327-1369), who had become his patron.¹³⁰ While they were at the University of Paris, Grandisson introduced FitzRalph as 'a man both of marked knowledge and honourable conduct;...a master of arts and eminent bachelor of theology, he is distinguished among all students and teachers of the university of Oxford as outstandingly acute and discriminating'.¹³¹

FitzRalph earned distinction in the Avignon papal curia in the 1330s and 40s, as 'one of the eighteen leading theologians of Europe' asked by Pope Benedict XII (r. 1334-1342) to contribute to a debate prompted by the opinions of his predecessor, Pope John XXII (r. 1316-1334) over the nature of the beatific vision experienced by souls after death.¹³² The lengthiest of FitzRalph's four visits to Avignon from 1337 to 1344--ostensibly to undertake a legal case on behalf of Lichfield Cathedral, where he had become Dean in 1335--was spent writing the *Summa*

¹²⁸ (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), pp. 72-84.

¹²⁹ The poem is apparently found in British Library Royal MS 12. D. xi. See Salter, H. E., 'The Stamford Schism', *English Historical Review* (1922), 249-253. See also (Haren, *Richard FitzRalph of Dundalk, Oxford and Armagh: Scholar, Prelate and Controversialist*), p. 98; Fletcher, J. M., 'University Migrations in the Late Middle Ages with Particular Reference to the Stamford Secession', in *Rebirth, Reform, and Resilience: Universities in Transition, 1300-1700*, eds. J. M. Kittelson and P. J. Transue (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1984), 163-189, pp. 169, 177-8, 186-8.

¹³⁰ 'Grandisson's relationship with FitzRalph can be documented from about 1328.' Haren, M., 'The Influence on FitzRalph of Bishop Grandisson of Exeter, with a critical edition of Sermons 62 and 64 of FitzRalph's sermon diary', in *Richard FitzRalph: His Life, Times and Thought*, eds. M. Dunne and S. Nolan (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013), 30-55, p. 37. For the primary material, see Hingeston, F. C., ed. *The Register of John de Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter (A.D. 1327-1369), with some account of the episcopate of James de Berkeley (A.D. 1327)*, 3 vols (London: G. Bell, 1894), I, p. 173.

¹³¹ (Haren, *The Influence on FitzRalph of Bishop Grandisson of Exeter, with a critical edition of Sermons 62 and 64 of FitzRalph's sermon diary*), p.38. For the original material, see (Hingeston, *The Register of John de Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter (A.D. 1327-1369), with some account of the episcopate of James de Berkeley (A.D. 1327)*), I, p. 233.

¹³² (Dunne, *Richard FitzRalph on Time, Motion, and Infinity*), p. 24. Katherine Walsh suggested FitzRalph agreed with the views of Dominican theologians. (Walsh, *The Manuscripts of Archbishop Richard FitzRalph of Armagh in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna*), p. 75.

de Quaestionibus Armenorum (hereafter *Summa*).¹³³ The 19 book-long *Summa* contains a list of 117 'errors' held by the Armenian church.¹³⁴

Dealing with doctrinal differences between Eastern and Western Christians concerning baptism, the Eucharist, confirmation and extreme unction, the nature and limits of priestly authority and Holy Orders in general, purgatory, free will and predestination, the nature of the divinity of Christ, and the authority of the Bible, FitzRalph constructs the *Summa* as a dialogue between two Catholic theologians, *Johannes* and *Ricardus*. Differences between Christians, Jews and Muslims were also considered. The *Summa* was cited as work of doctrinal authority by many theologians, including Woodford and John Wyclif, and continued to be consulted by theologians during the Reformation and Counter-Reformation.¹³⁵ On the text's completion, and presumably when his litigation for Lichfield was complete, FitzRalph returned home, remaining as Dean until appointed Archbishop of Armagh in Ireland, in July 1346.

Spanning the period from his appointment at Lichfield in 1335 almost to his death in 1360, FitzRalph kept a sermon diary recording sermons he preached, either fully or in note form.¹³⁶ FitzRalph focussed on the mendicant issue from a sermon he delivered in 1350 which was critical of the friars, until his death in November 1360. He wrote books I-VII of *De pauperie Salvatoris* between 1351 and 1356, then preached four sermons in London, though he also

¹³³ (Coleman, FitzRalph's Antimendicant "*Proposicio*" (1350) and the Politics of the Papal Court at Avignon), p. 380. See also (Haren, Richard FitzRalph of Dundalk, Oxford and Armagh: Scholar, Prelate and Controversialist), p. 102.

¹³⁴ An early print edition prepared by Johannis Sudoris contains the *Summa* along with FitzRalph's 'London' antimendicant sermons. Sudoris, J., ed. *Summa de Quaestionibus Armenorum* (Paris: Petit, Je(h)an, 1511). However, this edition is notoriously unstable, with numerous formatting and pagination errors. See (Walsh, A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh), pp. 129-131, p. 387.

¹³⁵ For Wyclif's use of the *Summa*, see (Haren, Richard FitzRalph of Dundalk, Oxford and Armagh: Scholar, Prelate and Controversialist), p. 104. Woodford's use of the text is discussed in chapter three. Walsh argues it: 'has a strong claim to be considered FitzRalph's most important and influential contribution to medieval theological literature'. (Walsh, A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh), p. 129.

¹³⁶ Gwynn, A., 'The Sermon-Diary of Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature*, 44 (1937/1938), 1-57, p. 18. Janet Coleman writes that 'FitzRalph made a name for himself as a preacher'. (Coleman, FitzRalph's Antimendicant "*Proposicio*" (1350) and the Politics of the Papal Court at Avignon), p. 379.

preached sermons unrelated to the mendicant issue.¹³⁷ He delivered *Defensio curatorum* in Avignon in November 1357.¹³⁸ At that point he launched his lawsuit against the friars at the papal courts in Avignon, and wrote book VIII of *De pauperie Salvatoris*.¹³⁹

FitzRalph and Scripture

The process which brought about the composition of the *Summa* is commonly understood to have led FitzRalph to a rejection 'of scholasticism for the more immediate truth of Scripture'.¹⁴⁰ He describes an apparent conversion he underwent to the truth of the Bible.¹⁴¹ Historians have placed emphasis on this conversion, often positioning it as a watershed moment in pre-Reformation exegesis, and anachronistically associating FitzRalph with later concepts of *sola scriptura*.¹⁴² This has sometimes had the effect of positioning him ahistorically, as an early proponent of what Eric Doyle termed 'the crisis of the scripture principle in Protestantism'.¹⁴³

¹³⁷ MS 144, fols 81^r-87^r. See (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), p. 409.

¹³⁸ The four London sermons can be found sequentially in MS 144, fols 92^v-127^r. *Defensio curatorum* exists in a number of manuscripts and early printed editions, see fn. 410.

¹³⁹ See (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), pp. 386-441 for the dating of *De pauperie Salvatoris*.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

¹⁴¹ (Dunne, *Richard FitzRalph of Dundalk (c. 1300-1360) and the New World*), p. 246. See also FitzRalph's autobiographical prayer, (Hammerich, *The Beginning of the Strife between Richard FitzRalph and the Mendicants, with an Edition of his Autobiographical Prayer and his Proposition Unusquisque*), p. 20. On the *Summa*'s discussion of how the Bible should be understood, see Minnis, A. J. *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), pp. 100-102.

¹⁴² Gill Evans writes: 'Protestant theology began with the assertion of the principle of *sola Scriptura*.' Evans, G. R. *The Language and Logic of the Bible: the Earlier Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 167. Walsh argued: 'subconsciously, and unintentionally, he contributed to another milestone in the direction of *sola scriptura*'. (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), p. 172; also *ibid.*, pp. 148-149; see also (Walsh, *Preaching, Pastoral Care, and Sola Scriptura in Later Medieval Ireland: Richard FitzRalph and the use of the Bible*), p. 159; (Scase, 'Piers Plowman' and the New Anti-clericalism), p. 80. For a helpful overview of how post-medieval concepts of *sola scriptura* have seeped into medieval historiography, see Dove, M., 'Scripture and Reform', in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible. Volume 2: From 600-1450*, eds. R. Marsden and E. A. Matter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 579-595, p. 585; Dove, M. *The First English Bible: the Text and Context of the Wycliffite Versions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 193-8.

¹⁴³ Doyle, E., 'William Woodford on Scripture and Tradition', in *Studia historico-ecclesiastica: Festschrift fuer L.G. Spatling O.F.M.*, ed. I. Vasquez (Rome: Bibliotheca Pontificii Athenaei Antoniani, 1977), 481-504, p. 491. Alastair Minnis suggested the *Summa* created: 'an atmosphere...in which the development of anti-intellectualist Bible-thumping could appear among the later Lollards'. (Minnis, "Authorial Intention" and "Literal Sense" in the Exegetical Theories of Richard FitzRalph and John Wyclif: An Essay in the Medieval History of Biblical Hermeneutics), p. 25.

There has been a recent re-appraisal of FitzRalph's use of scripture.¹⁴⁴ Dunne positions FitzRalph's conversion broadly, attributing it to 'a personal reading of Augustine'.¹⁴⁵ Frequent references to Augustine in book VIII lend weight to Dunne's hypothesis. In addition, two points are worth noting. Firstly, FitzRalph did not refer solely to the authority of scripture in the *Summa*, the opening to book VII, for example, explains that arguments will be made using scripture or reason (*ostende ex sacra scriptura aut ratione*).¹⁴⁶ Secondly, his methodological use of scripture in the *Summa* was similar to that adopted by Thomas Aquinas for disputed theological issues.¹⁴⁷

The privileging of scripture over other forms of theological writing was the accepted method of pre-Reformation exegesis, and explained by Augustine in his *City of God*.¹⁴⁸ Research has demonstrated that lollard theological writing drew heavily from interpretations of scripture by the Church fathers, as the Middle English *Glossed Gospels* attest to, alongside a focus on the Bible.¹⁴⁹

FitzRalph and the Antimendicant Campaign

Walsh writes: 'one of the most problematic aspects of FitzRalph's career is his apparently sudden change of heart with regard to the four orders of mendicant friars and their role in later

¹⁴⁴ Janet Coleman argued that FitzRalph was not Walsh's 'fundamentalist', (Coleman, FitzRalph's Antimendicant "Proposicio" (1350) and the Politics of the Papal Court at Avignon), p. 382. Duba positioned the *Summa* as a scholastic exercise, (Duba, Conversion, Vision and Faith in the Life and Work of Richard FitzRalph), pp. 107, 127. William Courtenay has emphasized the importance of the Bible in late medieval scholastic study. See (Courtenay, The Bible in Medieval Universities), pp. 558-560.

¹⁴⁵ (Dunne, Richard FitzRalph's *Lectura* on the *Sentences*), p. 436.

¹⁴⁶ (Sudoris, *Summa de Quaestionibus Armenorum*). St Augustine himself had discussed the relationship between Scripture and Reason in his *De Civitate Dei*, explaining that those within the City of God are able to 'walk without doubting' upon the knowledge found within the Holy Scriptures. Bettenson, H., ed. *St Augustine: Concerning the City of God Against the Pagans* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), book XIX:18.

¹⁴⁷ 'In disputations of this sort you should above all use authorities acceptable to those with whom you are disputing; with Jews, for example, you should appeal to the authority of the Old Testament; with Manicheans, who reject the Old Testament, you should use only the New; with Christians who have split from us, e.g. the Greek, who accept both Testaments but reject the teaching of our saints, you should rely on the authority of the Old and New Testaments and of those church teachers they do accept. And if you are disputing with people who accept no authority, you must resort to natural reasons'. Thomas Aquinas, *Quodlibet IV*, as quoted in Finnis, J. *Aquinas: Moral, Political, and Legal Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 11. (Finnis does not give that manuscript citation, but does cite where Aquinas offered a similar argument. See p. 11, fn. 10.)

¹⁴⁸ See (Bettenson, *St Augustine: Concerning the City of God Against the Pagans*), books XI:3, XI:6 and XVIII:41.

¹⁴⁹ Mary Raschko emphasizes that the writers of the lollard *Glossed Gospels* were 'inviting [readers] to join a community of saintly readers'. Raschko, M., 'Re-Forming the Life of Christ', in *Europe after Wyclif*, eds. J. P. Hornbeck and M. Van Dussen (New York: Fordham University Press, 2017), 288-308, p. 301.

medieval society'.¹⁵⁰ Shortly before he preached the first sermon criticising the friars in 1350, FitzRalph was asked by the Avignon Franciscan community to preach on the feast day of St Francis in 1349, proof of how warmly the brothers viewed the archbishop.¹⁵¹ His sermon diary similarly recounts a number of occasions, while working on the *Summa*, where he was invited to preach by mendicant communities in Avignon.¹⁵² In the first sermon in which he criticized the friars, whose text was taken from 1 Corinthians 7:24, '*So, brothers, in whatever condition each was called, there let him remain with God*' and thus commonly referred to as *Unusquisque*, FitzRalph referred to the friars as '*amicos meos fratres*'.¹⁵³ He also had relatives who belonged to the Franciscan community in Dundalk.¹⁵⁴

It is not surprising, therefore, that historians have speculated upon reasons for his campaign. Certain theories can be discounted, such as the suggestion from early modern Irish Franciscan historian Luke Wadding (1588-1657) that FitzRalph attempted to appropriate an ornament from local Franciscans for his bishop's palace.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁰ (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), p. 349.

¹⁵¹ MS 144, fols 193^r-199^v. Hammerich describes this as a 'very remarkable sermon' which 'may be characterized as the last attempt to obtain a peaceful solution of a long-smoldering conflict'. (Hammerich, *The Beginning of the Strife between Richard FitzRalph and the Mendicants, with an Edition of his Autobiographical Prayer and his Proposition *Unusquisque**), p. 41. See also (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), p. 211.

¹⁵² In addition to fn. 151, see Bodley MS 144, fols 141^r-145^v, 161^r-168^v. See also (Hughes, *An Essay Introductory to the *De Pauperie Salvatoris* of Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh*), pp. 59-60; (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), p. 215; (Szittyá, *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature*), p. 124. Walsh writes that a sermon he preached at the invitation of Avignon Dominicans, FitzRalph 'paid special tribute to the Dominicans' founder'. (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), p. 215.

¹⁵³ Taken from *Unusquisque*, see (Hammerich, *The Beginning of the Strife between Richard FitzRalph and the Mendicants, with an Edition of his Autobiographical Prayer and his Proposition *Unusquisque**), p. 54. See also (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), p. 368.

¹⁵⁴ See MS 65, fol. 142^r. Hughes notes that 'The Provincial Minister of the Franciscans in Ireland in 1332 was a certain "John FitzRalph" not certainly, but very likely, a relation'. (Hughes, *An Essay Introductory to the *De Pauperie Salvatoris* of Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh*), pp. 34-5.

¹⁵⁵ Wadding, L. *Annales Minorum, in quibus res omnes trium ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum ex fide ponderosius asseruntur*, iv (Lugd., 1625), p. 62. See (Ó Clabaigh, *The Friars in Ireland, 1224-1540*), p. 153. Walsh has a theory for the possible origins of this story. (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), p. 361. No hint of such a story can be found in Woodford's *Defensorium*.

Yet FitzRalph makes clear in his introductions to books I and VIII of *De pauperie Salvatoris* that he was asked to investigate mendicancy by Popes Clement VI (r. 1342-1352) and Innocent VI (r. 1352-1362).¹⁵⁶ *Unusquisque* was also undertaken at the request of fellow prelates.¹⁵⁷ These two facts suggest that historiographical framings of FitzRalph's antimendicant work as 'personal' are inaccurate.

These papal commissions fit a pattern seen throughout his career, where FitzRalph was consulted on occasion to provide expert theological advice. He was invited by three successive popes, Benedict XII, Clement VI, and Innocent VI, to produce opinions on important theological issues: the 'beatific vision' experienced by souls after death; doctrinal differences between Armenians and Western Catholics; and finally on the mendicants.¹⁵⁸ Walsh even suggested that Pope Clement VI and his curial advisers treated FitzRalph as: 'a sort of papal "trouble-shooter" in Ireland'.¹⁵⁹ During the composition of *De pauperie Salvatoris*, FitzRalph was advising the curia on the visit of Hungarian knight George Grissaphan to the cave in Ireland which contained the so-called St Patrick's Purgatory.¹⁶⁰ Yet the absence of an episcopal register from FitzRalph's tenure as archbishop of Armagh hinders historians being able to learn more about events in Ireland.¹⁶¹

The most commonly-accepted historiographical explanations for the antimendicant campaign are personal, political or practical, rather than theological. Walsh dated the start of FitzRalph's concerns to his tenure as Dean of Lichfield, which she claims then developed after he

¹⁵⁶ MS 180, fols 1^{ra}, 90^{ra}.

¹⁵⁷ See (Hammerich, *The Beginning of the Strife between Richard FitzRalph and the Mendicants, with an Edition of his Autobiographical Prayer and his Proposition Unusquisque*), p. 45; (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), p. 366; (Coleman, *FitzRalph's Antimendicant "Proposicio" (1350) and the Politics of the Papal Court at Avignon*), p. 381.

¹⁵⁸ The other two theological issues were the 'beatific vision' controversy in response to doctrinally-doubtful sermons preached by Pope John XXII and partially recanted on his deathbed. The other was issues of theology and doctrine with representatives of the Armenian orthodox church, which led to the publication of his nineteen-book long *Summa de Quaestionibus Armenorum*.

¹⁵⁹ (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), p. 258.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 307-318. See also Bennett, M., 'Late Medieval Ireland in a Wider World', in *The Cambridge History of Ireland. Volume 1, 600–1550*, ed. B. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 329-352, p. 348.

¹⁶¹ Katherine Walsh notes there are brief references to the archbishop in subsequent registers. (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), pp. 237, 276.

became archbishop of Armagh in 1346.¹⁶² The frequent reason given has been the political situation in Ireland, traditionally seen as bitterly divided between Anglo-Norman and Gaelic communities.¹⁶³ Michael Dunne narrows the focus: 'it was the situation in Ireland which first prompted FitzRalph to develop his own particular theory of dominion and law'.¹⁶⁴

Book VIII, however, contains no anecdotal details, positioning its arguments as theological concerns.¹⁶⁵ Furthermore, scholars are now questioning the extent of the 'two nations' divide in Ireland.¹⁶⁶ Future research into late medieval Ireland might lead to a re-examination of accepted assumptions, which have in turn contributed to a normative view that the source to FitzRalph's writings against the friars can be found in his province of Armagh.

¹⁶² Walsh, K., 'Archbishop FitzRalph and the Friars at the Papal Court in Avignon, 1357-60', *Traditio*, 31 (1975), 223-245, p. 228. See also (Walsh, A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh), p. 363. (Dolan, Langland and FitzRalph: Two Solutions to the Mendicant Problem), p. 44.

¹⁶³ Terence Dolan argues: 'it is clear that FitzRalph is consumed with hatred for the Franciscan order because of his experience of their alleged abuses while he was archbishop of a very poor diocese in northern Ireland'. (Dolan, Langland and FitzRalph: Two Solutions to the Mendicant Problem), p. 44. See also (Walsh, A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh), pp. 7-8; (Kerby-Fulton, Books Under Suspicion: Censorship and Tolerance of Revelatory Writing in late Medieval England), pp. 164, 172; (Swanson, The 'Mendicant Problem' in the Later Middle Ages), pp. 220-221.

¹⁶⁴ (Dunne, Richard FitzRalph of Dundalk (c. 1300-1360) and the New World), p. 245. Colmán Ó Clabaigh writes: '[t]ensions between natives and settlers were particularly pronounced among the mendicants'. Ó Clabaigh, C., 'The Church, 1050-1460', in *The Cambridge History of Ireland. Volume 1, 600-1550*, ed. B. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 355-384, p. 373.

¹⁶⁵ Aubrey Gwynn did understand FitzRalph's case theologically. See (Gwynn, Archbishop FitzRalph and the Friars), p. 53; also (Lahey, Richard FitzRalph and John Wyclif: Untangling Armachanus from the Wycliffites), p. 175.

¹⁶⁶ 'Relations across the racial divide of medieval Ireland were more varied and complex than superficially appears'. (Haren, Richard FitzRalph of Dundalk, Oxford and Armagh: Scholar, Prelate and Controversialist), p. 88, and also pp. 95-96. See also Smith, B., 'Colonisation and Conquest in Medieval Ireland: The English in Louth, 1170-1330', in *Cambridge studies in medieval life and thought 4th ser*, 42, Cambridge, 1999, pp. 75, 90. See also Crooks, P., 'The Structure of Politics in Theory and Practice, 1210-1541', in *The Cambridge History of Ireland. Volume 1, 600-1550*, ed. B. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 441-468, p. 442; Murphy, M., 'The Economy', in *ibid.* 385-414, pp. 407, 414; Smith, B., 'Disaster and Opportunity: 1320-1450', in *ibid.* 244-271, p. 270. Michael Bennett notes a sermon FitzRalph preached linking the plague equally to sin within English and Gaelic communities. Bennett, M., 'Late Medieval Ireland in a Wider World', in *ibid.* 329-352, p. 329.

It is certainly accepted without question there were many friaries in FitzRalph's Ireland.¹⁶⁷ Francis Cotter states: 'the friars in Ireland possessed more property than the friars in England'.¹⁶⁸ Primary evidence reveals concerns over the behaviour of friars in Ireland.¹⁶⁹ FitzRalph's antimendicant criticisms were continued by three Irish secular clerics after his death, Colmán Ó Clabaigh referring to 'the persistence of Fitzralph's legacy in Ireland'.¹⁷⁰

Similar claims to FitzRalph's antimendicancy were also found in England. Before his arrival in London in 1356, clergy from the province of Canterbury had drawn up a bill of complaints against friars which was presented to a provincial council in May 1356.¹⁷¹ Walsh notes: 'the bill repeated the frequent claim that the friars abused their privilege of mendicancy and failed to observe their profession of poverty'.¹⁷² Dawson suggested Richard Kilwington, the Dean of St Paul's, invited FitzRalph to London specifically to preach 'on these issues'.¹⁷³

After delivering his London sermons, FitzRalph travelled to Avignon to preach *Defensio curatorum* in November 1357, and formally to launch a lawsuit against the friars at the papal courts.¹⁷⁴ This lawsuit itself, and the writing of various tracts and defenses associated with it, and

¹⁶⁷ '[T]he pattern of rapid expansion that characterized the mendicant movement on the Continent and in England was replicated in Ireland'. (Ó Clabaigh, *The Friars in Ireland, 1224-1540*), p. 7; also Fletcher, A. J., 'Preaching in late-medieval Ireland: the English and the Latin tradition', in *Irish Preaching, 700-1700*, eds. A. J. Fletcher and R. Gillespie (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), 56-80, p. 78. Frances Andrews writes of the Carmelite order 'spread[ing] quickly in Ireland'. (Andrews, *The Other Friars: the Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages*), p. 25.

¹⁶⁸ Cotter, F. J. *The Friars Minor in Ireland from their Arrival to 1400* (New York: Franciscan Institute, 1994), p. 67. Cotter substantiates this claim by citing Moran, P. F., ed. *Monasticon Hibernicum: or, An History of the Abbeys, Priors, and other Religious Houses in Ireland* (Dublin: W. B. Kelly, 1873), vol. 2, pp. 210-1.

¹⁶⁹ A provincial synod which met in Dublin in 1320 to investigate the issue of friars begging for alms, whose conclusions presented 'a negative picture of abuses'. (Cotter, *The Friars Minor in Ireland from their Arrival to 1400*), p. 52. The original decree, entitled *De questoribus*, in Durham Cathedral, Roll 5822, is reproduced in Gwynn, A., 'Provincial and Diocesan Decrees of the Diocese of Dublin during the Anglo-Norman Period', *Archivium Hibernicum*, 11 (1944), 31-117, p. 82.

¹⁷⁰ (Ó Clabaigh, *The Friars in Ireland, 1224-1540*), p. 156, also pp. 157-60. See also (Ó Clabaigh, *The Church, 1050-1460*), p. 373; (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), p. 360.

¹⁷¹ TNA (PRO) DL 42/8, fols. 79^v-80^r, as cited in Walsh (1981), p. 407, fn.4. For a full account of this bill of complaints, see (Gwynn, *Archbishop FitzRalph and the Friars*). A translation can be found in (Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century*), pp. 159-60.

¹⁷² (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), p. 407.

¹⁷³ (Dawson, *Richard FitzRalph and the Fourteenth-Century Poverty Controversies*), p. 341.

¹⁷⁴ For more specifically on FitzRalph's lawsuit, and the surviving manuscript evidence, see (Walsh, *Archbishop FitzRalph and the Friars at the Papal Court in Avignon, 1357-60*), pp. 224-7; (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), pp. 427-9, 441-2. See also

the composition of book VIII of *De pauperie Salvatoris*, occupied the archbishop until his death in November 1360.¹⁷⁵

Bishop Grandisson, who had himself faced problems with friars, provided money towards FitzRalph's suit.¹⁷⁶ But more general support was not forthcoming from senior clerics.¹⁷⁷ The lawsuit was similarly costly to the friars, the 1389 lollard text *Opus Arduum* observing that Franciscans broke their own rules concerning the handling of money over expenses it incurred.¹⁷⁸

The mendicant response was to accuse FitzRalph of heresy.¹⁷⁹ As he described in *Defensio curatorum*: '*pei haueþ sclaundred me, dispised & diffamed priuylich & openlich*'.¹⁸⁰ Dominican friar Bartholomew of Bolsenheim accused FitzRalph in 1357 of malicious perversities and heresy, and Woodford frequently accuses him of the same in the *Defensorium*.¹⁸¹ Yet book

(Meersseman, *La défense des ordres mendiants contre Richard Fitz Ralph, par Barthélemy de Bolsenheim O. P. (1357)*), p. 129.

¹⁷⁵ For the documents associated with the lawsuit, see MS 64, fols 107^v-126^v. Walsh writes: 'While serving Dean of Lichfield, FitzRalph endured a protracted legal case in Avignon on behalf of his chapter, winning after fifteen appeals, and this experience must have served him well in his legal proceedings against the friars'. (Walsh, *Archbishop FitzRalph and the Friars at the Papal Court in Avignon, 1357-60*), p. 228.

¹⁷⁶ 'The major and most public declaration of sympathy between FitzRalph and Grandisson came with the latter's endorsement in 1359 of FitzRalph's campaign against the privileges of the friars.' (Dunne and Nolan, *Richard FitzRalph: His Life, Times and Thought*), p. 3. Szittyz notes: 'Bishop Grandisson had difficulties with mendicant confessors from 1329 to 1359', (Szittyz, *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature*), p. 124, especially fn. 5. See also Haren, M., 'Confession, Social Ethics and Social Discipline in the *Memoriale presbiterorum*', in *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*, eds. P. Biller and A. J. Minnis (York: York Medieval Press, 1998), 109-122, p. 119. John Jenkins notes: 'the Bishop was ignored at every turn...it is clear that episcopal authority was secondary to local power structures'. Jenkins, J., 'Despite the Prohibition of the Lord Bishop': John Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter (1327-69), and the Illusion of Episcopal Power', in *Episcopal Power and Local Society in Medieval Europe, 900-1400*, eds. P. R. Coss, C. Dennis, M. Julian-Jones and A. Silvestri (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 271-289, p. 283.

¹⁷⁷ Thomas Walsingham wrote: 'alas the English clergy withdrew their support, and the friars, by means of large sums of money, won the upper hand in the papal curia; and, and before ever the case was settled, they got their privileges renewed as before'. As quoted in (Gwynn, *Archbishop FitzRalph and the Friars*), pp. 64-5, who also notes that Henry Knighton referred to a subsidy FitzRalph had received from English clergy. Walsh cites confirmatory evidence from Richard Kilwington. (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), p. 435. See also (Walsh, *Archbishop FitzRalph and the Friars at the Papal Court in Avignon, 1357-60*), p. 244.

¹⁷⁸ MS Brno University, Mk 28, fols 180^r-180^v, as cited in (Hudson, *A Neglected Wycliffite Text*), p. 277.

¹⁷⁹ For instances FitzRalph was accused of heresy by the friars, see (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), pp. 432, 434, 444-5.

¹⁸⁰ (Perry, John Trevisa: '*Dialogus inter militem et clericum*', Richard FitzRalph's sermon '*Defensio curatorum*', and, Methodius: '*þe bygynnyng of þe world and þe ende of worldes*'), p. 40.

¹⁸¹ (Meersseman, *La défense des ordres mendiants contre Richard Fitz Ralph, par Barthélemy de Bolsenheim O. P. (1357)*), especially pp. 156, 161, 165, 172. See chapter three for Woodford's accusations.

VIII comes across as a measured and objective critique of mendicant theology and practice, in contrast to Woodford's incendiary attacks on the sanctity and sanity of his opponent.¹⁸²

Throughout the campaign, and even after his death, FitzRalph remained in papal favour.¹⁸³ He was invited to preach before Pope Innocent VI on All Saints Day in 1358 (though illness prevented the Pope from attending), and again in the Pope's private chapel on the feast of the Epiphany in 1359.¹⁸⁴ The high regard in which contemporaries held him is demonstrated by posthumous commissions initiated by two successive popes, Urban VI and Boniface IX (r. 1389-1401), to investigate his beatification.¹⁸⁵ Both canonization processes stalled, though proceedings were ongoing into the seventeenth-century.¹⁸⁶ A further indication of his reputation is given by the establishment of a cult of 'St Richard of Dundalk' which sprang up in the town to which his bones were returned.¹⁸⁷

Primary evidence gives further proof that FitzRalph was treated as an authoritative figure to be consulted on complex theological issues *during* the lawsuit. A letter written in March 1358 from the Chancellor and regent masters of Oxford to FitzRalph in Avignon asks him to inform the Pope about a recent incident in the schools, in which a 'Friar John' had publically called for disendowment of the Church, for church property to be transferred to seculars and knights on

¹⁸² Helen Hughes notes of FitzRalph: 'he did not, as a rule, descend to scandalous accusations against his opponents; even in the thick of his contest with the friars his worst suggestions are qualified by *'ut dicitur'*'. (Hughes, *An Essay Introductory to the De Pauperie Salvatoris* of Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh), p. 205.

¹⁸³ Haren writes: 'the friar's attempts to damn [FitzRalph] or halt the suit by representing him as heretical and excommunicate can hardly have amounted to more than a relatively minor irritant to which every invitation to preach before the pope would have applied public salve'. Haren, M., 'Richard FitzRalph and the Franciscans: Poverty, Privileges, Polemic, 1356-1359', in *The English Province of the Franciscans (1224-c.1350)*, ed. M. Robson (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 380-404, p. 392.

¹⁸⁴ MS 144, fols 145^v-150^r; 168^v-175^r; 199^v-205^r, 205^r-212^v. Haren writes: 'the several invitations extended to FitzRalph to preach before the pope during the period of the great lawsuit suggest real esteem'. *Ibid.*, p. 384. See also (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), pp. 211, 439-40, 448.

¹⁸⁵ Walsh had also suggested that the beatification campaigns were partly due to the loyalty of the province of Armagh to the Urbanist faction during the papal schism of 1378-1417. (It is worth noting that she did not provide a specific reference to this point.) See Walsh, K., 'Ireland, the Papal Curia and the Schism: A Border Case', in *Genèse et débuts du grand schisme d'Occident. Avignon, 25-28 septembre 1978*, eds. J. Favier, Y. Grava and M. Hayez (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1980), 561-74, p. 573.

¹⁸⁶ (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), pp. 2, 456-8.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 454-64.

account of clerical abuses, and for tithes to be given to friars rather than to secular clerics.¹⁸⁸ This episode could well have taken place while FitzRalph was composing book VIII, and shows that accusations of heresy had not marginalized him. It also suggests Wyclif's later calls for disendowment of the Church would not have received a sympathetic reception from FitzRalph.¹⁸⁹

Responses

Scholars have tended to assert that FitzRalph's antimendicant criticisms were aimed at the Franciscan order.¹⁹⁰ Yet he received responses from representatives of all fraternal orders. In VIII:1, FitzRalph himself writes refers to '*fratres minores et alii fratres*', and indications throughout book VIII make it clear that he was writing to friars generally.¹⁹¹ The illustrated frontispiece of MS 180 depicts representatives of all four orders.¹⁹² Furthermore, the illustration of FitzRalph in *Omne Bonum* portrays him debating with Dominican and Carmelite friars, not Franciscans.¹⁹³

There is another area where historiographical context is lacking: contemporary responses to FitzRalph have not been studied systematically by historians. Vague overviews have been suggested, but no substantive research has been undertaken.¹⁹⁴ Yet there is much material. Details

¹⁸⁸ Aston, M., 'Caim's Castles': Poverty, Politics, and Disendowment', in *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. R. B. Dobson (Gloucester: Alan Suttton, 1984), 45-81, p. 50.

¹⁸⁹ See Levy, I. C., ed. *John Wyclif: On the Truth of Holy Scripture* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2001), pp. 196-7. See also Larsen, A. E., 'John Wyclif, C. 1331-1384', in *A Companion to John Wyclif: Late Medieval Theologian*, ed. I. C. Levy (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 1-65, p. 5; (Kerby-Fulton, *Books Under Suspicion: Censorship and Tolerance of Revelatory Writing in late Medieval England*), pp. 140-141; Justice, S. *Writing and Rebellion: England in 1381* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), p. 236, fn. 135.

¹⁹⁰ Doyle argued: 'FitzRalph...concentrated his attacks almost exclusively on the Franciscan Order'. (Doyle, William Woodford, *His Life and works together with a study and edition of his Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), p. 97. Walsh believed FitzRalph's 'unique contribution' was to consider the Franciscans 'a case apart'. (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), p. 1981, pp. 350-1. See also (Scase, 'Piers Plowman' and the New Anti-clericalism), p. 51.

¹⁹¹ See Appendix A. The reference to '*mendicitatem spontaneam*' in the Prologue is prefaced by '*de ordinibus mendicantium appellatur*'.

¹⁹² MS 180, fol. 1^r.

¹⁹³ (Sandler, *Omne Bonum: a Fourteenth-Century Encyclopedia of Universal Knowledge*), p. 25. For the image, see British Library, 6 E VII, fol. 528^v.

¹⁹⁴ Katherine Walsh suggested the response of Franciscan Roger Conway 'shifted the issues away from poverty and mendicancy and back to the pastoral question'. (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), p. 441. James Dawson believed Conway's response was 'directed solely to the jurisdictional issue, defending the existing canon law against the claims of episcopal supporters'. (Dawson, *Richard FitzRalph and the Fourteenth-Century Poverty Controversies*), p. 342.

are known of immediate responses to FitzRalph's London sermons. The first three elicited a hasty *Appellatio*, composed by representatives of the main four orders of friars, to which FitzRalph responded with a fourth sermon, before he left London to deliver *Defensio curatorum*, in November 1357, and to initiate his lawsuit in Avignon.¹⁹⁵

Individual friars responded in various ways. Meersseman has volunteered intriguing differences between responses of Franciscan Roger Conway to FitzRalph and that of the Dominican Bartholomew of Bolsenheim.¹⁹⁶ English Carmelite friar Richard Maidstone (d. 1396) listed responses to William of St Amour and FitzRalph, and 'the other moderns', as he put it, who challenged the legitimacy of mendicancy.¹⁹⁷ Referring to 'many doctors' who were involved in mendicancy's defence, the list cited by name Aquinas, Bonaventure, the Franciscan Archbishop of Canterbury John Peckham (c. 1230-1292), Roger Conway, Augustinian friar Geoffrey Hardeby, and two Carmelites, one named Guy, and a Master John Ulheti.¹⁹⁸

Roger Conway, the Franciscan who had apparently taken up FitzRalph's sermon wager, responded early to FitzRalph's criticisms, and according to Jeremy Catto: 'took the lead in rebutting the onslaught of FitzRalph'.¹⁹⁹ Woodford refers to Conway's text in the *Defensorium*.²⁰⁰ Bartholomew of Bolsenheim composed his response in 1357.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁵ Some information on the lawsuit is recorded in MS 64, fols 107^v-128^v.

¹⁹⁶ Of Bartholomew: 'on sent que c'est le théologien, l'inquisiteur, qui prend la parole. Roger Conway au contraire tente de défendre les privilèges des mendiants, se rapportant à l'exercice de leur ministère'. (Meersseman, *La défense des ordres mendiants contre Richard Fitz Ralph, par Barthélemy de Bolsenheim O. P. (1357)*), p. 134.

¹⁹⁷ See fn. 232 for this quotation.

¹⁹⁸ '*legat de Ordine Praedicatorum Sanctum Thomam, Secunda Secundae, quaest. 186, et de Ordine Minorum Bonaventuram in Apologia et Peccham in Tractatu pauperis contra insipientem, et Conewey in libello de erroribus Armachani; de Ordine Carmelitarum legat Guidonem, De perfectione evangelica et Magistram Ioannem Ulheti, Contra propositionem Armachani; de Ordine Augustinensium legat Magister Galfridum Hardeby; et alios doctores quamplurimos*'. Oxford, MS Bodley 86, fols 161^r-161^v. Reproduced in Williams, A., '*Protectorium pauperis, a Defense of the Begging Friars by Richard of Maidstone*', *Carmelus*, 5 (1958), 132-180, pp. 138-9.

¹⁹⁹ (Catto, William Woodford, O.F.M., (c. 1330-1397)), p. 10. There is a reference to FitzRalph's response to Conway in *Omne Bonum*, British Library MS Royal E VI and MS Royal E VII, as cited in (Szittyta, *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature*), Appendix B (unpaginated).

²⁰⁰ '*sed omnia illa argumenta sufficienter valde solvit magister Rogerus Conway in tractu suo de confessionibus contra Armachanum*'. MS 75, fol. 82^{vb}.

²⁰¹ The full text is published in (Meersseman, *La défense des ordres mendiants contre Richard Fitz Ralph, par Barthélemy de Bolsenheim O. P. (1357)*).

Yet the historiography on FitzRalph's debates with mendicants is inconsistent. One scholar placed FitzRalph's antimendicant campaign not at the Avignon papal courts, but in an English university setting, concluding that a friar, Johannes Klenkok, choose not to respond because of: 'what could only be a deliberate avoidance of the debate instigated at the English university by FitzRalph'.²⁰²

Walsh wrote about a response by the Augustinian friar, Geoffrey Hardeby in his *De Vita Evangelica*.²⁰³ Overlooking Woodford's *Defensorium*, she suggested incorrectly that Hardeby was 'the only opponent of FitzRalph who took issue specifically with *De Pauperie Salvatoris*'.²⁰⁴ Walsh believed FitzRalph's beliefs on *dominium* and lordship were derived from those of the Augustinian theologian, Giles of Rome.²⁰⁵ Richard Brock and Graeme McAleer have challenged this hypothesis.²⁰⁶ Yet Walsh's misunderstanding affected her appraisal of Hardeby's argument, an error compounded by more recent historians.²⁰⁷ This is a further illustration of how mistaken or incomplete views have clouded the historiography.

Factual errors aside, a homogenizing of antimendicant arguments risks rendering invisible other critics of the friars.²⁰⁸ Thomas Wilton, an Oxford-educated Paris theologian who later became Chancellor of St Paul's, London, wrote a *questio* on able-bodied begging around 1327, which was included, anonymously, within the section on *Fratres* in the late fourteenth-century

²⁰² (Ocker, Johannes Klenkok: A Friar's Life, c.1310-1374), p. 41.

²⁰³ Walsh writes 'it seems probable that he had replied to FitzRalph in Oxford as master regent 1357-8'. (Walsh, The '*De Vita Evangelica*' of Geoffrey Hardeby, O.E.S.A. (c. 1320-c.1385)), p. 182. See also Walsh, K. *The De Vita Evangelica of Geoffrey Hardeby, O.E.S.A. (c.1320-c.1385): a Study in the Mendicant Controversies of the Fourteenth Century* (Roma: Institutum Historicum Augustinianum, 1972). (Neither edition includes Hardeby's actual text.)

²⁰⁴ (Walsh, A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh), pp. 227-8, 394. This is echoed in (Ocker, Johannes Klenkok: A Friar's Life, c.1310-1374), p. 34.

²⁰⁵ Walsh refers to 'the Augustinian paternity of the doctrine which FitzRalph was using against the friars.' (Walsh, The '*De Vita Evangelica*' of Geoffrey Hardeby, O.E.S.A. (c. 1320-c.1385)), p. 228. Aubrey Gwynn also believed that FitzRalph was adopting the theory of Giles of Rome. (Gwynn, The English Austin Friars in the time of Wyclif), pp. 60-61.

²⁰⁶ '[T]he difference is so great, and its implications so manifold, that it is difficult to understand how the two theories could be confused'. (Brock, An Edition of Richard FitzRalph's *De pauperie Salvatoris*: Books V, VI and VII), p. xxxvii. See also (McAleer, De Vitoria on FitzRalph: an adequate assessment?), p. 193.

²⁰⁷ (Walsh, The '*De Vita Evangelica*' of Geoffrey Hardeby, O.E.S.A. (c. 1320-c.1385)), p. 228. The error is repeated in (Ocker, Johannes Klenkok: A Friar's Life, c.1310-1374), p. 35.

²⁰⁸ For example, see fns 214, 286, and 291.

English encyclopedia, *Omne Bonum*.²⁰⁹ Szittyá sums up Wilton's argument that able-bodied beggars are not in a state of perfection 'by Old Testament authorities; by New Testament authorities, particularly the Apostle Paul; and by *rationes*'.²¹⁰ Matthew Paris (c. 1200-1259), the Benedictine monk and author of the *Chronica Majora*, tends to be forgotten as an antimendicant author, yet he was also an early critic of the friars.²¹¹

The Carmelite, Richard Maidstone, wrote *Protectorium Pauperum* in reply to Richard Ashwardby (fl. 1392), vicar of the University Church of St Mary's, Oxford.²¹² Fiona Somerset has suggested that Maidstone's text should be understood more as a response to FitzRalph.²¹³ A Benedictine monk from Durham, Uthred of Boldon, writing immediately after the death of FitzRalph, defended the archbishop, challenging the Franciscan claim to imitate the *vita apostolica* and to follow true apostolic poverty.²¹⁴

A scholarly reluctance to foreground medieval opposition to mendicancy is observed in a recent volume on Franciscan spirituality, out of whose fifteen articles exists one oblique reference to 'disputes between mendicants and secular clergy'.²¹⁵ Wendy Scase and Penn Szittyá draw

²⁰⁹ See (Sandler, *Omne Bonum: a Fourteenth-Century Encyclopedia of Universal Knowledge*), and also (Szittyá, *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature*), pp. 93, 98.

²¹⁰ (Szittyá, *Kicking the Habit: The Campaign against the Friars in a Fourteenth-Century Encyclopedia*), p. 95, see also p. 175.

²¹¹ For a summary of Mathew's criticisms, see Steckel, S., 'Narratives of Resistance: Arguments against the Mendicants in the Works of Matthew Paris and William of Saint-Amour', in *Thirteenth century England XV: Authority and Resistance in the Age of Magna Carta. Proceedings of the Aberystwyth and Lampeter Conference, 2013*, eds. J. E. Burton, P. Schofield and B. Weiler (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2015), 157-177, pp. 160-165. However, Philippa Hoskin has recently downplayed Matthew's antifraternalism, see Hoskin, P., 'Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora* and the Franciscans in England', in *The English Province of the Franciscans (1224-c.1350)*, ed. M. Robson (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 46-62, p. 47.

²¹² The text is preserved in *Fasciculi zizaniorum*, a compilation of documents relating to John Wyclif. Bodley MS e. Mus. 86, fols 160^r-175^v, as published in (Williams, *Protectorium pauperis, a Defense of the Begging Friars by Richard of Maidstone*).

²¹³ '[E]ither Ashwardby relied heavily on Fitzralph, or else Maidstone is at some points more interested in answering Fitzralph than Ashwardby'. (Somerset, *Clerical Discourse and Lay Audience in Late Medieval England*), p. 176.

²¹⁴ 'Uthred's conflict with the mendicants on ecclesiastical endowments grew out of the dispute over the pastoral privileges of the mendicants and the related discussion of apostolic poverty.' Dipple, G., 'Uthred and the Friars: Apostolic Poverty and Clerical Dominion between FitzRalph and Wyclif', *Traditio*, 49 (1994), 235-258, p. 240. See also Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS Lat. 3183, fol. 166^f, as cited in (Scase, 'Piers Plowman' and the New Anti-clericalism), p. 37, fn.107.

²¹⁵ The volume in question is *Ordo et Sanctitas: The Franciscan Spiritual Journey in Theology and Hagiography: Essays in Honor of J.A. Wayne Hellmann, O.F.M. Conv.*, eds. M. F. Cusato, T. J. Johnson and S. J. McMichael (Leiden: Brill, 2017). For the reference to disputes, see (Kruse, *When Forever Doesn't Mean Forever*:

attention to FitzRalph, yet position him as part of the literary genre encompassing antimendicancy and anticlericalism.²¹⁶

Guy Geltner draws attention to antimendicant writings, yet examines antimendicancy from the perspective of commonality, highlighting shared opinions between mendicant and antimendicant texts.²¹⁷ Whilst there are obvious benefits this 'more nuanced approach',²¹⁸ a drawback is that central figures such as FitzRalph become side-lined or omitted, an essential part of the history overlooked.²¹⁹ This first part of chapter one has put FitzRalph, and his antimendicant campaign, into context. The remainder of the chapter examines the origins and development of the mendicants, and of their ideology.

The Beginnings of the Mendicant Controversy

Mendicant orders were becoming identifiable and established in the early decades of the thirteenth-century.²²⁰ Disagreements between mendicants and secular clergy first became violent at the University of Paris in the early 1250s, when secular clergy reacted to mendicant preferment for prestigious university chairs.²²¹ Guy Geltner notes historians have tended to write off the circumstances leading to these as 'university quarrels'.²²²

Contemporary Insights into the Modern Understanding of Papal Teaching Gained from the Popes of the Franciscan Poverty Controversy), p. 299.

²¹⁶ (Scase, 'Piers Plowman' and the New Anti-clericalism), especially pp. 3-4; (Szittyta, *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature*), pp. 123-51. G. W. Bernard unconsciously underscores this shift from the discipline of history to that of literary studies: 'the extent and significance of anti-clericalism have been played down by many historians'. Bernard, G. W. *The Late Medieval English Church: Vitality and Vulnerability Before the Break with Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), p. 151.

²¹⁷ '[R]ecent scholarship has shown that the dividing line between medieval defenders and critics of Franciscan life was often not as sharp or as clear, as had been thought in the past'. (Cusato and Geltner, *Defenders and Critics of Franciscan Life: Essays in Honor of John V. Fleming*), p. viii.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. viii.

²¹⁹ FitzRalph is only briefly mentioned within Cusato and Geltner's volume.

²²⁰ See fns 249-253.

²²¹ See Little, L. K., 'Saint Louis' Involvement with the Friars', *Church History*, 33:2 (1964), 125-148, pp. 137-41.

²²² Geltner, G., ed. *William of St Amour: De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum* (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), p. 2. 'The academic teaching careers of the mendicants and their pastoral activities, above all those as confessors and preachers, were the main reasons for the conflict.' (Schlosser, *Bonaventure: Life and Works*), p. 16. See also Little, A. G., 'Selections from Pecham's *Tractatus Pauperis* or *De Perfectione Evangelica*', *British Society of Franciscan Studies*, 2 (1910), 13-90, p. 13; Hinnebusch, W. A. *The Dominicans: a Short History* (Dublin: Dominican Publications, 1985), p. 26. Geltner has provided a helpful summary of these struggles over access to university chairs between secular masters and Dominican theologians at Paris in the 1250s. (Geltner, *William of St Amour: De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum*), pp. 3-13.

Geltner understands the controversy to be a combination of tensions within Paris and unrelated concerns arising from the publication of a Franciscan text, the *Introduction to the Eternal Gospel*, containing eschatological excerpts from mystic Abbot Joachim of Fiore (d. 1202).²²³ Exacerbating these factors was an imbalance brought about by the preferment of mendicants by the French King Louis IX (1214-1270) and Pope Alexander IV (r. 1254-61).²²⁴ Geltner sees the first theological text criticizing the friars, *De periculis novissimorum temporum* (hereafter *De periculis*), composed by William of St Amour (1200-1272), as developing out of this repositioned *realpolitik*.²²⁵

De periculis, translated as 'On the Dangers of the Last [or Recent] Times', was published in 1256, and led to William's excommunication and banishment from Paris.²²⁶ The text is often explained as 'William's personal, albeit justified, vendetta against the friars'.²²⁷ This framing as a personal vendetta mirrors rationalizations of FitzRalph's criticisms.²²⁸ Doyle summed up the antimendicant contributions of William, FitzRalph and also of John Wyclif alike:

*It is a remarkable history in that throughout its various phases, one encounters again and again the same topics attacked and defended, the same issues raised, identical standpoints reiterated by the opposing factions and parties. A familiar litany of questions is re-examined and discussed.*²²⁹

²²³ (Geltner, William of St Amour: *De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum*), p. 7.

²²⁴ 'In the category of major capital donations, Louis IX established a record unsurpassed by any other European'. (Little, Saint Louis' Involvement with the Friars), p. 134. Little continues: 'The idea of abandoning his royal office altogether in order to become a friar seems to have crossed his mind', p. 145. Mendicant apologetists posthumously credited King Louis as a mendicant tertiary. See Jordan, W. C., 'Louis IX: Preaching to Franciscan and Dominican Brothers and Nuns', in *Defenders and Critics of Franciscan Life: Essays in Honor of John V. Fleming*, eds. M. F. Cusato and G. Geltner (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 219-235, p. 235. Cecilia Gaposchkin has positioned the retrospective repositioning of Louis IX as a member of the Franciscan order as another instance of the friars' 'reimagination' of the past, as they had done with the posthumous life of Francis. 'After Louis' death the Franciscans were instrumental in his canonization'. Gaposchkin, M. C. *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2008), p. 156. (For the mechanics of a retrospective 'reimagining' of Louis as an advocate of poverty, see pp. 177-9.)

²²⁵ (Geltner, William of St Amour: *De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum*), p. 3. For the substance of William's criticisms of King Louis, see (Little, Saint Louis' Involvement with the Friars), pp. 141-2.

²²⁶ For a parallel Latin-English edition of the text, see (Geltner, William of St Amour: *De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum*).

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

²²⁸ See fn. 69.

²²⁹ (Doyle, William Woodford, His Life and works together with a study and edition of his *Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), p. 93.

This view is not borne out by the primary material.²³⁰ However, there is a medieval origin to this rhetorical merging of William's and FitzRalph's perspectives into a uniform 'theology of polemical antifraternality'.²³¹ Wendy Scase notes modern scholars are simply repeating an historical argument, rather than investigating the historical context for such an association.²³² Yet belief in a homogenous antifraternality persists.

Looking more closely at William's arguments, there are undoubted areas where his views overlap with FitzRalph, specifically in chapter twelve (out of fourteen) of *De periculis*.²³³ William here uses certain scriptural illustrations to argue that Christ did not beg.²³⁴ Yet he does not elaborate further, as FitzRalph does in book VIII. Furthermore, as one looks beyond the obvious biblical tropes and stories from Christ's life to the thrust and aim of each argument, and also relocates the texts to their respective centuries, similarities become less significant and differences more apparent. One obvious change is that FitzRalph steered his arguments away from framing friars as an eschatological threat, a core argument for William.²³⁵ This is not to suggest FitzRalph never used eschatological language. In one of his London sermons, he quotes the classic verse warning against 'those who penetrate homes', used widely in antifraternality polemic.²³⁶ But neither this verse nor an eschatological perspective appears in book VIII. Szittyá writes that for William of St Amour, and within the fourteenth-century Middle English poem,

²³⁰ Stephen Lahey emphasizes: 'Wyclif's opposition to the friars is nothing like FitzRalph's'. (Lahey, Richard FitzRalph and John Wyclif: Untangling Armachanus from the Wycliffites), pp. 166-167.

²³¹ (Szittyá, The Friar as False Apostle: Antifraternality Exegesis and the *Summoner's Tale*), p. 20.

²³² (Scase, 'Piers Plowman' and the New Anti-clericalism), p. 18. Roger Conway did liken FitzRalph's argument to that of William of St Amour. See (Walsh, A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh), p. 441, fn. 81; (Szittyá, The Antifraternality Tradition in Medieval Literature), p. 144, fn. 81. Carmelite Richard of Maidstone (d. 1396) equated arguments of William of St Amour and FitzRalph and 'other moderns': '*Ad hanc eandem partem sunt argumenta multa satis communia, ut puta Willelmi de Sancto Amore, Armachani, et aliorum modernorum*'. (Williams, *Protectorium pauperis*, a Defense of the Begging Friars by Richard of Maidstone), p. 138.

²³³ 'The works of FitzRalph do show a considerable degree of similarity to works of William of St. Amour, especially in the area of ecclesiology'. (Szittyá, The Antifraternality Tradition in Medieval Literature), p. 144.

²³⁴ See (Geltner, William of St Amour: De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum), pp. 90-105.

²³⁵ Geltner stresses: 'insofar as apocalyptic eschatology constitutes a coherent genre, there is no doubt that *De periculis* falls into this category'. *Ibid.*, p. 14. See also (Szittyá, The Antifraternality Tradition in Medieval Literature), pp. 147-8.

²³⁶ (2 Timothy 3:6) MS 144, fol. 113^v. William Langland's caricature of a corrupt friar, 'Sire Penetrans Domos', is taken from this verse. See Schmidt, A. V. C., ed. *The vision of Piers Plowman: a critical edition of the B-text based on Trinity College Cambridge MS B.15.17* (London: Dent, 1995), p. 359, ll. 340-1.

Piers Plowman: 'the friars are not simply set within a social or ecclesiastical or empirical framework, but within a symbolic frame that stretches from the present to the end of time... They are part of a fiction of history'.²³⁷ FitzRalph does not make use of such a 'symbolic frame' in his presentation of fraternal error.

The assumption that FitzRalph was recycling William's arguments overlooks crucial details. Throughout *De periculis*, William focused on ways to identify false apostles (another of his terms for the friars). He set down forty-two signs distinguishing true from false apostles, ending with a threat that temporal and spiritual power and goods should be removed from 'carnal prelates' if no action was taken.²³⁸ In contrast, FitzRalph states in *Defensio curatorum* that he does not advocate for the friars to be dissolved.²³⁹ Book VIII's respectful treatment of St Francis further underscores differences of opinion between William and FitzRalph.

FitzRalph's intellectual approach in book VIII is also different. William's text included brief christological exemplars but FitzRalph goes deeper, drawing on Aristotle's *Ethics* to argue philosophically that Christ hated poverty and cannot have endorsed something he hated.²⁴⁰ FitzRalph deconstructs the meaning of poverty alongside its semantic siblings, neediness, resourcelessness, and begging, which William did not even begin to consider.

There is also the historical aspect. As mentioned earlier, Geltner gives a political context for events which led to the composition of *De periculis*: 'a particular animosity toward Louis IX informs the wider corpus of William's works from that period'.²⁴¹ Yet FitzRalph criticized rhetorical defenses of mendicancy which themselves were constructed in the decades following the publication of *De periculis*. Seen together, these chronological circumstances, and the

²³⁷ (Szittyá, *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature*), pp. 247-8.

²³⁸ (Geltner, *William of St Amour: De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum*), pp. 140-1.

²³⁹ See (Lahey, *Richard FitzRalph and John Wyclif: Untangling Armachanus from the Wycliffites*), p. 185, and (Dolan, *Richard FitzRalph's Defensio Curatorum in Transmission*), p. 177. Walsh disagreed, believing believed *De pauperie Salvatoris* called for 'the dissolution of the mendicant orders entirely'. (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), p. 403.

²⁴⁰ This is discussed in detail in chapter two.

²⁴¹ (Geltner, *William of St Amour: De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum*), p. 11.

theological and philosophical approaches taken by each author, demonstrate that crucial context is lost when their arguments are elided. This positioning encourages what Chris Wickham terms: 'a false reading of the past'.²⁴² The result, strikingly, is that both texts remain known yet unread.²⁴³

Constructions of Mendicant Identity in relation to Poverty

The marginalization of participants such as FitzRalph within the historiography is particularly surprising, given a lack of scholarly consensus as to what might be meant by primary references to a 'mendicant' type of poverty.²⁴⁴ Historians have written about the emergence and development of the four 'begging' Orders, the Friars Minor (also known as Franciscans), the Friars Preachers (Dominicans), the Carmelite Friars, and the Augustinian Friars, yet there remains scholarly disagreement as to what their core ideals and even activities actually were.²⁴⁵

Three concepts were central to mendicant self-description: the imitation of Christ, a claim to imitate the apostles, and the elevation of poverty, yet these concepts were used in different ways and for various reasons, a point which itself is significant.²⁴⁶ However historical accounts tend to downplay shifts in meanings, preferring overarching narratives to analysis of semantic shifts and their repercussions on mendicant theology.²⁴⁷ FitzRalph engaged with the concepts of poverty and with the imitation of Christ in book VIII, yet did not discuss the apostolic life. These

²⁴² (Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome: a History of Europe from 400 to 1000*), p. 12.

²⁴³ Guy Geltner observes William and *De periculis* are 'misleadingly familiar'. (Geltner, *William of St Amour: De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum*), p. 1.

²⁴⁴ Hughes rationalizes that Bonaventure's 'relationship to the idea and practice of Franciscan poverty is complex'. (Hughes, *Bonaventure's Defense of Mendicancy*), p. 509. Lambert writes: 'Both for Francis and for early Franciscans, the doctrine [of mendicant poverty] was expressed in terms which were devotional rather than academic'. Lambert, M. *Franciscan poverty: the Doctrine of the Absolute Poverty of Christ and the Apostles in the Franciscan Order 1210-1323* (London: Published for the Church Historical Society by S.P.C.K, 1961), p. 126. See fns. 259 and 260 for divergent definitions of mendicant poverty within primary sources and in the secondary narrative.

²⁴⁵ See fns 257, 270, 268, 286 and 304 for more on this point.

²⁴⁶ 'As the Middle Ages progressed the term *imitatio Christi*, like *vita apostolica* and *paupertas*, took on new meanings without entirely losing its old ones, and it would be impossible to say exactly when it lost one meaning and assumed another.' Constable, G. *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 169.

²⁴⁷ Diana Wood saw 'total poverty' as the 'mendicant solution', without explaining the type of poverty she meant. (Wood, *Medieval Economic Thought*), p. 27. Clopper rationalized: 'Mendicant defenses...tended to speak to principles rather than practices'. (Clopper, *Songes of Rechelesnesse: Langland and the Franciscans*), p. 28.

inclusions and omissions are interesting, helping to correct anachronistic emphases within the historiography.

In light of the ruling of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 forbidding the formation of new religious orders, the Augustinian friars traced their lineage to those religious communities from the time of St Augustine of Hippo (354-430) driven from North Africa to Italy by the Vandal invasions, and developing under Pope Innocent III (r. 1198-1216) as a religious movement.²⁴⁸ Carmelites traced their origin to a community of hermits on Mount Carmel, taking particular inspiration from the Old Testament Prophet Elijah, and the Virgin Mary.²⁴⁹ Frances Andrews has referred to the 'secondary status' of Carmelites and Augustinians in the quartet of the main mendicant orders.²⁵⁰ The Order of Friars Preacher, or Dominicans, developed out of a commission entrusted to Cistercians to train preachers to combat the Cathar heresy in Southern France and Spain.²⁵¹ The Order was formalized by St Dominic (1170-1221), who saw its priority as education and preaching.²⁵² The Friars Minor, or Franciscans, grew out of the conversion undergone by St Francis of Assisi (c. 1181-1226), the son of a wealthy merchant.²⁵³

²⁴⁸ Saak, E. L. *Creating Augustine: interpreting Augustine and Augustinianism in the later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 58-64. See also Melville, G. *The World of Medieval Monasticism: its History and Forms of Life* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Cistercian Publishing, 2016), pp. 256-62; (Andrews, *The Other Friars: the Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages*), pp. 71-98.

²⁴⁹ See Ruether, A., 'From Hermits to Mendicant Friars: Continuity and Change in the Carmelite Order', in *Varieties of Devotion in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. S. C. Karant-Nunn (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 53-59, pp. 53-6; (Andrews, *The Other Friars: the Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages*), pp. 9-21; Jotischky, A. *The Carmelites and Antiquity: Mendicants and their Pasts in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 106-18. Melville emphasizes: 'The beginnings of the Carmelites are poorly documented'. (Melville, *The World of Medieval Monasticism: its History and Forms of Life*), p. 250.

²⁵⁰ (Andrews, *The Other Friars: the Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages*), p. 1.

²⁵¹ (Hinnebusch, *The Dominicans: a Short History*), pp. 5-18.

²⁵² 'The hallmark of education, or, better, the insistence upon the indivisibility of preaching and thorough preparatory training, was impressed upon everything the young order did'. Mulchahey, M. M. *"First the Bow is Bent in Study...": Dominican Education before 1350* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1998), p. 9.

²⁵³ For a full treatment of the early history of the Franciscan Order, see Moorman, J. R. H. *The Franciscans in England* (London: Mowbrays, 1974); Brooke, R. B. *Early Franciscan government: Elias to Bonaventure* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959); (Lambert, *Franciscan poverty: the Doctrine of the Absolute Poverty of Christ and the Apostles in the Franciscan Order 1210-1323*), Robson, M. J. P. *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), Brooke, R. B. *The Image of St Francis: Responses to Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Wolf, K. B. *The Poverty of Riches: St Francis of Assisi Reconsidered* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). For details of the early use of Franciscan *vitae*, see Dalarun, J. *The Misadventures of Francis of Assisi: Towards a Historical Use of the Franciscan Legends* (New York: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2002), and Dalarun, J. *The Rediscovered Life of St. Francis of Assisi* (New York: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2016). The mercantile background to Francis' story is given significance in Hammond, J. M., 'The Economy of Salvation According to Francis of

A persistent complicating factor in primary and secondary material is how to chart beliefs and practices particular to a certain order, as opposed to those encapsulated more generally under the umbrella term 'mendicancy'.²⁵⁴ This lack of clarity has inevitably had unhelpful repercussions in the historiography.²⁵⁵ Evidence survives in primary material of disputes over which mendicant order had the correct pedigree and practice.²⁵⁶ There was also division within individual orders, the bitter split between the Conventual and Spiritual Franciscans being the most devastating, though Dominicans also disagreed over ideals.²⁵⁷

Another rift within the Franciscan Order, also underreported in the historiography, was between Franciscans and female followers of Francis. The latter group was led by the saint's friend, St Clare, and after Francis' death: 'the papacy frequently had to intervene between the friars and nuns as Clare led the fight for her followers' incorporation into the Franciscan order'.²⁵⁸

Assisi', in *Ordo et Sanctitas: The Franciscan Spiritual Journey in Theology and Hagiography: Essays in Honor of J.A. Wayne Hellmann, O.F.M. Conv.*, eds. M. F. Cusato, T. J. Johnson and S. J. McMichael (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 111-136, p. 112.

²⁵⁴ The absence of denominational clarity is shown in a recent article referring to a late thirteenth-century French friar: 'described variously as a Dominican, a Franciscan, or sometimes just as a friar of no specific affiliation'. Negoi, L., 'Ideas of Poverty in late medieval Dominican preaching materials from Catalonia and Aragon', in *Poverty and Devotion in Mendicant Cultures 1200-1450*, eds. C. J. Mews and A. Welch (London: Routledge, 2016), 185-197, p. 186.

²⁵⁵ Holloway, A., 'Performing poverty: the Vices and Virtues of the Order of Preachers', in *ibid.* 151-163, p. 152; (Šenocak, 'The Poor and the Perfect: the Rise of Learning in the Franciscan Order, 1209-1310'), p. 17.

²⁵⁶ In his chronicle, Franciscan Thomas of Eccleston pits Franciscans against Dominicans, see Little, A. G., ed. *Fratrī Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston Tractatus de adventu fratrum minorum in Angliam* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1951), pp. 64, 80-81. Bonaventure wrote a *Letter to an Unknown Master* in response to questions which had been asked following a damning critique of the Friars Minor by a Dominican. See *Epistola de tribus quaestionibus*, Saint Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia VIII* (Quaracchi: Ad Claras Aquas, 1898), pp. 331-336. For other instances of animosity between rival mendicant orders, see (Jarrett, *The English Dominicans*), p. 16; Rex, R. *The Lollards* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), p. 9. For a general introduction to disputes between mendicants, see (Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity: Mendicants and their Pasts in the Middle Ages*), pp. 261-330. For disputes between Carmelites and other mendicants, see (Andrews, *The Other Friars: the Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages*), pp. 19, 27.

²⁵⁷ For a full exploration of the controversy between the Conventual and Spiritual Franciscans, see Burr, D. *The Spiritual Franciscans: from protest to persecution in the century after Saint Francis* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), Burr, D., 'History as Prophecy: Angelo Clareno's Chronicle as a Spiritual Apocalypse', in *Medieval Franciscans, Volume 6: Defenders and Critics of Franciscan Life: Essays in Honor of John V. Fleming*, eds. G. Geltner and M. F. Cusato (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 119-138, and Burr, D., 'Effects of the Spiritual Franciscan Controversy on the Mendicant Ideal', in *The Origin, Development, and Refinement of Medieval Religious Mendicancies*, ed. D. Prudlo (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 277-305. For Dominican disagreements, see Jakobsen, J. G. G., 'Beggars in silky robes and palaces': Dominicans preaching and practising poverty in Medieval Scandinavia', in *Poverty and Devotion in Mendicant Cultures 1200-1450*, eds. C. J. Mews and A. Welch (London: Routledge, 2016), 164-184, p. 177.

²⁵⁸ Knox, L., 'Audacious Nuns: Institutionalizing the Franciscan Order of Saint Clare', *Church History*, 69:1 (2000), 41-62, p. 44. Knox writes: 'Surprisingly, scholars have paid little attention to this conflict', p. 42. See also Mueller, J., 'Female Mendicancy: A Failed Experiment? The Case of St Clare of Assisi', in *The Origin, Development, and Refinement of Medieval Religious Mendicancies*, ed. D. Prudlo (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 59-81,

Evidence survives of members of mendicant orders turning to the Franciscans to explain their own identity and purpose. Dominican Bartholomew of Bolsenheim defined mendicant poverty using a quote from the Franciscan Rule, adding: 'in the same way St Dominic taught his friars'.²⁵⁹ Carmelite Richard Maidstone turned to Bonaventure's *Apologia Pauperum* to explain Carmelite poverty.²⁶⁰ Disputes between mendicants could also become intermingled with defenses of mendicancy, Christopher Ocker noting that criticisms of FitzRalph by the Augustinian friar Johannes Klenkok became muddled with Klenkok's own attacks on a Carmelite friar.²⁶¹

Yet amongst acknowledged historiographical perplexity about mendicant identity, there has been a notable disinterest in turning to antimendicant texts for information.²⁶² A.G. Little acknowledged back in 1910 that the works of the mendicants are far better known than those of their opponents.²⁶³ He noted that a reluctance to focus on the negative ramifications of the mendicants is not a modern phenomenon, observing that Pecham's *Tractatus Pauperis* contained no reference to disputes between seculars and mendicants in the University of Paris, events which had prompted the tract's own composition.²⁶⁴ Similarly the chronicle of Franciscan Thomas of

especially pp. 65-68. Another perspective on female Franciscanism can be seen in the life of the sister of Louis IX, Isabelle of France, where a recent biographer argues: 'Isabelle of France's collaboration with leading Franciscans on her own rule only a few years later [than Clare] is of comparable interest, but it has not received the scrutiny that modern scholars have accorded to Clare'. Field, S. L. *Isabelle of France: Capetian Sanctity and Franciscan Identity in the Thirteenth Century* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), p. 62.

²⁵⁹ 'Eodem modo sanctus Dominicus docuit fratres suos'. (Meersseman, *La défense des ordres mendiants contre Richard Fitz Ralph, par Barthélemy de Bolsenheim O. P. (1357)*), p. 157. William Campbell writes: 'it is extremely rare to find any traces of differences between the Franciscan and Dominican orders reflected in their thirteenth-century *pastoralia*'. Campbell, W. H. *The Landscape of Pastoral Care in Thirteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 63. Yet Dominican scholar Jones offers a contrary view, see fn. 357.

²⁶⁰ (Scase, 'Piers Plowman' and the New Anti-clericalism), p. 50. For the *Apologia Pauperum*, see (Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia VIII*), pp. 233-330.

²⁶¹ (Ocker, *Johannes Klenkok: A Friar's Life, c.1310-1374*), pp. 40-1.

²⁶² It should be noted that both that the texts cited in the previous paragraph are explanations triggered by the mendicant controversy.

²⁶³ (Little, *Selections from Pecham's Tractatus Pauperis or De Perfectione Evangelica*), p. 14. Sita Steckel notes: 'research narratives which somehow always managed to marginalize resistance against the mendicants'. (Steckel, *Narratives of Resistance: Arguments against the Mendicants in the Works of Matthew Paris and William of Saint-Amour*), p. 159.

²⁶⁴ (Little, *Selections from Pecham's Tractatus Pauperis or De Perfectione Evangelica*), p. 19.

Eccleston, recounting a history of the decades following the arrival of the Franciscans to England, contains 'no hint whatever of any antagonism between monks and friars'.²⁶⁵

Historians struggle to reconcile the language of mendicancy with the actual activities of the mendicants.²⁶⁶ A commonplace narrative is that mendicants were defined by their practice of begging.²⁶⁷ Yet primary evidence sometimes suggests otherwise. Thomas of Eccleston's chronicle recounts a request by a Franciscan brother Haymo of Faversham (d. c. 1243) that new sites for the expanding order should be sufficiently large to enable friars to work to support themselves rather than be obliged to beg.²⁶⁸ The earliest Carmelite rule required work, citing the injunction from St Paul that 'those who will not work cannot eat', and even specifying that no layman be accepted into the order unless they had a trade (*ars mechanica*).²⁶⁹

The concept of 'wilful begging' was not promoted by Francis in his Rule or Testament.²⁷⁰ Bonaventure explained in his *Disputed Questions on Evangelical Perfection* that Francis

²⁶⁵ Salter, E. G. *The Coming of the Friars Minor to England & Germany: Being the Chronicles of Brother Thomas of Eccleston and Brother Jordan of Giano* (London: J. M. Dent, 1926), p. xxviii. See fn. 214 for an example of Benedictine criticism of the mendicants.

²⁶⁶ "This word "mendicancy" seems easy to define, but it could be seen in several ways. At the narrow end of the definition we have "mendicancy" as begging. At the wide end, we have "mendicancy" as shorthand for that life characteristic of the mendicant orders'. (Burr, *Effects of the Spiritual Franciscan Controversy on the Mendicant Ideal*), p. 279. See also Prudlo, D., 'Mendicancy Among the Early Saints of the Begging Orders', in *ibid.* 85-116, pp. 90, 97; Lappin, A. J., 'From Osma to Bologna, from Canons to Friars, from the Preaching to the Preachers: the Dominican Path Towards Mendicancy', in *ibid.* 31-58, pp. 31, 43. Andrews has summed up conflicting views by modern historians on the nature of Carmelite mendicancy, (Andrews, *The Other Friars: the Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages*), p. 16.

²⁶⁷ '[T]he friars enjoyed much success and popular good will by refusing to accept endowments and instead living as beggars'. Dyer, C. *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c.1200-1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 236.

²⁶⁸ '*ut habere possent pulmentaria domi, quam ab aliis ea mendicarent*'. As reproduced in (Little, *Fratris Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston Tractatus de adventu fratrum minorum in Angliam*), pp. 44-45. Eccleston also chooses to mention a certain friar recounting a conversation with Robert Grosseteste in which the archbishop had explained that living by one's own labour was a more holy state than begging, *ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

²⁶⁹ (Andrews, *The Other Friars: the Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages*), pp. 12, 20. (2 Thessalonians 3:10)

²⁷⁰ For the Rule, see Armstrong, R. J. and Brady, I. C., eds. *Francis and Clare: the Complete Works* (London: SPCK, 1982), pp. 137-145. For the Testament, see Esser, K., ed. *Die Opuscula des hl. Franziskus von Assisi* (Grottaferrata: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, 1976), pp. 438-444. Cusato adds: 'begging was *not* of the essence of minorite identity or praxis within the early Franciscan fraternity'. Cusato, M., 'Alms-Asking and Alms-Giving as Social Commentary and Social Remedy', in *The Rule of the Friars Minor: 1209-2009: Historical Perspectives, Lived Realities*, ed. M. Cusato (New York: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2010), 59-79, p. 60.

confirmed the importance of begging by his posthumous miracles.²⁷¹ Bonaventure's own rationalization for why begging did not feature among early Franciscans is that they were not engaged in ecclesiastical occupations.²⁷²

Bonaventure did not attempt to explain mendicancy, contending in his *Disputed Questions on Evangelical Perfection* that people beg for three reasons: 'out of a necessity of nature' citing the biblical beggar Lazarus; 'from the corruption of sin'; or 'when someone begs as a way of imitating Christ or proclaiming the Gospel of Christ or both'.²⁷³ It is this third manner of begging which 'pertains to evangelical perfection'.²⁷⁴

Bonaventure also distinguished between a 'heavenly beggar' and 'an avaricious and earthly beggar, whose begging arises out of the corruption of sin'.²⁷⁵ His *Apologia Pauperum* contains a 'relatively brief treatment of the begging or mendicancy of the friars minor'.²⁷⁶ In this text, Bonaventure sets out not three but five types of begging: from calamity (for which the exemplar is the biblical Lazarus), cupidity, sloth, or from industriousness when a poor person is engaged in study, and finally from righteousness when someone chooses of their own free will to be poor.²⁷⁷

There continues to be disagreement among scholars as to what was signalled by mendicant references to poverty.²⁷⁸ Michel Mollat positioned mendicant poverty positively: 'the work of Dominic and Francis on behalf of the poor proved more successful than that of any of

²⁷¹ Saint Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia V* (Quaracchi: Ad Claras Aquas, 1891), pp. 138-9. (For an English Translation, see Karris, R. J., ed. *Works on St. Bonaventure: Disputed Questions on Evangelical Perfection, XIII* (New York: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2008), p. 102.

²⁷² (Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia V*), p. 154. Franciscan scholar David Flood imagines how this would have worked in practice, Flood, D., 'The Early Franciscans at Work as a State of Nature Argument', in *The Rule of the Friars Minor: 1209-2009: Historical Perspectives, Lived Realities*, ed. M. Cusato (New York: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2010), 45-57, pp. 46-8.

²⁷³ (Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia V*), p. 140.

²⁷⁴ '*est perfectionis evangelicae*'. Ibid., p. 140.

²⁷⁵ '*pauper evangelicus...sed potius cupidus et terrestris, qui mendicat ex vitiositate culpae*'. Ibid., p. 144.

²⁷⁶ de Vink, J. and Karris, R. J., eds. *Defense of the Mendicants (Bonaventure Texts in Translation Series, Volume XV)* (New York: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2010), p. 4.

²⁷⁷ (Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia VIII*), pp. 324-5.

²⁷⁸ For a helpful summation of divergent historiographical views on Bonaventure's 'repositioning' of Franciscan poverty, see (Hughes, *Bonaventure's Defense of Mendicancy*), pp. 511-3.

their predecessors'.²⁷⁹ More recent studies, however, focus on the almost immediate erasure of concepts of material poverty within 'Franciscan consciousness'.²⁸⁰ In *Apologia Pauperum*, Bonaventure did define 'the nature of evangelical poverty' as 'a virtue by which a person renounces temporal goods and by which a person possessing nothing of his own is sustained by things that are not his own'.²⁸¹ These are 'two kinds of perfect profession of poverty'.²⁸² Socio-economic poverty is not similarly explored, though Bonaventure provided a definition for voluntary poverty: 'freely chosen poverty which demands a high degree of self-denial is fundamental to evangelical perfection'.²⁸³

Divergent views persisted among mendicants, Franciscan John Pecham writing a tract against Dominican Robert Kilwardby on the two rival orders' differing views of poverty.²⁸⁴ There is uncertainty as to how poverty operated for Dominicans, John Jones observing: 'a systematic ambiguity in Thomas [of Aquinas]'s defense of mendicant poverty'.²⁸⁵ One brief section of the *Summa Theologiae* discussed the type of poverty held by Christ, concluding that Christ held praiseworthy voluntary poverty, not to be confused with involuntary begging which leads to theft

²⁷⁹ (Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History*), p. 119.

²⁸⁰ Cusato, M. F., 'Mercy Evanescent: Thomas of Celano's Rewrite of the Encounter of Francis with the Leper (2 Celano 9)', in *Ordo et Sanctitas: The Franciscan Spiritual Journey in Theology and Hagiography: Essays in Honor of J.A. Wayne Hellmann, O.F.M. Conv.*, eds. M. F. Cusato, T. J. Johnson and S. J. McMichael (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 66-89, p. 89. See also (Dalarun, *The Rediscovered Life of St. Francis of Assisi*), pp. xvi-xvii; Lesnick, D. R. *Preaching in medieval Florence: the Social World of Franciscan and Dominican Spirituality* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989), p. 146; Freedman, P. *Images of the Medieval Peasant* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), p. 9; (Hanska, *And the Rich Man also died; and He was buried in hell: The Social Ethos in Mendicant Sermons*), p. 60.

²⁸¹ 'quod ipsa sit virtus temporalium abdicativa bonorum, qua quis, nil proprium habens, sustentatur did non suo'. (Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia VIII*), p. 273. The English translation is from (de Vink and Karris, *Defense of the Mendicants (Bonaventure Texts in Translation Series, Volume XV)*), pp. 178.

²⁸² (Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia VIII*), p. 273.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 272-86.

²⁸⁴ See Kingsford, C. L., Little, A. G. and Tocco, F., eds. *Fratris Johannis Pecham: Tractatus Tres de Paupertate* (Aberdoniae: Typis Academicis, 1910), pp. 121-47.

²⁸⁵ Jones, J. D., 'St. Thomas Aquinas and the Defense of Mendicant Poverty', *Proceedings of the American Catholic Philosophical Association*, 70 (1996), 179-192, p. 179
See also (Lappin, *From Osmia to Bologna, from Canons to Friars, from the Preaching to the Preachers: the Dominican Path Towards Mendicancy*), pp. 52-3; Eijnden, J. G. J. v. d. *Poverty on the way to God: Thomas Aquinas on Evangelical Poverty* (Leuven: Peeters, 1994), p. 30.

and perjury.²⁸⁶ Aquinas did however excuse theft if the necessity was great.²⁸⁷ Aquinas defined poverty more generally as 'the total privation of property'.²⁸⁸

Scholars agree further research is needed to understand Dominican poverty.²⁸⁹ Johnny Jakobsen makes an interesting point: 'no study has as yet taken a combined look at the poverty preached and practised by the Dominican Order, possibly because mendicant sermons and practical mendicant policy often attract different schools of scholars'.²⁹⁰

Mendicant explanations of poverty are often determined to be opaque.²⁹¹ Amanda Power partly attributes a lack of knowledge on the part of historians to a dearth of research into this crucial area.²⁹² Yet rhetorical defenses are frequently removed from their context and treated as neutral theology. This seems particularly to be the case for Bonaventure's *Disputed Questions on Evangelical Perfection*, a response to William of St Amour's *De Periculis*, and his *Apologia*

²⁸⁶ ST III, q.40, a.3. See also (Prudlo, *Mendicancy Among the Early Saints of the Begging Orders*), p. 115.

²⁸⁷ ST II-II, q.66, a.7. For a summary of the rights of the poor in times of necessity from the writings of the Patristic theologians until the twelfth-century canonists, see Couvreur, G. *Les pauvres ont-ils des droits? Recherches sur le vol en cas d'extrême nécessité depuis la Concordia de Gratien (1140) jusqu'à Guillaume d'Auxerre (1231)* (Roma: Libreria editrice dell'Università Gregoriana, 1961), pp. 91-106.

²⁸⁸ 'privatio omnino facultatibus'. ST II-II, q.188, a.7. Jones adds: 'I do not believe that Aquinas offered a single and consistent treatment of poverty over the course of his career'. Jones, J. D., ed. *Hervaeus, Natalis: The Poverty of Christ and the Apostles* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1999), p. 17.

²⁸⁹ Jones edited Hervaeus Natalis's tract, *The Poverty of Christ and the Apostles*, which he describes as 'a principal Dominican treatise on poverty'. Yet Jones understands the text's discussions on 'the practice of poverty' to concern the renunciation of goods and property, not the mechanics or reality of material poverty. See *ibid.*, p. 7. See also the unpaginated Foreword.

²⁹⁰ (Jakobsen, 'Beggars in silky robes and palaces': Dominicans preaching and practising poverty in Medieval Scandinavia), p. 165. See also Holloway, A., 'Performing poverty: the Vices and Virtues of the Order of Preachers', in *ibid.* 151-163, p. 151.

²⁹¹ 'Bonaventure made a number of explicatory, or accommodating, distinctions with respect to poverty which were, at the least, unclear and unexplored in the early Franciscan *regulae*.' Condren, C., 'Rhetoric, Historiography and Political Theory: Some Aspects of the Poverty Controversy Reconsidered', *Journal of Religious History*, 13:1 (1984), 15-34, p. 17. See also Gál, G. and Flood, D., eds. *Nicolaus Minorita, Chronica. Documentation on Pope John XXII, Michael of Cesena and the Poverty of Christ, with Summaries in English. A Source Book* (St. Bonaventure, N.Y.: Franciscan Institute Publications, 1996), pp. 2-4. See also Cusato, M., 'Talking about Ourselves: The Shift in Franciscan Writing from Hagiography to History (1235-1247)', *Franciscan Studies*, 58 (2000), 37-75, p. 42; (Lambert, *Franciscan poverty: the Doctrine of the Absolute Poverty of Christ and the Apostles in the Franciscan Order 1210-1323*), p. xiii; (Burr, *Effects of the Spiritual Franciscan Controversy on the Mendicant Ideal*), p. 302; Mews, C. J., 'Apostolic Ideals in the Mendicant Transformation of the Thirteenth Century: from *sine proprio* to Holy Poverty', in *Poverty and Devotion in Mendicant Cultures 1200-1450*, eds. C. J. Mews and A. Welch (London: Routledge, 2016), 1-31, p. 23.

²⁹² '[T]he solid support of the friars for secular lordship and their sanction, even pursuit, of a social order characterized by acute inequalities and exclusions is rarely investigated by historians'. Power, A., 'The Friars in Secular and Ecclesiastical Governance, 1224-ca. 1259', in *The English Province of the Franciscans (1224-c.1350)*, ed. M. Robson (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 28-45, pp. 32-3.

Pauperum, a reply to *Contra adversarium perfectionis christianae*, written by another Parisian critic, Gerard of Abbeville.²⁹³ Pecham's *Tractatum Pauperis* was also response to *De Periculis*.²⁹⁴ Returned to their historical environments *within the context of antimendicant debate*, a clarity emerges within these texts.²⁹⁵ Woodford's justifications in the *Defensorium* make sense when placed alongside FitzRalph's criticisms.

Special terms were constructed by Franciscans to explain themselves, two such examples being 'perfect poverty' and 'evangelical perfection', which were then adopted by mendicants generally.²⁹⁶ Lawrence Clopper locates the origin of 'perfect poverty' as: 'a phrase that the Four Masters [Franciscans Alexander of Hales, John of La Rochelle, Robert of Bascia, and Odo Rigaldus] introduced...to describe the special poverty of the Friars Minor'.²⁹⁷ Lapsanski identifies another semantic creation, noting: 'throughout these early Franciscan sources "evangelical perfection" remained a very fluid term'.²⁹⁸ Yet shifts in these underlying meanings tend to be under-reported historiographically.²⁹⁹

²⁹³ For example, see the section on 'Theology and Bonaventure' in the recently published Cusato, M. F., Johnson, T. J. and McMichael, S. J., eds. *Ordo et Sanctitas: The Franciscan Spiritual Journey in Theology and Hagiography: Essays in Honor of J.A. Wayne Hellmann, O.F.M. Conv.* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 91-248. For Gerard of Abbeville, see Rouse, M. A. and Rouse, R. H., 'Expenses of a Mid Thirteenth-Century Paris Scholar: Gerard of Abbeville', in *Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Margaret Gibson*, eds. L. Smith and B. Ward (London: Hambledon, 1992), 207-226. One recent article does position Bonaventure's *Disputed Questions* squarely within the Mendicant controversy. (Hughes, Bonaventure's Defense of Mendicancy), p. 513.

²⁹⁴ (Little, Selections from Pecham's *Tractatus Pauperis* or *De Perfectione Evangelica*).

²⁹⁵ Rather than drawing an analytical conclusion from the omission, Lapsanski regrettably concedes that Thomas of Eccleston did not refer to 'evangelical perfection' in his Chronicle recounting the arrival of the friars in England. Lapsanski, D. V. *Evangelical Perfection: An Historical Examination of the Concept in the Early Franciscan Sources* (New York: Franciscan Institute, 1977), p. 284.

²⁹⁶ (Clopper, *Songes of Rechelesnesse: Langland and the Franciscans*), p. 11. See also (Lapsanski, *Evangelical Perfection: An Historical Examination of the Concept in the Early Franciscan Sources*), pp. 172-173, 284.

²⁹⁷ (Clopper, *Songes of Rechelesnesse: Langland and the Franciscans*), p. 11. Lapsanski adds they: 'wrote not so much like theologians describing the ideals of the Franciscan life, but rather like lawyers, who, steeped in civil and canon law, define their terms clearly and propose needed distinctions in order to resolve the controversial issues at hand'. (Lapsanski, *Evangelical Perfection: An Historical Examination of the Concept in the Early Franciscan Sources*), p. 172. Lapsanski lists other Franciscan phrases created to confer meaning: 'to live according to the form of the holy Gospel', 'to observe the Gospel', 'to follow in the footsteps of Christ', 'apostolic life', and finally 'life according to the form of the early Church'. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

²⁹⁸ (Lapsanski, *Evangelical Perfection: An Historical Examination of the Concept in the Early Franciscan Sources*), p. 289.

²⁹⁹ Richard Rex applies 'the doctrine of "evangelical poverty"', as if it were a generic theological description, without acknowledging its rhetorically-charged origins. (Rex, *The Lollards*), p. 7.

On occasion scholarly analysis, rather than bringing clarification, risks unintended obscurantism; polemical terms are applied generally and categorically, their particular ontologies overlooked.³⁰⁰ Thus for example, Dinah Hazell applies 'apostolic poverty' and 'voluntary poverty' as almost synonymous terms, her distinction being that 'apostolic poverty' related only to the clergy.³⁰¹ Leaving aside the degree to which 'apostolic poverty' movements might encompass the laity (the Waldensians being an obvious example), such historiographical placing demonstrates that specific terms can become misleading when treated as interchangeable descriptors.³⁰²

A Mendicant Imitation of Christ

The interpretative challenge posed by the claim of St Francis to imitate Christ is openly acknowledged by many historians.³⁰³ Scholars highlight the novelty of Franciscan understandings of the saint's way of imitation, which were 'without parallel', 'vaguely blasphemous', and even 'insulting' when placed alongside previously accepted modes of imitation.³⁰⁴ Brian Tierney emphasizes a 'curious reversal' whereby depictions of Francis as one 'who imitated perfectly the

³⁰⁰ One scholar sums up Bonaventure's textual contributions to the mendicant controversy as 'defending the practice of voluntary apostolic poverty'. (Hughes, *Bonaventure's Defense of Mendicancy*), p. 519. Yet another distinguishes between voluntary poverty and apostolic poverty: 'the early Dominicans maintained a cautious distance from true apostolic poverty, while at the same time embracing voluntary poverty as part of their preaching'. (Holloway, *Performing poverty: the Vices and Virtues of the Order of Preachers*), p. 159.

³⁰¹ Introducing the chapter she entitles 'Apostolic Poverty', Hazell continues: 'This chapter might also be entitled "Voluntary poverty" which would have the advantage of encompassing lay groups and individuals who chose a life of poverty. "Apostolic poverty" was associated with the clergy, particularly the orders, and had broad meaning and consequences'. Hazell, D. *Poverty in Late Middle English Literature: the Meene and the Riche* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009), p. 130.

³⁰² On Waldensians as a lay movement, see Biller, P., '*Multum Ieiunantes et se Castigantes: Medieval Waldensian Asceticism*', in *Monks, Hermits and the Ascetic Tradition: Papers read at the 1984 Summer Meeting and the 1985 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. W. J. Sheils (Oxford: Published by Basil Blackwell for the Ecclesiastical History Society, 1985), 215-228, pp. 226-7. On the lay spirituality of Beguines, see Simons, W., 'On the Margins of Religious Life: Hermits and Recluses, Penitents and Tertiaries, Beguines and Beghards', in *Christianity in Western Europe, c.1100-c.1500*, eds. M. Rubin and W. Simons (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 311-323, p. 320.

³⁰³ Lester Little explains: 'the component parts of [Francis'] spirituality were not new to him, whereas the totality of them in a single individual was new'. Little, L. K., '*Imitatio Francisci: The Influence of Francis of Assisi on Late Medieval Religious Life*', in *Defenders and Critics of Franciscan Life: Essays in Honor of John V. Fleming*, eds. M. F. Cusato and G. Geltner (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 195-218, p. 196.

³⁰⁴ See *ibid.*, p. 195; (Prudlo, *Mendicancy Among the Early Saints of the Begging Orders*), p. 88; (Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: from protest to persecution in the century after Saint Francis*), p. 263; Leff, G., 'The Bible and Rights in the Franciscan Disputes over Poverty', in *The Bible in the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley*, eds. K. Walsh and D. Wood (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), 225-235, p. 226.

life of Christ' led to altered understandings about Christ.³⁰⁵ Jacques Dalarun sees Francis as: 'the most problematic of the Catholic Church's official saints'.³⁰⁶

The highly constructed nature of the identity of Francis is known to historians.³⁰⁷ This pattern of construction is commonly accepted to have begun with the saint himself.³⁰⁸ His 'Earlier Rule' of 1209 or 1210, which did not receive papal approval, begins with the assertion: 'This is the life of the Gospel of Jesus Christ'.³⁰⁹ The later Rule, which Pope Honorius III endorsed in 1223 in the papal bull *Solet Annuere*, and which became the official Franciscan Rule, does not include this bold declaration.³¹⁰

Scholars agree that Franciscan texts require a singular type of interpretation.³¹¹ The Franciscan capacity for retrospective re-invention is broadly known and tends to be unquestioned within the corpus of modern scholarly works discussing the friars.³¹² Yet that point notwithstanding, descriptions by Franciscan specialists seem frequently to position Francis

³⁰⁵ (Tierney, *The Idea of Natural Rights: Studies on Natural Rights, Natural Law, and Church Law, 1150-1625*), p. 149. Giles Constable stressed: 'Patristic texts concerning the imitation of Christ, or following Him, come from a thought-world very different from that of the Middle Ages.' (Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought*), p. 147.

³⁰⁶ (Dalarun, *The Misadventures of Francis of Assisi: Towards a Historical Use of the Franciscan Legends*), p. 21. See also the section, 'Modern Scholarship on Francis' in Thompson, A. *Francis of Assisi: A New Biography* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), pp. 155-61.

³⁰⁷ Eamon Duffy sees Francis as: 'the most carefully constructed of all the saints of Christendom'. Duffy, E., 'Finding St Francis: Early Images, Early Lives', in *Medieval Theology and the Natural Body*, eds. P. Biller and A. Minnis (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1997), 193-236, p. 193. See also (Wolf, *The Poverty of Riches: St Francis of Assisi Reconsidered*), p.3; Bartlett, R. *Why Can the Dead do Such Great Things?: Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), p. 67.

³⁰⁸ See (Lambert, *Franciscan poverty: the Doctrine of the Absolute Poverty of Christ and the Apostles in the Franciscan Order 1210-1323*), p. 32; (Brooke, *The Image of St Francis: Responses to Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century*), p. 24.

³⁰⁹ (Armstrong and Brady, *Francis and Clare: the Complete Works*), p. 108. For a complete text of the Earlier Rule, see pp. 108-35.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 137-45.

³¹¹ Jacques Dalarun explains Franciscan texts: 'have very special rules of their own.' (Dalarun, *The Misadventures of Francis of Assisi: Towards a Historical Use of the Franciscan Legends*), p. 21-22. See also (Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect: the Rise of Learning in the Franciscan Order, 1209-1310*), p. 16.

³¹² Discussing the posthumous repositioning of King Louis of France (1214-1270) as a quasi-mendicant saint for his life of 'poverty and humility', one Franciscan specialist acknowledges: 'The ways in which the Franciscans saw fit to memorialize Louis thus speaks to the strategies Franciscans used for interpreting the past in ways that valorized the present'. (Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the later Middle Ages*), p. 156.

ahistorically, downplaying the contemporary innovation of his method of imitating Christ, and overlooking the degree to which the saint was himself refashioned by successive generations.³¹³

Augustine Thompson signals the fusion of past and present within scholarly writing: 'this extraordinary and miraculous Francis remains very much alive among modern devotional writers....he stands alone, somehow disconnected from his place and time, transcending historical categories'.³¹⁴ Concern was expressed in a recent review of Giorgio Agamben's *The Highest Poverty: Monastic Rules and Form-of-Life*, the reviewer identifying: 'a troubling element to Agamben's work - his insistence that the Franciscans achieved the greatest proximity to the perfect form-of-life'.³¹⁵ A refashioning to suit 'new circumstances' was signalled in a review of the recent *Companion to St Francis of Assisi*, where contributions were criticized for not avoiding: 'the pitfall of anachronistically projecting modern religious, ecological, and interreligious concerns onto the saint and his first followers'.³¹⁶

Perhaps the most extreme example of a positioning of Francis as being 'conformed' to Christ is by Bartholomew of Pisa (d. c. 1401), *On the Conformities of the life of the Blessed Francis with the Life of the Lord Jesus*.³¹⁷ This work is not another *vita* but an explanation of how Francis was a type of Christ (*Iesu typice*), as Bartholomew puts it.³¹⁸

³¹³ '[T]he secret of Francis' life and personality can therefore be stated in these simple terms: he trod the same path that Christ trod'. (Lapsanski, *Evangelical Perfection: An Historical Examination of the Concept in the Early Franciscan Sources*), p. 136.

³¹⁴ (Thompson, *Francis of Assisi: A New Biography*), p. 153.

³¹⁵ Campbell, J., 'Review of Giorgio Agamben, *The Highest Poverty: Monastic Rules and Form-of-Life* (Stanford, 2013)', *Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies*, 4 (2015), 215-216, p. 216.

³¹⁶ Ó Clabaigh, C., 'Review of Michael J. P. ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Francis of Assisi* (CUP, 2012)', *Speculum*, 89:3 (2014), 820-821, p. 820.

³¹⁷ Bartholomew of Pisa, 'De Conformitate Vitae Beati Francisci ad Vitam Domini Iesu nostri Redemptoris', in *Analecta Franciscana, sive, Chronica aliaque varia decumenta ad historiam Fratrum minorum spectantia*, iv (Ad Claras Aquas: Quaracchi, 1906).

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 18. In this way Bartholomew is following a model established with the first Christian biographies of saints. According to one scholar, the text 'exalts Francis, by means of biographical comparisons with Jesus, to a level of suprahuman similarity to him'. Erickson, C., 'Bartholomew of Pisa, Francis Exalted: De Conformitate', *Mediaeval Studies*, 34 (1972), 253-274, p. 254. As one scholar puts it: 'By mimicking the textual features of Scripture, by proving themselves consistent with it, late-antique Christian biography might usurp some of that authority for itself'. (Williams, *Authorised Lives in Early Christian Biography: Between Eusebius and Augustine*), p. 206.

Bonaventure used the concept of mendicant novelty to his theological advantage in his *Expositio super Regulam*, arguing that the mendicants were renovating the Church.³¹⁹ In the section dealing with the question of poverty his *Disputed Questions on Evangelical Perfection*, he argued for three ages of the church, the third and final age being one where God 'has introduced men who beg voluntarily and are poor in worldly things'.³²⁰ In an interesting contrast, the Carmelite Richard Maidstone (d. 1396), positioned the begging of the mendicant friars not as a recent innovation but in keeping with the instructions of earlier Church fathers.³²¹

Bonaventure wrote *Disputed Questions on the Knowledge of Christ*, breaking the subject down into seven questions for discussion.³²² He acknowledged the challenge of reconciling the practice of begging with the scriptural portrait of Christ in his *Disputed Questions on Evangelical Perfection*: 'why will we not admit that Christ petitioned as a beggar? For we admit that he was a virgin and did not have a wife, although Scripture makes no mention of these'.³²³ Yet contemporary theological challenges to mendicant re-statements of how Christ ought to be imitated seem not to be part of the historiographical apparatus, the topic more routinely assigned to lollard or pre-Reformation protest.³²⁴

³¹⁹ (Bonaventure, Opera Omnia VIII), p. 393. Bonaventure also made this argument in his 1268 treatise *De septem donis Spiritus sancti*. See (Bonaventure, Opera Omnia V), p. 492, as cited in: Smalley, B., 'Ecclesiastical Attitudes to Novelty, c. 1100-c. 1250', in *Church, Society and Politics: Papers read at the Thirteenth Summer Meeting and the Fourteenth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. D. Baker (Oxford: Published for the Ecclesiastical History Society by Basil Blackwell, 1975), 113-131, pp. 115-6.

³²⁰ (Bonaventure, Opera Omnia V), p. 148.

³²¹ Oxford, MS Bodley 86, fols. 162^r-162^v, reprinted in (Williams, *Protectorium pauperis*, a Defense of the Begging Friars by Richard of Maidstone), pp. 140-2.

³²² (Bonaventure, Opera Omnia V), pp. 3-43. For more on this see Speer, A., 'The Certainty and Scope of Knowledge: Bonaventure's *Disputed Questions on the Knowledge of Christ*', *Medieval Philosophy and Theology*, 3 (1993), 35-61, pp. 38-41.

³²³ (Bonaventure, Opera Omnia V), p. 150. Translation by (Karris, Works on St. Bonaventure: Disputed Questions on Evangelical Perfection), p. 142.

³²⁴ 'Outside of history, the main continuing interest of *De pauperie Salvatoris* lies in the fields of political and legal theory, now that theology and ecclesiology have abandoned the central concerns which are its subject'. (Haren, Richard FitzRalph and the Franciscans: Poverty, Privileges, Polemic, 1356-1359), p. 386. On lollard understandings of following Christ, see the section on 'Autohagiography' in (Somerset, Feeling like Saints: Lollard Writings after Wyclif), pp. 152-9. For a traditionally orthodox understanding of medieval imitation, see (Duffy, The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400-c.1580), pp. 52, 234-6. See also (Von Habsburg, Catholic and Protestant Translations of the *Imitatio Christi*, 1425-1650: from Late Medieval Classic to Early Modern Bestseller).

Mendicant Vita Apostolica

In the Franciscan Rule, apostolic association is made, but not overtly, and Francis' Testament is marked by an absence of apostolic fashioning.³²⁵ Early Dominican *vitae* of Francis were reticent about framing the saint as following an apostolic life, a stance exemplified in the writings of Dominican Vincent of Beauvais.³²⁶ James Dawson emphasizes: 'for a long time [mendicants] avoided the phrase *vita apostolica* because of its associations with traditional monasticism'.³²⁷ Yet historians often use the concept of a return to the apostolic life as a convenient explanation to fill explanatory and symbolic gaps in the primary material.³²⁸

A commonplace accompaniment to this positioning is that the 'apostolic ideal of poverty' was habitually redefined and reinvoked in the medieval church.³²⁹ What this might actually mean is seldom articulated, yet an assumption persists that poverty was an essential component of apostolic identity.³³⁰ Cusato draws attention to a lack of primary evidence to support this theory, and others emphasize that poverty was not always a prominent feature in reform movements.³³¹

³²⁵ For the text of the Testament, see (Esser, *Die Opuscula des hl. Franziskus von Assisi*), pp. 438-44. Lapsanski has drawn reluctant attention to this lack within the saint's declarations. (Lapsanski, *Evangelical Perfection: An Historical Examination of the Concept in the Early Franciscan Sources*), pp. 275, 287. See also (Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect: the Rise of Learning in the Franciscan Order, 1209-1310*), p. 39.

³²⁶ Vincent of Beauvais 30:98, as quoted in Trembinski, D., '*Non alter Christus*: Early Dominican Lives of Saint Francis', *Franciscan Studies*, 63 (2005), 69-105, p. 77.

³²⁷ Dawson, J. D., 'William of Saint-Amour and the Apostolic Tradition', *Mediaeval Studies*, 40 (1978), 223-238, p. 231.

³²⁸ See (Lambert, *Franciscan poverty: the Doctrine of the Absolute Poverty of Christ and the Apostles in the Franciscan Order 1210-1323*), p. 57; (Szittyá, *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature*), p. 42; (Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect: the Rise of Learning in the Franciscan Order, 1209-1310*) p. 25; (Mews, *Apostolic Ideals in the Mendicant Transformation of the Thirteenth Century: from sine proprio to Holy Poverty*), p. 20; (Lappin, *From Osma to Bologna, from Canons to Friars, from the Preaching to the Preachers: the Dominican Path Towards Mendicancy*), p. 56.

³²⁹ 'Beyond the religious houses of established orders, lay people and dissident groups also venerated and debated the apostolic ideal of poverty'. Kienzle, B. M., 'Religious Poverty and the Search for Perfection', in *Christianity in Western Europe, c.1100-c.1500*, eds. M. Rubin and W. Simons (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 39-53, p. 40.

³³⁰ '[T]wo concepts, the demand for Christian, evangelical poverty, as well as for apostolic life and work, became the foci of a new conception of the essence of Christianity.' Grundmann, H. *Religious movements in the Middle Ages: the Historical Links between Heresy, the Mendicant Orders, and the Women's Religious Movement in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century, with the Historical Foundations of German Mysticism* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), p.8. See also Leff, G. *Heresy in the later Middle Ages: the Relation of Heterodoxy to Dissent, c. 1250-c. 1450*, 2 vols, 2 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967), p. 8; Bolton, B., 'The Poverty of the Humiliati', in *Poverty in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Flood (Werl/Westf.: Dietrich-Coelde-Verlag, 1975), 52-59, p. 59.

³³¹ Cusato, M., 'Poverty', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Philosophy*, ed. R. Pasnau (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 577-592, p. 586.

For instance, sources indicate the degree to which material poverty was discouraged within Cistercian communities, and also among Beguines.³³²

An automatic assumption that mendicancy encapsulated a return to the apostolic life overlooks the fact that critics of the mendicants turned to apostolic models to reinforce their arguments, as illustrated in the criticisms of William of St Amour and Pope John XXII.³³³ Marie-Dominique Chenu referred to the 'myth' of apostleship during the so-called 'evangelical revival' of the twelfth century.³³⁴ Marcia Colish points to the writings of that century's Laon masters, who frequently saw the church's past as something to move away from, not return to.³³⁵

The use by historians of the blanket term 'apostolic poverty' as a form of shorthand to sum up or signpost a mendicant approach to poverty is further undermined by disagreements within primary material. For example, Franciscan John Pecham and Dominican Robert Kilwardby disagreed over the types of resources the biblical apostles were operating with.³³⁶

³³² For Cistercian attitudes, see Mayr-Harting, H. *Religion, politics and society in Britain, 1066-1272* (Harlow: Longman, 2011), p. 149; and (Lappin, From Osma to Bologna, from Canons to Friars, from the Preaching to the Preachers: the Dominican Path Towards Mendicancy), p. 35. For a Beguine emphasis on labour, see McDonnell, E. W., 'The "Vita Apostolica": Diversity or Dissent', *Church History*, 24, No. 1 (1955), 15-31, p. 28.

³³³ Brunner, M., 'Papal Interventions in Mendicant Organisation', in *Franciscan Organisation in the Mendicant Context: Formal and Informal Structures of the Friars' Lives and Ministry in the Middle Ages*, eds. M. J. P. Robson and J. Röhrkasten (Berlin: Lit, 2010), 353-375, p. 365. See also (Condren, Rhetoric, Historiography and Political Theory: Some Aspects of the Poverty Controversy Reconsidered), p. 21. See also Kruse, J. V., 'When Forever Doesn't Mean Forever: Contemporary Insights into the Modern Understanding of Papal Teaching Gained from the Popes of the Franciscan Poverty Controversy', in *Ordo et Sanctitas: The Franciscan Spiritual Journey in Theology and Hagiography: Essays in Honor of J.A. Wayne Hellmann, O.F.M. Conv.*, eds. M. F. Cusato, T. J. Johnson and S. J. McMichael (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 293-319 for a summation of John XXII's bulls, pp. 294-316. For a useful overview of papal bulls which FitzRalph refers to throughout all eight books of *De pauperie Salvatoris*, see Haren, M., 'Friars as Confessors: The Canonist Background to the Fourteenth-Century Controversy', *Peritia*, 3 (1984), 503-516, pp. 506-12.

³³⁴ 'Dans sa pauvreté et son humilité, la *conversatio primitivae ecclesiae* devient alors, au service d'un réformisme souvent violent, parfois déséquilibré, le prototype idéal et comme un mythe enivrant pour les énergies en travail.' (Chenu, *La Théologie au Douzième Siècle*), p. 252. 'Il n'est donc ni profane ni biblique. Il est une création de la langue chrétienne.' Dewailly, L. M., 'Notes sur l'histoire de l'adjectif l'apostolique', *Mélanges de Science Religieuse*, 5:2 (1948), 141-152, p. 141. See also (Tierney, *The Idea of Natural Rights: Studies on Natural Rights, Natural Law, and Church Law, 1150-1625*), p. 135.

³³⁵ 'Rather than appealing to antiquity as a guarantee for a practice they want to retain, or reinstitute, or institute for the first time, these masters feel free to treat it as an index of obsolescence, invoking it in order to relativize and dismiss practices that may have made sense centuries ago but which fail to speak to present needs and conditions'. (Colish, *Peter Lombard*), p. 46.

³³⁶ See (Kingsford, Little and Tocco, *Fratrīs Johannis Pecham: Tractatus Tres de Paupertate*), especially pp. 136-41.

An alternative origin for the 'mendicant ideal' is found by some scholars in the sudden popularity in the eleventh-century Western Church of the story of a fifth-century Byzantine saint, Alexis, whose *vita* 'contained two quite specifically new themes, that of the voluntary renunciation of wealth and the adoption of what was hitherto the exclusively eastern practice of religious mendicancy'.³³⁷ Bonaventure upholds 'the example of St Alexius' as a holy beggar in his *Disputed Questions on Evangelical Pefection*.³³⁸ Bartholomew of Bolsenheim positioned saints Dominic, Francis and Alexis equally: '*quod sanctus Alexius, Dominicus et Franciscus non fecerunt prudenter et sancta sic vivendo, et quanto minus talem vitam instituendo*'.³³⁹

Book VIII and the *Defensorium* also discuss the significance and legacy of Alexis, though references to the *vita apostolica* are noticeably absent from both. Even Adam Wadding referred to FitzRalph's positioning of Francis and Alexis in his summary of the archbishop's argument.³⁴⁰ Yet this key piece of evidence seems generally to be overlooked in favour of the reassuringly vague explanation that mendicancy was a generic and obvious type of *vita apostolica*.³⁴¹ The point illustrates an argument of this thesis that untapped resources from antimendicant discussion provide historians with contemporary contextual information on mendicant self-fashioning.

Medieval Poverty

*What is pouerte...properly to mene?*³⁴²

³³⁷ Little, L. K. *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978), pp. 40-1. See also Thompson, A., 'The Origins of Religious Mendicancy in Medieval Europe', in *The Origin, Development, and Refinement of Medieval Religious Mendicancies*, ed. D. Prudlo (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 3-30, p. 14; Lappin, A. J., 'From Osma to Bologna, from Canons to Friars, from the Preaching to the Preachers: the Dominican Path Towards Mendicancy', in *ibid.* 31-58, p. 53; Prudlo, D., 'Mendicancy Among the Early Saints of the Begging Orders', in *ibid.* 85-116, p. 111. For more on the history of St Alexis, see Perugi, M., ed. *La Vie de Saint Alexis* (Genève: Droz, 2000), p. 13-22.

³³⁸ (Bonaventure, Opera Omnia V), p. 138.

³³⁹ (Meersseman, La défense des ordres mendiants contre Richard Fitz Ralph, par Barthélemy de Bolsenheim O. P. (1357)), p. 166.

³⁴⁰ See fn. 723.

³⁴¹ '[I]n their different ways, both Francis and Dominic were perceived as renewing apostolic tradition'. (Mews, *Apostolic Ideals in the Mendicant Transformation of the Thirteenth Century: from sine proprio to Holy Poverty*), p. 20. See also (Lappin, *From Osma to Bologna, from Canons to Friars, from the Preaching to the Preachers: the Dominican Path Towards Mendicancy*), p. 56; (Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect: the Rise of Learning in the Franciscan Order, 1209-1310*) p. 25.

³⁴² (Schmidt, *The vision of Piers Plowman: a critical edition of the B-text based on Trinity College Cambridge MS B.15.17*), B-text, passus XIV, l. 275, p. 242.

This quotation is taken from the late fourteenth-century allegorical poem, *The Vision of Piers Plowman*.³⁴³ Historians generally agree that poverty was not a stable concept in the Middle Ages.³⁴⁴ Anne Scott identifies the problem as a semantic one: 'We seek ways of dealing with poverty that seem real to us but for which the medieval writer had no vocabulary, partly because the language lagged behind the reality.'³⁴⁵ Mollat blames Christian narratives for longstanding epistemological confusion.³⁴⁶ Peter Brown recounts how the early Christian aesthete, Symeon Stylites (d. 429), atop his pillar received a vision from the Prophet Elijah, with whom he: 'pondered and reflected about who really are the poor. The crippled and poor who beg? Or the oppressed? Or those of whom the blessed Apostle [Paul] speaks, *the holy ones* [monks and hermits]?'³⁴⁷ The late-medieval church had still not found an answer to this early question.

For the historian, the task of understanding what was going on sometimes feels insurmountable.³⁴⁸ Christopher Dyer advocates a transhistorical approach: 'to advance our understanding of medieval society we must explain the divisions and groups in terms that have a meaning for *us*'.³⁴⁹ Yet clarity of meaning eludes Dyer when describing a 'religious type of poverty'.³⁵⁰ Other historians doubt the utility of a transhistorical perspective.³⁵¹

³⁴³ For all versions of the poem, see Schmidt, A. V. C., ed. *Piers Plowman: a Parallel-Text Edition of the A, B, C and Z versions* (London: Longman, 1995).

³⁴⁴ See (Aers, *Piers Plowman and Problems in the Perception of Poverty: A Culture in Transition*), pp. 7-9; (Crassons, *The Claims of Poverty: Literature, Culture, and Ideology in Late Medieval England*), p. 4. Miri Rubin gave a different view: 'The need to define the poor was not an idle preoccupation considered in the abstract, it was a pressing priority for many institutions and for individuals.' (Rubin, *The Poor*), p. 169.

³⁴⁵ Scott, A. M. *Piers Plowman and the Poor* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), p.21. See also (Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History*), p. 2.

³⁴⁶ (Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History*), p. 9. See also (Finn, *Almsgiving in the later Roman Empire: Christian Promotion and Practice (313-450)*), p. 3.

³⁴⁷ (Brown, *Treasure in Heaven: The Holy Poor in Early Christianity*), p. 73.

³⁴⁸ '[T]he modern reader is...engulfed in personal and institutional ideologies and biases that obscure an objective view of the past'. (Hazell, *Poverty in Late Middle English Literature: the Meene and the Riche*), p. 15.

³⁴⁹ (Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c.1200-1520*), p. 17. (Italicisation from the author.) See also Dyer, C., 'Work Ethics in the Fourteenth Century', in *The Problem of Labour in Fourteenth-Century England*, eds. J. Bothwell, P. J. P. Goldberg and W. M. Ormrod (York: York Medieval Press, 2000), 21-42, p. 40. See also (Crassons, *The Claims of Poverty: Literature, Culture, and Ideology in Late Medieval England*), p. 275.

³⁵⁰ Dyer also writes: 'the church had inherited a long tradition of poverty'. For both quotations, see (Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c.1200-1520*), p. 236.

³⁵¹ Mollat pointed to: 'difficulties with the sources [which] deepen our ignorance of actual poverty. The concerns of medieval writers and administrators were not our own'. (Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History*) pp. 9-10. See also Pearsall, D., 'Piers Plowman and the Problem of Labour', in *The Problem of Labour in Fourteenth-Century England*, eds. J. Bothwell, P. J. P. Goldberg and W. M. Ormrod (York: York Medieval Press, 2000), 123-132, p. 132.

The poor--unless they are the religious poor--are perceived to be uniformly miserable and pitiable.³⁵² These non-religious poor are understood to identify themselves as the binary opposites to such concepts as *potens* or *dives*.³⁵³ This depressing view of medieval poverty has worked to reinforce what one historian generally terms a 'sense of nasty medievalism'.³⁵⁴ Rather than digging deeper, standard responses seem to resign historians to 'the fundamental ambiguity of poverty, especially as a force in the medieval period'.³⁵⁵

Running parallel to an acceptance of the impossibility of understanding medieval poverty remains a persistently-held view that mendicants were advocating and embracing a uniform type of poverty, and one which was socio-economic.³⁵⁶ Certain historians do highlight differences in various mendicant practices of poverty.³⁵⁷ Unaware of such variations, Dyer writes generally: '[Mendicant] advocacy of voluntary poverty...led to criticism of the main body of the church'.³⁵⁸ (Among other things, Dyer's perspective fails to appreciate the degree to which the mendicants validated, and were in turn empowered by the papacy.)³⁵⁹

³⁵² '[L]egislation as well as secular and religious literature reflected a painful identification between poverty and idleness, between begging and a dangerous and lawless existence'. Rubin, M. *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 52; see also (Cusato, Poverty), pp. 578-580.

³⁵³ 'The essential meaning of "poor" before the triumph of the commercial economy was "weak" in relation to the powerful.' (Little, Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe), p. 68. See also (Metzler, A Social History of Disability in the Middle Ages: Cultural Considerations of Physical Impairment), p. 154.

³⁵⁴ Hartnell, J. *Medieval Bodies: Life, Death and Art in the Middle Ages* (London: Wellcome Collection, 2018), p. 4.

³⁵⁵ (Crassons, The Claims of Poverty: Literature, Culture, and Ideology in Late Medieval England), p. 2.

³⁵⁶ Michel Mollat wrote: 'underlying the attitudes of both Francis and Dominic was a single, universal theology and anthropology...they shared the same intimate understanding of the real problems of poverty'. (Mollat, The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History), p. 120.

³⁵⁷ 'Although both Dominicans and Franciscans were regarded as mendicant orders, there were substantial differences in their respective practice of poverty.' (Jones, Hervaeus, Natalis: The Poverty of Christ and the Apostles), p. 7. This perspective challenges Bartholomew of Bolsenheim. See fn. 259.

³⁵⁸ (Dyer, Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c.1200-1520), p. 236.

³⁵⁹ 'The mendicants gave the papacy a church-wide influence at a level that it had not had to that point.' Prudlo, D. S. *Certain Sainthood: Canonization and the Origins of Papal Infallibility in the Medieval Church* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2016), p. 11. See also Cullen, C. M. *Bonaventure* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 7.

Primary texts do, however, sometimes give clarification.³⁶⁰ Scholars have drawn out instances in late antique and high medieval texts where types of poverty are articulated.³⁶¹ The decretalists identified the 'undeserving poor' as 'the able-bodied who were able to work but chose rather to idle their time away'.³⁶² Bonaventure cited this definition of a poor person: 'A poor person is one who is incapable of maintaining himself.'³⁶³

This section has considered how divergent historiographical views on medieval poverty render scholarly discussions of mendicant poverty too general to be useful. Generic terms such as 'voluntary poverty' or 'apostolic poverty' are applied in a quasi-theological manner, without looking further at actual discussions. Yet it must be conceded that definitions of poverty are perpetually shifting, so any suggestion of simplicity or consistency should be met with caution.³⁶⁴

Conclusion

This chapter provided an introduction to Richard FitzRalph, giving the context from which his antimendicant writings should be considered. It has foregrounded the reason for the start of the campaign, that FitzRalph was invited to examine mendicancy by senior figures within the papal curia. It has also suggested that too little historiographical weight has been placed on the novelty of mendicant theology. A recent article illustrates this point, downplaying the significance of 'the core ideology of mendicant poverty' within theological disagreements

³⁶⁰ Aers writes: 'Attitudes to the poor and ideologies concerning poverty provide major insights into the mentalities prevalent in particular societies and offer a significant record of important social and cultural transitions.' (Aers, *Piers Plowman and Problems in the Perception of Poverty: A Culture in Transition*), p. 5.

³⁶¹ Richard Finn explains: 'the Graeco-Roman world distinguished between *paupertas*, poverty as relatively straitened circumstances (though relative to what varied widely); *egestas*, poverty as material deprivation; and *mendicitas*, the absolute destitution of the person forced to beg'. (Finn, *Almsgiving in the later Roman Empire: Christian Promotion and Practice (313-450)*), pp. 18-9. Rosemary Morris notes two words used for the poor in Byzantine documents, which distinguish between the working poor and those who need the help of others to survive. Morris, R., 'The Powerful and the Poor in Tenth-Century Byzantium: Law and Reality', *Past and Present*, 73 (1976), 3-27, p. 19.

³⁶² Tierney, B., 'The Decretists and the "Deserving Poor"', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, I (1959), 360-373, p. 370. See also Colish, M. L. *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition, 400-1400* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 329.

³⁶³ (Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia* V), p. 137. Bonaventure ascribed this to the gloss to Psalm 39:18.

³⁶⁴ A 'New Measure of Poverty for the UK' was recently proposed by the Social Metrics Commission its report of September 2018: <https://socialmetricscommission.org.uk/MEASURING-POVERTY-SUMMARY-REPORT.pdf>, pp. 11-12.

between mendicants and critics.³⁶⁵ This thesis believes that FitzRalph did attack that core ideology. A tentative preliminary question is asked: could a lack of interest in FitzRalph's antimendicant arguments partly be due to an anachronistic assumption, seemingly adopted wholesale by historians, that there were no legitimate theological grounds from which to criticize mendicancy?³⁶⁶

³⁶⁵ '[I]t was not the core ideology of mendicant poverty that provoked their critics as much as the friars' (perceived) failure to live up to their commitment'. (Jakobsen, 'Beggars in silky robes and palaces': Dominicans preaching and practising poverty in Medieval Scandinavia), p. 179.

³⁶⁶ Lawrence Clopper writes about the existence of a particular Franciscan 'ideology', but does not dig any deeper. (Clopper, *Songes of Rechelesnesse: Langland and the Franciscans*), p. 5.

Chapter Two: Book VIII of *De pauperie Salvatoris* and Poverty

De pauperie Salvatoris

As he explained in his first London sermon, FitzRalph intended *De pauperie Salvatoris* to comprise seven books.³⁶⁷ Yet after he preached the sermon *Defensio curatorum* and launched his lawsuit, he wrote an eighth and final book. Katherine Walsh trivialized book VIII as: 'devoted to an analysis of the bull *Exiit qui seminat* and its provisions concerning the profession of poverty and the circumstances in which begging was permitted'.³⁶⁸ She also saw it as an attempt to recover from what she perceived to be problems with books VI and VII, arguing those previous works 'compelled' him to write more 'in order to clarify his position'.³⁶⁹ Finally, Walsh did not consider that his views developed during his campaign, categorizing his first 1350 sermon, *Unusquisque*, as his finest contribution.³⁷⁰

This thesis takes a different approach. Examining FitzRalph's characterization of Christ, considering his arguments about poverty, and looking at how he ascribes meanings to contested mendicant terms such as 'wilful begging' and 'poverty', the focus here is on how FitzRalph constructs and illustrates his arguments. It argues that the core point to book VIII is the argument that mendicants promoted an alternative and incorrect hermeneutic of Christ. It places FitzRalph's anthropological description of Christ as a centrepiece of his argument.

It also argues that book VIII is significant because of the response it elicited. Woodford wrote the *Defensorium* to address book VIII alone, starting work on the text immediately after

³⁶⁷ See fn. 7.

³⁶⁸ (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), p. 440. Wyclif himself validated *Exiit*. See Levy, I. C., 'The Place of Holy Scripture in John Wyclif's Theology', in *The Wycliffite Bible: Origin, History and Interpretation*, ed. E. Solopova (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 27-48, p. 43. See also fn. 85.

³⁶⁹ (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), p. 388.

³⁷⁰ 'FitzRalph never improved upon this *Proposicio*'. *Ibid.*, p. 376.

completing his *Responsiones contra Wyclivum et Lollardos*.³⁷¹ No other surviving work of Woodford's accords such status to a textual contribution by FitzRalph.

All eight books of *De pauperie Salvatoris* are constructed as a debate between *Johannes* and *Ricardus*, adopting the characters and dialogue structure used in FitzRalph's earlier *Summa*.³⁷² Michael Haren speculated that *Johannes* represented Bishop John Grandisson, but Helen Hughes plausibly suggested FitzRalph modelled *Johannes* on 'a real person--one of his favourite pupils'.³⁷³ *Ricardus* is clearly intended to represent FitzRalph himself.³⁷⁴ A late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century vernacular lollard poem entitled *A Dialogue between Jon and Richard*, composed apparently as a 'homage' to FitzRalph, demonstrates the degree to which these two characters and their discussions about the mendicants had become associated with the archbishop.³⁷⁵

According to Michael Haren: 'the history of editing *De pauperie Salvatoris* to date has been complicated and unsatisfactory'.³⁷⁶ Studies have been undertaken of books I-VII, with a particular focus on FitzRalph's arguments on *dominium*.³⁷⁷ No work has yet examined book VIII, and indeed its survival came to light relatively recently.³⁷⁸ In 1938, Hammerich had referred to a 'supplement' to *De pauperie Salvatoris* which he named *De mendicite*, but he seemed not to

³⁷¹ On the dating of the *Responsiones* and the *Defensorium*, see (Doyle, William Woodford, *His Life and works together with a study and edition of his Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), p. 25 (also p. 60).

³⁷² Helen Hughes has noted, 'the general effect of the dialogue is to give lightness and elasticity to very heavy material.' (Hughes, *An Essay Introductory to the De Pauperie Salvatoris of Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh*), p. 166. See also (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), p. 183.

³⁷³ (Haren, *Richard FitzRalph of Dundalk, Oxford and Armagh: Scholar, Prelate and Controversialist*), p. 105; (Hughes, *An Essay Introductory to the De Pauperie Salvatoris of Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh*), p. 204.

³⁷⁴ For example, in *De pauperie Salvatoris* Book VI:18 MS 180, fol. 67^{ra}, *Johannes* cites an argument *Ricardus* had made in the *Summa*, book IV.

³⁷⁵ Somerset, F., ed. *Four Wycliffite Dialogues: Dialogue between Jon and Richard, Dialogue between a friar and a secular, Dialogue between Reson and Gabbyng, Dialogue between a clerk and a knight* (Oxford: Published for the Early English Text Society by the Oxford University Press, 2009), p. xlvi. The text is on pp. 3-31.

³⁷⁶ (Haren, *Richard FitzRalph of Dundalk, Oxford and Armagh: Scholar, Prelate and Controversialist*), p. 109.

³⁷⁷ See fn. 35.

³⁷⁸ See fn. 6.

recognize this as an additional book.³⁷⁹ In his 1969 doctoral thesis, Jeremy Catto declared the text lost.³⁸⁰ Yet the following year, Katherine Walsh noted the existence of all eight books of *De pauperie Salvatoris* in Lambeth Palace Library MS 121, and of book VIII in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS Lat. 3222.³⁸¹ Walsh later identified two further versions: Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 180, comprising all eight books of *De pauperie Salvatoris*; and Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, MS Magdeburg 47, which contained book VIII only.³⁸² All four manuscripts were consulted in preparation for this thesis, but the main text used is MS 180, with additional material supplied by MS 121.³⁸³

Book VIII

Wendy Scase suggested book VIII was circulated as a pamphlet.³⁸⁴ Textual and manuscript evidence may support her hypothesis; only books I and VIII include a Prologue, and of the four existing manuscripts of book VIII, two contain book VIII alone. However, references to the earlier books of *De pauperie Salvatoris* throughout book VIII also suggest FitzRalph envisaged the final book as a seamless continuation of the others.³⁸⁵

Two different versions of book VIII's Prologue survive. The two manuscripts where book VIII follows the earlier seven have an identical longer section at the beginning, comprising twenty-four lines in MS 180, and thirty-four in MS 121.³⁸⁶ The other two manuscripts start from

³⁷⁹ (Hammerich, *The Beginning of the Strife between Richard FitzRalph and the Mendicants, with an Edition of his Autobiographical Prayer and his Proposition Unusquisque*), p. 15.

³⁸⁰ (Catto, William Woodford, O.F.M., (c. 1330-1397)), p. 33.

³⁸¹ (Walsh, *The 'De Vita Evangelica' of Geoffrey Hardeby, O.E.S.A. (c. 1320-c.1385)*), pp. 221, 226.

³⁸² One of Walsh's greatest contributions to the study of FitzRalph was her discovery and cataloging of manuscript versions of FitzRalph's works. See for example, the first footnote to her article, (Walsh, *Archbishop FitzRalph and the Friars at the Papal Court in Avignon, 1357-60*), p. 223.

³⁸³ MS 121, fols 138^r-179^r.

³⁸⁴ (Scase, *'Piers Plowman' and the New Anti-clericalism*), p. 8. Book VIII exists alone in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS Lat. 3222, and in Berlin Staatsbibliothek, MS Magdeburg 47. It appears along with the other seven books in MS 180 and MS 121. For the late fourteenth-century transition from the scholastic *quodlibet* to the *tractatus*, see Hobbins, D., 'The Schoolman as Public Intellectual: Jean Gerson and the Late Medieval Tract', *American Historical Review*, 108:5 (2003), 1308-1377, p. 1323.

³⁸⁵ Walsh believed MS Lat. 3222 to be the earliest surviving text, speculating it 'may have been compiled at Avignon during or soon after the proceedings concerned'. (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), p. 433.

³⁸⁶ MS 180, fol. 90^{ra}, MS 121, fol. 138^r.

the next section of the Prologue.³⁸⁷ At this point (with the exception of expected minor scribal variations and mistakes), the manuscripts are consistent.

Three versions of the text have a blank space, consisting of a number of empty lines between the end of chapter forty and the start of chapter forty-one.³⁸⁸ The Paris manuscript has no such gap, yet its text remains the same as the other three.³⁸⁹ No indication is given as why this gap exists, though one hypothesis might be that the three manuscripts were copied from the same, now lost, source text.

FitzRalph planned book VIII before writing, as he sometimes refers to an argument in a previous or a subsequent chapter.³⁹⁰ The Prologue identifies the text's audience as prelates and people, hoping to notify them of the truth of the current situation for the restoration of health to the church.³⁹¹ Ignoring the language of heresy, book VIII works to expose the fiction (*fictus*) of a mendicant theology which locates evangelical perfection as wilful begging.³⁹² Beryl Smalley believed William of St Amour's attacks on the mendicants were the last to focus on the dangerous novelty of the new orders, yet FitzRalph uses this argument a century later.³⁹³

FitzRalph's earlier writings included speculative explorations of Trinitarian theology, revealing: 'a cautious theologian'.³⁹⁴ In the *Summa*, *Johannes* and *Ricardus* debated the divinity of

³⁸⁷ 'Quia in septem libellos de pauperi salvatoris composui...' Paris BN Latin 3222, fol. 69^{ra}, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek MS Magdeburg 47, fol. 253^v.

³⁸⁸ MS 180, fol. 124^{rb}; MS 121, fol. 173^{vb}; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek MS Magdeburg 47, fols 303^{va}-303^{vb}.

³⁸⁹ Paris BN Latin 3222, fol. 69^{ra}.

³⁹⁰ In chapter fifteen, FitzRalph refers to arguments which he will make in chapters thirty-six and thirty-seven, and in chapter seven, he cites a teaching of Solomon's which he will explain in chapter thirty-nine. See MS 180, fols 103^{vb}, 105^{vb}.

³⁹¹ See Appendix A. Penn Szittyá wrote: 'practically all of FitzRalph's works on the mendicant controversies except the London sermons were written or delivered with a curial audience in mind'. (Szittyá, *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature*), p. 151.

³⁹² See for example, VIII:24 and VIII:29, MS 180, fols 111^{rb}-111^{va} and 116^{vb}. Susan Fleischman stated: 'fiction' was understood in the fourteenth-century as 'fanciful invention, figments of the imagination'. Fleischman, S., 'On the Representation of History and Fiction in the Middle Ages', *History and Theory*, 22:3 (1983), 278-310, p. 281. See also Kempshall, M. *Rhetoric and the Writing of History, 400-1500* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 350-2, for the various medieval uses of *ingere* (to compose or to make things up) within rhetoric and historiography.

³⁹³ (Smalley, *Ecclesiastical Attitudes to Novelty, c. 1100-c. 1250*), p. 125.

³⁹⁴ See (Friedman and Schabel, *Trinitarian Theology and Philosophical Issues III: Oxford 1312-1329: Walsingham, Graystones, Fitzralph, and Rodington*), p. 42. For a transcription of the extract in question, see pp.

Christ.³⁹⁵ By contrast, book VIII is a practical study of Christ's incarnated life and his material resources. There is no soteriological or hypostatic aspect, nor is there an introduction explaining why these will not be discussed. FitzRalph does note that the Holy Spirit never taught the apostles to beg, but the Trinity is otherwise not mentioned.³⁹⁶

FitzRalph introduced his first antimendicant sermon, *Unusquisque*, by explaining he would make his argument in three ways: grammatically, scripturally, and by reason.³⁹⁷ In book VIII he takes a similar approach.³⁹⁸ Whilst this thesis does not examine the text from the scholarly perspectives of theology or philosophy, it does argue that FitzRalph engages with the semantic properties of certain key terms, though not in a formal scholastic sense. That is to say, he does not examine terms through the logical lenses of *suppositio*, *ampliatio*, *appellatio* and *copulatio*.³⁹⁹ However, in the light of one definition that 'the medieval theory of supposition is part of the theory of the semantic properties of terms', the text seems to indicate that FitzRalph was adopting the strategy of terminism.⁴⁰⁰ Throughout book VIII, FitzRalph builds his theological arguments upon philosophical foundations.⁴⁰¹

74-79. See also (Dunne, Richard FitzRalph's *Lectura* on the *Sentences*), p. 427; (Walsh, A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh), p. 53.

³⁹⁵ Levy, I. C., 'The Literal Sense of Scripture and the Search for Truth in the Late Middle Ages', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 104 (2009), 783-827, pp. 794-5.

³⁹⁶ For more on scholastic studies of Trinitarian theology, see Knuuttila, S., 'Supposition and Predication in Medieval Trinitarian Logic', in *Medieval Supposition Theory Revisited: Studies in Memory of J. M. de Rijk*, ed. E. P. Bos (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 260-274, p. 266-7. For Wyclif's alternative Trinitarian views, see Lahey, S. E., 'Wyclif's Trinitarian and Christological Theology', in *A Companion to John Wyclif: Late Medieval Theologian*, ed. I. C. Levy (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 127-198, especially pp. 134-5, 147-50.

³⁹⁷ 'ex grammatica, ex scriptura sacra, et ex ratione certa'. See (Hammerich, The Beginning of the Strife between Richard FitzRalph and the Mendicants, with an Edition of his Autobiographical Prayer and his Proposition *Unusquisque*), p. 56.

³⁹⁸ De Rijk notes: 'the doctrine of fallacy, including grammatical analysis as the apparatus *par excellence* for unmasking fallacious arguments, underlied terminist logic'. Rijk, L. M. d., 'Semantics and Ontology: An Assessment of Medieval Terminism', in *Medieval Supposition Theory Revisited: Studies in Memory of J. M. de Rijk*, ed. E. P. Bos (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 13-59, p. 14.

³⁹⁹ Bos, E. P. and Sundholm, B. G., 'Introduction', in *ibid.* 3-9, p. 4.

⁴⁰⁰ See *ibid.*, p. 4. De Rijk writes that 'the ongoing expansion of supposition theory, and the doctrine of the properties of terms in general, can be followed like a thread through the development of medieval philosophy and theology'. Rijk, L. M. d., 'Semantics and Ontology: An Assessment of Medieval Terminism', in *ibid.* 13-59, p. 13.

⁴⁰¹ Writing about FitzRalph's responses to the *Sentences* Commentary, Michael Dunne notes: 'he will go for the philosophical aspects of a problem rather than the theological or spiritual'. (Dunne, Accidents without a Subject: Richard FitzRalph's Question on the Eucharist from his *Lectures* on the *Sentences*), p. 20.

MS 180 was commissioned by Benedictine monk and scholar, Adam Easton (c. 1330-1397), and bequeathed to Norwich Cathedral.⁴⁰² W.A. Pantin suggested that Easton's interest in FitzRalph would have stemmed from his own educational background.⁴⁰³ Easton had similarly experienced tensions which arose between mendicants and other clerics, and a letter survives from the prior of the Norwich Benedictine monastery explaining that Adam could not return to Oxford to complete his studies because he was needed to help with preaching and dealing with the mendicants.⁴⁰⁴ This letter has been dated by Pantin to 1357-1363, straddling the composition of book VIII.⁴⁰⁵

Defensio curatorum

Katherine Walsh positioned book VIII as a clarification of book VII.⁴⁰⁶ This thesis argues that book VIII should more correctly be understood as a development of arguments sketched out in the sermon, *Defensio curatorum*.⁴⁰⁷ FitzRalph declares in its Prologue that it contains similar material to the four 'London' sermons, and to *Defensio curatorum*.⁴⁰⁸ VIII:21 and VIII:22 begin with direct quotes from *Defensio*, that Christ never wilfully begged, and that he never loved poverty. The ensuing discussions occupy both chapters.⁴⁰⁹ Within the Berlin and Paris manuscripts, the *Defensio* and book VIII are placed alongside each other or in close proximity.

⁴⁰² The manuscript's flyleaf inscription is 'LIBER DOMINI /ADE ESTONE /MONACHI NOR/WICENSIS, and the last leaf states 'A. Eston'. James, M. R. *The Sources of Archbishop Parker's Collection of MSS at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1899), p. 420.

⁴⁰³ Pantin, W. A., 'The *Defensorium* of Adam Easton', *English Historical Review*, 51:204 (1936), 675-680, pp. 679-80.

⁴⁰⁴ See Oxford, MS Bodley 692, fols. 116^r-116^v. As reproduced in (Pantin, *Documents Illustrating the Activities of the General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks, 1215-1540*), pp. 28-9.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁴⁰⁶ See fns 85 and 86.

⁴⁰⁷ FitzRalph had concluded the sermon declaring: '*Ich wolde saye muche more*'. (Perry, John Trevisa: '*Dialogus inter militem et clericum*', Richard FitzRalph's sermon '*Defensio curatorum*', and, Methodius: '*þe bygynnyng of þe world and þe ende of worldes*'), p. 93.

⁴⁰⁸ See Appendix A.

⁴⁰⁹ MS 180, fols 109^{ra}-110^{rb}. See Appendix A.

The relationship between *Defensio* and book VIII has not previously been noted.⁴¹⁰ Terence Dolan suggested that FitzRalph's fourth London sermon 'seems to be almost a trial run for the *Defensio curatorum* itself'.⁴¹¹ This positioning is validated in VIII:18, where FitzRalph refers to the fourth sermon before introducing *Defensio curatorum*: '*que sermo eum propositione super eadem materia*'.⁴¹² This explanation of the relationship between the texts challenges James Dawson's alternative positioning of *Unusquisque*, the London sermons, and *Defensio curatorum* as different to *De pauperie Salvatoris*.⁴¹³

Certain points from *Defensio* are expanded in book VIII: Christ's encounter with the Samaritan woman and invitation to Zaccheus; his encounter with the Rich Young Ruler; a non-christological reading of Psalms 39 and 108; the neediness of Christ according to 2 Corinthians 8:9; that Christ could not have taken upon himself the shame associated with begging; that Christ was a carpenter; that he was a High Priest in the Order of Melchisedek; an application of Matthew 7:12 as a natural law regulating behaviour; the concept that Acts 1:1 to explain how we can learn about what Christ taught and did; FitzRalph's interpretation of the physical disabilities mentioned in the Parable of the Wedding Banquet; and the condemnation of begging by St Peter's successor, St Clement. FitzRalph's famously rude accusation that: 'friars minor can smell out the dead body of a rich man better than vultures can scent food over the water', which appeared in the *Defensio* and the fourth London sermon, is found in VIII:13.⁴¹⁴

⁴¹⁰ The large number of surviving manuscript copies of *Defensio curatorum*, and its early translation into English, seems to have led scholars to be: 'tempted to accord the [*Defensio*] an unduly prominent position among his writings'. (Walsh, *The Manuscripts of Archbishop Richard Fitzralph of Armagh in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna*), pp. 68-9. Gwynn suggested that the *Defensio* 'was read and copied more widely than perhaps any other single sermon in the later Middle Ages'. (Gwynn, *The Sermon-Diary of Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh*), p. 2. For the number of surviving manuscript versions of the sermon, see (Walsh, *Archbishop FitzRalph and the Friars at the Papal Court in Avignon, 1357-60*), p. 223.

⁴¹¹ (Dolan, *Richard FitzRalph's Defensio Curatorum in Transmission*), p. 181.

⁴¹² MS 180, fol. 106^{rb}.

⁴¹³ Dawson suggested they showed: 'surprisingly little relation to the *De Pauperie salvatoris*'. (Dawson, *Richard FitzRalph and the Fourteenth-Century Poverty Controversies*), p. 342.

⁴¹⁴ '*divitum cadavera tamquam reliquie requiruntur ubique ymmo ultra maria tamquam alimenta a vulturibus sentiuntur*'. MS 180, fol. 100^{va}. In the *Defensio*, FitzRalph cites Averroes' Commentary on Aristotle's *De Anima* for the olfactory range of a vulture. (Perry, John Trevisa: '*Dialogus inter militem et clericum*', Richard FitzRalph's sermon '*Defensio curatorum*', and, Methodius: '*þe bygynnyng of þe world and þe ende of worldes*'), p. 72. See also (Dolan, *Richard FitzRalph's Defensio Curatorum in Transmission*), p. 187.

Key points from the Rule and the Testament of Francis are discussed in greater depth, though significantly book VIII omits the beginning of the Rule, where Francis affirmed that Friars Minor follow Christ according to the Gospels, though the section had been mentioned in the *Defensio*.⁴¹⁵ A possible reason for this omission is because much of book VIII is taken up with a discussion of how to follow Christ, and FitzRalph's views differed significantly from those of the resource-rejecting Francis.

A number of secondary sources cited in the *Defensio* are quoted more fully in book VIII. Books I, III and IV of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* and book III of Aristotle's *Topics* are mentioned, as are St Bernard's letter to the Monk Adam, and Saint Augustine's *On the Work of Monks*.

There is however some variation. The *Defensio*'s main verse, John 7: 24, does not appear in book VIII, nor are the verses central to the four London sermons mentioned. Book VIII contains no autobiographical or anecdotal material which had featured prominently in the sermon.⁴¹⁶ Twice in the *Defensio* FitzRalph had mentioned the thirteenth-century secular scholar, John de Pouilly, and he also cited the two mendicant theologians, Aquinas and Bonaventure. There is a reference to the condemnation of John de Pouilly's theological views in the papal bull, *Vas Electionis*, in VIII:20.⁴¹⁷ Yet no overt reference to the writings of Aquinas or Bonaventure appear in book VIII.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁵ (Perry, John Trevisa: *Dialogus inter militem et clericum*', Richard FitzRalph's sermon *'Defensio curatorum'*, and, Methodius: *'þe bygynnyng of þe world and þe ende of worldes'*), p. 66.

⁴¹⁶ T. P. Dolan dismissed autobiographical touches in *Defensio Curatorum* as 'conjecture and hearsay'. (Dolan, Richard FitzRalph's *Defensio Curatorum* in Transmission), p. 183.

⁴¹⁷ MS 180, fol. 108^{va}. For *Vas Electionis*, see (Haren, Friars as Confessors: The Canonist Background to the Fourteenth-Century Controversy), p. 515. For a helpful summation of John de Pouilly's arguments, their condemnation and his later recantation, see (Larsen, The Career and Condemnations of Henry Crumpe, O. CIST.), pp. 448-9.

⁴¹⁸ Alasdair MacIntyre points out Aquinas's influence was not great outside the Dominican Order in the fourteenth-century. MacIntyre, A. C. *God, Philosophy, Universities: a Selective History of the Catholic Philosophical Tradition* (Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2009), p. 97. For the risk of neo-Thomism lending anachronistic weight to Aquinas, see Tierney, B., 'Hierarchy, Consent, and the "Western Tradition"', *Political Theory*, 15:4 (1987), 646-652, p. 647.

Book VIII also contains fresh material not mentioned in the *Defensio*. The semantic meaning of poverty is discussed, building on definitions of poverty from book VI. 'Wilful begging' is examined, and various types of 'begging' and ways of 'doing things wilfully' are looked at. Evangelical perfection is explored. The biblical episode of the widow's mite is explained. Christ is presented as the Good Shepherd, challenging an alternative positioning of him as a perpetually vulnerable and needy sacrifice. How one ought to interpret scripture is discussed, alongside a study of how to understand factually-incorrect declarations made in the heat of pious emotion by figures of saintly authority.⁴¹⁹ Book VIII also cautiously suggests that Nicholas III erred in his granting of privileges to the friars.⁴²⁰ None of these were included in *Defensio*. Taken together these demonstrate that the frequent recourse to that sermon alone for FitzRalph's antimendicant views requires revision.⁴²¹

Scripture and Tradition

As chapter one discussed, it is upon a combination of scripture and theological and philosophical authorities that FitzRalph builds his arguments, although his use of secondary sources has often been downplayed in the historiography.⁴²² In book VIII FitzRalph uses a number of external sources. He refers to Augustinian friar Giles of Rome (c. 1243-1316) and secular philosopher Henry of Ghent (c. 1217-1293).⁴²³ He quotes from a letter of St Jerome to a Bishop in Narbonne contained in the *Decretals* of Gratian, and the letter from Bernard of Clairvaux to the Monk Adam on the importance of submission to clerical authority. Pseudo-Dionysius's *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* is quoted VIII:17. Twice he cites the story recorded in the

⁴¹⁹ This is discussed later this chapter.

⁴²⁰ '*culpa ignorantie quam provenit ex negligencia sanct. script.*' MS 180, fol. 126^{rb}. For the context of this statement, see fn. 520.

⁴²¹ For example, (Metzler, *A Social History of Disability in the Middle Ages: Cultural Considerations of Physical Impairment*), p. 186; see also (Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c.1200-1520*), p. 238.

⁴²² (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), p. 380. See also (Hughes, *An Essay Introductory to the De Pauperie Salvatoris of Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh*), pp. viii, 191.

⁴²³ VIII:31 for Eustache of Arras and Giles of Rome, and VIII:41 for Henry of Ghent. On FitzRalph's response to Henry of Ghent in his *Sentences Commentary*, see (Duba, *Conversion, Vision and Faith in the Life and Work of Richard FitzRalph*), pp. 112-6.

Golden Legend where the Apostle Peter encountered the mother of St Clement and reproached her for begging.⁴²⁴ Pseudo-Clement's letter *Dilectissimis* from the Clementine *Decretals* is quoted.⁴²⁵ The *Glossa Ordinaria* is cited on a number of occasions, as is Bede's *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke*. Gratian's *Tractatus de Penitentia* (incorrectly ascribed to Augustine) is quoted in VIII:20. A statement from Gennadius of Masilla's *Ecclesiastical Dogmas* (also misattributed to Augustine) is used in VIII:40. A section from Clement's *Religiosi* is cited in VIII:16. St John Chrysostom's sermons are quoted, explaining Christ's encounter with the Samaritan woman in VIII:26, and Christ being a High Priest in the order of Melchisidek in VIII:28.

Yet the secondary source used most often in book VIII is St Augustine of Hippo (354-430), a familiar and favoured theologian for FitzRalph.⁴²⁶ This follows a pattern throughout his career.⁴²⁷ The privileging of Augustine was in keeping with a typical medieval treatment of the theologian.⁴²⁸ Specific sermons of Augustine are drawn from, along with theological texts: *On the Literal Meaning of Genesis*, *On the Work of Monks*, and his *Ecclesiastical Church Dogmas*.⁴²⁹ FitzRalph uses Augustine's first letter to Pelagius along with a long extract from letter 82 to Jerome to demonstrate that anyone who diligently observes Augustine's arguments on scripture

⁴²⁴ Grässe, J. G. T., ed. *Jacobi a Voragine Legenda aurea, vulgo Historia Lombardica dicta* (Lips., 1850), pp. 779-780. For an earlier version of the story, see book VII:13-23 of Gebhardt, J. G., ed. *The Syriac Clementine Recognitions and Homilies: the First Complete Translation of the Text* (Nashville: Grave Distractions Publications, 2014), pp. 13-23. FitzRalph refers to this story in VIII:24, MS 180, fol. 112^{ra}.

⁴²⁵ Hinschius, P., ed. *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae, et Capitula Angilramni* (Lipsiae: B. Tauchnitz, 1863), pp. 65-66. This letter is also quoted in Pope John XXII's *Quia vir reprobus* to argue for communal sharing. (Gál and Flood, Nicolaus Minorita, *Chronica*. Documentation on Pope John XXII, Michael of Cesena and the Poverty of Christ, with Summaries in English. A Source Book), pp. 553-614.

⁴²⁶ See (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), p. 53.

⁴²⁷ See (Dunne, Richard FitzRalph's *Lectura on the Sentences*), p. 421. 'The role played by the works of St Augustine in late-medieval thought is still imperfectly studied, but there can be no doubt that it was a major one.' (Ghosh, *The Wycliffite Heresy: Authority and the Interpretation of Texts*), p. 10.

⁴²⁸ Gill Evans writes: 'no author, Christian or secular, was more widely read in the West throughout the Middle Ages than Augustine, or more influential in forming the minds of Western scholars as they sought to make sense in Latin of concepts first framed and developed in Greek.' Evans, G. R. *Philosophy and Theology in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. viii. See also (Ghosh, *The Wycliffite Heresy: Authority and the Interpretation of Texts*), p. 10; (MacIntyre, *God, Philosophy, Universities: a Selective History of the Catholic Philosophical Tradition*), p. 33.

⁴²⁹ MS 180 fols 100^{ra}-100^{rb} contains a quote from Augustine's sermon 11 on Psalm 118.

cannot think that wilful begging and 'highest poverty' have a foundation in scripture or the holy doctors.⁴³⁰

VIII:31 concerns FitzRalph's attempts to explain a declaration made by pseudo-Bernard that Christ as a boy of twelve years and alone in the temple, will have begged.⁴³¹ Bernard's declaration can be found as 'evidence' of Christ's mendicancy in Bonaventure's *Apologia Pauperum*.⁴³² It was the text John Pecham used to begin his *Tractatus Pauperis*.⁴³³ The sermon is also found in a number of Franciscan defenses of mendicancy from the early fourteenth-century, which indicates why FitzRalph feels the need to offer an alternative interpretation.⁴³⁴ The issue is also discussed in a late antimendicant tract by FitzRalph, *Quia in proposicione nuper facta*.⁴³⁵

This tract has been studied by Fiona Somerset, who believes its significance has been overlooked by historians, partly due its frequent misattribution in manuscript catalogues.⁴³⁶ Yet Somerset seems unaware that the arguments in the *Quia* are found, often in more detail, in book

⁴³⁰ 'Haec ite si quis premissa diligenter attendat puto quod pro ista spontanea mendicitate conficta paucissima aut nulla solida in sacris libris aut in sanctorum doctorum scripturis invenit'. MS 180, fol. 118^{rb}.

⁴³¹ The text is scribed to Bernard, but is itself clearly marked 'Aelredi Abbatis Rievallis Tractatus de Iesu Puero Duodenni'. PL 184, Cols. 0817B-0828B. For manuscript evidence indicating the popularity of this sermon throughout the Middle Ages, see (Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought*), p. 233. Bartholomew of Pisa used the story to argue that Christ sought alms door to door. See (Bartholomew of Pisa, *De Conformitate Vitae Beati Francisci ad Vitam Domini Iesu nostri Redemptoris*) iv, pp. 127-128.

⁴³² (Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia* VIII), p. 274.

⁴³³ (Little, *Selections from Pecham's Tractatus Pauperis or De Perfectione Evangelica*), p. 21.

⁴³⁴ See for example the contemporary remarks of the Bishop of Riga and Cardinal Bertrand de la Tour, who both use Bernard's words to prove Christ's mendicancy. (Jones, Hervaeus, *Natalis: The Poverty of Christ and the Apostles*), pp. 127-8, 130. Carmelite Richard of Maidstone also pointed to Bernard's sermon as proof of the mendicancy of Christ. See (Williams, *Protectorium pauperis, a Defense of the Begging Friars by Richard of Maidstone*), p. 158.

⁴³⁵ Somerset lists those manuscripts which contain the *Quia*. See (Somerset, *Excitative Speech: Theories of Emotive Response from Richard FitzRalph to Margery Kempe*), pp. 73-4. See also (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), p. 441.

⁴³⁶ (Somerset, *Excitative Speech: Theories of Emotive Response from Richard FitzRalph to Margery Kempe*), p. 60. This thesis will refer to the version of the *Quia* in MS 64, fols. 90^r-97^v. That manuscript's summary catalogue entitles the tract *Objectiones et Responsiones domini Armachani circa mendicitatem Christi pretensam per fratres*, based on the glossed description in fol. 90^r. See James, M. R. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895), p. 47. The *Quia* is also found, though titled *Quoniam in proposicione nuper facta* in an early printed book containing *Defensio curatorum* and other antimendicant works of FitzRalph's, see Billaine, P., ed. *Richardus Archiepiscopi Armachani Hyberniae Primatis: Defensorium Curatorum aduersus eos qui privilegiatos se dicunt* (Paris: Peter Billaine, 1633), pp. 95-140.

VIII.⁴³⁷ She translates FitzRalph's explanation in the *Quia* that saints have four ways of speaking: 'sometimes excitatively, sometimes expositively, sometimes assertively, but in passing over certain matters along the way, and sometimes assertively and in a probative or definitive manner.'⁴³⁸ She continues: 'no previous writer involved in the poverty controversy who cites pseudo-Bernard on this point makes any such claim, whereas all subsequent writers who say something like this clearly rely on FitzRalph'.⁴³⁹ FitzRalph makes this same argument, though worded slightly differently, in VIII:31, emphasizing that St Bernard would not have intended that the episode about the young Christ be discussed without asserting that it was for edification.⁴⁴⁰

FitzRalph rationalizes the act of saying something inappropriate when under great emotion with the illustration of Job cursing the day of his birth.⁴⁴¹ He also cites Eustratius of Nicea's *Super librum Ethicorum* (which tended mistakenly to be attributed to Franciscan theologian Eustace of Arras), and Giles of Rome's book on Aristotle's book of *Physics*, to explain the principles by which multiple interpretations might be understood.⁴⁴² FitzRalph returns to the point that scriptural truth should be privileged over other interpretations, adding that in certain cases only one interpretation of Scripture is correct.⁴⁴³

⁴³⁷ Somerset notes discrepancies in certain manuscript renditions of this passage, but does not hypothesize that the text might also feature in a separate manuscript. See (Somerset, Clerical Discourse and Lay Audience in Late Medieval England), p. 173, fn. 68.

⁴³⁸ Ibid., pp. 172-173. Somerset's translation: '*aliquando excitatiue, aliquando expositiue, aliquando assertiue sed transcursiue siue inaduertentis, et aliquando assertiue ac probatiue seu diffinitiue*', taken from Oxford, Bodley MS 158, fol. 169 (as cited by Somerset).

⁴³⁹ (Somerset, Excitative Speech: Theories of Emotive Response from Richard FitzRalph to Margery Kempe), p. 64. Somerset widely locates those who have been influenced by FitzRalph's point. 'Provable direct influence aside, writers such as Richard Rolle, John Trevisa, Thomas Usk, John Lydgate, the writer "Jack Upland" of the *Upland Series*, and Margery Kempe also help to demonstrate the importance and influence of FitzRalph's theory through their contributions to a broader cultural conversation about the potential effects of excitative speech.' *ibid.*, p. 61.

⁴⁴⁰ '*non intendit quod dicit discutere sive asserere sed edificare*'. MS 121, fol. 165^v. This quotation is taken from the Lambeth Palace Library manuscript, as there seems to be a scribal error in the Corpus Christi manuscript, where the scribe accidentally omitted part of the text, seemingly confused by the repeated use of *aliquam*. See MS 180, fol. 117^{va}.

⁴⁴¹ (Job 3:1)

⁴⁴² Both arguments are used in VIII:31. For more on the authorial misattribution, see Lohr, C. H., 'Medieval Latin Aristotle Commentaries: Authors A - F', *Traditio*, 23 (1967), 313-413, p. 406.

⁴⁴³ MS 180, fols 117^{va}-118^{rb}.

He refers to Augustine's *On the Literal Meaning of Genesis*, where Augustine affirmed the need to remain open to alternative explanations of scripture if improvements.⁴⁴⁴ He also cites sections of the correspondence between Augustine and Jerome on the need to ensure the veracity of the texts included in the canonical scriptures.⁴⁴⁵ However the purpose of such exposition is not to defend scripture but to discuss the truth of what is written.⁴⁴⁶

The other significant secondary source is Aristotle, cited seven times in book VIII.⁴⁴⁷ Within his earlier antimendicant writings, FitzRalph occasionally referred to Aristotle, citing him in *Unusquisque, Defensio curatorum* and the second London sermon, and briefly in the other books of *De pauperie Salvatoris*.⁴⁴⁸ In book VIII FitzRalph turns to Aristotle to reinforce his arguments about how Christ would have behaved. He draws guidance from the first four books of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, book III of the *Topics*, and Averroes' Commentary to Aristotle's *De Anima*.⁴⁴⁹ In this way he was following on from the customary scholastic use of Aristotle within theological arguments to explain rational belief.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁴⁴ MS 180, fol. 117^{vb}. See PL 34, Cols. 0245-0486 for the text.

⁴⁴⁵ MS 180, fols 117^{vb}-118^{ra}. For Jerome's contribution to the formalization of the canonical Bible, see De Hamel, C. *The Book: A History of the Bible* (London: Phaidon, 2001), pp.12-21. For a more general introduction, see Boynton, S. and Reilly, D. J., 'Orientation for the Reader', in *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception & Performance in Western Christianity*, eds. S. Boynton and D. J. Reilly (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 1-9, pp. 2-3.

⁴⁴⁶ 'exponendo non pro defensione sed pro expositione scribentis discutere veritatem'. MS 180, fol. 117^{rb}.

⁴⁴⁷ MS 180, fols 92^{vb}, 96^{va}, 110^{ra}, 110^{rb} (twice), 112^{va}, and 117^{vb}.

⁴⁴⁸ The 1350 *Unusquisque* sermon cited Aristotle's *Prior Analytics*, (Hammerich, The Beginning of the Strife between Richard FitzRalph and the Mendicants, with an Edition of his Autobiographical Prayer and his Proposition *Unusquisque*), p. 63, and book IV of Aristotle's *Ethics* was quoted in *Defensio curatorum*, see (Perry, John Trevisa: '*Dialogus inter militem et clericum*', Richard FitzRalph's sermon '*Defensio curatorum*', and, Methodius: '*pe bygynnyng of pe world and pe ende of worldes*'), p. 85. For the second London sermon, see MS 65, 79^{vb}. Aristotle is also quoted in FitzRalph's *Commentary on the Sentences*, see (Dunne, Richard FitzRalph's *Lectura on the Sentences*), p. 421.

⁴⁴⁹ Georg Wieland has noted that Aquinas wrote widely on Aristotle's *Ethics*, his Commentary used by Dominican scholars, but that Bonaventure had found the subject 'superfluous and misleading'. Wieland, G., 'The Reception and Interpretation of Aristotle's *Ethics*', in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy: From the Rediscovery of Aristotle to the Disintegration of Scholasticism, 1100-1600*, eds. N. Kretzmann, A. Kenny and J. Pinborg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 657-672, pp. 662, 666.

⁴⁵⁰ 'Increasingly steeped in Plato and Aristotle, both twelfth- and thirteenth-century scholars were profoundly interested in the tension they saw as existing between the dictates of reason—an innate, God-given faculty human beings used to understand truths about the world and which separated man from animals—and the requirements of Faith.' Rist, R. *Popes and Jews, 1095-1291* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 223. Pantin noted Benedictine Uthred of Boldon's ubiquitous use of Aristotle in his theological treatises. Pantin, W. A., 'Two Treatises of Uthred of Boldon on the Monastic Life', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke*, eds. R. W. Hunt, W. A. Pantin and R. W. Southern (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948), 363-385, p. 284.

Evangelical Perfection and the Imitation of Christ

Chapter one noted the under-reported etymology of the term 'evangelical perfection' within the historiography of mendicancy. FitzRalph discusses the term in book VIII, writing that privileges granted to the friars have been based on their perceived state of evangelical perfection.⁴⁵¹ His own definition of evangelical perfection is based on on the natural law of Matthew 7:12: '*whatever you wish that others would do to you, do also to them, for this is the Law and the Prophets*', used thirteen times throughout book VIII.⁴⁵² He argues it is astonishing to hear mendicant privileges rationalized as evangelical perfection, since friars do not share with other religious orders, thus rejecting the principle at the heart of Matthew 7:12.⁴⁵³ This principle is translated by Trevisa as '*þe lawe of þe neiȝbore*', the law Christ would have broken, had he begged.⁴⁵⁴

Finding a way to turn the polemical point about appropriate behaviour into a theological one, FitzRalph explains that correct evangelical behaviour is derived from what Christ can be observed doing in the Bible.⁴⁵⁵ FitzRalph uses two different terms: the law of the Gospel, and the truth of the Gospel, and he turns to the Epistle to the Galatians for assistance.⁴⁵⁶ He reminds his audience that the Apostle Paul there made a distinction between the Gospel revealed by Christ and another 'gospel' taught by men.⁴⁵⁷ Paul reproached his fellow apostle Peter for not observing

⁴⁵¹ '*asserunt se statum evangeleum perfectionis tenere ac gerere*'. MS 180, fol. 102^{rb}.

⁴⁵² MS 180, fols. 93^{va}, 100^{ra}, 100^{rb}, 101^{ra}, 102^{ra}, 102^{rb}, 105^{ra}, 106^{ra}, 110^{ra}, 111^{va}, 123^{ra} (sometimes appearing multiple times on the same leaf).

⁴⁵³ '*cum ipsi fratres nollent quod alii religiosi ista privilegia ab ei tollerent... ymo amplius stupeo qua fronte audent publice affirmare atque docere et sciere ut asserent se statum evangelice perfectionis tenere ac gerere qui statis in punti ex tot particulis privantibus legem Dei quasi affirmantis quibusdam componitur*'. MS 180, fol. 102^{rb}.

⁴⁵⁴ (Perry, John Trevisa: '*Dialogus inter militem et clericum*', Richard FitzRalph's sermon '*Defensio curatorum*', and, Methodius: '*þe bygynnyng of þe world and þe ende of worldes*'), p. 82.

⁴⁵⁵ MS 180, fol. 102^{va}.

⁴⁵⁶ '*legem evangelicam*' MS 180, fol. 102^{rb}; '*veritate evangelii*'. MS 180, fol. 102^{va}.

⁴⁵⁷ '*non ab hominem sed per revellationem domini Ihesus Christi*'. MS 180, fols 102^{rb}-102^{va}. (Galathians 1:6) This New Testament episode was discussed in a heated exchange of letters between Augustine and Jerome, see (Craun, *Ethics and Power in Medieval English Reformist Writing*), pp. 15, 74.

the Gospel of Christ, but teaching another gospel.⁴⁵⁸ This point links to the argument made in the first London sermon, that there currently are disputed ways of following Christ.⁴⁵⁹

This is a different understanding of the perfect life to one commonly found in mendicant defenses, namely the use of Christ's counsel to the Rich Young Ruler that in order to be perfect one must sell one's possessions and give to the poor.⁴⁶⁰ FitzRalph illustrates his version of the perfect life in VIII:23, VIII:24, VIII:25 and VIII:33. VIII:23 explores six examples from Christ's life showing that the perfect life does not pertain to begging.⁴⁶¹

How to imitate Christ is developed in VIII:24 with a reminder that the scriptural definition for the perfect life is found in Acts 1:1, specifically all that Jesus 'began to do and teach'.⁴⁶² The natural law Christ would have followed is Matthew 7:12.⁴⁶³ Turning to an Old Testament principle to regulate Christ's behaviour, the text also quotes the tenth commandment forbidding covetousness.⁴⁶⁴ Penn Szittyá deemed that commandment, from Exodus 20:17, to be 'the leading *leitmotif* in [FitzRalph's] works'.⁴⁶⁵ Book VIII demonstrates that at the end of his campaign, this text from Matthew had supplanted Exodus to become the preferred verse to underscore his argument.

VIII:25 constitutes the perfect life as marked by giving, citing a number of scriptural verses.⁴⁶⁶ FitzRalph notes certain episodes in Christ's life, concluding that to say that the perfect life pertains to wilful begging is to call Christ a sinner, since he himself clearly worked as a carpenter.⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁵⁸ MS 180, fol. 102^{va}. (Galatians 1:8)

⁴⁵⁹ See fn. 28.

⁴⁶⁰ Thomas Aquinas based his understanding of 'the perfection of Christian life' on this the verse. ST II-II q.188, a.7. (Matthew 19:21)

⁴⁶¹ MS 180, fols 110^{rb}-111^{rb}.

⁴⁶² MS 180, fol. 110^{rb}. (Acts 1:1)

⁴⁶³ MS 180, fols 110^{rb}-111^{va}.

⁴⁶⁴ MS 180, fol. 111^{va}. (Exodus 20:17)

⁴⁶⁵ (Szittyá, *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature*), p. 139.

⁴⁶⁶ MS 180, fols 112^{rb}-113^{rb}. The verses are Luke 11:41, Luke 3:14, Matthew 6:19, Luke 16:9, James 5:11, and John 13:27-29.

⁴⁶⁷ MS 180, fol. 112^{vb}.

VIII:33 revisits the argument that the perfect life is seen in what Christ began 'to do and to teach'.⁴⁶⁸ Signalling the hypocrisy of the friars, FitzRalph argues that Christ rebuked the Pharisees for teaching what they did not do, here quoting Matthew 23:3. He expands upon the principle taught by Christ that actions, not talk, should be obeyed, using the principle of Matthew 23:3 to apply to Deuteronomy 15:4. By this he concludes that had Christ taught begging, such advice would be contrary to the prohibition on beggars in Deuteronomy.⁴⁶⁹

Another way FitzRalph debunks a mendicant construction of what constitutes the perfect life is to argue that if wilful begging had been part of the perfect life, the Holy Spirit would have taught this. Rather the apostles never expressed such a thing, which demonstrates that such a condition of the perfect life does not exist.⁴⁷⁰

The context for Christ's suffering is explored, with a marginal gloss inviting the reader to note the manner in which Christ died.⁴⁷¹ Two scriptures are used to explain Christ's actions, Christ's words that '*the good shepherd lays down his life for his sheep*',⁴⁷² and the text from the first Epistle of John: '*by this we know God, that he laid down his life for us, and we ought to lay down our lives for the brothers*'.⁴⁷³

Invitations to meditate on the wounds of Christ were commonplace in late-medieval devotional literature; representations of the needy Christ in his Passion became a standard

⁴⁶⁸ MS 180, fol. 118^{vb}. (Acts 1:1)

⁴⁶⁹ Without specifying a patristic author, the *Gloss* links this verse to Acts 4:34. Nicholas of Lyra's explanation states: '*Ut bene multiplicando te in bonis temporalibus & spiritualibus*'. See Strabus, F., ed. *Bibliorum Sacrorum cum Glossa Ordinaria*, 6 vols: Ventiis, 1603), i, pp. 1543-4.

⁴⁷⁰ '*Item si docuisse spontanee mendicare tamquam perfectionem vite illud spiritus sanctus per aliquam evangelistarum alicubi expressisset. Cum vero econtra id in scripturis apostolicis nullibi exprimaturs sequi videtur quod saltem tanquam perfectionis condicio non existit*'. MS 180, fol. 119^{ra}.

⁴⁷¹ '*quare Christus moriebatur nota rationes*'. MS 180, fol. 109^{va}.

⁴⁷² John 10:10. (Christ's description in John 10 of the sheep and entry into the sheepfold is used by FitzRalph in VIII:13 within a wider argument on vocation and legitimacy, MS 180, fol. 100^{vb}.)

⁴⁷³ MS 180, fol. 109^{va}. In place of the word *deum* in this manuscript's rendition of the verse, the Vulgate has *caritatem*. (1 John 3:16)

fixture.⁴⁷⁴ Francis received his stigmata while meditating on the suffering of Christ.⁴⁷⁵ Yet FitzRalph minimizes concepts of Christ as a suffering sacrifice.⁴⁷⁶ In VIII:25, he expresses frustration at the depiction of Christ as always naked in the manner of the aesthetes and flagellants (*ut quomodam gymnosophiste*), and perpetually showing the marks of his Passion. FitzRalph likens this focus on blood and suffering to the cultic practices performed by the priests of Baal, as described in 1 Kings 18:28.⁴⁷⁷ Overall, book VIII shows remarkably little soteriological concern or attention.⁴⁷⁸

Wilful Begging

FitzRalph argues that begging can only be a temporary state concerning the immediate deprivation of possessions.⁴⁷⁹ He openly labels the concept of wilful begging to be fictitious.⁴⁸⁰ He explains what actual begging entails in his examination of the mechanics of poverty, stressing that it is neither a lawful nor a just practice.⁴⁸¹

FitzRalph's scholarly proposition that wilful begging is logically impossible has been met with surprise or even scepticism by some.⁴⁸² Yet Book VIII demonstrates how FitzRalph

⁴⁷⁴ See for example Margery Kempe's *Book*, Windeatt, B. A., ed. *The Book of Margery Kempe* (Harlow: Longman, 2000); see also Rubin, M. *Corpus Christi: the Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 315; (Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400-c.1580*), pp. 234-5.

⁴⁷⁵ The *Vita Prima* of Francis by Thomas of Celano contains a graphic description of the marks of the stigmata on Francis' body and clothing, noting particularly the frequent flow of blood. Armstrong, R. J., Hellmann, J. A. W., Short, W. J., Meneset'o, E. and Brufani, S., eds. *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents* (Charlottesville: InteleX Corporation, 2006), p. 264.

⁴⁷⁶ He had quoted Paul's description of Christ in Philippians 2 in I:26 of *De pauperie Salvatoris*, but only verse eight concerning Christ's obedience, not the verse describing Christ's servant nature. (Poole, *Iohannis Wycliffe, De Dominio Divino Libri Tres*, to which are added the first four books of the Treatise *De Pauperie Salvatoris* by Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh), p. 320.

⁴⁷⁷ '*cultus more sacerdotum Baal ut legitur III Regis XVIII capitulo*'. MS 180, fol. 112^{rb}. See Peter Marshall for other late medieval clerical warnings against religious excess. (Marshall, *Catholic Puritanism in Pre-Reformation England*), pp. 435-436. See also Owst, G. R. *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England: a Neglected Chapter in the History of English Letters and of the English People* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1961), pp. 48-9, 135-45.

⁴⁷⁸ Marcia Colish had similarly noted in the writings of Peter Lombard the emphasis on Christ's humility: 'so that His crucifixion is rendered unnecessary, except for its unique power to provoke an emotional response from man'. (Colish, *Peter Lombard*), p. 469.

⁴⁷⁹ See Appendix A.

⁴⁸⁰ '*ista spontanea mendicitate conficta*'. MS 180, fol. 118^{rb}.

⁴⁸¹ '*debes attendere quod ergo ad mendicitatem spontanee observandam nullam lex iusta*'. MS 180, fol. 109^{rb}.

⁴⁸² Kate Crassons writes the archbishop: 'makes an extraordinary claim in attempting "to establish that voluntary need [is] by definition impossible; anyone who [is] voluntary needy by definition [has] the wherewithal to avoid need, and [is] thus not a true beggar, but a false one"'. (Crassons, *The Claims of Poverty: Literature, Culture, and*

constructs his argument through a combination of scriptural exemplars and Aristotelian reasoning. Furthermore, Bartholomew of Bolsenheim's 1357 tract had used an entire chapter (out of nine) to address this one point.⁴⁸³ This suggests that FitzRalph's argument was considered damaging by its opponents.⁴⁸⁴

The significance of the argument is clear in book VIII. VIII:1 addresses how begging is described scripturally, and explains it is impossible for those who are materially-rich to refer to themselves as beggars.⁴⁸⁵ *Johannes* notes that in scripture there are two type of begging: one is a spiritual sense, which does not encompass seeking clothing or livelihood; the other is a bodily sense, illustrated by the biblical Lazarus.⁴⁸⁶ He continues that there are two types of biblical neediness, a mortal type exemplified by Psalm 33:10, and a spiritual type, illustrated with Romans 3:23-24.

Similarly, two types of poverty can be spoken of, the first being the warning to the Laodicean Church in the book of Revelation, who think they are rich because they are wealthy, but because of their spiritual poverty are actually poor (Revelation 3:17), and the type referred to in Isaiah 51:21, an incapacity other than intoxication. Teaching about begging is found in Psalms 39:17, and 108:17, the latter verse illustrating a misery which necessitates begging, and the former demonstrating that God wishes to alleviate poverty.⁴⁸⁷ Having given a biblical meaning of

Ideology in Late Medieval England), p. 145. See also (Scase, 'Piers Plowman' and the New Anti-clericalism), p. 67, from whom Crassons was quoting.

⁴⁸³ (Meersseman, *La défense des ordres mendiants contre Richard Fitz Ralph*, par Barthélemy de Bolsenheim O. P. (1357)), pp. 165-167. In his own later defense of mendicant poverty, Carmelite friar Richard Maidstone had summed up FitzRalph's argument as: 'to beg voluntarily is to beg undriven by need', which indicates how important FitzRalph's the argument was to contemporaries. (Williams, *Protectorium pauperis*, a Defense of the Begging Friars by Richard of Maidstone), p. 156. '*Spontanee mendicare est mendicare nulla necessitate cogente*'. (Translation from (Scase, 'Piers Plowman' and the New Anti-clericalism), p. 67.)

⁴⁸⁴ Carmelite Richard of Maidstone summed up FitzRalph's argument as: '*Spontanee mendicus est qui mendicat praeter articulum necessitatis*'. (Williams, *Protectorium pauperis*, a Defense of the Begging Friars by Richard of Maidstone), p. 153. See also (Clopper, *Songes of Rechelesnesse: Langland and the Franciscans*), p. 60, fn. 83.

⁴⁸⁵ De Rijk summarizes: 'taking advantage of the ambivalent semantic area of the key focal terms of the discussion is one of the main characteristics of terminism'. (Rijk, *Semantics and Ontology: An Assessment of Medieval Terminism*), p. 55.

⁴⁸⁶ See Appendix A. (Luke 16:20-21)

⁴⁸⁷ Psalm 39 was a scripture used to justify mendicancy. See fn. 563

begging as a state equated with poverty and misery, which God rectifies, *Johannes* considers another type of begging, the result of sin and laziness, illustrated with Proverbs 3:33 and Proverbs 6:11.⁴⁸⁸

The discussion moves to semantic clarification, with *Johannes* asking *Ricardus* to describe what begging actually is, and whether the rich are able to beg.⁴⁸⁹ *Ricardus* explores practical conditions where one would need to beg, noting the term conveys misery without virtue.⁴⁹⁰ Having created an epistemological foundation for begging, the discussion moves on to the fiction (*ficte*) of fraternal mendicancy.⁴⁹¹ As *Ricardus* explains, if one is speaking truly and appropriately about mendicancy, the rich cannot beg.⁴⁹² A marginal note explains: '*it is never possible for the rich to beg*'.⁴⁹³ In his second London sermon, FitzRalph similarly glosses that to be a beggar is to be 'in a state of misery'.⁴⁹⁴

The terms for doing something wilfully, *spontaneum* or *sponte*, hardly appeared in *De pauperie Salvatoris*'s earlier books.⁴⁹⁵ Yet in his first London sermon FitzRalph explored meanings and interpretations of *voluntas*, making the argument that to voluntarily offer something is not the same as voluntarily receiving something.⁴⁹⁶ This grammatical study of doing something in a wilful or voluntary manner is then developed in book VIII. This demonstrates the development in the arguments FitzRalph uses through the course of his antimendicant campaign. As it reached its final stages, FitzRalph relies more heavily on logic, and uses grammatical foundations upon which to build theological arguments opposing mendicancy.

⁴⁸⁸ See Appendix A.

⁴⁸⁹ See Appendix A.

⁴⁹⁰ See Appendix A.

⁴⁹¹ See Appendix A.

⁴⁹² See Appendix A.

⁴⁹³ '*numquid dives potest mendicare*'. MS 180, fol. 92^{va}.

⁴⁹⁴ '*Esse mendicum conditio sum portione extat miserie*'. MS 65, fol. 80^{ra}.

⁴⁹⁵ The word appeared twice in books VI and VII, and once in book V, though on two of those occasions it featured as a quotation from *Exiit*, the controversial pro-Franciscan papal bull.

⁴⁹⁶ '*et non potest esse voluntas que offert eadem cum voluntate acceptante*'. MS 65, fol. 75^{vb}.

Having examined the nature of begging, VIII:2 starts with *Johannes* asking *Ricardus* to explain what the word 'wilfully' means.⁴⁹⁷ *Ricardus* responds by undertaking a lexicographical study of the verbe *spondere*. The word can be said to have three senses: 'to guarantee, to promise, and to will'. This leads to a study of differences between doing something in a wilful manner and in a voluntary manner, which are not synonymous, either in scripture or according to Aristotle.⁴⁹⁸

The relevant section from Aristotle, mediated via the Commentary by Averroes, is from the third book of the *Nicomachean Ethics*. An important part of FitzRalph's methodological process throughout book VIII can be seen here, namely a combination of the authority of scripture with rational explanation, the mechanics of which are provided by Aristotle. The notion of faith grounded in reason was a continuous part of Christian exegesis. For example, the idea that a rational mind can comprehend or understand God had been promoted by Augustine, FitzRalph's preferred theologian.⁴⁹⁹

At the beginning of book III of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle discussed three determinates upon which actions are taken: voluntary, involuntary and choice.⁵⁰⁰ FitzRalph builds on these to determine that there are three modes or grades of wilfulness, all of which he illustrates through scripture.⁵⁰¹ The first mode is a completely free act of which there is no perception of need or urgency, exemplified with an Old Testament verse about freewill offerings.⁵⁰² The second mode is without suffering, connected to an obligation from a freely-made vow. This is summed up with reference to a voluntary Passover offering, and also in the New Testament admonition

⁴⁹⁷ *Johannes. Expone ergo verbum illud spontaneum*. MS 180, fol. 92^{vb}.

⁴⁹⁸ See Appendix A. On FitzRalph's use of Averroes, see (Dunne, Richard FitzRalph's *Lectura* on the *Sentences*), p. 421; (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), p. 48.

⁴⁹⁹ For example: '*Ille autem, qui consulitur, docet, qui in interiore homine habitare dictus est Christus, id est incommutabilis dei virtus atque sempiterna sapientia, quam quidem omnis rationalis anima consulit*', Green, W. M., ed. *St Augustine: Contra Academicos* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), p. 196, as cited in Schumacher, L., *Divine Illumination: the History and Future of Augustine's Theory of Knowledge* (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2011), p. 6.

⁵⁰⁰ Rackham, H., ed. *Aristotle: Nicomachean Ethics* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2014), pp. 116-119.

⁵⁰¹ See Appendix A. (Numbers 29:39, 2 Chronicles 35:8, 1 Peter 5: 2 and Judith 7:15-16)

⁵⁰² See Appendix A. (Numbers 29:39)

that pastors should shepherd their flocks willingly.⁵⁰³ The third mode of wilfulness is a voluntary action predicated by threat or urgency, selected only when preferable to an alternative. *Ricardus* illustrates this from the book of Judith, where the besieged Hebrews rationalized it would be better to surrender to Holofernes and live than to die.⁵⁰⁴ *Ricardus* continues that genuinely wilful begging falls under this third mode.⁵⁰⁵

FitzRalph further decodes the concept of wilful begging in VIII:33, laying out why Christ could not have wilfully begged according to the principle of Acts 1:1, a verse which lays out the blueprint for how to follow Christ.⁵⁰⁶ Wilful begging was not mentioned in the list of things Christ told his followers to do at the end of the Gospel of Mark. Furthermore, he argues, if Christ had taught that wilful begging was the perfect life, then the Holy Spirit would have expressed this elsewhere through the other Evangelists.⁵⁰⁷ Here we see FitzRalph's positioning of the Bible as the essential source of knowledge for Christ's incarnated life; nowhere in Scripture is such a state apostolically expressed, so it must clearly follow that this type of perfection did not exist.⁵⁰⁸

In VIII:23 he explains that Christ never begged spontaneously, nor was he a beggar since he was constrained by law. The law in question is Deuteronomy 15:4: '*But there will be no needy and beggars among you*'.⁵⁰⁹ FitzRalph had earlier made this point in *Defensio curatorum*, yet in book VIII he develops the argument.⁵¹⁰ A further Old Testament text is used: '*You shall not*

⁵⁰³ See Appendix A. 92 Chronicles 35:7 and 1 Peter 5:2)

⁵⁰⁴ See Appendix A. (Judith 7:15-160

⁵⁰⁵ MS 180, fol. 93^{rb}.

⁵⁰⁶ See fn. 462.

⁵⁰⁷ '*Si docuisse spontanee mendicare tamquam profectionem vite illud spiritus sanctus per aliquam evangelistarum alicubi expressisset*'. MS 180, fol. 119^{ra}.

⁵⁰⁸ '*Cum vero econtra id in scripturis apostolicis nullibi exprimatur sequi videtur quod saltem tanquam perfectionis condicio non existit*'. MS 180, fol. 119^{ra}.

⁵⁰⁹ (Deuteronomy 15:4): '*omnino egens et mendicus non erit inter vos*'. MS 180, fol. 110^{rb}. Bonaventure provided another explanation for this scriptural verse, see fn. 1085.

⁵¹⁰ See (Perry, John Trevisa: '*Dialogus inter militem et clericum*', Richard FitzRalph's sermon '*Defensio curatorum*', and, Methodius: '*þe bygynyng of þe world and þe ende of worldes*'), p. 81. The manuscript this Middle English edition is taken from, British Library MS Harley 1900, mistakenly gives the chapter reference as Deuteronomy 19. However, an early printed edition of the Latin text gives the correct scriptural citation. See (Billaine, *Richardi Archiepiscopi Armachani Hyberniae Primatis: Defensorium Curatorum aduersus eos qui privilegiatos se dicunt*), p. 74.

muzzle an ox when it is treading out the grain'.⁵¹¹ The explanation for this second verse is that the Gospel teaches the principle that men who labour receive food; the underlying principle is one of appropriate reward for work.

The generic criticism of begging, from Proverbs 30:8, which was used by William of St Amour in his *De periculis*, is cited both in the *Defensio* and book VIII.⁵¹² Proverbs 30 is cited alongside Proverbs 22 in VIII:37 to illustrate the argument that the superior act of contemplation of Mary to the labour of Martha should not be understood to encourage mendicancy, since both those sections of Proverbs teach that neediness can lead to sin.⁵¹³ Proverbs 30:8 is quoted fully in VIII:39 to argue that begging leads to the sin of theft, illustrating FitzRalph's argument that the line: '*lead us not into temptation*' (Matthew 6:13), shows that wilful begging—since it voluntarily leads to temptation to steal—contravenes the *Paternoster*.⁵¹⁴

It is worth noting that Proverbs 30:8 does not form the main part of the argument, FitzRalph preferring to use Matthew 7:12 or Exodus 20:17.⁵¹⁵ This underscores the degree to which FitzRalph is making an original case, and not recycling the positions of William of St Amour or Gerard of Abbeville.⁵¹⁶

VIII:23 addresses the point that there ought always to be divine provision, so there would be no need for 'spontaneous'--in the sense of immediate--begging. *Ricardus* now considers a

⁵¹¹ (Deuteronomy 25:4) This scriptural verse is included in an extended quotation from 1 Corinthians 9:7-15a, in VIII:7, during a discussion of the principles of reward and payment.

⁵¹² MS 180, fol. 123^{rb}. For the *Defensio*, see (Perry, John Trevisa: '*Dialogus inter militem et clericum*', Richard FitzRalph's sermon '*Defensio curatorum*', and, Methodius: '*þe bygynnyng of þe world and þe ende of worldes*'), p. 47.

⁵¹³ MS 180, fol. 121^{rb}. The story of Christ's discussion with sisters Martha and Mary (Luke 10:38-42) was a constant theme in theological exegesis to represent the active and contemplative lives. See for example Augustine's sermon 103 on the story, PL 38, Cols. 0613-0616. Benedictine monk Uthred of Boldon discussed the episode in his text, *De perfectione vivendi* (dated by Pantin to 1374-6) which survives in Durham Cathedral Library, MS. B. IV. fol. 34 (as cited in (Pantin, *Two Treatises of Uthred of Boldon on the Monastic Life*), p. 377).

⁵¹⁴ MS 180, fol. 123^{rb}.

⁵¹⁵ See fns 464 and 465. Exodus 20:17 is used three times in book VIII, in MS 180, fols 111^{va}, 122^{va-vb}, and 123^{ra}.

⁵¹⁶ Matthew 7:12 is quoted thirteen times throughout book VIII, yet neither William of St Amour nor Gerard of Abbeville use the verse in their criticisms of the friars. See fn. 452.

further logical conclusion to his argument, that since Christ was forbidden by law from begging, and as he observed the law, then it is a sin to suggest that he begged voluntarily and thus transgressed this law, in the way that anyone who begged spontaneously would be transgressing.⁵¹⁷ This is further illustrated by Proverbs 14:34: '*Righteousness exalts a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people*'. FitzRalph concludes that since it was not possible for Christ to sin, it was similarly impossible for him to have begged.⁵¹⁸

FitzRalph's methodology of turning to the Old Testament to provide behavioural 'laws' which Christ would have been obliged to obey, was challenged by his mendicant detractors. Bartholomew of Bolsenheim responded that Christ in his virginity would then have transgressed the ancient law that High Priests must be married.⁵¹⁹

Another line of argument pursued by FitzRalph is to question the very papal validation friars relied upon. *Ricardus* explains that Pope Nicholas erred in affirming wilful begging by ignorantly not knowing that scripture condemns the practice.⁵²⁰ He continues that all wilful acts of holiness are understood to be such if they do not lead to sin. Citing book three of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, FitzRalph refers to the philosopher's discussion of involuntary acts, which should not be considered sins as they were undertaken through ignorance.⁵²¹ *Ricardus* concludes, on account of the philosopher's reasoning, that begging cannot be understood to be holy and sensible because it is spoken of strongly in the first mode (a deed which will lead to sin).⁵²²

FitzRalph uses the philosophical reasoning of Aristotle to fill gaps left by scripture's enigmatic presentations of poverty and neediness. One such enigmatic portrayal of poverty is

⁵¹⁷ MS180, fol. 110^{vb}.

⁵¹⁸ '*lege iusta*'. MS180, fol. 109^{rb}.

⁵¹⁹ (Meersseman, *La défense des ordres mendiants contre Richard Fitz Ralph, par Barthélemy de Bolsenheim O. P. (1357)*), p. 153.

⁵²⁰ See fn. 420.

⁵²¹ MS 180, fol. 126^{rb}. See (Rackham, *Aristotle: Nicomachean Ethics*), pp. 118-23.

⁵²² '*mendicatio non potest sancte et prudenter etc ne quis fortassis primum modum loquendi amplius acceptaret*'. MS 180, fol. 126^{rb}.

highlighted through *Johannes'* observation that Christ could have endorsed wilful begging when he observed in the story of the widow's mite that the widow gave 'all that she had to live on'.⁵²³

VIII:42 explores how mendicant friars, and the phenomenon of begging, have changed the structure of the Church. *Johannes* and *Ricardus* discuss the recent spectacle of canonizations of mendicant saints, whose claims to sainthood were located solely in their mendicancy.⁵²⁴ *Ricardus* clarifies that this new acceptance of 'begging' as a worthy case for canonization cannot be attributed to knowledge about the holiness and wisdom which these beggars observed (*sancte ac prudenter mendicitatem servabant*), but grounded in a lack of understanding among the laity concerning mendicancy.⁵²⁵ He suggests that both Francis and Alexis, the legendary beggar saint from Edessa whose cult became popular in the West from the end of the tenth-century, were laymen while they were beggars.⁵²⁶ Debate continues over the precise historical nature of Francis' clerical status.⁵²⁷ In book VIII, *Ricardus* states that God is able to reward holy intentions and can overlook sins caused by ignorance, giving as exemplars the Old Testament actions of the Hebrew midwives and Rahab the prostitute.⁵²⁸

⁵²³ MS 180, fols 126^{rb}-126^{va}. (Mark 12:44) FitzRalph's use of this story is discussed later this chapter.

⁵²⁴ MS 180, fol. 126^{ra}. A recent book seems to concur: 'the period from 1228 to 1323 can be called the century of "Mendicant Sanctity".' (Prudlo, *Certain Sainthood: Canonization and the Origins of Papal Infallibility in the Medieval Church*), p. 71. Donald Prudlo notes that 'only one of Gregory [IX's] canonizations was of a non-mendicant'. *Ibid.*, p. 78. See also Tierney, B. *Origins of Papal Infallibility, 1150-1350: a Study on the Concepts of Infallibility, Sovereignty and Tradition in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 1972).

⁵²⁵ MS 180, fol. 126^{rb}.

⁵²⁶ MS 180, fol. 126^{rb}. For more on the cult of St Alexis, see fn. 337. For Alexis's significance, see (Lappin, *From Osma to Bologna, from Canons to Friars, from the Preaching to the Preachers: the Dominican Path Towards Mendicancy*), p. 53.

⁵²⁷ Cusato, M., 'Francis of Assisi, Deacon? An Examination of the Claims of the Earliest Franciscan Sources 1229-1235', in *Defenders and Critics of Franciscan Life: Essays in Honor of John V. Fleming*, eds. M. F. Cusato and G. Geltner (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 9-39, esp. p. 12-4; Robson, M. *St. Francis of Assisi: The Legend and the Life* (London: Continuum, 1999), p. 77.

⁵²⁸ MS 180, fol. 126^{rb}. (Exodus 1:15-17; Joshua 2:1-21)

What does Poverty mean? Book VIII compared to Book VI

Historians have understood FitzRalph's depictions of poverty in various ways. Helen Hughes believed it to be unsuccessful.⁵²⁹ Some have even given it a Marxist perspective.⁵³⁰ Dinah Hazell explains it as a form of 'Apostolic poverty'.⁵³¹ Katherine Walsh believed FitzRalph's views to be similar to those of Francis: 'FitzRalph's attitude to poverty and mendicant privileges was emerging as a literal, almost fundamentalist interpretation of the primitive rule of St. Francis'.⁵³²

This view seems broadly shared by historians, one even deducing that FitzRalph was 'consciously reviving' arguments of the Spiritual Franciscans.⁵³³ However, two observations suggest caution when making such a claim. FitzRalph never refers to Spiritual Franciscans, or even to divergent opinions within the Franciscan Order, in book VIII. A second suggestion is that FitzRalph's anthropological portrait of Christ, alongside his narrow and uncompromising framing of poverty as a socio-economic misery with no associated virtue, are not in concord with Spiritual Franciscan framings of poverty.⁵³⁴ David Burr identifies the Franciscan controversy, which gave rise to the dissident group, as more complicated than a binary division between those Franciscans

⁵²⁹ '[Poverty] is the subject which gives its title to the book; to which all the rest leads up; and which might be expected to embody FitzRalph's mature conclusions. Actually, it is the least clear part of the argument; it is full of contradictory statements, and it never reaches a definite conclusion at all'. (Hughes, *An Essay Introductory to the De Pauperie Salvatoris* of Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh), p. 187. See also (Lahey, *Philosophy and Politics in the Thought of John Wyclif*), p. 62.

⁵³⁰ Social historian Christopher Dyer believed FitzRalph 'was beginning to develop a "work ethic"'. (Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c.1200-1520*), p. 238. Hammerich declared: 'One is tempted to define it as the first germs of a system of capitalistic welfare morals, which, if carried out, would dissolve the whole medieval, feudal, hierarchic conception of society; for in this case the foundation of society would no longer be the various traditional classes of society, but the profits of work done under the mercy of God'. (Hammerich, *The Beginning of the Strife between Richard FitzRalph and the Mendicants, with an Edition of his Autobiographical Prayer and his Proposition Unusquisque*), p. 84.

⁵³¹ See fn. 301.

⁵³² (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), p. 375, also p. 434.

⁵³³ (Dawson, *Richard FitzRalph and the Fourteenth-Century Poverty Controversies*), p. 333. See also (Lahey, *Richard FitzRalph and John Wyclif: Untangling Armachanus from the Wycliffites*), p. 176; (Scase, 'Piers Plowman' and the New Anti-clericalism), p. 80-1; (Kerby-Fulton, *Reformist apocalypticism and Piers Plowman*), p. 151; (Haren, *Richard FitzRalph and the Franciscans: Poverty, Privileges, Polemic, 1356-1359*), p. 380.

⁵³⁴ See (Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: from protest to persecution in the century after Saint Francis*).

who wished to follow their founder 'literally', and to those who favoured a freer interpretation of his vision.⁵³⁵

Taken together, these judgements demonstrate a widespread historiographical confusion over what FitzRalph's arguments about poverty actually were, and how he made them. This section offers a fresh examination of how FitzRalph wrote about poverty. Paul Freedman located an 'uneasy awareness' from which medieval elites attempted to write about the poor.⁵³⁶ Yet in books VI and VIII of *De pauperie Salvatoris* in particular, FitzRalph articulates and explains poverty clearly.⁵³⁷

In an sermon he preached in Lichfield in 1345 in honour of St Katherine, which survives in note-form in his sermon diary, FitzRalph referred simply to the poor (*pauperibus*) to whom people should give of their superfluity.⁵³⁸ It could be that the full sermon contained a more complete picture of the poor to whom he was referring, but it may also be the case that before the start of his antimendicant campaign, FitzRalph had not considered the mechanics and practicalities of poverty in detail.⁵³⁹

Crucially, in book VIII he works to destigmatize the social or hierarchical aspects of poverty by figuring Christ as a labouring man, a carpenter. The shame of being poor is removed from the lay or labouring poor and re-situated with those whose poverty compels them to beg.⁵⁴⁰

⁵³⁵ 'The spirituals' notion of the Franciscan life was by no means identical with Francis's own notion, no matter how fondly they may have imagined it to be such'. Ibid., p. 264. See also (Burr, *Effects of the Spiritual Franciscan Controversy on the Mendicant Ideal*), p. 277.

⁵³⁶ (Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant*), p. 289. Sharon Farmer refers to 'the lack of trust that elites had in the verbal testimonies of the poor'. Farmer, S. A., 'The Beggar's Body: Intersections of Gender and Social Status in High Medieval Paris', in *Fifteenth-Century Attitudes: Perceptions of Society in Late Medieval England*, ed. R. Horrox (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 153-171, p. 170.

⁵³⁷ '[E]ven the most unremittingly elite texts contain precious information about the motivations of the unlettered, silenced, and decidedly nonelite'. Strohm, P. *Hochon's Arrow: the Social Imagination of Fourteenth-Century Texts* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 33.

⁵³⁸ MS 144, fol. 2^v. See Wenzel, S., ed. *Preaching in the age of Chaucer: Selected Sermons in Translation* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2008), pp. 192-4 for a translation.

⁵³⁹ 'The preoccupation with poverty is a relatively late development in FitzRalph's outlook.' (Haren, Richard *FitzRalph and the Franciscans: Poverty, Privileges, Polemic, 1356-1359*), p. 381.

⁵⁴⁰ See (Metzler, *A Social History of Disability in the Middle Ages: Cultural Considerations of Physical Impairment*), pp. 165-6; (Rubin, *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge*), p. 68.

Furthermore, FitzRalph disambiguates meanings of poverty by exploring the causes and mechanics of becoming and of being poor. This approach towards poverty is radically different to those taken by other critics of the mendicants, William of St Amour and Gerard of Abbeville. Neither William nor Gerard focussed on the meaning of poverty. William identified the poor as those who deserve charitable support, and as those unable to labour.⁵⁴¹ Gerard's narrow definition of the materially-poor encompassed those who are not able to work.⁵⁴²

FitzRalph's approach is different. VIII:1 opens with a statement by *Johannes* about the type of poverty Christ held while on earth, referring back to definitions of poverty in book VI of *De pauperie Salvatoris*.⁵⁴³ In her summary Katherine Walsh dismissed FitzRalph's discussions on poverty in book VI as a generalized 'case for evangelical poverty'.⁵⁴⁴ Yet FitzRalph evidently deemed his earlier definitions important since he mentions them a number of times in book VIII.⁵⁴⁵

To provide context for the ensuing discussion, a brief summary of book VI's references to poverty will now be given. FitzRalph begins the book by defining four types of poverty:

*Not everyone who is poor ought, grammatically or properly, be called a beggar, or needy or resourceless if a poor person is able to do few things or has a few things, but the man who is needy and resourceless and a beggar...owns nothing.*⁵⁴⁶

⁵⁴¹ *'Ita videtur quod validus corpore qui de labore suo vel aliunde sine peccato vivere potest, si elemosinas pauperum mendicorum recipit, sacrilegium committit'*. (Geltner, William of St Amour: *De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum*), p. 104.

⁵⁴² *'ubi laborent non invenientium'*. (Clasen, Gerard of Abbeville. *Contra adversarium perfectionis christiane*), p. 185, l. 30.

⁵⁴³ MS 180, fol. 60^{vb}. This suggests FitzRalph envisaged book VIII as the completion to books I-VII, even if it was later circulated separately as a pamphlet. See fn. 384.

⁵⁴⁴ (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), pp. 389.

⁵⁴⁵ MS 180, fols 90^{ra}, 91^{vb}, 92^{ra}, 93^{ra}, 94^{va}, 96^{rb}, 96^{vb}, 97^{ra}, 98^{ra}, 104^{ra}, 104^{va}, 109^{vb}, 115^{rb} and 126^{va}.

⁵⁴⁶ *'Non autem omnis pauper debet inops, egenus aut mendicus gramaticaliter et proprie appellari, cum pauper sit qui parem potest seu parem habet et quis sit inops, egenus et mendicus...nichil habet'*. MS 180, fol. 60^{vb}.

It is worth noting that he immediately explains the complexity of poverty.⁵⁴⁷ He notes that four terms are treated as synonyms but have slightly different meanings within scripture.⁵⁴⁸ Now come brief definitions: *inops* is the absence of things; a beggar, *mendicus*, has suffered a deprivation of things which compels him to beg; a needy person, *egenus*, has been forced into that state of need by the deprivation of all possessions. A *pauper* or poor man, on the other hand, does not have much wealth or power, but since what he has is on a relative scale, the term cannot be applied absolutely.⁵⁴⁹

Categorizations of poverty had been a feature within earlier Christian discourse, though definitions often differed.⁵⁵⁰ FitzRalph himself describes in *Defensio curatorum* how a friar had preached on four degrees of poverty, the most perfect involving no possessions, but to '*begge wiþ Crist*'.⁵⁵¹ The hierarchy of poverty in *De pauperie Salvatoris* subverts that order, positioning begging as the lowest state, which itself is sinful.

FitzRalph's four grades of poverty exist on a sliding scale dependant upon circumstances afforded by time, location, and domestic or foreign conditions of life.⁵⁵² This is a marked contrast to what one scholar understands to be a 'classical distinction' in late-antique Christian writings between poverty and destitution.⁵⁵³ FitzRalph appears to address those very 'economic or social

⁵⁴⁷ FitzRalph's sophisticated view of layers of poverty stands at odds with what Diana Wood has termed the 'symbiotic relationship' between rich and poor, which she defined as 'a constant late medieval feature'. (Wood, *Medieval Economic Thought*), p. 43.

⁵⁴⁸ MS 180, fol. 60^{vb}.

⁵⁴⁹ '*Inops enim proprie appellatur qui opibus est privatus; mendicus qui ob opum defectum compellitur mendicare. Egenus, qui propter opum carenciam artatur ut egeat, et hec omnia opum opum privacionem solum important. Et de diviciis nichil positum important. Sed pauper proprie dicitur, ut recte dixisti, qui circa divicias parum potest et secundum magis ac minus diviti suo modo relative magis quam privative opponitur, nullatenus absolute per privacionem rerum ditancium, sed per privacionem gradus rerum huiusmodi in quo gradu eas possidens posset dici habere divicias aut eciam esse divess per eas, unde non solum privacionem sicut nomina priora importat*'. MS 180, fols 60^{vb}-61^{ra}.

⁵⁵⁰ See fns 361 and 362.

⁵⁵¹ (Perry, John Trevisa: '*Dialogus inter militem et clericum*', Richard FitzRalph's sermon '*Defensio curatorum*', and, Methodius: '*þe bygynyng of þe world and þe ende of worldes*'), p. 70.

⁵⁵² '*Unde sicut supra ostendimus quod gradus paupertatis ab aliquo prefigendus ut perpetuo observetur modificari debet iuxta circumstancias loci temporum et condiciones homini incolarum et alias*'. MS 180, fol. 72^{rb}. This differs from narrower definitions of poverty, such as that in the *Decretum* in which the poor were defined as possessing neither *auctoritas* nor *dignitas*. See *Decretum* C.2 q.1, x.20.32, x.1.6.22.

⁵⁵³ (Finn, *Almsgiving in the later Roman Empire: Christian Promotion and Practice (313-450)*), p. 182.

mechanisms' leading to poverty which--according to the accepted historiographical commentary--do not feature in medieval texts.⁵⁵⁴ He clarifies the word poverty ought not refer to that spiritual virtue produced by the privation of things, comparing poverty (*paupertas*) with restraint (*continensa*).⁵⁵⁵ Poverty has no virtue, but restraint does. FitzRalph's definition unconsciously opposes that definition of poverty provided a century earlier by Aquinas.⁵⁵⁶

FitzRalph is clearly thinking of degrees of material inequality, which challenges the beliefs of one scholar as to what the medieval mind might postulate.⁵⁵⁷ It does, however, conform to Miri Rubin's view of how poverty was perceived.⁵⁵⁸ We see FitzRalph articulating poverty akin to minimal or no access to material resources, something modern political scientists might term 'consumption poverty'.⁵⁵⁹

Book VI fleshes out how to identify a genuinely poor person through the New Testament stories of the aftermath of the multiplication of loaves and fishes, and the miraculous catch of fish.⁵⁶⁰ On both occasions there would have been leftovers. FitzRalph here adopts what might be called the language of social description.⁵⁶¹ A truly poor person, he writes, who knows what it is

⁵⁵⁴ Providing an overview of well-known texts which discuss begging and the poor, one scholar concludes: 'But none of these texts address the possible economic or social mechanisms which could have led to impoverishment'. (Metzler, *A Social History of Disability in the Middle Ages: Cultural Considerations of Physical Impairment*), p. 184.

⁵⁵⁵ '*Quia verbum paupertas preter possessionem paucarum opum quam connotat immediate privacionem multarum opum quam importat non virtutem aliquam respectu privacionis ipsius. Continencie vero verbum respectu privacionis immediate virtutem seu principium virtutis importat, quo quis tollerat privacionis molestiam cum continere sit simul tenere et continencia sit virtus respectu actus huiusmodi, sicut verbum pauper spiritu respectu privacionis opum ut videtur aliquibus non indocte virtutem importat verbum tamen pauper seu paupertas solitarie positum illud in sensu non habet*'. MS 180, fols 72^{rb}-72^{va}.

⁵⁵⁶ See fn. 288 for Aquinas's definition.

⁵⁵⁷ '[M]edieval thinkers, to my knowledge, never formally characterized poverty in terms of "inequality"'. (Jones, *Hervaeus, Natalis: The Poverty of Christ and the Apostles*), p. 9.

⁵⁵⁸ 'It was widely held in the Middle Ages, as it is by many modern economists, that poverty is to be measured relatively, in comparison with the comfort and security of others'. (Rubin, *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge*), p. 7.

⁵⁵⁹ Economists of contemporary poverty Bruce Meyer and James Sullivan acknowledge: 'The official poverty measure has a number of widely recognized flaws', but are in favour using consumption poverty to gauge current poverty trends because it 'appears to be a better predictor of deprivation than income; in particular, material hardship and other adverse family outcomes'. Meyer, B. D. and Sullivan, J. X., 'Identifying the Disadvantaged: Official Poverty, Consumption Poverty, and the New Supplemental Poverty Measure', *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 26:3 (2012), 111-136, pp. 114, 117. The Social Metrics Commission's recent report listed the 'lived experience' of poverty as one of the key indicators. See: <https://socialmetricscommission.org.uk/MEASURING-POVERTY-SUMMARY-REPORT.pdf>, pp. 11-12.

⁵⁶⁰ MS 180, fol. 64^{ra}. (Matthew 14:31-21; Luke 5:1-11)

⁵⁶¹ See fn. 14.

to be hungry, thirsty or homeless, would naturally store up left-overs to give to another poor person. A further illustration of the empirical reality of poverty is given at the beginning of VIII:11, where FitzRalph notes that the friars cannot be genuine beggars because they are multiplying and increasing.⁵⁶² This statement can only function alongside a recognition that beggars do not have the capacity or the means to prosper.

FitzRalph works to establish semantic clarity where previous discussions added layers of ambiguity to already enigmatic biblical verses. Existing epistemological confusion had been highlighted by William of St Amour in his study of verses from Psalms 39 and 108, each psalm containing key mendicant self-justifications.⁵⁶³ William pointed out discrepancies between the language of the text and glossed explanations.⁵⁶⁴ Book VIII explains that a correct understanding of the poverty of Christ is essential, since the friars minor in particular advertised that wilful begging is what was 'established, adopted and taught' by Christ's apostles and disciples.⁵⁶⁵

VIII:21 revisits FitzRalph's four terms from book VI, *pauper*, *mendicus*, *egenus* and *inops*, using them to demonstrate it is not possible that Christ was a beggar, since it is not possible, by a just law, to hold the state of mendicancy without either being a beggar, or poor, needy or resourceless.⁵⁶⁶ In VIII:27 he returns to book VI's theme that resourcelessness tempts God.⁵⁶⁷ Here the text quotes Deuteronomy 6:16: '*You shall not put the Lord your God to the test*', frontloading its significance by emphasizing that Christ even quoted the verse to the devil.⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶² See Appendix A.

⁵⁶³ Bonaventure had used Psalm 39:18 and Psalm 108:17 in his *Disputed Questions on Evangelical Perfection* to 'prove' by way of glossed interpretation to the verses that Christ had begged. (Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia* V), p. 137.

⁵⁶⁴ *Item obijiciunt Otij Defensores illud Psal. 108. Et persecutus est hominem inopem et mendicum; Gloss. Id est Christum. Ergo videtur, quod Christus fuit mendicus. Respondeo: Mendicus sumitur ibi pro paupere. Vnde Glos. exponens ponit pauperum, ubi textus ponit mendicum, dicens. Pauperem persequi, sola saeuitia est; alij vero interdum pro diuitijs et honoribus huius mundi patiuntur. Non dicit Glos. Mendicum persequi, sed pauperum persequi. Sumitur ergo mendicus pro paupere, sicut alibi mendicus sumitur pro egeno; et e conuerso, vt Psal. 69 [39], vbi dicitur Ego vero egenus sum. Glos. vel mendicus'. (Fleming, *The "Collations" of William of Saint-Amour Against A. Thomas*), p. 134.*

⁵⁶⁵ '*statuit aut consuluit aut docuit a suis apostolis et discipulis*'. MS 180, fol. 91^{vb}.

⁵⁶⁶ MS 180, fol. 109^{ra}.

⁵⁶⁷ MS 180, fol. 65^{va}.

⁵⁶⁸ MS 180, fol. 116^{va}. (Matthew 4:7)

In VIII:30 and VIII:42, FitzRalph draws upon 2 Corinthians 8:9 to argue that begging should be considered differently to other types of poverty. According to the Apostle Paul's scriptural formula, Christ held three types of poverty: *pauper*, *inops* and *egenus*, from which FitzRalph deduces Christ was never *mendicus*.⁵⁶⁹

Yet he goes further, explaining the mechanics of Christ's poverty through Aristotle's logical teaching on propositions and their opposites in book III of the *Topics*.⁵⁷⁰ FitzRalph applies this argument in VIII:22, fleshing out a statement from *Defensio curatorum* that Christ was not poor in the sense of loving poverty for itself.⁵⁷¹ A marginal note reads: '*It says scripturally that He did not love poverty for its own sake*', suggesting an attempt at clarification by the glossator.⁵⁷² This gloss implies that even where the language of poverty might be written categorematically, it was perceived syncategorematically.

Aristotelian logic is applied to explain how Christ could not have 'loved' poverty. Christ never loved something which was inappropriate, therefore He never loved poverty because of its associated state of misery. Rather Christ promised reward.⁵⁷³ This is an unwritten challenge to a mendicant, and especially a Franciscan, positioning of renunciation as the ultimate Christian aspiration.⁵⁷⁴

FitzRalph makes a further clarification about the reward promised by Christ, stressing that since Christ never loved something contrary to reason, and therefore out of this rationality he

⁵⁶⁹ MS 180, fol. 117^{ra}.

⁵⁷⁰ MS 180, fols 110^{ra}-110^{rb}. See Forster, E. S. and Tredennick, H., eds. *Posterior Analytics: Topica* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1960), pp. 412-19.

⁵⁷¹ '*Quod autem Dominus Ihesus Christi non erat pauper quia propter se paupertatem dilexit*' MS 180, fol. 110^{ra}. For the *Defensio*, see (Perry, John Trevisa: '*Dialogus inter militem et clericum*', Richard FitzRalph's sermon '*Defensio curatorum*', and, Methodius: '*þe bygynnyng of þe world and þe ende of worldes*'), p. 39.

⁵⁷² '*Paupertatem per se non quam diligit sed dicit scriptura*'. MS 180, fol. 110^{ra}.

⁵⁷³ '*Christus vero nichil inprutenter dilexit unde consequetur quod propter se numquam paupertatem dilexit sicut nec aliam quamvis miseriam. Item cum omnis rationaliter natura, cupiat esse beata et sic vere ditari consequitur quod ditatio est diligibiter propter se unde a Christo promittur pro mercede*'. MS 180, fol. 110^{ra}.

⁵⁷⁴ David Burr explains: 'Francis's basic goal was the sort of self-emptying he saw in Christ'. (Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: from protest to persecution in the century after Saint Francis*), p. 2.

could not have loved poverty, he did not himself choose poverty.⁵⁷⁵ Here we see FitzRalph construing Christ as a rational man who lived according to Aristotelian principles.

That was an argument first used in FitzRalph's second London sermon, where he quoted Matthew 24:46 to illustrate the Aristotelian point that one cannot delight in something which encompasses a state of misery.⁵⁷⁶ In book VIII he affirms that poverty is not a consequence of sin, but the outcome of the deprivation of riches.⁵⁷⁷ A related point was made in book I of *De pauperie Salvatoris*, where FitzRalph highlights the Old Testament passage in which God tells Cain to prosper.⁵⁷⁸

VIII:27 discusses Psalm 39, using a number of verses to argue that Christ taught and upheld that one ought to dread or fear extreme poverty.⁵⁷⁹ One scholar believed this psalm was 'universally taken to refer to the Messiah' yet FitzRalph's long discussion in book VIII mitigates against such a generalization.⁵⁸⁰

FitzRalph's discussion of Psalm 39 formed the first of his objections to mendicant depictions of the begging Christ in the *Quia*, a tract he wrote as part of his lawsuit.⁵⁸¹ In book VIII builds a picture of the relationship between a needy person and God, starting with the verse '*I waited patiently for the Lord*'.⁵⁸² FitzRalph draws out verses which point to the provision of God, which in turns leads to the rejoicing of the formerly poor person. He explains that the verse '*As*

⁵⁷⁵ '*nichil contra rationem dilexit*'. MS 180, fol. 110^{ra}. (Matthew 24:46-47)

⁵⁷⁶ '*et ob hoc non est diligibilis propter seipsum Ethicis cum omnis utilitas sicut aliarum miseriam utilitas sit a sint Christus vero numquam imprudentur dilexit*'. MS 65, fol. 79^{vb}.

⁵⁷⁷ '*Item [nullus] effectus peccati est propter se diligibilis paupertas vero non dubium propter privacionem diviciarum*'. MS180, fol. 110^{ra}. (*Nullus* is missing from MS 180, but present in MS 121, fol. 158^r.)

⁵⁷⁸ MS 180, fols 6^{rb}, 15^{va}. (Genesis 4:7) See (Poole, Iohannis Wycliffe, *De Dominio Divino Libri Tres*, to which are added the first four books of the Treatise *De Pauperie Salvatoris* by Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh), pp. 296, 328.

⁵⁷⁹ '*michi videtur pocius a Christi cultoribus timorem egestatis extenere quam literaliter illud doctum exponere*'. MS 180, fol. 114^{ra}.

⁵⁸⁰ (Lambert, Franciscan poverty: the Doctrine of the Absolute Poverty of Christ and the Apostles in the Franciscan Order 1210-1323), p. 130.

⁵⁸¹ MS 64, fol. 90^r. For the entire tract see fols 90^r-97^v. In this manuscript the tract is entitled *Objectiones et Responiones Dominus Armachani contra mendicitate Christi pretensam per fratres*. For more on the tract, see fns 435, 436 and 684.

⁵⁸² '*Expectans expectavi Dominum*'. MS 180, fol. 114^{ra}. (Psalm 39:2)

*for me, I am poor and needy, but the Lord takes thought of me*⁵⁸³ does not advocate begging, but rather demonstrates that God relieves, protects, and aids the beggar.⁵⁸⁴

In VIII:22, which like the previous chapter begins with a quotation from *Defensio*, FitzRalph clarifies that holy doctors do not commend the poor because of poverty itself, but because of their forbearance of poverty.⁵⁸⁵ The language makes it clear FitzRalph himself does not commend this positioning of the consequence of poverty to be a virtue, citing only those holy doctors who did.⁵⁸⁶ In VIII:25 he quotes from the *Confessions* of Augustine that if misery must be endured, the person going through the trials ought to wish that there was nothing he had to endure.⁵⁸⁷ Here the great theologian is applied to demonstrate that the state of poverty is not to be invited, nor welcomed, a point of view which puts FitzRalph at odds with those very primitive Franciscan views which historians have associated him with.⁵⁸⁸

Poverty and Neediness

FitzRalph's consideration of the phenomenology of material poverty enables a wider argument which nullifies an 'idealized' or aspirational ideology of poverty. FitzRalph looks closely at this sub-category of poverty, neediness:

*The word for 'neediness' is grammatically different to poverty, since poverty can be respectable, but neediness is always shameful. Therefore since a state of mendicancy is always a type of neediness, it is always shameful. And therefore if Christ was a beggar or on a number of occasions he wilfully begged, it is evident that he would have acted in a shameful manner. But clearly a Christian would not say this.*⁵⁸⁹

⁵⁸³ 'Ego autem mendicus sum et pauper / Dominus sollicitus est mei' (Psalm 39:17)

⁵⁸⁴ 'debent intelligi quia in protectione Dei pro mendicitate illius remedio confidebat'. MS 180, fol. 114^{ra}. (FitzRalph specifically here quotes verses 13-14, and 17-18 from Psalm 39.)

⁵⁸⁵ 'Quamvis pauperes non per se propter paupertatem sed propter [sic] propter paupertatis tolleranciam sepius comendantur, et ipsam paupertas quia est humane solitudinis exclusiva per accidens, et sanctis doctoribus comendatur'. MS 180, fol. 110^{rb}.

⁵⁸⁶ FitzRalph frequently uses the phrase 'michi videtur' to remind his audience of his authorial voice, so the absence of a reference to his personal opinion feels pointed.

⁵⁸⁷ MS 180, fol. 113^{ra}. See Hammond, C. J. B., ed. *Augustine: Confessions* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2014), Book X:29, pp. 148-9.

⁵⁸⁸ See fns 532 and 533.

⁵⁸⁹ 'Item iuxta grammaticam egestas in hoc differat a pauperate quandus paupertas potest esse honesta et egestas semper est turpis. Et constat quod omnis mendicitas est egestas, igitur mendicitas semper est turpis. Et

The belief that neediness is without virtue is also demonstrated in VIII:42 through a discussion of the biblical story of the widow's mite.⁵⁹⁰ FitzRalph offers a novel interpretation of the story. He stresses that Christ was not commending the widow's 'imprudent' act of giving everything she had, but her affection for God. In order not to risk tempting God, she must have had other means to support herself.⁵⁹¹

At this point the discussion takes up the difference between poverty and neediness.⁵⁹² *Johannes* asks *Ricardus* to explain that if it is possible for a man to assume and observe prudent and holy poverty without resourcelessness, why it is not equally possible for a needy beggar, without neediness, to observe and assume such a life?⁵⁹³

Ricardus reiterates that poverty brought about by neediness is to be understood through 2 Corinthians 8:9, adding that that wilful begging--as constituted in scripture--is uniformly condemned.⁵⁹⁴ Similarly a state of wilful neediness and want is condemned. *Ricardus* concludes that resourced poverty, not neediness, is scripturally affirmed, since in the course of his natural life Christ laboured to acquire the necessities for himself.⁵⁹⁵

This argument contains some interesting points. The first acknowledges the syncategorematic nature of the term 'poverty' (*in illo sensu non in sensu eius vulgari*), stressing that it can be understood in different ways.⁵⁹⁶ The second point demonstrates the importance to his overall argument of FitzRalph's portrait of Christ as a resourced labourer, a point which will be discussed in the next section.

igitur Christius erat mendicus aliquotiens spontanee mendicavit Christus ut videtur aliqui exercuit actum turpem et non videtur a Christiano dicendum. MS 180, fol. 112^{vb}.

⁵⁹⁰ (Luke 21:1-4)

⁵⁹¹ For a discussion of gendered depictions of begging, see (Farmer, *The Beggar's Body: Intersections of Gender and Social Status in High Medieval Paris*), pp. 153-5.

⁵⁹² MS 180, fols 126^{ra}-126^{rb}.

⁵⁹³ *'Homo potest prudenter ac sancte paupertatem sine inopia ad tempus ad perpetuo sibi assumere observandam cur ergo non potest pariter mendicitatem sive egestatem ita sibi observandam assumere non clare perpendo'*. MS 180, fol. 126^{ra}.

⁵⁹⁴ MS 180, fol. 126^{rb}.

⁵⁹⁵ MS 180, fol. 126^{rb}.

⁵⁹⁶ MS 180, fol. 126^{rb}.

VIII:34 discusses the parable of the Great Banquet, a story from which FitzRalph fleshes out a biblical definition of poverty.⁵⁹⁷ Christ describes a banquet to which the great and the good were invited, but who made excuses why they could not attend. The invitation is re-issued, inviting now 'the poor and crippled and blind and the lame'.⁵⁹⁸ FitzRalph mentioned the parable in his second and fourth London sermons, and also in *Defensio curatorum*, but here he sets out his argument in greater detail.⁵⁹⁹ FitzRalph concludes that just as people cannot sensibly be called to *become* 'crippled, blind and lame', so neither did Christ nor the apostles encourage the decision to take up begging.⁶⁰⁰

Using that parable's reference to poverty, he distinguishes between the poor who are strong and healthy, and the weak and infirm poor who are unable to work.⁶⁰¹ Christ intends the poor in the parable to be from the latter category, because 'they cannot repay you'.⁶⁰² The robust and healthy poor who are able to work have the means to repay the gift, therefore the invitation cannot not extended to beggars who are healthy and able to undertake bodily labour. In this way the healthy beggars are thieving from the genuine poor.⁶⁰³

Discussion of the status of 'robust beggars' had long been a feature of Christian debate. Augustine's *On the Work of Monks* had considered scenarios where monks might labour and might not, a text FitzRalph quotes here.⁶⁰⁴ FitzRalph interprets the parable's reference to the poor

⁵⁹⁷ MS 180, fols 119^{rb}-119^{vb}. (Luke 14:7-14) Mary Raschko writes: 'in the later Middle Ages, parables were lively, unstable narratives undergoing continual reinvention by writers eager to discern, or declare, their significance to contemporary English culture'. Raschko, M. *The Politics of Middle English Parables: Fiction, Theology, and Social Practice* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019), p. 1.

⁵⁹⁸ (Luke 14:13)

⁵⁹⁹ For the references in the London sermons, see MS 65, fols 81^{vb}, 90^{rb}. For the *Defensio*, see (Perry, John Trevisa: *Dialogus inter militem et clericum*', Richard FitzRalph's sermon '*Defensio curatorum*', and, Methodius: '*þe bygynnyng of þe world and þe ende of worldes*'), p. 88.

⁶⁰⁰ MS 180, fols 119^{rb}-119^{va}.

⁶⁰¹ Carmelite Thomas Netter apparently referred to these descriptors from Luke 14 as 'Wycliffe's "trinity of the poor"'. (Aston, 'Caim's Castles': Poverty, Politics, and Disendowment), p. 65.

⁶⁰² (Luke 14:14)

⁶⁰³ '*Non debent vocari ad cibum huiusmodi mendicantes sane in corpore laborare potentes... raptores rerum debitarum infirmis... videtur ostendenter quod robusti pauperies excluduntur quod saltem per sunt laborem retribuere tibi possunt*'. MS 180, fol. 119^{rb}.

⁶⁰⁴ MS 180, fol. 120^{ra}. For Augustine's full text, see Deferrari, R. J., ed. *Saint Augustine: Treatises on Various Subjects* (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1952), pp. 327-94.

as signalling those socio-economic limitations which are a consequence of certain types of disability.⁶⁰⁵

This interpretation, whereby *pauperes* is taken as an adjective, and *debiles, caecos, et claudos* are treated as nouns, is ascribed to FitzRalph by Wendy Scase and Margaret Aston.⁶⁰⁶ It becomes the standard lollard interpretation of the parable, though not always attributed correctly. The Carmelite friar Thomas Netter credited the theory to Wyclif, not to FitzRalph.⁶⁰⁷

Looking further at FitzRalph's interpretation, he explains that the 'common usage' (*comunitim*) of the word pauper (*pauperes*) refers to the socio-economically poor, since the parable would not make sense if the lame, blind and disabled were also rich.⁶⁰⁸ He points out what the list of those to be invited to the banquet does not include: the deaf and the mute, since people afflicted with those types of disability are able to work to support themselves, but the blind and physically-enfeebled cannot work. As he puts it, it is lawful and holy for these to be supported, but the bodily fit who beg are to be driven away.⁶⁰⁹

FitzRalph seems to be making an empirical distinction between the differently-abled, noting that some are still able to labour in spite of their physical differences, but others cannot. The argument is significant because he categorizes the opportunities and agency of the differently-abled on a case-by-case basis. He had given an alternative categorization of

⁶⁰⁵ The Vulgate reads '*pauperes debiles claudos caecos*' (Luke 14:13).

⁶⁰⁶ See (Scase, 'Piers Plowman' and the New Anti-clericalism), pp. 63; (Aston, 'Caim's Castles': Poverty, Politics, and Disendowment), p. 78, fn. 91.

⁶⁰⁷ See fn. 601. For a lollard example, note the explanation in Swinburn, L. M., ed. *The Lanterne of Lizt, OS 151* (London: Published for the Early English Text Society by Trübner & Co, 1917), p. 86. For Carmelite Thomas Netter's views, see *Doctrinale*, i Bk, IV, cap. X. xo. 861, as cited in (Aston, 'Caim's Castles': Poverty, Politics, and Disendowment), p. 78, ft. 91.

⁶⁰⁸ MS 180, fols 119^{rb}-119^{va}.

⁶⁰⁹ '*Alio qui divites debiles claudi et ceci habentes unde retribuere valeant continentur contra illam clarem supradocetam unde videtur quod comunitim est doctam ita ut verbum pauperes non per se sed comunitim cum singulis sequentibus particulis construatur et ita robusti ac sani pauperes excluduntur nec cerno cur surdos et mutos non nominat sicut cecos et claudos et debiles nisi quia tam surdi quam muti qui nec sunt debiles nec ceci possunt laboricio sibi succurrere quod debiles claudi et ceci nec possent quo modo igitur possunt sancte et licite et huiusmodi robusti in corpore mendicare qui sunt iuste ac meritore reppellendi*'. MS 180, fols 119^{rb}-119^{va}. FitzRalph makes a similar argument in *Defensio curatorum*. See (Perry, John Trevisa: '*Dialogus inter militem et clericum*', Richard FitzRalph's sermon '*Defensio curatorum*', and, Methodius: '*þe bygynnyng of þe world and þe ende of worldes*'), p. 88.

disabilities in book VI to those listed within the parable, arguing that poverty is not something one can be born with even if one's parents are not wealthy, in the way that one might be born deaf, blind or dumb.⁶¹⁰

Social historians have looked into medieval depictions of disability. Michel Mollat listed certain 'physical defects' associated with being poor, which included blindness, lameness, and feebleness due to poor health or old age, but he does not mention deafness or muteness.⁶¹¹ FitzRalph's depiction of the realities and constraints of differing disabilities gives us what one historian has termed 'a study of mentalities' surrounding perceptions of medieval disabled persons.⁶¹² Noting other references to the way medieval texts identify the poor, which include blindness and physical infirmity but not deafness or mutism, perhaps the banquet parable functioned as an unofficial rule to identify those infirm poor who might receive alms.⁶¹³

To conclude this section, the use of grammatical and synonymous terms for poverty as a means to attack the friars shows the development of FitzRalph's argument. In his first antimendicant sermon, *Unusquisque*, he suggested that those who are bodily robust cannot follow highest poverty (*altissimam paupertatem*).⁶¹⁴ In books VI and VIII he goes deeper into the mechanics of poverty to what might cause a person to become poor. This point alone challenges Walsh's view that FitzRalph 'never improved' upon *Unusquisque*.⁶¹⁵ The section has also explored in FitzRalph's writings a perception of poverty which is more nuanced than the accepted

⁶¹⁰ MS 180, fol. 61^{rb}.

⁶¹¹ (Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History*), p. 3.

⁶¹² (Metzler, *A Social History of Disability in the Middle Ages: Cultural Considerations of Physical Impairment*), p. 3. There are some instances of medieval categorizations of various types of disability, such as those in the fourteenth-century encyclopaedia *Omne Bonum*. See (Sandler, *Omne Bonum: a Fourteenth-Century Encyclopedia of Universal Knowledge*), vol. 1, p. 100.

⁶¹³ See for example (Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c.1200-1520*), p. 245; (Pearsall, *Piers Plowman and the Problem of Labour*), p. 128; Skinner, P., 'Gender and Poverty in the Medieval Community', in *Medieval Women in their Communities*, ed. D. Watt (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997), p. 207-8; (Aston, 'Caim's Castles': Poverty, Politics, and Disendowment), pp. 49, 61, 65.

⁶¹⁴ (Hammerich, *The Beginning of the Strife between Richard FitzRalph and the Mendicants, with an Edition of his Autobiographical Prayer and his Proposition Unusquisque*), p. 71.

⁶¹⁵ See fn. 370.

historiography allows.⁶¹⁶ Chapter four will consider the degrees to which FitzRalph's consistent framing of poverty as a negative state and situation is not taken up in lollard sermons, which generally take a more circumspect approach to concept of material plenty.⁶¹⁷

Christ the Carpenter

It is as a biographer of Christ, and not just a critic of the mendicants, that a late fourteenth-century encyclopedia compiled by James le Palmer, *Omne Bonum*, chooses to represent FitzRalph. Le Palmer describes FitzRalph as 'a distinguished Doctor of Theology almost without equal in his day'.⁶¹⁸ Sandler speculates that Le Palmer witnessed one or more of FitzRalph's London sermons, and that he 'probably had access to a copy of FitzRalph's sermon-diary'.⁶¹⁹ There is an entry in the encyclopedia on *Fratres*, which does cite antimendicant arguments of FitzRalph and William of St Amour.⁶²⁰ However, FitzRalph is quoted extensively in the sections on *Iesus* and *Christus*.⁶²¹ Le Palmer reproduced in full an early sermon of FitzRalph's, '*Come Lord Jesus*'. FitzRalph's antimendicant sermons do not receive the same treatment.⁶²²

This section focuses on FitzRalph's anthropological portrayal of Christ as a workman. Paul Freedman writes: 'of all the intellectual legacies of the past, the Christian attitude towards work was the most complex'.⁶²³ Jacques Le Goff had argued for a 'rehabilitation of manual labour' in the twelfth and thirteenth-centuries: 'the Church in effect absolved labour of its post-Eden

⁶¹⁶ 'In theological terms of the twelfth to fifteenth centuries, poverty and the poor possessed neither dignity (*dignitas*) nor authority (*auctoritas*).' (Metzler, *A Social History of Disability in the Middle Ages: Cultural Considerations of Physical Impairment*), pp. 194-5.

⁶¹⁷ See for example (Crassons, *The Claims of Poverty: Literature, Culture, and Ideology in Late Medieval England*), pp. 148-9.

⁶¹⁸ Translation by (Sandler, *Omne Bonum: a Fourteenth-Century Encyclopedia of Universal Knowledge*), pp. 25-6.

⁶¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 46-7.

⁶²⁰ (Szittyá, *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature*), Appendix B (unpaginated).

⁶²¹ See fn. 31.

⁶²² (Revelation 22:20). On this sermon, see (Gwynn, *The Sermon-Diary of Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh*), p. 39. Cited in (Sandler, *Omne Bonum: a Fourteenth-Century Encyclopedia of Universal Knowledge*), p. 140, fn. 66.

⁶²³ (Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant*), p. 31. Theologian Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 260-c. 340) set out two contrasting forms of Christian life, describing the first as 'the perfect form of the Christian life' which excluded work and marriage. The second inferior and 'more humble' form of life did permit marriage, government, farming and trade. See Ferrar, W. J., ed. *The Proof of the Gospel: Being the Demonstratio Evangelica of Eusebius of Caesarea* (London: SPCK, 1920), pp. 48-50.

predicament'.⁶²⁴ Yet Pecham's *Tractatus Pauperis* shows that labour continued to be equated with sin into the late thirteenth-century.⁶²⁵ The illustrated Holkham Bible, dating from the fourteenth-century, depicts the sons and daughters of Cain engaged in four different types of labour.⁶²⁶ Yet there is a notable absence of discussions of labour in late medieval sermons.⁶²⁷

Stephen Knight has looked to mystery play cycles, examining which biblical depictions of labour were rendered and reproduced within medieval drama.⁶²⁸ Studies also have identified medieval craft guilds as places where physical labour could be reconciled to spiritual virtue.⁶²⁹ Yet Kate Giles demonstrates that guild identities reproduced 'an essentially normative, hierarchical understanding of labour and labour relations'.⁶³⁰ On many occasions, guilds selected as their patron saint the Virgin Mary, rather than a biblical personification of work.⁶³¹ This includes the Carpenters' Guild, though some have assumed St Joseph to be its patron.⁶³² This

⁶²⁴ Le Goff, J. *Time, Work and Culture in the Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), pp. 114-5. See also a positive framing of artisanal work as a gift of God in Damian-Grint, P. *Christian Life and Work in Medieval England* (Rome: Pontifical University of the Holy Cross, 2014), p. 281. Yet Paul Freedman notes within Cistercian texts: 'labour remained fully anchored to penitential rather than to positive good'. (Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant*), p. 26.

⁶²⁵ (Little, *Selections from Pecham's Tractatus Pauperis or De Perfectione Evangelica*), p. 25.

⁶²⁶ British Library Add MS 47682, fol. 6^r, as reproduced in Brown, M., ed. *The Holkham Bible Picture Book: A Facsimile* (London: British Library, 2007), pp. 336-7.

⁶²⁷ 'The evidence, as it survives, suggests that for every sermon on secular work there were probably a hundred on usury'. Epstein, S. *Wage Labor and Guilds in Medieval Europe* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), p. 184. Jussi Hanska unsurprisingly notes the emphasis on labour as a form of penance within mendicant sermons. See (Hanska, *And the Rich Man also died; and He was buried in hell: The Social Ethos in Mendicant Sermons*), p. 95.

⁶²⁸ Knight, S., 'The Voice of Labour in Fourteenth-Century English Literature', in *The Problem of Labour in Fourteenth-Century England*, eds. J. Bothwell, P. J. P. Goldberg and W. M. Ormrod (York: York Medieval Press, 2000), 101-122, pp. 118-9.

⁶²⁹ Peter Damian-Grint writes: 'When we examine guilds and fraternities from the point of view of the relationship between work and Christian life...it is clear that [devotional practices] were extremely important'. (Damian-Grint, *Christian Life and Work in Medieval England*), p. 257. See also Amos, M. A., 'The Naked and the Dead: The Carpenters' Company and Lay Spirituality in Late Medieval England', in *The Middle Ages at Work: Practicing Labor in Late Medieval England*, eds. K. Robertson and M. Uebel (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 91-110, pp. 96, 101.

⁶³⁰ Giles, K., 'Framing Labour: The Archaeology of York's Medieval Guildhalls', in *The Problem of Labour in Fourteenth-Century England*, eds. J. Bothwell, P. J. P. Goldberg and W. M. Ormrod (York: York Medieval Press, 2000), 65-84, p. 83.

⁶³¹ The Virgin Mary was chosen as patron by guilds of Clerks, Shepherds, Tilers, Mercers, Carpenters, Painters, Pouchmakers, Coifmakers, and Saddlers and Spurriers. Richardson, G., 'Craft Guilds and Christianity in Late-Medieval England: A Rational-Choice Analysis', *Rationality and Society*, 17:2 (2005), 139-189, pp. 146-7.

⁶³² For such an incorrect attribution, see Wasserman, J. N. and Guidry, M., '...And a Carpenter...', in *Chaucer's Pilgrims: An Historical Guide to the Pilgrims in the Canterbury Tales*, eds. L. C. Lambdin and R. T. Lambdin (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1996), 154-169, p. 157.

small but significant point signals a persistent reluctance to foreground the labouring man as a symbol of virtue or spiritual authority.

The life of Christ, as set out in the Gospels, has understandably been a topic of continual Christian discussion. The Augustinian prior Clement of Llanthony (d. after 1167) composed a gospel harmonization *Unum ex quatuor*, in which Christ's life set out from the four gospels.⁶³³ This text remained popular throughout the late Middle Ages and survives in a Middle English version, *Oon of Foure*, which has lollard associations.⁶³⁴ Depictions of Christ could also be found in the illuminated *Bible moralisée* manuscripts made initially for the French royal family, and dating from the mid-thirteenth century.⁶³⁵

The Holkham Bible contains a combination of biblical and apocryphal scenes from the early life of Christ.⁶³⁶ An image shows Christ as the boy of twelve teaching in the Temple.⁶³⁷ Another depicts the adolescent Christ obediently helping his parents at home, stoking a fire and laying the table.⁶³⁸ The book does not contain an image of Christ as an adult carpenter, nor even of Joseph engaged in carpentry work (though it does depict Noah building his ark).⁶³⁹ Prominent images of a Dominican friar within the text may provide a reason for these absences.⁶⁴⁰

⁶³³ PL 68, Col. 0251D-Col.0359A. See (Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite texts and Lollard History*), pp. 267-8 for this text's dissemination in England.

⁶³⁴ 'While we do not have definitive proof that *Oon of Foure* is Wycliffite, the bulk of our evidence points in that direction'. (Raschko, *Re-Forming the Life of Christ*), p. 291.

⁶³⁵ See Lowden, J. *The Making of the Bibles Moralisées*, i (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), pp. 2-3.

⁶³⁶ British Library Add MS 47682. See http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_47682. The text has been dated to 1325-40. See (Brown, *The Holkham Bible Picture Book: A Facsimile*), p. 17.

⁶³⁷ BL Add MS 47682, fol. 17^v. See also *ibid.*, p. 55.

⁶³⁸ BL Add MS 47682, fol. 18^r. See also *ibid.*, p. 55. The Anglo-Norman caption reads: '*a l'age ke yl estoyste de xxix aunz, yl servyt sa mere e Ioseph, a quere de la ewe a la fonteyne, e de aparalier a manger, e eus servir a manger, e en tutes choses lur surget estoyst*'.

⁶³⁹ BL Add MS 47682, fol. 7^v. See *ibid.*, pp. 38-9. According to Brown, an Anglo-Norman text containing scenes from the childhood of Christ, the *Gesta Infantiae Salvatoris*, contains the apocryphal episode in which the adolescent Christ is apprenticed to a dyer. See Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Selden Supra 38, fol. 26^v. See fn. 661 for another reference to Noah's carpentry.

⁶⁴⁰ Brown suggests this Dominican friar should be understood symbolically, rather than connected with the text's commissioning. *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 10-11.

FitzRalph signals the virtue of secular labour by figuring Christ as a lay workman, a carpenter.⁶⁴¹ This positioning seems to defy a historiographical narrative which—in a religious context—charts a progression away from anthropological representations of Christ towards ritualized and symbolic representations.⁶⁴² FitzRalph made the point in *Defensio curatorum*, emphasizing that Christ was not only called the son of a carpenter, but a carpenter in his own right, quoting Mark 6:3: '*Is not this the carpenter?*'⁶⁴³ This argument is twice developed, in VIII:25 and VIII:35. FitzRalph continues that he is astonished that such a portrait is implicitly disputed in works positioning Christ as a wilful beggar, since he would have laboured for his livelihood.⁶⁴⁴

FitzRalph is untroubled by possible soteriological implications of his presentation of Christ as a carpenter. His formulation of Christ throughout book VIII is 'thickly descriptive', in the words of Graham McAleer, with an emphasis on Christ's anthropological experience on earth.⁶⁴⁵ FitzRalph's earlier writings had taken a different approach, focusing on the divinity of Christ, whereas book VIII devotes its attention to his humanity.⁶⁴⁶

⁶⁴¹ 'The carpenter of ancient times was, in short, a master...under 1303 the name seems to have been on the border-land of a craft and a patronymie.' Hazlitt, W. C. *The Livery Companies of the City of London: their Origin, Character, Development, and Social and Political Importance* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1892), p. 405.

⁶⁴² 'Ironically, as religious bodies such as body of Christ—with the institution of the new feast of Corpus Christi in the 1260s—and the bodies of saints started to matter more, the real, actual lived-in bodies of ordinary people started to matter less'. (Metzler, A Social History of Disability in the Middle Ages: Cultural Considerations of Physical Impairment), p. 168.

⁶⁴³ I am translating '*faber*' as '*carpenter*' since this is how Trevisa translated the word. See (Perry, John Trevisa: '*Dialogus inter militem et clericum*', Richard FitzRalph's sermon '*Defensio curatorum*', and, Methodius: '*pe bygynyng of þe world and þe ende of worldes*'), p. 87. See also Luders, A., Tomlins, T., France, J., Taunton, W. E. and Raithby, J., eds. *The Statutes of the Realm: Printed by Command of His Majesty King George the Third*, 1 (London: The Record Commission, 1810), p. 308. Late medieval contracts between carpenters and employers used alternately '*carpentarius*' and '*carpenter*'. For example, Salzman, L. F. *Building in England Down to 1540: A Documentary History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 417, 433. The *Boke of Ordinances* of the Brotherhood of Carpenters, produced in English in 1333, uses the Anglo-Norman '*Carpenteres*'. Welch, C., ed. *The 'Boke' of the Ordinances of the Brotherhood of Carpenters of London, 1333* (London: Prepared and Printed by Order of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters, 1928), p. 7.

⁶⁴⁴ '*miror qualiter sibi contrariando in opere aliquando spontanee mendicabit cum tunc de laboricio vivere potuisset.*' MS 180, fol. 112^{vb}.

⁶⁴⁵ (McAleer, De Vitoria on FitzRalph: an adequate assessment?), p. 193.

⁶⁴⁶ Books I-V of the *Summa* 'deal with the divine and the human nature of Christ', as Hammerich put it. (Hammerich, The Beginning of the Strife between Richard FitzRalph and the Mendicants, with an Edition of his Autobiographical Prayer and his Proposition *Unusquisque*), p. 16.

FitzRalph emphasizes Christ was named a carpenter by the local population, namely those qualified to recognize (*agnovit*) him.⁶⁴⁷ Through the repeated use of the phrase '*a populo appellatus*', FitzRalph rhetorically shifts the responsibility for identifying Christ as a labourer onto those within the biblical narrative, and away from himself as *auctor*.⁶⁴⁸ Nowhere in book VIII does FitzRalph mention the version of the story in Matthew 13:55 which contains a significant modification: Christ is described there as only 'the son of the carpenter'.

These two subtly different biblical accounts of Christ relationship to carpentry have been dealt with in various ways by previous theologians. Augustine did not approach Mark 6:3 directly, but treated it as identical to Matthew 15:33. His gloss of the Mark passage actually glossed the Matthew verse: people thought Christ to be a carpenter because he was the son of a carpenter.⁶⁴⁹ Nicholas of Lyra's commentary agreed, rationalizing that people must have assumed Christ was a carpenter because this was his father's trade, and adding Christ did not begin his ministry of teaching and miracles until he was 30 years old.⁶⁵⁰ Bede saw the carpentry reference in Mark as pointing to Christ building up the Church, as did Jerome.⁶⁵¹ None of these commentaries perceived Christ as a manual labourer as clearly as FitzRalph does. This suggests his elevation of Mark 6:3 is unusual.

FitzRalph's positioning of Christ as a carpenter is known to historians, but its significance has not been drawn out in the historiography.⁶⁵² Similarly underreported is the fact that treatments of Mark 6:3, or even references to it, appear infrequently in contemporary discussion, though there are exceptions. The Gospel harmony text, *Unam ex Quattuor*, uses the language of Mark

⁶⁴⁷ MS 180, fol. 120^{ra}.

⁶⁴⁸ MS 180, fols 112^{vb}, 119^{ra}.

⁶⁴⁹ Aquinas, T. *Catena Aurea*, in *Quatuor Evangelia: Expositionem in Matthaeum et Marcum*, i (Taurini (Italia): Marietti, 1938), p. 473, l. 22

⁶⁵⁰ (Strabus, *Bibliorum Sacrorum cum Glossa Ordinaria*), v, p. 275.

⁶⁵¹ For Bede's gloss, see *ibid.*, v, p. 275. For Jerome's, see (Aquinas, *Catena Aurea*, in *Quatuor Evangelia: Expositionem in Matthaeum et Marcum*), p. 473, l. 26

⁶⁵² Crassons acknowledges FitzRalph's reference to Christ the carpenter in *Defensio curatorum*, but does not remark upon its significance, or otherwise contextualize it. (Crassons, *The Claims of Poverty: Literature, Culture, and Ideology in Late Medieval England*), p. 146.

6:3 not Matthew 13:55 for its consolidation of the story from both gospel accounts.⁶⁵³ The lollard Middle English version, *Oon of Fouere*, translates *faber* as *smyth* in its vernacular rendering of the text.⁶⁵⁴

Yet this is not the typical experience. The allegorical poem, *Piers Plowman*, within which one scholar highlights 'the concept of work', contains interweaving portrayals of spiritual and physical work.⁶⁵⁵ The final Z-text of the poem refers--when criticising friars--to the authority of 'seynt Rycher', a 'probable...allusion to Richard FitzRalph'.⁶⁵⁶ Thus one might assume the author, William Langland, was familiar with FitzRalph's works. (Romantic suggestions have been made that FitzRalph's London sermons were witnessed by a young William Langland and a young Geoffrey Chaucer.)⁶⁵⁷ The central character, Piers the plowman, is shown as a Christ-figure even to the point of carrying a cross.⁶⁵⁸ Yet Christ *as a carpenter* is not figured in the poem.⁶⁵⁹ Mark 6:3 is partially cited in the B- and C-texts, but the biblical text is crucially altered. The Vulgate '*faber*' is replaced by the extra-scriptural '*fauntekyn*' (meaning *child*), thus rendering the verse in the B-text: '*A faunt[ek]un ful of wit, filius Marie*'.⁶⁶⁰ Could this interesting change, along with the lack of contemporary references to Mark 6:3, indicate how troubling this scriptural verse was to interpret?

⁶⁵³ See *Unam ex quattuor*, PL 68, Col. 0288D-Col. 0289A.

⁶⁵⁴ For example, see Bodley MS 481, fols 38^{ra}-38^{rb}, which clearly rubricates both Mark 6 and Matthew 13 as the chapter citations for this section of Scripture.

⁶⁵⁵ Aers, D. Community, *Gender and Identity: English Writing 1360-1430* (London: Routledge, 1988), p. 35.

⁶⁵⁶ Z-text, IV, l. 152. (Schmidt, *Piers Plowman: a Parallel-Text Edition of the A, B, C and Z versions*, vol. 1. 152, p. 162. For the suggestion that this was FitzRalph, see (Scase, 'Piers Plowman' and the New Anti-clericalism), p. 31.

⁶⁵⁷ See (Gwynn, *Archbishop FitzRalph and the Friars*), p. 59, for the reference to Chaucer, and (Clopper, *Songes of Rechelesnesse: Langland and the Franciscans*), p. 102, for Langland.

⁶⁵⁸ B-text XIX, ll. 6-8. (Schmidt, *The vision of Piers Plowman: a critical edition of the B-text based on Trinity College Cambridge MS B.15.17*), p. 326.

⁶⁵⁹ Pamela Gradon writes that in the poem: 'the husbandman and Christ are identified by the bond of patient poverty'. (Gradon, *Langland and the Ideology of Dissent*), p. 199.

⁶⁶⁰ B-text, XIX, l. 118; C-text, XXI, l. 118. (Schmidt, *Piers Plowman: a Parallel-Text Edition of the A, B, C and Z versions*), pp. 696-697. See also Alford, J. A. *Piers Plowman: A Guide to the Quotations* (Binghamton: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1992), p. 128. For other uses of *fauntekyn* in the poem, see Wittig, J. S. *Piers Plowman Concordance: Will's visions of Piers Plowman, do-well, do-better, and do-best: a Lemmatized Analysis of the English vocabulary of the A, B, and C Versions as presented in the Athlone Editions, with Supplementary Concordances of the Latin and French Macaronics* (London: Continuum, 2001), p. 201.

The former hall of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters contains a series of wall paintings depicting scenes of biblical carpentry, for example Noah building his ark.⁶⁶¹ These paintings have been interpreted by some historians--within the specific context of medieval labour guilds--to speak to a 'sense of pride that...draws from an occupationally based understanding of sacred text'.⁶⁶² One painting depicts Christ as an adolescent tidying wood-chips in Joseph's carpentry shop, alongside the verse from Matthew 13:55.⁶⁶³ Yet there is no reference to Christ undertaking carpentry *as an adult*, nor is Mark 6:3 used. Furthermore, since they were commissioned and produced in sixteenth-century, these wall paintings cannot explain late-medieval attitudes to labour.

References to Christ undertaking manual labour seem generally absent from late medieval texts, even those focusing on Christ 'in His humanity'.⁶⁶⁴ It is generally agreed that late-medieval figurings of Christ were predominantly of the bleeding and suffering Christ on the Cross.⁶⁶⁵ Paul Binski notes an episode recorded in the London Annals 1305, whereby a horrifying image of the Crucifixion (*crux horribilis*) was briefly installed in the Chapel of Conyhope, before being

⁶⁶¹ See (Amos, *The Naked and the Dead: The Carpenters' Company and Lay Spirituality in Late Medieval England*), p. 97, and (Damian-Grint, *Christian Life and Work in Medieval England*), p. 285. For the correct post-Reformation dating, see Jupp, E. B. and Pocock, W. W. *An Historical Account of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters of the City of London* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 1887), pp. 239-40; Hazlitt (*Livery Companies*), p. 414; Bradley, S. and Pevsner, N. *London. 1: The City of London* (London: Penguin, 1997), p. 380-381. See fn. 639 for another reference to Noah's carpentry.

⁶⁶² (Amos, *The Naked and the Dead: The Carpenters' Company and Lay Spirituality in Late Medieval England*), p. 97. See also (Damian-Grint, *Christian Life and Work in Medieval England*), p. 285.

⁶⁶³ See fn. 638 for images of the adolescent Christ engaged in domestic work in the Holkham Bible. An Anglo-Norman text containing scenes from the childhood of Christ, the *Gesta Infantiae Salvatoris*, contains the apocryphal episode in which the adolescent Christ is apprenticed to a dyer. See University of Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Selden Supra 38, fol. 26^v.

⁶⁶⁴ For example, Giles Constable's article on 'The imitation of the humanity of Christ', which traces ways of imitation from late antiquity to the late middle ages, contains no examples of Christ labouring. (Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought*), pp. 169-93. Peter Damian-Grint's recent book on work in the Middle Ages contains no reference to Christ as a labourer. (Damian-Grint, *Christian Life and Work in Medieval England*).

⁶⁶⁵ (Rubin, *Corpus Christi: the Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*), especially the section entitled 'Christ's Suffering Humanity', pp. 302-16. See also (Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought*), pp. 194, 209. Paul Binski has written about the importance of correct images of the Christ on the cross, and of the Virgin Mary: 'as central representations of the Faith, around which many other concepts and images clustered in the course of the Middle Ages, both were the objects of regulation and control.' Binski, P., 'The Crucifixion and the Censorship of Art around 1300', in *The Medieval World*, eds. J. L. Nelson and P. Linehan (London: Routledge, 2001), 342-60, p. 342.

removed.⁶⁶⁶ Binsky concludes this episode suggests: 'there was some sensitivity to the excessive humanising of Christ's divinity'.⁶⁶⁷

FitzRalph is not concerned by his presentation of a strikingly anthropological Christ. Indeed, this suggests a connection to his earlier and more speculative works, where on one occasion he conducted a 'thought experiment' on the location and composition of Christ's physical presence during the Eucharist.⁶⁶⁸ An anthropological emphasis is found in VIII:16, which lists Old Testament figures who laboured: Noah was a vinedresser, Abel was a shepherd, Abraham and Lot had so many possessions they had to divide their flocks and move to different places.⁶⁶⁹ FitzRalph creates a composite picture of reward, blessing and abundance as a consequence of manual labour, challenging a perception of a spiritual perfection defined by its absence.⁶⁷⁰ He affirms there was work in Eden, using an argument of Augustine based on Genesis 2, that there was cultivation of Eden before the Fall.⁶⁷¹ A contrary positioning of Adam and Eve was later taken up by Wyclif, who in *De Statu Innocencie* put labour--'the mechanical arts'--in a post-lapsarian world.⁶⁷²

To conclude this section, the view of Christ as a carpenter is now the standard theological view. In his 1981 encyclical, *Laborem Exercens* (On Human Work), Pope John Paul II drew from Mark 6:3:

⁶⁶⁶ (Binski, *The Crucifixion and the Censorship of Art around 1300*), p. 343.

⁶⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 353. Kerby-Fulton explains: 'there was a *visual orthodoxy* to be guarded in fourteenth-century England'. (Kerby-Fulton, *Books Under Suspicion: Censorship and Tolerance of Revelatory Writing in late Medieval England*), p. 317. (Italicization by the author.)

⁶⁶⁸ (Dunne, *Accidents without a Subject: Richard FitzRalph's Question on the Eucharist from his Lectures on the Sentences*), pp. 16-7.

⁶⁶⁹ MS 180, fol. 104^{rb}.

⁶⁷⁰ FitzRalph's emphasis on abundance should not be understood as an invitation to hoard excess goods. In a sermon he preached in Lichfield in 1345 in honour of St Katherine, he urged men and women (*homines et muliere*) to give superfluous goods to the poor (*pauperibus erogando*). This sermon, preached in English, survives in note form in FitzRalph's sermon diary, see MS 144, fols 2^r-2^v. An English translation of these sermon notes can be found in (Wenzel, *Preaching in the age of Chaucer: Selected Sermons in Translation*), pp. 192-4.

⁶⁷¹ MS 180, fol. 104^{ra}.

⁶⁷² '*Ex istis elicitor quod innocens nec arti liberali nec mechanice intendisset*'. Loserth, J. and Matthew, F. D., eds. *Johannis Wyclif: Tractatus de Mandatis Divinis, accedit Tractatus de Statu Innocencie* (London: Published for the Wyclif Society by C. K. Paul & co., 1922), p. 495.

*The truth that by means of work man participates in the activity of God himself, his Creator, was given particular prominence by Jesus Christ—the Jesus at whom many of his first listeners in Nazareth "were astonished, saying, 'Where did this man get all this? What is the wisdom given to him...Is not this the carpenter?'"...The eloquence of the life of Christ is unequivocal: he belongs to the "working world", he has appreciation and respect for human work.*⁶⁷³

Yet this section has shown a late-medieval reluctance to figure Christ as a carpenter, and as a working man.⁶⁷⁴ It is worth considering that FitzRalph's radical figuring of Christ as a labouring man challenges an established view that the language of ecclesiastical elites cannot address, in a literal and unambiguous way, the issues of the non-elite.⁶⁷⁵

Did Christ Beg or Teach Begging?

Friars derived evidence for a mendicant Christ from glosses of certain sections of the Psalms, and from the declaration in pseudo-Bernard's sermon that the adolescent Christ had begged when he remained in the Temple.⁶⁷⁶ The Psalms were: 'identified by Christian tradition as the most sustained christological prophecy of the Old Testament'.⁶⁷⁷ Christ himself quoted a psalm as a means of identifying the Messiah.⁶⁷⁸

Psalms 39 and 108 tended to be used by proponents of mendicancy to argue that Christ had begged.⁶⁷⁹ Critics responded that the mendicants were 'using the Psalms as if they were the

⁶⁷³ http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_jp-ii_enc_14091981_laborem-exercens.html

⁶⁷⁴ See chapter four for more on depictions of the labouring man in lollard texts.

⁶⁷⁵ Ian Forrest noted: 'the left-liberal instincts of many a literary critic are prominent in exposing or decrying totalitarian power structures (the medieval Church hierarchy), but the fact that this perspective can involve removing agency from peasants and the oppressed seems to have gone unnoticed.' Forrest, I., 'Lollardy and Late Medieval History', in *Wycliffite Controversies*, eds. M. Bose and J. P. Hornbeck II (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 121-134, p. 128.

⁶⁷⁶ See fns 431, 432 and 433 for references to the sermon.

⁶⁷⁷ Gross-Diaz, T., 'What's a Good Soldier to Do? Scholarship and Revelation in the Postills on the Psalms', in *Nicholas of Lyra: the Senses of Scripture*, eds. P. D. Krey and L. Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 111-128, p. 116. Christopher Hamel writes: 'From the ninth century onwards, the more luxurious manuscripts of the Psalter often opened with illustrations which associated the Author of the Psalms with aspects of the life of Christ'. (De Hamel, *The Book: A History of the Bible*), p. 143. Augustine had prescribed that the psalms possess both a christological and a moral reading. See (Colish, *Peter Lombard*), p. 165.

⁶⁷⁸ See Matthew 22:41-45, where Christ quoted Psalm 109:1.

⁶⁷⁹ Bonaventure argued in *Disputed Questions on Evangelical Perfection* that the Gloss 'explains' Psalm 39:18 to be about Christ. See fn. 688. Not all mendicant theologians followed this approach. Nicholas of Lyra, in his *Postilla* on the Psalms, exhibits 'a remarkable lack of emphasis on the christological import of the Psalms, as compared to the majority of commentaries which preceded him'. See (Gross-Diaz, *What's a Good Soldier to Do?*

words of Christ'.⁶⁸⁰ Christ's mendicancy was construed via these texts by the Carmelite John Maidstone and Augustinian Geoffrey Hardeby, the latter responding directly to FitzRalph.⁶⁸¹ Woodford also makes a case for the mendicancy of Christ from these verses.⁶⁸² A discursive familiarity with these texts in the context of antimendicant discussion is seen in sections from William of St Amour's later (and less well-known) *Collectiones catholicae et canonicae Scripturae*, which contain discussions of key verses in Psalms 39 and 108 immediately preceding his discussion of Christ and Zaccheus.⁶⁸³

Fiona Somerset has studied the context of these two psalms in FitzRalph's tract, *Quia in Nuper Facta*, noting that he draws upon Peter Lombard's two explanations for Psalm 39:18, that they refer to Christ himself or to Christ as representing the Church.⁶⁸⁴ She emphasises these arguments are employed in a trio of vernacular lollard tracts, the *Jack Upland Series*, which discuss the legitimacy of the friars, linking the reference to begging in Psalm 108 to Christ asking for water from the Samaritan woman, asking for hospitality from Zaccheus, and requesting a donkey for his triumphal ride into Jerusalem.⁶⁸⁵ One of these tracts refers to: '*pe water, pe asse, or pe herberowe*', though the text's own editor could not place or understand the reference.⁶⁸⁶ All these references can be traced back to FitzRalph's writings, demonstrating the degree to which the theologian influenced lollard thought.⁶⁸⁷

Scholarship and Revelation in the Postills on the Psalms), p. 119. Gilbert of Poitiers and written that the Psalms speak of Christ, but 'must be read not only with reference to the life of Christ in the New Testament, which they forecast, but with reference to the moral lives of the Christians who make up the church, His body.' (Colish, Peter Lombard), p. 169.

⁶⁸⁰ (Clopper, *Songes of Rechelesnesse: Langland and the Franciscans*), p. 13.

⁶⁸¹ (Somerset, Clerical Discourse and Lay Audience in Late Medieval England), pp. 174-8.

⁶⁸² This will be discussed in chapter three.

⁶⁸³ (Fleming, The "Collations" of William of Saint-Amour Against A. Thomas), pp. 134-135. However, he did not use the same material in *De periculis*. See (Geltner, William of St Amour: *De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum*), p. 151.

⁶⁸⁴ (Somerset, Clerical Discourse and Lay Audience in Late Medieval England), p. 174. See also fns 435, 436 and 581.

⁶⁸⁵ As Somerset observes: 'the participants' sketchy and telegraphic references to well-known arguments are the products of allusion to points of debate familiar to all, not (as Heyworth thought) sketchy knowledge.' *ibid.*, p. 178. Heyworth was the editor of the *Jack Upland Series* texts. See Heyworth, P. L. *Jack Upland, Friar Daw's Reply and Upland's Rejoinder* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 169-170.

⁶⁸⁶ (Heyworth, *Jack Upland, Friar Daw's Reply and Upland's Rejoinder*), p. 112, ll. 339-340. Heyworth wrote: 'The allusions are not obvious and the exact sense is not clear', p. 169.

⁶⁸⁷ This will be discussed in detail in chapter four.

FitzRalph begins VIII:27 with the acknowledgement that some believe the phrase from Psalm 39:18 '*ego vero mendicus sum et pauper*' refers to the neediness of Christ.⁶⁸⁸ He himself interprets it as referring to the Church which expectantly waits for Christ.⁶⁸⁹ Christ cannot be expected to wait expectantly for himself, as the next verse of the psalm would then suggest.⁶⁹⁰ Thus FitzRalph positions the begging referred to as a type of spiritual begging, not corporal begging.⁶⁹¹ This links to VIII:1's argument about spiritual and bodily begging.

FitzRalph refers to an interpretation of Augustine's, who believed this referred to the neediness of Christ and should not be understood as strictest begging.⁶⁹² FitzRalph refers to the *Gloss*'s explanation, where there is a separation between the neediness of Christ and the neediness of the Church. Clearly, in one sense, FitzRalph explains, this verse can only be explained with reference to the Church, and not also to Christ.⁶⁹³

FitzRalph's contextualization continues as he provides further arguments why the verse can only refer to the Church. He positions it as a petition seeking a cure for misery (*et sequens postulationem seu expressionem remedii super miseria in tracta*), and an appeal to be freed from the misery of sin.⁶⁹⁴ He quotes verses 12-14 of the psalm in full, arguing that Christ, in his sinless innocence, could never ask to be freed from the misery of sin.⁶⁹⁵ He continues that these verses

⁶⁸⁸ 'Nolluli tamen sistendi homines de Christo doctum acciperunt seu exponunt ego vero mendicus sum et pauper volentes ut michi videtur a Christi cultoribus timorem egestatis ex tentere qui literaliter illud doctum exponere'. MS 180, fol. 114^{ra}. For the use of Psalm 39:18 to 'prove' the mendicant Christ, see (Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia* V), p. 137; (Williams, *Protectorium pauperis*, a Defense of the Begging Friars by Richard of Maidstone), pp. 148-9, 156. See also Aquinas, *Contra impug.* 7.8.745-49; and ST II-II, q.187, a. 5, sed contra, as cited in (Clopper, *Songes of Rechelesnesse: Langland and the Franciscans*), p. 59.

⁶⁸⁹ This is the interpretation provided by Peter Lombard. See fn. 698.

⁶⁹⁰ 'ut michi videtur literaliter illud dixerit de ecclesiam Christum et novum testamentum languide expectante sicut ipsius Psalmi verba pertendunt non eum Christum Christum taliter expectavit ut dicerans expectavi Dominium'. MS 180, fol. 114^{ra}.

⁶⁹¹ 'et si intelligerentur de Christo non de mendicitate corporaliter cibi sed de mendicitate spiritualiter alimenti'. MS 180, fol. 114^{ra}.

⁶⁹² 'Item alia translationem habet loco mendici egenum quam ipsam Beatus Augustus de Christi membris exponit et sic non artavitur mendicantem'. MS 180, fol. 114^{ra}.

⁶⁹³ 'Sed egestatem Christo ascribere item glosator qui sub disiunctione illud exponit de Christo aut eius ecclesiam versiculum in mendicitate sequentem Christum apertare non potens scilicet adiutor et protector meus es tu Deus meus ne tardaveris de sola ecclesiam illum versum'. MS 180, fols 114^{ra}-114^{rb}.

⁶⁹⁴ MS 180, fol. 114^{rb}.

⁶⁹⁵ MS 180, fol. 114^{rb}.

were never traditionally understood as examples where Christ received alms, nor of examples where alms were sought, but examples of giving something.⁶⁹⁶ He is drawing attention to the novelty of this interpretation of the psalm, when placed in the context of earlier theological understandings.

FitzRalph also turns to Peter Lombard's *Gloss on the Psalms*, a commentary which was 'the most popular exposition of that text in use among students'.⁶⁹⁷ Peter emphasized the text can be interpreted in various ways: it signifies Christ, or signifies the Passion, or signifies the arrival of the New Testament.⁶⁹⁸ FitzRalph himself now argues that one cannot conclude from the Psalm that Christ had probably begged.⁶⁹⁹

William of St Amour took a different approach to Psalm 39 in his own antimendicant criticism.⁷⁰⁰ Affirming that the *Gloss* states the text is not speaking of Christ but of the just man (*Secundum Glossam, non loquitur ibi Christus, sed vir iustus*), he argued the verse cannot refer to Christ because Christ had not yet been formed, inasmuch as he was conceived by the Holy Spirit, not the seed of man (*cum non habuerit formitem, utpote conceptus de Spiritu Sancto sine virile semine*).⁷⁰¹ FitzRalph takes a more rational approach, explaining that the psalm does not make sense unless interpreted in a logical manner.

VIII:26 addresses three specific episodes where Christ asked for something.⁷⁰² The first occasion was when Christ asked the Samaritan woman at the well for a drink of water.⁷⁰³ The second was when Christ announced to Zacheus, the tax-collector, that he would be dining at his

⁶⁹⁶ 'ex quo etiam doceo videtur quod numquam elemosinam antiquam accepit quam tunc ut verisimiliter petiter estimari nullatenus tacuisset in descriptione reddendo mercedes qui potius expressisset michi in mea persona et meis minimis sic fecistis quod quia non fecit veresimilimem videtur quod elemosinam a nullo accipitur item cum in alio psalmis dicatur adiuvit pauperem de inopia pro eodem pauperem.' MS 180, fol. 114^{va}.

⁶⁹⁷ Minnis, A. J. and Scott, A. B. *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism c.1100-c.1375: The Commentary Tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 69.

⁶⁹⁸ PL 191, Cols 0397D-0398D.

⁶⁹⁹ 'non satis solide est adductum'. MS 180, fol. 117^{rb}.

⁷⁰⁰ (Fleming, The "Collations" of William of Saint-Amour Against A. Thomas), p. 133.

⁷⁰¹ Ibid., p. 134.

⁷⁰² MS 180, fols 113^{rb}-114^{ra}. See fns 685 and 686 for the use of FitzRalph's arguments in lollard texts.

⁷⁰³ (John 4:1-38)

house.⁷⁰⁴ The third took place shortly before the Passion, when Christ told his followers to collect a young colt upon which he rode into Jerusalem.⁷⁰⁵ The phrase is also found in the early fifteenth-century lollard sermon of William Taylor (d. 1423), a text which named FitzRalph and quoted arguments directly out of book VIII.⁷⁰⁶

William of St Amour used the story of Christ and the Samaritan woman to illustrate his argument: '*it is nowhere found that the Lord or his apostles ever begged.*'⁷⁰⁷ William's explanation for an absence of begging is that Christ had dispatched the disciples to the nearby town to buy food (*ut emerent cibos*), and furthermore, that the significant water in question was not physical but spiritual water (*sed petebat ab ea aquam spiritualem, id est, fidem*).⁷⁰⁸

FitzRalph adopts a similar strategy, noting that Christ asking for water is indifferent and superfluous to the actual story.⁷⁰⁹ He explains the meaning of the text is 'clear when joined together with what He then said to the disciples when they returned from buying food'.⁷¹⁰ FitzRalph argues Christ was not trying to beg for material food, but to lead the woman to eternal life.⁷¹¹ It is in this manner that Christ's request for a drink of water ought to be understood (*modo intelligam*).⁷¹²

FitzRalph turns now to Augustine and John Chrysostom for reinforcement, drawing first on Augustine's *Tractates on the Gospel of John*, and then to one of pseudo-Chrysostom's

⁷⁰⁴ (Luke 19:1-10)

⁷⁰⁵ (Mark 11:1-7)

⁷⁰⁶ As cited in (Somerset, Clerical Discourse and Lay Audience in Late Medieval England), p. 168, fn. 50. See fn. 121, concerning the sermon itself.

⁷⁰⁷ '*Quod autem dominus mendicaverit vel eius apostoli nusquam invenitur.*' (Geltner, William of St Amour: De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum), pp. 100-1.

⁷⁰⁸ (John 4:1-14) *ibid.*, pp.100-3.

⁷⁰⁹ Marginal glosses added the text show the importance of this reply: 'When Christ did not beg when asking the Samaritan woman to give him water', and 'the reason why he asked for water'. MS 180, fol. 113^{rb}.

⁷¹⁰ '*ut videtur extextum consequitur dicatur discipulis cum cibis emptis reversis.*' MS 180, fol. 113^{va}. (John 4:32-34)

⁷¹¹ '*si intelligerentur de Christo non de mendicitate corporaliter cibi sed de mendicitate spiritualiter alimenti.*' MS 180, fol. 114^{ra}.

⁷¹² MS 180, fol. 114^{rb}.

homilies on the Gospel of John, to validate his argument.⁷¹³ Here we see FitzRalph turning freely to secondary sources where they support an argument he is making.

FitzRalph challenges the mendicant extrapolation of this story on the grounds of logic, a mode of explanation he had also used with Psalm 39.⁷¹⁴ Surely, he states, asking for a drink of water is contrary to what the word, mendicancy, ought, grammatically to mean. When emperors, kings and princes ask for a drink of water, are they begging?⁷¹⁵ Having established the principle that the act of asking does not make one a beggar, FitzRalph returns to the scriptural story at the point when the disciples returned to find Christ and tried to encourage him to eat.⁷¹⁶ The purpose is to demonstrate those closest to Christ did not appreciate his true intention. FitzRalph underscores this point, reminding his audience of the boy Christ in the temple, who replied to his parents' concern at his disappearance by questioning why they did not appreciate he would be in his (heavenly) Father's house.⁷¹⁷

A different occasion when, according to FitzRalph, Christ did not beg is the encounter with Zaccheus. This story is also cited by William of St Amour, though his explanation is that 'it was out of civility rather than need' that Christ approached Zaccheus.⁷¹⁸ FitzRalph gives a longer reason: Christ informed Zaccheus that he would stay at his house to offer the gift of his divine presence to the sinful tax-collector. This offer needed to take place in public so all could see the

⁷¹³ MS 180, 113^{va}. In the margin someone has written out '*Crisostomus*' separately to provide emphasis.

⁷¹⁴ See fn. 690.

⁷¹⁵ '*Igitur sic pro quia ut bibere postulavit nullam egestatem pretendens manu aut verbo mendicasse dicatur dicendi sunt contra gramaticam Deum imperatores et reges ac principes mendicare quam suis petunt mendicare et bibere*'. MS 180, fol. 113^{va}. Wyclif seems to be referring to this line of response in his sermon on the biblical beggar Lazarus, where he is discussing various types of asking. '*ideo dicunt quod pocionem illam dominanter imperavit*'. Loserth, J. and Matthew, F. D., eds. *Iohannis Wyclif Sermones*, I (London: Published for the Wyclif Society by Trübner & co., 1887), p. 228. See also (Wenzel, *Preaching in the age of Chaucer: Selected Sermons in Translation*), p. 160.

⁷¹⁶ FitzRalph quotes this passage, and Christ's response: 'My food is to do the will of him who sent me and to accomplish his work'. MS 180, fol. 113^{va}. (John 4:34)

⁷¹⁷ MS 180, fols 113^{va}-113^{vb}. (Luke 2:49)

⁷¹⁸ '*non fuit mendicitas, sed urbanitas*'. (Geltner, *William of St Amour: De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum*), pp. 102-103. William of St Amour does not refer to Christ summoning the ass.

offer of salvation. Mendicancy, in the correct meaning or sense of the word, he says, cannot be applied here.⁷¹⁹ FitzRalph's argument is grounded in the grammatically-correct meaning of the term.

Another episode of Christ teaching others to follow his behaviour is in VIII:42, where *Johannes* and *Ricardus* debate the lessons learnt from the story of the widow's mite.⁷²⁰ Discussion develops out of a point made by *Johannes*, that since perpetually-assumed begging is now a qualification for canonization, perhaps holy and wise begging ought to be followed. *Ricardus*'s answer is that begging is a venal and mortal sin, so the canonizations in question must have been for other merits.⁷²¹

This point is illustrated with portrayals of those archetypal mendicant saints, Alexis and Francis, depicting them as laymen who did not hold to knowledge of venal sin. Clearly the great doctors investigating their canonizations would have determined they were adhering to the truth of God.⁷²² This part of FitzRalph's argument was important to early-modern Irish Franciscan historian Luke Wadding (1588-1657), including it in his summary of the archbishop's campaign for his *Annales Minorum*.⁷²³

The illustration *Ricardus* now volunteers is that the Hebrew midwives and Rahab the prostitute were deemed by God to have acted meritoriously.⁷²⁴ Both episodes involved deception or disobedience: the Hebrew midwives disobeyed Pharaoh's instruction to kill the Hebrew male babies, and Rahab hid the Hebrew spies, Joshua and Caleb.⁷²⁵ Acting mendaciously is always

⁷¹⁹ 'cum verbum oportet sensum mendicationis non habeant'. MS 180, fol. 113^{vb}.

⁷²⁰ MS 180, fols 126^{rb}-126^{va}. (Mark 12:41-44)

⁷²¹ '*Johannes. Multi qui mendicitatem sic sibi observandam perpetuo assumpserent per ecclesiam in sanctorum cathalago numerantur unde exquo ecclesia approbat iutam ipsorum et illud facit scienter sequi videtur quod sancte ac prudenter mendicitatem servabant. Ricardus. No sequitur sicut nec ex tali approbatione vite hominis ab ecclesia sequitur quod peccata sua venalia sine mortalia prudenter ac sancte servabat aut fuerant sancte assumpta quam non inde suis propter mendicationem canonizantur et ab ecclesia homines appobantur in vita sed propter alia sancta merita eorundem*'. MS 180, fol. 126^{ra}.

⁷²² '*quod habebant ignorancie veniale peccatum quia in tanto negocio debuerant ut videtur ab aliis magis doctoris inquisivisse cum deligentia veritatem Deum*'. MS 180, fol. 126^{rb}.

⁷²³ (Wadding, *Annales Minorum, in quibus res omnes trium ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum ex fide ponderosius asseruntur*), p. 63.

⁷²⁴ MS 180, fol. 126^{rb}.

⁷²⁵ (Exodus 1:20-21; Joshua 2:12-14)

sinful, but on account of Rahab's mercy, and to save the Hebrew children from death, they acted as divine messengers.⁷²⁶

Ricardus's response to the story of the widow's mite has two parts. The first is pedagogical: *Johannes* had misunderstood the point of Christ's words, and mislocated the virtue Christ was commending. Clearly the act was imprudent, but Christ praised the widow for the affection she showed, commending her merit, not her prudence.⁷²⁷ The second part is hermeneutical: *Ricardus* continues that it is clearly not right that her act might lead to mendicancy, because one must always be able to estimate which craft or labour will enable one to acquire food for oneself. Rarely is a man or a woman ignorant of the knowledge to acquire necessities to succour themselves.⁷²⁸ He declares we must presume the widow could provide for herself to remedy this situation, and would have had something in reserve when she gave to the treasury. Otherwise she would have endangered her life, and thus tempted God, which is contrary to divine law.⁷²⁹

FitzRalph does not cite another theologian to support this view, which seems to suggest it not a standard interpretation.⁷³⁰ According to the Gloss, Jerome believed the widow's gift

⁷²⁶ *'Non tamen proprie propter actum mendacii quam semper et cum omni homine est peccatum sed propter piam et devotam voluntatem annexam qua pueros Hebreorum liberare a morte est divini nuncios laborant'*. MS 180, fol. 126^b.

⁷²⁷ *'Licet talia faciant imprudenter et ex affectu denoto quem Deus magis acceptat quam censum unde ex commendatione Deum vidue prudentiam non promatur sed meritum'*. MS 180, fol. 126^{va}.

⁷²⁸ For the absence of gender stereotyping within discussions of begging and need, see (Metzler, *A Social History of Disability in the Middle Ages: Cultural Considerations of Physical Impairment*), p. 204; (Farmer, *The Beggar's Body: Intersections of Gender and Social Status in High Medieval Paris*), p. 161. Chaucer's *Nun's Priest's Tale* begins with a depiction of a poor widow who supported herself through her meagre husbandry, VII, ll. 2821-46. See Benson, L. D., ed. *The Riverside Chaucer* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), p. 253.

⁷²⁹ *'Item non recte ex hoc facto infero eam mendicam quam contrarium debemus verisimilius estimare suis quod artificio aut laboricio poterat sibi victum acquirere quam raro reperiri poterit vir aut mulier tam ignorans quam aperte cognoscit quod potius esse sibi ipsi in necessitatis articulo succurrendum quam in gazophilatio asserendum unde debemus a presumere quod ipsa agnovit se aliud provictu habere remedium quia alias illud modicum potius suo usui reservasset quanta in gazophilacium misset etiam iuxta adducta superius ipsa alias se ipsam exposuisset vite discrimen et Deum temptasset contra legem divinam'*. MS 180, fol. 126^{va}. (See also Matthew 4:7; Luke 4:12). Gerard of Abbeville had used the scriptural prohibition on tempting God as one of his antimendicant arguments. See (Clasen, Gerard of Abbeville. *Contra adversarium perfectionis christiane*), p. 181.

⁷³⁰ Woodford draws attention to the absence of authoritative corroboration to FitzRalph's explanation, MS 75, fol. 163^{va}.

signified that what one can voluntarily offer to God is what God desires.⁷³¹ Bede used the story to caution against the church coveting things.⁷³² Nicholas of Lyra in his *Postilla* quoted Aquinas, arguing that the merit of the widow's gift, rather than the amount, was important.⁷³³ The only secondary source FitzRalph refers to in this episode is Aristotle, and which he uses to argue from a narrowly philosophical perspective.⁷³⁴

In his analysis of the story of the widow's mite, FitzRalph does what he had accused the mendicants of, namely creating a scenario to embellish an argument not found in scripture.⁷³⁵ His particular interpretation was not mentioned in *Defensio curatorum*. Might this omission be because FitzRalph appreciated his version would be controversially treated by his curial audience?⁷³⁶

FitzRalph also finds proof--through a secondary source--that Christ did not teach begging, turning to the ante-Nicene text *The Recognitions of Clement*.⁷³⁷ On two occasions, in VIII:7 and VIII:24, FitzRalph cites the story of the Apostle Peter's rebuke to the mother of St Clement for begging when she was able to work.⁷³⁸ The underlying argument is that the apostles will have done what Christ taught them to do. Thus FitzRalph logically deduces, from Peter's disapproval of mendicancy in this apocryphal story, that Christ cannot have advocated such a practice. A related example of apostolic practice to retrospectively reconstruct Christ's teaching is made in VIII:29, which stresses the apostles were not naked but decently clothed.⁷³⁹

⁷³¹ (Strabus, *Bibliorum Sacrorum cum Glossa Ordinaria*), v, p. 613.

⁷³² Ibid., v, p. 613.

⁷³³ Ibid., v, p. 614. See ST II-II, q.32, a.3.

⁷³⁴ See fn. 447.

⁷³⁵ See fn. 27.

⁷³⁶ FitzRalph's version of the story of the widow's mite is repeated in a lollard tract, the *Dialogue between a Friar and a Secular*. See fn. 1250.

⁷³⁷ See fn. 424. The relevant section is in book VII:13-23 of the *Clementine Recognitions*.

⁷³⁸ 'Item si Christus spontanee mendicavit cui Petrus apostolus aut supra iam tetigit matrem sancti clementis estimans eam aptam labori quia inter mendicos elemosinam expectavit acriter reprehendit cum in hoc Christum fuerit imitata sic dicens habet ostendere'. MS 180, fol. 11^{vb}.

⁷³⁹ 'Item sicut nec apostoli nudi sed vestiti honeste omnibus suis relictis secuti sunt Christum'. MS 180, fol. 116^{tb}.

To conclude this section, FitzRalph uses various scriptural stories to set out his argument that Christ did not beg, and to infer that he cannot have taught his followers to do so. Yet as the episode between Peter and Clement demonstrates, FitzRalph is unafraid to use an extra-scriptural source. His response to Roger Conway in the sermon wager had been to argue that Conway used the *Gloss*, rather than scripture, to locate the mendicant Christ, yet book VIII shows he himself is quite prepared to use a secondary source when it suits his argument.

The Construction of St Francis

St Francis features prominently in book VIII, indicating a marked change from books I-VII, where the saint was not mentioned at all. According to one scholar, Francis was 'irrelevant' to the wider argument of *De pauperie Salvatoris*.⁷⁴⁰ The Rule and the Testament, both quoted in book VIII, were cited in *Defensio curatorum* and in the third of FitzRalph's London sermons. Taken together, these suggest that in the latter phase of his campaign, FitzRalph decided upon a new emphasis for his argument which privileged Francis.⁷⁴¹

FitzRalph is careful to position Francis with respect. A reason for this must be rhetorical. In both the *Defensio* and book VIII, FitzRalph uses Francis' intentions, as set out in the Rule and Testament, to reinforce his argument that the Franciscans have succumbed to the sin of disobedience in deviating from the instructions of their founder. The centrality of Francis to this argument can be seen in the opening lines of VIII:35:

*Because begging without being a beggar and neglecting labour while lawfully being able to practice labour is discouraged and rejected by our Lord Jesus Christ, by his apostles and also by his disciples, and by St Francis, and also by the Holy Scriptures.*⁷⁴²

⁷⁴⁰ (Hughes, *An Essay Introductory to the De Pauperie Salvatoris* of Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh), p. 168.

⁷⁴¹ See (Dolan, *Richard FitzRalph's Defensio Curatorum in Transmission*), p. 181.

⁷⁴² '*Quod mendicatos sine mendicitas neglecto labore cum iuste poterit exerceri sit dissuasa ac reprobata a Domino nostro Ihesu Christo ab eius apostolis atque discipulis a Sancto Francisco et etiam a sacris scripturis*'. MS 180, fol. 119th.

This has led historians to suggest that FitzRalph's beliefs are closely aligned to those of the Spiritual Franciscans.⁷⁴³ Yet as this chapter has demonstrated, FitzRalph's examination of the nature of poverty, his deconstruction of begging, and his biographical portrait of Christ render untenable an ideological affiliation with Spiritual Franciscans.

On another level--and taking into account his affirmation that the Testament was a revelation from God--the archbishop subtly undermines Francis' ideology. In VIII:43, he underscores how Basil, Augustine and Benedict all instituted rules with no reference to begging.⁷⁴⁴ More critically, he chooses not to engage hermeneutically with Francis' claim to follow the Gospel.⁷⁴⁵ The opening line of chapter 1 of the *Regula Bullata*, which FitzRalph quoted in *Defensio*, is overlooked entirely in book VIII, though other sections of the Rule are quoted.⁷⁴⁶ FitzRalph refers to the claim of Franciscans to follow Christ only through the compromised language of the papal bull, *Exiit*.⁷⁴⁷

In VIII:14, FitzRalph turns from making theological and scriptural accusations against the friars to this historical argument based on the instructions given by Francis to his Order. He notes it is understood that privileges conceded to the friars are prohibited by the foundational Rule, which is the duty of friars to follow.⁷⁴⁸ He introduces the Testament of Francis without qualification or context, giving it equal weight to the Rule, to argue Francis taught that labour was acceptable.⁷⁴⁹

⁷⁴³ See fns 532 and 533.

⁷⁴⁴ MS 180, fol. 127^{ra}.

⁷⁴⁵ (Armstrong and Brady, *Francis and Clare: the Complete Works*), p. 137.

⁷⁴⁶ (Perry, John Trevisa: *Dialogus inter militem et clericum*', Richard FitzRalph's sermon *'Defensio curatorum'*, and, Methodius: *'þe bygynnyng of þe world and þe ende of worldes'*), p. 66.

⁷⁴⁷ MS 180, fols 118^{rb}-118^{vb}. The specific section of *Exiit* is in (Gay and Vitte, *Les registres de Nicolas III (1277-1280)*), p. 232.

⁷⁴⁸ *'in primitate legis talem officium in fratribus prohibitis'*. MS 180, fol. 102^{rb}.

⁷⁴⁹ *'vitam suam Francisci eius regulam et eius etis testamentum precipit fratribus ad hoc ydoneis labore et ipsi nec lecto laboricio statuerunt mendicare regulam Francisci'*. MS 180, fol. 102^{va}. One of the criticisms of the Franciscans Bonaventure dealt with in his *Letter to an Unknown Master* was the accusation made by a Dominican that according to the Rule, Franciscans ought to undertake manual labour. See *Epistola de tribus quaestionibus*, (Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia VIII*), pp. 331-6.

VIII:15 deals solely with the status of the Testament. *Johannes* observes that Franciscans did not treat the teaching of the Testament like the teaching of the Rule, as sanctioned by Pope Nicholas III.⁷⁵⁰ This affords the opportunity to demonstrate a familiarity with recent Franciscan history. *Ricardus* explains to *Johannes* that friars found it difficult to follow the instruction of the Testament, so sought guidance from Pope Gregory IX.⁷⁵¹ *Johannes* adds that Franciscans procured a bull exempting them from following the Testament.⁷⁵²

In order to make this polemical point stick, FitzRalph has to validate the revelation to Francis which led to the Franciscan Rule. This endorsement is essentially a concession that God set down an extra-scriptural law, a point made by Stephen Lahey with reference to the *Defensio*.⁷⁵³ The argument is also found in a vernacular lollard tract which affirms it is false to say that the Testament is neither God's will nor that of Francis.⁷⁵⁴ FitzRalph's declaration is even included in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*.⁷⁵⁵

FitzRalph highlights the section in the Testament where Francis instructed the friars not to gloss the words of his Rule.⁷⁵⁶ Contrary to this, however, the Archbishop notes that the friars permit themselves practices forbidden in the Rule, such as going into towns to collect money.⁷⁵⁷ FitzRalph continues that nowhere did Francis teach his friars to hear confessions and examine the

⁷⁵⁰ *Inferunt velud ferens fratres respondent se non teneri ad suadens ea qui in illo testamento Franciscus adiecit ad regularum iuxta de declarationem domini Nicholas III capitulo suam docere*. MS 180, fol. 103^{ra}.

⁷⁵¹ *difficultate servari propter quod fratres hesitantes an teneantur ad observanciam testamentum predictum dubitacionem huius parendi per declarencionem Gregorius IX*. MS 180, fol. 103^{ra}.

⁷⁵² MS 180, fol. 103^{ra}.

⁷⁵³ (Lahey, Richard FitzRalph and John Wyclif: *Untangling Armachanus from the Wycliffites*), p. 172. (Perry, John Trevisa: *Dialogus inter militem et clericum*, Richard FitzRalph's sermon *'Defensio curatorum'*, and, Methodius: *'þe bygynnyng of þe world and þe ende of worldes'*), pp. 68-70.

⁷⁵⁴ *'þan ne oþer þis testament is of goddis wille or fraunseis is fals þat seip so. Ȝif it be goddis wille þe pope may not do azenst it'*. Christi College, Cambridge, MS 296, p. 36a-36b (the manuscript is paginated not foliated). The full tract is from p. 29-39. A printed version can be found in Matthew, F. D., ed. *The English Works of Wyclif Hitherto Unprinted, OS 74* (London: Published for the Early English Text Society by Trübner & Co, 1880), p. 48. For the full tract, which contains a Middle English rendition of both the Rule and Testament, see pp. 39-51, though Matthew incorrectly ascribed the text to MS 290.

⁷⁵⁵ See book 5 of the 1570 edition. See *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online or TAMO* (The Digital Humanities Institute, Sheffield, 2011). Available from: <http://www.dhi.ac.uk/foxe> [Accessed: 01.07.2019].

⁷⁵⁶ MS 180, fol. 102^{va}.

⁷⁵⁷ *'et pro villam qui secundum ducat ad colligendum denarios receptorem'*. MS 180, fol. 102^{va}.

penitent.⁷⁵⁸ He notes Francis taught that friars ought not to have monasteries as the monks to, or to have cloisters, or homes or interior offices, but the friars immediately procured privileges allowing them to do just that.⁷⁵⁹

Ricardus and *Johannes* frame the Testament as a controversial and disputed text (a point also acknowledged in *Defensio*).⁷⁶⁰ Franciscan scholars seem sometimes unsure how to position the Testament within Franciscan historiography, referring to it euphemistically as a debated text, without going into contemporary detail. Franciscan specialists trumpet its 'rediscovery' without drawing out the reasons it became lost.⁷⁶¹ This section has worked to demonstrate the value of texts such as book VIII to provide a richer source of contextual information for Franciscan historiography.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided background information on the unstudied and essentially unknown book VIII, considering the grounds for its composition, and highlighting the unsatisfactory way in which it has been identified in the historiography. It has focussed on FitzRalph's work to bring lucidity to mendicant debate by clarifying what evangelical perfection and wilful begging might mean. It has highlighted his grammatical work to bring semantic clarity to types of poverty. It has also emphasized his novel portrayal of Christ as a carpenter. Finally, this chapter has analysed FitzRalph's depiction of St Francis, noting the respectful way the saint

⁷⁵⁸ *'Regulam Francisci precepit quod nullum fratrem populo penitus audeat'*. MS 180, fol. 102^{va}.

⁷⁵⁹ *'Regulam Sancti Francisci precipit quod fratres non in ergo dicatur monasteria, monachorum non claustrum non domes non officinas interiores, et fratres procurarunt privilegem directe facere econtra nec ita'*. MS 180, fol. 102^{vb}.

⁷⁶⁰ MS 180, fol. 105^{rb}. For this reference in the *Defensio*, see (Perry, John Trevisa: *'Dialogus inter militem et clericum'*, Richard FitzRalph's sermon *'Defensio curatorum'*, and, Methodius: *'þe bygynnyng of þe world and þe ende of worlde'*), pp. 68-9.

⁷⁶¹ J.A. Wayne Hellmann writes: 'especially during the tensions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it was a debated text.' Hellmann, J. A. W., 'The Testament of Brother Francis (1226)', in *The Writings of Francis of Assisi: Rules, Testament and Admonitions*, eds. M. W. Blastic, J. M. Hammond and J. A. W. Hellmann (New York: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2011), 223-256, p. 252. Michael Cusato notes the "'rediscovery" of the importance of the Testament' without elaborating further. (Cusato, *Mercy Evanescent: Thomas of Celano's Rewrite of the Encounter of Francis with the Leper (2 Celano 9)*), p. 66.

is portrayed. The subsequent chapter will consider the formal response by English Franciscan friar, William Woodford.

Chapter Three: William Woodford's *Defensorium Fratrum Mendicantium* and Poverty

William Woodford

Historians have briefly noted critical replies to FitzRalph by other mendicants, but no comparative study of a text by FitzRalph, alongside its mendicant response, has been undertaken. Walsh positioned Woodford's *Defensorium* as aimed equally at FitzRalph and Wyclif.⁷⁶² This chapter argues differently, positioning the text solely as a reply to FitzRalph.

Neslihan Şenocak observes: 'historical monographs that examine Franciscan topics within a wider historical context are few'.⁷⁶³ This chapter endeavours to make a contribution to this area. Speaking for all mendicants, Woodford reveal how friars position themselves, and articulate their many purposes--pastoral, juridical, spiritual and educational--within ecclesiastical and lay communities.⁷⁶⁴ Before turning to the text however, Woodford's life and career will be briefly described.

William Woodford was born sometime around 1330 and died in or after 1397.⁷⁶⁵ He joined the community of Franciscans at London in approximately 1350, was ordained deacon in

⁷⁶² Walsh saw the *Defensorium* as the place Woodford: 'was happy to dispose of both Wyclif and FitzRalph in a single argument'. (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), p. 378. Woodford's scant references to Wyclif in the *Defensorium* will be discussed later this chapter.

⁷⁶³ (Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect: the Rise of Learning in the Franciscan Order, 1209-1310*), p. 20 (see also p. 8). Amanda Power adds: 'a melancholy narrative of "falling away" has too often been substituted for serious investigation of the forces that shaped the daily lives and longer-term objectives of ordinary friars across Europe'. Power, A., 'The Problem of Obedience among the English Franciscans', in *Rules and Observance: Devising Forms of Communal Life*, eds. M. Breitenstein, J. Burkhardt, S. Burkhardt and J. Roehrkasten (Berlin: LIT, 2014), 129-167, p. 134.

⁷⁶⁴ For example, MS 75, fols 33^{ra}, 51^{vb}, 61^{rb}, 77^{vb}, 101^{ra}, 141^{rb}-141^{vb}, 153^{rb}, 160^{ra}, 164^{ra}, 169^{ra}, 169^{rb}-170^{ra}, 173^{va}, 174^{ra}, 175^{vb}, 176^{vb}. For a background to late medieval education, see Moran Cruz, J. A. H. *The growth of English schooling 1340-1548 : learning, literacy, and laicization in pre-Reformation York diocese* (Guildford: Princeton University Press, 1985), p. 66. On a more specific fraternal education, see also Courtenay, W. J., 'The Instructional Programme of the Mendicant Convents at Paris in the Early Fourteenth Century', in *The Medieval Church: Universities, Heresy, and the Religious Life: Essays in Honour of Gordon Leff*, eds. P. Biller and R. B. Dobson (Woodbridge: Published for the Ecclesiastical History Society by the Boydell Press, 1999), 77-92, especially pp. 81-90.

⁷⁶⁵ Eric Doyle gives Woodford's dates as 'c. 1330-1400'. (Doyle, *William Woodford, His Life and works together with a study and edition of his Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), pp. 17-187, p. 17. Jeremy Catto calculated 1335 as a likely year of Woodford's birth since entry into the Franciscan order was typically at age 14, and Woodford stated in his *Responsiones contra Wyclif et Lollardos* (which Catto dated to about 1390) that he

December 1351, and became priest in March 1357.⁷⁶⁶ Before studying at Oxford University he would have received philosophical and theological training at the London Greyfriars.⁷⁶⁷ Catto speculated that Woodford probably became Doctor of Theology in 1372 or 1373, if his *Postilla super Matthaicum* represents the statutory lectures on the Bible of a new inceptor.⁷⁶⁸

On completion of his degree, Woodford presumably moved back to London Greyfriars where his time was divided between pastoral and academic work.⁷⁶⁹ At this early point in his career Woodford treated FitzRalph as 'an authority', using the *Summa* 'as a kind of encyclopaedia of catholic doctrine'.⁷⁷⁰ At some point in the 1370s, he became personal confessor to Margaret Marshal, Countess of Norfolk.⁷⁷¹ He held the office of Regent Master of the Friars Minor at Oxford in 1389, and in 1390 became Vicar to the Provincial Minister of England.⁷⁷² Doyle puts

had been in the order for forty years. (Catto, William Woodford, O.F.M., (c. 1330-1397)), p. 6. Fiona Somerset dates the *Responsiones* to 1395, which would give Woodford a possible birth date of 1340. (Somerset, Clerical Discourse and Lay Audience in Late Medieval England), p. 136. (Woodford's reference to having 'stood in the order for forty years' can be found in Oxford, MS Bodley 703, fol. 44^{vb}.) For details on calculating the date of Woodford's death, see (Doyle, William Woodford, His Life and works together with a study and edition of his *Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), pp. 32-3.

⁷⁶⁶ (Catto, William Woodford, O.F.M., (c. 1330-1397)), p. 9, where he cites Reg. Islip (Lambeth Palace), f. 312b. Reg. Edington (Hampshire Record Office), f. II (34).

⁷⁶⁷ Woodford explains in the *Defensorium* that logic, philosophy and theology would be studied before friars were selected to be sent to university. MS 75, fols 32^{vb}-33^{ra}. (Doyle, William Woodford, His Life and works together with a study and edition of his *Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), p. 26.

⁷⁶⁸ MS Cambridge University Library, Add. 3571, ff. 69ra-224bv. The text had been thought lost, but was rediscovered in this manuscript, which had belonged to Lincoln Cathedral Library in the fifteenth century. See Walmsley, C., 'Two long lost Works of William Woodford and Robert of Leicester', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 46 (1953), 458-470.

⁷⁶⁹ (Catto, William Woodford, O.F.M., (c. 1330-1397)), p. 19. See (Haren, Friars as Confessors: The Canonist Background to the Fourteenth-Century Controversy), especially pp. 505-12. According to Catto, one text, *Septuaginta Duae Quaestiones de Sacramento Altaris* seems based on lectures he delivered there. (Catto, William Woodford, O.F.M., (c. 1330-1397)), p. 17.

⁷⁷⁰ (Catto, William Woodford, O.F.M., (c. 1330-1397)), p. 238.

⁷⁷¹ MS 75, fol. 43^{ra}. For this dating, see (Doyle, William Woodford, His Life and works together with a study and edition of his *Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), p. 29. For more on Woodford's activities at Framlington Castle, the Countess's country seat, see (Catto, William Woodford, O.F.M., (c. 1330-1397)), p. 19.

⁷⁷² This is mentioned in the colophon at the end of the third *determinatio* of *Quattuor Determinationes*, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Digby 170, fol. 35^v, as cited in (Doyle, William Woodford, His Life and works together with a study and edition of his *Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), p. 30.

the composition of the *Defensorium* at 1395/96.⁷⁷³ Woodford's date of death is unknown, but Doyle places it at 1400, arguing he was buried in the choir of the London Greyfriars church.⁷⁷⁴

Catto estimated that Woodford's surviving work comprised: 'seven hundred or so closely written folios'.⁷⁷⁵ Few texts are readily accessible: only *De Dominio Civili Clericorum* and *Responsiones contra Wyclif et Lollardos* have been edited for modern publication.⁷⁷⁶ Manuscript copies of eight major works survive, and there are references to six other missing texts, one of which is entitled *Opus contra Armachanum*.⁷⁷⁷

Only two texts survive from what would have been 'a great volume of polemic' Woodford wrote against FitzRalph: the *Defensorium* and a shorter summary, *De Erroribus Armachani*. This second text lists forty-two 'errors' drawn from books I-VII of *De pauperie Salvatoris* and the *Summa*.⁷⁷⁸ The *Defensorium* survives in two manuscripts, Cambridge University Library MS Ff.I.21., ff. 1^r-260^f, and MS 75, fols 1^{ra}-178^{va}. Apart from a brief extract published by Eric Doyle, the work has not been studied in depth.⁷⁷⁹

⁷⁷³ 'Woodford composed his *Defensorium* about 1396 and in that year, he obtained from Pope Boniface IX confirmation of certain privileges at the London friary which included the right to a private room. It is safe to assume therefore that the *Defensorium* was written at the London Greyfriars.' (Doyle, A Biographical List by William Woodford, O.F.M.), p. 96

⁷⁷⁴ (Doyle, William Woodford, His Life and works together with a study and edition of his *Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), p. 32. For information on London Greyfriars, see Barron, C. M. *The Religious Houses of London and Middlesex* (London: Centre for Metropolitan History and Victoria County History, University of London, 2007), pp. 122-7.

⁷⁷⁵ (Catto, William Woodford, O.F.M., (c. 1330-1397)), p. i. The existing works are: the *Postilla super Mattaeum* i-v, *De Dominio Civili Clericorum*, *Septuaginta Duae Quaestiones de Sacramento Altaris*, *Quattuor Determinationes in Materia de Religione*, *Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*, the *Defensorium*, *De Erroribus Armachani*, and *De Causis Condemnationis Articularum XVIII Damnatorum Joannis Wyclif*. The last text is the most numerous, surviving in twenty manuscripts and a number of early printed books. For a full description of the manuscript copies, see (Doyle, William Woodford, His Life and works together with a study and edition of his *Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), pp. 36-54.

⁷⁷⁶ Doyle, E., 'William Woodford's *De dominio civili clericorum* against John Wyclif', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 66 (1973), 49-109; and (Doyle, William Woodford, His Life and works together with a study and edition of his *Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*).

⁷⁷⁷ One all of Woodford's works, see (Doyle, William Woodford, His Life and works together with a study and edition of his *Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), pp. 36-62; for the lost text pertaining to FitzRalph, see pp. 57-8.

⁷⁷⁸ MS 75, fols 178^{vb}-183^{vb}.

⁷⁷⁹ (Doyle, A Biographical List by William Woodford, O.F.M.). The folios in question are MS 75, fols 177^{ra}-178^{ra}.

Woodford's contemporary significance in England and on the Continent was great, earning him the title 'Doctor Fortissimus'.⁷⁸⁰ Yet modern scholarship does not consider him an impressive theologian.⁷⁸¹ Doyle believed that from Woodford's first response to Wyclif in 1374: 'every work which came from his pen was concerned directly or indirectly with the Wycliffite Controversy'.⁷⁸² His writings are, without exception, positioned historiographically within the Wycliffite matrix.⁷⁸³

Defensorium Fratrum Mendicantium

Woodford's familiarity with the works of FitzRalph is clear in the *Defensorium*, where he refers to the *Summa*, the London sermons, and the earlier books of *De pauperie Salvatoris*.⁷⁸⁴ Normative historiography frames FitzRalph's writings as personal and Woodford's work as an objective response, yet the texts themselves tell a different story. The *Defensorium* shows Woodford positioning himself personally, in marked contrast to FitzRalph, who had referred to himself remotely through his textual alter ego, *Ricardus*.⁷⁸⁵

Where FitzRalph structured *De pauperie Salvatoris* as a scholarly dialogue between *Johannes* and *Ricardus*, Woodford's text is personal, using the first person throughout and frequently mentioning his opponent. FitzRalph had written a Prologue to book VIII, and provided

⁷⁸⁰ Levy, I. C., 'Flexible Conceptions of Scriptural and Extra-Scriptural Authority among Franciscan Theologians around the Time of Ockham', *Franciscan Studies* 69 (2011), 285-341, p. 334. (Catto, William Woodford, O.F.M., (c. 1330-1397)), p. 1.

⁷⁸¹ (Doyle, William Woodford, His Life and works together with a study and edition of his *Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), p. 18; (Catto, William Woodford, O.F.M., (c. 1330-1397)), p. 296; (Hudson, The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite texts and Lollard History), p. 48; (Ghosh, The Wycliffite Heresy: Authority and the Interpretation of Texts), p. 83.

⁷⁸² (Doyle, William Woodford, His Life and works together with a study and edition of his *Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), p. 19.

⁷⁸³ Catto deemed Woodford's response to FitzRalph: 'a logical step in Woodford's polemic against the Lollards'. (Catto, William Woodford, O.F.M., (c. 1330-1397)), p. 36. 'By 1389 FitzRalph had become firmly associated with the Wycliffite movement.' (Lahey, Richard FitzRalph and John Wyclif: Untangling Armachanus from the Wycliffites), p. 160.

⁷⁸⁴ For example: see MS 75, fols 27^{va}, 28^{rb}, 29^{vb}, 35^{va} and 139^{ra} for references to earlier books of *De pauperie Salvatoris*; fol. 73^{va}, for a reference to the London sermons; and fols 27^{ra}, 34^{rb}, 38^{vb}-39^{ra}, 52^{vb} and 54^{ra} for references to the *Summa*. See also fn. 770.

⁷⁸⁵ The misleading historiographical positioning of FitzRalph's arguments as 'personal' and 'angry' was noted in the Introduction, see fn. 69.

helpful outlines for each chapter. Woodford launches the *Defensorium* with no such preamble, immediately declaring FitzRalph to be angry, insane and dishonest.⁷⁸⁶

Woodford accuses FitzRalph of inventing a false understanding of mendicancy.⁷⁸⁷ He deflects the thrust of book VIII by classifying the work to be heretical.⁷⁸⁸ He specifically labels as heretical these argument of FitzRalph: that Acts 1:1 can be used to demonstrate that Christ never taught or exercised begging, that Christ was not needy, that Christ and the apostles did not observe perfect mendicancy, that Christ disapproved of the states of hunger and thirst, and that Christ never trusted miraculous provision. Additional heretical viewpoints are FitzRalph's perspective on confession, and anything which might challenge the pro-Franciscan papal bull, *Exiit*.⁷⁸⁹ Furthermore, expelling the four orders of friars would be as wrong as expelling hermits and anchorites.⁷⁹⁰ Woodford declares FitzRalph is reviving the ancient heresy of Vigilantius, an ideology Jerome himself had challenged.⁷⁹¹ The text closes with a reference to FitzRalph's '*serpentinis suggestiones*', deceiving simple minds into heresy.⁷⁹²

Woodford frames FitzRalph's criticisms not as an attack on mendicancy, but much broader, as an attack on the life of Christ and the apostles. In order to make this argument stick, Woodford has to relocate knowledge about Christ's life and actions from the Bible to the writings of the Church fathers and the Franciscan Rule.⁷⁹³ He also frames FitzRalph's text as an attack on

⁷⁸⁶ '*Sicut et igne furoris multiplicare insanire*'. MS 75, fol. 1^{ra}.

⁷⁸⁷ '*Fingit enim sibi una descriptionem falsum de mendicitate et super illa consequenter procedit*'. MS 75, fol. 123^{ra}.

⁷⁸⁸ "'Heretic" was a label to be thrown at one's enemies to see if it would stick. Legally—where perhaps it mattered most—a heretic was someone who held a view contrary to the opinion of the church, and *stubbornly defended it*.' Arnold, J., 'Margery's Trials: Heresy, Lollardy and Dissent', in *A Companion to The Book of Margery Kempe*, eds. J. Arnold and K. J. Lewis, 2010), 75-93, p. 76 (italicization by the author). See also (Forrest, *The Detection of Heresy in Late Medieval England*), pp. 29-60 for the legal means of identifying heresy.

⁷⁸⁹ For *Exiit qui Seminatur*, see fn. 85.

⁷⁹⁰ FitzRalph never calls for the expulsion of the four orders of friars. See fn. 239.

⁷⁹¹ Jerome's *Contra Vigilantius*, PL 23, Cols 0350C-0350D. (The full text is Cols 0339A-0352C). Bonaventure cites the text in his *Disputed Questions on Evangelical Perfection*, using it to argue that alms should be given to those the saintly poor (*sanctis pauperibus*) over the common poor (*vulgi pauperibus*). See (Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia V*), pp. 137, 148.

⁷⁹² MS 75, fol. 178^{va}.

⁷⁹³ For example: '*dicit de regula sancti francisci quod ipsam fundatur evangelico eloquio vite Christi fundatur etiam exemplor apostolorum fundatur et firmatur actibus*', MS 75, fol. 128^{ra}. See also fol. 45^{tb}, and fn. 1034.

the historic Church, positioning the criticisms as if against the founders of monasticism, those Egyptian monks who lived during the time of Jerome and Augustine. According to Doyle, a now-lost work Woodford's, *De Anachoritis et Cenobitis*, also composed in response to FitzRalph, had focussed on 'the hardships freely embraced by the monks of Egypt'.⁷⁹⁴ The argument in the *Defensorium* operates through an assumption that Egyptian monks were also mendicant, even though primary evidence suggests otherwise.⁷⁹⁵

Ignoring the precision of FitzRalph's points about the nature of poverty, and about the practice of begging, Woodford reintroduces a degree of vagueness to the discussion, affirming that Christ, the apostles and the Egyptian monks observed the call to highest voluntary poverty throughout their lives.⁷⁹⁶ He does not attempt to explain what 'highest voluntary poverty' might mean in practice. Rather he 'proves' the point by citing the 'received understanding' of the Roman Church.⁷⁹⁷ Where he does engage with FitzRalph's definitions of begging is to state that if true mendicancy (*vere mendicus*) is a fiction, then saints Francis and Alexis must be wrong.⁷⁹⁸ These points reveal Woodford's underlying hermeneutic, that theological truth is determined by the declarations of previous figures of Church authority, as mediated through the later filters of Franciscan interpretation and papal decrees.

The *Defensorium* is five times as long as book VIII, yet Woodford brands FitzRalph long-winded, dismissively referring to his '*alia opero prolixis*'.⁷⁹⁹ The *Defensorium*'s first lines condemn book VIII in its entirety for adding wickedness (*ad malice complementum*).⁸⁰⁰ This

⁷⁹⁴ (Doyle, William Woodford, *His Life and works together with a study and edition of his Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), p. 58.

⁷⁹⁵ As Peter Brown has demonstrated: 'In Egypt, monks did not live from alms. They worked to support themselves'. (Brown, *Treasure in Heaven: The Holy Poor in Early Christianity*), p. 73.

⁷⁹⁶ '*illam altam paupertatem mendicatem*'. MS 75, fol. 160^{rb}.

⁷⁹⁷ '*est plene dictum hereticum et contra multas diffinitiones ecclesie Romane ut ex premissis manifestis*'. MS 75, fol. 160^{rb}. See also fol. 115^{ra}.

⁷⁹⁸ MS 75, fol. 162^{rb}. Bartholomew of Bolsenheim identified the archetypal 'valid poor' (*pauperes validi*) as those like Christ, the apostles, Alexis, Benedict, Dominic and Francis. (Meersseman, *La défense des ordres mendiants contre Richard Fitz Ralph, par Barthélemy de Bolsenheim O. P. (1357)*), p. 159.

⁷⁹⁹ MS 75, fol. 1^{ra}.

⁸⁰⁰ MS 75, fol. 1^{ra}.

speaks to the purpose of the *Defensorium*, not merely as a response to the text, but a personal discrediting of the archbishop.

James Dawson had not thought much of the dialectic framework of *De pauperie Salvatoris*.⁸⁰¹ Yet Woodford believes the rhetorical device to be dangerously persuasive.⁸⁰² He acknowledges the threat of FitzRalph's fictional framing, referring on occasion to something 'said' by *Johannes*, thus inadvertently reinforcing book VIII's conceit of a genuine discussion.⁸⁰³ Woodford returns to this stylistic trope on a number of occasions. At one point he refers to 'that shapeshifter under the name of *Johannes*'.⁸⁰⁴ Later he begins a section: 'under the name of *Johannes*, he now with malice deduces'.⁸⁰⁵ Shortly afterwards he comments: 'Armachanus affirms these things which were said by *Johannes* but clearly hidden'.⁸⁰⁶ These points suggest that the dialogue technique applied by FitzRalph appeared plausible to his readers, thus requiring a direct response by Woodford.

Manuscript Notations

The manuscript studied for this thesis, MS 75, is written in a clear hand with minimal errors. The only marginal annotation is the word '*nota*' used thirty-five times, with an additional '*nota bene*' applied twice. The latter phrase appears during Woodford's response to a discussion on tithing.⁸⁰⁷ The second occasion is alongside the response to FitzRalph's argument that Christ was recognized by his peers as a carpenter.⁸⁰⁸

⁸⁰¹ Dawson wrote that the text's 'obscurity is worsened by the dialogue technique'. (Dawson, Richard FitzRalph and the Fourteenth-Century Poverty Controversies), p. 334. A fourteenth-century Provost of the Queen's College, Oxford, seems to have agreed with Dawson, since his manuscript edition of FitzRalph's *Summa* was rearranged to remove all traces of the dialogue between *Johannes* and *Ricardus*. See (Walsh, A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh), p. 471.

⁸⁰² See for example MS 75, fols 27^{va}, 28^{rb}, 37^{ra}, 42^{va}, 73^{ra}, 86^{ra}.

⁸⁰³ '*indicit Johannes in hoc capitulo*'. MS 75, fol. 25^{ra}.

⁸⁰⁴ '*versipelliter sub nomine Johannis*'. MS 75, fol. 165^{va}.

⁸⁰⁵ '*sub nomine Johannis maliciose nimis deducit*'. MS 75, fol. 170^{ra}.

⁸⁰⁶ '*affirmat armachanus quod questiones iste predictae per Johannem illate sunt*'. MS 75, fol. 170^{va}.

⁸⁰⁷ '*nota bene de decimis*'. MS 75, fol. 66^{va}.

⁸⁰⁸ MS 75, fol. 134^{va}. (Mark 6:3)

The *nota* references are concentrated in the second half of the text, in the friar's responses to almost every chapter between seventeen and forty of book VIII.⁸⁰⁹ All relate to poverty and mendicancy in some way, whether to the ethics of begging, or to how the behaviour and teaching of Christ or the apostles can be understood and followed, or to manual labour compared to spiritual labour. Taken together they reinforce this hypothesis that Woodford's discussions of poverty and begging have been underreported by a historiography which positions him primarily as respondent to Wyclif.⁸¹⁰

Nota references are often placed alongside Woodford's summary of an argument made by FitzRalph, and twice they highlight the argument that the Testament condemns contemporary Franciscan practice. The following list gives an indication of where they appear.⁸¹¹ On twelve occasions they come alongside a description of what Christ actually did or how he lived, demonstrating an interest in FitzRalph's biographical portrait of Christ. In four examples they point to what Christ or the Holy Spirit taught, another four times they refer to how Christ ought to be imitated, and on one specific occasion to how Christ ought not be imitated.⁸¹² There are six references to what Paul or the apostles did in connection to begging, labour or resources. Four times they highlight parish duties such as confession, and on two further occasions they refer to tithing. On twenty-two occasions they point to the ethics of begging. Six references draw out something an authoritative figure said on labour, either manual or spiritual, or sometimes both. Six times *nota* draws attention to a point of definition within the text, for example how neediness and poverty are grammatically understood. On one occasion the word highlights a discussion of evangelical perfection.

⁸⁰⁹ The phrase *nota* is used within Woodford's responses to chapters 17, 19, 21, 23-26, 28-32, 34-36, 38, 40.

⁸¹⁰ See fns 782 and 783.

⁸¹¹ Some the references have been double-counted if '*nota*' relates to two activities, for example to how Christ behaved and also to the ethics of begging.

⁸¹² MS 75, fol. 101^{ra}.

Scripture and Tradition

Woodford's central hermeneutic argues that correct doctrines and practices are not derived from scripture, but from apostolic tradition and the writings of the Church fathers.⁸¹³ He emphasizes that truth is held by the Church according to apostolic tradition, not written down in scripture (*tenet ecclesia ex traditione apostolica non scripta*).⁸¹⁴

Woodford signals the hierarchy of tradition by using a New Testament text where Paul exhorted the Gentiles to 'hold to the traditions which were taught and passed down to them through apostolic letters'.⁸¹⁵ He adds a gloss to explain the significance of Paul's words: 'because many apostles passed on discussions which are not written down in Holy Scripture'.⁸¹⁶ This conforms with other Franciscan theologians who similarly elevated extra-scriptural authority to neutralize the absence of evidence of Christ begging within scripture.⁸¹⁷

Woodford interprets scripture through secondary understandings.⁸¹⁸ This methodology is explained with a quote from Nicholas of Lyra: 'Sacred Scripture frequently under one context reveals something else in another context'.⁸¹⁹ Thus Woodford circumvents the need himself to interpret certain scriptural passages. For example: the story of the Rich Young Ruler is understood through Jerome's interpretation,⁸²⁰ and it is wrong to speak contrary to Jerome;⁸²¹ the generosity of the Macedonian Church in giving charitably beyond their means, is explained by Ambrose;⁸²² a particular verse about almsgiving was explained by saints Bernard, John Chrysostom, Bede, Augustine and the *Glossa Ordinaria*.⁸²³ Christ's instruction on giving a cup of

⁸¹³ For example, MS 75, fols 92^{va}-92^{vb}.

⁸¹⁴ MS 75, fol. 92^{va}.

⁸¹⁵ MS 75, fols 92^{rb}-92^{va}. (2 Thessalonians 3:6)

⁸¹⁶ MS 75, fol. 92^{va}.

⁸¹⁷ See fn. 323.

⁸¹⁸ We see Woodford exemplifying what Ocker has termed 'an attitude of compliant thinking with ancient saints, a shared frame of mind'. (Ocker, *Biblical Poetics before Humanism and Reformation*), p. 76.

⁸¹⁹ 'Sacra scriptura frequenter sub uno contextu transit de uno ad aliud quod probat'. MS 75, fol. 110^{rb}.

⁸²⁰ MS 75, fol. 122^{vb}.

⁸²¹ See fn. 791.

⁸²² MS 75, fol. 124^{va}. (2 Corinthians 8:1-5)

⁸²³ MS 75, fols 125^{ra}-126^{vb}. 'But give as alms those things that are within, and behold, everything is clean for you'. (Luke 11:41)

water to a little one is explained by Jerome.⁸²⁴ Christ's instruction not to be anxious, from the Sermon on the Mount, is explained through John Chrysostom.⁸²⁵ The line from the *Paternoster*: 'Lead us not into Temptation', which FitzRalph mobilized to accuse mendicants of covetousness, is 'correctly' explained through the writings of Augustine, Gregory, Jerome, Cyril, Cyprian and others.⁸²⁶

Woodford uses these declarations of the Church fathers to 'prove' the error of FitzRalph's interpretations. In this manner Woodford deals with FitzRalph's claim that Christ could not have begged in light of Deuteronomy 15:4, the Old Testament verse which forbade the existence of beggars, by affirming that before FitzRalph was born, ancient postillators had interpreted this verse and explained how it should be understood.⁸²⁷

Woodford does affirm, however, that wilful begging is taught in scripture, which he illustrates with the observation that Christ suffered voluntarily.⁸²⁸ Yet to neutralize FitzRalph's accusation that no scriptural instance exists of the Holy Spirit teaching begging, he counters that scripture does not refer to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, or to the fast days for the Church and the seasons of fasting, which are taught in Canon Law and not in scripture.⁸²⁹ He also argues it is heretical to argue that the Holy Spirit did not confer mendicancy upon the apostles,⁸³⁰

⁸²⁴ MS 75, fol. 131^{ra}. This refers to Jerome's *Contra Vigilantius*. Bonaventure had referred to the Gloss's interpretation that 'child' in Luke 9:48 means 'poor person'. See fn. 791.

⁸²⁵ MS 75, fols 151^{va}, 153^{va}. (Matthew 6:25-34)

⁸²⁶ For example, MS 75, fols 103^{rb}, 155^{va}. However, lollard texts frequently also referred to the authority of Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory and Jerome. For examples, see (Loserth and Matthew, *Iohannis Wyclif Sermones*), pp. 278, 376-7; (Hudson, *Two Wycliffite texts: The Sermon of William Taylor 1406. The Testimony of William Thorpe 1407*), p. 51, ll. 912-3. For a general overview, see (Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite texts and Lollard History*), pp. 274-5, 377-82.

⁸²⁷ *'Dico constanter quod antequam Ricardus Filtz Rauf Armachanus fuerat natus, antiqui postillatores super illo textu Exodi dixerunt quod illa legem prohibuit Deus divitibus iudeorum, ne permitterent aliquem inter eos omnem auxiliarius destitutum, et hoc intelligitur cum dicitur "omno indigens et mendicus non erit inter vos"*. MS 75, fol. 150^{vb}. Carmelite Richard Maidstone framed FitzRalph's theology as a false innovation, referring to him, to William of St Amour, *'et aliorum modernorum'*. (Williams, *Protectorium pauperis*, a Defense of the Begging Friars by Richard of Maidstone), p. 138.

⁸²⁸ MS 75, fol. 92^{vb}.

⁸²⁹ MS 75, fols 92^{ra}-92^{rb}.

⁸³⁰ MS 75, fol. 99^{ra}.

a point illustrated by the argument that the Holy Spirit inspired the apostles and other holy men on their travels super-scripturally.⁸³¹

Woodford positions the Bible as one of many sources of doctrinal authority, arguing that Christ did not teach or model the canonical hours of the Sarum rite and the Roman curia.⁸³² The sacrament concerning the consecrated blood of Christ is not dealt with by scripture.⁸³³ The adoration of the crucifix and the veneration of saints is not scriptural but an apostolic tradition (*traditione apostolica*).⁸³⁴ The Trinity should be understood not from scripture, but via Augustine.⁸³⁵ Not all apostolic discussions are mentioned in scripture, nor are apostolic 'handings-down' and teachings derived from scripture.⁸³⁶ Woodford emphasizes that much of what Christ taught the apostles is not found in scripture.⁸³⁷ This rhetorical trope highlights a limitation in FitzRalph's hermeneutic--a point the archbishop himself does not acknowledge--that the Bible alone cannot authenticate Christian doctrine.⁸³⁸

Woodford's theology has been rationalized as 'a defense of orthodoxy'.⁸³⁹ However, that phrase implies a theological robustness which the textual evidence does not always affirm.⁸⁴⁰ Ian Levy notes an early text of Woodford's, *Quattuor Determinationes*, in which the friar refers to a list of nine sources of doctrinal authority: 'Woodford never betrays the fact that this list has no official standing and thus amounts to a private theological opinion...Woodford presents his views on extra-scriptural truth as though they were established Church teaching'.⁸⁴¹ Woodford's sources

⁸³¹ MS 75, fol. 99^{rb}.

⁸³² MS 75, fol. 130^{ra}.

⁸³³ MS 75, fol. 92^{rb}.

⁸³⁴ MS 75, fol. 92^{va}.

⁸³⁵ MS 75, fol. 92^{va}. See PL 42, Cols. 0815-1098 for Augustine's tract *De Trinitate*. See also fn. 396.

⁸³⁶ MS 75, fol. 92^{vb}.

⁸³⁷ MS 75, fol.92^{ra}. This is illustrated with John 21:25.

⁸³⁸ For more on this, see (Oberman, *The Harvest of Medieval Theology: Gabriel Biel and late Medieval Nominalism*), p. 375.

⁸³⁹ See fn. 63.

⁸⁴⁰ Doyle does sometimes acknowledge: 'One is a little puzzled here by Woodford's reasoning'. (Doyle, William Woodford, *His Life and works together with a study and edition of his Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), p. 101.

⁸⁴¹ Levy, I. C., 'Flexible Conceptions of Scriptural and Extra-Scriptural Authority among Franciscan Theologians around the Time of Ockham', *Franciscan Studies*, 69 (2011), 285-341, p.335. Levy paraphrases Woodford's

of authority differ from the four listed by Bonaventure in his *Collationes in Hexaemeron*, so should not be assumed to be normative Franciscan belief.⁸⁴²

A close reading of the *Defensorium* indicates that Woodford does not always offer a blend of scripture and interpretation, the latter stepping in where the former might be opaque. Rather Woodford is not afraid to blend extra-scriptural details into his telling of a biblical story, or to rewrite scriptural chronology to tell a different one.⁸⁴³ An example is his assertion that the poor saints in Jerusalem, for whom the Apostle Paul fundraised, were the people who had given their homes and fields to the Apostles, referred to in the early chapter of the Book of Acts.⁸⁴⁴ This is different to the explanation of both scriptural passages in Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*, book III.⁸⁴⁵

Other secondary sources used by Woodford are from the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, Gratian's *Decretum*, sections from pseudo-Isidore and pseudo-Clement, Canon Law, Bernard of Clairvaux's letter to the Monk Adam, Jerome's tract *Contra Vigilantius*,⁸⁴⁶ Jerome's *Life of Paul of Thebes*, whom Jerome claimed was the first hermit.⁸⁴⁷ Woodford also cites more recent theologians. A tract by Roger Conway, his mentor at London Greyfriars, is quoted, arguing that

sources of authority thus: '1: Unwritten traditions of the Apostles coming down to us through the succession of the Fathers; 2: All things that follow from the contents of Holy Scriptures, or from the apostolic traditions, and from those things which consist in well known fact, or in natural experience; 3: All things miraculously shown to the Church although not found in Holy Scripture; 4: All things determined by a general council; 5: All things that the Universal Church accepts without any objection; 6: Those things that we learn through sense experience; 7: Those we learn through natural reason; 8: Those we learn through witnesses worthy of trust; 9: And finally, interpretations given by apostolic men regarding ambiguous passages in Scripture.' *ibid.*, p. 335. See also (Catto, William Woodford, O.F.M., (c. 1330-1397)), p. 290; (Ghosh, *The Wycliffite Heresy: Authority and the Interpretation of Texts*), p. 72.

⁸⁴² 'These were sacred scripture, the explanations of the Church fathers (*originalia sanctorum*), more recent theologians (*summae magistrorum*), and finally the writings of philosophers so one can understand the philosophical expressions of these theologians.' See the *Collationes in Hexaemeron* 19.10-13 (5, 421-422), as cited in (Schlosser, *Bonaventure: Life and Works*), p. 11.

⁸⁴³ In his text *Opus nonaginta dierum*, William of Ockham had noted that often: 'the order of scriptural narrative does not conform to the chronological order of events.' (Tierney, *The Idea of Natural Rights: Studies on Natural Rights, Natural Law, and Church Law, 1150-1625*), p. 159.

⁸⁴⁴ MS 75, fol. 21^{ra}. (1 Corinthians 16:1-4, 2 Corinthians 8:1-9, Romans 15:14-32, Acts 4:34)

⁸⁴⁵ See PL 34, Col. 0069. As Peter Brown has discussed, references to how the poor ought to be supported, according to Paul's writings in the New Testament, was a topic of much debate within the late antique Christian world. (Brown, *Treasure in Heaven: The Holy Poor in Early Christianity*), pp. 9-12.

⁸⁴⁶ MS 75, fols 94^{ra}-94^{rb}. See fn. 791 for references to Jerome's text.

⁸⁴⁷ MS 75 fol. 126^{va}. See PL 23, Cols 0017A-0028C.

FitzRalph had fallen into heresies concerning confession.⁸⁴⁸ Nicholas of Lyra is cited fifteen times, continuing a trend seen in Woodford's earlier academic lectures, where he would refer to that Franciscan theologian.⁸⁴⁹

Woodford mentions book VIII's references to Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* on a number of occasions, but does not engage intellectually with FitzRalph's use of the philosopher's arguments to flesh out the actions of Christ. Woodford cites the commentary on Aristotle by English theologian, Walter Burley (c.1275-1344/5), to illustrate that Armachanus is contradicting the ancient philosopher.⁸⁵⁰ Nor does Woodford respond directly to FitzRalph's presentation of poverty as a state Christ hated.⁸⁵¹

Yet there are, however, occasions where Woodford elevates scripture to challenge extra-scriptural sources provided by FitzRalph. He accuses FitzRalph of using certain letters and rules of the Church, which predate the arrival of the friars, to challenge their Rule and observance.⁸⁵² He responds to FitzRalph's argument that the pseudo-Clementine letter *Dilectissimis* forbids begging from Christians by stressing this text was not from Christ or the apostles.⁸⁵³ Here we can see the use of an alternative hermeneutic which favours scripture if it strengthens the friar's argument. Woodford highlights FitzRalph's embellishment of the story of the widow's mite.⁸⁵⁴

⁸⁴⁸ See fn. 200.

⁸⁴⁹ Catto, J., 'The Wycliffite Bible: The Historical Context', in *The Wycliffite Bible: Origin, History and Interpretation*, ed. E. Solopova (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 11-26, p. 15.

⁸⁵⁰ MS 75, fols 42^{rb}-42^{vb}. For Burley's commentary on the *Nicomachean Ethics*, see Costa, I., 'The Ethics of Walter Burley', in *A Companion to Walter Burley: Late Medieval Logician and Metaphysician*, ed. A. D. Conti (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 321-436; see also (Wieland, *The Reception and Interpretation of Aristotle's Ethics*), p. 667. On FitzRalph's debt to Burley, see (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), pp.18-9, 21, 42.

⁸⁵¹ Woodford refers to Aristotle in MS 75, fols 42^{rb}, 42^{vb}, 65^{rb}, 84^{ra}-84^{rb}, 100^{rb}, 105^{ra}. On the scholarly use of Aristotle in mendicant theological writings, see Roest, B., 'Mendicant School Exegesis', in *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception & Performance in Western Christianity*, eds. S. Boynton and D. J. Reilly (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 179-204, pp. 193-4.

⁸⁵² MS 75, fol. 145^{ra}.

⁸⁵³ MS 75, fol. 147^{rb}.

⁸⁵⁴ This is discussed later this chapter.

Wilful Begging

The previous chapter discussed FitzRalph's description of begging, beginning with his three explanations of how something is carried out: voluntarily, wilfully with a freely made vow, or as a way of escaping a worse option. It examined his definitions of spiritual and corporal begging, the latter a shameful state arising from acute need. Before beginning his rebuttal, Woodford summarises FitzRalph's own argument:

*Grammatically neediness is different to poverty in that poverty can be honest, and neediness is always shameful, and similarly he states that all begging is neediness and therefore all begging is shameful.*⁸⁵⁵

Woodford's response to FitzRalph's attempts at clarification is obfuscation: he declares there are many types of begging.⁸⁵⁶ He explains, but does not expound further, that the four orders of friars have different ways of carrying out their mendicancy.⁸⁵⁷

Woodford himself refers to a generic type of begging which he defines as 'highest resourceless poverty which excludes resources and riches for security'.⁸⁵⁸ Building on this definition, he identifies the mendicancy of the friars as a resourcelessness which however requires a form of sufficiency for the present and for the future time.⁸⁵⁹ Wilful begging is, in his view, an attitude of confirmity to Christ's instruction: '*Seek first the Kingdom of God*'.⁸⁶⁰

⁸⁵⁵ '*Gramaticam egestas in hoc differt a paupertate quod paupertas potest esse honesta et egestas semper est turpis, et constat inquit quod omnes mendicitas est egestas, ergo mendicitas semper est turpis*'. MS 75, fol. 103^{va}. A marginal *nota* is placed next to this definition.

⁸⁵⁶ '*Nam multis modis doctoralis esse vere mendicus*'. MS 75, fol. 24^{vb}. See also fol. 21^{va} and 95^{ra}.

⁸⁵⁷ MS 75, fol. 159^{vb}. This confirms an observation made in chapter one that Dominican and Franciscan understandings of poverty and begging were different.

⁸⁵⁸ '*Illa mendicitate quam sacra scriptura vocat mendicitatem et quod fratres quatorum ordinum appellant mendicitatem que est alta paupertas cum inopia excludens opes et divicias sufficientes cum civili securitate pro tempore prolixie future est connexa*'. MS 75, fol. 165^{vb}.

⁸⁵⁹ '*Illam altam paupertatem spontaneam sancte assumptibilem cui inopia que opes excludit et divicias maxime sufficientes civile securitate pro tempore prolixie futuro nos vocamus mendicitatem*'. MS 75, fol. 165^{ra}.

⁸⁶⁰ '*valet ad confidentiam de divina promissione qua doctum est primum uerite regnum dei et hec omnia adicientur vobis nulli magis quam voluntate mendici ostendunt se confidere in illo divino promisso valet ad studii oportunitatem acquisitionem divine sapiem ut mundo est satis manifestum*'. MS 75, fol. 155^{ra}. (Matthew 6:33)

An illustration of the variety in existing mendicant understandings of mendicancy can be seen in (Dominican) Bartholomew of Bolsenheim's response to FitzRalph. Bartholomew explained begging as to seek, by word or by sign, someone else's property or equivalent, or out of goodwill or otherwise to be granted it freely on the grounds of true or feigned need.⁸⁶¹

Woodford himself had acknowledged ambiguities in the ways Christ's mendicancy is discussed in a previous text, his *Responsiones*, written immediately before the *Defensorium*.⁸⁶²

*But if you are speaking of a beggar or not does not matter, because the argument in this matter is over the terminology more than the real matter. For some teachers call it being a beggar, others speak of it as poverty, so there is a discussion more of the term than of the reality.*⁸⁶³

In book VIII, Woodford again signals this contemporary confusion, conceding a discrepancy in the way that mendicancy is spoken about.⁸⁶⁴ Yet overall his approach ignores book VIII's methodological approach, within which FitzRalph examined the terminology of begging to build his logical case.

Woodford reambiguates the concept of begging in the *Defensorium*. He prefers a generalized and unspecific conceptualization, noting that according to John Chrysostom, Bede and other doctors, 'Christ was a beggar in the common manner in which mendicancy is spoken about'.⁸⁶⁵ He does not specify which texts of Chrysostom or Bede he is drawing from, though a

⁸⁶¹ *'Mendicare est verbo vel signo petere rem alienam vel tamquam alienam vel tamquam de gratia sibi vel alteri libere conferri titulo egestatis verae vel pretensae'*. (Meersseman, *La défense des ordres mendiants contre Richard Fitz Ralph, par Barthélemy de Bolsenheim O. P. (1357)*), p. 158.

⁸⁶² See fn. 371.

⁸⁶³ *'Et sive dicas talem mendicum sive non, non est curandum, quia aliqui in ista materia disputant de terminis magis quam de materia reali. Nam quidam doctores dicunt illam esse mendicitatem quam alii dicunt paupertatem, et sic fit disputatio magis de terminis quam realitate'*. (Doyle, William Woodford, *His Life and works together with a study and edition of his Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), p. 151.

⁸⁶⁴ *'et sic finaliter ergo non discrepamus nisi in modo loquendi de mendicitate'*. MS 75 fol. 165^{va}. This echoes Peter Biller's suggestion that: 'perhaps men in the Middle Ages had the "thing though they did not have the word" through other words and phrases?' Biller, P., 'Words and the Medieval Notion of "Religion"', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 36:3 (1985), 351-369, p. 360.

⁸⁶⁵ *'Et secundum expositionem Crysostomi Bede et aliorum doctorum acceptis necessario sequitur quod Christus erat mendicus modo vulgari loquendo de mendico'*. MS 75, fol. 113^{rb}.

logical source would be Bonaventure's *Apologia Pauperum*, which refers to both theologians.⁸⁶⁶ Nor does he elaborate on the 'common' manner of mendicancy.

The most prolific recent scholar on Woodford, Eric Doyle, volunteered a couple of paragraphs on Woodford's rationalizations, conceding: 'Woodford's answers and reflections on begging produce a sense of dissatisfaction in the reader'.⁸⁶⁷ Doyle did not seem curious to examine why Woodford's arguments are 'not terribly convincing' and 'somewhat tortuously' presented.⁸⁶⁸

Woodford does sometimes dispute FitzRalph's categorizations of begging, suggesting he does not correctly understand the foundation of fraternal mendicancy.⁸⁶⁹ One response positions the third mode of begging, as construed by FitzRalph, as that holy begging referred to in scripture, and practiced by the combined community of religious saints, which the friars call mendicancy.⁸⁷⁰

Woodford places the begging of Christ within FitzRalph's second mode, illustrating this by reference to Aquinas, who had concluded that Christ did not need to make a vow of poverty because his will was fixed on doing good.⁸⁷¹ Woodford continues--though he does not explain further--that even if Christ did not take a vow of poverty, he was following God the Father in assuming mendicant poverty.⁸⁷²

Another strategy is that if the third manner of wilful begging is wrong then Christ was wrong to fast, which Woodford notes is tolerated, but hated rather than loved by many.⁸⁷³ He

⁸⁶⁶ See (Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia* VIII), pp. 274-9, 284-5.

⁸⁶⁷ (Doyle, William Woodford, *His Life and works together with a study and edition of his Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), p. 106.

⁸⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

⁸⁶⁹ MS 75, fol. 72^{va}.

⁸⁷⁰ '*Tertio modo patet intelligi quod nostra sacra collegialis religio patet fundari super illa mendicitate quam sacra scriptura vocat mendicitate et quod fratres quator ordinum appellant mendicitatem*'. MS 75, fol. 165^{vb}.

⁸⁷¹ ST, II-II, q.88, a.4. MS 75, fol. 128^{rb}. (The full citation is given by Woodford.)

⁸⁷² '*Et sic ad preceptum patris paupertatem assumpsit et paupertatem mendicatinam*'. MS 75, fol. 128^{rb}.

⁸⁷³ '*Quia tale ieniunium est de numero tollerabilium et per quamvis de genere odibilium et non de genere ambilium*'. MS 75, fol. 105^{rb}.

infers that if this argument were correct, it would follow that Christ never wilfully accepted his passion and went freely to be crucified.⁸⁷⁴ It is here that we see Woodford attempting to illustrate his accusation of heresy against FitzRalph's arguments, though only by artificially extending, and thus distorting, what had been the original point.

Woodford addresses an argument of FitzRalph's based on a key New Testament text which seemed to forbid begging: '*Give no opportunity to the devil. Let the thief no longer steal, but rather let him labour, doing honest work with his own hands, so that he may have something to share with anyone in need*'.⁸⁷⁵ He states it is clearly mendacious to associate mendicancy with the type of begging to which this verse refers.⁸⁷⁶ He continues that this is not true begging. The Apostle Paul would not have associated highest holy poverty with those who steal, because theft would be an abomination.⁸⁷⁷ Woodford concludes by emphasizing that this scriptural text only applies to secular men, so cannot be used as an argument against the friars.⁸⁷⁸ Yet in his rush to disassociate a secular and sinful neediness from the holy neediness of the mendicants, he does not take the time to *explain* why such an association between fraternal mendicancy and the scriptural verse might not be made.

Elsewhere Woodford deals with the Archbishop's accusations that friars are fraudulent, and furthermore are thieves, in their claim to beg and be needy, and to profess highest and strictest poverty.⁸⁷⁹ He lists why this is incorrect: firstly, begging is at the foundation of their life; secondly, their begging is wilful, and to shun wealth is not falsehood or theft; thirdly, the mendicancy practiced by the friars is that of highest and strictest poverty. Again, this case is made, but Woodford does not then explain its logical integrity.

⁸⁷⁴ '*Christus sponte passionem suam et crucis supplicium non sustinuit nec suscepit*'. MS 75, fol. 105^{rb}.

⁸⁷⁵ FitzRalph and Woodford quote this text in full. See MS 75, fol. 141^{rb}; MS 180, fol. 120^{va}. (Ephesians 4:27-28)

⁸⁷⁶ '*cum in facto fuit aperte mendaces simillantes mendicitatem*'. MS 75, fol. 141^{rb}.

⁸⁷⁷ '*non fures sed furtum abhominantur super omnes homines*'. MS 75, fol. 141^{va}.

⁸⁷⁸ '*et ideo talibus pauperibus non dixit hec verba sed secularibus qui fuerunt mali*'. MS 75, fol. 141^{va}.

⁸⁷⁹ MS 75, fols 72^{rb}-72^{va}.

Woodford provides practical illustrations for when begging is not shameful but an appropriate response to need. Again building upon FitzRalph's three categorizations of begging, he notes that the third manner of begging wilfully might be manifested, for example, in a virtuous pilgrim captured in a time of war, and wishing to escape immediate death by begging for an alternative.⁸⁸⁰ He provides another hypothetical scenario: an abbot or the monks of a monastery caught up in war might beg for their monastery to be spared.⁸⁸¹

Book VIII had distinguished between asking for something and begging, the latter state predicated upon compulsion, the former an essential part of human communication.⁸⁸² Woodford blurs these boundaries and equates begging with asking, then he discredits FitzRalph's arguments on begging by volunteering circumstances, not of begging but of asking, thus rendering FitzRalph's claims about shameful begging absurd:

*It would follow firstly that whenever someone begs for the restoration of the church or for the construction of a bridge or for the correction of a highway, he would be exercising in a shameful act.*⁸⁸³

Another way Woodford normalizes mendicancy is confer upon it a prestigious historical pedigree. He declares John the Baptist was a true mendicant.⁸⁸⁴ Another illustration is from the Old Testament story of the prophet Elisha being fed by the Shunammite woman.⁸⁸⁵ Woodford affirms that mendicant perfection was not instituted by Francis and Dominic, but by Christ and the apostles, and also the monks in Egypt.⁸⁸⁶

⁸⁸⁰ MS 75, fol. 150^{ra}.

⁸⁸¹ MS 75, fol. 103^{ra}. See also fol. 147^{rb}. Augustinian friar Geoffrey Hardeby had similarly rationalized begging through illustrations from secular life his *De Vita Evangelica*: 'religious might beg on the basis of necessity if a king might seize temporalities on this basis'. As quoted in (Scase, 'Piers Plowman' and the New Anti-clericalism), p. 68.

⁸⁸² See fn. 715.

⁸⁸³ *'Hi sequitur primo quod quicumque mendicat pro reformatione ecclesiarum pro constructione pontium pro correctione altarum viarum excercet actum turpem'*. MS 75, fol. 103^{va}.

⁸⁸⁴ MS 75, fol. 18^{ra}. (Matthew 3:4)

⁸⁸⁵ MS 75, fol. 19^{ra}. (2 Kings 4:8)

⁸⁸⁶ MS 75, fol. 62^{vb}, see also fol. 173^{va}.

This historicizing of begging continues throughout the *Defensorium*. Woodford argues that from the time of Jerome and Augustine the holy monks of Egypt followed highest poverty.⁸⁸⁷ He illustrates this by citing Jerome's account of his travels in the Theban desert.⁸⁸⁸ Yet Woodford's application of Jerome and Augustine is not necessarily what might have been intended by those primary sources.⁸⁸⁹ St Antony is another figure Woodford upholds as a model of mendicancy, yet in his *Life of St Antony*, St Athanasius did not feature begging, rather noting Antony laboured for his food, and also to be able to give alms to the poor.⁸⁹⁰

A rhetorical use of Church history enables Woodford to redirect FitzRalph's arguments into an attack on the Church's past, reframing the archbishop's opposition away from the friars and onto: 'Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory, Bede, Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzus and the most perfect Egyptian monks'.⁸⁹¹ Woodford's foray into ecclesiastical and monastic history uses rhetoric to underwrite his historiographical argument that the friars were not novel, but were continuing a clear tradition of Christian practice stretching back a millenium.⁸⁹² It is interesting, however, to note that Woodford does not refer to the archetypal mendicant saint, Alexis, in this historical list.

A questionable locating of the first Christian beggars appears in Woodford's argument that the poor saints in Jerusalem, on whose account Paul fundraised, were that 'robust' type of

⁸⁸⁷ MS 75, fol. 160^{rb}.

⁸⁸⁸ MS 75, fol. 166^{va}.

⁸⁸⁹ A recent article notes: 'unlike Augustine and other Church Fathers, Gregory the Great never described ascetics as "*pauperes Christi*". (Mews, *Apostolic Ideals in the Mendicant Transformation of the Thirteenth Century: from sine proprio to Holy Poverty*), p. 15. Richard Finn reminds us: 'the growth of monasticism, and of eremitical as opposed to coenobitic monasticism in particular, is hard to quantify and plot'. (Finn, *Almsgiving in the later Roman Empire: Christian Promotion and Practice (313-450)*), p. 15.

⁸⁹⁰ Stephens, E., ed. *St Athanasius: The Life of St Antony* (London: Printed for the author, for the use and benefit of a religious society, 1697), p. 7. For more on Antony's legacy shaping the identity of Egyptian monks, See (Brown, *Treasure in Heaven: The Holy Poor in Early Christianity*), pp. 75-8.

⁸⁹¹ '*Et sic Augustinus, Jerominus, Ambrosius, Gregorius, Beda, Crisostomus, Gregorius Nazianzenus et perfectissimi monachi Egyptiaci turpiter errassent de perfectione paupertatis. Et hoc dicere non est sani capitis*'. MS 75, fol. 122^{vb}.

⁸⁹² Matthew Kempshall underscores 'the proximity of the relationship between rhetoric and the writing of history in the Middle Ages'. (Kempshall, *Rhetoric and the Writing of History, 400-1500*), p. 351.

physically-able poor who chose not to work.⁸⁹³ Woodford draws on Jerome's *Against Vigilantius*, which had identified the 'evangelical poor' through a combination of separate concepts found in Luke 16:9 and Galatians 6:10.⁸⁹⁴ As noted earlier, Woodford separately identifies the 'poor saints in Jerusalem' as those who laid their homes and fields at the feet of the apostles.⁸⁹⁵

Yet also in the *Defensorium*, Woodford declares that Armachanus is wrong to state friars declare they live from begging.⁸⁹⁶ He refers to the description of Jerome on his travels in the Theban desert, described in Jerome's *Vita Patrum*, which had a large and beautiful monastery where many monks cared for the sick.⁸⁹⁷ He says that in this way it is possible for friars minor to live without neediness and begging, but in a state which is described as 'begging'.⁸⁹⁸ Woodford here positions the state of begging as an interior activity. Woodford also explains an idealised form of begging through Augustine's teaching that in the *Paternoster* we beg from God.⁸⁹⁹

FitzRalph had argued that saints Francis and Alexis were not approved canonically on account of their begging, but for other holy deeds.⁹⁰⁰ Woodford cites the bull of Pope Alexander IV confirming their canonization on the grounds of their mendicancy, reinforcing the point by stating that even the biblical Lazarus was canonized for being a beggar.⁹⁰¹ Yet Woodford cannot equate the involuntary begging of Lazarus with the more meritorious begging undertaken wilfully

⁸⁹³ MS 75, fol. 131^{vb}.

⁸⁹⁴ MS 75, fols 94^{ra}-94^{rb}. Vigilantius had suggested that charity should be distributed locally, and Jerome's response, citing Paul's fundraising on behalf of the poor saints in Jerusalem, was that it should be collected centrally and given to the holy poor (*sanctis pauperibus*) rather than the common poor, described variously by Jerome as '*simpliciter pauperes*' and '*vulgi pauperibus*'. See fn. 791. For other uses of Jerome's text, see (Finn, *Almsgiving in the later Roman Empire: Christian Promotion and Practice* (313-450)), p. 185.

⁸⁹⁵ MS 75, fol. 124^{vb}.

⁸⁹⁶ MS 75, fol. 123^{vb}.

⁸⁹⁷ For Jerome's text, see PL 23, Cols. 0017A-0028C.

⁸⁹⁸ '*in talis ergo loco possent fratres minores vivere sine egestate et sine mendicis ne non ergo obligantur ex statu ad illam qua describit mendicitem*'. MS 75, fol. 19^{vb}.

⁸⁹⁹ MS 75, fol. 103^{ra}.

⁹⁰⁰ Woodford sums this up in MS 75, fol. 163^{ra}.

⁹⁰¹ '*Similiter evangelium canonizat Lazarum mendicum propter suam mendicitatem quam pacienter sustinuit et voluntarie quare igitur non potuit ecclesia canonizare istos sanctos propter mendicionem illorum*'. MS 75, fol. 163^{rb}.

by the saints.⁹⁰² Rather he distinguishes between the shame of the natural neediness of lepers and the holy neediness of Christ and the saints.⁹⁰³

Woodford makes an interesting reference to involuntary begging in his explanation of the story of the widow's mite, beginning with the acute observation that we are ignorant of the widow's actual circumstances, before speculating that had the widow turned to begging she would have undertaken the kind of begging which is commonly spoken of.⁹⁰⁴ He continues that friars are given a dispensation from labour because they are better equipped for the divine ministry.⁹⁰⁵ The type of begging observed by the friars is the seeking of alms for their livelihood. If this was the begging followed by the widow, who gave everything she had in front of rich Jews (*divitibus iudeorum*), then she was a true beggar (*et vulgarita vidua pauperula vere fuit mendica*).⁹⁰⁶ FitzRalph had not referred to Jews within his telling of the story of the widow's mite. Woodford's insertion of this phrase, 'rich Jews' seems to point to what Giacomo Todeschini refers to as 'Jews as a stereotyped enemy of Franciscan poverty'.⁹⁰⁷

Woodford downplays the instruction by Francis that Franciscans ought to undertake manual labour, though he quotes that contentious section of the Testament.⁹⁰⁸ He discusses what labour means when mentioned in the Rule.⁹⁰⁹ He explains that Francis wished to avoid laziness (*otiositatem*) for those friars who were not equipped for spiritual occupations such as preaching

⁹⁰² MS 75, fol. 163^{rb}.

⁹⁰³ MS 75, fol. 104^{ra}.

⁹⁰⁴ '*vulgariter loquendo*'. MS 75, fol. 164^{rb}.

⁹⁰⁵ '*Sed vulgari modo loquendo de mendico fatentur fratres se esse mendicos quia sic sunt pauperes quod vitando dispendium animarum quod haberent ex manuali laboricio pro maiori eorum multitudine que ad ministeria divina specialia est ydonea*'. MS 75, fol. 164^{rb}.

⁹⁰⁶ MS 75, fols 163^{rb}-164^{va}.

⁹⁰⁷ Todeschini, G., 'Franciscan Economics and Jews in the Middle Ages: from a Theological to an Economic Lexicon', in *Friars and Jews in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, eds. S. E. Myers and S. J. McMichael (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 99-117, p. 102. Todeschino continues that the image 'of the Jew as a stereotyped enemy of Franciscan poverty, is rarely, if ever, noted by historians'.

⁹⁰⁸ MS 75, fol. 101^{va}.

⁹⁰⁹ MS 75, fol. 55^{va}.

and other spiritual work.⁹¹⁰ On more general grounds he argues that the four orders of friars are not obliged to undertake manual labour because they are equipped for works of service.⁹¹¹

Woodford explains why the bodily robust may beg and receive alms, and not work. FitzRalph had cited Augustine's *On the Work of Monks* which gave exceptions where labour is not required. Woodford does not consider those exceptions to refer to begging.⁹¹² An absolution from the need to labour is found in John Chrysostom, where Woodford uses him to argue that the labour of the friars is spiritual and not manual.⁹¹³ Woodford affirms that neither the Rule nor the Church wish that Franciscans ought to prefer manual labour to begging.⁹¹⁴ He rationalizes fraternal labour by noting that friars labour by preaching, praying, and studying for the infidels, and to augment the Church.⁹¹⁵

Moving away from Woodford's mixed attempts to construct a theoretical rationale for mendicancy, and to validate its historical roots, the friar is far more confident when articulating the mechanics of the actual practice of begging. The realities surrounding late medieval begging has been debated by historians, but no consensus seems to exist as to how begging worked.⁹¹⁶

In the *Defensorium*, Woodford provides a first-hand account of how mendicancy functions in England. He explains that only three or four friars need beg for the whole convent, furthermore begging can be performed in a large or a small town.⁹¹⁷ Between two to four friars can beg for one hour a day for their convent.⁹¹⁸ He adds there are certain Christian places where mendicant friars live entirely from communal alms, and where two lay brothers beg for a few

⁹¹⁰ MS 75, fol. 101^{vb}.

⁹¹¹ MS 75, fol. 131^{va}.

⁹¹² MS 75 fol. 133^{ra}.

⁹¹³ MS 75, fol. 139^{va}.

⁹¹⁴ *Ideo nec regula nec ecclesia vult quod in fratribus minoribus debet manualis labor mendicioni preferri*. MS 75, fol. 140^{vb}.

⁹¹⁵ MS 75, fol. 15^{ra}.

⁹¹⁶ Prudlo argues: 'mendicancy was simply not something Mendicant saints did'. (Prudlo, *Mendicancy Among the Early Saints of the Begging Orders*), p. 116. For an alternative view, see fn. 270.

⁹¹⁷ MS 75 fols 100^{ra}, 167^{va} and 169^{ra}.

⁹¹⁸ MS 75, fol. 157^{rb}.

hours for the whole friary.⁹¹⁹ Woodford also discusses how friars in large or small convents beg differently.⁹²⁰ Woodford positions the begging of the friars in towns and in the countryside.⁹²¹ This framing especially challenges a ubiquitous historiographical locating of friars in an urban setting.⁹²²

Woodford's argument takes an interesting turn as he says it is mendacious for a common beggar to imitate true mendicancy.⁹²³ He sets out the mechanics of the neediness of a 'true' beggar: 'one friar is not personally needy but is still able to be a true beggar (*vere mendicus*) and needy for his community, so his indigence is on behalf of others'.⁹²⁴ He develops the argument: 'true begging' resembles a type of neediness which can be alleviated. One can have sufficient clothing for hot weather but at the time of winter when it is much colder it is possible to be a true beggar but have more clothes for cold journeys.⁹²⁵ This reference to sensible and weather-appropriate clothing, an argument Woodford also makes in his *Responsiones*, differs from the picture of insufficient clothing as a mark of fraternal saintliness in the chronicle of Thomas of Eccleston, and in the recently re-discovered *Vita Brevior* of St Francis.⁹²⁶

The *Defensorium* does not articulate a sympathetic view of lay poverty, which itself challenges a historiographical narrative which positions mendicants as advocates of the poor.⁹²⁷

⁹¹⁹ 'in quibus habitant duo fratres laici una hora diei procurant mendicando neccesita pro toto magno conventu pro die illa'. MS 75, fol. 153^{vb}.

⁹²⁰ MS 75, fol. 144^{va}.

⁹²¹ MS 75, fols 169^{rb}-170^{ra}.

⁹²² For example: '[T]he Franciscan friars established themselves as the pastors to the plebian city population'. (Oberman, *The Shape of Late Medieval Thought: Birthpangs of a Modern Era*), p. 7; 'Although the different orders of friars show different settlement patterns...they shared one important feature: they settled in, or immediately outside, towns'. (Campbell, *The Landscape of Pastoral Care in Thirteenth-Century England*), p. 70; 'Some of the needy exhibited the signs of poverty which friars encouraged their urban audiences to alleviate'. (Rubin, *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge*), p. 12. See also (Smalley, *Ecclesiastical Attitudes to Novelty, c. 1100-c. 1250*), p. 126, fn. 1127.

⁹²³ MS 75, fol. 141^{va}.

⁹²⁴ MS 75, fols 141^{va}-141^{vb}.

⁹²⁵ MS 75, fol. 141^{vb}.

⁹²⁶ For Thomas's chronicle, see (Salter, *The Coming of the Friars Minor to England & Germany: Being the Chronicles of Brother Thomas of Eccleston and Brother Jordan of Giano*), p. 98. For the reference to Francis' clothing, in the *Vita Brevior*, see (Dalarun, *The Rediscovered Life of St. Francis of Assisi*), pp. xvi-xvii.

⁹²⁷ 'Dominican and Franciscan friars sincerely and eagerly preached in favour of the less fortunate in medieval lay society...[the poor] enjoyed the moral support of the friars'. (Jakobsen, 'Beggars in silky robes and palaces': Dominicans preaching and practising poverty in Medieval Scandinavia), p. 165.

There is one reference in the text to common beggars who might be found in Church doorways or in public.⁹²⁸ Woodford here suggests that the large number of beggars collected at a church door means there is no associated shame in their status.⁹²⁹

Common beggars are identified more generally by Woodford as the physically disabled or the morally opprobrious. People become common beggars out of idleness (*otiositate*), laziness (*inertia*), too much leisure (*otium fovendum*), or an insatiable appetite for food or for buying and negotiation (*neguciacionis*).⁹³⁰ The begging which results is forbidden. Woodford contrasts this type of begging to wilful beggars, affirming that Christ would have been a wilful beggar, and affirming that he did not do anything contrary to the precepts of scripture.⁹³¹

What we can see from this final argument is that there are three types of beggars. The first type are the physically-disabled. The second are the common beggars: the overeaters, overspenders, and the leisured. The third type are those wilful beggars who have renounced everything for the love of evangelical poverty, and who beg as Christ did.

This section has drawn out Woodford's manifold, and sometimes contradictory, portrayals of begging in the *Defensorium*. It has highlighted the range of arguments the friar uses, and has demonstrated that the rhetorical intention is not to provide a clear and consistent definition of begging, but to adopt whichever argument to hand best supports the purpose of the *Defensorium*, namely the discrediting of FitzRalph as a logical thinker.

⁹²⁸ '*mendiconibus vulgaribus que sunt in portis ecclesiarum et stasis publicis*' MS 75, fol. 100^{rb}. For symbolic and social functions of Church doorways, see Postles (Social Geographies), pp. 119-216.

⁹²⁹ MS 75, fol. 100^{vb}. A recent article on Dominican preaching notes: 'several accounts tell us that poor people frequently gathered outside mendicant churches, most likely in the hope that the friars' words about Christian generosity had reached the hearts of the well-off burghers and nobles listening to the sermons, prompting them to charity'. (Jakobsen, 'Beggars in silky robes and palaces': Dominicans preaching and practising poverty in Medieval Scandinavia), p. 168.

⁹³⁰ MS 75, fol. 88^{va}. See also fols 121^{ra}-121^{rb}.

⁹³¹ '*non est contra preceptum Scripture quod aliquis sic sit spontanee mendicus. Et ideo quamvis Christus sic fuisset spontanee mendicus, Christus non fecisset contra preceptum Scripture*'. MS 75, fols 88^{va}-88^{vb}.

What does Poverty mean?

Bartholomew of Bolsenheim briefly referenced FitzRalph's four types of poverty, before explaining that voluntarily-assumed poverty 'pertains to the perfect life and to the Gospels'.⁹³² Another Dominican, Hervaeus Natalis, wrote: 'Blessedness is essentially perfection. Poverty is something of this sort'.⁹³³ Natalis referred to: 'poverty in an unqualified sense', which he explained as: 'lacking temporal things in terms of right, dominion, and use so that a person lacks what is sufficient for life'.⁹³⁴ Natalis does not elaborate upon 'unqualified poverty', the tract devoting itself to a defense of 'the most perfect poverty'.⁹³⁵ Bartholomew and Natalis show a similar reluctance to articulate a type of poverty which is neither voluntary nor perfect. This section now examines Woodford articulations of poverty.

As chapter two explored, FitzRalph divides the concept of poverty into four states, *pauper*, *inops*, *egenus*, and *mendicus*, and analyses the mechanics of each.⁹³⁶ Woodford's response in the *Defensorium* is not so coherent. Rather Woodford presents a variety of constructions of poverty, some made by him, some by others, in a scattershot manner.

FitzRalph had mentioned in his sermon, *Defensio curatorum*, of a friar preaching about four grades of poverty, the most perfect being a state of possessionless begging.⁹³⁷ Woodford does not construct such equivalent grades of poverty, though he does speak of a particular grade of poverty which is special to the friars.⁹³⁸ He does not illustrate or clarify what this grade is, but declares: 'many determinations of the Church' have made it clear.⁹³⁹

⁹³² *'haec paupertas pertineat ad perfectionem vitae et evangelii'*. (Meersseman, La défense des ordres mendiants contre Richard Fitz Ralph, par Barthélemy de Bolsenheim O. P. (1357)), p. 152

⁹³³ (Jones, Hervaeus, Natalis: The Poverty of Christ and the Apostles), p. 26.

⁹³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-4.

⁹³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 37, 51, 53.

⁹³⁶ For FitzRalph's definitions of poverty, see fns 546 and 549.

⁹³⁷ See fn. 551.

⁹³⁸ *'in aliquo gradu igitur aliquid speciale est in regular fratrum minorum'*. MS 75, fol. 128^{ra}.

⁹³⁹ *'multis ecclesie determinationibus ut ex dictis patet palam'*. MS 75, fol. 128^{ra}.

Woodford does sometimes acknowledge FitzRalph's study of two types, *pauper* and *egenus*. Summing up the archbishop's argument that neediness differs grammatically from poverty since the poor are able to be honest, but a needy person is morally ashamed, Woodford responds that FitzRalph has not proven his case between honest morality and shameful morality.⁹⁴⁰ Woodford illustrates this by affirming that Christ was needy but never in moral turpitude, and furthermore, the Apostle Paul referred to holy men who were needy.⁹⁴¹ This response is an indirect attack on FitzRalph's argument that Christ possessed *dominium*, yet Woodford does not name it as such, nor does he go into further detail.

Woodford does not engage with FitzRalph's distinction of neediness as a particular state of poverty, choosing rather the rhetorical response that to argue Christ was not needy would contradict the Psalms and the holy doctors of antiquity.⁹⁴² Neither does he go into scholarly detail to set out precisely how FitzRalph's grammatical argument fails as an exercise in logic. Is this silence a sign of reticence, or should it be read as Woodford's inability to construct a scholarly response? Or might it be perhaps because the friar does not wish to test the logical limits of his own position?

FitzRalph states in book VIII that poverty is a miserable state which leads to sadness, and therefore is something Christ hated. Woodford responds with a deflection, stressing that the verse FitzRalph uses to illustrate his point: '*A poor man is even hated by his neighbours*', is not about poverty, but about the sinfulness of the wicked.⁹⁴³ He deals with FitzRalph's statement that poverty is hated by God by extrapolating that anyone poor would be hated by God on account of their poverty.⁹⁴⁴ He shifts the discussion away from this surprising glimpse of socio-economic

⁹⁴⁰ '*de differentia inter honestatem moralem and turpitudinem moralem*'. MS 75, fol. 104^{ra}.

⁹⁴¹ MS 75, fol. 104^{ra}.

⁹⁴² MS 75, fol. 156^{va}.

⁹⁴³ MS 75, fol. 133^{vb}. (Proverbs 14:20)

⁹⁴⁴ '*sequitur ex modo argumendi quod paupertas deo beneplacita est paupertas deo propter se odibilis*'. MS 75, fol. 86^{va}.

poverty to add that FitzRalph's argument would suggest that God hated pilgrims, since all pilgrims are poor.⁹⁴⁵

Yet rather than create an alternative definition of poverty, with a grammatical framework to provide clarity, Woodford refers his audience to Bonaventure's understanding of poverty in *Apologia Pauperum*, which extolled the inner benefits of mendicant poverty, since it engendered the virtue of humility, enabling one to be configured to Christ.⁹⁴⁶ Woodford makes use of this concept to affirm that true beggars can still be rich, since their state is one of inner piety.⁹⁴⁷ He also cites John Pecham's *Tractatus Pauperis* to explain the nature of poverty.⁹⁴⁸ Woodford does not quote from either text, but we can observe his methodology, relying on previous expositors rather than—as FitzRalph does—constructing his own semantic apparatus for poverty. He does, however, set up certain oblique definitions, such as framing poverty as something one might accept, as one accepts the state of virginity.⁹⁴⁹

Woodford seems more confident explaining what poverty is not, arguing it cannot mean the privation of goods, because monks are enriched by their endowments, yet call themselves poor.⁹⁵⁰ As part of this argument he concedes that there are some poor rectors and parish priests-- here he seems unconsciously to signal a socio-economic state--but affirms that friars are more worthy because their poverty is voluntary.⁹⁵¹

In his chronicle describing the arrival of the Franciscans to Germany, brother Jordan of Giano (d. after 1262) describes how a rich man, upon his conversion and decision to become a Franciscan, gave new cloaks and tunics to the friars and then sold the rest of his goods and 'gave

⁹⁴⁵ MS 75, fols 87^{rb}-87^{va}.

⁹⁴⁶ MS 75, fol. 155^{rb}.

⁹⁴⁷ MS 75, fol. 116^{rb}.

⁹⁴⁸ MS 75, fol. 127^{va}.

⁹⁴⁹ MS 75, fol. 85^{ra}.

⁹⁵⁰ MS 75, fol. 87^{vb}.

⁹⁵¹ MS 75, fol. 81^{rb}.

them to the poor'.⁹⁵² Jordan makes a clear distinction between giving to the friars and giving to the poor. Writing over a hundred years later, Woodford positions the friars as the only righteous 'poor' to whom charity ought to be given.

Perhaps one reason why he is reluctant to create an alternative definition of poverty is that Woodford clearly writes in favour of material resources. Early in the *Defensorium* he affirms that followers of Christ might have material possessions.⁹⁵³ The Temple in Jerusalem was a large building though used in humility. Zaccheus owned a house, Mary and Martha had a house, as did Simon, Levi and Joseph. Christ as a boy lived in a house.⁹⁵⁴ Christ entered the house of a rich man, Zaccheus, therefore friaries must be both large and lavish places in which to welcome Christ.⁹⁵⁵

There were times when Christ had twelve followers and others when he had seventy-two, and each would have required different arrangements for feeding and accommodation according to numbers. Different sized dormitories and refectories would be required to feed and house them.⁹⁵⁶

Woodford looks to early Church history to legitimize resources, noting how the apocryphal *Vita of St Matthew* describes how the apostle converted a king, a queen, their daughter and 200 nuns; Matthew would have needed a large convent to house everyone.⁹⁵⁷ During

⁹⁵² 'fratribus novis tunicis superioribus et inferioribus vestitis, et reliquis rebus suis omnibus venditis et pauperibus distributis, ad Ordinem est receptus'. Jordan of Giano, 'Chronica Fratris Iordani a Iano', in *Analecta Franciscana, sive, Chronica aliaque varia decumenta ad historiam Fratrum minorum spectantia* (*Ad Claras Aquas: Quaracchi*, 1885), 1-19, p. 8. For an English translation of the chronicle, see (Salter, *The Coming of the Friars Minor to England & Germany: Being the Chronicles of Brother Thomas of Eccleston and Brother Jordan of Giano*), p. 151.

⁹⁵³ MS 75, fol. 4^{va}.

⁹⁵⁴ MS 75, fols 4^{va}-4^{rb}.

⁹⁵⁵ 'Unde et se ipsum invitavit ad domum Zachei qui fuit magnus et dives. In hoc igitur quod fratres quattor ordinum utuntur aliquocibus domibus magnus non faciunt contra exemplum Christi sed potius confirmiter Christo'. MS 75, fol. 114^{ra}. Woodford made the same argument in his *Responsiones*, written immediately before the *Defensorium*. See (Doyle, *William Woodford, His Life and works together with a study and edition of his Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), p. 135. For the dating of these two texts, see fn. 371.

⁹⁵⁶ MS 75, fol. 4^{vb}.

⁹⁵⁷ MS 75, fol. 114^{vb}. The story is found in the 'Acts and Martyrdom of St Matthew the Apostle' from the *Legenda sanctorum*.

the time of persecution, he explains, the apostles did not travel around preaching, so were permitted to keep gold and silver in their homes.⁹⁵⁸ Some apostles travelled to distant parts which involved travelling through areas peopled by infidels where they could not preach, just as James from Jerusalem travelled to Spain.⁹⁵⁹ In these areas neither could they remain to undertake labour because they were having to travel quickly, nor could they 'live from the power of the Gospel'⁹⁶⁰ as Woodford puts it, because the infidels refused to let them preach, nor were they able to carry gold or silver or a satchel on their journey. Woodford describes how Saint James, during his life in Spain, did not convert many as he was not honoured but badly treated there.⁹⁶¹

A polemical reply to FitzRalph's statement that friars do not need a grand venue to entertain kings and queens is that Cluniacs, Cistercians and nuns have lavish facilities to host royal visitors, in addition to which bishops have grander manor houses than friars.⁹⁶² This reponse redirects the focus from mendicant wealth onto monastic and episcopal wealth.⁹⁶³ He envisions Armachanus living in his archbishopric in great wealth, collecting money due to 'the evangelically poor' and not helping the crippled, lame and blind, a phrase evoking the parable of the Great Banquet, the scriptural story used by FitzRalph as part of his exposition of poverty.⁹⁶⁴

Woodford argues it is wrong to claim that beautiful churches are contrary to the principles of mendicancy, affirming that friars are permitted to have great houses, just as kings and prelates might do, because Pope Nicholas III permitted this in *Exiit*.⁹⁶⁵ He endorses this concept of propertied wealth, yet also subverts it, noting that Francis in his Testament urged that the Church

⁹⁵⁸ MS 75, fol. 115^{vb}.

⁹⁵⁹ MS 75, fol. 17^{ra}.

⁹⁶⁰ '*nec in illis partibus mediis vixit de potestate evangelandi*'. MS 75, fol. 117^{ra}.

⁹⁶¹ '*Similiter idem Sanctus Jacobus tempore vite sue in hispania non multos convertit et fuit ibi sine honore et male tractus*'. MS 75, fol. 117^{ra}.

⁹⁶² MS 75, fols 114^{rb}-114^{va}.

⁹⁶³ MS 75, fol. 102^{ra}.

⁹⁶⁴ MS 75, fol. 131^{rb}.

⁹⁶⁵ MS 75, fols 5^{rb}-5^{va}, 6^{va}. For the relevant section of *Exiit*, see (Gay and Vitte, *Les registres de Nicolas III (1277-1280)*), p. 240. One recent article, noting that mendicant churches often competed with cathedrals and palaces, affirms: 'in the eyes of the friars, this was not such a problem, even in regard to the ideal of poverty. The Churches were raised to honour God and therefore could not be too modest'. (Jakobsen, 'Beggars in silky robes and palaces': Dominicans preaching and practising poverty in Medieval Scandinavia), p. 171.

was to be a dwelling place for the poor (*habitacula paupercola*).⁹⁶⁶ Here we see an interesting polemical positioning of Francis' Testament, notwithstanding the fact that elsewhere Woodford undermines the text's authority and authenticity.⁹⁶⁷

Woodford addresses FitzRalph's criticism that the friars protest indigence and neediness, yet have books and sumptuous churches, by framing the point as maliciously sinful.⁹⁶⁸ He affirms that within his own friary--presumably London Greyfriars--friars are truly indigent, declaring: 'I know that they are more indigent than the world would wish to believe'.⁹⁶⁹ In another illustration, he depicts poor friars who study theology wearing their poor robes, unlike rich rectors who have modes of acquiring money through their parishes.⁹⁷⁰ Yet acknowledgement that the mendicant poor are not materially poor comes in the statement that it would be a sin to burden those who preach with impoverishment by requiring them to labour manually.⁹⁷¹

The materially-poor are sometimes visible in the *Defensorium*. Woodford notes that both rich and poor are buried in the London Greyfriars church.⁹⁷² He affirms how friars care for the infirm and the aged, and sustain them.⁹⁷³ These declarations demonstrate the complexity of Woodford's understandings of poverty, since they exist alongside his willingness to code-switch between concepts encompassing exterior (i.e. socio-economic) poverty, and interior (spiritual) poverty, when it suits his rhetorical purposes.

FitzRalph had foregrounded the virtue of sharing resources as the 'natural law' of Matthew 7:12, a verse which functions as a major part of his argument.⁹⁷⁴ Woodford responds to the verse

⁹⁶⁶ MS 75, fol. 5^{va}.

⁹⁶⁷ See later in this chapter, fn. 1112.

⁹⁶⁸ MS 75, fol. 103^{va}. At this point a marginal *nota* reference appears.

⁹⁶⁹ '*et scio quod magis sunt indigentes quam mundus velit credere*'. MS 75, fol. 141^{vb}. See fn. 1159 for a description of London Greyfriars.

⁹⁷⁰ MS 75, fol. 141^{vb}.

⁹⁷¹ MS 75, fol. 134^{vb}.

⁹⁷² MS 75, fol. 51^{vb}.

⁹⁷³ MS 75, fol. 151^{va}.

⁹⁷⁴ See fn. 452.

three times in the *Defensorium*.⁹⁷⁵ He first argues that rich rectors ought to succour the poor, but they receive the offerings associated with their parishes and thus molest the poor, which is against natural law.⁹⁷⁶

The context of this argument makes it clear that the poor in question are the friars. Woodford describes the particular type of begging of the friars as evangelical begging, which he explains as the (mendicant) poor seeking something out of the superfluity of their neighbours, which in turn becomes an opportunity for joy on the part of the giver.⁹⁷⁷ This reference echoes Aquinas's suggestion that the poor ought to be succoured out of the abundance of others, though Woodford does not cite the theologian.⁹⁷⁸

Woodford's fullest treatment of Matthew 7:12 is in the response to the accusation that the seeking of privileges by mendicants to perform burial services and say the divine office in parish churches is contrary to this scriptural law of nature.⁹⁷⁹ Woodford lists a tripartite system of laws: the law of nature, divine law and the law of the Old Testament. Yet the ensuing argument is not theological. Woodford asserts that if FitzRalph is correct, then no one should seek exemptions or privileges.⁹⁸⁰ It would thus follow that no king ought to wish to be king if not everyone wishes to be a king, nor a bishop a bishop, nor that a mother should wish to be a mother, or a virgin a virgin.⁹⁸¹ He continues that if it is wrong to seek advantage at the disadvantage of others, then civil lords should refuse their temporal advantage over others, and merchants should not wish to

⁹⁷⁵ MS 75, fols 73^{ra}, 93^{va}, 131^{vb}.

⁹⁷⁶ *'Sic omnes rectores divites sponte recipientes oblationes quas parochiam non tenentur facere de iure in usus proprios et sue familie iniuste inferrent molestiam pauperibus et facerent contra legem nature allegatam quia spontanee admittunt illud per quod posset pauperibus subveniri'*. MS 75, fol. 93^{vb}.

⁹⁷⁷ *'et tunc non est molestus ex petitione evangelici mendici sed potius gaudens'*. MS 75, fols 93^{va}-93^{vb}.

⁹⁷⁸ ST II-II, q.32, a.10.

⁹⁷⁹ *'Constat quod nec de lege nature nec de lege divina nec de lege antiqua ecclesie funeralia in alia deo gratis oblata ordini fratrem sunt debita sed parochiali ecclesie et eius curato nec minus est patens quod lex ista nature seu dei et eius ecclesie a curatis non tollitur iusi aut prohibitione facta curatis aut lege positam in fratribus. Nusquam vero ut estimo in iure aut in privilegio prohibitio quo ad curatos reperitur expresse.'* MS 180, fols 97^{va}-97^{vb}.

⁹⁸⁰ MS 75, fol. 73^{ra}.

⁹⁸¹ MS 75, fol. 73^{rb}.

make a profit out of buying and selling, since their advantage diminishes the temporal advantage of others.⁹⁸²

Woodford concludes this section by affirming that 'no one holds to the practice of decreasing so that others would increase, only the pope himself, because the pope diminishes and others increase'.⁹⁸³ Giacomo Todeschini had argued: 'Franciscan economists proposed to Christian merchants that the legitimate way to be rich involved a detachment from avarice'.⁹⁸⁴ Yet here Woodford is mobilizing--and possibly even indirectly endorsing--the avarice of merchants for his polemical argument. His response to the accusation that acquiring money by begging is fraud is to allege that both merchants and rectors are more fraudulent in acquiring money than beggars.⁹⁸⁵

Woodford's response to the argument that the begging of the friars is a type of avarice which injures the socio-economic poor takes a number of forms: rich rectors don't help the poor from their own parish contributions; friars help the poor by the preaching and study; the evangelical poor only beg for their necessities; the poor in Jerusalem (on whose behalf the apostle Paul fundraised) are the evangelical poor, who are entitled to receive gifts; the kingdom of heaven is for the holy poor, who have relinquished everything for Christ.⁹⁸⁶

This is a helpful illustration of Woodford's practice of code-switching between inner and exterior poverty. Ignoring FitzRalph's disambiguation of poverty, he re-ambiguates it by alternating between a framing of poverty as a state of material deprivation--which wealthy rectors do not alleviate--to elevating the poverty of the evangelically poor (by which he means the friars) who ought to be given material benefits.

⁹⁸² MS 75, fol. 73^{rb}.

⁹⁸³ MS 75, fol. 73^{rb}.

⁹⁸⁴ (Todeschini, *Franciscan Economics and Jews in the Middle Ages: from a Theological to an Economic Lexicon*), p. 110.

⁹⁸⁵ MS 75, fol. 142^{ra}.

⁹⁸⁶ MS 75, fols 93^{vb}-94^{rb}.

To conclude this section, Woodford's overall defense of 'mendicant poverty' is grounded in the logic used by Aquinas, whereby religious poverty is voluntary and therefore praiseworthy, yet involuntary poverty is 'an occasion of sin'.⁹⁸⁷ Woodford does not personify the materially-poor, nor does he engage with FitzRalph's four definitions of poverty, preferring to foreground the 'evangelical poor'.

The Evangelical Poor

Woodford challenges FitzRalph's argument that the mandate of God does not permit the physically healthy to receive alms, arguing that God wishes alms to be given to the evangelical poor who preach the word of God rather than undertaking manual labour.⁹⁸⁸ He identifies these evangelical poor as the holy poor within the first congregation of believers, for whom the apostles fundraised, and not common beggars or the involuntary poor.⁹⁸⁹ Here we see an unconscious glimpse of Woodford's disapproval of socio-economic poverty, in his determination not to associate socio-economic poverty with the holy poor.

This reluctance is revealed in references to another category of poverty, the 'evangelical poor'.⁹⁹⁰ The term is not used by FitzRalph, who, one might argue, did not envisage such a category. Yet according to Woodford, this special perfection of poverty, which was modelled by Christ and the apostles, is not appropriate for everyone, as taught, according to Gregory in his *Commentary on the Morals of the Book of Job*, book 26:21.⁹⁹¹

Woodford identifies this category through a combination of Christ's teaching in Matthew 10:42, endorsing the virtue of giving a drink of cold water to a 'little one', and the parable of the

⁹⁸⁷ ST III, q.40, a.3.

⁹⁸⁸ *Igitur non veniat sub mandato dei dare robustus corpore petentibus sibi victum laboricio acquirere sequitur quod tales ab elemosina sunt exclusi et per quamvis egent laborare tenentur*. MS 75, fol. 131^{vb}.

⁹⁸⁹ *Quia maxime voluit deus quod elemosina daretur pauperibus evangelicis et verbi dei predicatoribus quamvis robusti sunt corpore. Et illi pauperes sancti in prima congregatione credentium de quibus in actibus apostolorum erant pro maiori parte robusti et tunc apostoli pro ipsis maxime sollicitabant et multo plus quam pro mendicis vulgaribus et involuntariis*. MS 75, fol. 131^{vb}.

⁹⁹⁰ Woodford introduces his discussion about evangelical poverty between MS 75, fols 63^{va}-64^{rb}.

⁹⁹¹ MS 75, fol. 142^{va}. For the relevant section in Gregory's *Moralia*, see PL 76, Cols 0360A-0360C.

Sheep and the Goats, in which Christ declares that feeding and clothing the poor are, in effect, feeding and clothing Him.⁹⁹² By merging these two texts and shifting the meaning of 'little ones' and the 'vulnerable poor' from the socio-economically poor to the evangelical poor, Woodford declares the texts confirm that Christ advocated mendicancy.⁹⁹³ A consequence of this rhetorical development is to erase the materially-needy from either verse. Woodford grounds his interpretation in Jerome's *Against Vigilantius*, upon which adds his own distinction between the evangelical poor and the 'coercive poor'.⁹⁹⁴

Woodford explains 'highest evangelical poverty' as the principle of moderation in all things: humility, sobriety, an austere approach to food, chastity and purity.⁹⁹⁵ He identifies the evangelical poor as those people who renounced everything for Christ.⁹⁹⁶ Furthermore, the evangelical poor celebrate Mass, preach, and do other good works which poor people--and here he must mean the materially-poor--are not suited to.⁹⁹⁷ For this reason, giving alms to the evangelical poor does not detract from alms given to the socio-economically poor.⁹⁹⁸ Here is a rare occasion when Woodford refers to material poverty in the *Defensorium*.

What we observe in these arguments is Woodford's acknowledgement of the existence of the 'common and involuntary' poor, accompanied by a lack of curiosity as to who they might be, or how they might become so.

⁹⁹² (Matthew 25:10)

⁹⁹³ 'Ex quibus patet quod Christus maxime consuluit elemosinas dari pauperibus evangelicus quo omnia reliquerant et secuti sunt Christum in predicatione verbi dei ergo Christus voluit quod tales maxime viverent de elemosinis aliorum cotidianis vel quasi cotidianis quia docuit illos non curare de crastino ordinavit igitur Christus quod tales essent sic mendici et voluntate mendici'. MS 75, fol. 126^{vb}.

⁹⁹⁴ 'pauperes coacti'. MS 75, fol. 131^{ra}. (Jerome's text is also cited in MS 75 fol. 94^{ra} to substantiate a similar argument.) For the text itself, see fn. 791.

⁹⁹⁵ 'Unde mendicitas illa que assumitur ratione altiorum paupertatis evangelice observande excellenter disponit hominibus ad intensam humilitatem ad victus sobrietatem austeritatem pro maiori parte ad castitatem et puritatem'. MS 75, fol. 155^{ra}.

⁹⁹⁶ MS 75, fol. 94^{ra}.

⁹⁹⁷ 'ut sustententur et manuteneantur in bonis operibus que bona aliis pauperibus ad hec opera in ydoneis non essent daturi'. MS 75, fol. 94^{ra}.

⁹⁹⁸ 'et ideo talis pauper evangelicus et evangelicus mendicus non subrahit mendicando spontane ab aliis pauperibus illud quod in eorum necessitibus ipsis et non sibi debetur'. MS 75, fol. 94^{ra}.

Christ the Carpenter

Twice in book VIII FitzRalph quotes Mark 6:3, explaining that Christ was identified as a carpenter (*faber*). Woodford replies to both occasions, the significance of one response indicated textually with the inclusion of a marginal '*nota bene*'.⁹⁹⁹ The immediate reason Woodford gives why Christ may have been called a carpenter is because his father, Joseph, was known as one.¹⁰⁰⁰ As chapter two noted, this method of interpreting of Mark 6:3, through the less challenging wording of Matthew 13:55, was the standard explanation in the Gloss and by the Church fathers.¹⁰⁰¹

Not content with this standard response, Woodford provides further counter-arguments.¹⁰⁰² He states that Christ was called various names in the Gospels: a drunkard, a glutton, a seducer, a Samaritan, and demon-possessed.¹⁰⁰³ Just because Christ was called something by the people does not mean it was true.¹⁰⁰⁴ Here we see Woodford listing the various insults addressed to Christ to create an associated sense of emotional shock and revulsion at the idea of Christ as a carpenter.

Alongside this conceptual association, a second counter-argument suggests that Christ as a carpenter would suggest socially-inferior parentage.¹⁰⁰⁵ Woodford introduces a sense of disdain towards the labouring classes not present in FitzRalph's text. Furthermore, this classification of carpenters as menial overlooks contemporary evidence indicating that carpenters spanned various socio-economic brackets.¹⁰⁰⁶

⁹⁹⁹ MS 75, fol. 134^{va}.

¹⁰⁰⁰ MS 75, fol. 137^{va}.

¹⁰⁰¹ See fns 649, 650 and 651.

¹⁰⁰² MS 75, fols 102^{rb}, 108^{ra}, 137^{rb}.

¹⁰⁰³ MS 75, fol. 137^{va}. (Luke 7:34; Matthew 27:63; Matthew 12:24; and John 8:48)

¹⁰⁰⁴ '*dico igitur ad argumentum primo quod non sequitur Christus a populo fuit faber nominatus igitur Christus fuit faber quia sic sequeretur quod Christus fuisset vorator potator furiosus demoniacus quia hiis nominibus a Judeis fuit nominatus*'. MS 75, fol. 137^{va}.

¹⁰⁰⁵ '*et dicens eius faber et fabri filius de parentela vili*'. MS 75, fol. 108^{ra}.

¹⁰⁰⁶ This point runs counter to that made by Franciscan Cardinal Bertrand de la Tour, who partly-based his argument that Christ 'was compelled to beg during the entire course of his life' on a declaration made by pseudo-Chrysostom in his commentary on Matthew that Christ's mother, Mary, was so poor that she 'barely had one tunic to cover her nakedness', as cited in (Jones, Hervaeus, Natalis: The Poverty of Christ and the Apostles), p.

In book VIII's grammatical discussion of the mechanics of poverty, FitzRalph had categorized poverty as an honest state.¹⁰⁰⁷ Woodford's disapproving reference to the 'common parentage' of carpenters reveals he equates low socio-economic status to a lack of worth, highlighting the degree to which mendicant poverty was detached from socio-economic realities. In *Apologia Pauperum*, Bonaventure stressed that Christ 'chose a most poor Mother'.¹⁰⁰⁸ Bonaventure was citing Bede's *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke*, which also stressed the lowly status of Christ's parents.¹⁰⁰⁹ Woodford is clearly familiar with Bede's text since he notes it on a number of occasions in the *Defensorium*, yet on this occasion he ignores Bede's opinion.¹⁰¹⁰

A further argument against Christ as a carpenter stresses that if Christ undertook manual labour, then bishops, monks and endowed canons are sinning when they do not labour for their food.¹⁰¹¹ He alleges that more monks, canons and nuns refuse manual labour in England than all four orders of friars.¹⁰¹²

Woodford's next argument points out that even if Christ had laboured manually before the start of his public ministry, from this point on he did not have the opportunity to labour because he was travelling and preaching.¹⁰¹³ This argument mobilizes a hermeneutic favoured by FitzRalph, that of scripture as eye-witness account. No biblical account exists of Christ undertaking carpentry, or any other manual work, after the start of his public ministry, a point

130, fn. 55. In his study of the medieval building trade, Salzman has noted how carpenters and masons were treated favourably to lower-skilled labourers and received better work contracts. (Salzman, *Building in England Down to 1540: A Documentary History*), pp. 56-60. In the General Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, Chaucer's 'Carpenter-Guildsman' wears an expensive silver knife, owns property, and aspires to become an alderman. (Benson, *The Riverside Chaucer*), ll. 366-8, p. 29. Miri Rubin includes a table comparing carpenters' wages to grain prices between 1301-1450, (Rubin, *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge*), p. 26.

¹⁰⁰⁷ '*paupertas potest esse honesta*'. MS 180, fol. 112^{vb}.

¹⁰⁰⁸ (Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia VIII*), p. 274.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Hurst, D., ed. *Beda's Venerabilis opera. Pars 2, Opera exegetica, 4 vols* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1960), CCSL cxx, p. 49.

¹⁰¹⁰ MS 75, fols 122^{va}, 117^{ra}-117^{rb}.

¹⁰¹¹ MS 75, fols 137^{va}-137^{vb}.

¹⁰¹² MS 75, fol. 142^{va}.

¹⁰¹³ MS 75, fol. 102^{va}.

understandably not made by FitzRalph. As Woodford puts it, Christ taught by his words how to live evangelically through the Gospel, and not by labouring.¹⁰¹⁴

The type of work undertaken by the apostles is now considered. If manual labour is essential to imitating Christ, Paul would have sinned when he received support from other Christians rather than labouring manually.¹⁰¹⁵ Paul's teaching and example in the New Testament concerning work had been a source of disagreement between Christians since the Early Church. As Peter Brown puts it: 'on the issue of labor and the "holy poor" Paul seemed to have spoken with two voices'.¹⁰¹⁶

Mendicant exegesis sometimes attempted to reconcile the practical labour of the apostles with their spiritual work. In his *Disputed Questions on Evangelical Perfection*, Bonaventure cited John Chrysostom's homily number eighty-seven, where the theologian explained how in Christ's absence Peter and his fellow apostles worked as fishermen: 'since they had nothing to do, they practiced their trade'.¹⁰¹⁷ This suggests that manual work was appropriate when no spiritual work could be done, yet it also contains an acknowledgement that the apostles did labour.

Dominican Hervaeus Natalis noted occasions when the apostles worked manually: 'when the apostles sold fish or made things with their own hands'.¹⁰¹⁸ Yet this brief reference comes inside a text more concerned about whether Christ and the Apostles had the temporal right to things, than whether and how they laboured. Christ's work as a carpenter is not referred to, nor are the apostles' professions or working lives studied in any detail.¹⁰¹⁹

¹⁰¹⁴ MS 75, fol. 133^{va}.

¹⁰¹⁵ MS 75, fol. 138^{ra}.

¹⁰¹⁶ (Brown, *Treasure in Heaven: The Holy Poor in Early Christianity*), p. xiii, see also pp. 1-16.

¹⁰¹⁷ (Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia VIII*), p. 274.

¹⁰¹⁸ (Jones, Hervaeus, Natalis: *The Poverty of Christ and the Apostles*), p. 106.

¹⁰¹⁹ A helpful summary compiled by the editor of topics covered by the tract does not include mention of 'work' or 'labour', which demonstrates their insignificance to the tract. *Ibid.*, pp. 161-74.

Woodford's rejection of Christ as a carpenter continues through an examination of how one should categorize and prioritize Christ's temporal life. If one understands the 'perfect life' to be that actually lived by Christ, which was FitzRalph's understanding, Woodford conjectures that a Christian would therefore follow Jewish customs and ceremonies, not those promoted by the Church.¹⁰²⁰ Bartholomew of Bolsenheim had similarly framed the archbishop's presentation of Christ as an invitation to Judaize.¹⁰²¹

Did Christ Beg or Teach Begging?

As the previous section demonstrated, Woodford is clear in the *Defensorium* that Christ did not labour manually. This section considers his counter-argument that Christ rather practiced mendicancy. Woodford begins by summing up book VIII's argument about Christ:

*Christ never wilfully begged because begging is the involuntary consequence of great need, and leads to stealing; that the New Testament contains no sign of begging but does provide evidence of labour; and finally, that Christ would have been forbidden from begging because of declarations made in the Old Testament.*¹⁰²²

Woodford emphasizes FitzRalph's point that had Christ begged, he would have taught others to do so.¹⁰²³ Woodford's response grounds his evidence of Christ's wilful begging in the 'authority' of many doctors who confirm it.¹⁰²⁴

Christ's behaviour, which FitzRalph had located in the Gospels, is understood by Woodford 'according to Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Bernard, and other doctors'.¹⁰²⁵ Woodford uses pseudo-Bernard's assertion that the boy Christ begged in the temple, so carefully

¹⁰²⁰ 'Si igitur sit verum generaliter per actus suos Christus vite et perfectionis viam nobis ostendit sequitur quod quilibet perfectus Christianus conformiter Christo debet iudaizare'. MS 75, fols 137^{rb}-137^{va}.

¹⁰²¹ (Meersseman, La défense des ordres mendiants contre Richard Fitz Ralph, par Barthélemy de Bolsenheim O. P. (1357)), pp. 143-4.

¹⁰²² MS 75, fols 28^{rb}-28^{va}.

¹⁰²³ 'Si ergo formaliter sequitur Christus spontanee mendicavit ergo docuit alios sic facere'. MS 75, fol. 101^{ra}. See also fol. 95^{va}.

¹⁰²⁴ MS 75, fol. 88^{rb}.

¹⁰²⁵ MS 75, fol. 131^{rb}.

deconstructed by FitzRalph, to affirm that Christ begged and freely wished to.¹⁰²⁶ He does not take the time to engage with FitzRalph's explanation of four ways one might speak expositively.

David Knowles and Dmitri Obolensky had suggested that mendicants 'brought back to the Christian consciousness the earthly life of Christ'.¹⁰²⁷ Yet Woodford does not focus on Christ's earthly life as set out in the Bible. Where FitzRalph builds a scripturally-grounded portrait to demonstrate that Christ did not, and could not, beg, Woodford locates evidence in those 'sermons and deeds', which 'seem to confirm that Christ and his apostles regularly observed mendicancy, and this type of mendicancy can be observed in the teaching of the Gospels and which is contained in the Rule of the Friars'.¹⁰²⁸ As he puts it, there are many other acts of Christ and works of Christ which are shown in various other documents.¹⁰²⁹

Woodford affirms that Christ counselled the peak of perfection, so it is heresy to say otherwise, adding this would be contrary to Jerome.¹⁰³⁰ He sees the 'height of highest poverty' in Christ's choice of poverty.¹⁰³¹ Highest poverty itself is explained by various decretals which show that the Franciscan Rule follows the example of Christ.¹⁰³² Here we see the circular logic Woodford employs to identify and validate his mendicant Christ.

Where Bonaventure saw a problem in the lack of a biblical account of Christ begging, Woodford seems unconcerned.¹⁰³³ He locates proof of Christ's mendicancy in *Exiit's* endorsement

¹⁰²⁶ 'Igitur Christus mendicavit et voluntarie voluit'. MS 75, fol. 125^{ra}.

¹⁰²⁷ Knowles, D. and Obolensky, D. *The Christian Centuries: The Middle Ages* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972), p. 345.

¹⁰²⁸ 'que confirmatur videtur quod Christus et eius apostoli mendicitatis regulam observabant et quod mendicitas observanda in evangelio doceatur ex quo in fratrum regula continetur'. MS 75, fol. 127^{rb}.

¹⁰²⁹ 'Et sic de multis aliis actibus Christi ut in tractatu de conformitate ad opera Christi alias ostendi diffuse'. MS 75, fol. 152^{ra}.

¹⁰³⁰ MS 75, fol. 122^{rb}.

¹⁰³¹ MS 75, fol. 127^{vb}. (2 Corinthians 8:9)

¹⁰³² 'ita quod per altissimam paupertatem intendit paupertatem mendicatinam et hoc expremunt decretales diverse ex quo igitur ponit quod principiam consilia regule roborantur Christi exemplo et fundantur evangelico'. MS 75, fol. 127^{vb}.

¹⁰³³ See fn. 323.

of the Franciscan Rule.¹⁰³⁴ He positions the foundation for the Gospel life of Christ in the Rule.¹⁰³⁵ In his earlier *Responsiones*, he had replied to his imaginary lollard interlocutors by affirming that the perfect 'Rule of Christ' was the Franciscan Rule.¹⁰³⁶

FitzRalph argues that friars disguise (*compingitur*) what Christ actually did.¹⁰³⁷

Woodford's response affirms that begging can be verified in the person of Christ (*verificatur de persona de Christi*), as is clear through the Acts of the Apostles and the writings of doctors.¹⁰³⁸

Early in the *Defensorium* he even figures Christ as a spiritual beggar.¹⁰³⁹

Yet notwithstanding this preference for using extra-scriptural sources for Christ, biblical details are sometimes used by Woodford. He illustrates the neediness of Christ with the scriptural story of Christ and his followers stripping grains of corn from a field to assuage their hunger, in contravention of the Sabbath laws.¹⁰⁴⁰ Alongside this sentence in the manuscript, a marginal '*nota*' has been added.

FitzRalph fleshes out his picture of the anthropological Christ from the principle of Acts 1:1, highlighting that Luke was writing to Theophilus, from the perspective of standpoint epistemology, and describing 'all that Christ began to do or teach'. Woodford hypothesizes another way Theophilus 'saw' what Christ did and taught. He quotes the account of Christ sending out the seventy-two, concluding: 'therefore Theophilus understood that voluntary begging was taught by Christ and instituted by the disciples'.¹⁰⁴¹

¹⁰³⁴ See fn. 793. See also MS 75, fols 45^{rb} and 70^{ra}. For the relevant section of *Exiit*, see (Gay and Vitte, *Les registres de Nicolas III (1277-1280)*), p. 232.

¹⁰³⁵ MS 75, fols 127^{vb}-128^{ra}.

¹⁰³⁶ '*Et regula beati Francisci est illa quam Christus fecit secundum quam me regulo*'. (Doyle, William Woodford, *His Life and works together with a study and edition of his Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), p. 123, see also p. 101.

¹⁰³⁷ MS 180, fol. 118^{vb}.

¹⁰³⁸ MS 75, fol. 90th.

¹⁰³⁹ MS 75, fol. 22^{vb}.

¹⁰⁴⁰ MS 75, fol. 147^{va}. (Matthew 12:1-2)

¹⁰⁴¹ '*sentiebat ergo theophilus quod spontanea mendicione fuit a Christo edocta et discipulis instituta*'. MS 75, fol. 93th.

FitzRalph relies heavily on Augustine and John Chrysostom in his version of the story of Christ and the Samaritan woman. Woodford's explanation of the episode does not include secondary sources, drawing solely from the scriptural narrative. Woodford finds it easy to position Christ's request of the Samaritan woman as an act of begging, without needing to resort to a gloss or secondary authority, explaining that he was tired and weary from much walking.¹⁰⁴² This is a surprising reversal of the preferred hermeneutic of each theologian. In this instance FitzRalph is the one resorting to secondary sources for an authoritative interpretation, while Woodford grounds his explanation in the scriptural narrative, drawing attention to the lack of interpretation, and foregrounding the unadorned Gospel prose.¹⁰⁴³

Woodford's approach to the encounter between Christ and Zaccheus, however, is different, containing embellishments to the scriptural story. Since the biblical narrative here does not provide a natural context for begging to be inferred, Woodford inserts his own detail. Bonaventure had argued the Gospel 'explicitly' states that Christ had begged water from the Samaritan woman and hospitality from Zaccheus: '*Evangelium etiam exprimit, quod petiit et potum et hospitium*'.¹⁰⁴⁴ Woodford clearly feels that the Gospel account needs some reinforcement. He adds his own context; Christ was desperate and weary from a day of preaching, looking fruitlessly around for someone to offer him hospitality:

*At no time at the time of his public ministry was Christ more greatly honoured than in the day of Palms before his passion. It was almost night and no one in the whole city wanted to offer him hospitality.*¹⁰⁴⁵

None of these details are found in scripture, neither does Woodford cite a secondary source.¹⁰⁴⁶

¹⁰⁴² MS 75, fols 108^{va}-109^{rb}.

¹⁰⁴³ '*circumstantia textus evangelii...ex verbum evangelii*'. MS 75, fol. 109^{ra}.

¹⁰⁴⁴ (Bonaventure, Opera Omnia V), p. 150.

¹⁰⁴⁵ '*Numquam tempore predicantis sue fuit Christus magis honoratus quam in die palmarum ante passionem suam. Et tunc versus noctem nullus in tota illa civitate voluit eum hospiticio recipere*'. MS 75, fol. 107^{rb}.

¹⁰⁴⁶ See fn. 841.

Woodford adds the detail to the story of Christ's visit to the home of Mary and Martha, that Christ did not carry money, which was why he needed to go to their home to receive essential resources.¹⁰⁴⁷ Bonaventure had inferred from Bede's gloss of this visit a form of 'proof' that Christ 'lived in extreme poverty'.¹⁰⁴⁸ Woodford here cites neither Bonaventure nor Bede, but simply presents his preferred version of the story as if it were the universally-accepted one. In this way we see him deploying a form of 'strategic ornamentation', which Matthew Kempshall has discussed as a feature of the medieval writing of *historia*.¹⁰⁴⁹

Woodford finds an account of Christ teaching begging in the biblical story of the widow's mite.¹⁰⁵⁰ FitzRalph had rationalized the story another way, by explaining the widow would have had her own reserve of supplies, so she did not need to beg, as to have given literally everything would tempt God. Woodford foregrounds FitzRalph's novel explanation of self-sufficiency, noting it contains no reference to a secondary authority for validation.¹⁰⁵¹ He adds that the widow's circumstances are not known to us (*est nobis ignotum*).¹⁰⁵²

Woodford offers his own explanation to the story; it points to Christ's encounter with the Rich Young Ruler, where Christ had instructed the man to sell everything and give to the poor, and afterwards to trust in the promises of Christ.¹⁰⁵³ Woodford continues that if the widow had subsequently laboured to acquire for herself the necessities for life, her act of generosity would not have been authentic.¹⁰⁵⁴ It is worth noting that Woodford does not refer to secondary

¹⁰⁴⁷ *Iterum verisimile est quod Christus non habuit pro se vel suis pecuniam in oculis Die Palmarum quam post divinam predicationem vespere circumspexit si quis eum hospicio reciperet et nullus eum recipit. Et ideo coactus exivit civitatem ad domum Marie et Marthe si tunc pecuniam pro se et suis habuisset in oculis satis invenisset hospicia in civitate tam magna*. MS 75, fols 106^{ra}-106^{rb}. (Luke 10:38-42; Luke 19:1-10). Hervaeus Natalis similarly argued that Christ and the apostles would not have 'accepted expenses from the women' if they already had something personally. (Jones, Hervaeus, Natalis: *The Poverty of Christ and the Apostles*), p 95, also p. 111. For Bonaventure's discussions of Christ and the money bag, see (Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia VIII*), pp. 283-6.

¹⁰⁴⁸ (Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia VIII*) p. 274. Bede's gloss on this text is found in CCSL cxx, p. 576.

¹⁰⁴⁹ (Kempshall, *Rhetoric and the Writing of History, 400-1500*), p. 351.

¹⁰⁵⁰ (Mark 12:41-44; Luke 21:1-4)

¹⁰⁵¹ *hoc dicere et non ex auctoritate alia*. MS 75, fol. 163^{va}.

¹⁰⁵² MS 75, fol. 164^{rb}.

¹⁰⁵³ *et post sperat firmiter in illo Christi promisso*. MS 75, fol. 163^{vb}.

¹⁰⁵⁴ *non sit auctenticum*. MS 75, fol. 164^{ra}.

authorities, and is circumspect when speculating whether the widow's act would have turned her into an beggar, conceding that if she did, she would have been a beggar according to the common manner, and not a 'true beggar' in the manner of the friars.¹⁰⁵⁵ Just as Lazarus was deemed an inferior type of beggar to the wilful and holy beggars, here the widow would be placed in the subordinate category if her temple offering had led to her begging.

Aquinas had discussed the widow's story in his sole *quaestio* on almsgiving in the *Summa Theologiae*, framing the widow not as someone who became a beggar by her gift, but who 'gave more in proportion; and thus we gather that the fervor of her charity, whence corporal almsdeeds derive their spiritual efficacy, was greater'.¹⁰⁵⁶ This response, as Woodford's does, reflects a mendicant reluctance to promote begging when undertaken by the laity. Woodford uses the story to prove that Christ taught begging, but both he and Aquinas conclude he did not teach the widow to beg.

Evangelical Perfection and the Imitation of Christ

FitzRalph's portrait of Christ is grounded in the concept of imitation, based on the biography of Christ within the scriptures. Woodford argues the perfect life cannot be understood solely as attempting to imitate the historical Christ, since 'there are many perfect works which Christ never did'.¹⁰⁵⁷ Examples he gives of this post-scriptural perfection are the life of an anchorite, or even praying the *Paternoster*. Christ was not able to make the sign of the cross or to bless someone in the name of the Father.¹⁰⁵⁸ Among other examples of perfect behaviour which Christ did not perform were the sacrament of baptism or praying redemptive prayers, saying Mass at a stone altar, and performing the regular fasts and celebratory feasts which make up the

¹⁰⁵⁵ MS 75, fol. 164^{rb}. St Bonaventure is less circumspect when praising the renunciation of the widow, referring to the story in his *Disputed Questions on Evangelical Perfection*, where he praises the poor widow for her act. (Bonaventure, Opera Omnia V), p. 125.

¹⁰⁵⁶ ST, II-II, q.32, a.4. MS 75, fol. 164^{rb}.

¹⁰⁵⁷ 'valde multis operibus perfectis quorum consimilia Christus numquam fecit'. MS 75, fol. 152^{va}.

¹⁰⁵⁸ MS 75, fols 152^{ra}-152^{rb}.

Church calendar.¹⁰⁵⁹ Furthermore, Christ was never able to pray in the name of the Trinity.¹⁰⁶⁰ We see in Woodford's portrait the supremacy of a Christ filtered through the doctrinal and devotional practices of the late medieval Church, not through the biblical narrative.¹⁰⁶¹ Bartholomew of Bolsenheim had pursued a similar line of argument when stressing that since neither Paul nor Christ married, they could not follow New Testament instructions on how husbands and wives should behave.¹⁰⁶²

Woodford responds that if perfection could be found in following Christ literally, neither prelates, nor endowed monks or canons could affirm they were following him correctly.¹⁰⁶³ His alternative hermeneutic declares it unwise to attempt to imitate Christ, as one would be attempting erroneously to replicate all of his actions, including the deliverance of Mary Magdalen from the demons, or the cursing of the fig tree, or the drowning of the herd of Gadarene swine in the lake, or even the redemption of the human race.¹⁰⁶⁴ He adds that if Christ had taught the simple and unlettered (*illiteratos*) through his works (*Christus suo opera docuit*), then the drowning of pigs and the cursing of fig trees would follow.¹⁰⁶⁵ He concludes it is mendacious for bishops to argue they are imitating Christ, or even that they attempt to, rhetorically asking whether bishops are crucified on a cross.¹⁰⁶⁶

¹⁰⁵⁹ This argument undermining the authority of the biblical Christ is also made in Woodford's *Responsiones*, see (Doyle, William Woodford, *His Life and works together with a study and edition of his Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), p. 136. For a summary of the importance of the Divine Office and the liturgical calendar to the medieval church, see Swanson, R. N. *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215-c. 1515* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 92-102.

¹⁰⁶⁰ MS 75, fol. 152^{ra}.

¹⁰⁶¹ Robert Swanson writes: 'the primacy of the mass and Christ in late medieval religion is well shown by the increasing number of feasts and devotions centred precisely on Christ and the Eucharist'. (Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215-c. 1515*), p. 142.

¹⁰⁶² (Meersseman, *La défense des ordres mendiants contre Richard Fitz Ralph, par Barthélemy de Bolsenheim O. P. (1357)*), pp. 149, 153.

¹⁰⁶³ MS 75, fol. 137^{va}.

¹⁰⁶⁴ MS 75, fols 151^{va} and 101^{ra}.

¹⁰⁶⁵ MS 75, fol. 101^{ra}.

¹⁰⁶⁶ MS 75, fol. 114^{va}. This argument is interesting when put in the context of Francis' attempts to imitate Christ precisely, according to his hagiographers.

Woodford expands upon his argument against imitation of Christ, working to neutralize FitzRalph's accusation of mendicant hypocrisy, through a study of the encounter between the resurrected Christ and Mary Magdalen in the garden, where Mary mistook Christ for the gardener.¹⁰⁶⁷ He concludes that if appearing to beg but not actually begging is mendacious, as FitzRalph had argued, then Christ appearing as a gardener to Mary was an equally mendacious act, since Christ was not actually the gardener.¹⁰⁶⁸ Woodford continues that the disciples appeared to be pilgrims but were not actually pilgrims, and that to the Apostle Thomas the wounds of the passion did not initially appear to be actual wounds.¹⁰⁶⁹

Woodford continues this line of argument by explaining that within stories (*historiis*), saints have seen Christ afflicted with leprosy, and have seen him being crucified anew after the Ascension within their own visions. Christ was not literally afflicted with leprosy nor was he literally in the act of being crucified on these occasions, yet Christ should not be deemed a hypocrite on account of the 'evidence' afforded by these episodes. People can appear to be beggars whilst not undertaking the act of begging, just as angels can appear in the guise of men and not actually be men.¹⁰⁷⁰ Here we see Woodford's response to the accusation that mendicant friars are hypocrites for begging while they have material resources.

Woodford frequently positions FitzRalph's biographical portrait of Christ as advocating judaizing.¹⁰⁷¹ Woodford is more comfortable finding the scriptural Christ in christological

¹⁰⁶⁷ (John 20:11-18)

¹⁰⁶⁸ MS 75, fol. 96^{ra}. A similar argument is made in Bartholomew of Bolsenheim's response to FitzRalph, though the Dominican also referred to Christ encountering the disciples on the road to Emmaus, and then disappearing. See (Meersseman, *La défense des ordres mendiants contre Richard Fitz Ralph, par Barthélemy de Bolsenheim O. P. (1357)*), p. 158.

¹⁰⁶⁹ MS 75, fol. 96^{ra}.

¹⁰⁷⁰ '*et in historiis sanctorum habetur quod aliquibus Christus apparuit in specie leprosi non existens leprosus post ascencionem in celum aliquibus in specie crucifixi non crucifixus existens et tunc propter ita non fuit Christus ypocrita illa poterat apparere mendicus et non esse mendicus quamvis non esset ypocrita sicut angeli apparuerunt homines non homines existens et tunc non erant angeli ypocrite deficit ergo argumentum unde quaque*'. MS 75, fol. 96^{ra}.

¹⁰⁷¹ For example, MS 75, fol. 118^{vb}.

readings of the Psalms, and in understandings built from the lives of the saints, than in the four Gospel accounts of his life.

To what degree could FitzRalph's hermeneutic be portrayed as promoting Christ as a Jew? FitzRalph's autobiographical prayer indicates that he took the traditional view of Jewish doctrine as being erroneous.¹⁰⁷² He also discussed christological readings of Old Testament passages in book III of the *Summa*.¹⁰⁷³ In *Defensio curatorum*, he criticized those 'lyers' who reject the givings of tithes and offerings to parish clergy on the grounds that they are 'cerymonyes of Jewes'.¹⁰⁷⁴ In book VIII FitzRalph does not refer to Jews, or recognize that references to the biblical Christ might carry associations of judaizing.

Yet Woodford's main response to FitzRalph's depiction of Christ in book VIII, is that the scriptural Christ was Jewish and lived a Jewish life, a manner of life forbidden for Christians. This argument was used in his earlier *Quattuor Determinationes* to validate new Franciscan understandings of Christ.¹⁰⁷⁵ In the *Defensorium*, Woodford observes that Christ participated in Jewish ceremonies, such as being circumcised, and yet the Apostle Paul forbade the following of Jewish customs.¹⁰⁷⁶ The response to FitzRalph's framing of Christ as a High Priest is that he was a priest in the Jewish manner, and therefore this sense cannot be transmitted to Catholic clergy now.¹⁰⁷⁷ A similar response to FitzRalph's biblical portrait of Christ can be seen in Bartholomew

¹⁰⁷² FitzRalph refers to 'pertinacious Jews' in his Autobiographical prayer. (Hammerich, *The Beginning of the Strife between Richard FitzRalph and the Mendicants, with an Edition of his Autobiographical Prayer and his Proposition Unusquisque*), p. 20.

¹⁰⁷³ For the *Summa*, and FitzRalph's possible Jewish sources, see (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), pp. 158-60.

¹⁰⁷⁴ (Perry, John Trevisa: '*Dialogus inter militem et clericum*', Richard FitzRalph's sermon '*Defensio curatorum*', and, Methodius: '*þe bygynnyng of þe world and þe ende of worldes*'), p. 54.

¹⁰⁷⁵ 'For Woodford, there is no such early state of perfection, for even the religion which Christ practised, tained as it was with Judaic customs, is no longer appropriate for us.' (Ghosh, *The Wycliffite Heresy: Authority and the Interpretation of Texts*), p. 82.

¹⁰⁷⁶ MS 75, fol. 137^{rb}.

¹⁰⁷⁷ MS 75, fol. 97^{vb}.

of Bolsenheim's tract, where he also emphasized that Christ was circumcised, and that Melchisidek was a High Priest in the Jewish manner.¹⁰⁷⁸

Historians have written on mendicant antisemitism, and various reasons for its emergence have been offered.¹⁰⁷⁹ One claim perceives it to be a push towards Christian unity.¹⁰⁸⁰ Yet Woodford and Bartholomew reveal another motivation at work. Both Franciscan and Dominican theologian use the argument that the biblical Christ was Jewish, and thus somehow doctrinally obsolete, to neutralize arguments that the biblical Christ did not beg, and to validate extra-scriptural locatings of the mendicant Christ.

Bonaventure had argued that biblical criticisms of begging, such as the prohibition on the existence of beggars in Deuteronomy 15:4, were not relevant when considering the mendicancy of Christ.¹⁰⁸¹ Woodford takes a different tack. His response to FitzRalph's accusation that Christ could not beg because he would have been obliged to obey Deuteronomy 15:4 is to look ahead to Deuteronomy 15:11: *'There will always be poor people in the land. Therefore I command you to be open-handed towards your brothers and towards the poor and needy in your land'*.¹⁰⁸² Woodford adds a christological interpretation to the second verse, identifying Christ and the apostles as the 'needy and poor brothers living in the land'.¹⁰⁸³ This place is also a rare occasion in

¹⁰⁷⁸ (Meersseman, *La défense des ordres mendiants contre Richard Fitz Ralph*, par Barthélemy de Bolsenheim O. P. (1357)), pp. 143, 152-3.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Robert Swanson notes by 1200 it was still being argued that the conversion of Jews should not be attempted. (Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215-c. 1515*), p. 278. Rebecca Rist states: 'by the end of the thirteenth century rabble-rousing sermons of the friars were encouraging hysterical anti-Jewish feeling in many parts of Europe'. (Rist, *Popes and Jews, 1095-1291*), p. 218.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Jeremy Cohen suggests: 'the brunt of the friars' attack upon the Jews came...in concerted efforts usually undertaken with some degree of official sanction: in inquisitorial and missionary campaigns that expressed a basically new Christian polemical attitude towards medieval Jews and Judaism'. He continues: 'the attack of these friars on the Jews might well be understood, therefore, as deriving from the overriding concern for Christian unity during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries'. Cohen, J. *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), pp. 44, 264.

¹⁰⁸¹ (Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia VIII*), pp. 324-30, 342. See also Bonaventure's *Expositio super regulam Fratrum Minorum* in the same volume, pp. 423-4. The verse in the Vulgate reads *'Et omnino indigens et mendicus non erit inter vos'*.

¹⁰⁸² From the Vulgate: *'Non deerunt pauperes in terra habitationis tuae idcirco ego praecipio tibi ut aperias manum fratri tuo egeno et pauperi qui tecum versatur in terra'*.

¹⁰⁸³ MS 75, fol. 78^{vb}.

the *Defensorium* where Woodford quotes a full scriptural verse, rather than citing a book's title and chapter.

Woodford's interpretation is not derived from secondary authorities. The *Gloss* links Deuteronomy 15:4 to Acts 4:34, where need was alleviated by mutual sharing of resources.¹⁰⁸⁴ Bonaventure explained that the verse: 'was not given against the begging of the poor, but the stinginess of the rich'.¹⁰⁸⁵ Nicholas of Lyra glossed it as 'multiplying yourself in temporal and spiritual goods'.¹⁰⁸⁶ Looking at the second verse used by Woodford, Bonaventure explained Deuteronomy 15:11 as being 'given to well-off bishops to provide for their poor clerics, especially those who were driven to destitution against their will'.¹⁰⁸⁷ The *Gloss* does not give a christological interpretation to the verse, neither does Nicholas, who discusses the apparent contradiction between verses 15:4 and 15:11.¹⁰⁸⁸ Nicholas seems to be positioning poverty in a manner rather like FitzRalph does, as something to be alleviated. Woodford's alternative understanding of Deuteronomy 15:11 to signifying a poor and needy Christ seems original, a point underscored by the absence of a corroborating secondary source.

FitzRalph works in book VIII to expose the absence of logic in a purely Christological reading of Psalm 39, an argument Woodford attempts to sum up before beginning his rebuttal.¹⁰⁸⁹ Woodford cites Nicholas of Lyra's explanation, that there are two rules for understanding the psalm, one for Christ in his own person, and one for Christ representing the body of the

¹⁰⁸⁴ (Strabus, *Bibliorum Sacrorum cum Glossa Ordinaria*), i, p. 1543.

¹⁰⁸⁵ '*non est data contra mendicitatem pauperum, sed contra tenacitatem divitum*'. (Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia* V), p. 145.

¹⁰⁸⁶ '*Multiplicando te in bonis temporalibus et spiritualibus*'. (Strabus, *Bibliorum Sacrorum cum Glossa Ordinaria*) i, p. 1544.

¹⁰⁸⁷ '*et haec datur episcopis abundantibus ad sustentationem pauperum clericorum*'. (Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia* V), p. 145.

¹⁰⁸⁸ '*Non est contrarium ei quod supradictum est: 'Omnino indigens et mendiscu non erit inter vos', quia ibi loquitur de mendicante publice, quod non debebant Iudei permittere, ut dictum est. Hic autem loquitur de paupere, qui de suis facultatibus non potest couenienter sustentari, & ideo indigent per accommodationem ab aliis auxiliarii*'. (Strabus, *Bibliorum Sacrorum cum Glossa Ordinaria*) i. pp. 1545-6.

¹⁰⁸⁹ '*Et nititur ostendere quod per illas auctoritates probari non potest Christum spontanee fuisse mendicum*'. MS 75, fol. 110^{ra}.

Church.¹⁰⁹⁰ FitzRalph had made a similar argument in book VIII, without referring to Nicholas. Yet Woodford deviates from Nicholas's position, locating the psalm purely as evidence of the neediness of Christ in his own person.¹⁰⁹¹

FitzRalph positions neediness as a narrowly socio-economic state, one which Christ would not have welcomed. One extrapolation Woodford makes from this framing is as follows: 'out of this mode of arguing it follows firstly that Christ never voluntarily elected (*elegit*) to suffer persecution (*pati persecutionem*)'.¹⁰⁹²

Throughout the *Defensorium* Woodford conceptualizes an alternative type of neediness to that posited by FitzRalph, namely a holy state exemplified in the crucifixion. This gives him a theological platform from which to rationalize that Christ wilfully begged.¹⁰⁹³ In the light of his supreme act on the cross, all the other actions of Christ can be perceived to encompass or exhibit a type of neediness or suffering.¹⁰⁹⁴ Woodford finds proof that Christ's begging was wilful in the argument that Christ voluntarily hung on the cross.¹⁰⁹⁵

While extreme, and designed for rhetorical effect, the argument does highlight a valid question--which *De pauperie Salvatoris* fails to address--namely how does one select which aspects of Christ's life to strive to imitate? Woodford is, in essence, drawing attention to an aspect of FitzRalph's rationale against mendicancy, which itself lacks logical rigour. Woodford took an even more direct approach over this issue when writing against John Wyclif's *De Dominio Civili*

¹⁰⁹⁰ 'Unam quod propter connexionem capitis Christi cum corpore ecclesiam'. MS 75, fol. 110^{ra}. See (Strabus, *Bibliorum Sacrorum cum Glossa Ordinaria*), ii, p. 709.

¹⁰⁹¹ MS 75, fol. 110^{ra}.

¹⁰⁹² MS 75, fol. 104^{va}.

¹⁰⁹³ 'et sicut dubio spontanee sic mendicus sicut spontanee crucifixus et mortuus'. MS 75, fol. 90^{rb}, see also fol. 84^{va}.

¹⁰⁹⁴ 'Eque enim contigit mendicare signis sicut verbis ex Christus modo circumspiciendi in illam et in illam oportet quod peccat hospicium intintu pietatis pro se et suis indigentibus pro tunc hospitio et ideo roboratis potest dici quod tunc mendicavit et maius probatis potest hoc dici quam eius oppositum'. MS 75, fol. 90^{va}.

¹⁰⁹⁵ MS 75, fol. 123^{ra}.

Cleriorum, where he: 'directly confronts Wyclif with the question of which evangelical counsels are to be observed literally and which are not to be so observed'.¹⁰⁹⁶

St Francis of Assisi, the Rule and the Testament

This section considers Woodford's positioning of St Francis of Assisi in the *Defensorium*. FitzRalph uses the Rule and Testament of Francis to attack Franciscan practice, asserting that Francis did not beg, nor advocate begging except in exceptional circumstances. An accusation of Franciscan disobedience was prominent in the *Defensio curatorum*.¹⁰⁹⁷ The charge is less overt in book VIII, but remains sufficiently potent for Woodford to respond early in the *Defensorium*.¹⁰⁹⁸

Woodford declares that FitzRalph has written two falsehoods about Francis. The first is that the kind of mendicancy undertaken by the saint was forbidden in the Bible.¹⁰⁹⁹ The second is whether Francis was a member of the laity or ordained, an issue about which, as chapter two noted, a variety of opinions exist.¹¹⁰⁰ Woodford dismisses FitzRalph's positioning of him as a layman, affirming Francis was a deacon, eminent in preaching the word of God.¹¹⁰¹ Pecham had also affirmed that Francis was ordained a deacon, noting it was the saint's humility which prevented him from seeking higher office.¹¹⁰²

Woodford addresses FitzRalph's claim that Franciscans transgress the Rule because they ought always to be poor.¹¹⁰³ The examples of wrongdoing given by FitzRalph, he notes, are that friars decorate their cloisters, build bell-towers, and have books.¹¹⁰⁴ Woodford cites the papal bull

¹⁰⁹⁶ (Doyle, William Woodford's *De dominio civili clericorum* against John Wyclif), p. 69.

¹⁰⁹⁷ See for example (Perry, John Trevisa: *Dialogus inter militem et clericum*), Richard FitzRalph's sermon *'Defensio curatorum'*, and, Methodius: *'þe bygynnyng of þe world and þe ende of worldes'*), p. 39.

¹⁰⁹⁸ MS 75, fol. 5^{vb}.

¹⁰⁹⁹ MS 75, fol. 162^{va}.

¹¹⁰⁰ MS 180, fol. 126^{rb}.

¹¹⁰¹ *'Quia pro tempore quo illam observavit fuit diaconus et egregius predicator verbi dei et in multis tangentibus sacram scripturam a deo spiritualiter inspiratus'*. MS 75, fol. 162^{va}.

¹¹⁰² As quoted in (Robson, St. Francis of Assisi: The Legend and the Life), p. 77.

¹¹⁰³ *'quod fratres minores sunt transgressores regule per hoc quod regula Francisci precipit quod in actibus fratrum semper paupertas'*. MS 75, fol. 58^{va}.

¹¹⁰⁴ MS 75, fol. 58^{va}.

Exivi de Paradyso, which permitted friars to have magnificent buildings.¹¹⁰⁵ FitzRalph emphasizes that friars should work, citing sections of the Testament as proof.¹¹⁰⁶ Woodford's response notes that friars procured from Pope Alexander IV a dispensation against work, to fight heresy for the sake of the Catholic truth.¹¹⁰⁷ Just as Bonaventure mobilized what one scholar termed the 'logic of preaching' to circumvent Francis' opposition to books and education, so Woodford applies a form of 'logic' derived from the threat of heresy, to legitimize mendicant scholarship.¹¹⁰⁸

Woodford has to address FitzRalph's positioning of the Testament on equal footing to the Rule. Early in the *Defensorium* he situates the Testament authoritatively, quoting it to affirm friaries can be great, since they are a dwelling place for the poor (*habitacula paupercola*).¹¹⁰⁹ Shortly afterwards, however, he declares the Testament is not an indispensable document according to Pope Gregory IX.¹¹¹⁰ This uneasy treatment of the text continues throughout the *Defensorium*.

Woodford's response to VIII:15 deals entirely with the Testament.¹¹¹¹ He explains that Gregory IX spoke in doubt of the text, declaring that Franciscans were not obliged to follow it.¹¹¹² Woodford's method of rationalization is to stress that Francis taught obedience to the Roman Church, thus implicitly legitimizing the Church to determine where there was doubt (*dubia*) about the Testament.¹¹¹³ He argues it is wrong to validate Francis' admonition in the Testament, not to

¹¹⁰⁵ '*non prohibetur nisi excessivi multitudo et magnitudo edificatorum*'. MS 75, fol. 58^{vb}.

¹¹⁰⁶ MS 75, fol. 58^{vb}.

¹¹⁰⁷ MS 75, fol. 58^{vb}.

¹¹⁰⁸ See (Hughes, *Bonaventure's Defense of Mendicancy*), p. 511.

¹¹⁰⁹ MS 75, fol. 5^{va}.

¹¹¹⁰ MS 75, fol. 5^{vb}.

¹¹¹¹ MS 75, fols 59^{rb}-60^{va}.

¹¹¹² '*dubie loquentur de itero testamento...et ideo Dominus Gregory IX declaravit fratres minores ad illud testamentum non esse obligatos*'. MS 75, fol. 56^{rb}.

¹¹¹³ MS 75, fol. 56^{va}.

seek things from the papacy, on the grounds that the saint himself had sought things from popes.¹¹¹⁴

Another reason the Testament should not be equated with the Rule, according to Woodford, is that the requirements of the Testament were specific to Francis, and not generally for his followers.¹¹¹⁵ The Testament's own framing of the Rule as a revelation received from God, is used by Woodford to infer that Franciscans need only follow the former text.¹¹¹⁶

He situates the Testament as an inferior document to the Rule, to be positioned alongside other declarations made by Francis, noting Francis preached to many friars and prelates, and to members of other orders. Yet this argument leads to far more serious charge. Woodford gives the volume of the saint's output over the course of his ministry as the reason the Testament has not been authenticated as deriving from the saint himself.¹¹¹⁷

Woodford suggests Francis might not be the author of the Testament.¹¹¹⁸ He questions the authenticity of the Testament again near the end of the *Defensorium*, citing Francis' reference to manual labour as sufficient reason to doubt its legitimacy. He grounds his hypothesis on subsequent affirmations given by popes Gregory IX and Nicholas III concerning mendicancy.¹¹¹⁹

The *Defensorium* provides evidence of Woodford's attempts to navigate the complicated paradox surrounding the historic Francis, revealing himself to be an early contributor to what has become known as the 'Franciscan Question'.¹¹²⁰ Woodford's rationalizations exemplify the painful

¹¹¹⁴ 'Et ipsem prior Sanctus Franciscus peccit liberas a sede apostolica nam potest peccit appropriationem regule a sede apostolica et habuit illiam sub bulla'. MS 75, fol. 56^{va}.

¹¹¹⁵ 'Ut patet testamentum consideranti'. MS 75, fol. 59^{vb}.

¹¹¹⁶ MS 75, fols 60^{rb}-60^{va}.

¹¹¹⁷ 'istud causam de testamento fundatur super non auctentico'. MS 75, fol. 59^{va}.

¹¹¹⁸ 'est doctum quod non est auctenticum Sanctum Franciscum tale condidisse testamentum'. MS 75, fol. 59^{va}.

¹¹¹⁹ 'pro verbo testamenti Sancti Francisci de laboricio manuali quod dubium est an sanctus Franciscus fecerit tale testamentum propter motivam superius posita quod certum est fratres minores ad illud non esse obligatos quia hoc diffinitum est per gregorium novum et Nicholium tertium et ideo hoc verbum testamenti nichil concludit contra fratres minores modo predicto mendicantes'. MS 75, fol. 172^{rb}.

¹¹²⁰ This controversy is known as the "Franciscan Question" (*Quaestio Franciscana*), and it remains to this day not fully resolved...The "Franciscan Question" is about which sources give the most accurate and reliable

ongoing negotiation between elevating of the person and saintliness of Francis, while simultaneously undermining the authority of the Testament, a text Francis composed and promoted.¹¹²¹

Arguments similar to Woodford's, questioning the authenticity of the Testament, a document now universally recognized as produced by the saint, were repeated until the late nineteenth-century, according to J.A. Wayne Hellmann.¹¹²² Hellmann and David Flood each wrote recent articles discussing the historiography of the Testament, yet neither draws upon medieval Franciscan observations about the document.¹¹²³ Woodford's suspicion about the authenticity of the Testament, and his positioning of it as a different type of document to the Rule, while also drawing upon it to construct his defense of mendicancy, give a valuable contemporary example of the paradoxical Franciscan attitude towards this controversial text.

Friars and Society

This section will consider how and where Woodford perceives the place of friars to be within the wider community, a topic still considered by Franciscan scholars to need further research. Observing areas where the history 'has not been studied homogeneously', Şenocak note: 'topics remain underexamined—for example, the interaction of the Franciscans with urban society, their relationship with the local clergy'.¹¹²⁴ While there is fresh research being undertaken on late medieval parish communities, Katherine French still warns: 'in a sense, current understanding of the late medieval parish is the creation of Reformation scholars'.¹¹²⁵ The notion

picture of Francis and early Franciscan life'. (Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect: the Rise of Learning in the Franciscan Order, 1209-1310*), p. 8.

¹¹²¹ 'Franciscan hermeneutics, therefore, is founded on a disavowal of interpretation that is itself hermeneutic: Francis's intentions are clear but are judged not to be the true meaning of the text'. Walling, A., 'Friar Flatterer: Glossing and the Hermeneutics of Flattery in *Piers Plowman*', *Yearbook of Langland Studies*, 21 (2007), 57-76, p. 60.

¹¹²² Hellman wrote: 'there were a few scholars who doubted not the existence of the text of *The Testament* but rather its authenticity. They asked...could the form that has been passed down not be a gathering of some of Francis's earlier sayings'. (Hellmann, *The Testament of Brother Francis (1226)*), p. 224.

¹¹²³ See Flood, D., 'The Politics of *Quo Elongati*', *Laurentianum*, 29 (1988), 370-385, p. 384.

¹¹²⁴ (Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect: the Rise of Learning in the Franciscan Order, 1209-1310*), p. 20.

¹¹²⁵ French, K. L. *The People of the Parish: Community Life in a Late Medieval English Diocese* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), p. 15. As an example of new research on parish communities, see

of 'community' should be understood loosely in the ensuing discussion, which understands the term broadly as a description for a static social grouping.¹¹²⁶ This section will also use Woodford's descriptions of rural and urban friars to question a normative historiographical framing of friars as an urban phenomenon.¹¹²⁷

FitzRalph had positioned friars in conflict with secular clergy at a parish and institutional level.¹¹²⁸ This perspective is contested by Woodford, who dismisses reports of conflicts between secular clergy and friars as the malicious cultivation of discord, which itself was rectified upon the death of the archbishop.¹¹²⁹ He fashions friars in a supportive or auxiliary role, assisting secular clergy to carry the burdens of preaching, hearing confessions, and combatting heresy.¹¹³⁰ In this way they do not deform but rather adorn the orders of bishops and priests.¹¹³¹ Framing FitzRalph's accusations of discord as a falsehood, he notes that in England and other parts of Christendom friars live peaceably alongside prelates and rectors, and support them in humility,

(Campbell, *The Landscape of Pastoral Care in Thirteenth-Century England*), and Burgess, C., 'Friars and the Parish in late Medieval Bristol: Observations and Possibilities', in *The Friars in Britain: Proceedings of the 2007 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. N. Rogers (Donington: Shuan Tyas, 2010), 73-96.

¹¹²⁶ Christine Carpenter cautions against using the term 'community' too liberally. Carpenter, C., 'Gentry and Community in Medieval England', *Journal of British Studies*, 33:4 (1994), 340-380, p. 340. See also Rubin, M., 'Small Groups: Identity and Solidarity in the Late Middle Ages', in *Enterprise and Individuals in Fifteenth-Century England*, ed. J. Kermode (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1991), 132-150, pp. 133-5.

¹¹²⁷ '[I]t is a commonplace of medieval history that the emergence of the mendicant orders was conditioned by the birth of urban society.' (Rex, *The Lollards*), p. 10. Guy Geltner challenges a view that friars were an urban fixture. See (Geltner, *The Making of Medieval Antifraternalism: Polemic, Violence, Deviance, and Remembrance*), p. 5. On the normative understanding that friars were an urban phenomenon, Scase argues that criticism of friars might be merged with criticism of lay vagrants, creating a generic anti-urban satire. See (Scase, 'Piers Plowman' and the New Anti-clericalism), pp. 71-2, 127-9, 144.

¹¹²⁸ This is a strong theme throughout VIII:45, see for example, MS 180, fol. 128^{ra}.

¹¹²⁹ *Verum tunc est quod Dominus Armachanus susitanit multas discordias inter prelatos et rectores ex una parte et fratres quattor ordinum ex altera parte contra caritatem et veritatem sed ipso mortuo sunt discordie sopite*. MS 75, fol. 173^{vb}. Michael Robson has similarly articulated a spirit of concord between friars and secular clergy, writing: 'From the outset the friars in England worked hand in glove with the local parishes, dioceses and the hierarchy of England and Wales'. Robson, M. J. P., 'Thomas of Eccleston, the Chronicler of the Friars' Arrival in England', in *The English Province of the Franciscans (1224-c.1350)*, ed. M. Robson (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 3-27, pp. 21-2.

¹¹³⁰ Woodford's picture of the friars acting in support of existing ecclesiastical structures is challenged by the account of why Benedictine monk Adam Easton was required to remain in Norwich to assist his brothers in combatting the threat of mendicant encroachment upon Cathedral preaching. See fn. 404.

¹¹³¹ *Et fratres quattor ordinum sunt eis in auxilium predicendo et confessiones audiendo ac in deffendo iura eorum contra hereticos qui nituntur viis et modis auferre possessiones eorum qui nituntur potestates eorum spirituales denigrare et sacramenta destruere et ideo non deformat sed decorant ordinem episcoporum et rectorum*. MS 75, fols 173^{rb}-173^{va}. See also fol. 47^{vb}.

even when not treated charitably but mistreated by secular clergy on account of their particular rights and privileges.¹¹³²

Yet this positive picture is undermined by portrayals of parish clergy elsewhere in the *Defensorium*. Woodford declares that the Church is not currently well-administered, as bishops and priests seek dishonest gain rather than wishing to manage the Church.¹¹³³ He argues that parish rectors, in their roles as testators and executors for their parishioners, are in positions to covet,¹¹³⁴ that they resign their benefices,¹¹³⁵ and obtain benefits from farms.¹¹³⁶ He declares many rectors are symoniacs with multiple benefices.¹¹³⁷ Furthermore, in England there are priests who are married, who are thieves, and who are excommunicated.¹¹³⁸ Woodford writes that parish priests are indiscrete and illiterate so do not make good confessors, which leads to more cases of adultery, disinheritance and incest, because consanguinity is not identified before marriage.¹¹³⁹ Moreover, parish priests are less skilled in grammar and philosophy, and are excommunicates, heretics, simoniacs and soothsayers.¹¹⁴⁰ Woodford continues that it is more virtuous to live as an anchorite than as a bishop.¹¹⁴¹

This is a far more damning critique of parish clergy than that offered by the English Dominican John Bromyard (d. c. 1352), within the section on the clerical orders (*Ordo clericalis*)

¹¹³² 'Et in Anglia et in multis partibus Christianitatis vivunt fratres satis quiete iuxta prelatos et iuxta rectores et rarissime est auditum quod fuerunt preliantiter inter eos et per dei gratiam fratres servant caritatem erga episcopos et rectores et humiliter se gerunt cum eis sicut debent si econtra prelati vel rectores non servant caritatem erga fratres non est culpa fratrum sed potius culpa illorum qui molestant fratres circa iura et privilegia eorum'. MS 75, fols 173^{va}-173^{vb}. This foregrounding of ill-treatment evokes what Guy Geltner has described as 'the orders' self-interest in casting their history in lachrymose terms'. (Geltner, *The Making of Medieval Antifraternalism: Polemic, Violence, Deviance, and Remembrance*), p. 4.

¹¹³³ MS 75, fol. 82^{vb}.

¹¹³⁴ MS 75, fol. 47^{nb}.

¹¹³⁵ MS 75, fol. 50^{vb}.

¹¹³⁶ MS 75, fol. 52^{ra}.

¹¹³⁷ MS 75, fol. 75^{nb}.

¹¹³⁸ MS 75, fol. 75^{va}.

¹¹³⁹ 'Sic sunt in casa quare fiunt adulteria multa exherendationes multe quare fiunt incestus et quare affines illegitime multociens copulantur'. MS 75, fol. 76^{va}.

¹¹⁴⁰ MS 75, fol. 76^{va}.

¹¹⁴¹ MS 75, fol. 96^{va}.

in his *Summa Praedicatorum*.¹¹⁴² Woodford attributes the state of rancour between friars and curates to the curates themselves, who are jealous that friars are better confessors.¹¹⁴³ Given such a critical picture of secular clergy, it is no surprise Woodford declares that friars have a priestly role in parishes,¹¹⁴⁴ affirming that their work conducting burials is beneficial to the Church.¹¹⁴⁵ Yet he still positions friars as coming to provide pastoral support to parish priests, not replacing them.¹¹⁴⁶

Woodford emphasizes that friars are more discrete and expert confessors than those who are indiscrete and illiterate in law and sacred theology (*discretus et expertus... ac indiscreti et illiterati in iure et sacra theologia*).¹¹⁴⁷ The problem with illiterate and indiscrete confessors is that they treat grave sin lightly (*multociens peccatam gravia modicum ponderant*), and explain things poorly (*exponunt particulis inmerabilibus*).¹¹⁴⁸ This is in contrast to the beneficial, discrete and wise confessions undertaken by friars (*discretus confessor et sapiens*).¹¹⁴⁹ The point is exemplified by the hypothetical scenario that discretion is paramount to avoid scandals when absolving a bishop or a king, which also applies to kings' wives, daughters and servants.¹¹⁵⁰ Woodford explains that friars have more sacramental authority than parish priests, due to their advantageous powers of penitential confession conferred from the papacy.¹¹⁵¹

¹¹⁴² For a summary of Bromyard's accusations against bishops and clergy, see Walls, K. *John Bromyard on Church and State: the Summa Praedicatorum and Early Fourteenth-Century England. A Dominican's Books and Guide for Preachers* (Market Weighton: Clayton-Thorpe, 2007), pp. 153-74.

¹¹⁴³ 'Dico quod curati irrationabiliter habent rancorem contra fratres propter hoc quia per hoc sunt eis in admissionem et ad magnum alleviamine oveorum illorum'. MS 75, fol. 79^{va}.

¹¹⁴⁴ MS 75, fol. 50^{vb}.

¹¹⁴⁵ MS 75, fol. 52^{ra}.

¹¹⁴⁶ MS 75, fol. 79^{va}.

¹¹⁴⁷ MS 75, fol. 76^{va}.

¹¹⁴⁸ MS 75, fol. 76^{vb}.

¹¹⁴⁹ MS 75, fol. 76^{vb}.

¹¹⁵⁰ MS 75, fol. 81^{va}.

¹¹⁵¹ MS 75, fol. 76^{vb}.

Two practical arguments are applied by Woodford to challenge FitzRalph's affirmation that people should be confessed by their parish priests in their local church.¹¹⁵² If someone is sick, they can receive the eucharist at home, away from a parish church.¹¹⁵³ Furthermore, an English person might travel to Rome to be confessed by the Pope.¹¹⁵⁴ Woodford argues that if a convent church were not a suitable place to confess parishioners, then neither would be a bishop's chapel be.¹¹⁵⁵ In addition to which, if parishioners ought not confess to friars since they are under obedience to parish priests, why are they free to confess to a bishop?¹¹⁵⁶ He adds that parish priests who hold multiple benefices cannot be available to hear the confessions of their parishioners all the time.¹¹⁵⁷ These points are valid arguments, exposing the unreasonableness of his opponent's perspective that parish confession is the only appropriate or orthodox type. Woodford intensifies his assault on FitzRalph's position through the sheer number of illustrations he marshals to support his argument. This is yet another example Woodford's methodology, turning to accepted and permitted Church practice to counter FitzRalph's theological and ideological arguments.

A point FitzRalph makes repeatedly in book VIII, which was--understandably--a standard part of antifraternal criticism, concerns the lavish and large buildings which friars lived in. A debate on the living standards and material resources of the friars was at the heart of the schism between Spiritual and Conventual Franciscans, and disputes arose over the construction and

¹¹⁵² This point is made particularly strongly in the *Defensio curatorum*, (Perry, John Trevisa: '*Dialogus inter militem et clericum*', Richard FitzRalph's sermon '*Defensio curatorum*', and, Methodius: '*þe bygynyng of þe world and þe ende of worldes*'), pp. 42-3.

¹¹⁵³ MS 75, fol. 74^{va}.

¹¹⁵⁴ MS 75, fol. 73^{ra}.

¹¹⁵⁵ MS 75, fol. 74^{rb}.

¹¹⁵⁶ MS 75, fol. 76^{vb}.

¹¹⁵⁷ MS 75, fol. 77^{ra}.

fabriking of the basilica in Assisi to house the relics of St Francis.¹¹⁵⁸ London Greyfriars, where Woodford lived, was known to be magnificent.¹¹⁵⁹

Woodford responds to FitzRalph's accusation of fraternal wealth in the *Defensorium* with a surprising line of defence:

*He teaches falsley that the community of friars has gold cloth and golden chalices in all the kingdom of England. I do not know of any other convent of the Friars Minor which has a golden chalice except the convent of London, and these friars are not allowed to sell it because this condition was given so in necessity the friars would be able to pawn it.*¹¹⁶⁰

Such a rationalization makes it clear that while Woodford does not deny the material resources of the friars, he still feels compelled to downplay (somewhat unsuccessfully) an associated sense of socio-economic excess. This approach mirrors that discussed earlier this chapter, when Woodford worked to justify and legitimize the good-quality woollen clothing English friars wore.¹¹⁶¹

FitzRalph accuses the friars of spreading in a dangerously unregulated manner. Primary evidence supports the claim that the friars were multiplying. Guy Geltner writes: 'by 1350 the friars peaked in England and Wales, numbering between 165 and 200 houses and between 3722

¹¹⁵⁸ Cooper, D. and Robson, J., 'A Great Sumptuousness of Paintings': Frescos and Franciscan Poverty at Assisi in 1288 and 1312', *The Burlington Magazine*, 151:1279 (2009), 656-662, especially p. 660. According to A.G. Little, even John Pecham 'sometimes admits that the Franciscans of his time did not live up to their profession, as in his denunciation of the great buildings of the friars as "monstra"'. (Little, Selections from Pecham's *Tractatus Pauperis* or *De Perfectione Evangelica*), p. 19.

¹¹⁵⁹ For a description of London Greyfriars, see (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph* in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh), p. 418. As Gwynn noted: 'London had four great convents of the mendicant orders; and the convent of the Grey Friars is particular, where so many of the great lords were buried, was notable for the splendour of its church ornaments and the number of its friars...there were never less than one hundred Friars Minor in the London convent during the fourteenth century; and the windows of the church were exceptionally fine'. (Gwynn, *Archbishop FitzRalph and the Friars*), p. 53. Doyle had promoted a counter-argument, emphasizing the modesty of fraternal houses compared with monastic buildings. (Doyle, William Woodford, *His Life and works together with a study and edition of his Responiones contra Wiclevum et Lollaridos*), p. 109, fn. 53. See also (Barron, *The Religious Houses of London and Middlesex*), pp. 122-127.

¹¹⁶⁰ 'Falsum docet de communitate fratrum quod habent panos aureos et calices aureos in toto regno Anglie. Nescio quod aliquis conventus fratrum minorum habet calicem aureum excepto conventu londoniarum et illum fratres conventus alienare non possunt licite quia hac conditione datus ut in necessitate fratres possent illum impignorare'. MS 75, fols 103^{rb}-103^{va}. On the generous bequests to English houses of Franciscan nuns, see Campbell, A., 'Franciscan Nuns in England, the Minoreess Foundations and Their Patrons, 1281-1367', in *The English Province of the Franciscans (1224-c.1350)*, ed. M. Robson (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 426-447, pp. 442-5.

¹¹⁶¹ See fn. 925.

and 5016 members'.¹¹⁶² Colmán Ó Clabaigh notes that the Irish Franciscan Province was formally established in 1230, and by the Reformation, Ireland could boast over one hundred Franciscan houses. By contrast, the much larger English Province had only seventy-one.¹¹⁶³

Woodford responds with the poignant detail that English friaries were overwhelmed by the pestilence of the Black Death, and in some places, communities have still not recovered.¹¹⁶⁴ This echoes the famous first-hand account by the Irish Franciscan John Clynn of the decimation of mendicant communities from the disease.¹¹⁶⁵ Woodford then fashions fraternal expansion as a blessing from God, likening the friars to the sons of Israel who grew so numerous that the Egyptians wished to extinguish them.¹¹⁶⁶ Another rationalization is that just as Christ on one occasion sent out the twelve to preach, and on another the seventy-two, thus the number of friars in a large friary confirms that principle of increase.¹¹⁶⁷ A further argument is that rectors and bishops also increase, as do the Cluniacs, Cistercians, and Carthusians.¹¹⁶⁸ An illustration is drawn from from Jerome's *Vita of St Serapionis*, which describes 10,000 monks in one monastery.¹¹⁶⁹ Yet Woodford also stresses that friaries come in various sizes, noting that in a big town the friars have a big church, but in a small community, they have a small church.¹¹⁷⁰

The centrality of mendicant friars to the late-medieval lay pastoral care is sometimes forgotten by historians.¹¹⁷¹ Yet Woodford's vision, where mendicant friars exist as a ubiquitous

¹¹⁶² (Geltner, *Faux Semblants: Antifraternalism Reconsidered in Jean de Meun and Chaucer*), p. 370, fn. 21.

¹¹⁶³ Clabaigh, C. Ó., *The friars in Ireland, 1224-1540* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012), p. 25; and Clabaigh, C. Ó., 'The other Christ: the cult of St Francis of Assisi in late medieval Ireland', in *Art and Devotion in Late Medieval Ireland*, eds. R. Moss, C. Ó. Clabaigh and S. Ryan (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), 142-162, p. 142. See also fn. 168.

¹¹⁶⁴ MS 75, fol. 170^{ra}.

¹¹⁶⁵ See Williams, B., ed. *The Annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2007), pp. 110-112.

¹¹⁶⁶ '*Quia sic multiplicati fuerunt filii israel dum iniqui egipcii volebant eos extinguere sic multiplicantur fratres quattor ordinum*'. MS 75, fol. 172^{vb}. William Campbell writes: 'By 1256, and possibly by 1245, Britain was already approaching saturation point for Franciscan settlements'. (Campbell, *The Landscape of Pastoral Care in Thirteenth-Century England*), p. 67.

¹¹⁶⁷ MS 75, fol. 114^{rb}.

¹¹⁶⁸ MS 75, fol. 173^{ra}.

¹¹⁶⁹ MS 75, fol. 168^{vb}.

¹¹⁷⁰ MS 75, fol. 82^{ra}.

¹¹⁷¹ This study of lay parish life: Kumin, B. A. *The Shaping of a Community: the Rise and Reformation of the English Parish, c. 1400-1560* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1996), contains no mention of the friars. See also fn. 1129.

component of the lay religious experience, is born out in such primary texts as the *Book of Margery Kemp*, where the spiritual life of Margery and her peers is audited by representatives of the four orders of mendicant friars.¹¹⁷²

Conclusion

This chapter has focussed on Woodford's response to book VIII. It positions Woodford as a writer responding specifically to FitzRalph. The chapter has drawn out Woodford's own understanding of the mechanics of mendicancy, noting Woodford's metric for how begging functions in a large or a small friary. It has highlighted where Woodford engages with or ignores FitzRalph's presentation of poverty. The chapter studied how Woodford positions his own portrait of Christ as primarily an extra-scriptural figure, known through the Franciscan Rule and in the pronouncements of theologians and saints. It has highlighted Woodford's work to neutralize FitzRalph's presentation of Christ as a labouring carpenter, the most significant of which being an anti-semitic argument to demonstrate the incompatibility of the biblical Christ with current Catholic doctrine. The chapter also examined Woodford's depiction of St Francis, giving his explanation for why the Testament was not an authoritative text.

The final section explored Woodford's presentation of the activities and pastoral contribution English friars, including his explanation for the strife between mendicants and secular clergy.

The final chapter of this thesis will move to a different context entirely, examining the legacy of both authors, but focussing on how FitzRalph's theological arguments are adopted or omitted in the texts of his so-called lollard acolytes.

¹¹⁷² See for example (Windeatt, *The Book of Margery Kempe*), pp. 112, 117-8, 123-4.

Chapter Four: FitzRalph's and Woodford's Legacies: the Poverty Debate in Lollard Texts

The Historiography

Chapter one explained that historians have tended to position FitzRalph as an angry and quasi-heretical dissident.¹¹⁷³ Katherine Walsh partly attributed this distortion to the adoption of FitzRalph as a figurehead by Wyclif and the lollards, whose theological writings fed into their 'mendicant polemic'.¹¹⁷⁴

The lollard movement developed in the late fourteenth-century, particularly in England, its members initially inspired by the writings of the Oxford theologian and heretic, John Wyclif. Yet FitzRalph was also upheld as a theological inspiration within lollard writings. The assumption persists that lollards were--in an essentially normative sense--adopting FitzRalph's arguments within their criticisms. Challenging that view, this chapter suggests that the incorporation of FitzRalph into lollard texts was a more nuanced and intermittent phenomenon.¹¹⁷⁵ The chapter's purpose is twofold: it provides evidence for the influence of Fitzrovian thought in lollard texts, and more significantly, highlights where the archbishop's arguments were not subsequently taken up. Greater attention will be paid to the afterlife of FitzRalph's arguments than to those of Woodford, in light of the overt connection between FitzRalph and lollard texts.

FitzRalph and Wyclif were critical of the friars, yet their criticisms were different, as were their arguments.¹¹⁷⁶ Chapter two of this thesis highlighted the antimendicant, not antifraternal,

¹¹⁷³ See fns 65 and 74.

¹¹⁷⁴ (Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh*), p. 451.

¹¹⁷⁵ For more information on FitzRalph's legacy among lollards, see *ibid.*, pp. 452-468, and Walsh, K., 'Wyclif's Legacy in Central Europe in the Late Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries', in *From Ockham to Wyclif*, eds. A. Hudson and M. Wilks (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), 397-417, especially p. 409.

¹¹⁷⁶ 'Despite being the two chief antifraternal writers in Britain in the fourteenth century, the arguments FitzRalph and Wyclif use are profoundly different'. (Lahey, *Richard FitzRalph and John Wyclif: Untangling Armachanus from the Wycliffites*), p. 174, see also p. 185. Anne Hudson points out: 'Wyclif had sympathy with the preaching aims of the friars, and with their founding ideals of poverty'. (Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite texts and Lollard History*), p. 348.

thrust of FitzRalph's attacks. In his *Trialogus* Wyclif accused the mendicant orders of creating false claims about their origins, a rhetorical route not taken by FitzRalph.¹¹⁷⁷ Yet this point has been lost within the historiography, which elides FitzRalph's specific antimendicancy with broader antifraternal attacks.¹¹⁷⁸ This chapter seeks to distinguish between those two strains of critique.

Alternative narratives are provided by the texts themselves. The lollard treatise *De Blasphemia* does name FitzRalph, but attributes to him an accusation of heresy against the friars: '*Seynt Richart of Armawhe proves on feir maner, þat were an heresyse to putt upon Crist suche maner of beggyngge, and mayntene hit stifly*'.¹¹⁷⁹ Yet FitzRalph did not accuse the friars of heresy, rather of interpretative error.

An anonymous late fourteenth-century lollard sermon warns:

*Christ bydduþ us be war wiþ þese false prophetis, þat comen in cloþing of schep, and ben wolues of raueyne. And þese ben specially men of þese newe ordres, and moste þese frerys þat laste comen in, for þe feend sutileþ euere azens holy chirche.*¹¹⁸⁰

This argument actually follows the critique favoured by William of St Amour, not FitzRalph, who himself was careful not to frame the friars as false prophets, or in league with the devil.

This leads us to consider the area of motivation. FitzRalph clearly explained the reason for his antimendicant writings, a papal commission to investigate mendicancy.¹¹⁸¹ Lollard texts contain both antimendicant criticisms, and antifraternal and antisectarian attacks aimed at the

¹¹⁷⁷ *Trialogus*, 361-2, as cited in (Aston, 'Caim's Castles': Poverty, Politics, and Disendowment), p. 46, fn. 9.

¹¹⁷⁸ Dolnikowski writes that Wyclif's position 'as FitzRalph's most vocal successor on the issue of mendicancy is beyond dispute', without acknowledging the radically different approaches and beliefs of each. Dolnikowski, E., 'FitzRalph and Wyclif on the Mendicants', *The Michigan Academician*, 19:1 (1987), 87-100, p. 92.

¹¹⁷⁹ See Arnold, T., ed. *Select English works of John Wyclif, III* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1869), p. 412.

¹¹⁸⁰ (Gradon, *English Wycliffite Sermons*), p. 366.

¹¹⁸¹ See fn. 156.

wider church.¹¹⁸² Further confusion comes with evidence from primary texts likening the reform-agenda pursued by Wyclif to that of St Francis a century earlier.¹¹⁸³

Doyle curiously suggested the only reason for lollard attacks on the friars was: 'Wyclif's anti-papal views and unorthodox opinions about the Eucharist'.¹¹⁸⁴ He seemed unable to acknowledge any hypocrisy within mendicant ideology which might have prompted a backlash. Nor should criticism of the mendicants be seen in a heterodox context. For example, the non-lollard English translation of FitzRalph's *Defensio curatorum*, and the inclusion of antimendicant arguments within the equally-orthodox encyclopedia, *Omne Bonum*, indicate a non-heterodox market for this criticism.

The Cistercian Henry Crumpe, a member of the Blackfriars Council which famously condemned Wyclif for heresy in 1382, was an outspoken critic of the mendicants, as was Benedictine Uthed of Boldon.¹¹⁸⁵ Anne Hudson makes the acute observation that no references to the fraternal orders featured in the list of questions to draw up to distinguish between orthodox belief and lollard heresy by Archbishop of Canterbury, Henry Chichele (c. 1364-1443).¹¹⁸⁶ She speculates: '[w]as this a topic it was best to avoid since awkward facts might emerge from the woodwork?'¹¹⁸⁷ Yeager reminds us: 'it was only in the 1390s that there was any effort to legally curtail the open condemnation of the friars'.¹¹⁸⁸ This is an important issue to consider, within a historiography which rushes to equate antimendicancy with heresy.

¹¹⁸² Helen Barr argued that within lollard antifraternal rhetoric: 'the friars are outside the earthly church because they adhere to a rule not of Christ's making'. Barr, H. *Signes and Sothe: Language in the Piers Plowman Tradition* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1994), p. 128.

¹¹⁸³ See Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, iii, p. 4; cf. ii, p. 799, as quoted in (Aston, 'Caim's Castles': Poverty, Politics, and Disendowment), p. 255.

¹¹⁸⁴ (Doyle, William Woodford, His Life and works together with a study and edition of his *Responiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), p. 116.

¹¹⁸⁵ See fn. 1342.

¹¹⁸⁶ Chichele's list of questions are recorded in the Register of Thomas Polton, Worcester, St Helen's Record Office, pp. 111-5, reproduced in (Hudson, *Lollards and their Books*), pp. 133-5.

¹¹⁸⁷ Hudson, A., 'Five problems in Wycliffite texts and a suggestion', *Medium Aevum*, 80:2 (2011), 301-324, p. 314.

¹¹⁸⁸ Yeager, S., 'Lollardy in *Mum and the Sothsegger*: A Reconsideration', *Yearbook of Langland Studies*, 25 (2011), 161-188, p. 164.

It is, however, without question that FitzRalph came to be quoted and eulogised within lollard texts. A lollard commentary on the biblical book of Revelation, *Opus Arduum*, written in Latin between 1389 and 1390, creates a clear association between FitzRalph and the lollards.¹¹⁸⁹ In this text he is even figured as a saint.¹¹⁹⁰ Yet one must be careful not to position FitzRalph's antimendicant views as the sole reason lollards looked to the theologian. As Anne Hudson has demonstrated, the archbishop was cited in lollard texts for theological opinions which had no bearing on the friars.¹¹⁹¹

In his Ascension Day sermon preached in Oxford in 1382, lollard theologian Nicholas Hereford (c. 1345-c. 1417) declared that just as Christ was more effective after the Ascension, so 'Saint Richard' was working more against the friars after death than he had been in life.¹¹⁹² Margaret Aston positions this sermon, along with one delivered by William Swinderby later that year, as pivotal moments in establishing lollard antimendicancy.¹¹⁹³ The sermon has been cited as proof of FitzRalph's direct influence on lollard exegesis.¹¹⁹⁴ Yet if one looks closely at the arguments Hereford makes, the preacher uses FitzRalph as a starting point, before going on to

¹¹⁸⁹ The text survives in thirteen continental manuscripts, and in no English manuscripts. See. MS Brno University, Mk 28. Hudson notes: 'whether it ever had any circulation in England is unclear'. (Hudson, *Five problems in Wycliffite texts and a suggestion*), p. 301. For the list of surviving manuscripts, see (Hudson, *A Neglected Wycliffite Text*), pp. 259-60; Hudson, *Lollards and their books*, p. 6, fn. 25. For FitzRalph and the text, see (Lahey, *Richard FitzRalph and John Wyclif: Untangling Armachanus from the Wycliffites*), p. 160.

¹¹⁹⁰ Disapproval that FitzRalph had not formally been made a saint was expressed in the text. See MS Brno University, Mk 28, fol. 147^v. As cited in (Hudson, *A Neglected Wycliffite Text*) p. 263. FitzRalph is mentioned in two Wycliffite tracts, once in *The Grete Sentence of Curs Expounded*, and twice in *De Blasphemia*. These are reprinted in (Arnold, *Select English works of John Wyclif*), with references to FitzRalph at pp. 281, 412, 416. See also (Walsh, *Preaching, Pastoral Care, and Sola Scriptura in Later Medieval Ireland: Richard FitzRalph and the use of the Bible*), p. 225.

¹¹⁹¹ As Anne Hudson has observed within the lollard and Middle English *Glossed Gospels*, references to FitzRalph (*Ardmahan*) are only taken from chapters 19 and 22 of book X of the *Summa*. She concludes: 'It is notable that the *Glossed Gospels* use [of FitzRalph] does not relate to the fraternal orders'. See Hudson, *A. Doctors in English: a Study of the Wycliffite Gospel Commentaries* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015), pp. cv, cix-cx.

¹¹⁹² '*sanctus Ricardus qui gessit hoc negocium quod ego nunc habeo contra fratres*'. University of Oxford, MS Bodley 240, p. 848^b. The entire sermon is from pp. 848^b-851^a (the manuscript being paginated and not foliated).

¹¹⁹³ 'From this time on, anti-mendicancy was firmly entrenched in Lollard teaching'. (Aston, 'Caim's Castles': Poverty, Politics, and Disendowment), p. 60.

¹¹⁹⁴ Hudson writes that Hereford's arguments 'echoed older complaints by FitzRalph'. Hudson, A., '*Poor preachers, poor men: Views of Poverty in Wyclif and his Followers*', in *Studies in the Transmission of Wyclif's Writings*, ed. A. Hudson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 41-53, p. 50. See also (Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite texts and Lollard History*), pp. 70-1; (Hudson, *A Neglected Wycliffite Text*), p. 49; (Lahey, *Richard FitzRalph and John Wyclif: Untangling Armachanus from the Wycliffites*), p. 160.

make an antisectarian argument which condemns the wealth of the possessioner monks, a case not made by the archbishop.¹¹⁹⁵

A number of lollard texts will now be examined in detail, to provide a picture of selective incorporation and rejection of FitzRalph's arguments. The three tracts which make up the *Jack Upland Series* (hereafter JUS), *Jack Upland* (JU), *Friar Daw's Reply* (FDR), and *Upland's Rejoinder* (UR), will be considered.¹¹⁹⁶ Alongside these, Woodford's reply to JU, *Responsiones contra Wiclivum et Lollardos* (hereafter *Responsiones*), and written in the Autumn of 1395, immediately before composing the *Defensorium*, will be examined.¹¹⁹⁷

Also considered will be two lollard tracts, the *Dialogue between Jon and Richard*, and the *Dialogue between a Friar and a Secular*, along with two lollard sermons, *Omnes plantacio*, commonly known as the Egerton sermon, and the *Quinquagesima Sunday* sermon, itself found within a lollard sermon cycle. The final two sections will briefly consider how concepts of poverty and of labour functioned more generally in lollard texts.

The Jack Upland Series and Woodford's Responsiones

Three tracts make up the *Jack Upland Series* (JUS), *Jack Upland* (JU), *Friar Daw's Reply* (FDR), and *Upland's Rejoinder* (UR).¹¹⁹⁸ JU comprises a list of accusations directed at a nameless friar, to which Woodford responds to with sixty-six answers.¹¹⁹⁹ Woodford attributes authorship

¹¹⁹⁵ MS Bodley 240, p. 850^a.

¹¹⁹⁶ The *Jack Upland Series* has been reprinted in two modern editions, (Heyworth, *Jack Upland, Friar Daw's Reply and Upland's Rejoinder*), and within Dean, J. M. *Six Ecclesiastical Satires* (Kalamazoo, Mich: Published for TEAMS by Medieval Institute Publications, 1991). Eric Doyle published his edition of Woodford's text in (Doyle, William Woodford, *His Life and works together with a study and edition of his Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), pp. 121-187. On the dating of the two texts, see fn. 371.

¹¹⁹⁷ (Doyle, William Woodford, *His Life and works together with a study and edition of his Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), pp. 60, 68, 101. See also (Somerset, *Clerical Discourse and Lay Audience in Late Medieval England*), p. 136.

¹¹⁹⁸ See fn. 1196.

¹¹⁹⁹ Complications arise when trying to match Jack's questions with Woodford's replies based on the manuscripts Heyworth used. See (Doyle, William Woodford, *His Life and works together with a study and edition of his Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), pp. 69-71, 73-75; (Hudson, *Lollards and their Books*), pp. 238-240.

of the text, which had a wide readership, to 'Wyclif and the lollards'.¹²⁰⁰ Yet some of its arguments stem not from Wyclif, but from FitzRalph, specifically those concerning begging.¹²⁰¹ Doyle did not highlight this point, positioning the author as: 'an ardent follower of Wyclif'.¹²⁰² This perspective eliminates FitzRalph's input and influence within the JUS.¹²⁰³

Drawing attention to textual references in FDR and UR, scholar Fiona Somerset identified FitzRalph as the theologian from whom arguments were taken, attributing them to the tract, *Quia in proposicione nuper facta*.¹²⁰⁴ This thesis suggests book VIII is a more likely source, since it also contains the material cited in the JUS, and furthermore is the text Woodford turned his attention to upon completing *Responsiones*.¹²⁰⁵ Woodford even refers to the upcoming project within *Responsiones*.¹²⁰⁶

JU is essentially antifraternal and antisectarian, comprising accusations about the origins and legitimacy of the four orders of friars, and concerned with fraternal dress and customs, arguments familiar within lollard antifraternalism, though not found in book VIII.¹²⁰⁷ The poverty of Christ is upheld as an ideal from which the wealthy friars have fallen, as illustrated by their lavish and wealthy convents. These arguments differ in crucial ways from FitzRalph's attacks on the friars. For instance, FitzRalph did not concern himself with issues of fraternal dress or

¹²⁰⁰ The text ends with '*Expliciunt responsiones Fratris willelmi Wodeford contra Magistrum Ioannem Wyclif et Lollardos*.' (Doyle, William Woodford, *His Life and works together with a study and edition of his Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), p. 187. On the circulation and readership of Jack Upland, see (Somerset, *Clerical Discourse and Lay Audience in Late Medieval England*), pp. 136-7, 178.

¹²⁰¹ See (Somerset, *Clerical Discourse and Lay Audience in Late Medieval England*), pp. 163-74.

¹²⁰² (Doyle, William Woodford, *His Life and works together with a study and edition of his Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), p. 89.

¹²⁰³ (Somerset, *Excitative Speech: Theories of Emotive Response from Richard FitzRalph to Margery Kempe*), pp. 66-7.

¹²⁰⁴ See (Somerset, *Clerical Discourse and Lay Audience in Late Medieval England*), pp. 170-6.

¹²⁰⁵ On the proximal dating of the *Responsiones* and *Defensorium*, see fn. 371.

¹²⁰⁶ '*Et pro ista materia haec pro nunc dicta sufficient, quia in opere alio de hoc plura intendo dicere*'. Oxford, MS Bodley 703, fol. 48^{ra}. Doyle attributes this reference to the *Defensorium*, and also possibly to the lost work *Opus contra Armachanum*. (Doyle, William Woodford, *His Life and works together with a study and edition of his Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), p. 151, fn. 177.

¹²⁰⁷ See fn. 1242 for a reference to fraternal clothing in a lollard text.

custom, nor did he question the legitimacy of the friars. Neither did FitzRalph choose to challenge the wealth of the friars by elevating the poverty of Christ.

Yet when discussing the concept that Christ was a beggar, the text turns from antifraternal polemic to antimendicancy. It is here that another theological voice to Wyclif's can be heard, a point highlighted by Woodford, though he does not refer to FitzRalph by name:

*To this I respond and say that Master John Wyclif, of which you are one of his disciples, asks this very question in the first chapter of the book which he wrote, De religione, where he clearly conceded that Christ begged and was a beggar. In the same chapter he similarly conceded that Saint Paul begged as did other apostles and the disciples of Christ. If you had looked to the book by your Master, you would not have asked this question.*¹²⁰⁸

What is interesting is the way Woodford uses this significant difference of opinion between Wyclif and FitzRalph in a particular way. He does not, for example, choose to draw out the divergent theological views, but rather uses the discrepancy as a stick with which to beat the lollards for their ignorance. Woodford's reply to a subsequent question, that begging was not found in God's Law, consists again of a rebuke to Jack for his lack of knowledge of Wyclif's views.¹²⁰⁹

JU's questions on begging focus on two themes: the illegitimacy of begging as something undertaken by Christ and endorsed in God's law, and the inappropriateness of begging by those 'undriven by need'.¹²¹⁰ Both are core arguments from book VIII. It is worth noting this argument differs from that applied by Wyclif in his sermon on the biblical beggar Lazarus, where Wyclif

¹²⁰⁸ (Doyle, William Woodford, His Life and works together with a study and edition of his *Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), pp. 150-151. (Translations of the *Responsiones* are my own.)

¹²⁰⁹ (Doyle, William Woodford, His Life and works together with a study and edition of his *Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), pp. 151-2.

¹²¹⁰ See (Heyworth, Jack Upland, Friar Daw's Reply and Upland's Rejoinder), pp. 66-9.

had argued not that Christ and the apostles did not beg, but rather that they did not beg overtly or openly.¹²¹¹

In response to the second point, Woodford's short explanation of types of begging does briefly acknowledge the existence of those involuntary poor who need to beg, before taking longer to introduce the voluntary poor, whom he identifies by citing the *Vita* of St Alexis. Woodford identifies mendicant begging with Alexis's life: 'and in this way is the manner of the friars'.¹²¹²

Woodford does not associate the perfection of begging with socio-economic poverty or material deprivation. Indeed, in the *Responsiones*, he acknowledges the lives of routine material comfort enjoyed by mendicant friars, explaining that friars in England are dressed in comfortable and warm clothes, since: 'in England there is a better supply and a higher market, than elsewhere, of cloth from wool'.¹²¹³

FDR, the second text in the JUS, and similarly composed as a response to JU, claims to be written by a Dominican friar named Daw Topias.¹²¹⁴ Such authorship is surprising if true.¹²¹⁵ While acknowledging the existence of constructed 'fraternal voices' within vernacular satire and antifraternal criticism, Fiona Somerset seems unable to make up her mind whether Daw was an actual friar.¹²¹⁶ This thesis discourages the view that Daw was a genuine friar, since the text

¹²¹¹ 'Christus enim et apostoli nunquam innuebant eorum egenciam nisi in mensura necessaria elemosinantibus ipsis retribuuntibus elemosinam plus valentem'. (Loserth and Matthew, *Iohannis Wyclif Sermones*), p. 227. See (Wenzel, *Preaching in the age of Chaucer: Selected Sermons in Translation*), p. 159 for an English translation.

¹²¹² '*Tales etiam sunt modo fratres*'. (Doyle, William Woodford, *His Life and works together with a study and edition of his Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*), p. 152.

¹²¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 178. See fn. 925 for a similar argument in the *Defensorium*.

¹²¹⁴ 'It seems likely that Daw was a Dominican'. (Heyworth, Jack Upland, *Friar Daw's Reply and Upland's Rejoinder*), p. 8.

¹²¹⁵ 'If we take it at face value, *Friar Daw's Reply* is the only extant piece of antiWycliffite polemic written in the vernacular by any (or so it claims) cleric'. (Somerset, *Clerical Discourse and Lay Audience in Late Medieval England*), p. 157.

¹²¹⁶ Somerset points out that Daw's arguments 'do not undercut themselves', yet concedes that one particular argument 'courts our skepticism'. *Ibid.*, p. 160.

contains a defence of biblical begging at odds with that expressed by Woodford, and by the (actual) Dominican Bartholomew of Bolsenheim.¹²¹⁷

Daw's defense of begging begins with a paraphrases of JU's accusation that begging is: '*virli forbodun in Goddis lawe*'.¹²¹⁸ The text lists a number of biblical episodes of begging, citing first the blind beggar by the wayside who asked Christ to heal him, then the crippled beggar at the gate who begged alms from the apostles, before turning to the beggar Lazarus.¹²¹⁹ Daw's list leads to some surprising observations: each beggar Daw foregrounds belonged to the group of those 'involuntary poor' who were forced to beg, not to the 'voluntary poor', from whom mendicant friars drew their identity. Secondly, each of these beggars was physically disabled, either being blind, lame or covered with sores as Lazarus was, so all belong inside FitzRalph's categorization of those 'poor crippled, blind and lame' from Luke 14, those genuinely needy poor to whom alms ought to be given.¹²²⁰ Thus Daw's defense of begging, as a concept which can be biblically endorsed, subtly undermines other mendicant elevations of 'voluntary beggars', while also reinforcing FitzRalph's argument that 'begging undriven by need' is forbidden in scripture.

Woodford never makes such a case in the *Defensorium*, and as chapter three demonstrated, he spends as brief a time as possible on the plight of 'involuntary beggars', positioning the biblical Lazarus as inferior to the perfection of the mendicant saints, and unwilling to perceive of the New Testament widow, after she had given her 'mite' to the Temple treasury, as becoming someone who begged.¹²²¹

Bartholomew of Bolsenheim also chooses a different approach in his response to FitzRalph, focussing on the neediness of Christ as expressed in 2 Corinthians 8:9 and

¹²¹⁷ See fns 861 and 917.

¹²¹⁸ (Heyworth, Jack Upland, Friar Daw's Reply and Upland's Rejoinder), p. 95.

¹²¹⁹ Ibid., p. 95, ll. 729-738. (John 9:1-7; Acts 3:1-10; Luke 16:19-31)

¹²²⁰ See fn. 603.

¹²²¹ See fn. 1055.

figuratively within Psalm 39, to locate the correct, and voluntary, biblical begging.¹²²² This thesis concludes that Daw's 'defense' actually serves to weaken the position taken in mendicant texts, since it legitimizes begging by those 'compelled' to beg, rather than by the 'evangelically perfect', who beg by choice.

UR, the vernacular reply to FDR, is the shortest of the JUS texts, yet it also reveals a familiarity with FitzRalph's arguments.¹²²³ Its response to Daw's defense of mendicancy takes the form of a reference to an argument made by FitzRalph in book VIII, that Christ could not have begged since he could not contradict himself.¹²²⁴ Yet UR also reveals its lollard leanings when it elevates the vague virtue of '*verrei pouerte*', a perspective not shared by the keenly-specific FitzRalph.¹²²⁵

Dialogue between Jon and Richard

The vernacular lollard text, a *Dialogue between Jon and Richard*, is recognized as an 'homage' to FitzRalph--though the theologian himself is not named--since it places discussion between two figures named Jon and Richard, those same characters selected by FitzRalph for the *Summa* and *De pauperie Salvatoris*.¹²²⁶ Somerset dates the dialogue to between 1378 and 1417.¹²²⁷ The tract quotes two of FitzRalph's *leitmotif* scriptural texts: John 7:24 from *Defensio curatorum*,

¹²²² (Meersseman, *La défense des ordres mendiants contre Richard Fitz Ralph*, par Barthélemy de Bolsenheim O. P. (1357)), pp. 152-5. Carmelite Thomas Netter argued that the 'common poor' ought not be promoted before 'the holy poor of Christ, namely friars and monks'. *Doctrinale*, I, Bk, IV, cap, x. col. 861, as cited in (Aston, 'Caim's Castles': Poverty, Politics, and Disendowment), p. 62.

¹²²³ (Somerset, *Clerical Discourse and Lay Audience in Late Medieval England*), especially pp. 166-169.

¹²²⁴ (Heyworth, Jack Upland, *Friar Daw's Reply and Upland's Rejoinder*), p. 112, ll. 336-7. This point is not drawn out by Somerset.

¹²²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 106, l. 142.

¹²²⁶ (Somerset, *Four Wycliffite Dialogues: Dialogue between Jon and Richard, Dialogue between a friar and a secular, Dialogue between Reson and Gabbyng, Dialogue between a clerk and a knight*), p. xlvi. The text is on pp. 3-31. Archbishop Robert Grosseteste (c. 1175-1253), 'one of the authorities Wycliffites frequently invoke', is twice quoted, see p. 69. For the references to Grosseteste in the text, see p. 3, ll. 9-12 and p. 31, ll. 954-5. For the use of Grosseteste more generally in lollard texts, see (Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite texts and Lollard History*), pp. 210-1; (Somerset, *Feeling like Saints: Lollard Writings after Wyclif*), pp. 242-3.

¹²²⁷ (Somerset, *Four Wycliffite Dialogues: Dialogue between Jon and Richard, Dialogue between a friar and a secular, Dialogue between Reson and Gabbyng, Dialogue between a clerk and a knight*), p. xlvi.

and Matthew 7:12, the verse used most frequently in book VIII.¹²²⁸ This use of FitzRalph's favourite scriptures establishes perhaps another link between the archbishop and the text.

Digging deeper, however, the structure of the dialogue subtly subverts FitzRalph's own construction. Whereas FitzRalph had given *Johannes* the questions, and *Ricardus* had supplied the answers, now the roles are reversed, and Richard is the voice of ignorance. The tract is also more aggressive than book VIII, arguing that the friars: '*make muk þer God, and sellen menes soules to Satanas for monei*', which '*reuersep þe dedes of Crist*'.¹²²⁹ It positions as '*þer blasfemes*' the argument '*þat Crist begged as þei*'.¹²³⁰ What we see here is a transformation of FitzRalph's careful argument of error and fiction into an accusation of blasphemy. The tract refers to the friars as '*þese apostatas ben cursed and heretikkes boþe*', using a polemical register avoided by FitzRalph. It thus reveals a complicated relationship with FitzRalph, expressing not so much the adoption of his views, but rather a new accusation built upon a foundation of Fitzrovian criticism.¹²³¹

The *Dialogue* is not just antimendicant, but antifraternial and even anticlerical. FitzRalph accused the friars of breaking the tenth commandment not to covet; this tract accuses them of breaking the first commandment to love God above everything else.¹²³² This is a crucially different claim, focussing on piety rather than practice. The tract positions the friars as the offspring firstly of the antichrist and lastly of the Pope, whom it dismisses as the Bishop of Rome.¹²³³ It argues the four orders were descended from Cain, a lollard naming-convention not

¹²²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 14, ll. 434-5; p. 16, ll. 497-8. See fns 464, 465 and 515.

¹²²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 16, ll. 486-7, 489.

¹²³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 16, ll. 506-7.

¹²³¹ See (Lahey, Richard FitzRalph and John Wyclif: Untangling Armachanus from the Wycliffites), pp. 160-3. One lollard tract against the friars is entitled *Tractatus de PseudoFreris*, a term used by William of St Amour, but not by FitzRalph. See (Hudson, The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite texts and Lollard History), pp. 348-9.

¹²³² (Somerset, Four Wycliffite Dialogues: Dialogue between Jon and Richard, Dialogue between a friar and a secular, Dialogue between Reson and Gabbyng, Dialogue between a clerk and a knight), p. 24, ll. 790-5.

¹²³³ *Ibid.*, p. 8, ll. 191-2; p. 9, l. 214.

used by FitzRalph.¹²³⁴ It crucially attributes responsibility for the existence of the friars to negligent priests and prelates:

*I suppose þat þou sei soþe at þe biginning, þat negligence of seculeris
brouȝt freres inne. But foli of prelatis was more cause.*¹²³⁵

Furthermore, the tract is antisectarian, arguing the Church ignored the teachings of Christ, which led to the creation of canons and monks.¹²³⁶ Of more significance for the purposes of this thesis, the *Dialogue* contains a framing of poverty which odds with FitzRalph's, conceiving the poverty of Christ differently:

*For þe gospel tellip þat Crist was so pore þat he hadde non house to
rest hym inne and hes couent, but þe freres contrarien in costily
houses.*¹²³⁷

FitzRalph had used the verse that quotation alluded to (Luke 9:58) in book VIII in support of rectors and vicars receiving a tithe for their livelihood.¹²³⁸ The tract heightens the poverty of Christ into a trope from which to accuse friars living in lavish friaries. Unlike FitzRalph's portrayal of a resourced Church which has no need for friars, the tract advocates a return to an impoverished Church. It also implicates bishops, alongside friars for the current erroneous situation:

*for bischoppis and freres and most parte of clerkis wolde sey today þat
þe chirche were distroued ȝif it stode in pouerte, as Crist put it inne,
and dampne hem as heretikis þat seid it shulde be so.*¹²³⁹

¹²³⁴ Ibid., p. 7, l. 154-p. 8, l. 184. For the reference in *Jack Upland*, see (Heyworth, Jack Upland, Friar Daw's Reply and Upland's Rejoinder), p. 58, l. 85. For the reference in a sermon of Wyclif's, see Loserth, J. and Matthew, F. D., eds. *Iohannis Wyclif Sermones, II* (London: Published for the Wyclif Society by Trübner & co., 1887), p. 85, ll. 1-7. The convention used CAIM as this acronym: C for Carmelites, A for Augustinians, I for Jacobites (a name for Dominicans based on the location of their convent on Rue St Jacques in Paris), M for Minorites. See (Aston, 'Caim's Castles': Poverty, Politics, and Disendowment), pp. 46-9.

¹²³⁵ (Somerset, Four Wycliffite Dialogues: Dialogue between Jon and Richard, Dialogue between a friar and a secular, Dialogue between Reson and Gabbyng, Dialogue between a clerk and a knight), p. 17, ll. 518-9.

¹²³⁶ Ibid., p. 7, ll. 143-6.

¹²³⁷ Ibid., p. 12, ll. 349-51.

¹²³⁸ MS 180, fol. 115^{ra}.

¹²³⁹ (Somerset, Four Wycliffite Dialogues: Dialogue between Jon and Richard, Dialogue between a friar and a secular, Dialogue between Reson and Gabbyng, Dialogue between a clerk and a knight), p. 11, ll. 291-4.

Christ's actions or teachings are not discussed. The text affirms the value of labour--*And also siþen God aproueþ matrimonie and craftis*--but this association of work with marriage suggests the celibate Christ was not considered a role-model for workers.¹²⁴⁰ The text ends with a request that clerks '*purge freres of heresies*', an accusation FitzRalph was careful to avoid.¹²⁴¹ There is a discussion of fraternal dress, a topic not discussed in book VIII.¹²⁴² The text even includes the accusation, also found in UR: '*þat abite of freres wolde make an ape seint*'.¹²⁴³

Taken together, these points demonstrate that while FitzRalph might have been held in high esteem for this 'homage' to be composed, his core antimendicant arguments, along with his views about poverty, were either unknown to the writer(s) and readers of this tract, or rejected by them. These points put the very identity of this tract--as a tribute to FitzRalph--into question.

Dialogue between a Friar and a Secular

A different lollard text, the *Dialogue between a Friar and a Secular*, which does not contain an overt reference to FitzRalph, reveals a familiarity with actual arguments promoted by him.¹²⁴⁴ Somerset dates it to between 1380 and 1397, which means it is possible Woodford knew of its existence, and its debt to book VIII, before composing the *Defensorium*.¹²⁴⁵

This dialogue accuses the friars of breaking the tenth commandment not to covet, based on the text Szittyia referred to as FitzRalph's *leitmotif* scriptural verse, Exodus 20:17.¹²⁴⁶ It builds upon the error of 'begging undriven by need', an argument Scase attributes to FitzRalph.¹²⁴⁷ More specifically, the tract argues that Christ worked as a carpenter: *þerfore Crist in þe gospel is clepid*

¹²⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 27, ll. 873-4.

¹²⁴¹ Ibid., p. 31, ll. 1024-6.

¹²⁴² Ibid., p. 19, l. 598-p. 20, l. 626. See fn. 1207 for the references to clothing in the JUS.

¹²⁴³ Ibid., p. 22, ll. 695-6. See (Heyworth, Jack Upland, Friar Daw's Reply and Upland's Rejoinder), p. 107, l. 182.

¹²⁴⁴ This tract has been edited in (Somerset, Four Wycliffite Dialogues: Dialogue between Jon and Richard, Dialogue between a friar and a secular, Dialogue between Reson and Gabbyng, Dialogue between a clerk and a knight), pp. 32-42.

¹²⁴⁵ Ibid., p. xlvi. For evidence of the tract's fifteenth-century popularity, see (Bernard, The Late Medieval English Church: Vitality and Vulnerability Before the Break with Rome), p. 213.

¹²⁴⁶ See fns 465 and 515.

¹²⁴⁷ (Scase, 'Piers Plowman' and the New Anti-clericalism), p. 67.

*a carpenter for he trauaylde wiþ his fadir.*¹²⁴⁸ However this argument, containing the less radical fashioning of Christ as a carpenter from Matthew 13:55, rather than Mark 6:3, could have been taken from the *Defensio*.¹²⁴⁹

Yet an indication that book VIII, rather than the sermon, is probably the source text, is in the tract's telling of FitzRalph's version of the story of the widow's mite, which was not included in *Defensio* or the *Quia*:

*And þerfore seiþ Crist in þe gospel þat þe widewe þat ʒaf but a ferthyn
ʒaf more into þe tresoure of God þanne alle þe toþere þat ʒeuen more of
bodily goodis: and ʒit sche went not o-beggyng.*¹²⁵⁰

This additional (and unscriptural) argument that widow did not beg, even after making her generous gift, is promoted by FitzRalph.¹²⁵¹

The tract's protagonists, an unspecified friar and a member of the secular clergy, also discuss the Old Testament scripture favoured by FitzRalph, Deuteronomy 15:4, which forbids the existence of beggars.¹²⁵² The verse had been used by Wyclif in a sermon he preached on the beggar Lazarus, in which he had discussed 'whether begging is praiseworthy in itself...as this gospel seems to suggest'.¹²⁵³ Wyclif identified two types of begging, a clamorous and importune begging, which was sinful according to Deuteronomy 15:4, and a quiet begging before God, the latter category not endorsed by FitzRalph.¹²⁵⁴

¹²⁴⁸ (Somerset, Four Wycliffite Dialogues: Dialogue between Jon and Richard, Dialogue between a friar and a secular, Dialogue between Reson and Gabbyng, Dialogue between a clerk and a knight), p. 41, ll. 317-318.

¹²⁴⁹ See fn. 643

¹²⁵⁰ (Somerset, Four Wycliffite Dialogues: Dialogue between Jon and Richard, Dialogue between a friar and a secular, Dialogue between Reson and Gabbyng, Dialogue between a clerk and a knight), p. 42, ll. 348-351.

¹²⁵¹ See fn. 729.

¹²⁵² (Somerset, Four Wycliffite Dialogues: Dialogue between Jon and Richard, Dialogue between a friar and a secular, Dialogue between Reson and Gabbyng, Dialogue between a clerk and a knight), p. 41, ll. 282-294. This argument is also found in the *Defensio*, (Perry, John Trevisa: '*Dialogus inter militem et clericum*', Richard FitzRalph's sermon '*Defensio curatorum*', and, Methodius: '*þe bygynyng of þe world and þe ende of worldes*'), p. 81.

¹²⁵³ '*si mendicacio sit per se laudanda...sicut videtur hoc evangelium sonare*'. (Loserth and Matthew, *Iohannis Wyclif Sermones*) i, p. 226. The full sermon is from pp. 223-8. The English translation is from Wenzel, S. *Latin sermon collections from later Medieval England: orthodox preaching in the age of Wyclif* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 158.

¹²⁵⁴ '*Loquamur autem de mendicitate clamosa et importuna, non autem de mendicitate innuitiva quoad Deum, sicut necessitatur quilibet mendicare. Et tunc videtur quod talis mendicacio sonat peccatum, quia aliter non*

The secular's explanation of this prohibition, that God wishes men to give alms to their neighbours to ensure no one is in a state of need, is FitzRalph's argument from book VIII rather than from Wyclif.¹²⁵⁵ The friar responds that people gave alms to the poor so generously that there were found no needy beggars. This is different to the more robust reply offered by Woodford in the *Defensorium*.¹²⁵⁶ Here the weak interpretation seems to confirm Somerset's observation that in this tract: 'the friar comes off decidedly worse in every exchange' with the secular.¹²⁵⁷

A further similarity is the framing of begging as a shameful state, a point FitzRalph made in book VIII. However, the tract's accusation goes further than FitzRalph, stating: '*beggyng is seruyce to þe fend*'.¹²⁵⁸ FitzRalph is careful to avoid such eschatological associations in book VIII.

A connection between FitzRalph and this text has not previously been made. The argument made here is to suggest the popularity and spread of arguments from book VIII, a point which may explain why Woodford composed the *Defensorium*.

The Egerton Sermon

The lollard sermon, *Omnes Plantacio*, commonly known as the Egerton sermon, will now be considered.¹²⁵⁹ Anne Hudson dates the sermon to the 1380s or 1390s, and there is evidence of its continued circulation into the early sixteenth-century.¹²⁶⁰ FitzRalph is not cited directly, yet Hudson finds evidence of Fitzrovian thought in its attacks on the friars.¹²⁶¹ A further reason to consider it is that within one of the six surviving manuscript copies of the sermon, Cambridge

preciperetur in lege Domini quod omnino non sit mendicus inter Judeos (ut patet Deuteronomii XV).' (Loserth and Matthew, *Iohannis Wyclif Sermones*) p. 226.

¹²⁵⁵ MS 180, fol. 110^{rb}.

¹²⁵⁶ See fn. 1083.

¹²⁵⁷ (Somerset, *Four Wycliffite Dialogues: Dialogue between Jon and Richard, Dialogue between a friar and a secular, Dialogue between Reson and Gabbyng, Dialogue between a clerk and a knight*), p. xlix.

¹²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 41, l. 220.

¹²⁵⁹ This sermon has been reproduced in Hudson, A., ed. *The Works of a Lollard Preacher: the Sermon Omnis plantacio; the Tract Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere; and the Tract De oblatione iugis sacrificii* (Oxford: Published for the Early English Text Society by the Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 2-143. It is known to exist in six manuscripts, see *ibid.*, p. ix.

¹²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. li, lxi-lxiii.

¹²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

University Library, MS Ff. 6.2, the text immediately precedes one of two surviving manuscript versions of *Jack Upland*.¹²⁶²

Hudson's general association of the sermon to FitzRalph deserves closer scrutiny. The sermon does display evidence of his views, but in addition to these it contains arguments strikingly at odds with those of the archbishop, especially in its alternative conceptualization of poverty, and of the type of poverty practiced by Christ.

One striking similarity, however, is the sermon's use of a combination of scripture and Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics* to make a case for the unreasonableness of mendicancy, a scholastic practice used by FitzRalph throughout book VIII. This methodology is explained near the beginning of the sermon, the writer responding to competing 'origin stories' by accusing possessioner monks, canons, friars '*and oþir endowid sectis*' of using '*many opun euydencis of hooli scripture, and resoun of olde seyntis writun...and [of her] owne rulis to proue, ech upon oþir, þat þei ben apostatas fro Crist and þe perfeccioun of his gospel*'.¹²⁶³ The writer continues: '*But now siþ, þoruþ þe grace of God and declaring of trewe clerkis, þe fundacioun of boþe þese maner of sectis is knowun cursid and rotun in þe roote*'.¹²⁶⁴ The writer goes on to 'prove', through scripture and Aristotelian logic, that the material excess of the possessioner monks and canons, and the extreme begging of the friars, are symptoms of those '*viciouse extremytees*' which a virtuous man would avoid:¹²⁶⁵

*Neþerles, for opun vndirstonding of þis processe, þat is writun here, 3e shal vndirstonde, as þe Philosofre and kyndli resoun techen, vertu stondiþ in a resonable mene bitwene two vicis.*¹²⁶⁶

¹²⁶² Cambridge University Library, MS Ff. 6.2. The *Egerton* sermon is from fols. 1r-70v, *Jack Upland* from 71r-80r. For more on this manuscript, see *ibid.*, p. xxi; (Heyworth, *Jack Upland, Friar Daw's Reply and Upland's Rejoinder*), pp. 1-2.

¹²⁶³ (Hudson, *The Works of a Lollard Preacher: the Sermon *Omnis plantacio*; the Tract *Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere*; and the Tract *De oblatione iugis sacrificii*), p. 26, l. 673, l. 27, ll. 686-90.*

¹²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 26, ll. 696-8.

¹²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 28, l. 715. See also p. 30, ll. 769-70.

¹²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 28, ll. 725-7.

The sermon paraphrases sections from book II of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, along with scriptural quotes, to argue that Christ embodied this '*vertuose mene*', rather than the extreme wealth of the possessioners obtained through lordships held by mortmain, or the extreme begging of the mendicants.¹²⁶⁷

Two points are noteworthy. The first is that FitzRalph's method of discounting fraternal '*euynecis*' through a combination of Aristotle, scripture, and '*kyndli resoun*', is deployed by the sermon writer.¹²⁶⁸ The second however, is that the actual argument employed is different to that made by FitzRalph, especially in its positioning of wealth and poverty.

The sermon's condemnation of begging does draw upon scriptural verses FitzRalph favoured, including his signature verses Deuteronomy 15:4 and Matthew 7:12.¹²⁶⁹ It stresses God declares in both the Old and New Testaments that there must be no begging in his church.¹²⁷⁰ The text also takes up connections FitzRalph made in book VIII as part of his wider argument on begging. For example, the sermon cites the condemnation of begging from the *Recollections of St Clement*, a story which, in this context, Anne Hudson attributes to FitzRalph.¹²⁷¹ The sermon then argues that St Paul did not beg, but rather was '*a procurator for pore nedi peple*,' through his collections from Christian communities for the poor saints in Jerusalem.¹²⁷² Fiona Somerset associates this argument with FitzRalph.¹²⁷³

The sermon identifies the friars as the '*mischeuousli nedi*', building upon FitzRalph's trope that the 'need' of the friars is not genuine need.¹²⁷⁴ It refers to '*þe foul heresie þat þe freris*

¹²⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 30, l. 784. See (Rackham, Aristotle: *Nicomachean Ethics*), pp. 94-95

¹²⁶⁸ See fn. 146.

¹²⁶⁹ (Hudson, *The Works of a Lollard Preacher: the Sermon *Omnis plantacio*; the Tract *Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere*; and the Tract *De oblatione iugis sacrificii*), p. 100, l. 2096, and p. 102, l. 2106.*

¹²⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 64, ll. 1482-4.

¹²⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 131, ll. 2372-3.

¹²⁷² Ibid., p. 132, ll. 2756-75. (Romans 15: 26-29; 1 Corinthians 16: 1-2; 2 Corinthians 9: 1-5)

¹²⁷³ (Somerset, *Clerical Discourse and Lay Audience in Late Medieval England*), p. 171. See also William Taylor's sermon, (Hudson, *Two Wycliffite texts: The Sermon of William Taylor 1406. The Testimony of William Thorpe 1407*), p. 17, ll. 513-5.

¹²⁷⁴ (Hudson, *The Works of a Lollard Preacher: the Sermon *Omnis plantacio*; the Tract *Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere*; and the Tract *De oblatione iugis sacrificii*), p. 97, l. 2019.*

maintene vpon Crist, of þe begging þat þei putten upon him', arguing of the friars: 'þat þei blasfemen so hidousli azens þe truþe of God, seiynge þat his lawe is falsest and heresie'.¹²⁷⁵ The essential argument mirrors that of FitzRalph, yet the polemical register the sermon draws from is not found in book VIII.

In one particular respect, the sermon's portrayal of Christ is similar to FitzRalph's central argument that Christ did not beg:

þe freris lyen opunli here upon Crist. And as falsli [and] wipoute ground of scripture or of resoun, þei seien þat Crist beggide lompis of breed fro dore to dore.¹²⁷⁶

In this denunciation we see a critique of the central argument deployed by Woodford in the *Defensorium*, that Christ begged openly for food. FitzRalph's examination of asking as opposed to begging, illustrated by the posing of the rhetorical question whether kings and princes beg when they ask for a drink of water, is echoed in the sermon.¹²⁷⁷ The assertion is made that when Christ asked for a drink of water from the Samaritan woman, for hospitality from Zaccheus, and instructed his disciples to procure a colt before the triumphal entry into Jerusalem, he '*askide þese þingis bi weie of comaunding as a lord, or ellis bi weie of dute and not in a maner of begging!*'¹²⁷⁸

The sermon writer throughout puts forward '*þe pure perfeccioun of Crist*' as the example which should be followed, and he quotes in Latin and English from St Gregory's Homily twenty-

¹²⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 51, ll. 1201-3.

¹²⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 130, ll. 2704-6.

¹²⁷⁷ See fn. 715.

¹²⁷⁸ (Hudson, *The Works of a Lollard Preacher: the Sermon *Omnis plantacio*; the Tract *Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere*; and the Tract *De oblatione iugis sacrificii*), p. 12, ll. 236-7. The sermon again refers to the three episodes of Christ's asking in p. 129, ll. 2667. For a wider discussion of this argument in lollard texts, see (Somerset, *Clerical Discourse and Lay Audience in Late Medieval England*), pp. 167-9.*

seven, on the sending out of the seventy-two, teaching that we are commanded to follow Christ's deeds and his examples.¹²⁷⁹

Woodford had advocated an imitation of Christ as seen through the lives and teachings of later saints. The Egerton sermon provides an explanation for how one might follow the example of the saints:

*For whanne we wolen preise seyntis, we shal loke wheryn þei sieden Crist and his lawe in word, dede or maners, and so ferforþ þei ben worþi preisyng and no ferþer. For Crist is þe mesure of veruous lyuyng and worching; and herfore he calliþ alle men to sue him, and alle men to lerne of him, and euery man and nameli prestis to teche þat þat he tauzte, and þanne we mai not erre.*¹²⁸⁰

FitzRalph had used Acts 1:1 and 1 Corinthians 11:1 to model imitation of Christ.¹²⁸¹ The sermon adopts 1 Peter 2:21 to explain imitating Christ.¹²⁸² It notes: '*Cristis werkis, as he seide, bar witnesse of him and shewide what he was, and hou he lyuede*'.¹²⁸³ Yet it does not elaborate on those works as FitzRalph does. The sermon derives evidence for Christ's life: '*in þe perfeccioun of þe gospel...as it is shewid opunli bifore bi autorite of bope þe lawis and bi [þe] liif of Crist and hise apostlis*'.¹²⁸⁴ However it does not go into the level of detail seen in book VIII to scrutinize specific episodes in the life of Christ.¹²⁸⁵

The focus is different to that suggested by FitzRalph in book VIII. The sermon and FitzRalph agree that Christ never begged, yet the text portrays Christ as poor, whereas FitzRalph had portrayed him as a resourced labourer. Christ's state of *dominium* is noted: '*Crist hap ful*

¹²⁷⁹ (Hudson, *The Works of a Lollard Preacher: the Sermon *Omnis plantacio*; the Tract *Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere*; and the Tract *De oblatione iugis sacrificii*), p. 78, ll. 1673-7. See PL 76, Col. 1139A. (Luke 10:1-9)*

¹²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 86, ll. 1836-42. For the complicated lollard relationship to saints, see von Nolcken, C., 'Another Kind of Saint: A Lollard Perception of John Wyclif', in *From Ockham to Wyclif, Studies in Church History*, eds. A. Hudson and M. Wilks (Oxford: Ecclesiastical History Society (Blackwell), 1987), 429-443, p. 432.

¹²⁸¹ This was discussed further in chapter two.

¹²⁸² (Hudson, *The Works of a Lollard Preacher: the Sermon *Omnis plantacio*; the Tract *Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere*; and the Tract *De oblatione iugis sacrificii*), p. 87, l. 597-p. 88, l. 1848.*

¹²⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 92, ll. 1936-7. See also p. 84, ll. 1788-90.

¹²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 72, ll. 1625-8.

¹²⁸⁵ Raschko has recently argued that the lollard *Glossed Gospels* 'gesture toward the divine person of Christ by insisting that the text contains untold layers of meaning'. (Raschko, *Re-Forming the Life of Christ*), p. 296.

lordship upon al þe world bi his godhed'.¹²⁸⁶ Yet Christ has also rejected any form of civil lordship, teaching his priests to do likewise:

*Crist, in whom is ful ensaumple and loore of perfeccioun of presthod, fledde alle þese pingis and tauzte hise apostlis and all prestis to do þe same.*¹²⁸⁷

Christ is generally portrayed as poor and unresourced: '*so Crist forsook seculer lordship and helde him apaied wip pore liiflood þat deuout people mynystride to him to his systynauce in his labour*'.¹²⁸⁸ The sermon affirms: '*Cristis pouert þat was verri and not feyned*'.¹²⁸⁹ This affirmation of the poverty of Christ feeds a wider discussion of the need for clergy also to be poor, yet these poor clergy are currently persecuted by the wealthy endowed clergy, who: '*pursuen wipoute merci pore prestis, þat in lyuyng and word techen the pouert of pore Crist and hise apostlis to be kept in al þe staat of þe clergie*'.¹²⁹⁰

Here we see a clear divergence from the portrayal presented by FitzRalph of a resourced and labouring Christ. The sermon rather develops an anticlerical attack on '*þese bastard prestis and her manglid law*', who '*lyuen as worldli, lordli, as ony kyngis or duykis*'.¹²⁹¹ The anticlerical critique is compounded with an attack on the donation of the Emperor Constantine to Pope Sylvester in 324AD, who by accepting the temporal protection offered by the emperor on behalf of the Church: '*forsook þe pouert of þe gospel and bicam a lord upon þe west empire of þe world*'.¹²⁹² Here poverty is figured as a spiritual virtue, rather than the socio-economic reality framed by FitzRalph.

¹²⁸⁶ 'See also '*For wel I woot þat God is ful lord of al þe world aboue and also of þe erþe here bineþe*'. (Hudson, *The Works of a Lollard Preacher: the Sermon Omnis plantacio; the Tract Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere; and the Tract De oblatione iugis sacrificii*), p. 70, ll. 1618-9.

¹²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 78, ll. 1693-5.

¹²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 84, ll. 1810-2.

¹²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 116, ll. 2377-8.

¹²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 46, ll. 1121-3.

¹²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 52, l. 1232, and p. 53, ll. 1251-2. The sermon declares: '*a clerk mai not be a lord or vertuousli ocupie so seculer lordship*', p. 76, ll. 1658-9.

¹²⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 88, ll. 1853-4.

Materially-poor layfolk are featured in a two-dimensional fashion, the sermon signalling their existence through a reference to those '*pore blynde, feble and lame*' from the biblical parable of the Great Banquet.¹²⁹³ Yet the sermon immediately switches from a concept of socio-economic poverty to spiritual poverty, arguing that corrupt clergy: '*hiden þe breed of Goddis word so streitli fro þe hungri peple*'.¹²⁹⁴ This eliding of spiritual and material poverty, an association not made by FitzRalph, is repeated later in the sermon.¹²⁹⁵ The greatest act of injustice is not the theft of material wealth but of spiritual wealth:

*For þus Lucifer robbide Adam of goodis of fortune, of kynde and of grace (as it is writun Gen. 3), as þe clergie robbiþ now þe chirche of þese þre manere of goodis.*¹²⁹⁶

The sermon destabilizes understandings of poverty by switching between spiritual and material poverty. In two places the sermon positions material poverty negatively, both times taking its definition from the parable of the Great Banquet. Here the poor are not personified, but remain invisible, narrowly identified as those who ought to be helped by priests. The same phrase is employed each time, Christ's followers ought to be '*procurators for nedi peple*'.¹²⁹⁷ Quite how an impoverished church is able to help the poor is not explained.

Yet apart from these non-specific statements, the socio-economic experience of the poor is not discussed, the topic subsumed within a larger attack on ecclesiastical corruption. The spiritual hunger suffered by the poor is perceived as the more significant disadvantage, and the

¹²⁹³ Ibid., p. 53, ll. 1252-3. The parable of the banquet is also referred to in pp. 102, 132. For more on the use of this parable in lollard texts, see (Raschko, *The Politics of Middle English Parables: Fiction, Theology, and Social Practice*), pp. 177-215. Raschko emphasizes that the glosses of this parable in the *Wycliffite Glossed Gospels* 'avoid socio-economic discourses and give few readings that interpret these groups literally'. Ibid., p. 186.

¹²⁹⁴ (Hudson, *The Works of a Lollard Preacher: the Sermon *Omnis plantacio*; the Tract *Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere*; and the Tract *De oblatione iugis sacrificii*), p. 53, ll. 1257-8. The example given is that people should be able to understand the *Paternoster* in their mother tongue, p. 53, ll. 1260-1.*

¹²⁹⁵ '*to feede þe peple wiþ trewe loore and good ensauple, and to feed þe pore nedi wiþ comoun almesse of þe chirch*'. Ibid., p. 106, ll. 2193-95.

¹²⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 118, ll. 2428-30.

¹²⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 102, ll. 2112. The second occasion describes St Paul as '*a procurator for pore nedi peple*', p. 132, ll. 2760.

sermon's few references to the '*nedi pore*' are demoted within an overarching accusation that the endowed church has lost '*þe pouert of þe gospel*'.¹²⁹⁸

Begging in Lollard Sermons

The anonymous vernacular lollard sermon to mark *Quinquagesima* Sunday includes a study of various types of begging found in Scripture.¹²⁹⁹ This sermon is not antimendicant, antifraternal or even antisectarian in tone or content, which makes its discussion of this topic particularly interesting. The sermon introduces the section on begging with these words: *But we schal vndirstone þat beggyng is take dyuerseli in Scripture*.¹³⁰⁰ The sermon then explores five types of begging from Scripture: the begging in the *Paternoster*, where we ask God for our daily bread, as discussed, it notes, by Augustine; when one man asks something of another, as Christ was asked to provide the wine at the wedding in Cana; the type of begging whereby 'wise men' use the Psalms to call Christ a beggar; a purely temporal begging not found in the Gospel in which one man asks something of another man, though he has no need of it; and finally the begging undertaken by the blind beggar in the Gospels who called out as Jesus passed by.¹³⁰¹

The first thing to note is that this list differs to the types of scriptural begging FitzRalph had listed in VIII:1.¹³⁰² The second is that it contains a curious blend of those arguments made by FitzRalph against begging, and those in support by Woodford.

The argument that someone might '*begge wipoute nede*', as the sermon puts it, was an identifiable argument of FitzRalph's.¹³⁰³ The sermon illustrates this point by quoting Deuteronomy 15:4, which it explains thus:

¹²⁹⁸ See fn. 1292.

¹²⁹⁹ Oxford, Rawlinson MS, C. 751, fols 43^v-54^r. The sermon is reproduced in a modern edition, Cigman, G., ed. *Lollard Sermons* (Oxford: Early English Text Society, 1989), pp. 105-120. Cigman uses manuscript evidence to date the sermon to the early decades of the fifteenth century.

¹³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 116, l. 375.

¹³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 115, l. 368-p. 117, l. 428.

¹³⁰² See Appendix A.

¹³⁰³ (Cigman, *Lollard Sermons*), p. 116, l. 394.

*In þe Olde Lawe, Jewes hadde a commaundement to suffre no nedi man ne beggare to be amongis hem, for he schulde be releued tofore þat he schulde not nede þerto.*¹³⁰⁴

The reference to 'begging without need' and the citing of Deuteronomy 15:4 were both found in the antifraternal *Dialogue between a Friar and a Secular*. Though neither reference gives proof that FitzRalph's arguments are being cited, if Scase is correct that the argument about 'begging undriven by need' did belong to FitzRalph, this additional reference to the Old Testament verse, which was such a central part of FitzRalph's antimendicant argument, suggests a knowledge of them, and positions FitzRalph as the most likely source.¹³⁰⁵

Yet the sermon also uses two arguments in favour of begging made by Woodford in the *Defensorium*. The first example explains that the *Paternoster* is an illustration of man begging from God.¹³⁰⁶ The second is the reference to christological instances of begging in the Psalms:

*And so Crist beggide ofte of men while in dede he seide his nede ofte to þe peple, to be releued bi almes. And þus wise men seyn Crist was ofte clepid 'beggare' in Psalmis, not only in his membris but in his owne persone.*¹³⁰⁷

This reference to Christ as a beggar in his own person, and not just in his members, suggests the interpretations of Psalm 39 from Peter Lombard, Nicholas of Lyra, and the *Gloss*, which both FitzRalph and Woodford had discussed in their respective texts. The endorsement of Woodford's position, however, rather than that of FitzRalph, indicates a range of opinions on begging within lollard exegesis, challenging a normative framing of lollardy with antimendicancy. The sermon demonstrates a knowledge of FitzRalph's arguments (even if not attributed), while rejecting his central claim that Christ never begged, which suggests a selective lollard reading of the archbishop.

¹³⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 116, ll. 400-3.

¹³⁰⁵ See fn. 1247.

¹³⁰⁶ See fn. 899.

¹³⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 116, ll. 382-6.

Lollards and Poverty

This section explores how lollard texts more generally adopted and used the biblical language of poverty and social description. Whilst essentially theological in nature, lollard texts have also been positioned within the historiographical narrative as being concerned about the poor.¹³⁰⁸ One scholar even asserts that a certain lollard text, *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede*: 'deploys poverty as an authorizing force'.¹³⁰⁹

Lollard texts are perceived to possess radical potential in their refashioning of socio-economic relationships, and their elevation of the status of labour, to an almost progressive degree.¹³¹⁰ There has been discussion of the socio-economic status of lollards themselves, from McFarlane's 1972 book, *Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights*, to more recent close studies of areas known to be centres of lollardy.¹³¹¹

The arguments made in this chapter question such a bold hypothesis, suggesting rather that lollard understandings of poverty and labour appear differently when placed alongside FitzRalph's framings of socio-economic poverty. What is argued here is that a persistent blurring of definitions between socio-economic poverty and spiritual poverty in lollard writings

¹³⁰⁸ Anne Hudson notes of lollard sermons: 'a good deal of concern in the sermons about the condition of the poor'. (Gradon and Hudson, *English Wycliffite sermons*), p. 159. Aston believed: 'Poverty was a continuous theme—if not an obsession—in Lollard writings.' (Aston, 'Caim's Castles': Poverty, Politics, and Disendowment), p. 61.

¹³⁰⁹ (Crassons, *The Claims of Poverty: Literature, Culture, and Ideology in Late Medieval England*), p. 140.

¹³¹⁰ Helen Barr argues: 'Wycliffite texts can be seen to rewrite the contemporary, normative language of social description in the ways that they refigure social relationships between the commons and the lords, but, even more profoundly, in how they refashion social relationships between the commons and the material Church'. Barr, H. *Socioliterary Practice in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 129. Kate Crassons argued that the enobling of the poor was 'a powerful ideological position that was especially prevalent in Wycliffite thought'. (Crassons, *The Claims of Poverty: Literature, Culture, and Ideology in Late Medieval England*), p. 139. Paul Freedman believed: 'texts do have some influence on social reality beyond the influence that they exert simply as evidence or documentation'. (Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant*), p. 295.

¹³¹¹ McFarlane, K. B. *Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972); see pp. 148-76 for McFarlane's study of his seven aristocratic lollards. At the lower end of the social spectrum, Robert Lutton has studied lollards in Tenterden, Kent, concluding there: 'Lollardy seems to have been located in the social stratum of middling crafts- and tradespeople'. Lutton, R., 'Geographies and Materialities of Piety: Reconciling Competing Narratives of Religious Change in Pre-Reformation and Reformation England', in *Pieties in Transition: Religious Practices and Experiences, c.1400-1640*, eds. R. Lutton and E. Salter (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 11-39, p. 34. See also the table showing the occupations of Essex Lollards in Poos, L. R. *A Rural Society after the Black Death: Essex 1350-1525* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 270.

transforms 'literal' statements about the poor into rhetorical and theological devices, and away from the type of statements which might actually refashion social relationships. One recent scholar, Mary Raschko emphasizes this point, arguing that what unifies lollard and orthodox retellings of the biblical parable of Dives and Lazarus, for example, 'is not a concern for the poor but reassurance of the rich that wealth does not necessarily endanger their souls'.¹³¹²

John Wyclif argues that Christ's spiritual authority was directly connected to a decision to walk in humble poverty, suggesting that material poverty somehow bestowed spiritual authority: '*The priests of Christ... should live a poor life, devoid of property, thereby imitating Christ*'.¹³¹³ Wyclif takes advantage of fluid understandings of poverty in the Bible, using that ambiguity to maximize the rhetorical potential of his argument.¹³¹⁴ He suggests a revolutionary overhaul of the temporal world, yet does not suggest a different model, as if to imply that the scriptures alone contain the necessary blueprint for an appropriately governed society.¹³¹⁵

Contemporary chronicles associate Wyclif with the Rising of 1381, an event which has come to be known as the 'Peasant's Revolt', partly due to the association in the immediate accounts of the rebels with *rustici*, those base and poorest members of society.¹³¹⁶ Historians have presented a more nuanced picture of the socio-economic backgrounds of the rebels, finding the rebellion conducted by craftsmen, tradesmen and urban workers, rather than the faceless rural poor depicted in the chronicles.¹³¹⁷ Yet partly due to the radical declaration by John Ball, a minor

¹³¹² (Raschko, *The Politics of Middle English Parables: Fiction, Theology, and Social Practice*), p. 106. (Luke 16:19-31)

¹³¹³ (Levy, *John Wyclif: On the Truth of Holy Scripture*), p. 144.

¹³¹⁴ Stephen Justice wrote: 'Wyclif has managed the language of social distinction to eliminate all distinctions but one; his vocabulary slides back and forth between words that in fact have different connotative meanings—*pauperes*, *vulgus*, *plebs*—to speak as if all those who are not lords or clergy are the poor, and as if the poor are all rural workers'. Steven Justice, *Writing and Rebellion* (California, 1994), p. 86.

¹³¹⁵ 'Wyclif is exasperatingly reluctant to spell out this obvious difficulty and to offer an answer to it'. Kenny, A. *Wyclif* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 49.

¹³¹⁶ See Riley, H. T., ed. *Thomæ Walsingham, Quondam Monachi S. Albani, Historia Anglicana, i* (London: Longman, Roberts and Green, 1863), p. 32. See also the depiction of the rebels as base like animals in John Gower's *Vox Clamantis*, I, ll. 882-901. Macaulay, G. C., ed. *The Complete Works of John Gower, 4 vols* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899), p. 47.

¹³¹⁷ See for example Hilton, R. H. *Bond Men Made Free: Medieval Peasant Movements and the English Rising of 1381* (London: Temple Smith, 1973), pp. 178-85.

priest and rebel leader: '*Whan Adam dalf and Eve span / Wo was thanne a gentilman?*', the 'principle of equality' has been linked with the lollard movement, and thus by association to a lollard theological view of the poor.¹³¹⁸

In his chronicle, Walsingham directly attributes statements by John Ball to Wyclif himself.¹³¹⁹ This has led to the sense of a normative refiguring of the social hierarchy within lollard writings about the poor. Wyclif himself is positioned as a 'clamorous voice that linked the issues of wealth, law, authority, and vernacular literacy in a scheme of theological and political reform'.¹³²⁰ Yet Mary Raschko uses vernacular retellings of the parables within orthodox and also heterodox text to challenge such a prevailing historiographical view, arguing rather that conservative norms and stereotypes continued to be adhered to.¹³²¹

Wyclif does argue for the clergy to be divested of their temporal wealth, and the church to be disendowed, an argument he made in his *Thirty-three Conclusions on the Poverty of Christ*, a tract which has been dated to 1378.¹³²² Yet the social trajectory envisioned by Wyclif is downward; the clergy should become impoverished to resemble Christ, the poorest man of the earth.¹³²³ He declares: '[t]his worldly fiction that wealth should be accepted to the honor and glory of the priesthood is rendered invalid on the grounds that Christ prohibited his disciples from glorying in such things'.¹³²⁴

¹³¹⁸ (Barr, *Socioliterary Practice in Late Medieval England*), p. 112.

¹³¹⁹ '*Docuit et perversa dogmata perfidi Johannes Wyclife, et opinionones quas tenuit, et insanias falsas, et plura, quae longum foret recitare*'. (Riley, Thomæ Walsingham, *Quondam Monachi S. Albani, Historia Anglicana*), p. 32.

¹³²⁰ (Justice, *Writing and Rebellion: England in 1381*), p. 75.

¹³²¹ Citing uses of the parable of the labourers in the vineyard (Matthew 20: 1-16), Raschko emphasizes: 'even Wycliffite writers, famous for their adherence to the plain text of scripture and sometimes characterised as advocates of the poor, represented the parable in ways that elide worldly and spiritual economies'. (Raschko, *The Politics of Middle English Parables: Fiction, Theology, and Social Practice*), pp. 28-9.

¹³²² Loserth, J., ed. *Johannis Wyclif Opera minora* (London: Published for the Wyclif Society by C.K. Paul, 1913), p. VIII. A transcript of the entire tract is on pp. 19-73.

¹³²³ Wyclif describes Christ as '*homo pauperimus*'. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹³²⁴ (Levy, *John Wyclif: On the Truth of Holy Scripture*), p. 314.

Wyclif argues that all clergy, including the pope, should embody the 'evangelical poverty' of Christ.¹³²⁵ He does not advocate a corresponding elevation of the poor, or a greater understanding of types of poverty. Where FitzRalph contextualizes Christ's poverty by figuring him as a working carpenter, Wyclif decontextualizes Christ's socio-economic state, presenting him as living in an existential type of extreme poverty, and advocating that followers of Christ divest themselves of possessions.¹³²⁶

But just as the practical application of material poverty remained undiscussed in lollard texts, spiritual poverty was considered to be important. A sermon entitled *Of Mynystri in þe chirche* describes ideal priests in this way: '*Þei schulden be moste pore men and moste meke men in spirit*'.¹³²⁷ Lollard writers could engage with the literal aspect of the poor Christ topos in a frank and active manner: '*Lyue þou pore lif, as dide Crist*'.¹³²⁸ Such a view of poverty served to set the foundation for lollard stereotypes of 'pore priests'.¹³²⁹ Aston refers to an account apparently derived from the contemporary *Historia Anglicana* by Thomas Walsingham, of Wyclif, surrounded by his followers, in an image startlingly reminiscent of the life of St Francis, walking barefoot, wearing a long russet-coloured gown, and preaching to the people.¹³³⁰

A positive positioning of Francis is found in the lollard poem *Pierce the Plowman's Crede*. Francis, who '*founded his folke fulliche on trewth*', is introduced, before the moral decline of the Franciscan order is set out, with Wyclif described as the one sent to show them their error: '*Wytnesse on Wycliff that warned hem with trewth*'. Francis and Wyclif are united in bringing 'truth' to the Franciscan community.¹³³¹

¹³²⁵ '*Omnes sacerdotes Christi: pape, cardinales, episcopi, abbates, priores vel eius subditi genentur sequi Christum in evangelica paupertate*'. (Loserth, *Johannis Wyclif Opera minora*), p. 20.

¹³²⁶ See fn. 1337.

¹³²⁷ Pamela Gradon, ed. *English Wycliffite Sermons ii* (Oxford, 1988) p. 330, l. 54-5.

¹³²⁸ Anne Hudson, ed. *English Wycliffite Sermons iii* (Oxford, 1990) p. 58, l. 74.

¹³²⁹ Margaret Aston notes that 'the concept of Wycliffe as a founder of a ministry of poor preaching priests has had a long history.' Aston, M. *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion* (London: Hambledon Press, 1984), p. 255.

¹³³⁰ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*., iii, p. 4; cf. ii, p. 799, as quoted in *ibid.*, p. 255. See also Lahey 2013, p. 177.

¹³³¹ Barr, H., ed. *The Piers Plowman Tradition: a Critical Edition of Pierce the Ploughman's Crede, Richard the Redeless, Mum and the Sothsegger and The Crowned King* (London: Dent, 1993), p. 82, l. 511 and l. 528.

Echoing a Franciscan emphasis on the poor Christ, the social poverty of Christ and his followers is repeatedly stressed in lollard texts:

For he lyved in great pouerte and penance wipowt worldly lordschipe and wordly covrtlynes, and also chese to his apostles and disciples ryght poor men, and if any were riche he made them poore bothe in sperett and in worldly good. So he tawzt þem to lyve in mekenes and pouerte, and preastis and clarkis that wold be his successouris and his disciples euermore aftur he tawzt þem to kepe þat rule, as himself berith witnesse in his gospels.¹³³²

Spiritual and material poverty are referred to here--'poore bothe in sperett and in worldly good'--clarity can be achieved if the sermon writer so wishes. This definition of which kind of poverty is intended--in this case, both material and spiritual--seems to point to an awareness of the semantic ambiguity inherent in the language of poverty.

Agreeing with an argument FitzRalph makes in book VIII that parish priests were the most suitable confessors, not due to their education but to their spiritual wisdom,¹³³³ lollard clergy did not require a formal education according to one lollard text, *The Lanterne of Lizt*.¹³³⁴ The sermon entitled *Of Mynystres in þe chirche* instructs true priests to live off alms, mirroring FitzRalph's argument for how priests should live:

þes preestus schuldon flee to hullus for to takon ensaumple of hoolye preestus þat weren byfore and lyuedon porely of almys, and specially to þe hyze hul þat is Iesu Crist, how he lyuede þus pore lif alþow he were in þe heyzte of hullus.¹³³⁵

Lollard 'pore priests' were intended to be poor¹³³⁶ Wyclif sets out his model for the ideal priest: '*Clerum...deberet esse pauper, similis statui innocencie*'.¹³³⁷

¹³³² Taken from the text entitled 'Epistola Sathanae ad Cleros'. Hudson, A., ed. *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 89, l. 12-18.

¹³³³ MS 180, fol. 104^{vb}.

¹³³⁴ 'þe apostlis of Crist & opir seintis weren not graduat men in scolis but þe Holi Goost sodenli enspirid hem & maden hem plenteous of heuenli loore'. (Swinburn, *The Lanterne of Lizt*), p. 5.

¹³³⁵ Gradon, P., ed. *English Wycliffite Sermons, ii* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 335.

¹³³⁶ The text entitled *Of Servants and Lords* states: 'Trewre clerkis seyn also þat cristis lyuyng & his apostlis in wilful pouert, wipouten fals & nedeles beggyng'. (Matthew, *The English Works of Wyclif Hitherto Unprinted*), p. 235

¹³³⁷ Pollard, A. W., ed. *Iohannis Wycliffe Dialogus Sive Speculum Ecclesie Militantis* (London: Published for the Wyclif Society by Trübner & co., 1886), p. 3.

As chapter two had explored, FitzRalph derived his understanding of who might receive alms through the parable of the Great Banquet. From a collection of English lollard sermons, sermon 106 explains the parable in this way: '*Dis gospel tellip hou a man shulde do his almes, and to what men*'.¹³³⁸ The sermon begins by providing a description of the needy, similar to FitzRalph's earlier definition, as '*pore feble men, blynde and lame*'.¹³³⁹ However, when the preacher begins to expound the text, he shifts the emphasis from physical disability to material poverty:

*Heere men ben tauzt to what þre men þey shulen do þer bodily almes: for to pore feble men, to pore lame men, and to pore blynde men. For a man may be feble, lame or blynd, and ful riche; but whanne he is pore wiþ ony of þes þre, þanne he is able to take siche almes.*¹³⁴⁰

Here we can see the direct adoption of FitzRalph's interpretation of the parable, in which the poverty is subsumed within the chief descriptor, a type of physical impairment.¹³⁴¹ This interpretation, widespread in lollard texts, was also used in the antimendicant arguments of Benedictine Uthred of Boldon.¹³⁴²

However, a different lollard sermon approaches the same scriptural passage from an alternative perspective, figuring it as referring to the spiritually poor:

*And hyt semeth þat þese and none opure schal come to heuene: for who schal come to heuene but zif he be pore in spirith? who schal come to heuene but [if] he be feble in spirit and nede to haue mercy? who schal come to heuene but zif he be liztned of his blyndnesse?*¹³⁴³

Making use of the ambiguity inherent in the Biblical discourse on poverty, the sermon has twisted the meaning of the parable so that it now applies to spiritual and 'inner' poverty. Taken together, these lollard sermons based on the same biblical story, yet providing alternative

¹³³⁸ Hudson, A., ed. *English Wycliffite Sermons*, iii (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 285.

¹³³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

¹³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

¹³⁴¹ See fns 608 and 609.

¹³⁴² Margaret Aston refers to this biblical parable as 'a *locus classicus* for Lollards'. (Aston, 'Caim's Castles': Poverty, Politics, and Disendowment), p. 49, see also pp. 62 and 65. Wendy Scase cites BN MS Lat. 3183, fol. 165^r for Uthred's views, see (Scase, 'Piers Plowman' and the New Anti-clericalism), p. 63, fn. 72.

¹³⁴³ Hudson, A., ed. *English Wycliffite Sermons*, i (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), p. 230.

identifications of who might be the poor to which it refers, give an indication of the variety of understandings of poverty within lollard hermeneutics.

Lollards and Labour

A classic example of the tendency to locate righteousness in socio-economic poverty, is found in the celebrated lollard representation of the righteous ploughman. Through his poverty and purity, the ploughman is holier than the corrupt and worldly clerics, and by implication, to those in the second estate who weald secular authority.¹³⁴⁴ As the lollard tract, '*Hou sathanas & his prestis & his feyned religious casten bi þre cursed heresies to distroie alle good lyuyng & mayntene all manere of synne*', states:

*a symple pater noster of a plou3man þat is in charite is betre þan a þousand massis of coueitouse prelati3 & veyn religious ful of coueitise & pride & worldly flaterynge & norischyng of synne.*¹³⁴⁵

This tract does not elevate the spiritual status of the ploughman because he is a ploughman. Within the logic of the quotation, the ploughman is holy because he is '*in charite*'. The rhetorical power comes from the implication that his poverty, not his profession, makes him holy. This is markedly different from later theological views circulating during the Reformation which enoble and elevate secular labour as a spiritual occupation.¹³⁴⁶

The virtuous ploughman is upheld as a Christlike figure in lollard texts. Yet in *De statu innocencie*, Wyclif's speculative text imagining the socio-economic context within which prelapsarian man existed, the ideal world is envisaged free from labour, Wyclif believing that only after the Fall was agricultural work or the 'mechanical arts' required.¹³⁴⁷

¹³⁴⁴ Mary Raschko notes that Middle English sermons insist upon the concept of work 'occurring within a traditional social role, correlating virtue with particular social conventions and sin with their transgression...a conservative theory of social relations'. (Raschko, *The Politics of Middle English Parables: Fiction, Theology, and Social Practice*), p. 35.

¹³⁴⁵ (Matthew, *The English Works of Wyclif Hitherto Unprinted*), p. 274.

¹³⁴⁶ Martin Luther declared: 'There is no true, basic difference between laymen and priests, princes and bishops, between religious and secular, except for the sake of office and work, but not for the sake of status...they are all of the spiritual estate'. Weimarer Ausgabe 6:408.26-30.

¹³⁴⁷ See fn. 672 for the original reference. See also Minnis, A., 'Wyclif's Eden: Sex, Death, and Dominion', in *Wycliffite Controversies*, eds. M. Bose and J. P. Hornbeck II (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 59-78, p. 72.

Wyclif's identification of 'labour' as a consequence of man's fallen state shows his own base categorization of labour.¹³⁴⁸ Chapter three noted the Woodford's criticism of FitzRalph's elevation of the virtue of labour. Taken together, these orthodox and heterodox arguments simultaneously challenge FitzRalph's views on labour and work, a demonstration of how unhelpful binary positionings of concepts as either 'orthodox or 'heterodox' can be to historians.¹³⁴⁹

Noting that 'the root of the favourable view of peasant labourers in Wycliffite texts is that they live in praiseworthy poverty', Helen Barr provides examples of 'the praise of virtuous poverty' within lollard texts.¹³⁵⁰ One sermon castigates 'the sin of pride and upward mobility in all three estates'.¹³⁵¹ The 'language of poverty' is positioned to point to the virtue of humility, since the vice castigated is not riches or resources, but pride.¹³⁵² Lollard texts also portray those who must labour as victims of the rich.¹³⁵³ Yet within this context we see ambiguity where the same language of poverty is used to signal an ideal state--manifested by the virtue of humility--and a negative state expressed as that vulnerability which comes with socio-economic disenfranchisement. Where meaning breaks down is when the same language of poverty is used to signal both states.

¹³⁴⁸ In contrast, Bonaventure categorized work as something pre-lapsarian, and undertaken by God himself, during the work of creation. See (Epstein, *Wage Labor and Guilds in Medieval Europe*), p. 174.

¹³⁴⁹ Note for example the inclusion of a list of saints' days in the introductory pages of one manuscript version of *Oon of Foure*, the vernacular Gospel harmony text, *Unam ex quattuor* which has been associated with the lollards, see fns 633 and 634. The list begins with the words: '*Here bigynneþ þe Sanctorum*'. Bodley MS 771, fols 2^{rb}- 3^{rb}. Ian Forrest suggests: 'just as the history of orthodoxy could be invigorated by assuming greater fragmentation within majority culture, the history of lollardy could benefit from assuming greater commonality between lollards and non-lollards.' (Forrest, *Lollardy and Late Medieval History*), p. 126. John Arnold reminds us: 'assertions of homogeneous conformity must be treated with suspicion'. (Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe*) p. 4.

¹³⁵⁰ Barr, H., 'Wycliffite Representations of the Third Estate', in *Lollards and their Influence in Late Medieval England*, eds. J. C. Havens, D. G. Pitard and F. Somerset (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2003), 197-216, pp. 199-200.

¹³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

¹³⁵² 'Wycliffite texts portray the commons performing their duty meekly and truly'. *Ibid.*, p. 202.

¹³⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

FitzRalph's grammatical disambiguation of the language of poverty cannot be found in depictions of the labouring poor in lollard writings. The lollard privileging of the labourer as a symbol of virtue, because of his humility and through his vulnerability, side-steps the empowered and potent portrayal of physical work FitzRalph offers in Christ the carpenter. Rather manual labour compels an enforced and perpetual humility, which in turn produces 'the virtuous worth of the poor labourer'.¹³⁵⁴ What we do not find in the illustrations provided by Barr and others is an active sense of that *agency* which powers FitzRalph's presentation of the labouring poor.¹³⁵⁵ The virtue of humility is thus imposed by external and socio-economic circumstances, not cultivated from within. FitzRalph's positioning of labour, through the personification of Christ the carpenter, renders obsolete the pious benefits associated to labour and the labourer in lollard texts.¹³⁵⁶

Conclusion

Mary Raschko argued that in their study of scripture: 'Wycliffites...endeavoured to omit nothing, suggesting that every bit of text bears witness to an integrated, transcendent truth'.¹³⁵⁷ This chapter, however, highlights the selective use of FitzRalph's arguments in lollard exegesis. It has built on the work of Anne Hudson, Fiona Somerset and Stephen Lahey to present a picture of the lollard debt to FitzRalph, but also to draw out how his arguments were also omitted by his supporters.

Furthermore, the historiography typically positions lollard texts as engaged in a radical refashioning of the Third Estate. Contradicting that, this chapter has foregrounded the wholesale lollard rejection of FitzRalph's elevation of that social group in the person of Christ the carpenter,

¹³⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 215.

¹³⁵⁵ Whilst depictions of Christ, in the humility of his birth, are referred to, the article does not cite Wycliffite texts which frame Christ as a labouring man, nor flag up this absence amongst Wycliffite depictions of Christlike labourers. Ibid., p. 207.

¹³⁵⁶ Mary Raschko concludes that Middle English retellings of the parable of the labourers in the vineyard 'tend to define righteous behaviour in terms favourable to the socio-economic interests of those who benefit from, rather than participate in, agricultural work, so that this spiritual discourse upholds a dominant social ideology'. (Raschko, *The Politics of Middle English Parables: Fiction, Theology, and Social Practice*), p. 32.

¹³⁵⁷ (Raschko, *Re-Forming the Life of Christ*), p. 301.

proferring the traditional stereotype of the meek and lowly labourer, rendered holy by passive acceptance of a lack of *potestas*. Evidence provided by primary texts leads to the suggestion that FitzRalph's depiction of the poor, and of Christ's poverty, was possibly considered too radical even to be taken up within lollard texts.

Conclusion

This thesis has sought to do a number of things. Its main purpose has been a close study of certain arguments found in book VIII of *De pauperie Salvatoris* and of Woodford's *Defensorium*, specifically those encompassing poverty and begging, and the activities of Christ.

The Introduction speculated why these texts have come to be perplexingly overlooked, alongside a historiographical narrative dominated by the absence of clarity on how mendicant ideologies functioned in practice. Chapter one, after introducing FitzRalph and situating his antimendicant campaign within its correct context, highlighted ways our understandings of medieval mendicant belief and identity are systematically unresolved. Scholars signpost the fact that further research needs to be undertaken, yet antimendicant texts themselves seem not to be considered sources of useful empirical information.

Noting that book VIII and the *Defensorium* were each treated by the established Church as orthodox texts--even where the historiography might surround FitzRalph's writings with an aura of heresy--the texts' contradictory presentations of Christ was then a topic of investigation. Chapters two and three compared how each theologian constructed their portrait of Christ, highlighting their alternate sources of authority. A focus to these divergent portraits of Christ has been FitzRalph's presentation of Christ as a labouring carpenter, and Woodford's socio-economically dismissive and anti-semitic response. Woodford worked hard to discredit FitzRalph's position since it challenged the core mendicant belief in Christ as a beggar.

Woodford's robust challenge to FitzRalph is not unexpected, yet what was more surprising, and which chapter four explored, is a disinclination within lollard texts to take up FitzRalph's arguments. Lollard texts frequently proclaim their debt to *Sanctus Armachanus*. They have also been positioned as promoting a progressive personification of labour and of working folk, representatives of the so-called Third Estate.

Yet this thesis has discovered that FitzRalph was more wide-reaching in his presentation of poverty and the poor than his heterodox and 'radical' descendants. Given how lollard portrayals of the labouring poor appear conservative when placed alongside FitzRalph's, this thesis asks whether the normative framing of lollard writings as freighted with potential for social change, should be re-evaluated.¹³⁵⁸

This thesis has also drawn out certain topics from book VIII and the *Defensorium*, noting how each text deals with the concepts of begging, both in its spiritual and figurative formulation, and as a practical response to extreme need. It has also explored contrasting portrayals of poverty, in its 'idealized' state and as a morally-neutral and socio-economic state. It volunteers that presentations of poverty in each text are a valuable resource to social historians working to document medieval understandings of, and discussions about poverty. Furthermore, it suggests that obfuscations on the nature of poverty, especially in Woodford's responses to FitzRalph, are of equal relevance, indicating obvious and unspoken boundaries which themselves constrained contemporary discussions of poverty.

A number of possible routes of scholarly inquiry have been left untravelled. For instance, the project deliberately chose not to focus on the various papal bulls cited and quoted by both theologians, as a part of the apparatus from which they constructed their opposing arguments. Rather time and attention has been spent excavating--insofar as it might be possible--the actual beliefs and opinions of each writer. This is small-scale work, and the findings it produces cannot be so easily contextualized within the wider historiography.

Other avenues have similarly been left unstudied, for example, explorations of how FitzRalph and Woodford each conceptualize the idea of law as a governing principle in everyday

¹³⁵⁸ R.I. Moore bemoans a type of 'progressive' historiography which: 'reflects the widely and often rather vaguely held notion of a common historical trajectory which all societies, or civilizations, are presumed to follow'. Moore, R. I., 'A Global Middle Ages?', in *The Prospect of Global History*, eds. J. Belich, J. Darwin, M. Frenz and C. Wickham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 80-92, p. 81.

life, and as a piece of rhetorical equipment which confers a sense of authority over one's opponent. Book VIII and the *Defensorium* also present different pictures of Church hierarchy, and portray radically-different routes through which the established Church came to be constructed.

Another research project would be how each writer articulates and identifies heresy. FitzRalph was careful to avoid directly accusing the friars of such, yet he works hard to foreground their doctrinal fictions. Woodford sees the rise of heresy as legitimizing the existence of the friars, and he explains how the recently-arrived and subtle heresy within England can only be combatted by the special educational-training undergone by mendicants.

This study of book VIII has added to the historian's knowledge of 'lived religion' through its exploration of four types of poverty, and the mechanics of each. The *Defensorium* makes an equally valid, though different, contribution, through its explanation of how late fourteenth-century fraternal life operated, or was intended to operate, and equally at home in an urban or a rural setting. Woodford explains how friars might serve in an auxiliary role to secular clergy, all the while undermining the ability of parish clergy to perform the most basic of parish tasks.

At the conclusion of this research project a number of suggestions are offered. The contributions by FitzRalph and Woodford have been overlooked unjustly, and further examination into these texts, and other texts they wrote, is encouraged. It suggests that theological texts such as book VIII and the *Defensorium* should more routinely be consulted by social historians, as part of the work to reconstruct 'social identities'.¹³⁵⁹ It proposes that the study of antimendicant arguments softens and erodes anachronistic distinctions between 'orthodox' and

¹³⁵⁹ Gervase Rosser notes that: 'an appreciation of the nature of work...needs to take into account the whole range of available social identities'. Rosser, G., 'Workers' Associations in English Medieval Towns', in *Les métiers au Moyen Âge: aspects économiques et sociaux: actes du colloque international de Louvain-la-Neuve, 7-9 octobre 1993*, eds. P. Lambrechts and J.-P. Sosson (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université catholique de Louvain, Institut d'études médiévales, 1994), 283-305, p. 284.

'heterodox' texts and arguments which have been erected throughout the historiographical narrative.¹³⁶⁰

Writing about lollardy, Ian Forrest suggests: '[t]he historian's prime interest...is perhaps the sociology of religious identity and belief'.¹³⁶¹ This thesis has worked to make a contribution to that very sociology to which Forrest refers. Its focus has been kept deliberately narrow, but it is hoped that the conclusions drawn will aid scholars exploring how ideas about poverty were traded, and about how views about the life, identity, and activity of Christ moved--sometimes in unexpected directions--inside the umbrella of orthodox late medieval theological discussion.

¹³⁶⁰ Alex Walsham has stressed 'the permeability of the boundaries between orthodoxy and heterodoxy in late medieval England'. Walsham, A., 'Inventing the Lollard Past: The Afterlife of a Medieval Sermon in Early Modern England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 58:4 (2007), 628-655, p. 629. 'Thinking about "the Church" or "the institutional Church" as a single entity is a particularly lazy habit that medieval historians fall into from time to time'. Forrest, I., 'Continuity and Change in the Institutional Church', in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity*, ed. J. Arnold (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 185-200, p. 185.

¹³⁶¹ (Forrest, *Lollardy and Late Medieval History*), p. 126.

Appendix A

A transcription of the Prologue, Chapter Headings and Chapters 1, 2, 21 and 22 from *de Pauperie Salvatoris*, Book VIII, from Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS180.¹³⁶²

Prologue

[90ra] Retractationes sive declarationes quorundam dictorum precedentium. In quinto libro de pauperie Salvatoris, capitulo II dixi arguendo quod filius regis aut potentis alterius adhuc puer ymmo in primo instanti animacionis sue seu in primo instanti sue originis mortuo patre suo nullo sibi obstante est dives. (V:II) Et in capitulo 14 eiusdem libri et etiam in capitulo XX eiusdem ad illud doctum II capituli relationem feci non intendens quod proprie dives dici tunc debebat sed loquendo vulgariter cum libro IIII capitulis eius III, IIII, et V, suaserim quod nullus est vere dives sine gratiam, et in VI libro capitulo II adiecerim quod quia talis nascitur filius ne ideo in ortu non est proprie dives sed nec est proprie dominus est in ortu. Sed errabere in memoriam ibi dixi respondendo quod obicitum supponentem. Et vere primum hic tactum de filio non¹³⁶³ regis dixi in II capitulo quinti hic non illi hoc diximus quia flectebam memoriam ad doctam in IIII libro capitulis in IIII et quinto et ad illa doctam respondi ubi ad doctam in quinto hoc capitulo II debui respondisse sicut superius hic respondi sed quod in illo capitulo II quinti libri loquebar vulgariter et sermonem leges humanas. Item libro VI capitulo XXVII in fine dixi et sic sed equale originale dominium sic in omnibus remanet equale ius utendi rebus possessis ab [ab] ipsis verbi intelligere volui ius utendi originale esse in civitis iustis equale sicut est in eis equale originale dominium de tali eum iure utendi non in iure utendi civili iuxta materiam ibi tractatam loqui pertinuit.¹³⁶⁴

¹³⁶² Punctuation, capitalization and the expansion of abbreviated words are my own. Certain words have been cross-checked with the text in Lambeth Palace, MS 121, and scribal variations noted.

¹³⁶³ Lambeth Palace Library, MS 121, 138ra, does not have 'non'.

¹³⁶⁴ This first section of the Prologue is found only in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 180, 90ra and Lambeth Palace Library, MS 121, 138ra. All four manuscripts contain the subsequent text from 'Quia cum...'.¹³⁶⁴

Quia cum VII libellos de pauperi salvatoris composui de mendicitate tractare non erat necessarium michi visum quam cum in VII libro de abusu privilegiorum a fratribus per tractam non ad plenum repugnanciam inter observanciam privilegiorum fratribus concessorum et mendicitatis spontanee tunc adverti. Nec etiam estimabam quod hii qui de ordinibus mendicantium appellantur mendicitatem spontaneam sue professioni esse annexam astruerent quod cum me predicante Londonium ad populum in vulgari de ipsam materia. Post agnovi unde iuxta meorum sermonum quatuor seriem quos ibi protuleram quorum themata extiterunt 'Dirigite deum viam', 'Quodcumque dixerit vobis facite', 'Dicut lapides isti panes fiant', et 'Nemo vos seducat inanibus [90rb] verbis'. Quorum etiam quatuor sermonum materia postmodum [corum] Domino nostro Domino Innocentis Papa VI et [consistorum] cetu reverendissimorum dominorum cardinalem in consistorio publice etiam propalam. Hunc libellum puntem quam de mendicitate et fratrum privilegis censui appellandum ad operis mei prioris consummationem adieci. Suadendo ea que in ipso adduxi michi preter certam doctrinam ecclesie asserendo ad denudandum ypocrisim multis temporibus ut videtur prudentibus clarivi de scientatis amictam. Ut per Dominum nostrum Summum Pontificem et meos Dominos Cardinales. Si per me ad ducta veritatem contineant ne ipsam ypocrisis ulterius noteat ecclesie prelati et populis salubri remedio maturius occurratur correctionem atque correptionem cuiscumque suadentis in ipsam materia magis sobrie postulando. Quam corripiet me iustus in misericordia et increpabit me oleum autem; peccatoris non inpinguet caput meum. (Psalm 140:5) Quam libellus xlv capitulorum suorum titulis prenotantis sic incipit. Johannes dic primum...

Chapter Introductions

Premum capitulum proposita mendicitatis materia quo ad Christum et apostolos atque discipulos distinguit eam in species sicuti egestatem et unius specie scilicet corporalis actum describit et obiciens multipli ac dissolvens mendicantem ab egestate seu indigenti.

Secundum capitulum actus spontanee sive ultronei tres species modos seu gradus distinguit eas declerans.

Tertium capitulum de materia paupertatis artissime primo inquit quanta fratres aut alii de rebus mobilibus sive immobilibus possunt servare ut non fiant spontanei mendicantes obiciens et colorate respondens et replicans amplius colorate de rebus a fratribus reservatis.

Quartum capitulum quandam responsionem de dominio Dominum Pape iuxta decretum *Exiit* rerum a fratribus minoribus posserum¹³⁶⁵ adducit et eam reprobatur ex decreto eadem et ex constitutione Dominum Johannis *Ad Conditorem*.

Quintum capitulum quod procuratio facta per fratres ut rerum predicarum dominium esset in Papa fuit improvide facta et notie etiam ad hoc quod fratres minores pauperiores ceteris mendicantibus appererent ex decreto *Exiit* et *Ad Conditorem* nititur suaderer divites [90va] eos esse concludens et eos peccare mortaliter ex multiplici ratione suadetis.

Sextum capitulum distinguit mendicatatem a pauperte artissima per materialia atque formalia utrusque principia iuxta prefatum capitulum. *Exiit* de V suo libro VI et quater descripta corporali mendicitate suadet ex reprehensione matris Sancti Clementis a Petro apostolo predictum facultate corporis ad laborem non esse vere mendicum.

Septimum capitulum nititur suadere quod facultas evangelizandi mendicatatem expugnat per scripturas et capitulum *Dudum* obiciens multipliciter et respondens et contra fratres dure concludens.

¹³⁶⁵ Lambeth Palace Library, MS 141, 138va has '*possessarum*'.

Octavum capitulum obiciens quod evangelizandi facultas artissimam paupertatem in Christo et apostolis eius impugnat sicut in fratribus soluendo suadet contrarium probatis illam facultatem in fratribus ius esse civile non ita in Christo et obicit difficulter ac soluit declaracionem adiciens de Christo et suorum artissimam paupertate ostendens ulterius hanc facultatem in fratribus humilitatem abicere ab eis professam.

Nonum capitulum obicit de facultate sepulture et recipendi oblationes de officiis primarie Dominum Pape et principium inquisitionis super heretica pravitate lectorie Dominum Pape et etiam de cunctis officiis quibus certa stipendia annectuntur et soluit ostendens quo ad oblationes appropriandas fratribus ius utendi civile esse in eis et obiectum de concessione Dominum Pape dissolvit ostendens quod ipso sola non tollit actu ius aliquid a curatis.

Decum capitulum ex secundum huius verbi privilegium et per exemplum de dispensatione facta illegitimo suadere conatur quod facultas recipendi oblationes in fratribus est ius civile in eis et obicit multipliciter et dissolvit concludens quod ista facultas abicit seu impugnat mendicitatem et paupertatem artissimam et quater obicit ac dissolvit obicentem de sacerdotali officio.

Undecimum capitulum obicit contra precedens ex pervitate illius facultatis et commoditatis illius in comparatione ad multitudinem fratrem et ex decretere *Exiit* soluit suadens quod fratres in usu illius facultatis suam professionem impugnant peccatum mortale committunt et summam maiorem ex communis incurrunt aut alias incurrerunt.

Duodecimum capitulum nititur suadere quod usus [91vb] cuiuscumque officii spiritualis cui de iure aut pacto sufficientie stipendia annectuntur fratrem professione impugnat et quod officium primarie in curiis principum non solum artissimam paupertatem et mendicitatem sed rerum artum usum ab eis professum expugnat iuxta capituli *Exiit* et *Exivi* et contra doctrinam evangelicam fratres in te[m]ptacionem inducit et quod peccatum eorum suos inficit presidentes.

Tredecimum capitulum obicit contra premissa per hoc quod quia Dominus Papa privilegia ista concessit fratres sine peccato illa privilegia acceptare et eis sine peccato libere uti possunt et poterant et soluendo ostendit rationibus XII obiecti contrarium scilicet quod privilegia facultatis predicandi et pietatis confessiones audiendi mediante peccato fuerant procurata etiam acceptata et pariter exercenter et de vocatione et missione fratrem ad premissa officia et capitulum *Dudum* obicit et dissoluit.

Quartumdecimum capitulum obicit de concessione Dominum Pape quod tollit ista peccata et soluendo rationibus multis ostendit contrarium obiciens de prima peccatorum illorum et soluens quantum ad idem alias plures rationes etiam de regulam Sancti Francisci extractas adducit.

Quintumdecimum capitulum respondet rationibus precedentis articuli de testamento Sancti Francisci extractis scilicet quod fratres non tenentur illud testamentum [prevare] et econtra per rationes extractas de ipso testamento declarat quod fratres ad Testamenti observantiam sunt astricti.

Sextumdecimum capitulum diffuso inquit numquid status parochialis rectorum Episcoporum suum episcoporum¹³⁶⁶ et aliorum prelatorum ecclesiae aut totalis impugnet professionem fratrum istorum ita nec per retentionem eorum sic peccent quod illis retentis vere penitere non possunt affirmatissimam suadens et quod immobilium rerum possessio status perfectionem minuit rationibus multis nititur suadere et per rationes plurimas quod fratres vere non penitent nititur suadere.

Decimum septimum capitulum inquirendo nititur suadere quod exemptio a iuris doctoribus et ordinariorum et ab obedientia eorumdem fuit iniuriosa Deo apostolis eius sue ecclesiae et eius prelatis et obicit de possessione natorum ordinibus ac dissoluit.

¹³⁶⁶ MS 121, 139ra has '*Arcepscoporum*'

Decimum octavum capitulum nititur suadere quod usus privilegiorum ex[91ra] emptionis sepulture et receptionis oblationem a fratribus contra professionem suam quia contra legem nature in evangelio nobis expressam minuit commodum et honorem atque favorem etiam caritatem sepe prescindit in curatis et in populis sibi subiectis.

Decimum nonum capitulum conatur ostendere quo ad locum et quo ad confessoris personam per plurimas rationes quod ecclesiam parochialis et persona curati sunt utiliores parochianis sed confitendis fratrum ecclesiis seu oratoriis et personis et illud confirmat per Innocenti VI assertionem atque decretum.

Vicensimum capitulum nititur multis rationibus aliis suadere ad idem et etiam quod est minus dampnosum magis secure constitutione confitentis confiteri et suo curato licet curatis scire sit minoris quam frater et assert unam rationem de statuto generalis consilii [*Omnis*] *utriusque sexus* et eam diffuse pro sequitur.

Vicensimum primum capitulum de mendicitate inquirens incipit suadere quod Dominus Noster Ihesus in terris mortaliter conversatus numquam mere spontanee mendicavit aut erat mendicus¹³⁶⁷ obiciens multiplicati et dissoluens.

Vicensimum secundum capitulum rationibus multis suadet quod Dominus Noster Ihesus Christi non erat pauper quia propter se paupertatem delexit.¹³⁶⁸

Vicensimum tertium capitulum pro prima conclusione sex adicit rationes.

Vicensimum quartum capitulum addit ad primam conclusionem XIII rationes.

¹³⁶⁷ Quotation from FitzRalph's sermon, *Defensio curatorum*.

¹³⁶⁸ Quotation from *Defensio curatorum*.

Vicensimum quintum capitulum adicit¹³⁶⁹ alias rationes obiciens ex difficultate et humilitate actus mendicandi et soluens exemplis et ratione ostendens quod illi obiectus locum non habent.

Vicensimum sextum capitulum obicit per illud doctam mulieri samaritane a domino da michi bibere et per illud doctam Zacheo hodie in domo tua oportet me manere Lucis XIX capitulum et soluit.

Vicensimum septimum capitulum obicit de doctis possessorum ego mendicus sum et pauper ego egenus sum (Ps 39:18) et pauper et persecutus est hominem inopem et mendicum (Psalm 108:17) et soluit obiectum.

Vicensimum octavum capitulum adhuc obicit contra conclusionem premissam per illud Lucis VIII¹³⁷⁰ vulpes foueas habent (Luke 9:58) etc. filius autem homines non habet ubi sunt caput reclinet (Luke 9:58) et per illud Mattheis X nolite precedere aurum neque argentum (Matthew 10:9) et cuius et per illud Lucis XIII omnis ex vobis qui non renunciat omnibus (Luke 14:33) et cuius et soluit illos obiectus.

[91rb] Vicensimum nonum capitulum obicit per illud Matheus XIX si vis perfectus esse (Matt 19:21) etc. et soluit ex scriptura ostendens propositum.

Tricensimum capitulum obicit per illud Pauli quoniam propter vobis egenus factus est (2 Cor 8:9) II Cor VIII per collectas factas a Paulo et soluit ostendens quod non faciunt per mendicitate spontanea esto quod provarent Christum aliquociens mendicasse.

Tricensimum primum capitulum contra conclusionem eandem opponit doctam Sancti Bernardi et aliorum quorundam doctorum et soluit dans regulam et per doctam Sancti Augustini ipsam confirmans qualiter diversimode doctam a sanctis diversimode sunt recipienda a nobis.

¹³⁶⁹ MS121, 139ra, adds 'IX' here.

¹³⁷⁰ MS 121, 139ra repeats this error. The reference in chapter 28 gives Luke XI as the scriptural citation, see MS 180, 114vb, but MS 121, 163ra, correctly gives Luke IX.

Tricensimum secundum capitulum obicit ex hoc quod mendicatio est unus modus promissionis humane in fratrem minorum regulam ordinatus quod continentur in evangelio et sic docta et servata a Christo et soluit ex constituone Dominum Johannes XXII [*Quia Quorundam*] ostendendo contrarium e quo quod Christus numquam secundo modo spontanei etiam spontanee mendicavit.

Trecensimum tertium capitulum nititur suadere quod Dominus Noster Ihesus numquam precepit consuluit aut docuit mendicitatem seu mendicionem primo modo sine secundo spontaneam esse servandam a suis apostolos sine discipulis perpetuo aut ad tempus.

Trecensimum quartum capitulum conatur construere quod mendicatas sine mendicationem neglecto labore tunc iuste poterit exerceri dissuasa ac reprobata fuit a Domino Ihesu Christo ab eius apostolis atque discipulis et etiam a sacris scripturis et a Sancto Francisco et a sanctis doctoribus ita quod Christus tertio modo spontanetatis numquam spontanee mendicavit scilicet neglecto labore.

Trecensimum quintum capitulum idem ostendit.

Trecensimum sextum capitulum obicit difficulter contra conclusionem premissam per diffusionem Dominum Alexandri VIII condempnantem magistrorum libellum ut dicit Johannes Papa in constitutionem *Quia Quorundam* et soluit et per bullam Alexandri VIII obicit iterato.

Trecensimum septimum capitulum soluit obicitum de bulle ostendens contrarium per capitulum *Exiit* et per constitutionem *Quia Quorundam* et quater per rationem obicit et per rationem dissoluit suadens quod illa bulla Dominum Alexandri VIII non operatur pro mendicite fratrem quam [91va] fingunt et contra per rationem obicit et dissoluit.

Trecensimum octavum capitulum nititur affirmare quod spontanea mendicatio sive mendicatas non tunc est in clericis dissuasa sed est censenda eis prohibita.

Tricensimum nonum capitulum nititur suadere quod mendicitas sive spontanea mendicatio primo et secundo modo non potest ab aliquo prudenter et sancte ex voto seu sponsione assumi pro toto vite sue tempore observanda obiciens et dissoluens.

Quadragesimum capitulum obicit contra precedens de divinis consiliis et de notis quod scire non possunt affirmi et soluit distinguendo votorum materiam et obicit de gestis apostoli et dissoluit.

Quadragesimum primum capitulum obicit contra conclusionem premissam per factum pauperum scholarum mendicantium in studiis generalibus victum pro scientiam acquirenda et soluit ostendens mendicationem scolarum sciam existere et mendicationem quam fratres exercent esse reprobam et fictatam.

Quadragesimum secundum capitulum obicit sicut prius per canonizationem *Quorundum* qui mendicationem spontaneam observarunt et soluit ostendens quod non inde ab ecclesiam approbantur et iterum obicit de egestate atque inopia et dissoluit.

Quadragesimum tertium capitulum nititur suadere quod super mendicitate sive mendicatione sponte aliquo tertium modorum duo huius capitulo descriptorum assumpta non potest fundari sciam collegialis religio.

Quadragesimum quartum capitulum obicit quondam proposita conatur ostendere quod nullus sufficienter instructus potest sine peccatum mortali votum seu promissionem super mendicitate servare si ex statu ad perfectionem fuerit obligatus et non soluit obicium nec rationes precedent apostoli dissoluenda dimittit et obicit sed fratribus per decretere *Exiit* quod ad mendicitatem fratres minores artantur ex regula et affert duos obiectus.

Quadragesimum quintum capitulum soluit utrusque obiectum reprobans fratrem furta et concessionem minorem Innocentium eos et precedentes eorum suadens involutos esse peccato et

recapitulando aliquam ecclesie sacrosancte gravaminiam per fratres¹³⁷¹ illa et fratrem excessus ac criminans medelam horum morborum Domino Nostro Pape reservans operi finem inponit.

Chapter 1

[91vb] Johannes. Dic primo numquam Dominus Noster Ihesus sicut paupertatem artissimam in VI libro operis tui discriptam quoniam Domini in carne mortali conversabatur in terris tenuerat ut inibi suasisti quam paupertates Fratres Minores et alii Fratres apellati de ordinem mendicantium ut asserunt imitantur et prelati ecclesiae maiores atque minores imitari possunt si voluit ut inibi etiam suasisti mendicitatem modo consili. Quia factus est sub lege aut spontanee observabat aut quovismodo mendicitatem seu mendicantium spontanee exercuit per seipsem aut mendicitatem seu mendicationium statuit aut consuluit aut docuit a suis apostolis et discipulis perpetuo aut pro certo tempore spontanee observandam. Item an spontanea mendicatio sine mendicitas prohibita clericis aut dissuasa aut concessa aut saltem impune permissa debet intelligi et de laicis id idem exposco ut tractes adiciendo si qua Deus tibi videre concesserit de ipsa materia inquirendo licet enim in sexto huius suaseris quod artiozem paupertatem homines statu attento quam noster Salvator et sui apostoli renuerunt nullus potest perpetuo observandam omnino sancte assumere, quia sic comitteret seipsim discrimini et Deum contra ipsius perceptum temptaret. Unde sequi michi videtur quod mendicitatem spontaneam non servavit nichilominus te requiro ut expressius illud tractes.

Ricardus. Cum dic primo an una species mendicationis an multiplex reperiatur in sacris scripturis et quanter inquire quid et que sit mendicantem sive mendicitas spontanea appellanda.

Johannes. Duplex michi videtur mendicitas sive mendicatio exprimi in scripturis, spiritualis et corporalis. Spiritualem inteligo quam victus et vestitus species expetuntur. Corporalem qua necessitia corpori postulantur videlicet iuxta illud Lucem XVI de Lazaro mendico qui cupiebat

¹³⁷¹ MS121, 139vb, has '*illi illa*'.

saturari de micis quae cadebant de mensa divitis et nemo illi dabat (Luke 16:20-21). Sicuti egestas duplex consimilis ac pauperitas exprimitur in scripturis dicitur eum Proverbi X qui autem indocti sunt in cordis egestate morientur (Proverbs 10:21) et in Psalmo XXXIII: Divites eguerunt et esurierunt inquirentes autem Dominum non minuentur omni bono¹³⁷² (Psalm 33:10) et ad Romanos III capitulo: Omnes enim peccaverunt et egent gloriam Dei iustificati [92ra] gratis gratia ipsius (Romans 3:23-24) que omnia de egestate species et actu ipsius michi dicta videntur. Simili de pauperate consimili dicitur Apocalypsis III capitulo dicis quia dives sum et locuplitanus et nullius egeo et nescis quia tu es miser et miserabilis et pauper et cecis et nudus (Revelation 3:17). Sic etiam illud Ysaie LI doctum ad Jerusalem: Idcirco audi hoc paupercula non a vino (Isaiah 51:21) iuxta circumstantias habere de paupertate species doctum videtur de mendicitate vero species doctam existimo Psalmo 39: Ego vero mendicus sum et pauper Dominus sollicitus est mei (Psalm 39:17) et quod Psalmo VIII Devida proditore est doctam quia persecutis est hominem inopem et mendicum et cumpuntum corde mortificare (Psalm 108:17, de mendicitate species pariter doctam puto de egestate autem corporis et paupertate et etiam mendicitate Proverbia III: egestas ad Dominio in domo impii (Proverbs 3:33), que Proverbia VI ad pigrum dicitur: veniet tibi quasi viator egestas et pauperies quasi vir armatis (Proverbs 6:11) et Proverbia XXIII, XXX et aliis capitulis ac in psalmsis et in evangelio de tali paupertate et paupere ac mendico sit sermo sepissime. Ita ut opus non sit loca huius allegare.

Ricardus. De duplici mendicitate ac mendicione bene ac prudenter advertis scripturam nisi quod columpniam poteris sustinere de illis psalmorem versiculus quam discutiemus inferius de mendicatione corporali sine mendicitate modo tractabimus sed de huius paupertate in VI huius tractaminus de ista inquire ulterius.

Johannes. Si placet quid sit mendicare describe.

¹³⁷² FitzRalph is using the incorrect Septuagint version. The translation from the Hebrew Psalms has '*leones indiguerunt*' in place of '*divites eguerunt*'.

Ricardus. Mendicare ut michi videtur est egestatem seu indigenciam sermone aut opere pretendendo subsidium in relevamine ipsius misericordie solius sine pietatis intuitu postulare. Unde grammaticaliter manu seu mentem dicere exponitur a plerisque aut a minus quod est defectus et dicere, quia solent frequenter mendici ad accipiendum manus extendere presepue si fuit muti suos defectus facto dicendo. Sic autem debes istam discriptionem accipere ut postulare subsidium mendicationis sit genus et totum residium tamquam diffe [92rb] rencie propria sive specifica seperans mendicationem ab aliis speciebus res necessarias sive accomodas postulandi sine petendi quam filius egens rebus huius naturalis colligancie non solo pietatis intuitu. Eas apere suo postulat seu a mure aut ab alio sibi taliter de proprie colligato et Dominus eas petit a suo ministro debite administrationis intuitu et creditor a debitore hec postulat obligationis legalis intuitu et quisque vocatus operarius ab eo cui inservit debite mercedis intuitu et eta in ceteris vir ratione obligationis naturalis propinque sine civilis aut ex alia tam non solius unem sue pietatis intuitu res huius postulantur. Cum enim res necessarie huic vite necessitate aut saltem voluntate habendi pretensa hiis minoris aut eis filibus ab aliis postulantur non solemnis mendicationem seu¹³⁷³ potius vendicationem seu ex hereditationem mendicatione compositam petitionem seu postulationem huius appellare nec usquam in casu quo res petita ex lege alia. Quam ex lege pietatis est debita postulanti et propterea illam particulam misericordie sine pietatis intuitu in descriptione mendicationis expressi verbum nota in relevamine ipsius adhibui ut mendicacionem que semper secundum grammaticam acquisitionem aut saltem acquirendi voluntatem importat ab illis rerum petitionibus rerum separetur per quas petitiones rerum acquisitionem sine acceptio non intenditur a petente. Sicut cum aliquid aut iocose aut teptando tunc aut intentione loquendi seu tractandi diffusius super aliqua ab eo qui petit desiderata materia ab aliquo est petitur quomodo Dominus noster Ihesus videtur michi a muliere samaritana [Marginal note: qui Christus petivit aqua a muliere samaritana] aqua nec aquam accepit nec accipere intendebat bibere postulant sicut leget Johannis IIII capitulo.

¹³⁷³ MS121, 140va, has '*sed*'.

Johannes. Dic ergo, an divites poterunt mendicare.

Ricardus. Non video cur non possunt sed fecte nisi ab usu divisiarum¹³⁷⁴ suarum [92va] [marginal note: numquid dives potest mendicare] forsitan arceantur tunc enim posset dives stante dicatione veraciter et proprie mendicare.

Johannes. Dicebas in quarto capitulo quinti libelli prius inquisitionem sollicitam quod veram casu formalis dicandi est ius sufficiens non restrictum sed liberum actu aut habitu divisias possidendi et eis utendi qui vero artetur ab usu bonorum suorum non videtur michi habere ius liberum possidendi neque utendi et ita qui eo modo artetur michi videtur a dicatione decidere.

Ricardus. Non recte illud dicis cum talis vere dives remaneat et si pro suo delicto aut forctan sine culpa fuerit per aliquem dominium ex casu aliqua taliter arestatus quod victum mendicare cogatur cum libere possit divisias vendere et donare sicut si esset infirmus ita ut de bonis propriis comedere non posset aut bibere dives nichilominus remaneret et haberet ius sufficiens non restrictum sed libereum possidendi divitias et eis utendi. Impedimentum enim usus adveniens tamen per accidens et de facto iuris sufficientis possidendi divitias libertatem iure nequaquam minuit aut restringit cerno tunc qualiter contra hoc logicaliter possit obici et qualiter responderi quod facere quinto attenti lectoris ingenio unde michi videtur quod divites possunt mendicare spontanea et coacte.

Johannes. Si igitur ad actus huius spontaneos esse exercean divites in se habitum generabunt. Sicut est in omnibus vitiis atque virtutibus.

Ricardus. Sic sequitur et esset ut in privati michi videtur habitus vitiosus quia generatus ex actibus vitiosus quia ut infra patebit. Sed de isto habitu quando homo ex actibus mendicationis potest sibi acquirere modo non querimus quia habitus talis nullum reddit vere mendicum sed

¹³⁷⁴ MS121, 140va, has '*divitiarum*'.

enim questorem aut turpis Lucis efficit sectatorem nec apostoli Paulus et Petris locuntur modo vero querimus potius de mendicitate que prevenit actus tales propter quam nisi homini succurratur compellitur actus huius excerere que mendicitas in divite corporaliter stante ditacione omnino esse non potest licet divites posset de [92vb] facto ficte sine veraciter mendicare.

Johannes. Inquo differet ab egestate talis mendicitas.

Ricardus. Hec mendicitas egestati est satis propinqua. Sed ab egestate corporali in hoc michi videtur differere quia egestas in nesciente ac non potente [mendicare]¹³⁷⁵ potest [[marginal note: Contrariam inter egestatem et mendicitatem potest](#)] existere sicuti in infante cum nascitur et in utero matris sue cum nec manu dicere neque defectum sunt post exprimere mendicitas vero iuxta sermonem expositum nisi in eo qui etatem habet in qua potest actualiter. Scilicet sermone aut initu seu gestu corporis mendicare dici non debes.

Johannes. Post igitur quis egenus esse aut inops et non esse mendicus qui non potest suam indigenciam imitare ad sue indigencie succurrendum.

Ricardus. Rationabiliter hoc accendis.

Chapter 2

Johannes. Expone ergo verbum illud spontaneum.

Ricardus. Spontaneum a nomine sponte ablativi casus tantum descendit et sponte nomen qui aliquotiens pro adverbio ponitur a spondeo verbo descendit quod verbum iuxta grammaticam habet tres sensus spondere: enim dicitur fide iubere, promittere, et velle et sponte nomen ab ipso verbo descendens dicitur ultro seu voluntarie, et spontaneus a sponte dicitur ultroneus sive voluntarius ex quibus colligitur. Quod spontaneum a sensu primario equiparatur ultroneo unum

¹³⁷⁵ The additional word is in MS121, 141ra.

nec duum quam sicut ultroneum sic hoc modo spontaneum sit species voluntarii non illi synonymum licet grammatici modes incomiter et sacra scriptura non numquam spontaneum et voluntarium pro eodem accipiant unde Avenois [Averroes] commentarium in tertio Ethicorum capitulo de involuntario loco voluntarii in textu positi utitur verbo spontaneum. Unde secundum Aristotelem ibi involuntaria simpliciter scilicet qui nullus propter se gratis elegeret cum ad ea artamur ne graviora feramus tempore quo agimus ea aut patiuntur voluntaria sunt dicenda. Et secundum commentatorem spontanea appellantur iuxta quam acceptorum spontanei in sua comitate tres species modos seu gradus spontaneum michi videtur habere. Principalis ac primus est cum actus libere libertate quam dictionis efficitur ultra egestate nullo percepto nec aliquo [93ra] alio primo per urgente et iste gradus potest apte vocari mere spontaneus quo modo loquitur scriptura Numeri XXIX capitulo haec afferetis Domino in solemnitatibus vestris preter vota et oblationes spontaneas (Numbers 29:39). Secundus gradus minus tamen proprius isto primo est cum actus talis gerendus sine sufferendus sub voto seu sponsione aut sub precepto impositus nichilominus gratia voluntate suscipitur ille. Enim actus cum postea exercetur quamvis tunc non mere spontanee a sponsore generatur seu ab eo qui gratis actum perceptum exequitur tamen quia mere spontanee ad gerendum a principio erat susceptus sine admissus vere et si non mere cum geretur spontaneus appellatur quomodo loquitur scriptura in II Paralipomenon 35 capitulo duces quoque eius sponte quod voluerant obtulerunt (II Chronicles 35:8) et 1 Petri V pascite qui in vobis est gregem Dei providentes non coacte sed spontanee secundum Deum (1 Peter 5:2). Tertius gradus est cum voluntas urgentur ad unum duorum ferendum sine agendum et profert alterus electione quo modo loquitur scriptura Iudith VII capitulo in modo et nunc congregate universos in civitate sunt ut sponte nos tradamus omnes populi Olofernus melius est enim ut captivi benedicamus Deum viventes quam moriamur et simus opprobrium omni carni (Judith 7:16). Et hoc modo dicitur homo spontanee mendicare ad mendicationem sine ad laborem sub distinctione artatus omni labore neglecto eligit mendicare sine econtra duo modi prioris sunt species sine gradus spontanei accepti pro ultro. Sed tertius gradus non videtur ultroneus sed

tamen est voluntarii et per quis spontanei accepti in genere gradus unus seu modus. Super quibus modis tibi successive libebit inquirere quoad Christum et etiam quoad fratres.

Chapter 21

[109ra] Johannes. Perge ad nostram materiam de mendicitate quam fratres nostro Saluatoris¹³⁷⁶ ascribunt utinam non ad hoc ut eos illi [in iuta]¹³⁷⁷ consiliens populam faciant estimare ac per hoc eorum questus quem pietatem fingunt aut estimant amplietur. [Marginal note: de mendicitate et potest quod Christus non mendicavit.]

Ricardus. Quod Dominus Noster Ihesus in terra mortaliter conversatus numquam mere spontanee mendicant aut erat mendicus¹³⁷⁸ suadetur hoc modo Dominus Ihesus Christus secundum humanitatem fuit verus heres in exheredabilis per creaturam originaliter dominii Ade sui primi parentis omnis vero talis heras in exheredabilis debuit de iusticiam legis nature in pleno primeno iure dominii suo primo parenti succedere nisi aliqua lex alia iusta obstaret Dominus ergo Ihesus in pleno originali dominio in exheredabiliter per creaturam Ade successet si nulla sibi iusta lex alia obsistebat. Igitur cum iuxta probata in secundo et tertio operis huius libris Adam et sua origine sed ante peccatum fuit dives nec innocenciam retinendo potuit aut debuit esse mendicus sive mendicans, pauper, egenus aut inops consequetur quod Dominus noster Ihesus tamquam heres sui primi parentis et etiam quia principaliter executor canonium summi Dei in servando suam ingenuitatem primariam semper fuit et semper debuit esse dives numquam mendicus sine mendicitas pauper egenus et inops nisi lex iusta aliqua qualis quo ad mendicitatem seu mendicationem spontaneam nulla fuerat obstisset numquam ergo spontanee mendicavit aut fuit mendicus. Et istud aliter confirmatur quam esse pauperem mendicum egenum aut inopem condicio sive portio exstat¹³⁷⁹ miserie iuxta scripturam sepissime suadentem pauperi, egeno,

¹³⁷⁶ MS 121, fol. 175ra has 'Salvatori'.

¹³⁷⁷ Only in MS 121, fol. 157ra.

¹³⁷⁸ Direct quotation from *Defensio curatorum*. Underlined in MS 121, fol. 175ra, but not in MS 180, fol. 109ra.

¹³⁷⁹ MS 121, fol. 175ra has 'exstat'.

mendico et inopi miserendum cum misericordia miseria praesupponat nullus autem filiorum Ade si servassent innocentiam miser fuisset seu miseriam habuisset cum omnis miseria sit pena peccati iuxta scriptura Proverbium XIII iusticiam elevat gentem miseros facit populos peccatum (Proverbs 14:34) et Sapientia [109rb] I capitulo iusticia enim est perpetua et immortalis (Wisdom 1:15) iniusticia mortis vero acquisicio. Mors vero post peccatum seu mortis necessitas fuit prima miseria communata a Deo aqua cetera derivantur. Igitur Dominus Noster Ihesus sit innocens amplius aliis quam peccatum habere non potuit numquam erat mendicus nulla lege iusta eum econtra artante aut etiam suadente.

Johannes. Sic poteris affirmare quod dominus Ihesus numquam ieiunavit XL dies numquam fleuit numquam tristitiam habuit numquam fatigatus fuit in corpore numquam circumcisis numquam baptiratus in aquam Jordanis numquam pauper fuit egenus aut inops numquam aliquam passionem nostre nature corrupte contra statum primenum sustinuit in finaliter quod mortem nec pertulit et affirmative econtra quod immortalitatem retinuit et quod coniugium epreta virginitate exercuit quam tamquam heres in exheredabilis primi sui parentis et principalis executione in nostram natura canonium summi Dei debuit suam egenuitatem primariam observare nulla lege iusta sibi obstante et eo amplius hoc infertur quia omnia hec partes sunt condiciones miserie qualiter ut ponis innocens non debuit sustinere.

Ricardus. Videtur quod verum concludis nostra modificatione adiecta nec ad contrarium indissolubile aut inconveniens aliquid protulisti. Unde debes attendere quod quo ad mendicitatem spontanee observandam nulla lex iusta dominum nostrum Ihesum impulit aut artavit quam potius ut cito clarescet mendicitatem in eo spontaneam scriptura dissuadet reprobatur et condempnat at econtra erat de ceteris passionibus nostre miserie supratactis quia eas divina aut humana iuste lege artante ac suadente sustinuit. Dicit enim apostolus Ad Hebraeos 2 capitulo nusquam enim angelos apprehendit sed senem Abrahe apprehendit unde debuit per omnia fratribem similari ut

misericors fieret et fidelis pontifex apud Deum (Hebrews 2:16-17)¹³⁸⁰ Quid doctum videtur de passionibus naturalibus atque legalibus nostre nature corrupte cuiusmodi sunt omnes miserie passiones a te superius numerate excepto XL dieorum ieiunio quod nichilominus dominus noster Ihesus lege [109va] diam artatus sive suasus sustinuit ductus in desertum asperum ut completo [marginal note: quare Christus ieiunavit 40 diebus nota] tanto ieiunio nobis utiliter a diabolo temptaretur. Et ut a numquam legem evangelicam promulgarit hominibus Moysi legem veterem hominibus tradituro conformiter ieiunaret. Per hanc conformitatem legem tradentium et tradendarum legum concordiam ostensurus et ut paria auctoritas Helie (Elisha) et Moysi ieiunantibus eo modo et suos predictionis exordio crederetur. Ex quo igitur debuit [nobuit]¹³⁸¹ nobis fratribus suis in huius passionibus per omnia simili ut misericors fieret (Hebrews 2:17) suis docendo nos misericorditer vite vite sue exemplo et fidelis pontifex apud Deum (Hebrews 2:17) seipsum offerendo pro nobis consequitur quod lege divina artante aut [marginal note: quare Christus moriebatur rationes nota] eum saltem hortante hec pertulit mori etiam pro nobis¹³⁸² lege perfecta caritatis ipsum tamquam hominem perfectum ut videtur artante quam quisque perfectus cenetur¹³⁸³ pro salute anime proximi et percipue quisque prelatus ecclesie qualis fuit dominus noster Ihesus pro salute animarum subditorum suorum concurrente ad hoc licet forsitan non artante lege nature quia heres legitimus debet pro delictis sui pastoris satisfactionem impendere vitam corporalem mori exponere ipso dicente: bonus pastor animam suam dat pro ovibus suis (John 10:11)¹³⁸⁴ Johannes X capitulo et Johannes dicit prima sua caritata capitulo III: in hoc cognovimus deum quoniam ille pro nobis animarum suam posuit et nos debemus animas pro fratribus ponere (1John 3:16). Ipsem vero attestante¹³⁸⁵ apostolo ad Galatas IIII capitulo isto modo: ubi venit plenitudo temporis misit Deus Filium suam factum ex muliere factum sub lege ut eos qui sub lege erant redimeret ut adoptionem filiorum reciperemus (Galatians 4:4-5) fuit legi

¹³⁸⁰ This Scripture is used in Bk II:10 on Christ's original lordship.

¹³⁸¹ This word is not found in MS 121, fol. 157va.

¹³⁸² MS 121, fol. 157va has '*pro nobis debuit*'.

¹³⁸³ MS 121, fol. 157va has '*tenetur*'.

¹³⁸⁴ Also quoted in Bk VI:14.

¹³⁸⁵ MS 121, fol. 157va has '*testante*'.

subiectus quam ex muliere est factus sine ego dixerimus quod decreto domino taliter primo incarnationi dominum nostri Ihesus sive quod in primo instanti creationis anime sue voluntarie sive utrumque causa in similis concurrente aut voluntarie tempore consequenti sic factus sub lege consequetur quod ex tunc quam legem preceptoriam quicquam agere non debebat et agere debuit seu sufferre quicquam lex in sensu ab eo observabili preceptorie continebat. Unde fuerat circumcisis et subditus primi putatione et matri evangelici Luce testante II capitulo et censum Cesari ex soluebat et etiam pauper erat eum secundum humanitatem humana iusta lege artante sive [109vb] hortante cum lege naturali ingenitantis primare quam nullus innocens si Adam numquam peccasset preter suo statui necessari sive accomoda aliqua omnibus hominibus bona comita pro seipso possidendo servasset ne non solum superflua possidendo peccaret sed etiam nec suis proximis debita eque nec sibi in amplioem opera seu gravamen per proprie et indebite occuparet et ne illam legem nature dissoluonet Omnia quecumque vultis ut faciant vobis homines vos facite illi (Matthew 7:12) Matheum VII capitulo. Hanc legem enim primene originis tamquam canonem summi Dei dominus noster Ihesus Ade innocenti innocentis pleno iure succedens modo predicto velut legem hereditariam debuit observare nulla lege ipsum ad contrarium per urgente sine ortante que plene servata et restricto suo originali dominio a libera possessione ac libero usu rerum superflue possessarum ab aliis per iustas leges humanas proprietatem rerum natura comitum hominibus concedentes dives modo humano comi esse non potuit. Unde paupertatem lege iusta ipsum ut fratres suos artante sive hortante servant.

Johannes. Non ergo perfectus exponens voluntarie sive spontanee pauper erat et per quis non meritorie pauper erat.

Ricardus. Imprudenter minis illud infers cum per observanciam preceptorum qui sunt leges artantes homo poterit promereri. Verum est igitur aut saltem probabile quod conclusi quod dominus noster Ihesus paupertatem lege iusta una aut pluribus ipsum artante sive hortante et nichilominus voluntarie et si non in quantum homo mere spontanee observavit unde pauper non

erat nisi per accedens sui propter legem naturalis possessionis pertacte et propter legem in naturalem sub qua quodammodo et quantum homo factus est restringentem sunt ingenium originale dominium habens in voluntate humana sunt in intentione tam verbo quam exemplo in superfluum abiectioe seu refutatione et in retentione sui hereditarii domini originalis solvis in usu rerum illi dominio subiectarum additionis originalis regulas a sapientissimo artifice inistitutas omnes homines reducere et seipsum et ob hoc ut michi videtur probabile votum seu spontionem super pau [110rb] pertatus observancia non habebat ut VI huius ostendit quia eam ab omnibus eicere taliter satagebat quam tamen legem possessionis primene servando et legem prohibentem seu restringentem suum originale dominium quo ad possessionem et usum voluntarie ut diximus observabat.

Chapter 22

[110ra] [marginal note: paupertatem per se non quam diligit debet dicerit] Quod autem Dominus Ihesus Christi non erat pauperes quia propter se paupertatem dilexit¹³⁸⁶ taliter suadetur quam paupertas ad miseriam pertinet nullus autem prudenter diligit miseriam propter se cum omnis miseria ex se sit omnio in utilis et ob hoc non est diligibiliter propter seipsum iuxta disciplinam Aristotelis de diligibilis propter se in primo ethicorum. Cum omnis eius utilitas sicut aliarum miseriarum utilitas sit a sive unde dicit scriptura: tristiciam longe expelle a te multos enim occidit tristitia non est utilitas in illa (Ecclesiasticus 30:24-25) Ecclesticus 30 capitulo. Christus vero nichil inprudenter dilexit unde consequetur quod propter se numquam paupertatem dilexit sicut nec aliam quamvis miseriam. Item cum omnis rationaliter natura, cupiat esse beata et sic vereditari consequitur quod ditatio est diligibiter propter se unde a Christo promittitur pro mercede cum dicit: beatus ille servus quem cum venerit dominus invenerit sic facientem amen dico vobis quoniam super omnia bonam sua constituit eum (Matthew24:46-47) Matheus XXIII capitulo. Ergo ditationis privatio quam non dubium paupertas importat est per se seu propter se odibilis

¹³⁸⁶ Direct quotation from *Defensio curatorum*. Underlined in MS 121, fol. 175va, but not in MS 180, fol. 110ra.

unde a Christo qui nichil contra rationem dilexit non fuit propter se dilecta. Item [nullus]¹³⁸⁷ effectus peccati est propter se diligibilis paupertas vero non dubium propter privacionem diviciarum quam prefert est effectus peccati cum in statu innocencie nemo pauper fuisset. Item nullum universale simpliciter est propter se diligibilem paupertas est universalis ergo etc. Item nichil propter se a Deo odibile est propter se aut per se ab homine diligibile paupertas est Deo per se odibilis quam ditatio est propter se sibi amabilis cum ipse sit dives et post finale iudicium electi divites erunt omnis. Ergo paupertas non est propter se diligibilis et per consequens numquam fuit propter se dilecta a Christo qui nichil nisi conformiter rationi dilexit. Item nulla privatio boni est propter se diligibilis cum [110rb] eius habitus sit propter se diligibilis iuxta regulam Aristotelis in III topicorum. Si propositum de proposito et oppositum de opposito sic quod satis admiror qualiter promissum doctum aliquis reprehendit si quis vero astruxerit paupertatem propter se ab aliquo diligendam scripturam sacram ut philosophitam ad idem probandum producat in medium et si quo ad prenomem quam convocat quomodo isti fratres eam asserunt comendatam eam reperint comendatam mirabar quamvis pauperes non per se propter paupertatem sed propter propter [repetition in text] paupertatis tolleranciam sepius comendentur et ipsam paupertas quia est humane solitudinis exclusiva per accidens et¹³⁸⁸ sanctis doctoribus comendetur. Item pro isto Aristoteles finit rationes adducte in XVI huius capitulo de possessionem rerum immobilium a perfectis.

¹³⁸⁷ This word is only in MS 121, 158ra.

¹³⁸⁸ MS 121, fol. 158rb has 'a'.

Appendix B

Book VIII of *De pauperie Salvatoris*, a summary of each chapter

Chapter one challenges the premise that Christ did not follow 'highest poverty' encapsulated in the practice of mendicancy, as endorsed by the orders of friars. It examines various depictions of begging in the Bible. The chapter refers back to statements about the nature and mechanics of poverty from book VI of *De pauperie Salvatoris*. The encounter between Christ and the Samaritan woman, covered in more detail in VIII:26, is briefly mentioned. The following scriptural verses are cited or quoted in their entirety (and are listed in the order in which they appear in the chapter): Luke 16:20-21; Proverbs 10:21; Psalm 33:10; Romans 3 23-24; Revelation 3:17; Psalm, 39:17; Psalm 108:17; Proverbs 3:33; Proverbs 6:11; Proverbs 24 and 30 (cited).

Chapter two considers what is meant by doing something in a 'wilful' manner. A question from *Johannes* about the word 'wilful' leads to a reply from *Ricardus* which takes up the remainder of the chapter. The third book of Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics* is quoted, and *Ricardus* explains three ways in which something is undertaken in a wilful manner, each of which is illustrated by one or more scriptural verses: Numbers 29:39; II Chronicles 35:8; 1 Peter 5:2; and Judith 7:16.

Chapter three expands upon the point that friars have moveable or immovable possessions, which impedes their ability to hold highest poverty. It refers back to books VI and V of *De pauperie Salvatoris* and quotes the Testament of St Francis, and uses these Scriptures: Matthew 5:16; Matthew 7:12; Matthew 18:6-7; 1 Corinthians 8:13; Romans 14:15.

Chapter four includes quotes from the 1279 papal bull *Exiit qui Seminatus* of Nicholas III giving the Franciscans the free use of things, and also from Pope John XXII's *Ad Conditorem* to present contrasting papal rulings on this issue. No scriptures are quoted.

Chapter five continues this discussion, with *Johannes* quoting from Pope Johannes's *Ad Conditorem*. A section from another papal bull, *Exivi de Paradyso* published by Pope Clement V in 1312 is also quoted. The chapter includes a reference to a discussion of *dominium* in book VI of *De pauperie Salvatoris*. No scriptures are quoted.

Chapter six begins with *Johannes* asking *Ricardus* to explain the previous section, and the chapter encompasses a discussion of what might be considered to be necessary for life. Another section from *Exiit* on the use of things is quoted, and the story of the Apostle Peter's rebuke to his successor, St Clement, whose mother was begging, is referred to. No scriptures are quoted.

Chapter seven begins with a long scriptural quotation: 1 Corinthians 9:7-15a, which is explained as the work of sowing with the expectation of reaping. The chapter concerns itself with the explanation that Christ's followers should be able to earn their living from the Gospel. The story of the sending out of the twelve disciples from Matthew 10 is referred to, as is the similar passage in Luke 10 about the sending out of the seventy-two. The papal bull *Super Cathedram* (1300) of Pope Boniface VIII is cited, but not quoted, though a supplementary bull to *Super Cathedram*, *Dudum* (1312) is quoted. Also cited are the Rule of St Francis, the bulls *Exiit* and *Exivi de Paradyso*, as well as a letter from St Bernard to the Monk Adam urging him to submit to the appropriate ecclesiastical authority. One other scripture is quoted, Ecclesiastes 5:3.

Chapter eight argues that Christ and his apostles did not follow most strict poverty as argued by the friars. It refers to things permitted for civil use and discusses what is necessary for life. The chapter refers to related discussions in chapters 22, 23 and 33 of book VI of *De pauperie*

Salvatoris. Also cited are the papal bulls *Exiit* and *Exivi*, as well as the Rule of St Francis. The following Scriptures are quoted: Luke 10:7; Matthew 23:8; Matthew Hebrews 5:4. Matthew 20:20-28 is cited but not quoted.

Chapter nine discusses whether the friars should receive donations for hearing confessions or performing burials as mandated by the popes. *Ricardus* argues that neither by natural law, nor the law of dominion, nor the Old Testament should friars perform confessions or burials, but that these should be performed by parish priests. No scriptures are quoted.

Chapter ten discusses further these privileges being granted to the friars by the papacy, along with the right to prosecute heresy. Books VI and VII of *De pauperie Salvatoris* are cited, and VI:28 referred to specifically. The chapter explains that civil dominium or civil use is contrary to strictest poverty. It also states that the receiving of offerings is restricted according to priestly law to priests. The only scripture quoted is 1 Corinthians 9:13-14, with the reminder that it was discussed earlier in chapter seven.

Chapter eleven begins by noting that due to the copious multitude of friars, they cannot be true beggars. *Johannes* poses this point as a question, and the rest of the chapter, and all of the subsequent chapter, contains *Ricardus's* answer. Two large sections from *Exiit* are quoted, followed by a reference to Pope John XXII's *Quia non numquam*. A discussion which will be made in chapter thirteen is alluded to. The chapter ends by suggesting that the friars are intruders and interlopers who usurp the place of the clergy. No scriptures are quoted.

Chapter twelve continues *Ricardus's* monologue, and *Johannes* does not speak in this chapter. *Ricardus* quotes from *Exiit* and *Exivi*, and also quotes Matthew 26:41. Romans 1 is cited but not quoted. (The text does not indicate why this monologue needed to be stretched over two chapters.)

Chapter thirteen begins with a statement by *Johannes* that the papacy freely granted privileges to the friars so they must have the free use of those privileges. This leads to a reply from *Ricardus* which stretches to the end of chapter fourteen. *Ricardus* briefly quotes from *Super Cathedram* but he mainly uses scriptural quotations to construct his argument which is grounded in the concept of vocation. The following scriptures are used: Matthew 7:12 (used twice); Exodus 20:17; Mark 10:19; Psalm 118:33; Ecclesiasticus 3:22-23; Zacharias 8:17; Romans 10:15; Jeremiah 23:21, 23, 27; Malachi 2:7; John 10:1; Isaiah 6:5; and 1 Corinthians 9:15-16.

Chapter fourteen continues *Ricardus's* monologue from the previous chapter, with no textual indication, other than the rubricated chapter mark and number, of why a chapter break might be inserted (just as was the case with chapter twelve). It raises the possibility that the pope might have sinned in granting privileges to the friars. The Rule of St Francis is mentioned, and two quotations from the Testament of Francis are included, along with the following scriptures: Matthew 5:23-24; Matthew 7:12 (twice); Romans 14:23; and Galatians 1:8.

Chapter fifteen begins with a short statement by *Johannes*, pointing out that friars claim that the declaration of Pope Nicholas III supercedes the Testament of Francis, and with the remainder of the chapter and all of chapter sixteen being taken up by *Ricardus's* reply. Beginning by quoting the section of *Exiit* which refers to the Testament, *Ricardus* emphasizes that the Testament was a revelation from God and suggests that Pope Gregory might have erred by declaring to the contrary. A number of the sections from the Testament are then quoted, and related arguments which will be made in chapters thirty-six and thirty-seven are alluded to.

Chapter sixteen continues *Ricardus's* monologue from the previous chapter, but the argument now shifts away from the authority of the Testament to priestly and pastoral identity, as grounded in the Bible. Chapter seven of Hebrews is cited for its picture of the Old Testament priesthood according to the Mosaic law, and the following scriptures are quoted to give an overall picture of pastoral and priestly abundance: Genesis 5:29; Genesis 9:20; Genesis 10:31; John

10:11 and John 10:1-4. Old Testament patriarchs are upheld as representatives of manual labour. Book VI of DPS is also cited, and the papal bulls *Quia quorundam*, *Vir reprobus* and *Ad Conditozem* by Pope John XXII are referred to.

Chapter seventeen begins with a statement by *Johannes* suggesting that the privileges granted to the friars not only undermine the Rule of Francis but they also injure priests and bishops since they contravene the law of the Gospel as spelled out in Matthew 7:12, with the full verse quoted. *Ricardus's* reply refers back to arguments made in chapters eight and fourteen, and also ahead to an argument to be made in chapter thirty-nine. Pseudo-Dionysius's *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* is referred to, and Revelation 21:2 and Revelation 20:2 quoted. *Ricardus's* last statement continues from this chapter through chapters eighteen and nineteen, and almost to the end of chapter twenty.

Chapter eighteen continues the argument that fraternal privileges contravene the law of the Gospel, the law of nature and the law of the Old Testament. *Ricardus* refers to the fourth of his London sermons, and quotes a number of scriptural verses: Matthew 7:12; Matthew 5:16; Matthew 5:22; and Ecclesiasticus 20:8.

Chapter nineteen continues *Ricardus's* monologue but rather than quoting scriptures, certain papal bulls are referred to: *Etsi animarum* from Pope Innocent IV, and Nicholas III's *Cupientes de penis* are mentioned, and sections from *Etsi* quoted directly.

Chapter twenty also continues the monologue with references to other papal bulls: *Exivi de Paradyso*, *Omnis utriusque sexus*, *Super Cathedram* and *Vas electionis*. Gratian's *Tractatus de Penitentia*, but here attributed to Augustine, is quoted from, and the following scriptures are used: Deuteronomy 16:19; Matthew 17:20 and 1 Timothy 6 2b-10. The error of John of Pouilly in assigning blame to the papacy is discussed.

Chapter twenty-one begins a ten-chapter long section discussing the type of poverty taught and practiced by Christ during his incarnated life. It begins with a direct quotation from *Defensio curatorum*, that Christ never wilfully begged while on earth. Chapters two and three from book II of *De pauperie Salvatoris*, which discussed the nature of Adam's pre-lapsarian inheritance, are cited, along with a reminder of earlier discussions of the four types of poverty: *pauper*, *inops*, *egenus* and *mendicus*. Two Old Testament scriptures are quoted Proverbs 14:34 and Wisdom 1:15, to begin the argument that poverty is not something to be cultivated, or to aspire to. A number of New Testament verses are quoted to foreground the type of life partaken by Christ: Hebrews 2:16; John 10:10; 1 John 3:16; Galatians 4:4-5; Matthew 7:12.

Chapter twenty-two also begins with a direct quote from *Defensio curatorum*, that Christ was never poor because he did not love poverty. This argument is fleshed out with a combination of Aristotelian logic, including references to book I of Aristotle's *Ethics* and book III:16 of his *Topics*, and with scriptural verses: Ecclesiasticus 30:24-25 and Matthew 24:46-47.

Chapter twenty-three argues that Christ never wilfully begged because he was constrained by the prohibition on begging in Deuteronomy 15:4, which is quoted. This point is made in more detail with a number of other scriptures: Deuteronomy 25:4; Proverbs 20:4; Proverbs 6:9-11; Proverbs 31:10; Proverbs 31:19 and Matthew 27:41-42. Christ's childhood and adolescence are referred to from Luke 2, and the importance of imitating Christ through the actions of the Apostle Paul is underscored with the verse 1 Corinthians 11:1. Paul's labouring on behalf of Corinthian and Thessalonian Christians is referred to.

Chapter twenty-four continues the theme that Christians should imitate what Christ did and taught by referring to Acts 1:1. A number of scriptural verses are then used to construct Christ's worldview: Matthew 7:12; Luke 6:31; Exodus 20:17 and John 16:14. The danger of preaching a 'false' gospel is discussed by referring to New Testament disagreements described in 1

Timothy 6 and Galatians 1. Two Decretals are cited here: XCVIII and XII:9:I, as well as a letter from St Jerome to the Bishop of Narbonne.

Chapter twenty-five introduces the argument that Christ was recognized by his peers to be a carpenter (Mark 6:3). This depiction is contrasted with a false depiction of Christ as the perpetually naked and bleeding victim on the Cross, the worshippers of that tortured Christ being likened to the hysterical priests of Baal as depicted in 1 Kings 18. Book IV of Aristotle's *Ethics* is referred to, and a number of scriptures are quoted to present a picture of Christ's teaching on resources, and on suffering: Luke 11:4; Matthew 6:19; Luke 16:9; James 5:11; John 13:27-29. Book 10:29 of St Augustine's *Confessions* is quoted to explain how to endure hardships (rather than welcome them).

Chapter twenty-six begins with *Johannes* asking *Ricardus* to explain how to understand the biblical story of Christ asking the Samaritan woman for a drink. This leads to an explanation from *Ricardus* which stretches to the end of chapter thirty-one. Chapter twenty-six concerns itself with a discussion of those biblical three episodes which have been interpreted as indications of Christ begging, the encounter between Christ and the Samaritan woman at the well (John 4:7-42), Christ's meeting with Zaccheus (Luke 19:1-10), and Christ asking his followers to procure a young colt before the Triumphal entry (Mark 11:3-11). *Ricardus* contextualizes these within their scriptural environment to demonstrate that they should not be construed as occasions when Christ begged. The commentaries of St Augustine and St John Chrysostom are drawn upon to undergird the explanation of Christ's meeting with the Samaritan woman.

Chapter twenty-seven explores Psalm 39, explaining that the association of it with Christ should not be done on a personal level, but only as Christ's body can be identified as the Church. A number of verses are drawn out to explain that the psalm should be understood as a dialogue between God as provider, and the needy person as a sinful recipient of that provision. Augustine's gloss on Psalm 108:17 is cited as an illustration of the correct Christological reading of such

psalms. Augustine's interpretation of Matthew 25:35-40 is also cited to explain that when Christ references to alms being given to him, they refer to alms given to the Church. Other scriptures referred to in this chapter are Acts 1:20 and Psalm 54:5.

Chapter twenty-eight explains Christ's statement that the Son of Man has no home (Luke 9:58), emphasizing that God's rectors and vicars are provided for by tithes and offerings, so do not require their own homes. A scriptural picture of pastoral provision is made through the following scriptural verses: Hebrews 7:13; Matthew 10:9-10; Mark 6:7-9; Luke 10:4-5; Romans 4:4; Luke 14:33; Luke 14: 26-33; Luke 14:33. Chapters 23 and 24 of book VI of DPS, Bede's Commentary on Luke, and John XXII's *Quia vir reprobus* are cited.

Chapter twenty-nine explores Christ's advice to the Rich Young Ruler to sell everything and give it to the poor in order to become perfect. All three versions where this story occurs are cited: Matthew 19:21; Luke 18:22 and Mark 10:21. This is positioned as a unique instruction rather than a general rule to become a beggar, which itself would lead to a form of neediness which would be tempting God. The following scriptures are quoted: Deuteronomy 6:16; Acts 4:34-35; Job 5:7 and Luke 11:41. Bede's commentary on Luke is also quoted.

Chapter thirty discusses the Apostle Paul's explanation in 2 Corinthians 8:9 of the type of neediness experienced by Christ. The *Glossa Ordinaria* is called upon to explain Christ's *inopia*. Paul's 'begging' on behalf of Christian communities, is explained in the Epistles to the Romans and Corinthians (1 Corinthians 16|:1-2; 2 Corinthians 9:1-7; Romans 15:26-27), which are all quoted.

Chapter thirty-one explains why the declaration by pseudo-Bernard that Christ as a boy of twelve left in the Temple must have begged, should not be interpreted literally, but must be understood as a sign of inaccurate language which nonetheless expresses profound devotion. Scriptural verses are cited to explain an emotional declaration which should not be taken literally

(Job 3:1-3; Job 2:13). Psalm 39 is again drawn from. A section from Augustine's *On the Literal Meaning of Genesis* is quoted, as is Augustine's letter to Jerome on the authority of the canonical Scriptures.

Chapter thirty-two begins with a return to the dialogue between *Johannes* and *Ricardus*, and also a change of focus away from the life and teachings of Christ. *Johannes* asks about the apparent discrepancy between the form of life as explained in the Rule of St Francis, and that set out by Pope Nicholas III in *Exiit*. A number of sections from *Exiit* are quoted, along with Pope John XXII's further clarification in *Quia Quorundam*.

Chapter thirty-three explores how Christ never advocated wilful begging in the first mode of being wilful, as set out in VIII:2. A number of scriptures are repeated here: Acts 1:1; Matthew 23:3; Deuteronomy 15:4; Matthew 19:27, and the explanation that Christ ought to be imitated by an imitation of St Paul (1 Corinthians 11:1) is given. The parable of the Wedding Banquet (Luke 14:7-14), is used to identify those needy poor to whom alms ought to be given. This chapter also discusses Paul's injunction that those who do not work cannot eat (2 Thessalonians 3:7-10). Proverbs 14:20 is quoted.

Chapter thirty-four proposes that begging by those who may labour but choose not to is forbidden by Christ, the apostles and disciples, and by Francis. The parable of the Great Banquet is explored in more detail leading to a discussion of various types of disability (encompassing physical and mental) and whether they impinge upon--or not--one's ability to work. These scriptures (all used in previous parts of the book) are quoted in the chapter: Luke 14:13-14; Luke 11:41; 2 Thessalonians 3:7-12; Proverbs 14:20.

Chapter thirty-five seamlessly continues a monologue of *Ricardus* which had taken up most of the previous chapter, and which encompasses all of this chapter. It explores Paul's understanding of his own work, and again discusses the biblical framing of Christ as a carpenter.

Augustine's *On the Work of Monks* is quoted from, and the following scriptures are cited: Acts 20:33-35; Psalm 72:7; Luke 10:7; Ecclesiasticus 29:31; Mark 6:3; Matthew 25:6; Proverbs 12:9; Ephesians 4:27-29 and 1 Thessalonians 4:6.

Chapter thirty-six discusses an interpretation of evangelical perfection set out by Pope Alexander IV in his text *Chartularium Universitatis Pariensis* in which he discusses the contemplative and active lives as encapsulated in the biblical Mary and Martha, repeated by Pope John XXII in *Quia Quorundum*. Sections from both texts are quoted, and chapter twenty-three is referred back to, though no scriptures are used.

Chapter thirty-seven continues a discussion of previous papal declarations on the type of begging permitted by the friars. The declarations of Popes Boniface VIII, Alexander IV, Nicholas III, and Gregory IX are alluded to. A number of sections from *Exiit* are quoted, along with a quotation from Pope John XXII's *Quia Quorundam*. Proverbs 22 and 30 are referred to, but the only scriptural verse quoted is Job 5:7, used to affirm that man should labour.

Chapter thirty-eight continues a monologue *Ricardus* began in the previous chapter, which lasts into the next. It argues that wilful begging is forbidden for clerics, illustrating this by citing from Peter's rebuke to his successor, Pope Clement, for having a mother who was forced to beg. The remainder of the chapter uses scriptural verses to build up a composite picture of priestly identity and communal abundance. These scriptures are used: Acts 4:34; Hebrews 5:6; Hebrews 7:1-4; Genesis 47:20-22; 1 Corinthians 9:4-6; Luke 10:7; Exodus 28:38; Hebrews 5:1; Matthew 18:6 and Exodus 20:17.

Chapter thirty-nine develops points made in the previous chapter by focussing on appropriate holy and wise behaviour. It examines how begging as defined in the first and second modes earlier in VIII:2 are not appropriate modes of behaviour. Paul's biblical teaching to Timothy about correct behaviour is drawn out, and a large section from St John Chrysostom's

Homily on Hebrews 3 is used. The following scriptures are quoted: Deuteronomy 15:4; Deuteronomy 6:16; Matthew 7:12; Exodus 20:17; 1 Timothy 6:5-6; Matthew 19:21; Matthew 6:13; Proverbs 30:8-9; Ecclesiasticus 27:1; Job 2:4; Matthew 6:31 and Matthew 6:13.

Chapter forty examines the New Testament model for apostolic behaviour. Three scriptural passages, where Paul provides various descriptions of the hardships of his apostolic life, are quoted and Paul's reference to his own manual labour is drawn out (2 Corinthians 11:26-27; 1 Corinthians 4:9-13 and Acts 9:25). A section from chapter thirty-one of Gennadius of Massilla's *De Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus* (here attributed to Augustine) on how one should provide for the poor is also quoted, to emphasize the point that one must give to the poor rather than become a beggar.

Chapter forty-one discusses the claim that scholars must be permitted to beg to enable them devote themselves to study and become good preachers. Scriptural verses are drawn upon to discourage one from seeking to become a great teacher or a great judge (Exodus 4:13; Jeremiah 1:6; Matthew 23:9; Ecclesiasticus 7:6) and the emphasis is rather on spiritual purity to enable one to have spiritual authority (Isaiah 6:8). Henry of Ghent is cited, and chapters twenty-five and twenty-seven of book VIII are referred back to.

Chapter forty-two suggests that Nicholas III might have sinned out of ignorance when he published *Exiit*. It also proposes that the two central mendicant saints, Alexis and Francis, were canonised on account of other holy deeds, not their acts of begging. Book III of Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics* is referred to, and the Old Testament stories of Rahab the prostitute and the Hebrew midwives, who both undertook acts of deception and concealment which were deemed to be holy and right, are used as an illustration. The New Testament story of the widow's mite (Mark 12:43-44) is given a novel interpretation to suggest that the widow did not give everything she had, but that she must have had an established means of income to return from the Temple treasury to, as otherwise she would have tempted God. A further discussion of the composite

parts of Christ's neediness, as explained by the Apostle Paul (2 Corinthians 6:8) is also given, and book VI of *De pauperie Salvatoris* mentioned.

Chapter forty-three explores the second and third modes of wilful begging from chapter two, and concludes that a religious community is not able to assume wilful begging in the third manner. The Rules of St Basil and St Benedict are referred to and the following scripture is quoted: Wisdom 11:21.

Chapter forty-four discusses how wilful begging is a mortal sin. A large section from *Exiit*, on how the poverty obliged by the Rule of St Francis will always be observed, is quoted, along with a section from the *Paternoster* (Matthew 6:21).

Chapter forty-five concludes the book by suggesting that discord has entered the church, and stressing that men's laws are deforming what God has instituted. The Rule and Testament of St Francis are quoted to illustrate what God had instituted, but which was not being followed. Scriptural verses illustrating how one should behave towards a brother are quoted (1 Thessalonians 4:6; Exodus 21:16; Deuteronomy 25:2), and book VII of *De pauperie Salvatoris* is referred to. The text ends with a plea that the church be rescued from the fatiguing and harmful influence of the friars and their practice of wilful begging.

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