

Note 1: See the [list of manuscripts](#) in the introduction to the *Dialogue* at this web site.

Note 2: Alberigo refers to 'la nature mitica del preteso conciliarismo del francescano inglese'; see G. Alberigo 'Il movimento conciliare (XIV-XV sec.) nella ricerca storica recente', in *Studi Medievali*, xix, 1978, pp. 913-50 at p. 925.

Note 3: Book 5 of the first part of the *Dialogue* considers, in the context of Christ's promise that he would be with the Church always, who would maintain the faith and not be tainted by heresy. Arguments against its being the pope are found in chapters 1 to 5 and arguments against its being a general council are rehearsed in chapters 25 to 28.

Note 4: On Ockham's recitative works see John Kilcullen, '[The Political Writings](#)', in Paul Vincent Spade, *The Cambridge Companion to Ockham*, Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 307-8 and Arthur Stephen McGrade, *The Political Thought of William of Ockham: Personal and Institutional Principles*, Cambridge University Press, 1974,

Note 5: For d'Ailly's view of canonists see Francis Oakley, *The Political Thought of Pierre d'Ailly: The Voluntarist Tradition*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1964, pp. 22-3. See also Bernard Guenee, *Between Church and State*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1991, 153-4.

Note 6: Gerson's addresses are found in his *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. P. Glorieux, Paris, Desclée, 1960-73, vol. 5, pp. 437-46 and vol. 7, pp. 171-78 and 219-29. For his reference to heresy see the last of these on p.228.

Note 7: For the views of van der Velde and Segovia see Anthony Black, *Council and Commune: the conciliar movement and the fifteenth century heritage*, London, Burns and Oates, 1979, pp. 62 and 128. For Segovia's debt to Ockham see Jesse D. Mann, 'William of Ockham, Juan de Segovia and Heretical Pertinacity', *Mediaeval Studies*, 56 (1994), pp. 67-88.

Note 8: Black, op. cit., p. 111.

Note 9: On the canonistic background to the papal views see B. Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory: The Contribution of the Medieval Canonists from Gratian to the Great Schism*, London, Cambridge University Press, 1955.

Note 10: Black, op. cit., p. 62.

Note 11: Cited by Guy Fitch Lytle, 'The careers of Oxford students in the Later Middle Ages', in James M Kittelson & Pamela J Transue, *Rebirth, Reform and Resilience, Universities in Transition 1300-1700*, Ohio State University Press, Columbus, 1984, pp. 213-53 on p. 241.

Note 12: See D. N. Lepine, 'The Origins and Careers of the Canons of Exeter Cathedral, 1300-1455', in C. Harper-Bill, *Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers in Late Medieval England: the proceedings of the conference held at Strawberry Hill, Easter, 1989*, Woodbridge, Suffolk, Boydell Press, 1991, pp. 87-120

Note 13: Alan B. Cobban, "Theology and Law in the Medieval Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library of Manchester*, 65 (1982), pp. 57-77 at pp. 63-4. He estimates that between the end of the fourteenth and the end of the fifteenth century the percentage of scholars engaged in theology must have fallen from about 40% to about 15%, p. 67.

Note 14: The sermon, delivered by Thomas of Wimbeldon in 1388, is edited by Nancy H. Owen, in 'Thomas Wimbeldon's Sermon: "Redde rationem villacionis tue"', *Medieval Studies*, 28 (1966), pp. 176-97; see p. 181. D' Ailly is quoted by G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes, 'Exponents of Sovereignty: Canonists as seen by Theologians in the Late Middle Ages', in *The Church and Sovereignty c.590-1918 Essays in Honour of Michael Wilks*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1991, at p. 312.

Note 15: See William Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth Century England*, Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1987, pp. 131-37.

Note 16: *Tractatus Contra Benedictum*, ed. H. S. Offler in Guillelmi de Ockham, *Opera Politica*, vol. 3, Manchester, Manchester University Press at p. 213. Later in the *Dialogue* 1 Dial., 2.30 the Student, a keen defender of the pope, states the widely known situation clearly. 'For there have been many highest pontiffs since the time of Innocent III who have been very learned in canon law, although they have not been outstanding in theology.'

Note 17: The letter, dated 31 July, 1330, is printed in *MGH*, Legum Sectio IV, 6. Pt. 1, sect. 2, p.688.

Note 18: For Ockham's views on Eckhart see *Contra Benedictum*, pp. 251-53.

Note 19: Some of the replies to the pope's request for responses to the heretical views of Marsilius are printed in R. Scholz, *Unbekannte Kirchenpolitische Streitschriften aus der Zeit Ludwigs Des Bayern (1327-1354)*, Rome, 1914. See pp.3-42.

Note 20: Translated in Francis E. Kelley, 'Ockham: Avignon, before and after', in Anne Hudson and Michael Wilks, *From Ockham to Wyclif*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1987 at p. 7.

Note 21: Cited by R. James Long, "'Utrum iurista vel theologus plus proficiat ad regimen ecclesie" A Quaestio Disputata of Francis Caraccioli: Edition and Study', *Medieval Studies*, 30 (1968), pp. 134-62 at p. 140.

Note 22: Thomas Aquinas, *Quodlibet*, XI, cited by Walter Ullmann, *Medieval Papalism. The Political Theories of the Medieval Canonists*, London, Methuen, 1949, p.47,n.2.

Note 23: *Paradiso*, IX, 133-35. Note his remarks in book 3 of *Monarchia* that decretalists are 'ignorant and lacking in any philosophical or theological training'; Dante, *Monarchia*, Prue Shaw ed. and trans., Cambridge University Press, 1995, 105.

Note 24: Francis's quaestio is edited in Long, op. cit.; the quotation comes from 158.

Note 25: Arthur Stephen McGrade, 'The Medieval Idea of Heresy: What Are We to Make of It?' in *The Medieval Church: universities, heresy and the religious life: essays in honour of Gordon Leff*, edited Peter Biller and Barrie Dobson, Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 1999,, pp. 111-139. Mcgrade's article is a splendid account of how Ockham and his contemporaries understood heresy.

Note 26: McGrade affirms that 'there is an increasing tendency in this period to link rejection of papal authority with heresy' (ibid., p. 128) and cites the view of Jeffrey B. Russell that 'one is obliged to adopt a very practical approach: heresy (at least from about 1050) was doctrine condemned by Rome'; (ibid., p. 114).

Note 27: *Summa Theologica*, 2a2ae, q.11, art.2. He cites 24, q. 1, ch. 13 as proof of the pope's authority in the matter.

Note 28: Fully explicated in McGrade, *The Political Thought of William of Ockham*, pp. 48-63.

Note 29: The subject of heresy was not ignored in the *Decretum*, but the overwhelming majority of references to it concern simony.

Note 30: Alan's tract is in PL, 210, cols 305-430.

Note 31: Alvarus's treatise is (partially) edited in Scholz, op. cit., 491-514; the reference is from p.513.

Note 32: See McGrade's article, 'The Medieval Idea of Heresy', cited above for an account of contemporary views. Commenting on the view of heresy in the statements of Church councils he notes 'the absence of any formal general definition of heresy or heretic.' (p. 121)

Note 33: As a typical example I mention the commentary by Alexander of Hales: on dist. 31 of *I Sentences* he lists various heresies and their errors; on dist. 44 of *II Sentences* he asks whether heretics should be coerced by the secular powers; on dist. 37 of *III Sentences* he alludes to the legitimacy of capital punishment for heretics; and on dist. 6, 13, 18, 19 and 39 of *IV Sentences* he discusses different sacraments and the rights of heretics.

Note 34: *Summa Theologiae*, 2a2ae q.11.

Note 35: McGrade, 'The Medieval Idea of Heresy', p 122, quotes Augustine on the difficulty of defining a heretic and his belief that if such a definition were available 'who does not see how beneficial it would be?' But even Augustine did not provide such a definition.

Note 36: There is a large literature on this subject. Helpful are W. R. Laird, 'Robert Grosseteste on the Subalternate Sciences, *Traditio*, XLIII, (1987), pp. 147-169; E. Sylla, 'Autonomous and Handmaiden Science: St. Thomas Aquinas and William of Ockham on the Physics of the Eucharist', in *The Cultural Context of Medieval Learning*, edited J. E. Murdoch and E. D. Sylla, Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science, pp. 349-96; and Gordon Leff, *William of Ockham. The metamorphosis of scholastic discourse*, Manchester University Press, 1975, pp. 320-49. There is a translation of one of Ockham's discussions on the subject in Philotheus Boehner (ed.), *Ockham. Philosophical Writings*, London, Thomas Nelson, 1957, pp. 2-16.

Note 37: See the extracts from his *Summa de potestate ecclesiastica* edited in Long, op. cit., 158-62; the discussion of subalternation is on 161.

Note 38: Henrici a Segusia cardinalis Hostiensis, *Summa Aurea*, Venice, 1605, p. 7.

Note 39: *ibid*, p. 11.