

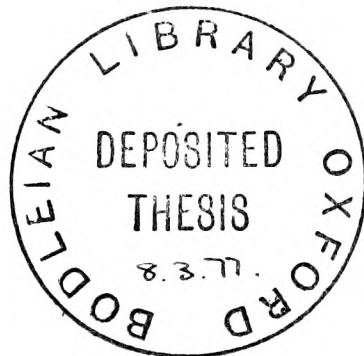
THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE MEDIEVAL SERMON

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ABSTRACT

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October 1976 [2 1977] HT



In the last few years research on medieval sermons has entered a new phase, and the thesis needs to be placed in the context of recent work in France, Germany, and Italy; a few years ago there would have been little point in attempting to write on the subject I have chosen. The work of a German scholar has provided us with systematic guides to the authors, incipits, and manuscripts of medieval sermons, so that it is now possible to make efficient use of the manuscript sources; monographs on vernacular preaching have cleared the way for a study of the Latin 'popular' sermons and their international circulation; moreover work of a small group of scholars, based in different parts of Europe, has reached a stage at which an attempt to write a synthesis is desirable. A general survey of the subject would be premature; instead I have tried to outline an interpretation of the main turning point in the history of high medieval preaching.

The decisive change was the revival of preaching to the laity, which had ceased to play a major part in religious life between the fall of the Roman empire and the rise of the medieval towns. In the first two sub-sections of the thesis (pp.1-22) I give a brief selective narrative of the external history of this transformation of preaching, but the greater part of the thesis is devoted to the less obvious changes which lay behind the revival. The remaining sub-sections of part I deal with the pocket books of sermons which itinerant preachers used (p.22 seqq.), the diffusion of stereotyped material - 'preaching aids' - to help the busy or inexperienced (p.36seqq.), the emergence of an educated lay 'sermon hearing public' (p.58 seqq.), and the training of preachers, especially the friars (p.73 seqq.).

Parts II and III are on the form and content of sermons respectively. The theme of part II (p.92 seqq.) is the new sermon form which came to

maturity in the thirteenth century, and its relation to the revival of popular preaching. Here I state and attempt to explain the paradox that a form which was closely associated with academic milieu was also used with success in the vast majority of sermons to the laity.

Part III (p.134 seqq.) reaches a somewhat similar conclusion by a different route. I try to show how far the content of preaching was adapted to the new urban public, and here I discuss in detail a genre of preaching aid designed to provide ready made sermons specially adapted to different sorts and conditions of men. However, I go on to argue that, apart from this genre, the content of sermons was less affected by the auditory than might have been expected: popular sermons do not differ greatly from academic sermons. I conclude by trying to show why the same sort of sermon could have been effective with both university and lay congregations.

The fourth part of the thesis (p.212 seqq.) is a case study of a sermon collection, variously called Legifer and the 'Collectiones fratrum', whose history seems to be an exceptionally clear illustration of a theme which deserves special emphasis. For although I try to give an idea of the variety of different aspects of the preaching revival, I also argue a thesis in the older sense of the term. It seems to me that the close relation between the academic world and popular preaching is a theme which deserves special attention, and that the University of Paris contributed to the revival of preaching in two distinct ways. Firstly, Paris was a centre for the diffusion of model sermon collections. Popular preachers all over Europe preached from ready made model sermons written and/or copied at Paris. Secondly, Paris provided a training for the preachers themselves. Biblical lectures imparted preachable doctrine but in addition to this the system of university sermons ensured that theology students had a training of a more practical kind. Bachelors and

auditores could be called upon to preach before the University, and this ordeal must have been a major hurdle - demanding careful preparation - for the more junior students.

The evidence suggests that students would normally be asked to give a sermon after mid-day - a collatio - rather than a morning sermon. They were normally held in the houses of the Franciscans or Dominicans. The student friars, most of whom were destined to become 'professional' preachers, must have found the training especially valuable. It is the more significant in that it was the only direct and practical preparation for preaching that a friar was given.

This argument presupposes the general similarity between academic and popular preaching which is discussed in Parts II and III. The Legifer collection has been singled out for special attention because it seems almost an 'ideal-type' of the link between the two types of preaching. It is a handbook of model sermons for popular preachers which appears to have been based on collations given at the houses of the friars, probably at Paris. Since it was diffused by the pecia system of the university stationers it also represents the other contribution of Paris to popular preaching. After outlining the evidence for Legifer's unusual history (p.212 seqq.) I make it the basis for a brief analysis of the theological culture which a section of the laity was beginning to share with educated clerics (p.225 seqq.).

The thesis concludes with a selection of illustrative texts and an appendix. The documents are transcriptions, not editions, and their purpose is to illustrate points made in the main body of the thesis. The first two texts are examples of the old and the new sermon forms respectively. The third text is included to illustrate the use of the new 'scholastic' form in a sermon to a lay congregation. It is also an

example of a sermon in which the content is specifically orientated to one kind of lay audience. The fourth, fifth, and sixth sermons show the other side of the coin. Text IV is a 'popular' sermon which could easily be mistaken for an academic one; texts V & VI are a university sermon and a model sermon for popular preachers respectively: they have the same theme, and when they are read together the general similarity of form and content is more striking than the differences. The last text is followed by an appendix, on franciscan preachers' pocket books, which gives some of the evidence too detailed to be included in the section (Part I,3, p.22 seq.) on 'Preachers' books'.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

The thesis could not have been written without Professor J.B. Schneyer, who generously allowed me to use the list of incipits and manuscripts of the Collectiones fratrum which will appear in Band 7 of his Repertorium. I cannot sufficiently thank Père L.-J. Bataillon, of the Leonine Commission, whose help I have tried to acknowledge properly in the notes. His judgement seems to be invariably right. MM. Zink and Longère allowed me to read their doctorats d'état before they were deposited in the Sorbonne library; I am conscious of the inferiority of my work to theirs. Mr. M.B. Parkes and Mr. Richard Rouse were generous with good ideas and suggestions. Among my contemporaries, I have gained most from Helen Spencer, Alan Fletcher, and Randall Rodgers. My two supervisors, Dr. R. W. Hunt and Miss Beryl Smalley, were far more useful to me than any research student has a right to expect.

I should now add my thanks to my parents and sister, who read the 'proofs' with me.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE MEDIEVAL SERMON

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the University of Oxford

by

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Oxford.

Long Vacation

1976 (ie 1977)^{HT}

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PART I PREACHING IN A CHANGING WORLD

One of the friends whom Salimbene met during his travels was a brother Maurice, who was lector in the Franciscan convent of Provins. Salimbene describes him as a noble and very learned man - 'valde litteratus': Maurice had studied long at Paris and in the Order.¹ He advised Salimbene to keep away from the Joachites; instead he should assist Maurice himself in compiling a book of Distinctiones, which would be most useful for preaching.²

Maurice wrote his book and it has survived. It is one of dozens of works compiled in the thirteenth century to help preachers. It was in this period that the production of preaching aids became like a major industry. Distinctiones were one kind, and it will be necessary to return to them; there were others as well, of which exempla collections are the best known, and model sermon cycles the most important.

The large scale production of material for preachers is not an early medieval phenomenon. In so far as there was anything of the kind, it was on an incomparably smaller scale. The system - for it was that - began in the thirteenth century, though its origins lie in the twelfth. The need which called it into existence was the revival of popular preaching, which did not achieve what one might call self-sustained growth until the thirteenth century. When it did, the trickle of model sermon collections and homiletic aids turned into a flood. Such works were not only numerous, but widely copied and diffused. They

1. Cronica Fratris Salimbene de Adam, ed. O. Holder-Egger (M.G.H. *Scriptores* tom. xxxii, 1905-13) p.237.

2. ibid.

were reproduced not only by private initiative, but also, as we shall see, by the pecia system of the Paris University stationers.

It is instructive to compare the function and public of the sermons diffused by the pecia system with the quite different function and public of St. Bernard's sermons. The latter were also put into circulation by a system of rapid copying, and recent scholarship has reconstructed the different stages of production. St. Bernard used a team of secretaries. He would speak (loqui, dicere); his disciples would take notes (stylo excipere); then St. Bernard or one of his secretaries would write it out (scribere); and finally he would put it into circulation (edere) after having sometimes gone over the text (corrigerere) when he had not written it himself.¹

This method and the pecia system had efficiency in common, but not much more. St. Bernard's sermons were copied by monastic scribes, for a mainly monastic public; they were to be read, rather than to be preached again. The sermon collections on the pecia lists were copied by professional scribes, and were intended not for edifying reading, but to serve as practical tools for inexperienced or busy preachers. Unlike St. Bernard's sermons, they were aimed at a double public, for they were used by clerics - above all by friars - as the basis of sermons for lay congregations. St. Bernard's sermons belong to a monastic context. On the other hand the sermon collections on the pecia lists, and dozens of other collections of the same genre, belong to two contexts: the academic milieu in which

1. Jean Leclercq, Recueil d'Études sur Saint Bernard et ses Écrits. I (Roma 1962) pp. 23-4.

they were produced, and the popular milieu in which they were used. The interpenetration of these two milieux will be a recurring theme in this study, for it is a leading feature of the process which I have called the transformation of the sermon.

Between the first half of the twelfth century and the second half of the thirteenth - between the sermons of St. Bernard and Hugh of St. Victor and the sermon collections of the Friars-there is a gulf. Not all the sermons which survive from the thirteenth century were designed for popular preaching, but model sermons for popular preachers are so numerous, and survive in so many manuscripts, that they would deserve the most prominent position in any general study of that period's preaching. It is true that University preaching is a separate category of almost equal importance, but it should become clear that even University preaching played a major (if indirect) role in the revival of popular preaching. The same may be said of the sermons preached by friars to congregations of their own brethren. By the transformation of the sermon, then, is meant the reorientation brought about by the revival of preaching to the laity: the paradox of the process is that it did not lead to a cleavage between academic and popular preaching: instead it produced the beginnings of a common religious culture which the laymen and women of the towns were able to share with the educated clergy.

1. The Revival of Popular Preaching.

Until the twelfth century society was almost entirely rural. It has been suggested that the medieval Church adjusted slowly if at all to the rise of the towns, but it would be truer to say that it had never quite adjusted to the problems of rural society. A historian of the early modern period has given currency to the phrase 'the legend of the Christian Middle Ages',¹ - the legend that it was a Christian society, when in fact Christianity's influence on society was small before the early modern period. Though an extreme formulation, it has much truth in it, provided that we date the beginning of 'Christianisation' to the thirteenth rather than the seventeenth century. The root of the problem was the state of the parish clergy. By post-Tridentine standards it was very low; Salimbene's story of the woman who was violated by the secular priests whom she asked to hear her confession² cannot have seemed absurd, and there is no reason to think that the secular clergy was worse in the thirteenth century than before. Despite the dangers of an argument drawn partly from silence, it is not likely that the parish clergy did much preaching. The towns provided an opportunity to the Church, because they provided an environment in which a preaching offensive had a chance of success. In the

1. Jean Delumeau, chapter on 'La legende du Moyen Age Chretien' in his Le Catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire (Paris 1971) ch. III, p. 227 seqq.

2. Cronica Fratris Salimbene, ed. Holder-Egger p. 411

thirteenth century the friars - not the secular clergy - were to take the opportunity, but in the twelfth century the rootless urban population was only an added problem, for orthodox preaching was sporadic and disorganised, while preaching by heretics was detaching whole areas from the influence of the orthodox establishment.

It is true that there were orthodox popular preachers, like Robert d'Arbrissel, and collections of model sermons, above all the Speculum Ecclesiae of Honorius 'Augustodunensis'¹ and the sermons of Maurice de Sully. However, the preaching revivals like those of Robert d'Arbrissel were, by comparison with the achievement of the Friars, local in their impact and temporary in their effect, while the collective impact of the twelfth century model sermon collections cannot have amounted to more than a fraction of the influence of their thirteenth century successors on popular preaching.

Perhaps the nearest thing to the sustained and European wide preaching revival of the thirteenth century was the preaching of the crusades. It was a highly organised effort on an international scale, and must have helped pave the way for the mass preaching of the next century. One striking difference, however, is that there was no large scale production of stereotyped model sermons to supply crusade preachers - or at least, little of the kind seems to have survived (the model sermons for crusaders by Jacques de Vitry are relatively late in date, and just one small part of a large collection).

1. Edited in P.L. 172 col. 807 seqq. For a good early account, v. R. Cruel Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter (Detmold 1879) p. 129 seqq.

It may be that an explanation of the Crusade indulgence and a narrative of events in the Holy Land provided an adequate framework for most Crusade preachers. It is the combination of popular preaching with the production of stereotyped material for the preachers which gives the thirteenth century movement its distinctive character, and the crusade preaching of the twelfth century was only a partial precedent.

By the end of the twelfth century the state of preaching still left much to be desired from the point of view of the orthodox. Peter the Chanter filled a whole section of his Verbum Abbreviatum with scriptural texts 'Contra malam taciturnitatem maxime praelatorum'.¹ Their failure to preach was one sort of 'evil silence'.² The Chanter lists the causes of 'pessimae taciturnitatis' and includes laziness and sheer ignorance.³ Denunciations by moralists cannot be treated as objective descriptions, but everything we know about the state of preaching in the twelfth century suggests that the situation was serious.

The Chanter himself helped to remedy it, at least indirectly. One of his pupils was Fulk of Neuilly, and it was Peter the Chanter who gave Fulk his chance, first by teaching him and then by launching him into a wider sphere. The story must be one of the most clear cut examples of the diffusion of ideas from an academic to a popular milieu, and we are fortunate to have a description of it by another member of the Chanter's circle, Jacques de Vitry.

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1. Verbum Abbreviatum cap. LXII. P.L. 205 col. 189 segg.
 2. 'Tacetur enim male ad praedicandum' P.L. 205 col. 191.
 3. op.cit. col. 192.

Jacques tells the story in his Historia Occidentalis. Fulk attended the Chanter's lectures ('scolas eius humiliter est ingressus'), and absorbed, pondered and memorised what he could.¹ Jacques de Vitry specifies that he learned 'quedam uerba moralia et uulgaria',² and in fact Fulk was lucky to be studying at a time when a school with such a definite pastoral orientation was flourishing. The earlier twelfth or the mid-thirteenth century were more fertile in original thought, and Peter the Chanter was not of the same calibre of either Abelard or Aquinas, but his concern for practical moral problems was what Fulk needed. He could go to his Church on Sundays and Feastdays and pass on to his flock what he had learned during the week. Neighbouring priests invited him to preach, and he spoke simply and unpretentiously to ordinary laymen (presumably their parishioners).³ The Chanter noticed the fervour of this poor and ill educated priest, and made him preach at the Church of St. Severin in the presence of many learned men.⁴

The story of Fulk's subsequent success is well known. The descriptions of his apostolate, and the many miracles they attribute to him, testify to the impression he made on his contemporaries. One point is worth dwelling on: the itinerant character of his preaching. Jacques de Vitry describes him as travelling around through the whole kingdom of France, and through a great part of the Holy Roman Empire.⁵ Itinerancy

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1. J.F. Hinnebusch, O.P. (ed.) The Historia Occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry (U.P. Friburg Switzerland, 1972) p. 94.
 2. ibid.
 3. op.cit. pp. 94-95.
 4. op.cit. p. 95.
 5. '. . . per totum Francie regnum et per magnam imperii partem . . . discurrens . . . ' op.cit. p. 96.

was the only way of reaching the masses who would not otherwise come into contact with a priest capable of preaching adequately.

Fulk of Neuilly was not a solitary meteor, for he had both assistants and successors, as Jacques de Vitry makes clear. We are told that he had followers who were received with honour wherever they went.¹ His success was not confined to his lifetime, for after his death many were fired by the fervour of his charity and moved to follow his example.² According to the Historia Occidentalis these preachers too were successful, and a list of the most famous of them is ^{s/} given. Stephen Langton heads the list, and he is followed by 'magister Galterus de Londonia; et magister Robertus de Chorcon, qui postea factus est cardinalis; <Adam>, abbas de Persinia cystericiensis ordinis; magister Albericus de Lauduno, qui postea factus est archiepiscopus remensis, de fluuio commutatus in riuum; magister Iohannes de Lirot et socius eius, magister Iohannes de Niuela . . .' - and many others, says Jacques, whose name is written in the book of life.³ His list is an interesting one: it shows that men of distinction, with academic backgrounds, were becoming involved with the revival of popular preaching.⁴ At least four out of the seven: - Stephen Langton, Robert of Courcon, Alberic of Laon, and John of Nivelles - were associated with the University of

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1. 'Sed et discipuli eius, quos ad predicandum mittebat velut apostoli Christi, cum summo honore et reuerentia recipiebantur ab omnibus.' op.cit. p. 100.
 2. 'Defuncto igitur predicto Christi athleta ... multi, zelo caritatis accensi et eius exemplo incitati, ceperunt predicare et docere ...' op.cit. p. 102.
 3. op.cit. pp. 102-3.
 4. By portraying them as Fulk's successors, Jacques implies that they did not confine themselves to academic preaching.

Paris, and the first three of these four achieved high ecclesiastical office. Adam of Perseigne was also a man of note, both in his order and in the wider world.¹ The fact that he was Cistercian may not be without significance: the Cistercians were in a real sense forerunners of the friars, and it was the Cistercians who had been commissioned to preach against the heretics in Southern France when Dominic arrived on the scene.

The Historia Occidentalis makes it clear that an orthodox revival of preaching was well under way by the turn of the century, before the rise of the mendicant orders. Up to this point Jacques' description of the revival is optimistic. After his description of Fulk's successors, however, he shows the other side of the coin, in a chapter entitled 'DE PSEUDO SIUE FALSIS PREDICATORIBUS'. It contains violent denunciations of pseudopredicadores who preach for evil motives, whether gain or vain glory.² Jacques might also have mentioned the competition from heretics, for both the Waldenses and the Cathars were zealous in their preaching.³

The success of both heretical preachers and Jacques de Vitry's pseudopredicadores suggests that the late twelfth century was a critical point in the history of the relations between popular religion and the institutional Church. Almost any kind of wandering preacher was likely to win a following -

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1. For details of his career y. Hinnebusch, op.cit. pp. 254-5.
 2. op.cit. p. 103 seqq.
 3. P. Mandonnet et al., S. Dominique, l'idee, l'homme et l'oeuvre, vol. ii, 'Perpectives', (Paris 1938). pp. 22-4.

one has the impression of a religious atmosphere unusually favourable to preaching of any kind, heretical or orthodox. In this atmosphere the medium was probably more powerful than the precise message; Jacques condemns evil preachers for taking in 'laicis . . . et ydiotis et nimis credulis mulieribus',¹ and accuses them of making money out of false relics, perjuring themselves and 'tolling their little bells'.² It must have been easy to put a match to religious enthusiasm in the small crowded towns where they would have operated. Whether or not contemporaries were aware of it, there was a race between the institutional Church and its opponents to direct the unstable piety of the towns.

One contemporary who was aware of it was Innocent III. There could be no picture of him more false than an image of a purely political Pope; his treatment of the humiliati demonstrates his willingness to take risks in the hope of directing religious fervour into orthodox channels.³ It is characteristic that in 1199 he ordered that a group of laymen should be allowed to read the Scriptures in the vernacular (in spite of a decision to the contrary by the bishop of Metz) and that he explained that he was doing so 'lest these simple people should be forced into heresy'.⁴

1. Historia Occidentalis, ed. Hinnebusch p. 105.

2. op.cit. p. 104.

3. Brendan Bolton, 'Innocent III's Treatment of the Humiliati' in Popular Belief and Practice, ed. G.J. Cuming and Derek Baker (Cambridge U.P. 1972) pp. 73-82.

4. op.cit. p. 80.

Jacques de Vitry gives a picture of the Humiliati which suggests that Innocent III's policy of tolerance had paid off, and which at the same time illustrates the unstable fervour of popular religious emotion at that time. Jacques is very much interested in the preaching of the sect. We are told that not only the clerics, but even the literate laymen among them had been given authority to preach by the Pope. Moreover they were not restricted to preaching within their own community. They might preach in public streets and in the cities, and in secular churches, if they had the permission of the prelati who were in charge of those places.¹ As a result, they converted many noble and powerful citizens. Some of those they converted 'renounced the world' altogether, and joined their order (religionem). Others, while remaining in the world in body, and staying with their wives and children, lived as unworldly a life as they could.² Priests and clerics also joined the Humiliati.

The Historia Occidentalis gives a vivid picture of the way the 'order' recruited new members. At the end of their sermons, when the hearts of their listeners, set alight by the power of the divine word (uirtute diuini sermonis feruentia), were more inclined to despise the world and serve their creator, they used to ask if there were any who wished to join them. Intoxicated by the preaching and with their spirits on fire ('in illa ebrietate et spiritus feruore') there were many who

1. Historia Occidentalis, ed. Hinnebusch, p. 145.

2. ibid.

chose to do so, and thus the order spread with great rapidity, and many convents of Humiliati sprang up in different cities.¹ Jacques goes on to say that the Humiliati were formidable enemies of the heretics,² many of whom they won back to the Church, so that 'those who had been teachers of error, became disciples of the truth'.³ In the early years of the thirteenth century it must have seemed hard to predict what direction popular piety would take.

The Fourth Lateran Council gave the problem official and formal recognition. The decree De praedicatoribus instituendis⁴ is a sign both of the shortage of good preachers and of the desire to put matters right. It recognises that for a variety of reasons - and implies that sheer ignorance cannot always be ruled out⁵ - bishops may not be able adequately to minister in person to their people, especially in large dioceses. For this reason bishops are ordered to choose suitable men to perform the function of preaching, and to provide support for these helpers when they needed it.⁶ The decree says that they should hear confessions and perform other pastoral duties as well as preach.⁷ In practice, of course, preaching and the hearing of confessions would tend to go together, since a central object of preaching was to persuade sinners to do

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1. op.cit. p. 145-6.
 2. He specifies the heretics 'quos paterinos appellant': op.cit. p. 146.
 3. ibid.
 4. Mansi Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio, tom. XXII (Venice 1777), concilium Lateranense IV, X, col. 998-9.
 5. '... ne dicamus defectum scientiae, quod in eis est reprobandum omnino, nec de cetero tolerandum...' op.cit. col. 998.
 6. ibid.
 7. op.cit. col. 998-9.

penance. The decree ends with a strict injunction against those who fail to obey it,¹ and the next decree ('De magistris scholasticis') was quite probably - even though it is not explicitly stated - an attempt to ensure that men with sufficient education to preach should be trained.

These two decrees say nothing of the Mendicant orders, but the latter had already begun to improve the situation which it was trying to remedy. St. Dominic's 'preaching' in Toulouse was a concrete example of the system which the Council envisaged for the whole of Christendom. The decree De praedicatoribus instituendis seems to imply that the preaching offensive should be organised on a diocesan basis, but in fact it was not to take that form, for the effective instruments of the revival were the two centralised international orders of friars. Preaching was an essential part of the ideal of the Friars Minor no less than of the Friars Preachers, and Pecham was to remark that the Rule of the Friars Minor was the only Rule of a religious Order which had two chapters devoted to preaching.²

For a sympathetic non-Franciscan estimate of their preaching in the early years of their history we may turn again to the Historia Occidentalis. The relevant chapter is entitled 'De ordine et praedicatione fratrum Minorum' - a sign of the importance he attached to their role as preachers. He even describes them by the phrase usually reserved for the Dominicans, as an 'order of preachers'.³ He says that the head of the

1. op.cit. col. 999.

2. v. J. Moorman, A History of the Franciscan Order from its origins to the year 1517 (Oxford 1968) p. 517.

3. 'Hec est religio vere pauperum crucifixi et ordo predicatorum quos fratres minores appellamus.' Historia Occidentalis, ed. Hinnebusch, p. 158.

order sends the brothers 'through the different parts of the world, for the sake of preaching and the saving of souls'.¹ Further down we read that the Pope gave the Franciscans permission to preach in churches wherever they went, provided that they had the permission of the prelati of the place.

2. Itinerant Preaching.

The wording of the passage suggests that Jacques had itinerant preaching in mind, as does the succeeding passage, with its Biblical echoes. 'They are sent in twos to preach as if ahead of the Lord . . .'.² In the early years of the Franciscan and Dominican orders itinerancy was almost a sine qua non of any effective preaching campaign, for they had few convents of their own to preach in. This state of affairs did not continue long, for Franciscan and Dominican convents proliferated throughout Europe in an amazingly short time. One might have expected that, with time, the Friars would have become content to preach from their own pulpits, and it is worth asking what evidence there is for the survival of itinerancy.

One of the most colourful narratives of the journeyings of a Friar is the Chronicle of the Franciscan Salimbene de Adam. One of Salimbene's friends - John of Parma, the Minister General himself - commented on the wanderings of Salimbene and his socius

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1. 'Habent autem unum summum priorem cuius mandatis et regularibus institutis reuerenter obediunt minores priores ceterique eiusdem ordinis fratres, quos per diuersas mundi prouincias causa predicationis et salutis animarum ipse transmittit.' Historia Occidentalis, ed. Hinnebusch, p. 159.
 2. Cf.: 'Mittuntur autem bini ad predicandum tamquam ante faciem domini . . .'. (Historia Occidentalis, ed. Hinnebusch, loc.cit.) with ' . . . misit illos binos ante faciem suam in omnem civitatem et locum, quo erat ipse venturus.' (Lc. 10, 1).

in France, Burgundy, Provence and Italy: 'You certainly get about, boys . . .',¹ he remarked, and according to Salimbene he was amused rather than annoyed.

Salimbene and his friends do indeed seem to have hopped almost casually from region to region. The Minister General himself had done something to encourage his tendency to wander, for some time before the meeting at which he passed the remark just quoted he had offered to send Salimbene and his socius anywhere they liked (except Paris!) in the whole of the Order.² They were given a night to think it over. The next day, after the destination of Salimbene and his socius had been settled, John of Parma gave a further example of ^{the} informality of the itinerant spirit. He had decided to go to Spain he said to his friend Brother Hugh: 'What do you say, Brother Hugh? Shall we go to Spain and do what the Apostle wanted to do?'³ Brother Hugh decided not. John of Parma should go, but for himself he preferred to die in the land of his fathers.⁴

IV / Much of Salimbene's travelling was done before he passed his preaching examination, (though Innocent III had given him some sort of permission to preach some time before he got his license from the order's authorities in the proper way). His

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1. ' "Multum discurreitis, pueri . . ." ' Cronica Fratris Salimbene, ed. Holder-Egger p. 333. (My rendering is free: pueri probably had the more technical meaning of 'young friars').
 2. ' ". . . ideo eligite vobis unum locum, quemcumque vultis in toto ordine, et ad illam mittam vos . . ." ' Cronica Fratris Salimbene, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 312. (The incident occurred in late September 1248.)
 3. ' "Quid dicitis, frater Hugo? Volumus ire in Hispaniam et desiderium supplere apostoli?" ' Cronica Fratris Salimbene, ed. Holder-Egger p. 313.
 4. 'Cui frater Hugo respondit: "Ibitis vos, pater, ego desidero mori in terra patrum meorum".' ibid.

chronicle has more to say about travelling tout court than about itinerant preaching. Of course he gives good coverage to striking preaching successes, like the sermons of Berthold of Ratisbon, or the Alleluia movement, but examples of ordinary preaching journeys are the more precious in that they seldom attracted attention.

Salimbene gives us a glimpse of one in a story about a Brother Humilis of Milan. When he was based at Fanano he worked hard during Lent at preaching and hearing confessions.¹ When the men and women 'de Alpibus' heard of this they sent to him, asking him to come to them. Salimbene says that they wanted him to hear their confessions (the superiority of Friars as confessors is the point of the story) but he does go on to mention in passing that when the friar got there he preached as well. This gives some idea of itinerant preaching in practice. However, it is likely enough that those with the licence to preach did not always wait for an invitation from the local inhabitants. 'Discursus' were probably a normal part of the lives of those who had passed the preaching examination and obtained the licence.

One of the most valuable sources for the history of itinerancy after the early years of the mendicant orders is the Liber de Eruditione Praedicatorum of Humbert de Romans.² Humbert includes discursus per mundum in his list of eight things connected with preaching (annexa praedicationi), and he

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1. 'Hic dum habitaret in loco fratrum Minorum de Fanano, tempore quadragesimali instabat predicationibus et confessionibus audiendis' op.cit. p. 411.
 2. Liber de Eruditione Praedicatorum, in B. Humberti de Romanis Opera de Vita Regulari vol. II, ed. J.J. Berthier (Romae 1889) (Berthier does not print the model addresses which form the second half of the De Eruditione).

devotes a substantial section to these 'journeyings'. First he goes through a series of scriptural texts which include the word 'discurro' or related forms (it looks as though he had a concordance at his elbow).¹ After this preliminary he sets about inciting those who, from laziness or for other even less creditable reasons, are reluctant to go on preaching expeditions - and this in spite of the fact that preachers are often called pedes in the Scriptures, and called so because it is their task to make preaching journeys (discurrere causa praedicationis).²

There are many things which should encourage them to perform their duty. Firstly, there is the command in the Scriptures (sacrae Scripturae admonitio). Humbert quotes from Proverbs ch. 6: ' "Discurre, festina, suscita amicum tuum." '³ Secondly, there are excellent examples to follow. When Christ began to preach, he had no house in which he might lay his head. He travelled around preaching 'per castella et civitates, et per totam Galilaeam' (here Humbert refers to Matthew ch. 4 and Mark ch. 6). The apostles too went throughout the whole world and preached everywhere. What sort of preachers, then, are those who always wish to stay quietly in their houses, or in their cloisters?⁴

The next of Humbert's reasons to encourage itinerant preaching is of special interest, for he speaks explicitly of

1. op.cit. p. 450-451.
2. op.cit. p. 451-2.
3. ibid.
4. op.cit. pp. 451-2.

the competition from heretical preaching. Heretics, risking life and limb, continually travel around from house to house and from town to town ('non cessant per domos et villas discurrere') in order to pervert souls. What a disgrace that they should travel to secure the damnation of souls while some preachers are unwilling to stir a foot for the salvation of souls.¹

The fourth incentive should be the nature of their own office. It is not a preacher's job to stand still, but to keep on the move (Humbert than laconically quotes John 15: 'I have put you to go out').² In this way he continues on through the fifth, sixth and seventh incentives:-³ the necessitas hominum, the magna voluntas mittentis, and the provocatio saecularium negotiatorum. It is natural for men to come to the aid of friends in danger. Therefore the angels are told (Is. 48) 'Go angels, swift to a people which has been plucked out and torn to pieces': The 'angels' are a figure for preachers. Again, the fact that the Lord, who sent them, so greatly wished them to preach should itself spur them on. Finally, they should be provoked to emulate the merchants of this world. These men so long for gain that many of them spend all their life travelling round the world to increase

1. op.cit. p. 452.

2. 'Quartum est consideratio proprii officii. Non enim est officium praedicatoris stare, sed ire. Joan. 15: Posui vos ut eatis'. ibid.

3. For these y. op.cit. p. 452.

their profits (pro lucris augendis) and the apostles did likewise, as they travelled through different lands to gain souls (per diversas provincias discurrentes pro lucro animarum).

Humbert then proceeds to criticise preachers who go to the other extreme by being over ready to undertake journeys for frivolous reasons.¹ He analyses the evil motives which may be behind an excessive penchant for travelling: Some go on journeys to escape the discipline of the cloister, just like boys running away from school. Others travel for the sake of their bellies, since they do not get a lot to eat in their convents (in claustris). Humbert compares such friars to the Goliards, whose travel has the same motive. Or again, some travel to meet their 'amicos carnales'. This phrase is hard to translate, but 'relatives' seems the most likely meaning² (Humbert does not seem to be speaking of worse scandals). Others go to deal with secular business (wills and the like), others out of empty curiosity (ex curiositate), others because those in authority over them send them without good reason.³

Finally, there are those who undertake journeys in a state of disobedience - without 'being sent'.⁴ Humbert's comments are interesting, for he says that sometimes they ride on horseback,⁵ and this is obviously meant to be a severe criticism. The corollary would seem to be that when Humbert was writing travel on foot was still the norm for the Dominicans (and

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1. For this paragraph and the next v. op.cit. pp. 453-4.
 2. 'Alii sunt propter amicitiam carnalem volentes frequenter visitare modo istos, modo illos amicos carnales. Contra quod legitur in Vitis Patrum quod frater quidam noluit videre etiam matrem suam, quae venerat ad eum.' op.cit. p. 453.
 3. 'Alii ex indiscreta praelatorum missione qui nimis passim subditos faciunt discurrere, et quandoque in damnum eorum non modicum.' op.cit. p. 453-4.
 4. 'Alii quod pejus est, quandoque praeter missionem obedientiae discurrunt ubi non mittuntur.' op.cit. p. 454.
 5. 'Quandoque etiam praeter formam suae professionis equitantes, vel pecuniam deferri facientes, et similia.' op.cit. p. 454.

perhaps we may assume the same, a fortiori, for the Franciscans). The rather shocked tone of Humbert's 'sometimes even . . . ' implies that the offence was far from universal, and that there must still have been a good many friars on the roads who carried their few 'belongings', books included, in their satchels.

Humbert, in conclusion, gives a list of the ills which result from too much travelling. His criticisms of the abuse of itinerant preaching suggest that, far from dying out as permanent convents proliferated, it was too common. Another critic of the abuse was Hugh of St. Cher, who gave his opinion on this matter among others in a letter to a general chapter of the Dominicans.¹ He uses the same word - discursus - as Humbert, and gives a brief but well reasoned criticism of useless journeys.² Later in the letter he mentions discursum again, and connects it with the problem of an over expansion in the number of preachers general.³

Despite Hugh of St. Cher's and his own criticisms of these excesses, Humbert of Romans appears to have regarded the right kind of discursus as both good and necessary for preachers, and he gives a list of the seven things necessary for itinerant preaching to be praiseworthy (laudabilis). The first prerequisite, for instance is that the friar should have an aptitude for this sort of work, 'For not just anyone is suitable

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1. Printed in B. Humberti Opera de Vita Regulari, vol. II p.507-9
 2. 'Amplius, diligentis et exquisiti studii sollicitudinis esse condecet fratres a superfluis discursibus submovere, ne ipsorum importuna discursio erga devotos devotionem minuat, erga indevotos fastidium generet, erga malevolos subministret materiam obloquendi, et claustrum frequens desertio occasionem praebeat corruendi.' op.cit. p. 508.
 3. 'Praedicatorum Generalium multitudo discursum multiplicat, et ideo eorum multiplicatio non videtur pluribus fructuosa.' op.cit. p. 509.

for it'.¹ The other suggestions also give one the impression that Humbert knew what he was talking about (though it is possible that one or two of them were included to make up the number seven). His practical common sense is particularly evident in the advice that they should not make such long journeys that they were good for nothing when they got to the hospitium.²

The Dominican institution of preacher general by its nature presupposed itinerant preaching, for whereas a preacher ordinary could only preach in the territory of his own priory, the general could preach anywhere in his province. Preachers General seem to have been quite numerous - we have seen that their proliferation alarmed Hugh of St. Cher - and the Chapter of 1255 took the step of forbidding provinces to appoint any more of them once the number of Preachers General exceeded the number of priories by more than fifty per cent.³

We have no Humbert of Romans for the Franciscans, but there is some evidence that itinerancy remained an important part of their life too in the second part of the thirteenth century. The Franciscan John Pecham (ca. 1220-1292), in a polemical defence of his order, seems to take itinerant

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1. 'Primum est ut ad hoc habeat aptitudinem. Non enim quilibet ad hoc est aptus.' op.cit. p. 454.
 2. 'Sextum est ut laborem viae temperet. Quidam enim tantas diaetas faciunt, quod cum veniunt ad hospitium, nec celebrare, nec horas reverenter dicere, nec praedicare, nec alia hujusmodi facere possunt; . . .' op.cit. p. 455.
 3. W.A. Hinnebusch, 'The Early English Friars Preachers' (Rome 1951) p. 288.

preaching for granted.¹ Another important piece of evidence is a franciscan exempla collection which appears to have been compiled between the years 1272 and 1297. It has been argued that the nature of the stories he tells show that the author must have been an itinerant preacher.²

3. Preachers Books

There is evidence of an entirely different kind for the continued importance of itinerant preaching: the evidence of the manuscripts themselves, viewed, as it were, as physical objects. The evidence is particularly strong for the Franciscan order. It not only confirms the conclusion that itinerant preaching continued to play a large role in the order's activity, but also gives us a surer idea of how the preachers prepared the sermons which they gave during their discursus.

When defending the way of life of the franciscans, Pecham had argued that it was not fair to call them girovagi: their wanderings were of a different kind.³ Meaning 'vagabond' or 'strolling monk' the word girovagus had pejorative associations: itinerancy was alien to Benedictine monasticism. The friars

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1. 'Religiosi igitur pro fratribus elemosinas petituri, sicut Paulus pro collectis faciendis per se et per alios laboravit . . . , aut predicatur populo vel bonum ecclesie aliter procurantes non sunt girovagi appellande sed rote Domini, quas rapit vite spiritus euntes et redeuntes in modum fulguris coruscentis.' John Pecham, Tractatus Pauperis, in Fratris Johannis Pecham Tractatus Tres de Paupertate ed. A.G. Little, in British Society of Franciscan Studies vol. II, p. 24.
 2. y. J. Th. Welter, L'Exemplum dans la Litterature Religieuse et Didactique du Moyen Age (Paris & Toulouse 1927), p. 250.
 3. John Pecham, Tractatus Pauperis, loc.cit.

had changed that, but they did have a precedent, in the Irish monks who left their homelands to become 'strangers for Christ'. They were literate, and needed books on their journeys, but it was, obviously, difficult to carry anything very bulky. Their solution was to produce 'pocket-sized' books, which enabled them to reconcile the desire to travel and the need for books.¹ Examples are the Antiphony of Bangor (c. 680), which measures approximately 8" x 7", and the Stowe Missal (c. 800) which is approximately 5.6" x 4.5". 'These almost miniature manuscripts allowed the owner to carry his little library in a leather sack (pera) strapped to his back on his distant peregrinations into "exile for the love of Christ."²

With the coming of the friars, itinerancy once more became respectable; the critics whom Pecham was answering represented neither the 'official line' of the Papacy nor popular opinion. Like the Irish monks, they needed books which they could carry on their journeys. One book that was obviously essential was the Breviary, and it has already been shown that the Franciscans, like the Irish monks, found the solution in pocket-sized books. Thus the standard history of the early franciscan Liturgy can contrast the noted choir books of the monks and secular clergy with 'the portable books of the itinerant friars'.³ It has

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1. y. Old Ireland, ed. Robert McNally (Dublin 1965), p. 124. (For this reference and many others I am indebted to John Coughlin). Cf. P. McGurk 'The Irish Pocket Gospel Book', Sacris Erudiri viii (1956) pp. 249-270.
 2. ibid.
 3. S.J.P. Van Dijk & J. Hazelden Walker, The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy (Westminster MD & London, 1960), p. 9.

also been shown that pocket Bibles are especially associated with the Mendicant orders.¹

If itinerant preaching continued to be a major part of the life of the second and subsequent generations of Friars, as was argued in the previous section, it is not surprising that pocket breviaries and Bibles were produced in large numbers throughout the period. Furthermore, Bibles and Breviaries are not the only kind of pocket books that survive. There is another large class of fourteenth century pocket books, which also seems to have been popular with the Friars, and especially the Franciscans.

It seems increasingly clear that the satchels of thirteenth century Friars would also have carried a small book of sermons, alongside the Bible and the Breviary. Those who have handled a large number of thirteenth and fourteenth century sermon manuscripts will know that many of them are in pocket format, which one may define, very approximately, as less than 18 cm in height. Even apart from their format they tend to bear a certain family resemblance to one another; it is not enough to imply a common scriptorium but it does suggest a common function. Unlike the fifteenth century books of Hours, which are also very small, they have a utilitarian look about them, and they are not as a rule decorated by miniatures. The script tends to be small - sometimes minute - and the words are often heavily abbreviated. This is presumably to save space, so it is surprising at first to find that a large blank

1. Josephine Case Schnurman, Studies in the Medieval Book Trade from the Late Twelfth to the Middle of the Fourteenth Century, with Special Reference to the Copying of Bibles, Oxford University Unpublished B. Litt. Thesis, (Ms. B.Litt. d 815) pp. 197-8, & passim.

space is often left at the foot of the pages of such books. The most likely explanation is that the spaces were left to allow the preacher to make his own notes - schematic diagrams of the divisions or distinctions, for instance. This confirms the impression that the works were designed for use, not ornament. Despite their work-a-day character, however, these preachers' books often seem to be the work of skillful scribes, for one finds many which are written in impressively neat and regular hands; but the neat script itself served a practical purpose, for it meant that the writing could be minute without being illegible.

MS. N.A.L. 270 of the Bibliotheque Nationale at Paris is an excellent example of this type of preacher's pocket book. The codex, which is dated to the second half of the thirteenth century, could have been tailor-made for a preacher who needed to make long journeys on foot. It is tiny, but carefully produced; the pages vary somewhat in size, but it measures approximately 16.60 cm x 11.10 cm. In many places the parchment is extremely thin, and this, in combination with the small format, may suggest that it was made from the skin of very young or aborted animals. Throughout most of the manuscript the writing is minute but regular. The large spaces at the foot of most pages have sometimes been filled with writing in a script of the kind not infrequently used for rough notes. The greater part of the manuscript is taken up with series of sermons. The average length of the sermons is extremely short. For this reason, and because the script is so very compressed, individual sermons often fit into an astonishingly small area of parchment. Thus a sermon on fo.29^{ra} fits into a space of

approximately 5 cm x 4.3 cm. This sermon is a mere skeleton outline, a schematic summary which consists of little but headings (rhyming among themselves) and scriptural texts to confirm them. There are many like it in the manuscript. Like the book itself, these sermons are severely functional. It is not uncommon to find summary sermons of this kind in pocket books.¹

Manuscripts like this have a twofold significance. Firstly, they provide further evidence that preaching did not lose its itinerant character after the early years of the mendicant orders. Their testimony is especially valuable because it is strongest where the literary evidence is weakest. In the previous section it was noted that there is more evidence of dominican than of franciscan itinerant preaching after the early years of the two orders. By way of compensation, there is a good deal of evidence to connect preachers' pocket books with the Franciscan order. Franciscans were not the only users of preachers' pocket books, but it does seem clear that they used such books a good deal. Everything about the appearance of these books suggests that, taken as a class, they were designed for the convenience of preachers who needed to be mobile.

Secondly, the survival of so many preachers' pocket books gives us a better idea of what one might call the 'infrastructure' of the expansion of preaching. Even when the literary sources do tell us something about itinerant preaching, they do not

1. Some examples from the Staatsbibliothek, Munich: MSS. Clm.2702, Clm.7963, Clm.7794.

give us a very clear idea of the character of the sermons which were delivered, or of how the friars prepared them. One is liable to get an overdramatised picture, based on descriptions of exceptional preachers like Berthold of Regensburg. Salimbene says that when the latter preached about the last judgement, 'everybody trembled, just as a rush trembles in the water. And they begged him for the love of God not to talk of such things, for they were weighed down with fear and horror when they heard him.'¹ It is easy to assume that such moving and powerful preaching must have been impromptu, or at least original. Berthold's, perhaps, was original, but the contents of preachers' pocket books brings us face to face with the paradox that the preaching offensive of the friars, which was undoubtedly successful, depended to a significant extent on ready made sermons and other kinds of stereotyped material.

Thus pocket books both confirm the literary evidence for franciscan itinerant preaching, and illustrate the dependence of itinerant preachers on 'pre-fabricated' material. Both these points deserve closer consideration, even though it will occasionally be necessary to go into technical details.

The evidence that pocket books were a common tool of franciscan preachers is the survival of many small format manuscripts with franciscan indications. The 'franciscan

1. '. . . ita tremebant omnes, sicut iunccus tremit in aqua. Et rogabant eum amore Dei, ne de tali materia loqueretur, quia eum audire terribiliter et horribiliter gravabantur.' Cronica fratris Salimbene, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 560. (The 'sicut iunccus tremit in aqua' is probably formulaic.)

indications' are of various kinds. MS. B.N. N.A.L. 270 has most of them, and it will serve to illustrate the different ways of telling that a book is franciscan.

Sermons for franciscan saints are the most obvious indication, but they are not necessarily a conclusive sign of a franciscan origin. In the 'compilatio sermonum festivalium per totum annum' which takes up much of the manuscript, there are five sermons for the Translation of St. Francis,¹ and three sermons in succession for the franciscan St. Antony,² but there is also a sermon for the Translations of both St. Francis and St. Dominic together,³ as well as two sermons in honour of St. Dominic alone.⁴ In this particular case the five sermons in honour of the Translation of St. Francis are probably sufficient evidence that the compilation is franciscan, but the inclusion of sermons for St. Dominic - there are some for St. Benedict too - is a reminder that orders honoured each other's saints. If a franciscan compilation can include sermons for St. Dominic, then the converse must also be true, and the inclusion of a sermon for the feast of St. Francis need not necessarily prove that a collection is franciscan.

Fortunately there are other ways of detecting a franciscan origin. One virtually certain indication is a reference to

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1. MS. B.N. N.A.L. 270 fo. 178v - 182r
 2. MS. B.N. N.A.L. 270 fo. 183r - 184v
 3. MS. B.N. N.A.L. 270, begins fo. 178r
 4. MS. B.N. N.A.L. 270 fo. 216v - 217v

St. Francis as a father, in the sense of founding father.¹

There is an example of this in N.A.L. 270 - the casual use of the phrase 'sanctus pater franciscus'.² This sort of indication is the ideal. In many cases, however, it is necessary to fall back on a more complex method.

It is possible to identify a series of de Tempore sermons as franciscan with a high degree of probability by showing that it is following the franciscan calendar. This method has only been developed recently; its great advantage is that it can be used for collections which have no de Sanctis sermons at all. It rests on the fact that the Franciscans had a distinctive cycle of readings for the Sundays of the Church's year.

It was normal to take the text of a sermon from the gospel or epistle of the day, and the Franciscans did not have the same readings as the Dominicans and the main body of the secular clergy for every Sunday of the year. The franciscan de Tempore calendar was essentially the same as that of the Roman court, but Roman Court preachers were rare (outside Rome itself of course). The Augustinian Hermits and also the Antonines and the Servites appear to have taken over the same 'Roman' liturgy, but these three orders put together would be far less numerous than the Franciscans, and the latter made an infinitely greater contribution to the revival of preaching. Despite these qualifications, then, it remains true that once the Dominicans

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1. cf. J.B. Schneyer, Repertorium, t.I, p.7: 'Die Klassifizierung anonymer Predigten können ausserdem folgende Hinweise dienen: 1. Für die Zuteilung an einen Orden sprechen folgende Kriterien: a) Die ehrenvollen Appositionen bzw. die Laudatio bei der Erwähnung des Ordensstifters, zB. beatissimus pater noster Augustinus, Bernhardus etc.'
 2. MS N.A.L. 270 fo. 181v.

and the main body of the seculars are excluded, it is highly likely that a given collection of sermons is franciscan. The other alternatives do not amount to much more than a theoretical possibility.

It is also probable that a codex which contains a collection organised around the franciscan calendar will itself be franciscan, in the sense of being made for or used by members of the order. This is especially likely if the liturgical sequence is indicated by rubrics or marginal notes: if the book had been made for a secular or a Dominican, the rubrics or notes could and probably would have been adapted to fit their usage. It is reasonable to assume that books with sermon series adapted to the franciscan calendar were for the use of Franciscans.

There is one more technical detail which we need to bear in mind. A collection may be franciscan even if it does not follow the franciscan calendar, for it was common for the Franciscans to preach in the churches of the secular clergy. A Franciscan writing a collection of sermons might depart from his own order's usage to facilitate the use of the collection in ordinary parish churches. Thus one cannot argue from the calendar sequence that a collection is not franciscan; the argument only works the other way round.

A table setting out the main differences between the franciscan/Roman Court and the dominican/secular readings is set out in Appendix I.¹ With the aid of this table, together

1. Appendix I contains the evidence about franciscan pocket books which is too detailed or technical for this section.

with other 'franciscan indications' it is possible to show that a considerable number of preachers' pocket books are certainly or probably franciscan. In N.A.L. 270, for example, the calendar evidence confirms the other franciscan indications.¹

When the various methods of identifying franciscan books of sermons are applied to a random² collection of preachers' pocket books the results can be quite surprising. The sermon pocket books in the old Royal Library of the Bibliothèque Nationale are a more or less random sample of pocket books containing sermons. Out of twenty odd books, nine have franciscan indications of one kind or another. In some of the manuscripts the indications are fairly conclusive; with others it amounts only to a fair probability, and some doubt remains. When all the pros and cons have been weighed, the total is still remarkable.³

The same story is told by a sample of a different kind: a large collection of manuscripts whose provenance is certainly franciscan. A large number of books have survived from the medieval franciscan library at Assisi. Because the fourteenth century catalogue of the library has survived, and because the manuscripts themselves usually have indications which make it possible to marry them up with the entries in the catalogue, it is not difficult to pick out the books which belonged to the medieval library.⁴

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1. v. Appendix I.
 2. I use 'random' in the everyday sense, not with the technical connotation which the word has in statistical language.
 3. Here I merely summarise the conclusions from evidence set out in detail in Appendix I.
 4. The mss. of the medieval library were identified by L. Alessandri, in his Inventario dell'Antica Biblioteca del S. Convento di S. Francesco in Assisi compilato nel 1381 (Assisi 1906).

The library was divided into ^{two} parts: a public and a private section. The books in the public part were to be read in situ, and could not be taken away. It follows that they could not be used by itinerant preachers, and to count them together with the sermon manuscripts in the private library would confuse the issue. The latter, however, are a useful sample for our purpose. Because their Franciscan provenance is established by external evidence there is not the element of doubt which often remains when one relies on liturgical evidence.

Nearly two hundred manuscripts survive from the private library. Some are clearly for preachers, others not, and a disproportionately large number of the former are in pocket format. The sample poses problems which makes it difficult to give exact figures. For instance, it is not always easy to decide from the medieval and modern catalogues whether or not a particular manuscript should be regarded as a preachers' book. It is particularly hard with books described as 'Postills'. The name usually refers to Bible commentaries, but some postills on the liturgical readings are, to all intents and purposes, sermon collections. I have seen many but by no means all of the manuscripts, and without a fuller study of the library it is likely that precise statistics would be inaccurate. Nevertheless the broad conclusion - that there is a significant correlation between preachers' pocket books and pocket formats - seems solid enough. The high proportion of preachers' pocket books cannot be explained by the accidents of survival, for such books would be more liable to

wear and tear than most, and therefore less likely to survive.¹

It would be wrong to suggest that preachers' pocket books were used only by Franciscans (though I do not believe that a sample of manuscripts of non-franciscan provenance would contain so high a proportion of preachers' pocket books).² The Dominicans at least must have used them. Nevertheless, if we are to go by the evidence which has come to light so far, the use of preachers' pocket books would seem to have been particularly widespread within the franciscan order. Since the literary sources tell us relatively little about itinerant franciscan preaching in the second half of the thirteenth century and after, the testimony of the manuscript books themselves is a welcome supplement to the dossier.

We may now return to the second point: the implications of the preachers pocket books for the way preachers prepared their sermons. The pocket books appear to be tools which preachers took with them on their expeditions. If so, that implies that many friars did not prepare a special sermon every time they preached to the people. It must have been common if not normal to preach from books.

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1. Cf. Alessandri, Inventario p. xxxix (speaking of manuscripts of sermons): '. . . questi sono stati soggetti, più che le altre opere, ai guasti alle ingiurie del tempo; perche, essendo fra i religiosi francescani assai comune il lavoro della evangelizzazione, i libri di quel genere, dovevano essere usati più che gli altri;'
 2. In the old Royal Library of the Bibliothèque Nationale pocket books constitute a much smaller proportion of the whole, and even of the books for preachers. I base this on an analysis of Omont's table of formats and categories of texts of books in the old Royal Library: v. H. Omont, Concordances des Numéros Anciens et des Numéros Actuels des Manuscrits Latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale (2c) (Paris 1903), XL - XLI.

More often than not the books contained sermons which somebody else had written. MS. B.N. N.A.L. 270, for instance, includes sermons from the corpus attributed to Hugh of St. Cher.¹ They are very brief summaries, which must have been written as skeleton outlines, to serve as models. Sermons from this corpus are found in a large number of manuscripts. They were obviously used by many different preachers as ready-made 'notes' for their own sermons.

Collections of model sermons are found again and again in pocket books, and examples are inevitably random. We may cite three from among the books in pocket format in the private section of the medieval library of Assisi.² MS. Assisi 486 which measures 162 x 115 mm. is catalogued in the fourteenth century Inventory as 'The sermons to all conditions of man, of Brother Gilbert, Master, of Tournai, of the order of Minors'.³ Gilbertus' collection is mainly taken up with sermons to men and women of a variety of different walks and states of life. It was undoubtedly designed as a series of models for others to copy. To judge by the number of manuscripts which have survived, the collection was widely used.

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1. Schneyer, Repertorium, Heft 2 pp. 766 & 770.
 2. To identify the collections in these mss. I have used the fichier in the Convento dei Santi Apostoli, Rome, together with Schneyer's Repertorium, Alessandri's edition of the fourteenth century Inventario, and G. Mazzatinti's Inventari dei Manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia, vol. IV (Forli 1894), pp. 21-141.
 3. Inventario (ed. Alessandri), p. 132; Schneyer (Repertorium Heft 2 p. 306) includes Assisi 486 among the mss. of Gilbertus' Sermones ad Status

MS. Assisi 505 is even smaller (it measures 145 x 110 mm.). It includes a considerable number of sermons from the Sunday sermon collection of Lucas de Bitonto, O.M.¹ As we shall see later, the author wrote the collection to help the less educated and experienced brothers of his order. He appears to have given the Minister General of the Franciscans the opportunity of going through the work and revising it. The fourteenth century Inventory lists several copies of this work, which, like Gilbert's has survived in a large number of manuscripts, scattered throughout many European libraries.

The third example (MS. Assisi 464) is another widely diffused work, described in the medieval Inventory as 'Sermons for Sundays and Feast days throughout the year, and the Common of the saints, according to Brother Conrad (conradum) of Saxony, of the order of Minors'.² These are only three of many collections of model sermons widely available to the Friars and other preachers. That collections like these are found so often in pocket books is a visible reminder of the role of stereotyped material in the evangelising work of the Friars.

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1. The fourteenth century Inventory lists the contents as follows: 'Sermones festivi. de decem preceptis. Et sermones Luce super epistolas et evangelia dominicalia. a feria quinta post pascha usque ad finem anni.' Inventario, ed. Alessandri, p. 119; Schneyer (Reperitorium Heft 4 p. 70) lists Assisi 505 among the mss. of Lucas de Bitonto's collection.
 2. Inventario (ed. Alessandri), p. 128; Schneyer (Reperitorium Heft 1, p. 764), lists Assisi 464 as a manuscript of Conradus Holtzicker de Saxonia.

4. The Production of Stereotyped Material

The revival of preaching by the Friars cannot be understood apart from the proliferation of model sermons and other preaching aids. The widespread diffusion of ready-made material for sermons might almost be called the literary aspect of the expansion of preaching, for it is hardly possible to separate the two processes. The contents of a finite number of handbooks was transmitted by dozens or hundreds of preachers to congregations all over Europe, so that a model sermon written at Paris might be preached in Gloucester or Genoa, or both. There are points of resemblance with modern systems of mass communication, for, just as with newspapers or the radio, the same content was made accessible to audiences in areas far apart. The analogy is not perfect, however, for the preachers who used the handbooks would have modified and expanded or selected from the material that had been prepared by others for their convenience.

There were several different types of preaching aid. One genre which has received a great deal of attention¹ - perhaps because it casts light on literature and folklore as well as religious history - is the exempla collection. The antecedents of the genre go far back into Christian history, but in the thirteenth century a new - and the most important - period of its existence began.² Firstly, exempla were used

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1. And is still receiving it: At Paris M. Jacques Le Goff is at present leading a collective investigation of the medieval exemplum.
 2. J. Th. Welter, L'Exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du Moyen Age (Paris & Toulouse, 1927), p.63.

more by preachers; that, however, was the development of an existing trend. More important from our point of view was a major new departure: the compilation of handbooks of exempla, detached from the sermons themselves and arranged in some kind of logical order.

The earliest major work of the kind was by Étienne de Bourbon, who wrote a Tractatus de diversis materiis predicabilibus not later than 1261.¹ In his prologue he states that 'not without much time and labour',² he had collected divers useful exempla, from divers books, and from divers materials, and under divers headings, and from divers good and learned men, from whom he had heard many of them. He explained that his aim was to compress into a small space material which was scattered among many books; also to organise it and divide it up under headings.³

Clearly he was not trying to write a work of great originality - as he says a little earlier, he left higher matters to those who were fitted for them, and wanted only to do something useful for the salvation of men, 'according to my littleness'.⁴ Even when allowance has been made for the topos of the author's disclaimer, his statement of purpose probably gives a fair idea of the driving force behind his own and his contemporaries' efforts to put stereotyped material into circulation. Originality was not the point, either for the composer or for the preachers who used his book.

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1. Welter, L'Exemplum, p. 215. (According to Welter the terminus post quem is 1250.)
 2. 'non sine multo tempore et labore . . .' Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues tirés du recueil inédit d'Étienne de Bourbon, (Librairie de la Société de l'Histoire de la France, Paris 1877) p. 5.
 3. ibid.
 4. ibid.

The purpose was to be useful - one remembers how Brother Maurice asked Salimbene to help him compile a book which would 'be very useful for preaching'.¹

The boundaries of the exempla genre, as of other kinds of preaching aid, are not always clearly marked. It would for instance be hard to say whether moralisations on the natural properties of things should be counted as a separate genre.² They are certainly distinct from other types of exempla, and books of them were made long before compilations of exempla in the normal sense of the word. Nevertheless the purpose of the thirteenth century collections of moralisations was, on the whole, much the same as that of other exempla collections and of preaching aids in general. The prologue of Thomas de Cantimpré's Liber de natura rerum lays the same emphasis as Étienne de Bourbon's on utility and compression.³

Étienne de Bourbon organised his exempla collection around the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost (though he did not in fact finish all seven parts). Other compilations were organised alphabetically, so that a preacher could look up the topic he wanted just as we look up an article in an encyclopedia. If, for example, he wanted material on marriage, he would see if his collection had an entry under Matrimonium or Coniugium.⁴

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1. Cronica fratris Salimbene, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 237.
 2. For the long tradition of works of this kind y. Welter, L'Exemplum, p. 335 seqq.
 3. '. . . in uno volumine et hoc in parvo brevissimo compilarem . . . ' . . . et quantam utilitatem prestare possit his qui verbo predicacionis volunt insistere, . . . ' (The phrases are from passages quoted - apparently from the prologue of the work-in Welter, L'Exemplum, p. 338).
 4. The Tabula Exemplorum secundum ordinem alphabeti edited by Welter (Paris & Toulouse 1926) has an entry under Matri-
(45-6) / monium but not under Coniugium; the Liber Exemplorum edited by A.G. Little (British Society of Franciscan Studies Vol. I, Aberdoniae MCMVIII) has an entry for Coniugium (pp. 58-59) but not for Matrimonium.

He might find not only exempla in the normal sense of the word, but other preaching material as well. In the entry under Matrimonium in the collection called the Tabula Exemplorum secundum ordinem alphabeti both are to be found. First comes a brief exemplum which fits the normal categories neatly enough: 'Take note of the philosopher who, when two men, one rich and stupid, the other wise and poor, had been offered to his daughter, said: I prefer to give my daughter to a poor man in need of money than to money in need of a man.'¹

The next part of the article begins like a story but turns into a list: A demon called Asmodeus killed seven men, that is, those who were joined in marriage in a way that was not permitted. This said, each of the seven men is made to stand for a class of sinners. The first are those who marry their relatives (consanguineas), the second those who marry one girl after promising to marry another, and so on. This exemplum, if it can be called that, is really an enumeration of forbidden actions.²

The article continues in a similar vein, listing the sins which an adulteress commits,³ and then the good aspects of marriage.⁴ Material like this is on the borderland of the exempla genre. However, the Matrimonium entry does conclude with what looks more like a proper exemplum, though the compiler gives no more than the heading: 'De b^o Germano et dracone' (presumably he expected the user of his handbook to be familiar with the story).⁵

1. La Tabula Exemplorum secundum ordinem alphabeti, ed. Welter, p. 45.

2. ibid.

3. ibid.

4. op.cit., p. 45-6.

5. op.cit., p. 46.

Its title suggests that even this last exemplum may have bordered on the genre of lives of the saints. This was not a specifically homiletic genre, but preachers must have known their way around the Legenda Aurea or other collections, since model sermons for saints' days often have little to say about the life of the saint. It does not seem likely that preachers omitted stories from the saints' lives altogether, and the natural inference is that the cycles of de Sanctis sermons were used in conjunction with saints' lives.

The article on marriage shows that the exempla genre is somewhat blurred at the edges. The same may be said of Biblical Distinctiones, which were another major class of preaching tool. Recent work has shown how much the genre altered in the course of a century, until eventually it disappeared 'by the simple process of turning into something else'.¹ In the late twelfth century a distinctio was a list of different senses of a term contained in scripture; often each of the 'four senses of scriptural interpretation' was illustrated by a text from the Bible containing the word. However, the author or compiler was not confined to the 'four senses', and indeed the illustrations did not have to be from scripture.² It was common to draw on moralised bestiaries and collections of proprietas rerum,³ so here Distinctiones begin to overlap with the exempla genre.

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1. R. & M. Rouse, 'Biblical Distinctions in the Thirteenth Century' Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age xli (1974), p. 37.
 2. art. cit. p. 28.
 3. ibid.

The earliest major collections of distinctiones, those of Peter the Chanter, Peter of Poitiers, and Prepositinus, appear to be aids for teachers of theology.¹ It is not certain which was the first collection designed specifically to meet the needs of preachers, but a likely candidate is the Alphabetum in artem sermocinandi of Peter of Capua. The terminus post quem of this work is 1219, and it cannot be much later than that date.²

The mendicants, not surprisingly, found the genre congenial, and made a major contribution to it, modifying it as they did so. They tended to give more material for each word, and to concentrate more on virtues, vices, and related matters. The nature of the genre was changing, and it has been aptly said that 'At times, the entries seem not to be so much scriptural terms in want of definition, as to be topics in search of scriptural discussions'.³

Perhaps the best way to illustrate the character of the distinctiones is to quote an entry. The section on Oportunitas in the Distinction collection of Maurice de Provins is untypical in its brevity, but in other respects it gives a fair idea of the genre around the mid point of its development:

Est oportunitas loquendi. Prov. xv. sermo opportunus optimus est. Item operandi. Eccl. viii. Omni negotio tempus est et oportunitas. <***> Adiutor in oportunitatibus, in tribulatione. Item predicandi. ii ad Thim. iiii. predica verbum, insta oportune, importune.

(MS. Bodl. Rawlinson C 711 fo.138^{vb})

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1. art. cit., p. 30.
 2. art. cit., pp. 32-3.
 3. art. cit., p. 34.

Maurice of Provins is the same as the frater Mauricius who told Salimbene to keep away from the Joachites and help him with a book of Distinctions for preachers. The example illustrates the dry and impersonal character of his work; although dry, however, it was functional, for it was well adapted to the demands of the new sermon form reaching maturity about this time. It would seem that his wish to provide a tool 'utile ad predicandum' was fulfilled, since his work was multiplied by the Paris University stationers, presumably because it was in demand.

The Distinctiones genre overlaps with other types of homiletic aid. Model sermons could themselves be called distinctiones - at least, that name appears to have been applied to summary sermons by Hugh of St. Cher.¹ This need not be too surprising, for summary sermons often consisted of little more than divisions or distinctions with scriptural authorities to confirm the members; apart from the fact that they are not in alphabetical order they bear a marked family resemblance to distinctiones in the strict sense of the word.

The case of the 'Summa Guiotina' shows how difficult it is to separate distinctiones from other genres.² The work falls into a number of distinct parts. There is a series of sixty-six sermones dominicales, all full length sermons, and also another block of long sermons 'de Beata Virgine Maria et

1. The attribution to Hugh of St. Cher is not quite certain.
2. The workings of this massive and ingenious work have been analysed by Pierre Michaud-Guantin, 'Guy d'Yvreux O.S.A. technicien du sermonnaire médiéval' A.P.F. xxx (1950) pp. 213-233.

de Sanctis'. In each of these sermons there is a distinction on a particular word, and one of the key sections of the whole Summa consists of an alphabetical list of these 74 words, abstracted from the full length sermons in which they occur.

The rest of the work consists mainly of a large number of themes for the Temporale and Sanctorale. Some are simply texts, others are 'divisa et concordata'. The key to the whole work was the Index dictionum - the list of words to which distinctions were attached in the full length sermons. This list served as a link between the themes on the one hand and the distinctions in the full length sermons on the other. A preacher could pick the theme that suited him or the day. Just after the theme he would find a word, which he would then look up in the Index dictionum. This would direct him to a distinction in one of the full length sermons. The author even intended the scribe to put beside each word on the Index the place in the codex where the relevant distinction could be found.¹

The point of the system was that a limited number of Distinctions could serve as material for a much larger number of themes, so that the preacher had considerable freedom of choice in picking his theme. We may take as an example the beginning of the first main list of themes:-

Dominica prima in Adventu Domini. Nunc enim propior est nostra salus; sermo fiat de prope vel de salvare. Induamur arma lucis; de induere. In die honeste ambulamus; de ambulare.²

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1. cf. Michaud-Quantin art.cit. p. 221.
 2. quoted Michaud-Quantin, art.cit. p. 222.

Suppose the preacher chose 'Induamur arma lucis', the second of the three themes quoted here. After the theme are the words 'de induere', which direct him to look up induerere in the Index dictionum. The Index dictionum would in turn direct him to the appropriate distinction.

The distinctiones genre is also related to another kind of tool, which was not so complicated as Guy d'Evreux's elaborate machine, though it too could not have been invented without a great deal of ingenuity. This was the Bible Concordance, which was an invention of the thirteenth century. Some collections of distinctions could be used just like a concordance, to find a number of different scriptural passages in which a given word occurs. The distinction collections, however, did not attempt to be exhaustive.

A Bible Concordance could be used for other purposes than preaching; nevertheless a concordance was more important for preachers than might at first appear. Its full significance for the history of thirteenth century preaching is discussed in a later chapter, for it can only be appreciated properly in the context of the preaching technique of the day. Suffice it to say that the elaborate sermon form which most preachers had adopted by the second half of the century made some such tool a major desideratum.

During the course of the thirteenth century several concordances were written, for the tool was not perfected immediately.¹ The third concordance to be developed appears

1. See now the study of its evolution by R. & M. Rouse, 'The Verbal Concordance to the Scriptures' A.E.R. xlv (1974) pp. 5-30.

to have been much more successful than its predecessors;¹ it was multiplied by the pecia system, and appears in the pecia list of 1286.² The perfection of the concordance and its diffusion by the University stationers were not the least important part of the system which lay behind the preaching of the Friars.

The pecia system, which diffused the third concordance was designed to produce accurate copies of a reliable text of a work with a minimum of delay. The exemplar of the work was divided into a number of separate sections - the 'peciae' - which would normally be quires of eight pages. The text would be checked by a University commission. It was then deposited at a stationer's and the peciae were hired out. Some or all of the peciae could be borrowed and copied by different scribes at the same time, so that scribe A. did not have to wait until scribe B. had copied the whole manuscript before he could borrow and copy the manuscript. Thus the system made for speed; by the same token it made for accuracy, for every scribe would be working directly from an approved exemplar, not from a copy several times removed from it. The system also provided a fixed unit for paying scribes, for a scribe could be paid by the number of peciae he copied, instead of by the time he took or the amount of parchment he covered himself. The system was used to multiply many different sorts

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1. Rouse, 'Verbal Concordance', pp. 21-2 & p. 25.
 2. Rouse, 'Verbal Concordance', p. 19 (My impression is that the concordance made an impact on the composition of sermons well before this date).

of text, but it was an obvious way of meeting the demand for tools for preachers, and as we shall see, it was used to diffuse several different kinds of preaching aid.

One genre of preaching aid which is not represented on the surviving stationers' lists is the Ars Praedicandi. The Artes Praedicandi are discussed in some detail later in this study, and here a brief notice will suffice. It is possible that they do not appear on the stationers' lists because they were usually too short to make the process of reproduction by peciae worthwhile, but a further reason may be that they were not so much used as some other kinds of preaching aid. As a key to the rules of form by which most thirteenth century sermons were constructed they are a source of great value, but their actual influence, by comparison with some other kinds of preaching aid, may have been exaggerated a little. Individual Artes Praedicandi usually survive in surprisingly few manuscripts - ten is a large number. Sermon collections, by contrast, often survive in fifty manuscripts or more, and this despite the fact that sermon cycles are rather long, while most Artes are short, so that the latter could have been multiplied more quickly. Of course the manuscript count can be an unreliable guide. Precisely because they are so small most Artes Praedicandi are harder to find in a poorly catalogued manuscript library than sermon collections which occupy a whole codex: it is therefore possible that the existing handlists of Artes Praedicandi have missed more manuscripts than their counterpart for sermons. Furthermore the Artes Praedicandi might have been less carefully preserved. With all these reservations, it is still true that thirteenth century manu-

scripts of Artes Praedicandi are less common than one would expect if they were widely diffused.

However it may be with the Artes Praedicandi, there can be no doubt about the influence of model sermon collections, which are the most important single genre of preaching aid. They were written for preachers who lacked the time, learning, or experience to compose their own sermons. A high proportion of the surviving thirteenth century sermons belong to this category.

Model sermons were normally circulated as collections organised around the liturgical calendar. The two most important categories were collections for Sundays, and collections for Saints' days and Feast days. There were also Quadragesimalia - collections of sermons for the days of Lent, when preaching was much more intensive. One important type of collection which did not fit into the liturgical framework is that of Sermones ad Status, collections of sermons for different sorts and conditions of men. Though there are not many ad Status collections, at least one of them was widely circulated.

Model sermon collections, like most kinds of preaching aid, were written for two publics: in the first place for preachers, who used them as the basis for their own sermons, and in the second place for the congregations to whom the sermons were preached. Thus the preacher who used a model sermon was an intermediary between the author and the ultimate public, which would normally be lay.

These collections were, in a real sense, 'published'. They were meant to be copied many times and used by many

different preachers. Thus when a model sermon collection was successful, much the same message would have been transmitted to a variety of different audiences, perhaps at opposite ends of Europe.

Not quite the same message however: when a preacher turned a model sermon into living speech he would almost certainly have modified it to some extent. Often this would have meant expanding it, for it is my impression that the majority of model sermons were more or less compressed. Sermons which consist of little but divisions and distinctions, with brief scriptural texts to confirm them, are not at all unusual.¹ When a preacher used a collection of sermons of this kind he would have to fill in the outline himself. He would have commented on the scriptural text and shown its bearing on the part of the division which it was confirming. We may guess that he would also add exempla, and perhaps material from the Fathers of the Church as well, for it seems likely that model sermons and other kinds of preaching aid were used in conjunction with each other. Sometimes, on the other hand, a preacher would have to modify a model sermon by abridging it. The prologue of Guy d'Avreux's Summa for preachers states explicitly that the preacher should pick and choose from the long sermons, rather than delivering them in extenso.

A successful collection of model sermons would tend to become fragmented. Copies of the complete work would continue

1. The summary sermons attributed to Hugh of St. Cher and Johannes de Castello are extreme cases, but drastic compression is a general phenomenon.

to be made, but at the same time, preachers would select blocks of sermons or individual sermons from the cycle, and copy them into their own sermon note-books. New compilations would be created, composed of sermons taken from various different collections. Such compilations might exist in one manuscript only - a personal selection of model sermons for a single individual.

The author of a collection of model sermons might well use sermons which he had actually preached in the past. He might 'write them up' either from his own notes, or from notes taken by a member of the audience - the system called reportatio. However, we should be careful not to exaggerate the number of sermons transmitted by reportatio; even if notes taken by listeners played some part in the transmission it would be wrong to speak of reportatio tout court if the author intervened (editing and correcting) before putting the text into circulation. Moreover we cannot assume that a series of sermons was transmitted by reportatio just because the sermons have no protheme and appear to be in note form: some sermons which we know to have been 'published' as models have the same characteristics.

Lay congregations were the ultimate audience of most model sermon cycles. University congregations may probably be ruled out, for in that milieu some originality would be expected, and it would not be acceptable for a preacher to use a model sermon written by someone else.¹ It would also

1. Cf. Beryl Smalley, English Priars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century (Oxford 1960) pp. 37-8.

have been difficult to take sermons from a collection of models when preaching to fellow members of a monastic community, since they would probably have known exactly where the sermon came from, and which books the preacher had out of the library. Nor is it likely that collections of model sermons were intended for congregations of the lower clergy. It is true that the latter were poorly educated, and would not have minded much about originality, but they would not have been gathered together regularly on Sundays and Feastdays. A de Tempore or de Sanctis cycle intended for their ears would have been useful only occasionally. This leaves the laity.

Often there are more positive indications of the nature of the audience for whom the sermons were intended. Sometimes the content is obviously unsuitable for clerics. Sermons on the text Nuptie facte sunt are a rough guide, for when they dwell at length on the manifold advantages of marriage it is unlikely that they or the cycle to which they belong were to be preached to celibate congregations only. Another indication is a prologue by the author stating the purpose of the work.

Prologues are valuable, not only as evidence of audience, but also because they throw light on the attitudes which lay behind the production of stereotyped material for preachers. The prologue of Lucas de Bitonto to his Sunday sermons is one of the most interesting. He explains that he had composed his work under obedience (mandato superioris urgente) and because some of the brothers desired him to do so.¹ Something

1. MS. B.N. N.A.L. 410 fo. 3^{va}

of the kind is of course a common place of prologues, though the 'mandato superioris' may imply a directive or at least a suggestion from a higher authority in the order.

The language of the prologue suggests that the work was designed first and foremost for preachers within the order. The prologue is addressed to the Minister General of the Franciscans, whom the author addresses as 'pater totius ordinis minorum minister',¹ and whom he asks to revise and correct the work. St. Francis is invoked near ^{the end of} the prologue.² If the prologue was meant to be put into general circulation with the rest of the work, its tone suggests that the author was writing in the first place for franciscan preachers.

' . . . I wished to be of service to brothers who are unskilled and as yet inexperienced . . .'³ So Lucas explains his purpose. The natural explanation of his words is that he wanted to help franciscan preachers who lacked skill or experience by providing them with ready made sermons. It is not likely that he meant them to use his sermons on other clerics who were better equipped to preach than they were themselves.

If he intended his work to be a 'standard introduction' for Franciscans, there is evidence that his wish was fulfilled. We have seen that the fourteenth century inventory of the franciscan library at Assisi lists several copies of his sermons. There is also evidence of another kind, for this is one of the rare cases where one can supplement the evidence of the manuscripts of a work with a reference in a chronicle source.

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1. ibid.
 2. ibid.
 3. ibid.

The chronicle, of course, is that of Salimbene, who gives us a glimpse of the after history of Lucas de Bitonto's sermons, just as he does of the back history of frater Mauricius' distinction collection. Salimbene refers quite casually to a sermon by 'brother Luke':

'Note the example of that shoemaker or journeyman, who in the land of the Saracens moved the mountain and freed the Christians. See in the sermon 'Salvatorem expectamus' of brother Luke' ¹

The M.G.H. editor identifies 'Luce' with Lucas de Bitonto.² There is indeed a sermon with the incipit 'Salvatorem expectamus' in Lucas de Bitonto's collection, but I cannot find the story in this sermon. However, in the sermon which immediately follows it in the manuscript I have used there is a story which must be the one that Salimbene meant.³ His careless allusion is significant: Salimbene was obviously familiar with the collection, and expected his reader to recognise it.

Lucas de Bitonto's collection came early in the history of the preaching of the Friars (he probably died in 1241⁴). In the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a steady stream of model sermon cycles came out. Two of the most interesting documents for the history of preaching in the period are the pecia lists of the Paris University stationers, which

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1. 'Nota exemplum illius sutoris sive cerdonis, qui in terra Saracenorum transtulit montem et Christianos liberavit. Require in illo sermone fratris Luce: Salvatorem expectamus.' Cronica Fratris Salimbene, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 215.
 2. ibid. note 3.
 3. The story occurs on fo. 294^{ra} of MS. B.N. N.A.L. 410.
 4. Alexander Murray, 'Piety and Impiety in Thirteenth Century Italy', in Popular Belief and Practice, ed. G.J. Cuming & Derek Baker (Studies in Church History vol. 8, Cambridge U.P. 1972), p. 87.

include sermon collections among the works which they multiplied by their rapid-copy system. There were many other sermon cycles in existence at this time, but the collections on the stationers' list give some idea of the variety available to preachers by the end of the thirteenth century.

The first sermon collection on the first of the two surviving stationers' lists (that of 1286) is entitled 'Sermones fratris Guillelmi Lugdunensis de dominicis, super epistolas'.¹ This must refer to the sermons of Guillelmus Peraldus, of Lyon, who is perhaps best known for his Summa of vices and virtues. His sermons on the Epistles appear to be summaries of sermons, not written out in full,² and they include references like the following: 'Concerning the different kinds of sin . . . see in the treatise on vices, according to the differences between the people to whom you will preach.'³ The same authors de Sanctis sermons are also listed.

The next three names on the list are Thomas Brito, Guillelmus de Malliaco,⁴ and Petrus de Sancto Benedicto. All are relatively obscure figures, but the sermons of the last two at least were very popular. More than one collection is listed under each name: Sunday sermons and a series on the Common of

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1. H. Denifle & A. Chatelain, Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis (Paris 1889-) tom. I no. 530, p. 647.
 2. A. Lecoy de la Marche, La chaire française au Moyen Age (2nd edit., 1886), p. 130. For Peraldus v. A. Dondaine, O.P., 'Guillaume Peyraut, vie et oeuvres' A.R.P. xviii (1948) pp. 162-236.
 3. 'De diversis speciebus peccatorum . . . require in tractatu de vitiis, secundum diversitatem illorum quibus praedicabis.' (cited Lecoy de la Marche, La chaire française, loc.cit. note 2)
 4. Referred to simply by the phrase 'Sermones Abicimus de Mali' Denifle, Chartularium tom. I, p. 648.

the Saints by Brito, Sermons for Sundays and feast days by Guillelmus de Malliaco, and sermons for Sundays, feast days, and the Common of the Saints by Petrus de Sancto Benedicto.¹

The very obscurity of these figures may be significant. It suggests that the collections were not being reproduced to meet a demand from people who wanted to read the words of great men. It looks as though they were copied because they met a practical need, not because of the prestige of their authors.

For the next two collections no author is named. They are simply called respectively, the 'Sermones Alleabatenses', and the 'Sermones dicti Legifer'. The first of the two has not been identified, though it may be the same as a series in MS. Troyes 1536.² The 'Sermones dicti Legifer', on the other hand, have been identified with a fair degree of certainty. They are the collection which begins 'Dominus Iudex noster, Dominus Legifer noster',³ and which have been called the most important of the anonymous Franciscan sermon collections.⁴ The history of this collection is unusual and interesting, and is discussed in detail later in this study.

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1. The series on the Common of the Saints is not explicitly attributed to Petrus de Sancto Benedicto, but it follows immediately those which are attributed to him, and the incipit on the list (nimis honorati sunt) matches the incipit of a series attributed to Petrus de Sancto Benedicto. Cf. J.B. Schneyer, Wegweiser zu lateinischen Predigtreihen des Mittelalters (Munich 1965) p. 379
 2. L.J. Bataillon tells me that there is an inscription in the flyleaf of the Troyes manuscript which may suggest this.
 3. This was first brought to my attention by Pere Bataillon.
 4. J.B. Schneyer, 'Die Erforschung der scholastischen Sermones' Scholastik xxxix (1964), p. 8.

After Legifer comes a collection described as the 'Sermones provinciales de Tussia'. The list gives the opening words of the collection: Sapientia Sanctorum, which is the incipit of a series by Aldobrandinus de Cavalcantibus. This Aldobrandinus (not to be confused with Aldobrandinus de Toscanella) lived from 1217 - 79, and was bishop of Orvieto from 1272.¹ This collection is followed by a work which does not come into the category of model sermons: the 'Golden Legend' of Jacobus de Voragine, which is here described as the 'Nova legenda omnium Sanctorum'. The last two model sermon collections listed are the Sunday and feast day sermons of 'Biardi' - that is, Nicholas de Byard. According to some manuscripts he was a Dominican,² but he may well have been a Franciscan.³ Another shadowy figure.

In the early fourteenth century several of the same collections were still on sale, as the tax list of 1304⁴ shows. The Sunday and feast day sermons of Nicholas de Byard and Guillelmus de Malliaco appear again, as do the 'Sermons of Brito'.⁵ Further down the list there is a collection described as 'the sermons "Precinxisti" ',⁶ which may be the same

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1. Schneyer, Geschichte der katholischen Predigt (Freiburg im Breisgau 1969) p. 162.
 2. Lecoy de la Marche, La chaire française, p. 134.
 3. Schneyer, Gesch. der kath. Predigt, p. 157-8, lists him with the Franciscan preachers.
 4. Denifle, Chartularium tom II - I, no. 642, pp. 107-112.
 5. op.cit. p. 109. (In this second list it is not specified whether the sermons of Brito are for Sundays, or feast days, or both.)
 6. ibid.

as the Precinxisti sermons attributed to Brito on the first pecia list.

There are also some collections of sermons on the 1304 list which do not appear on the earlier one. An important addition is the Ad status collection of Gilbertus - that is, Guibert de Tournai.¹ These sermons have a special value for the history of thirteenth century preaching, for each sermon is explicitly directed to a particular sort of audience. The collection gives us a better idea of how preachers adapted the content of their sermons to the needs of merchants, lawyers, married couples, et cetera.

The next item on the list is 'In Sermonibus "Compendii"...'² I have not been able to identify this collection. Another newcomer to the list is Guy d'Evreux, for 'In Sermonibus Guidonis'³ must refer to the elaborate preaching Summa described above. The other collection of sermons which finds a place in the 1304 list but not in the earlier one is that of Nicholas of Gorran,⁴ but it is listed with his own works, not with the other sermons and preaching aids.

The pecia lists show that by the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there was no shortage of alternatives at the disposal of anyone looking for a book of model sermons.

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1. 'In Sermonibus Gilberti "Ad status" lxj pecias iij sol' ibid.
 2. ibid.
 3. 'In Sermonibus Guidonis, c et ij pecias v sol.' op.cit. vol. II-I, p. 110.
 4. 'Item in Thematibus de diebus dominicis et sanctis, lxvij pecias. xxxij den.' (Listed under 'Opera fratris Nicholai de Gorham in op.cit. vol. II-I, p. 108.

The presence of these collections on the list shows that they were in demand, and also, by the same token, that the demand was being met. Of course it was met in other ways as well. The collections on the pecia list were not the only ones available, and some collections with a wide circulation - the sermon cycles attributed to Hugh of St. Cher for instance - find no place on the lists. Moreover the pecia system was not the only way of circulating sermon collections, and Paris was not the only place where it was done. Many - perhaps a majority - of sermon manuscripts which survive from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries must have been copied by or for individual friars, not only in Paris but in convents throughout Europe. Nevertheless Paris must have overshadowed all rivals and the pecia system must account for a high proportion of the manuscripts copied there.

The pecia system was used not only for model sermons, but for other kinds of preaching aid as well. The Distinction collection of Mauritius, for example occurs in both the 1286 and the 1304 list.¹ In the first list the 'Golden Legend' appears to be the only other item in the part of the list devoted to preaching aids² which is not a model sermon collection, but in the second list there are several more.³ Preachers would not have confined themselves to one sort of preaching aid, for on the whole the different genres were complementary.

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1. Denifle, Chartularium vol. I no. 530, p. 648, & vol. II-I, no. 642, p. 109.
 2. The position of the Golden Legend on the list suggests that it may have counted for this purpose as a preaching aid.
 3. Cf. Denifle, Chartularium vol. I, no. 530, p. 648, with vol. II-I, no. 642, pp. 109-10.

Nevertheless the model sermons provided the framework and the general topics around which the other material was organised, and they remain the most important source for the history of popular preaching. As a centre from which they were diffused throughout Europe, the University of Paris played a leading part in the revival of preaching.

5. The Audience.

It is established that the expansion of popular preaching is connected with the rise of the towns, and that the friars concentrated their efforts on the urban population.¹ A text attributed to St. Bonaventure² admitted the policy and put forward a number of reasons in its defence. The gist of the argument is that there were only a limited number of friars, and that they should be deployed in places where population was concentrated; congregations could be gathered more easily, food could be found for the friars, and so on; furthermore the towns gave the most alms to the friars, and so more spiritual service was expected.³ The proviso that preachers and confessors should not neglect 'poor little villages' is added, but the whole tenor of the argument implies that the association of the friars with the towns was an acknowledged fact. In the thirteenth century the friars did most of the popular preaching, so the

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1. Cf. esp. Jacques Le Goff, 'Ordres mendiants et urbanisation dans la France médiévale.' In Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations, 25, no.4 (1970), pp. 924-946.
 2. There is some doubt whether the text is genuine, though if not by Bonaventure it must be by a contemporary. Cf. Le Goff, art.cit. p.929 note 1.
 3. Determinationes Quaestionum circa Regulam Fratrum Minorum, pars ii. qu. xix (Opera Omnia, Quaracchi ed. tom. viii, p.370) Summarised by Little, English Franciscan History pp. 129-30.

towns must have had much more of it than the country villages.

Humbert of Romans includes in his De Eruditione Praedicatorum an address¹ which provides further evidence: 'It should be noted that the Lord, when he sent prophets into the world, more often sent them to a city than to other smaller places . . .'.² These are the opening words of his address 'To the laity in cities', and he continues in the same vein, citing Jerusalem, Ninive, and Babylon as examples of cities to which the prophets were sent. When the Lord came himself, says Humbert, he preached more often in cities than elsewhere, as is clear to anyone who examines the Gospel history. He cites an authority, and moves on to the preaching of the apostles: 'Again, the Apostles and disciples preached more often in cities than in other places, as is clear from history and the legends of the Saints.'³ After this Humbert changes to the present tense, apparently applying his remarks to the preaching of his own day: 'The reasons why this is to be done are these: In cities there are more people than in other places, and therefore it is better to preach there than elsewhere, just as it is better to give alms to more than to fewer people. Again, there are more sins there; the Psalmist⁴ speaks of them: I have seen iniquity, and contradiction in the city.'⁵ In this six very grave types of

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1. Humbertus de Romanis, De Eruditione Praedicatorum lib. 2, Tractatus I, LXXII ('Ad laicos in civitatibus') Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum tom. 25 (Lugduni MDCLXXVII) pp. 491-2. Cf. Le Goff, art.cit. pp. 929-30.
 2. Humbertus de Romanis, op.cit. p. 491.
 3. ibid.
 4. 'Psalm.'
 5. Ps. 54,10.

sin are noted, and therefore one should preach more there, because the necessity is greater: for greater dangers must be resisted more. Again, lesser places which lie around cities are more influenced by cities than vice versa, and therefore the good effects of preaching which takes place in the city are passed on to those places more than vice versa, therefore one should try to produce good effects by preaching in cities, in preference to other smaller places.'¹

The men who wrote model sermon collections for popular preachers must therefore have known that they would be used mainly in towns, and preached to the urban laity. 'The urban laity' is a large category, however, embracing different states of life, from wealthy merchants engaged in international trade, through petit bourgeois shopkeepers and traders, to the proletariats of the larger Flemish and Italian cities. In an urban church a preacher might have had to address many different sorts of men and women.

It is difficult to get a balanced view of sermon attendance in the thirteenth century. The complaints of preachers are not necessarily a sure guide, for they can be mutually contradictory. According to Humbert^{us} de Romanis, 'It must be noted that the poor rarely go to church, and rarely to sermons; so that they know little of what pertains to their salvation.'² Gilbertus de Tornaco, on the other hand, says that the poor followed preachers, while the 'magni burgenses', poisoned by usury and other sins,

1. ibid.

2. Cited by Murray 'Piety and Impiety', in Popular Belief and Practice, ed. Cuming & Baker, p. 93.

go off to the tavern instead.¹ Such inconsistencies need not be surprising: a preacher might venture a generalisation about church attendance without thinking too much about it. No doubt some classes or sub-classes of the population attended sermons more rarely than others,² but it is unsafe to assume that any large section of society went without preaching altogether.

Though we cannot be sure who did and who did not go to sermons, the problem of audience cannot be shelved altogether, for it affects our interpretation of the form and content of sermons. Here it may be permitted to anticipate a point to which we must return in more detail: No clear line can be drawn between the form of sermons to the clergy and the form of sermons to the laity - it is one of the surprising aspects of thirteenth century preaching - and the same may be said of the content of sermons in this period. Though sermons to the laity do not attempt to deal with difficult topics of speculative theology, their form and content are more sophisticated than one might expect. The nature of the lay public for which the sermons were intended may provide a partial explanation of this phenomenon.

There is evidence that preachers had to cater for some listeners whose tastes and culture were not so far removed from

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1. ' . . . predicatorum sequuntur hodie pauperes propter salutem suam, sed magni (cod. magis?) burgenses, presentientes odorem et toxicati veneno usure et aliorum peccatorum, descendunt in tabernam.' MS. B.H. lat. 15943 fo. CXXIIIIvb.
 2. Servants in large households for example. Cf. Murray, op.cit. p. 93.

the culture and tastes of clerics. Firstly, there were laymen with enough education to be 'on the same wavelength' as the educated clergy. They would not have had a training in theology, but still a preacher would have had to address them as one educated man to another. Secondly, there were many laymen and women who participated in confraternities or similar organisations. Through these they would have become familiarised with clerical culture because they were regularly exposed to it, and would have learned much more about their religion than could have been possible for ordinary laypeople before the thirteenth century. A preacher would not need to talk down so much to men and women who had already heard literally hundreds of sermons by himself or his brethren.

Anyone who composed a collection of model sermons would have to remember that they might be preached to audiences partly composed of listeners like these. This may have deterred them from pitching the sermons at too low a level, which would explain the relative sophistication of many model sermon collections. Material suitable for the listeners who knew ^{little} and cared less about their religion could have been added by the preacher who turned the model sermon into living speech, and of course books of exempla were available to help him. When the sermon was actually preached, it probably had a more 'popular' character than the model sermon which the preacher took as his starting point.

However that may be, the form and content of model sermon collections are easier to understand if a section of the listening public had some formal education, or at least some religious

education through a confraternity. It is therefore worth asking, first, how far one may speak of an educated lay public in the thirteenth century, and secondly, how large a part confraternities and confraternity preaching played in the religious life of the laity in this period.

There is a good deal of evidence, at least so far as Italy is concerned. In Italian towns there seem to have been a surprising number of educated laymen - from the upper strata of society - even in the thirteenth century. The relative whom Salimbene describes as 'an educated (litteratus) man, a judge and assessor . . . who frequently acted as the lawyer of podestàs'¹ was probably not a very exceptional figure. There certainly seem to have been enough lawyers among Salimbene's own relations.²

The great University of Italy, Bologna, the European centre of academic law, was not an essentially clerical university like Paris. The atmosphere could hardly be more different: the jurist Accursius was able to claim that the sons of University Doctors had a preferential right to succeed to vacant chairs, and from about the middle of the thirteenth century professors were commonly selected on the hereditary principle³ - a method of filling professorial chairs which could hardly have been adopted at Paris.

1. ' . . . domnum Hugonem, qui fuit litteratus homo, iudex et assessor, . . . qui semper ibat cum potestatibus, ut esset advocatus eorum.' Cronica Fratris Salimbene, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 55.

2. op.cit. pp. 54-5.

3. 'Radshall's Medieval Universities' ed. Powicke & Emden (Oxford, 1936), Vol. I p. 214.

The laymen who trained at Bologna could show an interest in sophisticated rhetoric. For instance, the Bolognese judge Pietro de' Boattieri (1260-1334) wrote a treatise Super modo aringandi licteraliter quam vulgariter, which was most successful with law students at the University.¹ This treatise (which is undiscovered or not extant) is a product of a revival of secular rhetoric in Italy which seems to go back well into the twelfth century. We find model speeches for lawyers, ambassadors, and for the podestàs of cities. There were educated laymen in thirteenth century Italy who were used to the theory and practice of rhetorical techniques, and who would be equipped to appreciate a rhetorical system behind the sermons they heard.

Sometimes, in fact, the speeches of Italian laymen could themselves be surprisingly like sermons. A speech which Francis Accursius delivered for Pope Nicholas III repays study. This Accursius (son of the Glossator and himself a teacher of law at Bologna) served for a time under the King of England, and on this particular occasion he was acting on the latter's behalf, trying to persuade the Pope to confirm the King's nomination of a new Archbishop of Canterbury. The speech seems to be incomplete, but we have enough to see that it is a carefully constructed piece of work, and in many ways reminiscent of a sermon. His divisions for instance:

1. G.L. Haskins & E.N. Kantorowicz 'A Diplomatic Mission by Francis Accursius and his Oration before Pope Nicholas III' English Historical Review, vol. lviii (1943) p. 430.

'Et in dicta supplicatione quatuor declarantur, videlicet: persone supplicantium ut filii Israel; item persona ad quam supplicatur; item res super qua supplicatur; item eius ratio sive causa' ¹

Or again:

'Quatuor hec declarant, scilicet utilitas ecclesie atque necessitas, meritum persone, utilitas regni, affectio regis' ²

Accursius cites the Fathers, ³ and the speech is thoroughly scriptural, especially the second section, in which Nicholas III is compared to Samuel. Accursius, then, would hardly have been perturbed by the divisions and authorities which play so large a part in the sermons of the period, for he could write rather like that himself.

There was another layman, also a lawyer, who gave speeches which are sermons in the true sense. This was Albertanus of Brescia, ⁴ who was born at the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. ⁵ He was the author of a number of works, and his general culture is remarkable enough, but that he, a layman, should have been able to preach sermons of which a university cleric need not have been ashamed is even more significant. Thirteenth century preachers must have known that when they gave sermons in Italian towns their congregations might include men who were almost their equals.

1. Haskins & Kantorowicz, art. cit. p. 441.

2. art. cit. p. 446

3. art. cit. p. 441

4. Dr. R. W. Hunt has kindly allowed me to use his dossier on Albertanus and the confraternity of Brescia, and my treatment of them is based on it.

5. Albertanus Brixiensis, Sermones quattuor, ed. Marta Ferrari (Fondazione Ugo da Como-Lonato) Introduzione p. I.

In 1250, in mid-Lent, Albertanus gave a sermon to the lawyers of Brescia, at their 'customary meeting in the House of the Friars Minor'.¹ He preached on the fear of God. The structure of the sermon is perhaps less rigid than the average clerical sermon of the period, but the basic techniques are much the same. Many authorities are cited, and they are used with regularity to confirm the numbered points of the sermon. For example: 'Point eight: By means of the fear of the Lord we obtain his mercy. Wherefore the blessed Virgin Mary said: "And his mercy from generation to generation on those who fear him." Ninth point: 'By means of the fear of God we obtain his help and protection. For the prophet says . . .'.² The sermon as a whole strikes one as the product of a learned and highly intelligent man. If he could emulate the preaching of the day so successfully, he was certainly capable of appreciating the sermons which have come down to us from his clerical contemporaries.

The rubric of the sermon preached in mid-Lent of the year 1250 referred to the 'customary meeting' (congregatione solita) which was held at the house of the Franciscans (apud Fratres Minores). In the sermon 'on lighting (illuminatione) and on Spiritual and Bodily Refreshment'³ Albertanus asks his

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1. '. . . Sermo, quem Albertanus causidicus de sancta Agata composuit et edidit inter causidicos brixienenses, apud Fratres Minores in congregatione solita, sub anno Domini M.CC.L. in media Quadragesima, super doctrina timoris Domini. Rubrica.' Marta Ferrari, *op.cit.* p. 55.
 2. 'Octavo. Per timorem Domini acquiremus illius misericordiam. Quare Beata Virgo Maria dixit: "Et misericordia eius a progenie in progenies timentibus eum" Nono. Per Dei timorem acquiremus illius adiutorium atque protectionem. Ait enim Propheta . . .' *op.cit.* p. 59.
 3. 'Sermo factus super illuminatione et super spirituali et corporali refectione et que sint necessaria in refectione' *y. op.cit.* pp. 1-15.

fellow members to join him in considering the purpose of their society (congregatione). He says that the purpose is threefold: firstly, to provide oil for lighting 'that holy place' - presumably the church; secondly, spiritual refreshment; and thirdly, bodily refreshment. At the beginning of another sermon, which seems to be addressed to the same society, he says that they are gathered together to honour God and to provide sustenance for the poor.¹

The ordinances of what may be the same society have survived in a Brescia manuscript (edited at the beginning of the century).² In the heading they are described as the 'ordinances of the brothers of the society (congregationis) of the most blessed virgin Mary and the most blessed confessor Francis at the house of the Friars Minor at Brescia'.³ The ordinances mention some of the functions to which Albertanus refers, notably dining,⁴ lighting,⁵ and charity.⁶ It is true that nothing in the original ordinances suggests a confraternity composed of lawyers alone, but on the other hand it is not likely that there were two separate and unconnected Franciscan confraternities in thirteenth century Brescia. Perhaps the lawyers formed a sub group within a wider confraternity.

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1. 'Fratres karissimi mei, ad honorem Dei et refectionem pauperum, more solito congregati sumus.' op.cit. p. 19.
 2. 'Gli Statuti di un'Antica Congregazione Franciscana di Brescia' ed. Paolo Guerrini, A.F.H. i (1908) pp. 544-568.
 3. op.cit. p. 547.
 4. e.g. 'XLV. - Capitulum de refectionibus solvendis' op.cit. p. 556.
 5. e.g. 'XXX. - Capitulum de cereis virginis' op.cit. p. 553; 'XLIV. - Capitulum de luminaria solvenda' op.cit. p. 555.
 6. 'XXXVIII. - De offerta fienda quum fit processio' op.cit. p. 554.

The sum paid by anyone who was admitted to the confraternity¹ and the other financial obligations² and penalties³ suggest that the members would have had to be reasonably well off, though the precise value of the sums in question is hard to determine.

All the brothers of the confraternity were under an obligation to come to the convent of the Friars Minor on the last Sunday of every month, where they could hear Mass, and afterwards, if possible, have one of the Franciscans give them a sermon (proponat eis verbum divinum).⁴ It is likely enough that preaching and confraternities were closely connected in Italy. Groups of pious and probably literate lawyers and merchants would have been more likely to enjoy the sort of sermons which have been preserved than most other classes of lay society. It has been suggested that the faithful listeners who regularly heard the sermons of Giordano of Pisa, who were capable of making the vernacular reportatio which has come down to us, were the members of a confraternity,⁵ and, interestingly, there is evidence that he assumed some members of his audience would be literate (he advises his listeners to read 'good little books').⁶

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1. 'Post receptionem vero teneatur quilibet pro elymosina facienda XII imperiales et unam libram cere fideliter assignare ministro' cap. VIII (op.cit. p. 549)
 2. v. op.cit. p. 552 (cap. XXVI), p. 553 (capp. XXIX & XXXII), & pp.554-5 (cap. XXXVIII).
 3. e.g. cap. XL (op.cit. p. 555).
 4. Cap. III (op.cit. p. 548).
 5. Carlo Delcorno, Giordano da Pisa e l'Antica Predicazione Volgare (Firenze 1975, Biblioteca de 'Lettere Italiane' XIV), p. 70 seqq.
 6. 'usando le dette cose e le prediche, e specialmente di leggere buoni libricciuoli, . . .' quoted by Delcorno, op.cit. p. 67.

A collection of sermons compiled by a Dominican, one Fr. Nicolas, admirably illustrates the link between the confraternities and preaching.¹ It appears to be one man's record of his own sermons (together with some others) rather than a collection of model sermons. Perhaps the most interesting part of the collection is the set of 'collationes' addressed to the evening meetings of a congregation of the Virgin Mary at Imola. This congregation met frequently and on fixed days.² Anyone who attended the ordinary morning sermons as well as the collationes at the meetings of the confraternity would be under continuous religious instruction - it has been calculated³ that from 240 to 250 sermons a year would have been preached in each Dominican church.

In Italy, then, confraternities seem to have been focal points of popular preaching, even if only a section of the urban laity was seriously involved. Of confraternities in other parts of Europe we know much less, so far as the thirteenth century is concerned. There is some evidence that they did exist, at least in France. A pamphlet against the friars, apparently 'published' in the third quarter of the thirteenth century by a French priest (it purports to be something much more official) contains a complaint about two confraternities

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1. Discussed in G. Meersseman, 'La Prédication Dominicaine dans les Congrégations Mariales en Italie au XIII^e siècle' A.F.P. xviii (1948), pp. 131-161.
 2. op.cit. pp. 142-4.
 3. By Meersseman, op.cit. p. 149; precise figures must be treated with caution.

which the mendicants had founded, presumably in France.¹ They were so popular, he says, that hardly any of the lay parishioners of the place had refrained from joining one or the other.² Unfortunately the document gives no details which would enable us to identify the confraternities,³ but it would be rash to argue from silence that they were imaginary.

The pamphlet is speaking of confraternities founded by the mendicants; there are however records of French confraternities⁴ which, unlike their Italian counterparts, do not appear to have been organised by the friars. Originally they seem to have developed in close dependence on the trade guilds, which were an older institution. The confréries themselves certainly go back to the thirteenth century.⁵ In general, they seem to have been religious organisations with a social aspect, so they have that much in common with the confraternities of Italy. Since a trade guild or confrérie was most likely to survive if its members were well able to support its expenses,⁶ one may presume that, by a process of natural selection, they would tend to be composed of relatively prosperous bourgeois.

The confréries of the high Middle Ages were not necessarily religious; in particular, it has been argued that in Arras many

1. art.cit. p. 132-33.

2. art.cit. p. 133.

3. ibid.

4. Graham A. Runnalls, 'Medieval Trade Guilds and the Miracles de Notre Dame par Personnages', Medium Aevum xxxix (1970) pp. 257-287 (I owe this reference to Alan Fletcher).

5. art.cit. p. 265.

6. cf. art.cit. p. 267.

were not. On the other hand, there is evidence that there were bourgeois laymen in Arras who had acquired quite a high level of culture.¹ Probably Northern Europe had nothing to compare with the case of Albertanus of Brescia; nevertheless it seems safe to say that by the second half of the thirteenth century there was a large number of laymen with some formal education even in the North of Europe.

Education of a basic kind was highly desirable for merchants, and there is reason to think that in the thirteenth century it was not uncommon for them to get some schooling.² There is for instance the case of a monk named Abundus, of the abbey of Villers-en-Brabant, who died in 1228. He was sent to school with the monks by his father, a merchant of Huy, not to become a monk, but to acquire skills which would be useful in business. ('ea de causa ut patris debita sive commercia stylo disceret annotare . . .').³ In the event he did decide to become a monk, but that was not the purpose of the exercise from his father's point of view. If his case was at all typical we should guard against drawing a hard and fast line between the culture of the clergy and the culture of the merchant class.

If a merchant did not find it convenient to send his son to a monastic school, or if he was afraid that the boy

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1. M. Ungureanu, 'La bourgeoisie naissante. Société et littérature bourgeoises d'Arras au xi^e et xiii^e siècles (Mém. Comm. des mon. hist. du Pas-de-Calais tom. 8. Arras 1955), p. 94 & p. 115 seqq.
 2. For the whole problem of the education of merchants in the middle ages y. H. Pirenne, 'L'Instruction de Marchands au Moyen Age', Annales d'Histoire Economique et Sociale i (1929), pp. 13-28.
 3. art.cit. p. 20, esp. note 3.

might become a monk himself, like Abundus, there were other possibilities open. If he was rich, he could take on a cleric as a private tutor - there is a text which mentions this as if it were quite a common thing to do.¹ Alternatively, there were town schools where members of the merchant class could get an elementary education. The best study of the education of merchants in the period, which unfortunately confines itself to Flanders, came to the conclusion that in the thirteenth century a basic education was widely available to members of the merchant class.²

Even in the thirteenth century an educated lay public was still a relatively recent phenomenon, and its relation with the elite of the Universities is a subject of unusual interest. The cultural gap between the clergy and the laity - a large class of it at least - was being narrowed, and the sermons of the friars were bridging the gap. In the first half of the middle ages there were in effect two religious cultures: a monastic culture, and the popular religion of the villages. In the thirteenth century a common religious culture was forming, and the sermon collections of the friars are perhaps the best record of the flow of ideas within it.

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1. art.cit. pp. 21-2.
 2. art.cit. p. 26, & passim.

6. The Training of Preachers.

Salimbene once boasted to his socius that he had received a licence to preach from Innocent IV. The socius, Johanninus de Ollis, retorted that he would rather have the licence from the Minister General than from any Pope, and that if this meant undergoing an examination he was prepared to do so. Let brother Hugh examine them.¹ The Minister General, however, took the view that brother Hugh, a friend of theirs, would let them off too lightly. Instead he chose two other examiners and told them to test the two friars, confining the viva to material which could be used for preaching ('de praedicabilibus tantum'). The final proof that the examination was not a foregone conclusion is that Salimbene's unfortunate socius failed it, because he was found to be inadequately prepared (minus habens), though the Minister General tried to console him with words to the effect of 'another time, my son'.²

The implication is that study and preparation were necessary before the licence to preach was granted. The Dominicans also had a preaching examination (for the office of 'preacher-ordinary') until 1251.³ Both before and after

1. 'Igitur, ut supra dictum est, cum gloriarer in Arelatensi civitate coram fratre Iohanne, quod a papa Innocentio quarto ... habueram predicationis offitium, respondit socius meus ...: "Potius vellem habere a generali ministro quam ab aliquo papa; et si necesse est, quod per gladium examinis transeamus, examinet nos ergo frater Hugo".' Cronica Fratris Salimbene, ed. Holder-Egger p. 311.

2. 'Michi dedit, socio meo noluit dare, quia inventus est minus habens. Cui dixit generalis: "Quod differtur, non aufertur..."'

3. After this date the decision was left to the discretion of the Prior, who was to take into account the character and knowledge of candidates. Some years later it was laid down that the Prior should take the advice of his council before giving permission to preach and hear confessions. W.A. Hinnebusch, The Early English Friars Preachers (Rome 1951) p.287; H.C. Scheeben, 'Prediger und Generalprediger im Dominikanerorden des 13. Jahrhunderts' A.F.P. xxxi (1961) p. 122.

this date, however, the Dominicans underwent a carefully organised intellectual training, culminating in a University education for the best students, and it has been generally assumed that preparation for preaching was one of its main objectives; also that the training of the friars was one of the reasons for their superiority to the secular clergy as preachers.

The assumption is in the main correct; nor is it a modern one. Roger Bacon, expressing himself on the subject with his usual vigour, says that the 'prelati' have to borrow and beg the booklets (quaternos) of the young friars, because they themselves do not learn much about theology and preaching while they are studying.¹ Roger Bacon's choleric asides need to be treated with caution and perhaps we should not take him quite literally: the praelati may not have been so ignorant and dependent on the young friars as he makes out. Furthermore it is not quite certain whether the young friars (pueri) are students or junior lecturers (they might have been both of course). Nevertheless one may infer from the passage that the Mendicants provided a training in preaching which gave its members an advantage over other preachers.

To understand why their training helped them, however, it is necessary to look more closely at the syllabus they studied and the nature of the formation they received. Some

1. 'Et quia praelati, ut in pluribus, non sunt multum instructi in theologia, nec in praedicatione dum sunt in studio, ideo postquam sunt praelati, cum eis incumbit opus praedicandi, mutuantur et mendicant quaternos puerorum, . . . ' Roger Bacon, Opus Tertium, in Fr. Rogeri Bacon Opera Quaedam Hactenus Inedita vol. I, ed. J.S. Brewer (Rolls series; London 1859) p. 309.

parts of their studies were much less important as a preparation for preaching than others, and some aspects of their formation as preachers have not been given their due emphasis.

The most surprising lacuna in the training of the Friars, from the point of view of the formation of preachers, is the absence of any explicit instruction in homiletics. There appears to have been no formal course on their syllabus devoted to preaching as such. This would seem to hold good both for the Franciscans¹ and the Dominicans.²

Private study of preaching aids must have bulked large in the education of friars as preachers, and we have already seen that there was no shortage of books at their disposal. Artes Praedicandi, collections of Distinctiones, and other preaching aids would have given them plenty of material to work on; The model sermon collections would have had a special value, because young preachers could use them both as an example of method and sermon technique, and as a repertory of sermon topoi which they could use in their own sermons. Nevertheless it would be surprising if the whole of their training for what was, after all, one of their principal functions, was left entirely to private initiative.

On the other hand the aspect of the formal training which has received most attention from scholars seems far removed

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1. F.B. Belluco, De Sacra Praedicatione in Ordine Fratrum Minorum (Studia Antoniana 8, Romae 1956), pp. 62-3. (Belluco stresses the general orientation of all Franciscan studies towards preaching, but has to admit that so far as specific preparation goes, 'Ad priora saecula quod attinet parum eruitur ex legislatione.')
 2. Scheeben, 'Prediger und Generalprediger' A.F.P. xxxi (1961), p. 136.

from the practical needs of preachers. Scholastic exercises - disputations and the analysis of quaestiones - must have been of limited value as a training for preachers. It is rare to meet anything resembling a formal quaestio in the sermons of this period, though they become more common in the later Middle Ages. The ability to determine 'Utrum proprietas sit persona',¹ would be a marginal advantage to a preacher.

It is true that the Ars Concionandi printed with the works of St. Bonaventure speaks of 'replying to unspoken quaestiones' and 'solving contrary arguments',² and that he goes on to give an example of how such a problem of this kind might be introduced into a sermon. He supposes that a preacher has just been giving reasons for the incarnation of the Son of God. The preacher should then anticipate an objection: 'but somebody will say: why could not the world have been redeemed by a new man, a pure one. For just as the first man sinned, it seems that a pure man ought to repair it.'³ The author of the Ars goes on to suggest how the question should be answered: It is a greater thing to re-create than to create, he argues; therefore, since it was necessary for the Creator to be God, a fortiori the Recreator had to be as well. There-

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1. S. Bonaventure, Opera Omnia tom. i (Guaracchi ed.) p. 571.
 2. 'Oportet autem ratiocinantem multoties uti anasceve seu confutatione, respondendo ad tacitas quaestiones, sive dissolvendo contrarias argumentationes. Est enim "confutatio contrariorum locorum dissolutio" . . .'
 3. S. Bonaventure, Opera Omnia tom. ix (Guaracchi ed.), p. 18.
3. ibid.

fore in order that the world might have the same Creator and Re-creator, it was fitting that God should be made flesh, and that the world should be saved through him.¹

Though this is a sort of quaestio, it is of an elementary kind. Moreover the author implies that scholastic techniques had only a limited value in sermons. He says that the 'ratiocinator' should take care not to bring up an opposing point of view (oppositionem) or difficulty, especially in the presence of simple people, unless he knows how to solve it quite clearly.² Further on he adds a more general caveat: 'Lest preaching should appear to be disputation, it must be done as if it were not an argument, that is, so that propositions are not put first, and a conclusion inferred from them afterwards; but rather say it like this: "For it is such and such, and for a variety of reasons" '.³

In the thirteenth century, then, scholastic exercises cannot have been of much direct help to preachers. No doubt they taught the young friars to think quickly and speak impromptu before an audience, but even so, a man who excelled at disputation would not necessarily make a good preacher. Salimbene mentions a Magister Guillelmus, who 'had a great gift for disputation. For when he disputed at Paris, no one

1. ibid.

2. ibid.

3. 'Ne praedicatio videatur esse disputatio, oportet, quod sic fiat, quasi non esset argumentatio, ut scilicet non praemittantur propositiones, et postea inferatur conclusio; sed magis dicatur sic: nam ita est, et hoc multiplici ratione.' ibid.

disputed better than him. For he was a great logician and a great theologian; however, when he took on the task of preaching, he did not know what to say . . .'.¹

A larger part in the formation of preachers was played by lectures on and study of the Bible. The sermons of the period were riddled with scriptural texts, which model sermon collections tended merely to quote without further elaboration. The preacher who used a ready-made sermon outline would often be left with the task of explaining the brief quotations and showing their bearing on the ideas he was developing. A familiarity with scriptural exegesis would be a great advantage. It would teach him 'how to grind the corn of Scripture into the bread of tropology'.²

The lectures on the Bible not only inculcated the technique of exposition, but also provided material which could be directly useful to preachers. The Biblical glosses of Stephen Langton are 'sprinkled over with notes, pointing out the suitability of certain themes for particular kinds of sermons'.³ Even if the notes do not go back to Langton himself, they represent an early tradition,⁴ and they show how Biblical Commentaries could be used by preachers. Thus for example the gloss on the fall of Holofernes is described as 'an excellent theme on the death of some powerful worldling by

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1. Cronica Fratris Salimbene, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 214. The last words might also be translated: 'He did not know what he was talking about.'
 2. Quoted by Beryl Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages (2nd edition, Oxford 1952) p. 257.
 3. Smalley, Study, p. 254.
 4. ibid., note 4.

whose fate others may be instructed'.¹ The story of Sisara and Jahel provides material for a 'Sermon on the feast of the Magdalen or Matthew or some saint who was a sinner'.²

It is significant that exempla are to be found in Scriptural commentaries. Peter the Chanter appears to have been the first to use them systematically in lectures on Scripture, and the obvious explanation is that he wished to provide his pupils with material for popular preaching.³ It will be remembered that Peter the Chanter's lectures were attended by Fulk of Neuilly, and that Jacques de Vitry, another member of the Chanter's circle, gives the impression that the lectures played a decisive part in turning Fulk into a successful popular preacher.

Once a Biblical commentary had been written, there were several different ways of adapting it for the use of preachers. We have seen that one of them was to note the passages in the commentary which could be used for sermons, specifying the Sunday, Feast day, liturgical season or occasion for which a given passage would be suitable. A more sophisticated method was the index. Indices could be compiled to guide the user to the part of the commentary which dealt with the Gospel or Epistle of the day, or to help him find material bearing on a given topic.⁴ It was even possible to take a commentary to

1. Quoted by Smalley, Study, p. 255.

2. Quoted by Smalley, ibid.

3. Smalley, Study, pp. 256-7.

4. Beryl Smalley, English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century, (Oxford 1960) p. 35.

pieces, as it were, and rearrange it according to the liturgical year, so that it was more or less transformed into a series of sermons or notes for sermons.¹

The universities were not the only centres where Lectures on the Bible were given - the mendicants had many schools² - but they were by far the most important. In the next century Biblical commentaries would come 'from friary schools all over Christendom'³ but in the thirteenth century the supremacy of the Universities remained unchallenged.

Though not all friars could study at a University, their influence was spread throughout Europe. In England, for instance, William of Nottingham (provincial minister for the years 1240 - 1254) 'assigned in the universities, for each convent, students who were to succeed the lecturers on their death or removal.'⁴

Though Oxford was fast becoming a major centre, in the thirteenth century it was nothing like as important as Paris. Occasional references to the latter in the Chronicle of Salimbene built up a picture of it as a Mecca for the most talented men in his order.⁵ There is for instance the case

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1. Smalley, English Friars, p. 36.
 2. Cf. Little, English Franciscan History, pp. 162, 170-72.
 3. Smalley, English Friars, p. 31.
 4. Quoted by A.G. Little, English Franciscan History, p. 164. V. idem., Fratris Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston Tractatus de Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam, (Manchester University Press 1951) p. 50.
 5. The passages have been put together by H. Felder, Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Studien im Franziskanerorden bis um die Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts (Freiburg im Breisgau 1904), pp. 235-7. Felder devotes a section to the 'Einfluss des Pariser Generalstudiums auf den Wissenschaftsbetrieb des gesamten Ordens und insbesondere auf die französischen und deutschen Schulen'. (op.cit. p. 232 seqq.).

of the two friars who arrived at Arles about the time that Salimbene took his preaching examination, on their way to study at Toulouse.¹ Salimbene says that they had studied with him for several years at the university at Pisa, and that they were 'boni scolares'.² He reports the aggrieved words of a brother Mark, who had unsuccessfully asked a favour on their behalf: 'It is the truth, that they come from their minister, who knows them, and because he knows that they are good, therefore he sends them to the Toulouse studium, so that afterwards they may go to Paris.'³

In both the Franciscan and Dominican orders arrangements were made to ensure that talented men of all provinces could get to the University of Paris. In the Dominican order each province was permitted to send three friars to Paris⁴ and the Franciscans had a similar system.⁵ It would be natural to choose friars who had studied at Paris for key posts - and in particular for Lectorships - within their respective orders, so that their influence would be out of proportion to their numbers.⁶

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1. Cronica Fratris Salimbene, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 311.
 2. ibid.
 3. op.cit. p. 312.
 4. C. Douais, Essai sur l'organisation des études dans l'ordre des Frères Prêcheurs au treizième et au quatorzième siècle (1216-1342) (Paris - Toulouse 1884) p. 130; W.A. Hinnebusch, The History of the Dominican Order, vol. 2 (New York 1973) p. 39.
 5. Each province of the Franciscan order could keep two students at the Paris Convent. V. Felder, Gesch. d. wiss. Studien, p. 234.
 6. Hinnebusch, Dominican Order, vol. 2 p. 39; M.-H. Vicaire, Saint Dominic and his Times (English translation London 1964) p. 261; Felder, Gesch. d. wiss. Studien loc.cit.

Lectures on the Bible were not the only form of training for preachers available at the universities. University preaching provided students with concrete examples of how to preach, and also, as they became more senior, the opportunity to study and to practise themselves. Because the friars who went to a university were the élite of their orders (especially if they had been at Paris) they would tend to set the fashion in preaching technique, and influence the preaching of their orders as a whole.

That is one interpretation, but another is possible, for it could equally be argued that university preaching was too different from popular preaching for the one to constitute a training for the other. Both interpretations have a priori arguments in their favour; the rest of this study is in some sense an attempt to determine which of them is correct, and it may be said straight away that the first of the two seems to me to be the correct one. The evidence is discussed in the remaining chapters, but a necessary preliminary to these arguments is some account of the part that preaching played in the life of theology students, especially at the university of Paris.

Much of our evidence for the regulations governing preaching at Paris comes from the fourteenth century, but it is likely that the system antedates the records of it in statutes. A system it may justly be called, for when the details emerge into the light of day we find that preaching within the university had a definite and quite complicated structure.

Firstly, there were two kinds of university sermon at Paris: the sermo and the collatio.¹ In a university context sermo meant a morning sermon, and collatio a shorter and simpler sermon given later in the day. It was common to preach the collatio on the same text as the sermo, and sometimes the collatio was a summary of the morning sermon.²

The mendicant orders appear rather to have dominated university preaching. Not all university preachers would be friars, but the organisation of the university sermons seems to have been at least partly under their control. It is laid down in statutes drawn up in the second half of the fourteenth century 'that if on account of the paucity of Friars Preacher and Minor and others who are bound to preach sermons in the houses of the Preachers and Minors - that is on Sundays in the house of the Preachers and on other festivals in the house of the Minors (except that some sermons are held in the houses of the Austins and Carmelites), or for other reasonable cause . . . it should happen that the sermons for Sundays and festivals are not sufficiently assigned by those whose business it is, it shall be lawful for the regent and master of the students of the house of the Preachers to assign the Sunday sermons to cursores or suitable students belonging to their own or other religious orders, and then for the regent and master of the house of Minors to assign the festival sermons in the same way.'³ The passage

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1. A.G. Little and F. Pelster, Oxford Theology and Theologians c. A.D. 1282-1302 (Oxford Historical Society vol. xcvi, 1934) p. 168.
 2. op.cit. pp. 168-9.
 3. Quoted in Little & Pelster, Oxford Theology pp. 170-71.

shows that the morning sermons at least were held at the houses of the friars,¹ the Dominicans being the hosts on Sundays, and the Franciscans on feast days. It also shows that in some circumstances at least the choice of preachers was left to the regents and masters of students of the mendicants. Finally, the wording implies that a large proportion of the preachers was drawn from the Franciscan or Dominican orders. For this there is other evidence. In the collection of Paris University sermons which Glorieux assigns to the years 1267-68, 13 of the authors named were Dominicans, and 10 were Franciscans; 14 were members of other religious orders, and 16 were seculars.² The collection contained in MSS. 15005 and 14947, assigned by Glorieux to the years 1281-3 has an even higher percentage of mendicant preachers. The collection has 166 sermons. Out of those for which we have names, 16 are said to be by Dominicans, 7 by Franciscans, 5 by other regulars, and 13 by seculars.³ If these figures are at all representative the proportion of mendicants is striking.

In Oxford, as at Paris, the friars seem to have taken on a large share of the university preaching, if the sermons recorded for the years 1290-93 are any guide. According to the analysis

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1. In the final chapter of the thesis I discuss a piece of evidence which, inter alia, suggests that the evening collation was also held 'apud fratres'. Cf. also Denifle, Chartularium II-I no. 1188(4), p. 692.
 2. P. Glorieux, 'L'Enseignement au moyen age. Techniques et Méthodes en usage à la Faculté de Théologie de Paris, au xiii^e siècle', Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age (quarante-troisième année, 1968) p. 151. V. also Idem., 'Sermons universitaires parisiens de 1267-1268', Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale xvi (1949)p.63.
 3. art.cit., p. 152.

in Pelster's study of these sermons, 4 of the preachers were members of the secular clergy, and one an Austin friar, as against 15 Dominicans and 12 Franciscans.¹ Furthermore it is likely a priori that both at Oxford and Paris the student friars were more dutiful in attending university sermons (and, at Paris, collations) than ordinary secular students. Moreover a far higher proportion of friars than of other students would become as it were professional preachers after they had finished their studies, so that it would be the friars who made the most use of the training in preaching which the universities offered.

University sermons could have helped to form preachers in two different ways. Firstly, they would have provided a regular series of models of pulpit eloquence for the students who attended them. They would be practical examples of preaching technique, and of the topics appropriate to particular days in the liturgical year.

For the more advanced students, however, they would be an opportunity for a more rigorous and testing type of training, for it appears that in the theology faculty the bachelors themselves were allowed to preach official university sermons - indeed that they could be obliged to do so. We know that at Oxford bachelors had to give sermons² for no-one could incept as a master of theology unless he had given a sermon before

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1. Little & Pelster, Oxford Theology p. 178; for the sermons themselves see now Beryl Smalley, 'Oxford University Sermons 1290-1293, in Medieval Learning and Literature, essays presented to Richard William Hunt, ed. J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson (Oxford 1976) pp. 307-327.
 2. Little and Pelster, Oxford Theology, pp. 172-3.

the university.¹ At Paris too there are regulations governing the preaching duties of bachelors, and these have a special interest because of the university's influence as the intellectual centre of Christendom.

The regulations that concern us date from the fourteenth century,² but it is likely that the statutes are, to a great extent, a codification of existing practice, and that the thirteenth century system was similar in essentials. There are regulations for both bacallarii formati - bachelors who had completed the requirement to lecture on the Sentences - and for bachelors at a less advanced stage of their course.³ The bacallarius formatus could be called upon to give one sermon with its corresponding collation; it appears that he was allowed to find a substitute to perform the task for him.⁴ He also had to give the collation after the morning sermon by a master, if he was given two months notice. It is not quite clear whether he could perform this further obligation through a substitute: the wording is ambiguous.⁵ The regulation also states that no-one might give a sermon or collation for someone else more than once a year.⁶

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1. op.cit. p. 172.
 2. The passages which will be discussed are printed in Denifle, Chartularium II-I nos. 1188, 1189, 1190.
 3. The distinction between bacallarii formati and other bachelors goes back at least to the beginning of the fourteenth century. v. Little and Pelster, Oxford Theology, p. 169.
 4. Denifle, Chartularium II-I, no. 1189 (48) p. 701. It is stated that the bacallarius formatus should '... faciat unum sermonem cum collatione vel per se vel per alium bacallarium formatum, de licentia tamen facultatis, si fuerit super hoc per illum ad quem pertinet requisitus;'. This seems to imply that he had to obtain permission if he wished to perform the obligation through a substitute.
 5. 'et cum hoc unam collationem post sermonem magistralem, si per duos menses ante fuerit sibi significatum, que si facere recusaverit, per unum jubileum a licentia retardetur.' ^{ibid}
 6. 'Districteque prohibemus ne quis pro alio faciat plus quam semel in anno sermonem aut collationem.' ibid.

Even bachelors who had not yet achieved the status of bacallarius formatus could be called upon to preach. We have seen that the regents and masters of students of the Dominicans and Franciscans had the power to appoint preachers when there were Sundays or Feastdays for which a preacher had not been assigned; the regulation states that they could choose 'cursoribus, aut ydoneis studentibus sue et aliarum religionum'.¹ The cursores were bachelors who were commenting 'cursorily' on the Bible, and they were junior both to the Bacallarii formati and to the bachelors who had begun but not yet finished their commentaries on the Sentences. It is laid down in the same regulation that before a cursor could be 'admitted' he had to swear to give a collation (or find a substitute to do so for him) at least once a year, if he was assigned the task and given due notice.²

The regulation which immediately follows states that no-one should be allowed to lecture on the Bible 'ordinarily', or even on the Sentences, or to take the oaths, 'unless he first gives two collations in the presence of the University, or a sermon with a collation, . . . and in his own person, so that he may be tested in eloquence and the art of preaching.'³

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1. Denifle, Chartularium II-I no. 1189 (26) p. 699.
 2. 'si cursores antequam admittantur, iurebunt per se vel per alium ad minus semel in anno unam collationem facere, si sibi assignatur, et quandiu erunt in studio, et fuerit eis significatum per duos menses ante.' ibid.
 3. 'Statuimus quod nullus admittatur ad lecturam Bible ordinarie aut etiam Sententiarum, nec ad juramenta, nisi prius fecerit in Universitate duas collationes, vel sermonem cum collatione juxta arbitrium illorum qui habebunt de sermonibus ordinare, et in propria persona, ut in eloquentia et arte predicandi comprobetur.' Denifle, Chartularium, II-I, no. 1189 (27) p. 699.

Another important piece of evidence is an oath which all bachelors - not only bacallarii formati - were supposed to take. The regulation which requires the oath runs as follows: 'Again, that once in every year you will give one collation in the presence of the University, if it has been assigned to you in the proper way (that is, two months in advance) by the regent and master of the students of the Preachers or of the Minors'.¹ This oath, taken together with the other statutes cited, gives the impression that preaching bulked large in the life of a theology student at Paris.

It is significant that the oath speaks of a collation, rather than a sermon. It will have been noted that this is not the only one of the passages cited which seems to give special prominence to collations: One of the other regulations quoted ordains that a bachelor must give 'two collations or one sermon and a collation' before being allowed to lecture on the sentences; the bacallarii formati, nearing the end of their long course of studies, could be called upon to give a collation to correspond with a sermon by a master as well as a collation to go with a sermon of their own. These texts give the impression that the collation played a larger part than the sermon in the formation of preachers, even after they had become bacallarii formati, and still more so before they reached the final stage of their studies.

1. Denifle, Chartularium, II-I, 1190 (10) p. 705. (under the general heading of 'Pro omnibus bacalariis juramenta').

Masters could give the collation as well as the sermon, but in general the collation seems to have been reserved for the bachelors.¹ It is not known whether the collatio had any place in the preaching system at Oxford² but at Paris it seems to have played a leading part in the education of preachers. It would have been the friars, more than the secular students, who would turn their training to account by a lifetime of regular preaching. There was a tradition that the custom of giving collations at Paris was introduced by Jordan of Saxony³ and it would certainly be appropriate if a member of the 'Order of Preachers' had started the institution; for if we can assume that university preaching was not too academic to serve as an education for popular preachers, the collatio must have done much to raise standards in the two orders whose ideal combined study with preaching.

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1. Glorieux, 'L'Enseignement au moyen age', Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age 1968, p. 156.
 2. Little & Pelster, Oxford Theology, p. 169.
 3. 'Idem est eciam, qui induxit consuetudinem de faciendis collationibus Parisiis scolaribus;' Cronica Ordinis ab anno MCCIII usque ad MCCLIV, printed in Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica vol. I, ed. B. Reichert, (Rome - Stuttgart 1897) p. 327. In the Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum of J. Quetif and J. Echard, (vol. I (Paris 1719) p. 97 note R) the following gloss is put on the words quoted above: 'De faciendis collationibus. Ut ad id clarum fiat, sciendum aetate Jordani sermones in templis Parisiensibus a collegis universitatis ad id nominatim designatis haberi consuevisse. Cum autem illi plerumque matutinis horis dicerentur, B. Jordanus non ferens juvenes studiis operam dantes de meridie verbum Dei non audire, sicque dominis et festis pro libito vagari, obtinuit ut vespertinis horis fierent conciones quas collationes vocabant.' I do not know whether this attractive interpretation has any foundation.

Conclusions.

The revival of popular preaching has an external aspect and a less obvious one. The most dramatic and colourful side of it is the preaching offensive which began with individual revivals like the movement led by Fulk de Neuilly, and which achieved as it were self sustained growth as the Friars became a permanent influence on Europe. Their rapid expansion, the proliferation of their convents, and their itinerant preaching expeditions enabled them to reach a larger section of the laity than had been possible since the fall of the Roman Empire. This is the external aspect of the expansion of preaching.

The elite of professional preachers, capable of giving sermons more frequently than would ever have occurred to an ordinary secular priest, was not created out of nothing. The second aspect of the revival is the system which made the increase in the sheer quantity of preaching possible. The chronicle evidence gives only occasional glimpses of this system - brother Mauricius' advice to Salimbene is an example. However, the many preachers' pocket books that survive show that even the itinerant preaching of the friars was often not spontaneous - that they preached out of books.

A variety of preaching aids were produced to help popular preachers, but it was the model sermon collections which provided the framework for material from other sorts of preaching aid. These handbooks for preachers were meant to reach a wide public. They were copied and recopied, so that a large number of preachers could use them; furthermore each preacher could use the same material many times, for different congregations.

One of the main centres for the diffusion of books to help preachers was Paris. Copies of model sermon collections and other preaching aids could be obtained through the university stationers, who increased production by means of the 'pecia' system. Sermon collections compiled or copied at Paris would be preached to congregations all over Europe. The congregations would normally be urban. They would include men of some education, and the nature of this lay public must be taken into account when we study the form and content of the sermons.

The diffusion of stereotyped material was one part of the system behind the popular preaching of the friars; another was the training the preachers received during their study years. To some extent they had to train themselves, for the friars do not seem to have provided courses in homiletics as such for their students. On the other hand lectures on the Bible would have supplied much material useful for preaching. Furthermore the system of university sermons would have given the elite of the friars a direct and practical training in preaching; as Lectors or in other key positions these men would influence the whole of their respective orders. At Paris, the most influential training centre for both Franciscans and Dominicans, the evening sermon or 'collatio' appears to have played a special role in the training of theology students as preachers.

The theory that university sermons and collations provided a training for popular preachers depends on the assumption that their form and content was close to the form and content of popular sermons; that, of course, is not self evident. The arguments in favour of such an interpretation will be discussed in the remaining chapters of this study, and it should become clear that academic and popular preaching were not in fact far apart.

II THE NEW SERMON FORM

In the same period as the revival of popular preaching there was another far reaching development, the rise of a new sermon form, and an attempt to clarify the relation between the two changes is badly needed. Together they mark the dividing line between the two periods of medieval preaching, but the connection between them is not obvious, despite the fact that from the end of the last century many studies have touched on the problem obliquely. This is one of the cases where some discussion of the historiography of a problem helps to clarify the issues, so in the next two sections some space will be devoted to the various interpretations of the new sermon form.

1. The Definition and Origins of the New Form

Probably the best account of the new sermon form is that of a historian who wrote nearly a century ago. In his synthesis of the history of German preaching in the Middle Ages,¹ R. Cruel recognised that the rise of the new form was a turning point in the history of preaching, one of the features which distinguished the second period of medieval preaching from the first. He divides his book into two halves, contrasting the 'Periode der unselbständigen und unorganischen Predigtbildung' with the 'Periode der selbständigen und organischen Predigtbildung'. The two periods span the years 600 - 1200 and

1. R. Cruel, Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter, Detmold 1879.

1200 - 1520 respectively. By covering so large a period and choosing this arrangement Cruel provides the chronological perspective which is missing from the works on medieval preaching by his French contemporaries.

The section on 'Die neue Predigtform', which introduces the second half of the book, is in some sense the pivot of the whole work. On the whole this account gives a truer picture of the new form than more modern studies, for these are often based on the Artes Praedicandi: the Artes do indeed give a large place to methods which gave the second period of medieval preaching its distinctive character, but they also discuss techniques which were in no sense novel in the thirteenth century, and which were not essentially connected with what we shall identify as the new genre. For this reason phrases such as 'the technique of the Artes' should be used as names for a branch of medieval rhetorical theory, rather than generic terms for the form we associate with the central and late middle ages. By basing his analysis on the sermons themselves Cruel highlights the elements which were distinctive and new enough to mark a separate period of preaching history.

The preaching of the first period, he argues, has an 'unorganic structure', by contrast with the sermons of the second period, whose parts are carefully coordinated according to a central plan.¹ Cruel makes the point that the skeletal 'organic' framework did not invariably need to take the form

1. 'Man suchte nämlich jetzt aus einer zu Grunde gelegten Einheit eine regelmässige Gliederung des Redestoffes hervorgehen zu lassen.' op.cit. p. 279.

of division in the strictest sense of the word. It could also depend on the 'Anwendung der logischen Kategorien . . .'. However the examples he gives imply that such cases are really divisions under a rather different form.¹ He then mentions another type of sermon which he also groups under the general heading of 'the new preaching form': the sermon based on a metaphor or a picture, in which the points of comparison between the imaginary object and the subject of the sermon make up its various parts. Once again, the method is combined and fused with division in all the examples he gives.² Some kind of systematic division would seem to be a common factor of the different species of the new form.

After defining the form Cruel defends his periodisation. The 'new form' is to be found in the first period, but only in exceptional cases, when it was the obvious procedure anyway.³ It was in the second period that it became a technique in general use.

In broad outline Cruel's analysis of the difference between sermon form in the two periods remains valid. Perhaps the clearest illustration is to compare two sermons on the same text, one by the twelfth century bishop of Paris, Maurice de Sully, the other from the collection called Legifer on the 1286

1. op.cit. p. 281.

2. E.g. 'Luc.6. Ascendens Jesus in unam naviculam. etc. Circa quod est notandum, quod quadruplex est navis: poenitentiae, ecclesiae, crucis, mentis.' op.cit. p. 282.

3. op.cit. p. 282.

Paris pecia list. To facilitate a comparison between the two forms, these sermons have been transcribed in full.¹ Maurice de Sully's sermon is a straightforward homily on the Gospel reading. The sermon from Legifer is a highly structured sermon in the new form. The two could hardly differ more.

Maurice de Sully's homily is simplicity itself. There is no explicit division of the subject, and the sermon has no formal structure except that of the Gospel reading which it follows. Maurice states the general theme, and does so skillfully, so that what follows - a gloss on the clauses of the Gospel - has a real unity. On the whole his explanations are clear, and there is no striving for sophistication; the overall effect is in a way impressive. For example, Maurice quotes the well known passage, beginning 'Why do you see the straw which is in your brother's eye . . .', and glosses it as follows: The beam signifies the graver sins, the straw the less serious ones. The people with a beam in the eye who wish to remove a straw from the eye of another are those who commit grave sins and presume to rebuke others for things of no importance. Their example should not be followed, but we should 'fulfil the Lord's commands contained in the Holy Gospel, cast out from our conscience not only the greatest but even the smallest sins, and then with fear and humility we may take it upon ourselves to reprove others for their wrongdoing. If we do this we will get good measure, that is, eternal life.'²

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1. Numbers 1 and 2 of the 'Illustrative Texts' transcribed at the end of this study.
 2. MS. Bodley E Mus. 222 fo.43ra.

In Maurice's sermon there are no precise references to scriptural auctoritates - the nearest he gets to it is a rather vague 'teste scriptura' - though he quotes nearly all of the Gospel for that day at some point in the sermon. By contrast the sermon on the same text from Legifer is studded with auctoritates from different parts of the Bible - short scriptural texts with the chapter number given. The sermon itself is brief, but it contains no less than thirty three such auctoritates. A word beginning with miser- occurs in each auctoritas, (or in its immediate Biblical context).

The author must have used some kind of alphabetical reference tool, and it is clear that he is practising a conscious and sophisticated technique.

The auctoritates are set in a framework of rhyming divisions or distinctions, which they are meant to confirm. When set out schematically the framework looks like this:

... celestic patris misericordia in multis legitur apparere, et
specialiter in peccati dimissione ... Hanc misericordiam debet
habere fidelis quilibet...

In afflictorum compassione ... Hanc misericordiam debet habere
quilibet ...

In debilium sustentatione ... Hanc debet habere quilibet ...

In vindicte sue retractatione... Hanc debet habere fidelis
quilibet ...

In caritativa correctione ... Hanc debet habere fidelis
quilibet ...

In pene debite diminutione ... Hanc debet habere fidelis
quilibet ...

In temporalium erogatione ... Hanc misericordiam debet habere
fidelis quilibet ...

... Ex hac misericordia multiplex
(Cod. triplex) utilitas provenit

a/ ~~Prima~~ est divine misericordie assecutio ...

Secunda est culpe purgatio ...

Tertia est pene pro peccatis debite relaxatio...

Quarta est maiestatis divine honoratio ...

Quinta est pauperis ad orandum obligatio ...

Sexta est interna delectatio ...

Septima est eterna beatitudo ...¹

If we remove this framework of the divisions, and the authorities which are tied to it, little of the sermon is left.

This example, typical of so many thirteenth and fourteenth century sermons, suggests that Cruel's definition of the new form should be developed somewhat, to include elements that appear to be closely linked to the practice of systematically dividing and subdividing sermons. Firstly, the divisions are nearly always confirmed by scriptural authorities. This happens so regularly that the authorities are as much a part of the technique as the divisions to which they are wedded. If systematic division is the central feature of the new form, confirmation by scriptural auctoritates must also be included in any definition of it.

Secondly, it will have been noted that the divisions or distinctions in the Legifer sermon are rhymed, and that parallelism is a favourite device of the author. Here too the sermon is entirely typical; indeed a striving for rhyme and rhythm in divisions is one of the most striking characteristics of thirteenth and fourteenth century sermons.

1. y. 'Illustrative Texts' number 2.

In the Artes Praedicandi of the later middle ages the concern for rhyme and rhythm in divisions is carried to bizarre lengths. There is an Ars Praedicandi which contains what I believe to be a dictionary of rhymes - not ordinary rhymes but double rhymes - designed to help preachers form their divisions.¹ Thomas Waleys describes something similar in his own tract on preaching technique, though he does not actually give any lists and the reverse alphabetical system that he has in mind is less elaborate (it does not provide the preacher with ready made double rhymes).²

The rhymed and rhythmic divisions and distinctions sometimes almost cross the border between prose d'art and rhythmic verse. It is true that rhyme was common in medieval Latin prose³ and that parallelism is not the same thing as a verse rhythm⁴ but certain late medieval tracts on preaching show how blurred the line between the two could become. An extreme case is an Ars for which I have used MS. 569 of Innsbruck University Library.⁵

The special interest of this tract is that it explicitly discusses the relation between division on the one hand, and rhymes and rhythms on the other. He explains that 'there are

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1. v. P. Ferd. M. Delorme, ' "L'Arts Faciendi Sermones" de Geraud du Pescher' *Antonianum* 19 (1944) p. 169-198. The editor does not appear to have realised that the word-lists are a rhyming dictionary, but that is the most satisfactory explanation of them.
 2. Thomas Waleys, De Modo Componendi Sermones ed. Th.-M. Charland, Artes Praedicandi, (Publications de l'Institut d'Etudes Medievales d'Ottawa vii, Paris & Ottawa 1936) pp. 374-5.
 3. v. K. Polheim, Die lateinische Reimrosa (Berlin 1925) passim.
 4. Cf. Polheim, op.cit. p. XII.
 5. fo. 1 seqq. (The manuscript has been dated to the fifteenth century, though it looks as though it might be earlier.)

two things which are to be preserved between the members of a division which are observed in rhythmic verse. The first is equality in number of syllables, so that if one member has eight syllables, another member ought to have the same number'.¹ The author explains that many do not observe this rule, because of the difficulty of finding suitable words; nevertheless a great effort should be made to follow it where possible, because it increases the aesthetic appeal of the division and consequently of the sermon as a whole.² The second of the two rules which the author had referred to is 'consonantia circa finem', which, he says, all the experts observe.³ He continues: 'for which reason it is to be noted that if the penultimate syllable of some member of a division is pronounced with an acute or lengthened accent - which amounts to the same thing - the consonance of the following member ought to be observed from its penultimate syllable until the end . . .'.⁴ Here he would seem to be speaking of rhyme.

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1. '. . . duo sunt servanda inter membra divisionis que observantur in rithmis. Primum est equalitas sillabarum quantum ad numerum, ut si unum membrum habeat octo sillabas, aliud membrum totidem debet habere' MS. Innsbruck Univ. 569 fo. 5ra.
 2. 'Et multi licet hoc non observent propter difficultatem inveniendi vocabula ad propositum, est tamen de hoc multum adcurandum, ubi possit fieri, eo quod multum faciunt ad divisionis et per consequens totius sermonis ornatum' *ibid.* Rules governing the number of syllables are also found in the tract on the art of preaching by Thomas of Tudereto, who probably wrote it in the late fourteenth century. I have used the text in Bodley MS. Hamilton 44. V. especially fo. 185r *seqq.* The same manuscript contains the tract by Alphonsus Bononiensis (fo. 187v *seqq.*). This writer too discusses *rithmi* within the context of sermon division, though here the word may refer primarily to rhyme.
 3. 'et istud omnes periti observant' MS. Innsbruck 569 fo. 5ra.
 4. 'quam ob rem est advertendum quod si penultima sillaba alicuius membri divisionis proferatur accuto vel producto accentu, quod idem est, consonantia sequentis membri debet observari ab eius penultima usque ad finem . . .' MS. Innsbruck 569 fo. 5ra.

The further rules need not delay us. The essential point is that rhymes and rhythm are treated as a part of the technique of division. Though this Ars - or the Innsbruck manuscript at least - is relatively late, it is only an extreme theoretical formulation of tendencies which were already present in thirteenth century preaching practice. The use of rhymes, and to a lesser extent of rhythm, is as closely allied to divisio as is confirmation by scriptural authorities, and a definition of the new sermon form ought to take into account all three.

The threefold character of the new form was recognised by Roger Bacon, who several times gave a succinct and accurate summary of, and a highly critical judgement on, the innovations which made the preaching technique of his age so distinctive.¹ In the passage where he describes the dependence of the ignorant p̄relati on the quaternos of the young friars, he says that it was the latter who started the fashion of preaching 'with divisions and consonances and vocal concordances'.² The strange phrase 'vocal concordances' almost certainly refers to scriptural auctoritates of a particular kind³ so we have here all the three elements that characterise the new form.

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1. The relevant passages have been collected in Felder, Gesch. der wissenschaftlichen Studien im Franziskanerorden pp. 353-4.
 2. Roger Bacon, Opus Tertium, ed. Brewer (Rolls Series) Cap. LXXV p. 309.
 3. cf. Thomas Waleys, De Modo Componendi Sermones, ed. Charland, Artes Praedicandi, p. 385. For the difference between 'vocal' and 'real' concordances, v. Charland, op.cit. p. 170 segg.

This is not the only place where Roger Bacon makes his point. A little earlier in the same work he argues that the 'common herd of preachers' had adopted the meretricious method of preaching through 'Porphyrian divisions, and inept consonances of words and clauses, and vocal concordances, in which there is only verbose vanity, lacking all rhetorical ornament and power to convince.'¹ In his Opus Minus he singles out what appear to be the same three characteristics: divisions into different members, forced attempts to confirm by authorities, and rhythmic consonances.² As usual, Bacon's value judgements need to be treated with care, but as a description of the new sermon form his analysis corresponds closely to what we can observe ourselves in the sermon from Legifer and hundreds of others from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The three features he describes are interdependent and complementary and when they are found together there is no mistaking the new form.³

The technique of building sermons around rhymed divisions and authorities was the product of an evolution, even though it caught on rapidly once it had been developed. The growth of the new form is a large subject which deserves a monograph to itself, and it is arguable that more twelfth century sermons

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1. '. . . vulgus . . . convertit se ad summam et infinitam curiositatem, scilicet per divisiones Porphyrianas, et per consonantias ineptas verborum et clausularum, et per concordantias vocales, in quibus est sola vanitas verbosa, omni carens ornatu rhetorico et virtute persuadendi.' Opus Tertium, ed. Brewer, Cap. LXXV, p. 304.
 2. '. . . divisiones per membra varia . . . , concordantiae violentes . . . et consonantiae rhythmicae . . .' Roger Bacon, Opus Minus in Fr. Rogeri Bacon Opera Quaedam Hactenus Inedita (Rolls Series, London 1859) ed. Brewer p. 323.
 3. I have excluded the protheme from the working definition of the new form precisely because it was not essential to the three elements which have been singled out. In many model sermons the protheme is left out altogether, presumably for the sake of brevity, and perhaps also because separate collections of prothemes were available.

should be edited before the task is undertaken. Nevertheless one may risk a provisional outline of the genre's development.

The rhymed division, or what looks like a direct ancestor, is to be found in the sermons of St. Bernard. It is most evident in his brief and schematic sermons and 'sentences'. A proper emphasis on St. Bernard's role as a forerunner of the new sermon form is another of the achievements of Cruel.¹ Robert of Basevorn, writing in the fourteenth century, remarked on his use of divisions.² Whether or not it was St. Bernard who started the fashion, distinctions were to play an important part in twelfth century preaching.³ Peter Comester was particularly fond of distinctions,⁴ but he was not the only one to use them. A recent study of twelfth century sermons quotes the following example from Peter of Poitiers:⁵

Triplex siquidem est generatio:

corruptionis prima in carne de prima generamur in ruinam	adoptionis secunda in spiritu de secunda suscitatur in gratiam	glorificationis tertia in utroque de tertia coronabimur in gloria
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1. Cf. Cruel, Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter p. 291 seqq.
 2. Discussing Bernard's preaching methods, Basevorn says that: 'Aliquod thema certum, vel aliquid loco thematis, 1. materiam aliquam quam intendit tractare, accipit, quod artificialiter introducit, dividit nunc in duo membra, nunc in tria, nunc in plura, confirmat, concludit, omni utens colore rhetorico . . .' Roberti de Basevorn, Forma Praedicandi, ed. Charland in Artes Praedicandi, p. 247.
 3. Cf. M.M. Lebreton, 'Recherches sur les principaux thèmes théologiques traités dans les sermons du xii^e siècle', in Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale xxiii (1956) pp. 6-7.
 4. Cf. M.M. Lebreton, 'Recherches sur les manuscrits contenant des sermons de Pierre le Mangeur', Bulletin d'Information de L'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, 2 (1953) p. 26.
 5. Quoted by M. Longère, in his Paris Doctorat d'état on La Prédication des maîtres Parisiens durant la seconde moitié du xii^e siècle, tom. 1, p. 77. (But v. now idem, Œuvres oratoires des maîtres Parisiens au xii^e siècle, (Études Augustiniennes, Paris 1975). p. 56.

The use of distinctions in twelfth century sermons anticipates the distinctions and divisions of the new sermon form (for between divisions and distinctions there is no great difference). Recent research suggests that the form of the French vernacular sermons of the period was much simpler. They usually consist of a commentary on the Gospel or Epistle of the day, without a division.¹ Latin sermons could also be of this kind, even in the second half of the twelfth century, and the sermon on the text Estote Misericordes by Maurice de Sully² is a good example. Moreover even the sermons which do employ distinctions are quite different from sermons of the second half of the thirteenth century, when the new form had reached maturity.

Perhaps the main difference between the more sophisticated sermons of the later twelfth century and sermons like the example from Legifer lies in the way scriptural authorities were used. One has the impression that it was not, in the twelfth century, an automatic and mechanical practice to confirm every member of a division or distinction with a scriptural text. In sermons written from the mid-thirteenth century on, by contrast, a membrum without an auctoritas is the exception rather than the rule.

The contrast is not quite clear cut, for twelfth century sermons can be exceedingly scriptural and writers or preachers

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1. V. Michel Zink's Doctorat d'État on La Prédication en Langue Romane avant 1300 (Université de Paris-Sorbonne) pp. 400-401. I am grateful to M. Zink and his wife for allowing me to consult his thesis in their home.
 2. V. supra and 'Illustrative Texts' no. 1.

with good memories would cite scriptural texts regularly.

Robert Basevorn, speaking of St. Bernard's method, said that
' . . . there is scarcely a sentence of his which does not
depend upon a Biblical authority or many authorities.'¹

A proper investigation of the role of auctoritates in twelfth
century sermons is much to be desired. Nevertheless I am
fairly sure that such a study would prove the link between
divisions and authorities to be far looser, much less a question
of conscious technique, than it later became. For in the
thirteenth century it is not only a technique, but a technique
applies with great consistency.

The almost mechanical use of auctoritates must have been
facilitated by the development of two of the reference tools
described in the previous chapter: collections of Distinctiones
and Biblical word-concordances. It is indeed likely that
without these tools the new genre could never have developed
in the way it did. Even if we assume that the memories of
thirteenth and fourteenth century preachers were far better
than our own, the way auctoritates were used in dozens of
sermon collections by quite ordinary men can only be explained
on the hypothesis that they were using distinction collections
or concordances.

1. 'Modo de Bernardo. Sciendum quod modus ejus est sine
modo, modum excedens et capacitatem fere omnium ingeniorum,
qui prae omnibus in omnibus dictis Scripturam inculcat, ut
vix sit una sua sententia quae ex auctoritate Bibliae vel
multis auctoritatibus non dependeat.' Roberti de Basevorn,
Forma Praedicandi, ed. Charland in Artes Praedicandi,
p. 247.

Distinction collections were invented before concordances, so their influence must have been felt first. The distinctions in these collections, unlike some distinctions in twelfth century sermons, would invariably be linked to authorities, usually scriptural.¹ It was a type of preaching aid which opened new possibilities to the preacher. There is a remarkable passage which shows how exciting it seemed when it was new, and which gives a glimpse of how the transition to distinctions automatically confirmed by authorities was made. One, Peter of Cornwall, author of a work called the Pantheologus, describes in the prologue the impression which a sermon by Gilbert Foliot had made on him: 'The whole sermon was varied by certain distinctiones, adorned with flowers of words and sentences and supported by a copious array of authorities . . .'² In his enthusiasm for the novel method ('tam preclare nouitatis dulcedine exhilaratus')³ Peter devised and wrote a work in which the lector studiosus might find the passages he needed collected and arranged.⁴

As collections of Distinctiones became available it must have been increasingly easy to use scriptural authorities in the new systematic way. Furthermore these collections, by

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1. It should be remembered that the word 'distinction' had and has a number of different even if overlapping senses.
 2. R.W. Hunt, 'English Learning in the Late Twelfth Century', T.R.H.S. 4th Series xix (1936), pp. 33-4, 41.
 3. op.cit. p. 41.
 4. op.cit. p. 34.

their very nature, encouraged the habit of dividing as well. Entries in distinction collections tend to have exactly the same features as sermons of the new genre: rhymed partitions with authorities attached. This may be illustrated by a passage from the Alphabetum in artem sermocinandi of Peter of Capua, which was written not long after 1219.

Avis ^{or}iiii modis in bono, .v. in malo. Avis sive volucris celestis, ethera^e, terrestris, tartarea. Celestis duplex, scil. Christus (Job [28:7] . . .) et angelus (Sap [Eccl. 10:20] . . ., Ps. [49:11] . . .). Avis etherea duplex, scil. sancti (Ev. [Mt. 13:4] . . ., Ev. [Mt. 6:26] . . .) et anima contemplativa (Job [5:7] . . .) Terrestris duplex, scil. philosophi superbi et vagi (Ps. [8:9] . . .) et tumultus malarum cogitationum (Gen. [15:11] . . .). Avis tartarea, demones (Ev. [Luc. 8:5] . . .).¹

When we come to Nicholas of Biard the line between Distinctiones and schematic summary sermons in the New Form has become very thin: authorities, schematic partitions, rhymes and rhythms are all there.² Even the earlier distinction collections could have been used as a source for sermon outlines in the new form, but the later distinction collections contain examples of what might almost be called the new form in its pure state. Throughout the century in which it flowered the genre of Biblical distinctiones contributed to the success of the new sermon form.

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1. Quoted by R. & M. Rouse 'Biblical Distinctions in the Thirteenth Century' Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age, xli (1974), p. 32.
 2. op.cit. p. 35.

The development of the word concordance also helps to account for the success of the new form, above all because it helped preachers achieve the 'vocal concordances' which Roger Bacon thought so unnecessary. A scriptural authority concorded 'vocaliter' with the theme of the sermon or a member of a division when they had a word in common (preferably a key word of course).¹ It was noted earlier that the sermon from Legifer on the text Estote misericordes contains thirty three auctoritates, and that all of these either include a word which begins with miser-, or come from a passage in which such a word occurs in the immediate context. It is hard to believe that this feat was achieved without the aid of a Bible concordance; in fact the author probably took the texts from the concordance and built the sermon around them.

In an interesting passage, Thomas Waleys explicitly refers to the use of concordances. He advises the preacher not to decide what he wishes to confirm with an authority, until he has seen all the authorities in a Bible concordance which 'concord vocally' with his theme, at least so far as the word for which he wants the authority is concerned.² Even without this direct testimony it would be obvious from the sermons themselves that the Bible concordance was a favourite tool of preachers.

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1. Cf. Charland Artes Praedicandi pp. 170-174.
 2. 'Alia cautela est ut facturus sermones non [fol. 37] firmet se in aliquo proposito quod velit auctoritate confirmari, praecipue ubi est penuria auctoritatum, donec viderit omnes auctoritates [in] Concordantiis Bibliae quae vocaliter concordant cum suo themate, saltem quantum ad illud vocabulum propter quod vellet habere auctoritatem.' Thomas Waleys, De Modo Componendi Sermones, ed. Charland, Artes Praedicandi, p. 385.

Two more developments are connected with the rise of the new form. The first was a change in the physical appearance of manuscripts, and the second the proliferation of Artes Praedicandi, which provided increasingly sophisticated theoretical instructions for dividing, confirming divisions, and even, as we have seen, for making them rhyme.

It was in the period when the new form was developing that divisions of texts began to be marked on the page of the book in a much more visually striking way.¹ For the student of sermons the most important development is probably the paraph mark. By the second half of the thirteenth century it was normal to mark all new sections of a sermon with a sign which looks something like a P turned back to front. Often it was in colour, and usually part of the semicircle is filled in. When one opens a manuscript of the thirteenth century or after, the ~~paraph~~ marks are often the first thing to catch the eye.

It was normal to use the paraph to mark the beginning of a new division or subdivision of a sermon, and my impression is that in sermon manuscripts it is relatively ^{seldom} found anywhere else. In this way the appearance of the manuscript heavily emphasises the schematic framework of divisions and subdivisions.

This is not to say that the rise of the new sermon form and the change in the appearance of manuscripts were causally

1. This paragraph and the next two owe much to R. Rouse and M.B. Parkes.

connected. The paraph mark and related developments made quick reference and rapid reading much easier, and they were an obvious advantage in books intended for use in the Schools and Universities. Their convenience in the new academic world that was developing would in itself be enough to explain their success (there may have been other factors as well). Once developed, however, the system of marking the main headings by paraps could hardly have been better suited to the highly structured sermons of the new form.

The Artes Praedicandi must have helped bring the new form to maturity, as well as reflecting its principles once it had become established, for they commonly devoted much space to a theoretical exposition of the three techniques which we have singled out as characteristic of the new form. In parenthesis, it should be remembered that the Artes Praedicandi also dealt with other procedures - fourfold Scriptural exposition for example - which were not at all novel; it would be wrong to include all the methods they discuss in our definition of the new form. Nevertheless, the rules they gave for dividing, rhyming, and confirming certainly contributed to the evolution of the form, at first by making it easier to acquire the technique, and later by making its basic principles more complicated.

Probably the earliest tract in which the characteristic features of the new form can be recognised is that of Alexander of Ashby. It seems likely that his floreat was the late twelfth century, though some have placed him later.¹ He

1. The different views are listed in Jennifer Sweet's unpublished B.Litt. thesis, English Preaching 1221-1293, Bodleian MS. B.Litt. d. 109 p. 27.

discusses both division and confirmation by authorities.¹

Another very early tract which describes something which we can recognise as the new form is that of Thomas of Salisbury.

His Ars Praedicandi was probably written in the earlier part of the thirteenth century.² The tract contains a discussion

of division, and Thomas emphasises the preacher's duty to

prove each member of the division with a scriptural authority.³

Several other Artes Praedicandi were written in the period before the new form finally crystallised. The tracts by Richard

of Thetford and Jean de la Rochelle, in particular, must have

helped to diffuse the technique, the first because it was so

widely copied,⁴ the second because of the author's influence

at the University of Paris.⁵ These early tracts had dozens

of successors, but they do not belong to the history of the

new form's origins, for well before the end of the thirteenth

century it had become the normal method of preaching.

1. v. Sweet, op.cit. pp. 29-30, and J.J. Murphy, 'Rhetoric in the Middle Ages' (University of California Press, Berkeley - Los Angeles - London 1974), pp. 313 seqq.

2. Murphy, op.cit. p. 319.

3. Murphy, op.cit. p. 324.

4. v., for instance, the list of manuscripts in Charland, Artes Praedicandi, pp. 78-9.

5. Cf. the interesting passage cited by Felder, Gesch. der wissenschaftlichen Studien im Franziskanerorden p. 214 note 3 (from Bern. a Bessa, Liber de laudibus b. Francisci, c.7): '. . . Ut in minorum ordine maximus in dignitate ac probitate inveniretur miles, sic etiam maximus in theologia et philosophia magister; et etiam maximus inventus est praedicator, videlicet Magister Fr. Iohannes de Rupella dictus, religiositate, scientia et discretione clarissimus, tantique ingenii, ut propriorum magistrorum subtilitati adiiciens praedicationis et lectoriae in theologiae facultate artem et modos traderet exquisitos.'

2. The History of a Problem.

There have been many analyses of the new form over the last hundred years, but when the various studies are passed in review two main interpretations may be distinguished. There has been no set piece controversy, indeed the differences have hardly been explicitly formulated. Nevertheless they are far reaching, and some attempt to resolve them is necessary if we are to understand the relation between the new form and the expansion of preaching. Perhaps the clearest approach to this problem is via its historiography, which provides an opportunity to state the question more clearly and precisely than might otherwise be possible.

If one had to date the beginning of the modern historiography of medieval preaching, the obvious choice would be the year 1868, when A. Lecoy de la Marche published the first edition of his La Chaire Française au Moyen Âge. There are notable forerunners, especially in the pages of the Histoire Littéraire de la France, but Lecoy de la Marche's book marked a new phase, because of the interest it inspired in the subject and because it provided a foundation for subsequent research. A second edition (1886) met the criticisms of the redoubtable Hauréau and disproved the latter's contention that preachers gave sermons in Latin to lay congregations.

The controversy over the language of preaching was more or less settled and does not concern us here. There was another theory, however, which Lecoy de la Marche attempted to combat or at least to modify: the idea that in the thir-

teenth century preaching became the prisoner of scholasticism. He quotes Daunou, who spoke of 'une scolastique barbare'¹ and Victor Le Clerc's verdict that 'la tyrannie de la scolastique envahit tout et l'éloquence périt'.² Lecoy de la Marche suggested that such criticisms were exaggerated. He returned to the point later on in the book, referring to the 'tradition des divisions et des points échelonnés' which, according to Victor Le Clerc, were derived from scholasticism.³ Lecoy argues that the tradition went back to the very origins of public speaking, and scholasticism had merely given a new extension to an old principle. Sometimes it was pushed too far, and some of the sermons of the period seem to be nothing but dry enumerations. Nevertheless it should be remembered that more often than not this aridity existed only on the parchment, and was a result of the habit of writing down only the essential points of a sermon. One should be careful to distinguish between full sermons and summary outlines.⁴

Many, probably the majority, of the historians who have discussed the new form since Cruel have come closer to the view he was criticising than to his own. The tendency has been to stress the 'scholastic' influences on the new form, or the influence of Aristotelian logic, and to seek for its

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1. Quoted in A. Lecoy de la Marche, La Chaire Française au moyen âge spécialement au xiii^e siècle (2nd edition, Paris 1886) p. 17.
 2. Quoted ibid.
 3. Lecoy de la Marche, La Chaire Française p. 298.
 4. ibid.

origins in the environment of the Universities or earlier schools. In one way or another, they highlight the academic character of the new form. On the other hand several important studies of preaching theory and practice have argued or implied that the new form was well adapted to the needs of popular preachers. The apparent conflict between these interpretations must be taken into account before the place of the new form in the revival of popular preaching can be determined.

Only a few years after the first edition of La Chaire Française appeared Cruel founded what might be called the German school of preaching history, for in the nineteenth century at least he appears to have set the pattern for studies of medieval sermons and homiletic. Cruel himself was a strong advocate of the 'scholastic' interpretation of the new form, though he did not indulge in critical value judgements after the manner of Daunou and Victor Le Clerc. He states his position at the beginning of his section on the origin of the new form and its spread to Germany.¹ The new preaching form had its origins in the transformation of the whole of theology in France, where a formal philosophical school of thought - scholasticism - had developed since the eleventh century on the basis of Aristotle's works.² Cruel believed that the influence of scholasticism on preaching itself felt in the

1. Cruel, Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter p. 290 seqq.

2. y. Cruel, op.cit., p. 290: 'Die neue Form der Predigt ging mit der Umwandlung der ganzen Theologie von Frankreich aus, wo sich seit dem elften Jahrhundert auf Grund des Studiums aristotelischer Werke eine formal-philosophische Richtung ausbildete, die bald unter dem Namen der Scholastik in allen Schulen die Oberhand gewann.'

person of Bernard of Clairvaux, archenemy of the scholastic movement itself, and justifies this paradoxical interpretation with the argument that 'kann auch er die genossene philosophische Schulbildung nicht verleugnen'.

Two major German studies followed a few years after Cruel's history, and both explained the new sermon form in terms of Scholasticism. A. Linsenmayer stated roundly that 'In formeller Beziehung kann man den Einfluss der Scholastik auf die Predigt geradezu einen Epoche machenden nennen.'¹ He suggests that the scholastic habit of dividing and subdividing could be harmful.² Linsenmayer then proceeds to argue that the defects seem to belong more to Latin sermons which were not delivered than to German ones, and that when a preacher exchanged the language of the learned (Latin) for the vernacular he usually managed to avoid an excessive use of divisions and subdivisions. Here Linsenmayer seems to imply that the Latin sermons of which he speaks were not popular sermons which the preacher would turn into the vernacular himself.

D. Keppler's study was not a general history of German preaching, like the works of Cruel and Linsenmayer, but a monograph on the evolution of sermon form. Keppler lays great emphasis on the novelty of the sermon structure which became fashionable in the thirteenth century, and like his

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1. Geschichte der Predigt in Deutschland von Karl dem Grossen bis zum Ausgange des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts (München 1886) p. 71.
 2. '... die scholastische Manier (oft wäre der Ausdruck Manie am Platze), zu distinguiren und zu systematisiren, indem sie das lebendige Wort Gottes in die Fesseln zahlloser und oft spitzfindiger Abtheilungen und Unterabtheilungen schlug, mitunter einen schlechten Dank verdiente;' op.cit. p. 72.

predecessors he attributes it to scholastic influence.¹ The German school does not seem to have been much affected by Lecoy de la Marche's reservations.

Their influence seems to have been limited in France as well. An essay by Langlois on 'L'Éloquence Sacrée au Moyen Age'² uses language reminiscent of Victor Le Clerc's:

'L'Éloquence sacrée fut entraînée, comme toutes les autres formes de l'art, dans le torrent de la révolution scolastique'.³

These scholastic sermons are characterised by 'un appareil rebutant de divisions, de subdivisions, de définitions, de distinctions, emprunté à la méthode des logiciens; et par l'emploi exclusif de cette langue barbare, forgée à Seville et à Tolède par les philosophes arabisants, qu'Abailard n'aurait pas comprise'.⁴

According to Langlois the scholastic method of sermon making was one of three types of thirteenth century preaching, the other two being the more literary approach which was carried over above all by members of certain older religious orders into the thirteenth century,⁵ and popular preaching. By this classification, Langlois implies that the new sermon form had little or nothing to do with the revival of popular preaching.

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1. D. Keppler, 'Die Entwicklungsgeschichte der Predigtanlage', Theologische Quartalschrift (Tübingen) Vierundsiebzigster Jahrgang, 1892, pp. 62-3.
 2. Revue des Deux Mondes Tome cent quinzième (1893), pp.170-201.
 3. art.cit. p. 176.
 4. art.cit. p. 186.
 5. art.cit. pp. 184-5.

In the nineteenth century, then, there were already two diverging interpretations of the new sermon form. Lecoy de la Marche was inclined to minimise the influence of scholasticism; furthermore he does not suggest that divisions, subdivisions et cetera were confined to academic preaching, or that they were especially inappropriate outside an academic milieu. The other writers we have discussed depart from his interpretation to a greater or lesser extent by putting the impact of Aristotelian logic and the rise of the schools in the forefront of the picture.

In the twentieth century an influential article by Étienne Gilson gave a new direction to the study of medieval preaching.¹ Gilson takes as his starting point the sermons of Michel Menot. In his own day he was called 'Langue d'or', yet when we read his works they seem strange and alien to our tastes: 'Des enfilades de textes bibliques, théologiques, philosophiques, canoniques, entrecoupées de développements dont le rapport aux textes n'est souvent rien moins qu'évident; ces développements eux mêmes, divisés et construits d'après un plan dont la logique nous échappe, nourris d'associations d'idées qui ne nous semblent ni naturelles ni surtout nécessaires; est-il possible que l'on ait instruit, intéressé, ému des esprits français avec des oeuvres de ce genre, et que, pendant les siècles, le peuple de Bossuet, de Bourdaloue et de Massillon se soit passionné pour cette façon de prêcher?'² To understand them, Gilson

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1. E. Gilson, 'Michel Menot et la technique du sermon médiéval'. Reprinted in Gilson's Les Idées et les Lettres (Paris 1932) pp. 93-154.
 2. Gilson, Les Idées et les Lettres, p. 95.

argued, we must penetrate the mentality which produced them, and the Artes Praedicandi provide a key to it.

When he speaks of 'enfilades de textes bibliques' and 'développements . . . divisés et construits d'après un plan dont la logique nous échappe' Gilson is clearly referring to methods which differ little from those we have identified as characteristic of the new form. Since the Artes Praedicandi are the basis of his analysis he discusses other procedures as well - methods of dilatatio which antedate the new form by centuries. Nevertheless much of what he says is directly relevant to the problem of the new form. He discusses, for instance, 'le caractère constamment rythmé et assonance de leurs divisions',¹ which is one of the most distinctive features of sermons of the new form.

So far as the problem under review is concerned, Gilson must be aligned with Lecoy de la Marche rather than with the other historians we have discussed; Gilson approached the question from his own standpoint, and cast new light on the nature and function of the new form. The rhetoric of the Artes Praedicandi was derived neither from the dialectic of Aristotle or the rhetorical techniques of Cicero; the function of preaching was not to silence an opponent or to win a legal case, but to save souls, and to achieve this end a new method had to be invented.² The technique that was invented was originally quite distinct from the scholastic method.³ It is

1. op.cit. p. 122.

2. Gilson, Les Idées et les Lettres p. 100.

3. y. op.cit. p. 134.

true that when we move from the period of St. Bonaventure to the period of Michel Menot himself we find that scholasticism has indeed begun to play a large part in preaching; sermons are divided into two sections, one of which is devoted to a veritable quaestio disputata.¹ This, however, was a later development. In the time of Bonaventure 'la place des disputes est a l'École, celle du sermon est a l'Église.' Furthermore Gilson makes it clear that the essential parts of the technique he is describing were used for sermons to the people as well as for educated clerical congregations.² For instance, a preacher might introduce his division in a different way in a sermon to the people,³ but he would none the less use divisions.

Gilson's article began and probably inspired a whole series of studies of the Artes Praedicandi; despite his influence, his interpretation of the new form's relation to scholasticism on the one hand and popular preaching on the other did not win universal acceptance. There has not been a controversy, but his interpretation does not appear to have had much influence. The case is analogous to that of Lecoy de la Marche and his successors.

Throughout its history the King Charles' head of the problem has been scholasticism. The extreme example of the interpretation is the essay by M.-D. Chenu which prefaces

1. op.cit. p. 134-5.
2. op.cit. pp. 93-6.
3. op.cit. p. 113 segg.

Charland's study of the Arts of Preaching.¹ Chenu's point of view is unambiguous: 'Les Artes praedicandi sont l'un des plus manifestes témoignages de l'envahissement de la pensée médiévale et de ses divers genres littéraires par la dialectique . . . l'équilibre est rompu, et bientôt, soit sous la forme d'un gros réalisme populaire, soit par manière d'imitation des modèles romains, avec la Renaissance, une juste réaction se fera sentir au xv^e siècle.'² The rhetoric which governed the Artes Praedicandi is 'une rhétorique universitaire, la rhétorique qui préside à l'élaboration et à l'expression des sermons adressés officiellement et régulièrement aux étudiants des universités.'³ The sermons which were constructed with the aid of the Artes Praedicandi were designed for an audience of educated clerics, 'rompus par métier à tous ces procédés dialectiques dont était alors tissé tout l'enseignement.'⁴

Other studies of the Artes Praedicandi⁵ have not gone so far as Chenu. The interpretation of the new form by Caplan and Murphy may even appear to be reactions against an explanation in terms of scholasticism, for Caplan is usually associated

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1. Charland, Artes Praedicandi, Introduction, pp. 7-13.
 2. op.cit. p. 9.
 3. op.cit. p. 10.
 4. op.cit. p. 10.
 5. The most important are the studies by Caplan, collected and reprinted in Of Eloquence. Studies in Ancient and Medieval Rhetoric, ed. A. King and H. North. (Ithaca and London, Cornell U.P. 1970). Note especially 'Classical Rhetoric and the Medieval Theory of Preaching', first published in Classical Philology xxviii (1933), pp. 73-96; Dorothea Roth, Die mittelalterliche Predigttheorie und das Manuale Curatorum des Johann Ulrich Sargent (Basel 1956); this work includes an account of the early development of medieval preaching theory; and J.J. Murphy, Rhetoric in the Middle Ages (Berkeley - Los Angeles - London 1974).

with the theory that medieval preaching theory drew heavily on classical rhetoric, while Murphy has argued that the new form did not have a university origin. Nevertheless their interpretation is different from Gilson's, and each in their different ways put the new form in an academic context.

In his 'Classical Rhetoric and the Medieval Theory of Preaching' - despite its title - Caplan argues that what he calls the 'thematic' method was a medieval invention. The thematic method, as he defines it,¹ is more or less equivalent to the new sermon form, except that the protheme is included in the definition and the rhymes and rhythms left out. For practical purposes the terms may be interchanged.

After defining thematic preaching Caplan analyses its origins. It was not inherited from classical rhetoric, but 'the contribution of the principles of Aristotelian logic is evident in its form, so that a title of a tract may, like Jean de Chalons', read De modo praedicandi et sylogizandi, and preaching be defined as an "exposition of Holy Writ by division and subdivision."² This is a less extreme expression of Chenu's idea of an 'envahissement . . . par la dialectique'.

Murphy sets out to analyse 'the evolutionary process by which the genre came into being',³ and he argues that 'the

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1. Caplan, 'Classical Rhetoric and the Medieval Theory of Preaching', Classical Philology xxviii (1933) p. 87. & Of Eloquence pp. 123-4.
 2. art.cit., Classical Philology (1933) p. 88, & Of Eloquence p. 124.
 3. Cf. Murphy, Rhetoric in the Middle Ages p. 311 note 52. His account of the theory's development is fuller than Roth's Die Mittelalterliche Predigttheorie.

basic elements of this new approach were available outside the universities before they were taken up and popularised by the academics.'¹ The new developments probably originated 'in the intellectual milieu of the non-university schools of the twelfth century.' Murphy makes the point that the earliest tract is by Alexander of Ashby, who had been trained in the Schools.²

We should however note Murphy's implication that the origins of the new form were, if not University, at least academic. He also says that 'The typical ars praedicandi clearly assumes an educated audience for the preacher.'

To this extent he may be aligned with the historians who have worked on the assumption that the world of learning was the proper context of the new sermon form.

Finally, we come to a work which touches on the new sermon form only in passing, but whose interpretation of it deserves special attention. Leclercq's study³ has been left until last, because he comes nearer than any of the other scholars discussed here to reconciling, implicitly at least, the two different views of the new sermon form. For him, the characteristic of the language of the sermons is that it is 'à la fois

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1. op.cit. p. 311.
 2. Cf. R.W. Hunt, 'English Learning in the Late Twelfth Century' T.R.H.S. 4th ser. xix (1936) p. 28; but there is no positive evidence that he was connected with a university. Murphy, op.cit. p. 316. Murphy is not quite consistent about another very early Ars, that of Thomas of Salisbury, for he himself gives evidence that the latter was a university man. Cf. p. 326 with pp. 318-9 & p. 321.
 3. Dom Jean Leclercq, L'Idée de la Royauté du Christ au Moyen Âge (Unam Sanctam 32, Paris 1959.)

artificiel et populaire',¹ and his interpretation might be expressed by the formula that it was both academic and popular. The preachers who used it were used to submitting themselves to rigorous techniques in all spheres - in the way they wrote letters, as well as in the way they taught or lead a discussion. Accustomed to dialectical argument, they easily adapted themselves to the rules of the artes praedicandi.² Nevertheless these rules satisfied practical needs. The divisions and subdivisions allowed for great flexibility in the treatment of the subject,³ and made for clarity.⁴ The 'procédés rythmiques' (rhymes, parallelism et cetera) aided the memory of the preacher and pleased the ears of the listeners.⁵ Later in the study a distinction is drawn between the use of auctoritates in sermons and in scholastic teaching. Preaching differed from theological argument in the schools in that its auctoritates were almost exclusively taken from the Scripture, which was 'mieux connue du peuple'.⁶ Leclercq makes it clear that his analysis of preaching technique applies to sermons which were delivered to the laity in the vernacular - though they were written down in Latin - as well as to sermons meant for clerical audiences.⁷

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1. op.cit. p. 125.
 2. op.cit. p. 125.
 3. op.cit. p. 124.
 4. op.cit. pp. 124-5.
 5. op.cit. p. 125.
 6. op.cit. p. 128.
 7. op.cit. p. 127-8.

By allowing both for the academic background of the new form and for its contribution to popular preaching Leclercq synthesises the two interpretations which have been distinguished in the historiography of the problem. Neither of these views may be set aside as erroneous. The difference in interpretation derives from the ambivalence of the new sermon form itself.

3. The Paradox of the New Sermon Form.

The new sermon form flourished in an academic environment. This holds good both for its early evolution and for the period when it had reached maturity as a genre. Admittedly, it cannot properly be called scholastic if scholasticism is taken to mean the scholastic method - the application of dialectic to scripture and tradition - if only because the syllogism and quaestio are conspicuous by their absence from thirteenth century sermons. Nevertheless it was scholastic in the sense that its development was linked to the rise of the schools and universities.

It is true that St. Bernard and Alexander of Ashby - not university men - made early contributions to the new form's development (in preaching practice and theory respectively), but the steady growth of the form, as opposed to its first beginnings, seems to have owed much to the schools. The distinction technique, out of which the divisions and subdivisions of the new form probably developed, seems to have been much used by academic preachers of the twelfth century, and in particular by Peter Comestor. Distinctiones in the other - related - sense of compilations giving scriptural texts for

different meanings of a term also developed in an academic environment, for the earliest large-scale collections were written by Paris masters.¹

Once it had reached maturity the new sermon form does seem to have become, in a real sense, a university method. In this connection the opening words of Robert de Basevorn's Forma Praedicandi are interesting: 'There are two methods, the French and the English, which are commonly used by modern preachers,² seeing that they come from the two most famous universities.³ In the same chapter Basevorn refers with disapproval to the refinements of the technique, mentioning 'vocal concordances' as an example. The English, he says, are the worst offenders: '. . . such is the vanity of men, especially of the English, that they only care for meretricious brilliance (curiosa) and praise nothing else. . . . For they say immediately: "Now the brother is wandering from his theme"; - I have myself heard it said.'⁴

The formulation of the new method in Artes Praedicandi - that of Robert de Basevorn not excluded - may be described as

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1. v. R. & M. Rouse, 'Biblical Distinctions in the Thirteenth Century' in Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge xli (1974) pp. 29-30.
 2. The text printed by Charland (Artes Praedicandi p. 244) has: 'Inter tamen modernos sunt modi magis usitati, scilicet gallicus et anglicus, . . .' but duo has clearly been omitted by a scribal or printer's error.
 3. 'utpote de duabus magis famosis universitatibus emanentes . . .' Artes Praedicandi loc. cit.
 4. '. . . tanta est vanitas hominum, praecipue anglicorum, quod tantum ad curiosa respiciunt nec alia commendant . . . Dicunt enim statim: Jam frater est extra thema suum; quod ego etiam audivi.' ibid. The phrase 'extra thema suum' might be understood in a more technical sense, for it could be an allusion to the precept that a division of the theme 'extra' was more appropriate for learned audiences than a division 'intra'. For the difference between these two ways of dividing, v. Gilson, Les Idées et les Lettres, p. 113 seqq.

scholastic in a broad sense. Even in the popular tract by Richard of Thetford, which is less elaborate and complicated than many, the language can have an academic and technical character. The following passage comes from his discussion of division:

' . . . Utendum est in predicatione maxime autem hiis duabus, scilicet, generis in species, sive superioris in inferiora vel¹ totius in partes; Quoniam iste due divisiones sunt² magis proprie et magis faciunt rem cognosci. Oppositio autem membrorum sive diversitas, est observanda in divisione.' (MS. Bodley 848 fo. 6^{rb})

It is not surprising that historians have so often invoked scholastic influence. Divisio was after all a branch of logic, and the revival of logic in the schools presumably prepared the ground for the use of divisio in sermons, and above all for the formulation of it in Artes Praedicandi. The passage just quoted reads like something from a logical treatise. It will be remembered that Bacon used the phrase divisiones Porphyrianas in a description of the new form.³

It is worth looking more closely at another of Bacon's diatribes against the new form. It has already been necessary to refer to this more than once, for it is the passage in which Bacon condemns the dependence of the praelati on the quaternos puerorum. The context is his claim that the proper method of preaching is not followed by the vulgus theologorum.

'This form of preaching is not preserved by the mass of theologians, indeed they have gone a long way away from it these days; and because the prelates get little training in theology

1. 'vel' cod. ut.
2. 'sunt' om. cod.
3. Opus Tertium, ed. Brewer, Cap. LXXV, p. 304.

or preaching (as in many other things) while they are studying, therefore when they have become prelates, and they have to take on the task of preaching, they borrow and beg the notebooks of the young friars, who invented the infinitely meretricious method of preaching with divisions and consonances and vocal concordances'¹

Leaving aside Bacon's hostile value judgement, it is clear that he regards the new form as the product of an academic milieu. By the 'young friars' (puerorum) he probably means Franciscans and Dominicans who had not yet obtained the master's degree, but who had reached the stage of giving theological lectures and sermons. It is interesting that the same passage should cast light both on the training of the friars as preachers, and on the diffusion of the new sermon form.

The paradox of the new form is that it belonged to the world of popular preaching as much as to the world of the schools. The vast majority of model sermons from the mid thirteenth century on are constructed according to the new form, and of these, the vast majority were intended for lay congregations. This is one of those facts which cannot be demonstrated exhaustively, not because there is too little evidence, but because there is too much. The difficulty would be to find exceptions: sermon collections for laymen which were not constructed according to the principles of the new form.

1. Roger Bacon, Opus Tertium, ed. Brewer, Cap. LXXV, p. 309.

The most clear cut examples are those where we know from a rubric that the sermon was meant to be preached to laypeople. The third of the 'Illustrative Texts' is one such. It is addressed to cives communiter viventes, and the subject is wealth. An analysis reveals the complexity and symmetry of the framework of divisions and subdivisions. The author, Gilbertus de Tornaco, begins by distinguishing four different kinds of wealth:¹

Sunt etiam temporales.	Sunt spirituales.
Sunt celestes.	Sunt et supercelestes.

De temporalibus . . . Divitie autem temporales licite habentur
quando acquiruntur sine pravitate . . .
Custodiuntur cum humilitate . . .
Sumuntur cum frugalitate et mediocritate . . .
Distribuuntur cum pietate . . .

Divitie etiam temporales periculose possidentur quia sunt
breves et transitorie . . .
Fallaces et deceptorie . . .
Penales et obligatorie . . .
Culpabiles et noxie . . .

Sunt autem breves et transitorie
quia in momento deficiunt . . .
Quia deficientes ad modum sompni cor afficiunt . . .
Quia resoluti post sompnum nichil inveniunt . . .
Quia sicut flos sine fructu preveniunt . . .

Sunt etiam fallaces et deceptorie quia
relinquunt vanitatem in cogitatu . . .
Relinquunt etiam insatiabilitatem in appetitu . . .
Relinquunt etiam cecitatem in intellectu . . .
Quia etiam relinquunt sterilitatem in fructu . . .

1. The analysis is based on the text of the sermon in MS. B.N. Lat. 15943, fols. CXXVI^{ra} - CXXIX^{ra}, which is transcribed as no. 3 of the illustrative texts. Cf. the analyses of sermons by Giordano da Pisa in C. Delcorno's Giordano da Pisa e l'Antica Predicazione Volgare (Firenze 1975) p. 91 seqq.

Sunt etiam penales et obligatorie, quia

obligant possessorem ad dandum elemosinam . . .

Obligant etiam ad dei notitiam . . .

Obligant etiam ad restitutionis iustitiam . . .

Obligant etiam ad precavendum dyaboli astutiam . . .

Non sunt autem tantum obligatorie sed penales, quoniam ardor est in ambiendo, labor in acquirendo, timor in possidendo, dolor in perdendo.

De ardore . . .

De labore . . .

De timore . . .

De dolore . . .

Sunt etiam culpabiles et noxie, quia auferunt a rationali libertatem, a concupiscibili iocunditatem, ab irascibili securitatem, ab omni vi communiter felicitatem

De libertate . . .

De iocunditate . . .

De securitate . . .

De amissione felicitatis . . .

Sunt etiam divitie spirituales . . .

Iste autem sunt iiii.

divitie conscientie . . .

Sunt etiam divitie sapientie . . .

Sunt etiam divitie bone vite quo ad se ipsum . . .

Sunt etiam divitie bone fame quo ad proximum . . .

Sunt etiam divitie celestes . . .

Non sunt autem hee divitie quales mundane, que sunt transitorie et breves. Iste vero perpetue sine defectione. Non deceptorie et fallaces, sed sunt vere sine imperfectione. Non obligatorie et penales, sed melliflue sine afflictione.

Non noxie et culpabiles, sed sincere sine infectione.

Sunt ergo sine defectione . . .

Sunt sine imperfectione . . .

Sunt enim sine afflictione . . .

Sunt etiam sine infectione . . .

Hee sunt plene divitie quia ibi erunt vera plena cognitio, sincera dilectio, perfecta fruitio, continua laudatio.

De primo . . .

De secundo . . .

De tertio . . .

De quarto . . .

Sunt etiam divitie supercelestes . . .

Iste vero sunt in magnificentia potentie, in sapientia providentie, in affluentia misericordie, et magnificentia glorie.

De primo . . .

De secundo . . .

De tertio . . .

De quarto . . .

It would be hard to find a university sermon where rhymed and rhythmic divisions and subdivisions played a much larger part than they do here. With an almost automatic regularity scriptural auctoritates are quoted to confirm the members. Gilbertus gathers together an impressive number of texts containing divitie or related words. Together with the divisions they dominate the sermon. The short section on divitie supercelestes may serve as an example. There are 136 words in it, and if we abstract the words already quoted in the analysis, 109 words are left.¹ Of these, no less than 100 belong to scriptural quotations.² Of the seven auctoritates quoted, all include either the word dives or a form of the word divitie.

Although it is undoubtedly addressed to laypeople, this sermon has all the three features which characterise the new form, and in this it is not exceptional but typical. At first this may seem surprising. The techniques characteristic of the new form were criticised as oversophisticated even in its heyday,³ and though sophistication may be natural in university sermons, it seems less so in collections of model sermons for lay congregations. Nevertheless it is obvious from the number

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1. Counting a number as one word.
 2. I include the references and an 'et cetera'.
 3. Bacon's attacks on the form have already been discussed. Another critic is Humbertus de Romanis (though he may be speaking of excesses rather than the practices per se): 'sunt alii qui student ad dicendum multa: multiplicantes modo membra sermonum, modo distinctiones, modo auctoritates, . . . (he lists other practices): quae valde vitiosa sunt in sermonibus.' De ratione praedicatorum, rima pars, VII, in B. Humberti de Romanis Opera de Vita Seculari, ed. J. Berthier, vol. II, p. 395. Cf. also the remarks on new preaching techniques by Pierre de Baume, discussed by Beryl Smalley, English Friars, p. 42-4.

of surviving manuscripts that many of the model sermon collections in which the new form was adopted were highly successful.

In fact the new form had many advantages, even for popular preachers. The first and most obvious point is that it helped the memory. A schematic framework of divisions and subdivisions would be easy to fix in the mind, especially when it was emphasised by paraph marks. For this there is contemporary testimony. Gilbertus de Tornaco wrote a huge work called the Erudimentum Doctrinae, in which there is a theoretical section on preaching. When discussing the originale principium of division, Gilbertus states that the purpose of the partium divisio is to avoid confusion and help the memory: 'ut cesset confusio et adiuvetur¹ memoria'.² This would hold good for sermons to laypeople as well as for university sermons. The rhymes and rhythms which were used to announce the divisions and subdivisions must also have aided the memory.

The need to establish the preacher's authority may help to explain the practice of confirming every member with a scriptural auctoritas. Lecoy de la Marche quotes a story of Jacques de Vitry: he was disputing against heretics, but could not convince or silence them, even though he cited for them, in language comprehensible to laymen, a multitude of authorities.³ Despite the failure of Jacques de Vitry's

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1. On this word a diacritical mark is displaced in ms.
 2. Gilbertus continues: 'nam facilius retinentur et memorie commendantur et ex diffinitionibus elicitor'. MS. B.N. Lat. 15451 fo. 225 rb.
 3. y. Lecoy de la Marche, La Chaire Française (1886 ed.) pp. 53-4.

arguments, the story suggests that the need to convince the sceptical may have been a reason for the proliferation of scriptural auctoritates. A scriptural text was a quick and economical way of proving a point and impressing an audience. Richard of Thetford recommended that the preacher should confirm every member of a division with an authority 'lest it should appear that in dividing he has invented the members'.¹ It was argued earlier that urban congregations would have included men with quite a respectable education, and preachers might well be expected to give scriptural reasons for their statements.²

The new form had other advantages. Straightforward homilies like those of Maurice de Sully appeal more than sermons of the new genre to modern taste, but if a preacher had to preach on the same reading every year, or give more than one sermon on it on the same day, he would find it hard to give more than one 'simple homily' without repeating himself a great deal. If the new form was used, on the other hand, the same Gospel reading could be the starting point for a good many different sermons. There would be less risk of repetition than with Maurice de Sully's method. For the friars, who preached regularly and frequently, this must have been a great help.

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1. 'Facta autem divisione conveniens est de unoquoque membro auctoritatem afferre, ne dividens videatur membra finxisse.' MS. Bodley 848 fo. 6^{va}.
 2. For scriptural texts as 'reasons', y. E. Gilson, 'De Quelques Raisonnements Scripturaires usités au moyen âge' in Les Idées et les Lettres pp. 155-169.

One of the least obvious but most important of the new form's functions was to facilitate compression. The sermon from Legifer on the text Estote misericordes is in effect a highly compressed summary sermon. We saw that if the rhyming divisions and authorities were removed there would be little of the sermon left. The divisions and authorities are in fact a skeleton on the written page, to which a preacher would give flesh and blood when he turned it into living speech.

The new form made the task of abbreviating a sermon simple: nothing easier than to keep the divisions and authorities and leave out the rest. To abridge a long sermon would be an almost mechanical procedure, and of course a collection of model sermons could be and often was kept to these bare essentials from the beginning, so that there was no need to abridge further. Such sermons make dry reading, but they were tools to be used rather than literary productions. They belong to a period when preaching had become professionalised.

They were also ideally suited to itinerant preaching, for a large number of them could be fitted into a small pocket book. In an early part of this study the example of a sermon occupying a space of only 5cm. x 4.3cm. was cited.¹ It consists of little but rhymed headings and authorities to confirm them. It might in fact be described as an example of the new form in its pure state, and there are many other sermons like it in the manuscript. Short schematic sermons of this kind are often found in books of pocket format, and such books contain much more preaching material than might have been possible with a more diffuse genre. Itinerant friars needed to economise space in their tiny books, and the new sermon form made it easier for them to do so.

1. The sermon is on fo. 29ra of MS. B.N. N.A.L. 270.

Conclusions

The revival of popular preaching was paralleled by a major change in the way sermons were put together, which amounted to the creation of a new genre. The essential characteristics of the genre were defined as rhymed divisions, and authorities to confirm each important member. Two types of preaching aid which contributed to the revival of popular preaching also helped to bring the new form to maturity. However, this is a secondary aspect of the relation between the two changes. More important is the fact that the new form was almost always adopted in the model sermon collections on which popular preachers relied. This is somewhat paradoxical, for historians have often and with some justice emphasised the scholastic and academic character of the new form. In fact the new form may have been better adapted to the needs of popular preachers than it might seem to be, especially when we remember that lay congregations in the towns would by this time have included an educated element. At any rate it is clear that the new form left a deep mark on the popular preaching of the friars.

It will not have escaped notice that this is relevant to a problem raised earlier. The conclusion that university sermons and collations prepared the elite of the friars for popular preaching rests on the hypothesis that the two kinds of preaching were basically alike. We have now seen that they shared the same distinctive form,¹ and that the form had advantages outside an academic context as well as within it. So far as form is concerned, then, the hypothesis is justified. This however is only a part of the answer, for the whole problem of content remains to be considered.

1. Differences, such as the use of divisions 'extra' for the people and 'intra' for the clergy, are relatively minor.

III. CONDITIONS OF MEN:

The Problem of Audience and Content.

The rise of popular preaching and the towns created a sermon-hearing public with new problems and interests. A friar who was used to university preaching would go on to preach to a lay public whose way of life and preoccupations differed considerably from those of masters and students of theology. In general, a university congregation would have only an academic interest in such problems as the legitimacy of trade and wealth, the ethics of secular legal practice, the political theory of town government, and the duties and obligations of married life, while for the more pious of the urban laity these problems would be pressing and real.

In a study of the revival of popular preaching one is bound to ask how far these differences affected the content of the sermons, and it will be argued that preachers had at their disposal model sermons whose content was specially adapted, and not without success, to the needs of the new audience. In the light of the interpretation suggested by the first part of this study this leads us again to the question of the relation between academic and popular preaching, which must this time be considered from the point of view of content. It will become clear that the same paradox holds good for content as for form: the model sermons contrived to be popular, yet they differed surprisingly little from those preached to university congregations. In the case of content, however, the explanations only partly overlap with those advanced in the previous chapter.

The content of both popular and academic sermons was pastoral in character. It was not so much designed to solve problems as to save souls. There were large areas where the pastoral needs of clergy and laity overlapped, and areas where they did not. In so far as they did, the substance of university sermons was directly useful to popular preachers. When they did not, preachers had at their disposal a special genre, the Ad status sermons, which gave them material specifically adapted to a wide variety of sorts and conditions of men. The existence of this specialised genre may help explain why other kinds of model sermons differed so little from university preaching. They could concentrate on the aspects of faith and morals which all Christians needed to know.

The Ad status genre goes back at least to the 12th century. There is a "Sermo Generalis" in the Speculum Ecclesiae of Honorius Augustodunensis, which contains, in a small space, the germs of the great thirteenth century collections. At the beginning of this sermon, Honorius promises to say how rich men, poor men, serfs, men or women can obtain the joys of heaven.¹ He then launches straight into the sermon, which is divided up under headings: Ad sacerdotes; Ad iudices; Ad divites; Ad pauperes; Ad milites; Ad mercatores; Ad agricolas; and Ad conjugatos. Under each heading there is an address to people in that state of life.² They are straightforward and effective; one could perfectly well imagine their being preached.

1. P.L. 172 col. 861.

2. At the end of the sermon there is a section which appears to be more generally applicable.

Honorius mixes warnings with a certain amount of encouragement, and includes an exemplum in most of the addresses. In his address to merchants, for instance, he begins with admonition - they should not be too preoccupied with profit, should not cheat, et cetera - then seems to try to win them by a complimentary description of their contribution to society. Merchants are the servants of all nations, and brave all sorts of dangers to supply them with necessities.¹ Therefore all peoples are in debt to them, and ought to repay their labour with prayers.² He then tells an exemplum of a hermit who was told by a divine voice that he had not yet earned so great a reward as a certain merchant. Eventually the hermit persuaded the merchant to become a hermit himself.

The next important set of Ad status addresses is that of Alanus de Insulis, who includes a number of model sermons to different sorts and conditions of men in his Summa de Arte Praedicatoria. There are addresses to, among others, knights,³ princes and judges,⁴ and married people.⁵ Like the models in the Sermo Generalis of Honorius, they are fairly brief.

These two sets of short addresses were forerunners of three much more ambitious collections of Ad status sermons:⁶

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1. P.L. 172 col. 865. (When Honorius wrote a "merchant class" was still something relatively new, and their way of life could really be dangerous.)
 2. "Itaque omnes gentes debitores sunt vestro labore orationes reddere" (sic in P.L.) loc. cit.
 3. P.L. 210 cols. 185-7.
 4. op.cit. cols. 188-9.
 5. op.cit. cols. 193-4.
 6. Lecoy de la Marche, op.cit. (1886) p. 276-77 lists another ad status collection, (in B.N. ms.lat.16514), but to judge from the incipits and explicitis the model addresses in question are from the Summa de Arte Praedicatoria of Alanus de Insulis.

those of **Jacobus de Vitriaco**, **Humbertus de Romanis**, and **Gilbertus de Tornaco**. Each was a remarkable figure in his way.

The career of **Jacobus de Vitriaco** belongs to the first half of the 13th century (he lived from 1180 to 1254¹). In an earlier chapter we used his Historia Occidentalis for its account of **Fulk de Neuilly's** preaching revival. As well as a vivid historian, **Jacobus de Vitriaco** was an outstandingly successful preacher in his own right, to judge from a tribute by **Étienne de Bourbon**.² He was one of the group which anticipated **St. Dominic** by preaching against the **Cathars**, and also one of the most important crusade preachers. He himself spent much of his life in the Latin Kingdom, and was able to begin one of his exempla with the words "I heard, when I was in Outremer...".³ The exemplum in question comes from his Ad status collection, the "Sermones Vulgares". It is on a far more ambitious scale than those of **Honorius** or **Alanus de Insulis**, for it covers a much wider range of status, does not confine itself to one sermon for each of them, and amounts to a big book.⁴

Humbert of Romans was born at the end of the 12th century, and died in 1277 at **Valence**.⁵ He joined the **Dominican Order** in 1224 (by which time he had already become a master of the University of **Paris**) and was for a period the **General** of the order.

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1. **J.B. Schneyer**, Geschichte der katholischen Predigt (Freiburg 1969) p. 133.
 2. **v. Lecoy de la Marche** La Chaire Francaise (1886) p. 53.
 3. **Ed. J.B. Pitra**, Analecta Novissima: Spicilegii Solesmensis Altera Continuatio tom. II, TUSCULANA (Typis Tusculanis MDCCCLXXXVIII, republished 1967 by Gregg Press Ltd.) p. 455.
 4. For the career and works of **Jacobus de Vitriaco** qua preacher, **v. Lecoy de la Marche**, op.cit., pp. 53-59, & **Schneyer**, op.cit., pp. 133-4.
 5. Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, Band 5, col. 533.

The addresses in his Ad status collection (which went together with a treatise on homiletics) are not a set of finished sermons, but of preaching materials. Instead of a Biblical text, a characteristic beginning is "Notandum, quod . . .", though he regularly suggests a text, for the "theme" of a sermon, at the end of a section. The collection includes material for categories so specialised as "scholares de cantu", "studentes in medicina", and even "mulieres meretrices".

Gilbertus de Tornaco, or Guibert de Tournai, author of the third Ad status collection, is less well known today than either Jacobus de Vitriaco or Humbertus de Romanis, but he was not a minor figure in his own day. The date of his birth is uncertain; it has been argued that the terminus ante quem is 1213, and probably even earlier.¹ His memory was celebrated by an epitaph,² which begins with the words:

O vas munditiae, septemplicis arca sophiae
Cultor iustitiae, professor theologiae

Gilbertus once began a reminiscence with the words "Memini me cum regerem Parisiis in Theologia",³ so he was indeed a "professor theologiae". It seems that he taught theology both before and after his conversion to the Franciscan Order, though it does not seem certain that he was Magister Regens in the theological faculty in the first of these periods of teaching.⁴ It has

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1. v. E. Bonifacio (ed.) Gilberto di Tournai, DE MODO ADDISCENDI, Pubblicazioni del Pontificio Ateneo Salesiano, I, Testi e Studi sul Pensiero Medioevale (Torino 1953) p. 9.
 2. v. P. Ephrem Longpré, O.F.M., Tractatus de Pace (Ad Claras Aquas 1925), p. XV-XVI.
 3. cited by Bonifacio, op.cit., p. 13.
 4. In a passage which has been taken to refer to his "conversion" to the Franciscan Order, Gilbertus uses the words "...postquam, divina favente gratia, Parisius valedixi cathedrae magistrali et theologiae lectioni,..." theologiae lectioni probably refers to theological teaching, rather than simply to theological studies. He need not have been teaching as a master of theology, however: the cathedrae magistrali may refer to

(continued over)

been argued that Gilbertus became a Franciscan at some point in the period c. 1235 - c. 1240.¹

He seems to have attracted attention in high quarters. His Eruditio regum et principum was written at the request of Louis IX himself,² and Pope Alexander IV wrote asking for a good copy of a collection of his sermons (not the Ad status series).³ As well as his sermon collections Gilbertus wrote a variety of works, ranging from a life of St. Eleutherius to the massive, encyclopedic Erudimentum Doctrinae.⁴

These Ad status collections seem to provide a solution, almost too easy a solution, to the problem of how content was adapted to the new lay public. In fact they must be used with caution. To begin with, the sermons to lay status may not have been preached as complete sermons, for most lay congregations would have been composed of laymen and women from more than one walk of life.⁵ The preachers themselves may have used the sermons as quarries, rather than ready-made sermons. This in itself is not a serious objection, for the sermons could still represent the basic repertoire of material from which a preacher would draw remarks for different types of listeners. A more serious objection is that these are only three collec-

footnote 5 continued from previous page:

his position as master of arts. The question of when, precisely, Gilbertus was "magister actu regens in facultate theologica" is reviewed by Bonifacio (op.cit. p. 12-13); his own conclusions seem disputable. On the general chronology of Gilbertus' teaching career, v. Longpré, op.cit. p. VIII seqq.; A. Callebaut, O.F.M., A.F.H.XII (1919) p. 300; L. Baudry, Wibert de Tournai, Revue d'histoire franciscaine, tom. 5^e (1928) pp. 24 seqq.; & Bonifacio, op.cit. pp. 9-10.

1. Longpré, op.cit. p. IX.

2. Bonifacio, op.cit. p. 10.

3. ibid.

4. For Gilbertus' works and their chronology, v. Bonifacio, op.cit. pp. 13-20.

5. Lecoy de la Marche, La Chaire Française, (1886) p. 277.

tions out of the very large number which survive from the period. What guarantee is there that the material in them was used, or that sermons like them were preached?

Internal evidence, the actual content of a sermon, can sometimes offer a kind of guarantee. If a sermon seems outstandingly well adapted to the class of hearers for which it was designed, common sense suggests that it is more than a literary set piece. A good example is Humbertus de Romanis' sermon "Ad Laicos in villis".¹ It is clearly aimed at what we would call peasants. Humbert starts by comparing different ways of making a living. There are some whose means of support is sin: usury, theft, lies, et cetera. They, for the most part, are the rich men of this world.² Woe to those who live by such food, for it is poisoned. There are others, whose means of support is just, but who do not live by their own labour. They live from the labour of peasants (agricolarum), and while the peasants work for them, they remain at leisure; they, for the most part, are clerics and members of religious orders, and rich men,³ and therefore they often come to commit grave crimes (Humbert indicates by a quotation that he means pride, gluttony, and the like). There are others, however, who live by their own just labour, and these are the peasants who live in villages.

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1. Humbertus de Romanis, De Eruditione Praedicatorum lib. 2, Tractatus I, LXXVIII Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum tom. 25 (Lugduni MDCLXXVII) pp. 494-5.
 2. ". . . isti pro magna parte sunt diuites mundi saeculares." op.cit. p. 494.
 3. ". . . isti pro magna parte sunt clerici, & religiosi, ac diuites, . . ." ibid.

This, says Humbert, is the life which we were put in the world to lead (he quotes Genesis 3(23): "The Lord sent forth Adam from the paradise of pleasure, to work the land from which he was raised".) Furthermore, in the early Church the apostle Paul worked with his own hands, and taught others that they should do so (these points are reinforced by more quotations, this time from the New Testament). It was also the life that the desert fathers lived.

The life of labour is a penance imposed on man from the beginning ("in the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread"). Again, it is an activity which preserves man from many sins, which he would commit if he were idle, just as weeds (herbas malas) grow in land when it is left idle.

The list of reasons continues. The scriptural authorities cited have a straightforward bearing on the points they are proving, and they look as though they could have been understood by an ordinary rural audience.

Humbert recognised that not all peasants would view their life in this idealistic light. If their way of life is to be pleasing to God, he says, they should not mutter at Him (murmurare contra Deum) because he made them poor men, and workers. He says that many curse the day they were born, because they were born to this labour.

A little more about their obligations follows: they should take care not to have "some malice" in them, which would make their life unacceptable to God, as happened with Cain (the "primus agricola"). They should come to Church, and, according to their means, pay their dues to their churches

and their lords,¹ and give away what little they could afford.

Most of the rest of the sermon is taken up with a lengthy exemplum. Humbert develops his earlier theme, that a peasant can achieve a high state of holiness.² A demoniac was brought to a hermit, in the hope that the hermit's prayers would drive the devil out. A peasant also came to visit the hermit, to whom he was bringing part of his crop. The hermit prayed but the devil did not leave the possessed man; in the end the farmer prayed, and the devil did leave the demoniac, saying to the hermit that he had been driven out by the prayers of the peasant, and not because of the hermit himself.

The hermit asked the peasant discreetly about the kind of life he led. The latter replied that he was a peasant, that he lived by his labour; by the grace of God he had never had intercourse with any woman except his wife. He had kept from harming his neighbour, and he had never allowed his oxen to go across another person's field without putting something in their mouths to prevent them from eating what did not belong to him. Every morning, before he went to work, he stopped at the Church to pray, and he did so again on the way back, thanking God for everything which had happened during the day.

Humbert comments that more of such men seem to be saved, than of any other sort of laymen. He ends by giving a text from which a sermon of this kind could start, and showing how it might begin.

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1. ". . . reddendo Ecclesiis & dominis debita de substantia sua secundum possibilitatem suam, . . ." op.cit. p. 495.
 2. "Quam accepta autem fit Deo talium bona vita, patet ex libro Collationum, vbi dicitur, . . ." (the exemplum follows).

Sometimes there is another kind of guarantee, in what we know of the author's career. For instance, we know that Jacobus de Vitriaco was a more than usually successful crusade preacher. His Sermones Vulgares include sermons to Crusaders; the very fact that he was himself especially successful with this kind of preaching itself suggests that in these sermons, at least, he would have known what he was talking about. The probability is that he would have known the kind of crusading sermon that got results, and that his model Crusade sermons, would follow the lines of the sermons which he knew had worked for himself and others in the past. Even so we should try to test this external guarantee against the internal evidence of the sermons' content, though here, as with Humbert's sermon to village labourers, one has to fall back on a sense of the possible, a judgement about what does or what does not look as though it could have been preached.

This is not always easy to decide, for different features of a sermon have to be weighed before one can decide whether or not it is too clever or too literary to represent the reality of successful preaching. Jacobus de Vitriaco's sermon on the text "Levate signum in Sion, confortamini, et nolite stare"¹ is a case in point, and a good illustration of the problems of judging whether a model sermon stands for more than itself - whether it is just a literary construction.

1. I have used the text printed by Pitra, op.cit. p. 422-430 (Sermo XLVIII, ad cruce signatos vel cruce signandos). Pitra implies that he is printing the complete sermon, rather than extracts.

Some parts of the sermon are straightforward, and seem effective even at the first reading. There is for instance the passage¹ which takes St. Paul's "Mihi absit gloriari, nisi in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi" as its starting point. Jacobus explains and develops the Apostle's meaning: some boast about their power (in potentia honoris), others about their noble ancestry, their personal beauty, their physical strength, their ability to run fast, their skill as speakers; but we - Jacobus re-echoes St. Paul - should boast about the cross of Our Lord Jesus Christ; for anyone who sees within him the strength of the cross (crucis virtutem intrinsecus intuetur), has a right to make it his boast. Therefore crusaders, who are girded for the service of Christ after truly repenting of their sins and confessing them, when they die in the service of Christ, are truly held to be martyrs, freed from both their venial and their mortal sins, and from every penance which has been imposed on them; they are absolved from the punishment of sins in this world, and from the punishment of purgatory in the other; they are safe from the torments of Hell, and they are crowned with glory and honour in eternal blessedness.

It does not take too great an effort of imagination to appreciate the appeal of this passage and others like for an audience of knights, especially since Jacobus points out that they can earn spiritual benefits for their families and

. The passage I paraphrase runs from "ac si diceret: . . ." (op.cit. p. 425) to ". . . coronati in aeterna beatitudine." (op.cit. p. 426).

relations, living or dead, as well as for themselves.¹ Then, of course, Jacobus was a master of the exemplum, and he uses them to good effect in this crusade sermon. He tells two, one from the remote past (it is a Charlemagne story),² the other from his personal experience.

In the latter, Jacobus relates an incident that took place when he was preaching the crusade himself. A certain man had been persuaded by his wife not to come to the sermon with the others. Out of curiosity, however, he began to watch what was going on through the window (Jacobus seems to imply that the sermon was in the open air - probably a public square - for he says that the man was watching from the 'upper room', presumably of his own house.³). He listened to the sermon, and heard the terms of the indulgence,^{and} that, by a short effort, penance in this world and punishment in purgatory would be remitted, the punishment of hell escaped, and the kingdom of heaven won; he was filled with remorse and inspired by God, and was the first to take the cross. Because he was afraid of his wife, who had closed the door and was watching to make sure that he didn't come out, he had to jump out of the window and into the crowd to "come to the cross".⁴

Apart from being a good story this exemplum is a clever piece of practical psychology: Jacobus realised that the wives

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1. 'Unde nullomodo dubitetis, quod non solum vobis ad remissionem peccatorum et aeternae vitae praemium valet haec peregrinatio, sed in uxoribus, filiis, parentibus, tam vivis quam defunctis, multum proderit quidquid feceritis boni in hac vita pro ipsis.' op.cit. p. 426.
 2. op.cit. p. 430.
 3. "Caepit tamen quasi ex curiositate de solarario per fenestram inspicere, . . ." op.cit. p. 428.
 4. Note the economy of Jacobus' narrative technique: ". . . ipse valde compunctus et a Deo inspiratus, timens uxorem quae ostium clauserat, et ne egrederetur, observabat, per fenestram in turbam exsilivit, et ipse primus ad crucem venit." op.cit. p.428-9.

of potential crusaders were likely to be very effective counter-propagandists, and he did his best to neutralise their influence in advance. He has more to say on the same lines: ". . . it is a very good thing to take the cross in the presence of everyone and to induce others to do so by your good example, especially since a good impulse quickly grows cold, and the Devil suppresses a good resolution by means of a wife or worldly friends."¹ He continues: "When you were in the habit of committing sins, you didn't accept advice about doing evil. Why then are you afraid to accept the cross openly, so that you may throw the Devil into confusion in front of everybody? . . . You did not accept advice from your wives about going to the Devil. Why do you look for advice about going to God?"²

The impact of such passages is not too hard to understand. On the other hand the earlier part of the sermon is not so obviously well attuned to its audience, and it is not so easy to decide whether it is typical of successful crusade preaching. In these opening passages the approach is highly symbolic, and very scriptural. For example: "Therefore the Lord says, Isaiah 49 'Behold I will lift up my hand to the nations, and I will raise up my sign to the peoples'. He lifted up his hands to the nations, when he stretched them out on the cross, as it is written: 'The lifting of hands, an evening sacrifice'.

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1. ". . . valde bonum est coram cunctis crucem accipere et alios bono exemplo invitare, maxime quia bona voluntas cito refrigescit, et Diabolus per uxorem vel per saeculares amicos bonum propositum frequenter extinguit." op.cit. p. 429.
 2. "Quando peccata facere solebatis, de malo faciendo non accipiebatis consilium. Quare ergo verecundamini accipere crucem in aperto, ut confundatis Diabolum coram omnibus? . . . Non accipiebatis consilium ab uxoribus eundi ad Diabolum. Quare expectatis consilium eundi ad Deum?" op.cit. p. 429.

For today he lifts and puts up his hands, when he extends his cross to you through his preachers, and therefore (it is said in) the last chapter of Isaiah: 'They will see my glory, and I will put on them a sign'.¹

At first sight this rich Biblical imagery looks more suitable for clerics than crusaders. It might be taken to support the view that the sermon is a literary construct rather than a representative of actual crusade preaching. Here we have to weigh the internal evidence of the sermon and the little we know of the culture of the class of listeners to which it was ostensibly directed; we should remember that the knightly and noble class, from which the most important element of a crusading army would be drawn, would not have been composed exclusively of backwoods barons; we know, moreover, that epics like the Quest of the Holy Grail were popular with the same knightly class, and this kind of literature would have accustomed many knights both to allegory and to scriptural allusions. The figurative interpretations in Jacobus' sermon seem less inappropriate to a knightly audience when compared with passages like the following:²

'In the black bird that came to visit you we should see Holy Church who said: "I am black, but beautiful: know that my black hues are better worth than others' whiteness." The white bird shaped like a swan denotes the enemy, and I will tell you how this is. The swan is white without and black within, it is the hypocrite, who is fair-hued and pale and who gives every outward sign of being among the servants of Jesus Christ: but inwardly he is so black and hideous with the sludge of sin that he deceives the world most grossly.'

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1. 'Unde Dominus Is. XLIV: "Ecce levabo ad gentes manum meam, et exaltabo ad populos signum meum". Manus suas ad gentes levavit, dum eas in cruce extendit, sicut scriptum est: "Elevatio manuum, sacrificium vespertinum". Hodie enim manum suam elevat et erigit, dum per praedicatores suos crucem vobis porrigit, unde ultimo Is. "Videbunt gloriam meam, et ponam in eis signum".' op.cit. p. 422-3.
 2. The Quest of the Holy Grail translated by P. Matarasso (Penguin Classics 1969) p. 197-8. Cf. also op.cit. Introduction, p. 21.

The internal evidence of the sermons themselves, the personal success of the author at particular kinds of preaching, and the cultural level of the class of listeners for whom he intends a given sermon, are three of the considerations which help us decide whether Ad status sermons give a realistic picture of preaching to the various classes of laymen. Another criterion, valuable if applied in conjunction with the others, is the popularity of the collection, so far as we can estimate it from a count of the surviving manuscripts. The manuscript count is, obviously enough, only an approximate index of the diffusion of a work. One could not infer much about the relative popularity of two works if one survived in five manuscripts and another in seven, for example. When one work is represented by several times more manuscripts than another, on the other hand, the difference begins to look significant.

If a sermon collection can be shown to have been very popular, the simplest explanation is that the model sermons it contains were found useful: which is to say, that they were preached, and perhaps preached often. From this point of view the collection of Gilbertus de Tornaco, which at first sight looks less interesting than either of the other two large thirteenth century collections, assumes a new importance. Thus Jacobus de Vitriaco, from whom Gilbertus borrows material repeatedly and almost word for word, was apparently far less popular than the man he influenced. Schneyer's Repertorium lists 15 manuscripts of the Ad status collection of Jacobus; for Gilbertus' he gives some 60 manuscripts. Even if we were to assume that all the manuscripts of Jacobus' collection give

complete texts of the work, and that many of the manuscripts of Gilbertus' collection do not, we would still be left with a very striking difference. The manuscripts of the Ad status section of Humbertus de Romanis' De Eruditione Praedicatorum are not listed in Schneyer's Repertorium, nor in the handlists of Artes Praedicandi compiled by Caplan and Charland.¹ Longpré, (a weighty authority in this field) stated that the Ad status collection of Gilbertus is found in manuscripts far more often than the sermons of either Jacobus or Humbertus.²

There is another indication of the popularity of Gilbertus' Ad status collection: an entry on the Paris tax list of 1304.³ This proves that there the work was much in demand, and that copies of it were being produced quickly and efficiently to meet the demand, for the whole purpose of the tax list was to regulate the rapid production of the books which were most used. The collections of Jacobus and Humbertus do not appear on the tax list. Thus everything suggests that Gilbertus' collection was much more used than the others, and this in itself means that, on the whole, it is a better guide to the realities of preaching.

For this reason it is worth looking a little more closely at some of Gilbertus' Ad status sermons. Not all have an equal

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1. All three scholars devote a section to Humbertus de Romanis.
 2. "Haec compilatio ((the ad status sermons)) necnon et alii sermones Gilberti de Tornaco magni habiti fuerunt medio aevo; multo frequentius in codicibus inveniuntur quam sermones celebriorum praedicatorum saec.XIII, videlicet Alani de Insulis, Jacobi de Vitriaco et Humberti de Romanis O.P." Longpré, op.cit.p.xxii-xxiii. This selection of authors would seem to imply that Longpré has Ad status collections in mind (which suggests that for this purpose he counted the Ad status material in the "De Eruditione Praedicatorum" of Humbertus as "sermones").
 3. "In Sermonibus Gilberti "Ad status", lxxj peciasiii sol" Denifle, Chartularium no. 638 (vol. 2, p. 109).

bearing on the subject in hand: Many of them, for instance, are addressed to different sorts of clerical audience, and are not immediately relevant. Again, the collection includes a series of sermons on the sacraments, and other sermons which do not fall into the Ad status category, strictly defined; though interesting in their own right, they do not have the special advantage of a true Ad status collection: a rubric which says clearly what social group the material was meant for.

In fact, however, it would be beyond the scope of this study to give proper coverage to all Gilbertus' Ad status sermons, and it is necessary to make a selection even from those which ^{were} explicitly addressed to a particular class of laymen. There is much to be said for singling out one reasonably homogeneous group for detailed treatment. A convenient set are the sermons directed to different status within the upper bourgeoisie.

The upper bourgeoisie of the towns would be composed mainly of merchants, lawyers, perhaps some others with incomes from property inside, or land outside the city, and also of course their wives. The rulers of the city would normally be drawn from members of this class. Gilbertus addresses sermons to all these "states of life": to lawyers, to merchants, to "citizens living in communes", to the men who governed cities, and to wives.

At this point a problem of a technical nature arises. The main justification for discussing Gilbertus' collection in detail is its popularity. Provided that the internal evidence

of the sermons themselves is used as a control, the very fact that the work was so widely diffused indicates that it gives a reasonable picture of the realities of preaching. It is representative because it was influential. In the later Middle Ages it was even printed, and several times. The problem is that all the sermons we have singled out, except the sermons to lawyers and the third of the sermons to wives, are omitted in at least some of the printed editions (all those that I have been able to examine). The authenticity of the sermons which are omitted from editions (to merchants, to citizens living in communes, et cetera) is guaranteed by their inclusion in at least one early and reasonably good manuscript (B.N. Lat. 15943), but one manuscript cannot guarantee that they were widely diffused. If the sermons in question are left out of printed editions, there is a possibility that they are missing in some or many manuscripts as well, which would undermine the argument from the manuscript count.

It is therefore important to show that the sermons in question were in fact widely diffused, and this may be done from a Peterhouse (Cambridge) manuscript. The manuscript is Peterhouse 200; it contains a text of the Ad status sermons, in handwriting which M.R. James dated to the fourteenth century. It contains the "missing" sermons.¹

1. The sermon to citizens engaged in public affairs (on the text "Estote imitatores dei . . .") begins fo. 74vb. (I cite the medieval foliation, which begins after fo. 62 of the modern foliation, which ceases at that point.) The sermon to citizens living in communes (text: "Qui amat divicias fructum non capiet ex eis") begins fo. 76va. The first of the two sermons to merchants (text: "Negotiamini dum venio") begins fo. 79ra. The first of the sermons on marriage (text: "Monebant parentes . . .") begins fo. 86vb. (In this ms. the third sermon to wives appears to be merged into the second).

Their presence in this particular manuscript has a special significance, for the following reason: on folio 42 recto,¹ at the head of the page at the right hand side, is written: "xvii pec' ". On folio 35 recto¹ there is a similar mark: "xiiii pec' ". It has already been noted that the Ad status sermons of Gilbertus are listed on the Paris "pecia" tax list of 1304, and in the light of these indications in Peterhouse 200 it is overwhelmingly probable that the manuscript was copied from a pecia exemplar; if so, the missing sermons were in the exemplar, which is itself a reasonable guarantee that they were quite widely diffused.

Before examining the sermons to the various classes of the upper bourgeoisie in detail, some other difficulties must be faced. Though the rubrics are explicit about the nature of the audiences for which the various sermons are intended, certain questions remain. The sermons "To Judges and Lawyers" pose the greatest problem, for here Gilbertus sometimes seems to be concerned with Canon rather than civil law, which would of course rob the sermons of much of their value as evidence of the content of preaching to the new lay public.

Some passages make little sense unless Gilbertus has Canon lawyers in mind. Thus Gilbertus at one point attacks those who are prepared to unite couples in "illicit" marriages, and separate couples whose marriages are perfectly valid.²

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1. Medieval foliation.
 2. "Inde est quod frequenter iungunt matrimonia illicita et separant licita . . ." Ms. B.N. Lat. 15943 fo. LXXXIIra.

Later, when Gilbertus says that some lawyers follow "electiones" for the sake of the litigation they involve just as vultures follow armies for the sake of corpses, he would seem to be referring to ecclesiastical (probably episcopal) elections.¹ In another place he attacks abuses on the part of bishops and archdeacons, whom he accuses of abusing their powers of sealing wills and deeds of sale,² and of granting licences to preachers.³ The natural conclusion is that Gilbertus is addressing himself to canon lawyers. However, this need not mean that the sermons are for them alone; there is no reason why they should not be for civil lawyers as well. The fact that the rubric speaks of lawyers and judges in general, without specifying canon lawyers, supports this interpretation. There is also internal evidence which points in the same direction: a passage in which Gilbertus says that lawyers must have the right status, which excludes monks, and the right gradus, for which reason men in Holy Orders are in many places forbidden to act as lawyers.⁴

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1. ". . . sicut vultures sequuntur exercitus propter cadavera, (supple: sic) et isti advocati electiones propter litigia." B.N. Lat. 15943 fo. LXXXXIIIIrb. (The scribe appears to have written LXXXXV, then altered this number.)
 2. "Constituunt enim hodie quidam quod tantum accipiatur pro litteris simplicibus, tantum pro recognitione, et huiusmodi, pro libito suo, ita quod si apponerat (sic) episcopi vel archidiaconi sigilla sua in testamento alicuius vel in aliqua venditione, de qualibet libra volunt tantum habere, cum et in pergameno et in cera et in sigillo et in scriptura notarii non plus ponderent centum marche quam centum denarii" B.N. Lat. 15943 fo. LXXXXIIva-vb.
 3. "Sequitur in auctoritate: Socii furum, quia dum excedunt in exhibendo litteras suas participant pretium et animant eos ad iniuste acquirendum, sicut est videre in questuariis predicatoribus qui multo pretio obtinent litteras prelatorum." ibid (col. B).
 4. "Similiter quantum ad advocatos suos ut non sint persone infames sed . . . habeant etiam conditionem status propter quod removentur monachi. Habeant ydoneitatem gradus, propter quod prohibentur advocare in multis locis in sacris ordinibus constituti." B.N. Lat 15943 fo. LXXXXIIIvb.

The audience of the sermon "Ad cives rei publice vacantes" may also seem ambiguous at first. Much of the content would have been applicable to anyone in authority, and the beginning of the sermon, taken in isolation, might be understood to refer to nobles or knights holding public office. The decisive facts, however, are that the rubric of the sermon is addressed to "cives", and that in the sermon itself Gilbertus makes it clear that he is writing for "rectores civitatum".¹ In this context the natural meaning of civitas would have been "city" or "town". The best evidence is the use of the words civis and civitas in the Collectio de Scandalis Ecclesiae, for its modern editor has argued that Gilbertus himself was almost certainly the author.² This work includes a section which begins with the words "Sunt etiam cives in civitatibus reformandi . . ." and it soon becomes clear that the author is talking of people living in towns and cities. Among the evils to be found in civitate he includes usury and fraud.³ When he speaks of laymen banding together to make laws which conflict with canon law, he seems to emphasise that the threat came from collectivities; the whole tenor of the passage suggests sworn city communes, and urban "liberties", rather than Royal or princely courts.⁴ Again, Gilbertus cannot be speaking of the knightly class, for he

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1. "Vocat enim dominus istos rectores civitatum ut audiant predicationis verbum et sciant regere seipsos." B.N. Lat.15943 fo.CXXIIIIVa.
 2. P. Autbertus Stroick, 'Verfasser und Quellen der Collectio de Scandalis Ecclesiae (Reformschrift des Fr. Gilbert von Tournay O.F.M. zum II. Konzil von Lyon, 1274)', A.E.H., xxiii (1930), 3-41, 273-99, 433-66; & 'COLLECTIO DE SCANDALIS ECCLESIAE, Nova Editio', A.E.H. xxiv (1931) 33-62, esp.33: "Eiusdem auctorem quasi certum habemus Gilbertum Tornacensem O.F.M."
 3. ". . . usuram in mutuacione pecuniarum, . . . dolum in fraude circumventium" A.E.H. xxiv (1931) p. 60.
 4. "Ibi conspiratores, dum quasi spinae sese invicem complectuntur ad impugnandum Ecclesiae libertatem, . . . Et cum
/continued overleaf.

implicitly contrasts his cives with milites: he says that the former usurp the knights' jurisdiction over their own men, whom they keep "on the pretext of liberty".¹ His accusation that cives defend heretics,² and attend the law courts on Sundays and Feastdays,³ all help build up a picture of an urban milieu. If the word cives refers to members of the new urban class in this work, which is almost certainly by Gilbertus himself, in a context so similar to the Ad status sermon, there can be little doubt that the word means the same in the sermon itself. Further, Gilbertus must be addressing himself to the upper strata of the urban class, for as a general rule only the more successful men would have held office.

"Ad cives communiter viventes" can probably be translated as "To citizens living in Communes"; here too it becomes clear that Gilbertus is addressing the upper bourgeoisie. The text of the sermon is "Qui amat divicias fructum non capiet ex eis", the subject of the sermon is wealth, so Gilbertus is certainly writing for prosperous men. Indeed, both this sermon and the one that precedes it were probably intended for the same sort of people, though Gilbertus is concerned with different aspects of their lives.

The same may be said of the two sermons which follow, which addressed "To merchants". We are probably right to assume that

footnote 4 continued from p. 154.

excommunicationis sententia lata sit in eos, qui statuta faciunt contra ecclesiasticam libertatem, pauci sunt in civitatibus maiores, qui non sint hac sententia innodati." ibid.

1. "Auferunt militibus iurisdictionem in homines suos, quos retinent sub specie libertatis . . ." ibid.
2. "Haereticos et eorum fautores saepe defendunt . . ." ibid.
3. ". . . diebus dominicis et festivis forum causarum frequentant . . ." ibid.

merchants of one kind or another formed the majority of the upper bourgeoisie of the towns, and though not all of them would have been rich, the "centre of gravity" of the merchant class must have lain in the middle or upper part of the urban social scale. Thus far, then, the sermons we have selected can be shown to have been for a reasonably homogeneous social group - men of consequence in the new urban world.

There remain the sermons to wives ("Ad coniugatas"). The title does not specify any particular social group, so we have to fall back on internal evidence. There is sufficient to show that the sermons were directed, ^{partly} if not exclusively, at women whose husbands were prosperous enough to have servants, for there is a long section on the wife's behaviour towards servants and maids.¹ There is no reason to think that Gilbertus was concerned with knightly or noble households only; the presumption is that he was also writing for urban congregations, and for wives of the sort of men to whom he addressed the other sermons we have selected.

We may now look more closely at the content of these sermons to "upper bourgeois" men and women. The sermons to lawyers are the most difficult, for as we have seen they were probably meant for Canon lawyers (presumably clerics) as well as for lawyers and judges in civil courts. One presumes that Gilbertus meant much of what he said to apply to lawyers of all kinds.

1. Announced at the beginning of the sermon: ". . . servos iuvenes et lascivos abiciat, ancillas inordinatas et procaces corripiat, . . ." B.N. Lat. 15943 fo. CXLVva, and developed fo. CXLVvb - fo. ~~CXLVI~~ (cod.:XCVI!)va.

As one might perhaps have expected, he appears not to have too high a view of the average morality of the profession. He says, for instance, that one can scarcely find a lawyer who is not a liar,¹ and implies that some Christian lawyers are worse than the Saracens, for Christians help the rich when they are in the wrong, and will not help the poor when they are in the right.² The lawyers of his time, says Gilbertus, are servants of iniquity, and trap the poor man, and entangle him with words.³ He tells an exemplum about an evil lawyer who, when he was dying and saw the demons who wanted to snatch away his soul, cried out for the moment to be delayed: "inducias! inducias!"; but by the just judgement of God he was not granted a delay, for he had often dishonestly asked for a delay when he was fighting cases, in order to drag out the case, and to cause damage and inconvenience to his opponent.⁴

This sort of criticism is not surprising - lawyers have had a bad press throughout the ages. Nevertheless these sermons go

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1. "Unde vix videmus advocatum qui (cod.:que) non exequatur (sic) cum multis mendaciis et tergiversationibus" B.N. Lat. 15943 fo. LXXXXIrb.
 2. "Fovent se mutuo iudei et gentiles, non autem christiani. Unde pauperes non iuvantur in piis causis, sed divites in iniustis; ex quo patet eos esse deteriores quam Sarracenos" B.N. Lat. 15943 fo. LXXXXIiva. (There is an otiose stroke above iuvantur in ms.)
 3. "Non tales advocati nostri temporis qui ministri sunt iniquitatis qui pauperem suis astutiis comprehendunt, et verborum suorum tendiculis irretiunt." B.N. Lat. 15943 fo. LXXXXIrb.
 4. ". . . et habemus exemplum hic de quodam infideli avvocato, qui in morte videns demones animam eius preripere volentes, clamare cepit: "inducias! inducias!"; sed iusto dei iudicio non potuit inducias obtinere quia frequenter in causis inducias postulaverat fraudulentem, ut causam protraheret, et adversarium gravaret." B.N. Lat. 15943 fo. LXXXXIrb.

beyond what one might call the Bleak House point of view.

The negative criticisms are one side of the coin: the other is a sort of code of "professional ethics". Behind the jingling formulae¹ of thirteenth century sermon style, so strange to modern ears, lie some positive (perhaps rather obvious) rules of conduct. For instance, an advocate or "iurisperitus" may receive a moderate fee, provided that it is within the means of his client, and that he calculates it according to the amount of work and study and trouble that he has had to put into the case.² This is in effect a sort of "just price" doctrine, taking into account the wealth or poverty of the client, and the demands the case has made on the lawyer.

In the year 1250 a lawyer and a layman, Albertanus of Brescia, preached a sermon to a meeting of his fellow lawyers in the house of the Friars Minor, in the Middle of Lent. He too commented on problems of professional ethics. He, like Gilbertus, was of the opinion that the lawyer could take a fee (and he too cites Augustine in support). This is hardly surprising. It is significant, however, that he stipulates that it must be a just price ("iustum precium sive salarium"), that they should give their counsel "bene et iuste", and that the cause should be just ("... in bona causa"). Furthermore

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1. e.g. "Post officium sequitur de persona, scilicet, quales esse debent quia fideles, et hoc in iiii: In prestando patrocinio; In recipiendo salario; In maturando negotio; In reddendo iudicio" B.N. Lat. 15943 fo. LXXXIIra.
 2. "licet enim secundum Augustinum (cod. Aug^{us}) non liceat iudici vendere iustum iudicium, licet tamen avvocato vendere iustum patrocinium, et iurisperito rectum consilium, et accipere moderatum salarium sine gravi dampno litigatoris, secundum qualitatem sui laboris, studii, et sollicitudinis, maxime a divitibus . . . sed pro miserabilibus personis que advocatos conducere non possunt et iniuste gravantur gratis advocare tenentur, ut de scientia sua elemosinam (cod. eliam) faciant." B.N. Lat. 15943 fo. LXXXIIra-rb.

he goes on to discuss a situation where a lawyer must refuse to take a case. His words have a realistic ring - he is not dealing in pious generalities: "If it should happen that a friend or a neighbour or some powerful man should want us to judge him according to a secret fraudulent understanding or with an evil motive, or to help him or defend him in his wrongful case, we should resist him firmly and, as far as possible, deflect him from his evil purpose . . ." ¹

Albertanus felt convinced by his personal experience that it was possible to be both a good lawyer and a good man: he had been an active member of the legal profession for more than twenty four years, ² he said, and he had observed that every man who had a reputation for justice and goodness prospered, while the men who were full of evil, who were notorious for their disregard for justice and their lack of principle, had almost all been ruined, with all their property and all their goods, "and serve them right". ³

The sermons of Gilbertus "Ad Judices et Advocatos", for all the strictures, would have been close enough to the mentality of lawyers like Albertanus to have gained a hearing: there are enough kind words in them for lawyers to have taken them seriously. By giving the elements of a code of conduct, Gilbertus implies that the possibility of being a good lawyer existed, and though his tone is not unnaturally less optimistic than that of Albertanus, they speak the same language.

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1. Albertanus Brixiensis, Sermones Quattuor ed. Marta Ferrari (Fondazione Ugo de Como - Lonato) p. 61. (I was introduced to Albertanus by Dr. R.W. Hunt.)
 2. "Et hoc vidi meis temporibus, qui in hac professione plus quam viginti quatuor annis exercitatus sum . . ." op.cit.p.63.
 3. ibid.

Gilbertus is even prepared to use certain analogies that could seem daring, but which were surely designed to catch the imagination of members of the legal profession, and to win an attentive hearing. Speaking about the advocati patrocinio, he quotes the epistle to the Romans: "As long as I am apostle of the Gentiles, I will make much of my form of service" (Rom. 11,13) and proceeds to apply it to advocates: they "make much of their form of service", he says when they look after the just cases of needy and unhappy people.¹ Christ gave His services in our case. On the cross He pleaded for us (the word is postulans, with its legal overtones), and He was heard; if anyone serves Him in this matter,² His father will make much of him.³ The analogy has been switched to Christ himself.

The analogy between Christ's justification of the human race and the role of an advocate in a court of law is then elaborated at considerable length, and in the course of it Gilbertus gives a flattering picture of the legal profession at its best. He makes great play with the legal sense of the word "to plead" (postulare).⁴ To plead is the function of advocates, who protect the interests of the human race no less than if they

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1. "Honorificant advocati suum ministerium quando fovent causas iustas miserabilium personarum." B.N. Lat. 15943 fo. LXXXIra.
 2. "In this matter" - Gilbertus may be referring back to the services of good lawyers who take on the "causas miserabilium personarum", or he may mean services to Christ in a more general sense.
 3. "Sic enim Christus minister cause nostre fuit et pro nobis in cruce postulans allevavit et exauditus fuit, et si quis eidem in hoc ministraverit, pater eius eum honorificabit. Io.XII. Si quis mihi ministraverit honorificabit eum pater meus qui est in celis." B.N. Lat. 15943 fo. LXXXI ra.
 4. Introduced thus: "'Postula a me, et dabo tibi gentes hereditatem tuam' (Ps. 2,8). Si enim consulamus auditoria iurisperitorum, postulare est desiderium suum vel amici sui in iure apud eum qui iurisdictioni preest exponere," B.N. Lat. 15943 loc. cit.

were to defend themselves, their country and their descendents with shield and breastplate.¹ Christ, then, is the advocate, God the Father is the judge, the trial is held on the cross, the name of the action is petitio hereditatis.² From here Gilbertus proceeds to elaborate still further his analogy of Christ "advocatus noster". He seems in fact to have made a serious attempt to capture the attention of the future congregations for whom he wrote the sermon by adapting content to audience.

The Ad status categories inevitably overlapped to some extent, and the sermon Ad cives rei publice vacantes, which follows the sermons Ad iudices et advocatos, itself contains a section addressed to the rulers of towns and cities in their judicial capacity. The general context is an analogy reminiscent of the allegory of Christ as Lawyer: In God is the supreme power, truth, and goodness; therefore men of power and influence effectively imitate him if they resemble him by power, wisdom, and holiness.³ One facet of the wisdom through which they should resemble God is the ability to pass judgement on others.⁴

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1. "et est actus ille publicus et officium advocatorum, qui gloriose vocis confisi munimine lapsa erigunt, fatigata reparant, nec humano generi minus provident quam si clipeis et toracibus sese, patriam, posterosque defendant." ibid.
 2. "Advocatus igitur noster (cod. videtur) in hoc ministerio Christus. Iudex: pater deus; locus iuris: patibulum crucis; res postulata: ecclesia de gentibus conversa; nomen actionis: petitio hereditatis" ibid.
 3. "In deo est summa potestas, veritas, et bonitas. Deum igitur magnates efficaciter imitantur, si ipsi in potentia, sapientia, et sanctitate ei conformantur" B.N. Lat. 15943 fo. CXXIIIva.
 4. "Sapientia eorum declaratur in tribus: . . . Secundo, ut sciant alios iudicare". B.N. Lat. 15943 fo. CXXIIIva.

The subsection is a fairly straightforward attack on the abuse of judicial power. Scriptural authority is marshalled against "those who give crooked judgements and take bribes".¹ As he continues he mixes quotations and comment: " 'Your princes are unfaithful' (Is. 1,23) - because they do not keep the contract of baptism, and do not renounce the pomps of Satan, but give themselves over to vanities - 'accomplices of thieves' - as long as they consent to plundering by others, and nourish usurers and Jews in the territory under their authority to take part of the profit. Therefore we should beware lest we accept gifts from people who gather their riches at the expense of the poor, lest we be 'accomplices of thieves' and it be said to us: 'if you saw a thief, you ran with him' (Ps. 49,18)".²

To judge justly is the second of the three aspects of the Sapientia which, Gilbertus thought, would make the rulers of cities resemble God himself. The other two were that they should "know how to rule themselves" and that they should "know how to look to (providere) the future".³ The latter has an odd ring - it sounds like an injunction to feather their own nests. In fact however it seems to be mainly concerned with

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1. "Unde de illis qui pervertunt iudicium et munera accipiunt dicitur, in petr. in Maledictionis filii: derelinquentes viam rectam erraverunt, sequi viam Balaam." B.N. Lat. 15943 fo. CXXVra.
 2. "Ys. j. Principes tui infideles, quia pactum baptismi non servant, et pompis Sathane non abrenuntiant, sed vanitatibus vacant, socii furum, dum aliorum rapine consentiunt et foventes in terra sua usurarios et iudeos partem lucri accipiunt. Ideo debemus cavere ne ab illis accipiamus munera qui de lacrimis pauperum congregant divitias, ne simus socii furum et dicatur nobis: Si videbas furem, currebas cum eo". B.N. Lat. 15943 loc.cit.
 3. "Primo ut sciant se ipsos regere . . . Tertio ut sciant de futuro providere". B.N. Lat. 15943 fo. CXXIIIvra.

the transitoriness of power:¹ "the higher you rise, the harder you fall".²

The section exhorting men with authority in cities to "rule themselves" has interesting implications, for we find notions of Christian kingship transferred to the men who ruled cities, and who would in many cases have held their office through election rather than by hereditary right. Gilbertus begins by urging these men to listen regularly to sermons,³ and this theme runs throughout the section. We may pass by the sidelights on religious practice - for instance, the intriguing complaint about men who "break the church bell so that people will not come to Mass."⁴ - their interest lies in a different context. Anyone attempting to preach to this particular class of men had to face a problem rather different from straightforward anticlericalism.

Gilbertus had centuries of thought and theory on the nature of political authority behind him, but, in general, the concern of the theorists had been with Christian kingship. In the

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1. e.g. "Sed Abd. i 'Si exaltatus fueris ut aquila, et inter sydera posueris nidum (nidum]cod. ui seu vi) tuum, Inde detraham te, dicit dominus.' (Abd. i, 4) Nidus avis altus est et fragilis, et tamen modico perseverat tempore, quia nulla potentia longa est, et nulla potentia tuta est, sed quanto maior honor est tanto maius periculum." B.N. Lat. 15943 fo. CXXVrb.
 2. ". . . excelse turres graviore casu succumbunt . . ." B.N. Lat 15943 fo. CXXVrb - fo. CXXVva.
 3. "Vocat enim dominus istos rectores civitatum ut audiant predicationis verbum, et sciant regere se ipsos." B.N. Lat. 15943 fo. CXXIIIiva.
 4. "Nunc vero quidam non solum verbum non audiunt, sed audientes derident et impediunt, et eos a predicatione avertunt in quantum possunt, sacrilegium committentes sicut homines qui frangunt campanam ut homines non veniant ad missam". B.N. Lat. 15943 fo. CXXIIIivb. Urban anti-clericalism?

towns - which were, outside Italy at least, a relatively recent phenomenon - political authority could take very different forms. It has even been argued that "the government of the town was conducted entirely on the principle of the ascending theory".¹ Gilbertus' sermon Ad cives reipublice vacantes suggests that the gap between the two 'principles of government' was not so great as might appear.

It is interesting, for example, that in the section which exhorts civic officials to 'rule themselves' Gilbertus introduces both Salomon² and Charlemagne, in a context which suggests that he is presenting them as models for the magni burgenses.³ Furthermore, there is reason to think that they are not cited simply as individuals who were pious in their personal lives, but also in the 'official' capacity as rulers. Shortly before the Salomon - Charlemagne passage, and after exhorting rectores civitatum to hear sermons, Gilbertus quotes or paraphrases the passage from Deuteronomy which, in the Revised Version, reads:

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1. W. Ullman "A History of Political Thought in the Middle Ages" (1965) p. 161.
 2. Cf. Humbertus de Romanis, giving material for a sermon Ad rectores, et officiales ciuitatis: "Sciendum ergo, quod in huiusmodi statu non sunt ponendi nisi sapientes. Vnde Salomon, propter regimen populi sibi imminens, specialiter petiit sapientiam a Domino." De Eruditione Prædicatorum, Lib.2, Tract. 1, LXXIII, ed.cit. p. 492.
 3. ". . . quia corrupto cordis palato saporem spiritualem non sentiunt, non sicut Salomon, qui valde placuit deo, qui offerente deo quod peteret quicquid vellet, sapientiam petiit. iii. Reg. iii. Non sic Karolus magnus, qui faciebat <***> legi in mensa sua, ut anima eius non minus satiaretur cibis spiritualibus quam corpus carnalibus. Unde inexcusabiles sunt. Si enim equum (cod. equ) vel pannum emere volunt diligenter conditiones inquirunt; si egrotant, medicum vocant; et (sic) de statu anime sue utrum sint in statu salutis vel perditionis non curant; cum tamen nulla sint periculosiora vulnera quam occulta, cuiusmodi (cod. cui^{us}) sunt peccata que committuntur ex ignorantia; et potest hic poni exemplum de pantera quam sequuntur minuta animalia propter odorem occulta eorum vulnera et morbos curantem;

/continued overleaf.

'And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book, out of that which is before the priests and Levites: and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life".

Gilbertus uses the passage in the following manner: "This is why it is laid down, in Deuteronomy 17, that the king should always have with him a Deuteronomium, so that he may guide himself in the law of God, and form his judgements according to it;"¹

Then he switches from singular to plural, but with no break in the chain of ideas: if 'they' were as zealously devoted to the divine law and to hearing sermons as they were to idle amusements, then "they would be able to rule themselves and others, and would know the will of God."²

The phrase "himself and others"³ would seem to imply that Gilbertus is thinking of official as well as private life. Furthermore, Gilbertus seems to suggest that even in their official capacities the rectores civitatum needed the guidance of preachers, and that their public life could not be separated from the sphere of the lege divina. What is more surprising,

Footnote 4 continued from p. 164.

sed draco toxicatus fugit in foveam, ne odor anticipet eum; sic predicatorem sequuntur hodie pauperes propter salutem suam, sed magni (cod. magis?) burgenses presentientes odorem et toxicati veneno usure et aliorum peccatorum descendunt in tabernam". B.N. Lat. 15943 fo. CXXIIIIva-vb.

1. # "Inde est quod precipiebatur. xvii. deut., ut rex semper haberet secum deuteronomium, ut seipsum in lege dei dirigeret, et secundum eam formaret iudicia (cod. iudicia formaret cum signis inversionis) sua". B.N. Lat. 15943 fo. CXXIIIIva.
2. "Si autem ita studiosi essent in lege divina et in sermonibus audiendis sicut in scatis (sic) et aleis, se et alios regere possent, et voluntatem dei cognoscerent" ibid.
3. My italics.

however, is that Gilbertus is able to apply the same ideas in the same breath both to town officials and to kings.

When using Deuteronomy 17, he talks about "the king"; when he develops the same ideas but changes from singular to plural, his "they" must be taken to apply to the rectores civitatum. Gilbertus, clearly, does not find the transition incongruous. The passage, and in fact the sermon as a whole, suggest that the traditional Christian ideology of government could be transferred to the rulers of the cities more easily than an antithesis between 'ascending' and 'descending', ^{themes} might lead one to expect.

Much of the sermon could apply to anyone with authority or power,¹ and indeed he illustrates points with references to Roman emperors,² and to abuses of power which, he implies, took place in the countryside rather than the towns.³ In the beginning of the sermon, in particular, Gilbertus speaks in very general terms: without the rubric and the internal evidence in other parts of the sermon it might be hard to tell that he was addressing himself specifically to an urban audience.

Nevertheless Gilbertus does show that he is aware of problems which are more particularly associated with city

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1. E.g. ". . . ut se amabiles bonis exhibeant . . ." B.N. Lat. 15943 fo. CXXIIIvb; & ". . . ut se a malis timeri faciant . . ." fo. CXXIIIra.
 2. E.g. "Non talis Gayus Caligula qui desiderabat populum romanum unicum habere cervicem ut in omnes exerceret crudelitatis sue tyrannidem, . . ." B.N. Lat. 15943 fo. CXXIIIra.
 3. ". . . multi dicunt quando arguuntur quod vaccam pauperis agricole abstulerunt: 'sufficiat rustico quod ei vitulum dimisi; non feci ei tantum mali quantum fecissem si voluissem.' " B.N. Lat. 15943 fo. CXXIIIrb.

politics. He criticises the internal strife and the rapid changes of policy which, he said, characterised the political life of the cities of his day.¹ (He was not far wrong: faction seems to have been the besetting sin of medieval as of ancient cities.)

The very fact that this sermon could be written shows that the established Church was adjusting to the new urban political structure which had grown up alongside older forms of government (which were themselves evolving rapidly).² The two early Ad status collections (by Honorius Augustodunensis and Alanus de Insulis) contain nothing like this sermon Ad cives reipublice vacantes. By reapplying traditional notions of governmental authority to this new class of rulers (without altogether ignoring the distinctive character of city politics) it was an attempt to find a place for them in the Church's scheme of things.

As was suggested earlier, the next sermon is probably directed at much the same sort of people, though it is concerned with a different aspect of their lives. The rubric is: Ad cives communiter viventes, and the text is "qui amat divitias fructum non capiet ex eis." (Eccl. 5,9). The rubric shows that the sermon was for an urban public, and as the choice of text suggests, it is concerned with wealth, and meant for the ears of wealthy men. It is clearly intended for the class from which the cives reipublice vacantes would have been largely recruited, which is to say, from the upper class of the cities.

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1. "sed cives nostri temporis ut sibi invicem noceant super diversa statuta officia diversa faciunt facta puniunt, deinde convellunt et alia faciunt." B.N. Lat.15943 fo.CXXVvb.
 2. Humbertus de Romanis, op.cit., ed.cit. p. 492, has a section addressed Ad Rectores, et officiales ciuitatis. His material seems to be directed to the same class of men as Gilbertus' sermon. I have not seen Jacobus de Vitriaco's sermons "ad cives et burgenses".

Just as the previous sermon raised the question of ecclesiastical attitudes to political authority, this sermon raises the question of ecclesiastical attitudes to wealth. In this sermon, as with the last, the rise of the towns had raised questions which were new so far as the Middle Ages were concerned. Society and the Church had depended for centuries on landed property, and that kind of wealth, obviously enough, was considered to be perfectly legitimate. The wealth of the upper class of the towns was rather a different proposition. It is true that some wealthy men living in cities, especially Italian cities, would have owned land in the country outside, and that urban property, as well as trade, could be a source of income for the great men of the cities. Then of course there were men like lawyers and notaries who made a comfortable living by their professional skills. After all qualifications, however, it remains true that the majority of rich men who lived in cities must have been engaged in some kind of trade or finance. The established Church's attitude to this kind of wealth was inevitably more complicated than its attitude to land.¹ As a major force in the social and economic life of Northern Europe, the wealthy urban class does not go back beyond the twelfth century, and its power and importance must have increased dramatically during the lifetime of Gilbertus himself. What attitude was he, a Franciscan, to take to this urban wealth?

1. Cf. J. Gilchrist, The Church and Economic Activity in the Middle Ages (Macmillan 1969) pp. 51-2.

Much of the sermon reads like a forceful diatribe against riches, as a glance at the transcription (number three of the "Selection of Texts")¹ will quickly make clear. The following passage gives a good idea of the tone of the greater part of the sermon:

(Riches) leave a man with an insatiable craving. Ecclesiastes 4(8) 'He is alone, and has no-one else, yet he does not rest from his work, and his eyes are not satiated with riches'. For the eye of an avaricious man is insatiable; for there is nothing which can fill the soul except God. Thus the capacity of the soul is so great that little things do not fill it. For the soul itself is the image of God, and therefore it is greater than the whole world, and indeed the more it is filled with the transitory things of this world, the less it is filled with God, and so it always stays empty. For material things have in themselves an emptiness (*vanitatem*) and therefore they cannot fill us. For material things are outside us, but the thirst is inside the soul; but it would be stupid for a hungry man to say that he was refreshed simply because he had bread in the cupboard. For these reasons the vice of avarice tends to know no bounds, just as a flame would burn indefinitely if someone were to provide the fuel. Seneca said: if you wish to make a man rich, you should reduce rather than increase his riches. Again, (riches) leave a man with his understanding blinded. For riches cloud the understanding of the rich man that he cannot tell the difference between his riches and himself, so that if his house is burned, he says that he is burned. 2

Relinquant etiam insatibilitatem in appetitu . . . Relinquant etiam cecitatem in intellectu . . . etiam relinquant sterilitatem in fructu . . . - Gilbertus is uncompromising. His

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1. The sermon is included, primarily, as an example of the use of the 'New Sermon Form' in sermons for laymen (y. previous chapter) but it also illustrates the way the content of sermons could be adapted to the new lay public of the cities.
 2. B.N. Lat. 15943 fo. CIVIva-vb (y. 'Selection of Texts' no. III).

analogies are forceful, to say the least: 'They labour by fair means and foul so as to have what they get, not to make restitution with it, except at the end, when the bitterness of death is approaching, just as a blood-sucker, when it is full up, vomits out the blood . . .'¹

After his diatribe against material riches Gilbertus implicitly draws the contrast - perhaps inevitable - with the riches that are not of this world: spiritual riches, heavenly riches, and the riches that are above heaven, in God himself. In one passage the contrast is made explicit,² and the theme is the same: ". . . for temporal riches, like imaginary banquets, deceive those who eat them, and send them empty away."

Gilbertus, clearly, believes in harsh medicine. Nevertheless he does try to sugar the pill, and the short section at the beginning, in which he tries to show how a rich man may be a good man, is perhaps as interesting as the series of criticisms which follow. As in the sermons to lawyers, Gilbertus is prepared to talk about virtues as well as vices.

It is legitimate to possess temporal riches, he says, when they are acquired without ill-doing, and he cites the example of Abraham, who was rich in gold and silver.³ He lists other virtues a rich man must possess before he can regard his wealth as licit. He must remain humble, because wealth nourishes pride. He must use his riches as a pilgrim uses the road, and be like a poor man in the midst of riches;

1. B.N. Lat.15943 fo.CXXVIIrb-va.

2. "Sunt etiam divitie celestes . . . Non sunt autem hee divitie quales mundane . . ." B.N. Lat.15943 fo.CXXIXva.

3. Gen. 13,2.

and, of course, he must give alms from his riches: they must be 'distributed with piety'. He continues, quoting 2 Reg. 19(32): "Berzellai offered food to the king, when he was staying in the camp: for he was a very rich man. For now Christ sojourns (peregrinatur) among the poor as if in camp." He ends the section with a comforting quotation, softening the strictures which follow, to the effect that riches are a hindrance to virtue in bad men, but a help to it in good men.¹

'Gold and silver make neither good men nor bad men: the use of them is good, and the abuse of them is bad', as he puts it near the beginning of the section. What follows, however, might seem to exclude the profits of a merchant, for Gilbertus goes on to say that "Anxiety (for riches) is worse; profit (questus) is more base".² Gilbertus may be quoting someone else - it is not quite his style - and there is nothing more explicit about merchants in this sermon. He saves his comments for the next two sermons, which are directly addressed to merchants - Ad Negotiatores.

In the second of these sermons it is made clear that the merchant's profits are in themselves licit. It is true that some kinds of trade are by their very nature immoral. (Gilbertus gives usury and 'fornication' - by which he must mean prostitution - as examples of such trades.)³ Again,

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1. B.N. Lat.15943 fo.CXXViva.
 2. "Sollicito (sic) peior. Questus turpior" B.N. Lat.15943 fo.CXXVIRb.
 3. "Quedam enim negotia ex sui natura sunt inhonesta et illicita, ut usura, fornicatio, et huiusmodi" B.N.Lat. 15943 fo.CXXXIIIIra.

some are immoral because of the nature of the thing bought or sold, as when people buy or sell things which are not needed for anything except sin.¹ Ordinary buying and selling, however, are only illicit when the disposition of those involved makes them so, that is, when they are motivated by avarice, or overpreoccupied with worldly cares.²

The passage in which Gilbertus distinguishes between licit and illicit trade is one of the few places in the two sermons where he comes anywhere near to a technical analysis of economic morality. The greater part of both sermons is on rather a different level: that of allegory.

A single elaborate allegory extends over both sermons. Gilbertus gives the gist of it at the beginning of the first one: "the good merchant is Christ and just men; the bad merchant is the devil and unjust men".³ The first sermon is mainly concerned with Christ and the just, leaving the devil and the 'devil's merchants' to the second.

From a literary point of view the sermons are not particularly impressive. Quite apart from the fact that here, as

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1. "Aliquando est negotia[\]tio illicita ex natura rei que emitur vel venditur, ut si quis talia vendat vel emat que ad nullum usum humanum possunt esse necessaria preter quam ad peccatum, . . ." *ibid.*
 2. "quedam ex adiuncto, ut venditio et emptio: licet in se sint licite, tamen ex causa sunt illicite quando fiunt ex cupiditate, et quando animam involvunt nimia curarum anxietate, . . .". *ibid.* Gilbertus states a similar principle later in the sermon: "Non est simpliciter negotiatio dampnanda: sicut enim dicit Cassiodorus: Actus pessimus non res honesta dampnatur; sicut divitem legimus non introire regnum celorum, cum tamen Abraham, Iacob, Iob, David fuerint divites." B.N. Lat.15943 fo.CXXXIIIva.
 3. "bonus negotiator Christus et viri iusti; malus negotiator dyabolus et viri iniusti". B.N. Lat.15943 fo.CXXXra.

elsewhere, he is heavily dependent on Jacobus de Vitriaco, he switches too suddenly, for some tastes, from the allegorical to the literal level, and sometimes he seems to be distributing his material rather arbitrarily among the different sections of the sermon. For all that, the sermon is not without interest.

Allegory is everywhere in medieval sermons, but it is unusual to find an allegory so carefully tailored to so specific an audience. Gilbertus is addressing merchants, but he is concerned with general as well as economic morality; by making trade itself the basis of the allegory, he is able to orientate the whole sermon (not only the parts which deal with 'business ethics') towards the special interests and preoccupations of this particular section of the laity. Notions and events with which their business life would have made them familiar are when the devil is compared to a usurer:-

. . . But that usurer makes his loans without risk, since he has a good security (vadium), that is the sinner's soul; and a good pledge (plegium): the justice of God; and a good chirograph, which we gave to him, written in the blood from our souls, when we sinned; with these things the devil is certain that unless the sinner should buy back his pledge before his death, that is, before the fair breaks up (divisio nundinarum fiat) and the shout of Hale! Hale! goes up, according to the custom of the French, his security will be (forfeited) in perpetuity. Finally, when he (the devil) has stripped his ^{debtor} of everything and left him naked, and he sees that he is unable to pay, then a gibbet or gallows is erected - just as in the fairs of this world - and there the sinner is hanged. Then he weeps in vain, because he has lost everything, and because he will not be able to go back to the city in which he could do business again. 1

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1. ". . . Secure autem accomodat ille usurarius, quia bonum vadium habet, scilicet peccatoris animam; et bonum plegium: dei iustitiam; et bonum cyrographum, quod ei scriptum dedimus de sanguine animarum nostrarum cum peccavimus; per que certus est dyabolus quod nisi vadium suum redimat peccator ante mortem suam, scilicet antequam divisio nundinarum fiat et clametur: "Hale! Hale!" secundum modum gallicorum vadium suum erit in perpetuum. Ultimo cum debitorem suum nudum spoliaverit et videat quod ille solvere non possit, sicut

The technical terms, and the allusions to the customs of the trade fairs, are not accidental. Gilbertus (and Jacobus de Vitriaco, whom he is following)¹ must have hoped to hold the attention and catch the imagination of merchants by this device.

The two sermons to merchants are not the only place where Gilbertus employs an allegory adapted to a particular status. We have already seen that he made Christ an advocate, with God the Father the judge of the case, and the cross the locus iuris. Here, instead, Christ is a merchant who sells the robe of his flesh, dyed with his blood, to buy back souls.² These allegories imply the choice of one of two possible approaches to popular spirituality: the preacher could either emphasise the remoteness and majesty of Christ, or he could encourage his hearers to feel that they could, as it were, identify with their redeemer; when Gilbertus calls Christ an advocatus when addressing lawyers, and a bonus negotiator in a sermon to merchants, he is adopting the second approach.

What is perhaps more significant, he does so by means of allegory. In themselves the two approaches to spirituality may be complementary rather than mutually exclusive, and any

Footnote 1 continued from p. 173.

fit in nundinis (cod. mundinis) seculi, gibetum sive patibulum erigitur et peccator ibi suspenditur. Tunc lacrimas inefficaces emittit, quod totum perdidit, et ad civitatem in qua iterato negotiari valeat redire non poterit." B.N. Lat.15943 fo.CXXXIIrb-va.

1. Pitra, Analecta Novissima (tom.II Tusculana) p. 432.
2. "Tandem scaraliticism mundissime carnis sue purpureo sanguine suo tinctum pro redimendis animabus nostris dedit." B.N. Lat.15943 fo.CXXXra.

attempt to put Gilbertus himself, or 'thirteenth century piety' as a whole, in one camp or another, would almost certainly be misleading and artificial; but the manner in which popular piety finds expression does differ considerably from period to period, and the conscious use of allegory to help particular sections of the laity 'identify' with Christ is an interesting effort to offer the laity a spirituality - if that is not too strong a word - appropriate to their state of life.

The sermons that have been singled out represent the most influential and popular attempt to provide model sermons explicitly directed at the overlapping lay elites which are rightly associated with the rise of the cities. They are a serious effort to adapt the content of preaching to a new type of audience. The same may be said of the last three of the sermons from this collection which were singled out as the most relevant to this study: the sermons Ad coniugatas. It has been argued that they were directed, at least partly, to women from wealthy families.¹ Thus it is fair to group these sermons with the sermons to the lay elites of the towns, for the Ad coniugatas sermons are, as it were, addressed to the wives of the same men. Gilbertus may well have had in mind women from the rural nobility, as well as from the upper bourgeoisie, but there is no reason to think that the latter were excluded. They were as much a part of the upper class of the towns as their husbands; no doubt they were less educated, but they would have attended the same sermons as their husbands, and it would have been natural for them to acquire similar tastes.

1. y. sup. p. 156

No picture of preaching to this class would be complete if the sermons intended for the women were left aside.

Like many of the sermons in the collection, this group of sermons to wives is liable to arouse mixed feelings in the modern reader. On the one hand, they are badly arranged - sometimes one has the impression that the material was crammed arbitrarily into the various pigeon-holes created by the initial division - and from a literary point of view they cannot be called outstanding. On the other hand, they are not unsuccessful as an attempt to adapt content to audience.

These sermons are among the most interesting in Gilbertus' Ad status collection, and it would be possible to discuss them at great length, but here we must leave aside intriguing passages - like the exemplum which adumbrates the plot of King Lear¹ - which are not directly relevant to a study of content and audience, and confine ourselves to those with a direct bearing on the problem. Even though some remarks seem to be intended for husbands or for both marital partners,² it

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1. "Hic est exemplum optimum quod scribitur in hystoria britonum, de rege qui tres filias habuit. Quesivit a prima quantum diligebat eum. Illa respondit: 'Plusquam animam propriam.' Dedit ei rex maritum, et tertiam partem regni sui. Quesivit a secunda quantum diligebat eum. Respondit quod super omnem creaturam. Dedit ei pater maritum, et aliam partem regni. Querit idem a tertia, iuniore, quam maxime diligebat. Respondit: 'Semper te dilexi ut patrem, et adhuc diligo, et si vis audire veritatem, quantum habes, tantum vales, tantum te diligo. Indignatur pater; privat eam regno. Tandem illa nubit regi francie; tandem senescente patre, insurgunt generi in socerum. Auferunt ei regnum; exhibent patrem dando ei necessaria successive unus post alium, sed tandem abiciunt eum vilem et despectum; sed soror iunior recipit eum in Francia, cuius auxilio restituitur patri regnum." B.N. Lat.15943 fo.CXLIIrb - CXLIIIva. I have not found the exemplum in Tubach's Index; it is possible that Gilbertus was the first to turn the story into a sermon exemplum. Its literary future gives it a special interest.
 2. v. e.g. fo.CXLIIIIrb: "Sapiens vir debet iudicio diligere coniugem, non affectu, ut non regat eum impetus voluptatis, ut preceps feratur in coitum."

is clear both from the rubrics and from internal evidence that the sermons are directed at women.¹ For his sermon to have any chance of success, Gilbertus had to avoid antagonising them.

It is well known that there was a strand of anti-feminist criticism in medieval writing, and that marriage itself could be treated rather disparagingly, as a second best, and a means of 'avoiding fornication.' The generalisation is true enough, so far as it goes. Whether it gives a balanced picture of the medieval Church's teaching on women and marriage is a different matter. In the age when preaching to the laity was becoming frequent and regular, the orthodox establishment was faced with a number of choices: One of them would have been to avoid the topic of marriage altogether; a second would have been to preach sermons dealing exclusively with the sins against marriage, together with kindred topics like the personal vanity of the female sex.

Gilbertus chose the third option, which was to preach sermons which presented a favourable view of marriage, and emphasised its positive as well as its negative advantages. There is a good deal on sins against marriage (and on female adornment), but taken as a whole the sermons are calculated to encourage as well as to warn. So far as one can judge at this distance in time, the married women who heard it would not have been alienated - rather the contrary.

1. *e.g.* "Hec est ammonitio necessaria coniugatis, maxime mulieribus, que docet coniugatam . . ." B.N. Lat.15943 fo.CXLivb. The rubrics to all three sermons has the feminine "coniugatas".

It is a small, but perhaps a significant sign that he leaves out some of the exempla which Jacobus de Vitriaco, his favourite source, includes in his sermons Ad conjugatos.¹ Thus Jacobus tells a story which no doubt amused male hearers immensely, about a woman who always did the opposite of what her husband told her. One day he held a lunch party in the garden, by a river. The man told his wife to come nearer to the table, so she moved further away, and closer to the bank of the river. "Come to the table", said her husband, annoyed, with the result that she rushed away and fell in the river. He pretended to be distressed, got in a boat, and tried to find his wife - upstream. When his neighbours asked why he was looking for her there, he replied: "Didn't you know that my wife always went by contraries? I'm sure that she went upstream against the current, and didn't go downstream like other people."² There is relatively little of this kind of thing in the Ad coniugatos sermons of Gilbertus, though he had plenty of good stories from Jacobus de Vitriaco at his disposal.³ He does include an exemplum in which a husband and wife argue about the best way to eat a hare which they had failed to catch, but neither of the two comes well out of the story and

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1. Note the masculine/common gender. Headings for the Sermones Vulgares are given in Pitra, op.cit., pp. 344-6. (He does not edit the sermons for married people).
 2. op.cit. p. 457.
 3. v. T.F. Crane, The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry (London 1890) pp. 92, 94 secc.; & Pitra, op.cit., p. 457 secc. Pitra's compilation of extracts, initia, and exempla is unsatisfactory. One is not always sure which exempla go with which sermon.

its ending would probably have amused rather than irritated most women.¹

The omission of what one might call anti-feminist exempla might in itself be due to chance. It should also be said again that Gilbertus says much that was not meant to please. ". . . women say that they deck themselves out and make themselves look nice for their husbands; which is not plausible, for they use more make-up when they go out than when they are at home."²

"For a woman who is covered in makeup draws a sword to kill her neighbour; bears a flame to burn a home; carries poison for anyone who wishes to take; she uncovers a pit so that an animal may fall into it."³ "and note that in paradise there was nothing between God and Adam but one woman; but she did not rest or give up until she had done so much that her husband was turned out of paradise, and Christ hanged."⁴ Remarks like this would not make a preacher popular with the female element in his audience, if the sermon contained nothing else. But taken like this in isolation, they give a distorted picture.

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1. B.N. Lat.15943 fo.CXLIIva-vb. (The exemplum is essentially the same as the "Ex. de viro et muliere pro lepore litigantibus" which Jacobus de Vitriaco tells. v. Pitra, op.cit. p. 458.) On fo. CXLVra-rb of B.N.Lat.15943 there is an exemplum about a demon and a cuckolded husband. Again the laugh is on the husband rather than the wife, though the latter is the real offender. Jacobus de Vitriaco, who also tells the exemplum (v. Tubach, Index no.2389, p.189) is probably Gilbertus' source.
 2. "...dicunt mulieres quod propter viros suos se ornant et componunt; quod non videtur verum: fucant enim se magis cum in publicum prodeunt quam quando in propriis domibus sunt." B.N.Lat.15943 fo.CXLIIIIra.
 3. "Mulier enim fucata gladium eximit (cod.exemit) ut vicinum occidat; ignem gerit ut domum comburat; venenum (venenum iteratum est in cod.) portat ut qui voluerit accipiat; puteum discooperit ut animal intus cadat." ibid.
 4. "et nota quod inter dum et Adam in paradyso non habuerunt nisi unam mulierem. Illa autem non quievit nec cessavit donec tantum fecit quod de paradyso est eiectus maritus eius, et Christus suspensus." B.N.Lat.15943 fo.CXLIIIIva. (He continues: "Scribit Herodotus quod mulier cum veste deponit verecundiam; . . ." - and so on in the same vein.

In fact Gilbertus stresses the equality of the marital partners, the duty of the husband to the wife, the evils caused by marriages de convenance, the importance of love in marriage, and the positive goodness of marriage itself. This is rather a different picture from a popular modern notion of medieval attitudes to women, sex and marriage, though Gilbertus' views are not untypical of pulpit attitudes in the thirteenth century and after. Writing in the Ad status genre, however, he stated them more fully than was normal in a de Tempore series.

"There is also a kind of love founded upon partnership, and this is the love which a husband and wife owe to each other, because they are equal and partners."¹ So begins a section which puts the satirical passages in perspective. Gilbertus elaborates on the equality theme: woman was made from man's rib. Not from his head, so that she would not become too haughty and proud, and not from his feet, so that her husband would not treat her with contempt and disparage her.²

Gilbertus had already said a good deal about the obligations of a husband to a wife in their sexual life.³ In this second sermon he mentions the man's obligations on the material

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1. "Est etiam dilectio socialis qua debent se coniuges diligere, quia pares sunt et socii" B.N. Lat.15943 loc.cit.
 2. "Unde mulier de costa viri formata est, {nec} non de capite, ut non nimis insolescat et superbiat, non de pedibus, ne maritus eam conculcet et vilipendat." ibid.
 3. B.N. Lat.15943 fo.CXLIIvb - fo.CXLIIIra. (the passage beginning: "Iste honor exhibendus est mulieribus a viris propter pudicitie ornamentum.")

plane. Because husband and wife are one flesh, the husband should care for the wife as for his own body, and provide the wife with food, clothing, and whatever else she needs.¹

In the passage which immediately follows this one, Gilbertus goes on to argue that the marriage should not be contracted for the sake of some material advantage, or because of a purely physical attraction. "Moreover this love ought to be formed in such a way that the motives for it are pure, so that the husband and wife should not love each other or be joined in marriage for the sake of some temporal gain, or a beautiful figure (forme), or to gratify their lust, but so that they may live together (vivant simul!) happily and decently, so that God may receive honour, and the marriage yield fruit for the service of God. ...For when they are equal (pares) then they live in peace; but when they have got married for the sake of a dowry or for something temporal they always quarrel. So if you want to get married, marry an equal; ... we read, among the laws of Lycurgus, that he ordered maidens to marry without dowry, so that wives would be chosen, not fortunes ..."²

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1. "et bene dicit (cod. benedicit): Nemo carnem suam odit; quia maritus et uxor una caro efficiuntur. Gen.ii.(23) Hoc nunc, os ex ossibus meis, et caro ex carne mea. Ergo uxoribus sicut nostris corporibus est providendum, ut eis victum et vestitum et ea que sunt necessaria prebeamus. "B.N. Lat. 15943 fo.CXLIIIIvb.
 2. "Ista autem dilectio formanda <est> ut sit in ea puritas intentionis, ut non diligant se coniuges nec matrimonialiter coniungantur propter emolumentum (sic) aliquod temporale vel pulcritudinem forme vel impletionem voluptatis libidinose, sed ut vivant simul iocunde et honeste, ut deus honoretur et fructus ad serviendum deo inde gignatur. ...Quando enim pares sunt, tunc in pace vivunt, sed quando propter dotem vel aliquod temporale nupserunt, semper litigant. Unde si vis nubere, nube pari; ... legimus inter leges ligurgi (sic) quod virgines sine dote nubere iussit, ut uxores eligerentur non pecunie". B.N. Lat.15943 fo.CXLIIIIvb. Another reason - perhaps less welcome to female listeners - is added: "severiusque matrimonia sua viri cohercerent cum nullis frenis dotis tenerentur." Gilbertus believed in the husband's authority.

Gilbertus lays much stress on love in marriage. As we have seen, he has in mind the "dilectio socialis" which husband and wife owe each other as equals and partners, not love in the purely physical sense. He quotes St. Paul's "Husbands, love your wives", and more from the same chapter to the same effect.¹ Gilbertus explains that this kind of love between husband and wife is something specifically Christian: "Although it might appear that this kind of love is to be found among the pagans - as may be seen from the case of the wife of Hasdrubal, who burnt herself when her husband had been captured, and from many other cases of wives who did not want to live on when their husbands had died - nevertheless that kind of love cannot be compared to our sacramental and spiritual love . . ."²

As the sermon progresses Gilbertus further develops this idea of love. The husband and wife should be inseparable in their affection for each other, for (he quotes Proverbs 17,17) 'A friend loves at all times'.³ A little later he writes that "those who live an indivisible life ought to have a feeling of love which makes separation impossible; they should not complain violently about their husbands, or desert them, or attach

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1. "Eph.v. Viri diligite uxores vestras, et infra: viri debent diligere uxores suas sicut corpora sua. Qui suam uxorem ~~se~~ diligit, seipsum diligit. Nemo enim carnem suam odio habuit." B.N. Lat.15943 fo.CXLIIIvva.
 2. "licet in gentilibus huiusmodi (hi^{us}) dilectio videatur inveniri - sicut patuit in uxore Hasdrubalis, que viro capto se ipsam incendit, et in aliis multis que maritis mortuis supervivere noluerunt - tamen illa dilectio nostra sacramentali et spirituali non comparatur . . ." B.N. Lat.15943 fo.CXLIIIvva-vb.
 3. "Sit etiam inseparabilitas affectionis. Prov.xvii. Omni tempore diligit qui est amicus . . ." B.N. Lat.15943 fo.CXLVra.

themselves to other men."¹ Gilbertus is implying that one of the guarantees of fidelity should be love. Again, the love of husband and wife should make them able to accept criticisms from each other. "There should also be freedom to correct each other, so that a husband may be free to criticise his wife, and she accept it for the love she bears him, and vice versa . . ." ²

Gilbertus ends this (the second) sermon to wives by arguing that real love is not compatible with an evil life. As usual he finds the inevitable scriptural quotation, applying to married couples the general injunction in the 1st Epistle of Peter: 'Purifying your souls in the discipline of charity, in the love of brotherhood, wholeheartedly: Love one another'.³ Perhaps the 'love of brotherhood' is not quite appropriate, but Gilbertus, who shared his contemporaries' enthusiasm for the Concordance and scatters scriptural texts profusely throughout his sermons, often contented himself with an approximation to relevance. Then he elaborates: in people who give themselves over to vice one can find a certain imitation or image of love, which is why there may appear to be a certain sweetness in the friendship or love which is soiled by lust, yet the more decent the love, the surer it is, and the purer the

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1. "Qui enim vitam gerunt individuum debent habere affectionem amoris inseparabilem, non conqueri de maritis vel eos dimittere (cod. dimitttere?) vel aliis adherere." B.N. Lat.15943 fo.CXLVra.
 2. "Sit etiam liberalitas correctionis ut libere possit vir uxorem arguere et ex dilectione illa recipiat, et e converso . . ." B.N. Lat.15943 fo.CXLVrb.
 3. I Peter 1,22. (The capitalisation in ms. affects translation: "Castificantes animas vestras . . . simplici ex corde Invicem diligite." ibid.)

love, the more delightful it is.¹

At this point Gilbertus rather abruptly closes the sermon. Schematic as always, he had dealt in turn with four features that ought to characterise married love: the motive for marriage should be pure, the couple should be inseparable in their affection, they should accept each other's criticisms, and their life should be holy. As so often, the subsections are announced in rhyming formulae that resist succinct translation: "... sit ... puritas intentionis ... Sit etiam inseparabilitas affectionis ... Sit etiam liberalitas correctionis ... Sit etiam sanctitas conversationis." "Where these four are found together", he concludes, "there one may see a love of husband and wife for each other which is based on partnership and spiritual in character."²

Gilbertus' presentation of marriage must be described as optimistic. He justifies it from sacred history: "Many do not understand the nobility of marriage, which the Lord established by his own direct agency, and in paradise; and he wished to honour a marriage by his own presence ..."³ (The last clause

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1. "Numquam enim potest esse vera dilectio nisi inter (nisi-
inter seu insunter corr.) bonos, licet sit aliqua effigies
dilectionis in eis qui vacant vitiis; Ex quo perpenditur
quod in illa amicitia et dilectione quam libido maculat
(cod. matulat) invenitur aliqua dulcedo, quantum habet
suavitatis illaque quanto est honestior, tanto est securior,
et quanto castior, tanto iocundior." ibid. The text is
corrupt - probably because of omission - and punctuation
correspondingly uncertain, but the general sense is clear.
 2. "Ubi hec quatuor concurrunt, ibi apparet inter coniuges
dilectio socialis et spiritualis" ibid.
 3. "Non intelligunt multi honorem coniugii, quod dominus per
se ipsum et in paradyso constituit, et sua presentia nup-
tias voluit honorare . . ." B.N. Lat.15943 fo.CXLIIIra.

probably refers to the marriage feast at Chana.) When addressing virgins, in another part of his Ad status collection, Gilbertus' emphasis is different. This is to be expected: he thought that virginity was the higher state. In his sermons to wives Gilbertus shows himself to be sensitive to his audience by giving liberal doses of encouragement. Like the other sermons from the collection which have been discussed, they are a not unsuccessful attempt to adapt content to audience.

The remark that 'not many understand' the worth of marriage may suggest that Gilbertus' adaptability to a public of married laymen and women was untypical. In fact it was not: an optimistic view of marriage is very common in the sermon literature of the period. Many of the points which Gilbertus makes are commonplaces in the proper sense of the phrase: ideas and formulae which are found regularly, in fact conventionally, within a particular tradition. The Ad status genre enables him to develop them at greater length than was common, but they are to be found in many ordinary de Tempore series. The convention seems to have been to preach about marriage in the course of a sermon on the text Nuptiae facte sunt in Chana Galilee (John 2,1). These are the opening words of the Gospel which was normally¹ read on the first Sunday after the Octave of the Epiphany. The text was susceptible to a figurative - 'spiritual' - interpretation, and that is usually included in the sermon, but frequently, often enough for it to be called a topos, there is also a substantial section on marriage in the literal sense.

1. Not always: it varied according to the liturgical calendar which was being used.

A sermon on the text from a collection by Guillelmus de Malliaco may serve as an example. His marriage doctrine bears a strong family resemblance to that of Gilbertus de Tornaco. He says for instance that marriages should be contracted for the sake of children,¹ that married couples should love each other intimately from the heart,² and that it is evil to marry for pecuniary motives - 'these people marry money rather than a bride'.³ A story about a philosopher adds light relief to the attack on mercenary marriages.⁴

This sermon, like the sermons to wives by Gilbertus de Tornaco, shows a certain sensitivity to the nature of the audience. He begins the sermon by attacking the theory that marriage is evil: '. . . as the Apostle foretold, 1 Timothy 4, there will be some who give up the faith, listening to the inspirations of error and the doctrines of demons, and among other perverse teachings (documenta) they will forbid marriage. Therefore the Lord, who in the Old Testament by his own mouth instituted marriage, confirmed it in the New both by word, when he said: "What God has joined together, let no man put asunder", and by deed in today's Gospel, where he consecrated it (eum!) by

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1. 'Primo, dico debet esse intentionis rectitudo, ut sit ibi bonum prolis, quod fit quando intentione prolis procreande et ad cultum dei educande contrahitur,' MS. B.N.Lat.15956 fo.26va.
 2. B.N. Lat.15956 fo.26va.
 3. 'non sicut usurarii, scilicet cupidi, qui propter divitias congregandas contrahunt; hii potius contrahunt cum pecunia (pecunia cod. pecuniam) quam cum sponsa'. B.N. Lat.15956 fo.26va.
 4. 'Nota de philosopho qui oblati filie sue duobus viris, uno fatuo et divite, alio paupere et sapiente, dixit: malo filiam meam dare viro indigenti pecunia quam pecunie indigenti (cod. indigentis) viro'. B.N. Lat.15956 fo.26vb.

his bodily presence and honoured it with the marks of his miracles.¹

Although the sermon is not specifically addressed to wives it takes into account women as well as men. After a remark or text applying to husbands he tends to add another for their partners.² He directs an aside against heavy drinkers who neglect the material welfare of their wives.³

At the head of fo. 27 recto of B.N. Lat.15956 is a passage which appears to be designed to appeal to the female element in a congregation (the passage may be a part of the main text which was written at the head of the page after the scribe had failed to put it in its proper place.)⁴ It explains that "women ought to be held in honour because of certain privileges which they

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1. ' . . . sicut prenuntiavit Apostolus i **[i]** thim. iiii.^a discedent quidam a fide attendentes spiritibus erroris et doctrinis demoniorum, et inter cetera perversa documenta prohibebunt nubere; ideo dominus matrimonium, quod in veteri testamento proprio ore instituerat, confirmavit in novo, et verbo, cum dixit, quod deus coniunxit homo non separet, et facto, in hodierno ewangelio, ubi eum (sic, fort. pro "matrimonium" - mm) presentia sua corporali consecravit, et miraculorum (suorum ante corr.) indiciis insignivit.' B.N. Lat.15956 fo.26ra. (Above the last letters of prohibebant there are omission marks in ms. There are words in the left hand margin, but in my photograph they are for the most part hidden by the shadow of the binding).
 2. E.g., on the obligation of both partners to have intercourse if the other desires it: 'quarto consistit in mutua et inviolabili conversatione. Mulier enim sui corporis potestatem non habet, sed vir, et e converso, sicut dicitur i^a Cor. vii., et ideo ibidem precipit <ut> vir uxori debitum reddat.' B.N. Lat. 15956 fo. 27ra.
 3. 'Secundo consistit ista fidelitas in temporalium mutua amministrazione. Sicut enim dicitur Eph.v. \f. Qui uxorem suam diligit, seipsum diligit. / Nemo unquam carnem suam odio habuit (cod. habuit odio cum signis inversionis) sed nutrit et fovet eam, quod est contra ebriosos.' B.N. Lat. 15956 fo.26vb - 27ra.
 4. It would be necessary to examine other mss. of the collection to determine whether the passage is by Guillelmus de Malliaco himself, and whether it should be part of the main text. There are signs which may indicate that it should be inserted in the text after line 10 (col.A); on the other hand it might be an independent addition.

have, that men do not have."¹ Then the "privilegia" are listed: First, woman was made from a more noble substance, because she was made from a rib, while man was made from mere earth.² Secondly, women were actually made in paradise, whereas men were not;³ this is why women come more willingly than men to church, as to their own place where they were created.⁴ Finally, the son of God wished to be from them (women) without any help from a man.⁵ The style of the passage is even more than usually telegraphic, and the text may be slightly corrupt, but the general message seems clear enough. It is evidence of a certain sensitivity to the feelings of the women who would be present in nearly all congregations of laypeople, just as the whole section on Nuptie sacramentales shows a sensitivity to the attitudes of married people in general. The friars could be all things to all men and women.

Sermones ad Status and sermons on the text Nuptie facte sunt show that thirteenth century preachers were capable of orienting their sermons towards matters that concerned only the laity. Moreover the sermons that have been singled out

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1. ". . . mulieres debent honorari propter privilegia aliqua que habent, et non habent ea viri. "B.N. Lat.15956 fo.27r (head).
 2. "Primum quia facta fuit de nobiliori materia, quia de costa: vir autem de vili terra." ibid.
 3. The writer may be thinking of Genesis 2,8: "Plantaverat autem Dominus Deus paradysum voluptatis a principio, in quo posuit hominem quem formaverat." The pluperfect could be taken to mean that man was made before he was placed in the paradise of delight.
 4. "Item, propter locum, quia in paradyso, vir autem in terra. Ideo libentius veniunt ad ecclesiam quam viri, tanquam ad suum locum proprium, ubi create sunt, qui per paradysum terrestrem significatur (sig^{ur})" B.N. Lat.15956 loc.cit. (A hairline across the y of paradyso might indicate that the scribe wished to change it to paradiso.)
 5. "3^o quia de ipsis voluit esse filius dei, sine aliquo viri adiutorio." ibid.

have a wider significance than they would have if they stood for nothing more than what one preacher chose to say on one particular occasion: they belong to collections of model sermons which we know to have been widely diffused, and therefore, presumably, widely used. They are patterns which must have been followed many times by many preachers over the years; many manuscripts of the collections to which they belong have survived, and we also know that both collections were mass produced by the Paris University stationers. With the Nuptie facte sunt sermon of Guillelmus de Malliaco one may go further. Not only is it part of a popular collection: it also represents a topos, a recurring theme in the sermons of the period.

The first conclusion, then, must be that 13th century preachers had at their disposal model sermons whose content was adapted to the special needs and problems of the new lay 'sermon hearing public'. They would be particularly well equipped to talk to married couples about their state of life, for they had a good many model sermons to choose from. Moreover the model sermons were clearly designed to encourage rather than distress married laymen and women. The content of Nuptie facte sunt sermons tends to be carefully tailored to their audience.

If they wished to deal with other sorts and conditions of lay life, preachers would have had fewer models to choose from: only three major collections. Nevertheless, at least one of them, that of Gilbertus de Tornaco, must have been relatively easy to obtain. Leaving aside his sermons to wives, which have much the same message as Nuptie facte sunt sermons,

the tone of the sermons analysed above is predominantly critical. They are designed to frighten rather than to comfort. The practices of lawyers, merchants, and civic officials, and the wealth of the urban bourgeoisie, do not get such gentle treatment as the married state.

Even so, Gilbertus seems to have made an effort to sugar the pill. As we have seen, he says that advocates can protect the human race no less than if they were to defend themselves, their country and their descendents with shield and breastplate; he transfers notions of Christian kingship to rectores reipublice vacantes; he concedes that temporal riches are legitimate when acquired without evil-doing, and also that trade is not by its nature immoral. He presents doctrines in the form of allegories which are meant to catch the interest of particular classes of listeners: in his sermons to merchants he uses the figure of the good merchant to represent Christ and his followers, and the figure of the bad merchant for the devil and his followers; and when addressing lawyers he makes the role of an advocate in a court of law a figure of Christ's justification of the human race. All this would have reduced the danger of alienating his audience. Moreover the diatribes against the characteristic vices of the particular status he is addressing must also be regarded as an effort to adapt content to audience.

Ad status sermons and sermons on the text Nuptie facte sunt are one side of the coin: there is another. The sermons discussed so far show that it was possible to adjust the content of preaching to adapt it to the new lay public of the towns; it remains to be asked how far this was normal, and how far it

was necessary. It may be said straight away that the answer to the first question is: surprisingly little; but this is better demonstrated by individual examples than by generalisations.

The most convenient model sermon collections to deal with are those which have a prologue, in which the author explains what kind of audience he is addressing. One such is the collection of Johannes Halgrinus de Abbatisvilla,¹ who wrote it in the early period of the preaching revival (he died in 1237). Though it has never been printed, it was one of the most popular sermon cycles of the Middle Ages, and Schneyer's Repertorium lists a formidable number of manuscripts of it. In the prologue it is made clear that Johannes is not writing for a sophisticated public. It includes the statement that he is not "promising precise and subtle speech for the itching ears of scholars, but as it were unsophisticated homilies to put before unsophisticated people."²

As an example of one of these "unsophisticated homilies" we may take a sermon on the text "Estote misericordes sicut et pater vester misericors est." It may be compared with the sermon on the same text by Maurice de Sully, which was discussed in the previous chapter in connection with the new sermon form. The sermon by Maurice belongs to a different age. Maurice himself died before the end of the twelfth century, and his sermons seem far away from the world of 13th century preaching.

1. Lecoy de la Marche, La chaire française (1886), pp. 60-64; Schneyer, Gesch. d. kath. Predigt p. 133.

2. ". . . non sermonem exactum vel subtilem prurientibus scolarium auribus promittentes, sed quasi rudes omelias rudibus rudi (sic) proponendas." Bodl. Ms. Nyell 6 fo. 4. va col. A.

Nevertheless they are one of the relatively small number of twelfth century collections which were written for the purpose which inspired so many sermon cycles in the thirteenth century: that is, to provide model sermons for preachers who were too busy or too ill equipped to write their own.¹ Their success is easy to understand. As one historian put it: "Leur style simple est parfaitement approprié à l'auditoire auquel ils étaient destinés."² They contain "neither scholastic subtleties nor elaborate allegories."³ Johannes de Abbatisvilla's sermon on the same text is quite different.

Both are homilies in the sense that they comment on an extended passage, not just one short text. That apart, they are very different. Compare their comments on the words: mensuram bonam, et confertam, et coagitatam, et supereffluentem dabunt in sinum vestrum. (Luc.6,38):

- (a) 'but as if someone were to say: "If we do all these things, what reward will we receive?" he himself immediately turns to the subject of the reward, saying: "good measure, pressed down and shaken up and running over they will pour (dabunt) into the fold of your garment." He says: "they will give" - that is, the people to whom you do these things which are commanded will themselves give, because God will give for them. What will be given? "Good measure, pressed down, shaken up and running over" - that is, eternal life."

(Maurice de Sully, from the text in Bodl. Ms.e Mus.222 fol.42 verso. The sermon is the first of the illustrative texts.)

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1. For the purpose of Maurice's handbook, v. Lecoy de la Marche, op.cit. pp.46-47.
 2. op.cit. p. 50.
 3. ". . . ni subtilités scolastiques (sic), ni allégories recherchées." ibid.

- (b) 'Then he goes on to say what is to be given to the body: "Good measure, shaken up and running over he will pour (dabit) into the fold of your garment." These four are applied to the four gifts with which the body will be endowed. "Good" (bonum) comes from beautiful (bello), which is shining and bright (clarum). Therefore by saying "good" he indicates the glory (claritatem) of the body. To "pressed down" corresponds incorruptibility. To "shaken up" - because it implies mobility - corresponds speed of movement. To "running over" corresponds fineness (subtilitas), for something that is fine easily flows away. The works of mercy will give all these things, by their Lord,¹ not into any container, but into the fold of a garment. For if you do not have a fold in (your) garment, you will receive nothing. However, it is not possible to have a fold in (your) garment without a girdle - by which chastity is indicated: anyone who does not have this, lacks a fold in (their) garment, and will get back nothing from the Lord. Of this girdle speaks Is., (ch.) 23, as if he were reproaching a soul not bound with the zone of chastity: "Cross your land like a river, O daughter of the sea (maris)! No more do you have a girdle." As if² to say: "O soul, daughter of bitterness (amaritudinis),² because you do not have the girdle of chastity, you will receive nothing."

(Johannes Halgrinus de Abbatisvilla, from the text in Bodl. MS. Lyell 6. The passage is on fol. 142 verso cols. A-B. The sermon is no. 4 of the illustrative texts.)

It will be apparent that Johannes de Abbatisvilla's homilies are not so unsophisticated as all that. The allegory and symbolism is elaborate. In this respect his sermon on the text Estote Misericordes is closer to a contemporary university sermon than to Maurice de Sully's homily. There is a sermon on the same text among the Paris University sermons of the years 1230-1231 edited by M. N. Davy; they were preached during the lifetime of Johannes, and like his collection they belong

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1. The ms. has domino suo, which would be translated "to their lord". The text may be corrupt here; I have translated on the hypothesis that a preposition (a or de) has dropped out of the text before domino.
 2. Johannes is playing on the words maris and amaritudinis, which he may have thought to be etymologically related.

to the transition period before the New Sermon Form was fully developed and established. Unlike the Estote Misericordes sermon of Johannes de Abbatisvilla, the sermon on this text which Davy prints is not a homily, for it does not comment on an extended passage of Scripture (though Johannes himself does not do so until the second half of his sermon.) Again, the University sermon has a tighter structure, a more obvious and detailed central plan. Moreover it contains some passages which are clearly addressed to clerical listeners.¹ Nevertheless, the impression remains that Johannes' sermon has more in common with the sophistication of the University preacher than with the simplicity of Maurice de Sully.

In particular, both Johannes and the University preacher make use of an elaborate symmetrical pattern, and it is instructive to compare them. With the University preacher (who, confusingly, is also called Johannes) the number which informs the symmetrical pattern is five. After the preliminary parts of the sermon he introduces the first theme: "Now God is merciful in the five benefits which he conferred on us."² He proceeds to describe them. The first is his Son, the price of our redemption; the second the world, which is not in itself

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1. e.g. ". . . ad imaginem suam nos fecit, . . . et maxime clericos qui majorem habent cognitionem de ipso et ideo magis tenentur ei servire . . ." M.M. Davy, Les sermons universitaires Parisiens de 1230-1231, Études de Philosophie Médiévale XV, (Paris 1931) p. 296.
 2. op.cit. p. 295.

evil;¹ the third benefit is that he gave us angels to guard us (ad custodiam); the fourth, that he made us in his own image, and the fifth, that he gave us an eternal inheritance, as a hope in the present, and as a reality in the future.²

Then he begins another corresponding series of five. To the first benefit correspond martyrs, who leave themselves open to suffering for the sake of Christ. To the second benefit correspond the members of the early Church (primitivi in Ecclesia) who sold everything and placed what they had at the feet of the apostles. To the third correspond Abraham and Lot, who ministered to angels and to angelic men (viris angelicis). To the fourth benefit correspond hermits, continually contemplating God, and to the fifth, holy men who diligently labour at their heavenly inheritance.³

The word for 'correspond' also has the sense of responding to (the word is respondent), or making return for, and both shades of meaning are probably intended. The notion of making a return for the five benefits conferred by God comes to the fore in the third series of correspondences.

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1. Here the preacher makes an interesting distinction. He states the objection that the world belongs to the devil, then answers it: 'Ad quod respondemus quod in mundo tria sunt, videlicet natura, corruptio et utilitas. Natura Dei est, corruptio diaboli, utilitas hominis. Unde quidam sanctus dixit: "Quod vivimus in mundo, Dei est; quod autem peccamus, diaboli est." ' Davy, op.cit. p. 296. (For the quotation she gives a reference to I Johan, III,8.
 2. For the five benefits, I paraphrase from op.cit. pp. 295-296.
 3. For this para., v. op.cit. pp.296-297.

'In the same way we too should now make a return for those benefits conferred by God.'¹ Five ways to do so are then listed, each corresponding with one of the benefits conferred by God. Firstly, we should give ourselves - not just alms or goods - to God.² We should make a return for the second benefit by giving our temporal goods to the poor; to the third, by serving God and those who belong to him. The fourth way is to have a knowledge and understanding of God.³ We should respond to the fifth benefit by working for our eternal inheritance.⁴

A summary paraphrase inevitably loses most of the original's flavour: Of course the preacher did not merely list his groups of five as they are given here, but synthesises them with many scriptural and some patristic authorities, making the sermon into an artistic whole. In the first part of his sermon (which falls into two separate sections) Johannes Halgrinus also deploys his material in a careful artistic pattern, which he develops from an allegory on the text "Blessed be the Lord my God, who trains my hands for battle, and my fingers for war."⁵ The symmetry is not made so explicit as in the University sermon, but it is unmistakable.

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1. "benefits conferred by God". Davy indicates that the ms. has beneficiis collatis ad, and emends ad to a in the text. I have supplied the "by God" - the logical consequence of her emendation - though she does not print Deo in the text.
 2. "Primo ut nosmetipsos Deo donemus, . . ." op.cit. p. 297. Primo may mean "firstly". Alternatively, the sense may be: "Primo (beneficio) ut nosmetipsos Deo donemus, . . ."
 3. "Cuarto [beneficio debemus respondere] ut beneficium scientiae et cognitionis Dei habeamus." op.cit. pp. 297-298.
 4. For this para., v. op.cit. pp. 297-298.
 5. Ps. 143, 1.

'This psalm deals with the mercy which fights against the devil. For it trains our hands for battle, and our fingers for war. For he who has a double mercy, that is towards friend and enemy, fights with two hands. Mercy prepares our fingers for war; we have ten of them, because of the ten works of mercy, of which six are the works of bodily mercy which are in the gospel where it says: "I was hungry and you gave me food; . . . However, the seventh is found in Tobias, - that is, burying the dead. The three works of spiritual mercy are definitely (firmiter) found in the Gospel: . . .'¹

This passage prepares the way for the symmetrical correspondences, which, in this sermon, go in sets of threes. First, the three works of spiritual mercy: "If he is sorry, forgive; if he sins, censure; if he lacks knowledge, impart it. . . . Therefore mercy trains our hands for battle, and our fingers for war. And it should be noted, that mercy corresponds well to fingers. For fingers have three joints, because of the three things to be considered in mercy."

In this way, with the words from the Psalm repeated like a Leitmotiv, the next set of three is introduced. The 'three things to be considered in mercy' are substantia, ordo, and intentio. He elaborates: Substantia, because one should give only what one rightfully owns. ". . . He who offers sacrifice from the goods (de substantia) of the poor, is like one who offers up a son in the sight of his father." (Eccli. 34,24). This theme is developed at some length, then Johannes

1. Bodl. MS. Lyell 6 fol. 141rb - fo. 141va.

turns to the next one: "After considering what is given, the order should be considered. For as Augustine says, he who wishes to give alms in the proper order (ordinate) ought to begin with himself." This does not quite mean 'charity begins at home'; Johannes makes it clear that he means mercy to the soul: "Therefore Ecclesiasticus 30, at the end: 'Have mercy on your own soul, pleasing God" - as if he were to say: 'If you wish to please God by alms have mercy on your own soul, so that you give first to it.' " More of the same passage from Ecclesiasticus is quoted and commented, another quotation - from Isaiah - is added, then Johannes turns to his third point, intentio. This is short and straightforward: alms should be given for an eternal reward, not for the favour of men: 'When you give alms, do not sound a trumpet before you'. From here he proceeds to a third series of three.

"Furthermore alms correspond to a finger because of the three things which should be given." They are: cordis compassio, verbum bonum, datum bonum. The first is explained simply: "Gregory speaks about compassion: It is a greater thing to sympathise from the heart than to give. For one who sympathises from the heart, gives of himself. But one who gives a garment or anything else, gives not of his own but of something outside himself (de alieno)." The meaning of verbum bonum and datum bonum is not so immediately obvious: in fact Johannes has in mind a specific passage of scripture, which he quotes and explains: "Of the good word and gift Ecclesiasticus 18 says: 'My son, bestow thy favours ungrudgingly,¹ and with

1. Knox's rendering of 'Fili, in bonis non des querelam' (Eccl. 18,15).

any gift avoid giving the misery of an unkind word. Will not moisture cool down something that is burning? So too is a (kind) word better than a kind gift. Behold, the kind word is higher than the kind gift, but the just man will have both to give (sed utrumque cum homine iustificato)' ".

The last series of three is not properly distinct from the previous one: strictly speaking it is simply a new allegory to emphasise the same threefold distinction: "These three (Mary) Magdalene brought to the feet of the Lord, which she washed with tears, anointed with ointment, and dried with her hair. In tears compassion is signified; in the ointment, holy comforting (consolatio); in hair, by which a superfluity of temporal possessions is meant,¹ the giving of alms. These are laid at the foot of the Lord when offerings are made to the poor."²

Little of this would cause surprise in a University sermon. That is true of Johannes' sermon as a whole: from internal evidence alone it would be hard to say whether it was for an educated clerical audience, or for a public of laymen. It is true that some passages in the University sermon with which we compared it are virtually quaestiones,³ but in this respect the university sermon is somewhat untypical of its genre.⁴ Again,

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1. 'Is meant' - ". . . , per quos significatur rerum temporalium superfluitas, elemosinarum largitio." Bodl.MS.Lyell 6 fo. 142ra.
 2. For the preceding translations and paraphrases from Johannes de Abbatisvilla, v. Illustrative Texts, no.4.
 3. e.g. v. sup. p. 195 n. 1
 4. v. Davy, op.cit. p. 45.

Johannes de Abbatisvilla's sermon has a looser, less formal structure, but this would not in itself imply a lay audience. The difference might be explained in terms of the general evolution of preaching in the period: University preaching was changing fast at this time, as the New Sermon form began to be widely used, and Johannes de Abbatisvilla's sermon might have been written by an academic preacher of slightly conservative tastes. The difference between the form of the two sermons may reflect different stages in a general development rather than the difference in audience.

There is in fact a possibility that Johannes de Abbatisvilla was not writing exclusively for lay congregations. It is true that, as we saw, his prologue speaks of 'unsophisticated homilies to be put before unsophisticated people', but sometimes one has the impression that Johannes is addressing clerics - prelati,¹ whatever the precise meaning of that word may be. Could some prelati have fallen into the category of rudes, at least in the eyes of a Paris academic like Johannes? However that may be, there can be little doubt that the collection was at least partly directed at laypeople, and its wide diffusion cannot easily be explained unless it was used for that purpose. Therefore the resemblances between these homilies and University sermons should command our attention. They might be explained as a failure by the author to achieve the end he

1. "Fratres, etsi preoccupatus fuerit homo et cetera. Hactenus generaliter instruxit prelatos et subditos; modo ad prelatos loquitur specialiter, docens quomodo tractent subditos . . ." Bodl. MS. Lyell 6, fo. 180vb.

announced in the prologue,¹ but since we can infer from the surviving manuscripts that the collection was outstandingly successful the collection cannot be dismissed so easily as that.

This is not an isolated case. From internal evidence it is frequently difficult to say whether a given sermon was for a popular or an academic audience. We may balance this example from the early decades of the century with another from the second half: as before, a comparison between a University sermon and a popular sermon on the same theme.

The two sermons are for the feast of the Holy Trinity. The 'popular' sermon is from the massive preaching manual by Guy of Evreux.² In its day it appears to have been a standard work;³ many manuscripts of it have survived,⁴ and we know that it was multiplied by the pecia system.⁵ Though the work was never printed - which suggests that its popularity had declined by the end of the Middle Ages - it must have been widely used in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The sermons were primarily intended for lay congregations.⁶ The general nature of the work - it is a collection of model sermons, a handbook of stereotyped material - would be a

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1. Cf. Peter Linehan, The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century (C.U.P. 1971), p. 49.
 2. Pierre Michaud-Quantin, 'Guy d'Evreux C.P. Technicien du Sermonnaire Médiéval', I.F.R., xx (1950), pp. 213-233.
 3. Michaud-Quantin, op.cit. p. 218.
 4. op.cit. p. 218; Beaune, Repertorium, Heft 2 pp.364-5.
 5. Michaud-Quantin, op.cit. p. 213.
 6. op.cit. p. 232.

sufficient argument, but the many citations in French provide confirmation that the sermons were to be preached in the vernacular and to laypeople.¹

The academic sermon is one of the Paris University sermons which are usually thought to belong to the year 1267-1268.² The sermon which has been selected is attributed in MS. Bodl. Ashmole 757 to one Johannes de Verdi. It has been argued that it was preached on the 3rd June, 1268.³ There seems no doubt that it was preached before members of Paris University.

The academic sermon of Johannes de Verdi and the popular sermon of Guy d'Evreux have been transcribed in full (Illustrative Texts nos. 5 & 6) so that they may be compared in detail. I think it will be agreed that they are more alike than the difference in audience might lead one to expect. The University sermon is rather less academic and the popular sermon rather more academic than one might have anticipated, and there is a general similarity of approach.

Occasionally the difference in audience does show through. In one place the University preacher draws a distinction between two senses of 'trinitas dei': 'The third trinity is of God, and this is understood in two ways. One way is in a transitive sense (transitive), as if one should say the trinity which is from God; in the other way it may be said intransitively:

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1. op.cit. p. 229.
 2. P. Glorieux 'Sermons universitaires Parisiens de 1267-8' Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale, xvi (1949), 40-71.
 3. Glorieux, op.cit. The sermon is no. 150 in Glorieux's list of preachers, dates, et cetera.)

the trinity of God - that is, which is God, just as one says "a creature of salt" - that is, a creature which is salt."¹ This distinction is not made in the popular sermon, and it is the sort of thing one would expect in a sermon to members of the University.

Nevertheless there is an unmistakable family resemblance between the two sermons. To begin with, they are both composed of the same basic elements. Each has two main components: an analysis of the doctrine of the three persons in one God, and a series of other 'trinities'. It is a commonplace that in the middle ages ideas went in threes, and a posteriori, this play on the word trinitas need not surprise us. On the other hand, one could not have predicted it a priori: it is not the most obvious way to organise a sermon for the feast of the Holy Trinity. That both sermons follow the same underlying pattern is a fact which deserves attention.

The resemblances are most specific than that. Several of the same 'trinities' are to be found in both sermons. Thus there is a close correspondence between the 'trinity which deforms' of Guy d'Evreux, and the 'trinity of the world which is of fortune' of Johannes de Verdi. Each is based on 1 John 2,16, from which the trio of riches, honours, and sensual pleasures² is derived.³ There is an even more exact correspondence, Johannes de Verdi's 'trinitas dei per quam a peccato

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1. MS. Bodl. Ashmole 757 fo. 266va.
 2. Sensual pleasure: Guy of Evreux speaks of luxuria, Johannes de Verdi, less precisely, of delicie.
 3. Compare MS. Bodl. Ashmole 757 fo. 266ra (Johannes de Verdi), with MS. Bodl. Laud Misc. 348 fo. 136va - 136vb (Guy d'Evreux).

resurgimus' and Guy d'Evreux's 'trinitas reformativa' (both refer to contrition, confession, and satisfaction).¹ In the same way the three theological virtues (faith, hope and charity) are called the 'trinitas in bono confirmativa' by Guy d'Evreux, and the 'trinitas dei per quam deo reformamur et conformamur' by Johannes de Verdi.²

The two sermons must be read side by side for the similarity of tone and approach to be appreciated properly. There is no certain evidence that either was directly influenced by the other, and a more likely explanation of the correspondences would be that both were drawing on topoi current in thirteenth century preaching. The salient point is that the difference in audience is reflected only faintly, if at all, in differences between the contents of the two sermons. The sermon for laymen and the sermon preached to educated clerics seem to be pitched at much the same level. The model which antithesises simple popular sermons with sophisticated university preaching will not work here.

Paradoxically, there are places where it is the popular sermon that seems to be the most academic. In discussing the Trinity in the normal sense - the three persons in one God - Johannes de Verdi avoids subtle theological argument. Guy

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1. Compare MS Bodl. Ashmole 757 fo.266rb-267ra (Johannes de Verdi), with MS. Bodl. Laud Misc.348 fo.137ra (Guy d'Evreux).
 2. Compars MS Bodl. Ashmole 757 fo.267rb (Johannes de Verdi), with MS. Bodl. Laud Misc.348 fo.137rb (Guy d'Evreux).

d'Evreux, by contrast, takes us quite far into the realms of theological speculation, and he not only states his points, but attempts to prove them by sophisticated arguments. Compare the following passages.

- (1) Fotinus (sic), in professing his belief in the Trinity, said that the Son is not the son of God except by adoption; Sabellius said that they are different in respect of <***>¹, and completely identical (idem) really, and that the Father and the Son are identical from eternity. Against Fotinus is the text 'No-one has gone up, except he who came down, the Son of Man who is in heaven.' Arrius (sic) professes belief in the Trinity by way of (per modum) inequality, for he said that the son is a purely created being. Therefore Fotinus denied the true nature of the Godhead, Sabellius denied the difference between the persons, and Arius denied their equality. The single nature of the divinity is alluded to when he says: 'and these three are one'; he alludes to the distinct origin of the persons when he says: 'there are three'; but he alludes to their equality when he says: 'give testimony' - not different testimonies, therefore he alludes to the equality of the persons. (Johannes de Verdi)
(MS.Bodl. Ashmole 757 fo.268ra-268rb)

The extract gives a fair idea of his approach. He does not make the doctrine of the Trinity simple, but he contents himself with stating it and proving it by his scriptural text; he does not attempt a theological explanation of it. Guy d'Evreux, by contrast, does try. His analysis of the doctrine is much longer, so we may confine ourselves to his arguments for a real distinction between the persons of the Trinity:

- (2) First he alludes to the plurality of persons: plusors persones en la divinite. Therefore he says: these (hi). For, just as God is one, certain people proposed a unity of persons, just as there are Jews and pagans, who do indeed (bene) believe in one God, but not, however, in three persons. Furthermore Sabellius, who was a Christian, but a heretic, proposed that there is only a single person, and said that the Father and the Son and the Holy

1. The phrase ^{opera-}ratione differentes construes, but does not seem to mean much in the context, and a word may have dropped out of the text.

Ghost were one person called by different names; and this view he rules out when he says: these, in the plural number, which is clear from the divine goodness. Dionysius says that good tends to communicate itself; but God is completely good, therefore he communicates himself completely; but he would not communicate himself completely unless he were to communicate himself in his entirety; but in creatures it is not possible to communicate himself in his entirety and completely, for a creature would not be able wholly to receive in himself the divine goodness, because (if) so he would be equal to God; therefore he will communicate himself to someone other than a creature, who will thus be God. Therefore they are at all events more persons than one.¹ Furthermore this is clear from the perfection of the divine happiness, for Richard of St. Victor says that the possession of any good is not enjoyable without a companion; therefore, since he has always been happy, there never was a time when he was without a companion, and so (God was) always more persons than one. Therefore it is said, Exod. xxxiii (sic): 'These are your gods, Israel'.² 'these' and the 'gods' would never be referring to more gods than one, but to more persons than one. (Guy d'Evreux)

(MS. Bodl. Laud Misc. 348 fo. 135rb)

These two passages show how hard it would be to tell from the content which was the University sermon, if we did not know from other, more external indications. A comparison between the two sermons illustrates the general fact that between academic and popular preaching no gulf was fixed. So far as many - perhaps the majority - of surviving thirteenth century sermons are concerned, the difference in audience does not imply a substantial difference in content. Obviously enough, the sermons to laypeople are less likely to talk about what one might call the social problems of academics: their career ambitions, the lure of the faculty of Laws, the temptation to accumulate benefices, their pastoral obligations; but

1. More persons than one] plures.

in their theological content, as opposed to social comments, the 'popular' sermons do not seem to be pitched at a very much lower level.

The best model of the relation between audience and content is a spectrum. At the extreme of the 'popular' end of the spectrum there are some sermons, like the address Ad laicos in villis of Humbert of Romans, whose content is adapted to the least sophisticated sort of lay congregations: and by and large, that means the rural congregations. Not many sermons of this kind have survived. One possible explanation is that preachers did not need collections of model sermons for this type of congregation. They may have relied on improvisation, and on straightforward explanations of the Gospel of the day. Another reason could be that the friars, the main producers of model sermon collections, were in general more concerned with the town than with the country. Whatever the reason, sermons whose content is obviously adapted to the needs of simple rural congregations are rare.

Moving along the spectrum, we come to sermons whose content is fairly sophisticated, but which are nevertheless concerned with specifically lay problems. The outstanding examples are Ad Status sermons. There are not many collections of Ad Status sermons, but one at least of them, that of Gilbertus de Tornaco, was very popular and much used. With these sermons the relation between audience and content is straightforward. The sermons are concerned with the vices of laymen, and also occasionally with lay virtues. Though they take a hard line, an effort is made to avoid alienating the various classes at which they were directed. Gilbertus

de Tornaco is prepared to call Christ an advocatus when addressing lawyers, and a bonus negotiator when addressing merchants. There are Ad Status sermons for most of the new classes of laymen whose rise is linked with the growing importance of the towns in economy and society.

With the Ad Status sermons may be classed the sermons on the text Nuptie facte sunt which included a section on marriage. In these, as in the Ad Status sermons, we see an obvious attempt to adapt content to a lay audience. The characteristic topoi of such sermons could hardly have been used for congregations of celibates.

Then one comes to a very large band on the spectrum, composed of sermons which, for one reason or another, we know to have been intended for laymen, but whose content gives little hint of the fact. External indications may show that they were not for congregations of priests, but the substance differs little from the content of sermons to educated clerical audiences. The spectrum of popular preaching merges almost imperceptibly into the spectrum of academic preaching.

One could conclude from this that the sermons were out of tune with their public, but that would probably be a mistaken inference. The model sermons which constitute the bulk of our evidence were written by professional experts in preaching. In particular the friars, who wrote so many of them, must have had a good idea of what would work and what would not. Sermon handbooks like that of Guy d'Evreux would not have been written and repeatedly copied if they had not been of real value to preachers.

The similarity between the content of academic and popular preaching may be explained, up to a point, in the same way as their similarity in form. In an earlier section it was argued that the urban lay public to whom the model sermons were preached included laymen of some education; it would also have included men and women who were in the habit of attending sermons regularly and frequently, and who would presumably have passed beyond the most elementary stage of religious instruction. We need always to bear in mind the fact that the model sermons were probably not meant for simple peasants, whose religion was no doubt primitive, but for townsmen whose cultural level was quite different. We should also remember that the preacher would have been able to add explanations, and other material suitable for the less sophisticated members of his audience, when he turned a model sermon into living speech.

Paradoxically, the development of the Ad Status genre itself provides a further explanation of the uniformity of sermons to clergy and laity. It was not necessary to fill ordinary De Tempore collections with material specifically designed for laymen, because the material would be available in a specialised collection. Ordinary handbooks of model sermons could be devoted to the topics that were important for clergy and laity alike: the fundamental beliefs, their Biblical origins, and the virtues and vices which cut across different status. It would not be easy, for instance, to tell whether the following passage was directed at clerics or laymen:

'Augustine says: It is not a negligible fault when the flesh longs for something against the spirit. This revolt is harder to triumph in than any other fight, for in any other fight a man fights with his whole being but when someone fights against sensuality, he fights only with half of himself; For this reason it is said in Proverbs 17^a (sic): A man who endures is better than a strong man, and a man who is master of his own passions is better than a conqueror of cities. Therefore he whose sensuality is at variance with his reason has not unity.

In fact the passage comes from the university collatio which accompanied Johannes de Verdi's sermon for the feast of the Holy Trinity. The young men who preached and listened to University collationes would be clerics, but they would not be exempt from all the temptations which troubled their lay contemporaries. Not all vices fell neatly into one Ad Status category.

A final reason for the resemblance between academic and popular preaching is that the academic sermons were, relatively, popular. Academic preaching was a different thing from scholastic theology proper. It is instructive to compare Johannes de Verdi's sermon for the feast of the Holy Trinity with the Quaestiones on the Trinity in the Summa Theologica. Aquinas discusses problems like: 'Utrum persona sit idem quod hypostasis, subsistentia et essentia'.²

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1. 'Augustinus dicit: nonnullum vitium est cum caro concupiscit adversus spiritum. Hec rebellio difficilior est ad vincendum quam alia pugna, quia in alia pugna pugnat homo ex toto se, sed qui contra sensualitatem pugnat, solum pugnat ex media parte sui. Propter hoc dicitur in Prov. 17a : Melior est vir patiens viro forti, et qui dominatur animo suo, expugnatore urbium. Igitur non habet unitatem cuius sensualitas discordat a ratione.' Bodl. MS. Ashmole 757 fo. 269vb (contra An alteration by the scribe or a corrector; Prov. 17a sic. The passage is from Prov. 16³².)
 2. Aquinas, Summa Theologica 1 q.29 a.2 Opera Omnia tom IV (Leonine edition, Rome 1888) p. 330;

Quaestiones and even lectures on the Bible were primarily intellectual exercises, but the function of preaching, even university preaching, was only intellectual up to a point. Johannes de Verdi, in the same sermon for the feast of the Holy Trinity, says that 'Lectures on the Bible (Lectio) is principally to instruct the intellect, but preaching is to influence the affective faculty'.¹

Perhaps the fact that the same sort of sermon could be preached to University clerics and to laymen is more important than its explanation. Even if we do not know how the cultural environment conditioned preaching, I do not think we need be afraid to assume that preaching, in its turn, left its mark on the cultural environment. Because academic and popular sermons were alike, preaching helped close the gap between the two cultures, clerical and lay, of the medieval Church. The commonplaces of the thirteenth century sermon cycles represent the beginning of a common culture which educated clerics shared with the urban laity.

1. 'Lectio principaliter est ad instruendum intellectum, sed predicatio est ad informandum affectum.' MS.Ashmole 757 fo.265vb.

IV. A CASE STUDY

At this point it may be useful to recapitulate. In the first part of this essay it was argued that university sermons contributed to the revival of popular preaching by training the elite to be preachers. The university sermons which friars and other theology students were obliged to attend were a series of 'live' examples of how to preach, and bachelors^{and auditores} could be called upon to give sermons themselves, an ordeal which must have provided an incentive for intensive preparation. When a young friar was asked to preach before the University of Paris, we have seen that he would probably be asked to give a collatio rather than a morning sermon, so that the collatio had a special place in the university training of preachers. As lectors or in other key positions, the university-trained elite of the Franciscans and Dominicans would have acted as a leaven on the preaching of their respective orders.

This interpretation would not be tenable if academic and popular preaching were radically different, and I have tried to show how much the two kinds of preaching had in common, both in their form and in their content; indeed the most likely explanation of their similarity is the influence of the academic elite. One result of the family resemblance between sermons to the laity and sermons to the educated clergy must have been a narrowing of the gap between the two halves of medieval society. The culture of the urban laity grew further away from the culture of the rural population and closer to the culture of the clergy. The surviving sermons represent a large area where the cultures of clergy and laity overlap. We must now turn to a sermon

collection whose history is a remarkable illustration of the link between university and popular sermons.

Until recently little has been known of this collection, but recent research by two men, J.B. Schneyer and L.-J. Bataillon, have made it look more and more interesting. Prof. Schneyer drew attention to the collection by singling it out as the most important of the network of anonymous franciscan sermon collections which he has called the 'Collectiones Fratrum'.¹ Père Bataillon has made further discoveries which suggest that the collection was associated with the University of Paris.

We will probably never know the author of the collection for certain, but titles and colophons in a few manuscripts give intriguing half-clues to its origin. In one manuscript the sermons are entitled the 'Collectiones fratrum'.² When applied to one particular sermon collection the phrase has an unusual ring, and even though the collection includes two series of sermons, one for Sundays and one for feast days, it is slightly odd that the plural 'Collectiones' should be used, rather than simply 'Collectio'.

It is possible to hazard a guess at the identity of the compiler, for there is some reason to think that he was a 'frater Bonafortuna' - not St. Bonaventure the 'Seraphic Doctor', but a namesake who was almost contemporary. The evidence is

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1. v. J.B. Schneyer, 'Die Erforschung der scholastischen Sermones und ihre Bedeutung für die Homiletik' Scholastik xxxix (1964) p.8. ('Die wichtigste Collectio fratrum . . .') Without the help of Professor Schneyer, who lent me the list of incipits and manuscripts which will appear in Band 7 of his Repertorium, I could not have worked on the collection.
 2. MS. Paris B.N. 16510. v. B. Hauréau, Notices et Extraits de Quelques Manuscrits Latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale, tom. 5 p. 64.

the colophon of a Cambridge manuscript of the collection.¹ It runs as follows: 'Explicit summa super sermonibus dierum dominicalium et festivalium totius anni compilata per fratrem Bonefortune de ordine fratrum minorum Parisiensis.'² 'Bonaventura' and 'Bonafortuna' could be interchanged, but if we assume that the colophon refers to the famous Bonaventure the attribution is not worth much: in the Middle Ages pseudepigrapha cluster around the names of great writers.

There is however a definite possibility that the colophon is ascribing the work not to the great Bonaventure but to another man. One would expect him to be described as Cardinal, or Magister, or Minister General of the Friars Minor, unless the manuscript dated from early on in his career, which may be ruled out on palaeographical grounds.

This suggests that we should look for another and less distinguished Bonaventure. The most likely candidate is a Franciscan who was the Provincial of the order in France in the second quarter of the thirteenth century.³ A Franciscan Provincial did not necessarily die in office, so we cannot assume that this Bonaventure died before the second half of the thirteenth century.

1. MS. Cambridge University Library Ii 4 2 fo.121vb.

2. Parisiensis cod. pis'

3. I would not have found this 'other' Bonaventure without the fichier in the Convento dei SS. Apostoli in Rome. According to the fichier he was Provincial from 1233-47, but I do not know the evidence for these dates. We know at least that this Bonaventure was Provincial in 1234 and, with or without a break, in 1238. Cf. A.F.H. iii (1910) pp. 731 (note 1) - 2, & A.F.H. xxvi (1933) pp. 23-4. I owe these references to Père Bougerol.

If the colophon does refer to this Bonaventure we cannot so easily discount its testimony. The absence of titles like 'Cardinal' or 'Minister General', which suggests that this man rather than the more famous Bonaventure was the compiler, also, and by the same token, give the ascription an authority which we cannot so lightly dismiss. An ascription to the great theologian and ecclesiastic is easy to explain; an attribution to this lesser figure is not - unless the latter really did compile the work. This is not to say that we should believe every attribution to someone obscure, but when the alleged author is not only obscure himself, but also has an illustrious namesake, then the probability that the relatively unknown man did write the work is increased.

The probability does not amount to a proof. It does however seem certain that the collection is franciscan. In MS. Clm. 7932 - the earliest manuscript of the collection I have seen - it is entitled 'Sermones cuiusdam minoris fratris',¹ and the phrase 'beatissimus pater Franciscus' is used in at least one of the sermons in the collection.² It is likely enough that the collection was originally compiled to be used by members of the order, like that of Lucas de Bitonto.

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1. MS. Clm. 7932 fo.123ra. This MS. includes the Sunday sermons only.
 2. 'In huius visionis misterio beatissimus pater Franciscus a duobus principaliter commendatur . . .' MS. Zürich Zentralbibliothek Rh. 181 fo.351rb (from a sermon on the text 'Vidi in medio . . .' (Apoc. 1,13))

The compiler may have had franciscan preachers in mind, but there is evidence that he wanted the sermons to be used in parish churches as well as franciscan convents. It was normal for Franciscans to go out and preach in the churches of the secular clergy, but when they did so they probably had to adapt to the liturgical calendar of the church in which they were preaching. De Tempore sermon collections were organised around the calendar of the Church's year, and Legifer is so organised that it could be made to fit either the franciscan calendar or the calendar of the secular clergy.¹ The order of sermons and an instruction to the user in what is probably the earliest surviving manuscript of the collection confirms the impression that the collection was designed to enable Franciscans to preach in parish churches.² A natural inference is that the series was a collection of model sermons for popular preaching.

There are other signs of this. Firstly, the collection is full of cross references. After a brief exhortation on holiness in a sermon on the text 'Sanctificamini, cras comedetis carnes' (Numbers 11,18) we find the following direction, which is not a marginal note but a part of the text: 'De hac autem sanctificatione Require plenius supra in primo sermone dominice secunde in quadragesima'.³ This case is typical of many others.

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1. For the first Sunday after the Octave of Pentecost the Seculars and Dominicans read a Gospel beginning at Luke 16, 19 which the Franciscans did not read on that or any other Sunday of the year. At this point a collection of sermons following the franciscan calendar tout court would be of little use outside the Roman Court or their own convents. This particular collection includes a sermon on the text 'Mortuus est dives . . .' (Luke 16,22), which is from the gospel 'missing' from the franciscan calendar.
 2. In Clm. 7932 (the manuscript in which the collection is described as 'Sermones cuiusdam minoris fratris') the sermon on the text 'Mortuus est dives . . .' is to be found right

The compilation is clearly a unified handbook with the marks of a preaching aid.

As such it was almost certainly meant to be preached to lay congregations. Indeed there is a stylistic feature which would be hard to explain if it was for a lay auditory.

'Fidelis quilibet' or similar phrases are used repeatedly. The phrase itself is not unusual, but in this collection it is employed often enough to give the impression that it was a distinctive stylistic habit of the compiler. The recurrence of the phrase would seem to show that the message was not restricted to any one class of congregation.

We have seen that the main centre for the diffusion of model sermons of this kind was Paris, and in fact this handbook is one of the collections on the 1286 Paris pecia list. The opening words of the first sermon in the collection is Dominus iudex noster, dominus legifer noster, and L.-J. Bataillon made the connection between this incipit and the 'Sermones dicti Legifer' of the pecia list.¹

footnotes continued from p.216.

at the end of the series (on fo.170vb) and on fo.154va there is a remark which almost certainly refers to it: 'Ewangelium homo quidam erat dives secundum seculares Require in ultimo folio dominicalis'.

3. Clm. 7932 fo.145va-145vb.

1. 'Item Sermones dicti Legifer tam de dominicis quam de festis, pecias xxxvxviij den.' Denifle, Chartularium I (530) p.648. Père Bataillon also drew my attention to the dossier on Legifer in the Destrez notes, which ^{are} now kept at the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, Paris. Destrez had discovered a large part of the pecia exemplar (in MS. Troyes 1215) as well as other manuscripts of the collection.

The identification is confirmed by a Pembroke Cambridge manuscript, in which a contents list (which looks early fourteenth century) actually refers to the collection by the name Legifer.¹

So far the handbook - which from this point we may refer to as Legifer - looks like a fairly straightforward example of a model sermon collection, but another discovery by L.-J. Bataillon has made it look more unusual and more interesting. One of the Legifer sermons - the third in the series - bears a close resemblance to a sermon attributed in a reliable manuscript to Aquinas.² The sermons are on the text Celum et Terra Transibunt. The sermon by Aquinas, which has long been in print, is preserved in a manuscript containing many sermons attributed to Bonaventure which have been accepted as genuine.³ It is sufficiently similar to the sermon on the same text in Legifer to suggest that they may be derived from different reportations of the same sermon.

Though there are substantial differences in wording and content it is not impossible to explain them. The sermon attributed to Aquinas in the Milan manuscript appears to be drastically abbreviated, and it may be a small fraction of the

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1. MS. Pembroke Cambridge 87: 'Summa que dicitur Legifer [d]e c[ol]lationibus per annum'. fo.lv. In this codex the collection itself begins on fo.26r.
 2. Père Bataillon has not to my knowledge published this, and I should emphasise that it is entirely his discovery.
 3. MS. Milano, Ambrosiana A.11 sup. The sermon is also found in MS.Paris B.N. Lat.14595. y. L.-J. Bataillon, 'Les Sermons de Saint Thomas et la Catena Aurea', in St. Thomas Aquinas 1274-1974: Commemorative Studies vol. 1, p.69. I have used the edition of the sermon in the Opera Omnia (Vivès edition) of Aquinas, vol. 32 (Paris 1879) pp.692-3. I have not seen the two mss.

original length.¹ If the sermon in Legifer derives from a different reportation of the same original it too is probably abridged; furthermore one must allow for the intervention of the compiler, who might be expected to adapt the sermon to suit the purpose of his handbook. Thus both versions could have travelled a long way from their common origin. It may well be thought that it is easier to account for the differences than for the similarities, and that the most likely hypothesis is that the Legifer sermon ultimately derives from a sermon which Aquinas actually delivered.

An alternative explanation - that Aquinas used a sermon from the Legifer collection - may probably be ruled out. The general medieval tolerance of what we would now call plagiarism did not extend to University preaching, and the rubric of the sermon ascribed to Aquinas in the Milan manuscript states that it was preached before the University of Paris.² It was acceptable to preach model sermons to the laity, but not to this kind of audience.

It is much more likely that the compiler of Legifer made use of a sermon by Aquinas: probably not the version in the Milan manuscript, but the longer version from which the latter

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1. Bataillon compares them to abridgements of sermons by Bonaventure, and cites the example of a sermon that occupies twenty lines in the abridged version and 366 in the long version (he is referring to the Guaracchi edition, which gives both). Bataillon, 'Les Sermons de Saint Thomas et la Catena Aurea' p. 69 & n.8.
 2. 'Item sermo fratris Thomae de Aquino, editus eadem dominica in domo Praedicatorum, Parisius, coram Universitate Parisiensi. - Coelum et terra transibunt'. v. P. Fidelis a Fanna, Ratio Novae Collectionis Operum Omnium . . . Seraphici Eccl. Doctoris S. Bonaventurae (Taurini MDCCCLXXIV) p. 96.

must derive. From this it would follow that a sermon delivered to an audience of university clerics could be turned into a model sermon for popular preachers.

One is bound to ask whether the same might be true of the other sermons in the collection. It does not necessarily follow, for it is possible that the compiler gathered the sermons in his handbook from a wide variety of different sources, rather than basing it on a series of sermons actually delivered at a particular place. If so the sermon which is close to the sermon ascribed in the Milan manuscript to Aquinas may have a quite different origin from the other sermons in the collection.

The alternative possibility - that they have the same origin - is more interesting, for a handbook for popular preachers based on sermons delivered to Paris University congregations would be an excellent illustration of the close relation between academic and popular preaching. The possibility is attractive for a further reason, for it would fit neatly with a hypothesis that explains the title 'Collectiones fratrum'. We noted that the name is applied specifically to this collection in MS. B.N. Lat.16510, and that it has a somewhat strange ring. The hypothesis is that 'Collectiones fratrum' is a scribal error for 'Collationes fratrum', and that Legifer is ultimately based on University collations given at the Paris houses of the Franciscans and Dominicans. Franciscans gave collations at St. Jacques and Dominicans gave collations at the franciscan house, so that the presence of ^asermon by Aquinas would be easy to explain.

Furthermore it would not be hard to account for the substitution of 'Collectiones' for 'Collationes'. The dictionary definitions of the two words overlap,¹ and an entry in the fourteenth century catalogue of the Franciscan Convent Library at Assisi shows that collectio could be interchanged with colloquium, which in some contexts is almost synonymous with collatio.² The abbreviation colibe could stand for either collatione or collectione. It is also worth noting that in the Pembroke Cambridge manuscript in which the collection is called Legifer it is described as a 'Summa . . . [d]e c[ol]lationibus . . .'³

This evidence is important but not conclusive. By a happy chance a manuscript has survived which proves beyond reasonable doubt that the sermons in Legifer began as collations before they were turned into a handbook for preachers. The evidence is a rubric in a manuscript of the Stiftsbibliothek at Admont.⁴ The rubric runs as follows: 'Incipiunt sermones festivales de collationibus apud fratres'.⁵

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1. Cf. R. S. Latham, Revised Medieval Latin Wordlist (London 1965) p. 96, and the Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch, II Band Lieferung 6. (16 Lieferung des Gesamtwerkes) (München 1974) cols. 830-831 & 839-840.
 2. '. . . summa collectionum, sive colloquiorum.' Alessandri, Inventario dell'antica Biblioteca del s. Convento di S. Francesco in Assisi (Assisi 1906) p. 30.
 3. MS. Pembroke Cambridge 87 fo. lv.
 4. The credit for this find should go to Pere Bataillon, who discovered the Admont manuscript of Legifer.
 5. MS. Admont 774 fo. 112r.

It is hard to see how this can be explained, if not by the theory that the compiler based his handbook on collations delivered apud fratres. The word collationibus is abbreviated, but there can be no question of extending it as collectionibus.¹ If the word were in the genitive case, instead of in the ablative with the preposition de, and if we had fratrum instead of apud fratres, an alternative explanation would be possible. As it is, there seem to be none that stand serious scrutiny.

The phrase de collationibus apud fratres is unusual and yet makes perfect sense, and it is highly unlikely that it was a product of the scribe's imagination. An attribution to St. Bernard or St. Bonaventure is often worth little, for the probative force of an attribution tends to be in inverse proportion to the celebrity of the author named. This rubric, on the other hand, is not the kind of thing that scribes were in the habit of inventing.

The date of the manuscript therefore matters less than it would if an attribution to a particular author - especially a famous author - were in question. The nineteenth century handwritten catalogue lists it as fourteenth century, and this is a defensible judgement, though the open upper bow of many 'a's rather suggests that the manuscript was written in the early part of that century or even at the end of the previous one (the scribe also uses a g which has a thirteenth century look). If forced to date the writing within 60 years, I would say 1280 to 1340, but even if the manuscript were much later we would still be justified in trusting the rubric, because

1. The abbreviation is collatoibus.

the alternative, that it is a product of a scribe's imagination, is so implausible.

The wording suggests that the sermons in Legifer had a common origin and that the collations on which they were based were delivered at a particular place. It will be remembered that the sermon on the text Celum et terra transibunt is close to a sermon which (according to the rubric in the Milan manuscript) Aquinas preached to a university congregation in the Paris house of the Dominicans. The Admont rubric thus supports the theory that the Celum et terra sermon and the other sermons in Legifer had a similar origin, and if the Celum et terra sermon does derive ultimately from a sermon preached by Aquinas at Paris it would follow that the collection as a whole is based on Paris collationes.

This would imply that the original sermon by Aquinas was a collatio, and there seems no reason why it should not have been. It is true that the Milan rubric calls it a sermo, but sermo was not always used in a narrow sense, and ^ecollation could probably be described as a sermo in the broad sense of the word. A rubric in the same Milan manuscript speaks of a 'sermo fratris Raymundi magistri de Ordine Praedicatorum, editus, . . . , in conventu Parisiis, ad collationem, dictis vesperis, coram clero.'¹ This confirms the impression that the terminology was not always precise. The rubric of the Celum et terra sermon does not include the words ad collationem or de sero, but it does not specify that the sermon was given in

1. y. Fidelis a Fanna, Ratio Novae Collectionis, p. 97.

the morning, while some of the other rubrics do. One speaks of a 'sermo fratris Bonaventurae, editus Parisius, in domo fratrum, coram Universitate, . . . , de mane.'¹ and another says much the same.² When a rubric in the Milan manuscript does not specify the morning, we cannot assume that it was not a collatio.

A subsidiary argument for Paris is that the Admont rubric does not say 'apud fratres minores', but 'apud fratres' tout court. 'Collations of the friars' at the houses exactly describes the system at Paris, where both the Franciscan and the Dominican house were regularly used for university collations. The description of the collection on the Paris pecia list of 1286 may also be significant. It is referred to as a well known work which will be recognised by a single word from its incipit: as the 'Sermones dicti Legifer'. The collection would more easily have become well known at Paris if it originated there.

The date of the collations cannot be determined exactly, but the compilation was probably put together at some point in the third quarter of the thirteenth century. If the Celum et terra sermon is by Aquinas his ^{annual} return ^{at} to Paris in 1252 would provide a terminus post quem, and the 1286 Paris pecia list is a terminus ante. In fact Legifer was almost certainly put together before the latter date, for one manuscript, Clm.7932,

1. op.cit. p. 104.

2. 'sermo fratris Bonaventurae, in capitulo fratrum, Parisius, mane, coram Universitate.' op.cit. p. 111.

looks much earlier. The script (there are at least two hands) looks more typical of the first than of the second half of the century. The probability is that the collations were worked up into a handbook for popular preachers during the fifties or sixties.

In this study two aspects of the revival of Popular preaching have been given special emphasis: the importance of Paris as a centre for the diffusion of model sermon collections, and the role of university sermons, above all the collations, in the formation of preachers. It should now be clear why Legifer has been selected for detailed treatment. If, as we have suggested, it is a work compiled to help popular preachers, but derived from academic collations, it illustrates both these two aspects of the preaching revival. It is a perfect case of the link between the academic world and the world of popular preaching and a representative of the common theological culture of the educated clergy and urban laity.

At the risk of superficiality, it is worth attempting to pick out a few of the distinctive features of the theological culture which the sermons transmitted, using Legifer to illustrate them. The first essential point is that sermon cycles like Legifer present a fairly complete synthesis of faith and morals. They are, in a real sense, theological summae. This fact easily escapes notice, because the principles of organisation in a sermon cycle and in a systematic scholastic work are different. Sermon cycles did not follow a systematic pattern based on the articles of the Creed, the seven Sacraments, the Virtues and Vices, et cetera. Nearly all these topics will be treated at some length in a full de

Tempore sermon cycle, but not in a neat logical order. The same basic message is broken up and arranged in another fashion.

The theological synthesis of the sermon cycles is organised around the Liturgy, or more precisely, around the readings of the ecclesiastical year. A text from the readings of the day was the starting point of most sermons, and some texts were repeatedly used as the starting point for a discussion of the same theological doctrine. As a result a given doctrine was often treated at a particular point in the liturgical year. Thus at Christmas time the text Verbum caro factum est (John 1,14) was an opportunity for an analysis of the Incarnation and the Hypostatic Union.

There is a sermon on this text in the festivale part of Legifer.¹ Though it is not exclusively devoted to the Incarnation it mentions it before any other topic.² Characteristically, the topic is developed through a series of scriptural texts rather than a scholastic analysis. The Word was eternal in the Godhead, but (as man) hidden in humility.³

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1. For citations from this part of Legifer I have used MS. Zürich Zentralbibliothek Rh.181. The script looks late thirteenth century, and the manuscript appears to have been copied direct from the pecia exemplar. For the Sunday sermons I cite MS.Clm.7932 (which does not give the festivale part of the collection) because the manuscript appears to have been written much earlier than the others I have seen.
 2. 'In verbis istis duo principaliter possunt attendi. Primum est filii dei incarnatio in qua ostenditur magna eius humilitas, et quo ad hoc dicitur: verbum caro factum est.' MS. Zürich Zentralbibliothek Rh.181 fo.324va.
 3. 'Circa primum considerandum est quod verbum illud est eternum in deitate. Io.i. In principio erat verbum. Celatum in humilitate. Prov. xxv. Gloria dei est celare verbum.' MS. Zürich Zentralbibliothek Rh.181 loc.cit.

After this comes a series of brief points which are related to the theme of the Incarnation by texts which include the word verbum. In this way a good deal of ground is covered, for within the space of a few lines the Circumcision, the preaching of Christ, his healing, and his ascension are all mentioned.¹ It is left to the user of the model to elaborate on the word verbum in the texts cited.

In this part of the section on the 'filii dei incarnatio' and in the remainder of it the theme of the Incarnation is used as a peg on which to hang a number of different observations on Christ. Despite the strict form the treatment is in a sense much freer than an analysis of the Incarnation in a scholastic treatise. The topic is not rigidly defined, and by the standards of scholastic works the standard of strict relevance does not seem high; but this sermon and others like it are operating by different rules, and must not be judged by the same criteria.

There is no attempt to raise and solve difficult theological questions. As we have argued in ^{an} earlier section this is generally true of the sermons of the period. Preachers were concerned with basic doctrines, artistic presentation, and scriptural evidence and imagery rather than with advanced problems and subtle solutions.

1. (verbum illud est) Abreviatum (sic) in circumcissione. Rom. ix. verbum abreviatum fecit (cod.: fe.) dominus super terram. Dulce in predicatione. Eccli.vi. Verbum dulce multiplicat amicos et mitigat inimicos. Utile in animarum et corporum sanatione. Ps. Misit verbum suum et sanavit eos, et eripuit eos de interitu eorum. Altum in ascensione. Ps. In eternum, domine, verbum tuum permanet in celo.' (ascensione] cod. ascensione) MS. Zürich Zentralbibliothek Rh.181 fo.324va - 324vb.

Viewed as doctrinal syntheses, sermon cycles differ from scholastic works of synthesis in that they are by their nature repetitive, perhaps on the principle that 'people need to be reminded more than they need to be told'. In a scholastic treatise a given doctrine tends to be analysed in one particular part of the work. In a sermon cycle, on the other hand, a doctrine may be brought up on a number of different Sundays and feast days of the year. Moral doctrines, especially lists of virtues and vices, recur regularly, as one might expect, but a sermon cycle may also treat purely dogmatic topics in several different places. This need not mean that the arrangement is arbitrary. The rationale of the arrangement of a sermon cycle is the rationale of the liturgical year, and the cycle of liturgical readings was not divided according to themes into watertight compartments, though the seasons have a broad unity. According to the calendar of the Paris seculars and the Dominicans the same Gospel was read for Palm Sunday as for the first Sunday of Advent, and of course both Advent and Lent were seasons of penance and preparation.

Furthermore two sermons which are widely separated in a sermon collection might be preached within a few weeks of each other. This happens when one of the sermons belongs to the temporale and the other to the festivale. In Legifer, for instance, a sermon dealing with the Hypostatic Union is a long way from the sermon on the text Verbum caro factum est, though their subject matter has so much in common. The former is however an Advent sermon,¹ and would be preached not long

1. It would be read on the second Sunday of Advent according to the franciscan/Roman Court calendar, and on the third Sunday of Advent according to the dominican/Paris secular

before the latter (which was a Christmas sermon).

The sermon dealing with the Hypostatic Union is on the text: Tu es qui venturus es, an alium expectamus? The initial division of the subject links this text to the theme of two natures in one person.¹ The first two sections elaborate on the divine and the human nature respectively. God is said to exist (the Latin, 'esse dicitur' could also be rendered: 'is called esse') because he is from himself, while all other things are from him.² He has an unchangeable being, as Augustine says.³ Therefore to demonstrate the divinity of Christ it is appropriate to say 'You are'.⁴

The second section comes closer to the theme of the Incarnation proper. Again the idea is ingeniously linked to the appropriate section of the initial text. For the son of God to come is for him to take up flesh, wherefore he is said to have come into the world when he took up our flesh, and through it appeared in visible form,⁵ and so to demonstrate

1. 'In verbo proposito tria de Christo ostenduntur. Primum est eius natura divina, et quo ad hoc dicitur: tu es. Secundum est eius natura humana, et quo ad hoc dicitur: qui venturus es. Tertium est utriusque nature coniunctio a sanctis patribus expectata, et quo ad hoc subiungitur: an alium expectamus? (expectamus] cod. expectamus) quasi diceret: Non, immo tu es vere ille quem expectamus.' MS.Clm.7932 fo.125ra.

2. ibid.

3. 'Item habet esse incommutabile et invariabile naturaliter, et sicut dicit Augustinus: illud est quod incommutabiliter manet.' ibid.

4. 'Ad ostentionem igitur divinitatis in Christo bene dicitur: Tu es.' ibid.

5. 'Circa secundum considerandum est, quod filii dei venire est carnem assumere. Unde dicitur venisse in mundum quando nostram carnem assumpsit, et per illam visibilis apparuit.' ibid.

the humanity of Christ it is said: 'who is to come'.¹

Instead of developing the theme further, however, the compiler gives a cross reference to another sermon.²

The first two parts of the sermon are focussed fairly on the Hypostatic Union and the Incarnation, but the third part seems to cover a wide variety of topics, loosely grouped around the theme of expectatio. The first of the many different kinds of 'expecting' is God's:³ For God expects us to be converted to him by penance, to do good works, and to attain to his mercy.⁴ In the same way the 'Iusti antiqui' expect three things:-⁵ Christ's coming in the flesh, his descent into Hell

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1. 'Ad demonstrandum igitur humanitatem in Christo signanter dictum est: qui venturus es' ibid.
 2. 'Quomodo autem Filius dei veniat, et quibus ex causis, require supra in primo sermone dominice precedentis.' ibid.
 3. 'Circa tertium videndum est quod multiplex expectatio reperitur, scilicet: dei, . . . ' Clm.7932 fo.125ra-125rb.
 4. (God expects) 'ut ad ipsum convertamur per penitentiam. Os. iii. ego expectabo te, quia diebus multis sedebunt filii Israel sine rege, et sine ephod et sine cheraphi. Ut exerceamus operationem bonam. Ys. v. expectavi ut faceret uvas, scilicet boni operis, fecit autem labruscas, scilicet mali. Ut consequamur eius misericordiam. Ys. xxx. Propterea expectat vos ut misereatur vestri.' (vos cod. nos; vestri cod. nostri) Clm.7932 fo.125rb.
 5. 'Iusti antiqui qui expectabant tria, scilicet . . . ' ibid. By analogy with 'expectatio . . . dei', in the parallel passage a few lines earlier, this ought to be either 'Iustorum antiquorum qui expectabant . . . ' or 'Iusti antiqui qui expectabat . . . '. The latter could easily have been corrupted by a scribal error, but 'Just men of the old dispensation' seems preferable to 'the just man of the old dispensation', though both are possible. On the whole it seems likely that the reading is original, and that the compiler was careless and failed to maintain the parallelism. The same problem arises a few lines below with 'Iusti moderni'.

after his death, and the redemption of the human race,¹ while the 'Iusti moderni' expect a world made new, the resurrection of our bodies in a glorious new form, and the blessedness of the heavenly kingdom.² Another transition opens the way for another series of different topics, most of which relate to morals, and to virtues and their rewards rather than vices.³

The wide range of subjects touched on in this third section of the sermon exemplify a tendency which was very common in the sermons of this period: the tendency to turn every sermon into a microcosm of Christian doctrine. Often sermons are not limited to a single subject. Their different parts may be grouped loosely around a central idea, but an effort is made to relate the idea to many other parts of doctrine. We find repeatedly that a sermon is a small synthesis in its own right.

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1. 'Iusti antiqui, qui expectabant tria, scilicet Christi adventum in carne. Ab. ii. Si moram fecerit, expecta eum, quia veniens veniet, et non tardabit. Christi descensum ad inferos post mortem. Gen. xlix. Salutare tuum expectabo, domine. Humani generis redemptionem; unde dicitur de Anna prophetissa, Lc. ii. quod loquebatur de Christo omnibus qui expectabant redemptionem Israel.' ibid.
 2. 'Iusti moderni, qui expectant tria, scilicet mundi innovationem. ii^a. Petr. ult. Novos celos, et novam terram, et promissa ipsius expectamus. Gloriosam corporum reformationem. Phil. iii. Salvatorem expectamus dominum nostrum et cetera. Regni celestis beatitudinem. Unde dicitur de Ioseph ab Arimathea. Mc.xv. quod erat expectans regnum dei.' ibid.
 3. 'Debet autem iustus expectare multiformiter: Cum veritate fidei. . . . Cum desertione mali. . . . Cum expectatione boni. . . . Cum patientia in tribulatione. . . .' (and so forth). ibid. Some lines later: 'Ex hac autem expectatione multa bona homini proveniunt. Primum est prudentie discretio. . . . Secundum est pacis quietatio . . .' (and so forth). ibid.

Here again the men who wrote sermon cycles seem to have operated on the principle that people need to be reminded more than told. Rather like the speeches of Demosthenes, they rely on the cumulative impact of central ideas repeated with variations. The sermon cycles are not usually great oratory, but the scale of the subject matter and the changing themes of the liturgical year alter the pattern and emphasis of the miniature summae of doctrine encapsuled in so many sermons.

It is more than a figure of speech to call individual sermons doctrinal syntheses, but the selection and grouping of topics is artistic rather than logical and systematic, and of course the coverage is partial: the field of doctrine being too large and the sermons too short for it to be other wise. Nevertheless it is common for a sermon to cut across the boundary between dogmatic and moral theology, and to cover a good deal of both. We have seen that the sermon on the text Verbum caro factum est begins with the incarnation, and that the Circumcision, the preaching of Christ, his acts of healing, his ascension, and other Christological topics are introduced in the course of the section on the 'filii dei incarnatio'. This primarily dogmatic section is complemented by the second part of the sermon, which is primarily concerned with moral virtues. This second section corresponds to the second part of the initial text: the words: 'habitavit in nobis'. 'Secondly', it begins, 'it should be noted that there are many different things through which man may merit

that God should dwell in him.¹ The first two mentioned amount to faith and works respectively,² and a series of other points about the moral and spiritual life follow.³

At the end a certain artistic unity is achieved when the points are linked up again with the opening text of the sermon: Verbum caro factum est.⁴ To a modern reader the unity may seem artificial as well as artistic, but we should perhaps judge it by the homiletic and exegetical standards of the thirteenth century. From any standpoint, it cannot be denied that a good many aspects of faith and morals are brought together.

I have suggested that sermon cycles like Legifer can be regarded as theological syntheses, both on the level of the collection as a whole and on the level of the individual sermon, but we should bear in mind that they were compiled not only to inculcate theological doctrines but also to influence feelings.

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1. 'Circa secundum attendendum est quod per multa meretur homo habitationem dei in se.' MS. Zürich Zentralbibliothek Rh.181 fo.324vb.
 2. 'Primum credulitas vera. Eph iii. det vobis (vobis] cod. nobis) deus <secundum> divitias glorie sue virtute (virtute cod. virtutem) corroborari per spiritum eius in interiorem (interiorem] cod. inferiorem) hominem, habitare Christum per fidem in cordibus vestris. Secundum est dilectio operosa. Io. xiiii. Si quis diligit me sermonem meum servabit, et pater meus diliget eum, et ad eum veniemus et mansionem apud eum faciemus.' ibid.
 3. 'Tertium est fortitudinis constantia, que habetur per spem. . . . Quartum est devotio interna. . . . Quintum est conversatio celestis. . . .' (and so forth, up to eight.) ibid.
 4. 'Cum viris igitur istis qui hec supradicta bona habent verbum caro factum {est} habitare dignatur. Unde benedicitur: Verbum caro factum est et habitavit in nobis.' MS. Zürich Zentralbibliothek Rh.181 fo.324vb - 325ra.

They were designed to affect the will as well as the mind. With St. Bernard's sermons or those of some late medieval preachers the affective aspect is often immediately communicated to modern readers, but with thirteenth century model sermon collections it sometimes requires an effort of imagination to appreciate it. As they have come down to us they can seem rather dry. We must again remember that they probably changed their character when turned into living speech before a congregation. As a rule we see only the summary plans. It is therefore necessary to read between the lines, almost literally. When thirteenth century sermons are read in this way, we can recognise that many of them could have been moving when developed and expanded properly.

Nevertheless, even when we make allowances for their summary character, the affective element in these sermons is of a different kind from the passionate religious emotion which we associate with the Waning of the Middle Ages. By comparison, sermons in collections like Legifer are restrained and calm. Even a sermon devoted to the passion, which is probably aimed principally at the feelings, is on a relatively low key. The emotion is not explicit, and the effect is achieved by an artistic rearrangement of scriptural texts, both from the Gospel accounts of the passion and from other parts of the Bible.

The sermon in question is on the text 'Tradetur gentibus et illudetur et flagellabitur et conspuetur, et postquam flagellaverint occident eum' (Lc. 18,32), and despite the sophisticated form the sermon is an essentially simple develop-

ment of the text. The Passion - and of course the text - are divided into three parts: its beginning ('He will be handed over to the Gentiles'), middle ('and mocked, and scourged, and spat upon') and end ('and after they have scourged him they will kill him.')

¹ Christ was handed over by God the Father, who 'handed him over for us all' (Rom.8,32) out of very great love for us;² He handed himself over out of obedience.³ Pilate handed him over to gain human favour, the scribes and pharisees handed him over out of malice, and Judas handed him over out of avarice.⁴

After this comes the section on the sufferings between the betrayal and the crucifixion. The author or compiler continues to rely on scriptural texts rather than extended descriptive passages of his own. He quotes from the Old Testament as well as the New. For instance, when arguing that the mocking of Christ was shameless, because it was done by those who should have been his friends, he quotes Abdias 1,7: 'All the men of thine own covenant mocked thee.'⁵

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1. 'Primo quantum ad sui principium, et ideo dicitur: tradetur gentibus. Secundo quantum ad sui medium, et idcirco additur et illudetur et flagellabitur et conspuetur. Tertium quantum ad sui ultimum, unde subiungitur: et postquam flagellarint occident illum.' Clm.7932 fo.135vb.
 2. '. . . A deo patre et ex caritate nimia. Rom.viii. Proprio filio suo non pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit illum, Clm.7932 fo.135vb - 136ra.
 3. 'A se ipso, ex obedientia, i^a Petr.ii. tradebat autem iudicanti se iniuste. Gal.ii. tradidit semetipsum pro me. (ex obedientia cod. ex obedientiam) Clm.7932 fo.136ra.
 4. 'A Pilato preside ex humani favoris placentia. . . . A scribarum et phariseorum collegio ex invidia. . . . A Iuda discipulo suo per avaritiam. . . .' ibid.
 5. '. . . hec illusio . . . est . . . Inpudens. Illi autem qui debuissent esse amici sui hoc faciebant. Abd.i. Omnes viri federis tui illuserunt tibi.' ibid.

With books like Job, Isaiah and the Psalms at his disposal he is able to find texts from the Old Testament which fit easily and effectively into the structure of the sermon.¹ The two quotations from the New Testament in this section are straightforward and literal (both come from Matthew's account of the passion).²

The third section, on the death of Christ,³ is also predominantly scriptural. The emotion continues to stay below the surface, and the conclusion, like the sermon as a whole, is restrained.⁴

Thus although the sermon is aimed at the feelings rather than the intellect the tone does not become high pitched. It is conceivable that a preacher might have made the model the basis for a highly emotional sermon, but the model itself

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1. e.g.: 'Conspuitur Christus et hoc diversimode, scilicet cum increpatione aspera. Ys.L. Faciem meam non averti ab increpantibus et conspuentibus in me. Cum irreverentia magna. Iob.xxx. faciem meam conspuere non verentur.' ibid.
 2. (illusio) 'Puniens. Illudendo enim ei, puniebant ipsum. Mt.xxvii. plectentes coronam de spinis posuerunt super caput eius.' & 'Conspuitur Christus . . . Cum percussione iniqua. Mt.xxvii. expuentes in eum, acceperunt arundinem, et percutiebant caput illius.' ibid.
 3. The first of the three subsections into which this section is divided does not appear to be referring to death in the literal sense: 'Circa tertium intelligendum est quod occisus est dei filius, scilicet: Morte nequissima quantum ad crucifixionem sermonis que facta fuit tertia hora, sicut legitur Mc.xv., unde illa fuit mors lingue que nequissima est. Eccli. xxviii. Mors inquit illius mors nequissima.' ibid. When the two relevant passages of the Bible (Mark 15,25 seqq., & Ecclesiasticus 28,23-5) are compared, it seems likely that the 'Morte nequissima' is referring to the verbal insults to Christ.
 4. 'Hac triplici morte Christus occisus est, et idcirco benedicatur in verbo proposito: postquam flagellaverint occident illum.' ibid.

would not force him to do so. This helps maintain the balance between the theological and affective elements of the sermons in Legifer and other thirteenth century collections.

The theology of the sermons was also balanced in another way, for if we treat the sermon collections as the sole vehicle for communicating doctrine to the people, our picture of the laity's theological culture will be seriously out of proportion. Sermon collections are a part of a wider movement, and they should be set against the background of the efforts to popularise theology through works of a pastoral character.¹ Ideas were channeled from academic milieux to the laity not only through the sermons but also through summae confessorum and systematic manuals of pastoral theology. It is my impression that collections of model sermons took for granted much of the information which such manuals contained.

This would explain why sermon collections so seldom try to impart basic information of what one might call a catechetical character. In the thirteenth century they do not as a rule systematically expound the articles of the Creed, the seven Sacraments, the Commandments, et cetera. The reason could be that priests used other kinds of pastoralia, or their own knowledge, for their presentation of fundamentals through the pulpit or confessional. If this explanation is correct the model sermons do not so much dispense with this type of material,

1. The best introduction to the movement is Leonard Boyle's unpublished thesis: A Study of the Works Attributed to William of Pagula, with special reference to the Oculus Sacerdotis and Summa Summarum. (Oxford MS. D. Phil. d. 1710), esp p. 199 seqq.

as assume that the auditory would be familiar with it.

Manuals of pastoral theology complemented the sermons, and ideally the two genres should be studied together.

It is interesting to compare the treatment of a given topic in a pastoral manual with a sermon on the same topic in Legifer. For this purpose we may take the section on the Eucharist in the pastoral manual called the Speculum iuniorum, which appears to have been written shortly before Legifer was compiled.¹ The Legifer sermon is on the text 'Sanctificamini, cras comedetis carnes' (Num.11,18).

To a certain extent the two overlap, as one might expect. Each, for instance, has a section on the results of receiving Communion unworthily,² and both use the same passage of St. Paul, and include damnation among the penalties for the sin that they list.³ In general, however, the sermon and the pastoral manual do not approach the Eucharist in the same way. They deal with different topics and organise them in a different way.

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1. The Speculum iuniorum was written about 1250. V. Boyle, op.cit., p. 237.
 2. Legifer: 'Indigne autem corpus dominicum sumens multiplex dampnum incurrit.' Clm.7932 fo. 145vb. Speculum iuniorum: 'De gravitate pecc et vindicte indigne sumentium . . . ' MS. Bodl. 655 fo. 89v.
 3. Legifer: 'Secundum est maiestatis lese <***>. i^a Cor.xi. Si quis manducaverit panem hunc aut calicem biberit indigne, reus erit corporis et sanguinis Christi. . . . Quartum est dampnatio eterna. i^a Cor.xi. Qui manducat aut bibit indigne iudicium sibi manducat et bibit.' Clm.7932 fo.145vb & 146ra. Speculum iuniorum: '. . . i Cor. xi. uicumque manducat . . . reus . . . domini, id est mortis Christi, penas dabit, id est ac si Christum occiderit punietur, scilicet in presenti et futuro. Unde subdit Apostolus ibidem: Qui manducat et bibit indigne . . . In futuro, eterna dampnatio, ubi dicitur: Iudicium sibi manducat et bibit, id est dampnationem.' MS. Bodl.655 fo.89v.

The Legifer sermon treats the subject elegantly but eclectically. The main division is twofold, but the first main section is brought to an end, after a few lines, with a cross reference.¹ The bulk of the sermon is thus left for the second main section, on the 'corporis receptio', which is about the proper way to receive Communion.² This is interpreted to include the state of mind and life necessary if the Sacrament is to be received worthily. The qualities and behaviour required are described at some length,³ and after this the benefits of receiving the Sacrament properly,⁴ and the penalties of receiving it unworthily are listed.

The Speculum iuniorum covers the subject in a much more thorough and systematic fashion.⁵ Much of it would be useful

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1. 'In proposito verbo duo specialiter considerari possunt. Primum est digna ad corpus dominicum recipiendum preparatio, et quantum ad hoc dicitur: Sanctificamini. Secundum est ipsa dominici corporis receptio, unde subiungitur: cras comedetis carnes. Circa primum attendendum est quod fidelis quilibet sanctificare et purificare se ipsum debet . . . De hac autem sanctificatione Require plenius supra in primo sermone dominice secunde in quadragesima.' Clm.7932 fo.145va . 145vb.
 2. 'Circa secundum intuendum est quod dominicum corpus multiformiter comedendum et recipiendum est, scilicet: Cum fide. . . .' (et cetera) Clm.7932 fo.145vb.
 3. E.g. 'Cum caritate. Cant. v. Comedite, amici, et bibite. Cum humilitatis simplicitate. Prov. ix. Si quis est parvulus veniat ad me, et insipientibus locuta est: Comedite panem et bibite vinum quod miscui vobis. Cum metu et tremore. . . .' Clm.7932 fo.145vb.
 4. 'Ex comestione autem dominici corporis multiplex commodum anime sancte provenit. Primum est spiritualis mentis repletio. . . .' Clm.7932 ibid.
 5. In MS. Bodl.655 the relevant section is on fos.81v-91v.

only for the enlightenment of the priest himself, but other parts could have been used for pastoral instruction. The anonymous author announces his plan at the beginning of the section,¹ and on the whole he keeps to it. He describes the excellence of the Eucharist, and compares it with other Sacraments.² After this he explains the name 'Eucharist', giving its etymology (more or less correctly) and commenting on it.³ The third part is on the institution of the Sacrament. It mentions the foreshadowing of the Sacrament in the Old Testament, the Last Supper, and the reasons for the institution of the Eucharist.⁴ The fourth part of the analysis is important, for it includes a statement of the doctrine of Transubstantiation. The remaining two sections, 'De sumptione eucharistie'⁶ and 'De casibus qui possunt contingere circa hoc sacramentum'⁷ complete what is a remarkably comprehensive summary of dogmatic and practical aspects of the Eucharist.

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1. 'Primo de excellentia eius, et comparatione eius ad alia sacramenta. Secundo de eius nominatione. Tertio de institutione. Quarto de confectione. Quinto de sumptione. Sexto de quibusdam (quibusdam] cod. quibusdam^{us}) casibus circa hoc sacramentum.' Bodl.655 fo.81v.
 2. MS. Bodl.655 fo.81v.
 3. MS. Bodl.655 fo.81v - 82r.
 4. MS. Bodl.655 fo.81r - 83r.
 5. This fourth section, De confectione, begins on fo.83r. The subsection in which Transubstantiation is discussed begins on fo. 84r.
 6. MS. Bodl.655 fo.87r seqq.
 7. MS. Bodl.655 fo.89v seqq.

When manuals like this existed, it was perhaps unnecessary for sermon collections to divide up doctrine into neat sections and give a simple step by step exposition of it. We might not be far wrong if we regarded the theology transmitted by the model sermon collections as the superstructure rather than the foundation of the laity's theological culture.

University sermons too should be set in the context of other genres. Sermons, Biblical lectures, and disputations all played their part in the lives of masters and students at Paris, and it has become a topos to quote Peter the Chanter's image of a building: Lectio, he said, was the foundation, Disputatio the walls, and Praedicatio the roof.¹ The same men gave sermons, commented on the Bible, and conducted disputations, and their theological culture would have been formed by all three, yet with rare exceptions scholars have studied these different genres in isolation. We need to study the interrelations of the genres before we can get a balanced picture of theology in thirteenth century Paris.

Taken as a whole, of course, this theological training was far above the level that a layman could reach. A man like Thomas More in the thirteenth century would be hardly conceivable. Sermons are proportionately important because they spanned the two cultures. In a sense, indeed, they were a more direct link than pastoral manuals, for the latter were popularisations of academic theology rather than a part of it, while the model sermon cycles are more like an extension of university preaching.

The idea of the medieval university - of the Paris theology

1. Verbum Abbreviatum c.1, P.L.CCV col.25.

faculty at least - needs to be re-thought. It is easy to slip into the assumption that Franciscans and Dominicans were sent to Paris to gain the degree of Master of Theology, but of course only a small minority even of the elite who got as far as St. Jacques or the Cordeliers can have completed the degree. Like the French State Doctorate, it was not normally awarded before middle age, and years of university lecturing were necessary before it could be granted. The majority of friars at Paris cannot have set their sights so high. What then were they there for? A principal reason must have been that Paris was a milieu for the formation of preachers.

To sum up: the unique contribution of Paris to the revival of popular preaching was principally due to two things: the model sermon collections which were produced there and diffused throughout Europe, and the practical training which university preaching provided, above all through the system of collationes. A high priority of future research on medieval sermons is to work out in greater detail the relation between these two aspects of the formation that Paris provided. I have tried to outline some of the general characteristics of the theological culture transmitted by the sermons, but a much fuller and more specific analysis is badly needed, and the task is probably too large for one individual. We need to isolate the topoi of model sermon collections - using the works on the pecia lists as a starting point - and to try and trace their prototypes in the university sermons and collations delivered during the preceding decades at St. Jacques and the Cordeliers'. One way to set about the task would be to focus

on sermons with texts that went with particular doctrinal themes. The same texts were normally preached on the same days of the liturgical year (with minor variations according to the calendar being followed), and we now have a Repertorium which makes it possible quickly to compare a large number of sermons on the same texts. Until the last few years we have had to be satisfied with generalisations about the content of preaching, but now it should be possible to be specific, and the scope for research on sermons is much greater than ever before. Throughout this essay I have argued that Paris and popular preaching transformed the relation between the urban laity and the upper clergy, but it has been as it were a bird's eye view. The next generation of research should enable us to see the process from close at hand.

A SELECTION OF ILLUSTRATIVE TEXTS.

In the following transcriptions I have adopted the critical symbols listed M.L. West's Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique (Teubner, Stuttgart 1973), pp.80-82. I should emphasise that they are not editions but transcriptions, designed to illustrate certain historical points made in the main body of the thesis. For this restricted purpose it seemed to me unnecessary to trace the precise references to the authorities cited in the sermons. (In the case of scriptural quotations, of course, the verse number may easily be found with a concordance.) Furthermore I have used only one manuscript for each transcription, though I emend the text when it seems corrupt. In such cases I always indicate the reading of the manuscript. In general I follow the orthography of the manuscript; however there are certain cases where I normalise. There are certain pairs of letters, above all t and c, which are almost interchangeable. The letter forms are sometimes similar, and sometimes the letter is followed up in an abbreviation: e.g. sba could be extended as either substantia or substantia. I also adopt standard abbreviations for the books of the Bible (e.g. I will transcribe isa. as Is.), though I modify them when they are actually inconsistent with the manuscript (e.g. I will transcribe ysa. as Ys.). I have normalised the use of u and v.

These texts should be read in conjunction with the passages in the main part of the thesis where their significance is analysed. Texts I and II: p.95 seqq.; text III: p.127 seqq. and p.167 seqq.; text IV: p.191 seqq.; texts V and VI: p.201 seqq. There is a summary on pp.iii-iv of the abstract.

ILLUSTRATIVE TEXTS no. 1

I. THE OLD SERMON FORM

(A Sermon on the text Estote Misericordes by Maurice de Sully.)

From Bodley MS. E Mus. 222 fol.42 recto-43 recto.

Patri

Estote misericordes sicut et pater vester misericors est.
 Nolite iudicare non iudicabimini: (col. b) nolite condempnare
 et non condempnabimini dimittite et dimittemini. <Date, et
 dabitur> vobis. Mediator dei et hominum homo christus iesus
 dilectissimi diversis modis documenta salutis nobis proponit
 et viam per quam ad ipsius gloriam contemplandam ire debeamus
 multiformiter ostendit, aliquando enim miracula faciendo,
 aliquando docendo, aliquando ammonendo, aliquando precipiendo
 aliquando nobis penam comminendo, aliquando gloriam promittendo,
 viam iustitiae nobis insinuat; sed hiis omnibus ad misericordiam
 <et> beatitudinem vocat et docet. Unde et hodierno evangelio
 diversis quidem verbis et similitudinibus non alloquitur, sed
 in hiis omnibus intendit ut ceca mens nostra et voluptas
 infirma ad verum summumque bonum cognoscendum et appetendum
 erudiatur et roboretur. Estote misericordes sicut et pater
 vester misericors est. Misericors pater noster celestis est
 quia teste scriptura cum iratus est misericordie recordatur,
 et peccatoribus quibusque ad eum verò perfectoque animo
 revertentibus, quamvis ex suo merito pena sint digni, tamen
 misericordiam largitur. Misericors est quia solem suum facit
 oriri non solum super bonos sed etiam super malos, et pluit
 non tantum super iustos sed etiam super iniustos. Si ergo

filii dei possumus <***> et in celestibus hereditatem consequi desideramus oportet ut, sicut ipse misericors est, et nos in quantum possumus misericordes existamus, quamvis etenim illi non valeamus in bonitate coequari, debemus tamen eum eius adiuvante gratia secundum nostram possibilitatem (fo. 42^{va}) imitari ut per hoc mereamur fieri filii summi patris et heredes regni celestis. Nolite iudicare et non iudicabimini nolite condemnare et non condempnabimini. Duo sunt sicut sancti tradunt doctores in quibus temerarium iudicium cavere debemus, quando videlicet intelligentia nostra quo animo quid fiat, de hiis presertim que sicut malo ita bono animo quandoque fiunt, certum non habet; velud cum incertum sit qualis futurus sit, qui nunc bonus vel malus apparet. Si ergo iudicari ac condempnari a domino nolumus alios temere, id est de hiis que nos latent iudicare vel condemnare non presumamus; nam de manifestis ac presentibus nobis iudicare permittitur, sicut stupra^(a) sunt et furta et cetera talia; de cibis autem et nonnullis aliis huiusmodi que possunt^(b) bono animo sumi et fieri et e converso, debet iudicium prudenter caveri. Dimittite et dimittemini. Date, et dabitur vobis. Hiis verbis nobis pater precipit ut aliis iniurias dimittamus, beneficia conferamus, si volumus ut nobis a domino nostra delicta dimittantur, et celestia bona

(a) stupra] cod. supra

(b) possunt] cod. sunt

conferantur. Ad hunc sensum spectare videntur precepta legis naturalis quibus dicitur: Quod tibi non vis fieri alii ne feceris; et iterum: Quaecumque vultis ut vobis faciant homines et vos eadem facite illis; et in hiis omnibus que premissa sunt constat meritum; sed quasi diceret <***>: Si hec omnia fecerimus, quod premium accipiemus? (col. b) ipse statim de premio subiunxit, dicens: Mensuram bonam et confertam <et> coagitatam et supereffluentem dabunt in sinum vestrum.^(a) Dabunt, inquit, scilicet illi quibus hec que precipiuntur facietis; ipsi dabunt, quia deus pro eis dabit. Quid dabitur? Mensuram bonam confertam, coagitatam, et supereffluentem, id est vitam eternam. Preceptis itaque premissis superioribus et promissionibus etiam per similitudines ad nostram utilitatem nos alloquitur dicens: Incipe: Numquid cecus potest cecum ducere? nonne ambo in foveam cadunt? Quod est dicere: Si ea que superius feci contempnitis nec vos bene faciendo nec alios vestro bono exemplo ad gloriam perducitis, sed ceci facti ad inferna descenditis, et alios, quantum ad vos pertinet, exemplo vestre pravitatis cecatos post vos in ipsum trahitis; et adiecit: Non est discipulus super magistrum; perfectus autem omnis erit si sit sicut magister eius; quasi dicat: Quod vobis dico et precipio, ego facio. Iniurias mihi factas ego indulgeo. Beneficia¹ confero. Et vos ita debetis facere, nec supra id quicquam presumere.

(a) vestrum] cod. vr̄m.

Quod si presumitis, vos supra me magistrum vestrum ponere vultis. Sed quia sunt quidam qui hiis omnibus contemptis volunt \ gravia et horrenda scelera committere; et cum sint male vivendo ceci, tamen, quasi clare viderunt, volunt / alios velud duces eorum etiam de levibus culpis castigare. Recte tales increpando subiunxit dicens: Quid autem vides festucam in oculo fratris tui, trabem autem que est in oculo tuo non consideras: Et quomodo potes (fo. 43^{ra}) dicere fratri tuo: frater sine eiiciam^(a) festucam de oculo tuo. Ypocrita, eice primum trabem de oculo tuo et tunc prospicies ut educas festucam de oculo fratris tui. Per trabem maiora peccata figurantur, et per festucam minora designantur. Illi ergo trabem in oculo habentes festucam de alieno volunt eicere qui gravia peccata committentes alios de levibus presumunt increpare. Nos itaque dilectissimi talibus similes non efficiamur, sed dominica precepta que in sacro continentur evangelio perficiamus, de nostra conscientia non solum maxima sed minima peccata prudenter eiicimus, et tunc cum timore et humilitate ceteros de suis offensis castigare presumamus. Quod si fecerimus, mensuram bonam, id est gloriam eternam, percipiemus. Quod nobis et cetera.

(a) eiiciam] cod. etiam

ILLUSTRATIVE TEXTS no. 1 - NOTES

¹Beneficia. There is a stroke on the shaft of the b. It may be a capital letter; otherwise the stroke is either otiose, or an erroneous abbreviation mark.

II. THE NEW SERMON FORM

A Sermon on the text Estote Misericordes from the Legifer
Collection (Clm. 7932 fo. 154^{va})

Estote misericordes sicut pater vester misericors est Lc.vi.
In proposito verbo duo principaliter considerari possunt.
Primum est ad misericordiam invitatio, et idcirco dicitur.
Estote misericordes. Secundum est misericordie explanatio,
unde subiungitur: sicut pater vester misericors est.
Circa utrumque membrum intelligendum est quod celestis patris
misericordia in multis legitur apparere, et specialiter in
peccati dimissione Eccli xvii. Quam maxima misericordia dei,
et propitiatio illius convertentibus ad se. Eccli ii. pius
et misericors est deus, et remittit in tempore tribulationis
peccata; propter hoc dicitur Prov. xxviii. Qui abscondit
scelera sua non dirigetur. Qui autem confessus fuerit et
reliquerit ea misericordiam consequetur. Hanc autem
misericordiam debet habere fidelis quilibet ut proximo
dimittat offensas. Mt. xviii Nonne oportuit te misereri
conservi tui sicut et ego tui misertus sum. Eccli xxviii
Homo homini servat iram,^(a) et a deo querit medelam. In
hominem similem sibi non habet misericordiam, et pro peccatis
suis deprecabitur. In afflictorum compassione Mc. viii

(a) iram] cod. ipsa

Miserior super turbam, quia ecce iam triduo sustinent me, nec habent et cetera. .ii^o Reg ultimo Melius est ut incidam in manus domini - Multe enim sunt (col. b) {sunt} misericordie eius - quam in manus hominum. Hanc misericordiam debet habere quilibet .Job.xix. miserimini mei, miseremini mei saltem vos amici mei. In debiliu sustentatione Ps. Si dicebam: Motus est pes meus et cetera Hanc debet habere quilibet. Eccli iiii. In iudicando esto pupillis misericors ut pater et pro viro matri eorum. In vindicte sue retractatione. Tren. iiii. Misericordie domini multe, quia non sumus consumpti. Item Ione.iii. Misertus est dominus super malitiam quam locutus est ut faceret Ninivitis, et non fecit. Hanc debet habere fidelis quilibet Eccli xviii. Miseratio hominis circa proximum suum .I^o Mach. ii. dicitur de David quod in misericordia sua consecutus est sedem regni sui in secula. Prov. xxi. Anima impi desiderat malum, non miserebitur^(a) proximo suo. In caritativa correctione¹ Ps. Visitabo in virga iniquitates eorum. Hanc debet habere fidelis quilibet. Ps. Corripiet me iustus et cetera. Tob. vi. Qui tollit ab amico suo misericordiam, timorem domini dereliquit. In pens debite diminutione Abacuc. iiii. Cum iratus fueris, misericordie² recordaberis. Hanc debet habere fidelis quilibet. Prov. xxi. Inveniet vitam iustitiam et gloriam. Ier. vi. Crudelis est et non miserebitur. In temporalium erogatione Eccli. xviii.

(a) miserebitur] cod. miseribitur vel miser ibitur

Misericordia domini super omnem carnem. Ps. Misericors
 et miserator dominus et cetera. Hanc misericordiam debet
 habere fidelis quilibet. Tob. iiii. Quomodo poteris,^(a)
 ita esto misericors. Si multum tibi fuerit, habundanter
 tribue: si autem parum, illud libenter impertiri stude.
 Prov. xxii. Qui pronus est ad misericordiam, benedicetur;
 de panibus enim suis dedit pauperi. Ex hac misericordia
 multiplex^(b) utilitas provenit. Prima est divine misericordie
 assecutio. Mt. v. Beati misericordes, quoniam ipsi
 misericordiam consequentur. Iac. ii. Iudicium sine
 misericordia illi qui non fecit misericordiam. Secunda
 est culpe purgatio. Prov. xv. Per misericordiam et fidem
 purgantur peccata. Tertia est pene pro peccatis debite
 relaxatio. Dan. iiii. peccata tua elemosinis redime, et
 iniquitates tuas misericordiis pauperum. Quarta est
 maiestatis divine honoratio. Prov. xiiii. Honorat
 dominum qui miseretur pauperis. Quinta est pauperis ad
 orandum^(c) obligatio. Eccli. xxix. Qui facit misericordiam
 feneratur proximo suo. Sexta est interna delectatio^(d) Ps.
 Iocundus homo qui miseretur et commodat. Septima est
 eterna beatitudo Prov. xiiii. Qui miseretur pauperi^(e)
 beatus erit. quam nobis prestare <***>

(a) poteris] sic

(b) multiplex] cod. triplex

(c) ad orandum] cod. adorandum

(d) delectatio] cod. dilectio

(e) pauperi] sic.

NOTES

- 1 correctione] There are signs that the scribe wrote core-
then altered it to corr-
- 2 misericordie] There is an otiose point above the finale

ILLUSTRATIVE TEXTS no. 3

A SERMON FOR THE UPPER CLASS OF THE CITIES(From MS. B.N. Lat 15943 fo. CXXVI^{ra}-CXXX^{ra})AD CIVES COMMUNITER VIVENTES SERMO

Qui amat divitias fructum non capiet ex eis. Eccl. v. Ostendit nobis Salomon divitiarum periculum; ligant enim per amorem affectum, et post laborem non relinquunt fructum; que duo notantur^(a) in (col. b) verbo proposito. Sunt autem temporales. Sunt spirituales. Sunt celestes. Sunt et supercelestes. De temporalibus. Iob. xxxi.: Si letatus sum super divitiis meis multis, et quia plurima reperit manus mea. Sequitur: Oriatur mihi tribulus et pro ordeo spina. Non enim confidebat Iob in divitiis suis nec delectabatur^(b) in specie auri vel in cantitate acervi. Hoc enim curandum est ne quis temporalia diligat et in eis fiduciam ponat. Ps. Speravit in multitudine divitiarum suarum, et prevaluit in vanitate sua. Divitie autem temporales licite habentur quando acquiruntur sine pravitate. Gen. xiii. Erat Abraham dives valde in possessione auri et argenti. Ps. Nolite sperare in iniquitate et rapinas nolite concupiscere. Divitie si affluent, nolite cor apponere. Aurum enim et argentum nec bonos nec malos faciunt, sed usus eorum

(a) notantur] cod. no^{ur}

(b) delectabatur] cod. delectabitur (delc̄ab̄r)

bonus est, abusio mala. Sollicitudo^(a) peior. Questus turpior. Ut dicit Bernardus: Avarus enim terrena esurit ut mendicus, fidelis condemnit ut dominus. Ille possidendo mendicat. Iste contempnendo servat. Custodiuntur cum humilitate .i.Thim.vi. Divitibus huius seculi precipe non sublime sapere, nec sperare in incerto^(b) divitiarum, sed in deo vivo. Non sublime sapere, quia sicut paupertas nutrit humilitatem, ita divitie superbiam, quia incrassati recalcitrant. Ex.ix. De cinere creantur vesice. In incerto divitiarum, quia incerte sunt et mutabunde, sed in deo vivo, quia divitie sunt deus mortuus. Non enim (fo. CXXVI^{va}) possunt iuvare cultores suos sicut nec ydola. Sumptur cum frugalitate et mediocritate. Prov. xiii. Est quasi pauper, cum in multis divitiis sit. Sapientes enim sic utuntur temporali subsidio sicut peregrinus via, et viator fatigatus umbra: corpore pausans, sed mente ad aliud tendendo, recedere festinat. Seneca: magnum est non corrumpi divitiarum conturbernio. Magnus ille est qui in divitiis pauper est. Eccli. xviii. Memento paupertatis in tempore habundantie, et necessitatem paupertatis in die divitiarum. Distribuuntur cum pietate .II. Reg. xix. Berzellai prebuit alimenta regi cum moraretur in castris. Fuit enim vir dives nimis. Nunc enim Christus peregrinatur in pauperibus velud in castris. Prov. xvii. Substantia divitis urbs roboris eius, et quasi murus validus circumdans eum. Custodiunt enim divitie divitem sicut murus domum vel fortitudo urbem. Ez. xxxii. Convertam flumina eorum in oleum, quod fit

(a) sollicitudo] cod. sollicitudo

(b) incerto] cod. incirco

quando divitie convertuntur in opera misericordie. Gregorius: Divitie sicut impedimenta sunt improborum,^(a) ita in bonis sunt adiumenta virtutis. Divitie etiam temporales periculose possidentur quia sunt breves et transitorie. Quantumcumque enim valeant et magni pretii constant durare non possunt. Sap.v. Quid vobis^(b) profuit superbia? aut divitiarum iactantia quid contulit vobis?^(c) Transierunt omnia tanquam umbra, et tanquam nuntius precurrens, et tanquam navis que pertransiit fluctuantem aquam; aut avis que transvo-(col. b)lat in aere cuius nullum invenitur argumentum itineris illius; aut tanquam sagitta emissa in locum destinatum. Temporales divitias comparat umbre quia frigida est et obscura, et sequitur fugientes et fugit sequentes, quia temporalia ignem caritatis extinguunt, lucem veritatis obnubilant, et fugiunt appetentes honores, et fugientes insecuntur; et qui huiusmodi desiderant non eas assequantur. Eccli.xi. Si sequutus fueris, non apprehendes; et non effugies, si precurreris; et idem^(d) .xxxiiii. Quasi qui apprehendit umbram et sequitur ventum, sic qui attendit ad visa mendacia. Umbram crescit contra noctem, et affectus divitiarum contra mortem. Ic.xii. Anima mea multa bona habes et cetera. Stulte hac nocte et cetera. Sic est omnis qui thesaurizat et non est in deum dives. Comparantur etiam divitie nuntio precurrenti, quia

(a) improborum] improb.

(b) vobis] sic in cod. pro nobis

(c) vobis] sic in cod. pro nobis

(d) idem] cod. I.

divitie male acquisite sunt eterne pene prenuntie; et navi transeunti aquam fluctuantem, quia mentem quasi ventis et procellis expositam relinquunt inquietam; et avi transvolanti, quia nichil est mobilius ave, nichil mutabilius prosperitate.^(a) Comparantur etiam sagitte emisse ad locum destinatum, id est ad infernum. Sagitta enim in altum emissa, quia veras pennas non habet, cito labitur, et amantes temporalia, licet ad modicum erigantur, cito tamen ad infernum labuntur. Fallaces et deceptorie: Mt. xiii. Sollicitudo istius seculi et fallacia divitiarum suffocat verbum, et sine fructu efficitur. Fallacia divitiarum est, quia promittunt sufficientiam, et relinquunt deficientiam et vanitatem. Apoc. iii. Dicis quia dives sum, et nullius egeo, et nescis quia tu es miser et miserabilis et pauper et cecus et nudus. Pauper, cui multa deficient; cecus, quia ante te non vides. Immo apposito obolo ex una parte et marcha^(b) ex alia, marcham reicis, obolum accipis, quia relicta possessione eterna accipis temporalem. Sicut enim speculum decipit tigridem que alludit primitus umbre, deinde^(c) fracto speculo comperit nichil esse, ita divitie decipiunt divitem. Ps. Dormierunt et nichil invenerunt omnes viri divitiarum in manibus suis; et nudus cuius turpitudine apparet. Penales et obligatorie. Obligatur enim dives ut cognoscat eum a quo date sunt ei divitie, sicut obligatur per feodum ille qui tenetur recognoscere dominum suum. Ier. ix.

(a) prosperitate] cod. prospertate

(b) marcha] cod. marcham

(c) deinde] cod. dem̄

Non gloriatur dives divitiis suis, sed in hoc gloriatur, scire et nosse^(a) me; et ideo sicut digni sunt amittere feodum, qui non de illo serviunt domino suo in necessitate, ita digni sunt amittere temporales divitias qui non distribuunt eas ad honorem domini sui membris suis in necessitate positis. Naum. Diripite argentum diripite aurum, et non est finis divitiarum ex omnibus vasis desiderabilibus. Ier. xv. Divitias tuas et thesauros dabo in direptionem. Sunt etiam penales. Eccli. xxxi. Laboravit dives in congregatione substantie. Culpabiles et noxie. Eccli. xi. Si dives fueris non eris immunis a delicto; non quia in rebus sit vitium, sed in ipso animo; sicut nichil differt utrum egrum in lecto ligneo aut in aureo colloques - quocumque illum transtuleris (col. b) morbum suum transfert - Sic nichil refert utrum eger animus in divitiis an in paupertate ponatur. Malum enim suum illum sequitur.¹ Eccli. xiii. Bona est substantia cui non est peccatum in conscientia, et Gregorius: Non est census in crimine sed affectus. Sunt autem breves et transitorie, quia in momento deficiunt. Apoc. xviii. Ve Ve civitas illa magna, que amicta erat bysso, et purpura, et cocco; una hora destitute sunt tante divitie. Nam momentaneum est quod delectat, eternum quod cruciat. Quia deficientes ad modum sompni cor afficiunt. Iob. Dives cum dormierit nichil secum auferet. Aperiet oculos suos nichil inveniet. Sic enim dormit esuriens et dormiendo afficitur, et tamen non reficitur, immo magis exinanitur, ita divitie non satiant, sed magis sitim^(b) avaritie provocant.

(a) nosse] cod. nosce

(b) sitim] sic

Job .xviii. Exardescit contra eum sitis. Lc.vi.^(a)
 Comedes et non saturaberis; quia quo plus sunt pote plus
 sitiuntur aque. Quanto enim plura ligna in igne ponuntur
 tanto maior ignis generatur. Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa
 pecunia crescit. Quia resoluti post sompnium nichil inveniunt.
 Ps. Ne timueris cum dives factus fuerit homo, et cum multi-
 plicata fuerit gloria domus eius, quoniam, cum interierit,
 non sumet omnia. Propter hoc stultum est in eis confidere
 que non possunt permanere. Prov. xi. Qui confidit in
 divitiis suis corruet. Valde enim demens est qui in unda
 volvitur et planta figere conatur. Ideo anima sancta cui
 nichil extra deum sufficit, nichil extra deum querit, et sua
 habundantia fit ei onerosa, et hoc ipsum graviter tolerat quia
 festinans ad patriam in itinere (fo. CXXVII^{va}) multa portat.
 Quia sicut flos sine fructu preveniunt. Lc.ii^o. Divites
 dimisit inanes. Unde sicut flos in hyeme ad quamdam^(b)
 temperiem prosilit, et non proficit nec fructum facit, ita
 est de divitiis in statu presentis temporis. Unde .v. Sap.
 significantur^(c) per umbram, spumam, fumum, et sompnum.
 Umbra nichil habet solliditatis^(d) et cito preterit. Spuma
 inflat. Fumus excecatur. Sompnus oculos spirituales ligat;
 et sicut narcisus umbram variam et superficialiter decoram
 captat in aquis, Ita stultus falsam gloriam querit in
 temporalibus et transitoriis divitiis. Divitie enim sunt sicut

(a) Lc. vi] sic; sed require in Mich. 6¹⁴

(b) quamdam] cod. quemdam

(c) significantur] seu signantur (cod. Signatur^a)

(d) solliditatis] sic

flos cardui similis lanugini. Carduus enim aculeos pungitivos habet inferius, florem vero superius qui cito evanescit quam impetus venti sicut tenuissimam plumam cito abicit,^(a) Ita pecunia cito deficit. Unde vani sunt qui hanc multo labore acquirunt sicut paeri qui papillones capiunt et a volante papillone apertis manibus nichil inveniunt et frequenter in foveam cadunt. Sunt etiam fallaces et deceptorie, quia relinquunt vanitatem in cogitatu. Lc. xii. Hominis cuiusdam divitis uberes fructus ager attulit et cogitabat intra se: Quid faciam. Non habeo quo congregem fructus meos. Destruam horrea mea et cetera, et sequitur: Stulte, et cetera. Ecce cogitatio sine effectu: deluduntur enim in cogitationibus suis sicut homines melancolici, aut dormientes famelici et sitibundi. Relinquit etiam insatiabilitatem in appetitu. Eccl. (col. b) iii. Unus est et secundum non habet, et tamen laborare non cessat, nec satiantur oculi eius divitiis. Insatiabilis enim est oculus cupidi; nichil enim potest animam replere nisi deus. Unde tanta est anime capacitas quod non repletur modicis. Ipsa autem anima ymago est dei, et ideo maior est toto mundo, immo quanto magis repletur temporalibus <tanto> minus repletur deo, et ita semper remanet vacua. Res enim in se vanitatem habent, et ideo non replent. Res etiam sunt extra. Sitis autem est in anima. Fatuus autem esset esuriens qui se reffectum diceret eo quod panem in archa tantum haberet. Propterea^(b) aviditatis vitium semper tendit in infinitum, sicut ignis semper adureret

(a) qui cito evanescit ... cito abicit] sic in cod., fortasse pro: '... qui cito evanescit, quoniam impetus venti (illum) sicut tenuissimam plumam cito abicit'

(b) Propterea] cod. ^a P

si quis ei materiam apponeret. Seneca: Si vis divitem facere, non divitiis addendum, sed divitiis detrahendum. Relinquant etiam cecitatem in intellectu. Obnubilant enim divitie intellectum divitis ita ut inter se et divitias non distinguit,^(a) ita ut si domus eius comburitur, dicit se combustum. Hee sunt divitie egyptiorum qui interpretantur 'tenebrosi'. Hebr. xi. Fide [.] Moyses grandis <***> eligebat magis affligi cum populo dei quam temporalis peccati habere iocunditatem, maiores divitias estimans thesauro egyptiorum improprium Christi. Sicut enim ursus excecatur ad fervorem pelvis oculis suis obiectum, ita dives ex appetitu ardenti divitiarum, et sicut ursus ligatus circa stipitem, et sicut equus educens molam in circuitu excecatur, sic avarus est circa immobilia alligatus; (fo. CXXVIII^{ra}) nunquam in Christo figitur, sed cum creaturis volubilibus volvitur, donec post vertiginem et cecitatem in infernum labatur. Lc. xvi. Mortuus est dives et sepultus in inferno. Apoc. vi. Omnes divites absconderunt se in speluncis. Quia etiam relinquant sterilitatem in fructu. Eccl. v. Quid prodest possessori, nisi quod divitias oculis suis cernit? Sic etiam asinus cernit eas. Unde de quodam dicit Oracius: quidam memoratur Athenis sordidus et dives, populi contempnere voces sic solitus: 'populus me sibilat. At mihi plaudo ipse domi simul ac nummos contemplor in archa.'² Lc. ii^(b) Esurientes implevit bonis: et divites dimisit inanes. Sunt etiam penales et obligatorie,

(a) distinguit] cod. distingunt

(b) Lc. ii] sic (sed require in Lc. 1(53))

quia obligant possessorem ad dandum elemosinam. Prov. xi. Alii dividunt propria et ditiores fiunt; ab eo enim qui nichil portat nichil petitur. Obligant etiam ad dei notitiam, quia .i. Reg. ii. Dominus pauperem facit et ditat; licet aliqui quanto magis sunt ditati^(a) tanto magis domino sunt ingrati. Ier. xv.^(b) Magnificati sunt et ditati, et preterierunt sermones meos pessime. Obligant etiam ad restitutionis iustitiam. Lc. xix. Ecce vir nomine Zacheus, princeps publicanorum et ipse dives. Sequitur: Domine, ecce dimidium bonorum meorum do pauperibus; si quem defraudavi, redde quadruplum; hoc est: capitale quod habui, et quod inde lucratus fui, pono in consilio ecclesie; et quod inde lucrari potuit, quamvis non lucratus fuerit, de hoc conteror; et nutrimentum carnis quod (col. b) inde acquisivi expono contritioni et penitentiae. Hii sunt .iiii. denarii sive quadruplum usurariorum. Obligant etiam ad precavendam dyaboli astutiam, quia .i. ad Thym. vi. Qui volunt divites fieri incidunt in temptationem, et laqueum dyaboli, et desideria multa que mergunt hominem in interitum et perditionem. Laqueus enim dyaboli sunt divitiae, licet paucos inveniamus qui ab hoc laqueo velint liberari, sed magis irretiri; que mergunt, inquit, hominem: quando aliquis submergitur, quicquid tenet secum submergit; unde cum avari ita fortiter teneant divitias quod eas dimittere nolunt, nec restituere, nec dare pauperibus, signum est quod submergantur. Unde Crates philosophus thebanus

(a) sunt ditati] cod. ditati sunt cum signis inversionis

(b) Ier. xv.] sic (sed require in Ier. 5 (27-8))

de mersis in mare divitiis: Abite, inquit, pessimi pessime divitie; submergam vos ne submergar a vobis. Non sunt autem tantum obligatorie sed penales, quoniam ardor est in ambiendo, labor in acquirendo, timor in possidendo, dolor in perdendo. De ardore Eccli. v. Noli anxius esse in divitiis iniustis. Est enim dives sicut apis que dicitur burdo, que pinguescit de labore aliarum apum. Ardent enim pre cupiditate respectu sui, et pre invidia respectu proximi. Prov. xxviii. Vir qui festinat ditari, et aliis invidet, ignorat quod egestas^(a) superveniet ei. De labore. Eccli. xxxi. Laborabit dives in congregatione substantie. Laborant enim per fas et nefas ut habeant, non ut restituant, nisi in fine, adveniente mortis amaritudine, sicut sanguis-(fo. CXXVIII^{va}) suga repleta evomit sanguinem superposito sale. Iob. xx. Divitias quas devoravit evomet, et de ventre eius extrahet eas deus. Ideo Prov. xxiii. Noli laborare ut diteris. Et nota quod ita est de divite sicut de balena; devorat enim alios pisces, sed post mortem eius, plures participant de bonis eius. Eccli. xiii. Venatio leonis onager in heremo; sic pascua divitum pauperes. Leo participat rapinam aliis bestiis, sed postquam participata fuerit, devorat bestiam sibi proximam; sic quidam divites videntur esse curiales sed deficiente substantia nec proximo nec alii amico parcunt. De timore Eccl. v. Dulcis est sompnus operanti, sive parum sive multum comedat. Saturitas autem divitis non sinit^(b) eum dormire; si enim videt pauperem, estimat eum furem. Si divitem, estimat eum raptorem; semper

(a) egestas] cod. egestat

(b) sinit] cod. sinis

enim tabescit in se ipso sicut lignum viride quod est decisum in decremento lune. Tabescit interiori putredine. Hii sunt divites sine luce gratie, sed in indefectu positi sapientie. Hii dormire non possunt pre sollicitudine. De dolore. Eccli. xli. O mors quam amara est memoria tua homini iniusto habenti pacem in substantiis suis; et Apoc. xviii. Qui divites facti sunt longe stabunt propter timorem tormentorum flentes et lugentes; unde visi sunt multi divites in fine proferre oculos suos et abscondere sub stramentis lectorum suorum. Recitat autem magister Iacobus de Vitriaco^(a) de quodam paupere qui cantabat cotidie in mane, sed invento thesauro, sine (col. b) proposito ob industriam perdidit cantum et letitiam. Sic cum divites tales letitiam habent ipsa est presagium tristitie. Sic enim magni pisces, dum in tranquillo tempore ludunt in maris superficie, signum est tempestatis future. Unde tempestate emergente descendunt magni pisces ad profundum maris, parvi vero elevantur ad superficiem, quia mali divites in tempestate iudicii descendent in profundum inferni. Pauperes autem et humiles elevabuntur ad regnum et eternitatem. Sunt etiam culpabiles et noxie, quia auferunt a rationali libertatem, a concupiscibili iocunditatem, ab irascibili securitatem, ab omni vi communiter felicitatem. De libertate: patet ratio est virtus libera secundum se, sed cum est alligata materie non est libera, propter quod Mc. x. Facilius est camelum intrare per foramen acus, quam divitem in regnum celorum.³

(a) Vitriaco] cod. vit¹

Ita enim onerant divitie amatores suos quod raro possunt cor levare in celum per devotionem. Unde Bernardus: bone Petre, Christum sequi non poteris oneratus, super illud: ecce nos relinquimus omnia, Mt. xix, et Seneca: Nemo cum bicyvis^(a) enatat. Sunt enim divitie sicut quedam mola asinaria⁴ alligata collo divitum,^(b) que submergunt eos in profundum cupiditatis in presenti, et in futuro in puteum eterne dampnationis; immo deplumant eos sicut virgule viscate deplumant aves se illis affricantes; spine enim sunt, et ideo anima sanctis affectionibus et cogitationibus deplumatur; circa terram volvitur; sursum volare non potest, quia libera non est. Immo sicut muscipule et laquei capiunt aves et feras, sic divitie avaros; (fo. CXXIX^{ra}) ut enim dicit Augustinus: iusto dei iudicio fit ut divites a divitiis quas iniuste acquirunt volunt capi; iustissime teneantur. Sic enim avis credit capere escam et capitur. Immo divitie sunt quasi compedes quibus avarorum pedes scilicet affectus constricti miserabiliter alligantur. De iocunditate Eccl. v. Divitie conservate in malum domini sui. Pereunt enim in afflictione pessima. Auferunt enim letitiam mentis et inducunt tristitiam. Unde affligunt possessorem ita quod nec bibere nec comedere potest ad satietatem, nec vestiri ad necessitatem. Contra illud in eodem: omni homini cui dedit deus divitias atque substantiam, potestatemque tribuit ut comedat ex eis, et fruatur parte sua, et letetur de labore suo. Hoc donum dei

(a)

bicyvis] sic

(b) divitum] cod. divitium

est. Iste autem cunctis diebus vite sue comedit in tenebris et in curiis multis, et in erumpna atque tristitia. In tenebris, quia comedit disferendo tempus propter hospites quos timet, ideo comedit de nocte; et in curiis multis, ut sit animus eius semper in sollicitudine, et in erumpna, hoc est, in omnimoda indigentia subtrahendo sibi necessaria, et in tristitia videndo quod alii suum superflue expendunt, et videns cor suum singulis morsellis a⁵ familia sua devorari.

De securitate. Seneca: Vicinus dives irritat cupidatem. Unde sicut cadaver non potest esse securum in medio canum aut avium, ita nec divites in medio cupidorum,^(a) quia divitiae sunt eis sicut cibus et potus in medio esurientium. Job. v.

Cuius messem famelicus comedet, et ipsum rapiet armatus, et bibent sitientes divitias eius. De amissione fe-(col. b) licitatis. Iac. v. Agite nunc divites, plorate ululantes. Divitiae vestre putrefactae^(b) sunt et cetera. Sicut enim videmus de ceco mortuo quod devoravit alios pisces, sed cum mortuus fuerit omnes participant de bonis eius, Ita est de divite devorante substantiam pauperis; sed ulterius, sicut falcones, quando moriuntur, licet in vita sua ceperint gallinas et honorifice parati fuerint, tunc mortui sepeliuntur in fimo, gallinae autem, quae viles erant et in fimo pascebantur, mortuae tamen portantur ad mensam regiam: Ita de divitibus, qui sepeliuntur in inferno, et de pauperibus, qui elevantur ad regnum. Sunt etiam divitiae spirituales. Prov. x. Manus fortium divitias parat; quia in fortitudine et fervore istas

(a) cupidorum] cod. cupidiorum

(b) putrefactae] cod. pii.

oportet acquirere. Iste autem sunt .iiii. divitie conscientie de quibus in Ps. Gloria et divitie in domo eius. Hoc est in anima que est domus divina, ubi est pura conscientia. Non est enim census super censum corporis, nec oblectamentum super cordis gaudium. Sunt etiam divitie sapientie. Ys. vi.⁶ Divitie salutis sapientia et scientia: Timor domini ipse est thesaurus^(a) eius. Timor in resilitione a malo per effectum; scientia in distributione boni per intellectum; sapientia in sapore per effectum.^(b) Sunt etiam divitie bone vite quo ad se ipsum. Eccli. xiiii.⁷ Homines divites in virtute pulcritudinis; et Prov. ult. Multe filie congregaverunt divitias; Tu supergressa es universas. Sunt etiam divitie bone fame quo ad proximum Prov. xxii. Melius est nomen bonum quam divitie multe. Eccli. xliiii. Laudemus viros gloriosos; et sequitur: Homines (fo. CXXIX^{va}) magni virtute premiti divitiis^(c) et cetera. Sunt etiam divitie celestes que competunt animabus beatis que possunt dicere in bono illud Zach. xi. Benedictus dominus! divites facti sumus. Non sunt autem hee divitie quales mundane, que sunt transitorie et breves. Iste vero perpetue sine defectione. Non deceptorie et fallaces, sed sunt vere sine imperfectione. Non obligatorie et penales, sed melliflue sine afflictione. Non noxie et culpabiles, sed sincere sine infectione. Sunt ergo sine defectione. Ios. xxi. In multa substantia atque divitiis revertimini ad sedes vestras. Substantia est res perseverans sicut accidens deficiens, quia

(a) est thesaurus] cod. thesaurus est cum signis inversionis

(b) effectum] sic

(c) Homines ... premiti divitiis] sic in cod., sed cf. Eccli. 44. 3

iste temporales divitie deficiunt, celestes vero perpetue sunt. Prov. iiii. Longitudo dierum in dextera eius et in sinistra illius divitie et gloria. Sunt sine imperfectione; temporales enim sicut fantastice epule comedentes fallunt et inanes dimittunt. Iste vero perfecte reficiunt. Nee. ix. Comederunt et saturati sunt, et habundaverunt divitiis;^(a) omnia enim eis succedunt ad votum. Sunt enim sine afflictione; temporales enim possessorem affligunt. Iste iocunde sunt. Prov. x. Benedictio domini divites facit, nec sociabitur eis afflictio. Sunt etiam sine infectio. In illis temporalibus, quia est materia corruptibilis, locum habet infectio. In hiis vero non, ubi perfecta erit nature purgatio. Phil. ult. Deus meus impleat omne desiderium nostrum secundum divitias suas in gloria in Christo Iesu, id est meritis Christi Iesu, qui sine peccato fuit in via, et nunc sine pena in gloria. Unde et per ipsum perga-(col. b)bitur natura nostra et tunc erunt perfecta desideria. Hee sunt plene divitie quia ibi erunt vera plena cognitio, sincera dilectio, perfecta fruitio, continua laudatio. De primo Prov. xiiii. Corona sapientium divitie eorum. De secundo Iob. xxi. Iste moritur^(b) robustus, sanus, et dives et felix; viscera eius plena sunt adipe, et medullis ossa illius irrigantur; boni enim moriuntur in bonis gratuitis et ideo impinguantur adipe caritatis. De tertio Ps. Spera in domino, et fac bonitatem; et pasceris in divitiis eius. De quarto Ps. Filie Tyri in muneribus vultum tuum

(a) habundaverunt divitiis] sic in cod., sed cf. Neh. 9, 25

(b) moritur] cod. moritus

deprecabuntur; omnes divites plebis. Ista munera sunt laudis mania. Ista deprecatio est timor reverentialis, per quem est in se ipsum resilitio. Sunt etiam divitie super-celestes et ille sunt in deo. iii. Reg. x. Magnificatus est Salomon super omnes reges terre divitiis et sapientia. Iste vero sunt in magnificentia potentie, in sapientia providentie, in affluentia misericordie, et magnificentia glorie. De primo Rom. x. Idem dominus omnium, dives in omnes qui invocant illum. Dominus nomen est potentie. .i. Par. xxix. Tue sunt divitie, domine, et tua est gloria. Tu dominaris omnium. De secundo Rom. xi.⁸ O altitudo divitiarum sapientie et scientie dei et cetera. De tertio Eph. ii. Deus, qui dives est in misericordia, propter nimiam caritatem suam, qua dilexit nos, cum essemus mortui peccatis vivificavit nos in Christo. Rom. ii. An divitias bonitatis, et patientie, et longanimitatis eius contempnis? De quarto Hest. i. Assuerus fecit grande convivium cunctis prin-(fo. CXXX^{ra})cipibus et pueris suis ut ostenderet divitias glorie regni sui.

ILLUSTRATIVE TEXTS no. 3 - NOTES

- ¹The scribe appears to have thought that sequitur went with the next sentence.
- ²Hor. Sermonum Lib. I, 1, 64-67
- ³regnum celorum] For regnum Dei. In substituting celorum for Dei the scribe was doubtless influenced by the parallel passage in Mt. 19, 24.
- ⁴asinaria] This word is badly formed in MS., and the scribe may not have known what he was writing (the word has to be reconstructed from the sense).
- ⁵a] An otiose diacritical mark above this word suggests that the scribe may have written i, then altered it.
- ⁶Ys. vi] In fact the passage is from Is. 33, 6.
- ⁷Eccli. xiii.] In fact the passage is from Eccli. xliiii.
- ⁸Rom.] There is an indication that the scribe began to write the abbreviation for Regum, then changed his mind.

ILLUSTRATIVE TEXTS no. 4

I. A "POPULAR" SERMON (EARLY THIRTEENTH CENTURY)

Johannes Halgrinus de Abbatisvilla: Sermon on
the text "Estote Misericordes..."

(MS. Lyell 6 fols. 141 recto-143 recto)

Evangelium secundum Lucam

Estote Misericordes sicut et pater vester misericors est.
Invitamur hoc loco ad opera misericordie, ut patrem tanquam
filii in misericordia imitemur. De hac misericordia habetur
in ecclesiastico iiii. Non sit manus tua ad accipiendum
porrecta, et ad dandum collecta, sed potius ad dandum
porrecta. Invitamur ergo ad opera misericordie, quia sicut
dicit Augustinus: de nulla re sic ^(a) vincitur inimicus,
scilicet diabolus, quam cum misericordes sumus. Unde et
psalmus ille: Benedictus dominus deus meus qui docet manus
meas et cetera, intitulatur psalmus David in Goliath, quasi
contra Goliath. In hoc enim psalmo agitur de misericordia
qua contra diabolum (fo. 141^{va}) pugnatur. Docet enim manus
nostras ad prelium, et digitos nostros ad bellum. Duabus
enim manibus pugnat, qui duplicem habet misericordiam, scilicet
erga amicum et inimicum. Digitos nostros instruit ad bellum
misericordia; qui decem sunt, propter decem opera misericordie;

(a) sic] cod. sy

quorum sex sunt opera misericordie corporalis que sunt in evangelio ubi dicit: Esurivi et dedistis mihi manducare; sitivi et dedistis mihi bibere; nudus fui, et cooperuistis me; hospes, et collegistis me; infirmus, et in carcere, et visitastis me. Septimum autem invenitur in thobia, scilicet sepultura mortuorum. Tria opera misericordie spiritualis firmiter inveniuntur in evangelio. Si penitet, dimitte; si peccat, argue; si ignorat, instrue. Ac si dicat: Dimitte penitenti, increpa delinquentem, instrue ignorantem. Docet igitur misericordia manus nostras ad prelium, et digitos nostros ad bellum. Et notandum, quod bene misericordia respondet digitis. Tres enim articulos habet digitus, propter tria in misericordia consideranda. Debet autem considerari substantia que datur, ordo, intentio. Substantia, ne detur de rapina vel furto, sed detur de proprio. Quia sicut dicit ecclesiasticus xxxiiii: Immolantis ex iniquo, oblatio est maculata, et non sunt beneplacite subsannationes iniustorum. Est enim potius subsannatio que de rapina offertur, quam placatio. Et iterum: Dona iniquorum non probat altissimus, nec respicit in oblationes^(a) impiorum, nec in multitudine sacrificiorum eorum propitiabitur peccatis; quia qui offert sacrificium de substantia pauperum, quasi qui victimat filium in conspectu patris. Debet igitur dare elemosinam de proprio non de rapina. Ipsa enim orat pro nobis, et impugnat diabolum et repugnat diabolo. Unde in ecclesiastico xxix: Conclude elemosinam in sinu pauperis,

(a) oblationes] cod. oblationibus

et ipsa orabit pro te. Et statim sequitur: elemosina viri quasi sacculus cum eo. Quod in sacco habetur, cum quis indigne-(col. b)rit invenitur. Ita elemosina in necessitate grata confert subsidia, et gratiam hominis ut pupillam reservabit. Que lucem prebet toti corpori, et resurget et retribuet illis retributionem unicuique in caput eorum. Deinde ostendit quomodo repugnet et impugnet diabolum, dicens: Super scutum potentis et super lanceam adversus inimicum tuum pugnabit. Scuto iaculum repellitur; lancea hostis impugnatur; ita elemosina impugnat diabolum, et persuasionis eius reicit iaculum. Considerato quid detur, considerandus est ordo. Nam sicut dicit Augustinus: qui ordinate vult elemosinam dare, a se ipso debet incipere. Unde Ecclesiasticus xxx in fine: Miserere anime tue placens deo. Ac si diceret: Si vis placere deo per elemosinam, miserere anime tue, ut primo des ei. Et contine - hoc est munus anime, ut contineas ne luxurietur diversis delectationibus. Et congrega cor tuum - ne dispergatur in exterioribus, sed congregetur in sanitate eius, id est in deo qui est sanitas cordis. Idem: Tristitiam longe repelle a te, id est, amorem temporalium. Multos enim occidit tristitia et sanitas non est in ea. Debet igitur a se incipere qui ordinate vult dare elemosinam, ne audiat Ysaiam^(a) contra se dicentem: Manus vestre sanguine plene sunt. Lavamini, mundi estote. Debet etiam esse directa intentio, ut pro elemosina non hominum favorem, sed eternam quis expectet mercedem. Unde

(a) ys.

in evangelio: Cum facis elemosinam noli tuba canere ante te. Respondet etiam digito elemosina propter tria danda, que sunt cordis compassio, verbum bonum, datum bonum. De compassione dicit Gregorius: Plus est corde compati quam dare. Nam qui ex corde compatitur, de se ipso dat. Qui vero dat vestem vel quodlibet aliud, non de suo sed de alieno dat. De verbo bono et dato dicit Ecclesiasticus xviii. Fili, in bo-(fo. 142^{ra})nis non des querelam, et in omni dato ne des tristitiam verbi mali. Nonne ardorem refrigerabit ros? Sic et verbum melius quam datum bonum. Ecce verbum bonum super datum bonum, sed utrumque cum homine iustificato. Hec tria tulit Magdalena ad pedes domini, quos lacrimis lavit, unguento unxit, capillis tersit. In lacrimis significatur compassio; in unguento, pia consolatio; in crinibus, per quos significatur rerum temporalium superfluitas, elemosinarum largitio. Hec ad pedes domini deferuntur, quando pauperibus impenduntur.

DE EODEM MORALITER

Estote misericordes. Invitamur hoc loco ad misericordiam, ut qui non habet armorum consuetudinem sicut David, tollat lapides de torrente et mittat in peram, et sic triumphabit de Golia. Legimus enim in primo Regum, quod David contra Goliath pugnaturus cum armorum experientiam non haberet, lapides de torrente tulit, quos in peram misit, et cum hiis de Golia triumphum optinuit. Pera ista dicitur fuisse vas pastorale, in quo lac reponebatur. Arma autem quibus

debellandus est diabolus sunt ieiunia, vigilia, carnis afflictiones, peregrinationes. Qui vero armorum istorum non habet experientiam, tollat lapides etcetera. Per peram que est vas lactis, cum nichil sit lacte gratiosius, significatur cor, vas misericordie, qua nichil affectabilius. Per torrentem significatur rerum temporalium defluens abundantia. Hinc sumendi sunt lapides, id est dona pauperibus eroganda, quibus loco armorum interficitur Goliath, scilicet diabolus, dummodo procedant de pera, id est cordis compassione. Hec enim victoriam per lapides operatur, nec sine ea quis poterit victoriam adipisci. Unde Apostolus 1^a ad Timotheum iiii. Exerce te ipsum ad pietatem, Corporalis enim exercitatio ad modicum valet: pietas autem ad omnia utilis est. Bene dicit "ad omnia". Dat enim dominus pro pietate gratiam in presenti, et dabit gloriam in futuro. Nolite iudicare et non iudica-(col. b)bimini. Periculosum est iudicare de occultis, que et bono animo et malo possunt fieri. Sunt autem quedam de quibus manifestum est, quod malo animo fiunt; de hiis iudicare permittitur:- ut de homicidio vel adulterio manifesto. Sunt etiam quedam que <sicut malo ita> bono possunt animo fieri, ut si videris aliquem in ecclesia cum virgine loquentem: de quibus periculosum est iudicare. Quia sicut dicit Apostolus 1^a ad Timotheum v. Quorundam hominum peccata sunt manifesta, precedentia ad iudicium - ut videantur aperte mala: quosdam autem subsequuntur. Quia licet hic humanum lateat iudicium, mala tamen fuisse divino iudicio apparebunt. De occultis

autem et dubiis temere iudicantes reprehendit Apostolus in epistola ad Romanos .x. (sig) dicens: Tu quis es qui iudicas servum alienum? Quasi dicat: Non subiacet iudicio tuo, sed domini sui iudicio, scilicet Christi. Unde sequitur: Suo autem domino stat aut cadit. Nam si forte tuo iudicio cecidit, occulto dei iudicio firmus stetit. Ideoque dubia debemus in meliorem partem interpretari. Unde subdit: Stabit autem - quasi dicat: Reputes eum stare - potens est deus statuere illum. Nolite condemnare et non condemnabimini. Super hoc habes optimum exemplum in evangelio de muliere in adulterio deprehensa. Que cum ducta esset ante dominum ut ab eo dampnari deberet, dominus se inclinans digito scribebat in terra. Et post erectionem suam dixit: Si quis sine peccato est vestrum, primus et cetera. Quod cum dixisset, iterum se inclinans scripsit; hoc scilicet terra [[terra]] scribe, id est diffinitum et certum habet, hos viros abdicatos, id est absortes, quia non considerant se esse terram per fragilitatem, se esse terram per immunditiam. Ergo scripsit bis, ut duobus modis se homo terram consideraret, scilicet, quod sit terra, id est, fragilis ad peccandum, vel sit terra, id est, immundus per peccatum. Et hoc considerato, fratrem non iudicet. Dicit enim Apostolus: In quo iudicio ~~alium~~ (fo. 142^{va}) iudicas, teipsum condemnas. Dimittite et dimittentur vobis. Iniurias quas vobis fecit dimittite proximo, et dimittentur vobis iniurie quas fecistis domino. Unde Ys. ^(a) lviii. Dissolve colligationes impietatis, id

(a) ysa.

est, omnes offensiones tibi factas dimitte, et solve fasciculos deprimentes. Collegisti iniuriarum pondus, et imposuisti humeris tuis fasciculos te deprimentes, in gehenne profundum. Solve ergo, id est, offensionum tuarum proice memoriam. Unde sequitur: Dimitte eos qui confracti sunt liberos, et omne onus dirumpe. Date et dabitur vobis. Date indigentibus beneficia, et dabitur vobis in presenti gratia, et in futuro gloria. Unde in eodem capitulo Ys. Cum effuderis esurienti animam tuam, id est, cum esurienti et corde compassus fueris, et animam afflictam fame repleveris, suffragando beneficiis, orietur in tenebris peccatorum lux tua, sicut gratie tibi collate, et tenebre tue erunt sicut meridies, id est, loco peccatorum erit tibi plenitudo lucis et fervor caritatis. Hoc dabitur in presenti; et quod sequitur in futuro <***>, scilicet: et requiem dabit tibi dominus deus tuus, et implebit splendoribus - id est, illuminatione contemplationis divine - animam tuam. Deinde quid dandum sit corpori subdit: Mensuram bonam et confertam et coagitatam et supereffluentem dabit in sinum vestrum. Hec quatuor quatuor dotibus corporis adaptantur. Bonum dicitur a bello, quod fulgidum est et clarum. Per hoc igitur quod dicit bonam, innuit claritatem corporis. Conferto, quod est solidum et firmum, respondet incorruptibilitas. Coagitato, quod mobile est, respondet agilitas; et supereffluentem, respondet subtilitas. Subtile enim de facili effluit. Hec omnia dabunt domino suo opera misericordie, non in vas quodlibet sed in sinum. Si enim

sinum non habueris, nichil recipies. Sinus autem sine cingulo haberi non potest; in quo de-(col. b)signatur castitas, quam qui non habuerit, sinu carebit, et nichil a domino reportabit. De hoc cingulo dicit Ys. xxiii, quasi impropere anime zona castitatis non precincte: Transi terram tuam quasi flumen, filia maris! Non est cingulum ultra tibi. Ac si dicat: O anima amaritudinis filia, quia cingulum castitatis non habes, nichil recipies. Quia eadem mensura qua mensi fueritis, remetietur vobis. Et in psalmo: Dormierunt sompnum suum, et nichil invenerunt omnes viri divitiarum in manibus suis. Ecce causa, quia nichil posuerunt in manibus Christi in paupertate^(a) mendicantis. Eadem enim mensura qua mensi sunt remensum est eis. Nam quia nichil dederunt, nichil recipient. Quid autem vides festucam in oculo fratris tui, trabem que in oculo tuo est non consideras? Aut quomodo potes dicere fratri tuo: Frater sine et cetera. Redarguimur hoc loco de duplici pondere et mensura. Duplicem habemus mensuram, cum peccata nostra levia et aliorum gravia reputamus. De hoc pondere et mensura dicit Mich.vi.: Nunquid stateram iustifico impiam - hominem scilicet peccata hominum imple discernentem - et sacelli pondera dolosa? - scilicet minus et maius, in quibus divites eius repleti sunt iniquitate. Divites eos vocat, quos appellat dominus in evangelio ypochritas. Est enim ypocrisis species, ut quis se reputet

(a) paupertate] cod. paupere

aliis preminere et se ipsum presumat de peccato absolvere, et alium condempnabilem iudicare. Dicit ergo tali dominus: Quomodo potes dicere fratri tuo: Frater sine me eicere festucam, scilicet leve peccatum, de oculo tuo; tu ipse in oculo tuo trabem, id est peccatum grave et ponderosum, non consideras? Ypochrita, eice et cetera. Quasi dicat: Adhuc immundus es; quomodo ergo alium mundabis? De hiis autem qui se non corrigunt et alios reprehendunt, dicit Mich. vi: Ignis in domo impii et thesauri iniquitatis, et mensura minor ire plena. Ecce quomodo divites repleti sunt iniquita-(fol. 143^{ra})te, in quorum domibus est ignis invidie, thesauri iniquitatis; Quia est ibi mensura minor, quam certe dominus implebit ira ultionis. Pro eo enim quod peccatum tuum minuisti, et alterius aggravasti, in te deus iudicium temerarium vindicabit, et pro eo quod diminuisti culpam levigando, perficiet penam tibi cumulando. Eice ergo primum trabem de oculo tuo, et tunc perspicies ut educas festucam de oculo fratris tui. Bene autem dixit: perspicies ut educas, quasi dicat: Vide quomodo leniter corrigas tanquam fratrem. Unde ad Galatas in fine: Si preoccupatus fuerit homo in aliquo delicto; in eo quod dicit homo, innuit fragilitatem fratris tui, ut adversus eum per verba aspere increpationis non insurgas. Unde subdit: Vos, qui spirituales estis, instruite huiusmodi in spiritu lenitatis, considerans teipsum, ne et tu tempteris. In sequenti verso eos redarguit qui aliorum peccata suam volunt facere sanctimoniam, et aliorum culpas suas faciunt laudes. Hii

sunt qui se tales esse negant, quales alios reprehendunt.
Unde bene subiungit Apostolus: Unusquisque opus suum probet,
id est, diligenter discutiat quid in se bonitatis habeat,
et sic in semetipso teste conscientia gloriam habebit et
non in altero, id est, non ex operatione alterius quem
vituperat.

ILLUSTRATIVE TEXTS no. 5

A UNIVERSITY SERMON FOR THE FEAST OF THE HOLY TRINITY

by Johannes de Verdi

(from Bodl. MS. Ashmole 757 fol. 265 recto col. A seqq.)¹

Sermo in festo sancte Trinitatis fratris Johannis de Verdi

Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in celo, pater, verbum et spiritus sanctus, et hii tres unum sunt. In libro (col. b) Sap. Γc.9 f¹ dicitur: difficile estimamus que in terra sunt, et que in prospectu sunt, investigamus Γvel invenimus¹ cum labore: que autem in celis sunt quis investigabit? Que in terra sunt, sunt in nobis; que super terram sunt, ante Γvel iuxta¹ nos sunt; sed que in celis sunt, supra nos sunt. Ex quibus apparet^(a) quod facilius est iudicare et rationem reddere de hiis que in terra et iuxta terram sunt, quam de hiis que super terram sunt. Dicit: que in prospectu sunt difficile estimamus, id est, difficile est de eis reddere rationem, sicut de eis que sunt in terra, sicut de fructibus et de animalibus, sed que in celis sunt, sicut misterium^(b) trinitatis, quis [non] investigabit? Certe ille cui dederis sensum. Unde in libro Sap. Γc.9 g¹: Sensum tuum quis sciet, nisi tu dederis sapientiam tuam, et miseris spiritum tuum de altissimis? Sensus hominis est de eis que solus homo scit, ita sensus dei est de hiis que solus deus scit. Hec est sola trinitas que sibi soli nota est integre;

(a) apparet] cod. appet(b) misterium] cod. ministerium

igitur qui haberet spiritum sanctum posset de ea qualitercumque investigare, quia [ut habetur 1 Cor. 2 e]: Spiritus scrutatur etiam profunda dei. Igitur in principio rogemus spiritum sanctum et cetera.

Tres sunt et cetera. Verba ista sumpta sunt de prima epistola Johannis euuangeliste [1. Io. 5 b] et leguntur in (fo. 265^{va}) epistola hodierna, et dicit Bernardus: Filius docuit fidem; missus ab utroque, scilicet a patre et filio, spiritus sanctus docuit caritatem, et per hec duo facta est spes perveniendi ad patrem. Quia ergo sancta mater ecclesia celebraverat de missione filii in carnem, et passione, et de eius reditu ad patrem, et de missione spiritus sancti in corda hominum, rationabile fuit ut etiam de patre celebraret non sigillatim, sed de tota trinitate, quod de filio et spiritu sancto celebrat sigillatim. Hoc est propter beneficium aliquod nobis ex missione ipsorum exhibitum; sed pater a nullo mittitur, ideo ratione beneficii nobis ab ipso exhibiti non debuit celebrari² sigillatim, sed de tota trinitate. Beneficia filii et spiritus sancti nobis exhibita sunt a tota trinitate, tanquam a primo actore, ideo rationabile fuit de ipsa celebrari, quia tota trinitas non solum est [principium] omnis boni et beneficii nobis exhibiti, sed est finis; ideo in quibusdam³ locis consuetum est bis celebrari de trinitate, scilicet modo, et in dominica ante adventum. In verbis autem istis insinuat beatus Io. euuangelista [[tria]]: primo personarum trinitatem cum

dicit tres sunt; secundo essentie unitatem cum dicit:
 et hii tres unum sunt; tertio utri-(col. b)usque efficaciam
 et utilitatem cum dicit: qui testimonium dant in celo.
 Personarum trinitas non est temere discutienda, sed fideliter
 firmiterque credenda; essentie unitas pro modulo nostro a
 nobis est imitanda; sed efficacie utilitas a nobis est
 diligenda. Convertamus nos ad mores. [Differre debent]
 lectio et predicatio. Lectio principaliter est ad
 instruendum intellectum, sed predicatio est ad informandum
 affectum. [[Non est sermo]] Unde dicit quidam sanctus:
 qui non movet affectum non est sermo; et apostolus
 [Eph. 6. f] Accipite gladium [spiritus quod est] verbum [m]
 dei. Gladius qui non scindit non est gladius; ita
 predicatio de trinitate est ad informandum intellectum et
 ad movendum affectum. Primo dico quod persone^(a) trinitas
 non est temere a nobis discutienda, sed fideliter firmiterque
 credenda. Procedo sic ut sermo noster referatur ad mores.
 In scripturis invenitur triplex trinitas. Differt autem
 trinitas et ternitas, quia trinitas est in divinis, ternitas
 est in humanis. Ut comprehendentur^(b) trinitas et ternitas
 uno nomine, notandum quod est triplex trinitas, scilicet
 mundi, dyaboli et (fo. 266^{ra}) dei. Trinitas mundi est
 triplex. Quedam est nature sive vestigii, quod relucet in
 re naturali; alia trinitas est structure, sicut dicimus quod

(a) persone] sic

(b) comprehendentur] cod. comprehende`n`tur

[domus] [[tectum]] habet ~~habet~~ tres partes: tectum,
 parietem et fundamentum. Tertia trinitas mundi est
 fortune, que dividitur per divitias, delicias, et honores.
 De trinitate nature et structure nihil^(a) ad presens, sed
 de trinitate fortune dico quod est periculosa, trinitas
 dyaboli est pernicioosa, sed trinitas dei est fructuosa.
 De trinitate mundi que est fortune dicitur [[.]] [1] Io.
 [2, b] omne quod est in mundo, aut est concupiscentia carnis,
 aut concupiscentia oculorum, aut superbia vite. Ista
 trinitas est periculosa que est in divitiis, unde in Eccli.
 [c. xi b]: si fueris dives, non eris immunis a delicto;
 quia peccant divites in male acquirendo, vel in male
 retinendo, vel in male expendendo. Item delicie animam
 in malam dissolutionem resolvunt. Unde Ier. [31 d.]:
 Usquequo deliciis dissolveris, filia vaga. Item honores
 in homine oblivionem sui inducunt. Ps. Homo, cum in honore
 esset, non cognovit. Comparatus est iumentis insipientibus,
 et similis factus est illis. Ista tri-(col. b)nititas est
 funiculus triplex qui de difficili rumpitur \ Eccl. 4, f⁴
 et in Ecclesiastico⁵ vidistis ligatum honore; non potest
 talis separari a peccato, nec trahi ad bonum, nec ad salutem
 anime. Unde Bernardus: infinite divitie, ampla palatia,
 pontificales infule, ceptra regnorum, vincula esse quibus
 tenemur luce clarius est.^(b) Patet modo que sit trinitas

(a) nihil] seu nichil (cod. n¹)

(b) infinite divitie ... luce clarius est] sic

mundi. Alia est trinitas dyaboli, et ista est triplex: Una per quam cadimus, alia in quam cadimus, et tertia quam per consequens incurrimus. Prima est suggestionis dyabolice; secunda est culpe; et tertia est sequele. Prima dico trinitas dyaboli est per quam cadimus, et ista est suggestionis dyabolice, et de ista dicit Gregorius super illud accedens temptator et cetera. Temptatio inquit tribus modis fit, scilicet ex suggestione, ex delectatione et ex consensu. Alia est trinitas in quam cadimus, et ista est culpe, et est ista trinitas quia est peccatum ex ignorantia, peccatum ex infirmitate, et peccatum ex malitia. Peccatum ex ignorantia pertinet quantum ad defectum potentie rationalis.^(a) Peccatum ex infirmitate pertinet quantum ad defectum potentie irascibilis; sed peccatum ex malitia pertinet quantum (fo. 266^{va}) ad defectum <potentie> concupiscibilis. [[Tertia trinitas dyaboli est quam per consequens incurrimus, et ista est sequele]] Peccatum ex ignorantia est puerorum. Peccatum ex infirmitate est iuvenum, qui ex infirmitate peccant per fervorem concupiscentie, per quam anima redditur infirma. De istis duobus modis peccandi dicit Ps.: Delicta iuventutis mee, et ignorantias meas ne memineris. Peccatum autem ex malitia est senum, quia scribitur: in antiquis viget sapientia, et in multo tempore prudentia; nec possunt se excusare de peccato infirmitatis, et si dicas quod debiliores sunt quam iuvenes, quia loquor de debilitate anime, non corporis, et cum in

(a) potentie rationalis] cod. rationalis potentie

senibus non vigeat concupiscentia, debent esse firmiores ad resistendum quam iuvenes. Tertia trinitas dyaboli est quam per consequens incurrimus, et ista est sequele. Per peccatum suggestionis dyabolice est in nobis ignorantia veri; per peccatum culpe est in nobis impotentia boni; et per peccatum sequele est in nobis immunditia facti.

Bernardus: triplici incommodo laboramus: faciles sumus ad decipiendum; debiles ad bene operandum; et fragiles ad resistendum. Patet modo que sit trini-(col. b)tas [mundi] [[dei]] et dyaboli. Tertia trinitas est dei, et ista duobus modis accipitur. Uno modo transitive, ut dicatur trinitas que est a deo, alio modo dicatur [in] transitive: trinitas dei scilicet que est deus; sicut dicitur creatura salis, id est, creatura que est sal.

Trinitas dei transitive accepta, id est trinitas que est a deo, est triplex. Prima est ex qua sumus et constamus, et est a deo, alia per quam a peccato resurgimus, et tertia per quam deo reformamur et conformamur. Prima dico trinitas dei, ex qua sumus et constamus, est potentiarum anime ex qua constat anima sicut potentiale ex potentiis, et de ista dicit Bernardus super Cant. xi. sermone: in anima tria intueor: rationem, voluntatem, et memoriam, et hoc esse ipsam animam. Ratio sepiissime in iudiciis fallitur; voluntas multiplici perturbatione iactatur; memoria multiplici oblivione confunditur; sed qui replet in bonis desiderium tuum, ipse erit rationi[[]] plenitudo lucis, voluntati multitudo pacis, et memorie continuatio

eternitatis. Alia est trinitas dei per quam a peccato resurgimus et ista consistit^(a) in tribus partibus penitentie, (fo. 267^{ra}) scilicet in contritione, in confessione, et in satisfactione, quibus resurgimus a peccato et trinitate dyabolica. Contritio vero debet esse de tribus, scilicet de commisso, et omisso, et amisso. Similiter confessio debet esse de tribus, scilicet de culpa propria, de insufficientia propria, et de laude divina; vel sic, et in idem redit, scilicet quod debet [confessio triplex] esse: confessio [peccati et confessio] fidei et confessio beneficii, scilicet recognitio⁶ beneficii. Confessio peccati solum est peccatorum; confessio fidei solum est fidelium; sed confessio siue recognitio beneficii est fidelium et infidelium, quia infideles tenentur ad recognitionem beneficii, quia [Mt. 5 g]: solem suum facit oriri super bonos et malos. De ista triplici confessione dicit Ps.: Confiteantur tibi populi deus, id est christiani confiteantur tibi in confessione peccati et fidei. Confiteantur tibi populi omnes, scilicet fideles et infideles recognitione beneficii. Item trinitas dei que consistit in satisfactione consistit in tribus, scilicet in oratione, ieiunio et elemosina. Unde angelus dixit ad Tobiam c^o xii c: Bona est oratio cum ieiunio et elemosina. Dyabolica [enim] trinitas

(a) consistit] consistat ante corr.

consistit in luxuria, avaritia, et superbia, igitur ut resurgamus a trinitate dyabolica (col. b) debet esse oratio contra superbiam, quia qui orat alium, humiliat se respectu illius. Ieiunium debet esse contra lasciviam et elemosina contra avaritiam. Sed postquam homo resurgit a peccato, indiget deo reformari. Propter hoc est tertia trinitas dei per quam deo reformamur et conformamur. De ista trinitate dicit apostolus [1] ad Cor. [13 g]:⁷ Nunc autem manent tria hec: fides, spes, caritas. In futuro autem evacuabitur fides et spes, et remanebit caritas. Fides reformat rationem, caritas concupiscibilem, et spes irascibilem. Patet modo de trinitate dyaboli, mundi, et dei transitive dicta. Sequitur modo de trinitate dei intransitive accepta, que est deus, et ista est gloriosa; et ista licet una sit in se, tamen se habet ad nos sub triplici ratione. Ad istam suspiramus beatificandi; unde Bernardus: O beata et beatificans trinitas ad te mea misera et miserabiliter suspirat trinitas. Nam infeliciter a te exulat. Heu qualem pro te commutavi⁸ trinitatem. Nam conturbatum est in me cor meum, et inde dolor; dereliquit me virtus mea, inde timor et pavor, et lumen oculorum meorum et ipsum non est mecum, (fo. 20^{va}) unde error. De ista trinitate tria debemus advertere, quia istam trinitatem deus [philosophis] intimavit quo ad quid, iudeis eam insinuavit et christianis aperte predicavit. Primo dico quod istam trinitatem dei deus philosophis quo ad quid intimavit.^(a) Unde Apostolus

(a) intimavit] cod. insinuavit

ad Rom. [1. c] quod notum est dei, manifestum est illis. Deus [enim] illis revelavit. Invisibilia [enim] dei per ea que facta sunt intellecta conspiciuntur. Dicit Gregorius: notum dei est quod de deo nosci potest ratione naturali; ignotum dei est quod non potest [de] deo nosci creaturarum cognitione. Philosophi tanquam perspicaces ex conditione^(a) [sive factione] creaturarum pervenerunt ad dei potentiam; ex creaturarum gubernatione pervenerunt ad dei sapientiam; ex creaturarum ordinatione pervenerunt ad dei bonitatem; et non intimavit deus ipsis philosophis personarum trinitatem, nisi quo ad appropriata, que sunt potentia, sapientia et bonitas; et hoc non secundum rationem appropriati, sed secundum id quod sunt; et philosophus in libro de celo et mundo dicit de ista trinitate: per hunc numerum, scilicet ternarium, adhibuimus nos ipsos magnificare deum; et philosophi scientiam diviserunt in tres, scilicet in rationalem, moralem, et naturalem; rationalem in tres, et similiter moralem ut patet, et similiter naturalem in (col. b) illam que est de coniunctis motui et materie, et in illam que est de separatis et in illam que est de abstractis. Secundo deus istam trinitatem iudeis insinuavit, scilicet per scripturas, per nominum repetitiones, et per apparitiones. Per scripturas in Gen. [1. a] cum dixit: In principio creavit deus celum et terram, et spiritus domini ferebatur super

(a) conditione] ut mihi videtur cognitione ante corr.

aquas. Per hoc quod dicit: deus, pater insinuatur; per hoc quod dicit: In principio [[creavit deus celum et terram]]⁹ filius; et per hoc quod dicit: et spiritus domini ferebatur super aquas, insinuatur spiritus sanctus. Item insinuavit eam nominum repetitione in Ys. [c. vi. b], ubi dicitur: seraphyn clamabat: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus dominus, deus sabaoth [vel exercituum].¹⁰ Per hoc quod dicit: dominus, insinuat essentie unitatem. <***> Tertio insinuavit istam trinitatem deus iudeis apparitione, quando¹¹ Abraham tres angelos vidit, et unum adoravit quem spiritualiter recognovit futurum mediatorem dei et hominum, unde tres vidit et unum adoravit. Sic igitur deus philosophis trinitatem revelavit^(a) <et> iudeis insinuavit. Tertio christianis eam aperte predicavit dicens apostolis [Mt. ul. g]: Ite docete omnes [gentes], baptizantes eos in nomine patris et filii et spiritus (fo. 268^{ra})¹² sancti; et licet in veteri testamento deus tres personas expressisset, non tamen simul, sed personam patris insinuavit dicens: dixit dominus domino meo; personam filii cum dicit: dixit dominus [domino] ad me: filius meus es tu; personam spiritus sancti, cum dicit:^(b) spiritum tuum ne auferas a me. Iudei istam trinitatem negant; heretici eam fatentur, sed perverse; sed catholici eam sincerissime confitentur. Dico quod iudei istam negant, per hoc quod dicit dominus: Audi, Israel, dominus deus tuus unus est; tamen quidam qui fuerat iudeus <et> postquam fuit

(a) revelavit] sic

(b) dicit] cod. dixit

conversus, dixit quod istud dicunt cum trina inclinatione:
 Audi, Israel, dominus deus tuus unus est. Heretici istam
 trinitatem pervertunt. Tria sunt genera hereticorum.
 Quidam fatentur istam trinitatem per modum adoptionis;
 quidam per modum confusionis; et quidam per modum
 participationis. Fotinus^(a) confitendo trinitatem dixit
 filium non esse dei filium nisi per adoptionem; Sabellius^(b)
 dixit tres personas Tratione differentes, et† idem esse omnino
 realiter; et quod pater et filius idem sunt ab eterno.
 Contra Fotinum est quod scribitur: nemo ascendit nisi qui
 descendit, (col. b) filius hominis qui est in celo. Arrius^(c)
 confitetur trinitatem per modum inequalitatis, quia dixit
 filium esse creaturam puram. Fotinus igitur negavit
 deitatis veram naturam, Sabellius negavit personarum
 distinctionem, et Arrius negavit earum equalitatem. Ergo
 oportet quod contra istos tres errores verus catholicus
 confiteatur divinitatis unam esse naturam et trinitatis
 distinctivam originem et personarum equalitatem. Divinitatis
 una natura tangitur cum dicit: et hii tres unum sunt;
 distinctivam originem personarum tangit cum dicit: tres sunt;
 sed earum equalitatem tangit cum dicit: testimonium dant,
 non diversa testimonia; ergo tangit ibi personarum
 equalitatem. Hec est gloriosa trinitas, quam nobis concedat
 deus imitari ut possimus ad celestem patriam pervenire.
 Quod nobis prestare dignetur, qui cum patre et cetera.

(a) Fotinus] sic

(b) Sabellius] cod. Fabellius

(c) Arrius] sic

ILLUSTRATIVE TEXTS no. 5 - NOTES

- ¹The corrections and alterations in the manuscript may not be by the original scribe.
- ²celebrari] The scribe appears to have written celebrare originally; part of the last letter has been erased, probably in order to make it look like an i.
- ³quibusdam] There is a point below the a in MS., but in this context it can hardly be an expunctuation.
- ⁴Eccl. 4 f'] Added at the head of the page, near the quotation, without the usual omission marks.
- ⁵ecclesiastico] MS. ecc^{co}. I cannot trace this passage. The text may be corrupt.
- ⁶recognitio] The final o appears to have replaced an erased letter.
- ⁷13 g] appears to have been written over an erasure.
- ⁸commutavi] A diacritical mark has been added in error to the fifth minim, turning -ut- into -it-.
- ⁹creavit . . . terram] There is a point under every word except celum, beneath which there is an erasure. It seems likely that the whole phrase is expunctuated.
- ¹⁰vel exercituum] Written above the line. It could be an interlinear gloss on sabaoth rather than an insertion.
- ¹¹In margin, without omission marks: ge. 18 a
- ¹²In MS. the folio no. is [[6]]68.

GUY D'EVREUX: SERMON ON THE HOLY TRINITY(From Bodleian MS. Laud Misc. 348 fo.134^vb seqq.)De sancta trinitate

Hii tres unum sunt. .i.Io.v. Amice, accomoda mihi tres panes. Lc.xi. In verbis istis tria tanguntur que debet facere predicator. Primo debet esse in ipso affectio divine amicitie. Il doit desirer lamor dieu e sa priuetei^(a) ideo dicitur amice. Unde debet esse talis ut dominus diligat eum, ut scilicet mundus sit et timeat deum, quia dicitur Prov. xxii:^(b) Qui diligit cordis munditiam propter gratiam labiorum habebit amicum regem. Que duo labia sunt intellectus et affectus, que debent esse gratiosa in predicatore ut intellectus sit sine errore, affectus sine peccati fetore, quia dicitur Eccli. xvi. Qui timet deum (fo. 135^{ra}) habebit amicitiam bonam. Secundo debet esse in ipso recognitio indigentie. Il doit mostrer son besoing e sa pouurete; ideo dicit: accomoda mihi. In hoc quod vult et petit accommodationem recognoscit indigentiam quia non habet aliquod bonum a se, sed a deo, nec conscientie, nec eloquentie; unde illa mutuatur sibi deus. Ps. Tota die miseretur et commodat. Tertio debet esse in ipso postulatio rei necessarie: Chose de necessite. Ideo dicit tres panes.

(a) priuetei] sic(b) xxii] cod. 11

Glossa dicit: intelligentiam trinitatis animam reficientis, et hoc^(a) est necessarium predicatori quia ista materia est difficilis et periculosa, quia dicit beatus Augustinus.

.i. De Trinitate, quod alicubi periculosius non erratur, nec laboriosius^(b) aliquid queritur, nec fructuosius aliquid invenitur. Ideo dicitur Prov. xxx. Tria sunt mihi difficilia: glossa: ad intelligendum; et ideo recurramus ad deum ut ipse nobis aperiat trinitatis misterium, ut quo ad ipsum deum <de> trinitate loquamur veraciter, et quo ad nos utiliter, et cetera. Hii tres unum sunt. Secundum quod cernimus sensibiliter et etiam naturaliter ea que de nocte et in tenebris sunt occulta adveniente [[i]]¹ lumine sunt aperta. Ideo tempore legis Moysaice adhuc populo in tenebris ambulante illa summa et ineffabilis trinitas obscure et quasi in visione noctis in scripturis insinuabitur divinis. In diebus illis non erat visio manifesta, ut dicitur .i.Reg.iii; nunc autem tempore gratie, iam Christi euuangelio choruscante, exorto sole iustitie, Rom. xiii: Nox precessit, dies autem appropinquavit, beata trinitas aperte et lucidissime² declaratur. Unde beatus Io. euuangelista, illa celestis aquila qui ad contemplationem divinitatis ceteris altius evolavit, ipsam trinitatem in verbis presentibus propriissime et expressissime declaravit, nec mirum; hanc (col. b) autem sapientie et scientie claritatem^(c) ex illo celesti gazofilacio^(d) traxit, in quo

(a) hoc] cod. hic

(b) laboriosius] cod. laboriosus

(c) claritatem] cod. cl'itatem

(d) gazofilacio] cod. gazo filatio

sunt omnes thesauri sapientie et scientie absconditi, quando in cena super pectus domini obdormivit. Unde in verbis istis de divinitate et trinitate tria tangit que excludunt tres errores que fuerunt circa deitatem et personas. Primo tangit [.] personarum pluralitatem: plusors persones en la diuinite. Ideo dicit: hii. Nam sicut est deus unus, aliqui posuerunt unitatem personarum, sicut sunt Iudei et pagani, qui bene credunt unum deum non tamen plures personas. Sabellius etiam, qui fuit christianus, sed hereticus, non ponebat nisi unam personam, et dicebat quod pater et filius et spiritus sanctus erant una persona diversis nominibus nominata; et hoc excludit cum dicit: hii in plurali numero, quod patet ex divina bonitate. Dicit Dyonisius quod bonum est communicativum sui, sed deus est summe bonus, ergo summe se communicat; sed non summe se communicaret nisi se totum communicaret; sed in creaturis non potest se totum et summe communicare, quia creatura non posset in se recipere totaliter divinam bonitatem, quia sic esset deo equalis; ergo communicabit se alii quam creature, et sic erit deus, Sunt ergo ille saltem plures persone. Hoc etiam patet ex divine beatitudinis perfectione, quia dicit Ricardus de Sancto Victore quod nullius boni sine socio iocundam^(a) est possessio; ergo cum semper fuerit beatus numquam fuit sine socio et sic semper plures persone. Ideo dicitur Ex. xxxiii.^(b) sunt dii tui Israel. Nunquam li hii, li dii dicant plures deos, sed plures

(a) iocundam] sic

(b) xxxiii sic pro xxxii

personas. Secundo exprimit personarum expressivam trinitatem:

Il dit lor nombre est en trinite, ideo dicitur tres, et per hoc excludit errorem aliquorum qui bene recognoscebant in divinitate^{at} duas personas;† unde licet confiterentur filium esse deum, non tamen spiritum sanctum; alii e converso spiritum sanctum esse deum, non tamen filium. Unde dicebant ipsum esse creaturam^(a) et minorem patre; et hoc tollit cum dicit tres, et hoc patet ex perfecta dei ca-(fo. 135^{va})ritate.

Constat secundum omnes quod in deo est caritas ab eterno, unde caritas est amor gratuitus tendens in alium, secundum Augustinum et alios doctores; unde de ratione summe caritatis est quod tendat in alium. Si ergo in deo fuit summa caritas ab eterno, necesse fuit ut in alium tenderet ab eterno, et ideo semper fuit ponere diligentem et dilectum, et inter istos oportet ponere amorem quo se diligunt sive nexum. Nexus autem licet extrema coniungat in se tamen est quid distinctum, sicut si dilectio que est inter me et te esset subsistens, faceret personam. Cum ergo spiritus sanctus^(b) sit amor patris et filii, facit unam personam ab utroque procedentem. Unde sicut filius est a patre et matre et est quasi quidam nexus quo se diligunt in ipso pater et mater, ita spiritus sanctus est una persona et amor sive nexus patris et filii; ergo tres persone; et ideo dicitur Gen. xli^(c) Videbam coram me vitem in qua erant tres propagines, id est unam^(d) divinitatem in

(a) creaturam] cod. creatura

(b) sanctus] cod. sed

(c) xli] sic pro xl

(d) unam] cod. beātam

qua sunt tres persone. Unde i.Io.v.: tres sunt qui testimonium dant in celo; pater, verbum, et spiritus sanctus; Unde dicit beatus Augustinus, vii De Trinitate, quod ad questionem factam ab hereticis: 'quid tres?' convenienter respondetur 'tres persone'. Tertio tangit essentie simplicissimam unitatem: Il dit que es trois na qu'vne deite, ideo dicit: unum sunt: contra errorem Arrii, qui^(a) sicut posuit trinitatem personarum ita posuit trinitatem essentie, unde posuit^(b) filium alium in essentia a patre et minorem patre in natura, et spiritum minorem utroque, quod abhorret fides catholica, et hoc patet, quod est impossibile quod sint plures dii, nam si essent plures, aut in aliquo convenirent, aut in aliquo differrent; si in aliquo conveniunt, ergo quantum ad hoc idem sunt et unum sunt; aut in aliquo differunt,⁽³⁾ scilicet quia unus habet aliquid quod non habet alius; aut ergo illud est perfectionis, et sic ille qui non haberet hoc, non haberet in se perfectionem quod (col. b) est impossibile de deo; < aut est imperfectionis ; > si est imperfectionis, ergo ille qui hoc habet non est deus, quia in deo nulla est imperfectio. Ergo oportet quod in nullo quantum ad essentiam deitatis differant, ergo in essentia deitatis sunt unum. Ideo dicitur Io.x.: Ego et pater unum sumus. Hoc et dicitur Gen. xiii^(c) quod apparuerunt ei tres viri et unum adoravit. Tres apparent quia fide credimus tres personas, sed unus adoratur quia tres personas adoramus unica adoratione, quia

(a) qui] cod. que

(b) posuit] cod. po^{it}

(c) xiii] sic

sub ratione unius potentie, unius maiestatis. Hoc enim dicit Philosophus in principio Celi et Mundi: adhibuimus nos ipsos magnificare unum deum creatorem eminentem proprietatibus eorum que sunt creata. Dicit ergo: hi tres unum sunt. Ad nostram edificationem dicere possumus quod sicut legimus in scripturis multiplices trinitates inveniuntur. Prima trinitas est trinitas formativa: une trinite qui nos fet. Hec⁴ est trinitas trium personarum in una essentia sive^(a) deitate et in hac trinitate patri appropriatur potentia summa reverentia metuenda: puissance que nos deuon creindre et douter. Unde illi qui non timent malum facere despiciunt potentiam patris, et de hoc dicitur .ii. Reg. xxiii : ipse nominatur inter tres robustos. Non quod habeat pater plus de potentia vel fortitudine quam filius et spiritus sanctus, sed potentia appropriatur patri propter tollendum ab ipso quemdam defectum qui est in creaturis, scilicet debilitatem, que solet esse in patribus propter antiquitatem, et ideo sibi appropriatur potentia, et ideo quia sic potens debet timeri, quia sua potentia se extendit ad omnes; unde aliquando solet dici: Ie ne le dout se iestoie hors de sa ballie. Unde aliquando qui potest exire unam balliviam et intrare aliam evadit; sed sic non est hic, quia ipse robustissimus ad omnes se extendit. Unde Iob ix. Si fortitudo queritur robustissimus est. Item in hac excellentissima trinitate filio appropriatur (fo. 136^{ra}) sapientia cum summa diligentia audienda et retinenda et timenda: que nos deuon oir et escouter et retenir. Unde

(a) sive] cod. si in ?

illi qui nolunt bonum audire vel retinere despiciunt sapientiam filii, et de hoc dicitur ii. Reg. xiii: David sedens in cathedra sapientissimus inter tres. Dicit ergo: David. David interpretatur aspectu desiderabilis. Nota quando homo diligit alium multum delectatur in visione eius; sed quando odit, non. Sic qui diligunt deum desiderant eius beatam visionem que erit ⁱⁿparadyso, sed reprobis torquebuntur et non admittentur. Unde dicit beatus Petrus: in quam ^(a) desiderant angeli prospicere; et ideo Cant. v: totus desiderabilis; et quantum ad carnem in qua pro nobis pretium solvit. Ys. liii: desideravimus eum despectum; et quantum ad animam in qua habuit gratie plenitudinem. Ys. xxvi. Anima mea desideravit te in nocte; et quantum ad dignitatem per quam nos beatificet, ^(b) unde dicit Bernardus: O beata visio videre deum cuius aspectus pius, facies decora, eloquium dulce; delectabilis est ad videndum, suavis ad habendum, dulcis ad perfruendum. Sequitur: sedens in cathedra. Ista cathedra nihil aliud est quam crux in qua non a richeer sed ad malum sustinendum. Iob xxix: in plateis parabat mihi cathedram, hoc est in loco Calvarie. Unde conqueritur: Lz. xxviii: in cathedra sedit ^(c) in corde maris. Hoc est dictum in maxima amaritudine et dolore: in hac cathedra docuit nos omnia mundana et carnalia contempnere. Unde Augustinus, De Doctrina Christiana: satellites voluptatis divitias perniciose appetebant: pauper

(a) quam] sic in cod. pro quem

(b) beatificet] sic

(c) sedit] sic pro sedi

esse voluit; honoribus et imperiis inhiabant: rex fieri noluit;^(a) carnales suos filios magnum bonum putabant: coniugium talē^(b) prolemque contempsit; contumelias superbissimi horrebant: omne genus contumeliarum sustinuit; dolores (col. b) corporis execrabantur: flagellatus atque cruciatus est; mori metuebant: morte mulctatus est; ignominiosum genus mortis crucem putabant: crucifixus est. Sequitur: sapientissimus inter tres. Nota quod \non/ plus habeat de sapientia quam pater vel spiritus sanctus, sed sapientia appropriatur filio propter tollendum quemdam defectum qui est in creaturis, scilicet ignorantiam, que solet esse in filiis propter iuventutem, et ideo sibi appropriatur sapientia, et quia sic sapiens, merito eius sapientia est audienda et retinenda. Unde i. Reg. x.^(c) Universa terra desiderabat videre vultum^(d) Salomonis, et audire eius sapientiam. Item in hac excellentissima trinitate spiritui sancto^(e) appropriatur bonitas sive clementia ardentissime diligenda: que nos deuon^(f) doucement amer. Unde illi qui non diligunt deum despiciunt bonitatem spiritus sancti sive clementiam, et de hoc dicitur .ii. Reg. xxiii: nominatus in tribus, inter tres nobilior, scilicet ratione bonitatis sibi appropriate. Non quod habeat plus de nobilitate vel bonitate quam pater vel filius, sed bonitas appropriatur spiritui sancto^(g)

(a) noluit] voluit ante corr.

(b) talē] sic: tlē

(c) i Reg. x.] sic pro iii Reg. x.

(d) vultum] cod. multum

(e) spiritui sancto] cod. spiritum s.

(f) deuon] cod. dquon

(g) spiritui sancto] cod. spiritum s.

ad tollendum quemdam defectum quem videtur inportare hoc nomen spiritus propter communitatem loquendi; quod quidem nomen sonat in tumiditatem, ideo sibi appropriatur bonitas, et ideo dicitur Eccl.⁵ x: Beata terra cuius rex nobilis est, id est, anima cuius spiritus sanctus rector est et gubernator. Sic habemus trinitatem qui nos fet. Unde ad ymaginem istius trinitatis nos sumus facti. Unde super^(a) omnes creaturas homo habet potentiam ad meritorie operandum, et sic representat patris potentiam; intelligentiam sive sapientiam ad discernendum malum et bonum eligendum, et sic representat filii sapientiam; habet naturaliter voluntatem inclinatum ad bonum diligendum, et sic representat bonitatem spiritus sancti sive clementiam. Unde illi qui nolunt^(b) ad bene operandum ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ metre entencion^(c) despiciunt et destruunt in se personam^(d) patris; qui nolunt^(e) (fo. 130^{va}) audire bonne amonicion^(f) despiciunt et destruunt in se personam filii; qui non habent ad deum nec ad celestia nule bonne affection^(g) destruunt et despiciunt in se personam spiritus sancti; et ideo quomodo facti sumus ad ymaginem istius trinitatis dicitur Eccl. xliiii:

(a) super] sunt ante corr.

(b) nolunt] cod. volunt

(c) metre entencion] marg. intendere

(d) personam] cod. potentiam

(e) nolunt] cod. volunt

(f) bonne amonicion] marg. bonam amonitionem

(g) nule bonne affection] marg. affectionem

sol tripliciter exurens montes. Sol, qui est qui lucet, qui calefacit, est ipsa beata trinitas, que exurit montes, id est creaturas racionales, excellentiores aliis; ad amorem suum inflammat tripliciter, id est quia sunt ad ymaginem trinitatis. Hec etiam trinitas summa relucet in mundo, unde dicit Augustinus quod ex magnitudine creaturarum intelligitur conditor omnipotens, ex ordine et dispositione, sapiens, ex gubernatione, bonus; hiis enim tribus digitis,^(a) scilicet potentia, sapientia, bonitate appendit molem terre, id est creavit mundum, ut dicitur in Ys. Hec enim est prima trinitas qui nos fet, ad cuius similitudinem nos sommes fez. Secunda trinitas est trinitas deformativa: trinite qui nos deffet. Hec est triplex, scilicet, concupiscentia que viget in mundo: \ concupiscentia carnis, concupiscentia oculorum, / concupiscentia honorum et excellentiarum. De hac mala trinitate dicitur Apoc. ix: ab hiis tribus plagis occisa est tertia pars hominum: de igne, de fumo, de sulphure. De igne propter acquirendi ardorem, scilicet divitias. Unde dicitur Prov. xxx: Ignis nunquam dicit: Sufficit. Si est archidiaconus vellet esse decanus; si decanus, episcopus vel archiepiscopus; postea cardinalis et postea papa; †si posset esse deus in celo mirum esset†; et ideo Eccli. xxiii: Anima calida quasi ignis ardens. De fumo, propter honorum et excellentiarum vanitatem; fumus enim quanto plus ascendit tanto magis evanescit et defi-(col. b)cit: Sic honorati huius mundi. Unde Ps. Inimici autem domini mox ut honorificati

(a) digitis] digitibus ante corr.

fuerint vel exaltati^(a) quemadmodum^(b) fumus deficient.

De sulphure dicitur propter luxurie feditatem. Nota sulphur quando non accenditur non fetet, sed de facili accenditur, quia in eo viget natura ignea, et statim fetet: sic homo quando non accenditur aliqua mala affectione non fetet coram deo, sed de facili accenditur, videndo, loquendo, cogitando, tangendo et statim fetet coram deo, sicut sulphur cum accenditur. Unde in Apoc. xiiii cruciabitur igne, propter ardorem, et sulphure, propter fetorem. Hec mala trinitas figuratur in Reg. xviii, ubi legitur quod Absalon persequebatur patrem suum David in saltu nemoroso et sedebat super mulum et fugiens suspensus^(c) est in quercu per capillos suos, et mulus pertransiit et reliquit eum; quod videns Ioab tulit tres lanceas in manu sua et infixit eas in corde Absalon. Absalon interpretatur pax patris; per ipsum significatur quilibet homo, qui debet habere pacem cum deo patre suo. Iste prosequitur David, id est deum omnipotentem, in saltu nemoroso, id est in mundo isto. Quercus est concupiscentia. Caput est ipsa mens. Capilli sunt carnalia desideria, que sunt in anima sicut capilli sunt in capite. Capillis ergo suspendi^(d) quercui est carnalibus desideriis detineri. Mulus est caro, sessor est spiritus. Mulus enim deserit suum sessorem, id est caro spiritum in morte. Sed Ioab, qui interpretatur inimicus, id

(a) exaltati] cod. exaltat

(b) quemadmodum] cod. quamadmodum

(c) suspensus] cod. conspensus

(d) suspendi] cod. suspendet

est dyabolus, perforat hominem tribus lanceis, scilicet peccato cogitationis, delectationis, consensus; vel triplici angustia: Una est pro voluptatibus quas dimittit. Secunda pro eterna beatitudine quam amittit. Tertia est pro eterna morte quam acquirit. Hec est secunda trinitas qui nos (fo. 137^{ra}) deffet, que est a nobis odienda. Unde Eccli. xxv: Tres species odivit anima mea. Tertia trinitas est trinitas reformativa: vne trinite qui nos refet, et hoc secundum tres partes que sunt in penitentia. Congruum enim est ut qui ab ymagine trinitatis cecidit per malam trinitatem, resurgat per bonam trinitatem. Hec autem partes sunt contritio, confessio, satisfactio.⁶ Unde contritio detestatur^(a) et odit peccatum. Unde contritio est dolor assumptus voluntarie pro peccatis cum proposito confitendi et satisfaciendi ex recordatione peccati et timore iudicii. Confessio peccatum accusat. Unde Augustinus: Confessio est per quam morbus latens spe venie aperietur. Satisfactio peccatum punit, unde dicit Augustinus quod satisfactio est causas peccatorum excidere et earum suggestionibus aditum non prebere; et hec trinitas reficit hominem et impetrat gratiam, quod figuratur^(b) ii Reg. <xxiii> ubi dicitur quod David desideravit aquam de cisterna Bethleem dicens: Si quis mihi daret potum aque de cisterna que est in Bethleem. Rumpunt^(c) ergo tres viri fortes castra Philistinorum et hauserunt aquam de cisterna Bethleem et attulerunt ad David. <Iste David> est quilibet penitens qui

(a) detestatur] cod. detastatur

(b) cod. fig^{ur}

(c) Rumpunt] sic.

debet desiderare aquam, id est divinam gratiam et peccati remissionem de cisterna Bethleem qui fuit cisterna quinque^(a) porticus habens: quinque^(b) conduis, a qua cisterna est tota gratia sacramentorum que mundant animam et conferunt remissiones. Tunc tres fortes, scilicet contritio, confessio, satisfactio, rumpunt et perforant castra Philistinorum, lost au deable, et fugant et hauriunt aquam remissionis et gratie, et afferunt ad David, id est ad penitentem. Nota quod homo qui offendisset dominum suum, a quo speraret multum, exaltari multum gauderet; qui diceret sibi quod infra (col. b) tres dies haberet pacem et suum servitium. Sic est de peccatore. Unde Gen. xliii.^(c) Tres adhuc dies sunt, scilicet contritio, confessio, et satisfactio, post quos recordabitur Pharaon ministerii tui, et restituet⁷ te in gradum pristinum, et tunc verum est illud euuangelium⁸ Mt. xxvi.^(d) Post tres dies resurgam. Quarta trinitas est trinitas in bono confirmativa: qui nos tient en ben fet. Unde ex quo homo est refet indiget trinitate conservante et ordinante ipsum ad deum; que quidem est trinitas trium virtutum theologiarum, et de hac trinitate dicitur i. Cor. xiii: Nunc autem manent,^(e) id est nos manere faciunt, fides, spes, et caritas: tria hec. Secundum quod, scire debetis, in omni <***>, eo quod agit propter aliquem

(a) quinque] cod. v^{que}

(b) quinque] cod. v^{que}

(c) xliiii] sic

(d) xxvi] sic

(e) manent] cod. manet

bonum finem habendum, tria requiruntur, scilicet: Cognitio finis; non enim movetur appetitus in non cognita^(a) aliquo modo; et ideo dicitur fides, per quam homo assentit credere ea que sunt supra rationem, et propter hoc fides est meritoria, quia fides non habet meritum, cui humana ratio prebet experimentum. Unde dicit Ysidorus quod fides est qua veraciter credimus quod nequaquam videre valemus; ideo fides fundamentum est christiane religionis, et ideo opera Iudeorum et paganorum nullius boni sunt meritoria, quia Apostolus dicit Hebr. xi. Sine fide impossibile est placere deo. Ideo dicit Augustinus super Io.: Sicut in radice arboris nulla apparet prorsus species pulchritudinis, et tamen quicquid [prorsus species pulchritudinis] est in arbore pulchritudinis et decoris ex illa procedit: sic ex fidei humilitate quicquid est meriti et^(b) vere beatitudinis et anima susceptura procedit, et ideo oportet quod ista fides sit viva, scilicet in gratia et operibus; unde fides sine opere est quasi cadaver mortuum. Unde Bernardus: Quid est fides que non operatur ex dilectione nisi cadaver exanime. Ideo Rom. i. Iustus ex fide sua vivit. Item requiritur intentio et possibilitas, quod possit haberi quia nihil (fol. 137^{va}) ad impossibile movetur, et hoc facit spes. Ideo dicitur hic: Spes, scilicet qua homo sperat deum posse habere, et sic movetur ad bene operandum. Unde qui nihil operatur non potest habere spem, et ideo dicitur quod spes est

(a) cognita] sic

(b) et] cod. est

certa expectatio future beatitudinis ex gratia et meritis
 proveniens. Sicut enim homo reficitur ad odorem floris,
 sic anima in expectatione fruitionis celestis. Unde sicut
 flos ante fructum, sic spes ante regnum. Unde Rom. v.
 gloriamur in spe glorie filiorum dei. Item oportet quod
 putetur bonum et delectabile ipsi intendenti, aliter nunquam
 tenderet in talem finem, et sic homo afficitur et diligit,
 et hoc facit caritas dei. Scit ipsum deum esse bonum optimum,
 ideo ipsum pre omnibus amat. Ideo dicitur caritas. Ideo
 dicitur Cant. ii. Ordinavit in me caritatem. Tunc est
 ordinata quando magis diligit quod est magis diligendum, quia
 dicitur i. Io. ii. Qui diligit mundum, non est caritas
 patris in eo. Hec^(a) est ergo quarta trinitas qui nos tient en
ben fet. Quinta trinitas est consummativa: trinite qui nos
perfet, scilicet tres dotes in gloria anime, que sunt visio,
 tentio, fruitio. Unde Eccli. xxv. In tribus placitum est
 meo spiritui; tunc erit placitum humano spiritui, quando
 deum quem non videt hic, sed credit per fidem, videbit apertissime.
 i. Cor. xiii. Videmus nunc per speculum in enigmate, tunc
 autem facie ad faciem; et ii. Cor. iii. Nos vero omnes
 revelata facie gloriam dei speculantes. Item quod non habuerit
 nisi solum per spem habebit certissime et tenebit firmissime
 iuxta illud Cant. iii. Inveni quam^(b) diligit anima mea; tenui
 eum nec dimittam. Item deo, quem amavit et desideravit
 ardentissime, fruuntur iocundissime, unde Prov. vii. Fruamur
 cupidis amplexibus, scilicet in gloria, ad quam nos et cetera.

(a) hec] cod. hoc

(b) quam] sic pro quem; v. Cant. 3, 4.

NOTES

- 1 An expunctuated minim.
- 2 lucidissime] The c has been added as a correction, after an erasure.
- 3 aut in aliquo differunt] Possibly a scribal error for 'si autem in aliquo differunt'. Perseveration would account for the error.
- 4 Here and elsewhere in the text the abbreviations for hec and hoc are practically indistinguishable; sometimes the scribe should be given the benefit of the doubt.
- 5 Ecc1.] The passage is from Ecclesiastes, but the scribe later uses the same abbreviation (ecc^a) for references to Ecclesiasticus.
- 6 Here and below satisfactio could be transcribed sattiffactio.
- 7 There is a point below the final t, but here it is probably not an expunctuation.
- 8 euuangelium] Even if he is using the double u form, the scribe appears to have written one minim too many.

Additional Note

I would like to thank Miss Ceri Lloyd-Morgan for checking my transcription of the pieces of medieval French in this text.

APPENDIX I

FRANCISCAN PREACHERS' POCKET BOOKS

This Appendix gives some of the detailed technical evidence for conclusions summarised in Section I,3 of the main text. Three points need to be treated: the distinctive features of the franciscan sequence of de Tempore readings; the franciscan indications in N.A.L.270 and the franciscan indications in the sermon pocket books of the old Royal library of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

a) The De Tempore calendar.

The details of the technique for recognising a franciscan collection by the de Tempore calendar it followed have only recently appeared in print, in an article by L.-J. Bataillon.¹ The footnote which sets out the difference between the two calendars is a masterly piece of research, but its extreme compression makes it hard to use without recourse to the manuscripts on which it is based. I have therefore set out the main points of difference in a tabular form which makes quick reference possible. The table gives the opening words of the Gospel and Epistle readings of the two main Calendars at points where they differ. The franciscan readings were the same as those used in the Missale Romanum up till a few years ago; the list of readings of the other main calendar is based on

1. L.-J. Bataillon 'Sur quelques sermons de saint Bonaventure', in S. Bonaventura 1274-1974, II (Grottaferrata 1973) p.503 note 38.

MS. B.N. Lat.9941 (one of the manuscripts used by Bataillon).
 I have continued up to the 7th Sunday after Pentecost. After
 that the differences may be worked out from the Missale Romanum:
 the Epistle of a given Sunday in the franciscan/Roman Court
 calendar is the Epistle of the next Sunday by the other
 calendar; in the same way the gospel of a given Sunday in
 the franciscan/Roman Court calendar is the Gospel of the Sunday
 after next in the other calendar.

1. Advent

Dominican/Secular

Franciscan/Roman Court

First Sunday

Epistle: Scientes (hora est iam)
 (Rom.13,11)

Scientes (hora est iam)
 (Rom.13,11)

Gospel: Cum appropinquasset (sic)
 (Mt.21,1)

Erunt signa
 Lc.21,25)

Second Sunday

Epistle: Quaecumque scripta sunt
 (Rom.15,4)

Quaecumque scripta sunt
 (Rom.15,4)

Gospel: Erunt signa
 (Lc.21,25)

Cum audisset Joannes
 (Mt.11,2)

Third Sunday

Epistle: Sic nos existimet homo
 (1 Cor.4,1)

Gaudete in Domino
 (Phil.4,4)

Gospel: Cum audisset Joannes
 (Mt.11,2)

Miserunt Judaei
 (Io.1,19)

Fourth Sunday

Epistle: Gaudete in domino
 (Phil.4,4)

Sic nos existimet homo
 (1 Cor.4,1)

Gospel: Miserunt Judaei
 (Io.1,19)

Anno quintodecimo imperii
 (Lc.3,1)

11 Sundays after Pentecost.

1. In Octab. Pentecostes. De Sancta Trinitate
(At this point the Dominican and secular
calendars appear to differ from each other,
as well as from the franciscan/Roman Court
Cycle)
2. Dominica Prima post Octab. Pentecostes
Epistle: Deus caritas est
(1 Io.4,8)
Gospel: Homo quidam erat
(Lc.16,19)
3. Dominica Secunda post Octabas
Epistle: Nolite mirari si odit
(1 Io.3,13)
Gospel: Homo quidam fecit cenam
(Lc.14,16)
4. Dominica III^a
Epistle: Humiliamini sub po.
(1 Petr.5,6)
Gospel: Erant appropinquantes ad Jesum
(Lc.15,1)
5. Dominica IIII^a
Epistle: Existimo quod non sunt
(Rom.8,18)
Gospel: Estote misericordes
(Lc.6,36)
6. Dominica V^a
Epistle: Omnes unanimes
(1 Petr.3,8)
Gospel: Cum turbae irruerent
(Lc.5,1)
7. Dominica VI^a
Epistle: uicumque baptizati sumus (Rom.6,3)
Nisi abundaverit iustitia vestra
(Mt.5,20)
- Dominica prima post Pentecostem
Carissimi, Deus caritas est
(1 Io.4,8)
Estote Misericordes
(Lc.6,36)
- 2^a post Pent.
Carissimi: Nolite mirari si odit vos mundus
(1 Io.3,13)
Homo quidam fecit cenam
(Lc.14,16)
- 3^a post Pent.
Humiliamini sub po.
(1 Petr.5,6)
Erant appropinquantes ad Jesum
(Lc.15,1)
- 4^a post Pent.
Existimo quod non sunt
(Rom.8,18)
Cum turbae irruerent
(Lc.5,1)
- 5^a post Pent.
Omnes unanimes
(1 Petr.3,8)
Nisi abundaverit iustitia vestra
(Mt.5,20)
- 6^a post Pent.
Uicumque baptizati sumus
(Rom.6,3)
In i. t. Cum turba multa esset
(Mc.8,1)
- 7^a post Pent.
Fratres, numquam dico propter inf. (Rom.6,19)
Attendite a falsis prophetis. (Mt.7,15)

b) Franciscan Indications in MS. B.N. N.A.L.270.

In MS. N.A.L. 270 the calendar evidence is not quite straightforward. One phrase in the manuscript - in the compilatio sermonum festivalium - might seem to imply that the manuscript is not franciscan, for there is a reference to the: 'second Sunday of Advent: "There will be signs in the sun, et cetera" '.¹ According to the franciscan Calendar this text would be from the gospel of the first Sunday of Advent, so the reference fits the dominican/secular calendar at one of the points where it differs from franciscan usage.

Nevertheless this need not necessarily be evidence against a franciscan origin, for as we have seen, franciscan writers did not always follow their own order's usage in their sermon series (though other writers would not follow the franciscan usage). The phrase is neutral as evidence.

The de Tempore series in the earlier part of the manuscript are more helpful. Many sermons have a note beside them indicating which Sunday of the liturgical year they were intended for, and it seems likely that the person responsible for these calendar indications was a Franciscan. For example, there is the de Tempore series which starts on fo.28^r. On the verso of the same folio there is a sermon on the text Gaudete in domino semper (Phil.4,4). A marginal note - badly written, but there is no doubt about the sense - assigns it to the third Sunday of Advent.² The Gospel beginning with 'Gaudete in

1. MS. B.N. N.A.L.270 fo.97^v

2. Though the marginal note is placed higher than the G of Gaudete, it is parallel with the higher part of the decoration and can hardly go with the sermon before (which starts on the previous page).

domino semper' falls on the third Sunday of Advent according to the Franciscan calendar, but not according to the dominican/secular calendar. There is further evidence of the same kind to suggest that a Franciscan had the book made or used it.

c) Sermon Pocket Books in the old Royal Library of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

The old Royal Library of the Bibliothèque Nationale is organised according to format and to the nature of the texts which the manuscripts contain. Thus there is a section devoted to Oratores sacri in in-8^o format. We no longer know precisely what the cataloguers meant by 'in-8^o',¹ but it is clear from the manuscripts themselves that it was much smaller than the modern in-8^o, so that this may be regarded as a collection of pocket books.

I argued earlier that out of twenty odd books, nine have franciscan indications of one kind or another. Here we will summarise the evidence for each manuscript in turn:²

1. MS. B.N. Lat. 3728

On fo. 6^v of this manuscript there is a sermon on a text ('Erunt signa in sole . . .') which Franciscans read on the first Sunday of Advent; the Dominicans and the main body of the secular clergy read it a week later. The rubric in this

1. So I am told by the specialists of the Cabinet des manuscrits.
2. I would like to thank the team of scholars at the Bibliothèque Nationale who allowed me to use the proofs of the new volume of the catalogue of Latin Manuscripts, which covers these twenty manuscripts.

manuscript attributes the sermon to the first Sunday of Advent, so it fits the franciscan but not the other calendar. It is true that there are also some rubrics which fit the other calendar in the manuscript, but this need not conflict with the conclusion that the other rubrics were put in by or for a Franciscan. On the principle that the Franciscans might follow the secular calendar - because they preached in the parish churches of the seculars - but not vice versa, the dominican/secular calendar indications are neutral evidence, and the franciscan calendar indications are positive evidence.

Because the texts of the first two sermons in the collection are from a gospel which had no place among the Advent Sunday readings of the Franciscan Order, it is likely that the collection itself did not originally follow the Franciscan calendar. This is the more probable in that the series is usually attributed to Hugh of St. Cher, who was a Dominican. On this supposition the rubricator made some effort to adjust the calendar indications to the franciscan cycle.

2. MS. B.N. Lat. 3731

In this book we need look no farther than the table of contents for Franciscan indications.¹ A sermon on a text from Matthew ch. 11 (7) is implicitly assigned to the second Sunday of Advent. It was on this Sunday that the Franciscans read the Gospel in which the text occurs, but according to the dominican/secular calendar it was read a week later. Similarly

1. MS. B.N. Lat. 3731 fo.C verso.

a sermon on a text from Philippians ch. 4 (4) is assigned to the third Sunday, in accordance with the Franciscan/Court calendar but not with the other.

3. MS. B.N. Lat. 3734

For this manuscript the franciscan indication is external. We know that at one point it belonged to a Franciscan who, it seems, died in 1516. This is too late to be conclusive, but it counts for something. The man was Thomas Jarnigon, of the convent of Dinan. Was the manuscript in the hands of the Franciscans before Brother Thomas Jarnigon had the use of it?

4. MS. B.N. Lat. 3735

This manuscript contains a number of sermons for Franciscan saints: for St. Antony ('fratrum Minorum'), St. Clare, and St. Francis himself (three for the latter). It is true that there are also two sermons on St. Dominic, but Dominic too was a 'franciscan' saint.¹ The evidence of the de Sanctis sermons is confirmed by the argument from the de Tempore calendar, for a sermon on the text Dominus prope est is assigned to the third Sunday of Advent (y. Table). Cases like this, when two different kinds of Franciscan indication supplement each other, are especially satisfying.

1. Cf. S.J.P. Van Dyk & J. Hazelden Walker, The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy (Westminster MD. & London 1960) pp. 307-8.

5. MS. B.N. Lat. 3736

Though MS. Lat. 3736 is almost certainly a friar's book, it is not easy to tell whether it is franciscan or dominican. The evidence is internal; neither provenance nor calendar indications provide an easy solution. On the whole it is reasonable to assume that when the contents of a manuscript seem to be designed for members of a particular religious order, the book itself was probably made for members of that order. Problems arise when the internal evidence is ambiguous or apparently contradictory.

The manuscript includes not only sermons for St. Dominic tout court, but also at least two 'In translatione b. Dominici'. The casual unqualified allusion to 'fratrum' (when the writer clearly means Dominicans) might be taken as a dominican indication.¹ Furthermore it might be significant that St. Dominic is brought into a sermon on St. Francis² (even if the scribe did get the name wrong).³

On the other hand, the sermon on St. Francis is there, and also a sermon on St. Antony of Padua, in which the following words are used: 'In this way Blessed Antony was perfect; in this way every son of Saint Francis, indeed every disciple of Christ, should be perfect.'⁴

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1. MS. B.N. Lat. 3736 fo.110r (A similar argument might be drawn from a passage on fo.121r.
 2. MS. B.N. Lat. 3736 fo.133v (Dominic is mentioned in an exemplum, in which the Virgin shows St. Francis and St. Dominic to her son, and her son sent them on a mission to the world (legavit eos mundo).
 3. He spells 'Dominican' 'Daminicum'.
 4. MS. B.N. Lat. 3736 fo.184v.

It is the kind of thing a Franciscan would say, but not conclusive as evidence. More significant is a sermon on folios 246^v - 248^r. The proofs of the new catalogue - even the best catalogues can err - implies that this sermon is for the translation of St. Dominic. In fact however it speaks at length about St. Francis and the Franciscans, and in terms which are hard to understand unless the author is a Franciscan. The following passage has the authentic Franciscan ring:

'Therefore new things cause wonder, and new things cause men to ask questions. When Blessed Francis began the new way of life (religionem) of his brothers, it was a very new thing to be found so great an order (ordinem) upon poverty - upon nothing; it was new and unprecedented. Blessed Benedict founded an order of monks, but not upon nothing, indeed upon great revenues and possessions; in the same way Augustine (founded) his order of regular canons. Wherefore when Blessed Francis began so great and holy an order . . .'

(MS. B.N. Lat. 3736 fo.247^r)

Or again: '. . . if you wonder and ask how an order (religio) which has no foundation on earth endures, I reply: Christ placed the foundation there (posuit ibi fundamentum) and rules it (i.e. the order) through his own self, and therefore it can indeed be shaken and buffeted, but cannot fail . . .'

(MS. B.N. Lat. 3736 fo.247^v)

This is just the sort of tone the Franciscans used when writing about their founder and their order. It may be that the manuscript includes sermons by both franciscan and dominican writers, but on the whole it seems unlikely that any but a Franciscan would want to include a sermon like the one last quoted in his collection.

6. MS. B.N. Lat. 3737

There is external evidence, unfortunately incomplete, that a friar had the use of this manuscript. Despite an attempt at erasure, the following words have been distinguished on

f.B:¹ 'Iste liber est ad usum fratris . . .'. The 'ad usum' and the 'fratris' both point to a friar.

There is calendar evidence to connect the manuscript with the franciscan order. For example, a sermon on the text Homo quidam erat dives . . . (Luke 16) is assigned to the eighth Sunday after Pentecost.² Again, a marginal note makes it clear that a sermon on the text Modestia vestra nota sit . . . (Philippians 4,5) was for the third Sunday of Advent. The Gospel containing this text was read on that day according to the franciscan but not the dominican/secular calendar. There are other calendar indications of the same kind to suggest that the manuscript was written by or for the use of a Franciscan.

7. MS. B.N. Lat. 3738

In Lat.3738 neither of the two main calendars are followed throughout the book, ^{(i.e. both of them are used).} This need not mean that the evidence is contradictory, for as we have seen the Franciscans sometimes used the other calendar, though seculars or Dominicans would not use the franciscan calendar, so that when both calendars are followed within the same manuscript the balance of probability comes down on the side of a franciscan origin.

8. MS. B.N. Lat. 3742

We should probably pass the same verdict on Lat.3742. As with Lat. 3738 the calendar evidence is not consistent, but the inconsistency is more easily explained on the hypothesis

1. Here I rely on the description in the new catalogue.
2. BS. B.N. Lat.3737 fo.60r.

that the book is franciscan.

9. MS B.N. Lat. 3743

For this ms. I rely on the new catalogue, whose authors have found a sermon on St. Francis (fo. 41^r - 42^v) and nothing which looks like a counter indication - no sermon on St. Dominic for example. With a catalogue so exhaustive and accurate as this one an argument from silence is probably safe.

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University Library Ii 4 2

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7932
7953
7794

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Ashmole 757
Bodley 848
E Mus. 222
Hamilton 44
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Lyell 6

(1) See below, under Secondary Works.

Paris, Bibliotheque nationale.

lat.3728

3731

3734

3735

3736

3737

3738

3742

3743

15451

15943

16510

16514

N.A.L. 270

.410

Zurich, Zentralbibliothek

Rh.181

In tracing manuscripts, especially of the collection called Legifer, I made use of the following collections of unpublished papers: The Destrez notes, now kept at the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, Paris; the notebooks of Fidelis a Fanna, which are kept by the former Quaracchi fathers at Grottaferrata; and the fichier of incipits at the Convento dei SS. Apostoli, Rome.

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III. Printed Works

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