

Representation of sanctity and popular imagery in Nicolas de Biard's *Sermones de festis*: a critical edition



ANTONIO MARSON FRANCHINI

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

St Cross College, Trinity Term 2025-2026

Supervisor: Lesley Smith

Word count: 169,127

Short abstract

This doctoral thesis aims at filling the gap in scholarship around the availability of critical editions of medieval sermons. In doing so it focuses on the *de festis* model sermon collection of Nicolas de Biard, a friar active in Paris in the second half of the thirteenth century. This thesis explores the role of homiletic materials as primary sources for understanding medieval society by acknowledging their importance as direct sources of medieval public discourse and their quality of being a textual bridge between clerical and religious knowledge and the audience that may be comprised of lay people. To accomplish its aim to present the key elements of Nicolas' worldview in the elaboration of his sermons this thesis has been organized into three chapters. The first chapter presents the *status quaestionis* and the necessary information about homiletic production in the thirteenth century, the Parisian environment, the mendicant formation of novices, and the information on Nicolas de Biard available in previous scholarship. The second chapter focuses on the editorial practices and the *recension* of the fifteen manuscripts that preserve the complete *de festis* collection, which is comprised of thirty-two sermons, with a focus on its liturgical framework and its parallels with the other works of Nicolas. The third chapter presents the sources employed by Nicolas and attempts a presentation of Nicolas' worldview through the text of his sermons with a particular interest in his employment of similitudes that allowed for a better understanding by the audience. Finally, the dissertation ends with the critical edition of Nicolas' *de festis* sermons.

Long abstract

This thesis aims to provide an analysis of the themes and techniques employed in the development of a thirteenth-century model sermon collection authored by Nicolas de Biard, a friar active in Paris in the second half of the thirteenth century, through the creation of the first critical edition of his *sermones de festis*. The research question at the core of this dissertation lies in recognising the importance of homiletic materials as primary sources for the study of medieval society. The study of medieval sermons is a field that can be traced back to the nineteenth century when the study of the Middle Ages, spurred by emerging nationalistic sentiments, gained more traction as a means to understanding the unifying characteristics of the national culture. This process was especially fruitful in France where a considerable effort was made to catalogue and study the manuscript collections of the national library. From this effort the field of sermon studies was born to be developed by a new cohort of scholars focusing on the impact of the new mode of homiletic production that appeared with the thirteenth century: the *sermo modernus*. This new style emphasised explaining Scripture through an elaborate development of similitudes and analogies in order to show the audience the different meanings of the biblical message through its connection to the physical world and the day-to-day experiences of the audience. Preaching in the thirteenth century was a highly respected endeavour that received a veritable push with the Lateran IV (1215) council to better combat the rise of heretical preaching in Europe. This endeavour, organized and channelled through the founding of the new mendicant orders, benefitted from the development of scholastic thought, which aimed to organise human knowledge. Therefore, because of their hybrid nature as documents that preserve an oral discourse in written form, medieval sermons are an important source of information on the Church's persuasion activity and the commonly held beliefs that were disseminated through preaching.

However, because of the vast production of medieval sermons the modern historian is faced with a problem of overabundance of sources instead of its scarcity. This situation makes research inherently difficult because of the risks of overstating the cultural relevance that particular sermon collections had; and, because of the difficulty in producing critical editions of materials that have been preserved by a vast number of witnesses, the scholarly community had to rely on a limited body of work of critically edited sermons. Thus making the development of wide-ranging analysis more difficult. This thesis attempts to fill the gap in research by recognizing that one of the possible avenues for modern research is to focus on those sermon collections that were developed as models to follow for less experienced preachers. Collections organized according to the Sunday cycle (*de tempore*) or the feast days for the saints (*de sanctis/ de festis*) are thus one of the best sources for the analysis of the most successful models of public religious discourse for the education of the audience. In analysing the text of model sermons it is thus possible to single out the themes and the rhetorical techniques employed by the preacher to better convey the message of the Scripture. These model sermon collections were of such importance among the other aids for homiletic production (i.e. *florilegia*, saints' Lives, *distinctiones*, and collections of proverbs and *exempla*) that they figure alongside the theological output available to students at the University of Paris.

During the course of the thirteenth century the University of Paris developed a more structured organization that allowed for the book market to be organized according to the university statutes. The sanctioned booksellers were thus recognised by the University and kept a record of the books available for purchase through a system of copying known as *pecia*. The dissertation explains how this system was crucial for the expedite dissemination of ideas and recognizes that the presence of Nicolas de Biard's model sermon collections alongside other examples of *materia praedicabilis* transmitted by *pecia* is a telltale sign of the perceived importance or utility of such homiletic production. Nicolas de Biard, although he was not a household name like more prominent medieval preachers, is thus of inherent value for the analysis of medieval approaches to preaching because as a result of their dissemination through *pecia* it has been possible to ascertain their widespread circulation in a vast number of manuscripts.

This dissertation is thus organized into three chapters. The first one outlines the field of sermon studies and the research question that sparked the inquiry on Nicolas de Biard's work. This *status quaestionis*

highlights the merits of the study of medieval sermons on the basis of being the more direct type of source for the study of the medieval outlook on public discourse and oratorical techniques while also pointing out that the amount of preaching materials critically edited for scholarly analysis is still underrepresenting the amount of homiletic material produced in medieval Europe because of the difficulties of editing such types of materials. Furthermore, the first chapter outlines the environment that allowed for the flourishing of the *sermo modernus* and the mendicant approach to education and the formation of their novices. Finally, the chapter presents the figure of Nicolas de Biard through a rationalization of the information discovered by previous scholarship that presents the case for a better identification of Nicolas' affiliation to the Franciscans or the Dominicans.

The second chapter focuses on the evidence preserved by manuscripts and the proper identification of the manuscripts preserving the full *de festis* collection through the *pecia* transmission. This process of *recensio* has brought forth the identification of fifteen manuscripts preserving both the *de tempore* and *de festis* collections that have probably been copied through *pecia*. This is the first time that this assessment has been conducted in modern scholarship and has allowed for the final identification of the thirty-two sermons that make up the *de festis* collection. In this chapter is presented the reasoning for the edition and the method of editing, with a particular focus on why I have chosen to follow a system of editing theorized especially for homiletic sources, which allows the scholar to work within the confines of classical editorial practices without concerning oneself with the elaboration of the *stemma codicum*, thus prioritising the establishing of the source's text to expand the body of work available to scholars for the analysis of medieval sermons. Moreover, the chapter presents the characteristics of the collection in connection to the liturgical practices of both the Franciscan and Dominican orders in order to ascertain further elements useful for the proper identification of Nicolas' affiliation.

The third chapter aims at presenting the source material in a more in-depth manner through the display of the sources employed by Nicolas de Biard in the developing of his sermons. This is accomplished by a series of tables that present the sources that have been identified during the process of editing of the collection. The last two sections of the chapter aim at showing, through Nicolas' own words, the preacher's beliefs. The reader will find an explanation of Nicolas' worldview through a process of identifying the dangers of the world, the aid that might come from God, and the means by which humanity will be able to reach Paradise. The last section of the chapter directly focuses on how hagiographical sources are employed in the presentation of the saints and the usage of similitudes based on the natural world and day-by-day life. Through this presentation this dissertation aims at showing how medieval model sermon collections were concerned with the elaboration of a coherent worldview that could tap into the commonly held beliefs of the audience by virtue of the medieval mode of thinking by which every element of the world has a hidden connection that the preacher can make evident through his inspired discourse.

Finally, the dissertation sums up the findings with a brief conclusion reconnecting the three chapters before giving way to an Appendix that shows the connections between the sermons and the two other works of Nicolas de Biard (*Distinctiones* and *Summa de Abstinencia*) and the edition of the model sermon collection.

Table of contents

Acknowledgements	I
Chapter I Nicolas de Biard and Preaching in thirteenth-century Paris.....	III
Manifesta et publica instructio.....	IV
Studying the oral tradition: what is a sermon in the thirteenth century?	VI
Further lines of inquiry in the field in recent years.....	XI
The University of Paris and the mendicant innovation.....	XIV
The University of Paris.....	XV
The mendicant place at Paris.....	XXII
The basic organisation of mendicant teaching	XXVI
Nicolas de Biard. Authorship and lingering questions	XXXI
When was Nicolas de Biard active? Establishing a timeframe.....	XXXII
A Dominican?.....	XXXVI
A Franciscan?	XXXVIII
Chapter II In the preacher's laboratory: assessing the material	XLIII
The pecia system.....	XLIII
Assessing the sources, finding preserved copies of Nicolas' sermons	XLVII
The 15 apopeciae	LIV
The principles of the edition.....	LXVIII
The de festis collection	LXXIII
Distinctiones and Summa de Abstinencia.....	LXXXII
Chapter III Nicolas de Biard's world.....	LXXXIX
The sources employed by Nicolas de Biard	XC
Patristic and medieval Christian sources.....	XCI
Classical sources.....	XCVI
Gloss and biblical commentaries	XCVI
Hebrew names	XCVII
Proverbs and Old French expressions	XCVIII
Bible books and their occurrences.....	XCIX
The Characteristics of Nicolas' de festis Sermons	C
The function of indexicality in sermons.....	CI
General themes of Nicolas' sermons	CIII
What there is to fear in the world	CIV
Who is humanity's ally?	CVIII
How can humanity be worthy of salvation?.....	CXVI
The saints, exempla, and similitudes.....	CXXIV
The use of saints' Lives and their qualities.....	CXXIV

The usage of <i>exempla</i> and proverbs in Nicolas de Biard	CXXXI
Similitudes and the society that transpires from them	CXXXVI
Conclusion	CXL
Bibliography	CXLIV
Annex 1	CLXII
Distinctiones, ms. Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale, 308	CLXII
Summa de Abstinencia, ms. Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale, 308	CLXXXIII
The <i>de festis</i> collection A critical edition	1

Acknowledgements

In hoc mundo in quo sumus ut uiatores
Nicolas de Biard, Sermon XXI, <1.1.1>

Scarpe rotte, e pur bisogna andar
Italian popular song – *Fischia il vento*

The completion of a dissertation as this has occupied me for a long period of time in which my efforts would have been lacking in scope if it were not for the brilliant guidance that I have received primarily from my thesis supervisor Professor Lesley Smith, who I thank not only for the scholarly guidance but also for her faith and understanding in trying times. Alongside her, more names come to mind who, with their precious scholarly insight, have guided me into this field of research by understanding the sources and their context easier. For this reason and for their openness in sharing information I would like to thank professor David d'Avray, and the members of International Medieval Sermon Studies Society with a special mention for professors George Ferzoco, and Carolyn Muessig who, along with professor Nicole Bériou have shaped my initial interest in the field sparking my curiosity. A special thanks to professor Marjorie Burghart for having let me access her work-in-progress research and for the constant input in these past years. Finally, on the academic side, a special thanks to all the institutions that allowed me to access their collections and obtain digital copies of the relevant manuscripts for my research; a particular thanks to the Cathedral Library of Worcester Cathedral and the Bibliothèque municipale de Laon.

Lastly, I would like to acknowledge all of those that made possible my enrolment to this prestigious program and the completion of this research. To my parents, who unfortunately passed both away during my studies, I want to say that in the end I have done it, as hoped, as promised, as wished. To my loving wife Adelaide, thank you for being you, for with you I have finally understood what is important. To my brother, we are never alone because we share one soul. To all my friends, Alessandro, Aris, Caterina, Davide, Federico, Filippo, Giacomo, Giulia, Giuseppe, Lorenzo, Luca Alberto, Lidia, Tommaso, thank you for your historical and friendly advice, for your support and criticism.

List of abbreviations

BnF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
CCCM	<i>Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis</i> , Brepols Publishers, Turnhout, 1966-
DS	<i>Dictionnaire de Spiritualité</i> , 12 vols., Paris, Beauchesne, 1984
ms./mss.	Manuscript/manuscripts
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols., 1844- 1855
RLS	<i>Repertorium der Lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters:</i> <i>für die Zeit von 1150-1350</i> , J.-B. Schneyer, Achendorff, Münster, 1969, 9 vols.
SC	<i>Sources Chrétiennes</i> , Éditions du CERF, Paris, 1943-

Chapter I

Nicolas de Biard and Preaching in thirteenth-century Paris

The study of medieval sermons has a long history that can be traced back to the nineteenth century and the publishing of the *Histoire Littéraire de la France* and of the scholarly endeavour of Lecoy de la Marche, the first scholar to present a thorough study of preaching material and its general view of the world in his *La chaire française au Moyen Age*.¹ Coupled with a revival of interest the Middle Ages and a public effort to assess the archival riches of the newly instituted Bibliothèque nationale, these elements highlighted the importance of medieval homiletic production as a multifaceted literary genre that presented researchers with the complexity of the medieval understanding of the world.

For the purpose of clarity, this chapter is structured in three sections. The first offers a literary review of the most recent advances in sermon studies while presenting the knowledge necessary for understanding the key characteristics of thirteenth-century sermons and their scholarly field. The second presents the environment of the University of Paris from its inception to the time in which Nicolas de Biard is presumed to have been active as a preacher, along with a brief account of the educational system employed by the mendicant orders. The third offers an in-depth analysis of the figure of Nicolas de Biard based on scholarly literature and some of the findings of this thesis. The underlying aim is to offer to the reader the necessary background for understanding the field and the setting in which Nicolas de Biard's model sermon collection was developed, and to better present the case, in the following chapters, for its analysis as part of the larger effort of the medieval Church to engage the laity in religious practices through the means of public religious discourse.

¹ The *Histoire Littéraire de la France* is a publication started in 1733 and again in 1814 by the members of the Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres with the aim of publishing a diachronic history of literature (French and Latin) produced within the territory of France. To date 46 volumes have been published. A. Lecoy de la Marche, *La chaire Française au Moyen Age. Spécialement au XIII^e siècle* (Didier et Cie Libraries - éditeurs, 1868).

Manifesta et publica instructio

During the twentieth century, the interest in medieval homiletic production sparked by Lecoy de la Marche's work remained constant and picked up steam with the publication in 1969 of Schneyer's *Repertorium der lateinischen sermone*s. This monumental effort brought thousands of homiletic sources under the eye of scholars with an interest in medieval preaching. Although it was not exempt from errors, with its timeframe spanning from 1150 to 1350, Schneyer's *Repertorium* unlocked the possibility of researching sermon literature based on the biblical themes of sermons, their known authors and their location in manuscripts preserved all around Europe. Schneyer's effort was complemented by Kaeppli's catalogue of Dominican preachers, which not only corrected some imprecisions, but also laid the ground for a new generation of scholars interested in medieval preaching.² Among the most influential scholarly works that built upon these resources, I would like to recall those of Zink, Longère, Bataillon, d'Avray, and Bériou.³ Their works, which helped in defining the boundaries and characteristics of the subject, are relevant to this day for everyone working with sermons. In this first chapter, their research will be often quoted because of their importance as cornerstones of the methodology that lies behind the analysis of such literary sources.

The interest in medieval homiletic literature has been carried on by the International Medieval Sermon Studies Society⁴ and with the development of a network of scholars that, under the direction of B. M. Kienzle, produced a new ground-breaking aid, *The Sermon*, in 2000.⁵ Developed as part of the *Typologie des sources du Moyen Age Occidental* series, the volume has the merit of having introduced a larger group of medievalists to the kind of multifaceted information that medieval sermons have to

² J. B. Schneyer, *Repertorium Der Lateinischen Sermone*s Des Mittelalters: Für Die Zeit von 1150-1350, Beiträge Zur Geschichte Der Philosophie Und Theologie Des Mittelalters. Bd. 43 (Aschendorff, 1969) henceforth RLS; Thomas Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, 4 vols (Istituto Storico Domenicano, 1970).

³ Michel Zink, *La Prédication en langue romane: avant 1300*, Nouvelle bibliothèque du Moyen Âge 4 (Honoré Champion, 1976); L. J. Bataillon, 'Approaches to the Study of Medieval Sermons', *Leeds Studies in English*, no. 11 (1980): 19–35; Jean Longère, *La prédication médiévale* (Études augustinienne, 1983); David L. d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1985); Nicole Bériou, *La prédication de Ranulphe de la Houblonnière: sermons aux clercs et aux simples gens à Paris au XIII^e siècle* (Études augustinienne, 1987).

⁴ For a history of the International Medieval Sermon Studies Society (IMSSS) the website of the Society presents L. Carrouters' account of its development: < <https://imsss.net/about-imsss/IMSSS%20History%202010.pdf/view> >

⁵ Beverly Mayne Kienzle, ed., *The Sermon*, *Typologie Des Sources Du Moyen Age Occidental* 81–83 (Brepols, 2000).

offer to scholars. Indeed, the importance of a multidisciplinary approach has been at the centre of sermon studies ever since.

At a time in which the long tradition of classical public discourse had been waning for centuries, religious discourse filled a void in the public sphere brought about by the changes that ushered in the long period referred to as the Middle Ages. This was a long process of appropriation and rethinking of rhetorical and political discourse by the clergy that has its roots in the birth of Christianity itself. The shaping of the public discourse into a medium aimed at spreading the Christian faith should not be a surprise. Indeed, Christianity was born into, and stemmed from, the Jewish tradition of prayer, Scriptural reading, and Scriptural discussion.⁶ All of these were oral practices that were aimed at the construction of a shared store of knowledge within the Jewish community. Hence, this system built upon public conversation about faith was a bedrock upon which Christianity started to develop its own religious public discourse. While the squares and *fora* of the Roman world were slowly vanishing, people gathered inside churches and basilicas to hear a new kind of Christian public discourse: preaching.

The act of preaching was and is a vital part of the Christian faith. Christ himself preached and instructed the Apostles to go and preach the Gospel to all creatures.⁷ Preaching thus conveys not only the message of Christianity, it is also, along with the Eucharist, the paramount and most recognisable act in which the members of the Church participated. To borrow the words of Alain of Lille († 1203) “preaching is a public and collective teaching of behaviour and faith, with the aim of educating humankind, founded on reason and developed from authority”.⁸ This is not the only definition of preaching, but it presents all the elements that made clear to a medieval clergyman what was involved in

⁶ James Jerome Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance* (University of California Press, 1981), 269–70 Murphy dedicates a large part of his work to uncovering the transmission of classical rhetorical theory to the Christian tradition through the work of St Augustine. These links are interesting for understanding the bedrock of intellectual knowledge from which the Fathers of the Church were not reluctant to pick out the most useful techniques for their own aims; for a more in depth presentation of Jewish and Christian homiletics see: Alexander Deeg et al., eds, *Preaching in Judaism and Christianity*, in *Preaching in Judaism and Christianity* (De Gruyter, 2008); Marc Saperstein, ‘The Medieval Jewish Sermon’, in *The Sermon*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Typologie Des Sources Du Moyen Age Occidental* 81–83 (Brepols, 2000); Marc Saperstein, *Jewish Preaching, 1200-1800* (Yale, 1989).

⁷ Mark 16, 15: “*Et dixit eis: Euntes in mundum universum praedicate Evangelium omni creaturae.*”

⁸ Alain of Lille, *Ars praedicandi*, c. 1, PL 210 : 111C: “*praedicatio est manifesta et publica instructio morum et fidei, informationi hominum deseriens, ex rationum semita et auctoritatum fonte proveniens*”. My translation.

the making of sermons. It misses only one point that will acquire more importance following the development of this thesis: the engaging factor provided by rhetorical elements not deriving from ecclesiastical or biblical authorities. Nonetheless, it appears evident that at the end of the twelfth century, preaching was regarded as the most efficient way to instruct, educate and disseminate Christian ideas.

These ideas surrounding preaching were thus reinforced by a series of measures developed during the Fourth Lateran council in 1215. Among the canons concerning preaching, the tenth canon, *de praedicatoribus instruendis*, focused on the necessity of preparing a new generation of preachers for active preaching. Given the impossibility of relying solely on the preaching done by bishops to their communities, the papacy exhorted bishops to appoint and delegate preaching to particularly suitable men, of good reputation, who should visit the inhabitants of their dioceses to deliver the word of God.⁹

Studying the oral tradition: what is a sermon in the thirteenth century?

The development of preaching during the thirteenth century has already been the subject of research that has helped define the field of studies and uncover its distinctive characteristics.¹⁰ In this section I will present its key features as a literary genre and position this research in accordance with the literature.

In 2000, the publication of *The Sermon* marked a turning point in the study of preaching in the Middle Ages. Collecting studies not limited to the Christian tradition, it employed experts from different areas in order to present the results of wide-ranging and comparative research in the study of discourse

⁹ The text of Canon 10 is clear in its aims: “Among the various things that are conducive to the salvation of the Christian people, the nourishment God’s word is recognized to be especially necessary, since just as the body is fed with material food so the soul is fed with spiritual food, according to the words, man lives not by bread alone but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God (Matt. 4, 4). It often happens that bishops by themselves are not sufficient to minister the word of God to the people, especially in large and scattered dioceses, whether this is because of their many occupations or bodily infirmities or because of incursions of the enemy or of other reasons – let us not say for lack of knowledge, which in bishops is to be altogether condemned and is not to be tolerated in the future. We therefore decree by this general constitution that bishops are to appoint suitable men to carry out with profit this duty of sacred preaching, men who are powerful in word and deed and who will visit with care the peoples entrusted to them in place of the bishops, since these by themselves are unable to do it, and will build them up by word and example. The bishops shall suitably furnish them with what is necessary, when they are in need of it, lest for want of necessities they are forced to abandon what they have begun. We therefore order that there be appointed in both cathedral and other conventual churches suitable men whom the bishops can have as coadjutors and cooperators not only in the office of preaching but also in hearing confessions and enjoining penances and in other matters which are conducive to the salvation of souls. If anyone neglects to do this, let him be subject to severe punishment.”; Norman P. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 1 (Sheed & Ward and Georgetown University Press, 1990), 239–40.

¹⁰ Longère, *La prédication*; d’Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*; Nicole Bériou, *L’avènement des maîtres de la Parole. La prédication à Paris au XIII^e siècle*, 2 vols (Brepols, 1998).

on religious topics, thus establishing the key features of a specific literary genre based on its social functions shared by all major traditions based on the revelation of the Bible. In particular, the combined efforts of the scholars involved in the project made it possible to develop a deeper understanding of what it might be like to study a genre imagined for oral delivery only through the written evidence that allowed it to survive the test of time.

Indeed, manuscripts preserving homiletic texts are an invaluable aid for highlighting the specificities of this literary genre. In particular, to establish a genre it is important to assess a series of characteristics by posing questions aimed at uncovering the inner workings of literary production. Those questions can be summarized as: “Who says what in which channel to whom with what effect?”¹¹ The answer and the consequently proposed definition of a sermon thus go as follows: “The sermon is essentially an oral discourse spoken in the voice of the preacher who addresses an audience, to instruct and exhort them on a topic concerned with faith and morals and based on a sacred text.”¹² The modern definition bears a close resemblance to Alain of Lille’s own.¹³ Both start by saying that a sermon has to be public, in the sense that it is intended for a live audience, and orally delivered, thus qualifying it as a means for passing information directly and in a performative manner to an audience. Sermon delivery was indeed a primary medium for the clergy to convey religious education to the laity. However, this first qualifier brings forth a series of questions tied to the ways by which such “oral discourses” have been transmitted.

Historians face a dilemma in analysing oral sources preserved in writing. Because of these inherent intricacies, M. Zink coined an expression that illustrates the first distinction within surviving evidence of sermon texts. He distinguished between “armchair sermons” and actual preaching. Another way to explain the difference is to define them as sermons *en aval* or *en amont*, where the former refers to sermons that have been written before the actual preaching took place, and the latter refers to sermons that have

¹¹ Kienzle, *The Sermon*, 150–51.

¹² Kienzle, *The Sermon*, 151.

¹³ Cfr note 8 above.

been preserved in the form of notes taken during the actual preaching. This differentiation highlighted that sermons could have been written down in a variety of ways, thus adding a level of complexity to their categorisation as a literary genre.¹⁴ The fact that sermons were an oral and highly performative genre was not overlooked by medieval preachers who, starting with the example of St Francis, presented themselves as the alternative to the bards and troubadours that captivated the laity with their stories.¹⁵ The self-awareness of medieval preachers as being part of a shared environment in which common themes and literary tropes generally tend to overlap is part of the foundational evidence on which the study of sermon literature as a genre has developed. Indeed, because nothing happens in a vacuum, all literary genres are tied to other genres and to the society that produced them, a consideration that has shaped the field of sermon studies since its inception, and has further developed since the publication of *The Sermon*.¹⁶ The importance of analysing the textual evidence through the lens of performance theory and codicological techniques have made scholars interested in the field necessarily approach it from a multidisciplinary point of view. Moreover, because of the amount of preserved homiletic sources, sermons have been deemed the mass medium of the pre-modern era, further increasing their value as a source of information at the intersection of different fields which investigate medieval history.¹⁷

For the purposes of this thesis it is important to define which type the sermons authored by Nicolas de Biard fit into. Because preaching is a key element of the Christian faith and thus has been part

¹⁴ Zink, *La Prédication en langue romane*, 204–10; To Zink's classification must be added the *sermo litterarius* proposed by Kienzle: 'sermo litterarius the sermon written as literature, perfected and designed to be read, and possessing an indirect relationship with the sermo as an instance of preaching' Beverly Mayne Kienzle, 'Introduction', in *The Sermon*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Typologie Des Sources Du Moyen Age Occidental* 81–83 (Brepols, 2000), 173.

¹⁵ Carla Casagrande and Silvana Vecchio, 'Clercs et jongleurs dans la société médiévale (XIIe et XIIIe siècles)', *Annales* 34, no. 5 (1979): 913–28 Nicolas de Biard himself, as we will see in the next chapters presents his sermons on the saints as a better alternative to the chansons de gestes narrated by jesters and bards. For example in sermon XVII: "Solent uiellatores gesta proborum militum utpote Karoli, Rolandi et huius libenter narrare quanto magis predicatorum qui sunt uiellatores Dei gesta sanctorum que sunt laudabiliora in infinitum debent narrare libentius".

¹⁶ Hans Robert Jauss, 'Littérature médiévale et théorie des genres', in *Théorie des genres*, ed. Gérard Genette, trans. Eliane Kaufholz, Collection Points Littérature 181 (Éd. du Seuil, 1986), 67; Jauss' structuralist point of view must not become an excuse to forcibly generate points of contacts between society and religious institutions. This cautionary advice by d'Avray will direct my research especially in the third chapter, which is dedicated to the analysis of the imagery employed by Nicolas de Biard in his sermons; Nicole Bériou and David L. d'Avray, *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons: Essays on Marriage, Death, History and Sanctity*, with Società internazionale per lo studio del Medioevo latino, Biblioteca Di 'Medioevo Latino' 11 (Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1994), 6.

¹⁷ Anne T. Thayer, 'The Medieval Sermon: Text, Performance and Insight', in *Understanding Medieval Primary Sources: Using Historical Sources to Discover Medieval Europe*, ed. Joel Thomas Rosenthal, Routledge Guides to Using Historical Sources (Routledge, 2012).

of the Christian experience since its beginning, it would be simplistic to think that homiletic production has always remained the same in the course of the Christian era. It is the general consensus in the scholarly field that the homiletic production of Christian preachers has changed to better reflect changes in communication techniques and in the goals of the clergy. Therefore, if *sermo* and *homilia* are generally interchangeable words, in the field of sermon studies they tend to identify two different types of preaching. Specifically, the *sermo* “is a catechetical or admonitory discourse built upon a theme generally based in Scripture, whereas the homily is a systematic exposition of a biblical pericope that proceeds according to a pattern of *lectio continua*, commenting on a given passage verse by verse or phrase by phrase.”¹⁸ Although medieval authors did not themselves differentiate between the meanings of the words *homilia* and *sermo* when referring to homiletic materials, the stark change in the techniques of sermon composition that occurred at the start of the thirteenth century, in response to new tendencies developed in monastic and university environments, warranted the coining of the category of *sermo modernus* for this *parole nouvelle*, as Bériou called it.¹⁹ We will content ourselves with a brief explanation of its key characteristics to better frame which type of sources were employed for this thesis. This style of preaching moved away from the traditional method of commenting on a full pericope of the Bible in favour of a more thematic type of exposition. Following the advice of the *Artes praedicandi*, a new type of manual for preachers that started to appear in the late twelfth century, a preacher was encouraged to preach on a single biblical verse (a *thema*), which could be preceded by a small invocalational text (*prothema*) usually intended to ease the audience into the sermon proper, and to analyse it in a process called *dilatatio*.²⁰ This dilatation consisted in the development of different sections (divisions) each focusing on a singular

¹⁸ Thomas N. Hall, ‘The Early Medieval Sermon’, in *The Sermon*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle, Typologie Des Sources Du Moyen Age Occidental 81–83 (Brepols, 2000), 205.

¹⁹ Nicole Bériou, ‘Les Sermons Latins Après 1200’, in *The Sermon*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle, Typologie Des Sources Du Moyen Age Occidental 81–83 (Brepols, 2000); Bériou, *L’avènement des maîtres*, 133–95.

²⁰ On the *Artes praedicandi* see: Thomas Marie Charland, *Artes Praedicandi: Contribution a l’histoire de La Rhétorique Au Moyen Âge*, Publications de l’Institut d’études Médiévales d’Ottawa, VII (J. Vrin, 1936); Marianne G. Briscoe, *Artes Praedicandi*, Typologie Des Sources Du Moyen Age Occidental 61 (Brepols, 1992); Franco Morenzoni, ‘Aux origines des Artes Praedicandi. Le “De artificioso modo predicandi” d’Alexandre d’Ashby’, *Studi Medievali*, no. 32 (1991): 887–935; Franco Morenzoni, ‘Parole du prédicateur et inspiration divine d’après les Artes praedicandi’, in *La parole du prédicateur V–XV siècle*, ed. Rosa Maria Dessì and Michel Lauwres (Brepols, 1997); For an example of *Arx* see: Robert of Basevorn, ‘The Form of Preaching (*Forma Praedicandi*)’, in *Three Medieval Rhetorical Arts*, ed. James Jerome Murphy, trans. Leopold Krul, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 228 (Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001).

part of the verse. The dilatation had the goal of expounding, with the aid of similitudes and distinctions (a technique developed in biblical exegesis), on the different meanings of the biblical verse or to put in focus one aspect of the biblical narrative. For example, focusing on the grammar used in the biblical verse could be used to reinforce the message of the preacher and to capture the attention of the audience.²¹ The key features of the *sermo modernus* are thus its dependency on a singular biblical verse and the subdivided internal organization of its text.

Generally written and transmitted in Latin,²² sermons were not preserved in a single manner. Scholars distinguish three different methods of transmission: the *reportatio*, the *compilatio*, and the model collection. Before presenting their characteristics is important to keep in mind that these different forms of transmission were not independent of one another. Sermons in the form of *reportationes* could end up in collections compiled long after they were recorded; sermons that were originally presented in a model sermon collection could, inversely, end up in a *reportatio* after they were preached in front of a live audience.²³ Nonetheless, it is important to draw a general categorization of these three types of preservation. The first concerns sermons that were recorded by someone in the audience, usually students who were interested in reusing the material for their own sermons, like modern students with their notes. Because of their nature, these types of preserved sermons are the nearest to actual delivery. Unfortunately, these types of sermons are but a fraction of the preserved material.²⁴ The second is concerned with the

²¹ One example in Sermon XII on the theme *Uas electionis mihi est iste*: “<3> Tertio tangitur status post conuersionem ibi iste est. Est enim iste pronomen demonstratiuum tantum et ita statum presentem importat.”

²² The problem of the language in which sermons were delivered has occupied researchers for a long time. In general, sermons are preserved in Latin and this evidence suggested that they were also preached in that language. Nonetheless, further research on the canons of Lateran IV and the corpus of homiletic material pointed toward the realisation that Latin was the language preferred for the recording of sermons because of its characteristic of being a *lingua franca* among the clergy of Europe. For further research on this subject see: Nicole Bériou, ‘Latin and the Vernacular. Some Remarks about Sermons Delivered on Good Friday during the Thirteenth Century’, in *Die Deutsche Predigt Im Mittelalter. Internationales Symposium Am Fachbereich Germanistik Der Freien Universität Berlin 3-6 Okt. 1989*, ed. Volker Mertens and Hans-Jochen Schiewer (M. Niemeyer, 1992); Giles Constable, ‘The Language of Preaching in the Twelfth Century’, *Viator* 25 (1994): 131–52; Carlo Delcorno, ‘The Language of Preachers: Between Latin and Vernacular’, *The Italianist* 15, no. 1 (1995): 48–66; Bériou, *L’avènement des maîtres* Ch. II, III; Christoph Burger, ‘Preaching for Members of the University in Latin, for Parishioners in French: Jean Gerson (1363?-1429) on: Blessed Are They That Mourn?’, in *Constructing the Medieval Sermon*, vol. 6, Sermon 6 (Brepols, 2008).

²³ A good example are two model sermons of Guibert of Tournai which were first included in his *Sermones dominicales et festivi* and ended up in a collection of *reportationes* after being preached in 1283: Marjorie Burghart, ‘Remploi textuel, invention et art de la mémoire : les Sermones ad status du franciscain Guibert de Tournai (†1284)’ (Thèse de doctorat d’Histoire, Université de Lyon (Lyon 2), 2013), 80.

²⁴ For more information on this type of sources see: Nicole Bériou, ‘La reportation des sermons parisiens à la fin du XIII^e siècle’, in *Dal pulpito alla navata. La predicazione medievale nella sua ricezione da parte degli ascoltatori (sec. XIII-XV). Convegno internazionale in memoria di Zelina Zefarana, Firenze, 5-7 giugno 1986*, III, Medioevo e Rinascimento (Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1989);

production of a volume that contains sermons of different authors usually bound together by a *compiler* in accordance with a liturgical calendar or a particular preference (a general theme for example). The third is the type of source that is relevant to this thesis, and it is the most representative of the type of transmission that medieval authors imagined for their works.²⁵ This type of transmission concerns collections that have been developed by a single author and are usually organized around the liturgical calendar in order to present a coherent repository of sermons for a series of Sundays and feast days from which a less experienced preacher could find inspiration for their own sermons. This is the case for the series of model sermon collections on the market in Paris by the late thirteenth century. Authors such as Nicolas de Biard, Peter of St Benedict, and William of Mailly among others developed a series of preaching aids in the form of model sermon collections in which they presented ready-made sermons (in some cases just short versions of sermons, such as in the *Collectiones Fratrum* or the sermons of Aldobrandino Cavalcanti) for Sundays and the feasts of the saints.²⁶

Further lines of inquiry in the field in recent years

With the amount of sources still unedited and unstudied, the real risk in sermon studies is to feel that the corpus of sources is too vast to be really tackled in a comprehensive manner. Conscious of the problems that “too much” information can cause, scholars in the field of sermons studies have continued to explore the medium from different points of view with a renewed enthusiasm since the publication of *The Sermon*. This growth in the field has been recently portrayed by Thayer in a 2014 article as “deepening and

Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres*, 73–131, 157–65; Nicole Bériou, ‘Orality in Its Written Traces: Bilingual Reportations of Sermons in France (Thirteenth Century)’, *Medieval Worlds* medieval worlds, no. Volume 12. 2020 (2020): 169–84; Jacqueline Hamesse, ‘Reportatio et transmission de textes’, in *The Editing of theological and philosophical texts from the Middle Ages: acts of the conference arranged by the Department of Classical Languages, University of Stockholm, 29-31 August 1984*, by Monika Asztalos, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis 30 (Almqvist & Wiksell international, 1986); Jacqueline Hamesse, ‘La méthode de travail des reportateurs’, in *Dal pulpito alla navata. La predicazione medievale nella sua ricezione da parte degli ascoltatori (secc. XIII-XV). Convegno internazionale in memoria di Zelina Zefarana, Firenze, 5-7 giugno 1986*, III, Medioevo e Rinascimento (Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1989); Roberto Rusconi, ‘Reportatio’, in *Dal pulpito alla navata. La predicazione medievale nella sua ricezione da parte degli ascoltatori (secc. XIII-XV). Convegno internazionale in memoria di Zelina Zefarana, Firenze, 5-7 giugno 1986*, III, Medioevo e Rinascimento (Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1989).

²⁵ Burghart, ‘Remploi textuel, invention et art de la mémoire : les Sermones ad status du franciscain Guibert de Tournai (†1284)’, 79–80.

²⁶ Bataillon, ‘Approches’; L. J. Bataillon, ‘Les instruments de travail des prédicateurs au XIII^e siècle’, in *Culture et travail intellectuel dans l'occident médiéval: bilan des ‘Colloques d’humanisme médiéval’ (1960-1980) fondés par le R.P. Hubert, O.P.*, ed. Geneviève Hasenohr-Esnos and Jean Longère (Éditions du Centre national de la Recherche scientifique, 1981).

broadening.”²⁷ According to the author, three distinctive lines of enquiry can be distinguished: resource development, breadth, and depth. The first concerns the development of research tools that have broadened access to the sources. Among these, the rise in the use of web-based tools is, of course, the most important. Scholars who approach the study of medieval sermons can today access a vast variety of tools designed to ease the understanding of the medium.²⁸ Moreover, the increase in digitized manuscripts freely accessible on the web from national libraries all around Europe also needs to be remembered. The massive effort of libraries such as the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, and the Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland have granted access to a vast number of manuscripts that just a generation ago would have been unthinkable.²⁹ Alongside this effort, the development of guides dedicated to specific aspects of the field has also flourished with the inclusion of studies specifically dedicated to preaching in collective studies on broader subjects, such as *Le pouvoir des mots*, a collection of studies in which sermons are represented alongside studies on magic in the Middle Ages; *Death in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times*, another collective effort in which the importance of memorial preaching is thoroughly considered; another example is the collection on public consensus and the common good in *Costruire il consenso*.³⁰

The increasing breadth of the scholarly field is, as Thayer puts it, tied to the increase in “interdisciplinarity and range of attention in medieval sermon studies.”³¹ More generally it can be

²⁷ Anne T. Thayer, ‘Medieval Sermon Studies since The Sermon: A Deepening and Broadening Field’, *Medieval Sermon Studies* 58, no. 1 (2014): 10–27.

²⁸ One meaningful example is the website <Sermones.net> which gathers online editions of sermon collections, or the catalogue of Franciscan authors of Bert Roest <<http://users.bart.nl/~roestb/franciscan/>>.

²⁹ This list does not aim to be a complete one but allows an idea of the scale gathered by the digitization process in the last decade. The Bibliothèque Nationale de France is reachable at this link: <<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/>>. The Institut de recherche et d’histoire des textes (IRHT) has also developed a digital repository for the manuscripts of other French departments: <<https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/>>. The Bayerische Staatsbibliothek is reachable at this address: <<https://www.bsb-muenchen.de/en/manuscript-center/digital-collections/>>. The Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland is reachable at this address: <<https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en>>. In Italy the platform *Internet Culturale* is gathering digitized manuscripts from the collections of libraries located on the Italian territory: <<http://www.internetculturale.it/it/767/manoscritti>>. Finally, the Vatican State has started a massive project of digitization of the Vatican Library that can be freely accessed at this link: <<https://digi.vatlib.it/>>.

³⁰ Nicole Bériou et al., eds, *Le Pouvoir Des Mots Au Moyen Âge: Études Réunies*, Bibliothèque d’histoire Culturelle Du Moyen Âge 13 (Brepols, 2014); Albrecht Classen, ed., *Death in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: The Material and Spiritual Conditions of the Culture of Death*, Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture 16 (De Gruyter, 2016); Roberto Lambertini and Maria Pia Alberzoni, eds, *Costruire il consenso* (Vita e Pensiero, 2019).

³¹ Thayer, ‘Medieval Sermon Studies since The Sermon’, 19.

understood as the ability of sermon studies to gather scholars from diverse fields to contribute to our better understanding of medieval sermon practices, thus pushing the boundaries of the field forward, encompassing non-western traditions and a broader timeframe. Usually, these collaborative efforts tend to contribute by uncovering the multiple lenses by which the phenomenon might be investigated. For example, the publishing series *A New History of the Sermon* (Brill) has gained another volume dedicated to the Patristic era.³² While Brepols' series, *Sermo*, has dedicated three more volumes to broadening fields such as the efficacy of preaching in the late Middle Ages, crusade preaching, and preaching in the Mediterranean landscape.³³

Lastly, the depth of the field is what can be defined as the deepening of our interactions with medieval texts, a practice that remains at the core of sermon studies and manifests its importance by producing reliable critical editions. Such endeavours allow our knowledge to deepen, as more and more evidence is transferred from the parchment and rendered in modern, possibly machine-readable, formats. Although the development of critical editions has not been advancing at the same pace with other facets of scholarly literature, the twelve years since the publication of Thayer's article in 2014 have seen the publication of two more volumes of the *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis* dedicated to the sermons of Peter Abelard and Nicolaus de Aquaevilla, respectively.³⁴ Moreover, the deepening of the field can be achieved by other means, for example by examining a particular preaching tradition or gathering together the insight that only long-standing in the field can provide. Good examples of these types can be found in Wenzel's appraisal of William Peraldus sermons and Nicole Bériou's latest attempt

³² Anthony Dupont et al., eds, *Preaching in the Patristic Era: Sermons, Preachers, and Audiences in the Latin West* (Brill, 2018).

³³ Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, ed., *From Words to Deeds: The Effectiveness of Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*, *Sermo* 12 (Brepols Publishers, 2014); Miikka Tamminen, *Crusade Preaching and the Ideal Crusader*, *Sermo* 14 (Brepols Publishers, 2018); Linda G. Jones and Adrienne Dupont-Hamy, eds, *Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Preaching in the Mediterranean and Europe: Identities and Interfaith Encounters*, *Sermo* 15 (Brepols Publishers, 2019); Zachary Guiliano, *The Homiliary of Paul the Deacon: Religious and Cultural Reform in Carolingian Europe*, *Sermo* 16 (Brepols, 2021); Patricia Stoop and Veronica Margaret O'Mara, *Circulating the Word of God in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Catholic Preaching and Preachers across Manuscript and Print (c. 1450 to c. 1550)*, *Sermo*, volume 17 (Brepols, 2022); Christoph Galle, *Predigen im Karolingerreich: die homiletischen Sammlungen von Paulus Diaconus, Lantperhtus von Mondsee, Rabanus Maurus und Haymo von Auxerre*, *Sermo* 18 (Brepols, 2023); Jussi Hanska, *The Destruction of Jerusalem and Anti-Jewish Commonplaces in Model Sermon Collections (1100-1350)*, *Sermo*, volume 19 (Brepols, 2025).

³⁴ Nicolaus de Haqueville, *Sermones moralissimi atque ad populum instruendum utilissimi supra evangelia dominicarum totius anni*, ed. Eva Odelman, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 283 (Brepols Publishers, 2018); Petrus Abaelardus, *Sermones*, ed. Lodewijk J. Engels and Christine Vande Veire, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 286 (Brepols Publishers, 2020).

to develop an in-depth guide for whoever wants to approach the study of medieval sermons.³⁵ In light of the three categories of expansion of the field provided by Thayer, it is safe to say that my research falls squarely into the third.

The University of Paris and the mendicant innovation

The preaching revival, as it is generally known, of the thirteenth century is strictly tied to the development of new institutions such as medieval universities and the mendicant orders.³⁶ Therefore, in order to better acknowledge the environment that brought about this renaissance of homiletic production it is necessary to take a step back and retrace the history of the University of Paris and its institutional context to survey the important impact that the mendicant orders had in the formation of preachers. This is especially important when considering that although Paris was not the only centre of production of homiletic material, undoubtedly it outstripped every other place in terms of quantity.³⁷ This form of centralization is of paramount importance when talking about model sermon collections, such as the collection of Nicolas de Biard on which this thesis focuses. Hence, Paris was the perfect milieu in which such collections could be composed and disseminated. By dissemination I am referring to the creation of a controlled market, strictly tied to the university, in which new model collections could be acquired easily by the student population of the city in an attempt to control production and aid the clergy in its pastoral mission. The growth of the system in which these developments in preaching material production took place will be analysed in three parts: the first will present the development of Paris as a centre of knowledge; the second will focus on the secular-mendicant controversies; and the third on the mendicant curriculum for preaching.

³⁵ Guilelmus Peraldus, *The Sermons of William Peraldus: An Appraisal*, ed. Siegfried Wenzel, *Sermo : Studies on Patristic, Medieval, and Reformation Sermons and Preaching*, volume 13 (Brepols, 2017); Nicole Bériou, *Religion et communication: un autre regard sur la prédication au Moyen Âge* (Librairie Droz, 2018).

³⁶ d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, 13–63.

³⁷ d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, 22.

The University of Paris

As early as the turn of the eleventh century, Northern France was at the forefront of a process of renovation that developed around important centres of religious power. These centres, notably the cities of Laon, Reims, Chartres, and Paris, were the stage on which new religious masters started to develop a more scholarly approach to the Bible and the *cura animarum*.³⁸ This process has been thoroughly described in the literature; therefore, in recounting these developments, I am mainly relying on the works of R. W. Southern and his understanding of the construction of what he called *scholastic humanism*.³⁹ By this term we should identify the general understanding of medieval scholars that they were operating in an interconnected world in which they could, through a universal system of knowledge, aim at understanding the complexities of the world. This general positive feeling, recognizable in the works of masters such as Anselm of Laon and Peter the Chanter, gave rise to the birth of various schools, usually attached to a cathedral, in which clergymen could study and prepare themselves.⁴⁰

It is in this landscape that the city of Paris started to rise to prominence from the start of the twelfth century as a reputable centre for the acquisition of knowledge. Although not yet as recognised as Laon, which attracted students of the Bible from across Europe, Paris was already primed to become an established centre of learning because of its status as a centre of political power and its prominence in commerce and urban development.⁴¹ Indeed, during the twelfth century the left bank of the river Seine started to attract more and more scholars who intended to study at the cathedral school and the other schools in the city.⁴²

It was the birth of a new kind of career, as a secular academic, that had been made possible by the twelfth-century schools and in which students were the main actors because of their agency in

³⁸ Richard W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe. 1: Foundations*, 1. publ., transferred to digital print (Blackwell, 2002); Richard C. Dales, *The Intellectual Life of Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, 2nd rev. ed (Brill, 1992), 145–67.

³⁹ Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe. 1*.

⁴⁰ Ian P. Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris: Theologians and the University, c.1100-1330*, with Cambridge University Press, Cambridge Core (University Press, 2012), 8–47.

⁴¹ Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe. 1*, 199; Stephen C. Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University: The Schools of Paris and Their Critics, 1100-1215* (Stanford University Press, 1985), 13–15.

⁴² On the increasing number of students and masters: John W. Baldwin, 'Masters at Paris from 1179 to 1215: A Social Perspective', in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable, Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching 26 (University of Toronto Press in association with the Medieval Academy of America, 1991).

choosing their masters.⁴³ For the majority of those interested in studying, the choice was primarily a practical one tied directly to the availability of the necessary wealth to pursue such a career. Studying was expensive but the prospects of a future life of well-paid employment was surely enough of a drive to attract a crowd of young students from across Europe,⁴⁴ especially if the subject that they wanted to study opened up more lucrative options for their post-university life, such as law and medicine.⁴⁵ In the case of Paris, students lived in the cheap suburbs alongside the monasteries of St-Germain-des-Prés and Ste-Geneviève, thus starting the development which is today recognized as the *Quartier Latin* in which the colleges of the developing University of Paris were concentrated. By the middle of the thirteenth-century, Paris was a cultural beacon in the landscape of France and wider Europe not only for the particular figures who decided to teach in the city but also for the sheer number of schools and masters.⁴⁶ Those who sought a higher education were soon organized according to their provenance (*nationes*) and attended the lectures of masters who in turn were organized into a guild to uphold the standards of teaching and to defend the rights of their status.⁴⁷ It is important to note, however, that both masters and students shared a common desire for the acquisition of more rights from the Crown and independence from the diocese of Paris to which they were linked for the conferring of the *licentia docendi* by the chancellor of the chapter of Notre Dame. These tensions were the reason for the series of events that shaped the University of Paris into a distinct institution.

At the turn of the thirteenth century the internal fighting between the student body and the city of Paris erupted into open conflict when the provost of Paris attempted to reprimand a group of students after a brawl with the citizens. Just a year before, in July 1200, Philip Augustus conceded to the student

⁴³ Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris*, 87.

⁴⁴ For an analysis of the costs connected with studying: L. J. Bataillon, 'Les conditions de travail des maîtres de l'Université de Paris au XIII^e siècle', *Revue des Sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 67, no. 3 (1983): 417–33; Jean Dunbabin, 'Meeting the Cost of University Education in Northern France, c. 1240–1340', in *History of Universities*, vol. 10 (Avebury Pub. Co., 1991).

⁴⁵ On the life of students and their preferences for studies that enabled them to seek out better jobs I refer to these classics of literature: Charles H. Haskins, 'The Life of Medieval Students as Illustrated by Their Letters', *The American Historical Review* 3, no. 2 (1898): 203–29, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1832500>; Charles H. Haskins, *The Rise of Universities* (Cornell University Press, 1923), 59–93; Alan B. Cobban, 'Medieval Student Power', *Past & Present* (Oxford), no. 53 (1971): 29–30.

⁴⁶ Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University*, 25.

⁴⁷ Dales, *The Intellectual Life of Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, 207, 214 The clerical status was formally recognized by pope Celestine III in 1194.

body and ratified a privilege that recognised the *privilegium fori* to students and masters, which effectively shielded them from any attempt by the laity to prosecute them.⁴⁸ Given the tense situation, Philip Augustus, possibly concerned by the threats of the masters to leave Paris if their rights not to be prosecuted by lay officials were not to be defended, upheld the rights that he had conceded and took action against the provost of Paris, who was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment and subjected to the ordeal.⁴⁹ Although the action of Philip Augustus seems already to recognize the University as a coherent body, it would be an error on our part to take the date of 1200-1 as any sort of “foundation” for this institution.

As Nathalie Gorochov has demonstrated, the birth of the corporation of masters was a protracted process that involved different personalities among the bishops and chancellors of the diocese of Paris. Indeed, at the same time the fight for more independence from the bishop and the chancellor gained momentum and in a relatively brief span of time the University gained papal support in order to press its claims. The years between 1207 and 1215 were especially important in the regularization of the University and culminated in the statutes of Robert of Courson in 1215. Acting as papal legate, Robert of Courson sought to better regulate the relationship between the diocese of Paris, the masters and the students by developing the first statutes of the University.⁵⁰ In accordance with the advice given him by some *probi viri*, as he recounts in the statutes themselves, the dispositions accepted by both the masters and the bishopric aimed at regulating nearly every aspect of the teaching trade of the city. In accepting the suggestions of the masters the statutes are especially weighted in their favour and seek to establish a proper curriculum of studies, the necessary regulations on the age of students, the length of the study period, the examinations and the conferring of the *licentia docendi* which had been a cause of conflict between the masters and the chancellor in recent years (1212-1213).⁵¹ The University, because of these

⁴⁸ Nathalie Gorochov, *Naissance de l'université: les écoles de Paris d'Innocent III à Thomas d'Aquin (v. 1200-v. 1245)*, Etudes d'histoire médiévale 14 (Honoré Champion éditeur, 2012), 39–41.

⁴⁹ Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (Clarendon Press, 1895), 1:296–97.

⁵⁰ Heinrich Denifle and Emile Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* (Fratrum Delalain, 1889), 1:78–80.

⁵¹ Gorochov, *Naissance de l'université*, 301–2; Spencer E. Young, *Scholarly Community at the Early University of Paris: Theologians, Education and Society, 1215 -1248*. (Cambridge University Press, 2018), 22.

new statutes, formalized the teaching of theology, liberal arts, canon law⁵² and medicine. Furthermore, the statutes of 1215 guaranteed ample liberty to masters and students to determine for themselves the majority of student life.⁵³ This provision is the ground on which, by the third quarter of the century, the University will regulate its own book trade, as we will see in the next chapter.

The formalisation of the relationships between the diocese of Paris and the scholarly community should have had a positive impact on the life of those interested in learning at Paris. Nonetheless, as the *Chartularium* of the University reveals, their rights to develop internal new regulations for the university was at times fought against by the chancellor of Paris, Philippe the Chancellor (1218-1236). This open hostility forced the masters to appeal to the pope, Honorius III, in order to promote the normalisation, yet again, of their relationship with the chancellor. The pope, as we can see in two letters (30 and 31 of the *Chartularium*),⁵⁴ favoured the masters and lent his support in order to let them have their corporate rights recognized by the Chancellor. But this initial inclination of the papacy towards the masters developed into a more troubled relation in the following decade.

In 1219 Honorius III, with the bull *Super speculum*,⁵⁵ intervened yet again in university affairs by restricting the teaching of civil law at the University of Paris, by further regulating the process by which the *licentia docendi* was awarded, and by promoting the study and teaching of theology at the University. It has been suggested that these new provisions were primarily motivated by the pastoral concerns that had already been addressed during Lateran IV, and that Honorius III sought to bolster the fight against heresy by focusing on the formation of theologians.⁵⁶ Nonetheless, the bull marked a significant shift in papal attitudes toward the University of Paris and signalled an interest in controlling the newly born institution. This is further exemplified by papal intervention in the election of the bishop of Paris in 1220 when Honorius III decided on the basis of supposed irregularities to invalidate the election of Walter Cornut

⁵² Young, *Scholarly Community at the Early University of Paris*, 25 The teaching of Civil Law had been prohibited in Paris by Honorius III in 1219.

⁵³ Denifle and Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, 1:79; Gorochoff, *Naissance de l'université*, 309.

⁵⁴ Denifle and Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, 1:87–90.

⁵⁵ Denifle and Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, 1:90–93.

⁵⁶ Gorochoff, *Naissance de l'université*, 345–53.

by the canons of Paris in favour of William of Seignelay, bishop of Auxerre and preacher at the forefront of the struggle against heresy.⁵⁷ Although the papal action was well within Honorius' rights according to canon 25 of Lateran IV, the reaction of the masters, who sided with the canons and Philippe the Chancellor on this issue, was the proclamation of a strike that blocked all teaching activity in the city. This was just the first of a series of strikes that erupted during phases of struggle against papal interference in the life of the university as an institution.

It is through this lens that we ought to understand Honorius' activity during the 1220s. By starting to publicly oppose some of the privileges of masters and students,⁵⁸ the pope began to facilitate the foundation of mendicant houses in the city of Paris and their entry to the University. Both new orders, the Dominicans and the Franciscans, were rapidly put in a position in which they held important roles at the University even before being awarded formal teaching positions.⁵⁹ For example, in 1221 the Dominicans were charged with praying for the students and masters both alive and dead, thus making it compulsory for the university body to frequent the Dominican house at least twice a year. At the same time, although more slowly, the Franciscans started to become part of the cultural environment of the city and, by the end of the decade, they moved from the outskirts of the city at St. Denis to their new convent near St. Germain-des-Prés (1230). Dominicans and Franciscans were publicly supported by the papacy and managed to gain an important following among the students that generated a good number of conversions.⁶⁰ Thus, it should not come as a surprise that when a second strike was called by the University in 1229 the mendicants answer was to not participate in it.

⁵⁷ Gorochoff, *Naissance de l'université*, 353; Young, *Scholarly Community at the Early University of Paris*, 40.

⁵⁸ It should be noted that in 1225 at the behest of the pope, the legate Romanus of Saint-Ange broke, with the full support of the canons of Paris, the seal of the University thus causing a revolt among the students.

⁵⁹ The first Dominicans arrived in Paris in 1217 and the first Franciscans in 1219, Gorochoff, *Naissance de l'université*, 361–66.

⁶⁰ For a more exhaustive analysis of the impact of conversions Gorochoff, *Naissance de l'université*, 366–81; Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres*; d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*; Jacqueline Hamesse, 'Introduction: The University', in *Medieval Sermons and Society: Cloister, City, University*, vol. 9, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse et al. (Brepols, 1998); L. J. Bataillon, 'Sermoni e orazioni d'ambiente universitario parigino nel sec. XIII', *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale. An International Journal on the Philosophical Tradition from Late Antiquity to the Late Middle Ages of the «Società Internazionale per lo Studio del Medioevo Latino» and of the «Società per l'Edizione dei Testi Antichi e Medievali» of the «Società Internazionale per lo Studio del Medioevo Latino» and «Società per l'Edizione dei Testi Antichi e Medievali»*, no. 5 (1994): 297–329; Phyllis B. Roberts, 'Medieval University Preaching: The Evidence in the Statutes', in *Medieval Sermons and Society: Cloister, City, University*, vol. 9, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse et al. (Brepols, 1998).

The so-called Great Dispersion of 1229 was yet another case of *town and gown* hostility, like the one that occurred in 1201. Following a tavern brawl in the faubourg of St Marcel on 27 February 1229, sparked by the refusal of a group of theology students to pay for what they had consumed, several people got involved in the fight and the tavern was set ablaze by the students. In order to redress the situation, the prior of St Marcel appealed to the bishop of Paris and the papal legate, who both referred the problem to the queen, Blanche of Castille. She, in spite of the regulations in place, decided to retaliate against the student body, causing the death of two students.⁶¹ In reaction to this blatant violation of university rights (as they saw it) the students and their masters left the city for around two years seeking refuge in other countries, such as England where they installed themselves at Oxford, as well as in Reims and Angers.⁶² Of course, although Matthew Paris in his chronicle claimed that all students and professors quit the city, some among them chose to stay, chiefly the members of the new mendicant orders and those tied to the chapter of Notre-Dame.⁶³ It was at this time that the newly-elected pope, Gregory IX, having sought to put an end to the strike, attempted to calm the controversy by issuing a bull that addressed the problem directly.

The activity of Gregory IX to pacify the situation in Paris and to reinstall the masters and students who had decided to abandon the city is characterized by the intense correspondence between the pope and the different actors (the masters, the chapter of Notre-Dame, the king of France) that all played a part in the Great Dispersion of 1229-1231.⁶⁴ Starting with the bull *Parens scientiarum* of 13 April 1231, no less than fourteen documents were issued by the pope and preserved in the *Chartularium* of the University.⁶⁵ For the purpose of this thesis I will comment only on the bull *Parens scientiarum* because of its importance in the context of university regulations.

⁶¹ Young, *Scholarly Community at the Early University of Paris*, 41; For a more in-depth analysis of the conflict Gorochoy, *Naissance de l'université*, 405–14; and Nathalie Gorochoy, 'The Great Dispersion of the University of Paris and the Rise of European Universities (1229-1231) = La Gran Dispersión de La Universidad de París y El Surgimiento de Las Universidades Europeas (1229-1231)', *CLAN-Revista de Historia de Las Universidades* 21, no. 1 (2018): 99.

⁶² Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris*, 101.

⁶³ Gorochoy, *Naissance de l'université*, 437–38.

⁶⁴ Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris*, 102.

⁶⁵ Gorochoy, *Naissance de l'université*, 457; Denifle and Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. 1 The documents are those between n° 79 and 95.

Drawing upon the example set by the statutes of 1215 and *Super speculam* of 1219, the bull issued by Gregory IX made a renewed effort to define the relationship between the University and the city and diocese, and focused on five main problems: the *licentia docendi*, the right to make due constitutions or ordinances, the redressing of wrongs and due punishment of those who acted against said ordinances, the right to strike and the organization of the teaching curriculum.⁶⁶ In general the bull diminished the powers of the chancellor, since it decrees that those who are to be examined for the *licentia* were to be chosen by the masters of the University (although the chancellor retained the ability to refuse a particular candidate on the basis of unworthiness). Moreover, the students and masters were put under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Paris and not of the chancellor, while the pope also conceded to the University the right to strike in order to defend their rights, whenever they felt that outside action could threaten them. Finally, the pope opened the possibility of teaching the *Libri naturales* of Aristotle, thus lifting the ban that had been in place since the 1210s, provided that a commission of masters of good repute corrected the books of their manifest errors, in accordance with the Church doctrine.⁶⁷

The bull had an immediate impact and allowed the return of masters and students to the city of Paris. It was following this period that the University, armed with its new regulations, managed to overcome a series of internal problems linked with the emergence of a new competitor in the field of teaching: the mendicant orders. As we have seen, both Honorius III and Gregory IX favoured the new orders and, during the Great Dispersion, the members of the orders were among those that did not abandon Paris. Of course, this choice had a series of effects on the relations between secular masters and regulars, where the former saw in the latter an element of disturbance that did not adhere properly to the statutes of the corporation, because of their vows. These problems are the focus, alongside the mendicant curriculum of studies, of the next section of this chapter.

⁶⁶ For a more in-depth analysis of the bull and its sources and models: Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris*, 102–10.

⁶⁷ Gorochoy, *Naissance de l'université*, 449–51.

The mendicant place at Paris

As we have seen, during the 1220s the newly formed mendicant orders (especially Dominicans and Franciscans) established themselves at the University of Paris. The formation of the mendicant orders was a direct answer to the call for a more organized preaching effort as called for in the proceedings of Lateran IV.⁶⁸ They were responding to what P. Mandonnet called the *crise scolaire*, which can be summed up as a general sense felt by papacy and secular clergy that the Church was not able to guarantee the necessary standard of scholarly formation for preaching and pastoral care among enough of its clergy. This deplorable situation, although partially amended by the formalisation in the statutes and the papal bulls of the curriculum of studies of the University of Paris, and the call for stricter rules for obtaining the *licentia docendi* exemplified in the *Parens scientiarum*, was to be intercepted by the birth of the new orders who consecrated themselves to answering the papal call for a better prepared clergy in order to counter heresy.⁶⁹ The two orders sought to reach the necessary levels of preparation in theology by attaching themselves to centres of higher learning, such as Paris and Bologna,⁷⁰ in which they could partake of the knowledge-filled environments in order to develop a powerful preaching technique which in turn made the prospect of entering a mendicant order more attractive among masters and students.⁷¹ Following the thesis of Mandonnet, Jacques Verger postulated that there were two main reasons for the mendicant interest in the university and its teachings. Firstly, the mendicant orders seemed to have recognized the

⁶⁸ Cfr note 9.

⁶⁹ Pierre Mandonnet, 'La crise scolaire du début du XIII siècle et la fondation de l'ordre des Freres-Precheurs', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* XV, no. 1 (1914): 34–49; Denifle and Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, 1:136–39. In particular the call for reassurances on the proper conduct of life of the candidates: 'Ante vero quam quemquam licentiet, infra tres menses a tempore petite licentie tam ab omnibus magistris theologie in civitate presentibus quam aliis viris honestis et litteratis, per quos veritas sciri possit, de vita, scientia et facundia necnon proposito et spe proficiendi ac aliis, que sunt in talibus requirenda, diligenter inquirat, et inquisitione sic facta quid deceat et quid expediat bona fide det vel neget secundum conscientiam suam petenti licentiam postulatam'.

⁷⁰ It is important to point out that the city of Bologna was granted the privilege of opening a faculty of theology only in 1360. Nonetheless, Bologna, a beacon for the study of law, attracted the friars since the very early stages of their experiences. It can be inferred that the orders felt the pull towards the city not for the theological prowess of its masters (like in Paris) but for the general high literacy of the student population. For more information on mendicant foundations in Bologna see: Bert Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education (c. 1210-1517)*, Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, v. 11 (Brill, 2000), 43–47; M. Michèle Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent in Study: Dominican Education before 1350*, with Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Studies and Texts (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies) 132 (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1998), 28–36.

⁷¹ For example, the first installation of the Dominicans in Paris was a success in terms of new members for the order, R. F. Bennet, *The Early Dominicans. Studies in Thirteenth-Century Dominican History*. (Russell & Russell, 1937), 52–53; Gorochoff, *Naissance de l'université*, 366–81.

importance and prestige connected to the university, mostly because of the importance of theology in the preparation of sermons and the preaching effort on which they were focused. This would explain why the first foundations of both Dominicans and Franciscans were concentrated in cities with a functioning seat of higher learning (Paris and Bologna). Secondly, the high number of learned men (both students and masters) was vital to the development and growth of the orders. It should not be a surprise then that the majority of conversions, especially for the more studiously-inclined Dominican order, came from the university milieu and, by 1224, seemed to have reached 120 members in Paris alone.⁷²

The first years of the mendicant presence in Paris were marked by a good relationship between the orders and the university, exemplified by the provision of a secular teacher charged to teach the friars. This was bound to change; and real change in the provenance of masters regent in theology came about during the Great Dispersion of 1229-1231. It was at this time that Roland of Cremona and John of St. Giles entered the Dominican order, thus securing two chairs of theology for their order.⁷³ Moreover, in 1236 or 1237 Alexander of Hales, a famed theologian and master of the university since 1232, also decided to enter the Franciscan order. By the end of the decade the new orders held three chairs of theology out of the dozen allowed at the University of Paris.⁷⁴ This development might seem of little consequence, but it is important to note that the increase in mendicant students and masters posed two types of problem: a decrease in revenue for the masters and a decrease in career opportunities for secular masters. Students paid their masters directly for their classes; by attending the public lectures offered by the mendicant *studia* they were no longer engaging in the lectures provided by the secular university

⁷² Jacques Verger, 'Studia et Universités', in *Le scuole degli ordini mendicanti (secoli XIII-XIV). Atti del XVII Convegno storico internazionale. Todi, 11-14 ottobre 1976* (CISAM, 1978), 179–84; Heinrich Denifle, 'Die Constitutionen des Prediger-Ordens von J. 1228', in *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters.*, vol. 1, ed. Franz Ehrle and Heinrich Denifle (Herder, 1885), 189.

⁷³ The case of John of St. Giles is even more remarkable because he chose to enter the Dominican order mid-sermon in a dramatic fashion: Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris*, 115.

⁷⁴ Gorochov, *Naissance de l'université*, 481–82; It should also be remembered that among the seculars not everyone harboured an anti-mendicant sentiment. One paramount example is that of William of Auvergne, bishop of Paris, who welcomed the presence of the friars as masters in theology and championed their cause by allowing them to retain their chairs, Young, *Scholarly Community at the Early University of Paris*, 43; Jacques Berlioz, 'La Voix de l'évêque: Guillaume d'Auvergne dans les exempla (XIIIe-XIVe siècle)', in *Autour de Guillaume d'Auvergne (+1249)*, ed. Franco Morenzoni and Jean-Yves Tilliette, Bibliothèque d'histoire culturelle du Moyen Age 2 (Brepols, 2005), 30.

masters, thus decreasing their revenue.⁷⁵ The second problem relates to the tradition that a vacant chair passed to a master of the same order if the past master was affiliated to one, which restricted the career possibilities of those who were not part of these institutions.⁷⁶

Between 1230 and 1250, most chairs of the University of Paris were in the hands of the regulars (mendicants and regular canons combined). This situation, alongside the mendicant attempt to establish a parallel system of education in their own *studia* (which were open to non-members of the order), meant that the secular masters had to act in order to preserve their influence and their revenues. The resentment that had built up in twenty years was ready to erupt into open conflict in the 1250s and the 1270s. For the purpose of this thesis it will be sufficient to remember the elements that generated such a resentment: the number of chairs left free for the secular masters, the question of the legitimacy of the pastoral care of the friars, and the question of the legitimacy of poverty as the pillar of their orders.⁷⁷ Of these three, only the first two were at the centre of the university conflicts of the thirteenth century.

During the 1250s the secular masters attempted to curtail the power of the friar masters by passing a statute limiting the number of chairs held by any religious order that had a college in Paris (1252). This decision was an attempt to restrict the Franciscans from gaining a second chair and to eliminate the second chair that the Dominicans had held since 1231. The situation, increasingly volatile because of the friars' reluctance to abide by the statutes of the University, turned into open conflict when, after another town and gown event in 1253, the friars did not participate in the strike proclaimed by the secular masters and continued to hold lectures. This further attempt at independence from the University's statutes was met by the seculars with the request that a formal oath to abide by the statutes be taken by all masters. Initially, the friars initially refused to cave in to the request, although the Franciscans eventually agreed.

⁷⁵ Whether the lectures offered by the mendicants were free or subjected to the payment of a fee is debated. Nonetheless, it is certain that they were open to the larger public and attracted members of the secular clergy. For more information on the subject see: Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris*, 115; Dieter Berg, 'Bettelorden und Bildungswesen im kommunalen Raum. Ein Paradigma des Bildungstransfers im 13. Jahrhundert', in *Zusammenhänge, Einflüsse, Wirkungen: Kongressakten zum ersten Symposium des Mediävistenverbandes in Tübingen, 1984* [electronic resource], Reprint 2019, ed. Joerg O. Fichte et al. (De Gruyter, 2019); Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education (c. 1210-1517)*, 7 note 20.

⁷⁶ Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris*, 116.

⁷⁷ Alexis Charansonnet, 'L'Université, l'Eglise, l'Etat dans les sermons du Cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux (1190 ? - 1273)' (Université Lumière Lyon 2, 2001), 279.

This development allowed the secular masters to threaten to excommunicate the Dominicans who, in turn, appealed to pope Innocent IV.⁷⁸ The attempts of the pope to reconcile the seculars and the friars, which at first were in favour of the friars, ended with the bull *Etsi Animarum* of 21 November 1254. Although he had begun by supporting the friars, in the end the pope accepted most of the secular requests, confirming the privileges of the University and forbidding the friars from preaching and hearing confessions without the explicit consent of the bishop of Paris.⁷⁹ Even so, the secular masters, bolstered by the response of the papacy, attempted to further press their grievances against the friars through the action led by one of their most prominent members, William of Saint Amour.⁸⁰ Building upon traditionalist concerns about the organization of the Church and the reaction to the recent publication of the *Liber Introductorius in Evangelium Aeternum* by the Franciscan Gerard of Borgo San Donnino, William sought to expose the dangers that the new orders posed to the entire Church in the *De periculis novissimorum temporum*, which was organized as a complete reversal of the thesis presented in the *Introductorius*.⁸¹ The book, presented to the curia in Rome, aimed at the disbanding of the new orders and the restoration of a Church governed by secular clergy. Unfortunately for William, Innocent IV had died and the new pope, Alexander IV, was much more inclined towards the friars than his predecessor. In December 1254, with the bull *Quasi lignum vitae*, Alexander revoked *Etsi Animarum* and reinstated the mendicant professors as full members of the University, instructing the chancellor to grant the teaching licence to qualified

⁷⁸ On the excommunication see document 219 in Denifle and Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, 1:242–44: ‘nos inquam ob hanc causam corde vehementer afflicti cum iam per mensem et amplius lectionibus ob timorem dimissis expectassemus iustitiam, et nondum esset exhibita, in tanto discrimine constituti ordinationibus et indulgentiis a sede apostolica et eius legatis nobis indultis diligenter inspectis, deliberato consilio auctoritate illarum obligationem fecimus iuramentis vallatam de supradicta iniuria secundum Deum et iustitiam, quantum nobis licitum est, prosequenda, tribus magistris regularibus, videlicet duobus Predicatoribus et uno fratre Minore, duntaxat exceptis, qui pro sue voluntatis arbitrio suum renuerunt prestare consensum diligentius requisiti, non sine contemptu et transgressione dictarum indulgentiarum seu ordinationum, quarum una suos transgressores excommunicationis percellit sententia, nisi infra quindecim dies suam presumptionem coram nobis curaverint emendare.’; For more information on the usage of excommunication according to canon law I refer to: Richard Henry Helmholz, ‘Excommunication as a Legal Sanction: The Attitudes of the Medieval Canonists’, *Zeitschrift Der Savigny-Stiftung Für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung* 68 (1982): 202–18.

⁷⁹ Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education (c. 1210-1517)*, 55.

⁸⁰ For a more in-depth analysis of William of Saint Amour and the secular action: Michel-Marie Dufeil, ‘Terarchia : un concept dans la polémique universitaire parisienne du xiiième siècle’, in *Soziale Ordnungen im Selbstverständnis des Mittelalters*, 1. Halbbd, ed. Albert Zimmermann (De Gruyter, 2013); Emmanuel Aegerter, ‘L’affaire Du “De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum”’, *Revue de l’histoire Des Religions*, no. 112 (1935): 242–72; Michael Cusato and G. Geltner, *Defenders and Critics of Franciscan Life: Essays in Honor of John V. Fleming* (Brill, 2009).

⁸¹ Guy Geltner, ‘William of St. Amour De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum: A False Start to Medieval Antifraternalism?’, in *Defenders and Critics of Franciscan Life: Essays in Honor of John V. Fleming*, ed. Michael Cusato and G. Geltner (Brill, 2009), 109.

candidates, even if their number exceeded the total number of colleges at Paris.⁸² It should be noted that William at least had some form of success in making the condemnation of Gerard's work official in 1255, but his further attempts to curtail the influence of the friars and disbanding them were met with his own condemnation by Alexander IV in 1257, who ordered that William's *Tractatus de Periculis Novissimorum Temporum* should be burned and its ideas condemned.

This turn of events diminished the ability of the secular masters to oppose the mendicants, and in 1257 they were forced to accept the installation of the Franciscan Bonaventure of Bagnoregio and the Dominican Thomas Aquinas as mendicant masters in the theology faculty. This marked a new phase of distancing in the relationship between the seculars and the regulars, that made the following crises of 1265-1277 much more a problem confined to debating elements of mendicant life, such as Franciscan poverty.⁸³

The basic organisation of mendicant teaching

Having established the framing in which mendicant friars had to operate in the Parisian environment, it is now of particular importance to understand how the mendicant *studia* prepared their students. If education was a primary concern for both Franciscans and Dominicans by the end of the thirteenth century it would be wrong to assume that both orders started from the same position. It was rather the case that, during the course of the century, their involvement with education and teaching grew in a similar fashion, with the Franciscans following the Dominicans in the organization of their own system of schools and curriculum.

It is important to bear in mind that the development of theology schools during the twelfth century facilitated a stronger connection between studying and pastoral care. This connection is best exemplified in the works of Peter Cantor († 1197) who, in the prologue of the *Verbum abbreviatum*, concluded that the “exercise of Holy Scripture is threefold, it concerns the teaching (*lectionem*), the

⁸² Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris*, 116–17.

⁸³ Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education (c. 1210-1517)*, 57–58; L. J. Bataillon, ‘Les crises de l’université de Paris d’après les sermons universitaires’, in *Die Auseinandersetzungen an der Pariser Universität im XIII. Jahrhundert*, Reprint 2010, vol. 10, ed. Albert Zimmermann, *Miscellanea Mediaevalia* (De Gruyter, 1975).

discussion (*disputationem*) and the preaching act (*praedicationem*).⁸⁴ This vision is the bedrock on which teaching, especially theology, was built. As has been discussed, the friars were quick in selecting the higher centres of learning as the optimal locations for their convents because they understood that their novices, if they were to preach (as was the mission of the orders), had to have instruction in Holy Scripture. This effort is evident from the foundation of the Dominicans and can be traced to their first constitutions of 1220 in which each house of the order had to have not only a prior but also a lector, to train the new friars. In contrast, the Franciscans, in the *Regula bullata* (1223), had no similar disposition, focusing instead on the primitive message and example of Francis in acknowledging the possibility that new friars could be (and remain) illiterate.⁸⁵ If the Dominicans established their course of studies from their inception, the Franciscans had to wait for the generalate of Bonaventure (1257-1274) to formally tackle the problem. The *Constitutiones Narbonenses* (1260) were the first instance in which the Franciscans established their own rules, modelled after those of the Preachers, on the matter of education.⁸⁶

To begin with, the two orders had to rely on entrants who had at least some experience with the university curriculum. The literature on the matter is well known but it is useful to sketch it here.⁸⁷ Prospective theologians at the University of Paris entered their studies with a first degree in the Arts. They were expected to follow a curriculum centred around a cycle of ordinary lectures by a master, which was usually followed by scheduled disputations. The master was aided in his task by two lectors who prepared the students in biblical knowledge and in the Sentences of Peter Lombard in a cursory manner. Additionally, the students gained direct knowledge of sermon making and preaching by attending the mandatory sermons for the day and during official events of the University.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Petrus Cantor, *Verbum abbreviatum*, PL 205, col. 25

⁸⁵ Giulia Barone, 'La legislazione sugli studia dei predicatori e dei minori', in *Le scuole degli ordini mendicanti (secoli XIII-XIV)*. *Atti del XVII Convegno storico internazionale. Todi, 11-14 ottobre 1976* (CISAM, 1978), 207.

⁸⁶ Barone, 'La legislazione sugli studia dei predicatori e dei minori', 223.

⁸⁷ For a broader view on the subject: Gordon Leff, *Paris and Oxford Universities in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: An Institutional and Intellectual History*, New Dimensions in History. Essays in Comparative History (Wiley, 1968), 160–77; Palémon 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* 35 (1968): 65–186.

⁸⁸ The mandatory aspect of sermon attendance is analysed in: Roberts, 'Medieval University Preaching'.

It is clear from their constitutions that, during in the first decades of the mendicant orders, it became necessary to establish a curriculum to cover the education of novices. The development of mendicant schools has been the subject of consistent scholarly literature by Roest and Mulchahey, who have both explored the different tactics and aims of Dominican and Franciscans.⁸⁹ Generally, both orders organized their teaching effort by establishing different levels of education: from the custodial level (*scholae*), to the provincial schools (*studia*), and to the higher levels at the *studia generalia/universitaria*.⁹⁰ Across these different institutions, the students would have learnt the basics of grammar, logic, knowledge of the Bible, and sermon composition and theology,⁹¹ with only the most promising students being chosen to pursue a career that would make them masters at a university level. Although the more prominent members of both orders were masters in their own right, it would be a mistake to believe that Dominicans and Franciscans desired all their novices to gain that rank. Their goal was to train lectors, teachers charged with the education of younger brothers at a custodial and provincial level, not at a university level.⁹²

Because of the importance that lectors held in the Dominican and Franciscan landscape of education, I will focus on presenting what their programme entailed. In the Franciscan environment, starting with the Constitutions of Narbonne (1260), only those who had already had a period of training at a provincial *studium* could have the option, with the chapter's recommendation, to partake of the education offered in a *studium generale* such as Paris. These students would have been not only proficient in their studies but also impeccable in their morals and behaviour, thus cementing the close link between

⁸⁹ Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education (c. 1210-1517)*; Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent in Study*; For a more general approach and presentation across different mendicant orders see: Società internazionale di studi francescani and Centro interuniversitario di studi francescani, eds, *Studio e studia: le scuole degli ordini mendicanti tra XIII e XIV secolo: atti del XXIX Convegno internazionale, Assisi, 11-13 ottobre 2001*, Atti dei convegni della Società internazionale di studi francescani e del Centro interuniversitario di studi francescani, nuova ser., 12 (Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 2002).

⁹⁰ Bert Roest, 'The Role of Lectors in the Religious Formation of Franciscan Friars, Nuns, and Tertiaries', in *Studio e Studia: Le Scuole Degli Ordini Mendicanti Tra XIII e XIV Secolo. Atti Del XXIX Convegno Internazionale, Assisi, 11-13 Ottobre 2001*. (CISAM, 2002).

⁹¹ Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education (c. 1210-1517)*, 85.

⁹² M. Michèle Mulchahey, 'The Role of the Conventual Schola in Early Dominican Education', in *Studio e Studia: Le Scuole Degli Ordini Mendicanti Tra XIII e XIV Secolo. Atti Del XXIX Convegno Internazionale, Assisi, 11-13 Ottobre 2001*. (CISAM, 2002), 132; A good example of the importance of the production by lectors is in: Emanuele Fontana, 'Luca Lettore da Padova Omin (m. ca. 1287) e i sermoni del codice Antoniano 466', *Il Santo. Rivista francescana di storia, dottrina e arte* 47 (2007): 7–104.

education, exemplary conduct, and pastoral care.⁹³ These students would have been a minimum of 21-23 years old and had to follow a four-year course in theology. If they were sent to a *studium generale* connected to a university, they would have benefitted also from the lectures and exercises that the university provided. After their studies, and around the age of 28, they would have been posted to another house of the order as lectors, passing on their newly acquired knowledge without having acquired a degree in theology.⁹⁴ They would not have produced the sort of writings usually associated with the universities, such as *Sentences* commentaries, commentaries on the Bible or disputed questions. Nonetheless, they would have produced other writings more suited to pastoral care, such as the creation of sermon collections and other preaching aids (such as *distinctiones*).

The Dominicans were the more organized from their beginning and, because of their origin as canons, were much more inclined toward their educational duties. Although the general organisation of the two orders is similar, because of the Franciscan early reliance on Dominican solutions to educational challenges,⁹⁵ the Dominican programme was different. Not only were their *scholae* more organized and overseen by the brethren with a keen eye to the education of younger members of the order (it will suffice to remember William of Tournai's *de instructione puerorum*)⁹⁶ but the Dominicans' difference was also evident at the lectorate level. As Mulchahey has well demonstrated, the student-friars sent to the *studia* were sent in the hope that they would come back to work as conventual lectors, but their study programme was more organized than those of the Franciscans.

While Franciscans chosen for the lectorate programme were expected to follow the courses for a four-year period, Dominicans had to undertake a series of steps in order to acquire the possibility of becoming part of such a programme. After their initial two-year (later three-year) period of studies in a *schola* they had to be selected as *fratres studentes* in order to pursue the higher grades of education in a

⁹³ Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education (c. 1210-1517)*, 89 ff.

⁹⁴ Although it might seem counterintuitive, the Franciscan students enrolled in the lectorate program were not *real university students* and therefore they were not awarded a degree at the end of their four years of study. See: Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education (c. 1210-1517)*, 92.

⁹⁵ Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent in Study*, xi.

⁹⁶ Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent in Study*, 85–97.

provincial *studium*.⁹⁷ The goal of such houses of learning was to form lectors for the lower schools from the ranks of those who had already completed an in-house course on the arts (*studia artium* and *studia naturarum*).⁹⁸ Most of the friars assigned to study at a general *studium* were not sent there to gain a degree in theology.⁹⁹ They were sent to study for a period of three years at most in order to gain further knowledge and become more skilled lectors for the other schools of the order. Indeed, the lectors, along with the masters of students,¹⁰⁰ were the rank and file members of Dominican education and, in this capacity, the veritable motor behind the vast production of lesser known tools for teaching and regular teaching and preaching activity.

It is important to remark that these friars, although learned, were never meant to scale the higher levels of education reached by Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, Thomas Aquinas, Alexander of Hales or Albert the Great. They were the backbone on which the orders could rely in establishing themselves as a valid alternative to the secular masters' courses and to cement their reputation as scholarly-savvy members of the clergy. For example, Stephen of Salagnac and Bernard Gui, in their writing on the famous early members of the Dominican order, did not shy away from including non-masters among their list of *virii illustres in scriptis et doctrinis*, a clear sign of the general consensus among Dominicans that every member of the order could produce important writings, even if they were not masters of theology. An example of this is Jacobus de Voragine, archbishop of Genoa and author of one of the most widespread collections on saints, the Golden Legend; but someone who never reached the highest echelons of learning.¹⁰¹

In conclusion, both orders highly valued the preparation of their members and, during the thirteenth century, devised the best means to impart the necessary knowledge for preaching and combating heresy. As both Roest and Mulchahey have demonstrated in their studies, our attention should

⁹⁷ Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent in Study*, 133, pp. 130–218.

⁹⁸ Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent in Study*, 277.

⁹⁹ Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent in Study*, 383.

¹⁰⁰ The master of students was appointed to work alongside the teacher of the conventual school with the specific task of tutoring and monitoring the students. For a better presentation of the figure of the master of students: Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent in Study*, 39–41 and 188–93.

¹⁰¹ Stephanus de Salaniaco and Bernardus Guidonis, *De quatuor in quibus Deus Praedicatorum Ordinem insignivit*, ed. Thomas Kaeppli, Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum historica 22 (Institutum Historicum Fratrum Praedicatorum, 1949), 36.

be pointed not only toward the great minds that made the orders famous for their intellectual prowess, but also in the direction of those countless lesser-known friars that populated the schools and produced the vast majority of materials that were in use in those schools alongside the better known commentaries on the Bible and the *Sentences*. The next section of this thesis attempts to do so, by finally presenting the figure of Nicolas de Biard, one of those lesser known (at least today) preachers.

Nicolas de Biard. Authorship and lingering questions

Despite his general historical anonymity, Nicolas de Biard, de Byard, de Biarto or de Béarn is a rather well-known name for those interested in the history of preaching. According to nineteenth-century commentators, he stood out among other preachers for his wittiness and ability to speak in an unusually low rhetorical register, as more suited for the uneducated masses. A striking feature of his preaching was the employment of a large number of proverbs in Old French and the search for simple and effective similitudes that could deliver the message of the Gospel in an uncomplicated way.

Nicolas was the author of two model sermon collections, *de tempore* and *de festis*, and of two preaching aids, the *Distinctiones seu conceptus predicabilis* and the *Summa de abstinentia* also known as *Dictionarium pauperum*, a preaching aid once so famous it was printed in 1480.¹⁰² However, the figure of Nicolas himself has not retained the same renown as some of his works. At times he has been called French, English, or Portuguese. Said to be living in the thirteenth or at the start of the fifteenth century, it is no surprise that Bataillon considered him an enigmatic figure. Although no scholarly work has focused solely on him, his name recurs throughout the centuries in catalogues of ecclesiastical authors.¹⁰³

¹⁰² Delmas mentions a dozen of print edition for the *Summa* between 1480 and 1518: Sophie Delmas, 'La *Summa de Abstinentia* Attribuée à Nicolas de Biard : Circulation et Réception', in *Entre Stabilité et Itinérance*, ed. Nicole Bériou et al., *Bibliologia* 37 (Brepols, 2014), 310.

¹⁰³ Giovanni Giacinto Sbaraglia and Lucas Wadding, *Supplementum et castigatio ad scriptores trium ordinum S. Francisci a Waddingo aliisve descriptos; cum adnotationibus ad Syllabum martyrum eorundem ordinum. Opus posthumum fr. Jo. Hyacinthi Sbaraleae* (ex typographia S. Michaelis ad ripam apud Linum Contedini, 1806), 553; Jacques Échard and Jacques Quétif, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum recensiti, notisque historicis et criticis illustrati* (Ballard et Simart, 1719), 1:123–25; Amédée Teetaert, 'Nicolas de Byard', in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, XI, ed. Alfred Vacant et al. (Letouzey et Ané, 1931), cols 589–592; Nicole Bériou, 'Nicolas de Biard', in *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises. Le Moyen Âge*, ed. Robert Bossuat et al., *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises* (Fayard, 1992), 1062; Daunou et al., *Histoire littéraire de la France*, ed. Académie des inscriptions & Belles-Lettres (Imprimerie nationale, 1835), 18:530–31; C. Schmitt, 'Nicolas de Byard', in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, XI, ed. M. Viller (G. Beauchesne, 1982), cols 254–255; Lecoy de la Marche, *La chaire Française au Moyen Âge. Spécialement au XIIIe siècle*, 134–35; Victor LeClerc, 'Robert Wimi Prémontré.

Always remembered as *frater*, Nicolas de Biard ought to have been affiliated to one of the mendicant orders birthed during the thirteenth century. However, he did not leave any direct document that could aid in identifying him, and because there are no prologues to his writings, we rely solely on third-party accounts of him which, in reality, are of little or no use in discovering information about him. Nonetheless, his name figures alongside known preachers such as Robert de Sorbon, Nicolas Gorran or Hugh of St Cher, which makes it something of a surprise that nothing about his life has been preserved. His works were available for sale through the official *pecia system* of the University of Paris, which made him an author to whom a vast number of students and clerics could have had access. Nonetheless, his fame was not enough to preserve a clear idea of his life and achievements.

The three following sections will assess the timeframe in which Nicolas was active in Paris, the evidence supporting a Dominican affiliation, and that supporting a Franciscan one. Each is based on a thorough review of past literature and, in some cases, on the further evidence that the production of a critical edition has allowed me to uncover.

When was Nicolas de Biard active? Establishing a timeframe.

According to the scholarly tradition, Nicolas was active during the middle or the third quarter of the thirteenth century.¹⁰⁴ This probable dating might be complemented by looking into the evidence of his preaching provided by the text of the *de festis* sermon collection and the use that other preachers made of Nicolas' body of work. This section thus provides a series of contextual proofs for his activity as a preacher that can be found in scholarly literature and mined from the text of the critical edition provided by this research.

The first terminus *post quem* was identified by Hauréau with the mention of the fall of the city of Damietta in June 1249 in one of Nicolas' sermons.¹⁰⁵ The fall of the city into the hands of the crusaders

Auteur ou copiste de sermons', in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, ed. Académie des inscriptions & Belles-Lettres, vol. 21, ed. D. M. Daunou et al. (Imprimerie nationale, 1847), 164–66; Thomas Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, III I-S (Istituto Storico Domenicano, 1970), 148–53.

¹⁰⁴ Bériou, under 'Nicolas de Biard', 1062; Schmitt, under 'DS', col. 255; Teetaert, under 'Dictionnaire de théologie catholique', cols 589–592.

¹⁰⁵ BnF lat. 12419, f. 113va: "Ps. [97, 1] *Cantate Domino canticum novum quia mirabilia fecit. Nota conditiones captionis Damiete*".

during the Seventh Crusade marked a decisive victory for Louis IX and it was hailed as a demonstration of the righteousness of the cause.¹⁰⁶ Hauréau was not too sure about the timeframe in which Nicolas operated and opted for placing him closer to the middle of the century, thus proposing to elongate his life until, at least, the capture of the city.¹⁰⁷ Nonetheless, in the following paragraphs, the exposition of the evidence pushing for a later timeframe will prove that Nicolas should be counted among the preachers of the second half of the century.

The fact that Nicolas was active during the sixties of the thirteenth century is supported by evidence concerning his sources in the making of his sermons and his other two works. For example, his sermon for the feast of St Peter and St Paul (Sermon XXX, *RLS* IV, n° 178), which is based on the fifth sermon of the collection on death attributed to the Franciscan Guibert de Tournai († 1284).¹⁰⁸ The sermon in question is part of a collection bearing the title *De morte non timenda*, comprised of eight sermons which are believed to have been written before 1259. Even though this timeframe cannot be definitely confirmed, we know that Guibert was in Paris teaching at the Franciscan *studium* in 1259-1261. Furthermore, even after leaving his duties as regent master, he was active in Paris until he died in 1284, a long period of time during which the work circulated, and thus rendering it possible that Nicolas could have had access to it to use in his model sermons.¹⁰⁹ Secondly, it seems that Nicolas borrowed from the sermons of Eustache of Arras († before 1276), master in theology at the University of Paris. This evidence, uncovered by S. Delmas in her study of the figure of Eustache, highlights Nicolas' dependency on Eustache in devising both his later works, the *Distinctiones* and *Summa de Abstinencia*. The *Distinctiones* contain the rubric 118 *Cognoscere in Deo debemus* which depends on Eustache's sermon 1, as found in Paris ms. BnF, lat. 15034, ff. 147va-150vb. In the *Summa*, entry 73 *De misericordia*, borrows substantial passages

¹⁰⁶ On the reception of the capture of Damietta: Jacques Monfrin, 'Joinville et la prise de Damiette (1249)', *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'année - Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 120, no. 2 (1976): 268–85.

¹⁰⁷ "C'est avec un peu d'hésitation que les bibliographes prolongent la vie de Nicolas de Biard jusqu'en l'année 1250", Barthélemy Hauréau, *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1891), 2:90.

¹⁰⁸ The usage of other authors' works in his own model sermons will be further analysed in the third chapter.

¹⁰⁹ For a more in-depth account of the life, works and ethos of Guibert de Tournai I refer to: Burghart, 'Remploi textuel, invention et art de la mémoire : les Sermones ad status du franciscain Guibert de Tournai (†1284)'; Baudouin D'Amsterdam, 'Guibert de Tournai, frère mineur, † 1284', in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité, ascétique et mystique, doctrine et histoire*, vol. 6 (Beauchesne, 1967); Guibert of Tournai, *Guiberti Tornacensis De morte ; De septem verbis Domini in cruce*, ed. Charles Munier, *Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis* 242 (Brepols, 2011).

from a sermon preserved in Paris ms. BnF, lat. 16482, ff. 78vb-80ra on the same theme.¹¹⁰ Eustache, like Guibert de Tournai, was a Franciscan educated at the Franciscan *studium* in Paris where he had the opportunity to study under the supervision of Bonaventure and Guibert de Tournai himself and became, by the end of the 1260s, master in theology at the University of Paris.¹¹¹

The third element for a correct periodization is provided by the *reportationes* of Pierre de Limoges and Jean d'Essômes.¹¹² The former took notes of the preaching he heard in the years 1260-1261 and recorded some of Nicolas de Biard's sermons.¹¹³ The latter, Jean d'Essômes,¹¹⁴ a master of the University of Paris from 1278, left some of his manuscripts to the Sorbonne's library, most of which were autograph. Among those, a series of four manuscripts, Paris ms. BnF, lat. 16496-16499 include Biard's sermons. Both Pierre and Jean died not long one after one another, between 1306 and 1310. Furthermore, some of Nicolas' *de tempore* sermons were copied by Robert de Sorbon († 1274) himself in ms. Paris, BnF, lat. 15954.¹¹⁵

The fourth piece of evidence is provided by the direct dependence of a sermon of bishop Ranulphe de la Houblonnière († 1288) on one of Nicolas' sermons. Ranulphe, in his sermon for the third Sunday of Lent of 12 March 1273, employs sections of a *de tempore* model sermon by Biard (RLS IV, n° 58).¹¹⁶ The use of Nicolas' model sermons by the bishop of Paris represents the last piece in dating Nicolas' life because it ties it with the dissemination of his model sermons within the University of Paris through the *pecia* system.

¹¹⁰ Sophie Delmas, *Un Franciscain à Paris Au Milieu Du XIIIe Siècle: Le Maître En Théologie Eustache d'Arras*, Histoire, Biographie (Cerf, 2010), 320–26.

¹¹¹ Delmas, *Un Franciscain à Paris Au Milieu Du XIIIe Siècle*, 48–55; 59–68.

¹¹² Madeleine Mabille, 'Pierre de Limoges, copiste de manuscrits', *Scriptorium* 24, no. 1 (1970): 45–47.

¹¹³ Specifically in ms. BnF, lat. 15971, ff. 80va-82va. Further analysis in: Bataillon, 'Approaches', 20; Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres*, 668–69.

¹¹⁴ Madeleine Mabille, 'Les manuscrits de Jean d'Essômes conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris', *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 130, no. 1 (1972): 231–34, <https://doi.org/10.3406/bec.1972.449918>.

¹¹⁵ L. J. Bataillon, 'Sur quelques sermons de Saint Bonaventure', in *La prédication au XIIIe siècle en France et Italie* (Variorum, 1993), 490–99.

¹¹⁶ Bériou, *La prédication de Ranulphe de la Houblonnière*, 73; Nicole Bériou, 'Ranulphe de la Houblonnière, évêque de Paris, † 1288.', in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, Ascétique et Mystique, Doctrine et Histoire*, vol. 13 (Beauchesne, 1988).

According to the taxation lists of 1275 and 1303, Nicolas' works were part of the *pecia* catalogue from at least the 1270s.¹¹⁷ However, the 1275 list does not mention either the *Distinctiones* or the *Summa de Abstinencia*. Therefore, assuming that Nicolas was the author of both, he must have still been active in the years following the first list. This is further corroborated by the fact that the *Distinctiones* develop some themes found in the sermons and are sometimes completely dependent on the sermon texts, thus establishing a dependence between the two works. Furthermore, the *Summa de Abstinencia* can certainly be dated between 1275 and 1296. Its terminus *ante quem* can be settled by the presence of a dated manuscript¹¹⁸ but, as Bataillon has pointed out, the fact that Nicolas de Gorran († 1295) had used Biard's text suggests an earlier date of production.¹¹⁹ Thus, it is possible to advance the hypothesis, according to the evidence presented, that Nicolas de Biard was active as a preacher starting in the 1260s and continuing at least until the mid-1290s.

Assuming he had been educated according to the organization of mendicant schooling described above, I would imagine that Nicolas de Biard had already completed the lectorate course when Peter de Limoges recorded his sermons. If so, Nicolas must have been at least 23 or 28 years old in order to have acquired the necessary skills of a *lector*.¹²⁰ Thus, assuming an admission into the order at a young age, if this evidence for his preaching is to be trusted and the years 1260-1295 are to be considered the timeframe of his preaching and literary production in Paris, it is possible to conclude that Nicolas might have been born in the 1230s.

Having put aside the chronology of his activity, we must now examine his religious affiliation. Nicolas is always recorded as a friar in manuscript witnesses, and he did not hold any university position in Paris. He could have been a Dominican, a Franciscan or an Augustinian friar. His affiliation has been

¹¹⁷ Giovanna Murano, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*, Textes et Etudes du Moyen Âge 29 (Brepols, 2005), 88, 123.

¹¹⁸ Ms. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. Lat. 57.

¹¹⁹ L. J. Bataillon, 'Intermédiaires entre les traités de morale pratique et les sermons: les "distinctiones" biblique alphabétiques', in *Les genres littéraires dans les sources théologiques et philosophiques médiévales, Actes du Colloque internationale de Louvain-la-Neuve, 25-27 mai 1981*, ed. Robert Bultot (Université catholique de Louvain, 1982), 215.

¹²⁰ Roest, 'The Role of Lectors in the Religious Formation of Franciscan Friars, Nuns, and Tertiaries', 90.

a matter of debate since his death. For the purpose of this research, I will present the case for each of the first two orders, which are considered to be the most probable.¹²¹

A Dominican?

The claim to Dominican affiliation is the only one based on the words of a semi-contemporary of Nicolas de Biard. In his continuation of the work of Stephen of Salagnac († 1291), Bernard Gui († 1331) presents Nicolas de Biard in the third section dedicated to the men of the Order famous for their doctrine and works:

*Fr. Nicholaus de Byardo, Gallicus, sermones et distinctiones utiles et morales, item summam de abstinentia.*¹²²

The catalogue of Dominican authors was presented to Aymeric of Plaisance on 22 December 1304. This has since been considered irrefutable proof for Nicolas' Dominican affiliation and it is indeed a remarkable piece of evidence. Strangely though, the name of Nicolas is not present in any subsequent catalogue of Dominican authors, thus raising the suspicion that Bernard Gui could have appropriated Nicolas de Biard, a prominent and known author, for his order.¹²³ Nonetheless, it is difficult to imagine that Bernard Gui could have mistakenly added a name to his list. After all, his thoroughness and attention to documents have been appreciated through time and by both Dominicans and Franciscans alike.¹²⁴ Moreover, S. Delmas has pointed out that a manuscript copy of the *Distinctiones*, preserved in Innsbrück, mentions a certain "*fratrem Nicholaum de ordine fratrum predicatorum*".¹²⁵ However, this Austrian manuscript, which is identified as a late fourteenth-century production, could have been copied in a Dominican environment in which the work of Bernard was known. If the scribe simply copied the *Distinctiones* already believing, thanks to Bernard Gui, that Nicolas de Biard was a Dominican, the attribution should not be

¹²¹ For the history of the different attributions and for an analysis of the bibliography surrounding the subject I refer to the dictionary entries of Teetaert and Bériou. The former especially presents a chronology of attributions throughout the Sixteenth-Nineteenth centuries Teetaert, under 'Dictionnaire de théologie catholique', cols 589–590; Bériou, under 'Nicolas de Biard', 1062.

¹²² Stephanus de Salaniaco and Bernardus Guidonis, *De quatuor*, 36.

¹²³ H. D. Simonin, 'Notes de Bibliographie Dominicaine, II: Les Anciens Catalogues d'écrivains Dominicains et La Chronique de Bernard Gui', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* IX (1939): 194.

¹²⁴ For example, A. G. Little recognized his 'true appreciation of the value of diplomatic documents'. Stephanus de Salaniaco and Bernardus Guidonis, *De quatuor*, XXXIV note 62.

¹²⁵ The ms. is Innsbrück, Universitätsbibliothek 296, at ff. 3va-4rb; Delmas, 'La *Summa de Abstinentia* Attribuée à Nicolas de Biard', 303.

considered as definitive proof. Furthermore, we should allow for mistakes in Gui's own work. He could have mistakenly identified Nicolas as a Dominican, knowingly or not, for a number of reasons, including, the renown that came from having another well-known author among the ranks of the order.

One piece of evidence that could provide an argument for a Dominican affiliation could be the liturgical order of Nicolas' model sermon collections. This approach has been proposed by Bataillon and O'Carroll and will be further analysed in the following chapter.¹²⁶ However, another consideration has to be presented here. Nicolas' *de tempore* collection seems to follow the Dominican liturgy in the choice of biblical pericopes. Although this finding might be seen as a more concrete proof of his affiliation, it has to be noted that the *de festis* collection, on which this thesis focuses, does not present any kind of Dominican connotation in the choice of saints or feasts. According to the literature, the Franciscans sometimes seemed to adopt a *mimetic* approach in producing preaching aids to appeal to non-Franciscan audiences, a fact that has been noted even for other collections such as the *collectiones fratrum*, in which the Franciscan author inserted a sermon with a theme (*mortuus est dives*, Luc. 16, 22) that was usually read by Dominicans on the first Sunday after the Octave of Pentecost.¹²⁷ Furthermore, given the lack of a prologue for any of Nicolas' works, the possibility that his sermons were organized in such an order by a Dominican copyist should both be dismissed. Nonetheless, the motive for employing the Dominican cycle of pericopes relies on the fact that the Dominican liturgy was also used by the secular clergy, which suggests that the collection was produced with a particular audience and use in mind, and thus does not necessarily confirm the idea that Nicolas de Biard was a Dominican.

Although the arguments for a Dominican affiliation are rooted in the authority of the text of Bernard Gui and the liturgical organization of the *de tempore* collection, they must be viewed for what they

¹²⁶ Bataillon, 'Approaches', 20; Maura O'Carroll, 'The Lectionary for the Proper of the Year in the Dominican and Franciscan Rites of the Thirteenth Century', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* XLIX (1979): 79–103.

¹²⁷ David L. d'Avray, 'Collectiones Fratrum and Collationes Fratrum', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* LXX (1977): 153. Although it has to be pointed out that neither the collection of William of Mailly OP and the Dominican sermones Allebatensis include a sermon with that *thema*.

are – a second-hand account of the facts supported by later evidence. The next section, by contrast, will present the argument for a Franciscan affiliation based on a mixture of first- and second-hand evidence.

A Franciscan?

The evidence for a Franciscan affiliation is mostly based on three different instances of material evidence and on intrinsic elements of Nicolas’ sermons. Three manuscripts, all of them allegedly made between 1275-1330, present Nicolas as a Franciscan. The first two are witnesses preserving the *Distinctiones* and both describe him as a Franciscan friar.¹²⁸ The third presents a more complex attribution that I am inclined to quote in order



Figure 1 ms. Paris BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 2032, f. 1ra

to support this thesis. I am referring to Paris ms. BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 2032, a manuscript employed in this thesis for the critical edition of Nicolas’ *de festis* sermons.¹²⁹ It is the only manuscript containing both of Nicolas’ model sermon collections that presents a highly illuminated first folio. During the nineteenth century, the manuscript (fig. 1) was part of the library collection of collector and art dealer Ambroise Firmin-Didot, who in 1882 described the manuscript in a catalogue for potential buyers. The first initial “P” is described as: “l’initiale P de ce premier sermon renferme une miniature très fine représentant Nicolas de Biart, en habit de frère mineur, prêchant devant un auditoire assez nombreux”.¹³⁰ The manuscript’s history reveals that it was copied in Paris through the University *pecia* system, not very long after the late works of Nicolas de Biard (*Distinctiones* and *Summa de abstinentia*) began to circulate, a fact that makes the conclusion of a Franciscan affiliation more probable. However, the decoration should not be considered

¹²⁸ Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 1024, f. 1ra: “Incipiunt distinctiones fratris Nicolai de Biarto ordinis fratri minorum”. The text of the *Distinctiones* is preserved at ff. 1r-186v. New Haven, Yale University Library, Beinecke 669, f. 165v : “Expliciunt distinctiones fratris Biardi ordinis fratrum minorum et pertinent [...]”. Probably made between 1300 and 1325 according to the catalogue.

¹²⁹ The manuscript will be analysed with the other witnesses of the collection in detail in the next chapter.

¹³⁰ *Catalogue des livres précieux, manuscrits et imprimés faisant partie de la bibliothèque de M. Ambroise Firmin-Didot de l’Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Théologie — Jurisprudence — Sciences — Arts — Beaux-arts. Vente à l’Hôtel des commissaires-priseurs, rue Drouot, n° 9. — Salle n° 3, du lundi 12 au samedi 17 juin 1882...* (Paris: Typographie Firmin-Didot et Cie, 1882), <http://archive.org/details/cataloguefirminididot4>.

as conclusive evidence because it could have been commissioned from an artist near a Franciscan environment or long after the copying of the text or it simply as representing a general type of preacher without any particular affiliation in mind.¹³¹

I would conclude that, although the elements for a Franciscan attribution on the basis of the description of the manuscript's content outnumber those in favour of a Dominican one, it is the intrinsic evidence in the sermons that presents a more robust case in favour of Nicolas as a Franciscan. Indeed, Nicolas' own words seem more compelling than any external evidence. Hauréau¹³² was the first to point out that one of Nicolas sermons explicitly mentioned his entry into the Franciscan order:

Fourthly, was the fact that he accepted the law and similarly in religion we accepted the law of charity. Such as in the desert God gave them the *exemplar* so as they could do what was written in it, similarly to us in religion he gave the *exemplar* of his poverty and passion, such as St. Francis. That exemplar was written to match the exemplar of Christ. Because he had nothing in his heart if not Christ's humility, poverty and passion. [Thus] we must respect this exemplar and act in accordance to it.¹³³

This excerpt would seem to prove that Nicolas at least considered himself to have been inspired by the figure of St Francis, thus making more probable a Franciscan affiliation. But Hauréau's finding has been put under scrutiny for a series of cautionary reasons. The first of these is the lack of other decisive evidence, as pointed out by Wilmart.¹³⁴ The second, which I find more compelling, was proposed by Bataillon, who pointed out that the sermon analysed by Hauréau is not part of Nicolas' "authentic

¹³¹ It has to be noted that usually the presence of *pecia* indications, such as in this case, is considered evidence for the copying to have been done in Paris. Bériou and d'Avray, *Modern Questions*, 13.

¹³² Hauréau, *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 2:91.

¹³³ Sermon RLS IV, n° 48, ms. Paris, BnF, lat. 12419, f. 121ra: "*Quartum fuit quod legem accepit et similiter in religione accepimus legem caritatis. Sicut in deserto tradidit eis Dominus exemplar ut quod scriptum erat in eo facerent, similiter nobis in religione tradidit sua paupertatis, suae passionis exemplar, scilicet beatum Franciscum. Illud exemplar fuit scriptum ad exemplar Christi. Quia nullus in corde suo ita scriptam habuit Christi humilitatem, paupertatem et passionem. Hoc exemplar debemus respicere et huic nos conformare.*"

¹³⁴ It has to be noted that one of the critiques moved by Wilmart to Hauréau's work is the lack of consistency in his identification. It is true that at times (vols. I p. 206; II, p. 275; III, p. 114) he identified Nicolas as a Dominican but we should keep in mind the gargantuan enterprise of Hauréau's work and thus forgive him for his lack of consistency. André Wilmart, 'Un répertoire d'exégèse composé en Angleterre vers le début du XIIIe siècle', in *Mémorial Lagrange. Cinquantenaire de l'école biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem (15 novembre 1890 - 15 novembre 1940)*, ed. L. H. Vincent (J. Gabalda, 1940), 343–44.

work.”¹³⁵ Indeed, sermon *RLS* 48 is not part of either the *de tempore* or the *de festis* collection of Nicolas, a fact that raises some doubts about its authenticity.

It has to be noted though, that one sermon in the *de festis* collection, on which this thesis focuses, explicitly refers to St Francis.¹³⁶ This fact cannot be considered conclusive evidence since it is not an uncommon thing for thirteenth-century preachers to do so, but in the small *de festis* collection of Nicolas there is no mention of St Dominic whereas St Francis is well remembered as the perfect example to use in a sermon in honour of a confessor. Of course, reverence for the figure of St Francis was not unique to the Franciscan order. Indeed, both mendicant and seculars authors paid respect to the figure of St Francis, which is apparent in the numerous sermons that have come to us.¹³⁷ Nonetheless, it is striking that in such a small collection there could not have been a place for the founder of the Dominican order if Nicolas were to be a Dominican.

Moreover, it should not be overlooked that Nicolas de Biard seems to have used, and copied, sources that originated in a Franciscan environment. The aforementioned sermon on death by Guibert de Tournai is an example, to which could be added the sermons of John of La Rochelle († 1245),¹³⁸ and Eustache of Arras, as well as the close proximity to another model sermon author active in the same years, Peter of St Benedict.¹³⁹ All four of them were Franciscans and active preachers in the city of Paris at different times, starting in the 1230s. In the case of Peter of St Benedict, the points of contact should be noted in full, as they were already uncovered by Bataillon, who also contributed to the identification of three cases in which the double attribution to Peter and Nicolas was erroneous.¹⁴⁰ Peter of St Benedict is, like Nicolas, a rather unknown figure of the preaching environment of thirteenth-century Paris. We know that he was the author of three model sermon collections: *de tempore*, *de sanctis* and *de communi sanctorum*. His collections were part of the list of works available for sale at the Parisian *stationarii* in 1275

¹³⁵ Bataillon, ‘Approaches’, 33 note 42.

¹³⁶ Sermon VI *RLS* IV 220 “*Iustum deduxit Dominus*” for a confessor.

¹³⁷ A good example of this trend is well presented in: Aleksander Horowski, *Repertorium sermonum latinorum mediæ ævi ad laudem sancti Francisci Assisiensis*, Subsidia scientifica Franciscalia 13 (Istituto storico dei Cappuccini, 2013); Jacques-Guy Bougerol, ‘Initia Latinorum Sermonum Ad Laudem s. Francisci’, *Antonianum*, no. 57 (1982): 706–94.

¹³⁸ One example extracted from the *de festis* sermons is sermon *RLS* IV n° 191 which is a copy of John of La Rochelle’s sermon *RLS* III n° 133 in honour of St Francis.

¹³⁹ David L. d’Avray, ‘Pierre de Saint-Benoît, frère mineur, 13e siècle.’, in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, vol. 12 (Beauchesne, 1984).

¹⁴⁰ Bataillon, ‘Sur quelques sermons de Saint Bonaventure’, 497–99 Particularly page 499, note 16.

and the current hypothesis is that he was active between 1252 and 1275. From an analysis of ms. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. Lat. ant. 92 (ff. 7ra-171ra) and ms. Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, 585 (ff. 8ra-285rb) we can note that he adhered strictly to the Franciscan liturgical sequence in choosing his *themata* and did not include the *thema mortuus est dives* (Luc. 16, 22) that other Franciscan collections, such as the *Collectiones Fratrum* and the allegedly Franciscan *Abiciamus* by Thomas Brito, included.¹⁴¹ In Peter of St Benedict's collection, out of 200 sermons, twenty-one can be recognized also as part of Biard's own production as the following table makes clear:

<i>RLS</i> number and classification	<i>Thema</i>	Biard's <i>RLS</i> referencing
5 T1	Leuate capita uestra (Luc. 21, 28)	11 T2
39 T19	Cum ieiunasset (Matth. 4, 2)	49 T19
58 T26	Christus passus est (1 Petr. 2, 21)	92 T30
90 T40	Deum time et mandata (Eccli. 12,13)	110 T41
157 S30	Super montem excelsum ascende (Is. 40,9)	172 S30
158 S32	Qui me inuenerit (Prou. 8, 35)	175 S33
159 S35	Potestis bibere (Matth. 20,22)	173 S32
161 S49	Maria optimam partem elegit (Luc. 10,42)	179 S49
225 C6	Aperuit os eius (Eccli. 15, 5)	235 C8
227 C7	Uos inquit estis lux (Matth. 5, 14)	210 C2
228 C7/229 C7	Lex ueritatis fuit (Mal. 2, 6)	211 C2
232 C7	Estote parati quia (Luc. 12, 40)	224 C7
233 C7	Beati sunt servi illi quos (Luc. 12, 37)	225 C7
234 C8	Quinque ex illis erant (Matth. 25, 2)	229 C8 (in ms. BnF lat. 15954 Robert de Sorbon ascribes it to Nicolas de Biard)
235 C8	Prudentes virgines (Matth. 25, 4)	230 C8
236 C8	Ecce sponsus (Matth. 25, 6)	231 C8
237 C8	Que parate erant (Matth. 25, 10)	232 C8
238 C8	Adducentur regi virgines (Ps. 44, 15)	236 C8
239 C8	Despondi nos (2. Cor. 11, 2)	233 C8 (in ms. BnF lat. 15954 Robert de Sorbon ascribes it to Nicolas de Biard)
240 C8	Fortitudo et décor (Prov. 31, 25)	228 C8 (Sermo XXVII)
242 C8	Domine voluntate tua (Ps. 29, 8)	234 C8 (in ms. BnF lat. 15954 Robert de Sorbon ascribes it to Nicolas de Biard)

Table 1. Points of contact between Peter of St Benedict and Nicolas de Biard

According to D'Avray, who himself relies on the judgement of Longère, Peter should be considered the more original of the two and, therefore, the source of Nicolas' sermons.¹⁴² Nonetheless,

¹⁴¹ The sermons *mortuus est dives* can be found in: Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 823, ff. 179vb-180vb (Thomas Brito); and Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 1215, f. 64ra-64rb (*Collectiones Fratrum*). On the figure of Thomas Brito there is scarce information. The *RLS* ascribes his sermons to Thomas de Lisle, a Dominican preacher of the fourteenth century although the name of Brito is mentioned in the taxation list of 1275.

¹⁴² d'Avray, under 'DS', col. 1667; Longère, *La prédication*, 150.

as the table shows, Robert de Sorbon himself ascribes some of the sermons to Nicolas de Biard, thus suggesting that some borrowings were made; but it could have been the case that both preachers relied on one other's work in a bidirectional fashion.

In the light of the evidence presented thus far, Nicolas de Biard could have indeed been a Dominican friar borrowing from the other side of the "classroom", but the frequent reliance on Franciscan materials for the development of his own sermons raises some doubts about the matter. It is my belief that, although undoubtedly Dominican from a liturgical point of view, Nicolas' collection seems to have been developed in an environment in which Franciscans and Dominicans collaborated intensely.

Chapter II

In the preacher's laboratory: assessing the material

The *pecia* system

During the thirteenth century the development of the University of Paris bolstered the demand for ready-made books for the increasingly large student population of the city. This new environment, filled with people eager to learn the most advanced and authoritative practices in law, theology and other subjects gave rise to a lively book market that flourished around medieval universities, especially in Bologna and Paris.¹ These centres of higher education still relied on classical systems of manuscript copying in order to produce and disseminate the vast production of their scholars. Although a shift from monastic to secular book makers occurred, copying texts during the Middle Ages was a fatiguing process both in terms of finances and time.² Thus it is no surprise that new ways to deal with the problem had to be found. As the Rouses have demonstrated, the University of Paris was at the forefront of this change in methodology for the dissemination of knowledge through the devising of what became known as the *pecia* system, from the Latin word for 'piece'. This signature element of the university book market employed a new standardised technique to allow multiple scribes to copy a text at the same time.³ Furthermore, it enabled the University to have a stricter control over the materials that were deemed to be of a sufficiently high standard for circulation among students, as can be seen from the entry concerning *pecia* in the *Chartularium*:

Furthermore, because great expenses come from corrupted and erroneous exemplars,
we order that the aforementioned booksellers (*librarii*) swear to take good care and

¹ Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, 'The Book Trade at the University of Paris, ca. 1250-ca. 1350', in *La Production Du Livre Universitaire Au Moyen Age: Exemplar et Pecia*, ed. L. J. Bataillon et al. (Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1988), 41–114.

² Kouky Fianu, 'The Book Trade in the Middle Ages: The Parisian Case', in *The Oxford Handbook of Latin Palaeography*, ed. Frank T. Coulson and Robert G. Babcock (Oxford University Press, 2020), 724.

³ Rouse and Rouse, 'The Book Trade at the University of Paris, ca. 1250-ca. 1350'; Jean-Pierre Gumbert, 'Quelques remarques autour de la pecia', *Gazette du livre médiéval* 15, no. 1 (1989): 8–11.

proper attention with all necessary diligence and work in order to have good and correct exemplars and that they are not to ask for more than the just and temperate price, or that indicated by the University, for their exemplars.”⁴

Following the research of Richard and Mary Rouse, it is important to recall how our knowledge of this system has developed and on what sources it is based. Rather than attempting to understand the book market of Paris with the sole aid of the official documents of the University, Jean Destrez uncovered the important ties between the University and the book traders that inhabited the *quartier Latin* in the city. In his *La pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIII^e et du XIV^e siècle*, Destrez examined thousands of manuscripts that looked to have been produced in the Parisian environment, in order to uncover their similarities in production.⁵ Other scholars have noted that his findings were astonishing not only for the clarity they shed on the university book market in the Middle Ages, but also for the sheer amount of data that was thoroughly examined. Unfortunately, Destrez faced a backlash from his contemporaries for the importance that he gave to his discovery.⁶ Nonetheless, it is difficult to argue with the scale of the thirteenth-century revolution in study practices uncovered by him.

The practicality of the system was a turning point in manuscript-making that not only answered the needs of students, but also allowed the development of better practices in book-vending and the artisanal work related to it.⁷ Gumbert noted that the new system was not, at first glance, different from the *distribution* system employed in certain *scriptoria* since the ninth century, by which the same manuscript was copied simultaneously by different scribes. However, in the *distributive* system the final product would have been a single new manuscript. Using the *pecia* system, different scribes could work on the same texts at the same time with the intent of producing the same number of copies as there were scribes.⁸ This was

⁴ Denifle and Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, 1:533: ‘Item quoniam ex corruptis exemplaribus et mendosis dispendia multa proveniunt, statuimus quod dicti librarii jurent se prestaturos curam et opam efficacem cum omni diligencia et lebere quod exemplaria vera habeant et correcta et quod pro exemplaribus aliquid ultra justum et moderatum salarium vel mercedem seu ultra id quod ab Universitate vel deputatis ab ea taxatum fuerit non exigant a quocunque.’

⁵ Jean Destrez, *La pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIII^e et du XIV^e siècle* (Éditions Jacques Vautrain, 1935).

⁶ Guy Fink-Errera, ‘Une institution du monde médiéval : la « pecia »’, *Revue Philosophique de Louvain* 60, no. 66 (1962): 187–88.

⁷ Fianu, ‘The Book Trade in the Middle Ages’, 728–30.

⁸ Gumbert, ‘Quelques remarques autour de la pecia’, 8–9.

done by the creation of a base manuscript (*exemplar*) which was subdivided into *peciae* and then put on the market as available for borrowing, piece by piece, by students and scribes. The *pecia* system was thus not only a smart and practical method to subdivide labour and speed up the reproduction market, but also a rather useful example of market regulation, so much so that it may be described as a true cornerstone of the University.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, during the thirteenth century a drive toward a form of institutional centralization pushed the university masters to pass reforms and regulation that would organize the complex political and social lives of students and professors. The organization of the book trade to produce textbooks of standard quality became a distinctive part of the process of regulation that the University of Paris put in place during the thirteenth century. Even though the *pecia* system itself was not a definitive solution for assuring study materials of the best quality, thus ultimately failing in its goal,⁹ the flourishing studies on this phenomenon have contributed to place it firmly at the forefront of studies on medieval university culture and codicological analysis.¹⁰

The official status and level of formalization of the system is best exemplified by two lists of books that had to be approved by the University for the book market of Paris. These lists are called

⁹ On the possibility of incorrect *exemplar* available on the market see: David L. d'Avray, 'Contamination, Stemmatics and the Editing of Medieval Latin Texts', in *Ars Edendi Lecture Series*, vol. 2, ed. Alessandra Bucossi and Erika Kihlman, with Humanistiska fakulteten Ars edendi et al., Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 58 (Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, 2012), 74.

¹⁰ For more information on the *pecia* system see: Jean Destrez and Marie-Dominique Chenu, '*Exemplaria* universitaires des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles', *Scriptorium* 7 (1953): 68–80; Rouse and Rouse, 'The Book Trade at the University of Paris, ca. 1250-ca. 1350'; Fink-Errera, 'Une institution du monde médiéval'; L. J. Bataillon, 'Le fonds Jean Destrez - Guy Fink Errera à la Bibliothèque du Saulchoir', in *La Production du livre universitaire au Moyen Âge: exemplar et pecia*, ed. L. J. Bataillon et al. (Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1988); Leonard E. Boyle, 'Peciae, Apopeciae, and a Toronto Manuscript of the Sententia Libri Ethicorum of Aquinas', in *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture: Proceedings of the Oxford International Symposium 26 September - 1 October 1982*, ed. Peter Ganz, Bibliologia 3 (Brepols, 1986); Hugues V. Shooner, 'La production du livre par la pecia', in *La Production du livre universitaire au Moyen Âge: exemplar et pecia: actes du symposium tenu au Collegio San Bonaventura de Grottaferrata en mai 1983*, ed. L. J. Bataillon et al. (Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1988); Giulio Battelli, 'La pecia e la critica del testo dei manoscritti universitari medievali', in *Scritti scelti* (Multigrafica Editrice, 1975); Giulio Battelli, 'Osservazioni sull'*Exemplar*', in *La Production du livre universitaire au Moyen Âge: exemplar et pecia: actes du symposium tenu au Collegio San Bonaventura de Grottaferrata en mai 1983*, ed. L. J. Bataillon et al. (Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1988); Albert Broutns, 'Nouvelles précisions sur la « pecia » [À propos de l'édition léonine du commentaire de Thomas d'Aquin sur l'Éthique d'Aristote]: À propos de l'édition léonine du commentaire de Thomas d'Aquin sur l'Éthique d'Aristote', *Scriptorium* 24, no. 2 (1970): 343–59; Jos Decorte, 'Les indications explicites et implicites de pieces dans les manuscrits medievau', in *La Production du livre universitaire au Moyen Âge: exemplar et pecia: actes du symposium tenu au Collegio San Bonaventura de Grottaferrata en mai 1983*, ed. L. J. Bataillon et al. (Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1988); Alison Ray, 'The Pecia System and Its Use in the Cultural Milieu of Paris, C1250-1330' (Doctoral Thesis, University College London, 2015); Alison Ray, 'Intellectual Exchange: English Users of the Paris Pecia System, 1250-1330', *Pecia* 19 (January 2016): 7–48.

taxation lists because they report the price (*taxatio*) that was due for borrowing each *pecia* (piece, a section of text) and the number of *peciae* which comprised any one work. Each *pecia* would have been borrowed from a special kind of merchant-librarian named a *stationarius* - not a common bookseller but someone recognized officially by the University. The lists date back respectively to 1275 and 1304 and were first published by Denifle and Chatelain in the *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*.¹¹ The lists have been an invaluable tool for assessing the book market of Paris and they were re-published in 2005 as part of Murano's work on books produced by the *pecia* system.¹²

The taxation lists are divided into different subjects (law, canon law, etc.), making it easy to find what one is looking for. Among the fourteen model sermon collections preserved by the lists made in 1275 and 1304, Nicolas' collections are included in both lists. It is worth mentioning that the lists differ slightly from one another. In the first one only Nicolas' sermon collections are present, appearing as two separate entities (one of fifty-one *peciae* and the other of eighteen), whereas in the second list, attributed to André de Sens,¹³ the two collections are united as a single entry (for a total of sixty-nine *peciae*) but Nicolas' two other works also appear.¹⁴ The fact that the collections were part of the official material of the University of Paris casts an interesting light on them because it means they were already officially recognized as useful and important in the thirteenth century. Indeed, the *pecia* system played a major role in promoting the development of the intellectual landscape of medieval preachers, especially when considering the Parisian production of preaching aids in the last quarter of the thirteenth century.¹⁵ The constant need for trained clergymen and orthodox texts which a new generation could study was a powerful drive for perfecting the *pecia* system.

¹¹ Denifle and Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, 1:644–50 no. 530; Heinrich Denifle and Emile Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* (Fratrum Delalain, 1891), 2:107–12 no. 642.

¹² Murano, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*.

¹³ Rouse and Rouse, 'The Book Trade at the University of Paris, ca. 1250-ca. 1350', 58–59.

¹⁴ Murano, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*, 123–24.

¹⁵ Ray, 'The Pecia System and Its Use in the Cultural Milieu of Paris, C1250-1330', 12.

Assessing the sources, finding preserved copies of Nicolas' sermons

Recognizing the importance that was accorded to Nicolas' works during his lifetime raises the following question, how many manuscripts that contain his sermons have been preserved to this day?

We know that sermons were widely copied throughout the medieval period. Because of their nature as oral discourse, when we read them in written form, we are already one stage removed from the performative act that was actual preaching in the Middle Ages. Nonetheless, as explained in the first chapter, sermons were transmitted in different formats: *reportationes*, model sermon collections, and compilations of sermons. Nicolas' sermons, according to literature, can be found in all three transmission modes. Therefore, in order for this thesis to not incur the same problems of authenticity that discredited some of the work of Hauréau on Nicolas de Biard,¹⁶ the first step had to be to find those manuscripts that preserved the full model sermon collection.

Finding these manuscripts could have been a daunting task were it not for the essential aid of J.-B. Schneyer's *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters*. Because of its sheer monumentality, Schneyer's endeavour is not free from errors, nor it is a complete list; nevertheless, it is invaluable. However, the actual number of model sermon collection witnesses still extant had to be newly assessed by consulting other repositories, catalogues and digital databases that might add manuscripts to the number listed by Schneyer.¹⁷ Consulting new catalogues allowed for the discovery of twenty-three manuscripts that are not present in Schneyer, making a total of 173 manuscripts preserving either *de tempore* or *de festis* sermons attributed to Nicolas de Biard. After a direct analysis of the text of 164 of them,¹⁸ sixty-two were found to preserve sermons written for feast days dedicated to common feasts,

¹⁶ Cfr. the first chapter of this thesis, section three and: L. J. Bataillon, 'The Tradition of Nicholas of Biard's "Distinctiones"', *Viator* 25 (1994): 245–88.

¹⁷ Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, III I-S; Bert Roest, 'Catalogue of Franciscan Authors', accessed 21 February 2019, <http://users.bart.nl/~roestb/franciscan/index.htm>; Rodney M. Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library*, with Michael Gullick (Published on behalf of the Dean and Chapter of Worcester Cathedral by D.S.Brewer, 2001); *Le Catalogue Général Des Manuscrits Des Bibliothèques Publiques de France [Electronic Index]*, released 2008, https://www.bonnespratiques-ead.net/sites/default/files/structure_CGM_imprime.html.

¹⁸ Unfortunately, some of the manuscripts were impossible to analyse in person because of the restraints imposed by the COVID-19 outbreak of 2020-2021.

saints, or the Virgin Mary. The following table shows the number of manuscripts preserved in each European country:

Country	Number of MSS
France	79
Germany	34
Italy	15
United Kingdom	11
Austria	10
Spain	7
Czech Republic	6
Sweden	5
Switzerland	2
Vatican State	2
Belgium	1
Denmark	1
Total	173

Table 2 – Manuscripts according to location

By establishing a new list of manuscripts, the goal of identifying those that bear evidence of having been copied by the *pecia* system became more feasible. Bataillon had already confirmed the existence of three different systems of *peciae* for Nicolas’ works. Two of them appear nearly identical while the third does not present any resemblance to other manuscripts, not only in the *pecia* numbering but also in the disposition of the sermons and the choice of sermons. Moreover, Bataillon had identified seven manuscripts as part of the *pecia* tradition signalled by the taxation lists. This identification is supported by the fact that they share the same number of *peciae*, eighteen in total (as in the taxation lists). However, it has to be noted that ms. Paris, BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 2032, although comprised of eighteen *peciae*, presents its *pecia* subdivisions with a difference of a few lines.¹⁹ Following Boyle’s classification which distinguishes between the manuscript written and submitted by the author (*epipecia*), the copy to be lent to scribes (*exemplar*) and the copies realized from it (*apopecia*); I refer to this cluster of manuscripts that follow the *pecia* tradition as the *apopeciae* of Nicolas’ *sermones de festis*.²⁰

¹⁹ Bataillon, ‘The Tradition of Nicholas of Biard’s “Distinctiones”’, 246 Bataillon recognizes that mss. Laon 297, 308, ms. Metz 367, ms. Milan Ambrosian L 23 sup., ms. Paris BnF lat. 13579 and 15953 share the same *peciae* system, whereas ms. Paris BnF nouv. acq. lat. 2032 is slightly different. ms. Paris, BnF, nouv. acqu. lat. 373, ff. 52-219 preserves sermons of Nicolas de Biard but their order and quantity does not match the other witnesses of Nicolas’ model sermon collections.

²⁰ Boyle, ‘Peciae, Apopeciae, and a Toronto Manuscript of the Sententia Libri Ethicorum of Aquinas’, 72–73.

Moving from the knowledge about the already identified *apopecia* witnesses I found myself compelled to find out if there were more witnesses that could be part of that group. Yet, one of the problems of the study of *pecia* manuscripts is the scarcity of the kinds of mark that could aid their identification, an instance that made the next part of this investigation more daunting. Usually, scholars distinguish between explicit and implicit marks.²¹ The former are generally positioned at the margins of the leaf or inserted alongside the copied text itself. The latter must be found by accurately examining the material clues left by the scribe without deeming them a simple handshift or break. In order to conduct such an inquiry it is necessary to already know if the examined work was circulated through the *pecia* system, so that it would be possible to count the evident handshifts and compare them with the number of *peciae* available on the market; or to correlate the implicit markings with the explicit marking found on other, already established, *pecia* manuscripts.

A good example of implicit marking is found in the following image in which is shown a change in the density and colour of the ink, particularly evident in the red-highlighted section. A reason for this difference can be found in the necessity by the scribe to take a break between sections because he had to give back the copied *pecia* and borrow the next one. During this period of time the ink could well have been re-mixed, the pen would have to be sharpened and the scribe himself have taken the time to rest. All these factors combine in creating a visual difference between the sections of the copied text as it can be seen in this example from ms. Paris BnF, 15953, f. 139va where the implicit change of *pecia* can be seen:

²¹ Decorte, 'Les indications explicites et implicites de pieces dans les manuscrits medievales'.

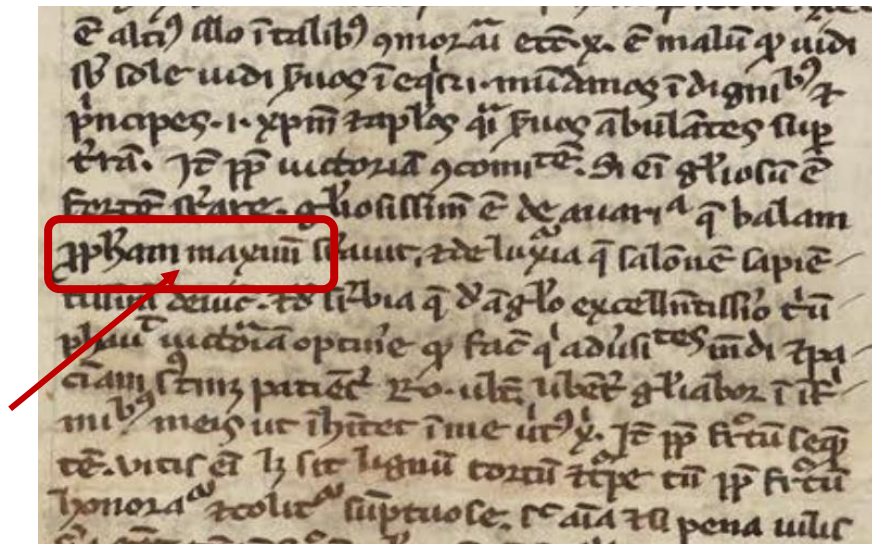


Figure 2

Because of the presence and identification of other *pecia* copies I was thus able to compare the palaeographic information with witnesses marked by explicit markers, eliminating the possibility of it being a simple break in the copying of the text. In this case the comparison was made possible by the study of ms. Metz, Bibliothèque municipale 367, f. 185vb in which the explicit marking (.v. p) is posed just alongside the same section of the text shown in figure 2:

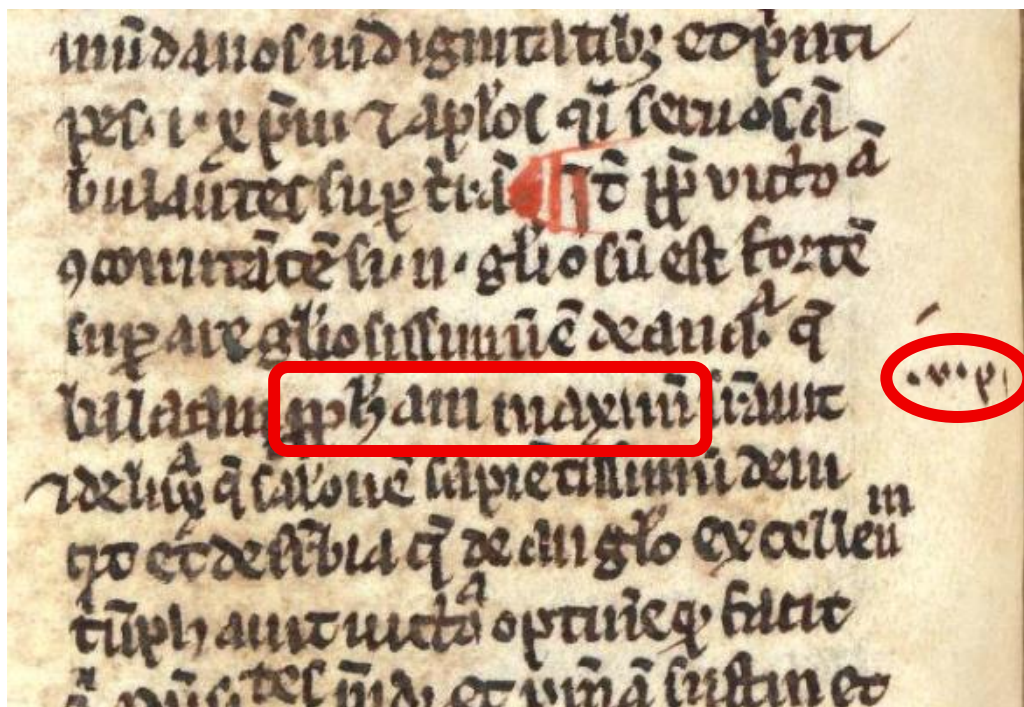


Figure 3

In analysing the surviving witnesses, only three manuscripts present explicit markings of *peciae* notation: ms. Paris, BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 2032; ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana L 23 sup. and ms. Metz, Bibliothèque municipale 367. However, even in these is not possible to find all the *pecia* markings that should be present. This is due to a variety of reasons, for example their placing in the outer margins that were cut to size during binding. Furthermore, as has been pointed out by Decorte, it is possible that the markings might be more common in witnesses that were commissioned from a scribe rather than those copied by the owner himself. The patron could check immediately if the job had been done to completion by the hired quill.²² In the case of self-copying there would have been no need to preserve the markings. The following table (Table 3) shows the number of *peciae* according to the taxation lists and the location of the explicit and implicit (underlined in the table) *pecia* markings that have been found in the witnesses. Even though ms. BnF lat. 15953 shows only implicit markings, I decided to include them in the table, alongside those witnesses that bear explicit marks, because some of them (marked with ‘*’ in the table) cannot be categorized simply as implicit marks. As can be seen in figures 4 and 5, those signs are not mere changes in ink or script but evident displacement of the text in the body of the page. This type of error is a tell-tale sign of how the *pecia* system worked. It is thus possible to imagine that the scribe was not proceeding in order while copying the *peciae* and, having in mind a rough estimate of the space that each *pecia* would have occupied, proceeded with copying a later *pecia* (for example *pecia* number V) before having copied the preceding one (*pecia* number IV). As can be seen in the images, sometimes these calculations were off by some measure and, lacking space in the writing frame, the scribe would have written outside the body of page in order to complete the *pecia* (in figure 4, the text is copied into the margin; in figure 5, the text is copied into the intercolumn of space).

²² Decorte, ‘Les indications explicites et implicites de pieces dans les manuscrits medievauux’, 276.

Pecia number	BnF nouv. acq. lat. 2032	Ambrosiana L. 23 sup.	Metz 367	BnF lat. 15953
I				
II	f. 156vb		f. 176rb	
III	f. 159va			f. 137rb
IV	f. 162va		f. 182va	f. 138rb*
V	f. 165ra	f. 174v	f. 185vb	f. 139va
VI	f. 168ra	f. 178v	f. 189ra	f. 141ra
VII	f. 171ra	182r	f. 190vb	
VIII	f. 173vb		f. 194vb	f. 144ra
IX	f. 177ra		f. 198ra	f. 146va
X	f. 180ra	f. 193v		
XI	f. 182vb		f. 205ra	f. 148vb
XII	f. 185va	f. 201r	f. 208rb	f. 150rb
XIII		f. 205r	f. 211vb	
XIV	f. 191va	f. 209r	f. 215ra	
XV	f. 194va	f. 213r	f. 218rb	
XVI	f. 197va	f. 216v	f. 221rb	
XVII	f. 200va	f. 220v	f. 224vb	f. 158ra
XVIII			f. 228ra	f. 159va*

Table 3 – Pecia markings

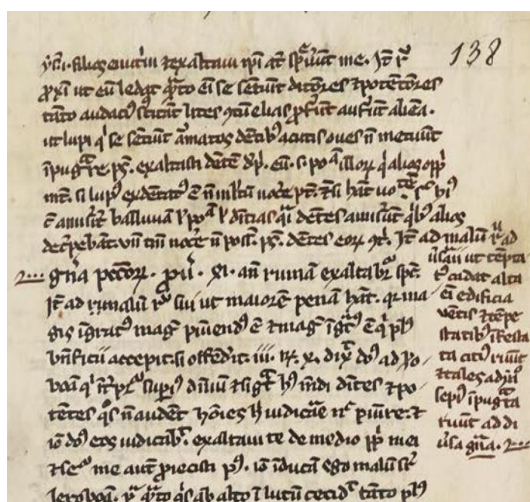


Figure 4 ms. BnF lat. 15953, f. 138rb

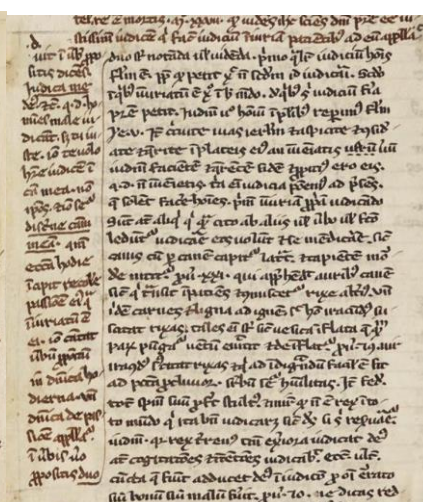


Figure 5 ms. BnF lat. 15953, f. 159va

As it has been presented before some *pecia* markings are not always identifiable. For this reason, comparing the contents and the disposition of sermons in each manuscript is necessary to identify which manuscript might have preserved a complete version of sermons as intended in the taxation catalogue of the University of Paris. In the hope of uncovering more preserved witnesses of the tradition of Nicolas' *de festis* model sermon collection, I had to abandon the search for *pecia* markings focused on analysing the contents of the extant sixty-two manuscripts that contain sermons for common feasts, saints, and the Virgin Mary. Having first noted the disposition of contents in the seven manuscripts

identified by Bataillon, I proceeded with the comparison of the contents of all the other relevant manuscripts (sixty-two minus seven already established as *apopeciae*) to the sequence of sermons established by the identified *apopeciae*. At the end of this process the number of *apopeciae* increased from seven to fifteen. All these witnesses contain a full-length version of the collection except for: ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, L. 23 sup., ms. Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 1719 and ms. Paris, BnF, lat. 3283. Whereas the first two miss out a considerable part of the collection, as described in the following section, ms. Paris, BnF, lat. 3283 lacks only one sermon: 194 S79 *Congregate illi sanctos eius* (sermon XX). In this case, the loss of one sermon of the collection does not seem to be an error due to scribal imprecision because both the preceding and following sermons have their proper ending and beginning. Therefore, this defective copy might have been copied from an already bound manuscript, probably in a monastic environment, as is suggested by the provenance of the manuscript itself: the Cistercian abbey of Bonport in Northern France; or the scribe might have chosen to not include sermon XX for a reason that is not clear.

Because of their importance as specialized textbooks,²³ it does not come as a surprise that more witnesses of Nicolas' model sermon collection have resurfaced. However, there could have been as many copies again that have been lost to time. In fact, the possibility of a high manuscript loss rate has been already advanced and, especially for *pecia* manuscripts; it would explain why there are different *exemplar* for the same text.²⁴ There are no means to assess the actual number of lost manuscripts except for the thorough study of medieval library catalogues. One example concerns the Dominican convent of Dijon where, according to the 1307 library catalogue, a copy of Nicolas' collection was part of their collection but, unfortunately, it seems that it has been lost to time.²⁵ Nonetheless, much work must still be done in linking the data of library catalogues, especially those that were published before the digital age, to extant copies.

²³ Ray, 'Intellectual Exchange', 26.

²⁴ d'Avray, 'Contamination, Stemmatics and the Editing of Medieval Latin Texts', 75–76; David L. d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons: Mass Communication in a Culture without Print* (Oxford University Press, 2001), 17–19.

²⁵ Antoine Dondaine, 'La Bibliothèque Du Couvent Des Dominicains de Dijon Au Debut Du Quatorzième Siècle (1307)', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* VII (1937): 131.

The 15 apopeciae

This section is dedicated to the presentation of the fifteen manuscripts that preserve the *de festis* collection of Nicolas de Biard and the reasoning behind the choice of some of them for the critical edition. Usually they preserve both collections (*de tempore* and *de festis*) with the sole exception of the ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana E 57 inf., which is lacking the *de tempore* collection. Each manuscript is described in its material features, history, contents, material evidence and bibliography.

1. Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 297

L1

Thirteenth century, parchment, 173 x 120 mm, fols. I+308+II, 2 cols., 31 lines.

History: The manuscript is probably of French origin. On its first flyleaf it is possible to read in an eighteenth-century hand: “F. Roberti de Vimiaco, canonici Cuissiacensis, conciones, quas tum in capitulis generalibus, tum in variis anni festis et dominicis habuit”. During the eighteenth century, Robert of Wimi, whose name appears, in a fourteenth-century hand in ms. Laon 282, was thought to be the author of the sermons preserved in the manuscript. However, according to LeClerc, the attribution of ms. Laon 297 to Robert of Wimi must be considered an error. It is not known why Robert of Wimi was considered the author of ms. Laon 297; however its Cuissy provenance can still be regarded as secure from the presence of an ex-libris, as noted by Bondéelle-Souchier. None of the library catalogues of the abbey of Cuissy as published by Bondéelle-Souchier mentions ms. Laon 297.²⁶ The manuscript became part of the library of Laon during the revolutionary period.

Content: Nicolas de Biard *sermones de tempore* (fols. 1r-240r) ; *sermones de festis* (fols. 240r – 308v).

Writing and decoration: Gothic textualis rotunda bookhand. Initials and paragraph signs in red and blue.

Selected bibliography: Ravaisson F., LeClerc V., *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements de France*, vol. 1, Imprimerie Nationale, Paris 1849, p. 173; Bondéelle-Souchier A., *Bibliothèques de l'Ordre de Prémontré dans la France d'Ancien Régime. I Répertoire des abbayes*, CNRS, Paris, 2000, pp. 117-119; Daunou D.-M., Fauriel F., Lajard F., Paris P., LeClerc V., Littré E., *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. 21, Imprimerie

²⁶ Anne Bondéelle-Souchier, *Bibliothèques de l'Ordre de Prémontré dans la France d'Ancien Régime*, Documents, études et répertoires (Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes (France)) 58 (Éditions du Centre national de la Recherche scientifique, 2006).

Nationale, Paris, 1847, pp. 164-165; Schneyer J.-B., « Eine Sermonesliste des Nicolaus de Byard, O.F.M. », in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 60, 1967, p. 9; Schneyer J.-B., *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters: für d. Zeit von 1150-1350*, Volume IV, Aschendorff, Munster, 1969, p. 249.

2. Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 308

L2

Thirteenth-fourteenth century, parchment, 220 x 140 mm, fols. I+317+II, 2 cols., 34 lines.

History: The manuscript is probably of French origin. It does not present a possession mark that could link it to the cathedral library of Laon where it is preserved. The library was described in 1739 by Montfaucon²⁷ but this manuscript is not among the contents. Nonetheless, according to the current librarian of the Laon municipal library the eighteenth-century binding is peculiar to the cathedral.²⁸

Content: Nicolas de Biard *sermones de tempore* (fols. 1r-238r) ; *sermones de festis* (fols. 238r – 317v).

Writing and decoration: Gothic textualis rotunda bookhand. Initials and paragraph signs in red and blue.

Selected bibliography: Ravaisson F., Le Clerc V., *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements de France*, vol. 1, Imprimerie Nationale, Paris 1849, p. 176; Bataillon L.-J., « The tradition of Nicholas of Biard's distinctiones », *Viator*, 25, 1994, p. 246 ; Schneyer J.-B., « Eine Sermonesliste des Nicolaus de Byard, O.F.M. », *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 60, 1967, p. 9; Schneyer J.-B., *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters: für d. Zeit von 1150-1350*, Volume IV, Aschendorff, Munster, 1969, p. 249.

²⁷ Bernard de Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova*. 2 (Briasson, 1739).

²⁸ I thank Dr. Laurence Richard, curator of Laon municipal library, for the invaluable help she gave me in identifying and analysing both mss. Laon 297 and 308.

3. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E. 57 inf.

M1

Fourteenth century, parchment, 250 x 180 mm, fols. III + 431 + I, 2 cols., 38 lines.

History: The manuscript is probably of French origin. It entered the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in 1830 as part of the legacy of Bernardino Ferrari.²⁹ According to the analysis of Billanovich and Cantoni Alzati, Ferrari bought the manuscript because of its supposed provenance from the Linterno library of Petrarch as was suggested in Giacomo Filippo Tomasini's *Petrarcha Redivivus* (2nd ed., 1650 Padua). Tomasini was a passionate scholar and bibliophile whose ideas were held in high regard, adding to the fame of those manuscripts. However fascinating, the prestigious attribution to Petrarch has to be considered a false claim. In fact, by comparing the possession marks and the better known history of some manuscripts in Tomasini's list, it is possible to suggest that its origin is more likely to have been the library of the Augustinian convent of Cremona (Italy). Cantoni Alzati's evidence is compelling and further contributes to better understanding the importance of Nicolas' collection, which could have been in use in yet another mendicant order.³⁰

Content: Eberhardus de Valle Scholarum *summa de festis, Laetabor* (fols. 1r – 363v)³¹; Nicolas de Biard *sermones de festis* (fols. 372r – 431v). The first section of the ms. ends abruptly at f. 363v with the catchword: “*illius convertentibus*”. The next leaf is numbered 372 by a contemporary hand. The last sermon of Biard's collection ends with the words: “*est omnis homo a [con]scientia sua, ipse enim Deus sapiens,*” therefore lacking its proper ending.

Writing and decoration: Gothic textualis semi-quadrata bookhand. No decorated initials although the space for them is provided. Some rubrics in red ink. There are multiple corrections to the text itself in the margins of each page.

Selected bibliography: Cantoni Alzati G., «La presunta biblioteca del Petrarca a Linterno: codici e falsificazioni», in *Vestigia. Studi in onore di G. Billanovich*, Rome, Ed. di Storia e letteratura, 1984, pp. 131-158; Donghi S., «Ut praedicta possint reperiri melius: qualche considerazione su indici e sommari in sermonari della Biblioteca Ambrosiana», in Ferrari

²⁹ Silvia Donghi, “Ut praedicta possint reperiri melius”: qualche considerazione su indici e sommari in sermonari della Biblioteca Ambrosiana’, in *Nuove ricerche su codici in scrittura latina dell’Ambrosiana. Atti del Convegno, Milano 6-7 ottobre 2005*, ed. Mirella Ferrari and Marco Navoni, Bibliotheca Erudita (Vita e Pensiero, 2007).

³⁰ Giovanna Cantoni Alzati, ‘La presunta biblioteca del Petrarca a Linterno: codici e falsificazioni’, in *Vestigia. Studi in onore di Giuseppe Billanovich*, ed. Rino Avesani et al. (Ed. di Storia e Letteratura, 1984).

³¹ Cfr. ms. Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale 1512 for an exemplar version of the collection of Everardus de Valle Scholarium: Murano, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*, 426; Schneyer, *RLS*, 2–15 Eberhardus de Valle scholarum (d. post 1272) was a Theology master (post 1259) and prior of S. Catharine in Paris (post 1267).

M., Navoni M. (ed.), *Nuove ricerche su codici in scrittura latina dell'Ambrosiana, atti del convegno Milano 6-7 ottobre 2005*, Milan, Vita e pensiero, 2007, pp. 130.

4. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, L. 23 sup.

M2

Thirteenth-fourteenth century, parchment, 190 x 130 mm, fols. I + 226 + II, 1 col., 37 lines.

History: The manuscript is probably of French origin. It has a note written in 1606 by Antonio Olgiati, the first prefect of the Ambrosian library, that gives notice of the provenance of the manuscript from the convent of Santa Maria Incoronata in Milan and its acquisition by Federico Borromeo.³² The Augustinians occupied the convent of St. Mary in 1445; consequently the manuscript can be placed in Milan after that date. The manuscript seems to have lost a quire in between the *de tempore* and the *de festis* collections, probably during the binding process, and so lacks the first eight sermons of the *de festis* collection. This conclusion is further supported by the presence of the final lines of sermon 223 C7 at the start of fol. 173r.

Content: Nicolas de Biard *sermones de tempore* (fols. 1r-172v) ; *sermones de festis* (fols. 173r – 226v); index of contents (flyleaf IIr). The *de festis* collection is not complete as it lacks the first 8 sermons.

Writing and decoration: Gothic textualis rotunda bookhand. No decorated initials although the space for them is provided. Some rubrics in red. Presents signs of usage and points of interests in the form of an indicating hand. Presence of explicit *pecia* marks (fols. 174v; 182r; 193v; 205r; 209r; 213r; 216v).

Selected bibliography: Ferrari M., «Un bibliotecario milanese del Quattrocento: Francesco della Croce», in *Ricerche storiche sulla Chiesa Ambrosiana*, Milan, 1981, p. 244; Pedralli M., *Novo, grande, coperto e ferrato*, Milan, Vita e pensiero, 2002, pp. 347-348; Donghi S., «Ut praedicta possint reperiri melius: qualche considerazione su indici e sommari in sermonari della Biblioteca Ambrosiana», in Ferrari M., Navoni M. (ed.), *Nuove ricerche su codici in scrittura latina dell'Ambrosiana, atti del convegno Milano 6-7 ottobre 2005*, Milan, Vita e pensiero, 2007, pp. 130.; Bataillon L.-J., «The tradition of Nicholas of Biard's distinctiones », *Viator*, 25, 1994, p. 246; Schneyer J.-B., « Eine Sermonesliste des Nicolaus de Byard, O.F.M. », *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 60, 1967, p. 9; Schneyer

³² ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana L. 23 sup., on the first flyleaf: « *Iste liber est conventus sancta marie coronate Mediolani fratriis eremitani sancti augustini observantium de Milano* ».

J.-B., *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters: für d. Zeit von 1150-1350*, Volume IV, Aschendorff, Munster, 1969, p. 249.

5. Metz, Bibliothèque municipale, 367

Me

Fourteenth century, parchment, 210 x 140 mm, fol. I + 232 + I, 2 cols., 38 lines.

History: The manuscript is of French origin. J. Quicherat, the editor of the *Catalogue général des manuscrits* for the department of Metz, while explaining the formation of the department's collection, noted that ms. Metz 367, which was already in a dire state and lacking the first folios, was not mentioned in any of the previous catalogues, along with eleven other manuscripts. Although perplexed by the inclusion of these twelve manuscripts among those of the cathedral, Quicherat decided to follow the attribution of the catalogue of 1870 supporting the notion that ms. 367 was indeed part of the cathedral library.³³ To further complicate the history of the manuscript, the bombardments of 1944 gravely endangered it to the point that it was considered destroyed by both Schmitt (1974) and Bataillon (1994). Fortunately, the manuscript survived and a campaign of digitization has made it possible to study it. As already stated by other scholars, the manuscript does not present any marks of the Cathedral library of Metz but there is a fifteenth-century possession note that indicates John of Houssenville as its owner.³⁴

Content: Nicolas de Biard *sermones de tempore* (fols. 1r-172v); *sermones de festis* (fols. 173r – 230r); alphabetical table of distinctions (fols. 230r-232v).

Writing and decoration: Gothic textualis rotunda bookhand. Initials and paragraph signs in red and blue. Presence of explicit *pecia* marks (fols. 176r; 182v; 185v; 189r; 194v; 198r; 205r; 208r; 211v; 215r; 218r; 221r; 224v; 228r).

Selected bibliography: Bataillon L.-J., « The tradition of Nicholas of Biard's distinctiones », *Viator*, 25, 1994, p. 246; Schmitt C., « Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Municipale de Metz », *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 67 (3-4), 1974, p. 482 ; Quicherat J., *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des Départements*, Tome V, Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1879, p. 154; Schneyer J.-B., « Eine Sermonesliste des Nicolaus de Byard, O.F.M. », *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 60, 1967, p. 9; Schneyer J.-B., *Repertorium der*

³³ Jules Quicherat, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements*, V Metz-Verdun-Charleville (Imprimerie nationale, 1879), LV–LVI, <http://archive.org/details/catalogue05fran>.

³⁴ ms. Metz, Bibliothèque municipale 367, fol. 172r: « *Iste liber pertinet domino Iohanni de boussenvilla curato d[e] Grozgne* ».

lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters: für d. Zeit von 1150-1350, Volume IV, Aschendoff, Munster, 1969, p. 249.

6. Paris, BnF, lat. 3283

P1

Thirteenth century, parchment, 255 x 165 mm, fols. III + 203 + III, 2 cols., 42 lines.

History: The manuscript is of French origin and was part of the library of the Cistercian abbey of Bonport. At fol. 202v a note by Pierre Faucon, prior of Bonport between 1423 and 1443, confirms its provenance. This is further confirmed by the presence of an act of the abbey of Bonport used as a flyleaf. On 11 May 1683 the manuscript, among others, became part of the personal collection of Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683). This event is recorded in the list of his acquisitions preserved in ms. Paris, BnF, lat. 9364 at fol. 89v in which ms. BnF, lat. 3283 is referred to as “44. *Sermones et exempla Jacobi de Vitriaco*”. In 1732 the manuscript entered the French Royal library and became part of the national library during the revolutionary period.

Content: Nicolas de Biard *sermones de tempore* (fols. 1r-131r); *sermones de festis* (fols. 131r – 180v); Jacques de Vitry *exempla* (fols. 181r-202v)

Writing and decoration: Gothic rotunda bookhand. Initials and paragraph signs in red and blue.

Selected bibliography: Deville E., « L'ancienne bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Bonport », *Revue des bibliothèques* 1-3, 1908, p. 282; Delisle L., *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*, Volume I, Hildesheim, Paris, 1868, p. 542; Bondéele-Souchier A., *Bibliothèques cisterciennes dans la France médiévale: répertoire des Abbayes d'hommes*, Éditions du Centre national de la Recherche scientifique, Paris, 1991, p. 42; Schneyer J.-B., « Eine Sermonesliste des Nicolaus de Byard, O.F.M. », *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 60, 1967, p. 9; Schneyer J.-B., *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters: für d. Zeit von 1150-1350*, Volume IV, Aschendoff, Munster, 1969, p. 249; Bériou N., *La prédication de Ranulphe de la Houblonnière: sermons aux clercs et aux simples gens à Paris au XIIIe siècle*, Etudes augustiniennes, Paris 1987, pp. 337-342.

7. Paris, BnF, lat. 13579

P2

Thirteenth century, parchment, 216 x 147 mm, fols. III + 248 + II, 2 cols., 39 lines.

History: The manuscript appears to be of French origin. It was part of the massive campaign of book acquisition by Pierre Séguier (1588-1672). Consequently, it was part

of the family possessions until his grandson, Henri – Charles du Cambout Coislin (1664-1732), decided to gift his library to the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in 1732. It became part of the national library during the revolutionary period.

Content: fragment of 11th-century calendar (fols. 1r-2v); Nicolas de Biard *sermones de tempore* (fols. 3r-185v); *sermones de festis* (fols. 186r – 248v).

Writing and decoration: Gothic textualis semi-quadrata bookhand. Initials, rubrics and paragraph signs in red and blue.

Selected bibliography: Bataillon L.-J., « Sur quelques sermons de Saint Bonaventure », in d'Avray D., Bériou N. (ed.), *La predication au XIII^e siècle en France et en Italie*, Aldershot, Vermont, 1993 ; Bataillon L.-J., « The tradition of Nicholas of Biard's distinctiones », *Viator*, 25, 1994, p. 246; Murano G., *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2005, p. 640; Hauréau B., *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Tome II, Klincksieck, Paris 1891, p. 275, Tome III, p. 115, Tome IV, p. 46; Schneyer J.-B., « Eine Sermonesliste des Nicolaus de Byard, O.F.M. », *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 60, 1967, p. 9; Schneyer J.-B., *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters: für d. Zeit von 1150-1350*, Volume IV, Aschendorff, Munster, 1969, p. 249; de Mas Latrie L., Libri G., Hänel G., *Dictionnaire des manuscrits, ou Recueil de catalogues de manuscrits existants dans les principales bibliothèques d'Europe concernant particulièrement les matières ecclésiastiques et historiques*, Vol. 1, J.-P. Migne, Paris, 1853, col. 954; Poquard du Cosquer de Kerviller R., *Le chancelier Pierre Sèguier, second protecteur de l'academie francaise; études sur sa vie privée, politique et littéraire et sur le groupe académique de ses familiers et commensaux*, Didier, Paris, 1874, pp. 158-166; de Montfaucon B., *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova*, vol. 2, Briasson, Paris 1739, p. 1089.

8. Paris, BnF, lat. 15383

P3

Thirteenth century, parchment, 397 x 230 mm, fols. II + I + 279 + III, 2 cols., 58 lines.

History: the manuscript is of French origin and belonged to the library of the Sorbonne.³⁵ Fortunately, some of the catalogues of the library date back to the Middle Ages and can aid in the identification of each manuscript. ms. Paris, BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 99 preserves the 1338 catalogue (fols. 2v-223) and a detailed list of the manuscripts of

³⁵ For an in-depth analysis of the Sorbonne library: Léopold Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*, vol. 2 (Hildesheim, 1874), <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k140991d>; Léopold Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*, vol. 3 (Hildesheim, 1881), <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k140992s>; Richard H. Rouse, 'The Early Library of the Sorbonne', *Scriptorium* 21, no. 1 (1967): 42–71; Palémon Glorieux, *Aux origines de la Sorbonne*, Études de philosophie médiévale 53 (J. Vrin, 1966).

the *magna libraria* (fols. 247-353). In contrast to P. Glorieux, who identified ms. *C.m* of the list as ms. Paris, BnF, lat. 15954, I would identify *P3* as ms. *C.m*.³⁶ To support this new identification, I would point out that while both manuscripts contain Robert de Sorbon's *Liber de conscientia*,³⁷ ms. Paris, BnF 15954 does not contain Nicolas' double collection, although it contains a moderate number of Nicolas' sermons among those of other preachers. This conclusion is corroborated by its unhandy size which suggests a fixed collocation like that of the *magna libraria* of the Sorbonne which housed chained manuscripts.

Content: Nicolas de Biard *sermones de tempore* (fols. 1r-134v) ; *sermones de festis* (fols. 134v – 180v) ; Robert de Sorbon *liber de conscientia* (fols. 180v-186r) ; Robert de Sorbon *tractatus de saporibus* (fols. 186v-225v) ; anon. *Exposition of the 24th book of Ecclesiastes applied to the Virgin Mary* (fols. 225v-237v); Bernard of Clairvaux *de lamentatione beatae virginis super passione Christi* (fols. 237v-239v); *sermones diversi* of various authors (fols. 240r-279r).

Writing and decoration: Gothic textualis rotunda bookhand. Initials and paragraph signs in red and blue.

Selected bibliography: Diekstra F.N.M., « Robert de Sorbon's "*de conscientia*": truncated text and full text », *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales*, 70, 2003, p. 31; Ottmann J. R., « List of manuscripts and editions » in Morenzoni F. and Tilliette J.-Y., *Autour de Guillaume d'Auvergne († 1249): Etudes réunies*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2005, p. 394; Morenzoni F., *Guillelmi Alverni sermones de tempore*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2010, p. xlv; Hauréau B., *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Tome II, Klincksieck, Paris 1891, p. 275, Tome V, p. 145; Schneyer J.-B., « Eine Sermonesliste des Nicolaus de Byard, O.F.M. », *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 60, 1967, p. 9; Schneyer J.-B., *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters: für d. Zeit von 1150-1350*, Volume IV, Aschendorff, Munster, 1969, p. 244, 249, 250, 477, Volume II, p. 280-282, 415, Volume V, p. 312.

³⁶ Glorieux, *Aux origines de la Sorbonne*, 251« C.m. Liber de conscientia ab eodem (Robert de Sorbon) « Librum scribat ipse iudicat ». – Sermones Beyardi de tempore et aliquibus festis etc. « preparate corda vestra etc. Dicitur vulgariter ».

³⁷ ms. Paris, BnF, lat. 15954 preserves it at fols. 330v-335r.

9. Paris, BnF, lat. 15953

P4

Thirteenth century, parchment, 255 x 175 mm, fols. I + 437 + I, 1 col./2 cols., 55 lines.

History: the manuscript is of French origin and belonged to the library of the Sorbonne.

Delisle recognized it as part of the legacy of Peter of Limoges,³⁸ therefore it should have entered the library after 1306. Furthermore, the manuscript belonged to the *magna libraria* because it was noted as *cathenatus* in the library catalogue of 1338.³⁹

Content: Gérard of Mailly *sermones de festis* (fols. 1r-24v); Nicholas Gorran *sermo de beato Michael* (fols. 24v – 26v); Nicolas de Biard *sermones de tempore* (fol. 59r-134v); *sermones de festis* (fols. 134r – 160v); anon. *postillae* on Jeremiah (fols. 162r-187v); Humbert of Romans *de dono timoris* (fols. 188r-210r); table of *themata sermonum* (fols. 212r-214r); anon. *sermones diversis* (fols. 214r-292r); Nicholas of Gorran *sermones* (fols. 294r-307v); Guibert of Tournai *sermones de dominicis et de festis et ad statum* (fols. 308r-437v).

Writing and decoration: Gothic textualis rotunda bookhand. The writing is highly compressed and lacks any decoration. Initials are left blank. The ms. does not present any *pecia* marks in the *de festis* section. Nevertheless, the *de tempore* section ends with a remark on the corruption of the last *pecia*: “*finitur .51a. pecia de dominicis. ista ultima pecia est corrupta ut mihi apparet.*”

Selected bibliography: Maier C. T., *Crusade propaganda and ideology. Model sermons for the preaching of the Cross*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2006, p. 77; Boyer C., *Humberti de Romanis De dono timoris*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 218, Turnhout, Brepols, 2008, p. xxxiii-xxxvi; Morenzoni F., *Guillelmi Alverni sermones de tempore*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2010, p. XLI-XLII; Ottmann J. R., « List of manuscripts and editions » in Morenzoni F. and Tilliette J.-Y., *Autour de Guillaume d'Auvergne († 1249): Etudes réunies*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2005, p. 394; Murano G., *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2005, p. 639; Smirnova V., « L'exemplum médiéval dans une perspective codicologique (XIIIe-XVe siècle) », *Revue Mabillon* 24, p. 38; Bataillon L.-J., « The tradition of Nicholas of Biard's distinctiones », *Viator*, 25, 1994, p. 246; Bataillon

³⁸ Peter of Limoges (d. 1306) was a Parisian theologian, author of the *Tractatus moralis de Oculo*. A prominent figure of the Parisian university he left his personal library to the College of Sorbonne as it is attested in ms. Paris, BnF, lat. 16574, f. 44r: « Obiit magister Petrus de Lemovicis, quondam socius domus, Canonicus Ebroicensis, qui refutavit duos episcopatus et bis prebendam Parisiensem, bachalarius in theologia, magnus astronomus, qui legavit domui plus quam VI(xx) volumina, exceptis quibusdam caternis, magne reputationis »: Mabille, 'Pierre de Limoges, copiste de manuscrits'; of Limoges Peter, *The Moral Treatise on the Eye*, with Richard Newhauser and Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Mediaeval Sources in Translation 51 (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2012); Herbert L. Kessler et al., *Optics, Ethics, and Art in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: Looking into Peter of Limoges's Moral Treatise on the Eye*, Text, Image, Context 5 (PIMS, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2018); David L. Clark, 'Optics for Preachers: The *De Oculo Morali* by Peter of Limoges', *Michigan Academician* 9 (1977): 329–43; Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*, 2:167–68.

³⁹ Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*, 3:52.

L.-J. and Bériou N., «G. de Mailly» de l'ordre de frères prêcheurs », *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 61, 1991, p. 6; Hauréau B., *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Tome II, Klincksieck, Paris, 1891, p. 275; Schneyer J.-B., « Eine Sermonesliste des Nicolaus de Byard, O.F.M. », *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 60, 1967, p. 9; Schneyer J.-B., *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters: für d. Zeit von 1150-1350*, Volume IV, Aschendorff, Munster, 1969, p. 249; Delisle L., *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*, Volume II, Hildesheim, Paris, 1874, p. 167, Volume III, p. 52; Hauréau B., « Sermonnaires », in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, Tome 26, Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1873, p. 453.

10. Paris, BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 2032

P

Thirteenth-fourteenth century, parchment, 278 x 180 mm, fols. I + 205 + I, 2 cols., 39 lines.

History: The manuscript is probably of French origin. The manuscript was part of the private collection of Ambroise Firmin-Didot (1790-1876), although we do not know how and when it entered. In 1911 it became part of the Bibliothèque nationale de France collection. H. Omont wrote the catalogue entry which identified it as part of the library of the charterhouse of Saint Mary in Trier. Unfortunately, this attribution was devised from the possession note on fol. 1r which must have posed a problem, not only because it is scratched and almost illegible but also because a charterhouse dedicated to the Virgin Mary never existed in Trier. More than half a century later, Kramer and Bernhard's study of medieval German and Swiss libraries recognized that the attribution must be deemed to be false. According to their research, ms. Paris BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 2032 has to be considered part of the library of St. Albans' charterhouse. A possible explanation for these conflicting conclusions can be given by assuming an error and the agency of Jean de Rode (1358-1439). Firstly, the error lies in Omont's reading of the scratched provenance marking, which might read: "*mathia*" instead of "*maria*." While a charterhouse dedicated to the Virgin Mary does not exist in Trier, there is one dedicated to St. Matthew's. Secondly, Jean de Rode was the prior of St. Albans' charterhouse and then abbot of St. Matthew. He is remembered as a careful administrator and as a patron

of the library of St. Matthew. Therefore, it would not be unlikely that through Jean de Rode the manuscript changed its location.

Content: Nicolas de Biard *sermones de tempore* (fols. 1r-153v); *sermones de festis* (fols. 154r – 160v).

Writing and decoration: Gothic textualis semi-quadrata bookhand. Opening initial in pink, red, blue and gold leaf. Richly decorated with a friar preaching to an audience and a dog chasing a hare. Initials and paragraph signs in red and blue. The fore-edge is covered by gold leaf. Presence of explicit *pecia* marks (fols. 156v; 159v; 162v; 165r; 168r; 171r; 173v; 180r; 182v; 185v; 191v; 194v; 197v; 200v).

Selected bibliography: Murano G., *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2005, p. 639; Bataillon L.-J., « The tradition of Nicholas of Biard's distinctiones », *Viator*, 25, 1994, p. 246; Bataillon L.-J., « Les Problèmes de l'édition Des Sermons et Des Ouvrages Pour Prédicateurs Au XIIIe Siècle », in Asztalos M. (ed.), *The Editing of Theological and Philosophical Texts from the Middle Ages, Acts of Conference Arranged by the Department of Classical Languages, University of Stockholm, 29-31 August 1984*, Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm 1986, pp. 117-20; Schneyer J.-B., « Eine Sermonesliste des Nicolaus de Byard, O.F.M. », *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 60, 1967, p. 9; Schneyer J.-B., *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters: für d. Zeit von 1150-1350*, Volume IV, Aschendorff, Munster, 1969, p. 249; Omont H., « Nouvelles acquisitions du département des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale pendant les années 1909-1910 », *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, vol. 72, fasc. 1, 1911, pp. 7, 21; Krämer S., Bernhard M., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. III, Beck, München, 1989, p. 782; Berliere U., « Jean Rode, chartreux, réformateur de l'Ordre bénédictin », *Revue bénédictine*, XII, 1895, pp. 97-122.

11. Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, cod. 1719

Ro

Thirteenth century, parchment, 171 x 127 mm, fols. 162, 2 cols., 37 lines.

History: The manuscript appears to have a French origin. In analysing the manuscript, Turcan-Verker notes that, although the manuscript does not correspond to the other two manuscripts that preserved works by Nicolas de Biard at Cîteaux (n° 314 and 473 of the inventory realised by Jean de Cirey in the fifteenth century),⁴⁰ a note at fol. 162r which states “*le present livre è venuz / De Cisteaulx*” suggests otherwise. Nonetheless, at fol. 116r another user note states: “*Fr’ Franciscus de senis C*” which, on the contrary, suggests an Italian provenance, probably the Cistercian monastery of Monte Amiata, near Siena. According to Turcan-Verker the manuscript was created in France and entered the Casanatense library in Rome after being preserved at Monte Amiata, although it does not seem to correspond to any of the manuscripts in the catalogue of the monastery.

Content: Nicolas de Biard *sermones de tempore* (fols. 1r-143v); *sermones de festis* (fols. 143v – 161v); index (fol. 162rv). The manuscript ends abruptly cutting sermon XIV in half with the sentence “*Iesus facere et docere et huius significant*” (fol. 161v). The *de festis* collection is thus incomplete in this manuscript.

Writing and decoration: Gothic textualis semi-quadrata bookhand. Initials in red and blue.

Selected bibliography: Turcan-Verkerk A.-M., *Les manuscrits de La Charité, Cheminon et Montier-en-Argonne: collections cisterciennes et voies de transmission des textes*, CNRS, Paris, 2000, pp. 194-5.

12. Tarragona, Biblioteca Provincial, 14

Ta

Thirteenth-fourteenth century, parchment, 200 x 150 mm, fols. I + 212 + I, 2 cols., 34 lines.

History: The manuscript is probably of French origin. It is not known when it entered the library of Sante Creus (Tarragona) but the last annotation in the manuscript gives some context for its history in the fifteenth century: fol. 212r “*Petrus rendor pro novem solidis impignoravit <...> Jobanni Natale archidiacono Villesicce istos sermones quos promisit solvere <...> ad alios ordines*”. Following the suggestion of Professor Catalán of Pompeu Fabra

⁴⁰ Molinier et al., eds, ‘Inventaire des manuscrits de Cîteaux par l’abbé Jean de Cirey’, in *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, V-Dijon (Librairie Plon, 1889).

University, the toponym must be Vilaseca, a small town west of Tarragona where Joan Nadal was archdeacon from 1387 to 1402.

Content: an alphabetic table (fols. 1r-3v); Nicolas de Biard *sermones de tempore* (fols. 5r-155v); *sermones de festis* (fols. 156r – 206r); table of sermons (fols. 207v-208v); list of *themata* from another manuscript (fols. 209r-211v); a recipe in Catalan and other annotations (fol. 212r).

Writing and decoration: Gothic textualis semi-quadrata bookhand. Opening initial (fol. 5r) richly decorated in red and blue with one grotesque. Initials and paragraph signs in red and blue. The links between the distinctions and subdivisions are clearly signalled with black lines.

Selected Bibliography: Bordona D., *El escritorio y la primitiva biblioteca de Santes Creus*, Sugrañes, Tarragona, 1952, p. 35; Capdevila S., 'La seu de Tarragona' in *Bibliotheca Historica de la Biblioteca Balmes*, X, Duran I Bas, Barcelona, 1935, pp. 132, 161.

13. Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, 1693

Tr

Early fourteenth century, parchment, 225 x 160 mm, fols. I + 184 + I, 2 cols., 41 lines.

History: The manuscript is probably of French origin. It is thought to have been made at Clairvaux but there is no evidence or mention of the manuscript in any catalogue of the library to confirm this. Furthermore, it is included in the final tables, in Vernet, among those manuscripts which are not clearly identifiable. Because it does not appear in Pierre de Virey's catalogue of 1472, it could have entered the library of Clairvaux after that date. However, according to Professor Caroline Heid, of the CNRS-IRHT, the manuscript was identified in the nineteenth century as coming from Clairvaux in the *Catalogue général des manuscrits* published in 1855. However, in a personal communication, Professor Heid suggests that its origin should be traced to the Parisian university milieu, thus making its place of provenance the *studium* that Clairvaux maintained in Paris.

Content: Nicolas de Biard *sermones de tempore* (fols. 1r-125v); *sermones de festis* (fols. 126r – 179v); concordance table (fols. 179v – 182v); an *addendum* to the sermon at fol. 125 (fols. 183rv)

Writing and decoration: Gothic textualis rotunda bookhand. Initials in red and blue; paragraph signs in red.

Selected bibliography: *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements de France*, Tome in-4° 2, Imprimerie nationale, Paris, 1855, p. 717; Vernet A., *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Clairvaux*, Éditions du Centre national de la Recherche scientifique, Paris,

1979, p. 793; Bataillon L.-J., «The tradition of Nicholas of Biard's distinctiones», *Viator*, 25, 1994, p. 246.

14. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, cod. guelf 78.7 Aug. 2

W2

Fifteenth century, paper, 287 x 205 mm, fols. 285, 2 cols., 43 lines.

History: The manuscript lacks the first and the last folios and does not present any marks that could suggest its origin. It entered the library of Duke Augustus II (1579-1666) of Brunswick-Lüneburg during the early 1660s.

Content: Nicolas de Biard *sermones de tempore* (fols. 1r-216r); *sermones de festis* (fols. 216r – 283r).

Writing and decoration: Gothic cursiva bookhand. Initials, rubrics and paragraph signs in red.

Selected bibliography: Heinemann O. von, *Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*, Die Augusteischen Handschriften, IV, Vittorio Klostermann, Frankfurt am Main, 1900, p. 8.

15. Worcester, Cathedral library, Q. 4

W1

Thirteenth century, parchment, 205 x 135 mm, fols. I + 323, 2 cols., 31 lines.

History: The manuscript is probably of French origin and arrived at Worcester at an early date. It presents a note at fol. 322v in which is recorded the amount of indulgences granted to those who will pray and hear the prayers performed by prior Philip for the souls of Jacob Aubin, his wife Agnes, and master Robert de Fangfoss. Philip should be identified with Philip Aubin, prior from 1287 to 1296⁴¹ while Robert de Fangfoss was the archdeacon of Gloucester who died in 1288.⁴² Therefore it is possible to suggest a

⁴¹ Joan Greatrex, *Biographical Register of the English Cathedral Priories of the Province of Canterbury c. 1066 to 1540* (Clarendon Press, 1997), 772–73.

⁴² John Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1066-1300*, ed. Diana E. Greenway (University of London Institute of Historical Research, 1968), 108.

window between 1275 and 1288 for the production and arrival of the manuscript at Worcester cathedral library.

Content: Nicolas de Biard *sermones de tempore* (fols. 1r-236v); *sermones de festis* (fols. 237r – 315v)

Writing and decoration: Gothic textualis semi-quadrata bookhand. Opening initial (f. 1r) in pink, blue and gold with two grotesques. Initials in red and blue. Paragraph signs in red and blue.

Selected bibliography: Thomson R. M., *A descriptive catalogue of the medieval manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library*, Published on behalf of the Dean and Chapter of Worcester Cathedral by D. S. Brewer, Cambridge, 2001, p. 119; Bernard E., *Catalogus Librorum Manucriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae*, 1697, p. 848; Floyer J. K., Hamilton S. G., *Catalogue of manuscripts preserved in the chapter library of Worchester Cathedral*, Oxford, 1906, p. 105.

The principles of the edition

Before venturing into the description of the collection *de festis* of Nicolas de Biard, I need to explain the reasoning behind my choices for the collation of manuscripts and the general goal of this edition. As mentioned in the introduction and first chapter of this thesis, there is a general absence of edited model sermon collections. Since the start of the twenty-first century different scholars, noting the problem, have tried to focus on this lack of knowledge by advocating new approaches to critical editions more forgiving than the Lachmannian method. As Monica Hedlund has put it: “the high standard of modern critical editing makes it more or less impossible to produce full-scale critical editions of such texts [model sermon collections].”⁴³ Fortunately, in most cases there is no need for a full-scale edition that encompasses all the preserved witnesses. Rather, a reliable edition that takes into account the prominent features of sermon material (biblical quotes, *exempla*, structures, and their different sources) are what the scholarly field needs. Of course, this does not mean that the researcher can neglect assessing the influence of a collection by not researching all the possible extant witnesses. This step in my research, as I have

⁴³ Monica Hedlund, ‘The Use of Model Sermons at Vadstena: A Case Study’, in *Constructing the Medieval Sermon*, ed. Roger Andersson (Brepols, 2006), 117.

already noted, has allowed me to ascertain the actual number of witnesses to Nicolas' collection thus broadening the amount of information on the preservation of Nicolas' work.

My goal for this edition is to recover the version of the text that seems to have been the most influential, in this case the *pecia* tradition, a process that has guided scholars such as Odelman, in her own edition of the sermons *de tempore* of Nicolaus de Aquaevilla.⁴⁴ She followed the process outlined by d'Avray, who argued that the editor should be moved by a "proportionality principle" in which the time dedicated to the edition is in direct correlation to the intellectual gain that the edition might bring to the scholarly field.⁴⁵ Usually, in the field of sermon studies the general consensus is to approach an edition with the goal of editing the sermon from a sample of three witnesses, which should usually be enough to correct general errors and to be sure of the difficult readings that one witness might pose. Still, d'Avray suggests that sometimes using only three manuscripts might not be enough and, given the possibility of having chosen the wrong ones, the edition might suffer from an important gap in knowledge.⁴⁶ For this reason I have chosen to edit the *de festis* collection from eight witnesses: *L1*, *M1*, *M2*, *Me*, *P*, *P1*, *P4*, *Ta*, and *W1*.

I have chosen these manuscripts, among the fifteen that preserve the collection, based on the presence of *pecia* markings, their proximity in time to the end of the thirteenth century, and the different environments in which they were preserved. *P* has been determined as the base manuscript from which the edition has been developed. The idea of a "base manuscript" originates from the idea of "best manuscript" developed by Bédier when he noticed that traditional stemmatics were unhelpful in editing vernacular French manuscripts.⁴⁷ This method is not free from errors, and sometimes the so-called "best manuscript" is not the one that preserves

⁴⁴ Eva Odelman, 'Editing the Sermones Moralissimi de Tempore by Nicolaus de Aquaevilla', in *Constructing the Medieval Sermon*, ed. Roger Andersson (Brepols, 2006), 167.

⁴⁵ d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons*, 31.

⁴⁶ For example d'Avray admits that the standard version of a sermon of Pierre de Reims might have been overlooked if the wrong three witnesses had been chosen for the edition: d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons*, 33.

⁴⁷ d'Avray, 'Contamination, Stemmatics and the Editing of Medieval Latin Texts', 65.

the best version of the text itself, but it has a practical usefulness to it. Unfortunately, the collection of Nicolas de Biard has never been printed and so, unlike the collection of Nicolaus de Aquaevilla, it was not possible to use an incunable as the base text for my edition.⁴⁸

In my edition I use *P* as base manuscript for three reasons: the general legibility of the text, which was extremely important during the first phases of the project while familiarizing with the type of text; the fact that it has preserved, as table 3 shows, a good number of explicit *pecia* marks; and the fact that it was the only one to preserve a different *pecia* tradition according to Bataillon,⁴⁹ thus enabling me to show the differences between the two *pecia* versions and, possibly, to identify the relations between the extant witnesses in the critical apparatus. Indeed, it is useful to bear in mind that, although the University of Paris seemed, as we have previously seen, concerned with the good quality (of parchment and of script) of the manuscripts lent by the *stationarii*, a *pecia* manuscript does not preserve a better tradition of the text by this sole virtue. This is something d'Avray noticed in the critical edition of a sermon of Pierre de Reims, OP: sometimes the *pecia* exemplars tend to be less accurate than might be expected.⁵⁰ This also proved to be true for Nicolas' collection: during the collation phase, *P* was recognized as not being the "best" manuscript in terms of correctness of the Latin text; nonetheless I decided to follow my decision of using it as a base manuscript because it made it easier to find out how much its *pecia* tradition differed from that which seemed to have more witnesses. Furthermore, by employing the concept of a base manuscript, there was a higher chance of rigorous exactitude in the systematic check for variants, which shortened the necessary time for completing the edition.⁵¹

The other manuscripts, *L1*, *M1*, *M2*, *Me*, *P1*, *P4*, *Ta*, and *W1*, were chosen for different reasons. Mss. *M1* and *Me* were chosen because of the presence of explicit *pecia* markings, and so

⁴⁸ Eva Odelman, 'A "Semi-Critical" Edition of the Model Sermon Collection Sermones Moralissimi de Tempore by Nicolaus de Aquaevilla', in *The Arts of Editing Medieval Greek and Latin: A Casebook*, ed. Elisabet Göransson et al., Studies and Texts 203 (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2016), 268–89, <http://lup.lub.lu.se/record/71c551d5-bf93-43fc-9628-d804e30597fd>.

⁴⁹ Bataillon, 'The Tradition of Nicholas of Biard's "Distinctiones"'.

⁵⁰ d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons*, 85.

⁵¹ d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons*, 40.

were deemed to be good manuscripts to edit for their proximity to the Parisian system of copying. Manuscript *L1* should also be part of this group because of its identification by Bataillon as a follower of the same *pecia* tradition; but the analysis of the manuscript has not found any explicit or implicit signs of *pecia* markings. Nonetheless, it is evident from the editing work that the manuscript follows the tradition of *M1* and *Me*. The other manuscripts, *M2*, *P1*, *P4*, *Ta*, and *W1*, were chosen for different reasons tied to their origin. With *M2*, *P1*, *Ta*, and *W1*, I intended to discover whether there were differences in the transmission of the text among those complete manuscripts that were in use far from the centre of production of the text.⁵² With *P4*, I decided to use it because of its origin and preservation history. Not only was the ms. in the possession of Peter de Limoges, but it had also entered the library of the Sorbonne, and so potentially had the possibility of having been the base manuscript from which other preachers and scholars studying at the Sorbonne could have copied the sermons of Nicolas de Biard for themselves. This has proven to be a fruitful choice because it allowed me to discover that Peter's copy was also copied from a *pecia* exemplar, which was previously not known.

In the course of the development of the edition I have chosen the following editorial principles with the clear understanding that the main objective of this edition is to present to other scholars a fair account of both systems of *pecia* used for Nicolas de Biard's sermons, along with the text as it was preserved without any heavy modern editorial change. I would argue that

⁵² The sole exception to this list is ms. *M2* which does not preserve a complete *de festis* collection. Nonetheless, I decided for its inclusion on the basis of proximity to the witness (I was spending my time abroad in Milan in order to analyse the two manuscripts of the Ambrosian library) and the possibility that mss. *M1* and *M2* could have been more closely related than previously thought.

for the history of preaching it is more interesting to follow the life of the text after its inception than to establish a fully corrected authorial version.⁵³

In the foreword to the edition the reader will find a summary of the editorial principles employed. Nonetheless, for the sake of clarity, I will also mention them here.

The edition presents three apparatuses: the critical apparatus, the biblical apparatus, and a source apparatus. The base manuscript for the edition is ms. *P*, and I have chosen to follow its readings in the majority of cases, even when the text presents some errors which were not corrected. In the few cases where I had to prefer the reading of another manuscript, the reader will find the *P* reading in the critical apparatus alongside other variant's readings. In the critical apparatus I have chosen to display as much information as possible in order to allow other scholars to gain the most from my research. These include changes in the order of words and different spelling for the same word, where they were not obvious errors in transcription. I have also inserted notable corrections to the text made by medieval scribes signalled by *corr.* and additions to the text (i.e., suprascript additions) signalled by *add.* In the matter of orthography, all punctuation and capitalisations are mine. Proper names and devotional names (*Dominus*, *Virgo*, etc.) have been capitalised; I have normalised the orthography of 'ti' as 'ci'. In the case of the differentiation of 'v' and 'u' I render the initial letter by 'v', but in other positions by 'u'. The abbreviations in the text have been expanded without giving notice in the apparatus; for the expanded version I use the orthography of the base manuscript. Numerals are given according to *P*, but any differences in other witnesses are given in the apparatus.

In order to allow for a better understanding of the different parts of the sermon, the sermons have been subdivided according to their structure by numbers marked in angle brackets

⁵³ d'Avray, 'Contamination, Stemmatics and the Editing of Medieval Latin Texts', 66.

< >. The *thema* of the sermon is underlined not only at the start of the sermon but also whenever it appears as *lemmata* in the development of the sermon.

The biblical apparatus follows the Clementine Vulgate with notable differences between the sermon text and the biblical quotation signalled by ‘Cfr’ in the apparatus whereas biblical authorities in the text are marked by the use of *italics*.

The source apparatus displays the non-biblical sources employed by Nicolas de Biard. The reader will find both classical and medieval sources in the apparatus; alongside the Gloss I have decided to give references to Thiel’s catalogue of interpretation of biblical names⁵⁴ and the relevant references to Morawski’s catalogue of medieval French proverbs.⁵⁵ The apparatus marks the usage of medieval French vernacular by the notation ‘French’.

Finally, at the start of each sermon, I give Schneyer’s classification, amending it if necessary, and the relevant shelfmarks and foliation for each witness used for the edition.

The *de festis* collection

The late medieval period saw a surge in the importance of saints. This new interest is signalled by the compilation of new hagiographies from which clergy and laity alike could take inspiration.⁵⁶ Sermons naturally played an important role in establishing or attempting to establish the cult of a saint, popularizing new ideas and Church teachings with their composite nature as both public and normative speech. This importance is exemplified by the development of sermon production, which increasingly developed collections of sermons on saints and their feast days; in the taxation list of 1275, fifteen model sermon collections are listed, of which seven are dedicated to saints and general feasts or present a

⁵⁴ Matthias Thiel, *Grundlagen Und Gestalt Der Hebräischkenntnisse Des Frühen Mittelalters*, Studi Medievali. Biblioteca 4 (Spoleto, 1973).

⁵⁵ Joseph Morawski, *Proverbes. Publié en ligne par la Base de français médiéval*, vol. 47, Les classiques français du Moyen-Age (Champion, 1925), <http://catalog.bfm-corpus.org/prov>.

⁵⁶ André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge University Press, 1997); Giampaolo Maggioni, ‘La trasmissione dei leggendari abbreviati del XIII secolo’, *Filologia mediolatina* 9 (2002): 87–107; Giampaolo Maggioni, ‘Thirteenth-Century Legendae Novae and the Preaching Orders: A Communication System’, in *Hagiography and the History of Latin Christendom, 500–1500*, ed. Samantha Kahn Herrick (Brill, 2020); George Ferzoco, ‘The Context of Medieval Sermon Collections on Saints’, in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, vol. 3, ed. Carolyn Muessig, *A New History of the Sermon* (Brill, 2002).

combination of both *de tempore* and *de festis* sermons. These collections usually presented sermons aimed at being used from early December to late November, thus following the liturgical calendar. Usually the collections that present only sermons for the saints are called *de sanctis*, whereas those that present some sermons for immovable, and sometimes movable, feasts are referred to as *de festis* cycle.⁵⁷ Among this type of collections, the *de festis* collection of Nicolas de Biard is not one of the lengthiest, being comprised of only thirty-two sermons. It is indeed small in comparison to those of Pierre of Reims, Jacques de Vitry or Jacobus de Voragine which are not in the taxation list;⁵⁸ and when compared with those that are present, the difference is even more noticeable with Peter of St Benedict's collection comprising ninety-six sermons, the *Legifer* collection with sixty-four sermons,⁵⁹ the collection of Thomas Brito of seventy-seven. The collection of Gérard de Mailly is the only one shorter than Nicolas' with only twenty-one sermons, although it has to be noted that this collection does not include generic sermons for the common feasts but only sermons in honour of the saints, while all the others present a combination of the two types of sermon.⁶⁰ It is thus clear that Nicolas' collection is far from being the most complete among those in the taxation list of 1275 and, in being so much shorter than the rest, it bears much more resemblance to the collection of the Dominican Gérard de Mailly.

So finally, it is time to analyse the collection of Nicolas de Biard. According to the list developed by Schneyer, Nicolas should have authored eighty-eight sermons for both the saints and the common feasts⁶¹ but, as Bataillon already noted,⁶² Schneyer was probably too generous in ascribing them to Nicolas. Because of this concern that the suggested number was too high, one of the underlying goals of this thesis was indeed to ascertain which sermons could be ascribed to Nicolas with a high degree of certainty by editing those that were part of the collection available from the *stationarii*. The analysis of the manuscripts has shed some light on the actual composition of his collection, as I shall explain.

⁵⁷ Guilelmus Peraldus, *The Sermons of William Peraldus*, 2.

⁵⁸ Ferzoco, 'The Context of Medieval Sermon Collections on Saints', 281.

⁵⁹ For more information on this collection: d'Avray, 'Collectiones Fratrum and Collationes Fratrum'.

⁶⁰ L. J. Bataillon and Nicole Bériou, 'G. de Mailly, de l'ordre des frères prêcheurs', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, no. 61 (1991): 76.

⁶¹ Schneyer, *RLS*, 241–48.

⁶² Bataillon, 'The Tradition of Nicholas of Biard's "Distinctiones"', 246 footnote 8.

Nicolas' *de festis* collection is comprised of eleven generic sermons (C), nineteen sermons dedicated to specific saints (S), three of which are for the Virgin Mary and, strangely, two *de tempore* sermons (T) as classified by Schneyer.⁶³ The following table (4) presents each sermon, numbered according to this edition, Schneyer's classification system, *thema* and *incipit*.

Table 4 – The contents of the *de festis* collection

	<i>RLS</i>	<i>Classification</i>	<i>Thema</i>	<i>Incipit</i>
I	205	C3 Evangelista, evangelistis	<i>Ecce super montes pedes evangelizantis</i> (Nah 1,15)	<i>Si quis enim de patria sua pro delicto forbanizatus</i>
II	209	C2 apostolo, apostolis	<i>Hoc est preceptum meum</i> (John 15,14)	<i>Dicitur enim (communiter): Selon le seignor la mesnie. Si enim dominus castus est, castam familiam vult habere</i>
III	213	C2 apostolo, apostolis	<i>Tollite iugum meum super vos</i> (Matt 11,29)	<i>Cum quis nutrit bovem, non est mirum, si iugum sibi imponat</i>
IV	215	C4 uno martyre	<i>Qui odit animam suam</i> (John 12,25)	<i>Dicitur vulgariter: Qui non dat quod amat, non accipit ille, quod optat. Unde qui non dat pro Deo, quod amat in hac vita, quod cupit, non accipiet</i>
V	217	C5 pluribus martyribus	<i>Fortes facti sunt in bello</i> (Hebr. 11, 34)	<i>Fortem faciunt hominem tria contra vitia et peccata</i>
VI	220	C6 uno confessore	<i>Iustum deducit Dominus</i> (Sap. 10, 10)	<i>Super omnia, quae sunt expedit viatori habere socium fidelem</i>
VII	170/221	S24/C6 uno confessore	<i>Exaltavi electum de plebe mea</i> (Ps. 88, 20)	<i>Ubique terrarum jus est consuetum, quod bonitas rei factae ...</i>
VIII	223	C7 pluribus confessoribus	<i>Negociamini dum venio</i> (Luc. 19, 13)	<i>Respicite pannum in capite et in cauda, quando est bonus in capite et in cauda malus</i>
IX	157	S1 de S. Andrea	<i>Ascendam in palmam</i> (Cant. 7, 8)	<i>Sicut ignis in stupis latere non potest, sic ardor cupidinis nec vehementia amoris in corde</i>
X	158	S3 de S. Nicolao	<i>Deus, docuisti me</i> (Ps. 70, 17)	<i>Carissimi, legimus in Isaia, quod Dominus vocat praedicatorem tubam, quia tuba, si sonat, vocem magnam emittit ...</i>
XI	160	S7 de S. Lucia	<i>Ecce sponsus venit</i> (Matth. 25, 6)	<i>Divites noviter maritati ad domum suam redire nolunt, nisi viellatores et tympani batores et huius praecedant ...</i>
XII	166	S20 in conversione s. Pauli	<i>Vas electionis mihi est</i> (Act. 9, 15)	<i>Solent caupones vina sua volentes ponere in tabernam vasa et cibos pulchros ...</i>
XIII	170a	S24 Sancti Matthis apostoli	<i>Domine, ostende quem elegeris</i> (Act. 1, 24)	<i>Petrus et alii apostoli fecerunt, sicut modo faciunt mercatores. Qui enim vult emere equum ...</i>
XIV	176	S44 de S. Johanne Baptista	<i>In Domino laudabitur anima mea</i> (Ps. 33, 3)	<i>Vulgariter dicitur, que bontés altre garde et colée saper. Si quis enim invitaverit me ad comedendum ...</i>
XV	183	S59 in assumptione BMV	<i>Astitit regina a dexteris tuis</i> (Ps. 44, 10)	<i>Consuetudo sapientis est semper in principio sui operis Deum invocare ...</i>
XVI	184/171 ⁶⁴	S59 in assumptione BMV /S28 in annuntiatione BMV	<i>Fecit mihi magna qui potens est</i> (Luc. 1, 49)	<i>Quia ut ait Augustinus, opera enim. Trinitatis indivisa sunt ...</i>

⁶³ The letters represents *de sanctis* (S), *de communis* (C) and *de tempore* (T) sermons.

⁶⁴ The double identification proposed by Schneyer could be explained by the heavily corrupted text preserved by ms. Paris, BnF, lat. 13579. According to Schneyer the sermon *Fecit mihi magna...* should be identified also as S28 *in annuntiatione* because of the manuscript rubric. I would like to propose the possibility of an error by Schneyer for two reasons. Firstly, it was Hauréau's opinion that the manuscript had a very defective text (*Notices et...* vol. 2, p. 278). Secondly, no other manuscript preserves the same rubric as ms. Paris, BnF, lat. 13579.

	<i>RLS</i>	Classification	<i>Thema</i>	<i>Incipit</i>
XVII	192	S79 omnibus Sanctis	<i>Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius</i> (Ps. 150, 1)	<i>Solent viellatores gesta proborum militum utpote Caroli libenter narrare, quanto magis praedicatores ...</i>
XVIII	193	S79 omnibus Sanctis	<i>Gloria haec est omnibus sanctis</i> (Ps. 149, 9)	<i>Consueverunt nobiles et magnates hominibus de terra sua baronibus nobilibus magnas festivitates facere ...</i>
XIX	194	S79 omnibus Sanctis	<i>Congregate illi sanctos eius</i> (Ps. 49, 5)	<i>Solent religiosi in capitulo congregari, ut orationes omnium petantur simul, quas impossibile erat peter singillatim ...</i>
XX	199	S81 de S. Martino	<i>Foeneratur Domino</i> (Prov. 19, 17)	<i>Carissimi, mos est sapientium operatorum in principio sui operis invocare Dei auxilium ...</i>
XXI	203	S85 de S. Catharina	<i>Devoravit virga Aaron virgas eorum</i> (Ex. 7, 12)	<i>Idest sapientium Aegypti et maleficorum .. Dicitur vulgariter: A cui Diex vent aider nuls ne li poet nuire. Dominus mihi adjutor et ego despiciam ..</i>
XXII	181	S52 de S. Petro ad vincula	<i>Ipse liberavit me</i> (Ps. 90, 3)	<i>Quomodo convenient verba ista beato Petro, cuius hodie festum celebrat ecclesia, satis planum est ...</i>
XXIII	61	T21/4 dnca 3. in Quadrages. (?)	<i>Ubi duo vel tres congregati sunt</i> (Matth. 18, 20)	<i>Vulgariter dicitur: Compaignie Deus la fist, et ideo tantum diligit bonorum societatem</i>
XXIV	238	C11 in dedicatione ecclesiae	<i>Domine Deus exaudi clamorem populi huius</i> (Num. 20, 6)	<i>In verbo isto primo maiestas Dei confitetur</i>
XXV	226	C8 una virgine	<i>Mulier timens Deum</i> (Prov. 31, 30)	<i>Dicitur: in vespere laudabitur dies et in mane laudatur hospes. Hospes Christi est, qui eum in paupere hospitatur</i>
XXVI	202	S84? de S. Clemente	<i>Attende tibi et doctrinae</i> (I Tim. 4, 16)	<i>Verba sunt apostoli I Timotheum 4. instruentis ipsum et in eo quemlibet praelatum ...</i>
XXVII	228	C8 una virgine	<i>Fortitudo et decor</i> (Prov. 21, 25)	<i>Vulgariter dicitur que il n'est nus qui ne s'atorne. Ornatus enim plurimum confert personae</i>
XXVIII	189	S65 in nativitate BMV	<i>Rorate caeli desuper</i> (Is. 45, 8)	<i>Homines, quando habebunt caristiam uno anno, solent desiderare fertilitatem ...</i>
XXIX	177	S44 de S. Johanne Baptista	<i>Ille erat lucerna ardens</i> (Ioh. 5, 35)	<i>Lucerne pedibus meis verbum tuum (Psalmi 118, 105). Ille dicitur esse bonus medicus ...</i>
XXX	178	S46 de SS. Petro et Paulo	<i>Suspendium elegit</i> (Iob 7, 15)	<i>Dicat Petrus suspensus primam partem, et Paulus hodie cruciatus secundam ...</i>
XXXI	180	S50 de S. Jacobo	<i>Nescitis, quid petatis</i> (Matth. 20, 22)	<i>Haec sunt verba Domini dicentis et respondentis Jacobo et Johanni, quorum mater irrationabilem petitionem faciebat ...</i>
XXXII	68	T23 dnca 1. in passione Dni et de passione Dni in generali	<i>Indica me Deus</i> (Ps. 42, 1)	<i>Consuetum est enim, quod cum aliquis trahitur in causam coram aliquibus</i>

It appears that the internal layout of the collection is not organized around the liturgical calendar: sermons XXIV, XXV and XXVII are positioned among *de sanctis* sermons for no obvious reason, even if their location would be more appropriate at the start of the collection with the other generic sermons. Moreover, the position of some of the sermons for the saints does not follow the liturgical calendar followed during the thirteenth century. The collection should end with the sermon for St Clement (23 November) but, as shown in the table, it follows another order in which the liturgical sequence is not considered. To further complicate the layout of the collection there are two *de tempore* sermons, XXIII and XXXII, which are dedicated to the third Sunday of Lent and the Passion of Christ.

These identifications cast some doubt on the internal consistency of the collection itself. For this reason, a direct analysis of the manuscript rubrics could shed some light on this attribution. Sermon XXIII is listed as *de eodem (de beato Petro apostolo)* in *P* (fol. 187ra), and as *de synodo* in *L2* (fol. 289ra); all other manuscripts do not have a rubric for that sermon. I would argue that the sermon should in fact be identified as C 14 *in synodo*. There are two principal reasons for suggesting these identifications. The first is the similarity to the treatment given to C sermons, which are usually not rubricated whereas the *de sanctis* sermons are, as is shown in *P3*. The second is the fact that the text itself is undoubtedly more suited to a synodal occasion, as its text demonstrates:

“It is to be noted in these words how the righteous should then congregate in the name of Christ in order to take action and do those things that are related to the honour of his name, in the name of Jesus, [and in order] to do the things related to [the Church’s] salvation.”⁶⁵

It seems that Schneyer, in his monumental work, wrongly identified the occasion for which this sermon was composed. Similarly, the last sermon of the collection, XXXII, might have been erroneously recognized as a *de tempore* sermon. However, upon direct examination, the manuscript tradition corroborates Schneyer’s identification: all rubricated manuscripts identify it as dedicated to Passion Sunday (*De passione Domini* according to *P*, *Dominica in passione* according to *Me*, and such in the other witnesses), which of course can be considered as a *festive* sermon and not merely a Sunday sermon. Nonetheless, even if some of the sermon placements may cast doubts on the nature of Nicolas’ work, direct analysis of the collection points toward the idea that he intended to compose a coherent collection and that the texts were not collected together by a *compiler*. This finding is corroborated by the inclusion of a remark in sermon X, in which the author points out that he is employing an *exemplum* that the reader can find in sermon V. In the *exemplum* Nicolas recounts the battle between two boxers, section <3.2>, and before retelling the story he adds the remark, “*exemplum prius positum*,” which can be found at section <4.2.4> of sermon V.

⁶⁵ ms. Paris, BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 2032 f. 187ra: « *Notatur autem in verbis istis qualiter iusti debeant congregari quoniam in nomine Christi id est ut exerceant et agant qua pertinent ad honorem nominis sui in nomine Iesum ut excercant qua pertinent ad salutem* ».

Setting aside the difficulty in explaining the position of sermons for common feasts and the last one (XXXII), the organization of the collection basically follows the calendar of feasts for the saints up until sermon XXI. The organization of the yearly calendar is tied to the liturgical traditions of the Western Church and the liturgy was the structure on which faith was built and organized in a manner that left a mark on the whole society by the fixing of rites and rituals.⁶⁶ Both preaching and liturgy are performative acts, as Bériou has pointed out,⁶⁷ even though they do not use the same means of expression: the former tries to adapt the message for the public; the latter finds its strength in the unmodified repetition of its rites and rituals. Nonetheless, scholars of liturgy and medieval preaching have pointed out the importance of the liturgy for the development of sermon collections.⁶⁸ This is even more the case when we take into consideration that the establishment of liturgy was a long process and that in the mid-thirteenth century both Franciscans and Dominicans had the need to define a liturgy they would follow,⁶⁹ because liturgy is usually tied to the environment in which the rites (the mass, etc.) are conducted. For the mendicant orders especially, it was of primary importance to follow a liturgy that aligned with their mobile and international nature.⁷⁰ The Franciscans were the first to choose a liturgy for themselves, with the presentation of Haymo of Faversham's *Indutus planeta* and *Ordo Missale*, the ordinal for the Franciscan order, in 1243 at the Chapter of Bologna.⁷¹ On the other hand, while there was a first attempt at uniformity for the Dominican liturgy in 1244, it was only with the election of Humbert of Romans as minister general (1254) that the Dominicans approved a version of their liturgy to be adopted consistently throughout the order.⁷²

By the late 1250s both orders defined their liturgy either by strict adherence to the Roman rite (Franciscans) or the devising of a liturgy proper to the order (Dominicans). Because of the importance

⁶⁶ Nicole Bériou, 'Introduction', in *Prédication et liturgie au Moyen Âge*, ed. Nicole Bériou and Franco Morenzoni, Bibliothèque d'histoire culturelle du Moyen Âge 5 (Brepols, 2008).

⁶⁷ Bériou, 'Introduction', 15; On the definition of 'performative act' see: J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (Clarendon Press, 1955).

⁶⁸ Bataillon, 'Approaches', 20.

⁶⁹ For more information on the history of Dominican and Franciscan liturgy I refer to the classic studies on the subject: S. J. P. Van Dijk, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy: The Liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the Thirteenth Century*, with Joan Hazelden Walker (Newman Press, 1960); William R. Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy* (Joseph F. Wagner, 1944).

⁷⁰ O'Carroll, 'The Lectionary for the Proper of the Year in the Dominican and Franciscan Rites of the Thirteenth Century', 82–83.

⁷¹ Van Dijk, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy*, 285–93.

⁷² Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy*, 28–45.

of liturgy in defining important aspects of religious life, it was indeed a central element of the worship of a community. For a modern scholar, this is especially important when the research goal is the analysis of model sermon collections developed with a particular audience in mind.⁷³ Furthermore, because of the connection between liturgy and preaching, in studying the general outline of the collection my secondary aim was to assess whether Nicolas' affiliation to the Franciscan or Dominican Order could be identified by looking at the liturgical order of the sermons. This objective was pursued by cross-referencing both the *de tempore* and *de festis* collections with the liturgy of each mendicant order, as suggested by Bataillon and O'Carroll.⁷⁴ In addition, in order to have a better picture of the practice of other preachers, the following collections present in the taxation list of 1275 have also been examined: *Legifer (Collectiones Fratrum)*, *Attrebatenses/Alleabatensis*, Gérard of Mailly's,⁷⁵ Peter of St Benedict's, and Thomas Brito's.⁷⁶ This examination of the *de tempore* sermons of these four collections, plus Biard's, against the table of readings for Sundays published by O'Carroll⁷⁷ began by looking at Biard's *de tempore* collection from *P* (fols. 1ra-9va) and *P3* (fols. 1ra-7va) for reference.

Both manuscripts preserve the rubrication for their sermons, making it possible to see their intended usage. The first five sermons are not dedicated to the start of Advent, as is usual, but are instead divided into four *sermones historiales* and one general sermon for Advent. If the fifth sermon fits in this position by virtue of its identification as a good sermon for any occasion during Advent, the first four are indeed a unicum among the other collections present in the taxation list. Nicolas' collection is the only one to start with a series of sermons not specifically for the first Sunday of Advent. Moreover, the definition of *sermones historiales* is a troubling one. Usually, a *sermo historialis* is a sermon in which the thematic structure of the *sermo modernus* is abandoned in favour of a chronological sequence in which the

⁷³ A good example are the studies of Pfaff and Welch for England and Umbria: Richard William Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History*, with Cambridge University Press, Cambridge Core (University Press, 2009); Anna Welch, *Liturgy, Books and Franciscan Identity in Medieval Umbria*, *The Medieval Franciscans* 12 (Brill, 2015).

⁷⁴ Bataillon, 'Approaches', 20; O'Carroll, 'The Lectionary for the Proper of the Year in the Dominican and Franciscan Rites of the Thirteenth Century'.

⁷⁵ On Gérard of Mailly's collection see: Bataillon and Bériou, 'G. de Mailly, de l'ordre des frères prêcheurs'.

⁷⁶ Murano, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*, 87–88.

⁷⁷ O'Carroll, 'The Lectionary for the Proper of the Year in the Dominican and Franciscan Rites of the Thirteenth Century', 85–103.

preacher expounds the thematic verse following the chronological order of the events in the corresponding book of the Gospel. This characteristic, noted by Wenzel, is especially found in late medieval sermons and marked a return to the preaching patterns of the pre-scholastic homily, in which the lengthy narrative of the Gospel is subdivided into as many sections as needed.⁷⁸ Nicolas' sermons do not attempt to do this. First and foremost, their *themata* are not chosen from the Gospels but from the Old Testament (I Samuel 7,3; Prov. 30,8; Job 3,24; II Mac. 1,4), and among them only two are chosen from the historical books of the Bible.⁷⁹ All four sermons follow the usual organization of the *sermo modernus* in which the *thema* is subdivided and the singular parts are analysed and developed by the author, thus rendering the definition of *historialis* as Wenzel understood it not useful in defining these sermons. I am rather inclined to explain the rubrication as *historiales* as an attempt to define the origin of the *themata* as part of the Old Testament and tied to the history of the Jews.

After the first five sermons, the collection starts to follow the Sunday calendar which, as noted by O'Carroll, is the same for both Franciscans and Dominicans until Pentecost.⁸⁰ After Pentecost the sermons in Nicolas' collection follow the Dominican liturgy and this is further reinforced by the adherence to the Dominican use of referring to those Sundays as *post Sanctae Trinitatis* which is the chosen reading in the rubrics of both *P* and *P3*. Moreover, the list of sermons accounts for twenty-five Sundays after Trinity as in the Dominican tradition whereas the Franciscan tradition usually stops at twenty-four Sundays after Pentecost. It has to be noted though that *P* lacks the twenty-fifth sermon (T66 *Ubi cumque fuerit corpus*) while other manuscripts (i.e., *P3* and *P4*) present the full list of sermons. The fact that Nicolas had followed the Dominican liturgy would not provide a definitive proof of his Dominican affiliation if the other collections authored by Franciscans had chosen to display the same liturgical order for their

⁷⁸ Siegfried Wenzel, *Preachers, Poets, and the Early English Lyric*, Princeton Legacy Library (Princeton University Press, 1986), 149–51.

⁷⁹ Three books are 'historical' if we take into account the classification of Denis the Carthusian (1401-1471): '*Historiales dicuntur, in quibus historiae rerum gestarum narrantur. Et sunt numero septemdecim: Josue, Judicum, Ruth, Regum libri quatuor, Paralipomenon libri duo, Esdrae libri duo (nam Esdrae tertius et quartus apocryphi sunt, secundum Hieronymum), Tobiae, Judith, Esther, Job, et Machabaeorum libri duo*' in: Denis the Carthusian, 'Epitome siue nobiliores sententiae totius Bibliae prologus', in *Doctoris ecstatici d. Dionysii Cartusiani opera omnia, cura et labore monachorum sacri Ordinis Cartusiensis*. (Typis Cartusiae Sanctae Mariae de Pratis, 1901), 14:541.

⁸⁰ O'Carroll, 'The Lectionary for the Proper of the Year in the Dominican and Franciscan Rites of the Thirteenth Century', 83.

sermons. Instead, research showed that the Franciscan collections (*Legifer*, Peter of St Benedict and Thomas Brito) follow the Franciscan liturgy while the Dominican collections (Gérard of Mailly, *Attrebatenses*) follow the Dominican sequence, thus reinforcing the idea that Nicolas de Biard could have been a Dominican friar.

The *de festis* collection does not show any evident indication of a possible affiliation to a particular order. As Table 2 shows, there are no sermons dedicated to either mendicant saint founder, and the order of the sermons does not entirely follow the liturgical sequence of feast days for the saints. Nonetheless, direct analysis of the manuscript evidence suggests more. Three manuscripts (*P3*, f. 140va; *Ta*, f. 162va; *Tr*, f. 132va) have rubricated sermon 220 C6 under the name of St. Francis (S73) and not as a generic *de uno confessore*. Because the rubrics are usually devised by the scribe of the *apopecia* and not by the author himself, they could well preserve errors or the usage that the reader and first user would have had for that model sermon. However, analysing the text of the sermon itself, it does not seem a case of simple misattribution, because Nicolas indeed talks about St. Francis:

“Such a partner was God to Francis and his companions who were following the path of his will as is said in those words. [...] Such [a companion] he was to St. Francis in bringing him from the world to religion.”⁸¹

Nowhere else in the collection is the name of a mendicant patron saint quoted, so St. Francis at least has a presence in Nicolas’ collection. The sermon is not as clear in its praises of St. Francis as the one analysed by Hauréau in establishing a Franciscan affiliation, and because of its nature as a model sermon, it does not present any personal information that could help scholars in understanding something more of the Nicolas’ life.⁸² Furthermore, when comparing the *de festis* collection with those of Peter of St Benedict, Gérard de Mailly, the *Legifer* collection, and Thomas Brito, it seems that generally

⁸¹ Ms. Paris, BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 2032, f. 160va: « Talis socius fuit Deus beato Francisco et conservis suis incedentibus per viam mandatorum suorum ut dicere in dictis verbis.[...] Talis fuit beato Francisco ipsum de mundo ad religionem adducendo ».

⁸² Hauréau, *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 2:91 Specifically I am referring to sermon 48 T19 Ductus est Jesus (Matt 4:1) in ms. Paris, BnF, lat. 12419, f. 120v.

there was a general consensus on not including sermons for the respective mendicant founders. The only notable exceptions are Nicolas' collection and the *Legifer* which contains two sermons for St. Francis (S39, ms. Troyes 1215, ff. 121va-122rb; S73, ms. Troyes 1215, ff. 137va-138vb).

In conclusion, the collections of Nicolas de Biard follow the Dominican liturgy in choosing the pericopes for Sundays, thus suggesting that Nicolas was indeed a Dominican as Delmas suggested in her analysis of the *Summa de Abstinencia*.⁸³ However, the lack of sermons for St. Dominic, albeit not a characteristic peculiar to Nicolas, and the presence of a sermon in honour of St Francis still raise some doubts about his affiliation. Sermons for St. Francis developed in a Dominican environment are not unheard of, as the research of Horowski has thoroughly demonstrated.⁸⁴ Nonetheless, Nicolas' choice to include Francis by name makes the historian wonder about his motives. Why has he chosen to include St Francis as the prime example of a confessor? The placement of the sermon among the common feasts points to the fact that it was not intended as a sermon *for* St Francis, or else it would have been inserted at the proper place of the liturgical calendar - although, as we have seen, the collection seems to prefer an unconventional ordering for some of its sermons. All in all, while leaning in favour of a Dominican affiliation, the evidence is still inconclusive.

Distinctiones and Summa de Abstinencia

In this final section of the chapter, I would like to present the results of the examination of sermons as sources for the *Distinctiones* and the *Summa de Abstinencia* of Nicolas de Biard. But before I do so, it is important to recall some information about this particular type of preaching aid. The thirteenth century saw the development of the *sermo modernus*, a new system of sermon composition that had wide success and changed the form of preaching from the traditional homily, which followed the biblical text, to the thematic sermon. These sermons, built around a single scriptural passage, had to be developed through the explanation of the meaning of a biblical lemma. To do so, especially for more inexperienced preachers, a new series of working tools had to be devised in order to guide them in choosing the best

⁸³ Delmas, 'La *Summa de Abstinencia* Attribuée à Nicolas de Biard'.

⁸⁴ Horowski, *Repertorium sermonum latinorum medii aevi ad laudem sancti Francisci Assisiensis*.

explanations for the *thema* of their choosing.⁸⁵ It was a consistent effort to gain access, to locate, to retrieve information in order to organize a coherent vision of the world that was to be preached aloud.⁸⁶

During the course of the thirteenth century this need for aids for preaching gave way to a veritable flood of texts designed to be used rather than read: concordances to the scriptures, alphabetical subject indexes of Aristotle and the Fathers, location lists of books and *distinctiones*.⁸⁷ Among these tools that preachers employed, *distinctiones* were one of the most used. They made their first appearance at the end of the twelfth century, with one of the earliest examples being the *Summa quae dicitur Abel* of Peter the Chanter.⁸⁸ We can attempt to define them as a repository of words, each of which is explained according to the four senses or levels of meaning: literal, allegorical, tropological, and anagogical. One of the strengths of these new tools was that they were organized, either in alphabetical order or by an arbitrary classification devised by the author.⁸⁹ This definition is applicable especially to the first type of *distinctiones* which were focused only on the biblical text. Nonetheless, even within the first collections the four senses were not the only ones presented. Sometimes the author of a collection was also concerned with the metaphorical and rhetorical sense of the words and did not rely exclusively on patristic authority to explain scriptural meaning. Instead there was a tendency to rely on the symbolic meaning of each word in connection with a tradition which was not always biblical.⁹⁰ This tendency underwent a further development during the thirteenth century when more and more collections of distinctions, authored by mendicant friars, started to focus on the moral sense of Scripture, and to employ a series of comparisons tied to the natural world and day-to-day life which were connected to Scripture by highlighting the

⁸⁵ For an overview of the instrument for preachers see: Bataillon, 'Les instruments de travail des prédicateurs au XIIIe siècle'.

⁸⁶ Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus Florum of Thomas of Ireland*, Studies and Texts (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies) ; 47 (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1979), 4.

⁸⁷ Mary A. Rouse, 'The Development of Research Tools in the Thirteenth Century', in *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*, with Richard H. Rouse, Publications in Mediaeval Studies ; v. 17 [i.e. 27] (University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), 221.

⁸⁸ For an incomplete list of distinction collections: Wilmart, 'Un répertoire d'exégèse composé en Angleterre vers le début du XIIIe siècle', 335–46.

⁸⁹ Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, 'Biblical "Distinctiones" in the Thirteenth Century', *Archives d'histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire Du Moyen Âge* 41 (1974): 28; For more information about the development of memorizing systems see: Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd ed., Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 99–152.

⁹⁰ Rouse and Rouse, 'Biblical "Distinctiones" in the Thirteenth Century', 29–30.

relevant biblical quotations in which the word was employed.⁹¹ At the same time, while some collections such as that by the Franciscan Maurice of Provins were becoming lengthier in their presentation, by employing a larger number of divisions and subdivision, other preachers were starting to focus their attention only on other aspects of preaching, notably the virtues and vices. This is the case of two later authors of *distinctiones*: Nicolas Gorran and Nicolas de Biard.⁹²

Nicolas de Biard's *Distinctiones* and *Summa de Abstinencia* are shorter than Maurice's *Distinctiones* in their development of each single entry and focus on one symbolic meaning for the scriptural term followed by a series of justifications and explanations completed by biblical quotation. This peculiar way of working makes his collections resemble a sermon outline more than a repository of different senses of Scripture.⁹³ This characteristic of course raises questions about the possibility of important connections between Nicolas's own homiletic production and the development of his two preaching aids. This peculiarity of Biard's collection was first noted by Bataillon in 1982 and was investigated further in his article on the tradition of the *Distinctiones*.⁹⁴ In the article, Bataillon attempted to draw up an initial list of the occurrences in which Biard's distinctions followed the text of the sermons or were directly inspired by them. The list presents forty instances (twenty-seven in the *de tempore* and thirteen in the *de festis*) in which a clear link between the distinctions and the sermons can be made. Of course, as noted by Bataillon himself, his conclusions were provisional and needed a deeper analysis of the sermon material.

In editing the *de festis* collection it has been possible to uncover more connections between the two works as well as some connections with the *Summa de Abstinencia*. For the sake of legibility, I have decided to present the comparison between the sermon text and the two works of Nicolas in Annex 1. In the annex, the reader will find the pages divided into two columns. On the left column is the version used in the sermon and in the right column the entry in the relevant preaching aid. To better highlight

⁹¹ Longère, *La prédication*, 189–93; Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons*, 7–9.

⁹² Rouse and Rouse, 'Biblical "Distinctiones" in the Thirteenth Century', 34; Sophie Delmas, 'Les Recueils de Distinctions Sont-Ils Des Florilèges?', in *On Good Authority. Tradition, Compilation and the Construction of Authority in Literature from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, ed. Reinhart Ceulemans and Pieters De Leemans, *Lectio 3* (Brepols, 2015), 228–30.

⁹³ Rouse and Rouse, 'Biblical "Distinctiones" in the Thirteenth Century', 35.

⁹⁴ Bataillon, 'The Tradition of Nicholas of Biard's "Distinctiones"'; Bataillon, 'Intermédiaires entre les traités de morale pratique et les sermons', 214.

the similarities, any part of sermon text that has been reused by Nicolas is in bold characters in order to visualize the self-borrowings of the author. Moreover, because the full edition of the sermons forms a part of this thesis, I have abridged those passages that are too long to display and would render the reading of the tables difficult. The reader will find this notation when a significant passage has been omitted for the sake of legibility: '[...]'. I have included in the right column the same section subdivision that has been used throughout the edition to match the relevant excerpts. All the transcriptions are mine and are based on ms. Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale, 308, which preserves both the *Distinctiones* and *Summa de Abstinencia*.

Even though neither the *Distinctiones* nor the *Summa de Abstinencia* have yet been the subject of a critical edition, the ongoing *Distinguo* project by the University of Lyon has managed to digitise and transcribe the entries of a series of distinction collections among which Nicolas' are included.⁹⁵ The *Distinctiones* consists of 904 distinctions organized alphabetically. Bataillon managed to find thirteen cases in which the *Distinctiones* directly used material from the sermons or built upon the text of sermons. Since the transcription of the sermons for the present edition, it is possible to suggest that the actual instances of reuse of preaching material number nineteen from the thirty-two sermons that form the *de festis* collection, as can be seen in the following table (5):

⁹⁵ I thank the principal investigator of the project, Professor Marjorie Burghart, for the possibility of accessing the materials on which the team of researchers is working. See: <http://distinguo.huma-num.fr/index.php>

Table 5 – The usage of sermons in the *Distinctiones*

SERMON NUMBER	<i>DISTINCTIO</i> ⁹⁶	FOLIATION IN MS. AVIGNON, BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE, 308
I	Pedes decent quatuor	89ra
III	Iugum triplex	56va
III	Iugum Domini	56va-56vb
V	Fortis est homo propter quatuor	42ra
VII	Exaltat Deus hominem	35vb-36ra
VIII	Merces mundi	68vb-69ra
VIII	Merces paradisi	69ra
IX	Gradus ascendendi in celum	47rb
XI	Descendit Deus	26ra
XI	Venitur ad Deum tripliciter	119va
XII	Vasi quatuor sunt necessaria	117vb
XIV	Laus perfecta	60vb
XIV	Laus uana triplex	60vb-61ra
XIV	Laudatur quis multipliciter	60va-60vb
XIV	Canum quatuor genera	14ra-14rb
XVII	Mirabilis Deus	69va-69vb
XXI	Virga utimur ad quatuor	124vb-125va
XXI	Viatori quatuor necessaria	121va
XXV	Timendus est Deus	115va

It is evident that some distinctions were elaborated by dividing and sometimes expanding the relevant text of the sermons. This is especially true for some sermons such as numbers VII and VIII. The former was the base for distinction *Exaltat Deus hominem* because the majority of the sermon, except the sections numbered 1-3, has been reused. The latter, number VIII, has been divided into two distinctions (*Merces mundi*, *Merces paradisi*) without any significant change to the wording. In other cases, such as distinction *Descendit Deus*, the original text was part of sermon XI. The threefold distinction concerning the descent of God on Earth is clearly mentioned in the sermon: “*nota quod triplex est aduentus Christi in carnem, in mentem, ad iudicium*,” but it is not developed. It finds a development in the *Distinctiones* in which the three different aspects of the descent are clearly explained.

⁹⁶ The collection is accessible at: http://distinguo.huma-num.fr/browse.php?coll=byard_dist

At the same time my research has uncovered two instances in which Nicolas reused some of his sermons for the *Summa de Abstinencia*, as can be seen in the following table (6):

Table 6 - The usage of sermons in the *Summa de Abstinencia*

SERMON NUMBER	SUMMA ENTRY ⁹⁷	FOLIATION IN MS. AVIGNON, BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE, 308
IV	78 De uulgali / De odio uite carnali / De odio	318va-319rb
V	14 De caritate	277ra-277vb

It is especially important is to note that *Summa* entry number 14 shares the text of distinction number 298. This information allows us to shine some more light on Nicolas’ activity not only as an *auctor* but also as a *compiler* of his own works.⁹⁸ This connection is important when we take into consideration the definition of distinctions as a literary genre. According to Hamesse, a *florilegium* is a collection of authorities in which the author acts as a *compiler* by not adding his own reasoning to the text and merely arranging the material according to a specific order (subject, alphabetical, etc.).⁹⁹ In the case of Nicolas de Biard, it is possible to see how he acted as a *compiler* by employing the texts of others (William Peyraud, Maurice de Provins, Eustache of Arras)¹⁰⁰ as well as his own. It appears that Nicolas was not concerned with the production of a “proper” book of distinctions concerned with the explanation of the meanings of words used in Scripture, but instead chose to focus on what can be more properly termed a *compilatio materiae predicabilis* as the Rouses have suggested.¹⁰¹ This suggestion is important also for identifying Nicolas’ goal in composing his last two works. As the Rouses indicated, this focus on devising collections of ready-made divisions was a step further in the development of sermon aids. The goal was to move away from the “classic” sermon collection and to present the

⁹⁷ The numbering is taken from: http://distinguo.huma-num.fr/browse.php?coll=byard_summa

⁹⁸ On the four different figures involved in book making according to Bonaventure see: Andrew Kraebel, ‘Modes of Authorship and the Making of Medieval English Literature’, in *The Cambridge Handbook of Literary Authorship*, ed. Gert Buelens et al. (Cambridge University Press, 2019), 98–99.

⁹⁹ Jacqueline Hamesse, ‘Le vocabulaire des florilèges médiévaux’, in *Méthodes et instruments du travail intellectuel au moyen âge. Études sur le vocabulaire*, ed. Olga Weijers, CIVICIMA. Études sur le vocabulaire intellectuel du Moyen Âge 3 (Brepols, 1990), 219.

¹⁰⁰ On the first two and the usage of their texts in Biard see: Bataillon, ‘Intermédiaires entre les traités de morale pratique et les sermons’, 219–21; On Eustache of Arras see the already mentioned in Chapter I: Delmas, *Un Franciscain à Paris Au Milieu Du XIIIe Siècle*, 320–26.

¹⁰¹ Rouse and Rouse, ‘Biblical “Distinctiones” in the Thirteenth Century’, 35.

inexperienced preacher with a series of subdivisions prepared for immediate use by preachers by reusing the preaching material that had already proven to be successful in stirring the conscience of the audience.¹⁰²

¹⁰² Rouse and Rouse, 'Biblical "Distinctiones" in the Thirteenth Century', 36–37; Delmas, 'Les Recueils de Distinctions Sont-Ils Des Florilèges?', 241.

Chapter III

Nicolas de Biard's world

A medieval model sermon collection is a tool that was employed especially by inexperienced preachers in order to prepare their own sermons or to have a ready-made sermon to deliver to their audiences with just the occasional touch up. The fact that they were widely used, as shown by the presence of model sermon collections in the taxation lists of the University of Paris and in monastic and conventual libraries, is of key importance in establishing that their importance lies in their representativeness of the ordinary ways of preaching during the Middle Ages.¹ Not only did they convey ideas that were aimed at reaching a diverse audience but, by employing apt techniques for securing the attention of their listeners model sermons have been recognized as a good guide for the scholar attempting to research the oral stage of mass communication by medieval preachers.² Furthermore, because model sermons were aimed to be used by inexperienced preachers, they were in a sense “the voice of a common mendicant”, were they to be from any orders or from any place in Europe.³ This process of standardization and repetition created a regular circulation of mental images to be shared by their listeners, thus making them one of the most useful ways to inquire into the elements of common mentality and ethos in thirteenth-century mendicant preachers.⁴ Because of these characteristics this third chapter will attempt to present a more coherent picture of the sermons authored by Nicolas de Biard.

Firstly, Nicolas' sources will be presented in tables organized by their origin (patristic, biblical, classical, etc.), followed by a table presenting the books of the Bible in relation to the number of citations in the sermons. The second section of this chapter will show how this collection aimed at feast-days for

¹ Nicole Bériou, 'Written Sermons and Actual Preaching: A Challenge for Editors', in *Ars Edendi Lecture Series: Volume 2*, ed. Alessandra Bucossi and Erika Kihlman, with Humanistiska fakulteten Ars edendi et al., Studia Latina Stockholmiensia (Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, 2012), 14; d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, 75–90.

² d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons*, 29.

³ Jussi Hanska, 'And the Rich Man Also Died; and He Was Buried in Hell.' *The Social Ethos in Mendicant Sermons*, Bibliotheca Historica 28 (Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1997), 21.

⁴ Bériou, 'Written Sermons and Actual Preaching: A Challenge for Editors', 14.

the saints presents them to its audience. Finally, I will focus on the social imagery that Nicolas employed to convey his message.

The sources employed by Nicolas de Biard

As has already been shown in the previous chapters, medieval preachers were used to developing their sermons through their careful mastery of connecting different sources and textual aids (*distinctiones*, hagiographies, legends, canons, the Gloss, etc.) in a coherent discourse that could expound on the biblical *thema* chosen for preaching.

This process, not dissimilar from the modern scholarly writing process, assumed that employment of authorities granted to their sermons the necessary grounding to be orthodox, educational, and inspiring at the same time. Nonetheless, contrary to our modern expectation of properly referencing the relevant authorities employed, medieval preachers were not keen on disclosing their sources with the same care that would be expected today. There are various reasons for this type of behaviour, for example the difficulty of obtaining a first-hand copy of the works of a classical author or the general reliance on *specula* and *florilegia* where the reader would find only the excerpts deemed most important or educational. Because of this general tendency, the actual identification of some of Nicolas de Biard's sources has proven to be difficult at times. Nonetheless, I have chosen to classify the sources that I have been able to identify in five macro-categories: patristic and Christian sources, classical sources, Gloss and biblical commentaries, Hebrew names, and proverbs.

Medieval sermons, especially model sermons, are built around the idea that a preacher using them should be able to choose the parts relevant to his own preaching and not have to follow the entirety of a third-party sermon. This process assumes that the clergy shared a common basic knowledge not only of Latin, the language of choice for the production and transmission of sermon collections, but also of the best-known ecclesiastical sources of the time. Nicolas de Biard often quotes his sources explicitly but, in certain cases, the simple usage of the quotation with no signalling was deemed sufficient for the reader. In order to facilitate a better comprehension of Nicolas' sources I tabulated them here in alphabetical

order, with the following data: author's name, work employed, the modern location reference, and the sermon of the collection in which it was used.

Patristic and medieval Christian sources⁵

AUTHOR	WORK	LOCATION	SERMON
Albert the Great	<i>Questiones super de animalibus</i> IV, q. 9	Opera omnia. Editio digitalis, t. XIII ⁶	XXVIII
Ambrose of Milan ^N	<i>Epistolae</i> I, 63, 110	PL 16, c. 1218	XV
Augustine of Hippo ^N	<i>Enarrationes in Ps.</i> , 93, 24 90, 13 123, 11 136, 16 <i>Sermones ad populum, Classis II, de Tempore</i> <i>De coniugiis adulterinis</i> , 2, 11 <i>De civitate Dei</i> l. 5, c. 18, 3 l. 12, 6 <i>De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus</i> <i>manichaeorum</i> , l. I, 50 <i>De catechizandis rudibus</i> , c. 22, 40	PL 37, c. 1211 c. 1170 c. 1647 c. 1770 PL 38, c. 1063 PL 40, c. 478 PL 41, c. 162 c. 353-4 PL 32, c. 1332 PL 40, c. 339	VIII XVIII XXII XXVI XVI XX XXVI XXXII XXVI XXVI
Ps.-Augustine of Hippo	<i>Sermones ad fratres in eremo</i> sermo XXXI	PL 40, c. 1291	IX

⁵ The list presented in the table might give the impression that Nicolas de Biard chose to rely on contemporary Dominican authors for his sermons. However, it is important to state that none of them are mentioned directly by Nicolas and the identification of their works has been possible only through the cross-referencing of Nicolas wording that probably identified a quotation (*et cetera*) with the works of other medieval authors. It should also be reminded that the only direct borrowing of a substantial part of text is from Guibert de Tournai's treatise *De morte* in sermon XXX. To make it clear which authors are openly named by Nicolas their names are followed by an apical "N".

⁶ Albertus Magnus, *Alberti Magni opera omnia. [Editio digitalis]*, ed. Albertus-Magnus-Institut Bonn (Aschendorff Verlag, 2011), <https://www.aschendorff-buchverlag.de/digibib/?digiview&opus=0370&attr=albertus-magnus>.

Bede ^N	<i>In Lucae evangelium expositio</i> III, 7	PL 92, c. 425	XXIX
Bernard of Clairvaux ^N	<i>In Assumptione B. M. V.</i> , sermo 4, 8 sermo 1, 1 <i>De conversione ad clericos sermo seu liber</i> , 8, 17 21, 37 <i>Sermones de tempore. In psalmum XC</i> , sermo III, 1 sermo III, 2 sermo XI, 11 sermo XI, 3 <i>Sermones de sanctis, de diversis</i> sermo XLVI, 1 <i>De consideratione libri quinque ad Eugenium Tertium</i> , II, III, 6 <i>Sermones, Feria IV hebdomadae sanctae</i> , 11	PL 183, c. 428 183, c. 415 PL 182, c. 843 c. 855b PL 183, c. 190d c. 191b c. 230d c. 226d PL 183, c. 669c PL 182, c. 745c PL 183, c. 269	XV XV XV XXVII XXII XXII XXVI XXVI XXVIII XXVI XXVI
Gilbert of Hoyland, Ps.-Bernard	<i>Liber de natura et dignitate amoris</i> , 14, 43	PL 184, 405d	XXVI
Cassiodorus ^N	<i>In psalterium expositio</i>	PL 70, c. 1003	XXII
Caesarius of Arles	<i>Sermones ex integro a Caesario compositi...</i> sermo 223, c. 3, 1	CCSL 104 ⁷	II
Clement I, pope	<i>Clementis sermones</i> CLXXXII	Rud and Dressel ⁸	XXVI
Gregory I, pope	<i>Homil. in Ezech.</i> II,		

⁷ Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones ex integro a Caesario compositi vel ex aliis fontibus hausti* [electronic resource], Library of Latin texts (Brepols Publishers, 2010), https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/login?url=http://clt.brepols.net/LLTA/pages/TextSearch.aspx?key=QCAEA1008_.

⁸ Pope Clement I, *Clementinorum Epitomae Duae, Altera Ed. Correctior, Ined. Altera Nunc Primum Integra, Cura A.R.M. Dressel [In Gr. and Lat.] Accedunt F. Wieseleri Adnotationes Criticae Ad Clementis Quae Feruntur Homilias*, with Albert Rudolf M. Dressel and Friedrich Julius A. Wieseler (Lips, 1859), 231, <http://purl.ox.ac.uk/uuid/7ccea44e58f24c7f9414117dd44fb40a>.

	sermo II, 10	PL 76, c. 954	XXVI
Gregory IX, pope ^N	<i>Decretalium Gregorii Papae IX compilatio</i> l. 2, 1, c. 4 <i>Moralia in Iob,</i> l. XVI, 69, 83 l. XVIII, 18, 29 l. XVIII, 18, 28 l. XV, 22, 26 l. XIX, 23, 36 l. XXVII, 46, 76 l. XXII, 11, 22 l. XXII, 11, 23 l. XXI, 2, 4 <i>Homiliae in Evangelia</i> l. I, 12, 1; l. II, 38, 11 l. I, 13, 1	<i>Corpus iuris canonici</i> ⁹ PL 75, c. 1162 PL 76, c. 52c-d PL 76, c. 52a-b PL 75, c. 1094d PL 76, c. 120d PL 76, c. 443a PL 76, c. 226d PL 76, c. 226d PL 76, c. 189c PL 76, c. 1118-9 PL 76, c. 1280 PL 76, c. 1124	XXXII XXVI XXVI XXVI XXVI XXVI XXVI XXVI XXVI XXIX XXVI XXVI XXIX
Guibert of Tournai	<i>De morte</i> Sermon V	Munier, pp. 122-137 ¹⁰	XXX
Hugh of Saint Victor	<i>De B. M. virginitate, libellus epistolaris</i> c. 2	PL 176, c. 872AB	XXVIII
Isidore ^N	<i>Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX,</i> 17, 6, 18 <i>Sententiarum libri tres</i> III, 36, 1 II, 39, 16 II, 42, 4 II, 42, 6	PL 82, c. 608 PL 83, c. 707 c. 642 c. 648 c. 648	XXXI XXVI XXVI XXVI XXVI

⁹ Brepols, *Decretalium Gregorii Papae IX compilatio: (Liber extra)*. [electronic resource], Library of Latin texts (Brepols Publishers, 2020), https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/login?url=http://clt.brepols.net/LLTA/pages/TextSearch.aspx?key=MGRE9DECR_.

¹⁰ Guibert of Tournai, *Guiberti Tornacensis De morte; De septem verbis Domini in cruce*, 122–37.

	III, 7, 30; III, 7, 8; III, 7, 10; III, 7, 28 III, 7, 21 III, 28, 1 III, 59, 5 <i>De ecclesiasticis officiis</i> II, 2, 1; II, 2, 2	c. 678 c. 673 c. 674 c. 678 c. 676 c. 702 c. 731 PL 83, cc. 777-778 cc. 778	XXVI XXVI XXVI XXVI XXVI XXVI XXVI XXVI XXVI
Jacobus de Voragine	<i>Legenda aurea</i> De Sancto Nicolao De festivitate omnium sanctorum In nativitate domini	 Maggioni, p. 46 ¹¹ Maggioni, p. 1236 Maggioni, p. 80	 X XIX XXVIII
Jacques de Vitry	<i>Sermones vulgares</i> XCI The fox, the crow and the cheese	 Crane, p. 42 ¹²	 XIV
Jerome ^N	<i>De viris illustribus</i> XV <i>Epistolae</i> 69.9 53, 10 <i>In Hieremiam prophetam libri vi</i> I, 3, 4-5	 PL 23, c. 663 PL 22, c. 663 c. 663 PL 24, c. 700	 XXVI XXVI XXVI XXXII
John of Ceccano	<i>Annales Ceccanenses (Chronicon Fossae-Novae)</i> c. 91	 MGH, 277 ¹³	 XXVI

¹¹ Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea: con le miniature dal codice ambrosiano C 240 inf*, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni, trans. Francesco Stella, Edizione nazionale dei testi mediolatini 20 (SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo ; Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 2007).

¹² Thomas Frederick Crane, ed., *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry*, The Folk-Lore-Society Publications, XXVI (Nutt, 1890), 42.

¹³ *Annales Ceccanenses (Chronicon Fossae-Novae) (1-1217)*. [electronic resource], Monumenta Germaniae historica (Brepols Publishers, 2010), 277.

Martin of Braga (Ps. Seneca the Younger)	<i>De formula honestae vitae</i> IV, 9-10	Haase, p. 70 ¹⁴	XXIX
Peter Abelard	Carmen ad Astralabium v. 315	Bibliothèque de l'école de chartes ¹⁵	IV
Peter the Chanter	<i>Verbum abbreviatum</i> c. CXXXVI	PL 205, c. 333	VIII
Richard of Saint- Laurent ¹⁶	<i>Opus insigne de laudibus beatae Mariae virginis.</i> V		XV
Sulpicius Severus	<i>Vita sancti Martini Turonensis</i> c. 3	Sources Chrétiennes 133 ¹⁷	XX
Thomas Aquinas	<i>Sententia libri de anima</i> III, l. 14, n. 2 <i>Summa Theologiae</i> I ^a -II ^a e, q. 48 a. 3 arg. 3 Ia, q. 26 a. 2 s. c. Ia pars, questio 4 a. 1 ad 1	Corpus Thomisticum ¹⁸	XIV XXI XVIII XXVIII
William of Auxerre	<i>Summa aurea</i> l. III, 23	<i>Spicilegium</i> , p. 419 ¹⁹	XII

¹⁴ Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *L. Annaei Senecae Opera Quae Supersunt: Supplementum*, ed. Friedrich Haase (De Gruyter, 1902).

¹⁵ Rodolphe Darest de la Chavanne, 'Vers d'Abailard à son fils Astralabe, nouvelle leçon.', *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 7, no. 1 (1846): 406–21, <https://doi.org/10.3406/bec.1846.451991>; Petrus Abaelardus, 'Peter Abelard, "Carmen Ad Astralabium": A Critical Edition' (J.M.A. Rubingh-Bosscher, 1987).

¹⁶ Aimé Solignac, 'Richard de Saint-Laurent, pénitencier de Rouen, 12e siècle', in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, vol. 5 (Beauchesne).

¹⁷ Sulpicius Severus, *Vita sancti Martini Turonensis* [electronic resource], ed. Jacques Fontaine, Sources chrétiennes online 133 (Brepols, 2022), <http://clt.brepols.net/sco/Pages/Browse/Work.aspx?id=81c66e7e-d637-43a3-9d3a-f11ff9bf29b1>.

¹⁸ 'Thomas de Aquino, Opera Omnia', Corpus Thomisticum, accessed 23 November 2022, <https://www.corpusthomicum.org/iopera.html>.

¹⁹ Guillelmus Altissiodorensis, *Summa aurea: liber tertius* [electronic resource], ed. J. Ribailier, Library of Latin texts (Brepols, 2019), 419.

Classical sources

AUTHOR	WORK	LOCATION	SERMON
Aristotle	<i>Meteorologia</i> 374b7-375a29	Webster, p. 603 ²⁰	XXVIII
Dionysius Cato	<i>Disticha Catonis</i> Prologus, v. 39 II, 4	Baehrens, p. 216 ²¹ p. 223	XV XXXII
Publius Ovidius Naso	<i>Tristia</i> I, 9, 5-6	Hall, p. 39 ²²	II
Suetonius	<i>De vita Caesarum libros VIII</i> Nero, 30, 3	Kaster, p. 306 ²³	XVIII
Publius Vergilius Maro	<i>Eclogues</i> 10, 69	Ottaviano and Conte, p. 85 ²⁴	V

Gloss and biblical commentaries

AUTHOR	WORK	LOCATION	SERMON
	<i>Glossa ordinaria et interlinearis</i> Ps. 111, 2 Eph. 6, 15 Io. 15, 12 1 Io. 3, 14 Io. 15, 12 Iob. 24, 21 Mt. 11, 29 Iob. 5, 18 Prou. 10, 22 Mt. 16, 25 Prou. 28, 19 Lc. 14, 26 Is. 9, 7 Ps. 79, 2 Agg. 1, 6 Sap. 4, 12-13 Ps. 110, 10 Ps. 142, 11	Sacra Pagina ²⁵	I I II II II II III IV IV IV IV V VI VI VI VI VI

²⁰ Aristotle, 'Meteorology', in *Complete Works of Aristotle, Volume 2*, ed. Jonathan Barnes, trans. E. W. Webster (Princeton University Press, 2014), 603, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400835850>.

²¹ Emil Baehrens, *Poetae Latini minores* (Teubner, 1881), 3:216, 223.

²² Publius Ovidius Naso, *Tristia [electronic resource]*, Reprint 2012, ed. John B. Hall, Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (B. G. Teubner, 2012), 39.

²³ Suetonius, *Oxford Classical Texts: C. Suetoni Tranquilli: De Vita Caesarum Libros VIII et De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus Librum*, ed. Robert A. Kaster (Oxford University Press, 2018), 306, <https://doi.org/10.1093/actrade/9780198713791.book.1>.

²⁴ Publius Vergilius Maro, *Bucolica et Georgica*, in *Bucolica et Georgica*, ed. Silvia Ottaviano and Gian Biagio Conte, Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (De Gruyter, 2013), 85, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110262483>.

²⁵ Martin Morard, 'Gloss-e. Gloses et Commentaires de La Bible Latine Au Moyen Âge', IRHT-CNRS, 2022, <https://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/>.

	Ps. 149, 2 Ps. 71, 16 Mt. 5, 2 Ex. 21, 2 Ct. 4, 8 Ct. 4, 8 Iob. 10, 16 Ex. 7, 12 Mt. 13, 32 Ps. 36, 14 Gn. 10, 8 Ps. 21, 17 Ps. 123, 7 Sir. 39, 19 Sir. 26, 1 Sir. 36, 24 Sir. 36, 24 Prou. 31, 28 1 Tim. 4, 16 1 Cor. 6, 18 Lc. 15, 22 Lc. 15, 22 Sap. 16, 18-20 Io. 16, 24		VII IX X X XI XI XVII XXI XXI XXII XXII XXII XXII XXIV XXV XXV XXV XXV XXVI XXVI XXVII XXVII XXIX XXXI
Hugh of St Cher	<i>Postilla in totam Bibliam</i> Apoc. 17,2 Ps. 49, 5 Mc. 6, 8 Sir. 11 Io. 13	Sacra Pagina ²⁶	XIII XIX XXI XXII XXVI

Hebrew names

ENTRY	THIEL PAGE NUMBER ²⁷	SERIES	SERMON
<i>Iericho id est in delectatione mundanorum que ita cito deficiunt ut luna</i>	326-7	<i>Aaz</i>	I
<i>Asser qui interpretatur beatitudo</i>	249	<i>Aaz</i>	I
<i>Jesse interpretatur enim incendium</i>	328	<i>Aaz</i>	II - XIV

²⁶ Morard, 'Gloss-e. Gloses et Commentaires de La Bible Latine Au Moyen Âge'.

²⁷ Thiel, *Grundlagen Und Gestalt Der Hebräischkenntnisse Des Frühen Mittelalters*.

<i>David qui interpretatur manu fortis</i>	286	<i>Aaz</i>	V
<i>Dicitur enim Satbanas contrarius uel aduersarius</i>	410	<i>Aaz</i>	V
<i>Ysachar, id est memor mercedis eterne</i>	336	<i>Aaz</i> *	V
<i>Sampson interpretatur fortis</i>	405	<i>Aaz</i>	VI
<i>Moyse qui interpretatur assumptus ex aquis</i>	361	<i>Aaz</i>	VII
<i>Ioseph fratribus suis qui interpretatur augmentum uel appositio</i>	334	<i>Aaz</i>	VII
<i>Ieroboam qui interpretatur superius dominum</i>	327	<i>Aaz</i>	VII
<i>Iob qui interpretatur dolens</i>	332	<i>Aaz</i>	VII
<i>Bethel qui interpretatur domus Dei.</i>	265	<i>Aaz</i> *	IX
<i>Iordanem qui interpretatur riuus iudicii</i>	333	<i>Aaz</i>	IX
<i>Niniues interpretatur paries dealbatus exterius, interius autem nilis</i>	369	*	XIII
<i>Symeone qui interpretatur pater audiens merorem</i>	422	<i>Aaz</i>	XII
<i>Maria penitens interpretatur quod dicitur quia quod amplius est penitentie est magis eligendum</i>	? (cfr. 351)	*	XII
<i>Salomon qui pacificus interpretatur</i>	403	<i>Aaz</i>	XV
<i>Osee interpretatur salus</i>	377	<i>Aaz</i>	XV
<i>per Libanum designatur, quod interpretatur candidatio</i>	342	<i>Aaz</i>	XV
<i>in Betulia, id est in ecclesia Domini, interpretatur enim parturiens Dominum</i>	265	<i>Aaz</i>	XVI
<i>Osee signat illum qui intendit saluti animarum interpretatur saluatio eius</i>	377	<i>Aaz</i>	XX
<i>Aaron enim interpretatur montanus</i>	221	<i>Aaz</i>	XXI
<i>[Nemroth] ratione interpretationis nominis interpretatur enim tyrannus</i>	367	<i>Aaz</i>	XXII
<i>Carmelus enim interpretatur tenellus uel mollis</i>	275	<i>Aaz</i>	XXVIII
<i>Carmelus enim interpretatur cognoscens circumcisionem uel scientiam circumcisionis</i>	275	<i>Aaz</i>	XXVIII
<i>Manhu quod interpretatur quid est hec manna</i>	350	*	XXXI

Proverbs and Old French expressions

TEXT	MORAWSKI NUMBER ²⁸	SERMON
<i>Selonc le seignor mesnie duite</i>	2249	II
<i>Bele chiere vaut un més</i>	220	III
<i>Viell chien est mal a metre en lien</i>	2472	III
<i>Sent li mortiers les auz</i>	1099	III
<i>Soef trait mal qui apris l'a</i>	2266	III

²⁸ Morawski, *Proverbes. Publié en ligne par la Base de français médiéval*, vol. 47.

<i>Qui non dat quod amat non accipit illud quod optat / Fr. Qui ne done que aime, ne prent que desire</i>	2023 (<i>Proverbia rusticorum</i> , 32 ²⁹)	IV
<i>Qui bien voit et mal prent a boen droit se repant</i>	1853	XII
<i>Bonté autre requiert</i>	298/299	XIV
<i>Omnes sutores de mundo non facerent de une vielle savate bon soulier</i>	Biard's original	XIV
<i>De uno pane comedere fastidit homo / D'un pain mengier se tenne l'en / D'un pain manger s'enuie l'en</i>	Biard's original + Cfr 620	XVI
<i>Parole que rois a dite ne doit estre escondite</i>	1593	XX
<i>Cui Deus velt aidier nus ne li puet nuire</i>	440 (<i>Proverbia Rusticorum</i> 167 ³⁰)	XXI
<i>Meanz valent les vieilles voies que les noveles / Les vieilles voies sont les meilleures / les vieilles voyes doit l'en tenir</i>	1237/1052	XXI
<i>Compaignie Deus la fist / Compaignie Dieus la fit et dyaubles la deffit</i>	Biard's original + Cfr 406	XXIII
<i>Vespere laudatur dies et in mane hospes / Au vesper loe on le jor, au matin son oste</i>	216 (<i>Proverbia rusticorum</i> , 117 ³¹)	XXV
<i>A bon demandeur bon escondiseur</i>	9	XXXI

Bible books and their occurrences

OLD TESTAMENT	OCCURRENCES	NEW TESTAMENT	OCCURRENCES
Genesis	18	Matthew	80
Exodus	20	Mark	10
Leviticus	4	Luke	57
Numbers	8	John	48
Deuteronomy	9	Acts	9
Joshua	1	Romans	8
I Kings/I Samuel	12	I Corinthians	17
II Kings/Samuel	7	II Corinthians	10
III Kings/I Kings	7	Galatians	5
IV Kings/II Kings	3	Ephesians	8
I Paralipomenon	1	Philippians	6
II Paralipomenon	3	Colossians	3
II Ezra/Nehemiah	2	I Thessalonians	1
Tobit	4	I Timothy	5
Judith	10	Titus	1
Esther	7	Hebrews	9
I Maccabees	2	James	6
II Maccabees	5	I Peter	9
Job	43	II Peter	1

²⁹ J. Zacher, 'Altfranzösische Sprichwörter', *Zeitschrift Für Deutsches Alterthum* 11 (1859): 118.

³⁰ Zacher, 'Altfranzösische Sprichwörter', 133.

³¹ Zacher, 'Altfranzösische Sprichwörter', 127.

OLD TESTAMENT	OCCURRENCES	NEW TESTAMENT	OCCURRENCES
Psalms	183	I John	4
Proverbs	80	Jude	1
Ecclesiastes	14	Revelation	16
Song of songs	22		
Wisdom (Sapientia)	19		
Sirach (Ecclesiasticus)	75		
Isaiah	69		
Jeremiah	19		
Lamentations	8		
Baruch	1		
Ezekiel	23		
Daniel	2		
Hosea	11		
Nahum	3		
Habakkuk	2		
Zephaniah	1		
Haggai	1		
Malachi	5		

The Characteristics of Nicolas' *de festis* Sermons

The thirty-two sermons that comprise Nicolas de Biard's *de festis* collection are dedicated not only to saints but also to general feasts and occasions for which a sermon might have been needed. Indeed, sixteen sermons are dedicated to specific saints and the remaining sixteen are intended to be used for different types of occasion such as the calling of a chapter, or preaching about a generic type of saint (an apostle, a martyr, etc.). The next section is aimed at presenting the general style of Nicolas' writing; his employment of metaphors, analogies and similitudes; and finally, his understanding of the importance of proverbs and 'common knowledge' for better communication with the laity. But, before attempting to present these elements of Nicolas' sermons, it is important to explain some elements of the use of language that can aid a better understanding of this type of source.

The function of indexicality in sermons

Sermons are a particular type of literary genre because they bridge the gap between the reader and the discourse as it may have been spoken in front of an audience. For this reason, it is important to pay attention to some characteristics of the written sermon that can aid the historian in understanding the type of mentality that valued this type of communication. The medieval preacher, although concerned with the importance of God's message and thus with the sacrality of the written word, was instructed to use all available methods to explain the message of the Gospel. Therefore, the language they employed when committing their thought to parchment has to be examined in detail. Alongside studies connected with the *performativity* of a text,³² there are those concerned with studying the impact on the utterance of deictic markers, the value of which (as a part of the discourse) varies with the context of the utterance; this process can be referred to as *indexicality*.³³ The presence of such elements of language in written model sermons allows the researcher to open up the possibility that the language used must be thought of as a device to be adjusted to the actual situation faced by the orator. In other words, language should not be treated as a fixed system of signifier and signified with a strong internal meaning, but as the instrument by which the preacher places himself at the centre of the social practices of his environment.³⁴

The impact on the discourse of deictic markers that, by their nature, have value only in the context of their usage (markers of time, of subject, etc.) encourages the reader to experience the material by paying attention to the context in which it was first spoken and in which it was preserved. In his article on the practices tied to *de sanctis* sermons Coste makes a compelling argument for the importance of these deictic markers as a fundamental part of medieval sermons: were they not of importance for preachers, they would not have been committed to parchment for dissemination. Instead, they are present in the sermons analysed by Coste and also in Nicolas de Biard's sermon collection.³⁵

³² For an introduction to the study of the discourse and performativity see: Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*.

³³ Eros Corazza and Jerome Dokic, *Penser en contexte: le phénomène de l'indexicalité* (Editions de l'éclat, 1993), 11.

³⁴ Florent Coste, 'Pratiques rituelles et pragmatique de la conversion dans les sermons de sanctis du XIIIe siècle', *Tracés. Revue de Sciences humaines* 7 (December 2004): 29, <https://doi.org/10.4000/traces.2783>.

³⁵ Specifically, Coste refers to sermons by William Peyraldus and Jacques de Voragine and their usage of temporal markers (hodie) in their sermons Coste, 'Pratiques rituelles et pragmatique', 34.

Some examples of the uses of these deictic markers can be found in the introduction of sermon XVIII for All Saints in which Nicolas recalls “the practice of nobles and rich men often to celebrate major feasts with a small number of their cohort of nobles, rather than with the group as a whole. In the same fashion, God organizes the celebration of his saints one or two at a time, over the course of the year. But *today* the feast of glory for all God’s barons (the saints) is celebrated in the heavenly hall where their memory is celebrated by the Church on earth”.³⁶ This type of deictic use of the temporal signifier – *today* – is also used in other parts of the sermon and especially in its closing remarks, where Nicolas superimposes the organization of a religious chapter onto the desire of God for the feast of All Saints, saying that “this is why God *today* called his general chapter, so that all the saints are reunited for this solemn feast. Today we have to commend ourselves to them devoutly, [and] pray to them, so that they pray for us [...]”.³⁷

This usage of temporal signifiers is also prominent in sermon XV for the Assumption of the Virgin. After a brief *prothema* in which Nicolas introduces the theme of the sermon by recalling the need to invoke God’s aid in all types of action, the preacher explains that the theme *Astitit regina a dextris tuis in vestitu deaurato* (Ps. 44.10)³⁸, even though elaborated by David *multis annis* before the birth of the Virgin, refers directly to her, and thus “the prophet said such words to God to commend and praise his virgin mother, demonstrating *today* how, with the utmost honour and glory, she sits in the heavenly hall”.³⁹ Nicolas employs such deictic markers three more times in this sermon, always directing his audience’s attention to the importance of the day at hand.⁴⁰

Nicolas de Biard employed deictic markers in the same way as other preachers have done, not only for the version preached to their audience but also for the version committed to the page. According

³⁶ Sermon XVIII: “Consueuerunt nobiles et magnates hominibus de terra sua baronibus nobilibus magnas festiuitates facere et magnas curias tenere sepe particulares, uniuersales raro. Sic Deus festa multa facit in anno modo uni sancto uel duobos. Sed hodie facit festum glorie omnibus suis baronibus in aula celesti cuius memoriam recolit ecclesia in terra”.

³⁷ Sermon XVIII <6.8>: “Sic quia Dominus hodie pulsauit capitulum suum generale sic et omnes sancti in una sollempnitate congregati hodie debemus nos eis deuote commendare eos et orare ut orent pro nobis”.

³⁸ “The queen stood on thy right hand, in gilded clothing; surrounded with variety” (Ps. 44, 10).

³⁹ Sermon XV: “Et loquitur propheta hec uerba ad Deum in commendationem et laudem gloriose uirginis matris sue ostendens hodie qualiter cum summo honore et gloria sit in celesti curia”.

⁴⁰ Other sermons in which such usage is prominent are nss XXIX and XXXII.

to Coste those deictics are simultaneously both rigid and soft markers: the former because they are a trace of the speaker's 'in-person' actions; the latter because they can be reused by another preacher through the repeated liturgical calendar of the Church's year.⁴¹

General themes of Nicolas' sermons

The act of preaching in the Middle Ages is concerned with three objectives: to teach, to please, and to move the audience toward a change in their approach to life.⁴² The audience, moved by the preacher's sermon, should therefore strive to better itself in order to live a proper Christian life. Given the scope of these types of texts, the ability of the preacher to be captivating and educational was the reason for the reproduction and dissemination of their sermons. Nicolas de Biard must have been judged to be quite an accomplished preacher, because his sermon collections and his two other works were available through the *pecia* lists of the booksellers of the University of Paris. Because of his perceived relevance in the preaching environment of the thirteenth century Nicolas' sermons aid the modern scholar in better understanding the techniques and themes that made him a popular choice to produce model sermons. Indeed, the author has been deemed, by modern historians such as Hauréau,⁴³ to be a preacher who preferred a writing style more attuned to a lay audience because of his use of proverbs and simple similitudes in order to draw the attention of his audience.⁴⁴

Nicolas de Biard was a preacher particularly concerned with the well-being of the souls of his listeners. Keeping in mind the importance of offering a good example, as was strongly recommended by the *artes praedicandi*, his sermons read as a call to behave well and be ready for the afterlife at a moment's notice. Indeed, for Nicolas there was no time to be wasted: the good Christians in the audience had to be ready to understand how they might gain their place in Heaven through their actions. Nicolas focuses

⁴¹ Coste, 'Pratiques rituelles et pragmatique', 37.

⁴² For a thorough exposition of the tendencies of medieval preaching as presented in the *Artes praedicandi* see: Morenzoni, 'Parole du prédicateur et inspiration divine d'après les Artes praedicandi', 271–90.

⁴³ Hauréau, *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 2:99.

⁴⁴ Longère, *La prédication*, 126; Schmitt, under 'DS', 255.

especially on the importance of moving his listeners to *act* and not only listen, and this impulse permeates the vast majority of the thirty-two sermons analysed for this research.

What there is to fear in the world

Nicolas' world is thrust through time by its vivid representation in his sermons. It is a cruel world that leads humanity to face many obstacles before being saved by the grace of God. The world is not a place of pleasure but of fear, a simple concept well demonstrated by the fact that newborns come into this world crying and not laughing.⁴⁵ Indeed, this world is filled with occasions for misbehaviour and leads men to sin, as is exemplified by the history of humanity and its proclivities which made the citizens of Nineveh and the king's counsellors to fall.⁴⁶ This is the condition that humanity has to endure in order to get to the afterlife after having being proved worthy. According to Nicolas, humanity must overcome adversities that are concocted by God's great adversary. The Devil is a presence with real agency in the world, capable of stalking his victims as a lion or a hunter.

In Nicolas' sermons the Devil is often described as a cunning and malignant presence whose aim is to lead humanity astray by any means possible and according to the type of *prey* that he is chasing. The devil is malicious, powerful and cunning. His malice is shown when even those who want to attempt to gain the reward that is Paradise, by means of fasting, almsgiving, and chastity, are approached by Satan telling them to do the opposite, suggesting ways of sinning and actively stunting their attempts to do good. His power is akin to that of the most powerful of animals, the lion, and that is the reason why humanity has to ask God and his saints for help to escape the incessant attacks of the Devil who, even when the sinner is ready to do penance, is ready to pounce on them like a cat on a mouse. And in this incessant attack the Devil shows his cunning: like the besiegers of a castle whose intent is to find a weak spot in the defences, the Devil tempts humanity by offering the vices that he knows will entice us more,

⁴⁵ Sermon IX <1.3>: "[hoc mundum] qui est locus non gaudii sed meroris quod ostendit puer cum nascitur plorando non ridendo".

⁴⁶ Sermon XIII <1.2>: "homo in hoc mundo semper malum preponderet bono quod uerificatur non solum in iniuriis hominibus sed in regibus comitatibus".

each according to our proclivities. This is possible because Satan actively erodes humanity's faith in God by magic, like sappers undermining the walls of a castle.⁴⁷

It is in sermon XXII, for the feast of Saint Peter in Chains, that Nicolas, working from the theme: *he freed me from the snare of the hunter*, presents the Devil as a hunter fixed on his prey. Once more his attributes are cunning, power/violence, and malice, and in a long distinction the preacher explains the Devil's behaviour in detail. Accompanied by his cohort of devils who resemble a hunting party intent on blasting their horn but firing arrows while concealed,⁴⁸ the Devil is more powerful than anyone on Earth and preys on beasts – the just – with the tools of the hunter – the bow and the sword, which are to be interpreted as earthly adversities. But when violence is futile for reaching his prey, the Devil resorts to cunning by employing the words of detractors and ill-sayers, like the hunter who employs a pack of hunting dogs. But sometimes the Devil/hunter is outsmarted by his prey and has to use his malice to attempt a capture which involves the setting of traps and snares – worldly riches. Indeed, men are then like those birds which are easily ensnared by offering them grain.⁴⁹

It is clear that the image of the Devil as being as powerful as a lion and as skilled as a hunter in hunting humanity was already something capable of instilling fear in Nicolas' audience. However, the Devil's actions must be exposed in all their foulness by giving examples of the types of trap set by the great adversary. Nicolas is particularly concerned with certain types of sin: pride, lust, and greed. Pride is the sin of hypocrites, like the Pharisees, and proud men who are like smoke that quickly rises, to evanesce

⁴⁷ Sermon V <1.1.1-3>: "Sic si quis prebendam paradysi ieiunio uel elimosina uel castitate uoluerit impetrare, dicet Sathanas contradico malum suggerendo et bonum impediendo. [...] Exit homo lauare pedes quando de peccatis incipit dolere et penitere et tunc inuadit eum dyabolus ut catus murem fugientem. [...] Sicut enim obsessores castrorum circueunt et querunt qua parte debilius est castrum ut ex ea parte impugnent. Sic dyabolus de uitio temptat hominem ad quod ipsum nouerit prouocantem et debiliorem [...] Nota quod pugnatore castrorum minare sepius nituntur fundamenta et tunc necessario capitur castrum. Sic dyabolus fidem minare nititur sortilegiis et talibus fidem destituendo".

⁴⁸ Sermon XXII <3>: "Demones enim uenatores sunt qui sonant cornu ut audiantur sed sagittant in occultis immaculatum".

⁴⁹ Sermon XXII <3.1-3>: Ipse enim ad similitudinem uenatoris materialis cum arcu et gladio bestiam, id est cuiuslibet iusti, animam aggreditur ut uiolenter opprimat. Quid autem per gladium per quem animam cuiuslibet dyabolus aggreditur nisi mundana aduersitas designatur. [...] Ad modum uenatoris materialis que tunc bestiam quem non potest ingredi cum gladio uel arcu insequitur cum cane uenatico. Per canem autem uenaticum qui latrando bestiam insequitur detrahentium et malignantium loquacitas designatur. [...] Uidens enim uenator quod non potest bestiam aggredi per arcum uel per gladium. Item quando non potest eam insequi per canem uenaticum conuertit se ad insidias tenendo peditam uel laqueum. [...] Uidens enim uenator quod non potest bestiam aggredi per arcum uel per gladium. Item quando non potest eam insequi per canem uenaticum conuertit se ad insidias tenendo peditam uel laqueum".

as fast as it rose.⁵⁰ It is the sin of those who do good only to be seen by others; while doing good they yet sin because their heart is corrupted by the perversity of their love of praise and favour, which is explicitly forbidden by God.⁵¹ These kinds of men are those ensnared by the trap of vanity which makes men blind and incapable of recognizing themselves and seeing their own defects. They are like the partridge who fosters the eggs of other birds and flies near the ground, like the proud men who ascribe to themselves the merits of others and want to have what others have.⁵²

The second sin that worries Nicolas is lust, which is the sin that stinks the most in God's nostrils as is shown in his wrath against the sinners of Sodom and Gomorrah.⁵³ This is another of the Devil's snares and Nicolas points out how women are usually the bait that catches the eye of lustful men only to be trapped in sin by those women, as Solomon was, even though he soared high because of his wisdom. That is why men should be cold and chaste in order to have no fear.⁵⁴ The close link between this sin and women is reinforced in other sermons such as number XXVI in which Nicolas uses Solomon's own words to explain how women use sweet words to entice men to the sins of the flesh. The best remedy is to flee from them.⁵⁵ Women are the danger in the eyes of medieval religious men and they are to be considered dangerous. This is indeed not something peculiar to Nicolas' preaching as the research of Casagrande has shown;⁵⁶ however, because this sin can be of two different natures (one is adultery and the other one is *simply* – sic – bedding someone) Nicolas reminds the audience that the man also sins by

⁵⁰ Sermon XXIX <1.3>: "[Superbi] Quia sicut fumus cum quodam uigore uidetur ascendere sed mox cum in patibulum ascenderit adnihilatur et euanescit...".

⁵¹ Sermon XXVI <1.1.4>: "*sicut ypocrite* qui ideo bona faciunt aperte *ut uideantur ab hominibus* Mt .ui. ne sic discipuli Christi ab ipso dicitur Luc. .xii. *attendite a fermento Phariseorum in quibus est ypocrisis* quia amore proprie laudis faciendo bona hominibus peccauerint exterius speciem sanctitatis et pietatis. Sed interius cor contra est fermentatum et corruptum ex peruersitate intentionis per appetitum laudis et fauoris quod Dominus prohibet...".

⁵² Sermon XXII <4.2>: "Quosdam autem illaqueat laqueo uanitatis quo illaqueat ambitiosos et superbos [...] superbia et ambitio hominem maxime excecant ut seipsum non cognoscat nec aliquem defectum suum audeat de talibus dicitur eccl. .xi. *sicut perdix inducitur in foveam et capre in laqueum* [...] Perdix enim oua alterius fouet, iuxta illud *perdix fouit que non peperit*. Item prope terram uolat sic superbi que sunt alterius sibi tribuunt et usurpant et que ab alio habent a se presumunt habere."

⁵³ Sermon XXIX <1.2>: "quia inter omnia peccata illud quod magis fetet coram Deo est peccatum carnis [...] In signum huius Dominus pessimos gommoneos et sodomitas peremit igne et sulphure".

⁵⁴ Sermon XXII <4.3>: "tales mulieres sequuntur et ab illis capiuntur [...] Exemplum de Salomone qui satis alte uolauit prescientiam et tamen a muliere deceptus est et illaqueatus. Item si pudicus et quasi frigidus ut piscis nihilominus time".

⁵⁵ Sermon XXVI <1.1.1>: "docet Salomon. Prouerb. .v. *ne intendas fallacie mulieris* et cetera. Ubi describit mulieris formidinem formose fallaciam et docet modum cauendi per elongationem et fugam. Describit autem eius fallaciam in superficiali dulcedine uerborum ut alliciat per affectum. [...] Nunc ergo fili audi me, longe ab ea, fac uiam tuam fugiendo eam. Non enim melius uitatur fornicatio quam fugiendo eam propter quod dicitur i. Corint. .vi. *fugite fornicationem*".

⁵⁶ Carla Casagrande, *Prediche alle donne del secolo XIII. Testi di Umberto da Romans, Gilberto da Tournai, Stefano di Borbone*, vol. 9, Nuova corona (Milan, 1978).

these acts, and in an unsurprising display of misogyny, based on Augustine's writings, he explains that because the male is stronger than the female he sins more.⁵⁷

The third sin is the one that interests Nicolas most and the reader should not be surprised to learn that it is greed or avarice. The Gospel of Luke warns the reader to *see and be on guard from every kind of greed* (Luke 12, 15) because (real) life is not found in the abundance of possessions. This is the error that makes greedy men falter, because all they have accumulated in life will be useless after their death. Indeed, worldly riches are useless like the wind and the shadow, as is explained in Ecclesiasticus (34, 2), which is directly quoted by Nicolas. Those who are concerned with the acquisition of riches are fatuous men who want to catch the wind or a shadow not knowing that it is a futile endeavour. There are thus two kinds of greedy men: those who work diligently and covet the riches they do not have and in so doing they try to catch a shadow; and those who have managed to acquire goods that, although willing, cannot be preserved, and so they want to capture the wind.⁵⁸ In showing his audience such insufferably nonsensical behaviour Nicolas gives some of the best of his visualizations. For example in another sermon greed is like a flame that consumes the heart of the greedy; and as a furnace is always capable of burning with greater heat, so is the heart of the greedy person enticed to have even more than they already have. The greedy man wants increasingly – more allowances, more coin, more riches – in a frenzy that makes him devour everything, to the point that he would devour the whole world if it were possible.⁵⁹ And in doing so the greedy are ensnared by the Devil's cunning which ties them to him with a metal chain. The greedy rich are thus like a monkey who does not feel the chain until it wants to escape only

⁵⁷ Sermon XX <5.1.1>: "Adulterium est cum alterius uxore uel marito et hoc peccatum est maximum [...] Sed [homo] non minus peccat uir quam mulier predicto casu excepto. Probatio uidi scriptum in libro Augustini de adulterio exemplum tale [...] Femmina est debilior et fragilior uiro".

⁵⁸ Sermon XXVI <1.1.3>: "Sed monet Dominus Luc. .xii. *uidete et caute ab omni auaritia* et cetera. Ubi Dominus auaritiam attente monet esse cauendam [...] Eccl. .xxxiiii. *quasi qui apprehendit umbram et persequitur uentum sic qui attendit ad uisa mendacia*. Ubi describit diuitiarum inutilitatem et uanitatem nomine uisorum munditorum et fatuitatem accedentium [...] Fatuus enim reputaretur qui uellet umbram apprehendere aut uentum tenere. Omnis autem cupidus est similis umbram apprehendere uolenti uel uentum consequenti. Duo enim sunt genera cupidorum: quidam enim attente laborant et concupiunt ditari sed non possunt consequi. Tales sunt quasi qui apprehendunt id est apprehendere uelit umbram suam que non potest attingi. [...] Alii diuitiis attendentes eas acquisierunt et diu tenere uolunt sed non possunt. Tales sunt quasi qui persequitur id est perfecte sequitur ita quod sequitur uentum qui teneri non potest".

⁵⁹ Sermon XXIX <1.1>: "consumit in cupidis, uideatis corda auarorum et numquam uidistis tantam consumptionem. Sicut enim fornax quanto plus succensa fuerit et tanto plura ligna potest consumere si apponatur. Sic cor ardore cupiditatis accensum quanto plus habebit tanto plura desiderabit [...] Multas prebendas, multam pecuniam, multas diuitias glutit et deuorat auarus malus bonum facit ei quia adhuc uellet totum mundum deuorare si posset.

to discover that it is not possible. Conversely, the rich, weighed down by their iron chains, are incapable of ascending to Paradise because of their sin.⁶⁰

Certainly, men and women are subjected to the incessant attacks of the Devil in a world that must be frightening as Nicolas warns by saying that this world is not our inheritance because everything has an end. And what is more frightening is that all these occasions to sin are given by the Devil as a kind of usury without an end, for which humanity pawns their soul without realising that even one mortal sin would condemn them to Hell, from which there is no escape because no one may be aided, either by God or his saints, once they have been already sentenced to it. Nicolas' concern here is so heightened that he addresses his audience directly saying: "I wish I could give the pawnbroker one of each of the bodily parts of which I have two, so that everyone might understand just how much they put themselves in hock to the Devil when they sin mortally. Then, I am sure that no one would sin".⁶¹ By inserting such a direct discourse Nicolas wanted to move his audience by instilling a reasonable dose of fear in them; but if the world is such a dangerous place, where can humanity look for aid and deliverance? How it is possible to vanquish such a formidable adversary? Of course, a preacher knows that to frighten is only a part of his job; to move the hearts of his listeners and to change their behaviour it is necessary to offer a solution: belief in God.

Who is humanity's ally?

Faced with the realization of the incredible danger in which they live men might not know where to find solace. In order to give hope to his audience Nicolas is quick to direct their sights to the only one that will aid them: God. This is especially true because God loves humanity in a threefold manner: with force

⁶⁰ Sermon XXII <4.1>: "Ista est enim cathena ferrea qua ligatus est auarus a dyabolo ne effugiat [...] in ista ligantur auari sicut symia ne effugiant. Sed nota symia uero numquam sentit se ligatam donec uelint fugere. Sic nec auari donec uelint in celum ascendere scilicet in morte sed tunc bene uident quod non possunt ita in altum ascendere tanto ferro honerati".

⁶¹ Sermon XX <4.1>: "Totum accipit dyabolus loco usure pro peccato, numquam enim dedit homo nec accepit rem aliquam ad usuram tantam quia non potest trahi ad finem et nimis est cara. Alie usure, quantumcumque magis, possunt uenire ad finem, non ista. [...] Et sic tota substantia corpus et anima possessiones uadunt in ista usura etiam si unum solum peccatum mortale, una hora sola, homo fecisset de quo non soluisset emendam [...] Sic si homo posset adiuuari post mortem aliquid esset sed nec angelis nec omnes sancti Dei possent eum adiuuare unde dicit *non sit illi adiutor*. Ego uellem posuisse de omnibus membris meis de quibus habeo duo unum et omnes bene scirent in quantis usuris se ponunt cum peccant mortaliter, certus sum quod nullus peccaret".

or perseverance, with wisdom, with largesse. According to the first part of this *distinctio*, his love is like strong cement that connects him to us for eternity, like the soul that does not leave the body until death and this separation from God occurs only when men sin. God's love is not like the love we get from animals who usually love only what benefits them; like some men who are akin to dogs and flies – interested only in the food they can obtain – in being like enemies to those who are suffering ill-fortunes only to be amicable to them when they have turned their situation around. They do not really love their neighbour but, as dogs do not love the bone, but the meat, and flies do not love the vase but the milk in it, they love what others have.⁶² Furthermore, God loves humanity with wisdom because he chooses wisely what to love; he guides the chosen cautiously, he straightens the redeemed discretely. In doing so he is like the noble who in marrying chooses someone nobler, wiser and richer to receive his love. This object of love is the soul, which is nobler because it pertains to the spiritual, wiser because it is rational, and richer because it is said [to be endowed] with gratuitous gifts. With good reason God thus gives his love to the soul and not to the body. Secondly, God loves like a cautious negotiator who, when he finds something of value, takes no thought for his other goods in order to acquire it; and God did so in giving up his own son so as to have men's souls. Finally, God acts as a wise teacher, because it is wiser to correct a child than to leave it to its own will.⁶³ Ultimately, pertaining to God's largesse, Nicolas recalls that God extends his love even to his enemies and we have to be like him and follow his example. Like good children who attempt to imitate their good parents in difficult deeds we have to imitate Christ who was the most noble in loving his enemies.⁶⁴

⁶² Sermon II <6.1>: "Dilexit enim nos: fortiter uel perseueranter, sapienter, largiter [...] amorem suum non retrahit sicut forte cementum lapides inseparabiliter iungit [...] Anima enim non deserit membra usque ad mortem, uiuificare licet sint tortuosa uel scabiosa nisi fuerint abscisa a corpore. Sicut nec Deus hominem nisi per peccatum suum fuerit ab illo separatus [...] sed multi diligunt ut canis os, musca ollam quam diu inueniunt in eis quod manducant. Si uero uacua sunt non curant uidere ea. Sic nec homo proximum cum ad inopiam peruenerit erit inimicus; iuxta illud cum fueris felix multos numerabis amicos [...] Unde uere non diligunt proximos sed que habent ut canis qui non diligit os sed carnes nec musca ollam sed lac".

⁶³ Sermon II <6.2>: "Item sapienter dilexit quod patet ex tribus quia diligendum prudenter elegit electum caute redemit, redemptum discrete corrigit. Quia diligendum prudenter elegit ut nobilis maritandum nobiliorem sapientiore diutem eligit cui dat amorem suum. Anima autem nobilior quia spiritalior, sapientior quia rationalis, ditior quia dicatur gratuitis donis. Merito ergo dat Deus amorem suum anime non carni [...] quia cautus negotiator cum inuenit pretiosas merces nihil habet carum ut habeat merces illas. Sic nihil habuit Deus carum nec etiam proprium filium quod non daret pro anima hominis habenda [...] Sapientius enim puer corrigitur quam si uoluntati sue relinqueretur."

⁶⁴ Sermon II <6.3>: "quia extendit suam dilectionem usque ad inimicos [...] Et nos similiter debemus inimicos diligere et hoc ut exemplum eius imitemur. Boni enim filii nituntur bonos parentes imitari in arduis actibus cum eis preponuntur in exemplum, gloriosissimus uero actus Christi et nobilissimus fuit diligere inimicos ergo niti debemus in hoc ipsum imitari".

God is thus presented as a good prospective bridegroom, a savvy merchant, and a wise teacher but Nicolas elaborates other similitudes to describe the good that God does on our behalf in order to aid humanity. In sermon XXI he reminds the audience that we are just travellers in this world.⁶⁵ This is a similitude present in other sermons, especially sermon VI which is based on the theme: *the Lord guided the just through straight ways* (Wisdom 10,10), in which God is presented as a good companion. With a threefold division Nicolas explains that this good companionship is denoted by how God directed St Francis from the world to religion like a shepherd who guides his sheep from a dry and wolf-infested place to one which is secure and fertile; how he defended Francis by giving him the resolve to resist his father's beating, chains and insults; how God guided Francis and his companions to the high road of poverty by them listening to the Gospel, which inspired them to relinquish the burden of all their goods.⁶⁶

This manner of presenting God's presence in the world and his attempts at aiding humanity is not unique to Nicolas' style of preaching, other preachers such as St Anthony of Padua and St Bonaventure employed such earthly comparisons. Indeed, the friars were well-aware that by entering the world and acting in it, not shielded by the walls of the monastery, they had to engage their audience in different ways. In doing so their writing reflected the urban society that saw the rise of the mendicant convents and which made them employ a vast array of similitudes that were steeped in the Christian tradition and suitable for their new urban lay audiences.⁶⁷ Understanding the importance of such rhetorical devices Nicolas presents God not only as a companion but, at times, as a physician, a boxer, a lawyer, a merchant, and a judge.

The relationship between medical practice and theology has been a complicated one from the point of view of Christian theologians. Usually, the problem emerged from the characterization of the physician as an agent in search of his own benefit (the payment for his services) and as a meddler in what

⁶⁵ Sermon XXI <1.1.1>: "Uiatori enim quatuor sunt necessaria que sunt necessaria cuilibet in hoc mundo quia omnes sumus uiatores".

⁶⁶ Sermon VI <1-3>: "Talis fuit beato Francisco ipsum de mundo ad religionem adducendo. Pastor enim fidelis oues suas de loco lupo et arido ad locum fecundum et securum duxit [...] Talis fuit beato Francisco cum uerba patris et uincula et impropria et lapides proicientium et uilitates contempnentium fecit eum uiriliter superare [...] Et hoc fecit beato Francisco cum ipsi poscenti quem statum acciperet et quam uiam teneret audito euangelio de omnibus renunciandis per uiam altissime paupertatis incedere et omnia penitus dimittere inspirauit".

⁶⁷ Lester K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (Cornell University Press, 1978), 200.

was perceived as the natural way of enduring the hardships provided by the will of God. Nonetheless, with the development of a more sophisticated way of interpreting faith by Scholastic theologians this apparent fracture became less of a problem. If the world was made by God and the mission of humanity was to better understand his creation, the figure of the physician as a truth-seeker became acceptable.⁶⁸ Furthermore, the relationship between illness and sin was a florid one during the Middle Ages. Starting from Augustine's theorization sickness was considered a manifestation of sin originating from the sin of Adam and Eve. Their casting off from the Garden of Eden made it possible for the human body to become corruptible and thus prone to sickness; which is in turn to be interpreted as the tribulation imposed by God to ascertain humanity's ability to follow a Christian life and provoke in them the necessary changes of behaviour. If their efforts were successful the God-medic would also liberate them from their ailments, which, in the theological sense, are not just signs of sin but a salvific admonition in order to direct their attention to a more saintly life.⁶⁹ This type of similitude was often employed by preachers, such as Jacques de Voragine.⁷⁰ Nicolas, as Jacques' contemporary, presented God as the *celestial medic* by recalling the same similitude Bede used in his *Lucae evangelium expositio*. God is indeed a physician tasked with curing the threefold sickness that, because of the transgression of Adam and Eve, hit humanity with ignorance in their intellect, malice in their affection, and impotence in their action.⁷¹ However, to cure humanity from this sickness God shows the vileness of sin in order to make us dislike it. A physician often explains to his patient the danger of his illness by saying: if you do not abstain from those things, you will die and so keep away from these dangerous things. Equally, God shows man his

⁶⁸ For a reading of the tendencies to incorporate medical knowledge in sermons see: Edward Sutcliffe, 'Medical Knowledge in Thirteenth-Century Preaching: The Sermons of Luca Da Bitonto', *Journal of Medieval History* 49, no. 1 (2023): 45–71, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03044181.2022.2153908>; and: Iolanda Ventura, 'Bartolomeo Anglico e La Cultura Filosofica e Scientifica Dei Frati Nel XIII Secolo', in *I Francescani e Le Scienze. Atti Del XXXIX Convegno Internazionale (Assisi, 6-8 Ottobre 2011)* (CISAM, 2012).

⁶⁹ Luciano Cova, 'La Malattia Come Frutto Del Peccato Nella Religiosità Medievale: Bonaventura e La Riflessione Duecentesca Sui Rapporti Tra Pena e Colpa', in *La Medicina Nel Basso Medioevo. Tradizioni e Conflitti. Atti Del LV Convegno Storico Internazionale. Todi, 14-16 Ottobre 2018* (Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2019), 405.

⁷⁰ Laurence Moulinier-Brogi, 'Les médecins vus par les théologiens au bas Moyen Age', in *La medicina nel Basso Medioevo. Tradizioni e conflitti. Atti del LV Convegno storico internazionale. Todi, 14-16 ottobre 2018* (Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2019), 487–88.

⁷¹ Sermon XXIX: "Certe talis est celestis medicus secundum Bedam et sanctos. riplex morbus inualuit in humano genere ex preuaricatione primi parentis scilicet ignorantia et in intellectu, malitia in affectu, impotentia in effectum".

sins and crimes to make him abstain from them by doing penance.⁷² And these *medical* prescriptions must be followed according to the free will of the ill person because the physician does not exert much force if the sick person eats harmful foods, withdrawing himself from his doctor's care and counsel. Thus, God does not exert force if the sinner does not do God's will and does not follow his counsel.⁷³

In presenting God as a physician Nicolas conveys an image of care that must have been familiar to his audience, since as at least someone in their lives must have been in need of medical expertise. Which was administered by the medic through the tools of his trade such as potions, concoctions, and plasters to apply to the wound; all these are mentioned by Nicolas without specifying their nature. However, in a rare occurrence, in sermon XXVIII Nicolas gifts his audience with a further similitude that offers a glimpse of some of the remedies available to the medieval population. The feast of the Nativity of the Virgin foreshadows the coming of Christ, and that coming is compared to dew, which was considered to have medicinal properties. Christ's incarnation is thus efficacious for curing illnesses; and we should note that during winter sea-oysters open to receive this dew which makes them develop a pearl (*margarita*). The pearl is then pulverized and put in a remedy, known as *diamargariton*, to combat leprosy. Mary, then, is akin to the oyster which received the dew and formed the pearl – Christ – which was in turn pulverized on the Cross to be put in a remedy for the cure of all sickness.⁷⁴

What catches the eye in this comparison is that Nicolas employs such a specific medical remedy to better draw the comparison between the salvific power of Christ and the real remedy that must have been known to his audience. Was precise comparison of the remedy only used by Nicolas as an interesting example or was trying to teach something of real use, in case one of the listeners needed to cure such an ailment? Unfortunately, it seems that the former was the case. The *diamargariton* was indeed a common

⁷² Sermon XIII <1.3>: "Tertio ostendit uilitatem peccati ut illud abhorreamus et pudorem habeamus. Phisicus ostendit infirmo infirmitatis sue periculum dicens: nisi a talibus absteris morieris etiam cumseruat te a nociuis. Sic Deus ostendit homini peccata sua et delicta ut se absterneat a nociuis per penitentiam faciat ne moriatur".

⁷³ Sermon VI <1.2>: "Medicus non magnam uim facit si eger nociuis cibus utitur qui a cura sua et consilio suo se subtrahit. Sic qui uoluntatem Dei non facit et consilio suo non acquiescit sed a cura sua et consilio suo se subtrahit".

⁷⁴ Sermon XXVIII <1.1>: "Primo ergo ualet ad morbum curandum: unde nota quod ostree marine tempore uernali choncas suas aperiuunt et rorem recipiunt; ex roris uirtute generatur in eis lapis preciosus qui dicitur margarita qui, intus et in puluerem reductus, ponitur in electuario qui dicitur diamargariton cuius usus ualet contra lepram [...] [Maria] rorem in se recepit quando dicitur filius in eam descendit et tunc formata est in ea margarita humanitatis assumpte et trita in mortario crucis factum est dyamargariton ad omnis morbi curationem".

medical remedy according to some sources of medieval medicine such as the *Practica Brevis* but it seems that its use was not intended to cure leprosy but other ailments such as epilepsy, a sickness of the eyes, or foul-smelling breath.⁷⁵ Furthermore, in the *Antidotarium Nicolai*, the primary source of the *Practica Brevis*, the *diamargariton* is presented as a remedy for cardiac problems or stomach aches.⁷⁶ It is thus possible that Nicolas chose to link the use of the *diamargariton* – Christ – as the cure for leprosy because of its identification as a sickness closely tied to suffering as a means of gaining salvation. In doing so, the remedy is a portmanteau for that faith in Christ which is an ailment and a means of sustenance for those focused on practising penance.⁷⁷

God is also presented as capable of violence in defending us from the traps set by the Devil. Here, Nicolas seems to employ an image already used by Stephen of Bourbon in his *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus* in which Christ is presented as a boxer fighting for humanity.⁷⁸ In Nicolas' sermon XXII God freed us [from our chains], like a boxer who fight for our rights, fighting against our adversary (the Devil). The fight was fierce and bloody on account of the powerfulness of blows and the shedding of blood [to last] even after the resurrection.⁷⁹ By his employment of such a similitude it is possible to infer not only that Nicolas might have read the *Tractatus* but that, once more, he decided to hook his audience with an image capable of catching their attention; and this observation is further reinforced by the fact that boxing is present in other sermons as a means of showing the battle of wills that humanity takes on when aided by its protector – God – as it tries to overcome the difficulties of worldly life in order to gain salvation.

⁷⁵ Tony Hunt, *Anglo-Norman Medicine* (D.S. Brewer, 1994), 1:178, 187, 219.

⁷⁶ W. S. van den Berg, 'Middelnederlandsche en Latijnsche tekst van het Antidotarium', in *Eene middelnederlandsche vertaling van het Antidotarium Nicolai* (Brill, 1917), 25.

⁷⁷ For a better understanding of some theologians on leprosy see: Nicole Bériou and François-Olivier Touati, *Voluntate Dei leprosus: les lépreux entre conversion et exclusion aux XIIème et XIIIème siècles* (Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1991), 11–32.

⁷⁸ Stephanus de Borbone, *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus*, vol. 124A, ed. Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub, *Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis* 124 (Brepols, 2002), 132; further use of such a similitude is present in the *Fasciculus morum* a preaching aid probably composed during the fourteenth century in the British Isles in a Franciscan environment Siegfried Wenzel, *Fasciculus Morum: A Fourteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989), 174, 200, 256.

⁷⁹ Sermon XXII <1.1>: "Primo ergo nos liberauit tamquam pugil propugnator noster aduersarium suum [...] quemcumque fuit etiam magnum et durum bellum fuit autem istud duellum ita crudele et asperum quod etiam ictuum magnitudine et sanguinis effusione post resurrectionem."

Not only does God take up arms to defend us from the Devil, using his grace as a restorative balm to heal our wounds. In addition to the brutal physicality of boxing, Nicolas also uses the more cerebral battles of the urban courtroom, when he presents God as an ally in the court of law and, more precisely as a judge and a barrister. The term *advocatus*, which Nicolas employs, does not translate directly to our modern idea of lawyer/barrister. During the course of the Middle Ages those who practised such professions in civil cases did not represent the interests of their clients but were more concerned with exercising justice. It was with the development of canon law, precisely with the redaction of Gratian's *Decretum*,⁸⁰ that the term started to shift back to its original Roman meaning of 'representative' as it was used by Nicolas in the sermon for the feast of St. Peter in Chains (XXII).⁸¹ Quoting the first epistle of John: *However, if anyone does sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ* (I John 2,1-2) Nicolas tells his audience that they indeed have a favourable and familiar judge because they have a wise and just father and advocate. As an advocate and intercessor, he freed us, deceived and seduced as we were by the Devil's cunning, and defended our case. We put our trust in this advocate to defend us with his wisdom in our case against the Devil.⁸² This parallel with the court of justice is present also in sermon XI where Nicolas says God gave us the will to do penance, as justiciars do in rooting out wrongdoers in a court of law by accusing, punishing, and exiling them. Indeed, the true penitent reproaches himself for his sins through confession, exiles them through his heart's contrition, and punishes them by making satisfaction.⁸³

The last characterization of God is the most common, when Nicolas describes him in the robes of a judge. Among the different instances found in the sermons⁸⁴ it is in the last sermon of the collection,

⁸⁰ Gratian's work, officially known as the *Concordia discordantium canonum*, was developed as a way to order the canons (laws) of the Catholic Church. The chief aim of Gratian was to order the numerous canons and decretals in a manner that allowed for the resolutions of contrasting norms. It is only proficiency of Gratian as a legal scholar made possible such an undertaking that required extensive knowledge of Roman and Canon Law. Because of the impact of the *Decretum* it is possible to infer that it influenced the reappropriation of the Roman understanding of the legal term *advocatus*.

⁸¹ Jonathan Reed Lyon, *Corruption, Protection and Justice in Medieval Europe: A Thousand-Year History* (Cambridge University Press, 2023), 187–89.

⁸² Sermon XXII <1.2>: “nos liberauit tamquam aduocatus et intercessor nos deceptos et seductos per dyaboli astutiam causam nostram defendendo. Tali enim aduocato indigebamus qui causam nostram contra dyaboli astutiam per sui sapientiam posset defendere [...] Nota iudicem habemus propicium et familiarem quoniam patrem et aduocatam habemus sapientem et iustum”.

⁸³ Sermon XI <3.2>: “penitentiam agendi dedit uoluntatem ut iustitiarum boni malefactores extirpant eos in iudicio accusando, puniendo, forbanizando. Si uere penitens peccata accusat per confessionem, forbanizat per cordis contritionem, punit per satisfactionem”.

⁸⁴ Sermons VII, XI, XXV, XXXII.

for the Sunday of the Passion, that Nicolas chose to explain the *thema* through a similitude with the judicial process. In it the protagonist is Christ who, summoned by Pilate, explains why he did not put his faith in human justice but only in God's. The sermon is organized through a twofold *divisio* that firstly takes on the motives which make men's judgement false, thus forcing Christ to revert to God's judgement; secondly, it considers the reasons why Christ is accused and for which accusations he asked to be judged by God.

The first division explains that men judge wrongly because they often are prone to be enraged by even the slightest of offences, whereas God does not concern himself with such exteriorities because he judges on the merit of thoughts and intentions. Secondly, because of their free will, men are capable of judging in favour of their flesh and not their soul. Such erroneous judgement is directly forbidden by both the Old and New Testament. Lastly, men are incapable of discerning good from bad. They often think that someone who is well-dressed and enjoys a comfortable life can be deemed to be good and pious, although he might have acquired such prosperity and good standing through usury and sin; they judge on appearances, which God does not. Because of this men often err in judgement as it is explained in the parable of the rich man and the poor man (Luke 16, 19-31), which is recalled by Nicolas through an interesting similitude in which the hawk – the rich man – and the hen – the poor man – are used to explain that even though the former is given a place inside the home and the latter passes its days outside foraging for food in ditches and pathways, at the end of their lives the hawk is discarded into a ditch while the hen is brought inside on a silver platter in the presence of kings. In the same way, the rich man is thrown into the ditch of Hell whereas the poor man is brought to Paradise by angels.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Sermon XXXII <1.1>: "Primum iniuriam propriam uindicando, sunt autem aliqui quam cito ab aliis uel uerbo uel facto leduntur iudicare eos uolunt et se uindicare [...] quia rex terrenus tantum exteriora iudicat, Deus aut cogitationes et intentiones iudicabit [...] Homo uero iudex secundum Augustinum potest consentire in quo maluerit aut uoluntatem carnis implere aut anime [...] quia iudicia debent fieri secundum iura scripta sed reuolue nouum et uetus testamentum non inueniens canonem qui dicat quod tu carni ad peccandum debeas consentire. Immo contrarium est expressum et in nouo testamento et in ueteri [...] Tertio bonos a malis discernendo. Intrauit enim consuetudo fere ubique quod bonus et probus appellatur unde bene uestitur et in bonis temporalibus prosperatur, licet per peccatum et usuram et in fraude adquisierit quicquid habet [...] Quasi dicat iudicando secundum faciem non bene iudicatis; quod patet quia Deus qui est summa iustitia non sic iudicat [...] Fiat enim de diuite et paupere sicut de falcone et capone quamdiu emeruit falco in pertica est in domibus magnatum sicut diuites uiuentes de rapina uel usura modo sunt in pertica et honorantur et laudantur psalmo *quoniam laudatur peccator in desideriis anime sue et iniquus benedicitur*. Capo enim uadit per stramita et fossata uictum querens et contempnitur et extra domum uocat, sic pauper .i. Cor. .iiii. *tamquam purgamenta huius mundi facti sumus omnium peripsema usque adhuc*. Sed quando falco mortuus est eicitur

The second part of the division gets the audience into the setting of a court of law explaining that Christ was offended by the accusations thrown at him because they contained four errors: he was judged not by his superior – God – but by his inferiors – men; the judgement was unjust because it was not given by the appropriate court, as is stated in the *Decretals* of Gregory IX; they did not take into account the testimony of the witnesses; and they did not even take into account Scripture (which is more valuable than oral testimony) in which Christ is accredited as the son of God.⁸⁶ They unjustly ruled against Christ, which would not have happened if God had been the judge. And this is the reason for Nicolas to explain that if his audience wants to have a favourable judgement from God they have to conduct themselves according to six principles that will certainly give a favourable outcome. Unfortunately, the sermon preserves only five of them: in three God is an incorruptible judge, a quality presented also in sermon XXV;⁸⁷ in another, God is an advocate of great learning; and in the last, God acts like a father called to judge his own son which is of course seen as a favourable occurrence.⁸⁸

In Nicolas's sermons God is predominantly presented as a stalwart protector of humanity on whom men can rely in order to gain salvation. However, the simple benevolence of God is not enough for humanity to be saved in the afterlife. It is in this search for the proper way of conduct a life that Nicolas' skills of persuasion shine the brightest as I will show in the following section.

How can humanity be worthy of salvation?

It has been said that medieval preaching is the persuasion of many to meritorious conduct; a goal that can be reached if the preacher's words are not only rightly adapted to his audience but are also trustworthy

in fossatum, capo enim mortuus coram regibus in uasis argenteis deportatur. Sic diuite in fossato inferni proiecto, pauper in paradysum deportabitur ab angelis”.

⁸⁶ Sermon XXXII <2.1.1-4>: “iniuste accedunt quod patet quia ad eos non spectabat eum iudicare si malum aliquid fecisset quilibet enim a suo superiore iudicatur non ab inferiore [...] iniuste super eum sententiam dederunt quia dicitur in iure quod sententia ante iudice suo lata non tenet [...] quantumcumque crimen accusaretur si per idoneos testes se purgaret ab omni pena immunis esse debuisset. Sic fecit Christus [...] qui habet instrumentum siue cartam bene loquentem super testibus in qualibet causa optinet. Sic Christus quod tota scriptura pro eo loquitur in testimonium perhibet de eo”.

⁸⁷ Sermon XXV <2.3>: “Item propter iustitiam plus enim timent homines temporales malum facere in terra ubi iudices sciunt a iustitia nec prece nec pretio posse flecti. Talis erit Christus in iudicio”.

⁸⁸ Sermon XXXII <2.2.1>: “Sic dico uere aduersus Christum nemo potest optinere in curia Dei usque tunc differimus cum eo pacem componere. Sunt enim sex que faciunt optinere in curia [...] Secundum est equitas iudicis. Posset enim aliquis habere bonam causam sed pro ignorantia uel corruptione iudicis condemnari potest. Sed Deus iudex iustus non poterit flecti prece uel pretio [...] Tertium est aduocati scientia et prudentia [...] Quintum est iudicis familiaritas. Nullum enim dubium est quin filius unde sit de curia patris immo ipsemet erit iudex”.

and correctly carry the meaning of Scripture. For Nicolas these necessary qualities are easily achieved because the preacher's words are not really his own. The ally that is God is deemed to directly inspire the preacher who, in turn, speaks the words that God has already chosen for him. The preacher is thus reduced to a device – or a trumpet⁸⁹ as Nicolas suggests – to make God's will and guidance known to humanity.⁹⁰ To achieve this goal Nicolas focuses on certain key arguments; one of them is the necessity for an individual to start to change as soon as possible.

In sermon III, *De apostolo*, the theme revolves about the importance of the yoke that God has placed upon humanity. The imposition of such a burden is as natural as it is for the farmer who fed the ox to expect a service in exchange. God, who fed us from our infancy, imposes the yoke of penance on us and especially upon his clergy. However, because of man's free will and God's benevolence, this burden should be accepted voluntarily, charitably, actively, and honourably.⁹¹ Nicolas is thus appealing to the rationality of his audience in explaining the goodness of God's yoke. God does not like to force his rule onto humanity and to describe this concept Nicolas starts by employing a proverb: *bele chiere vaut un mes/a good face has is worth a month* – of room and board (Morawski 220) which, to Nicolas, has the value of not only a month of victuals but all of them. It is true that a rich banquet served with a sad face does not make the recipient happy, whereas a simple provision of bread and water given with pleasure would give the recipient pleasure. No one is happy to be served by an unwilling server and thus God is not happy to receive our penance (a life of chastity, fasting, adversities) if it is done without a good disposition.

⁸⁹ The trumpet is also used as a mean of comparison for preaching in St Anthony of Padua's sermons St Antonius Patavinus, *Sermones Dominicales et Festivi*, II, ed. B. Costa et al., with P. Marangon (Edizioni Messaggero di S. Antonio, 1979), 401.

⁹⁰ Examples of this identification of the preacher are found in sermon X: "karissimi legimus in Ysaia quod Dominus uocat predicatorem tubam, quia tuba si sonat etiam magnam uocem emittat tamen non sonat nisi sufflet in ea ille qui eam tenet. Predicator qui est quasi tuba uocem salubrem emittere non potest nisi Deus qui eum et omnia continet insufflet in eum [...] Ego sum tuba siue nec possum proficere proferendo uerbum Dei nisi in istam miserrimam tubam insufflauerit Dominus"; and sermon XX: "habemus Osee .i. *principium loquendi Dominum in Osee*. Osee signat illum qui intendit saluti animarum interpretatur saluatio eius et signat uel intelligere dat predicatorem qui debet predicare ad salutem animarum. Unde debet principium loquendi dare Domino uel a Domino incipere".

⁹¹ Sermon III: "Cum quis nutriuit bouem non est mirum si iugum sibi imponat et mittit ad arandum tempore oportuno et ideo cum Dominus nos ab infantia nutriuit, ipse est enim qui dat escam omni carni, non est mirum si uult et admonet nos quod iugum suum portemus, id est corpora nostra labori et penitentiae et mandatis subponamus et maxime apostoli et prelati et clerici qui de mensa Domini sunt nutriti et hoc est quod dicitur in uerbis predictis in quibus quatuor ponuntur que requiruntur ad hoc quod aliqui Deo seruiant competenter. Oportet enim quod: seruiant uoluntarie, quod ibi notatur tollite. Qui enim inuitus Deo seruit non iugum Domini tollit sed sibi imponitur. Secundo quod seruiat in caritate quod notatur ibi iugum, dicitur enim iugum a iungendo quia significat caritatem que diuersos iungit. Tertio quod seruiat in bono opere, ibi meum. Qui enim iugum mundi uel dyaboli sustinet bonum opus non exercet. Quarto quod seruiat honorifice ibi super uos glossa in honore".

To Nicolas, it would be better to apply ourselves only to following the ten commandments with goodwill in order to please God.⁹² This image of the necessity of a good disposition toward our acts of penance and redemption is employed in other sermons with the same comparison to the banquet. For example, in sermon XIV, *De Sancto Iohanne Baptista*, Nicolas explains how the heart of the penitent must be filled with joy, such as when they start the day by reciting the *matutinus* with heartfelt delight, a situation he then compares to that described in sermon III: no one wants to be served by an ill-disposed servant.⁹³ The importance of good disposition is also made clear by the fact that it can even be found in other professions, such as that of the *uiellatores* (musicians and entertainers) who, when employed for a feast, sing and entertain with much more intensity when they expect a good return for their efforts; therefore, to Nicolas, we should praise God with heartfelt joy.⁹⁴

Good disposition is only the first of the necessary elements that will make a good Christian. The second is to act according to charity because just as a coin which is no longer valid currency, an immature fruit, or a meal without a condiment are not accepted, God does not accept good deeds done uncharitably. In sermon V, charity is the cement that unifies us with God, a similitude also used by Nicolas Gorran in his *Distinctiones*,⁹⁵ and in doing so it makes men strong enough to withstand the adversities of a Christian life.⁹⁶

Once it is established that humanity has to operate with charity in mind, Nicolas explains how it is important that they concern themselves with action: only to rely on God's good disposition is simply

⁹² Sermon III <1>: "Dicitur enim *quod bele chiere uant un mes*. Immo dico quod licet omnia fercula. Si quis enim me inuitaret et plura fercula et diuersa mihi daret tristi facie non multas greces ei referrem. Si uero non daret mihi nisi panem et aquam si lete hoc faceret multum placeret mihi. Sic si Domino seruiamus de multis ferculis ut caste uiuendo, ieiunando, tribulationes multas sustinendo sed inuiti hoc faciamus non multam gratiam a Deo mereamur. Si sibi non demus nisi ferculum unum id est decalogi impletionem et hoc letanter placet sibi et gratiam multam ab eo habebimus".

⁹³ Sermon XIV <4.1.1.1>: "Corde debet esse iocunda ut cum as matutinum surgimus [...] Si quis enim me inuitasset ad comedendum et multa fercula tristi animo mihi conferret non multum mihi placeret nec multum sibi gratias referrem eos et si pauper gaudens aet letus mihi daret tantummodo panem et aquam multo magis mihi placeret".

⁹⁴ Sermon XIV <4.1.1.2>: "Uiellatores enim quando sunt in festo ubi credunt magnum quid lucrari libenter cantant et seruiunt de officio suo [...] igitur debemus Domini laudare corde iocundo".

⁹⁵ In his distinction of *Fortitudo* is said: "Tertio caritas ad sustinendum, sicut cementum parietem ad sustinendum", in Marjorie Burghart. *Nicolas de Gorran, Distinctiones*, in *Distinguo*, ed. M. Burghart, Lyon: CNRS - CIHAM UMR 5648. 2021-06-11. Accessible online: <https://distinguo.huma-num.fr/collections/nicolas-de-gorran-distinctiones> (accessed 2025-12-14). DOI: 10.34847/nkl.a2b75jv2

⁹⁶ Sermon V <1.3>: "Item caritas facit hominem fortem et firmum ut cementum parietem lapides fortiter coniungendo."

folly and an indication of arrogance. It would be like planting thorns and expecting grapes.⁹⁷ The importance of good deeds is a key element of Nicolas' preaching, and it can be found directly addressed in at least eight of the sermons in the collection. Preaching for the feast of St Andrew, Nicolas describes God's benevolence as the necessary aid for resisting the current of sin, which is the easier path to take; but God does not give out his aid to those who are not ready to act.⁹⁸ Too many were prone to praise God and to honour him without putting in any effort to actually practise what they were preaching. Thus, in an inspired series of similitudes for the feast of St John the Baptist Nicolas explains that there must be concordance between the mouth – the praising and praying – and the hand – the action. They are as two men singing who, when attuned to another, sing melodiously, but when they are not at the same pitch, they produce an awful noise. This is akin to those who preach of celestial things but partake of carnal and earthly things; or those who preach and laud the patience of the martyrs but who are unable to suffer even one offence; or those who commend Lazarus and the poverty of the apostles but do not want to live with indigence themselves. All these are like the squires who praise the strength of military men but then do not take part in the fight, choosing to remain at camp; or like the wanderers and the lame, always ready to chat about obedience although not disposed to do it to themselves.⁹⁹ However, to Nicolas, even nature shows the importance of action, because food has to be picked up by the hand before going into the mouth. Therefore, no-one should say anything with his mouth through preaching, admonishing, and psalms before having grasped it in his hand through action.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Sermon III <3>: "Tertio oportet quod de bono opere ei seruiamus. Ps. *Spera in Domino et fac bonitatem* quia aliter non est spes sed presumptio et stultitia. Sicut qui plantaret spinas et speraret colligere uuas".

⁹⁸ Sermon IX <1.1>: "Quos adiuuat, quia non omnes, sed uiriliter agentes, id est facientes".

⁹⁹ Sermon XIV <4.1.1.3>: "dum enim homines duo cantant equali tono insimul pulcher est cantus si tamen quis quod laudat ore implens opere unde prosa, uoce uita non discordet cum autem uox est alta et manus infima discordant et turpis est cantus. Sic est qui celestia et alta predicat uel cantat et terrena et carnalia operatur [...] Sic tales patientiam martyrum laudant et predicant et uix unam contumeliam patienter sustinent, abstinentiam confessorum commendant et tamen Lazaro commendant, paupertatem apostolorum commendant et tamen penuriam aliquam sustinere nolunt. Tales similes sunt hyrundinis qui irandis strenuitatem militum commendant et numquam tyrocinium uel bellum intrant sed in herimam professi sunt [...] Nota quod trutanni et claudi loquacissimi esse consueuerunt. Sic tales de obedientia ualde bene loquuntur et tamen mente claudicant quia non uadunt nisi quo uolunt". The last part of this analogy is difficult to properly understand. I would explain Nicolas' contempt for the wanderers and the lame by associating it with the idle chatting that they might have performed while trying to ingratiate a patron. A wanderer might have had all to gain by presenting himself as a reliable aid for a rich patron while knowingly deceiving him.

¹⁰⁰ Sermon XIV <4.1.1.3>: "Natura manus dedit in quibus ponat primo cibum quem debet ponere in os [...] nihil debet ponere per predicationem et ammonitionem et psalmodiam et laudem in ore quod non accipit in manu per operationem".

This good action, which is crucial to the betterment of a Christian audience, is to be identified with penance. In sermon IV, for a martyr, Nicolas explains what it is to do penance in the right way, and to start his explanation of the Gospel verse chosen for the occasion (*qui odit animam suam in hoc mundo in uitam eternam custodit eam*, John 12, 25), he employs another proverb: *qui non dat quod amat non accipit illud quod optat* – he who does not give away the thing he loves, does not receive that which he desires (Morawski 2032). The fulcrum of the sermon is the dichotomy and apparent counterpoint between the verbs *odire* and *amare*, which is explained by showing that the soul, which is to love, can also be hated by making it a portmanteau for an earthly life. This hate is good or bad depending on its goal. Those who do not have the patience and strength to sustain poverty, sickness, and hunger to the point where they desire to die are hating their soul in the wrong way because they do not understand the goal of such adversities. Again, Nicolas’ similitudes are diverse, from the comparison to military men who do not lament the practice drills they need to do to be ready for war, to the sick who do not complain about the effort needed to regain their health, to those merchants who do not tire of markets and fairs they need to visit so they can acquire more goods to trade. Similarly, these tribulations are to be welcomed because they allow the penitent to acquire spiritual goods. Therefore, the good way to hate your own soul, during your earthly life, is to avoid vice and to mortify the flesh.¹⁰¹ This practice is exemplified by Nicolas in four examples pertaining to the figures of the farmer, the fighter, the knight, and the infirm man. All of them act in order to avoid further damage to their property or themselves. For the farmer, there is no point in him preserving all the grain without using it, it would spoil. The fighter keeps his shield close to him but not to the point that some thrusts cannot go through. The knight loves his horse, but he will still urge it on with his spurs. The infirm man is ready to lose a part of his body if it means that his life will be saved. All these examples make Nicolas’ message clear: to love oneself too much does not procure the good that one would imagine; to suffer, through fasting and praying, is necessary for us to avoid the

¹⁰¹ Sermon IV <5-5.1>: “Et notatur quod anima id est uita carnalis oditur bene et male. Male enim oditur cum propter langorem uel paupertatem uel aliquem infortunium tedet aliquem uite sue et desiderat mortem [...] Preterea mercata et nundine non tedent cupidos mercatores quin ibi plusquam in aliis temporibus acquirunt et lucrantur et certe tribulationes patientibus diuitias spirituales acquirunt [...] Bene autem additur (*sic*) anima, id est uita carnalis, cum usque ad internicionem uitiorum persequitur et mortificatur.”

malice of sin and vices, and prepares us by strengthening our resolve and eliminating those parts that desire sin, just as grain is separated from chaff.

This process of elimination is then explained in detail in sermon IX, in which Nicolas lays out the four steps that bring mankind to Paradise. The first step is to clean one's conscience through *contritio cordis* – the internal suffering caused by sin – and confession. God does not wish to inhabit the heart of men tainted by sin in the same way as a nobleman would not want to enter an unclean space. It is thus important to clean the receptacle – one's heart – which will receive God, as one would clean one's house when expecting a visit from a nobleman.¹⁰² The importance of cleanliness and thus the images that convey it are present throughout Nicolas' sermons: from the cleaning of the glass – the heart – before pouring wine – God's grace (used in the sermon in honour of St Paul);¹⁰³ to the washing of the feet – the willingness to sin – which is necessary because no one would enter their own bed with filthy feet, if they could wash them, through conversion and penitence.¹⁰⁴ Of course the cleaning process implied by Nicolas is a metaphorical one and it is nothing new in the Christian environment. Water is at the centre of baptism and signifies rebirth into Christianity having been washed clean of sin. Furthermore, this relation between water and its cleansing effect for the *inner* human landscape was reinforced by monastic practices that revolved around the concept of purification, physical and spiritual.¹⁰⁵ By employing such a direct image – cleaning oneself or other physical objects – Nicolas allows his audience to meditate on the meaning of their actions, a process of abstraction that can be generally referred to as “like from like”.¹⁰⁶ But how

¹⁰² Sermon IX <1.2-1.2.1>: “Sicut enim quatuor gradus per quos ascenditur in celum [...] Primus gradus est mundare conscientiam per cordis contritionem et oris confessionem [...] quia Deus cum peccato non habitat sicut uir nobilis in loco immundo Ps. domum tuam domine decet sanctitudo. Ideo ad istam domum non est ueniendum nisi mundetur et hospitium Domino proprietur. Recepturi enim magnates ad domum suam solent precurrere ut domum mundificent et adornent”.

¹⁰³ Sermon XII <1.1>: “Talis fuit Paulus et ideo uas purissimum. Uas ergo mundare debemus si gratiam Dei recipere uolumus. Tabernarius enim uinum suum non facilliter infunderet in uas immundum Ysa .lii. *mundamini qui fertis uasa Domini*. Immo parum uini poneret in cypho tuo nisi prius mundificato, nec potum mitteret ad tabernam nisi prius lotus esset. Quomodo ergo credit quod Dominus uinum gratie sue infundat in homine peccatis immundo?”.

¹⁰⁴ Sermon I <1.1.2>: “Qui enim haberet pedes lutosos non intraret lectum suum illotis pedibus si haberet aquam ad lauandum. Qui enim habet uoluntatem peccati inquinatam habet animam et habet quo potest eam lauare et mundare quia potest conuerti et penitere”; the same type of image can be also found in sermon XIII: “Sicut homo lutosus inter pannos albißimos intrare non debet similiter cum nos omnes immundi sumus secreta mundissima paradisi non debent dici”.

¹⁰⁵ On the subject of the importance of water metaphors in monastic environments see: James L. Smith, ‘Caring for the Body and Soul with Water: Gueric of Igny's Fourth Sermon on the Epiphany, Godfrey of Saint-Victor's Fons Philosophiae, and Peter of Celle's Letters’, in *Bodily and Spiritual Hygiene in Medieval and Early Modern Literature*, ed. Albrecht Classen (De Gruyter, 2017), 149.

¹⁰⁶ Caroline Walker Bynum, *Metamorphosis and Identity* (Zone Books, 2001), 24.

should men cleanse themselves of their sins? The right solution is to confess them, a prescription reinforced at the start of the thirteenth century by canon 21 of Lateran IV (1215), in which confession was made mandatory for every Christian at least once a year. Nicolas is particularly strict on this matter, and I have not found others with the same insistence, to the point that in order to cleanse oneself properly he suggests that one should confess *weekly* in order to purify the soul of the sins committed during the week.¹⁰⁷ Confession is such a potent device that is presented as a potion capable of curing every ailment by expelling sins.¹⁰⁸ However, in order to attain this goal every confessing person must feel three things: shame, bitterness for what one has done, and the desire for truth.¹⁰⁹

The third step itemized by Nicolas is that of rendering satisfaction for one's sins. This process is akin to judging oneself and committing to doing penance in reparation for one's transgressions, and it can come in many forms. Those most present in Nicolas' sermons are almsgiving and corporal punishment, usually in the form of fasting.¹¹⁰ These are not easy tasks; fortunately, as noted above, the good Christian has help from God. It is because of the importance of leading a worthy life that Nicolas, perhaps because he was addressing a younger audience, highlights the necessity of starting as soon as possible. As was his manner, this suggestion is presented through another series of images that reinforce the idea in the mind of the audience. Thus, it is important to start to do penance early because things done first are more valuable than those done later, and similarly, penitence done at a young age is more valuable than that done later: like a gift – penance – is more well received where it is scarce than where it is abundant; so, one day of penance during one's earthly life has the value of four days penance in Purgatory or Hell, where it is everywhere.¹¹¹ At the same time, practising penance from a young age allows your body to attune to its difficulties. To explain this concept Nicolas employs a similitude in which

¹⁰⁷ Sermon XII <1.3>: "Sic animam per confessionem semel in septimana tergere debet ab hiis que minus bene in septimana perpetrasti".

¹⁰⁸ Sermon XVI <3.5>: "Aliud magnum facit Dominus penitentibus cum dat eis gratiam penitendi et conuertendi, in arte phisica magne uirtutis reputatur medicina uel potio que omnes infirmitates expellit sicut facit confessio de peccatis".

¹⁰⁹ Sermon XXIV <2.1>: "Hec tria debent esse in confessione: confessio enim debet esse uerecunda, amara et uera".

¹¹⁰ Sermon VII <4.2.5>: "Satisfactio autem consistit in elemosinarum largitione ibi pauper et corporis afflictione ibi et in laboribus".

¹¹¹ Sermon IV <3>: "Res enim primitiue pretiosiores sunt quam tarde. Similiter penitentia in iuuentute facta et in hac uita quam in alia quia tunc non est sayson (*sic*) Mt .iii. *facite dignos fructus penitentie* et exennium unde plus acceptatur in terra ubi rarum est quam quatuor ubi habundat. Sic una dies penitentie nunc quam quatuor in purgatorio uel in inferno quia loca illa tota sunt penarum plena".

penance is like going along a road, but contrary to common experience, this road is difficult from the onset and becomes easier the more you walk – in the same way as summer gloves (*cyrotheca aestivalis*), a curious example which perhaps is because summer gloves, unlike their winter counterparts, are light and not a burden to use.¹¹² Another similitude linked to travel is found in sermon XXI, in which Nicolas urges the audience to start their journey towards God because the road is long; so they should do as the good traveller who, knowing the distance he must cover, does not waste time in the tavern but instead quickens his pace.¹¹³

However, even if sinners start to change their behaviour with the adoption of this way of life, they have to keep up this good practice, because if they stray from it, they risk losing all the progress made toward Paradise.¹¹⁴ Therefore the audience should be wary and know that because God gave them the willingness to repent and practise penance, they will offend him greatly if they backslide. The similitude employed is a medical one in which the peril of recidivism is similar to the risk incurred by someone who, after a long illness, falls again to a more severe sickness.¹¹⁵ In the end, citing the parable of the workers in the field, only those who work until the end of day – death – are called to receive their payment – Paradise.¹¹⁶ It is thus the fear of losing it all that should move the audience to embrace this way of life. Following the suggestions of the *artes praedicandi*,¹¹⁷ inciting the fear in the audience about their misbehaviour was an allowed practice for preachers; and indeed, it is a frightful proposition that is being employed. However, Nicolas seems to not have been a fire and brimstone preacher in his *de festis* sermons

¹¹² Sermon VI <1.1.1>: “quia consuetudo uiarum secularium est quod itinerantes per eas in principio minus lassi sunt et in uespere magis, in uia uero penitentiae e contrario quia in principio grauior sentitur et magis lassat postea uero minus ut cyrotheca estiuialis”.

¹¹³ Sermon XXI <1.1.1.3>: “Et ideo uiator quando habet uiam longam ire et parum temporis expedite uadit et non sistit in taberna nec alibi; sic nec standum est in mundanis, sed cito ad Deum per penitentiam currendum est”.

¹¹⁴ Sermon X <3.1.2>: “Si ergo penitentiam agens excolit terram corporis sui per unam cordis contritionem, per carnis mortificationem seminat per elemosinarum largitionem et etiam per integram confessionem et accidit quod tempore messis, id est in morte, dyabolus eum facit peccare et totum perdit”.

¹¹⁵ Sermon X <3.1.1>: “Qualiter si Dominus daret gratiam alicui peccata confitendi, penitentiam agendi, si post modum hoc bono peccetque grauius peccat et offendit Deum quam si hac gratia non fuisset ei concessa et uidete exemplum: quia si ceciderit infirmus in infirmitate grauius est quam ante quia in residuo infirmitas ueniens inuenit naturam debilitatam et preualet infirmitas”.

¹¹⁶ Sermon X <3.1.3>: “Hoc solum extendit exemplum: si conductus essem ab aliquo ad fodiendum ergo uel in uinea per totam diem et ego hora tertia recederem de uinea non deberem habere mercedem nisi perficerem dietam meam. Dominus conduxit nos ut iremus in uineam suam ut ibi laboremus per totam diem, id est omnibus diebus uite sue. Qui ergo declinet et non perficit dietam non debet recipere mercedem”.

¹¹⁷ Robert of Basevorn, ‘The Form of Preaching (*Forma Praedicandi*)’, 146.

and he is open to more nuanced messaging and the inspiration of hope. In the third sermon, while talking of the necessity of practising penance without a frown, he opens up the possibility that the mere following of the Ten Commandments, if done with a joyful heart, might suffice to appease God.¹¹⁸

In summary, Nicolas' sermons paint a vivid picture of the perils of the world by employing a vast array of visual images designed to captivate his audience and ease their understanding of the profound themes (charity, the importance of perseverance, the living of a proper Christian life) that the biblical verses used as *themata* hide within the literal meaning of the word of God. However, there were other sorts of examples that congregations could follow, namely, those of the saints: how were they a part of God's plan for aiding humanity to reach Paradise?

The saints, *exempla*, and similitudes

The use of saints' Lives and their qualities

As already discussed in the first chapter of this thesis the thirteenth century saw a change in the approach to sanctity and its forms of narration. This mutation in scope was obtained through different means among which the most important was the redefinition of the process of canonization by the Holy See.¹¹⁹ Alongside the new papal regulations for the canonization of saints arose a more intense effort in the production of *vitae* which was carried out especially by the new mendicant orders. It is during this century that this type of hagiographical effort attempted to produce new collections of saints' lives in order to inspire and educate its readers. Among these the most renowned are, for example, the *Abbreviatio in gestis et miraculis sanctorum* of Jean de Mailly;¹²⁰ the *Liber epilogorum in gesta sanctorum* of Bartholomew of Trent;¹²¹ and the most famous among them, the *Legenda aurea* of Jacopo de Voragine.¹²² Written in the latter part

¹¹⁸ Sermon III <1>: "Si sibi non demus nisi ferculum unum id est decalogi impletionem et hoc letanter placet sibi et gratiam multam ab eo habebimus".

¹¹⁹ For a thorough explanation of the processes of change occurred during the thirteenth century see: Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, 33–136.

¹²⁰ Jean de Mailly, *Abbreviatio in gestis et miraculis sanctorum: supplementum hagiographicum ; editio princeps*, ed. Giampaolo Maggioni, Millennio medievale Testi, 97 21 (SISMEL Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2013).

¹²¹ Bartolomeo da Trento, *Liber epilogorum in gesta sanctorum*, ed. Emore Paoli, Edizione nazionale dei testi mediolatini 2 (SISMEL Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2001).

¹²² Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*.

of the thirteenth century (1260-1289) by Jacopo de Voragine, a Dominican friar and later bishop of Genoa, was the most widespread and used collection of hagiographies of the Middle Ages.

These texts were intended for solitary use by their readers thus rendering the dissemination of such educative examples to the broader public difficult. However, at the same time preaching, and especially sanctioned preaching, was also an important part of the effort of the Church, following the proceedings of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). This is the reason for the vast production of sermons, and sermon collections, which covered not only the Sundays of the liturgical year but also the feasts of saints that populated the Christian medieval calendar.¹²³ Jacopo de Voragine was not only one of the most prominent of the new preachers, he was also one of the most prolific in the production of sermons dedicated to saints' feast days; other well-known figures, such as St Bonaventure, were not as concerned with this type of work. Nicolas de Biard falls into the same category as St Bonaventure because his *de festis* collection is not one of the most extensive, consisting of only thirty-two sermons, of which only sixteen are dedicated to feasts of specific saints: SS Andrew, Nicholas, Lucy, Paul (for his conversion), Matthew, John the Baptist (twice), Martin, Catherine, Peter in Chains, Pope Clement, Peter and Paul, James the Great, and lastly the three sermons in honour of the Virgin Mary.

The examination of the sermons reveals that Nicolas did not employ these saints' *Lives* as much as one would imagine. Among the sixteen sermons analysed only three have direct quotations from a saint's *legenda* while the others simply recall their names to make a more evident connection between the saint and the virtues that are presented as a result of the *divisio* of the *thema*. The sermons containing quotations of the legend of the saint are: X (St Nicholas), XIII (St Matthew) XX (St Martin), and XXVI (St Clement).

In the first sermon (X) Nicolas employs Psalm 70, 17: *You have thought me, God, from my youth and till now / Deus docuisti me a inventute mea et usque nunc* as the *theme* and proceeds to subdivide it according to the wording of the *theme*. The third division, on the wording *usque nunc*, expounds on the merit of St Nicholas for having persevered in his virtuous life and it is in this section that Nicolas quotes the *Legenda*

¹²³ Ferzoco, 'The Context of Medieval Sermon Collections on Saints', 281–82.

aurea word for word: “Third, he persevered until death in the aforementioned practice because, as is said in his *Life* when he had been raised to the dignity of the prelacy, he did not abandon the mortification of the flesh and other works of penance, but progressed from good to good unto the better”.¹²⁴ It is possible that Nicolas was familiar with the *Legenda* because it was already circulating in its earlier versions through the *pecia* system by 1275 alongside the collections of Nicolas’ sermons.¹²⁵

This is not the only quotation from the *Legenda aurea*; other excerpts can be found in sermons XIX and XXVIII. The former (XIX) is dedicated to the feast of All Saints and is found only in manuscript *Ta* as an addendum at the bottom of the page. It is probable. Therefore, that it was added by another, later scribal hand in order to better explain the necessity for the feast itself.¹²⁶ In a world in which saints and their exploits were a tangible reality it was important to explain that there were more saints than days in a year – thus warranting the creation of the feast of All Saints.¹²⁷ The latter (XXVIII) is identified by Schneyer as dedicated to the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary. However, an examination of the sermon suggests that it was instead developed for the Nativity of Christ, as suggested above in chapter II. Furthermore, the presence of an indirect quotation of the *Legenda aurea* aids in confirming the error in dedication both in Schneyer’s *Repertorium* and in the manuscript tradition. Not only does the text clearly revolves around the birth of Christ, with a long similitude comparing him to the pearl produced by an oyster (the Virgin Mary), but Nicolas employs as an example for the difficulty of being humble, a virtue readily possessed by the Virgin, the oracle given by the Sybil to Octavian which is also present in the *Legenda Aurea* entry for the Nativity of Christ.¹²⁸

Sermon XIII is an interesting example of the insertion of other saints as an exemplary device, instead of focusing on the saint of the day. Nicolas, concerned with the necessity of explaining why God

¹²⁴ Sermon X, Cfr. Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, 46.

¹²⁵ The *Legenda Aurea* can be found at entry 109 of the 1275 list of taxation of the University of Paris. Murano, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*, 88.

¹²⁶ Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, 1236(II) in *Ta*: ‘enim nam sicut ait Isidorus in quadam epistola que sue kalendario preponitur, nullus dies est excepto die kalendariarum ianuariarum qui non intra quinque milium martyrum numerum reperiri possit ascriptus’.

¹²⁷ Sermon XIX <5.1>: “Plures enim sunt sancti in patria de quibus festum non colitur, non sunt enim tot dies anni quot sancti in paradiso et ideo quia de omnibus festum facere non possumus sigillatim statuitur ut de omnibus simul faciamus”.

¹²⁸ Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, 80: “Tunc Sibylla hoc cesari ostendit. Cum autem imperator ad predicatam uisionem plurimum admiraretur, audiuit uocem dicentem : hec est ara celi...”

chose his saints, as a demonstration of the importance of following their example, quotes the *Vita Sancti Hilarionis* from the *Vitae Patrum*¹²⁹ of St Jerome.¹³⁰ The lengthy quotation is meant to show the endurance of the saint in suffering bodily privations for his whole life.¹³¹

In the sermon (XX), dedicated to the feast of St Martin, it is clear that Nicolas was familiar with the *Life* of St Martin because it starts by recalling the moment of the conversion of Martin at the gates of Tours. However, instead of referencing parts of the legend or informing the audience that he had read this information from another source, he quotes just a phrase¹³² present in both the original *Vita* by Sulpicius Severus¹³³ and the *Legenda*,¹³⁴ and, most importantly, in the Liturgy of the Hours.¹³⁵ We might therefore suggest that Nicolas did not quote a *vita* directly because he was instead quoting the antiphon for the morning liturgy for St Martin's feast, which the audience had heard just moments before the sermon.

The sermon for the feast of St Clement (XXVI) is the longest of the collection and revolves around the necessity of living a saintly and exemplary life for those who want to be preachers, prelates, or a Catholic doctor (in theology). St Clement was a fulgid example of this approach to life and Nicolas took the opportunity to show his own erudition in developing this sermon. Not only does he quote the *Passio Clementis* word for word in reporting the phrase uttered by Mamertinus, the Roman prefect charged with exiling St Clement,¹³⁶ but in this sermon he quotes extensively other sources of authority. Among them are: Augustine, Jerome, Isidore of Seville, Gregory the Great, Pseudo-Bernard, and Bernard of

¹²⁹ For an overview of the usage of the *Vitae Patrum* in the latter centuries of the Middle Ages see: Carlo Delcorno, 'Le «Vitae Patrum» nella letteratura religiosa medievale (secc. XIII–XV)', *Lettere Italiane* 43, no. 2 (1991): 187–207.

¹³⁰ Hieronymus Stridonensis, *Vita Sancti Hilarionis*, PL 23, col. 29–54.

¹³¹ Sermon XIII <1.4>: "Uita enim sancti Ytalionis (*sic*) a .xiii. annis usque ad .xxv. fuit panis et aqua et pisa, a .xxv. usque ad .xlv. panis et aqua a .xlv. usque ad ultimum uite sue radices et aqua. Si quis monacus istam formam uiuendi teneret et cum in fine eius anima dubitabat egredi a corpore cum dixit ei .lxx. annis seruiui Domino, et egredi".

¹³² Sermon XX: "[Christus] coram angelis suis dixit Martinus adhuc cathecuminus hac me ueste contextit".

¹³³ Sulpicius Severus, *Vita sancti Martini Turonensis* [electronic resource].

¹³⁴ Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, 1272(II).

¹³⁵ Cantus ID 003712, in: Debra Lacoste et al., 'Cantus Database', with Jan Koláček, accessed 20 December 2025, <https://cantusdatabase.org>.

¹³⁶ John C. Buckingham III, 'Passio Sancti Clementis: A New Critical Edition with English Translation' (Unpublished MA dissertation in Religious Studies, California State University, 2018), 91, <https://www.proquest.com/openview/7428445820551f9edf10a97998ad3526/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=18750>: 'tantam gratiam Deus beato Clementi tribuit ut fleret Mamertinus urbis Romane prefectus et dixit Deus tuus quem tu colis ipse te adiuet in hac relegatione exilii'.

Clairvaux.¹³⁷ These quotations are forty-five in number, an overstuffed referencing system that was undoubtedly devised in order to demonstrate the proficiency of the preacher in confecting such an intricate system of authorities to better explain the necessity of leading a virtuous life. It is thus important to remember that according to the *artes praedicandi*, not only did the preacher have to be learned and proficient in his speech, he had to be a model of good behaviour for his audience, too.¹³⁸ The lack of good standing by virtue of good behaviour is something that Nicolas openly calls out:

“It is a great disorder when we clerics, who ought to glorify the name of God by our good example, instead cause it to be blasphemed by our bad example. On account of this, Gregory says: in his homily he pointed out, et cetera... Think, most beloved, that God endures no greater prejudice than from priests. A priest is, as it were, a 'holy leader' (*sacer dux*); therefore, they can be called priests who, through their holiness, ought to be leaders of others – such as the religious [monks/friars] and other clerics, especially those established in holy orders. God endures no greater prejudice from others than from these, when He sees those whom He appointed for the correction of servants giving examples of wickedness from themselves. And frequently, what is more grievous, if they see any who live humbly or continently, they mock them—and yet such ought to be the life of clerics”.¹³⁹

It is a powerful representation of the disorderly conduct of some clerics and a strong chastising of such intemperance which is further supported by the mentioning of canon law a few lines after.¹⁴⁰ By presenting all the facets of a good life, by avoiding every type of vice, through the supporting authority

¹³⁷ For a full list of the citations see the table at the start of this chapter.

¹³⁸ Alan of Lille, *The Art of Preaching*, trans. Gillian Evans, Cistercian Studies Series 23 (Cistercian Publications, 1981), 20–21; Humbert of Romans, *Treatise on Preaching*, ed. Walter M. Conlon, trans. The Dominican Students (Blackfriars Publications, 1955), 37–54; Robert of Basevorn, ‘The Form of Preaching (*Forma Praedicandi*)’, 123–25.

¹³⁹ Sermon XXVI <1.2.2>: “Hec est magna deordinatio quando nos clerici qui debimus facere bono exemplo nostro nomen Dei glorificari ipsum malo exemplo nostro facimus blasphemari propter quod dicit Gregorius: in omelie designavit et cetera. Nullum puta karissimi maius preiudicium quam a sacerdotibus colerat Dominus. Sacerdos quasi sacer dux, possunt ergo dici sacerdotes qui per sanctitatem suam debent esse aliorum ductores ut sunt religiosi et alii clerici maxime in sacris ordinibus constituti nullum ab aliis maius preiudicium colerat Deus quam ab istis quando eos quos ad seruorum correptionem posuit dare de se exempla prauitatis cernit et plerumque quod est grauius si quos humiliter si quos continenter uiuere inspiciunt irridet et cum talis debet esse uita clericorum”.

¹⁴⁰ Sermo XXVI: “habetur in canone, non uagi oculis nec effreni linguis aut petulantia fluidoque gestu incedat ei pudorem ac uerecundiam mentis simplici habitu incessuque ostendant”. Cfr Timothy Reuter and Gabriel Silagi, eds, *Wortkonkordanz zum Decretum Gratiani* (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1990), col. 80 Distinctio XXIII, c. III.

of other authors, Nicolas intended to demonstrate how a sermon could employ a vast web of references without hindering the delivery of the salvific message of Christ and his Passion.¹⁴¹

The other sermons of the collection did not use any reference to the saints' *vitae*; instead Nicolas focused only on developing the theme of the sermons by making connections between the chosen *themata* and the figure of the saint of the day. As such, St Paul is represented as a receptacle to be filled by God's grace, St Catherine is the paramount example of the importance of learning, St John the Baptist is akin to a lamp ignited by the light of fervour, and St James the Great is recalled in connection to his mother's request to Christ.

Among these, sermon XV for the Assumption of the Virgin Mary presents a quotation that warrants more investigation. At the end of the sermon Nicolas says that the Virgin had in her several graces and virtues; and he certainly believes it to be true because he read in a certain book that she was gifted with extreme physical beauty which was different from the beauty of every other woman.¹⁴² The mention of the material beauty of the Virgin Mary appears as a departure from St Bernard of Clairvaux's own elaboration of the virtues of Mary. St Bernard developed a peculiar devotion to the Virgin that is evident from his *Sermones in laudibus Virginis Mariae* in which his reflections on humility as a virtue are inherently coherent with the identification of the material beauty of the Virgin as a mere outward reflection of her inner perfection in grace and virtue.¹⁴³ Nicolas, however, seems to be referring directly to her material beauty in addition to her virtues, thus moving slightly away from the Cistercian tradition. Another example of such a development in Marian devotion can be found in a work by a canon from Rouen who was active in the thirteenth century: Richard of Saint Laurent. We know by the type of Old French interspersed in Nicolas de Biard's sermons that he had Northern French origins,¹⁴⁴ and in a

¹⁴¹ Sermon XXVI <1.2.4>: "Debet ulterius attente dominice passionis memoriam recogitare. Sicut ipse monet Thren .v. *o uos omnes qui transitis per uiam* et cetera. Monet autem ad attente cogitandum dominice passionis acerbitem et innuit huius cogitationis necessitatem. Quam primo innuit ut magis prouocemur ad istam cogitationem".

¹⁴² Sermon XV <2.2>: "Et non solum hec domina habuit in anima diuersa genera gratiarum atque uirtutum. Sed sicut certe credo et legi in quodam libro maxime fuit pulcritudinis in corpore cuius pulcritudo dissimilem habebat uirtutem ab aliarum mulierum pulcritudine".

¹⁴³ Adrián Pradier, 'Mary's Transparent Beauty in St. Bernard's Aesthetics', *Religions* 14, no. 4 (2023): 471, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel14040471>.

¹⁴⁴ A good example of this is the usage of the term *fardando* which is a Latin calque of the Old French word *farde* which means embellishment. See *farde* in Frédéric Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne Langue Française et de Tous Ses Dialectes Du IXe Au XVe Siècle* (F.V., 1881), 3:722.

sermon he employs a similitude in which the road from Paris to Rouen is regarded as an easy one for the inexperienced traveller because it is straight.¹⁴⁵ Even though we do not know if Nicolas was ever in Rouen it seems that he may have known the works of Richard of Saint Laurent. One of them, *Opus insigne de laudibus beatae Mariae Virginis*, was composed around the middle of the thirteenth century and a copy was donated to Hugh of St Cher by Richard himself.¹⁴⁶ In it Richard presents the figure of the Virgin in twelve books each dedicated to a specific facet of Marian devotion.¹⁴⁷ In book five Richard focuses on both the internal and external beauty of the Virgin; and of the latter he says: “[She] kept her members as if in a certain state of virginity—that is, entirely in the integrity of holiness—so that they might be subject to no corruption at all, while no filth of worldly vanity or carnal enticement might usurp for itself any of their functions”.¹⁴⁸ This resembles Nicolas’ description of the Virgin as different from the other women because her beauty did not provoke lust but instead a fervent love of chastity.¹⁴⁹ Another point of contact between Richard and Nicolas can be found in sermon XVI, also dedicated to the assumption of the Virgin, in which Nicolas says that God made a great thing at the end of the Virgin’s life by taking her to be exalted among the cohort of angels in soul and body as it is pious to believe.¹⁵⁰ The belief in the physical assumption of the Virgin was well established by the thirteenth century, even though it did not become official doctrine until the twentieth century. Notable supporters of this belief, among others, were Thomas Aquinas,¹⁵¹ and Bonaventure.¹⁵² Richard of Saint Laurent was also a believer in the physical assumption of the Virgin and his *De laudibus* presents his view, even going further than the *pious belief* that

¹⁴⁵ Sermon XIII <1.5>: “Qui enim ire uellet ad Rothomagum gaudere deberet si uiam nesciret qui eum poneret in uia recta”.

¹⁴⁶ Giovanni Maria Colasanti, ‘Il “De Laudibus B.M.V.” Di Riccardo Da San Lorenzo (c. 1260). Breve Studio Introduttivo e Sintesi Dottrinale’, *Marianum* 23, nos 74–77 (1961): 3.

¹⁴⁷ Colasanti, ‘Il “De Laudibus B.M.V.” Di Riccardo Da San Lorenzo (c. 1260). Breve Studio Introduttivo e Sintesi Dottrinale’, 12.

¹⁴⁸ Richard de Saint-Laurent, *De laudibus B. Mariae Virginis libri XII* (apud Martinum Nutium, 1625), col. 337.

¹⁴⁹ Sermon XV <2.2>: “Aliarum enim mulierum pulcritudo multum est prouocatiua ad luxuriam sed eius pulcritudo tante fuit uirtutis et honestatis quod non solum ad libidinem sed ad amorem potius astraheret castitatis”.

¹⁵⁰ Sermon XVI <3.3>: “Tertium magnum fecit Dominus beate uirgini in ultimo uite sue cum eam super choros angelorum in corpore et anima ut pium est credere exaltauit”.

¹⁵¹ In the *Summa theologiae*, pars III, quaestio 27, art. 1, Thomas refers to the belief of the physical assumption of the Virgin while also reporting the belief of her purification from the original sin in utero. A belief also found in sermon XVI: “Primum magnum fuit in utero matris sue, quia eam ab originali mundificauit et sanctificauit” Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, ed. Enrique Alarcón, Corpus Thomisticum - S. Thomae de Aquino Opera Omnia (University of Navarra, 2000), <https://www.corpusthomisticum.org/iopera.html>.

¹⁵² For a review of the thirteenth-century view on the matter: Giuseppe Speciale, ‘L’Assunzione di Maria Vergine al cielo: Giustiniano e Bonaventura da Bagnoregio’, *Historia et Ius*, no. 10 (2016): 14–20.

is shared by other authors, such as Nicolas; to him the matter is settled even if the belief was not doctrine, it is a matter to be wholly believed – *certe creditur* – not only piously – *pie creditur*.¹⁵³

The usage of *exempla* and proverbs in Nicolas de Biard

The word *exemplum* as it is used in medieval preaching practice can have two different meaning: an example in a general sense or an illustrative story.¹⁵⁴ Because of its importance and widespread usage in the creation of homiletic literature, much study has been dedicated to this particular element of medieval literature, which has allowed for the realization of a comprehensive manual for those interested in such literary devices.¹⁵⁵ It will suffice to say that in Nicolas de Biard's sermons it is possible to find the term used in both meanings. In the majority of cases it is employed to signify an example in the general sense. These examples are generally used to better explain the point that Nicolas is trying to make in explaining a biblical verse. For this reason they usually resemble similitudes that may cover day-to-day life – the carpenter invoking God before hammering (sermon XV), or a biblical parable meant to aid the understanding of the audience, such as the parable of the foolish virgins in (Matthew 25, 11-13) in sermon XI. At other times the term *exemplum* is used to refer to the exemplary lives of the saints: in sermon XXIII the meeting of the apostle Thomas and Christ in John 20, 24-29 is recalled as an example for those searching for Christ. Although there are some other examples of saints recalled as examples, such as in sermon XIII in which the *exemplum sanctorum* is offered in order to better follow it,¹⁵⁶ usually their mention as examples is given in a more generalized manner by simply recalling the general experience of those living according to God's precepts.

¹⁵³ Giovanni Maria Colasanti, 'Maternità Spirituale, Assunzione e Regalità Di Maria SS. Secondo Riccardo Da San Lorenzo (c. 1260)', *Miscellanea Francescana* 58, no. I-II (1958): 16–18.

¹⁵⁴ Jacques de Vitry, *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. Thomas Frederick Crane (The Folk-Lore Society - David Nutt, 1890).

¹⁵⁵ Claude Bremond, *L'"Exemplum"*, 2e éd., augmentée., with Jean-Claude Schmitt and Jacques Le Goff, *Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental*; fasc. 40 (Brepols, 1996); Jacques Berlioz and Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu, *Les Exempla médiévaux: introduction à la recherche. Suivie des tables critiques de l'"Index exemplorum" de Frederic C. Tubach*, *Classiques de la littérature orale* (Garae/Hésiode, 1992); For a thorough index of medieval *exempla* see: Frederic C. Tubach, *Index Exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales*, *FF Communications* 204 (Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1969).

¹⁵⁶ In sermon XIII St Agnes is presented as a good example of virginal virtue when compared to the behaviour of lascivious women: "Beata enim Agnes .xiii. anno fuit martizata quia nuptiis cuiusdam tyranni infidelis noluit consentire. Sed heu hodie lupanari se exponerent mulieres nostris temporibus antequam aliquod malum sustinerent".

The second sense in which *exempla* are intended is that of an illustrative story for the better understanding of the preacher's words; and, for the sake of simplicity, from this point on, this is how I shall use *exemplum*. During the course of the thirteenth century this type of *exemplum* saw a rise in its usage and became part of the preaching materials that, along with collections of distinctions, populated the preachers' desks. According to Welter, between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century at least forty-six *exempla* collections were produced for the use of preachers.¹⁵⁷ Among these at least thirty-five date from 1250 to 1350,¹⁵⁸ although this does not include the sermons of Jacques de Vitry who employed the *exemplum* as one characterizing element of his sermons; indeed one of his illustrative stories, plucked from the classical tradition of Aesop, was used by Nicolas in sermon XIV.¹⁵⁹

Nicolas used only two *exempla* in this sense in the *de festis* sermons, respectively number 453 and 3727 of the index produced by Tubach.¹⁶⁰ The former is preserved as a single phrase that just points the reader to the story by giving an abridged version of the tale. The latter is more interesting because, in it, Nicolas' creativity shines. *Exemplum* 3727 refers to the story of Peter Toller's conversion from a life of avarice and usury to one of charity. According to Tubach's research, the story was preserved in the *Liber exemplorum ad usum praedicantium*, a collection of *exempla* developed by a Franciscan friar of English origin by the second half of the thirteenth century.¹⁶¹ However, Nicolas' version deviates substantially from that of the *Liber exemplorum*. Both versions present Peter Toller as a stern and avaricious man, famous among the poor of the city for his opposition to almsgiving. It happened one day that a poor man decided to try his luck by asking for some bread, but instead an irate Peter, wanting to hit him with a rock threw the bread instead. Some days after this event Peter found himself bedridden and in profound pain but still refusing to amend his ways; in his feverish delirium he had a vision of his judgement by demons and angels. The demons were happy to gain another soul for Hell but the angels managed to preserve his soul

¹⁵⁷ Jean Thiébaud Welter, *L'exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du Moyen âge* (E.H Guitard, 1927)*passim*.

¹⁵⁸ Bremond, *L'"Exemplum"*, 59.

¹⁵⁹ In the sermon Nicolas recalls the story of the crow and the fox employed by Jacques de Vitry, *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry*, 42.

¹⁶⁰ Tubach, *Index Exemplorum*, 40, 288.

¹⁶¹ A. G. Little, ed., *Liber Exemplorum Ad Usum Praedicantium Saeculo XIII Compositus a Quodam Fratre Minore Anglico de Provincia Hiberniae*, British Society of Franciscan Studies, I (Typis academicis, 1908), VIII–XI, <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001636349>.

by counting the bread throwing as almsgiving, thus balancing the scale towards Paradise. Peter, disconcerted by such a vision, changed his behaviour, renouncing his previous avarice. Up to this point the stories follow the same structure but Nicolas adds more flavour to his version by showing the lengths of Peter's change. He donated all his properties to the poor and found himself living as a poor man when a woman approached him asking him to aid her son by standing bail to free him from jail. Peter answered her, saying that he had no more to give except his life, which he gladly offered to the magistrate in exchange for the life of the woman's son. The magistrate, moved to compassion, decided to free both of them.¹⁶² This story, presented at the end of sermon XX, is also commented on by Nicolas who says: "do not understand, good people, that that thrown bread had outweighed all the evils of that rich man because he had performed one good work by giving it away in such a fashion; for he was in sin and not outside of it. The mercy of God alone did this, and the bread acted as a sign or an occasion, showing that a work of mercy, when it is performed, must be done in such charity that it outweighs all a man's sins".¹⁶³

It seems that Nicolas had quite an interest in producing his own *exempla* because there are other instances where I have not been able to find any other instances of them – thus indicating the possibility that Nicolas devised them himself. For example, in sermon XIII he talks about an *exemplum* concerning the son of a dying king, who is given to a wise and faithful knight of poor means: the story asserts the necessity of trying to live like others in order to learn compassion.¹⁶⁴ Another recounts the story of an archbishop's nephew in form of analogy: "if he, who was born for great things, were to ask his uncle for a small stipend, the uncle, who loves him dearly, would refuse; and similarly the prince asking for dung from the stables would be refused, because both requests are beneath their status. The moral of both

¹⁶² Cfr sermon XX and entry 125 of Little, *Liber Exemplorum*, 74–75.

¹⁶³ Sermon XX <5.3>: "Nec intelligatis bone gentes quod ille panis preponderasset omnibus malibus diutius illius quia bonum opus fecisset sic dando quod non sit eo quod in peccato et non extra erat. Sed sola Dei misericordia hoc fecit et panis fuit quasi signum uel occasio monstrans quod opus misericordie quando fit sic debet fieri in caritate ut preponderat omnibus peccatis hominis".

¹⁶⁴ Sermon XIII <1.5>: "Exemplum hic ponitur de puero regis tradito a padre moriente militi sapienti et fideli olim pauperi; qui iratus contra magistrum uoluit eum propter hoc exhereditare cui tunc dixit quod hic fecerat ut sciret melius in qua angustia sunt patientes iniuriam et rerum suarum amissionem ut melius cumpaterentur eis".

stories is that no one should seek earthly things that are below their status because humans are born for heavenly things”.¹⁶⁵

A second type of arrow in the preachers’ quiver was the proverb. By its nature the proverb is an affirmative sentence which usually concerns conduct, and which conveys the idea that its content is shared and perceived by all as true.¹⁶⁶ The study of proverbs has been advanced by a series of scholars such as Morawski and Schultze-Busacker who have developed both the indexing of Old French proverbs and the methodological tools to understand their usage.¹⁶⁷ The proverb, because of its repeatability, is a conveyor of uncontested ancestral knowledge and is deemed to have certain characteristics: a deictic quality that allows it to be reusable in different circumstances; a universal nature; language which can be modified to fit the situation at hand; and a meaning which is capable of being shifted in order to suit the intent of the speaker.¹⁶⁸

These qualities ring true especially when we consider how proverbs might have been used with a pedagogic intent in mind. Because of their inherent simplicity proverbs were often used in the classroom to practise the Latin of students, as was the case for the Latin collection named *Proverbia Rusticorum*.¹⁶⁹ Medieval France was a particularly productive environment for the usage of proverbs and the gathering together of proverb collections, among which are the aforementioned *Proverbia Rusticorum* and the *Proverbes au vilain* from which the former takes inspiration for a number of its Latin translations. Preachers were fond of this type of material, to the point that they were inserted into collections of *exempla* such as the

¹⁶⁵ Sermon XXXI <3.1.1>: “si nepos archiepiscopi, qui natus esset ad magna, peteret ab ipso parvam prebendam, non solum non daret ei quamvis ipsum diligat quia non deseret eum. Similiter si filius regis peteret fimum stabulorum suorum non daretur ei. Immo diceretur quod degeneraret tam uilia petendo. Sic homo qui petit temporalia qui natus est ad celestia omnia hec arbitratus sum ut stercora ait il: Paulus apostolus nos autem esse debemus filii Dei”.

¹⁶⁶ Marie-Thérèse Lorcin, *Les recueils de proverbes français (1160-1490): sagesse des nations et langue de bois*, with Elisabeth Schulze-Busacker, *Essais sur le Moyen âge* 50 (Honoré Champion éditeur, 2016), 41; Barry Taylor, ‘Medieval Proverb Collections: The West European Tradition’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55, no. 1 (1992): 19–20, <https://doi.org/10.2307/751418>.

¹⁶⁷ Joseph Morawski, ‘Les recueils d’anciens proverbes français analysés et classés’, *Romania* 48, no. 192 (1922): 481–558, <https://doi.org/10.3406/roma.1922.4509>; Elisabeth Schulze-Busacker, ‘La place du proverbe dans la mentalité médiévale’, *Paremia*, no. 6 (1997): 565–76; Elisabeth Schulze-Busacker, *Proverbes et expressions proverbiales dans la littérature narrative du Moyen Age français: recueil et analyse*, Nouvelle bibliothèque du Moyen Age 9 (H. Champion, 1985); Elisabeth Schulze-Busacker, ‘La constitution des recueils de proverbes et de sentences dans l’Antiquité tardive et le Moyen Age’, in *La transmission des savoirs au Moyen âge et à la Renaissance: actes du colloque international... à Besançon et à Tours, du 24 au 29 mars 2003*, ed. Pierre Nobel, Littéraires (Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2005).

¹⁶⁸ Schulze-Busacker, ‘La place du proverbe dans la mentalité médiévale’, 566.

¹⁶⁹ Lorcin, *Les recueils de proverbes français (1160-1490)*, 69.

Ci nous dit (mid-thirteenth century), because they understood that proverbs tapped into a universal knowledge that allowed them to better explain the meaning of Scripture without only relying on biblical commentaries, which less knowledgeable or educated audiences found harder to understand.¹⁷⁰

In Nicolas' sermons I have found sixteen proverbs, in Old French or Latin, of which three may have been taken from the *Proverbia rusticorum*. They are generally concerned with a type of exemplary, universal conduct and it is for this reason that some are employed at the start of the sermon in order to explain the *thema* in a more colloquial manner. A good example is the proverb *selon le seignor mesnie duite* (Morawski 2249) used to explain the strict relation that flows between God and those who want to follow him (Sermon II). God is like a lord who wants his family to conform to him in their actions, and the proverb affirms that, *according to the lord his household is trained*. Another example is that already quoted from sermon IV, where the proverb, given in Latin, aids the audience in understanding that to gain what they desire they have to lose what they love, thus conforming to the *thema* in which is affirmed that only those who hate their soul in this life will protect it for eternal life.¹⁷¹ This usage of proverbs is akin to what the thirteenth-century Franciscan John of Wales suggests in order to avoid the creation of an additional *prothema* for a sermon by instead choosing a proverb that has a similar connotation to the biblical text.¹⁷²

Nicolas' reliance on proverbs has been noted by other scholars such as Bataillon and Morenzoni, the latter of whom has found that Nicolas' *Distinctiones* also employ a vast number of them.¹⁷³ As far as I can tell, in at least three instances Nicolas not only employed well known proverbs but also attempted the creation of his own versions. In sermon XVI he seems to give his own version of the proverb: *de uno pane comedere fastidit homo – a man tires of eating only one type of bread* (Morawski 620) which is rendered as *semper de uno cibo comedere quantumcumque bono et delectabili fastidium generet – to always eat one food, however delicious*

¹⁷⁰ Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu, 'Usages et fonctions des proverbes dans le *Ci nous dit*', in *Le tonnerre des exemples: Exempla et médiation culturelle dans l'Occident médiéval*, ed. Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu et al., Collection 'Histoire' (Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2010), 345–46.

¹⁷¹ Sermon IV: "*Qui odit animam suam in hoc mundo in uitam eternam custodit eam* Io. .xi. Dicitur uulgariter qui non dat quod amat non accipit illud quod optat".

¹⁷² Franco Morenzoni, 'Les proverbes dans la prédication du XIII^e siècle', in *Tradition des proverbes et des 'exempla' dans l'Occident médiéval*, ed. Hugo Oscar Bizzarri and Martin Rohde, *Scrinium Friburgense* 24 (De Gruyter, 2009), 132–33.

¹⁷³ L. J. Bataillon, 'Similitudines et exempla dans les sermons du XIII^e siècle', in *The Bible in the Medieval World: Essays in memory of Beryl Smalley*, ed. K. Walsh and D. Wood, *Studies in Church History, Subsidia* 4 (Oxford, 1985); Morenzoni, 'Les proverbes dans la prédication du XIII^e siècle', 135.

and savoury, births annoyance; in sermon XXIII he truncates the proverb *compagnie Dieus la fit et dyables la deffit* – God makes the company and the Devil undoes it to just its first part to introduce the *thema* of the feast day;¹⁷⁴ in the third instance, in sermon XIV, I have not found any reference or similarities with other known proverbs, probably suggesting, even though scores of local proverbs might have not been recorded, that the half Latin – half French sentence: *Omnes enim sutores de mundo non facerent de une uielle sauate bon soulier* – all the cobblers of the world would not be able to turn an old slipper into a good shoe is an attempt at creating an original proverb to explain that no amount of effort can save those who are not concerned by their own sinful situation.¹⁷⁵

Similitudes and the society that transpires from them

Medieval sermons attempt to mediate elements of the written culture to their congregation through a process that has been named *acculturation* by John H. Arnold. This process relied heavily on the medieval system of organizing knowledge that highly valued symbolical thinking, so that it becomes possible to identify meaning from the physical world in direct connection to biblical and theological knowledge.¹⁷⁶ It is with this framing that we can look at Nicolas’ sermons as an attempt to organize the biblical message according to the ability of his audience(s) to receive it. As we have seen in this chapter, the strength of the message is conveyed through an elaborate system of examples and similitudes for explaining the meaning of the biblical verses.

Most of these similitudes are based on the natural world and on the day-to-day experiences of the audience, which allows for the preacher to tap into a more familiar and concrete dimension.¹⁷⁷ It is not unusual to encounter men going to the tavern, boxers engaged in a fight, natural similitudes tied to the animal world or the weather, and a language that employs the figures of the marketplace and its uses. This last element has been deemed peculiar to the preaching of the friars and a reflection of the rise of

¹⁷⁴ Sermon XXIII: “*Ubi duo uel tres congregati fuerunt in nomine meo ibi sum ego in medio eorum* Mt. .xviii. uulgariter dicitur quod *compagnie Deus le fist et ideo tantum diligit bonorum societatem ut assit in omni eorum congregatione*”.

¹⁷⁵ Sermon XIV <4.2.3>: “*Item ex parte eius qui corripitur cum est in malis inueteratus et tunc correctio in ipso non habet effectum. Omnes enim sutores de mundo non facerent de une uielle sauate bon soulier*”.

¹⁷⁶ John Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe* (Hodder, 2005), 27–35.

¹⁷⁷ L. J. Bataillon, ‘Les images dans les sermons du XIIIe siècle’, in *La prédication au XIIIe siècle* (1993), 328.

the merchant economy that transformed Europe during the thirteenth century,¹⁷⁸ but such interpretation has been contested by Dickstra in her analysis of the sermons of Robert de Sorbon, in which she demonstrated that the figurative usage of the marketplace has been a recurring element of preaching since patristic times.¹⁷⁹ So it is not strange to see Nicolas comparing God to a good usurer who gives back more than what was pawned to him – the earthly suffering.¹⁸⁰ In some of Nicolas’ sermons the traditional method of dividing the *thema* is discarded altogether in favour of the employment of long similitudes. This process, witness to the incessant effort of the preachers to bring the biblical text within the reach of their audience,¹⁸¹ is especially evident in sermons IX, XIV, XXIII, and XXVII.

Because of the widespread contemporary usage of some visual images, and the nature of the *de festis* collection as a model for other preachers, it is difficult to infer some clues regarding Nicolas’ own personal experience. However, it does seem that some of the similitudes present an interesting venue of exploration focusing on Nicolas’ own experience as a teacher as it was suggested in the first chapter. The analysis of the collection implies that it was not intended for a single type of listener, nevertheless I will attempt to present some passages as a tell-tale sign that Nicolas’ teaching experience aided in choosing analogies that would have been apt for an audience that might have been less worldly and more centred around the daily life of the convent.

First and foremost, as we have seen, Nicolas has a tendency to stress the importance of starting the journey towards Paradise as soon as possible. By itself, this is not a sign that points to a younger audience, however it is true that there are quite a number of instances in which Nicolas uses examples and similitudes concerning the classroom which might have been a natural route for someone who might have been a Dominican. On the account of the classroom analogies, we, as modern readers, should not be disconcerted by the fact that they often praise violence towards the pupils, which was allowed and

¹⁷⁸ Little, *Religious Poverty*, 200.

¹⁷⁹ F. N. M. Dickstra, ‘The Language of the Marketplace in the Sermons of Robert de Sorbon (1201-1274)’, *Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie Médiévales* 75, no. 2 (2008): 337–94.

¹⁸⁰ Sermon XX: “Ergo omne bonum quod tu feceris pauperi Deus retribuet tibi et etiam quasi datum ad usuram [...] Sed nota tria esse genera usure que nos reperimus. Accipit enim homo usuram a dyabolo, a Deo uel ab aliquo homine. A dyabolo quando peccat, a Deo cum ab eo accipit corpus et animam et sensum, ab aliquo homine cum mutuo accipit suum ad usuram”.

¹⁸¹ Bataillon, ‘*Similitudines et exempla* dans les sermons du XIII^e siècle’, 204.

even approved in the Middle Ages. For example, in sermon III the importance of suffering the hindrances sent by God is likened to the beating that cements the relationship between master and student.¹⁸² Sermon XIII reinforces this message by comparing the showing by God of infernal suffering to the master who shows the stick with which he would beat the students.¹⁸³ Moreover, the sermon for St Nicolas (X) is entirely constructed on a division of the *thema* that presents God's perfect teaching according to the three elements that assure it for students: having a good teacher, starting young, persevering in study.¹⁸⁴

Secondly, in sermon XXIX, Nicolas explains Psalm 75, 6 by focusing on the Latin grammar because it is said that the men are of their riches – *uiri diuitiarum* – and not the contrary, thus suggesting that his messaging was taking into account the possibility to teach his audience about some grammatical finery or that the audience might have had an inkling of what is the genitive case in Latin.¹⁸⁵ This type of remark is also present in sermon XII Nicolas also recurs to a grammatical explanation to introduce the subdivision of his *thema*.¹⁸⁶ Furthermore, he references the *pecia* system by comparing it to conforming to the saintly lives in order to not sin.¹⁸⁷

Lastly, the references to liturgy and his own participation in it, by employing the first-person plural, suggests a cloister environment. In sermon XIV he recalls the waking to get to Matins;¹⁸⁸ in sermon XVIII presents the figure of the confessor as the entertainer of God¹⁸⁹ and his saints by showing him as reading in Church, singing, translating Latin into vernacular for the laity, and preaching.¹⁹⁰ Likewise, some

¹⁸² Sermon III <2>: “Et ideo dico quod caritas facit nos Deo adherere et coniungi et ideo in iugo importatur et dicitur Eccli. ii. *Sustine sustentationes Dei* uel Deo id est ardua et austera sustine pro Deo et coniunge te illi per caritatem scilicet quod non prodesset. Notatur de discipulo qui iungit se magistro suo dum uerberatur”.

¹⁸³ Sermon XIII <1.1>: “exemplum sicut magister discipulo ostendit uirgas que male facit ut euitet uerberationem. Sic Deus ostendit peccatoribus penas inferni ut per hoc a malo conuertantur”.

¹⁸⁴ Sermon X <1-3>: “Deus docuisti me et cetera, ut mihi uidetur perfecta instructio discipuli in tribus consistit. Primo ut magistrum bonum habeat quia de malo nihil potest addisci. Secundo quod cito addiscere incipiat, unde pueri ad scholas mittuntur in iuuentute. Tertio quia in studio perseueret et permaneat”.

¹⁸⁵ Sermon XXIX <1.1>: “Nota *uiri diuitiarum* dicit, non diuitie uirorum ut genitius ille possessorie construatur”.

¹⁸⁶ Sermon XII <3>: “Tertio tangitur status post conuersionem ibi iste est. Est enim iste pronomen demonstratiuum tantum et ita statum presentem importat”.

¹⁸⁷ Sermon I <1.1.4.1>: “sic consideratio sanctorum animam ne in peccato polluat ut inspectio in uero exemplari seruat scriptorem a corruptione falsitatis”.

¹⁸⁸ Sermon XIV <4.1.1.1>: “cum ad matutinum surgimus et ad alias horas quod ibi dicimus ore supiendo”.

¹⁸⁹ This is a theme usually associated with Franciscan action and preaching: Peter Loewen, ‘Francis the Musician and the Mission of the “Joculatores Domini” in the Medieval German Lands’, *Franciscan Studies* 60 (2002): 251–90.

¹⁹⁰ Sermon XVIII <6.7>: “Septimo in hac festiuitate et gloria sunt ioculatores id est confessores qui Dominum et sanctos mouent ad risum et letitiam optimis uerbis suis et factis, quorum unus legit in ecclesia, alter cantat, alter romanizat id est romanice id est exponendo latinum in romano laicis, scilicet predicando”.

sermons have direct mention of the music of the liturgy, such as sermon XXIX in which Nicolas ends the textual division by affirming that they will now sing of its subject [John the Baptist] in that hymn *antra deserti teneris sub annis*;¹⁹¹ or sermon X in which the liturgy of the hours is employed as a mean of comparison to explain that those who do not persevere until the end in their penance are like those who put the ninth hour before midday, and he recalls the hymn for the ninth hour;¹⁹² and lastly, the hymn in honour of St Martin, *Martinus adhuc catechumenus hac me* is directly referenced in the sermon for his feast.¹⁹³

The presence of such elements in Nicolas's sermons paired with the biographical information that can be inferred from the educational practices of both the Dominican and Franciscan orders (presented in the first chapter), and his literary production, nudge me into suggesting that Nicolas' *de festis* collection might show some sparse evidence that he had indeed been a lector at a mendicant convent where he was charged with the education of prospective friars and their development as preachers, while sharing with them both the classroom environment and the liturgical practices that seep into plain view in some of his sermons.

¹⁹¹ Sermon XXIX <1.3>: "Unde cantamus de eo in quodam hymno *antra deserti teneris sub annis* et cetera *petisti* et cetera"; the hymn is the *Ut queant laxis* for the Vesper of St John the Baptist's liturgy, Cantus ID 008406.

¹⁹² Sermon X <3.2>: "Illi autem qui ita feruentes sunt in principio et in fine deficiunt ponunt nonam ante meridiem, nona incipit sic mirabilia et cetera"; the hymn is *Mirabilia testimonia tua*, Cantus ID 920118e.

¹⁹³ Sermon XX; Cantus ID 003712

Conclusion

Nicolas de Biard is a name known to scholars of medieval homiletics, and this has been the starting point for this research. Author of at least four different works, the details of his life remain unfortunately a mystery because of the lack of sources. Moreover, even though his works have been preserved in a vast number of manuscripts, no modern attempts have been made to make Biard's words accessible to a broader modern audience. This thesis aimed at correcting this situation.

First, by presenting the cultural environment in which Nicolas de Biard operated, I have attempted to connect all the modern scholarship that currently relates to him. Because of the great innovation represented by the mendicant orders and the push for a more hands-on pastoral care from the Papacy, the rise of the figure of the preacher is one of the key elements of the thirteenth century. This was especially evident in Paris, one of the beacons of knowledge of the Middle Ages, and the perfect environment for the mendicants to develop their skills in theology and oratory. The institution of conventual schools and the close bond between mendicant convents and the University of Paris are the backdrop of the stage on which Nicolas de Biard operated, at a moment in which the mendicants were fully recognized as legitimate members of the University, with the presence, among others, of intellectual giants such as St Bonaventure and St Thomas Aquinas.

Nicolas de Biard was not a household name for the Dominican Order unlike Thomas Aquinas or Hugh of St Cher; however even his contemporaries recognized his efforts as being of value for their brothers,¹ marking his name as one to remember. Notwithstanding the praise Nicolas received from his contemporaries, his name faded to the point that modern scholarship has had problems with his identification. As a result of this research, which adds to the information gathered by other scholars, the identification of Nicolas as a Dominican is reinforced by the analysis of his collection in accordance to the Dominican liturgy. However, Nicolas' lingering connections to the Franciscan environment in the

¹ Stephanus de Salaniaco and Bernardus Guidonis, *De quatuor*, 36.

form of his reliance on materials of Guibert de Tournai, the use of Nicolas' work by Eustache of Arras, and the seemingly close relationship between Nicolas and Peter of St Benedict open up new possibilities of inquiry that should focus on the collaboration between mendicant orders in the production of homiletic literature.

Moving from the analysis of modern scholarship on Nicolas, we have shown how this study identified new manuscripts preserving the *de festis* collection (which, incidentally, was often preserved with the *de tempore* sermons). The *recensio* of the manuscripts has allowed for the identification of those that preserved *pecia* markings with the aim of adhering more closely to the text that was probably disseminated by the Parisian workshops and thus, allowing the reader to get an unfiltered version of the text. This process, which (following scholars such as d'Avray) is identified as semi-critical, although for the purposes of this thesis will simply be referred to as critical, has allowed for a faster development of an edition that follows the criteria of textual criticism without encumbering itself with the restitution of all textual variants. In this case, as it is often done with modern sermon collections, the edition of the text has been deemed more important than the close study of its textual variants.

The restitution of a medieval voice to the modern public is a goal that this thesis accomplishes not only through the edition but also through the proper presentation of the contents of the edition. This is the focus of the third chapter, in which Nicolas' voice has been presented for readers to discover for themselves. According to previous scholarship, Nicolas' prose style was deemed to be of little value. In the nineteenth century both Lecoy de la Marche and Hauréau presented Nicolas as a semi-literate clerk, who indeed at times does not seem literate at all, because of the peculiarity of his style;² or he is seen as a prime example of the decadence of the late of the thirteenth century in preaching style, because of his tendency to mix Old French and Latin – considered a sign of triviality.³ It is my belief that Nicolas' sermons, if approached through a different framework or lens, may be of real interest to the historian. By looking at them not in a search for their originality, it is possible to understand what made them a

² 'Ils sont tous, d'ailleurs, de son style, qui, quoique peu relevé, n'est pas banal. C'est du français latinisé sans gene, au courant de la plume, par un clerc à demi lettré. Et nous le flattons; il ne l'était pas même à demi', Hauréau, *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 2:99.

³ Lecoy de la Marche, *La chaire Française au Moyen Age. Spécialement au XIIIe siècle*, 127.

successful product for dissemination through the *pecia* system. In a time when individual authorship was still to be clearly defined, Nicolas' sermons speak of a world not so specific that it could not be understood by the greatest number of people. His approach appears to have been directed towards a representation of faith that would resonate with the level of understanding of his audience. As we have seen, the *de festis* collection does not promote new religious concepts, it does not aim at standing out; it is more concerned with a subdued approach which employs all the tools available to the preacher in producing model sermons.

Nicolas' audience did not find him (and his message) trivial or banal. Even during his lifetime, his collections were sold and found in libraries across Europe. His employment of proverbs and Old French are both signs of the importance in which the readability of the material was held in the eyes of the mendicant community. This approach, which is focused on communicating straightforward explanations of the Bible's salvific message through simple analogies, may also be a telltale sign, according to my analysis, of the possible younger or less professionally-formed audience of Nicolas' model sermons. The type of similitudes and analogies, although often rooted in the natural world or the human landscape, present a distinct focus on education and behavioural correction, while emphasizing a communal identity in the usage of the first plural pronoun in some of the sermons. Was Nicolas aiming to present himself as part of the lay audience or was he reinforcing his ties to the members of the conventual school?

At this stage of the research on Nicolas de Biard as an author important for the understanding of the process of sermon-making in the late thirteenth century, it is too early to present evidence in a definitive manner. However, this dissertation, alongside the edition of the thirty-two sermons of the *de festis* collection, opens up the possibility of further investigation, not only to edit the *de tempore* sermons but also to start to ascertain the relationship between Nicolas and Peter of St Benedict.

In the meantime, this dissertation shows how a medieval preacher's work, seen through a microscope, is able to present a kaleidoscope of information on medieval society through the lens of faith. The fragments of Nicolas' world are now starting to build up, forming a bigger picture. His preaching voice, focused closely on the actual ability of his audience to follow his guidance, reaches down

to us from the Middle Ages. It does not drown the audience with its zeal but gives advice which relies more on a friendly spirit than on fearmongering to reach its goals. Less concerned with glorifying the saints, Nicolas employs them as useful examples for the presentation to his audience of important Christian virtues. In doing so his work is redeemed from the nineteenth-century accusation of being trivial and plain, although some of his preaching may indeed seem derivative because of Nicolas' reliance on his sources and quotations, which falls squarely within the medieval system of literary production of religious discourse. Nicolas was a dedicated preacher doing his best in the service of his God. His success is shown by his inclusion in the rolls of university *pecia* manuscripts, and the surviving copies of his work that allow us to meet him anew and appreciate his endeavours.

Bibliography

Manuscripts:

Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale, 308
Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. Lat. 57
Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 297
Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 308
Innsbrück, Universitätsbibliothek 296
Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E. 57 inf.
Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, L. 23 sup.
Metz, Bibliothèque Municipale, 367
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 3283
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 12419
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 13579
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 15383
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 15953
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 15971
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. lat. 2032
Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 1024
Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, 585
Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, cod. 1719
Tarragona, Biblioteca Provincial, 14
Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 823
Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 1215
Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1693
Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. Lat. ant. 92
Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, cod. guelf 78.7 Aug. 2
Worcester, Cathedral library, Q. 4

Primary sources in print

Abaelardus, Petrus. *Sermones*. Edited by Lodewijk J. Engels and Christine Vande Veire. Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 286. Brepols Publishers, 2020.

- Abeelardus, Petrus. 'Peter Abelard, "Carmen Ad Astralabium": A Critical Edition'. J.M.A. Rubingh-Bosscher, 1987.
- Alan of Lille. *The Art of Preaching*. Translated by Gillian Evans. Cistercian Studies Series 23. Cistercian Publications, 1981.
- Albertus Magnus. *Alberti Magni opera omnia. [Editio digitalis]*. Edited by Albertus-Magnus-Institut Bonn. Aschendorff Verlag, 2011. <https://www.aschendorff-buchverlag.de/digibib/?digiview&opus=0370&attr=albertus-magnus>.
- Annales Ceccanenses (Chronicon Fossae-Novae) (1-1217)*. [electronic resource]. Monumenta Germaniae historica. Brepols Publishers, 2010. https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/login?url=http://clt.brepolis.net/eMGH/pages/TextSearch.aspx?key=M_BMP__NQA.
- Aristotle, and E. W. Webster. 'Meteorology'. In *Complete Works of Aristotle, Volume 1: The Revised Oxford Translation*, edited by Jonathan Barnes. Princeton University Press, 2014. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400835850>.
- Bartolomeo da Trento. *Liber epilogorum in gesta sanctorum*. Edited by Emore Paoli. Edizione nazionale dei testi mediolatini 2. SISMEI Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2001.
- Brepols. *Decretalium Gregorii Papae IX compilatio: (Liber extra)*. [electronic resource]. Library of Latin texts. Brepols Publishers, 2020. https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/login?url=http://clt.brepolis.net/LLTA/pages/TextSearch.aspx?key=M_GRE9DECR_.
- Buckingham III, John C. 'Passio Sancti Clementis: A New Critical Edition with English Translation'. Unpublished MA dissertation in Religious Studies, California State University, 2018. <https://www.proquest.com/openview/7428445820551f9edf10a97998ad3526/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=18750>.
- Caesarius of Arles. *Sermones ex integro a Caesario compositi vel ex aliis fontibus hausti* [electronic resource]. Library of Latin texts. Brepols Publishers, 2010. https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/login?url=http://clt.brepolis.net/LLTA/pages/TextSearch.aspx?key=Q_CAEA1008_.
- Clement I, Pope. *Clementinorum Epitomae Duae, Altera Ed. Correctior, Ined. Altera Nunc Primum Integra, Cura A.R.M. Dressel [In Gr. and Lat.] Accedunt F. Wieseleri Adnotationes Criticae Ad Clementis Quae Feruntur Homilias*. With Albert Rudolf M. Dressel and Friedrich Julius A. Wieseler. Lips, 1859. <http://purl.ox.ac.uk/uuid/7ccea44e58f24c7f9414117dd44fb40a>.
- Denis the Carthusian. 'Epitome Siue Nobiliores Sententiae Totius Bibliae Prologus'. In *Doctoris Ecstatici d. Dionysii Cartusiani Opera Omnia, Cura et Labore Monachorum Sacri Ordinis Cartusiensis.*, vol. 14. Typis Cartusiae Sanctae Mariae de Pratis, 1901.
- Guibert of Tournai. *Guiberti Tornacensis De morte ; De septem verbis Domini in cruce*. Edited by Charles Munier. Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis 242. Brepols, 2011.
- Guillermus Altissiodorensis. *Summa aurea: liber tertius* [electronic resource]. Edited by J. Ribailier. Library of Latin texts. Brepols, 2019.

- Guilelmus Peraldus. *The Sermons of William Peraldus: An Appraisal*. Edited by Siegfried Wenzel. Sermo : Studies on Patristic, Medieval, and Reformation Sermons and Preaching, volume 13. Brepols, 2017.
- Humbert of Romans. *Treatise on Preaching*. Edited by Walter M. Conlon. Translated by The Dominican Students. Blackfriars Publications, 1955.
- Jacobus de Voragine. *Legenda aurea: con le miniature dal codice ambrosiano C 240 inf*. Edited by Giovanni Paolo Maggioni. Translated by Francesco Stella. Edizione nazionale dei testi mediolatini 20. SISMELE - Edizioni del Galluzzo ; Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 2007.
- Le Neve, John. *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1066-1300*. Edited by Diana E. Greenway. University of London Institute of Historical Research, 1968.
- Little, A. G., ed. *Liber Exemplorum Ad Usum Praedicatorum Saeculo XIII Compositus a Quodam Fratre Minore Anglico de Provincia Hiberniae*. British Society of Franciscan Studies, I. Typis academicis, 1908. <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001636349>.
- Lucius Annaeus Lucius Annaeus Seneca. *L. Annaei Senecae Opera Quae Supersunt: Supplementum*. Edited by Friedrich Haase. De Gruyter, 1902.
- Mailly, Jean de. *Abbreviatio in gestis et miraculis sanctorum: supplementum hagiographicum ; editio princeps*. Edited by Giampaolo Maggioni. Millennio medievale Testi, 97 21. SISMELE Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2013.
- Munier, Charles. *Guiberti Tornacensis De morte ; De septem verbis Domini in cruce*. Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis 242. Brepols, 2011.
- Nicolaus de Haqueville. *Sermones moralissimi atque ad populum instruendum utilissimi supra evangelia dominicarum totius anni*. Edited by Eva Odelman. Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 283. Brepols Publishers, 2018.
- Publius Ovidius Naso. *Tristia [electronic resource]*. Reprint 2012. Edited by John B. Hall. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. B. G. Teubner, 2012.
- Publius Vergilius Maro. *Bucolica et Georgica*. In *Bucolica et Georgica*, edited by Silvia Ottaviano and Gian Biagio Conte. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. De Gruyter, 2013. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110262483>.
- St Antonius Patavinus. *Sermones Dominicales et Festivi*. II, edited by B. Costa, L. Frasson, and I. Luisetto, with P. Marangon. Edizioni Messaggero di S. Antonio, 1979.
- Stephanus de Borbone. *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus*. Vol. 124A, edited by Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub. Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis 124. Brepols, 2002.
- Stephanus de Salaniaco and Bernardus Guidonis. *De quatuor in quibus Deus Praedicatorum Ordinem insignivit*. Edited by Thomas Kaeppli. Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum historica 22. Institutum Historicum Fratrum Praedicatorum, 1949.
- Suetonius. *Oxford Classical Texts: C. Suetoni Tranquilli: De Vita Caesarum Libros VIII et De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus Librum*. Edited by Robert A. Kaster. Oxford University Press, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.1093/actrade/9780198713791.book.1>.

Sulpicius Severus. *Vita sancti Martini Turonensis* [electronic resource]. Edited by Jacques Fontaine. Sources chrétiennes online 133. Brepols, 2022.
<http://clt.brepolis.net/sco/Pages/Browse/Work.aspx?id=81c66e7e-d637-43a3-9d3a-f11ff9bf29b1>.

Thomas Aquinas. *Summa Theologiae*. Edited by Enrique Alarcón. Corpus Thomisticum - S. Thomae de Aquino Opera Omnia. University of Navarra, 2000.
<https://www.corpusthomisticum.org/iopera.html>.

Websites

Corpus Thomisticum. 'Thomas de Aquino, Opera Omnia'. Accessed 23 November 2022.
<https://www.corpusthomisticum.org/iopera.html>.

Distinguo, dir M. Burghart, Lyon: CNRS - CIHAM UMR 5648. 2022-02-14. Accessible online:
<https://distinguo.huma-num.fr/collections/nicolas-de-biard-distinctiones> (accessed 2026-01-16). DOI: 10.34847/nkl.f7e23d28

Lacoste, Debra, Terence Bailey, and Ruth Steiner. 'Cantus Database'. With Jan Koláček. Accessed 20 December 2025. <https://cantusdatabase.org>.

Le Catalogue Général Des Manuscrits Des Bibliothèques Publiques de France [Electronic Index]. Released 2008.
https://www.bonnespratiques-ead.net/sites/default/files/structure_CGM_imprime.html.

Morard, Martin. 'Gloss-e. Gloses et Commentaires de La Bible Latine Au Moyen Âge'. IRHT-CNRS, 2022. <https://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/>.

Roest, Bert. 'Catalogue of Franciscan Authors'. Accessed 21 February 2019.
<http://users.bart.nl/~roestb/franciscan/index.htm>.

Secondary sources

Aegerter, Emmanuel. 'L'affaire Du "De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum"'. *Revue de l'histoire Des Religions*, no. 112 (1935): 242–72.

Arnold, John. *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe*. Hodder, 2005.

Austin, J. L. *How to Do Things with Words*. Clarendon Press, 1955.

Bachrens, Emil. *Poetae Latini minores*. Vol. 3. Teubner, 1881.

Baldwin, John W. 'Masters at Paris from 1179 to 1215: A Social Perspective'. In *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, edited by Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable. Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching 26. University of Toronto Press in association with the Medieval Academy of America, 1991.

Barone, Giulia. 'La legislazione sugli studia dei predicatori e dei minori'. In *Le scuole degli ordini mendicanti (secoli XIII-XIV)*. *Atti del XVII Convegno storico internazionale. Todi, 11-14 ottobre 1976*. CISAM, 1978.

Bataillon, L. J. 'Approaches to the Study of Medieval Sermons'. *Leeds Studies in English*, no. 11 (1980): 19–35.

Bataillon, L. J. 'Intermédiaires entre les traités de morale pratique et les sermons: les "distinctiones" biblique alphabétiques'. In *Les genres littéraires dans les sources théologiques et philosophiques médiévales*, CXLVII

Actes du Colloque internationale de Louvain-la-Neuve, 25-27 mai 1981, edited by Robert Bultot. Université catholique de Louvain, 1982.

Bataillon, L. J. 'Le fonds Jean Destrez - Guy Fink Errera à la Bibliothèque du Saulchoir'. In *La Production du livre universitaire au Moyen Age: exemplar et pecia*, edited by L. J. Bataillon, Bertrand-Georges Guyot, and Richard H. Rouse. Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1988.

Bataillon, L. J. 'Les conditions de travail des maitres de l'Université de Paris au XIIIe siècle'. *Revue des Sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 67, no. 3 (1983): 417–33.

Bataillon, L. J. 'Les crises de l'université de paris d'après les sermons universitaires'. In *Die Auseinandersetzungen an der Pariser Universität im XIII. Jahrhundert*, Reprint 2010, vol. 10, edited by Albert Zimmermann. *Miscellanea Mediaevalia*. De Gruyter, 1975.

Bataillon, L. J. 'Les images dans les sermons du XIIIe siècle'. In *La prédication au XIIIe siècle*. 1993.

Bataillon, L. J. 'Les instruments de travail des prédicateurs au XIIIe siècle'. In *Culture et travail intellectuel dans l'occident médiéval: bilan des 'Colloques d'humanisme médiéval' (1960-1980) fondés par le R.P. Hubert, O.P.*, edited by Geneviève Hasenohr-Esnos and Jean Longère. Éditions du Centre national de la Recherche scientifique, 1981.

Bataillon, L. J. 'Sermoni e orazioni d'ambiente universitario parigino nel sec. XIII'. *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale. An International Journal on the Philosophical Tradition from Late Antiquity to the Late Middle Ages of the «Società Internazionale per lo Studio del Medioevo Latino» and of the «Società per l'Edizione dei Testi Antichi e Medievali» of the «Società Internazionale per lo Studio del Medioevo Latino» and «Società per l'Edizione dei Testi Antichi e Medievali»*, no. 5 (1994): 297–329.

Bataillon, L. J. 'Similitudines et exempla dans les sermons du XIIIe siècle'. In *The Bible in the Medieval World: Essays in memory of Beryl Smalley*, edited by K. Walsh and D. Wood. *Studies in Church History*, Subsidia 4. Oxford, 1985.

Bataillon, L. J. 'Sur quelques sermons de Saint Bonaventure'. In *La prédication au XIIIe siècle en France et Italie*. Variorum, 1993.

Bataillon, L. J. 'The Tradition of Nicholas of Biard's "Distinctiones"'. *Viator* 25 (1994): 245–88.

Bataillon, L. J., and Nicole Bériou. 'G. de Mailly, de l'ordre des frères prêcheurs'. *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, no. 61 (1991): 5–88.

Battelli, Giulio. 'La pecia e la critica del testo dei manoscritti universitari medievali'. In *Scritti scelti*. Multigrafica Editrice, 1975.

Battelli, Giulio. 'Osservazioni sull'Exemplar'. In *La Production du livre universitaire au Moyen Age: exemplar et pecia: actes du symposium tenu au Collegio San Bonaventura de Grottaferrata en mai 1983*, edited by L. J. Bataillon, Bertrand Georges Guyot, and Richard H. Rouse. Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1988.

Bennet, R. F. *The Early Dominicans. Studies in Thirteenth-Century Dominican History*. Russell & Russell, 1937.

Berg, Dieter. 'Bettelorden und Bildungswesen im kommunalen Raum. Ein Paradigma des Bildungstransfers im 13. Jahrhundert'. In *Zusammenhänge, Einflüsse, Wirkungen: Kongreßakten zum*

ersten Symposium des Mediävistenverbandes in Tübingen, 1984 [electronic resource], Reprint 2019, edited by Joerg O. Fichte, Karl Heinz Göller, and Bernhard Schimmelpfennig. De Gruyter, 2019.

- Berg, W. S. van den. 'Middelnederlandsche en Latijnsche tekst van het Antidotarium'. In *Eene middelnederlandsche vertaling van het Antidotarium Nicolai*. Brill, 1917.
- Bériou, Nicole. 'Introduction'. In *Prédication et liturgie au Moyen Âge*, edited by Nicole Bériou and Franco Morenzoni. Bibliothèque d'histoire culturelle du Moyen Âge 5. Brepols, 2008.
- Bériou, Nicole. *La prédication de Ranulphe de la Houblonnière: sermons aux clercs et aux simples gens à Paris au XIIIe siècle*. Etudes augustinienes, 1987.
- Bériou, Nicole. 'La reportation des sermons parisiens à la fin du XIIIe siècle'. In *Dal pulpito alla navata. La predicazione medievale nella sua recezione da parte degli ascoltatori (secc. XIII-XV). Convegno internazionale in memoria di Zelina Zefarana, Firenze, 5-7 giugno 1986*, III. Medioevo e Rinascimento. Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1989.
- Bériou, Nicole. 'Latin and the Vernacular. Some Remarks about Sermons Delivered on Good Friday during the Thirteenth Century'. In *Die Deutsche Predigt Im Mittelalter. Internationales Symposium Am Fachbereich Germanistik Der Freien Universität Berlin 3-6 Okt. 1989*, edited by Volker Mertens and Hans-Jochen Schiewer. M. Niemeyer, 1992.
- Bériou, Nicole. *L'avènement des maîtres de la Parole. La prédication à Paris au XIIIe siècle*. 2 vols. Brepols, 1998.
- Bériou, Nicole. 'Les Sermons Latins Après 1200'. In *The Sermon*, edited by Beverly Mayne Kienzle. Typologie Des Sources Du Moyen Age Occidental 81–83. Brepols, 2000.
- Bériou, Nicole. 'Nicolas de Biard'. In *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises. Le Moyen Âge*, edited by Robert Bossuat, Geneviève Hasenohr-Esnos, Georges Grente, and Albert Pauphilet. Dictionnaire des lettres françaises. Fayard, 1992.
- Bériou, Nicole. 'Orality in Its Written Traces: Bilingual Reportations of Sermons in France (Thirteenth Century)'. *Medieval Worlds medieval worlds*, no. Volume 12. 2020 (2020): 169–84.
- Bériou, Nicole. 'Ranulphe de la Houblonnière, évêque de Paris, † 1288.' In *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, Ascétique et Mystique, Doctrine et Histoire*, vol. 13. Beauchesne, 1988.
- Bériou, Nicole. *Religion et communication: un autre regard sur la prédication au Moyen Âge*. Librairie Droz, 2018.
- Bériou, Nicole. 'Written Sermons and Actual Preaching: A Challenge for Editors'. In *Ars Edendi Lecture Series: Volume 2*, edited by Alessandra Bucossi and Erika Kihlman, with Humanistiska fakulteten Ars edendi, Humanistiska fakulteten Ars edendi, and Humanistiska fakulteten Stockholms universitet. Studia Latina Stockholmiensia. Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, 2012.
- Bériou, Nicole, and David L. d'Avray. *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons: Essays on Marriage, Death, History and Sanctity*. With Società internazionale per lo studio del Medioevo latino. Biblioteca Di 'Medioevo Latino' 11. Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1994.
- Bériou, Nicole, Jean-Patrice Boudet, and Irène Rosier-Catach, eds. *Le Pouvoir Des Mots Au Moyen Âge: Études Réunies*. Bibliothèque d'histoire Culturelle Du Moyen Âge 13. Brepols, 2014.
- Bériou, Nicole, and François-Olivier Touati. *Voluntate Dei leprosus: les lépreux entre conversion et exclusion aux XIIème et XIIIème siècles*. Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1991.

- Berlioz, Jacques. 'La Voix de l'évêque: Guillaume d'Auvergne dans les exempla (XIIIe-XIVe siècle)'. In *Autour de Guillaume d'Auvergne (+1249)*, edited by Franco Morenzoni and Jean-Yves Tilliette. Bibliothèque d'histoire culturelle du Moyen Age 2. Brepols, 2005.
- Berlioz, Jacques, and Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu. *Les Exempla médiévaux: introduction à la recherche. Suivie des tables critiques de l'"Index exemplorum" de Frederic C. Tubach*. Classiques de la littérature orale. Garac/Hésiode, 1992.
- Bondéelle-Souchier, Anne. *Bibliothèques de l'Ordre de Prémontré dans la France d'Ancien Régime*. Documents, études et répertoires (Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes (France)) 58. Éditions du Centre national de la Recherche scientifique, 2006.
- Bonniwell, William R. *A History of the Dominican Liturgy*. Joseph F. Wagner, 1944.
- Bougerol, Jacques-Guy. 'Initia Latinorum Sermonum Ad Laudem s. Francisci'. *Antonianum*, no. 57 (1982): 706–94.
- Boyle, Leonard E. 'Peciae, Apopeciae, and a Toronto Manuscript of the Sententia Libri Ethicorum of Aquinas'. In *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture: Proceedings of the Oxford International Symposium 26 September - 1 October 1982*, edited by Peter Ganz. Bibliologia 3. Brepols, 1986.
- Bremond, Claude. *L'"Exemplum"*. 2e éd., Augmentée. With Jean-Claude Schmitt and Jacques Le Goff. Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental ; fasc. 40. Brepols, 1996.
- Briscoe, Marianne G. *Artes Praedicandi*. Typologie Des Sources Du Moyen Age Occidental 61. Brepols, 1992.
- Brounts, Albert. 'Nouvelles précisions sur la « pecia » [À propos de l'édition léonine du commentaire de Thomas d'Aquin sur l'Éthique d'Aristote]: À propos de l'édition léonine du commentaire de Thomas d'Aquin sur l'Éthique d'Aristote'. *Scriptorium* 24, no. 2 (1970): 343–59.
- Buckingham III, John C. 'Passio Sancti Clementis: A New Critical Edition with English Translation'. Unpublished MA dissertation in Religious Studies, California State University, 2018. <https://www.proquest.com/openview/7428445820551f9edf10a97998ad3526/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=18750>.
- Burger, Christoph. 'Preaching for Members of the University in Latin, for Parishioners in French: Jean Gerson (1363?-1429) on: Blessed Are They That Mourn?' In *Constructing the Medieval Sermon*, vol. 6. Sermo 6. Brepols, 2008.
- Burghart, Marjorie. 'Remploi textuel, invention et art de la mémoire : les Sermones ad status du franciscain Guibert de Tournai (†1284)'. Thèse de doctorat d'Histoire, Université de Lyon (Lyon 2), 2013.
- Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Metamorphosis and Identity*. Zone Books, 2001.
- Cantoni Alzati, Giovanna. 'La presunta biblioteca del Petrarca a Linterno: codici e falsificazioni'. In *Vestigia. Studi in onore di Giuseppe Billanovich*, edited by Rino Avesani, Mirella Ferrari, Tino Foffano, Giuseppe Frasso, and Agostino Sottili. Ed. di Storia e Letteratura, 1984.
- Carruthers, Mary J. *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*. 2nd ed. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature. Cambridge University Press, 2008.

- Casagrande, Carla. *Prediche alle donne del secolo XIII. Testi di Umberto da Romans, Gilberto da Tournai, Stefano di Borbone*. Vol. 9. Nuova corona. Milan, 1978.
- Casagrande, Carla, and Silvana Vecchio. 'Clercs et jongleurs dans la société médiévale (XIIe et XIIIe siècles)'. *Annales* 34, no. 5 (1979): 913–28.
- Charansonnet, Alexis. 'L'Université, l'Eglise, l'Etat dans les sermons du Cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux (1190 ? - 1273)'. Université Lumière Lyon 2, 2001.
- Charland, Thomas Marie. *Artes Praedicandi: Contribution a l'histoire de La Rhétorique Au Moyen Âge*. Publications de l'Institut d'études Médiévales d'Ottawa, VII. J. Vrin, 1936.
- Clark, David L. 'Optics for Preachers : The *De Oculo Morali* by Peter of Limoges'. *Michigan Academician* 9 (1977): 329–43.
- Classen, Albrecht, ed. *Death in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: The Material and Spiritual Conditions of the Culture of Death*. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture 16. De Gruyter, 2016.
- Cobban, Alan B. 'Medieval Student Power'. *Past & Present* (Oxford), no. 53 (1971): 28–66.
- Colasanti, Giovanni Maria. 'Il "De Laudibus B.M.V." Di Riccardo Da San Lorenzo (c. 1260). Breve Studio Introduttivo e Sintesi Dottrinale'. *Marianum* 23, nos 74–77 (1961): 1–49.
- Colasanti, Giovanni Maria. 'Maternità Spirituale, Assunzione e Regalità Di Maria SS. Secondo Riccardo Da San Lorenzo (c. 1260)'. *Miscellanea Francescana* 58, no. I–II (1958): 3–35.
- Constable, Giles. 'The Language of Preaching in the Twelfth Century'. *Viator* 25 (1994): 131–52.
- Corazza, Eros, and Jerome Dokic. *Penser en contexte: le phénomène de l'indexicalité*. Editions de l'éclat, 1993.
- Coste, Florent. 'Pratiques rituelles et pragmatique de la conversion dans les sermons de sanctis du XIIIe siècle'. *Tracés. Revue de Sciences humaines* 7 (December 2004): 27–44. <https://doi.org/10.4000/traces.2783>.
- Cova, Luciano. 'La Malattia Come Frutto Del Peccato Nella Religiosità Medievale: Bonaventura e La Riflessione Duecentesca Sui Rapporti Tra Pena e Colpa'. In *La Medicina Nel Basso Medioevo. Tradizioni e Conflitti. Atti Del LV Convegno Storico Internazionale. Todi, 14-16 Ottobre 2018*. Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2019.
- Crane, Thomas Frederick, ed. *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry*. The Folk-Lore-Society Publications, XXVI. Nutt, 1890.
- Cusato, Michael, and G. Geltner. *Defenders and Critics of Franciscan Life: Essays in Honor of John V. Fleming*. Brill, 2009.
- Dales, Richard C. *The Intellectual Life of Western Europe in the Middle Ages*. 2nd rev. ed. Brill, 1992.
- D'Amsterdam, Baudouin. 'Guibert de Tournai, frère mineur, † 1284'. In *Dictionnaire de spiritualité, ascétique et mystique, doctrine et histoire*, vol. 6. Beauchesne, 1967.
- Daresté de la Chavanne, Rodolphe. 'Vers d'Abailard à son fils Astralabe, nouvelle leçon.' *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 7, no. 1 (1846): 406–21. <https://doi.org/10.3406/bec.1846.451991>.

- Daunou, A. Duval, P. Radel, and E. David. *Histoire littéraire de la France*. Edited by Académie des inscriptions & Belles-Lettres. Vol. 18. Imprimerie nationale, 1835.
- Avray, David L. d'. 'Collectiones Fratrum and Collationes Fratrum'. *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* LXX (1977): 152–56.
- Avray, David L. d'. 'Contamination, Stemmatology and the Editing of Medieval Latin Texts'. In *Ars Edendi Lecture Series*, vol. 2, edited by Alessandra Bucossi and Erika Kihlman, with Humanistiska fakulteten Ars edendi, Humanistiska fakulteten Ars edendi, Humanistiska fakulteten Stockholms universitet, and Humanistiska fakulteten Stockholms universitet. *Studia Latina Stockholmiensia* 58. Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, 2012.
- Avray, David L. d'. *Medieval Marriage Sermons: Mass Communication in a Culture without Print*. Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Avray, David L. d'. 'Pierre de Saint-Benoit, frère mineur, 13e siècle.' In *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, vol. 12. Beauchesne, 1984.
- Avray, David L. d'. *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300*. Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Decorte, Jos. 'Les indications explicites et implicites de pièces dans les manuscrits médiévaux'. In *La Production du livre universitaire au Moyen Âge : exemplar et pecia : actes du symposium tenu au Collegio San Bonaventura de Grottaferrata en mai 1983*, edited by L. J. Bataillon, Bertrand Georges Guyot, and Richard H. Rouse. Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1988.
- Deeg, Alexander, Walter Homolka, and Heinz-Gunther Schottler, eds. *Preaching in Judaism and Christianity*. In *Preaching in Judaism and Christianity*. De Gruyter, 2008.
- Delcorno, Carlo. 'Le «Vitae Patrum» nella letteratura religiosa medievale (secc. XIII–XV)'. *Lettere Italiane* 43, no. 2 (1991): 187–207.
- Delcorno, Carlo. 'The Language of Preachers: Between Latin and Vernacular'. *The Italianist* 15, no. 1 (1995): 48–66.
- Delisle, Léopold. *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*. Vol. 2. Hildesheim, 1874. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k140991d>.
- Delisle, Léopold. *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*. Vol. 3. Hildesheim, 1881. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k140992s>.
- Delmas, Sophie. 'La Summa de Abstinencia Attribuée à Nicolas de Biard : Circulation et Réception'. In *Entre Stabilité et Itinérance*, edited by Nicole Bériou, Martin Morard, and Donatella Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda. *Bibliologia* 37. Brepols, 2014.
- Delmas, Sophie. 'Les Recueils de Distinctions Sont-Ils Des Florilèges?' In *On Good Authority. Tradition, Compilation and the Construction of Authority in Literature from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, edited by Reinhart Ceulemans and Pieters De Leemans. *Lectio* 3. Brepols, 2015.
- Delmas, Sophie. *Un Franciscain à Paris Au Milieu Du XIIIe Siècle: Le Maître En Théologie Eustache d'Arras*. Histoire, Biographie. Cerf, 2010.
- Denifle, Heinrich. 'Die Constitutionen des Prediger-Ordens von J. 1228'. In *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, vol. 1, edited by Franz Ehrle and Heinrich Denifle. Herder, 1885.

- Denifle, Heinrich, and Emile Chatelain. *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*. Vol. 1. Fratrū Delalain, 1889.
- Denifle, Heinrich, and Emile Chatelain. *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*. Vol. 2. Fratrū Delalain, 1891.
- Denis the Carthusian. ‘Epitome siue nobiliores sententiae totius Bibliae prologus’. In *Doctoris ecstatici d. Dionysii Cartusiani opera omnia, cura et labore monachorum sacri Ordinis Cartusiensis*, vol. 14. Typis Cartusiae Sanctae Mariae de Pratis, 1901.
- Destrez, Jean. *La pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIIIe et du XIVe siècle*. Éditions Jacques Vautrain, 1935.
- Destrez, Jean, and Marie-Dominique Chenu. ‘Exemplaria universitaires des XIIIe et XIVe siècles’. *Scriptorium* 7 (1953): 68–80.
- Diekstra, F. N. M. ‘The Language of the Marketplace in the Sermons of Robert de Sorbon (1201–1274)’. *Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie Médiévales* 75, no. 2 (2008): 337–94.
- Dondaine, Antoine. ‘La Bibliothèque Du Couvent Des Dominicains de Dijon Au Debut Du Quatorzième Siècle (1307)’. *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* VII (1937): 112–33.
- Donghi, Silvia. “‘Ut praedicta possint reperiri melius’: qualche considerazione su indici e sommari in sermonari della Biblioteca Ambrosiana”. In *Nuove ricerche su codici in scrittura latina dell’Ambrosiana. Atti del Convegno, Milano 6-7 ottobre 2005*, edited by Mirella Ferrari and Marco Navoni. Bibliotheca Erudita. Vita e Pensiero, 2007.
- Dufeil, Michel-Marie. ‘Terarchia : un concept dans la polémique universitaire parisienne du xiiième siècle’. In *Soziale Ordnungen im Selbstverständnis des Mittelalters, 1. Halbbd*, edited by Albert Zimmermann. De Gruyter, 2013.
- Dunbabin, Jean. ‘Meeting the Cost of University Education in Northern France, c. 1240–1340’. In *History of Universities*, vol. 10. Avebury Pub. Co., 1991.
- Dupont, Anthony, Shari Boodts, Gert Partoens, and Johan Leemans, eds. *Preaching in the Patristic Era: Sermons, Preachers, and Audiences in the Latin West*. Brill, 2018.
- Échard, Jacques, and Jacques Quétif. *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum recensiti, notisque historicis et criticis illustrati*. Vol. 1. Ballard et Simart, 1719.
- Ferruolo, Stephen C. *The Origins of the University: The Schools of Paris and Their Critics, 1100–1215*. Stanford University Press, 1985.
- Ferzoco, George. ‘The Context of Medieval Sermon Collections on Saints’. In *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, vol. 3, edited by Carolyn Muessig. A New History of the Sermon. Brill, 2002.
- Fianu, Kouky. ‘The Book Trade in the Middle Ages: The Parisian Case’. In *The Oxford Handbook of Latin Palaeography*, edited by Frank T. Coulson and Robert G. Babcock. Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Fink-Errera, Guy. ‘Une institution du monde médiéval : la « pecia »’. *Revue Philosophique de Louvain* 60, no. 66 (1962): 184–243.

- Fontana, Emanuele. 'Luca Lettore da Padova Omin (m. ca. 1287) e i sermoni del codice Antoniano 466'. *Il Santo. Rivista francescana di storia, dottrina e arte* 47 (2007): 7–104.
- Galle, Christoph. *Predigen im Karolingerreich: die homiletischen Sammlungen von Paulus Diaconus, Lantperbtus von Mondsee, Rabanus Maurus und Haymo von Auxerre*. Sermo 18. Brepols, 2023.
- Geltner, Guy. 'William of St. Amour De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum: A False Start to Medieval Antifraternalism?' In *Defenders and Critics of Franciscan Life: Essays in Honor of John V. Fleming*, edited by Michael Cusato and G. Geltner. Brill, 2009.
- Glorieux, Palémon. *Aux origines de la Sorbonne*. Études de philosophie médiévale 53. J. Vrin, 1966.
- Glorieux, Palémon. '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* 35 (1968): 65–186.
- Godefroy, Frédéric. *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne Langue Française et de Tous Ses Dialectes Du IXe Au XVe Siècle*. Vol. 3. F.V., 1881.
- Gorochoy, Nathalie. *Naissance de l'université: les écoles de Paris d'Innocent III à Thomas d'Aquin (v. 1200-v. 1245)*. Etudes d'histoire médiévale 14. Honoré Champion éditeur, 2012.
- Gorochoy, Nathalie. 'The Great Dispersion of the University of Paris and the Rise of European Universities (1229-1231) = La Gran Dispersión de La Universidad de París y El Surgimiento de Las Universidades Europeas (1229-1231)'. *CLAN-Revista de Historia de Las Universidades* 21, no. 1 (2018): 99.
- Greatrex, Joan. *Biographical Register of the English Cathedral Priories of the Province of Canterbury c. 1066 to 1540*. Clarendon Press, 1997.
- Guiliano, Zachary. *The Homiliary of Paul the Deacon: Religious and Cultural Reform in Carolingian Europe*. Sermo 16. Brepols, 2021.
- Gumbert, Jean-Pierre. 'Quelques remarques autour de la pecia'. *Gazette du livre médiéval* 15, no. 1 (1989): 8–11.
- Hall, Thomas N. 'The Early Medieval Sermon'. In *The Sermon*, edited by Beverly Mayne Kienzle. Typologie Des Sources Du Moyen Age Occidental 81–83. Brepols, 2000.
- Hamesse, Jacqueline. 'Introduction: The University'. In *Medieval Sermons and Society: Cloister, City, University*, vol. 9, edited by Jacqueline Hamesse, Beverly Mayne Kienzle, Debra L. Stoudt, and Anne T. Thayer. Brepols, 1998.
- Hamesse, Jacqueline. 'La méthode de travail des reportateurs'. In *Dal pulpito alla navata. La predicazione medievale nella sua recezione da parte degli ascoltatori (secc. XIII-XV)*. Convegno internazionale in memoria di Zelina Zefarana, Firenze, 5-7 giugno 1986, III. Medioevo e Rinascimento. Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1989.
- Hamesse, Jacqueline. 'Le vocabulaire des florilèges médiévaux'. In *Méthodes et instruments du travail intellectuel au moyen âge. Études sur le vocabulaire*, edited by Olga Weijers. CIVICIMA. Études sur le vocabulaire intellectuel du Moyen Âge 3. Brepols, 1990.
- Hamesse, Jacqueline. 'Reportatio et transmission de textes'. In *The Editing of theological and philosophical texts from the Middle Ages: acts of the conference arranged by the Department of Classical Languages*,

University of Stockholm, 29-31 August 1984, by Monika Asztalos. Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis 30. Almqvist & Wiksell international, 1986.

Hanska, Jussi. *'And the Rich Man Also Died; and He Was Buried in Hell.' The Social Ethos in Mendicant Sermons*. Bibliotheca Historica 28. Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1997.

Hanska, Jussi. *The Destruction of Jerusalem and Anti-Jewish Commonplaces in Model Sermon Collections (1100-1350)*. Sermo, volume 19. Brepols, 2025.

Haskins, Charles H. 'The Life of Medieval Students as Illustrated by Their Letters'. *The American Historical Review* 3, no. 2 (1898): 203–29. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1832500>.

Haskins, Charles H. *The Rise of Universities*. Cornell University Press, 1923.

Hauréau, Barthélemy. *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque nationale*. Vol. 2. Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1891.

Hedlund, Monica. 'The Use of Model Sermons at Vadstena: A Case Study'. In *Constructing the Medieval Sermon*, edited by Roger Andersson. Brepols, 2006.

Helmholz, Richard Henry. 'Excommunication as a Legal Sanction: The Attitudes of the Medieval Canonists'. *Zeitschrift Der Savigny-Stiftung Für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung* 68 (1982): 202–18.

Horowski, Aleksander. *Repertorium sermonum latinorum medii aevi ad laudem sancti Francisci Assisiensis*. Subsidia scientifica Franciscalia 13. Istituto storico dei Cappuccini, 2013.

Hunt, Tony. *Anglo-Norman Medicine*. Vol. 1. D.S. Brewer, 1994.

Jauss, Hans Robert. 'Littérature médiévale et théorie des genres'. In *Théorie des genres*, edited by Gérard Genette, translated by Eliane Kaufholz. Collection Points Littérature 181. Éd. du Seuil, 1986.

Jones, Linda G., and Adrienne Dupont-Hamy, eds. *Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Preaching in the Mediterranean and Europe: Identities and Interfaith Encounters*. Sermo 15. Brepols Publishers, 2019.

Kaeppli, Thomas. *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*. 4 vols. Istituto Storico Domenicano, 1970.

Kessler, Herbert L., Richard Newhauser, Arthur J. Russell, and Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. *Optics, Ethics, and Art in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: Looking into Peter of Limoges's Moral Treatise on the Eye*. Text, Image, Context 5. PIMS, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2018.

Kienzle, Beverly Mayne. 'Introduction'. In *The Sermon*, edited by Beverly Mayne Kienzle. Typologie Des Sources Du Moyen Age Occidental 81–83. Brepols, 2000.

Kienzle, Beverly Mayne, ed. *The Sermon*. Typologie Des Sources Du Moyen Age Occidental 81–83. Brepols, 2000.

Kraebel, Andrew. 'Modes of Authorship and the Making of Medieval English Literature'. In *The Cambridge Handbook of Literary Authorship*, edited by Gert Buelens, Ingo Berensmeyer, and Marysa Demoor. Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Lacoste, Debra, Terence Bailey, and Ruth Steiner. 'Cantus Database'. With Jan Koláček. Accessed 20 December 2025. <https://cantusdatabase.org>.

- Lambertini, Roberto, and Maria Pia Alberzoni, eds. *Costruire il consenso*. Vita e Pensiero, 2019.
- Le Catalogue Général Des Manuscrits Des Bibliothèques Publiques de France [Electronic Index]*. Released 2008.
https://www.bonnespratiques-ead.net/sites/default/files/structure_CGM_imprime.html.
- Le Neve, John. *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1066-1300*. Edited by Diana E. Greenway. University of London Institute of Historical Research, 1968.
- LeClerc, Victor. 'Robert Wimi Prémontré. Auteur ou copiste de sermons'. In *Histoire littéraire de la France*, edited by Académie des inscriptions & Belles-Lettres, vol. 21, edited by D. M. Daunou, F. Fauriel, F. Lajard, P. Paris, E. Littré, and V. LeClerc. Imprimerie nationale, 1847.
- Lecoy de la Marche, A. *La chaire Française au Moyen Age. Spécialement au XIIIe siècle*. Didier et Cie Libraries - éditeurs, 1868.
- Leff, Gordon. *Paris and Oxford Universities in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: An Institutional and Intellectual History*. New Dimensions in History. Essays in Comparative History. Wiley, 1968.
- Little, Lester K. *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe*. Cornell University Press, 1978.
- Loewen, Peter. 'Francis the Musician and the Mission of the "Joculatores Domini" in the Medieval German Lands'. *Franciscan Studies* 60 (2002): 251–90.
- Longère, Jean. *La prédication médiévale*. Études augustinienes, 1983.
- Lorcin, Marie-Thérèse. *Les recueils de proverbes français (1160-1490): sagesse des nations et langue de bois*. With Elisabeth Schulze-Busacker. Essais sur le Moyen âge 50. Honoré Champion éditeur, 2016.
- Lyon, Jonathan Reed. *Corruption, Protection and Justice in Medieval Europe: A Thousand-Year History*. Cambridge University Press, 2023.
- Mabille, Madeleine. 'Les manuscrits de Jean d'Essomes conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris'. *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 130, no. 1 (1972): 231–34.
<https://doi.org/10.3406/bec.1972.449918>.
- Mabille, Madeleine. 'Pierre de Limoges, copiste de manuscrits'. *Scriptorium* 24, no. 1 (1970): 45–47.
- Maggioni, Giampaolo. 'La trasmissione dei leggendari abbreviati del XIII secolo'. *Filologia mediolatina* 9 (2002): 87–107.
- Maggioni, Giampaolo. 'Thirteenth-Century Legendae Novae and the Preaching Orders: A Communication System'. In *Hagiography and the History of Latin Christendom, 500–1500*, edited by Samantha Kahn Herrick. Brill, 2020.
- Mandonnet, Pierre. 'La crise scolaire du début du XIII siècle et la fondation de l'ordre des Freres-Precheurs'. *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* XV, no. 1 (1914): 34–49.
- Molinier, H. Omont, Bougenot, and Guignard, eds. 'Inventaire des manuscrits de Citeaux par l'abbé Jean de Cirey'. In *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, V-Dijon. Librairie Plon, 1889.
- Monfrin, Jacques. 'Joinville et la prise de Damiette (1249)'. *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'année - Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 120, no. 2 (1976): 268–85.

- Montfaucon, Bernard de. *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova*. 2. Briasson, 1739.
- Morard, Martin. ‘Gloss-e. Gloses et Commentaires de La Bible Latine Au Moyen Âge’. IRHT-CNRS, 2022. <https://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/>.
- Morawski, Joseph. ‘Les recueils d’anciens proverbes français analysés et classés’. *Romania* 48, no. 192 (1922): 481–558. <https://doi.org/10.3406/roma.1922.4509>.
- Morawski, Joseph. *Proverbes. Publié en ligne par la Base de français médiéval*. Vol. 47. Les classiques français du Moyen-Age. Champion, 1925. <http://catalog.bfm-corpus.org/prov>.
- Morenzoni, Franco. ‘Aux origines des Artes Praedicandi. Le “De artificioso modo predicandi” d’Alexandre d’Ashby’. *Studi Medievali*, no. 32 (1991): 887–935.
- Morenzoni, Franco. ‘Les proverbes dans la prédication du XIIIe siècle’. In *Tradition des proverbes et des ‘exempla’ dans l’Occident médiéval*, edited by Hugo Oscar Bizzarri and Martin Rohde. Scrinium Friburgense 24. De Gruyter, 2009.
- Morenzoni, Franco. ‘Parole du prédicateur et inspiration divine d’après les Artes praedicandi’. In *La parole du prédicateur V-XV siècle*, edited by Rosa Maria Dessì and Michel Lauwres. Brepols, 1997.
- Moulinier-Brogi, Laurence. ‘Les médecins vus par les théologiens au bas Moyen Age’. In *La medicina nel Basso Medioevo. Tradizioni e conflitti. Atti del LV Convegno storico internazionale. Todi, 14-16 ottobre 2018*. Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo, 2019.
- Mulchahey, M. Michèle. *First the Bow Is Bent in Study’: Dominican Education before 1350*. With Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. Studies and Texts (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies) 132. Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1998.
- Mulchahey, M. Michèle. ‘The Role of the Conventual Schola in Early Dominican Education’. In *Studio e Studia: Le Scuole Degli Ordini Mendicanti Tra XIII e XIV Secolo. Atti Del XXIX Convegno Internazionale, Assisi, 11-13 Ottobre 2001*. CISAM, 2002.
- Murano, Giovanna. *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*. Textes et Etudes du Moyen Âge 29. Brepols, 2005.
- Murphy, James Jerome. *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance*. University of California Press, 1981.
- Muzzarelli, Maria Giuseppina, ed. *From Words to Deeds: The Effectiveness of Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*. Sermo 12. Brepols Publishers, 2014.
- O’Carroll, Maura. ‘The Lectionary for the Proper of the Year in the Dominican and Franciscan Rites of the Thirteenth Century’. *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* XLIX (1979): 79–103.
- Odelman, Eva. ‘A “Semi-Critical” Edition of the Model Sermon Collection Sermones Moralissimi de Tempore by Nicolaus de Aquaevilla’. In *The Arts of Editing Medieval Greek and Latin : A Casebook*, edited by Elisabet Göransson, Gunilla Iversen, Barbara Crostini, et al. Studies and Texts 203. Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2016. <http://lup.lub.lu.se/record/71c551d5-bf93-43fc-9628-d804e30597fd>.
- Odelman, Eva. ‘Editing the Sermones Moralissimi de Tempore by Nicolaus de Aquaevilla’. In *Constructing the Medieval Sermon*, edited by Roger Andersson. Brepols, 2006.

- Peter, of Limoges. *The Moral Treatise on the Eye*. With Richard Newhauser and Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. Mediaeval Sources in Translation 51. Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2012.
- Pfaff, Richard William. *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History*. With Cambridge University Press. Cambridge Core. University Press, 2009.
- Polo de Beaulieu, Marie Anne. 'Usages et fonctions des proverbes dans le Ci nous dit'. In *Le tonnerre des exemples: Exempla et médiation culturelle dans l'Occident médiéval*, edited by Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu, Pascal Collomb, and Jacques Berlioz. Collection 'Histoire'. Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2010.
- Pradier, Adrián. 'Mary's Transparent Beauty in St. Bernard's Aesthetics'. *Religions* 14, no. 4 (2023): 471. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel14040471>.
- Quicherat, Jules. *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements*. V Metz-Verdun-Charleville. Imprimerie nationale, 1879. <http://archive.org/details/catalogue05fran>.
- Rashdall, Hastings. *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*. Vol. 1. Clarendon Press, 1895.
- Ray, Alison. 'Intellectual Exchange: English Users of the Paris Pecia System, 1250-1330'. *Pecia* 19 (January 2016): 7–48.
- Ray, Alison. 'The Pecia System and Its Use in the Cultural Milieu of Paris, C1250-1330'. Doctoral Thesis, University College London, 2015.
- Reuter, Timothy, and Gabriel Silagi, eds. *Wortkonkordanz zum Decretum Gratiani*. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1990.
- Richard de Saint-Laurent. *De laudibus B. Mariae Virginis libri XII*. Apud Martinum Nutium, 1625.
- Roberts, Phyllis B. 'Medieval University Preaching: The Evidence in the Statutes'. In *Medieval Sermons and Society: Cloister, City, University*, vol. 9, edited by Jacqueline Hamesse, Beverly Mayne Kienzle, Debra L. Stoudt, and Anne T. Thayer. Brepols, 1998.
- Roest, Bert. *A History of Franciscan Education (c. 1210-1517)*. Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, v. 11. Brill, 2000.
- Roest, Bert. 'The Role of Lectors in the Religious Formation of Franciscan Friars, Nuns, and Tertiaries'. In *Studio e Studia: Le Scuole Degli Ordini Mendicanti Tra XIII e XIV Secolo. Atti Del XXIX Convegno Internazionale, Assisi, 11-13 Ottobre 2001*. CISAM, 2002.
- Rouse, Mary A. 'The Development of Research Tools in the Thirteenth Century'. In *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*, with Richard H. Rouse. Publications in Mediaeval Studies ; v. 17 [i.e. 27]. University of Notre Dame Press, 1991.
- Rouse, Richard H. 'The Early Library of the Sorbonne'. *Scriptorium* 21, no. 1 (1967): 42–71.
- Rouse, Richard H., and Mary A. Rouse. 'Biblical "Distinctiones" in the Thirteenth Century'. *Archives d'histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire Du Moyen Âge* 41 (1974): 27–37.
- Rouse, Richard H., and Mary A. Rouse. *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus Florum of Thomas of Ireland*. Studies and Texts (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies) ; 47. Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1979.

- Rouse, Richard H., and Mary A. Rouse. 'The Book Trade at the University of Paris, ca. 1250-ca. 1350'. In *La Production Du Livre Universitaire Au Moyen Age: Exemplar et Pecia*, edited by L. J. Bataillon, Bertrand Georges Guyot, and Richard H. Rouse. Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1988.
- Rusconi, Roberto. 'Reportatio'. In *Dal pulpito alla navata. La predicazione medievale nella sua recezione da parte degli ascoltatori (secc. XIII-XV). Convegno internazionale in memoria di Zelina Zefarana, Firenze, 5-7 giugno 1986*, III. Medioevo e Rinascimento. Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1989.
- Saperstein, Marc. *Jewish Preaching, 1200-1800*. Yale, 1989.
- Saperstein, Marc. 'The Medieval Jewish Sermon'. In *The Sermon*, edited by Beverly Mayne Kienle. Typologie Des Sources Du Moyen Age Occidental 81–83. Brepols, 2000.
- Sbaraglia, Giovanni Giacinto, and Lucas Wadding. *Supplementum et castigatio ad scriptores trium ordinum S. Francisci a Waddingo aliisve descriptos; cum adnotationibus ad Syllabum martyrum eorundem ordinum. Opus posthumum fr. Jo. Hyacinthi Sbaraleae. Ex typographia S. Michaelis ad ripam apud Linum Contedini*, 1806.
- Schmitt, C. 'Nicolas de Byard'. In *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, XI, edited by M. Viller. G. Beauchesne, 1982.
- Schneyer, J. B. *Repertorium Der Lateinischen Sermones Des Mittelalters: Für Die Zeit von 1150-1350. Beiträge Zur Geschichte Der Philosophie Und Theologie Des Mittelalters*. Bd. 43. Aschendorff, 1969.
- Schulze-Busacker, Elisabeth. 'La constitution des recueils de proverbes et de sentences dans l'Antiquité tardive et le Moyen Age'. In *La transmission des savoirs au Moyen âge et à la Renaissance: actes du colloque international... à Besançon et à Tours, du 24 au 29 mars 2003*, edited by Pierre Nobel. Littéraires. Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2005.
- Schulze-Busacker, Elisabeth. 'La place du proverbe dans la mentalité médiévale'. *Paremia*, no. 6 (1997): 565–76.
- Schulze-Busacker, Elisabeth. *Proverbes et expressions proverbiales dans la littérature narrative du Moyen Age français: recueil et analyse*. Nouvelle bibliothèque du Moyen Age 9. H. Champion, 1985.
- Shooner, Hugues V. 'La production du livre par la pecia'. In *La Production du livre universitaire au Moyen Age : exemplar et pecia : actes du symposium tenu au Collegio San Bonaventura de Grottaferrata en mai 1983*, edited by L. J. Bataillon, Bertrand-Georges Guyot, and R. H. Rouse. Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1988.
- Simonin, H. D. 'Notes de Bibliographie Dominicaine, II: Les Anciens Catalogues d'écrivains Dominicains et La Chronique de Bernard Gui'. *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* IX (1939): 192–213.
- Smith, James L. 'Caring for the Body and Soul with Water: Gueric of Igny's Fourth Sermon on the Epiphany, Godfrey of Saint-Victor's Fons Philosophiae, and Peter of Celle's Letters'. In *Bodily and Spiritual Hygiene in Medieval and Early Modern Literature*, edited by Albrecht Classen. De Gruyter, 2017.
- Società internazionale di studi francescani, and Centro interuniversitario di studi francescani, eds. *Studio e studia: le scuole degli ordini mendicanti tra XIII e XIV secolo: atti del XXIX Convegno internazionale, Assisi, 11-13 ottobre 2001*. Atti dei convegni della Società internazionale di studi francescani e del

- Centro interuniversitario di studi francescani, nuova ser., 12. Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 2002.
- Solignac, Aimé. 'Richard de Saint-Laurent, pénitencier de Rouen, 12e siècle'. In *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, vol. 5. Beauchesne.
- Southern, Richard W. *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe. 1: Foundations*. 1. publ., Transferred to digital print. Blackwell, 2002.
- Speciale, Giuseppe. 'L'Assunzione di Maria Vergine al cielo: Giustiniano e Bonaventura da Bagnoregio'. *Historia et Ius*, no. 10 (2016): 1–30.
- Stoop, Patricia, and Veronica Margaret O'Mara. *Circulating the Word of God in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Catholic Preaching and Preachers across Manuscript and Print (c. 1450 to c. 1550)*. Sermo, volume 17. Brepols, 2022.
- Suetonius. *Oxford Classical Texts: C. Suetoni Tranquilli: De Vita Caesarum Libros VIII et De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus Librum*. Edited by Robert A. Kaster. Oxford University Press, 2018.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/actrade/9780198713791.book.1>.
- Sutcliffe, Edward. 'Medical Knowledge in Thirteenth-Century Preaching: The Sermons of Luca Da Bitonto'. *Journal of Medieval History* 49, no. 1 (2023): 45–71.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03044181.2022.2153908>.
- Tamminen, Miikka. *Crusade Preaching and the Ideal Crusader*. Sermo 14. Brepols Publishers, 2018.
- Tanner, Norman P., ed. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*. Vol. 1. Sheed & Ward and Georgetown University Press, 1990.
- Taylor, Barry. 'Medieval Proverb Collections: The West European Tradition'. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55, no. 1 (1992): 19–35. <https://doi.org/10.2307/751418>.
- Teetaert, Amédée. 'Nicolas de Byard'. In *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, XI, edited by Alfred Vacant, E. Mangenot, and Emile Amann. Letouzey et Ané, 1931.
- Thayer, Anne T. 'Medieval Sermon Studies since The Sermon: A Deepening and Broadening Field'. *Medieval Sermon Studies* 58, no. 1 (2014): 10–27.
- Thayer, Anne T. 'The Medieval Sermon: Text, Performance and Insight'. In *Understanding Medieval Primary Sources: Using Historical Sources to Discover Medieval Europe*, edited by Joel Thomas Rosenthal. Routledge Guides to Using Historical Sources. Routledge, 2012.
- Thiel, Matthias. *Grundlagen Und Gestalt Der Hebräischkenntnisse Des Frühen Mittelalters*. Studi Medievali. Biblioteca 4. Spoleto, 1973.
- Thomson, Rodney M. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library*. With Michael Gullick. Published on behalf of the Dean and Chapter of Worcester Cathedral by D.S.Brewer, 2001.
- Tubach, Frederic C. *Index Exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales*. FF Communications 204. Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1969.
- Van Dijk, S. J. P. *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy: The Liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the Thirteenth Century*. With Joan Hazelden Walker. Newman Press, 1960.

- Vaucher, André. *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*. Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Ventura, Iolanda. 'Bartolomeo Anglico e La Cultura Filosofica e Scientifica Dei Frati Nel XIII Secolo'. In *I Francescani e Le Scienze. Atti Del XXXIX Convegno Internazionale (Assisi, 6-8 Ottobre 2011)*. CISAM, 2012.
- Verger, Jacques. 'Studia et Universités'. In *Le scuole degli ordini mendicanti (secoli XIII-XIV). Atti del XVII Convegno storico internazionale. Todi, 11-14 ottobre 1976*. CISAM, 1978.
- Wei, Ian P. *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris: Theologians and the University, c.1100-1330*. With Cambridge University Press. Cambridge Core. University Press, 2012.
- Welch, Anna. *Liturgy, Books and Franciscan Identity in Medieval Umbria*. The Medieval Franciscans 12. Brill, 2015.
- Welter, Jean Thiébaud. *L'exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du Moyen âge*. E.H Guitard, 1927.
- Wenzel, Siegfried. *Fasciculus Morum: A Fourteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook*. Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989.
- Wenzel, Siegfried. *Preachers, Poets, and the Early English Lyric*. Princeton Legacy Library. Princeton University Press, 1986.
- Wilmart, André. 'Un répertoire d'exégèse composé en Angleterre vers le début du XIIIe siècle'. In *Mémorial Lagrange. Cinquantenaire de l'école biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem (15 novembre 1890 - 15 novembre 1940)*, edited by L. H. Vincent. J. Gabalda, 1940.
- Young, Spencer E. *Scholarly Community at the Early University of Paris: Theologians, Education and Society, 1215-1248*. Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Zacher, J. 'Altfranzösische Sprichwörter'. *Zeitschrift Für Deutsches Alterthum* 11 (1859): 114–44.
- Zink, Michel. *La Prédication en langue romane: avant 1300*. Nouvelle bibliothèque du Moyen Âge 4. Honoré Champion, 1976.

Annex 1

Distinctiones, ms. Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale, 308

SERMO I	PEDES DECENT QUATUOR (F. 89RA)
<1.1> Nota quod per pedes signantur affectus et uoluntates sicut enim corpus uadit per pedes quo uult sic anima affectu et uoluntate ps. <i>statuisti supra petram</i> id est Christum <i>pedes meos</i> id est affectus meos pedibus quia materialibus quatuor debent esse in quolibet sano. Decet enim quod : <1.1.1> sint leues ad currendum qui si ab inimicis mortalibus insequitur expedit quod sit leuis pedibus ad currendum ut euadat homo autem a dyabolo ad mortem insequitur et ideo expedit ut cito currat ps. <i>perfecuti pedes meos tamquam ceruorum et super excelsa</i> et cetera. Ceruus autem cum insequitur cito transit ut euadat. Si enim sisteret ad herbas uel folia capienda cito caperetur. Sic si quis ponat cor suum ad mundana indebite habenda, euadere non potest quin a dyabolo capiatur .iiii.R. <i>excercitus caldeorum</i>, id est uitiorum, <i>persecutus est regem et comprehendit eum in planitie Iericho</i> id est in delectatione mundanorum que ita cito deficiunt ut luna. Preterea homo oneratus cito currere non potest nec euadere persequentem sic qui peccatum habet uel alienum possidet, peccatum enim et alienum ualde ponderosa sunt Hebreos .xi. <i>deponentes omne pondus scilicet temporalia et circumstans nos peccatum per patientiam curramus ad propositum nobis certamen.</i> uetula enim currens ad pellicium et garcio ad pilam exuunt se et exonerant. Multo plus debent hoc facere currentes ad uitam eternam .i. Cor .ix. <i>sic currite ut comprehendatis, omnis enim qui in agone contendit ab omnibus se abstinet.</i> <1.1.2> Item decet ut sint mundi a sordibus uitiorum Io .xiii. <i>qui lotus est exterius scilicet non indiget nisi ut pedes lauet</i> id est affectum et uoluntatem et <i>erit mundus totus</i> febris enim interpolata ad horam cessat exterius materia enim interius remanente unde in crastino reuertitur. [...] <1.1.3> Item decens est ut sint recti ad directe incedendum Eze .i. dicitur <i>pedes eorum pedes recti.</i> Debemus autem esse recti per intentionem ut nihil pro carne mundo uel dyabolo sed omnia pro Domino faciamus. Ut dicitur uia recta que a fine debito et termino statuto non deuiat, Ysa .xxxii. <i>semita iusti recta est</i> et hoc faciendum est triplici de [...] <1.1.4> Item conueniens est ut sint calciati ad patienter sustinendum unde in Exodo precipit	Pedes materiales decent quatuor que in quolibet christiano debent esse; decet enim quod sint leues, mundi, recti, calciati. <1.1.1> Debent esse leues ad currendum qui enim ab inimicibus mortalibus insequimur, expedit quod leuis sit ad currendum ut euadat. Homo autem a diabolo ad mortem insequitur, ps. perfecit pedes meos tamquam ceruorum. Ceruus autem cum insequitur a canibus omnia cito transit ut euadat. Si enim sisteret ad herbas et folia colligenda cito caperetur. Sic si quis peccat cor suum ad mundana indebite habenda, evader non potest quin a diabolo capiatur. .iiii. Reg. .xxv. exercitus Caldeorum id est uitiorum persecutus est regem et comprehendit eum in planicie Iericho id est in delectatione mundanorum illicita. Preterea honeratus cito currere non potest nec euadere persequentes. Sic qui peccatum habet uel alienum possidet, hebr. .xii. deponentes omne pondus, temporalia scilicet et circumstans nos peccatum per patientiam curramus ad propositum nobis certamen. <1.1.2> Item decens est ut sint mundi a sordibus uitiorum Io. .xiii. qui locutus est exterius non indiget nisi ut pedes lauet id est uoluntatem et affectum et erit mundus totus. <1.1.3> Item decens est ut sint recti ad directe incedendum. Eze. .i. dicitur de quatuor euangeliiis pedes eorum pedes recti. Debemus enim esse recti per intentionem ut nihil pro carne mundo diabolo sed omnia pro Deo faciamus ut uia dicitur recta que a statuto termino non declinare. <1.1.4> Item decens est ut sint calciati, ad patienter sustinendum. Unde exo. .xii. precepit Dominus calciamenta habebitis in pedibus, calciati autem sumus cum exemplo sanctorum qui mortui sunt in cordis memoria portamus. Calciamenta enim pedes seruant mundiores, faciunt audaciores, reddunt fortiores et hoc tria facit consideratione sanctorum ut enim calciamenta seruant pedes ne luto inquinentur. <1.1.4.1> Sic consideratione sanctorum animam ne peccato polluat. Cant. .vii. quam pulchra sunt gressus cui in calciamentis filia principis. <1.1.4.2> Item reddunt pedes audaciores. Calciatus enim supra spinas et lapides audacius pedes ponit. Sic qui considerat uitam sanctorum ad ieiunia et penitentiam citius se extendit. Strenuitas enim sanctorum unius in bello saltem pre confusion alios excitat ad bellandum. Eph. ult. State calciati pedes in

Dominus calciamenta habebitis in pedibus uestris. Calciati autem sumus cum exempla sanctorum qui mortui sunt in cordibus memoriter portamus. Calciamenta enim pedes seruant mundiores, faciunt audaciores, reddunt fortiores et hic tria facit consideratio sanctorum. <1.1.4.1> Sicut enim calciamentum seruat pedes ne inquinentur ; sic consideratio sanctorum animam ne in peccato polluatut ut inspectio in uero exemplari seruat scriptorem a corruptione falsitatis Canticum .vii. <i>quam pulcri sunt gressus tui in calciamentis filia principis.</i> <1.1.4.2> Item faciunt pedes audaciores calciatus enim supra stipulas et lapides audacius pedem ponit et qui considerat penam sanctorum ad ieiunia et penitentiam audacius se extendit. Strenuitas enim unius in bello uel tyrocinio saltem per confusione alios excitat ad bellandum Eph. ultimo <i>state calciati pedes in preparatione Euangelii pacis</i> id est ad facienda mandata que sunt in euangelio secundum glossa. <1.1.4.3> Item reddunt pedes potentiores, calciatus enim melius dietam suam perficit et ad perseuerandum in itinere plus potens est quam nudus. Et qui attendit lucrum quod habent sancti de bonis que fecerunt in bono facilius perseuerant. Cupiditas enim mercedis habende facit operarium usque ad uesperam operari. Deut. dixit Moyses Asser qui interpretatur beatitudo <i>ferrum et aes calciamentum eius</i> et perseuerantiam accipiant ex consideratione sanctorum. Aes enim et ferrum durabilia sunt et perseuerantia de ferro ergo et aere calciatur qui per exempla sanctorum fortis et perseuerans efficitur, Ie .ii. custodi pedes tuos a nuditate	preparationem euangelii pacis id est ad facienda mandata que sunt in euangelio secundum glossam. <1.1.4.3> Item reddunt potentiores. Calciatus enim dietam suam Melius perficit quam nudus pedes. Sic qui accendit lucrum quod habent sancti de bonis que fecerunt, in bono facilius perseuerat, cupiditas enim mercedis optinende facit operarium usque ad uesperam operari. Iere. .ii. custodi pedes a nuditate.
SERMO III	IUGUM TRIPLEX (F. 56VA)
Est enim iugum triplex <3.1> pene, <3.2> culpe, <3.3> gratie.	Iugum triplex est: id est nature, eccl. xl <i>iugum graue creatum est super filios Adam.</i> <3.2> Item est iugum culpe quo mali iunguntur ut uulpes Sansonis .ii. cor. 3 <i>nolite iugum ducere cum infidelibus.</i> <3.3> Item est iugum gratie, Thren. 3 <i>bonum est viro cum portauerit iugum Domini ab adolescentia sua [...]</i>
SERMO III	IUGUM DOMINI (F. 56VA)
<3.3> De iugo quod Deus imponit dicitur Tren. <i>bonum est uiro cum portauerit iugum ab adolescentia sua.</i> Iugum Domini portare id est penitentiam facere et Deo seruire et ab adolescentia sua bonum est. Prouer. .v. quod facilius recipitur diutius obseruatur, utilius portatur, leuius sustinetur, securius agitur. <3.3.1> Facilius recipitur arbor enim tenera facilius domatur et afflectitur quam senex et putrida et catulus ad standum uel saltandum facilius edocetur quam senex canis et equus dum est pullus docetur ambulare. Dicitur enim <i>uiel chen est mal a mettre en lien</i> sic qui usque ad	<3.3> Iugum domini id est penitentiam portare debemus ab adolescentia propter .v.. <3.3.1> Primo quia facilius recipitur. Arbor enim tenera facilius domatur et flectitur quam senex et putrida et catulus facilius ad saltandum edocetur quam senex canis et equus dum est pullus docetur ambulare. Dicitur enim uel chen est mal a mettre en lien. Sic qui usque ad senectutem expectat penitentiam agere [56vb] uel Deo seruire eccl. .xxx. curua ceruicem eius in iuuentute et tunde latera eius dum infans est ne forte indurescat et non credat tibi.

senectutem expectat penitentiam facere uel Deo seruire. Eccli. .xxx. <i>Curua ceruicem eius in senectute et tunde latera eius dum infans est ne forte indurescat, et non credit tibi.</i> <3.3.2> Item diutius obseruatur ut enim calciamentum torturam uel pulchritudinem suam quam in nouitate recepit. Sic homo statum quem in iuuentute assumit siue in bono siue in malo Prouerb. .xxii. <i>Prouerbiu[m] est adolescens iuxta uiam suam etiam cum senuerit non recedet ab ea.</i> Dicitur enim que toiors sent li mortiers les aus. Unde nota quod noua testa capit inueterata sapit. Sic qui malum in iuuentute operatur uix ab illo abstinet cum senuerit. Iere .xiii. <i>Si mutare potest ethyops</i> et cetera. <3.3.3> Item utilius portatur. Pira enim nouiora cariora sunt et carnes at pisces quanto nouiores tanto meliores. Eccli .xii. <i>Memento creatoris tui in diebus iuuentutis tue et antequam ueniat tempus afflictionis.</i> Melius enim facit pugil sanus et fortis et integrus cum socio suo quam uulneratus uel mutilatus et ad terram prostratus uel proiectus. Sic peccator cum Deo quando est fortis et iuuenis utilius penitet quam cum senio confractus uel in lectulo infirmitatis positus, Eccli .xvii. uiuus et sanus confitere quasi mortuo enim quasi nihil perit confessio et nobiles plus acceptant fortium laborem quam debiliu[m] in potentium fortitudinem meam ad te custodiam. <3.3.4> Item leuius sustinentur. Dicitur enim suef trahit en hal qui apris la. Sic qui assuescit bene facere non multum grauatur eum cum est senex. Cirotheca enim et calciamenta stricta per usus frequentationem fiunt larga. Ita quod facilius induuntur. Sic et penitentia et bona opera et si in principio laboriosa sint, per usum leuius sentiuntur Prouerb. .vi. <i>Ducam te per semitas equitatis quas cum ingressus fueris non arctabuntur gressus tui.</i> <3.3.5> Item securius agitur ut auis que moratur super palum arcu extento sapienter auolat ad nidum. Sagitta enim mortis est iam in arcu tamen ponita Ps. <i>Nisi conuersi fueritis gladium suum uibrabit, arcum suum tetendit</i> et cetera. Ideo Ecc. .v. <i>ne tardes conuerti ad Dominum, ne differas de die in diem</i> et cetera. Sic ergo bonum est iugum Domini ab adolescentia portare immo honorificum et hoc est quartum quod notatur in uerbis predictis scilicet ibi <u>super uos.</u>	<3.3.2> Item diutius abseruatur ut calciamentum torturam uel rectitudinem suam quam in nouitate recipit. Sic homo statum suum quem in iuuentute assumit siue in bono siue in malo, prou. 22 prouerbiu[m] est adolescens iuxta uiam suam etiam cum senuerit non recedet ab ea. Dicitur enim quod toiors seit la boche le harans. Unde quod noua testa capit inueterata sapit. Iere 13 si mutare potest Ethiops pellem suam aut pardus uarietates suas et uos peccatis benefacere cum diceritis malum. <3.3.3> Item utilius portatur. Carnes enim et pisces quanto nouiores tanto cariores. Eccl. .xii. memento creatoris in die iuuentutis tue et antequam ueniat tempus afflictionis. Sanus enim et fortis melius facit pacem cum socio suo quam uulneratus et ad terram proiectus. Sic peccator cum penitet fortis et iuuenis quam cum est senio confractus uel infirmus. Eccl. .xvii. uiuus et sanus confiteberis. A mortuo enim quasi nihil parit confessio. Nobiles etiam plus acceptant seruicia fortium quam debiliu[m], ps. Fortitudinem meam ad te custodiam. <3.3.4> Item leuis sustinetur. Dicitur enim soeif trait mal qui a pris la. Sic qui assuescit bene facere parum grauatur eum cum senex est. Cirotheca enim et calciamenta per usus frequentiam fiunt larga, ita quod facilius induuntur. Sic est de penitentia. Prou. .vi. ducam te per semitas equitatis quas cum ingressus fueris non artabuntur gressus tui et currens non habebis offendiculum. <3.3.5> Item securius agitur. Auis enim cum archu extento sapienter auolat. Similiter homo a peccato et mundo cum sagitta mortis iam sit in archu extento, ps. nisi conuersi fueritis gladium suum uibrauit, arcum suum tetendit et cetera. Et ideo eccl. .v. ne tardes conuerti ad Dominum et ne differas de die in diem quia subito ueniat ira illius.
SERMO V	FORTIS EST HOMO PROPTER QUATUOR (F.42RA)
<1.3> Item caritas facit hominem fortem et firmum ut cementum parietem lapides fortiter coniungendo. Cant. .viii. <i>Fortis est ut mors dilectio.</i> Nota quod homo dicitur fortis propter quatuor que in morte possunt inueniri : <1.3.1> propter difficilium operationem, <1.3.2> propter firmam eius quod habet intentionem,	Fortis dicitur homo propter quatuor que in morte possunt reperiri : <4.3.1> propter difficilium operationem, ut si quis fortissimis uinculis ligatus ea facilius rumperet, fortis diceretur quod facit caritas. Vinculum enim auaritie et cupiditatis rumpit elemosinas largiendo ; amicitie et consanguinitatis ultra mare uel alibi peregrinando uel religionem intrando ; uite carnalis se pro Christo si

<1.3.3> propter operandi facilitatem, <1.3.4> propter fortem separationem. <1.3.1> Propter difficilium operationem ut si quis fortissimis uinculis ligatus ea rumperet faciliter, fortis diceretur. Quod facit caritas uinculum auaritie rumpit elemosinas largiendo, uinculum sanguinitatis ultra mare uel alias peregrinando, uel religionem intrando uite carnalis pro Christo cum necesse fuerit se morti exponendo. Et hoc facit mors animam a carne diuidit, hominem ab amicis subtrahit, temporalia relinquere facit Iudith. Sampson interpretatur fortis et ita signat caritatem que habet fortitudinem et ardorem tria genera uinculorum faciliter rumpit. <1.3.2> Item propter firmam rei tentionem. Qui enim illud quod habet ita firmiter tenet quod ei auferri non potest merito fortis reputatur. Hoc facit mors, quod enim semel tenuerit aliquo fortunio uel infortunio ei non aufertur, sic caritas ita fortiter Deo adheret et ipsum tenet quod nec aduersitate nec prosperitate sibi auferri potest Ro. .viii. <i>quis nos separabit a caritate Christi, tribulatio angustia</i> et cetera. Sequitur sed in hiis propter eum qui dilexit nos <i>certus autem sum quod nec mors nec uita separabit nos a caritate Dei qua est in Christo Iesu.</i> <1.3.3> Item propter operandi ardua facilitatem. Si quis enim sine grauamine grauia faceret merito fortis diceretur ut equus faciliter magnum onus ferens uel dietam sine lassitudine perficiens fortis reputatur. Sic mors et caritas in suis actibus non grauatur sed actus suos faciliter operantur. Omnia enim facilia sunt amanti ut ignis et sol in concitatione ardoris sui et lucis non lassantur Ge. .xxx. <i>Seruiuit Iacob pro Rachel .vii. annis</i>, id est iustus pro uita beata omnibus diebus uite sue <i>et uidebantur illi dies pauci pre amoris magnitudine.</i> <1.3.4> Item propter separationem fortium. Fortis enim dicitur qui potest de fortissimo triumphare, sed hoc facit mors. Non est enim ita fortis nec in claustris ita clausus ad quem mors non habeat accessum et de ipso non triumphet. Sic caritas de Deo qui est fortissimus nec ita dicam triumphauit ipsum de celo ad terram traxit ad stipitem ligauit in cruce tetendit Ysa .ix. <i>puer natus est nobis</i> et filius datus est nobis et post sequitur quia <i>zelus Domini exercituum faciet hoc.</i> Glossa id est caritas potuit ergo merito dicere amor uincit omnia et uincor amore ideo dicere <i>fortis ut mors dilectio</i> tua.	necesse fuerit morti exponendo et hoc facit mors : animam a carne diuiderit, hominem ab amicis suis subtrahit, temporalia relinquere facit. Iudith .xvii. Sampson qui interpretatur sol fortis per quem significatur caritas que habet fortitudinem et ardorem, tria genera uinculorum faciliter rupit. <4.3.2> Item propter firmam retentionem. Qui enim quod habet ita firmiter tenet quod ei auferri non potest, merito fortis reputatur. Hoc facit mors que enim semel tenuerit aliquo fortunio uel infortunio sibi non aufertur. Sic caritas ita fortiter deo adheret et ita eum tenet quod nec aduersitate nec prosperitate auferri sibi potest. Ro. 8 quis nos separabit a caritate Christi, tribulatio an angustia et sequitur certus autem sine quia neque mors neque uita separabit nos a caritate Dei que est in Christo Iesu. <4.3.3> Item propter operandi ardua facilitatem ut equus fortis dicitur qui magnum onus portat sine sui grauamine. Sic mors in suis actibus non grauatur sed actus suos faciliter operatur. Omnia enim facilia sunt amanti Gen. 29 seruiuit Iacob pro Rachel .vii. annis id est iustus pro uita beata omnibus diebus uite sue et uidebantur illi dies pauci pre amoris magnitudine. <4.3.4> Item propter fortium superationem. Fortis enim dicitur qui potest de fortissimo triumphare. Sed hoc facit mors. Non enim est ita potens de quo mors non triumphet sic caritas de Deo qui est fortissimus ut ita dicam triumphauit ipsum enim de celo ad terram traxit ad stipitem ligauit et in cruce occidit. Ysa. 9 puer natus est nobis et filius datus est nobis et factus est principatus id est crux super humerum eius et post zelus Domini exercituum faciet hoc flossa id est caritas potuit ergo dicere in cruce : amor uincit omnia. Uincor amore ideo dicitur Can. ult. Fortis est ut mors dilectio.
SERMO VII	EXALTAT DEUS HOMINEM (F. 35VB)
<4> Nota quod Deus exaltat hominem tripliciter : <4.1> periculose, <4.2> gratiose, <4.3> gloriosae.	Exaltat Deus hominem periculose, gloriose, gratiose. Periculose quibusdam prosperitatem temporalium conferendo aliis exponitis paupertati. Unde quis diues factus est dicitur il est bien montez en pon deure.

<4.1> Periculose quibusdam prosperitatem temporalium conferendo aliis exponitis paupertati. Unde cum quis factus est diues dicitur il est bien monte enpon doure. Sicut in domibus magnatum quedam aues ut accipitres et falcones in particis exaltantur gallinis et anseribus infimis derelictis. Gen. .xlvi. dixit Ioseph fratribus suis qui interpretatur augmentum uel appositio. Dominus exaltauit me ut in presenti cernitis, sed hoc exaltatio periculosa est quia est prona ad quadrupliciter malum : <4.1.1> ad malum respectu Dei ut ipsum contempnat, ut accipiter quanto plus a Domino suo saturatus fuerit tanto sibi reclamanti tardius reddit. Sic mundani quanto ditiores et potentiores sunt, tanto facilius mandata Dei contempnunt Ysa .i. filios enutriui et exaltaui ipsi autem spreuerunt me. <4.1.2> Item respectu proximi ut eum ledat. Quanto enim se sentiunt ditiores et potentiores, tanto audacius suscitant lites, contumelias proferunt, auferunt aliena ut lupi qui sentiunt se armatos dentibus acutis oues non metuunt impugnare Ps. exaltasti dexteram deprimentium eum scilicet potentiam illorum qui alios opprimunt. Si lupus exdentatus est, non multum nocere potest etiam si habeat uoluntatem sic huius cum amiserint balliuam uel potentiam uel diuitias quasi dentes amiserunt quibus alios decerpebant. Unde tantum nocere non possunt, Ps. <i>dentes eorum conteruisti</i> et cetera <4.1.3> Item ad malum respectu aduersarii ut temptatus cadat. Alta enim edificia uentis et tempestatibus infestata citius ruunt et tales a dyabolo sepius impugnati ruunt ad diuersa genera peccatorum. Prouer. .xli. ante ruinam exaltatur spiritus. <4.1.4> Item ad malum respectu sui ut maiorem penam habeat quia magis ingratus magis puniendus est. Et magis ingratus est qui plus beneficii accepit si offenderit .iii. Regum .x. dixit Dominus ad Ieroboam qui interpretatur superius dominum et signat huius mundi diuites et potentes quos non audent homines hic iudicare et ideo Dominus eos iudicabit. exaltaui te de medio populi mei et sequitur me autem proiecisti post ideo ego inducam malum super Ieroboam. Item quanto quis ab alto in lutum cecidit tantum plus in fece profundatur maxime cum fuerit honoratus et ideo tales qui peccatis sunt honorati et ab alto statu fortune cadunt usque in profundum ruunt. Mt. .xi. <i>et tu capharnaum numquid in celis exaltaberis</i>, et si exaltati fueris, <i>usque in infernum descendes.</i> <4.2> Item exaltat Deus hominem gratiose cum per gratiam suam ipsum eleuat ad desiderium eternorum. Ps. et exaltauit me de portis mortis id est de peccatis et occasione peccatorum per	Sicut in domibus magnatum quedam aues ut accipitres et falcones in perticis exaltantur. Gallinis et anseribus inferius relictis. Ge. .i. dixit Ioseph fratribus suis qui interpretatur augmentum uel appositio Dominus exaltauit me sicut in presentiarum cernitis. Sed hoc exaltatio est periculosa. Est enim prona ad quadruplex malum. <4.1.1> Ad malum respectu Dei ut ipsum contempnat. Accipiter enim quanto a domino plus saturatus fuerit, tanto tardius ipsi reclamanti reddit. Sic mundani quanto ditiores et potentiores sunt tanto facilius mandata Dei contempnunt. Ysa. .i. filios enutriui et exaltaui ipsi autem spreuerunt me. <4.1.2> Item respectu proximi ut ledat. Quanto enim sentiunt se ditiores et potentiores, tanto audacius lites suscitant. Auferunt aliena ut lupi qui sentiunt armatos dentibus acutis, oues non metuunt impugnare, ps. Exaltasti dexteram deprimentium eum. <4.1.3> Item ad malum respectu aduersarii ut temptatus cadat. Alta enim edificia uentis et tempestatibus infestata, citius ruunt. In diuersa genera peccatorum prou. .xvi. ante ruinam exaltatur spiritus. <4.1.4> Item ad malum respectu sui. Ut maiorem penam habeat. Magis enim ingratus magis puniendus est et magis ingratus existit qui plus beneficii accepit si offendit. .ii. Reg. .ix. dixit dominus ad Ieroboam qui interpretatur superius dominum et signat diuites et potentes, exaltaui te de medio populi tui et sequitur me autem proiecisti post tergum tuum idcirco inducam ego mala super domum Ieroboam. <4.2> Item exaltat Deus hominem gratiose, cum per gratiam suam ipsum eleuat ad desiderium eternorum, ps. Exaltauit me de portis mortis id est de peccatis et occasione peccatorum. Exaltat autem hominem multipliciter. <4.2.1> Primo ne submergatur cor ab amore illicito terrenorum, subtrahendo ut natans capud eleuat super aquas, ps. Tu es susceptor meus gloria mea et exaltat capud meus id est cor et mentem. Si enim homo habeat capud in aqua submergitur si uero totum corpus sit in aqua et capud extra non perit. Sic quantumcumque homo habuerit temporalia et si cor non posuerit plus debito amando non nocent, ps. Diuitie si affluent nolite cor apponere et si nihil habeat et habeat uoluntatem illicite acquirendi perit. .i. Thi. .vi. qui uolunt diuites fieri incidunt in laqueum dyaboli. <4.2.2> Secundo ne occidatur [36ra] timorem mortis incutiendo, ut auis aduolat et exaltatur cum baculo uel lapide comminatur, eccl. .xl. facultates et uirtutes exaltant cor, super hoc autem timor Domini comminantis scilicet mortem in peccato mortali ps. Nisi conuersi fueritis et cetera. <4.2.3> Tertio ne corrumpatur per caritatem temporalia relinquendo ut una uel uitis impartita releuatur ne putrefiat in terra. Eccl. Ult. Exaltasti super terram habitationem meam.
--	---

quem itur ad mortem eternam. Exaltat autem Deus hominem sic multipliciter : <4.2.1> primo ne submergatur cor ab illicito amore terrenorum subtrahendo sicut natans caput super aquam eleuat. Ps. <i>tu es susceptor meus gloria</i> et cetera, id est corum cor et mentem. Si enim homo non habeat nisi caput in aquam totum corpus submergitur sed si totum corpus sit in aqua caput uero extra non perit. Sic quantumcumque homo habeat temporalia si non apposuerit cor plus debito amando non nocent. Ps. <i>diuitie si affluent</i> et cetera. Si nihil habeat et habeat uoluntatem illicite habendi perit. .i. Thi. .vi. <i>qui uolunt diuites fieri incidunt in temptationem et in laqueum dyaboli</i> et cetera, ideo Eccl. .x. <i>sapientia humiliati exaltabit caput eius</i>. <4.2.2> Secundo ne occidatur timorem mortis incutiendo ut auis auolat et exaltabitur cum lapide uel baculo uel arcu comminatur Eccl. .xl. <i>facilitates et uirtutes exaltant cor super hec autem timor Dei</i> comminantis scilicet mortem in peccato commorantibus Ps. <i>nisi conuersi fueritis</i> et cetera. <4.2.3> Tertio ne corrumpatur per cupiditatem temporalia relinquendo ut uita uel uitis in pertica eleuatur ne in luto putrefiant uel ad terram cadat Eccl. ult. <i>exaltasti super terram habitationem meam</i>. <4.2.4> Quarto ne capiatur a dyabolo per orationem ad Deum in temptatione recurrendo ut insecuti ab hostibus ad castra alta et fortia fugiunt ut saluentur Ps. <i>dum anxiaretur cor meum in petra</i> scilicet non posse euadere temptationem. <4.2.5> Quinto ne inquinentur omnia propter Deum deponendo et celestia optando [...] <4.3> Item exaltat Deus hominem gloriose in eterna beatitudine collocando Ps. <i>expecta Dominum et custodi uiam eius</i> et cetera Nota tria ponuntur hic : quomodo debet homo premiari: quando, quare, qualiter? <4.3.1> Quando quia non modo sed post mortem quod notatur ibi <u>expecta</u>. Operarius credentiam usque ad uesperam dieta completa facit ei cui operatur, quod similiter Deo facere debemus ut non nisi post mortem mercedem bonorum uestrorum petamus Mt. .xx. <i>cum sero factum esset</i>, misit Dominus pater familias: <i>operariis mercedem reddi</i> sed multi sunt ut operarii ebriosi qui tantum in die in uinea expendunt quod in sero nihil accipiunt Mal. .i. <i>nixistis de labore, et sufflantis illud dicit Dominus exercituum</i> sed quod multi expectant beatam uitam, ut britones Arcturum. <4.3.2> Ideo sequitur quare sit premiandus homo scilicet propter mandatorum Dei custodiam quod notatur ibi <u>custodi uiam eius</u> id est precepta quibus itur ad Dominum et non per	<4.2.4> Quarto ne capiatur a dyabolo per orationem ad Deum in tempratione recurrendo ut insecuti ad hostibus ad castra alta et fortia fugiunt ut saluentur ps. Dum anxiaretur cor meum in petra exaltasti me. <4.3> Item exaltat Deus hominem gloriose in eterna beatitudine collocando, ps. Expecta Dominum et custodi uiam eius et exaltabit te ut hereditate capias terram. Nota quod tria ponuntur hic quando homo debet premiari, quare et qualiter. <4.3.1> Quando utique non hic sed post mortem quod notatur ibi expecta dominum Mt .xx. cum sero factum esset iussit paterfamilias operariis suis mercedem reddi. <4.3.2> Sequitur quare premiandus est homo scilicet propter custodiam mandatorum Dei quod notatur ibi custodi mandata eius id est precepta eius quibus itur ad Dominum, Mt. Si uis ad uitam ingredi serua mandata. <4.3.3> Tertio sequitur qualiter premiabitur quia honorabiliter, eternaliter, habundanter. Honorabiliter ibi exaltabit te, non enim erit ita despectus ita uilis qui non sit rex in patria coronatus, ps. cornu eius exaltabitur sed ulterius dico honor esset pauperi militi, si super regem castrum caperet uiolenter quod faciunt qui regnum Dei acquirunt per uiolentiam quam faciunt carnem, mundum, dyabolum superando, Mt. .xi. regnum celorum uim patitur et uiolenti rapiunt illud. <4.3.3.1> Item eternaliter quod notatur ibi: hereditate quod enim hereditarium est perpetuo possidetur ps. Iusti autem hereditabunt terram et in habita in seculum seculi super eam. <4.3.3.2> Item habundanter quod notatur ibi terram scilicet uiuentium ubi penuria omnis mali et habundantia omnis boni Tent. 8 introducet te Dominus in terram bonam ubi abset penuria comedes panem tuum et rerum omnium habundantia perfrueris.
--	---

aliam uiam Mt. .xix. <i>si uis ad uitam ingredi serua mandata</i> [...] <4.3.3> Tertio sequitur quomodo premiabitur honorabiliter, eternaliter, habundanter, honorabiliter ibi <u>exaltabit te ut hereditate capias terram</u>. Non erit ita despectus ita uilis ita pauper quod non fiat rex in patria coronatus Ps. <i>cornu eius exaltabitur in gloria</i>. Dico ulterius magnus honor et gloria esset pauperi militi si super regem caperet castrum uiolenter. Quod faciunt qui regnum Dei acquirunt per uiolentiam quam faciunt carnem mundum dyabolum superando Mt. .vi. <i>regnum celorum uim patitur et uiolenti rapiunt illud</i>. Ideo dicit <u>ut hereditate capias terram</u> Ps. <i>extaltauit mansuetos in salutem</i> id est ad salutem eternam habendam secundum glossam. <4.3.3.1> Item eternaliter quod notatur ibi <u>hereditate</u>. Quod enim est hereditarium perpetuo possidetur ps. <i>iusti hereditabunt terram et inhabitabunt in seculum super eam</i> et ideo mirum est quod nos tantum laboramus ad mundana habenda plus quam celestia quia ista pereunt et suum derelinquunt possessorem illa uero perpetuo possidentur. Carius enim et libentius res acquiritur que perpetuo possidetur quam que nisi ad horam Mt. .vii. <i>nolite uobis thesaurizare thesauros in terra</i> et cetera. <4.3.3.2> Item habundanter quod notatur ibi <u>terra</u> scilicet uiuentium ubi deest penuria omnis mali et est habundantia omnis boni. Deut. .iiii. <i>introducet te Dominus in terram bonam ubi absque penuria comedes panem tuum habundantia perfruaris</i>.	
SERMO VIII	MERCES MUNDI (F. 68VB)
Respice pannum in capite et in cauda, quandoque est bonus in capite et in cauda est malus. Sic peccata et temporalia in delectatione bona, sed in pena pessima Prou. .vi. <i>ne intuearis uinum cum splenduerit in uitro</i> id est in capite respice delectationem. Sequitur <i>ingreditur enim blande</i> ecce capud sed in fine mordebit ut coluber. Ecce cauda et bene dicit ut coluber id est colens umbras. Diabolus enim est ut uenditor pannorum quod prauum est, abscondit et obscurat locum uenditionis unde capud uituli dicitur formasse solum exo. .iiii. non enim penam, sed delectationem ostendit peccatori. Item debet attendere pretium, posset enim bonum esse in se sed nimis carum. Sic temporalia et peccatum plus habent laboris quam delectationis, Prou. .xv. <i>risus dolore miscebitur</i>. Item in luxuria anima que est pretiosior auro uel argento pro delectatione momentanea datur Prou. .vi. <i>pretium scorti uix est unius panis, animam enim pretiosam rapis</i>. Sicut cupidus pro	Merces mundi emere non debemus quia sapiens mercator debet respicere pannum in capite et in cauda. Pannus enim quandoque bonus est in capite, pessimus in cauda. Sic peccatum et temporalia bona in delectatione sed pessima in pena. Prou. 23 ne intuearis nimium cum flauescit et cum spendiuit in uitro color eius. Hoc est in capite respicere id est delectationem. Sequitur <i>ingreditur enim blande</i>, ecce caput sed in fine mordebit ut coluber, ecce cauda. Et bene dicit, coluber id est colens umbras. Dyabolus ut uenditor pannorum quod prauum est abscondit et obscurat locum uendentis. Unde in exo 37 dicitur capud uituli solum formasse. Non enim penam sed delectationem ostendit peccanti. Item debet attendere pretium. Posset enim esse bonum in se sed nimis carum sic peccatum nihil temporalia plus constant laboris quam habeant delectationis prou. 14 risus dolore miscebitur et extrema gaudii luctus occupat. Item anima que pretiosior est auro uel argento pro delectatione momentanea datur, prou. .vi. pretium scorti uix est unius panis. Sic cupidus animam suam uenalem habet.

modico pecunie, Eccl. x. <i>nihil est iniquius quam amare pecuniam hic enim animam suam uenalem habet</i>. Esau enim primogenita dedit pro lenticulam. Dat enim dominum et regnum eternum pro pecunia Eph. .v. <i>hoc autem scitote quod omnis auarus</i> et cetera. Unde philosophus absit ut tantum emam unde peniteam. Item considerare debet si merces suas secum saluare possit sic non est de pecunia uel temporalibus. Iob .xxiii. <i>diues cum dormierit nihil secum auferet</i> et cetera. Item quantum ualeant ad nundinas ubi eas portauerit, id est ad iudicium quo homo omnia facta sua portabit, ut pro illis dampnum uel lucrum recipiat Eccl. ult. <i>cuncta que fiunt adducet Dominus in iudicio</i> et cetera; sicut in nundinis omnes fardelli et trosselli sicut cogitationes et facta in iudicio aperientur Eccl. .xi. <i>In fine hominis denudabuntur opera eius</i> quia .i. Cor .iiii. <i>illuminabit abscondita tenebrarum</i> et cetera; sed de omnibus diuitiis, deliciis et honoribus huius que numquam excogitari poterunt non haberet guttam aque sicut patet Luc. .xv. diuiti petenti guttam aque ab Abraham denegata est ei. Nec eam optinere potuit pro omnibus diuitiis suis. Eze. .vii. <i>argentum eorum proicietur et aurum eorum ut sterquilinum erit</i> id est ita uile ut sterquilinum et eius hoc est quod dicitur Apo. .xviii. <i>negotiatores terre flebunt quoniam merces eorum nemo emet amplius.</i>	Item Deum qui est summum bonum perdit. Esau enim primogenita sua dedit pro lenticula, Gen. 25 ; Eph. .v. hoc autem [69ra] scitote intelligentes quod omnis fornicator aut in mundus aut auarus quod est ydolorum seruator, non habet hereditatem in regno Christi et Dei. Ideo Ph. Absit ut tanti emam. Item debet considerare quod merces saluas secum possit portare, sic non est de peccunia uel temporalibus. Iob 18 diues cum dormierit nihil secum affert. Item quantum ualeant ad nundinas ubi eas portabit id est ad iudicium ibi enim peccata sua omnia portabit ut pro illis lucrum uel dampnum accipiat. Ecc. ult. Cuncta que fuerit adducet Deus in iudicium pro omni erra sine bonum suum malum sit. Et pretere ut in nundinis omnis fardelli et trosselli id est cogitationes et facta aperientur. Ecc. .xi. in fine hominis denudatio illius operum. Quia .i. cor. .4. illuminabit abscondita tenebrarum et manifestabit consilia cordium et de omnibus diuitiis et deliciis non haberetur una gutta aque ut patet in Lu. .xvi. ; Eze. .vii. argentum eorum foris proicietur et aurum eorum in sterquilinum erit, argentum eorum et aurum eorum non ualebat liberare eos in die furoris.
SERMO VIII	MERCES PARADISI (F. 69RA)
Merces glorie est beata uita pro que negotiantur sancti et prudentes Prou. ult. <i>gustauit et uidit quod bona est negotiatio eius</i> quia bona in principio et in fine. Quanta enim a predicatoribus predicantur tanta inueniuntur Ps. <i>secundum nomen tuum Deus ita et laus</i> et cetera. Immo plus nullus enim posset eam tantum commendare quantum ualet .iiii. Regum .x. <i>non credebam narrantibus mihi donec ipsa ueni et uidi oculis meis et probaui quod media pars non fuerit mihi nuntiata.</i> Item non care emitur. Nullus enim est qui eius pretium possit habere sed nullus potest excusare quia paupertate et tribulationibus et talibus que quilibet potest habere emitur Augustinus in persona Domini : uenale habeo. Quid ? Regnum celorum. Quo emitur ? Paupertate regnum, labore quies, ignominia gloria, morte, uita. Sed multi se possent adhuc excusare posset enim quis dicere non possum laborare et cetera. Et ita non possum emere non sic quia psalmo <i>parasti in dulcedine tua Deus</i> et ad minus quilibet potest habere uoluntatem que posse suppleat Apoc. ult. <i>qui uult</i>	Merces paradysi comperanda est quia bona in principio et in fine. Quantum enim a predicatoribus laudatur tantum inueniuntur. Ps. secundum nomen tuum, Deus sic et laus tua in fines terre, immo magis. Nullus enim posset hic commendare eam quantum ualet 3 Reg. .x. non credebam narrantibus mihi donec ipsa ueni et uidi oculis meis et probaui quod mea pars nunciata mihi on fuerat. Item non care emitur. Nullus enim est qui eius pretium habere non possit quia paupertate et tribulationibus et talibus que potest quilibet habere emitur. Augustinus, uenale habeo, quid ? regnum celorum ; quo emitur ? paupertate regnum, uilitate gloria, labore requies, morte uita. Item quia auferri non potest a predone uel furari a latrone. Opera enim illorum sequitur illos. Ioh. .xvii. gaudium uestrum nemo tollet a uobis. Omnis enim de mundo non auferret homini meritum unius ieiunius uel elimosine. Luc. .vii. Maria optimam partem elegit que non auferetur ab ea in eternum. Item mirabiliter in nundinis iudicii lucratur. .ii. cor. 4 id quod in presenti est, momentaneum et leue tribulationis nostre supra modum sublimitate eternum glorie pondus operatur in nobis. Ideo Ro. 8

<i>accipiat uitam gratie gratis</i> non est labor cum sola uoluntas sufficit. Item quia auferri non potest a predone uel furari a latrone opera enim illorum sequuntur illos Io .xvii. <i>gaudium uestrum nemo tollet a uobis.</i> Omnes enim de mundo non auferrent mihi merita unius ieiunii uel elimosine Luc. .xvii. <i>Maria optimam partem elegit que non</i> et cetera. Item quia mirabiliter lucratur in nundinis iudicii .i. Cor. .iiii. <i>id quod in presenti est momentaneum tribulationis nostris et leue</i> et cetera ; et Ro. .viii. <i>estimo quod non sunt condigne passiones huius temporis</i> et cetera. Et hoc est quod dicitur Ysa. .xxiii. <i>erit negotiatio eius ut manducent usque ad saturitatem et uestiantur usque ad uetustatem</i> si sic est. Unde nobis tanta insania quod illud non comparamus et illud dimittimus. Ecce quia ualorem eius non sentimus ut rusticus qui ignorat uim margarite eam non curat ; quod non facit qui cognoscit. Mt. .xiii. <i>simile est regnum celorum homini negotiatori querenti bonas margaritas</i> et cetera. Et nota quod emptor rem quam uult emere uituperat, emptam uero laudat. Sic dum uiuimus dicimus quod nimis est carum regnum celorum et non ualet quantum Deus nobis comperat sed cum habebimus contrarium dicemus Prou. <i>malum est malum est dicit omnis emptor</i> sed cum recesserit tunc gloriabitur. Item nota quod non multum ualet bene lucrari nisi bene seruetur. Sic est qui post quadragesima uel penitentiam uel aliquod bonum ad peccatum redit totum amittit, ut artifices que in septimana lucrati sunt in die dominica in taberna expendunt Eccl. <i>operarius ebriosus non locupletabitur.</i>	estimo quod non sunt condigne passiones huius temporis ad futuram gloriam que reuelabitur in nobis. Sed si sic est , unde nobis tanta insania quod illud non comparamus, certe quia ualorem eius non sentimus. Sicut rusticus qui ignorat uim margarite, eam habere non curat. Matt. 13 simile est regnum celorum homini negotiatori, querenti bonas margaritas et cetera. Et nota quod emptor uituperat rem emendam, emptam uero laudat. Sic immo dicimus quod nimis carum est regnum celorum sed cum illud habuerimus contrarium dicemus. Prou. .xx. malum est, malum est dicit omnis emptor et cetera. Recesserit tunc gloriabitur. Nota etiam quod non prodest bene lucrari nisi bene seruetur. Sic qui post penitentiam ad peccatum redunt, nihil podest eis sicut artifices qui expendunt die dominica in taberna quicquid lucrati sunt in septimana ; Ecc. .xx. operarius ebriosus non ditabitur. Item comperare debemus in nundinis id est in uita, mortem quia post non erit tempus comperandi sed pagandi. Unde stultus esset qui nundinis durantibus dormiret et commederet et post emere necessaria quereretur. Ecc. 19 quodcumque potest manus tua instanter operare quia nec opus nec ratio nec scientia nec sapientia erunt apud inferos.
SERMO IX	GRADUS ASCENDENDI IN CELUM (F. 47RB)
Sicut enim quatuor gradus per quos ascenditur in celum qui significantur in ascensu Helye .iiii. Regum .ii. <1.2.1> Primus gradus est mundare conscientiam per cordis contritionem et oris confessionem. Unde Helyas ascensurus in celum primo uenit in Bethel qui interpretatur domus Dei. Domus Domini cor hominis est in quo Deus debet et considerat habitare, Prouer. <i>Delicie mee esse cum filiis hominum</i>, sed quia Deus cum peccato non habitat sicut uir nobilis in loco immundo Ps. <i>Domum tuam domine decet sanctitudo</i>. Ideo ad istam domum non est ueniendum nisi mundetur et hospitium Domino proprietur. Recepturi enim magnates ad domum suam solent precurrere ut domum mundificent et adornent Ps. <i>Si dederò sompnum oculis meis</i> et cetera donec perueniam locum Domino.	Gradus quatuor sunt per quos ascenditur in celum, qui significantur in ascensu Helye, .4. reg. .ii.. <1.2.1> Primus est mundare conscientiam a peccatis per cordis contritionem et oris confessionem. Unde Helyas ascensurus in celum, primo uenit in Bethel qui interpretatur domus Dei. Cor hominis est in quo Deus debet et desiderat habitare, prou. Delicie mee esse cum filiis hominum sed quia Deus cum peccato non habitat sicut nec nobilis in loco immundo, ps. domum tuam decet sanctitudo. Ideo ueniendum est in istam domum ut mundatur et Domino prepararetur. Recepturi enim magnates in domum suam solent precurrere ut mundificent et adornent ps. si dederò sompnum oculis meis et palpebris meis dormitationem, donec inueniam locum Domino. <1.2.2> Secundus est cauere a futuris peccatis per infirmitatis et defectis munitionem et hoc est quod de Bethel descendit in Iericho id est defectu. Infirmitiora

<1.2.2> Secundus gradus est cauere a futuris per infirmitatis et defectis munitionem. Hoc est quod Helyas de Bethel uenit in Iericho id est defectum. Infirmitiora castrorum per que aliquando capta sunt uel capi possunt sepius uisitantur et diligentius muniuntur ne iterum de nouo capiatur et loca per que possunt latrones uenire et raptores, diligentius sollicitius custodiantur. Sic homo ex ea parte qua expertus cognoscit se proniorem et debiliorem ad peccatum sed debet diligenter custodire, Apoc. .iii. esto uigilans et confirma cetera que moritura sunt. <1.2.3> Tertius est quod penitens se iudicet per satisfactionem et hoc est quod Helias uenit de Ierico ad Iordanem qui interpretatur riuus iudicii. Qui enim debita sua doluit et aduersarios suos et querentes tacentes fecerit, securus uenit ad curiam quia de iure iudex non potest in eum animaduertere et punire. Sic Deum qui aduersarius est peccatoris et de eo merito conqueritur ipsum tacentem facit qui penitentiam hic agit de peccatis. Unde in futuro non puniet eum Deus .i Cor. .xi. si nosmetipsos iudicauerimus et cetera, et ideo Mt. .v. consentiens aduersario tuo cito dum es in uia cum meo id est facias pacem et tacentem facias puniendo <i>ne puniendo forte tradat te aduersarius tuus iudici et iudex tradat te ministro et in carcerem mittaris</i> et cetera. <1.2.4> Quartus gradus est ardor caritatis et hoc est quod ultimo Helyas in curru igneo ascendit in celum id est in feruore caritatis que dicitur ardere in corde per Dei et proximi dilectionem et lucere exterius per operationem. Sol enim non ita cadet in celo quin calorem suum ostendat in terra nec ignis in camino calorem suum ita continet quin calefaciat astantes. Ps. concaluit cor meum et cetera id est extra per operationem ardescet sic ergo Deus adiuuat sed non <i>in ualle lacrimarum</i> id est in hoc mundo qui est locus non gaudii sed meroris quod ostendit puer cum nascitur plorando non ridendo Sap .vii. <i>primam uocem</i> et cetera. Sed si hic tunc lacrimis et penitentiae debent omnis uacare non deliciis et gaudiis. Quilibet enim debet uiuere et se regere secundum usus et mores patrie et terre in qua moratur, Luc. .xix. <i>uidens Iesus ciuitatem fletit super illam dicens : si cognouisset et tu fleres.</i>	enim castrorum per que aliquando capta sunt uel capi possunt sepius uisitantur et diligentius muniuntur. Sic homo ex ea parte qua scit se esse proniorem ad peccatum debet se diligentius custodire, apo. 3 esto uigilans et confirma cetera que moritura sunt. <1.2.3> Tertius est quod se iudicet per punitionis satisfactionem et hoc est quod de Ierico uenit ad Iordanem, qui interpretatur riuus iudicii, i. cor. .xi. si nosmetipsos diiudicauerimus non utique iudicauerimus. Ideo Mt. .v. esto consentiens aduersario tuo dum es in uia id est cum eo facias pacem et tacere facias penitendo. Quia Eze. Si impius egerit penitentiam ab omnibus peccatis suis que operatus est et custodierit omnia precepta mea et fecerit iudicium et iustitiam uita uiuet et non morietur. <1.2.4> Quartus est ardor caritatis et hoc est quod ultimo in curru igneo ascendit in celum, id est in feruore caritatis quod debet esse in corde per Dei et proximi dilectionem et ardore exterius per operationem. Sol enim non ita calet in celo quin calorem suum ostendat in terra, nec ignis in camino calorem suum ita continet quin calefaciat astantes, ps. concaluit cor meum intra me et in meditatione mea exardescet ignis id est extra per operationem exardescet.
SERMO XI	DESCENDIT DEUS (F. 26RA)
<3> Tertio erudimur cum dicit <u>uenit</u>. Ibi enim quod diu in desiderio et incertitudine expectabatur cum certitudine affirmatur unde Ps. <i>holocaustum pro peccato non postulasti tunc dixi ecce uenio</i>. Nota quod triplex est aduentus Christi in carnem, in mentem, ad iudicium et in quolibet aduentu uenit ut sponsus ad sponsam uenire dicitur triplici de causa : ad contrahenda sponsalia, ad iocalia	Descendit Deus primo per carnem ad hominem de morte liberandum exo. 3 uidi afflictionem populi meo in Egypto et sciens dolorem eius descendi ut liberare eum de manibus egyptorum et educam eum de terra illa in terram bonam et spatiosam, in terram fluentem lacte et melle. Item modo in mentem ad hominem fecundum ps. descendet pluuia in uellus sic exponit quedam glossam.

conferenda, ad ipsam in suum consortium traducendam.	Item in futuro descendet ad iudicium ad stricte et terribiliter hominem inquirendum, Gen. descendam et uidebo utrum clamorem qui uenit ad me opere compleuerint an non est ita ut sciam.
SERMO XI	UENITUR AD DEUM TRIPLICITER (119VA)
Nota quod cum dicit ueni glossa tripliciter uenitur ad Deum : <3.3.1> primo in uita corporali per amorem et desiderium in ipso ponendo nec estuans ad umbram et fessus ad loca pacifica ut quiescat nec anima nisi in Deo, Mt .xi. uenite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis et ego reficiam uos et inuenietis requiem animabus uestris. <3.3.2> Secundo uenitur ad Deum in morte. Anima enim penitentia per acta ad beatam patriam reportatur ut cum quis a propria terra pro debitis eiectus fuerit solutione facta in possessione sue hereditatis uenit, Luc .x. uenite ad me et audite me et uiuiet anima uestra. <.3.3.3> Tertio uenitur ad Deum post mortem in iuditio cum corpus et anima similis gloriabuntur ut operarius facto uespere ad patrem familias uenit mercedem debitam recepturus Mt .xx. <i>uespere autem facta dicit pater familias procuratori suo, uoca operarios redde illis mercedem. Uenerunt autem nouissimi et acceperunt singulos denarios.</i> Ideo dicit tibi ueni sed nota quod de Libano, id est de candore uirtutum, secundum glossa non enim de diuitiis ad paradysum sed ad infernum itur. Sicut qui de portu mouetur non uadit quo uult sed quo fluctus uel uentus flans in exitu portus ducit eum. Sic qui exit de mundo non uadit quo uult sed quo status uel meritum impulit. Si enim in morte uiget cupiditas uel peccatum aliud mortale ad infernum impellit, talis uentus est Aquilo, <i>ab Aquilone</i> enim <i>pandetur omne malum</i>. Si caritas etiam in morte uiget et fiat ad paradysum ducit, talis uentus est Auster. <i>Accipiter</i> enim <i>expandens suas alas ad austrum plumescit</i> scilicet uirtutibus ut uolare possit et capere predam suam scilicet Christum. Ideo in Cant. <i>surge aquilo ueni auster</i> et quia oportet uirtutem in corde et in operatione habere. Ideo dicit bis de Libano. Nobili enim non sufficit uestis simplex nisi sit furrata, id est uestis sine pelle, et christiano non sufficit uirtus interior sine operatione habenti facultatem ut pigro. <i>Desideria</i> enim <i>occidunt pigrum</i>. Nec operatio sine interiori uoluntate ut in ypocritis. Exemplum de fatuis uirginibus Prou. ult. omnes domestici eius uestiti sunt duplicibus.	Uenitur ad Deum tripliciter. <3.3.1> Primum in uita. Cor in ipsum per desiderium et amorem ponendo ut estuans et fessus ad umbram ut quiescat quia res in proprio loco solum quiescit et anima in Deo, Mt. .xi. uenite ad me omnis qui labo et onera estis et cetera et inueietis requiem animabus uestris. <3.3.2> Secundo uenitur ad Deum in morte. Anima enim iusti penitentia per acta ad beatam patriam deportatur ut cum quis a propria terra eiectus fuerit solutione facta in sue hereditatis possessionem mittitur, Ysa. .lv. uenite ad me et uiuet anima uestra. <3.3.3> Tertio uenitur ad Christum post mortem in iudicio cum corpus et anima similis gloriabuntur, ut operarius facto uespere uenit ad patrem familias mercedem debitam recepturus Mt. .ii. cum sero factum esset dixit paterfamilias procuratori suo uoca operarios et redde illis mercedem suam et propter hoc tria dicitur tibi ueni, can. 4 ueni de Libano sponsus meus ueni de Libano, ueni sed nota quod dicit de Libano id est de candore uirtutum secundum glossam. Non enim deuiciis ad paradysum sed ad infernum itur. Item dicit bis de Libano quia oportet habere uirtutem in corde et a operatione. Nobili enim non sufficit uestis simplex sed forrata id est pannus sine pelle et pellis sine panno id est christiano non sufficit uirtus interior sine operatione propter hoc dicitur prou. ult. Omnes domestici eius uestiti sunt duplicibus.
SERMO XII	UASI QUATUOR SUNT NECESSARIA (F. 117VB)
<1> Fuit ergo uas potum doctrine propinando in uase requiruntur quatuor que in ipso fuerunt et in quolibet nostrum esse debent quod sit mundum, quod sit firmum et solidum, quod pulcrum et clarum quod suaue et incorruptum. Talis fuit Paulus mundus scilicet a peccatis et maxime a corporali corruptione, firmus et solidus per patientiam in tribulatione,	Uasi sunt quatuor necessaria. <1.1> Primo quod sit mundum sic homo mundus debet esse maxime a carnis corruptione. Non enim libenter bibitur cum uase sordido, prou. 24 aufer rubiginem de argento et egredietur uas purissimum. Rubigo de ferro nascitur et ferrum consumit. Sic et corruptio de carne que carnem corrumpit. Uas purum

pulchrus et clarus in honesta conuersione, sanus et incorruptus doctrine sane effusione. <1.1> Debit ergo esse mundus et fuit a peccatis et maxime a corruptione carnis. Non enim libenter cum uase sordido bibitur Prou. .xxv. aufer rubiginem de argento et egredietur uas purissimum. Rubigo autem de ferro nascitur et ferrum consuntum. Et nota uas esse purum in continentia coniugali, purius in uiduali, purissimum in uirginali. Talis fuit Paulus et ideo uas purissimum. [...] <1.2> Item debuit esse et fuit firmus et solidus per patientiam in tribulatione. Uas enim quod modica impulsione cadit et frangitur non est appreciabile. Cito enim funderetur contentum in eo. Eccl. .xx. gratie fatuorum effunderetur quia sequitur .xx. cor fatui quasi uas confractum. Paulus autem fuit firmus et solidus Ecc .i. de Symeone qui interpretatur pater, audiens merorem dicitur qui <i>uas auri solidum ornatum omni lapide pretioso.</i> Ita enim fuit Paulus qui multas angustias sustinuit, multas comminationes meroris et doloris audiuit et tamen firmus, fortis et solidus fuit quia uiam veritatis non dereliquit. Unde ipse de se ait .Ro. viii. quis nos separabit, quasi dicat per persecutiones et angustias, a caritate Christi tribulatio et cetera, quasi dicat non. Unde patet quod gratia Dei plenus fuit. Uas enim uacuum crepat ad ignem, plenum stat. Ecc..xxx. .viii. uas figuli probat fornax et cetera et in hoc patet quod multi sunt uacui gratia Dei qui modicam contumeliam uel minimam audientes crepant se uindicare uolentes et sonant in contumeliam prorumpentes impatientiam suam demonstrant et ita franguntur ad ignem ut uas uacuum. Ps. tamquam <i>uas figuli confringes eos</i> quasi dicat permittes confringi. Nota ut uas figuli quod restauratur quod non est enim a Deo subtilis qui sciat religare uas figuli plenus enim leditur. Sic multi sunt indignantes et superbi quanto plus corrigantur tanto plus deteriorantur. Gen. .xx. sic conteram populum istum sicut conterritur uas figuli quod non iterum restauratur. <1.3> Item debuit esse et fuit clarus et pulchrus in conuersione propter pulcritudinem et claritatem cyphi uinum amatur et propter honestatem predicatoris citius recipitur predicatio. Ideo docuit quod esset resplendens sicut dicit beatus Iohannes in Apocalypse et loquitur de luna qua a sole lumen recipit sicut Paulus a Christo illuminatur et noctem, id est mundum peccatorum, illuminans et sic fuit quasi luna quia antiquitus clerici et prelati splendebant exemplo bone conuersionis et hoc uoluit Dominus. Unde sic luceat lux uestra coram hominibus ut uideant opera uestra bona Mt .vii. sed certe modo non lucent sed fecent alios corrumpentes ut candela de sepe. Unde non sunt uasa splendentia sed obscura quod deflens ecclesia in lamentationibus Ieremie	est in continentia coniugali, purius in uiduali, purissimum in uirginali. Talis fuit beatus Paulus. <1.2> Secundo requiritur quod sit firmum et solidum sic nos per patientiam et tribulatione. Uas enim quod modica impulsione cadit uel frangitur non est appreciabile quia cito effunderetur contentum, eccl. .xx. gratie fatuorum effunderetur et 21 cor fatui quasi uas confractum et omnem sapientiam non tenebit sed iustus quasi uas auri solidum. Sic Paulus in laboribus fuit. Nec tamen uiam ueritatis deseruit. Unde ro. quis nos separabit a caritate Christi. Unde patet quod plenus gratia Dei fuit. Uas enim uacuum frangitur ad ignem sed plenum stat, eccl. 24 uasa figuli probat fornax et homines iustos temptatio tribulationis et quia multi ad modicam iniuriam crepant uolentes se uindicare. Patet quod uacui sunt, ideo ps. tanquam uas figuli confringes eos. Nota quod non est religator ita subtilis si uitatur religare uas fictile quod plus non letatur sic multi indignantes ita sunt superbi quod quanto plus corriguntur tanto plus deteriorantur. Iere 30 si conterram populum istum dicit Dominus sicut conteritur uas figuli quod non ultra restauratur. <1.3> Tertio requiritur quod sit clarum et pulchrum quia propter hoc liquor contentus amatur. Sic propter honestatem predicatoris, predicatio citius recipitur ideo eccl. 43 uas castrorum in excelsis in firmamento celi resplendens et cetera et loquitur de luna que a sole lumen recipit. Sic omnis sancti Mt. .v. luceat lux uestra coram hominibus et cetera. Sed certes modo predicatorum non lucent sed fetent alios corrumpentes ut candela extincta quod deflet, Iere 34 fili Syon inclinati amitti auro puro quomodo reputati sunt in uasa testes opus manuum figuli que uasa obscura sunt respectu a meorum sed hoc est quia non bene includuntur per sensuum clausio contra illicita. Ciphus enim discoopertus in loco publico colligit pulueres et sordes, num. 19 uas quod non habet operculum immundum erit. Item quia non terguntur, obscurantur. Terguntur in confessione .i. Thes. .4. hec est uoluntas Dei sanctificatio uestra ut abstineatis uos a fornicatione ut sciat unusquisque uas suum possidere in sanctificationem. <1.4> Quarto requiritur quod sit sanum et incorruptum. Sic predicator doctrinam suam communicando et propinando. Uas enim quod corrumpit liquorem repudiale est .4. reg. .ii. afferte uas nouum et mittite in illud sal, sed multi sunt ut uas apimars et cusuterz non heretici qui increpatores diffamant, Ysa. 37 fraudulentum uasa pessima sunt. Paulus autem talis non fuit ideo dicitur electi omnis sapiens enim eligit uas solidum, mundum, clarum et sanum ad uinum ponendum.
---	--

Tren. .iii. ait fili Syon incliti amitti auro. Primo quomodo reputati sunt in uasa testea scilicet qui primo clari modo obscuri, aurum enim clarum est testea obscura et certe quia non claudentur per sensuum in inclinationem contra illicita. Ciphus enim si in loco publico ponatur discoopertus colligit pulueres et sordes Num. .xxx. uas quod non habuit operculum immundum erit. Item sicut uasa non tersa obscurantur unde sicut in sero secundo cyphum tergere facis ut sit clarus. Sic animam per confessionem semel in septimana tergere debet ab hiis que minus bene in septimana perpetrasti. Prima Thessal. .iiii. hec est uoluntas Dei sanctificatio uestra ut sciat unusquisque uestrum uas suum possidere in sanctificatione et cetera. <1.4> Item debuit esse et fuit sanus et incorruptus doctrinam sane conuersando et propinando. Uas enim quod corrumpit liquorem repudiale est .iiii. Regum .ii. igitur afferte uas nouum et mittite in illud sal. Sal scilicet sapientie et discretionis conseruans a corruptione ut sal. Sic multi sunt ut uas ire. Ire in interitum et multi alii inreparationes sibi diffamantes. Ysa .xxxii. fraudenti uasa pessima sunt, non fuit autem Paulus talis.	
SERMO XIV	LAUS PERFECTA (F. 60VB)
<4> Perfecta enim laus tria requirit <4.1> conditionem circa laudantem quod scilicet sit bonus et uerus. Laus enim ribaldorum non est honorificata Eccl. .ix. non est speciosa laus in ore peccatoris. Cum ergo omnis homo sit mendax et peccator secundum illud Prouer. <i>quis potest dicere mundum est cor meum</i> et cetera quasi dicat nullus. Nullus autem est bonus et uerus unde patet quod perfectio laudis notatur a parte laudantis ibi <u>in Domino</u>. <4.2> Item perfecta laus requirit conditionem circa tempus ut tempore debito sit laudatio. Laus enim de presenti non est segura secundum illud Gregorius lauda primo periculum perdita securum et hoc est quod dicitur Ecc. .xi. ante mortem ne laudes hominem quem et quam ita notatur perfectio laudis a parte temporis ibi <u>laudabitur</u> quod est uerbum de futuro. <4.3> Item perfecta laus requirit conditionem debitam circa rem laudatam. Temporalia enim et corporalia cum sint transitoria laude digna non sunt. Eccl. ne laudes hominem in specie sua quasi dicat non laudes temporalem prosperitatem. Unde Iob dicit sit illa solitaria nec laude digna. Cum igitur in homine non sit aliquid quod non sit transitorium et corporale nisi anima et ideo perfectio laudis notatur a parte rei commendate quod notatur ibi <u>anima mea</u>.	<4> Laus perfecta tria requirit <4.1> scilicet conditionem circa laudantem, scilicet quod sit bonus et uerus. Laus enim ribaldorum et mendacium non est honorifica, ecc. .xv. non est speciosa laus in ore peccatoris. <4.2> Item conditionem circa tempus in quo sit laudatio. Laus enim de presenti non est segura, eccl. .xv. ante mortem non laudes hominem quem quam. <4.3> Item conditionem circa rem laudatam. Temporalia enim et corporalia cum sint transitoria laude digna non sunt, eccl. .xi. non laudes uirum in specie sua quasi dicat non laude temporalem prosperitatem unde Iob 3 dixit sic nox illa solitaria nec laude digna et cetera.
SERMO XIV	LAUS UANA TRIPLEX (F. 60VB)
<4.1> Nota igitur quod per primum excluditur laus uana que est triplex. Est enim turpis et ignominiosa, inutilis uilis et perniciosa.	<4.1> Laus uana triplex est scilicet turpis et ignominiosa, inutilis et dampnosa, uilis et periculosa.

<4.1.1> Prima sumitur ex inordinatione ad Deum quando scilicet ipsum laudamus indebite. <4.1.2> Secunda ex inordinatione ad proximum quando ipsum laudamus adulatorie. <4.1.3> Tertia ex inordinatione ad seipsum qua quis se laudat presumptuose. <4.1.1> Est igitur laus ignominiosa qua quis Deum laudat ore tantum et non opere ; describitur enim in ps. laus Dei debita dante <i>Deo nostro sit iocunda decoraque laudatio</i>. Nota quod ibi tria notantur quia debemus Deum tripliciter laudare corde ibi <u>iocunda</u>, ore ibi <u>laudatio</u>, opere ibi <u>decora</u>. [...] <4.1.1.3> Item debet esse laus decora quod est bene concordans os et manus. Exemplum dum enim homines duo cantant equali tono insimul pulcher est cantus si tamen quis quod laudat ore implens opere unde prosa, uoce uita non discordet cum autem uox est alta et manus infima discordant et turpis est cantus. Sic est qui celestia et alta predicat uel cantat et terrena et carnalia operatur psalmo <i>posuerunt in celum os suum</i> et cetera. Talibus dici potest : tu discordas turpis est laus et cantus tuus. Ideo dicitur ecc. .xv. <i>non est speciosa laus in ore peccatoris</i>. Uere non speciosa, sed est turpis et ignominiosa. Uerecundari enim debent milites tremebundi et auari, strenuitatem et largitatem aliorum militum recitare. Sic tales patientiam martyrum laudant et predicant et uix unam contumeliam patienter sustinent, abstinentiam confessorum commendant et tamen Lazaro commendant, paupertatem apostolorum commendant et tamen penuriam aliquam sustinere nolunt. Tales similes sunt hyrundinis qui irandis strenuitatem militum commendant et numquam tyrocinium uel bellum intrant sed in herimam professi sunt Eccl. <i>noli esse citatus in signa tua et remissus operibus tuis</i>. Nota quod trutanni et claudi loquacissimi esse consueuerunt. Sic tales de obedientia ualde bene loquuntur et tamen mente claudicant quia non uadunt nisi quo uolunt. Similiter de operibus uirtutum et tamen manus tractas habent quia nihil uel parum operantur sed in delectatione et gulatione uiuunt. Natura manus dedit in quibus ponat primo cibum quem debet ponere in os ut patet in singulis, sed ore cum cibum accipiunt ita ordinauit quod primo accepit manu quod in os ponit ad innuendum quod nihil debet ponere per predicationem et ammonitionem et psalmodiam et laudem in ore quod non accipit in manu per operationem, unde Eccl. quod manus habet cibatur ceteros et hoc facit saluator noster qui fuit exemplum prelatorum et doctorum act. .i. <i>cepit Iesus facere et docere</i> et hoc significatum fuit Iudit ubi illi qui bibebant aqua fluxu publice reprobati sunt, manus ad aqua proicere est sacram scripturam. Primo habere in opere quam in ore.	<4.1.1> Laus turpis et ignominiosa quando quis laudat domini ore tantum et non opere. Unde ps. posuerunt in celum os suum et lingua eorum transiit in terra. <4.1.1.3> Unde in prosa uoce uita non discordet. Uerecundari enim debent milites tremebundi et auari, strenuitate et largitate aliorum militum recitare. Sic tales patientiam martyrum laudant et predicant et uix unam contumeliam patienter sustinent, abstinentiam confessorum commendant et tamen laute comedere uolunt, paupertatem apostolorum exaltant et tamen penuriam aliquam sustinere nolunt. Tales sunt similes hyrellis qui strenuitatem militum commendant et numquam tyrocinium uel bellum intrant sed in heremiam professi sunt. Nota quod trutanni claudi et contracti loquacissimi esse consueuerunt. Sic tales de obedientia ualde bene loquantur et tam mente claudi sunt. Similiter de operibus uirtutum et tamen manus contractas habent. Quia nihil parum operantur [61ra] cum tamen natura contrarium doceat que hominem ita ordinauit quod primo accipit manu quod in ore ponit ad innuendum quod nihil debet ponere in per predicationem et admonitionem quod non accipiat in manu per operationem, eccl. .xxx. quod in manu habes ciba ceteros. <4.1.2> Item est laus inutilis et dampnosa qua quis laudat aliquando adulatorie, Ysa. 3 et erunt qui beneficient populum istum et qui beatificantur precipitati. Qui enim socii sunt in culpa debent esse et in pena. Adulatores enim socii sunt in culpa cum eam palliant et celant. Mitra enim tigniosi scabie et putredine ipsius capitis fedatur et cauda aliquis posteriora tergens inquinatur. Ideo Ysa. 3 disperdet Dominus capud et caudam id est illum qui principaliter peccauit et illum qui peccatum adulando celauit. <4.1.3> Tertia laus est uilis et perniciosa qua quis laudat seipsum presumptuose, prou. 18 laudet te alienus et non os tua, extraneus et non labia tua. Talis enim in tribus offendit, seipsum ledit, proximum ad iurgia allicit, In Deum delinquit. Seipsum ledit, gratiam enim si quam habet perdit. Uas enim plenum uino si foramen habet apertum euacuatur et cor gratia plenum si aperiatur os ad sui iactantiam gratia priuatur. Exemplum de coruo qui quando ad petitionem uulpis cantauit caseum amisit ; eccl. .xx. gratie fatuorum effundentur. Immo uidetur quod tales bona que habent non habent nisi ad uendendum pro laude humana. Mercatores enim merces uenales ad fenestras ponunt. Tales autem ad fenestram oris sui bona que habent ponunt. Unde quod sint uenalia ostendunt. Item proximum ad iurgia allicit, prou. 18 qui se iactat et dilatat iurgia concitat. Item in Deum delinquit cum sibi appropriat quod Dei est scilicet esse actorem boni, Iob 31 si osculatus sum manuum ore mea quod est iniquitas maxima et
--	--

<4.1.2> Laus turpis et ignominiosa et etiam laus inutilis et dampnosa qua quis laudat aliquem adulatorem Eccl. qui dereliquerunt legem, quia et circa legem antiquam et tam faciunt circa nouamque in Mt. dicitur <i>si peccauerit in te frater tuus corripe eum in te et ipsum solum</i> et cetera. Correctio autem adulationi est contraria. [...] Qui enim socii sunt in culpa debent esse et in pena. Adulatores enim socii sunt in culpa cum eam palpant et celant sicut membra scabiosi scabie et putredine ipsius capitis fedentur et causa aliis et genua fecibus inquinantur. Ideo Ysa .iii. disperdat Dominus caput et caudam id est illum qui principaliter peccauit et illum qui peccatori celanda adulauit hec laus inutilis et dampnosa. <4.1.3> Tertia laus est inutilior et perniciosa qua quis laudat seipsum presumptuose. De qua in ecclesiastico <i>laudet te alienus et non os tuum, extraneus et non labia tua.</i> Talis enim in tribus offendit seipsum ledit, proximum ad conuicia allicit, in Deum delinquit. Seipsum ledit gratiam enim si quam homo perdit. Uas enim plenum uino si foramen habet euacuatur et cor gratia plenum si aperiat os ad sui iactantiam ipsa gratia priuatur. Exemplum de coruo qui quando ad petitionem uulpi cantauerit caseum amisit Eccl. <i>gratie fatuorum effundentur.</i> Immo uidetur quod tales bona que habent non habeant nisi ad uendendum pro gratia uana et laude mundana. Sutores enim sotulares quos habent uenales ad fenestras ponunt et alii mercatores merces suas ad fenestras non ponunt nisi quas habent uenales. Tales autem ad fenestras oris sui bona que habent ponunt. Unde quod sicut uenalia ostendunt Eze. .xxviii. Item proximum ad conuitia trahet, Ecc. qui se iactat et dilatat iurgia concitat. Item in Deum quod sibi appropriat quod Dei est et se actorem boni sui quod Deus fecit. Iob .xxxi. <i>si osculatus sum manum in ore meo quedam est iniquitas maxima et negotiatio contra altissimum.</i> Manum osculari ore opus est suum per iactantiam laudare et dicitur iniquitas maxima magna est quod laudet quod non est laudandum. Unum enim putridum et corruptum in nulla curia laudatur. Isa. .lxiii. <i>omnis iustitie nostre quasi pannus menstruate.</i> Dicitur enim romanice locutione pueri dare de corde paste nisi gristel golaude non sunt digne. Maior quia sibi attribuit quod non est attribuenda. Bonitas enim littere non calamo, sed scriptori attribuenda est et decor artificis domus non securi. Deus autem artifex est bonorum nostrorum et scriptor bonarum predicationum et ideo dicitur in ecclesiastico: <i>in manu artificis opera laudabuntur.</i> Maxima quia Deo aufert quod suum est scilicet	negotiatio contra altissimum, manum osculari ore est opus suum per iactantiam laudare et dicitur iniquitas maxima. Magna enim est quia laudat quod non est laudandum. Unum enim corruptum et putridum in nulla curia laudatur, Ysa. 64 quasi pannus menstruate omnis iustitie uestre. Dicitur enim ke l'ien ne peut faire de orde paste nec gastel. Maior quia sibi attribuit quod non esttribuendum. Bonitas enim littere non calamo sed scriptori attribuenda est et decor domus artificis non securi. Deus autem artifex est bonorum nostrorum et scriptor bonarum predicationum et lectionum et ideo dicitur eccl. .ix. in manu artificum opera laudabuntur. Maxima quia domino aufert quod suum est, auctoritatem scilicet boni cum tamen dicat Ysa 16 omnia opera nostra operatus es nobis Domine et sequitur et negotiatio contra altissimum quia negat Deum esse actorem bonorum operum.
---	--

Deum causam esse omnis boni. In hoc enim quod si dicat bonum a se uel iustam causam esse ueram ipsius boni id est Deum excludit. Sed in Isa. omnia opera nostra operatus es in nobis Domine et ideo sequitur et negotiatio contra Deum altissimum quia negat Deo gloriam scilicet uel ipsum esse auctorem de quo se iactat. In hoc autem quod dicit <u>Dominus</u> excluditur triplex laus uana.	
SERMO XIV	LAUDATUR QUIS MULTIPLICITER (F. 60VA)
<4.2> Sequitur laudabitur. Solent pugiles laudari quando socios suos audaciter impugnant et inuadunt. Sic laudabilis est Iohannes quia Herodem et Herodiadem duris increpationibus audaciter impugnavit Prou. qui arguunt laudabuntur et cetera. Et de hoc laudauit eam Dominus quando dixit hominem mollibus uestitum quasi dicat non adulationibus sed increpationibus ornatum. Item de prudentia et discretione sicut solent magistri laudari cum bene sciunt. Sic fuit Iohannes commendabilis quia et futura preuidit et ueritatem de Christo agnouit Eccl. uir sapiens replebitur benedictionibus et uidentes laudabunt. Item de constantia et fidelitate. Sicut miles qui instanter fructum dominis suis adherent commendantur. Sicut commendabilis fuit Iohannes qui nec nimis nec tormentis a ueritate que Deus est potuit euelli. Ideo sapiens uir fidelis multum laudabitur et de hoc commendauit eum Dominus cum dixit arundinem uento agitatam quasi dicat non sed stabilem et firmum. Commendatus ergo fuit munditia et uirtute quia ut dictum est: Herodem et Herodiadem audacter increpauit secundum illud quod est dictum qui arguunt laudabuntur	Laudatur quis ex audacia et uirtute ut pugiles quando audaciter socios impugnant et inuadunt et hoc est perfectio irascibilis, Prou. 14 qui arguunt laudabuntur et super ipsos ueniet benedictio. Item ex sapientia et prouisione ut magistri et doctores cum bene sciunt alios regere et hoc est perfectio rationalis, Eccl. 39 uir sapiens inplebitur benedictionibus et uidentes illum laudabunt. Primo modo laudatur arguens peccatores, secundo modo laudantur longinqua et futura preuidentes. Item ex constantia et fidelitate ut serui et milites qui firmiter dominis suis adherent, Prou. 18 uir fidelis multum laudabitur. Qui autem festinat ditari non erit innocens. Sic laudantur Deo inseparabiliter adherentes. Sic laudauit Dominus beatum Iohannem, Mt. .xi. quid existis in desertum uidete arundinem uento agitatam [60vb] quasi dicat non. Sed firmum et stabilem, ecce fidelitas set quid existis uidere hominem mollibus uestitum quasi dicat non sed penitentie et austeritate deditum, ecce arguendi audacitas sed qui existis uidere prophetam. Etiam dico uobis plusquam prophetam quasi dicat non solum futura preuidit sed etiam presentia demeruit. Ecce cogitationis excellens dignitas et sic potuit dicere illud ps. In domino non in adulatoribus ; ps. Laudatur peccator in desideriis anime sue. Laudabitur non medio sed in futuro. Pugil enim non debet laudari nisi prius optenta uictoria, Eccl. .xi. ante mortem non laudes quemquam quoniam in filiis suis agnoscitur uir. Anima mea non pulchritudo, non diuitie ut canis incantatoris, Eccl. .xi. non laudes uirum in specie sua neque spernas hominem in uisu suo.
SERMO XIV	CANUM QUATUOR GENERA (F. 14RA)
<4.2.3> Et nota quia sunt canes nobiles et uenatici qui ad homines non currunt nec latrant sed ad bestias. Sed sunt mastini uillani qui non ad bestias sed ad homines currunt et latrant. Sic tales ad homines scilicet rationabiliter uiuentes currunt et latrant Ph. .iii. uidete canes uidete malos operarios. Cum enim aliquis uenit ad domum ubi sunt tales canes dicitur ei cauere a canibus id est detractoribus qui ibi sunt. Et nota quod isti uocantur mali operarii. Si enim mali operarii et uilissimi habuntur qui non nisi feces in cophinis et manibus attractant. Multo fortius isti qui sunt feces et peccatum magis apud Deum facientia quam feces nunc manibus non cophinis sed in ore proprio	Canum quatuor sunt genera. Quidam sunt uenatici nobiles qui uenantur et currunt ad feras. Hii sunt predicatories qui capiunt et currunt et querunt peccatores. Ps. Conuertentur ad uesperam id est nostris temporibus in quibus fines seculorum deuenerunt et famem patientur ut canes qui patiuntur bolismum et numquam satiantur. Sic non debent predicatories satiari [14rb] de conuersione peccatorum. Mt. .v. beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt iustitiam scilicet peccatorum iustificationem et circuibunt ciuitatem ut canes bestiam per tribulos et spinas et dumeta quantumcumque laboriose querunt et nota quod canis in ore similis tria officia habent que debet habere predicator in lingua medicinam ad santiatos ps. Lingua ca. Tu . ex in inni ab ipso ; prou.

semper habent Psalmo os tuum habundauit malitia et cetera. Rogemus Domino et cetera.	.xii. lingua sapientum est sanitas, uidentibus morsionem ad abstinatos, Iere. .xv. uisitabo super eos canes ad latrandum in faucibus latratum et clamorem ad pigros excitandos. Sed Ysa .lvi. dicitur speculatores eius ceci omnis canes mutinon ualentes latrare. Item sunt canes uillani ut mastini qui occurrunt ad homines uiatores. Quod faciunt detractores bonos conuiciantes et detrahentes que sibi non sunt familiares. Uotis uero suis percentes Phil. 3 uidete canes uidete operarios malos id est concauete a canibus et exponit glossa predicto modo. Et nota quod mali sunt operarii quia uilissimum officium exercent in ore suo peccata aliorum que sunt uiliora stercoribus habentes cum tamen mundificatores lacrimarum manibus suis et cophinis stercora portantes uilissimi habeantur. [...]
SERMO XVII	MIRABILIS DEUS (F. 69VA)
<3> [...] Sed quare laudandus est quia <i>mirabilis est in sanctis suis</i>. Tria enim facit in sanctis suis propter que laudandus est merito. Corpora sustinendo quia licet multum laborem et magna sollicitudo habeatur pro sustentatione corporum. Nihil tamen erit nisi Dominus sustentet Ps. memoriam fecit mirabilium suorum et cetera. Mirabile enim fuit quod manna .xl. annis filiis Israel ministravit animam letificando, quia in paupertate et dolore et flectu pro peccatis letificat nos uel est mirabile Iob. .x. saturatur afflictione et miseria et quasi ieenam propter superbiam me capies reuersusque mirabitur cruciatus. Mirabiliter gaudent cruciati et afflicti dicit glossa utrumque glorificatio Ps. confitebor tibi quia terribiler magnificatus es quo ad vindictam malorum mirabilia opera tua quo ad gloriam sanctorum. Exemplum si rex pauperem inuitasset ad mensam ad sedendum iuxta se mirabile esset, et Dominus uocat nos ad mensam suam pro modico labore. Mt. .xi. <i>uenite ad me qui laboratis et onerati estis</i>, onere scilicet penitentie, et <i>ego reficiam uos</i> eterna scilicet satietate, Luc. .xxii. <i>ego dispono uobis sicut disposuit mihi Pater meus regnum ut edatis et bibantis super mensam meam in regno meo</i> quod nobis concedat et cetera.	<3> Mirabilis est Deus in sanctis suis corpus sustentando, Ps. memoriam autem fecit mirabilium suorum misericors et miserator Dominus et cetera. Item animam iustificando, Iob .x. propter superbiam quasi leena capies me [69vb] reuersus quia mirabiliter me crucias. Item utraque glorificando, Ps. confitebor tibi quia terribiliter magnificatus es, quantum ad penam malorum. Mirabilia opera tua quantum ad gloriam bonorum.
SERMO XXI	UIRGA UTIMUR AD QUATUOR (F. 124VB)
Et nota quod triplex est uirga. Utimur enim uirga ad quatuor : <1.1.1> ad sustentandum ut uiatores, <1.1.2> ad flagellandum ut correctores, <1.1.3> ad ostendendum ut prepositi et magnates, <1.1.4> ad metiendum ut negociatores. <1.1.1> Secundum quod uirga utimur ad sustentandum, dicitur uirga potestas accipiendi necessaria. Mt. .vi. <i>Precepit eis ne quid tollerent in uia nisi uirgam tantum</i>, id est ut nisi necessaria acciperent in hoc mundo in quo sumus ut uiatores. [...]	Virga utimur ad quatuor : ad sustentandum et sic dicitur uirga potestas accipiendi necessaria, Mt. .vi. precepit Iesus ne quid tollere ut in uia nisi uirgam tantum id est quod nisi necessaria acciperent in hoc mundo in quo simus sicut uiatores. [125ra] uiatori autem quatuor sunt necessaria sicut dictum est supra. Secundo utimur uirga ad corripiendum ut prelati et doctores. Sic dicitur uirga correptionis prou. 19 uirga et correptio tribuit sapientiam et sepe accidit quod puer fugit uirgam et tamen sibi proficit. Sic inter prou. 14 noli subtrahere a puero disciplinam si enim percusseris eum uirga non morietur. Tu uirga percuties eum et animam eius de inferno liberabis.

<1.1.2> Item utimur uirga ad corripiendum, ut prelati et doctores, sic dicitur uirga correctionis. Prou. .xxix. <i>Virga et correctio, tribuit sapientiam</i>, sed sepe fit quod puer odit uirgam et tamen sibi proficit, sic multi increpationes et tamen prosunt. Prou. .xxii. <i>Noli subtrahere a puero disciplinam; si enim eum percusseris uirga non morietur, tu percuties eum uirga et animam eius liberabis de inferno</i>. Uidetur enim uirga torta in aqua et tamen ita non est. Ps. <i>Virga directionis uirga regni tui</i>. Et nota quod quatuor sunt in usu istius uirge. <1.1.2.1> Primo quis utitur, quod sit sapiens: baculus in manu stulti periculosus est. Numeri .xxiii. <i>Orietur stella ex Iacob et uirga consurget in Israel</i>. <1.1.2.2> Secundo qua intentione utitur. Lignum enim male radicum non fructificat. Ysa. .xi. <i>Egredietur uirga de radice Iesse</i>, et cetera. <1.1.2.3> Tertio quomodo utitur. Non enim carnifices sed pastores et medici instituuntur secundum Augustinum. Ps. <i>Uisitabo in uirga iniquitates eorum et in uerberibus peccata eorum</i> et cetera. Ideo Exo. .xxi. <i>Qui percusserit seruum uel ancillam uirga</i> et cetera, si mortuus fuerit, <i>criminis reus erit</i>. <1.1.2.4> Quarto in quos utitur. Qui enim plus bibit uinum plus soluere debet, et obstinatus plus debet corrigi quam ille qui non est. Ysa. .xxviii. <i>In uirga excucietur gyth</i>, et cetera. <1.1.3> Item utitur ad significandum ut prepositi et nobiles, sic crux Christi. Hester .iii. Assuerus habebat in manu <i>uirgam auream</i>, id est crucis passionem et caritatem, et solum intuebatur ad quos uirgam extendebat in signum <i>clementie</i>; sic qui passionem eius tangunt imitando saluabuntur. Eze. .iiii. <i>Qui habebant signum thau liberati sunt</i>, sicut domus templariorum et religiosorum propter signum crucis. Et nota quod illius uirge summitatem osculata est Hester, id est finem penitentiae; et licet actus durus et amarus sit, tamen finis gloriosus est. Unde fructus a Domino appellatur quia primo sunt acerbi, postea dulces et delictiosi. Mt. .iii. <i>Facite dignos fructus penitentiae</i>. Exemplum de parturiente et partu Io. .xvi. <i>Mulier cum parit</i> etc. Nota quod quatuor in hac uirga sunt attendenda: quia est consolatiua, illuminatiua, accensiua, prouocatiua. <1.1.3.1> Consolatiua ad patienter sustinendum. Consideratio enim passionis Christi inter passiones huius mundi consolatur. Ps. <i>Virga tua et baculus tuus ipsa me consolata sunt</i>. Nimietas enim doloris in capite uel in corde obliuisci facit paruum dolorem digiti. Exo. .xv. <i>Lignum dulcorauit aquas</i>. <1.1.3.2> Item illuminatiua ad uerum cognoscendum. .I. Regum .xiiii. <i>Ionathas uirga</i>	Uirga enim uidetur torta in aqua que tamen recta est, sic hic ps. uirga correctionis uirga regni tui. In usu istius uirge quatuor sunt consideranda : <1.1.2.1> primo quis ea utitur quia sapiens. Baculus enim in manu stulti periculosus est. Num. 14 orietur stella ex iacob et consurget uirga ex Israel. <1.1.2.2> Secundo qua intentione utitur. Lignum enim male radicum non fructificat, Ysa, .xi. egredietur uirga de radice Iesse et cetera. <1.1.2.3> Tertio quomodo utitur. Non enim carnifices sed pastores et medici instituuntur secundum Augustinus ps. uisitabo in uirga iniqui et in uerberibus peccata eorum. Misericordiam autem meam non disperga ab eo ideo Exo. .xxi. qui percusserit seruum suum uel ancillam uirga et mortuus fuerit criminis reus erit. <1.1.2.4> Quarto in quos utitur. Qui enim plus bibit plus soluere debet. Ysa 18 in uirga excutietur Gith et timimum in baculo. <1.1.3> Tertio utimur uirga ad significandum ut prepositi et nobiles. Sic crux Christi, Hester. 3 Assuerus habebat in manu uirgam auream id est crucis passionem ex caritate assumptam et solum ueniebant ad quos uirgam extendebat in signum clementie. Sic qui passionem eius tangunt imitando saluabuntur. Eze. .ix. qui habebant signa thau liberati sunt. Sicut domus templariorum et religiosorum propter signum crucis. Et nota quod illius uirge summitatem obsculata est Hester id est finem penitentiae et si enim principium penitentiae et actus durus et amarus sit, finis est gloriosus. Unde a Domino fructus appellantur qui primo sunt acerbi post dulces et delicti. Mt. 3 facite dignos fructus penitentiae. Exemplum de parturiente et partu, Io. 16 mulier cum parit tristi et cetera. Nota quod in hac uirga quatuor sunt attendenda : <1.1.3.1> primo quod est consolatiua ad patienter sustinendum. Intinctio enim passionis Christi inter passiones huius mundi consolatur, ps. uirga tua et baculum tuus nimietas enim doloris in capite uel in corde facit obliuisci paruum dolorem digiti, Exo. .xv. lignum dulcorauit aquas. <1.1.3.2> Secundo est illuminatiua ad uerum cognoscendum, .i. reg. .14. Ionathas uirga sua quam tenebat in manu tetigit fauism et gustauit et illuminati sunt oculi eius. Fauism ubi est duplex natura cera et mel. Christus est ubi diuinitas et humanitas, uirga passio Christi qui ergo considerat quantum Christus passus est et gustat masticando et meditando. Illuminatur quantum oporteat ipsum pati si uult saluari. Extraneus enim ueniens in tabernam si uidet indigenas uinum emere ad duos solidos, docetur quantum oportet eum soluere si uult de uino gustare ps. disciplina tua ipsa me docebit. Fel enim Tobiam illuminauit quem stercora calida hyrundinum excecauerunt.
---	---

<i>sua quam tenebat in manu tetigit fauum et gustauit et illuminati sunt oculi eius. Fauus ubi est cera et mel, Christus ubi est deitas et humanitas, uirga passio Christi. Qui ergo considerat quantum Christus passus est, gustat masticando et meditando, illuminatur ad cognoscendum quantum oportet ipsum pati si uult saluari. Extraneus enim ueniens in tabernam si uidet indigenas uinum emere ad duos solidos discet quantum ipsum oportet soluere si uult de uino gustare. Ps. <i>Disciplina tua ipsa me docebit.</i> Fel Tobiam illuminauit, quem stercora hyrundinum calida excecauerant.</i> <1.1.3.3> Item accensiuia ad Deum diligendum. ludicum .vi. <i>Angelus uirga tetigit carnes et sacrificium et accendit ignis</i> etc. Non enim est lignum ita frigidum uel aquosum quin succendatur si ponatur in fornace, nec cor ita tepidum in amore Dei, si ipsum ponatur in fornace, id est consideret quantum amauit nos Christus in passione, quod non accendatur ad Deum diligendum. Ps. <i>carbones succensi sunt ab eo.</i> <1.1.3.4> Item prouocatiua ad lugendum. Numeri .xx. <i>Cum eleuasset manum, percussit uirga bis silicem et fluxerunt aque largissime.</i> Uirga crux Christi in qua duo ligna quasi bis percussit. Intuitio synapis attrite prouocat ad fletum. De Christo autem dicitur Mt. .xiii. quod est granum synapis quod est <i>minimum omnibus</i> oleribus. Glossa: pro scandalo crucis consideremus eius confusionem et mirum est si non lugeamus compaciendo, condolendo. Unde dicitur quod Adam et Eua Abel planxerunt centum annis quia ipsi fuerant causa sue mortis. Et certe plora quantumcumque poteris, sustine, dole, non uenies ad centesimam partem que Christus pro te sustinuit. Ps. <i>In diluuiio aquarum multarum ad eum non approximabunt.</i> <1.1.4> Item utitur uirga ad metiendum panni uenales mensurantur uirga et terrarum partes; sic est exemplum sanctorum uirga. Apoc. .xi. <i>Datus est mihi calamus similis uirge et dictum est mihi: Surge, metire templum et altare et adorantes in eo</i>, id est prelatos et contemplatiuos antiquos, et si hoc facerent confunderetur quilibet status contraria enim iuxta se et cetera. Turpitudine enim iuxta pulcritudinem plus confunditur, paruitas iuxta magnitudinem et quilibet defectus iuxta suum oppositum plus apparet. Eze. .xliii. <i>Tu autem, fili, ostende domui Israel templum et confundantur ab omnibus iniquitatibus suis, metiantur fabricam et erubescant ex omnibus que fecerunt.</i> Et nota quod dicit atrium quod est foris ne metiaris, id est non consideres uitam malorum ut tu excuses et eos imiteris. Uerax exemplum queris et bonum ad corrigendum	<1.1.3.3> Tertio est accensiuia ad Deum diligendum. Iudith .vi. angelus uirga tetigit carnes et sacrificium et ascendit ignis et cetera. Non est lignum ita frigidum uel aquosum quod non succendatur si ponatur in camino uel fornace nec cor ita tepidum in amore Dei si ponatur in fornace id est si consideret quantum nos Deus amauit in passione, quod non accendatur in eius dilectione, ps. carbones succensi sunt ab eo. <1.1.3.4> Quarto est prouocatiua ad lugendum. Num. .xx. cum eleuasset Moyses manum percussit bis silicem et fluxerunt aque largissime. Bis dicit quia in cruce duo ligna fuerunt. Intuitio enim grani synapis cum tunditur, prouocat ad fletum compatiendo et dolendo. Sic Christi passio que comparatur grano synapis prouocat fletum compatiendo et dolendo. Dicitur quod Adam et Eua planxerunt Abel .c. annis quia fuerunt causa sue mortis et certes dole et plora quantum poteris non uenies ad centesimam partem dolorum quos Christus pro te sustinuit, ps. in diluuiio aquarum multarum ad eum non approximabunt. <1.1.4> Quarto utuntur homines uirga ad metiendum ut negotiatores. Panni enim uenales uirga mensurantur et terrarum partes et cetera. Sic extra sanctorum dicuntur uirga, apo. .xi. surge et metue templum et altare et adorantes in eo id est prelatos contemplatiuos actiuos antiquos si hoc facerent confunderentur omnes status quia contraria iuxta se posita magis elucescunt et omnis defectus iuxta suum contrarium magis apparet. Eze. 43 tu autem fili hominis ostende domui Israel templum et confundantur ab omnibus iniquitatibus suis. Metiantur fabricam et erubescant ex omnibus que fecerunt. Et nota quod dicit atrium quod est foris non metiaris id est non consideres uitam malorum [125va] ut te excuses si eos imiteris. Uerax enim exemplar et bonum quereres ad corrigendum librum tuum, unde in lege filii Israel quod Domino offerebant pondere sanctuarii mensurabant ; sed .ii. reg. 14 Absalon pondere publico capillos suos ponderabat, id est mundana secundum iudicium peccatorum estimabat.
---	---

librum tuum, unde in ueteri lege filii Israel qui Domino offerebant pondere sanctuarii mensurabant ; sed II Regum .xiii. Absalom <i>pondere publico capillos suos ponderabat</i>, id est mundana secundum iudicium peccatorum estimabat, et cetera. Rogemus.	
SERMO XXI	UIATORI QUATUOR NECESSARIA (F. 121VA)
Uiatori enim quatuor sunt necessaria que sunt necessaria cuilibet in hoc mundo quia omnes sumus uiatores. <1.1.1.1> Primo, per que sit uia inquirat: est enim biuiosa. <1.1.1.2> Secundo, quod caute ponat pedem: est enim periculosa. <1.1.1.3> Tertio, quod expedite uadat: est enim longa. <1.1.1.4> Quarto, quod secum pauca accipiat: est enim arcta uia. <1.1.1.1> Debet enim primo inquirere de uia quousque ueniat ad iter furcatum. Sic est quod in hoc mundo ex una parte est uia cupiditatis, ex alia carnalitatis, ex alia dignitatis, ex alia tribulationis et paupertatis. Et ideo querendum est que sit uia harum recta. Iere. .vi. <i>Interrogate de semitis antiquis que sit uia bona et ambulate in ea.</i> Dicitur enim ke les uieles uoies doit l'en tenir, id est exempla antiquorum, non modernorum; ideo dicit <i>de semitis antiquis</i>. Et nota quod peregrini uias ubi sunt cruces et acerui lapidum tenent, alias dimittunt; sic uie austeritatis tenende sunt quia recta est uia. Act. <i>Per multas enim tribulationes enim oportet intrare in regnum celorum.</i> Uie ergo luxurie et cupiditatis dimittende sunt. Mt. .x. <i>In uiam gentium ne abieritis.</i> Nota quod mirabiliter est culpandus qui scienter uiam prauam et distortam uadit et rectam dimittit; sic multi peccatores scienter peccant, scientes quod uiam tortam incedunt. Iude .i. : <i>Ve hiis qui uiam Chaym incedunt et mercede Balaam effusi sunt.</i> Chaym enim ex certa malicia fratrem occidit, et Balaam, sciens et prudens ut ipse confitetur. Numeri xxii Balaam enim a uia ueritatis declinauit et cupiditate uictus consilium prauum dedit. <1.1.1.2> Secundo debet pedem caute ponere quia uia periculosa. Plenus enim est mundus laqueis dyaboli uel pedicis. Ps.: <i>In uia hac qua ambulabam absconderunt superbi laqueum mihi;</i> et ideo dum uiator scit laqueum uel pedicam esse in uia, diligenter attendit ne ponat pedem in laqueo uel pedica. Sic in omnibus que agimus cauendum est ne peccemus; si comedimus, quod non est ad delectationem sed ad necessitatem; si dormimus, non ut carnem nutriamus, sed ut Deo melius seruiamus, et cetera. Eph. .vi. <i>Uidete quomodo caute ambuletis.</i>	Uiatori quatuor sunt necessaria in hoc mundo. <1.1.1.1> Primo debet inquirere de uia, sicut homo qui uenit ad uiam furcatam. In isto autem mundo est ex una parte uia cupiditatis, ex alia uia carnalitatis, ex alia uia dignitatis, et alia paupertatis, tribulationis, etc., et ideo querendum que sit uia recta harum. Iere.VI: Interrogate de semitis antiquis. Et nota quod peregrini uiam ubi sunt cruces et acerui lapidum tenent et alias dimittunt. Sic uie austeritatum tenende quia recta est uia. Per multas enim tribulationes oportet intrare in regnum celi. Uie uero luxurie et cupiditatis dimittende sunt, Mt. X: In uiam gentium ne abieritis. Et nota quod mirabiliter sunt culpandi qui scienter uiam prauam uadunt, rectam relinquentes, Sic qui scienter peccant. Unde canonica Iude: Ve hiis qui in uiam Chaym abierunt et mercede Balaam effusi sunt. Chaym enim certa malitia fratrem occidit, et Balaam, sciens et prudens ut ipsemet confitetur, Num. 22, a uia ueritatis declinauit et cupiditate uictus consilium prauum dedit. <1.1.1.2> Secundo debet caute pedem ponere, quia uia periculosa. Mundus enim plenus est laqueis. Psalmista: In uia hac qua etc. Et ideo ut uiator quando scit laqueum uel pedicam in uia, diligenter attendit ne ponat pedem in laqueo, sic in omnibus que agimus cauendum est ne peccemus: si comedimus quod non ad delectationem sed ad necessitatem; si dormimus quod non ut carnem nutriamus sed ut Deo melius seruiamus, etc. Eph. V: Videte quomodo caute ambuletis. <1.1.1.3> Tercio debet expedite ire quia uia longa est, Prou. VII de Christo: Abiit uia longissima, et tempus breue est, et ideo non est sistendum in mundanis sed cito per penitenciam ad Deum currendum. luc. X: Neminem in uia salutaueritis, id est nullius rei amore uel familiaritate adhereatis ne inpediamini ire ad Deum. <1.1.1.4> Quarto non debet secum multa accipere quia uia arcta est. Quadriga enim onerata non bene uadit per semitam, sed dicitur Mt. VII: Arta est uia que ducit ad uitam. Ideo precepit Dominus Apostolis, Mc. VI, ne quid tollerent in uia nisi uirgam tantum, id est necessaria tantum acciperent, unde Apo. XII: Mulier amicta sole, lunam sub pedibus eius habebat, id est temporalia ad sustentationem accipiebat.

<1.1.1.3> Tertio expedite debet ire quia uia est longa: multum enim distat celum a terra. Prou. .vii. de Christo quando iuit ad celum dicitur <i>abiit uiam longissimam.</i> Et ideo uiator quando habet uiam longam ire et parum temporis expedite uadit et non sistit in taberna nec alibi; sic nec standum est in mundanis, sed cito ad Deum per penitentiam currendum est. Luc. .x. <i>Neminem salutaueritis in uia,</i> id est nullius rei amore familiaritatis adhereatis ne impediamini ire ad Deum. <1.1.1.4> Quarto non debet secum multa accipere quia arcta est uia. Quadriga enim honusta non bene uadit per semitam strictam, sed dicitur Mt. .iiii. <i>Arcta est uia que ducit ad uitam.</i> Ideo dicitur Marc. .vi. quod <i>nichil tollent in uia nisi uirgam,</i> id est necessaria tantum acciperent. Unde Apoc. .xii. <i>Mulier amicta sole habebat lunam sub pedibus,</i> id est ad sustentationem temporalia accipiebat. Sed nota quod multi habent longam uiam qui pro modica infirmitate diutius uolunt recreari, quidam graue qui melius procurantur; ideo I Thi. .vi. <i>Habentes alimenta,</i> et cetera.	
SERMO XXV	TIMENDUS EST DEUS (F. 115VA)
Timere debemus Deum propter potentiam quia humilis, propter sapientiam quia infallibilis, propter iustitiam quia inflexibilis. <2.1> Propter potentiam quia respectu omnium est plus enim timetur princeps qui plus potest nocere et banni eius ac precepta obseruantur et ideo cum principis terre non habeant potestatem nisi super corpora, Deus autem super animas plus omnibus principibus et regibus timendus est Deus Mt .x. nolite timere eos qui occidunt corpus animam autem non possunt occidere sed potius eum timete qui potest corpus et animam mittere in Iehennam. Et ideo banni et precepta Dei diligentius sunt obseruanda bannis principum quia sub pena amittendi corpus et animam et temporalia mandata sunt transgressores autem bannorum principum non possunt punire nisi in corpore uel catello ps. tu mandasti mandata tua custodiri nimis. Satis sub pena temporalium multum quia sub pena corporum sed nimis quia sub pena animarum. <2.2> Item propter sapientiam plus enim timetur paterfamilias offendi quando scitur quod nihil potest eum latere, talis est Christus Hebr. .iiii. <i>omnia nuda et aperta sunt oculis eius .iiii.</i> Regum. <i>timuerunt regem Salomonem uidentes sapientiam Dei</i> in illo. <2.3> Item propter iustitiam plus enim timent homines temporales malum facere in terra ubi iudices sciunt a iustitia nec prece nec pretio posse flecti. Talis erit Christus in iuditio prou. .vi. <i>furor et zelus uiri non parcat in die uindictae.</i>	Timendus est Deus propter tria : <2.1> propter potentiam quia respectu omnium potentissimus est. Plus enim timetur princeps qui plus potest nocere et banni eius et precepta melius obseruantur et ideo cum principes terre non habeant potestatem nisi super diuicias et corpora. Deus autem super hoc et super animam plus omnibus principibus est timendus. Mt. .x. nolite timere eos qui occidunt corpus animam autem non possunt occidere sed timete eum qui potest corpus et animam mittere in Iehennam. Ideo ps. tu mandasti mandata tua custodiri nimis satis sub pena temporali. Multum quia sub pena corporum sed nimis quia sub pena animarum. <2.2> Item propter sapientiam plus enim timetur paterfamilias offendi quando scitur quod nihil potest eum latere. Talis est Christus quia Hebr. .iiii. omnia nuda et aperta sunt contulis eius. Ideo 3 Reg. 3 timuerunt regem Salomonem id est Christum uidentes sapientiam Dei esse in illo. <2.3> Item propter iusticiam plus enim timent homines malefacere in terra iudicis quem sciunt a iustitia nec prece nec precio posse flecti talis erit Christus in iuditio. Prou. .vi. zelus et furor uiri non parcat in die uindictae nec nec acquiescet cuiusquam precibus nec suscipiet pro redemptione dominica plutima. Ideo ps. confige timore tuo carnes meas a iudiciis enim tuis timui.

Ideo ps. <i>confige timore carnes meas a iudiciis enim tuis timui.</i>	
--	--

Summa de Abstinencia, ms. Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale, 308

SERMO IV	DE UULGALI / DE ODIO UITE CARNALI / DE ODIO (318VA)
Dicitur uulgariter qui non dat quod amat non accipit illud quod optat. Unde qui non dat pro Deo quod amat in hac uita quod cupit non accipiet in futuro, qui autem quod amat pro Deo hoc exponit in futuro accipiet quod optauit [...] <5> Et notatur quod anima id est uita carnalis oditur bene et male. <5.1> Male enim oditur cum propter langorem uel paupertatem uel aliquem infortunium tedet aliquem uite sue et desiderat mortem, I Cor. .vii. <i>Nemo carnem suam odio habuit</i> id est ille qui est nemo. Dicitur enim de eo qui prauum cor habet quod est nemo et non homo, et sine dubio prauus cordis est et pauci sensus et nullius ualoris qui sibi tedet uiuere propter infortunia et langores. Sapienter enim non tedet commodum suum facere et profectum. Unde strenues milites non tedet tempus bellorum et tyrocinorum immo uellent quod aliud tempus non ueniret quia ibi sciunt se laudem et gloriam acquirere et certe in aduersitate patientes apud Deum laudem et gloriam acquirunt Ps. <i>Si exurgat aduersum me prelium in hoc ego sperabo.</i> Preterea infirmos non tedet tempus quod sue sanitati est congruum nec emplastra sustinere licet mordacia ex quibus se nouit recuperare sanitatem et certe ex tribulationibus carnalibus licet corporalibus recuperatur multotiens sanitas mentis Iob .v. <i>ipse uulnerat et medetur, percutit et sanat</i> glossa uulnerat carnem et sanat mentem. Preterea mercata et nundine non tedent cupidos mercatores quin ibi plusquam in aliis temporibus acquirunt et lucrantur et certe tribulationes patientibus diuitias spirituales acquirunt. Prouerbia .x. <i>benedictio Domini</i>, in tribulatione scilicet qua debet Deus benedici, sicut Iob <i>sit nomen Domini benedictum diuites facit</i> glossa hiis uirtutibus et in futuro omnibus bonis et <i>nunc satiabitur eis afflictio</i> et si modo satietur. Cardui enim et grana in campo sociantur sed cum ponuntur in horreum societas separatur, Apoc. .xx. absterget Deus omnem lacrimam et cetera. <5.2> Bene autem oditur anima, id est uita carnalis, cum usque ad internictionem uitiorum persequitur et mortificatur ut dicitur Luc. .xiii. <i>Qui non odit patrem et matrem et fratres et sorores adhuc autem et animam suam</i>, glossa in omni enim arte discipuli magistrum imitantur. Sed notatur quod	Sicut dicitur uulgariter qui non dat quod amat non accipit ille quod optat. Unde qui non dat pro Deo quod amat in hac uita quod cupit non accipiet in futura. Qui autem quod amat hic pro Deo exponit in futuro accipiet quod optauerit. Sicut dicitur Io. .ix. qui odit animam suam in hoc mundo in uitam eternam custodit eam et cetera. <5> Nota quod anima id est uita carnalis oditur bene et male. <5.1> Male oditur cum propter laborem uel paupertatem uel aliquod infortunium cedet aliquod uite sue et desiderat mortem cum tamen dicatur i. cor. .vii. <i>nemo carnem suam odio habuit</i> sapientem enim non tedet commodum suum facere et profectum unde strenuos milites non tedet tempus bellorum uel tyrocinii immo uellent quod aliud tempus non ueniret, quia ibi sciunt se laudem acquirere et gloriam. Et certes in aduersitatem patientes apud Deum laudem et gloriam magnam acquirunt. Ideo dicit Spiritus si exurgat aduersum me prelium in hoc exemplo sperabo. Preterea infirmos non tedet tempus quod sue infirmitati iuuat libenter enim sustinent amplastra [318vb] et mordacia et amara ex quibus se nouerint recuperare sanitatem et certe ex tribulationibus corporalibus recuperatur frequenter sanitas mentis. Iob .v. ipse uulnerat et medetur percutit et manus ejus sanabunt. Glossa, percutit carnem et sanat mentem. Preterea mercata et nundine non tedent cupidos mercatores quia plus quam in aliis temporibus acquirunt et lucrantur et certe tribulationes patientes diuitias spirituales acquirunt prou. .x. <i>benedictio Deo</i> id est tribulatio qua debet Deus benedici diuites facit, glossa hic uirtutibus et in futuro omnibus bonis et non sociabitur eis afflictio et si modo societur. Cardui enim urticae granis in campo sociantur. Sed cum ponuntur in horreo societas separatur. Apo. .ix. <i>absterget Deus</i> et cetera. <5.2> Bene autem oditur anima uel uita carnalis cum usque ad interemptionem uiciorum et mortificationem persequitur et mortificatur ut dicitur Lu. .xiii. qui non odit pa. Et ma. Et cetera. Glossa in omni arte discipuli magistrum imitantur. Sed nota quod quadrupliciter debet quis audire animam suam id est uitam carnalem <5.2.1> ut agricola granum qui mauult ipsum ad tempus perdere in terra et uentis et tempestatibus exponere quam in horreo reseruare. Si enim ipsum tantum amaret quod in horreo spem reseruaret,

quadrupliciter debet quis odire animam suam id est uitam carnalem : <5.2.1> ut agricola granum quod mauult ipsum ad tempore perdere in terra uentis et tempestatibus exponere quam in horreo reseruare. Si enim ipsum tantum amaret quod in horreo semper reseruaret nihil fructus faceret; sed putrefieret et corrumperetur. Sic qui tantum amat carnem suam ut in quiete et in deliciis eam utiliter seruare. Non ieiuniis et orationibus et talibus exponere nichil ex ea nisi corruptionem et peccatum habebit Mt. .xvi. <i>Qui uult animam suam saluam facere perdet eam: qui autem perdiderit animam suam propter me inueniet eam.</i> Glossa quasi dicat agricolae si frumentum seruas perdis si seminas renouas. Ideo dicitur Io. .xii. <i>nisi granum frumenti</i> et cetera. Si autem mortuum fuerit multum fructum affert, terra enim que quiescit et non colitur non nisi herbas nociuas affert cum uero colitur bonas affert, sic caro Prou. .xxviii. <i>Qui operatur terram</i> id est carnem ieiuniis et talibus <i>satiabitur panibus</i> glossa <i>qui sectatur otium in egestate erit.</i> <5.2.2> Item pugnator clipeum diligit et carum habet, sed non in tantum quod ipsum non exponat ictibus ut se seruet illesum. Sic caro aduersitatibus et periculis exponenda est ut anima seruetur illesa et indampnis, Act. .xx. <i>uincula et tribulationes Jerosolymis me monent,</i> id est expectant, <i>sed nihil eorum uereor nec facio animam meam pretiosiore,</i> id est carnem, <i>quam me.</i> Cum enim quis artatur in tantum quod in mare oportet ipsum merces proicere et post submergere merces exponuntur et in bello manus ensi exponitur ut capud seruetur sanum quia merces mortuo non prosunt nec manus capite absciso. Sic cum quis ad hoc deuenit quod oportet eum carnis uel anime habere detrimentum debet carnem et diuitias exponere. Sicut serpens corpus exponit et caudam ut capud uita seruetur Mt. .v. <i>Estote prudentes sicut serpentes.</i> Diuitie enim anime dampnate non prosunt, sicut nec merces mortuo nec manus capite truncato. Mt. .v. <i>Quid prodest homini si uniuersum mundum lucretur anime autem sue detrimentum patiatur</i> <5.2.3> Item ut miles equum sine dubio strenuus, miles non odit sed habet eum carum et tamen cum est in bello uel tyrocinio urget calcaribus eum nec percit illi immo morti et perditioni exponit eum ut faciat pulcrum ictum. Unde sibi acquirit laudem et gloriam et maxime cum seruit largo nobili a quo meliorem recuperare non dubitat . Sic in bello et tyrocinio penitentiae exponenda est caro ut pulcrum ictum ieiunii et orationum non dimittamus timore carnis, cum adeo in iudicio multo meliorem carnem	fructum non faceret. Sed putrefieret et corrumperetur. Sic qui tantum amat carnem suam ut qui in quiete uult et deliciis eam seruare et non ieiuniis et laboribus uult eam exponere, nihil ex ea nisi peccatum et corruptionem habebit. Mt. .xvi. qui uult animam suam saluam facere perdet eam qui autem perdiderit animam suam in hoc mundo inueniet eam scilicet in futuro, glossa, quasi dicat agricolae frumentum si seruas perdis, si seminas renouas ideo dicitur Io. .xii. nisi granum frumenti cadens in terra mor. Fu. Ipsum so. Ma. Si autem mor. Fuerit multum fructum af. Terra enim que quiescit et non colitur ; non nisi herbas nociuas affert et cum bene colitur uix bonas apportat prou. .xviii. qui operatur terram suam id est carnem ieiuniis et laboribus satiabitur [319ra] panibus qui autem sectatur otium in egestate erit. <5.2.2> Item pugnator clipeum diligit et carum habet. Sed non tantum quod non apponat ictibus ut corpus seruetur illesum. Sic caro aduersitatibus et periculis exponenda est ut anima seruetur illesa et indampnis, act. .xx. uincula et tribulationes Ierosolimis me manent id est expectant dicit Paulus. Similis horum uereor nec facio animam meam id est carnem pretiosiore quam me id est quam animam. Cum enim quis in tantum constringitur quod in mare oportet merces proicere uel personas submergi merces exponuntur et in bello manus ensi exponitur ut capus seruetur sanum quia mortuo merces non prosunt nec manus capite absciso. Sic cum quis ad hoc deuenit quod oportet eum corporis uel anime habere detrimentum debent carnem et diuitias exponere sicut serpens et caudam exponit et corpus ut capud id est uita seruetur. Mt. Estote prudentes sicut serpentes. Diuitie enim corpori mortuo et anime dampnate non prosunt. Mt. .xi. quid prodest homini si uniuersum mundum lucretur, anime uere sue detrimentum paciatur. <5.2.3> Item strenus miles non odit equum suum sed habet carum et cum quando est in bello urget eum calcaribus et non percit ei immo morti et perditioni eum exponit ut faciat pulcrum ictum unde sibi acquirat laudem et gloriam et maxime cum seruit domino nobili et largo a quo meliorem se recipere sperat. Sic caro exponenda est penitentiae et ieiuniis et uigiliis orationibus et huius nec debemus dimittere timorem nostre carnis cum a Deo in iudicio multo meliorem carnem recuperaturi sumus. Unde Mc. .vii. adolescens membra per Deum exponens sic ait e celo ista possideo. Sed propter Dei leges ista dispono quantum ab ipso me ea recepturum spero. <5.2.4> Item eger membrum infirmum amat cuius prout potest sanitatem urendo secundo procurat. Si enim tantum membrum amaret quod nec ferro nec igne tangi permetteret, ipsum ex toto perderet si non putredinem siueret [319rb] igne uel ferro remoueri. Sic caro odienda est, ut ferro penitentiae uel igne tribulationis resecentur. Alioquin finaliter deperiet, Io.
---	--

recuperaturi sumus, .II. Mach. .iii. adolescens membra perditioni exponens <i>ait e celo ista possideo et propter Dei leges hec ipsa despicio quoniam ab ipso me ea recepturum spero.</i> <5.2.4> Item ut eger membrum infirmum amat cuius sanitatem prout urendo, secando procurat. Si enim tantum amaret membrum quod nec ferro nec igne tangi dimitteret ipsum ex toto perderet. Sed non cancrum uel fistulam uel putrefactionem faceret ignis uel ferro amoueri. Sic caro odienda est ut ferro et igne penitentiae uitia resecantur alioquin deperiret finaliter. Io. .xii. <i>qui amat animam suam, id est carnem, in hoc mundo</i> ut scilicet igne penitentiae non urat et ferro aduersitatis uicia non resecet <i>perdet eam</i> scilicet eternaliter in futuro. Granum enim ut conteratur ponitur sub flagello et palea separaretur et equus morbidus ferro in igne torquetur ut sanetur. Sic debet fieri de carne super Luc. .xiiii. qui non <i>odit animam</i>. Glossa bene animam odimus cum carnalibus desideriis non acquiescamus; Gal. .v. <i>qui Christi sunt carnem suam crucifixerunt, cum uitis et concupiscentiis</i>. Rogemus Dominus et cetera.	.xii. qui amat animam suam in hoc mundo id est carnem suam ut nec igne penitentiae nec ferro aduersitatis uicia resecantur, perdet eam scilicet eternaliter in futuro. Granum enim non conteratur sub flagello ponitur et palia separatur et equus morbidus ferro et igne truncatur. Sic debet fieri de carne. Unde frater Luc. .xiiii. qui uero odit animam suam et cetera. Dicit glossa bene animam odimus cum eius carnalibus desideriis non acquiescimus Gal. .vi. qui Christi sunt carnem suam crucifixerunt cum uiciis et concupiscentiis. Nota quod illi qui ducti timore humano magis eligunt malum anime quam corporis. Similes sunt rustico qui eundo ad forum portat sotulares in collo suo magis eligens ledere pedes quam sotulares. Item similes sunt militi intranti ciuitatem quadam qui cum audisset quod erant duo hospicia unum in quo equus male tractabatur sed dominus bene, aliud in quo equus bene et dominus male, elegit secundum magis timens equo suo quam sibi. Non sic fecit Eleazar. Ille qui magis elegit sustinere mortem amarissimam quam simile se et comedere de carnibus porcinis ut dicitur Mt. .vi.
SERMO V	DE CARITATE (F. 277RA)
<4.3> Item caritas facit hominem fortem et firmum ut cementum parietem lapides fortiter coniungendo. Cant. .viii. <i>Fortis est ut mors dilectio</i>. Nota quod homo dicitur fortis propter quatuor que in morte possunt inueniri : <4.3.1> propter difficilium operationem, <4.3.2> propter firmam eius quod habet intencionem, <4.3.3> propter operandi facilitatem, <4.3.4> propter fortem separationem. <4.3.1> Propter difficilium operationem ut si quis fortissimis uinculis ligatus ea rumperet faciliter, fortis diceretur. Quod facit caritas uinculum auaritie rumpit elemosinas largiendo, uinculum sanguinitatis ultra mare uel alias peregrinando, uel religionem intrando uite carnalis pro Christo cum necesse fuerit se morti exponendo. Et hoc facit mors animam a carne diuidit, hominem ab amicis subtrahit, temporalia relinquere facit Iudith. Sampson interpretatur fortis et ita signat caritatem que habet fortitudinem et ardorem tria genera uinculorum faciliter rumpit. <4.3.2> Item propter firmam rei tentionem. Qui enim illud quod habet ita firmiter tenet quod ei auferri non potest merito fortis reputatur. Hoc facit mors, quod enim semel tenuerit aliquo fortunio uel infortunio ei non aufertur, sic caritas ita fortiter Deo adheret et ipsum tenet quod nec aduersitate nec prosperitate sibi auferri potest Ro. .viii. <i>quis nos separabit a caritate Christi, tribulatio angustia</i> et cetera. Sequitur sed in hiis propter eum qui dilexit nos certus autem sum quod nec mors	Caritas hominem facit fortem ut cementum parietem et lapides coniungendo. Can. .viii. fortis est ut mors dilectio. Nota quod homo dicitur fortis propter quatuor propter difficilium operationem. Si quis fortibus uinculis teneretur ligatus et ea faciliter rumperet fortis diceretur ut Sampson. Hoc facit caritas. Uinculum enim auaritie rumpit elemosinas faciendo amicitie et sanguinitatis, ultra mare uel alibi peregrinando uel religionem intrando. [277rb] uite carnalis cum necesse fuerit se morti pro Christo exponendo. Item propter firmam tentionem. Qui enim quomodo tenet ita firmiter tenet quod ei auferri non potest. Merito fortis reputatur et hoc facit caritas que ita fortiter adheret et ita eum fortiter tenet. Quod nec aduersitate nec prosperitate auferri ab eo potest. Ro. Quis nos separabit a caritate Christi tribulatio et cetera et post certus sum quod nec mors et cetera. Item propter operandi ardua facilitatem. Si quis enim sine sui grauamine grauia excerceret uel sustineret merito fortis diceretur. Homo enim uel equus faciliter magnum onus ferens uel magnam dietam sine lassitudine perficiens fortis reputatur. Hoc facit caritas. Omnia enim sua et ania et facilia et prope nulla facit amor ut ait Augustinus. Item propter fortium superationem. Fortis enim dicitur qui potest de fortissimo triumphare. Hoc caritas facit de deo qui fortissimus est quia ipsum de celo ad terram extrahit et ad stipitem crucis ligauit. Ysa. .ix. puer natus est nobis et cetera, cuius principatus super humerum eius, quis fecit hoc zelus domini excercitium facit, hic glossa, caritas potest dici ergo

nec uita separabit nos a caritate Dei qua est in Christo Iesu. <4.3.3> Item propter operandi ardua facilitatem. Si quis enim sine grauamine grauia faceret merito fortis diceretur ut equus faciliter magnum onus ferens uel dietam sine lassitudine perficiens fortis reputatur. Sic mors et caritas in suis actibus non grauantur sed actus suos faciliter operantur. Omnia enim facilia sunt amanti ut ignis et sol in concitatione ardoris sui et lucis non lassantur Ge. .xxx. <i>Seruiuit Iacob pro Rachel .vii. annis</i>, id est iustus pro uita beata omnibus diebus uite sue <i>et uidebantur illi dies pauci pre amoris magnitudine.</i> <4.3.4> Item propter separationem fortium. Fortis enim dicitur qui potest de fortissimo triumphare, sed hoc facit mors. Non est enim ita fortis nec in claustro ita clausus ad quem mors non habeat accessum et de ipso non triumphet. Sic caritas de Deo qui est fortissimus nec ita dicam triumphauit ipsum de celo ad terram traxit ad stipitem ligauit in cruce tetendit Ysa .ix. puer natus est nobis et filius datus est nobis et post sequitur quia <i>zelus Domini exercituum faciet hoc.</i> Glossa id est caritas potuit ergo merito dicere amor uincit omnia et uincor amore ideo dicere <i>fortis ut mors dilectio</i> tua.	quod amor vincit omnia sicut mors. Fortis est ergo ut mors dilectio. Item caritas facit hominem diuitem diuiciis spiritualibus Augustinus ubi est caritas quid est quod possit abesse ubi non est caritas. Quid quod est quod possit prodesse. Si aliquis haberet lapidem pretiosum qui tante esset uirtutis quod quicquid tangeret de illo conuerteretur in aurum. Multum esset diues et diligenter custodiret illum lapidem. Talis est caritas quia quicquid facit meritorium est uita eterna et sine illa est nihil meritorium ; cor. .xiii. si linguis hominum loquar et cetera. Augustinus habet caritatem et fac quicquid uis, ex hac radice non potest procedere nisi bonum. Item tante uirtutis est quod quicquid de illo lapide tangitur suum facit. Dictum est filiis Israel, omnis locus quem calcauerit pes noster scilicet affectus caritatis [277va] uidetur erit. Augustinus, tolle inuidiam et tuum est quod habeo. Liur separat caritas iungit. Ideo dicitur apoc. .xii. suadeo tibi emere aurum ignitum et probatum ut locuplex fias. Item facit hominem sapientem tante uirtutis est caritas quod facit omnia scire habenti eam. Io. .ii. unctionem habetis a spiritu sancto et nostis omnia et non est necessarie ut quis nos doceat. Sed unctio docet nos de omnibus. Augustinus ille scit quod patet et quod latet in diuinis codicibus qui caritatem habet in moribus. Ideo dicitur eccl. .i. dilectio Dei honorabilis sapientie. Item sanat tante uirtutis est lapis iste quod sanat omnem infirmitatem spiritualem, prou. .x. uniuersa dilecta operit caritas, ac si numquam fuissent ut patet in Magdalena quia dimissa sunt ei peccata multa quam dilexit multum. Hanc sanitatem attestatur bona dispositio. Gustus spiritualis quand ores rapiunt prout sunt ante bona spiritualia, sunt ei cara et delectabilia et temporalia et carnalia uilia. Si alter fit timendum est illi de infirmitatem spirituali quia non habet palatum cordis bene dispositum. Augustinus impius dulcedine Dei non sentit. De febre enim iniquitatis palatum amisit cordis sed caritas in omnibus ponit sporem. Item uiuificat tante uirtutis est quod opera mortua uiuificat ut carbo uiuus mortuos. Io. 3 nos scimus quoniam translati sumus de morte ad uitam, quoniam diligimus fratres sine caritate nihil uiuit uita gratie. Io. Qui non diligit manet in morte. Item triumphat tante uirtutis est sine repercussionibus triumphat de hostibus, non leuaret unam festucam Bernardus, tenere militie est et delicat confluctus. Solo amore de cunctis uiciis uictoriam reportare quid mirum est quod regina est uirtutum et abset eius imperio nullus potest mouere pedem ad bonum cor. 13 maior horum caritas qui caritatem habet est quasi in sinu Dei. Ideo in magna securitate est, Augustinus quid times homo in sinu Dei positus, tu de sinu illius noli cadere quicquid ibi patieris ad salutem [277vb] ualebit non ad peruiciem.
--	--

	Item fructificat. Caritas arbor est cuius fructus sunt inputribules, aqua non excidit nec flos nec folium nec fructus dum ipsa steterit ps. et solis est non defluet et cetera. Plus ualet flos unius huius arboris quam infinita milia auri et argenti. Unum bonum propositum ecc. 14 flores mei fructus honoris et honestatis. Est enim pretiosus thesaurus caritatis ut pro ipsa habeatur thesaurus Dei, sine ipsa non prosunt. Thesaurus mundi, ideo dicitur cant. ult. Si dederit homo totam substantiam domus sue pro dilectione quasi nihil despiciet eam calor solis facit homines expoliare se et feruor caritatis omnia relinquere. Apostolus omnia detrimentum feci et arbitror ut stercora ut Christum lucrifaciam ; ecc. 63 sol in meridiano exurit terram id est terrenitatem a cordibus hominum expellit.
--	---

The *de festis* collection
A critical edition

Foreword

The texts edited in this appendix are meant to represent the collection *de festis* of Nicolas de Biard as it was preserved in the *pecia* manuscripts that had been sanctioned and sold by the *stationarii* of the University of Paris in 1274-75 and 1303. As explained before in this dissertation, the high fluidity of sermon transmission during the Middle Ages impacts the ability of the editor to reconstruct a *stemma codicum*. Instead of opting for a classical edition I have decided to focus my inquiry on the manuscripts that have preserved *pecia* signs and those that better represented the widespread circulation of Nicolas' sermons according to their place of conservation, as thoroughly explained before.

The reader will find that I have chosen to display three apparatuses: the critical apparatus, the biblical apparatus and the source apparatus. The text of the base manuscript is faithfully transcribed in its entirety, either in the main body of the edition or, if important substitutions were made, in the critical apparatus. I have chosen to keep, and display, orthographical differences, and alternative word order. In the rare cases in which a change from the base text appeared I chose to display the variant that best fitted the sense and coherence of the text.

As to the orthography, I have capitalised the letters of proper names and devotional ones (*Dominus*, *Virgo*, etc.). I normalised the orthography of 'ti' as 'ci' and decided to not adhere to the modern differentiation of 'u' and 'v' throughout the text. The numbers of biblical passages quoted in the text are displayed in roman numerals as in the original text.

To ease the experience of these sometimes-intricate texts I have indicated the beginning of each section and sub section of the sermons by numbers in angle brackets: < >.

In the critical apparatus are noted the differences in reading among manuscripts and they are divided by the conventional 'J'. I have chosen not to correct the text in order to facilitate its usage by other scholars interested in finding points of contact between this collection and other preacher's sermons.

Each apparatus is linked to the text by the line number and the relevant words followed by the ']. As per this example: '72 operiunt] cohoperiunt Ro'.

If the reading adopted by the author in the text is different from the supposed *auctoritas* (which in the case of the Bible is the Clementine Vulgate) I have highlighted this difference by adding 'Cfr'. Furthermore, in the text each biblical passage is signalled in *italics* whereas the subdivided *thema* is highlighted by an underline.

The source apparatus displays the non-biblical sources used by Nicolas de Biard to compose his sermons. I have not divided classical and medieval authors which are both present in this apparatus. Alongside the more common indication of the Gloss, I have chosen to display the interpretation of names as compiled by Matthias Thiel in his *Grundlagen und Gestalt der Hebräischkenntnisse des frühen Mittelalters*, and the indication of Morawski's own categorization of medieval proverbs from his *Proverbes. Publié en ligne par la Base de français medieval*. The former is indicated by his surname followed by the page number of the relevant quotation: 'Thiel, p. 327'. The latter by his surname followed by the number assigned by Morawski: 'Morawski, 2249'. Furthermore, the reader will find some notes indicating the usage of Old French words and sentences by the indication of 'French' in the apparatus.

Finally, the reader will find at the start of each sermon the classification according to Schneyer's *Repertorium*, which has been followed for the sake of aiding comparisons with other texts that follow such classification notwithstanding the development in our understanding of Nicolas' collection uncovered by this thesis which may warrant a change in sermon classification, and the shelfmarks and foliation of the manuscripts used for the edition.

Sermo I

Sermon de euangelista, euangelisti C3 RLS 205.

Base ms.: P, ff. 154ra-155rb.

- 5 Collated mss.: L1, ff. 240rb-242rb; M1, ff. 372ra-373va;
Me, ff. 173ra-174ra; P1, ff. 131rb-132rb; P4, ff. 134rb-
134vb; Ta, ff. 156ra-157rb; W1, ff. 237ra-238vb.

Ecce super montes pedes euangelizantis et annuntiantis pacem

10 Naum .vi.

- Si quis enim de patria sua pro delicto forbanizatus et
exulatus esset. Non modicum festum faceret nuncio qui de
sua pace et reconciliatione nuncium reportaret. Et ideo
magnum festum de nuncio euangelizantis debet ecclesia
15 facere et celebrare. Cum enim pro peccato Ade exulati
essemus de paradiso, euangeliste nobis nuncium
asportauerunt et de pace et reconciliatione ut patet in uerbis
predictis in quibus tria notantur :

<1> uita predicantis ibi super montes,

20 <2> modus nunciantis ibi euangelizantis,

<3> utilitas rei nunciate ibi annuntiantis pacem.

- <1> Tangitur ergo annuntiantis uita cum dicit super
montes pedes id est in eminentia uite et sic debet esse. Sicut
enim crucifixus in altum ponitur ut omnes ipsum uideant et
25 ibi exemplum uiuendi accipiant. Sic Dei nuncii, id est
predicatores ita eminentem uitam debent habere ut alii eos
uideant et exemplum uiuendi accipiant in eis: Ysa .xi. : super
montem excelsum ascende tu qui euangelizas Syon.

- <2> Item tangitur modus nunciandi cum dicitur
30 euangelizantis id est bene nunciantis. Tunc enim bene
nunciant cum quod ore docent opere complent sicut duo
bene dicuntur cantare quando bene concordant, male
quando unus submisce alter alte prosa uoce uita non

Sermo I, 8/9 – annuntiantis] Nah. 1, 15 27/28 super – Syon] Is. 40, 9

Sermo I, 9 euangelizantis] euangelistis W1 et] om. L1 M1 P4 W1
11 forbanizatus] forbanicatus P1] forbanizatus Me 13 nuncium] rumorem P1
16 essemus] sumus essemus M1 17 asportauerunt] aportauerunt L1 P1 M1 P4 W1]
apportauerunt Me reconciliatione] rionciliatione W1 19 predicantis] predicantis
annuntiantis P1 33 uoce] uoci L1 Me P4 Ta W1

discordet et Ro. .x.: *quam speciosi pedes euangelizantis et annunciantis pacem*, gloria ibi nunciantis bene autem quiqui ore predicant, opere complent et ideo dicit: *quam speciosi*. Pulcher enim cantus est concordia oris et operis. 35

<3> Item tangitur utilitas rei nunciate cum dicit pacem. Non enim quesierunt euangelizantes aurum uel argentum sed pacem inter nos et Deum facere ut in uerbis predictis patet et in hoc apparet magna Dei benignitas et honor hominis. Si enim garcio regem offendisset magna esset regis benignitas et honor garcionis si rex per nuncios suos eum rogaret de pace cum cito iussu suo occideretur si uellet .ii. Cor. .v.: *pro legatione fungitur tamquam Deo exhortante per nos obsecramus nos pro Christo reconciliamini Deo*. 40 45

<1.1> Nota quod per pedes signantur affectus et uoluntates sicut enim corpus uadit per pedes quo uult sic anima affectu et uoluntate Ps.: *statuisti supra petram*, id est Christum, *pedes meos*, id est affectus, meos pedibus quia materialibus quatuor debent esse in quolibet sano. Decet enim quod: 50

<1.1.1> sint leues ad currendum. Qui si ab inimicis mortalibus insequitur expedit quod sit leuis pedibus ad currendum ut euadat. Homo autem a dyabolo ad mortem insequitur et ideo expedit ut cito currat Ps.: *persecuti pedes meos tamquam ceruorum et super excelsa* et cetera. Ceruus autem cum insequitur cito transit ut euadat. Si enim sisteret ad herbas uel folia capienda cito caperetur. Sic siquis ponat cor suum ad mundana indebite habenda, euadere non potest quin a dyabolo capiatur .iiii. Reg.: *exercitus caldeorum*, id est 55 60

34/35 quam – pacem] Rom. 10, 15; cfr Nah. 1, 15 45/46 pro – Deo] II Cor. 5, 20
 49/50 statuisti – meos¹] Ps. 39, 3 56/57 persecuti – excelsa] Ps. 17, 34
 61/62 exercitus – Iericho] II Reg. 25, 5

34 et¹] om. Ta 35 quiqui] Quique P] qui quod P4 Ta] 37 concordia] ~~dis~~ concordia P
 39 quesierunt] querunt P4 41 apparet] aparet M1 41/42 honor hominis] hominis
 honor M1 42 regem] ~~regis~~ regem M1 44 rogaret] rogar M1 occideretur]
 accideretur W1 45 v.] u1. Me pro] proxima L1 Me Ta W1] proximo pro Christo P4
 fungitur] fungimur L1 Me Ta 47 signantur] significantur M1 50 quia] quasi Me P4
 Ta] a W1 53 si] enim L1 Me P4 Ta W1] om. P1 53/54 inimicis – leuis] om. W1
 56 persecuti] perfecisti L1 Me P4 Ta 57 ceruorum – excelsa] om. L1 Ta W1

uitiorum, *persecutus est regem et comprehendit eum in planitie Iericho* id est in delectatione mundanorum, que ita cito deficiunt ut luna. Preterea homo oneratus cito currere non
 65 potest nec euadere persequentem sic qui peccatum habet uel alienum possidet, peccatum enim et alienum ualde ponderosa sunt, Hebreos .xi. : *deponentes omne pondus*, scilicet temporalia, *et circumstans nos peccatum per patientiam curramus ad propositum nobis certamen*. Uetula enim currens ad pellicium et
 70 garcio ad pilam exuunt se et exonerant. Multo plus debent hoc facere currentes ad uitam eternam .i. Cor .ix. : *sic currite ut comprehendatis, omnis enim qui in agone contendit ab omnibus se abstinet*.

<1.1.2> Item decet ut sint mundi a sordibus uitiorum, Io
 75 .xiii. : *qui lotus est exterius scilicet non indiget nisi ut pedes lauet* id est affectum et uoluntatem et *erit mundus totus*. Febris enim interpolata ad horam cessat exterius materia enim interius remanente unde in crastino reuertitur. Sic multi actum peccati ad horam deserunt uoluntate interius
 80 remanente sed cito recidiuant sicut herba radice remanente, Iere .i. : *Constitui te super gentes et regna ut euellas uoluntatem peccati et destruas actum et cetera*. Sed multi plus curant de munditia corporis exterioris quam anime interioris ut pictores ymaginum qui ligna putrida et uermiculosa auro
 85 operiunt et argento. Sap .xv. : *non enim in errorem induxit nos hominum male artis excogitatio nec umbra picture labor sine fructu*. Prouer. ultimo : *fallax gratia et uana pulcritudo* et cetera. Sed sapiens mulier eo modo se ornat quo plus credit placere sponso suo, Deo autem plus placet ornatus et munditia
 90 interior Canticum .i. : *Nigra sum* exterius per penitentiam

67/69 deponentes – certamen] Hebr. 12, 1 71/73 sic – abstinet] I Cor. 9, 24-25
 75/76 qui – totus] Ioh. 13, 10 81/82 Constitui – destruas] Ier. 1, 10 85/86 non – fructu] Sap. 15, 4 87 fallax – pulcritudo] Prou. 31, 30 90 Nigra sum] Cant. 1, 4

Sermo I, 63/64 Iericho – luna] Thiel, p. 327

62 in planitie] planitie in Me in] om. M1 P P1 P4 W1 64 oneratus] oneratus M1 honeratus W1 currere] curre M1 68 per] om. M1 70 exonerant] exonerant Me 72 ut] ad W1 75 xiii] .xiv. P4 76 et²] sed Ta 77 enim²] eius P4 81 Constitui] constituit P4 82 peccati] peccandi P4 86 hominum] om. P4 excogitatio] excommunicationis M1 87 Sed] si L1 90 Nigra] exierus W1

sed *formosa* interius per uirtutes. Aues in hoc docent nos quia nidos suos plus decorant interius quam exterius; Ysa .i.: *lauamini et mundi estote auferte malas cogitationes uestrarum*. Preterea uasa interius diligentius purgantur Mt .xxiii.: *ue uobis qui mundatis quod de foris est calicis et cetera*. Preterea 95
insania esset cameras nobilium exterius depingere et interius turpes et immundas dimittere. Mt .xxiii.: *ue uobis ypocrite qui similes estis sepulcris dealbatis que foris apparent hominibus speciosa et cetera*. Sic ergo mundi debent esse. Qui 100
enim haberet pedes lutosos non intraret lectum suum illotis pedibus si haberet aquam ad lauandum. Qui enim habet uoluntatem peccati inquinatam habet animam et habet quo potest eam lauare et mundare quia potest conuerti et penitere, ideo Thob. quarto: *exiuit Thobias ut lauaret pedes suos*. 105

<1.1.3> Item decens est ut sint recti ad directe incedendum Eze .i.: dicitur *pedes eorum pedes recti*. Debemus autem esse recti per intentionem ut nihil pro carne, mundo uel dyabolo sed omnia pro Domino faciamus. Ut dicitur uia recta que a fine debito et termino statuto non deuiat, Ysa .xxxi.: *semita iusti recta est et hoc faciendum est triplici de causa*: 110

<1.1.3.1> Primo quia libentius laboratur pro eo a quo maior remuneratio expectatur: Deus autem in centuplo plus remunerat eis qui pro eo laborant quam caro, mundus et 115

93 lauamini – uestrarum] Is. 1, 16 94/95 ue – calicis] Matt. 23, 25 97/99 ue – speciosa] Matt. 23, 27 104/105 exiuit – suos] Tob. 6, 2 107 pedes¹ – recti] Ez. 1, 7 111 semita – est¹] Is. 26, 7

91 Aues] Aues nos M1 nos] om. M1 92 quia] quod P4 nidos] rados W1 93 malas] malas estote M1 malos W1 95 quod] qui Me 96 exterius] exterius W1 99 esse] omne Ta 100 haberet] haberes W1 104 Thob quarto] Tho. L1 P1 P4 Ta] om. W1 Thobias] om. L1 M1 P1 P4 Ta lauaret] laudaret W1 105 suos] om. L1 M1 Me P4 W1 106 ad directe] addirecte M1 adirecte W1 107 i] .II. P1 109 uia] uita P1 113 laboratur] laboratur W1 114 centuplo] templo M1 Me P P1 P4 115 qui] que Ta W1

dyabolus Ps. : *generatio rectorum* id est opera secundum glossa *benedicetur* id est habebit illam benedictionem Mt .xxv. : *uenite benedicti Patris mei* et cetera.

<1.1.3.2> Secundo quia gloria est sponse omnia ad
 120 gloriam sponsi sui operari, Deus autem sponsus est anime
 Ps. : *letamini in Domino et exultate iusti et gloriamini omnes recti corde*.

<1.1.3.3> Tertio quia cautus mercator merces suas
 125 libentius tradit et uendit illi qui carius comperat sed Deus
 carissime emit ieiunia et elimosinas et bona que pro ipso
 fiunt quia pro eis dat uitam eternam .ii. Cor .iiii. : *id quod in presenti momentaneum et leue est tribulationis uestre pondus super modum in sublimitatem eternum glorie operatur in nobis*. Preterea
 bene pagat quia nunquam debitum terminum preterit quia
 130 statim reddit dieta completa Mt .xxi. : *uespere autem facto, dixit Dominus uinee procuratori suo: uoca operarios et redde illis mercedem*. Dyabolus uero mundus et caro parum reddunt quia nisi temporalia que cito transeunt tantum parum proficiunt Sap .viii. : *labores eorum sine fructu*. Preterea tarde

116/117 generatio – benedicetur] Ps. 111, 2 **117/118** uenite – mei] Matt. 25, 34
121/122 letamini – corde] Ps. 31, 11 **126/128** id – nobis] II Cor. 4, 17
130 uespere – facto] Matt. 26, 20 **131/132** uoca – mercedem] Matt. 20, 8
134 labores – fructu] Sap. 3, 11

116 glossa] Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina (Ps. 111 2), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 28/08/2022. (P e r m a l i n k : http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GL_OSS-liber26.xmlchapitre=26_111) : “generatio : non carnis sed imitationis vel opera rectorum. Recti sunt qui non resistunt Patri emendanti et credunt promittenti non credunt perisse opera sua cum non eis temporaliter retribuitur. Sunt enim qui bona illa agunt mercedem hic a Deo sperantes vel hominibus placere volentes quod non beatus vir et tamen...”

116 id est] et W1 **120** sponsi] om. P1 **123** cautus] tantus W1 **124** illi – carius] tradit illam carius et uendit W1 **125** ieiunia] iuina Me **127** pondus] om. L1 M1 P4 Ta W1 **128** glorie] glorie pondus L1 M1 P4 Ta W1 **129** quia²] quin L1 M1 Me P1 P4 Ta W1 **130** statim] statum Ta reddit] reddat L1 Me P4 Ta W1 autem] autem autem W1 **131** operarios] operarios suos M1 **132** mercedem] eis mercedem Me **133** quia] quia non Ta tantum] tamen P4 **134** labores] ~~tarde solunt~~ labores P1

soluunt aut numquam, multi enim pro diuitiis et honoribus habendis laborant que minime assecuntur ut qui sequitur umbram Eccl .viii.: <i>quanto plus laborabit tanto minus inueniet.</i> Ideo Ps. <i>letabitur iustus in Domino</i> de cara uenditione et cita solutione <i>et laudabuntur omnes recti corde</i> scilicet a sanctis ut diuites a mundanis de lucratiua negotiatione. Simus ergo recti si enim sotulares nostros nitimur esse rectos multo plus animam Ps. : <i>pes meus stetit in directo.</i>	135
<1.1.4> Item conueniens est ut sint calciati ad patienter sustinendum unde in Exodo precipit Dominus: <i>calciamenta habebitis in pedibus</i> uestris. Calciati autem sumus cum exempla sanctorum qui mortui sunt in cordibus memoriter portamus. Calciamenta enim pedes seruant mundiorem, faciunt audaciores, reddunt fortiores et hec tria facit consideratio sanctorum.	140
<1.1.4.1> Sicut enim calciamentum seruat pedes ne inquinentur sic consideratio sanctorum animam ne in peccato polluat ut inspectio in uero exemplari seruat scriptorem a corruptione falsitatis Canticum .vii.: <i>quam pulcri sunt gressus tui in calciamenti filia principis.</i>	145
<1.1.4.2> Item faciunt pedes audaciores. Calciatus enim supra stipulas et lapides audacius pedem ponit et qui considerat penam sanctorum ad ieiunia et penitentiam audacius se extendit. Strenuitas enim unius in bello uel tyrocinio saltem per confusione alios excitat ad bellandum Eph. ultimo : <i>state calciati pedes in preparatione Euangelii pacis</i> id	150
	155
	160

137 quanto – inueniet] Eccle. 8, 17 **138/139** letabitur – corde] Ps. 63, 11 **142** pes – directo] Ps. 25, 12 **144/145** calciamenta – pedibus] Ex. 12, 11 **153/154** quam – principis] Cant. 7, 1 **160** state – pacis] Eph. 6, 15

135 honoribus] honoribus et deliciis L1 M1 Me P1 P4 Ta W1 **136** assecuntur] assequitur P1 **151** in] om. P4 **152** in] et W1 uero] uere L1 **157** et] om. W1 **158** se] penitentiam et W1 **159** per] pre L1 Me Ta

est ad facienda mandata que sunt in euangelio secundum glossa.

<1.1.4.3> Item reddunt pedes potentiores. Calciatus enim melius dietam suam perficit et ad perseuerandum in
 165 itinere plus potens est quam nudus. Et qui attendit lucrum quod habent sancti de bonis que fecerunt in bono facilius perseuerant. Cupiditas enim mercedis habende facit operarium usque ad uesperam operari. Deut. dixit: Moyses Asser qui interpretatur beatitudo *ferrum et aes calciamentum*
 170 *eius* et perseuerantiam accipiant ex consideratione sanctorum. Aes enim et ferrum durabilia sunt et perseuerantia de ferro ergo et aere calciatur qui per exempla sanctorum fortis et perseuerans efficitur, le .ii.: custodi *pedes tuos a nuditate*.

169/170 ferrum – eius] Deut. 33, 25 **174** pedes – nuditate] cfr Ier. 2, 25

162 glossa] Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina (Eph. 6, 15), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 28/08/2022. (P e r m a l i n k : http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GLOSS-liber64.xmlchapitre=64_6): “PEDES, id est affectiones sint munite virtutibus ne a vitiis purgantur, ut ita sint parati ad predicandum evangelium quod nuntiat pacem inter Deum et hominem, vel ut sint parati complere precepta evangelii.” ; *interl.* : “id est ut sitis preparati ad predicandum evangelium vel ad complendum precepta eius”. **169** interpretatur beatitudo] Thiel, p. 249

167 habende] habenda P1 **169** Asser] Aser Me Ta W1 **170** eius] eius per P1 accipiant] accipiunt Ta W1 **172/173** qui – ii] om. Ta **174** pedes tuos] ~~manus~~ pedes meos tuos W1]

Sermo II

Sermon de apostolo, apostolis, C2, RLS 209.

Base ms.: P, ff. 155rb-156va.

- 5 Collated mss.: L1, ff. 242rb-244ra; M1, ff. 373va-374vb; Me, ff. 174ra-175vb; P1, ff. 132va-133va; P4, ff. 134vb-135va Ta, ff. 157rb-158va; W1, ff. 238vb-240vb.

10 .XV. *Hoc est preceptum meum ut diligatis inuicem sicut dilexi uos Io.*

Dicitur enim solon le segneur la mesnie. Si enim Dominus castus est castam familiam uult habere, si auarus est auaram. Eccli .xi.: *secundum iudicem populi sic et ministri eius* et ideo quia Dominus amorusus fuit et caritatiuus. Ideo uult habere familiam amorosam et caritatiuam ut dicitur in dictis uerbis in quibus ponuntur sex conditiones qualiter dicta uerba sunt ad implenda:

- 20 <1> propter singularitatem,
<2> propter obligationem,
<3> propter auctoritatem,
<4> propter facilitatem,
<5> propter monitionem nature,
<6> propter honorem et honestatem.

25 <1> Primo propter singularitatem quia spiritualiter et quasi singulariter iniungitur. Qui enim principalius a principibus inter alia iniunguntur diligentius implentur. Deus autem inter omnia mandata dilectionem spiritualiter iniungit quasi plus omnibus obseruandam quod notatur ibi hoc est et cetera. Quasi dicat hoc enim singularitatem

Sermo II, 9 Hoc – uos] Ioh. 15, 12 13 secundum – eius] Eccli. 10, 2

Sermo II, 11 solon – mesnie] Morawski, 2249

Sermo II, 11 segneur] segnoi P1: segnor Ta M1 L1 seignor Me la mesnie] ~~hoster~~ lames nie M1 12 castus] om. Me 13 est] om. Me P1 Ta L1 14 Dominus] domus M1 16 sex] sex innuentia sex M1 qualiter] propter que M1 25 iniungitur] dilectio iniungitur M1 Qui] que P4 26/27 inter – omnia] om. Ta

- importat Io. xv.: *Hoc est preceptum meum ut diligatis* et cetera, 30
 glossa sepe dilectio commendatur quasi sola sit percipienda.
- <2> Item propter obligationem ibi preceptum.
 Transgressio enim admonitionis simplicis penam non 35
 meretur quod facit transgressio precepti banni autem
 principum qui sub pena corporis fiunt strictius seruantur.
 Deus autem sub pena mortis eterne dilectionem iniunxit Io.
 iii.: *Qui non diligit manet in morte*. Glossa non tantum
 uenturus in mortem eternam sed nuncium est.
- <3> Item propter auctoritatem percipientis ibi meum. Si 40
 enim rex uel papa aliquid mihi perciperet licet nihil
 dispendii propter transgressionem uel commodi propter
 impletionem essem habiturus tamen propter percipientis
 reuerentiam facere deberem. Christus autem maior est
 omnibus et per omnibus reuerendus in propria persona
 preceptum de dilectione fecit ut melius seruaretur Io. .xii.: 45
mandatum nouum do uobis ut diligatis inuicem sicut dilexi uos unde

37 Qui – morte] I Ioh. 3, 14 46 mandatum – uos] Ioh.13, 34

31 glossa] Cfr Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina (Io. 15, 12), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 28/08/2022. (P e r m a l i n k : http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GLOSS-liber58.xmlchapitre=58_15): “Hoc est preceptum. Et supra de dilectione proximi, sed repetitio est confirmatio, ibi tamen dicit mandatum do, quasi non autem fuerit hic autem, hoc est quasi non aliud sit. Ibi novum ne in vetustate remaneamus, hic meum ne contemnatur.” 37 Glossa] Cfr Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina (I Io. 3, 14), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 28/08/2022. (Permalink : http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GLOSS-liber79.xmlchapitre=79_3): “ non tantum venturus est in eternam mortem sed iam manet anime”.

34 quod] quidam L1 facit] non facit M1 precepti banni] precepta M1
 35 principum] preceptum L1 qui] que M1 strictius] stric Ta 37 manet] mani L1
 38 nuncium] nunc P4 39 percipientis] precipientis P4 Ta 40 perciperet] preciperet
 P4 Ta 41 dispendii] diffendi L1] dispendidi Ta commodi] comodi P1 L1 propter²
~~propter~~ M1 42 habiturus] hiturus M1 tamen] tam Ta percipientis] precipientis P4
 Ta 44 per] primi P1] pre P4 Ta

sequitur hoc est preceptum meum glossa dicit ne contempnatur.

<4> Item propter facilitatem ibi ut diligentis. Si
 50 impossibilia et graua imperantur, merito respuuntur sed dilectio proximi sine dispendio alicuius rei ab omni homine cuiuscumque sit conditionis potest faciliter impleri. Augustinus de diligendis inimicis nullus umquam in ueritate se poterit excusare; cum non de cellario sed de corde istam
 55 elemosinam implere iubetur, posset mihi aliquis dicere non possum uigilare, numquid potest dicere non possum amare? Quasi dicat non.

<5> Item propter nature admonitionem ibi inuicem. Que enim nature abhominabilia sunt merito respuuntur sed
 60 dilectionem Christi natura non abhorret sed admonet. Animalia enim que sola natura reguntur non ratione quia se diligunt hic ostendunt Eccli .xiii. : *omne animal diligit sibi simile et omnis homo proximum sibi*.

<6> Item propter commodum et honestatem quod
 65 notatur ibi sicut dilexi uos. Est amonitio que non est meritoria ut dilectio prauorum turpis ut dilectio lecatorum, sed dilectio similis dilectioni Christi ad quam nos inuitat et meritoria est et honesta et ideo acquirenda. Canticum

62/63 omne – sibi] Eccli. 13, 19

47 glossa] Cfr Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina (Io. 15, 12), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 28/08/2022. (P e r m a l i n k : http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GLOSS-liber58.xmlchapitre=58_15) : “Hoc est preceptum. Et supra de dilectione proximi, sed repetitio est confirmatio, ibi tamen dicit mandatum do, quasi non autem fuerit hic autem, hoc est quasi non aliud sit. Ibi novum ne in vetustate remaneamus, hic meum ne contempnatur” 53/54 de – excusare] Caesarius Arelatensis, *Sermones Caesarii uel ex aliis fontibus hausti*, CCSL 104, sermo 223, cap. 3: “De diligendis inimicis, fratres carissimi, nullus umquam in ueritate se poterit excusare. Potest mihi aliquis dicere, non possum ieunare, non possum uigilare; numquid potest dicere, non possum amare?”

49 ibi – diligentis] om. L1 Me P4 diligentis] diligatis P1 54 sed] si L1 55/56 non – dicere] om. L1 58 Item] ideo P4 60 Christi] proximi M1 61 Animalia] alia L1 62 sibi] sibi sibi P1 63 et] et sic M1 65 amonitio] admonitio P1; amonitio dilectio M1 66 prauorum] puerorum P4 ut² – lecatorum] ut dilectio prauorum turpis ut dilectio lecatorum Ta 68 meritoria est] est meritoria P1 P4 Ta

ultimum: *Si dederit homo omnem substantiam domus sue pro dilectione quasi nihil despiciet eam* quantum scilicet ad utilitatem et honestatem.

70

Nota quod Deus dilexit nos tripliciter quibus modis debemus nos inuicem diligere. Dilexit enim nos:

<6.1> fortiter uel perseueranter,

<6.2> sapienter,

75

<6.3> largiter

et possunt referri ad potentiam, sapientiam et bonitatem beate trinitatis.

<6.1> Dilexit nos fortiter, id est perseueranter, quia postquam aliquam dilexit pro infortunio paupertatis uel langoris amorem suum non retrahit sicut forte cementum lapides inseparabiliter iungit Ier. .xxxi.: *in caritate perpetua dilexi te*. Anima enim non deserit membra usque ad mortem, uiuificare licet sint tortuosa uel scabiosa nisi fuerint abscisa a corpore. Sicut nec Deus hominem nisi per peccatum suum fuerit ab illo separatus, Io. .xiii.: *cum dilexit suos in fine dilexit illos*. Igitur: *sic inuicem debemus diligere* ut propter paupertatem uel infortunium aliquem amorem a proximis non retrahamus Prou. xvii.: *omni tempore diligit qui amicus est* sed multi diligunt ut canis os, musca ollam quam diu inueniunt in eis quod manducent. Si uero uacua sunt non curant uidere ea. Sic nec homo proximum cum ad inopiam peruenerit erit inimicus; iuxta illud cum fueris felix multos numerabis amicos, tempora si fuerint nubila solus eris. Prou. .xx.: *Diuitie addunt amicos plurimos a paupere autem et hii quos habuit separantur*. Unde uere non diligunt proximos sed que habent ut canis qui non diligit os sed carnes nec musca ollam sed lac. Mentiuntur ergo dicentes diligo uos

80

85

90

95

69/70 Si – eam] Cant. 8, 7 82/83 in – te] Ier. 31, 3 87 sic – diligere] Ioh. 13, 34
89/90 omni – est] Prou. 17, 17 95/96 Diuitie – separantur] Prou. 19, 4

93/95 cum – eris] cfr Ovidius *Tristia* I, 9, 5-6

86 suum] om. P1 L1 M1 87 ut] ut ut P1 88 infortunium] fortunium Ta aliquem] aliquod P4 89 diligit] dilexit M1 90 quam] Hii diligunt ista quam M1 91 quod manducent] autem manduceret L1 93 peruenerit] uenerit Ta iuxta illud] om. Me M1 P1 P4 Ta 94 numerabis] numerabit P1 nubila] nubilia M1 Ta 95 plurimos] multos P1 L1 M1 Ta 96 uere] uero M1

sicut canis si diceret ossi diligo te id est Io. .iiii. : *filioli non*
 100 *diligamus uerbo nec lingua sed opere et ueritate.*

<6.2> Item sapienter dilexit quod patet ex tribus quia diligendum prudenter elegit electum caute redemit, redemptum discrete corrigit.

<6.2.1> Quia diligendum prudenter elegit ut nobilis
 105 *maritandum nobiliorem sapientiore diuitem eligit cui dat amorem suum. Anima autem nobilior quia spiritualior, sapientior quia rationalis, ditior quia dicatur gratuitis donis. Merito ergo dat Deus amorem suum anime non carni, quia ignobilior est lutea fama et lecatrrix Sapientia .xi. : Domine qui*
 110 *amas animas sic et nos inuicem diligere debemus ut animas nostras et amicorum plusquam corpora diligamus. Sed e contrario sit quia si corpus infirmatur medicum querimus corde gemimus sed de salute anime non curamus cum tamen ridiculum esset garcionem cuiusdam nobilis plus*
 115 *reuereri et procurare quam ipsum nobilem; Iob .xxiiii. : pauit sterilem que non parit id est carnem que sterilis est, bonas herbas non profert sed mala uidue autem non bene fecit id est anime secundum glossam.*

<6.2.2> Item dilectum caute redemit quia cautus
 120 *negotiator cum inuenit pretiosas merces nihil habet carum ut habeat merces illas. Sic nihil habuit Deus carum nec etiam proprium filium quod non daret pro anima hominis habenda Io. .iii. : Sic Deus dilexit mundum ut filium suum*

99/100 *filioli* – *ueritate*] I Ioh. 3, 18 109/110 *Domine* – *animas*¹] Sap. 11, 27
 115/116 *pauit* – *parit*] Iob 24, 21 123/124 *Sic* – *daret*] Ioh. 3, 16

118 *glossam*] Martin Morard et alii, ed., *Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina* (Iob. 24, 21), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 28/08/2022. (P e r m a l i n k : http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GLOSS-liber25.xml#chapitre=25_24): “Vidua anima dicitur, quia eius vir pro ea mortem pertulit et nunc ab eius oculis occultatus est.”

99 *ossi*] *ossi* M1 *te*] *om.* M1 104 *Quia* – *elegit*] *om.* L1 105 *maritandum*] *maritandus* P4 107 *dicatur*] *dicatur* M1 109 *lutea*] *uitia* L1 *fama*] *fatua* P1 L1 Me P4] *fama* *fatua* M1] *om.* Ta 114 *garcionem*] *gratiorem* P1 116 *id est*] *et* Ta 117 *mala*] *malas* P1 L1 Me 120 *inuenit*] *seu* *inuenit* P1] *om.* L1 121 *ut* – *carum*] *om.* Ta *ut*] *cum* P1 123 *iii*] *.iii.* P4 *mundum*] *mundus* P1

unigenitum daret. Sic animas uestras et proximorum debemus ut terrena et corpus et omnia pro salute animarum exponamus ut merces proiciuntur in mare ut homines saluentur: .iiii. Regum .vii.: Syri dereliquerunt omnia equos et mulos et fugierunt tantummodo animas saluare cupientes. 125

<6.2.3> Item redemptum discrete corrigit. Sapientius enim puer corrigitur quam si uoluntati sue relinquatur. Prouer. .iii.: *Quem diligit Deus corripit et quasi pater in filio complacet sibi.* Sic debemus inuicem diligere ut peccantes loco et tempore et in caritate corrigamus. Ysa. .xi.: *egredietur uirga* id est correctio *de radice Jesse* id est de incendio amoris. Jesse interpretatur enim incendium non enim satis diligit aliquam qui asinum suum cecidisse conspicit et non adiuuat subleuare, Deut. .xii.: *si uideris asinum fratris tui aut bouem cecidisse in uia non despicias sed subleuabis cum eo.* Bos et asinus fratris id est Christi. Homo cadit in uia cum peccat sed cum de peccato ammonitionibus et correctionibus surgere inuitamus, subleuamus. 130

<6.3> Item dilexit nos largiter quia extendit suam dilectionem usque ad inimicos. Rogauit enim pro occisoribus suis Sap. .xi.: *Diligis omnia que sunt* et cetera. Et nos similiter debemus inimicos diligere et hoc ut exemplum eius imitemur. Boni enim filii nituntur bonos parentes imitari in arduis actibus cum eis preponuntur in exemplum, gloriosissimus uero actus Christi et nobilissimus fuit diligere inimicos ergo niti debemus in hoc ipsum imitari, Mt. quinto: *diligite inimicos uestros benefacite hiis qui oderunt uos, orate pro persequentibus et calumpniantibus uos ut sitis filii Patris uestri* 135 140 145 150

127/128 dereliquerunt – fugierunt] IV Reg. 7, 7 131/132 Quem – sibi] Prou. 3, 12
133 egredietur uirga] Is. 11, 1 137/138 si – eo] Deut. 22, 4 144 Diligis – sunt] Sap.
11, 25 150/152 diligite – est] Matth. 5, 44-45

135 interpretatur – incendium] Thiel, p. 328

124 et] om. Ta debemus] debemus diligere M1 126 exponamus] ponamus P4
proiciuntur] proicimus P4 127 dereliquerunt] derelinquerunt P1 129 corrigit]
corrigit L1 131 iii] .iii. P4 133 caritate] om. P4 135 interpretatur enim] enim
interpretatur P1 P4 enim] om. Ta aliquam] aliquem P1 139 fratris] fratris tui Me
141 inuitamus] non uitamus L1] non inuitamus Ta subleuamus] superleuamus M1
145 et hoc] om. P4 147 eis] eius P1 148 uero] enim M1 149/150 ergo –
inimicos] om. Me Ta

qui in celis est. Item ut magis lucremur in mercibus enim plus
 lucratiuis ponunt negotiatores nummos suos et in terra
 magis fecunda iacitur semen et ideo amor cordis ponendus
 155 est in inimico quia fructuosior et lucrabilior est. Fortior est
 ignis qui ardet in aqua et frumentum et uinum pretiosior
 sunt ubi non crescunt. Similiter amor inimico et odiente
 Matt.: *Si diligitis eos qui uos diligunt quam mercedem habebitis?*
Nam et publicani hoc faciunt, Sarraceni enim hoc faciunt.
 160 Canes diligunt panem eis dantes et latrant lapidem
 proicientes. Nihil ergo amplius boni a canibus habent qui
 solos benefactores diligunt. Unde sequitur Matt. .v.: *Estote*
ergo perfecti ut Pater uester qui in celis est perfectus est ut diligatis
 sicut ipse inimicos. Item ne ingrati uideamur plus enim
 165 bene faciens plus diligendus est sed malefactor plus acquirit
 nobis apud Deum quam benefactor si patienter iniuriam
 sustinemus. Benefactor enim obligat nos inuicem
 reddendam, qui autem plus acquirit nobis magis est
 beneficiis ut uidetur quam qui obligat nos et ita magis
 170 diligendus .ii. Regum .xx.: Dixit Ioab ad Dauid
 reprobantem enim Absalon inimicum eius *diligis odientem te.*
 Exemplum de moniali osculante manus aduersarie sue Ge.
 .xxv.: *maior seruiet minori* et cetera. Rogemus.

158/159 Si – faciunt¹] Matth. 5, 46 162/163 Estote – est²] Matth. 5, 48

171 diligis – te] II Reg. 19, 6 173 maior – minori] Gen. 25, 23

152 celis] celum M1 155 est²] est P1 L1 M^e M1 Ta 156 pretiosior] pretiosora P1
 L1 Ta 157 inimico] in inimico P1 159 Nam] iam P4 Sarraceni – faciunt²] et Ta
 160 Canes] et canes P1 latrant] luctant P1 164 inimicos] in inimicos P1 ne] uere
 M1 uideamur] uideantur P1 166/168 apud – acquirit] om. Ta 168 reddendam]
 reddendam M1] reddendum P4 171 enim] om. M^e M1 Ta Absalon] absillon M^e
 diligis odientem] diligit odientes P1 odientem] odientes M^e M1 172 osculante]
 osculanti P4 173 minori] a minori Ta et – Rogemus] om. P1 L1 M^e M1 P4 Ta

Sermo III

Sermon de apostolo, apostolis, C2, RLS 213.

Base ms.: P, ff. 156va-157vb.

- 5 Collated mss.: L1, ff. 244ra-246ra; M1, ff. 374vb-376rb; Me, ff. 175vb-177rb; P1, ff. 133va-134vb; P4, ff. 136va-136ra Ta, ff. 158va-159vb; W1, ff. 240vb-242va.

Tollite iugum meum super uos

- 10 Cum quis nutriuit bouem non est mirum si iugum sibi imponat et mittit ad arandum tempore oportuno et ideo cum Dominus nos ab infantia nutriuit, ipse est enim qui dat escam omni carni, non est mirum si uult et admonet nos quod iugum suum portemus, id est corpora nostra labori et
15 penitentie et mandatis subponamus et maxime apostoli et prelati et clerici qui de mensa Domini sunt nutriti et hoc est quod dicitur in uerbis predictis in quibus quatuor ponuntur que requiruntur ad hoc quod aliqui Deo seruiatur competenter. Oportet enim quod:

- 20 <1> seruiant uoluntarie, quod ibi notatur tollite. Qui enim inuitus Deo seruit non iugum Domini tollit sed sibi imponitur.

- <2> Secundo quod seruiat in caritate quod notatur ibi iugum, dicitur enim iugum a iungendo quia significat
25 caritatem que diuersos iungit.

<3> Tertio quod seruiat in bono opere, ibi meum. Qui enim iugum mundi uel dyaboli sustinet bonum opus non exercet.

- <4> Quarto quod seruiat honorifice ibi super uos glossa
30 in honore.

<1> Primo ergo notatur oportere quod Deo uoluntarie seruamus, coacta enim seruitia Deo non placent Leu. .x.:

Sermo III, 9 Tollite – uos] Matth. 11, 29

Sermo III, 12 ab] ad Ta enim] om. L1 P1 P4 M1 13 mirum] enim mirum Me
15 subponamus] supponamus P4 15/17 et² – quod] om. L1 P1 P4 Me M1 Ta
17 dicitur] sicut dicitur L1 P1 P4 Me M1 Ta 18 ad] ab M1 aliqui] om. L1 P1 P4 Me
M1 Ta 19 quod] quod Deo L1 Me M1 P4 21 Deo seruit] om. Ta 23 notatur] om.
M1 P1 P4 24 iugum²] om. L1 Me M1 P1 P4 31 notatur] uidetur P4 32 seruamus]
seruatur P1] seruiatur L1 Me M1 P4 Ta

Quomodo potui Deo placere in cerimoniis mente lugubris quasi dicat non potui. Dicitur enim *quod bele chiere uaut un mes*. Immo dico quod licet omnia fercula. Si quis enim me inuitaret et plura fercula et diuersa mihi daret tristi facie non multas greces ei referrem. Si uero non daret mihi nisi panem et aquam si lete hoc faceret multum placeret mihi. Sic si Domino seruiamus de multis ferculis ut caste uiuendo, ieiunando, tribulationes multas sustinendo sed inuiti hoc faciamus non multam gratiam a Deo mereamur. Si sibi non demus nisi ferculum unum id est decalogi impletionem et hoc letanter placet sibi et gratiam multam ab eo habebimus. Ideo Ps.: *uoluntarie sacrificabo tibi* id est uoluntarie sacrificarem tibi et hoc innuitur et hoc quod dicit tollite iugum. Iugum enim Domini tollit qui per se laborem preceptorum Domini et penitentiae penam sponte assumit. Unde Matt. .xvi.: *Si quis uult post me uenire abneget semetipsum et tollat crucem suam* et cetera. Post Christum uadit et Christum sequitur qui sponte laborem penitentiae assumit sicut Christus. Christum autem non sequitur sed Symonem Cyreneum qui inuitus laborem sustinet sicut ille crucem in angaria. Sunt enim multi qui numquam penitentiam uel laborem per se accipiunt. Sed oportet quod Dominus super eos imponat infirmitates et paupertates et ceteras

33 Quomodo – lugubris] Leu. 10, 19 **44** uoluntarie¹ – tibi] Ps. 53, 8 **48/49** Si – suam] Matt. 16, 24

Sermo III, 34 quod – mes] Morawski, 220

33/34 potui – potui] *om. Ta* **33** mente] *om. P4* **34** chiere] chere *L1 M1 P4 Ta* Immo] in uno *M1* **35** dico] didico *P1* licet] *om. L1 Me M1 P1 P4 Ta* omnia] omnia sunt *L1 Me M1 P1 P4* **36** plura] queque *P1*] quecumque *Me M1 P4 Ta* et diuersa] *om. Me M1 P1 P4 Ta* **36/37** non – ei] minimas gratias *L1 Me M1 P4 Ta* **37** greces] gratias *P1* ei] *om. P1* referrem] referrem ei *Me M1 P4* **38** si¹] *ed. M1* faceret] faceret *P1* placeret] placet *M1* mihi] *om. L1 Me M1 P1 P4 Ta* **39** seruiamus] seruiat *L1 Me P1 P4 Ta*] seruiatur *M1* multis] iustis *Ta* **40** sed inuiti] hoc intus *L1* sed] licet *Me* inuiti] inuitus *Me M1 P1 P4 Ta* **41** faciamus] facias *L1 Me M1 P1 P4 Ta* mereamur] mereris *L1 Me M1 P1 P4 Ta* **42** demus] des *L1 Me M1 P1 P4 Ta* **43** gratiam multam] multam gratiam *L1 Me M1 P1 P4 Ta* eo habebimus] ipso habebis *L1 Me P1 P4 Ta*] ipso *M1i* **45** et²] in *L1 Me M1 P1 P4* **47** preceptorum] preceptorum est *Me* **48** Si] sed *P1* **49** suam] *om. Ta* **50** penitentiae] *om. Ta* assumit] suscipit *L1 M1 P1 P4*] sustinet *Ta* **51/52** Christus – sicut] *om. Ta*

tribulationes inferendo; sicut asinus et iumentum non ponunt super se onera sed oportet quod eis imponantur. Ideo Ps.: *calicem salutaris accipiam* sed utinam adhuc essent sicut iumentum et asinus si enim onera sibi non imponant
 60 tamen que imponantur patienter sustinent et imponita portant. Multi autem nunc sibi ipsis imponunt nunc que a Domino imponantur patienter sustinent sed quam citius possunt deponunt. Ideo Eccli .ii.: *sustine sustentationes Dei* id est tribulationes quas Dominus tibi imponit, quas Christus
 65 sustinuit pro te et accepit.

<2> Secundo necessarium est quod Domino in caritate seruiamus. Moneta enim sine lege debita reprobatur et fructus accedosi nisi maturentur a calore reprobantur et pulmentum sine condimento sagimenis uel pinguedinis non
 70 bene sapit. Sic nullum opus sine caritate a Deo acceptatur. Est enim caritas ut calor qui fructum operum maturat et dulcem facit ut saginem et pinguedo que opera alia condit. Lex enim que aliarum uirtutum opera acceptabilia reddit .i. Corin. .xiii.: *Si distribuero omnes facultates meas in cibos pauperos*
 75 *et si tradidero corpus meum ita ut ardeam caritatem autem non habeam nihil mihi prodest*, et hoc notatur ibi iugum. Dicitur enim a iungendo et caritas iungit nos spiritualiter Deo. Caritas enim hominem rectum reddit, unde Canticum .i.: *recti diligunt te*, tortum recto non iungitur nec adheret sed
 80 rectum recto. Deus autem rectus est, ideo recti Deo iunguntur et adherent Ps.: *Innocentes et recti adheserunt mihi*. Et ideo dico quod caritas facit nos Deo adherere et coniungi et ideo in iugo importatur et dicitur Eccli. .ii.: *Sustine sustentationes Dei* uel Deo id est ardua et austera sustine pro

58 calicem – accipiam] Ps. 115, 4 63 sustine – Dei] Eccli. 2, 3 74/76 Si – prodest] I Cor. 13, 3 79 recti – te] Cant. 1, 3 81 Innocentes – mihi] Ps. 24, 21 83/84 Sustine – Dei] Eccli. 2, 3

58 Ps – essent] om. Ta 59 imponant] imponat Me P1 60 que] quod L1 Me M1 P4] que eas Ta 60/62 et – sustinent] om. L1 Me M1 P1 P4 Ta 63 ii] om. P1 P4 sustine] ego dicam sustine L1 Me M1 P1 P4 Ta 68 accedosi] acetosi L1 Me M1 P1 P4 Ta maturentur] maturetur Me 69 sagimenis] sanguinis P1] sagiminis Me M1 72 saginem] saguinem Ta 73 opera] operi Ta 74 xiii] .XIIII. P1 pauperos] pauperum Me P4 76 hoc] om. P1 78 Canticum] om. Ta 84 Dei – Deo] Deo uel Dei Me P1 Ta

Deo et coniunge te illi per caritatem scilicet quod non
prodesset. Notatur de discipulo qui iungit se magistro suo
dum uerberatur. 85

<3> Tertio oportet quod de bono opere ei seruiamus.
Ps.: *Spera in Domino et fac bonitatem* quia aliter non est spes
sed presumptio et stultitia. Sicut qui plantaret spinas et
speraret colligere uuas et hoc notatur ibi *meum* qui enim in
malo faciendo laborat, iugum non Domini sed dyaboli uel
mundi portat. Est enim iugum triplex 90

<3.1> pene,

<3.2> culpe,

<3.3> gratie. 95

<3.1> Primum imponit mundus, secundum Daybolus,
tertium Deus. De primo Eccli. .xli.: *occupatio magna creata est*
omnibus hominibus et iugum graue super omnes filios Adam. Illud
iugum est penalitas mundi huius est frigus et calor et cetera
pro peccato Ade humano generi imponita et inflicta et licet
peccatum Ade in baptismo tollatur, remanet tamen pena et
corruptio predictam ut cautiores simus et humiliores.
Castra proditorum et aduersariorum Domini sui etiam post
compositionem pacis remanent diruta et non resorcita nec
reintegrata ut magis sint humiles et dominis suis magis
obedientes Eccli. .xxiii.: *Iugum et lorum curuant collum durum.* 100

<3.2> De iugo culpe .ii. Corint. .vi.: *Nolite iugum ducere*
cum infidelibus id est non associatis uos alicui ad peccandum.
Sapiens enim non libenter se associat cum aliquo in
mercibus dampnosis, nihil autem dampnosius peccato Ps.:
proiciamus a nobis iugum ipsorum et cetera id est societatem. Si
quis enim merces dampnosas et prauas care emisset,
incautus esset negotiator. Immo insanus qui diceret ego
uolo esse socius et particeps in mercibus istis cum sciret eas
esse dampnosas non lucratiuas. Quod faciunt qui se 110 115

89 Spera – bonitatem] Ps. 36, 3 98/99 occupatio – Adam] Eccli. 40, 1

107 Iugum – durum] Eccli. 33, 27 108/109 Nolite – infidelibus] II Cor. 6, 14

112 proiciamus – ipsorum] Ps. 2, 3

86 Notatur] nota L1 M1 Ta 89 Domino] Deo L1 M1 P1 Ta 99 Adam] ade P1

101 inflicta] om. Ta 103 predictam] predicta Me P4 cautiores] cautores Ta 107 et

lorum] illorum L1] om. Ta collum] costum L1 M1 109 associatis] associetis P4

110 enim] om. P1

associant euntibus in tabernam uel ad bordellum uel ad usurarios uel alios peccatores comitantur imitantes. *Si uidebas furem currebas cum eo et cetera.*

120 <3.3> De iugo quod Deus imponit dicitur Tren.: *bonum est uiro cum portauerit iugum ab adolescentia sua.* Iugum Domini portare id est penitentiam facere et Deo seruire et ab adolescentia sua bonum est. Prouer. .v.: *quod facilius recipitur, diutius obseruatur, utilius portatur, leuius sustinetur, securius agitur.*

125 <3.3.1> Facilius recipitur arbor enim tenera facilius domatur et afflectitur quam senex et putrida et catulus ad standum uel saltandum facilius edocetur quam senex canis et equus dum est pullus docetur ambulare. Dicitur enim *uiel chen est mal a mettre en lien*; sic qui usque ad senectutem expectat penitentiam facere uel Deo seruire. Eccli. .xxx.: *Curua ceruicem eius in senectute et tunde latera eius dum infans est ne forte indurescat, et non credit tibi.*

130 <3.3.2> Item diutius obseruatur ut enim calciamentum torturam uel pulchritudinem suam quam in nouitate recepit. Sic homo statum quem in iuuentute assumit siue in bono siue in malo Prouerb. .xxii.: *proverbium est adolescens iuxta uiam suam etiam cum senuerit non recedet ab ea.* Dicitur enim que toiors sent li mortiers les aus. Unde nota quod noua testa capit inueterata sapit. Sic qui malum in iuuentute operatur uix ab illo abstinet cum senuerit. Iere .xiii.: *Si mutare potest ethyops et cetera.*

<3.3.3> Item utilius portatur. Pira enim nouiora cariora sunt et carnes et pisces quanto nouiores tanto meliores. Eccli .xii.: *Memento creatoris tui in diebus iuuentutis tue et*

118/119 Si – eo] Ps. 49, 18 120/121 bonum – sua] Thren. 3, 27 123/124 quod – agitur] Cfr Prou. 5 131/132 Curua – tibi] Cfr Eccli. 30, 12 136/137 proverbium – ea] Prou. 22, 6 140/141 Si – ethyops] Ier. 13, 23 144/145 Memento – afflictionis] Eccle. 12, 1

128/129 uiel – lien] Morawski, 2472 138 toiors – aus] Morawski, 1099

118 comitantur imitantes] *del. Ta* 121 Domini] dicitur *P4* 122 Deo] ideo *Ta* et²] *om. Ta* ab] *om. P1* 123 v] *om. Ta* 126 afflectitur] flectitur *M1 Ta* 129 chen] chien *Me* a mettre] amere *M1*] ametre *L1* 131 senectute] iuuentute *Ta* tunde] timide *P1* 137 que] *ke L1 Me M1 P1 P4 Ta* 138 toiors] tousiors *P1*] boniors *L1 Ta*] tuiors *M1*] touiors *Me* aus] *haus L1 Me M1 P1 P4* nota quod] *om. Me* 143 quanto nouiores] *om. P4* meliores] *melieres P1*

*antequam ueniat tempus afflictionis. Melius enim facit pugil
sanus et fortis et integrus cum socio suo quam uulneratus
uel mutilatus et ad terram prostratus uel proiectus. Sic
peccator cum Deo quando est fortis et iuuenis utilius
penitet quam cum senio confractus uel in lectulo
infirmittatis positus, Eccli .xvii. : uiuus et sanus confitere quasi
mortuo enim quasi nihil perit confessio et nobiles plus acceptant
fortium laborem quam debiliu in potentium fortitudinem
meam ad te custodiam.* 145 150

<3.3.4> Item leuius sustinentur. Dicitur enim *suef trahit
en hal qui apris la*. Sic qui assuescit bene facere non multum
grauat eum cum est senex. Ciroteca enim et calciamenta
stricta per usus frequentationem fiunt larga. Ita quod
facilius induuntur. Sic et penitentia et bona opera et si in
principio laboriosa sint, per usum leuius sentiuntur
Prouerb. .vi. : *Ducam te per semitas equitatis quas cum ingressus
fueris non arctabuntur gressus tui.* 155 160

<3.3.5> Item securius agitur ut auis que moratur super
palum arcu extento sapienter auolat ad nidum. Sagitta enim
mortis est iam in arcu tamen ponita Ps. : *Nisi conuersi fueritis
gladium suum uibrabit, arcum suum tetendit* et cetera. Ideo Ecc.
.v. : *ne tardes conuerti ad Dominum, ne differas de die in diem* et
cetera. Sic ergo bonum est iugum Domini ab adolescentia
portare. 165

<4> Immo honorificum et hoc est quartum quod
notatur in uerbis predictis scilicet ibi super uos. Unde
oportet quod honorifice sibi seruiamus. Fercula enim
coram magnatibus magis eleuata asportantur. Sic oportet
quod illa opera de quibus coram Deo seruitur a uitiis 170

150/151 confitere – confessio] Eccli. 17, 26 152/153 fortitudinem – custodiam] Ps.
58, 10 160/161 Ducam – tui] Prou. 4, 11-12 164/165 Nisi – tetendit] Ps. 7, 13
166 ne¹ – diem] Eccli. 5, 8

154/155 suef – la] Morawski, 2266

147 uel¹] et Me P4 Ta et] uel Me P4 Ta prostratus uel] om. L1 Me M1 P1 P4 Ta
148 utilius] om. L1 150 confitere] confiteberis Me] confiteri P4 151 perit] pro P4
154 suef trahit] sufficit Ta trahit] om. P] trait Me 155 hal] ha W1] bal Ta 163 ad]
in Me P1] et in Ta 164 iam] om. Ta tamen] tento L1 Me P1 P4 Ta] tanto M1
165 suum¹ – cetera] om. L1 M1 suum¹ – tetendit] om. Ta 172 asportantur]
apportantur L1 M1 P1

- eleuentur, Ps.: *In nomine tuo leuabo manus meas* id est opera
 175 mea, ieiunium, elimosina et huius et cetera. Bona opera et
 hoc notatur ibi super uos id est in honore et non subtus,
 dicit glossa qui enim ferculum lutosum uel in puluere
 uoluptatum apportaret coram nobili non ei placeret. Sicut
 ieiunium uel elimosina in peccato luxurie uel auaritie facta.
 180 Osee: *uictimas declinatis sum in profundum* et cetera.

174 In – meas] Ps. 62, 5 **180** uictimas – profundum] Cfr Os. 5, 2

177 glossa] Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina (Mt. 11, 29), in
 : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 28/08/2022.
 (P e r m a l i n k :
http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GLOSS-liber55.xmlchapitre=55_11): “ Iugum Christi evangelium est quod Iudeos et gentes
 in una fide coniungit. Tollite super vos, id est in honore habete, non subtus ut
 contemnatis. Qui laboratis, difficultate legis, et onerati peccatis scilicet reficiam si iugum
 tollitis, id est precepta mea. Et quid iugo eius suavius, quid onere leuius? Probabilem fieri,
 abstinere a malo, bonum velle, amare omnes, eterna sequi, presentibus non capi, nolle alii
 facere quod pati non vis.”

177 in puluere] impulsuere P1 **178** apportaret] aportaret P1 **180** sum] om. P1 in]
 om. P et cetera] om. L1 Me M1 P1 P4 Ta

Sermo IV

Sermon *de uno martyre*, C4, RLS 215.

Base ms.: P, ff. 157vb-159ra.

- 5 Collated mss.: L1, ff. 246ra-247va; M1, ff. 376rb-377vb;
Me, ff. 177rb-178va; P1, ff. 134vb-135vb; P4, ff. 136ra-
136va Ta, ff. 159vb-161ra; W1, ff. 242va-244rb.

10 *Qui odit animam suam in hoc mundo in uitam eternam custodit*
eam Io. .xi.

Dicitur uulgariter qui non dat quod amat non accipit illud
quod optat. Unde qui non dat pro Deo quod amat in hac
uita quod cupit non accipiet in futuro, qui autem quod amat
pro Deo hoc exponit in futuro accipiet quod optauit sicut
15 innuitur in uerbis predictis in quibus sunt quatuor
attendenda. Quatuor enim debet considerare:

<1> quilibet scilicet beneficium, id est bonitatem et
curialitate, quam alteri impendit quoniam facit

<2> de quo facit

20 <3> quando et

<4> quare quoniam fuit quod scilicet de corde et
uoluntate.

<1> Beneficia enim inuite impensa gratiam non
merentur quod notatur ibi: *odit*. Odire enim dispositio
25 cordis est et quod oblicitur uoluntarie exponitur. Unde
sensus est qui odit animam suam id est qui uoluntarie pro
Deo animam suam exponit et hoc est quod dicitur Iudith
.v.: *qui sponte obtulistis desuper Israel animas uestras ad periculum*
benedicite Domino.

30 <2> Item de quo facit quod de re scilicet cara et
pretiosa. Exennium enim facere magnati de peiori uino non
esset curiale nec multum gratiosum quod notatur ibi *animam*
suam. Quanto autem quod offertur carius et pretiosius est

Sermo IV, 9/10 odit – Io] Ioh. 12, 25 28/29 qui – Domino] Cfr Iud. 5, 2

Sermo IV, 11/12 non¹ – optat] Cfr Petrus Abelardus, *Carmen ad Astralabium*, v. 315]
Cfr. Morawski 2023] Cfr *Proverbia rusticorum*, 32

Sermo IV, 12 hac] om. P1 17 scilicet] circa P4 Ta 25 oblicitur] obicitur Ta
27 Iudith] Lucae L1 28 desuper] de Ta 31 Exennium] exenium P1

tanto maior gratia debetur offerenti et quia inter omnia uita corporis est homini carior inter omnia exennium de uita corporali magis apud Deum gratiam promeretur Io .xv. : *maiolem hanc dilectionem nemo habet* et cetera. 35

<3> Item quando facit quod scilicet tempore oportuno, quod notatur ibi *in hoc mundo*. Res enim primitiue pretiosiores sunt quam tarde. Similiter penitentia in iuuentute facta et in hac uita quam in alia quia tunc non est sayson Mt .iii. : *facite dignos fructus penitentie* et exennium unde plus acceptatur in terra ubi rarum est quam quatuor ubi habundat. Sic una dies penitentie nunc quam quatuor in purgatorio uel in inferno quia loca illa tota sunt penarum plena. Lucas .xi. uocauit diues locum illum tormentorum, ideo Proueria .xiii. : *Ne dicas amico tuo*, id est Christo, *uade et reuertere et cras*, id est post mortem, *dabo tibi exenium penitentie*. 40 45

<4> Item quare facit quod scilicet non propter commodum terrenum sed eternum, libentius enim beneficium et exenia ei impenduntur a quo maior remuneratio expectatur. Unde si principi uel prelato terreno pro spe mercedis eterne magna exennia offeruntur et dantur cara seruitia sustinentur, multo plus Christo qui quod sibi impenditur centuplo remunerat et eterno, et hoc notatur ibi *et uitam eternam* et hoc est quod dicitur Mt. .xix. : *omnis qui reliquerit patrem et matrem aut uxorem et filios et fratres et sorores, domum aut agros propter nomen meum centuplum accipiet et uitam eternam possidebit*. 50 55 60

<5> Et notatur quod anima id est uita carnalis oditur bene et male.

<5.1> Male enim oditur cum propter langorem uel paupertatem uel aliquem infortunium tedet aliquem uite sue

37 maiorem – habet] Ioh. 15, 13 42 facite – penitentie] Luc. 3, 8, Cfr Matth. 3, 8

46 uocauit – tormentorum] Cfr Luc. 11 47/48 Ne – tibi] Prou. 3, 28

58/60 omnis – possidebit] Matth. 19, 29

38 quod] om. P1 P4] del. M1 42 sayson] saison L1 Me M1 Ta dignos] digitos M1 unde] unum M1 47 xiiii] .iiii. Me Ta 48 et²] om. P4 51 commodum] om. P4 52 exenia] exenium P1 a] autem L1 55 cara] plura L1 Me P1 P4 Ta] ~~cara~~ plura M1 57 et¹] om. L1 Me M1 P1 P4 Ta 59 agros] agrum L1 Me P1 P4 Ta 61 notatur] nota L1 Me M1 P1 P4 Ta 62 bene] om. M1 64 aliquem¹] aliquod P4

- 65 et desiderat mortem, I Cor. .vii.: *Nemo carnem suam odio habuit* id est ille qui est nemo. Dicitur enim de eo qui prauum cor habet quod est nemo et non homo, et sine dubio prauus cordis est et pauci sensus et nullius ualoris qui sibi tedet uiuere propter infortunia et langores. Sapienter
 70 enim non tedet commodum suum facere et proficuum. Unde strenues milites non tedet tempus bellorum et tyrocinorum immo uellent quod aliud tempus non ueniret quia ibi sciunt se laudem et gloriam acquirere et certe in aduersitate patientes apud Deum laudem et gloriam
 75 acquirunt Ps.: *Si exurgat aduersum me prelium in hoc ego sperabo*. Preterea infirmos non tedet tempus quod sue sanitati est congruum nec emplastra sustinere licet mordacia ex quibus se nouit recuperare sanitatem et certe ex tribulationibus carnalibus licet corporalibus recuperatur multotiens sanitas
 80 mentis Iob .v.: *ipse uulnerat et medetur, percutit et sanat* glossa uulnerat carnem et sanat mentem. Preterea mercata et nundine non tedent cupidos mercatores quin ibi plusquam in aliis temporibus acquirunt et lucrantur et certe tribulationes patientibus diuitias spirituales acquirunt.
 85 Prouerbia .x.: *benedictio Domini*, in tribulatione scilicet qua debet Deus benedici, sicut Iob: *sit nomen Domini benedictum*

65/66 Nemo – habuit] Eph. 5, 29 75 Si – sperabo] Ps. 26, 3 80 ipse – sanat] Cfr Iob 5, 18 85 benedictio Domini] Prou. 10, 22 86 sit – benedictum] Iob 1, 21

80 glossa] Cfr Martin Morard et alii, ed., *Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina* (Iob. 5, 18), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 28/08/2022. (P e r m a l i n k : http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GLOSS-liber25.xmlchapitre=25_5) : “Duobus modis uulnerat Deus quos ad salutem reducit. Aliquando percutit in corpore ut mentem sanet, aliquando sine exterioribus flagellis mentis duritiam suo desiderio percutit, et sic eam sanat que secunda in mundo mortua quiescebat. Sed dum meus ad Deum anhelat, et omnia secularia despiciat, omnia mox ei vertuntur in temptationem et eam affligunt, sed dum transitorio labore atteritur a perpetuo liberatur.”

67 et²] om. P1] in Ta sine] fruc. L1 68 ualoris qui] ualoris est que M1 69 Sapienter] sapientem L1 Me M1 Ta 70 commodum] comodum P1 72 immo] unde P4 75 prelium – sperabo] om. L1] et cetera Ta 79 carnalibus licet] om. L1 Me M1 P4 Ta 85 qua] quia P1] quam L1

diuites facit glossa hiis uirtutibus et in futuro omnibus bonis et nunc satiabitur eis afflictio et si modo satietur. Cardui enim et grana in campo sociantur sed cum ponuntur in horreum societas separatur, Apoc. .xx.: absterget Deus omnem lacrimam et cetera.

90

<5.2> Bene autem additur anima, id est uita carnalis, cum usque ad internicionem uitiorum persequitur et mortificatur ut dicitur Luc. .xiii.: *Qui non odit patrem et matrem et fratres et sorores adhuc autem et animam suam*, glossa in omni enim arte discipuli magistrum imitantur. Sed notatur quod quadrupliciter debet quis odire animam suam id est uitam carnalem:

95

<5.2.1> ut agricola granum quod mauult ipsum ad tempore perdere in terra uentis et tempestatibus exponere quam in horreo reseruare. Si enim ipsum tantum amaret quod in horreo semper reseruaret nihil fructus faceret; sed putrefieret et corrumperetur. Sic qui tantum amat carnem suam ut in quiete et in deliciis eam utiliter seruare. Non ieiuniis et orationibus et talibus exponere nichil ex ea nisi corruptionem et peccatum habebit Mt. .xvi.: *Qui uult animam suam saluam facere perdet eam: qui autem perdiderit animam suam propter me inueniet eam.* Glossa quasi dicat agricolae si frumentum seruas perdis si seminas renouas.

100

105

88 nunc – afflictio] Cfr Prou. 10, 22 **90** absterget – lacrimam] Cfr Apoc. 21, 4; Apoc. 7, 17 **94/95** Qui – suam] Luc. 14, 26 **106/108** Qui – eam] Matth. 16, 25

87 glossa] Cfr Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina (Prv. 10, 22), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 28/08/2022. (Permalink :

http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GLOSS-liber28.xmlchapitre=28_10) **95** glossa] *non inueni* **108** Glossa] Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina (Mt. 16, 25), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 28/08/2022. (Permalink : http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GLOSS-liber55.xmlchapitre=55_16): “quasi dicatur agricolae : ‘si frumentum servas, perdis ; si seminas, renouas’”.

88 nunc] nec *L1* satiabitur] sociabitur *M1* satietur] satiantur *M1* **89** sed – ponuntur] *om. P4* **92** additur] oditur *cfr. ms. Avignon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 308, f. 318vb (Summa de Abstinencia)* **96** notatur] nota *L1 Me M1 P1 Ta* **101/102** amaret – semper] *om. L1* **104** suam] suam amat *Me*

- 110 Ideo dicitur Io. .xii. : *nisi granum frumenti* et cetera. Si autem mortuum fuerit multum fructum affert, terra enim que quiescit et non colitur non nisi herbas nociuas affert cum uero colitur bonas affert, sic caro Prou. .xxviii. : *Qui operatur terram* id est carnem ieiuniis et talibus *satiabitur panibus* glossa
 115 *qui sectatur otium in egestate erit.*
 <5.2.2> Item pugnator clipeum diligit et carum habet, sed non in tantum quod ipsum non exponat ictibus ut se seruet illesum. Sic caro aduersitatibus et periculis exponenda est ut anima seruetur illesa et indampnis, Act.
 120 .xx. : *uincula et tribulationes Jerosolymis me monent*, id est expectant, *sed nihil eorum uereor nec facio animam meam pretiosorem*, id est carnem, *quam me*. Cum enim quis artatur in tantum quod in mare oportet ipsum merces proicere et post submergere merces exponuntur et in bello manus ensi
 125 exponitur ut capud seruetur sanum quia merces mortuo non prosunt nec manus capite absciso. Sic cum quis ad hoc deuenit quod oportet eum carnis uel anime habere detrimentum debet carnem et diuitias exponere. Sicut serpens corpus exponit et caudam ut capud uita seruetur
 130 Mt. .v. : *Estote prudentes sicut serpentes*. Diuitie enim anime dampnate non prosunt, sicut nec merces mortuo nec manus capite truncato. Mt. .v. : *Quid prodest homini si uniuersum mundum lucretur anime autem sue detrimentum patiatur*
 <5.2.3> Item ut miles equum sine dubio strenuus, miles
 135 non odit sed habet eum carum et tamen cum est in bello

110 nisi – frumenti] Ioh. 12, 24 **113/115** Qui – erit] Cfr Prou. 28, 19
120/122 uincula – me] Act. 20, 23-24 **130** Estote – serpentes] Matth. 10, 16
132/133 Quid – patiat] Matth. 16, 26

114 glossa] Cfr Martin Morard et alii, ed., *Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina* (Prv. 28, 19), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 28/08/2022. (Permalink : http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GL-OSS-liber28.xmlchapitre=28_28): “agri uel corporis frumento uel virtutibus sed in quolibet predictorum.”

111 affert] aufert P4 **112/113** cum uero] terra enim que Ta **116** Item] Item ut M1
117 quod] quem quod Me **119** indampnis] indemnis Me P4 Ta **127** carnis] carius P1
130 prudentes – serpentes] prudens L1 **131** prosunt] prosit P1] prosicito M1
 mortuo] motuo M1 **135** cum] om. Ta est] et Ta

uel tyrocinio urget calcaribus eum nec percit illi immo
 morti et perditioni exponit eum ut faciat pulcrum ictum.
 Unde sibi acquirit laudem et gloriam et maxime cum seruit
 largo nobili a quo meliorem recuperare non dubitat . Sic in
 bello et tyrocinio penitentiae exponenda est caro ut pulcrum 140
 ictum ieiunii et orationum non dimittamus timore carnis,
 cum adeo in iudicio multo meliorem carnem recuperaturi
 sumus, .II. Mach. .iii. adolescens membra perditioni
 exponens: *ait e celo ista possideo et propter Dei leges hec ipsa*
despicio quoniam ab ipso me ea recepturum spero. 145
 <5.2.4> Item ut eger membrum infirmum amat cuius
 sanitatem prout urendo, secando procurat. Si enim tantum
 amaret membrum quod nec ferro nec igne tangi dimitteret
 ipsum ex toto perderet. Sed non cancrum uel fistulam uel
 putrefactionem faceret igne uel ferro amoueri. Sic caro 150
 odienda est ut ferro et igne penitentiae uitia resecantur
 alioquin deperiret finaliter. Io. .xii. : *qui amat animam suam*, id
 est carnem, *in hoc mundo* ut scilicet igne penitentiae non urat
 et ferro aduersitatis uitia non resecet *perdet eam* scilicet 155
 eternaliter in futuro. Granum enim ut conteratur ponitur
 sub flagello et palea separaretur et equus morbidus ferro in
 igne torquetur ut sanetur. Sic debet fieri de carne super
 Luc. .xiii. : *qui non odit animam*. Glossa bene animam
 odimus cum carnalibus desideriis non acquiescamus; Gal.
 .v. : *qui Christi sunt carnem suam crucifixerunt, cum uitis et* 160
concupiscentiis. Rogemus Dominus et cetera.

144/145 ait – spero] II Mach. 7, 11 152 qui – suam] Ioh. 12, 25 158 odit animam]
 Luc. 14, 26 160/161 qui – concupiscentiis] Gal. 5, 24

158 Glossa] Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina (Lc. 14, 26), in
 : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 28/08/2022.
 (P e r m a l i n k :
http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GLOSS-iber57.xmlchapitre=57_14): “Tunc bene animam odimus, cum eius carnalibus
 desideriis non acquiescimus, sed reluctamur et frangimus.”

136 uel] om. P1 urget] iuguet Ta 136/137 nec – eum] om. Ta 138 acquirit]
 acquirit P1 142 in iudicio] om. P1 in] om. L1 144 exponens] expones M1 ista]
 istas P1 149 perderet] dimitteret P4 fistulam] fistulum P4Ta 151 uitia] om. P4
 153/154 non – uitia] om. Ta 156 separaretur] seperetur P1 P4] separetur Ta
 161 Rogemus – cetera] om. L1 Me M1 P1 P4 Ta

Sermo V

Sermon *de pluribus martyribus*, C5, RLS 217.

Base ms.: P, ff. 159ra-160rb.

- 5 Collated mss.: L1, ff. 247va-249va; M1, ff. 377vb-379va; Me, ff. 178va-180rb; P1, ff. 136ra-137rb; P4, ff. 136va-137rb; Ta, ff. 161ra-162va; W1, ff. 244rb-246vb.

Fortes facti sunt in bello Hebr. .xi.

- 10 Si gesta fortia antiquorum recitantur ut gesta Karoli et huius ut moderni animentur, gesta martyrum taceri non debent ut ad similia prouocentur .i. Mach. .vi.: *Ostenderunt elephantibus sanguinem uee et mori ad acuendos eos in prelium*, id est modernis passio martyrum et ideo in uerbis predictis
15 recolit ecclesia gesta fortia martyrum in quibus tria sunt notanda:

<1> scilicet perfectio sustinentis ibi fortes;

<2> adiuuantis beneficium ibi facti sunt;

<3> persequentis malitia ibi in bello.

- 20 <1> Cane enim ardue athletis fortioribus committuntur et quia causa fidei ardua est martyres qui pro fide certauerunt oportuit eos esse fortes, .i. Reg. .xviii.: *Dicit Saul ad Dauid* qui interpretatur manu fortis *tantummodo esto fortis uir* et cetera.

- 25 <2> Beneficium adiuuantis: notatur ibi facti sunt. Non a se ipsis sunt fortes sicut enim uiror et uigor ramorum a radice procedit sicut a Deo martiribus fortitudo est collata .ii. Paralipomenon .xvi.: *oculi Domini contemplantur uniuersam terram et prebent fortitudinem his qui perfecto corde credunt in illum*.

- 30 <3> Item malitia persequentis notatur ibi in bello. Bellum enim dicitur a bono per contrarium quia non

Sermo V, 9 Fortes – bello] Hebr. 11, 34 12/13 Ostenderunt – prelium] I Mach. 6, 34 22/24 Dicit – uir] I Reg. 18, 17 28/29 oculi – illum] II Par. 16, 9

Sermo V, 23 interpretatur – fortis] Thiel, p. 286

Sermo V, 10 ut] nec Ta 11 moderni] in moderni P1 12 prouocentur] prouocemur Me P4 13 acuendos] acuendum Me Ta 20 Cane] cause 25/26 Non – fortes] om. P 25 Non] non enim L1 Me M1 P4 Ta 26 sunt] facti sunt L1 Me M1 P4 Ta 28 xvi] xv Me P1 Ta 29 prebent] prebet L1 Me M1 Ta illum] illum diem Me

bonum et ita dicit differentiam inferentis non sustinentis
Ps. : *dissipa gentes qui bella uolunt.*

<1> Nota tria faciunt hominem fortem contra peccata et uitia. Edificium enim habebat fortitudinem quia bene fundatur quia pilariis altis appodiatur quia cemento bono lapides coniunguntur. Sic homo spiritualiter sit fortis fundatur :

<1.1> per fidem que est fundamentum,

<1.2> per spem quasi per pilarium usque in celum eleuatur,

<1.3> per caritatem quasi per bonum cementum Deo coniungitur.

<1.1> Sic ergo fortis est homo per fidem, ut paries que habet stabile fundamentum, I Pe. ult. : *aduersarius uester dyabolus tanquam leo* et cetera. Nota in hac auctoritate describitur :

<1.1.1> dyaboli malitia ibi aduersarius uester dyabolus,

<1.1.2> potentia eius ibi tamquam leo,

<1.1.3> astutia eius circuit,

quia malus non est sibi consentiendum, quia potens auxilium est a Deo implorandum, quia astutus caute procedendum.

<1.1.1> Malitia autem eius notatur in hoc quod dicit : *aduersarius uester*. Omnium enim bono aduersatur ut quidam Romipete qui in curia pape nihil faciunt nisi contradicere uolentibus aliquod beneficium impetrare. Sic si quis prebendam paradysi ieiunio uel elimosina uel castitate uoluerit impetrare, dicet Sathanas contradico malum suggerendo et bonum impediendo Iob .i. : *Cum assisterent filii coram Deo; affuit inter illos Sathanas ad contradicendum et impediendum bonum*. Dicitur enim Sathanas contrarius uel aduersarius dum ei non est consentiendum. Sicut enim

33 dissipa – uolunt] Ps. 67, 31 45/46 aduersarius – leo] I Petr. 5, 8 60/61 Cum – Sathanas] Iob 1, 6

62/63 Dicitur – aduersarius] Thiel, p. 410

32 differentiam] animal malitiam differentiam M1 35 habebat] habet L1 Me M1 P4 Ta 50 eius] eius ibi Me P1 Ta 51 sibi] ibi L1 52 astutus] astute Me 56 Romipete] procurat M1 pape] perpetue P 59 uoluerit] uoluit P4 60 impediendo] impediendos P 61 ad] scilicet ad Me P4 Ta 63 dum] unde L1 Me M1 P4 Ta Sicut] sciendum L1

suggerenti precipitium uel subuersionem Prou. .i.: *fili si te*
 65 *lactauerint peccatores, ne acquiescas eis* id est si peccati
 suggererint delectationem.

<1.1.2> Item notatur eius potentia in hoc quod dicit leo
 sicut enim fortissimus est bestiarum, ita dyabolus
 potentissimus est creaturarum. Iob .xli.: *non est potestas super*
 70 *terram que ei comparetur.*, ideo auxilium Dei et sanctorum
 implorandum est. Qui enim ab hostibus impugnatur, ab
 amicis auxilium petit incessanter cum uidet se non posse
 resistere. Tho .vi.: *Exiuit Thobias ut lauaret pedes et ecce piscis*
immanis exiuit ad deuorandum eum et expauescens exclamauit uoce
 75 *magna dicens Domine inuadit me.* Exit homo lauare pedes
 quando de peccatis incipit dolere et penitere et tunc inuadit
 eum dyabolus ut catus murem fugientem. Sic pharao filios
 Israelis exeuntes de Egypto, sed ad Deum et ad sanctos
 oratione et ieiunio et elimosina debet clamare pro auxilio
 80 habendo. Ps.: *uoce mea ad Dominum clamaui et exaudiuit me.*

<1.1.3> Item eius astutia notatur in hoc quod dicit
circuit. Sicut enim obsessores castrorum circueunt et
 querunt qua parte debilius est castrum ut ex ea parte
 impugnent. Sic dyabolus de uitio temptat hominem ad
 85 quod ipsum nouerit proniorem et debiliorem. Iob .i.: *circuiui*
terram et perambulauit eam dicit Sathan et ideo caute se
 habendum est ut homo ex ea parte sibi caueat diligentius in
 qua scit se proniorem ad peccandum. Infirmiora castra
 libentius muniuntur Apoc.: *confirma cetera que moritura erant*
 90 quia ergo aduersarius est resistere debemus non
 consentiendo; quia fortis leo auxilium implorando; quia
circuit astute resistere debemus caute incedendo. Sicut enim
 cursores et raptores fugiunt domos et terras sibi
 resistentium sic dyabolus Iacobi .iiii.: *resistite dyabolo et fugiet*
 95 *a uobis* et hoc fortes in fide. Domus enim bene fundata

64/65 fili – eis] Prou. 1, 10 69/70 non – comparetur] Iob 41, 24 73/75 Exiuit –
 me] Tob. 6, 2-3 80 uoce – me] Ps. 3, 5 85/86 circuiui – eam] Iob 1, 7
 89 confirma – erant] Apoc. 3, 2 94/95 resistite – uobis] Iac. 4, 7

66 delectationem] ut delectationem M1 69 est¹] om. L1 xli] xl Me P1 P4 Ta 73 vi]
 vii L1 Me M1 P1 P4 Ta 77 catus] gaptus M1 80 et – me] om. Ta 86 terram]
 terram et ideo caute se habendum Sathan P1 91 quia²] qui Me 92 enim] om. P1
 94 iiii] .u. Me P1 Ta

uentos et machinas parum timet sic homo firmus in fide a temptationibus dyaboli non superatur. Mt .vii.: *descendit pluuia* id est temptatio carnis, *uenerunt flumina* id est temptatio mundi, *flauerunt uenti* id est temptatio superbie, *et irruerunt in domum illam* id est conscientia *et non cecidit fundata* 100 *enim erat super firma petram* id est in fide Christi. Nota quod pugnatorez castrorum minare sepius nituntur fundamenta et tunc necessario capitur castrum. Sic dyabolus fidem minare nititur sortilegiis et talibus fidem destituendo Ps.: *qui dicunt exinanite, exinanite usque ad fundamentum in ea.* 105

<1.2> Item spes facit hominem fortem ut altus pilarius parietem, spes autem usque ad celum ascendit prestans fiduciam de supernis et ita dat fortitudinem et solamen Ysa .xl.: *qui sperant in Domino mutabunt fortitudinem, assumunt pennas ut aquile, current et non laborabunt, ambulabunt et non deficient* et cetera. Et nota in hac auctoritate innuitur quod spes facit hominem fortem ad quatuor: 110

<1.2.1> ad bonum agendum quod nota ibi mutabunt fortitudinem id est qui prius fortes erant ad malum et ad bonum debiles sicut asinus qui in posteriori parte fortis est, in anteriori uero ubi crus est, debilis est. Iere.: *factus est cursus eorum malus et fortitudo et eorum dissimilis* fortitudini scilicet sanctorum qui per spem e contrario fortes fiunt ad bonum et debiles ad malum Prou. .x.: *fortitudo Domini in uia Domini, ideo .i. Reg. .x.: inimicatus est Saul in uirum alterum.* 115 120

<1.2.2> Item ad bene agendum id est bono fine quod nota ibi assumunt pennas ut aquile. Sicut aquila alis eleuatur in altum que solem in sua rota respicit sic fit cum quis pro

97/101 descendit – petram] Matth.7, 25 105 qui – ea] Ps. 136, 7 109/110 qui – deficient] Is. 40, 31 116/117 factus – dissimilis] Ier. 23, 10 119/120 fortitudo – Domini] Cfr Prou. 10, 29 120/121 inimicatus – alterum] Cfr I Reg. 10

96/97 a temptationibus] attentionibus L1 100 cecidit] cedit L1 fundata] fundamenta L1 102 minare] minerare Me 103 capitur] rapitur L1 104 minare] minerare Me nititur] nitur P1 et talibus] et talibus et talibus P1 destituendo] destruendo L1 Me Ta] destinendo M1 105 dicunt] dominus L1 107 autem] aut Me 108/109 et² – fortitudinem] om. Ta 113 nota] notatur L1 Me Ta 116 crus] crux L1 Me M1 P1 P4 Ta 117 et²] om. P4 118 fortes] om. Me fiunt] sunt P4 122 bono] ad bono P1 fine] fide P1 123 nota] notatur L1 Me M1 P4 Ta 124 quis] aliquis P4

125 amore Dei et eternorum non pro temporali commodo
laborat ut spes habende magne mercede operario dat
fortitudinem agendi. Melius est, enim merces bono pagatori
minus uendere quam plus malo et fallaci. Deus autem
130 melius pagat quam mundus Ps.: *fortitudinem meam ad te
custodiam*. Ideo dicit sicut aquile iuuentus tua id est fortitudo
que est in iuuentute.

<1.2.3> Item ad bonum bene et faciliter agendum, quod
notatur ibi et non laborabunt. Licet enim in sotularibus
strictis in principio difficile intretur tamen ex
135 frequentatione largi fiunt et faciles ad intrandum sic
penitentia et bona opera. Ysa .xxxi.: *in spe et silentio erit
fortitudo uestra* quia ita erit facile nobis facere bona sicut forti
leue onus portare et in silentio id est sine murmuratione
agentis, ut quadriga bene uncta onus suum portat et ideo
140 current et non laborabunt Prou. .xiii.: *ducam te per semitas
equitatis quas cum ingressus fueris, non arctabuntur gressus tui et
currens non habebis offendiculum*.

<1.2.4> Item ad bonum faciliter et perseueranter
operandum quod notatur ibi ambulabunt et non deficient.
145 Sine perseuerantia enim nullum bonum meretur ut pugil
quantuncumque in principio strenue egerit si lassetur
uictoriam non habebit, et operarius quantumcumque in
principio bene laborauerit si in tertia opus exierit non habet
mercedem nisi dietam peregerit. Ios. .xiii. Dicit Iosue: *illius*
150 *in me temporis fortitudo usque hodie perseuerat tam ad bellandum
quam ad gradiendum*. Sicut ergo operarius spe mercedis ad
operandum fortis efficitur sic homo spe mercedis eterne
Gen. penult.: Ysachar, id est memor mercedis eterne,
asinus fortis et cetera. Sicut anchora tenet nauem fermam
155 inter fluctus sicut spes hominem inter aduersa mundi. Unde

129/130 fortitudinem – custodiam] Ps. 58, 10 136/137 in – uestra] Is. 30, 15
140/142 ducam – offendiculum] Prou. 4, 11-12 149/151 illius – gradiendum] Ios.
14, 11 154 asinus fortis] Gen. 49, 14

153 id – eterne] Thiel, p. 336

126 mercede] mercedis Me P4 Ta 131 que] quem W1 132 agendum] operandum
P4 136 bona opera] opera bona L1 Me M1 P1 P4 Ta 137 erit facile] facile erit L1
Me M1 P1 P4 Ta 139 bene] leue Ta 146 si] nec L1 154 fermam] firmam P1
155 sicut] sic L1 M1

dicitur l'esperance que j'ai me tient. Hebr. .vi.: *fortissimum habemus solatium qui confugimus ad tenendam propositam spem quam sicut anchoram habemus anime tutam et firmam.*

<1.3> Item caritas facit hominem fortem et firmum ut cementum parietem lapides fortiter coniungendo. Cant. .viii.: *Fortis est ut mors dilectio.* Nota quod homo dicitur fortis propter quatuor que in morte possunt inueniri :

<1.3.1> propter difficilium operationem,

<1.3.2> propter firmam eius quod habet intencionem,

<1.3.3> propter operandi facilitatem,

<1.3.4> propter fortem separationem.

<1.3.1> Propter difficilium operationem ut si quis fortissimis uinculis ligatus ea rumperet faciliter, fortis diceretur. Quod facit caritas uinculum auaritie rumpit elemosinas largiendo, uinculum sanguinitatis ultra mare uel alias peregrinando, uel religionem intrando uite carnalis pro Christo cum necesse fuerit se morti exponendo. Et hoc facit mors animam a carne diuidit, hominem ab amicis subtrahit, temporalia relinquere facit Iudith. Sampson interpretatur fortis et ita signat caritatem que habet fortitudinem et ardorem tria genera uinculorum faciliter rumpit.

<1.3.2> Item propter firmam rei tentionem. Qui enim illud quod habet ita firmiter tenet quod ei auferri non potest merito fortis reputatur. Hoc facit mors, quod enim semel tenuerit aliquo fortunio uel infortunio ei non aufertur, sic caritas ita fortiter Deo adheret et ipsum tenet quod nec aduersitate nec prosperitate sibi auferri potest Ro. .viii.: *quis nos separabit a caritate Christi, tribulatio angustia et cetera.* Sequitur sed in hiis propter eum qui dilexit nos *certus* autem *sum quod nec mors nec uita separabit nos a caritate Dei* qua est in Christo Iesu.

156/158 fortissimum – firmam] Hebr. 6, 18-19 161 Fortis – dilectio] Cant. 8, 6
174/177 Sampson – rumpit] Cfr Iud. 16, 9 184 quis – angustia] Rom. 8, 35

156 l'esperance – tient] French 175 interpretatur fortis] Thiel, p. 405

156 l'esperance – tient] l'esperance ke ie ai me tient L1 Me Ta] l'esperance ke ie ai me
tinent M1 160 parietem] parietes Me 174 subtrahit] ~~relinquere facit~~ subtrahit P1
Sampson] Sanson L1 M1 P1 178 rei] om. Me tentionem] intencionem Ta
185 dilexit] diligit P1

<1.3.3> Item propter operandi ardua facilitatem. Si quis
 enim sine grauamine grauia faceret merito fortis diceretur
 190 ut equus faciliter magnum onus ferens uel dietam sine
 lassitudine perficiens fortis reputatur. Sic mors et caritas in
 suis actibus non grauantur sed actus suos faciliter
 operantur. Omnia enim facilia sunt amanti ut ignis et sol in
 concitatione ardoris sui et lucis non lassantur Ge. .xxx. :
 195 *Seruiuit Iacob pro Rachel .vii. annis*, id est iustus pro uita beata
 omnibus diebus uite sue et uidebantur illi dies pauci pre amoris
 magnitudine.

<1.3.4> Item propter separationem fortium. Fortis enim
 dicitur qui potest de fortissimo triumphare, sed hoc facit
 200 mors. Non est enim ita fortis nec in claustro ita clausus ad
 quem mors non habeat accessum et de ipso non triumphet.
 Sic caritas de Deo qui est fortissimus nec ita dicam
 triumphauit ipsum de celo ad terram traxit ad stipitem
 ligauit in cruce tetendit Ysa .ix. : *puer natus est nobis* et filius
 205 datus est nobis et post sequitur quia *zelus Domini exercituum*
faciet hoc. Glossa id est caritas potuit ergo merito dicere
 amor uincit omnia et uincor amore ideo dicere : *fortis ut mors*
dilectio tua. Rogemus et cetera.

195/197 Seruiuit – magnitudine] Gen. 29, 20 204/206 puer – hoc] Is. 9, 6-7
 207/208 fortis – tua] Cfr Cant. 8, 6

206 Glossa] Cfr Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina (Is. 9, 7),
 in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 28/08/2022.
 (P e r m a l i n k :
[http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GL](http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GLOSS-liber33.xmlchapitre=33_9)
 OSS-liber33.xmlchapitre=33_9) : “caritas non hominum merita”. 207 amor – omnia]
 Publius Vergilius Maro, *Ed.* 10, 69

190 equus] equus P1 191 lassitudine] lassitudine M1 195 Seruiuit] tremuit Me
 Rachel] Raphael L1 200 claustro] castro Me P1 P4 Ta 202 nec] ut Me P1 P4 Ta
 204/205 et – nobis] om. P 208 Rogemus – cetera] om. L1 Me M1 P1 P4 Ta

Sermo VI

Sermon *de uno confessore*, C6, RLS 220.

Base ms. : P, ff. 160va-162ra.

- 5 Collated mss. : L1, ff. 249va-252rb ; M1, ff. 379va-381rb ;
Me, ff. 180rb-182ra ; P1, ff. 137rb-138vb ; P4, ff. 137rb-
138ra ; Ta, ff. 162va-164ra ; W1, ff. 246vb-249ra.

Iustum deduxit Dominus per uias rectas et cetera, Sap .v.

- 10 Super omnia que sunt expedit uiatori habere
<1> socium fidelem qui bonum suum procuret et non
malum,
<2> uirtuosum et fortem qui eum adiuuet contra
impugnantes,
15 <3> discretum et prudentem qui uiam doceat ne oberret.
Talis socius fuit Deus beato Francisco et conseruis suis
incedentibus per uiam mandatorum suorum ut dicetur in
dictis uerbis.
<1> Est enim bonus socius fidelis et iustus de loco utili
20 ad magis utilem procedendo quod nota ibi deduxit id est de
peccato ad uirtutem adduxit. Talis fuit beato Francisco
ipsum de mundo ad religionem adducendo. Pastor enim
fidelis oues suas de loco luposo et arido ad locum
fecundum et securum duxit. Sic Deus seruum suum qui
25 dicit Io .x. : *ego sum pastor bonus* et cetera, Ps. : *qui regis Israel
intende qui deduxis uelud ouem Ioseph*. Glossa tamquam oues ad
pascua.
<2> Item socius fortis et uirtuosus socios suos a
uiolentia defendit ut nullus succumbat nisi qui uoluerit

Sermo VI, 9 iustum – rectas] Sap. 10, 10 **25** ego – bonus] Ioh. 10, 11 25/26 qui –
Ioseph] Ps. 79, 2

Sermo VI, 26 Glossa] Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina
(Ps. 79, 2), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du
28/08/2022. (Permalink :
http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GL_OSS-liber26.xml#chapitre=26_79): "Cassiodorus. Fidelem populum ducis in caulas Dei ut
oues ad pascua de quibus."

Sermo VI, 19 enim] om. P4 **20** nota] notatur L1 Me M1 P4 Ta **24** duxit] ducit Me
P1 P4 Ta **25** pastor bonus] bonus pastor L1 M1 P4

consentire et hoc tangitur ibi dominus. Est enim nomen
 potentie et uirtutis. Talis fuit beato Francisco cum uerba
 patris et uincula et impropria et lapides proicientium et
 uilitates contempnentium fecit eum uiriliter superare.
 Nullus enim ualens et potens castrum suum impugnatum
 deserit sine munitione ad resistendum impugnanti et Deus
 nullum temptatum quantum est de se sine gratia adiutrici
 deserit. Ps.: *deduxisti me Domine quia factus es saluator meus*
turris fortitudinis et cetera. 30 35

<3> Item est socius prudens et discretus uiam rectam
 docendo uerbo et exemplo, et in eam quantum est in se
 inducendo et hoc tangitur ibi per uias rectas. Et hoc fecit
 beato Francisco cum ipsi poscenti quem statum acciperet et
 quam uiam teneret audito euangelio de omnibus
 renunciandis per uiam altissime paupertatis incedere et
 omnia penitus dimittere inspirauit et hoc est quod dicitur in
 Ps.: *deduxit eos in uiam rectam ut irent in ciuitatem habitationis*. 40 45

<1> Nota quod Deus deducit hominem tripliciter:

<1.1> mirabiliter,

<1.2> sapienter

<1.3> et utiliter. 50

<1.1> Deducit mirabiliter cum dicit Sap. .x.: *reddet*
Dominus mercedem et cetera. Nota tribus enim laborantibus
 non reddet Deus mercedem in futuro pro terrenis
 laborantibus ut qui predicant uel aliquod aliud officium
 exercent pro commodo terreno seu temporali uel carnali ab
 illo enim et non ab alio debet quis mercedem petere pro
 quo uel in cuius uinea studuit laborare Iob .viii.: *habui*
menses uacuos et noctes laboriosas enumeraui mihi unde fatuis
 uirginibus dictum est, *ite potius ad uendentes et emite uobis* et
 cetera. Seruauerunt castitatem pro laude mundi et ita 55 60

37/38 deduxisti – fortitudinis] Ps. 60, 3-4 46 deduxit – habitationis] Ps. 106, 7
 51/52 reddet – mercedem] Sap. 10, 17 57/58 habui – mihi] Iob 7, 3 59 ite – uobis]
 Matth. 25, 9

33 uilitates] uillitates L1 37/39 Ps – est] om. Ta 37/38 factus – fortitudinis] om.
 L1 42 Francisco] Francisco quem mundi contempnens diuitias quantum in se erat
 omnia rotento motu pauper(?) erogaba(?) de eo tanta. Ect. 1 a(x) erat pauperum di
 sue(?) paupertas. M1 46 ut – habitationis] om. L1] et cetera Ta 53/54 non –
 laborantibus] om. Ta 53 mercedem] om. Me

faciunt contra consuetudine piscatorum in piscando ponendo salmonem in escam ut capiant locham unam. Pro officio enim quod pro terrenis commodis carnales faciunt possent habere celum si pro Deo facerent illud. Os .v.
 65 *uictimas declinasti in profundum*. Item laborem suum deprauantibus, multi enim loco pro Deo faciunt, sed peccato detractationis uel odii uel quocumque alio modo bonum quod faciunt deturpant et inde meritum non merentur Malac. .i. : *dixistis ecce de labore et exsufflastis illud, dicit*
 70 *Dominus exercituum*, non est ita pretiosum aurum quod non perdatur si bursa in qua est perforetur nec uinum bonum quod non effundatur si dolium lanietur. Sic qui laborat et post laborem peccat, perforat bursam laboris ut in terram cadat et perdatur. Aggei .i. : qui merces congregauit misit
 75 eas in saccum pertusum. Glossa ideo in originali qui bona opera frequentat caritatem sequentibus uitii obturat et sordidat iste enim in saccum pertusum pecuniam congregat. Item de labore suo premium hic recipientibus. Qui enim in uinea totum suum pretium expendit in sero nihil premii
 80 debet expectare. Sic qui pro bono quod hic faciunt in instanti premiari uolunt, in sero mortis nihil a Deo petere debent. Diues enim epulo pro bono quod fecerat nisi aque guttam petiit quam tamen non habuit. Quia hic mercedem laborum suorum receperat. Unde Luc. .xvi. : *recordare fili et*

65 uictimas – profundum] Os. 5, 2 69/70 dixistis – exercituum] Mal. 1, 13
 74/75 Aggei – pertusum] Cfr Agg. 1, 6 84 recordare fili] Cfr Luc. 10

75 Glossa] Cfr Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina (Agg. 1, 6), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 28/08/2022. (P e r m a l i n k : http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GLOSS-liber49.xmlchapitre=49_1): “Qui mercedes. Qui operatur bona que remuneratione digna sunt, et bona bonis adiungere non desistit, mittit mercedes in saccum non pertusum. Qui vero prior bona uitii sequentibus sordidat in saccum congregat pertusum.”

61 consuetudine] consuetudinem Me Ta 63 terrenis] om. Me 64 illud] om. M1 P 66 loco] bona L1 Me P1 P4 Ta] om. M1 68 deturpant] derrepant P1 74 cadat] cadit M1 perdatur] perditur M1

cetera. Ideo dicitur: reddet iustis mercedem laborum suorum. 85

Nota deducit in uia mirabili. Mirabilis est enim uia per quam ducit Dominus iustos sanctos suos in principio, in medio et in fine.

<1.1.1> Primo modo quia consuetudo uiarum secularium est quod itinerantes per eas in principio minus lassi sunt et in uespere magis, in uia uero penitentiae e contrario quia in principio grauior sentitur et magis lassat postea uero minus ut cyrotheca estiuale Prou. .iiii.: *uiam sapientie monstrabo tibi; ducam te per semitas equitatis quas cum ingressus fueris non arctabuntur gressus tui et currens non habebis offendiculum.* 90 95

<1.1.2> In medio quia uia secularium quanto asperior et laboriosior tanto minorem dietam facit, itinerans in uia penitentiae e contrario quanto enim austerior maiorem dietam facit et magis ad terminum appropinquat id est ad paradysum siue gratiam. Quanto granum fortius percutitur tanto citius a palea separatur et in horreo congregatur: Sap. .iiii.: *consummatus in breui expleuit tempora multa.* Glossa exprimit martyrum gloriam qui in suo tormento laudabilem expendunt uitam, sed mors ipsa fuit eis etas annosa que eis peperit uitam eternam. 100 105

<1.1.3> In fine quia quanto incedentes in uia secularium secum portant temporalia tanto in sero melius hospitantur, in sero penitentiae e contrario ut patet in Lazaro et diuite. 110

85/86 reddet – suorum] Cfr Sap. 10, 17 94/97 uiam – offendiculum] Prou. 4, 11-12
104 consummatus – multa] Sap. 4, 13

104 Glossa] Cfr Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina (Sap. 4, 12-13), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 28/08/2022. (Permalink : http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GLOSS-iber31.xmlchapitre=31_4): "RABANUS. In priori schemate vel comate hereticorum perfidiam in sequenti exprimit martyrum gloriam qui in breui tormento laudabilem expendunt uitam sed mors ipsa fuit eis etas annosa que eis eternam uitam peperit Deus enim eos a malorum societate separavit ut absconderet eos in abscondito faciei suae a conturbatione hominum."

88 iustos] om. L1 Me M1 P1 Ta 94 cyrotheca] cerotheca L1 Me P1 Ta
109 temporalia] secularia P4 110 sero] uia L1 Me M1 P1 P4 Ta

Luc. .xvi. : ideo psalmo *uiam iustificationum tuarum instrue me et exercebor in mirabilis tuis.*

<1.2> Item deducit Dominus seruum suum sapienter ut dicitur in Ps. : *intellectibus manuum suarum deducit eos* id est
 115 *intellectibus* quod opera manuum suarum inducunt audire et uidere et plenam artem non inducit nisi manu et opera et opere exercetur nec uidetur scribere scientiam scribendi generat nisi manus hoc attemptauerit operari. Sic Deum uidere in scripturis, audire loqui de eo in sermonibus
 120 numquam rectam cognitionem et rectum amorem generabit de eo in homine nisi audierit et uiderit et fuerit operatus. Sic audire loqui de humilitate et caritate et patientia Christi perfecte non facit hominem cognoscere quid sint nisi eas uirtute operatus fuerit Ps. : *intellectus bonus omnibus facientibus*
 125 *eum.* Glossa id est intellectus uerus et utilis est qui sic intelligit ut faciat intellectum. Ergo deducit dominus seruos suos id est sicut intelligit, cognoscit esse ducendos; quosdam enim ducit per statum matrimonii, quosdam per statum uiduitatis, quosdam per statum religionis et
 130 quosdam illorum per officium unum, quosdam per aliud secundum quod cognoscit et intelligit utile esse eis. Per aliam enim uiam uadunt pedites et per aliam equites per aliam quadrigarii. Sicut Deus cuique statum prouidet inspirando et imponit faciendo quod ei intelligit expedire.

111 Luc xvi] Cfr Luc. 16 111/112 uiam – tuis] Ps. 118, 27 **114** intellectibus – eos] Ps. 77, 72 **124/125** intellectus – eum] Ps. 110, 10

125 Glossa] Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina (Ps. 110, 10), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 28/08/2022. (P e r m a l i n k : http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GLOSS-liber26.xmlchapitre=26_110) : “Iste intellectus qui est in timore Domini intentus est bonus, id est uerus et utilis qui sic intelligunt hoc ut faciant scilicet ut per timorem ad sapientiam ascendant.”

111/112 instrue – tuis] et cetera *L1 Ta* 111/112 et – tuis] et cetera *M1*
114 intellectibus] intellectus *Me P4* **115** intellectibus] intellectus *Me P4* inducunt] et inducunt *Me* **116** et opera] *om. Me P1 P4 Ta* **118** generat] *om. M1* **123** sint] sit *P4* **124/125** facientibus eum] *om. L1* **125** eum] *om. M1* **126** dominus] et cetera *M1 P* **130** quosdam?] quisdam *M1* **131** et] *om. P1* **134** expedire] expedare *P1*

Ps. : <i>intellectus tuus bonus deducet me in terram rectam</i> et cetera. Et hoc ne eorum peccata impedian. Sepe enim accidit quod Dominus hominem permittit in statu qui sibi dampnabile est et officium sibi imponit quod non est ad salutem peccatis suis exigentibus uel subditorum. Sicut permittit corpus suum ab indignis ad dampnationem recipi, Iob .xxxiii. : <i>regnare facit ypocritam propter peccata populi</i> . Medicus non magnam uim facit si eger nociuis cibis utitur qui a cura sua et consilio suo se subtrahit. Sic qui uoluntatem Dei non facit et consilio suo non acquiescit sed a cura sua et consilio suo se subtrahit et ideo non facit uim Deus si est in statu sibi inutili, si officium sibi dampnabile imponatur Iere. .xv. : <i>si steterint Moyses et Samuel coram me non est anima mea ad populum istum : eicite eos a facie mea et egredientur ad mortem et ad gladium</i> .	135
<1.3> Item deducit Dominus seruos suos utiliter ut dicitur in Ps. : <i>tenuisti manum dexteram meam</i> , non sinistram. Per dexteram signat operatio bonorum quam tenet Dominus et regit; quia sine ipso nihil boni facere possumus. Sicut nec carruta bene arat nisi cauda ab agricola teneatur ut dicitur Io. .xv. : <i>sine me nihil potestis facere</i> ; Ps. <i>manus tua deducet me et tenebit me dextera tua</i> . Sinistram que malorum operationem signat tenere non dicitur, quia homo per se sine adiutorio Dei malum operatur. Io. : <i>sine ipso factum est nihil</i> , id est peccatum. Mater enim non libenter pedem filii sui teneret excoaranti illum nec Deus raptos, detractos, luxuriosos tenet uel regit ad suum peccatum faciendum quo filius Dei, id est aliquis christianus, occiditur, diffamatur uel suis temporalibus spoliatur. Sed cupiditas uel omnis uoluptas uel aliud huius ipsum gubernat et regit. Tren. ult. : <i>Egypto dedimus et assyris ut saturaremur pane</i>	140 145 150 155 160 165

135 intellectus – rectam] Ps. 142,10 In here *intellectus* is preferred to *spiritus*.
141 regnare – populi] Iob 34, 30 **147/149** si – gladium] Ier. 15, 1-2 **151** tenuisti – meam] Ps. 72, 24 **155** sine – facere] Ioh. 15, 5 **156** manus – tua²] Ps. 138, 10
158/159 sine² – nihil] Ioh. 1, 3 **165** Egypto – pane] Thren. 5, 6

135 rectam] om. L1 Ta **136** ne] nisi L1 M1 P1 P4 **137** dampnabile] dampnabilis Me P1 P4 Ta **144** sua] om. Me Ta **152** signat] intelligitur M1 **159/160** id – teneret] om. Ta

id est aliqua delectatione. Item nota: *et in uoluntate tua deduxisti me* sicut curiales et largi uiatores quos inueniunt ducunt ad hospitium sua ut bene hospitentur eos, sic Deus per gratiam et exemplum deduxit nos, id est uiam
 170 monstraui per quam ad hospitium paradysi perueniremus ubi hospitaremur gloriose. Unde sequitur et cum gloria suscepisti me id est gloriose me hospitem suscepisti ad illud gloriosum deducit nos gratanter. Ex meritis enim
 175 hospitio hospitari. Sed sicut ex sola curialitate ducunt nobiles uiatores ad hospitium sic nos Deus. Ps.: *spiritus tuus bonus deducet me in terram rectam*, id est in paradysum, ut omnia recta fiunt *propter nomen tuum*. Glossa non uestris meritis sed ut impleas rem nominis tui quod est Iesus id est
 180 Saluator.

<1.4> Item decenter tam enim delitiose, splendide et honeste hospitabitur ibi quod conueniens est quod ad habendum tale hospitium aliquod symbolum persoluamus et ideo Dominus per uiam tribulationum et penitentie ad
 185 illud hospitium gloriosum nos ducit et hoc est quod dicitur in Ps.: *deducit me super semitas iustitie*. Iustum est enim quod aliqua grauia sustineamus pro tanta gloria optinenda. Viatores enim querimoniam de expensis non faciunt quando se hospitari optime sentiunt et de laboribus quos
 190 hic sustinemus non faciemus querimoniam quando gloria quam pro illis meremur habebimus. Sed paucos et fere nullos reputabimus et hoc est quod dicitur. Gen. .xxix.: *seruiuit Jacob .vii. annis*, id est tota uita sua, *pro Rachel*, id est beata uita, *uidebatur autem ei dies pauci pre amoris magnitudine*.

166/167 et – me] Ps. 72, 24 **176/177** spiritus – rectam] Ps. 142, 10-12

186 deducit – iustitie] Ps. 22, 3 **193/194** seruiuit – magnitudine] Gen. 29, 20

178 Glossa] Cfr Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina (Ps. 142, 11), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 28/08/2022. (Permalink :

http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GL-OSS-liber26.xmlchapitre=26_142) : “ut rem nominis tui impleas quod est Iesus.”

171/172 Unde – gloriose] *om. Ta* **172** id – suscepisti?] *om. Me* illud] *istud P4*
177/178 id – fiunt] *add. M1* 177 ut] *ubi Me P1 Ta* **186** deducit] *deduxit Me Ta*
190 gloria] *gloriam Me Ta* **191** pro] *per M1* **193** sua] *om. Ta*

<1.5> Item gaudenter. Solent enim boni socii et fideles 195
 debiles confortare ne lassati deficiant et Dominus quia uia
 ad paradysum difficilis est et aspera aliquando
 consolationem confert uiatoribus uel gratie infusione uel
 eternorum promissione uel exemplum sui uel sanctorum 200
 consideratione uel alitercumque ne lassentur et deficiant,
 sed letanter incedant et hoc est quod dicitur Abac. .ii.:
deducet me uictor in psalmis canentem. Solent enim peregrini
 cantare ut minus tedeat eos in uia, sicut nos inter molestias
 uie mundi debemus Deo in psalmis et hymnris canere
 gratias ad accidiam et tedium grauedinis uie expellendum. 205
 Psalmo: *cantabiles mihi erant iustificationes tue in loco*
peregrinationis mee. Rogemus Dominum et cetera.

202 deducet – canentem] Hab. 3, 19 206/207 Psalmo – mee] Ps. 118, 54

199 exemplum] exempli Me Ta 200 alitercumque] alterum M1 203 tedeat] tedat
 M1 sicut] sic Me Ta 206/207 mihi – mee] om. L1 206/207 iustificationes –
 mee] et cetera Ta 206 tue] om. M1 207 Dominum] om. Me P1 P4 Ta

Sermo VII

Sermon *de uno confessore*, C6/S24, RLS 170/221.

Base ms.: P, ff. 162ra-163rb.

- 5 Collated mss.: L1, ff. 252rb-254va; M1, ff. 381rb-383ra; Me, ff. 182ra-183rb; P1, ff. 138vb-140rb; P4, ff. 138ra-138vb; Ta, ff. 164ra-165va; W1, ff. 249ra-251rb.

Exaltaui electum de plebe mea

- 10 Ubique terrarum consuetum est quod bonitas rei facte principali actori est adscribenda. Carpentario enim bonitas domus attribuenda est non securi quia licet per securim opus fiat non tamen motor est. Et ideo quia est principalis actor omnium bonorum non enim mouetur ad bonum, nisi
15 motus ab illo ut dicitur Ysa. .xxxviii.: *omnia opera nostra operatus es in nobis*. Domine patet ergo quod quicquid bonum quique laude dignum in nobis reperitur Deo penitus est attribuendum ut patet in dictis uerbis in quibus tria sunt considerata et debent et possunt sicut in Deo reperiri in
20 quolibet episcopo confessore. Credo enim quod quilibet episcopus sanctus habuit statum
 <1> prelationis
 <2> et contemplationis
 <3> et actionis.
25 <1> Prelationis quo salutem subditorum procurabat. Hoc nota ibi exaltaui. Eccl. .xv.: *exaltaui illum apud proximos suos*
 <2> Item habuit, ut credimus, contemplationis statum qui orationi, meditationi, lectioni loco et tempore uacabat et
30 hoc notatur ibi electum. Proprie autem status electionis est status contemplationis. In contemplatione autem homo a mundanis que inquinant hominem subtrahitur et eligitur et ideo contemplatiuus electus dicitur sicut pisa et huius a puluere electa dicuntur et ab eis superfluitas et immunditie,

Sermo VII, 9 Exaltaui – mea] Ps. 88, 20 **15/16** omnia – nobis] Is. 26, 12
26/27 exaltaui² – suos] Eccli. 15, 4

Sermo VII, 13 est¹] om. Me **16** quicquid] quidquid M1 **17** quique] quicquid M1]
quicquid L1 Me Ta **26** Hoc] om. Ta nota] notatur L1 M1 Me P4 Ta exaltaui²]
exaltauit P1 **32** hominem] om. P1

remouentur. Unde de Moyse qui interpretatur assumptus ex 35
 acquis id est temporalibus dicitur Ecc. .xlvi. : *elegit eum ex
 omni carne.*

<3> Item statum actionis habuit quo se ieiuniis et
 elimosiniis et talibus exercebat quod notatur ibi de plebe.
 Plebs ignobilitatem importat et status actionis respectu 40
 aliorum inferior est, Psalmo : *Deus tu conuersus uiuificabis nos et
 plebs tua letabitur in te.*

<4> Nota quod Deus exaltat hominem tripliciter :

<4.1> periculose,
 <4.2> gratiose, 45
 <4.3> gloriose.

<4.1> Periculose, quibusdam prosperitatem
 temporalium conferendo aliis exponitis paupertati. Unde
 cum quis factus est diues dicitur il est bien monte en
 poidoure. Sicut in domibus magnatum quedam aues ut 50
 accipitres et falcones in perticis exaltantur gallinis et
 anseribus infimis derelictis. Gen. .xvi. : *dixit Ioseph fratribus
 suis* qui interpretatur augmentum uel appositio. Dominus
 exaltauit me ut in presenti cernitis, sed hoc exaltatio
 periculosa est quia est prona ad quadrupliciter malum : 55

<4.1.1> ad malum respectu Dei ut ipsum contempnat, ut
 accipiter quanto plus a domino suo saturatus fuerit tanto
 sibi reclamanti tardius redit. Sic mundani quanto ditiores et
 potentiores sunt, tanto facilius mandata Dei contempnunt
 Ysa .i. : *filios enutriui et exaltaui ipsi autem spreuerunt me.* 60

<4.1.2> Item respectu proximi ut eum ledat. Quanto
 enim se sentiunt ditiores et potentiores, tanto audacius
 suscitant lites, contumelias proferunt, auferunt aliena ut lupi
 qui sentiunt se armatos dentibus acutis oues non metuunt
 impugnare Ps. : *exaltasti dexteram deprimentium eum* scilicet 65

36/37 elegit – carne] Eccli. 45, 4 41/42 Deus – te] Ps. 84, 7 52/53 dixit – suis]
 Gen. 45, 3 60 filios – me] Is. 1, 2 65 exaltasti – eum] Ps. 88, 43

Sermo VII, 35/36 interpretatur – acquis] Thiel, p. 361 49/50 il – poidoure]
 French 53 qui – appositio] Thiel, p. 334

41/42 et – te] om. L1] et cetera Ta 49 monte] montez P4 en] empor M1
 50 poidoure] pondure P 52 infimis] inferius L1 Me Ta] in infinis M1
 52/53 fratribus suis] suis fratribus M1 54 ut] ut ut P1 58 quanto] quanto plus-L1
 65 impugnare] impugnate P1

potentiam illorum qui alios opprimunt. Si lupus exdentatus est, non multum nocere potest etiam si habeat uoluntatem sic huius cum amiserint balliuam uel potentiam uel diuitias quasi dentes amiserunt quibus alios decerpebant. Unde
 70 tantum nocere non possunt, Ps.: *dentes eorum conteruisti* et cetera

<4.1.3> Item ad malum respectu aduersarii ut temptatus cadat. Alta enim edificia uentis et tempestatibus infestata citius ruunt et tales a dyabolo sepius impugnati ruunt ad
 75 diuersa genera peccatorum. Prouer. .xli.: *ante ruinam exaltatur spiritus*.

<4.1.4> Item ad malum respectu sui ut maiorem penam habeat quia magis ingratus magis puniendus est. Et magis ingratus est qui plus beneficii accepit si offenderit .iii.
 80 Regum .x.: *dixit Dominus ad eroboam* qui interpretatur superius dominum et signat huius mundi diuites et potentes quos non audent homines hic iudicare et ideo Dominus eos iudicabit. *Exaltaui te de medio populi mei* et sequitur me autem proiecisti post ideo: *ego inducam malum super Ieroboam*.
 85 Item quanto quis ab alto in lutum cecidit tantum plus in fece profundatur maxime cum fuerit honeratus et ideo tales qui peccatis sunt honerati et ab alto statu fortune cadunt usque in profundum ruunt. Mt. .xi.: *et tu capharnaum numquid in celis exaltaberis*, et si exaltati fueris, *usque in infernum*
 90 *descendes*.

<4.2> Item exaltat Deus hominem gratiose cum per gratiam suam ipsum eleuat ad desiderium eternorum. Ps.: *et exaltauit me de portis mortis* id est de peccatis et occasione peccatorum per quem itur ad mortem eternam. Exaltat
 95 autem Deus hominem sic multipliciter :

70 dentes – conteruisti] Ps. 56, 5 75/76 ante – spiritus] Prou. 16, 18 80 dixit – eroboam] III Reg. 14, 7 84 ego – malum] III Reg. 21, 21 88/90 et – descendes] Matth. 11, 23 92/93 et – mortis] Ps. 9, 15

80/81 interpretatur – dominum] Thiel, p. 327

68 balliuam] bailliuam P1 balliuam M1 70/71 et cetera] om. L1 Me P P1 Ta
 72 aduersarii] aduersari M1 82 iudicare] iudicare nec punire Me P4 85 Item] preterea Me Ta cecidit] recidit M1 86 honeratus] honoratus P1 91 exaltat Deus] Deus exaltat M1 cum] tamen M1 95 autem Deus] Deus autem L1 M1 P1

<4.2.1> primo ne submergatur cor ab illicito amore terrenorum subtrahendo sicut natans caput super aquam eleuat. Ps.: *tu es susceptor meus gloria* et cetera, id est eorum cor et mentem. Si enim homo non habeat nisi caput in aquam totum corpus submergitur sed si totum corpus sit in aqua caput uero extra non perit. Sic quantumcumque homo habeat temporalia si non apposuerit cor plus debito amando non nocent. Ps.: *diuitie si affluent* et cetera. Si nihil habeat et habeat uoluntatem illicite habendi perit. .i. Thi. .vi.: *qui uolunt diuites fieri incidunt in temptationem et in laqueum dyaboli* et cetera, ideo Eccl. .x.: *sapientia humiliati exaltabit caput eius*. 100

<4.2.2> Secundo ne occidatur timorem mortis incutiendo ut auis auolat et exaltabitur cum lapide uel baculo uel arcu comminatur Eccl. .xl.: *facilitates et uirtutes exaltant cor super hec autem timor Dei* comminantis scilicet mortem in peccato commorantibus Ps.: *nisi conuersi fueritis* et cetera. 110

<4.2.3> Tertio ne corrumpatur per cupiditatem temporalia relinquendo ut uita uel uitis in pertica eleuatur ne in luto putrefiant uel ad terram cadat Eccl. ult.: *exaltasti super terram habitationem meam*. 115

<4.2.4> Quarto ne capiatur a dyabolo per orationem ad Deum in temptatione recurrendo ut insecuti ab hostibus ad castra alta et fortia fugiunt ut saluentur Ps.: *dum anxietur cor meum in petra* scilicet non posse euadere temptationem. 120

<4.2.5> Quinto ne inquinentur omnia propter Deum deponendo et celestia optando. Uestes enim quantumcumque pretiose si defluant in terra inquinantur et

98 tu – gloria] Ps. 3, 4 103 diuitie – affluent] Ps. 61, 11 105/106 qui – dyaboli] I Tim. 6, 9 106/107 sapientia – eius] Eccli. 11, 1 110/111 facilitates – Dei] Eccli. 40, 26 112 nisi – fueritis] Ps. 7, 13 116/117 exaltasti – meam] Eccli. 51, 13 120/121 dum – petra] Ps. 60, 3

98 et cetera] mea et exaltans caput meum Me P4 eorum] exp. P] om. Me 101 homo] om. P1 102 non – cor] cor non apposuerit L1 M1 Me Ta 103 Si] sed si Me P4 106 humiliati] humilitati L1 109 auolat] cum auolat M1 110 comminatur] cominatur P1 facilitates] facultates P4 116 putrefiant] putrefiat L1 M1 Me P4 Ta cadat] om. Me P4 Ta 116/117 Eccl – terram] om. Ta 119 insecuti] insequiti P1 120 anxietur] anchietur P1

125 opera quantumcumque ardua et bona si pro commodo terreno fiant inquinantur Ps.: *pauper sum ego et in laboribus a iuuentute mea* et cetera.

Nota quod debent esse in penitentie dolor cordis quod nota ibi conturbatus sum. Si quis enim dampnum
130 temporale sine dolore non sustinet multo plus dampnum anime sustinere non debet Ps.: *conturbatus est in ira oculus meus*. Item humilis oris confessio ibi humiliatus. Si enim pro corpore sanando aliquis se medico humiliat statum monstrando multo plus pro anima sananda Eccl. .vi.:
135 *humilia presbytero animam tuam*. Item satisfactio operis ibi: pauper sum ego et in laboribus. Satisfactio autem consistit in elimosinarum largitione ibi pauper et corporis afflictione ibi et in laboribus sed bene dicit a iuuentute. Non enim bene saltat canis uel equus bene ambulat nisi iuuenis didicerit nec
140 omnis bonus penitens nisi iuuenis didicerit Tren.: *bonum est uiro cum portauerit* et cetera. Item rectitudo intentionis ibi exaltatus Ps.: *in nomine tuo leuabo manus meas*.

<4.3> Item exaltat Deus hominem gloriose in eterna beatitudine collocando Ps.: *expecta Dominum et custodi uiam eius* et cetera Nota tria ponuntur hic: quomodo debet homo
145 premiari: quando, quare, qualiter?

<4.3.1> Quando quia non modo sed post mortem quod notatur ibi expecta. Operarius credentiam usque ad uesperam dieta completa facit ei cui operatur, quod similiter
150 Deo facere debemus ut non nisi post mortem mercedem bonorum uestrorum petamus Mt. .xx.: *cum sero factum esset*, misit Dominus pater familias: *operariis mercedem reddi* sed

126/127 pauper – mea] Ps. 87, 16 129 conturbatus sum] Ps. 54, 3
131/132 conturbatus – meus] Ps. 30, 10 135 humilia – tuam] Eccli. 4, 7
136 pauper – laboribus] Ps. 87, 16 140/141 bonum – portauerit] Thren. 3, 27
142 in – meas] Ps. 62, 5 144/145 expecta – eius] Ps. 36, 34 151/152 cum – reddi] Matth. 20, 8

127 et cetera] exaltatus autem humiliatus sum et conturbatus Me P4 129 nota] notatur Me P4 Ta sum] om. Me P4 Ta 134 monstrando] om. Me 135 satisfactio operis] satisfactionis Me 136 Satisfactio] sacrificium M1 P1 138 in] om. P1 139 canis] om. P4 144 collocando] collocando M1 145 et cetera] et exaltabit te ut hereditate capias terram scilicet iuuentium Me 149 quod] quia Me] quasi Ta 150 ut] autem Me 152 misit] iussit P4

multi sunt ut operarii ebriosi qui tantum in die in uinea
expendunt quod in sero nihil accipiunt Mal. .i.: *uixistis de* 155
labore, et sufflantis illud dicit Dominus exercituum sed quod multi
expectant beatam uitam, ut britones Arcturum.

<4.3.2> Ideo sequitur quare sit premiandus homo
scilicet propter mandatorum Dei custodiam quod notatur
ibi custodi uiam eius id est precepta quibus itur ad 160
Dominum et non per aliam uiam Mt. .xix.: *si uis ad uitam*
ingredi serua mandata et mirum est quod aliquis iturus ad
aliquem locum scienter deuiat et cum multi sciunt uiam
paradysi Ps.: *notas fecisti mihi uias uite* et scienter deuiant et
uiam rectam dimittunt ad peccata declinando. Ideo ad
ciuitatem non poterunt peruenire. Ps.: ipsi uero *non* 165
cognouerunt uias meas et cetera; id est non approbauerunt ire
per eas. Quilibet enim ut potest fugit tribulationem et
dolorem et paupertatem per quas Christus iuit in celum.
Ideo Iob qui interpretatur dolens dicit Iob .xiii.: *uiam eius*
custodiui et non declinaui ex ea. Si dicet quis laboriosa uia est et 170
grauis est et graue est ire per eam. Cui respondeo quod in
principio grauis est sed postea delectabilis et placens Prou.
.xiii.: *ducam te per semitas equitatis* et cetera et esto quod sit
penosa et grauis miserie mundani spe lucri temporalis maris
pericula subeunt estus et frigora sustinent et maris 175
incommoda non abhorrent, multo plus spe eterne
dulcedinis habende uias duras penitentiae cum gaudio
sustinere debemus Ps.: *propter uerba labiorum tuorum* et cetera.

<4.3.3> Tertio sequitur quomodo premiabitur
honorabiliter, eternaliter, habundanter. 180

154/155 uixistis – exercituum] Mal. 1, 13 160/161 si – mandata] Matth. 19, 17
163 notas – uite] Ps. 15, 10 165/166 non² – meas] Ps. 94, 11 169/170 uiam – ea]
Iob 23, 11 173 ducam – equitatis] Prou. 4, 11 178 propter – tuorum] Ps. 16, 4

169 interpretatur dolens] Thiel, p. 332

155 Dominus] Deus M1 quod] om. P 157 premiandus] premiendus M1
162 cum] tamen L1 163 fecisti] fac Me P4 Ta 166 et cetera] qui iuraui in ira mea si
introibunt in re et cetera Me P4 167 et] om. L1 M1 Me P1 Ta 170 declinaui] dedi L1
M1 Me Ta Si] sed Me P P4 Ta 174 mundani] mundane Me 177 habende –
penitentiae] om. L1 M1 P1 penitentiae] penitentiae debemus Me P4 178 debemus] om.
L1 M1 Me P1 P4 Ta et cetera] ego custodiui uias duras Me P4 180 honorabiliter]
honorabitur P1

<4.3.3.1> Honorabiliter ibi exaltabit te ut hereditate capias terram. Non erit ita despectus ita uilis ita pauper quod non fiat rex in patria coronatus Ps.: *cornu eius exaltabitur in gloria*. Dico ulterius magnus honor et gloria
 185 esset pauperi militi si super regem caperet castrum uiolenter. Quod faciunt qui regnum Dei acquirunt per uiolentiam quam faciunt carnem mundum dyabolum superando Mt. .vi.: *regnum celorum uim patitur et uiolenti rapiunt illud*. Ideo dicit ut hereditate capias terram Ps.: *extaltauit*
 190 *mansuetos in salutem* id est ad salutem eternam habendam secundum glossam.

<4.3.3.2> Item eternaliter quod notatur ibi hereditate. Quod enim est hereditarium perpetuo possidetur Ps.: *iusti hereditabunt terram et inhabitabunt in seculum super eam* et ideo
 195 mirum est quod nos tantum laboramus ad mundana habenda plus quam celestia quia ista pereunt et suum derelinquunt possessorem illa uero perpetuo possidentur. Carius enim et libentius res acquiritur que perpetuo possidetur quam que nisi ad horam Mt. .vii.: *nolite uobis*
 200 *thesaurizare thesauros in terra* et cetera.

<4.3.3.3> Item habundanter quod notatur ibi terra scilicet uiuentium ubi deest penuria omnis mali et est habundantia omnis boni. Deut. .iiii.: *introducet te Dominus in terram bonam ubi absque penuria comedes panem tuum*
 205 habundantia perfruaris. Rogemus et cetera.

181/182 exaltabit – terram] Ps. 36, 34 **183/184** cornu – gloria¹] Ps. 88, 25
188/189 regnum – illud] Matth. 11, 12 **189/190** extaltauit – salutem¹] Cfr Ps. 149, 4
193/194 iusti – eam] Ps. 36, 29 **199/200** nolite – terra] Matth. 6, 19
203/204 introducet – tuum] Deut. 8, 7-9

191 glossam] Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina (Ps. 149, 2), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 28/08/2022.
 (P e r m a l i n k :
http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GL_OSS-liber26.xmlchapitre=26_149).

188 rapiunt] capiunt P1 **189** terram] om. L1 M1 Me Ta] del. P4 **194** seculum] seculum seculi Me P4Ta **196/197** et – derelinquunt] om. P4 **202** scilicet] sed P1 deest] est Me Ta **205** Rogemus – cetera] om. L1 M1 Me P1 P4 Ta

Sermo VIII

Sermon de pluribus confessoribus, C7, RLS 223.

Base ms.: P, ff. 163rb-164ra.

- 5 Collated mss.: L1, ff. 254va-255vb; M1, ff. 383ra-383vb; Me, ff. 183vb-184va; P1, ff. 140rb-141ra; P4, ff. 138vb-139ra; Ta, ff. 165va-166rb; W1, ff. 251rb-252rb.

Negotiamini dum uenio Luc. .xix.

- 10 Respice pannum in capite et in cauda, quandoque est bonus in capite et in cauda est malus. Sic peccata et temporalia in delectatione bona, sed in pena pessima Prou. .vi.: *ne intuearis uinum cum splenderit in uitro* id est in capite respice delectationem. Sequitur: *ingreditur enim blande* ecce
15 capud sed in fine mordebit ut coluber. Ecce cauda et bene dicit ut coluber id est colens umbras. Diabolus enim est ut uenditor pannorum quod prauum est, abscondit et obscurat locum uenditionis unde capud uituli dicitur formasse solum Exo. .iiii.: non enim penam, sed delectationem ostendit
20 peccatori.

Item debet attendere pretium, posset enim bonum esse in se sed nimis carum. Sic temporalia et peccatum plus habent laboris quam delectationis, Prou. .xv.: *risus dolore miscebitur*.

- 25 Item in luxuria anima que est pretiosior auro uel argento pro delectatione momentanea datur Prou. .vi.: *pretium scorti uix est unius panis, animam enim pretiosam rapis*. Sicut cupidus pro modico pecunie, Eccl. x.: *nihil est iniquius quam amare pecuniam hic enim animam suam uenalem habet*. Esau enim
30 primogenita dedit pro lenticulam. Dat enim dominum et regnum eternum pro pecunia Eph. .v.: *hoc autem scitote quod*

Sermo VIII, 9 Negotiamini – uenio] Luc. 19, 13 **13** ne – uitro] Prou. 23, 31
23/24 risus – miscebitur] Prou. 14, 13 **26/27** pretium – rapis] Prou. 6, 26
28/29 nihil – habet] Eccl. 10, 10 **31/32** hoc – auarus] Eph. 5, 5

Sermo VIII, 10 Respice] Respicite L1 **11** peccata] peccatum L1 M1 Me P4 Ta
12 sed] si M1 **13** vi] om. L1 P1 P4 uinum] bonum P4 uitro] om. P4 **15** ut] te ut P4
coluber] coliber P1 15/16 cauda – dicit] om. Ta 15/16 et – dicit] om. M1 P1
19 iiii] om. L1 Me P1 Ta **26** scorti] sorti M1 **27** enim] uero P4 rapis] rapit Me P4 Ta
29 enim²] om. Ta **30** pro] per L1 lenticulam] lenticula Me

omnis avarus et cetera. Unde philosophus absit ut tantum emam unde peniteam.

Item considerare debet si merces suas secum saluare possit sic non est de pecunia uel temporalibus. Iob .xxiii. : *diues cum dormierit nihil secum auferet et cetera.*

35

Item quantum ualeant ad nundinas ubi eas portauerit, id est ad iudicium quo homo omnia facta sua portabit, ut pro illis dampnum uel lucrum recipiat Eccl. ult. : *cuncta que fiunt adducet Dominus in iudicio et cetera*; sicut in nundinis omnes fardelli et trosselli sicut cogitationes et facta in iudicio aperientur Eccl. .xi. : *In fine hominis denudabuntur opera eius* quia .i. Cor .iiii. *illuminabit abscondita tenebrarum et cetera*; sed de omnibus diuitiis, deliciis et honoribus huius que numquam excogitari poterunt non haberet guttam aque sicut patet Luc. .xv. : *diuiti petenti guttam aque ab Abraham denegata est ei. Nec eam optinere potuit pro omnibus diuitiis suis. Eze. .vii. : argentum eorum proicietur et aurum eorum ut sterquilinum erit id est ita uile ut sterquilinum et eius hoc est quod dicitur Apo. .xviii. : negotiatores terre flebunt quoniam merces eorum nemo emet amplius.*

40

45

50

Merces glorie est beata uita pro que negotiantur sancti et prudentes Prou. ult. : *gustauit et uidit quod bona est negotiatio eius* quia bona in principio et in fine. Quanta enim a predicatoribus predicantur tanta inueniuntur Ps. : *secundum nomen tuum Deus ita et laus et cetera. Immo plus nullus enim posset eam tantum commendare quantum ualet .iiii. Regum*

55

36 diues – auferet] Iob 27, 19 **39/40** cuncta – iudicio] Eccl. 12, 14 **42** In – eius] Eccl. 11, 29 **43** illuminabit – tenebrarum] I Cor. 4, 5 **46/47** diuiti – ei] Cfr Luc. 15 **48/49** argentum – erit] Ez. 7, 19 **50/51** negotiatores – amplius] Apoc. 18, 11 **53** gustauit – eius] Prou. 31, 18 **55/56** secundum – laus] Ps. 47, 11

Sermo VIII, 32/33 absit – peniteam] Petrus Cantor, *Verbum abbreviatum*, PL 205, col. 333.

32/33 tantum emam] domini omnia P1 **33** emam] om. Me **35** possit] possis M1 **37** nundinas] mundinas P1 **39** fiunt] fient P4 **41** trosselli] troselli L1 M1 P1 sicut] sic Me P4 Ta **44** huius] huius seculi Me P4 Ta **45** haberet] haberes Me P4 Ta **46** petenti] potenti P1 **49** eius] om. P P4 **53** quod] et M2 **55** predicantur] predicator L1 M1 P1 **57/58** iiii – x] prou. .xiii. M1] Regum .xiii. P] .iiii. .x. P1

.x. : *non credebam narrantibus mihi donec ipsa ueni et uidi oculis meis et probaui quod media pars non fuerit mihi nuntiata.*

- 60 Item non care emitur. Nullus enim est qui eius pretium possit habere sed nullus potest excusare quia paupertate et tribulationibus et talibus que quelibet potest habere emitur Augustinus in persona Domini: uenale habeo. Quid? Regnum celorum. Quo emitur? Paupertate regnum, labore
65 quies, ignominia gloria, morte, uita. Sed multi se possent adhuc excusare; posset enim quis dicere non possum laborare et cetera. Et ita non possum emere non sic quia Psalmo: *parasti in dulcedine tua Deus* et ad minus quilibet potest habere uoluntatem que posse suppleat Apoc. ult.:
70 *qui uult accipiat uitam gratie gratis* non est labor cum sola uoluntas sufficit.

- Item quia auferri non potest a predone uel furari a latrone opera enim illorum sequuntur illos Io .xvii.: *gaudium uestrum nemo tollet a uobis*. Omnes enim de mundo non
75 auferrent mihi merita unius ieiunii uel elimosine Luc. .xvii.: *Maria optimam partem elegit que non et cetera.*

- Item quia mirabiliter lucratur in nundinis iudicii .i. Cor. .iiii.: *id quod in presenti est momentaneum tribulationis nostris et leue* et cetera; et Ro. .viii.: *estimo quod non sunt condigne*
80 *passiones huius temporis* et cetera. Et hoc est quod dicitur Ysa. .xxiii.: *erit negotiatio eius ut manducent usque ad saturitatem et*

58/59 non – nuntiata] III Reg. 10, 7 68 parasti – Deus] Ps. 67, 11 70 qui – gratis] Apoc. 22, 17 73/74 gaudium – uobis] Ioh. 16, 22 76 Maria – non] Luc. 10, 42 78/79 id – leue] II Cor. 4, 17 79/80 estimo – temporis] Cfr Rom. 8, 18 81/82 erit – uetustatem] Is. 23, 18

63/65 uenale – uita] Cfr Augustinus, *Enarrationes in Ps.*, 93, 24, PL 37; Bonaventura of Bagnoregio, *Commentarius in Evangelium sancti Lucae*, Opera omnia, t. VII, ed. PP. Collegii a S. Bonaventura, 1895, p. 414

59 fuerit] fuit L1 M1 M2 60 eius] cum M1 61 possit] posset Me P4 Ta 62 quelibet] quilibet L1 Me P4 Ta 63 Domini] Dei M2 P1] dicitur W1 65 quies] requies M2 Me P4 66/67 non – cetera] non possum ieiunare, non possum laborare et cetera M2 Me P4 67 et cetera] om. P1 68 parasti] patusti M1 tua] tua pauperi M2 Deus] pauperi Deus Me Ta et] om. Me P1 P4 Ta 69 potest] debet P4 70 uitam gratie] aquam uite M2 Me P4 Ta cum] cui P4 75 merita] meritum L1 M2 Me P4 Ta] meritis M1 76 et cetera] auferetur ab ea L1 M1 M2 Me P1 P4 Ta 78 nostris] nostre Me Ta

uestiantur usque ad uetustatem si sic est. Unde nobis tanta insania quod illud non comparamus et illud dimittimus. Ecce quia ualorem eius non sentimus ut rusticus qui ignorat uim margarite eam non curat; quod non facit qui cognoscit. Mt. .xiii.: simile est regnum celorum homini negotiatori querenti bonas margaritas et cetera. Et nota quod emptor rem quam uult emere uituperat, emptam uero laudat. Sic dum uiuimus dicimus quod nimis est carum regnum celorum et non ualet quantum Deus nobis comperat sed cum habebimus contrarium dicemus Prou.: malum est malum est dicit omnis emptor sed cum recesserit tunc gloriabitur.

85

90

Item nota quod non multum ualet bene lucrari nisi bene seruetur. Sic est qui post quadragesima uel penitentiam uel aliquod bonum ad peccatum redit totum amittit, ut artifices que in septimana lucrati sunt in die dominica in taberna expendunt Eccl.: *operarius ebriosus non locupletabitur.*

95

86/87 simile – margaritas] Matth. 13, 45 **91/92** malum¹ – emptor] Prou. 20, 14
97 operarius – locupletabitur] Eccli. 19, 1

83 quod] quia *M1* comparamus] operamus *P* **85** eam] eam habere *M2 Me P4*] eam emere *Ta* qui] quia *M2* **86** simile] similiter *P1* **89** dicimus] dominis *P* **94** est] eum *P1*] enim *L1 M1 M2* **95** aliquod] aliquam *L1*] aliquid *M1*

Sermo IX

Sermon *de sancto Andrea*, S1, RLS 157.

Base ms.: P, ff. 164ra-165va.

- 5 Collated mss.: L1, ff. 255vb-258ra; M1, ff. 383vb-385va; M2, ff. 173r-175r; Me, ff. 184va-186ra; P1, ff. 141ra-142rb; Ta, ff. 166rb-167va; W1, ff. 252rb-254rb.

Ascendam in palmam et apprehendam fructus eius Cant. .vii.

- 10 Sicut ignis in stuppis latere non potest sic ardor cupidinis nec uehementia amoris in corde humano quin exterius se ostendat et ideo quod sancti Dei Domini et celestia ardentissime amauerunt omni dispendio se et sua exponebant ut acquirerent quod amabant. Sicut qui ignem
15 ardentem in sinu suo poneret uestimenta sua combustionis dispendio exponeret Prouer.: *numquid potest homo abscondere ignem in sinu suo, ita uestes suas non ardeant* et hoc est quod dicitur de sancto Andrea in verbis predictis. Mt. .ii. Dominum et celestia concupiuit quia crucem ascendere non
20 timuit per quam celestia acquisiuit ut puer letator cum uidet pomum uel piram inter spinas et uepres penetrantes puncturas spinarum non formidat ut fructum habeat quem ardentem concupiscit. In quibus uerbis uita eius describitur in tribus et per consequens uita cuiuslibet penitentis.
25 <1> Primo quia laboriosa ibi ascendam, cum labore enim ascenditur in altum.

Sermo IX, 9 in – Cant] Cant. 7, 8 **16/17** numquid – ardeant] Prou. 6, 27

Sermo IX, 10 latere] stupis M2 Me Ta **11** nec] corr. cupiditatis M1 se] exterius P1 **12** quod] quia M2 P4 sancti] sine M2 Domini] deum Me **17** uestes] ut uestes Me P4 **18** de] om. P1 in – predictis] om. P predictis] dictis M2 Me P4 Ta Mt ii] num. .ii. L1 P1 Ta] act. .ii. P] unum enim M2] tantum enim Me P4 **19** concupiuit] comcupiuit P1 quia] quod L1 M1 Me P1 P4 Ta **20** puer] prouer. P1 **21** piram] pirum M2 Me P4 Ta inter] Item M2] om. Me **23/24** eius – uita] om. Ta 23/24 describitur – tribus] in tribus describitur M2 P4

<2> Secundo quod gloriosa ibi in palmam Cant. .xi. palme uictoribus in signum glorie et honoris dari solebant.

<3> Tertio quia fructuosa ibi et apprehendam fructus eius. Labor enim et dispendium pro magno potenti et largo non sustinetur sine fructu.

30

<1> In hoc ergo quod dicit ascendam. Labor penitentie designatur sicut in descensu facilitas peccandi, sicut enim facile ponderosum descendit et sine adiutorio. Sic ex se et faciliter homo peccat unde qui peccat descendit. Qui enim uenit de statu gratie in statum peccati dicitur descendisse in Iericho. Qui uero ad bonum penitentie uel ad aliud bonum spirituale accedit: ascendit; sed sine labore et Dei auxilio hoc facere non potest. Nauis enim que cum descensu aque faciliter descendit contra aquam, uento exeunte contrario, sine adiutorio non ascendit. Sic recte homo faciliter ex se peccat sed sine Dei adiutorio ad aliquod bonum non promouetur nec ascendit quia aquam habet contrariam, id est sui corruptionem, et uentum, id est dyabolica suggestione, et cetera. Ps.: *beatus uir cuius est auxilium* et cetera. In hanc auctoritatem tria notantur quod Deus adiuuat, quomodo adiuuat, ubi adiuuat.

35

40

45

<1.1> Quos adiuuat, quia non omnes, sed uiriliter agentes, id est facientes quod in se est quod notatur ibi uir. Non enim omnes regis stipendia acceperunt, sed qui merentur in officiis debitum suum faciendo. Sic gratiam Dei adiutricem ad bonum agendum et ad malum

50

45 beatus – auxilium] Ps. 83, 6

Sermo IX, 28 palme – solebant] *non inueni*; Cfr *Expositio super Apocalypsim* “Vox”, ch. 7: “*Et palmae et cetera. Sic in visione videbat. Per palmas quae solent dari uictoribus in signum triumphi, signatur dignitas justorum, in victoria uictorum*” <https://www.corpusthomicum.org/x2a05.html>

29 apprehendam] propter *Me* **30** Labor enim] id est labores *Me* **33** descensu] decensu *M2* **34** descendit] *om. M1* adiutorio] adiutorio descendit *M1* **39** hoc] huius *P1* **40** exeunte] *corr. exeunte* existente *M1* **41/43** Sic – ascendit] *om. Me* **41** recte] certe *M2* **44** dyabolica] diaboli *L1 M1* **45/46** Ps – cetera] *om. L1*] *add. M1* **45/46** beatus – cetera] *om. P1 Ta* **45/46** et cetera²] abste ascensiones in corde suo disposuit in ualle lacrimarum *M2 Me* **46** hanc] hac *M2 Me P1 Ta* auctoritatem] auctoritate *M2 Me Ta* quod] quos *M2* **48** Quos adiuuat] *om. L1 M1 P1* **52** adiutricem] ad virtutem *M1*

cauendum. Non accipit qui de hoc faciendo quantum ex se
est debitum suum officium non facit, quia Ps.: *iustum*
55 *adiutorium meum a Domino qui* et cetera. Qui enim in putello
cecidit uel ad altum suum locum ascendere cupit nisi
manum extendat adiuuare uolenti adiutorio merito priuari
debet. Sic qui de peccati putello iussit extrahi uel ad
aliquem bonum ascendere nisi manum, scilicet Deo
60 cooperando, extenderit auxilium gratie non habebit .i. Cor.
.iii. : *Dei coadiutores sumus*.

<1.2> Quomodo adiuuat nota ibi *ascensiones*. Dicit
ascensiones, pluraliter, non enim ita adiuuat Deus ut
saluatur de peccato in celum sed sicut ad altum locum
65 gradatim de scabello in scabellum sic ascenditur in celum
de uirtute in uirtutem ascendendo. Unde .ii. Par. .ix. : fecit
Salomon gradus in domo Domini. Sicut enim quatuor
gradus per quos ascenditur in celum qui significantur in
ascensu Helye .iiii. Regum .ii.

70 <1.2.1> Primus gradus est mundare conscientiam per
cordis contritionem et oris confessionem. Unde Helyas
ascensurus in celum primo uenit in Bethel qui interpretatur
domus Dei. Domus Domini cor hominis est in quo Deus
debet et considerat habitare, Prouer. : *delicie mee esse cum filiis*
75 *hominum*, sed quia Deus cum peccato non habitat sicut uir
nobilis in loco immundo Ps. : *domum tuam domine decet*
sanctitudo. Ideo ad istam domum non est ueniendum nisi
mundetur et hospitium Domino proprietur. Recepturi enim
magnates ad domum suam solent precurrere ut domum

54/55 iustum – qui] Ps. 7, 11 61 Dei – sumus] I Cor. 3, 9 66/67 fecit – Domini]
Cfr II Par. 9, 11 69 ascensu Helye] Cfr III Reg. 2 74/75 delicie – hominum] Prou.
8, 31 76/77 domum – sanctitudo] Ps. 92, 5

72/73 interpretatur – Dei] Thiel, p. 265

53 Non] dum non Me 54 officium] add. M1] om. P4 55 et cetera] saluos facit rectos
corde M2 Me P4 56 suum] om. M2 Me] del. Ta 57 extendat] attendat M2 58 iussit]
uult M2 Me P4 Ta 62 nota] notatur Me P4 Ta 62/63 Dicit ascensiones] add. M1]
om. M2 Me P4 Ta 65 in¹] ad M2 sic] add. M1] om. M2 P4 ascenditur] ascenditur ita
M2 P4 in²] ita in Me Ta 67 Sicut] sunt M2 P1 P4 70 gradus est] om. Me Ta
conscientiam] conscientiam a peccatis M2 Me Ta 72 Bethel] uetel P1
74 considerat] consideret M2 76 domine] om. M2 77 Ideo] a Deo M2 est] om. M2
Me P4 Ta 78 proprietur] preparetur M2 Me Ta Recepturi] decepturi P1

mundificent et adornent Ps. : <i>si dederō sompnū oculis meis</i> et cetera donec perueniam locum Domino.	80
<1.2.2> Secundus gradus est cauere a futuris per infirmitatis et defectis munitionem. Hoc est quod Helyas de Bethel uenit in Iericho id est defectum. Infirmita castrorum per que aliquando capta sunt uel capi possunt sepius uisitantur et diligentius muniuntur ne iterum de nouo capiatur et loca per que possunt latrones uenire et raptores, diligentius sollicitius custodiantur. Sic homo ex ea parte qua expertus cognoscit se proniorem et debiliorem ad peccatum sed debet diligentius custodire, Apoc. .iii. : <i>esto uigilans et confirma cetera que moritura sunt.</i>	85
<1.2.3> Tertius est quod penitens se iudicet per satisfactionem et hoc est quod Helias uenit de Iericho ad Iordanem qui interpretatur riuus iudicii. Qui enim debita sua doluit et aduersarios suos et querentes tacentes fecerit, securus uenit ad curiam quia de iure iudex non potest in eum animaduertere et punire. Sic Deum qui aduersarius est peccatoris et de eo merito conqueritur ipsum tacentem facit qui penitentiam hic agit de peccatis. Unde in futuro non puniet eum Deus .i. Cor. .xi. : <i>si nosmetipsos iudicarem</i> et cetera, et ideo Mt. .v. : <i>consentiens aduersario tuo cito dum es in uia cum eo</i> id est facias pacem et tacentem facias puniendo <i>ne puniendo forte tradat te aduersarius tuus iudici et iudex tradat te ministro et in carcerem mittaris</i> et cetera.	90
<1.2.4> Quartus gradus est ardor caritatis et hoc est quod ultimo Helyas in curru igneo ascendit in celum id est in feruore caritatis que dicitur ardere in corde per Dei et	95
	100
	105

80 si – meis] Ps. 131, 4 90/91 esto – sunt] Apoc. 3, 2 100 si – iudicarem] I Cor. 11, 31 101/104 consentiens – mittaris] Matth. 5, 25

94 interpretatur – iudicii] Thiel, p. 333

80 meis] om. L1 M1 Ta 80/81 et cetera] et palpebris meis dormitationem M2 Me P4
81 perueniam] inueniam M2 Me P4 Ta 83 defectis] defectus M2 munitionem] munitioni Me Ta 84 Infirmita] infirmiorum P1 Ta 90 sed] se P4 Apoc iii] om. Me
95 fecerit] fecit M1 P4 96 securus] securius M2 Me P4 97 animaduertere] anima aduertere P1 99 agit] egit M2 Me Ta 101 cito] scito Me 102 id est] et ideo Matthaeus .u.l. P1 pacem – tacentem] patentem M1 facias?] faciat P1
103 puniendo] om. P Me Ta 104 carcerem] carcere P 107 feruore] feruore et M2 dicitur] debet M2 Me

proximi dilectionem et lucere exterius per operationem. Sol enim non ita cadet in celo quin calorem suum ostendat in
 110 terra nec ignis in camino calorem suum ita continet quin calefaciat astantes. Ps.: *concaluit cor meum* et cetera id est extra per operationem ardescet.

<1.3> Sic ergo Deus adiuuat sed non *in ualle lacrimarum* id est in hoc mundo qui est locus non gaudii sed meroris
 115 quod ostendit puer cum nascitur plorando non ridendo Sap .vii.: *primam uocem* et cetera. Sed si hic tunc lacrimis et penitentiae debent omnis uacare non deliciis et gaudiis. Quilibet enim debet uiuere et se regere secundum usus et mores patrie et terre in qua moratur, Luc. .xix.: *uidens Iesus*
 120 *ciuitatem fleuit super illam dicens: si cognouisset et tu fleres.*

<2> Scilicet sic ergo est pena laboriosa sed licet sit laboriosa est tamen gloriosa quod nota ibi *palma*. Ramus enim palme uictoribus solet dari ut dictum est in gloriam et honorem. Falluntur similiter qui dicunt turpe et
 125 inhonestum penitentiam, id est gerere paupertatem, et talia sustinere immo honorificum et gloriosum est et hoc propter Christum precedentem, propter uictoriam committentem, propter fructum subsequenter.

<2.1> Propter Christum precedentem quia si rex et
 130 omnes barones sui consueti essent ire pedes uel de sacco indui uno ferculo refici non esset uerecundum in regno scilicet talia exercere, sed potius gloriosum et immo ante aduentum Christi et si uilis et turpis erat paupertas

111 concaluit – meum] Ps. 38, 4 **113** in – lacrimarum] Ps. 83, 7 **116** primam uocem] Sap. 7, 3 **119/120** uidens – tu] Luc. 19, 41-42

115 ostendit – ridendo] Ps. Augustinus, Sermo XXXI de fallacia mundi et eius detestatione, PL 40, col. 1291: “Ecce in miseria sumus, et in miseriis non ridere, sed flere debemus. Cum enim nascitur puer, non ridet, sed plorat. Quare plorat, nisi quia voce testatur et confitetur plorando, se ad miseriam devenisse?”

108 exterius] exieris P1 **109** cadet] calet L1 M1 M2 Me Ta **111** et cetera] intra me et in meditatione mea exardescet ignis M2 Me **113** non] ubi P1 M2 Me Ta **116** si] om. P1 **119** xix] om. P1 **120** cognouisset] cognouisses Me Ta **122** nota] notatur Me Ta **123** dari] om. P1 **124** similiter] Si mulier M1 **128** committentem] commitantem L1 M1 M2 Me P1] comminantem Ta **129** Propter – precedentem] om. Me et] om. Me P1 Ta **130** uel] et L1 M2 Me P1 P4 Ta] ut M1 **132** immo] om. Me **133** erat] esset P4

tribulatio et penuria quia nullus magnus hoc facere
 consueuerat, post aduentum sic eius debet gloriosior
 reputari, quia Christus et tota baronia sua, id est discipuli,
 consueuerunt talia sustinere, Gal. .vi. : *mihi autem absit gloriari
 nisi in cruce Domini nostri Iesu Christi*. Immo si crucem
 adoramus et honoramus quia Christus similem portauit
 paupertatem et tribulationem, honorare debemus quia
 Christus talia sustinuit, .ii. Cor. .xi. : *si gloriari oportet que
 infirmitatis mee sunt gloriabor*. Preterea certe turpius est et
 maiori confusione dignum sedere in altum rege inferius
 sedente. Sedere autem iuxta regem uel inferius maius est
 honestum. Cum igitur Christus in basso delitiarum,
 diuitiarum honorum sederit. Indecens est altius illo in
 talibus commorari, Eccl. .x. : *est malum quod uidi sub sole. Uidi
 seruos in equis*, id est mundanos, in dignitatibus et principes, id
 est Christum et apostolos, *quasi seruos ambulantes super terram*.
 <2.2> Item propter uictoriam concomitantem. Si enim
 gloriosum est fortem superare gloriosissimum est de
 auaritia que Balam prophetam maximum superauit et de
 luxuria que Salomonem sapientissimum superauit et deuicit
 et de superbia que de angelo excellentissimo triumphauit
 uictoriam optinere, quod facit qui aduersitates mundi et
 penitentiam sustinet patienter Ro. .ult. : *libenter gloriabor in
 infirmitatibus meis ut inhabitet in me uirtus Christi*.
 <2.3> Item propter fructum sequentem. Uitis enim licet
 sit lignum tortum et turpe tamen propter fructum
 honoratur et colitur sumptuose. Sic anima et si pena
 uilissima esset tamen propter fructum glorie que uide
 sequitur honorifice est agenda Sap. .iii. : *bonorum laborum
 gloriosus est fructus*.

137/138 mihi – Christi] Gal. 6, 14 141/142 si – gloriabor] II Cor. 11, 30 147 est –
 sole] Eccle. 10, 5 147/149 Uidi – terram] Eccle. 10, 7 156/157 libenter – Christi]
 Cfr II Cor. 12, 9 162/163 bonorum – fructus] Sap. 3, 15

135 sic] uero M2 P4 gloriosior] glorioso M1 139 quia Christus] om. Me similem]
 enseui Me 141 xi] .i. P1 144 maius] magis M2 Me Ta 146 sederit] sederint P1
 altius] alicuius M2 147 x] .decimo. P1 153 superauit et] om. L1 M1 Me P1 P4 Ta
 158 sequentem – licet] ex. M1] om. Me 160 colitur] collitur M1 Me

<3> Sic est ergo penitentia non laboriosa sed est
 165 fructuosa quod nota cum dicit: *apprehendam fructum eius*,
 fructum palme uocat premium quod iusti pro bonis que
 faciunt possidebunt. De quibus Iob .xxii.: *acquiesce deo*
 scilicet mandata eius faciendo *et habeto pacem* de commissis
 penitendo *et per hec habebis fructus optimos* et uere optimos
 170 quia omnes bonas conditiones fructus in se habet.

<3.1> Est enim pulcherrimus ad uidendum Ps.: *super
 extolletur super Libanum fructus eius* id est excedet omnem
 decorem et candorem mundanorum secundum glossam.

<3.2> Item dulcissimus ad gustandum. Omnem enim
 175 saporem terrenum superabit Cant. .ii.: *fructus eius dulcis
 gutturi meo*.

<3.3> Item suauissimus ad utendum quia non
 inflationem torsionis sed uitam sine morte et dolore
 prestabit Prou. .xi.: *fructus iusti lignum uite* quod scilicet uitam
 180 perpetuabit.

<3.4> Item quietissimus ad possidendum. Non enim
 malignationes uel bestie id est aliqua tribulatio, infestabit
 Iac. .iii.: *fructus iustitie in pace seminabitur* quia in pace sui
 proximi et Dei ideo Hebr. .xii.: *omnis disciplina in presenti*
 185 *quidem uidetur non esse gaudii sed meroris postea etiam fructum
 pacatissimum exercitatis per eam reddit*.

167/169 acquiesce – optimos¹] Iob 22, 21 **171/172** super – eius] Ps. 71, 16
175/176 fructus – meo] Cant. 2, 3 **179** fructus – uite] Prou. 11, 30 **183** fructus –
 seminabitur] Iac. 3, 18 **184/186** omnis – reddit] Hebr. 12, 11

173 glossam] Cfr Martin Morard et alii, ed., *Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina* (Ps.
 71, 16), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022.
 Consultation du 28/08/2022. (Permalink :
http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GL_OSS-liber26.xmlchapitre=26_71).

164 non] *om. L1 M1 M2 Me P1 P4 Ta* 164/165 sed – fructuosa] *om. Me* **165** nota]
 notatur *Me P4 Ta* **169** hec] *hoc M2* et uere] *et Christus habet fructus Ta*
170 bonas] *bonis Me* **175** ij] *om. Me* eius] *est M1* **177** Item] *om. Me*
178 torsionis] *corrosionis Me* **182** malignationes] *maligni homines Me Ta*
185 quidem] *qua M1 Me Ta*] *quid L1* etiam] *et L1 M1*] *autem P4*

<3.5> Potentissimus ad durandum quia corrumpi et putrescere non poterit, Mt. .iii. : *incredabo pro uobis deuorantem et non corrumpet pro nobis fructum terre uestre*. Primi enim et plenissimi fructus sapientie Prou. .iii. : et ideo corrumpi non possunt. Rogemus et cetera.

188/189 incredabo – uestre] Mal. 3, 11 **190/191** et – possunt] Cfr Prou. 3

187 et] uel *L1 M1 Me P1 P4 Ta* **190** plenissimij purissimi *Me* **191** Rogemus – cetera] *om. L1 M1 M2 Me P4 P1 Ta*

Sermo X

Sermon *de sancto Nicolao*, S3, RLS 158.

Base ms.: P, ff. 165va-167va.

- 5 Collated mss.: L1, ff. 258ra-261rb; M1, ff. 385va-388ra; M2, ff. 175r-177v; Me, ff. 186ra-188va; P1, ff. 142rb-144rb; Ta, ff. 167va-169vb; W1, ff. 254rb-257va.

Deus docuisti me a iuuentute mea et usque nunc.

- 10 Karissimi legimus in Ysaia quod Dominus uocat predcatorem tubam, quia tuba si sonat etiam magnam uocem emittat tamen non sonat nisi sufflet in ea ille qui eam tenet. Predicator qui est quasi tuba uocem salubrem emittere non potest nisi Deus qui eum et omnia continet
15 insufflet in eum et ideo in Io. dicit cum misit apostolos suos: *ego mitto uos sicut Pater me misit et tunc sufflauit et dixit accipite Spiritum Sanctum* et cetera. Dicit ego mitto uos sicut misit me Pater et quare misit eum? Pater misit ne eum uindicare de inimicis uel ut gloriam suam quereret uel
20 bursam adimpleret? Non, sed misit eum ad uertendum animas, sicut ergo Pater misit me non ad bursam faciendam non ad gloriam propriam querendum non ad uindictam. Sic ego mitto uos quod est contra multos peccatores habentes aliquos aduersarios quando predicant conuertunt
25 sermonem suum contra aduersarios suos et cum dixisset Dominus mitto uos et sufflauit qualiscumque. Ego sum tuba siue nec possum proficere proferendo uerbum Dei

Sermo X, 9 Deus – nunc] Ps. 70, 17 **11** tubam] Cfr Is. 58, 1 **16/17** ego – Sanctum] Ioh. 20, 21-22

Sermo X, 9 nunc] *om. Me* **10** legimus] *legitur Me* **11** predcatorem] *predicationes Me etiam] et L1 M1 M2 Me P1 P4 Ta* **16/17** Pater – uos] *om. Me* **16** tunc] *add. tunc insufflauit in eos M1 sufflauit] flauit M1* **17** Sanctum] ~~meum~~ *sanctum L1* *ego] ergo P* **18** misit me] *me misit M2* *quare] qui Me*] *qualiter P1* **19** inimicis] *premicus Me* **20** adimpleret] *adimpleri M1* *ad uertendum] auertendum M2* **21** non] *om. Me* *bursam] Abraham Me* **22** querendum] *querendam Me* *uindictam] uindicam M1* **23** peccatores] *corr. predcatores M1* *habentes] om. P* **24** aduersarios] *aduersarios habentes P* **26** et] *etiam Me* **27** siue] *tamen Me*] *om. P*] *sum P4* *Dei] qui M1*

nisi in istam miserrimam tubam insufflauerit Dominus et ideo rogabitis et cetera.

Deus docuisti me et cetera, ut mihi uidetur perfecta instructio discipuli in tribus consistit.

30

<1> Primo ut magistrum bonum habeat quia de malo nihil potest addisci.

<2> Secundo quod cito addiscere incipiat, unde pueri ad scholas mittuntur in iuuentute.

35

<3> Tertio quia in studio perseueret et permaneat.

Et ideo non est mirum si beatus Nicholaus in penitentia agenda bonus discipulus et bene instructus fuit quia tria predicta habuit et hoc est quod notatur in uerbis predictis Ps.: *Deus* et cetera. Et possunt competere beato Nicholao

40

bonum enim magistrum habuit et eius bonitas tangitur ibi Deus docuisti me. Item in studio penitentiae cito et bene agendi studuit quia ab infantia et hoc tangitur ibi a iuuentute mea. Tertio in hoc studio perseuerauit et hoc tangitur ibi et *usque nunc* ibi dicat ergo beatus Nicholaus: Deus docuisti me et cetera.

45

<1> Habuit ergo bonum magistrum quia Domini pro Iesu Christo quis docuit eum ieiunare quarta et sexta feria ab uberibus hic non natura docuit immo potius contrarium docuisset. Non mater eius nec demones quia non docent bonum. Quis ergo eum docuit nisi Deus qui ut dicitur in Ps.: *docet hominem scientiam*. Ideo bene dicit *Deus docuisti me*

50

<2> Secundo quia cito in studio penitentiae studuit quia a iuuentute et accipitur iuuentus large scilicet ad pueritiam uel pro pueritia uel infantia uel in cunabulis cepit ieiunare sed nihilominus.

55

52 docet – scientiam] Ps. 93, 10

28 nisi in] *om.* M1 nisi] qui Me 29 rogabitis] regabitis M1 et cetera] *om.* L1 M1 M2 Me P1 P4 Ta 32 magistrum bonum] bonum magistrum L1 M1 M2 P1 36 quia] quod Me P1 Ta 37 penitentia] *corr.* puerilia M1] puerilia Me 39 habuit] hunc Me 45 ibi] *om.* L1 M1 M2 Me P Ta 47 quia] quod P1 51 dicitur] docuit Me] dicit Ta 53 quia?] *om.* M1 54 accipitur] accipit Me pueritiam] penitentiam Me 55 in] a L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta cunabulis] cunabilis Me Ta cepit] incepit M2 P1 Ta] inceperit Me 56/57 nihilominus – Tertio] uel conuiuio tobis Me

<3> Tertio usque ad mortem in predicto studio perseueravit quia ut dicit in legenda sua cum sublimatus esset in dignitate prelationis, carnis macerationem et alia
 60 opera penitentie non deseruit sed proficiebat de bono ad bonum in melius.

<1> Dicat ergo beatus Nicholaus: *Deus docuisti* et cetera. Bonum ergo habuit magistrum quia Deum fuit ne magister bonus, Deus fuit utique. Christus enim commendabilis est
 65 in tribus in quibus commendari solet bonus doctor. Commendatur enim magister primo quando docet vera; secundo quia utilia, tertio quia facilia. Ueraciter docuit ut ei credamus; utiliter ut ei obediamus; faciliter ut excusationem non habeamus.

<1.1> Docuit ergo ueraciter siue uera qui enim falsa predicant non sunt audiendi sed Christus numquam falsum docuit unde aduersarius eius cuius testimonium magis credendum est, perhibet testimonium de ueritate doctrine Christi et dicit magister: *scimus quia uerax es et uiam in ueritate*
 70 *Dei doces* et sic docuit ueraciter et ideo credendum est ei. Si enim consuetus esset mentiri et dolose loqui non esset mirum si non crederetur ei sed si semper uerum diceret credendum esset. Nonne conqueritur Dominus de illis qui ei non credunt et dicit .iii. Iohannes: *si ueritatem dico uobis*
 80 *quare non creditis mihi?* Quasi dicat semper loquor uera et tamen credere non multis mihi. Sed dicet aliquis bene credo quod dicit uerum. Hoc credo tibi quod non credis per exemplum. Si tibi sitienti offeretur cyphus uini in quo scires

74/75 scimus – doces] Matth. 22, 16 79/80 si – mihi] Ioh. 8, 46

Sermo X, 58/61 cum – melius] Iacobus de Varagine, *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Maggioni, p. 46.

57 Tertio] tuus Ta in] et in M2 60/61 ad bonum] om. L1 M2 P1] del. M1
 62 cetera] om. Me 66 primo] add. M1] om. M2 Me Ta vera] nisi docet Me P1
 67 Ueraciter] uel aliter Me 69 habeamus] habemus M2 Me Ta 70 ergo] quandoque
 predicta Me enim] uero Me 71 sed] si Me 72/73 magis – testimonium] om. Me
 75 docuit] docui Me credendum] corde Me 76 mentiri – esset²] om. Me
 77 crederetur] commederetur Me 78 Nonne] non M1 79 dicit] om. M1 81 tamen]
 cum est Me credere] dicere Me 82 credo] corr. ostendo M1 credis] credas Me]
 credit Ta 83 sitienti] facienti Me cyphus] ciphus P1 scires] stateres Me

esse uenenum prius sustineres maiorem sitim quam biberes. Immo nullo modo biberes nec in manum appendes. 85
 Similiter si verba Dei crederes esse uera et transgressores puniendos nec modo appende manum ad transgrediendum unde Dominus dixit: *ue uobis diuitibus qui hic ridetis* et cetera. 90
 Ue scilicet dampnationis eterne diuitibus habentibus consolationem in diuitiis suis male acquisitis unde in originali super illud: *ue uobis qui hic ridetis* lugebunt inquit suos risus qui modo derident dicta uestra. Si ergo crederes non biberes id est non male faceres. Si ergo Dominus dixit: *ue diuitiis delitiis* et honoribus fugienda sunt ista et non appetenda sed ueritatem dixit et non creditur ei Ps.: *non crediderunt uerbo eius*. 95

<1.2> Secundo commendabilis est magister beati Nicholai quia loquitur uel docet utiliter. Multi magistri sunt qui licet doceant uera tamen parua uel nihil utilia sed Christus et uera et utilia unde ipse dicit in Ysaia: *ego Dominus Deus tuus docens utilia*, sed que fuerunt ista utilia? 100
 Hec fuerunt precepta que nos docuit et precepit facere et quia utilia docuit debemus ei obedire et facere que docuit et ecce exemplum: si esset in hac uilla quidam medicus summus expertus tibi egrotanti diceret accipe istam 105
 medicinam quam paraui ad opus tuum, sine ipsa non est tibi salus, quantum esset medicina amara et gustui tuo contraria acciperes tamen illam pro salute corporis recuperanda, quantumcumque delicatus esses si crederes quod diceret tibi. Uerum Dominus noster Iesus Christus 110
 docuit nos precepta sine quibus uel sine quorum

88 ue – ridetis] Luc. 6, 24-25 95/96 non² – eius] Ps. 105, 24 101 Dominus – utilia¹] Is. 48, 17

84 prius] primus Me sustineres] sustines Me 85 biberes] biberet Me manum] annum L1 Me P1 Ta appendes] quis pedes Me 86 Similiter – crederes] om. P1 crederes] credetis Me 87 puniendos] puniendi L1 Ta appende] appendes M1] corr. appendens M2 92 crederes] credens P 93 Dominus] om. M2 94 delitiis – ista] om. Ta delitiis] om. Me P1 95 sed] si Me 97 Secundo] secundum P1 99/100 sed – utilia] om. Me 103 obedire] obbedire M2 et²] et quare M2 105 expertus] et expertus M2 Me Ta 106 paraui] pius Me 108 acciperes] accipies Me 109 delicatus] deligatus Me esses] esset Me

- adimpletione non est anime salus. Unde querenti faciendo
quid uitam eternam possunt habere, respondit Dominus:
serua mandata, unde uitam spiritualem anime non diligis si
115 non seruas mandata pro Iesu Christo. Pro corporis salute
acciperes amaras potiones, penitentie non acciperes pro
anima tua? Unde dicit .iii. Ioannes: *scio quod mandatum eius*
uita eterna est ergo non diligis uitam anime si non seruas
mandata.
- 120 <1.3> Tertio commendabilis fuit quia Dominus docuit
facilia ut nos non excuseamus. Sunt aliqui magistri qui uera
et utilia docent. Hi, ut apparent boni clerici, docent subtilia
sed hoc non est commendabile in doctore. Debet enim
loqui secundum capacitatem audientium sed quid fecit
125 Christus summus magister: *in quo sunt omnes thesauri scientie et*
sapientie abscondit ipse. Docuit facilia sive faciliter. Unde in
Luc.: *aperiens Iesus os suum docebat turbas* glossa super hoc
quod est aperiens os suum misteria reuelauit unde in Prou.:
doctrina prudentium facilis sit. Doctrina Christi fuit facilis et
130 non solum ad intelligendum sed ad operandum ut non
possit se excusare. Exemplum: si aliquis magister doceret
me lectionem et non intelligerem possem me excusare, sic
de opere si difficilis esset ad operandum ad huc possem me
excusare de non faciendo. Sed lectio Christi non solum
135 facilis est ad intelligendum sed etiam ad operandum unde
dicitur in causa Ioannis: *mandata eius grauia non sunt*. Unde si
non potes ieiunare, cilicium ferre uel uigilare uel huius

114 *serua mandata*] Cfr Prou. 7, 2 117/118 *scio – eterna*] Ioh. 12, 50 125/126 *in – abscondit*] Col. 2, 3 127 *aperiens – turbas*] Matth. 5, 1-2 129 *doctrina – facilis*] Prou. 14, 6 136 *mandata – sunt*] I Ioh. 5, 3

127 glossa] Cfr Martin Morard et alii, ed., *Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina* (Mt. 5, 2), in: *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 28/08/2022. (http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GL_OSS-liber55.xmlchapitre=55_5).

112/113 *faciendo quid*] *quid faciendo* M2 Me P1 Ta 114 *non]* uero Me 116 *amaras – acciperes*²] *om. Me* 117 *Unde]* bene Me 118 *uita]* uia Me *est]* *add. M1 non*²] uero Me 121 *facilia]* *faciliter* Me 123 *in]* et Me 126 *in]* etiam Me 127 *hoc]* *om. M1* 129 *sit]* *sive* Me 131 *doceret]* *docet* Me 133 *difficilis]* *difficile* M1

diligas Deum et caueas tibi a peccato et sic non habet aliquis excusare. Unde Dominus in Deuteronomium: *mandatum quod ego pricipio tibi supra te non est id est supra uires tuas quin illud facere possis et sequitur non procul a te ut intelligere non possis et sequitur sermo, quod ego pricipio, tibi iuxta te est in corde tuo et sic patet quod Christus summus doctor docuit tripliciter et ideo beatus Nicholaus qui istum bonum doctorem habuit conuenienter potest dicere: Deus docuisti me a iuuentute mea.* 140 145

<2> Beatus Nicholaus cito quia ab infantia sua incepit studere in facultate penitentiae et in seruitio et sancta uita, ita debemus nos facere unde in lamentationibus Ieremie Thren. .iii. : *bonum est uiro cum portauerit iugum ab adolescentia sua.* 150

<3> De hoc alibi sequitur uidere de ipso quod in stadio bene agendi usque ad finem perseuerauit ut patet in legenda sua et hoc tangitur per hoc quod dicitur et usque nunc. Sic beatus Nicholaus bonum quod a iuuentute incepit non deseruit nec ad mundum rediit, sic ad exemplum eius qui bonum inceperunt facere non debent ipsum quamdiu uiuunt deserere et hoc dicit Iob: qui multis tribulationibus fuit temptatus ut bonum quod inceperat desereret *ab innocentia mea non recedam et iustificationem quam ceperam tenere non deseram* id est austeritatem uite et penitentiam meam non deseram quantumcumque ego temptor. Et uidetur mihi quod tria debent nos mouere ut perseueremus in penitentia scilicet timor, honor et amor. Timor dampni, honor militie et exercitus celi et amor Christi saluatoris nostri. 155 160 165

140/141 mandatum – te] Deut. 30, 11 142/143 sermo – tuo] Cfr Deut. 30, 14
150/151 bonum – sua] Thren. 3, 27 159/161 ab – deseram] Iob 27, 5

138 Deum] unde Me 141 possis] possit Me non] nec Me P1 Ta 143 tibi] om. Me iuxta] supra Ta 146 mea] om. L1 M1 M2 Me Ta 148 studere] studire M2 facultate] facilitate Me sancta] scientia M2 149 debemus nos] nos debemus M1 150 iugum] iugum domini M1 153 perseuerauit] perseuerauerit M2 155 incepit] et cepit Me 156 ad³] in Me 158 deserere] deserrere M2 multis] per multas Me tribulationibus] tribulationes Me 160 ceperam] inceperam M2 164 scilicet] sua Me

<3.1> Primo timor dampni quia triplex dampnum incurrit qui perseuerantiam amittit: dampnum culpe, dampnum gratie et dampnum glorie.

- 170 <3.1.1> Primo ergo incurrit dampnum culpe. Qualiter si Dominus daret gratiam alicui peccata confitendi, penitentiam agendi, si post modum hoc bono peccetque grauius peccat et offendit Deum quam si hac gratia non fuisset ei concessa et uidete exemplum: quia si ceciderit
- 175 infirmus in infirmitate grauius est quam ante quia in residuo infirmitas ueniens inuenit naturam debilitatam et preualet infirmitas. Si reciduum in peccatum penitentia dimissa periculosius est unde Pe. .iii. in .ii. Can.: *si resurgentes coinquinationes mundi* huius agendos scilicet penitentiam et
- 180 cetera. Et sequitur: *rursus hiis implicati seruantur facta sunt eis posteriora peiora prioribus* id est reciduum grauius est. Et ideo karissimi uos uidetis cum aliquis habuit tertianam febrem ut non reciduet utitur potionibus amaris que non placent gustui eius et multum cauet de reciduo. Pro Iesu Christo
- 185 faciatis tantum pro animabus uestris quantum pro corporibus putrefaciendis et ideo cauete a reciduo unde Dominus .iii. Io dicit: illi quem sanauit *ecce inquit sanus factus es uade et amplius noli peccare ne deterius aliquid tibi contingat* nec solum loquebatur Dominus de sanitate corporis sed
- 190 anime et corporis. Quod patet quia dixit: *amplius noli peccare* quasi dicat si peccaueris deterius tibi continget.

<3.1.2> Secundo incurrit dampnum gratie qualiter scilicet ieiunasti per .xx. annos si iuisti nudus pedes et multa alia bona feceris si contingat quod reuertaris ad peccata

178/181 si – prioribus] Cfr II Petr. 2, 20 187/188 ecce – contingat] Ioh. 5, 14

190 amplius – peccare] Ioh. 8, 11

167 triplex] tripliciter L1 M1 168 perseuerantiam] per reuerentiam Me
 170 Qualiter] et qualiter Me si] sed M1 172 peccetque] peccet L1 M1 M2
 175 ante] uite Me quia] qui P1 176 residuo] corr. reciduo M1 debilitatam]
 debilitantem Me Ta 177 Si] sic M2 Me Ta 178 periculosius] periculosus Me in ii]
 queritur M2] uero Me 179 agendos] agentes Me 180 implicati] implicari Me
 182 karissimi uos] uos karissimi M2 184 cauet] tenet P1 185 faciatis] facitis Me
 pro¹] per P1 quantum] aut Me 186 a] et M2 191 continget] contingit Me 193 xx]
 om. Me annos] anos P si iuisti] fuisti L1 M1 iuisti] om. Ta 194 feceris] facis Me]
 fecerit Ta

amisisti omnia bona que fecisti. Ita quod si decederes quod 195
 non ualerent tibi ad uitam eternam, immo ires in infernum.
 Exemplum: accidit multotiens quod si aliquis homo habet
 uineam quam cum magno labore et expensis magnis per
 totam hyemem excoluit et eam fodit et cetera, post pascha 200
 per unum inconueniens tota uinea destruitur et perdit
 totum laborem suum. Nonne dolere debet iste. Sic accidit
 aliquotiens quod qui multa bona fecerit et diu temptatus est
 a dyabolo labitur in peccatum et amittit quidquid boni fecit
 quia si morieretur in peccato descenderet in infernum.
 Similiter aliquotiens accidit quod homo terram suam arauit 205
 cum multo labore et magnis expensis excoluit eam et
 seminauit, accidit quod per unam tempestatem, laborem
 suum perdit. Si ergo penitentiam agens excolit terram
 corporis sui per unam cordis contritionem, per carnis
 mortificationem seminat per elemosinarum largitionem et 210
 etiam per integram confessionem et accidit quod tempore
 messis, id est in morte, dyabolus eum facit peccare et totum
 perdit. Hoc est quod dicitur in Ezechiele: *si conuersus fuerit*
iustus a iustitia sua et fecerit iniquitatem in peccato suo moriretur et
in memoriam non inuenient iustitie eius ut scilicet propter 215
 iustitiam suam habeat uitam eternam.

<3.1.3> Tertium incurrit dampnum glorie quia solum
 qui perseuerauerit usque in finem. Hoc solum extendit
 exemplum: si conductus essem ab aliquo ad fodiendum
 ergo uel in uinea per totam diem et ego hora tertia 220
 recederem de uinea non deberem habere mercedem nisi
 perficerem dietam meam. Dominus conduxit nos ut iremus
 in uineam suam ut ibi laboremus per totam diem, id est

213/215 si – eius] Ez. 3, 20

195 si decederes] sit de ordines Me decederes] decederis M2 197 multotiens]
 multo plus Me homo habet] habet homo P1 198 expensis magnis] magnis
 expensis L1 M1 M2 P1 199 excoluit] coluit M1 200 per] om. M2 203 a] om. Me
 204 morieretur] moreretur M2 Me Ta 208 agens] ageres Me 209 per¹ –
 contritionem] om. L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta 210 seminat – largitionem] om. Me 212 id
 est] om. Me 214 moriretur] morietur Me Ta 215 inuenient] uenient M2 Me Ta
 218 extendit] ostendit L1 M1 M2 P1] dicit Me Ta 220 ergo uel] om. P ergo] om. M1
] corr. in agro M2 uel] hic Me Ta 222 conduxit] conduxerat Me 223 laboremus]
 laboraremus M2 Me

omnibus diebus uite sue. Qui ergo declinet et non perficit
 225 dietam non debet recipere mercedem unde in Exodo
 dicitur : *si emeris seruum hebreum .vii. annis seruiet tibi* quilibet
 christianus est hebreus emptus a Domino. Hebreus, id est
 transiens, quilibet enim transit cotidie et debet seruire
 domino suo qui eum redeunt. Unde Apos. : *empti estis pretio*
 230 *magno* et cetera et debet seruire .vii. annis per quos .vii.
 annos uniuersitas intellegitur, id est omnibus diebus uite
 sue, debet iste hebreus, id est christianus, seruire Domino
 ut dicit glossa. Unde Dominus conduxit operarios non in
 mane sed in uespere facto dicit : *uoca operarios et redde illis*
 235 *mercedem* ; non dixit meridie facto uel tertia sed uespere. Et
 ideo karissimi timor triplicis dampni predicti deberent nos
 incitare ad perseuerandum in penitentia incepta, unde
 Machabeorum .ii. dicit Ysayas siue Bosias : *multis temporibus*
continentie propositum corpus habui et animam tradere morti et
 240 *perseuerari* sic patet primum.

<3.2> Debet ergo secundo nos mouere ad
 perseuerantiam in penitentia honor iustitie celi et sumatur
 pro parte exemplum prius positum, si duo pugiles pugnant
 in campo coram multis et magnis quilibet nititur habere
 245 uictoriam unde gloriam reportet ne superatus uel uictus
 confusionem habeat et aliquotiens audiuitis de duobus
 pugnantibus quod unus in principio ita impugnabat
 aduersarium suum et in fine ita remissus erat in bello quod
 uincebatur et dicebat malum uictum uerbum quis istorum

226 si – tibi] Ex. 21, 2 229/230 empti – magno] I Cor. 6, 20 234/235 uoca –
 mercedem] Matth. 20, 8 238/239 multis – tradere] II Mach. 14, 38

233 glossa] Cfr Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina (Ex.
 21, 2), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du
 28/08/2022. (Permalink :
http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GL-OSS-liber04.xmlchapitre=04_21).

224 sue] *del. M1* 225 mercedem] *mortem Me* 226 seruiet] *seruit M1* tibi] *om. Me*
 227 Hebreus] *Helizeus Me* id] *om. Me* 228 cotidie] *tota die Me* 230 quos] *annos*
Me vii² septem .uii. P1 231 diebus] *dies P1* 232 debet] *det Me* 236 deberent]
deberet P1 237 penitentia] *penitentiam Me* incepta] *inceptam Me*
 239 continentie] *continente Me* 242 in penitentia] *om. Me* 245 ne] *me Me*
 247 ita] *om. Me Ta* impugnabat] *impugnabit Me*

debet habere uictoriam uel qui impugnabat in principio et 250
in fine uictus est uel qui in principio remisit et in fine
strenue et optinuit certe qui uictoriam habuit. Sic uideamus
aliquotiens iuuenes quod ita feruentes sunt in principio in
fine autem anelitus deficit eis et fiunt mali et succumbunt in 255
bello contra dyabolum, alios uidemus contrarium facientes.
Illi autem qui ita feruentes sunt in principio et in fine
deficiunt ponunt nonam ante meridiem, nona incipit sic
mirabilia et cetera. Et ipsi faciunt et pugnant mirabiliter in
principio sed propterea in fine dicunt meridiem qui incipit
ibi defecit quia ibi deficiunt et ideo tales non habent 260
gloriam sed illi habebunt qui perseuerabunt unde in Apoc. :
esto fidelis usque ad mortem et dabo tibi coronam uite. Corona
enim signum est uictorie et honoris.

<3.3> Tertio debet nos mouere amor Christi saluatoris.
Pro Iesu Christo uideatis hoc uerbum : Christus ieunauit, in 265
austeritate uite uixit et in cruce positus fuit et quolibet statu
temptatus fuit a dyabolo ut perseuerantiam dimitteret
numquam tamen propter hoc eam dimisit ut nos exemplo
suo perseuerantiam seruaremus. Unde cum ieunasset .xl.
diebus et .xl. noctes postea esuriit et *accessit ad eum temptator* 270
et dixit ei si filius Dei es dic ut lapides isti panes fiant fecit ne de
lapidibus panes non et tamen posset fecisse sine peccato.
Mundus et caro sepe debent homini agenti penitentiam. Sic
ut lapides isti panes fiant, lapis autem durus et panis mollis
et suavis dicunt ergo si filius Dei es immo quia *filius Dei es* 275
dic ut lapides isti panes fiant id est conuertas austeritatem tuam

262 esto – uite] Apoc. 2, 10 270/271 accessit – fiant] Matth. 4, 3

258 mirabilia et] Cantus ID 920118e

250 debet] debet debet P1 251 qui] ille qui M1] illis qui Me 252 strenue] si tenue
Me qui] om. P1 253 iuuenes] aliquos iuuenes M2 Me P1 Ta quod] om. M2 Me P Ta
254 deficit eis] eis deficit L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta fiunt] fuit Me et² add. M1] om. M2 Me
succumbunt] succum habuit Me 255 alios] habet Me 257 ponunt – meridiem]
dicunt ante nonam meridiem P1 Ta] habui nonam ante meridiem Me ponunt] dicunt
M2 259 propterea] del. M1] preterea M2 Ta] om. Me dicunt] dictum Me
262 usque] usque ad usque P1 263 est] om. P1 266 uixit] om. Me et² in Me
267 temptatus] stemptatus M2 269 ieunasset] ieunauit Me 270 et¹ – noctes]
om. L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta et² om. M1 273 et] om. Me debent] dicunt L1 M1 Me Ta
Sic] dic P 275 immo] in illo Ta 276 id est] om. Me tuam] om. Me

et duritiam penitentiae in molliem panis scilicet in carnis
dilectionem et uite suauitatem. Quasi dicat satis penitentiam
fecisti uiuas delitiose et sit carnalis pro Iesu Christo. Si caro
280 temptet uos suggerendo quod faciatis de lapidibus pane
nullo modo credatis ei. Creditis uos quod dyabolus
compassionem de Iesu Christo cum dicit ei ut lapides isti
panes et cetera, haberet? Certe non. Similiter, creditis uos
quod hoc dicat mundus et caro propter compassionem
285 quam habet ad uos? Certe non. Unde non est
acquiescendum consilio eorum. Item cum Christus
penderet in cruce iudei dixerunt ei *si filius Dei es descende de*
cruce sed Christus noluit de cruce descendere nisi mortuus.
Si es in penitentia tu es in cruce, ergo nullo modo debes
290 descendere de hac cruce quamdiu uiuis donec fueris
mortuus et ad hoc debet te regere amor enim saluatoris
nostri Iesu Christi et qui sit in cruce penitentiae cum Christo
moritur et proximo habebit uitam eternam quam nobis et
cetera.

287/288 si – cruce¹] Matth. 27, 40

279 sit] sis M2 Me 280 pane] panes M2 Me Ta 287 penderet] pendet Me
288/289 sed – cruce] om. Me 288 sed – cruce²] om. M2 de cruce] om. P P1
290 donec] unde Me 291 debet] debes M2 292 Christo] om. Me 293 proximo]
pro Christo Me

Sermo XI

Sermon *de sancta Lucia*, S7, RLS 160.

Base ms.: P, ff. 167va-168vb.

- 5 Collated mss.: L1, ff. 261rb-263ra; M1, ff. 388ra-389rb; M2, ff. 177v-179r; Me, ff. 188va-190ra; P1, ff. 144rb-145va; Ta, ff. 169vb-170vb; W1, ff. 257va-259ra.

Ecce sponsus uenit Mt .xv.

- 10 Diuites nouiter maritati ad domum suam redire nolunt nisi uiellatores et tympanizatores et huius precedant qui aduentum sponsi prenuntient. Unde et merito prophete primum Christi aduentum, tamquam sponsum procedentem de thalamo, predicauerunt et secundum
15 aduentum quo Christus ut sponsus ad sponsam ueniet. Merito precones similiter preclamabunt quod exprimitur in uerbis dictis in quibus primo excitamur ibi ecce; secundo consolamur ibi sponsus; tertio erudimur ibi uenit.

- <1> Primo ergo excitamur ut bubulci et quadrigarii
20 habunt uerba declarata ad excitandos boues et equos. Sic hoc quod dico ecce excitatiuum est ad cogitandum et aduertendum de quo ecce dicitur Apoc. ultimum: *ecce uenio cito et merces mea mecum est*.

- <2> Secundo consolamur in hoc quod dicit sponsus
25 cum sponsum nostre matris ecclesie uel sororis nostre nature humane se nominat. Non enim modica esset consolatio turpi et uilis generis si nobilis et ditissimus eam uellet in uxorem ducere; quod fecit Christus naturam humanam assumendo et sibi ecclesiam coniungendo unde
30 in hoc merito consolamur.

Sermo XI, 8/9 – sponsus] Matth. 25, 6 22/23 ecce² – est] Apoc. 22, 12

Sermo XI, 10 nouiter] in altari Me 11 et²] post Me 12/13 sponsi – aduentum] om. Ta 12 Unde] in Me 15 ueniet] venit P1 17 dictis] predictis M1 secundo] ibi Me 18 sponsus – ibi²] om. Me 19 bubulci] bubula Ta 20 habunt] habent Me Ta declarata ad] om. Me declarata] deterinata M2] deteriata Ta 21 excitatiuum] excitaturum Me 22 aduertendum] aduertandum M2 ultimum] a Luc. Me uenio] nemo Ta 26 se nominat] reueueniat Me 27 et²] tibi Me ditissimus] dissimilis Me 28 uellet] uelleret M1 in] ad Me uxorem] morem Me ducere] ducite Me fecit] facit Me 30 merito] om. Me

<3> Tertio erudimur cum dicit uenit. Ibi enim quod diu in desiderio et incertitudine expectabatur cum certitudine affirmatur unde Ps.: *holocaustum pro peccato non postulasti tunc dixi ecce uenio*.

Nota quod triplex est aduentus Christi in carnem, in mentem, ad iudicium et in quolibet aduentu uenit ut sponsus ad sponsam uenire dicitur triplici de causa: ad contrahenda sponsalia, ad iocalia conferenda, ad ipsam in suum consortium traducendam.

<3.1> Primo uenit in carnem in incarnatione. Dum enim carnem assumpsit sibi nostram naturam siue ecclesiam desponsauit ut in contractu sponsalium ad firmitatem fidei faciendam coniungitur manus manui. Sic in incarnatione deitas humanitati unita est, Osee .i.: *desponsabo te mihi in fide*. Sed nota quod in istis beatis sponsalibus tria commendabilia inueniuntur: amicitie firmitas ut non separentur, iustitie ueritas ut non contradicatur, misericordie benignitas ut gratie referantur Osee .i.: *sponsabo te mihi in sempiternum, sponsabo te mihi in iudicio et iustitia in misericordia et miserationibus*.

<3.1.1> Primo ergo notatur amicitie firmitas. Homines enim quandoque sponsalia dimittunt quando eis non placent sed Deus tam feruenti amore naturam sibi desponsauit humanam quod nullatenus a se separabit. Iere. .xxxi.: *in caritate perpetua dilexi te* et hoc notatur ibi desponsabo te mihi in sempiternum.

<3.1.2> Secundo notatur iustitie ueritas. In curia enim summe trinitatis diffinitum fuit quod persona filii incarnaretur et sic naturam humanam uel ecclesiam

33/34 holocaustum – uenio] Ps. 39, 7-8 44 desponsabo – fide] Cfr Os. 2, 20
48/50 sponsabo – miserationibus] Os. 2, 19 55 in – te] Ier. 31, 3

32 expectabatur – certitudine] om. Me Ta 33 affirmatur] infirmatur Me
33/34 tunc – uenio] om. Me 35/36 in mentem] corr. per gratiam et uenientem M1
36 iudicium] modicum Me uenit] om. Me 38 contrahenda] contrahendam P1
38/39 in suum] uirum Me 40 Dum] om. M2 42 in] om. Me 43 faciendam] fiduciam
P1 coniungitur] coniungit Me manui] manu L1] manui M1 in] om. L1 M1 45 tria]
qua Me 47 separentur] comparentur Me contradicatur] quadricatur Me
48 sponsabo] desponsabo Me Ta 51 notatur] nota Me 53 feruenti] consilienti Me
57 iustitie ueritas] ueritas iustitie M1 59 et] etiam Me

60 desponsaret Ps.: *ueritas de terra orta est*. Quia qui domum
fecit domum reficiat si cadat et ideo conueniens fuit quod
filius Dei qui hominem fecit relapsum reficere ueniret
Ysaia: *ego feci, ego reficiam* et hoc nota ibi: *sponsabo te mihi in*
iuditio et iustitia. Iudicium fuit in diffiniendo iustitia in
65 exequendo.

<3.1.3> Tertio nota misericordie benignitas. Sola enim
pietas caritatis Dei trinitatem induxit ad diffiniendum et
exequendum negotium incarnationis. Ysaia .ix.: *puer natus*
est nobis, sequitur quod zelus Domini exercituum faciet hoc et hoc
70 notatur ibi: *sponsabo te mihi in misericordia et miserationibus* et
quia plus est de misericordia. Immo totum est ibi de
misericordia; ideo dicit in miserationibus pluraliter et
misericordia singulariter. Sic ergo sponsus uenit ad
sponsalia contrahenda.

75 <3.2> Secundo uenit sponsus ad sponsam ad iocalia
conferenda. Solent enim sponsi, in firmalibus siue
sponsalibus, sponsas uisitare et eis in signum dilectionis
ornamenta et iocalia conferre quod facit Christus anime
cum eam per gratie infusionem uisitat. Tot enim ornamenta
80 et iocalia confert sibi quot Deus uirtutum et Deus
gratiarum largitur et hoc est quod dicitur Ysaia .xlii. ubi
anima fidelis sponsa Christi de sponso suo se laudat et
iactat a sponso suo Christo, ornamenta accepisse dicens:
exultabit anima mea in Deo; salutari meo quia induit me
85 uestimento salutis, id est gratia patientie, qua saluatur in
quantumcumque aduersitate ne ledatur ut lorica corpus
Prou. .ii.: *custodiet Dominus rectorum salutem*, id est per
patientiam rectitudinis uite seruantes in tribulatione et
proteget gradientes simpliciter id est patientes sine alterius

60 ueritas – est] Ps. 84, 12 63 ego¹ – reficiam] Cfr Is. 46, 4 63/64 sponsabo –
iustitia²] Os. 2, 19 68/69 puer – hoc³] Is. 9, 6-7 70 sponsabo – miserationibus] Cfr
Os. 2, 19 84 exultabit – Deo] Is. 61, 10 87 custodiet – salutem] Prou. 2, 7

60 desponsaret] desponsauit P1 62 relapsus] relapsus Me 63 nota] notatur MeTa
66 nota] notatur Me Ta 68 incarnationis] et carnationis M2] in incarnationis Me
80 Deus¹] differentias L1 M2 Deus²] differentias L1 M2 82 suo] suo Christo M2
84 mea] me P1 salutari meo] et cetera M1 salutari] salutario P1 85 patientie]
penitentiae M2 saluatur] saluator anima M2 86 quantumcumque] quacumque M2
88 rectitudinis] rectitudinem Me Ta

lesione quicquid sibi ab alio infertur. Sequitur in Ysa: et <i>indumento iustitie</i> cui <i>circumdedit me</i> penitentiam agendi dedit uoluntatem ut iustitiarum boni malefactores extirpant eos in iudicio accusando, puniendo, forbanizando. Si uere penitens peccata accusat per confessionem, forbanizat per cordis contritionem, punit per satisfactionem .xxix. : <i>iustitia inductus</i>	90
<i>sum</i> sequitur in Ysa: <i>quasi sponsam</i> decorauit <i>corona</i> id est gratia conuertendi alios ad Christum uerbo et exemplo. Sicut enim corona est signum glorie et honoris sic conuersi in gloria conuertentium est autem honor et gloria nobilium habere multas de sua familia et confusio esset uenire solus.	95
Solus autem ueniet ad iudicium qui nisi de sua salute curat cum tot sociis ueniet quot salutem uerbo et exemplo operatus est et ideo erit sibi gloria Prou. .xviii. : <i>corona senum</i> <i>fili filiorum</i> et ideo hic ponit sponsum qui uim generandi habet. Sequitur et tamquam : <i>sponsam ornatam monilibus suis</i> ,	100
id est gratia uere castitatis. Monile dicitur a monendo quia duplicem monet castitatem stringit mamillas ne tangantur, tegit pectus ne uideatur et uere castus tactum illicitum non sustinet sicut nec tactum titonis ardentis membra lecatoris titio sunt accensa. Item uere castus aliquid sui non ostendit	105
quo quis moueri debeat ad peccatum. Sicut sancta illa perpetuo mouetur ait: nolo aspectum decoris mei perdere pro quo Christus mortuus est et sic monilia signant castitatem et hoc est quod dicitur Ephe. : <i>pacem sequimini et</i> <i>sanctimoniam sine qua nemo uidebit Deum.</i>	110
	115

90/91 et – me] Is. 61, 10 95/96 iustitia – sum] Iob 29, 14 96 sponsam decorauit]
Cfr Is. 61, 10 103/104 corona – filiorum] Prou. 17, 6 114/115 pacem – Deum]
Hebr. 12, 14

Sermo XI, 112/114 mouetur – castitatem] non inueni

91 cui] om. M2 Me Ta circumdedit] cumdedit P1 penitentiam] id est penitentiam M2
92 extirpant] extirpant P1 eos] eo P1 93 Si] sed M1 Me P1 95 xxix] Iob .xxix. M2
96 decorauit] decorauit me M2 100 multas] multos M2 confusio] confutatio M2
MeTa solus] soli M2 Me Ta 101 nisi] non nisi M2 103 erit] cum erit M2
106 gratia] gratie MeTa uere] om. M1 106/107 Monile – castitatem] om. Ta
106 Monile] mouere Me 109 lecatoris] autem lecatoris Me Ta 110 accensa]
accensus L1 M1 M2 P1

<3.3> Tertio uenit sponsum ad sponsam ut eam in domum suam introducat et pariter iocundetur. Sic Christus ad iudicium ueniet ut ecclesiam sponsam in domum beate patrie retroducatur Cant. .iiii.: *ueni de Libano ueni coronaberis.*
 120 Nota quod cum dicit ueni glossa tripliciter uenitur ad Deum:

<3.3.1> primo in uita corporali per amorem et desiderium in ipso ponendo nec estuans ad umbram et fessus ad loca pacifica ut quiescat nec anima nisi in Deo, Mt
 125 .xi.: uenite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis et ego reficiam uos et inuenietis requiem animabus uestris.

<3.3.2> Secundo uenitur ad Deum in morte. Anima enim penitentia per acta ad beatam patriam reportatur ut cum quis a propria terra pro debitis eiectus fuerit solutione
 130 facta in possessione sue hereditatis uenit, Luc .x.: *uenite ad me et audite me et uiuiet anima uestra.*

<3.3.3> Tertio uenitur ad Deum post mortem in iudicio cum corpus et anima similis gloriabuntur ut operarius facto uespere ad patrem familias uenit mercedem debitam
 135 recepturus Mt .xx.: *uespere autem facta dicit pater familias procuratori suo, uoca operarios redde illis mercedem. Uenerunt autem nouissimi et acceperunt singulos denarios.* Ideo dicit tibi ueni sed nota quod de Libano, id est de candore uirtutum,

119 ueni¹ – coronaberis] Cant. 4, 8 **125/126** uenite – uestris] Cfr Matth. 11, 28-29
130/131 uenite – uestra] Is. 55, 3 **135/137** uespere – denarios] Matth. 20, 8-9

120 glossa] Cfr Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina (Ct. 4, 8), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 28/08/2022.
 (P e r m a l i n k :
http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GLOSS-liber30.xmlchapitre=30_4).

116 sponsum] sponsus M2 Me Ta **117/118** suam – domum] om. Ta
119 retroducatur] introducat M2 **120** cum] ter M2 **122** corporali] cor Me Ta
123 nec] ut L1 M2 Me Ta **124** quiescat] quiescat. Rex enim nisi in proprio loco quiescit M2
125 laboratis] laborabitis P1 **128** penitentia] iusti penitentia Me Ta acta] parata P1
 reportatur] deportatur M2 **129** fuerit] fuit M2 Me Ta solutione] Salomone M2
134 familias] familiis M2 **137** singulos denarios] singuli denari M1

secundum glossa non enim de diuitiis ad paradysum sed ad
 infernum itur. Sicut qui de portu mouetur non uadit quo 140
 uult sed quo fluctus uel uentus flans in exitu portus ducit
 eum. Sic qui exit de mundo non uadit quo uult sed quo
 status uel meritum impulit. Si enim in morte uiget cupiditas
 uel peccatum aliud mortale ad infernum impellit, talis 145
 uentus est Aquilo, *ab Aquilone* enim *pandetur* omne *malum*. Si
 caritas etiam in morte uiget et fiat ad paradysum ducit, talis
 uentus est Auster. *Accipiter* enim *expandens suas alas ad*
austrum plumescit scilicet uirtutibus ut uolare possit et capere
 predam suam scilicet Christum. Ideo in Cant.: *surge aquilo*
ueni auster et quia oportet uirtutem in corde et in operatione 150
 habere. Ideo dicit bis *de Libano*. Nobili enim non sufficit
 uestis simplex nisi sit furrata, id est uestis sine pelle, et
 christiano non sufficit uirtus interior sine operatione
 habenti facultatem ut pigro. *Desideria* enim *occidunt pigrum*.
 Nec operatio sine interiori uoluntate ut in ypocritis. 155
 Exemplum de fatuis uirginibus Prou. ult.: *omnes domestici eius*
uestiti sunt duplicibus.

145 ab – malum] Cfr Ier. 1, 14 147/148 Accipiter – plumescit] Iob 39, 26
 149/150 surge – auster] Cant. 4, 16 154 Desideria – pigrum] Prou. 21, 25 156 de –
 uirginibus] Cfr Matth. 25, 2 156/157 omnes – duplicibus] Prou. 31, 21

139 glossa] Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina (Ct. 4, 8), in :
Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 28/08/2022.
 (P e r m a l i n k :
http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GLOSS-iber30.xmlchapitre=30_4).

139 diuitiis] uitiis M2 141 uult – uel] om. M1 P fluctus uel] om. M2 Me Ta
 143 impulit] impulerit M2 Me Ta 145 enim] cum M1 146 etiam] om. M2 Me Ta
 fiat] fiat M2 Me 147 suas alas] alas suas L1 M1 Me P1 Ta 152 pelle] pelle nec pellis
 sine ueste Me Ta 154 Desideria] desidia P

Sermo XII

Sermon *in conuersione sancti Pauli*, S20, RLS 166.

Base ms.: *P*, ff. 168vb-170ra.

- 5 Collated mss.: *L1*, ff. 263ra-265ra; *M1*, ff. 389rb-390va; *M2*, ff. 179r-181r; *Me*, ff. 190ra-191rb; *P1*, ff. 145va-146vb; *Ta*, ff. 170vb-172ra; *W1*, ff. 259ra-261ra.

Uas electionis mihi est iste et cetera.

- 10 Solent caupones uina sua ponere in tabernam, uasa et cyphos pulcros et aptos eligere in quibus uinum suum pulcrum appareat et emptores illeceat solo uisu. Sic Deus noster cum uoluit beatum regnum ponere in tabernam et exponere uenditioni Paulum elegit in quo predicto taberne
15 celestis ydonee appareret. Sicut dicitur in uerbis predictis, in quibus tripliciter commendatur.

<1> Tangitur primo status eius penes conuersionem ibi uas. De ipso enim quasi de uase pleno hausit ecclesia aquam sapientie salutaris. Prouer. .xx.: *est uas pretiosum labia*

- 20 *scientie*.

<2> Secundo tangitur status ante conuersionem ibi electionis Ephesios .i.: *elegit nos ante mundi constitutionem*.

<3> Tertio tangitur status post conuersionem ibi iste est. Est enim iste pronomen demonstratiuum tantum et ita

- 25 statum presentem importat.

<1> Fuit ergo uas potum doctrine propinando in uase requiruntur quatuor que in ipso fuerunt et in quolibet nostrum esse debent quod sit mundum, quod sit firmum et solidum, quod pulcrum et clarum quod suaue et
30 incorruptum. Talis fuit Paulus mundus scilicet a peccatis et maxime a corporali corruptione, firmus et solidus per

Sermo XII, 9 Uas – iste] Act. 9, 15 19/20 est – scientie] Prou. 20, 15 22 elegit – constitutionem] Eph. 1, 4

Sermo XII, 10 sua] sua uolentes *M2 Me Ta W1* 11 cyphos] cypos *M1* in] *om. M1*
12 et] *om. M2* illeceat] alliciat *M2*] illiceat *P1*] illiciat *Me Ta W1* Deus] Dominus *M2*
Me Ta W1 14 predicto] *del. M1* 15 Sicut] sicuti *M2* 24 demonstratiuum]
demonstrationum *M2* 29 suaue et] *del. M1* 30 et] *om. M2*

patientiam in tribulatione, pulchrus et clarus in honesta conuersione, sanus et incorruptus doctrine sane effusione.

<1.1> Debut ergo esse mundus et fuit a peccatis et maxime a corruptione carnis. Non enim libenter cum uase sordido bibitur Prou. .xxv.: *aufer rubiginem de argento et egredietur uas purissimum*. Rubigo autem de ferro nascitur et ferrum consuntum. Et nota uas esse purum in continentia coniugali, purius in uiduali, purissimum in uirginali. Talis fuit Paulus et ideo uas purissimum. Uas ergo mundare debemus si gratiam Dei recipere uolumus. Tabernarius enim uinum suum non facilliter infunderet in uas immundum Ysa .lii.: *mundamini qui fertis uasa Domini*. Immo parum uini poneret in cypho tuo nisi prius mundificato, nec potum mitteret ad tabernam nisi prius lotus esset. Quomodo ergo credit quod Dominus uinum gratie sue infundat in homine peccatis immundo? Unde .i. Regum .xii.: *Dauid petens panem sanctum continuit se ab huius; heri et nudius tertius fuerint uasa puerorum sancta et sic optinuit panem sanctum*.

<1.2> Item debuit esse et fuit firmus et solidus per patientiam in tribulatione. Uas enim quod modica impulsione cadit et frangitur non est appreciabile. Cito enim funderetur contentum in eo. Eccl. .xx.: *gratie fatuorum effunderetur quia sequitur .xx.: cor fatui quasi uas confractum*. Paulus autem fuit firmus et solidus Ecc .i. de Symeone qui

36/37 aufer – purissimum] Prou. 25, 4 43 mundamini – Domini] Is. 52, 11
48/50 Dauid – sanctum] Cfr I Reg. 21, 4 54/55 gratie – effunderetur] Eccli. 20, 13
55 cor – confractum] Eccli. 21, 17

Sermo XII, 38/39 purum – uirginali] Cfr Guillelmus Autissiodorensis, *Summa aurea*, liber tertius, tractatus 23, introductio; J. Ribaillet ed., *Spicilegium Bonaventurianum*, 1986, XVIII A, p. 419

32 pulchrus] pulcher M2 33 doctrine] in doctrine Me Ta 35 a – carnis] a carnis corruptione M2 Me Ta W1 37 Rubigo] Subigo W1 38 consuntum] consumit L1 M1 Me] consumit. Sic carnis corruptio de carne exit et carnem consumit M2 Ta W1 uas – purum] purum esse uas L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 40 uas purissimum] purissimum uas Me uas] om. L1 M1 M2 P1 W1 44 uini] uini non P1 M2 Me Ta W1 46 Quomodo] quanto M2 49 fuerint] et fuerint M2 54 funderetur] effunderetur M2 56 qui] quia W1

interpretatur pater, audiens merorem dicitur: qui *uas auri solidum ornatum omni lapide pretioso*. Ita enim fuit Paulus qui multas angustias sustinuit, multas comminationes meroris
 60 et doloris audiuit et tamen firmus, fortis et solidus fuit quia uiam veritatis non dereliquit. Unde ipse de se ait .Ro. viii. : *quis nos separabit*, quasi dicat per persecutiones et angustias, a *caritate Christi tribulatio* et cetera, quasi dicat non. Unde patet quod gratia Dei plenus fuit. Uas enim uacuum crepat ad
 65 ignem, plenum stat. Ecc. .xxx. .viii. : *uas figuli probat fornax* et cetera et in hoc patet quod multi sunt uacui gratia Dei qui modicam contumeliam uel minimam audientes crepant se uindicare uolentes et sonant in contumeliam prorumpentes impatientiam suam demonstrant et ita franguntur ad ignem
 70 ut uas uacuum. Ps. : tamquam *uas figuli confringes* eos quasi dicat permittes confringi. Nota ut uas figuli quod restauratur quod non est enim a Deo subtilis qui sciat religare uas figuli plenus enim leditur. Sic multi sunt indignantes et superbi quanto plus corrigantur tanto plus
 75 deteriorantur. Gen. .xx. : *sic conteram populum istum sicut conteritur uas figuli* quod non iterum restauratur.

<1.3> Item debuit esse et fuit clarus et pulchrus in conuersione propter pulcritudinem et claritatem cyphi uinum amatur et propter honestatem predicatoris citius
 80 recipitur predicatio. Ideo docuit quod esset resplendens sicut dicit beatus Iohannes in Apocalypse et loquitur de luna qua a sole lumen recipit sicut Paulus a Christo illuminatur et noctem, id est mundum peccatorum, illuminans et sic fuit quasi luna quia antiquitus clerici et

57/58 uas – pretioso] Eccli. 50, 10 62/63 quis – tribulatio] Rom. 8, 35 65 uas – fornax] Eccli. 27, 6 70 uas² – eos] Ps. 2, 9 75/76 sic – restauratur] Cfr Ier. 19, 11 81 Apocalypse] Cfr Apo. 21, 23

57 pater] om. L1 M2 P P1 W1 merorem] meriorem M2 qui] quasi M2 Me Ta
 58 enim] quod M2 qui] quia L1 M1 M2 Me Ta W1 59 meroris] merioris M2
 62 quasi – angustias] om. L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 63 Christi] Dei P1 W1
 66 uacui] uocati P 67 minimam] corr. iniuriam M1 68 et sonant] insonant L1 M1
 Me P1 Ta W1 71 permittes] permittes eos M2 quod] quod non M2 73 plenus] plus
 M2 74 corrigantur] corriguntur M2 Me Ta W1 78 conuersione] corr. conuersione
 M1] conuersione M2 80 docuit] docuerit W1 82 sicut] sic Me Ta 84 antiquitus]
 antiquus W1

prelati splendebant exemplo bone conuersationis et hoc 85
uoluit Dominus. Unde : sic *luceat lux uestra coram hominibus ut*
uideant opera uestra bona Mt .vii. sed certe modo non lucent
sed fecerunt alios corrumpentes ut candela de sepe. Unde
non sunt uasa splendentia sed obscura quod deflens 90
ecclesia in lamentationibus Ieremie Tren. .iii. ait : *filii Syon*
incliti amitti auro. Primo quomodo reputati sunt in uasa
testea scilicet qui primo clari modo obscuri, aurum enim
clarum est testea obscura et certe quia non clauduntur per
sensuum in inclinationem contra illicita. Ciphus enim si in
loco publico ponatur discoopertus colligit pulueres et 95
sordes Num. .xxx. : *uas quod non habuit operculum immundum*
erit. Item sicut uasa non tersa obscurantur unde sicut in
sero secundo cyphum tergere facis ut sit clarus. Sic animam
per confessionem semel in septimana tergere debet ab hiis
que minus bene in septimana perpetrasti. Prima Thessal. 100
.iiii. : *hec est uoluntas Dei sanctificatio uestra ut sciat unusquisque*
uestrum uas suum possidere in sanctificatione et cetera.

<1.4> Item debuit esse et fuit sanus et incorruptus
doctrinam sane conuersando et propinando. Uas enim
quod corrumpit liquorem repudiale est .iiii. Regum .ii. 105
igitur : *afferte uas nouum et mittite in illud sal*. Sal scilicet
sapientie et discretionis conseruans a corruptione ut sal. Sic
multi sunt ut uas ire. Ire in interitum et multi alii
increpationes sibi diffamantes. Ysa .xxxii. : *fraudenti uasa*
pessima sunt, non fuit autem Paulus talis. 110

<2> Ideo dicitur uas electionis. Sapiens enim Deus eligit
uas mundum, solidum, clarum et sanum ad uinum suum

86/87 luceat – bona] Matth. 5, 16 90/91 filii – auro] Thren. 4, 2 96/97 uas – erit]
Num. 19, 15 101/102 hec – sanctificatione] I Thess. 4, 3-4 106 afferte – sal] IV
Reg. 2, 20 109/110 fraudulentum – sunt] Is. 32, 7

88 sepe] sepo M2 90 Ieremie] Thren. Iere Me Ta W1] ut in Iere M2 93 testea]
testa Me Ta W1 94 in¹] om. Me Ta 98 secundo] om. L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 facis]
facit M2 99 debet] debes M2 100 que] qui W1 Prima] prete rea M2
102 uestrum] om. M2 Me P1 Ta W1 103 et fuit] quod fuit L1] om. M1 fuit – et²] om.
P P1 105 repudiale] repudiale W1] corr. repudiabile Ta] et repudiale M2 Me
107 discretionis] dilectionis M1 conseruans] conuersans Me P1 W1] aduersans Ta
Sic] si Me Ta W1] sed M2 108 multi¹] iusti Ta uas] uasa L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1
Ire] om. M2 Me Ta W1

propinandum. Item nota quod est electio diuina, humana,
dyabolica. Diuina admiranda et ideo cum discretione
115 agenda; dyabolica cum sollicitudine fugienda; humana cum
discretione agenda.

<2.1> Diuina admiratione digna. Elegit enim et egenum
et inopem ad genus humanum redimendum, ydiotam et
simplicem ad populum suum edocendum, infirmum et
120 debilem ad grauia sufferendum. Filium enim suum qui
dixit: *ego uero egenus sum et pauper*, elegit ad genus humanum
totum redimendum. Mt .xii.: *Ecce puer meus dilectus quem elegi*
et nota quod electus fuit in regem et fugit Io. .v. Electus
fuit ad passionem et se optulit Io. .xix.: *uenit obuam*. Can
125 .v.: *dilectus meus candidus et rubicundus electus ex milibus* omnes
uero mundani e contrario faciunt. Item apostolos elegit
simplices et ydiothas ad totum mundum erudiendum Io
.xv.: *non me uos elegistis: sed ego elegi uos et posui uos* et cetera
scilicet predicando. Si enim sapientes elegisset non Dei sed
130 eorum sapientie conuersio populorum ascriberetur .i. Cor.
.i.: *que erant stulta mundi elegit Deus*. Postea sequitur: *ut non
glorietur omnis caro*. Sed nota quod dicit: *et fructum afferatis* et
cetera. Item infirmos elegit ad grauia sustinenda ut
arguentem, unde: *infirmi mundi elegit Deus ut fortitudo* quam
135 confunderet. Confundi ergo debent clerici et uiri fortes
penitentiam facere ut dicunt non ualentes attendant tam
nobilem quam iuuenem tam teneram tanta sustinuisse Ps.:
sagitte potentis acute et cetera. Dabuntur ad excitandum pigros
ad penitentiam uerbo scilicet quod dicit ibi *sagitte* et
140 exemplo quod notatur ibi: *cum carbonibus*.

121 ego – pauper] Ps. 69, 6 122 Ecce – elegi] Matth. 12, 18 123/124 Electus –
passionem] Cfr Ioh. 5 124 uenit obuam] Ioh. 12, 18 125 dilectus – milibus] Cant.
5, 10 128 non – uos] Ioh. 15, 16 131/132 que – caro] Cfr I Cor. 1, 27-29
132 et¹ – afferatis] Ioh. 15, 16 134 infirma – fortitudo] Cfr I Cor. 1, 27
138 sagitte – acute] Ps. 119, 4 140 cum carbonibus] Cfr Ps. 119, 4

121 egenus – pauper] egenus et pauper sum M2 Me Ta 123 fugit] fuit M1
126 uero] uere W1 128 me uos] uos me M2 129 sapientes] sapiens M2
131 erant] erat M2 Me Ta W1 134 arguentem] Agnetum W1] Agnetem M2 Ta
fortitudo] fortitu M2 quam] quecumque Me Ta 136 facere] om. W1 137 tam] om.
M1 teneram] eternam W1] tenerum M1 tanta] tam P1 W1 138 et cetera] cum
carbonibus desolatoriis M2 Dabuntur] dabuntur scilicet primo M2 pigros] pignos W1

<2.2> Item electio humana in qua quis elegit quod melius et securius est quod est quando aggreditur Dei seruitium et relinquit mundi. Columba enim grana puriora colligit, similiter cati et mures de caseis melius eligunt. Iuxta illud: *elegi abiectus esse in domo Dei mei magis quam habitare in tabernaculis peccatorum* id est in ecclesia uel religione. Securius enim et tutius est eligendum et dicitur uulgariter *qui bien uoyt et mal prent a bon droyt si se repent*. Quod tamen multi scienter faciunt de pomis uel allecibus ad macellum, de pane et uino ad stallum Luc .x.: *Maria optimam partem elegit* et cetera. 145 150

<2.3> Item electio est dyabolica quam elegit maiores facere cadere in peccatum Abac .i.: *incrassata est pars eius*. Grossiores enim pisces a magnis libenter commedentur. 155 Lecatoribus non sufficit cibus communis nisi habeant exquisita et noua cibaria, sic dyabolo non sufficit peccatum secularium, laycorum et regularium. Iob .xl.: *absorbebit et sequitur et habet fiduciam quod influat Iordanis in os eius* et duces exercitium ab aduersariis libentius et fortius impugnatur quia in casu illorum consistit casus aliorum .iii. Reg. ult. 160 dicitur dixit rex Syrie: *non pugnabitis nisi contra regem Israelis solum*. Qui uult domum construere postes fortes facit quia ipsis cadentibus cadet domus, sic maioribus peccantibus .i.

145/146 *elegi* – *peccatorum*] Ps. 83, 11 150 *Maria* – *elegit*] Luc. 10, 42
 154 *incrassata* – *eius*] Hab. 1, 16 158/159 *absorbebit* – *eius*] Iob 40, 18
 162/163 *non* – *solum*] III Reg. 22, 31

147/148 *qui* – *repent*] Morawski, 1853

141 *Item*] *item est* M2 Me P1 Ta W1 143 *mundi*] *mundum* M2 Me Ta
 144/145 *Iuxta illud*] *Unde in persona bonorum dicit* M1] *om.* P1] ps. L1 M2 Me Ta W1
 147 *qui*] *ki* Me Ta W1 *bien*] *ben* P1] *bien* W1 148 *et*] *e* W1 *bon*] *tot* M1 P1] *tent*
 L1 M2 Me Ta W1 *droyt*] *dreit* L1 M2 Me Ta W1 *si se*] *sen* Me W1] *son* M2 *si*] *om.*
 L1 M1 P1 Ta 149 *faciunt*] *faciunt quod non faciunt* M2 W1 150 *stallum*] *stallam* P1
 155 *a*] *et* M2 *commedentur*] *comedentur* L1] *comedunt* M1 156 *cibus*] *cibum* P1
 W1 157 *et*] *om.* Me P P1I 158 *et regularium*] *nisi habeant et clericorum et regularium*
 M2 159 *influat*] *inflant* W1 *duces*] *dulces* M2 160 *exercitium*] *add. exercitum*
prelati que sunt duces exercitum M1 163 *construere*] *construe* P1] *construeret* W1
 164 *cadentibus*] *carentibus* M1] *tria dentibus* M2 *cadet*] *cadit* M2

165 Reg.: Saul occidit se cum gladio quod uidens armigerius
eius et cetera. Rogemus et cetera.

165/166 Saul – eius] Cfr I Regum 31, 4-5

165 quod] quia *M2*

Sermo XIII

Sermon de sancte Matthe apostoli, S24, RLS 170a.

Base ms.: P, ff. 170ra-171rb.

- 5 Collated mss.: L1, ff. 265ra-267ra; M1, ff. 390va-392ra; M2, ff. 181r-182v; Me, ff. 191rb-192vb; P1, ff. 146vb-148ra; Ta, ff. 172ra-173rb; W1, ff. 261ra-263rb.

Domine, ostende quem elegeris ex hiis duobus uiris Act. i.

- 10 Petrus et alii apostoli fecerunt sicut modo faciunt mercatores. Qui enim uult emere equum uel pannum petit consilium a coretario qui in talibus prouectus est, etiam quod Deus cogitabat quis duorum electorum scilicet Mathie et Ioseph melior esset in officio apostolorum. Ideo
15 petierunt consilium ab eo dicentes ostende nobis et cetera. In uerbis premissis laudandi sunt apostoli in tribus:

<1> primo quia sapienter elegerunt consilium Dei requirendo, quod tangitur ibi ostende nobis et cetera;

- <2> secundo quia humiliter electionem Deo
20 attribuendo, quod tangitur ibi ex hiis duobus quia uterque bonus et sapiens erat.

- <1> Et notandum quia Deus quinque modis uoluntatem suam legitur ostendere per quam regitur homo in hac uita. Primo ostendit penas inferni ut uitemus. Secundo ostendit
25 mundi fallaciam ut eum odiamus. Tertio peccati uilitatem ut illud abhorreamus siue pudorem de eo habeamus. Quarto exempla sanctorum ut nos ei conformemus. Quinto gaudia paradisi ut pro eo omnia dimittamus.

- <1.1> De primo nota exemplum sicut magister discipulo
30 ostendit uirgas que male facit ut euitet uerberationem. Sic Deus ostendit peccatoribus penas inferni ut per hoc a malo

Sermo XIII, 9 Domine – uiris] Act. 1, 24

Sermo XIII, 12 coretario] corretario M2 Me Ta etiam] et M2 Me Ta P1 W1
13 quod] quia M2 Ta W1 cogitabat] cogitabit Me Ta 15 eo] ipso L1 M1 Me P1 Ta
W1 17 primo] in primo P1 19 humiliter] add. humiliter elegerunt M2 20 ibi] ibi
quem elegeris. Tertio quia utiliter bonos et sapientes postulando quod tangitur ibi L1 M2
Me Ta W1 22 quia] quod P1 M2 Me Ta W1 23 regitur] legitur W1 24 ut uitemus]
inuitamus P1 W1 uitemus] eas inuitamus L1 Me] eas uitamus M1 Ta] eas euitamus M2
25 eum] eam W1 27 ei] eis W1 30 que] quando M2 Me Ta

conuertantur et sic eas omittent secundum quod dicebat
 Iob.: *quantas ostendisti mihi tribulationes multas et malas et*
conuersus uiuificasti me et de abyssis terre et cetera. Nota quod
 pene inferni longe sunt sine fine quod tangit per hoc quod
 est multas. Item aspere sunt sine mensura quod tangitur per
 hoc quod dicit malas. Quod si auerteret homo prius se
 permetteret excoriari qua faceret mortale peccatum.
 Exemplum si ribaldus sciret se amittere pedem si tabernam
 uel lupanar intraret, certus sum quod numquam intraret.
 Cum ergo homo sciat quod pro unico mortali peccato, si in
 illo decedat, non solum manum uel pedem, quod esset
 aliquo modo tollerabile, sed corpus et animam qualiter
 audet peccare et in peccato morari et ideo de talibus
 dicebant Ps.: *conuertantur peccatores in infernum* et cetera. Nota
 quod sicut latro captus in latrocinio si in optatione sua
 ponitur quod suspendetur aut patriam formirabit, eligeret
 potius formirare patriam qua suspendium, quamcumque
 esset delectabilis. Sic est de omni peccatore in peccato
 mortali existente quia aut suspendetur in patibulo inferni
 aut peccatum formirabit et sicut in periculo suspendii redit
 latro post patriam forniratam si capiatur, sic qui recidiuat in
 peccato si moriatur in eo suspenditur in furtis inferni.
 <1.2> Secundo ostendit mundi fallaciam ut eum
 odiamus ut dicitur Io .iii. in Apocalypse: ostendit mihi

33/34 quantas – terre] Ps. 70, 20 45 conuertantur – infernum] Ps. 9, 18
 55/56 ostendit – meretricis] Cfr Apo. 17, 1

32 omittent] emittent P1] committent W1 33 Iob] om. Me P1] Dauid M2 Ta W1
 34 et cetera] iterum reduxisti me L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 36 tangitur] tangit Me Ta
 38 qua] quam L1 Me Ta] quod M2 43 aliquo] om. L1 45 dicebant] dicebat M2 et
 cetera] omnes gentes que obliuiscuntur Deum M2 46 si] add. M1] cum L1 M2 Me Ta
 47 formirabit] fornirabit L1 M1 Ta] formidabit Me 48 potius] semper M2] spem Me
 Ta qua suspendium] om. L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 50 existente] om. P1 M2 Me Ta
 W1 51 formirabit] formidabit Me periculo] corr. patibulo M1 51/52 redit – post]
 reddit post in L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 52 latro] om. M2 forniratam] foriurata P1 si]
 sic P1 53 in?] ut Me P1 W1 55 in] om. M2

Dominus dampnationum mulieris meretricis, glossa mundi, et dicitur mulieris meretricis quia sicut mulier ostendit quidquid habet pulchritudinis et bonitatis exterius in facie se fardendo et huiusmodi interius autem latet uilitas
 60 et turpido ipsius et peccatum. Sic mundus diuitias suas que uidentur pulchre exterius et delectabiles. Qui tamen bene respiceret interius plene sunt amaritudine et dolore et ideo nihil eas appriciare quia in fine non prosunt. Non enim possunt uitam prolongare scilicet in necessitate non uiuant
 65 scilicet in die iudicii. Unde in Naum dicitur: *Niniue liber uisionis* quasi dicat pena mundi est liber in quo discere possumus. Niniues interpretatur paries dealbatus exterius, interius autem uilis sicut patet perforanti et ideo Salomon dicebat quod qui proponeret in statuta bonum et malum
 70 quod potest homo in hoc mundo semper malum preponderet bono quod uerificatur non solum in niniuitis hominibus sed in regibus comitatibus. Plus enim habet rex de angustiiis quam de gaudiis unde dicit Salomon: *risus dolore miscetur* quasi dicat plus est de dolore in hoc mundo quam
 75 de risu. Illud enim quod miscetur in alio minus est quam illud in quo miscetur sicut patet de aqua que uino miscetur et ideo in Naum dicitur de mundo: *omnis qui uiderit te* super interius bene aspiciendo *resiliet a te*.

<1.3> Tertio ostendit uilitatem peccati ut illud
 80 abhorreamus et pudorem habeamus. Phisicus ostendit

65/66 Niniue – uisionis] Nah. 1, 1 73/74 risus – miscetur] Prou. 14, 13
 77/78 omnis – te] Nah. 3, 7

Sermo XIII, 56 glossa] Martin Morard, ed., Hugo de Sancto Caro. Postilla in totam Bibliam (Apoc. 17, 2), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 28/08/2022. (Permalink : http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=.../sources/editions/hug/GL-OSS-hug83b.xmlchapitre=83b_17) 67/68 interpretatur – uilis] Thiel, p. 369

56 dampnationum] dampnationem M2 57 mulieris meretricis] mulier meretrix L1 M1 M2 Me Ta 59 fardendo] fardando M2 Me Ta W1 huiusmodi] huius M2 Me Ta 60 turpido] turpitude M2 et²] in M2 W1 peccatum] peccata M2 Ta] peccato Me 65 in Naum] inuanum Me 67 exterius] qui exterius pulcher M2 Ta 68 autem] autem est M2 Me Ta 69 proponeret] poneret P1 M2 Me Ta W1 70 potest] habet M2 Ta 74 miscetur] miscebitur P1 M2 Me Ta W1 76 sicut – miscetur²] om. W1 79 uilitatem peccati] peccati uilitatem Ta W1

infirmo infirmitatis sue periculum dicens: nisi a talibus absteris morieris etiam cumseruat te a nociuis. Sic Deus ostendit homini peccata sua et delicta ut se abstineat a nociuis per penitentiam faciat ne moriatur propter illud peccatum uel morbum. Unde Iob dicebat: *scelera mea atque delicta ostende mihi*. Non dixit aurum et argentum quia homo qui nescit se infirmum esse consilium non petit a medicis sed quando scit tunc petit et dietam seruat ab eo. Sic iniunctam et per hoc sanatur sepe. Sic qui cognoscit peccata sua et facit penitentiam sibi iniunctam sanatur ab illis. Unde Ysa.: *postquam ostendisti mihi femur meum percussi* et loquitur ad modum hominis admirantis qui se percussit in femore. Nota quod se percutere in femore idem est quod penitentia cogere carnem. Usurarii enim quia peccatum suum non cognoscit penitere nolunt.

85

90

95

<1.4> Quarto exemplum sanctorum ostendit ut similiter faciamus. Exemplum de pictore qui tradit discipulo suo ymaginem ut ei similem faciat. Sic Deus uitam martyrum nobis per predicatorum ut nos uiuamus sicut ipsi uixerunt. Eze.: *ostendit eis templum*, id est uitam sanctorum, *et confunderetur ex operibus suis metientur fabricam ut erubescant ex omnibus que fecerunt*. Beata enim Agnes .xiii. anno fuit martitizata quia nuptiis cuiusdam tyranni infidelis noluit consentire. Sed heu hodie lupanari se exponerent mulieres nostris temporibus antequam aliquod malum sustinerent. Antiquitus heremite fugiebant cibos ut uitarent peccata modo fit. E contrario multe enim lupanari exponunt se ut escas habeant in quo non minimum est erubescendum. Oportet enim quod anima multarum ematur temporaliter ut

100

105

85/86 scelera – mihi] Iob 13, 23 **91** postquam – percussi] Ier. 31, 19
100/102 ostendit – fecerunt] Cfr Ez. 43, 10-11

82 absteris] absteris P1 W1 etiam] et P1 W1] et tunc M2 cumseruat te] cum te seruat M2 Ta cumseruat] seruat M2 te] om. M2 **84** per] et M2 M2 Ta **86** delicta] delicta mea M2 **88** quando] om. M2 Sic] sicut sic M2 P1 **91** femur – percussi] percussi femur meum L1 M1 M2 M2 Ta **93** est] om. M2 P1 W1 **95** cognoscit] cognoscunt M2 M2 Ta penitere] ideo penitere M2 Ta **97** pictore] pictor W1 qui] om. M2 Ta W1 **100** ostendit] ostende P1 M2 M2 Ta W1 **101** confunderetur] confundentur M2 M2 Ta **106** Antiquitus] antiquo L1 M1 M2 M2 P1 Ta W1 **107** exponunt se] se exponunt M2 M2 Ta **108** est] om. L1 M1 M2

- 110 detur eis sustentatio aut se peccato exponerent. Licet Dominus animas earum uite odio care emerit. Uita enim sancti Ytalionis a .xiii. annis usque ad .xxv. fuit panis et aqua et pisa, a .xxv. usque ad .xlv. panis et aqua a .xlv. usque ad ultimum uite sue radices et aqua. Si quis monachus
 115 istam formam uiuendi teneret et cum in fine eius anima dubitabat egredi a corpore cum dixit ei .lxx. annis seruiui Domino, et egredi. Dubitas egredere et similiter in uitas patrum habere quod quidam comprehensus de multiloquio posuit per .vi. annos lapidem in ore suo ne superflue
 120 loqueretur. Quid adhuc necessarium esset mulieribus quibusdam et alius. Heremita habens ciphum corticeum cum uidit alium transeuntem per nemus qui cum manu sua bibit dixit non credebam quod Deus mihi nascenti dedisset cyphum, ideo de cetero ciphum non habebo et hoc contra
 125 appetentes cyphos argenteos et deauratos et macerinos et alia utensilia auri et argenti.

- <1.5> Quinto gaudia paradysi ut pro eo dimittamus omnia. Exemplum sicut homo ponens uinum in taberna ostendit illud clamatori et dat ei gustare ut melius sciat illud
 130 laudare. Sic Deus quibusdam sicut Petro, Paulo, Iacobo, Iohannei gaudia paradisi ostendit ut melius scirent in predicationibus suis et maxime Paulo laudare paradysum ex quo uoluit ipsum ponere in tabernam id est ex quo fuit tempore noue legis siue gratie in quo uoluit peccatores qui
 135 sunt sui clamatores mittere. Salomon: *iustum deduxit Dominus per uias rectas et ostendit illi regnum Dei*. Qui enim ire

135/136 iustum – Deij Sap. 10, 10

111/117 Uita – egredi] Hieronymus Stridonensis, *Uita Sancti Hilarionis*, PL 23, col. 29-54 118/120 quidam – loqueretur] Cfr. *Vitae Patrum*, PL 73, col.865: “Dicebant de abbate Agathone: Quia per triennium lapidem in ore suo mittebat, donec taciturnitatem disceret.”

110 sustentatio] earum sustentatio Me Ta 111 Dominus] Deus M2 earum] eorum M2 Me Ta 112 Ytalionis] Yralionis L1 M2 fuit] om. L1 M1 M2 Me Ta 114 Si] sed Me Ta monachus] modo M2 115 teneret] tenet Me Ta 117 uitas] in uita L1 M2 118 patrum] patrum M2 Me Ta habere] habitur L1 M1 Me Ta 121 alius] aliis L1 M1 M2 123 mihi nascenti] nascenti mihi M2 Me Ta 124 et hoc] om. L1 M1 M2 Me Ta 125 et deauratos] om. P1 M2 MeTa W1 macerinos] mazerinos L1 MeTa 129 clamatori] clamatorii Me P1 W1 133 uoluit] uolunt M1 in] ad P1 W1

uellet ad Rothomagum gaudere deberet si uiam nesciret qui
 eum poneret in uia recta. Sed multum piget quod posuit eos
 in uia recta paradisi sicut illi quibus dedit pauperatem et
 tribulationes et tamen paupertas et tribulatio uia sunt recta 140
 paradysi ut patet in Luc. de diuite qui epulabatur cotidie
 splendide et induebatur purpura qui sepultus fuit in
 infernum. Lazarus uero mendicus et pauper et ulceribus
 plenus receptus est in sinu Abrahe. Mulieres que ponunt 145
 forrellos alter borellos in crinibus et sequentes tabernas non
 sunt in uia, per hanc enim uiam non intrauit Deus. Lex
 matrimonii est uia in paradysum quedam longa et torta.
 Sicut illi qui in matrimonio sic uolunt habere omnes delitias
 et omnia que sunt ibi placentia et tamen uellent facere 150
 aliquod peccatum mortale. Tales uadunt in paradysum, sed
 ista uia longa est quia multum morabuntur in purgatorio et
 hoc est uia quadrigarium. Uiduitas est summariorum uia
 que non est ita longa sicut prima. Tertia est semita peditum
 que recte et breuiter tendit in paradysum et hoc est 155
 religionis et arte paupertatis de qua multi non sciunt grates
 Domino quia posuit eos in uia recta. Deus autem nolens
 uendere murelegum in sacco paulo qui debebat clamare
 uenditionem paradysi ostendit regnum celorum de quo
 dixit audiui : *archana Dei qua non licet homini loqui*. Sicut homo 160
 lutosus inter pannos albissimos intrare non debet similiter
 cum nos omnes immundi sumus secreta mundissima
 paradisi non debent dici. Exemplum hic ponitur de puero
 regis tradito a padre moriente militi sapienti et fideli olim
 pauperi; qui iratus contra magistrum uoluit eum propter
 hoc exhereditare cui tunc dixit quod hic fecerat ut sciret 165
 melius in qua angustia sunt patientes iniuriam et rerum
 suarum amissionem ut melius cumpaterentur eis. Per hoc

141/144 epulabatur – plenus] Cfr Luc. 16, 19-20 159 archana – loqui] II Cor. 12, 4

137 Rothomagum] romagum L1 M1 Ta] romagium W1] Romam M2 W2
 138 multum] multis M2 Me Ta 143 et pauper] om. Me 145 forrellos alter] om. L1
 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 alter borellos] om. M1 152 quadrigarium] quadrigatura P1]
 quadrigarum M1 M2 Me summariorum uia] uia summariorum L1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1
 157 murelegum] murelagum L1] mure legum M1 debebat] debeat L1 W1
 162 debent] dicunt L1 Ta] om. Me 163 sapienti] de M1 P 165 exhereditare]
 exhereditate P1] exhereditarie W1

apparet quod paupertatem et tribulationem paupertatis et
eorum compassionem habentes sunt in uia paradisi recta ut
170 dictum est.

Sermo XIV

Sermon *de sancto Johanne Baptista*, S44, RLS 176.

Base ms.: P, ff. 171rb-173rb.

- 5 Collated mss.: L1, ff. 267ra-270ra; M1, ff. 392ra-394va;
M2, ff. 182v-185r; Me, ff. 192vb-194ra; P1, ff. 148ra-
149vb; Ta, ff. 173rb-175rb; W1, ff. 263rb-266va.

In domino laudabitur anima mea

- 10 Uulgariter dicitur que bonte autre requert. Si quis autem
me inuitauerit ad comedendum uel fecerit gratiam aliquam
ex lege curialitatis obligatus sum ad gratiam similem sibi
faciendam et si ista lex tenet in hominibus, multo fortius in
15 saluatore nostro. Ubi tota curialitas, tota bonitas locum
habet ut si quis ipsi saluatori gratiam fecerit ipse saluator
consimilem sibi faciat uiceuersa .i. Regum .ii.: *quicumque
honorificauerit me ego eum glorificabo*. Cum ergo beatus Iohannes
Baptista hanc gratiam fecerit Domino quod ipsum
20 honorificauerit. *Dominus qui post me uenit ante me factus est cuius
non sum dignus corrigiam calceamentorum soluere* et cetera.
Conueniens erat ut similiter Dominus simpliciter
commendaret quod et fecit Dominus inter natos mulierum
non surrexit maior Iohannes Baptista. De qua
commendatione in uerbis predictis credimus Dauid
25 prophetasse. Nota quod bene dicit laudabitur anima mea.
Anima enim tres uires habet :
<1> irascibilem
<2> et rationalem
<3> et concupiscibilem.

Sermo XIV, 9 In – mea] Ps. 33, 3 **16/17** quicumque – glorificabo] I Reg. 2, 30
19/20 Dominus – soluere] Cfr Ioh. 1, 27 **20** corrigiam – soluere] Cfr Marc. 1, 7; Luc.
3, 16

Sermo XIV, 10 que – requert] Morawski, 298/299 **26/29** Anima –
concupiscibilem] Cfr Thomas Aquinas, *Sententia libri de anima*, III, l. 14, n. 2

Sermo XIV, 10 que] ke L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 bonte] bontes L1 M1 M2 W1
autre] altre M2 Ta requert] garde et colee saper L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 **11** fecerit]
fecit M1 **13** si] om. P1 **16** faciat] facit W1 **19** post] poste M2 **21** simpliciter]
ipsum P1 **23** maior – Baptista] om. L1 M1 P1 W1] et cetera M2 Me Ta

<3> Perficitur concupiscibilis per auditionem uocis de quo commendauit eum saluator cum dixit: *quid existis* in deserto *uidere hominem mollibus uestitum*, quasi dicat non uoluptati sed penitentiae et austeritati deditus fuit. 30

<2> Perficitur rationalis excogitatione ueritatis de quo commendauit eum qui dixit in deserto uidere prophetam: *dico uobis quod plus quam prophetam*, quasi dicat ipse solus futura preuidit et presentia demonstrabat. 35

<1> Perficitur irascibilis ex constantia firmitatis de quo commendauit eum cum dicit: *quid existis in deserto uidere arundinem uento agitatam* quasi dicat non sed stabilem et constantem cum igitur anima non habet plures potentias patet quod perficere animam eius commendauit ut in dictis uerbis dicitur quod commendatio a tribus laudatur. 40

<4> Perfecta enim laus tria requirit:

<4.1> conditionem circa laudantem quod scilicet sit bonus et uerus. Laus enim ribaldorum non est honorificata Eccl. .ix.: *non est speciosa laus in ore peccatoris*. Cum ergo omnis homo sit mendax et peccator secundum illud Prouer.: *quis potest dicere mundum est cor meum* et cetera quasi dicat nullus. Nullus autem est bonus et uerus unde patet quod perfectio laudis notatur a parte laudantis ibi in Domino. 45 50

<4.2> Item perfecta laus requirit conditionem circa tempus ut tempore debito sit laudatio. Laus enim de presenti non est segura secundum illud Gregorius lauda primo periculum perdita securum et hoc est quod dicitur Ecc. .xi.: *ante mortem ne laudes hominem quem* et quam ita notatur perfectio laudis a parte temporis ibi laudabitur quod est uerbum de futuro. 55

31/32 quid – uestitum] Matth. 11, 8; Luc. 7, 25 36 dico – prophetam] Matth. 11, 9
39/40 quid – agitatam] Cfr Matth. 11, 7; Luc. 7, 24 47 non – peccatoris] Eccli. 15, 9
48/49 quis – meum] Prou. 20, 9 56 ante – quem] Eccli. 11, 30

53/54 Laus – segura] Cfr Gregorius, *Moralia in Iob*, PL 76, col. 755: “ Non enim segura laus est, justos ante homines apparere.”

33 uoluptati] uoluptatis M1 deditus] debitus P 37 futura] natura P1 preuidit] preuidet M2 demonstrabat] demonstrauit M2 Me Ta 38 Perficitur] peruiscitur W1] perficior M2 41 habet] habeat M2 Me 49 nullus] om. W1 56 quem – quam] quemquam et L1 M1 Me Ta quam] om. M2 Me

<4.3> Item perfecta laus requirit conditionem debitam
 60 circa rem laudatam. Temporalia enim et corporalia cum sint
 transitoria laude digna non sunt. Eccl.: *ne laudes* hominem
in specie sua quasi dicat non laudes temporalem
 prosperitatem. Unde Iob dicit: *sit illa solitaria nec laude digna*.
 Cum igitur in homine non sit aliquid quod non sit
 65 transitorium et corporale nisi anima et ideo perfectio laudis
 notatur a parte rei commendate quod notatur ibi anima
mea.

<4.1> Nota igitur quod per primum excluditur laus uana
 que est triplex. Est enim turpis et ignominiosa, inutilis uilis
 70 et pernicioza.

<4.1.1> Prima sumitur ex inordinatione ad Deum
 quando scilicet ipsum laudamus indebite.

<4.1.2> Secunda ex inordinatione ad proximum quando
 ipsum laudamus adulatorie.

75 <4.1.3> Tertia ex inordinatione ad seipsum qua quis se
 laudat presumptuose.

<4.1.1> Est igitur laus ignominiosa qua quis Deum
 laudat ore tantum et non opere; describitur enim in Ps. laus
 Dei debita dante: *Deo nostro sit iocunda decoraque laudatio*.
 80 Nota quod ibi tria notantur quia debemus Deum tripliciter
 laudare corde ibi iocunda, ore ibi laudatio, opere ibi decora.

<4.1.1.1> Corde debet esse iocunda ut cum ad
 matutinum surgimus et ad alias horas quod ibi dicimus ore
 suplendo. Hoc corde iocundo faciamus. Si quis enim me
 85 inuitasset ad comedendum et multa fercula tristi animo
 mihi conferret non multum mihi placeret nec multum sibi
 gratias referrem eos et si pauper gaudens et letus mihi daret
 tantummodo panem et aquam multo magis mihi placeret.

61/62 ne – sua] Eccli. 11, 2 63 sit – digna] Iob 3, 7 79 Deo – laudatio] Ps. 146, 1

61/62 laudes – non] om. W1 62 specie] speciem M2 sua] suam M2 laudes]
 laudet P1 63 sit] om. L1 Ta W1] sit nox Me 68 igitur] ergo Me 69 ignominiosa]
 ignominosa M2 72 scilicet] licet W1 75 413Tertia] Tertio L1 M1 Me Ta
 83 matutinum] matutinas P 84 suplendo] supplendo W1 86 multum mihi] mihi
 multum L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 multum] om. M1 87 eos – si] egenus M2] om. Me
 eos] om. M1 P P1 et si] om. L1 M1 W1 et'] sed P1 gaudens] gaudentes Ta

<4.1.1.2> Sic quantumcumque ore plus Deo psallat nihil seruiat si inuitus uel tristis hoc faciat, gratias non inuenit multas coram Deo. Ideo Ysa.: <i>serui mei laudabunt pre exultatione cordis</i> quasi dicat laus exibat de corde iocundo et gaudentis et certe si premium attenderemus quod inde habiture sumus, libenter ad matutinas iremus et Domino seruiremus. Uellatores enim quando sunt in festo ubi credunt magnum quid lucrari libenter cantant et seruiunt de offitio suo, Ps.: <i>iubilare Deo omnis terra seruite Domino in letitia</i> sic igitur debemus domini laudare corde iocundo.	90
<4.1.1.3> Item debet esse laus decora quod est bene concordans os et manus. Exemplum dum enim homines duo cantant equali tono insimul pulcher est cantus si tamen quis quod laudat ore implens opere unde prosa, uoce uita non discordet cum autem uox est alta et manus infima discordant et turpis est cantus. Sic est qui celestia et alta predicat uel cantat et terrena et carnalia operatur Psalmo: <i>posuerunt in celum os suum</i> et cetera. Talibus dici potest: tu discordas turpis est laus et cantus tuus. Ideo dicitur Ecc. .xv.: <i>non est speciosa laus in ore peccatoris</i> . Uere non speciosa, sed est turpis et ignominiosa. Uerecundari enim debent milites tremebundi et auari, strenuitatem et largitatem aliorum militum recitare. Sic tales patientiam martyrum laudent et predicant et uix unam contumeliam patienter sustinent, abstinentiam confessorum commendant et tamen Lazaro commendant, paupertatem apostolorum commendant et tamen penuriam aliquam sustinere nolunt. Tales similes sunt hyrundinis qui irandis strenuitatem militum commendant et numquam tyrocinium uel bellum	95 100 105 110 115

91/92 serui – cordis] Is. 65, 14 **97** iubilate – letitia] Ps. 99, 2 **106** posuerunt – suum]
Ps. 72, 9 **108** non¹ – peccatoris] Eccli. 15, 9

89 plus] quis L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 nihil] uel M2 Me Ta **97** offitio suo] officiis
suis M2 **99** debet esse] om. Ta esse laus] laus esse M2 Me **100** homines] om. L1
M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 **101** si tamen] sic cum L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 **105** et²] uel
P1 W1 **106** tu] om. M2 **108** non²] non est Me Ta **112** unam] unicam L1 M1 M2 Me
P1 Ta W1 **114/115** Lazaro – tamen] om. Ta **114** Lazaro] laute L1 M2 Me W1
commendant] comedunt M2 Me **116** irandis] hyrandis L1 Me P1 Ta] yrandis M1 W1
] hyrundinis M2

intrant sed in herimam professi sunt Eccl.: *noli esse citatus in signa tua et remissus operibus tuis.*

- 120 Nota quod trutanni et claudi loquacissimi esse consueuerunt. Sic tales de obedientia ualde bene loquuntur et tamen mente claudicant quia non uadunt nisi quo uolunt. Similiter de operibus uirtutum et tamen manus tractas habent quia nihil uel parum operantur sed in delectatione et
125 gulatione uiuunt. Natura manus dedit in quibus ponat primo cibum quem debet ponere in os ut patet in singulis, sed ore cum cibum accipiunt ita ordinauit quod primo accepit manu quod in os ponit ad innuendum quod nihil debet ponere per predicationem et ammonitionem et
130 psalmodiam et laudem in ore quod non accipit in manu per operationem, unde Eccl.: quod manus habet cibatur ceteros et hoc facit saluator noster qui fuit exemplum prelatorum et doctorum Act. i.: *cepit Iesus facere et docere* et hoc significatum fuit Iudith ubi illi qui bibebant aqua fluxu publice reprobati
135 sunt, manus ad aqua proicere est sacram scripturam. Primo habere in opere quam in ore.

- <4.1.2> Laus turpis et ignominiosa et etiam laus inutilis et dampnosa qua quis laudat aliquem adulatorem Eccl.: qui dereliquerunt legem, quia et circa legem antiquam et tam
140 faciunt circa nouamque in Mt. dicitur: *si peccauerit in te frater tuus corripe eum in te et ipsum solum* et cetera. Correctio autem adulationi est contraria. Similiter contra antiqua quod dicitur in Leuit.: ne oderis fratrem tuum sed publice argue eum, nec habebit peccatum super eo. Bene dicit nec
145 habebit, qui enim peccatori adulatur peccato eius participat. Consuetudo enim est, in multis partibus, quod celantes et operantes homicidium et furtum rei habentur et pariter

118/119 noli – tuis] Cfr Eccli. 4, 34 131 quod – ceteros] Cfr Eccli. 29, 33
133 cepit – docere] Act. 1, 1 134 illi – publice] Cfr Iudith 7, 7 138/139 qui – legem] Cfr Eccli. 41, 11 140/141 si – solum] Matth. 18, 15 143/144 ne – eo] Cfr Leu. 19, 17

118 herimam] herimiam P1 121 tales] tale M2 122 uadunt] uadant W1
124 delectatione] otiositate L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 125 uiuunt] nimis W1
130 accipit] accepit W1 133 hoc] om. P 134 fluxo] flexo Me 137/138 et² – dampnosa] om. Me 138 laudat] laudet Me 140 peccauerit] portauerunt W1
141 te] certe P1 W1 solum] om. P1 M2 W1 142 est] est est P1

cum homicidiis et furibus puniuntur. Hoc autem faciunt
adulatores et hoc est quod dicitur Ysa. .ix.: *erunt qui*
beatificant populum istum precipitati. Qui enim socii sunt in
culpa debent esse et in pena. Adulatores enim socii sunt in
culpa cum eam palpant et celant sicut membra scabiosi
scabie et putredine ipsius capitis fedentur et causa aliis et
genua fecibus inquinantur. Ideo Ysa .iii.: *disperdat Dominus*
caput et caudam id est illum qui principaliter peccauit et illum
qui peccatori celanda adulauit hec laus inutilis et dampnosa. 150 155

<4.1.3> Tertia laus est inutilior et pernicioosa qua quis
laudat seipsum presumptuose. De qua in Ecclesiastico :
laudet te alienus et non os tuum, extraneus et non labia tua. Talis
enim in tribus offendit seipsum ledit, proximum ad
conuicia allicit, in Deum delinquit. Seipsum ledit gratiam
enim si quam homo perdit. Uas enim plenum uino si
foramen habet euacuatur et cor gratia plenum si aperiat os
ad sui iactantiam ipsa gratia priuatur. Exemplum de coruo
qui quando ad petitionem uulpi cantauerit caseum amisit
Eccl.: *gratie fatuorum effundentur.* Immo uidetur quod tales
bona que habent non habeant nisi ad uendendum pro gratia
uana et laude mundana. Sutores enim sotulares quos habent
uenales ad fenestras ponunt et alii mercatores merces suas
ad fenestras non ponunt nisi quas habent uenales. Tales
autem ad fenestras oris sui bona que habent ponunt. Unde
quod sicut uenalia ostendunt Eze. .xxviii.: Item proximum
ad conuitia trahet, Ecc.: *qui se iactat et dilatat iurgia concitat.* 160 165 170

149/150 erunt – precipitati] Is. 9, 16 154/155 disperdat – caudam] Cfr Is. 9, 14
159 laudet – tua] Prou. 27, 2 166 gratie – effundentur] Eccli. 20, 13
170/172 Tales – ostendunt] Cfr Eze. 27 173 qui – concitat] Prou. 28, 25

164/165 de – amisit] Jacques de Vitry, *Sermones vulgares*, T. Crane ed., p. 42.

149 dicitur] om. L1 W1 ix] om. M1 P W1] .xiii. L1 erunt] et erunt L1 M1 Me Ta
150 populum istum] om. M1 151/155 Adulatores – peccauit] add. P not present in
other mss. 152 culpa] cuppa M2 eam] om. W1 scabiosi] scabiosa Me
153/154 scabie – genua] om. Me 153 fedentur] fedantur M2 Ta causa] cauda M2
Ta aliis] animalis M2 154 fecibus] om. M1 P Ysa] Sap. P1 156 peccatori] errori
P1 celanda] celando P1 M2 MeTa W1 hec] habet P1] si est W1 161 in] et W1
delinquit] relinquit W1 162 homo] habet M2 Me P1 Ta 163 aperiat] appariat M2
os] om. P 165 quando] ante W1 cantauerit] cantauit P1 W1 167 nisi] nec M2
169/170 ad – uenales] om. W1

Item in Deum quod sibi appropriat quod Dei est et se
 175 actorem boni sui quod Deus fecit. Iob .xxxi. : *si osculatus sum
 manum in ore meo quedam est iniquitas maxima et negotiatio contra
 altissimum*. Manum osculari ore opus est suum per
 iactantiam laudare et dicitur iniquitas maxima magna est
 quod laudet quod non est laudandum. Uinum enim
 180 putridum et corruptum in nulla curia laudatur. Isa. .lxiii. :
omnis iustitie nostre quasi pannus menstruate. Dicitur enim
 romanice locutione pueri dare de corde paste nisi gristel
 golaude non sunt digne. Maior quia sibi attribuit quod non
 est attribuendam. Bonitas enim littere non calamo, sed
 185 scriptori attribuenda est et decor artificii domus non securi.
 Deus autem artifex est bonorum nostrorum et scriptor
 bonarum predicationum et ideo dicitur in Ecclesiastico: *in
 manu artificis opera laudabuntur*. Maxima quia Deo aufert quod
 suum est scilicet Deum causam esse omnis boni. In hoc
 190 enim quod si dicat bonum a se uel iustam causam esse
 ueram ipsius boni id est Deum excludit. Sed in Isa. : *omnia
 opera nostra operatus es in nobis Domine* et ideo sequitur et
 negotiatio contra Deum altissimum quia negat Deo gloriam
 scilicet uel ipsum esse auctorem de quo se iactat. In hoc
 195 autem quod dicit Dominus excluditur triplex laus uana.
 <4.2> Sequitur laudabitur. Solent pugiles laudari quando
 socios suos audaciter impugnant et inuadunt. Sic laudabilis
 est Iohannes quia Herodem et Herodiam duris
 increpationibus audaciter impugnauit Prou. : *qui arguunt*
 200 *laudabuntur* et cetera. Et de hoc laudauit eam Dominus

175/177 si – altissimum] Iob 31, 27-28 181 omnis – menstruate] Cfr Is. 64, 6
 187/188 in² – laudabuntur] Eccli. 9, 24 191/192 omnia – Domine] Is. 26, 12
 199/200 qui – laudabuntur] Prou. 24, 25

182/183 dare – golaude] In Nicolas' *Distinctiones* the proverb goes as follows: “*ke l'en
 ne puet faire de orde paste nec gastel*” Cfr Avignon, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms 308, 61ra.

180 lxiii] add. P1] om. M1] .vi. L1 182 corde] orde M1 Me P nisi] si L1 183 digne]
 dignel P1 184 attribuendam] attribuendum L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta 185 artificii
 domus] domus artificii L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 187 in³] om. M2 190 iustam] iustum
 M2 Me Ta 191 excludit] exaudit M1 194 esse] om. Me 199 audaciter] om. Me

quando dixit: *hominem mollibus uestitum* quasi dicat non adulationibus sed increpationibus ornatum.

Item de prudentia et discretione sicut solent magistri laudari cum bene sciunt. Sic fuit Iohannes commendabilis quia et futura preuidit et ueritatem de Christo agnouit Eccl.: *uir sapiens replebitur benedictionibus et uidentes laudabunt*. 205

Item de constantia et fidelitate. Sicut miles qui instanter fructum dominis suis adherent commendantur. Sicut commendabilis fuit Iohannes qui nec nimis nec tormentis a ueritate que Deus est potuit euelli. Ideo sapiens *uir fidelis multum laudabitur* et de hoc commendauit eum Dominus cum dixit: *arundinem uento agitatam* quasi dicat non sed stabilem et firmum. Commendatus ergo fuit munditia et uirtute quia ut dictum est: Herodem et Herodiam audacter increpauit secundum illud quod est dictum: *qui arguunt laudabuntur*. 210 215

Sed nota quod arguitio non est commendabilis propter tria: ut quia defectus in corripiente uel in modo corripiendi, uel in ipso corripiendo.

<4.2.1> In corripiente quando non est immunis a uitio quod in alio arguit unde Io. .viii. dicit Dominus quis *uestrum qui sine peccato est* quasi dicat nullus alium arguat de uitio de quo sciat se esse infectum. Gladius enim qui solo ore tenetur non pulcrum ictum facit. In ore uero tantum est gladius cum prelatus uel predicator non nisi ore habet correctionem Psalmo: et *gladius in labiis eorum* sed quando gladius manu Deus bonum ferit ictum. Sic cum prelatus uel predicator facit illud de quo alios arguit tunc habet arguitio effectum. Iob: *arcus meus in manu mea instaurabitur* id est arguitio Sacre Scripture per operam habebit effectum. 220 225 230

201 hominem – uestitum] Cfr Matth. 11, 8; Luc. 7, 25 206 uir – laudabunt] Eccli. 37, 27 210/211 uir – laudabitur] Cfr Prou. 28, 20 212 arundinem – agitatam] Cfr Matth. 11, 7; Luc. 7, 24 221/222 uestrum – est] Ioh. 8, 7 226 gladius – eorum] Ps. 58, 8 229 arcus – instaurabitur] Iob 29, 20

202 increpationibus] crepationibus M1 205 et¹] om. W1 206 replebitur] replebitur M2 208 commendantur] commendantur M2 209 nimis] nimiis M1 213 munditia] a munditia M1 218 quia] quia est M2 222 qui] om. L1 M1 Me Ta 223 sciat] scit L1 M1 M2 P1 W1 227 Deus] tenetur L1 M1 M2 bonum – ictum] bonum ictum ferit P1 M2 Me Ta W1] bonum ictum fecerit M1 230/231 Sacre – arguitio] om. Ta

- <4.2.2> Item ex parte modi corripiendi quando arguitio ex caritate non precedit. Quarellus enim uel sagitta nisi fuerit duabus pennulis impennata recte non uadit nec bene ferit sagitta si non est pennulis impennata cum correctio
 235 caritatem Dei et proximi non habet. Tunc uero quando est utraque coronata et tunc bene ferit et certe uadit Ysa.: *egredietur uirga de radice Iesse* id est incendio caritatis. Iesse enim incendium caritatis interpretatur et flos de radice eius ascendet id est spes fructus inde habebitur.
- 240 <4.2.3> Item ex parte eius qui corripitur cum est in malis inueteratus et tunc correctio in ipso non habet effectum. Omnes enim sutores de mundo non facerent de une uielle sauate bon soulier. Sic qui inueterati sunt in gulationibus et truphis et huius non possunt faciliter in
 245 contrarium flecti. Eccl.: *Qui docet fatuum quasi qui glutinat testam*. Testa enim confracta si debebat religari plus confringitur. Sic et tales si debebant corripiri plus deteriorantur. Ueteres enim pelles si ad horam quando consuuntur parum postea deterius dirumpuntur. Sic tales ad
 250 horam propter presentiam superiorum si ad horam gungulationes importunitates scilicet continent statim postquam reserueruit deteriores fiunt. Iere.: *insanabilis plaga tua pessima statuta tua*. Sicut equus scabiosus quando tangitur in loco scabioso recalcitrat et dentibus mordet, sic tales
 255 correctores dentibus detractationis corrodunt. Ideo Mt.: *nolite sanctum dare canibus*. Canis enim currit ad lapidem proiectum

237 egredietur – Iesse¹] Is. 11, 1 245/246 Qui – testam] Cfr Eccli. 22, 7
 252/253 insanabilis – tua²] Ier. 30, 12 255/256 nolite – canibus] Matth. 7, 6

243 une – soulier] French

232 caritate] ciuitate L1 Ta] corr. ciuitate M1] ciuilitate Me nisi] non M1 233 fuerit] fuit W1 duabus] duobus M2 P1 W1 nec] non M1 237/238 Iesse² – caritatis] om. P1 243 sauate – soulier] cauate bon souler L1 sauate] scauate M2] cauate Ta soulier] souler M2 MeTa 244 gulationibus] glungulationibus M2 Me P1 Ta W1 246 debebat] debeat M2 Me Ta religari] se ligari W1 247 debebant] debeant M2 Me Ta 248 quando] quandoque M2 Me Ta 251 gungulationes] gungulationes P1] gangulationes M2 Ta W1] grengulationes Me 251/252 scilicet – deteriores] om. Me 251 statim] statum P1 252 reserueruit] reseruerint L1] reserunt M1] reseruerunt M2 253 equus] equus P1 W1 255 detractationis] detractationibus Me corrodunt] corrodunt W1 256 currit] om. W1 proiectum] corr. proiectum L1] pictum M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1

et cum inuenit durum recurrit ad eum qui iecit lapidem et
 relinquens eum latrat iactorem. Sic tales cum
 rememorauerint durum uerbum sibi dictum correctorem
 qui dixit eis illud durum uerbum corrodunt et oblatrant, 260
 diffamant et ideo Dominus dixit: *nolite sanctum dare canibus*
 ne forte decipiat uos. Et nota quia sunt canes nobiles et
 uenatici qui ad homines non currunt nec latrant sed ad
 bestias. Sed sunt mastini uillani qui non ad bestias sed ad
 homines currunt et latrant. Sic tales ad homines scilicet 265
 rationabiliter uiuentes currunt et latrant Ph. .iii. : *uidete canes*
uidete malos operarios. Cum enim aliquis uenit ad domum ubi
 sunt tales canes dicitur ei cauere a canibus id est
 detractoribus qui ibi sunt. Et nota quod isti uocantur mali
 operarii. Si enim mali operarii et uilissimi habuntur qui non 270
 nisi feces in cophinis et manibus attractant. Multo fortius
 isti qui sunt feces et peccatum magis apud Deum facientia
 quam feces nunc manibus non cophinis sed in ore proprio
 semper habent Psalmo : *os tuum habundauit malitia* et cetera.
 Rogemus Domino et cetera. 275

266/267 uidete – operarios] Phil. 3, 2 274 os – malitia] Ps. 49, 19

257 recurrit] currit L1 M1 M2 P1 W1 259 rememorauerint] rememorauerunt L1 Ta
 262 decipiat] decipiant M2 quia] quod Me P1 Ta W1 264 bestias] bestia M1
 265 et – homines?] om. Me 267 uidete – operarios] in via operarios L1 M1
 270 et] id est W1 271/272 fortius – magis] om. W1 271 fortius] magis L1 M1 M2
 Me P1 Ta 272 sunt] om. M2 Me P1 Ta facientia] faciendam M2 273 in] om. M2
 274 habent] om. Me 275 Domino] om. L1 M1 M2 Me Ta

Sermo XV

Sermon in assumptione BMV, S59, RLS 183.

Base ms.: P, ff. 173rb-175va.

- 5 Collated mss.: L1, ff. 270ra-272va; M1, ff. 394va-396vb;
M2, ff. 185r-187v; Me, ff. 194ra-196rb; P1, ff. 149vb-
151vb; Ta, ff. 175rb-177ra; W1, ff. 266va-269vb.

Astitit regina a dextris tuis in uestitu deaurato et cetera

- 10 Consuetudo sapientis est semper in principio sui operis
Deum inuocare sicut patet in exemplum: carpentarius enim
in primo ictu quem dat in opere suo dicere consuevit, uulgo
modo, sit in nomine Dei, et similiter alii manuum
15 operatores. Si ergo in operibus corporalibus terrenis in
principio Dei auxilium queritur, multo magis in opere
spirituali quod uergit in salutem animarum et hoc est quod
dicitur Osee i.: *principio loquendi Domino in Osee*. Osee
interpretatur salus et in salutem animarum loquendo
20 principium Domino. Hoc est debet esse ad dominum et
quia hoc ueni ad loquendum de Deo et de dulcissima matre
eius propter amorem et salutem animarum uestrarum. Ideo
in principio Rogamus et cetera.

- Astitit regina et cetera*. Hec uerba sunt Davidi prophete et
25 quamuis ea multis annis ante istius gloriose assumptionem
dixerit digne tamen credendum est eorum dictatorem
Spiritus Sanctum de sollempnitate presenti ea intellexisse.
Et loquitur propheta hec uerba ad Deum in
commendationem et laudem gloriose uirginis matris sue
30 ostendens hodie qualiter cum summo honore et gloria sit in
celesti curia sublimata et huius quidem dignum ualde fuit et
iustum, ut scilicet sit eam suus filius honoraret. Nam
quando dominus uel rex aliquis facit statutum uel dat legem
aliquam docet et rationale est ut illud ipse obseruet. Sicut

Sermo XV, 9 Astitit – deaurato] Ps. 44, 10 **17** principio – Osee²] Os. 1, 2

Sermo XV, 12 uulgo] uolgo Me **14** Si] sed W1 **17** principio] principium Me Ta
Osee³] om. M1 **19** est] om. P1 **20** hoc] huc L1 Me] om. M2] hiis Ta **24** sunt] om.
M1 **26** dixerit] dixit M2 dictatorem] dictator est W1 **28** propheta] propheta P1
30 ostendens] ostendens M2 **33** uel²] om. M2 **34** docet] docens P1] decet Me

dicit sapiens patere legem quam ipse tuleris. Ideo 35
 conueniens fuit ut Dominus que precepit faceret et reuera
 sic fecit. Unde Actum .i. dicitur: *cepit Iesus facere et docere*.
 Facere primo et docere postmodum que precepit;
 Dominus autem ipse in lege dedit mandatum de honorando 40
 patre et matre et quia hic precepit hoc uere impleuit.
 Dominus patrem habuit in celis et matrem in terris dum
 autem fuit in terra patrem qui erat in celis honorauit unde
 Io. .viii.: *honorifico patrem meum* qui in celis est. Ideo etiam
 docuit ut dum esset in celis matrem que in terra erat,
 honoraret. Et hoc etiam fecit hodierna die quando ipsam 45
 exaltauit ad dexteram suam super choros angelorum et
 super omnes sanctos et hoc est quod dicitur in uerbis
 propositis astitit regina et cetera. In quibus assignantur tres
 status huius dignissime uirginis matris Dei uidelicet status
 nature, gratie et glorie. 50

<1> Primus status nature tangitur in hoc quod dicitur
regina.

<2> Secundus gratie in hoc quod dicitur in uestitu
deaurato circumdata uarietate.

<3> Tertius status glorie in hoc quod dicitur a dextris
tuis. 55

<1> Quantum ad primum statum habuit uirgo
 sanctissima ex natura quod regina fuit quia descendit ex
 stirpe regia de Dauid scilicet et de Salomone sicut uolunt
 euangelia et cantat in natiuitate eius ecclesia. Regali ex 60
 progenie Maria orta refulsit et ideo animus nobilis et regina
 fuit. Miro tamen modo in hoc mundo se humiliavit et
 quamuis esset plena omnia dulcedine et bonitate et omnia
 esset gratia excellentissima numquam tamen inde
 superbiuit. Nam quando angelus gratiam plenam ipsam 65
 nuntiauit potuisset dixisse si uellet: ecce mater Dei, regina

37 cepit – docere] Act. 1, 1 43 honorifico – meum] Ioh. 8, 49

Sermo XV, 35 patere – tuleris] Cfr *Disticha vel dicta Catonis collectio distichorum vulgaris*,
 ed. E. Baehrens, Poetae Latini Minores, vol. III, p. 216

40 patre – matre] patrem et matrem P1 42 patrem] om. W1 44 erat] herat M2
 45 etiam] certe L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 46 choros] corros M1] coros M2 47 hoc]
 om. M2 59 scilicet] om. M2 et] om. Ta uolunt] uoluit M2 61 animus] animo M2 Me
 P1 Ta W1 63 omnia¹] omni L1 M1 M2 Me Ta omnia²] omnium M2

celi, domina angelorum, sed dixit: *ecce ancilla Domini fiat mihi secundum* et cetera. Et ita in hoc fuit nobis exemplum in hoc mundo humiliandi per quod docemus quod quanto aliquis
70 est nobilior genere moribus aut scientia aut in quacumque gratia excellens tanto magis debet se humiliare Eccl. .iiii. : *quanto maior es humilia te in omnibus*. Ergo si magnus es genere humilia te in omnibus, si uita et sapientia et certe hec necessaria est quod patet per exemplum. Arbores enim in
75 nemoribus quantumcumque sunt altiores, tanto magis uentis et tempestatibus et flumibus subduntur. Similiter in omnibus rebus altis ut in quibus licet frequentius uidemus fulgura cadere. Nam huius res firmiter radicate et firmiter fundate facillime deiciuntur. Sic reuera homo quanto altior
80 sibi tanto magis temptationum tempestate a dyabolo pulsatur et ideo nisi bassus et in humilitate fuerit eradicatus, citius decidet in peccatum et scitis quod qui de alto cadit uel deicitur, grauius ruit et colliditur ut patet spiritualiter in Lucifero et homine primo. Quod autem dyabolus omnis
85 tales impugnet patet per exemplum. Unus enim pugil fortis non libenter luctatur cum debili et paruo homine quia si eum deuinceret laus sibi non esset. Sic dyabolus qui est fortissimus ut dicitur Iob .xl. : *non est potestas super terram que comparetur ei* non libenter inuadit paruos, hoc est humiles,
90 qui sunt in basso statu sed magnos et eleuatos siue per nobilitatem siue per scientiam siue uitam. Licet autem hoc benedicta uirgo fuisset maxime eleuata in omnibus gratiis non solum in anima sed in corpore fuit tamen humillima. Unde ipsa de se dicit Eccl. .xxiii. : *sicut cedrus exaltata sum in*
95 *Libano*. Libanus secundum litteram in transmarinis partibus mons est in quo crescit cedrus que est alta arbor talis nature

67/68 ecce – secundum] Luc. 1, 38 72 quanto – omnibus] Cfr Eccli. 3, 20

88/89 non – ei] Iob 41, 24 94/95 cedrus – Libano] Eccli. 24, 17

95/96 secundum – mons] Thiel, p. 342

68 ita] om. L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 69 docemus] docemur L1 M1 Me Ta 70 est nobilior] nobilior est L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 73 in omnibus] om. L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 73/74 hec necessaria] hoc necessarium L1 M1 M2 Me Ta 77 licet] libet W1 78 et] om. M2 P1 W1 firmiter²] firmiter et M2 P1 W1 84 omnis] om. P1 87/88 est fortissimus] fortissimus est L1 M1 P1 W1 91 uitam] per uitam M2 94 ipsa] ipse P1 95 transmarinis] transmaris M1

quod quanto crescit in altum superius tanto magis radices
 perfundat inferius. Sic beatissima ista uirgo quanto in
 munditia sanctitatis excreuit que per Libanum designatur,
 quod interpretatur candidatio, tanto per humilitatis 100
 uirtutem proficit. In merito huius beatissime uirginis
 exemplo quilibet homo quanto crescit in dignitate tanto
 debet proficere in humilitate alioquin sibi maximum
 periculum imminet ut est uisum.

<3> Sequitur uidere de statu glorie de quo ratione 105
 sollempnitatis. Primo Daud qui tangitur in hoc quod dicit a
dextris tuis. Notatur ergo eius benignitas et dulcedo in hoc
 quod non sedebat sed stabat sicut quando aliquis habet
 amicum quem uidit in necessitate surgit ut promptius
 prestat illi auxilium. Sic beatissima uirgo stat ut paratissime 110
 nos in omnibus adiuuet quod autem per hoc promptitudo
 ad nos adiuuandum prouocetur ut patet in actibus de
 Stephano qui quando lapidabatur uidit celos apertos et
 Ihesum stantem id est adiuuandum preparatum ne in
 angustia passionis succumberet et deuinceretur propter 115
 quod quieuit in causa. De hac uirgine sic prompta ad
 adiuuandum dicitur: *que est ista que ascendit sicut uirgula fumi*.
 Scitis enim quod uirgula fumi quando exit per caminum
 quolibet uento facillime flectitur quantumcumque paruo.
 Sic beata uirgo ad quantumcumque suspirium digne 120
 petitionis uelocissime flectitur. Nec mirum si cito succurat
 petenti, quia sicut uas plenum aliquo liquore, uino uel oleo
 usque ad summum non potest parum concuti quin aliquid
 effluat de contento. Sic beata uirgo que plenissima est gratia
 quantum potest creatura capere pura modica salutatione et 125
 inuocatione non pulsatur quam aliquid gratie tibi mittat.

117 que¹ – fumi] Cant. 3, 6

98 ista uirgo] uirgo ista M1 101 proficit] fuit P] profuit M1 103 debet] deberet L1
 M1 Me P1 Ta W1 104 periculum imminet] imminet periculum P1 W1] iminet
 periculum L1 M1 Me Ta 108 sedebat] sedebunt M1 111 promptitudo] promtitudo
 M2]prouicitudo Ta 112 adiuuandum] adiuuantur Me Ta 116 ad] om. L1 M1 M2 P
 W1 118 Scitis – fumi] add. P] om. Ta 119 facillime] facilime P1 W1 121 si cito]
 sicut Me cito] scito M2 126 quam] quin M2 Ta

Unde Bernardus sileat misericordiam tuam, uirgo beata quicumque eam in suis necessitatibus inuocatam sibi me inuenerit defuisse. Sed forte dicet aliquis: Domine uerum
 130 est quod bonos exaudit, sed ego quia peccator sum miserabilis et immundus non me dignatur exaudire. Respondeo quantumcumque dicitur peccator sic dummodo doleas et inuoces eam pio corde non desperes. Nam in multis exemplis legimus sanctissimam Dei matrem
 135 peccatoribus astitisse. Nec mirum nam certe Dei filius per ipsam natus uenit in mundo peccatores saluos facere et cum sibi eam matrem elegit, mediatricem inter se et peccatores constituit et ideo quia officium suum est pro peccatoribus intercedere ad suum filium ad saluatorem
 140 Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum redemptorem nostrum ideo fiducialiter quilibet peccator ad eam accedat. Exemplum huius de Hester que populum suum morti adiudicatum suis precibus et intercessionibus liberauit. Cum igitur beata uirgo astans pro peccatoribus aduocata sicut
 145 dicit Bernardus: aduocatam premisit peregrinatio nostra et cetera. Per hoc autem quod dicit a dextris tuis ostenditur immensitas sue glorie quia non solum in celesti gloria uel curia exaltata est super ceteras uirgines. Sed etiam super omnes sanctos et super cunctos ordines angelorum est
 150 honorabiliter eleuata a dextris filii sui id est in potioribus bonis glorie summi Dei. Si enim rex aliquis habet uel haberet mulierem uel alius magnus homo non de peiori ferculo mense sue faceret ei seruire sed potius de meliori et pulciori quo posset. Sed suam matrem precipue reciperet

142/143 que – liberauit] Cfr Esth. 8

127/129 sileat – defuisse] Cfr Bernardus Claraeuellensis, *In Assumptione B. M. V.*, sermo 4, 8: PL 183, c. 428 **145** aduocatam – nostra] Cfr Bernardus Claraeuellensis, *In Assumptione B.M. V.*, sermo 1, 1 PL 183, c. 415d

128/129 me inuenerit] meminerit M2 Me Ta **135** astitisse] abstitisse W1 nam certe] certe nam L1 M1 M2 P1 W1 **139** suum filium] filium suum M2 P1 W1 ad²] del. M1 **140** Dominum] om. L1 M1 M2 Me Ta Iesum – nostrum²] om. L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 **141** quilibet] om. Me **146** autem] Augustinus Me **147** gloria uel] om. L1 M1 M2 P1 W1 **148** est] om. Me etiam] et W1 **149** est] ex M1 **150** honorabiliter] honorabile L1 M1 **151** summi] summe M1 habet uel] om. M2 151/152 uel haberet] om. P1 W1

in regno uel dominio suo nec ei etiam aliquid denegaret 155
 quin potius donaria ei multa et magna conferret et hodie
 Dominus matrem suam in regno suo recepit et ideo nulli
 dubium esse debet quin ei de meliori et pulciori ferculo
 paradysi seruiret id est in maiori reposuit et etiam quin pro 160
 multis peccatoribus ipsam orantem exaudierit et quin
 maximam habundantiam gratie ei contulerit suis deuotis
 largiendam. Et ideo in hoc festo quilibet peccator siue
 iustus ipsum inuocando totum se euastare deberet.
 Exemplum de Salomone .iii. Regum .iii.: *uenit Betsabee ad*
regem Salomonem et surrexit rex in occursum eius et fecit thronum 165
poni a dextris suis et eam sedere in eo. Hic Salomon qui pacificus
 interpretatur ipsam signat iste matri sue sanctissime occurrit
 hodie cum multitudine angelorum et sanctorum omnium et
 posuit ad dextram suam, id est in potestate sua et custodia
 uel imminenti celi gloria coronauit. Sed notandum quod in 170
 hac celesti gloria tria mira uideantur que in istis inferioribus
 uideatur gaudiis contingit reperire.

<3.1> Primum est quod solo uisu faciat plenissime atque
 delectabiliter quod in nullo bono mundi inuenitur homo ut
 scitis si uideret homo esuriens mensam paratam et in ea 175
 multa et optima fercula numquam propter hoc saturaretur
 sed homo esurire potius inflammaretur, sed homo uidendo
 celestem gloriam satiatur Ps.: *satiabor cum apparuerit gloria tua.*
 Ideo dicit Dominus Io. .xvi.: *hec est uita eterna ut cognoscant te*
solum Deum in qua misisti Iesum Christum. 180

<3.2> Secundum mirabile est cum semper de uno cibo
 comedere quantumcumque bono et delectabili fastidium

164/166 uenit – eo] Cfr III Regum 2, 19 178 satiabor – tua] Ps. 16, 15
 179/180 hec – Christum] Ioh. 17, 3

166/167 qui – interpretatur] Thiel, p. 403 181/183 semper – generet] Cfr
 Morawski 620

156/157 hodie Dominus] Dominus hodie L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 159 quin]
 quando L1 M1 162 peccator siue] suis W1 peccator] peccatori Me
 169/170 potestate – uel] om. L1 M1 P1 W1 170 imminenti] in eminenti L1 M1
 171 uideantur] uideatur M2 172 uideatur] om. L1 M1 P1 W1] del. M2 174 homo]
 immo M2 Me Ta 177/178 sed¹ – satiatur] om. M2 177 sed¹ – inflammaretur] om.
 L1 Ta esurire] esurie Me inflammaretur] inflamareatur M1 uidendo] uiuento P
 180 in] et Me Ta 182 comedere] commedere P1 W1

generet. Gloria tamen eterna quamuis continue habeatur
magis ac magis magis desiderare Eccl. .xxiii. : *qui edunt me*
185 *adhuc esurient* et cetera sed non erit sitis et esuries illa pena
sed delectatio et gloria.

<3.3> Tertium est mirabile quod perfecte et undique
omnem anime satiat appetitum quod hic inuenit non potest
quod patet: si enim homo hic centus marchas habet, uellet
190 habere ducentas, uel si habet hic diuitias non habet delitias
propter infirmitatem uel guerras uel si hic alium etiam habet
quantocius eis caret. Ideo Dominus dicit Io. : *qui bibit ex*
hac aqua sitiet iterum sed in paradyso qui minus habet de
gloria plus uellet habere quod si uellet esset ibi defectus
195 quod est impossibile. Unde Ps. : *replebimur in bonis domus tue*
et cetera. Sic ergo celestis gloria sufficit et plene satiat. Ideo
quilibet libenter deberet penitentiam agere et strenue
Domino seruire. Magis hominum cecitas et punitio qui
tantum in hoc seculo laborant pro modico etiam uino et
200 tamen ad id numquam perueniunt quo intendunt quin
potius contritione duplici contrantur quia post laborem
suum nec hic requiem inueniunt nec in futuro. Sed de
labore ad laborem de dolore transient potius ad dolorem.
Bernardus: nunc tantum congregata perirent et non
205 congregator eorum tolerabilius est dolori insudare perituro
quam perens corpora.

<2> Sequitur de statu gratie eius qui notatur cum dicitur
in uesti deaurato circumdata.

<2.1> Unde per hoc enim quod dicitur in uesti deaurato.
210 Notatur eius caritas per hoc quod sequitur circumdata

184/185 qui – esurient] Eccli. 24, 29 192/193 qui – iterum] Ioh. 4, 13
195 replebimur – tue] Ps. 64, 5

204/206 nunc – corpora] Bernardus Claraevallensis, *De conuersione ad clericos sermo seu liber*, 8, 17, PL 182, c. 843d

184 ac] hac M1 magis³] om. M2 Me P1 Ta W1 desiderare] desideretur L1 M1 Me Ta
188 satiat] satit W1 quod] quia Me inuenit] inueniri L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1
189/190 uellet – habet⁴] om. M2 191 guerras] gerras M2 alium etiam] etiam
alium L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 192 quantocius] quantocius P1 W1 198 Domino]
Deo P1 199 etiam] et M2 Me Ta 200 ad – numquam] numquam ad id M1 M2 Me
P1 Ta W1 202 nec²] nec inueniunt L1 M1 P1 W1] om. M2 203 transient] transeunt
M2 204 nunc tantum] non tamen Me Ta W1

uarietate designatur uirtutum omni uarietas que fuit
 copiosius in Maria. Quare autem per uestitum aureum
 designatur amor et caritas patet. Sic aurum omni metallo
 dignius et pretiosius est quia licet argentum cuprum et
 huius bona sint aurum tamen melius est. Eodem modo 215
 quamuis alie uirtutes bone sint caritas tamen melior et hoc
 quia sine pallio caritatis nullus unquam paradysum intrauit
 uel intrabit. Et quia numquam excidit sicut dicit apostolus
 fides spes caritas, tria hec autem maior horum est caritas.
 Hanc caritatis uirtutem in tantum habuit et repleta fuit 220
 uirgo sanctissima quod magis uoluit filium suum
 dilectissimum crudeliter ignominiose occidi quam humani
 redemptionem generis non fieri et mundum dampnari.
 Unde et ipsa parata erat, si necesse fuisset, mori cum filio
 propter maximum zelum quam habebat salutis animarum. 225
 Sicut ipsa retulit, ut legitur in quadam historia, unde beatus
 Ambrosius dicit fugientibus discipulis mater Christi ante
 crucem stabat et piis obtritibus spectabat uulnera magis
 attendens magis mundi redemptionem quam filii mortem.
 Exemplo enim sanctissime matris Dei salutem animarum 230
 magis querere et diligere debemus quam corporum uel
 terrenorum. Sed multi uero non nisi ad carnem habent
 oculum et ad mundum. Ideo iuste amittunt animam et
 celum. Ideo dicit Dominus Mt. : *primum querite regnum Dei et*
iustitias eius et hec omnia adicientur uobis, quasi dicat non primo 235
 et principaliter ista temporalia queratis quia sicut querendo
 amittetis celestia sed primo querite regnum Dei et cetera.
 <2.2> Sequitur *circumdata uarietate* in quo ostenditur
 quod uirgo sanctissima non solum caritate fuit plena sed
 semper uirtutum omnium fuit gloria adornata. Secundum 240

219 fides – caritas³] Cfr I Cor. 13, 13 234/235 primum – uobis] Matth. 6, 33

227/229 fugientibus – mortem] Cfr Ambrosius, *Epistolarium classis* I, 63, 110, PL 16, col. 1218

217 unquam] numquam M2 220 in] et Ta 224 Unde] immo L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 228 obtritibus] obcintibus L1 M1 Me] obtuitibus M2] obuitibus Ta 229 attendens] ascendens M2 magis] om. M2 Me Ta 232 uero] om. P1 W1 233 amittunt animam] animam amittunt L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 237 primo] primum L1 M1 P1 W1

illud quod dicitur in persona dicitur enim Eccl. .xxiiii. : *in me omnis gratia uie et ueritatis*. Et non solum hec domina habuit in anima diuersa genera gratiarum atque uirtutum. Sed sicut certe credo et legi in quodam libro maxime fuit
 245 pulcritudinis in corpore cuius pulcritudo dissimilem habebat uirtutem ab aliarum mulierum pulcritudine. Aliarum enim mulierum pulcritudo multum est prouocatiua ad luxuriam sed eius pulcritudo tante fuit uirtutis et honestatis quod non solum ad libidinem sed ad amorem
 250 potius astraheret castitatis et hoc est quod in persona eius dicit Ps. : *prestitisti decori meo uirtutem*. Et certe rationabiliter sic pulcrum esse decebat quia de ea nasci debuit ille quemlibet bonis per omnibus debuit esse ornatus sicut de eo legitur : *spetiosius forma pre filiis hominum* et sic debuit
 255 secundum carnem matri assimilari quantum et patri suo est per omnia similis et equalis, unde apostolus Hebr. .i. quia ipse est : *splendor glorie et figura substantie eius* id est patris et cetera. Rogemus et cetera.

241/242 in² – ueritatis] Eccli. 24, 25 **251** prestitisti – uirtutem] Ps. 29, 8
254 spetiosius – hominum] Ps. 44, 3 **257** splendor – eius] Hebr. 1, 3

244/246 in – pulcritudine] Cfr Richardus de Sancto Laurentio, *Opus insigne de laudibus beate Marie virginis. Alias Mariale appellatum*, lib. 5, <http://diglib.hab.de/inkunabeln/448-1-theol-2f-4/start.htm>

241 dicitur¹] om. M2 P1 W1 in¹ – enim] ei L1 enim] ei W1 **244** legi] legem W1
249 solum] add. L1 M1 **250** astraheret] attraheret L1 M1 M2 P1 W1 castitatis]
 castitatem M1 **253** per] pre L1 M1 M2 Me Ta

Sermo XVI

Sermon *in assumptione BMV*, S59, RLS 184.

Base ms.: *P*, ff. 175va-177rb.

- 5 Collated mss.: *L1*, ff. 272va-274va; *M1*, ff. 396vb-398va; *M2*, ff. 187v-189v; *Me*, ff. 196rb-198ra; *P1*, ff. 151vb-153rb; *Ta*, ff. 177ra-178va; *W1*, ff. 269vb-272ra.

Fecit michi Dominus magna qui potens est Luc. .xii.

- 10 Quia ut ait Augustinus, opera enim trinitatis indiuia sunt etiam incarnationem filii tota trinitas operata est non tamen tota trinitas incarnata est nec tres persone sed persona filii terreni. Sicut si tribus puellis uestis una afferetur omnes induerent illam cui magis conueniret et magis cederet, non
15 tamen induerentur illa ueste et si omnes induerent illam tamen alteri illarum. Sic in trinitate non erat persona cui magis deceret incarnatio quam persone filii. Magis enim conuenit restauratio ruine domus carpentario qui eam fecit quam alii et ideo quia creatio hominis filio imponitur omnia
20 per ipsum facta sunt ideo reparatio magis decebat Ysa .xvi.: *ego feram ego feci* et ita quia per incarnationem reparaturus erat. Homo magis decuit filium incarnari quam aliam personam, licet tota trinitas ut dictum est et ideo gloriosa uirgo de incarnatione filii in se facta gratias agens
25 conuenienter proprietates tribus personas appropriatas scilicet potentiam, sapientiam et largitatem siue bonitatem expressit in dictis uerbis :
 <1> potestatem et maiestatem ibi qui potens est ;
 <2> sapientiam et discretionem ibi michi. Sapienter enim
30 et discretiue beatam uirginem elegit ad carnem assumendam ;

Sermo XVI, 9 Fecit – est] Luc. 1, 49 **21** ego¹ – feci] Is. 46, 4

Sermo XVI, 10 opera – sunt] Augustinus, sermo 213, *PL* 38, col. 1063

Sermo XVI, 11 etiam] *om. L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1* tota] et tota *M2* **13** Sicut] *om. M1 omnes*] *omnis M2* **14** cederet] *sederet L1 M1 M2* **15** omnes] *om. L1*] *omnis M2* **22** decuit] *docuit L1 M1 M2 P1 W1* **23** est] *om. M2* ideo] *om. P* **27** in] *ubi L1* **30** discretiue] *discretius P1*

<3> bonitatem siue largitatem ibi fecit magna. Summe enim largitatis siue bonitatis fuit quod beate uirgini impendit tot beneficia et tanta.

Nota quod Deus tria magna fecit beate uirgini, unum in principio aliud in medio aliud in fine.

35

<3.1> Primum magnum fuit in utero matris sue, quia eam ab originali mundificauit et sanctificauit. Magnum enim commodum faceret homini adiudicato perpetuo carceri et exhereditationi qui eum poneret in tali loco quod sibi carcer non deberetur et ei hereditas propria redderetur. Hoc magnum fecit Deus uirgini, cum eam sanctificauit propter originale peccatum quod habuit. Carcere inferni digna fuit si moreretur cum eo, sed per sanctificationem infernum perdidit et paradiso digna fuit. Et ideo magnum fuit et sic potest intelligi illud Ps.: *quam magnificata sunt opera tua Domine*. In sanctificatione uirginis *omnia in sapientia fecisti* id est sapienter eam mundasti et sanctificasti. Artifex enim cum parat edificare sibi domum ligna rectificat et abscindit putridum et albanum mundificat Psalmo: *sanctificauit tabernaculum suum Altissimus*.

40

45

50

<3.2> Secundum magnum fecit in annuntiatione filii et eius incarnatione de quo potest intelligi illud Psalmo: *quam magnificata sunt opera tua Domine nimis profunde facte sunt cogitationes tue*. Uere magna sunt opera tua incarnationis ubi tria reperiri possunt: primo autem de ipsa carnem accepit quam inseparabiliter sibi uniuit. Magnum enim quid faceret etiam filius regis pauperi mulieri si filiam suam ex omnibus eligeret in uxorem. Deus autem de beata uirgine carnem assumptam perfectius sibi uniuit qua uxor uiro coniungitur. Uxor enim a uiro saltem in morte separatur, humanitas autem non est separata nec in morte nec post mortem.

55

60

46/47 quam – Domine] Ps. 103, 24 50/51 sanctificauit – Altissimus] Ps. 45, 5
53/55 quam – tue] Ps. 91, 6

39/40 perpetuo carceri] perpetue carcerari L1 40 tali loco] loco tali L1 M1 M2 Me
P1 Ta W1 45/46 Et – fuit] om. P 48 mundasti] mundam P 49 ligna] lingua Pl]
legna M2 51 suum] tuum P 53 Psalmo] om. P 55 tua] om. L1 Me P Ta
57 inseparabiliter] inseparanter M2 uniuit] uiuunt Me faceret] fecit M1 58 etiam]
om. L1 M1 M2 MeTa 60 uniuit] uiuunt Me 61 a uiro] auro M2

Osee .i. : *accepit Gomor filiam Debalaim*. Osee saluator, Gomor assumptio, Debalaim delectatio secularis. Aliud magnum
 65 sibi fecit quod uirginitatem in concipiendo non corrupit, Isa .ix. : *ecce uirgo concipiet* et cetera et hic conueniens fuit a parte Dei. Si enim creaturam ita puram et spiritualem et subtilem condidit ut lucem et radium que alia corpora ingrediuntur sine eorum corruptione ut lucerna uitrum. Multo magis qui
 70 spiritualissimus est sine corruptione uirginis in ea debuit intrare Eze .xl.iii. : *hec porta clausa erit et non aperiatur et uir non intrabit per eam quoniam Dominus Deus Israel ingressus est per eam*. Aliud magnum sibi fecit quod sine labore et pena et hoc fuit a parte ipsius uirginis conueniens, licet enim in
 75 concipiendo summa mentis delectationem ut credimus habuit tamen delectationis carnis totaliter expars fuit et ideo carnis corruptionem et penam sentire non debuit Isa. ult. : *antequam parturiret* id est laboraret *peperit masculum* et ita magnificata sunt opera tua Domine scilicet incarnatione per
 80 predicta : *nimis profunde facte sunt cogitationes tue* id est alte et inperceptibiles. Qualiter humanitas diuinitatis inseparabiliter est unita. Isa .lviii. : *generationem eius enarrabit*
 <3.3> Tertium magnum fecit Dominus beate uirgini in ultimo uite sue cum eam super choros angelorum in
 85 corpore et anima ut pium est credere exaltauit ut de ea possit illud dici Ps. : *elevata est magnificentia tua super celos* id est super gloriam celestium spirituum et animarum et hoc conueniens fuit. Aues enim magis plumose et integras habentes pennas altius uolant. Beata uero uirgo ceteris
 90 sanctis omnibus uirtutibus habundauit et ita magis debuit ascendere et uolare Cant. .viii. : *que est ista que ascendit de deserto deliciis affluens innixa super dilectum suum*. Preterea si

63 accepit – Debalaim] Os. 1, 3 66 ecce – concipiet] Is. 7, 14 71/72 hec – eam²] Eze. 44, 2 78 antequam – masculum] Is. 66, 7 82 generationem – enarrabit] Is. 53, 8 86 elevata – celos] Ps. 8, 2 91/92 que¹ – suum] Cant. 8, 5

63/64 Osee² – Debalaim] om. M2 66 hic] om. M2 71 intrare] introire P1 W1 aperiatur] aperietur M1 M2 72 intrabit] transibit M2 73 pena] pena peperis M2] pena peperit Ta 74 fuit] om. M1 75 summa] summam Me P1 W1 76 carnis] quamuis M1 79 sunt] fuit M2 80 facte] om. P 81 inperceptibiles] imperceptibilos W1 82 inseparabiliter] inseparanter M2 unita] om. P 83 uirgini] corr. uirginis M1 86 illud dici] dici illud L1 M1 Me P1 Ta W1 89 uero] nunc W1

nobilis domum uel cameram ubi iacet uult esse hornatam et Christi sepulchrum ubi non nisi per tres dies iacuit uoluit honorabile et gloriosum esse apud omnes secundum illud Ps. : *surge Domine in requiem tuam tu et archa sanctificationis tue.*

95

Nota quod Deus magna fecit tribus generibus hominum : exeuntibus de peccato, de peccato penitentibus, cum peccato certantibus.

<3.4> Exeuntibus a peccato facit magna ut dicitur in Psalmo : *magnificauit Dominus facere nobiscum* et cetera. Siquis enim in captiuitate sarracenorum detentus esset, magnum enim quid ei faceret qui eum liberaret et daret ei redeundi ad patriam libertatem. Sic est cum quis in mortali peccato est eschuius et captiuus est peccati. Quod patet eschuius et captiuus nec facit nec uadit quo uult sed quo permittit qui eum tenet captiuum. Sic est de peccatore si cor hominis dicit ei quod det elemosinam et caueat mendaciis iuramentis, furtis et huius cupiditas non permittit ; cum dicit cor quod debeat uigilare ieiunare, orare et huius uoluntas illecebra non sustinet. Si dicat cor quod se humiliet quod reconcilietur inimicis suis pompe uanitas contradicit. Ideo apostolus non bonum quod uolo hoc facio, sed quod nolo malum hoc ago. Sequitur : *uideo aliam legem in membris meis repugnantem legi mentis mee et captiuantem me in lege peccati.* Sed cum Dominus mittit gratiam homini ad exeundum de peccato tunc ab ipsa captiuitate liberatur. Premisit unde Psalmo : *in conuertendo Dominus captiuitatem Syon* et cetera et ita : *magnificauit Dominus facere nobiscum.* Sed qualiter conuertitur hec captiuitas subiungit dicens sicut torrens in

100

105

110

115

120

96 surge – tue] Ps. 131, 8 **101** magnificauit – nobiscum] Ps. 125, 3 **113/114** non – ago] Cfr Rom. 7, 19 **114/115** uideo – peccati] Rom. 7, 23 **118/119** in – nobiscum] Ps. 125, 1-3 **120/121** sicut – austro] Cfr Ps. 125, 4

93 uel] et L1 M1 Me Ta **96** tuam – tue] et cetera L1 **97** tribus] tribus partis W1 **98** de peccato²] om. Me P **103** enim] om. L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 eum] cum W1 **104** peccato] om. P **105/106** est² – captiuus] om. W1 **106** permittit] promittit M2 **107** si] sed W1 **108** mendaciis] a mendaciis M2 P **109** iuramentis] om. Ta W1 **110** quod debeat] per habebat W1] om. Ta uigilare] om. Me **111** humiliet] humiliat M1 **112** uanitas] uanitatis M1 **114** meis] om. P **117** ipsa] ista Me Ta Premisit unde] unde premisit L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 **118** Syon] om. L1 **120** dicens – torrens] torrens sicut dicens W1

austro, delictum aque et ordo est ut currat inferius. Sed
 quandoque gelu constringit ita quod cursum debitum non
 exercet, sed cum solis calor et radius attingit glaciem, aqua
 resoluitur ut cursum exerceat naturalem. Sic membra
 125 hominis ad Deum ordinata sunt ut ei seruiant ut cor ad
 diligendum et cognoscendum Deum, os ad laudandum et
 sicut de aliis. Sed peccatum ita restringit quod debitum
 officium circa Deum non exercent sed totaliter resident
 contra ista inferiora sed cum Deus immittit gratiam in
 130 homine, glacies peccati resoluitur et membra hominis sic
 liberantur ut in Deum quasi in suum terminum currant Ps. :
emittet uerbum suum et liquefaciet ea et cetera.

<3.5> Item magna facit penitentibus de peccato ut
 dicitur in Ps. : *magna opera Domini exquisita in omnes uoluntates*
 135 *eius* Nota opera Domini id est multa ut multe urtice et
 huiusmodi contempnuntur sed qui bene intelligeret et quare
 hoc uoluit hoc ordinatissima et magna omnia reputaret.
 Sapiens enim artifex in opere suo nihil ponit sine causa et
 ratione et quod non teneat locum suum ut pictor in pictura
 140 non ponit tractum otiosum Iob : *nihil in terra fit sine causa.*
 Sunt ergo opera Domini magna inquiringibus causam item
 ergo et rationem eorum. Ualde opera magna penitentie,
 scilicet contritio cordis, per qua homo iustificatur quod
 notatur ibi magnificata gloria. Magnum est de nihilo facere
 145 aliquid de paruo magnum, de extraneo heredem, de seruo
 liberum. Cum quis autem est in peccato apud Deum nihil
 reputatur extraneus a regno efficitur et in seruitutem
 redigitur. Cum iustificatur et magnus apud Deum et heres
 et filius et liber etiam effectus est. Unde Deus ipsum

132 emittet – ea] Ps. 147, 7 134/135 magna – eius] Ps. 110, 2 140 nihil – causa]
 Iob 5, 6

121 delictum] debitum M2 Me P1 Ta W1 ut] quod M2 P1 W1 122 quandoque]
 quando M2 123 attingit] attinget P1 129 contra] circa L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1
 cum] om. M2 131 currant] currat L1 135 id est] om. L1 M1 M2 Me Ta
 136 huiusmodi] huius M2 Me P1 Ta W1 et] om. M2 Me Ta 137 hoc²] om. Me Ta
 140 fit] fecitur L1] factus est M1] fertur Me Ta 141/142 item ergo] om. M2 P1 W1
 142 ergo] om. Me Ta opera magna] magna opera M2 Me P1 Ta W1
 144 magnificata] om. M1 146 quis] om. M2 148 Cum] Cum autem M2 149 et²]
 om. P etiam] om. L1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1] et M1

iustificando de nihilo facit magnum et hoc est quid dicitur 150
 .Ro. .v.: *quos iustificauit hos et magnificauit*. Aliud magnum
 facit Dominus penitentibus cum dat eis gratiam penitendi
 et conuertendi, in arte phisica magne uirtutis reputatur
 medicina uel potio que omnes infirmitates expellit sicut
 facit confessio de peccatis. Ideo Iudit, id est confitens, 155
magna facta est in Betulia, id est in ecclesia Domini,
 interpretatur enim parturiens Dominum. Non enim in
 ecclesia Domini filius Dei permittitur.

<3.6> Item magnum facit Deus certantibus cum
 peccato. Non enim paruum sed magnum faceret homini 160
 qui hostes fortissimos debellaret quod facit Deus homini
 cum gratiam sibi confert contra uitia uiriliter resistendi ipsa
 de terra sua id est de se ipso totaliter expellendo .ii. Mach.
 .x. : *hymnis et de confessionibus benedicebant Dominum* et cetera.

Nota quod homo habet tres contra se pugnatore de 165
 quibus facit Deus per suam gratiam uictoriam optinere :
 cupiditatem, uoluptatem, pompositatem.

<3.6.1> Cupiditas pugnat cum homine et sibi iniuriatur
 quia temporalia sua ita manu capit quod de eis non potest
 homo facere commodum suum cum non sinat eum 170
 resistere alienum nec elimosinas facere. Sicut subditus non
 potest bonis suis uti cum dominus eius habeat ea in manu
 sua. Sed Dominus de hoc hoste uictoriam tribuit cum dat
 homini gratiam restituendi male acquisita et largiendi
 pauperibus acquisita Prouer. .xxxiii.: *uictoriam et honorem* 175
acquiret qui dat munera, aufert animam accipientium.

<3.6.2> Item caro impugnat hominem et ei iniuriatur
 superflua accipiendo et in cibo et in uestitu delectationes
 illicitas concupiscendo, fornicando, scurriliter loquendo,

151 quos – magnificauit] Rom. 8, 30 155/156 Iudit – Betulia] Iudith 16, 25

164 hymnis – Dominum] Cfr II Mach. 10, 38 175/176 uictoriam – accipientium]
 Prou. 22, 9

155 Iudit – confitens] Thiel, p. 338

151 v] .viii. M2 Me Ta 152 penitendi] silet penitendi P 153 conuertendi] confitendi
 M1 M2 Me 156 Betulia] reculia M1 157 parturiens] percurriens M1 166 per –
 optinuer] om. M1 169 ita] id est W1 170 homo] om. P sinat] sinant L1
 172 habeat] habet Me 174/175 et – acquisita] om. M2 176 acquiret] acquirit M2
 Me Ta aufert animam] animam aufert M2 178 et¹] om. Me Ta in¹] om. M1

- 180 lasciuē respiciendo, ignominiose tangendo. Sicut creditor
 meus mihi iniuriatur si plus a me petat quam sibi debeatur.
 Carni uero non debemus nisi necessaria, non superflua,
 ministrare. Secundum illud Prouer.: *panis et disciplina et opus*
seruo sed Deus de hoc hoste uictoriam tribuit Iob .xxxiiii.:
 185 *permaneāt iuditiū meū ad uictoriā*. Iuditiū appellat
 penitentiam ita discrete factam nec plus nec minus debito
 fiat quod tunc ad uictoriam peruenit cum ita affligitur quod
 superflua et illicita non exigit nec sibi necessaria
 denegantur.
- 190 <3.6.3> Item pompositas et eleuatio homini iniuriantur
 quia ipsum humiliare non permittunt ut mandatis Dei
 obediat uel prelati sui uel proximo suo reconcilietur uel
 peterat ueniam de offensis. Sicut uentus contrariatur naute
 quod nauem non possit regere ut oportet nec ad portum
 195 ducere. Sed Deus de hanc uictoriam tribuit homini cum
 confert gratiam obediendo Domino et prelati et
 confessoribus et gratiam petendi ueniam de offensis
 Prouer. .xxvii.: *obediens loquetur uictorias* et quanto cor
 nobilius est carne et pecunia tanto ista uictoria gloriosior
 200 dicitur quanto nobilior et fortior hostis debellatur. Ideo
 dicit philosophus quod qui istam uictoriam habet alias
 habere potest non e contrario.

183/184 panis – seruo] Eccli. 33, 25 185 permaneāt – uictoriām] Cfr Iob 23, 7
 198 obediens – uictorias] Cfr Prou. 21, 28

201/202 quod – contrariō] non inueni

183 Secundum] om. M1 186 factam] factam quod M2 Me Ta 193 peterat] petant
 L1] petat M1 M2 Me P1 Ta] peccat W1 198 xxvii] .xxi. L1 obediens] uir obediens
 M2 Me Ta 199 est] om. P

Sermo XVII

Sermon *de omnibus sanctis*, S79, RLS 192.

Base ms.: P, ff. 177rb-178ra.

- 5 Collated mss.: L1, ff. 274va-275rb; M1, ff. 398va-399ra; M2, ff. 189v-190r; Me, ff. 198ra-198va; P1, ff. 153rb-154ra; Ta, ff. 178va-179ra; W1, ff. 272ra-272vb.

Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius Ps.

- 10 Solent uiellatores gesta proborum militum utpote Karoli, Rolandi et huius libenter narrare, quanto magis predicatorum, qui sunt uiellatores Dei, gesta sanctorum que sunt laudabilia in infinitum debent narrare libentius. Ps. sapientiam populorum narrant populi et laudem eorum
15 annunciet ecclesia. Sed quia sancti nichil de se facere poterant sed totum de dono Dei, ideo in hiis uerbis monet nos Daud ad laudandum Deum in sanctis eius. In cuius laude tria sunt attendenda:

<1> uidelicet quando

- 20 <2> et quomodo

<3> et a quo laudandus est.

- <1> Quando: quia in omni statu et in omni tempore prosperitatis sue et aduersitatis Ps.: *benedicam dominum in omni tempore semper laus eius in ore meo*. Sed quidam sunt qui
25 laudant Deum, sicut alauda que solum de die cantat et non de nocte. Sic quidam in nocte aduersitatis non laudant sed blasphemant. Contra quos Isa .xlii.: *super muros Ierusalem constitui custodes tota die et nocte non tacebunt* laudare nomen Domini. Et nota quod melius debent laudare Deum in
30 aduersitate quam in prosperitate quia qui in aduersitate opponuntur sub Domini disciplina, qui autem in

Sermo XVII, 9 Laudate – eius] Ps. 150, 1 14/15 sapientiam – ecclesia] Cfr Eccli. 44, 15 23/24 benedicam – meo] Ps. 33, 2 27/28 super – tacebunt] Is. 62, 6

Sermo XVII, 11 Rolandi] Roulandi Me 16 dono] dona P1 17 laudandum] laudendum M2 22 Quando] quandoque M1 25 de] in L1 W1 cantat] om. L1 28 tacebunt] tace M2 30 quam] opprimitur est sub Domini distincta qui autem W1 30/32 quia – prosperitate] om. P P1 W1 30 quia – aduersitate²] om. Me 31 opponuntur] opprimitur est M2] opprimitur est Me Ta

prosperitate de tali uidetur Dominus non curare Eccl.: *melior est ira risu et cetera.*

<2> Quomodo laudandus sit. Quia sit pure et perfecte
ut nihil eius laudi admisceatur. Non enim debet esse
detractio uel mendacium uel scurrilitas uel huius a quo
laudatur Deus Ps.: *repleatur os meum laude.* Quod enim
repletur aliquo non potest aliud capere nisi illud quo
repletum est euacuetur. Ideo petebat propheta ut os suum
repleretur laude ne posset aliud continere scilicet
detractionem et huius. Qui enim laudant Dominum in choro
et extra detrahant non habent os repletum laude. Qui
enim calicem consecratum poneret ad communes usus in
coquina uel alibi pro malo christiano haberetur. Sic cum
aliquis, sit sacerdos uel religiosus, os suum dedicatum est
Deo. Ideo id est male facit cum aduersus communes uel
detractones scilicet exponit huius.

<3> A quo laudandus est. Quia a magnis et probis nam
non est honorificum a gargonibus laudari uel a prauis. Si
quis enim esset uictus in campo, pudor enim ei esset
narrare uitam sanctorum ut Deo conuersationi uictorias
aliorum. Sic si debent narrare carnales uitas sanctorum ut
ad conuersationem Eccl. .xi.: *non est speciosa laus in ore
peccatoris.* Tales sunt sicut hyrelli uiellatores qui sunt in
tornamento usque scilicet ad ictus et tunc dimittunt
certantes et recedentes uadunt ad tabernam. Ita
predicatores qui bene predicant et laudant sanctos sed ictus
non sustinent, id est abstinentias et huius. A puris enim uult
Deus laudari. Unde puri obuiauere ei uenienti in
Ierusalem laudantes eum et ideo Ps.: *laudate pueri Dominum.*

33 melior – risu] Eccl. 7, 4 **37** repleatur – laude] Ps. 70, 8 **53/54** non – peccatoris]
Eccl. 15, 9 **60** laudate – Dominum] Ps. 112, 1

39 euacuetur] om. M2 Me Ta **42** detrahant] detrahunt Me Ta **46** id est] om. L1
M1 M2 MeTa uel] om. L1 M1 M2 Me Ta **50** enim²] om. L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1
51 narrare] intrare M1 uitam sanctorum] sanctorum uitam L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1
52 narrare – sanctorum] carnales narrare sanctorum uitas L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1
54 Tales] tale M1 **55** scilicet] om. L1 M1 Me Ta **57** sed] sic W1

- Sed quare laudandus est quia *mirabilis est in sanctis suis*. Tria enim facit in sanctis suis propter que laudandus est merito. Corpora sustinendo quia licet multum laborem et magna sollicitudo habeatur pro sustentatione corporum.
- 65 Nihil tamen erit nisi Dominus sustentet Ps.: *memoriam fecit mirabilium suorum* et cetera. Mirabile enim fuit quod manna .xl. annis filiis Israel ministravit animam letificando, quia in paupertate et dolore et flectu pro peccatis letificat nos uel est mirabile Iob. .x. : saturatur afflictione et miseria et quasi
- 70 ieenam propter superbiam me capies reuersusque mirabitur crucitatus. Mirabiliter gaudent cruciati et afflicti dicit glossa utrumque glorificatio Ps.: *confitebor tibi quia terribiler magnificatus es* quo ad vindictam malorum *mirabilia opera tua* quo ad gloriam sanctorum. Exemplum si rex pauperem
- 75 inuitasset ad mensam ad sedendum iuxta se mirabile esset, et Dominus uocat nos ad mensam suam pro modico labore. Mt. .xi. : *uenite ad me qui laboratis et onerati estis*, onere scilicet penitentie, et *ego reficiam uos* eterna scilicet satietate, Luc. .xxii. : *ego dispono uobis sicut disposuit mihi Pater meus*
- 80 *regnum ut edatis et bibantis super mensam meam in regno meo* quod nobis concedat et cetera.

61 mirabilis – suis] Ps. 67, 36 65/66 memoriam – suorum] Ps. 110, 4
 69/71 saturatur – crucitatus] Cfr Iob 10, 15-16 72/73 confitebor – tua] Cfr Ps. 138, 14 77/78 uenite – uos] Matth. 11, 28 79/80 ego – meo] Luc. 22, 29

Sermo XVII, 71 glossa] Cfr Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina (Iob. 10, 16) in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 29/08/2022. (Permalink : http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GL-OSS-liber25.xmlchapitre=25_10). 74/75 si – esset] Cfr TE017433 (Die Briefe: Lettre 110, p. 243, l. 17 – p. 244, l. 8)", *Thesaurus exemplorum medii aevi*, <http://thema.huma-num.fr/exempla/TE017433> (accessed 2022-06-10).

62 Tria] tam M1 62/63 laudandus – merito] merito laudandus est L1 62/63 est merito] merito est M1 M2 P1 W1 63 multum] militum Me 66 quod] quid P 67 animam] om. L1 Ta 68 flectu] fletu M2 69 est] om. L1 Ta 71 crucitatus] cruciaturum L1 Ta] cruciatus M1 M2 Me 72 Ps] om. Me 75 inuitasset] inuitaret L1 M1 Me P1 Ta W1 80 quod] quid M1

Sermo XVIII

Sermon *de omnibus sanctis*, S79, RLS 193.

Base ms.: P, ff. 178ra-180va.

- 5 Collated mss.: L1, ff. 275rb-278va; M1, ff. 399ra-401vb;
M2, ff. 190r-193v; Me, ff. 198va-201va; P1, ff. 154ra-
156rb; Ta, ff. 179ra-181va; W1, ff. 272vb-276vb.

Gloria hec est omnibus sanctis eius Ps.

- 10 Consueuerunt nobiles et magnates hominibus de terra
sua baronibus nobilibus magnas festiuitates facere et
magnas curias tenere sepe particulares, uniuersales raro. Sic
Deus festa multa facit in anno modo uni sancto uel duobos.
Sed hodie facit festum glorie omnibus suis baronibus in
15 aula celesti cuius memoriam recolit ecclesia in terra. Festum
autem illud facit nobile et altum Dauid propheta per uerba
proposita per mille annos antequam esset preconizatum ut
esset generalius et nobilius describitur quia nobilitas et
altitudo huius festiuitatis in uerbis predictis quantum ad
20 quinque.

- <1> Quantum ad inuitatorum nobilitatem et
generalitatem et diuturnitatem et festiuitatis
preconizationem. Nobilis enim est hec festiuitas et
sollemnis quia inuitati non sunt garciones rustici et ribaldi,
25 sed sunt omnes nobiles et reges et sancti. Unde non est
festiuitas ribaldorum sed sanctorum.

- <2> Item non est duorum aut trium sed omnium.
Omnibus enim aperit Dominus portas ut intrent ad curiam
istam, dum tamen sint alicuius ualoris quod significatum
30 fuit in conuiuio Assueri. Hester .i. quod fecit: *omnibus
principibus suis*.

<3> Item non est hec festiuitas duorum dierum uel
trium sed erit eterna et durabilis in perpetuum quod notatur
cum dicitur semper enim est hec festiuitas nec numquam

Sermo XVIII, 9 Gloria – eius] Ps. 149, 9 **30/31** omnibus – suis] Esth. 1, 3

Sermo XVIII, 12 sepe] separe Me Ta **13** festa multa] multa festa M2 Me P1 Ta W1
16 facit] sicut M2 Me P1 Ta W1 **17** preconizatum] preconizatam Me
18 generalius] generalius et nobilius P1 W1 et nobilius] om. P **24** et] nec M2
29 sint] fuit L1] sunt M2 **30/31** i – suis] om. M1 **34** nec] et M2

finitur. Unde sicut Dominus semper est et eius festiuitas
semper erit et est. *Ego inquit sum qui sum.* 35

<4> Item non est absconditum sed promulgatum et
preconizatum per prophetas, apostolos precedentes et
adhuc ad presentes predicatorum et per Dauid in uerbis
propositis cum dicit hic hec est. 40

<5> Item festum illud non duorum ferculorum uel
trium, non quatuor uel quinque solidorum sed est festum
splendidum et gloriosum quod notatur cum dicitur gloria.
Et uere gloria est in hac festiuitate indeficiens quia semper
erit et numquam deerit, est glorie durabile que la ne faudra
mes tous iors dora. 45

<5.1> Item gloria perficiens quia ibi omne bonum erit et
nullum malum odorum: c'est gloire parfaite quar qui liens
entre serra nul mal n'auera.

<5.2> Item gloria sufficiens quia ibi homo habebit
quicquid appecierit et uoluerit et omne illud non
desiderabit. Ce est gloire suffisant, kar home tant auera que
ueint plus auer uoudra. 50

<5.3> Et ita est indeficiens quia est ibi eternitas et
perficiens quia ibi est omnium ferculorum uniuersitas et
sufficientia quia non est ibi uanitas sed saturitas. 55

<5.3> Primo erit ista gloria indeficiens ideo comparatur
oliue Ysa. : *et erit quasi oliua gloria eius.* Oliua enim semper in

36 Ego – sum²] Ex. 3, 14 58 et – eius] Osee 14, 7

Sermo XVIII, 45/46 glorie – dora] Old French **48/49** cest – nauera] Old French **52/53** Ce – uoudra] Old French

37 promulgatum] prouulgatum M2 39 ad] per M2 P1 W1 presentes] precedentes W1 42 sed] sic W1 44 hac] ista L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 45 que] ke L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 46 iors] iurs L1] iours M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 dora] durra Me] dura Ta 47 perficiens] proficiens Ta W1 48 odorum] odor L1 cest] ceste L1 gloire] glorie Me Ta parfaite] parfai M2 quar] kar L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 48/49 liens – serra] serra laens M2 48 liens] leuis L1 M1 Me Ta 49 entre] om. L1 M2 Me Ta] kiens il M1 nauera] n'aura Me 50 quia] quia vero L1 homo] om. L1 51 illud] aliud M2 Me P1 Ta W1 52 Ce est] ceste L1 Ta] c'est M1 M2 Me gloire] glori M2 suffisant] suffisanit L1 M1] saunt Me kar] kare M2 home] hune M2 tant] quant kil M1 P1 W1] quant qu'il vot L1] kant kil M2 Me Ta que] et L1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1] om. M1 53 auer] ne M2 55/56 et sufficientia] om. W1 56 sufficientia] sufficiens Me Ta 57 ideo] et ideo M2 58 oliua gloria] gloria oliua M2

iocunditate manet hyeme et estate sed illa gloria semper
 60 erit in nitore quia et indefectibilis et semper erit noua
 secundum quod dicitur Iob .xxxv.: *gloria mea semper
 renouabitur*. Unde Christus comparatur fonti qui semper
 scaturit et non potest exhauriri et tamen semper hauritur
 Ysa .xxii.: *haurietis aquas in gaudio de fontibus saluatoris*. Apoc.
 65 .vii. *agnus qui in medio throni est reget illos et adducet illos ad uite
 fontem aquarum*. E contra gloria mundana defectibilis est et
 cito deficit ad modum fumi qui quanto magis exaltatur
 tanto citius deficit .i. Mac .i.: *gloria hominis peccatoris stercus et
 uermis hodie extolitur et cras non inuenietur*. Comparantur enim
 70 temporalia et gloria mundana anguille que quando creditur
 teneri statim elabitur. Iob .xx.: *cum habuerit que cupierat non
 possidere poterit*. Unde oportet uel quod gloria ista deficiat
 homini, uel homo illi Ps.: *ne timueris cum diues factus fuerit
 homo* et cetera. Quoniam cum interierit non sumet omnia
 75 neque descendet cum eo gloria eius.

<5.1> Item erit gloria ista proficiens et perfecta.
 Perfectum enim est cui nichil deest ibi, nullum bonum
 deerit et nullum malum aderit. Defecata enim erit et
 depurata ab omni miseria et malitia. Sicut enim uinum uel
 80 lac uel liquor alius colatur et tunc transit quod purum est et
 remanent feces et sordes in colatorio. Sic Dominus sanctos
 suos in hoc mundo multiplici miseria et penalitate
 inquinatos ratione loci, quando debet eas introducere in
 gloriam suam, colatorio mortis colat eos et ibi reseruatis
 85 omni spurcitia et miseria ipsi depurati et omni bono

61/62 gloria – renouabitur] Iob 29, 20 64 haurietis – saluatoris] Is. 12, 3
 65/66 agnus – aquarum] Cfr Apoc. 7, 17 68/69 gloria – inuenietur] I Mach. 2, 62-63
 71/72 habuerit – poterit] Iob 20, 20 73/74 ne – homo] Ps. 48, 17

77/78 nullum – aderit] Cfr Augustinus, *De ciuitate Dei*, 22, cap. 30, 1, PL 41, col. 801 :
 “quanta erit illa felicitas, ubi nullum erit malum, nullum latebit bonum”.

59 sed] sic L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 60 et] om. M2 61 secundum] hoc P
 62 renouabitur] remanebitur M2 Christus] etiam L1 Me P1 Ta] in W1] add. etiam del.
 christum M1] tunc M2 64 xxii] .xii. M2 Me P1 Ta W1 67 qui] quia M2
 70 temporalia] tempora M1 71 habuerit] habuit Me Ta que] quod Me Ta
 72 possidere poterit] poterit possidere L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 76 proficiens]
 periciens L1 M1 77 Perfectum – est] om. M1 80 alius] albus M2 82 suos] om. P1
 84 colat eos] colatos P

fecundati transeunt ad uitam eternam et ideo propheta:
colabit eos quasi aurum et quasi argentum que colata sunt in
 purissimo et in potissimo statu et perfecto sic et sancti
 beatificati .i. Pe .i. : qui inuocauit in eternam gloriam scilicet 90
 in Iesu Christo modicum passos ipse perfecit et
 confirmabit, soli dabitque talis non est gloria mundi sed
 imperfecta. Similiter enim est hic qui habeat omne bonum
 et nullum malum. Et nullus qui cum omni bono quod
 multa mala quod non habeat mixta. Quondam modo mixta 95
 sunt omnia bona et mala et totum est turbatum. Propter
 hoc bene piscatur dyabolus modo. In aqua enim turbida
 bene piscantur piscatores et de Nerone dicitur quod ipse
 piscabatur cum aureis retibus. Ita et modo dyabolus cum
 auro et argento quilibet sicut quibusdam retibus capiuntur 100
 diuites non bene sed male acquirentes sicut latrones,
 raptores, usurarii et cupidi mercatores male expendentes et
 male custodientes. Caueamus ergo quia aqua turbata est et
 ideo propheta: *quid tibi uis in terra Egipti ut bibas aquam*
turbidam. Talium enim gloriam in ignominiam
 commutabitur dum per diuitias suas et gloriam capientur. 105
 <5.2> Tertio et ista gloria erit sufficiens ita quod
 sufficiet hominem bonum quod habebit ibi, quia habebit
 quod uoluerit nihil amplius cum desiderabit. Descernet
 enim rem et inueniet sibi sicut dicitur in Iob, ideo Ps.:
satiabor cum apparuerit Gloria tua. Quia in sola apparentia est 110
 satietas talis non est gloria mundana quia non replet nec
 satiat et unde hoc quia plenitudo unius rei mundane inducit

87 colabit – argentum] Mal. 3, 3 **89** inuocauit – gloriam] Cfr I Petr. 1
103/104 quid – turbidam] Ier. 2, 18 **110** satiabor – tua] Ps. 16, 15

97/98 quod – retibus] Suetonius, *Nero*, 30, 3: “piscatus est rete aurato et purpura
 coccoque funibus nexis”

86 transeunt] transentit M1 **89** qui] om. P inuocauit] uocauit M2 Me Ta **92** hic] hiis
 P **93** cum] eam L1 **94** Quondam] unde L1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 **100** bene] eius M2
 P1 W1 **102** turbata] turbida M2 **103** terra] uia M2 Me P1 Ta W1 **106** et] om. L1 M2
 Me P1 Ta W1] del. M1 erit] irit M2 **107** hominem bonum] homini boni L1] homini
 bonum Me Ta hominem] homini M1 M2 quod – ibi] om. L1 **108** quod] quicquid
 L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 nihil] et nihil L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 cum] om. L1 M1 M2
 Me P1 Ta W1 Descernet] discernet M2 Me Ta **109** sibi] igitur sibi Me **112** inducit]
 in Domino W1

indigentiam alterius. Si habet bladum oportet quod habeat
 horreum, si uinum oportet quod habeat dolium et
 115 cellarium. Sic totaliter oportet quod habeat seruientes ad
 custodiendum et sic de aliis. Item quia factus est ut esset
 particeps bonitatis diuine. Ideo nichil minus Deo sufficit et
 immo nihil temporale quantumcumque magnum uel
 120 corporale sed efficit hominem indigentem ut qui plus habet
 plus appetat. In omni statu si est arcidyaconus uellet esse
 episcopus, si est comes uellet esse rex et sic de aliis.

<6> In gloria et festiuitate ista que facit Dominus in aula
 ista celesti multi hodie sunt participes primo filius deinde
 domina cum domicellis, deinde parentela, postea nuncii, qui
 125 deserunt nuncia et rumores per terram, postea sapientes qui
 bene studuerunt et experti sunt in consiliis dandis. Deinde
 ioculatores, ultimo pauperes.

<6.1> Primo immo principaliter in hac gloriosa
 festiuitate cum filio immo nisi esset numquam esset ista
 130 festiuitas ideo *gloria eius est quasi gloria unigeniti a padre*, Io. i..
 Ideo iure hereditario debetur sibi ista festiuitas. Sed
 frequenter accidit quodlibet aliquis ius habeat in hereditate,
 tamen oportet eum magnam sustinere penam et multa
 expendere antequam suam possit habere hereditatem. Sic
 135 oportuit Christum pati et ita intrare in gloriam suam.
 Oportuit dico non quia aliter intrare non posset si uellet,
 sed quia uoluit nobis ostendere uiam per qua possimus
 intrare et non aliter. Si enim clauus acutus et bene
 appunctatus Christus in quo omnia fuerunt ad punctum
 140 quicquid enim in ipso fuit apponit non enim potuit intrare
 in lignum uite nisi cum multis tonsionibus et
 malleationibus. Qualiter credit intrare clauus hebetatus et

130 gloria¹ – padre] Cfr Ioh. 1, 14

113/114 quod – oportet] *om.* W1 120 In] et M1 P arcidyaconus] archidiaconus
 M2] archidiaconus Me Ta 123 multi hodie] hodie multi L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1
 primo] primo rex celorum siue Ta 124 domina] domina siue regina Ta
 125 deserunt] defferunt M2] deferunt Me Ta 128 principaliter] principes P
 gloriosa] gloria et Me Ta 132 ius] uis M2 136 dico] dico quod M1 137 possimus]
 possumus Me Ta 138 clauus] clauis Me 139 Christus] Iesus Christus M2 Me Ta
 142 clauus] clauis P1

ruginatus certe multum oportet ibi percutere : *quia si in uiridi
hec fiunt, in arido quid fiet ?*

<6.2> Secundo in hac festiuitate et gloria est domina 145
cum dominabus et domicellis. Ideo beata uirgo cum
omnibus mulieribus beatis. De ipsa enim dicitur Prou. .xi. :
mulier gratiosa inueniet gloriam que est enim ista mulier gratiosa
nisi illa cui dixit angelus Luc .i. *inuenisti gratiam apud Deum ?*
Gratia est sicut materia disposita, que est iam sicut 150
necessitas ad habendam gloriam. Ita quod qui secum defert
huius merellum certus sit de ista gloria habenda et quod ad
istam festiuitatem intrabit. Et bene dicitur quod inuenit
gloriam quod ita magnum forum facit et ita larga est de ista
gloria ac si inuenisset eam. De re enim inuenta quia non 155
multum constat, solent homines largiores esse et bene
dicitur quod gratiosa inueniet gloriam hanc, quia qui
gratiam habent quantucumque pro ista gloria habenda
laborent non nisi inuentionem reputant. E contra
peccatores carentes gratia non inuentionem sed caram 160
emptionem reputant sed aliquantulam penam pro gloria
eterna sustineant. Sed ista inuenit gloriam quia gratiosa et
uirtuosa fuit. Unde bene signatur per illam Iudith de qua
dicitur : *erat uirtuti caritas adiuncta* et erat diebus festis
procedens cum magna gloria in quo notatur quod non 165
sufficit mulieri que gloriam uult habere, castitatem seruare
sed etiam oportet omnes alias uirtutes habere ut fiat una
dragie de castitate et aliis uirtutibus. Item quas castitas
maioris fame est et odoris ut fiat etiam unum uestimentum
de multis lanis, multis coloribus, ex diuersis scilicet 170
uirtutibus cum castitate et sic anima induta honorifice ad
curiam glorie possit intrare Eze. : *uestiui te discoloribus*. Nota
quod qualiter castitas oportet esse pallium et de pallio

143/144 quia – fiet] Luc. 23, 31 148 mulier¹ – gloriam] Prou. 11, 16
149 inuenisti – Deum] Luc. 1, 30 164 erat¹ – adiuncta] Iudith 16, 26 172 uestiui –
discoloribus] Ez. 16, 10

168 dragie] a pill; Godefroy Frédéric, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses
dialectes du IX^e au XV^e siècle*, 2, p. 766.

143 multum] multo Me P1 Ta W1 146 Ideo] id est L1 M1 M2 P1 W1 152 certus
sit] sit certus L1 154 quod] quia M2 Me Ta 159 contra] circa Ta 167 omnes] om.
L1 M1 168 quas] que scilicet M2 169 etiam] om. M2 173 oportet] debet M2

Arturi et qualiter credunt meliores quod sufficiat eis si sint
 175 caste et qualiter mulieres creduntur bone si solum sint caste
 et male si non sint caste etiam si habeant plures alias
 uirtutes.

<6.3> Tertio in hac festiuitate et gloria sunt nuncii id est
 angeli qui portant nuncia et rumores et secreta consilia
 180 super quocumque uadant gloriosi Apoc. .xviii. : *uidi angelum*
Dei descendentem de celo et terra illuminata est a gloria eius nec
 mirum si isti sint gloriosi quia semper quocumque uadant
 cum Domino glorie sunt nec ab ipso recedunt et parum
 esset dominus curialis nisi illis qui semper sunt cum ipso
 185 aliquam partem glorie sue faceret. Hoc possumus
 perpendere quantum ualet bona societas et quantum nocet
 mala. Angeli in societate Domini semper sunt gloriosi et
 beati, in recessu autem ab ipso facti sunt dyaboli Mt. .xvi. :
filius autem hominis uenturus est in gloria patris cum angelis suis.
 190 Nota de aucupibus qui societate auium pitarum alias aues
 capiunt sic dyabolus quod per se non potest capere mala
 societate capit. Et nota de malo consilio et de mala
 societate.

<6.4> Quarto in hac festiuitate et gloria sunt illi de
 195 parentela scilicet patriarche quorum in tantum consistit
 generatio quod uenit Christo per quem omnes illi qui de
 generatione eius fuerint glorificati sunt. Eccl.: *de ipsis*
homines magni uirtute et scientia perdit omnes in generationibus
 gentis sue gloriam adepti sunt. Sed notandum est quod dicit
 200 magni uirtute quia quantumcumque essent de cognatione
 carnali Domini nisi essent affines et cognate spiritualiter per
 uirtutes numquam eos secum glorificasset. Alios enim non
 reputat de parentela sua nisi uirtuosos. Unde cum diceretur

180/181 uidi – eius] Apoc. 18, 1 189 filius – suis] Matth. 16, 27 198 homines –
 perdit] Eccli. 44, 3

175 bone] bene M2 solum] solummodo M2 sint] sunt M2 176 sint caste] caste
 sint M2 Me Ta 182 sint] sunt M2 uadant] uadunt Me Ta 185 faceret] facere M1
 190 societate] societatem Me pitarum] pictarum L1 M1 M2 MeTa 191 quod] quos
 M2 Me Ta 192 de²] om. P 197 ipsis] ipsos M1 198 in] et M1 199 gentis sue] sue
 gentis M1 est] om. P1 200 essent] esse Me cognatione] cognitione M2 201 nisi
 essent] non esset M1

ei: *mater tua et fratres tui foris stant querentes loqui tibi.*
 Respondendum que est mater mea et qui sunt fratres mei: 205
quicumque fecerit uoluntatem patris mei qui in celis est ipse meus
frater et soror et mater est. In hoc docentur potentes et diuites
 qui de parentela sua sunt boni ut aliqui et ita uirtuosi et si
 metabile bene debent eos uocare et aliis anteponere, aliter
 non. Iere. bene dicitur eccl. .xliiii. isti sunt uiri misericordie 210
 quorum pietas non defuerunt cum semine illorum, id est
 Christo, permanent bona hereditas sancta nepotes eorum et
 gloria eorum non derelinquetur. Et post Abraham pater
 multitudinis gentium qua gloriam adeptus est, non est
 inuentus similis illi in gloria et Ysaac eodem modo fecit. 215
 <6.5> Quinto in hac festiuitate et gloria sunt sapientes
 consiliarii homines studiosi scilicet prophete qui tantum
 studuerunt in libro uite in speculo eterno quod ibi
 didicerunt dare omnia bona et certa consilia et de preterito
 et de futuro et ideo sicut boni studentes uocati sunt ad 220
 dignitatem Eccl. .xvi.: *successor Moysi in prophetis* Iesus naue
 quam gloriam adeptus est certe magnam et sic de aliis qui
 studet in speculo non solum uidet ibi ymaginem suam
 presentem sed etiam uidet in illa que sunt posteriora sibi et
 aperte post. Sic isti studentes in speculo eterno non solum 225
 cognouerunt ibi presentia sed etiam preterita et futura et
 ideo sciuerunt dare consilia et de presentibus et de futuris
 et requieuerunt in scriptis et libris suis et *reuelata facie gloriam*
Dei speculantes et eandem ymaginem transformati sunt enim
 corni. 230
 <6.6> Sexto in hac festiuitate et gloria sunt strenui
 milites qui cum Domino et pro Domino fuerunt in
 tyrocinio et bello. Isti sunt martyres qui pro Christo mortui
 sunt et interfecti et ideo glorificati sunt. Ideo possunt dicere

204/207 mater – est] Cfr Matth. 12, 47-50; Mar. 3, 32-35; Luc. 8, 20-21

210/213 isti – derelinquetur] Cfr Eccli. 44, 10-13 221 successor – prophetis] Eccli. 46, 1 228/229 reuelata – ymaginem] II Cor. 3, 18

213 derelinquetur] derelinquentur M2 219 omnia bona] omnia bono L1 W1
 certa] eterna M2 221 dignitatem] dingnitatem M2 224 in] ibi Me Ta 226 preterita
 et] om. P 227 sciuerunt] querunt W1 229 enim] om. P 232 et – fuerunt] superauit
 W1 234 et¹ – sunt²] om. Me

235 illud .i. Pe. .v. : *uocauit nos in eternam gloriam* scilicet in Christo
Iesu modicum passos. Parum esset curialis Dominus nisi
suis militibus qui cum ipso in tyrocinio amiserunt equos
suos id est propria corpora que portant animas per istum
modum restituet meliores quod erit in resurrectione generali
240 ubi meliora corpora dabuntur illis et qui daret eis uestes in
tanta sollempnitate quod et facit modo quantum ad animas
et faciet postea quantum ad corpora et *omnes domestici eius*
uestientur duplicibus Prou. ultimo. Bonum esset modo uestem
istam miseram quam portamus scilicet corpus. Iob : *pelle et*
245 *carnibus uestitisti me* dilacerare per penitentiam ut detur sibi
noua in festiuitate sic sancti martyres fecerunt et ideo stola
id est ueste immortalitatis induuntur. Ita et nos debemus
facere ut in ista festiuitate gloriosa a Domino induamur et
ibi recipiamur cum beato Stephano et aliis martiribus de
250 quo dicitur Act. .vi. : *intendens in celum uidit gloriam Dei*, uidit
et habuit quod nullus uidebit nisi habeat quia secundum
Augustino uisio erit tota merces.

<6.7> Septimo in hac festiuitate et gloria sunt
ioculatores id est confessores qui Dominum et sanctos
255 mouent ad risum et letitiam optimis uerbis suis et factis,
quorum unus legit in ecclesia, alter cantat, alter romanizat
id est romanie id est exponendo latinum in romano laicis,
scilicet predicando, alter cantat ponendo pedes id est
affectiones et desideria anime in celo et os subtus ad terram
260 conuertendo ad predicandum contra uitia et peccata et
terrena *qui emittit eloquium suum terre: uelociter currit sermo eius*.
Item isti signantur per Dauid saltantem et ludentem coram
archa domini .ii. Regum .vi. : *ludam in atrio et melior fiam et*

235/236 uocauit – Iesu] I Petr. 5, 10 242/243 omnes – duplicibus] Cfr Prou. 31, 21
244/245 pelle – me] Iob 10, 11 250 intendens – Dei] Act. 7, 55 261 qui – eius] Ps.
147, 4 263/265 ludam – apparebo] Cfr II Reg. 6, 22

252 uisio – merces] Augustinus, *Enarrationes in psalmos*, PL 37, col. 1170; Cfr Thomas
Aquinas, *Quaestiones*, Ia q. 26 a. 2 s. c.

236 Parum] et parum Me 239 restituet] restitueret L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1
240 qui] quid W1 245 ut] at P1 251 uidebit] uidebat M2 255 suis – factis] et
factis suis L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 257 romanie] enromante L1 P1 W1] romiante M1
] en romiante M2 Me Ta 262 Item] om. L1 M1 M2 P1 W1 isti] istis M2 P1
263 ludam] laudam M2 melior] uilior M2 Me Ta

humilis ero in oculis et coram ancillis de quibus locuta es gloriosior apparebo et benedicit humilis erit quia humiles multum exaltantur in ista gloria. Recumbentes enim in nouissimo loco uocantur ad superiora Luc. .xiii. : cum inuitatus fueris ad nuptias recumbe in nouissimo loco ut dicat tibi qui te inuitauit amice ascendas superius tunc erit tibi gloria. Quia Prou. .xix. humilem spiritu suscipiet gloria .iiii. amici enim lapidem uili pretiosi in maxima gloria custodiuntur. Dominus enim facit sicut auri faber qui quando uult unum pulchrum uas facere fundit illud in terra uili et colat in luto et sic egreditur uas purissimum et spetiosissimum. Sic Dominus sanctos suos formauit in quadam uilitate et humilitate et egrediuntur postea gloriosi in patria et bene formati unde .i. Cor .ix. : seminatur in ignobilitate surget in gloria Iob .xxii. qui humiliatus fuerit erit in gloria.

<6.8> Octauo in hac festiuitate et gloria sunt pauperes apostoli scilicet et alii uiri qui omnia que habuerunt et que habere potuerunt propter Christum relinquerunt et Christum pauperem mendicando secuti sunt. Isti enim non solum fragmenta sed et prima fercula recipiunt sicut consuetudo est magnatum et diuitum aliquorum qui primum frustrum panis et primum morsellum feruli ponunt in elemosina. Sic etiam ista et primo accipiunt et primo introducuntur et ideo quia primi introducuntur possunt aliis sequentibus claudere et aperire hostium. Unde clauis dicuntur habere regni celorum. Unde non solum diuites sed etiam pauperes hic sunt principales quia secundum quod dicitur Eccl. .x. : *gloria diuitum et pauperum* hic est. Immo plurima etiam de ista gloria recipiunt quia uacui temporalibus fuerunt quam diuites qui pleni.

267/269 cum – gloria] Luc. 14, 10 **269/270** humilem – gloria] Prou. 29, 23
277 seminatur – gloria] I Cor. 15, 43 **277/278** qui – gloria] Iob 22, 29 **291** gloria – pauperum] Eccli. 10, 25

265 erit] ero M2 Me P1 Ta W1 **268/269** amice ascendas] om. W1 **268** amice] om. P1 **272** unum] uinum Me **274** et spetiosissimum] om. Ta spetiosissimum] pretiosissimum Me **275** formauit] format Me Ta W1 **276** i] .ii. P1 W1 **280** qui] quia P1] om. W1 **283** sicut] siue M1 **286** ista] isti M2 Me **289** clauis dicuntur] dicuntur clauis L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 celorum] om. L1 M1 P **290** quia] quod M1 **292** plurima] plus M2 Me P1 Ta W1

- Paupertas enim ad modum spongie est porosa et accentiuu.
- 295 Ideo quando pauperes nulla gloria iniunguntur sicut et spongia in fonte uel liquore eterno plus attrahunt plus recipiunt quam diuites qui ad modum solidorum corporum pleni aliis bonis fuerunt. Unde gloria et diuitie in domo eius uel eorum sed sicut nec omnes pauperes sunt in ista gloria.
- 300 Quam admodum enim pauperes transeuntes per uicos et hospitia hominum nihil recipiunt nisi sciuerint uel uoluerint clamare et petere. Sic pauperes qui nesciuntur uel nolunt orare nihil recipiunt de ista beatitudine. Ideo dicit eis Dominus: *petite et accipietis*. Pauperes etiam qui habent uasa
- 305 ad aliquid reponendum utpote cyphum uel scutellam uel potum uel habent sinum uel gremium quia uestimenta eorum ita dilacerata sunt et dissueta quod nihil retinere possunt, parum uel nihil recipiunt uel recipere possunt de reliquiis uel fragmentis huius beatitudinis uel ferculis. Ideo
- 310 bonum est quod prouiderent sibi de bonis uestibus ut sit anima bene induta in magno sinu et magno gremio multum de hac gloria possunt recipere. Dominus enim pauperibus honorosis bene indutis libentius dat. Isti sunt pauperes uirtutibus non lacerati per uitia et peccata. Iste sunt uestes
- 315 nuptiales sine quibus expellimur a curia et etiam proicimur in lehennam non dissutam et laceratam Gabaonitarum. Sic ergo magnates ad aliquem conuentum religiosorum non singulariter fratribus se commendant sed pulsato capitulo et fratribus congregatis sit recummandatio omnibus in simul.
- 320 Sic quia Dominus hodie pulsauit capitulum suum generale sic et omnes sancti in una sollempnitate congregati hodie debemus nos eis deuote commendare eos et orare ut orent

304 petite – accipietis] Ioh. 16, 24

294 spongie] spungie M2 **295** iniunguntur] iniungantur W1 et] om. M2 Me P1 Ta W1 **296** in] et P1 liquore] litore P **297** recipiunt] requirunt M2 **298/299** eius uel] om. M2 Me P1 Ta W1 **301** sciuerint] sciuerunt M2 uoluerint] uoluerunt M2 **304** etiam] et M2 **306** uelⁱ] nec M2 Me Ta gremium] gremeum M2 **307** et dissueta] om. P dissueta] dissuta M2 Me Ta **308** de] om. M1 P **310** est] esset M2 Me P1 Ta W1 **311** sinu] signu P1] sinum M1 **314** uirtutibus] om. Me peccata] om. Me **315** sine quibus] om. Me **315/316** et – in] om. Me **316** laceratam] iactanta M1 **317** aliquem] aliquem locum Me **319** recummandatio] commendatio L1 M1 **320** Sic] sed Me Dominus hodie] hodie Dominus L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1

pro nobis quia impossibile est multorum preces non
exaudiri ut meritis et precibus ipsorum mereamur participes
effici glorie et beatitudinis ipsorum. Rogemus et cetera.

Sermo XIX

Sermon *de omnibus sanctis*, S79, RLS 194.

Base ms.: P, ff. 180va-181rb.

- 5 Collated mss.: L1, ff. 278va-280va; M1, ff. 401vb-403ra;
M2, ff. 193v-195r; Me, ff. 201va-202va; Ta, ff. 181va-
182rb; W1, ff. 276vb-278rb.

Congregate illi sanctos eius.

- 10 Solent religiosi in capitulo congregari ut orationes
omnium petantur simul quas impossibile erat petere
sigillatim. Sicut enim sunt sancti in patria quod impossibile
est petere orationes singulorum et ideo merito ordinavit
15 congregari quatinus orationes omnium sanctorum
peteremus insimul ut dicitur in dictis uerbis in quibus
quatuor sunt notanda de quibus festum sit agendum:

<1> quia non de malis hominibus sed de bonis quod
notatur ibi sanctos eius.

- 20 <2> Quomodo quia in simul quod notatur ibi
congregate.

<3> Qua intentione quia ad honorem Dei quod notatur
ibi illi scilicet ad sui honorem.

- <4> Quare propter meritum exigentiam quod notatur
25 ibi qui ordinant testamentum suum.

- <1> Sancti ergo ad festinandum congregandi sunt non
mali. Sicut canes forte non congregantur quia quanto plures
sunt, tanto peius est, sed uellera ouium que quanto
habundant tanto melius est. Ideo Soph. ultimo: in tempore
30 quo congregabo uos in laudem et nomen omnibus populis.
Hoc est in festiuitate quo uos laudabunt peccatores enim
hic festinauerunt sibi diuitias, delitias et honores illicite
procurando ut dicitur quod aliquis bene festinatur cum
bene procuratur et ideo non est iustum quod ab aliis post

Sermo XIX, 9 Congregate – eius] Ps. 49, 5 29/30 in – populis] Cfr Soph. 3, 20

Sermo XIX, 12 enim] tot L1 M1 M2 MeTa 22 Qua] qui M2 23 illi scilicet] om. Ta
W1 scilicet] id est Me honorem] honerem M2 26 sunt] om. M2 Me Ta W1
27 quia] quia quando M2 31 festiuitate] festum L1 M1 M2 Me Ta W1

mortem festinantur. Sancti hic non fecerunt festum de se
 uiuentes sed in humilitate et asperitate pro Domino fuerunt 35
 et ideo merito post mortem festinantur ut patet Mat. .xxiii.
 de Herode qui in uita sua fecit festum sue natiuitatis et
 Iohannes ibi decollatus fuit modo non fit festum de
 Herode, sed de Iohanne. Sic ergo de sanctis festum est 40
 agendum.

<2> Sed quomodo insimul ideo dicit congregate.
 Precaturus enim regem uel magnatem congregat quos
 potest de familiaribus suis et sic facilius exauditur. Sic sancti 45
 congregandi sunt ut a Domino exaudiamur. Hester .iiii.
 uolens rogare Assuerum mandauit Mardocheo : *uade et*
congrega omnes Iudeos quos reperieris infusis id est in paradyso
 interpretatur enim gaudium *et orate pro me*.

<3> Sed qua intentione congregandi sunt in festum dicit
 ibi illi ad honorem Dei. Fidelis enim mulier que laborat et 50
 expendit in ornatu ad honorem et amorem uiri sui non
 lecatoris debet referre .ii. Regum .iii. : *dixit Abner surgam a*
peccato silet ut congregem ad te dominum meum regem id est ad
 honorem tuum *omnem Israel* id est omnes sanctos qui Deum
 uident in uno festo. Qui enim festum diligit ut bibat in 55
 taberna et splendide comedat Deo non facit festum sed
 carni uel uentri. Similiter qui pretiosas uestes facit uel induit
 ut gloriatur uel concupiscatur non Domino sed dyabolo uel
 luxurie festum facit. Ideo Ysa .i. : *iniqui cetus uestri kalendas et*
sollempnitates uestras odiuit anima mea. 60

<4> Sed quare festum agendum est de sanctis quia
testamentum id est uitam eternam *ordinauit super sacrificia* id est

46/47 uade – infusis] Cfr Esther 4, 16 52/54 dixit – Israel] Cfr II Reg. 3, 20-21
 59/60 iniqui – mea] Is. 1, 13-14 62 testamentum – sacrificia] Cfr Ps. 49, 5

35 festinantur] festinentur M2 Me 40 de² – festum] sanctis de festum W1 festum]
 festiuis M1 44 Sic] om. M2 49 qua] om. W1 50 ad] id est ad M2 Me Ta que] quod
 quod M2] quod MeTa 51 in] et M2 51/52 non – referre] debet referre non lecatoris
 L1 M1 M2 Me Ta 52 debet referre] om. W1 56 Deo] dominus M2 57 Similiter] Si
 mulier M2 qui] que M2 pretiosas] om. W1 uel²] et M2 61 quare] quod P
 62 ordinauit] ordinant M2

- post tribulationes et penas secundum glossam. Fidelis enim non bibit uel comedit quod non soluit nec frater in
- 65 confraria comedit nisi sedem suam pagauerit Ps.: *congregans in utre aquas maris* id est ut buccellam panis tribulationes et amaritudines et sic ponens in thesauris id est in paradyso abyssos id est peccatores magnos post penitentiam si licet ad dolorem.
- 70 <5> Nota quod congregare sanctos debemus tripliciter scilicet:
- <5.1> ad festum faciendum. Plures enim sunt sancti in patria de quibus festum non colitur, non sunt enim tot dies anni quot sancti in paradyso et ideo quia de omnibus
- 75 festum facere non possumus sigillatim statuitur ut de omnibus simul faciamus Thob. .xiiii. loquitur ad Ierusalem ciuitas: *letaberis in filiis tuis quoniam omnes benedicentur et congregabuntur ad Dominum* id est ad honorem Domini. Preterea in festis singulorum que fecimus ad corrigendum
- 80 ea que male fecimus uel ore sincopando uel corde alibi cogitando uel opere male considerando. Ideo statuitur ad festum omnium sanctorum, ut defectus prestinos emendemus ut cum quisquem inuitauit uel minus bene cibauit dicit ei alia uice emendabimus hunc defectum et
- 85 ideo istud festum debemus precipue debite celebrare et sine

65/66 congregans – maris] Ps. 32, 7 77/78 letaberis – Dominum] Tob. 13, 17

Sermo XIX, 63 glossam] Martin Morard, ed., Hugo de Sancto Caro. Postilla in totam Bibliam (Ps. 49, 5), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 29/08/2022. (Permalink : http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/hug/GL-OSS-hug26.xml#chapitre=26_49) 73 enim] Cfr *add.* in *Ta* is a quote of Iacobus de Varagine, *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Maggioni, p. 1236.

63 et] id est W1 68 peccatores magnos] magnos peccatores L1 M1 Me Ta W1 68/69 si – ad] scilicet et M2 Me Ta W1 73 enim] *add.* enim nam sicut ait Isidorus in quadam epistola que sue kalendario preponitur, nullus dies est excepto die kalendariarum ianuariarum qui non intra quinque milium martyrum numerum reperiri possit ascriptus. Ta 78 ad Dominum] *om.* W1 79 fecimus] facimus L1 80 sincopando] sincopizando Me 81 opere] ore Me 84 ei] enim W1

offensa peccati. Ps.: *confitebor tibi Domine in toto corde meo et cetera.*

<5.2> Item ad auxilium habendum sunt congregandi, ut cum quis impugnatur et per se non potest resistere amicos congregat ut ipsum adiuuent .i. Regum .vii. Philisteis Iudeos impugnantibus: *dixit Samuel congregare uniuersum Israel in Masphath* id est speculans tempus uel ad speculandum contra peccatum. Sic certe est quod homo in hac uita a demonibus impugnatur et hostiliter obsidetur Iob .xix.: *obsiderunt in gyro tabernaculum meum*, Ps.: *quoniam multi bellantes aduersum me in tantum quod dicit apostolus Eph. ult.: non est nobis colluctatio quasi modica aduersus carnem et sanguinem sed aduersus principes et potestates aduersus mundi rectores* et cetera. Ideo necessitate habemus ut amicorum nostrorum id est sanctorum qui sunt in patria et imploremus auxilium per orationis studium atque meritis eorum sollempnia celebrantes. Ps.: *leuaui oculos meos in montes* et cetera. Scitis quando fures uel homicide domum intrant alicuius quod statim ut aduertit clamat fortiter auxilium uicinorum. Sic multo fortius debet clamare anima in oratione cum sentit se a demonibus impugnari. Secundum illud Ps.: *ad Dominum cum tribularer clamaui* et cetera. Sed quia multi eorum impugnationem non sentiunt quia suis suggestionibus dum impugnantur sponte consentiunt. Ideo dormientes in loco peccati ab ipsis demonibus iugulantur. Hoc est quod dicitur de ipsis figuraliter .ii. R. .iiii.: quod familiares latrones in domo Ysboseth filii Saul ipsum in feruore diei ad mundane prosperitatis dormientem in lecto occiderunt.

86 confitebor – meo] Ps. 9, 2 **91/92** dixit – Masphath] I Reg. 7, 5 **95** obsiderunt – meum] Iob 19, 12 **95/96** quoniam – me] Ps. 55, 3 **96/98** non – rectores] Eph. 6, 12 **102** leuaui – montes] Ps. 120, 1 **106/107** ad – clamaui] Ps. 119, 1 **111/113** quod – occiderunt] Cfr II Reg. 4

86 peccati] tibi W1 in – meo] om. W1 **88** auxilium] capitulum L1 ut] et M1 **93** certe] certum M1 **94** xix]. .xxix. L1 M1 M2 **96** est] om. M2 **99/100** id – sanctorum] om. W1 **100** et] om. M2 W1 **101** meritis] mentis M2 Me Ta **102** Scitis] sitis M1 **103** quod] quia W1 **104** uicinorum] uitiorum Me **109** dormientes] dormientos W1 loco] lecto Me Ta **110** dicitur] om. M2 Me Ta W1 **111** figuraliter] figuraliter legitur Me Ta W1 **112** ad] quasi Ta W1] id est M2 Me **113** lecto] lecto suo M2

<5.3> Item congregandi sunt sancti ad exemplum
 115 accipiendum ut diuersi codices ueri ad corrigendum falsos
 et ut apothecarius in orto pleno herbis et floribus colligit et
 congregat quos sibi uidet necessarios. Sic de quolibet
 sancto paradysi quod sibi est necessarium Prouer. .x.: *qui*
congregat in messe filius sapiens est id est in hac uita et sicut qui
 120 in messe colligit urticas et spinas dimittit bonum bladum
 colligit. Sic de sanctis colligere debemus quod in eis
 perfectum est ut de angelis caritatem, de patriarchis et
 prophetis fidem, de apostolis spem, de martyribus
 125 castitatem. De pomo uel pane melius acciperes tibi Gal.
.iiii. : emulamini bonum in bono. Rogemus Domino et cetera.

118/119 qui – est¹] Prou. 10, 5 **126** emulamini – bono] Gal. 4, 18

121 colligere debemus] debemus colligere W1 **126** Rogemus – cetera] om. L1
 M1 M2 W1

Sermo XX

Sermon *de sancto Martino*, S81, RLS 199.

Base ms.: P, ff. 181rb-183va.

- 5 Collated mss.: L1, ff. 280va-282ra; M1, ff. 403ra-405rb;
M2, ff. 195r-197v; Me, ff. 202va-205ra; P1, ff. 156rb-
158rb; Ta, ff. 182rb-184rb; W1, ff. 278rb-281vb.

Feneratur Domino qui pauperis miseretur Prouer. .xix.

- 10 Karissimi mos est sapientum operatorum in principio sui
operis inuocare Dei auxilium ut carpentator in primo ictu
dicit or i seit Deus. Similiter barbitonsores qui dicunt or i
ait Deus part, et si hoc fit in opere carnali multo magis
15 faciendum est in opere spiritali scilicet in predicatione quia
pertinet ad animas et maxime quia ibi est maius periculum
et hoc habemus Osee .i.: *principium loquendi Dominum in Osee*.
Osee signat illum qui intendit saluti animarum interpretatur
saluatio eius et signat uel intelligere dat predicatorem qui
debet predicare ad salutem animarum. Unde debet
20 principium loquendi dare Domino uel a Domino incipere.
Ideo rogemus et cetera: Pater noster et aue Maria.

Feneratur Domino et cetera.

- Non potest fieri curialitas homini potenti, sapienti et
25 curiali siue largo quantum ei melius fit quam facit sed Deus
potentissimus sapientissimus et largissimus est. Et ideo
reddit ad duplum quicquid curialitatis fit ei in hoc dicit
predictum uerbum quod sic patet parole plus que rois l'a

Sermo XX, 9 Feneratur – miseretur] Prou. 19, 17 **16** principium – Osee²] Osee 1, 2

Sermo XX, 12 or¹ – Deus] French 12/13 or² – part] French **28/29** parole –
contradite] Cfr Morawski 1593

Sermo XX, 9 Feneratur] ueneratur W1 **10** operatorum] operariorum Me **11** in] et
M2 **12** or¹ – seit] or iseit Deus L1] ori seit Deus M1 M2 Me] ori scit Deus Ta
barbitonsores] barbitonsores M2 Me Ta 12/13 or² – part] or iait Deus part L1] ori
ait Deus part M1 M2 Me Ta **19** predicare – debet²] om. Me debet²] oportet Ta
23 Feneratur] ueneratur W1 **27** in] et P1 W1 **28** plus] post L1] puis M1 M2 Me Ta
que] ke L1 M1 Me Ta] ki M2 rois] rai M2

dite ne doit esse contradite. Dicitur rex summus dilexit hoc
 uerbum quod *uni ex minimis* meis fecistis *mihi fecistis* et 30
 dictum regis firmum est et stabile. Ergo bonum autem fit
 pauperi pro Christo qui est potens, sapiens et largus. Ergo
 omne bonum quod tu feceris pauperi Deus retribuet tibi et
 etiam quasi datum ad usuram. Hoc inuenitur in beato
 Martino de quo legitur quod cum transiret per portam 35
 Ambiacis cum magno militum comitatu, inuenit quemdam
 pauperem nudum petentem elimosinam et erat frigus
 magnum, omnes transierunt pauperem. Cogitauit beatus
 Martinus quod reseruasset eum sibi et quod dominus
 propter eum alii dimiserunt. Non habebat nisi tunicam, 40
 cogitauit si totum pallium daret posset mori frigore, timebat
 etiam quod esset homicida pauperis si frigore moreretur,
 traxit gladium et partitus est pauperi per medium pallium
 modo pro Deo audiatis numquam fuit tam pulcher ictus
 gladii. Quia ipsa eadem nocte beatus Martinus uidit 45
 Christum in celo indutum illa parte pallii quam dederat
 pauperi et iactantem se coram angelis suis dixit Martinus
 adhuc cathecuminus hac me ueste contextit. Tenuit igitur
 bene uerbum quod dixerat Dominus quod uni ex minimis
 et cetera. Et quoniam Deus beato Martino reddiderit in uita 50
 ista longum esset dicere ideo bene potest dici de eo uerbum
 predictum: feneratur Domino et cetera. In quo uerbo
 instruimur in tribus:

<1> primo cui facienda est elimosina ibi pauperi.
 <2> Secundo tangitur premium cum dicit feneratur. 55
 <3> Tertio certitudo habendi premium ibi Domino.

30 uni – fecistis²] Matth. 25, 40

47/48 Martinus – contextit] Sulpicius Severus, *Vita sancti Martini Turonensis*, c. 3, ed. J. Fontaine, 1976 SC 133, <http://clt.brepolis.net/sco/Pages/Browse/Work.aspx?id=81c66e7e-d637-43a3-9d3a-f11ff9bf29b1>.

29 doit] puet L1] poit M1] pot M2] poet MeTa contradite] contredite L1 M1 M2 Me Ta Dicitur] et dicitur M2 dilexit] dixit M2 Me P1 Ta W1 31 autem] quod M2 Me P1 Ta W1 36 Ambiacis] om. L1] Ambiginem M1] Abiam P1] Ambia W1 magno] magna Me Ta 39 quod¹] quod Dominus M2 Me Ta sibi] si M1 dominus] om. M2 Me Ta 48 me] ille W1 50 quoniam] quomodo M2 Me Ta 52 predictum] premissum Me P1 Ta W1] premissu M2 56 premium] primum M2

<1> Primo ergo docet cui facienda est elimosina quia pauperi non diuiti et quare. Ecce exemplum: quando homo uadit ad forum ponit denarios in denariatas credit plus
 60 lucrari si uaccam empturus sit, tangit eam et pinguiorem libentius emit. Similiter si pannum emit, portat eum ad lucem diei et accipit illum in quo credit se lucraturum sit et uos cum datis uestra debetis dare talibus unde plus lucrabimini. Tales sunt pauperes quod sic probo cum homo
 65 habet diuitem uicinum et ipsum inuitat ad conuiuium qui lucratur? Amorem illius diuitis non est dubium quia quanto Deus melior est uicino, tanto melior amor et ideo pauperes inuitandi sunt. Luc. .xiiii.: *cum facis prandium aut cenam noli uocare amicos tuos neque fratres neque cognatos neque uicinos neque*
 70 *diuites ne forte ipsi reinuient te et fiat tibi retributio. Sed cum facis conuiuium uoca debiles claudos cecos et beatus eris*, quia non habent quod retribuent, retribuetur enim tibi in retributione iustorum. Pauperibus ergo dandum est per hoc quod melius redditur et hoc tangitur cum dicit miseretur pauperi.
 75 <2> Secundo ostenditur magnitudo premii et precii et luce cum dicit feneratur. In fenore non tantum soluitur premium uel sors sed etiam ultra usura soluitur sic si tu dedisti pauperi elimosinam Deus non tantum ualorem elimosine retribuet tibi sed regnum celi, gloriam paradisi.
 80 Unde reddet centuplum, hoc significatur Gen. .xxvi.: seminauit autem Ysaac in terra Geraris et inuenit in ipso anno centuplum. Geraris aduene appropinquantes interpretatur et signat pauperes. Usurarius ita lucratur de nocte et dormiendo sicut in die uigilando quia tempus
 85 semper currit, sic qui dat elimosinam cum dormit habet pauperem pro se orantem.

<3> Tertio ostenditur certitudo retributionis cum dicitur Domino. Aliquando diues non commedat pauperi quia

68/71 cum – eris] Cfr Luc. 14, 12-14 81/82 seminauit – centuplum] Gen. 26, 12

82 Geraris – appropinquantes] Thiel., 316

62 in] om. P1 65 qui] quid M2 Me Ta 67 Deus] om. M2 68 sunt] om. M2 Me P1 Ta W1 71/72 quia – retribuent] om. P 72 quod] quid Me Ta 73 est] om. L1 75 et²] om. M2 Me P1 Ta W1 76 fenore] feruore M1 77 sed] si W1 si] om. M1 82 anno] anno esse M2 Me 84 in] de M2 88 commedat] comodat Me P] comedit M2

timet quod non posset soluere sed Dominus fideiussor est
et facit debitorem se pro eo. Unde Eccl. .xii. : *benefac iusto et* 90
inuenies retributionem a Domino magnam et si non ab ipso certe a
Domino. Pauperes ueri non bene cognoscuntur, cogitat
homo cum uidet pauperem petentem elimosinam iste
ribaldus uel trutannus est, nihil dabo ei totum esset
perditum sed Deus distinguit quod erit plegius unde 95
feneratur Domino qui miseretur pauperi.

<4> Sed nota tria esse genera usure que nos reperimus.
Accipit enim homo

<4.1> usuram a dyabolo,

<4.2> a Deo uel

<4.3> ab aliquo homine. 100

A dyabolo quando peccat, a Deo cum ab eo accipit
corpus et animam et sensum, ab aliquo homine cum mutuo
accipit suum ad usuram.

<4.1> A dyabolo igitur accipit ad usuram cum delectatur 105
in peccato et consentit. De hoc igitur in Ps.: *scrutetur*
feneratur omnem substantiam suam et decipiant alieni labores eius.
Non sit illi adiutor homo qui peccat mortaliter et in eo
moritur cum non habeat nisi corpus et animam totum
perdit. Totum accipit dyabolus loco usure pro peccato, 110
numquam enim dedit homo nec accepit rem aliquam ad
usuram tantam quia non potest trahi ad finem et nimis est
cara. Alie usure, quantumcumque magis, possunt uenire ad
finem, non ista. Quia anima in eternum cruciabitur,
similiter et corpus nam tormenta patietur et pro omnibus 115
deliciis de mundo non haberent guttam aque ad
refrigerandum linguam. Exemplum de diuite epulone Luc.
.xvi.. Et sic tota substantia corpus et anima possessiones
uadunt in ista usura etiam si unum solum peccatum
mortale, una hora sola, homo fecisset de quo non soluisset 120
emendam. Item quandoque homo amittit omnia sua sed
fortis est et laborat et sic per acta recuperat per labores suos

90/92 benefac – Domino] Cfr Eccl. 12, 2 106/107 scrutetur – eius] Cfr Ps. 108, 11
117/118 Luc xvi] Cfr Luc. 16

90 debitorem se] se debitorem L1 M1 M2 P1 W1 se] om. Me Ta 91 inuenies]
inueniet P1 95 distinguit] dicit M2 Me Ta 104 suum] om. P1 W1 107 decipiant]
diripiant Me 108 qui] cum Me P1 Ta W1 122 per acta] perdit P1

sed dicitur hoc : *diripiant alieni labores eius*. Unde omnia bona que fecit et que facere potest non ualebunt ei ad salutem si
 125 in uno peccato mortali decedat. Hoc dicit Dominus Eze.
.xviii. : si auerterit se iustus a iustitia sua et fecerit iniquitatem omnes iustitie quas fecerit non recordabuntur in peccato suo morietur et cetera.

Item plus est etiam quod me terret. Uidi aliquando
 130 quando homo per insipientiam suam perdidit omnia sua quod amici et parentes qui auxiliarentur ei et sic restituitur. Sic si homo posset adiuuari post mortem aliquid esset sed nec angelis nec omnes sancti Dei possent eum adiuuare unde dicit : *non sit illi adiutor*. Ego uellem posuisse de
 135 omnibus membris meis de quibus habeo duo unum et omnes bene scirent in quantis usuris se ponunt cum peccant mortaliter, certus sum quod nullus peccaret. Si homo haberet pulchram hereditatem quam pater suus cum magno labore acquisiuisset ei multum odiret illud per quod
 140 illam amitteret. Karissimi iste mundus non est hereditas nostra quia nullus in eo moratur sed omnis moriuntur. Infernus hereditas est malorum et paradysus bonorum hunc acquisiuit Pater noster Christus magnis laboribus in die magni ueneris et facta hereditate nihil aufert nisi
 145 peccatum nec latro nec hostis deberet ergo multum illud odire.

<5> Precipue tria peccata auferunt paradysum sicut dicit apostolus Eph. .vi. : *hoc autem scitote intelligentes quod omnis fornicator aut immundus aut auarus quod est ydolorum seruitus non*
 150 *habet partem in regno Dei et Christi* et hic peccat tripliciter in corpore scilicet hic est *fornicator*; corde scilicet hic est *immundus*; manu *auarus*.

<5.1> Peccatum autem corporis siue carnis duplex est quoddam dicitur adulterium aliud simplex fornicatio.

123 diripiant – eius] Ps. 108, 11 **126/127** si – morietur] Cfr Ez. 18, 24 **134** non – adiutor] Ps. 108, 12 **148/150** hoc – Christi] Cfr Eph. 5, 5

123 diripiant] discipiant L1 **125** decedat] discedat Me P1 Ta W1 **129** me terret] meteret M2 Ta **131** amicij] amicos Me P1 Ta W1 qui] om. P **132** homo posset] posset homo M1 **137** nullus] nullis M2 **139** ei] enim P1 **142** hereditas est] est hereditas M2 P1 Ta W1 hereditas] om. Me **144** ueneris] feneris L1 M1 M2 P1 W1 **150** peccat] peccatum P **151** scilicet¹] quia P1 corde] sorde L1 M2 P1 W1

<5.1.1> Adulterium est cum alterius uxore uel marito et hoc peccatum est maximum et quare non dicitis quod non est maius peccatum quam exhereditare hominem. Et tale peccatum facit mulier adulterans quia filius suus adulter hereditatem filiorum proprii mariti legitimorum consequitur uiciis uel ignorantibus illis. Sed non minus peccat uir quam mulier predicto casu excepto. Probatio uidi scriptum in libro Augustini de adulterio exemplum tale. Si duo pugiles pugnent in duello quorum unus senex debilis et infirmus alius sit iuuenis fortis et sanus et iste uincatur magis est uituperandus quam primus. Femmina est debilior et fragilior uiro unde .i. Pe .iii. quasi: <i>uiri cohabitantes secundum scientiam quasi infirmiori uasculo mulieri impartientes honorem</i> et ideo uir dicitur magis uituperari si adulteratur quam mulier.	155
<5.1.2> Fornicatio simplex est peccatum quod cum soluta extranea perpetratur. De hiis duobus dicit apostolus ad Hebreos .xiii.: <i>fornicatores et adulteros iudicabit Deus</i> propter quod hoc peccatum odiendum est. Unde Dauid: <i>quoniam iniquitatem meam ego cognosco et peccatum meum</i> et cetera. Nec mirum est pro Deo ne aliquis ita in insanus uel stultus qui si staret ad hostium et uideret ribaldum petentem hospitium, qui si hospitaretur interficeret eum, qui eum in hospitio suo reciperet uel domum combureret uel furaretur thesaurum et omnia sua consumeret eum hospitio reciperet? Credo quod non. Huius ribaldus est peccatum quod receptum animam occidit, spoliatur omnibus bonis gratuitis et domum anime	160 165 170 175 180

166/168 uiri – honorem] I Petr. 3, 7 172 fornicatores – Deus] Hebr. 13, 4
173/174 quoniam – meum] Ps. 50, 5

162 libro] Augustinus, *De coniugiis adulterinis*, 2, 11 PL 40, col. 478

156 hoc] om. P1 non¹ – quod] dictus M2 non dicitis] disitis M1] dictus P1 non¹
om. L1 Me Ta 157 peccatum] om. P1 159 hereditatem] hereditatem suam Me
160 uiciis] insciis Me Ta 165 Femmina] femina M2 Me Ta 165/166 debilior –
fragilior] fragilior et debilior M2 Me Ta 166 cohabitantes] cohereditantes M2
168 dicitur] debet Me P1 Ta W1 172 adulteros] adulatores L1 M1 173 quoniam]
om. L1 M1 M2 Me Ta 174 et¹ – meum] om. L1 175 ne aliquis] hoc Ta ne] hoc L1
M1 P1 W1 in] om. L1 M1 Me Ta 177 eum²] om. P 179 eum – reciperet] om. P
eum] eum in M2 181 domum] donum Me

scilicet conscentiam Dei habitaculum consumit et comburit.

<5.2> Secundo est peccatum cordis scilicet immunditia
 185 et qui immundi sunt Domini uidere non possunt. Unde
 non regnabunt cum eo Luc. .v.: *beati mundo corde quoniam* et
 cetera. Oculus lippus non potest solem uidere nec
 immundus corde, unde nec Deus ponit in eo gratiam suam.
 Multi petunt gratiam Dei sed per fidem quam debet non
 190 infunderet nisi cor esset mundum. Uideo quod homo non
 poneret uinum in uitro in quo uideret feces donec
 mundaretur nec ancilla ferret cadum uel ollam ad uinum
 donec lauaretur ergo et cetera. Unde Dominus Ysa.:
mundamini qui fertis uasa Domini.

<5.3> Tertium peccatum est auaritia sed quid est esse
 195 auarus? Mundus reputat illum esse auarum quem Deus
 habet pro largo et e contrario. Quando homo monet alios
 ire ad tabernam dicens: uenite bibamus, dabo uobis potum
 uini de auantagio, dicitur quod largus est sed Deus habet
 200 eum pro auaro. Sed si uoluerit ire dicens malo bibere cum
 uxore mea et liberis in domo mea, dicitur quod iste est
 munda una non auderet expendere unum denarium et dicit
 mundus quod iste nihil ualet et Deus tenet eum pro ualente
 et largo. Quia quando homo nichil habet de malo acquisito
 205 nec tenet sua facit Dei uoluntatem, si pauperibus secundum
 posse suum erogat et parte propter Deum uiuit tunc dicit
 Deus quod est largus. Sed quando frangit festa cupiditate
 acquirendi pauperes opprimit. Quando per peccatum
 congregat et contra Deum retinet dicitur iudicio Dei esse
 210 auarus. Non est ergo feneratus Domino sed feneratur
 Domino qui miseretur pauperis unde exemplum quod uidi
 scriptum in quoddam libro. In quadam bona uilla fuit

186 beati – quoniam] Matth. 5, 8 194 mundamini – Domini] Is. 52, 11

185 non] om. M2 189 debet] debeo M2 Me Ta 195 peccatum est] est peccatum
 M1 est] om. M2 197/198 alios ire] ire alios M1 Me P1 200 si] si quis M2 Me P1 Ta
 W1 malo] malum M1 202 munda] merda M2 Me Ta et] om. L1 M1 M2 Me Ta
 205 facit] contra L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 208 per] om. M2

quidam auarus nomine Petrus Theolenarius qui multa male
 acquisiuerat crudelis pauperibus. Tempore cuiusdam
 caristie pauperes de circumstantibus uillis confluebant ad
 illam uillam, in domo illius diuitis, nihil potuerunt habere
 nec tunc nec alias. Quadam die dum ante horam petendi
 iuxta murum ad solem sederent exquirentes suas uestes pro
 uermibus et pediculis. Querebat unus ab alio magis
 elemosinarios et dixit unus Dominus illius loci, dixit alius
 scio quod non est aliquis qui possit ab eo aliquid impetrare.
 Et dixit alius se esse unum de melioribus christianis et
 elemosinariis quos inuenerat nec tamen aliquid ab eo
 numquam poterat impetrare. Alius quidem ponens omnes
 petias panis quas habebat contra petias illius quod aliquis
 impetraret quo facto iuit ad ianuam diuitis et inueniens
 clausam. Post portatores paste ad furnum, cum redirent
 cum pane intrauit cum illis quem uidens diues uocans eum
 latronem. Iratus nec inueniens prope se petram uel
 baculum, accepit panem unum in cophino et iecit post
 capud pauperis. Accipiens pauper panem fugiens abiit et sic
 probauit se lucratum esse petias panis socii sui. Tandem
 diues infirmatus est cumque a sacerdote et aliis moueretur
 corrigere uitam suam et confiteri nihil facere uoluit et
 perdidit usum loquae per angustia morbi et raptus est in
 extasi. Respiciens autem uidit demones super domum
 expectantes animam suam letanter et gaudentes et ex alia
 parte domus bonos angelos. Demones rogauerunt bonos

213/268 Petrus – dimisit] Exemplum Tubach 3727
<http://lodel.ehess.fr/gahom/thema/index.php?id=4054&lq=it>
<http://lodel.ehess.fr/gahom/thema/index.php?id=6956&lq=i>

213 nomine – Theolenarius] *om.* L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 **218** sederent] sederet
 Me suas] sericas Me P1 Ta W1 **220** dixit alius] diaboli L1 M1 M2 Me P1] *om.* Ta
221 scio] scito L1 Ta] cito W1 aliquis] aliquid P1 **222** alius] *om.* P1 W1 esse]
omne M2 **223** elemosinariis] petentibus L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 **224** quidem]
 quidam M2 ponens] poneret L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 **225** aliquis] aliquid Me]
 aliquid ab eo Ta **228** cum pane] *om.* M2 Me P1 Ta W1 **231** Accipiens] accipietis Me
 pauper – fugiens] panem fugiens pauper L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 **233** est –
 sacerdote] citra sacerdotem L1 M1 Me P1 Ta W1 aliis] alios L1 M1 Me P1 Ta W1
235 per] pre L1 M1 Me Ta 235/236 et – extasi] *om.* L1 M1 Me P1 Ta W1 **237** ex]
om. M2 **238/239** Demones – angelos] *om.* W1

angelos recedere quia nihil ibi habebant. Respondebant
 240 quod non irent pro eis sicut nec uenerant. Tunc dyaboli
 ponentes omnia mala diuitis in statura ex una parte et angeli
 bona ex alia et si mala preponderent nostrum est et
 dixerunt angeli iustum est hoc. Tunc dyaboli posuerunt
 furta, usuras, falsa iuramenta et huius in tanta copia quod
 245 uidebatur turris esse. Angeli boni uidentes quod nihil boni
 habebant ponere. Quod si aliquod bonum opus fecerat hoc
 erat mala intentione. Quia tunc dolens unus quesiiuit ab alio
 angelo si sciret aliquod bonum. Respondit quod non nisi
 panis quem iratus iecerat post capud pauperis. Tunc dixit
 250 ponamus ergo et ualeat quod ualeat. Tunc panis apponitus
 ex Dei misericordia qui uolebat illum saluum fieri
 preponderauit omnibus malibus. Hoc uidens diues cogitauit
 intra se quod si panis proiectus in capud Domini
 preponderabat quem ipse ita dederat mala intentione.
 255 Multo plus ponderasset si bona intentione dedisset et
 cogitauit quod omnia pro Deo pauperibus elemosinas
 petentibus erogaret pauperibus. Qui postea conualescens et
 sanus effectus omnia sua pauperibus erogauit. Ita quod
 disposuerat quod omni petenti se quamdiu posset pro Deo
 260 daret. Tandem quedam mulier cuius filius debebat suspendi
 pro delicto suo et non habebat unde illum redimeret, uenit
 ad illum rogans quod daret ei aliquid quo filium suum
 posset redimere. Iste compatiens mulieri dixit quod omnia
 preter corpus sua dederat. Uolebat se exponere pro filio
 265 suo et cum uenisset coram preposito ille optulit se pro filio
 mulieris. Prepositus misericordia motus attendens quod ille
 fuerat in seculo magnus et potens et nunc est misericors et
 pius pro Deo, utrumque liberum dimisit. Nec intelligatis

241 ponentes] ponantur M2 Me P1 W1] ponatur Ta et angelij] om. M2
 241/242 angeli – et¹] om. Me 241 angelij] om. P1 Ta W1 242 et²] om. Me Ta
 244 falsa] om. M2 245 esse] iuxta L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 246 habebant]
 haberent L1 M1 M2 Me Ta Quod] quia M2 Me P1 Ta W1 247 Quia] om. L1 M1 M2
 Me P Ta W1 249 panis] panem Me P1 Ta W1 250 apponitus] om. Me P1 Ta W1
 252 malibus] om. P1] malis Me Ta W1 256 pauperibus] om. Me 257 petentibus]
 acceptanti Me Ta pauperibus] om. P 257/258 conualescens – effectus] sanus
 factus L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 260 debebat] om. M1 262 quod] om. Me 264 sua]
 bona sua L1] omnia sua M1 M2 265 preposito] proposito M2 P] proposuit W1
 266 Prepositus] propositus M2 267 est] om. P

bone gentes quod ille panis preponderasset omnibus
 malibus diuitis illius quia bonum opus fecisset sic dando
 quod non sit eo quod in peccato et non extra erat. Sed sola
 Dei misericordia hoc fecit et panis fuit quasi signum uel
 occasio monstrans quod opus misericordie quando fit sic
 debet fieri in caritate ut preponderat omnibus peccatis
 hominis. Rogamus Dominum et cetera.

270

275

269 bone gentes] *om. L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1* 269/270 omnibus malibus] malis
M2 Me P1 Ta W1 **271** et non] non et *Me P1* **274** fieri] et *M2*] etiam *Me*] *om. Ta* ut]
om. Me Ta **275** Rogamus] nos rogabimus *L1 M1 M2 MeTa* et cetera] *om. L1 M1 M2*
Me P1 Ta W1

Sermo XXI

Sermon *de sancta Catharina*, S85, RLS 203.

Base ms.: *P*, ff. 183va-185ra.

- 5 Collated mss.: *L1*, ff. 282ra-284ra ; *M1*, ff. 405va-407rb ;
M2, ff. 197v-199v ; *Me*, ff. 205ra-206va ; *P1*, ff. 158rb-
159vb ; *Ta*, ff. 184rb-185vb ; *W1*, ff. 281vb-284rb.

Deuorauit uirga Aaron uirgas eorum

- 10 Id est sapientum Egipti et maleficorum. Exo. .vii. dicitur
uulgariter ky Dex ueut aider nus ne li puet nuire. Ps.:
Dominus mihi adiutor et ego despiciam inimicos meos. Et ideo quia
Dominus adiuuit sanctam Katerinam contra sapientes
Grecie, non potuerunt sibi nocere, et notatur in dictis
15 uerbis.

<1> Per uirgam Aaron sapientia Christi notatur,

<2> per uirgas magorum sapientia mundi, secundum
glossam.

- Uirga ergo Aaron deuorauit uirgas eorum quando beata
20 Katerina per sapientiam Christi philosophos conuertit in
quibus erat sapientia mundi. Et hoc est quod dicit Dominus
Eze. .iii.: *ut adamantem dedi te*. Adamas attrahit ad se ferrum
et non attrahitur. Ideo Iere. .xv.: *Ipsi conuertentur ad te et non*
conuerteris ad eos. Et sic conueniunt festo hodierno dicta
25 uerba in quibus spiritus describit sapientiam Christi
tripliciter.

Sermo XXI, 9 Deuorauit – eorum] Ex. 7, 12 **12** Dominus – meos] Ps. 117, 7
22 ut – te] Ez. 3, 9 **23/24** Ipsi – eos] Ier. 15, 19

Sermo XXI, 11 ky – nuire] Cfr Morawski 440 **18** glossam] Martin Morard et alii,
ed., *Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina* (Ex. 7, 12), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*,
IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 29/08/2022. (Permalink :
http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GL_OSS-liber04.xmlchapitre=04_7)

Sermo XXI, 10 Egipti] Egypti *W1* **11** ky] ki *L1 M1 Me Ta* Dex] Deu *P1*] Deus *L1*
M1 M2 Me Ta W1 li] om. *L1* puet] poet *M2* **12** adiutor] om. *Me* et – meos] om.
W1] et cetera *Ta* **14** et] quod *L1 M1 P1 W1* **19** ergo] autem *P* **20** conuertit]
conuertat *W1* **22** Adamas] Adamos *M1* **25** spiritus] ipse *P* describit] discribit *M2*

<1.1> Primo describit eius uirtutem, ibi: *uirga*. Uirga enim secundum Ysidorum dicitur a uirtute eo quod habet uirtutem ibi magna enim uirtus que solo uisu fecundat. Sicut puer ex uirge uibratione uadit ad librum et concipit bonum, sic multi peccatores ex Sacre Scripture predicatione. Gen. .x.: Iacob *decorticaui uirgas ex parte* ad quarum aspectus oues uarios fetus concipiebant, id est uirtutum uarietatem. 30

<1.2> Secundo commendat eius dignitatem, ibi: *Aaron*. Non enim decet quemlibet uirgam portare, sed nobiles; sic nec Sacram Scripturam predicare nisi uita eminentes. Aaron enim interpretatur montanus ut ascendat in montem Domini qui est Sinai. Numeri .xvii.: Dominus reprobauit uirgas aliorum; uirgam autem Aaron approbavit eam faciens fructificare. 35 40

<1.3> Tertio describit eius effectus utilitatem, ibi: *deuorauit uirgas*. Uirga enim excutit uermes et puluerem de panno ideo Prou. xxii.: *stultitia colligata est in corde pueri et uirga discipline fugabit eam*. 45

Et nota quod triplex est uirga. Utimur enim uirga ad quatuor:

- <1.1.1> ad sustentandum ut uiatores,
- <1.1.2> ad flagellandum ut correctores,
- <1.1.3> ad ostendendum ut prepositi et magnates,
- <1.1.4> ad metiendum ut negotiatores. 50

<1.1.1> Secundum quod uirga utimur ad sustentandum, dicitur uirga potestas accipiendi necessaria. Mt. .vi.: *precepit eis ne quid tollerent in uia nisi uirgam tantum*, id est ut nisi

32 decorticaui – parte] Gen. 30, 37, 39 39 Numeri xvii] Cfr Num. 17, 6-10
44/45 stultitia – eam] Prou. 22, 15 53/54 precepit – tantum] Marc. 6, 8

27/29 Uirga – uirtutem] Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX*, 17, 6, 18, PL 82, c. 608 53 uirga – necessaria] Martin Morard, ed., Hugo de Sancto Caro. Postilla in totam Bibliam (Mc. 6, 8), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 29/08/2022. (Permalink : http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/hug/GLOSS-hug56.xmlchapitre=56_6)

27 describit] describit M2 30 concipit] concepit W1 31 peccatores] peccatorum P1 W1 32 decorticaui] decorticaui M1 Me Ta 37 nec] add. P 44 ideo] add. P 53 Mt vi] .viii. L1] Matt. .viii. M1 M2 Me Ta] .iiii. W1

55 necessaria acciperent in hoc mundo in quo sumus ut uiatores. Uiatori enim quatuor sunt necessaria que sunt necessaria cuilibet in hoc mundo quia omnes sumus uiatores.

<1.1.1.1> Primo, per que sit uia inquirat: est enim
60 biuiosa.

<1.1.1.2> Secundo, quod caute ponat pedem: est enim periculosa.

<1.1.1.3> Tertio, quod expedite uadat: est enim longa.

<1.1.1.4> Quarto, quod secum pauca accipiat: est enim
65 arcta uia.

<1.1.1.1> Debet enim primo inquirere de uia quousque ueniat ad iter furcatum. Sic est quod in hoc mundo ex una parte est uia cupiditatis, ex alia carnalitatis, ex alia dignitatis, ex alia tribulationis et paupertatis. Et ideo querendum est
70 que sit uia harum recta. Ier. .vi. : *interrogate de semitis antiquis que sit uia bona et ambulate in ea*. Dicitur enim ke les uieles uoies doit l'en tenir, id est exempla antiquorum, non modernorum; ideo dicit: *de semitis antiquis*. Et nota quod peregrini uias ubi sunt cruce et acerui lapidum tenent, alias
75 dimittunt; sic uie austeritatis tenende sunt quia recta est uia. Act. : *per multas enim tribulationes enim oportet intrare in regnum celorum*. Uie ergo luxurie et cupiditatis dimittende sunt. Mt. .x. : *In uiam gentium ne abieritis*. Nota quod mirabiliter est culpandus qui scienter uiam prauam et distortam uadit et
80 rectam dimittit; sic multi peccatores scienter peccant, scientes quod uiam tortam incedunt. Iude .i. : *ue hiis qui uiam Chaym incedunt et mercede Balaam effusi sunt*. Chaym enim ex certa malitia fratrem occidit, et Balaam, sciens et prudens ut

70/71 interrogate – ea] Ier. 6, 16 76/77 per – celorum] Act. 14, 21 78 In – abieritis] Matth. 10, 5 81/82 ue – sunt] Cfr Iudae 1, 11

71/72 ke – tenir] Cfr Morawski prouerb 1237

56/57 que – necessaria] om. W1 57/58 quia – uiatores] om. L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 61 ponat pedem] pedem ponat Me P1 Ta W1 65 arcta] arcta M2 P1 Ta] archa W1 uia] om. L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 69 et] om. Me Ta 70 harum recta] recta harum L1 M1 M2 Me Ta 71 uieles] uieles L1] uieles M1 Me Ta] uies W1 72 uoies] uoies M1 len] sen L1 76 enim] om. L1 M1 M2 Me Ta

ipse confitetur. Numeri xxii Balaam enim a uia ueritatis declinauit et cupiditate uictus consilium prauum dedit.

85

<1.1.1.2> Secundo debet pedem caute ponere quia uia periculosa. Plenus enim est mundus laqueis dyaboli uel pedicis. Ps.: *in uia hac qua ambulabam absconderunt superbi laqueum mihi*; et ideo dum uiator scit laqueum uel pedicam esse in uia, diligenter attendit ne ponat pedem in laqueo uel pedica. Sic in omnibus que agimus cauendum est ne peccemus; si comedimus, quod non est ad delectationem sed ad necessitatem; si dormimus, non ut carnem nutriamus, sed ut Deo melius seruiamus, et cetera. Eph. .vi. : *uidete quomodo caute ambuletis*.

90

95

<1.1.1.3> Tertio expedite debet ire quia uia est longa: multum enim distat celum a terra. Prou. .vii. de Christo quando iuit ad celum dicitur : *abiit uiam longissimam*. Et ideo uiator quando habet uiam longam ire et parum temporis expedite uadit et non sistit in taberna nec alibi; sic nec standum est in mundanis, sed cito ad Deum per penitentiam currendum est. Luc. .x. : *neminem salutaueritis in uia*, id est nullius rei amore familiaritatis adhereatis ne impediamini ire ad Deum.

100

<1.1.1.4> Quarto non debet secum multa accipere quia arcta est uia. Quadriga enim honusta non bene uadit per semitam strictam, sed dicitur Mt. .iiii. : *arcta est uia que ducit ad uitam*. Ideo dicitur Marc. .vi. quod : *nichil tollent in uia nisi uirgam*, id est necessaria tantum acciperent. Unde Apoc. .xii. : *mulier amicta sole habebat lunam sub pedibus*, id est ad sustentationem temporalia accipiebat. Sed nota quod multi habent longam uiam qui pro modica infirmitate diutius

105

110

84 Numeri xxii] Cfr Num. 22-24 **88/89** in – mihij Ps. 139, 6 **95** uidete – ambuletis] Eph. 5, 15 **98** abiit – longissimam] Prou. 7, 19 **102/103** neminem – uia] Luc. 10, 4 **107/108** arcta – uitam] Matth. 7, 14 **108/109** nichil – uirgam] Marc. 6, 8 **110** mulier – pedibus] Apoc. 12, 1

84 Balaam enim] om. L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta **85** cupiditate] cupiente M1 **89** scit] si scit P1 **92** ad] in P1 **93** si] se P1 **94** sed] sic W1 **98** ad] in M2 Et] om. M2 Me P1 Ta W1 **99** temporis] temporibus P1 **100** alibi] alter M1 **103** nullius] nulli M2 Me P1 Ta W1 **104** ire – Deum] ad Deum ire L1 **108** tollent] tollerent P1] tollens W1

uolunt recreari, quidam graue qui melius procurantur; ideo
I Thi. .vi. : *habentes alimenta*, et cetera.

- 115 <1.1.2> Item utimur uirga ad corripiendum, ut prelati et
doctores, sic dicitur uirga correctionis. Prou. .xxix. : *uirga et
correctio, tribuit sapientiam*, sed sepe fit quod puer odit uirgam
et tamen sibi proficit, sic multi increpationes et tamen
prosunt. Prou. .xxii. : *noli subtrahere a puero disciplinam; si enim*
120 *eum percusseris uirga non morietur, tu percuties eum uirga et animam
eius liberabis de inferno*. Uidetur enim uirga torta in aqua et
tamen ita non est. Ps. : *uirga directionis uirga regni tui*. Et nota
quod quatuor sunt in usu istius uirge.

- <1.1.2.1> Primo quis utitur, quod sit sapiens: baculus in
125 manu stulti periculosus est. Numeri .xxiii. : *orietur stella ex
Iacob et uirga consurget in Israel*.

<1.1.2.2> Secundo qua intentione utitur. Lignum enim
male radicum non fructificat. Ysa. .xi. : *egredietur uirga de
radice Iesse*, et cetera.

- 130 <1.1.2.3> Tertio quomodo utitur. Non enim carnifices
sed pastores et medici instituuntur secundum Augustinum.
Ps. : *uisitabo in uirga iniquitates eorum et in uerberibus peccata
eorum* et cetera. Ideo Exo. .xxi. : *qui percusserit seruum uel
ancillam uirga et cetera, si mortuus fuerit, criminis reus erit*.

- 135 <1.1.2.4> Quarto in quos utitur. Qui enim plus bibit
uinum plus soluere debet, et obstinatus plus debet corrigi
quam ille qui non est. Ysa. .xxviii. : *in uirga excucietur gyth*, et
cetera.

- <1.1.3> Item utitur ad significandum ut prepositi et
140 nobiles, sic crux Christi. Hester .iii. Assuerus habebat in
manu *uirgam auream*, id est crucis passionem et caritatem, et

114 habentes alimenta] I Tim 6, 8 116/117 uirga² – sapientiam] Prou. 29, 15
119/121 noli – inferno] Prou. 23, 13-14 122 uirga¹ – tui] Ps. 44, 7
125/126 orietur – Israel] Num. 24, 17 128/129 egredietur – Iesse] Is. 11, 1
132/133 uisitabo – eorum] Ps. 88, 33 133/134 qui – uirga] Ex. 21, 20 137 in –
gyth] Is. 28, 27 141 uirgam auream] Cfr Hest. 4, 11

113 recreari] recreare M2 115 utimur] utamur Me corripiendum] cor. corrigendum
L1 118 multi] multum Me increpationes] crepationes Me 120 eum percusseris]
percusseris eum M2 Me P1 Ta W1 132/133 eorum – eorum] om. Ta 132 eorum]
om. Me 133 percusserit] percussit Me 135/136 plus – uinum] bibit plus uini M2
Me Ta 137 gyth] gith L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1

solum intuebatur ad quos uirgam extendebat in signum *clementie*; sic qui passionem eius tangunt imitando saluabuntur. Eze. .iiii. : *qui habebant signum thau liberati sunt*, sicut domus templariorum et religiosorum propter signum crucis. Et nota quod illius : *uirge summitatem osculata est* Hester, id est finem penitentie; et licet actus durus et amarus sit, tamen finis gloriosus est. Unde fructus a Domino appellatur quia primo sunt acerbi, postea dulces et delicioſi. Mt. .iiii. : *facite dignos fructus penitentie*. Exemplum de parturiente et partu Io. .xvi. : *mulier cum parit* etc. Nota quod quatuor in hac uirga sunt attendenda: quia est consolatiua, illuminatiua, accensiua, prouocatiua.

<1.1.3.1> Consolatiua ad patienter sustinendum. Consideratio enim passionis Christi inter passiones huius mundi consolatur. Ps. : *uirga tua et baculus tuus ipsa me consolata sunt*. Nimietas enim doloris in capite uel in corde obliuisci facit paruum dolorem digiti. Exo. .xv. : *lignum dulcorauit aquas*.

<1.1.3.2> Item illuminatiua ad uerum cognoscendum. .I. Regum .xiiii. : *Ionathas uirga sua quam tenebat in manu tetigit fauum et gustauit et illuminati sunt oculi eius*. Fauus ubi est cera et mel, Christus ubi est deitas et humanitas, uirga passio Christi. Qui ergo considerat quantum Christus passus est, gustat masticando et meditando, illuminatur ad cognoscendum quantum oportet ipsum pati si uult saluari. Extraneus enim ueniens in tabernam si uidet indigenas uinum emere ad duos solidos discet quantum ipsum oportet soluere si uult de uino gustare. Ps. : *disciplina tua ipsa me docebit*. Fel Tobiam illuminauit, quem stercora hyrundinum calida excecauerant.

<1.1.3.3> Item accensiua ad Deum diligendum. ludicum .vi. : *angelus uirga tetigit carnes* et sacrificium *et accendit ignis* etc. Non enim est lignum ita frigidum uel aquosum quin

144 qui – sunt] Ez. 9, 4-6 146 uirge – est] Hest. 5, 2 150 facite – penitentie] Matth. 3, 8 151 mulier – parit] Ioh. 16, 21 156/157 uirga – sunt] Ps. 22, 4 158/159 lignum – aquas] Ex. 15, 25 161/162 Ionathas – eius] I Reg. 14, 27 169/170 disciplina – docebit] Ps. 17, 36 173 angelus – ignis] Iud. 6, 21

161 Ionathas] Ozias P 168 uinum] unum L1 M1 discet] dicet M2 171 hyrundinum] hirundinum Ta W1 174 enim est] est enim M2 Me Ta

175 succendatur si ponatur in fornace, nec cor ita tepidum in amore Dei, si ipsum ponatur in fornace, id est consideret quantum amauit nos Christus in passione, quod non accendatur ad Deum diligendum. Ps. : *carbones succensi sunt ab eo*.

180 <1.1.3.4> Item prouocatiua ad lugendum. Numeri .xx. : *cum eleuasset manum, percussit uirga bis silicem et fluxerunt aque largissime*. Uirga crux Christi in qua duo ligna quasi bis percussit. Intuitio synapis attrite prouocat ad fletum. De Christo autem dicitur Mt. .xiii. quod est granum synapis quod est *minimum omnibus* oleribus. Glossa: pro scandalo crucis consideremus eius confusionem et mirum est si non lugeamus compaciendo, condolendo. Unde dicitur quod Adam et Eua Abel planxerunt centum annis quia ipsi fuerant causa sue mortis. Et certe plora quantumcumque
185 poteris, sustine, dole, non uenies ad centesimam partem que Christus pro te sustinuit. Ps.: *in diluuio aquarum multarum ad eum non approximabunt*.

<1.1.4> Item utitur uirga ad metiendum panni uenales mensurantur uirga et terrarum partes; sic est exemplum
195 sanctorum uirga. Apoc. .xi. : *datus est mihi calamus similis uirge et dictum est mihi: Surge, metire templum et altare et adorantes in eo*, id est prelatos et contemplatiuos antiquos, et si hoc facerent confunderetur quilibet status contraria enim iuxta se et cetera. Turpitudine enim iuxta pulcritudinem plus
200 confunditur, paruitas iuxta magnitudinem et quilibet defectus iuxta suum oppositum plus apparet. Eze. .xliii. : *tu*

178/179 carbones – eo] Ps. 17, 9 **181/182** cum – largissime] Cfr Num. 20, 11
185 minimum omnibus] Matth. 13, 32 **191/192** in – approximabunt] Ps. 31, 6
195/196 datus – eo] Apoc. 11, 1 **201/204** tu – fecerunt] Ez. 43, 10-11

185/186 pro – crucis] Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina (Mt. 13, 32), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 29/08/2022. (Permalink : http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GL-OSS-liber55.xmlchapitre=55_13). **198** contraria – se] Thomas Aquinas, Quaestiones I^a-II^ae q. 48 a. 3 arg. 3; Aristoteles, Rhetorica, III, 17, 1418b 3-4. Cfr ms. Paris BnF lat. 16673, f. 145ra.

178 succensi] successi M1 178/179 ab eo] et cetera L1 W1 **183** synapis] synadis M1 **190** sustine] sustinere Me **197** et³] om. Me Ta

autem, fili, ostende domui Israel templum et confundantur ab omnibus iniquitatibus suis, metiantur fabricam et erubescant ex omnibus que fecerunt. Et nota quod dicit *atrium quod est foris ne metiaris*, id est non consideres uitam malorum ut tu excuses et eos imiteris. Uerax exemplum queris et bonum ad corrigendum librum tuum, unde in ueteri lege filii Israel qui Domino offerebant pondere sanctuarii mensurabant; sed II Regum .xiii.: Absalom *pondere publico capillos suos ponderabat*, id est mundana secundum iudicium peccatorum estimabat, et cetera. Rogemus.

205

210

204 atrium – metiaris] Cfr Apoc. 11, 2 **209** pondere – ponderabat] Cfr II Reg. 14, 26

204 ne] non M2 Me Ta **209** id est] om. L1 M1 **210** secundum] hoc P
211 Rogemus] om. L1 M1 M2 MeTa

Sermo XXII

Sermon de sancto Petro ad vincula, S52, RLS 181.

Base ms.: P, ff. 185ra-187ra.

- 5 Collated mss.: L1, ff. 284ra-286vb; M1, ff. 407rb-409vb; M2, ff. 199v-202r; Me, ff. 206vb-209ra; P1, ff. 159vb-161vb; Ta, ff. 185vb-187vb; W1, ff. 284rb-287va.

Ipse liberauit me de laqueo uenantium Ps.

- 10 Quomodo conueniant uerba ista beato Petro cuius hodie festum celebrat ecclesia satis planum est. Hodie enim recolit ecclesia qualiter ipse ab Herode cathenatus et in carcere reclusus, diuina uisitatione per angelum de manu Herodis est liberatus sicut ipse dicebat Act. .xii.: *nunc scio*
15 *uere quia misit Dominus angelum suum et liberauit me de manu Herodis* et cetera. Unde in persona sua potest uere dicere ipse liberauit me et cetera. In quibus uerbis prout nostre instructioni competunt tria possunt considerari.

- 20 <1> Primum est benignitas miserantis quod notatur cum dicitur liberauit.

<2> Secundo est necessitas patientis cum dicitur me.

<3> Tertium est malignitas persequentis quod notatur cum dicitur de laqueo uenantium.

- Dicat ergo beatus Petrus et quilibet uestrum ipse liberauit
25 et cetera. Ut autem melius appareat benignitas miserantis.

- <3> Primo uideamus et consideremus malignitate persequentis. Ipse enim persecutor dyabolus designatur sub nomine uenatoris. Ipse enim Deus sub nomine liberatoris exprimitur. Homo uero iustus est qui liberatur. Dyabolus
30 enim bene sub nomine uenatoris designatur quia quamlibet animam ad mortem uenatur. Unde dicit Bernardus exponens illud Psalmum: *anima nostra sicut passer* et cetera.

Sermo XXII, 9 Ipse – uenantium] Ps. 90, 3 **14/16** nunc – Herodis] Act. 12, 11
32 anima – passer] Ps. 123, 7

Sermo XXII, 10 Quomodo] *om. P1* **12** Herode] *erro M1* **17** ipse] *instructionis P1*
et cetera] *om. Me* **21** Secundo] *secundum Ta*

Quid superbis homo factus es bestia cui uenande laquei
parantur. Demones enim uenatores sunt qui sonant cornu
ut audiantur sed sagittant in occultis immaculatum. 35
Consideranda est autem, et timenda, huius persecutoris
malignitas, opprimit enim per uiolentiam, seducit per
astutiam, incarcerat et captiuat per malitiam.

<3.1> Opprimit hominem per uiolentiam; ipse enim
potentissimus est nec est potestas super terram que ei 40
ualeat comparari. Ipse enim ad similitudinem uenatoris
materialis cum arcu et gladio bestiam, id est cuiuslibet iusti,
animam aggreditur ut uiolenter opprimat. Quid autem per
gladium per quem animam cuiuslibet dyabolus aggreditur
nisi mundana aduersitas designatur. Ipsa enim ut sepius ab 45
ipso aduersario cuiuslibet iusti anima uiolenter opprimitur.
Unde ipsa bene per arcum et gladium designatur quia per
ipsam uelud per gladium et arcum cuiuslibet animam
dupliciter aggreditur. Aggreditur enim ipsam quandoque
animam per occultam machinationem, per manifestam 50
impugnationem, per gladium enim qui de prope periuit in
manifesto et aperto. Aperte et manifesta impugnatio
signatur per arcum. Uero qui de longe et de occulto et
quando et unde ictus ueniat nescitur occulta machinatio
designatur et de istis dicitur in Ps.: *gladium euaginauerunt* 55
peccatores intenderunt arcum suum. Glossa Augustini gladium
euaginatam ecce aperta impugnatio, intenderunt arcum
ecce occulta impugnatio. Unde adaptat gladium euaginatam
ut trucidet rectos corde. Intenderunt arcum *ut decipiant*

55/56 gladium – suum] Ps. 36, 14

Sermo XXII, 33/34 Quid – parantur] Bernardus Claraevallensis, *PL* 183, col. 190d
56 Glossa] Martin Morard et alii, ed., *Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina* (Ps. 36, 14), in :
Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 29/08/2022.
(P e r m a l i n k :
http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GLOSS-liber26.xmlchapitre=26_36)

33 factus – bestia] bestia factus es *M2 Me* **35** immaculatum] immaculant *M2*
40 potentissimus] potissimus *L1* **47** arcum – gladium] gladium et arcum *M2 Me P1*
Ta W1 **49** enim] *om. P1* **50** animam] *om. M2 Me P1 Ta W1* **51** de] *om. L1 Ta W1*
periuit] perimit *M2 Me P1 Ta* 51/52 in – et²] *om. Ta* 51 in] et in *Me P1 W1*
52 aperto] aperta *L1* Aperte] aperta *L1 M1 M2 Me* **58** adaptat] et aptat *Ta*

60 *pauperes* et cetera. In quo ista duplex inpu gnatio ostenditur
 sic ergo opprimunt per uiolentiam unde signatur per
 Nemroth de quo dicitur Gen. .i. : *ipse cepit esse potens in terra et*
erat robustus uenator coram Domino et ut dicit glossa qui super
 naturam celum penetrare uoluit, signat dyabolum qui dixit
 65 ascendam in celum super astra celi et exaltata solia mea.
 Item ratione interpretationis nominis interpretatur enim
 tyrannus et Cassidiorus dixit quod tyrannus est qui etiam
 alienos seruos cogit sibi seruire. Unde ipse cepit esse potens
 in terra, id est per uiolentiam, cepit opprimere gentes ut sibi
 70 seruirent. Unde intelligit super illud erat robustus uenator id
 est oppressor hominum. Ipse enim hominem positum in
 paradyso quasi in garena Domini tamquam robustus
 uenator oppressit per uiolentiam.

<3.2> Item hominem seducit per astutiam, astutissimus
 75 enim est. Unde apostolus ad Corinthios : *timeo ne sicut serpens*
Euam seduxit astutia sua et cetera. Quasi dicat astutissimus
 est, uidens enim quod opprimere non potest per uiolentiam
 conuertit se ad astutias. Ad modum uenatoris materialis que
 tunc bestiam quem non potest ingredi cum gladio uel arcu
 80 insequitur cum cane uenatico. Per canem autem uenaticum
 qui latrando bestiam insequitur detrahentium et

62/63 ipse – Domino] Gen. 10, 8 65 ascendam – mea] Cfr Is. 14, 13
 75/76 timeo – sua] II Cor. 11, 3

63 glossa] Cfr Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina (Gn. 10, 8),
 in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 29/08/2022.
 (P e r m a l i n k :
[http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GL](http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GLOSS-liber03.xmlchapitre=03_10)
 OSS-liber03.xmlchapitre=03_10) 67/68 tyrannus² – seruire] Martin Morard, ed.,
 Hugo de Sancto Caro. Postilla in totam Bibliam (Sir. 11), in : *Glossae*
Scripturae Sacrae electronicae, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 29/08/2022. (Permalink :
[http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/hug/GL](http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/hug/GLOSS-hug32.xmlchapitre=32_11)
 OSS-hug32.xmlchapitre=32_11). The quote is apparently by Chrysostomus and not
 Cassiodorus

61 opprimunt] opprimunt L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta 62 ij .x. M2 Me P1 Ta W1
 64 naturam] istam M1 penetrare] perpetrare M1 65 solia] om. M1 P P1 66 enim]
 es Me 67 Cassidiorus] Cassio dum M1]Cassiodorus W1 dixit] dicit L1 Me Ta
 70/71 id – oppressor] repressorum L1 77 potest] potuit M2 78 que] qui M2 P1
 79 quem] que P1

malignantium loquacitas designatur. Uidens ergo dyabolus
 quia hominem per arcum et gladium id est per temporalem
 aduersitatem tamquam per uiolentiam, aggredi nequid ad
 ipsum per canem uenaticum id est per detrahentium et
 obloquentium linguas insequendum se conuertit. Unde ad
 modum uenatoris non tantum uno cane uenatico sed
 canum multitudine id est detractorum infinita multitudine
 obsidet et inpugnant Ps.: *circumdederunt me canes multi,*
concilium malignantium obsedit me. Glossa non pro ueritate sed
 pro consuetudine latrantes et mordentes ut canes Eccli.
 .xiii.: *que communicatio homini sancto ad canem? Aut que pars bona*
diuiti ad pauperem? Et uult dicere quod sicut canis
 indifferenter latrat et mordet sanctum hominem sicut
 malum. Ita detractor libenter immo libentius detrahit uiro
 religioso quam seculari potenti malo. Unde sequitur statim:
uenatio leonis onager in heremo. Onager in heremo est asinus
 siluestris per quem intelligitur religiosus in claustro, qui est
 uenatio leonis et detractoris qui signatur per leonem quia
 detractores facti sunt sine uerecundia et timore. Unde
 audaces sunt ad detrahendum sicut leones ad uenandum.
 Sic ergo insequitur hominis animam cum cane uenatico ad
 modum uenatoris ut ipsam per astutiam seducat, Gen. .iii.:
serpens erat callidior cunctis animantibus terre. Unde potest bene
 significari per Esau, de quo dicitur Gen. .xxv.: *factus est uir*
gnarus uenandi, id est habens astutias et exercitium uenatoris.

89/90 circumdederunt – me] Ps. 21, 17 92/93 que¹ – pauperem] Eccli. 13, 22
 97 uenatio – heremo¹] Eccli 13, 23 104 serpens – terre] Gen. 3, 1 105/106 xxv –
 gnarus] Gen. 25, 27

90 Glossa] Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina (Ps. 21, 17), in :
Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 29/08/2022.
 (P e r m a l i n k :
http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GLOSS-liber26.xmlchapitre=26_21) : “Augustinus, non pro ueritate sed pro consuetudine
 latrantes et mordentes.”

83 quia] quod P1 85 canem] carnem P1 85/86 detrahentium – obloquentium]
 detractorem et obsequium W1 86 linguas insequendum] om. W1 97 leonis]
 ornager P1 in¹ – Onager] om. W1 99 et] id est L1 M1 M2 101 leones] liones M2
 102 Sic] si P1 104 callidior] calidor Ta

<3.3> Sic captiuat et incarcerat per malitiam. Uidens enim quod non potest opprimere per uiolentiam nec seducere per astutiam, nititur incarcerare et captiuare per
 110 malitiam ad modum uenatoris. Uidens enim uenator quod non potest bestiam aggredi per arcum uel per gladium. Item quando non potest eam insequi per canem uenaticum conuertit se ad insidias tenendo peditam uel laqueum. Laqueus autem iste est mundana prosperitas quam
 115 tamquam laqueum tendit ut per eam hominis animam illaqueare et mactare possit Eccl. .xxvii.: *leo uenationi insidiatur* unde super illud Ps.: *anima nostra sicut passer* et cetera. Glossa Augustini uenantes sunt persequentes escam in muscipula dulcedo huius uite est. Esca ergo in muscipula
 120 ponitur eam per huius uite dulcedinem animam, Dyabolus in nequitiam trahere nititur. Sic capta erat illa anima que in Thren. dicebat: te permittite me uenatione quasi auem inimici mei gratis. Auis enim capitur laqueo grano apponito sic anima dulcedine temporalis prosperitatis. Et nota quod
 125 dicit gratis quia pro nihilo, nota quod omnes siue parui siue magni dum tamen pedem in isto laqueo ponant bene tenentur. Sic ergo nititur incarcerare per malitiam tendendo quem non potuit insequi per astutiam siue per canem uenaticum et quem non potuit per uiolentiam opprimere
 130 siue aggredi per gladium. In hoc ergo apparet malignitas persequentis que nobis designatur sub nomine uenationis uel uenatoris cum dicitur de laqueo uenantium.

<1> Attendamus postea benignitatem miserantis quia uidemus quod mirabiliter, liberaliter et sufficienter de

116/117 leo – insidiatur] Eccli. 27, 11 **117** anima – passer] Ps. 123, 7
122/123 uenatione – capitur] Cfr Thren. 3, 52

118 Glossa] Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina (Ps. 123, 7), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 29/08/2022. (P e r m a l i n k : http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GLOSS-liber26.xmlchapitre=26_123) : “Augustinus, Venantes sunt persequentes esca in muscipula dulcedo huius vite.” 118/121 Augustini – trahere] Cfr Augustinus, *Enarrationes in psalmos*, Psalmo 123, 11, PL 36, col. 1647

118 escam] esca Me Ta **122** uenatione] uenationi Me **129** potuit] ponit M1
130 ergo] om. P **131** nobis] non M2 **132** de] om. P1 **134** quod] om. Me

omnibus hiis liberauit nos Deus. Solet enim quid tripliciter liberari. Liberatur enim per uiolentiam oppressus aduersarii expugnatione, seductus siue deceptus per astutiam sue cause defensione incarceratus siue captiuus precii solutione et si bene aspicimus in hiis tribus apparuit benignitas et summa liberalitas Iesu Christi miserantis. Liberauit enim nos oppressos per uiolentiam aduersarium expugnando, nos seductos et deceptos per astutiam causam uestram defendendo, incarceratos et captiuos per malitiam pretium pro nobis persoluendo.	135
<1.1> In primo exhibuit se ut nostrum pugilem siue propugnatorem.	140
<1.2> In secundo se exhibuit ut nostrum aduocatum et intercessorem.	145
<1.3> In tertio se exhibuit ut nostrum redemptorem.	
In primo ostendit suam potentiam In secundo suam sapientiam. In tertio sue circa nos bonitatis affluentiam.	150
<1.1> Primo ergo nos liberauit tamquam pugil propugnator noster aduersarium suum pugnando unde Ysa .xix.: <i>clamabunt</i> , scilicet oppressi, <i>ad Dominum a facie tribulantis</i> , uidelicet uia persequentis, <i>et mittet eis saluatorem et propugnatorem qui liberet eos</i> et .lxiii. Ysa.: <i>ego sum propugnator ad succumbendum</i> quemcumque fuit etiam magnum et durum bellum fuit autem istud duellum ita crudele et asperum quod etiam ictuum magnitudine et sanguinis effusione post resurrectionem. Uidelicet in eius ascensione admorantes angeli et uestigia eius dicebant: <i>quare rubrum esse indumentum tuum et uestimenta tua quasi calcantium in torculari</i> et super <i>torcular calcaui solus</i> . Sic ergo fideliter propugnando pro nobis aduersarium nostrum expugnauit et sic ab eo contra quem preualere non poteramus nos liberauit quod attendens Dauid dicebat .ii. Regum .xxii.: <i>liberauit me ab inimico meo</i>	155
	160
	165

154/156 clamabunt – eos] Is. 19, 20 156/157 ego – succumbendum] Cfr Is. 63, 1
161/163 quare – solus] Cfr Is. 63, 2-3 166/167 liberauit – erant] II Reg. 22, 18

135 nos] eos Me 136 Liberatur] liberaturus P1 140 summa] summa sola M1
144 persoluendo] persequendo Me 151 circa – bonitatis] bonitatis circa nos M2
155 eis] eos Me 156 propugnatorem] pugnatorem M2 lxiii Ysa] Ysa .lxiii. M2 MeTa
158 autem] aut M1 159 effusione] effusionem M2 160 eius] eis P 161 quare]
quasi Me esse] est M2 P1 W1 166 ii] .i. M2

potentissimo et ab hiis qui oderant me quoniam robustiores me erant. Iste ergo fuit propugnator noster nec est alius qui pugnet pro nobis nisi tu Deus noster.

- 170 <1.2> Secundo nos liberauit tamquam aduocatus et intercessor nos deceptos et seductos per dyaboli astutiam causam nostram defendendo. Tali enim aduocato indigebamus qui causam nostram contra dyaboli astutiam per sui sapientiam posset defendere Eccli. .ix. : *inuentus est in*
 175 *ea uir pauper et sapiens qui liberauit ciuitatem per sapientiam. De hoc dicitur Ro. .viii. : ipsa creatura liberabitur a seruitute correctionis in liberalitatem filiorum glorie Dei* et hoc a filio Dei. Unde sequitur qui est ad dexteram Dei et ipse interpellat pro nobis et ibidem. Nam quid oremus sicut oportet
 180 nescimus. Ipse autem spiritus postulat pro nobis gemitibus in enarrationibus et in Io. .i. : *si peccauerimus aduocatus habemus apud patrem Iesum iustum et ipse est propitiatio pro peccatis nostris.* Nota iudicem habemus propicium et familiarem quoniam patrem et aduocatum habemus sapientem et iustum et
 185 aduersarium iniustum et inimicum iudicis. De isto dicitur Io. .viii. : *ueritas liberabit uos* id est ipse qui est ueritas liberabit nos. In ista est confidendum non in illis in quibus non est ueritas qui salarium accipiunt ab utraque parte . Nota de illo qui dixit quod uacca non permittebat bouem loqui.
 190 <1.3> Tertio quia captiuitati siue incarcerati per suam malitiam ab ipso tenebamur, ipse nos liberauit pretium pro nobis soluendo et in hoc nobis sue bonitatis affluentiam ostendendo et in hoc exhibuit se redemptorem, propter quod dicebat apostolus .i. Cor. .vi. : *empti enim estis pretio*
 195 *magno glorificate* et cetera. Unde Osee .xiii. : *ipse dicebat de manu mortis liberabo eos de morte redimam eos* quasi dicat pretium et redemptionem soluam pro uobis qui obligati eratis ad

174/175 inuentus – sapientiam] Cfr Eccle. 9, 15 176/177 ipsa – Dei¹] Rom. 8, 21
 181/182 si – nostris] Cfr I Ioh. 2, 1-2 186 ueritas¹ – uos] Ioh. 8, 32
 194/195 empti – glorificate] I Cor. 6, 20 195/196 ipse – eos²] Osee 13, 14

188/189 illo – loqui] Tubach 453

167 oderant] oderunt Me Ta 175 De] dei M1 179 sicut] sicut ergo M1
 183 familiarem] famularem P1 W1 186/187 liberabit¹ – confidendum] om. M2
 signalled by uacat in the margin. 187 est¹] om. P1 189 uacca] per acta W1 190 quia]
 quod Me captiuitati] corr. captiuati M1 M2] captiuati Me] om. Ta

penam eternam et hoc fuit quoniam ipsum redemptorem
 psalmo misit Dominus populo suo. .i. Pe .i.: *non*
corruptibilibus auro uel argento redempti estis sed pretioso
 sanguine agni incontaminati et in uia Domini nostri Iesu
 Christi et ista fuit redemptio sufficiens et copiosa. Psalmo :
copiosa apud eum redemptio. Sic ergo apparet in hiis tribus
 magna benignitas miserantis circa benignitatem
 persequentis.

<4> Nota autem quod dyabolus insidiatur homini
 tenendo siue parando laqueum tripliciter. Illaqueare enim
 hominem nititur triplici laqueo :

<4.1> est enim laqueus cupiditatis,

<4.2> laqueus uanitatis,

<4.3> laqueus carnalitatis.

<4.1> Quosdam ergo illaqueat laqueo cupiditatis sicut
 auaros. Unde Bernardus dicit quod diuitie sunt laquei
 dyaboli de quibus .ii. Thi .vi. : *qui uolunt diuites fieri* et cetera.
 Nota qui uolunt Ps. : *diuitie si affluent nolite cor apponere*. Ista
 est enim cathena ferrea qua ligatus est auarus a dyabolo ne
 effugiat propter quod dicebat Manasses .ii. Paral. .ii. :
incuruatus sum multo uinculo ferri et non est respiratio, in ista
 ligantur auari sicut symia ne effugiant. Sed nota symia uero
 numquam sentit se ligatam donec uelint fugere. Sic nec
 auari donec uelint in celum ascendere scilicet in morte sed
 tunc bene uident quod non possunt ita in altum ascendere
 tanto ferro honerati psalmo *laqueum parauerunt pedibus meis*
incuruauerunt animam meam. Et tales bene signantur per

199 misit – suo] Cfr Ps. 110, 9 **199/200** non – estis] I Petr. 1, 18 **203** copiosa –
 redemptio] Ps. 129, 7 **214** qui – fieri] I Tim. 6, 9 **215** diuitie – apponere] Ps. 61, 11
218 incuruatus – respiratio] II Par. 29, 29 **223/224** laqueum – meam] Ps. 56, 7

213/214 diuitie – dyabolij Bernardus Claraeuellensis, PL 183, col. 191B

199 psalmo] om. M2 P1 W1 **200** pretioso] pretio M1 **202** sufficiens] sufficientia Me
 Ta **203** Sic] si P1 **204** miserantis] miserantes P1 **207** tenendo] tendendo M2]
 tendendo Me Ta **215** affluent] affluent Me Ta cor apponere] om. P1 W1] et cetera
 Me Ta **217** Manasses] Manasses P1 **219** effugiant] fugiant Me P1 Ta W1] fugeant
 M2 uero] om. M2 Me P1 Ta W1 **220** uelint] uelit M2 Me Ta **224** meam] om. Me P1
 Ta W1

225 mulierem de qua dicitur in Euangelio quod eam allegauerat
Sathanas .xxiii. annis nec omnino poterat sursum aspicere.

<4.2> Quosdam autem illaqueat laqueo uanitatis quo
illaqueat ambitiosos et superbos. Sap. .xvii.: *dum persuasum*
habent iniqui posse dominari nationi sancte uinculis tenebrarum
230 *compediti*. Nota auctoritatem et bene dicuntur uincula
tenebrarum quia superbia et ambitio hominem maxime
excecant ut seipsum non cognoscat nec aliquem defectum
suum audeat, de talibus dicitur Eccl. .xi.: *sicut perdix inducitur*
in foueam et capre in laqueum, sic cor stultorum ducitur suple
235 in foueam et laqueum duplici similitudine ostendit istorum
ambitionem et superbiam. Perdix enim oua alterius fouet,
iuxta illud: *perdix fouit que non peperit*. Item prope terram
uolat sic superbi que sunt alterius sibi tribuunt et usurpant
et que ab alio habent a se presumunt habere. Item affectum
240 in istis terrenis ponunt ut ex hiis possit preferri aliis. Unde
sicut capra in montibus pascitur et uelocissime currit ita isti
delectantur in istis dignitatibus et uelocissime currunt ad eas
et inhiant.

<4.3> Quosdam autem illaqueat laqueo carnalitatis et de
245 hoc laqueo dicit Cassiodorus super illud psalmo *custodi me a*
laqueo quem statuerunt mihi, laquei sunt decipere uolunter et
carnis desideria isto laqueo bene illaqueatus erat ille iuuenis
de quo dicitur Prouerb. .vii.: *statim sequitur eam quasi bos*
ductus ad uictimam et uelut auis festinat ad laqueum quia sicut auis
250 sequitur aucupem. Ita tales mulieres sequuntur et ab illis
capiuntur propter dicitur Ecc. .ix.: *ne respicias mulierem*

225/226 quod – aspicere] Cfr Luc. 13, 11 228/230 dum – compediti] Sap. 17, 2
233/234 sicut – laqueum] Eccli. 11, 32 237 perdix – peperit] Ier. 17, 11
245/246 psalmo custodi – mihi] Ps. 140, 9 248/249 statim – laqueum] Prou. 7, 22-
23 251/252 ne – illius] Cfr Eccli. 9, 3

247 carnis desideria] Cassiodorus, PL 70, col. 1003

225 allegauerat] alligauerat L1 M1 Me P1 Ta W1 233 inducitur] ducitur M2
234 capre] caprea M2 Me Ta sic] si P1 236/237 enim – perdix] om. L1 M1
238 tribuunt] tribuit M1 239 affectum] effectum M2 240 possit] possint M2
241 capra] caprea M2 Me Ta pascitur] pascit M2 Me Ta 245/246 dicit – laqueo]
om. Ta 245 Cassiodorus] Gasiodorus L1] Gasiodorus W1 246 uolunter] uolunt
M2 250 mulieres] mulieres illos Me Ta 251 propter] propter quod Me Ta

maliuolam *ne forte incidas in laqueos illius*. Et Eccl. .viii. : *dicitur inueni mulierem morte amariorem qua laqueus uenatorum est, sagena cor eius, uincula sunt manus eius* quasi dicat si sciens sis et contemplatius et alte uolans, sicut auis, nihilominus timeas quia laqueus uenatorum est. Exemplum de Salomone qui satis alte uolauit prescientiam et tamen a muliere deceptus est et illaqueatus. Item si pudicus et quasi frigidus ut piscis nihilominus time. Quia sagena cor eius, exemplum de Dauide qui satis pudicus et sanctus fuit et tamen cecidit per adulterium. Item si fortis time quia uincula sunt manus eius, exemplum de Samsone et certe nec tu Salomone sapientior nec David sanctior nec Sampson fortior et cetera. Rogemus.

255

260

252/254 dicitur – eius³] Eccl. 7, 27

252 maliuolam] multiuolam L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 255 contemplatius] contemplarius L1 M1 257 prescientiam] per scientiam L1 M1 M2 260 fuit] om. M2 P1 W1 261 eius] om. P1 262 Samsone] Salomone L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 264 Rogemus] om. L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1

Sermo XXIII

Sermon *de synodo*, C14/ *dnca* 3. in *Quadrages*. T21/4 RLS
61.

5 Base ms.: P, ff. 187ra-187rb.

Collated mss.: L1, ff. 286vb-287rb; M1, ff. 409vb-410rb; M2, ff. 202r-202v; Me, ff. 209ra-209va; P1, ff. 161vb-162rb; Ta, ff. 187vb-188rb; W1, ff. 287va-288rb.

10 *Ubi duo uel tres congregati fuerunt in nomine meo ibi sum ego in medio eorum* Mt. .xviii.

Uulgariter dicitur quod *compagnie* Deus le fist et ideo tantum diligit bonorum societatem ut assit in omni eorum congregatione de qua dicit *ubi duo* et cetera. Quod
15 uerificauit Io. .xx. *ubi: cum fores essent clause et discipuli congregati stetit in medio eorum Iesus* et cetera. Notatur autem in uerbis istis qualiter iusti debeant congregari quoniam in nomine Christi id est ut exerceant et agant que pertinent ad honorem nominis sui. In nomine Iesu ut exerceant que
20 pertinent ad salutem quod nota cum dicitur *ubi duo uel tres* et cetera. Nota postea quis fructus sunt congregandi in presentia Dei. Unde qui uoluerit Christum inuenire querat eum in iustorum congregatione. Nota exemplum de beato Thoma apostolo Io. .xx. quod notatur ibi sum ego in medio
25 eorum.

<1> Notandum autem quod congregatio est malorum et bonorum que multiplex est.

<1.1> Congregantur aut iusti in ecclesis sicut oues in ouili que in tanta mansuetudine cohabitant ut nec calcitent

Sermo XXIII, 10/11 Ubi – eorum] Matth. 18, 20 15/16 cum – Iesus] Cfr Ioh. 20, 19 24 Io xx] Cfr Ioh. 20

Sermo XXIII, 12 *compagnie* – fist] French

Sermo XXIII, 12 Deus le] deule M1 Deus] Deu Me Ta 13 diligit] diligit P1 17 debeant] debent M2 18 exerceant] extractent M2 Me P1 W1]tractent Ta 19/20 In – pertinent] del. Ta 19 exerceant] extractent M2 Me P1 W1 21 et cetera] congregati fuerunt in nomine meo M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 sunt] om. L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 in] quoniam M2 22 Dei] Christi L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 23 beato] om. Me Ta 26 congregatio est] est congregatio M2 Me Ta 28 aut] autem M2 Me Ta ecclesis] ecclesia M2 Me P1 Ta W1

pedibus nec mordeant dentibus nec umentent cornibus. 30
 Ideo comparat Dominus congregationem eorum
 congregationi ouium Eze. .xxxiiii. : *educam oues quo minus de*
populis congregabo eos de terris et inducam eos in terram suam et
pascam eos in montibus Israel. Ysa .xl. : *sicut pastor gregem suum*
pascet in brachio suo congregabit agnos. 35

<1.2> Sicut membra in corpore qui tanta colligantur
 naturali dilectione. Ut si tristatur unum membrum
 compatiuntur omnia membra, si gaudet unum membrum
 congaudent cetera membra. Ideo congregationi iustorum
 comparat Dominus congregationem ossium in corpore. 40
 Eze. .xxxvii. ubi premitit adunationem ossium aridorum et
 post addit congregationem suorum dicens ecce : *congregabo*
filios Israel de medio nationum ad quas abierunt et faciam eos in
gentem unam in terra in montibus Israel et rex unus erit omnibus
imperans. 45

<1.3> Sicut magister scolares in scola. Deut. .iiii. :
congregabo ad me populum ut audiat sermones meos et discat timere
me omni opere quod inueniat in terra. Nee .vii. : *congregatus est*
omnis populus quasi uir unus ad platheam que est ante portam
aquarum ut scilicet auderent legem. 50

<1.4> Sicut sapientes in consilio quia salus ubi multa
 consilia Ps. : *congregate illi sanctos eius.* Ideo sanctos quia anima
 sancti uiri enunciat aliquem uera Prouer. exemplum :
quoniam .xii. conuocauerunt multitudinem causa concilii; actus .vi.

<1.5> Sic operarii in negotio ueri omnes qui nec 55
 congregati ad opus erant qui : *congregamini et uenite et accendite*
simul qui saluati estis de gentibus.

32/34 educam – Israel] Cfr Ez. 34, 13 34/35 sicut – agnos] Is. 40, 11
 42/45 congregabo – imperans] Ez. 37, 21-22 47/48 congregabo – terra] Deut. 4, 10
 48/50 congregatus – aquarum] II Esdrae 8, 1 52 congregate – eius] Ps. 49, 5
 54 quoniam – concilii] Act. 5, 21 56 congregati – erant] II Esdrae 5, 16
 56/57 congregamini – gentibus] Is. 45, 20

38 omnia] alia M2 Me P1 Ta W1 43 abierunt] abierant M1 M2 Me Ta 46 magister]
 om. Me Ta 48 omni] in omni M2 congregatus] congregandus M1 50 auderent]
 audiret M1] audirent M2 Me Ta 52 consilia] concilia M1 53 sancti uiri] uiri sancti
 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 53/54 exemplum quoniam] om. P 54 quoniam] quomodo M2 Me
 Ta

<1.6> Sicut milites in bello .i. Reg .xiiii. : *Saul congregato exercitu percussit Amalech et erat Israel de manu castorum eius hinc*
 60 *dicitur de ecclesia sicut castrorum acies ordinata. cant. Nota Io.*
.xi. quia Christus mortuus erat ut filii Dei qui erant dispersi
in unum congregaret.

<1.7> Sicut iudices in assisia quando iudicabunt nationes
 et dominabuntur populis Mt. .xxiiii. : *mittet angelos suos cum*
 65 *tuba et uoce magna et congregabuntur electos a quatuor uentis celis.*
Mt .xix. : sedebant super sedem .xii. iudicantes .xii. tribus Israelis.

<1.8> Sicut barones in palatio quod erit cum
 disponuntur in celo secundum illud Luc. .xxii. : *dispono uobis*
sicut disposuit mihi Pater meus regnum; Mt. .xxiiii. : precinget se et
 70 *faciet illos discumbere Ps. : principes populorum congregati sunt cum*
Deo Abraham et cetera.

58/59 Saul – eius] I Reg. 14, 48 60 castrorum – ordinata] Cant. 6, 3 64/65 mittet –
 celis] Matth. 24, 31 66 sedebant – Israelis] Matth. 19, 28 68/69 dispono – regnum]
 Luc. 22, 29 69/70 precinget – discumbere] Luc. 12, 37 70/71 principes – Abraham]
 Ps. 46, 10

61 mortuus] moriturus M2 Me Ta filii] filius M2 Me Ta 63 assisia] assisa M2
 64 mittet] mittem M1 65 celis] celi W1 66 sedebant] sedebunt Me P1 Ta W1
 iudicantes] se iudicantes M2 68 Luc xxii] .xxii. luc. Me P1 Ta W1 69 precinget]
 precingit M2 70/71 cum – Abraham] om. Ta W1

Sermo XXIV

Sermon in dedicatione ecclesiae, C11, RLS 238.

Base ms.: P, ff. 187va-188ra.

- 5 Collated mss.: L1, ff. 287rb-288rb; M1, ff. 410rb-411ra; M2, ff. 202v-203v; Me, ff. 209va-210rb; P1, ff. 162rb-162vb; Ta, ff. 188rb-188vb; W1, ff. 288rb-289rb.

10 *Domine Deus exaudi clamorem populi huius et aperi eis thesaurum tuum ut hauriant fontem aque uiue ut satiati essent frumento eorum.*

In uerbo isto

<1> primo maiestas Dei confitetur ibi Domine Deus.

- 15 <2> Secundo diuina misericordia imploretur ibi exaudi et cetera.

<3> Tertio necessitas ostenditur cum subiungitur ut satiati et cetera.

Nota quatuor clamores scilicet confessionis, orationis, iubilationis et predicationis.

- 20 <2.1> Primus clamor ueniam impetrat.

<2.2> Secundus gratiam procurat.

<2.3> Tertius spiritum letificat.

<2.4> Quartus ueritatem declarat.

- 25 <2.1> De primo dicitur Leui.: de leproso qui habebat discoopertum capud in signum uerecundie et uestes dissutas in signum doloris et immundum leprosum se clamabat per ueritatem confessionis. Hec tria debent esse in confessione: confessio enim debet esse uerecunda, amara et uera. Clamor iste ueniam impetrat. Unde Ps.: *Domine ad*
30 *te clamaui et sanasti me.*

<2.2> Secundus clamor est clamor orationis qui debet fieri pro se et pro aliis.

Sermo XXIV, 9/11 Domine – eorum] Num. 20, 6 **24/27** de – confessionis] Cfr Leu. 13, 45 **29/30** Domine – me] Ps. 29, 3

Sermo XXIV, 10 essent] cesset Ta **11** frumento] murmuratio L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 **13** maiestas] magestas P1] manifestas W1 **18** clamores] clamatores W1
19 et] om. L1 M1 **27** clamabat] proclamabat M2 Me P1 Ta W1 per] om. W1

<2.2.1> De primo Psalmo : *Domine exaudi orationem mea et clamor meus ad te ueniat.*

<2.2.2> De secundo, *propheta clamabo ad Deum* quia ignis 35
accendit spetiosa deserti scilicet ignis auaritie que numquam
dicit sufficit. Ignis luxurie qui est usque ad consumptionem
deuorans. Ignis iracundie de quo psalmo *exardescet ignis* in
sinagogis eorum. Iste clamor procurat gratiam; Ps. : *clamaui*
et exaudiuit me. Unde Moyses in Exodo : *domine exaudi* 40
clamorem populi huius. Moyses gerit typum boni prelati qui
debet clamare pro subditis.

<2.3> Tertius est clamor laudis siue iubilationis Psalmo :
ualles habundabunt frumento, clamabunt etenim hymnum dicent
glossa canticum laudis. 45

<2.3.1> Et nota quod sunt ualles frumentose ut hic
ualles fontuose ut in Ps. : *qui emittit fontes in conuallibus.*

<2.3.2> Ualles liliose ut in Canticum : *ego flos campi et*
lilium conuallium.

<2.3.3> Et ualles nemorose ut Numer. .xxiii. : *quam* 50
pulchra tabernacula tua Iacob et cetera.

<2.3.1> Sunt enim primo ualles frumentose et hoc per
sanctam meditationem. Nota tria in frumento que debet
anima sancta meditari.

<2.3.1.1> Frumentum enim exterius rubeum est in quo 55
caro siue humanitas Christi designatur.

33/34 Domine – ueniat] Ps. 101, 2 35 clamabo – Deum] Ps. 56, 3 38 exardescet
ignis] Ps. 38, 4 39/40 clamaui – me] Ps. 3, 5 44 ualles – dicent] Ps. 64, 14 47 qui –
conuallibus] Ps. 103, 10 48/49 ego – conuallium] Cant. 2, 1 50/51 quam – Iacob]
Num. 24, 5

Sermo XXIV, 45 glossa] Cfr Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia
latina (Sir. 39, 19), in : Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae, IRHT-CNRS, 2022.
Consultation du 01/08/2022. (Permalink :
http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GLOSS-liber32.xmlchapitre=32_39)

34 ueniat] ueniet M2 36 accendit spetiosa] ascendit sponsa L1 M1 P1] contedit
sponsa M2 W1 39 clamaui] clamaui Me 43 est clamor] clamor est M1 M2
47 fontuose] fructose M2 in] ibi M2 48 Ualles] ut ibi ualles M2 ut in] om. M2
50 nemorose] memorose P1] ne merose W1 ut] ut et M2 52 et hoc] om. P

<2.3.1.2> Interius album est in quo deitas et anima sancta.

<2.3.1.3> In latere fixum est in quo passio Christi. Tunc
60 enim uallis habundat frumento quando Christi diuinitatem et penalitatem homo meditatur.

<2.3.1> Item quidam sunt ualles fontuose per deuotionem post meditationem autem uenit deuotio.

<2.3.2> Item quidam sunt ualles liliose per iocunditatem
65 spiritualement post meditationem et deuotionem. Sentit anima iocunditatem spiritualement et letitiam et quasi iam eleuata est ad superna.

<2.3.3> Item quedam sunt ualles nemorose per
70 contemplationem Ps.: *quam pulchra tabernacula tua iacob* per hoc actiui designantur qui ut milites habitant in tabernaculis. Iacob supplantator et tentoria sua Israel ut ualles nemorose Israel uidens Dominum, sunt contemplatiui qui habitant in tentoriis. Tentorium dicitur de tendo dis isti enim semper tendunt sursum secundum illud
75 apostolus Phil. .iii.: *retro sunt obliuiscens* ad interiora me extendo, hee sunt ualles nemorose. Nam sicut homo delectatur in ualle nemorosa quantum ad auditum per contemptum auium, ad profectum per odorem florum, quantum ad uisum per uiriditatem herbarum, quantum ad
80 gustum per dulcedinem fructum, quantum ad tactum delectabilium et etiam in umbra post laborem corporis. Ita contemplatiua habet sensus suos spirituales per alios in Deum spiritualiter delectatur. Et nota quod ista quatuor recto ordine accipiuntur primo enim anima circa Deum
85 meditatur, post meditationem illam lacrimatur, post lacrimationem letatur, post letitiam spiritualement que animam a terrenis eleuat, uolat ipsa anima ad Deum per contemplationem et ibi contemplatur.

75 retro – obliuiscens] Phil. 3, 13

57 et] om. P1 60 uallis habundat] habundat uallis M2 habundat] habundabit P1
66 et] om. P 69 Ps] om. M2 71 sua] tua M2 Me Ta 75 retro] qui retro M2 Me Ta
interiora] anteriora P1 W1 76 hee] hii M2 Me P1 Ta W1 78 ad profectum] quantum
ad effectum P1] quantum ad affectum M2 Me Ta W1 80 quantum] om. M2 P1 W1]
per Me Ta ad] om. Me Ta 82 alios] quos M2 P1 W1 85/86 post² – letatur] om. W1

<2.4> Quartus clamor est predicationis Ysa .lviii. : *clama ne cesses* et cetera et Io .i. : *uox clamantis in deserto*. Nota quod pauci uolunt clamare in deserto ubi parum habent ad comedendum et male recipiuntur sed in claustro et cetera.

90

Et nota quod isti quatuor clamores recto ordine accipiuntur. Nam primo debet homo clamare per confessionem ut ueniam impetret. Secundo per orationem ut gratiam procuret. Tertio per laudem et iubilationem ut post refectionem, quia in oratione anima reficitur, actiones gratiarum reddantur. Et quarto per predicationem ut ueritas reueletur et cetera.

95

100

89/90 clama – cesses] Is. 58, 1 **90** uox – deserto] Ioh. 1, 23

92 claustro] castro *L1 M1 M2 P1 W1* **96** Tertio] Et tertio *M2* **99** et cetera] *om. L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1*

Sermo XXV

Sermon *de una virgine*, C8, RLS 226.

Base ms.: P, ff. 188ra-189va.

- 5 Collated mss.: L1, ff. 288rb-290rb ; M1, ff. 411ra-413ra ;
M2, ff. 203v-205v ; Me, ff. 210rb-212rb ; P1, ff. 162vb-
164rb ; Ta, ff. 189ra-190va ; W1, ff. 289rb-291va.

Mulier timens Deum ipsa laudabitur prouer. ult.

- 10 Dicitur in uespere laudatur dies et in mane hospes.
Hospes Christi est qui in paupere hospitatur. Unde in mane
resurrectionis merito a Christo laudatur Mt. .xxv.: *hospes
eram et collegistis me*, ideo sequitur *uenite benedicti*. Dies enim
uita iustorum qui hic alios illuminat per Christum Prou.
15 .iiii.: *iustorum semita quasi lux splendens procedit et crescit usque ad
perfectam diem*. Que dies in uespere huius mundi laudabitur a
Christo Ps.: *in Deo laudabimur tota die* et de tota bona uita et
hoc est quod dicitur in dictis uerbis in quibus tangitur

<1> status nature ibi mulier,

- 20 <2> status gratie ibi timens Deum,

<3> status glorie ibi laudabitur quia secundum glossam
spiritus est cum laude remunerabitur.

Spiritualiter autem describitur anima fidelis quecumque
quantum ad dignitatem ibi mulier. Quantum ad bonitatem

- 25 ibi timens. Quantum ad utilitatem ibi laudabitur.

<1> Tangitur enim eius dignitas cum dicit mulier. Mulier
enim dicitur esse nubilis uiro et ideo uidetur quod anima
fidelis Christo uiro spiritualiter maritatur. *Beatus uir*, id est

Sermo XXV, 9 Mulier – laudabitur] Prou. 31, 30 **12/13** hospes – me] Matth. 25, 35
13 uenite benedicti] Matth. 25, 34 **15/16** iustorum – diem] Prou. 4, 18 **17** in – die]
Ps. 43, 9 **28** Beatus uir] Eccli. 26, 1

Sermo XXV, 10 uespere – hospes] *Proverbia rusticorum*, n. 117 **21** glossam] *non
inueni*

Sermo XXV, 9 ult] uult W1 **11** Hospes] hospes enim M2 in¹ equum in L1] eum
M1 P1 W1] eum in M2 Me Ta **12** laudatur] laudabitur L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1
13 eram et] enim M2 **25** timens] timens Deum M1 **27** dicitur] debet M1] dicit M2
Me Ta nubilus] nubilem M2 Me Ta uiro] uirgo P1 ideo] ita M2 Me Ta **28** Beatus
uir] om. P Beatus] act. .xxv. mulier beatus M2 Me] mulier beatus Ta

Christus, qui est beatus et uir et maritus anime bone et ideo
secundum glossam. Mundani enim sibi copulant mulieres 30
aliquando propter diuitias, aliquando propter
pulchritudinem, aliquando propter generis nobilitatem.
Christus autem nihil horum inspicit sed solum anime
bonitatem, Act. .xxvi. : *mulier bona dabitur uiro* glossa id est
pro bonis factis. Et nota quod anima sancta dicitur 35
desponsari Christo qui eius consortium amat ardentem et
desiderat eam spiritualiter fecundat et amabiliter flagellat.

<1.1> Eius consortium ardentem desiderat. Eccl. .xxxvi. :
species mulieris exhyllarat faciem uiri sui, glossa Christi, et *super*
omnem concupiscentiam hominis superducet desiderium. Bene dicit 40
desiderium, non est enim aliquis amator qui pro aliqua
muliere habenda faceret quod fecit Christus pro anima
hominis acquirenda quia pro ea habenda omnem
paupertatem habuerit; amicos suos, id est apostolos et
sanctos, morti exposuit; impiissimam mortem sustinuit. 45
Quis est homo qui hoc pro muliere faceret? Unde glossa
nulla concupiat homo huic desiderio potest comparari.
Unde dicitur amor eius nimius id est outrage Ephe. .ii. :

34 mulier – uiro] Eccli. 26, 3 39/40 species – desiderium] Eccli. 36, 24

30 glossam] Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina (Sir. 26, 1), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 29/08/2022. (http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GLOSS-liber32.xmlchapitre=32_26) 34 glossa] *non inueni* 39 glossa] Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina (Sir. 36, 24), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 29/08/2022. (Permalink : http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GLOSS-liber32.xmlchapitre=32_36) 46 glossa] Cfr Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina (Sir. 36, 24), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 29/08/2022. (Permalink : http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GLOSS-liber32.xmlchapitre=32_36) 48 outrage] French

29 ideo] idem W1 30 copulant] copulauit P1 36 desponsari] disposari L1 qui] quia L1 M1 M2 P1 W1 37 amabiliter] amicabiliter M2 39 exhyllarat] exilarat M2 glossa] glossa id est M1 41 aliquis] pisanus L1 Me M2 W1] corr. insanus Ta 48 Unde] et ideo Me P1 Ta W1 outrage] hutrage M2

propter nimiam caritatem suam qua dilexit nos Deus cum essemus
 50 *mortui conuiuificauit nos Christo.*

<1.2> Item ipsam fecundat spiritualiter cum dat ei per
 gratiam uoluntatem bene agendi Act. .xxxvi.: *omnem*
masculum accipiet mulier id est uoluntatem bene agendi a
 Domino bene accipiet. In hac autem fecunditate tria sunt
 55 notanda: quid accidit, quid concipit, quomodo parit. Quid
 accidit quia mutatio interioris, appetitus exterioris quia
 habitus id est uoluntatis et conuersationis Ysa. .xix.: *erunt*
quinque ciuitates loquentes linguam cananeam hec autem mutatio
 dextere excelsi. Quid concipit quia Dominus non generat
 60 feminas sed masculos id est non permittit carnales
 uoluptates et malasque que per feminas significatur sed
 bonas meritorias que per masculos. Quia masculo debetur
 hereditas non femine. Sed e contrario dyabolus enim
 feminas multiplicare cepit id est carnales uoluptates. Unde
 65 Exo .i.: pharao precepit feminas reseruari et masculos
 submergi, id est bona si facta fuerint per peccatum sequens
 extinguui. Quomodo poterit quia in partu filii mulier
 torquetur et grauatur sed post partum cum pro filio
 hereditas magna ad eam deuoluitur, non uellet eum non
 70 peperisse. Sic in bonis agendis et primam agendi dolorem et
 angustiam sed cum per hoc ad hereditatem eternam uenire
 se uidit pro uno labore uellet quatuor peperisse Io. .xvi.:
mulier cum parit tristitiam habet et cetera.

<1.3> Item amicabiliter flagellat ut zelotypus mulierem
 75 fornicariam non respuit impunitam Eze .xvi.: facta est

49/50 propter – Christo] Cfr Eph. 2, 4-5 52/53 omnem – mulier] Cfr Eccli. 36, 23

57/58 erunt – cananeam] Cfr Is. 19, 18 65/66 pharao – submergi] Cfr Ex. 1, 22

73 mulier – habet] Ioh. 16, 21

49 qua] quia M2 53 id est] om. P 54 bene] om. P 55 concipit] accipit M1
 57 uoluntatis] nobilitatis P1 et] om. P 60 permittit] premitit M2 Me Ta
 61 malasque] malas M2 Me Ta que] om. P1 W1 significatur] significatur M2 Me Ta
 62 meritorias] et meritorias Me Ta masculo] masculis M2 Me Ta 63 femine]
 feminabus L1 M2 P1 Ta W1] femina debet M1 Me enim] om. Me P1 Ta W1
 64 uoluptates] om. W1 69 deuoluitur] deuenitur P1 70/71 dolorem – angustiam]
 dolor est et angustia M2 Me P1 75 impunitam] impunitum L1 M1 M2 Me P Ta W1
 xvi] om. Me est] es Me Ta

adultera que super uirum suum inducit alienos et sequitur iudicabo te iudicio adulterorum ad effundendum sanguinem furoris et zeli. Nota quod non est mulier ita bona que uiro carnali facit quod Dominus animal impropere preceperat sibi facere peccatores que non est ita impudens que super uirum suum carnalem in lecto adduceret letatorem. Et certe ita facit quicumque libidinem peccandi in corde suo ponit Ysa .lvii. : *iuxta me discooperuisti et suscepisti adulterum.* Non mirum ergo si Deus contra tales irascatur unde merito subdit : *Iudicabo te et cetera, id est faciam tibi quod faciunt uiri zelotipi adulteris mulieribus que sunt tria:*

80

<1.3.1> affligunt offendentem corpus uerberando et uestes auferendo, quod facit Deus uel temporalibus denudando, uel infirmitates inferendo et non facit hoc ex odio. Sed ex zelotipia et amore. Eze .xvi. : *dabo te in sanguinem* id est uindictam *furoris et zeli.*

85

90

<1.3.2> Item dimittunt non pudentem quod facit Deus peccatores uoluntati sue conficiendo Eze. .xvi. : *auferetur zelus meus a te nec irascar amplius* ut medicus cum desperat de egro relinquit eum et sue exponit penitus uoluntati. Osee .iiii. : *non uisitato super filias uestras cum fuerint fornicate* et licet hec magna gratia aliquibus uideatur tamen hec pena periculosa est ut nauem sibi relinquere et insanum sue exponere uoluntati Ps. : *dimisi eos secundum desideria cordis eorum.*

95

100

<1.3.3> Item recipiunt penitentem uehementissime autem quis amaret uxorem suam si eam de bordello reciperet pacifice ne mortem uel malum incurreret et

76 adultera – alienos] Ez. 16, 32 **76/77** iudicabo – zeli] Cfr Ez. 16, 38 **83** iuxta – adulterum] Is. 57, 8 **84** Iudicabo te] Ez. 7, 8 **90/91** dabo – zeli] Ez. 16, 38 **93/94** auferetur – amplius] Ez. 16, 42 **96** non – fornicate] Osee 4, 14 **99/100** dimisi – eorum] Ps. 80, 13

78 bona] eis bonis **M1**] enormis **P1**] effrens **L1 M2 Ta W1**] om. **Me** **79** animal] om. **L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1** impropere] imperat **L1** preceperat] om. **L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1** **80** est] om. **L1** **81** Et] om. **M1 P** **82** corde] corpore **M2** **83** adulterum] adulterium **L1 M1** **85** faciam] famam **M2** **89** non – hoc] hoc facit non **P1 W1** **90** odio] odeo **M2** **91** zeli] celi **M2** **93/94** conficiendo – meus] om. **Ta** **95** eum] om. **Me P1 W1** **96** super] sibi **W1** **102** autem] aut **M2** eam] enim **P**

plusquam ardentem si in bordello manentem de redditu
 105 roget, quod facit Christus. Iere. .iii.: *fornicata est cum*
amatoribus multis id est cum multis generibus peccatorum
tamen reuertere ad me dicit Dominus et cetera. Nota: mirabilis et
 miserabilis esset mulier pauper et ignobilis nobilissime
 110 maritata si deuortium procuraret, quod facit homo cum
 peccat. Peccatum enim diuortium in animam et Deum facit.
 Sed miserabilior esset illa que a uiro rogata non ueniret
 quod facit qui penitere renuit de peccatis Isa .I.: *in sceleribus*
uestris dimisi matrem uestram quasi dicat diuortium factum est
 per peccatum inter me et ipsam uocaui ad reconciliationem
 115 per penitentiam et non fuit qui audiret permittendo scilicet.

<2> Secundo describitur quantum ad bonitatem in hoc
 quod dicit timens Deum. Sicut enim famulus bouem excitat
 ad arandum et calcaria equum ad currendum sic timor
 Domini ad faciendum bonum Eccl. .xv.: *qui timet Deum*
 120 *faciet bona*. Timere debemus Deum propter potentiam quia
 humilis, propter sapientiam quia infallibilis, propter
 iustitiam quia inflexibilis.

<2.1> Propter potentiam quia respectu omnium est plus
 enim timetur princeps qui plus potest nocere et banni eius
 125 ac precepta obseruantur et ideo cum principis terre non
 habeant potestatem nisi super corpora, Deus autem super
 animas plus omnibus principibus et regibus timendus est
 Deus Mt .x.: *nolite timere eos qui occidunt corpus animam autem*
non possunt occidere sed potius eum timete qui potest corpus et
 130 *animam mittere in lehenam*. Et ideo banni et precepta Dei
 diligentius sunt obseruanda bannis principum quia sub pena
 amittendi corpus et animam et temporalia mandata sunt
 transgressores autem bannorum principum non possunt

105/107 fornicata – Dominus] Ier. 3, 1 112/113 in – uestram] Is. 50, 1

119/120 qui – bona] Eccli. 15, 1 128/130 nolite – lehenam] Matth. 10, 28

104 redditu] reditu M2 Me Ta 107 reuertere] tenere M1 108 miserabilis] mirabilis
 M2 109 deuortium] diuortium P1 W1 117 famulus] stimulus M2 118 et –
 currendum] om. M2 121 humilis] uilis M2 Me Ta 123 est] om. P 125 cum] om. M2
 principis] principes M2 Me Ta 127 animas] animam Me P1 Ta W1 130 lehenam]
 Gehennam Me P1 132 et¹ – temporalia] temporalia et animam L1 M1 Me P1 Ta W1
 et¹] om. M2 animam – temporalia] temporalia et animam M2 133 autem] quando
 L1 M1

punire nisi in corpore uel catello Ps. : *tu mandasti mandata tua custodiri nimis*. Satis sub pena temporalium multum quia sub pena corporum sed nimis quia sub pena animarum.

135

<2.2> Item propter sapientiam plus enim timetur paterfamilias offendi quando scitur quod nihil potest eum latere, talis est Christus Hebr. .iiii. : *omnia nuda et aperta sunt oculis eius*, .iiii. Regum : *timuerunt regem Salomonem uidentes sapientiam Dei* in illo.

140

<2.3> Item propter iustitiam plus enim timent homines temporales malum facere in terra ubi iudices sciunt a iustitia nec prece nec pretio posse flecti. Talis erit Christus in iudicio Prou. .vi. : *furor et zelus uiri non parcat in die uindictae*. Ideo Ps. : *confige timore carnes meas a iudiciis enim tuis timui*.

145

<3> Ultimo describitur quantum ad utilitatem cum dicitur laudabitur id est et cum laude remunerabitur a uiro suo id est Christo, Prou. ultimo : *uir eius laudauit eam*, glossa cum dicet in iudicio : *uenite benedicti Patris mei* et cetera. Nota mulieres solent laudari de duobus que spiritualiter debent esse :

150

<3.1> de pulchritudine

<3.2> et bonitate Eccl. .xxvi. : *mulieris bone species in ornamentum domus*. Que c'est bel parement en hostel id est in ecclesia Dei.

155

<3.1> Contingit enim aliquando quod mulier est pulchra sed uacua et aliquando bona sed turpis sed quando pulchra

134/135 tu – nimis] Ps. 118, 4 139/140 omnia – eius] Hebr. 4, 13
140/141 timuerunt – Dei] III Reg. 3, 28 145 furor – uindictae] Prou. 6, 34
146 confige – timui] Ps. 118, 120 149 uir – eam] Prou. 31, 28 150 uenite – mei]
Matth. 25, 34 154/155 mulieris – domus] Eccli. 26, 21

149 glossa] Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina (Prv. 31, 28), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 29/08/2022.
(P e r m a l i n k :
http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GLOSS-iber28.xmlchapitre=28_31). 155 Que – hostel] French

134 punire] puniri L1 Me P1 W1 uel] uel in Me 138 paterfamilias] propter paterfamilias Me 146 a – timui] et cetera W1 148 et] om. Me Ta 150 dicet] dicet eam M1 Patris mei] om. L1 M1 P1 W1 Nota] non M1 151 solent] om. M1 154 mulieris] mulieres Me Ta 155 hostel] ostel P1 158 et] om. L1 Me Ta] per M1 sed²] si P1 158/159 pulchra – bona] bona et pulchra M2 Me P1 Ta W1

- et bona ualde commendabilis est. Sic non est satis anime
 160 quod sit pulchra id est uirtutum operibus plena, nisi fuerit
 bona id est sine peccato. Pulchritudo autem que Deo placet
 non exterius in ornatu uestium uel in nitore faciei sed
 interius in plenitudine uirtutum consistit. Cant.: *nigra sum*
 165 *penitenda exterius mortificata sed formosa* interius castitate et
 caritate et ceteris uirtutibus ornata. Ideo dilexit me rex sub
 uili enim sarpilleria latet quandoque pretiosa merces et sub
 pictura aurea lignum putridum. Ideo Eccli.: *non laudes uirum*
in specie sua neque spernas hominem in uisu suo. Pereligendus est
 saccus scilicet lapidibus pretiosis plenus quam bursa plena
 170 stupis deaurata. Exemplum de cauilla qua pater faciebat
 adorare Io. .vii.: *nolite iudicare secundum faciem sed in iudicio*
iudicate sed debet habere decorem uirtutum sed cum hoc
 ostendit quod habeat bonitatem Ps.: *bonitatem et disciplinam*
et scientiam doci me.
 175 <3.2> Sed multe et multi plus nituntur habere
 pulchritudinem corporis quam bonitatem mentis cum
 tamen bonitas sit magis appetenda
 <3.2.1> quia fructuosior in iudicio, non enim
 remunerabitur pulchritudo sed bonitas .i. Regum .i.: *dixit*
 180 *Salomon de Adonia id est Christus de homine si fuerit bonus*
non cadet capillus capitis eius super terram si autem malum fuerit in
eo inuentum morietur. Non dicit si turpis uel pulcher quisque
 autem in partibus suis merces colligit quas carius ad
 nundinas quo iturus est se nouerit etiam carius uenditurum
 185 Isa .i.: *quiescite agere peruerse discite bene facere et arguite me dicit*
Dominus si non remunerabo uos bene.

163/164 nigra – formosa] Cant. 1, 4 167/168 non – suo] Eccli. 11, 2
 171/172 nolite – iudicate] Ioh. 7, 24 173/174 bonitatem² – me] Ps. 118, 66
 179/182 dixit – morietur] Cfr III Reg. 1, 52 185/186 quiescite – Dominus] Is. 1, 16-18

161 Pulchritudo] om. Ta autem] enim Me 162 in²] om. M2 P1 W1 163 Cant] om. P
 164 penitenda] penitentia L1 M1 Me Ta exterius] exterius scilicet M2 Me Ta
 166 sarpilleria] salpilleria M2 167 Ideo] om. M1 P 170 qua] quam Me Ta
 171 adorare] adornare M2 173 ostendit] oportet M2 Me Ta 177 magis] maxime P1
] magna Me Ta W1 179 remunerabitur] numerabilis M1 183 carius] om. P
 184 etiam carius] om. L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1

<3.2.2> Item quia durabilior. Pulchritudo enim modico frigore uel infirmitate perditur, bonitas uero non. Sed potius talibus augmentatur sustinentibus patienter Iac. .i.: *exortus est sol cum ardore et arefecit fenum et flos eius decidit et decor uultus illius deperiit*. Ps.: *homo sicut fenum dies tamquam flos sic et efflorescit*. 190

<3.2.3> Item quia ad habendum facilior. Quisque enim potest esse bonus quando uult et faciliter. Pulcher uero non, sed labore magno et sumptibus comparatur pulchritudo Prover. ult.: *fallax gratia et uana est pulchritudo*, ymago enim multo studio scinditur et pingitur et deletur cito. 195

<3.2.4> Item proximo utilior qui ad bonum excitat. Species enim aromaticae fuerit astantibus et bonitas aeris iuxta manentibus. Ecc.: *ne discedas a muliere sensata et bona et a consortio bonorum repleta*. Pulchritudo autem excitat ad peccatum. Ecc. .ix.: *propter speciem mulieris multi perierunt*. Uinum enim libentius appetitur in pulchro uitro Prouerb. .xxiii.: *ne intuearis uinum cum flauerit in uitro* et cetera. Et gladius limatus et accutus alis excusatus facilius scindit Eze. .xxi.: *gladius limatus et excusatus est ut incidat uictimas* sed bona est etiam occasio peccati. Catus enim pulchram habens pellem libentius exit in periculum suum sic mulier pulchra Eze. .xvi.: *habens fiduciam in pulchritudine tua fornicata es et cetera*. 200 205 210

190/191 exortus – deperiit] Cfr Iac. 1, 11 191/192 homo – efflorescit] Ps. 102, 15
 196 fallax – pulchritudo] Ps. 31, 30 201 ne – bona] Cfr Eccli. 7, 21 203 propter –
 perierunt] Eccli. 9, 9 205 ne – uitro] Prou. 23, 31 207 gladius – excusatus] Ez. 21, 9
 210/211 habens – es] Ez. 16, 15

187 quia] que L1 189 augmentatur] agmentatur P1 sustinentibus] sustinenter L1
 191/192 uultus – efflorescit] et cetera Ta 191 uultus] ulterius M2 Me
 191/192 sic – efflorescit] om. L1 198 cito] scito L1 M1 P1 W1 199 qui] quia Me P1
 Ta W1 excitat] exercitat Me 200 fuerit] conferunt M2 Me Ta astantibus]
 constantibus M2 201 iuxta] uista M2 Me Ta 206 accutus alis] om. M2 P1 W1
 scindit] ledit L1 207 incidat] cedat M2 Me P1 Ta W1

Sermo XXVI

Sermon *de sancto Clemente*, S84 ?, RLS 202.

Base ms.: P, ff. 189va-193vb.

Collated mss.: L1, ff. 290rb-295vb; M1, ff. 413ra-418va; M2, ff. 205v-211r; Me, ff. 212rb-217ra; P1, ff. 164rb-168va; Ta, ff. 190va-194va; W1, ff. 291va-297ra.

Attende tibi et doctrine

- 10 Uerba sunt apostoli I Thy. .iiii. instruentis ipsum et in eo quemlibet prelatum ecclesiasticum et predicatorem euangelicum aut doctorem catholicum ad sancte uite meritum et exemplum ibi attende tibi et ad sacre doctrine studium repetendum alis recipiendum cum dicit doctrine.
- 15 Debet enim doctor catholicus clarere tam uita quam doctrina. Nam doctrina sine uita arrogantem reddit, uita sine doctrina inutilem facit ut dicit Ysidorus, quatuor de summo bono .capitulo .iiii.. Ideo est ei necessaria utraque et ita oportet eum secundum ammonitionem attendere sibi et
- 20 ad honestatem et sanctitatem et uite et doctrine. Hanc ammonitionem impleuit beatus Clemens prelatum et doctor strenuus et discretus. Ipse enim diligenter sibi attendendo tam sancte uite et tale exemplum dedit aliis uiuendi ut ex hoc ad eius amorem monentur et inimici. Unde et in
- 25 legenda eius dicitur tantam gratiam Deus beato Clementi tribuit ut fleret Mamertinus urbis Romane prefectus et dixit Deus tuus quem tu colis ipse te adiuuet in hac relegatione exilii. Tanta enim est uirtus boni ut ipsum diligant et teneant quamuis uolunt in statu, in malitia induranti ut dicit

Sermo XXVI, 9 Attende – doctrine] I Tim. 4, 16

Sermo XXVI, 16/17 Nam – facit] Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiarum libri tres*, III, 36, 1, PL 83, col. 707 **25/28** tantam – exilii] *Passio Clementis*, A New Critical Edition with English Translation, Buckingham, John C., III, p. 91

Sermo XXVI, 13 sacre] sane M2 Me P1 Ta W1 **14** alis recipiendum] om. L1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1] del. M1 **17** dicit] om. P1 **18** iiii] .iii. Ta est – necessaria] necessaria est ei L1 **19** et] om. M2 Me Ta **20** et²] om. P1 W1 **21** prelatum] prelatus Me **24** monentur] monerentur P1 et¹] etiam L1 M1 Me P1 Ta W1 **25** Deus] om. P **26** Mamertinus] Mamentinus M2 Romane] om. L1 M1 M2 Me Ta **29** uolunt] uoluit Me Ta induranti] indurati Me Ta

Bernardus de amore Dei: et si bonum in bono non uult 30
imitari mouetur ita nequitia dissimulare tamen non potest
natura. Ipsi etiam qui ex aduerso sunt uidentes huius timent
et teneantur sicut timebat Herodes Iohannem Mt. .vi. et
Mamertinus Clementem properantem sanctitatem. Attentus 35
fuit ergo beatus Clemens admonitionem apostoli ad uite
scientie meritum et exemplum, attentus etiam fuit ad sacre
doctrine studium mens ut multos libro uel zelo fidei et
christiane religionis ascriberet ut dicitur in legenda eius. Et
Ieronimus in libro illustrium uirorum dicit de eo scripsit in
persona Romane ecclesie ad ecclesiam Chorthiorum 40
ualde utilem epistolam quem in nonnullis locis publice
legitur. Unde de honestate et sanctitate uite sue et utilitate
doctrine studiose postest exponi illud Mal. .ii.: *in pace et
equitate ambulauit mecum*. Per sanctitatem uite in pace, per
concordiam unitatis superne in equitate, per obseruantiam 45
legis diuine ambulauit mecum, dicit Dominus,
conformando uoluntatem suam uoluntati mee et multos
aduertit ab iniquitate per ueritatem doctrine sue secundum
quod in legenda dicitur uenientes uniuerſi ad doctrinam
beati Clementis conuertebantur ad Dominum. Intra autem 50
unum annum facte sunt ibi .lxxv. ecclesie a fidelibus omnia
ydola confracta sunt, omnia exempla in gyrum prouincie
incensa et subuersa sunt.

33 Herodes Iohannem] Cfr Matth. 6 43/44 in – mecum] Mal. 2, 6

30/32 et – natura] Gilbert of Hoyland, Bernardus Claraeuellensis, *Liber de natura et
dignitate amoris*, 14, 43, PL 184, col. 405C 37/38 mens – ascriberet] Cfr *Annales
Ceccanenses*, MGH Scriptores XIX, 1866, p. 277: “91. ind. 4. Clemens natione Romanus de
regione Celio monte, ex patre Faustino, sedit annis 9, mens. 2, diebus 10. Hic dum
multos libros zelo fidei christiane religionis ascriberet, martirio coronatur.”
39/42 scripsit – legitur] Hieronymus Stridonensis, *De uiris illustribus*, XV, PL 23, col.
663 49/53 uenientes – sunt] Cfr Clementis sermones CLXXXII; Albert Rud, Max
Dressel (ed.) *Clementinorum epitomae duae*, Leipzig, Bibliopolis, 1873, p. 231; Cfr *Passio
Clementis*, p. 98

32 ex] om. P1 34 Mamertinus] Mamerinus Me Ta 36 sacre] sane M1 M2 P1 W1
39 uirorum] uitiorum Me 42 honestate – sanctitate] sanctitate et honestate L1 M1
M2 Me Ta uite sue] sue uite L1 sue] om. P] scilicet M1 42/43 et² – studiose] om.
L1 42 utilitate] utile M1 48 aduertit] auertit M1 Me Ta per] pro M1 50 Intra]
infra Me Ta 52 gyrum] girum L1

In uerbis ergo propositis apostoli de epistola ad
 55 Thymoteo assumptis proponitur seruitium prelati,
 predicatoris uel doctoris catholici quantum ad sancte uite
 meritum et exemplum et quantum ad sane doctrine
 studium quorum utrumque fuit in beato Clemente
 60 admonitionem apostoli adimplendum. Secundum
 intellectum uero laboris exponis proponitur hic informatio
 tam doctores quam discipuli illius auditoris qui in duobus
 informantur in uerbis predictis:

<1> in uite sanctitate ibi attende tibi, glossa qualiter
 uiuas,

65 <2> et doctrine tepescendum.

Attende tu doctor doctrine actiue ut doceas .iii. Thy. .iiii. :
attende lectioni ad intelligentiam et cognitionem scripturarum
 exortationem ad excitationem torpentium doctrine et
 instructionem simplicium et ignorantiam. Tu uero auditor
 70 attende doctrine passiue id est ut doceatis uel doctrinam
 audeas et retineas Prou. .iiii. : *audite filii disciplinam patris* per
 benignam doctrine receptionem sicut boni filii benigne
 recipiunt paternam monitionem, attendite *ut sciatis*
prudentiam doctrine. Audite sedulam redentionem et eodem
 75 .v. : *fili mi attende sapientiam meam et prudentie mee inclina aurem*
tuam. Ubi duo tangit Salomon necessaria ad doctrine et
 scientie acquisitionem, studii applicationem et ingenii

67 attende lectioni] I Tim. 4, 13 71/74 audite – prudentiam] Cfr Prou. 4, 1
 75/76 fili – tuam] Prou. 5, 1

63 glossa] Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina (1Tim. 4, 16), in
 : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 29/08/2022.
 (P e r m a l i n k :
http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GLOSS-liber69.xmlchapitre=69_4)

57 sane] sancte M2 59 adimplendum] adimplente M2 Me P1 Ta W1 60 informatio]
 informatam L1 61 doctores] doctoris M2 P1 W1 illius] uel L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1
 64 uiuas] uias L1 65 et] et in doctrine sedulitate et M1 Me Ta tepescendum]
 replendum P1 67 scripturarum] scripturarum L1 M1 Me Ta 68 exortationem]
 exortatio Ta et] ad Me P1 Ta W1 70 doceatis] docearis L1 M1 Me Ta 71 audeas]
 audias P1 per] pro M1 72 doctrine] doctrinam M1 receptionem] receptione M1
 74 prudentiam] pendentiam M1 eodem] eccli. P

humilitatem. Spiritualiter tamen ad doctrine inquisitionem Ps.: *attendite popule meus legem meam* per studii applicationem, per attentam inclinationem per ingenii humilitatem. Consuetam et notandum est ordo uerborum: attende tibi et doctrine et cetera.

80

<1> Primo qualiter uiuas et post doctrine qualiter doceas. Quid enim prodest homini si uniuersum mundum lucretur per attentam predicationem et doctrinam laborando aliis? Anime autem sue detrimentum patiat per negligentiam non attendo sibi .i. Cor. .xiii.: *factus sum uelut aes sonans* quod homines quasi conuocando ad ecclesiam eis proficit. Se autem ipsum suo sonitu siue aliqua utilitate sui se consumit. De tali dicitur Eccl. .vi.: *omnis labor hominis in ore eius* id est quidquid laborat addiscendo ad hoc tendit ut habeat in ore quid proferat aliis et ideo anima eius non implebitur bonis. Sicut enim cibus in ore totus uel tantum tentus corporaliter non mittit ita uerbis doctrine quid doctor habet solum in ore ei spiritualiter non proficit. Immo ad hoc quod ei prosit ostendit quod incorporet sibi interius per deuotionem exterius etiam teneat manu per operis impletionem ut impleat illud Prouer. .xvi.: *anima laborantis*, aliis docendo, *laborat* id est debet laborare. Sibi sancte uiuendo et sic aliis etiam erit efficacior sermo eius. Unde Gregorii super Ezechiel necesse est et cetera.

85

90

95

100

79 attendite – meam] Ps. 77, 1 87/88 factus – sonans] I Cor. 13, 1 90/91 omnis – eius] Eccl. 6, 7 98/99 anima – laborat] Prou. 16, 26

101 necesse est] Gregorius Magnus, *Homil. in Ezech.* II, hom. 2. PL 76, col. 954: “omnis qui ad Deum convertitur, prius necesse est ut desudet in labore, idest Liam accipiat, ut post ad videndum principium in Rachel amplexibus requiescat”.

78 inquisitionem] adquisitionem L1 M1 M2 Me Ta 79 legem meam] et cetera L1 M1 81 Consuetam] inconsuetam M2 P1 Ta W1] Tamen consuetam Me notandum] notandus W1 84 uniuersum mundum] mundum uniuersum L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 85 doctrinam] doctrina P 87 i – xiii] Mt .xvi. L1 M1 Me P1 Ta W1 sum] est L1 M1 M2 Ta] es Me 88 quasi] om. L1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 conuocando] conueniendo M1 89 proficit] profuit M1 90 se] om. P 91 addiscendo] addicendo M1 ad hoc] laborat ad hoc L1 93 bonis] donis Me P1 Ta W1 94 mittit] mitterit M1 96 ostendit] oportet L1 M1 M2 Ta] om. Me incorporet] in corpore M2 97 interius] interitus M1 exterius] et exterius M2 Me Ta etiam] et M2 99 aliis] alii P1 laborare] labore P1 100 etiam] et M1 M2 101/103 est – sue¹] om. Ta

Respondere supra similiter debet discipulis attentior esse in ordinatione uite sue quam in acquisitione sue, propter quod dicitur Ecc. .vi.: *uerte pedem tuum* id est affectum in
 105 compedes illius. Loquitur de sapientia ad restringendum secundum causam affectiones ad informadum mores et intorquans illius collum tuum selario ut post addiscas formare sermones qui mediante collo habent formari secundum regulas et ornatum sapientie qui per tamquam
 110 habet signari et Bernardus ad euangelium a discussione uite tue consideratio tua inchoet ne frustra extendaris in alia et addiscenda te neglecto id est neglecta uita tua, tenendus est ergo ordo iste ut prius attendat homo sibi acquirendo sanctitatem uite quam doctrine uel inpendende uel
 115 addiscende.

<1.1> Et autem debet homo in acquirendo et conferendo sanctitatem uite sibi attendere studendo elongationi a malo et perfrui et promotioni in bono. Sanctitas enim uite consistit in mali delectatione et boni
 120 operatione ad attentionem in declinatione mali monet Eccl. .xvii.: *attendite* id est attende de luce ab omni iniquo et ab omni non solum ab aliquo uel etiam a pluribus uno retento. Unum enim solum mortale peccatum destruit et mortificat opera omnium uirtutum quantum ad eterne uite meritum ut
 125 dicitur Eccle. .ix.: *qui in uno offenderit multa bona perdet*. Quamuis autem uolentem sanctitatem uite acquirere uel ad illam se disponere parat tantam declinationem mali oporteat attendere, cauende et declinande iniquitati spiritualiter. Tamen quadruplici debet attendere: luxurie

104 uerte – tuum] Prou. 4, 27 **121** attendite] Eccli. 17, 11 **125** qui – perdet] Cfr Eccl. 9, 18

111/112 consideratio – neglecto] Bernardus Claraeuellensis, *De consideratione libri quinque ad Eugenium Tetrimum*, II, III, 6, PL 182, col. 745c

106 causam] causa P1 ad] et L1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 mores] om. Ta **107** selario] setario M2] serario Me Ta **109** regulas] regales P1 tamquam] torques P1
110 signari] signuari M2 **111** et] scilicet Me Ta **114/116** sanctitatem – acquirendo] om. Ta **114/115** uel addiscende] om. Me **116** autem debet] debet autem M2 **118** perfrui] profui L1 M1 M2 P1 W1 **119** delectatione] declinatione M2 **121** attende – luce] attente tendite M2 Me P1 Ta W1 **121/122** et – omni] om. L1 M1 **121** et] om. M2 P1 W1 **126** uel] om. Me

fugiende, gule intemperantie cohibende, cupiditati et auaritie extinguende, inani glorie repellende.

130

<1.1.1> Debet in qua attendere luxurie fugiende sicut monebat Tobias filium suum Tob. .iiii. : *fili mi attende tibi ab omni formidine* modum autem docet Salomon. Prouerb. .v. : *ne intendas fallacie mulieris* et cetera. Ubi describit mulieris formidinem formose fallaciam et docet modum cauendi per elongationem et fugam. Describit autem eius fallaciam in superficiali dulcedine uerborum ut alliciat per affectum. *Fauus enim distillans* et in artificiali pulchritudine membrorum ut alliciat et capiat per aspectum *nitidius oleo guttur eius* et contra utrumque apponit remedium. *Nouissime autem* et cetera, *fauus distillans* et cetera. Ecce dulcedo uerborum *molliti enim sunt sermones suos* Prou. .vi. et Ps. : *molliti sunt sermones eius*. Unde non intendes fallacie qui *nouissima eius* et cetera. *Nitidius oleo guttur eius* ecce artificialis pulchritudo uerborum sed non concupiscat pulchritudinem eius cor tuum Prouerb. .i. : *pedes enim eius descendunt in mortem*. Dicitur enim hic mortem infernalem unde subdicatur *ad inferos gressus illius penetrant*. Nunc ergo fili audi me, longe ab ea, fac uiam tuam fugiendo eam. Non enim melius uitatur fornicatio quam fugiendo eam propter quod dicitur .i.

135

140

145

150

133/134 fili – formidine] Cfr Tob. 4, 13 135 ne – mulieris¹] Prou. 5, 2
 139/141 Fauus – eius] Cfr Prou. 5, 3 141/142 Nouissime autem] Cfr Sap. 19, 11 ;
 Matth. 21, 37 ; Matth. 22, 27 ; I Cor. 15, 8 ; II Mach. 7, 41 ; Prou. 5, 4 142 fauus
 distillans] Cfr Prou- 5, 3 ; Can. 4, 11 143 molliti – suos] Prou. 2, 16 144 molliti –
 eius] Ps. 54, 22 145 nouissima eius] Prou. 16, 25 Nitidius – eius²] Prou. 5, 3
 147/149 pedes – penetrant] Cfr Prou. 5, 5

130 intemperantie] et temperantie L1 P1] intemperazione M1 cupiditati] cupiditi M1
 135 describit] describit M2 mulieris³] multis Me 138 superficiali] superficiem Me
 affectum] affatum L1 139 in] om. M1 141 Nouissime] nouissima M2 MeTa
 143 suos] scilicet M2 P1 W1 144 intendes] attendes P1 Ta qui] eius quia M2 Me P1
 Ta W1 147 eius¹] illius M2 Me P1 Ta W1 ij] .n. W1 descendunt] discedunt Me
 148 subdicatur] subditur M2 149 filii] filii W1 150 uitatur] nudatur M1] induatur M2

- Corint. .vi.: *fugite fornicationem* ubi dicit glossa cum aliis uiciis expectari potest conflictus. Sed hac fugite ne appropinquetis quia non alter melius potest uinci; fugite
 155 igitur rogo uos karissimi cum apostolo maxime qui non dum estis experti ne difficilius nobis continere si per experientiam illius turpitudinis id est concupiscentia fueritis illecti. Nam ut dicit Ysidorus non ita est suavis amantium, immo amentium incerta quamuis libido sit experta nec ita
 160 delectat fornicatio cum prius committitur. Nam repetita maiorem delectationem ingerit ut frunsum uenerit tanto perditis dulcior sit unde et sepe expectandi consuetudine quasi capiti ad peccandum cum quadam uiolenta trahimur sensusque nostros contra rectam uoluntatem rebellare
 165 sentimus. Heu quam multi hodie detinentur in ista miseria captiuitate ut quasi impossibile si uideatur attendere continendo et cauendo a fornicatione esset tamen possibile et est secundum ueritatem si uellent gulam intemperantiam refrenare.
- 170 <1.1.2> Ideo secundo debet homo uolens si attendere a malo cauere attendere refrenationi gule sicut docet Salomon Prouer. .xxiii.: *cum sederis ut comedas cum principe*. Solent enim principes conuiuia splendida preparare et instruit ad eius refrenationem *attende que posita sunt ante faciem*
 175 *tuam* si excedunt sufficientiam *et sic statue cultrum in gutture tuo* ut non sumas ad superfluitatem. *Guttur enim gustu escas diiudicat* Iob. Cultrum autem resecat et restringit et rescindit.

152 fugite fornicationem] I Cor. 6, 18 **172/176** cum¹ – tuo] Cfr Prou. 23, 1-2
176/177 Guttur – diiudicat] Cfr Iob 34, 3

152 glossa] Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina (1Cor. 6, 18), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 29/08/2022. (P e r m a l i n k : http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GL_OSS-liber61.xmlchapitre=61_6) **158/165** non – sentimus] Cfr Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiae*, II, 39, 16, PL 83, c. 642

153 conflictus] confluctus M2 hac] hanc M2 Me Ta **155** igitur rogo] ergo M2
157 concupiscentia] concupiam M1 **158** ita] ista M1 est suavis] suavis est L1 M1
 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 **161** ut frunsum] om. L1 ut] om. Me **163** capiti] capti M1
164 sensusque] sensus usque Ta **169** refrenare] reformare W1 **175** sufficientiam]
 sufficiam M2 **177** diiudicat] deiudicat P1 W1

Cultrum ergo in gutture constringere est superfluitatem
 escarum rescindere et cauere ut sic possit facilius fugiendo
 fornicationem continere. Nam sicut dicit Ysidorus proxima 180
 est uentri libido sicut loco sic uitio. In ordine namque
 membrorum genitali uentri iunguntur dum enim unum ex
 hiis moderate reficitur; aliud ad luxuriam recitatur. Immo
 totum cor quasi quadam grauedine depressum a sumptibus 185
 retardatur et ad carnalia incuruatur. Ideo dicit dominus Luc.
*.xxi.: attendite uobis ne forte grauentur corda enim in crapula et
 ebreitate*, nisi quantum as superfluitatem cibi et potus docet
 gulam attente esse cauendam et ostendit causam ne forte et
 cetera. Ne dum corpora aliqui sunt qui non reputant se
 excelsus se in gula nisi grauentur corpora ut sentiant 190
 dolorem capitis uel distensionem aut ponderositatem
 uentris. Sed Dominus citra monet esse cauendum uel
 attendendum scilicet ne procedatur usque ad grauamentum
 cordium. Quo minus possunt exire in officia spiritualium
 studiorum a quibus impedit excessus gule in cibo et potu. 195
 De excessu in cibo dicit Ysidorus qui nimium cibis utuntur
 quanto magis uentrem pascunt, tanto amplius ciuilem
 mentis obtundunt. Nam greci dixerunt ex grasso uentre
 subtilem sensum gigni non posse. Nam gule saturitas nimia
 mentis aciem obtundit ingenium quia obtescere facit. 200
 De excessu in potu dicit ebrietas mentis perturbationem gignit
 furorem cordis. Ieronymus qui luxuriatur uiuens, mortuus
 est. Qui inebriatur mortuus et sepultus, uile enim
 sepulcrum nobis est ebrietas.
 Ista ergo grauant corda a spiritualibus studiis impediendo 205
 ea. Sicut enim graue fertur deorsum sua grauitate. Sic cor

186/187 attendite – ebreitate] Luc. 21, 34

180/183 proxima – recitatur] Cfr Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiae*, II, 42, 4, PL 83, c. 648
 196/200 qui – facit] Cfr Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiae*, II, 42, 6, PL 83, c. 648
 202/203 qui – sepultus] Hieronymus Stridonensis, *Epistolae*, 69, 9, PL 22, c. 663

179 et] om. P 182 enim] quia M2 Me Ta 186 enim] uestra M2 Me Ta
 190 excelsus se] excessisse M2 Me Ta excelsus] excelsis M1 P1
 191 distensionem] dessensionem P1] dissensionem M2 Me Ta 193 grauamentum]
 grauamen M1 M2 Me Ta 194 possunt] possint P1 197 ciuilem] se uilem Me P1 Ta
 W1 198 grasso] crasso L1 M1 Me P1 Ta W1 204 nobis] rationis Me Ta
 205 grauant] grauatur M1

- humanum grauat et depressum culpa et ebrietate uel pinguedine ex gula proueniente. Unde Bernardus exponens illud Psalmo : *filiis hominum usquequo graui corde* quia in pingui
- 210 corde et inuehitur contra tales ut qui diligitis uanitatem sequendo gulam pinguedo carnis delicie corporis, suauitas uentris aut ante mortem nos relinquit aut nos in morte illa relinquantis et quid post futura est caro delicate procurata putredo et uermis et huius uilitatis consideratio maxime
- 215 ualet ad retrahendum hominem a gule uitio siue ab omni carnali desiderio sicut dicit Gregorius super illud Iob .xxiii. : *dulcedo illius uermis* et caro et concupitas pensetur qui sit exanimis et intelligetur qui amatur nihil quippe sit ad edomandum desideriorum carnalium appetitum ualet quam
- 220 ut unusquisque hoc quod uinum diligit quale sit mortuum penset et ipsemet dicit quid sit carnis substantia testantur sepulcra teneamur. Ergo ut ipse dicit qualia in sepulcris iaceant cadauera que in illa extincta carne sit ymago mortis que tabes corruptionis. Similiter enim fiet nobis Eccl.
- 225 .xxxviii. : *memor esto iudicii mei* si hoc cogitaremus continue et profunde attenti essemus in tenatione gule et extratione et diminutione auaritie et cupiditatis quia ut dicit Ieronymus facile contempnit omnia qui se semper excogitat mortuum.
- <1.1.3> Tertio debet homo attendere in mali
- 230 declinatione et extinguende uel deminuende cupiditati uel auaritie. Sed monet Dominus Luc. .xii. : *uidete et caute ab*

209 filii – corde] Ps. 4, 3 217 dulcedo – uermis] Iob 24, 20 225 memor – mei] Eccli. 38, 23 231/232 uidete – auaritia] Luc. 12, 15

208 exponens] Bernardus Claraeuellensis, *Sermones de tempore. In psalmum XC, sermo XI*, 11, PL 183, col. 230d 217/221 et¹ – penset] Cfr Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, PL 75, col. 1162 228 facile – mortuum] Hieronymus Stridonensis, *Epistolae*, 53, 10, PL 22, c. 549

207 culpa] crapula M1 209 graui corde] et cetera L1 corde] corui M1 quia] om. M1 pingui] pugni M1 210 corde] corpore M2 tales] cibis M1 qui] quid Me Ta 211 suauitas] suauitatis M1 212 relinquit] relinquunt M2 Me Ta 213 relinquantis] relinquetis M2 217 qui] quid M2 Me Ta 218 qui] quid M2 Me Ta amatur] ametur M2 Me Ta 222 teneamur] intueamur M2 Me P1 Ta W1 228 facile] fatue P1 excogitat] cogitat M2 P1 W1 mortuum] moriturum Me 229 homo] hoc P in] et P1 230 et] om. P1 uel¹] et L1

omni auaritia et cetera. Ubi Dominus auaritiam attente
monet esse cauendam et subdit causam quia non in
habundantia contra quam uita eius est ex hiis que possidet
non potest contingere uitam presentem. Sed non prodit 235
post mortem cum nutriende temporalium credenda
acquisitione et acquirentore auara retentione, sicut faciunt
cupidi et auari contra quos dicit Eccl. .v.: noli attendere ad
possessiones iniquas nihil enim proderunt in tempore uindictae. Nihil
enim proderunt in die abductionis nisi prohibet diuitiarum 240
cupiditatem propter eorum inutilitatem. Noli attendere id
est attente tendere ad possessiones iniquas id est inique
acquirendas per cupiditatis anxietatem uel inique retinendas
per auaritie tenacitatem. Nihil proderunt in tempore
uindictae id est in die iudicii quando Deus uindicabit se de 245
inimicis suis aperte. Argentum eorum et aurum non poterit liberare
eos Soph. .ii., nihil enim proderunt in die obductionis id est mortis
in qua obducuntur et clauduntur sensus hominis. Diues enim
cum dormierit sompnium mortis nihil secum affert de diuitiis
suis Iob. .xxvii. super quo dicit Gregorius nihil secum affert 250
de rebus quas tenuit. Nam culpa Gregorii simul dicitur pro
quibus perpetratus est relinquitur. Eat ergo nunc diues ipse
et acceptis rebus timeat se eque super ceteris extollat
glorietur se habere quod proximus non habet. Ueniet
quandoque tempus ne euigilet et tunc cognoscet quod 255
uanum fuit quod in sompno tenuit, nimirum huius mundi

238/239 noli – uindictae] Eccli. 5, 1 246/247 Argentum – eos] Soph. 1, 18

247 nihil – obductionis] Eccli. 5, 1 248/249 Diues – affert] Cfr Iob 27, 19

250/260 nihil – ferre] Cfr Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, PL 76, col. 52c-d

232/233 attente monet] monet esse attente L1 232 attente] attente M1
 234 contra] cuius L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 235 contingere] continere L1 M1 M2
 236 nutriende] intendere P1 credenda] cupienda P1] cupida L1 M2 Me Ta W1
 239 tempore] die M2 240 proderunt] proderent M1 abductionis] obproductionis
 L1] uindictae Me nisi] ubi L1] nihil Me diuitiarum] decimarum L1
 241 inutilitatem] inutilitate M1 242 attente] noli attente L1 243 anxietatem]
 anxietem M1 244 auaritie] auariscis M1 245 uindicabit] mendicabit M1 247 enim]
 etiam L1 M1 M2 250 suis] om. P1 251 dicitur] ducitur M2 Me Ta 251/252 pro
 quibus] quamuis hec omnia per quibus M2 Me Ta 252 relinquitur] relinquuntur L1 Me
 Ta diues ipse] ipse diues L1 M1 Me Ta 253 eque] quia L1 M1 Me Ta

diuites qui rebus acceptis tument de sua habundantia. Unde operari nesciunt qui dormentes sunt. Sed euigilantes paupertatem suam inueniunt quia nihil secum quod
 260 permaneat ferre autem possent si pauperibus dedissent ut dicit Gregorius super uerbo predicto suas res cum moreretur secum tolleretur si ad petentis uocem cum uiueret si tulisset. Nam terrena omnia que seruando amittimus largiendo seruamus largiendo non carnalibus amicis propter
 265 carnalem affectum uel diuitibus propter honorem mundanum et assecutionem dignitatum sed pauperibus propter Deum. Sed ipse Dominus monet Luc. .xvi.: *facite uobis amicos* et cetera quod exponens Gregorius dicit ut in uita sua diuites post mortem quiquam inueniant habent
 270 ante mortem in quolibet manibus diuitias ponant. *Facite uobis* et cetera. Nisi enim largiendo pauperibus erogetis sed referens non proderant nobis pro ista inutilitate diuitiarum de saturitate cupide ad eas accedentium dicit. Eccl. .xxxiii. : *quasi qui apprehendit umbram et persequitur uentum sic qui attendit*
 275 *ad uisa mendacia*. Ubi describit diuitiarum inutilitatem et uanitatem nomine uisorum munditiorum et fatuitatem accedentium ad cupidam eorum acquisitionem sub similitudine: *persequentium uentum et umbram suam* comprehendere uolentium temporales diuitie dicuntur *uisa*
 280 *mendacia*. Uisa quia uidentur conferre facilitatem propter

267/268 facite – amicos] Luc. 16, 9 274/275 quasi – mendacia] Eccli. 34, 2

261/264 suas – seruamus] Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, PL 76, col. 52a-b

268/270 in – uobis] Cfr Gregorius Magnus *Moralia in Iob*, PL 76, col. 52a

257 tument] timent M1 258 qui] quasi M2 Me P1 Ta W1 dormentes] dormientes M1 M2 260 autem] aut M2 263 si] sibi M2 Me Ta 264 largiendo seruamus] om. M1 amicis] tunicis L1 M2 Me 269 quiquam] quicquid M2 270 ante] autem L1 in – ponant] imponant diuitias quorum manibus L1 quolibet] quorum M2 Me Ta diuitias] diuitias M2 Me Ta 271 erogetis] errogetis L1 272 referens] refecit L1 M1 M2] referatis Me Ta proderant] proderunt Me P1 Ta W1] produunt L1] prodest M1] proderit M2 273 saturitate] facilitate P1 W1] fatuitate L1 M1 M2 Me Ta accedentium] accedentium L1 dicit] om. M1 275 describit] describit M2 diuitiarum] om. Me 276 munditiorum] mundatorum L1 M1 M2 Me Ta fatuitatem] fatuitatem M1 277 accedentium] attendentium L1 Me P1 280 uidentur] ludentur L1 facilitatem] felicitatem M2 P1 W1] corr. felicitatem M1

quod dixerunt beatum populum cui hec sunt mendacia quia non felicitatem sed dolorem cupidis conferunt. Bernardus ue filiis hominum ab hac felicitate falsa et fallaci et quantum putas in felicitatem hec ipsa causa una felicitas parit in Iob .xx. : *cum satiatus fuerit* id est quod tantum satur esse deberet 285 huic artabitur et extimabit super quo dicit Gregorius dum anxietur ut acquisita custodiat ipso tam angustat satietas et omnis dolor irruet in eum, prius namque dolorem habuerit in ipsa sue concupientie fatigatione, qualiter concupita acquireret ac postquam rebus acquisitis peruenit ad desiderium alius hunc dolor fatigat ut cum solito timore 290 acquisita custodiat. Hinc tamen insidiatores metuit formidat potentiorum alterum ne eum sustineat uiolentem. Cum uero conspiciat pauperem suspicatur furem, ipsa quoque que gesta sunt curat magno opere ne ex nomine defunctum per negligentiam consummantur. In omnibus itaque hiis quia 295 timor ipse pena est tanta, infelix patitur quanta pati timet. Ostendit ergo Deus non in eum quem hic ergo pena concupire postmodum cura custodie et illi quandoque cremat pena ultionis extreme. Ideo dicitur recte dolor omnis id est perfectos cuius perfectio consistit in tribus 300 super eum irruere : quia cruciatur triplici dolore, pena concupiscentie, cura custodie, flamma Gehenne.

285 cum – fuerit] Iob 20, 22

281 beatum – mendacia] Cfr Augustinus, *Enarrationes in psalmos*, Psalm 136, 16, PL 37, col. 1770 **283** ue – fallaci] Bernardus Claraevallensis, *Sermones de tempore*. In *psalmum* XC, sermo XI, 3, PL 183, col. 226d **287** anxietur – satietas] Cfr Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, PL 75, col. 1094

281 quia] quod M1 **282** conferunt] conferrunt M1 **283** quantum] quantam L1 Me Ta **284** in³] me L1 **285** quod tantum] tantum quod L1 Me P1 Ta **286** huic] habuit M1 Me Ta **287** anxietur] auxiliatur M2 ipso] ipse L1 tam] cum L1 M1 M2 Me Ta angustat] angustas Ta **288** prius] post W1 habuerit] habuit M2 Me Ta **290** acquireret] acquireret L1 M1] acquireret M2 Me Ta **291** dolor] dolorem L1 solito] sollicito L1 M2 P1 W1 **292** Hinc] hic L1 **293** uiolentem] uiolentum M1 **295** gesta] congesta M1 M2 nomine] nature M2 Me Ta defunctum] defectu M1 M2 **296** consummantur] consumantur M1 omnibus] operibus omnibus M1 **297** ipse] ipsa L1 tanta] in tanta Me **298** non] enim M1 Me Ta **299** concupire] concupiscentie L1 M2 Me Ta illi] illic L1 Me Ta **300** dicitur] Dei M1 **301** perfectos] perfectus Me Ta

Describitur ergo uanitas diuitiarum sub nomine uisorum
 305 mandatorum. Describitur fatuitas cupidorum ad eas
 attendentium sub similitudine umbram suam
 comprehendere uolentium et persequentium uentum ad
 ipsum tenendum. Fatuus enim reputaretur qui uellet
 umbram apprehendere aut uentum tenere. Omnis autem
 310 cupidus est similis umbram apprehendere uolenti uel
 uentum consequenti. Duo enim sunt genera cupidorum:
 quidam enim attente laborant et concupiunt ditari sed non
 possunt consequi. Tales sunt quasi qui apprehendunt id est
 apprehendere uelit umbram suam que non potest attingi.
 315 De talibus dicitur Eccl. .xi.: *si persecutus fueris* diuitias scilicet
 que quasi umbram fugiunt quosdam sequentes solem *non*
apprehendentes et Ysidorus mortuus est mundus sed ipsi uiciis
 mundo mortui non sunt, bona enim seculi diligunt que
 minime sequuntur in utroque uacui quia et futura perdunt
 320 et per sententia non acquirerunt. Alii diuitiis attendentes eas
 acquirerunt et diu tenere uolunt sed non possunt. Tales
 sunt quasi qui persequitur id est perfecte sequitur ita quod
 sequitur uentum qui teneri non potest. Sic nec diuitie diu
 haberi ut dicit Augustinus .v. de ciuitate Dei que nos
 325 terrene diuitie felices faciunt aut nobis uiuentibus amittende
 aut nobis mortuis a quibus nescimus et forte a quibus
 uolumus possidende. Non ergo attendendum est eorum
 acquisitioni et retentioni ex auaritia et cupiditate sed ad
 declinationem mali attendendum est cupiditati et auaritie
 330 extinguende et minuende.

315/317 si – apprehendentes] Cfr Eccli. 11, 10

317/320 mortuus – acquirerunt] Cfr Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiae*, III, 59, 5, PL 83, c. 731 324/327 que – possidende] Augustinus, *de ciuitate Dei*, liber 5, caput 18, 3, PL 41, col. 162

305 mandatorum] mendatorum M2 Me Ta 311 consequenti] persequenti L1 M2 Me
 312 concupiunt] cupiunt L1 Me Ta 313 apprehendunt] apprehendit M1 M2 Me
 316 solem] se L1 M2 Me Ta] sed M1 317 apprehendentes] apprehendes M2
 mortuus] multis mortuus M2 Me Ta uiciis] multis uiciis M1] uicissim M2 Me
 319 minime] minimus M1 320 per sententia] presentia L1 M1 M2 Me Ta
 acquirerunt] acquirunt L1 M1 M2 Me 325 terrene] terre M2 Me Ta aut –
 amittende] om. L1 326 mortuis] mortis L1] mortuus P1 329 declinationem mali]
 mali declinationem L1 M1 M2 Me Ta W1 mali] om. P1

<1.1.4> Attendendum est etiam inani glorie repellende sicut docet Dominus Mt .v.: *attendite ne iustitiam uestram* et cetera. ubi non prohibet Dominus iustitiam facere bene coram hominibus ad gloriam Dei uel edificationem uidentis. Immo monet Mt .v.: *luceat lux uestra* et cetera sed ad laudem et gloriam facientis nec in aspectu homini ponat quis intentionis finem ut laudetur ab hiis uel eis *sicut ypocrite* qui ideo bona faciunt aperte *ut uideantur ab hominibus* Mt .vi. ne sic discipuli Christi ab ipso dicitur Luc. .xii.: *attendite a fermento Phariseorum in quibus est ypocrisis* quia amore proprie laudis faciunt bona hominibus peccauerint exterius speciem sanctitatis et pietatis. Sed interius cor contra est fermentatum et corruptum ex peruersitate intentionis per appetitum laudis et fauoris quod Dominus prohibet in uerbis predictis et hoc etiam ipse ostendit exemplo cum ceco illuminato dixit: *uide nemini dixeris* Mt. .viii. quod exponens Gregorius dicit seruis suis sequentibus exemplum dedit ut ipsi uirtutes suas desiderent occultare quantum ad laudem propriam et tamen ut aliis proficiant prodeant inuiti nisi esset pro utilitate proximi et honore Dei. Unde subdit sancti coram hominibus compelluntur bona facere ad eum finem refrenantes omnia ut rumpitur eisdem operibus sed pater eorum qui in celis est gloriari debeat. Si enim ad gloriam propriam et laudem humanam referrent mercedem eternam amitterent sicut dicitur Mt .vi.: *amen dico uobis receperunt mercedem suam* quia intenderunt laudem humanam.

332 attendite – uestram] Matth. 6, 1 **335** luceat – uestra] Matth. 5, 16
337/338 sicut – hominibus] Cfr Matth. 6, 5 **339/340** attendite – ypocrisis] Luc. 12, 1
346 uide – dixeris] Cfr Matth. 8, 4; Marc. 1, 44; Luc. 9, 36 **355/356** amen – suam] Matth. 6, 2

347/348 seruis – occultare] Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, PL 76, col. 120

331 Attendendum] attendum P1 **333** bene] unde M1 **335** Immo] uno M1
336 nec] nature Me Ta **337** hiis – eis] eis Me P1 Ta W1] om. M2 **338** qui] cum P1
hominibus] omnibus M1 **339** ne] non L1 M1 M2 Me Ta Christi] Christi quibus M2
Me Ta attendite] attende L1 M1 M2 **341** hominibus] hominis P1 peccauerint] pretendunt L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 **342** pietatis] puritatis M2 Me Ta
342/343 cor – fermentatum] contemtionis ferratum P1 342 cor contra] totum
M2 Me Ta W1 cor] totum L1 M1 **343** fermentatum] flumentatum L1 **353** qui] que
P1 W1 **354** referrent] reflet M2 **356** humanam] hamanam M2

Ideo dicit Gregorius in omelie simile est regnum celorum
decem uirginibus lingua que agitis cum magna cautela
timeatis et cetera. Nihil enim est ita spirituale quod non
360 careat mercede si fiat pro humana laude Gregorii cum per
doctrinam atque prophetiam laus exterior queritur sic ut
accepta uirtus Domini usum transitorie laudis assumitur
quia uitio militat uirtus. Non sic ergo uolo nec sibi in mali
elongatione attendere et declinatione attendendum est
365 fugiende luxurie et cetera.

<1.2> Uolens autem sibi attendere in profectum boni et
promotione debet attendere ad adhibendam diuino officio
diligentiam; ad impediendam proprio statui diligentiam uel
ordine reuerentiam uiuendo secundum eius exigentiam; ad
370 conseruandam superne caritatis amicitiam; ad recolendam
diuine passionis memoriam.

<1.2.1> Debet ergo attendere uolens in bono proficere
ad adhibendam diuino officio diligentiam sicut monet
Dominus per Ysa .li. : *attendite ad me popule meus* ubi informat
375 ad applicandam intentionem diuino officio uel fruitio.
Attendite ad me et allegat obligationem ex precepto
beneficio proprio populus meus Dei comiter sunt omnis
homines ab ipso territi spiritualiter. Christiani per fidem
rectam recreati et regenerati spiritualiter. Clerici qui in
380 sortem Domini ad eius officium sunt assumpti
spiritualissime in sacris ordinibus constituti et beneficiati

374 attendite – meus] Is. 51, 4

357/359 simile – timeatis] Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in euangelia*, I, XII, PL 76, col. 1118-9 360/363 cum – sic] Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, PL 76, col. 443

358 lingua] ligna L1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 363 militat] militas P1 sibi] igitur M1 M2
366 profectum] perfectum M1 369 ordine] ordini M2 P1 uiuendo] uiuendi L1
secundum] om. M1 377 comiter] conter M1 377/378 omnis homines] homines
omnis L1 M1 Me P1 Ta W1 378/379 spiritualiter – recreati] om. M1
379 regenerati] regenerari M1

qui uiuunt de patrimonio crucifixi uel spiritualiter dicitur
attendite ad me animam uestram. Attendite meo officio
applicando ut ad me dirigatur et conuertatur uestra intentio
quia sicut dicit Ysidorus nihil cum sola nec canere sine 385
cordis intentione. Nihil ad meritum uite eterne uel nihil
respectu orationis attente. Unde de illis qui canunt sine
attentione Deus increpatio Ysa. .xxix. : *populus hic labiis me*
honorat cor autem eorum longe est a me longe dum occupant se 390
cogitationibus cure secularis ut dicit Ysidorus longe est a
Deo animus qui in oratione cogitationibus seculi fuerit
occupatus. Ideo sicut dicit segregandus cum animus atque
temporalium regum segregandiis cogitationibus ut pura
acies cordis ad Deum uere et simpliciter dirigatur uel cor
eorum longe est a me dum non querant mihi placere sed 395
uideri ad hominibus ad optentum inanis glorie. *Sicut faciunt*
ypocrite qui amant in synagogis et in angulis platherarum orare ut
uideantur ab hominibus Mt. .vi. de quibus dicit Ysidorus
proprium ypocrite est in oratione hominibus se offerre
uidentibus quorum fructus est non Deo placere sed gloriam 400
ab hominibus comparare. Talis oratio non solum ualet ad

388/389 populus – me] Cfr Is. 29, 13; Matth. 15, 8 **396/398** Sicut – hominibus]
Matth. 6, 5

382 qui – crucifixi] Martin Morard, ed., Hugo de Sancto Caro. Postilla in totam
Bibliam (Io. 13), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022.
Consultation du 29/08/2022. (Permalink :
http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/hug/GLOSS-hug58.xmlchapitre=58_13): “duo sunt genera hominum, qui specialiter manducant
de mensa Domini, illi, scilicet, qui vivunt de patrimonio Crucifixi, ut clerici et religiosi, et
qui vivunt de mensa scripture et eucharistie, ut magistri et sacerdotes.” **385/386** nihil –
intentione] Cfr Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiae*, III, 7, 30, PL 83, c. 678
390/392 longe – occupatus] Cfr Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiae*, III, 7, 8, PL 83, c.
673 **392/394** segregandus – dirigatur] Cfr Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiae*, , III,
7, 10, PL 83, c. 674 **399/401** proprium – comparare] Cfr Isidorus Hispalensis,
Sententiae, III, 7, 28, PL 83, c. 678

382 de] in L1 uel] illis L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta **386** intentione] in deuotione M1
Nihil – eterne] om. M1 **392** segregandus] Gernengadus P] Guengadus L1 M1 M2
Me P1 Ta W1 **393** regum] rerum M2 **395** querant] querunt L1 M1 M2 Me Ta
396 optentum] obtentum L1 **398** vi] .uii. Me **399** offerre] offerere M1
400 uidentibus] hominibus uidentibus M2 Me Ta

meritum sed etiam uertitur in peccatum unde Ysidorus qui
iactat orat laudem appetendo humanam non solum eius
oratio non delet peccatum sed ipsa conuertitur in
405 peccatum. Debet ergo qui uult in bono proficere in officio
Dei ad placendum ostendit attendere animam applicare.

<1.2.2> Debet etiam statum suum uel ordinem uiuendo
secundum exigentiam eius honorare ad quod monet Ysa.
.ii.: *attendite ad petram* id est Christum sub quam edificata est
410 ecclesia tamquam stabile fundamentum ut cum fortis nos ei
proposse uestro *de quo precisi estis*. Unde et nomem
Christiani acceperitis ad hanc penam debent precipue
attendere qui contituti sunt ecclesie columpne super eam
edificate ut qui poniti sunt in prelatione et animarum
415 regimine uel qui sunt in dispositione qui ad hoc in sortem
Domini sunt electi ut per eos acquiruntur Domino. Alii ut
dicitur .ii. Petri .ii.: uos estis *genus electum* per segregationem
a reliquo populo Christiano per uite singularitatem. Sicut
dicit Ysidorus et habere in canone .xxiii. dicit hiis lege
420 Patrum ut a uulgari uita seclusi a uoluptatibus se abstineant.
Regale sacerdotium per officii dignitatem aut dispositionem
aut eius susceptionem *gens sancta* per ueram confessionem
populus acquisitus ut alios acquiratis per boni exempli
ostentionem et doctrine informationem. Sed heu hodie de
425 multis potest dici illud Ro. .ii. et sumitur de .lii. Ysa.: *per uos*
nomen meum blasphematur inter gentes. Hec est magna
deordinatio quando nos clerici qui debimus facere bono

409 attendite – petram] Is. 51, 1 417/418 uos – singularitatem] Cfr I Petr. 2, 9
425/426 per – blasphematur] Is. 52, 5

402/405 qui – peccatum] Cfr Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiae*, III, 7, 21, PL 83, c. 676
419/420 hiis – abstineant] Cfr Isidorus Hispalensis, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, II, 2, 1, PL
83, c. 777-8] *Decretum magistri Gratiani*, prima pars, dist. XXIII, c. III, PL 187, col. 131

404 delet] debet L1 M1 M2 Me Ta 405 peccatum] peccata M1 406 ostendit]
oportet M2 Me Ta attendere] attende Me Ta 407 etiam] ergo etiam M2
408 secundum] sed M1 409 id est] om. L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 410 cum fortis]
cumfortatis L1 Me Ta cum] om. M1 411 de] dicit M1 413 ecclesie columpne]
columpne ecclesie L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 414 poniti] positi M2 415 regimine]
regimen M1 416 acquiruntur] acquirantur M2 P1 W1 419 habere] habitur L1 M1
Me Ta 420 ut] ua M2 422 per ueram] ueram per M1 confessionem] perfectionem
P1 W1 427 debimus] debuimus M1

exemplo nostro nomen Dei glorificari ipsum malo exemplo
 nostro facimus blasphemari propter quod dicit Gregorius:
 in omelie designauit et cetera. Nullum puta karissimi maius 430
 preiudicium quam a sacerdotibus colerat Dominus.
 Sacerdos quasi sacer dux, possunt ergo dici sacerdotes qui
 per sanctitatem suam debent esse aliorum ductores ut sunt
 religiosi et alii clerici maxime in sacris ordinibus constituti
 nullum ab aliis maius preiudicium colerat Deus quam ab 435
 istis quando eos quos ad seruorum correptionem posuit
 dare de se exempla prauitatis cernit et plerumque quod est
 grauius si quos humiliter si quos continenter uiuere
 inspiciunt irrident et cum talis debet esse uita clericorum
 sicut dicit Ysidorus et habetur in canone, non uagi oculis 440
 nec effreni linguis aut petulantia fluidoque gestu incedat ei
 pudorem ac uerecundiam mentis simplici habitu incessuque
 ostendant sic enim possent statum suum uiuendo
 secundum eius exigentiam honorare.
 <1.2.3> Debet ulterius qui uult in bono proficere 445
 superne caritatis amicitiam conseruare secundum quod
 monet beatus Petrus .i. Cor. .i.: *simplici ex corde inuicem* et
 cetera. Ubi tangit dilectionis et caritatis puritatem simplici
 ex corde propter Deum pure. Caritas enim premium
 intuetur generalitatem inuicem unus alterum quilibet 450
 quelibet alium. Deus enim de caritate *latum mandatum* et
 cetera. Operositatem attentius attende ut caueat unus
 alterum ledere sed attentius ut studeat hoc proficere sicut
 enim dicit Ysidorus duo sunt circa dilectionem proximi
 conseruanda. Unum nequis malum inferat, malum scilicet 455

447 simplici – inuicem] I Petr. 1, 22 451 latum mandatum] Cfr Ps. 118, 96

430 designauit] *non inueni* 440/443 non – ostendant] Cfr Isidorus Hispalensis, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, II, 2, 2, PL 83, c. 778] *Decretum magistri Gratiani*, prima pars, dist. XXIII, c. III, PL 187 c 131 454/458 duo – impendat] Cfr Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiae*, III, 28, 1, PL 83, c. 702

434 constituti] constitui M1 435 ab²] ad M1 436 ad seruorum] aduersorum L1
 439 inspiciunt] conspiciunt P1 W1 441 nec] non Me Ta 443 enim] ei P1 449 ex]
 in P1 Caritas] caritatis W1 450 intuetur] non intuetur L1 M1 M2 P1 W1
 451 quelibet] quemlibet Me Ta 452 attende] attente M2 453 ledere] legere L1
 hoc] etiam M2 Me P1 Ta W1 455 conseruanda] conseruandam M2

lesionis in persona uel dampnationis in possessione aliud in
 fama quod est maius quia: *melius est nomen bonum quam diuitie*
multe Prouerb. enim alterum in bonum impendat. Peccant
 enim qui in impendendo bonum proximo cum potest et ille
 460 indigent. Deficit autem qui in inferendo malum excedat
 sicut dicit Augustinus de moribus ecclesie: duobus in
 homine modis peccatur uno si ledatur altero si caput non
 adiuuetur quorum neutrum qui diligit facit nec inimicus et
 persecutionibus usque ad quos caritatis dilectio se extendit
 465 dicente Domino Mt .v.: *diligite inimicos* et cetera. Caritas
 enim uera est ut dicit Gregorius cum in Deo diligitur
 amicus et propter Deum diligitur inimicus. Et ad hanc
 duplicem dilectionem possumus referre predictam
 comparisonem: inuicem diligite attentius attente diligendo
 470 amicum, attentius diligendo inimicum. In cuius dilectione
 duo sunt obseruanda: unum uere tristemur de eius
 profectu; alterum ne letemur de eius causa. Unde Gregorius
 qui de prosperitate abdicatur uel de calamitate obicientium
 se letatur. Constat quod eum non amat quem non uult esse
 475 meliorem eumque stantem uoto persequitur quem cecidisse
 gratulatur. Si referat suam gratulationem ad eius
 calamitatem uel tristitiam, ad eius prosperitatem seruando
 enim caritatem potest quis letari de ruina inimici propter
 aliorum liberationem uel tritari de gloria per aliorum
 480 oppressionem sicut dicit Gregorius in morum: sciendum
 quod plerumque euenire solet. Si a nulla caritate et inimici

457/458 melius – multe] Prou. 22, 1 465 diligite inimicos] Matth. 5, 44

461/463 duobus – facit] Augustinus *de moribus ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus*
manichaeorum, liber I, 50 PL 32, col. 1332 466/467 cum – inimicus] Gregorius
 Magnus, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, I, 38, 11, PL 76, c. 1280 473/476 de¹ – gratulatur] Cfr
 Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, 22, 11, 22, PL 76, c. 226d 480/484 sciendum –
 formidans] Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, 22, 11, 23, PL 76, c. 226d

456 dampnationis] dampnificationis M2 Me Ta aliud] ante M2] autem Me Ta
 458 in] ut M2 459 in] om. M2 impendendo] impendendo M2 460 indigent]
 indiget M2 Me Ta Deficit] De sicut M1 excedat] excedit M2 Me Ta 463 inimicus]
 inimicis M2 466 diligitur] diligit M1 M2 469 comparisonem] operationem W1
 471 uere] ne L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 472 causa] casu M2 Me Ta
 473 obicientium] odientium L1 Me P1 Ta W1] obedientium M2 475 quem] quam
 M2 Me Ta 476 gratulatur] grati M1] gratuletur L1 481 quod] quantum L1 M1

nos ruina letificet et rursum eius gloria sine inuidie culpa
contristet cum et in illo ruente quosdam erigi bene uidemus
et in illo proficiente plerosque iniuste opprimi formidans.
Debet ergo uolens sibi attendendo in bono proficere etiam
ad inimicum caritatis amicitiam conseruare.

485

<1.2.4> Debet ulterius attente dominice passionis
memoriam recogitare. Sicut ipse monet Thren .v.: *o uos
omnes qui transitis per uiam* et cetera. Monet autem ad attente
cogitandum dominice passionis acerbiter et innuit huius
cogitationis necessitatem. Quam primo innuit ut magis
prouocemur ad istam cogitationem. O uos omnes qui
transitis per uiam tenebrosam, uiam periculosam et ideo
neccessarium habetis ductorem ut peruenire possitis ad
tutum et ad optatum finem. *Attendite et uidete* id est attente
recogitando uidete *si est dolor sicut dolor meus* per huius enim
attentam cogitationem et memoriam tenere poteritis rectam
uiam, propter quod dicit Bernardus: memor ero quamdiu
fui laborum illorum quos sustinuit pertulit in paradyso.
Non solum dolorum quos habuit impatiendo fatigationum
in discurrendo temptationum in ieunando, uigiliarum
docendo, lacrimarum impatiendo. Recordabor autem
dolorum eius conuictorum sputorum colaphorum sub
sanantium exprobarum clauorum horum que similium
quem per eum et super eum habundantius transierunt hoc
me erigunt in aduersis, in prosperis reprimunt inter leta
tristia que uite presentis uia regia incedenti unum prebent
utrobique ducant. Ideo quamdiu sumus in uia debemus ad
ista uidenda attente leuare mentis intuitum et in huius
signum consueuit crux poni iuxta uias ut: *inspicientes in
actorem fidei et consummatorem Christi qui proposito, sed gauisi sunt,*

490

495

500

505

510

488/489 o – uiam] Thren. 1, 12 510/512 inspicientes – contempta] Hebr. 12, 2

498/499 memor – paradyso] Bernardus Claraeuellensis, *Sermones, Feria IV Hebdomadae Sanctae*, 11 PL 183, col. 269

482 rursum] rui M1 483 in] om. M1 483/484 ruente – illo] om. M1
484 plerosque] populosque M2 489 et cetera] attendite et cetera P1 500 Non]
animo P1 501 discurrendo] describendo P1 502 Recordabor autem] autem
recordabor M2 503 dolorum] que dolorum M2 conuictorum] conuictorum Me Ta
sputorum] spictorum P1 504 clauorum] clamorum M2 P1 507 que] quia M1 Me
incedenti] incedente L1 508 sumus] simus M1

crucem confusione contempta ad eius exemplum bona temporalia
 contempnentes et mala cum patientia sustinentes, uia regia
 incedamus neque ad dexteram per cupiditatem et per
 515 amorem aspicientes neque ad sinistram per timorem
 aduersitatis declinantes ut enim dicit Augustinus omnia
 bona terrena contempsit homo Christus Iesus ut
 contempnenda monstraret et omnia mala sustinuit que
 sustinenda preciebat ut nec in illis quereretur felicitas nec in
 520 istis moreretur infelicitas. Non enim quereretur in illis
 felicitatem uel timeretur infelicitatem qui attente recogitaret
 de dominica passione. Unde amor inordinatus et timorum
 bonorum, malorum temporalium bene iudicant illius
 cogitationis defectum. Attende igitur tibi: in declinatione
 525 mali et in profectu boni sic tibi attendendo possis et te
 saluum facere. Rogemus Dominum et cetera.

516/520 omnia – infelicitas] Augustinus, *De catechizandis rudibus*, PL 40, col. 339

519 nec¹] nos P1 **520** moreretur] in moreretur L1 M1 M2 M^e P1 Ta **522** timorum]
 timor L1 M1 M2 M^e P1 Ta W1 **525** sic] ut sit L1 M1 M2 M^e P1 Ta W1 possis] possit
 P1 **526** Rogemus – cetera] om. L1 M1 M2 M^e P1 Ta W1

Sermo XXVII

Sermon *de una virgine*, C8, RLS 228.

Base ms.: P, ff. 193vb-195rb.

- 5 Collated mss.: L1, ff. 295vb-297vb; M1, ff. 418va-420va; M2, ff. 211r-212r; Me, ff. 217ra-218vb; P1, ff. 168va-170rb; Ta, ff. 194va-196ra; W1, ff. 297ra-299va.

Fortitudo et decor indumentum eius

- 10 Consuetudo est quod omnes in magnis festiuitatibus seu sollempnitatibus ornant se maxime mulieres que sumptuosius et curiosius se induunt quam uiri et hoc maxime quando ad aliquod festum uel nuptias inuitantur. Sic et beata uirgo ex quo cognouit se ad agni nuptias
15 inuitari non cessauit sibi indumenta querere et ista duo spiritualiter de quibus dicitur in uerbo proposito: *fortitudo et decor indumentum eius*. Fortitudo constantie et decor pudicitie ut ornata decenter et parata cum sanctis uirginibus que ornauerunt lampades suas introiret ad nuptias ne cum
20 stultis inueniret ianuam clausam. Unde potest de illa dici illud uerbum Prou. ultimum: *quesiuit lanam et linum et operata est consilio manuum suarum sequitur stragulatam fecit* et cetera, id est aduersi colorem quia diuersis uirtutibus plena fuit. Decebat enim tanti regis sponsam sponsis ornari uestibus.
25 Unde hinc uere dici potest illa Hester que: *die tertio induta est regalibus uestibus et stetit in atrio domus regie*. Die enim tertio ista uirgo ornata regalibus uestimentis stetit in atrio domus regie et palatio paradysi. Nam die postea natiuitatis in utero stetit induta sorde corruptionis nostre. Iob .viii.: *indurata est caro*
30 *mea putredine et sordibus pulueris*. Die secunda scilicet natiuitatis ex utero fuit induta miseriis conditionis humane. Sed die tertio quando de utero militantis ecclesie nata est in celo, sed die autem tertia quando mater ecclesia peperit eam

Sermo XXVII, 9 Fortitudo – eius] Prou. 31, 25 21/22 quesuiuit – fecit] Prou. 31, 13
25/26 die – regie] Esth. 5, 1 29/30 indurata – pulueris] Cfr Iob 7, 5

Sermo XXVII, 10 in] om. M1 festiuitatibus seu] om. L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1
11 se] se et M2 Me P1 Ta W1 23 aduersi] diuersi M2 Me P1 Ta W1 plena fuit] fuit
plena P1 26 regalibus] regularibus M2 Me Ta 26/27 Die – uirgo] om. P1
28 postea] prima M2 29 viii] .vii. L1 M1 Me P1 Ta W1

ponso suo Christo tunc ornata est constantia martyrii et
decore uirginitatis et sic ornata ad regales nuptias introiuit. 35
Ad exemplum autem illius uirginis si uolumus ad celestias
nuptias introire debemus nos ornare multiplici indumento.

<1> Prima est camisia castitatis siue continentie. Per
camisiam enim que immediate prope carnem induitur
castitas designatur cum enim cetere uirtutes in anima sunt. 40
Sola uirginitas siue pudicitia in carne est; de hoc indumento
dicitur Apoc. .xix.: *uenerunt nuptie agni et uxor eius preparauit se
et datum est ei ut induat se bissino splendenti candido*. Optime dicit
splendenti candido, castitas enim non solum debet esse
interius candida per puritatem sed exterius splendida per 45
honestatem. Sicut enim in alba ueste citius apparet macula
quam in alia sic in professoribus castitatis ut quibuscumque
continentibus citius percipitur et magis notatur de ordinatio
castitatis istud autem peccatum est maioris infamie sicut et
tactus impudicus uel sermo lasciuus et aspectus inhonestus. 50
Ita enim magis notantur quam de ordinatio contra aliam
quamlibet uirtutem. Hac camisia indutus erat Dauid quando
portabat archam federis unde dicitur .i. Paral. .xv.: *Dauid
indutus erat stola bissina et uniuersi Leuite qui portabant archam
federis Domini*. Omnes qui uolunt ad archam Domini 55
accedere debent ista indui ne forte si fuerint polluti
communicat illis. Sicut ora qui percussus est quia in
mundus tetigerat eam. .i. Reg. .vi. ad plenariam istius
camisie conseruationem oportet quod totaliter intacta
custodiatur. Castitas enim est similis flori lillii. Lilium enim 60
intactum permanens odorem suum et candorem seruat sed
si tangatur uel confricatur marcessit et statim fetere incipit,
sic castitas per tactum impudicum pulchritudinem suam
amittit.

42/43 uenerunt – candido] Cfr Apoc. 19, 7-8 53/54 Dauid – archam] I Par. 15, 27
57 percussus est] Cfr I Reg. 6, 6

37 nuptias] nuptis M1 40 cetere] sedere L1 sunt] sint Me Ta 42 preparauit]
apparauit M2 43 Optime] optimo L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 47 ut] uel L1 P1] cor. uel
M1 48 ordinatio] ordinatione M1 50 inhonestus] et honestus L1 51 Ita] ista M1
M2 Me P1 52 Dauid] dominus M2 54 stola bissina] bissina stola L1 55 Omnes]
omnes enim L1 M1 Me P1 W1 ad] om. M2 56 fuerint] add. necesse fuerint M1
57 ora] hora Ta W1 58 istius] autem istius L1 M1 M2

65 <2> Secundo debet indui pellicea de morticinio
 austeritatis et penitentiae per pelliceam enim que sit de
 pellibus alterium mortuorum qua signatur austeritas
 penitentiae que ornatum habet ex mortificatione carnis sicut
 pellicea ex pellibus mortuis. Ista autem debet indui post
 70 camisiā immediate quod quia per istam pelliceam castitas
 siue pudicitia maxime conseruatur. Homo enim qui non est
 carni sue austerus non potest esse perfecte castus. Unde
 dicit Bernardus. quod periclitatur castitas in deliciis, de ista
 pellicea dicitur Gen. .iii. ubi dicitur quod: *facit Dominus Ade*
 75 *et uxori eius tunicas pelliceas et induit eos* dans eis illud intelligere
 quod qui peccauerant per carnis mortificationem satisfacere
 debent. Sed queri potest cum pellicea sic suavis et calida
 queritur per eam signatur penitentia et potest respondere
 quodlibet penitentia sit grauis et aspera corpori tamen est
 80 dulcis et suavis anime. Sed nota quod multi induunt istam
 pelliceam uersa uice, qui exterius pretendunt aliquam
 austeritatem in habitu et tamen ostendunt contrarietatem in
 conuinctu.

<3> Tertio debet habere tunicam rubeam de purpura
 85 patientie. Hanc habuit ista uirgo qua fuit tincta in sanguine
 martyrii sui et ista tunica optime sequitur post camisiā et
 pelliceam. Qui enim uult castitatem suam seruare et in
 austeritate uiuere multa oportet enim pati et sustinere. Non
 statim sequitur patientia quam necessarie est habere de hoc
 90 indumento Prou. ult.: *byssus et purpura indumentum eius*.
 Byssus castitatis et purpura patientie et subtilitatis hec debet
 esse uera purpura, non contrefacte, que numquam debet
 amittere colorem suum. Talis est purpura quorundam qui

74/75 facit – eos] Gen. 3, 21 90 byssus – eius] Prou. 31, 22

Sermo XXVII, 73 periclitatur – deliciis] Cfr Bernardus Claraeuallensis, *Sermo de conuersione ad clericos*, 21, 37, PL 182, c. 855b 92 contrefacte] French

66 et penitentiae] om. Me et] om. M2 P1 Ta W1 67 pellibus] pellicibus Me P1 W1
 qua] om. L1 M1 P1 W1 69 pellicea] pellicia M1] pellicia M2 autem] aut M1
 70 pelliceam] uirtutem L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 74 dicitur¹] om. M2 P1 W1 75 eius]
 sue Me illud] in hoc L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 77 debent] debebant L1 M1 M2 Me P1
 Ta W1 78 queritur] querit L1] quasi M1] quare Me Ta signatur] om. W1 87 enim]
 om. P1 88 enim] eum L1 M1 Me Ta Non] om. M1 89 necessarie] necesse Me est]
 om. P1 92 contrefacte] contrefaite M2 Me P1 Ta W1 93 colorem] calorem P

statim amittunt patientiam suam. Eorum enim purpura siue
 tunica non est tincta tinctura transmarina, scilicet sanguine 95
 passionis dominice, in quo omnes tunice martirum
 uerissimum colorem sumpserunt sicut dicitur in Apoc. qui
 sunt isti :*qui uenerant ex magna tribolatione et lauerunt stolas suas*
in sanguine agni. Ista sic tincta nec uento nec pluuiā
 obfuscatur et nota quod ista tunica, scilicet patientia, similis 100
 est salamandre. Salamandra enim in igne uiuit et de igne
 mittitur. Sic patientia in igne tribulationis conseruatur et
 probatur. Multi enim inquiete uidentur habere patientiam
 qui assimilantur lapidi qui dicitur carulus. Qui quamdiu est
 in campo nec concutitur ignem non emittit sed quando 105
 fortiter colliditur siue concutitur statim ignis exit. Sic multi
 quamdiu sunt in pace tamdiu uidentur esse patientes quam
 cito ex aliquo uerbo duro pulsantur statim ignem emittunt
 impatientie unde a facie licie egressus est ignis.

<4> Quarto debent habere supertunicale de uiridi 110
 iocunde scicilie. Per uiridem enim colorem qui tutet ceteros
 colores insui est delectabilior intelligo gaudium cordis quia
 sicut dicitur: Eccl. .xxv. : *non est oblectamentum* hoc est enim
 quod super omnia delectat et reficit animam. Unde .ii. Cor.
 .i. : *gloria nostra hec est testimonium conscientie nostre* istam habuit 115
 ista uirgo ut posset de ea dici illud. Iudith .x. : *induit se*
uestimento iocunditatis sue sed multi sunt qui hoc indumento
 nesciunt uti qui nec pacem suam nec aliorum sciunt
 custodire. Tales enim sunt similes molendinario qui non
 potest dormire nisi in tumultu talibus dicitur illud Ysa. .li. : 120
induere uestimentis glorie tue ciuitas sancta.

98/99 qui – agni] Cfr Apoc. 7, 14 113 non – oblectamentum] Eccli. 30, 16

115 gloria – nostre] II Cor. 1, 12 116/117 induit – sue] Cfr Iudith 16, 9

121 induere – sancta] Cfr Is. 52, 1

98 sunt isti] isti sunt Me P1 Ta W1 uenerant] uenerunt Me P1 Ta W1 99 Ista] istas
 M1 tincta] tanta M1 100 obfuscatur] obfucatur P1 103 uidentur] mirum M1
 104 assimilantur] assumilantur P1 qui² – carulus] om. Ta carulus] carolus Me
 105 non emittit] om. L1 M1 P1 W1 108 ex] autem Me P1 Ta W1 109 licie] licite L1
 110 Quarto] quartum tamen M1 debent] om. M1 supertunicale] tunicale L1 uiridi]
 uendidi W1 111 scicilie] scicilie M2 Me P1 Ta W1 tutet] tacet L1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1
 112 insui] uisui M2

- <5> Quinto debet habere pallium deauratum scilicet latitudinem caritatis. Per aurum quod omnia metalla excedit et omnibus aliis dat decorem signatur caritas que omnibus
 125 preeminet uirtutibus Psalmo: *astitit regina a dextris tuis in uestitu deaurato circumdata uarietate*. Circumdata uarietate dicit notabiliter, licet enim aliquae uirtutes possunt esse sine caritate numquam tamen caritas potest esse sine aliis uirtutibus. Hec est enim regina uirtutum que numquam sola
 130 uadit, hoc est pallium latum quo totum cooperitur non solum propria peccata sed etiam aliena. Patiens enim est et benigna omnia credit, omnia sperat, omnia sustinet. Ideo dicitur .ii. Pe. .iiii.: *caritas operit multitudinem peccatorum* hoc pallio solebant uti antiqui patres et indui sicut ille Ayas
 135 Sylonites qui indutus erat et opertus pallio nouo in se sed moderni illud pallium totaliter relinquerunt ita ut eis impetrando possit dici illud Thren. .iiii.: *filii Syon incliti amicti auro puro uel primo quomodo reputati sunt in uasa testea opus manuum figuli*.
 140 <6> Sexto debet habere zonam iustitiae que debet esse de duplici corio ueram iustitiam Domini respicit et proximum et cetera in recessu a malo et profectu in bono. Dicitur enim iustitia cingulum quia sicut cingulum constringit uestes. Ista iustitia constringit et circuit omnes uirtutes
 145 quod autem iustitia dicatur cingulum Abrahamae Ysa .xi.: *erit iustitia cingulum lumborum eius* et Eccl.: *circumcinxit eum zona iustitiae et induit eum Dominus corona glorie*. De isto indumento dicitur Ysa. .lxi.: *gaudens gaudebo in Domino quia induit me uestimento salutis et indumento iustitiae circumdedit me*. Ad istam

125/126 *astitit* – *uarietate*¹] Ps. 44, 10 133 *caritas* – *peccatorum*] I Petr. 4, 8
 135 *qui* – *se*] Cfr I Reg. 11, 29 137/139 *filii* – *figuli*] Cfr Thren. 4, 2 145/146 *erit* – *eius*] Is. 11, 5 146/147 *circumcinxit* – *glorie*] Eccli. 45, 9 148/149 *gaudens* – *me*] Is. 61, 10

122 *habere*] *abere* W1 125/126 *in* – *uarietate*²] *om.* W1 126 *Circumdata uarietate*] *uarietate circumdata* P1 133 *hoc*] *hec* Me 134 *pallio*] *palleo* W1 *ut*] *indui* M2 Me P1 Ta W1 *et indui*] *om.* M2 Me P1 Ta W1 135 *et*] *uel* M2 P1 W1 141 *proximum*] *proximi* M1 142 *cetera*] *est* L1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 *profectu*] *profectum* P1] *proferri* M1 144 *uestes* – *constringit*] *om.* L1 Ta *Ista*] *ita* M1 M2 Me 147 *corona*] *coronam* L1 M1

corrigiam debet pendere bursa largitatis misericordie. Sicut 150
enim bursa pendet ad zonam ita misericordia sit ex iustitia
que est pars eius et sub ea continetur. De hac bursa dicitur
Galates .iii. : *induite uos sicut electi Dei uiscera misericordie.*

<7> Septimo debet habere calciamenta de corduano 155
humilitatis. Per calciamenta enim que tegunt inferiorem
partem hominis scilicet pedis signatur humilitas que debet
informare nostras affectiones que per pedes intelliguntur.
Non enim humilitas solum debet esse in habitu sed in
corde Ecc. .xix. : *est qui nequiter se humiliat et interioria eius plena*
sunt dolo. Non enim est hec humilitas natura que exterius 160
ostenditur sed illa que interius habuerunt omnis enim gloria
filie regis ab intus. De istis calciamentis. Can. .vi. : *quam*
pulchri sunt gressus tui in calciamentis filia principis. Nota quod
illud quod pulchrius est libenter respicitur. Sic Dominus
libentius respicit humilitatem propter suam pulchritudinem 165
Ps. : *excelsus Dominus et humilia respicit* non quia in se ipsa
tantum sit pulchra. Sed quia omnibus aliis uirtutibus dat
colorem. Comparatur enim in uitio quod quidam de se non
est color sed alios colorat et obseruat et decorat sicut est de
humilitate. Unde Iudit .x. postquam dictum est de illa 170
Iudit : *induit se uestimentis iocunditatis sue statim sequitur et induit*
se pedibus suis.

<8> Octauo debet habere anulum fidei de quo quidem
precepit ille paterfamilias ornari filium suum Luc. .xv. :
circum proferte stolam primam et induite illum et date anulum in 175
manu eius et calciamenta in pedibus eius. Per stolam primam

153 induite – misericordie] Col. 3, 12 **159/160** est – dolo] Eccli. 19, 23
162/163 quam – principis] Cant. 7, 1 **166** excelsus – respicit] Ps. 137, 6
171/172 induit¹ – suis] Iudith 10, 3 **175/176** circum – eius²] Luc. 15, 22

150 corrigiam] corrigiam L1 P1 misericordie] et misericordie L1 M1 Me Ta Sicut]
sed M2 **151** enim] om. P **153** Galates] Col. M2 Me P1 Ta W1 **154** corduano]
corde uano M2 **156** pedis] pedes M2 Me P1 Ta W1 **159** interioria] interiora M2
162 filie] filie filie P1 vi] .vii. L1 M1 M2 Me Ta **165** respicit humilitatem]
humilitatem respicit L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 165/166 propter – respicit] om. Me
169 obseruat] conseruat Me Ta est²] om. P1 **170** postquam] postquam quam M1
172 se] om. P1] sandelia Me Ta W1 **176** calciamenta] calciamentum Ta in] om. Me

- sicut dicit glossa intelligitur uestis innocentie siue puritatis quam habunt primi parentes hac debet indui quilibet penitens. Per anulum nota secundum glossam signaculum
 180 Dei per quam quidem anima christiana desponsatur. Secundum illud: *sponsabo te mihi in fide*. Sed notabile est quod dicit *in manu eius*. Fides enim si non habeat opera, mortua est in semetipsa. Lex enim amicitie est ut fidem quam habet in corde exterius pretendat in operatione quod
 185 autem dicit: *et calciamenta in pedibus* ad humilitatem de qua in precedenti membro tactum est referendum est.
- <9> Nono dicitur habere capellum perseuerantie. Perseuerantia enim recte per capellum potest intelligi. Capellum enim circularis est figure carens principio et fine.
 190 Sicut perseuerantia omnes alias uirtutes perficit et caret fine et ideo flos istius capelli immarcessibilis est Ysa .xxviii.: *erit Dominus corona glorie et sertum exsultationis residuo populi sui*.
- <10> Decimo in die qua perfecte coniungitur sponso scilicet mortis qui ista omnia habunt induetur ab ipso
 195 corona mortalitatis in perfecte et dignitatis regie secundum quod recongnoscit anima sancta. Isa .lxi.: *induit me uestimento*

181 sponsabo – fide] Os. 2, 20 **191/192** erit – sui] Is. 28, 5 **196/198** induit – suis] Cfr Is. 61, 10

177 glossa] Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina (Lc. 15, 22), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 29/08/2022. (P e r m a l i n k : http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GLOSS-liber57.xmlchapitre=57_15): “ ‘Stola prima’ vestis innocentie in qua primus homo conditus, sed post culpam se nudum novit et pellicium, id est mortale sumpsit indumentum.” **179** glossam] Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina (Lc. 15, 22), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 29/08/2022. (Permalink : http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GLOSS-liber57.xmlchapitre=57_15): “Annulum, id est signaculum fidei quo signatur promissa in cordibus credentium”.

178 habunt] habuerunt Me Ta **180** Dei] fidei L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1
186 referendum est] om. M2 **187** Nono] decimo L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 dicitur] debet L1 M1 M2 Me Ta **190** caret fine] fine caret L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1
193 Decimo] undecimo L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 **195** mortalitatis] immortalitatis L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta in] om. L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1

*salutis tamquam sponsam decoratam corona et ornatum monilibus
suis et Baruch .v. : exue te Ierusalem stellam luctus et uexationis tue
et indue te decore et honore eius que a Deo tibi est in gloria sempiterna
quam nobis concedat et cetera.*

198/199 exue – sempiterna] Bar. 5, 1

198 stellam] stella Ta W1] stolam M^e luctus] intus M2 M^e Ta tue] me M2 P1

Sermo XXVIII

Sermon *in nativitate BMV*, S65, *RLS* 189.

Base ms.: *P*, ff. 195rb-197va.

- 5 Collated mss.: *L1*, ff. 297vb-299va; *M1*, ff. 420va-423ra;
M2, ff. 213r-216r; *Me*, ff. 218vb-221ra; *P1*, ff. 170rb-
172rb; *Ta*, ff. 196ra-198rb; *W1*, ff. 299va-303ra.

10 *Rorate celi desuper et nubes pluant iustum aperiatur terra, et
germinet Salvatorem.*

- Homines quando habuerunt karistiam uno anno solent
desiderare fertilitatem hinc est quod aliquando consuerunt
facere orationes et processiones et huius hoc dico quia per
peccatum Ade maxima fuit caristia bonorum spiritualium in
15 terra scilicet Deus enim antequam filium suum mitteret in
mundum ita carum se tenebat quod nullus nec dono nec
promisso poterat eum habere nec regnum suum ingredi.
Nota de Abel qui dedit ei de melioribus et pulchrioribus
que habebat, Abraham terram suam dimiserat insuper
20 unicum filium scilicet optulit. Si uoluisset accipere et hoc ut
saltem post mortem eum, hominem cum omnes ad
infernum descenderunt. Attendentes igitur quod sic carus
erat quod eum emere non poterant, incepterunt eum rogare
quod caristiam amoueret et quod rorem de celo daret et
25 pluuiam de nubibus ita quod terra germinaret et daret
fructum ad saluationem populi et sustentationem. Et hic est
sensus predictorum uerborum. Terram enim humanitatis
nostre Dominus maledixerat, *maledicta terra* inquit et cetera.
Sed quando Christus descendit in uirginem, terra nostra
30 benedicta est et omni bono repleta. *Aue* inquit *gratia plena*
Dominus tecum benedicta et cetera quasi dicat per Euam

Sermo XXVIII, 9/10 *Rorate* – *Saluatorem*] *Is.* 45, 8 **28** *maledicta terra*] *Gen.* 3, 17
30/31 *Aue* – *benedicta*] *Luc.* 1, 28

Sermo XXVIII, 11 *karistiam*] *caristiam* *M2 Me P1 Ta W1* **12** *consuerunt*]
consueuerunt *L1 M1 M2* **20** *scilicet*] *om. P1 W1*] *suum* *L1* *Si*] *sed* *L1 M1 M2 Me P1*
Ta W1 *accipere*] *eum accipere* *L1 M1 M2 Me Ta* **23** *eum*¹] *cum* *M2 Me Ta*
26 *saluationem*] *salutem* *M2* **29** *quando*] *ante Me* *Christus*] *om. Ta* **30** *omni*] *in*
omni *L1 M1 M2 Me P1 W1* **31** *quasi dicat*] *om. Me*

maledictam. Terra humana maledicta est sed per te uirgo est benedicta quia Domino es repleta.

<1> Nota qualiter per uirginem uenit pulchritudo ut tolleretur caristia precedens. Exemplum de terra non seminata si germinaret et quod omnia modo habuntur pro nihilo que prius patres uestri nulla promissione uel dono emere poterunt propter ea ad deprecandum se auerterunt dicentes rorate celi desuper. Nota quod aduentus Christi comparatur rori descendenti in terram sine lesione et corruptione sed ad eius fecunditatem. Ros enim habet 35 40

<1.1> uim medicinalem ad morbos curandum scilicet lepram.

<1.2> Item ualet ad gustum refundendum

<1.3> et tertio ad estum separandum. 45

<1.1> Primo ergo ualet ad morbum curandum: unde nota quod ostree marine tempore uernali choncas suas aperiuunt et rorem recipiunt; ex roris uirtute generatur in eis lapis preciosus qui dicitur margarita qui, intus et in puluerem reductus, ponitur in electuario qui dicitur diamargariton cuius usus ualet contra lepram. Ostrea marina id est maria amara, traxit se ad litus fugiendo mundi tempestates. Se autem aperuit quando consensit dicens: *ecce ancilla Domini*. Nota quod tunc plus humiliavit quam numquam autem legitur quia quanto magis es et cetera. Rorem in se recepit quando dicitur filius in eam descendit et tunc formata est in ea margarita humanitatis assumpte et trita in mortario crucis factum est dyamargariton ad omnis morbi curationem. Eccl. .xliii.: medicina omnium in festinatione nebule obuians ros ab odore uehementi 50 55 60

53/54 ecce – Domini] Luc. 1, 38 59/61 medicina – auram] Cfr Eccli. 43, 24

Sermo XXVIII, 51 diamargariton] Remedy still present in the 17th century for cardiac problems. *Jacobi Sylui Opera medica*. Cfr Godefroy Frédéric, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IX^e au X^e siècle*, 2, p. 708.

38 poterunt] potuerunt M2 propter] et propter P1 W1 39 rorate] uenite W1
40 lesione] oris lesione M2 Me Ta 41 fecunditatem] fecunditam P1
44 refundendum] reficiendum M2 P1 W1 48 eis] eo Me 49 dicitur] dictus Me
intus] tritus L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 50 electuario] lectuario P dicitur] om. L1
52 marina] mariana P1 litus] lititus P1 53 aperuit] apparuit P1 W1 consensit]
consentit P1 W1 58 mortario] martirio Me 59 xliii.] .xliii. Ta

humanam afficiat auram. Nebula festinans Christus et si non quantum ad uota desiderantium tamen quantum ad hoc quia preuenit assumendo carnem in merita omnem uel quia statim postquam ostrea ista se aperuit per consensum
 65 facta eius habitaculum. Hic est ros obuians ardori lepre peccati sicut medicina obuiau infirmitati. Leprosus dicitur peccator quia fetet coram Domino Deo et angelis eius per detestationem peccati eius, corrumpit alios per inordinatam conuersationem, ardet siti interius per mala desideria
 70 exterius incorporalis quia semper se sculpsit per mala exempla, ad istius lepre curationem ualet nostrum dyamargariton. Nota quomodo eius humilitas est unguentum contra superbiam et cum hoc unguentum generale contra omnem lesuram: *sicut unguentum in capite*
 75 *quod descendit in barbam barbam Aaron quod descendit in horam uestimenti eius, sicut ros Hermon qui descendit in montem Syon.* Capud ecclesie Christus a quo unguentum sanatiuum descendit in barbam id est in homines uirtuosos in operibus bonis sicut fuerit apostoli, martyres et alii sancti. Barba
 80 enim signum est uigoris et uirtutis in homine et ab hac barba descendit in horam uestimenti quod est finis ecclesie. Hoc est: *ros in montem* et cetera. Hermon anathema meroris uel tristitie est mons ille Christus moriens in mundo omnem tristitiam exclusit anathematis. Unde in Luc. dicit
 85 angelus: *annuntio pastoribus uobis gaudium magnum* et cetera. Ros ergo Hermon descendit in montem Syon quando a Christo descendit gaudium in ecclesia. Nota quod ros uim ueneni reprimat in animalibus nociuis et coartat ne tantum de nocte quam de die se diffundat. Unde serpentes

74/76 sicut – Syon] Cfr Ps. 132, 2-3 82 ros – montem] Cfr Ps. 132, 3 85 annuntio – magnum] Luc. 2, 10

63 quia] om. P1 64 se] statim se M2 Me Ta 65 facta] facta est L1 M1 P1 W1 72/73 est – contra] omnium M2 P1 W1 72/73 est unguentum] eius L1 Ta] omnium M1 Me 73/74 contra – generale] om. L1 M1 79 fuerit] fuerunt L1 M1 80 uirtutis] fortitudinis Me 81 horam] auram P1 83 moriens] qui moriens M2 84 Unde – dicit] om. Me Unde – Luc] Luce L1 M1 M2 P1 Ta W1 85 pastoribus] om. L1 M1 M2 Me P1 W1 85/87 gaudium – descendit] om. Ta 85 et cetera] om. Ta 88 ueneni] uenie M2 89 de] om. P1

latitantes inter herbam parum solent homines nocere 90
quamdiu flores et gramina sunt in flore.

<1.2> Secundo nota quod ros licet uideatur insipidus
tamen est dulcissimus ac mellis manantis conuiuis in herbis
et floribus. Nam ex rore celesti mel in floribus et manna in
quibusdam herbis in quadam parte Grece generatur sicut 95
dicitur in Plato. Expone flos Maria, mel et manna Christus
qui pascuntur in deserto presentis miserie in sacramentis
altaris sub specie panis et uini. Et uerissime ros est iste
dulcedinis immense in spiritu deuoto canimus. Hic est ros
de quo Numer. .xi.: *cum descenderit ros super castra descendebat* 100
pariter et manna. Certe hic est panis uiuus qui de celo
descendit, qui panis uite est iustis, peccatoribus autem panis
mortis. Exemplum de cibo sano qui conseruat sanum et
interficit egrotum et qui *manducat et bibit* et cetera igitur
probet seipsam homo et cetera. 105

<1.3> De tertio nota quod ros aerem diurno calore
adultum refrigerat sicut Christus estus tribulationum. Nota
in quanta tribulatione mundus erat ante Christi aduentum
cui dyabolus dominabatur qui eiectus est foras per
Christum. Habet estum Christus ueniens refrigerauit 110
peccati furorem Act. .xxiii.: *nonne ardorem refrigerabit ros*. Sic
et uerbum melius quam datum. Nota etiam quomodo tunc
refrigerat tribulationes. Descendit enim angelus Domini
cum Azaria in fornacem *et fecit medium fornacis quasi uentum*
roris flantem et cetera. Dan. .iii. 115

<2> Sequitur *nubes pluant iustum* et cetera. Nubes dicitur
uirgo et ualde congrue si consideremus nubis ortum situm

100/101 cum – manna] Num. 11, 9 104/105 manducat – homo] Cfr I Cor. 11, 28-
29 111 nonne – ros] Eccli. 18, 16 114/115 et – flantem] Dan. 3, 50 116 nubes –
iustum] Is. 45, 8

94/96 Nam – Plato] *non inueni*

90 parum solent] persoluent P1 homines] homine P1 91 quamdiu] *om.* P1
92 insipidus] ad modum a quo insipidus M2 Me Ta 93 conuiuis] caminis Me Ta
97 in²] et P1 98 specie] pecie P1 104 et¹] quia M2 Me P1 Ta W1 107 adultum] ad
altum P1 W1 sicut Christus] *om.* Me Christus] *om.* M2 tribulationum] tribulatio M2
Me Ta 108 tribulatione] in tribulatione P1 110 refrigerauit] rfrigerauit P1
111 peccati furorem] *om.* M2 Me Ta W1 114 in fornacem] *om.* Me Ta

et fructum de quo notatur quod nubes generatur hec
 subtilibus partibus terre etiam aque que uapores dicuntur et
 120 calore solis eleuantur usque ad medium interstitium aeris et
 ibi conglobantur et nubes appellantur. Sic uirgo Maria ex
 massa humanitatis bonitatem paterni in ipsis per
 successionem generationis subtiliata et ad uaporalement
 materiam redacta generata est Maria de qua in septima die
 125 uite nubecula parua ascendebat de mari quasi uestigium
 hominis. Nota historum qualiter propter peccatum impii
 regis Achias et uxoris eius lezabel facta est siccitas et famis
 duobus annis in terra illa et quomodo in tertio promisit
 Dominus pluuiam et tunc ascendit Helyas in monte
 130 Carmeli et in septima uice uidebat puer eius nubeculam et
 malus rex et mala uxor eius ad aurem Eua propter quorum
 peccatum facta est fames annis duobus scilicet tempore
 legis nature et tempore legis scripture. Notatur quod pueri
 erant et nimis mane comederunt: *ue terre cuius rex puer est.*
 135 Sed in tertio anno, scilicet tempore gratie, promisit
 Dominus pluuiam misericordie futuram. Helyas autem qui
 ascendit in monte Carmeli ad speculandum .uii. uicibus
 typum gerit omnium prophetarum qui per .uii. etates mundi
 ortum uirginis. Presto lati sunt in monte deuotionis et
 140 contemplationis. Carmelus enim interpretatur tenellus uel
 mollis. Qui etiam attendebant afflictionem et miseriam ex

134 ue – est] Eccli. 10, 16

120/121 medium – appellantur] Cfr Albertus Magnus, *Opera Omnia. Editio Digitalis*, t. XII, *Quaest. super de animal.*, IV, q. 9: “quod uapores elevati a terra et aqua ad medium interstitium aeris ascendunt per uirtutem solis [...] sicut nubes...”] Cfr Aristotle’s *Meteorology in the Arabico-Latin tradition: a critical edition of the texts, with introduction and indices*, ed. P. Schoonheim, Brill 2000, p. 10: “Nos autem dicimus in illo quod nubes fiunt ex aere in locis, in quibus uirtus radiorum solis et stellarum, quarum lumen est rediens in aere, absciditur ex calore terrae et aquae...”

118 hec] ex P1 W1 119 etiam] et M2 121 ibi] sibi P1 uirgo] ergo W1
 123 subtiliata] subtilia M2 124 Maria] marita W1 qua] quarumdia L1 M2 Me P1 Ta
 W1 die] om. L1 M1 Me P1 Ta W1 126 historum] istorum W1 127 Achias] Achar
 P1 130 nubeculam] nubecullam W1 132 est] om. W1 tempore] tempus P1 Ta W1
 133 scripture] scripture M2 Notatur] nota L1 M1 M2 Me Ta 134 mane] male W1
 136 Dominus] om. P futuram] om. M2 Me Ta 137 monte] morte P 138 gerit] girit
 M2 per] om. P 139 ortum] om. M1

peccato introductum. Carmelus enim interpretatur
 cognoscens circumcisionem uel scientiam circumcisionis.
 .uii. etates sunt: prima ab Adam usque ad Noe; secunda
 etiam usque ad Abraham; tertia usque ad Moysem. Quarta 145
 usque ad Daud, quinta usque ad transmigrationem
 Babilonis; sexta usque ad ortum uirginis; septima usque ad
 finem mundi. In hac uisa est nubecula parua ascendere de
 mari. Nota parua per humilitatem quia ancillam se dixit que
 est minor in domo. Nota quod est maxime humiliata 150
 quando maxime est exaltata dans magnis exemplum
 humilitatis. Nota hic quod eius humilitas fuit causa quare
 meruit accipere filium Dei et quod dicit Bernardus quod
 uirginitatis sine humilitate non poterat Deo placere.
 Notatur etiam hoc de uisione Helye quando primo uenit 155
 spiritus grandinis per quem possumus intelligere et
 Gabrielem qui fortitudo quia sicut dicitur Luc. .i.: *missus est*
Gabriel angelus et cetera. Post spiritum commotio quoniam
 ad uocem angeli turbata est sicut dicit Lucas sed non in
 Dominus. Item post commotionem ignis *Spiritus sanctus* 160
superueniet in te. Nam adhuc Dominus si post ignem sibilus
 aure tenus id est responsio Marie dulcis et humilis. Ecce
 inquit angelus Domini ibi Dominus quia post illam
 responsionem statim accepit. Nota quod difficile est magno
 humiliari; exemplum de Octauiano cui ostendit Sibilla 165

148/149 nubecula – mari] Cfr I Reg. 18, 44 157/158 missus – angelus] Luc. 1, 26
 160/161 Spiritus – te] Luc. 1, 35

154 uirginitatis – placere] Cfr Bernardus Claraeuellensis, *Sermones de sanctis, de diversis*, XLVI, 1, PL 183, c. 669c 165/166 Octauiano – Celi] Cfr Iacopus de Varagine, *Legenda Aurea*, ed. G. P. Maggioni, in *natiuitate Domini* p. 80: “Tunc Sibylla hoc cesari ostendit. Cum autem imperator ad predicatam uisionem plurimum admiraretur, audiuit uocem dicentem: hec est ara celi...”

142 introductum] introductam Me 144 Adam] Ahadam M1 145 etiam] om. L1 M1
 M2 P W1 148 uisa] uita L1 W1 est] om. W1 149 mari] maria L1
 150/276 domo – suam] om. L1 150 est] circa M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 maxime]
 maxime est M1 M2 P1 W1 152 hic] om. M2 153 accipere] concipere M1 M2 P1 W1
 154 non] om. M2 155 Notatur] nota M2 Me Ta 156 et] om. M2 157 fortitudo]
 fortitudo dicitur M1 M2 Me P1 159 in] ibi M1 M2 Me P1 Ta 161 Nam] non M1 M2
 Me P1 Ta W1 sibilus] sibilus M2 163 illam] materiam P1 164 responsionem –
 accepit] statim accepit responsionem M1 quod] om. P1

Uirginem in Ara Celi hec nubecula parua ascendit.
 Ascensus enim causa est paruitatis et humilitatis.
 Exemplum de nube que quanto altior tanto minor apparet
 licet secundum ueritatem sit maior uel alia que maior
 170 uidetur, illa prope terram ascendebat autem de mari
 amaritudine ergo plena. Nota exemplum de aqua maris que
 eleuata in nube dulcessit sicut sentitur in pluuiis et hoc
 calore solis sic adapta in Maria. De secundo notatur quod
 175 nubes media est inter nos et celum et uirgo mediatrix inter
 nos et Deum, participat enim cum utraque parte. Soror
 enim nostra est et mater Dei. Ideo Gen.: *archam meam
 ponam in nubibus* et cetera et *erit signum federis inter* et cetera.

Nota hystorum ne timerent homines ultra diluuium sed
 ut securi essent de pace archam posuit et cetera. Sicut
 180 securi simus de reconciliatione facta per Mariam, posita est
 in nubibus uelud archus. *Uide ergo arcum et benedicit qui fecit
 illum. Ualde enim speciosus est in decore suo* Eccl.. Altus autem
 Ade secundum ueritatem nubes est undique radiis solaribus
 penetrata et propter hiis multi caloris est et signat uirginem
 185 gratia spiritus sancti repletam et omni genere uirtutum
 decoratam. Nam sicut philosophus dicit nullus pictor
 posset archum perfectum depingere propter
 multitudinem colorum in ipso existentium sed enim
 apparentium. Potest tamen quoquo modo quantum ad
 190 quatuor apparentes. Sic nec predicator aliquis potest
 uirginem gloriosam ad plenum exprimere et decorem eius
 propter multitudinem gratiarum in ipsa existentium. Potest
 tamen quoquomodo balbuciendo dici quod sicut in arcu
 uidemus colorem rubeum, uiridem, lactheum et ceruleum,

176/177 archam – inter] Gen. 9, 13 **181/182** Uide – suo] Cfr Eccli. 43, 12

186/189 nullus – apparentium] Cfr Aristoteles, *Meteorologia* 374b7-375a29, trans. E. W. Webster, in *The complete works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*, ed. J. Barnes, 2 vols., Princeton, 1984, Vol. 1, p. 603.

167 Ascensus] assensus *Me*] accensus *Ta* **169** uel] quam *M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1*
170 autem] *om. Me* **172** dulcessit] dulcescit *P1 Ta W1* **173** Maria] mari *M2 Me Ta*
W1 **178** hystorum] istorum *M1 M2* **181** benedicit] benedit *P1 W1* **182** Altus]
 artus *M2* **183** est] *om. P1*] neque *W1* **185** omni] ideo *P1* **186** dicit] *om. M1 M2*
 pictor] pistor *W1* **188** enim] non *M2* **191** ad plenum] *om. P* **192** existentium]
 existentium ad plenum *P* **194** lactheum] lacheum *P1 W1*

sic in uirgine ardorem caritatis, pudicitiam honestatis, 195
pudorem caritatis, liuorem penitentiae et austeritatis.

<2.1> Ardebat enim caritate quia enim amor diuinus in
eius corde singulariter ardebat. Ideo Spiritus in eius carne
mirabilia faciebat sicut dicit Anselmus.

<2.2> Item honestate lucebat sed attendans eius uerba et 200
cetera. Nota uerborum eius ueram causam modum et
obiectum. Si uerum tantum usque uicibus in .xxx. annis
legitur locuta. Si causam aut querendo prudenter Luc. .i. :

quomodo fiet et cetera aut ostendendo humiliter, *ecce ancilla*
Domini, aut salutando reuerenter. Elysabeth, autem gratias 205
agendo fideliter *magnificat* et cetera aut acquirendo tenerum
filii qui fecisti nobis. Supra eodem aut supponendo scilicet
misericorditer *uinum non habent*. Io .ii., aut docendo utiliter
quecumque dixerit uobis facite supra eodem. Si modum

uide uerba breuissima sed obiectum est cum quibus fuit 210
locuta certe non cuilibet cum Petro uel cum Paulo. Non
enim indigebat confessione que peccare non poterat sed uel
cum angelo uel cum Deo uel cum ministris suppuendo.

Similiter patet eius conuersationis honestas si consideres 215
gressus. Ascendit enim in montana cum festinatione ut
monstraret Elyzabeth pregnantis sic considera omnes
gressus.

<2.3> Item puritatem castitatis et austeritatem penitentiae 220
bene etiam dicitur arcus propter situm. Arcus enim
numquam est in eadem parte celi cum sole sed semper est
in opposita parte sed certe misericordia uirginis semper

204 quomodo fiet] Luc. 1, 34 204/205 ecce – Domini] Luc. 1, 38 205 Elysabeth –
gratias] Cfr Luc. 1, 40 206 magnificat] Luc. 1, 46 208 uinum – habent] Ioh. 2, 3

198/199 Spiritus – faciebat] Hugh of St. Victor, *de B. M. uirginitate, libellus epistolaris*,
PL 176, c. 872ab

198 in eius] eius in P1 200 sed] si M2 P1 W1 attendans] attendas M2 Me Ta
201 modum] et modum M1 M2 P1 W1 202 usque] om. M1 Me P1 Ta W1 uicibus] a
vicibus M1 M2 Ta] auribus Me 205 autem] aut M1 M2 P1 W1 207 qui] quid M2 Me
Ta supponendo] uel supplicando M1] supplicando, supponendo P1] supplicando M2
209 dixerit] dixit M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 supra] om. M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 Si] sed M1
M2 Me P1 Ta W1 210 uide] unde M2 213 cum¹] om. M1] eum P1 uel¹ – Deo] om.
W1 216 monstraret] ministraret M2 Me Ta 219 bene] eat bene P1

opponit se iustitie penitentiam nolenti. Nota quod pro dote sua de regno Domini accepit misericordiam pro nobis. Sed nota quomodo Dominus eam permittit e contrario uti parte
 225 sua, sed cum ipse acceperit tempus iustitias iudicabit bene igitur dicitur uirgo arcus. De tertio nota quod nubes in pluuiam resoluta terras germinare facit et uirgo proferens filium suum ut nubes pluuiam mundum uniuersis bonis operibus fecondauit Psalmo: *qui dat niuem sicut lanam*
 230 *nebulam sicut cinerem spargit.*

<2.4> Candor et frigiditas niuis signat puritatem et castitatem uirginis. Spargitur sicut cinis per exempla penitentie et austeritatis. Nam cinis et cilicium arma sunt penitentium Ieronymus. Hic autem fertilitas que per eam
 235 uenit scilicet bonorum operum. Nota exemplum quoniam omnia habent pro nihilo et concordia *qui operit celum nubibus* et cetera. Et hec est pluuiam quam petebant dicentes: *rorate celi desuper et nubes pluant iustum* et cetera.

<3> Sequitur: *aperiatur terra et germinet Saluatorem* illa
 240 eadem que dicebatur nubes dicitur et terra. Terra enim stabilis est firmitate, arida siccitate, fertilis ubertate, quia Maria stabilis per continentiam, arida per castitatem, fertilis per benedicti fructus productionem.

<3.1> De primo nota quod stabilis fuit que etiam angelo
 245 non statuit non quia dubitauit sed ut modum audiret Ps.: *qui fundasti terram super stabilitatem suam non inclinabitur* et cetera. Uotum quippe castitatis emiserat. Ideo qualiter hec fieret querebat. Nota non habuit cor mobile sicut cetere mulieres. Exemplum de Eua que de certissimo dubitauit

229/230 qui – spargit] Ps. 147, 5 236 qui – nubibus] Ps. 146, 8 239 aperiatur – Saluatorem] Is. 45, 8 246 qui – inclinabitur] Ps. 103, 5

233/234 Nam – penitentium] Cfr Ieron., *Comment in Math*, 2, 11, CCSL 77, p. 79] It is present in Petrus Lombardus, *Comment. in Ps.*, 147, 5, PL 191, col. 1281D

222 penitentiam] *corr.* punire M1] punire M2 Me P1 Ta W1 225 acceperit] accepit M2 227 resoluta] resolata M1 228 uniuersis] uniusum P1 W1] uniuersum M2 Me Ta 233 arma] arria M1 237 petebant] patebat M2 240 terra] cetera M1] *om.* Me 241 siccitate] scicitate P1 quia] quod M2 242 fertilis] arida Me 246 stabilitatem – inclinabitur] *om.* W1 249 certissimo] certissime W1

dicens ne forte moriemur; sed de Maria Ps.: *qui fundasti* 250
terram super aquas et cetera. Si gratiarum optimum cuius est
 gratia stabilire cor non estis scilicet corporalibus
 uoluptatibus et desideriis quia qui labenti innititur, necesse
 est ut cum labente labatur. Ideo Eccl. .xxvi.: *fundamenta*
eterna supra petram solidam. Sicut potest moueri sic nec mulier 255
 sancta mandata Dei transgredi. Hic notatur quod non talis
 fuit de qua similibus Eccl. .ix.: *ne respicias mulierem maliuolam*
ne forte incidas in laqueos illius supra fundauit terram scilicet
 Mariam. Nam generatio preterit, generatio aduenit, terra
 autem in eternum stat. 260
 <3.2> De primo notatur quod terra naturaliter est sicca
 sic tamen lutosa et immunda per immundationem aquarum.
 Beata autem uirgo nequaquam lutosa fuit aquis deliciarum
 corporalium humectata sed per intimissimum amoris
 ardorem arefacta. In principio enim uocauit Deus aridam 265
 terram scilicet Mariam. Nota quod non quesiiuit
 delectationes corporales sed spirituales. Nota terra per
 nimiam inundationem germinat herbas nociuas non sic que
 congruo tempore aqua recipit. Nota quod ipsa est speculum
 sicut enim speculum si uerax est representat formam 270
 cuiusque intuentis. Sic Maria cuiuslicet speculantis causam
 formam exprimit intuentis siue pauper sit siue puella nobilis
 siue domina sit siue regina. Aspiciens ergo in eam sicut in
 speculum erigas maculam conscientie tue. Sed nota quod
 mulier turpis fugit speculum uerax quia odit illud quod ei 275
 ostendit turpitudinem suam.
 <3.3> De tertio nota quod terra super omnia elementa
 nobis est utilis sua fertilitate. Fructu enim eius pascimur et

250/251 qui – aquas] Cfr Ps. 135, 6 254/255 fundamenta – solidam] Eccli. 26, 24

257/258 ne – illius] Cfr Eccli. 9, 3

250 moriemur] moriamur P1 252 stabilire] stabile M2 estis] escis Me Ta
 253 labenti] libenti M2 innititur] inicitur P1 254 labatur] labitur M2 259 aduenit]
 aduenti M2 261 notatur] nota Me Ta 262 immundationem] inundationem M1 M2
 Me Ta 264 amoris] amaris M2 267 terra] terram M2 Me P1 Ta W1 270 sicut – si]
 om. P est] que P 271 speculantis causam] causa speculantis causam M1 M2 P1 W1
] causa speculantis Me Ta 272 exprimit] expromittit M1 273 sit] om. P1 W1
 Aspiciens] respiciens P1 278 enim] omni L1

sustinemur tam pauperes quam diuites. Adapta de fructu
 280 Marie, Gen. .i.: *tertia die* scilicet gratie *protulit terra* scilicet
herbam uirentem et lignum faciens fructum ad sustentationem
 hominum et uinum eorum spiritualium scilicet et rudium
 illis scilicet spiritualibus fructus ligni scilicet Christi ducas
 istis scilicet rudibus herba uirens eius humiditas. Hinc est
 285 fructus saluans mundum de quo hic *aperiatur terra et germinet*
saluatorem.

280/281 *tertia* – fructum] Gen. 1, 11-12

279 *sustinemur*] *sustentamur* L1 M1 M2 P1 W1 284 *est*] *est est* M1 285 *aperiatur*] *aperitur* M2

Sermo XXIX

Sermon de sancto Johanne Baptista, S44, RLS 177.

Base ms.: P, ff. 197va-200ra.

- 5 Collated mss.: L1, ff. 299va-302rb; M1, ff. 423ra-425vb;
M2, ff. 216r-219v; Me, ff. 221ra-223vb; P1, ff. 172rb-
174vb; Ta, ff. 198rb-200vb; W1, ff. 303ra-307ra.

Ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens Io. .v.

- 10 *Lucerna pedibus meis uerbum tuum et lumen semitis meis* Ps., ille
dicitur bonus medicus qui cuilibet infirmitati sit adhibere
proprium remedium sed qui uno remedio curaret omne
genus infirmitatis longe melior esset. Certe talis est celestis
15 medicus secundum Bedam et sanctos. Triplex morbus
scilicet ignorantia et in intellectu, malitia in affectu,
impotentia in effectu quam morbum triplicem radicem et
sanctuarium omnis peccati in nobis curat Deus unico uerbo
sicut dicit Ps.: *lucerna pedibus meis uerbum tuum*. Pedes anime
20 duo sunt scilicet intellectus et affectus. Semite uero
dicuntur operationes uel effectus scilicet quia uerbum
diuinum diurnum et illustratiuum intellectus et est
inflammatiuum affectus, *lucerna pedibus meis*. Lucerna enim
habet splendorem et ardorem sed proprie lumen est semitis
25 quia est affectus uel operationis directiui et regulariui
et sic uerbum Dei unicum est omnis infirmitatis humane
sanatiuum: *misit uerbum suum et sanauit eos*. Dicitur in psalmo
et quia me infirmum sentio ego est alicui infirmitati

Sermo XXIX, 9 Ille – lucens] Ioh. 5, 35 **10** Lucerna – meis²] Ps. 118, 105
27 misit – eos] Ps. 106, 20

Sermo XXIX, 13/14 celestis medicus] Beda Venerabilis, in *Lucae evangelium expositio*,
lib.: 3, cap. 7, CCSL 120,

Sermo XXIX, 11 sit] scit Me P1 Ta W1 adhibere] adhibetur M1 **12** curaret] curat
M2 **16** et] om. L1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1] del. M1 **17** et] om. M2 **18** sanctuarium]
seminarium M1 **21** scilicet quia] quia scilicet L1 **22** et] et est Me P1 Ta W1
illustratiuum] illustratum P1 W1] est illustratum L1 M1 M2 **23** inflammatiuum]
inflammatum P1 W1] inflammatum L1 M1 **25** affectus] effectus M2 Me P1 Ta W1
directiui] delectiui L1 regulariui] regulatum P1 W1 **27** sanatiuum] sanatiui
P1 W1 **28** est] om. M2 infirmitati] firmitati P1

remedium propinare formido ne dicatur mihi illa similitudo
medice cura teipsum Luc. .x. Rogemus ergo et cetera.

30

Ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens, magnus honor est homini
 habere bonum testimonium, dico bonum et a bonis. Nam
 testimonium accipere et commendari a malis non est laus
 sed uituperium. Seneca, non minus laudari a turpibus quam
 qui ob turpia. Certe inter natos mulierum ille qui maius et
 firmitus testimonium habuit est Iohannes Baptista cuius
 hodie passio recolitur et a meliore neque enim testimonium
 accepit a puro homine quem saluator multipliciter
 commendauit sicut patet in euangelio et inter alia que ad
 eius commendationem dicta sunt a Domino. Istud hodiernae
 festiuitati congruit sicut patere poterit in prosequendo. *Ille*
inquit erat et cetera. Attende quam diligenter quam
 subtiliter quam breuiter Iohannis perfectionem sapientia
 Dei nobis insinuat. Commendat enim eum ab ardore
 caritatis et cautela humilitatis. Ille inquit et cetera. Ardens
 fuit Iohannis caritate lucens honestate sed lucerna
 humilitate ut patebit, ardens inquit et lucens ecce perfectio
 quam dixi uobis a Domino commendata nec ardens tantum
 sed ardens et lucens. Nam ardere parum est, lucere tantum
 uanum est sed ardere et lucere perfectum est. In ardore
 igitur tangitur eius caritas in splendore eius honestas in
 lucerna eius tanta humilitas. Sicut enim lumen reponitur in
 lucerna ne a uento extinguatur. Ergo beatus Iohannes

35

40

45

50

29/30 mihi – teipsum] Cfr Luc. 4, 23 36 inter – mulierum] Cfr Matth. 11, 11; Luc. 7, 28

35/36 non – turpia] Cfr Ps. L. Anneus Seneca, *De formula honestae vitae*, F. Haase ed., Opera quae supersunt. Supplementum, Leipzig, 1902, p. 70, 9.] Martinus Bracaraensis episcopus, *Formula vitae honestae*, ed. C. W. Barlow, Yale University Press, 1950, p.] Cfr Albertanus Brixiensis, *de amore et dilectione dei et proximi et aliarum rerum et de forma vite*, ed. S. L. Hiltz, University of Pennsylvania, 1980, p. 81] ; Cfr Guillelmus Peraldus, *De eruditione principum*, liber. 1, cap. 12, <https://www.corpusthomicum.org/xre1.html>

36 qui³] quod Me Ta 38 recolitur] te colitu M1 meliore] meliori L1 Me P1 Ta W1
 39 accepit] accipitur M1 puro] potentia L1 40 alia que] aliam quam M1 ad] ab P1
 W1 45 enim] om. M1 46 cautela] a cautela M2 Me P1 Ta W1 48 inquit] inquit P1
 W1 perfectio] perficio P1 W1 50 parum – lucere] et lucere parum est M1
 54 extinguatur] extinguatur Me P1 Ta W1

55 ardorem caritatis et lumen honestatis conseruauit in lucerna
humilitatis ne extingueretur uento uanitatis. Hec est lucerna
quam paraui Deus pater filio suo mundum tenebrosus
ingredienti Psalmo: *paraui lucernam Christo meo*. Non enim
60 decet magnum hominem in tenebris ambulare nisi lumine
precedente. Uere huius luminis portitor fuit beatus
Iohannes qui cum tantis esset tamen in officio diuino
positus est de lumine. Tu, inquit pater eius, *propheta altissimi*
uocaberis preibis enim ante faciem Deum. Sequitur illuminare hiis
qui in tenebris sunt et cetera. Fuit ergo lucerna et bene
65 lucerna. Nam lucerna non habet lumen a se sed aliunde
recipit in se, conseruat et ex se aliis diffundit. Sic beatus
Iohannes a se lumen gratie non fuit quia *non erat ille lux*. Io.
.i. sed a Deo recipit et magis ab instanti contemptionis et in
se conseruauit toto tempore uite et conuersationis aliis
70 autem diffundit per doctrinam predicationis. Unde
conuenienter de illo exponitur illud Ecc.: *lucerna splens*
super candelabrum sanctum et species faciei super etatem stabilem
quia lucerna non sub modio sed super candelabrum posito
illuminat tenebras noctis. Sic species honeste conuersationis
75 in etate stabili non dissoluta et lassua beati Iohannis
illuminat tenebras mundane obscuritatis.

Heu istam lucernam conati sunt hodie extinguere
Herodias et Herodes. Iohannes propter Herodiadem quam
tulerat fratri suo Philippo uxorem uiuenti. Scriptum est qui
80 male agit odit lucem et non uenit ad lucem ut magis
manifestentur opera eius. Io. .iii. super hoc enim: *oderant*
eum nec poterant ei quidquam pacifice loqui quia accusabat eos

58 paraui – meo] Ps. 131, 17 62/63 propheta – Deum] Luc. 1, 76 64 qui – sunt]
Rom. 2, 19 67 non² – lux] Ioh. 1, 8 71/72 lucerna – stabilem] Eccli. 26, 22
78/79 propter – uiuenti] Cfr Marc. 6, 17 79/81 qui – eius] Cfr Ioh. 3, 20-21
81/82 oderant – loqui] Gen. 37, 4

57 mundum tenebrosus] mundus tenebrosus M1 59 decet] docet M2 P1
tenebris] tenebras P1 60 luminis] mundi luminis M2 portitor] portator M2
60/61 beatus Iohannes] om. Me 61 tantis] tantus M2 P1 W1 62 inquit] inquit P1
63 Deum] eius Me Ta 67 non¹] om. P1 68 et¹] in L1 M2 P1 W1 71 de illo] om. L1
75 etate] estate M1 lassua] lascua Me P1 Ta W1 79 uxorem] uxore M1 uiuenti]
om. P1 est] est enim M2 80 magis] non magis P1 81 Io iii] om. L1 82 eum] eam
M2 quidquam] quicquam M2 Me Ta

apud patrem crimine pessimo que enim agebant in tenebris. Ipse arguebat in manifesto pro dolor usque hodie manet generatio eorum ut in persecutione Iohannis. Hoc est gratie Domini aliis. Uoluit enim extinguere lucernam Dei in Israel quia lucernam Dei non possunt uidere donec extinguatur sicut reprobis uel reprobatus Heli id est frustratum. Testimonio autem salvatoris erat. Io. : <i>lucerna ardens et lucens</i> nec extingui poterat quia dicit Spiritus sanctus Prou. ult. : <i>quod non extinguetur lucerna eius in nocte</i> . Igitur ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens, uere ardens non quolibet ardore, sed ardore ueri amoris. Legimus enim quadriformem ardorem. Est enim ardor extinguendus, et est ardor mittendus, et est ardor sustinendus, et est ardor timendus.	85
<1> Primus est ardor culpe et iniquitatis qui est ardor detestabilis.	
<2> Secundus ardor est caritatis qui est delectabilis.	
<3> Tertius ardor est tribulationis qui est utilis.	
<4> Quartus ardor est ignis infernalis siue eternalis qui est horribilis.	90
<1> Primus ardor qui est culpe est extinguendus. Iste est ardor ille infernalis quem dyabolus succendit in terra. Iob. : <i>alitus eius prunas ardere facit et de ore eius flamma egreditur</i> dicitur de dyabolo. Dyabolus enim facit sicut princeps aliquis qui habet guerram aduersus alium qui quando uidet quod plus non potest nocere aduersario facit peius quod potest et comburit uillas, ciuitates et castella aduersarii. Heu quot ciuitates quot munitiones Domini Dei, quot scilicet animas rationales iam combussit dyabolus ardore peccati. Uere si est in terra qui dolet uicem Deum clamaret hors le feu.	95
	100
	105
	110

89 lucerna – lucens] Ioh. 5, 35 **91** quod – nocte] Prou. 31, 18 **104** alitus – egreditur] Iob 41, 12

111 hors – feu] Old French

83/84 tenebris – in] om. L1 **84** manet] namque P **85** persecutione] percutione M1 gratie] glorie M2 **86** Uoluit] uolunt M2 lucernam] lucerna M1 **87** lucernam] lucerna M1 extingatur] extingatur P1 W1 **88/89** id – erat] om. P **89** autem] enim M2 Me Ta **90** nec] non M2 Me P1 Ta W1 **91** lucerna¹] in lucerna M2 **92** et lucens] om. L1 M1 Me Ta **94** est¹] cetera P1 **95** ardor²] om. M1 **100** infernalis siue] om. L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 **111** est] esset L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 Deum] Domini L1 M1 Me Ta hors – feu] horis lectu M1

Nam enim totus mundus in maligno positus est quasi malo igne succensus ut liceat ad presens sic exponere certe dicitur quod peccatum est malus ignis seu malus ardor qui
 115 non facit nisi consumere fetere et fumare. Iste sunt conditiones mali ignis consumit enim in cupidis, fetet in uoluptuosis sed fumat in superbis.

<1.1> Primo ergo consumit in cupidis, uideatis corda auarorum et numquam uidistis tantam consumptionem.
 120 Sicut enim fornax quanto plus succensa fuerit et tanto plura ligna potest consumere si apponatur. Sic cor ardore cupiditatis accensum quanto plus habebit tanto plura desiderabit prou. xxx. *ignis numquam dicit sufficit* propter quod Eccl. : *anima calida quasi ignis ardens non extinguetur donec aliquid*
 125 *glutiat*. Anima, inquit, calida hec est ad modum fornacis ardentis ardore cupiditatis calefacta non extinguetur et cetera. Hoc numquam etiam extinguetur. Quia hoc utique quia numquam aliquam scilicet glutiet. Bene fateor quod cupidus glissit multa. Multas prebendas, multam pecuniam,
 130 multas diuitias glutit et deuorat auarus malus bonum facit ei quia adhuc uellet totum mundum deuorare si posset. Sed ista omnia testimonio nihil sunt propterea scriptura frequenter omnia temporalia comparat umbre et cum nihil sint expresse dicitur in Psalmo : *dormierunt sompnum suum et*
 135 *nihil inueniunt omnes uiri diuitiarum in manibus suis*. Nota *uiri diuitiarum* dicit, non diuitie uirorum ut genitiuus ille possessorie construatur. Quia certe diuitie non sunt ipsorum sed ipsi diuitiarum. Diuitie ergo temporales sunt

123 ignis – sufficit] Prou. 30, 16 **124/125** anima – glutiat] Eccli. 23, 22
134/135 dormierunt – suis] Ps. 75, 6

112 est] om. M2 **116** mali ignis] malignis M1 P **117** superbis] superbit W1
119 uidistis] uideatis P1 **120/122** succensa – plus] om. L1 120 succensa] succensa P1 W1 **121/122** ardore – accensum] accensum ardore cupiditatis M1 M2 Me 121 ardore] accensum ardore P1 Ta W1 **122** accensum] om. P1 W1 plura] pluris L1 **123** numquam dicit] dicit numquam L1 M1 quod] hoc L1 M1 M2 Me Ta **125** hec] hoc M2 **126** ardore] amore Me **127** cetera] cum M2 Me Ta numquam etiam] etiam numquam L1 M2 P1 W1 Quia] quare L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 **129** glissit] gliscit L1 M1 M2 Me P1] glisit Ta W1 **130** facit] faciat M2 Me] faciet Ta **134** expresse] expressa M1 M2 Me Ta **135** omnes – suis] om. L1 **137** sunt] sicut M2

uirum pulchrum nihil pulchrum dicitur quia habent
 apparentiam magnam et nihil sunt quia non habent
 existentiam Iob .xxvii. : *diues cum dormierunt nihil secum affert*
aperiet oculos et nihil inueniet numquam aliquid inglutiet
 sequitur necessario quia numquam extinguetur. 140

<1.2> Secundo fetorem huius ardoris habent uoluptuosi,
 quia inter omnia peccata illud quod magis fetet coram Deo
 est peccatum carnis sicut probant multa exempla. In
 signum huius Dominus pessimos gommoneos et sodomitas
 peremit igne et sulphure Ge. .xxx. de quo ardore Ecc. .ix. :
propter speciem mulieris multi perierunt et ex hoc concupiscentia quasi
ignis ardescet. Heu quot et quanti perierunt in aspectu
 mulierum et ex hoc inquit id est ex illo incauto aspectu
 concupiscentia quasi ignis ardescit. Utique melius fuisset
 non aspexisse quia non licet intueri quod non licet
 concupisci dicit Gregorius. 145

<1.3> Tertio huius ardoris fumum habent superbi qui :
mox ut honorificati fuerint et exaltati deficientes quemadmodum
fumus deficient. Quia sicut fumus cum quodam uigore uidetur
 ascendere sed mox cum in patibulum ascenderit adnihilatur
 et euanescit, sic enim cum uideris ipsum exaltat zelo : *sicut*
cedros libani transiui et ecce non erit, Iac. .i. : *exortus est sol cum*
ardore et arefacit fenum et flos eius decidit. Iste ergo ardor peccati
 quem et si beatus Iohannes non extinxit in se quia
 numquam peccasse legitur, extinxit tamen in aliis et
 significat quo ad se. Unde cantamus de eo in quodam
 hymno : *antra deserti teneris sub annis* et cetera *petisti* et cetera. 155

141/142 diues – inueniet] Iob 27, 19 148 igne – sulphure] Cfr Gen 19, 24
 149/150 propter – ardescet] Eccli. 9, 9 156/157 mox – deficient] Ps. 36, 20
 159/160 sicut – erit] Ps. 36, 35-36 160/161 exortus – decidit] Iac. 1, 11

153/154 quia – concupisci] Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, 21, 2, 4, PL 76, c. 189c
 165 antra – petisti] Cfr hymn *Ut queant laxis*.

139 uirum] unum Me P1 Ta W1] unde non M2 141 dormierunt] dormierit M2
 142 aliquid] aliquis P1 inglutiet] glutiet L1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 143 quia] quod P1
 148 peremit] perimit L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 ix] .xx. L1 151/152 mulierum –
 concupiscentia] multum W1 151/152 et – concupiscentia] om. L1 151 incauto]
 in capto P1 153 non¹] a non M1] si non L1 aspexisse] appexisse P1
 158 patibulum] pabulum L1 M2 P1 W1 159 exaltat] exaltatum Me Ta 160 transiui]
 transi M2 162 et si] non M1 et] om. M2 164/165 in – hymno] om. L1 M1 Me Ta

- <2> Nutriuit enim se ardore caritatis. Certe iste est ardor quem Dominus uenit mittere in terram et ut accenderetur de seipso fecit sufflatorium dum carnem suam et corium suum affigi uoluit asseribus crucis clauis ferreis ad modum sufflatorii. Et nota quam bene succensus fuit in beato Iohanne hic iste ardor qui Deum dilexit quantum potuit, immo certes plus quam potuit. Non dum enim loqui poterat nec intelligere et in utero matris ad presentiam Domini sui exultauit. Nec tamen poterat se mouere et tamen saluatori suo uenienti occurrere uoluit. Ergo Dominum dilexit plus quam potuit quia fecit pro eo quid ultra posse, amore enim Dei ardebat totus intus et extra. Si enim considero cor eius, os, manus, totum corpus ubique uideo ardorem caritatis. Caritas enim est uerus ignis habens prunas flammam scintillas splendorem. Prunas enim id est labre facte habuit in corde, flammam in ore, scintillas in manibus, splendorem siue lucem in toto corpore. Ita quod in corde ardebat per feruorem desiderii. In ore per sanctitatem eloquii; in manibus per uigorem exercitii; in corpore per euidenciam et ostentationem exempli. Puto si quis intrasset interiora deserti uideret quod hic est rubus qui ardebat et non comburebatur. Ardebat Iohannes et non comburebatur;
- <2.1> ardebat primo in corpore. De hoc ardore, Leu. 190 .vi.: *ignis in altari meo semper ardebit quem mitteret sacerdos*

190/191 ignis – dies] Cfr Leu. 6, 12

166 est] *del.* M2 167 terram] terra M1 accenderetur] ascenderetur L1 M1 Me P1 Ta W1 168 et] *om.* L1 M1 Me Ta 169 affigi] affligi P1 170 sufflatorii] sufflatori M1 171 hic] *om.* M2 Me P1 Ta W1 potuit] potuit de seipso fecit sufflatorium. Dum carnem suam corium suum affigi uoluit asseribus crucis clauis ferreis ad modum sufflatorii. ¶ Et nota qua bene succensus fuit in beato Iohanne. Hic iste ardor qui Deum dilexit quantum potuit eat P 172 immo – potuit] *om.* L1 certes] certe M1 M2 173 ad presentiam] *om.* M1 180 prunas] prinas L1 W1 splendorem] et splendorem M2 180/181 Prunas – scintillas] *om.* W1 180 Prunas] Prinas L1 181 labre facte] labrose L1 P1 Ta W1] labres M1] labrese M2 Me flammam] flamam P1 182/183 Ita – corde] *om.* P1 184 exercitii] excercisii M2 187 comburebatur] obruebatur P1 187/188 Ardebat – comburebatur] *om.* W1 187 Ardebat] ardebat ergo M2 Me P1 Ta Iohannes] *om.* Ta 189 ardebat] ardebat ergo W1

subiciens ligna mane per singulos dies. Altare istud est spiritus noster, anima scilicet rationalis. O altare benignissimum, altare in omni diligentia custodiendum. Altare consecratum est a summo pontifice Deo in honore sancte trinitatis consecratum. Si uero credis uidere ephitaphium et inuenies aperte quod illud altare consecratum est. Creauit enim Deus hominem ad ymaginem et similitudinis suam quantum ad animam in qua expressit similitudinem trinitatis quantum ad trinitatem personarum. In isto altari debet iugiter ardere ignis amoris et ne extinguatur subicienda sunt ligna mane per singulos dies. Ista sunt beneficia omni die recordanda per singulos dies inquit uel ligna subicienda sunt scilicet opera bona et mane iuuentutis inchoanda propter hoc dicit mane ad exemplum beati Iohannis qui sufficienter in utero matris inchoauit facere primam penitentiam sicut cantat ecclesia de ipso: *antra deserti* et cetera. Contra illos qui retrahunt iuuenes a penitentia non ante tantum arsit in corde.

<2.2> Uerum etiam flammam huius ardoris habuit in ore ut sicut desideria eius accensa erant sic et arderent eius uerba de fornace enim cordis ascendebat flamma ignita sermonis Mt.: *ex habundantia cordis os loquitur.* Eccl. .xlviij.: *surrexit Helyas quasi ignis et uerba eius sicut facula ardebat* enim testimonio saluatoris. Iohannes ipse est Helyas. Helyas in quam per promptitudinem obedientie, asperitatem penitentie, ueritatem constantie que tria reperio excellenter in utroque, de Helya .iiii. Regum beate Iohanne in Euangelio uide omnia uerba eius et non in eo uerbum detractationis, murmurationis nec adulationis uel increpationis quo ad malos uel diuine laudis. Utique talia

212 ex – loquitur] Matth. 12, 34 **213** surrexit – ardebat] Eccl. 48, 1

191 ligna] lingua M2 **194/195** est – consecratum] om. Me **195/198** Si – trinitatis] om. Ta **195** ephitaphium] epithaphium P1 W1 **196** enim] om. L1 **200** ligna] lingua M1 **201** Ista] lingua ista L1 M1 P1 W1] ligna ista M2 Me Ta omni] diuina cum M2] diuina omni Me Ta **202** ligna] lingua M1 **203** et] in M2 Me P1 Ta W1] que L1 **205** primam] om. L1 Me Ta penitentiam] om. M1 **209** Uerum] ueram M2 flammam] flamma M1 **212** Eccl] propter hoc de ipso loquitur illud eccl. Me Ta **214** Helyas?] om. M1 P1 **217** iiii] .v. L1 **218** non] non inueniens L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 **219/274** nec – aurum] om. L1 **220** quo] quos Me uel] om. Me

deberent esse uerba beati Iohannis maxime predicatoris,
ardebat inquit ut facula hoc est clara erant et prima non
inuoluta sententiis non intricata consonantiis. Clare enim ut
facula debent ardere uerba predicatoris nec etiam solum
225 debent ardere uerba sed etiam opera.

<2.3> Ut si sint sintille in manibus eius Sap. : *fulgebunt iusti
sicut Sol et tamquam scintille in arundinetis discurrent*. Fulgebunt
iusti in presenti ecclesia uiri iusti et tamquam scintille
discurrent in arundimento presenti miserie per boni operis
230 exercitationem. Quidem multi multa opera sed non
ardentia. Quare quia non sunt de fornace pii amoris
existentia propter quod docens Dominus discipulos suos
operari dicit : *sint lumbi uestri precincti et lucerne ardentes in
manibus uestris* Luc. .xii.. Gregorius ut munditia sit castitatis
235 in corpore et lumen ueritatis in operatione. Lucernas enim
ardentes in manibus re cum per bona opera proximis
uestris lucis exempla monstramus lucerne ardentes, inquit
ardentes non extincte sicut habuerunt fatue et ideo
reprobate sunt quam : *que parate erant intrauerunt cum eo ad*
240 *nuptias*.

<2.4> Quarto huius splendoris ardor debet esse in toto
corpore. Caritas enim non est ignis obscurus sed
luminosus. Eze .i. : *similitudo uultus animalium et aspectus eorum
quasi carbonum ignis ardentium*. Non sicut tytionum, citio enim
245 ardet in una parte et in alia est totus frigidus. Sic multorum
conuersatio ex parte est quandoque honesta et ex parte

226/227 fulgebunt – discurrent] Cfr Matth. 13, 43; Sap. 3, 7 233/234 sint – uestris]
Luc. 12, 35 239/240 que – nuptias] Matth. 25, 10 243/244 similitudo – ardentium]
Ez. 1, 13

234/235 ut – operatione] Cfr Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in euangelia*, I, 13, 1, PL 76,
c. 1124

222 ut] om. M1 prima] priuria P1] plana Me Ta W1 224 debent] deberent M1 M2 Me
P1 Ta W1 225 etiam] in etiam M1 226 sintille] scintille M2 Me Ta
229 arundimento] arundinetis M2 presenti] presentis M1 boni] bonis P1 operis]
operibus P1 232 docens] dicens M1 Dominus] om. M2 233 lumbi] lumbi M2
234 munditia] et munditia M2 P1 W1] in munditia M1 238 fatue] fame P1
240 nuptias] nuptias et cetera M1 M2 P1 W1 241 Quarto] quanto M1
243 luminosus] liliosus M2 P1 W1 246 conuersatio] conseruatio M1

dissoluta. Sed conuersatio beati Iohannis debet esse ex omni parte succensa ut sit ad modum carbonis ignis ardentis et quasi inquit aspectus lampadarum. Quia sic lampas illuminat domum sic conuersatio honesta ecclesiam Dei.

250

<3> Sequitur de tertio ardore scilicet tribulationis qui est utilis et patienter sustinendus cuius utilitas perpenditur ex triplici eius efficacia. Habet enim uirtutem erudituiam, expiatiuam et roboratiuam et causatur ex alia triplici proprietate ignis ardentis. Ignis ardens illuminat, purgat, solidat. Sic ardor tribulationis erudit uitam rationalem, expiat concupiscibilem, solidat irascibilem.

255

<3.1> Habet ergo hic ardor uirtutem erudituiam frequenter enim accidit quod puer non auertit se deliquisse donec sentiat uirgam exemplis secando. Mach. .ix. : *qui cepit a graui superbia seductus est ad cognitioni sui diuina monitus plaga*, Iob : *auditu auris audiui te* quasi dicat in prosperitate te audire potui sed post tribulationem te uidere cepi. De quo ardore Ysa. .xliii. : *et nunc hec dicit Dominus creans te Iacob et formans te Israel. cum pertransieris per ignem non combureris et flamma non ardebit in te*. Uide quod in ardore tribulationis cantatur Iacob per luctam actionis et Israel in otio contemplationis. Sed nota ordinem prius enim ostendit esse Iacob quam Israel uidens Deum ut primo exerceat se in actiua quam uideat in contemplatiua.

260

265

270

<3.2> Habet secundo hic ardor uim expiatiuam, purgatiuam, sicut uidemus quod ferrum rubiginosum per ardorem ignis purgatur et aurum similiter per ardorem

248/249 carbonis – lampadarum] Cfr Ez. 1, 13 261/262 qui – plaga] II Mach. 9, 11
263 auditu – te] Iob 42, 5 265/267 et¹ – te] Cfr Is. 43, 1-2

247 conuersatio] uersatio M2 249 sic] sicut M1 P1 Ta W1 253 sustinendus] sustinendus est P1] studiendus M1 257 uitam] uestram M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1
rationalem] rationale M1 258 concupiscibilem] concupiscibile M1 irascibilem] irascibile M1 259 hic] igitur M1 260 enim accidit] arraccidit M1 non] om. M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 261 cepit] accepit M1 262 seductus] deductus M2 Me Ta 264 post tribulationem] tribulor M1 269 ostendit] oportet M1 M2 Me Ta 272 secundo] homo M1 273 purgatiuam] siue purgatiuam M2 Me P1 Ta W1 sicut] sic M1

- 275 purgatum aptius est ut mentiat uas uel in thesaurum
reponatur. Hoc modo purgauit Dominus sanctos suos in
ardore tribulationis ut postmodum reponeret eos in
thesauros eterne consolationis *probauit me quasi aurum quod*
per ignem transit. Quicquid enim de auri ardore remaneret
280 reprobatur. Solum quod transit placet et acceptatur Iudith :
omnes quotquot placueris Deo per multas tribulationes transierunt
fideles. Ysa .iiii. : *si abluerit Dominus sordes filiarum Syon in spiritu*
iudicii et in spiritu ardoris. Si pro quia quia abluit Dominus
sordes animarum que distinguitur filie Syon quia heredes
285 regni celestis abluit ante in odore tribulationis in spiritu
iudicii et ideo Spiritus. Uere bene est iudicium Spiritus in
Deum scilicet mansuetudinis et misericordie quo induit illos
Dominus misericorditer in presenti ut eis partat in illo duro
extremo iudicio.
- 290 <3.3> Habet tertio hic ardorem uirtutum
corroboratiuum propter hoc figulus enim ponit uasa in
furnace ut solidentur et Dominus iustos in tribulatione ut
roborentur. Eccl. : *uasa figuli probat fornax et homines iustos*
temptatio tribulationis. Exemplum apertum Daniel in tribus
295 qui diligatis manibus et pedibus proiecti sunt in fornacem
ignis ardentis ubi confortati et solidati : *quasi ex uno ore*
laudabant et magnificabant Deum in fornace dicentes: Benedictus
Dominus et cetera.
- <4> Sequitur de quarto ardore scilicet eternali qui
300 timendus est quia horribilis propter tria :
<4.1> primo propter acerbitem intollerabilem Deut.
.xxxi. : *ignis succensus est in furore meo et ardebat usque ad inferni*
nouissima.

278/279 probauit – transit] Iob 23, 10 281/282 omnes – fideles] Cfr Iudith 8, 23
282/283 si – ardoris] Is. 4, 4 293/294 uasa – tribulationis] Eccli. 27, 6
296/298 quasi – Dominus] Dan. 3, 51 302/303 ignis – nouissima] Deut. 32, 22

275 est] scilicet Me mentiat uas] om. Ta mentiat] inde fiat Me uel] quod L1 M2 Me
P1 Ta W1 276 Dominus] om. Me] Deus Ta 281 placueris] placuerunt M1 M2
282 abluerit] abluit P1 284 distinguitur] dicuntur L1 M1 M2 Me Ta 285 ante]
autem Me Ta odore] ardorem P1] ardore L1 M1 M2 Me Ta W1 286 ideo] in Deo M2
P1 W1 288 partat] pereat M2 291 figulus – ponit] enim ponit figulus M2 P1 W1
294 apertum] paratum M2 Daniel] om. M2 295 diligatis] ligatis L1 M2 Me P1 Ta
W1] corr. ligatis M1 302 xxxi] .xxxii. M2 Me Ta

<4.2> Secundo propter durationem interminabilem
Ysa. : *quis ex uobis habitabit in ardoribus sempiternis.*

305

<4.3> Tertio propter omnis generis penalitatum et
afflictionum inexplicabilem quod bene fuit significatum in
punitioe egiptorum. Sap. .xvi. : *nix glacies ignis sustinebant et
non tabescebant ut scirent quoniam fructus impiorum exterminabat.
Ignis ardens in grandine et pluuiæ choruscans.* Glossa duo
elementa contraria ignis et aqua concordant impios fiebant
ut scirent quantum omnis creatura parata est ulcisci
iniuriam creatoris finis est alterius glose ibidem.

310

Primum ergo ardorem beatus Iohannes extraxit in aliis et
fugauit quo ad se; secundum nutriuit; tertium sustinuit et
ideo quantum euasit et sic ad eternam gloriam peruenit ad
quam nos perducatur Dominus Ihesus Christus cuius peccato
existebat et qui sine fine uiuit et regnat.

315

305 quis – sempiternis] Is. 33, 14 **308**/310 nix – choruscans] Sap. 16, 22

310 Glossa] Cfr Martin Morard et alii, ed., Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina (Sap. 16, 18-20), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 05/09/2022. (Permalink :

http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GL_OSS-liber31.xmlchapitre=31_16) : "Rabanus. In libro Numerorum misit ignitos serpentes contra murmurantes et cognoscant impii quod omnis creatura parata est ulcisci iniuriam creatoris. [...] Duo contraria elementa id est ignis et aqua gelata impios concorditur fiebant."

306 et] om. **M2** **307** fuit significatum] signat **M1** significatum] assignatum **L1**

308 nix] nix et **M2** ignis] uim ignis **M2** **314** extraxit] extrahit **P1 W1**

315 secundum] hoc **M1** tertium] tertius **M1** **316** ad] et **M1** **317**/318 Ihesus – regnat] et cetera **L1**

Sermo XXX

Sermon de sancti Petro et Paulo, S46, RLS 178.

Base ms.: P, ff. 200ra-201vb.

- 5 Collated mss.: L1, ff. 302rb-303va; M1, ff. 425vb-427va; M2, ff. 219v-221v; Me, ff. 223vb-225vb; P1, ff. 174vb-176va; Ta, ff. 200vb-202rb; W1, ff. 307ra-309va.

Suspendium elegit anima mea et mortem ossa mea Iob

- 10 Dicat Petrus suspensus primam partem et Paulus hodie truncatus secundam.

<1> Dicamus duos conformati in suspendio per excellentiam contemplationis suspendium elegit et cetera.

- 15 <2> Dicamus nos autem confortati morti per excellentiam gratuite mortis et mortem ossa mea.

<1> De suspendio contemplationis Exo. .xi.: *ponite uerba mea in corde uestro et suspendite ea in manibus et inter oculos uestros collocate docete filios uestros ut meditantur*. Non enim sufficit quod habemus uerba in codicibus quantum ad lectionem
20 sed in cordibus quantum ad meditationem et in animis per deuotionem et in manibus per operationem ante oculos ut per ea dirigamus mentis intensionem et tunc docere debemus per predicationem. Suspendium istud sit ad similitudinem auium suspendentium corda in rethe.

- 25 <2> Sequitur mortem ossa mea. Ossa enim debemus esse arida per penitentiam, connexa per concordiam, solida per constantiam. Gen. .xlix. uersatur: *asinus fortis*; alia littera dicit assetis, nota hic quod scis de uisione Ezechielis. Qui uidit campum plenum ossibus et quomodo uidit quod

Sermo XXX, 9 Suspendium – mea²] Iob 7, 15 **16/18** ponite – meditantur] Cfr Deut. 11, 18-19 **27** asinus fortis] Gen. 49, 14

Sermo XXX, 10 Dicat] dicit L1 **12** suspendio] suspendi M1 **14** autem] etiam L1 Me P1 Ta] in W1 **15** excellentiam] excedentiam L1 M2 P1 W1] exordentiam M1 **18** collocate – uestros] om. L1 **19** habemus] habeamus Me P1 Ta W1 codicibus] cotidibus M1 lectionem] delectatione L1 **20** meditationem] meditatorum M1 **21** ante] om. L1 **22** per] ad L1 **23** istud] om. L1 **24** suspendentium] suspendacium M1 corda] corpora M2 **25** ossa] anima Me **27** alia littera] aliam terra M1 **28** assetis] ossetis L1 M1 Me P1 Ta W1] essetis M2 **29** quod] qui M1

nunquamque accessit ad iuncturam suam et post uenerunt 30
 nerui caro et pellis et post quomodo aduocauit spiritum ab
 Austro et Aquilone in occidente et oriente et expone de
 religiosis mortem inquit ossa mea. Mortem dicit quia
 penitus mori debemus mundo ut seruiamus Christo *quasi*
morientes et ecce uiuimus secundum apostolum quoniam ante 35
 gratia quantum potest conformis est nature. Ideo mors
 gratie siue spiritualis qua mundo moriuntur iusti morti
 corporali aliquantulum conformatur. Unde nota quod
 moriturus corporaliter in principio mortalis egritudinis iste
 infirmatur et dolet. Secundo dolor continuatur et languet. 40
 Tertio langor inualescit et pallet cum aute augetur
 infirmitas. Quarto loco appetitus destituitur. Quinto uirtus
 destituitur. Sexto ergo obtunditur cum uero ad terminum
 mortis magis accedit. Septimo dissoluitur nexus. Octauo
 egreditur spiritus. Nono sepelitur corpus. Similiter est in 45
 morte spirituali ut patebit in proseguendo. In hiis .ix.
 gradibus quorum
 <2.1> tria prima pertinet ad uirtutis intentionem ;
 <2.2> tres medii ad progressum
 <2.3> et ultimi ad complementum. Egressum a 50
 mundanis anima spiritualiter moritur.
 <2.1.1> In principio moriturus spiritualiter, infirmatur
 per attritionem, dolet per contritionem ita ut dicit : *tristis est*
anima mea usque ad mortem. Attritionem dixi quoniam a gratia,
 gratis data est qua anima infirmatur dum primo ab illicitis 55
 irrefrenatur contritionem uero quoniam a gratia gratum
 faciente est, dolet ex contritione perfecte cor meum ouis
 dum pene utitur ex fetore culpe, dolore coscientie et

34/35 quasi – uiuimus] I Cor. 6, 9 53/54 tristis – mortem] Matth. 26, 38; Marc.
 14, 34

Sermo XXX, 52/199 211In – inferiores] Cfr. Guibertus Tornacensis, Charles
 Munier, ed., *De morte*, CCCM, 242, pp. 122-137.

30 nunquamque] unumquodque L1 M1 Me suam] om. L1 31 post] post quod M2
 33 religiosis] religionum Me P1 Ta W1] religiosi M1] religione M2 34 ut] ubi L1
 36 mors] more L1 37 qua] quia M2 43 Sexto – obtunditur] om. M2 ergo] om.
 W1 46 ix] nouem M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 48 uirtutis intentionem] intentionem uirtutis
 L1 51 moritur] mori M1 53 dicit] dicat L1 M2 Me Ta 57 est] quod P1 dolet] quod
 dolet M2 Me Ta ouis] eius M2 58/59 culpe – pudore] om. L1

60 pudore offense et timore sententie clamat et rugit in spiritu uehementi circumdederunt me gemitus mortis.

<2.1.2> In secundo enim gradu dolor mortis per singula membra diffusus egrum in lecto deicit et langorem inducit quia dolor contritionis in dilectionem transit. Nam sicut langor ex dolore sic amor ex correctione. Cant.: *Fulcite me*
 65 *floribus* et cetera. Mens enim ex dilectione spirans ad Christum iterum refocillari desiderat quia aut prelibare delitias et odore super inductiuo in fundo celestium gaudiorum. Sic mortaliter languidi erant et quasi mortui quibus apostolus: *mortui estis et uita uestra abscondita est cum*
 70 *Christo* et cetera. Canticum: *fortis est ut mors dilectio*. Uides languidum nunc enim in lecto iacentem nunc aliquas ut surgat continentem sic se neque conuersio penitentis dum in eo per uices sicut uanuit doloris affectio et amoris. Dolor premit deorsum, amor trahit sursum et dum per amoris
 75 impetum totis uiribus conatur erigi pondere peccatorum conatur siue cogitur inclinari sed infirmus oculus nec dum tacito percipit excellentiam solis nec ab osculo pedum transitur ad osculum oris. Paulatim proficit et seruatur uerecundiam penitentis.

80 <2.1.3> In tertio gradu pallor inducitur ex langore mortifero, ex amore palleat omnis amans colorem hoc aptus amanti sic monebatur apostolus dicens: *cotidie morior propter gloriam uestram fratres* et Psalmo: *propter te mortificamur tota die*. Semel enim mori non sufficit christiano cuius uita
 85 debet esse mortificatio ut mortificatione impleta succedat gloria. Tu qui Christum uidere desideras ut qui quidem

64/65 Fulcite – floribus] Cant. 2, 5 69/70 mortui – Christo] Col. 3, 3 70 fortis – dilectio] Cant. 8, 6 82/83 cotidie – fratres] I Cor. 15, 31 83/84 propter² – die] Ps. 43, 22

59 sententie] summe M1 62 deicit] et cetera L1] Dei M1] dei et cetera M2 Me
 64 langor – dolore] ex dolore langor L1 66 refocillari] refocillari L1 aut] aut est L1 M2 P1 W1 prelibare] prelibare M1 67 fundo] fudo M1 68 erant] erat L1
 69/70 est – Christo] om. L1 75 erigi] ergi M1 76 cogitur] congitur M1 oculus] oculos M1 77 excellentiam] excellentia L1 77/78 osculo – transitur] om. M1
 78 Paulatim] palatim M1 81 mortifero] et mortifico M1 ex] om. M1 palleat] pallat M1 82 amanti] amatim M1 cotidie] om. M2 84/166 Semel – cetera] et cetera L1
 85 mortificatione] mortificatio est M1 86 qui²] om. M1 M2

mori formidas ruinosum corporis domicilium in quo
 uiuimus, procellosum est mundi pelagus intrat quod
 currimus periculosum est omne terrenum quod diligimus
 quid inter demonium laqueos homini gladios carnis motus 90
 illicitos rimare delectat uinum cotidie mundus labitur,
 reatus augetur uirtus minuitur, corpus mutatur et ideo inter
 mortem amplectitur momentis omnibus meditando locis
 omnibus expectando uocis omnibus exoptando, modis
 omnibus optollerando. 95

<2.2.1> In quarto gradu destruunt appetitus fastiditur
 omnis preterite dilectionis cibus Psalmus: *omnem escam*
abhominata est anima eorum et appropinquauerunt usque ad portas
mortis. Sic monentes interim cibus abiectis quibus quidem 100
 sustentamur. Unde mulier illa sapiens et sola in domo sua
 habitans de pusillo farine et paxillo olei in lethico fecit sibi
 et filio suo ut moriatur quia mors sine anima diligens
 sollicitudinem tantam plerumque recipit dulcedinem
 desuperis ut dilectio magna celesti palatio cordis
 experientiam sentiat amicam. Inde penitus stupebat inde 105
 tanta refectio sentiuit ut si perficeretur nihil amplius
 quereretur exennia dulcedinis experientia omnia qua mundi
 sunt uidentur insipida. Oleum est cuius nitore splendet,
 aspectus cuius sapore uel emitus ardet affectus, farina est
 que pressit dignis uix tenetur sed quia leuis statim elabitur. 110

<2.2.2> In quinto gradu uirtus destituitur naturalis quod
 non sustentatur in nobis. In hoc gradu corripitur homo
 exterior et renouatur interior et quando Christus resurgat a

97/99 omnem – mortis] Ps. 106, 18

88 pelagus] pelagans M1] pegus W1 90 homini] hominum Me Ta 93 meditando]
 meditatio M1 93/94 locis – expectando] om. W1 94 uocis – exoptando] om. M1
 P 95 optollerando] tollerando M2 Me P1 Ta 96 destruunt] destruuntur P1 Ta W1
 97 cibus] om. Me 101 pusillo] pugillo M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 103 recipit] recepit M1
 dulcedinem] dulcedine M1 105 sentiat] sentit W1 Inde] In die M2 inde] idem M1
 106 sentiuit] scutiuit M2 107 quereretur] queretur M2 W1 exennia] exenia P1 W1]
 om. M1 108 est – nitore] nitore est cuius M1 nitore] uictore P1 109 sapore]
 stupore Me uel emitus] penitus M2 Me P1 Ta W1 110 dignis] dignus M1
 111 uirtus] uirtutis P1 destituitur] destruitur M2 Me Ta quod] quia M1 M2 Me P1 Ta
 W1 112 sustentatur] assistentatur M1 in nobis] om. M1 in] sine Me Ta nobis]
 cibus M2 Me P1 Ta W1

115 mortuis per gloriam et ita etiam nos in nouitate uite
 ambulemus. Christus ita resurrexit et uetera transierunt et
 nouitas aspirauit, tu ergo si spiritu carnis mortificaueris si
 detestatione peccati cor tuum purgaueris si uetustatem
 consuetudinem molitam quia uirtutem exterioris hominis et
 interioris mentis inuocatio detestationem Spiritus. In duos
 120 nouitatem expertam senties claritatem *lignum habet spiritus si
 precisum fuerit rursum uirescit si senu erit in terra radix eius et
 mortuus fuerit in puluere*. Uirtus eius ad odorem aqua sursum
 germinabit ligni preciso carnis mortificatio radice semine
 uetustas consuetudine que aduentus gratie germinatio
 125 mentis renouatio uidet hominem renouatum. Hoc est quod
 in spiritu querit facere Dei uoluntatem cordis munditiam
 carnis amplectetur castitatem seruant silentium. Ubi
 uerbum proferat ordinatum uel cornu uel procax uel
 uersatile uoluitur in oculis. Nihil iudeorum in gressu, nihil
 130 lasciuum in usu, nihil impudicum in tactu, nihil in uiribus
 quod ad proximos pertineat leuitatis. Uox interioris
 hominis resultat exterius in corpore et bona domus insuper
 liminari recognoscitur.

<2.2.3> In sexto gradu sensus obtunditur dum per
 135 patientiam in sensibilis redditur mortuus. Unde mortuus
 iacebat in lecto filius sunamitis et non erat eis uox neque
 sensus. Iam quippe nouitatem in duras Christo configuratur
 unde clamat apostolus configuratum se morti si quando

120/122 lignum – puluere] Iob 14, 7-8 138/139 configuratum – mortuis] Cfr Phil.
 3, 10-11

114 per] pro M1 et ita] ita et Me P1 Ta W1 etiam] om. Me P1 Ta W1] et M1 M2
 115 ita] itaque M1 M2 Me Ta 118 consuetudinem] consuetudine M1]
 consuetudinum Me Ta exterioris] exterioris M1 119 mentis] hominis mentis M1
 detestationem] detestatione M1 121 precisum] precisum P1 W1] prescium M1
 senu erit] senuerit P1 senu] sonu W1 radix] radex P1 123 preciso] prescio M1
 M2 radice] radices M2 127 amplectetur] amplectitur M2 Me P1 Ta W1
 129 uersatile] saticile P1 gressu] gressu nihil ostentium in gestu Me Ta 130 usu]
 risu M1 Me Ta nihil impudicum] nihil ostentium in gestu, nihil impudicum M1 M2
 132/133 insuper liminari] in superliminari M2 133 liminari] luminari M1
 recognoscitur] cognoscitur M2 Me P1 Ta W1 135 mortuus¹] moriturus M2 Me P1 Ta
 W1 136 eis uox] nox ei W1 137 duras] diuus P1

concurris ad resurrectionem que est ex mortuis partes debent
 congruere toti et a Christo necesse defendere ad membra 140
 formam patientie. Uide ergo in Christo moriente in cruce
 capud uerberibus santiatum, faciem sputis illustram,
 dorsum uerberibus cesum, manus et pedes fixos et fessos,
 in fontibus membrorum et numquam agnus iugulatori suo 145
 illudens ad iniuriam non respondet sed neruos ostendet
 uerbo et exemplo patientiam docet mandatum genus
 docendi nouus creator assumit res accusat, culpam attenuat,
 patientiam format prosequatur Moyses et iniurias legem
 proficiat talionis. Ille enim moriatur reus hic uero in 150
 persecutionibus docet ad pietatis arma confugere non
 furoris orationis non ultionis humiliationis nec
 compassionis.

<2.3.1> In septimo gradu nexus dissoluitur anime et
 corporis. Quia subtractis sensibus carnalibus et
 insensibiliter uelud mens effecta nullis temporalium nexibus 155
 per affectum amoris illiciti retrahetur: *fortis enim ut mors
 dilectio* tua et cetera. Si mors disiungit aeri in paralysis
 afflictione et infermis quos tenet sibi coniungit heres in
 morte perfectam a creatura separationem et in emulatione
 inferni perpetuam cum Christo unionem *lampades* et cetera. 160
 Quia ardet interius deuotus per desiderium lucet exterius
 hominibus per exemplum. Ardet deuotione, lucet opinione
 non cedit aquis plurimis temptationum in manitati nec
 flumibus earum scilicet diuturnitatis. Sed sicut modica aque
 dispersio succendit ignem et sic: *aque multe non poterunt* et 165
 cetera.

156/157 fortis – dilectio] Cant. 8, 6 160 lampades] Cfr Cant. 8, 6 165 aque –
 poterunt] Cant. 8, 7

139 resurrectionem] intentionem M1 142 santiatum] sacciatum M1 illustram]
 illutam M2 143 et fessos] om. P 145 neruos] in eruos M2 P1 W1] seruos M1
 147 creator] orator M2 M1 Me P1 Ta W1 148 et] om. M2 P1 W1 155 insensibiliter
 uelud] uelud insensibiliter M2 Me P1 Ta W1 effecta] affecta M2 161 exterius]
 interius M1 163 cedit] ceditur M1 aquis] aliquis M1 temptationum] teptationum
 P1 in manitati] imanitati M2 165 et¹] om. Me Ta

<2.3.2> In octauo gradu spiritus liber egredietur quia mens nullis temporalium impedita libere circa celestia meditatur. Sicut penna leuissima si non fuerit humore
 170 perfusa subtilitate sue substantie cum adiutorio flatus leuis ad superiora subtolliitur. Ideo moriturus Aaron iubetur ascendere quia per meditationem debemus ad excelsa transire. Paucorum est in hunc montem ascendere, paucorum stare in uertice, paucissimorum ibi morari et
 175 quiescere. Habet enim ascensus difficultatem status dignitatem requies uoluntatem meditari enim de diuinis mentibus ad talia inconsuetis quasi caligantibus ad lumen solis magne est difficultatis exerceri uero in eis et meditationibus assiduis purga in spiritum suum magne est
 180 dignitatis, sed quiescere et non reuocari magne est uoluptatis. Aaron enim ibi colligitur et ibi moritur. Mens enim qui per uaria desideria spargitur in hoc mundo non morituri, colligit ergo anima me cogitationes ut inutilem exurgat meditationem. Meditatio proficiat per
 185 contemplationem, contemplatio adducat exultationem, exultatio dilatatur in admirationem, admiratio in alienationem, alienatio terminetur in mortem spiritualem.

<2.3.3> In nono gradu seppellitur corpus quia cum per meditationem mens sursum erigitur, seueritas obtinetur non
 190 est quies rei nisi in loco proprio nec anime nisi in Deo. Sed quamdiu amor anime ad diuersa spargitur pax non habetur si quando quod est in nobis animale quod serenatur ad tranquillitatem et quod spirituale sublimatur tunc quasi in sepulchro patris pacem habemus. Hoc est sepulcrum quod
 195 Ioseph Domino preparauerat in quo mortuus requiescit.

167 octauo] quarto L1 egredietur] egreditur L1] corr. M1 168 temporalium] temporalis M1 impedita] recorarissimis impedimenta L1 W1] recoratusus impedita M2
 169 penna] pena L1 W1 170 flatus leuis] leuis flatus L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1
 172 per] om. M2 173 est] om. M1 175 ascensus] assensus Me 176 uoluntatem] uoluptatem L1 P1 W1 177 inconsuetis] consuetis L1 178 exerceri] excerceri M1 et] et in P1 180 quiescere] quiese M1 181 ibi¹] quem per M1 colligitur] colliditur L1 ibi²] om. L1 182 spargitur] spergitur L1 183 morituri] moritur L1 M2 inutilem] utilem M1 184 per] in L1 M2 186 in²] et M1 189 mens] mons L1 192 si] sed L1 193 spirituale] spirituale que M2 P1 W1] spirituale quia L1 Me Ta 195 Domino] om. L1 preparauerat] preparat L1 M1 M2 P1 W1 mortuus] mortuis M1

Sepulchrum enim hoc totum tam inferius quam superius comprehendit. Hic deficiunt perturbationes a sensualitate et procedentes quia ad mare mortuum descendunt aque Iordanis inferiores huic mari moritur cum in monte ascendit terram promissionis, aspicit in uertice phage moritur sepelitur a Domino cuius sepulchrum nulli homini innotescit, ascendit in quam per montis animantiam contemplando promissam fidelibus patriam indurat dum efficitur deformis per gratiam sepelitur a Domino per infusam sibi letitiam sepulchrum eius non cognoscit homo quia pax eius exsuperat omnem sensum a quam nos perducatur et cetera.

200

205

206/207 pax – perducatur] Cfr Phil. 4, 7

196 quam] quod *M2* **197** Hic] hinc *M2 Me Ta* perturbationes] perturbatiores *M1*
199 Iordanis] in Iordanis *M1* mari] in quare *W1*] in quid *L1*] marem *M1 Me* in] *om.*
L1 M1 M2 monte] montem *L1 M2* **200** phage] phasge *M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1*
202 ascendit] ascenderit *M1* **206 a]** ad *P1 W1*

Sermo XXXI

Sermon *de sancto Iacobo*, S50, RLS 180.

Base ms.: *P*, ff. 201va-203va.

- 5 Collated mss.: *L1*, ff. 303va-306rb; *M1*, ff. 427va-429vb; *M2*, ff. 221v-224r; *Me*, ff. 225vb-227vb; *P1*, ff. 176va-178rb; *Ta*, ff. 202rb-204ra; *W1*, ff. 309va-312rb.

Nescitis quid petatis

- 10 Hec sunt uerba Domini dicentis et respondentis Iacobi et Iohanni quorum mater irrationabilem petitionem faciebat Domino. Similiter uobis a me predicationem et sermonem petentibus possum respondere nescitis quid petatis, quia ex me non habeo quod possum predicare. Uerumptamen sicut
15 cum aliquis magnus Dominus inuitans pauperem ad petendum dat ei animum et fiduciam petendi et spem optinendi. Sic Dominus cum dicit: *aperi os tuum* et implebo. Illud dat predicatori animum petendi et spem optinendi et ideo rogemus Dominum.
- 20 *Nescitis quid petatis*; uulgariter dicitur a bon demanndor bien sage escondisor. Mater istorum discipulorum indiscrete petiit gloriam paradysi pro filiis et ideo sapienter Dominus eis modum denegauit optinendi si aliquis petierit ulnam panni pro .v. solidi qui ualet .xi. mercator
25 conuenienter posset dicere nescitis quid petatis. Sic in proposito quia isti tantam gloriam sine merito uel pretio petebant? Ideo Dominus merito sic respondit in uerbis proponitis. Circa gloriam quam isti petebant tria sunt considerata:

Sermo XXXI, 8/9 – quid] Matth. 20, 22; Marc. 10, 38 17 aperi – tuum] Cfr Prou. 31, 9; Ez. 2, 8

Sermo XXXI, 20/21 a – escondisor] Morawski 9

Sermo XXXI, 11 irrationabilem] irrationalem *L1* 12 et] *om. L1* 15 inuitans] inuitat *P1 W1* 18 animum] et animum *Me M1 M2 Me Ta* 20 demanndor] demandour *M1 M2 Me P1 W1* 21 bien] ben *L1 M1 M2* escondisor] escundiseur *L1 M1 Me Ta*] eucundisur *M2* 22 sapienter] sapienter eis *M2* 23 eis] ei *L1*] *om. M2* 25 dicere] dicere ei *M1 Me P1 Ta W1* 28 Circa] cura *M1*

<1> primum est quod hec gloria incognita quod notatur cum dicitur <u>nescitis</u> .	30
<2> Secundo quod est diuturna uel perpetua quod nota cum dicitur <u>quid</u> .	
<3> Tertium quod pretiosa quod notatur cum dicitur <u>petatis</u> .	35
<1> Quod enim est pretiosum et bonum hoc solet peti, hoc gaudium non ignotum est quia si ipsum cognosceremus ut furiosi terreremus ad illud nullam penitentiam nihil durum timeremus nudis pedibus illuc curreremus. Hec gloria quod ignota sic patet per manna quod posuit filiis Israel ut legitur in Exodo quod cum ipsi ignorarent clamabant Manhu quod interpretatur quid est hec manna, id est hec gloria significatur et conuenienter quia sicut filiis Israel sapiebat manna quidquid uolebant. Sapiebat enim eis pisces, carnes et breuiter quicquid cogitabant quicquid dicitur esca angelorum de qua dicitur Sapientie .xvi. esca angelorum: <i>nustristi populum tuum et paratum panem prestitisti eis de celo sine labore omne delectamentum in se habentem et omnis saporis suauitatem</i> . Similiter gloria paradysi est anime, quis amisit cogitat ibi omnia quantumcumque gaudium quantamcumque delectationem quam cito cogitat tam cito habet. Istud gaudium est sicut lapis pretiosus scilicet margarita. Unde dicit Dominus in Euangelio: <i>simile est regnum celorum homini querenti bonas margaritas</i> et cetera. Thitus: <i>sobrie et pie uiuamus</i> et cetera,	40 45 50 55

41 Exodo] Cfr Exo. 16, 15 47/49 nustristi – suauitatem] Cfr Sap. 16, 20
54/55 simile – margaritas] Matth. 13, 45 55 sobrie – uiuamus] Tit. 2, 12

30 incognita] est incognita L1 P1 W1 32 Secundo] secundum Me Ta diuturna] diurna M2 33/34 quid – dicitur] om. P 35 petatis] petantis Me 37 non] uero L1 M1 M2 Me Ta si] om. L1 38 ut – terreremus] om. L1 terreremus] terreremur P1 curreremus M2 Me 39 illuc] illud Me 40 curreremus] curremus Me M1 M2 41 posuit] pluit L1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 ipsi] ipsi quid esset L1 Me M1 Ta 43 hec¹] hoc M2 manna] in manna M1 45 Sapiebat] sapiebant L1 sapebat M1 46 cogitabant] cogitabat L1 dicitur¹] om. M1 angelorum] anglorum M1 46/47 de – xvi] om. P 47 angelorum] anglorum M1 48 panem] ranem L1 M2 50 quis] quid M2 51 quantamcumque] quantumcumque M1 M2 Me] quodcumque Ta 54 simile] simele M1

sequitur et sic: *inuenta una pretiosa margarita* et cetera. Et nota quod regnum bene comparatur lapidi pretioso quia si aliquis esset qui non cognosceret pretiosum lapidem et inueniret in luto uix aut nunquam lauaret eum et multo
 60 minus aliquid de suo nec unum obolum daret pro eo. Sed qui eum cognosceret multa daret et forte quicquid haberet. Eodem modo miseri homines qui non cognoscunt hoc gaudium quia nihil de ipso et uolunt cogitare nec audire de ipso aliquid in sermonibus nihil dant de ipso. Sed de gaudio
 65 mundi quod cognoscunt de quo miserabiliter continue cogitant, dant non solum sua que inutiliter expendunt sed seipsos anima scilicet et corpus tradunt demonibus ad cruciandum in inferno. Sed boni et iusti homines qui hoc cognoscunt gaudium et continue de eo meditantur dant
 70 quicquid habent pro eo et seipsos ad austeram et duram penitentiam exponentes nec eis aliquis uidetur quidquid dant pro eo propter magnitudinem ualoris.

<2> Secundum quod notatur est hoc quod gaudium sit diuturnum uel perpetuum. In hoc quod dicitur: *quid*. Quid
 75 enim notat permanentiam siue soliditatem. Unde dicitur in Euangelio: *usque modo non potestis quidquam* dicit glossa permanens et solidum. Unde qui sunt in paradyso, sunt in continua letitia. Ysa. .li.: *sempiterna letitia sunt capita eorum*

56 inuenta – margarita] Matth. 13, 46 76 usque – quidquam] Cfr Ioh. 16, 24
 78/79 sempiterna – tenebunt] Cfr Is. 51, 11

76 glossa] Cfr Martin Morard et alii, ed., *Glossa ordinaria cum Biblia latina* (Io. 16, 24), in : *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2022. Consultation du 05/09/2022.
 (P e r m a l i n k :
http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/glo/GLOSS-liber58.xmlchapitre=58_16)

56 pretiosa margarita] margarita pretiosa L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 57 regnum bene] bene regnum L1 58 esset] om. L1 M1 M2 Me Ta et] om. L1 M2 Ta
 59 inueniret] inueniret inueniret L1 lauaret] leuaret L1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 61 et] si L1] in W1] etiam M1 Me 63 et] etiam L1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 64 nihil dant] om. Ta dant] dat L1 de ipso] om. Ta Sed] sed de ipso sed Me P1 W1]sed de ipso Ta
 67 anima] animam L1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 corpus] cor M1 70 ad] om. M1 Me P1 Ta W1 71 exponentes] faciendo L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 73 hoc quod] quod hoc L1 M2 75 enim] ei L1 76 quidquam] quicquam M1 M2 Me Ta 77 et] om. M2 Me
 78 sempiterna letitia] letitia sempiterna L1 M1 M2 Me Ta sunt] om. L1

*gaudium et letitiam tenebunt. Istud gaudium esset requirendum et petendum non temporale et momentaneum quod patet per exemplum ubi essent tria arpenta uel tres mensure uinee et unum solum posset durare per duos annos, aliud tamen per tres, tertium autem semper et equaliter fructiferum continue durat usque in finem seculi. Stultus esset qui emeret primum uel secundum et dimitteret tertium. Sic non sunt petende uel emende res temporales non cor in talibus ponendum qui cito pereunt nec in propria carne ponenda est cura ut eius desideria impleantur quia uariabilis secundum infirmitates diuersas et senium. Sed solum in gloria celi unde Dominus in Euangelio: *thesaurizate uobis thesaurus in celo.**

<3> Tertium quod notatur est quod singula sunt pretiosa cum dicitur petendum est a sapiente solum quod pretiosum est. Discipuli enim Domini quia sapientes quamuis pauperes essent et indigentes tamen temporalia non petebant utpote uilia sed regnum celorum gloriosum Psalmo: *gloriosa dicta sunt de te ciuitas Dei* et ideo petendum sed discrete ne petitio habeat calumpniam. Sed notandum quod tria sunt genera petitorum siue eorum qui solent peti a Domino; quidam enim petunt bona fortune; quidam bona gratie, alii autem bona glorie.

<3.1> De primo o bone et hoc a quo scito petit homo bona fortune sed Deus ipsa quibusdam denegat propter tria

<3.1.1> que sunt uilia: et hoc patet per exemplum: si nepos archiepiscopi, qui natus esset ad magna, peteret ab ipso paruam prebendam, non solum non daret, ei quamuis

91 thesaurizate – celo] Matth. 6, 20 97 gloriosa – Dei] Ps. 86, 3

81 arpenta] This is a latinized version of the word *arpent* which means “a measure of length, area”, Cfr Godefroy Frédéric, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IX^e au XV^e siècle*, 1, p. 406.

89 secundum] hec M1 92 singula sunt] elimosina est P1] hec gloria est L1 Ta W1 singula] hec gloria Me sunt] e M1] est Me 93 a sapiente] accipiente W1] a capiente Ta sapiente] petente P1] capiente L1 94 pretiosum] om. M1 97 de – Dei] om. L1 98 habeat] hanc M1 Me 99 petitorum] peccatorum M1 eorum] illis L1 M2 101 alii – glorie] add. M2 glorie] gloria M1 102 et – scito] Iesus quam cito Me P1 Ta W1 et – a] Iesu L1 M2 quo] quam L1 M2] qua M1 scito] cito L1 petit] petitit M1 104 uilia] om. L1 106 quamuis] quam P1

ipsum diligat, quia non deseret eum. Similiter si filius regis peteret fimum stabulorum suorum non daretur ei. Immo diceretur quod degeneraret tam uilia petendo. Sic homo qui
 110 petit temporalia qui natus est ad celestia omnia hec arbitratus sum ut stercora ait apostolus nos autem esse debemus filii Dei.

<3.1.2> Secundo negat ea Dominus quia sunt nociua et inutilia. Exemplum medicus laboranti in acuta uinum
 115 petenti non dat uinum quamuis sit bonum in se et quamuis diligat filium egrum, quia scit quod uinum augmentaret egretudinem eius. Similiter nec pater daret filio quod sciret ei esse nocuum, sic Dominus pater noster existens ut dicitur Mt .vi. et .xxxi. Io.: *dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri*
 120 temporalia que nobis sunt nociua nobis denegat. Unde Sapientia .xiii.: *creature Dei facte sunt in odium et in temptationem anime hominum et in muscipulam pedibus insipientium*. Et notatur sic uinum augmentat morbum laborantis in acuta sic frequenter affluentia temporalium concupiscentia
 125 corruptionis auget si Dominus ea conferret.

<3.1.3> Tertio denegat quia essent ipsi Domino conferenti dampnosa. Sepe enim Dominus huius hominis ut quibusdam armis impugnatur, uidelicet corporali pulcritudine diuiciis potentia honoribus que contulit homini
 130 et id ideo hoc merito denegat quibusdam. Exemplum si miles peteret a rege castrum per quod sciret rex quod eum impugnaret, non daret ei. Sic nec Dominus temporalia aliquibus ne per illa impugnaretur. Exo. .xvi.: *ecce hec fuit iniquitas Sodome sororis tue superbia saturitas panis et habundantia*

111 arbitratus – stercora] Cfr Phil. 3, 8 119 dedit – fieri] Ioh. 1, 12

121/122 creature – insipientium] Sap. 14, 11 133/135 ecce – ipsius] Ez. 16, 49

107 ipsum diligat] diligat ipsum L1 deseret] deceret L1 M2 108 daretur] daret L1 M2 109 degeneraret] designaret L1] denegaret M2 qui] quando L1
 111 stercora] superiora L1 115 sit – quamuis²] om. L1 Ta sit bonum] bonum sit M2 117 daret] diceret L1 filio] om. L1 119 dicitur] om. M1 xxxi] .xxi. L1 M2 Me]
 .xxvi. M1 fieri] si Me 122 notatur] nota L1 M1 M2 Me Ta 123 sic¹] sicut L1 M2 Me Ta 124 concupiscentia] concupiscentiam M1 Me P1 Ta W1 125 si] sed P1
 126 Domino] duo M2 129 que] autem Ta 130 id] om. L1 Me P1 Ta W1 131 a] si W1 133 hec] hic M2

otium ipsius. Non autem dat Dominus hec bona fortune aliquibus quia non sunt petenda. Iac. .iiii.: petitis et non accipitis eo quod male petatis. 135

<3.2> Secundum genus eorum que petuntur a Deo est bonum gratie. Hoc autem bonum non dat Deus aliquibus petentibus propter tria. 140

<3.2.1> Propter petentium immunditiam quia adhuc est in eis fetida et immunda uoluntas petendi. Hoc probatur i. Regum .xxi. ubi dicitur quod: Daudid uenit ad Achimelech sacerdotem uolens aliquid manducare et dixit non si quidem habeo ad manum nisi quinque panes da mihi ait quod inueneris et respondens sacerdos ad Daudid ait ei non habeo panes laycos ad manum sed tantum panem sanctum si mundi sunt pueri maxime a mulieribus manducent quasi dicat alter non debent manducare nec aliter dabo. Sic Dominus gratiam suam non dat immundo et fetido per peccatum et per uoluntatem peccandi. Quod patet per exemplum tale: si mulier habet bonum lac uel uinum non libenter infunderet in poto fetido et immundo et antequam uult infundere in eo tam diligenter uult quod lauetur. Immo quandoque surgit ipsa et lauat uitrum quia familia sua non satis lauit. Similiter etiam Dominus non nisi mundis dat uinum gratie sue et ideo dicitur: *mundamini qui fertis uasa Domini.* Ergo maxime qui multis esse uasa gratie Dei cum qua est Deus nisi ergo cor mundum habeas cui Dominus gratiam non infundet. 150 155 160

<3.2.2> Secundo non dat Dominus gratiam propter negligentiam orantis quia non de uoce nec ex corde petit ac maxime calici qui ludendo cum sociis suis uel ad aliud

136/137 petitis – petatis] Iac. 4, 3 143/148 ubi – mulieribus] Cfr I Reg. 21, 2-4

157/158 mundamini – Domini] Is. 52, 11

135 otium] et otium M2] et quando Ta ipsius] impius M2 P1 Ta fortune] fortitudine P1 140 propter tria] om. M1 141 petentium] penitentium P1] peccatum M1] potentium Ta 144 aliquid] quid Ta non] nunc L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 145 habeo] habet L1 M2 P1 Ta W1 145/147 nisi – manum] om. Ta 145 nisi] uel L1 M2 P1 W1 153 et²] om. L1 W1 154 infundere – eo] in eo infundere L1 155 surgit ipsa] ipsa surgit L1 et] om. P1 156 lauit] lauat L1 M2 P1 Ta W1 etiam] et L1 M1 M2 Me nisi] mihi M1 158 multis] uultis M1 M2 Me 159 nisi] uero M1 162 ex] om. P1 163 calici] clerici L1 M1 M2 Me Ta

- ridendo cum aliis dicunt horas et forte cogitant ad aliud et
 165 quandoque ad inhonestatem et in mundum cum tamen
 adorantes cor ad nihilum aliud quam ad Deum debent
 habere. Unde Phil .iiii. : *nihil solliciti sitis sed in omni oratione et*
obsecratione cum gratiarum actione petitiones uestre innotescant apud
Deum quod autem indeuote non optineant probari potest
 170 per hoc exemplum: si aliquis pauper peteret gloriam
 ludendo uel deridendo eum a quo peteret uel auertendo
 faciem ab eo nihil daretur ei sed illusor diceretur sic in
 proposito
 <3.2.3> Tertio non dat Dominus gratiam propter
 175 pigritiam uel desidiam petentis quia non perseueranter petit,
 aliqui uadunt ad ecclesiam et dicunt pater noster et statim
 exeunt, alii discurrunt inde exeunt alii modo intrant modo
 exeunt, tales non impetrant quia instanter non petunt
 maxime cum digni sint exauditione. Exemplum si pauper
 180 petens panem ad hostium et tam cito recederet nunquam
 optineret nisi expectaret et quandoque accidit quod
 instanter petens et clamans propter tedium et
 importunitatem suam optinet, qui alter non optineret.
 Exemplum ponit Dominus Luc. .xi. de illo qui media nocte
 185 pulsatur ad hostium amici petens tres panes de quo dicit
 Dominus si perseuerauerit pulsans dico uobis et si non
 dabit illi surgens eo quod amicus eius sit tamen propter
 improbitatem eius surgit et dabit illi quotquot necessarios
 habet. Unde concludit *petite* et cetera.

167/169 nihil – Deum] Phil. 4, 6 184/189 de – habet] Cfr Luc. 11, 5-8

166 adorantes] orantes L1 P1 Ta] et orantes M2 Me W1 adⁱ] a M1 debent] dicunt
 M1 169 quod] quia M1 non] om. L1 optineant] obtineant W1 170 hoc] om. L1
 171 ludendo] laudendo M1 172 faciem – eo] ab eo faciem L1 M1 Me P1 Ta W1
 174 gratiam] gloriam M1 M2 175 desidiam] desideriam M1 M2 176 etⁱ] om. L1 M1
 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 et²] om. L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 177 aliiⁱ] om. P] aliqui M2 inde]
 modo L1 M1 M2 P1 W1 alii²] om. L1 M2 P1 W1 177/178 modo exeunt] om. L1 M1
 M2 P1 W1 179 sint] sunt M1 Exemplum] est enim exemplum L1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1
 180 hostium] hostis M1 181 accidit] accis M1 185 tres] om. Ta
 186 perseuerauerit] perseuerauit M1 pulsans] pultans M1 187/189 tamen –
 habet] om. L1 187 tamen] cum M1 188 et dabit] debet P1

<3.3> Tertium genus petitorum siue eorum qui petuntur est gaudium paradysi. Petunt hoc multi, sed pauci optinent quia: *multi sunt uocati, pauci uero electi* ut dicitur in euangelio et hoc quia male petunt unde illis potest dici: *nescitis quid petitis*. Tales autem sunt tria genera hominum.

<3.3.1> Quidam enim petunt absque suis meritis et bonis operibus, nolunt enim facere penitentiam. Unde fatui iudicandi sunt quod probatur per exemplum: si aliquis homo poneret uinum suum ad pretium quatuor solidos et pro minori non daret nec matri nec cognatis nec aliquibus amicis uel uicinis et ueniret aliquis extraneus de hutema igne impetere illud pro quatuor denariis non solum non haberet sed fatuus reputaretur ab extranibus qui hoc scirent. Sic dico in proposito Dominus apposuit pretium in uino regni celorum siue gaudio paradysi scilicet ita ut nullus illud habeat quantumcumque sibi amicus fuerit sine hoc pretio. Hoc pretium est tribulationes, aduersitates, paupertas et alia huius. Hoc autem pretium soluit eius benedicta mater Maria per aliis. Ipsa enim pauper in tribulationibus precipue quando eius anima in passione filii gladius pertransiuit. Sic ipse Dominus secundum quod dicit in Euangelio: *oportebat Christum pati Christum* et cetera. Sic Petrus et Paulus et apostoli alii, martyres et quot intrant per multas enim tribulationes oportet intrare in regnum celorum. Unde in proposito cognatis Iacobo et Iohanni hoc petentibus dixit: *nescitis* et cetera. Et sequitur: *potestis bibere*

192 multi – electi] Matth. 20, 16; 22, 14 **211** oportebat – Christum^{2]} Luc. 24, 46
215/216 potestis – calicem] Cfr Matth. 20, 22; Marc. 10, 38

200 hutema] Latinised French “hute”

191 Petunt hoc] hoc petunt *L1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1* sed] *om. M2* 194 autem] qui *M1*
200/201 hute[m] igne] hute maigne *L1 M2 Me Ta W1*] hute magine *M1*
201 impetere] et petere *P1* pro] per *P1*] *om. L1 W1* 202 extranibus] extralibet *M2*
P1 W1 203 scirent] sciret *L1* 204 uino] uno *M1 M2* 205 quantumcumque]
quantum quia *M1* fuerit] *om. L1 M1 M2 P1 W1* 206 Hoc] *om. L1* pretium] pretium
istud *L1* pretiis *M1* aduersitates] et aduersitates *L1 M1* 207 paupertas] paupertatis
L1 208 per] pre *L1 M1 M2 Me Ta* 209 anima] animam *L1 P1 W1* filij] filius *P1*
211 Christum¹] *om. L1* Christum²] *om. M2* 212 apostoli alij] alii apostoli *L1 M1 M2*
P1 W1 intrant] intrauerunt *L1 M2 P1 W1* 213 oportet] et oportet *M2*
215 potestis] potestas *W1*

calicem et cetera quasi dicat aliter non habebitis. Fatui ergo sunt qui sine meritis petunt sed adhuc uacant peccato.

<3.3.2> Alii petunt ultra rationem et mensuram, gallice outragement. Sicut qui habent gladium mundi petunt
 220 gaudium paradysi, dicentes sic rex Deus honorat et paradysum. Tales enim non optinent quod patet per grossum exemplum. Si aliquis famulus regis et qui lauaret scutellas et esset uere seruus eius peteret plura fercula ubi Dominus suus de uno esset contentus merito ut fatuus
 225 repelleretur quia ultra rationem peteret. Dominus noster Iesus Christus cuius nos nomine serui sumus uno ferculo contentus erat scilicet gaudio paradysi sine quo numquam fuit etiam in hoc mundo sed aliud ferculum honoris mundi numquam habuit. Unde dicit de se: *pauper ego sum et in*
 230 *laboribus a iuuentute* qui ergo utrumque petunt stulti sunt. Ideo Dauid sapienter petunt quando dixit: *unam petii a Domino hanc requiram ut inhabitem in domo Domini omnibus diebus uite mee.*

<3.3.3> Alii sunt petentes gaudia paradysi cum tamen ex
 235 seipsis indigni sint ex auditione. Sicut si aliquis denegaret regi obolum et postea peteret ab eo .centum. libras certe non esset dignus exaudiri. Sicut sunt multi qui nolunt dare parum quid uidelicet elimosinam pauperi unde illud Mt .xx.: qui *uni ex minimis meis fecistis mihi fecistis* et tamen petunt
 240 a Deo gaudia paradysi. Talibus dicet Dominus illud Mt. .xxv.: *discedite a me maledicti in ignem eternum* scilicet quod minus est pauperibus uolunt dare consilium neque iuuare in

229/230 pauper – iuuentute] Ps. 87, 16 231/233 unam – mee] Ps. 26, 4 239 uni – fecistis²] Matth. 25, 40 241 discedite – eternum] Matth. 25, 41

217/218 sed – petunt] om. M1 217 uacant] uacat M2 219 outragement] eutragement L1 M1 Me P1 Ta W1] hutragement M2 gladium] gaudium M1 M2 P1 W1 222 famulus] familis P W1 et] regnum et W1 223 eius] eius et L1 Me P1 Ta W1 plura] plurima M2 224 esset] esse M2 226 nomine] om. M1] nature M2 227 paradysi] paradisu M1 sine] sum M1 230 petunt] pectit M1 230/231 stulti – petunt] om. M1 231 Dauid] Deo L1] Dominus M2 petunt] petiit M2 232/233 hanc – mee] om. L1 234 cum tamen] si cum M1 236 centum libras] om. M1 238 unde illud] quia L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 239 minimis] quatuor minimis M1 mihi fecistis] et cetera L1 tamen] cum M1 240 gaudia] gaudium W1

causis pro quibus ad eos clamant. Unde timere possunt qui
obturant aures suas et cetera. Quod rogemus ergo Domino.

244 obturant – suas] Ps. 57, 5; Is. 33, 15

243 ad – Unde] *om.* P1 **244** obturant] obturat L1 M2 M^e P1 Ta W1 aures suas]
aurem suam L1 M1 M2 M^e P1 Ta W1 Quod – Domino] *om.* L1 M1 M2 M^e P1 Ta W1

Sermo XXXII

Sermon *dominica prima in passione Domini*, T23, RLS 68.

Base ms.: P, ff. 203va-205vb.

- 5 Collated mss.: L1, ff. 306rb-308vb; M1, ff. 429vb-431vb; M2, ff. 224r-226v; Me, ff. 227vb-230ra; P1, ff. 178rb-180va; Ta, ff. 204ra-206rb; W1, ff. 312va-315va.

10 *Iudica me Deus et discerne causam meam de gente non sancta*
psalmo

- Consetum est enim quod cum aliquis trahitur in causam coram aliquibus qui iniuste contra eum iudicant siue sententiam ad superiorem appellat quem scit uel estimat esse iustiozem. Sicut Paulus appellauit ad Cesarem et sic
15 iudei traxerunt Ihesum in causam qui eum iniuste condempnauerunt. Dixit enim Pilatus, Lucas .xxii.: *quid enim mali fecit iste? Ego enim in illo nullam inuenio causam* et cum conspuerunt et blasphemauerunt eum et cetera dederuntque sententiam dicentes *reus est mortis*, Mt .xxvii.
20 quod uidens Ihesus sciens Deum patrem esse iustissimum iudicem. Qui fecerit iudicium iniuriam patientis ad eum appellauit in uerbis propositis dicens *iudica me Deus* et cetera. Quasi dicat homines male iudicant sed tu iuste. Ideo te uolo habere iudicem in causa mea, non ipsos et ideo
25 sequitur *discerne causam meam* et cetera. Quoniam ecclesia hodie incepit recolere passionem eius qua iniuriatum est ei. Ideo cantat uerbum propositum in dominica hodierna unde dominica de passione uocatur. In uerbis uero propositis duo sunt notanda uel uidenda:
30 <1> primo qualiter iudicium hominis falsum est propter quod petit Christus non secundum illud iudicari;

Sermo XXXII, 9 *Iudica – sancta*] Ps. 42, 1 **16/17** *quid – causam*] Luc. 23, 22
19 *reus – mortis*] Matth. 26, 66

Sermo XXXII, 13 *estimat*] *estinat* M1 **14** *et sic*] *sic et* M2 Me P1 Ta W1
16 *condempnauerunt*] *condempnauerit* M1 *Lucas*] *om.* L1 **18** *conspuerunt*] *spuerunt* P1 **19** *xxvii*] *xxv.* Me **20** *uidens*] *iudeus* M2 **21** *fecerit*] *facit* L1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 *patientis*] *patientibus* L1 M2 Me P1 Ta **25** *Quoniam*] *qui* W1 **26** *incepit*] *corr. incipit* M1] *incipit* M2 Me Ta *qua*] *quia* P1 W1

<2> secundo in quibus iniuriatum est Christo in hoc mundo, de quibus sibi iudicium fieri a patre petit.

<1> Iudicium uero homini in pluribus reperimus falsum. Iere .v. item: *circuite uias Ierusalem et aspice et considerate et querite in platheis eius an inueniatis uirum iudicium facientem et querentem fidem et propitius ero eis quasi dicat inuenietis. Tria enim iuditia ponemus ad presens que solent facere homines.*

<1.1> Primum iniuriam propriam uindicando, sunt autem aliqui quam cito ab aliis uel uerbo uel facto leduntur iudicare eos uolunt et se uindicare. Sicut canis cum per canem capitur latrat et capientem mordere nititur Prou. .xxvi. : *qui apprehendit auribus canem sicut qui transit impatiens et cummiscetur rixe alterius.* Unde ibidem carnes et lingua ad ignem sic homo iracundus suscitatur rixas, tales enim sunt sicut uesica inflata que quantum parum pungatur uentum emittit et inflatur Prou. .xxix. : *uir iracundus suscitatur rixas et qui ad indignandum facilis est, fuit ad peccata procliuior, superbum sequitur humilitas.* Item fedum totum spiritum suum profert stultus et mirum quod non est rex in toto mundo qui ita bene iudicaret sicut Deus si sibi reseruaretur iudicium quia rex terrenus tantum exteriora iudicat, Deus aut cogitationes et intentiones iudicabit Eccl. ult. : *cuncta qua fiunt adducit Deus in iudicium pro omni errato siue bonum siue malum fuerit;* Prou. .xx. : *ne dicas reddam malum pro malo expecta Dominum et liberabit te.* Sed dicet quis est ne iustum

35

40

45

50

55

35/37 circuite – eis] Ier. 5, 1 **44/45** qui¹ – alterius] Prou. 26, 17 **48** uir – rixas] Cfr Prou. 29, 22 **54/56** cuncta – fuerit] Eccl. 12, 14 **56/57** ne – te] Cfr Prou. 20, 22

32 quibus] manibus L1 **33** sibi iudicium] iudicium sibi L1 **34** uero] non M1 homini] hominum M1 **35** Iere v] om. L1 M2 Me Ta **36** platheis] plateis M2 P1 W1 facientem] om. W1 **40** iniuriam] in intimam M2 uindicando] uidicado L1 iudicando M1 Me Ta **41** aliqui] aliqui qui L1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 uel¹] om. Me Ta **42/90** et – actum] om. L1 **42** uindicare] mendicare M1 M2 **42/43** per canem] om. Ta **43** canem] aurem Me **44** auribus] aures M2 **45** cummiscetur] commiscetur M2 alterius] alicuius M1] altius Me Unde] om. M1 lingua] ligna M2 Me P1 Ta W1] linga M1 **47** uentum] uecum M1 **48** inflatur] deinde flatur Me P1 Ta W1] deinflatur M1 **50** fedum] feodum M1] secundum Me **52** reseruaretur] reseruatur M1 **54** aut] autem P1 W1 et] aut Me qua] que M2 Me Ta **55** adducit] adducet Me Ta

iuditium, utique quia in omni curia non permittitur aliquis
 esse iudex et actor. Unde Deut. .xvii. dicitur: quod
 60 sacerdotibus iudicium peterent quando causa aliqua orta
 esset inter eos. Item esto quod tu iudex esse posses totam
 uindictam exercere non deberes quia in aqua turbida non
 bene uidentur que sunt in profundo. Sic iratus
 quantumcumque puniendus sit aduersarius unde Cato ira
 65 impedit animum ne possit cernere uerum. Equus enim
 emissarius non facile refrenatur sic nec animus iratus quin
 plus debito in uindictam excedat. Unde maximus de seruo
 uellem me uindicare de te nisi iratus essem quasi dicat scio
 quod modum excederem Iac. .i.: *ira uiri iustitiam Dei non*
 70 *operatur* nec miror si se uindicat unus de altero cum de Deo
 se uindicare uelint cum eis immittit aliquam tribulationem
 uel de amicis uel temporalibus uel de aliis Iere .iii. pro
 penitentie uerbis blasphemasti superbie et implesti tuam
 malam cogitationem et ostendisti contra uirum
 75 fortitudinem tuam ut possis facere quod sermone tractasti
 penitentie dicit. Solent pueri clamare merci non faciam de
 cetero quando uerberantur sic debet quisquis dicere cum a
 Deo percutitur .i. Pe .v.: *humiliamini sub potenti manu Dei ut*
uos exaltat in tempore uisitationis sed blasphemant quantum in
 80 se est membratim lacerando iurando unus pedem, alius
 aurem, unus oculum, alius dentes, unus mentum, alius
 guttur et cetera Ps.: *dissipata sunt ossa mea*. Fortitudinem
 dicit quasi dicat tu repugnaris contra me. In quantum potes
 quod contra regem terrenum non faceres immo clamares

59/61 quod – eos] Cfr Deut. 17 69/70 ira – operatur] Iac. 1, 20
 78/79 humiliamini – uisitationis] I Petr. 5, 6 82 dissipata – ossa] Ps. 140, 7

Sermo XXXII, 64/65 ira – uerum] *Disticha vel dicta Catonis collectio distichorum vulgaris*,
 ed. E. Baehrens, *Poetae Latini Minores*, vol. III, p. 223 72/76 pro – dicit] Cfr
 Hieronymus, *In Hieremiam prophetam libri vi*, I, 3 4-5, PL 24, c. 700 76 merci] Old French

58 non] *om.* M1 60 sacerdotibus] a sacerdotibus M2 Me Ta 62 deberes] celeres M1
 64 Cato] et in C. W1] ethincus M2 Me Ta 67 maximus] maxime P1 68 uindicare]
 mendicare M1 te] se M1 72 temporalibus] de temporalibus M2 pro] uerbis P1
 pro] *om.* Me Ta W1 73 penitentie] petitione M2 Me Ta 74/75 et – tractasti] *om.* M2
 Me Ta 77 quisquis] quisque M2 Me Ta 78 humiliamini] humiliatum M2 79 exaltat]
 exaltet M2 83 repugnaris] repugnas Me P1 W1] te pugnas M1] tu pugnas Ta

merci dicens faciatis quicquid uolueritis de me et si rege
terreno quanto magis regi celesti. Iudit .viii.: *non ulciscimur*
nos pro hiis que patimur, sed reputantes peccatis nostris hec ipsa
supplia minora esse extra flagella Domini quasi serui corripimur ad
emendationem non ad perditionem nostram euenisse credamus et nota
superius actum. 85 90

<1.2> Secundum iudicium est anime et carnis causam
tractare. Est enim litigatio inter animam et carnem quia
caro allegat quod bene debet comedere, dormire et huius
quod totum negat spiritus e contrario dicens quod
uigilandum, ieiunandum, orandum et caste uiuendum. Et
huius Gal.: .v. *caro concupiscit aduersus spiritum et spiritus*
aduersus carnem hec enim sibi inuicem aduersantur ut non quecumque
uultis illa faciatis. Homo uero iudex secundum Augustinum
potest consentire in quo maluerit aut uoluntatem carnis
implere aut anime. Eccl. .xv.: *Deus ab initio constituit hominem*
et reliquit eum in manu consilii sed heu hodie ferre omnis
sententiam ferunt pro carne contra animam Ge. .xxv.: *Iacob*
tenebat plantam Esau ne prior exiret cum quantamcumque
teneret. Iacob id est egressus est Esau id est opus carnis;
Iacob opus spiritus siue anime. Hoc est quod dicitur Ysa
.v.: *expectaui ut faceret iudicium* ecce iniquitas, iustitiam et
ecce clamor sed dicet aliquis est ne hoc peruersum
iudicium, utique quia iudicia debent fieri secundum iura
scripta sed reuolue nouum et uetus testamentum non
inueniens canonem qui dicat quod tu carni ad peccandum
debeas consentire. Immo contrarium est expressum et in 95 100 105 110

86/89 non – credamus] Iudith 8, 26-27 96/98 caro – faciatis] Gal. 5, 17
100/101 Deus – consilii] Eccl. 15, 14 102/103 Iacob – Esau] Gen. 25, 25
106 expectaui – iudicium] Is. 5, 7

85 merci] Old French 99 potest – maluerit] Cfr Augustinus, *De ciuitate Dei*, 12, 6, PL
41, cols. 353-4

85 rege] regi M2 Me Ta 87 hec] hoc P1 W1 88 serui] serui Domini qui P1] serui qui
W1] secundum quod M2 89 nota] non M1 91 Secundum iudicium] hoc iudicamus
et non superius iudicium M1 93 quod] quia L1 M2 Me Ta 97 quecumque]
quocumque L1] concupere M1 99 consentire] assentire L1 101 eum] om. M1
ferre] fere M2 Me Ta 103 cum] tamen Me Ta 104 id est] primo L1 M2 Me P1 Ta
W1 est] om. L1 106 ecce] et ecce P1 107 peruersum] per uerbum L1 108 quia]
om. M1 109 reuolue] renouue M2 110 peccandum] potandum M2

nouo testamento et in ueteri. Eccl. .xviii.: *post concupiscentias tuas non eas et a uoluntate tua auerte te. Si prestes anime tue* id est carni siue sensualitati tue concupiscentians eius facies te in
 115 gaudium inimicis tuis. In nouo testamento, Gal. .v.: *spiritu ambulate et desideria carnis non proficietis caro enim concupis et cetera. Patet ergo quod qui carni consentit, iniuste iudicat.*

<1.3> Tertio bonos a malis discernendo. Intrauit enim consuetudo fere ubique quod bonus et probus appellatur
 120 unde bene uestitur et in bonis temporalibus prosperatur, licet per peccatum et usuram et in fraude adquisierit quicquid habet Psalmo: *promptuaria eorum plena et oues eorum fetose habundantes in egressibus suis* et cetera et sequitur *beatum dixerunt populum cui hec sunt.* Sunt enim sicut canis
 125 incantatoris qui secundum habitum exteriorem iudicat probiorem Io .viii.: *nolite iudicare secundum faciem sed uerum iudicium iudicate.* Quasi dicat iudicando secundum faciem non bene iudicatis; quod patet quia Deus qui est summa iustitia non sic iudicat Ysa .xi.: *non secundum uisionem oculorum*
 130 *iudicabit neque secundum auditum aurum arguet* si enim tales bene iudicarent sententia eorum non reuocaretur in irritum, sed cassatur post mortem. Sententiam enim superioris cassat sententiam iniqui latam ab inferiore quando uenit coram eo Ysa. .vii.: *hec dicit Dominus non stabit et non erit istud.*
 135 Fiat enim de diuite et paupere sicut de falcone et capone quamdiu emeruit falco in pertica est in domibus magnatum sicut diuites uiuentes de rapina uel usura modo sunt in

112/113 post – tue] Cfr Eccli. 18, 30 115/116 spiritu – concupis] Cfr Gal. 5, 16

122/124 promptuaria – sunt] Ps. 143, 13 126/127 nolite – iudicate] Cfr Ioh. 7, 24

129/130 non² – arguet] Is. 11, 3 134 hec – istud] Is. 7, 7

112 nouo testamento] noua testamenta W1 113 et] om. M1 114 facies] faciet L1 M1 M2 116 proficietis] proficietis M2 P1 W1] perficietis Me] perficietis Ta 118 Intrauit] inoleuit L1 M2 P1 W1 120 unde] quando P1] qui L1 122 oues eorum] oues eorum plena et oues eorum W1 123 et²] om. L1 125 incantatoris] cantatoris L1 M1 M2 P1 W1 exteriorem] exteriorem qui secundum L1 128 quod patet] om. L1 Deus qui] om. L1 129 uisionem] uisione W1 130 iudicabit] iudicabat L1 W1 enim] om. W1 132 Sententiam] sententia L1 M1 Me Ta enim] eius P1 133 cassat] quassat M2 iniqui] inique M1 P1] in causa L1 inferiore] inferiori L1 134 eo] eo .v. M2 P1 136 emeruit] enim uiuit Me Ta 137 sicut] sic L1 M1 M2 rapina – usura] rapitui uersura M1

pertica et honorantur et laudantur Psalmo : *quoniam laudatur peccator in desideriis anime sue et iniquus benedicitur*. Capo enim uadit per stramita et fossata uictum querens et contempnitur et extra domum uocat, sic pauper .i. Cor. .iiii. : *tamquam purgamenta huius mundi facti sumus omnium peripsema usque adhuc*. Sed quando falco mortuus est eicitur in fossatum, capo enim mortuus coram regibus in uasis argenteis deportatur. Sic diuite in fossato inferni proiecto, pauper in paradysum deportabitur ab angelis. Luc. .xvi. de diuite et Lazaro. 140 145

<2> Uideamus postea de quibus iuditium sibi fieri petit Deus ad presens nobis interpretatur quod super quatuor iniuriatum est ei. 150

<2.1.1> Primo iniuriatum est ei quia contra eum tulerunt falsam sententiam dicentes : *reus est mortis* et iniuste accedunt quod patet quia ad eos non spectabat eum iudicare si malum aliquid fecisset quilibet enim a suo superiore iudicatur non ab inferiore, ipse enim super legem et super ipsos erat. Unde in Euangelio ipse dicit se esse : *Dominum sabbati*. 155

<2.1.2> Item Io. : *qui de celo uenit super omnes est*, patet ergo quod iniuste super eum sententiam dederunt quia dicitur in iure quod sententia ante iudice suo lata non tenet. Ideo Io. .viii. : *quis ex uobis arguet me de peccato* quasi dicat non spectat ad uos. Preterea posito quod ad eos spectaret non tamen sine culpa ipsum dampnasse debuissent quod Exo. .xx. preceptum est *maleficos non patiaris uiuere*. Unde Exo. .xxiii. 160

138/139 quoniam – benedicitur] Ps. 9, 24 142/143 tamquam – adhuc] I Cor. 4, 13
146/147 de – Lazaro] Cfr Luc. 16 156/157 Dominum sabbati] Cfr Matth. 12, 8; Luc.
6, 5; Mar. 2, 28 158 qui – est] Ioh. 3, 31 161 quis – peccato] Ioh. 8, 46
164 maleficos – uiuere] Cfr Ex. 22, 18

160 sententia – tenet] *Decretalium Gregorii Papae IX compilatio (Liber extra)*, ed. E. Friedberg, 1879, I. 2, 1, c. 4, p. 240 : “Sicut enim sententia a non suo iudice lata non tenet”

140 stramita] stramina L1 P1 W1 fossata] fossa L1 141 uocat] uacat L1
144 fossatum] fossam L1 149 interpretatur] uidetur L1 M2 Me Ta 151 Primo –
ei] om. L1 W1 152 sententiam dicentes] sententiamque W1 mortis] mor L1
153 si] sed M1 156 erat] erant W1 159 dicitur] deus Me 160 ante – suo] a non
suo iudice L1 M1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1

165 dicitur: *insontem et iustum non occides* sed quidam nihil mali fecerit testificatus iudex suus Pilatus, Mt .xxvii.: *quid enim mali fecit* et psalmo *non est inuenta in me iniquitas*.

<2.1.3> Item quantumcumque crimen accusaretur si per ydoneos testes se purgaret ab omni pena immunis esse
170 debuisset. Sic fecit Christus; in lege enim dicitur quod: *in ore duorum uerl trium testium stet omne uerbum* Deuter. .xxx. et Mt .xviii. si tot habuit Christus, cui dixit Pater: *hic est filius meus dilectus* Mt .iii. Item filius *transfiguratur* Mt .xviii. spiritum sanctum in baptiste, in columbe spem super ipsum
175 requiescentem et ideo tres sunt.

<2.1.4> Item qui habet instrumentum siue cartam bene loquentem super testibus in qualibet causa optinet. Sic Christus quod tota scriptura pro eo loquitur in testimonium perhibet de eo. Iohannis .v.: *scrutamini scripturas in quibus*
180 *putatis uitam eternam habere et ille sunt qui testimonium perhibent de me et non uultis uenire ad me ut uitam eternam habeatis*. Et nota totum capitulum quasi dicat in auctoritate presenti si non creditis quod sim filius Dei legite cartam meam. Sed uidens Christus quod non ualebat excusatio siue alligatio Pilati nec
185 testes nec carta et etiam quod ad eos non spectabat eum iudicare ad Dominum Patrem sicut ad summum pontificem appellauit dicens iudica me Deus et cetera.

<2.2> Secundo debet conqueriri de omnibus peccatoribus. Si quis enim magnas fecisset expensas ad
190 colendam uineam que penitus non fructificat non esset

165 insontem – occides] Ex. 23, 7 166/167 quid – fecit] Matth. 27, 23 167 non – iniquitas] Ps. 16, 3 170/171 in² – uerbum] Cfr Deut. 19, 15; Matth. 18, 16 172/173 hic – dilectus] Cfr Matth. 3, 17 / 17, 5 173 transfiguratur] Matth. 17, 2 179/181 scrutamini – habeatis] Ioh. 5, 39-40

165 insontem] innocentem P1 quidam] quod L1 M1 M2 Me Ta 166 quid] quia M1 M2 167 iniquitas] iniquitat M1 168 quantumcumque] quantocumque L1 Me P1 Ta W1 crimen] criminis L1] crimine M2 Me Ta 169 omni] om. M1 170 Sic] sic se M2 172 habuit] habuerit M2 Me P1 Ta 173 transfiguratur] transfiguratum Me Ta 176 Item – habet] item qui habet, item qui habet M2 instrumentum] in scriptum M2 177 Sic] si M2 178 quod] quia L1 M2 Me P1 Ta W1 in] et L1 M2 P1 W1 180 ille] illi M2 182 presenti] parenti L1 184 alligatio] allegatio P1 nec] ut W1 188 conqueriri] conqueri L1 189 Si] scilicet si M1 190 penitus] penitui M1

mirum si de ea conqueretur. Sic dico uinea Christi sumus
 nos autem sicut dicitur Ysa .v. : *uinea Domini exercituum domus
 Israel est*. Sed non possunt numerari expense quas Deus
 fecit pro uinea ista. Numquam fecit Deus creaturam
 aliquam pro qua tot fecerit sicut pro homine. Pisces enim
 contenti sunt aquis, uolatilia celi cibo suo. Item animalia ut
 oues et boues paucorum camporum pascuis aluntur. Item
 una silua sufficit pluribus elephantibus uni uero homini
 terra et aqua et ea que in eis sunt non sufficiunt nisi habeat
 uolatilia celi uidelicet uisum qui capit alaudam et deuorat
 gallinam. Item homo aqua et mari pascitur. Ideo Luc. .xii. :
multis passeribus plures estis uos. Si ergo homo non fructificat
 bene agendo quid mirum si Deus de eo conqueritur. Ysa.
 .v. : *iudicate inter me et uineam meam quid ultra debui facere uinee
 mee et non feci*. Quasi dicat nihil quid respondebit peccator in
 iudicio quando Dominus allegabit contra eum expensas
 istas. Ysa .xliii. : *reduc me in memoriam et iudicemur simul narra si
 quid habes ut iustificeris*. Iob .ix. per totum capitulum : *uere scio
 quia ita sit quod non iustificetur homo comparatus Deo*. Si
 uoluerit contendere cum eo non poterit. Respondens unum
 pro mille : *si repente interroget quis respondebit ei et quis potest
 dicere cur ita facis et cetera si fortitudo queritur robustissimus et
 cetera*.

<2.2.1> Propter hoc non est nisi unum remedium
 scilicet crier merci et pacem facere cum eo antequam ad
 iudicium ueniamus. Sicut cum quis causam habet cum
 aliquo et scit quod aduersarius eius conuicit eum, si per
 iudicium causa currat et optinebit, facit pacem cum eo ut

192/193 uinea – est] Is. 5, 7 **202** multis – uos] Cfr Luc. 12, 7 **204/205** iudicate –
 feci] Is. 5, 3-4 **207/208** reduc – iustificeris] Is. 43, 26 **208/209** uere – Deo] Cfr Iob
 9, 2 **211/212** si – facis] Iob 9, 12 **212** si – robustissimus] Iob 9, 19

215 crier merci] Old French

191 conqueretur] conqueriretur L1] conqueritur M1 Sic] si M2 **192** autem] omnes
 M1 M2 P1 W1 **193** expense] expensas M2 **195** pro qua] om. M1 195/196 pro² –
 sunt] om. L1 W1 195 Pisces] pices M1 **198** sufficit] suffici W1 **199** habeat] hanc
 W1 **200** alaudam] alaudem L1 M1 P1 W1 **202** plures] pluribus L1 **205** peccator]
 peccatorum M^e **206** allegabit] allegabat M1 **209** quia] quod M^e comparatus]
 comparatur M^e **211** si] sed M^e **214** unum] unicum L1 M1 M^e P1 Ta W1

antequam ueniat ad curiam. Sic dico uere aduersus
 220 Christum nemo potest optinere in curia Dei usque tunc
 differimus cum eo pacem componere. Sunt enim sex que
 faciunt optinere in curia:

<2.2.1.1> Primum est ueritas cuius exemplum habetur in
 Christo. Iob .ix.: *scio quod non iustificatur homo compositur Deo*
 225 ideo Psalmo: *non intres in iudicium cum seruo tuo Domine* quia
 et cetera.

<2.2.1.2> Secundum est equitas iudicis. Posset enim
 aliquis habere bonam causam sed pro ignorantia uel
 corruptione iudicis condemnari potest. Sed Deus iudex
 230 iustus non poterit flecti prece uel pretio Prou. .vi.: *non pareet*
in die uindictae nec acquiescet cuiusquam precibus et cetera, psalmo
iustus es Domine et rectum iudicium tuum.

<2.2.1.3> Tertium est aduocati scientia et prudentia
 Psalmo: *mirabilis facta est scientia tua ex me confortata est et non*
 235 *potero ad eam* sed homo stultus est Iere .x.: *stultus est factus*
omnis homo a conscientia sua. Ipse enim Deus sapiens est Iere
 .x.: *non est similis tui Domine magnus tu et magnum nomen tuum in*
fortitudine. Quis non timebit te o Rex gentium.

<2.2.1.4> Quartum est adiutorum multitudo. Non erit
 240 angelus in celo nec aliqua creatura que causam eius non
 foueat contra peccatores. Sap. .v.: *accipiet armaturam zelus*
illius et armabit creaturam in ultionem inimicorum et sequitur
pugnabit pro eo orbis terrarum contra insensatos.

<2.2.1.5> Quintum est iudicis familiaritas. Nullum enim
 245 dubium est quin filius unde sit de curia patris immo
 ipsemet erit iudex. Io. .xv.: *pater noster iudicat quemquam sed*

224 scio – Deo] Iob 9, 2 225 non – tuo] Ps. 142, 2 230/231 non² – precibus] Prou.
 6, 34-35 232 iustus – tuum] Ps. 118, 137 234/235 mirabilis – eam] Ps. 138, 6
 235/236 stultus² – conscientia] Cfr Ier. 10, 14 237/238 non – gentium] Ier. 10, 6-7
 241/243 accipiet – insensatos] Cfr Sap. 5, 18-21 246/247 pater – filio] Cfr Ioh. 5, 22

219 curiam] cuncta M1 [curiata W1 220 curia] cuncta M1 221 pacem] om. P1 W1
 224 compositur] comparatur M1 M2 M^e Ta 228 bonam causam] causam bonam
 M2 M^e P1 Ta W1 ignorantia] notatur W1 uel] et L1 M1 M2 M^e P1 Ta W1
 229/230 iudex iustus] iustus iudex L1 M1 M2 M^e P1 Ta W1 235 est factus] factus
 est M2 M^e Ta 236 conscientia] scientia L1 M1 M2 P1 W1 236/272 est – festis]
 om. M1 245 unde] bene L1 M2 M^e Ta curia] cura L1

omne iudicium dedit filio. Patet ergo quod non potest optinere, ideo Sap. .xii. : quis enim dicet tibi aut quis stabit in conspectu tuo ueniet iudex iniquorum hominum.

<2.2.2> Nota adhuc inferius non restat ergo nisi pacem componere cum eo antequam ad iudicium ueniamus Mt .v. : *esto consentiens aduersario tuo in uia ne forte tradat te iudici et iudex tradat te ministris et tortoribus ut in carcerem mittaris. Componitur autem pax tripliciter :*

<2.2.2.1> Primo supplicando en criant merci. Io. .xx. : *si habuero quippiam iustum non respondebo ei sed meum iudicem deprecabor, Psalmo : rogate que ad pacem sunt Iherusalem.*

<2.2.2.2> Secundo offensa, id est peccatum, omittendo. Non enim parceret mihi petenti ueniam quem offendissem si dicerem parce mihi sed adhuc offendam te. Ecc. .xvii. : *petentibus dedit Deus uiam iustitie et confirmabit deficientes sustinere et sequitur conuertere ad Dominum et relinque peccata tua et cetera.*

<2.2.2.3> Item tertio emendam uere penitentie per satisfactionem soluendo. Mt. .iii. : *quis docebit uos fugere a uentura ira ? Facite ergo dignos fructus penitentie.*

Qui ergo sic faceret non aduersarium de re ad patrem conuerentem inueniret sed uirtute et agitur Eze. .xviii. : *si impius egeret penitentiam ab omnibus peccatis suis que et cetera. Uiuat uita et non morietur et omnium iniquitatum quas operatus est non meditabor. Rogemus Domine et cetera.*

Expliciunt sermones Byardi de festis

248/249 quis¹ – hominum] Cfr Sap. 12, 12 252/253 esto – mittaris] Matth. 5, 25
255/257 si – deprecabor] Iob 9, 15 257 rogate – Iherusalem] Ps. 121, 6
261/262 petentibus – tua] Cfr Eccli. 17, 20-21 265/266 quis – penitentie] Luc. 3, 7-8
268/269 si – que] Ez. 18, 21

255 en – merci] Old French

247 optinere] non optinere Me 248 quis¹] qui P1 stabit] stabit contra iudicium tuum autem quis Me Ta 252/253 iudici – te] om. Me 256 quippiam] quispiam L1 261 Deus uiam] uiam Deus W1 262 conuertere] conuerte Me 267 aduersarium] aduersariis L1 W1 re] se M2 P1 268 uirtute] mitem M2 Me agitur] amicum L1 M2 Me Ta 271 Domine] om. M2 Me P1 Ta W1 272 Expliciunt – festis] explicit liber de sermonibus Byardi W1] om. L1 M2 P1] Expliciunt sermones fratris Nicholay de Biart Me de festis] om. Ta

INDEX PERSONARUM

Aaron 175, ^10; 175, ^17; 175, ^20; 176, ^14; 176, ^17; 251, ^22; 281, ^24; 282, ^6
Abel 182, ^7; 249, ^19
Abraham 62, ^20; 106, ^23; 151, ^3; 244, ^14; 249, ^21; 254, ^19
Achab 253, ^22
Achimelech 290, ^26
Adadezer 99, ^17
Adam 3, ^16; 22, ^25; 22, ^26; 123, ^27; 182, ^6; 241, ^21; 249, ^15; 254, ^18; 256, ^11
Adonias 212, ^19
Aggeus 45, ^20
Agnes 105, ^4
Amalech 199, ^7
Ambrosius 129, ^9
Andrea 65, ^21
Anselmus 257, ^3
Aristoteles 256, ^15
Arturus 58, ^18; 149, ^20
Assuer 9, ^15; 143, ^32; 158, ^15; 180, ^15
Augustinus 13, ^7; 131, ^11; 152, ^14; 168, ^26; 180, ^6; 187, ^1; 188, ^34; 190, ^1; 190, ^32; 228, ^28; 235, ^3; 237, ^10; 300, ^28
Ayas Sydonites 244, ^2
Azaria 253, ^7
Balaam 71, ^6; 178, ^8; 178, ^10; 178, ^11
Beda Venerabilis 261, ^16
Bernardus 125, ^13; 126, ^5; 128, ^14; 186, ^1; 193, ^20; 216, ^2; 219, ^17; 223, ^22; 227, ^3; 236, ^20; 241, ^19; 255, ^1
Bethulia 136, ^25
Betsabea 126, ^26
Cain 178, ^8; 178, ^9
Carmelus 254, ^13; 254, ^16
Cassiodorus 187, ^13; 194, ^29
Caterina 175, ^15; 175, ^21
Clemens 215, ^23; 215, ^28; 216, ^7; 216, ^8; 217, ^2; 217, ^11
Daniel 272, ^26

Daudid 18, ^6; 94, ^20; 109, ^28; 121, ^27; 122, ^31;
 124, ^21; 139, ^18; 147, ^1; 152, ^27; 169, ^8; 191, ^30;
 195, ^17; 195, ^21; 240, ^28; 254, ^20; 290, ^26; 291,
 ^1; 294, ^12
 Deblathaim 133, ^7; 133, ^8
 Dyonisus Cato 122, ^6; 299, ^15
 Elysabeth 257, ^10; 257, ^22
 Esau 61, ^31; 189, ^13; 301, ^5; 301, ^6
 Eua 182, ^7; 188, ^7; 250, ^3; 254, ^4; 259, ^5
 Ezechiel 81, ^6; 276, ^5
 Franciscus 43, ^18; 43, ^24; 44, ^4; 44, ^16
 Gabriel 255, ^5
 Gomor 133, ^6; 133, ^7
 Gregorius 111, ^5; 219, ^6; 224, ^5; 225, ^16;
 226, ^3; 226, ^11; 227, ^8; 230, ^3; 230, ^14; 230, ^18;
 233, ^22; 235, ^9; 235, ^15; 235, ^24; 267, ^5; 270, ^15
 Helyas 67, ^24; 68, ^11; 68, ^21; 69, ^7; 254, ^2;
 254, ^9; 255, ^3; 264, ^16; 269, ^22; 269, ^23; 269, ^25
 Hermon 251, ^23; 251, ^30; 252, ^3
 Herodes 116, ^20; 117, ^12; 158, ^7; 185, ^13; 185,
 ^15; 216, ^6; 264, ^5
 Herodias 116, ^21; 117, ^12; 264, ^5
 Hester 126, ^1; 180, ^22; 239, ^28
 Hieronymus 216, ^13; 223, ^15; 224, ^17; 258, ^16
 Hilario 105, ^15
 Iacob 50, ^19; 176, ^8; 179, ^27; 203, ^20; 271,
 ^26; 271, ^28; 285, ^12; 293, ^17; 301, ^4; 301, ^6; 301,
 ^7
 Iacobus 106, ^8; 202, ^23; 203, ^19
 Ieremia 96, ^15
 IeroboamI 55, ^22
 Ioab 18, ^6
 Iob59, ^2; 79, ^4; 102, ^7; 104, ^14; 111, ^14; 147,
 ^8; 222, ^18
 Iohannes 96, ^5; 106, ^8; 116, ^20; 116, ^27; 117, ^6;
 285, ^12; 293, ^17
 Iohannes Baptista 109, ^21; 109, ^27; 158, ^8; 216,
 ^6; 262, ^14; 262, ^21; 262, ^24; 263, ^8; 263, ^15; 263,
 ^21; 264, ^2; 264, ^13; 267, ^14; 267, ^24; 268, ^18;
 268, ^30; 269, ^12; 269, ^22; 269, ^29; 271, ^3; 273, ^20
 Ionathas 181, ^8

Ioseph 43, ^29; 54, ^21; 101, ^16; 282, ^23
 Iosue 40, ^10
 Isaacus 151, ^5; 166, ^1
 Isaias 73, ^11; 82, ^8; 87, ^10; 104, ^20; 112, ^14;
 114, ^21; 114, ^26
 Isboseth 161, ^3
 Isidorus 176, ^4; 215, ^19; 221, ^19; 222, ^22; 223,
 ^9; 228, ^20; 231, ^17; 232, ^1; 232, ^10; 232, ^15; 233,
 ^9; 234, ^5; 234, ^21
 Jesse 16, ^21; 118, ^10
 Jezabel 253, ^22
 Judith 114, ^3; 136, ^24; 149, ^9; 245, ^17
 Karolus 35, ^10; 139, ^12
 Lazarus 47, ^8; 106, ^22; 113, ^10; 303, ^2
 Libanus 124, ^9; 124, ^14
 Lucia 89, ^6
 Malachias 146, ^12
 Mamertinus 215, ^28; 216, ^7
 Manasses 193, ^25
 Manhu 286, ^15
 Mardocheus 158, ^16
 Maria 123, ^1; 128, ^23; 253, ^16; 253, ^19; 255,
 ^11; 255, ^23; 256, ^9; 258, ^25; 259, ^6; 259, ^15; 259,
 ^24; 259, ^29; 260, ^10; 293, ^10
 Maria Magdalena 99, ^4
 Martinus 164, ^9; 164, ^14; 164, ^21; 164, ^23
 Mathia 101, ^16
 Moyses 9, ^15; 54, ^3; 202, ^11; 202, ^12; 254, ^19;
 280, ^27
 Nemrod 187, ^7
 Nero 146, ^24; 297, ^17
 Nicholaus 74, ^12; 74, ^16; 74, ^21; 75, ^8; 76,
 ^20; 78, ^19; 78, ^22; 78, ^30
 Noe 254, ^18
 Octavianus 255, ^14
 Osee 121, ^20; 133, ^7; 163, ^20
 Paulus 81, ^24; 93, ^15; 93, ^33; 94, ^11; 95, ^3; 95,
 ^6; 96, ^7; 97, ^9; 106, ^8; 106, ^10; 128, ^30; 130, ^16;
 135, ^4; 168, ^9; 169, ^6; 188, ^6; 192, ^31; 203, ^24;
 215, ^11; 217, ^6; 257, ^17; 275, ^12; 276, ^13; 277,
 ^20; 280, ^15; 289, ^17; 293, ^14; 297, ^16

Petrus 101, ^12; 106, ^8; 185, ^11; 234, ^13; 257, ^17; 275, ^12; 293, ^14
 Petrus Theolenarius 170, ^21
 Philippus 264, ^6
 Pilatus 297, ^18; 303, ^22; 304, ^20
 Plato 252, ^14
 Rachel 50, ^20
 Rolandus 139, ^12
 Salomon 71, ^7; 103, ^19; 104, ^1; 106, ^13; 122, ^31; 126, ^26; 126, ^27; 126, ^29; 195, ^14; 195, ^20; 210, ^28; 212, ^19; 218, ^6; 220, ^20; 222, ^12
 Samson 41, ^7; 195, ^20; 195, ^21
 Samuel 160, ^10
 Sarracenus 17, ^24
 Satan 36, ^31; 37, ^29; 123, ^27; 194, ^7
 Saul 39, ^9; 99, ^21; 161, ^4; 199, ^6
 Seneca 262, ^11
 Simeon 95, ^4
 Stephanus 124, ^29; 152, ^11
 Symon Cyreneus 20, ^22
 Syon 135, ^11
 Syri 16, ^12
 Thomas 197, ^26
 Tobias 6, ^23; 37, ^14; 181, ^18; 220, ^18
 Ysachar 40, ^14