

An Edition and Study of Selected Sermons of Robert  
Grosseteste

Volume I

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**An Edition and Study of Selected Sermons of Robert Grosseteste**

My thesis offers an edition and study of a collection of sermons attributed to the theologian and bishop Robert Grosseteste (c.1168-1253), preserved in a single manuscript, Durham Dean and Chapter Library MS A.III.12.

The starting point for my study is MS A.III.12 itself. The first chapter summarises and evaluates the physical evidence of the codex and what can be determined of its history and provenance. Chapter II considers the material on fols 78-87 and 104-127 as a collection. Noting that many of the texts are not in fact sermons but short theological notes or sets of biblical or patristic *sententiae*, I analyse the material according to its form and function and demonstrate its utility for preaching. I also explore the relationship between this particular collection and Grosseteste's Psalms commentary and *Dicta* collection since the three works have a number of texts in common. I highlight two sermons in particular which appear to be in *reportatio* form and compare them with more developed versions of the same material found in Grosseteste's *Dicta* collection; the differences between the *reportationes* and the *Dicta* offer an insight into Grosseteste as preacher and Grosseteste as teacher, adapting his material for a wider audience. Chapter III focuses specifically on the twenty-four sermons in the collection, analysing their structure and content. I consider the way in which the various elements of the thematic sermon and particular types of argumentation are deployed, before surveying their pastoral message and their approach towards their audience(s). The final chapter considers the authorship of the collection by reading the texts in the light of what is known of Grosseteste's theological and homiletical method. Many of the texts are securely attributed to him because of their presence in his authoritative *Dicta* collection and this study concludes that these particular folios, and the manuscript as a whole, demonstrate a clear intention to compile a collection of authoritative and useful preaching material associated with Grosseteste. The study is accompanied by an edition of the twenty-four sermons from this collection.

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## Abbreviations

CCCM	Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
CSEL	Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
PL	Patrologia Latina, ed. by J.-P. Migne
SChr	Sources chrétiennes



## INTRODUCTION

Medieval sermon studies has developed as a discipline over the past thirty years or so as scholars have come to appreciate the rich potential of the study of medieval preaching texts.<sup>1</sup> This potential is generated by the considerable quantity of extant texts, both Christian and Jewish, which encompass the full chronological, geographical and linguistic range of the medieval world. In addition, these texts can sustain a multiplicity of historical, literary, linguistic and theological approaches and the study of sermons has thus developed as a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary activity.

Preaching texts both reflect and respond to the theological and cultural values and concerns of medieval society. Their value as a resource for religious, intellectual, social and linguistic history across *la longue durée* and at particular times and places is demonstrated by the recent volume edited by Beverly Kienzle which brings together scholars of many different types of sermons and aims to offer both a typology of the genre as a whole and an account of the current state of sermon studies scholarship.<sup>2</sup> Kienzle attempts to define the genre and notes some of the difficulties involved in interpreting preaching texts: their instability in the continuum between written and oral discourse, their close connections and affinity with other genres, and the complexities of their composition and transmission.<sup>3</sup>

These complexities have been the subject of extremely fruitful research based on close attention to a small selection of the many extant manuscripts containing sermons. In setting out a methodology for the study of sermons, Louis-Jacques Bataillon has

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<sup>1</sup> For an overview of the genre of sermon studies and its development, see Phyllis Roberts, 'Sermon Studies Scholarship: The Last Thirty-Five Years', *Medieval Sermon Studies*, 43 (1999), 9-18 and Augustine Thompson, 'From Texts to Preaching: Retrieving the Medieval Sermon as an Event', in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Carolyn Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 13-37.

<sup>2</sup> *The Sermon*, ed. by Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental*, 81-83 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000). The volume includes chapters on the medieval Jewish sermon, four chapters on Latin sermons of various periods and vernacular sermons in Italian, French, German, Spanish and Portuguese, Old Norse-Icelandic, Old and Middle English, each with sample texts.

<sup>3</sup> Kienzle's introduction offers the following definition: 'The sermon is essentially an oral discourse, spoken in the voice of a preacher who addresses an audience, to instruct and exhort them, on a topic concerned with faith and morals and based on a sacred text', Kienzle, ed., *The Sermon*, p. 151; for her discussion of the particular difficulties involved in the study of sermons, see pp. 963-78.



emphasised the importance of studying them in their manuscript context; the first question one should ask when investigating a sermon is whether it belongs to a collection.<sup>4</sup> His work on the thirteenth-century process of sermon composition and on the relationship between sermons and preaching tools has made an important contribution to our understanding of the way in which both oral and written sermon texts are constructed and what can and cannot be said about each.<sup>5</sup> The research of Nicole Bériou and David D'Avray into *reportationes* and model sermons respectively continues this study of collected and individual sermon manuscripts and demonstrates how preaching texts can function both as means of communication and as tools for the creation of other texts.<sup>6</sup>

The proliferation of these different types of preaching text reflects a growing awareness in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century of the importance of sermons as vehicles for the transmission of ideas and the assertion of authority.<sup>7</sup> *Predicatio* was used to signify a number of different types of public discourse as the function of preacher was taken on by a range of people – priests, monks and canons, laymen and women – both orthodox and heretical. Ecclesiastical authorities recognised the value of trained preachers, sending monks and canons on preaching missions to elicit support for a crusade or to combat heresy, while commitment to the *vita apostolica* inspired individuals and groups, both clerical and lay, to embark on public preaching.<sup>8</sup> To a certain extent, both these authorised and unauthorised actions represent responses to the inadequate provision of pastoral preaching at diocesan and parochial level.

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<sup>4</sup> 'Approaches to the Study of Medieval Sermons', *Leeds Studies in English*, n. s. 11 (1980), 19-35 (p. 19-20) (repr. in his *La prédication au XIIIe siècle en France et Italie* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993), with original pagination). Muessig considers Bataillon's work in this article and elsewhere to have 'laid the methodological foundation for the discipline of sermon studies': Carolyn Muessig, 'Sermon, Preacher and Society in the Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval History*, 28 (2002), 73-91 (p. 75).

<sup>5</sup> See the papers collected in *La prédication au XIIIe siècle*.

<sup>6</sup> Nicole Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres de la parole. La prédication à Paris au XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Institut d'études augustiniennes, 1998); David D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

<sup>7</sup> See D'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, chapter 1, on the early thirteenth-century preaching revival.

<sup>8</sup> On the *vita apostolica*, see Marie-Dominique Chenu, 'Monks, Canons and Laymen in Search of the Apostolic Life', in his *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century. Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the West*, ed. and trans. by Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 202-38.

The activities of heretics and itinerant preachers as well as its own successful preaching missions helped to convince the Church of the power of preaching and of the importance of maintaining control over such an influential, and potentially dangerous, tool.<sup>9</sup> Rather than simply outlawing unauthorised preaching, Pope Innocent III attempted to take it under ecclesiastical supervision and employ it for orthodox purposes, as his treatment of the *Humiliati* and early Franciscans demonstrates.<sup>10</sup> His appreciation of the importance of preaching is also evident in the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. The tenth canon, which D'Avray describes as representing 'the beginning of a new age in the history of preaching',<sup>11</sup> instructed bishops 'to appoint suitable men to carry out with profit this duty of sacred preaching'.<sup>12</sup> Clerical education was increasingly seen as the key to ensuring effective, heterodox preaching. The Council's provisions confirm this; the very next canon reiterates the Third Lateran decree that every cathedral should establish a school to teach grammar and other studies and furthermore, states 'The metropolitan church shall have a theologian to teach scripture to priests and others and especially to instruct them in matters which are recognized as pertaining to the cure of souls'.<sup>13</sup>

In aiming to provide practical training for preachers covering both exegesis and moral questions, this decree attempts to extend the activities of Peter the Chanter and his circle in the Parisian schools of the late twelfth century, albeit at a lower intellectual level.<sup>14</sup>

These theologians perceived themselves to have an active ministry to reform and

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<sup>9</sup> See Stephen C. Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University: The Schools of Paris and Their Critics, 1100-1215* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985), p. 200.

<sup>10</sup> Brenda Bolton, 'Innocent III's Treatment of the *Humiliati*', in *Popular Belief and Practice*, ed. by G. J. Cuming and D. Baker, *Studies in Church History*, 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 73-82. As *predicatio* was increasingly defined as an exclusively clerical function, certain lay groups and individuals were permitted to engage in *exhortatio*, non-doctrinal preaching; see Michel Lauwers, 'Praedicatio – exhortatio: L'église, la réforme et les laïcs (XIe-XIIIe siècles)', in *La parole du prédicateur Ve-XVe siècle*, ed. by Rosa Maria Dessi and Michel Lauwers (Nice: Centre d'études médiévales, 1997), pp. 187-232.

<sup>11</sup> D'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, p. 16.

<sup>12</sup> 'ut episcopi viros idoneos ad sanctae praedicationis officium salubriter exequendum assumant': *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. by Norman P. Tanner, 2 vols (London and Washington DC: Sheed and Ward, 1990), I, 239 (with translation on facing page).

<sup>13</sup> 'Sane metropolitana ecclesia theologum nihilominus habeat, qui sacerdotes et alios in sacra pagina doceat et in his praesertim informet, quae ad curam animarum spectare noscuntur': *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, I, 240 (with translation on facing page).

<sup>14</sup> John W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle*, 2 vols (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970).

educate the laity in pastoral matters; preaching and training preachers was an effective way to achieve this. The influence of these masters of course spread far beyond Paris; their students came from all over France and England, and even further afield, and disseminated what they had learned throughout their ecclesiastical careers.<sup>15</sup> Several of the masters and their students achieved the highest positions of influence: Stephen Langton became Archbishop of Canterbury and Innocent III himself studied at Paris.

Preaching was also an important part of the educational method of the Parisian schools; an often quoted passage of Peter the Chanter's *Verbum abbreviatum* sets *praedicatio* alongside *lectio* and *disputatio* as necessary exercises in the study of the Bible.

According to his famous simile, if reading is the foundation and disputing the walls, then preaching is the roof, the culmination of study.<sup>16</sup> The intellectual focus on the composition and delivery of sermons in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, particularly in the schools and early university at Paris, fostered a number of important theoretical and practical innovations: the new 'thematic' or 'modern' sermon form was developed; attempts were made to formulate an *ars praedicandi*, often employing classical principles of rhetoric; *ad status* sermons, addressed to particular groups in society, were devised; and aids to preaching such as collections of *exempla*, distinctions or model sermons were compiled.

Thirteenth-century sermons must therefore be seen in the context of both scholarly and pastoral concerns. They play a key role in each sphere of activity and are also crucial to understanding the interaction and overlap between the two, at a time when both are undergoing a period of change and expansion. Close attention to the manuscript context of these sermons can illuminate the complexities of their production and transmission and assist in understanding the role of sermons as both pastoral and scholarly instruments and thus contribute to research into broader issues such as the relationship between the universities and the provision of pastoral care in the thirteenth century.

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<sup>15</sup> On this process of dissemination, see Franco Morenzoni, *Des écoles aux paroisses: Thomas de Chobham et la promotion de la prédication au début du XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Institut d'études augustiniennes, 1995).

<sup>16</sup> 'In tribus autem consistit exercitium sacre scripture: in lectione, disputatione, praedicatione [...] Lectio ergo primo iacitur quasi stratorium et fundamentum sequentium [...] Supponitur secundo structura vel paries disputationis [...] Tercio erigitur tectum praedicationis': *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, II, 63.



In considering these issues, current scholarship has focused on sermons preached in or disseminated from Paris, or by preachers trained at Paris.<sup>17</sup> This is not surprising given the quantity of such material which survives, the range of research questions this material is able to answer, and the central place played by Paris both practically and intellectually in the creation and dissemination of material. In this thesis, I examine a sample sermon collection contained in a single manuscript associated with a related but different preaching context which has not received a great deal of scholarly attention, namely the early thirteenth-century schools of Oxford.<sup>18</sup>

The material is attributed to the Oxford theologian, and later bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste (c. 1168-1253).<sup>19</sup> Although there is some evidence that he spent time studying in Paris, probably during the Interdict (1209-1214), he is most closely linked with the early development of the university of Oxford.<sup>20</sup> He may have served as its first chancellor and was certainly lector to the Franciscan convent in Oxford from 1229 or 1230 until his election to the see of Lincoln in 1235, when he was at least sixty-seven years old.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> In addition to the works of Bériou and D'Avray listed above, see also the editions and studies of individual preachers connected with Paris, for example, Bonaventure, Jacques de Vitry, Ranulphe de la Houblonnière and Stephen Langton, listed in my Bibliography.

<sup>18</sup> Preaching at Oxford in the mid- and late-thirteenth century has received a certain amount of scholarly attention: A. G. Little and F. Pelster, *Oxford Theology and Theologians c. A. D. 1282-1302* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934); Jennifer Sweet, 'Some Thirteenth-Century Sermons and Their Authors', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 4 (1953), 27-36; Beryl Smalley, 'Oxford University Sermons 1290-1293', in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. by J. J. G. Alexander and Margaret T. Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), pp. 307-27; R. James Long, 'The Virgin as Olive Tree: A Marian Sermon of Richard Fishacre and Science at Oxford', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 52 (1982), 77-87.

<sup>19</sup> No full modern biography of Grosseteste has yet been produced. The recent study by James McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), offers a broad overview of the principal areas of his thought and sets him within an Oxford context. Richard Southern offers many compelling insights and persuasive hypotheses in his *Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986). Grosseteste's probable date of birth is based on his witnessing of a document of 1186x1190 which refers to him as 'magister'; see McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 21.

<sup>20</sup> Evidence for Grosseteste's time in Paris has been assembled by Joseph Goering: 'When and Where Did Grosseteste Study Theology?', in *Robert Grosseteste: New Perspectives on His Thought and Scholarship*, ed. by James McEvoy (Steenbrugis: In abbatia S. Petri; Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), pp. 17-51, esp. pp. 35-43.

<sup>21</sup> The relationship between the title awarded to Grosseteste, 'master of the schools' and the chancellorship of the university is a vexed question, as is the date upon which he may have been awarded the title. For a recent consideration of the question, see McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste*, pp. 26-29.



As both bishop and scholar, Grosseteste was closely involved in the work of pastoral reform inspired by the Fourth Lateran Council.<sup>22</sup> He reflected on his personal and practical response to his episcopal responsibilities in a *Memorandum* delivered to Pope Innocent IV in Lyons in 1250:

After I became a bishop, I reflected that I was both a bishop and a pastor of souls, and that it was necessary to look after the sheep committed to me with all diligence, just as scripture instructs and commands, so that the blood of my sheep would not be on my hands at the Last Judgment.

Thus, during my episcopacy I began to make a circuit through every rural deanery, ordering the clergy of each deanery to gather together at a certain day and place and forewarning the people to be present at the same day and place with their children who needed to be confirmed and to hear the word of God and to confess. When the clergy and people had gathered, as often as not I myself expounded the word of God to the clergy and a friar preacher or friar minor preached to the people. Afterwards four friars would hear confessions and enjoin penances. And after confirming children on that and the following day, my clergy and I would attend to investigating, correcting, and reforming abuses in accordance with the duties of visitation.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 140. For a treatment of Grosseteste's approach to pastoral care, see Leonard E. Boyle, 'Robert Grosseteste and the Pastoral Care', in *Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 8 (1979), 3-51 (repr. in his *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law, 1200-1400* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1981) with identical pagination).

<sup>23</sup> 'Ego post meam in episcopum creationem consideravi me episcopum esse et pastorem animarum, et necesse habere ne sanguis ovium in districto iudicio de manu mea requiratur omni diligentia sicut disponit et precipit scriptura oves michi commissas visitare. Unde episcopatum meum cepi circuire per singulos decanatus rurales, faciens clerum cuiuscunque decanatus per ordinem certis die et loco convocari, et populum premuniri ut eisdem die et loco adessent cum parvulis confirmandis, ad audiendum verbum dei et confitendum. Congregatis autem clero et populo, egomet ut pluries proponebam verbum dei clero, et aliquis frater predicator aut minor populo. Et quatuor fratres consequenter audiebant confessiones et iniungebant penitentias. Et confirmatis pueris eodem die et sequente, continue ego cum clericis meis intendebamus inquisitionibus, correctionibus, et reformationibus secundum quod pertinet ad officium inquisitionis': *Councils and Synods With Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, ed. by F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), II/1, 265. The full text of the



Grosseteste's description of his diocesan visitations offers a clear indication of his own personal commitment to the moral and spiritual welfare of his people. It also confirms his view of the importance of preaching to both clerical and lay audiences; preaching forms the first stage of a process of reform, preparing the way for confession for the laity and correction for the clergy.

Grosseteste's personal preaching to his clergy was supplemented by diocesan statutes, which were issued c. 1239. In the very first chapter, the statutes specify that

every single pastor of souls and each parish priest ought to know the decalogue, that is the ten commandments of the Mosaic law, and he should frequently preach and explain them to the people entrusted to him. He should also know the seven deadly sins and similarly preach to his people about how to avoid them.<sup>24</sup>

Grosseteste's statutes reflect a practical response to parochial needs and recognise the value of frequent preaching. The parish priest should have an awareness of the basic matter of theology as it related to pastoral care and should use sermons both to educate and to exhort his congregation in order to reform their behaviour.

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*Memorandum* is edition by Servus Gieben, 'Grosseteste at the Papal Curia, Lyons 1250. Edition of the Documents', *Collectanea Franciscana*, 41 (1971), 340-93. All translations are my own, unless otherwise stated, with the exception of the biblical citations. These have been translated with reference to the Douay-Rheims version, although I have occasionally modified the wording to achieve a clearer, more modern or more literal reading.

<sup>24</sup> 'unusquisque pastor animarum et quilibet sacerdos parochialis sciat decalogum, id est, decem mandata legis mosaice, eademque populo sibi subiecto frequenter predicet et exponat. Sciat quoque que sunt septem criminalia, eademque similiter populo predicet fugienda': *Councils and Synods*, p. 268.

Grosseteste also composed a treatise and a sermon on the decalogue which confirm its important place in his conception of pastoral knowledge; see *De decem mandatis*, ed. by Richard C. Dales and Edward B. King (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1987) and James McEvoy, 'The Edition of a Sermon on the Decalogue Attributed to Robert Grosseteste', *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales*, 67 (2001), 228-44.

In his writings both before and after his election as bishop of Lincoln, Grosseteste demonstrates his concern for the care of souls.<sup>25</sup> Recent editions and studies of his work have indicated how this concern underpins much of his intellectual output, from his obviously practical treatises on confession to his biblical commentaries and perhaps even his translation of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*.<sup>26</sup> Given his status as a notable master and bishop and his theoretical and practical engagement with the principles of pastoral care, a consideration of sermons attributed to him offers an insight into the use and practice of preaching for different functions in thirteenth-century English scholarly and pastoral contexts.<sup>27</sup>

Modern scholarship on texts attributed to Grosseteste is largely founded on the bibliographical study of S. Harrison Thomson, *The Writings of Grosseteste*, published in 1940. Thomson attempted to provide a catalogue listing of all manuscripts containing Grosseteste's works.<sup>28</sup> In the case of Grosseteste's sermons, he identified 56 manuscripts containing a total of 129 different texts which he considered to be sermons.<sup>29</sup> As Thomson pointed out, 'the MS tradition is appallingly irregular'; some of the sermons are found in ten or more manuscripts while others are preserved in a single copy.<sup>30</sup> Thomson identified two principal types of collection: a longer one of around forty sermons preserved in five manuscripts and a shorter one of some fourteen to eighteen sermons extant in nine manuscripts, but there is no absolute agreement in content or order between any two manuscripts. There is no evidence that Grosseteste

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<sup>25</sup> 'There is a sense in which almost all that Grosseteste wrote, whether as regent master or as bishop, was pastorally motivated': McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 141.

<sup>26</sup> Penitential treatises include *Templum Dei*, ed. by Joseph Goering and F. A. C. Mantello (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984). On the pastoral element within Grosseteste's commentary on the Psalms, see James Ginther, 'The *Super Psalterium* of Robert Grosseteste (c. 1179-1253): A Scholastic Psalms Commentary as a Source for Medieval Ecclesiology' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 1995), esp. chapter 4. Alexander Murray suggests that Grosseteste's translation of the *Ethics* was motivated by 'the bombardment of confessors by moral dilemmas, arising from the case-histories of ordinary lay-folk': 'Confession as a Historical Source in the Thirteenth Century', in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays presented to Richard William Southern*, ed. by R. H. C. Davis and others (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), pp. 275-322 (p. 317).

<sup>27</sup> Further consideration of Grosseteste's approach to preaching, as revealed in his writings, can be found in Servus Gieben, 'Robert Grosseteste on Preaching. With the Edition of the Sermon *Ex rerum initiatarum* on Redemption', *Collectanea Franciscana*, 37 (1967), 100-41.

<sup>28</sup> S. Harrison Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940).

<sup>29</sup> For Thomson's listing of the sermons, see *Writings*, pp. 160-91.

<sup>30</sup> *Writings*, p. 160. Thomson's table on pp. 164-65 demonstrates the distribution of the sermons in the various manuscripts.



himself compiled and issued an authorised standard collection of sermons. Several of the manuscript collections seem to result from a conscious gathering of pastoral works by Grosseteste; his sermons are found alongside his *Dicta* collection and his treatises *De decem mandatis* and *Templum Dei*, for example, in Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.15.20.<sup>31</sup>

Identifying Grosseteste's sermons and calculating their total number is complicated by the existence of a separate collection of *Dicta*.<sup>32</sup> This collection seems to have been issued by Grosseteste himself and contains a number of sermons. Thomson included among his listing of the sermons a number of the *Dicta* which are found, often in a different form, in the manuscripts alongside sermons and rubricated as such;<sup>33</sup> he also included certain treatises which are not in fact sermons and which he also listed under other headings.<sup>34</sup>

At the time Thomson wrote, the sermons were 'both unpublished and unstudied', with the exception of a number published by Edward Brown in 1690.<sup>35</sup> Brown was an Anglican rector who commended Grosseteste as a conscientious pastoral reformer and critic of clerical and papal failings.<sup>36</sup> He particularly appreciated Grosseteste's sermons to the clergy which maintained an elevated view of the pastoral role and castigated those who neglected their flocks. Thomson's bibliographical work has led to many of Grosseteste's writings receiving editorial attention over the past half-century, including eight of his sermons.<sup>37</sup> All of these works have contributed to our understanding of

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<sup>31</sup> *Writings*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>32</sup> For Thomson's listing of the *Dicta*, see *Writings*, pp. 214-32; the *Dicta* collection is discussed in Chapter II below.

<sup>33</sup> Several of these texts are studied in Edwin J. Westermann, 'A Comparison of Some of the Sermons and the *Dicta* of Robert Grosseteste', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 3 (1945), 49-68.

<sup>34</sup> Texts which are not in fact sermons include sermons 14, 15 and 32 in Thomson's listing.

<sup>35</sup> *Writings*, p. 160. See Edward Brown, *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum ac fugiendarum*, 2 vols (London, 1690), II, 244-307. Brown provides an edition of nos 14, 63-66, 69, 76, 79 in Thomson's listing of Grosseteste's sermons, as well as a number of Grosseteste's *Dicta* and letters.

<sup>36</sup> On Brown's use of Grosseteste, see McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste*, pp. 71-73. As Joseph Goering points out, the title-page of Brown's volume clearly reveals his intentions; he selects writers 'qui Ecclesiae Rom. Errores & Abusus detegunt & damnant, necessitatemque Reformationis urgent': 'Robert Grosseteste at the Papal Curia', in *A Distinct Voice: Medieval Studies in Honor of Leonard Boyle, O.P.*, ed. by Jacqueline Brown and William P. Stoneman (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), pp. 253-76 (pp. 257 and 272, n. 8).

<sup>37</sup> Sermons 16 and 33 have been edited by Servus Gieben: 'Robert Grosseteste and the Immaculate Conception. With the Text of the Sermon *Tota pulchra es*', *Collectanea Franciscana*, 27 (1958), 211-27



Grosseteste's thought and its expression, the various roles he adopted as preacher and some of the audiences he addresses. However, each of the texts edited has been the subject of an individual article and no attempt has yet been made to analyse the sermons as a whole or to deal with the issue of their textual tradition.

Having examined around 2500 manuscripts for his bibliographical study, Thomson singled out twenty which he believed were of especial interest for the number and variety of Grossetestian works they contained: 'they seem to represent conscious efforts on the part of their scribes to build a canon of Grosseteste's works'.<sup>38</sup> Among these, and noted by Thomson as 'one of the most valuable of all Grosseteste MSS, by reason of both its age and its contents', is the subject of the present study, Durham Dean and Chapter Library MS A.III.12.<sup>39</sup>

Thomson identified three sections of MS A.III.12 containing sermons which could potentially be attributed to Grosseteste: fols 15vb-17vb, 78r-87v and 104r-127v.<sup>40</sup> He also noted that MS A.III.12 clearly stands outside the main textual tradition of Grosseteste's sermons. Thomson made no attempt to include it within his table of sermon collections since its contents do not correspond to those of any other manuscript. He further emphasised the distinction between MS A.III.12 and the rest of

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and 'Robert Grosseteste on Preaching'. Sermons 17, 30 and 83 have been edited by James McEvoy: 'Robert Grosseteste on the Cross and Redemptive Love. With the Text of his Sermon on Galatians 5:24 and Notes on its Reception', *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales*, 65 (1999), 79-102; Robert Grosseteste's Theory of Human Nature. With the Text of his Conference *Ecclesia sancta celebrat*', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 47 (1980), 131-87; 'The Edition of a Sermon on the Decalogue Attributed to Robert Grosseteste', *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales*, 67 (2001), 228-44. Edward B. King has edited sermon 6 from Durham Cathedral Library MS A.III.12: 'Durham MS A.III.12 and the Corpus of Grosseteste's Homiletical Works', in *New Perspectives*, pp. 277-88. James Ginther has edited sermon 85 and *Dictum* 19, which is clearly a sermon although Thomson does not list it as such: 'Monastic Ideals and Episcopal Visitations: the *Sermo ad religiosos* of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln (1235-1253)', in *Medieval Monastic Preaching*, ed. by Carolyn Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 231-53; 'Natural Philosophy and Theology at Oxford in the Early Thirteenth Century. An Edition and Study of Robert Grosseteste's Inception Sermon (*Dictum* 19)', *Medieval Sermon Studies* 44, 108-34. Substantial extracts from sermon 7 and sermon 87 have also been published in the course of examinations of Grosseteste's approach to particular theological questions: Daniel Unger, 'Robert Grosseteste on the Reasons for the Incarnation', *Franciscan Studies*, 16 (1956), 1-36 (sermon 7), and James McEvoy, 'Grosseteste on the Soul's Care for the Body: A New Text and New Sources for the Idea', in *Aspectus and Affectus: Essays and Editions in Grosseteste and Medieval Intellectual Life in Honor of Richard C. Dales*, ed. by Gunar Freibergs (New York: AMS Press, 1993), pp. 37-56 (sermon 87).

<sup>38</sup> Thomson, *Writings*, p. 10.

<sup>39</sup> Thomson, *Writings*, pp. 13-17.

<sup>40</sup> For a full listing of the contents of MS A.III.12, see Appendix I.



the sermon manuscripts by listing the contents of the second and third sections of MS A.III.12 (fols 78-87 and 104-127) in a separate sequence of seventy-five items.<sup>41</sup> The reason for this separate listing becomes clear when Thomson's descriptions of the individual texts are considered: many of them are clearly not sermons. Thomson was evidently aware of this fact; in totalling Grosseteste's sermons, he adds to the ninety-two sermons in his main sequence, 'items 1, 2, 3, 16, 21, 22, 23, 25-27, 33, 35-42, 44, 46, 48, 53, 55, 56, 64-75, in the detailed description of Durham Cath. MS A.III.12, which were certainly intended to be sermons' to give his total of 129 sermons.<sup>42</sup> However, he does not distinguish these thirty-seven texts in any way in his main listing of the material, simply referring to the contents collectively as 'sermons and *dicciones*'.<sup>43</sup> The use of the term *diccio*, meaning a note, serves as a general term for otherwise undefined texts; it seems likely that Thomson chose it deliberately to echo the term *dictum*, in the light of his suggestion that the material in this manuscript formed part of the basis for the compilation of Grosseteste's *Dicta* collection.<sup>44</sup> Whatever he considered these *dicciones* to be, Thomson still included them in his chapter on Grosseteste's sermons rather than among his miscellaneous works; he perhaps considered them too inconsequential, or too closely connected with the sermons around them, to stand alone.

MS A.III.12 has also been the subject of research by the distinguished scholar of Grosseteste's pastoral care, Edward B. King.<sup>45</sup> King highlights diverse nature of the material on folios 15-17, 78-87 and 104-127 and the difficulty in categorising it; he offers a number of suggestions and cautions to guide further research, particularly concerning the abbreviated nature of much of the material. For King, the primary

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<sup>41</sup> Thomson includes the material in the first section at the end of his primary sequence as sermons 88-92 but omits the final incomplete sermon which is also found on fol. 78r (*Writings*, p. 182). To avoid confusion between the two sequences, material on these folios, that is the secondary sequence, is listed according to Thomson's numbering, preceded by a T. Thus fols 78-87 contains T1-T33 and fols 104-127 contains T34-T75.

<sup>42</sup> Thomson, *Writings*, p. 162.

<sup>43</sup> Thomson, *Writings*, p. 182.

<sup>44</sup> 'As Grosseteste remarks in the *Recapitulacio* appended to the *Dicta* that he had made a selection from his sermons for the purposes of the collection of 147 *Dicta*, we must assume that there were many of his minor writings which he thought unsuitable for the purposes for which the *Dicta* were chosen': *Writings*, p. 182.

<sup>45</sup> King, 'MS A.III.12'.



importance of the material lies in its insight ‘into Grosseteste’s mind and heart c.1225-1230’ and the opportunity to compare it with his later ‘more impressive’ works and ‘perceive to some extent the process of maturation of some of Grosseteste’s unique ideas’.<sup>46</sup>

My own approach to the manuscript picks up on a number of questions consciously and perhaps unconsciously framed by Thomson and King in their work. Principal among these are questions of textual identity and categorisation related to the nature of the individual texts and the material as a whole: what is a sermon; what is a sermon collection. Thomson’s difficulties in cataloguing this particular manuscript reflect precisely these broader issues regarding the categorisation of sermon collections which have also been highlighted by Siegfried Wenzel.<sup>47</sup> I also consider further questions regarding the composition, transmission and reuse of preaching material, taking account of Thomson’s suggestions concerning the relationship between the material in MS A.III.12 and other texts by Grosseteste. My approach to questions concerning the structure, content and audience of the sermons is principally framed by the discipline of sermon studies and offers an investigation into the nature of thirteenth-century preaching in an English scholarly and pastoral context through the examination of a single sermon collection.

The starting point for my study is the codex MS A.III.12 itself. The first chapter summarises and evaluates the physical evidence of the codex and what can be determined of its history and provenance. Attention to the manuscript context of the texts is an important part of my investigation into the nature of the texts and their particular functions.<sup>48</sup> Following Bataillon’s practical order of enquiry for the study of

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<sup>46</sup> King, ‘MS A.III.12’, pp. 283-84.

<sup>47</sup> Wenzel also addresses the value of such issues for a broader understanding of the fields of cultural and literary history: ‘Sermon Collections and Their Taxonomy’, in *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*, ed. by Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), pp. 7-21. See Chapter II below.

<sup>48</sup> Nichols and Wenzel have termed this kind of study of individual manuscripts as historical artifacts ‘materialist philology’: ‘[Materialist philology] demands that one look closely at the relationship of the individual version to its historical context in a given manuscript. Arguing that the individual manuscript contextualizes the text(s) it contains in specific ways, materialist philology seeks to analyze the consequences of this relationship on the way these texts may be read and interpreted [...] Far from being

sermons, Chapter II considers the material on fols 78-87 and 104-127 of the manuscript as a collection. Bataillon is, though, rather dismissive of the kind of collection these sections of MS A.III.12 seem to be, in which sermons are mixed with other *opuscula* and preaching material: 'in such cases the collection has little to teach us about each of its elements, except some paleographic or codicologic indications of dating'.<sup>49</sup> Chapter II challenges this with regard to MS A.III.12 in the process of categorising the texts on these folios and exploring the relationship between them. Chapter III focuses specifically on the sermons in the collection, analysing their structure and content. It considers the way in which they employ the various elements of the thematic sermon and particular types of argument, before surveying their pastoral message and their approach towards their audience(s). Once all these analyses have been completed, it is possible in Chapter IV to assess the nature of the collection and investigate the attribution to Grosseteste of the individual texts and the collection as a whole.

The study of these particular folios of MS A.III.12 is accompanied by an edition of all the texts identified as sermons from these sections of the manuscript, only one of which has previously been edited and published.<sup>50</sup> This edition provides supporting data for my analysis, which depends on both close textual reading and broader structural concerns, and offers a convenient sample of material for future research. Since I am working from a unique witness and the analysis of textual transmission forms an important part of my study, my edition of the texts closely reflects the manuscript version; I have corrected obvious errors but not provided the heavy emendation which would on occasion be necessary to render a wholly intelligible text. The overall thesis offers a study of what a single manuscript can reveal about the nature, content and transmission of the sermons and preaching of a specific place and at a specific point in time.

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a transparent or neutral vehicle, the codex can have a typological identity that affects the way we read and understand the texts it presents', 'Introduction', in *The Whole Book*, pp. 1-6 (p. 2).

<sup>49</sup> Bataillon, 'Approaches to the Study of Sermons', p. 20.

<sup>50</sup> See King, 'MS A.III.12', pp. 284-88 where one of the sermons, item 6 in Thomson's listing, is published.



# CHAPTER I

## Manuscript Description and Provenance

### 1. Physical Description of MS A.III.12

Durham Dean and Chapter Library MS A.III.12 is a large volume, 325 x 225 mm, in the standard eighteenth-century binding of the library.<sup>1</sup> Its spine is labeled *Tractatus theologici quidam* and it consists of 224 parchment leaves with a single modern paper flyleaf at either end. The construction of MS A.III.12 is complex, as the following collation of fols 2-223 (fol.138 twice) indicates: 1<sup>8</sup> (fols 2-9); 2<sup>8</sup> (fols 10-17); 3<sup>8</sup> (fols 18-25); 4<sup>8</sup> + two bifolia inserted after 3 and 7 (fols 26-37); 5<sup>8</sup> (fols 38-45); 6<sup>6</sup> wants 4-6 (fols 46-48 + 3 stubs); 7 one (fol. 49); 8<sup>8</sup> (fols 50-57) plus an s. xviii slip after 8; 9 one (fol. 58); 10<sup>12</sup> wants 12 (fols 59-69 + stub after 69); 11<sup>8</sup> (fols 70-77); 12<sup>10</sup> (fols 78-87); 13<sup>8</sup> (fols 88-95); 14<sup>8</sup> (fols 96-103); 15<sup>8</sup> (fols 104-111); 16<sup>8</sup> (fols 112-119); 17<sup>8</sup> (fols 120-127); 18<sup>10</sup> (fols 128-137); 19<sup>8</sup> (fols 138-144); 20<sup>8</sup> (fols 145-152); 21<sup>8</sup> (fols 153-160); 22<sup>8</sup> (fols 161-168), 23<sup>8</sup> + subquire<sup>4</sup> (fols 174-177) inserted after 5 (fols 169-180); 24<sup>4</sup> (fols 181-184); 25<sup>8</sup> wants 6-8 [blank?] (fols 185-189 + 3 stubs); 26<sup>4</sup> (fols 190-193); 27<sup>10</sup> (fols 194-203); 28<sup>12</sup> (fols 204-215); 29<sup>6</sup> wants 5-6 [blank?] (fols 216-219); 28<sup>8</sup> wants 5-8 (fols 220-223 + 4 stubs). There are no quire signatures but catchwords appear at the end of quires 5, 20, 22 and 23, on fols 45v, 152v, 168v and 180v respectively.

In addition to a post-medieval foliation of the whole manuscript in pencil (1-223 which misses a leaf between 138 and 139), there are two further sets of foliation. The first set, nos 1-35 written in red, which covers fols 2-40 omitting the smaller leaves (fols 29-30, 35-36), is probably fifteenth-century. A second set of foliation of around the same period but this time in brown ink, overlaps with the first. It begins on fol. 38 at 1 and continues to fol. 144 (numbered 105), omitting fols 49, 58 and 68. Fols 145-184 containing a biblical concordance are foliated in red ink in the main text hand (*libri primi*, fol. i etc); this is the only section in which the foliation is contemporary with the text. After this section, the second set of foliation resumes, numbering fols 185-223 as

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<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Mr Alan Piper of the University of Durham for his kind assistance with the preparation of the collation and his general advice concerning the physical description of MS A.III.12.

106 to 143, with fols 210 and 211 both numbered 131. However, the break in foliation for the concordance does not indicate that this was added to the codex at a later date since it is clearly present in the late thirteenth-century contents list on fol. 1v: ‘Concordancie bible per v libros distincte’.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, it is difficult to suggest a convincing explanation for the two sets of foliation. There is no suggestion that the manuscript was ever divided in this way and the overlapping of the numeration makes it highly unlikely.

The majority of the codex is made up of regular sized leaves of 310-320 x 190-210 mm. In contrast, fols 59-69 [11]<sup>3</sup> are only approximately 200 x 145 mm and are clearly distinct from the rest of the codex. Similarly, fols 185-193 [21, 22] and 220-223 [24, 25] are regular in height (c. 320 mm) but wider (245 mm) than the rest of the codex. These leaves have been trimmed leaving no outer margin, but even so, the last couple of centimetres of the text have had to be folded into the volume to avoid further wear and erasure.

However, it is not possible to state that all the smaller leaves have a different source from the regular-sized ones. Fols 26-37 [4, 5] consist of a regular-sized quire of 8 leaves with the addition of two smaller bifolia (fols 29-30 and 35-36) but the text appears to be continuous from 28vb to 29ra and from 34vb to 35ra. It is notable that the regular-sized leaves of this quire are of a particularly poor quality; the writing surface is not well-prepared and the edges of the leaves are very uneven. These features, along with the use of differently-sized leaves, may indicate a scribe working with limited resources. The smallest leaves of all, fols 49 [7] and 58 [10], are only approximately 140 x 120 mm in size. They are written in the same thirteenth century hand and were certainly part of the manuscript when the list of contents on fol. 1v was compiled since they are listed as a single item: ‘Quedam questio in quodam rotulo’.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The list of contents is transcribed by Thomson, *Writings*, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> These figures represent entries in the list of the contents of the manuscript contained in Appendix I.

<sup>4</sup> These folios are discussed in S. Harrison Thomson, ‘The Date of the Early English Translation of the *Candet nudatum pectus*’, *Medium Aevum*, 4 (1935), 100-05.



Within MS A.III.12, I have identified at least twenty separate medieval hands, all of which appear to be English. Their details are best displayed in tabular form.

Hand	Folios	Items
A	2-17v	[1], [2], [3]
B	1-144v	Text of [9] plus marginalia & notes
C	18r-29r; 31r-34v	[4]
D	29v-30v; 34vb-37v	[4], [5]
E	38r-48v	[6],
F	49, 58	[7], [10]
G	50r-53v	[8]
H	59r-60v	[11]
I	61r-67r	[11]
J	70r-77v	[12]
K	78r-103v, 105rb-110v, 128r-138b <sup>isr</sup>	[13], [14], [15], [16], [17], [18]
L	104r-105ra	[15]
M	112r-119v	[15]
N	120r-122r	[15]
O	122v-127v	[15]
P	138b <sup>isr</sup> -144v	[19]
Q	145r-184v	[20]
R	185r-189v	[21]
S	190r-193v; 220r-223r	[22], [24],[25]
T	194r-219v	[23]

The earliest are the two hands on fols 59-67 (Hands H and I) and that of fols 70-77 (J) which I would date to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. The rest of the manuscript is written in a variety of textura hands, all of which can probably be dated to the period 1200-1250. Distinct from these is a single cursive hand (B) which appears in the margins and other blank spaces throughout the first 144 folios of the codex. It is possible that this might be the hand of Bertram of Middleton, the prior of Durham who donated the volume to the monastic library; certainly, the extent of the annotation makes it likely that this scribe was an early thirteenth-century owner of the manuscript, or at least this portion of it.

Among the main text hands, a distinction can be made between those which appear to be the work of a professional scribe and those which are by a non-professional. For



example, the elaborate layout and use of rubrication and catchwords in fols 145-184 (Hand Q) clearly indicate that the biblical concordance was a professional work. Non-professional hands can be identified by irregularities in the use of the writing space, such as variations in the size of handwriting and number of lines per page and a lack of clearly defined distinction between the text and the lower margin as well as the general 'untidiness' of the hand. All these characteristics apply to the hands of fols 2-17 (Hand A) and 138rb-144v (Hand P).

Neil Ker has identified a further characteristic which broadly distinguishes professional from non-professional hands in this period, namely that during the course of the early thirteenth century, professional scribes changed from writing above the top ruled line to writing below it.<sup>5</sup> 'Below top line' therefore indicates a professional while non-professionals continued the earlier practice of 'above top line'. In his article on the topic, Ker demonstrated his thesis by focusing on a number of closely datable early thirteenth-century manuscripts including MS A.III.12. As he noted, both practices can be found in different sections of the manuscript. In certain cases, the 'below top line' folios are those already noted as being particularly early in date or demonstrating other non-professional characteristics, for example fols 2-17, 70-77. Ker also noted that 'an unprofessional sort of hand' wrote fol. 138rb below top line, matching the practice of 138ra but then switched to above top line when he turned the page.<sup>6</sup>

Although Ker's observation is a valuable one for the general analysis of thirteenth-century manuscripts, his assessment of MS A.III.12 in this article is not entirely accurate. He identifies the main text hands of fols 2-37v and 50-57v as identical to the cursive hand of the marginalia. After close examination, I would suggest that there are three text hands in the section fols 2-37: Hand A which produced 2-17; Hand C which is responsible for 18-29r and 31r-34v; and Hand D (29v-30v and 34vb-37v). Of these, the final one is very similar in size and appearance to the cursive hand (Hand B) which is found throughout the manuscript. Although it is not possible to be certain, it may be a

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<sup>5</sup> Neil Ker, 'From "Above Top Line" To "Below Top Line": A Change in Scribal Practice', *Celtica*, 5 (1960), 13-16.

<sup>6</sup> Ker, 'From "Above Top Line"', p. 15.

'neater' version of Hand B. Within the quire fols 50-57, another hand (G) is responsible for fols 50r-53va and the first thirteen lines on fol. 53vb, at which point Hand B takes over, completes the page and continues until 57v.

For the purposes of my study, the most significant quires are those containing material by Grosseteste and it is clear that they are written in seven different hands. One scribe (A) is responsible for fols 2-17, containing the Psalms commentary and several *dicta* and sermons, a second (B) for the extract from the *De libero arbitrio* on fols 55va-57vb; this is the same scribe who has heavily annotated the first half of the manuscript. The final two Grossetestian sections, fols 78-87 and 104-127 which are the focus of my study are written in five different hands. As the table shows, one (Hand K) is clearly dominant, writing the majority of these folios and several other sections of the manuscript.

As discussed above, the scribe of fols 2-17 does not seem to have been a professional; it has been suggested by R. W. Hunt and others that he was a student of Grosseteste at Oxford.<sup>7</sup> The side, upper and lower margins of these two quires are filled with notes, some in a smaller version of the main text hand (A), and some in the cursive Hand B. Fols 55va-57vb are very different in appearance, although linked to the earlier section by the work of scribe B. They are very narrowly ruled with almost no margins; on a leaf of 310 x 190 mm, the writing space is 300 x 182 mm. In the closely written cursive script, there are c. 100 lines to the page, compared with an average for the other leaves of this size within the manuscript of some 65 lines. These factors, as well as the cursive style and the fact that the same hand has annotated the rest of the manuscript, make it unlikely that this is the work of a professional scribe.

In contrast, K and his fellow scribes responsible for fols 78-144v do seem to have been professionals. The distribution of hands with one major scribe and several minor ones taking over for short periods suggests this. In addition, the physical appearance of the

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<sup>7</sup> R. W. Hunt, 'The Library of Robert Grosseteste', in *Robert Grosseteste: Scholar and Bishop*, ed. by Daniel A. Callus (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955; repr. London: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 121-45 (p. 139).



folios is that of a professional work; they are carefully pricked and ruled with generous regular margins and only a small variation in the size of hand and number of lines of writing. On the question of above or below top line, there is no absolute consistency; most of the folios are below top line while the occasional folio, for example 119r, is above top line. The variations in practice do not correspond to the changes in hand and the most likely explanation is that this manuscript belongs to a period of transition between the two practices.

This section of the manuscript, fols 78-138v, consists of eight quires, three of which contain material attributed to Grosseteste. The identical layout and the presence of Hand K across these quires suggests they have a shared provenance but there is evidence to suggest that they were not necessarily intended to be bound together in this particular order. Fols 87vb and 103va, for example, end with an incomplete text, possibly, but not necessarily, indicating that each continued elsewhere. The two quires between the Grossetestian sections (fols 88-103) are certainly linked together by their subject matter but the two Grosseteste sections (78-87 and 104-127) are not continuous; each one starts with a fresh text.

By examining their physical characteristics, it has been possible to identify distinctions and connections between certain quires in MS A.III.12. The quiring, ruling, foliation, page dimensions and script all provide valuable evidence to set alongside the contents of the manuscript and assist in its interpretation. Further evidence, both internal and external, can help to provide a more precise historical context for the production and subsequent use of the manuscript.

## 2. History and Dating of the Manuscript

The verso of the first folio is headed by an inscription in a late thirteenth-century hand, ‘Liber sancti Cuthberti ex dono Bertrami de Midiltonum prioris dunelmensis’. As Thomson has pointed out, use of the phrase *ex dono*, rather than *ex legato* suggests that Bertram gave the manuscript to the cathedral library personally rather than in his will.

The manuscript was therefore donated between 1244 and 1258, the dates of Bertram's term as prior. The list of contents below the inscription, in the same late thirteenth-century hand, closely matches the codex as it is today, indicating that it was in something like its current form on its presentation.

This date of presentation does not necessarily correspond with the date of production; the manuscript could have existed for many years before Bertram donated it. The production itself involves two separate stages – the copying of individual quires and their assembly into the full codex. As noted above, the script of certain quires can be dated to the end of the twelfth century, possibly fifty years or more before the manuscript joined the Durham library. The works by Grosseteste and Raymond de Peñafort, on the other hand, were not composed until the 1220s or 1230s. However, as indicated above, close attention to script and physical characteristics, even taking into account the presence of 'below top line' writing, has not provided sufficient evidence to establish more precise dates for the various quires.

There is, however, further physical evidence for the dating of one section of the manuscript at least. Thomson drew attention to a number of notes written in plummet in the margins of the codex, one of which, in the lower margin of fol. 130r, provides details of a penance imposed on the writer on the 4<sup>th</sup> Kalends of March 1231 (i.e. 27 February 1231/2). Thomson concluded that 'the codex, or that part of it in which this plummet hand appears, is almost certain to have been assembled before 1231'.<sup>8</sup> To be precise, the note indicates that this particular folio, and probably all the folios in the same hand, were copied prior to this date. This date can only be applied with certainty to the quires in which the plummet notes appear, rather than the codex as a whole. The main text of this folio was written by scribe K, the primary hand of fols 78-144, including the section of Grosseteste material with which I am principally concerned. Several other plummet notes occur, all within this central section of the manuscript and although it is extremely difficult to identify plummet hands, on the evidence of those notes which are still visible, I think it reasonable to assume that they were all written by

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<sup>8</sup> Thomson, *Writings*, p. 15 where the note is also transcribed. A revised transcription is provided by Hunt, 'Library', p. 139.



the same scribe. It is likely, therefore, that he was the owner of these folios before they were bound in their current form and order. The date of the plummet note provides a *terminus ante quem* for the production of these folios.

Physical and palaeographical characteristics offer little specific indication as to the provenance of the various quires of the manuscript; all that can be said with certainty is that the various hands all appear to be English. Once again the plummet notes offer some tantalising clues concerning their scribe and the probable owner of these quires. One note, on fol. 122r, lists expenses incurred on a journey from London to Wales, probably by a member of the Bishop of Llandaff's household.<sup>9</sup> Thomson speculated rather hopefully that these notes might be in Grosseteste's own hand but this has been discounted by Hunt. Nor does it seem likely that they were written by Bertram of Middleton, since the Durham chronicler Robert de Graystones tells us that he held various offices in the monastery at Durham for forty years; it is unlikely that he would be connected with the household of a Welsh bishop during this period.<sup>10</sup>

The conclusion must be that these quires had at least one previous owner before Bertram of Middleton. As Hunt points out, the terms of his penance suggest that the writer of the notes 'held a not inconsiderable benefice, since he had to feed 100 poor men and women for every year during the period of seven years'.<sup>11</sup> The record of his debts and debtors also indicate a man of some substance with reasonably large sums owed in both Parisian and Tours *solidi*. There is no evidence for Hunt's assumption that this man was a student at Oxford; as noted above, these quires are the work of professional scribes, not the notes of a student.

Southern suggests that the owner purchased them as he passed through Oxford on a journey between South Wales and London.<sup>12</sup> This is the most likely explanation since the texts on these quires demonstrate a strong connection with the Oxford schools, not

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<sup>9</sup> See Hunt, 'Library', p. 139 for a transcription of the text; see also Southern, *Growth of an English Mind*, p. 72. Payments to the canons of Llandaff cathedral are noted in plummet on fol. 121.

<sup>10</sup> Robert de Graystones, *Historia* in J. Raine, ed., *Historia Dunelmensis scriptores tres*, Surtees Society, vol. 9 (London, 1839), p. 43.

<sup>11</sup> Hunt, 'Library', p. 139.

<sup>12</sup> Southern, *Growth of an English Mind*, p. 72.

only in the writings of Grosseteste but also in the sermons of Jordan of Saxony, one of which is explicitly addressed to the scholars of Oxford and was preached during an extended visit to England in 1229-1230.<sup>13</sup> In his recent study of Jordan's sermons, Franco Morenzoni makes reference to this manuscript and states that it is probable that all the sermons attributable to him in fols 88-103 of the manuscript were preached during this visit.<sup>14</sup> This gives us a rather precise time period for the copying of the material on the folios: between the end of February 1230, when the last of Jordan's sermons was preached, and the date of the penance in the plummet notes, the end of February 1232. Some of the material may, of course, have been in existence before the earlier of these two dates; they provide evidence only for the copying, not the composition of the material.

As for the period between 1232, when the manuscript was presumably on its way to Wales, and its appearance in Durham as part of the codex at some point between 1244 and 1258, it is assumed that during this period the codex as a whole was assembled and the first 144 folios received their extensive cursive annotation. The plummet script is not legible enough to be able to establish that the same scribe compiled the marginalia; it may have been Bertram himself or an intermediate owner. It seems unlikely that once the volume had entered the monastic library, a single scribe would annotate it so heavily, suggesting that the annotation was completed before its donation to the library.

The evidence we have concerning Bertram himself makes him a likely candidate to be identified as the annotator of the manuscript, scribe B. On his retirement, the monastic chronicler of Durham, Robert de Graystones, eulogised him in terms which emphasised his personal concern for the cathedral library:

For this same Bertram, energetic supporter and observer of the religious life, not only flourished in the sanctity of life, but also

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<sup>13</sup> 'O deus meus, ubi invenitur tam longa corda qua pendent parochiani existentes in finibus Anglie? ex prelatibus suis morantibus Oxonie?': from a sermon on the feast of St. Martin (fol. 88r); Andrew G. Little and Decima L. Douie, 'Three Sermons of Friar Jordan of Saxony, the Successor of St. Dominic, preached in England, A.D. 1229', *English Historical Review*, 54 (1939), 1-19 (p. 12).

<sup>14</sup> Franco Morenzoni, 'Les sermons de Jourdain de Saxe, successeur de Saint Dominique', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 66 (1996), 201-44 (p. 212).



energetically increased the resources of the church. With his own hand, he wrote five psalters with many prayers [...] he procured for the house postils on the Psalter, the four gospels, the epistles of Paul, on Job, the Sapiential books, the twelve prophets, the canonical epistles and two on the Apocalypse.<sup>15</sup>

The last point is confirmed by inscriptions similar to that on the first folio of MS A.III.12 in at least six other volumes still extant in the Cathedral Library at Durham.<sup>16</sup> Bertram's donations demonstrate a clear interest in contemporary works of biblical and moral theology, particularly those by mendicant authors. In addition to the very early copies of Jordan's sermons and part of Raymond de Peñafort's *Summa* in MS A.III.12, the postils referred to by Graystones are probably those of Hugh of St Cher which represent some of the earliest examples of Parisian *pecia* manuscripts.

Durham's bibliographic connections with Paris in this period were well-established; a near contemporary of Bertram, Robert de Adington, listed his book collection on the opening leaf of what is now MS A.III.16 in the cathedral library.<sup>17</sup> He studied at Saint Victor in the 1180s and like Bertram after him, collected the work of influential contemporary theologians, including Peter Comestor, Peter of Poitiers and Prepositinus. Although formal links with Oxford only began with the founding of Durham College c. 1290, it would not be surprising if in the 1230s the prior of such a wealthy and well-connected monastic foundation with an interest in contemporary theological writings was responsible for acquiring, annotating and copying the works of one of the earliest masters of the Oxford schools.

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<sup>15</sup> 'Nam idem Bertramus, religionis suae zelator et cultor, non solum sanctitate vitae floruit, sed et facultates ecclesiae vehementer auxit. Manu [sua] propria quinque Psalteria cum orationibus multis scripsit [...] postillas super Psalterium, Quatuor Evangelia, Epistolas Pauli, Super Job, Libros Sapienciales, XII Prophetas, Epistolas Canonicas, et super Apocalipsin duplices, domui procuravit': R. de Graystones, *Historia*, p. 44.

<sup>16</sup> T. Rud, *Codicum manusccriptorum ecclesiae cathedralis Dunelmensis catalogus classicus*, ed. by James Raine (Durham, 1825). See under MSS A.I.8, A.I.12, A.I.13, A.I.16, A.III.21 and B.IV.23.

<sup>17</sup> R. A. B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the End of the Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939), p. 78.

## CHAPTER II

# The Manuscript Context of the Sermons

### 1. Introduction

The investigation into MS A.III.12 in Chapter I examined the codex and its history for physical evidence concerning the rationale behind its compilation – where and why these particular pieces were selected, copied and brought together. The present chapter looks at the textual clues which can help to answer some of the same questions. It focuses particularly on the material on folios 78-87 and 104-127 attributed to Grosseteste. The physical evidence confirms that these gatherings derive from a common source and in this chapter I analyse the texts and categorise them, examining the evidence they provide concerning their transmission and the compilation of these particular folios.

In order to determine the reasons why this material was put together it is necessary to separate it out and find out what sorts of texts make up the collection. These folios are not unusual in containing a variety of material interspersed with the sermons; Siegfried Wenzel cites many examples of what he calls ‘random sermon collections’ which also contain ‘short passages which must have been felt to be useful to preachers: theological commonplaces, distinctions, mnemonic verses, exempla with or without memorializations and the like’. As Wenzel points out, ‘Alongside such notes also occur parts of sermons (such as an individual protheme), sermon outlines, or partial sermons’.<sup>1</sup> The first task is to identify the various types of texts in these folios. Wenzel draws particular attention to the difficulties of categorising partial, fragmentary and abbreviated sermons. Such texts form a considerable part of the material I wish to analyse and it is important to consider them alongside more complete works; excluding such texts from an inventory, ‘could therefore

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<sup>1</sup> Wenzel, ‘Sermon Collections’, p. 15. Wenzel contrasts the label ‘random sermon collections’ with ‘sermon cycles’, arranged in liturgical order but notes that often some attempt does seem to have been made to group texts according to some principle; ‘[h]ence the term *random* may not be entirely accurate for describing this kind of sermon collection and should be taken as only a provisional label’ (p. 15).



seriously distort the nature of a collection or the oeuvre of a known preacher and its popularity'.<sup>2</sup> In categorising the texts, I follow structural principles, as laid out below.<sup>3</sup> Not surprisingly, the major distinction made is between sermons and non-sermons; the former category is further sub-divided into whole sermons and fragments and the latter into *sententiae*, that is citations from the Bible and patristic authors, and short notes or *dicciones*, adopting Thomson's terminology.

Working with these categories can help to discern multiple stages in the transmission and recontextualisation of texts. The identification of the various stages represented by individual texts and the reuse of material within the collection can help to answer questions about the origins and function of the individual pieces and the collection as a whole. Understanding the nature and purpose of this collection of material is not only valuable in the context of studying Grosseteste's sermons; many of the texts on these folios also appear within Grosseteste's *Dicta* collection or the manuscripts of his Psalms commentary. This chapter therefore concludes by examining the relationship between these various works and the potential insight these folios can offer into both Grosseteste's working methods and the manuscript transmission of his texts.

## 2. Identifying and Naming

The starting point for any investigation into this collection must be the work of Thomson.<sup>4</sup> He carried out most of the key tasks: identifying the relevant folios, and the division of the material into individual texts, categorising certain texts as sermons, and identifying material repeated in the manuscript or elsewhere in Grosseteste's Psalms commentary or *Dicta* collection. While acknowledging Thomson's valuable work, Edward B. King observed rightly that his approach to this manuscript has proved rather misleading, particularly in his

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<sup>2</sup> Wenzel, 'Sermon Collections', p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Wenzel, 'Sermon Collections', p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Thomson, *Writings*, especially pp. 13-17, 182-91.

listing of the material.<sup>5</sup> The best solution seems therefore to be to use Thomson's work as the basis for a fresh examination, revisiting the basic tasks of identifying and naming that he carried out.

Perhaps the most basic challenge is to find the beginning and end of each individual text; this is not always as simple as it may appear, particularly when texts range in length from a few lines to several hundred. Visual clues such as indentation, underlining, paragraph marks and the presence of scriptural *lemmata* often mark the beginning, but they are all also found within texts.<sup>6</sup> King noted two examples of the difficulties involved: T23 is actually made up of sections of two different works, the first, a sermon, and the second, Alain of Lille's *Summa de arte praedicatoria*, whilst Sermon 91 and Sermon 92 are in fact both part of a single work expounding Luke 2:25-28.<sup>7</sup> I have identified two further instances: the short paragraph T45 is actually the concluding section of the sermon T44 while T20 is the protheme of the sermon T21, rather than a sermon with an identical theme.

The task of identifying individual texts is complicated by the presence in the manuscript of several sets of biblical or patristic quotations. Are these to be regarded as separate items in their own right or related to preceding texts? Thomson is inconsistent on this question; for example, he tells us that T9 is 'followed by a column of glossed quotations' but he lists separately as T15 'nine lines of scriptural quotations' which are all on the theme of poverty and thus closely related to T14, a *diccio* on the same subject.<sup>8</sup> A division is even less useful between T18, a short extract of seven lines from Isidore's *Synonyma de lamentatione animae peccatricis* and T19, which consists of two brief passages from the same work, the

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<sup>5</sup> King, 'MS A.III.12', p. 281.

<sup>6</sup> This is particularly relevant to the study of sermons; as regular users of Schneyer's *Repertorium* are aware, two consecutive sermons listed with the same theme often turn out to be the protheme and theme of a single text, as is the case with several of the sermons of John of Abbeville on fols 138bisrb-144vb of MS A.III.12. See J. B. Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit 1150-1350*, 11 vols (Münster: Aschendorff, 1969-90), V, 514. For updates to Schneyer's *Repertorium*, see Louis-Jacques Bataillon, 'Compléments au *Repertorium* de Schneyer', *Medieval Sermon Studies*, 44 (2000), 15-36; 45 (2001), 11-39.

<sup>7</sup> King, 'MS A.III.12', pp. 278-80.

<sup>8</sup> Thomson, *Writings*, p. 184.



first carrying on almost immediately from T18.

Howsoever these various texts are related to each other and to the collection of material as a whole, it is clear that they are not sermons. As noted above, Thomson offers a list of those texts he considered to be sermons – 37 of the 75 – but no criteria according to which they were thus classified. Evaluating the texts afresh involves establishing a checklist of characteristics essential to a sermon text, or more specifically, a thematic sermon. Although there were of course enormous variations from the late twelfth century onwards, preachers established certain conventions in the creation of a standard ‘modern’ sermon style, both in theory in their *artes praedicandi* and in practice. The defining features of a thematic sermon are the various structural elements - *thema*, protheme, divisions and conclusion.

The way in which these elements fit together is best demonstrated by looking at a sample sermon, T41. The *thema* is a short scriptural text, generally no more than a sentence or two and usually taken from the gospel or some other part of the day’s liturgy. T41 opens with a *thema* taken from Apoc 2:11, ‘He that shall overcome shall not be hurt by a second death’.<sup>9</sup> This is followed by the protheme, a short discussion, generally based around a second scriptural quotation, which served the rhetorical purpose of capturing the good will and attention of the audience. In T41, the protheme compares the word of God to wine using two familiar scriptural images: Christ as the true vine and the prohibition against putting new wine in old wineskins. This protheme is typical in its reflexive approach; it talks about preaching and hearing the word of God, and in its conclusion; in which the preacher asks for divine assistance in overcoming his unworthiness to preach. It ends with the invocation, ‘dicamus Pater noster’.

The prayer is followed by a restatement of the theme and a statement of its division into four parts: T41 treats the first and second life, that is the life of grace and the life of glory, followed by the first and second deaths; the first corporeal, the second eternal. Any number

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<sup>9</sup> ‘Qui vicerit, non ledetur a morte secunda’: fol. 108ra.

of divisions is possible but three or four are the most typical. Each one is expanded in turn, although they are not all necessarily given equal treatment; in T41, the final division, which describes the eternal torments of the damned, is expounded at greatest length. The final element of the sermon, the conclusion, is often missing in written texts but when it is present, as here, it is usually eschatological in tone. T41 ends with a return to the theme and an allusion to the eternal glory enjoyed by the one who overcomes.<sup>10</sup>

This text could not be mistaken for anything other than a sermon, but there are many other texts in the manuscript that are not so straightforward; they lack certain structural elements or their structure is somewhat ambiguous. Again, an example is the best way to demonstrate. T36 begins with a biblical *lemma*, *Qui finxit singillatim corda* (Ps 32:15) and Thomson identified it as a sermon. The whole passage is based around the exposition of a single word from the *lemma*, *corda*. It begins by stating factual information about the heart, both anatomical and etymological, before moving on to list the various abstractions for which it could serve as a metaphor: it could stand for the soul, intelligence, a hidden meaning, or diligence. Following the list, each analogy is proved by citing a scriptural authority. The rest of T36 expounds on just one of the metaphors, in which the heart signifies counsel (*consilium*).

The lack of protheme need not be troubling; they were often not integral to a sermon, and are frequently omitted in written sermon texts. It is possible that this *lemma* could serve as the *thema* for a sermon, although the majority of sermon themes were taken from the gospel or liturgical reading of the day. The list of metaphors, each with its own scriptural citation, could easily be used to create the divisions in a sermon. Equally, once divided there would be nothing to stop a preacher concentrating upon certain of the divisions which particularly interested him and ignoring the rest, as the unequal treatment of the sections of T41 demonstrates. However, it is clear that although many of the observations and moralisations

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<sup>10</sup> 'Qui sic vicerit non tantum ledetur a secunda morte, immo gloriam habebit perpetuam; unde in Apocalypsis 2 vincenti manna absconditum, id est eterne glorie dulcedinem ... de qua omnis dicit quid est hoc quod nec oculis vidit nec auris audivit et cetera': fol. 108vb.



in this piece would not be out of place in a preaching context, when viewed as a whole, its structure is not that of a thematic sermon; it is lacking more than the formulaic conclusion. Firstly, the relationship between *lemma* and text is much looser than one would expect between *thema* and sermon; a sermon would generally expound upon the whole of the *thema*, rather than using a single word as a starting point for a discourse. Since only one element of the list is expanded, it is not used to create divisions, and indeed it is not at all integral to the structure of the piece.<sup>11</sup> In fact, it is not possible to identify any of the standard structural elements of a sermon in T36.

A further indication that this text is not a sermon lies in the absence of any comments in the first or second person. Although these may be regarded as stylistic markers rather than essential sermon characteristics and are not always present in written sermons, such comments are present in T41 and are a feature of the majority of the obviously ‘complete’ sermons in the manuscript.<sup>12</sup>

This examination of T36 demonstrates the importance of focusing on structural characteristics in categorising the texts but indicates the usefulness of additional criteria, such as the presence or absence of direct first or second person address. This is one of many passages in the manuscript which are strongly reminiscent of sermons in content and tone and even display some structural affinities, but may not actually have comprised part of a complete sermon prior to their inclusion in this manuscript.

The result of my examination of all of the material on fols 78-87 and 104-127 according to these criteria is my division of this material into four categories, based on structure and content: sermons, sermon fragments, *sententiae* and *dicciones*.<sup>13</sup> The first category,

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<sup>11</sup> It may be that the piece is unfinished or abbreviated and that in a fuller version, other elements of the distinction were also treated, although the fact that it is the last element which is present makes this less likely.

<sup>12</sup> After the repetition of the theme in T41, the sermon continues: *Per hec verba hortatur nos ad vincendum, ostendens victorie utilitatem* (‘Through these words he encourages us to conquer, showing the utility of victory’): T41 [2]. See Kienzle, *The Sermon*, pp. 965-66 on the importance of signs of orality in distinguishing sermons from other sorts of texts.

<sup>13</sup> See Appendix II for a full listing of the contents of these folios according to these categories.

containing 23 separate texts, includes all those which meet the structural criteria for a sermon;<sup>14</sup> the second category is made up of two truncated texts which contain elements of sermon structure and signs of orality but lack the fully-fledged development of longer sermon texts;<sup>15</sup> the third category, that of *sententiae*, consists of short extracts or lists of quotations from biblical and patristic sources;<sup>16</sup> the final category is the most diverse, containing 41 texts, many of which, like T36, display a close affinity with sermons in terms of both structure and content but which do not contain sufficient structural elements to be categorised as sermons.<sup>17</sup> I label these texts *dicciones*, adopting the terminology of Thomson.<sup>18</sup> With the material identified and divided in this manner, it is possible to consider the origins, transmission and function of the pieces, beginning with the sermons.

### 3. Sermons and Transmission

Of the 23 sermon texts, some are grouped together, while others occur singly within the manuscript, surrounded by other material. They range considerably in size from about 1000 words to more than 3000, but all contain the structural characteristics which identify them as sermons. As the table below demonstrates, there is a considerable amount of overlap between my listing and the 37 sermons identified by Thomson. Certain of Thomson's choices can, however, be quickly dismissed: T38, for example, is clearly a set of patristic quotations. Each of its paragraphs begins with a name: Ambrosius, Anselmus, Ysidorus or Cassiodorus. Thomson lists T56 as a sermon and also states that it is part of *Dictum* 100 but he does not list the other extracts from *Dictum* 100 amongst the sermons, although they are identical in form; it is possible that he intended to list T55 instead.

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<sup>14</sup> T1, T2, T3, T6, T20-21, T22, T26, T34, T35, T40, T41, T42, T43, T44-45, T48, T55, T69, T70, T71, T72, T73, T74, and T75.

<sup>15</sup> T23 and T24.

<sup>16</sup> End of T7, T8, end of T9, end of T14, T15, T18-19, end of T21, end of T23, T33, T38, end of T47 and T63.

<sup>17</sup> T4, T5, first part of T7, first part of T9, T10-13, first part of T14, T16-17, T25, T27-32, T36, T37, T39, T46, first part of T47, T49-54, T56-62, T64-68.

<sup>18</sup> Thomson, *Writings*, p. 182.



Thomson and Paul	Thomson	Paul
T1	T16	T6
T2	T25	T24*
T3	T27	T34
T21 <sup>19</sup>	T33	T43
T22	T36	
T23* <sup>20</sup>	T37	
T26	T38	
T35	T39	
T40	T46	
T41	T53	
T42	T56	
T44 <sup>21</sup>	T64	
T48	T65	
T55	T66	
T69	T67	
T70	T68	
T71		
T72		
T73		
T74		
T75		

In considering the sermon texts in terms of their transmission, three in particular stand out: T1, T3 and T43. In his listing of the material, Thomson gives a useful indication if he has found the same texts elsewhere; amongst the 23 sermons, these are the only ones thus identified. In the case of T1, we do not have far to look; Thomson notes that two-thirds of T1 is found on fol. 17vb of MS A.III.12 following five other sermons and an etymological note, all attributed to Grosseteste. This version of the sermon breaks off there incomplete at the end of a gathering.<sup>22</sup> As far as it goes, the version on fol. 17vb is almost identical to that on fol. 78ra-rb with only the occasional word transposed or omitted; T3 and T43, by

<sup>19</sup> I identify this as the second half of a sermon made up of T20 and T21.

<sup>20</sup> An asterisk denotes a fragmentary sermon.

<sup>21</sup> This sermon continues in and is completed by T45.

<sup>22</sup> Thomson, *Writings*, p. 183.

contrast, record significant variations from other manuscript versions. In his listing of T3, Thomson states, 'Dictum 35 treats the same subject, but is considerably reworked and expanded'; of T43 he comments, 'This seems to be the first draft of Dictum 50'.<sup>23</sup>

Considering how many of the pieces within these folios can be identified as part of the *Dicta* collection (30 of the 75) and how many of the *Dicta* are themselves identified as sermons (27, according to Thomson), it is perhaps something of a surprise that only two of the sermons can be related to authenticated *Dicta*. Nevertheless, the fact that they are not straightforward copies of the *Dicta*, unlike other texts in the manuscript, means that they must represent a different stage in the process of the composition of the *Dicta*. They are thus potentially more valuable as witnesses not only to Grosseteste's preaching, but also, as King suggests, to his working methods.<sup>24</sup> Examining more precisely the relationship between the two versions of these sermons can help to shed light on the nature of both sermons and *Dicta* and the circumstances surrounding their transmission.

It is unfortunate for the purposes of this study that the *Dicta* collection is still in the process of being critically edited; a preliminary transcription of the first fifty *dicta* does, however, exist, and this very fortunately includes the two texts required for the purposes of this comparison.<sup>25</sup> The collection as a whole consists of 147 separate pieces, is extant in more than thirty manuscripts and, according to a note appended to several of them, consists of short notes (*brevia verba*) and sermons written *in scholis*.<sup>26</sup> The compilation was issued by Grosseteste in the early years of his episcopate (after 1235), and was probably intended to

<sup>23</sup> Thomson, *Writings*, pp. 183 and 187.

<sup>24</sup> King, 'MS A.III.12', pp. 283-84.

<sup>25</sup> Edwin J. Westermann, 'An Edition, with Introduction and Notes, of Dicta 1-50 of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, 1235-1253' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Colorado at Boulder, 1942). Westermann's thesis does not provide a critical edition, since he worked primarily from a single manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 798. Joseph Goering has provided an electronic version of Westermann's transcriptions with additional notes of his own at <http://www.grosseteste.com/> as a preliminary to the full critical edition of the whole *Dicta* collection which he is in the process of preparing.

<sup>26</sup> 'In this little book are 147 chapters, of which some are short notes which I wrote down briefly and in rough form while I was in the schools. They are not all about the same subject nor are they related to one another. I have given them titles so that the reader can find what he wants more easily. Many of the titles promise the reader more than the chapters deliver. And some are sermons which I gave at the same time to the clergy or to the people': translated from Thomson, *Writings*, p. 214.



provide material for preaching. As well as appearing in the *Dicta* collection, *Dicta* 35 and 50 are found separately, alongside other sermons, in the two earliest manuscript witnesses to Grosseteste's preaching (apart from MS A.III.12), namely Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.15.38 and London, British Library MS Royal 7.D.XV respectively.<sup>27</sup>

### i. T3 and *Dictum* 35

Perhaps the most noticeable difference at first glance is that *Dictum* 35 is much longer than T3.<sup>28</sup> In fact, in terms of words, it is more than twice as long. It is evident that the two texts are both sermons on the same theme, 'Be an example of the faithful in word, in conversation, in love, in faith, in chastity' (I Tim 4:12); in each case the sermon is divided according to the various elements of the theme, as various verbal signposts make clear, for example the identical use of the phrase, 'sequitur "in conversacione"'.<sup>29</sup> Each of the sermons treats the whole theme; T3 is not simply a truncated version of the longer text; rather there are substantial differences between the two texts.

The opening paragraph of T3 provides a good example of these differences; close parallels to its four sentences can be found in the first section of *Dictum* 35, as the texts below indicate.

**[T3]** Apostolus doctor sollicitudinem omnium pastorem habens, hiis uerbis alloquitur doctoribus ecclesie dicens: '*Exemplum*' et cetera. Quociens sumus in operibus et in bona uite conuersacione, sumus liber et speculum in quibus subditi

**[*Dictum* 35]** Paulus, doctor gencium, sollicitudinem habens omnium ecclesiarum, hiis uerbis informare nititur vitam omnium pastorum. Thimotheus autem, cui Apostolus hec uerba direxit, tipum omnium pastorum gerit; in illo igitur

<sup>27</sup> Thus Thomson cross-lists them among the sermons as Sermons 69 and 54 respectively: *Writings*, pp. 179-180.

<sup>28</sup> T3 is edited below along with the rest of the sermons from fols 78-87 and 104-127 of MS A.III.12. As noted above, a transcription of *Dicta* 1-50 is available at <http://www.grosseteste.com/>. *Dictum* 35 was also printed by Edward Brown, *Fasciculus rerum*, II, 297-300. I cite the *dictum* from Goering's transcription which I have checked against MS Bodley 798, fols 24va-26va and Oxford, Lincoln College MS 56, fols 21v-23r .

<sup>29</sup> T3 [5].

possunt legere et speculari uitam eorum. Set si in aliquo nostrum sint **opera luxurie**, in quibus leuator potest legere uitam, uel **opera cupiditatis** uel alia huiusmodi, utique **laqueus est et ruina omnium in ipso aspiciendum**. De quibus dicit propheta: *Peccata populi mei comedunt et ad iniquitatem subleuant animas eorum*

unumquemque nostrum qui curas habemus animarum, **alloquitur hiis verbis**: ‘**Exemplum esto fidelium**’, etc.[...] Si ergo in te sint **opera manifesta vite luxurie**, in quibus legi potest **affectus interior incontinentie**, exemplum quid es, sed non fidelium; immo **liber et speculum luxuriosorum**. Similiter si sint in te **opera manifesta cupiditatis et rapine**, in quibus legi potest **affectus interior auaricie**, exemplum quid es non fidelium sed cupidorum. Similiter cuiuscumque **vicii opera sunt in te manifesta** ut ex illis possit conuinci **affectus interior vicii illius generis**, **viciosorum es exemplum non fidelium**. Immo eo quod exemplum es **viciosorum**, **laqueus es et ruina fidelium**, **conuenitque tibi quod dicitur per Osee: Speculator Effraym laqueus ruine factus est super omnes vias eius**. Et quid miserabilius quam ut tu ipse qui illaqueatos deberes a laqueo ruine eripere, eisdem ipse sis laqueus ruine. Non igitur **sitis viciosorum exemplum**, ut exemplo vestri **animentur subditi vestri ad vicia similia**, quia de talibus prelatis dicit Osee: *Peccata populi mei comedent, et ad iniquitates eorum sublevabunt animas eorum. Et erit sicut populus, sic et sacerdos.*

The points occur in the same order but are made at greater length in *Dictum* 35. T3 lacks the nomination of Timothy, the addressee of Paul’s epistle, as the type of all pastors, the contrast between the *opera manifesta* and *affectus interior*, the discussion of vices in general, the biblical quotation from Hosea which is the source of the allusion to the pastor as *laqueus* and *ruina*, the contrast between these vices and what the pastor’s duty ought to be and the second half of the final quotation from Hosea 4. There is also a contrast between the first person approach of T3, ‘si in aliquo nostrum sint opera luxurie’, and the repeated



use of the second person in *Dictum* 35, 'Si ergo in te sint opera manifesta vite luxurie'.

The same pattern is found throughout the two texts; at many points, T3 lacks authorities, examples and the phrases which make the transition between the main points of the sermon. The discussion of being an example in conversation in *Dictum* 35 contains six biblical authorities while paragraph [5] of T3, which covers the same points, contains none. The discussion in *Dictum* 35 ends, 'And so, in this way through audible words and visible conversation, you will give a sign ordered externally, of love, faith and chastity expressed internally'.<sup>30</sup> This makes a smooth transition to the next element in the division which begins, 'As it continues, *in love, in faith and in chastity*'.<sup>31</sup> The transition between paragraphs [5] and [6] of T3 is much more abrupt.

Several of the more elaborate ideas and expressions within *Dictum* 35 are not present in T3 or are found there in a simplified form. For example, the *dictum* states: 'The reason that your tongue is placed under your palate which is an image of the heavens, and 'palatum' derives from 'polus' (heavens), is so that you may know that all your words ought to be celestial and all formed from striking the interior tongue against the spiritual heaven and nothing outside the orbit of this heaven ought to be imagined so that it is recognised on your tongue'.<sup>32</sup> In T3 [4] this idea is rendered: 'Consider that the tongue is under the palate which is concave like the sky; no words from below outside the orbit of the sky must be meditated upon'. There is no reference here to the etymological connection deriving from Isidore or to *percussio* as a means of making heavenly or human sound. Similarly, in *Dictum* 35's discussion on the subject of love, a distinction is made between the beginning (*inicium*) of loving one's neighbour in giving generously, and the perfection (*perfeccio*) of

<sup>30</sup> 'Sic itaque sermone audibili et conversacione visibili ordinatus exterius signum dabis expressum caritatis et fidei et castitatis interius': MS Bodley 798, fol. 25vb.

<sup>31</sup> 'Unde sequitur 'in caritate, in fide et in castitate': MS Bodley 798, fol. 25vb.

<sup>32</sup> 'Item, cur ponitur lingua tua sub palato, quod figuram habet celi, unde et a polo palatum dicitur, nisi ut intelligas omnia verba tua debere esse celestia, omniaque formanda percussione interioris lingue cum celo spirituali, nilque extra huius celi ambitum debere figurari ut agnoscat in lingua tua': MS Bodley 798, fol. 25va.

this love in laying down one's life.<sup>33</sup> In T3 [6] this distinction is lost; love is the beginning of all virtues but both examples of giving are considered equally representative of love. In focusing on recording the authorities, without taking note of the relationship between them, T3 here does not offer its readers the same opportunity to evaluate and emulate the biblical examples it offers.

Although T3 is much shorter than *Dictum* 35, there are certain elements within it which are not found in the longer piece. The same two biblical authorities (Hos 4:9 and Matt 5:16) frame passages in the two texts but the routes taken between the two are very different.

[T3] De quibus dicit propheta: *Peccata populi mei comedunt et ad iniquitatem subleuant animas eorum*. Iusticia est ut qui hic saturantur de miseria aliorum quod alibi comedent et non saturabuntur, esurient et non dabitur eis. Plures sunt qui non illaqueant alios prauis exemplis set non docent ut deberent et in hoc Deum derelinquunt. Nonne fatuus esset immo dampnandus qui diceret se esse medicum et acciperet manu ut curaret egros et non sciret de arte medicamenti? Esset utique multo forcius qui dicit se esse medicum animarum. Ideo ut dicit apostolus, necesse est ut essent tales quod darent exemplum operibus conuersacione et cetera, unde apostolus: *Sic luceant opera nostra coram hominibus ut glorificent patrem nostrum qui in celis est*.

[Dictum 35] [D]e talibus prelatis dicit Osee: *Peccata populi mei comedent et ad iniquitates eorum sublevabunt animas eorum. Et erit sicut populus, sic et sacerdos*. Sed audi quid sequitur: *Visitabo super eum uias suas, et cogitaciones eius reddam ei, et comedent et non saturabuntur; fornicati sunt, et non cessaverunt, quoniam Deum derelinquerunt in non custodiendo*. Ne itaque ruine laqueo subditos vestros illaquetis, et ad iniquitates vestras eorum animas sublevatis et sic Deum in non custodiendo relinquatis, // fol. 25ra // sitis exemplum non viciosorum sed fidelium. Hoc est, sint in vobis exterius opera manifesta fidei in quibus possit legi vera fides interius et dileccio Christi. *Luceat lux operum vestrorum coram hominibus, ut videant vestra bona opera et glorificent Patrem vestrum qui in celis est*.

<sup>33</sup> 'Inicium caritas insinuavit Iohannes, cum dixit: "Qui habuerit huius mundi substanciam, et viderit fratrem suum necessitatem habentem, et clauserit viscera sua ab illo, quomodo caritas Dei inmanet in illo? Eiusdem caritatis perfeccionem insinuavit Dominus, cum dixit: Maiorem caritatem nemo habet // fol. 26ra // quam ut animam suam ponat quis pro amicis suis': MS Bodley 798, fols 25vb-26ra.



The *dictum* concentrates on developing the biblical examples of wrongdoing, that is priests who 'eat and will not be satisfied' and ensnare their people. T3, instead, introduces an analogous betrayal of trust, that of the *medicus animarum* who undertakes to cure people but does not have sufficient knowledge. The other distinctive element of T3 which is not found in the *dictum* is the list of nine biblical authorities in paragraph [7]. Of these, two appear at the appropriate point in *Dictum 35* and one is repeated from earlier in the sermon but the rest make the same points over again. The list closely resembles those groups of biblical *sententiae* described below; its absence from *Dictum 35* increases the likelihood that it has been added, perhaps during the process of writing up the sermon, rather than forming an integral part of it.

As for the relationship between these two texts, the resemblance is close enough to suggest that they derive from a common oral source. We know that *Dictum 35* is an authorised version issued by Grosseteste himself and the nature of the variations between the two suggest that T3 is a *reportatio*, a version written up from notes taken during the oral delivery of the sermon.<sup>34</sup> The process of compiling a *reportatio* could be complex, as a note attached to a version of Bonaventure's *Collationes in Hexaëmeron* indicates.<sup>35</sup> The scribe describes how he took his own notes during the sermons and consulted those of his colleagues, which turned out to be useless, 'prae nimia confusione et illegibilitate'. He then sought the help of other listeners and Bonaventure himself, before completing his task from memory and expanding some of the citations. This demonstrates how several people could play an active role in the process of compiling a single manuscript witness, in preaching,

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<sup>34</sup> The principal study of *reportationes* is Bériou, *L'avènement*. See also Jacqueline Hamesse, 'Reportatio et transmission des textes', in *The Editing of Theological and Philosophical Texts from the Middle Ages*, ed. by M. Asztalos (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wicksell, 1986), pp. 11-34; *eadem*, 'La méthode du travail des reportateurs', *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 3 (1989), 51-67; Louis-Jacques Bataillon, 'Les problèmes de l'édition des sermons et des ouvrages pour prédicateurs au XIIIe siècle', in *Editing of Theological and Philosophical Texts*, ed. by Asztalos, pp. 105-20; *idem*, 'Sermons rédigés, sermons réportés (XIIIe siècle)', *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 3 (1989), 69-86.

<sup>35</sup> The note is cited in Hamesse, 'Reportatio et transmission de textes', p. 31, from *Doctoris Seraphici S. Bonaventurae ... opera omnia*, vol. 5 (Quaracchi, 1891), p. 450 and discussed on pp. 15-16 of her article. See also Bataillon, 'Les problèmes de l'édition', p. 110.

reporting and writing up; at each stage there is the opportunity for material to be both added and removed. In many cases, the preacher himself was involved, either in correcting the *reportatio* or in sharing the notes from which he preached, and the finished product was circulated with official approval. However, it cannot be assumed that all *reportationes* were authorised in this way and indeed a leading scholar of the genre has warned against the dangers of judging the doctrine or literary style of an individual preacher from unauthorised *reportationes*.<sup>36</sup>

It is difficult, also, to judge the fidelity of *reportationes* as witnesses to the actual words of a preacher. Notes taken during an actual preaching event rarely survive but those that have been identified tend to be brief and sketchy, suggesting that the reporters relied to a large extent on their memory of what they had heard in producing a written-up *reportatio*.<sup>37</sup> Given the importance placed on memory training, particularly within the academic environment in which these texts were produced, it is not surprising that reporters could construct a version of the text they had heard with a high degree of accuracy.<sup>38</sup> They were aided, of course, by the particular structure of medieval thematic sermons; from comparisons of different *reportationes* of the same sermon, it is clear that the reporter focused on recording structural elements of the text and filled in many of the similitudes and authorities from memory.<sup>39</sup> It is also evident that reporters fashioned their versions of a sermon according to their own particular interests and agenda.<sup>40</sup>

Many of the elements of T3 can be explained by the particular method of composing

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<sup>36</sup> 'Lorsqu'on ne possède pas de version authentifiée, il faut être très prudent car le texte qui nous est parvenu n'est qu'un reflet plus ou moins fidèle de l'original'; 'il faut cependant bien se garder d'en tirer des conclusions définitives concernant la doctrine d'un auteur, à moins d'avoir une reportation officielle et authentifiée': Hamesse, '*Reportatio* et transmission de textes', pp. 16 and 29.

<sup>37</sup> Nicole Bériou, 'La prédication au béguinage de Paris pendant l'année liturgique 1271-1273', *Recherches Augustiniennes*, 13 (1978), 105-229 (pp. 114-16); Bataillon, 'Les problèmes de l'édition', p. 110.

<sup>38</sup> On medieval memory training, see Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), especially chapter 3.

<sup>39</sup> Jacques-Guy Bougerol, 'Les trois états d'un sermon de saint Bonaventure', *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 3 (1989), 37-49; Nicole Bériou, 'La reportation des sermons parisiens à la fin de XIIIe siècle', *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 3 (1989), 87-123.

<sup>40</sup> Bériou, 'L'avènement', p. 103-04.



*reportationes*. The allusion to the *medicus animarum*, a familiar figure in contemporary pastoral literature, bears the hallmarks of a spontaneous remark inserted into the framework of the sermon, whether during or after its delivery; the argument moves laterally before returning to its original course. Other features of the text are also indicative of the *reportatio* form: the simplification of ideas and language, the abrupt transition between structural elements, the focus on recording authorities without elaborate introduction, the absence of patristic quotation and the fidelity to the structure of the sermon.

It is evident that a *reportatio* is only as good as the reporter(s) taking the notes and writing them up; a lack of concentration or aptitude in either activity can result in an unintelligent or unintelligible end product.<sup>41</sup> There are several points in the course of T3 in which the transmission of the text seems garbled. Assuming, of course, that the sermon as delivered was itself clear, this incoherence seems to be a result of the *reportatio* process. In T3, the discussion described above concerning words within the orbit of the sky is followed by the abrupt ‘what they are below, they ought to be in a sign of peace; *A sweet word multiplies friends and mitigates enemies* (Eccli 6:5)’.<sup>42</sup> *Dictum 35*’s version fills in the gaps:

‘Consider also that it is the edge of the mouth which gives the sign of peace, that is the kiss, and it is expressly hinted that the end of every word and the final reconciliation and concord of souls ought to be in this’;<sup>43</sup> the same quotation from Ecclesiasticus then follows. It is only by reading this version that the meaning of the other becomes clear.

The relationship between these two texts is a complex one; it is difficult to determine at what stage particular elements were added or removed. The sermon could have been modified before, during or after its delivery and may have been delivered on more than one occasion, so it is not possible to say that the two texts represent reports of the same preaching event. In considering the composition of this sermon and the relationship

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<sup>41</sup> ‘L’intelligence et la personnalité du reportateur jouent un rôle décisif dans le travail de copie’: Hamesse, ‘*Reportatio* et transmission de textes’, p. 16.

<sup>42</sup> T3 [4].

<sup>43</sup> ‘Considera eciam quod oris ultimum est quo datur signum pacis, scilicet osculum, et in hoc expresse innuitur quod omnis verbi finis et ultimum consiliacio et concordia debet esse animorum’: *Dictum 35*.

between these two texts, there is another valuable piece of evidence, a sermon preached by Jordan of Saxony during his visit to England which contains a number of verbal parallels with T3 and *Dictum 35*.<sup>44</sup>

[T3] Set si in aliquo nostrum sint opera luxurie, in quibus leuator potest legere vitam, uel opera cupiditatis uel alia huiusmodi, utique laqueus est et ruina omnium in ipso aspiciendum. De quibus dicit propheta: *Peccata populi mei comedunt et ad iniquitatem subleuant animas eorum*

[Jordan] Si autem in illis [clericis] fuerint manifesta opera luxurie, gule, cupiditatis et vanitatis mundane, non fit exemplum fidelium, sed fit liber et exemplar luxuriosum, cupidorum, et pomposorum, et qui tales sunt quantum in eis est ruina et laqueus sunt fidelium.

This sermon is found on fol. 88ra-va of MS A.III.12, immediately following and written in the same hand as the quire containing T3 (fols 78-87). Jordan's sermon was probably preached in Oxford, since it urges clerics studying in Oxford to consider their pastoral duties in the parishes of England. A letter of Grosseteste to Jordan some years later refers to their friendship in Oxford;<sup>45</sup> it is likely that the two men heard each other preach during this period. It is difficult, however, to determine which of them is reusing the other's material, or indeed whether they had some common source.<sup>46</sup>

## ii. T43 and *Dictum 50*

T43 is also a version of one of the texts in Grosseteste's *Dicta* collection, *Dictum 50*. The differences between T43 and *Dictum 50* are at once more and less substantial than those

<sup>44</sup> These parallels were noted by Edward B. King; see his 'Robert Grosseteste and the Pastoral Office' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Duke University, 1969), Appendix II, p. 124. Jordan's sermon is edited in Little and Douie, 'Three Sermons of Jordan of Saxony', pp. 9-13.

<sup>45</sup> 'Credimus vestram caritatem memoriter tenere quanta familiaritate, cum fuistis Oxoniae, vestra dulcis affabilitas ad privata nos suscepit frequenter colloquia': H. R. Luard, ed., *Roberti Grosseteste Epistolae*, Rolls Series (London, 1861), p. 131.

<sup>46</sup> The connection between the two texts is close but not literal, perhaps indicating that the source was in oral rather than written form. Nicole Bériou finds a similar, although more extensive connection between a sermon of Federico Visconti and one preached by his master in Paris, Jean de la Rochelle. Bériou suggests that Visconti composed his own notes while listening to Jean's sermon, rather than referring to the written model version of Jean's text: 'L'avènement', p. 95.



between T3 and *Dictum* 35. Firstly, T43 seems to be a more detailed and more intelligent rendering of the material; there are fewer confused and confusing sections than in T3, but equally there is less correspondence between the MS A.III.12 version and the *dictum*. Both pieces proceed from the theme, 'God ascends in jubilation' and are structured around the eight steps necessary to ascend: faith, good works, wisdom, abstinence, patience, piety, brotherhood and love.

The origins of the concept of these particular virtues as steps is spelt out in *Dictum* 50.<sup>47</sup> It is a combination of the eight steps of the temple described in Ezechiel 40 and the virtues listed in 2 Peter 1, as found in Bede's commentary on the epistle. Throughout the text of *Dictum* 50, citations from Bede are included to introduce the interpretation of several of the steps. In T43, by contrast, the source of the sermon's structure is only referred to at the beginning in a much more abbreviated form: 'Who, what and how many are the steps by which we ought to ascend? They are figured in Ezechiel through the eight steps by which men ascended into the temple which signifies heaven. What these steps are Bede and Peter show us: faith, good works, etc'.<sup>48</sup>

The extensive quotations carefully recorded in *Dictum* 50 suggest that, like *Dictum* 35, it is a version of a sermon written up by the author after the preaching event; the allusive and abbreviated citation of the same source in T43 suggests that it is a *reportatio* and the texts as a whole confirm these first impressions. Although the bulk of each sermon is structured around the same steps in the same order, there is not a great deal of correspondence in the way they are treated; most of the close verbal parallels occur in the opening sections, prior to the ascent. The differences between T43 and *Dictum* 50 after the opening section are so

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<sup>47</sup> 'In ascensu autem spirituali gradus ascencionis sunt nobis necessarii. In gradibus enim octo, ut Ezechielis 40, in templum erat ascensio, in quod templum spirituale nos ascendendo tendimus. Unde oportet quod in eisdem octo gradibus ascendamus. Ut autem asserit Beda, dicitur Petrum, secunda Petri primo, hii octo gradus ascensionis sunt quos ibidem Petrus per colorem que gradacio dicitur pulcre et gradatim disponit dicens: Vos autem omnem curam subinferentes, ministrare in fide vestra virtutem, in virtute autem scienciam, in sciencia autem abstinenciam, in abstinencia autem pacienciam, in paciencia autem pietatem, in pietate autem fraternitatis amorem, in amore autem fraternitatis caritatem'. I cite *Dictum* 50 from Goering's transcription, available at <http://www.grosseteste.com/>.

<sup>48</sup> T43 [15].

considerable that it is possible that there is no common source for the remaining parts of the sermons. It may be, for example, that the same theme, structure and opening section was used in delivering two sermons on separate occasions. Such reuse of material is common but I think the most plausible explanation for the differences is that the text of the sermon underwent considerable changes in the process of being written up for the *Dicta* collection.

As noted above, the treatment of the eight steps is very different in the two versions. In T43, the steps are no more than an organisational and mnemonic device; in *Dictum 50* they are much more fully imagined in a very visual manner. Each step is adorned with sculpture or ornament and its description encapsulates the qualities of the particular virtue. Thus, on the step of faith, there is a sculpture in which ‘the magnitude of the power of the Father, the beauty of the wisdom of the Son and the sweetness of the goodness of the Holy Spirit are seen’; the step of patience is made from adamantine and *quedam immobilis virago* stands on it bearing an invincible shield; the step of brotherhood is dyed with the blood of martyrs.

With the exception of the occasional use of words such as *picturatur*, this visual imagery of painting, sculpture and inscription does not appear at all in T43. If the two texts do have a common oral source, I would suggest that this elaborate device was added or at least greatly augmented during the process of writing up the sermon for the *Dicta* collection. The *dictum* certainly lacks signs of orality, such as direct first or second person address beyond the opening section; it resembles a treatise in tone rather than a sermon, particularly when compared with T43. The eight steps in T43 are expounded through the sorts of devices one might expect to find in a sermon text composed for or from oral delivery, rather than as a work to be read and studied. Unlike *Dictum 50*, it employs *exempla*, similitudes from the Bible and nature, direct first and second person address, including moral exhortation, and comments on human nature.

I believe that the artistic metaphor was added at the same time as some of this type of material was removed, after the delivery of the sermon, when its contents were being



revised and polished for the *Dicta* collection. In this way, the shield of patience, which in T43 is represented by an *exemplum*, can remain but it becomes transformed into the attribute of a statue-like figure.<sup>49</sup> The reason for such a transformation overall may to some extent be explained by the differing nature and purpose of a semi-oral text for private use and one in a consciously written and public register. Although both versions were probably created to provide material and examples for future preaching, *reportationes* like T43 seem to have been copied for private use within a small circle, whereas *Dictum* 50 was intended for a much wider circulation and so represents a more polished product.<sup>50</sup>

These two examples illustrate many of the issues involved in dealing with *reportationes* and multiple versions of sermon texts; such texts raise important questions about the value of reported texts, the relationship between written and oral versions and the nature of authority and authorship. The comparison of these examples makes it clear that these Durham texts and the *Dicta* have common oral sources in sermons preached by Grosseteste. Even with just two examples, the varying reliability of *reportationes* as sermon witnesses is evident. However, rather than speculating on which version is closer to the 'original', it is more useful to focus on the variety of evidence that can be obtained from comparing the two versions of a sermon text.

This luxury is not available in the case of the remaining twenty-two texts I have identified as sermons or sermon fragments. Thomson notes no obvious connections with the *Dicta* or Psalms commentary and these twenty-two texts do not occur in his separate listing of Grosseteste's sermons. I have not found any other copies amongst the thousands of sermon manuscripts listed and indexed by J. B. Schneyer; they seem to be unique to this manuscript. It is tempting to assume that they are all *reportationes* similar to T3 and T43.

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<sup>49</sup> 'Exemplum: If somebody was surrounded by an adamantine shield which was invulnerable against all types of attack...': T43 [21].

<sup>50</sup> With regard to Nicole Bériou's work concerning Parisian *reportationes*, Augustine Thompson notes that 'The preponderance of *reportationes* at Paris were the work of professionals or university students, and represent the perception of a very particular, theologically literate, audience': 'From Texts to Preaching, pp. 16-17.

However, as noted above, the process by which a *reportatio* is produced can involve several stages and the intentions, interests and capabilities of reporters vary greatly; it is misleading to assume that all *reportationes* are similar. Even with a sample of two, the differences are considerable; T3 is a careless and garbled rendition of a sermon in 1200 words and T43 is a much more accomplished piece of some 3000 words.

Amongst the remaining twenty-three sermons and sermon fragments, it is possible to identify examples of both coherent and confused discourse, sometimes within the same text. As a general rule, the shorter sermon texts, principally those in the first quire of the manuscript (T1-3, T20-21) tend to have a higher proportion of passages lacking clarity, similar to those discussed in T3; where they do contain patristic citations, these tend to be short, often heavily abbreviated to the extent of being garbled. The more substantial sermon texts tend to be clearer in terms of their structure and employ sources both more extensively and more accurately. It is impossible to say whether these differences should be attributed to the care or intelligence of the reporter, the conditions in which the notes were originally taken or the delivery of the oral sermon or a combination of these factors. It seems likely that the other sermons in MS A.III.12 are products of the reporting process but we have no evidence beyond the texts themselves and their context within this manuscript to suggest precisely how these particular unique texts were put together.



#### 4. Between the Sermons

As noted above, the non-sermon material can be divided into two categories, *sententiae* and *dicciones*, with the former being subdivided into biblical and patristic.

##### i. *Sententiae*

###### a) Biblical

Biblical citations, usually no more than a single verse, are generally found grouped together. There are eight such sets of citations, each consisting of 5-10 citations, within the relevant sections of the manuscript; six in the section fols 78-87 and two on fol. 113rb which are duplicates of those on fols 80ra-rb.<sup>51</sup> The repetition of these two sets, and indeed the presence of identical sets in manuscripts of Grosseteste's Psalms commentary, suggests that the groups of *sententiae* were copied rather than compiled by the scribe of these folios.<sup>52</sup>

The most coherent set is that at the end of T14; the seven quotations are all taken from Isaiah, ascending chronologically through the book. They offer words of comfort for the future to the poor man, 'And the firstborn of the poor shall be fed and the poor shall rest with confidence'.<sup>53</sup> Following this is a related group of eight quotations (T15), the first six being from Ecclesiasticus, which also concern poverty but focus on the dignity of the poor and the necessity of humility for the rich, 'Better is a poor man who is sound, and strong of constitution, than a rich man who is weak and afflicted with evils'.<sup>54</sup> There is also a

<sup>51</sup> One set is found at the end of T7; the start of T8 comprises another two sets; there is a set at the end of T14; T15 is another set; there is a set at the end of T29 and two sets between T47 and T48.

<sup>52</sup> Two of the sets of quotations on these folios are found in manuscripts of Grosseteste's Psalms commentary; there are other similar sets in the commentary. See Elizabeth M. Streitz, 'Robert Grosseteste: Commentarius in Psalmos, I-XXXVI' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Southern California, 1996).

<sup>53</sup> 'Ysaia xiiii: Pascuntur primogeniti pauperum et pauperes fiducialiter requiescent': fol. 81va. This group of quotations is found after the same text in the same order in two manuscripts of Grosseteste's Psalms commentary, see MS A.III.12, fol 3ra-rb and Streitz, 'Commentarius', pp. 73-74.

<sup>54</sup> 'Melior est pauper et sanus et fortis viribus quam dives inbecillis et flagella sustinens': fol. 81va. This group of quotations (T15) is also found on fol. 199va of the Vatican manuscript of Grosseteste's Psalms commentary (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS Ottobon. lat. 185) following the text it precedes here (T16). See Streitz, 'Commentarius', pp. 76-77.

reminder that Christ himself rode on an ass like a poor man. Two immediate questions arise from the presence of such quotations in the manuscript, the first concerning the process of compiling them, the second concerning their use and the reason for which they were copied.

In answer to the first question, it seems clear that these texts, each with their brief notation of book and chapter, have not been extracted directly from the Bible, but rather from a work of reference, a concordance. This suggestion is strengthened by the observation that the link between the citations is explicitly verbal as well as thematic; of the fifteen, only one does not contain either the word *pauper* or *paupertas*, and it contains the antonym *dives*. Such a concordance would be a precursor of the first verbal concordance to the whole Bible which was completed at the Dominican convent of St Jacques in Paris during the 1230s or 1240s.<sup>55</sup> These precursors, often personal collections compiled to assist with studies or preaching, include lists of parallel passages and allegorical concordances in which passages are listed whose symbolic meaning pertained to a particular topic, such as *De resurrectione*, or *De terrore iudicii*.<sup>56</sup>

Making connections between biblical passages is fundamental to the process of Christian exegesis and many late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century glosses and commentaries contain such lists, sometimes labelled *concordantia*.<sup>57</sup> As Mary and Richard Rouse point out, the innovation lay not in the compiling but rather in the extracting of these lists to produce a more useful reference tool. It has not been possible to identify whether the sets of quotations in MS A.III.12 have been extracted from a reference work but they do fit into this general pattern; the two sets described above could easily have been listed under the heading *De paupertate*. The other groups of citations also consist of parallel passages, for

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<sup>55</sup> Richard H. and Mary A. Rouse, 'The Verbal Concordance to the Scriptures', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 44 (1974), 5-30 (p. 8). On p. 15, the authors state, 'it does not appear likely that the St. Jacques Concordance [...] was known in England by mid-century' [i.e. 1250].

<sup>56</sup> Rouse and Rouse, 'Verbal Concordance', p. 9. Rouse and Rouse cite the example of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. MS 393 which contains both types of concordance.

<sup>57</sup> Stephen Langton's scriptural glosses contain particularly long lists of parallel passages: Rouse and Rouse, 'Verbal Concordance', p. 8. See also Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), p. 241.



example on the necessity of returning good for evil,<sup>58</sup> and Christ's magisterial power,<sup>59</sup> or they share a particular theme, such as criticism of the rich and powerful for leading the people astray,<sup>60</sup> or the importance of discipline and wisdom,<sup>61</sup> and thus could also have been listed under specific headings in a concordance.

In order to understand how such sets of citations were used, and indeed why they were copied in the first place, it is necessary to examine them in the context of the manuscript. It is evident that the two sets of quotations on poverty (at the end of T14 and T15) are closely related to the material immediately surrounding them.<sup>62</sup> The main element of T14 is a *diccio* which opens with the biblical *lemma*, 'For the poor man shall not be forgotten to the end ...' (Ps 9:19). The text moves from a definition of material wealth and poverty to a consideration of the nature of spiritual wealth and poverty, which is based on the possession or lack of wisdom.<sup>63</sup> Like the second set of citations (T15), it also draws attention, in its later stages, to the poverty of Christ: 'Morally Christ is a poor man, because he is greatly in need of the food and drink which he hungers and thirsts for'.<sup>64</sup> The discourse proceeds logically with clear verbal signposts: 'There are those who ... there are others who ... there is a third group who ...'.<sup>65</sup> However, its structure is not recognisably that of a sermon and its tone is discursive and observational rather than homiletic.

Although this note begins with a broad definition of poverty, 'Poverty is generally defined as a deficiency or lack of those things useful for living, whose deficiency is inconvenient',<sup>66</sup> it does not contain any of the apposite citations on the subject contained in the lists which

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<sup>58</sup> Fols 80rb (T8) and 113rb (T47).

<sup>59</sup> Fol. 80rb (T8).

<sup>60</sup> Fols 80ra (T7) and 113rb (T47).

<sup>61</sup> Fol. 87rb (T29).

<sup>62</sup> As noted above, they are also found alongside the same related material in the Vatican manuscript of Grosseteste's Psalms commentary; see Streitz, 'Commentarius in Psalmos', pp. 73-77.

<sup>63</sup> 'Quoniam non in finem obliuio erit pauperis paciencia pauperum et cetera': fol. 81rb.

<sup>64</sup> 'Moraliter autem Christus est pauper, quia cibo et potu quem esurit et sitit ualde caret': fol. 81va. The passage goes on to specify that it is food and drink to Christ that we should do the will of the Father.

<sup>65</sup> 'Sunt quidam qui [...] sunt alii qui [...] sunt tercii qui': fol. 81rb-va.

<sup>66</sup> 'Paupertas generaliter dicta est defectio uel carencia rei cuius abitus est commodus, et cuius defectio incommoda': fol 81rb.

follow it. Instead, six of its seven biblical authorities actually include the word *dives* or *divitiae*; the contrast seems deliberate between this verbally linked set of quotations within the text and those appended to it. It is difficult to determine, and in fact matters little, whether the author of the note had the whole list of twenty or more quotations in front of him, selected certain ones for use and then included the unused ones at the end, or whether a later reader added the quotations. Either way, the purpose of copying the citations remains the same; removed from their biblical context, they are meant to be useful to teachers and preachers.

The presence of these accompanying sets of quotations may represent the author's intention to expand or alter the piece, or be a prompt to the text's users to do so. Since the piece begins by defining its theme, it may even be intended as some kind of exemplar, with the reader then being given the opportunity of expounding *de paupertate* using the additional quotations. Although most of the other sets of quotations are not closely linked with the surrounding material, their function undoubtedly remains the same; they were intended to provide not just food for thought, but material for further productions, whether biblical commentaries, moral treatises or sermons.

The compilation and copying of lists of parallel and thematically related passages in this period is closely allied to the contemporaneous development of *distinctiones* collections.<sup>67</sup> Distinctions could be considered as another way of organising the raw material of biblical citations, but there is a fundamental difference which becomes crucial when determining the function of the various sets of quotations. Whereas distinctions, as the etymology

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<sup>67</sup> On *distinctiones*, see Richard H. and Mary A. Rouse, 'Biblical Distinctions in the Thirteenth Century', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, 41 (1974), 27-37; Louis-Jacques Bataillon, 'Intermédiaires entre les traités de morale pratique et les sermons: les *distinctiones* bibliques alphabétiques', in *Les genres littéraires dans les sources théologiques et philosophiques médiévales: Définition, critique et exploitation* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut d'études médiévales de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, 1982), pp. 213-26; idem, 'L'agir humain d'après les distinctions bibliques du XIIIe siècle', in *L'homme et son univers au moyen âge. Actes du septième congrès international de philosophie médiévale, 30 août - 4 septembre 1982*, ed. by Christian Wenin, 2 vols (Louvain-la-Neuve: Editions de l'Institut supérieur de philosophie, 1986), II, 776-90. Both articles by Bataillon are reprinted in his *La prédication au XIIIe siècle* with original pagination.



indicates, distinguish several different figurative meanings for a word, it is the literal meaning which links the groups of quotations in this manuscript. Within each set, they are all saying essentially the same thing and the potential of their themes – poverty, penitential tears, the misuse of power - lies in literal and tropological interpretation, rather than allegorical. This means that unlike distinctions, these lists do not form the ready-made framework for a sermon or other discourse. Nevertheless, they are useful in providing an overview of the biblical treatment of a particular theme, suggesting a range of alternative or complementary approaches and, of course, distilling relevant authorities for a treatise or sermon.

### b) Patristic

There are nine passages in the manuscript which principally consist of extracts from a range of authors and, once again, some of the passages cited on fols 78-87 are repeated in fols 104-127.<sup>68</sup> The extracts range in length from a few words to several paragraphs and in most cases the authors, and sometimes the works, are named. Most of the authors (and works) represented are standard; exactly what one might expect to find in almost any theological compilation of the period: Augustine's *Confessions*, Gregory's *Moralia in Job*, Cassiodorus' Psalms commentary, Bernard's *Sermons on the Song of Songs*. Indeed, although not all the other authors are strictly patristic, each is a respected and widely-used authority; they include Alain of Lille, Ambrose, Anselm, Boethius, Isidore, Hrabanus Maurus and Seneca.

When examining these texts, the same questions arise as with the biblical material, concerning the process by which they have been selected, extracted and organised and the intentions behind it. As in the case of the biblical material, the passages generally offer moral instruction in a very straightforward manner, for example, Augustine's advice on prayer: 'Wherever you are, wherever you pray, he who hears is inside, inside in a secret place...'<sup>69</sup> or Gregory on gluttony: 'It is known that the vice of gluttony tempts us in five

<sup>68</sup> End of T9, T16, T18-19, end of T21, T23, T38, end of T61, T63.

<sup>69</sup> 'Ubi cumque fueris, ubi cumque oraueris, intus est qui exaudiat, intus in secreto': fol. 80va.

ways...'.<sup>70</sup> As King has pointed out, this is the kind of material that would have been very useful for anyone responsible for preaching and pastoral care in general;<sup>71</sup> it could be recycled into *auctoritates* to add moral and rhetorical weight to a treatise or sermon.<sup>72</sup>

The usefulness of such key passages led to them being excerpted and incorporated into glosses, *florilegia* and other new works. Rouse and Rouse have viewed the development of such activity as characteristic of twelfth-century scholarship, which aimed 'to assimilate and organize inherited written authority in systematic form'.<sup>73</sup> Even if the scribe of MS A.III.12 was compiling or copying a personal collection of *sententiae*, it is likely that much of the material discussed here was taken from existing *catenae* or *florilegia* rather than directly from original works. The skilful way in which certain of the passages are abbreviated, removing extraneous material and producing a more rhetorically satisfying *sententia*, suggests this, as does the occasional division of a continuous text to produce discrete passages on single topics, ready to be easily incorporated into a new work.<sup>74</sup>

Although the patristic material included in this manuscript can tell us little about the process by which it was excerpted, its arrangement within the manuscript and the particular passages chosen can reveal something of the purpose behind the selection and the intended use of these authorities. After a few general observations concerning the arrangement of patristic *sententiae*, I will examine in more detail the presence in the manuscript of extracts from the work of three authors: Alain of Lille, Hrabanus Maurus and Isidore of Seville.

It is notable that there is little obvious pattern in the incorporation of patristic material in the manuscript. However, there are two points, at fols 80ra-va and fols 106vb-107rb, where

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<sup>70</sup> 'Sciendum est quod quinque modis nos uicium gula temptat[temptat *ms*]': fol. 82rb.

<sup>71</sup> King, 'MS A.III.12', p. 280.

<sup>72</sup> On the use of *auctoritates*, see Chapter III, section 3i below.

<sup>73</sup> R. H. Rouse and M. A. Rouse, 'The Development of Research Tools in the Thirteenth Century', in *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), pp. 221-55 (p. 221).

<sup>74</sup> For example, on fols 107ra-rb consecutive passages from Gregory's *Moralia in Iob* are presented in separate paragraphs with titles such as 'Item Gregorius dicit de gula'; the same is also true of passages from Isidore's *Synonyma* as I discuss below.



a dozen or more extracts are each collected and some patterns can be discerned, and I will now turn to them. At fol. 80rb, a *lemma* from Psalm 9, 'I will rejoice in your deliverance; the nations are caught ...',<sup>75</sup> is accompanied by its interlinear gloss from the *Glossa ordinaria* and followed by a passage from Augustine's *De libero arbitrio* and three short extracts from Cassiodorus' *Expositio in Psalterium* on the same psalm.<sup>76</sup> It is reasonable to assume that these passages were collected as part of the process of commenting upon Psalm 9, although the remaining passages in the group do not seem to be related in such a clear manner. The second group of patristic *sententiae* (T38) opens on fol. 106vb with two quotations from Ambrose's commentary on Psalm 118 which concern the importance of demonstrating one's faith through actions: 'He who hears and does not do, denies Christ; even if he says it in words, he denies it in his actions'.<sup>77</sup> This is followed by a number of quotations from Isidore, Gregory, Cassiodorus and others; they are linked principally by their moralising tone, spelling out appropriate behaviour both generally and specifically: 'Make your body subservient to fasting and abstinence ...',<sup>78</sup> 'Wretched soul, shake off your sluggishness, scatter your sin and rouse your mind ...'.<sup>79</sup>

Patristic quotations are also found alongside biblical ones within a dossier of material on poverty on fol. 81. T16 is largely made up of quotations from Ambrose's *Hexaëmeron*, extolling the virtue of poverty and the emptiness of earthly wealth: 'Poverty is blessed with so much truth, if one knows its virtues, and it is to be preferred to all treasures'.<sup>80</sup> These follow on from the biblical quotations of T15 on the dignity of the poor man and precede T17, a simile comparing rich men who hoard wealth to a limb keeping nutrients from the rest of the body. With their hard-hitting style, marked by frequent rhetorical questions and

<sup>75</sup> 'Exultabo in salutari tuo infixae sunt gentes et cetera': fol. 80rb (T9).

<sup>76</sup> The lemma, gloss and passage from Augustine are also found together in one of the manuscripts of Grosseteste's Psalms commentary (Vatican MS Ottobon. lat. 185, fol. 199ra), edited in Streitz, 'Commentarius', pp. 67-68; see also Ginther, 'Super Psalterium', p. 71.

<sup>77</sup> 'Nam qui audit et non facit, negat Christum; etsi uerbo fatetur, operibus negat': fol. 106vb.

<sup>78</sup> 'Ieiuniis et abstinencie fac inseruire corpus': fol. 106vb.

<sup>79</sup> 'Anima misera, excute torporem tuum et discute peccatum tuum et concute mentem tuam': fol. 106vb.

<sup>80</sup> 'Beata est, si bona sua nouerit, tantum ueritate paupertas, et omnibus preferenda thesauris': fol. 81vb. As noted above, this set of quotations is also found in Vatican MS Ottob. lat. 185, fol. 199rb-va, edited in Streitz, 'Commentarius', pp. 76-77.

imperatives, the excerpts from Ambrose seem to be the perfect material for a particular brand of preaching: ‘Is worldly wealth not vanity? Are you yourself not ashes? Look into men’s tombs and see what will remain of you except ashes and bones; look, I say, and tell me who is the rich man there, who is the poor man?’<sup>81</sup>

An even stronger indication that preaching was one of the aims of the compiler is the presence in the manuscript of a section of Alain of Lille’s *Summa de arte praedicatoria*. This work, written c.1200, is regarded as the first comprehensive preaching manual and was extremely influential in the establishment of the *ars praedicandi* genre.<sup>82</sup> The section of Alain’s work excerpted here deals with practical rather than theoretical issues of how to preach; it is taken from the final section of the work and consists of several model *sermones ad status*. Alain’s samples are notes rather than fully-fledged sermons, but they do offer specific examples of topics and authorities suitable for preaching to audiences from various sectors of society, distinguished by occupation or marital status: soldiers, judges, monks, priests, married people, widows and virgins.<sup>83</sup>

By including a passage from Alain of Lille’s preaching guide, the compiler of the collection signals an interest in contemporary approaches to the practice of preaching. By contrast, it might at first be difficult to believe that the inclusion of texts by the Carolingian scholar Hrabanus Maurus could also be motivated by such ‘modern’ concerns. His encyclopaedic work, *De rerum naturis*, written between 842 and 847, provides a *summa* of knowledge arranged hierarchically.<sup>84</sup> It begins with the names of God, then the first eleven books deal with the Bible, the church and other theological matters while the second half, books 12-22,

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<sup>81</sup> ‘Nonne seculi thesaurus uanitas est? Nonne tu ipse es cinis? Respice in sepulcrum hominum et uide quid ex te nisi cinis et ossa remanebunt; respice, inquam, et dic mihi quis ibi diues, quis pauper sit?’: fol. 81vb.

<sup>82</sup> ‘Many of the manuals after Alan’s quote or paraphrase his *Summa*; for the themes set forth in this work, as well as its terminology, became the standard for *artes praedicandi* throughout the middle ages’: Marianne G. Briscoe, *Artes praedicandi*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 61 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), p. 20.

<sup>83</sup> The extract from Alain’s *Summa* in MS A.III.12 consists of chapters 40-47 (PL 210, 186-95).

<sup>84</sup> The work is also known as the *De universo* but this title is not attested in the manuscripts, first occurring in the *editio princeps* printed at Strasbourg in 1467: R. Kottje, ‘Raban Maur’ in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, vol. 13, cols 1-10 (col. 7).



covers the world, nature and human activity ending with a discussion of domestic life. Hrabanus principally drew upon Isidore's *Etymologiae* but his arrangement of the material is original, as is his emphasis on allegory. In the preface he states that he has added to a description of the nature of things 'the mystical meaning of these same things, so that you can always find in its place the historical and mystical explanation of everything'.<sup>85</sup>

The extract from Hrabanus included in MS A.III.12 indicates that Grosseteste at least recognised the value of such a wide-ranging compilation of allegorical interpretations.<sup>86</sup> T33, which is the opening section of Grosseteste's *Dictum 79*, is taken almost verbatim from Book 9 of *De rerum naturis* on the subject of fire. It begins 'Fire sometimes signifies God's zeal, sometimes the holy spirit, sometimes love, sometimes greed, sometimes evil, sometimes understanding, sometimes tribulation, sometimes anger, sometimes pleasure'.<sup>87</sup> Each of these similes is proved in turn by the citation of one or two appropriate biblical authorities. Hrabanus' desire to provide the 'explanation of everything' within a single work produced a concise, functional text; later writers avoided repetition by presenting similar material schematically in the form of a *distinctio* diagram, which could be quickly comprehended and used.

The *dictum* is incomplete in this manuscript, breaking off at the end of the gathering on fol. 87vb, but the preceding passage in MS A.III.12, T32 (*Dictum 78*), demonstrates how Grosseteste made use of this raw material.<sup>88</sup> This *dictum* is developed from another section

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<sup>85</sup> 'de mystica earundem rerum significatione ut continuatim positam invenires historicam et mysticam singularum expositionem': PL 111, 12. The translation is William Schipper's, as quoted in his 'The Earliest Manuscripts of Rabanus Maurus' *De rerum naturis* (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek MS Aug. 68 and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS 121)', in *Pre-modern Encyclopaedic Texts*, Proceedings of the Second COMERS Congress, Groningen, 1-4 July 1996, ed. by Peter Binkley (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 363-77 (p. 364).

<sup>86</sup> Richard W. Hunt notes several late-twelfth and early thirteenth-century English manuscripts of the *De rerum naturis*, including one particularly connected with Grosseteste: 'Manuscripts Containing the Indexing Symbols of Robert Grosseteste', *Bodleian Library Record*, 4 (1953), 241-55 (pp. 243 and 253).

<sup>87</sup> 'Ignis aliquando zelum Dei exprimit, aliquando spiritum sanctum, aliquando caritatem, aliquando cupiditatem, aliquando maliciam, aliquando intellectum, aliquando tribulationem, aliquando iram, aliquando uoluptatem': fol. 87vb.

<sup>88</sup> *Dicta 78* and *79* can both also be found complete in manuscripts of Grosseteste's Psalms commentary, including Durham MS A.III.12, fols 7ra-va (Streitz, 'Commentarius', pp. 217-31).

of *De rerum naturis*, that on clouds. In the first paragraph, four meanings are given: clouds signify Christ, the protection of the holy spirit, the obscurity of Scripture and preachers. For each of these, except the last, the biblical authority given by Hrabanus is quoted. For the last, instead of the passage from Isaiah cited by Hrabanus, part of a verse from Psalm 17 is given, 'dark water in heavy clouds', which also serves as the *lemma* of the passage as a whole.<sup>89</sup> Whereas Hrabanus focuses on the signification of Christ, Grosseteste expounds on the role of the preacher. He extends the simile, drawing upon the natural properties of clouds: 'Clouds are always in motion, and wherever the wind blows, there also the clouds go. And so it is with preachers, wherever the will of the holy spirit drives them, there they hurry to preach'.<sup>90</sup>

It is clear that Hrabanus' authorities were shuffled so that this passage could serve as part of a commentary on Psalm 17 and it is easy to see how his encyclopaedia could also be a valuable source of material for preaching; each short chapter gathers natural observations, moral interpretations and biblical authorities on a specific subject.<sup>91</sup> In their discussion of the development of *distinctiones* collections as aids to preaching, Rouse and Rouse remark that the *distinctio* form was used by patristic authors such as Gregory in his *Moralia* but state that the Parisian masters of the late twelfth century were innovative in presenting their material in a systematic and searchable fashion.<sup>92</sup> As noted above, Hrabanus took great pains to present his material according to a system which would be readily comprehended by any medieval reader.

Most of the scholarship on Hrabanus' great encyclopaedia has focused on identifying his

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<sup>89</sup> 'Tenebrosa aqua in nubibus haeris': fol. 87va. The citation from Isaiah is included towards the end of the passage.

<sup>90</sup> 'Nubes semper sunt in motu, et quo flat uentus, eo eunt et nubes. Ita et predicatorum quo eos impellit spiritus sancti instinctus, eo discurrunt ad predicandum': fol. 87vb. This passage is discussed in Gieben, 'Robert Grosseteste on Preaching', pp. 103-04. *Dictum* 107, which is found on fols 120va-121ra (T66), is also based on Hrabanus' distinctions and it is likely that they are a major source for other as yet unedited *Dicta*.

<sup>91</sup> The passage is found in the Psalms commentary manuscripts with the opening citation from Psalm 17 but occurs without it in the *Dicta* collection

<sup>92</sup> Rouse and Rouse, 'Biblical Distinctions in the Thirteenth Century', pp. 28-29.



sources and analysing his use of them.<sup>93</sup> On the even larger questions of the work's use and later influence, it is difficult to do more than repeat the generally-held view that they were considerable, particularly whilst a modern critical edition is still lacking. The presence of material from the *De rerum naturis* in this manuscript suggests that Grosseteste and those who copied his work found its structure and content easily adaptable to the production of thematic sermons and scholastic biblical commentary. Hrabanus' work is of course a forerunner of the later mendicant encyclopaedias whose compilers intended them to be useful tools for preachers;<sup>94</sup> its use by Grosseteste suggests that perhaps it should also be considered as a forerunner of that other preaching tool, the *distinctiones* collection.

Considering the inclusion of these extracts from Hrabanus' *De rerum naturis*, it might not be surprising to discover that the largest selection of patristic passages is taken from the other great early encyclopaedist, Isidore of Seville. However, they are not taken from the *Etymologiae*, but from an altogether different work entitled *Synonyma de lamentatione animae peccatricis*. It is a short work and, as the prologue indicates, there are two characters, a man in tears and Reason who admonishes him.<sup>95</sup> The work is divided into two books, each wholly different in tone; rather than a conventional dialogue, Book 1 largely consists of man's lament and Book 2 of Reason's response.

If the notion of an internal dialogue suggests a rather elevated philosophical tone, the extracts quoted in MS A.III.12 soon correct this impression. They are all taken from Book 2 which proposes 'une règle de vie chrétienne, précise et impérative', and is overwhelmingly didactic in tone.<sup>96</sup> The advice given is moral and practical rather than dogmatic: 'Grieve for another's misery as much as your own [...] in all your actions, at all times, in all your

<sup>93</sup> See in particular, Elisabeth Heyse, *Hrabanus Maurus' Enzyklopädie 'De rerum naturis'* (Munich: Arbo-Gesellschaft, 1969).

<sup>94</sup> See for example, Thomas of Cantimpré's *Liber de natura rerum*, ed. by Helmut Boese (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1973), Prologus, lines 63ff., as cited in Peter Binkley, 'Preachers' Responses to Thirteenth-Century Encyclopaedism', in *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts*, pp. 75-88.

<sup>95</sup> 'Duorum autem personae hic inducuntur, deflentis hominis et admonentis rationis': PL 83, 827. The work takes up less than 50 columns in the PL edition (cols 825-68).

<sup>96</sup> J. Fontaine, 'Isidore de Séville, auteur "ascétique": les énigmes des *Synonyma*', *Studi medievali*, n.s. 6 (1965), 163-95 (p. 171).

conversations, imitate good men, emulate the saints [...] if you disdain praise, you will easily reject blame [...] judge yourself by your own judgement, not another's'.<sup>97</sup> All these *sententiae* are taken from a single paragraph in the manuscript; admittedly the material is edited, and some of the synonyms which give the work its name have been removed, but even in the original, there is very little to link the various maxims. This is ultimately a work with practical rather than literary aspirations.

Taken together, the passages in MS A.III.12 amount to almost one-third of Book 2 of the *Synonyma*, but it seems unlikely that the scribe was working directly from a complete text. Not only are the passages slightly abbreviated, but several of them are preceded by a short indication of content, for example, 'Isidore teaches [us] to be patient', 'Isidore teaches lords to spare poor men'.<sup>98</sup> Such content signals suggest that here a reference work was used, consisting of extracts of Book 2, with descriptive headings to assist selection. Despite this, there is little evidence concerning the principles of selection or organisation. Only two short passages from the *Synonyma*, on helping the poor,<sup>99</sup> seem to have been consciously selected in relation to surrounding material and there are no quotations from the work in the sermons or more developed pieces within the manuscript.

Without any direct evidence of its use, the nature of the material itself and its context provide the best indication of how it was intended to be used and thus why it was copied. It was by analysing the text in its Visigothic context that Jean Fontaine reached his conclusions about Isidore's purpose in composing the *Synonyma*. It could serve as both a grammatical exemplar of synonyms and a primer of Christian behaviour, and Fontaine suggested that it may have been written as 'un manuel d'introduction générale à la spiritualité chrétienne' for the pupils of the cathedral school in Seville.<sup>100</sup> He also

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<sup>97</sup> 'Sic alienam miseriam tanquam tuam luge [...] in omnibus actibus tuis, in omni tempore tuo, in omni conuersacione tua imitare bonos, emulare sanctos [...] si contempnis laudes, facile uituperaciones reicies [...] discerne te tuo, non alieno iudicio': fol. 107ra.

<sup>98</sup> 'Ysidorus docet esse paciens': fol. 107ra; 'Ysidorus docet dominos parcere hominibus pauperibus': fol. 107rb.

<sup>99</sup> See fol. 81vb (T18 and the first passage of T19).

<sup>100</sup> Fontaine, 'Isidore de Séville', p. 188.



highlighted its particular utility for training preachers: ‘l’assimilation de cette topique à la fois biblique, sapientielle et patristique sous une forme propice à la mémorisation, mais aussi dans un style orné apprécié des mondains du temps, constituait un utile “pont aux ânes” de la prédication wisigothique’.<sup>101</sup> Authorial intention does not, of course, dictate the many ways in which a text can be interpreted, utilised and adapted, and the style of preaching in the early thirteenth century was very different from the ornate Visigothic manner. However, well-trained clergy, works of basic moral instruction, collections of ancient and patristic wisdom and, above all, images and ideas suitable for preaching remained perennial needs and it is likely that the work’s later users would have recognised its practical potential.

Taking the patristic material as a whole, it is possible to identify certain general principles behind its selection. Firstly, it is a very practical collection: these texts are short, content not context is important; they are resources to be used, providing evidence, authority and instruction. Secondly, their concerns are principally moral: they focus on living righteously; when the spiritual life is discussed, it is generally in terms of behaviour, such as how to pray and how to repent. Furthermore, there is an emphasis throughout on moral and religious formation which suggests that they were intended to be used within a pastoral or educational context.

*Sententiae* such as those included alongside the sermons of MS A.III.12 are often described as the ‘raw material’ for preaching. The analysis of these particular texts suggests that the term ‘raw material’ is somewhat misleading; it is unlikely that any of the biblical or patristic texts was copied directly from complete texts of the whole work. Although they may appear ‘raw’ in comparison with the sermons alongside them, they had probably already passed through several stages of selection, arranging and editing before the decision was taken to copy them into this manuscript collection. These short extracts may at first appear unpromising but they bear witness to a complex process of textual transmission and

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<sup>101</sup> Fontaine, ‘Isidore de Séville’, p. 190.

recontextualisation.

As for the intentions of whoever selected these particular texts for inclusion, the recurrence of ethical themes such as the virtue of humility and the right use of power, the dignity of poverty and the importance of treating the poor with respect, and above all, exhortations to live the Christian life righteously, all suggest their suitability as materials for preaching. As Mary and Richard Rouse, among others, have pointed out, a renewed emphasis on pastoral care and the demands of the thematic sermon form stimulated the development and distribution of a range of tools to assist in the utilisation of biblical and patristic authorities from the late twelfth century onwards.<sup>102</sup> The *sententiae* in MS A.III.12 seem to have been compiled with the assistance of at least some basic works of reference, for example, a list of biblical authorities arranged by topic, a thematic arrangement of material from Isidore's *Synonyma*, and Alain of Lille's sample sermons. Such thematically ordered reference works are useful for browsing but lack the instant searchability of later alphabetically-arranged preaching tools. The collection of *sententiae* in MS A.III.12 is also designed for browsing rather than searching but on a much smaller scale. Indeed this is a key part of its utility: the sets of biblical quotations and excerpts of patristic wisdom included amongst the sermons on these folios represent an individual selection of authoritative material to be put to good use in the practice of pastoral care.<sup>103</sup>

## ii. *Dicciones*

This is the most diverse category of material and the most difficult to define. It essentially consists of all the pieces which do not fit into one of the other categories and exhibits great variety in terms of length, structure and content.<sup>104</sup> The pieces range in length from a single paragraph of several lines to three columns of the manuscript. Given their diversity, a brief survey is necessary to indicate some of the major structural devices and thematic concerns

<sup>102</sup> See, for example, Rouse and Rouse 'The Development of Research Tools', pp. 246-49.

<sup>103</sup> See Chapter III, section 3i below.

<sup>104</sup> See Appendix II for a listing of the texts which I have placed in this category.



which recur throughout these texts. This will set the context for the examination of possible contexts for the production and use of such texts which follows the survey.

I have placed approximately half of Thomson's 75 separate pieces into this category. This represents a substantial portion of the four quires, although not quite half, since these pieces tend to be shorter than the ones I have identified as sermons. As noted above, the principal reason for not labelling these pieces as sermons is that they lack the necessary structural elements. I have included T59 and T68 in the category of *dicciones*, although they are extracts from *Dictum 50*, discussed above as a literary version of T43. T59 and T68 may belong to a sermon text, but in the form in which they appear in this manuscript they do not meet any of the structural criteria; they are thus better classified alongside the theological notes they more closely resemble than the clearly fragmentary or incomplete sermons. Many of the other pieces in this section are also closely related to sermons. T10-12, for example, are instantly recognisable as similitudes from their opening lines: 'The sky signifies the highest invisible spiritual powers, that is angels'; 'Fish signify bad men who will remain in the place in which they were created; birds signify good men because they strive for a higher resting place'; 'The *paradise of pleasure* signifies the church of pleasure in which there are the varied delights of pleasure'.<sup>105</sup>

Each of these similitudes is briefly developed according to the natural properties of the subject and the appropriate biblical authorities: the wicked have the scales of sinners, like those which fell from Paul's eyes on his conversion, while the good have wings of virtue to fly and rest, like the dove of Psalm 54. There is little that is original in these texts; they may derive inspiration from Hrabanus' *De rerum naturis* but they contain the kind of moral certainties that can be found in any sermon of the period: in a contrast between sky and earth, 'sky represents perfect contemplative prelates; earth the imperfect active laity'.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>105</sup> 'Celum significat summa inuisibilia spiritualia, id est angelos [...] Pisces signant malos homines qui, in loco in quo creati sunt, permanserunt. Volucres signant bonos, quia ad altiorem mansionem concendunt [...] Paradisus uoluptatis significat ecclesiam in qua sunt diuerse uoluptatis iocunditates': fol. 80va-vb.

<sup>106</sup> 'Celum significat prelatos perfectos contemplatiuos; terra subiectos imperfectos actiuos': fol. 80va. The initial terms of the similitudes are found in the *De rerum naturis*; see especially Book 8, chap. 5 *De piscibus*

What is significant, and picked up by *dicciones* and sermons elsewhere in the manuscript, is the focus on the natural world as a source of inspiration for understanding both the nature of God and the moral teachings of the Church.

T10 and T11 represent the two main types of similitudes on nature found in the manuscript: those concerning features of the natural world, such as clouds (T32), the sun (T65), the moon (T27) and the rock at the earth's core (T50); and those focusing on a single plant or animal, like the dove (T66), the asp (T29), the lion (T47) or the hyssop (T64). Many of these similitudes draw heavily upon Hrabanus' chapters, with their lists of the multiple objects signified and related biblical authorities, and on Isidore's compendium of etymological, scientific and folkloric knowledge about the natural world.

Perhaps the clearest use of patristic material can be seen in T47 (*Dictum* 122) which begins by listing the physical attributes of the lion from Isidore's *Etymologiae*. This list is then developed in the form of a similitude illustrating the characteristics of both Christ, the king of kings, and the devil, king of the children of pride.<sup>107</sup> The comparisons between Christ and the lion serve to indicate the divine nature of Christ's kingship: the strength in his chest is wisdom which is the wisdom of the Father and as the lion wakes his newborn cubs after their three-day sleep with a roar, so Christ wakes those sleeping in three-fold concupiscence. The devil is measured against the lion's attributes in a different way, in order to demonstrate not just his inadequacy – he is *infirmitas* beside the *firmitas Christi* – but also his susceptibility to the power of preaching. The lion fears the noise of wheels, which represent the cycle of the gospels, and most of all, the voice of a white cockerel, that

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and Book 12, chap. 3 *De paradiso*.

<sup>107</sup> Augustine cites the lion as an archetypal example of a symbol which can be construed both *in bono* and *in malo*: 'The things signified are contrary, that is, when one thing is used as a similitude in a good sense and in another place in an evil sense ... This is the situation where the lion is used to signify Christ, when it is said, "The lion of the tribe of Juda ... has prevailed," but also signifies the Devil, when it is written, "Your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, goeth about seeking whom he may devour".' (*De doctrina christiana* 3.25.36; *On Christian Doctrine*, trans. by D. W. Robertson (New York: Macmillan, 1958), p. 100, cited in Jan M. Ziolkowski, 'Literary Genre and Animal Symbolism', in *Animals and the Symbolic in Mediaeval Art and Literature*, ed. by L. A. J. R. Houwen (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1997), pp. 1-23 (p. 11)).



is the chaste preacher.<sup>108</sup>

This text is closely based on Isidore's description, following its order point by point, but adds simultaneous levels of moral interpretation to the positive and negative identifications. Other *dicciones*, such as T51, T54, T56 and T58 which form the first four sections of Grosseteste's *Dictum* 100, are even more closely related to their sources. *Dictum* 100 is an exposition of the twelve stones which make up the foundation of the city in Apocalypse 21; these texts focus on jasper, sapphire, chalcedony and emerald. Their ultimate source is Bede's *Explanatio Apocalypsis* which is quoted extensively; although the phrases may be in a different order, and the occasional explanatory sentence or biblical authority is added, they are in many ways little more than a paraphrase of Bede's work.

The use of source material in T64 (*Dictum* 105) lies somewhere between the ways in which Isidore and Bede are used in the examples discussed above. The text begins with a *lemma* from Psalm 51, 'Sprinkle me with hyssop and I will be clean', as a straightforward similitude in which the hyssop represents humility.<sup>109</sup> The plant offers a remedy against various inflammations, which represent the swellings of pride. Unlike the lion or the sun, the hyssop has a limited range of physical properties to observe and the similitude is quickly abandoned for a more general disquisition on humility and pride. This disquisition is largely based on chapter 5 of Bernard of Clairvaux's *Tractatus de moribus et officio episcoporum* which is entitled *De virtute humilitatis*. Although whole sentences of Bernard's text appear, he is not acknowledged; his work is used rather than quoted as a named authority, as though it has been filleted and all extraneous material removed. The rather awkward overall structure of this piece, with its two semi-detached sections, suggests that each section was written with a different intention in mind: to comment on this particular psalm and to examine humility and pride. It may be that the two sections did not originally belong together or that they do not represent the intended final form of the work.

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<sup>108</sup> Cf. Gieben, 'Robert Grosseteste on Preaching', p. 107.

<sup>109</sup> 'Asperges me ysopo et mundabor': fol. 119vb.

Many of the other *dicciones* also commence with a *lemma* from the Psalms, including T4, T5, T7, T14, T32, T37, T39, T46, T49 and T62.<sup>110</sup> In some, but not all cases, the passages begin by commenting on the particular *lemma*. T4, for example, begins with a verse from Psalm 31, ‘Do not behave like the horse or mule’, and interprets this according to the moral characteristics proverbially associated with each; the horse is proud and the mule or ass is stupid. However, the *lemma*, or rather a single word in it, also serves as the opportunity for a broader exposition of a particular topic, as in the discourse on humility in T64 or the one on poverty in T14. In T4, the word *equus* leads to a vivid moralising similitude comparing the Lord’s horse, guided by the reins of moderation, whose right spur represents hope of eternal reward and the left, fear of judgement, with the devil’s horse, lacking reins and spurred on by the hope of worldly glory and fear of earthly misery.<sup>111</sup> As the next chapter illustrates, the development of extensive moral allegories such as this from a single word is a fundamental element of the process of constructing thematic sermons.

Several *dicciones* consist of a general discourse on a moral topic, rather like T14 or the second section of T64, without being based on any biblical *lemma*. Instead they begin with a definition of their topic: ‘Concerning pride, which is love of one’s own excellence, it gives birth to envy, that is love of the humiliation of another’; ‘Avarice is the immoderate love of accumulating and keeping money’.<sup>112</sup> Despite the opening definitions, the tone of these texts indicates that they are not intended to provide the last word on such standard topics. They consist rather of observations and examples drawn from life or from Scripture which serve to illustrate one particular angle, as if to prompt further development, refinement and reuse of the material.

In T28 (*Dictum* 128), the example is taken from a familiar situation. Pride is castigated because it gives rise to criticism of others, *viciium detractionis*:

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<sup>110</sup> See section 5 below on the relationship between the texts in MS A.III.12 and Grosseteste’s Psalms commentary.

<sup>111</sup> Fols 79ra-rb.

<sup>112</sup> ‘De superbia que est amor proprie excellencie, nascitur inuidia, amor scilicet depressionis aliene’: fol. 86rb (T28). ‘Cupiditas est amor immoderatus adipiscende et retinende pecunie’: fol. 87rb (T31).



There are those who, when they cannot diminish someone else's reputation in words, do so with a gesture in place of words. For instance when someone is opposing in the schools, a scholar will signal with a cackle or laugh or some other sign that the opposition or response of the other is worth nothing. Even when expressionless and submerged in his hood, he indicates that the opposition or response of the other is not worth serious attention.<sup>113</sup>

The punishment for such behaviour is signified by what happens to Moses' sister Miriam in Numbers 12. When she is critical of her brother, her skin becomes leprous and white like snow. Her shining white exterior represents the gloss of praise with which detractors cover their contempt; like her, they risk being banished from human society.<sup>114</sup> The moral lesson in this passage is clearly spelled out, as it is in all these *dicciones*.

Although they vary in structural complexity from the very simple nature similitudes to the more elaborate moral discourses complete with patristic citations, the purpose of all the *dicciones* is essentially the same. They all draw upon the observation and interpretation of the natural world, Scripture or human behaviour in order to illustrate either humankind's place in its relationship to God or relations between people; in addition, many offer advice on right action. In their promotion of virtues and castigation of vices, these texts echo the sentiments of contemporary sermons and the extended similes and similitudes in many of them could easily be transplanted into the structure of a sermon.

From their structure and content and their presence amongst the sermons, the *sententiae* and

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<sup>113</sup> 'Quidam uero cum non possunt uerbo, aliquo alio nutu uicem uerbi suprente, bonum alterius diminuunt, utpote cum aliquis in scolis opponit et scolaris assidens cachinno uel risu uel alio nutu signat et innuit alterius oppositionem uel responsionem nullam esse. Etiam quandoque ipsa faciei immobilitate et in capucium submersione innuit quod alterius oppositio [*corr. ex oppositionem*] uel responsio [*corr. ex responsionem*] non est digna attendi audicione': fol. 86rb.

<sup>114</sup> 'Taliu occulte detrahencium typum bene gessit Maria soror Moysi, cum sub specie correpcionis pro Ethiopissa fratri suo detraxit, qua correpto a Domino irato nubes recessit de tabernaculo et ipsa aparuit candens lepra et eiecta est de castris': fol. 86va.

*dicciones* in MS A.III.12 seem to be clear examples of the kind of *materia praedicabilis* Siegfried Wenzel describes as typical within many sermon manuscripts. The repetition of images, ideas and authorities within these folios reveals several stages in the process of recontextualisation by which such material is transformed in the construction of sermons. If groups of biblical citations or quotations from authors like Hrabanus are the first stage, similitudes like T32 on clouds or T47 on the lion, which attempt to shape this material according to particular concerns, represent a second stage. In T32, the focus is deliberately placed on a comparison between preachers and clouds. This same simile, with its supporting biblical proof, is introduced into a discussion of the nature of preachers in T37.<sup>115</sup> Similarly, certain of the observations concerning the hyssop from T64 are also found in T25.<sup>116</sup> This reuse of material represents a further stage in the process; there is a clear distinction between the extended similitudes on clouds or hyssop and the incorporation of single elements from these similitudes into a discussion on another theme.

It might be supposed that the sermons represent the next stage, constructed by combining and arranging similitudes and authorities within an appropriate framework, and the next chapter examines this process with regard to the sermons on these folios. However, it must be acknowledged that there is very little evidence that these particular texts were used as preparatory material for the writing of the sermons alongside them, or indeed any other surviving sermons. There is only one example of material contained in the *dicciones* or *sententiae* being repeated in one of the sermons in the manuscript: a citation from one of Bernard of Clairvaux's sermons on the Song of Songs which is included in T21 is used as the basis for the sermon T57. However, it must not be assumed that the *dicciones* include only preparatory preaching material. T59 and T68 provide evidence of a further stage of textual production; they are extracts from *Dictum* 50 which, as noted above, is an authoritative rewritten version of the sermon T3.

Although the *dicciones* and *sententiae* surrounding sermons in manuscripts are often

<sup>115</sup> 'Et eciam debent esse leues uelut nubes, unde Ysaias: *Qui sunt qui ut nubes uolant*': fol. 106rb.

<sup>116</sup> 'Hec est herba que ualet contra tumorem pulmonis, scilicet ysopus': fol. 85rb.



ignored, this analysis reveals some of the possible complexities of such material, not least in the variety of textual processes it may represent, and its value for the study of the sermons with which it shares manuscripts and for preaching in general. These *dicciones* and *sententiae* vary greatly in form and substance, but all possess a direct or indirect connection with the process of preaching, whether it is their structure as similitudes or extended similes, the tone in which they exhort Christian virtues or their promotion of the practice. It is perhaps a testament to their value as preaching material that no distinction is made within the manuscript between these pieces and the sermons they accompany.

### 5. Relationship with the *Dicta* Collection and Psalms Commentary

The texts on these folios demonstrate some of the difficulties of categorising *materia praedicabilis* and distinguishing between the various stages of textual production. T33, for example, fits the definition of a *sententia*, an extract from an authoritative source, while T32 is a *diccio* which begins with a similar extract and builds upon it to deliver a particular moral message. However, both of these texts are also found in Grosseteste's *Dicta* collection; because of this, we know that T33 is incomplete and in its full form develops in a similar way to T32. Examining the texts on these folios in the light of their relationship with Grosseteste's Psalms commentary and *Dicta* collection can provide a more nuanced understanding of the purpose and status of these texts and of their selection and compilation.

As Appendix II indicates, 28 of the 48 non-sermon texts on these folios are also found within the *Dicta* collection and 30 in one or more of the Psalms commentary manuscripts, including fols 2-14 of MS A.III.12. Unlike the two sermons described above, which are clearly different versions of the *Dicta* to which they are related, the non-sermon texts are almost identical copies of the *Dicta* and Psalms commentary material. There are generally only a few minor textual differences; in some cases the text may be abridged or extended but the shared sources are almost certainly written rather than oral.

What form might these written sources have taken? The format of the *Dicta* collection has already been described; it is a collection of discrete notes and sermons arranged in no discernible order and probably written over a period of some years. Although this section of MS A.III.12 was produced several years before the *Dicta* collection was issued as a whole, the *Dicta* within it are in their 'final' form.<sup>117</sup> Even *Dictum* 50, which I have speculated may have been rewritten after its oral presentation, was available to the copyists of these folios in its published form or something closely resembling it, since two extracts from it in its published form appear on fols 118ra-va (T59) and 121va-122ra (T68), alongside the alternative version preserved on fols 109va-110va (T43). These pieces and many others must have been copied into the manuscript by someone with direct or indirect access to Grosseteste's own notes, not those of a reporter.

Although several of the *Dicta* appear independently in collections of Grosseteste's sermons, within manuscripts of the collection as a whole the same texts appear in the same form and order.<sup>118</sup> The same cannot be said of Grosseteste's Psalms commentary which is extant in six manuscripts including MS A.III.12.<sup>119</sup> Of the five manuscripts that have been examined to date, only two, *B* and *E*, contain comments on Ps 1-100; *O* contains only the prologue to the commentary, *V* ends with comments on Psalm 57 and *D* (fols 2-14 of MS A.III.12) contains comments on psalms between 1 and 30. M. R. James was the first to notice that there is a significant change in the format and content of the commentary around Psalm 80.<sup>120</sup> While the comments on Psalms 1-79 seem disjointed – not every psalm is commented upon, comments are attached to random *lemmata* and the psalms are ordered differently in each manuscript – the commentary on Psalm 80-100 is much more thorough, with comments on every psalm as a whole and on its structure. Even more significantly, the

<sup>117</sup> The *Dicta* collection was issued after Grosseteste became Bishop of Lincoln in 1235.

<sup>118</sup> On the appearance of *Dicta* within collections of Grosseteste's sermons, see Westermann, 'Comparison of Some of the Sermons and the *Dicta*'.

<sup>119</sup> The other five manuscripts are Bologna, Archiginnasio MS A.983(*B*), Eton College MS 8 (*E*), Oxford, Bodleian Library MS e Museo 15 (*O*), Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS Ottobon. lat. 185 (*V*) and Valencia, Archivo catedral MS 111 (*Va*). The last awaits examination.

<sup>120</sup> M. R. James, 'Robert Grosseteste on the Psalms', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 23 (1922), 181-85.



comments on Ps 80-100 draw upon Greek sources generally unavailable in translation in the West.

The most plausible explanation for this change in form and content, put forward by Ginther based on close examination of the manuscripts, is that the extant commentary is a conflation of two versions.<sup>121</sup> The first version, extant in comments on psalms between 1 and 81, probably represents Grosseteste's notes related to his lectures on the Psalms, interspersed with other notes, *dicta* and sermons. The second version, extant in comments on Psalms 80-100, represents Grosseteste's revision of his material to form a 'publishable' commentary.<sup>122</sup> The state (or states) of the commentary in our manuscript witnesses, as Thomson suggests, is probably due to a later editor, perhaps a student or associate of Grosseteste's with access to his notes; 'it is extremely doubtful if Grosseteste would have consented to call this almost amorphous collection a commentary'.<sup>123</sup> It is likely that such individuals were also responsible for the inclusion of extraneous material, such as sermons and *dicta*, within the extant form of the first version of the commentary.

Such texts are often prefaced with *lemmata* from the Psalms and, as noted above, the connection between text and *lemma* sometimes seems a little forced. The likelihood is that the texts were adapted by an editor or compiler to fit in with the commentary framework. The presence of several of the *Dicta* and other texts, complete with their *lemmata* from the Psalms, on fols 78-87 and 104-127 of MS A.III.12 indicates that the versions preserved on these folios are linked with some stage of this process of compiling the Psalms commentary. It remains to determine the relationship between the various versions of duplicated material on the Durham folios, the *Dicta* collection and the 'authentic' comments on the Psalms.

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<sup>121</sup> For a detailed presentation of this hypothesis, see Ginther, '*Super Psalterium*', pp. 36-60.

<sup>122</sup> *B* contains both shorter and longer versions of the comments on Psalms 80-81; see Ginther, '*Super Psalterium*', pp. 54-58.

<sup>123</sup> Thomson, *Writings*, p. 76.

Daniel Callus suggested that in the compilation of his *Dicta* collection, sometime after 1235, Grosseteste may have drawn some of the material from his earlier Psalms commentary.<sup>124</sup> Although, chronologically, this would seem the most plausible process, it seems likely that the relationship between the two works should be inverted: the compilers of the first version of the Psalms commentary drew upon the *Dicta* to make their work more complete, adding *lemmata* from the Psalms where possible.<sup>125</sup> The presence of *dicta* on fols 78-87 and 104-127 of MS A.III.12 indicates that the individual *dicta* included in the Psalms commentary were extant in their 'published' form c. 1231, several years before they were issued as a collection.

The relationship between the versions may be still more complex. Although the *Dicta* may have been altered slightly to fit in with the commentary, the fact that they do fit so well may indeed be because some of them were inspired by the process of commenting upon the Psalms in the first place. In their self-contained form, their content, linking moral and natural observations, and their use of sources such as Augustine and Hrabanus, there is very little to distinguish the 'authentic' Psalms commentary material from many of the *dicta* alongside them, either on fols 78-87 and 104-127 or in the Psalms commentary manuscripts. *Dicta* 78 and 79, for example, may appear next to each other in the collection not because they are both based on texts from the *De rerum naturis* - several of the *dicta* are - but because they were developed in the process of commenting on verses 12 and 13 respectively of Psalm 17.

As many scholars of Grosseteste's writings have noted, his own working methods may have contributed to the disjointed state of the commentary. As the late-thirteenth-century Franciscan William of Alnwick observed:

When any notable *imaginatio* came to his mind he wrote it down so that he would not forget it. So he wrote many scraps (*cedulas*) which are not at all

<sup>124</sup> Daniel Callus, 'The Oxford Career of Robert Grosseteste', *Oxoniensia*, 10 (1945), 42-72.

<sup>125</sup> See Ginther, '*Super Psalterium*', p. 60.



authoritative (*authentice*) and those fragments which he wrote in the margins of the Physics have no greater authority than the other scraps which he wrote. They are all preserved in the Franciscan library at Oxford and I have seen them with my own eyes.<sup>126</sup>

The term *cedula* or *schedula* literally means a small scrap of paper but, as Mary Carruthers has pointed out, ‘like Latin *pagina* and English ‘note’ [it] can refer both to a kind of writing surface and to a genre of composition’, i.e. a brief note written in haste or informally.<sup>127</sup> Although the notes in the Franciscan library may literally have consisted of loose sheets bound into a codex, it is perhaps more likely that they were similar in form to the kind of disjointed notes found in fols 2-14, 78-87 and 104-127 of MS A.III.12. The compilers of the Psalms commentary manuscripts and of the Durham folios seem to have drawn directly or indirectly upon such *cedulae*, as Grosseteste himself seems to have done for the publication of his *Dicta* collection.

Central to the production and compilation of the texts on fols 78-87 and 104-127 of MS A.III.12 is Grosseteste’s role as a master in the Oxford schools.<sup>128</sup> As Ginther makes clear, Grosseteste’s biblical and theological writings of the period prior to 1235 must be set in the context of the magisterial role and the Psalter was one of the primary texts that a master of theology would expound for his students.<sup>129</sup> Peter the Chanter’s famous *dictum* makes clear not only the three-fold nature of the master’s duty – *lectio*, *disputatio* and *praedicatio* – but also the relationship between the elements: *lectio* is the foundation and *praedicatio* is the

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<sup>126</sup> Translated by Southern, *Growth of an English Mind*, p. 38 from A. Pelzer, *Etudes d’histoire littéraire sur la scholastique médiévale*, ed. by A. Pattin and E. van der Vyver (Paris: Béatrice-Nauwelaerts, 1964), p. 170: ‘Sed quando aliqua ymaginatio notabilis sibi occurrebat ibi scripsit ne laberetur a memoria sua, sicut et multas cedulas scripsit que non omnes sunt autentice. Non enim est maioris autoritatis que dissute scripsit in margine libri phisicorum quam alie cedule quas scripsit, que omnia habentur Oxonie in libraria fratrum minorum, sicut oculis propriis uidi’.

<sup>127</sup> Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, pp. 318-19, n.142.

<sup>128</sup> It is likely that some of the *Dicta* were composed after Grosseteste became bishop of Lincoln in 1235 but the majority of the collection was composed *in scholis*, including of course those texts found in the Psalms commentary and this section of MS A.III.12.

<sup>129</sup> James Ginther, ‘Setting the Context for Editing the Super Psalterium of Robert Grosseteste’, in *Editing Robert Grosseteste*, ed. by Joseph Goering (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, in press).

roof.<sup>130</sup> In a lucid article on the relationship between preaching and biblical commentary, Louis-Jacques Bataillon has indicated some of the ways in which it operated in practice during the thirteenth century. He focuses particularly on sermons incorporated within biblical commentaries or the presence within commentaries of material explicitly or implicitly suitable for preaching with minimal adaptation.<sup>131</sup> MS A.III.12 provides another example of this overlapping relationship: certain *dicciones* are incorporated into both a commentary framework with scriptural *lemmata* and a collection of *materia praedicabilis* alongside sermons.<sup>132</sup>

The duties of a master of the sacred page extended beyond preaching; from the time of Peter the Chanter onwards, he increasingly took upon himself the responsibility of preparing his students to become preachers, not through by formal teaching, but rather by providing them with model sermons and other sorts of preaching material.<sup>133</sup> Grosseteste's commitment to the theory and practice of pastoral care is well-known and the utilitarian texts on these folios provide a thoroughly practical guide for would-be preachers. Firstly, they provide material for preaching which can be imitated or adapted; secondly, they demonstrate how to create one's own material, exploiting patristic sources and contemporary preaching aids, formulating distinctions and similitudes. The utilisation of Isidore's observations on the lion in T49 is a good example of this; each characteristic is moralised, step by step, making the text reminiscent of an exercise or exemplar of good practice.

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<sup>130</sup> Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, II, 63.

<sup>131</sup> Louis-Jacques Bataillon, 'De la lectio à la praedicatio: Commentaires bibliques et sermons au XIIIe siècle', *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 70 (1986), 559-74 (repr. in his *La prédication au XIIIe siècle*, with original pagination). See also his 'Early Scholastic and Mendicant Preaching as Exegesis of Scripture', in *Ad litteram: Authoritative Texts and Their Medieval Readers*, ed. by M. D. Jordan and K. Emery (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992), pp. 165-98. One clear example of the relationship between the *lectio* and *praedicatio* is the development of 'intermediaires', such as *distinctiones* collections which, as noted above, originated as part of the process of exegesis.

<sup>132</sup> See Appendix II for a listing of the texts in fols 78-87 and 104-127 which are also included in the Psalms commentary and *Dicta* collection.

<sup>133</sup> See Marianne G. Briscoe, 'How Was the *ars praedicandi* Taught in England?', in *The Uses of Manuscripts in Literary Studies: Essays in Memory of Judson Boyce Allen* ed. by Charlotte Cook Morse, Penelope Reed Doob and Marjorie Curry Woods (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1992), pp. 41-58.



However, as medieval theorists of preaching were quick to point out, the formation of a preacher involved more than simply the accumulation of material and technique; suitable character and behaviour were equally stringent requirements.<sup>134</sup> Many of the *dicciones* respond to this by dealing with the appropriate behaviour for preachers or emphasising the significance of preaching; it is in both an educative and exhortatory capacity that such themes are best understood.<sup>135</sup> Perhaps the most comprehensive is T49 (*Dictum* 54) where the ostensible theme, 'Dixi custodiam vias meas' from Psalm 38 is quickly followed by the real theme from Psalm 44: 'Lingua mea calamus scribe'.<sup>136</sup>

The reed-pen (*calamus*) represents the preacher speaking the word of God.<sup>137</sup> This indicates the divine authority for the preacher's words, just as in T32 the wind moving the clouds represented the Holy Spirit inspiring preachers. However, if the preacher is an instrument for transmitting the word of God, the nature and quality of that instrument is also important. The hollowness of the pen represents the preacher's humility; its rigidity indicates he cannot be swayed by flattery and, as it is sharpened to a point, prolixity is cut away. The elevated aims of the preacher are to write 'not black letters on dead skin, but gold letters on a living mind'; he is a means by which God's grace can be imprinted on the human heart.<sup>138</sup> As Carla Casagrande has demonstrated in her study of the exegesis of this verse, such sentiments illustrate two important interlinked concerns of thirteenth-century preachers: to emphasise the necessity and efficacy of preaching and to raise the status of the practitioners of this *ars artium*.<sup>139</sup>

<sup>134</sup> On this, see J. Leclercq, 'Le magistère du prédicateur au XIIIe siècle', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, 15 (1946), 105-47; Ferruolo, *Origins of the University*, pp. 204-06.

<sup>135</sup> See also T49, as described above, which emphasises the role of preachers in combating the devil and T37 in which preachers represent the tongue, distinguishing between sweet and bitter according to God's taste and speaking His word, moistened by the saliva of wisdom (fol. 106rb).

<sup>136</sup> The citation from Ps 38:2 does not really belong with this text; it does not appear with it in the *Dicta* collection and it is itself treated in full in T39.

<sup>137</sup> See fol. 115ra-rb.

<sup>138</sup> 'non literas nigras in pelle mortua sed literas aureas in mente uiua': fol. 115ra

<sup>139</sup> Carla Casagrande, 'Le calame du Saint-Esprit: Grâce et rhétorique dans la prédication au XIIIe siècle', in *La parole du prédicateur*, ed. by Dessl and Lauwers, pp. 235-54. Casagrande demonstrates how thirteenth-century preachers drew upon the eminent patristic metaphors associated with this verse - the pen as the word of God or the tongue of a prophet - to add prestige to their own identification. They adapted the rather passive metaphor of the pen, emphasising the importance of preparation on the part of both the preacher and his audience.

This same text was selected by the compilers of Eton College MS 8 and by the compiler of these folios of Durham Cathedral Library MS A.III.12, as well as by Grosseteste himself for his *Dicta* collection; its content and message were considered valid for the intended purpose and audience of each of these compilations. The overlap between these three related collections offers a valuable insight into issues of textual authority, the interplay between preaching and exegesis and Grosseteste's own methods of composition. The material on fols 78-87 and 104-127 was consciously selected from a number of sources and, viewed as a whole, it clearly demonstrates the practical pastoral intentions of its compiler.



## CHAPTER III

### Analysis of Sermon Structure and Content

#### 1. Introduction

Having identified this collection of sermons and examined its manuscript context, it is now possible to look more closely at the texts themselves. It is important to bear in mind the particular nature of sermon texts and what can and cannot be said about the texts in this manuscript, given the evidence available. As is shown in Chapter II, a medieval sermon in a manuscript cannot necessarily be regarded as an accurate written record of a particular oral event. It may represent what the preacher intended to say or what he wished he had said; it may be a more consciously literary form of his ideas or indeed it may have been written to be read or used as a model, without any reference to an actual preaching occasion.<sup>1</sup>

I have suggested, based on a comparison of the two sermons which are extant in an alternative version, that certain of the texts on fols 78-87 and 104-127 of MS A.III.12 are *reportationes*, written up from notes made during preaching events. Whatever the extent of the preacher's role in compiling the texts we have, the principle behind the recording of whole sermon texts was essentially the same as that of writing down sermon material – utility.<sup>2</sup> This seems particularly evident in the case of these unattributed sermons, which are found intermingled with other kinds of texts which seem to be intended for use in sermon composition but which are not full sermons. In studying this collection, the emphasis must be on analysing the form and content of the texts as they stand, incomplete though they may appear, rather than on attempting to construct some presumed oral original or searching for a particular individual's preaching style. Considering the nature of these texts and how little

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<sup>1</sup> See Kienzle, 'Introduction', in *The Sermon*, pp. 143-74, esp. pp. 170-74.

<sup>2</sup> Nicole Bériou comes to the same conclusion concerning the sermons of Ranulphe de la Houblonnière, preserved in collections of sermons by Parisian masters of the 1270s and 1280s. 'Les sermons de Ranulphe n'ont pas été conservés pour entretenir le souvenir d'un maître respecté et aimé, mais pour être utilisés': *La prédication de Ranulphe de la Houblonnière: Sermons aux clercs et aux simple gens à Paris au XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Etudes augustiniennes, 1987), p. 65.

is known about the conditions under which they came to be copied into this manuscript, such enterprises would be highly speculative and would add little to our understanding of preaching at Oxford in this period or Grosseteste as preacher.

This investigation into the structure, source material and pastoral message of these texts, based on a single manuscript does, in fact, examine the relationship between preacher and audience by seeking to offer an insight into the social and cultural work these sermons do and the means by which they do it. As noted above, sermons are functional texts; those in MS A.III.12 exist in their written form principally to provide an example and material for future preaching. In their oral form, Beverly Kienzle has summarised the generalised goal of all sermons as 'moving the listener to inward transformation or outward action'.<sup>3</sup> This process of transformation depends in part on how effectively the preacher communicates with the audience, both shaping and responding to their needs, attitudes and behaviour. Although it is not possible to determine how effective these sermons were in oral form, since we do not even know if they were delivered, their structure and content reveals some of the techniques intended to move and transform listeners and their written form represents valuable evidence of reader (and perhaps listener) response.

However, the transformative power of a sermon derives not only from its role as an instrument of communication, but also from its status as a ritual and a form of performance.<sup>4</sup> Although the texts themselves tell us little about the physical context of the sermons, when and where they were delivered, by and to whom, they do contain other important elements of the ritual framework in the conventions of their construction and expression. This chapter analyses in turn the structure, source material and religious message of the sermons before concluding with a summary of what these sermons can tell

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<sup>3</sup> Beverly Mayne Kienzle, 'Medieval Sermons and Their Performance: Theory and Record' in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience*, pp. 89-124 (p. 115).

<sup>4</sup> Kienzle, 'Medieval Sermons and Their Performance'. Augustine Thompson notes, 'One result of the contrasts among diverse forms of preaching is a greater sense that sermons are simultaneously a ritual and a communication medium, and that even ritualized activities are a form of communication': 'From Texts to Preaching', in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience*, p. 19.



us about the relationship between their preacher(s) and audience(s). In highlighting how various communicative techniques, ritual conventions and doctrinal and devotional themes are applied and adapted in this collection, it demonstrates how these sermons carry out their function as instruments of moral and social action.<sup>5</sup>

## 2. Structure

The conventions of the 'modern' sermon style were developed by preachers in the schools of Paris in the late twelfth century as a practical response to a growing awareness of the pastoral needs of the laity.<sup>6</sup> Although it was developed by an academic urban elite, the modern style was rapidly diffused by the movement of preachers and the production of preaching tools such as *artes praedicandi* and model sermon collections and the expansion of clerical education.<sup>7</sup> Though most of the research into the early development of the new sermon form has focused on preachers who were educated in Paris, many of those who made a significant contribution were in fact English, such as Thomas of Chobham and Stephen Langton, and spent a significant part of their preaching careers in England.<sup>8</sup> The development of Oxford as the foremost academic centre in England in the early thirteenth century made it a particular focus for masters and scholars from Paris and for the

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<sup>5</sup> Carolyn Muessig draws attention to this terminology of Jacques Le Goff and its application to the study *ad status* sermons in particular; see her 'Audience and Preacher: *Ad status* Sermons and Social Classification', in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience*, pp. 255-76 (p. 269).

<sup>6</sup> Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*; Jean Longère, *Oeuvres oratoires de maîtres parisiens au XIII<sup>ème</sup> siècle: Etude historique et doctrinale*, 2 vols (Paris: Etudes augustiniennes, 1975).

<sup>7</sup> On the involvement of the mendicant orders in all of these developments, see D'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*; on the development of preaching tools, see Richard H. and Mary A. Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the 'Manipulus florum' of Thomas of Ireland* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1979); on education, particularly of mendicants, see M. Michèle Mulchahey, *'First the Bow is Bent in Study': Dominican Education before 1350* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1998).

<sup>8</sup> Stephen Langton (d. 1228) spent more than twenty years in the schools of Paris before becoming Archbishop of Canterbury in 1207. Phyllis B. Roberts has produced a number of studies of his sermons, including *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante: Studies in the Sermons of Stephen Langton* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1968) and *Selected Sermons of Stephen Langton* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1980). Thomas of Chobham studied in Paris during the 1180s and later became subdean of Salisbury. In addition to a model sermon collection, he also produced one of the most important medieval *ars praedicandi*. See Thomas de Chobham, *Sermones*, CCCM 82A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993) and *Summa de arte praedicandi*, CCCM 82 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988), both edited by Franco Morenzoni who has also produced a valuable study, *Des écoles aux paroisses*.

establishment of the mendicant orders in England.<sup>9</sup> Within this context, it is not surprising that this sermon collection, associated with Oxford in the 1220s, bears all the hallmarks of the modern preaching style.

The first structural element of a 'modern' sermon is the *thema*, usually equivalent to a single biblical verse. Within the *de tempore* cycle, the theme was taken from the gospel or epistle of the day; for other feasts, the preacher could select any biblical or liturgical verse which seemed appropriate to what he wanted to say. In either case, the development of the sermon from this single verse served to associate the preacher's words closely with the liturgical occasion and the scriptural text, enhancing the status of both preacher and sermon. Almost all of the sermons in this collection have themes taken from the gospels or epistles and can be associated with a particular Sunday or feast day within the liturgical calendar. So for example, the theme of T22, 'Ecce nunc dies salutis', is taken from the epistle read on the First Sunday in Lent.

However, these sermons do not form a standard liturgical collection. The only suggestion of a pattern covers three adjacent sermons, T69-71, whose themes are taken from the readings for the 19th, 21st and 17th Sunday after Pentecost. Slight as this connection is, it does not even extend to the remaining four sermons in this section of the manuscript. In the case of T74 on the theme 'I shall marry you in eternity' (Hos 2:19), no other sermons are recorded on this theme amongst the 100,000 sermons listed in Schneyer's *Repertorium*, perhaps suggesting that this text does not belong within the liturgical framework covering the majority of sermons.

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<sup>9</sup> Richard W. Southern, 'From Schools to University', in *The Early Oxford Schools*, ed. by Jeremy I. Catto (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984); part I of *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. by T. H. Aston (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984-), pp. 1-36. The early history of the Franciscans in England is described in A. G. Little, ed., *Frater Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston Tractatus de adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1951); see also M. W. Sheehan, 'The Religious Orders 1220-1370', in *Early Oxford Schools*, pp. 193-221.



If the announcement of the theme signals the beginning of the sermon, it is not necessarily followed immediately by the sermon proper. In many texts, the sermon begins with an introductory section and a prayer. This section allows the audience to settle in and the preacher to 'set the scene', often by reference to the pericope or to the particular feast day. For example, the opening section of T75 acknowledges the strength of 'all the saints whose feast day it is today'; the next section begins with an explicit return to the theme, 'Let us return to the exposition of the authority'.<sup>10</sup>

A more elaborate introduction is found in T42, an Ascension Day sermon on the theme, 'I shall go up into the palm tree and take hold of its fruit' (Cant 7:8). While the main part of the sermon details the seven ascents of Jesus' lifetime, its preliminary section introduces the idea that we should follow in his footsteps and notes that Jesus' journey of ascension began from the Mount of Olives. It then draws practical moral lessons from the uses of olive oil for illumination, medication and consumption and from its biblical association with mercy. This introductory section offers the preacher the opportunity to expound a detail from the gospel of the day which he might not otherwise have, since the theme is taken from elsewhere. It is also a self-contained lesson, introducing the main point of the sermon, that Christians should follow in Christ's footsteps, whilst allowing the audience to settle in without missing the main structural division they need to make sense of the sermon proper.

Among sermon texts from the early thirteenth century onwards, this introductory section increasingly begins to take on a particular form and is designated a protheme.<sup>11</sup> Thomas of Chobham is the first theorist of preaching to mention this particular sermon feature. In his *ars praedicandi*, composed shortly after 1220, he defines it as 'quasi thema ante thema'.<sup>12</sup> The protheme proceeds from the exposition of a separate biblical verse, sometimes one linguistically linked to the main theme, and forms almost a sermon within (or before) a

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<sup>10</sup> T75 [1]-[2].

<sup>11</sup> Bériou notes that prothemes can be identified in several sermons in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS n.a.l. 999 which are reports of preaching in Paris during the second decade of the thirteenth century: 'Les sermons latins après 1200', in *The Sermon*, p. 397.

<sup>12</sup> *Summa de arte praedicandi*, ed. by Morenzoni, p. 265.

sermon.<sup>13</sup> Its structure and content offer the clearest indication of the dual function of the *sermo moderna*, as both a sacred duty and a polished oratorical *suasio*. In adopting the conscious rhetoric of a *captatio benevolentiae*, the preacher seeks divine good will and indulgence as well as that of his listeners. He reminds the audience that his action in gaining and theirs in giving their attention are valuable steps towards saving their souls.

In offering a meditation on the nature of preaching, prothemes delineate the sacred dimensions of each individual preaching event. Their insistence on the necessity of appropriate behaviour for both preacher and audience highlights the connection between Word and action; the preacher's message is transmitted '*verbo et exemplo*', while the audience participate by listening and praying. Emphasising the importance of preaching as the Word of God and a means to salvation naturally raises the status of preacher and sermon, in general as well as in the context of an individual preaching event. Combining this with topoi of personal humility or unworthiness only serves to further highlight the actual power and authority of the preacher.

Within this collection a minority of the sermons – nine out of twenty-four – contain clearly-defined prothemes, ranging in length from a few sentences to several pages.<sup>14</sup> The Sapiential books of the Old Testament are a useful source of texts which require little interpretation to get their message across. For example, T74 opens with a verse from Proverbs 1: 'Listening, the wise man will be wiser'. T72 has a protheme based on another verse from Proverbs: 'Where there is much corn, there the strength of the oxen is manifest' (Prov 14:4). It goes on to spell out the ancient agricultural analogy: the oxen are the prelates and preachers under the yoke of the Lord's precepts, the land which they must cultivate is the human heart and the seed is the word of God. Extra details round out the picture,

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<sup>13</sup> The term protheme can refer to both the whole introductory section and the biblical text on which it is generally based. Richard and Mary Rouse focus on the latter in their definition: 'a second text, usually scriptural, allied verbally or logically to the theme itself, and serving as an introduction to remarks on the necessity of invoking divine aid, which invocation is the purpose and termination of the protheme' (*Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons*, p. 73).

<sup>14</sup> T23, T35, T48, T69, T70, T71, T72, T73, T74.



concerning the different types of cattle, some of which grow fat rather than working, and the land which may be cultivated well and sown with good seed but does not necessarily always bear fruit. These scriptural verses are clearly identified as prothemes but are not verbally connected to the theme; such a connection occurs in only one of the sermons, T71, and even there it is slight.<sup>15</sup>

The protheme of T70 is closely tied to the *thema* by being based on another verse from the epistle of the day: 'The apostle in today's epistle speaks to us as if engaged in a war and encourages us to take up the sword with other arms, *the sword*, that is *of the spirit, which is the word of God*'.<sup>16</sup> The extensive protheme describes how some within the church fight with the sword of preaching and others with lances which represent 'the prayers of pure contemplation'. By employing such familiar and polyvalent images, this text can draw upon the physical properties of these objects and their use and on several biblical authorities to prove a number of points about prayer and preaching. The text thus progresses from a description of the preacher drawing the sword from its scabbard in expounding the Word, holding the sword in his right hand to direct the way, to an account of how the sword has two blades to cut away the sins of both preacher and audience. The message is similarly double-edged: the preacher shares his audience's unworthiness but he is an instrument for the salvation of them all.

A similar point is made in the prologue of T41. After the statement of the theme, 'He who conquers shall not be harmed by a second death', the introductory section, 'These are the words of the Holy Spirit speaking through the mouth of St John the apostle, that is the word of God is compared to wine for this reason', begins without any reference to an additional scriptural verse.<sup>17</sup> In making the comparison, the text notes that even wine which is sweet

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<sup>15</sup> The theme is 'You should love the Lord your God with your whole heart, your whole soul and your whole mind' (Matt 22:37) and the protheme: 'The wise of heart receive precepts, the fool is beaten with lips' (Prov 10:8).

<sup>16</sup> T70 [1]. This is the final verse of the reading for the 21<sup>st</sup> Sunday after Pentecost from Eph 6:10-17.

<sup>17</sup> T41 [1]. A couple of scriptural verses are cited as proof, 'Nobody puts new wine into old bottles' (Matt 9:17; Mark 2:22) and 'I am the true vine, you are the branches' (John 15:1&5), but neither could technically be described as a protheme since they do not provide the basis for the introductory section as a whole.

can taste bitter, 'either because the vessel in which the wine was stored was not clean, or because the mouth of the drinker retained the bitterness of some other food or drink', clearly referring to the sins of both preacher and audience.

In total, the collection can be fairly equally divided three ways between those sermons containing a recognisable protheme, those containing a less structured type of prologue and those with no introduction at all.<sup>18</sup> This fits broadly into the pattern observed by Mary and Richard Rouse after they had traced the frequency of prothemes across a number of thirteenth-century Parisian sermon collections.<sup>19</sup> Amongst the 44 sermons edited by M.-M. Davy from a collection preached by various secular and mendicant preachers around Paris in 1230-31, Rouse and Rouse found only eight prothemes. The frequency was much higher, however, in collections from later in the century.<sup>20</sup> From this they concluded that prothemes were only just beginning to develop in the early period. Their findings certainly indicate a change in the written status of the protheme in sermon texts, but this does not necessarily correlate with oral practice.

Prothemes may have been omitted by the scribe or compiler because they were not considered sufficiently important or integral to the sermon, or because they were generic and therefore interchangeable.<sup>21</sup> The detachable nature of prothemes and their often tenuous connection to the sermon is evident from some of the above examples. In a preaching event, the preacher may have supplied his own protheme from a standard repertoire stored mentally or developed from standard reference works.<sup>22</sup> Within this collection, the prothemes vary in length in their written form from a single paragraph (T23) to several

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<sup>18</sup> The group of sermons lacking an introduction includes several fragmentary texts.

<sup>19</sup> Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons*, pp. 72-74.

<sup>20</sup> M.-M. Davy, *Les sermons universitaires parisiens de 1230-1231: Contribution à l'histoire de la prédication médiévale* (Paris: Vrin, 1931). The collection is found in a single manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS nouvelles acquisitions latins 338.

<sup>21</sup> Bériou notes that the manuscript tradition of Bonaventure's sermons exemplifies this tendency to omit prothemes: 'Les sermons latins après 1200', in *The Sermon*, p. 398.

<sup>22</sup> Schneyer lists several examples of distinct protheme collections in vol. 7 of his *Repertorium*, pp. 666-81, as noted by Bériou, 'Les sermons latins après 1200', in *The Sermon*, p. 398.



pages (T73). All are formulaic, relying on well-known images and biblical authorities to make familiar points, indicating that they could be expanded or contracted as necessary.

Several of the prothemes end with an invitation to the audience to join the preacher in a prayer, such as that of T23, 'Therefore since we can do nothing good by ourselves, let us pray to him from whom all good things come that he will deign to confer his grace on us: Our Father'.<sup>23</sup> The prayer was an integral part of the sermon performance; even when such a formula is absent in a manuscript sermon, it can be assumed that preacher and congregation would generally have recited a Pater Noster or an Ave Maria prior to the sermon proper. As Nicole Bériou has pointed out, this prayer marked out the sermon as a blessed, even quasi-sacramental discourse.<sup>24</sup> Placed just before the restatement of the theme, it also indicated to the audience that this was the key moment in the service for which their attention and participation was required.

The repetition of the theme is usually clearly marked in the manuscript, as it must surely have been in oral presentation. The initial treatment of the theme at this point determines the structure of the rest of the sermon and is the key for understanding the overall message. The sermons in this collection illustrate several different ways of treating the theme. In perhaps the simplest method, the theme is divided into sections and each one expounded in turn. Themes which are capable of literal interpretation lend themselves best to this approach, for example, T3, 'Be an example of the faithful in word, in conversation, in love, in faith, in chastity'. The sermon first discusses what it means to 'be an example', then how this applies 'in word', then 'in conversation' and so on. Similarly, the theme of T1 is divided into five: '(1) Be converted to me (2) with all your heart (3) in fasting, (4) and in weeping (5) and in groaning'.

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<sup>23</sup> T23 [1].

<sup>24</sup> Bériou, *La prédication de Ranulphe*, I, 100-01.

More commonly, *divisio* is combined with *distinctio*. Several different symbolic meanings are given for each section of the theme or a key term within it. This method is clearly seen in the structure of T35, a Palm Sunday sermon. The theme is divided into three parts: '(1) Go into the village (*castellum*) which is before you, (2) and immediately you will find a donkey tied up and her colt. (3) Untie them and bring them to me' (Matt 21:2). As I have indicated, the theme is divided into three parts. In its development, the first section distinguishes two meanings for *castellum*; it represents both the world built of the variety of vices and concupiscence of the flesh. In the second part, the donkey and her colt represent respectively the Jews, held under the yoke of the Law and the Gentiles, 'upon whom no man has sat',<sup>25</sup> and flesh and the movement of the flesh which ought to be tamed.

The third section of the theme consists of two separate actions and a single interpretation is given for each: 'Untie through confession, lead through love'.<sup>26</sup> Each of these phrases is analysed through a different rhetorical method of division. Confession is treated by means of a list; in this case, twelve conditions of a good confession: 'Confession ought to be bitter, humble, accusatory, faithful, voluntary, speedy, shamefaced, specific, naked, complete, one's own and true'.<sup>27</sup> Love is analysed by means of a commonplace set of questions: 'What love is and what the order of loving God must be considered; who it is who loves God, what the means is of loving one's neighbour, who knows who loves God, what the order of loving God is and what the reward of love is'.<sup>28</sup> These structural devices are clearly laid out; both the list and the set of questions are first stated in full and then each element is dealt with in turn.

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<sup>25</sup> This detail is taken from the account in Luke's gospel (Luke 19:30); it does not appear in Matthew's account.

<sup>26</sup> T35 [18].

<sup>27</sup> T35 [18-21]. The development and variations of this commonplace of thirteenth-century preaching and penitential literature have been explored by Bella Millett: 'Ancrene Wisse and the Conditions of Confession', *English Studies*, 80 (1999), 193-215.

<sup>28</sup> T35 [22-28].



It is a rather involved matter to describe the structure of a sermon like T35; as the plan below demonstrates, it is much more comprehensible in diagrammatic form, as the users and compilers of medieval sermon manuscripts recognised.

*Prothema – And Jacob took green branches of poplar and of almond and of plane trees and he stripped them in part (Gen 30:37)*

1. poplar - virginity
2. almond - continence
3. plane – secular life of just

Stripping the branches in part represents literal and mystical interpretation

*Theme – Go into the village which is before you and immediately you will find a donkey tied up and her colt. Untie them and bring them to me (Matt 21:2)*

1. *Go into the village*

various brief interpretations of the two disciples sent  
interpretations of the village (*castellum*)

allegorical - the variety of vices (Eze 17:3)

tropological - concupiscence of the flesh (Gal 5:17)

2. *You will find a donkey tied up and her colt*

interpretations of both donkey and colt

allegorical – Jews and Gentiles

moral – flesh and the movement of the flesh

colt – (Ex 13:13)

donkey – (Gen 49:14-15)

3. *Untie them and bring them to me*

Confession

12 conditions of confession

Love

What is love?

How to love God

Who loves God?

How to love one's neighbour

Who loves one's neighbour?

What are the rewards of love?

The thirteenth-century Dominican preacher's handbook investigated by M. E. O'Carroll contains many marginal distinctions offering summaries of whole or parts of sermons.<sup>29</sup> As well as dividing up the theme of a sermon, the *distinctio* form is used in MS Laud misc. 511 to summarise similitudes ('Love is like fire because') and lists, including one very similar to that in MS A.III.12 ('Penitence ought to be').<sup>30</sup> The utility of a written distinction is evident, enabling a preacher to see at once and memorise the main points and structure of a discourse, perhaps as part of the process of creating a new sermon.<sup>31</sup> However, *divisio* and *distinctio* have a broader relevance as fundamental elements in medieval methods of comprehending and arranging information.<sup>32</sup> As such, they were crucial for preachers in arranging their information and expounding it in a coherent manner without losing their place. The explicit use of these structural devices was also important to listeners (and readers) in following and retaining a sermon discourse, as Thomas of Chobham recognised:

A sermon ought to be ordered so that after the head has been heard, that is the theme of the sermon, the listener immediately understands from the head the members which the preacher joins to it, and from these members he ought to preserve and anticipate the sermon. And so he will hold in memory what he is about to hear, and when the sermon is finished, he will remember how to retain the aforesaid.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Mary E. O'Carroll, *A Thirteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook: Studies in MS Laud Misc. 511* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute Mediaeval Studies, 1997), pp. 175-91.

<sup>30</sup> O'Carroll, *Preacher's Handbook*, pp. 181 and 183. MS A.III.12 contains several examples of marginal distinctions, for example in the bottom margin of fol. 84v on *vestis* and the top margin of 88r on St Martin; the latter is obviously related to or inspired by the sermon on St. Martin on the same folio. Grosseteste makes extensive use of the *distinctio* form in his pastoral handbook, the *Templum Dei*; see *Templum Dei*, ed. by Goering and Mantello.

<sup>31</sup> The layout of a distinction on the page could form a useful visual mnemonic device: see Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, esp. pp. 93-95.

<sup>32</sup> See Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, esp. chapter 3, and Kimberly Rivers, 'Memory, Division and the Organisation of Knowledge in the Middle Ages', in *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts*, pp. 147-58.

<sup>33</sup> Cited and translated by Kimberly Rivers in 'Memory and Medieval Preaching: Mnemonic Advice in the *ars praedicandi* of Francisc Eiximenis (ca. 1327-1409)', *Viator*, 30 (1999), 253-84 (pp. 257-58) from Thomas de Chobham, *Summa de arte praedicandi*, pp. 296-97.



In the sermon texts in this collection there are many simple examples of clear structural signposting. For example, the treatment of sections in T1 and T3 is often preceded by a clear 'sequitur': "'in conversation" follows'; "'in love" follows'. Other terms such as 'item' are also used to signal the addition of a reason or proof to a list. For example, in T26, Christ is compared to a flower. After the first reason, the sweetness of flowers, each of the other four reasons on the list is introduced with 'item'. In the manuscript, this word or its abbreviation is often written larger or in a distinctive hand, marking each new point to assist the reader.<sup>34</sup> The end of this section is reinforced by repetition: 'Therefore I say that Christ is a flower'.<sup>35</sup>

On this verbal level, the sermons generally conform to structural conventions: repetition of the theme or part of it points to the start of a new division or subdivision; arguments are linked by terms such as 'similiter' and 'contra'; the beginning of the deconstruction and interpretation of an authority is signalled by 'bene dicit' or 'bene dicitur' while the phrase 'patet igitur' is commonly used to introduce rather than to conclude an argument as a modern reader might expect. The use of such terms increases the audience's retention of the discourse, not only by making them more aware of its structure and direction but also by reassuring them that they are listening to a coherent and well-organised discourse and thus increasing their intellectual comfort level and focus.

An even clearer form of signposting is employed in T42, the sermon for Ascension Day. As noted above, it is structured around the seven ascents of Christ's life as described in the gospels. After the first, Christ's journey into the desert to be tempted by the devil, each is clearly numbered: 'Secondly the Lord ascended a mountain where he preached [...] Thirdly the Lord ascended a mountain where he transfigured himself [...] Fourthly coming to Jerusalem with the hour of his passion approaching, the Lord ascended an ass [...] Fifthly he ascended the Mount of Olives where he prayed to His Father [...] Sixthly he ascended

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<sup>34</sup> Cf. fols 105r-106r of MS A.III.12.

<sup>35</sup> T26 [6].

onto the cross [...] Seventhly and finally he ascended into heaven'.<sup>36</sup> These kinds of simple speech markers, in conjunction with the repetition of key words like 'ascendit', could be emphasised further by pauses and tone and perhaps also gestures. This combination of visual, aural and verbal pointers provide a rhythm which would be highly effective in assisting the listener and preacher to follow and to memorise the key points of what at first might appear a complex oration. Within the manuscript, along with such matters as font and layout, they also assist the reader skimming the text to make sense of the structure.

Such markers at the beginning and end of sections are particularly important since not all the elements of the division are treated equally. The division and subdivision of material means that the listener might be following several different threads of argument at any one time so a clear sense of the sermon's direction and overall structure is crucial. For example, most of T42 focuses on the first part of the theme, 'I shall go up into the palm'; it is only in the final section, the seventh ascent, that attention is paid to the second half of the theme, 'and take hold of its fruit', which is said to signify the attainment of eternal life.

This kind of uneven treatment of the division is perfectly standard, as is an incomplete treatment, although in the case of *reportationes* it is not always clear if the text lacks one of the divisions because the preacher himself ignored it. The statement in T3 that the preacher will not treat the division, 'Be an example in faith' because 'you have been instructed enough about faith and God' demonstrates the flexibility available to the preacher to treat the divisions in as much detail as he chooses.<sup>37</sup> There is no indication that an even treatment of the various elements was considered desirable or expected; the care taken in delineating the beginnings and ends of sections suggests that this was a greater priority. Emphasising these elements allowed the preacher to maintain, and the audience to grasp, the intellectual and aural pattern of the discourse.

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<sup>36</sup> T42 [7]-[13].

<sup>37</sup> T3 [8].



In the case of T42, the treatment of the second half of the theme leads into the sermon's conclusion which neatly incorporates the two halves of the theme into the formulaic aspirational and supplicatory ending: 'The hands of Jesus Christ were fixed onto a palm with nails and through the works of his passion, the glory of the Lord's resurrection and ascension and the sending of the Holy Spirit live for us because that glory is eternal life to which he leads us, et cetera'.<sup>38</sup> *Artes praedicandi* have little to say about how to conclude one's sermon. In his early thirteenth-century *De artificioso modo predicandi*, Alexander of Ashby adds notes in the margin of his first model sermon, identifying the structural elements and their functions; the conclusion has three parts and three functions: 'the recapitulation of what has been said, a warning to the listeners and a prayer to God'.<sup>39</sup> Thomas of Chobham similarly recommends a brief recapitulation, 'so that the things which have been said might be better committed to memory', particularly by members of the audience who are not learned.<sup>40</sup> The majority of the sermons in this collection have short but clearly defined conclusions, ending in eschatological petitions like T42, and perhaps referring back to the theme or feast day, like T26: 'Therefore let us ask the Lord that, through the prayers of the blessed virgin whose feast we celebrate, she herself may intercede for us with the Lord'.<sup>41</sup>

Although a clear structure is discernible in all the 'complete' sermons, even in these texts there is a great deal of variety: themes are divided into two, three, four or more parts, subdivisions may be present, absent, briefly announced or fully elaborated and are sometimes themselves further subdivided. Moreover, there seems little concern for symmetry in terms of the number of divisions and subdivisions and their length, and there is no sign of the rather mechanical 'mix and match' distinctions based on rhyme or assonance

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<sup>38</sup> T42 [13].

<sup>39</sup> 'recapitulacio predictorum, et admonicio ad auditores, et oratio ad Deum', cited in Morenzoni, *Des écoles aux paroisses*, p. 209 from Franco Morenzoni, 'Aux origines des *artes praedicandi*. Le *De artificioso modo predicandi* d'Alexandre d'Ashby: An Edition', *Studi medievali*, n. s. 32 (1991), 887-935 (p. 903).

<sup>40</sup> 'Quando scilicet breuiter recapitulantur ea que dicta erant ut melius memorie commendentur. Et tali epilogo sepe utuntur discreti predicatorum, quia hoc multum placet simplicibus et minus peritis, et multo melius retinent quod prius audierunt': Thomas of Chobham, *Summa de arte praedicandi*, p. 267; cf. Rivers, 'Memory and Medieval Preaching', esp. p. 258.

<sup>41</sup> T26 [12].

that can be found in later sermons. This collection overall deploys the *sermo moderna* form in a manner which is highly typical of the first couple of generations of its use; the variations in structure from extremely simple to elaborate seem to be based more on the demands of the material and the audience than on a desire to conform to the fixed norms of divisions and subdivisions.

### 3. Building an Argument

#### i. Introduction

The framework of the thematic sermon as outlined offers a great deal of freedom and flexibility in the construction of an individual set of arguments to support and prove a message and persuade an audience. In order to fulfil these two functions – proving and persuading – a preacher was able to draw upon a long-established Christian rhetorical tradition.<sup>42</sup> The key elements for the composition of sermons were *inventio*, the selection of material, and *dispositio*, its arrangement. Some of the building blocks of sermon discourse, such as *auctoritates*, are fundamental to medieval textual production across a range of genres, while others, such as *exempla*, developed principally within a preaching context. If these two endured as the main rhetorical tools for preachers, as Jacques de Vitry's and Thomas Waleys' comments suggest,<sup>43</sup> many others can also be distinguished, including *rationes*, similitudes, proverbs, verses, description of habits, observations, questions and exhortations. This material could be selected from a range of sources, both oral and written. Sermon composers and compilers were also free to draw upon their observation of and interaction with other people, their own personal experience, shared social and cultural

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<sup>42</sup> The best introduction to this is James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from St Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978).

<sup>43</sup> In the prologue to his *ad status* sermon collection, written sometime between 1226 and 1240, Jacques de Vitry distinguishes between *auctoritates*, *similitudines* and *exempla*. Thomas Waleys in the fourteenth century identified three types of argument: *auctoritates*, *rationes* and *exempla*. Cited in Claude Bremond, Jacques Le Goff and Jean-Claude Schmitt, *L'exemplum*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 40 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1982), pp. 154-55.



activities and values, and not least, their own memory of texts and events, both written and heard.

## ii. Authorities

The fundamental source for all Christian preaching is, of course, Scripture. Although thematic sermons often moved far from the biblical text which provided their point of departure, they were closely associated with the process of exegesis and remained a form of extended commentary on a biblical *thema*. Within the thematic sermon tradition, numerous citations attested to the Bible's place as the ultimate source of moral and rhetorical authority.

The selection and use of biblical citations in the sermons of MS A.III.12 can be considered typical in numerical terms when compared with M.-M. Davy's edition and analysis of the Paris sermons of 1230-31 in which she identified on average between 27 and 35 citations in each of the sermons.<sup>44</sup> There are difficulties in comparing those figures with the sermons in this collection, since those in MS A.III.12 range in length from a few hundred words to almost twenty pages, but those pieces which are of a similar length to Davy's texts contain a similar number of citations and the proportions remain broadly the same for longer and shorter pieces.<sup>45</sup> The range of material cited can also be compared: like the Parisian sermons, those in MS A.III.12 contain citations from almost every book of the Bible, but with a marked preference for certain books. In both collections, the Psalter is the most frequently-cited Old Testament book, reflecting its fundamental position in the liturgy and theological education, followed by the Sapiential books, standard sources of moral authority

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<sup>44</sup> Davy's precise figure is 1295 citations in the 44 sermons she published: Davy, *Les sermons universitaires*, p. 49.

<sup>45</sup> Davy's texts generally contain approximately 1800-2500 words. Texts within this range in the Durham manuscript include T41 (36 biblical citations), T42 (32), T73 (22), T75 (38). There are of course exceptions, notably T70 which is almost twice as long as many of the pieces cited above (3600 words) but contains only 45 biblical citations, perhaps because its arguments depend to a greater extent upon extended similitudes, often based on biblical episodes, rather than biblical authorities.

for the medieval preacher. The New Testament choices also reflect liturgical and educational usage: Paul's epistles are prominent, as is the gospel of Matthew.<sup>46</sup>

The principal, although not exclusive, use of the Bible within these sermons is as a source of rhetorical *auctoritates* to prove the truth of the preacher's message.<sup>47</sup> These citations do not simply demonstrate his learning or his piety; they are powerful tools to sacralise and strengthen his arguments. They are also weapons and in using them, the preacher follows Christ's example during his temptation by the devil (Matt 4; Luke 4); in T73, the three authorities Christ used are compared to the three stones David threw to slay Goliath.<sup>48</sup> Sometimes they offer literal proof of his words, for example, in T41 the statement 'The food of Christ is the will of God' is proved by Christ's own words: 'My food is to do the will of the one who sent me' (John 4:34).<sup>49</sup> Similarly in proving that 'God loves us more than a mother loves her son', T71 is able to draw upon a statement to that effect in Isaiah 49.<sup>50</sup>

Not all authorities are so straightforward; in many cases the words of Scripture have to be interpreted according to one of the spiritual senses. However, there is no evidence in this collection of any systematic attempt to employ the four senses. The terms 'allegorice' and 'tropologice' are used explicitly in only one of the sermons, T35.<sup>51</sup> As one might expect in

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<sup>46</sup> Davy provides citation totals for each book of the Bible: *Les sermons universitaires*, pp. 49-50. The sermons of Ranulphe de la Houblonnière, edited by Nicole Bériou, preached in Paris half a century or so later, demonstrate a similar pattern of citation: *La prédication de Ranulphe*, p. 102. For a more general overview, see Jean Longère, *La prédication médiévale*, pp. 208-09 and his chapter on 'La prédication en langue latine', in *Le moyen âge et la Bible*, ed. by Pierre Riché and Guy Lobrichon, *Bible de tous les temps*, 4 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1984), pp. 517-35.

<sup>47</sup> Rouse and Rouse note a change in the use of the word *auctoritas*, occurring concurrently with the development of the thematic sermon form. 'In the prologue to the *Liber florum*, written in the first half of the twelfth century, it is the books, the whole works, that have *auctoritas*; by the mid-thirteenth century, *auctoritas* means "extract from a whole work" - it is used in precisely the same situations where earlier centuries would have said *sententia* or *dictio*': Mary A. and Richard H. Rouse, 'Florilegia of Patristic Texts', in *Les genres littéraires*, pp. 165-80 (p. 173).

<sup>48</sup> T73 [5]. The same point is made in T70 in which Christ is compared to a ram; the two horns of the ram represent the two testaments 'through which he disturbed his enemies and he teaches us to conquer our enemies, as was made very clear when the devil tempted him and he resisted through authorities': T70 [24].

<sup>49</sup> T41 [11].

<sup>50</sup> T71 [19].

<sup>51</sup> T35 [10] and [13].



sermon discourse, the tropological is by far the most prevalent of the spiritual senses. A typical example is the interpretation in T42 of the verse, 'Mary anointed the feet of Jesus' (John 12:3); 'The feet of Jesus are the poor whom one anoints by relieving their misery'.<sup>52</sup> Nevertheless this single tropological example of merciful behaviour follows several literal exhortations such as, 'Redeem your sins with alms and your iniquities with works of mercy to the poor' (Dan 4:27).

If tropological or allegorical interpretations are required, these are often spelt out to ensure that the *auctoritas* is understood as intended. For example, in T41 a comparison is made between the three temptations undergone by Christ in the desert and the temptation of Eve.<sup>53</sup> In order to demonstrate the way in which the Old Testament incident is to be mapped onto the New 'in this order and through these temptations', the words of the serpent to Eve are quoted and interpreted: '*On whatever day you shall eat, which is gluttony, you will be like gods, which is vainglory, knowing good and evil, which is avarice*'.<sup>54</sup> The interpretation is authorised by its inclusion within the citation and sealed by the emphatic repetition, 'ecce [...] ecce [...] ecce'.

The selection and arrangement of appropriate scriptural citation is one of the key skills in constructing a sermon. In certain cases, where several appropriate citations exist, multiple authorities are used to prove a single point. For example, in T74 faith is compared to a ring imprinting its image on a soul. The simile is confirmed by two quotations: 'My heart is made like liquid wax' (Ps 21:15) and 'My soul is liquefied' (Cant 5:6).<sup>55</sup> The point made is identical and there was no particular need to give extra weight to this assertion; two citations are used simply because both were available and appropriate. It is only in T3 that a chain of three citations is used, to prove the assertion that preachers represent the mouth of

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<sup>52</sup> T42 [3].

<sup>53</sup> Donald R. Howard identifies the origins of the comparison in these terms in a homily of Gregory the Great; the precise form in which it is cited in this sermon is probably derived from Peter Lombard's *Sentences*; see *The Three Temptations: Medieval Man in Search of the World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966), pp. 44-50.

<sup>54</sup> T41 [10].

<sup>55</sup> T74 [4].

God.<sup>56</sup> However, in the corresponding section of Dictum 35, only two of the quotations are used to prove this point, while the third, which is garbled in the transmission of T3, is used to make a related point. It seems clear that in T3, the authorities, but not necessarily the arguments they were designed to support, have been noted. This emphasis on recording the *auctoritates* is consistently observed in *reportationes*. For reporters, authorities, along with *distinctiones*, were the key building blocks; given a distinction and a sequence of authorities, a reporter writing up his notes, or indeed a preacher making a new sermon from an old one, could construct a suitable set of arguments, although not necessarily ones identical to those used in the original sermon.

In response to the sheer number of scriptural citations, Davy described the sermon collection she studied as ‘un véritable enseignement scripturaire pour les auditeurs’.<sup>57</sup> However, when one looks more closely at the authorities themselves and their role within the sermons, their primary role does not seem to be to provide a scriptural education for their audience. Although it may be impressive that a preacher quotes from Nahum or Hosea, the same few short verses are cited repeatedly.<sup>58</sup> This says nothing about the preacher’s knowledge of the book as a whole, and does not necessarily add to the audience’s biblical knowledge.

Within one of the longer texts, T71, the following biblical passages are quoted: We keep our most precious treasure in earthenware vessels; I have not turned away my face from those who rebuked me and spit upon me; Father, forgive them for they know not what they do; Love is as strong as death; Peace I leave with you, my peace I give to you; Who will resist the strength of your arm?; Greater love has no man, et cetera. These are the kind of familiar tags which would be second nature to any participant in ecclesiastical, and particularly liturgical culture, including the preacher, scribes, readers and many hearers of

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<sup>56</sup> T3 [4].

<sup>57</sup> Davy, *Les sermons universitaires*, p. 49.

<sup>58</sup> The single verse from Nahum (3:5) is cited twice, in T22 and T75; there are fourteen citations of Hosea but only ten different verses are quoted. Texts such as Hos 4:8 (‘They shall consume the sins of my people and lift up their souls to their iniquity’) are so apt for accusing the clergy that they are used in more than one sermon.



these sermons. It is no coincidence that more than half these citations are also found elsewhere in the collection; they are the common currency of pastoral literature. It is through their familiarity that they make the appropriate authoritative impression upon both learned and unlearned audiences. The familiarity of biblical citations in literate circles is demonstrated by their form in manuscripts; often only the first couple of words are given in full while the rest are reduced to their initial letters. This is assumed to be sufficient information for any reader to recall the full quotation.

The overall deployment of biblical authorities within this collection, particularly the reuse of short, familiar verses like those above, suggests the use of a collection of thematically-ordered *sententiae*, preserved in lists of quotations like those found alongside these sermons and, of course, in the memory of the composer and scribes.<sup>59</sup> The aim of using such scriptural citations is not instructional but to prove truth and add authority to the preacher's message; familiarity carries more weight than novelty. The often allusive manner in which these *auctoritates* are quoted, in both written and oral form, acknowledges the audience's familiarity with them and helps to bind listeners and readers into a knowledge community.

This written and oral core of familiar resources to authorise the preacher's message extends beyond the sacred text to a number of key patristic texts, principally the works of Augustine, Gregory and Jerome.<sup>60</sup> These writers, along with Bernard of Clairvaux, form the second rank in the hierarchy of *auctoritates* and are often cited for their interpretations of Scripture. Quotations from Gregory's *Moralia in Iob* supply a context and an interpretation for almost all citations from the Book of Job. In T22, for example, Gregory's commentary is applied not only to the text of Job, but also other biblical authorities, 'as if expounding

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<sup>59</sup> See Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, chapter 3 on medieval memory training and mnemonic techniques. From an examination of selected Sunday sermons, Louis-Jacques Bataillon perceives some attempt by preachers to choose different biblical *auctoritates*, even when borrowing other elements of a sermon: 'Preaching as Exegesis', esp. p. 176. This process was no doubt aided by the practice of assembling and memorising sets of *auctoritates* under thematic headings. As for the effect of this on the audience, Bataillon concludes that 'the scriptural culture of laymen was made up of some solid exegesis, in the medieval sense, of a limited part of Scripture, and of a sprinkling of many verses, generally taken out of context' (p. 176).

<sup>60</sup> Citations within the sermons edited below are noted in the *apparatus fontium*.

this text'.<sup>61</sup> Biblical similitudes within the sermons are often based on etymologies taken from Jerome's *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*. This work's authoritative status is signalled by its incorporation into Bible manuscripts of the thirteenth century.<sup>62</sup> A similarly convenient and authorised source of patristic exegesis is the *Glossa ordinaria*. Several brief interpretations taken from the gloss are explicitly attributed but I have noted a number of likely additional citations and there are undoubtedly others which have not yet been identified.<sup>63</sup>

The occasional chains of authorities linked together in the sermons with such phrases as 'huic consonat' suggests that other types of thematically-arranged reference works were employed, as does the occasional misattribution of an authority. It is unlikely that an author would attribute an *auctoritas* of Augustine to Gregory if he were citing directly from the *originalia*.<sup>64</sup> Some kind of intermediate source is no doubt responsible for the occasional citations of classical authors such as Ovid, Horace and Seneca. The single line from Ovid is misattributed to Bede, which would seem to confirm this. Seneca's *De beneficiis* and *Epistolae Morales* were of course popular sources of moral *sententiae* for medieval authors.<sup>65</sup> Other authorities quoted occasionally include patristic writers such as Ambrose, Cassiodorus, Origen and Isidore and the contemporary authors Hugh of St Victor and Innocent III.

<sup>61</sup> See [24] of T22 where three citations from Gregory in a single paragraph are used to interpret passages of Isaiah and 2 Thessalonians as well as Job.

<sup>62</sup> See Bériou, *La prédication de Ranulphe*, p. 104, and Amaury D'Esneval, 'Le perfectionnement d'un instrument de travail au début du XIIIe siècle: les trois glossaires bibliques d'Etienne Langton', in *Culture et travail intellectuel dans l'occident médiéval*, ed. by Geneviève Hasenohr and Jean Longère (Paris: CNRS, 1981), pp. 163-75.

<sup>63</sup> The explicit citations are found in T35 [20], T41 [11], T73 [2] and T75 [1] and [8]. In addition, citations from Jerome (T20-21 [1] and T35 [9]) seem to be taken from the Gloss. On the *Glossa ordinaria*, see Margaret T. Gibson, 'The Twelfth-Century Glossed Bible', *Studia Patristica* 23 (1990), 232-44; *eadem*, 'The Place of the *Glossa Ordinaria* in Medieval Exegesis', in *Ad litteram*, ed. Jordan and Emery, pp. 5-27; G. R. Evans, *The Language and Logic of the Bible in the Earlier Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 37-47.

<sup>64</sup> See for example T69 [3].

<sup>65</sup> See L. D. Reynolds, *The Medieval Tradition of Seneca's Letters* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965).



In addition to their value as a source of authorised exegesis, writers such as Augustine or Bernard provide a number of concise, rhetorically satisfying encapsulations of doctrine within the sermons. In some cases, these are taken almost verbatim from their works; for example, Christ's example of patient suffering is summarised in a quotation from one of Bernard's sermons, 'Our Lord Jesus Christ was hard in response to words, harder in response to blows and hardest of all in response to the harsh torments of the cross'.<sup>66</sup>

Several of the most stirring rhetorical passages from Bernard are taken from the *Declamationes de colloquio Simonis cum Iesu*, which was composed by Bernard's secretary and companion Geoffrey of Auxerre, 'ex opusculis venerabilis Bern.', as one of the manuscripts attests.<sup>67</sup> Although in his prologue Geoffrey is naturally modest about his efforts in collecting these disjointed notes (*schedulas*), this sort of work, the 'edited highlights' of an authoritative figure, was exactly the kind of material of use to later preachers.<sup>68</sup>

However, authoritative citations are not just inserted to summarise and add to the rhetorical style; on occasion, the *auctoritas* forms the basis for a more extensive treatment and becomes an important element in the larger framework of the sermon. This is particularly evident in T71. Following the protheme, the theme is restated, 'You should love the Lord your God et cetera' and the sermon continues, 'Saint Bernard expounds this saying, "God must be loved strongly, wisely and sweetly"'. It is this, rather than the theme directly, which forms the basis for the division of the sermon into three parts as the section markers make clear: 'It follows: He must be loved wisely [...] it follows: he must be loved sweetly'. Although this text shares the same broad theme as Bernard's, the exposition of the two sermons proceeds very differently, not least in the utilisation of biblical and patristic authorities. As Leclercq has noted, Bernard's sermons are steeped in scriptural language,

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<sup>66</sup> T42 [8].

<sup>67</sup> Citations from this work are found in T2, T22, T41 and T44-45. On the *Declamationes*, see Jean Leclercq, 'Saint Bernard et ses secrétaires', *Révue bénédictine*, 61 (1951), 208-29; reprinted in his *Recueil d'études sur Saint Bernard et ses écrits*, 4 vols (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1962-), I, 3-25. On Geoffrey see also his 'Les écrits de Geoffroy d'Auxerre', *Révue bénédictine*, 62 (1952), 274-91, reprinted on pp. 27-46 of the same volume and the *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, 6:226-29.

<sup>68</sup> The *Declamationes* is edited by J. Mabillon in PL 184, 437-76.

allusions as well as verbatim quotations, the products of a 'mémoire liturgique' and the *ruminatio* of monastic contemplation.<sup>69</sup>

Within the context of sermons, biblical, patristic and other authorities greatly strengthen the preacher's message; Nicole Bériou has described them as 'un véritable mur d'affirmations' and the metaphor is an apt one.<sup>70</sup> The careful arrangement of individual *auctoritates* adds strength and solidity to the framework of the sermon. Taken as a whole, they support the truth of the sermon's message while offering the preacher doorways to a range of images and interpretations.

### iii. *Exempla*

As the result of much recent scholarship, a suggested definition of the medieval *exemplum* has been established as 'un récit bref, donné comme véridique, et destiné à être inséré dans un discours pour convaincre l'auditoire par une leçon salutaire'.<sup>71</sup> However, in the course of arriving at and working with this definition, scholars have also become well aware that it is much narrower in scope than medieval writers' use of the term.<sup>72</sup> In the text or margins of medieval sermons, for example, the term *exemplum* is often used in the classical sense to introduce exemplary characters or to denote allegorised comparisons from the natural world or the Bible which modern scholars often prefer to define as similitudes.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Jean Leclercq, 'S. Bernard prêcheur', in *Mélanges offerts à M.-D. Chenu* (Paris: Vrin, 1967), pp. 345-62; reprinted in his *Recueil d'études sur Saint Bernard*, IV, 81-93. Within the first redaction of a single sermon of 200 lines, Leclercq discerns 110 'réminiscences bibliques', of which 52 are explicit citations.

<sup>70</sup> Bériou, *La prédication de Ranulphe*, p. 106.

<sup>71</sup> Bremond et al., *L'exemplum*, pp. 37-38.

<sup>72</sup> M. E. O'Carroll suggests that it is 'really the medieval preacher's word, a common noun, for any illustrative material, sacred or secular, poetic or comic, fact or fiction': *Preacher's Handbook*, p. 192. She adopts this broad definition in her analysis of the material in MS Laud misc. 511, identifying over 450 *exempla* and focusing on their content and function (pp. 191-201, 342-54).

<sup>73</sup> Jean-Claude Schmitt gives some examples of the latter from an *ad status* sermon of Jacques de Vitry, noting that 'la confusion entre *exempla* et *similitudines* est surtout fréquente lorsque celles-ci ont un caractère narratif embryonnaire qui les rapproche effectivement des premiers': Bremond et al., *L'exemplum*, p. 156.



The term is used in a number of different ways in this collection. In T69, an extended allegory of spiritual renewal is introduced, ‘we can take an example of renewal (*exemplum renovationis*) from the hawk’, in which the generalised meaning of a moral example is overlaid with the specific comparative sense, since it introduces a similitude. T71 demonstrates a distinction between modern and medieval uses of the term. In setting out reasons why temporal goods are not worthy to be loved, their insignificance is first supported by a number of biblical authorities and the sermon continues: ‘The example concerning the donkey eating thistles and not feeling their stings; the example concerning the son of a king who was always putting his hand in foul things, [so] was said not to be the king’s son’.<sup>74</sup> In both cases, the term *exemplum* is obviously a cue for a more extended treatment of the subject. However, according to the strict definition given above, while the second example clearly has potential to become a fully-fledged *exemplum*, the first seems to draw upon the general characteristics of donkeys, rather than setting up the specific narrative details required of an *exemplum*, and so is perhaps better regarded as a similitude.<sup>75</sup>

Verbal clues can often assist in determining *exempla* from similitudes since both often rely upon particular phrases to provide a framework. Jean-Claude Schmitt has highlighted the use of pairings such as ‘*sicut ... sic*’, ‘*similes ... ita*’ to indicate similitudes while Louis-Jacques Bataillon has drawn attention to the conditional phrases associated with *exempla*, and the way in which short similitudes could be turned into *exempla* by use of the appropriate framing language.<sup>76</sup> A passage in T1 reveals the limitations of this approach and the ingenuity of medieval rhetorical invention since it is essentially a hybrid form,

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<sup>74</sup> T71 [16].

<sup>75</sup> The second example is related to no. 500 in F. C. Tubach’s *Index exemplorum* (Helsinki: Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, 1969).

<sup>76</sup> Schmitt in Bremond et al., *L’exemplum*, pp. 155-56; Louis-Jacques Bataillon, ‘*Similitudines et exempla dans les sermons du XIIIe siècle*’, in *The Bible in the Medieval World: Essays in memory of Beryl Smalley*, ed. by Katherine Walsh and Diana Wood, *Studies in Church History, Subsidia 4* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), 191-205 (repr. in his *La prédication au XIIIe siècle*, with original pagination). See also Franco Morenzoni, ‘*Exempla et prédication: L’exemple de Jourdain de Saxe*’, in *Les exempla médiévaux: Nouvelles perspectives*, ed. by Jacques Berlioz and Marie-Anne Polo de Beaulieu (Paris: Champion, 1998), pp. 269-91.

containing elements of both similitude and *exemplum*, according to modern critical perceptions:

You can picture it through this example (*hoc exemplo*). If someone now was healthy and strong and all the parts of his body were set out well and in proportion, and suddenly his mouth became round or oblong from the horizontal of its proper position, and his nose was fixed as far below his head as it is beyond, and his eyes were outside their proper place, and his feet were turned back on themselves, and his hands curved the opposite way outside their proper place and his whole body became so ugly and so horrifying that nobody allowed him into their company.<sup>77</sup>

The opening words of this paragraph frame it as an *exemplum* and there is an element of narrative in the transformation but little effort to convince ('comme véridique'). Although the verbal cues noted by Schmitt are absent, the sermon does draw upon this passage to formulate the expected comparison between bodily and spiritual health, continuing in the second person, 'If you were to see and feel yourself so debilitated and horrifying as this...'.<sup>78</sup>

As noted above, remote or hypothetical conditionals are characteristic of the *exemplum* form but such statements in the second person, 'If you were to...', cannot meet the strict modern definition since they do not relate an incident as if it is, or could be, true. However, such passages are clearly connected to the *exemplum* tradition. A passage in T43 on the consequences of pleasure (*voluptas*) entitled, 'exemplum ad hoc' offers the hypothetical scenario, expressed in the second person, of a man tempted from a secure castle by a woman, thus allowing his enemies to take the castle. It ends, 'If by some means you were able to be in your former state

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<sup>77</sup> T1 [3].

<sup>78</sup> A similar argument, half-*exemplum*, half-similitude but labelled as an *exemplum*, is found in T43 [21].



again, surely you would be completely mad if you were to consent to the same woman again?'.<sup>79</sup> It is the terms in which this narrative is framed which prevents it from being categorised as an *exemplum* according to the modern definition; if the passage began 'Si quidam vir esset', rather than 'Si esses', it would certainly qualify.<sup>80</sup>

Setting aside these exceptions, I have identified a total of six short narratives within the twenty-five sermons of this collection which fit the strict modern definition of an *exemplum*. One is in T26, introduced by the standard phrase, 'legitur quod'; four are found clustered towards the end of T40, two of which are explicitly labelled as *exemplum*, and the final one is included in T43.<sup>81</sup> None is particularly developed; each one is no more than three or four lines long. Only two individuals are named in the *exempla*: in T26, Mary appears to a devout virgin who is ill and reassures her that she is going to joy; in the final *exemplum* of T40, the devil appears to St. Martin in death and the saint sends him away. The rest of the actors are unidentified and largely uncharacterised, 'a devout virgin', 'a Christian', 'a holy man' or 'a sick man', emphasising that they are little more than ciphers; it is the action and its moralisation which are important.

The gap between a manuscript text of a sermon and a live preaching event is perhaps most evident in the treatment of *exempla*. In many cases, like that of the king's son noted above, the manuscript offers only the cue. Even when there is a certain amount of development, it is by no means the whole story, partly because many of the tales are so well-known as not to require further elaboration and also because the preacher was probably expected to improvise and adapt the material to his needs. There is only the slightest indication of the potential of *exempla* within these sermons; certain of them would lend themselves to further elaboration. The second of those in T40, for example, presents a dialogue between a holy

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<sup>79</sup> T43 [20].

<sup>80</sup> It may be related to no. 990 in Tubach's *Index exemplorum* in which 'soft words capture a castle when force and wisdom fail'.

<sup>81</sup> T26 [5]; T40 [7]-[9]; T43 [10].

man and an angel who takes him to hell. The holy man asks in turn about each of the three grades of punishment he witnesses. He is told that the top group are pagans, the second are those who received the law to a certain extent (i.e. Jews), but the lowest are Christians who received the faith but did not maintain it. There is certainly scope within this familiar tale for a more detailed treatment of the punishments of hell, or the man's response to witnessing them.

The message of this, and indeed of all the *exempla* within the collection, is very clearly spelled out. They express a simple binary – those who have faith will be rewarded, those who lose their faith will be punished – or offer a reminder of the ubiquity of temptation, generally personified as the devil. In this, the *exempla* essentially amplify key themes within the sermons as a whole, as discussed in section 4 below, but the way in which they function within the text is distinctive. Jean-Claude Schmitt has described how *exempla* rupture the thread of a sermon discourse, moving from the general to the specific, from the atemporal to a particular moment in the past and from demonstrating or proving to telling.<sup>82</sup>

The *exemplum* in T43 offers a good example of the way in which these devices function; they change the tone of the discourse while still operating as a link within the chain of rhetorical arguments. After the prologue, the main message of the sermon is spelt out and listeners are urged to ascend spiritually as Christ did carnally. To do this, they must stretch out their arms like Him, which means having hands like His, each in proportion and equally good. The brief *exemplum*, 'There was a certain holy man who had two right hands; with both these hands he was able to fight the devil', offers hope; a human figure has already succeeded in following Christ's example. The point is reiterated immediately afterwards by relating a biblical incident concerning Moses. He stretched out his arms, with help from Ur and Aaron, and the Israelite army was victorious.

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<sup>82</sup> Bremond et al., *L'exemplum*, p. 159.



*Exempla* offer the preacher the opportunity to relate his abstract message in concrete terms and to change his tone, whether his message is one of reassurance, like that offered to the devout virgin, or a warning, like that the holy man received in hell. The hope is, of course, that the shift in gear represented by the *exemplum* reinvigorates the discourse, reviving the audience and impressing the preacher's message more firmly upon their memories.

Although *exempla* depend upon 'real life' and human experience to a certain extent, they often contain extreme images and stories in order to be particularly memorable, whether they are amazing and miraculous, frightening, terrible or downright unpleasant.<sup>83</sup> The vivid picture of physical deformity in the *exemplum*-like description above is a good example; it helps to make the abstract soul/body analogy into something concrete and combined with a deliberate second person address, the message is both memorable and unmistakable.

In order to achieve the desired effect, *exempla* have to be deployed carefully within the framework of the sermon. In T26 and T43, the *exempla* are used within the body of the sermon to prove a particular point, in just the same way that an *auctoritas* or similitude might be used. Their use in T40 is slightly different; there a chain of four *exempla* is positioned just before the conclusion of the sermon.<sup>84</sup> The overall message of the sermon is one of respect for the cross and this is reinforced by each of the *exempla* in turn, with the exception of the final more general one concerning St. Martin's repudiation of the devil. As Schmitt notes, this privileged position emphasises the efficacy of *exempla* in ensuring that the audience is paying attention to the final exhortation of the sermon.<sup>85</sup> It is no coincidence that the most directive and critical comments are aimed at the audience in this concluding section, for example that feast days are intended for rest not only from work but also from

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<sup>83</sup> In discussing the images in Thomas Bradwardine's fourteenth-century *ars memorativa*, Mary Carruthers comments, 'all are vigorously "extreme", in conformity with a basic principle for memory images, namely, that what is unusual is more memorable than what is routine': *Book of Memory*, p. 134.

<sup>84</sup> This arrangement of *exempla* is found in other sermons, in particular those of Jacques de Vitry. Collections of *exempla* extracted from Jacques' sermons were edited in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, for example in Thomas F. Crane, ed., *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the 'sermones vulgares' of Jacques de Vitry* (London, 1890; fac. repr. Nendeln: Kraus, 1967).

<sup>85</sup> Bremond et al., *L'exemplum*, pp. 160-61. In his *ars praedicandi*, Thomas of Chobham instructs preachers to place their strongest arguments at the beginning and end of their sermons: *Summa de arte praedicandi*, p. 298, cited in Morenzoni, *Des écoles aux paroisses*, p. 220.

sin. It is observed that 'there are many who sin more on feast days than during the whole of the rest of the week'.<sup>86</sup>

At first glance, *exempla* and *auctoritates* may seem to serve precisely opposite functions within the sermon, the novelty of these vivid images rupturing the chain of familiar quotations. However, the brief cues within the text suggest that many *exempla* were just as familiar, to audience and preacher, as any biblical tag. In fact the two types of argument are complementary; any break or change in tone an *exemplum* was able to bring about was momentary and expected, serving to reinforce the overall structure of the sermon and the authority of the *auctoritates* and that of the preacher.<sup>87</sup>

#### iv. Similitudes

Like *exemplum*, the term *similitudo* is used in a variety of ways by medieval authors. Even within this collection of sermons, the word occurs seventeen times and it is worth examining some of these occurrences first of all in order to understand something of its range of meaning. Fundamental in many senses is the biblical *auctoritas* cited twice: 'Let us make man to our image (*similitudinem*) and likeness (*ymaginem*)' (Gen 1:24). Within these terms the identical nature of the copy is emphasised, as is the notion of making and transforming; in T74, the process is compared to pressing a seal into hot wax.<sup>88</sup> A *similitudo* is not exclusively visual; in T43, Christ feeds Christians with His body in the image of bread (*similitudinem panis*), that is having all its physical properties.<sup>89</sup>

All of these shades of meaning feed into the technical usage of the term as a type of rhetorical argument, a form of detailed comparison based on several elements or properties of a given signifier. It is used in this sense in T69, to introduce successive arguments,

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<sup>86</sup> T40 [9].

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Bremond et al., *L'exemplum*, p. 164.

<sup>88</sup> T74 [4].

<sup>89</sup> T43 [17].



'*secunda similitudo [...] tercia similitudo*' and in T70 which states, 'Christ is said to be a ram by means of a multiple similitude' (*multiplici similitudine*).<sup>90</sup> The text continues, 'The ram is the leader of the flock; similarly Christ is the leader of the human congregation', which is followed by several other points of comparison, each introduced by the term *similiter*.

One of the main sources for the creation of similitudes is of course the Bible; comparisons are particularly inspired by the etymologies found in Jerome's *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*. Using a narrative source, it is possible to create a slightly different type of similitude. Rather than multiple properties or actions being compared, each of the characters in a biblical episode is interpreted in a particular manner to create a moral message from their interaction. Two succinct examples of this are given in T22. Firstly, the name of Micol the slave-girl who freed David from Saul's custody is interpreted according to Jerome as 'water from all'. According to the sermon, she represents 'the tearful contrition for all sins which frees the penitent from the power of the devil'.<sup>91</sup> In a similar manner, the verse 'Judith daughter of Merar in the beauty of her face dissolved Holofernes' relies for its moral interpretation on Jerome's identification of Judith as confession and Merar as bitterness: 'Therefore Judith is the daughter of Merar when true confession proceeds from contrition. In beauty proceeding from shame she dissolved Holofernes, that is the devil'.<sup>92</sup>

Both these interpretations seem fairly standard but rather compressed in their form here. They rely upon patterns of word and thought association which are expanded elsewhere in the sermon, for example the notion that true contrition necessarily involves tears, which is 'proved' by the biblical *auctoritas*, 'My eyes have run down with streams of water on account of destruction (*contricione*)'. The interpretation plays upon the meaning of *contricio*: 'in these words it is suggested that the abundance of tears of contrition is

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<sup>90</sup> T69 [6], [12]; T70 [24].

<sup>91</sup> T22 [10].

<sup>92</sup> T22 [14].

necessary and extremely useful for us'. The idea that confession represents a transformation from shame to beauty is similarly spelt out: 'It is good to confess, for shame is a part of satisfaction and also through it the devil is confounded. For when a man blushes, he becomes more beautiful and this exterior beauty is a sacrament, that is a sign of the interior beauty of the soul which is pleasing to God'.<sup>93</sup> The connections made here are not original to this sermon, but rather commonplace among penitential literature of the period; it is not only individual arguments and illustrations which are part of the familiar re-usable source material for preaching, but also the links between and around the various elements in a chain.

As noted in the previous chapter, second only to the Bible as a resource for moral interpretation by medieval preachers was the book of nature.<sup>94</sup> Just as the Bible was mediated through the writings of the Fathers, so the natural world of plants, animals and precious stones was interpreted through bestiaries and lapidaries and encyclopaedic works such as Isidore's *Etymologiae* or Hrabanus' *De rerum naturis*. Such works provided a range of illustrative or exemplary material which could be transferred almost directly into sermons while being flexible enough for individual authors to add their own interpretations.

The most extensive example of the use of nature similitudes in the sermons is found in T69, on the theme 'Renew the spirit of your mind and put on a new man who according to God was created in justice and the sanctity of truth' (Eph 4:23-24). The theme is divided into four sections: (1) Renew (2) the spirit (3) of your mind (4) and put on a new man. The end of the first section is marked by three animal similitudes which offer examples of renewal: the deer, the serpent and the hawk. The positioning of these similitudes as a group at the end of a section, about halfway through the sermon as a whole, seems deliberately designed

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<sup>93</sup> T22 [14].

<sup>94</sup> The protheme of T48 describes the three books in which man can read God's message: 'liber gracie, liber nature, liber scripture' (T48 [1]).



to provide the same change in tone that a group of *exempla* might provide, reiterating the sermon's message in a memorable way.<sup>95</sup>

Each similitude resembles an abbreviated version of an entry in a bestiary; the identification of various properties of the animal, taken from biblical, classical or exegetical sources, is followed by a moral interpretation. Although the properties of the animals are familiar from the bestiary tradition, the moralisations show some innovation or development.<sup>96</sup> It is not possible to tell whether they are original to this sermon, but they do seem to be related more closely to contemporary moral and spiritual attitudes than to the perennial concerns of many examples of the bestiary tradition. The deer renews itself by eating a snake and drinking from a fountain which causes it to shed its horns and lose its skin. The snake represents sin and according to T69, 'It is suitable to devour sin in confession, as if tearing it apart with one's own teeth'. In the bestiary tradition, the fountain generally represents Christ, 'the spring of truth',<sup>97</sup> but in T69, we are like the deer seeking the fountain 'when we hear sweet tears from the openings of Christ's body'.<sup>98</sup> The behaviour of the deer provides a specific example locating spiritual renewal in the sacrament of confession and devotion to the Passion and thus resonating with contemporary spiritual trends.

The similitude on the serpent similarly extends the standard moral interpretation to promote action. When the serpent grows old, it fasts to loosen its skin and then crawls through a narrow crevice in the rock to slough it off. In T69's interpretation, the sinner must fast spiritually then seek narrow openings in the body of Christ and 'rub (*collidere*) the mind on

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<sup>95</sup> Beryl Rowland, 'The Art of Memory and the Bestiary', in *Beasts and Birds of the Middle Ages: The Bestiary and its Legacy*, ed. by Willene B. Clark and Meredith T. McMunn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), pp. 12-25.

<sup>96</sup> The fundamental study of the bestiary tradition, on which I draw here, is Florence McCulloch's *Mediaeval Latin and French Bestiaries* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960). Chapter V of this work offers an invaluable 'General Analysis of the Principal Subjects Treated in Latin and French Bestiaries'.

<sup>97</sup> Richard Barber, *Bestiary: Being an English Version of the Bodleian Library Oxford MS Bodley 764* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1993), p. 52. MS Bodley 764 was written in England between 1220 and 1250 and according to McCulloch, belongs to the mainstream bestiary tradition; she describes it one of at least twenty Second Family manuscripts (*Bestiaries*, p. 36). On the representation of the deer in bestiaries, see McCulloch, *Bestiaries*, pp. 172-74.

<sup>98</sup> T69 [16].

them through frequent meditation ... and thus through powerful meditation on the wounds of Christ, he is able to wash himself in the blood of Christ'.<sup>99</sup> The similitude on the hawk follows the lines of the interpretation provided in the bestiaries, deriving from Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*, in which spiritual renewal is achieved by trying to reach the Holy Spirit, signified by flying towards the warm south so that the pores can open and old feathers fall out.<sup>100</sup>

Alongside the authorities, *exempla* and similitudes, other types of rhetorical device, both novel and familiar, are used selectively to reiterate the sermon's message and plant it firmly in the memory of the audience. Mnemonic verses, like those used in the early part of T42, would be useful for both preacher and audience in summarising part of the discourse.<sup>101</sup> The use of hypothetical dialogue of the form 'Someone might say...' allows the preacher to acknowledge and respond to what he perceives to be the concerns of his audience whilst retaining control of the discourse.<sup>102</sup> Proverbs, found in many of the sermons, are a venerable source of accepted wisdom which the preacher could draw upon to add authority and vividness to his message.<sup>103</sup> Several of the proverbs are introduced by the term 'uulgariter'; although their origins may lie in the vernacular, they are recorded in Latin.<sup>104</sup> There are only two examples of the vernacular within the manuscript: the first is a single word and the second a phrase offered as a gloss of a Latin *sententia*.<sup>105</sup> The introduction of

<sup>99</sup> T69 [17]. This is a much more directive moralising than that offered by the bestiary; 'we through many tribulations put off the old Adam for Christ's sake and seek Christ the spiritual rock, and find a narrow fissure, that is, the strait gate': Barber, *Bestiary*, p. 196. See also McCulloch, *Bestiaries*, pp. 170-71.

<sup>100</sup> See Barber, *Bestiary*, p. 155 and McCulloch, *Bestiaries*, p. 123.

<sup>101</sup> See T42 [2] and [3].

<sup>102</sup> See T71 [3].

<sup>103</sup> For example, T70 [18]: 'It is a bad knight who forgets the reins or leaves them in the stable'; T70 [27]: 'To sin is human; to persevere is diabolical'.

<sup>104</sup> See for example, T42 [7]; T69 [21].

<sup>105</sup> The single word, 'weseil' is found in T22 [19]; its use in Medieval Latin texts is relatively common since there is no particular suitable equivalent available. The single Middle English phrase is found in T48 [28]: 'Seie man seie me so go rede þe. Vat vit þu gife me so go rede þe. I hawen gife me þe'. It seems to be related to the preceding Latin line: 'Ecce quid feci pro te, quid facies pro me?'; but it does not offer a translation. I would like to thank Mary Swan, Oliver Pickering and Geert de Wilde for their assistance with the transcription and interpretation of this Middle English phrase. It has not been possible to identify a source but the text has qualities of rhythm and assonance which suggest it is some kind of refrain. These two examples of English imported into a Latin sermon are what Siegfried Wenzel describes as type *a* elements and are characteristic of a wider range of Latin sermons than the fully macaronic corpus which Wenzel has established. See his



each of these elements into the discourse ruptures its thread in much the same way as an *exemplum*, offering a different voice or perspective. Like *exempla*, these devices also essentially serve to reinforce the authority of sermon and preacher. Throughout the collection, novel and familiar elements are linked together in both linear and lateral patterns to create a memorable and authoritative argument.<sup>106</sup>

#### 4. The Message of the Sermons

The complex combination and reiteration of structural patterns and illustrative and authoritative devices analysed above represents the means by which these sermons function, attracting and holding the audience's attention, helping them to follow and internalise their message. Having surveyed these structural elements, it is now possible to turn to the message itself. An in-depth analysis of the theological content of the sermons lies beyond the scope of this thesis; this section highlights some of the general features, focusing on the moral and pastoral ideas that each sermon attempts to deliver. This division into 'medium' and 'message' follows the recommendations laid out in David D'Avray's 'Method in the Study of Medieval Sermons'.<sup>107</sup> Although focused on the study of model sermons, D'Avray's analysis proceeds from an observation which holds true for the texts in this collection, namely that there is a tendency 'to try and arrange a variety of religious themes in an aesthetically satisfying structure, within the compass of a single sermon'.<sup>108</sup> As noted

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*Macaronic Sermons: Bilingualism and Preaching in Late-Medieval England* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), pp. 13-30.

<sup>106</sup> David D'Avray uses the terms 'similarity' and 'contiguity' to describe the two main types of relationship between ideas within medieval sermons: see his 'Method in the Study of Medieval Sermons', in *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons: Essays on Marriage, Death, History and Sanctity* by Nicole Bériou and David D'Avray (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1994), pp. 3-29 (p. 19).

<sup>107</sup> D'Avray, 'Method in the Study of Medieval Sermons', pp. 19-22.

<sup>108</sup> D'Avray, 'Method in the Study of Medieval Sermons', p. 19. D'Avray considers this characteristic of the mainstream preaching of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. Although very different structurally, early medieval sermons display something of the same tendency to combine distinct religious themes, according to Thomas Amos' summary: 'Almost every sermon contained some account, extended or simple, of works and judgement. Many sermons did contain other themes. Even where good works and the final retribution for them were not the message, they were still part of the medium helping to convey other themes', T. Amos, 'Early Medieval Sermons and their Audience', in *De l'Homélie au Sermon: Histoire de la prédication médiévale*, ed. by Jacqueline Hamesse and Xavier Hermand (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut d'études médiévales de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, 1993), pp. 1-14 (p. 11).

above, the principles behind the structural arrangement of these sermons are functional as well as aesthetic – and indeed the functional relies on the aesthetic, deriving from educational methods and the mnemonic needs of both preacher and audience. It is the principles behind the arrangement of the various themes, as well as the themes themselves, which constitute the message of the sermons.

Analysing the message in this way can reveal further information about the sermons' function, and the modes of thought and composition of which they are a product, in which ideas, as well as images and authorities, are constantly combined, reiterated and recontextualised. This method recommends that the message of an individual sermon be broken down into a sequence of themes or topics; it emphasises the importance of the connections between ideas as well as the ideas themselves; and it offers a reminder of the functional value of images for impressing ideas on the mind.<sup>109</sup> It would of course be possible to analyse the message of each sermon in turn according to these principles but it is more useful, particularly in studying the reuse of ideas, to examine as thematically-organised groups some of the key topics which recur throughout the sermon collection. The study which follows focuses especially on two areas: firstly, the extent to which the message is aimed at inward transformation or outward action as part of the process of pastoral care; and secondly, the way in which images can form part of the message, providing a nexus for combining and reinforcing distinct themes.

D'Avray has suggested that, given the number of topics covered, the creators of mendicant model sermons attempted to 'turn each sermon into an artistically constructed microcosm of Christian doctrine'.<sup>110</sup> This drive for completeness may be derived from the explicit exemplary purpose and educational aims of such sermons. Although each of the sermons in MS A.III.12 covers a broad range of themes, I do not think the doctrinal content of any is sufficiently comprehensive to be considered a microcosm. Many doctrinal issues are not raised at all in the entire collection, in contrast to a liturgically-arranged model collection

<sup>109</sup> D'Avray, 'Method in the Study of Medieval Sermons', pp. 19-20.

<sup>110</sup> D'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, p. 246.



which would certainly be expected to cover all the major doctrinal matters several times over in the course of a year.<sup>111</sup> It is important to consider not just the extent but also the manner of the sermons' treatment of doctrinal themes. Although important tenets of Christian doctrine, such as Christ's incarnation, passion and resurrection, are often presented, they are not explained in detail as if the audience is unfamiliar with them, or in an intellectually comprehensive manner as if to convince or convert. Both knowledge and belief are assumed; doctrine is illustrated, asserted or reiterated.<sup>112</sup>

The key role played by Christian doctrine in the moral framework of the sermons is clear. T43 is based on the theme, 'God ascends in jubilation', which is associated with the feast of the Ascension. Within the sermon, which deals with the seven steps of the Christian's journey in Christ's footsteps, faith is the first step; it is the 'foundation of all virtues and good works'. All speech and action must be rooted in faith, as were all the achievements of Christ and the saints. Faith and love are compared to veins and nerves, the means by which health and vigour are transmitted from the head, which is Christ, to the hand, representing all believers.<sup>113</sup>

This Pauline image is used to explain the doctrinal significance of the feast, which lies in the shared nature of Christ and humankind. Christ's corporal ascension benefits all in the exaltation of human nature: 'If your head is crowned, surely on account of this, all the limbs are honoured?'.<sup>114</sup> The sermon draws a clear contrast between the unworthy fallen nature of humankind and its transformed and exalted state as a result of the incarnation and redemption: 'An army of angels kept the entrance to earthly paradise from man; the same angels come today to lead man to heavenly paradise'. The beginning and end of salvation history are encompassed within this single image which echoes both Genesis and the Book

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<sup>111</sup> On this see Jussi Hanska, 'Reconstructing the Mental Calendar of Medieval Preaching: A Method and its Limits: An Analysis of Sunday Sermons', in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience*, pp. 293-315.

<sup>112</sup> In this the sermons of MS A.III.12 do reflect the wider preaching tradition. David D'Avray refers to the role of sermons in 'the drip-drip method of inculcating beliefs': 'Method in the Study of Medieval Sermons', p. 9.

<sup>113</sup> T43 [1].

<sup>114</sup> T43 [2].

of Revelation. Within liturgical time, the message is grounded in the present: sinners should rejoice today and follow Christ's example.

The same message, that Christ is both the saviour of humankind and a model to follow, is fundamental to T42: 'Our Lord, like a skilled doctor seeking the most appropriate remedy for our illness, descended into the Jordan for our salvation, curing our pride through his humble descent, extinguishing through water the fire of concupiscence, so that we who have fallen through pride and were born in concupiscence, may rise through humble descent in baptism and be reborn in the water of temperance'.<sup>115</sup> The careful balancing of repetition and antithesis in this tightly constructed sentence connects the ancient metaphor of sin as illness, the doctrine of original sin, the events of biblical and salvation history and the sacrament of baptism. There is no doubt that the audience would have been familiar with the sacrament and with some of the doctrine associated with it, but it gains in significance through these associations, becoming a means to salvation instituted by Christ and a way of following his example.

Demonstrating a slightly different approach, T74 exploits the audience's familiarity with the procedures of the sacraments to convey its spiritual message. On the theme, 'I will marry you in eternity. I will marry you in justice and judgement, etc' (Hos 2:19-20) and with the focus clearly on the spiritual marriage between Christ and the faithful soul, the sermon expounds when a true marriage is made and where, how and what is required. Marriage offers a useful and familiar metaphor for the commitment the Christian makes to God.<sup>116</sup> The sermon notes that on a literal level, the commitment takes place in the sacrament of baptism. In incorporating the actual words of the baptism ritual, the sermon reminds listeners vividly of the promise they have made and the power of the words they

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<sup>115</sup> T42 [6].

<sup>116</sup> Joseph Goering notes that questions *de dotibus*, on the dowry of the blessed in heaven, 'were a staple of the schools' during the first half of the thirteenth century, based on the contemporary social and legal practice of gift-giving from husband to wife. As this Germanic practice was gradually replaced by the Roman custom of gifts given from the woman to the man, the image fell out of favour in theological discussions. See Joseph Goering, 'The *De dotibus* of Robert Grosseteste', *Mediaeval Studies*, 44 (1982), 83-109, esp. pp. 86-90.



have spoken. In professing their faith at that point, each individual has consented to spiritual marriage with Christ. Having set out the nature of this relationship, the rest of the text provides advice on how to maintain it. A ring is placed on the hand, symbolising the connection between faith and works (*operacio*). In addition, being married in justice, the faithful soul should judge its actions, which signifies confession. Through this, participation in the sacrament of confession gains in significance as an obligatory part of every Christian's relationship with Christ.

Penance is the key sacrament in which believers are encouraged to participate. T35 provides the fullest account of the nature of a good confession in a list of twelve conditions.<sup>117</sup> Bella Millett has recently demonstrated the development of this 'inflatable topos' in twelfth and thirteenth-century penitential literature.<sup>118</sup> The number, order and selection of conditions vary greatly but the version given here is typical of the way the theme is used in sermons and pastoral manuals after 1215. Although some of the conditions are fairly obvious ('It ought to be true, not false'), others reflect contemporary penitential concerns, in particular that the penitent should confess everything to a single priest, rather than confessing selectively.

Emphasis is also placed in the sermons on the proper tripartite process of the sacrament; that confession should be preceded by contrition and followed by full satisfaction.<sup>119</sup> In T22, on the theme, 'Behold now the day of salvation', the sinner is able to perceive his sins in the dawn of contrition as the sun of justice rises; they are fully revealed in the daylight of confession; and he is able to work 'through the satisfaction of good works' before receiving his wages in the evening. Once again two temporal cycles, that of the penitential process

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<sup>117</sup> T35 [18]-[21].

<sup>118</sup> Millett, 'Ancrene Wisse and the Conditions of Confession', p. 205. The value of the topos as a mnemonic device is highlighted by the existence of various versions in verse; see for example William de Montibus' 'Peniteas cito peccator', lines 21-25, in Joseph Goering, *William de Montibus (c. 1140-1213): The Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1992), pp. 108-38.

<sup>119</sup> See, for example, T24 [7].

and earthly life are conflated; penitence is proximate, easy to achieve ('all in a day's work') and can be repeated over and over but it is also the means of earning the wages of salvation.

Works of discipline, vigils, fasting and abstinence are recommended as part of the penitential rite of satisfaction and to assist in the suppression of carnal desire.<sup>120</sup> T1 promotes the spiritual dimension of fasting; it must be done for the right motives.<sup>121</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux's metaphor in T22 further emphasises this link between corporal and spiritual abstinence: 'The eyes should fast from curious sights, the ears from stories and rumours, the tongue from critical and adulatory and lazy and vain words, the hand from illicit touching, the feet from fruitless wandering, the soul from wicked thoughts and evil desires'.<sup>122</sup> The sinful body can take some action to redeem itself, through the groans, laments and tears of true contrition, but it is spiritual fasting which is really effective.<sup>123</sup>

T26 illustrates how the distinctions on a single similitude can be opened out to incorporate a number of doctrinal themes. The theme of the sermon is 'I am a flower of the field and a lily of the valley' (Cant 2:1). The way in which the sight of flowers can restore the sick is compared to Christ's ability to restore sinners. The fact that flowers appear on the tree before the ripening of the fruit signifies Christ's role as the harbinger of the redemption and the 'door of the heavenly kingdom'.<sup>124</sup> The fact that flowers are raised up from the ground signifies the ascension; they can only be reached via a stalk or branch, that is the rod of Jesse, Mary the intercessor. This single image, drawing upon the easily-observable properties of a well-known object, provides access to a wealth of themes and a complex message; that sinners should call upon Mary to intercede for them with the saviour in heaven so that he might restore them and open the way to heaven for them.<sup>125</sup>

<sup>120</sup> See for example T1 [9]-[12], T43 [20], T72 [9].

<sup>121</sup> T1 [11].

<sup>122</sup> T22 [15]; T74 [10] casts the five senses in the role of 'receivers of stolen goods' which sins steal from the soul.

<sup>123</sup> T22 [10]; T22 [16].

<sup>124</sup> T26 [3].

<sup>125</sup> This conclusion indicates that the sermon is associated with a Marian feast. Its focus on Christ's passion and the redemption is mirrored in the later thirteenth-century sermons of Ranulphe de la Houblonnière edited by Nicole Bériou. As Bériou notes, 'La réconciliation entre Dieu et les hommes s'est accomplie grâce à Marie,



Details of the passion are alluded to in this sermon in a way which suggests the audience's familiarity with them; the emphasis is on their symbolic value rather than on the nature of Christ's suffering. For example, since Christ is a rose, the water which flowed from his side is compared to rose water. This has healing properties when applied to the eyes and represents the tears shed by the spiritual eye when Christ's passion and death are recalled. Once again, the sermon promotes an active response on the part of sinners; the memorialisation of Christ's passion is an important part of the penitential process and of affective piety.<sup>126</sup> However, whilst the sermons talk about the importance of recalling the events of the passion, they do not describe events or provide suitable images for memorialisation; the crucifixion is principally represented in terms of Christ's defeat of the devil.<sup>127</sup>

T73 depicts human life on earth as a 'time of war', with the cross as a standard to be carried into battle.<sup>128</sup> Within this single sermon, the image of the battlefield links the struggle which began when the devil attacked Eve, the attack from all sides of the 'labours, poverties, infirmities and other such things' of daily life, and the 'intestinal war' of body against spirit.<sup>129</sup> All of these battles are universal and constant; each Christian's participation is both legitimate and necessary. The incorporation of original sin and the tribulations of earthly life into the framework of spiritual battle ensures that the *miles Christi* is not left to endure them passively. He is encouraged to develop the soldierly qualities of vigour, obedience and fortitude. Teachers and prelates are encouraged to take up the Lord's standard, the cross, and lead the people; in the protheme of T70, they are urged to take up the swords of preaching and the lances of prayer.<sup>130</sup>

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qui accepta de devenir la mère du Christ. Sensible à cette évidence, Ranulphe parle souvent de la Rédemption dans les sermons qu'il donne à l'occasion des fêtes de la Vierge': *La prédication de Ranulphe*, I, 127.

<sup>126</sup> T40 *passim*, T42 [12], T43 [21], T72 [3], T73 [13].

<sup>127</sup> In T26 [1], Calvary is the field where the devil was defeated; in the moral of the *exemplum* of the crows and the doves at the end of T40: 'The devil was defeated by the cross and always afterwards he hated and avoided it' [9].

<sup>128</sup> See also T2 on the theme, 'The life of man on earth is warfare' (Job 7:1).

<sup>129</sup> T73 [7]-[9].

<sup>130</sup> T70 [1]-[8].

These weapons, along with the virtues, can be deployed against the customary enemies of humankind, the world, the flesh and the devil.<sup>131</sup> All three are closely linked through allusions to various vices. The greed and intoxication of corporal gluttony are associated with the desire for earthly glory in T40 where the world is compared to a golden cup.<sup>132</sup> Paradoxically the world is conquered by shunning it; thus in T42 a spiritual individual, who is truly dead to the world, does not feel any bodily affliction.<sup>133</sup> Renouncing the world and ascending to heaven are essentially the same process so, although the journey is hard and narrow and long,<sup>134</sup> and those who have relinquished the world are tempted back,<sup>135</sup> the necessary steps are clearly laid out. The mnemonic value of an imagined journey is evident but this device also enables sermons like T42, T43 and T48 to rehearse the various stages with their audience, pointing out the pitfalls and the examples set by Christ and the saints along the way. Within the framework of the sermon, the audience can be guided to follow in Christ's footsteps.

The sermons repeatedly emphasise the difficulty of the earthly journey and the many tribulations to be faced, in particular, the strength and cunning of the devil. He employs disguise but, like his proud followers, can be found in elaborately pointed (*liripipiatus*) cloaks and hoods.<sup>136</sup> Those who become his victims are obliged to take his side in the battle.<sup>137</sup> He is able to deploy the full range of vices according to the weaknesses of individuals; T71 describes the five ways in which he deceives the proud, avaricious, greedy, lustful and gluttonous.<sup>138</sup> Pride is singled out as 'the head and origin of all sins' which turned an angel into a devil.<sup>139</sup> In their depiction of vices, the sermons offer a warning and an opportunity for the audience to familiarise themselves with their enemy and learn about

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<sup>131</sup> T42 [7].

<sup>132</sup> T40 [6].

<sup>133</sup> T42 [12].

<sup>134</sup> T42 [8].

<sup>135</sup> T40 [5].

<sup>136</sup> T2 [4].

<sup>137</sup> T73 [12].

<sup>138</sup> T71 [5]-[7].

<sup>139</sup> T2 [4].



the appropriate response. The two standard metaphors for earthly life, that of the journey and the battle, offer controlled and familiar environments in which to rehearse the processes of temptation and atonement.

There is a clear effort throughout the collection to promote moral action, whether it is fasting, confession, prayer, good works or contemplation, often through association with the familiar details of biblical and salvation history. In order to achieve this, however, the sermons also have to appeal to the emotions to provoke the necessary inward transformation. Changing existing behaviour and combating inertia involves instilling both hope and fear and creating the right balance between the two: 'Therefore on the one hand we are comforted and on the other we are afraid'.<sup>140</sup>

The value of this approach was recognised by Christian preachers long before the thirteenth century. Gregory the Great, one of the foremost preachers and advocates of pastoral care in the early church, uses the image of millstones which are pressed together and must not be lifted to emphasise the necessity of both hope and fear: 'The upper or lower stone is raised if through the tongue of the preacher fear is divided from hope or hope from fear in the heart of the sinner'.<sup>141</sup> This image, which is central to characterising the message of the sermons, is echoed in the image of the wine press in T22. The heart is compressed by the fear of present and future punishment; tears flow from the contrite heart which 'free us from the power of the devil' and the Lord 'converts the waters of contrition bursting from the press into wine which comforts us who drink it'.<sup>142</sup>

T41 urges those who have obtained grace to be afraid in case they lose it; the fear is even greater when grace is lost and then restored through the mercy of God, because the danger of slipping back again is greater.<sup>143</sup> In reiterating their constant message of hope and fear,

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<sup>140</sup> T70 [14].

<sup>141</sup> Gregorius, *Moralia in Iob*, 33.12.

<sup>142</sup> T22 [11].

<sup>143</sup> T41 [5].

these sermons promote, participate in and play out the cycle of sin and repentance. It is only in the second life, the life of glory, that there is ‘security without fear because there is perfect love which casts out fear’.<sup>144</sup> Throughout this life and at the end of time, God oversees humanity’s actions as both the merciful father and the just judge.<sup>145</sup> T1 asserts the necessity of this and that God is to be loved for his justice as well as his mercy: ‘If you love him wholly, you love him in as much as he is the just enforcer (*ablator*)’.<sup>146</sup>

Loving God is fundamental to the message of the sermons; in T43 it is ‘the final and very perfect step for which all others ought to prepare’.<sup>147</sup> Within the framework of the sermons, almost all aspects of moral and doctrinal teaching can be expressed in terms of God’s love for humanity and the necessity for humanity to return this love, however inadequately. T55 sets out some of the gifts God gives humankind through his love: the body and senses, the soul with its powers, the gifts of the holy spirit and the sacraments.<sup>148</sup> The strength of His love is expounded in T71: ‘he loves us more than a mother loves her son [...] more than a bridegroom his bride [...] more than the body loves the soul [...] God did not spare His own son, but handed Him to us for the sake of all’.<sup>149</sup>

In return, the sermons encourage their audience to love God by keeping His commands and cultivating the virtues.<sup>150</sup> Although it can never be equal, this relationship is reciprocal, as the conclusion of T35 demonstrates. God’s gifts, the reasons why He must be loved, are bound up with the considerable rewards of loving Him: ‘because according to the name of the father and the son and the holy spirit the soul is created; and because God is the highest good; and because He assumed our nature, freeing us from double death by His one death;

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<sup>144</sup> T41 [6].

<sup>145</sup> T21 [7], T23 [2].

<sup>146</sup> T1 [7].

<sup>147</sup> T43 [24].

<sup>148</sup> T55 [1].

<sup>149</sup> T71 [19].

<sup>150</sup> T1 [8], T35 [27], T71 *passim*.



and because He confers grace on us through His generosity in his kingdom which the eye has not seen nor the ear heard'.<sup>151</sup>

## 5. Preacher and Audience

The traditional notion that medieval sermons hold a mirror to society has been somewhat modified by recent scholarship, partly through a growing recognition of the formulaic nature of many sermon topoi.<sup>152</sup> Nuanced thematic studies of carefully selected groups of sermons by David D'Avray and Jussi Hanska demonstrate one useful way of employing these texts as sources for social history, acknowledging that they can provide a 'distillation of some aspects of society'.<sup>153</sup> As these studies and others have demonstrated, sermons are more than just passive reflections; preachers also actively used their words to shape their audiences' attitudes and behaviour.

I have already noted the kinds of persuasive rhetorical devices employed within these sermons, many of them relying on exaggeration or generalisation. For a preacher putting his message across, it was important that the audience be able to recognise and even relate to the particular characters or situations in his *exempla* or observations, but it was not necessary for him to tell the truth about society. Muessig has observed that writers of *ad status* sermons offer a view of society which, although recognisable, is idealised according to their own particular concerns.<sup>154</sup> As she notes, such sermons can tell us more about a particular preacher than his audience. Thompson draws attention to the relationship between preacher and audience as a social one and, as D'Avray and Hanska have

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<sup>151</sup> T35 [28]; see also the final paragraph of T43.

<sup>152</sup> For this traditional approach, see the studies of Albert Lecoy de La Marche, *La chaire française au moyen âge, spécialement au XIIIe siècle d'après les manuscrits contemporains* (Paris: Didier, 1868), and G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England: An Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period c.1350-1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926).

<sup>153</sup> D'Avray, 'Method in the Study of Medieval Sermons', p. 7. See D'Avray, *Death and the Prince: Memorial Preaching before 1350* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) and his studies in *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons*; Jussi Hanska, 'And the rich man also died and he was buried in hell': *The Social Ethos in Mendicant Sermons* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1997).

<sup>154</sup> See Muessig, 'Audience and Preacher: *Ad status* Sermons and Social Classification', esp. pp. 275-76.

demonstrated, it is possible to analyse such relationships as part of a broader investigation of social attitudes and behaviour as reflected in and shaped by the sermons.<sup>155</sup> When analysing the limited social relationships represented by a single sermon collection such as that studied here, it seems more fruitful to focus on identifying the preacher's concerns and his approach to his audience.

The sermons echo the two principal schemae for ordering society: occupational (*clerici, milites, agricultores*) and sexual (virgins, the continent and married).<sup>156</sup> In T35, the latter scheme is used as an organising principle for dividing the prothema. T20-21 lists three gifts God gives to each individual which he will be expected to use wisely and account for at the last judgement: a rational soul, the name of Christian and the 'sortem et ministerium' to which he is called, whether as cleric, soldier or farmer. All three social orders may be invoked, but the sermon analyses only the first: 'Let us clerics see that we serve well in the vocation in which we are called'. The duty of the cleric is then summarised: 'to focus on sacred scripture, to instruct the laity, to govern souls, to pray for all and always to direct attention to divine rites'.<sup>157</sup>

The use of the first person plural explicitly suggests that this sermon is addressed to a clerical audience. T3, on the theme 'Be an example of the faithful' adopts a similar tone of clerical intimacy and also instructs its audience in the personal and professional qualities required of the good pastor. T20-21 declares that the care of souls is the 'sciencia scienciarum' and this is a theme which runs throughout the sermons and is expounded in a number of different ways.<sup>158</sup> In positive terms, the awesome responsibilities of the pastor are highlighted: he is the book and mirror of the faithful, the eyes and mouth of God.<sup>159</sup> He

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<sup>155</sup> See Augustine Thompson, 'From Texts to Preaching', p. 18.

<sup>156</sup> The first schema is found in T20-21 [4] and the latter in T35 [1] and T70 [16].

<sup>157</sup> T20-21 [4]-[5].

<sup>158</sup> T20-21 [5].

<sup>159</sup> T3 [1], [3]-[4].



is both a doctor, the ‘*medicus animarum*’ and a soldier, the ‘*miles Christi*’.<sup>160</sup> T48 offers two particularly striking comparisons. In interpreting the text, ‘And Simon went into Galilee, and fought many battles with the heathens: and the heathens were contrite before his face’, Simon Maccabeus signifies the priest who must go into the world or the parish to visit the sick and do battle with sinners and ‘through the *conversatio* and life of the priest, his subjects are often able to be contrite’.<sup>161</sup> In addition – and interestingly, in terms of the social orders – the priest is compared to a woman because of his spiritual offspring.<sup>162</sup>

The range of these comparisons suggests something of the importance attached within these sermons to the work of pastoral care and the particular qualities required to carry it out. The sermons are particularly scathing towards those who do not carry out their vocation adequately because of their concern for worldly matters. They are not true priests but enemies of the church, ‘*non rectores sed voratores*’.<sup>163</sup> It is not just their own souls that are endangered by their actions, as T3 and T20-21 emphasise; a pastor is responsible for the souls of his congregation and must not lead them astray through neglect or bad example.<sup>164</sup> Throughout the sermons several types of inappropriate clerical behaviour are highlighted, many of which seem to be commonplaces of pastoral literature. All classes of clergy are targeted from the priest who cannot read his letters but can read the spots on a die to those who dress like soldiers while claiming to be clerics but neither fight nor preach.<sup>165</sup>

What is the aim of including such material? With the exception of T3 and T20-21 which are extensive exhortations aimed at a clerical audience, the comments on priestly responsibility form only a small part of any of the sermons. They do not necessarily suggest that the sermons were intended for an exclusively clerical audience; indeed there are very good

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<sup>160</sup> On the *medicus animarum* see T3 [2] and T69 [7]: ‘Such ones are the caring priests and preachers who have a medicinal tongue to guard the city of holy church’. On the *miles Christi*, see T2 *passim*, T70 [1]-[8] and T73 [12].

<sup>161</sup> T48 [12].

<sup>162</sup> T48 [14]; the same image is also used repeatedly in T44-45.

<sup>163</sup> T20-21 [6]

<sup>164</sup> See T3 [2] and T20-21 [6].

<sup>165</sup> T71 [10]-[11].

rhetorical reasons for a preacher creating a relationship with lay members of his audience to include condemnation of the moral failings of the clergy – and vice versa in a sermon to the clergy. In commenting upon the vices of a particular group, any knowledgeable preacher would be expecting a variety of responses from those who recognised the truth of his observations in themselves and others. It is likely that most of the audiences for these sermons would have been mixed, made up of both clergy and laity, since there is no evidence to suggest that they were offered within the framework of any particular religious institution or on an exclusively clerical occasion such as a synod.

The presence of a few words of English in T48 and T22 may suggest that at least some parts of some of the sermons were preached in the vernacular and addressed to a non-clerical audience. It has long been recognised that not all sermons recorded in Latin were necessarily preached wholly in that language. A sermon reporter would often use Latin for his notes, even when the sermon was delivered in the vernacular because Latin was furnished with a useful set of abbreviations and conventions which made it easier to use for the recording process.<sup>166</sup> The traditional distinction between preaching in the vernacular to the laity and in Latin to the clergy has also been challenged by recent scholarship. In addition to an appreciation of the extent of mixed clerical and lay audiences, Wenzel has drawn attention to a corpus of later medieval English macaronic sermon texts which seem to have been intended for delivery and reported after delivery in macaronic form.<sup>167</sup> However, the sermons in MS A.III.12 belong to an earlier period when the level of lay comprehension of Latin, even on an aural rather than a written basis, was much lower. Where there is some indication of the presence of a lay or mixed audience, I think it is likely that the sermon would have been delivered in the vernacular.

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<sup>166</sup> Malcolm Parkes, 'Tachygraphy in the Middle Ages: Writing Techniques Employed for *reportationes* of Lectures and Sermons', *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 3 (1989), 159-69.

<sup>167</sup> Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*. See also his earlier works, *Verses in Sermons: 'Fasciculus Morum' and its Middle English Poems* (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy, 1978); *Preachers, Poets and the Early English Lyric* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986).



It is rare to find the laity as a whole or particular social groups specifically addressed in sermons of this period in the same way that clerics are; most of the moral messages apply to all Christians generally. Within this collection, two particular sermons do, however, stand out for the message they offer to a lay audience. T22 discusses the importance of contemplation and asserts that it should be open to all penitents, not just *claustrales*; it also cites Bernard acknowledging the difficulty of doing penitence 'inter seculi turbas'. T2 includes an interjection which might come from a lay member of the audience: 'Someone might say, "Not everyone can enter religion". Response: Whoever wants to live in the world, it is necessary that he does three things, these are, not to acquire temporal goods unjustly, not to spend them recklessly and not to hold onto them tightly'.<sup>168</sup> At these points the preacher does not simply address a lay audience; he addresses their particular concerns as opposed to those of the clergy and acknowledges that they too must be offered guidance on right living within the terms of their social realities.

T2 combines this sensitivity to the needs of the laity with a moralising approach to female behaviour. The particular complaints are long-established: women are castigated for their pride in their appearance; wearing coloured clothing and showing off their blonde hair is behaviour reminiscent of the devil himself.<sup>169</sup> As well as demonstrating pride, such actions also offer a sexual invitation; young women are compared to foals who must be broken, corralled and tied up in marriage.<sup>170</sup> The sexual threat women represent is echoed in the pseudo-*exemplum* in which a woman tempts a man to leave his castle.<sup>171</sup> As noted above, the behaviour of characters in these examples is portrayed in black and white terms; in T26, the chaste virgin is rewarded by a vision of Mary.<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> T2 [5].

<sup>169</sup> T2 [4].

<sup>170</sup> T2 [6].

<sup>171</sup> T43 [20].

<sup>172</sup> T26 [5].

Criticism of male lay behaviour within the sermons focuses on greed and the misuse of power; there are several injunctions against those who take advantage of the poor.<sup>173</sup> In T43, this is clearly framed in terms of an offence against the clergy:

If some cleric has twenty marks and considers giving two of them for the relief of the poor, and if men steal these from him through an unjust condition regarding his house and through the sale of other goods, surely they steal the relief of the poor.<sup>174</sup>

As the sermon comments, 'Can the men of this town doubt that their hands are bloody with money unjustly acquired from the clergy?'.<sup>175</sup> It is tempting to speculate that this refers to the circumstances of a particular dispute. In contrast to the greedy clergy criticised elsewhere, this cleric is a paragon, deployed to highlight the moral failings of the laity and reassert clerical authority. This example suggests the efficacy of preaching as an instrument of social action; the *gladius spiritus sancti* described in the protheme of T69 is here employed for a much more worldly purpose.

Given their manuscript context, dating and attributed authorship, it has been suggested that the town in which the sermons were preached was Oxford. This would certainly be a likely venue for such disputes between clergy and laity, given the increasing proportion of the population in holy orders as the schools expanded. There is also a certain amount of internal evidence to suggest that at least some proportion of the audience of the sermons was made up of students and masters.<sup>176</sup> The sermons identify two particular areas of concern with regard to scholarly life in the newly-emerging university. The first is the relationship between scholarly achievement, money and secular power. Clerical neglect of pastoral

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<sup>173</sup> See for example, T73 [11].

<sup>174</sup> T43 [13].

<sup>175</sup> T43 [12].

<sup>176</sup> It is unlikely that there were many preaching occasions where the audience was exclusively scholarly. Although we know little about preaching locations in Oxford, it can generally be assumed that, as in Paris, masters and students regularly preached in parish churches to a mixed audience. See Bériou, 'L'avènement', pp. 109-21.



affairs is attributed to a desire to acquire 'lucrative knowledge',<sup>177</sup> while masters of theology are criticised for accepting multiple benefices, 'glorying in a multitude of names'.<sup>178</sup> Almost inevitably, there is a certain amount of contradiction in the moralising. In T48, scholars live in poverty 'until they reach the turning point in the race' at which they are converted to a concern for worldly honours;<sup>179</sup> in T34, clerics at Oxford are handed money without having to work for it.<sup>180</sup>

The second concern lies at the opposite end of the scholarly spectrum: those who seek knowledge for its own sake. T43 criticises those who are more interested in planetary movements than knowledge of themselves; they strive to understand love in intellectual terms rather than loving.<sup>181</sup> Behind both types of criticism lies the same concern for pastoral care which motivates the other clerical references within the sermons and it is likely that the intended audience for the clerically-focused sermons, T3 and T20-21, was also a scholarly one. As a whole, the sermons in this collection propound a particular view of the function of the academic life as a preparation for pastoral duties, rather than an opportunity to avoid them or a launchpad for a secular career. In this, as in every other respect, the sermons both reflect and try to influence social realities, the behaviour and attitudes of their audiences.

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<sup>177</sup> T20-21 [5].

<sup>178</sup> T70 [12].

<sup>179</sup> T48 [11].

<sup>180</sup> T34 [8].

<sup>181</sup> T43 [19]; see also T70 [33].

## CHAPTER IV

### Authorship and Textual Identity

#### 1. Introduction

In support of his attribution of all 33 of the works on fols 78-87 of MS A.III.12 to Grosseteste, Thomson puts forward several brief arguments. Firstly, many of the works 'appear among the *Dicta* or in the definitive *Comm. in Psalmos*'.<sup>1</sup> As for the rest,

[t]he authenticity of these unascribed sermons seems to me beyond doubt: their presence among other authenticated works of his which are also unascribed, thus putting them all on the same level; their tone; the fact that sermons by other writers are definitely ascribed to them so that the reader knows that he has another series of sermons, would all indicate the intent of the scribe.<sup>2</sup>

It is obvious that Thomson considers the *Dicta* and Psalms commentary extracts as his strongest evidence; in the case of the sermons on fols 122v-127, he has 'no better proof than their appearance in this place in this codex and their strongly Grossetestian tone and method'.<sup>3</sup>

Thomson's conclusions, which form the starting point for my own investigation, are based on two types of evidence: the first can be broadly defined as textual and material, based upon the manuscript context and form of the texts, while the second is internal, based on the content and 'tone' of the various pieces. As noted in the introduction to my thesis, addressing the question of authorship at this final stage in my study allows me to draw upon the analysis of manuscript context and the form and content of the texts presented in the preceding chapters. Furthermore, in revisiting the arguments for the authenticity of these works some sixty years after Thomson, I am able to benefit from a

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<sup>1</sup> Thomson, *Writings*, p. 182.

<sup>2</sup> Thomson, *Writings*, pp. 182-83.

<sup>3</sup> Thomson, *Writings*, p. 190.



steady growth of interest in Grosseteste's writings and career which owes much to the foundations laid by Thomson's extensive bibliographical studies. Many of Grosseteste's works have now been edited; most usefully for this project, a number of his sermons, pastoralia and theological works, including several which can be dated to the pre-episcopal period.<sup>4</sup> These editions, and the perceptive studies which accompany them, assist in refining the identification of a distinctively 'Grossetestian tone and method'.

The present chapter begins by summarising the material and textual evidence for viewing the texts on fols 78-87 and 104-127 of MS A.III.12 as a consciously compiled collection. It explores the rationale and possible circumstances which lie behind the compilation of the collection and considers some of the particular difficulties involved in establishing the authorship of these pieces. Focusing particularly upon the sermons, it then considers the internal evidence, examining them in the light of Grosseteste's theological and pastoral writings, in order to assess the probability of his authorship of the various texts in the collection.

## 2. The Texts as a Collection

The key to Thomson's argument lies in the intermingling of authenticated extracts from the *Dicta* collection and Psalms commentary with other texts, on the basis of which he treats the material as the work of a single author. As indicated in Chapter I, although Thomson was mistaken in attributing the whole of fols 78-87 and 104-122r to a single scribe, the physical evidence of the codex is sufficient to suggest that all these folios, and fols 122v-127, were written at the same time, as part of a single compilation. Indeed, identifying additional hands on fols 104ra-105ra, 112r-119v and 120r-122r lessens the significance of the change in hand which Thomson noted between fols 122r and 122v.

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<sup>4</sup> The exegetical works include *De decem mandatis*, *De cessatione legalium*, ed. by Richard C. Dales and Edward B. King (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1987), *Hexaëmeron*, ed. by Richard C. Dales and Servus Gieben (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1982) and the *Expositio in epistolam Sancti Pauli ad Galatas*, ed. by James McEvoy (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995). Joseph Goering and F. A. C. Mantello have edited a number of Grosseteste's pastoral works, including the *Templum Dei* and 'The Early Penitential Writings of Robert Grosseteste', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 54 (1987), 52-112.

As noted in Chapter I, these folios are copied and laid out in a neat and regular fashion which suggests they are the work of professional scribes. One may assume therefore that these scribes cannot be considered the compilers of the collection in the sense of being responsible for the selection of material. It is evident that the pieces ultimately derive from a range of sources but it is impossible to determine whether all these folios were copied from a single exemplar or whether many separate texts were gathered together to produce this specific copy. The changes in hand do not seem to correspond with the beginnings and ends of specific texts, except in the case of the clear break between fols 122r and 122v, which may suggest that the various texts were not each copied from an individual exemplar, but rather from a number of exemplars which were themselves already compilations.<sup>5</sup>

The physical evidence which connects the various texts, suggesting that they should be treated as a consciously compiled collection, must be evaluated alongside their diversity in form and development – features which were analysed in Chapter II. Some of the *dicciones*, authentic extracts from the *Dicta* collection, appear in the exact form in which they were later issued by Grosseteste himself, while other pieces read more like preparatory notes. Amongst the sermon texts, there are significant differences between the shorter pieces like T3 which seem to be based on *reportationes* and the longer, more developed texts. As noted in Chapter III, these differences may derive from variations in the sources or compositional processes of these texts or a combination of these factors.

### 3. The Rationale behind the Collection

I suggested in Chapter II that a major factor behind the compilation of this collection was the utility of the various sermons and non-sermon texts as material for preaching. This is generally assumed to be the case for many such mixed collections.<sup>6</sup> However, in

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<sup>5</sup> A comparison may be made with a series of sermons preached in Paris 1222-1228 by Thomas of Chobham and preserved in Canterbury Cathedral Library MS D7. According to Nicole Bériou, these sermons are in no particular order and were copied by a number of scribes working from several exemplars. The change from one hand to the next sometimes occurs in the middle of a phrase and the whole set of sermons is corrected and annotated by its compiler: 'L'avènement', p. 98.

<sup>6</sup> Wenzel, 'Sermon Collections', pp. 15-16.



the case of these folios, I think an additional, and much more specific, connection can be discerned between the pieces, one to which Thomson himself alluded, namely 'the intent of the scribe'. I believe that the compilation of this particular combination of texts is best explained by a conscious effort on the part of the compiler(s) to collect material for preaching associated with Robert Grosseteste.

In arguing for Grosseteste's authorship of all these texts, I think that Thomson was absolutely right to focus on 'the intent of the scribe' as fundamental to his case. However, the question of the authorship of the individual texts is more complex than Thomson appreciated. Although I would suggest that the compiler(s) connected these texts with Grosseteste, and that, therefore, a clear 'scribal intent' is discernible, this does not necessarily mean that Grosseteste was the author of every single text in the collection, or even that the compiler(s) considered him to be so.

Grosseteste was certainly not the author of the texts I have categorised as *sententiae*. In many cases, these are clearly labelled with their authors' names and they were obviously intended to be used as *auctoritates*; some of the passages from Augustine, Cassiodorus or Hrabanus, such as those in T7-8, are also found in the Psalms commentary. It is likely that they were taken, directly or indirectly, from Grosseteste's own notes and thus are linked with Grosseteste in this way. Other texts, such as the extracts from Isidore's *Synonyma*, lack any explicit connection to Grosseteste; it is impossible to determine whether they were incorporated into the Grossetestian material by the compilers of these folios or whether they were among *sententiae* compiled by Grosseteste himself and thus incorporated into these folios already juxtaposed with Grossetestian material. The pattern of their inclusion and repetition, alongside 'authentic' *sententiae*, perhaps suggests that the latter is the case.

The extract from Alain of Lille's *Summa de arte praedicatoria*, which Thomson attributed to Grosseteste along with the rest of the texts, similarly cannot be definitively linked with Grosseteste as author, compiler or user. In order to understand the rationale behind the presence of this extract within the collection, it is useful to consider it in

terms of its form and function. It consists of a number of abbreviated sermon outlines, each one addressed to a particular audience, and focuses on supplying suitable material and approaches for preaching to those audiences. When considered according to its genre, as an *ars praedicandi*, it is assumed to be distinct from other types of material for preaching. In fact, however, this extract is almost identical in form and function to the abbreviated sermons which surround it in the manuscript. Although its final sentence, 'Explicit ars predicandi' may set it apart, its beginning is largely indistinguishable from the other sermon texts.<sup>7</sup> It is possible, therefore, that the compiler(s) found them together and considered them all to be the work of a single author and suitable for the same task as preaching material.

I believe that the compiler or compilers' principles for the inclusion of material rest on Grosseteste's authority rather than his authorship, as well as on the usefulness of the material for preaching. The hypothesis of a compiler working with these criteria and making a conscious effort to gather together authoritative Grosseteste material from a range of sources, offers an explanation for why, for example, lists of authorities and odd paragraphs are repeated, *dicta* are incomplete or divided, and material from *Dictum 50* is present in more than one form.<sup>8</sup> It would also explain the variations in the form of the sermons and how *reportationes* came to be included alongside authoritative *dicta*.

According to this hypothesis, then, the collection is made up of *sententiae* collected for use either in preaching or teaching, *dicciones* composed in preparation for, and/or as a product of, teaching or preaching and sermons in various stages of development. The texts were gathered together because they were believed to be connected with Grosseteste in his roles as preacher and teacher, some directly or indirectly from his own notes and some from notes taken by listeners and because the Grosseteste connection was considered authoritative and useful. It must be remembered, however, that the belief and intent of scribes and compilers do not in themselves prove that

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<sup>7</sup> Thomson lists the extract from Alain's work and the preceding sermon as a single *ars praedicandi*; see Thomson, *Writings*, p. 121.

<sup>8</sup> As noted in Chapter II, *sententiae* from fol. 80ra-rb are repeated on fols 106vb-107rb and 113rb. In addition, the final two paragraphs of T43 are repeated after the end of T48; T51, T54, T56 and T58 are all individual parts of a single *dictum*; T49 and T52 are both incomplete *dicta*.



Grosseteste collected, composed or preached any of the material in the collection; other pieces of evidence can be adduced in order to make these sorts of connections between Grosseteste and the texts in this collection.

There is nothing particularly unusual about such a collection; Bériou has drawn attention to similar collections of *reportationes* mixed with authorised copies of sermons which were produced by and for the students of Parisian masters.<sup>9</sup> As noted in Chapter II, Grosseteste's own working habits particularly lend themselves to this sort of collection; he often left short notes on a variety of subjects without, as far as we can tell, always writing them up in a more polished form. The *Dicta* collection provides evidence of this practice and it bears many similarities to the collection of material in MS A.III.12 beyond the duplication of a considerable number of texts. It is easy to see the rationale behind Thomson's association of the *dicciones* in this manuscript with the authorised collection in terms of the form of the individual pieces as well as the overall shape and purpose of each compilation.

Nevertheless, it is the compilation of Grosseteste's Psalms commentary which I believe provides the best exemplar for the preparation of this collection. As noted in Chapter II, it has been suggested that at least the first version of the commentary was compiled by a student or students of Grosseteste in Oxford. The same impetus, to provide useful and authoritative Grossetestian material, seems to lie behind both collections. This congruity in the principles of compilation is in many ways more significant than the outward distinction between their forms as a biblical commentary and a collection of material for preaching. The two genres are not so far apart in the academic and pastoral context of the early thirteenth-century schools in which masters were expected to preach, and to prepare their students to become preachers.

I noted in Chapter II the duplication of texts between the two collections and the suitability of the same material for the purposes of both *lectio* and *praedicatio*; on a more general level, the contents of the Psalms commentary, particularly as it appears on

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<sup>9</sup> Bériou gives the example of Munich, Bayer Staatsbibliothek MS Clm 23372 which contains *reportationes*, reported notes and model sermons: 'L'avènement', p. 93.

fols 2-13 of MS A.III.12, are strikingly similar to what I have classified as preaching material on the later folios. Comments which can be directly related to psalm *lemmata* are interspersed with sermons, *dicciones* and patristic *sententiae*. Between the comments on Ps 1 and Ps 2, for example, the same discussion of poverty found on fol. 81 is included, as are a number of *sententiae* from Augustine and Cassiodorus.<sup>10</sup> From what is known of the textual relationship between MS A.III.12 and the other manuscripts of the Psalms commentary, the adaptation of various *Dicta* and *sententiae* to the commentary framework was not the work of the compiler(s) of fols 2-13 of MS A.III.12.<sup>11</sup>

To focus on defining this section of two quires as a version of Grosseteste's Psalms commentary risks overlooking the real rationale behind its compilation. From fol. 13rb onwards, the identity of the text as a commentary on the Psalms is increasingly called into question. Two *dicta* which are found in only one other Psalms commentary manuscript in an entirely different part of the commentary are followed by three other *dicta* which are not found in any of the other commentary manuscripts.<sup>12</sup> Finally, on fols 15-17, the last three folios of the second quire, there are six sermons and an etymological *diccio* in the same hand. The inclusion of the sermons suggests that the compilers of this section were also interested in preaching material, in the sense of both material which had been preached and material which could be used for preaching. In many ways, this whole section of the manuscript, fols 2-17, is as difficult to categorise as fols 78-87 and 104-127, and like the latter two groups of folios, it too seems to result from a deliberate decision to collect material from a number of sources because of its association with Grosseteste.

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<sup>10</sup> See Appendix I for the listing of these texts.

<sup>11</sup> On the textual transmission of the Psalms commentary, see Streitz, 'Commentarius in Psalmos', pp. 8-12 and Ginther, 'Super Psalterium', pp. 28-60.

<sup>12</sup> Two of these *dicta* are accompanied by diagrams. Southern comments, 'It seems quite certain that they are copied from Grosseteste's own drawings, for *Dictum* 95 is unintelligible without the drawing which accompanies it in this manuscript': *Growth of an English Mind*, p. 178, n. 10. The texts the diagrams accompany are authenticated *dicta*, deriving directly or indirectly from Grosseteste's notes. The presence of the diagrams does not necessarily, however, make a direct connection more likely since the texts themselves give a clear description of how the diagrams are to be visualised.



If a conscious effort to copy and collect material by Grosseteste can be discerned in both sections, it is plausible to suggest that something of the same impulse lies behind their ultimate proximity in the same composite manuscript. This assumes of course that the compiler(s) of the manuscript as a whole had an awareness of the connection of both these sets of unattributed texts with Grosseteste. Any suggestion that their inclusion in the same manuscript might not be deliberate is weakened by the recent identification of an extract from another authenticated work by Grosseteste on fols 55va-57vb.<sup>13</sup> This work is written in the same cursive hand which has extensively annotated the first 144 folios of the manuscript; the evidence of this particular scribe's close interest in the contents of these folios suggests the possibility that he may have played an active role in bringing these folios together. It is surely too much of a coincidence to expect that three sets of texts related to the same author should be selected for inclusion within a single manuscript without deliberate intent.

These works must be seen in the context of MS A.III.12 as a whole. It contains a range of texts including a biblical concordance, several sets of sermons and various extracts from biblical commentaries; some are written by important contemporary masters of theology, including the Dominicans Jordan of Saxony and Raymond of Peñafort. The whole codex is made up of works useful for biblical study, preaching and pastoral care. The inclusion of fols 2-17, 55va-57vb, 78-87 and 104-127 in MS A.III.12 among such texts was based upon two major factors: their association with the figure of Grosseteste, whether as author or authority, and their utility as practical pastoral and educational texts.

#### 4. Difficulties of Establishing Authorship

I have already considered, in Chapter II, some of the particular complexities associated with establishing the authorship of sermon texts; particularly in the case of *reportationes*, a number of individuals are involved and the end product may not necessarily be authorised by the original preacher. In addition, Chapter III highlighted

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<sup>13</sup> These folios contain an extract from Grosseteste's *De libero arbitrio*, as identified by James Ginther (personal communication, 1999).

the use and reuse of material within sermons from a wide range of sources. There is a sense in which a sermon is always an intertextual compilation as well as the product of a single author. Grosseteste himself borrowed, often extensively from a range of sources. As I noted in Chapter II, T3 and *Dictum* 35 either borrow from or are influenced by a sermon preached by Jordan of Saxony which is also found in MS A.III.12. Although the other two sermons by Jordan which have been edited demonstrate no other parallels with the sermons edited here, it is possible that a close examination of the rest of Jordan's sermons may reveal further shared material and thus further increase our knowledge of Grosseteste's own working methods and resources and the connections between these two preachers.<sup>14</sup>

Two other sermons attributed to Grosseteste which also display extensive verbal and thematic borrowing have recently been edited by James McEvoy.<sup>15</sup> The sermon on the cross is closely modelled on Hrabanus Maurus' *De laudibus sanctae crucis* in which the virtues are arranged in the shape of a cross; the treatise is often accompanied by diagrams in the manuscripts.<sup>16</sup> Grosseteste draws on this model, enumerating seven crosses including the cross of penance with regard to sins against God (above), friends (to the right), enemies (to the left) and the body and other creatures (beneath); the four cardinal virtues and the gospels are arranged likewise.<sup>17</sup> The major source of the sermon on the ten commandments, which is found in a single manuscript, London, British Library MS Harley 979, is Hugh of St Victor's *De sacramentis*. McEvoy comments that in the treatment of five of the commandments, 'the sermon turns out to be largely a paraphrase, even though with extensions and additions, of the longer work'.<sup>18</sup>

This kind of extensive borrowing, even paraphrasing, problematises the notion of Grosseteste's authorship even of sermons which are securely attributed to him. There are further implications of this process of composition through the reuse of others' material. If Grosseteste's own writings, and perhaps oral preaching, were a source for

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<sup>14</sup> Bernard Hödl is preparing an edition of Jordan's sermons under the supervision of Prof. Nicole Bériou at the Université de Lyon.

<sup>15</sup> 'Grosseteste on the Cross and Redemptive Love; 'Edition of a Sermon on the Decalogue'.

<sup>16</sup> McEvoy, 'Grosseteste on the Cross and Redemptive Love', p. 294.

<sup>17</sup> McEvoy, 'Grosseteste on the Cross and Redemptive Love', p. 291.

<sup>18</sup> McEvoy, 'Edition of a Sermon on the Decalogue', p. 235.



other preachers, then even if a sermon contains a 'distinctively Grossetestian' turn of phrase or similitude, it does not necessarily follow that the whole text can be attributed to him.<sup>19</sup> Grosseteste's status as master, lector, and later, bishop increases the likelihood that his ideas and expressions would be adopted by others; indeed his issuing of a collection of self-contained *dicta* encourages, and perhaps also responds to, the recycling of his material by other preachers and writers.

As noted above, the possibilities of identifying 'distinctively Grossetestian' ideas and expressions have increased and have also been rendered more complex as more of his work has been edited. With the editing of various works in several genres, an appreciation of the sheer range of registers he employs has also emerged to complicate the picture. There are very few figures in any age who produce works as diverse as scientific treatises, philosophical translations, biblical commentaries, sermons, rules for running a household and allegorical poetry. Even within the relatively restricted field of theological and pastoral writings, Grosseteste can be observed modifying his delivery according to the needs and abilities of his audience. He even sought to address a broader literate lay audience directly on spiritual matters by composing the allegorical poems 'Le mariage des neuf filles du diable' and 'Le château d'amour' in Anglo-Norman.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> The reuse and reshaping of functional material for preaching closely resembles the treatment of other types of pastoral material in the same period. As the editors note, Grosseteste's early writings on penance served as a source for other writers; see Goering and Mantello, 'Early Penitential Writings', pp. 52-71. With regard to one of these texts, the *De modo confitendi*, Goering comments, 'We identified some thirty manuscript witnesses to this work, and discovered that it is not a single treatise but a collection of diverse writings on penance and confession that various scribes had excerpted and re-assembled in different ways to suit their own interests': 'When and Where did Grosseteste Study Theology?', p. 29.

<sup>20</sup> The former is edited by P. Meyer in *Romania*, 29 (1900), 61-72; the latter by Jacqueline Murray, *Le château d'amour de Robert Grosseteste, évêque de Lincoln* (Paris: Champion, 1918). A new edition and translation of 'Le château d'amour' has been prepared by Evelyn Mackie; the translation will be published in a forthcoming volume of collected essays marking the 750<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Grosseteste's death edited by Mary E. O'Carroll and Michael Robson. Regarding 'Le château d'amour', Richard Southern comments, 'The literary genre to which it belongs is so far removed from contemporary forms of scholastic or doctrinal theology that its importance as a witness to Grosseteste's theological thought has escaped our attention'. For Southern, the poem is 'the nearest [Grosseteste] came to a *Summa Theologiae*' and 'the fullest expression of his pastoral theology for a lay audience': Southern, *Growth of an English Mind*, pp. 224-25.



Some indication of possible variations in the 'Grossetestian tone and method' can be discerned by briefly considering some of his treatises on penitence and confession.<sup>21</sup> The most popular of his works on the subject, judging by the number of extant manuscripts, is the *Templum Dei*, which is a practical instruction manual for confessors; all the relevant information is laid out in schematic *distinctio* form. Many of the same themes and ideas are presented in a more extended form and more sophisticated prose in the treatise *Deus est*.<sup>22</sup> Comparing the two works, Wenzel comments, 'the entire treatment in "Deus est" is much more sophisticated than in the *Templum Domini*. In contrast to the introductory allegory of the temple in *Templum Domini*, the preamble of "Deus est" with its Dionysian theology stands on a decidedly higher level'.<sup>23</sup> These differences derive, at least in part, from the different intended audiences and functions of the two works: the *Templum Dei* is a handbook for parochial clergy while the *Deus est* is a *summa* aimed at a more learned clerical audience. Similarly the two parts of Grosseteste's penitential treatise, *Perambulavit Iudas* are explicitly addressed to different audiences and are very different in form.<sup>24</sup> The first part offers a personal guide for penitential self-examination written for a learned friend, whom the editors suggest was a monastic superior; the second part is a more general guide to confession written for 'simpliciores fratres'.<sup>25</sup>

Although these pastoral works differ in style and tone, it has generally been possible to identify parallel passages or distinctive treatments of particular elements of penitence to confirm that they are indeed by Grosseteste.<sup>26</sup> However, there are several examples of works by Grosseteste on a single theme or text which demonstrate no such correlation. Comparing Grosseteste's sermon on the cross and his biblical commentary, McEvoy

<sup>21</sup> These variations in tone and method have been pointed out by Goering and Mantello, the editors of several of Grosseteste's penitential writings; see their 'Notus in Iudea Deus: Robert Grosseteste's Confessional Formula in Lambeth Palace MS 499', *Viator*, 18 (1987), 253-73, esp. pp. 253-54.

<sup>22</sup> Siegfried Wenzel, 'Robert Grosseteste's Treatise on Confession, *Deus Est*', *Franciscan Studies*, 30 (1970), 218-93.

<sup>23</sup> Wenzel, '*Deus Est*', p. 236. (*Templum Domini* is an alternative title for the *Templum Dei*, attested in several manuscripts).

<sup>24</sup> Joseph Goering and F. A. C. Mantello, 'The *Perambulavit Iudas... (Speculum confessionis)* Attributed to Robert Grosseteste', *Révue bénédictine*, 96 (1986), 125-68.

<sup>25</sup> Goering and Mantello, '*Perambulavit Iudas*', pp. 132-34.

<sup>26</sup> See, for example, the appendix to Goering and Mantello's edition of the *Templum Dei*, pp. 73-86, which identifies parallel passages in the *Deus est*.



confesses himself, 'quite surprised to find that the commentary on Gal 5:24 and the sermon on the same verse have little or nothing in common'.<sup>27</sup> He finds a similar 'lack of significant correlation' between Grosseteste's sermon on the decalogue and the treatise *De decem mandatis*.<sup>28</sup> With regard to preaching texts in particular, it is evident that various shifting factors, including audience and the status of the written text in relation to an oral preaching event, complicate attempts to identify 'typical' characteristics and securely attribute authorship.<sup>29</sup>

We know that Grosseteste as preacher addressed a number of discrete audiences; among the small number of his sermons which have been studied or edited, one was delivered to a monastic audience, another has been identified as his magisterial inception sermon, addressed to an academic audience and a third was delivered 'in loco paupertatis et inter professores paupertatis'.<sup>30</sup> It must also be remembered that Grosseteste had an extensive preaching career, as a master, priest, archdeacon and bishop, and that his preaching style changed and developed over time. This is principally evident in the sources he employs; several of his episcopal sermons, for example, show the influence of Pseudo-Dionysius, whose works Grosseteste translated during his episcopacy.<sup>31</sup>

With regard to Grosseteste's preaching texts, Siegfried Wenzel comments, 'Grosseteste was indeed capable of a variety of styles, as can be seen when one compares the wooden allegories of some of his *Dicta* and shorter sermons with the much more polished, refined discourses in several longer sermons'.<sup>32</sup> It is perhaps useful to place Grosseteste's sermons on a spectrum, based on their structure, language, use of sources and content. At one end of the spectrum, we find texts such as 'Ecclesia sancta

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<sup>27</sup> McEvoy, 'Grosseteste on the Cross and Redemptive Love', p. 289.

<sup>28</sup> McEvoy, 'Edition of a Sermon on the Decalogue', p. 231

<sup>29</sup> In the case of the sermon on the cross, McEvoy concludes, 'If the sermon differs from the commentary that is very likely due to their contrasting destinations. The former was written, not for a learned readership but for the popular pulpit': 'Edition of a Sermon on the Decalogue', p. 290.

<sup>30</sup> For Sermon 85, addressed to a monastic audience, see Ginther, 'Monastic Ideals and Episcopal Visitations'; for Grosseteste's inception sermon (*Dictum* 19), see Ginther, 'Natural Philosophy and Theology at Oxford'. According to Servus Gieben, 'the place of poverty' in which Sermon 1 was delivered is the Franciscan house of studies at Oxford; see Servus Gieben, 'Robert Grosseteste and the Evolution of the Franciscan Order' in *Robert Grosseteste: New Perspectives*, ed. McEvoy, pp. 215-32.

<sup>31</sup> See McEvoy, 'Robert Grosseteste's Theory of Human Nature', pp. 137-38; Ginther, 'Monastic Ideals and Episcopal Visitations', p. 235.

<sup>32</sup> Wenzel, '*Deus Est*', p. 236.



celebrat', a sermon preached on Easter Sunday and addressed primarily, if not exclusively, to the clergy.<sup>33</sup> It is a long and profoundly philosophical meditation on grace which draws extensively on Augustine, Aristotle, Avicenna and Pseudo-Dionysius. Its editor questions the intended audience of such a learned work; much of its message would seem to be beyond the comprehension of all but an educated minority.<sup>34</sup> It does not seem likely that it was delivered in the form in which it is extant (if indeed it was delivered at all).

'Ecclesia sancta celebrat' is clearly distinct from, for example, the sermon on the cross noted above. The latter is much shorter and based on simple visual metaphor with a clear mnemonic structure. The sermons contained on fols 78-87 and 104-127 of MS A.III.12 can generally be placed closer to the latter text in terms of their structure, content and use of sources, as well as in their written form, even those like T3, 'Exemplum esto fidelium' which are aimed at clerical rather than lay audiences. The relatively simple structure and rather commonplace content of the sermons in MS A.III.12 may, as King suggests, reflect the fact that their author was 'something of a novice theologically and homiletically', but the intended audience and the transmission of the texts must also be taken into account.<sup>35</sup>

Grosseteste's sermons and his other pastoral writings composed in different registers for a range of audiences must be set in the context of the huge increase in the number and type of pastoral writings, particularly following the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215.<sup>36</sup> In classifying and defining the genre of pastoralia, which includes sermons, confessional guides, treatises on the virtues and vices and episcopal constitutions,

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<sup>33</sup> McEvoy, 'Robert Grosseteste's Theory of Human Nature'.

<sup>34</sup> McEvoy notes that the theme of the sermon is a demanding one and 'it is difficult to imagine Grosseteste treating [it] in a simple way, even if he did not have the text before his eyes in the precise form that the reader does now': 'Ecclesia sancta celebrat', pp. 133-34.

<sup>35</sup> King, 'MS A.III.12', p. 284.

<sup>36</sup> Leonard E. Boyle, 'The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology', in *The Popular Literature of Medieval England*, ed. by Thomas J. Heffernan (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985), pp. 30-43; *idem*, 'Summae confessorum', in *Les genres littéraires dans les sources théologiques et philosophiques médiévales: définition, critique et exploitation, Actes du colloque international de Louvain-la-Neuve, 25-27 mai 1981* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université catholique de Louvain, 1982), pp. 227-37; Joseph Goering, 'Pastoralia: The Popular Literature of the Care of Souls', in *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, ed. by F. A. C. Mantello and A. G. Rigg (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1996), pp. 670-76.



Leonard Boyle has demonstrated how these different types of texts relate to the practical duties of pastoral care and to each other.<sup>37</sup> As more examples of pastoral literature have been studied and edited over the past few decades, it has also been possible to recognise the extent to which they develop and employ moral and theological tropes and commonplaces. Bella Millett's careful study of the 'conditions of confession' topos offers an insight into the complexities of these intertextual traditions which are revealed more in the reshaping of a common core of material than in identifiable direct borrowings. As Millett points out, 'the difficulty of tracing links between works can be at least partly explained by the relative importance in this period, even in learned circles, of the spoken word as a means of transmitting knowledge'.<sup>38</sup>

Without an awareness of such commonplaces, it is tempting to posit a direct relationship between works which are more loosely connected as products of the same broad academic and pastoral milieu with the same ultimate purpose. It is worthwhile examining a single instance of this particular temptation, since it offers a specific insight into the sermons edited below. In 1975, E. J. Dobson, a respected scholar of the thirteenth-century work of guidance for female recluses *Ancrene Wisse*, claimed to have discovered an important direct source of the work, a unedited Latin work attributed to Grosseteste entitled *Moralia super Evangelia*.<sup>39</sup> In his study, Dobson offered a strong argument against Grosseteste's authorship of the work and presented over one hundred passages from the *Moralia* which he believed paralleled passages in *Ancrene Wisse*.

In a review of Dobson's work in *Speculum*, Richard Rouse and Siegfried Wenzel accepted his contention that the *Moralia* was not written by Grosseteste but disputed that it was a direct source for *Ancrene Wisse*.<sup>40</sup> Wenzel noted that most of Dobson's parallels were tenuous, often dependent upon an identical biblical quotation. Even when there was a significant verbal correspondence, Wenzel was able to provide other

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<sup>37</sup> According to Boyle, pastoralia 'embraces any and every literary aid or manual which may be of help to a priest in his *cura animarum*, whether with respect to his own education or that of the people in his charge': 'Fourth Lateran Council', p. 31. Both this article and his 'Summae confessorum' include a diagram in *distinctio* form setting out the contents of the genre.

<sup>38</sup> Millett, 'Conditions of Confession', p. 203.

<sup>39</sup> E. J. Dobson, *Moralities on the Gospels: A New Source of 'Ancrene Wisse'* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975).

<sup>40</sup> *Speculum*, 52 (1977), 648-52.

examples of pastoral literature to confirm the parallel was dependent upon a theological commonplace rather than a direct borrowing. Indeed the value of the *Moralia super Evangelia* may lie not in its relationship with one particular work, but rather as a source for identifying such commonplaces. It was after all designed as a compendium of moral and exegetical material suitable for pastoral use.

Amongst the numerous passages quoted by Dobson, I have identified several verbal and thematic parallels with the sermons I have edited.<sup>41</sup> The most extensive correspondence concerns T74, which is structured around an allegory of the three elements required of a marriage – consent, a ring and a dowry – to portray the soul’s relationship with God. The same allegory occurs in very similar terms in the *Moralia*: ‘And note that just as in carnal marriage these things are required: mutual consent, expression of consent, a dowry and a ring, so also in spiritual marriage’.<sup>42</sup> It is plausible to assume that this derives from a common tradition.<sup>43</sup>

Only one of the passages quoted by Dobson suggests the possibility of a closer relationship between the *Moralia* and the sermons:

And so devoted prayer ought to be through tears. As Bede says, ‘Tears have the authority of a voice; they do not beg, they command’.<sup>44</sup>

The same passage is quoted in T22, but this is not in itself significant;<sup>45</sup> what is notable is that both works attribute the quotation to Bede, though the first half of it is actually from Ovid. It is not quoted in any work written by or attributed to Bede, so far as I have

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<sup>41</sup> The final section of T71, in which God’s love for humankind is discussed, is paralleled by a passage in the *Moralia*. T71 offers three examples: God loves us more than a mother loves her son, more than a bridegroom loves his bride and finally, more than the soul loves the body. All three are present in the same order in the *Moralia*’s treatment of the same theme; see Dobson, *Moralities*, p. 175. Also commonplace is the reference in T71 [10] and the *Moralia* to sinful man as the ‘*equus diaboli*’; see Dobson, *Moralities*, p. 149.

<sup>42</sup> ‘Et notandum quod sicut in carnali matrimonio requiruntur hec: mutuus consensus, expressio consensus, dos et anulus, similiter in hoc spirituali’: Oxford, Lincoln College, MS 79, fol. 147v, cited from Goering, ‘The *De dotibus* of Robert Grosseteste’, p. 87, n. 16.

<sup>43</sup> Dobson, *Moralities*, p. 130.

<sup>44</sup> ‘Item deuota debet esse oratio in lacrimis. Vnde Beda: ‘Lacrime pondera uocis habent’ non supplicant sed imperant’: Lincoln College MS 79, fol. 161, as cited in Dobson, *Moralities*, p. 144.

<sup>45</sup> T22 [10].



been able to establish. Such a verbal parallel is far more likely to depend upon a written source than the general theological commonplaces but even it does not necessarily indicate a direct borrowing or common source; it is possible that the misattribution of this *sententia* is a long-established textual tradition.

Investigating the parallels between the sermons in MS A.III.12 and the passages from the *Moralia* offers a useful reminder of the care needed in establishing connections between texts. The presence of theological commonplaces, when identified as such, may still be an important marker of the general provenance of a text, but it is the analysis of the way in which such elements are applied and developed which can assist in identifying more specific intertextual relationships. Even if such relationships cannot always be identified, the presence of parallel material in texts like the *Moralia* does assist in setting the sermons in this collection in the context of the academic and pastoral environment of early thirteenth-century England. In their review of Dobson's work, Wenzel and Rouse comment, 'the problem here is that we still know so very little about the activity of lecturing and commenting on the *sacra pagina* by English authors between, roughly, 1150 and 1250'.<sup>46</sup> Over the past twenty-five years, many studies and editions have begun to change this, but it is still necessary to acknowledge the gaps in our knowledge; there is still much that is obscure regarding the career and writings of Grosseteste himself, perhaps the best-known English scholastic and pastoral theologian of the period.

## 5. Authorial Identity

Taking into account all these warnings, I wish to evaluate Thomson's contention that the sermons in this manuscript display a 'strongly Grossetestian tone and method'. This assertion of authorship is of course strongly impressionistic, depending upon the identification of elusive qualities of an individual style, and is, therefore, not necessarily wholly appropriate to the study of medieval sermons given their complex intertextual construction and function.

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<sup>46</sup> *Speculum*, 52 (1977), 652.

In order to construct a suitable framework for a more systematic assessment of the nature of this collection, the preceding chapters have analysed the manuscript, textual context, structure and content of the sermons and I would now like to bring together various elements of this analysis which can illuminate the question of authorial identity. I will also review this information in the light of what is known of Grosseteste's life, work and ideas in the period in which these sermons were composed in order to set this evidence alongside that taken from the manuscript context of the sermons.

As noted in Chapter I, the texts have been dated to the period 1230-32; this does not necessarily mean that the texts were preached between those dates, but we know that the sermons of Jordan of Saxony alongside them in the manuscript were preached 1229-30, only shortly before they were recorded.<sup>47</sup> The clues which the sermons provide concerning their audience and the circumstances in which they were delivered all concur with what we know of Grosseteste's responsibilities at this point in his career. He was both archdeacon of Leicester (1229-1232) and lector to the Franciscans in Oxford (1229-1235) and thus involved in the formation, training and supervision of both secular clerics and the first generation of English mendicants. The sermons in this collection were delivered to a range of audiences, some exclusively clerical but most including both clerical and lay members. The sermons addressed to the clergy admonish them and remind them of their duties in a way which suggests the preacher speaks with some degree of authority, although there is no specific indication of his position.

Several sermons address or discuss *colares* in a way which makes it clear that the preacher and some of his audience are members of a scholarly community and one of the sermons locates this community in Oxford.<sup>48</sup> There are some brief, rather banal references to principles of geometry and astronomy in the sermons which suggest that their preacher had some training in the liberal arts.<sup>49</sup> It may be objected that by 1229,

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<sup>47</sup> Little and Douie, 'Three Sermons of Jordan of Saxony', pp. 2-6.

<sup>48</sup> T34 [8]; the text reads 'Parisie vel Oxonie' but the first two words are added in the margin in a different hand.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. T69 [2]: 'O how shameful it is when the whole is conquered by the part and the rule of geometry is transcended which states that every whole is greater than its part'.



Grosseteste was the author of a number of treatises on astronomy and other scientific disciplines and the sermons in no way reflect the sophisticated understanding displayed in these works.<sup>50</sup> I think that such references are better understood as a reflection of the level of awareness expected of the sermon's audience; they acted as a brief display of shared knowledge to bond preacher and audience, and therefore Grosseteste's authorship cannot be ruled out on this account.

The pastoral focus of the theology outlined in the sermons is entirely in keeping with Grosseteste's concerns in this period, and indeed throughout his career.<sup>51</sup> The *Templum Dei* and his Psalms commentary, both composed around the same time as these sermons, display two applications of Grosseteste's pastoral theology.<sup>52</sup> The first is rigorously practical, setting out in diagrammatic form the canonical and doctrinal conditions of confession while the second adopts pastoral care as the focus for an ecclesiological interpretation of the Psalms. The importance of pastoral care is also a central element of the message of the sermons in MS A.III.12. Two main aspects are prominent: firstly, an exhortation to the sacrament of penance – through the proper process of contrition, confession and satisfaction – and secondly, a clear and elevated view of the nature of pastoral responsibility. Of course, neither of these concerns is at all unusual in the sermons of the period and they do not in themselves provide clear evidence of Grosseteste's authorship.

The clearest overall summary of the theology of the sermons is given in the protheme to T48, which describes three books written 'ad nostram doctrinam': the book of nature, the book of grace and the book of scripture.<sup>53</sup> The sermons as a whole draw on all three of these to put across their message. According to T48, within the book of nature, each living creature represents a letter; the world is a city of letters in which each element can bear witness to its Creator. This Augustinian view provides a rationale within the

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<sup>50</sup> With regard to the period prior to 1235, McEvoy comments, 'It seems certain that Grosseteste taught the liberal arts [...] the grasp of logic he was to display in his mature years, as well as that of geometry and astronomy, gives the strong impression of a teacher of wide and lengthy experience': *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 81.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Boyle, 'Robert Grosseteste and the Pastoral Care'.

<sup>52</sup> Goering and Mantello date the *Templum Dei* c. 1220-1230: *Templum Dei*, p. 6.

<sup>53</sup> T48 [1]-[6].

sermons for the use of similitudes based on the natural world as exemplars of the divine message: the petals of the rose in T26, the flight of the hawk in T69, and the healing properties of the sapphire in T72. The material of the book of grace, according to T48, is the reconciliation of the human race through the Incarnation. The audience is encouraged to know the title and order of this book and to respond appropriately; the sermons characterise this response in a number of ways, primarily through the sacrament of penance and following in Christ's footsteps, whether on the journey or in battle.<sup>54</sup>

The final book, the book of scripture, must not only be read, according to T48, but also taught and lived; the sermon cites Gregory, 'When the precepts of the gospel are carried in action, they crown in remuneration'.<sup>55</sup> Within the sermons, both testaments are expounded as witnesses of divine truth through tropological and allegorical interpretation in particular. The final end of all the sermons, as summarised in the concluding prayer of T48's protheme, is to learn about Christ and to come to know God better, 'in affectu qua intellectu', through this reading of the book of love.<sup>56</sup>

It is possible to examine how this general outline of the theological character of the sermons fits in with what we know of Grosseteste's approach. With the benefit of many years of study and reflection on the writings of Grosseteste, James McEvoy in his most recent book offers an overview for a general audience of Grosseteste's 'personal theological stamp'.<sup>57</sup> In its broadest terms, McEvoy states that 'Grosseteste's theology is trinitarian, Christocentric, and biblical in character, its biblicism being of that mystical-allegorical and spiritual variety that goes right back to Origen [...] he remained within the patristic trinitarian outlook, which found the tri-personality of God revealed and manifested in creation and in both Testaments'.<sup>58</sup> The sermons in this collection could sit comfortably within the general framework outlined by McEvoy, espousing the

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<sup>54</sup> See T42, for example, which is structured around following Christ's earthly journey.

<sup>55</sup> T48 [5].

<sup>56</sup> T48 [6].

<sup>57</sup> McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste*, chapter 9 (pp. 122-39). Assessing Grosseteste's theological approach is difficult since no overall consideration of Grosseteste as theologian has yet been completed; James Ginther is currently completing a monograph on the subject.

<sup>58</sup> McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 124.



same Augustinian values of biblical and natural interpretation and relying for their arguments more on *auctoritates* and similitudes than the application of dialectic.<sup>59</sup> Southern's assessment of Grosseteste's theological approach further confirms the general correspondence of these texts: 'The aim of his theology was the increase of devotion: not mere knowledge, but knowledge with love, a pastoral aim',<sup>60</sup> echoing the aims of the *liber amoris* in T48 as noted above.

Such general impressions do not settle the question of authorship by any means, but they do go some way towards a confirmation of 'tone' and 'method'; to go further requires a more specific investigation of the sermons in the light of Grosseteste's theological approach. Within his brief overview, McEvoy draws upon the range of texts which have been edited over the past thirty years or so and singles out what he considers to be Grosseteste's 'original and most personal positions'.<sup>61</sup> These include Grosseteste's convictions concerning 'the absolute predestination of Christ', 'the infinite voluntary suffering of the Redeemer' and 'the creation of the world in time'. Some, like the last-mentioned, are contributions to contemporary debates; others evolved from his engagement with patristic sources, both Greek and Latin. Of all the elements McEvoy highlights, only one bears any relation to the themes and content of the sermons in this collection: 'the order of love'.

The absence of other distinctive elements of Grosseteste's theology from these sermons does not, of course, necessarily indicate that these are not his sermons. McEvoy does not set out to offer a holistic view of Grosseteste's theological vision and it cannot be expected that all these elements would be present throughout his work. Some, such as his appreciation of the harmony between the Greek and Latin theological traditions, really belong to a later period of his scholarly development. One also has to ask whether these distinctive and original approaches to 'the absolute predestination of Christ' or 'the creation of the world in time' are necessarily suitable *materia predicabilis* for

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<sup>59</sup> Neil Lewis comments that in his exegesis, Grosseteste 'eschewed the increasingly popular dialectical methods such as the *quaestio* or syllogistic structuring of the text of Scripture': 'Robert Grosseteste and the Church Fathers', in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, ed. by Irena Backus, 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 1997), I, 197-229 (pp. 198-99).

<sup>60</sup> Southern, *Growth of an English Mind*, p. 224.

<sup>61</sup> McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 123.

Grosseteste the pastor to present to his particular audience(s) on the occasions represented by these texts. Such elements are present in his elaborate episcopal sermons, like ‘Ecclesia sancta celebrat’, but, as noted above, this text is highly unlikely to have been preached in its extant form. It is very different from the unpolished sermons found in MS A.III.12 whose gaps, errors and inconsistencies represent a much closer affinity with an oral preaching event. This contrast highlights the practical character of the MS A.III.12 sermons which are shaped for or by oral delivery to a range of audiences; even if Grosseteste was adopting theologically distinctive positions on complex themes in his preaching, it is unlikely that such material would be selected for reuse by the compiler of a collection such as this. As I noted in Chapter III, repetition and familiarity rather than novelty are the key elements of successful pastoral preaching.

Given the content and context of this collection, it is not surprising therefore that the one distinctive element McEvoy emphasises that is found in these sermons is a theology of love. Throughout his writing, ‘Grosseteste appeals to the priority of love within the intellectual life in a multiplicity of contexts, using his *aspectus/affectus* distinction in ways which reveal the pervasive influence upon him of St. Augustine’s ideal of *amor ordinatus*’.<sup>62</sup> These sermons do indeed place love at the centre of their pastoral theology. The final section of T35 comments on the nature of love, the way to love both God and neighbour and the rewards of love, dealing only in passing with the order of love.<sup>63</sup> The Augustinian concept is only expounded more fully in T43, which we know can be attributed to Grosseteste in some form.<sup>64</sup> There *amor ordinatus* is commended: ‘Therefore every man ought to meditate and dedicate his whole concern to ensuring that love is in its proper rank and not taste or other physical factors’.<sup>65</sup> The sermons also draw upon Bernard of Clairvaux’s moral theology of love, that God must be loved ‘fortiter, sapienter et suaviter’, which, for example, forms the framework for T71. T44-45 offers a further role for love in the conception of pastoral care as the spiritual procreation of offspring.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 136.

<sup>63</sup> T35 [22]-[28].

<sup>64</sup> See Chapter II, section 3.

<sup>65</sup> T43 [19].

<sup>66</sup> See T44-45 [5]. This concept seems rather commonplace but is reminiscent of the metaphor of spiritual procreation Grosseteste employs in presenting the relationship between teacher and student, as expressed



On balance, even given the unlikelihood of many of these distinctive elements appearing in such texts as those in MS A.III.12, it must be acknowledged that the echoes of specifically Grossetestian theological concerns among the sermons are loudest in one of the few which can be securely attributed to him. Such findings, principally based on absence of positive evidence, do little to shift the balance of probability against Grosseteste's authorship of the rest of the sermons. More specific verbal and thematic comparisons with his authenticated works from the same period can provide positive evidence which may shift the balance back towards the probability of his authorship of at least certain of the sermons.

The first text which proves useful for comparison with the sermons in MS A.III.12 was identified by Edward King in his edition of T6, namely Grosseteste's treatise *De decem mandatis*.<sup>67</sup> According to its editors, King himself and Richard Dales, it should be dated 'in or slightly later than 1230'.<sup>68</sup> It is a pastoral work of moral instruction written in simple language and structured around the exegesis of the ten commandments. It seems to have been intended to provide both instruction for priests and *materia predicabilis*; as McEvoy notes, 'the book is rich in brief *exempla* [...] [which] would have been very easy for preachers to excerpt and retail'.<sup>69</sup> King discovered a number of expressions and images in the sermon he edited which can also be found in the treatise.<sup>70</sup>

Perhaps the most obvious is the *auctoritas* quoted in T6 and in *De decem mandatis*: 'Pasce fame orientem. Si non pavisti, occidisti'.<sup>71</sup> The same authority is repeated in T1 and there are several other echoes of the treatise in this sermon. T1 [7] emphasises that loving God completely means loving Him not only when he gives, but also when He, the 'iustus ablator', takes away; a similar point is made in the treatise's discussion

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in his Galatians commentary; see McEvoy, 'Robert Grosseteste on Educative Love', in McEvoy, ed., *Robert Grosseteste: New Perspectives*, pp. 289-311.

<sup>67</sup> King, 'MS A.III.12', pp. 284-88.

<sup>68</sup> Dales and King, eds, *De decem mandatis*, p. vii.

<sup>69</sup> McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 105.

<sup>70</sup> King, 'MS A.III.12', p. 288.

<sup>71</sup> King, 'MS A.III.12', p. 287; Dales and King, eds, *De decem mandatis*, p. 62.

of the first commandment.<sup>72</sup> There are reminiscences of other sermons within the treatise but nothing which amounts to more than theological commonplaces or standard interpretations of biblical passages. Once again, however, the only positive evidence for Grosseteste's authorship relates to a text which has already received a certain degree of external confirmation; T1 is duplicated in part on fol. 17vb of MS A.III.12, at the end of a collection of authenticated *Dicta* and extracts from Grosseteste's Psalms commentary.<sup>73</sup>

A second treatise, which also dates from the period of Grosseteste's lectorship, provides further material for comparison.<sup>74</sup> The topic of the *dotes*, the endowments of the blessed in heaven, is a popular one in treatises and sermons during the first half of the thirteenth century and is discussed in three of the sermons in this collection, T26, T41 and T69. T26 lists seven *dotes* of the glorified body derived from Anselm, whose writings represent an early stage in the tradition.<sup>75</sup> Later authors generally identified seven *dotes*: *visio*, *dilectio* and *fruitio*, the three gifts of the glorified soul, and *agilitas*, *subtilitas*, *claritas* and *impassibilitas*, the four gifts of the glorified body. These are set out in T41, although *visio* is replaced by *vera cognicio*, *dilectio* by *caritas* and *claritas* by *splendor*.<sup>76</sup> T69 mentions only the four *dotes* of the body.<sup>77</sup> When the treatment of the *dotes* in these sermons is compared with Grosseteste's treatise, it is clear that there is no real correspondence. The treatise, for instance, associates each of the corporal *dotes* with a particular virtue; this is echoed by the treatment of the theme in the *Templum Dei*, but is not found in the sermons in MS A.III.12.<sup>78</sup> It is not possible to argue from the absence of correspondence between the treatises and the sermons that they have

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<sup>72</sup> 'Hii sunt qui Deum amant inferiorum bonorum largitorem et odiunt eundem eorum bonorum abutentibus iustum ablatorem': Dales and King, eds, *De decem mandatis*, p. 7.

<sup>73</sup> See Appendix I, the listing of the contents of MS A.III.12.

<sup>74</sup> Goering, 'The *De dotibus*'.

<sup>75</sup> T26 [8]. Anselm listed a total of fourteen heavenly beatitudes, seven each pertaining to body and soul: Goering, 'The *De dotibus*', p. 84.

<sup>76</sup> T41 [6]; these slight differences in terminology seem to be common in the tradition; see Goering, 'The *De dotibus*', p. 93.

<sup>77</sup> T69 [28].

<sup>78</sup> Goering, 'The *De dotibus*', p. 93. In addition, the biblical verse from which T69 derives its interpretation of the *dotes*, Apoc 2:17, is not one of the authorities used in the treatise; see *ibid.*, p. 97.



different authors; as Goering acknowledges, the topos as used in Grosseteste's authenticated works differs in detail, depending upon the particular circumstances.<sup>79</sup>

The final authenticated work of Grosseteste which I would like to consider in relation to these sermons is not a treatise, but rather a work of reference, his *Tabula*.<sup>80</sup> The *Tabula* which is contained in a single manuscript, Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale MS 414 (*olim* 340), is an index of the Bible and a range of other authorities arranged thematically; each subject is represented by a symbol and the same symbols are also found in the margins of a number of extant books owned by Grosseteste or the Oxford Franciscans.<sup>81</sup> The *Tabula* offer an indication of the content and extent of Grosseteste's reading of original sources around 1230, the same period in which it is suggested the sermons in MS A.III.12 were copied. It therefore provides a valuable opportunity to compare the sources identified in the sermons with the texts available to and read by Grosseteste. In general terms, the sermons reflect the contents of the *Tabula*; Augustine is both the most frequently-cited author and the author with the largest number of works cited, followed by Gregory, Jerome and Bernard.<sup>82</sup> One would hardly expect otherwise in a sermon collection of this period put together within a scholastic milieu. However, there are works directly quoted in the sermons which are not listed in the *Tabula*; for example, Innocent III's *De miseria humane conditionis* and Hugh of St Victor's *Liber de arrha animae*. Once again, the comparison between the sermons and writings of Grosseteste does not offer conclusive proof for his authorship.

Arguments based on negative evidence, in the absence of specific correlations, are seldom conclusive. Unsurprisingly therefore, this analysis, which was deliberately

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<sup>79</sup> Goering, 'The *De dotibus*', p. 93.

<sup>80</sup> A diplomatic edition of the *Tabula* by Philipp Rosemann is found in *Roberti Grosseteste Expositio in Epistolam Sancti Pauli ad Galatas*, ed. James McEvoy, CCCM 130 (Turnhout; Brepols, 1995); see also Philipp Rosemann, 'Robert Grosseteste's *Tabula*', in *Robert Grosseteste: New Perspectives*, pp. 321-55.

<sup>81</sup> The symbols were placed in the margins first and used to create the index; it would then be easy to refer back from the index to the pages marked with the relevant symbol. See Richard W. Hunt, 'The Library of Robert Grosseteste', in *Robert Grosseteste: Scholar and Bishop*, ed. by Daniel Callus (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), pp. 121-45 and his 'Manuscripts Containing the Indexing Symbols of Robert Grosseteste', *Bodleian Library Record*, 4 (1953), 241-55. The frontispiece of the former volume shows a page from Grosseteste's copy of Gregory's *Moralia in Iob* (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 198) with his annotations and indexing symbols.

<sup>82</sup> Southern provides a table setting out the frequency of citations in the *Tabula: Growth of an English Mind*, p. 195.

restricted to a comparison with Grosseteste's general theological concerns and certain of his edited writings, has not resulted in the definite attribution to him of all of the sermons in the collection. When the physical evidence of the manuscript, the intermingling of the *Dicta* and the sermons on the relevant folios and the indications of scribal intent are added to a consideration of the theological content of the sermons, however, the case for Grosseteste's authorship does at least seem a probable one; certainly the texts can be closely associated in place and time with the period of his teaching in Oxford.

It must be remembered that we still do not have a reliable canon of authentic works by Grosseteste to facilitate the task of determining his authorship through the comparison of parallel passages.<sup>83</sup> This is the first major sermon collection of Grosseteste to be edited; much more work is required on the corpus of his sermons in order to produce a comprehensive assessment of his preaching style and achievements. The connections between this collection in MS A.III.12 and Grosseteste's Psalms commentary and *Dicta* collection offer further possibilities. It is to be hoped that the editions of both these works which are in progress will provide both suitable texts for comparison and a better understanding of Grosseteste's ideas and mode of expression in this period of his career and that these editions may assist in definitively confirming or rejecting his authorship of individual sermons in this collection.

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<sup>83</sup> Goering, 'The *De dotibus*', p. 92.



## CONCLUSION

This study of the sermons of MS A.III.12 has revealed the broad outlines of their structure and content and set them within the context of thirteenth-century preaching. It has demonstrated the ways in which these Oxford sermons conform to the structural patterns familiar from the study of Parisian sermons, in their employment of the various elements of the thematic sermon form and the use of similitudes, *exempla*, proverbs and authorities. In blending scholarly and pastoral matters and directly addressing issues of relevance to the lives of both clerical and lay audiences, they fall clearly within the tradition of magisterial pastoral concern associated with the circle of Peter the Chanter at Paris.

My study has also highlighted some of the complex issues involved in research into sermon texts, related to their identity as written records by a preacher or reporter of an oral event, as prompts or preparatory notes for preaching, or as written versions of a real or imagined address produced before or after the event. Working with this single collection on fols 78-87 and 104-127 of MS A.III.12, I have classified the variety of texts it contains and identified the various stages in the process of textual production represented. In analysing the different categories of material, this study has demonstrated the way in which commonplace material, and ideas and expressions from other writers and preachers were collected and incorporated into preaching texts. The connections highlighted between the material in MS A.III.12 and Grosseteste's *Dicta* collection and Psalms commentary reveal the way in which this *materia predicabilis* was reshaped and recontextualised by Grosseteste himself and by medieval editors and compilers for a specific audience and context. The reuse of this material in different contexts also testifies to the broader link between exegesis and preaching and the role of preaching in academic life in the thirteenth-century schools.

Through a detailed examination of the material on fols 78-87 and 104-127 of MS A.III.12, this study has demonstrated that a collection such as this, with its combination

of sermons and other materials for preaching, although random at first glance, may indeed be a consciously compiled collection with a specific rationale behind it.

Considered individually, each text provides a snapshot of a single stage in a continual process; in analysing the texts on these folios, I have emphasised the importance of identifying the place of each in the overall process of reception and transmission and the gaps between texts in order to appreciate their significance as part of a larger picture.

The analysis carried out in this study suggests that one of the best ways to view the texts on fols 78-87 and 104-127 of MS A.III.12 as part of a larger picture is within the physical context of these folios, brought together for a specific purpose. Nowhere in the manuscript is any of the material attributed to Grosseteste. The compiler of these texts was not seeking out the named authority of Grosseteste, acclaimed as 'one of the greatest clerks in England'.<sup>1</sup> These texts were not the work of 'Lincolniensis', to whom so many spurious texts were ascribed; when they were written, c. 1230, Grosseteste's authority was that of a well-respected master of theology, teaching in the Franciscan convent at Oxford. Within the context of MS A.III.12, his texts are set alongside those of the Dominican master Jordan of Saxony and another Oxford master, Roger of Salisbury, which indicates a response to Grosseteste's texts as equally authoritative and useful.

The Franciscan chronicler Thomas of Eccleston tells us that under Grosseteste the friars made good progress in 'subtle moralities suitable for preaching'.<sup>2</sup> The Franciscans appreciated and shared the practical and pastoral concerns revealed in Grosseteste's teaching, whether in his sermons or his biblical commentaries. The same concerns seem to have motivated the compiler or compilers of these folios or their exemplar or exemplars to gather together texts associated with Grosseteste from a number of sources, at least some of which were directly or indirectly authorised by Grosseteste

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<sup>1</sup> Salimbene recorded this as the view of the Franciscan Hugh of Digne cited and translated in Southern, *Growth of an English Mind*, p. 283 from *Chronica fratris Salimbene de Adam*, ed. by O. Holder-Egger, *MGH Scriptores*, xxxii (Leipzig, 1905), p. 233. On assessments of Grosseteste by his contemporaries, see McEvoy, *The Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste*, pp. 13-48 and Southern, *Growth of an English Mind*, pp. 5-20.

<sup>2</sup> 'Sub quo [i.e. Grosseteste] inaeestimabiliter infra breve tempus tam in quaestionibus quam predicationi congruis subtilibus moralitatibus profecerunt': *De adventu Fratrum Minorum*, ed. by Little (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1951), p. 48.



himself. This collection offers a valuable insight into the status and usefulness of Grosseteste's work within his own lifetime, before he reached the height of his fame or his scholarly achievement. It is primarily a functional collection of material to be used in preaching, authorised by its connection with a master of the Oxford schools.

The texts edited in this study provide a significant body of material for further research into the corpus of Grosseteste's sermons and the nature of Oxford preaching in the early thirteenth century. They raise a number of important questions, some of which have been addressed in my analysis of this manuscript and others which are central to our understanding of sermons and sermon manuscripts. These questions focus on the role of preaching in academic life; the audience of the sermons; the relationship between sermons, *materia predicabilis* and exegetical material; the process of copying, reusing and rewriting sermon material in this particular historical context; the significance of scribal intent in compiling sermon collections and the extent to which one can ascribe an authorial identity for these texts. My study has demonstrated the value of an in-depth analysis of a single manuscript as an approach to such questions and confirmed the importance of MS A.III.12 as a witness to the process of sermon composition and transmission in the Oxford schools of the early thirteenth century.

## APPENDIX I

## Durham Dean and Chapter Library MS A.III.12

## Contents\*

- 1v Inscription: 'Liber sancti Cuthberti ex dono Bertrami de Midiltonum prioris Dunelmensis'. Followed by a list of contents in a thirteenth-century hand. The list is printed in Thomson, *Writings*, p. 15.
- [1] Robert Grosseteste's Psalms commentary (fols 2-14rb)  
As noted in Chapter II (p. 66), the commentary is extant in six manuscripts (*BDEOVVa*).
- 2ra-va Prologue to the commentary: 'Psalmorum liber grece psalterium ebraice nabulo latine organum dicitur. Vocatus est autem liber Psalmorum quia ... x .... Domine, Domine, aperi nobis, et cetera'. Prologue includes the Tyconian rules, which are not found in *BEV*; *O* contains only the prologue to the commentary. See Thomson, *Writings*, pp. 76-77.
- 2va-vb 'Beatus uir qui non abiit (Ps 1:1). Solus Christus mediator Dei et hominis non abiit ... Tertia defectiones creaturarum per infinite uacua est iter anime labenti'.
- 2vb-3ra *Dictum* 98: 'Et folium (Ps 1:3). Folium uerbum signat iuxta illud: *Et folium eius non defluet*, quod aperto sermone de Samuele dicitur Regum I<sup>o</sup> III<sup>o</sup> ... x ... De fructu oris homo saciabitur bonis'.
- 3ra 'Et erit tanquam lignum (Ps 1:3). Augustinus super Iohannem [...] secunda: Quid uis utrum amare temporalia ... x ... ut tu uiuas eternus'.
- 3ra-rb *Dictum* 94: 'Paupertas generaliter dicta est defectio ut carencia rei ... x ... Consolabitur Dominus populum suum et pauperum suorum miscebitur'. Also found on fols 81rb-va. Followed here by a number of citations from Isaiah, all containing the word *pauper*. In MSS *BEV*, this text is included as part of the commentary under Ps 9:19.
- 3rb-ua *Dictum* 92: 'Cum dolor sit sensus absentie appetitius lacrimaque ex dolore procedat ... x ... nocte putredinesque uitiorum tollunt et fluxum luxurie arefaciunt'.
- 3va 'Saluator noster Ihesus Christum condescendens a sinu patris ... x ... Descendit ad ima baratri et te reduxit ad alta celi'. Streitz notes that in *E* and *B*, this text follows the commentary on Psalm 2 (fols 3vb-4rb below).

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\* I am indebted to James Ginther, Joseph Goering and Alan Piper for sharing with me their unpublished notes on the contents of MS A.III.12.



- 3va** Short quotations from Cassiodorus and Augustine.  
 ‘Crux est humilium inuicta tuitio ... mors infidelium uita iustorum’:  
 Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum*, 4 (CCSL 97).  
 ‘Augustinus super Iohannem: Moneta Dei sumus, a thesauro ... Reddite ergo  
 que sunt Cesarum Cesari et cetera’: Augustine, *In Iohannis euangelium  
 tractatus*, 9.36-40 (CCSL 36, 355). These two quotations are also found on  
 fol. 80rb.  
 ‘Pax est serenitas mentis ... x ... nichilominus a spiritu sancto alienus  
 efficitur’: Augustine, *Sermones de uerbis Domini*, App. Sermo 97 (PL 39,  
 1931)  
 ‘Pax corporis est ordinata temporantia partium ... x ... refertur ad statum  
 pacis eterne’: Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei*, 19.13 (CCSL 48, 678-79).
- 3va-vb** ‘Ego sum uermis et non homo (Ps 21:7). Cassiodorus dicit per tapinosim  
 Magnitudo miraculum humilibus rebus ... x ... disponit omnia suauiter sicut  
 legitur in Sapiencia’.
- 3vb-4ra** *Dictum 99*: ‘Super Sion montem sanctum eius et cetera (Ps 2:6). Mons signat  
 dominum saluatorem ... x ... quando reliquie Isrel saluabuntur’.
- 4ra-rb** ‘Terminos terre (Ps 2:8). Non ociose transcendendum puto ... x ...  
 descendistis enim ascendendo contra eum’. Includes short quotations from  
 Augustine’s *Confessions*.
- 4rb** ‘In cubilibus uestris conpungimini (Ps 4:5). De hoc in Matheo vi cum  
 oraueris intra ... x ... si te humiliaueris ipse appropinquabit’. This text and  
 the two following texts from Isidore and Augustine are not found in *BEV*:  
 Streitz, ‘Commentarius’, p. 108.
- 4rb** ‘Ysidorus: Chorus est multitudo in sacris collecta et dictus est chorus eo  
 quod in initio in modum corone starent circa aras et ita psallebant  
 [phallebant *ms*]. Alii dixerunt chorus a concordia que consistit in caritate  
 quia si quis caritate non habet, responde conuenienter non potest’: Isidore,  
*Etymologiae* 6.19.5 (PL 82, 252).
- 4rb** ‘Augustinus: lumen uultus tui (Ps 4:7). Oculi Dei super iustos ... aut ab hoc  
 aspectu refugit peccator gracie se subtrahendo’.
- 4rb** *Dictum 45*: ‘Mane exaudies et cetera (Ps 5:4). Qui erant sub lege erant  
 spiritualiter in nocte ... x ... sed ambulant in tenebris et nesciunt quo  
 uadunt’.
- 4rb** ‘Mare generis humanum Augustinus libro de confessione xiii Si Adam  
 lapsus non esset, non diffunderetur ex utero eius salsugo maris, genus  
 humanum profunde curiosum, et procelle tumidum et instabiliter fluidum’:

- Augustine, *Confessiones*, 13.20 (CCSL 27, 257). Also in lower margin of fol. 5rb.
- 4rb**      ‘Signatum est super nos lumen (Ps 4:7), id est crux. Unde Cassiodorus: Crux enim ... mors in fidelium uita iustorum’: Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum* (CCSL 97).
- 4rb-va**    *Dictum 6*: ‘Secundum Augustinum mendatum est quis habet aliud in animo et aliud in uerbo ... x ... fumumque exalant quasi adhuc ardeant’. In *BEV*, this text forms part of the commentary on Psalm 5. Thomson also lists it as Sermon 58, since it appears, along with several other *Dicta* and sermons, in London, British Library MS Royal 7.D.XV under the title of *Sermones*. See Thomson, *Writings*, pp. 161 and 179.
- 4va-4vb**    *Dictum 82*: ‘Miserere mei Domine quoniam infirmus sum (Ps 6:3). Stimulus ad orandum ut ab infirmitate ... x ... quia superbis resistit Deus.’
- 4vb-5ra**    ‘Allum de fortitudine. Merito quod noctibus polluerat ... x ... canticum uite eterne labiis dicere non possunt’. Not in *BEV*.
- 5ra**        ‘Ps vi Lauabo [laudabo ms] per singulas noctes lectum meum (Ps 6:7). Et hoc merito quia defeci sensu peccando ... x ... Unde Iob xvi: Facies mea intimuit a fletu et palpebre mee calligauerunt’. Also on fol. 80ra.
- 5ra-rb**    *Dictum 122*: ‘Leo a leon grece quod est rex quia ipse est rex bestiarum ... gallum album id est predicatorem castum maxime ueretur’. Also on fol. 113ra-rb, preceded by the lemma *Nequando rapiat ut leo animam* (Ps 7:3).
- 5rb**        Biblical distinctions on Psalm 7  
v.5:        Si reddidi retribuentibus mihi mala  
v.6:        Gloriam in puluerem  
v. 10:     Scrutans corda et renes Deus  
v.8:        Propter hanc in altum regredere
- 5rb**        ‘Qui erant sub lege erant spiritualiter in nocte ... x ... sed ambulant in tenebris et nesciunt quo uadant. Ista mortalitas deberet procedere [prededere ms] proximam precedentem’. Variant of the commentary on Ps 5:4 (*Dictum 45*), as found at fol. 4rb. See Streitz, ‘Commentarius’, Appendix I.
- 5rb-6ra**    *Dictum 71*: ‘Pulcra ut luna (Cant 6:9). Luna gerit typum tam ecclesie et cuiuslibet anime ... x ... nisi quod macula in ecclesia sunt prelati quos premunt diuiciarum honera’. Included in other manuscripts as part of the commentary on Ps 8, despite lemma. Also on fols 85vb-86rb.
- 6ra**        *Dictum 125*: ‘Sanctorum congregatio terre uiuencium est ... x ... actiuos bonis operibus fructificantes superstant’.



- 6ra-rb** *Dictum* 128: 'De superbia que est amor excellencie proprie nascitur inuidia ... x ... in de ipso de bonis fratrum fraterna congratulatio'. Lacks the final few lines, as it does in *BE*; it is complete on fols 86rb-vb.
- 6rb-vb** *Dictum* 88: 'Venenum aspidum[aspdum ms] sub labiis eorum (Ps 13:3). Hasp grece uenenum dicunt et in aspis ... x ... erga homines Deus exercuit inuitari neglexit'. Also on fols 86vb-87rb.
- 6vb** *Dictum* 77: '*Custodi me domini ut pupilla oculi* (Ps 16:8). Pupilla est pura cordis intencio in Deum siue ipsa intelligencia ... x ... sed delectat frigus quod est priuacio ardoris concupiscentie'. Also on fol. 87rb.
- 6vb-7ra** *Dictum* 140: 'Cupiditas est inmoderatus amor adipiscendi pecunie et retinende ... x ... Refulget enim auaricia plurimorum consortia'. Additional four lines compared with *Dicta* collection version. Also on fol. 87rb-va.
- 7ra-7rb** *Dictum* 78: 'Calore solis eleuatur uapor de terra ... x ... super unam ciuitatem et non super alteram. Amos v'. In *V*, found under the lemma *Tenebrosa aqua in nubibus aeris* (Ps 17:12). Here lacking final citation from Apoc 11:6. Complete on fol. 87va-vb.
- 7rb-va** *Dictum* 79: 'Ignis aliquando zelum Dei exprimit, aliquando spiritum sanctum ... x ... hec terrena que aliene sunt nature'. In *V*, found under the lemma *Nubes transierunt grando et carbones ignis* (Ps 17:13). First part also on fol. 87vb.
- 7va-8ra** *Dictum* 81: 'Cerus significat uiros [significat] sanctos Deum desiderantes ... hoc induet mortalitatem et corruptibilem[corupartubilem ms] hoc est incorruptionem'. In *V*, this text is found under the lemma *Qui perfecit pedes meos tamquam ceruorum* (Ps 17:34).
- 7va** *Dictum* 70: 'Iusticia reddit unicuique quod suum est sed nunquid in potestate ... pro malis meritis penam iustam' (in lower margin). In *BE*, this text is found between *Dictum* 125, 'Sanctorum congregatio ...' (fol. 6ra above) and the commentary on Psalm 13, 'Venenum aspidum ...' (fol. 6rb-vb above).
- 7vb** *Dictum* 58: 'Si oculus corporalis eget et non plane sanus possit ... eger non est potens in eandem perfecte uidendam' (in lower margin). In *BE*, this text is found between commentary on Psalm 18 'Timor est apprehensio' (fol. 8ra-rb below) and *Dictum* 59 'Egritudinem oculi' (fol. 7vb-8rb below).
- 7vb-8rb** *Dictum* 59: 'Egritudinem oculi dicimus quandoque aut extraneum humorem ... sunt alie morborum diuisiones' (in lower margin). In *BE*, this text is found between *Dictum* 58 'Si oculus corporalis' (fol. 7vb above) and the

- commentary on Ps 21:3, beginning 'Contra tres dies bonos' which is not found in this manuscript.
- 8ra-rb** 'Timor est apprehensio inconuenientis ... x ... ydria capiens metrias terrenas'.
- 8rb-vb** 'Domine in uirtute tua letabitur rex (Ps 20:2). Rex est qui recte regit populum ... x ... quedam spiritualiter quedam ad literam sumpte'.
- 8vb-10va** *Dictum* 147: 'Sicut aqua effusus sum (Ps 21:15). Aqua sanctus spiritus est in euuangelio Iohannis ... x ... in huius laci aquam non inmergitur'. Slightly shorter than *Dicta* collection version.
- 10va-12ra** *Dictum* 119: 'Cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi signum appellatur frequenter in sacra scriptura ... x ... pax exspectatur nobis tribui de supernis'. Lacks final paragraph compared with *Dicta* collection version. Thomson lists it also as Sermon 56, since it appears, along with several other *Dicta* and sermons, in London, British Library MS Royal 7.D.XV under the collective title *Sermones*. See Thomson, *Writings*, pp. 161 and 179.
- 12ra-12va** *Dictum* 41: 'Prelati et doctores ecclesie in corpore Christi comparantur oculis ... x ... non intrabitis in regnum celorum'. In *V* this text appears under the lemma *Conturbatur est in ira oculus meus* (Ps 30:10). Also listed as Sermon 73 since it appears in Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.15.38, fols 40r-41r under the heading 'Sermo ad prelatos'.
- 12va-12vb** 'Dulce est substancie grosse terre calidum humidum ... x ... qui bibunt ne adhuc sitient'. Commentary on Ps 30:20: *Quam magna multitudo dulcedinis*. In *BE* this text appears after the whole of *Dictum* 41, 'Prelati et doctores ... tanto apparet minus'; it is not found in *V*.
- 13ra-13rb** 'Oculus autem a puluere et leuibus ... x ... minori affectu tanto apparet minus'. This is the continuation of *Dictum* 41 'Prelati et doctores...'. In *BEV* the text is continuous.
- 13rb** *Dictum* 42: 'Qui finxit singillatim [singulatum ms] corda eorum et cetera (Ps 32.15). Cor hominis est quod primum ... x ... ut cum ira accenditur pulmonis humore in frigidatur'. First few lines of the text, which is found in full at fols 106ra-rb below.
- 13rb-vb** 'Bonitas que opponitur malicie uel uisiositati est amor ordinatus ... x ... oriuntur uirtutes IIIor principales uidelicet prudentia, fortitudo, temperancia, iusticia'. Variant version of *Dictum* 56, cf. fols 81ra-rb. Not present in *BE*; included within the text of commentary on Psalm 2 in *V*.



**13vb-14rb** 'Hoc itaque uiso considerandum est qualiter ... x ... que non informatur a deo uera uirtus non sit'. Also found on fols 81ra-rb. Not found in *BE*; in *V* it follows the commentary on Psalm 7.

**[2] *Dicta* by Robert Grosseteste (fols 14v-15vb)**

These *Dicta* are not found in the other Psalms commentary manuscripts.

**14v** *Dictum* 95: 'Huius scuti fulget luci inaccessibili angelus ubi scriptus est pater ... x ... scutum cordis laborem tuum et cetera'. Text accompanied by a diagram representing the shield of faith; the three points of the shield denote the persons of the Trinity. Southern comments that this is the earliest known example of such a diagram: *Growth of an English Mind*, p. 178.

**15r** *Dictum* 96: 'Bona uoluntas generalis qua uult homo in cuius medio sita est ... x ... et quod est umbo scuti proprii est dextrum cornu scuti amici'. This text is also accompanied by a diagram representing the irradiation of virtues.

**15va-vb** *Dictum* 36: 'Ieiunium a cibis corporalibus parum aut nichil prodest nisi sit informant illo magno ieiunio et generali ... studiose numeraret dicens ieiunio bis in sabato'. Also listed as Sermon 70; version found in Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.15.38. See Thomson, *Writings*, p. 180.

**[3] Sermons of Robert Grosseteste (fols 15vb-17vb)**

Thomson places the first five of these texts at the end of his main listing of Grosseteste's sermons as numbers 88-92. The sixth item is not a sermon but a short etymological note. All are unique to this manuscript. See Thomson, *Writings*, p. 182.

**15vb-16rb** Sermon 88: '*Erat Iesus eiciens demonium et illud erat mutum* (Luc 11:14). Legitur in fine euuangelii quod ... x ... Deo coniungamur per gratiam et in futuro per gloriam. Quod ipse nobis et nobis prestare dignetur'.

**16rb-vb** Sermon 89: '*Venite cogitemus contra Jeremiam cogitaciones* ... (Jer 18:18). Et est uox Iudeorum ad interfectionem Christi conspirantium... x ... ut sic simus socii passionum Iesu Christi per quod et erimus participes eius resurrectionis et consolationis. Quod ipse nobis et nobis et cetera'.

**16vb-17rb** Sermon 90: '*Orietur uobis timentibus nomen meum* ... (Mal 4:2). Excecatis non est sol insolatium ... x ... ipse Deus ueniet et saluabit nos. Quod ipse nobis et nobis prestare dignetur et cetera'.

**17rb** Sermon 91: '*Accepit Simeon puerum Iesum in ulnas suas* (Luc 2:28). Sciendum est quod sicut ille accepit eum ad literam ... x ... Beatus igitur uir qui semper est pauidus'.

- 17rb-va** Sermon 92: '*Erat exspectans consolationem* (Luc 2:25). Ita et nos. Delicata enim est diuina consolatio ... x ... propositum ad effectum perducere propter artam dietam'.
- 17va-vb** <*De cane ethimologia*> 'Canis grecam ethimologiam habere dicitur et uidetur. Grece enim cenos dicitur ... x ... atrociter mansueti subdole mordaces'. See Thomson, *Writings*, p. 148.
- 17vb** Sermon: '*Conuertimini ad me in toto corde uestro* (Joel 2.12). Omne enim peccatum reducitur ... x ... que tanto affectum incumbat quos deflumat se'. This text is incomplete; cf. fol 78ra-rb where it is complete.

**[4] Anonymous Commentary on Psalms 48-72 (fols 18ra-34vb)**

Thomson failed to find any correspondence between this text and either Grosseteste's Psalms commentary or his marginal notes in his own copy of the Psalter, Lincoln Cathedral MS 144 that would suggest these notes are by Grosseteste: Thomson, *Writings*, p. 16. The style of this text, briefly glossing each psalm, contrasts with the commentary on fols 2-15 in which certain verses are selected as the starting points for more extended theological discussions. Stegmuller, no. 9078.

**[5] Comments on Paul's Epistles (fols 34vb-37vb)**

These notes, on Romans 14 and, in the final folio, on I Corinthians follow on immediately from the Psalms commentary.

**[6] Two treatises on virtues and vices attributed to Grosseteste (fols 38ra-48vb)**

Thomson places these works among Grosseteste's *Dubia*, stating that they 'give every internal indication of being genuine' but external evidence is lacking.

**38ra-39ra** 'Nihil fit in terra sine causa, dicit Iob v, et ita omne quod fit propter aliquid ... x ... gracia principium omnium subiectorum fides'. Bloomfield no. 3210. A text with the same incipit is recorded in BL Harley MS 2, fol. 263f (Bloomfield, no. 3213). Thomson, *Writings*, p. 236.

**39rb-41ra** Distinctions on the virtues and the vices, related to the preceding treatise.

**41rb-48vb** 'Primum in uia mali est actualis auersio a summo bono quod patet per rationem peccati ... x ... hanc excecacionem tangit Iob dicens [...]'. (incomplete). Bloomfield, no. 4190; this text is also recorded in BL Harley MS 2, fols 269ff. Thomson, *Writings*, pp. 235-36.



**[7] *Candet nudatum pectus* and English translation (fol. 49)**

Single stanza of Latin verse followed by Middle English translation in the same hand. See Thomson, 'The Date of the Early English Translation of the *Candet nudatum pectus*', *Medium Aevum*, 4 (1935), 100-05.

**[8] Theological notes (fols 50-55rb)**

Consists of distinctions, biblical and patristic citations, including Bede, Seneca, Augustine, Gregory and Jerome.

**[9] Extract from Robert Grosseteste's *Questio de libero arbitrio* (fols 55va-57vb)**

'Queritur de libero arbitrio. Primo an sit: quidam enim sic negant librium arbitrium ut audeant excusare peccatum ... x ... Item quomodo seipsum mouens'. Incomplete version of the second recension of Grosseteste's treatise. Cf. Neil Lewis, 'The First Recension of Robert Grosseteste's *De libero arbitrio*', *Mediaeval Studies* 53 (1991), 1-88. Lewis is preparing an edition of the second recension.

**[10] Extract from Ps-Augustine (Anselm)'s *Meditationes* (fol. 58)**

A small scrap of parchment bound in with the manuscript in the same hand as fol. 49 with a short extract (six lines) from Anselm's *Meditations*, 4 (PL 40, 904).

**[11] Two sermons and sententiae (fols 59ra-69v)**

Thomson comments that this section was 'written by two contemporary scribes whose hands do not appear elsewhere in the codex and on leaves markedly smaller than the rest of the book': Thomson, *Writings*, pp. 16-17. From the hands and subject matter, the sermons are late twelfth-century.

**59ra-60va** Sermon: 'Terra illa inculta facta est ut ortus uoluptatis. Ezechiel xxxvi. Cum quamlibet sol ... x ... prestante ortulano nostro Iesu Christo ...'.

**61r-63v** Sermon: '*Vidi et ecce super firmamentum ... Qui aurum effodiunt uel argentum ... x ... filius eius qui nos ad celestia regna perducit. Amen*'. Fols 63v-67r contain biblical and patristic *sententiae*; 67v-69v are blank.

**[12] Theological *questiones* (fols 70ra-77vb)**

This quire contains a set of twenty theological questions in a textualis hand which is not found elsewhere in the manuscript. Comparing one of the *questiones* in this section with Grosseteste's comments on the same theme, Thomson sees no real similarity and considers 'the tone of the argument would fit more the end of the twelfth century rather than the thirteenth': Thomson, *Writings*, p. 17. The final text of the quire appears to be incomplete.

**[13] Sermon material attributed to Robert Grosseteste, I (fols 78ra-87vb)**

For Thomson's listing of the material on fols 78ra-87vb, see *Writings*, pp. 182-86. This listing places the breaks between individual texts slightly differently, according to their function; Thomson's numbering is retained for ease of reference.

- 78ra-rb** T1 Sermon: '*Conuertimini ad me in toto cordo uestro in ieiunio et fletu et planctu. Omne enim peccatum reducitur ... x ... nobis ita geiunare ut possimus ad patriam peruenire, quod nobis prestare dignetur et cetera*'. Cf. fol 17vb where the same sermon is copied but incomplete.
- 78rb-vb** T2 Sermon: '*Milicia est uita hominis super terram. Miles dura sustinet ... x ... Donet igitur Dominus et cetera*'.
- 78vb-79ra** T3 Sermon: '*Exemplum esto fidelium (I Tim 4.12) ... Apostolus doctor sollicitudinem omnium pastorum ... x ... ut predictum est ut nomen eternum habeatis, quod nobis prestare ...*'.
- 79ra-rb** T4 *Diccio*: '*Nolite fieri sicut equus et mulus... Equus superbus et ceruicosus est et mulus et asinus... x ... precipitatur in ruinam et cum impetu cadit in infernum*'.
- 79rb-va** T5 *Dictum 53*: '*Quoniam tanquam fenum uolociter arescet. Fenum significat hominem carnalem ... x ... illius de quo dicitur 'Ecce uehemot quem feci tecum fenum quasi bos comedet*'. According to Thomson, this version is twenty lines shorter than the text found in the *Dicta* collection manuscripts.
- 79va-80ra** T6 Sermon: '*Qui manet in caritate in Deo manet et Deus in eo. (I Ioh. 4:16) Verbum Domini in sacra ... x ... ego in uobis et in epistola. Qui manet in Deo manet, et cetera*'. Edited by King, 'MS A.III.12', pp. 284-88.
- 80ra** T7 *Dictum 64*: '*Conceperunt laborem et peperunt iniquitatem. Verbum est enim ... x ... tamen reuertere ad me et ego suscipiam te*'.
- 80ra-rb** T7-8 Biblical and patristic *sententiae*.  
'*Ecclesiasticus xiii: Diues locutus et omnes tacuerunt ... x ... sepulcrum patens est guttur et cetera*'  
'*Lauabo per singulas noctes lectum meum ... x ... in contricione filie populi mei*'  
'*Si retribuuntibus mihi mala ... x ... Videte ne quis malum pro malo reddat*'  
'*Cassiodorus: In pace in idipsum ... x ... perhenniter consistit*':  
Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum*, 4.8 (CCSL 97).  
'*Omnia subiecisti sub pedibus eius ... x ... Signatum est super nos*'.  
'*Cassiodorus: "Crux est humilium inuicta tuicio" ... x ... uita iustorum*':  
Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum*, 4.6 (CCSL 97). Cf. fol. 3va.



- ‘Augustinus super Iohannem omelia xl: “Moneta Dei sumus ... x ... *que sunt Cesaris Cesari*’: Augustine, *In Iohannis euangelium tractatus*, 9.36-40 (CCSL 36, 355). Cf. fol. 3va. .
- ‘*Lux in tenebris lucet ... x ... Dominus autem lux est eius noscere lucere est.*’
- ‘Tres sunt uirtutes theologie, scilicet fides, spes, caritas. Quatuor uirtutes carnales, scilicet iusticia, temperancia, fortitudo, prudencia’.
- 80rb** T9 *Dictum 7*: ‘Quinque sensus porte sunt per quas intrat mors ... x ... canticum laudis et exultacionis’. In MSS *BE* of the Psalms commentary; see Streit, ‘Commentarius’, pp. 156-57.
- 80rb-va** T9 Patristic *sententiae* from Augustine, Cassiodorus and Isidore.
- ‘*Exultabo in salutari tuo infixae sunt gentes ... x ... quam, ut cernis, omnes qui non inherent sapientie necesse perpeti[propeti ms]*’: Augustine, *De libero arbitrio*, 1.11 (CCSL 29). Found in MS *V* of the Psalms commentary as part of the commentary on Psalm 9; see Streit, ‘Commentarius’, pp. 67-68.
- ‘Cassiodorus: *Superbit impius, cum effectum maligne ... x ... potius esse confidit*’: Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum*, 9.22 (CCSL 97).
- ‘Cassiodorus: *Malus dum predicatur extollitur; nec de correctione cogitat, cui laudator blandiens inuenitur*’: Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum*, 9.23 (CCSL 97).
- ‘Cassiodorus: *Dicit enim, paciencia pauperum ... x ... qui nichil patitur, paciencia dicatur*’: Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum*, 9.18 (CCSL 97).
- ‘Augustinus: *Cum in cordibus oramus ... x ... loquitur domino ubi solus audit*’: Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos*, 3.4 (CCSL 38).
- ‘Augustinus In Luca secundo: *Ubicumque fueris ... x ... ipse te appropinquabit*’: Augustine, *In Iohannis euangelium tractatus*, 10.1 (CCSL 36).
- ‘Cassiodorus: “*Bene peccator uasi luteo comparatur*” ... x ... suffragante, perducitur’: Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum*, 2.9 (CCSL 97).
- ‘Augustinus De confessione: *Cum inhesero tibi ... x ... honeri mihi sum*’: Augustine, *Confessiones*, 10.28 (CCSL 27).
- ‘Idem eodem iiiii: *Filii hominum ... x ... ascendendo contra eum*’: Augustine, *Confessiones*, 4.12 (CCSL 27).
- ‘Ysidorus docet imitari bonos: *Sic alienam miseriam ... x ... si bonus prediceris*’: Isidore, *Synonyma*, 2.40-42 (PL 83, 854-55).
- ‘Ysidorus contra amorem diuiciarum: *Diuicie usque ad pericula ducunt ... x ... quod diligit mundus*’: Isidore, *Synonyma*, 2.91-95 (PL 83, 865-66).
- 80va-81ra** T10-12 Similitudes on heaven and earth, fish and birds, paradise.

- ‘Celum significat summa inuisibilia spiritualia ... x ... Ibat per loca arida non inueniens requiem’: T10
- ‘Pisces signant malos homines ... x ... ut sic intremus in gaudium, deo uolenti’: T11
- ‘Paradisus uoluptatis significat ecclesiam ... x ... destruit penitencie et desiderium celestis patrie’: T12
- 81ra-rb** T13 *Diccio*: ‘Hoc uiso igitur considerandum ... x ... a deo uera uirtus non sit’. This text is also found on fols 13vb-14rb.
- 81rb-va** T14-15 *Dictum 94*: ‘*Quoniam non in finem obliuio erat pauperis ... Paupertas generaliter dicta est defectio uel carencia ... x ... omnes thesauri sapiencie et sciencie absconditi*’. Followed by several lines of biblical quotations all containing the terms *pauper* or *paupertas*, principally from Ecclesiastes. Cf. fols 3ra-rb.
- 81va-vb** T16 *Diccio*: ‘Hec sunt que paupertatem secuntur ... x ... prodest ei inopia sua, excercet corpus, non opprimit’. Also found in MS *V* of Psalms commentary; see Streitz, ‘Commentarius’, pp. 76-78.
- 81vb** T17 *Dictum 46*: ‘Diuites qui congregant superflua ... x ... bonis loco eorum plantatis’.
- 81vb** T18-19 *Sententiae* from Isidore’s *Synonyma*:  
 ‘Ysidorus quod homines habeto ad misericordiam ... x ... fructum remuneracionis amittit’: 2.96-97 (PL 83, 866-67).  
 ‘De tuis iustis laboribus ministra pauperibus ... x ... si enim laus queritur, illuc remuneracio amittitur’: 2.98-99 (PL 83, 867).  
 ‘Item docet qualis debet esse sapiencia et doctor diuini uerbi reddit audacis in rebus ignaris’: 2.67-71 (PL 83, 861).
- 81vb-82rb** T20-21 Sermon: ‘*Serue nequam omne debitum dimisi ... due sunt regule theologie ... x ... requiem eternam perueniamus ad quam nos perducatur et cetera*’.
- 82rb-va** T21 Patristic *sententiae* from Bernard, Gregory and Isidore.  
 ‘Bernardus in Cantica canticorum docet quomodo dilexit nos Christus et quomodo diligere deum debemus. Christo dilexit nos dulciter, sapienter et fortiter ... x ... nec frangi iniuriis toto corde tota anima tota uirtute diligere est’: Bernard, *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum*, 20 (*Opera*, I, 118).  
 ‘Gregorius de gula: Sciendum est quod quinque modis nos uicium gule temptat[temptat ms] ... x ... et in Esau in Genesi xxv’: Gregory, *Moralia in Job*, 6.30.18 (CCSL 143).  
 ‘Item Gregorius: Ad conflictum spiritualis belli non assurgitur ... x ... ipse reprobus efficiar’: Gregory, *Moralia in Job*, 6.30.18 (CCSL 143).



- 'Isidorus docet esse paciens: Prepone tibi nichil esse quod non accidere possit ... x ... Magna est uirtus sine ledis a quo lesus es, magna gloria est si cui nocere parcas': Isidore, *Synonyma de lamentatione peccatricis*, 2.28-31 (PL 83, 851-52).
- 82va-83va** T22 Sermon: '*Ecce nunc dies salutis ad literam iam instant dies ... x ... merito igitur dicitur penitencia dies salutis, quia ad ueram salutem perducit ad quam nos perducatur. Qui sine fine uiuit et regnat*'.
- 83va-83vb** T23 Fragmentary sermon: '*Cum appropinquasset Ihesus Iherico ... Notandum quod sicut es uel cymbalum ... x ... oculos cordis interiores illuminet et possimus ipsum cum gaudio cernere cui est honor et cetera*'.
- 83vb-84vb** T23 Extract from Alan of Lille's *Summa de arte praedicatoria*: '*De militibus ait Iohannes ... x ... et alibi regni eius non erit finis. Explicit ars predicandi*'. (PL 210,186-195). Thomson attributed this *ars praedicandi* to Grosseteste (*Writings*, p. 121) but it was correctly identified by Edward B. King, 'The *Ars praedicandi* attributed to Grosseteste', *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 29 (1987), 171-72.
- 84vb-85ra** T24 Fragmentary sermon: '*Clama ne cesses quasi tuba exalta uocem tuam. Qui clausus est in carcere libenter clamat ... x ... qui in hoc carcere predicto includitur; clamare habet optimum*'.
- 85ra-rb** T25 *Diccio*: '*Ecclesiasticus. Humilia ualde caput tuum ... Debemus esse sicut serpens ... x ... humilitas quia hic agitur de humilitate, unde uide humilitatem et cetera. Ecce odor filii mei ... habundanciam aggratulatur*'.
- 85rb-va** T26 Sermon: '*Ego flos campi ... Verba sunt Salomonis sub persona Christi loquentis ... x ... ut ipsa pro nobis intercedat apud Dominum*'.
- 85vb-86rb** T27 *Dictum* 71: '*Pulchra ut luna. Luna gerit typum tam ecclesie ... x ... sunt prelati quos premunt diuiciarum honera*'.
- 86rb-vb** T28 *Dictum* 128: '*De superbia que est amor proprie excellencie nascitur inuidia ... x ... qui omnes a uicio detractionis non sunt inmunes*'. Printed in E. Brown, *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum ac fugiendarum*, 2 vols (London, 1690), II, 285-86. Cf. fols 6ra-rb.
- 86vb-87rb** T29 *Dictum* 88: '*Yas grece uenenum dicunt et inde aspis ... x ... quam erga homines deus exercuit inuitari neglexit*'. Cf. fol. 6rb-vb.
- 87rb** T30 *Dictum* 77: '*Pupilla est pura cordis intencio in deum ... x ... frigus quod est priuacio ardoris concupiscencie*'. Cf. fol. 6vb.
- 87rb-va** T31 *Dictum* 140: '*Cupiditas est amor immoderatus adipiscende ... x ... Refugit enim auaricia plurimorum consorcia*'. The *dictum* has an additional four lines here, as it does also on fols 6vb-7ra.



- 87va-vb** T32 *Dictum 78*: '*Tenebrosa aqua in nubibus haeris (Ps 17:12) Calore solis eleuatur uapor de terra ... x ... Hii enim potestatem claudendi celum nubibus ne pluatur Apocalipsis v*'. Cf. fol. 7ra-rb.
- 87vb** T33 *Dictum 79*: '*Ignis aliquando zelum dei exprimit ... x ... qui optulerunt ignem alienum domino et ibi consumpti sunt*' This is the beginning of *Dictum 79*, amounting to approximately one-fifth of the total text. Cf. fol. 7rb-va.

**[14] 24 Sermons (fols 88ra-103va)**

Three of these sermons are ascribed to Magister or Frater Jordanus, i.e. the Dominican Jordan of Saxony (c.1185-1237), in a different but contemporary hand to the main scribe. They have been edited by A. G. Little and D. Douie in 'Three Sermons of Friar Jordan of Saxony, the Successor of St. Dominic, Preached in England, A.D. 1229', *English Historical Review* 54 (1939), 1-19. Franco Morenzoni has recently established that fourteen of the remaining sermons can also be attributed to Jordan with a lesser or greater degree of certainty: 'Les sermons de Jourdain de Saxe, successeur de Saint Dominique', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 66 (1996), 201-44. In the second part of his article, Morenzoni lists all the sermons which can be securely or probably attributed to Jordan. My listing includes Morenzoni's numbering and attached comments. As Little and Douie observe, the sermons form a consecutive series from Martinmas to Lent but there are gaps and the chronological order is not always followed, since the sermon for the feast of John the Evangelist (27 Dec) precedes that for St Nicholas (6 Dec).

- 88ra-va** Note in cursive hand: *Sermo fratris Iordanis in die sancti Martini. 'Simon Onie filius sacerdos magnus quasi lilia que sunt in transitu aque (Eccli 50:1 and 8). (Ecclesiasticus I). Hec tria uerba sunt quasi una circumlocutio significans beatum Martinum, cuius festum hodie celebratur ... x ... ut sic mereamur peruenire ad gloriam eternam. Quod nobis prestare, et cetera*'. Edited by Little and Douie, pp. 9-13. Morenzoni 10B (definite).
- 88va-89ra** '*Magister scimus quod uerax es (Matt 22:16). In Mattheo xviii uere uocant ipsum magistrum unde ipse dicit in Iohanne ... x ... In tercio paciencia per que possimus sequi magistrum nostrum quod ipse prestare dignetur*'.
- 89rb-vb** '*State succincti lumbos in ueritate (Eph 6:14). Induti lorica iusticie in omnibus sumentes scutum fidei in quo possitis omnia tela ... x ... sicut dicitur luca ultimo ad quam gloriam nos perducatur qui est benedicit in secula seculorum Amen*'.
- 89vb-90va** '*Reddite que sunt Cesaris Cesari et que sunt dei deo. Similis fere diebus audimus in ecclesia illud euuangelia luce quod legitur in commemoracione beate uirginis ... x ... dominici expleuisti. Videlicet reddite que sunt Cesaris Cesari et que sunt dei deo quod nobis prestare dignetur et cetera*'. A



marginal note reads 'Sermo magistri Rogeri Sareb[uriensis]'. It is in the same hand that attributes the first, fifth and sixth sermons in this section to Jordan.

- 90va-91ra** Rubric: Sermo de sancto Iohanne euuangelista. Marginal note: Sermo Iordanis fratris predicatoris. 'Exaltabit illum apud proximos suos sed antecedit cibabit illum dominus pane uite ... x ... nomen ciuitatis et in uestimento rex regum et dominus dominancium'. Edited by Little and Douie, pp. 13-15. Morenzoni 5B (definite)
- 91ra-va** Rubric: In festo beati Nicholai. Marginal note: Sermo magistri Iordanis. 'Dilectus Deo et hominibus cuius memoria in benedictione est ... x ... qui sibi non pepercit in passione redimendo orauit pro persecutoribus, et cetera'. Edited by Little and Douie, pp. 16-19. Morenzoni 8B (definite).
- 91va-92rb** Rubric: In uigilia nathalis Domini de beata Virgine. 'Cum esset desponsata mater Ihesu ... x ... Nonne uitis cras proferet fructum, et oliua. Psalmus: a fructu frumenti, et cetera'. Morenzoni 43 (almost definite).
- 92rb-vb** Rubric: De sancto Stephani prothomartire. 'Stephanus plenus gracie et cetera. Apostolus: unusquisque sicut accepit gratiam alterutrum administrantes ... x ... quia non sufficit quod commune est aliis. Exultabit misericordia aput proximos suos, et cetera'. Morenzoni 38B (almost definite).
- 92vb-93va** Rubric: In festo sanctorum Innocentium. 'In dei supra montem syon agnum stantem et cum eo cxi ... x ... beati qui habitant in domo tua Domine in secula et cetera. donet Dominus et cetera'. Morenzoni 44 (almost definite).
- 93va-94rb** Rubric: De beato Thoma martire. '*Ego sum pastor bonus*. Bonus pastor animam et cetera. Seruus usurpat sibi sermonem principis membrum capitis ... x ... Set dicit Bernardus: ue filiis ire qui nondum reconciliati sunt, uires reconciliacionis apprehenderunt'. Morenzoni 45 (almost definite).
- 94rb-vb** Rubric: Dominica infra octauas Nathalis. 'Quanto tempore heres paruulus est, nichil differt a seruo cum sit ... x ... Veluti si aliquis mercator diceret alii: uolo esse socius in lucro, nequaquam uero in dampno. Unde conregnare uolunt et non compati, et cetera'. Morenzoni 39B (almost definite).
- 94vb-95va** Rubric: Dominica prima post Epiphaniam. 'Nupcie facta sunt in Chana Galilee et erat mater Ihesus ibi ... x ... non sentit affuisse. Donet igitur Dominus, et cetera'. Morenzoni 55 (probable).
- 95va-96va** Rubric: Thema de Agneta uirgine, et non conuenit aliis uirginibus et fideli anime que dicitur sponsa Christi. Unlike the earlier sermons, the rubric here is written in the same hand as the text. '*Propera amica mea ueni, ueni*

delibano ueni coronaberis. Verbum illud congrue dicitur de beata uirgine cuius festum est hodie ... x ... Unde hec est manus Domini que contrariatur manui predictae infra'. Morenzoni 42B (almost definite).

- 96va-97rb** Rubric: In conuersione beati Pauli. 'Ecce nos relinquimus omnia et secuti sumus te .... x ... desine iam ea sequi que et assequi miserum est'. Morenzoni 46 (almost definite).
- 97rb-va** Rubric: Dominica secunda post Epiphaniam. 'Currite ut comprehendatis tam in epistola quam in Euuangelio exortamur ad laborem ... x ... Nisi forte detineat nos diabolus blandiendo uel terrendo qui [---] eiectus est?'. Morenzoni 56 (probable).
- 97va-vb** 'Posuit Deus ante paradisum cherubim et flameum gladium, ne possit recuperare homo ... x ... Ipse enim non querit fructus tuos, quia bonorum tuorum non eget'. Morenzoni 47 (almost definite).
- 97vb-98va** 'Ecce ascendimus Ierosolimam et consumabuntur omnia. Omnia naturaliter tendunt ad finem ... x ... Hec est uia que ducit ad ciuitatem habitationis, ad quam nos perducatur Christus, et cetera'. Morenzoni 57 (probable).
- 98va-vb** 'Tu autem cum ieiunas unge caput tuum et faciem tuam laua. Officium predicatoris determinat peccata ... x ... Cum fuerit prosperitas, redibit canis ad uomitum'. Morenzoni 58 (probable).
- 98vb-100ra** 'Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile. Ecce nunc dies salutis ... x ... Et quia tales fuistis, ecce ego dispono uobis ut edatis et bibatis, et cetera. Quod nobis, et cetera'. Morenzoni 4D (definite).
- 100ra-vb** 'Ecce ascendimus Ierosolimam consummabuntur omnia que scripta sunt de filio hominis ... x ... Unde Apostolus: rursus filium Dei crucifigentes'.
- 100vb-101vb** 'Cecus sedebat iuxta uiam mendicans et cum audiret turbam ... et tamen filie cantant 'magnificat anima mea Dominum' et cetera'.
- 102ra-103ra** '*Mulier magna est fides tua.* Hec mulier est ecclesia in prelatus uel ratio sui anima rationalis filia ecclesie est plebs de gentibus ... x ... componitur enim diuersis penis Christi. Beati mundo corde et cetera'. Unlike the others in this section, this sermon and the following one are extensively annotated between the lines and in the margin in a contemporary hand.
- 103rb-103va** 'Si in digito dei eicio demonia profecto in uos/nos uenit regnum dei ... ligantur in peccatis exemplo prelatorum Beniamin, id est filium aufertis a gracia malo exemplo ...' This sermon is incomplete.
- 103va-vb** The verso of the final page of the quire is filled with notes in the cursive hand which annotates several sections of the manuscript.



- [15] Sermon material attributed to Robert Grosseteste, II (fols 104ra-127rb)  
For Thomson's listing of the material on fols 104ra-122rb, see *Writings*, pp. 186-90.
- 104ra-105ra T34 Sermon: '*Plorabitis et flebitis uos (Ioh 15:20). Mundus autem exaudebit ... x ... et respondet: durus quid amas caro*'.
- 105ra-106ra T35 Sermon: '*Ite in castellum quod circa uos est (Matt 21:2) ... Tollens Iacob uirgas populeas et ... x ... audiuit nec in cor hominis ascendit*'.
- 106ra-rb T36 *Dictum* 42: '*Qui finxit singillatim[sigillatim ms] corda (Ps 32:15). Cor hominis est quod primum in eo ... x ... in execucionibus negociorum sunt animosi*'.
- 106rb T37 *Diccio*: '*Et lingua uera meditabitur iusticiam et cetera (Ps 34:28). Lingue sunt predicatorum ... x ... tota uita prelati que uoluitur per septem dies*'.
- 106va Blank column
- 106vb-107rb T38 Patristic *sententiae* from Ambrose, Anselm, Bernard, Gregory and Isidore.
- 'Ambrosius: Non fuit opprobrio Petro ... Domini gloriam uideretur': Ambrose, *Expositio in psalmum*, 21.21 (PL 15, 1510).
- 'Item Ambrosius: Quis locupletior testis est ... operibus negat': Ambrose, *Expositio in psalmum*, 20.47 (PL 15, 1498-99).
- 'Ysidorus: Ieiuniis et abstinentie ... cito accrescit perditio': Isidore, *Synonyma*, 2.14-15 (PL 83, 848-49).
- 'Anselmus de uirginitate amissa: Quo me rapitis exactores sceleris mihi? ... dolentis sciencie omnipotentis': Anselm, *Deploratio male amissae uirginitatis* (PL 158, 728-29).
- 'Ysidorus: Occuli prima tela libidinis sunt ... assiduitas superauit': Isidore, *Synonyma*, 2.16-18 (PL 83, 849).
- 'Ysidorus dicit de ocio: Grauis libido urit quem ociosum inuenit ... intellectus augetur': Isidore, *Synonyma*, 2.18-19 (PL 83, 849).
- 'Item contra molliciem uestium dicit Ysidorus: Incide abiecto uultu ... cubile tuum': Isidore, *Synonyma*, 2.23-24 (PL 83, 850).
- 'Anselmus: Delectet te semper planctus ... adhibenda sunt remedia': Isidore, *Synonyma*, 2.24 (PL 83, 851); cf. also Anselm, *Exhortatio ad contemptum temporalium* (PL 158, 681).
- 'Anima misera excute torporem ... terrificum dolorem': Anselm, *Deploratio male amissae uirginitatis* (PL 158, 725).
- 'Ysidorus de auditu: Clade aures tuas ... cauemus in magna prolabimur': Isidore, *Synonyma*, 2.44-45 (PL 83, 855-56).

'Qui recedit a Deo. Qui non uult diligere Deum per amorem ... labitur ad infamiam'.

'Qui non ascendit de families terre ... ire ad Ierusalem'.

'Cassiodorus: Incolis dicimus qui alienas ... iuncti sunt': Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum* (CCSL 97).

'Bernardus in Canticis Canticorum docet quomodo dilexit nos Christus ... toto corde, tota anima, tota uirtute diligere eum': Bernard, *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum*, 20 (*Opera*, I, 118).

'Ysidorus docet imitari bonos: Sic alienam miseriam tanquam tuam luge ... si bonus prediceris?': Isidore, *Synonyma*, 2.40-42 (PL 83, 854-55).

'Gregorius: Sciendum est quod v modis nos temptat uicium gule ... in Esau in Genesi xxv': Gregory, *Moralia in Iob*, 6.30.18 (CCSL 143).

'Item Gregorius dicit de gula: Ad conflictum spiritualis belli ... senciet eum contumacione': Gregory, *Moralia in Iob*, 6.30.18 (CCSL 143).

'Item de princeps cocorum destruxit muros ... reprobet efficiar': Gregory, *Moralia in Iob*, 6.30.18 (CCSL 143).

'Ysidorus docet esse paciens: Prepone tibi uel esse ... pro tuo peccato euenit': Isidore, *Synonyma*, 2.28-33 (PL 83, 851-53).

'Ysidorus contra amorem diuiciarum: Diuicie usque ad pericula ducunt ... dampna que diligit mundus': Isidore, *Synonyma*, 2.91-95 (PL 83, 865-66).

'Ysidorus: Quod habes, habeto ad misericordiam ... remuneracionis amittit': Isidore, *Synonyma*, 2.97-97 (PL 83, 866-67).

'Ysidorus docet dominos parcere hominibus pauperibus: De tuis iustis laboribus ministra pauperibus ... remuneracio remittitur': Isidore, *Synonyma*, 2.98-99 (PL 83, 867).

'Item docet quails debet esse sapiencia et doctor diuini uerbi: Doctrina quanto magis data ... scire non licet': Isidore, *Synonyma*, 2.67-71 (PL 83, 861).

'Item de curiositate: Curiositas periculosa presumptum est ... in rebus ignaris': Isidore, *Synonyma*, 2.71 (PL 83, 861).

'Gregorius: Si uideris sacerdotem ponere eciam manum suam in sinum mulieris, persumere debes quod ei bonum consulat'.

**107rb-va** T39 *Diccio*: '*Dixi custodiam uias meas et cetera* (Ps 38:2) Est uerbum mentis unde dicit ... x ... os tuum loquebatur sed mens tua usuras cogitabat'.

**107va-108ra** T40 *Sermon*: '*Benedictum lignum per quod fit iusticia* (Sap 14:7). Salomon dicit quod uerbum Dei ... x ... Istud lignum benedictum est a Deo in effectu et opere'.



- 108ra-vb T41 Sermon: '*Qui uicerit non ledetur a morte secunda (Apoc 2:11). Verba sunt spiritus sancti loquentis ... x ... quod nec oculus uidit nec aures audiunt?*'.
- 108vb-109va T42 Sermon: '*Ascendam in palmam et apprehendam fructus eius (Cant 7:8). Christus caput ecclesie ... x ... que quidam gloria est uita eterna ad quam nos ...*'
- 109va-110va T43 Sermon: '*Ascendit deus in iubilatione. Dominus noster Jesus Christus ... de sinu patris descendit ... x ... ut egypticis fuit qui aduolauit nebulo*'.
- 110va/vb-111vb Theological notes in the same cursive hand which recurs throughout the manuscript.
- 112ra-va T44-45 Sermon: '*Iudith una mulier hebraea fecit confusionem magnam (Iudith 14:16). Iudith interpretatur ... x ... in terris quid facturi sumus in celis*'.
- 112va-113ra T46 *Diccio*: '*Erubescant et conturbentur (Ps 6:11; 82:18) ... x ... ad penitenciam de exilio reductio*'.
- 113ra-113rb T47 *Dictum* 122: '*Ne quando rapiat ut leo animam meam (Ps 7.3). Leo a leon grece quod est rex ... x ... album predicatorem scilicet castum maxime ueretur*'. Followed by 16 lines of scriptural *sententiae*.
- 113rb-114vb T48 Sermon: '*Posui tibi aquam et ignem ad quod uolueris porrigere manum tuam (Eccli 15:17) ... x ... est qui iactat a se scutum sapientie eodem modo*'.
- 115ra-rb T49 *Dictum* 54: '*Dixi custodiam uias meas (Ps 38:2) Lingua hominis sapientis est calamus ... x ... quo ad facilitatem et sensum receptionis*'. Thomson states the version here is approximately the first third of the *dictum* as a whole.
- 115rb-va T50 *Dictum* 117: '*Idem est lapis in terra quod os in carne stabilitas scilicet ... x ... inuenta dat omnia sua et comparat eam*'.
- 115va-vb T51 *Dictum* 100: '*Apoc XXIo Fundamentum primum iaspis Iaspidis multa sunt genera ... x ... posita quasi castri anime propugnaculum est*'. Part 1 of 12 parts of the *dictum*, allegorising the twelve stones of the Apocalypse.
- 115vb T52 *Dictum* 112: '*Deus est protector et cetera. Dans scutum paciencie quod scutum est impressum ... x ... se senciunt frustratos conatu nocendi*'. Approximately the first two-thirds of the *dictum*.

- 116ra T53 *Distinctio*: 'Lapis Christus ut in psalmo lapidem quem reprobauerunt ... x ... turbine umbraculum ab escu'. *Distinctio* diagram for one part of *Dictum* 100.
- 116ra-rb T54 *Dictum* 100: 'Saphirus lapis fulgens est simillimus celo purpureo ... x ... uespas qui exterminabitur cananeum'. Part 2 of 12.
- 116rb-vb T55 Sermon: '*Diligam te Domine uirtus mea* (Ps 17:2) Diligendus est Deus ab omnibus. Si enim ... x ... in claustro moriantur ut eternaliter uiuant qui sic Deum diligant'.
- 116vb-117ra T56 *Dictum* 100: 'Calcedonus quasi ignis luberne pollentis speciem retinet et habet ... x ... luce ueritatis fulgida summe pulcritudini configurata'. Part 3 of 12.
- 117ra-rb T57 *Diccio*: 'Hodie cum omni deuocione ad memoriam redemptoris nostri reuocamus ... x ... salutis nostre precium quod tam copiose effundisti'.
- 117rb-118ra T58 *Dictum* 100: 'Smaragdus nimie uiridatis est a Deo ut herbas uirentes frondes ... Sardonicem faciunt duo nomina sardus et onix ... sardus sed sardius dicta eo quod reperta sit ... x ... sine contencione aliqua uidebantur occidi'. Parts 4 and 5 of 12.
- 118ra-va T59 *Dictum* 50: 'In ascensu autem spirituali gradus ascensionis nobis sunt necessarii ... x ... precincta herenti et horrenti gressum quod retrahenti'. Parts 1-4 of 8 in the *dictum* as a whole.
- 118va T60 *Diccio*: '*Qui considerant in uirtute sua et in multitudine diuiciarum* (Ps 48:7) ... x ... thesaurizatis nobis in nouissimis diebus'.
- 118va-119rb T61 *Diccio*: '*Et precium redempcionis et cetera* (Ps 48.9). Dant precium redempcionis qui dant elemosinam ... x ... primus habere quod necesse est secundus quod satis est'. Followed by a quotation of 8 lines from John Chrysostom.
- 119rb-vb T62 *Dictum* 104: '*Immola deo sacrificium laudis* (Ps 49.14). Laudare aliquem est opera bone et recte ... x ... sicut expresse docet Augustinus in libro de ciuitate dei'.
- 119vb T63 Short *sententiae* from Boethius and Seneca's *Epistolae* on the *lemma* *Malum coram te feci* (Ps 50:6).
- 119vb-120ra T64 *Dictum* 105: '*Asperges me ysopo et mundabor lauabis me* (Ps 50:9) Ysopus calidus est in tercio gradu ... x ... gloriam que a solo deo non uultis'.
- 120ra-va T65 *Dictum* 106: '*Cor contritum* (Ps 50:19) non conteritur nisi quod durum est et frangibile ... x ... durissimam et scio quoniam non confundar'.



- 120va-121ra** T66 *Dictum* 107: '*Quis dabit mihi pennas columbe? (Ps 54:7) Rabanus: Columbe eo quod ad earum ... x ... dyaboli astucias preuideat agnoscat et declinet*'.
- 121ra-rb** T67 *Dictum* 102: '*Ab altitudine diei (Ps 55:4). Dies est sol lucens super terram. Est autem sol alcior ... x ... amoris posita quasi castris propugnaculum*'. Followed by the second half of *Dictum* 112, which is also found at fol. 115vb.
- 121va-122ra** T68 *Dictum* 50: '*Sequitur in abstinentia autem pacienciam quia ut aid Beda abstinentia ... x ... Quam gloriosa dicta sunt de te ciuitas Dei*'. Parts 5-8 of 8; see above fols 118ra-va for the first half of this *dictum*. The text finishes halfway down 122ra.
- 122rb** '*Aue gracie plena commendatur hec beata uirgo ex priuatione maledicti cum dicitur aue ... multe filie congregauerunt diuicias tu uero supergressa et cetera*'. Stegmuller, no. 9079. Written in the cursive hand which annotates the manuscript throughout.
- 122va-123rb** T69 Sermon: '*Renouamini spiritu mentis uestre (Eph 4:23) ... Virtutum uerbi domini dei ostendit ... x ... Dominus igitur det nos renouari in iuuentute gracie ut tandem renouemur iuuentute glorie quod nobis prestare et cetera*'.
- 123rb-124va** T70 Sermon: '*Non est nobis colluctatio aduersus carnem (Eph 6:12) ... Apostolus in hodierna epistola ... x ... super rotam mutabilitatis constitutum recipiamus in premium quod nobis prestare et cetera*'.
- 124va-125va** T71 Sermon: '*Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex toto mente tua (Matt 22:37). Sapiens corde precepta suscipit stultus ... x ... hiis tribus de causis est diligendus. Rogate igitur Deum et cetera*'.
- 125va-126ra** T72 Sermon: '*Ecce ego mittam in fundamentis Sion lapidem probatum angularem et preciosum (Isa 28:16). Dicit Salomon in Prou. ... x ... mel de petra oleumque de saxo durissimo*'.
- 126ra-vb** T73 Sermon: Rubric: In prima dominica aduentus. '*Tempus belli et tempus pacis (Eccle 3:8). Qui lapidem preciosum inuenit stultus est nisi bene ... x ... pertineant unde huiusmodi idonei sunt ad bellum Christi*'.
- 126vb-127rb** T74 Sermon: '*Sponsabo te in sempiternum. Sponsabo te in iusticia et in iudicio (Os 2:19) ... x ... processit. Unde psalmista: potasti uos uino compunccionis*'.
- 127rb-vb** T75 Sermon: Rubric: Sermo de omnibus sanctis. '*Sancti per fidem uicerunt regna. Hoc nomen sancti sonat firmitatem ... x ... quod possimus uenire ad gaudia eorum in celis quod nobis et uobis prestare digne qui uiuit et regnat*'.

- [16] Ps-Hugh of St. Victor, *Allegorie in Nouum Testamentum* (128ra-136va)  
 ‘Primi parentes humani generis per culpam primam se ... x ... quam largitur  
 inmutabiliter summe bonus deus.’ This text has rubrication and marginal notes in pen  
 and plummet. Cf. PL 175, 751-924. Stegmüller, no. 3848, not listing this MS.
- [17] *De admonitione pia* (fols 136va-138vb)  
 Short moral treatise. ‘Audi filii admonitionem patris tui. Inclina aurem tuam ad mea  
 uerba et accomoda mihi libenter ... x ... nec in cor hominis ascendit que preparauit  
 Deus diligentibus se’.
- [18] *Treatise* (fols 138vb-138bisra)  
 A second moral treatise ‘Tres infelices leguntur in lege qui nescit et non interrogat qui  
 scit et non docet qui docet et non facit ... sed lux lucida et securitas sempiterna et  
 presencia patris et filii et spiritus sanctus in seculo seculorum Amen’.
- [19] *Nine Sermons by John of Abbeville* (fols 138bisrb-144vb)  
 The following sermons are all designated for either the Fourth Sunday in Lent, Easter or  
 the Passion in John’s *Sermones de tempore* collection. See Schneyer, *Repertorium*,  
 5.514, although Schneyer divides certain of John’s sermons, listing the prothemes as  
 separate texts.
- 138bisrb-138bisva ‘Scriptum est quod Abraam duos filios habuit et cetera (Gal 4:22).  
 Dominica ista septima est ab illa in qua cepit planctus pro humana miseria  
 ... x ... humanis fructum in sanctificatione finem uero uitam eternam’.
- 138bisva-139rb ‘Eice ancillam et filium eius. Nam ita erit ... cum filio libere (Gal 4:30).  
 Distinguit apostolus inter heredem qui est filius libere et expertem  
 hereditatis qui est filius ancille ... x ... huius mundi et carnis delectatoribus  
 inebriata. gehenne tradentur ignibus nos auertat Ihesus Christus qui uiuit et  
 cetera’.
- 139rb-139vb ‘*Abiit Ihesus trans mare Galliee*[Galiee ms] *quod est Tiberiadis, erat  
 autem proximum pascha dies festus iudeorum.* (Ioh 6:1-4) Hec inusitata  
 uisibilia ad cognitionem inuisibilis dei perducunt ... x ... ipse sciebat qui  
 esset facturus deinceps patet litera’.
- 139vb-140va ‘*Erat autem proximum pascha dies festus iudeorum* (Ioh 6:4). Qui ad  
 hereditatem celestem festinare desiderat ... x ... per uiam qui Christus est  
 perueniemus ad ipsum qui est uita ipse qui est ueritas et uerum bonum  
 prestare qui uiuit et regnat et cetera’.
- 140vb-141va ‘Christus assistens pontifex et cetera (Heb 9:11). Dominica ista appellatur  
 dominica in passione domini pro eo que ad uesperas ... Christus assistens  
 pontifex fit bono proprio sanguinem ... x ... etiam pro merito felicitatis  
 eterne imputabit tibi ad quam nos perducere dignetur qui uiuit et cetera’.



- 141va-142va** 'Quis ex uobis arguet me de peccato et cetera (Ioh 8:46). In hac dominica passionis domini conuenienter legitur hec euuangelica lectio pro eo quod in ea ostenditur ... x ... placeamus iratum quatinus ad contemplandam ipsius faciem pertingere ualeamus ipso prestante qui uiuit et cetera'.
- 142va-143va** 'Hoc sentite in uobis qui et in Christo Ihesu (Phil 2:5). Dominica ista dicitur dominica in ramis palmarum. Si quidem Christus uerus agnus figuratur in agno paschali ueteris testamenti ... x ... resurexionis simus participes ipse prestante qui uiuit et cetera'.
- 143va-144rb** 'Cum appropinquaret Ihesus Ierusalem et uenisset ad bethfage ad montem oliueti tunc misit duos discipulos et cetera (Matt 21:1). Huius litere expositio superius in prima aduentus dominica patet ...x ... sonus cordarum fugiet uictus inimicus et erit nobis salus prestante Domino nostro et cetera'.
- 144rb-144vb** 'Scitis quia post biduum pascha fiet et filius hominis tradetur ut crucifigetur (Matt 26:2). Post diem siquidem legis naturalis et diem legis moysi factum est pascha in quo crucifixus est Christus Ihesus pascha interpretur transitus ... x ... scite diuus est adamas nec ferri duritia soluitur sed sanguis'. This final text seems to be incomplete.

**[20] Biblical concordance in five books (fols 145ra-184vb)**

'Incipiunt tractatus concordancie biblie[blibie *ms*] distincte per v libros. Primus uel agit de hiis que pertinent ad deprauacionem primi hominis cum suis oppositis cuius iiii cum partes ... x ... Ie 23 b. factus est cursus eorum'.

**[21] Extract from Stephen Langton's Commentary on Ecclesiasticus (fols 185ra-189vb)**

Commentary on Eccli 1:1 to 11:4. 'Hoc nomen Ecclesiastes interpretur concionator et refertur ... x ... contra molliciem uestium ysay *induum celos tenebris* (Isa 50:3)'.

Stegmuller, no. 7814.

**[22] Extract from Stephen Langton's Commentary on Exodus (fols 190ra-193va)**

The text covers commentary on Ex 16:23-21:23. 'Repete ab illo loco. *Quicquid reliquum fuerit reponite usque in mane* (Ex 16:23) ... x ... *Ier confregit ad numerum dentes meos* (Lam 3:16)'. Stegmuller, no. 7745.1.

**[23] Extract from Raymond de Peñafort's Summa de penitentia (fols 194ra-219vb)**

A post-medieval hand has added the title *De sacramentis ecclesia tractatus*. The text begins in III.17.9 and runs to the end of Book III. 'etiam sacerdotalis liberat a fortuna ...x ... uenite benedicti percipite regnum. Amen'. See X. Ochoa, ed., *Raymond de Peñafort Summa de poenitentia* (Rome, 1978).

**[24] Extract from Stephen Langton's Commentary on Ecclesiastes (fols 220ra-222ra)**

Commentary on Eccle 9:16 to 10:1. 'prosperis uel in aduersis gaudet sibi sapientiam fortitudine hic ostendit quod melior est ... x ... in mandatis erit'. Stegmuller, no. 7807.1.

**[25] Extract from Stephen Langton's Commentary on the Book of Wisdom (fols 222rb-223ra)**

Commentary on Sap 1:1 to 4:2. 'Facies v uectes de lignis sechin ad concinendas tabulas in uno latere ... diligite iusticiam (Sap 1:1) Nota quod cum istud capitulum legitur in septime pentecostes ... x ... sed quomodo dicit cum se eduxerit immo potius deus educit. Solutio ideo sic dicitur'. Stegmuller, no. 7811.



## Appendix II

The table below presents the material on fols 78-87 and 104-127 of MS A.III.12 according to Thomson's listing and numbering (cf. *Writings*, pp. 182-90). The fourth column divides the material according to the categories I discuss in Chapter II: sermons, fragmentary sermons, biblical and patristic *sententiae* and *dicciones*. The final three columns indicate whether the material is found elsewhere in MS A.III.12, Grosseteste's Psalms commentary or his *Dicta* collection and whether it is in the same form (✓), incomplete (\*), or substantially different (#).

T	Fols	Incipit	Text type	Found elsewhere		
				A.III.12	Ps	<i>Dicta</i>
1	78ra-rb	Convertimini ad me	sermon	17v*		
2	78rb-vb	Milicia est vita hominis	sermon			
3	78vb-79ra	Exemplum esto fidelium	sermon			35#
4	79ra-rb	Nolite fieri sicut equus	diccio			
5	79rb-va	Quoniam tanquam fenum	diccio		✓	53
6	79va-80ra	Qui manet in caritate	sermon			
7	80ra	Conceperunt laborem et	diccio + bibl. sent.		✓	
8	80ra-rb	Lavabo per singulas noctes	bibl. + patr. sent.		✓	
9	80rb-va	Quinque sensus porte sunt	diccio + patr. sent.		✓	7
10	80va-vb	Celum significat summa	diccio			
11	80vb	Pisces significat malos	diccio			
12	80vb-81ra	Paradisus voluptatis	diccio			
13	81ra-rb	Hoc viso igitur consid.	diccio	13-14		56*
14	81rb-va	Quoniam non in finem	diccio + bibl. sent.		✓	94
15	81va	Ecclus. x. Timor domini	bibl. sent.			
16	81va-vb	Hec sunt que paupertatem	diccio			
17	81vb	Divites qui congregant	diccio			46
18	81vb	Ysidorus quod homines	patr. sent.			
19	81vb	De tuis iustis laboris	patr. sent.			
20	81vb-82ra	Serve nequam omne	sermon			
21	82ra-rb	Serve nequam etc. Rex iste	sermon + patr. sent.			
22	82va-83va	Ecce nunc dies salutis	sermon			

T	Fols	Incipit	Text type	A.III.12	Ps	Dicta
23	83va-84vb	Cum appropinquasset	frag. sermon + patr. sent.			
24	84vb-85ra	Clama ne cesses	frag. sermon			
25	85ra-rb	Ecclesiasticus Hum.	diccio			
26	85rb-va	Ego flos campi	sermon			
27	85vb-86rb	Pulcra ut luna	diccio		✓	71
28	86rb-vb	De superbia que est amor	diccio	6	✓	128
29	86vb-87rb	Yas grece venenum	diccio	6	✓	88
30	87rb	Pupilla est pura cordis	diccio	6	✓	77
31	87rb-va	Cupiditas est amor immod.	diccio	6	✓	140
32	87va-vb	Tenebrosa aqua in nubibus	diccio	7	✓	78
33	87vb	Ignis aliquando zelum dei	patr. sent.	7	✓	79*
34	104ra-105ra	Plorabitis et flebitis	sermon			
35	105ra-106ra	Ite in castellum	sermon			
36	106ra-rb	Qui finxit singillatim	diccio	13	✓	42
37	106rb	Et lingua vera	diccio			
38	106vb-107rb	Ambrosius enim fuit	patr. sent.			
39	107rb-va	Dixi custodiam vias	diccio			
40	107va-108ra	Benedictum lignum	sermon			
41	108ra-vb	Qui vicerit non	sermon			
42	108vb-109va	Ascendam in palmam	sermon			
43	109va-110va	Ascendit deus in iub.	sermon	T59/ T68#	✓#	✓#
44	112ra-va	Judith una mulier	sermon			
45	112va	Vidi cervos in equis	sermon			
46	112va-113ra	Erubescant et conturb	diccio			
47	113ra-rb	Ne quando rapiat	diccio + bibl. sent.	5	✓	122
48	113rb-114vb	Posui tibi aquam	sermon			
49	115ra-rb	Dixi custodiam vias	diccio		✓	54
50	115rb-va	Idem est lapis in terra	diccio		✓	117
51	115va-vb	Apocalipsis xxi	diccio		✓	100
52	115vb	Deus est protector	diccio			112
53	116ra	Lapis Christus (diag)	diccio		✓	100
54	116ra-rb	Saphirus lapis fulgens	diccio		✓	100



T	Fols	Incipit	Text type	A.III.12	Ps	Dicta
55	116rb-vb	Diligam te domine	sermon			
56	116vb-117ra	Calcedonus quasi	diccio		✓	100
57	117ra-rb	Hodie cum omni	diccio			
58	117rb-118ra	Smaragdus nimie	diccio		✓	100
59	118ra-va	In ascensu autem	diccio	Cf. T43	✓	50
60	118va	Qui considerant in	diccio		?	
61	118va-119rb	Et precium redemp	diccio		✓	
62	119rb-vb	Immola deo sacrific.	diccio		✓	104
63	119vb	Malum coram te feci	patr. sent.		✓	
64	119vb-120ra	Asperges me ysopo	diccio		✓	105
65	120ra-va	Cor contritum non	diccio		✓	106
66	120va-121ra	Quis dabit mihi	diccio		✓	107
67	121ra-rb	Ab altitudine diei	diccio	Cf. T52	✓	102 + 112
68	121va-122ra	Sequitur in abstin.	diccio	Cf.T59		50
69	122va-123rb	Renovamini spiritu	sermon			
70	123rb-124va	Non est nobis colluct.	sermon			
71	124va-125va	Diliges dominum	sermon			
72	125va-126ra	Ecce ego mittam	sermon			
73	126ra-vb	Tempus belli	sermon			
74	126vb-127rb	Sponsabo te in	sermon			
75	127rb-vb	Sancti per fidem vicerunt	sermon			

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