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The Liber de cardinalibus Christi domini nostri operibus
of the Lord Arnold, Abbot of Bonneval,
Introduction and Critical Text with Notes

by

Richard Upsher Smith, Jr.

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

at

Dalhousie University
Halifax, Nova Scotia
August, 1991

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Abstract

The aim of this dissertation is twofold. The first aim is to provide a critical text of the Liber de cardinalibus Christi domini nostri operibus of Arnold, Abbot of Bonneval (ca. 1129-ca. 1159). The second is to provide a context for this text. This second aim is achieved by means of an examination of the textual history of this work, an inquiry into Arnold's life and oeuvre, and an explication of the theology of this work based upon the results of the preceding studies. The result of the dissertation is, I believe, a demonstration that Arnold, particularly in this work, sought to show how the Augustinianism of the Benedictine tradition completed the Augustinianism of the physicists of the schools. Thus, the De cardinalibus Christi operibus provides a propaedeutic to the monastic life for the scholar.

Abbreviations

BA	Bibliothèque Augustinienne, Oeuvres de saint Augustin, Paris: Desclée de Brouwer and Cie.
Blaise	Albert Blaise, <u>Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens</u> , rev. Henri Chirat, Turnhout: Brepols, 1954
BT	Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, Turnhout: Brepols
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, Turnhout: Brepols
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Vienna: apud C. Geroldi Filium <u>et al.</u>
CWS	The Classics of Western Spirituality, New York: Paulist Press
GL	B.L. Gildersleeve and Gonzalez Lodge, <u>Gildersleeve's Latin Grammar</u> , 3rd ed. revised and enlarged, London: St. Martin's Press, repr. 1980
LCL	Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press and London: William Heinemann
LS	C.T. Lewis and Charles Short, <u>A Latin Dictionary</u> , Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, repr. 1975
LTR	J. Leclercq, O.S.B., C.H. Talbot, and H. Rochais, edd., <u>Sancti Bernardi Opera</u> , eight volumes, Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957-1977

Niermeyer	J.F. Niermeyer, <u>Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus</u> , two volumes, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967
OCT	Oxford Classical Texts, Oxford: at the Clarendon Press
PG	Patrologia Graeca, ed. J.-P. Migne, 162 volumes, Paris: apud J.-P. Migne Editorem, 1857-1866
PL	Patrologia Latina, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 volumes, Paris: apud J.-P. Migne Editorem, 1844-1864
SC	Sources Chrétiennes, Paris: Éditions du Cerf

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There are two scholars to whom I am indebted beyond all others. The first is Professor John Augustus Toomey, who taught me how to read historical documents, when I was an undergraduate. The second is the Rev'd Professor Robert Darwin Crouse, my doctoral supervisor, who has taught me how to read philosophical texts during my years at Dalhousie and whose thinking lies behind so much of whatever is good in this dissertation.

To say this, however, is not to take away anything from what I owe to many other scholars, chief among whom are the other internal examiners of this thesis, Professor Peter F. Kussmaul, who generously spent several hours, tedious for him, I am sure, helpful for me, reviewing crucial problems in the present critical text, and Professor Colin J. Starnes. I am also thankful for the great deal I have learned from the other members of this unique Classics Department. The Abbé Édouard Jeauneau graciously consented to serve as external examiner for this dissertation. I am grateful for the extremely close reading he gave it, and I am in his debt for several references to Arnold's sources, in particular for the important reference to Anselm in the apparatus fontium

secundus below, pages 203 and 205. I must mention too the Rev'd Professor John E. Booty, who first introduced me to Arnold of Bonneval, and Dr. Roland Demeulenaere, under whose editorial guidance my editions of Arnold's works should one day (deo uolente) appear in the Corpus Christianorum.

An unexpected and unmerited benefit which I received in preparing this text was the courteous, learned and assiduous attention of librarians in England, France, and the United States. I have acknowledged the individuals to whom I owe most in the notes to the introduction. Here I should just record my gratitude to Gwyn Pace, head of the Inter-Library Loan Service at Dalhousie University, and to her staff, whose unfailing labours have turned the Killam Library into one of the great libraries of the world for me.

Doctoral work would not have been possible for me, were it not for the generous assistance I have received from the Izaak Walton Killam Memorial Trust and from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Dalhousie University also provided a grant to enable me to travel to England.

Finally, I thank my wife, who, as someone else has said, "put up with nothing and with everything". I should also express my gratitude to Archbishop Harold L. Nutter for granting me leave of absence from the Diocese of Fredericton and to Bishop George Lemmon, his successor, who has extended it. Arthur Peters, Bishop of Nova Scotia, has permitted me to exercise my priesthood within his jurisdiction, for which I am grateful, and I owe a special debt to the clergy and people of the Parish of St. James', Seaforth, Halifax County, who have given me an altar and allowed me to serve them for four happy years.

INTRODUCTION

Introductory Note

Arnold, abbot of the monastery of black monks at Bonneval near Chartres from about 1129 to about 1159, is an obscure figure today. Had his correspondence and the archives of his abbey survived, we should know much more about him. But the importance of his abbey and of his friends indicates that he was not an obscure figure to his contemporaries. Nevertheless, circumstances and his own genius conspired, as the surviving documents and his literary remains suggest, such that he spent himself largely on the government of his monastery and on study and writing. Though his reputation has never been great, he has had some influence on the later history of theology, in part through the work an edition of which is provided in this dissertation, the De cardinalibus Christi operibus.

In the present introduction to the critical text, it is proposed to follow the advice of St. Augustine and move 'ab exterioribus ad interiora, ab inferioribus ad superiora',¹ that is to say, from an examination of the concrete remains of these sermons through a consideration of Arnold's life and oeuvre to an exposition of the theology of the sermons.

¹Enarrationes in Psalmos CI-CL, CXLV.5, edd. E. Dekkers, O.S.B., & J. Fraipont, CCSL XL (Turnhout, 1956), p. 2108.

Chapter I

The Textual History of the De cardinalibus Christi operibus

1. The Manuscripts

The following manuscripts of the De cardinalibus Christi operibus of Arnold of Bonneval are known to have survived. I have used reproductions of all of them for my collations, except for L, which I had to collate on the spot due to the fragility of the binding. I did have the advantage of examining the codices C, B, and O on the spot as well, but I did not have time to collate them.

P

P. PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale ms. lat. 2946, 12th century, ff. 1-70 with ff. 86-89, 95-96, and 97-99, Preuilly.

DESCRIPTION in Bibliothèque Nationale, Catalogue générale des manuscrits latins, tome III (Nos. 2693 à 3013A), Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1952, p. 319f.

On f. 99^r the following ex-libris is found: 'liber sancte marie pruliacensis', indicating that this book was once in the library of the Cistercian monastery at Preuilly (founded in 1118 by Stephen Harding),

which is in the Diocese of Meaux and in the Department of the Seine and Marne.¹ It is bound in fawn-coloured calfskin over wooden boards with a red medallion and the arms and monogram of Henry II of France, indicating that it was in the Royal Library at Fontainebleau by around the mid-sixteenth century. On f. 99^v is found an inventory number from the library at Fontainebleau ('Invent. LXV'), which is also stamped on the front cover. Folio 1^r bears the catalogue numbers of Nicolas Rigault (no. 1529), the brothers Dupuy (no. 1671), the later Royal Library at Paris (no. 4378), and the Bibliothèque Nationale (no. 2946).²

The manuscript is written on parchment, has 99 folios, measures 175x120 mm, and has a single column of writing with 22 lines per page. The first work in the volume (our work) is lacking its title and author's name, indicating the loss of at least one folio. The book seems to have been fitted with clasps and a chain at one time. The initials are coloured and simply drawn and the titles are in red. The contents are as follows.

Ff. 1^r-70^r, Arnold of Bonneval, De cardinalibus Christi operibus, missing the whole title save the words, 'scripsit ad adrianum papam', and beginning with the prologue Sublimes materie (PL 189.1610-1615).

Ff. 70^v-78^v, Joscelin of Soissons, Expositio symboli (PL 186.1479-1488).

Ff. 78^v-86^r, idem, Expositio de oratione dominica, (PL 186.1489-1496).

¹See Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana, vol. 47 (Madrid, 1922), s.v. "Preuilly", p. 331.

²On Henry II and the library at Fontainebleau, see Henry Marcel et al., La Bibliothèque Nationale, vol. 2 (Paris, 1907), p. 97. On the catalogues of Rigault and the Dupuys, ibid., vol. 2, pp. 4-9.

Ff. 86^r-89^r, Clementissime Deus, an anonymous eucharistic prayer, attributed to Arnold by Dom Jean Leclercq.¹

Ff. 90^r-94^v, St. Martin of Braga, Formule uite honeste (Martini Episcopi Bracarenensis Opera Omnia, ed. C.W. Barlow (New Haven, 1950), pp. 204-250).

Ff. 95^r-96^r, Solent matres, an anonymous letter, found also in the editio princeps as the preface to Arnold's De cardinalibus Christi operibus (PL 189.1609-1610).

Ff. 97^r-99^r, a fragment, which gives an explanation of the eucharistic presence of the body and blood of Christ, attributed to Arnold by Leclercq.² This fragment is sandwiched between two very short portions of Arnold's sermon De cena Domini, found on ff. 36^r and 40^r of this manuscript, as if (Leclercq argues) we were seeing Arnold "retouchant son style et précisant sa doctrine". A certain speciousness is lent to this argument, when one observes that the first short portion from the De cena Domini added to this fragment is identical with the first lines on f. 36^r, while the second short portion ends with the first three words where a new hand (perhaps the same hand as in this fragment) takes up the text on f. 40^r. It seems as if the scribe wants one to substitute the five later pages for the nine earlier pages. But this is hard to believe, when one considers the fact that the omission of the earlier pages, containing as they do a great variety of material, would impoverish the sermon. An examination of the binding of the manuscript might help here, but I have not had the opportunity to undertake it.

The manuscript is described as later twelfth-century: "XII^e s.

(fin)". One always hesitates to demur in the judgement of the cataloguer, but the first hand in the De cardinalibus Christi operibus could very well be mid twelfth-century, as it has several characteristics associated with hands written in the years 1129, 1156, and 1167 in France.³ To be sure, the hand has the angularity of the gothic, but

¹J. Leclercq, "Les méditations eucharistiques d'Arnaud de Bonneval", Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale 13 (1946), pp. 43-45.

²Ibid, p. 48.

³S. Harrison Thomson, Latin Bookhands of the Later Middle Ages, 1100-1500 (Cambridge, 1969), plates 2, 3, and 4. The remarks which follow in the text above are based upon Thomson's description of these manuscripts.

such characteristics as the e caudata, used frequently, but not always consistently or accurately, the use of soft ti in most cases, the general use of the ampersand instead of the tironian et, all indicate a date more towards mid century than the turn of the century.

M

M. MONTPELLIER, École de Médecine ms. 400, 12th-13th century, ff. 65^r-96^r, Clairvaux.

DESCRIPTION in Catalogue générale des manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques des Départements, tome premier, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1849, p. 443.

This must be one of the manuscripts transferred from the public library at Troyes to the medical school at Montpellier in 1801 by a government official, Dr. Prunelle.¹ It is a quarto volume written on vellum in double columns of 41 lines with simple, vigorously drawn initials and (if one can tell from a photographic reproduction) rubricated titles. It is the second of three works in this volume, the first being a Collectanea ex patribus, the third being a Symboli expositio.

M descends from the same hyparchetype as P. The hand in which it is written seems probably to be twelfth-century, gothic (to be sure) in its angularity and using the soft ci generally, but retaining the ampersand much of the time and employing abbreviations with relative infrequency, as compared with the manuscript to be described next. The e caudata is not used.

T

¹Dom André Wilmart, "L'ancienne bibliothèque de Clairvaux", Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciensium Reformatorum 11 (1949), p. 101f.

T. TROYES, Bibliothèque Municipale ms. 509, 13th century, ff. 58^r-86^r, Clairvaux.

DESCRIPTION in Catalogue générale des manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques des Départements, tome second, Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1855, p. 223.

This manuscript bears the number O.59 from Clairvaux. It is a folio volume with 172 leaves written on vellum by different scribes using the gothic hand. There are simple, coloured initials, the titles are in red ink, and the text is in two columns of 36 lines (in our work). Arnold's work is the second of three works contained in this volume, the first being a dialogue of Peter Alfonsi, the third being the De peregrinante ciuitate Dei of Henry of Clairvaux. This manuscript depends directly on M.

C

C. OXFORD, Corpus Christi College ms. 210, 12th century, pp. 1-111, English.

DESCRIPTION in H.O. Coxe, Catalogus codicum mss. qui in collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adseruantur, pars II, Oxford: the University Press, 1852, p. 83.

This small volume measures 11x14.7 mm and has coloured initials with titles in red. It is written on parchment in one column with 20 lines per page. The hand seems to be English of the second half of the twelfth century. The "trailing-headed a", the "ample 8-like g", "the final t with a downward tick at the end of the headstroke", "x with long left-hand lower stroke curling neatly round the base of the preceding letter", and "vertical strokes finished by means of a... slightly slop-

ing angular foot"¹-- all characteristic of the English script of this period-- all appear.

The volume is bound in a cover probably of the late seventeenth century.² It appears to have lost its last folio at that time, for the last words of Arnold's work have been copied at the bottom of page 111 in a seventeenth or eighteenth-century hand with this note: 'Haec folio sequenti eadem manu descripta addenda curavi.' Several leaves are also missing from the volume between its pages 20 and 21, the equivalent of about a semi-quaternion (I.2.7-8.6 of this edition). Perhaps these were also lost during this rebinding, but I have not been able to determine it. There is a table of contents written by William Fulman on the fly-leaf.³

B

B. OXFORD, Bodleian ms. 197, 12th century, ff. 142^v-180^r, Reading.⁴

DESCRIPTION in Falconer Madan and H.H.E. Craster, A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, vol.

¹N.R. Ker, English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest (Oxford, 1960), p. 35. The hand in Corpus Christi ms. 210 seems very like that in Ker's plate 18b and like that in S. Harrison Thomson, op. cit., plate 85.

²I am grateful to Christine Butler, Assistant Archivist at Corpus, for this information.

³I am again indebted to Christine Butler for this information. Fulman was archivist of Corpus in the late seventeenth century. On him see Thomas Fowler, The History of Corpus Christi College with Lists of its Members (Oxford, 1893), pp. 196-199, 212, & 215.

⁴W.D. Macray, Annals of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, A.D. 1598-A.D. 1867 (Oxford, 1868), p. 317; N.R. Ker, ed., Medieval Libraries of Great Britain, A List of Surviving Books, 2nd ed. (London, 1964), p. 156. Madan and Craster (see DESCRIPTION) do not make this attribution.

II, part I, Nos. 1-3490, Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1922, p. 110.
See also A. Hoste, ed., Aelredi Rievallensis Opera Omnia, CCCM I, Turnhout: Brepols, 1971, p. 284.

This is a manuscript of vi + 225 leaves¹ measuring 21x30.4 mm written on parchment in double columns of 34 lines each. The hand is described as late twelfth-century English. There are whimsical, coloured initials and red titles. The binding is an Oxford binding of about 1610. It was acquired by the Bodleian about 1620, having been owned on October 10, 1608 by one Richard Amye or Amyas, who tried unsuccessfully to erase the name of the monastery from f. vi and then wrote in his own.²

The manuscript contains works of Aelred of Rievaulx and Arnold of Bonneval. Its contents are as follows.

Ff. 1^r-103^r, Sermons of Aelred's, with a preface to Gilbert Foliot (d. 1187), a Norman and a Cluniac monk, who was successively abbot of Gloucester, bishop of Hereford, and bishop of London.³

¹From a modern note written in the back of the volume. F. 145 is double. Madan and Craster say, "vi + 224 leaves".

²It is interesting to note that N.R. Ker has recently brought to our attention the name of a hitherto ignored seventeenth-century antiquary, John Langley of the Amies or Amyas, Shropshire (Ker, "The Migration of Manuscripts from the English Medieval Libraries", in Books, Collectors and Libraries, Studies in the Medieval Heritage, ed. A.G. Watson (London, 1985), pp. 460-463). No Richard Langley occurs in the Langley family history who could have written his name in this manuscript volume, but still one wonders if there might not be some connection of Richard Amyas with the Langleys of the Amyas (see A.F.C.C. Langley, "The Family of Langley of Shropshire", Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 2nd series, vol. 5 (1893), pp. 113-150).

³It is worth noting that Reading Abbey, although not a Cluniac dependency, was thoroughly under the Cluniac influence, its first superior coming from Cluny, its second, Hugh of Amiens, from Lewes, a Cluniac dependency (Dom David Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, A History of its Development from the Times of St Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 940-1216, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1963), p. 281f.; Knowles et al., edd., The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales, 940-1216, (Cam-

Ff. 103^v-126^r, Aelred, De spiritali amicitia.

Ff. 126^v-142^r, Arnold's De sex uerbis que Dominus in cruce locutus est (PL 189.1677-1726).

Ff. 142^v-179^v, Arnold, De cardinalibus Christi operibus.

Ff. 180^r-212^v, "Tractatus domini Ernaldi abbatis Boneuallensis apud Carnotum qui postea monachus fuit Clareuallensis ubi obiit, de operibus .vi. dierum"¹ (PL 189.1515-1570).

Ff. 213^r-223^v, Arnold, De laudibus beatae Mariae Virginis (PL 189.1725-1734), though there is no title in this manuscript.

This manuscript, though handsome in appearance, has a large number of scribal errors, many of which have been corrected, apparently against C, for B and C also share several scribal conjectures in common. B consistently uses the double-u in euuangelium and other words of this stem.

L

L. OXFORD, Bodleian Laud Miscellaneous ms. 371, 12th century, ff. 38^r-77^v, English.

bridge, 1972), pp. 63 & 119). Hugh of Amiens (d. 1164), a Norman, too, and later archbishop of Rouen, dedicated his own Hexaameron to Arnulf of Lisieux, yet another Norman and a friend, correspondent, and admirer of Arnold of Bonneval's (see Francis Lecomte "Un commentaire scripturaire du XII^e siècle, le 'Tractatus in Hexaameron' de Hugues d'Amiens...", Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge 25 (1958), p. 235f.; the manuscript of this work came to rest at Clairvaux). Bishop Foliot and Bishop Arnulf are also said to have met often in the course of the public affairs of the Angevin Empire (Frank Barlow, ed., The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux (London, 1939), p. xix). Given the ecclesiastical and political connections of these various figures, one suspects that one has discovered the route by which Arnold's manuscripts made their way into England.

¹Given the fact that the works of a Cistercian abbot and the abbot of a convent of traditional black monks are found bound together in this volume from a Cluniac abbey, and recollecting that Arnold the black monk was invited to write part of the biography of St. Bernard the white monk and that he was friends not only with Bernard, but also with Philip, abbot of the Cistercian house of L'Aumône (below, p. 83.), it seems clear that respect and friendship could flourish amongst the members of these different monastic traditions.

DESCRIPTION in H.O. Coxe, Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues, II, Laudian Manuscripts, ed. R.W. Hunt, Oxford: Bodleian Library, originally published 1858-1885. See also E. Colledge and J. Walsh, edd., Guigues II le Chartreux, Lettre sur la vie contemplative, Douze méditations, SC 163, Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1970, p. 18.

This manuscript was once attributed to Ramsey Abbey, but N.R. Ker has denied the attribution.¹ It was once owned by a Walter Curzon² and came to the Bodleian in Archbishop Laud's first gift of manuscripts in 1635.³ It measures 15x21.5 mm and is written on parchment in a single column with 32 lines per page. There are coloured initials, some intricately done. A modern note in the back says it has 183 leaves because f. 100 is double. The binding is late twelfth or early thirteenth century in white leather over boards with three clasps, the pages and boards being flush.⁴ The scribe made many conjectural emendations, some useful.

The manuscript contains works by Arnold, Drogo of Reims, Guigo II of La Grande Chartreuse, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Hugh of St. Victor,

¹Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain, p. 154.

²Perhaps the Walter Curzon who was at Corpus Christi (Oxon.) in 1547 and a member of the Middle Temple in 1558 (Joseph Foster, Alumni Oxoniensis 1500-1714 (Oxford, 1891), sub nom.)

³Some of Laud's manuscripts had formerly been owned by Archbishop Usher and Augustine Lindsell, bishop successively of Peterborough and Hereford (Macray, op. cit., p. 318).

⁴For references to the binding, see Graham Pollard, "The Construction of English Twelfth-Century Bindings", The Library, 5th series, 17 (1962), p. 15, n. 2 & p. 16, nn. 2 & 3. Dr. Bruce C. Barker-Benfield, Assistant Librarian in the Department of Western Manuscripts at the Bodleian, refers to the binding as late 12th or early 13th century in a letter to me dated 3 January 1990.

as well as an excerpt from St. Augustine in a much more recent hand.

The list of Arnold's works is as follows.

Ff. 2^r-37^v, De operibus sex dierum.

Ff. 38^r-77^v, De cardinalibus Christi operibus.

Ff. 78^r-97^r, De sex ultimis uerbis Domini in cruce pendentis.

Ff. 97^v-100^v, De laudibus beatae Mariae Virginis, titled in pencil in a modern hand.

It will be noticed that these are the same four works found in B, though in a different order, and that in both B and L the De laudibus Mariae lacks its title. Folios 101^r-117^v contain a work entitled Meditationes Arnulfi. Bishop John Fell accepted this attribution to Arnold and printed it amongst Arnold's works in his 1682 Oxford edition of St. Cyprian of Carthage.¹ Thus, it made its way into subsequent printed editions of Arnold. It is, however, as Dom Jean Leclercq has shown, a work of Drogo of Reims.²

It should be noticed too that L was heavily marked and annotated by a sixteenth-century hand, especially in the chapter on the Lord's Supper in the De cardinalibus Christi operibus. One also finds the following note in the same hand on f. 1^r.

Arnulphus alias Ruffus, prepositus et Lugdunensis episcopus, postea
canonicorum regularium prefectus, Anselmi contemporaneus. Anno
domini 1108.

Oecolampadius cum Roffensi contendit opus esse Arnobii cuiusdam.

¹On which see below, p. 21.

²Jean Leclercq, "Drogon et Saint Bernard", Revue Bénédictine 63 (1953), p. 116.

Roffensis contra sentit esse sermones diui Cypriani. Sed hic apparet huius esse Arnulphi qui tamen (ut est probabile) multo maximam partem operis mutuatus est ex Cypriano.¹

For a note on the use of the De cardinalibus Christi operibus during the Reformation, see below, p. 180, n. 1.

O

O. OXFORD, All Souls College ms. 19, 12th century, ff. 55^r-80^v, English.

DESCRIPTION in H.O. Coxe, Catalogus codicum mss. qui in collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur, p. 5.

This volume measures 20x29 mm and is written on parchment with one column of text and 37 lines per page. The hand in which Arnold's work is written is English of the later twelfth century. It has the same characteristics as C, except that the 'trailing-headed a' seems more pronounced and that the downward tick on the headstroke of the final t does not appear. Both soft ti and ci are employed and both the ampersand and the tironian et are used. The double-u appears in euuangelium. The 'seven and point' punctuation mark or flexus is used, which may indicate a Cistercian origin.² Since it is also strongly related to M and T, one has some reason to think its provenance Cistercian. There are both twelfth and fourteenth-century texts included. The binding, with its boards and pages flush, is probably the original fourteenth-century Oxford binding, though repaired in 1951. There are holes in the

¹I am greatly indebted to Dr. Barker-Benfield of the Bodleian and to Dr. Martin Kauffmann of his department for their help in reading this scribbled note.

²N.R. Ker, English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest, pp. 47-49.

back cover for a chain, chains having been in use at All Souls until the move to the new library in 1750.

The book was bequeathed to All Souls by Henry Penwortham (d. 1438). Penwortham was Archbishop Henry Chichele's registrar and treasurer from 1419 and helped Chichele acquire land for the foundation of All Soul's, which foundation occurred in the year of Penwortham's death. Penwortham left 40 marks' worth of books to All Souls, of which mss. 19, 37, and 82 survive.¹ There is what appears to be a fragment of a will in Latin and English written on the first folio, perhaps Penwortham's. Since the book contains both twelfth and fourteenth-century material and was bound in Oxford in the fourteenth century, it may have passed through the hands of several scholars and booksellers before coming into Penwortham's possession.

Z

Z. MECHLIN, Grand Séminaire de Malines cod. 45, probably 1557-1561, ff. 135^r-170^r, Prieuré de Bois-Seigneur-Isaac, Belgium.

DESCRIPTION in the Abbé Carlo de Clercq, Catalogue des manuscrits du Grand Séminaire de Malines, Gembloux: Imprimerie J. Duculot, 1937, vol. IV, pp. 107-112; see also pp. 10 and 15f.²

¹On Penwortham, see A.B. Emden, A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500, vol. III (Oxford, 1959), p. 1460f. Emden reports that only ms. 82 survives of Penwortham's gift. This must be corrected by reference to Sir Edmund Craster, The History of All Souls College Library, ed. E.F. Jacob (London, 1971), p. 17. I am indebted to Miss Norma Aubertin-Potter, Sub Librarian of All Souls, for this reference to Emden and for information on the binding of this book.

²I am indebted to M^{me} Gilles-Raynal of the Section Latine of the Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris for informing me of the existence of this manuscript.

This manuscript measures 250x208 mm and has a total of 178 folios. It is written on paper in one column with 35-40 lines per page. The copiest was Henri Silvestre, a canon of Notre-Dame, Cambrai, who became an Augustinian at Bois-Seigneur-Isaac in 1557 and died in 1561. Arnold's work is here attributed to St. Cyprian of Carthage; and indeed the contents of the manuscript are largely a copy of Erasmus' 1520 Basle edition of St. Cyprian.¹ Folios 175^v-177^v contain a letter of Pico Mirandola, printed at Basle in 1557.

2. The Editions

Only the editio princeps is of value for establishing the text of this work, but a brief history of the printed text is needful for the light it sheds on certain historical problems.

e

e. Illustrium virorum opuscula: Diui Athanasii contra Arrium hereticum de homousio subtilissima coram probo iudice gentili controuersia; Diui didymi a diuo hieronymo translata de spiritu sancto eiusque processu atque equalitate disceptatio; Aurelii Cassiodori atque

¹On the copying of printed texts in the sixteenth century, see Curt F. Bühler, The Fifteenth-Century Book, The Scribes, The Printers, The Decorators (Philadelphia, 1960), pp. 33-39; Cora E. Lutz, "Manuscripts Copied from Printed Books", in Essays on Manuscripts and Rare Books (Archon Books, 1975), pp. 129-138 & 163-165. What may be another copy from a printed edition exists in Bibliothèque Nationale ms. lat. 3396, ff. 59^r-65^v, an anthology of eucharistic texts compiled in England during the reign of Edward VI and annotated by the Reformer Pierre Alexandre. See Bibliothèque Nationale, Catalogue générale des manuscrits latins, tome V (Nos. 3278 à 3535) (Paris, 1966), pp. 342-346. I have not seen this manuscript.

alterius non penitendi authoris de anima rationali profunda rimatio;
Plurimorum prestantium virorum diuersarum artium argutissime nec minus
scitu digne definitiones; Diui Cypriani aurei de cardinalibus christi
operibus sermones, Paris: Jean Petit, 1500.¹

DESCRIPTION in Wilhelm Hartel, ed., S. Thasci Caecili Cypriani
Opera omnia, CSEL, vol. III, part 3, Vienna: apud C. Geroldi Filium
 Bibliopolam Academiae, 1871, p. lxxv.

The colophon on the last page reports the following information (f. K4^v).

Here you have, most honest reader, six works... It remains, therefore, for you to make grateful acknowledgement to those who have produced them: in the first place to that eminent man Master Simon Radin, who saw to their being brought to light from the obscurity in which they were buried; next to F. Cyprian Beneti for his editorial care ['qui castigatrices manus apposuit']; then to Jean Petit, best of booksellers, who caused them to be printed at his expense; nor less than these to Andrieu Bocard, the skilful chalcographer, who printed them so elegantly and with scrupulous correctness, June 28, 1500. Praise and glory to God.²

Jean Petit, one of four great booksellers licensed to the University of Paris, practised his trade from 1492 to around 1530, establishing his family for a hundred years amongst the premier booksellers of Paris.³

¹The copy of this edition which I have used is held by the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

²Translated by A.W. Pollard, An Essay on Colophons with Specimens and Translations (orig. pub. Chicago, 1905), p. 98. See pp. 97-99 for a discussion of the colophon from the point of view of the booktrade.

³Philippe Renouard, Imprimeurs Parisiens, Libraires, Fondateurs de Caractères et Correcteurs d'Imprimerie, Depuis l'introduction de l'imprimerie à Paris (1470) jusqu'à la fin du XVIe siècle (Paris, 1898), pp. 291-293; idem, "Quelques documents sur les Petits, libraires parisiens et leur famille", Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris 23 (1896), pp. 133-153; H.W. Davies, Devices of the Early Printers, 1457-1560, Their History and Development (London, 1935), pp. 371-375.

André Bocard was a Parisian bookseller and licensed printer, who practised his trade from 1496 to 1531.¹

The salutation of the letter prefaced to this volume tells us a bit about the two scholars involved in the production of this book.

Ad prudentissimum et iure consultissimum dominum Simonem Radin christianissimi atque illustrissimi francorum regis consiliarium et parrisiani ordinis senatorem accuratissimum. F. Cypriani Beneti Albeldensis. sacri predicatorum ordinis vite videlicet regularis congregationis Aragonice insequentium operum et eorum impressionis commendatio. (f. al^v)

Simon Radin, who brought these works to light ('qui hec situ victa in lucem edenda curauit'), evidently having access to some collection of manuscripts, perhaps monastic, is described as a counsellor of the king and a member of the Parliament of Paris. A cleric and lawyer, he is known to have been a member of the parliament of Charles VIII in 1483.² Cyprian Beneti, who applied his 'corrector's hands' to the manuscripts from which these works were printed, was a Dominican from Albelda in the Province of Aragon. Nothing more is known to me of these men.

The editio princeps has several remarkable features in comparison with the medieval manuscripts. First, it has a prefatory letter, Solent matres, found otherwise only in P, where it is anonymous and bound apart from the De cardinalibus Christi operibus. Secondly, it is attributed to St. Cyprian of Carthage, while all the manuscripts attribute it to Arnold, except P, which has lost the title of the work and author's name. Thirdly, it preserves two minor readings stricken from P, but

¹Renouard, Imprimeurs parisiens, p. 33f.

²Édouard Maugis, Histoire du Parlement de Paris, De l'avènement des rois Valois à la mort d'Henri IV, tome III (orig. pub. Paris, 1916), pp. 115 & 119. This latter has a reference to the parliament of Charles XII, which should be, it seems, to Charles XI.

still legible, which occur in none of the other manuscripts. Fourthly, it shows three almost identical long omissions with L. Fifthly, some of its variant readings relate it clearly to the family CBL. Sixthly, it contains a number of significant omissions, substitutions, and alterations, which are unique to itself. Thus, though it so tantalizingly resembles P, it must nevertheless be considered an independent witness related to CBL. Moreover, as we shall see, it must have been edited by Beneti and its ancestor must also have been edited in the twelfth century.

r

r. Beatissimi Caecilii Cypriani Carthaginiensium presulis, oratoris uerbique diuini preconis eloquentissimi: ac trini uniusque dei proclamatoris uehementissimi opera hinc inde recepta, et in unum uigiliis et sumptibus magistri Bertholdi Rembolt et Ioannis VWaterloes calcographorum peritissimorum ac ueracissimorum collecta et impressa: quorum distinctio fronte sequenti notatur, Paris: Renbolt and Waterloo, 1512.

DESCRIPTION in Wilhelm Hartel, Cypriani opera (as above), pp. lxxv-lxxvii.¹

Hartel reports that Arnold's work was first printed with St. Cyprian's collected works in this edition. It is printed at the back of the volume with its own foliation. It is worth noting that the marginal notes in this edition complete and amplify the notes in the editio prin-

¹The title of Renbolt and Waterloo's work given in the text has been copied from Hartel. The copy of this work which I used, held by the Bodleian Library, lacks its title page and has been identified by its colophon. On Renbolt and Waterloo, see Renouard, Imprimeurs Parisiens, pp. 317 & 372f.; Davies, op. cit., pp. 386-391.

ceps, where indeed they do not occur after the first sermon. These notes are gathered in a 'Tabula Materialium' at the end of the work. Biblical references also appear first in the margins of this edition.

d

d. Opera Divi Caecilii Cypriani Episcopi Carthaginensis, ab innumeris mendis repurgata, adiectis nonnullis libellis ex uetustissimis exemplaribus, quae hactenus non habebantur, ac semotis iis, quae falso uidebantur inscripta, una cum annotatiunculis. Atque haec omnia nobis praestitit ingenti labore suo Erasmus Roterodamus, uir iuuandis optimis studiis natus, Basle: Johann Froben, 1520.¹

DESCRIPTION in Wilhelm Hartel, Cypriani opera (as above), pp. lxxvii-lxxix.

Erasmus includes Arnold's work amongst the "opera quae videntur falso ascripta Cypriano" (p. 349), and makes the following remark about it.

Nec hoc opus esse Cypriani stilus arguit, licet hominis sit eruditi, quales aetas illa complures habebat. Praeterea nec habebatur in exemplaribus manu descriptis, quibus usus sum, et in aeditione Badiana [sic, sed 'Remboltiana' scribenda erat²] separatum habebatur a reliquo uolumine, Vita Cypriani interiecta, in prioribus aeditionibus omnino non habebatur, sed tamen habenda gratia iis qui causa fuerunt, ut haec nobis supersint, idque debemus nomini Cyprianico, quod huius commendatione seruata sint, fortassis alioqui peritura. (p. 417)

Erasmus' attitude towards Arnold's work throws some light on the question why sixteenth-century scholars, though they knew the work was not

¹The copy which I have used is held by the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

²Dom Prudentius Maran, Praefatio in qua, post enumeratas Sancti Cypriani operum editiones, de S. Martyris doctrina pluribus disseritur, PL 4.11-12.

Cyprian's, still debated its meaning fiercely. They must have felt with Erasmus that the work both had intrinsic merit and that it was patristic.¹ Erasmus published further editions of Cyprian in 1530 and 1544.

Several other editions of Cyprian containing Arnold's work should just be noticed.² After Erasmus, Paolo Manuzio (Manutius) published an edition at Rome in 1563 and Guillaume Morel (Morelius) an edition at Paris in 1564. Next at Antwerp in 1568 Jacques de Pamèle (Pamelius) published an edition based on the editions of Manuzio and Morel with many annotations and critical notes. Several Belgian editions based on Pamèle's followed, to which was added a number of critical corrections and conjectures of Cauchius Costerus.³ Pamèle's edition was republished also at Geneva in 1593 by Simon Goulart,⁴ "de suo", Maran

¹This was Melanchthon's opinion. See his Sententiae veterum aliquot scriptorum de coena Domini (1530), in Corpus Reformatorum, edd. K.G. Bretschneider & H.E. Bindseil, vol. 23 (Brunswick, 1855), col. 742. For the use of Arnold's text during the Reformation, see below, p. 180, n. 1.

²See Hartel, op. cit., pp. lxxix-lxxxvi; Maran, op. cit., coll. 11-16.

³I have used Jean le Preux's 1593 Paris edition of Pamèle's Cyprian, in which are incorporated many conjectures and corrections of the previous editors. The copy I used is held by the Houghton Library, Harvard University. I have not seen the editions of Manuzio and Morel, although, of course, Pamèle collated their work with his own. Nor have I seen any of the Belgian editions based on Pamèle's work. I also regret to say that Cauchius Costerus' identity has eluded me so far, though his name must mean Coster the Belgian. He is reported, however, to have had two sons, "Antonius et Valerius Cauchii, jureconsulti Ultrajectini fratres" (Dom P. Maran, in PL 4.13-14).

⁴See also Paul Chaix et al., "Les livres imprimés à Genève de 1550 à 1600. Liste chronologique de titres abrégés, établie d'après les ressources de la Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Genève", Genava, n.s. VII (1959), pp. 344 & 375ff. (this latter on the devices used by the printer, Jean le Preux). Hartel (p. lxxxiv) did not see this edition himself. There is a copy in the Library of the Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge, Massachusetts, which I have seen.

observes, "addens longas et operosas legendum observationes, quibus Pameliū refellere et S. Cyprianū calvinistam facere conatus est." In 1648 Nicolas Rigault, whom we have already met in connection with the catalogue of the French Royal Library, published an edition at Paris, which included Pamèle's annotations on Arnold's sermons, but which omitted his special animadversions upon the De cena Domini.¹

Finally, in 1682, John Fell, bishop of Oxford, published an edition of Cyprian at Oxford, to which he appended several of Arnold's works, among which was the De cardinalibus Christi operibus, at last correctly attributed.² Fell used L, B, and O for his edition of Arnold, and thus was able to print not only the work with which we are concerned, but all the works attributed to Arnold in L and B.³ With the De cardinalibus Christi operibus Fell adopted the course of adding to the received text all the passages in the manuscripts which had been either omitted or altered in the printed editions to that time. The one exception was the alternative ending to the fourth sermon (IV.8.1-9.13), where he put the manuscript ending in the apparatus. The Oxford edition was not, however, the source for the edition in the Abbé Migne's Patrologia latina. Migne used Rigault's edition, with the result that the new edition will appear rather different at points.

¹There is a copy of this edition in the library of the Boston Athenaeum, which I was able to examine through the kindness of the Rev'd David P. Curry, then Curate at the Church of the Advent, Boston.

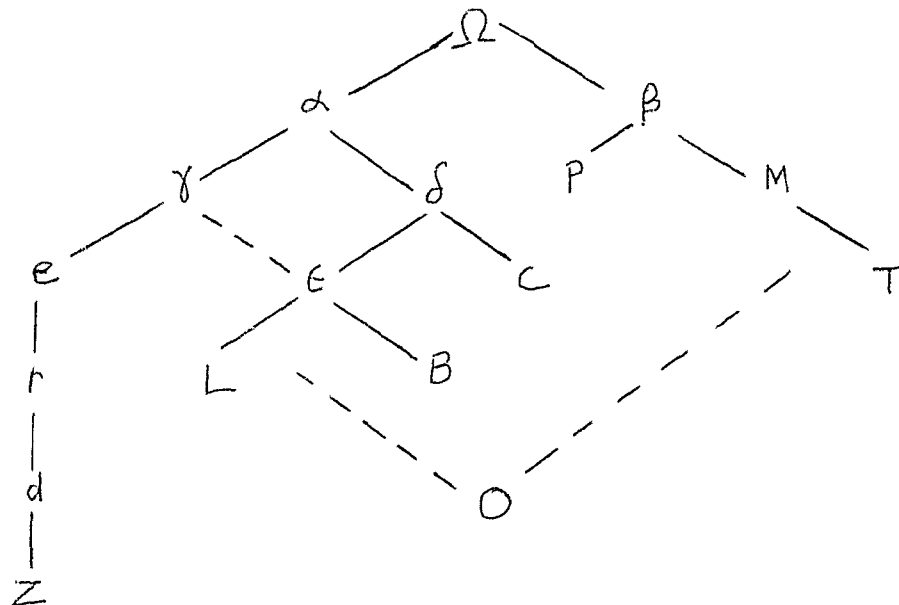
²A copy of this edition is held by the Killam Library, Dalhousie University.

³Thus, he printed the falsely ascribed Meditationes of Drogo of Reims amongst Arnold's works. See above, p. 12.

3. Stemma Codicum

The pedigree of these codices (see FIGURE below) resists analysis to a certain degree, contamination being present particularly in the English manuscripts. Nevertheless,

FIGURE. Stemma codicum



there do seem to be two branches within the tradition, which descend from a single imperfect archetype, Ω . These two branches themselves descend from the hyparchetypes α and β . TABLE I below demonstrates the existence of Ω . TABLE II, in which the corrupt readings are in italics, demonstrates the existence of the two branches α and β . The references are to chapter, paragraph, and line of the new edition.

TABLE I. Errors in Archetype

	<u>Archetype (α)</u>	<u>New Edition</u>
Prol. 2.22	facte	facta (OL)
Prol. 3.14	nec <u>om.</u>	nec (L)
I.9.19	et	ut
I.12.4	non singulos dies in lune	non singulos in dies lune
IV.3.7	maritis	marito (OL)
V.15.6	tremulentus	temulentus
VI.10.13	mors penitus	mors penitus consumpsit (CB)
VI.20.5	Incensio odor	Incensi odor
VIII.2.15	leuitii	Leuitidi
IX.6.12	malitia	malitiam (OBC)
IX.12.1	auctoritas	auctoritatis (O)
IX.15.16	ad compunctionum	et compunctionum
XII.9.11	spiritu	Spiritui
XII.11.2	tam	tantum (MTO)
XII.13.22	ardentius	ardentibus (MTOL)

TABLE II. Errors and Variations in α and β

	<u>Hyparchetype α</u>	<u>Hyparchetype β</u>
Prol. 9.15	consentaneam	<u>consententaneam</u>
Prol. 12.6	Verum <u>om.</u>	Verum
I.12.4	<u>non singulos dies non lune</u>	<u>non singulos dies in lune</u>
III.5.4	<u>districtioribus</u>	districtionibus
III.7.10	phalanx	phalans
V.16.12	<u>ignobili, contemptibili</u>	ignobile, contemptibile
VI.8.3	ueritate	<u>ueritatem</u>
VI.10.4	cuius	<u>eius</u>
VI.13.7	deo	domino
VI.20.1	<u>eligit</u>	elegit
VI.24.1	retractantur	<u>retractantes</u>
VIII.6.18	cherubin	<u>a cherubin</u>
IX.3.2	quod te	<u>quod tu</u>
X.12.9	<u>admirabili</u>	admirabile
XI.7.7	<u>mutari</u>	se... mutare
XII.6.4	manna	man

The β -tradition divides into two. One branch is represented by P, which is the oldest manuscript and (with M) the nearest to the common

archetype in descent. The other branch descends from M to T, the two manuscripts from Clairvaux. Since P is from Preuilly, these three manuscripts represent a Cistercian tradition. P has the following significant errors: VII.1.4: domino; X.5.22: apostolis; XII.13.12: se pro sic. M and T have many common errors. Because M is the older, one assumes that T descends from it. Although it seems that M should be as important a witness as P, nevertheless it has a number of misreadings, which weakens its credibility (e.g., Prol. 3.8: Non pro Homo; I.4.1: Veritas pro Veniunt; V.21.21: tabernacula pro taberna).

The α -tradition also divides into two. It seems necessary to posit this division because the three English manuscripts C, B, and L have a number of significant variations in common (TABLE III below¹). Therefore, the hyparchetype δ has been posited. The other branch of the tradition, descending from the hyparchetype γ , is represented only by the editio princeps, e.

TABLE III. Common Variations in CBL

Prol. 4.11-12	Ea que (L), Quia que (LB)
II.2.19-20	possimus uitare <u>sic transp.</u>
V.11.2	inuidia poterat <u>sic transp.</u>
V.15.5	ab omni nationum <u>pro</u> abominationum
V.16.14	ei <u>scr. post</u> munere
VI.11.8-9	transitoria eo modo <u>sic transp.</u>
VII.1.1	dominus apostolis <u>sic transp.</u>
VII.5.7	Ne unquam <u>pro uariis</u>
IX.10.7	quia <u>om.</u>
X.8.4	christi mundatur <u>om.</u>

The pedigree becomes particularly difficult to determine at this point. To be sure, L and B share an impressive number of significant

¹Cf. also TABLE XII below, p. 29.

common errors. (See TABLE IV below.) They also share a few mutual corrections. (See TABLE V.) Thus, their common descent from the hyparchetype ϵ is posited. More weight is lent to the hypothesis of their common descent, when one remembers that only these two manuscripts contain other works by Arnold-- in fact the same works, though in different order-- and that both omit the title of the De laudibus B.V.M.¹

However, two difficulties must be solved. First, L agrees with e in having three significant omissions of text (TABLE VI below) and a few minor errors in common (Prol. 4.18: odoramus; IV.6.15: eligit; X.1.7: ullatenus). Secondly, B and C agree in a number of common errors, some coming from their common hyparchetype (TABLE VII), others due to the hand of a common corrector (TABLE VIII). Moreover, one notices that C (and once B) has been corrected so as to agree with readings found in e[B]LO (TABLE IX). Thus, there is clear evidence of contamination and it may not be possible to clarify the relation of these manuscripts further.

Nevertheless, I have posited some sort of influence of γ upon ϵ , indicated by the broken line between the two, thinking that successive editors of ϵ could have incorporated omissions and conjectural emendations from γ or from its tradition, such that the changes would have spread variously within the ϵ -tradition. Thus, B could have remained closer to C than L did, though B and L shared a common hyparchetype, since L would have been influenced to a greater extent and in somewhat different ways by the redactors of ϵ than B. Of course, one must also

¹Cf. pp. 10 & 12 above. One must again note here that L contains a work falsely ascribed to Arnold, viz., Drogo's Meditationes (see above, p. 12.)

posit an editor or editors of γ , to account for its differences from the hyparchetype it shares with the δ -tradition. One implication of this argument must be, of course, that C is closer to the archetype Ω than these other manuscripts and is therefore of almost equal weight with P. This implication is given further substance by the fact that in several cases C-- often only before correction-- agrees with P or Pe against the readings found in BLO.¹ This is evidence of even further contamination within the δ -tradition. (See TABLE X.)

TABLE IV. Common Errors in LB

I.3.15	forma daretur <u>sic transp.</u> (<u>fort. et C</u>)
I.4.4	mundi fabricator <u>sic transp.</u> (<u>fort. et C</u>)
I.4.7	deuota <u>pro</u> -tam (<u>fort. et C</u>)
I.5.7	quem <u>pro</u> quam (<u>fort. et C</u>)
I.6.4	illuminarat <u>pro</u> -uerat (<u>fort. et C</u>)
I.11.1	humilitatis <u>pro</u> human- (<u>B a. corr.</u>)
IV.1.4	sententiam conuenere <u>sic transp.</u>
V.5.3	uirtututum
V.12.5	pinnaculum templi <u>sic transp.</u>
V.22.10	eis <u>pro</u> eo
VI.17.7	carnales <u>pro</u> canales
VI.22.2	festinat <u>pro</u> -net
VI.22.16-17	contritum cor <u>sic transp.</u>
VII.3.17	absolutione <u>pro</u> ablu-
VII.6.7	michi inquit <u>sic transp.</u>
VII.10.6	abradat <u>pro</u> -det
IX.11.8-9	mysterii <u>pro</u> minis- (<u>B a. corr.</u> , mis- <u>et e</u>)
X.11.9	causa <u>pro</u> clausa (<u>B a. corr.</u>)

TABLE V. Mutual Corrections in LB

VI.5.9	frustra <u>pro</u> -ta (<u>L p. corr.</u>)
VI.13.2	findens <u>pro</u> fun- (<u>ambo p. corr.</u>)

¹There are a few cases where CP alone agree. There are other cases where CB agree before correction with Pe.

TABLE VI. Common Omissions in eL

<u>Editio Princeps</u>	<u>Ms. Laud Misc. 371</u>
Prol. 12.6-26, Verum... uoluptas	<u>ditto</u>
I.1.16-20, et solutis... dissipari (<u>ubi substitutionem et fecit</u>)	I.1.15-20, Oportuit... dissipari
IV.8.1-9.13, Dilecto... uirginitas (<u>ubi substitutionem et fecit</u>)	<u>ditto</u> , Mandatum... uirginitas

TABLE VII. Common Errors in CB

Prol. 10.12	mens sui/sui mens ebria ueneno
II.5.1	<u>post decretum add.</u> quod
II.6.4	est <u>om.</u>
II.6.7	erant <u>pro</u> erat (<u>B a. corr.</u>)
IV.8.13	nolle <u>pro</u> minime
V.2.15	<u>post uenatur add.</u> et
V.16.5	confunditur sincera <u>sic transp.</u>
VI.5.1	<u>nouum titulum add.</u>
VI.9.3	eandem <u>pro</u> eadem
VI.11.15	christo <u>pro</u> ipso
VI.19.11-12	sagmentatis <u>pro</u> sec-
IX.7.18	utrarumque <u>pro</u> utrum-
IX.15.15	oblationis <u>pro</u> ablu-
X.6.3	antecedebat <u>pro</u> -cedit
XI.9.15-16	exurget ulla <u>sic transp.</u>
XII.7.20	deleteret <u>pro</u> -retur

TABLE VIII. Mutual Corrections in CB

I.12.22	est <u>post peregrinum add.</u> (<u>C per superscr.</u>)
III.6.13	perhibebant <u>pro</u> -bent (<u>B per corr.</u>)
V.5.4	magni <u>pro</u> -num (<u>C per superscr.</u>)
V.23.16	chalami <u>pro</u> cal- (<u>B per corr.</u>)
VI.10.13	mors penitus consumpsit
VII.2.12	emendaret <u>ad emun- mut.</u> (<u>ambo per corr.</u>)
VII.4.2	obstruit <u>ad -struit mut.</u> (<u>ambo per corr.</u>)
VIII.5.6	<u>post sed add.</u> et (<u>B per superscr.</u>)
VIII.5.14	quod <u>pro</u> quo (<u>C per corr.</u>)
IX.6.2	obuolueruntur <u>pro</u> in- (<u>B per corr.</u>)
IX.15.9	<u>post dimisisti add.</u> eis (<u>B per corr.</u>)

X.5.24	<u>post</u> reprobata <u>add.</u> est (<u>ambo per corr.</u>)
X.14.7	tue <u>ad</u> sue <u>mut.</u> (<u>ambo per corr.</u>)
XI.6.2	putabant <u>pro</u> sciebant (<u>B per corr.</u>)
XII.7.19	spiritus <u>pro</u> sanctus (<u>B per corr.</u>)
XII.9.11	uocationis <u>pro</u> ua- (<u>C per corr.</u>)
XII.15.9	<u>B</u> errarios <u>ad</u> erroneos <u>mut.</u> , <u>C</u> erarios <u>supra</u> erroneos <u>scr.</u>

TABLE IX. Corrections Affecting eCBLO

VII.8.7	fuerit <u>pro</u> -erat (<u>sic eBO et fort. L, C per corr.</u>)
VIII.2.19	refertum <u>pro</u> -tur (<u>sic eBLO, C per corr.</u>)
IX.5.11	peccator <u>pro</u> -torum (<u>sic eBLO, C per corr.</u>)

TABLE X. Agreement of C with Pe against LB[O]

	<u>LB[O]</u>	<u>CP[e]</u>
Prol. 5.14	incorpore/eo	incorporo
IV.3.4	ne	nec (<u>C a. corr.</u>)
VI.5.9	frustra (<u>L per corr.</u>)	frusta
VIII.6.11	<u>post</u> consequente <u>add.</u> eos	eos <u>om.</u> (<u>C a. corr.</u>)
XI.6.1	apostoli	apostolis (<u>C a. corr.</u>)

The last English manuscript, O, is impossible to fit precisely into the pedigree. It shares significant variations with MT (TABLE XI), but it also shares significant variations with C, with B, with CB, with CBL (TABLE XII) and with L (TABLE XIII). O must therefore be a hybrid of MT and the ϵ -tradition, expressed in the figure at the beginning of this essay by broken lines. One might even see it as a hybrid of the Cistercian tradition of manuscripts (PMT) with a Benedictine tradition of manuscripts, the existence of which is suggested by the provenance of B.¹

TABLE XI. Common Variations in MTO

¹Cf. above, p. 9, n. 3.

Prol. 3.3	potuit aut <u>sic transp.</u>
I.13.17	omnibus <u>pro</u> hominibus
III.3.15	aduersum <u>bis pro</u> -sus
V.12.4	abiecit <u>pro</u> ad-
VI.10.13	moritur <u>pro</u> mors penitus
VI.11.15	iudicio <u>pro</u> in-
VII.5.7	nunquam <u>pro uariis</u>
VII.5.7	ablues <u>pro</u> -is
IX.3.2	queratur <u>pro</u> -rant
X.11.3	forma <u>pro</u> -mam
X.13.13	coniungatur <u>pro</u> coniug-
XII.8.8	oblatam <u>pro</u> ab-
XII.11.2	tantum <u>pro</u> tam
XII.14.13	prophetas <u>pro</u> -ta

TABLE XII. Common Variations in CBLO

II.6.8	singulare <u>om.</u>
VIII.6.11	<u>post</u> consequente <u>add.</u> eos (<u>C per corr.</u>)
XI.6.1	apostoli <u>pro</u> -lis (<u>C per corr.</u>)
XI.6.3	anxiebanur <u>pro</u> anxia- (<u>L per corr.</u>)
XII.10.8	a patre <u>om.</u>

TABLE XIII. Common Variations in LO

Prol. 2.22	facta <u>pro</u> facte
I.9.5	sunt <u>pro</u> sint
IV.3.7	marito <u>pro</u> maritis (<u>L fort. in ras.</u>)
IV.4.19	<u>post</u> et <u>add.</u> ego
V.6.1	<u>post</u> crucis <u>add.</u> christi
V.18.9	Huic <u>pro</u> Hoc
V.22.19	pristino <u>pro</u> pistrino (<u>L in ras.</u>)
VI.4.1	Manifesta <u>pro</u> -tata (<u>O a. corr.</u>)
VI.24.12	spirituali <u>pro</u> -tali
IX.4.9	in eo <u>om.</u>
IX.7.19	potuerit <u>pro</u> -erat
X.10.1	primi <u>pro</u> -ma
X.10.5	quem <u>pro</u> quam
X.15.19	<u>doxologiam add.</u>

Still to be discussed are certain problems found in the editio princeps, e. As we noticed above,¹ e has several remarkable features. We have already discussed its relations to CBL[O], though it should perhaps just be added here that e is of equal weight as a witness with C, and of almost equal weight with P. We have yet to make sense of its relations to P and of its own startling omissions, alterations, and substitutions. If it were not for the fact the e seems to belong to the α -tradition, one would be inclined to take it as an apograph of P. That P lacks an ascription, while e ascribes the work falsely, that both contain the letter Solent matres, that both preserve two readings found nowhere else, are facts that incline one to do so. But since e cannot be an apograph of P, how then do we account for these phenomena?

It is hard to imagine that both P and the exemplar of e lost their title and author's name. Thus, one must assume that the editor of e, Cyprian Beneti, deliberately changed the author's name and the name of the pope to whom the work was addressed. Bishop Fell took a similar view, ascribing the change to some bookseller's venal motives.² The

¹p. 17f.

²See the 1682 edition of St. Cyprian, p. 19 of Arnold's works, which are bound at the back of the volume with their own pagination. Fell does, however, attribute the change to a medieval bookseller and make the claim that the error persisted for hundreds of years. I have found no evidence to support this conjecture, and the editor could not have found any evidence in the manuscripts available to him. The editor's words are these. "Librarius quidam cum Arnoldi de Cardinalibus Christi Operibus, ante secula aliquot, tractatum uenalem habuit: ut meliore pretio eundem uenderet, Cypriani nomen substituit; & pro Adriani nomine cui inscribatur, Cornelii reposuit. Et siquidem periculum erat ne ex operis principio fucus detergeretur, (quotusquisque enim Lector est, qui primam paginam Libri cujusvis sibi obui non inspiciat) praefationem de suo addidit; quae utcunque inepta sit, per plures annorum centurias fidem obtinuit. Porro nunc postquam dolus detegitur, hoc saltem nomine utilis futura est, quod exinde licebit ingenium id genus hominum, (qui pessimae teredines, libros depascuntur & corrumpunt) melius deprehendere. Additamentum hoc, quod nulli Codices MSS. quos videre

authors of the Histoire littéraire de la France perhaps came closer to the truth, when they ascribed the change to the copiests' sense that the work was elegant and learned enough for a late antique author.¹ We have already seen² that both Erasmus and Melanchthon thought the work-- because of its style and because of its learning-- patristic. On reading it, might not Beneti have felt the same way and ascribed it to the Father he thought most likely?

The letter Solent matres makes a suitable prefatory epistle for the De cardinalibus Christi operibus (pace Bishop Fell). For Arnold edited these sermons as a gift for Pope Hadrian IV, intending through them to renew his plea for permission to retire from the abbacy of Bonneval.³ Arnold's desire for an obscure retirement is the origin as well of the theme of the epistle, referred to again in the Prologue ('suppresso nomine nostro', Prol. 13.10), as of Arnold's suppliant attitude (Epistola prefata 3.10-16; Prol. 13.8-16). Moreover, the style and the literary culture exhibited in the letter were not beyond Arnold. Therefore, considering that the letter is found not only in the editio prin-

contingit agnoscunt, hic infra exhibemus."

¹Histoire littéraire de la France, tome XII (Paris, repr. 1830), p. 536. Here the change is attributed to the medieval copiests, but again (I believe) without any evidence. The editors' words are these. "Frappés de l'élégance du style et de la beauté des pensées qui règnent dans cet ouvrage, plusieurs des anciens copistes, et les premiers éditeurs de S. Cyprien d'après eux, n'ont pas fait difficulté le mettre sur le compte de ce grand prélat." See also p. 541. "Son style est élégant, fleuri, correct, et dégagé des idiotismes du temps; son éloquence noble, touchante et persuasive; ses pensées solides, quelquefois élevées, et toujours justes."

²p. 19f.

³See below, p. 88f.

ceps, but also in our oldest manuscript, (it certainly is not a Renaissance forgery!), I am inclined to accept it as Arnold's. However, it is still not known why it is not connected with Arnold's work in P, and why it is so in e. But if as is likely¹ Arnold edited an already existing collection of sermons for the pope, he would have composed the prefatory epistle separately; and if the revision of the work was interrupted in 1159 by news of the pope's death, as also seems probable,² then this epistle, which was never copied together with the archetype Ω , could easily have found its way haphazardly into the tradition.

The two common variations of these manuscripts referred to above are these, a word and a sentence: Prol. 5.10, 'inuoco'; V.2.18-20, 'Extincto spiritu quadriduano cadaueri sole supersunt exuue, uirtutis species exanimis et simulacrum sanctitatis'. These occur in no manuscript except P, and in P the first syllable of 'inuoco' and the entire sentence as quoted above have been deleted. It is self-evident that a redactor's hand has been at P here. Could it not be that a redactor also altered the hyparchetypes α and β with the result that no trace of these readings descended to δ and M, apparently copied later than γ and P? It seems to me an adequate solution to the problem.

The omissions, alterations, and substitutions in e are perplexing. We have already noticed three omissions shared with L, which must have been made in the twelfth century.³ In e two of these omissions are also

¹See below, p. 88f.

²Below, pp. 109f.

³One should note also that in MT two of the passages bear traces of what may have been marginal editorial notes. At Prol. 12.26, where one of these omissions ends, both manuscripts add the words 'usque hic'. At I.1.16, at the beginning of another of these omissions, one finds the cryptic note 'ade'. Then at I.1.19-20, where this omission ends, the

supplied with substitute passages: I.1.16-20 and IV.8.1-9.13. The former is a matter of one half of a coordinate sentence, the substitution being markedly inferior in sense, as it seems to me. The latter, however, amounts to the omission of the concluding section of a sermon. The substitution is a good piece of work, a long thanksgiving for the Law and prayer for the grace of obedience, somewhat in the style of the prayers of St. Anselm, or perhaps better, of John of Fécamp.¹ But it is not as appropriate in this place as the ending found in the manuscripts, where the obligation of obedience is tied in with the characteristic virtues of the monastic life. The passage substituted in e may well be by Arnold, but I do not think it belonged here originally. Perhaps it was added to γ, along with the short passage discussed above, by a redactor, who had access to some of Arnold's unpublished writings, as he must have had access to the letter Solent matres.

The problem of omissions and alterations is much broader than this, however. Five passages dealing with sacramental doctrine are omitted or altered, throwing the work out of focus, since three of these passages contain explicit reference to the Augustinian distinction of sacramentum and res sacramenti (VI.6.1-6, VI.8.5-20, VI.9.7-12, VIII.6.8-12, X.8.8).

additional words 'usque hic' are found again.

¹See R.W. Southern, Saint Anselm and his Biographer, A Study of Monastic Life and Thought, 1059-c. 1130 (Cambridge, 1963), p. 46f. & p. 47, n. 1. Southern argues that there is a great difference between the "poignant personal and intellectual effusions of Anselm" and the "solid, biblically heavily-laden, theological meditations of John of Fécamp." As with Arnold's work in general, the prayer seems to partake of both. For John of Fécamp's work, see J. Leclercq & J.-P. Bonnes, Un maître de la vie spirituelle au XI^e siècle, Jean de Fécamp (Paris, 1946). Cf. J. Leclercq "Écrits spirituels de l'école de Jean de Fécamp", Analecta monastica, première série (Vatican, 1948), pp. 91-114.

Nine other noteworthy omissions, alterations, and substitutions also exist, most of which are fussy corrections of style or of scriptural allusions or just plain mistakes, but one or two of which tamper with characteristic types of twelfth-century doctrine. (The passages in question are: V.21.1-5, V.23.23-25, V.24.10-13, VI.20.4, VIII.7.3-5, X.9.2, X.10.1-10, X.13.9-10, XI.5.16-19.) The omissions in the latter category were therefore probably not made in the twelfth century. We know of a few slight changes that Beneti must have made: Vulgate readings brought into accord with the corrected texts of the later Middle Ages (e.g., IV.4.26); examples of bowdlerization (VII.10.17, XI.7.9), and one example perhaps of misogyny (V.18.4). Why not attribute these other changes-- where doctrine is at stake or the biblical text-- to his 'corrector's hands' as well?

Two other short eucharistic texts-- a prayer and an epistolary or homiletic fragment-- also exist in P. These have been attributed to Arnold by Dom Jean Leclercq.¹ If they are by Arnold,² then they could have come from the same source as Solent matres and Arnold's other unpublished papers.

¹See above, p. 5 & nn. 1 & 2.

²There is nothing in them inconsistent with what Arnold might have taught, but neither is there any idea or element of style in them so strikingly like anything of Arnold's that one would immediately attribute them to Arnold. They still await a careful examination.

Chapter II

Arnold's Life

1. Sources

Little is known about Arnold's life, but documentary evidence is not entirely lacking.¹ One letter of St. Bernard to Arnold² and three

¹Pace, e.g. A.H. Bredero, "Études sur la "Vita Prima" de saint Bernard (II)", Analecta sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis 17 (1961), p. 253: "On ignore tout de cet abbé bénédictin, sinon qu'il était connu pour avoir écrit un certain nombre de traités de spiritualité."

²Ep. CCCX, LTR, vol. VIII, p. 230. Bredero, art. cit., pp. 254-256, argues that this is a forgery because it differs so markedly from similar letters of Bernard, it being stated that Bernard writes in his own hand to show his affection, details of Bernard's illness being given, and it being acknowledged that death is imminent (p. 254 & n. 2). Moreover, Bredero argues, there is a priori evidence that the letter was forged, in that the editor of Bernard's Vita Prima, who had chosen Arnold to write the second book, needed some justification from Bernard's pen for the choice (pp. 255 & 256). But if this letter was really written by Bernard upon his deathbed, then one should expect his mind at some point to have become focussed on his sufferings and one should imagine that at some point he must have accepted that it was his moment to die. (Cf. the account of St. Aelred's death, quoted in Dom David Knowles, Saints and Scholars, Twenty-five Medieval Portraits (Cambridge, 1963), p. 50.) Moreover, the editor of the Vita Prima, Geoffrey of Auxerre, had no need to justify his choice of Arnold, for Arnold had been a frequent companion and old friend of Geoffrey of Lèves, bishop of Chartres, who had himself been a frequent co-worker of Bernard's in various political crises and of whom Bernard spoke glowingly in his De consideratione IV.v.14, LTR, vol. III, p. 459. (Cf. G.-M. Oury, "Recherches sur Ernaud, abbé de Bonneval, historien de saint Bernard", Revue Mabillon 59 (1977), p. 110f.) Bernard must have known Arnold (see

of Arnulf of Lisieux¹ still exist. There is also a letter of Peter the Venerable, which mentions Arnold,² and there are several diplomas of various kinds bearing on Arnold's years as abbot. Moreover, if one looks at the lives of the abbots who preceded and followed Arnold, one finds a relative abundance of diplomatic and epistolary material bearing on his abbey, which illuminates the problems he faced, while Suger's Vita Ludovici Grossi Regis helps set this evidence in context.³ There also exists a Breve chronicon of donations to the abbey, which is useful.⁴ Of course, conjectures can be made about Arnold's own life from

below, e.g., p. 72.) and Arnold must have been known to other important Cistercians besides Geoffrey of Auxerre. Indeed, we know that Arnold was friends with Philip, abbot of the Cistercian house of L'Aumône and formerly prior of Clairvaux (Oury, art. cit., p. 114; Arnulf of Lisieux, Letter 11, ed. Barlow, p. 15, n. b.) Thus, it seems plausible that Bernard's letter is just what it purports to be: an affectionate thank-you note and leave-taking to an old friend and friend's friend. It is interesting to note, too, that Bernard's most recent editors have not been convinced by Bredero's arguments. Their judgement is: "fortasse spuria".

¹The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux, ed. Frank Barlow (London, 1939), pp. 15-18, Letters 11-13.

²The Letters of Peter the Venerable, ed. Giles Constable, vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), p. 5f., Letter 2. Constable dates this letter to 1134 or early 1135 (vol. 2, p. 97). But Arnold was abbot of Bonneval by 1129 (Oury, art. cit., p. 99 & n. 14). Therefore, pace Oury (p. 100f. & n. 27), Peter is here referring to Arnold. This bears significantly on the interpretation of Arnold's life, as we shall see (below, pp. 56 & 75f.).

³Suger, Vie de Louis VI le Gros, ed. H. Waquet (Paris, 1929). The diplomatic evidence will be discussed in its place. The letters of Fulbert of Chartres and of Ivo of Chartres will prove particularly useful.

⁴The entire chronicle is printed in Bigot (below, p. 45, n. 6). The first part of the Chronicle is printed with discussion in R. Merlet, "Petite chronique de l'abbaye de Bonneval, De 857 à 1050 environ", Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loire. Memoires 10 (1896), pp. 14-38. The complete abbey cartulary has not survived, though, as Bigot says, "[q]uand, en 1715, dom Thiroux, un des religieux de Bonneval, entreprit d'écrire l'histoire de son abbaye, le cartulaire contenait encore assez de pièces importantes..." (p. lii). The abbey was plundered by the English in 1376, 1420, and 1425. In this last year it was also burned,

what he reports of St. Bernard's life in the second book of the Vita prima,¹ and Arnold's other works cast light on his intellectual formation and theological outlook.²

But one cannot make this material cohere, unless one has three aspects of eleventh and twelfth-century history in mind. First, Arnold's abbacy began as the investiture controversy in western Christendom came to an end. It was a period during which, in circumstances of considerable tension and violence, western European man achieved a workable distinction of ecclesiastical and secular power in government and law.³ Arnold's various conflicts and compromises with the barons of his region represent the working out of this problem at the local level and on the practical plane. Secondly, Arnold's years as abbot also coincided with the restoration of political order and the articulation of a new political hierarchy among the western Franks after

as it was burned again in 1568 by "les calvinistes de Condé" (Bigot, loc. cit.). Henri Stein, Bibliographie générale des cartulaires français ou relatifs à l'histoire de France (Paris, 1907; repr. 1967), p. 75, has five entries for Bonneval: a fourteenth-century manuscript containing 21 acts of the years 1109-1348 (no. 527); extracts from the abbey cartulary made in the seventeenth century (no. 528); another seventeenth-century collection of extracts (no. 529); a sixteenth-century collection of abbey titles, containing bulls and acts 1144-1547 (no. 530), and M. Lejeune's collection of titles made in the nineteenth century (no. 531). These are all in manuscript and I have seen none of them. On M. Lejeune, see below, p. 46.

¹PL 185.267-302.

²Apart from the letter which serves as preface to the De cardinalibus Christi operibus, none of Arnold's letters appears to have survived.

³See C.W. Previté-Orton, The Shorter Cambridge Medieval History (Cambridge, paperback ed. 1979), vol. 1, pp. 495-501. For the results of the reform movement, see Colin Morris, The Papal Monarchy, The Western Church from 1050 to 1250 (Oxford, 1989), pp. 169-173.

the near anarchy, which followed upon the depredations of the Northmen in the ninth and tenth centuries.¹ The wars, which were one means by which this transformation was effected, had a continuing and serious effect on Arnold's abbacy. Finally, eleventh and twelfth-century Christians were also beginning to feel, if not adequately to articulate, the distinction of the revealed knowledge of God from metaphysics, which it was the great work of thirteenth-century scholasticism to achieve.² The division was expressed practically, when scholars of the period, such as Theodoric of Chartres, abandoned the schools to seek the humility, obedience, and charity of the monastic life.³ Arnold, who was skilled in the school philosophy and yet had a genuine monastic vocation, can be better understood, if one keeps this division in mind.

Treatments of Arnold's life in the past have suffered somewhat from an unmindfulness of these historical currents. The older essays also suffered because some of the documentary evidence was inaccessible and

¹Previté-Orton, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 360-368; E.M. Hallam, Capetian France, 987-1328 (London, repr. 1990), pp. 13-18, 95; J.F. Lemarignier, "Political and Monastic Structures in France at the End of the Tenth and the Beginning of the Eleventh Century", in Lordship and Community in Medieval Europe, Selected Readings, ed. F.L. Cheyette (New York, 1968), pp. 100-127.

²Cf. R.D. Crouse, "Semina Rationum: St. Augustine and Boethius", Dionysius 4 (1980), p. 81; idem, "St. Thomas, St. Albert, Aristotle: Philosophia Ancilla Theologiae", in Le Fonti del Pensiero di S. Tommaso (Naples, 1975), p. 182f.

³A. Vernet, "Une épitaphe inédite de Thierry of Chartres", in Recueil de travaux offert à M. Clovis Brunel (Paris: 1955), tome II, pp. 660-670. Cf. J. Leclercq, The Love of Learning and the Desire for God, A Study of Monastic Culture, tr. C. Misrahi (New York, 1977), pp. 241-243.

critical editions of the relevant letter writers had not been made.¹

It will be well now to review the biographical literature on Arnold, a literature which includes many short notices and a few longer reports.

The first notice, of which I am aware, is found in the De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis of Robert, Cardinal Bellarmine. I have seen a nineteenth-century edition of this work only,² but Bellarmine's collected works were first published 1617-1621. The only historical document Bellarmine mentions is St. Bernard's Letter 310. In 1656, Charles de Visch published a notice of Arnold in his Bibliotheca scriptorum Sancti Ordinis Cisterciensis, notable for its attempt to place Arnold as the abbot of the Cistercian monastery at Bonnevaux in the diocese of Vienne, disproved by Dom Jean Mabillon in his 1667 edition of St. Bernard's works.³ Brief mention is also made of Arnold and of three of his works in C.E. du Boulay's 1665 Historia Universitatis Parisiensis, tom. II, p. 726.⁴ Arnold's works with notices of manuscripts and edi-

¹Oury, art. cit., p. 97, makes it his starting point that the cartulary evidence published in the nineteenth century had to be integrated into the account of Arnold's life.

²Robert, Cardinal Bellarmine, Opera, tom. VI (Naples, 1862), p. 85. Oury, art. cit., p. 118, n. 2, notices an edition of Bellarmine's work published at Paris in 1660 by Labbé. This must be the work of Phillipus Labbeus noticed by Casimir Oudin, Commentarius de scriptoribus ecclesiae antiquis, reprinted in PL 189.1511-1512 ad fin.

³See Oudin, op. cit., coll. 150J-1510ff. Mabillon's argument can be found in Sancti Bernardi... Volumen I: Genuina sancti doctoris opera... Post Horstium denuo recognita... tertiis curis Domni Johannis Mabillon..., Nova Editio, Paris: De Launay, 1719, Notae Fusiores, col. lxxxiv. The only edition of de Visch's work which I have seen is the Auctarium based upon it and edited by J. M. Canivez, published at Bregenz in 1927, where Arnold is identified as 'Carnotensis' (p. 11).

⁴I am indebted to the Abbé Édouard Jeauneau for a photocopy of the entry on Arnold in this work.

tions are listed by Casimir Oudin in his Supplementum de scriptoribus vel scriptis ecclesiasticis a Bellarmino omissis (Paris, 1686), p. 431, but no attempt is made to relate his life. In 1697, L.E. du Pin published a description of the contents of Arnold's works in his Nouvelle bibliothèque des auteurs ecclésiastiques, part 2, vol. 9, p. 91f.¹ Du Pin dates Arnold's death to about 1154, because in that year, he says, Geoffrey of Auxerre took over the narrative of St. Bernard's life in the Vita prima, although one wonders if 1154 is not a misprint for the correct year, 1145. Du Pin also uses Bernard's Letter 310. In 1688 at London William Cave published the first volume of his Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum historia literaria, in which there is a notice of Arnold (died 1162, he says) with a list of the printed editions of his works.² Not long afterwards Casimir Oudin followed up his earlier notice on Arnold with an essay in his Commentarius de scriptoribus ecclesiae antiquis, which contains a useful printing history of Arnold's works, a discussion of the attribution of the De cardinalibus Christi operibus to St. Cyprian, and a quotation of Mabillon's refutation of de Visch's claim about Arnold's Cistercian origins. Oudin also cites the letters of Arnulf of Lisieux to Arnold, mentioned first by Mabillon in his note on Bernard's Letter 310.³ An edition of this work was published at Leipzig in 1722, though I am not sure that this was the original edition. The passage on Arnold is reprinted in Migne's

¹The edition of this work which I used is bound in four parts, containing eleven volumes, published at Paris 1693-1702.

²P. 630.

³Mabillon's edition of Bernard's works, as cited above, Notae Fusiores, col. lxxxiv.

Patrologia latina.¹ In 1738 J. Liron published a notice of Arnold at Paris in his Singularités historiques et littéraires,² which I have not seen.

Dom Jean Mabillon and his colleagues drew much of the evidence for Arnold's life together for the first time in the Annales ordinis s. Benedicti, tom. VI, lib. LXXVIII, num. xxxiv and lib. LXXX, numm. v and li-lij. This work was published originally in Paris, 1703-1739,³ though the edition I have used was published at Luca in the 1740's. They cite not only Bernard's Letter 310, but also the letters of Arnulf of Lisieux to Arnold and the letter of Peter the Venerable concerning the abbot of Bonneval, whom they took to be Arnold's predecessor, Bernerius. They also cite two diplomas from the abbey of Marmoutier, one from the year 1148, as they say,⁴ the other from the pontificate of Alexander III,⁵ both of which were witnessed by Arnold.⁶ The former,

¹See above, p. 39, n. 2. The entry on Arnold runs from coll. 1507-1512.

²Tome I, pp. 414-424, cited by Oury, art. cit., n. 2.

³Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church², ed. F.L. Cross, s.vv. 'Benedictine Order' & 'Mabillon'. Mabillon compiled the first four volumes of the Annales by himself (published 1703-1707). The last two volumes were continued and completed by the Benedictines R. Massuet, T. Ruinart, and E. Martène.

⁴Mabillon et. al., Annales, lib. LXXVIII, num. xxxiv (tom. VI, p. 350).

⁵Ibid., lib. LXXX, num. lij (tom. VI, p. 502f.).

⁶They also seem to have read the Breve chronicon. See tom. V, lib. LXVIII, num. xxxix (p. 277): "... colligimus ex codice manuscripto ejus monasterii, nuper a nobis viso, qui modo in bibliotheca Colbertina adservatur". Cf. Bigot (below p. 45, n. 6), p. lxi.

which elsewhere is dated to 1138,¹ they interpret as indicating that Arnold made his monastic profession at Marmoutier and only afterwards was elected to fill the abbacy at Bonneval. On the strength of the date of this charter, they argue that Arnold went to Bonneval about 1144. The latter charter, to which I have seen no reference elsewhere, was witnessed this way: "Ernaldus quondam abbas Bonaevallis"; from which they conclude that Arnold retired to Marmoutier. They also conclude, perhaps on other evidence, that his retirement occurred sometime during the

¹They describe it this way: "Hic [Ernaldus] ex Majori-monasterio assumptus fuisse videtur ex pacto quodam a Majoris-monasterii fratribus cum archiepiscopo Turonensi initio anno MCXLVIII. cui post majorem priorem cum aliis ejusdem loci monachis subscribit jam Bonaevallis abbas." But in the Histoire littéraire de la France, tom. XII (repr. Paris, 1830), p. 535, n. 1, we find: "Dans une transaction passé l'an 1138 entre Garnier, abbé de Marmoutier, et ses religieux, d'une part, et Hugues, archevêque de Tours, et son chapitre, de l'autre, on voit la signature d'Ernaud avec la qualité de profès de cette maison, et le titre d'abbé de Bonneval"; and Dom E. Martène & the Abbé C. Chevalier in their Histoire de l'abbaye de Marmoutier, tome II (Tours, 1875), p. 93f., say: "Comme rien n'est plus souhaitable aux serviteurs de Dieu que la paix, l'abbé Garnier et ses religieux firent une transaction avec Hugues, archevêque de Tours, et son chapitre, par laquelle ils terminèrent à l'amiable quelques différends qu'ils avoient entre eux au sujet des moulins que les religieux possédoient dans l'île de Marmoutier, et des églises de Saint-Maurice d'Ivry... et de Saint-Martin de Cour-Léonard... Cette transaction est datée de l'an 1138, indiction I, sous le règne de Louis le Jeune, roi de France et duc d'Aquitaine, et elle est signée par l'archevêque et son chapitre, l'abbé Garnier et les principaux religieux de son monastère, parmi lesquels on trouve après le grand-prieur de Marmoutier, Arnaud, abbé de Bonneval." Though I have not seen this diploma, I have no doubt that all three passages are describing the same charter and that the Annales have the date wrong. I do wonder if the document still exists. Stein, op. cit., p. 321f., cites a "Cartularium Turonense", already partially destroyed in the seventeenth century, now lost, of which there exist extracts copied in the seventeenth century. These extracts have not been printed, though "de mauvaises analyses" have been published, according to Stein. I have not been able to obtain them.

pontificate of Alexander III.¹ They also discuss Arnold's works.

In 1744, the Maurist Fathers published their redaction of the Gallia christiana at Paris, in which there is a history of the abbey of Bonneval with a short article on Arnold.² They cite the letters of Bernard and Arnulf to Arnold and make oblique reference to diplomatic evidence. They also follow the Annales in dating Arnold's accession to the abbacy of Bonneval to 1144, but they date his retirement merely to some time after 1156. J.A. Fabricius published a short note on Arnold in his Bibliotheca latina mediae et infimae aetatis (1734-1736), which mentions only Bernard's Letter 310, but which attempts a history of the printing of Arnold's works. Remy Ceillier's Histoire générale des auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques (Paris, 1763),³ though it treats Arnold's works at some length, nevertheless adds no new documentary evidence and follows the Annales and the Gallia christiana in assigning Arnold's election to Bonneval to the year 1144 or thereabouts. The notice on Arnold in the Maurist Histoire littéraire de la France,⁴ pub-

¹The words of the Annales, which follow a quotation from the letter prefaced to the De cardinalibus Christi operibus, are these: "His verbis, ut jam dixi, missionem a pastoralis regimine postulabat Ernaldus, quam quidem demum obtinuit, reversus ad Majus-monasterium, unde assumptus fuisse creditur. Id colligitur ex quodam hujus loci instrumento, cui subscribit Ernaldus quondam abbas Bonae-vallis. Verum id non contingit ante pontificatum Alexandri III. ut suo loco videbimus". Unfortunately, I did not locate the passage to which reference is made in these last words before I returned the microfilm in the mail, though it may be a reference to a letter of Alexander III. See below, p. 44, n. 1.

²Gallia christiana, tom. VIII, Paris: ex Typographia Regia, 1744, coll. 1234-1245 (the article on Arnold is at col. 1242f.). The history of this work is noticed briefly in the Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church², sub nom.

³Tom. XXIII, pp. 128-135.

⁴Tom. XII, pp. 535-541.

lished also at Paris in the same year, is a far more useful piece of work and can be read almost as a summary of all that was known of Arnold and his works at that time. The documents already known seem to have been reëxamined, for (as we have seen) the date of the Marmoutier charter subscribed by Arnold is corrected to 1138; and the relevance of a letter of Pope Alexander III to the date of Arnold's demission is first noticed.¹ A notice regarding Arnold is also found in H. Fisquet, La France pontificale,² though I have not seen it.

The Abbé Marquis challenged the argument of the Annales that Arnold came from Marmoutier in a lecture printed in the 1860's, in which he claims that Arnold came from the Abbey of Saint-Père, Chartres.³ He does not, however, discuss the 1138 charter from Marmoutier. He cites the letters of Arnulf of Lisieux, dating them more accurately than the Maurists,⁴ and the letters of Peter the Venerable and Bernard of Clairvaux. But he casts his net wider, bringing in the evidence of the Breve chronicon, a letter of Fulbert of Chartres, and evidence from the

¹Letter 332, PL 200.355. The authors state: "Dom Mabillon et les auteurs du nouveau Gallia Christiana cojecturent, sur une lettre du pape Alexandre III à Thibaut, comte de Champagne, qu'il abdiqua depuis pour aller finir ses jours dans l'état de simple particulier au lieu de sa profession" (p. 536). This seems to be a mistake. I can find no reference to this letter in the Gallia christiana and the Annales. The words of the latter on this subject (quoted above, p. 43, n. 1) seem clearly to be referring to a Marmoutier charter of the period of Alexander III. I did not, however, as I have noted, locate the Annales' reference forward to Alexander's pontificate, so it could well be that they do cite this letter as evidence of the date of Arnold's demission.

²Pp. 359-362, cited in Oury, art. cit., n. 2.

³The Abbé Marquis, "Arnaud de Bonneval, son abbaye, ses contemporains, ses oeuvres", Bulletin de la Société Dunoise 1 (1864-1869), p. 101. See below, p. 70.

⁴Marquis, art. cit., p. 103f.

cartularies;¹ and although he accepts the received opinion that the community of monks at Bonneval was given to dissension,² he nevertheless sees for the first time that the depredations of Eberhard, the neighbouring lord of Le Puiset, had a significant effect on Arnold's government at Bonneval.³ Another notice of Arnold is found in the Histoire de l'abbaye de Marmoutier by Dom Edmond Martène, annotated and completed by the Abbé C. Chevalier, published at Tours in two volumes in 1874 and 1875. This notice is a summary of the eighteenth-century account of Arnold's life.⁴ There is, however, a description of the 1138 charter signed by Arnold, though the charter itself is not reproduced.⁵

The best nineteenth-century source for Arnold's life is V. Bigot's edition of the Histoire abrégée de l'abbaye de Saint-Florentin de Bonneval des RR. PP. Dom Jean Thiroux et Dom Lambert, continuée par l'Abbé Beaupère et M. Lejeune, published at Châteaudun in 1875.⁶ Thiroux and Lambert were two Maurists, who both served as sub-priors of the abbey of Bonneval in the eighteenth century.⁷ Thiroux was only able to reach the eleventh century in his narrative, but Lambert finished the account

¹Marquis, art. cit., pp. 106-109.

²Ibid., p. 102.

³Ibid., pp. 104, & 108f.

⁴Martène and Chevalier, op. cit., tom. II, pp. 109-111.

⁵See above, p. 42, n. 1.

⁶V. Bigot, ed., Histoire abrégée de l'abbaye de Saint-Florentin de Bonneval (Châteaudun, 1875), pp. 68-73.

⁷Ibid., p. 3.

of the eleventh century and pressed the the work as far as the beginning of the seventeenth century. Next a vicar of Saint-Sauveur, Bonneval, M. Beaupère, wrote a 'voluminous' history of the abbey to the year 1765, using the work of Thiroux and Lambert and the abbey cartulary as sources. Finally, M. Lejeune, a solicitor at Bonneval during the Bourbon Restoration, compiled a complete history of the abbey to the Revolution, using the whole work of Thiroux and Lambert and extracts of Beaupère's work. It was this manuscript which Bigot published, with a long introduction and certain additions.¹ This work is a mine of information and especially of documentary evidence, not only on Arnold's abbacy, but upon the whole medieval history of the abbey. The additions to our knowledge contained in this volume are too numerous to mention here, but it should be noticed that Arnold's entry into the abbacy is dated as early as 1130² and that the evidence for Arnold's difficulties with neighbouring lords is much increased. However, the authors do not seem to have been aware of the Marmoutier charter of 1138. They did know of the letters of Fulbert and Ivo of Chartres, of Peter the Venerable, Arnulf of Lisieux, and Alexander III, and drew the conclusion that Arnold suffered dissension within his abbey as well as depredations without.

In 1882 Lucien Merlet published at Orléans a notice of Arnold in his Bibliothèque chartraine antérieure aux XIX^e siècle,³ which merely summarizes the account given of Arnold's life in the eighteenth century.

¹Ibid., pp. lii-liii.

²Ibid., pp. 68f.

³p. 11f.

There are six articles on Arnold in various twentieth-century dictionaries: A. Prévost, Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques (Paris, 1930), tom. IV, coll. 421-423; J.-M. Canivez, Dictionnaire de spiritualité, tom. I (Paris, 1937), coll. 868-890; J. Balteau, Dictionnaire de biographie française, tom. III (Paris, 1939), col. 825f.; P. Pourrat, Catholicisme, hier, aujourd'hui, demain, tom. I (Paris, 1948?), col. 849; I. Cecchetti, Enciclopedia Cattolica, tom. I (Vatican, 1948), col. 2000f, and J.C. Willke, New Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 1 (1967), p. 844. Although Prévost and Canivez provide useful introductions to Arnold's manuscripts and printed editions, they, along with the others, again only summarize and repeat the eighteenth-century account of Arnold's life. The only real twentieth-century contribution to Arnold's biography, therefore, has been made by G.-M. Oury, O.S.B., in his article "Recherches sur Ernaud, abbé de Bonneval, historien de saint Bernard", Revue Mabillon 59 (1977), pp. 97-127, to which there has already been occasion to refer in the notes. Oury adds considerably to our documentary evidence and in so doing offers some thought-provoking interpretations of the data, which will be examined in their turn below.

2. The Abbey of Bonneval

The abbey of black monks at Bonneval in the Dunois was founded in the year 857 by Fulk, 'toparch' of Bonneval, with the permission of his master, the "epileptic cipher"¹ Charles, king of Provence and count of

¹Previté-Orton, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 345.

Tours, who provided the first abbot and monks.¹ The abbey was originally dedicated to St. Peter and St. Marcellinus, whose relics had come to rest at Seligenstadt near Frankfurt and to whom Charles had apparently learned a devotion from his father, the Emperor Lothar I.² However, in 863 monks from Bonneval returned to Lyons in the kingdom of Provence to aid in the reformation of a monastery there. When they went back to Bonneval in 865, they brought with them as a gift from the abbot whom they had obliged the relics of St. Florentinus and St. Hilary, to whom the abbey of Bonneval was then rededicated.³

The abbey and borough of Bonneval lay about 33 kilometers south of Chartres in flat country on the old Roman road to Châteaudun and Tours.⁴ The abbey itself occupied an island in the river Loir. In 911

¹R. Merlet, art. cit., pp. 20-23.

²Ibid., p. 22 & n. 2.

³Ibid., pp. 24-27. I give the dates at which Merlet arrives by rigorous argument. It is interesting to note that a series of twelfth-century papal bulls mention only Marcellinus and Peter as patrons of the monastery. (See J. Ramackers, Papsturkunden in Frankreich, vol. 6 (Göttingen, 1958), nos. 22 & 52, pp. 77 & 110; P. Jaffé-S. Loewenfeld, Regesta pontificum Romanorum (Leipzig, 1885), no. 6734, vol. 1, p. 785. See also below, p. 60, n. 3.) But these bulls were issued during the era of the Hildebrandine papacy, and during an epoch in abbey history when the abbey was struggling to determine its relations to the lay powers (below, pp. 58-60). Thus it may have seemed expedient to the popes and the abbot involved in the promulgation of these bulls to stress the patronage of the Roman martyrs Peter and Marcellinus rather than that of the Gallic martyrs Florentinus and Hilary. One remarks also that Adela, countess of Blois, in 1109 reconciled herself to the monastery with offerings to both sets of patrons (Gallia christiana, tom. VIII, Instr. XXXII, col. 312f.)

⁴A. Chédeville, Chartres et ses campagnes (XI^e-XIII^e s.) (Paris, 1973), pp. 56 & 442. "Une voie romaine allait vers Tours par Bonneval, Châteaudun, Fréteval et Vendôme; elle fut sans doute peu utilisée en dehors des liaisons de ville à ville tant que la frontière dont elle était proche ne connut pas une paix durable. Au XII^e siècle, elle ne vit guère passer que des armées ou des ambassades..."

Rollo the Northman, having been beaten back from the gates of Chartres, ravaged the Dunois and burned Bonneval to the ground.¹ Most of the monks abandoned Bonneval and the monastic community only began fully to revive, when the viscount of Châteaudun, Geoffrey, his son Hugh, and the count of Blois, Theobald the Trickster, made donations of land in the early 960's. But the chief benefactor of the abbey was Theobald's son, Odo I, who gave land, built buildings, sought monks, and appointed (posuit) an abbot.² A document also exists which purports to show that in 967 he obtained the protection of Lothar, king of the Franks, for the abbey through the intercession of Hugh Capet; but this instrument has been shown to be a forgery.³

¹Bigot, op. cit., p. 32f.

²Ibid., p. 35f. & p. lxv: "Inde vero extitit comes indictus nomine Odo filius ejus [Theobaldi] loci hujus aptissimus reparator, qui abbatem Waldricum ad instruendum et reformandum in hoc loco posuit, et dedit in augmentationem hujus loci quemdam locum hereditarium..." This is a passage from the Breve chronicon.

³The charter is printed in Bigot, op. cit., pp. lxvii-lxix. Chédeville, op. cit., p. 282, says that 'at best' this is a reconstruction of the original charter. A critical text of the charter can be found in L. Halphen & F. Lot, Recueil des actes de Lothaire et de Louis V, rois de France (954-987), (Paris, 1908), pp. 139-142. Halphen and Lot make this a false act of Lothar on the grounds that Odo's son Odo, mentioned as a signatory of the charter, was only in his cradle even in 983 (p. 141). Nevertheless, they do point out a number of details in the charter which give it verisimilitude. They argue, therefore, that it is a fabrication based on a real charter belonging to the monastery, but lost sometime during the twelfth century by accident. But since Louis the Fat, they continue, states in charters of his own of 1110 and 1122 (found in Bigot, op. cit., pp. 58-60 & 65-67; also in Gallia christiana, tom. VIII, Instr. xxxiii & xlv, coll. 313 & 322f.) that he had seen an act of Lothar, which not only took Bonneval under his protection, as this act does, but also confirmed the abbey's possessions, which this charter does not do, this document therefore must have been fabricated after the two acts of Louis, i.e., after 1122. That the act is a reconstruction based on a true act seems a sound conclusion to me. But why should this reconstruction have omitted Lothar's confirmation of the abbey's possessions? If the exact contents of the act had been forgotten, reference could have been made to Louis' second act, which gives some details. Moreover, if the details of the abbey possessions had been forgotten,

We know nothing remarkable about the history of the abbey under the

 why were the details which lend such verisimilitude to the document remembered? It seems much more likely to me that Louis was actually shown two different documents, first the fabrication or forgery in 1110, then in 1122 the original. For the first act says merely: "ut quia Bonevallense monasterium a pia recordationis antecessoribus nostris Francorum regibus fundatum fuerat et dotatum, regalis etiam munificentiae liberalitate ac protectione corroboratum, sicut gloriosi regis (seu potius Lotharii) Clotarii praeceptum insertum litteris et sigillo suo munitum, quod idem abbas [Bernerus] in auribus nostris recitaverat, publice testabatur..." Louis here refers to the foundation of the abbey by Charles and to Lothar's grant of protection. It seems also to refer to benefactions of Lothar's own. But there is no reference to Lothar's confirmation of abbey possessions. But in Louis' second act there is. "[E]t donum illud cum caeteris dictae ecclesiae donariis, gloriosi regis Clotarii (seu potius Lotharii) concessione firmatum erat, sicut charta annuli ejus impressione signata, quam in conspectu nostro praefati abbas [Bernerus] et monachi prodixerunt, publice testabatur..." Yet we find here no reference to Lothar's grant of protection. It could be, of course, that Louis was shown the same document on each occasion and that only the pertinent information was recorded in each of his charters. But the argument seems weak to me in the case of the act of 1110, where Louis' mention of royal foundation, endowment, and protection would only have been enhanced by mention of royal confirmation of possessions. But why should this document have been forged at that time? As we shall see (below, p. 58f.), when Abbot Bernerus began his reign in about 1107, Adela, countess of Blois, was persecuting the abbey by the imposition of an arbitrary tallage on the borough of Bonneval. The monks had remonstrated with her and had shown her "antiquorum scriptorum testimonia" (Bigot, *op. cit.*, p. 58.) One recalls that at that time the word antiqui could be used as a reference "to the last generation, or to the last two or three together", as R.W. Hunt remarks, "Studies on Priscian in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries", in The History of Grammar in the Middle Ages, Collected Papers, ed. G.L. Bursill-Hall (Amsterdam, 1980), p. 7f. Thus, the phrase antiqua scripta could well have been a reference to charters of the last few generations, stretching back a hundred years or more. And what better testimonium could Bernerus have shown Adela, to persuade her that she had overstepped her authority, than a charter which stated: "supplicibus votis jamdicti fidelis nostri Odonis comitis accedentes... stabilimus et ad totius noticiam posteritatis litterarum seriei tradere precipimus quatinus a die presenti in reliquum evum neque ipse aut aliquis judicum in presenti seu in futurum aliquid horum que aut legum dictione aut ipso usu existente ad judices, comites, vicecomites vel vicarios vel ad quoslibet multiplicium professionum officiales dicuntur respicere in cunctis finibus eorum que ad predictum monasterii dictionem seu possessionem pertinent aut respiciunt vel religiosorum devota oblacione per futura tempora ipsi adjacebunt divina gratia inspirante, ulla ratione, ullo tempore presumat exigere"? This is an exemption from all comital exactions. How opportune! What better time to have made this forgery than this? And then to show it to King Louis in 1110, when royal protection was confirmed and the count of Blois's powers with

new abbot, Waldric, and his successor, Godo.¹ But in 1023 Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, had to intervene in the affairs of the abbey, in an incident which has a twofold significance for our study.² Sometime before 27 July of that year, Tetfridus, abbot of Bonneval, ran away from the monastery with one monk, Dodo, and sought temporary refuge with Fulbert. The cause of Tetfridus' flight was a charge of immorality vigorously pressed against him by the monks. When Fulbert found it impossible to disprove the charge, Tetfridus renounced his abbacy in front of witnesses and retired to his home monastery, Fleury. There Tetfridus persuaded Abbot Gauzlin, also archbishop of Bourges, to demand a trial of the matter. Meanwhile, the community at Bonneval elected a new abbot, Solomon, had him invested by Odo the Great, count of Blois, "ut mos erat",³ and presented him to Bishop Fulbert for his blessing. This stirred Gauzlin to excommunicate all the monks at Bonneval, which drew down upon him a stern letter from Fulbert. Apparently, his letter persuaded Gauzlin to lift the ban, for we find Fulbert writing next to

respect to the abbey of Bonneval defined as strictly viceregal? Thus, there is more than a strong suggestion here that Bernerius had the document forged as an instrument in his battle against Adela of Blois around the year 1108. It is also possible, of course, that it was forged during the reign of his predecessor for use in the struggle with Adela, and then was used by Bernerius, too.

¹Bigot, op. cit., pp. lxxix-lxxx & 36-38.

²The affair can be reconstructed from Fulbert's Letters 73-75, The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres, ed. & tr. F. Behrends, pp. 130-137.

³Fulbert, Letter 74, ibid., pp. 132 & 134: "Monachi... alium quendam ex fratribus suis electum... obtulerunt Odoni comiti abbacia donandum ut mos erat, michique deinde consecrandum."

inform Gauzlin that he would allow Tetfridus a trial, despite his previous fears for the disgrace of the priesthood.¹

This incident bears on Arnold's biography in two ways. First, it is universally assumed that Arnold had a great deal of trouble with fractious monks. But this argument depends partly on the notion that the monks at Bonneval had always been fractious; and this affair of Tetfridus always seems to lie in the background.² But it is clear that Fulbert was by no means convinced of Tetfridus' innocence. Therefore, one ought not necessarily to blame the Bonneval community for fractiousness in this case. Secondly, one should notice that the monks of Bonneval elected Solomon as abbot. No doubt, Count Odo and Bishop Fulbert were consulted, if they did not let their will be known unbidden; and it has been seen that the Count invested the new abbot and that the Bishop blessed him: but the monks themselves elected him. This will have telling effect, as we shall see, on arguments Dom Oury has advanced regarding Arnold's last years.

Apart from the circumstances of his election, we know next to nothing about the abbacy of Abbot Solomon, as we know little about the

¹Ibid., pp. 130 & 134.

²Mabillon et al., Annales, tom. VI, lib. lxxviii, num. xxxiv (p. 350): "Mirum est in illo Bonaevallis monasterio abbates passim vexatos aut turbatos fuisse, ut de Tedfrido, Gualterio & Bernerio patet, moxque de Ernaldo patebit"; Gallia christiana, tom. VIII, col. 1235: "Sub hoc Tedfrido, & sub quibusdam aliis qui post eum rexerunt abbatibus ad seculum usque duodecim, excitatae sunt in hoc monasterio ingentes turbae."; Ceillier, op. cit., tom. XXIII, p. 128: "Le même qui avoit persécuté Tedfride, Gautier & Bernier ses Prédécesseurs, le [Ernaud] traita si inhumainement..."; Marquis, art. cit., p. 102: "Bonneval, plus que toute autre maison, nourrit pendant longtemps un esprit d'opposition et de tracasserie à l'endroit de ses supérieurs"; Bigot, op. cit., p. 72: "il semble néanmoins qu'il n'a pas été exempt de la persécution que quelques religieux avoient déjà fait souffrir à ses prédécesseurs...".

abbacy of his successor, Hugh. The letters of Ivo, bishop of Chartres, tell us a bit more about Hugh's successor, Walter, originally a monk of Marmoutier, elected to Bonneval in or before 1079.¹ It appears that Walter fled Bonneval with a number of good monks in 1090 or 1091 on account of a 'magna perturbatio' in the community, as Ivo remarks in his Letter 78.² In his Letter 4, Ivo tries to persuade Bernard, abbot of Marmoutier, to send Walter to him, so that it may be determined whether his demission should be approved or should be disallowed and Walter reinstated in his office and monastery with Ivo's help. Ivo's words are these:³

rogo... ut... transmittatis mihi domnum Gauterium, quondam
monasterii Bonaevallis abbatem, quatenus, audita ab eo suae dis-
cessionis causa, solutio ejus si probanda est, a nobis approbetur
vel, si approbata non est, consilio et auxilio cooperatorum
nostrorum in officio et loco suo plenissime reformetur.

What was the cause of this revolt? There is no hint of any crime on Walter's part. In fact, he seems to have enjoyed the support of many of his monks. But it is significant that Walter came from Marmoutier, for Marmoutier had been reformed by Majolus, abbot of Cluny (954-994), and therefore, though not a member of the Cluniac order, observed the Cluniac reforms.⁴ Moreover, one knows that during the eleventh century Cluniac influence spread so extensively in France that by the second or

¹Bigot, op. cit., p. 48.

²PL 162.100B. The date 1090/91 can be deduced from the date of the letter cited in the following note.

³A critical text of the letter can be found in Yves de Chartres, Correspondence, ed. & tr. J. Leclercq, tom. I, pp. 10-15. The passage in the text above is on p. 14. Leclercq dates the letter to 1091.

⁴Joan Evans, Monastic Life at Cluny, 910-1157 (Oxford, 1931), p. 16.

third decade of the twelfth century Herman, abbot of St. Martin of Tournai, could write "that it was hardly possible to find a monastery in France or in Flanders in which the Customs of Cluny were not observed."¹ Could it not be that Walter and a party of monks disposed to the Cluniac ways had pressed a set of reforms too fast or too far, thus alienating a stronger party of monks still attached to the old customs and independence of the house and causing a revolt? In the twelfth century, at St. Mary's, York, a group of unusually devout monks pressed the abbot to institute certain reforms, whereupon, when the abbot refused, a riot resulted, and, after consultation with the archbishop, the reformers moved away and ultimately became Cistercians.² It seems not unlikely that something similar occurred under Walter, though he happened to be on the side of the reformers. But it is important to note that the conservative monks were not being merely fractious. They were attempting to preserve traditional and (no doubt) dear ways. Perhaps they were wrong to resist the religious trends of the day,³ but that does not mean that they were perverse. Again, the interpretation of this rebellion will have some bearing on Arnold's abbacy.

At any rate, some Cluniac influence must have come to be accepted after Walter's return and during the reign of his successor Robert, who

¹Ibid., p. 26, n. 1.

²David Knowles, Christian Monasticism (New York, repr. 1977), p. 87.

³It is interesting to note that we find Ivo urging them in another letter to accept the decision of one of their brethren to become a hermit, hermitism being another one of the trends of the day. See Ivo, Letter 269, PL 162.273; Chédeville, op. cit., pp. 128-132.

was elected about 1100,¹ for upon Robert's death about 1107 Bernerius, one of the monks who had fled Bonneval with Walter, was elected abbot,² perhaps through the influence of his friend Ivo of Chartres. Bernerius, though in origin a monk of Bonneval, had clearly come within the Cluniac orbit. He may well have taken advantage of the privilege of Cluny to receive monks from other monasteries who wished to follow the reformed customs,³ and we know that he had already been chosen for the abbacy of the monastery of Déols, a member of the Cluniac order, though he seems never to have been received by the community.⁴ Moreover, he was well-known and esteemed at the court of Paschal II,⁵ who though not a Cluniac monk, nevertheless had close ties to the order.⁶ It is fair to say, therefore, that in electing Bernerius the monks of Bonneval showed that they had come to accept the Cluniac reforms, though they did not choose to become a Cluniac dependency. In consequence, one may also say that the hard feelings of Abbot Walter's day had been mollified. There is, therefore, no a priori reason to suppose, as almost all do, that

¹Bigot, op. cit., pp. 49 & 50.

²There is a bull of Paschal II issued to Bernerius as abbot of Bonneval in 1107. See below, p. 60, n. 3.

³Ivo, Letter 78, PL 162.100C, in speaking of Bernerius' flight from Bonneval, says: "Habemus enim prae manibus religiosorum exempla virorum, qui relictis probabili causa monasteriis suis, ad Cluniacense monasterium, vel ad alia monasteria secesserunt..." See also H.E.J. Cowdrey, The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform (Oxford, 1970), p. 68.

⁴Ivo, Letter 78, PL 162.99D-100A. Cf. Cowdrey, op. cit., loc. cit. & P. Calendini, "Bonneval", Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques, tome IX, col. 1063 (Paris, 1937).

⁵Ivo, Letter 78, PL 162.100B-C, & Letter 147, PL 162.153A.

⁶Cowdrey, op. cit., p. 61f. Evans, op. cit., p. 36, notes that Paschal was a novice at Cluny in his youth.

Bernerius sought demission from Bonneval because of the fractious nature of the monks; and we have already seen that the letter of Peter the Venerable, always cited as evidence for this supposition,¹ cannot be dated to Bernerius' day.² Thus, there is no reason to suppose that Bernerius left his successor, Arnold, an abbey riven with dissent.

But Bernerius did have to face serious problems during his abbacy. The great fact of life in the county of Blois throughout those years was war. For Louis the Fat, a shrewd and warlike king, despite his besetting sin, had made it his policy to bring his ungovernable barons to heel one by one, first in the Ile de France, then in the counties bordering upon the royal lands. Thus, those lands suffered not only the depredations of the marauding barons, but also the devastations of the wars conducted to reduce them to obedience. Moreover, what Louis was trying to do for the monarchy, the great magnates were also trying to do in their own territories.³ Thus, in the county of Blois, we find that Hugh III of Le Puiset, viscount of Chartres, almost as troublesome a man as that "ogre of insensate cruelty",⁴ Thomas of Marle, reived throughout the Beauce, the Dunois, the Orléanais, and the Chartraine in

¹Beginning with Mabillon et al., Annales, tom. VI, lib. lxxviii, num. xxxiv (p. 350).

²Above, p. 36, n. 2.

³Hallam, op. cit., pp. 115-117 & 28f.; R. Fawtier, The Capetian Kings of France, Monarchy and Nation 987-1328, tr. L. Butler & R.J. Adam (London, repr. 1969), pp. 20 & 110f.

⁴Previté-Orton, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 576.

the second and third decades of the twelfth century.¹ His depredations were such that the Beauce, where some of the chief priories and farms of the abbey of Bonneval were situated,² was depopulated and laid waste.³ The reiving of this choleric young man was indeed so great that Theobald

¹See A. de Dion, "Le Puiset aux XI^e et XII^e siècles", Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loire. Mémoires 9 (1889), pp. 23-30. The chief primary source for Hugh's conflict with the king is Suger, Vita Ludovici Grossi xix-xxii, ed. H. Waquet, pp. 128-171. See also A. Luchaire, Louis VI le Gros, Annales de sa vie et de son règne (1081-1137), avec une introduction historique (Paris, 1890), pp. lxxix-lxxx: "Hugue du Puiset n'est que le type du baron dévastateur. Thomas de Marle, scélérat d'une plus haute envergure, personnifie les excès le plus odieux du régime féodal." G.V. Scammell, Hugh du Puiset, Bishop of Durham (Cambridge, 1956), p. 3, describes him as "a man of almost proverbial greed and energy, a great oppressor of the pious and innocent, and one whose wickedness far surpassed the meagre range of contemporary monastic simile." The subject of Scammell's book is Hugh's son, brother of Eberhard IV, the future lord of Le Puiset. Their mother was Agnes of Blois, sister of Count Theobald IV, King Stephen of England, and Henry, bishop of Winchester (Scammell, p. 309f.; de Dion, art. cit., p. 29f.) It is interesting to note that the dates of Hugh's reign (1109-1128) correspond almost exactly with the dates of Bernerius' (ca. 1107-ca. 1129). It is also interesting to note that there was a family connection with the abbey of Marmoutier. Hugh's great-uncle Eberhard II, viscount of Chartres, abdicated and retired to Marmoutier, while a cousin of Eberhard IV was abbot 1178-1186 (de Dion, pp. 15 & 31).

²The abbey's chief priories were Alluyes, Auneau, Châteauneuf-en-Thimerais, and Patay (Chédeville, op. cit., pp. 43 & 45). Alluyes, Auneau, and Patay were all within an easy ride of Le Puiset, as was Bonneval itself (about 40 kilometers). See Chédeville's maps, pp. 136-137 & 269, and the folding map in Waquet's edition of Suger's Vita Ludovici. We know also that Hugh and his father had abused their rights in the abbey village of Baignolet (Luchaire, op. cit., no. 323, p. 150; Bigot, op. cit., pp. 65-67, where the royal charter of 1122 issued in this case, already mentioned above, p. 49, n. 3, is reprinted), and that in 1232 Simon of Rochefort, lord of Le Puiset and viscount of Chartres, sold his extensive customary rights of tallage and lodgement on abbey lands back to the abbey (Bigot, op. cit., pp. xciv-xcviii & 90-92). These charters indicate long-standing and complex feudal ties of the lords of Le Puiset to the abbot of Bonneval, which were easily abused.

³Chédeville, op. cit., p. 135 & n. 155; also p. 109; Luchaire, op. cit., no. 200 (A.D. 1115), p. 100 ("...la terre de Saint-Aignan en Beauce, réduite presque à l'état de désert par les exactions des seigneurs du Puiset...").

IV, count of Blois (the Second of Champagne), and his mother Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror and former oppressor of the abbey of Bonneval, finding that their strength was insufficient to suppress their unruly vassal, turned to Louis the Fat for assistance.¹ This led to a coalition's being formed of King Louis, Count Theobald, and the great prelates of the region, such as Ivo of Chartres, against Hugh at Melun on 12 March 1111,² and to a summer campaign in which Le Puiset was destroyed and Hugh imprisoned.³ But Louis and Theobald immediately fell out and went to war against each other, a war which Hugh joined on Theobald's side, when he was released from prison the following year.⁴ And so it went throughout Bernerius' reign and on into Arnold's,⁵ with catastrophic effect, as we shall see.

Yet war was not the only problem Bernerius had to face as a result of the politics of the time. For just as the relations of feudal obligation had to be worked out and enforced during that period, so had the relations of the lay and ecclesiastical lords to be made explicit. Thus, we find Adela, Theobald's mother, imposing tallage upon the

¹Suger, Vita Ludovici (Waquet, pp. 130-135); Luchaire, op. cit., no. 108, p. 58 (before 12 March 1111).

²Suger, Vita Ludovici (Waquet, pp. 134-135); Luchaire, op. cit., no. 110, p. 59.

³Suger, Vita Ludovici (Waquet, pp. 134-141); Luchaire, op. cit., no. 114, p. 61.

⁴Suger, Vita Ludovici (Waquet, pp. 141-153); Luchaire, op. cit., nos. 117, 121, 128, 134, pp. 62f., 64, 68, 70f. It should just be noted that throughout the wars of Theobald and Louis, Louis' ultimate antagonist was Theobald's ally and uncle, Henry I, king of England and duke of Normandy (Luchaire, p. lxxxviii).

⁵See Luchaire, op. cit., pp. lxxxvi-xciii.

borough of Bonneval, where her late husband Count Stephen Henry had purchased market rights from the abbey for an annual rent,¹ in revenge for the death of one of her men, Hugh the Black, at the hands of abbey servants.² The tallage was ultra vires suas, and finally in 1109, perhaps partly through the intercession of Ivo of Chartres, whose Letter 187 addresses Adela on this subject,³ she admitted her injustice and withdrew the tax.⁴ Then in 1110 Louis the Fat, attempting in effect to define once for all the general structure of feudal obligations in which Bonneval found itself, issued a charter taking the abbey under his protection, while at the same time making Theobald his viceregent, with all the lord's customary powers of advice and service, but confirming Adela's 1109 acknowledgement that she had no right to impose tallage.⁵

¹Bigot, op. cit., pp. 62-64, where Theobald declares in a charter of 1118: "... notum facio, quia antequam praefati abbas et monachi concessissent piae recordationis praenominato patri meo [Stephano Henrico], quod ipse cum beneplacito eorum institueret marcatum [sic] publicum in burgo Bonaevallensi, ubi prius non fuerat, et in quo comes nihil antea habuerat, ipsa villa Bonaevallensis ita erat, libera, quieta, et absoluta, abbatis et monachorum, ut nulli liceret in ea facere... nullam omnino justitiam, nisi tantum abbati monachisque ejus. Verum quoniam timor erat, ne libertas villa ante habita occasione mercati minueritur ... saepedicti abbas et monachi precibus venerabilis patris mei acquiescentes, ea tandem conditione in burgo suo Bonaevallensi mercatum institui concesserunt, ut et ipsi haberent omnem justitiam quae pertineret ad mercatum... Placuit etiam eidem patri meo saepe recolende, ut... camerarius eorundem... decem libras cursualis monetae de redditibus mercati quod de novo institutum erat, annuatim haberet." This must have occurred about 1096 (Chédeville, op. cit., p. 339, n. 35).

²Bigot, op. cit., pp., 56-58; Chédeville, op. cit., p. 297 & n. 296.

³PL 162.190.

⁴See also above, p. 48, n. 3.

⁵Bigot, op. cit., pp. 58-60; Luchaire, op. cit., no. 102, p. 55f. Louis' deputation of power to Theobald is interesting (Bigot, p. 59f.): "... comiti Theobaldo... injung[imus], ut vice nostra ipsum monasterium et monachos cum hominibus et possessionibus eorundem... contra insultas malignantium defendat, consilium et auxilium suum eisdem monachis... impendat; nec occasione hujus praecepti nostri aliquod eis gravamen

We find a further attempt to define comital and abbatial rights in 1118, in a charter of Theobald IV, in which he adjusts the procedure by which payment shall be made to the abbey for his market rights, but also accepts the concession of the right to administer high justice,¹ a right which had been the abbot's, "quia durum erat monachis de talibus judicare".²

And yet all this took place while the abbey was under the direct protection of the papacy, for Paschal II, whom one might almost call Bernerius' patron, as we have seen, issued bulls in 1107 and 1108, the former probably being the year of Bernerius' elevation to the abbacy of Bonneval, which took the abbey of Bonneval under the protection of the Holy See and confirmed all the abbey's rights and privileges, including the right to elect an abbot.³ But one must remember that those were

inferat... praeter id quod a monachis forte ei concessum fuerit aut donatum, jus sibi usurpet: quod et ante praeceptum nostrum et se et patrem suum... libenter fecisse, sub attestazione monachorum respondit..." As viceregent, it was Theobald's duty to defend the abbey, but it was his right to give advice and exact certain services ("consilium et auxilium": see Niermeyer, s.vv.). One such service was the right to levy horses from the burghers of Bonneval, renounced in 1183 by Theobald V (Chédeville, op. cit., p. 341, n. 46). Another was the right of ordinary tallage from the same burghers, changed to an annual rent in 1188 by Theobald V (ibid., p. 341, n. 43). Yet another was a military obligation owed by the abbot to the count (ibid., p. 296, n. 292). Louis issued this charter partly on the strength of a forged act of his predecessor Lothar, shown him by Bernerius, as I have argued above (p. 49, n. 3).

¹Cf. Hallam, op. cit., pp. 12 & 84f.

²Part of the charter has already been quoted above, p. 59, n. 1, which one should see for further reference.

³The bull of 1107, promulgated at Troyes in Bernerius' favour during the pope's sojourn in France (Suger, Vita Ludovici X (Waquet, pp. 50-69); E. Amann, Dictionnaire de théologie catholique, tome 11, pt. 2 (Paris, 1932), col. 2060), is printed in Bigot, op. cit., pp. lxix-lxxi. The bull of 1108, promulgated at Benevento, is printed in Ramackers, op. cit., no. 22, pp. 77-78. Reference is made to these two documents in Jaffé-Loewenfeld, op. cit., nos. 6139 & 6214. Ramackers says that the

the very years in which a settlement of the investiture controversy was

 latter is an expansion of the former and prints the additional material in larger type, so that the two may be compared. The addition is simply an expanded list of possessions to be held under papal protection. Jaffé-Loewenfeld's no. 6734 records a bull of Callistus II issued to Bernerius with the same initium and the same peculiar invocation of St. Marcellinus and St. Peter as is found in nos. 6139 & 6214 (see above, p. 48, n. 3). I have not seen this bull, but Bigot, p. 64f., says that "il confirme tous les biens et les droits de l'abb. de Bonneval et l'exente en même tems de la visite de l'évêque de Chartres..." Thus, the bull may well have been simply a further expansion of the two previous ones. Oury, art. cit., p. 113f., argues that the clause regarding the election of the abbot found in these bulls was fabricated when the bull was copied, along with the forged act of King Lothar (above, p. 49, n. 3), upon some blank leaves at the end of the first part of the Breve chronicon by the scribe who continued the chronicle in the 1150's. (See R. Merlet, art. cit., p. 16, on the composition of this chronicle). It seems to have escaped Oury's notice that the bull in the Breve chronicon is of the year 1107, while Ramackers' no. 22 is a bull of 1108 (see Oury's n. 79). This makes something of a difficulty for his argument, since it is somewhat hard to believe that the scribe of the Breve chronicon would have gone out of his way to alter or replace the abbey copy of the bull of 1108, too. And if Callistus' bull of 1120 also contains this clause, it makes it even harder to believe, for it would argue a fairly thorough falsification of documents. It seems odd, too, if the scribe knew of the bull of 1108, that he did not choose to copy it, as it contains an expanded list of abbey possessions under papal protection. Moreover, Oury's arguments for the clause's being forged seem weak, too. His arguments are these. (1) The clause permits the abbot to be blessed by the archbishop of Sens, if the bishop of Chartres should ask for payment in return. But, Oury objects, neither Ivo nor his successor at Chartres, Geoffrey of Lèves, was ever suspected of simony. (2) The first free election of an abbot by the community, he asserts, is about the year 1165 (He cites Letter 34 of Pope Alexander III, PL 200.355, written to Theobald V, which seems to be an exhortation to Theobald to exercise himself as viceregent and approve the election of one Walter, "quem fratres ejusdem loci... in abbatem suum unanimiter et concorditer elegerunt"). Is it not an anachronism, Oury asks, to suppose that election of an abbot by the community should have been a question in 1108? (3) The bull obtained from Lucius II by Arnold in 1144 (below, p. 80f.) should not a priori have differed from Paschal's bull of 1108. Yet it does not repeat the clause regarding elections. Should it not have done so, if the right had already once been confirmed? As to Oury's second argument, we have already seen (above, p. 51) that it was the custom for the community of monks at Bonneval to elect their own abbot. We do not know what degree of freedom was enjoyed by the monks in their elections at any time in their history. (U. Berlière, Les élections abbatiales au moyen âge (Brussels, 1927), p. 4, remarks: "Si plus tard les rois dans leurs privilèges d'immunités et les papes dans leurs bulles de protection confirment la liberté d'élection, il est entendu que cette liberté consiste essentiellement dans l'acceptation d'un moine de la communauté ou d'un étranger proposé

being reached. Paschal had been in France in 1107 and seems to have reached an unwritten agreement with Louis the Fat, that there should be

ou postulé par cette communauté, indiqué par le souverain, par l'évêque ou par un membre de la communauté, et que cette liberté et la canonicité de l'élection sont compatibles avec le consentement et avec l'investiture épiscopale, impériale ou royale.") But freedom does not seem to have been the point of Alexander's letter, mentioned above, but unanimity, for according to the Concordat of Worms (1122) the secular power could interfere in an election only when there was a division in the vote (see I.S. Robinson, The Papacy 1073-1198, Continuity and Innovation (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 437-439). In effect, Alexander seems to be ordering Theobald not to interfere where there is no warrant. Oury's first argument assumes that there was no reason for the provision against simony to be included in 1108. But simony was one of the principal evils against which the Hildebrandine party was fighting (Previté-Orton, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 489; Robinson, op. cit., esp. pp. 226-228). Could it not have been included here as a matter of principle? The third argument fails for a similar reason. The election of the abbot by the monks of Bonneval had never been a question. But the whole question of ecclesiastical elections was greatly vexed before 1122. Could the clause not have been included just to reinforce the principle, a principle it was no longer necessary to stress in 1144? One can hardly doubt it, when one considers that a similar guarantee of the right of election is found in two charters of 1102 and 1107 granted by Paschal to the Augustinian house of Saint-Jean-en-Vallée, Chartres (R. Merlet, Cartulaire de Saint-Jean-en-Vallée de Chartres (Chartres, 1906), nos. 5 & 6, pp. 4-5). And indeed, one finds that Paschal II was generally concerned with fostering monastic regularitas in his privileges (Robinson, op. cit., pp. 235-237). Moreover, one must note, too, that Lucius' bull of 1144 is really very different from Paschal's earlier bulls. To be sure, a passage from the latter is quoted in the former, which Ramackers (op. cit., p. 112) prints in smaller type. Thus, we can be sure that Lucius had Paschal's bulls to hand. Nevertheless, the initium is different, there is no reference to the forged act of King Lothar, and a very specific historical situation seems to be addressed. For the intention of the bull is to protect the farflung churches of the abbey from lay depredations. In fact, all its major priories are mentioned (cf. above, p. 57, n. 2). But the bulls of Paschal II, although they make reference to certain specific possessions, nevertheless seem always to be aiming at the grander Hildebrandine mark of redefining the relation of the abbey to the lay powers and of promoting regularitas. Therefore, I see no reason to doubt the authenticity of the clause on abbatial elections in the bulls of Paschal II respecting Bonneval. Thus, I see no reason, as Oury does, to think Arnold, during whose abbacy the Breve chronicon was probably completed, to have been guilty of forgery.

henceforth a distinction between spiritual rights and temporal rights, and that the lay authority should have the power to bestow only the latter, a distinction developed by Ivo of Chartres.¹ One supposes, therefore, that Bernerius was pursuing a twofold policy. On the one hand, he seems to have sought confirmation from the pope of the freedoms important to the Hildbrandine party, of which he appears to have been an adherent. On the other hand, he seems to have sought adequate definition from the king and count of the feudal relationships in which the abbey legally played a part. This same policy seems to have been pursued by Arnold, as we shall see.

3. Arnold of Bonneval

Something can be said of Arnold's education and intellectual formation from the books he is known to have read. If one merely skims the columns of his works in Migne's Patrologia latina, one notices-- beyond his thorough knowledge of Holy Scripture-- a familiarity with standard classical authors, Horace, Ovid, and Seneca being quoted directly or obviously summarized.² One also notices an acquaintance with Priscian, with Aristotle's Organon, and with Plato's Timaeus.³ Among the Latin Fathers, Arnold mentions Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory,⁴

¹E. Amann, art. cit., col. 2070; J.N.D. Kelly, The Oxford Dictionary of the Popes (Oxford, 1986), p. 161; Robinson, op. cit., pp. 423f. & 437.

²PL 189.1569C, 1581A, 1638B, 1681A, 1722B.

³Ibid., 1571A, 1576A, 1584B&D.

⁴Ibid., 1517A-B, 1568C, 1580A, 1585B, 1612B.

while among the Greeks, Origen, Basil, and Dionysius the Areopagite.¹ Of contemporary authors, he certainly knew Eadmer and St. Anselm, for his own De beatitudinibus 'depends directly'² upon Eadmer's De beatitudine perennis vitae, which is itself a report of a sermon of St. Anselm, corrected by Anselm himself.³ He had also read St. Bernard's sermons on the Song of Songs and his De consideratione;⁴ and his own Hexaemeron may have been influenced by Guibert of Nogent's commentary on Genesis.⁵ Moreover, Arnold certainly had read the work of Theodoric of Chartres.⁶ It is possible that he had also read William of Conches and Peter Abelard, for while he identifies the Holy Spirit as the world soul, he does it in much the way that Abelard does, per allegoriam.⁷

¹Ibid., 1517A-B, 1522A, 1579B.

²J. Leclercq, "Les méditations eucharistiques d'Arnaud de Bonneval", Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale 13 (1946), p. 42, n. 1.

³See R.W. Southern & F.S. Schmitt, edd., Memorials of St. Anselm (London, 1969), pp. 31-34 & 271-291.

⁴Arnold. Vita prima Bernardi II.vi.40 & viii.51 (PL 185.291B-D & 298B).

⁵See R.R. Grimm, Paradisus Coelestis, Paradisus Terrestris, Zur Auslegungsgeschichte des Paradieses im Abendland bis um 1200 (Munich, 1977), p. 139. I am indebted for this reference to Mr. Robert Miller, M.A., of Brasenose College, who was doing some work on a manuscript of the Hexaemeron at the Bodleian while I was there.

⁶M.-D. Chenu, "Une définition Pythagoricienne de la vérité au moyen âge", Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge 28 (1961), p. 13, n. 10; N. Häring, "Chartres and Paris Revisited", in Essays in Honour of Anton Charles Pegis, ed. J.R. O'Donnell (Toronto, 1974), p. 289 & n. 86.

⁷Arnold's doctrine of the world soul can be found below, XII.3-5. T. Gregory, Anima Mundi, La Filosofia di Guglielmo di Conches e la Scuola di Chartres (Florence, 1955), pp. 137-139, discusses Arnold's doctrine in reference to William of Conches. See also M.-D. Chenu, Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century, Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West, trr. J. Taylor & L.K. Little (Chicago, repr. 1983), p. 9, who says that Arnold's rejection of the doctrine of a primitive chaos resembles William's doctrine. D.E. Luscombe, The School of Peter Abelard, The Influence of Abelard's Thought in the Early

We see here much that we should have expected. The knowledge of Scripture, of the classical poets and philosophers, of the Greek and Latin Fathers, even of Origen, was perfectly normal for a well-educated monk of the early twelfth century.¹ What is unusual is his knowledge of the Pseudo-Dionysius (it might be said²) and the influence upon his thought of the School of Chartres and of Abelard,³ though one does know that some monks were sent to study in the cathedral schools, while others took advantage of their proximity to a school or their friendship with the masters of the schools to learn the scholastic doctrines.⁴

Arnold's primary education, therefore, was of the sort he should have received in any abbey of black monks of the day. However, his education in the scholastic theology of his period requires explanation. As we shall soon see, the abbeys of Marmoutier, Bonneval, and Saint-

Scholastic Period (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 123-125, mentions Arnold's doctrine in passing in a discussion of Abelard's teaching on the world soul. See also Chenu, Nature, Man, and Society, p. 22, n. 46, who notices the similarity of Arnold's doctrine to Abelard's on this point.

¹J. Leclercq, The Love of Learning, pp. 113-117, 118-124, 141-144, 175-179; E. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, tr. W.R. Trask (Princeton, 1973), pp. 48-54; B. Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages (Notre Dame, repr. 1978), pp. 1-36.

²Leclercq, The Love of Learning, p. 115 & n. 14; but see below, p. 163, n. 1.

³Chenu, Nature, Man, and Society, p. 8f., notices that Arnold was "responsive to the influence of Chartres", but also classes him with the Cistercians as antagonists of the Chartrian teaching, pp. 22 & 69 with n. 36. See also A. Vernet, art. cit., p. 667, who believed that Arnold was opposed to the Chartrian doctrines. J. Leclercq, The Love of Learning, p. 244f., notes that the opposition between cloister and school was a literary theme of the day.

⁴Leclercq, The Love of Learning, p. 239f.

Père, Chartres, have each been proposed as the abbey of Arnold's origin. It is certainly possible that from any one of these he could have been sent to study in a cathedral school,¹ but there is no evidence to permit us to determine it. It is, of course, also possible that he learned the scholastic doctrines by reading the works of the masters as they circulated in manuscript. However, we do know that Arnold was friends with Geoffrey of Lèves, bishop of Chartres (1116-1149), who though probably not a disciple, had defended Abelard at the Council of Soissons in 1121² and during whose episcopate the School of Chartres reached its apogee.³ We know that he was also friends with Rotrou of Beaumont-le-Roger,⁴ first archdeacon of Rouen, then bishop of Evreux (1139-1165), and finally archbishop of Rouen (1165-1183), a 'disciple' of Gilbert of Poitiers, for whom he was witness at the Councils of Paris (1147) and Rheims (1148).⁵ Arnold must have had many opportunities to learn the scholastic doctrines from these men and may well have acquired a sympathy for them from such friends.

In this connection, it is interesting to notice a certain peculiarity about the second book-- Arnold's book-- of the Vita prima of St.

¹I.e., Chartres or Tours. See C.H. Haskins, The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century (Cambridge, Mass., repr. 1971), pp. 101-104 & 372.

²R. Aubert, Dictionnaire d'histoire et géographie ecclésiastiques, tome XX, col. 546, claims that Geoffrey was a disciple of Abelard's, a claim which Luscombe, op.cit., p. 58, n. 1, rejects.

³Oury, art. cit., pp. 106f. & 110f.; A. Clerval, Les écoles de Chartres au moyen-âge (du V^e au XVI^e siècle) (Paris, 1895), pp. 153-155.

⁴Oury, art. cit., p. 98.

⁵A. Clerval, op. cit., p. 185. See also G.R. Evans, The Mind of St. Bernard of Clairvaux (Oxford, 1983), p. 177.

Bernard of Clairvaux. After St. Bernard's death (1153),¹ his secretary, Geoffrey of Auxerre, persuaded Arnold to write Bernard's life from the point in the narrative at which William of Saint-Thierry had stopped (1130) to the point at which Geoffrey himself could adequately take it up (1145).² By and large Arnold kept to these limits, although in fact he did mention several events which took place after 1144, including the Council of Rheims in 1148.³ But he does not mention Bernard's controversy with Abelard, which culminated in the Council of Sens (1140) nor does he mention the trial of Gilbert of Poitiers at Rheims. Bredero thinks that these omissions were due to the fact that Geoffrey had more intimate knowledge of these affairs and so decided to treat of them himself.⁴ But through Geoffrey of Lèves and Rotrou of Beaumont Arnold must have had considerable knowledge of these affairs and of the issues at stake, if indeed he did not attend the councils himself. Might it not be, therefore, that Arnold, being more in sympathy with Abelard and Gilbert in these cases, wished to pass over these events in silence in deference to the memory of the great abbot whose praises he otherwise gladly sang? There is therefore a strong suggestion here that Arnold's intellectual sympathies lay as much with the scholastics as with the Cistercian reformers.

¹Bredero, art. cit., p. 253 & n. 3.

²Ibid., p. 256.

³Ibid., p. 255.

⁴Ibid., p. 256. Geoffrey had been a student of Abelard's, but was converted to the monastic life by a sermon of St. Bernard's. See Luscombe, op. cit., p. 7.

Aside from his intercourse with these close friends, Arnold must have come in frequent contact with the masters of the School of Chartres in the course of ordinary business. For example, the cartularies show us Arnold in company with Master Robert Petit in 1151 and with Dean Ivo sometime after 1156.¹ Such meetings must have been common throughout Arnold's career and would have contributed significantly to his intellectual development. In such circumstances and through such friends and acquaintances as these, therefore, must Arnold have acquired that Chartrian cast to his mind so noticeable in his writings.²

¹Häring, *art. cit.*, pp. 276 & 289, n. 85. I myself find it almost impossible to imagine that Arnold did not meet and converse with Theodoric of Chartres (d. after 1151), Gilbert of Poitiers (d. 1154), and William of Conches (d. about 1154).

²I realize that the very existence of a School of Chartres is a vexed question. See R.W. Southern, "The Schools of Paris and the School of Chartres", in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, edd. R.L. Benson & G. Constable with C.D. Lanham (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), pp. 113-137 (but esp. nn. 1 & 2 for relevant literature). Professor Southern has urged and still urges, as he says, four main points against the notion that there was a School of Chartres in any broader sense than that there was an actual scholastic institution at Chartres Cathedral: "first, that the importance of the School of Chartres has been greatly exaggerated by scholars in the last hundred years; second, that after the death of the great master of the school, master Bernard, in or about 1124, there is no convincing evidence of a continuing intellectual tradition in the school of Chartres beyond what might be expected of any cathedral school; third, that the association of Chartres with a unique tradition of Platonism arose mainly from a mistaken identification of master Bernard of Chartres with Bernard Silvester, and that the whole theory of Chartrian Platonism requires radical revision; and fourth, that from the early years of the century Paris had far outstripped Chartres as a place of teaching and study, even in those areas of study which have been particularly associated with Chartres" (p. 113). It is my opinion that Southern's third and fourth points are probably correct. His Stenton Lecture (see his n. 2 or bibliography below) and this article seem to demonstrate these points adequately. I have a doubt about his second point, however, which, if well grounded, will cause also some rethinking of his first point. My doubt is this. The reputation of the School of Chartres in the early twelfth century rested upon Master Bernard and Master Bernard's reputation rested upon his teaching of grammar. But grammar, as John of Salisbury tells us, "is the cradle of philosophy, and... the first nurse of the whole study of letters"; it "prepares the mind to understand everything that can be taught in

Arnold appears for the first time titled abbot of Bonneval 16 August 1129.¹ The abbey where he made his profession is not known. The authors of the Annales argued that it must have been Marmoutier, as his signature is found on a Marmoutier charter of 1138, "cui post majorem priorem cum aliis ejusdem loci monachis subscribit jam Bonaevallis abbas."² Oury has challenged this, saying that the charter is "susceptible d'ailleurs d'une autre interprétation",³ though he neither quotes the charter nor states what this other interpretation might be. He does, however, allege that Arnold was from the abbey of Bonneval

words", and since it "is the basis and root of scientific knowledge, [it] implants... the seed [of virtue] in nature's furrow after grace has readied the ground" (Metalogicon I.13, 21, 23, tr. D.D. McGarry (Gloucester, Mass., 1971), pp. 37, 60, 65). Thus, it is not too much to say that a medieval student's education in grammar gave form to his intellect and to his scholarship. Could it not be therefore that Bernard, who seems to have been an innovator in the teaching of grammar (R.L. Poole, Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought and Learning (London, 1932), pp. 102-105), actually established 'a continuing intellectual tradition' amongst his students and their students by means of his method of 'reading' texts (cf. John of Salisbury, op. cit., I.24, tr. D.D. McGarry, p. 65f.)? We know that his students William of Conches and Richard the Bishop taught John of Salisbury grammar and that both William and Richard 'retired', when students rebelled against their method, which was Bernard's (ibid., I. 24, p. 71). One has this historical precedent, too. Fulbert of Chartres' exegetical method, his method of reading the sacred page, influenced Berengar of Tours and his student Lanfranc after him (B. Smalley, op. cit., p. 47f.). At any rate, when I say that Arnold was influenced by the School of Chartres, I mean merely that he learned his scholasticism from Chartrian masters with whom he frequently came in contact (see previous note).

¹Ch. Metais, Cartulaire de l'abbaye cardinale de la Trinité de Vendôme, tome II (Paris, 1894), p. 242, n. 1: "Le 16 août 1129, Arnould, abbé de Bonneval, signe comme témoin dans une charte de Vendôme, Geoffrey en était encore abbé. Geoffrey (de Lèves) était alors évêque de Chartres." (D. Verninac, mss. 394, f. 242.)" Oury, art. cit., p. 99 & n. 14, cited this reference first.

²For reference and discussion, see above, p. 42, n. 1.

³Oury, art. cit., p. 97.

because of an 1127 charter of Saint-Jean-en-Vallée, Chartres, signed by a certain "Ernaudus, monachus de Bonavalle";¹ but he makes this identification (I presume) on the strength of the following note appended to this signature by the editor of the cartulary: "Arnaud devint dans la suite abbé de Bonneval vers 1130. Son amitié avec saint Bernard, abbé de Clairvaux, a fait sa célébrité autant que les ouvrages qu'il a publiés. Vers l'année 1160, il se démit de sa charge abbatiale et mourut peu de temps après."² But the editor does not prove that this Arnold is our Arnold. Yet Arnold was a common name, as Oury himself admits.³ Therefore, I cannot regard Oury's case as proved. The Abbé Marquis thought that Arnold must have come from the abbey of Saint-Père, Chartres, because his friendships with Bernard of Clairvaux, who had many contacts in Chartres, Geoffrey of Lèves, and Count Theobald IV indicate a Chartraine origin, since, as Marquis believed, Arnold only reigned from 1144 to 1156, too little time, if he came from elsewhere, to form friendships with men who died in 1153, 1149, and 1152 respectively.⁴ I do not think, given the present state of the evidence, that one can be certain about the abbey of Arnold's origin, though if one were able to examine the Marmoutier charter, it might shed new light on the subject.

¹Ibid., loc. cit.

²R. Merlet, Cartulaire de Saint-Jean-en-Vallée de Chartres, no. 40, p. 27, n. 1.

³Oury, art. cit., p. 98.

⁴Marquis, art. cit., pp. 99, 100, 101.

Oury argues that Arnold may have been a member of the great Chartraine family of La Ferté-Ernaud (now La Ferté-Vidame), to which many dignitaries of the various ecclesiastical institutions of Chartres belonged, and with which Arnold's friends Rotrou of Beaumont and Arnulf of Lisieux had some connection. But as he himself admits, this is only a plausible hypothesis.¹

Arnold came into the possession of a monastery which was relatively stable internally, as we have seen;² and to a certain degree, he was able to perform his abbatial duties normally. About 1130, for example, he reached an agreement with William III Gouet, head of one of the great Chartraine families, which possessed all the churches around Alluyes, the site of one of the chief priories of Bonneval, and which owned property in the borough of Bonneval itself,³ that the abbot should henceforth administer certain cases belonging to the high justice in Alluyes, Bouville, and Saumeray, a right which William had usurped.⁴ Before 3 August 1130 Arnold also obtained the confirmation of certain abbey

¹Oury, art. cit., p. 98f.

²There is evidence from Letters 17 and 18 of Geoffrey of Vendôme (PL 157.160-161) for some sort of angry reaction amongst the monks to something Geoffrey had said to Bernerius. Taking this in connection with the letter of Peter the Venerable already mentioned (p. 36, n. 2), Oury, art. cit., p. 100f., argues for a state of rebellion against Bernerius resulting in his forced retirement. As, however, Peter's letter speaks of Arnold and not of Bernerius, these letters of Geoffrey can be taken as referring to an isolated incident and not to a state of unrest in the abbey. See also above, p. 55f.

³Chédeville, op. cit., pp. 257f. & 324. One of his ancestresses was buried in the abbey church in 968, according to the Gallia christiana, tom. VIII, col. 1235: "Anno autem sequenti Mathildis mater Guillelmi Goët Perticensium comitis, in hujus monasterii basilica sepulta est."

⁴Bigot, op. cit., p. lxxvii; Chédeville, op. cit., p. 304.

rights in the diocese of Sens from Henry, archbishop of Sens.¹ That same year it is probable that Arnold attended the Council of Etampes (11 September-24 October²), where France decided for Innocent II, for he reports on the council in his biographical work on Bernard of Clairvaux,³ and his friend Arnulf of Lisieux tells us that the abbots of the great monasteries were all present with the bishops and lay lords.⁴ This may have been the occasion, therefore, when he learned to admire St. Bernard and when he began to cement his friendship with Geoffrey of Lèves as a man of equal rank. It may well be too that Arnold was present when Louis the Fat met Innocent II at Orléans in January, 1131, for Geoffrey of Lèves also went there in order to conduct the pope to Chartres;⁵ and it is more than likely that he was present when the pope met King Henry I of England at Chartres, a meeting at which St. Bernard dramatically persuaded Henry to accept Innocent as pope.⁶ That same

¹Bigot, op. cit., p. 68f. Oury, art. cit., p. 121f., n. 36, discusses the date of this charter.

²Luchaire, op. cit., no. 460, p. 214f.

³Vita prima Bernardi II.iii (PL 185.270A-D).

⁴Arnulf, Invectiva in Girardum Engolismensem episcopum V, quoted in J.D. Mansi, Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio (orig. pub. 1759-1798; repr. Paris, 1903, and again Graz, Austria), tom. XXI, col. 442. One should note that Arnulf dedicated this work to Geoffrey of Lèves, whose secretary he had been (Oury, art. cit., p. 112; Barlow, ed., op. cit., p. xiv).

⁵Luchaire, op. cit., no. 466, p. 217; Arnold, Vita prima Bernardi II.iv (PL 185.271A).

⁶Arnold, Vita prima Bernardi II.iv (PL 185.271A-B). It is certainly also possible that Arnold accompanied the pope and St. Bernard on their peregrination of France, to the Council of Rheims (1131), to their meeting with the emperor at Liège, and to Clairvaux, upon all of which he reports (PL 185.271B-272B). It is worth quoting Arnold's account of this last event because it suggests a sympathy with and admiration for Bernard's spiritual programme. "Rediens autem Leodio, Claram-Vallem dominus Papa per se ipsum voluit visitare: ubi a pauperibus Christi, non

year Arnold came to an agreement with Theobald IV, which permitted the count to build a lodge near the monastic grange at Bonneval.¹

But when Arnold became abbot of Bonneval, he did find, I believe, an abbey in serious material difficulties. We have already noticed the devastation and depopulation which resulted from the reiving of Hugh III

purpura et bysso ornatis, nec cum deauratis Evangeliiis occurrentibus, sed pannosis agminibus scopulosam bajulantibus crucem, non tumultuantium classicorum tonitruo, non clamosa jubilatione, sed suppressa modulatione affectuosissime susceptus est. Flebant episcopi, flebant ipse summus Pontifex: et omnes mirabantur congregationis illius gravitatem, quod in tam solemni gaudio oculi omnium humi defixi, nusquam vagabunda curiositate circumferrentur, sed complosis palpebris ipsi neminem viderent, et ab omnibus viderentur. Nihil in ecclesia illa vidit Romanus quod cuperet, nulla ibi supellex eorum sollicitavit aspectum, nihil in oratorio nisi nudos viderunt parietes. Solis moribus poterat inhiare ambitio, nec damnosa poterat esse fratribus hujusmodi praeda, cum minui non posset asportata religio. Gaudebant omnes in Domino, et solemnitas non cibus, sed virtutibus agebatur..." Cf. Bernard, Apologia ad Guillelmum abbatem XII.28 (LTR, vol. III, p. 104f.) & Arnold's account of the Nativity (below, I.4). Oury calls this passage an "éloge dithyrambique de Clairvaux" and attempts to demonstrate on its strength that Arnold's Cistercian enthusiasm was the cause of great friction with his monks (art. cit., p. 115). To be sure, Arnold seems to have admired Bernard and Bernard's writings and the spirituality of Bernard's monks quite highly. But this shows no more than that he shared the enthusiasm of his generation for evangelical simplicity and poverty (cf. Chenu, Nature, Man, and Society, pp. 239-269). It does not show that Arnold made any attempt to introduce to his own monastery the characteristic Cistercian reforms, i. e., the restoration of manual labour, the rejection of the possession of extensive lands, and the simplification of the liturgy (see Knowles, Christian Monasticism, pp. 69-71), which reforms might well have caused a revolt.

¹Bigot, op. cit., p. 70. Chédeville, op. cit., p. 280, indicates that the nobles began to build themselves new dwellings outside the walled cities during this period. It is hard to imagine that Theobald had had no lodgings before this in Bonneval, one of only five cities in the Chartraine at that time (Chédeville, p. 77f.). Oury, art. cit., p. 104, asserts that Theobald compelled Arnold to grant this privilege and that it thus became a cause of the war Theobald was soon to fight with King Louis. But there is no evidence of compulsion and there is this suggestion that Theobald was merely following the instincts of his class, which "trouve à la campagne un cadre plus favorable que dans le milieu urbain".

of Le Puiset and the war fought to stop him in 1111.¹ But the wars did not cease at that point. For, as we have noticed, King Louis and Count Theobald fell out and went to war immediately after the defeat of Hugh, who, upon his release from prison in 1112, allied himself with Theobald. This led that year to the second seige and destruction of Le Puiset.² Not even this disaster, however, brought Hugh to heel. By 1115 his reiving had reduced the Beauce "presque à l'état de désert",³ and in 1118 Louis again made war on Hugh, destroying Le Puiset for a third time.⁴ Louis never again conducted a campaign against Hugh, though Hugh does not seem to have reformed, for in 1122 we find the king and count confirming a charter in which Hugh agreed to cease his illegal demands upon the village of Baignolet, which belonged to Bonneval.⁵ But the wars and banditry associated with Hugh of Le Puiset were not the only military operations in that region during those years. For in 1116 the intermittent war between Louis and Theobald flared up again, having some effect on the Chartraine; and in 1119 Louis burned part of the city

¹Above, pp. 56-58.

²Luchaire, op. cit., no. 134, pp. 70-72.

³Ibid., no. 200, p. 100 (cf. above, p. 57, n. 3).

⁴Ibid., no. 236, p. 114f.

⁵Ibid., no. 323, p. 150 & above, p. 57, n. 2. Hugh abdicated in 1128 and there is evidence that he planned to go to the Holy Land, where his cousin was count of Jaffa; but there is no evidence that he ever arrived there. The story that he was killed in a brawl in Acre in 1132 (de Dion, art. cit., p. 29) arose through confusion with his cousin Hugh II of Jaffa. See J.L. La Monte, "The Lords of Le Puiset on the Crusades", Speculum 17 (1942), p. 101f.

of Chartres in an act of vengeance too late regretted.¹ A long period of hostilities between the two broke out in 1130, which directly affected Arnold, for in 1132 or 1133 the royal troops burned Bonneval, though the abbey itself, being under royal protection, was spared.² Thus, it can be fairly said that throughout the period from the accession of Hugh III of Le Puiset (1109) to the end of the wars of King Louis VI and Count Theobald IV (1135³), the monks of Bonneval led an ever more precarious existence: their farms uncultivated, their villages depopulated, their rents uncollected, their duties on the Bonneval winepress, on cattle, on merchandise unpaid,⁴ finally their city destroyed. It is not to be wondered at that Arnold sought a radical solution to this problem.

The solution he sought can be deduced from the letter of Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, which refers to Arnold.⁵ The relevant passage follows.

Abbas Bonae Vallis quae iuxta Carnotum est, cum quampluribus honestis et sapientibus uiris ut asserit, Cluniacum uenire disponit, si per consilium sapientiae uestrae licentiam recedendi a domino papa impetrare potuerit. Nostis enim causas quibus irritatus, diu a suis retineri non possit. Vnde et super hoc litteras sibi mitti precatur.

¹Suger, Vita Ludovici Grossi (Waquet ed., pp. 198-201); Luchaire, op. cit., nos. 207 & 262, pp. 103 & 125.

²Suger, op. cit. (Waquet ed., pp. 270-273); Luchaire, op. cit., nos. 452 & 530, pp. 211 & 241f.; Chédeville, op. cit., p. 109.

³Luchaire, op. cit., no. 559, p. 254.

⁴Chédeville, op. cit., pp. 230 (n. 429), 295 (n. 280), & 201 (n. 213), attests to the existence of these duties in the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

⁵Above, p. 36, n. 2.

Peter sent the letter to Matthew of Albano in "late 1134 (or possibly early 1135)", according to the editor, that is to say, only a year or two after the burning of Bonneval by Louis the Fat; and he states plainly the cause which had stimulated Arnold to action: 'diu a suis retineri non possit'. What does this mean? The dubious phrase is 'a suis'.¹ Does it mean 'by his own monks' or 'by his own estates, rents, and duties'? Marquis² and Oury³ both translated it 'les siens', indicating that they preferred the former interpretation; and indeed they used this letter as evidence for serious dissension within abbey ranks under Abbot Bernerius. But the latter meaning is just as good a translation of the Latin and makes much more sense, when one imagines that the abbey economy, already precarious, must have totally collapsed after the great fire of 1132 or 1133. Thus, Arnold was seeking to escape, at least temporarily, from a crushing poverty, which was making the monastic vocation, and perhaps life itself, impossible. In consequence, it can be said that those 'very many noble and wise men', whom Arnold wished to bring with him, were not the members of his own faction in abbey politics, but all the monks who remained in the abbey, all

¹The word 'retineri' here seems to have the sense 'to be maintained', 'to be kept in existence', attested in the Oxford Latin Dictionary (with reservations). Ex: 'post utriusque interitum classem olim commissam retinuit, auxit etiam', Suetonius, Nero 3.1. Cf. Du Cange, Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis, '4. RETINERI, Aliquem in dignitate, quam obtinet, tueri, conservare.'

²Marquis, art. cit., p. 102.

³Oury, art. cit., p. 101.

those perhaps who had not run away as circumstances became intolerable.¹

What, then, was Arnold's plan? Peter says that Arnold had decided to go to Cluny and was seeking 'licentiam recedendi' from the pope. The word 'licentia' here simply means 'leave', 'permission'. One sees the same usage in Letter 78 of Ivo of Chartres: 'Hoc solum abbas et monachi objecerunt quod [Bernierius] sine licentia fratrum a monasterio discesserit.'² The word 'recedo' may here simply mean 'withdraw', 'retire'; but one does know that St. Cyprian of Carthage used it to signify a temporary retirement during a persecution.³ Hence one finds here the suggestion that Arnold might have been seeking a temporary retreat for his monks and for himself at Cluny, while such prosperity returned to Bonneval as should support them in their monastic vocation of prayer. At any rate, this much seems clear. Arnold was seeking papal permission to withdraw from Bonneval to Cluny with his remaining monks because the abbey income had not been sufficient for their support for a long time. Whether or not it was to be a permanent withdrawal, one cannot tell. It is interesting to note, however, that Arnold's circumstances were already known to Matthew of Albano, according to Peter, and thus probably also at the papal court. Indeed, one knows that after the Council of Pisa in 1135, the pope sent St. Bernard, Matthew of

¹We have already seen (above, p. 49) how the abbey was virtually abandoned after its destruction by Rollo in 911.

²PL 162.100A.

³Cyprian, Epistolae 34.4 & 55.13, cited in Blaise, s.v.

Albano, and Geoffrey of Lèves on a mission to Milan together.¹ No doubt Arnold's situation was discussed, and one suspects that at that time Matthew decided not to recommend Arnold's retirement to the pope. Geoffrey would have had close knowledge of abbey affairs and the politics of the Chartraine, while St. Bernard had considerable influence with Count Theobald,² and it seems plausible that they should have worked out a more practicable solution to Arnold's difficulties.

Beyond the fact that Arnold signed a charter at Marmoutier in 1138, which involved an agreement between the abbot of that abbey and the archbishop of Tours,³ we know nothing about his activities for the rest of the 1130's, although he does report on the mission of Geoffrey and Bernard in 1134 to heal a schism in Aquitaine and on Bernard's Italian negotiations on behalf of Innocent II in 1137.⁴ But it is clear that Arnold's first priority was to reestablish the prosperity of his monastery; and there is evidence that the abbey of Bonneval was heavily engaged in the reclamation of waste land, in particular by drainage.⁵ It is probable, therefore, that under Arnold's direction, no doubt with the assistance of Count Theobald,⁶ Bonneval was rebuilt,

¹Arnold, *Vita prima Bernardi* II.ii.9 (PL 185.273D). Geoffrey and Matthew were both important papal legates (Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 158f.)

²See below, n. 6.

³See above, p. 42, n. 1.

⁴Arnold, *Vita prima Bernardi* II.vi.34 & vii.41-48 (PL 185.287B & 291D-297A).

⁵Chédeville, *op. cit.*, p. 140 & n. 176, citing a charter of 1151.

⁶There must be some reason, after all, for the fulsome praises Arnold sings of Theobald, mentioning in particular his alms, which he distributed at the advice of St. Bernard. Theobald was in particular a patron of the Cistercians, but there is no reason to suppose that he would not have patronized one of his own great abbeys of black monks as well.

its market restored, its farms returned to productivity and waste land brought into cultivation for the first time. But these years cannot have been entirely peaceful, since there is also evidence from the 1140's that the new lord of Le Puiset, Eberhard IV (ruled 1128-1190), Hugh's son, was following in his father's footsteps. In fact, the first charter we have concerning him involves Bonneval. It is an accord of 1141 between Eberhard and Arnold, witnessed by the young Louis VII, Count Theobald IV, and William Gouet, in which Eberhard renounces all pretended rights in the abbey village of Cormainville.¹ There also exist a royal charter in favour of the abbey of Saint-Père, Chartres, against Eberhard (1143) and a complaint to the king against Eberhard by the chapter of the Cathedral of Chartres (1147/48).² It is not therefore hard to imagine that as the abbey of Bonneval became prosperous again during the 1130's, so it became once more a target for the reivers of Le Puiset.

Eberhard's exactions, however, were not the only drain on the prosperity of the abbey during the 1140's. In 1142 the young Louis began a war with Theobald IV, in which, as Arnold describes it, 'rapinis

(See Arnold, Vita prima Bernardi II.viii.52, PL 185.299A-C). We also know that Theobald pursued a deliberate policy of encouraging trade in Champagne (Hallam, op. cit., p. 49; M. Bur, La formation du comté de Champagne, v. 950-v. 1150 (Nancy, 1977), p. 301). Would he, then, have neglected to repair the prosperity of one of the great market towns of the county of Blois?

¹Bigot, op. cit., p. 70f., where the charter is reproduced; de Dion, art. cit., p. 30; Oury, art. cit., p. 105.

²De Dion, art. cit., p. 30; M. Pacaut, Louis VII et son royaume (Paris, 1964), p. 84, who notes another incident involving Eberhard and the chapter of Notre-Dame, Châteaudun, during the same period. See also the discussion of the bull of Lucius II above, p. 60, n. 3 ad fin.

et incendiis fere omnia ad [Theobaldum] pertinentia depopulatoribus exposita erant; et operuit faciem terrae Regis exercitus, et passim omnia vastabantur'.¹ The campaign took place in Theobald's county of Champagne, it seems, and therefore the county of Blois must have largely escaped the actual fire and sword. Nevertheless, Theobald must have had to impose extraordinary tallage and to make exceptional requisitions both to wage the war and to repair the damages done. Thus, one supposes that by the mid 1140's Arnold must have been hard pressed again to maintain the integrity and prosperity of his abbey over against the demands-- some legal, others illegal, all oppressive-- of the secular powers.

The settlement of the war between Louis and Theobald seems to have opened a way for Arnold to defend his monastery. For after a treaty was signed in October, 1143, an embassy was sent to the pope to ask that the ban of excommunication on King Louis be lifted, Louis having been excommunicated for refusing to admit the duly elected archbishop of Bourges to his see, which was one of the causes of the war.² The ambassador chosen was the permanent papal legate Geoffrey of Lèves; and although we cannot be certain that Arnold accompanied him to Rome, nevertheless we do find them both at the papal court in April, 1144, on the fifth day of which month Lucius II issued bulls in favour of Geoffrey for his cathedral and of Arnold for his abbey, the latter taking

¹Arnold, *Vita prima Bernardi* II.viii.54 (PL 185.300C). There is a report on the war in Pacaut, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-45, although Pacaut makes William of Saint-Thierry the author of Arnold's account.

²Oury, *art. cit.*, p. 105f.; Bur, *op. cit.*, p. 290f.

the chief priories of the abbey under papal protection.¹ Thus, when one recalls Arnold's appeal to the royal court in 1141 and takes it together with this appeal to the papal court, one begins to see that Arnold was following the policy of his predecessor Bernerius, a policy of making the temporal and spiritual relations of the abbey explicit.

We know nothing else of Arnold's activities in the late 1140's and early 1150's, apart from the scanty evidence of five charters, which he signed.² They show him engaged in business with the other clergy of his own region,³ with Henry, Theobald's heir to Champagne, regarding the rights of the chapter of the cathedral of Troyes,⁴ and with the Priory of Saint-Palais, Bourges.⁵ In 1153, however, he received an affectionate farewell letter from St. Bernard, who was on his deathbed,⁶ and sometime thereafter was asked by Geoffrey of Auxerre to write Bernard's biography for the years 1130-1144,⁷ in which Arnold was

¹Oury, art. cit., p. 106f. Oury argues for Arnold's winter sojourn at Rome with Geoffrey from a passage in his Hexaemeron, where he describes trees which are in leaf and bear fruit all winter (PL 189.1536D-1537A). We do know that Geoffrey and Arnold sometimes travelled together at that time (Oury, p. 111 & n. 73). On Lucius' bull in favour of Bonneval, see above, p. 60, n. 3 ad fin.

²It is hard to imagine, however, that he would have missed Abelard's trial at Sens in 1140 and Gilbert of Poitiers's trial at Reims in 1148.

³Häring, art. cit., p. 275, n. 67, & p. 276, n. 70; Clerval, op. cit., p. 205, n. 2.

⁴Prévost, art. cit., col. 422.

⁵E. Martène, op. cit., tome II, p. 111.

⁶On the authenticity of this letter, see above, p. 35, n. 2.

⁷Bredero, art. cit., p. 253. Cf. above, p. 67.

to relate the 'virtutes multas per [Bernardum] factas',¹ which he was in an excellent position to do, considering his friendship with Geoffrey of Lèves, Bernard's comrade on so many legatine missions. It seems that Arnold finished his portion of Bernard's Life by 1155, because the several books of the Vita prima "were published together with the approval of an assembly of bishops and abbots held in 1155",² which Arnold must have attended.

The last years of Arnold's life are illuminated somewhat by three letters of Arnulf of Lisieux to Arnold.³ Of course, the dating of these letters is therefore extremely important. The three letters are Letters 11, 12, and 13 in Barlow's edition.⁴ Letter 13 is the only letter to give hard evidence for a date. Arnulf writes,⁵

De aduentu uestro nichil audieram priusquam uester ad me nuntius peruenisset. Neque enim uideram dominum Ebroicensem; sed eadem die ipsum et litteras uestras Turonum, quo ad regem ueneramus, accepi, litterarumque breuitatem iocunda communis amici suppleuit oratio... Nuntium autem uestrum per aliquantulum temporis moleste detinui, quoniam incertum me de reditu meo grauia que inter reges uertebantur negotia detinebant.

Barlow dates this letter to February-March, 1156, thinking that the meeting of the kings to which reference is made was the meeting of Louis VII and Henry II

'in confinio Normanniae et Franciae' on 5 February 1156... where the business was the homage due from Henry and the question of his

¹Geoffrey of Auxerre, Vita prima Bernardi III.Praefatio (PL 185.302D).

²J. Morson, "Some Manuscripts of the Life of St. Bernard", Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 37 (1955), p. 477 & n. 3.

³Clerval, op. cit., p. 205, n. 2, mentions a charter of 1156, of which Arnold was a signatory. Cf. above, p. 68, n. 1.

⁴Above, p. 36, n. 1.

⁵Barlow, ed., op. cit., p. 18.

brother Geoffrey's continental possessions. Shortly after Geoffrey fled to Anjou where he raised a revolt, and Henry followed him and besieged the castles of Chinon and Mirebeau... It must have been at this time that Henry and Arnulf were at Tours, near the hostile castles.¹

The difficulty here is with the order of events. In 1156 the two kings met near Gisors² and only then did Henry proceed to the Touraine. But Arnulf's letter clearly indicates that he joined the king at Tours for the conference. Oury, on the other hand, dates the letter to the beginning of 1159, for, he notes, the two kings actually met at Tours at that time before Henry's unsuccessful siege of Toulouse.³ This meeting suits the order of events as described in Arnulf's letter much better, for it allows us to bring Arnulf and Henry together at Tours for the conference of the two kings.

Arnulf's Letter 11 begins with a reference to 'our venerable brother and friend the Abbot Philip'. Barlow identifies this personage as "probably Philip, abbot of the Cistercian house of l'Aumône in the diocese of Chartres, once archdeacon of Liège and prior of Clairvaux", and dates the letter with some hesitation to 1155.⁴ Oury also makes this identification, made first (it seems) in the Histoire littéraire de la France,⁵ but points out that Philip did not become abbot of L'Aumône

¹Ibid., p. 18, n. a.

²L.F. Salzman, Henry II (New York, repr. 1967), pp. 24 & 242.

³Oury, art. cit., p. 114 & n. 83, citing J. Boussard, Le gouvernement d'Henri II Plantagenêt (Paris, 1956), p. 418.

⁴Barlow, ed., op. cit., p. 15 & n. b.

⁵Tome XII, p. 535; but Marquis, art. cit., p. 104, suggests Philip, abbot of Clermont, once a monk of Bonneval. I assume that Marquis is referring to Clermont in the Beauvaisis. I believe this identification to be less likely than the Maurists' both because L'Aumône is so much nearer to Bonneval and because the abbot of L'Aumône, a house founded by Theobald IV in 1121 on the advice of Geoffrey of Lèves (Gallia

until 1156.¹ Arnulf's Letter 12 bears no indication of its date, but does refer to a journey Arnold is about to undertake. Barlow dates this with reservations also to 1155, perhaps because Letter 13, which he dates to 1156, refers to a journey which Arnold had recently completed.

What do these letters tell us about Arnold? Barlow, by placing them in this order,² has brought out the logic of their relations to one another. In Letter 11 Arnulf reports to Arnold that their mutual friend Philip has told him of Arnold's illness and he quite touchingly laments the fact that this means that Arnold will have to cancel his forthcoming visit to Lisieux and that he, Arnulf, will be deprived of 'sanctum illud dulceque colloquium'. Then he adds,

Denique dolor in miserationem conuersus est, dum incommoda uestra laboresque contempler, quibus innocentiam uestram sollicitudo domestica et persecutoris inmanitas incessanter affligit.

The authors of the Histoire littéraire de la France date this letter to 1144, the year of Arnold's first journey to Rome, and attribute Arnold's difficulties to internal dissension.³ The Abbé Marquis dates it to 1140, and while following the Maurists in supposing Arnold's difficulties to have been domestic, nevertheless identifies Eberhard of Le

christiana, tom. VIII, col. 1398), would have so much more naturally been a member of Arnold's 'circle' than Philip of Clermont.

¹Oury, art. cit., p. 114; Gallia christiana, tom. VIII, col. 1398.

²Arnulf's Letters 11, 12, & 13 in Barlow are Letters 9, 48, & 15 in the Giles-Migne edition. See Barlow, pp. lxxxvii-lxxxix.

³Tome XII, p. 535 & 536: "Il paroît que des contradictions domestiques furent l'occasion de ce voyage."

Puiset as a source of trouble as well.¹ Oury, who dates this letter to sometime after 1156, as we have seen, apparently without reference to Barlow's edition, also sees Arnold's difficulties as arising both from internal and external sources, but identifies the source of external pressure as Theobald V, count of Blois.² What are we to make of these theories?

On the one hand, the phrase 'sollicitudo domestica' by no means necessarily implies any kind of rebellion within the monastery. It could, and very probably does, refer to Arnold's paternal anxiety for the welfare of the institution over which he was set. We have already shown that the monastic community at Bonneval was not given, as if organically, to a perverse fractiousness throughout its history. Moreover, we have shown that fractiousness was not the cause of Arnold's attempt to withdraw from Bonneval in 1134 or 1135. There is no reason

¹Marquis, art. cit., p. 103 & 104: "Il est certain qu'Arnaud fut en butte à des tracasseries d'intérieur qui lui firent, pendant tout le temps de son administration, désirer l'abdication. Quant à l'agresseur du dehors, nous le trouverions dans la personne d'Ebrard du Puiset."

²Oury, art. cit., pp. 114 & 115. Oury identifies Theobald V as Arnold's persecutor because he thinks that Arnold and his monks had alienated him by pressing for the right to elect the next abbot freely. Oury sees this situation as the occasion of the 'forged' clause inserted into the bull of Paschal II; but since there is no reason to think that that clause is a forgery (above, p. 60, n. 3), one major support of Oury's argument is knocked away. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the 'free' election of the abbot at Bonneval was ever an issue, though election of the abbot was customary (above, pp. 51 & 52). Oury does adduce evidence for extraordinary exactions made by Theobald in 1158 for a campaign against Henry II; but such measures need not have poisoned relations between count and abbot. We have already seen that it is likely that Theobald's father took similar extraordinary measures during his war with the young Louis in the early 1140's (above, p. 80). One should note too that Theobald V is credited with a generally 'efficacious' administration of comital affairs (Chédeville, op. cit., p. 287). Oury, by the way, does not appear to have consulted Marquis's article.

to suppose it as a cause in this case, either. On the other hand, we have seen that Eberhard of Le Puiset marauded throughout the 1140's and there is evidence that he continued to reive in the 1150's.¹ His depredations and illegal exactions would have therefore continued to depress the abbey economy and jeopardize abbey integrity throughout this period. Thus, one may conclude with some confidence that Arnold, 'afflicted unceasingly with misfortunes and toils by his anxiety for the welfare of his community and by the savage persecution of the lord of Le Puiset', had finally been worn down to the point of illness, which robbed him even of the relief of a vacation with Arnulf in Lisieux, and this sometime probably in 1157.

In Letter 12 Arnulf tells Arnold that he has 'sacrificed the marrowy holocaust', that God might direct his way (iter) with prosperity. Since Letter 13, written in early 1159, speaks of Arnold's return from a foreign sojourn, it may well be that Letter 12 was written before that journey, perhaps early in 1158.

Several things about this journey of Arnold's can be deduced from Arnulf's Letter 13. Here is the relevant passage.

Gauissus sum de incolumitate uestra, gauissus de peregrinationis prouentu, gauissus quod uestram prudentiam et honestatem honore debito Romana recognouit ecclesia. Ad cumulum tamen exultationis accessit, quod in proximo uisitare nos dilectio uestra constituit, ut et mutuis exilaremur aspectibus, et iocundis alterne colluctionis affatibus delectemur.

¹De Dion, art. cit., p. 30, mentions a charter of 1150, in which Eberhard confirmed the rights of the Priory of Janville, and there are acts bearing his signature from 1152, 1156, and 1158, though de Dion does not mention the bearing of these documents (p. 31).

First, then, the journey must have been made in 1158,¹ since this letter was written in early 1159. Secondly, the journey was made to Rome, to Pope Hadrian IV (reigned December, 1154-September, 1159). Thirdly, the journey seems to have had the desired result, for Arnulf is 'joyful about the success of his foreign sojourn'. Fourthly, Arnulf seems to have deemed the trip a success because 'the Roman Church certified Arnold's good sense and integrity with the honour that was due'. Thus, the journey must have involved an appeal to the pope regarding some question about Arnold's good sense and integrity, a question which was settled in Arnold's favour by the confirmation of some honour that was due him.

The interpretation of this passage depends, of course, on the meaning given the phrase 'honore debito'. R.W. Southern, in an analysis of Anselm's *Cur deus homo?*, has stressed the objective significance of the word honor in feudal times.

In the language of feudal tenure a man's honour was his estate. Normally this was a unit of land, but the term honour also embraced his title and status. The fundamental crime against a lord, and against the social order, was the attempt to diminish the lord's honour. The seriousness of the crime was quite independent of the rebel's power to give effect to his evil intentions: it was his disloyalty, the loosening of the social bond, which outlawed him. At the time when Anselm was writing, the word 'honour' was at the height of its development as a term of social importance. It was the maintenance of a king's 'honour' which preserved his kingdom, of a baron's 'honour' which preserved his barony, and so on down the scale. Slowly honour dissolved into something private, incommunicable and socially unimportant, but that dissolution lay

¹Oury, *art. cit.*, p. 115: "à l'été de 1158, emportant avec lui le traité 'De cardinalibus Christi operibus' en chantier depuis quelque temps et dont il comptait faire hommage au Pape."

far in the future in Anselm's day.¹

Thus, when Arnulf speaks of the 'honour that was due', he is speaking not of some private, intangible aspect of Arnold's character, but of some concrete, objective, public aspect of that 'permanent, organic individuality' constituted of Arnold's title, status, and monastery with all that belonged to it. In other words, Arnulf is referring to some diminution of that 'individuality', which had to be supplied. He is speaking of some abbey vassal's abuse of the abbot's rights, which had to be corrected. It seems very likely, therefore, that Arnold had been once again to Rome to seek papal approbation and protection in his struggles against the temporal powers in his region, and probably in particular against Eberhard of Le Puiset.

However, Oury holds that Arnold went to Rome in 1158 seeking permission to demit his abbacy;² and from the following passage from the letter which Arnold added as preface to the *De cardinalibus Christi operibus* it seems clear that Arnold discussed his demission with the pope while in Rome.³

¹R.W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer, A Study of Monastic Life and Thought, 1059-c. 1130* (Cambridge, 1963), p. 112. In a note on this page, Southern adds: "In feudal usage, the term *honor* was used, not for land in itself, but for lands and rights with a permanent, organic individuality; men could therefore be said, on inheriting their rights, to come 'ad honorem', and to hold their rights 'cum honore comitis' or 'de honore comitis'. In this same place, Southern also cites as an example of this usage a passage from a letter of Odo II, count of Blois, Theobald IV's great-grandfather, written for him by Fulbert of Chartres. For the complete text with translation and notes, see Fulbert's Letter 86 (ed. Behrends, pp. 152-155). See also Fawtier, *op. cit.*, p. 65f.

²Oury, *art. cit.*, p. 115f.

³Below, *Epistola prefata* 3.10-16. On the authenticity of this letter, see above, 31f.

Neque enim aliquid me existimo esse, cum nichil sim, quia hoc a uobis maxima supplicatione quesui, ut non essem quod sum, et humiliter supplicaui, ut ab hac flamma, in qua crucior, me uestra clementia liberaret. Temptauī, si possem (manu uestra me sustinente) honeste descendere, quod, quia non potui urgentibus flammis, non attendi quo prosilirem, dum me uorax incendium non cremaret.

But the use of the perfect tense in this letter-- 'quesui', 'supplicaui', 'temptauī', 'attendi'-- indicates that Arnold wrote the letter after his conversation with the pope, that is to say, upon his return to Bonneval. In other words, I do not think that Arnold took this work to Rome with him to present it to the pope, as Oury does.¹ Rather, I think that Arnold asked the pope privately, without the formality of a gift, for permission to demit. Arnold, therefore, must have had two causes to plead at Rome. The first was the public cause, known to Arnulf, which he successfully argued. The second was the private cause, which he did not argue with success, although he planned to press his suit upon his return home with the gift of one of his works, provided with a suitable cover letter and revised prologue.²

Did Arnold, then, demit his abbacy? Mabillon and his confrères conjectured that he retired to Marmoutier because they had seen a charter of that abbey with this subscription: 'Ernaldus quondam abbas

¹Above, p. 87, n. 1.

²It is, of course, quite possible that he never sent the work to Hadrian, since Hadrian died in September, 1159. In fact, there is some grammatical inconcinnity in the later sermons of the work, a fact which may indicate that he never finished his revision of the work for the pope. See below, p. 109. The prologue also concludes with a passage which refers to Arnold's discussion of this matter with the pope. See Prol. 13.15-16..

Bonae-vallis'.¹ The authors of the *Histoire littéraire de la France* supposed that Arnold died at Bonneval because of the wording of the following entry in the menology of the abbey of Cîteaux (6 February).²

In dioecesi Carnotensi B. Arnoldus, abbas Bonae-Vallis, vir doctrina pariter et pietate celebris, qui postquam coenobium suum magna sanctitatis laude rexisset, morte in conspectu Domini pretiosa in pace quievit.

But Bodleian ms. 197 and Laud Miscellaneous ms. 371, which happen to be closely related,³ both indicate that Arnold retired to Clairvaux, while the former adds that he died there. Oury has found support for the tradition of Arnold's demission in a cartulary entry of 1159 or later, which notices a judgement of Geoffrey of Lèves rendered in 1142 or 1143, witnessed by "Arnaldo abbate quondam sancti Florentii Bonae Vallis". As all the other witnesses to this act had died by 1159, though none of them received the designation 'quondam', Oury argues that "le rédacteur de la notice savait donc qu'il n'était pas mort en charge".⁴ What little twelfth-century evidence we have makes it therefore seem not unlikely that Arnold did finally receive permission to retire, either from Hadrian IV or from Alexander III.⁵ It is not at all clear,

¹Above, p. 43 & n. 1. It should just be noticed here that Pope Alexander III's Letter 332, which speaks of the demission of the abbot of Bonneval, taken by Mabillon et al. apparently as a reference to Arnold (above, p. 44, n. 1), refers in reality to the third abbot after Arnold. See Oury, art. cit., p. 116.

²Tome XII, p. 536.

³See above, p. 25. The references are Bodley 197, f. 180^r & Laud Misc. 371, f. 2^r.

⁴Oury, art. cit., p. 116.

⁵Arnold's successor, Gottschalk, ruled c. 1160-c. 1162 (Oury, art. cit., p. 116).

however, whether it is more likely that he retired to Marmoutier or to Clairvaux, though again a fresh examination of the Marmoutier cartulary might shed light on the subject.

Let us now summarize our findings. We have only speculations, some more likely than others, regarding Arnold's family, the abbey of his profession, and his demission. We do know, however, that he reigned at Bonneval from about 1129 to about 1159. From an analysis of documents relating to several abbacies at Bonneval, it is clear that the great problems faced by the abbots of Bonneval had more to do with economics, politics and war than with a rebellious spirit amongst the monks. This conclusion in its turn proved crucial for the interpretation of the evidence about Arnold himself. Thus, we saw that his attempted flight from Bonneval in 1134 had to do with the collapse of the abbey economy, his first appeal to the pope in 1144 with the inroads made on the abbey's new prosperity by Eberhard of Le Puiset, and his final appeal of 1158 with problems of a like sort. Moreover, we also saw him appealing to the king against Eberhard in 1141.

Arnold's friendships also shed light upon his life. Through his friendships with Geoffrey of Lèves, Arnulf of Lisieux, and Rotrou of Beaumont-le-Roger and through his direct contact with Chartrian masters, Arnold must have acquired his sympathy for Chartrian philosophy. Arnulf and Rotrou also served as his connections in the Plantagenet domains, and they probably disseminated his writings in England.¹ Through Geoffrey of Lèves Arnold probably came to have some influence on the great

¹See above, p. 9, n. 3.

ecclesiastical issues of the day, at least as a friend and confidant; and through Geoffrey he also came to know St. Bernard of Clairvaux. In St. Bernard, and perhaps in Philip of L'Aumône, Arnold seems to have found the stimulus to some critical reflection on the traditional monachism of the day¹ and perhaps on the Chartrian philosophy which had engaged his attention earlier in life.² These Cistercians also seem to have disseminated his writings amongst their own houses.³

We see therefore that the three great historical currents of the time, which were described at the beginning of this chapter, certainly had considerable effect on Arnold's life. His dealings with the lord of Le Puiset, the counts of Blois, the kings of France and with the popes were all aspects of the two great political struggles of that time: between lord and vassal and between the spiritual and temporal powers; while the movement in his own thought, of which we have had just a glimpse, reflects the general movement of conversion from the schools to the monasteries so widespread during that period. In the last two chapters, we shall discover the precise form and the extent of that movement in his thought.

¹Above. p. 72, n. 6.

²See below, e.g., p. 98.

³Above, p. 13.

Chapter III

Arnold's Works

A thorough account of Arnold's works is beyond the scope of this dissertation. It must wait upon the production of a critical edition of his entire opera. Nevertheless, a short, tentative account is in order.¹

Dom Oury has suggested that Arnold's Expositio super Ysaïam, "un simple abrégé du Commentaire de Saint Jérôme", and his De beatitudinibus, "qui dépend étroitement de l'ouvrage de Saint Anselme", both unedited and unprinted, were Arnold's earliest works, the works of a fledgling.² I am inclined to wonder if, though early, they are not

¹A list of manuscripts containing the works of Arnold can be compiled from Oury, art. cit., p. 109 & n. 67, and the sources mentioned by him. I can add only four manuscripts to the list: Malines cod. 45 (above, pp. 14f.); Vienna Schottenstift Ms. 290, ff. 13a-33b, 15th c. (De vii verbis); Rein Ms. 11, ff. 118a-125b, 13th c. (De laudibus with a fragment of De vii verbis), and Yale Marston Ms. 268, ff. 1-52v, 12th c. (De vii verbis, De laudibus). For the discovery of the two Austrian manuscripts I am indebted to Fr. Knute Anderson, O.S.B., who searched the incipit file at the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library for me.

²Oury, art. cit., p. 109.

studies that divide an early period, during which he was still digesting his Chartrian scholastic learning, from a later mature period, in which his whole science, sacred and secular, now well incorporated, nourished his moral speculation on Scripture.

Arnold's earliest work, I believe, is his Commentarius in Psalmum CXXXII,¹ a series of four homilies on the three verses of this text, with a fifth homily, which is really an entirely separate tractate on loci,² though even the fourth is only loosely connected. Dom André Wilmart has published a short preface to this work, which does not appear in Migne.³

Filius ego sum mulieris illius que lanam et linum quesivit in lege et euangelio: et extendit in tenuissima fila ut uestiret domesticos suos duplicibus. Turpe est ocium, sed non minus turpis labor inutilis. Itaque contra ocium adhibeo meditationem, contra inutilitatem meditandi honestatem, ut ex utroque fiat labor honestus, et ita sit labor contra ocium et honestas remoueat turpitudinem a labore.

This preface is unique amongst Arnold's surviving prefaces and prologues,⁴ since it does not prepare the way for the argument that follows. It is rather an apology for taking up the pen in the first place. Taken together with the very loose connection of the last two

¹PL 189.1569-1590.

²This is the opinion of A. Wilmart, "Le recueil des discours de Serlon, abbé de Savigni", Revue Mabillon 12 (1922), p. 30, n. 2, with which I concur.

³Ibid., p. 30, n. 1.

⁴See the Preface to the Hexaameron, published by J. Leclercq, "Ecrits monastiques sur la Bible aux XI^e-XIII^e siècles", Mediaeval Studies 15 (1953), pp. 96-98 (also in Fell's 1682 Oxford edition of St. Cyprian); Prologue to the De cardinalibus Christi operibus, below; Prologue to the De donis Spiritus sancti, PL 189.1589C-1591A; Preface to the De vii verbis Dom. in cruce, PL 189.1677B-1680C; Preface to the Vita prima Bernardi II, PL 185.267B-268C.

homilies with the others,¹ one is inclined to think this a raw, first work. This inclination grows stronger, when one considers that he quotes Horace twice verbatim,² refers to Priscian, Plato, and Aristotle by name,³ and cites Dionysius Atheniensis, Jerome, Gregory the Great, and Augustine,⁴ none of which does he do very frequently in later works, written when he had thoroughly digested his sources, as one suspects.

The inclination becomes a virtual certainty, when one realizes that his method of commenting on the text is scholastic. For example, in the first homily, in which he exegetes the verse, "Ecce quam bonum et quam jucundum habitare fratres in unum", he remarks,

In Deum motionem indicat; in Deo stabilitatem significat. Cum ergo dicimus habitare in unum, vel consistere in Deum, Latina quidem locutio dissonat, sed congruentia sensus aedificat: neque enim magnum et aliquoties peccare in Priscianum, si tali peccato aedificare poteris Christianum. Dicimus itaque habitare in unum, ut et habitare stabilitatem assignet, et in unum motionem significet.⁵

Here we see the intense interest in grammar which, according to Miss Smalley, characterized the exegesis of the schools.⁶ Arnold then

¹But it is worth noting that Miss Smalley, op. cit., p. 72, tells us that "long theological discussions" were inserted into their glosses by Manegold, Bruno, Anselm and Ralph of Laon. Dom Leclercq notes with more direct bearing on our subject that extended digressions were an ordinary feature of monastic preaching due to their exegetical method of reminiscence (Love of Learning, p. 92). It may be, therefore, that Arnold's fourth and fifth sermons in this work did not seem out of place to twelfth-century readers.

²PL 189.1569C, 1581A.

³Ibid., 1571A, 1576A, 1584B.

⁴Ibid., 1579B, 1580A, 1585B, 1584D, 1590B.

⁵Ibid., 1570D-1571A.

⁶Smalley, op. cit., p. 69.

illustrates this point with an astronomical reference, jumping from the trivium to the quadrivium.

Eo modo et sphaerem coeli videbant philosophi mobilem et immobilem: mobilem, quia perpetuo motu circa Galatiam rotatur; immobilem, quia a loco suo in alium non transfertur.¹

Next he uses the dialectical science "to tunnel underneath the text".²

Unum, multifarie multisque modis: Dicitur namque unum secundum collectionem, ut grex unus, cum sit ex multis pecudibus adunatis; secundum similitudinem, ut multorum cantantium vox una; secundum compositionem, ut corpus unum ex partibus diversis compositum; secundum parvitatem, ut atomus unus, qui eo magis ad unitatem accedit, quo sectionem non recipit; secundum simplicitatem, ut anima una, quae, licet in se diversas habeat potentias, una tamen et simplex est ejus substantia.³

Finally, he turns to a great master of the schools, Theodoric of Chartres, for a definition of unity.

Trahit autem etymologiam de Graeco, et dicitur unitas quasi onitas, id est entitas sive essentialitas.⁴

And yet, his conclusion is entirely monastic.

Collectio pertinet ad monasticam congregationem, ubi Pastor bonus collegit oves suas ab Oriente et Occidente, ut recumbant cum Abraham et Isaac et Jacob in regno coelorum. Similitudo spectat ad morum conformitatem, ut quemadmodum laudamus Dominum una voce, sic et uno corde et concinua morum similitudine. Parvitas insinat [sic] humilitatem, qui illi semper adversatur qui primus per superbiam deseruit unitatem. Simplicitas respondet ad intentionis puritatem, quae mundat et praeparat oculum ad Dei visionem...⁵

It seems clear, therefore, that Arnold here is very much in the debt of the schools-- and in particular of the school of Chartres-- and that he

¹PL 189.1571A.

²Smalley, op. cit., p. 72.

³PL 189.1571C.

⁴Ibid., 1572A. On Arnold's use of Theodoric in this case, see the references above, p. 64, n. 6. See also p. 170 below.

⁵Ibid., 1572B-C.

has not yet accomplished a mature synthesis of the liberal arts and the monastic theoricus sermo.¹

It may be that Arnold's Expositio super Ysaïam and De beatitudinibus followed the Commentarius in order of composition. I have not read these works, so I do not know if they contain any clues as to their relation to the Commentarius. But it is certainly a logical possibility that Arnold could have turned to Jerome and Anselm as he moved more deeply into the world of monastic spirituality. At any rate, I believe that Arnold's next two works in order of composition must have been his Hexaameron² and the De donis Spiritus Sancti.³ First, in each Arnold's reflections start explicitly from the point where 'the transitory science' of man fails. In his Praefatio in Hexaameron, after demonstrating that the mechanical and liberal arts, as well as philosophy itself, gave no certain knowledge of God to man, "quidam... inhaerentes ueritati, alii... lucis diuinae radios non ferentes", he says,

Oportuit itaque, quia homo labilis et mutabilis est, et transitoria scientia est, ut ad retinendos semel fixos limites suos, aeterna ueritas certa et firma repagula opponeret, quae nec transire posset catholicus, nec transire hereticus.⁴

Thus, he continues,

spiritus Domini repleuit Moysen cum esset in eremo, et quasi in paradisum introducens eum, locutus est ei... Scripsit [Moyses]

¹See J. Leclercq, Love of Learning, p. 6, for this term. Cf. his discussion of the difference between scholastic and monastic exegesis in this period, pp. 4-6.

²PL 189.1515-1570.

³Ibid., 1589-1608.

⁴J. Leclercq, "Ecrits monastiques", p. 97.

igitur in prima Geneseos parte, in capite libri, opera sex dierum, in quibus mysticis et secretis rationibus et aeternitas Dei et sapientia Verbi et benignitas Spiritus Sancti sic intimata est, ut haberet simplicitas fidei, illuminata per Verbum, ad altitudinem diuitiarum sapientiae Dei, secundum mensuram sibi datam, accessibilem introitum, in quo exercitaretur donec, ablato quod ex parte est, in ultimis consummaretur. Intimata est in hoc eodem libro angelorum creatio et diaboli casus, licet manifeste non sit ibi harum rerum expressa distinctio.¹

What he is saying is this. Since man is unstable and changeable and his science transitory, which things cause many to err and prevent any from knowing God in a stable way, God revealed his own triune nature to Moses, as the very beginning point of Scripture, that by supernatural virtue man might come to "the riches of the wisdom of God". In other words, although Arnold does not reject the liberal arts and philosophy, he nevertheless sees them as inadequate for study in themselves, if the object is to come to a saving knowledge of God. Thus, his exegesis of the first chapters of Genesis will not focus on cosmology, as did Theodoric's,² but on the moral sense.³

Likewise in the Prologue to De donis Spiritus Sancti Arnold, after promising the reader only 'the science of humility', remarks that

ante adventum Christi, scientia litterarum, scientia artium liberalium caeterarumque in mundo erat; sola perfectae humilitatis scientia deerat. Homo per scientiam boni et mali seductus a diabolo, et hac ipsa scientia inflatus, nesciebat se humiliare homini, nesciebat et Deo. Deus igitur factus homo humiliavit se homini usque ad lavandos pedes ejus[,] humiliavit se Deo Patri usque ad obedientiam mortis: docuitque hominem humiliare se Deo, humiliare se et homini et Deo, homo Deus. Homo autem, quia se non humiliavit Deo, factus est miser et mortalis; si se humiliaverit

¹Ibid., p. 98.

²See É. Jeauneau, "Note sur l'École de Chartres", in his 'Lectio philosophorum', Recherches sur l'École de Chartres (Amsterdam, 1973), pp. 8-10.

³Cf. Grimm, op. cit., pp. 137-139.

autem, fiet beatus et immortalis. Magna proinde scientia est, cum docetur homo humiliare se Deo: docetur enim miseriam et mortem evadere; quae si non evaserit, nulla ei scientia proderit. Non est igitur absurdum scientiam Christi ad humilitatem referri.¹

Here again we see the same subordination of human science to divine science; only here the beginning point is no longer God's revelation of himself to Moses, but God's incarnation in Jesus Christ. Here the object is not so much to explain, as to move. The liberal arts have been finally and adequately subordinated to the science of salvation. There is nevertheless a continuing preoccupation in this work with the first chapters of Genesis, for Arnold devotes several chapters (11-17) to a comparison of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit with the seven days of the creation account.² This is another reason to see this work as complementing the Hexaemeron.

The De donis Spiritus Sancti is also the first work of Arnold's to give reference to its occasion of composition. For, according to Dom Oury, in Orléans Ms. 198 "le destinataire de la dédicace est désigné par l'initiale R (l'édition imprimée de Migne n'a rien)".³ Thus, towards the end of the Prologue we should read,

Jucundum mihi est, piissime et amabilis frater R, pio desiderio tuo obsequi, et de sanctis tecum Scripturis, licet indoctus, proferre.⁴

Oury suggests that R was Rotrou of Beaumont-le-Roger or perhaps one of the abbots of L'Aumône between 1144 and 1156 whose names began with this

¹PL 189.1590C-D. See also 1599D, 1602B-C & 1606D-1607A.

²Ibid., 1603B-1608B.

³Oury, art. cit., p. 109.

⁴See PL 189.1591A.

letter.¹ We have seen that Rotrou had been a student of Gilbert of Poitiers and was afterwards archdeacon of Rouen (sometime before 1137) and bishop of Evreux (1139-1165).² Arnold's apology for the scientia humilitatis would certainly have been appropriate in a work addressed to a man with a scholastic background. If then it was written for Rotrou, one would be inclined to locate its composition in the mid 1140's, by which time a friendship could have developed between the older man and the younger. One recalls too Dom Oury's argument that the Hexaemeron must have been written after Arnold's presumptive Roman sojourn of 1143 to 1144 because he speaks in this work of having seen trees which stay in leaf and bear fruit all winter.³ A date between 1145 and 1150 for these two works, whether addressed to Rotrou or to an abbot of L'Aumône, would therefore seem not implausible.

One should notice the unity of the De donis Spiritus Sancti. It is a connected disquisition written to please and instruct a friend. The Commentarius in Psalmum CXXXII is not nearly so coherent and seems to have been drawn together from sermons, perhaps delivered originally on various occasions in the cloister or even in the fields.⁴ There is

¹Cap. IV is entitled "Quod spiritus consilii praelatos specialiter deceat" (PL 189.1596A). The term prelatus in those days could be applied either to a bishop or to an abbot (Niermeyer, s.v.). Of course, one of an abbot's chief duties was to take counsel (consilium) with his community. See Benedicti Regula III.

²See above, p. 66.

³See above, p. 81, n. 1.

⁴See Leclercq, Love of Learning, p. 207, for the places where monastic sermons were delivered.

some unevenness of composition too in the Hexaemeron, which has prompted R.R. Grimm to remark,

Die Inkonzinnität seines Traktats und die Brüche im Aufbau lassen vielleicht noch etwas vom ursprünglichen Vortragsstil verspüren.¹

Nevertheless, it gives a coherent account of the first three chapters of Genesis.

Of the four works of Arnold's which remain to be discussed,² two can be assigned dates with some confidence. The second book of the Vita prima Bernardi must have been written between 1153 and 1155.³ The De cardinalibus Christi operibus must have been given its final form, though surely not composed from scratch, after Arnold's return from Rome in 1158, probably during the first months of 1159. Certainly the prefatory letter would have been composed at that time and the prologue completed, as they both seem to refer to Arnold's request to Pope Hadrian for permission to withdraw from Bonneval.⁴

Casimir Oudin demonstrated that the De cardinalibus Christi operibus was by Arnold, and not by Cyprian of Carthage, by showing the likeness between certain passages in it and the De laudibus B.V.M.⁵ and the De vii verbis Domini in cruce.⁶ He writes,

Exemplo sit quod auctor in libro De cardinalibus Christi operibus, ubi de Nativitate haec verba profert: Genitrix est obstetrix, et

¹Grimm, op. cit., p. 138.

²The Meditationes (PL 189.1733-1760) are not by Arnold, but by Drogo of Rheims. See above, p. 12, n. 2.

³See above, p. 81f.

⁴See above, pp. 31 & 89.

⁵PL 189.1725-1734.

⁶Ibid., 1677-1726.

dilectam devotio soboli exhibet clientelam. Item eodem loco: Nec praecedens delectatio aliquam expetat paenarum usuram. [Below, I.4.7-8 & 5.10-11.] Qui uterque locus in Ernaldi libello De laudibus beatae Mariae Virginis in hunc modum legitur: Ubi virgo et obstetrix et genitrix, sibi ipsi in illa celebritate exhibuit clientelam. Et infra: Nullam ibi usuram poenarum [sic] pro voluptate ultro repetebat. [PL 189.1730B.] Illud luculentum quoque hujusce rei argumentum est quod auctor libri istius Cyprianos adscripti, ubi de Passione agit, eandem [sic] sententiam habet, de Mariae commendatione Joanni a Christo facta, atque Arnaldus [sic] in sermone 3 De verbis Domini in cruce. Illic enim ita Arnaldus loquitur: Ecce Joannes piaae haereditatis suscipis testamentum, eligeris et in hoc proponeris omnibus. Joseph, qui eatenus ministraverat, te subrogato cedit, nec maritalia jura opponit: ut obstruatur os loquentium iniqua imposterum, quia matrimonium illud dispensationi divinae, non copulae carnali servierat. Ideoque nec Joseph, cum Joannes eam suscepit in parentem, queritur de disjuncto connubio, quod dispensatorium fecerat, sine ullo carnali copulae commercio. [PL 189.1696A-B.] Illic vero auctor iste in hunc modum: Jam exigebat ratio ut conjugii removeretur opinio, nec ultra pater Christi aestimaretur, qui eatenus vicem patris et conjugis tenuerat. Habebat Joseph in hac Christi dispositione rationabilem contradictionem, cum alteri commendaretur Maria, si se cognovisset carnalem maritum, etc. [Below, IX.11.9-14.] Utrobique auctor et Joseph in passione superstitem fuisse existimat, et Mariae commendationem Joanni praetermisso sponso, factam dicit, ut carnalis copulae removeretur opinio.¹

These likenesses not only show that these works are by one author, but also suggest a certain proximity in time and a common theological viewpoint.

This suggestion becomes less tentative, when one notices four passages on the Holy Eucharist in the De vii verbis Domini in cruce which are very close to passages in the De cardinalibus Christi operibus. These passages follow.

(1)

¹PL 189.1509-1510. Oudin also notes like treatment of the pediluvium at the Last Supper in the De donis Spiritus Sancti, c. 7 and the De cardinalibus Christi operibus, tr. 8. It is true that both speak of Christ's humility; but this is the whole point in the former, while in the latter the real point is that the pediluvium is the sacrament of the daily forgiveness of sins (see below, p. 182f.)

PL 189.1713A

Unum igitur agnum habet Ecclesia,
neque quoties Pascha revolvitur,
quaeri alterum necesse est, et
cum una sit tribus et familia
populi Christiani, uni populo una
sufficit hostia et in una domo
una ponitur mensa. Unum habet
panem et calicem universitas
fidei; et multitudini credentium
unus cibus apponitur, idemque
sumitur, nec consumitur...

New Edition, p. 302f.

Una est domus ecclesie in qua hic
agnus editur... Iam nulla fit
panis mutatio... Distributus, non
demembratur. Incorporatur, non
iniuriatur. Recipitur, non
includitur.

New Edition, p. 353f.

... uerus agnus, solus inter
filios hominum sine macula
Christus, etate ultima, in qua
mundi uesperascit conditio, ab
una populi christiani familia in
unitate ecclesie assus in cruce
(proiectis foras hereticorum
fermentis) sincere fidei solidata
compagine inconsumptibiliter
editur, creditur, et tenetur.

One notices here especially that both works share the idea that all the provisions of the Law for the Passover are summed up in the one home, family, and sacrifice of the Church. One notices too the notion that the bread upon which Christians feed is never consumed.

(2)

PL 189.1714A

Assatus est ergo agnus noster in
veru crucis, subter incensis
tormentorum carbonibus, nihil
crudum aut carnale in eo jam
sapimus... sed ita illa boni
odoris assatio in patibuli flamma
induruit, its solidata est, ut
nihil in eo ultra supersit vel
passibile vel mortale...

New Edition, p. 287

In ueru crucis boni odoris
assatio omnem excoquat carnalium
sensuum cruditatem et induret
solidetque mentis affectus.

In these passages one remarks a very close verbal likeness and an identity of thought.

(3)

PL 189.1714B

... et qui erat nostrum principium, ad finem quoque nostrum accedit, constituens in se nobis metam et terminum, per finem temporalem revocans ad finem infinitum, et consocians corpori et capitis gloriam.

New Edition, p. 293

Ita ecclesia corpus Christi effecta obsequitur capiti suo et superius lumen in inferiora diffusum, claritatis sue plenitudine a fine usque ad finem attingens, totum apud se manens, totum se omnibus commodat et caloris illius identitas ita corpori assidet, ut a capite non recedat.

Here one notices an identical idea of the coinherence of Christ and his Church through the eucharistic sacrament, though there is no verbal identity.

(4)

PL 189.1714C-1715A

Carnem igitur hoc modo comedimus, ossa vero comburimus, quia sacramenta quidem (quae quasi divinae virtutis caro sunt, et veritatis integumenta) visibiliter secundum suam speciem percipimus et sumimus; ipsam vero substantiam secundum inintelligibilem et invisibilem statum firmam omnino et solidam, nec frangimus nec minuimus, sed flammis injicimus, id est spiritualibus intelligentiis commendamus, quod spiritus et vita sint in divinis mysteriis, nec fas sit intellectu humano tantae rei confringi notitiam...

New Edition, p. 292

Panis iste, quem dominus discipulis porrigebat, non effigie, sed natura mutatus omnipotentia Verbi factus est caro et sicut in persona Christi humanitas uidebatur et latebat diuinitas, ita sacramento visibili ineffabiliter diuina se infudit essentia, ut esset religioni circa sacramenta deuotio et ad veritatem, cuius corpus sacramenta sunt, sincerior pateret accessus "usque ad participationem Spiritus"...

Again one notices not so much a verbal identity as a like notion of the eucharistic presence, almost Eriugenian.¹ And so, when one also

¹Arnold's eucharistic concept in Eriugena's Fragment of the Periphyseon,

is discussed below, p. 180, n. 1. On sacrament, see my "Oratio Placabilis Deo: Eucharistic Teaching in light of the Doctrine of" (1989), p. 113f.

recalls that Arnold in the Vita prima Bernardi and in the De cardinalibus Christi operibus expresses too a common theological viewpoint, in that case regarding the form of the evangelical life,¹ one is very much inclined to see these four works as belonging to the same period of Arnold's life, to his maturity, namely, to the decade of the 1150's.

What characteristics do these works then share, if (according to our argument) they were written when Arnold had himself become a master of the conversatio theorica?² Chiefly, one notices that they all have the Incarnation as their focus. Even the biography of St. Bernard is about the Incarnation, in that Arnold has always in view Bernard's evangelical purity of life. "Quis enim ego sum," writes Arnold,

qui ad scribenda gesta sanctissimi viri Bernardi Clarae-Vallis abbatis aspirem, qui nostris temporibus singulari religione floruit et doctrina: cujus odor exinanitus universam replevit Ecclesiam: cujus gratia, operante Domino, signis et miraculis declaratur?³

Moreover, the Incarnation is taken as the beginning point of all saving science. "Non modo," he declares in his last work,

mundi huius structuram admiror, non stabilitatem terre, cum eam complectatur uolubile firmamentum, non singulos in dies lune defectum et incrementum, non solem semper integrum et laborem eius perpetuum, non temporum uicissitudines, in quibus quedam arent, quedam uirent et que mortua modo uidentur, deinceps reuiuiscunt. Miror deum in utero uirginis, miror omnipotentem in cunabulis. Miror quomodo Verbo dei caro adhererit, quomodo incorporeus deus corporis nostri tegumentum induerit. Miror in hac dispensatione tanti dis-

¹See above, p. 72, n. 6.

²See Arnold, Vita prima Bernardi II. Praef. (PL 185.267D) for this term.

³Ibid., 267C. Cf. p. 72, n. 6 above. Indeed, when the Duke of Aquitaine, as Arnold describes it (Vita prima Bernardi II.vi.38, PL 185.290B), falls down senseless before the Host displayed to him by Bernard with reproachful words, there is a reminiscence of the falling down before Jesus of those who came to arrest him (cf. below, IX.3.3-7).

pendia temporis et tam lentos processus ad obedientiam
saluatoris.¹

His whole effort now seems to be to impart 'the science of humility'.

As compared with his first work, a further common characteristic is the relative dearth of direct quotation from the poets, though their influence is to be noticed often enough. At one point, as he begins to tell a story from Hyginus, he exclaims, "ut aliquid poeticum inseram!"² One notices too that the pagan philosophers and Christian Fathers are less frequently named than they were in his earlier works, though again their doctrine is everywhere present. The scholastic doctrine of his age is also still very much with him, sometimes explicitly as in his discussion of the Holy Ghost in the last chapter of his last work; yet his arguments by and large no longer find their substance, as they did in his first work, in a grammatical and dialectical analysis of the text, but in the moral exposition of the moments of Christ's life. Finally, one notices that except for the De laudibus B.V.M., they are all long works in which a quantity of material is handled coherently. One suspects that all of them, save the biography, first saw life as sermons or talks delivered in his own monastery or in neighbouring monasteries or in the familiae of his episcopal friends.³ But as they

¹Below, I.12.2-11.

²Below, V.15.5-6

³Arnulf of Lisieux regrets the cancellation of Arnold's visit with these words: "Occurrebat siquidem michi caritatis uestre sanctum illud dulce-que colloquium, quo preualetis auditorum mentes rerum erudire sollercia et aures iocundi sermonis suauitate mulcere" (Barlow ed., p. 15).

now stand, they are quite clearly literary works, meant to be read, not delivered from the pulpit.¹

It is through these mature works too that Arnold's theology has come to influence later generations. Simon of Hinton, writing in the second half of the thirteenth century, actually quotes Arnold's De vii verbis Domini in cruce.² But the influence of this text and of the De laudibus B.V.M. must have been much more extensive, as 46 manuscripts of the former and 25 of the latter seem to have survived, copies having been made in every century from the twelfth to the fifteenth. Indeed, the former is thought to be the earliest surviving example of preaching on the ultimate dominical words, and Arnold may therefore have invented this homiletic genre.³ The Vita prima Bernardi-- Bredero's list of manuscripts extends over almosty nine closely printed pages⁴-- seems to have been written not only to edify as a piece of hagiography, but also to further the cause of Bernard's canonization.⁵ Thus, Arnold's book must have had both wide influence upon the idea men formed of the

¹J. Leclercq, Love of Learning, pp. 208-214, discusses the difference between the sententiae, in which the sermons actually preached were recorded, and the sermons written to be read, which in fact often had their origin in "actual preaching" (p. 212).

²B. Smalley, "Two Biblical Commentaries of Simon of Hinton", Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale 13 (1946), p. 69 & n. 30.

³See A. Wilmart, "Le grand poème bonaventurien sur les sept paroles du Christ en croix", Revue bénédictine 47 (1935), pp. 263-265. Cf. Arnold's own prefatory words: "Ultima Christi verba, quae cruci affixus novi testamenti haeredibus tractanda proposuit, licet sparsim a non-nullis in commentariis Evangeliorum videantur exposita, movit me tamen verborum sanctorum reverentia amplius eorum penetralia scrutari..." (PL 189.1677B).

⁴Bredero, art. cit., pp. 19-27.

⁵Idem., Analecta s. o. Cisterciensis 18 (1962), pp. 33-46.

evangelical life and considerable evidential force in the case then being made for Bernard's canonization. The De cardinalibus Christi operibus, however, was not copied during the middle ages after the thirteenth century, perhaps because though devotional, its doctrine of scientia, as we shall see in the next chapter, was so much a part of the early twelfth-century debate between the schools and the monasteries. Nevertheless, its eucharistic doctrine seems to have influenced William of Auxerre's Summa aurea (written between 1215 and 1225)¹ and also the Reformation debates on this sacrament.²

Certain remarks remain to be made more specifically on the De cardinalibus Christi operibus. First, as we have argued, it is a book of homilies or tractates written to be read and studied, not to be preached. The course of these homilies, each one taking as its subject some chief moment of our Lord's earthly life, presents a complete picture of 'the science of humility'. That is to say, just as Arnold saw the seven last words of our Lord on the cross as containing "in illo verborum compendio Christianae fidei ratio",³ so here he sees the moments of our Lord's life as sacraments of the Christian ascetic life, the life by which men return to their principle. It is a book, Arnold says,

in quo fons sacramentorum est et discipline huius in qua stamus origo, formam et exemplar recte uiuendi nobis proponens, ab humili

¹Gary Macy, The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period (Oxford, 1984), pp. 133, 134, 135.

²See above, pp. 12f. & 19f. and below, p. 180, n. 1..

³PL 189.1679A.

Christi aduentu usque ad gloriosum eius reditum ad Patrem gradatim
conscendens.¹

Nevertheless, though the work makes a coherent whole, one does sometimes notice passages which, if removed from their context, would form complete meditations by themselves.² Thus, one suspects that some of the material included in this work was originally composed for other purposes and occasions. One notices sometimes too in the later sermons passages of a certain syntactic opacity.³ Since it seems certain that Arnold decided to direct this work to Pope Hadrian only after his Roman journey of 1158, perhaps this is evidence that he not only composed the prefatory letter and completed the prologue at this stage, but also undertook the revision of the entire work, a revision then interrupted by news of the pope's death in 1159. This would mean that Arnold had left the work in draft at Bonneval when he went to Rome in 1158 and that he began to polish it as a gift for the pope upon his return, an hypothesis made more credible by the fact that we possess no manuscripts of the work without the ascription to Pope Hadrian, an indication that

¹Prologus 13.10-14.

²E.g., V.13 (whether Christ's translation to the pinnacle of the temple was corporal); VI.10-11 (how human life differs from animal life, which is in the blood); XII.3 (how the Holy Ghost may be considered the anima mundi). At X.6.1, where one notices a boldface upper-case letter C, all the manuscripts exhibit an ornamented initial (or leave space for one which was never executed), though this is the middle of a sermon. Elsewhere in the manuscripts of this work, such initials are reserved for the beginning of sermons. Do we not therefore see here the joint between two originally independent sermons?

³E.g., IX.5.8-10, nec eos... iudicari (anacoluthon at best); IX.10.10-11 (perhaps an incorrect use of the ablative absolute); XI.6.4-7, minime dubitantur quin... secuturos [esse] (Pamelius calls this a solecism, as noted in the critical apparatus, but perhaps anacoluthon).

all copies of the work descend from Arnold's revision for the pope of 1159.

Secondly, Arnold was known in his own day as a considerable stylist. "Recordabar," laments Arnulf,

quantam uobis scribendi gratiam bonitas diuina contulerat, in qua nescio an magis quis sententiarum fructum an dicendi peritiam debeat ammirari. Hec enim apud uos tanta sibi inuicem paritate respondent, ut neque rerum maiestas uerborum coartari uideatur angustiis, nec sermonis dignitas aliqua sententiarum excellentia pregrauari in his sane, que uel intellectus concipere uel humana facundia sufficit explanare.¹

His reputation remains undiminished to this day.² Certain elements of his style in this work can be isolated. First, he uses the cursus well, but very flexibly, chiefly in the freedom he takes with the caesura.³ For example, at I.9.10, we find "(ascensi)ónibus | attíngēt", which is a form of the planus sometimes known as the cursus trispondaicus, but with the caesura placed after the second unstressed syllable rather than the first.⁴ At VI.13.8, we find "(anteri)óra | exténdimur", a type of tardus, though the caesura should fall after the second unstressed syll-

¹Arnulf, Letter 11, Barlow ed., p. 15.

²A. Wilmart calls him "ce brillant et séduisant styliste", Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du moyen âge (Paris, repr. 1971), p. 323 (quoted by Smalley, "Two Biblical Commentaries", p. 69). See also above, p. 31, n. 1.

³There is a brief and useful account of the cursus in P. Toynbee, ed., Dantis Alagherii Epistolae, 2nd ed. (Oxford, repr. 1966), Appendix C, pp. 224-247, with a convenient "Table of the Clausulae" on p. 230f. A more extensive account of the cursus can be found in the standard work on rhymed prose, K. Polheim, Die Lateinische Reimprosa (Berlin, 1925), pp. 70-87. Polheim's account of the clausulae is not quite so rigid, because not quite so schematic, as Toynbee's.

⁴Polheim, op. cit., p. 80, names this "Klauselform q". It does not appear in Toynbee. But see his p. 230, n. 1, for a comment on the trispondaicus.

able. Of course, it is a case here of a biblical quotation, and perhaps Arnold's rather slight regard for the rules governing the caesura comes from his familiarity with scriptural examples. It must be remarked that this aspect of Arnold's style has some bearing on the editing of his text. For example, at VI.10.13, one finds the alternatives consumpsit, moritur, aboleuit, and exsiccauit, all of which yield an adequate clausula and all of which, save the first, have the correct caesura. If Arnold's use of the caesura were always correct, then one would be able to eliminate the reading consumpsit. But as it is, one cannot; and as it turns out, consumpsit is the reading to be preferred, in my opinion, because of its biblical association.

Secondly, Arnold employs a variety of grammatical constructions to compose sentences of complexity, power, and beauty. For example, in the following sentence he uses an adversative clause, an accusative and infinitive with a verb of perceiving, and a relative clause all to good effect.

Huius sempiterna uirtus et diuinitas, cum in propria natura ab inquisitoribus mundi antiquis philosophis proprie inuestigari non posset, subtilissimis tamen intuiti sunt coniecturis compositionem mundi, compositis et distinctis elementorum affectibus presentem, omnibus animam affuisse, que secundum genus et ordinem singulorum uitam preberet...¹

He also often uses a rhyming prose, as in the following example.²

Quem predixit Gabriel inuenitur Emmanuel. Ciuitas paruula, domus paupercula, supellex exigua. Nulla domus ambitio ubi reclinatorium in stabulo, mater in feno, filius in presepio. Tale elegit "fab-

¹XII.3.4-9.

²Of Arnold Polheim remarks (*op. cit.*, p. 418): "Ernaldus oder Arnaldus, abbas Bonaevallis, 1156, schreibt in ziemlich reich gereimter Prosa". Polheim's book should be consulted on the subject of rhyming prose.

ricator mundi" hospitium, huiusmodi habuit delicias sacre uirginis puerperium.¹

His vocabulary is large and draws heavily on the poets and Fathers. For example, at V.21.22, he uses the phrase uaras manus. In some manuscripts this became auaras manus; but one rejects this reading, when one realizes that the image of bowed, outstretched arms is used in poetry.² At VII.4.2, one finds the readings obstrusit, obstruit, and obstruxit. One chooses the first reading, when one realizes that Augustine also uses this form of the postclassical verb obstrudo.³ Again, at VIII.2.15, one discovers the readings Leuitii, Leuitici, and Leuitice. I corrected these readings to Leuitidi, when I realized that Prudentius also used this adjective.⁴ Arnold also uses some poetic inflections, chiefly and frequently the perfect third person plural indicative ending -ere, but also (if I am correct⁵) occasionally the -e ending in the ablative singular and the -um ending in the genitive plural of adjectives with two endings.

¹I.4.1-5.

²E.g., Ovid, Metamorphoses 9. 33, LCL, vol. II, p. 4 (cited in LS, s.v.).

³Augustine, Contra Cresconium Donatistam III.xliii.47, PL 43.521 (cited in Blaise, s.v.).

⁴Prudentius, Psychomachia 502, LCL, vol. I, p. 314 (cited in LS, s.v.).

⁵See for example the critical apparatus at V.16.12.

Chapter IV

The Theological Purpose of the De cardinalibus Christi operibus

1. The Problem of the Liberal Arts

The course of the preceding argument has made it clear that Arnold's intellectual life was dominated by the problem of the relation of the liberal arts to the philosophy of Christ, by the problem of the relation of the scholastic way to the monastic way. This problem was, of course, as old as western monasticism itself. St. Benedict of Nursia, considered to be the father of western monasticism,¹ himself felt the inadequacy of the liberal arts and abandoned the schools first for the eremitical, then for the cenobitic life. Benedict, St. Gregory tells us,

liberiori genere ex provincia Nursiae exortus, Romae liberalibus litterarum studiis traditus fuerat. Sed cum in eis multos ire per abrupta vitiorum cerneret, eum quem quasi in ingressu mundi posuerat, retraxit pedem: ne si quid de scientia ejus attingeret,

¹This is a retrospective judgement, of course, since Benedict's Rule did not gain its universal importance until after the work of St. Benedict of Aniane (d. 821). See Dom David Knowles, The Monastic Order in England², pp. 3-30.

ipse quoque postmodum in immane praecipitium totus iret. Despectis itaque litterarum studiis, relictā domo rebusque patris, soli Deo placere desiderans, sanctae conversationis habitum quaesivit. Recessit igitur scienter nescius, et sapienter indoctus.¹

Here already Benedict, by rejecting the scholastic life because it was not concerned with stabilizing the will, but allowed vice to flourish, was supplying the monastic critique of the scholar's life that would eventually find its most radical exponent in St. Bernard of Clairvaux.

The stabilizing of the will was the monastery's chief business. Benedict concludes the fourth chapter of the Rule, "Quae sunt instrumenta bonorum operum", with these words.

Officina vero, ubi haec omnia diligenter operemur, claustra sunt monasterii et stabilitas in congregatione.²

This workshop of good works St. Benedict also saw as a school.

Constituenda est ergo nobis Dominici scola servitii: in qua institutione nihil asperum, nihil grave nos constituros speramus. Sed et si quid paululum restrictius, dictante aequitatis ratione, propter emendationem vitiorum vel conservationem caritatis processerit, non ilico pavore perterritus, refugias viam salutis, quae non est nisi angusto initio incipienda. Processu vero conversationis et fidei, dilatato corde, inenarrabili dilectionis dulcedine curritur via mandatorum Dei, ut ab ipsius numquam magisterio discidentes, in eius doctrina usque ad mortem in monasterio perseverantes, passionibus Christi per patientiam participemur, ut et regno eius mereamur esse consortes. Amen.³

Thus, the monastery was what the secular school could not be: an institution where the will might be stabilized and directed through the study of and adherence to the divine law as revealed in the person of

¹Gregory the Great, Dialogus II, in init. (PL 66.126A-B).

²Benedicti Regula IV, ed. Dom Ph. Schmitz, 3rd ed. (Maredsous, 1962), p. 39.

³Ibid., 'Prologus', pp. 11 & 13.

Jesus Christ. The monastery was thus the true school,¹ where not only memory and understanding were trained,² but also the will in the service of God.

But if the monk was to forsake the secular schools, he was not therefore also to leave letters altogether. The sense of the phrases scienter nescius and sapienter indoctus is not 'unlettered, but wise in Christ',³ but 'learned only for Christ's sake'.⁴ Although St. Benedict's Rule makes no provision for the education of the young, nevertheless it assumes that monks will be literate, for meditation and reading of the written word are seen as integral to the monastic way of life.

¹See Christine Mohrmann's essay "La langue de saint Benoît" in ibid., p. xxxiv. "Le cénobitisme n'étant plus considéré comme un degré préparatoire, scola n'a plus le sens d'école d'entraînement préparatoire, mais plutôt d'école, ou d'institut d'entraînement au service de Dieu. Ceci veut dire que le génitif servitii n'exprime pas le but qu'on s'est proposé, mais plutôt le contenu même de l'entraînement, qui constitue, comme tel, le service de Dieu." M^{lle} Mohrmann points out the close connection between the terms servire and militare (ibid., pp. xxix-xxxii) and indeed shows the close conceptual conception between scola and militia (pp. xxxii-xxxiv).

²For an account of the classical Roman education in grammar, see H.I. Marrou, A History of Education in Late Antiquity, tr. G. Lamb (New York, 1956), pp. 274-283. For the persistence of the Roman educational method into late antiquity, ibid., pp. 308-310. Augustine emphasizes the training of the memory at grammar school, Confessions I.xiii (LCL, vol. I, p. 38): "nam utique meliores, quia certiores, erant primae illae litterae, quibus fiebat in me et factum est et habeo illud, ut et legam, si quid scriptum invenio, et scribam ipse, si quid volo, quam illae, quibus tenere cogebar Aeneae nescio cuius errores, oblitus errorum meorum..."

³Though such an interpretation might have been allowed in the East (Marrou, op. cit., p. 333).

⁴It is interesting to note that the phrase docta ignorantia was Augustine's before it was Cusanus'. See R.D. Crouse, "What is Augustinian in Twelfth-Century Mysticism", forthcoming in Collectanea Augustiniana, n. 15 and text at that point.

Otiositas inimica est animae; et ideo certis temporibus occupari debent fratres in labore manuum, certis iterum horis in lectione divina.¹

'Divine reading', therefore, lectio divina, becomes the intellectual labour of the monk. The memorization and understanding² of the Scrip-

¹Benedicti Regula XLVIII, ed. Schmitz, p. 141. On p. 143 of this edition the word bibliotheca is used in reference to the assignment of Lenten reading. Since at least the ninth century, this has been understood to mean 'library' (A. Mundó, "'Bibliotheca.' Bible et lecture du carême d'après saint Benoît", Revue bénédictine 60 (1950), p. 65f.). Anscari Mundó has shown, however, that bibliotheca refers to the separate codices into which the books of the Bible were divided and bound, nine in all (ibid., pp. 78-83). Thus, Benedict was ordering that the Bible should be read in Lent. Giles Constable, "The Study of Monastic History Today", in Essays on the Reconstruction of Medieval History, edd. V. Murdoch & G.S. Cousé (Montreal, 1974), p. 47, n. 105, remarks that Mundó's "article has profound implications for the accepted view of Benedictine literary culture." One must remark, however, that Mundó's research in no way challenges the view that there would have been a library in each monastery. Just for example, Mundó says, "Ici il [sc. Benoît] veut seulement, que durant la préparation pascalle, ce livre [sc. la Bible] soit particulièrement et pour tous l'aliment de l'âme, dès le premier dimanche de carême. On comprend facilement que, ainsi qu'il l'établit pour l'office nocturne (c. 9), ici aussi on puisse recourir à un commentaire patristique..." (ibid., p. 85). If there were copies of patristic commentaries about, there must have been a library.

²Benedict uses the words meditare and legere (ibid., p. 145) for this aspect of the monk's labour. Legere meant 'reading out loud'. This seems to have been the common practice right through the middle ages. See H.J. Chaytor, "The Medieval Reader and Textual Criticism", Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 26 (1941/42), pp. 49-56. In making his point that it was the common medieval practice to read aloud to oneself, Chaytor cites (p. 51f.) Benedict's Rule, ch. XLVIII, "which ordered the monks 'post sextam (horam) surgentes a mensa, pausent in lecta sua cum omni silentio; aut forte qui voluerit legere, sibi sic legat ut alium non inquietet', which suggests that the common manner of reading to oneself meant whispering or muttering." Meditare seems to have meant 'exercising oneself in a text', i.e. 'getting a text by heart'. See Blaise, s.v., where he cites Benedict's Rule, ch. VIII: "Quod vero restat post Vigiliis a fratribus qui psalterii vel lectionum aliquid indigent, meditationi inserviatur." But surely it had for Benedict also the more general meaning 'to reflect upon a text' (see LS, s.v. 'meditor'). Thus, lectio divina would have consisted both in the reading aloud of a text until one had it by heart and in the pondering of what was then stored in the memory. Cf. Dom U. Berlière, L'ascèse bénédictine des origines à la fin du XII^e siècle (Paris, 1927), p. 171f.: "Grace à un commerce quotidien et familier, le moine arrivera à la [l'écriture] comprendre, à la posséder de mémoire, parfois d'une façon si complète, que la pensée divine du texte sacré deviendra en

tures and Fathers become his learning, a learning by which he will be instructed in virtue and through which he may come to the perfect way of life.

Quae enim pagina aut qui sermo divinae auctoritatis veteris ac novi Testamenti non est rectissima norma vitae humanae? Aut quis liber sanctorum catholicorum Patrum hoc non resonat, ut recto cursu perveniamus ad creatorem nostrum? Nec non et Collationes Patrum et Instituta et Vitae eorum, sed et regula sancti Patris nostri Basilii, quid aliud sunt, nisi bene viventium et oboedientium monachorum instrumenta virtutum?¹

And so, the memorization and consideration of these books, these instrumenta virtutum, were established as one of three chief modes-- along with the daily offices and manual work-- by which the will should be converted from the endless, restless search for happiness among the mutable things of this world to a stable, singleminded love of God, who is its true happiness. Therefore, though the methods of monastic study were borrowed from secular learning and though the elementary texts of the later monastic schools were the works of the ancient pagan authors,² nevertheless monastic learning aimed specifically at the stabilization of the trinitarian subjectivity of man-- memory, understanding, and will-- such that 'by the right way we might reach our Creator'.

quelque sorte le moule de sa propre pensée et de son style." In other words, lectio divina would have had both a sensuous, outward aspect and a rational, inward aspect, and it would have involved both the memory and the intellect equally. I think that this account of the lectio divina agrees with that given by J. Leclercq, The Love of Learning, pp. 18-22, although it draws on different sources. See also Smalley, op. cit., pp. 26-36, for another good general survey of the subject and G.R. Evans, The Mind of St. Bernard of Clairvaux (Oxford, 1983), pp. 46-49, for an account of the lectio divina amongst the Cistercians.

¹Benedicti Regula LXXIII, ed. Schmitz, p. 205.

²See the references above, p. 65, n. 1, for the 'curriculum authors'.

Such a relation of secular to sacred learning had, of course, been taught by St. Augustine in his De doctrina christiana, a work to which monastic scholars turned throughout the middle ages for a theoretical discussion of this problem.¹ Though this work was conceived as a manual for preachers,² only the last book is concerned with the art of instruction. The first three books are concerned with the interpretation of things and signs in preparation for giving instruction.³ Thus, Book I contains a treatment of things (res, 'realities'), Book II a treatment of unknown signs, Book III a treatment of ambiguous signs. Augustine divides his treatment of unknown signs between literal signs and figurative (II.x.15). His treatment of figurative signs he divides between the knowledge one must acquire of languages through grammar and the knowledge one must acquire of things (II.xvi.23). This latter knowledge in particular, involving as it does the acquisition of pagan learning, must be gained, says Augustine, according to this principle:

... quisquis bonus uerusque christianus est, domini sui esse intellegat, ubicumque inuenerit ueritatem" (II.xviii.28).

¹A brief survey of the influence of this work can be found in Augustine, On Christian Doctrine, tr. with notes by D.W. Robertson, Jr. (Indianapolis, repr. 1978), p. xiif., where Cassiodorus, Rhabanus Maurus, Hugh of St.-Victor and Peter Lombard are mentioned in the period with which we are concerned. A critical examination of the relation of Hugh's Didascalicon to Cassiodorus' Institutiones and to the De doctrina christiana can be found in Jerome Taylor, tr. and ed., The 'Didascalicon' of Hugh of St. Victor, A Medieval Guide to the Arts (New York, 1961), pp. 28-36. Helpful comments on Peter Lombard's use of the De doctrina christiana can be found in W.J. Hankey, God in Himself, Aquinas' Doctrine of God as expounded in the 'Summa Theologiae' (Oxford, 1987), pp. 22-27.

²Augustine, De doctrina christiana, ed. Joseph Martin, CCSL XXXII (Turnhout, 1962), Prooem. 1

³Ibid., I.i.1 & IV.1.

He proposes, therefore, a distinction in pagan learning and lore between things of divine institution and things of human institution, the latter again being divided between things which are not superstitious and things which are (II.xix.29). These last are rejected out of hand as unsuitable objects of knowledge for the Christian student, along with such of the former human institutions as are superfluous (II.xx-xxv.38). He then treats very briefly of such human institutions as are not superstitious (II.xxv.39-40).

Augustine next discusses things of divine institution, that is to say, such sensible and intelligible realities ordered by God as the pagans have been able to reduce to scientific form. The sciences of the sensible and contingent discussed by Augustine are history, geography, natural history, astronomy, the mechanical arts and sports (II.xxviii-xxx); the sciences of the intelligible, logic, dialectic, rhetoric, mathematics and philosophy (II.xxxi-xl). For the appropriation of this last, and indeed of all the liberal arts, Augustine develops one of the fundamental metaphors of medieval thought.

Sicut enim Aegyptii non tantum idola habebant et onera grauia, quae populus Israhel detestaretur et fugeret, sed etiam uasa atque ornamenta de auro et argento et uestem, quae ille populus exiens de Aegypto sibi potius tamquam ad usum meliorem clanculo uindicauit... sic doctrinae omnes gentilium non solum simulata et superstitiosa figmenta grauesque sarcinas superuacanei laboris habent, quae unusquisque nostrum duce Christo de societate gentilium exiens debet abominari atque uitare, sed etiam liberales disciplinas usui ueritatis aptiores et quaedam morum praecepta utilissima continent deque ipso uno deo colendo nonnulla uera inueniuntur apud eos, quod eorum tamquam aurum et argentum, quod non ipsi instituerunt, sed de quibusdam quasi metallis diuinae prouidentiae, quae ubique infusa est, eruerunt et, quo peruerse atque iniuriose ad obsequia daemonum abutuntur, cum ab eorum misera societate sese animo separat, debet ab eis auferre christianus ad usum iustum praedicandi euangelii (II.xl.60).

Two chapters later he extends the metaphor.

Quantum autem minor est auri, argenti uestisque copia, quam de Aegypto secum ille populus abstulit, in comparatione diuitiarum quas postea Hierosolymae consecutus est, quae maxime in Salomone rege ostenduntur, tanta fit cuncta scientia, quae quidem est utilis collecta de libris gentium, si diuinarum scripturarum scientiae comparetur. Nam quicquid homo extra didicerit, si noxium est, ibi damnatur; si utile est, ibi inuenitur. Et cum ibi quisque inuenerit omnia, quae utiliter alibi didicit, multo abundantius ibi inueniet ea, quae nusquam omnino alibi, sed in illarum tantummodo scripturarum mirabili altitudine et mirabili humilitate discuntur (II.xlii.63).

All truth, Augustine is saying, is God's, it is God's institution, it is the result of God's providence. The pagans have mined much of this truth, as if it were gold and silver, and fashioned it into the precious vessels and vestments of the liberal arts and philosophy. These sciences, therefore, although they may have been put to abominable uses, are not wicked in themselves. They are useful to the Christian, since they can help in the interpretation of unknown and ambiguous signs in Scripture. Nevertheless, there is no truth in the sciences developed by the pagans which is not contained in Scripture, though perhaps in a form unknown or ambiguous to our minds. Moreover, there is a wisdom in Scripture that was quite unknown to the pagans, a wisdom the sole goal of which is to build up faith, hope, and charity, a wisdom whose only intent is to stabilize the will by the acquisition of divine virtue (I.xxxvii-xl).¹ Thus, we find here expounded the theory behind the

¹At I.xxxix.43 Augustine remarks: "Homo itaque fide et spe et caritate subnixus eaque inconcusse retinens non indiget scripturis nisi ad alios instruendos. Itaque multi per haec tria etiam in solitudine sine codicibus uiuunt." Books, therefore, primarily Scripture, but also secondarily the scientific treatises of the pagans, are necessary for the building up of a virtuous soul. See also Augustine, *De Trinitate* VIII.iv.6, edd. W.J. Mountain & Fr. Glorie, CCSL L & LA (Turnhout, 1968): "Vbi sunt enim illa tria propter quae in animo aedificanda omnium diuinorum librorum machinamenta consurgunt, fides, spes, caritas nisi in animo credente quod nondum uidet et sperante atque amante quod credit?"

Benedictine practice of reading both sacred and secular texts, and we are brought again empirically to the realization that the purpose of this reading is to order man's subjectivity towards union with God. How then do we explain this empirical fact?

If, then, for Augustine philosophy and religion are one and the same,¹ what is the beginning point for Christian reflection? In the De doctrina christiana, where he is speaking about our journey home to the immutable truth through the purgation of our souls, Augustine remarks,

Quod non possemus, nisi ipsa sapientia tantae etiam nostrae infirmitati congruere dignaretur et uiuendi nobis praeberet exemplum non aliter quam in homine, quoniam et nos homines sumus. Sed quia nos, cum ad illam uenimus, sapienter facimus, ipsa, cum ad nos uenit, ab hominibus superbis quasi stulte fecisse putata est. Et quoniam nos cum ad illam uenimus, conualescimus, ipsa, cum ad nos uenit, quasi infirma existimata est. Sed quod stultum est dei, sapientius est hominibus, et quod infirmum est dei, fortius est hominibus. Cum ergo ipsa sit patria, uiam se quoque nobis fecit ad patriam (I.xi.11).

That is to say, the beginning point of Christian reflection is God's incarnate Wisdom, the Word expressed eternally now become man, that we might make our way back to God, that we might know Wisdom in this sensuous form and come by way of reflection to the clear knowledge of God.

According to Augustine the beginning point for pagan philosophy was also sensuous, the philosophical knowledge of God being reached, as it was, by a stripping away of every attribute from being until one arrived

¹Augustine, De vera religione V.9, tr. J. Pegon, BA 8 (Paris, 1951), p. 36: "Sic enim creditur et docetur, quod est humanae salutis caput, non aliam esse philosophiam, id est sapientiae studium, et aliam religionem, cum ii quorum doctrinam non approbamus, nec Sacramenta nobiscum communicant." Augustine's argument here has been that where the pagan philosophers saw philosophy and religion as different things, Christians know them as one, capable of moving the great mass of men to a philosophical way of life.

just for a moment at the perception of a reality where being and attribute are one.¹ But such a knowledge of God, though it taught truly that God is the intelligible, immutable principle of all that is, nevertheless proved inadequate because it lacked a mediator. It was momentary, it bestowed no stable knowledge of God beyond the perception of his own simple abstraction from the realm of the same and the different, and therefore compelled men to seek mediation in created things and in the ministry of demons.²

The true mediator, however, says Augustine, is Christ. For in Christ "are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge".³ In him the sensible and the intelligible, nature and thought, man and God are perfectly united. There is thus in Christ a way to travel from the present knowledge of human things to the wisdom which comes from knowing divine things.

Scientia ergo nostra Christus est, sapientia quoque nostra idem Christus est. Ipse nobis fidem de rebus temporalibus inserit; ipse de sempiternis exhibet ueritatem. Per ipsum pergimus ad ipsum, tendimus per scientiam ad sapientiam; ab uno tamen eodemque Christo non recedimus in quo sunt omnes thesauri sapientiae et scientiae absconditi.⁴

¹Augustine, De Trinitate VIII.ii.3. See also Confessions VII.x.16, and the comments upon Augustine's Platonic vision of the truth in C.J. Starnes, Augustine's Conversion, A Guide to the Argument of 'Confessions' I-IX (Waterloo, Ontario, 1990), pp. 183-187.

²Augustine, De Trinitate IV.x.13 & XIII.xix.24. See also Confessions VII.xix.25 and the comments upon it in Starnes, op. cit., pp. 191-194. See also D.K. House, "St. Augustine's Account of the Relation of Platonism to Christianity in the De Civitate Dei", Dionysius 7 (1983), pp. 46-48.

³Augustine, De Trinitate XIII..xix.24, where he is quoting Col. 2.3.

⁴Ibid., loc. cit.

Here it is well to recall that, according to Augustine, there is a division between the activity of reason according as it serves the outer and according as it serves the inner man. The knowledge which reason obtains through the senses and imagination is called scientia, which, if it be not puffed up (I Cor. 8.1), is concerned with the cardinal virtues and with action; the knowledge it obtains from an understanding of the things above itself is called sapientia, which is concerned with the theological virtues and with contemplation and which is finally nothing other than religion.¹ Human reason, therefore, can look both outward through the senses and the imagination to what is below itself and upward to those things "quae nec fuerunt nec futura sunt sed sunt".² It has this capacity, through the impressions in the memory either of sensuous phenomena or of conceptions of divine things, when led to it by the will,³ to pass "ab exterioribus ad interiora, ab inferioribus ad superiora".⁴ Thus, man's trinitarian subjectivity-- memory, understanding, and will, the spiritual self-relation which constitutes the image of God in man⁵-- can, if it exercises its powers virtuously, encompass all knowledge and wisdom, all good works and all true worship, in Christ. That is to say, if the rational soul of man be converted upon Christ by faith, hope, and charity, it will not only use the things of this world properly with reference to God's purpose, but it will also

¹Ibid., XI.i.1, x.17; XII.i.1-iv.4, xiv.21-22.

²Ibid., XII.xiv.23.

³Ibid., XI.ix.16 & XII.xiv.23.

⁴See p. 2, n. 1 above.

⁵See De Trinitate XIV.xii.15.

come to enjoy God, the knowing and loving of whom constitute our true goal and happiness.

And so, we see whence the Benedictine duty of reading derived its ascetical value. It was essentially the application of the believing mind to the external and sensuous testimonies of God's incarnate Wisdom, so that love might be deepened and God enjoyed. It is a characteristically Augustinian movement, well described by R.D. Crouse.

Thus, the reformed philosophia, whereby St. Augustine aspires to the contemplation of the eternal Trinity, must begin with belief in the temporalia of revelation, in terms of which a new scientia is constituted, and its modus, or method, must be the movement from the temporal to the eternal, from the external to the internal, from fides to intellectus, per scientiam ad sapientiam.¹

And it is a movement which ascends, as does Scripture itself,² from the depths of humility to the loftiness of the visio dei.

This 'reformed philosophia' of St. Augustine therefore gives content to the bare notion of lectio divina as St. Benedict described it in his Rule. Now it is clear that the monastery was to be the school where men, converted from pride to humility, might learn Christ through communal prayer, holy reading and the work of their hands, stabilizing their own subjectivities as they moved continually back and forth between science and wisdom, between action and contemplation, between the exercise of the cardinal virtues and the exercise of the theological virtues. It was, in a word, to be the school of the one true philosophy, which is the religion of Christ.

¹R.D. Crouse, "St. Augustine's De Trinitate: Philosophical Method", in Studia Patristica, vol. XVI, Part II, ed. E.A. Livingstone (Berlin, 1985), p. 506.

²Cf. Augustine, De doctrina christiana II.xlii.63, quoted above, p. 120.

2. The Twelfth-Century Crisis

St. Augustine's notion that philosophy and religion are one, that the seeker after wisdom must begin by faith from God's sensuous self-revelation in Christ, if he is to reach his goal, persisted until the twelfth century,¹ finding its purest expression in St. Anselm.

Domine, incurvatus non possum nisi deorsum aspicere; erige me, ut possim sursum intendere. Iniquitates meae supergressae caput meum obvolvunt me, et sicut onus grave gravant me. Evolve me, exonera me, ne urgeat puteus earum os suum super me. Liceat mihi suspicere lucem tuam, vel de longe, vel de profundo. Doce me quaerere te et ostende te quaerenti; quia nec quaerere te possum, nisi tu doceas, nec invenire, nisi te ostendas. Quaeram te desiderando, desiderem quaerendo. Inveniam amando, amem inveniando. Fateor, Domine, et gratias ago, quia creasti in me hanc imaginem tuam, ut tui memor te cogitem, te amem. Sed sic est abolita attritione vitiorum, sic est offuscata fumo peccatorum, ut non possit facere, ad quod facta est, nisi tu renoves et reformes eam. Non tento, Domine, penetrare altitudinem tuam, quia nullatenus comparo illi intellectum meum; sed desidero aliquatenus intelligere veritatem tuam, quam credit et amat cor meum. Neque enim quaero intelligere, ut credam, sed credo ut intelligam. Nam et hoc credo: quia nisi credidero, non intelligam.²

Anselm, black monk and philosopher, here unites all the themes which we have been studying: the consciousness of one's alienation from God and of one's need for God's self-revelation as a starting point for one's return; the awareness of the power of love both to arouse one to seek God and to enjoy God once found; the knowledge that the seeking and the finding are made possible and accomplished through the enlightenment--the purgation and reformation-- of one's own godlike subjectivity, i.e.

¹See Crouse, "St. Augustine's De Trinitate", p. 44, n. 1.

²Anselm, Proslogion 1, Latin-German ed. of F.S. Schmitt, O.S.B. (Stuttgart, 1962), pp. 82 & 84.

the memory, the understanding, and the will, and finally the conviction that all of this must begin with faith, for it is the adequation to reason of the content of faith¹ which leads to understanding and the enjoyment of God. As St. Augustine had said,

Quamobrem quoniam trinitatis aeternitatem et aequalitatem et unitatem quantum datur intellegere cupimus, prius autem quam intellegamus credere debemus uigilandumque nobis est ne ficta sit fides nostra. Eadem quippe trinitate fruendum est ut beate uiuamus: si autem falsum de illa crediderimus, inanis erit spes et non casta caritas. Quomodo igitur eam trinitatem quam non nouimus credendo diligimus? An secundum specialem generalemue notitiam secundum quam diligimus apostolum Paulum?²

That is to say, just as we can, for example, love a hero of church history not in his particularity, which is now unknowable, but in his specific or generic nature, which is a knowledge we do have and which gives certitude to the historical particularity we cannot know, but do believe; so we can attain to some knowledge of the Holy Trinity through a created image, which will serve as the object of our will, since it certifies our faith, though God's nature remain truly beyond our comprehension. That is why faith seeks understanding.

Nevertheless even in Anselm's day, but more generally as the twelfth century progressed and as theology developed as an academic discipline,³ there grew a sense that a jar had been set between philosophy

¹Cf. J.A. Doull, "What is Augustinian 'Sapientia'?", Dionysius 12 (1988), p. 63: "This knowledge [of faith] was complete as to its content but defective in form, having only a factual and transient certainty. The impulse to think what he believed was from the need to overcome this defect and know the faith as necessary and true for thought."

²Augustine, De Trinitate VIII.v.8.

³See G.R. Evans, Old Arts and New Theology, The Beginnings of Theology as an Academic Discipline (Oxford, 1980), p. 3. See also J. de Ghellinck, Le mouvement théologique du XII^e siècle, 2nd ed. (Bruges, 1948), pp. 49-52.

and religion. More specifically, the application of the rejuvenated science of dialectic to such crucial doctrines as that of the Holy Trinity seemed blasphemous to many educated men of the day.¹ Chief amongst these was St. Bernard, the learned contemplative of Clairvaux.²

St. Bernard entered the abbey of Cîteaux in 1112, where he learned the Rule of St. Benedict during the early years of the abbacy of St. Stephen Harding.³ Stephen Harding, an English monk with a "clear grasp of principle and tenacious will",⁴ had joined a group of hermits at

¹The misuse of dialectic in discourse about the doctrines of the faith had been already censured in the 1060's by Lanfranc, De corpore et sanguine Domine VII (PL 150.417A, quoted in R.W. Southern, "Lanfranc of Bec and Berengar of Tours", in Studies in Medieval History presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke, edd. R.W. Hunt et al. (Oxford, repr. 1969), p. 41) and Peter Damian, De divina omnipotentia 17.37-74 (in Pierre Damien, Lettre sur la toute-puissance divine, ed. A. Cantin, SC 191 (Paris, 1972), pp. 474-476). Neither Lanfranc nor Peter Damian objects to dialectic itself; but the former thinks it more fitting to support one's argument with the teachings of the authorities, while the latter goes farther and argues in Boethian fashion (Consolation V, prose iv) that the rules of human thought do not apply to the divine subjectivity. (This is the interpretation of R.D. Crouse, given in his lectures on medieval philosophy at Dalhousie University, 1988-1989. For another account, see H. Liebeschütz, in The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy, ed. A.H. Armstrong (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 608-610. See also M. Grabmann, Die Geschichte der Scholastischen Methode (Graz, 1957), vol. 1, pp. 224-234.) Dante, a great student of Boethius, has Peter Damian's soul, found in the contemplatives' heaven, admonish mankind: "La mente, che qui luce, in terra fuma;/onde riguarda come può là giùe/quel che non pote perché 'l ciel l'assumma" (Paradiso XXI.100-102, Singleton ed.). Also, it is interesting to note that Peter's fundamental vocation was as a hermit (A. Cantin, op. cit., p. 19; Knowles, Monastic Order², pp. 194-197).

²See G.R. Evans, The Mind of St. Bernard, p. 96: "Bernard is, then, a preacher with an impressive learning underlying his exposition of the Bible, not in the forefront of the work of the schools, but up-to-date nevertheless."

³On Bernard's noviciate, see W. Williams, St. Bernard of Clairvaux (Manchester, repr. 1952), pp. 12-16.

⁴Knowles, Monastic Order², p. 199.

Molesme in the last years of the eleventh century and, having failed in an attempt to reform the community, had been one of the leaders of a secession in 1098, which led to the founding of Cîteaux.¹ William of Malmesbury has left an account of the speech Stephen delivered at Molesme calling for reform.

Ratione... supremus rerum Auctor omnia fecit, ratione omnia regit; ratione rotatur poli fabrica, ratione ipsa etiam quae dicuntur errantia torquentur sidera, ratione moventur elementa; ratione et aequilibrata debet nostra subsistere natura. Sed quia per desidia saepe a ratione decedit, leges quondam multae latae; novissime per beatum Benedictum regula divinitus processit quae fluxum naturae ad rationem revocaret; in qua etsi habentur quaedam quorum rationem penetrare non sufficio, auctoritati tamen adquiescendum censeo. Ratio enim et auctoritas divinorum scriptorum, quamvis dissonare videantur, unum idemque sunt: namque cum Deus nihil sine ratione creaverit, et recreaverit; qui fieri potest ut credam sanctos patres, sequacis scilicet Dei, quicquam praeter rationem edicere, quasi soli auctoritati fidem debeamus adhibere? Itaque illorum, quae procudit, aut rationem aut auctoritatem afferte. Quamvis non multum debeat credi, si quid humanae rationis possit allegari, quod aequipollentibus argumentis valeat enervari...²

¹Ibid., pp. 198-200.

²William of Malmesbury, De gestis regum Anglorum IV.334, ed. W. Stubbs, vol. II (London, 1889; repr. 1964), p. 381. Stubbs remarks (p. cxvii): "The account of the Cistercians was, perhaps, derived from Stephen Harding, himself a pupil of Sherborne and possibly an acquaintance of our author. He became abbot of Cîteaux in 1109, and was alive when the *Gesta* was written. He died in 1134." G. Constable asserts that William's account is "for the most part fictional" ("Renewal and Reform in Religious Life, Concepts and Realities", in Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century, edd. R.L. Benson & G. Constable with C.D. Lanham (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), p. 62, with a translation of this passage on the preceding page). Surely no one would argue that the speech is a verbatim report, but if it is fictional, it must be fictional in the sense that Thucydides' speeches are fictional: "it was in all cases difficult to carry them [the speeches reported] word for word in one's memory, so my habit has been to make the speeches say what was in my opinion demanded of them by the various occasions, of course adhering as closely as possible to the general sense of what they really said" (The Peloponnesian War I.xxii, Crawley translation). Consequently, one may say that William probably conveys the gist of what Stephen said, fleshed out by William's own rhetorical skills and historical understanding.

We do not find here a rejection of reason at all. We find rather a Boethian confidence in the rationality of all things of divine institution: "O qui perpetua mundum ratione gubernas..."¹ Reason indeed is the law of our own nature; but because we often decline from reason by our own degeneracy many laws have been promulgated, the latest of these being the Rule of St. Benedict, divinely inspired, which is meant to call the instability of our nature back to reason. To be sure, sometimes one may not understand the reasonableness of a particular measure in the Rule; but one must obey the authority, though it seem to conflict with reason, because God could not have allowed the Scriptures and the Fathers, our authorities, to contain anything that was unreasonable. Any monastic custom, therefore, must be rejected, if it is debatable, if reasons of equal weight can be advanced for and against it, if it is the product of an inconclusive human dialectic.² In his controversies with the great scholastics of the day, Bernard displayed this already charac-

¹Boethius, Consolation III, metre ix (LCL, p. 270). For literature on the medieval commentaries on this poem, see É. Jeuneau, "Un commentaire inédit sur la chant 'O qui perpetua' de Boèce", in "Lectio Philosophorum", p. 311, nn. 1-3.

²Aequipollentia is a term from the science of dialectic. See R.W. Southern, "Lanfranc of Bec", pp. 41-43. Abelard devotes a portion of his Dialectica to the treatment of such arguments (I.ii, ed. L.M. de Rijk (Assen, 1956), pp. 199ff.). It may be more than coincidence that both Peter Damian and Stephen Harding, both pioneers in the eremitical life, both also arrived at a radical critique of the powers of human reason, seemingly on the strength of a reading of the great logician Boethius (above, p. 127, n. 1). Stephen had travelled in Italy before he settled at Molesme (Knowles, Monastic Order², p. 199). Indeed, R. Duvernay, "Cîteaux, Vallombreuse et Étienne Harding", Analecta s. o. Cisterciensis 8 (1952), pp. 379-495, argues, in G. Constable's words ("The Study of Monastic History Today", p. 49, n. 139), "that Cîteaux was the end of a development which began at Vallambrosa and that Stephen Harding visited Vallambrosa on his trip to Rome in 1080/90."

teristic Cistercian attitude to reason and authority, learned no doubt during his noviciate at Cîteaux.¹

Peter Abelard and Gilbert of Poitiers were the two scholars whom Bernard caused to be tried for heresy and himself prosecuted in court, the former at Sens in 1140, the latter at Rheims in 1148.² It is beyond our purpose to examine the controverted points of doctrine, but a discussion of the underlying causes of these affairs will furnish the last evidence we need to understand Arnold's thought on the distinction between the scientia artium liberalium and the scientia humilitatis.

The epistles with which Bernard tried to sway the pope and certain cardinals to his side in the controversy with Abelard point to two difficulties in Abelard's position which, according to Bernard, underlay all his several questionable teachings. The first point is one with which we are already familiar from Peter Damian and Stephen Harding: the application of dialectic to the study of the divine subjectivity and other mysteries considered to be beyond reason.

Habemus in Francia novum de veteri magistro theologum, qui ab ineunte aetate sua in arte dialectica lusit, et nunc in Scripturis sanctis insanit... Qui dum omnium quae sunt IN CAELO SURSUM EST, quae IN TERRA DEORSUM, nihil, praeter solum "Nescio", nescire dignatur, ponit in caelum os suum et scrutatur alta Dei, rediensque ad nos refert verba ineffabilia, quae non licet homini loqui; et dum

¹Following the Rule pure ad litteram was certainly one of Bernard's boasts (De praecepto et dispensatione XVI.49, quoted by Constable, "Renewal and Reform", p. 57 & n. 110).

²On Abelard see Luscombe, The School of Peter Abelard, pp. 103-142, who concludes: "The council of Sens had not wholly cleared the air nor was its verdict wholly convincing." See also E. Little, "Bernard and Abelard at the Council of Sens, 1140", in Bernard of Clairvaux, Studies presented to Dom Jean Leclercq (Washington, D.C., 1973), pp. 55-71. On Gilbert, see Evans, The Mind of St. Bernard, pp. 173-190, and N.M. Häring, ed., The Commentaries on Boethius by Gilbert of Poitiers (Toronto, 1966), pp. 3-13.

paratus est de omnibus reddere rationem, etiam quae sunt supra rationem, et contra rationem praesumit, et contra fidem. Quid enim magis contra rationem quam ratione rationem conari transcendere? Et quid magis contra fidem quam credere nolle quidquid non possit ratione attingere?¹

And a little later on,

Et sic promittens intellectum auditoribus suis, in his etiam quae sublimiora et sacratiora profundo illo sinu sacrae fidei continentur, ponit in Trinitate gradus, in maiestati modos, numeros in aeternitate.²

Bernard perceived this difficulty in Gilbert's teaching as well. The second point, however, is peculiar to Abelard, and has to do with the contradiction between Abelard's monastic profession and the use to which he puts his mind and learning.

Monachum se exterius, haereticum interius ostendit, nihil habens de monacho, praeter nomen et habitum... Rudes et novellos auditores ab uberibus dialecticae separatos, et eos, qui, ut ita dicam, prima fidei elementa vix sustinere possunt, ad mysterium sanctae Trinitatis, ad Sancta sanctorum, ad cubiculum Regis introducit...³

These two points can be examined more fully in two other Bernardine compositions: a sermon delivered to the clergy and scholars of Paris not long before Abelard's condemnation in 1140 and a book on consideration, Bernard's last work, addressed to Pope Eugene III, which was written with Gilbert's recent trial very much in mind.

Bernard's Sermo ad clericos de conversione was delivered at Paris between Lent, 1139 and the beginning of the year 1140.⁴ Two recensions

¹Bernard, Epistola CXI.1 (LTR, vol. VIII (Rome, 1977), p. 17f.).

²Ibid., Epistola CXI.2 (LTR, p. 18). See also Epistola CCCXXX (LTR, vol. VIII, p. 267.)

³Bernard, Epistola CCCXXXI (LTR, vol. VIII, p. 260f.) See also Epistola CCCXXXII (ibid., vol. VIII, p. 271).

⁴LTR, vol. IV, p. 61 & n. 1.

exist, the shorter a first redaction, probably close to that which was preached at Paris, the longer a revision so expanded as to have become a treatise,¹ which will be the subject of the following remarks. But before proceeding, one ought just to notice that the term conversio had two common meanings in Bernard's day: either a turning in spirit from the world to God or a leaving of the worldly life for the life of the monastery.² This particular sermon seems to have worked both kinds of conversion in some men, for twenty-three of Bernard's auditors left Paris with him the next day for Clairvaux.³

The De conversione is, in effect, a treatise on that change of mind by which the human subjectivity comes to its true and proper-- its monastic-- self. It can, therefore, be read as something of a commentary upon Bernard's notion that Abelard was a monk in name and habit, but not in the formation of his mind.

The sermon is written, in large part, as a dialogue of two faculties of the soul, ratio and voluntas, the third, memoria, supplying the ground of the conversation.⁴ The dialogue begins when reason,

¹Ibid., loc. cit.

²See. G.R. Evans, "A Change of Mind in Some Scholars of the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries", in Studies in Church History 15, ed. D. Baker (Oxford, 1978), p. 27.

³Williams op. cit., p. 305.

⁴I could not disagree more with the opinion of E. von Ivánka, "La structure de l'âme selon s. Bernard", Analecta s. o. Cisterciensis 9 (1953), pp. 203-206, who argues that memoria, ratio, and voluntas are not faculties of the soul, but states of spiritual experience in St. Bernard. His argument rests first of all on the notion, which he derives from the fact that Bernard changes the order which St. Augustine gives these terms, that memoria in Bernard no longer is regarded "comme le fondement de la vie spirituelle, comme la présence de l'être spirituel à soi-même, le lieu des principes mêmes de la connaissance" (p. 204). I hope to show that in the context of the De conversione, which is an argument about self-knowledge, memoria, enlightened indeed

having heard the word foris, is awakened to the voice of God intus.

Ad hanc ergo interiorem vocem aures cordis erigi admonemur, ut loquentem Deum intus audire quam foris hominem studeatis (I.2¹).

This inner voice, this inner light, shows the soul to itself, so that it may know itself.

Quid enim illo agitur sive radio, sive verbo, nisi ut noverit [anima] semetipsam? Aperitur siquidem conscientiae liber, revolvitur misera vitae series, tristis quaedam historia replicatur, illuminatur ratio, et evoluta memoria velut quibusdam eius oculis exhibetur (II.3).

In other words, reason, responding to the voice without, which it also recognizes within, reflects upon the ground of its own self-knowledge, the content of memory, and is dismayed.

Transiit enim velociter totus ille pruritus delectationis iniquae, et voluptatis illecebra tota brevi finita est; sed amara quaedam impressit signa memoriae, sed vestigia foeda reliquit (III.4).

It is dismayed because it discovers in memory-- that faculty which retains the impressions both of sensible phenomena and of intelligible realities, as St. Augustine teaches²:-- it discovers the impressions, the traces, of its sins. Moreover, it sees there that the soul does not cease to sin, for the impressions of new sins are continually added to the old. Thus, reason, obeying the counsels of God, tries to restrain the affections of the soul, so that no more sins may be committed. The

from above, does precisely supply the ground of all the soul's activity.

¹All references to the De conversione in the following remarks will be to LTR, vol. IV, pp. 59-116. I have also consulted the translation of G.R. Evans in Bernard of Clairvaux, Selected Works, CWS (New York, 1987), pp. 65-97.

²See above, p. 123.

affections, however, cannot be restrained while the will is still weak and they incite will against reason.

Exsilit igitur vetula furens, et totius oblita languoris, procedit horrentibus comis, veste lacera, pectore nudo, scalpens ulcera, frendens dentibus et arescens, atque ipsum inficiens aerem flatibus virulentis. Quidni confundatur, si quid adhuc superest rationis, ad talem miserae voluntatis occursum et incursum? (VI.10)

And so, reason's knowledge of the problem deepens and it recognizes that every faculty of the soul is corrupt.

Nunc autem et ratio minus habens, caeca quodammodo, quod hactenus ista non viderit, infirma omnino, quod ne agnita quidem praevaleat reparare, et memoria foedissima pariter et foetidissima, et voluntas languida et horrendis ulceribus undique scaturiens invenitur (VI.11).

Reason, therefore, must persuade will to rule the affections, which reason attempts with arguments, reminiscent of the second book of Boethius' Consolation of Philosophy, concerning the imperfect nature of all earthly consolations (VII.12-XI.23).

Consideret, inquam, nec intus, nec subtus, nec circa se sibi occurrere consolationem, ut vel tandem aliquando discat quaerendam sursum, et desursum esse sperandam (XI.23).

Thus, having learned to gaze above itself, reason now finds a place where it can finally rest from its wearying journey through the unsatisfactory consolations of this earth, and little by little the will begins to yearn for that stability and rest as well.

Excitabitur desiderium voluntatis, et non modo videre locum, sed et introire paulatim, et mansionem inibi facere concupiscat (XII.24).

But once the will is converted to righteousness, memory itself must be purged, the hardest task of all. "Quomodo enim a memoria mea excidet vita mea?" (XV.28) Yet God, by remitting sins, can do just that.

Huius indulgentia delet peccatum, non quidem ut a memoria excidat, sed ut quod prius inesse pariter et inficere consuevisset, sic de cetero insit memoriae, ut eam nullatenus decoloret (XV.28).¹

And if one then extends the mercy one has received to one's fellows, and tries to restore peace with them, the whole soul will be ready for the vision of God:

non modo illuminata ratio et correcta voluntas, sed ipsa quoque memoria munda, ut ex hoc iam voceris ad Dominum, et audias vocem dicentis: BEATI MUNDO CORDE, QUONIAM IPSI DEUM VIDEBUNT (XVI.29-XVII.30).

And so, the restoration of the faculties of the soul is complete.

Bernard sees the conversion of soul as possible really only if one converts from the worldly to the claustral life. Concluding his sermon, he cries,

Fugite de medio Babylonis, fugite et salvate animas vestras. Convolate ad urbes refugii, ubi possitis et de praeteritis agere paenitentiam, et in praesenti obtinere gratiam, et futuram gloriam fiducialiter praestolari (XXI.37).

Flee the schools, he cries, and fly away to the monasteries, where conditions are such that you may exercise your reason in the only fitting

¹The memory thus purged becomes the ground, then, of the soul's reformed activity. See *De diligendo Deo* III.10 (LTR, vol. III, p. 127). "Quod vero sequitur: MEMORIA MEA IN GENERATIONE SAECULORUM, hoc dicit quia, quamdiu stare praesens cernitur saeculum, in quo generatio advenit et generatio praeterit, non deerit electis consolatio de memoria, quibus nondum de praesentia plena refectio indulgetur... Memoria ergo in generatio saeculorum, praesentia in regno caelorum: ex ista glorificatur iam assumpta electio, de illa interim peregrinans generatio consolatur." And at IV.12 (p. 129): "Ceterum fidelis anima et suspirat praesentiam inhianter, et in memoria requiescit suaviter, et donec idonea sit revelata facie speculari gloriam Dei, crucis ignominia gloriatur... Merito in laeva admirabilis illa memorata et semper memoranda dilectio collocatur, quod, donec transeat iniquitas, super eam sponsa recumbat et requiescat." Thus, just as the foul memory is the ground of misery, so the pure memory is the ground of happiness in this life, a doctrine reminiscent of Eriugena's, that the memory is the ground of wretchedness or of blessedness in the life to come (*Periphyseon* V.36, PL 122.977C-978A).

way: in the persuasion of the will to righteousness and in the purification of memory. It is the call of St. Benedict, made philosophically intelligible through consideration of the reflections on subjectivity and providence of St. Augustine and Boethius. It is the perfect appeal of the monk to the scholar, a plea which, Bernard would argue, Abelard has not heeded, for he has exercised his reason not in the stabilization of his own subjectivity, but in great matters, which are too high for him, as a philosopher in the schools. Far different were those twenty-three young scholars who recognized the "formam verae philosophiae",¹ when Bernard showed it to them, and "conversi ab inanibus studiis ad verae sapientiae cultum, abrenuntiantes saeculo",² followed St. Bernard back to Clairvaux.

Bernard's De consideratione ad Eugenium papam was composed piecemeal between 1149 and 1152 or 1153,³ the latter being the year of his death. The fifth and last book, though completed four or five years after the inconclusive trial of Gilbert of Poitiers at Rheims, nevertheless still contains reflections on Gilbertine doctrine which Bernard

¹Vita prima Bernardi VII.xiii.19 (PL 185.423D, =Exordium magnum Cisterciense). Peter the Venerable seems to have recognized that Abelard was seeking in the wrong place, for in his epitaph for Abelard he writes: "... sed tunc magis omnia vicit,/Cum Cluniacensem monachum moremque professus,/Ad Christi veram transivit philosophiam" (quoted in J.G. Sikes, Peter Abailard (Cambridge, 1932), p. 237). That is to say, on Peter the Venerable's view, Abelard's coming to rest at Cluny during his last years after the trial at Sens was a coming 'to the true philosophy of Christ', i.e. to the Benedictine way. He became at last a monk in mind as well as in name and habit.

²Vita prima Bernardi IV.ii.10 (PL 185.327B). Amongst the twenty-three was Geoffrey of Auxerre, as we have already noted (above, p. 67, n. 4).

³LTR, vol. III (Rome, 1963), p. 381.

considered heretical.¹ In this last book, Bernard develops an epistemology, which should cast light on the first problem raised above: the application of dialectic to the study of divine mysteries.

If Abelard exposed himself to the specific criticism of having neglected the properly monastic cultivation of the mind, both Abelard and Gilbert were subject to the general criticism that they were employing dialectic in speculations the objects of which were beyond the powers of that science. In his report on Gilbert's trial at Rheims, John of Salisbury claims that this criticism had its roots in the difference between the forms of learning possessed by the monk Bernard and the scholar Gilbert.

Erant tamen ambo optime litterati et admodum eloquentes sed dissimilibus studiis. Abbas enim, quod ex operibus patet, predicator egregius, ut ei post beatum Gregorium neminem censeam conferendum; singulariter eleganti pollebat stilo, adeo diuinis exercitatus in litteris ut omnem materiam uerbis prophetis et apostolicis decentissime explicaret. Sua namque fecerat uniuersa et uix nisi uerbis autenticis nec in sermone communi nec in exhortationibus nec in epistolis conscribendis loqui nouerat... Seculares uero litteras minus nouerat, in quibus, ut creditur, episcopum nemo nostri temporis precedebat. Vterque ingenio perspicax et scripturis inuestigandis deditus, sed abbas negociis expediendis exercitior et efficacior. Et licet episcopus bibliothecae superficiem non sic haberet ad manum, doctorum tamen uerba, Hylarii dico, Ieronimi, Augustini, et similium, sicut opinio communis est, familiarius nouerat. Doctrina eius nouis obscurior sed prouectis compendiosior et solidior uidebatur. Vtebatur, prout res exigebat, omnium adminiculo disciplinarum, in singulis quippe sciens auxiliis mutuis uniuersa constare.²

Bernard's thought, that is to say, was a product of the lectio divina, the traditional monastic memorization and consideration of the Bible and

¹See, e.g., De consideratione V.vii.15 and cf. John of Salisbury, Historia pontificalis VIII, Marjorie Chibnall, ed. (Oxford, repr. with corrections, 1986), p. 18. Cf. Evans, The Mind of St. Bernard, p. 183.

²John of Salisbury, Historia pontificalis XII (Chibnall ed., pp. 26-27).

other authoritative texts. He was also gifted in practical matters, but his knowledge of the liberal arts was not so thorough. Gilbert, on the other hand, was the product of the schools, learned in every field of knowledge and confident that 'since the various disciplines were of assistance to one another, all taken together must be in accord with each one taken separately', a form, of course, of the Augustinian notion the religion and philosophy are one.

It is difficult to make the content of John's distinction concrete; but if we look at the De consideratione, we may find the means. St. Bernard wrote this, his last, treatise to his spiritual son,¹ the Cistercian Pope Eugene III, in order to encourage him to adopt the practice of 'consideration'² for his soul's health and the well performing of his office. Bernard distinguishes contemplation from consideration:

potest contemplatio quidem diffiniri verus certusque intuitus animi de quacumque re, sive apprehensio veri non dubia, consideratio autem intensa ad vestigandum cogitatio, vel intensio animi vestigantis verum (II.ii.5).

Strictly speaking, consideration is not, therefore, the enjoyment of the truth known, but the seeking of the truth that it may at last be

¹De consideratione Praefatio (LTR, vol. III, p. 393): "Amor dominum nescit, agnoscit filium et in infulis." (All quotations will be taken from this edition of the Opera. I have also consulted the translations of J.D. Anderson & E.T. Kennan, The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux, vol. 13, Cistercian Fathers Series 37 (Kalamazoo, 1976) and of G.R. Evans, Bernard of Clairvaux, Selected Works, CWS (New York, 1987), pp. 145-172.)

²The term seems to have been taken from Gregory the Great, Regula pastoralis I.1 (PL 77.13A), as noted by Prof. Evans, The Mind of St. Bernard, p. 210, n. 47, who herself depends here on J. Leclercq. But one should note that Boethius too speaks of reason working universali consideratione (Consolation V, prose iv, LCL, p. 410).

enjoyed; and one considers, as St. Augustine seems to recommend,¹ oneself, the things which are below one, the things which are around one, and the things which are above one (II.iii.6). What, then makes this different from the investigation of the schools?

Et si sapiens sis, deest tibi ad sapientiam, si tibi non fueris. Quantum vero? Ut quidem senserim ego, totum. Noveris licet omnia mysteria, noveris lata terrae, alta caeli, profunda maris, si te nescieris, eris similis aedificanti sine fundamento, ruinam, non structuram faciens. Quidquid exstruxeris extra te, erit instar congesti pulveris, ventis obnoxium. Non ergo sapiens, qui sibi non est... A te proinde incipiat tua consideratio; non solum autem, et in te finiatur (II.iii.6).

This consideration, that is to say, will be an investigation of one's self, such as Bernard has already described in the De conversione. It will be an investigation into the state of one's soul, the propriety of one's actions and the objects of one's hopes, such that humility and love may be established. It is a consideration that will benefit the soul by reforming it, without which benefit all other learning is nothing worth, and to which benefit secular learning may contribute very little.

The purest form of consideration, however, is directed towards the things above us, since such consideration has no admixture of activity, but is purely reflective and leads one out of exile to one's true home. "Sic considerare, repatriare est" (V.i.1). Nevertheless, even this form of consideration must still use visible things to climb to the invisible, since we do remain in exile until death.

Sublimior iste praesentium ac dignior usus rerum, cum, iuxta sapientiam Pauli, INVISIBILIA DEI PER EA QUAE FACTA SUNT,

¹Cf. Augustine, De doctrina christiana I.xxiii.22 (noted by Evans, The Mind of St. Bernard, p. 205, n. 12).

INTELLECTA CONSPICIUNTUR. Sane hac scala cives non egent, sed exsules (V.i.1).

Thus, consideration has three necessary stages or grades.

Magnus ille, qui usum sensuum, quasdam veluti civium [sc., civitatis Dei] opes, expendere satagit, dispensando in suam et multorum salutem. Nec ille minor, qui hunc sibi gradum ad illa invisibilia philosophando constituit, nisi quod hoc dulcius, illud utilius, hoc felicius, illud fortius esse constat. At omnium maximus, qui, spreto ipso usu rerum et sensuum, quantum quidem humanae fragilitati fas est, non ascensoriis gradibus, sed inopinatis excessibus, avolare interdum contemplando ad illa sublimia consuevit... Porro haec tria ita contingunt, cum consideratio, etsi in loco peregrinationis suae, virtutis studio et adiutorio gratiae facta superior, sensualitatem aut premit ne insolescat, aut cogit ne evagetur, aut fugit ne inquinet (V.ii.3).

Consideration, therefore, is a movement of the soul by which sensuous nature is either suppressed by the practice of good works or channelled by the practice of philosophy, i.e. monastic lectio, or escaped by the grace of contemplation. Moreover, its modes can be defined this way.

Dicamus, si placet, primam dispensativam, secundam aestimativam, tertiam speculativam. Horum nominum rationes diffinitiones declarabunt. Dispensativa est consideratio sensibus sensibilibusque rebus ordinate et socialiter utens ad promerendum Deum. Aestimativa est consideratio prudenter ac diligenter quaeque scrutans et ponderans ad vestigandum Deum. Speculativa est consideratio se in se colligens et, quantum divinitus adiuvatur, rebus humanis eximens ad contemplandum Deum... Ergo quod prima optat, secunda odorat, tertia gustat (V.ii.4).

That is to say, consideration, seen as a repatriation to our homeland, is an activity of the soul-- memory, understanding, and will-- which regulates the soul's use of the senses and of sensible things for the good of the community of men, to earn merit with God; which, with the help of the liberal arts, to be sure, prudently and diligently examines and weighs each created thing, to find traces of God, and which, insofar as it is helped from above, recollects itself and removes itself from human affairs, in order to enjoy the knowledge of God. It is an

activity by which the righteous soul acts for God, reflects upon God, and is raised above itself to God. It is thus clearly an Augustinian movement from the outer to the inner man, from science to wisdom, in which philosophy and religion are one.

But more specifically it is a Boethian movement, a movement which takes its structure from the hierarchy of the sciences developed by Boethius in his De Trinitate from the semina rationum in Augustine.¹ For Boethius had taught that speculation has three parts: naturalis, the objects of which are the inseparable forms of bodies in motion, with their matter; mathematica, the objects of which are the inseparable forms of bodies mentally abstracted from their matter, and thus not in motion, and theologica, the objects of which are God and all those abstract and separable forms of which bodily forms are mere images.² Moreover, in the consideration of the objects of natural science (in naturalibus), one proceeds rationabiliter, by the immediate application of reason to natural phenomenon as sensation and imagination present them. In the consideration of the objects of mathematics (in mathematicis), one proceeds disciplinaliter, reason treating its objects now

¹Boethius, De Trinitate, 'Prologus' (LCL, p. 4). Cf R.D. Crouse, "Semina Rationum", p. 84f. H. Chadwick, Boethius, The Consolation of Music, Logic, Theology, and Philosophy (Oxford, repr. 1983), p. 110f., shows that this division of the sciences had pagan Neoplatonic precedents. I do not think that such sources necessarily preclude an Augustinian influence as well. Another source, too, of these spiritual motions for St. Bernard could have been the Pseudo-Dionysius, who speaks of straight, spiral, and circular motions not only in the human and angelic subjectivities, but also in the divine. These are, of course, in the human case, the sensuous and imaginative, the discursive, and the contemplative motions of the soul respectively. See The Divine Names 4.8-9, 7.2, & 9.9, in The Complete Works, tr. Colm Luibhead, CWS (New York, 1987), pp. 78, 106f., 118f. (PG 3.704D-705B, 868B-C, 916C-D).

²Boethius, De Trinitate II (Loeb ed., pp. 8 & 12).

according to the precepts of the liberal arts. Finally, in the consideration of the objects of theology (in divinis), one proceeds intellectualiter, reason, quite apart from the objects of sense and imagination, trying to understand the divine intelligence, form itself,¹ "quantum humanae rationis intuitus ad divinitatis valet celsa conscendere".² These sciences, therefore, reflect the ascent-- outlined by Boethius in his Consolation-- from sense through imagination to reason and thence above the human soul to divine intelligence itself,³ this last stage, the province of theology, finding its starting point in the Catholic faith⁴ and proceeding as much as possible simplici intellectu, having rejected all images, in which sameness and otherness are combined.⁵

St. Bernard's division of consideration into dispensativa, aestimativa, and speculativa is clearly modelled upon Boethius' division of speculation into rationalis, mathematica, and theologica, both sets of terms describing the soul as it acts directly upon the objects of sense and imagination, as it acts upon the same objects according to the rules of human science, and as it stretches above itself to understand the principles upon which all such phenomena depend. But Bernard differs from Boethius in two ways. First, as we noticed above, considera-

¹Ibid., p. 8.

²Ibid., 'Prologus', p. 4.

³Boethius, Philosophiae Consolatio V, prose iv & prose v (LCL, pp. 411f. & 417).

⁴Boethius, De Trinitate I (LCL, pp. 4 & 6).

⁵Ibid., c. VI (LCL, p. 30). Cf. Chadwick, op. cit., p. 219.

tion is directed primarily at the reformation of self, at the transformation of one's own subjectivity, while speculation, as Boethius describes it, is directed primarily at the world around us and at the invention of its underlying principles. Secondly, while Boethius, as Augustine, moves from faith through the categories of human thought to an understanding of the nature of God simplici intellectu,¹ Bernard describes the movement from dispensative consideration to speculative rather differently. For he argues that the objects of consideration which are above us can be investigated partly by opinion, partly by faith, and partly by intellect (opinio, fides, intellectus, V.iii.5).

Is [sc. Deus], et qui cum eo sunt beati spiritus, tribus modis, veluti viis totidem, nostra sunt consideratione vestigandi, opinione, fide, intellectu. Quorum intellectus rationi innititur, fides auctoritati, opinio sola veri similitudine se tuetur. Habent illa duo certam veritatem, sed fides clausam et involutam, intelligentia nudam et manifestam; ceterum opinio, certi nihil habens, verum per veri similia quaerit potius quam apprehendit (V.iii.5).

For example, one believes that the angels are a blessed, spiritual hierarchy, one opines that they have bodies or not, and one reasons it out that they have understanding (V.iv.7). Indeed, the nature of God is subject to the same modes of investigation (V.vi.13-14). But by

¹Chadwick, op. cit., argues that, "Boethius is less sanguine than Augustine (or at least than the young Augustine) about the capacity of the divinely illuminated reason to attain to adequate statements about God. In the Consolation of Philosophy (v m. 3) he is ready to envisage the parallel affirmation of two truths which reason cannot reconcile." R.D. Crouse, "Semina Rationum", p. 84, whose interpretation I follow, argues, "In the Tractates generally, the principles are there to start with, as universally established, but in the undemonstrated form of faith. To demonstrate them, to 'conjoin faith and reason', means to provide the logical, categorical explication of them."

definition-- "Quid est Deus? Quo nihil melius cogitari potest"

(V.vii.15)¹-- God is beyond the limit of human thought.

Ipse sibi forma, ipse sibi essentia est. In hoc interim gradu suspicio illum, et si alter potior appareret, illum potius darem. Numquid verendum, ne cogitatis transvolet illum? Quantumcumque in altum proficiat, ultra est. Infra quod homo cogitare possit, altissimum quaerere, ridiculum est; statuere, impium. Ultra, non citra quaerendus est (V.vii.16).²

Therefore, his unity and his trinity must be investigated at last only by faith.

Dicamus itaque tres, sed non ad praeiudicium Unitatis; dicamus unum, sed non ad confusionem Trinitatis. Neque enim nomina vacua sunt, nec absque significantia cassae voces. Quaerit quis quomodo hoc possit esse? Sufficiat ei tenere sic esse, atque hoc non rationis perspicuum, nec tamen opinionis ambiguum, sed fidei persuasum (V.viii.18).

And such faith, resting upon the authority of Scripture (V.xiii.27-xii.29), finally comprehends God, not by the scholastic art of disputation,³ but by monastic sanctity.

Non ea disputatio comprehendit, sed sanctitas, si quo modo tamen comprehendi potest quod incomprehensibile est (V.xiv.30).

¹An adaptation of Anselm's definition in the ontological argument of the Proslogion II-III: "aliquid quo maius nihil cogitari potest" (Schmitt ed., p. 84). See Evans, The Mind of St. Bernard, p. 183

²Bernard is here quite directly addressing the first capitulum brought against Gilbert at Rheims: "Quod videlicet assereret divinam essentiam non esse Deum" (quoted by Evans, The Mind of St. Bernard, p. 178). Bernard seems to be saying that the divisions human thought knows between form and matter and between essence and being do not exist in that being than which nothing potior can be thought and in whom, therefore, essence and being are undivided. In reference to the entire debate upon the capitulum, Dr. Evans writes, "Bernard is talking, not about the problem of theological language, the verba, but about the content of what is expressed, the res" (The Mind of St. Bernard, p. 185).

³See Smalley, The Study of the Bible, pp. 209-213, on the scholastic disputatio at this period.

That is to say, the transformation of one's own subjectivity, which is the material cause of monastic consideration, is the ground also of one's comprehension of God, which is the final cause of consideration. Consideration creates that sanctity which is the ground also of one's comprehension of God.

And so, Bernard has here, in effect, shown how a favorite scholastic text can quite legitimately be interpreted in a monastic way, an achievement not unlike that of the De conversione. In doing so, however, he has altogether rejected the more strictly Boethian science of the scholars, who sought to discover the underlying principles of things. In some sense, Bernard now sees the learning of the schools as falling outside the movement from faith to understanding, or rather, he has transformed that movement into a movement from faith to comprehension, a comprehension by means of holiness, a comprehension essentially by means of the will.¹ And so, what had been merely a jar between scholars and monks, in St. Bernard, St. Benedict's most extreme son, became perfect discord.

To be sure, Gilbert, as John of Salisbury reports it, rejected this notion of contemplation.

Cum uentum fuerit ad inuisibilia Dei conspicienda a nature recedatur usu, abigantur fantasie creaturarum, tollatur rerum quas nouimus imaginatio, et mens per ea que facta sunt ad ea que facta non sunt erigatur, et affectus seipsum in superiora extendens, quia non sufficit apprehendere, saltem suspendat se et temporalia deserat mente dum interim celestia penetrare non potest; hoc suspendium contemplatiuus eligit, nec abhorret sed potius delectatur quociens ipsum gratia introducit, ut quo modo fieri potest uideat que ab eterno singularum in Trinitate sint propria personarum. Spiritualis est, licet eum redarguat animalis

¹Cf. E. Gilson, The Mystical Theology of St. Bernard, tr. A.H.C. Downes (London, repr. 1955), pp. 125-129 and passim.

fantasiasta, qui non didicit differentias et fines facultatum, et quod in fisicis rationabiliter, in mathematicis doctrinaliter, in theologicis intellectualiter uersari oportet. Ipse enim in omnibus naturaliter credit esse uersandum... Si uero didicisset facultatum fines et theologicas rationes, rationis euectus beneficio in intelligentiam puriorem, fantasiis huiusmodi non seruiret.¹

Contemplation for Gilbert is precisely the scholastic effort to determine the natures of things.² In the sciences, the scholar finds the modes of thought proper to the different grades of reality. And although God is truly beyond our reason, nevertheless the theological mode of thought teaches the scholar to abstract his affections from sensible things, so that free of the images which sensibles leave in the memory, the mind and will may fix themselves upon and depend from pure form, as often as grace grants it. Bernard's difficulty, Gilbert seems to be saying, is that he uses the mode of thought proper to sensibles in contemplating intelligibles.³ That is to say, he uses words in their

¹John of Salisbury, Historia pontificalis XIII (Chibnall ed., p. 37f.).

²See Gilbert, Expositio in Boecii librum primum de Trinitate I.ii.9 (Häring ed., p. 80), where Gilbert calls the three speculative sciences of Boethius "naturales". There may be an Eriugenian influence here, as Gilbert elsewhere uses the fourfold division of nature of Eriugena's Periphyseon I (PL 122.441B) to explicate Boethius' second definition of nature: "natura est vel quod facere vel quod pati possit" (Contra Eutychen I (LCL, p. 78). Gilbert's words are these: "Perfecta uero esset diuisio si ita dixisset: uel quod facere et non pati uel quod pati et non facere uel quod et pati et facere uel quod nec pati nec facere potest" (Expositio in Boecii librum contra Euticen et Nestorium I.45, Häring ed., p.251; noticed first by R.L. Poole, Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought and Learning (London, repr. 1932), p. 157, n. 16).

³Bernard had tried through John of Salisbury to arrange a meeting with Gilbert to discuss their differences further after the Council of Rheims, to which Gilbert replied: "abbatem, si plenam intelligenciam Hylarii affectaret, prius in disciplinis liberalibus et aliis prediscendis plenius instrui oportere" (Historia pontificalis XII, Chibnall ed., p. 26).

proper sense when discussing the nature of God, and not as analogues.¹

Sed theologica dumtaxat fide, spe, et caritate in mente sunt, alias autem, sicut apostolus ait, superant omnem sensum. Eis ergo proprie non conueniunt uerba que sua sunt aliorum. Sed ne deuotio muta sit, translatis utitur uerbis uel ad se excitandum, uel ut instruat paruulos suos, uel ut confundat et conterat inimicos. Docet hoc Boetius in libro de Trinitate, dicens decem esse predicamenta quae predicantur de rebus omnibus, sed de Deo predicata mutantur, quia talia sunt predicata, qualia subiecta permiserint... Exuuntur ergo sermones propriis significationibus, et cum hii, sicut ait Aristotilis, sint note earum passionum que sunt in anima, id est intellectu, res illas conantur ostendere quas sine defectu suo aut nunquam aut raro percipit intellectus.²

¹Poole, op. cit., pp. 157 & 159, sees Gilbert's theory of theological language as a theory of analogy. John of Salisbury reports that Gilbert thought that in theology one should use translatis uerbis (see the passage which follows in the text above); and Gilbert himself says at one point: "Hic commemorandum est quod, cum facultates secundum genera rerum de quibus in ipsis agitur diuerse sunt i.e. naturalis, mathematica, theologica, ciuilis, rationalis, una tamen est, scilicet naturalis, que in humane locutionis usu promptior est et in transferendorum sermonum proporcionibus prior" (Expositio in Boecii librum primum de Trinitate III.1, Häring ed., p. 115). This theory of the proportional or analogical use of language, though refined only in the next century (cf. § . Thomas, Summa theologiae 1.13.5 resp., "Dicendum est igitur quod huiusmodi nomina dicuntur de Deo et creaturis secundum analogiam, idest proportionem"), was nevertheless imported to the Latin world in the ninth century by Eriugena. See Periphyseon I (PL 122.463B): "Attamen... quemadmodum fere omnia, quae de natura conditarum rerum proprie praedicantur, de conditore rerum per metaphoram, significandi gratia, dicuntur; ita etiam categoriarum significationes, quae proprie in rebus conditis dignoscuntur, de causa omnium non absurde possunt proferri, non ut proprie significant, quid ipsa sit, sed ut translative, quid de ea nobis quodammodo eam inquiringibus probabiliter cogitandum est, suadeant." S. Tugwell, ed., Albert and Thomas, Selected Writings, CWS (New York, 1988), p. 44, traces the problem of speech about God as it occurred in the West back to Eriugena and to the Dionysian writings which so influenced him. The difficulty with Tugwell's treatment of the twelfth century (pp. 44-50) is his argument that the theologians of the period used language equivocally about God, rather than analogically. This may be the case with Alan of Lille (p. 49), but it does not seem to have been the case with Gilbert; and Theodoric's use of theological language translatiue (p. 46f.) does not reduce it necessarily to mere metaphor, since the metaphorical use of language about God is proportional, as both Gilbert and Thomas teach. On Theodoric, see further below, p. 165, n. 1.

²Historia pontificalis XIII (Chibnall ed., p. 36f.).

Of course, Bernard was aware of the problem of words in theological discourse, as we have seen. But instead of falling back on the doctrine of analogy, he rejects the scholastic effort altogether and reinterprets Boethius to suit the monastic life, the life of 'true philosophy', 'the cult of true wisdom'.

St. Bernard's radical critique of the scholastic life was not without effect, for a number of scholars abandoned the schools for the Cistercian way of life during the twelfth century, such as Geoffrey of Auxerre and Alan of Lille. Even Theodoric of Chartres, "dignus Aristotilis successor", who "repetens rerum primas ab origine causas/in summo vidit cardine cuncta simul"-- this great practitioner of scholastic contemplation-- abandoned his school for Cistercian solitude, as his editor thinks.¹

Hoc Driadum saltu gratisque recessibus olim
Cedens urbe frequens Teodericus erat.
Complacueret sibi fratres quos consociarat
In latebris heremi religionis amor.²

That is to say, he abandoned his former contemplation for the Cistercian school of love,³ preferring at last, it would seem, St. Bernard's interpretation of the Augustinian tradition on subjectivity and the knowledge of God to his own.⁴

¹A. Vernet, art. cit., p. 668f. & strengthened by Häring, ed., Commentaries on Boethius by Thierry of Chartres (Toronto, 1971), p. 52.

²Ibid., p. 670.

³See Gilson, op. cit., pp. 60-84.

⁴Some years ago Édouard Jeuneau remarked, "Il y a d'ailleurs plusieurs 'augustinismes', comme il y a plusieurs 'platonismes'" (La philosophie médiévale, 3rd ed. (Vendôme, 1975), p. 7). More recently R.D. Crouse has emphasized the fact that the twelfth century was a period of alternative or competing Augustinianisms ("Anselm of Canterbury and Medieval Augustinianisms", Toronto Journal of Theology 3 (1987), pp. 60-68; "A Twelfth-Century Augustinian: Honorius Augustodunensis", in Atti del Con-

3. Arnold and the Liberal Arts

St. Bernard's first biographers were William of St.-Thierry, Arnold

gresso Internazionale su S. Agostino, vol. III (Rome, 1987), pp. 167-177). More specifically, of twelfth-century mysticism he has written, "The possibility of differing Augustinianisms is implicit in the works of St. Augustine. Aimé Solignac speaks of 'La double tradition augustinienne': there is a 'tradition lumineuse', and also a 'tradition ombreuse', both of them founded in the texts of St. Augustine, but offering quite different perspectives, optimistic or pessimistic, in regard to man and nature. With regard to mystical theology and practice, various possibilities suggest themselves. Certainly, the starting point must be somehow in faith, but will the method be primarily experiential and rational at the outset (as in the Confessions), or must it necessarily be exegetical and dogmatic (as St. Augustine insists at the beginning of De trinitate)? Among twelfth-century Augustinians, St. Anselm, for instance, chooses the former way (and is criticized for it by his Augustinian master, Lanfranc), while Rupert of Deutz, and many others, would adopt the latter way as properly Augustinian. Is the ascent to be found immediately in the soul's self-knowing, as might be suggested by St. Augustine's Soliloquies, and by St. Anselm's Proslogion; or is the way of return an ascent through all the hierarchies of the sensible, rational and intellectual cosmos, as implied by Confessions XIII, De trinitate, De genesi ad litteram and De civitate Dei? The mystics of St. Victor, the 'physicists' of Chartres, and Honorius, would all be inclined towards the latter way. Those who followed that latter way would find the perspectives of Procline-Dionysian mysticism congenial, especially as integrated with St. Augustine's 'Trinitätsmystik' at the hands of John Scottus Eriugena. And they would be right in seeing that as a legitimate development within the tradition of Augustinian mysticism" ("What is Augustinian in Twelfth-Century Mysticism?", typescript, p. 11f.). If one accepts this division, one would have to place Bernard on the side of the dogmatic, exegetical and subjective-- the pessimistic-- mysticism, while Gilbert would be found on the rational, objective, and optimistic side, both equally Augustinian. One does indeed find here a reminiscence of the two Neoplatonic traditions of Plotinus and Proclus. See W.J. Hankey, op. cit., p. 33: "Common to Plotinus and Augustine, and separating them from Eriugena and Aquinas, is the conviction that man must turn inward toward his noetic soul in order to ascend to God. Dionysius provides his heirs with the Proclan view that, because the descent into the material of the human soul is complete, it has no alternative but to turn outward to move upward. The human body and the sensual are thus given a value even in this world which Christians had not hitherto adequately appreciated. Because they lack this aspect of the philosophical means for fully valuing man's whole being, they retain something of Plotinus' misanthropy." Thus, St. Bernard's position would reflect the Plotinian side of Augustine's thought, while Gilbert's would reflect that side of

of Bonneval, and Geoffrey of Auxerre. William had stood very much with Bernard in the prosecution of Abelard, indeed he stirred Bernard up to the prosecution; and Geoffrey was Bernard's partisan in the prosecution of Gilbert long after the principals were dead.¹ They were both decidedly opposed to the teaching of the schools and they were both white monks. Arnold, on the other hand, a black monk, from a tradition very far removed from its eremitical roots, seems to have felt some ambivalence towards Bernard's prosecution of Abelard and Gilbert, as we have noticed.² Was his attitude towards the schools in general, then, less extreme than the Cistercian? To be sure, he shared the heritage of St. Benedict with them, knowing the monastery as a school where through the lectio divina the subjective self was reformed in the image and knowledge of Christ. Moreover, he shared with them the Augustinian context of monastic life, thought, and scholarship: the notion that one may spoil ancient literature and thought, the conviction that religion and philosophy are one, the distinction between scientia and sapientia, the desire to comprehend the mysteries of the faith, the trinitarian view of human subjectivity. But to what extent and in what manner did Arnold see dialectic, the science of our divided thinking, as inadequate to the

Augustine found in the De genesi ad litteram (cf. Crouse, "A Twelfth-Century Augustinian", p. 171f.) and made explicit by Eriugena's Dionysian reflections upon it. These are important points to make because they emphasize the fact that Bernard's thinking is entirely traditional, thoroughly Augustinian, and perfectly philosophical and rational in its conception and in its working out.

¹See Evans, The Mind of St. Bernard, pp. 148-151 & 174f.; Poole, op. cit., p. 162. Fr. Häring, in his edition of Gilbert's commentaries (p. 12), calls Geoffrey "Gilbert's relentless defamer".

²Above, p. 66f.

simplicity of the divine nature? To what extent and in what manner did he reject the scholar's life as unphilosophical? In answering these questions, we should finally arrive at an understanding of the De cardinalibus Christi operibus itself.

Arnold states the aim of the De cardinalibus Christi operibus quite explicitly at the end of the prologue.

Libellum igitur quem de cardinalibus Christi Domini nostri operibus scripsi, paternitati uestre... misi, in quo fons sacramentorum est et discipline huius in qua stamus origo, formam et exemplar recte uiuendi nobis proponens, ab humili Christi aduentu usque ad gloriosum eium reditum ad Patrem gradatim conscendens... (Prologus 13.8-14).¹

Its aim, that is to say, is moral. It will be an extended meditation on the life of Christ from the time of his arrival from his Father (aduentus) until his going back to his Father (reditus), in which the pattern for living rightly will be shown. Moreover, Christ's life will be studied under these two forms: as the fountainhead of the sacraments and as the origin of monastic discipline (in qua stamus²), the using of

¹All unattributed references in this portion of the text will be to the new edition. Most of this passage is also quoted above, p. 108f.

²Hadrian IV was a regular canon (Kelly, op. cit., p. 174) and Arnold, of course, a black monk. Both were therefore devoted by profession to the life of evangelical purity, the life of following not only the precepts, but also the counsels of Christ (I Cor. 7.25; cf. Arnold, De donis Spiritus Sancti, PL 189.1593A). On the canons in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, see Morris, op. cit., pp. 74-78 & 247-250; and Chenu, Nature, Man, and Society, pp. 202-219, on the controversy between monks and canons over which form of discipline was the vita apostolica, and pp. 219-230, on lay aspiration to the vita apostolica. G.M. Oury, "La vie monastique dans l'oeuvre d'Ernaud, abbé de Bonneval", Revue hist. spir. 51 (1975), p. 268f., remarks: "La première remarque que l'on peut faire, est que pour Ernaud de Bonneval la vie monastique se situe dans l'exact prolongement de la vie chrétienne, elle n'en est que l'intensification; lorsqu'il prononce le mot de 'religio'-- le fait est éclairant-- il entend souvent parler de la vie chrétienne et non pas seulement de la vie monastique au sens strict..." Dom Oury's remark is correct, as far as it goes. However, as we shall see, the De cardinalibus Christi operibus was written with the problem of scholastic and monastic learning specifically in mind. Thus, we are justified in

the one and the following of the other constituting right living, constituting, it would seem, our participation of Christ such that we too may mount with him out of this world to the Father.

It is, then, meant to be a moral treatise in this way. It is meant to show how one may find true knowledge and sure access to God.

Ea igitur que licita sunt et concessa tangamus, et circa cunabula saluatoris prima infantie eius fercula degustemus et circumcisi et loti (uicto diabolo) sanctificatis affectibus in cena cum domino recumbamus, ubi pane angelorum refecti post illius cibi delicias surgamus ad transitum, ut de hoc mundo uehiculo crucis euehamur ad celum, Spiritu sancto nos replente, qui deinde nos doceat et patefaciat quicquid in exilii huius peregrinatione moles corporis et imperfectionis lippitudo fecit obscurum (Prologus 13.1-8).

That is to say, through these sensible forms instituted by God, namely, through the sacraments and through monastic discipline, which is the vita apostolica, man may pass across to the heavenly life, as if conveyed upon the vehicle of the Cross, the Holy Ghost removing everything carnal and obscure from our understanding, so that we may know God spiritually. Moreover, these sensible forms, summed up in the symbol of the Cross, are the only lawful (licita) means we have to come to such knowledge, for as Arnold has already argued in this prologue, as we shall see, we cannot attain this knowledge in a stable way by an unaided study of created things.

We are here very close, therefore, to St. Augustine's great image of the Cross as a ship upon which we may come to a stable and abiding knowledge of God

Cum uideatis ergo ista omnia esse mutabilia, quid est quod est, nisi quod transcendit omnia, quae sic sunt, ut non sint? Quis ergo hoc capiat? Aut quis, quomodocumque intenderit uires mentis suae,

limiting the reference here to the monastic life.

ut attingat quomodo potest id quod est, ad id quod utcumque mente attingerit, possit peruenire? Sic est enim tamquam uideat quisque de longe patriam, et mare interiaceat; uidet quo eat, sed non habet qua eat. Sic ad illam stabilitatem nostram ubi quod est est, quia hoc solum semper sic est ut est, uolumus peruenire, interiacet mare huius saeculi qua imus, etsi iam uidemus quo imus: nam multi nec quo eant uident. Vt ergo esset et qua iremus, uenit inde ad quem ire uolebamus. Et quid fecit? Instituit lignum quo mare transeamus. Nemo enim potest transire mare huius saeculi, nisi cruce Christi portatus. Hanc crucem aliquando amplectitur et infirmus oculis. Et qui non uidet longe quo eat, non ab illa recedat, et ipsa illum perducet.¹

And then he adds,

Itaque, fratres mei, hoc insinuauerim cordibus uestris: si uultis pie et christiane uiuere, haerete Christo secundum id quod pro nobis factus est, ut perueniatis ad eum secundum id quod est, et secundum id quod erat.²

Because (St. Augustine is saying) we can only just touch God for a moment with our minds by means of pagan philosophy, but must always fall away from him again;³ because by that means we can only see our homeland afar off, but have no means of returning to it, God sent his only Son into the world to be the means of our return, so that we might be conveyed across the intervening sea of sensuous instability upon the ship or vehicle of the Cross to a stable and abiding knowledge of God; and our Christian living constitutes our passage upon that ship. Thus, we are here right back in the midst of the problem of the relation of pagan wisdom to Christian, the problem, as it came to be felt in the twelfth century, of the relation between the philosophy of the school

¹Augustine, Tractatus in Iohannis euangelium II.2, CCSL XXXVI (Turnhout, 1954), p. 12. See also the other references to Prologus 13.5-6 in the second register in the text below.

²Ibid., II.3, ed. cit., p. 12.

³Cf. above, p. 121f.

and the philosophy of the monastery. And indeed, an examination of Arnold's prologue will show that he is addressing this problem directly.

But before we examine the prologue, it will be helpful to look again at an earlier work, the De donis Spiritus Sancti, in which Arnold has a great deal to say about the relation between liberal learning and the scientia humilitatis.¹ There Arnold treats the problem of philosophy and the liberal arts in the general context of the relation between sapientia and scientia, a context afforded by the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit themselves, but developed in an Augustinian manner.

Arnold divides the seven spiritual gifts into two groups linked by fortitude, the one depending on sapientia, the other on scientia, both interpreted in light of Job 28.28. The locus classicus for this interpretation is, of course, St. Augustine's De Trinitate.

Verum scripturarum sanctarum multiplicem copiam scrutatus inuenio scriptum esse in libro Iob eodem sancto uiro loquente: Ecce pietas est sapientia; abstinere autem a malis scientia est. In hac differentia intellegendum est ad contemplationem sapientiam, ad actionem scientiam pertinere. 'Pietatem' quippe hoc loco posuit 'dei cultum,' quae graece dicitur *θεοσεβεια*... Et quid est in aeternis excellentius quam deus cuius solius immutabilis est natura? Et quis cultus eius nisi amor eius quo nunc desideramus eum uidere credimusque et speramus nos esse uiuiros... Abstinere autem a malis quam Iob scientiam dixit esse rerum procul dubio temporalium est quoniam secundum tempus in malis sumus, a quibus abstinere debemus ut ad illa bona aeterna ueniamus.²

But Arnold himself writes,

¹See above, p. 98f.

²Augustine, De Trinitate XII.xiv.22; see also XIV.i.1. The same point is made at Enchiridion I.2, tr. J. Rivière, BA 9 (Paris, 1947). pp. 102 & 104.

Cum igitur Scriptura dicat: Ecce theosebia, id est Dei cultus, ipsa est sapientia, quisquis Deum recta intentione, ac devota sedulitate colit, hunc vere sapere, hunc spiritu intelligentiae agi credo.¹

And again,

Sed hoc de illa scientia sermo est, quae Spiritus Dei praecipuum donum est, quae in Scripturis scientia Dei vocatur, quae apponit dolorem, de qua dicitur: Recedere a malo, scientia.²

So, the fact that Arnold conflates the Vulgate version of the text, "ecce timor Domini ipsa est sapientia et recedere a malo intelligentia", with the text as quoted by Augustine, and the fact that he quotes Augustine's definition of theosebia both seem to indicate that Arnold has in mind Augustine's distinction between scientia and sapientia, a distinction between the essential activities of the inner and of the outer man, of the rational soul of man as turned either towards the sensuous and historical or towards the intelligible and eternal.³ And indeed, this observation is borne out by the fact that Arnold sees scientia as 'beginning from and persevering in humility',⁴ a humility which makes possible the service of man (pietas) and obedience to God (timor),⁵ while sapientia, on his view, is 'to have no taste for

¹PL 189.1591D-1592A. It is interesting to note the use of the word intelligentia here, since it denotes for Boethius the highest mode, the divine mode of knowing, which is beyond our properly human and rational mode (above, p. 141f.). As we shall see (below, p. 157), part of the context here is Boethian.

²PL 189.1598C.

³See above, pp. 123f.

⁴PL 189.1598D: "Porro haec scientia, et ab humilitate incipit, et in humilitate perseverat."

⁵Ibid., 1600C-D: "Attestantur et duo extrema dona quae restant, pietas et Dei timor, quae nonnisi umbra humilitatis sunt; sed alterum ad homines, ad Deum alterum."

earthly things and to run thirstily to the fountain of wisdom',¹ whence, as it may be, are also derived the graces of understanding (intellectus) and counsel (consilium).² The two sides of Augustine's distinction are clearly present.

But there is also a difference. Augustine relates sapientia to the contemplative, and scientia to the active life. Arnold, on the other hand, relates sapientia to Jacob's one wife Leah, a figure of the active life, and intellectus to Jacob's other wife Rachel, a figure of the contemplative life,³ Leah standing for those who seek the fountain of wisdom, but do not necessarily penetrate the opaque places in Scripture or understand God from his creatures,⁴ Rachel standing for those, who, whether wise or not, have the intellectual graces to understand God in nature and in revelation. Thus, since it is apparent that not only Catholics, but also pagans and heretics have had understanding of these things, intellectus is unequal to sapientia and is really of no worth at all unless humility be joined to it.

Nam et Psalmista non absolute ait: Beatus qui intelligit; sed addidit, super egenum et pauperem, ut tunc solum intellectum

¹Ibid., 1592A: "Sicut ergo istos in spiritu sapientiae excellere manifestum est, eo ipso quo terrena non sapiunt, et ad fontem sapientiae in siti currunt..."

²Ibid., 1595D: "Restat ergo ut qui spiritu sapientiae et intellectus caret, spiritum consilii sibi non arroget."

³Gregory the Great, Moralia in Iob VI.xxxvii.61 (PL 75.764B).

⁴PL 189.1592A: "... ita in spiritu intellectus eos non eminere apparet, vel quia <in> Scripturarum opaca non penetrant, vel quia ex creaturis Creatorem non intelligunt." This is, by the way, the other half of the comparative sentence quoted in n. 1 above. The phrase in Scripturarum opaca may be a reminiscence of Augustine's Confessions XI.ii (LCL, vol. II, p. 212): "neque enim frustra scribi voluisti tot paginarum opaca secreta..."

prodesse declaret, si se ad humilitatem inclinaret, si paupertatem suam intimam non dissimularet, si Christi pauperibus compati atque servire amaret.¹

That is to say, unless the philosopher, the scholastic philosopher in Arnold's context, employ his mental gifts humbly and in the fellowship of the 'poor men of Christ', in Arnold's context the monks,² his gifts will do him no good. 'Wisdom itself without understanding suffices for salvation, although understanding itself, except it be directed by wisdom, rather departs from salvation.'³

Arnold therefore here is interpreting the traditional figures of Leah and Rachel in an untraditional way, making them stand the one for Christian wisdom, dei cultus, the other for knowledge obtained intellectualiter, as Boethius says, whether it be Christian or not. The latter he sees as virtuous if it is planted in the soil of humility in the monastic life; vicious if not. He thus shows himself aware of the jar which had developed between scholastic and monastic learning, though he does not condemn learning itself.

Scientia Arnold treats in the same way, distinguishing between a virtuous and a vicious form.

¹PL 189.1592B-C.

²Cf. Bernard, Apologia XII.28 (LTR, vol. III, p. 106): "Denique quid haec ad pauperes, ad monachos, ad spirituales viros?" On poverty as a monastic ideal at this time, see Chenu, Nature, Man, and Society, esp. p. 211.

³PL 189.1592C: "Et ipsa [sapientia] quidem sine intellectu isto sufficit ad salutem, cum ipse intellectus nisi a sapientia dirigatur, magis elonget a salute."

Tanta est igitur scientiarum diversitas, ut scientia inflat, scientiam dolorem apponat; cum inflatio superbia, dolor vero non modo humilitas, sed et profunda humilitas sit.¹

Here Arnold depends upon Augustine again.

Qui uero iam euigilauit in deum... hunc ita egentem ac dolentem scientia non inflat quia caritas aedificat. Praeposuit enim scientiam scientiae; praeposuit scire infirmitatem suam magis quam scire mundi moenia, fundamenta terrarum et fastigia caelorum, et hanc apponendo scientiam apposuit dolorem, dolorem peregrinationis suae ex desiderio patriae suae et conditoris eius beati dei sui.²

Both the distinction between sciences based upon I Cor 8.1 and the peculiar form of the reminiscence of Eccle. 2.18,³ prove the dependence.

So, Arnold is saying that the knowledge of created things gained through the study of the liberal arts, gained disciplinaliter, as Boethius would say, though in itself useful, must be subordinated-- scientiam scientiae-- to the 'science of humility', to the study of the service of men and of obedience to God. Otherwise it will be merely self-serving, a matter of pride.

Scientia saeculi in verbis est eloquentiae, scientia Christi in factis humilitatis: scientia saeculi, ut alius alium verbis con-

¹Ibid., 1598C. See also 1606C-1607A, where Arnold interprets the works of the fifth day this way. "Per aquas enim scientia significari notum est... Aquae igitur reptilia et volatilia producant, quia ex scientia quidam inflati nimis ut reptilia remanent; quidam vero humiliati ad coelestia velut aves evolantes exaltantur."

²Augustine, De Trinitate IV, Proem.1. See also ibid., XII.xi.16: "Cum enim neglecta caritate sapientiae quae semper eodem modo manet concupiscitur scientia ex mutabilium temporaliumque experimento, inflat non aedificat..."

³The Vulgate has "qui addit scientiam addat et laborem", where Augustine has "apposuit dolorem" and Arnold "dolorem apposuit". At 1606D Arnold quotes the whole text in the Augustinian form: "Qui apponit scientiam apponit dolorem."

cludat; scientia Christi ut frater fratri per humilitatem serviat.¹

But the notion of subordination is real. Arnold does not regard this knowledge itself as superfluous.

Igitur scientiam litterarum, scientiam artium diversarum non negamus esse scientiam. Verum sicut is qui necessaria corporis sibi suisque scit providere, dominorumque, vicinorumque suorum gratiam habere, honeste secundum hoc saeculum gerere apud homines sapiens vocatur: et cum omnis sapientia a Domino Deo sit, ille tamen si in aeternis sibi suisque prospiciendis, non sapuerit, spiritum sapientiae accepisse dicendus non est, ita ille qui litteras, qui artes, qui ipsas etiam divinas litteras scit, nescit, si spiritum scientiae sese accepisse confidit, seipsum decepit.²

That is to say, the scholar who devotes himself to the sciences by which created things are known, the scholar who proceeds disciplinaliter, but without making humility the starting point of his knowledge, service and obedience its means of acquisition, will lose the benefit of his knowledge. To be sure, this knowledge is useful, just as it is useful to know how to provide for one's family and dependents and to deal with one's neighbours and superiors; but if it is not subordinated to the higher goal of wisdom, if one enjoys it rather than uses it, to recall an Augustinian distinction, then one has lost sight of its end, just as one will have lost sight of our heavenly goal, if one attends only to the temporal needs of one's family and dependents. Thus, in this work Arnold, through the concepts of humility, poverty, service, and obedience, clearly subordinates the Boethian modes of knowing disciplinaliter and intellectualiter to the Augustinian modes of scientia

¹PL 189.1599D. See p. 123f. above for the Augustinian form of this argument about scientia.

²PL 189.1602B-C.

and sapientia, themselves constituting the fulness of Christian spiritual life as lived by the sons of St. Benedict.¹

In the prologue to the De cardinalibus Christi operibus, Arnold pushes this point much farther, his argument there being designed to show how the knowledge of God attained by means of the liberal arts is unstable and unrewarding and thus why the only sure path to true knowledge is the monastic life.

Arnold's argument begins with a statement of how difficult it is to have any knowledge at all of 'lofty matters',² such knowledge being possible of attainment only by those learned in the 'liberal disciplines'.

Exercitati in liberalibus disciplinis (simul ingenio conueniente et studio) philosophari possunt et secure aggredi res abditas (Prologus 1.3-4).

¹Arnold does not seem very far here from the position of Hugh of St.-Victor, who argues that study is the monk's preliminary to the pursuit of perfection. See Didascalicon V.viii (PL 176.796C-D). "Si monachus es, quid facis in turba? Si amas silentium cur declamantibus assidue interesse delectaris? Tu semper jejuniis et fletibus insistere debes, et tu philosophari quaeris? Simplicitas monachi philosophia ejus est. Sed docere, inquis, alios volo. Non est tuum docere, sed plangere. Si tamen doctor esse desideras, audi quid facias. Utilitas habitus tui, et simplicitas vultus, innocentia vitae, et sanctitas conversationis tuae docere debent homines. Melius fugiendo mundum doces quam sequendo. Sed adhuc forte prosequeris, ecquid inquires, nonne saltem si volo discere mihi licet? Supra dixi tibi, lege, et occupari noli. Exercitium tibi esse potest lectio, sed non propositum. Doctrina bona est, sed incipientium est. Tu vero te perfectum fore promiseras, et ideo tibi non sufficit, si incipientibus coaequaris. Plus aliquid te facere oportet. Considera ergo ubi sis, et quid agere debeas facile agnosces." Cf. the passage from Augustine quoted above, p. 120, n. 1. Arnold himself once remarks that prayer preceded by study and fasting cannot fail (below, V.7.1-2).

²Prologus 1.1: "Sublimes materie..."

Thus, 'as well in the study of the revealed nature of God as in the doctrines of the philosophers'¹ a thorough preparation in the liberal arts is indispensable.² Indeed, the seraphim which Isaiah saw veiling God's face and feet (Is. 6.2) are a figure of this, for by covering 'the beginning and the end of majesty' they forbid the approach of 'rash thinkers and writers', that is, the curious.³

But even careful, well instructed thinkers can only know so much, for inuestigatio fidelis, though it can somehow 'smell or sense'

¹Prologus 1.8: "... tam in diuinis quam in philosophorum doctrinis..." Boethius uses the term diuina to designate the objects of theology (De Trinitate II, LCL, p. 8). Arnold's division of the doctrines of the philosophers from theology either may hark back to Augustine's notion that the pagan philosophers were somehow set over against the Christian philosophy and were to be spoiled or may reflect the contemporary fact that Christian thinkers and pagan were once again being studied side by side.

²Gilbert had taunted Bernard by saying he was not so prepared (above, p. 146, n. 3).

³Prologus 2.1-4. Arnold seems to have taken this interpretation of Is. 6.2 from St. Bernard, De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae X.35 (LTR, vol. III, p. 43). "Seraphim namque aliis quidem aliis suae contemplationis de throno ad scabellum, de scabello ad thronum volantia, aliis caput Domini pedesque velantia, ad hoc ibi posita puto, ut sicut peccanti homini paradisi per Cherubim prohibetur ingressus, ita et per seraphim tuae curiositati modus imponatur, quatenus nec caeli iam magis impudenter quam prudenter arcana rimeris, nec Ecclesiae mysteria cognoscas in terris, sed solis contentus sis cordibus superbiorum, qui nec in terra esse dignantur sicut ceteri hominum, nec sicut angeli volant ad caelum." Bernard claims the invention of this interpretation as his own (ibid., Retractatio, LTR, vol. III, p. 15). It should be noted that this piece of exegesis is found in Bernard's chapter on curiositas, which is, he says, "primus... superbiae gradus" (ibid., X.28, LTR, vol. III, p. 38). Dr. Evans remarks (The Mind of St. Bernard, p. 163), "In the De Gradibus Humilitatis Bernard gives almost as much space to curiositas, the pursuit of knowledge which does not lie on the road to salvation, as he does to the other eleven degrees of pride together." Thus, Arnold's use of this interpretation here indicates his elimination of the speculation of the curious from consideration at this point. He is talking about those who faithfully consider the objects of theology.

divinity, nevertheless cannot 'see and grasp' the pure divine essence.¹ In fact, 'no affirmation about God's essence can be held before the eyes nor indeed can divinity be defined; but remotion more truly and genuinely shows by negation what divinity is not than it shows what it is by assertion.'

Affirmatio quippe de dei essentia in promptu haberi non potest neque enim diffinibilis est diuinitas, sed uerius sinceriusque remotio indicat negando quid non sit quam asserendo quid sit... (Prologus 2.7-10)

This is the case because 'nothing that can be heard or seen or known befits the eternal majesty.' 'The acuteness of the senses is dull in this consideration and vision is clouded.'² The seraphim are a figure of this, too, for their standing still images the immobility, their flying the loftiness of this 'invisible light and inaccessible nature.'³ But even if the divine essence is properly unknowable, the nature (ratio) of the works of God is not hidden from 'the sincere contemplation of a pure heart', the same heart which shall finally enjoy the vision of God (Matth. 5.8). For whether made from nothing as the angels and the elements or made from matter and form, all God's works are intelligible, a reality imaged by the fact that the seraphic wings in Isaiah's vision are visible to pure minds.⁴

¹Prologus 2.4-7: "... aliquomodo odoratur uel sentit, sed puram eius essentiam nec conspicit nec comprehendit."

²Ibid., 2.11-13: "Quicquid audiri uel uideri uel sciri potest, non conuenit maiestati. Hebes est in hac consideratione omnis acies sensuum et caligat aspectus."

³Ibid., 2.13-19: "Hanc inuisibilem lucem et inaccessibleem naturam..."

⁴Ibid., 2.19-24: "Nec tamen ale ille que dei uelant substantiam nostros conspectus diffugiunt, sed ille puris mentibus se uisibiles exhibent et operum dei ratio siue eorum que ex nichilo sunt, siue eorum que ex materia uel facta sunt uel fiunt se intelligibilem exponit et que circa deum et que sub deo sunt mundi potest cordis quoquomodo sinceritas con-

So, while the curious are forbidden the study of lofty matters, nevertheless those well instructed in the liberal arts may undertake their faithful investigation. Such scholars must be clear, however, that the essence of God cannot be known by affirmative theology (affirmatio), which asserts (asserendo) what that essence is by a comparison with the objects of the senses and of the mind. The divine nature in fact so far exceeds all activity of reason that it is much better known by negative theology (negando), which removes (remotio) from our thinking about God every conception which falls short of his majesty. However, though this be the case with God's essence, nevertheless all his works are intelligible from the loftiest angel to the lowest creature composed of matter and form, and an understanding of these things can be attained by the faithful investigation and sincere contemplation of pure minds, though such understanding will escape the merely curious, as we have already noted.

Arnold's point of view here is, of course, Dionysian and Eriugenian. To be sure, he could have known the works of these two thinkers immediately or he could have known the works of the latter through the work of Honorius Augustodunensis.¹ But it can be

templari." In his Tractatus de sex dierum operibus 2 (Häring ed., p. 555f.), Theodoric tries to show that the material cause of creation-- the four elements-- was created from nothing.

¹How widely Dionysius and Eriugena were read in the twelfth century and by whom are vexed questions. J. Leclercq has held for years that the Pseudo-Dionysius had almost no influence on the monastic thought of the twelfth century and that his influence was confined chiefly to scholasticism (The Love of Learning, p. 115, orig. pub. in French in 1957; "Influence and noninfluence of Dionysius in the Western Middle Ages", in Pseudo-Dionysius, The Complete Works, CWS (New York, 1987), pp. 27-29). His view has recently been challenged by R.D. Crouse, who sees the tendency of modern research as showing the Dionysian-Eriugenian influence to be quite extensive and who sees Leclercq's distinction between scholastic and mystic as being too rigid ("What is Augustinian

demonstrated that he knew this point of view through a study of Theodoric of Chartres and possibly of Gilbert of Poitiers as well.

The distinction between affirmative and negative theology is made once in Theodoric's undoubted works¹ and twice in two works, themselves closely related, which may well be by Theodoric or, if not, were certainly written directly under his influence.² The undoubted passage, to which I shall confine my remarks, is as follows, where the context is Theodoric's statement, "Et hoc modo quidem de deo theologicè loqui debemus, non ponere genera uel species et formas in deo..."³

62 Sed iuxta primam theologiam de summo deo loquendum est qui est infinibilis interminabilis qui nec intelligi nec significari potest. Est autem theologia de summo deo duplex: est per affirmationem quando scilicet aliqua de deo attribuuntur per similitudinem: et est per negationem quando a deo aliqua remouentur per priuationem.

And he continues.

63 Quod ostendit et exequitur Dionisius summus theologus in Girathia ubi theologiam per affirmationem exequitur dicens quod deus est sapientia uirtus prudentia iusticia fortitudo. Que omnia de deo affirmat et ei conueniunt per translationem: non proprie. Ipse enim ut diximus nullo uocabulo significari potest. Deinde aggreditur theologiam per negationem dicens quod deus nec uirtus est nec sapientia nec prudentia nec iusticia et ita de aliis: quippe nichil horum proprie deo conuenit. Et idcirco negat ea a

in Twelfth-Century Mysticism?", typescript, pp. 7-9). On Honorius as a scholar of Eriugena, see R.D. Crouse, "A Twelfth-Century Augustinian", pp. 172-177.

¹Fragmentum Londiniense contra Eutychen III.62-63 (Häring ed., p. 246). On the authenticity of this work see the Häring edition, pp. 28-32.

²Tractatus de Trinitate 26-27 (Häring ed., p. 309f.); Commentarius Victorinus de Trinitate 99-112 (Häring ed., pp. 501-504). On the authorship and relationship of these works see Häring's edition, pp. 33f. & 38-45.

³Fragmentum Londiniense 61 (Häring ed., p. 246).

deo exequendo theologiam per negationem. Et qui peritus esset theologie tam per affirmationem quam per negationem peritissime de deo sciret loqui. Unde errant in loquendo de deo qui theologiam ignorant.

How, then, does the beginning of Arnold's prologue compare with this? First, the context is the same, a discussion of the possibility and modes of human thought about God. Second, it is claimed that those who are uninstructed in the proper modes of thought will err in thinking about God. Third, God's nature is said to be properly beyond the reach of human reason and understanding. Fourth, theology is divided into the two modes of affirmation or assertion and negation or remotion, the former saying things that befit God per translationem (or as Arnold says, "aliquomodo odoratur uel sentit"), the latter stripping these same assertions away because properly they do not befit God.¹ Therefore,

¹In his Lectioes in Boethii librum de Trinitate, a book which Arnold seems to have read (see above, p. 64, n. 6, where the reference is to Lectioes II.48, Häring ed., p. 170), Theodoric argues the question of human speech about God at greater length and concludes this way. "Itaque cum dicimus: Pater est deus Filius est deus Spiritus sanctus est deus non predicatur illa res que est diuina essentia sed hoc solum nomen deus predicatur quod quid sit deus quodam modo innuit nobis substantiam que est supra omnem substantiam per translationem. Et propositio ueritatem retinet propter illam innuicionem, ut ita loquar, non quia nomen predicet ibi rem aliquam quam significet sicut potes uidere in simili: Prata rident. Hic predicatur hoc uocabulum rident sed non predicatur hec res risus. Et hoc uocabulum innuit aliud translatiue per simile quod non significat ex inuentione: scilicet florere. Et retinet proprie ueritatem propter innuicionem, ut ita loquar non quia uocabulum predicatum suam rem in re subiecta ponat sed innuit aliud per simile ut ostensum est. Sic enim solet esse in translatiuis locutionibus" (IV.15). Tugwell, op. cit., p. 46, refers to this passage in a discussion the point of which is to show that Theodoric "leaves it unclear how any real knowledge of God can be possible". One would have to ask what 'real knowledge' of God is, I suppose; but in a brief reply to Tugwell one might just say that Theodoric argues very clearly that speaking translatiue does convey truth. In the example which he gives ridet does not convey its own res or risus; but the res of the meadow, florere, it does convey translatiue. Or as he says a little later in the same work: "Quod autem deus non sit ens aperte dicit Dionisius in Ierarchia dicens quod deus potius accedit ad nichil quam ad aliquid. Ad nichil i.e. ad nullum ens accedit quia non est ens sed est entitas uel essentia omnium rerum a quo entia fluunt et habent esse" (IV.28).

considering the fact that Arnold is known to have read Theodoric, as we have noted, and considering the close correspondence of ideas and terms in these two passages,¹ it seems certain that Theodoric was a chief source for Arnold's thinking at this point.

Thus, though Arnold starts with a Bernardine image for the exclusion of the curious from true knowledge of God, he much extends this image, so that it now represents the whole problem of human knowledge of 'lofty matters'. Now the image is used to show incidentally that the curious are excluded from such knowledge, but principally that even for humble, faithful thinkers the knowledge of the divine essence is problematical, though everything created be intelligible. Arnold's use of the image is far more constructive therefore than Bernard's. For where Bernard uses it simply to demonstrate that the curious are without fruit, Arnold uses it to bring into his argument a scholastic theory of epistemology, not simply to exclude it immediately as fruitless curiosity, but to show how its own logic-- what is true in it-- actually demands a conversion to the monastic way of life.

Speaking translatiue, that is to say, we can think of God as something; but the theology of negation compels us to think rather of God as nothing: and the two taken together leave us not in a quandary, with no real knowledge of God, but at the point where the affirmation and the negation can be held together at once in the statement that God is "entitas uel essentia omnium rerum..."

¹See also Lectioes IV.27 (Häring ed., p. 195): "Deus quoque potius per priuationem intelligitur quam aliquo alio modo. Unde Augustinus: Potius intelligo quid non sit deus quam quid sit..." Gilbert of Poitiers also uses the language of remotion. See his Expositio in Boecii librum contra Euticen et Nestorium I.25 & 33 (Häring ed., pp. 247 & 249). Of course, so does Boethius, Contra Eutychen I (LCL, p. 78).

Arnold now proceeds by considering the proper objects of our minds, 'the things around God and the things below God', which are represented by the seraphic wings covering God's face and feet. And he shows that though the works of the six days reveal their maker's eternal power and Godhead (Rom. 1.20), nevertheless man, even before the fall, did not know the maker in the same way that he knew the things the maker had made (Prologus 3). Moreover, even our intercourse with the angels is not about the nature of the divine principle, since God simply is beyond the capacity of our minds, which know only by 'number and measure and weight' (Prologus 4.1-11).¹ To be sure, the Church itself has means of access to God: "que ad cultus iusticie, que ad ordinem uite, que ad gradus ascensionum, que ad conuenientiam morum, que ad honestatem huius conuersationis et gratiam pertinent contemplationis" (Prologus 4.13-16);² yet even these things, though God is sought through them, do not reveal him as he is.³ Thus, 'we taste, sip, and smell' the divine nature and 'it is near'; but 'when we approach, it is farther away'.⁴ And so, he concludes this paragraph (drawing on St. Augustine),

Et quomodo fulgur nubes dirumpit et repentina choruscatio non tam illuminat quam hebetat oculum, ita aliquando nescio quo motu tangeris et tangi te sentis, eum tamen qui te tangit non intueris (Prologus 4.19-22).

¹Cf. Augustine, De Trinitate XI.xi.18.

²Arnold is here still interpreting Is. 6.2: "que... sub ipso sunt implent templum" (cf. Prologus 4. 11-12). He is following Bernard, who interprets the things below God as pertaining to the Church.

³Prologus 4.16-17: "Hec aguntur et exercentur in templo presenti et per hec deus queritur. Nec tamen quesitus ilico inuenitur."

⁴Prologus 4.17-19: "Gustamus, delibamus, odoramus et prope est. Cumque accesseris, longius abi."

Compare this passage from the De Trinitate.

Ecce uide si potes, o anima prae-grauata corpore quod corrumpitur et onusta terrenis cogitationibus multis et uariis, ecce uide si potes, deus ueritas est. Hoc enim scriptum est: Quoniam deus lux est, non quomodo isti oculi uident, sed quomodo uidet cor cum audit, ueritas est. Noli quaerere quid sit ueritas; statim enim se opponunt caligines imaginum corporalium et nubila phantasmatum et perturbabunt serenitatem quae primo ictu diluxit tibi cum dicerem, ueritas. Ecce in ipso primo ictu qua uelut coruscatione perstringeris cum dicitur ueritas mane si potes: sed non potes. Relaberis in ista solita atque terrena. Quo tandem pondere, quaeso, relaberis nisi sordium contractarum cupiditatis uisco et peregrinationis erroribus?¹

The use of the image of light and of the word choruscatio in both passages suggests Arnold's dependence here on Augustine, while the parallelism of thought to be noticed makes the dependence seem fairly certain. For what both writers are saying is that something affirmed of God seems to give a certain brief apprehension of the divine essence; but when we try to think through the affirmation, the divided nature of our thought makes the affirmation seem unfitting, and our momentary apprehension of God disappears. It is this thought, then, which Arnold now pursues, having carefully introduced St. Augustine into the discussion.

The next part of Arnold's discussion hangs upon this notion of an undeniable, but indefinable knowledge of the principle of all things present within our souls.

Dicuntur tibi quedam uerba archana intrinsecus, que effari non sufficis, ut dubitare non possis, quia iuxta te est, immo intra te qui te sollicitat (Prologus 5.1-3).

¹Augustine, De Trinitate VIII.ii.3.

As Arnold says, Rachel, who represents intellectus, as we have seen above,¹ is drawn toward the smell, not the eating of Leah's mandrake roots, Leah representing sapientia. That is to say, the spirit of understanding just barely senses, so to speak, what the spirit of wisdom holds in its hands. The spirit of understanding indeed must begin in faith, for it does not yet have immediate knowledge. "Tu sponso fide, non complexu coniungeris" (Prologus 5.5). To be sure, Rachel stands for the "uisum principium", as St. Gregory tells us; but the principle is not seen or understood as it was from the beginning with God, since we have only certain inadequate names with which we try to affirm that which we ought perhaps more properly to negate. It is rather known as it became flesh in Jesus Christ, as it made itself accessible to our divided thought. As he says,

Rachel quippe "uisum principium" sonat. Quod Verbum in principio apud deum suo proprio esse michi non patet, sed quibusdam nominibus deum inuoco et dico: iusticia, ueritas, sanctificatio, caritas; et quero aliquas species uel formas per quas quod sentio quoquomodo intinem. Nam quod Verbum caro factum est facilius uideo et hoc sensui meo quasi esu incorporo (Prologus 5.9-14).

Two things must be noticed here. First, Arnold seems to be using these two verses from the prologue of the Gospel of St. John (underlined in the quotation above) as Augustine does in the De Trinitate, where he includes the first verse in the objects of sapientia and the second verse amongst the objects of scientia.² Second, he draws in again the doctrine of Theodoric, this time on the divine names, a Dionysian theme,

¹Above, pp. 156f.

²Augustine, De Trinitate XIII.i.2-4.

to show the inadequacy of the gift of intellectus.¹ Arnold has here, then, adroitly shifted the focus of the argument from intellectus alone to the relation of intellectus to sapientia and scientia, showing that the beginning point of intellectus must be scientia, if it is ever to arrive at sapientia.

Arnold now clarifies the argument by turning to St. Bernard's distinction of opinio, intellectus, and fides,² saying that since our properly human mode of knowing regards intellectualia from afar through the mediation of sensuous creation, and our apprehension of things must therefore be partly merely by opinion, partly by the true understanding of the proper objects of human reason, and partly simply by faith in

¹See Theodoric, Lectiones in Boethii librum de Trinitate II.48 (Häring ed., p. 170): "Sed mos est auctorum cum de deo locuntur quia deus nullum nomen habet uti multis nominibus ad loquendum de deo ut per illa possint intimare quod de deo sentiunt qui EST IPSUM ESSE..." One notices here especially the parallel use of sentio/sentiunt and intimem/intimare. These parallels taken together with the fact that this is the very same passage where Theodoric defines unity as onitas, a definition which Arnold borrows elsewhere, as we have seen (above, p. 96), demonstrate Arnold's dependence on Theodoric here.

²See above, p. 143. It should be noted that Theodoric teaches that the Boethian physical science proceeds by opinion, while the science of mathematics knows 'the truth' about those objects of opinion (Lectiones in Boethii librum de Trinitate II.29; Häring ed., p. 164). Of the objects of theology Theodoric says that one must proceed quite apart from images in a unified way (ibid., II.33; Häring ed., p. 165f.). It seems likely, therefore, that Arnold is here approximating Theodoric's position and St. Bernard's, thus showing how Bernard's three modes of consideration of things above us are really equal to the three Boethian levels of speculation as explicated by Theodoric. (St. Bernard does not do this, equating rather his levels of dispensative, estimative, and speculative consideration to the Boethian levels of speculation.) Of the third level Arnold says, "in multis magnitudine rerum oppressi exclamamus cum apostolo, O altitudo diuitiarum sapientiae et scientiae dei!" At this point, then, Arnold seems to be subordinating Theodoric's conception to Bernard's, in that this last level merely oppresses the properly human mode of thought and leaves us entirely dependent on faith.

what God has revealed, it is absolutely necessary that God offer some, as it were, sensation of himself to the mind, so that we may be invited and provoked to pursue him, the desire which then moves us also purifying us and transforming us little by little ad formam dei, restoring the image and similitude of God (Prologus 5.14-30).¹ Of course, human wit would fail, were it not for the magisterium of the incarnate Word, the incarnate principle, whose own desire is that we should share his clear knowledge of divinity, which we do do through what he reveals of God's triunity, though we must wait the second coming before this knowledge will be plain (Prologus 6.1-14). Thus, though we seek this knowledge at God's command, nevertheless our mediation regards 'the eternal years' from afar and by the very difficulty of the subject is driven back upon 'the visible things of this world' (Prologus 7.1-16).

Moreover, a consideration of the human soul itself reinforces and amplifies this conclusion, for we know neither its constitution (Prologus 8.1-9) nor why it is so prone to sin (9.1-15), especially considering the fact that it seems more capable of the reprobation of what is evil and the election of what is good than it does of the decision between true and false in other matters. That is, the judgements of the human soul have more certainty for us when they are given in cases

¹Cf. Augustine, De Trinitate XIV.xvii.23. "In agnitione igitur dei iustitiaque et sanctitate ueritatis qui de die in diem proficiendo renouatur transfert amorem a temporalibus ad aeterna, a uisibilibus ad intellegibilia, a carnalibus ad spiritalia, atque ab istis cupiditatem frenare atque minuere illisque se caritate alligare diligenter insistit. Tantum autem facit quantum diuinitus adiuuatur... In quo prouectu et accessu tenentem mediatoris fidem cum dies uitae huius ultimus quemque compererit, perducendus ad deum quem coluit et ab eo perficiendus excipietur ab angelis sanctis, incorruptibile corpus in fine saeculi non ad poenam sed ad gloriam recepturus. In hac quippe imagine tunc perfecta erit dei similitudo quando dei perfecta erit uisio."

having to do with the sensuous and practical than with the intelligible and theoretical (9.15-11.17).¹ And so, is it not audacious to inquire into the principle or beginning which has no beginning and the end which has no end, into the beginning and the end of majesty, into the face and feet of divinity veiled by the seraphic wings ? (Prologus 12.1-4) It is audacious, for the human mind is repelled from it, as has been shown (12.4-6). Yet God has already restored us to paradise;² and although we are now forbidden to eat of the tree of eternal life, the tree of 'the investigation of sempiternal divinity', nevertheless we are now permitted to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, being now in Christ able to choose the good and reprove the evil. And so, through the scientia boni, which we now possess, we are able to walk at large "in paradiso uoluptatis" (Prologus 12.6-26). That is to say, though we are repelled from the immediate vision of God in this life, nevertheless we can still pursue God by loving the good, a point made by St. Augustine in his De Trinitate, where he begins his search for a

¹Arnold's consideration of the soul here, his consideration here of what we are, completes his consideration of reality, since he has already considered what is below, around, and above us. See above, p. 138f., for this Augustinian and Bernardine conception. Arnold may also have in mind Theodoric's notion that the soul has two modes by which it grasps things, i.e. when it uses the body for an instrument and when it uses itself (Commentum super Boethii librum de Trinitate II.3; Häring ed., p. 68).

²Paradise is used as an image of the Church. See below, VII.3.1 & VIII.6.15-16. But Bernard seems to have used the term paradisus claustralis for the monastery. See Gilson, The Mystical Theology of St. Bernard, pp. 85-118. Leclercq, The Love of Learning, p. 67f., gives examples of the equation of the monastery with Jerusalem. Thus, I expect that the primary meaning of the Church shaded rather easily into the secondary meaning of the monastery in Arnold's mind.

locus or topos¹ for the argument which will lead to the discovery of a suitable, as it were, genus or species² by which God's triunity may be understood. As he says,

Ecce iterum uide si potes. Non amas certe nisi bonum quia bona est terra altitudine montium et temperamento collium et planitie camporum... Quid plura et plura? Bonum hoc et bonum illud. Tolle hoc et illud, et uide ipsum bonum si potes; ita deum uidebis, non alio bono bonum, sed bonum omnis boni.. Sic amandus est deus, non hoc et illud bonum, sed ipsum bonum; quaerendum enim bonum animae, non cui supervolitet iudicando, sed cui haereat amando, et quid hoc nisi deus? Non bonus animus aut bonus angelus aut bonum caelum, sed bonum bonum.³

Therefore, Arnold seems to be saying that the true investigation of God's nature will be carried out by loving God in the life of the Church, and more particularly in the life of the monastery with its sacraments and discipline. And so, as he concludes his prologue, he can say truly that now he wishes to consider what is lawful (licita), "ut de hoc mundo uehiculo crucis euehamur ad caelum" (Prologus 13.5-6).

4. The Contents of the De cardinalibus Christi operibus

Throughout this essay it has been argued that Arnold intended the De cardinalibus Christi operibus to be a propaedeutic to the monastic life, an introduction to the meaning of the sacraments for monks and to

¹At De Trinitate VIII.x.14 Augustine notes that the discussion of this book has resulted in the discovery of the locus for the rest of the argument.

²See above, p. 126.

³Augustine, De Trinitate VIII.iii.4. This follows directly on the passage cited above, p. 168, n. 1. Arnold is thus very clearly tying his argument on the two trees into Augustine's argument that the locus for a successful investigation of the Trinity is not intellectus immediately, but love.

the elements of monastic discipline. A brief (and selective) overview of the contents of this work should establish this point beyond doubt.

The Tractatus de natiuitate serves both as a bridge from the argument of the prologue and as an introduction to the monastic life.

Arnold first emphasizes that the revelation of the Incarnation was made to the humble, simple shepherds and not to the wise and prudent (I.1-3) and that Christ's birth occurred in the poorest surroundings (I.4).¹

Then he draws out the mystery of the Incarnation by a meditation on the circumstances of St. Mary's virginity (I.5-6) and returns again to the theme of Christ's choice of the humble poor for his followers (I.7-9).

Here we meet the theme of humble poverty conjoined to the notion of a scola.

Pauperes electi, superbi neglecti. Nec fastus nec astus circa Christi discipulatum aliquem obtinet locum. Christus pauper discipulos diuites aspernatur. Pauper mater, pauper filius, inops hospitium his, qui in forma huius scole in ecclesia militant, prebent efficax documentum (I.8.4-8).

It was noticed above² that St. Benedict thought of the monastery as a scola seruitii and that there was a conceptual connection between the terms seruire and militare and indeed between scola and militia. This same association of terms occurs in this passage from Arnold. The conclusion would seem justified, therefore, that Arnold is speaking in these pages quite specifically about the poverty and simplicity of the monastic life and thus that he is arguing that the monastery is the proper school for learning about divinity and coming to the visio dei. As he says,

¹Cf. above, p. 72, n. 6.

²See above, p. 115, n. 1.

Idemque Spiritus, qui longe ante prophetas docuerat, etiam nunc humilium mentibus se infundens dilatabat humani intellectus angustias et aperiebat interiores oculos, ut uiderentur inuisibilia et intelligerentur ea, ad que humanus non attingit sensus nec rationis penetrat intellectus (I.8.20-24)

That is, though the soul can proceed properly on its own at the Boethian level of physics and mathematics-- or as St. Bernard calls them, the dispensative and estimative levels¹-- nevertheless on the theological or speculative level one can only understand what the Holy Spirit grants our eyes to see.

Arnold then develops the theme of humility (I.10-11), which is perhaps the fundamental theme of the Regula Benedicti.² As Arnold says,

Hic est primus religionis introitus sicut in mundum primus Christi ingressus, ut quicumque pie uult uiuere, humiliter de se sentiat neque supra se in mirabilibus ambulare presumat (I.10.10-13).

Since we know that the word religio assumed the meanings of "religious, ascetic life", "a monastic community", "a religious order", "rule observed by a religious order" during the middle ages,³ it seems certain that Arnold is making here the straightforward Benedictine point that humility is the fundamental requirement of the monastic life. Yet his addition of the quotation from Ps. 130 with its reference to mirabilibus suggests that he is thinking of humility specifically in relation to the speculative life. Indeed, he expands on just this point in the next paragraph, a portion of which has been quoted above,⁴ his point being that the knowledge he had hoped to gain through studying the

¹See above, pp. 141-145.

²Benedicti Regula VII (Schmitz ed., pp. 45-61).

³Niermeyer, s.v.

⁴Above, p. 105.

physical speculations of such scholars as Theodoric he now seeks through his humble meditation upon the incarnate Lord, in whom God and man, nature and spirit are one (I.12). Next a meditation on the messianic prophecy of Is. 9.6 leads Arnold to a consideration of the apostolic counsel of virginity, another requirement of the monastic life (I.13-14), and this finally leads to an exhortation to the monastic army to follow the Cross of that man who is also God (I.14-16).

Et quidem in hoc tempore in stadio uite huius se exercet militia christiana et, preeunte Christi uexillo, quem et paruulum uidimus et cognouimus deum (I.16.1-3).

And so, very skillfully Arnold draws the argument of the prologue to its logical conclusion in this first tractate, that if one would see God, one must enter upon the monastic way, leaving behind the life of the schools and embarking upon the vehicle of the Cross.

The De ratione circumcisionis is largely about the struggle against concupiscence, although Arnold here also interprets the ancient rite of circumcision as a sacrament of Christ's atoning death (II.6). In the De stella et magis et innocentium nece, Arnold has two chief points to make. First, he interprets the decision of the magi to depart into their own country another way as a figure for the choice of the monastic life.

Adorato domino, magi hilares alio tramite in suam patriam reuertuntur, quia necesse est, ut qui corde credunt ad iusticiam, ore etiam confessi sunt ad salutem, deinde uias eligant artiores et se distractionibus mandatis obligent, quoniam per uias latas descensusque precipites itur ad inferos, per artas uero et difficiles reditur ad superos. Propter uerba labiorum dei religiosus quisque uias duras ingreditur et iugulator uoluptatum stantem ex diuerso hostem securus aggreditur. Arta uia est castitas, trames strictus humilitas. Ieiunio affligi et carnem in seruitutem redigere scopulose sunt semite, sed ad patriam superiorem non nisi per meatus difficiles armati milites reuertuntur (III.5.1-12).

Arnold's use of the term districtio, a term found also in John Cassian, where it denotes monastic discipline,¹ his use of the term religiosus, meaning a monk,² and his emphasis on chastity and humility make the meaning of his interpretation clear. However, earlier Arnold has presented the magi as scholars skilled in the liberal arts.

Erant in illis regionibus uiri siderum inspectionibus assueti, qui arte mathematica uim discursumque nouerant planetarum, qui ex elementorum natura rationem temporum metientes astrorum ministeria certis experimentis propriis didicerant effectibus assignata (III.1.7-11).

Thus, Arnold still has here clearly in mind the problem of the relation of the liberal arts to the monastic life, and his conclusion seems to be that once a scholar has been converted upon Christ by the logic of his own science, he must take the narrow way of the monk, if he would return home to the visio dei. Arnold's second chief point in this tractate seems to be that the Holy Innocents by the grace of God entered into heaven in that condition at life's outset which the monk struggles a whole lifetime to attain.

In the De baptismo Christi et manifestatione Trinitatis Arnold first addresses the question of the efficient cause of the sacraments (IV.1-3). Since he also alludes to the practice of simony in these pages (IV.3.15-24), we can be sure that the argument is meant to address the Donatist notion, resurgent on account of Hildebrandine zeal, that the validity of a sacrament could be annulled by the immorality of the

¹See John Cassian, Institutiones cénobitiques, ed. & tr. J.-C. Guy, S.J., SC 109 (Paris, 1965), p. 250 (V.38.2).

²Niermeyer, S.V.

minister.¹ Next Arnold, after noticing Christ's humility in establishing the sacrament (IV.4), discusses the baptismal revelation of the Holy Trinity (IV.5-6), taking the opportunity also to show that the spiritual enterprise of the monastic school is essentially trinitarian.

In hac diuini magisterii scola Pater est qui docet et instruit, Filius qui archana dei nobis reuelat et aperit, Spiritus sanctus qui nos replet et imbuit. A Patre potentiam, a Filio sapientiam, a Spiritu sancto accipimus innocentiam. Pater elegit, Filius diligit, Spiritus sanctus coniungit et unit. A Patre nobis datur eternitas, a Filio imaginis eius conformitas, a Spiritu sancto integritas et libertas. In Patre sumus, in Filio uiuimus, in Spiritu sancto mouemur et proficimus (IV.6.11-18).

In each example, the Father is represented as the eternal expression of the simple, incomprehensible cause of all things, while the Son is represented as making that expression accessible to our minds and the Holy Ghost as the source of our identity with that cause. Here we seem very close to Theodoric's doctrine that the eternity of the Father is the affirmative expression of the divine infinity, which itself can only be known by remotion, an affirmative expression which is further explicated in the Son and in the Holy Spirit.² Thus, it seems that Arnold

¹See R.I. Moore, The Origins of European Dissent (New York, 1977), esp. pp. 60-66.

²Commentarius Victorinus de Trinitate 110-115 (Häring ed., p. 503f.). The trinitarian formula which Theodoric is considering, taken he says from St. Hilary, is this: "In eterno infinitas species in imagine usus in munere" (para. 115). Arnold's trinitarian formula of potentiam, sapientiam, and innocentiam seems to be borrowed and modified from Abelard, e.g. Theologia summi boni I.ii.2, CCCM XIII, ed. E.M. Buytaert, O.F.M., & C.J. Mews (Turnhout, 1987), p. 87. The triad sumus... uiuimus... mouemur et proficimus seems to be a conflation of Act. 17.28 with the Neoplatonic causal triad esse-vivere-intelligere as found, for example, in Augustine, De libero arbitrio II.iii.7, tr. G. Madec, BA 6 (Paris, 1976), p. 276. Therefore, Arnold seems to be saying that God's triune self-revelation has an exitus-reditus pattern, into which we enter because we are and because we have been redeemed and because we are being sanctified. Cf. above, p. 151.

is once again pressing home the point that the monastic school is the only school where one can gain a stable knowledge of God in this life, where one can stabilize one's own subjectivity by serving faithfully in the militia christiana, where one is not stymied by the inadequacies of affirmative theology, but can work one's way to a deeper understanding of God through that great affirmation of God's nature which is Jesus Christ, whose reditus to his Father we participate through his sacraments and discipline. The tractate finally concludes with an exhortation to the loving obedience of God (IV.7-9).

The De ieiunio et temptationibus Christi is really a treatise on fasting and on the fundamental temptations of the monastic life: gula, uana gloria, superbia (V.14.7-8 & 16.7-10).¹ It incidentally contains some of Arnold's most persuasive prose.

We have already seen that Arnold did not use Christ's baptism as an occasion for a discourse on the Sacrament of Holy Baptism, but in the end as an exhortation to monastic obedience. In the De cena domini et prima institutione consummantis omnia sacramenti, Arnold does discuss the doctrine of the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the Mass, but only as it is necessary for his exposition of the spiritual meaning of communion in the monastic life. He sketches in the doctrine of the real presence in order to account for the spiritual effects which result from faithful communion.

Panis iste, quem dominus discipulis porrigebat, non effigie, sed natura mutatus omnipotentia Verbi factus est caro et sicut in persona Christi humanitas uidebatur et latebat diuinitas, ita sacramento uisibili ineffabiliter diuina se infudit essentia, ut

¹See John Cassian, Institutiones cénobitiques V.3, XI.1, XII.5 (ed. Guy, SC 109, pp. 192, 428, 456).

esset religioni circa sacramenta deuotio et ad ueritatem, cuius corpus sacramenta sunt, sincerior pateret accessus usque ad participationem Spiritus, non quod usque ad consubstantialitatem, sed usque ad societatem germanissimam hec unitas peruenisset (VI.7.1-9).

The change in nature in the bread and wine is brought into the discussion to explain why there must be devotion towards the sacrament in the religious life and how the sacrament can bring us more genuinely than the liberal arts to the truth by effecting our participation of the Holy Spirit.¹ One side of our communion with Christ is communal, the

¹Peter of Bruys, a notorious contemporary heretic, asserted "corpus Domini in sacramento altaris ecclesiam non habere, et quicquid in eo a sacerdotibus fit, inane prorsus et absque aliquo ueritatis effectum..." (Peter the Venerable, *Contra Petrobrusianos* 91, Fearn ed., p. 56). Arnold may have had this objection in mind when he formulated this argument. At the time of the Reformation this passage was the subject of debate. For example, Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, and Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, each tried to interpret it his own way. See *Writings and Disputations of Thomas Cranmer... relative to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, Parker Society, vol. 15 (Cambridge, 1844), pp. 308-312, where the arguments of both prelates are conveniently gathered. Thomas Watson, Gardiner's secretary and then Marian bishop of Lincoln, translated the *De cena domini* into English and also quoted from it several times in his published sermons. See my as yet unpublished paper, "An Unpublished Translation by Bishop Thomas Watson of a Spurious Sermon of St. Cyprian of Carthage: Introduction and Text", for further examples of its use at the Reformation. My own belief is that Arnold's doctrine was orthodox. To be sure, twelfth-century eucharistic doctrine was by no means systematic and uniform. (See Macy, *op. cit.*, *passim*, but esp. pp. 1-17.) Nevertheless, Arnold's phrase "non effigie, sed natura mutatus" indicates that he believed in a substantial change in the eucharistic elements. For the fundamental meaning of *natura* in Boethius is: "natura est earum rerum quae, cum sint, quoquo modo intellectu capi possunt" (*Contra Eutychem* I; LCL, p. 78). This definition can be applied both to accidents and to substances, but the context demands that Arnold be referring the term *natura* to the substances of bread and wine. The ambivalence in Arnold's doctrine arises from the fact that he emphasizes not the substantial change itself, but the intellectual comprehension which results from the change and which is the final cause of the change (V.10.18-23). To Arnold the important thing about the *sacramentum* is that in it spiritually, i.e. with the mind, we apprehend Christ in his totality, the great affirmation of God's essence (X.8), and thereby come to the *res sacramenti* (VI.9), which is the restoration of our similitude to God and our return home (VI.3,6,12,24; XII.16). In this way only can we account for the fact that both Cranmer and Gardiner could find their own position in Arnold's work. (For further information on the Reformation influence of this

actualization of the members of Christ as his body the Church.

Ita ecclesia corpus Christi effecta obsequitur capiti suo et superius lumen in inferiora diffusum, claritatis sue plenitudine a fine usque ad finem attingens, totum apud se manens, totum se omnibus commodat et caloris illius identitas ita corpori assidet, ut a capite non recedat (VI.7.13-17).

And thus far it would be fair to characterize Arnold's eucharistic doctrine as "ecclesiastical".¹ But why does Christ so gather his members into the unity and fulness of his knowledge, into his light and clarity?

Ille qui a nemine iudicatur, cuius uita uel conscientia deo cognita humana iudicia non formidat, de tantorum potest secretorum profunditatibus iudicare et, cum seipsum corpus Christi cognouerit, uiuifico cibo libenter se reficit, sciens corpori et anime sue ex sacramento et re sacramenti indissolubilem eternitatem donari, quia et ad hoc Verbum caro factum est, ut nos qui secundum carnem deo placere non poteramus, societate Verbi deteresa salua infantie et carnalis petulantie sputamentis, audiremus per Verbum et reuelaretur nobis per Spiritum cognitio ueritatis et (huius cibi nobis munere erogato) gauderemus nos ad celestem mensam admissos superno interesse conuiuio (VI.8.9-20).

That is, in this sacrament Christ gathers each and every one of his elect into the community of the kingdom, which is the fulness of knowledge of that eternal truth taught by the Father, clarified for us by the Son, and perfected in us by the Holy Spirit. This sacrament establishes a community of true knowledge amongst the obedient followers of Christ. Thus, Christ does not simply unite himself to his Church as opposed to individual believers in this sacrament. He rather draws each believer and every believer into a fellowship of truth, where there may be 'a society of affections and confederation of wills' (VI.7.12). And so

work, see the references above, p. 108, n. 2.)

¹Macy, op. cit., p. 124f., esp. this sentence, which he bases upon the passage just quoted in the text above: "The union achieved in the Eucharist consists in the identity of Christ and the Church, not that of Christ and the individual believer."

Arnold can also see the sacrament as having a profoundly individualistic side.

Quam preclarus est calix iste! Quam religiosa est huius potus ebrietas, per quam excedimus domino et que retro sunt obliti ad anteriora extendimur. Non habentes sensum huius mundi, sed diuitis purpurati delicias contempnentes cruci heremus, sanguinem sugimus et intra ipsa redemptoris nostri uulnera fingimus linguam, quo interius exteriusque rubricati a sapientibus huius seculi iudicamur amentes, qui religionis huius abhorrentes mandatum usque hodie retro abeunt... (VI.13.6-13).

Though the first person plural is used in this passage, nevertheless the experience described is that of the individual mystical state. Mystical ebriety, spiritual excess, divine madness are all conditions that are by nature individual acts of worship, though the individual bacchants move in a group surrounding their God. Arnold therefore seems to be not so much presenting a bare ecclesiastical interpretation of this sacrament as showing how the sacrament inspires individuals with a profound knowledge of the truth in which they are made one with each other and with God. It is, then, a mirror of the monastic life, where individuals are led ever deeper into an understanding of Christ, which constitutes their true community with each other and with God.

Sed et nos ipsi corpus eius effecti sacramento et re sacramenti capiti nostro conectimur et unimur, singuli alter alterius membra. Ministerium dilectionis pro inuicem exhibentes communicamus caritate, participamus sollicitudine, eundem cibum manducantes et eundem potum bibentes, quod de petra spiritali profluit et emanat. Qui cibus et potus est dominus noster Iesus Christus (VI.24.7-13).

The point of the De ablutione pedum seems to be that Christ's lavipedium teaches us that beyond the forgiveness of sins afforded uniquely in Holy Baptism and only infrequently in the Holy Eucharist,¹

¹See Macy, op. cit., p. 118f., on the infrequency of Communion in Arnold's day. Even monks usually made their communion only once a month.

there can be a daily opportunity for the forgiveness of sins through the examination of conscience (VII.4,8).¹ In the De unctione chrismatis et aliis sacramentis Arnold, after showing that the oil of unction of kings and priests is a sign of the active and contemplative lives (VIII.3), makes his main point that in the new dispensation all Christians are anointed at Holy Baptism, which makes them kings and priests to their God (VIII.5). The De passione domini seems to culminate in a meditation upon the Cross designed to awaken compunction (IX.14-16), while the De resurrectione Christi finishes in a reflection on the mysterious composite nature of humanity, which in Christ's resurrection ceases any longer to be a burden, being restored to its proper dignity (X.9-15). The De ascensione Christi, furthers this train of thought by providing a consideration of human deformity (XI.4,7).

The last tractate, the De Spiritu sancto, is really an overview of the work of the Holy Spirit in creation and redemption, which concludes with a clear statement that all sacraments and every discipline depend upon his work (XII.16). Arnold directly addresses the problem of the relation of pagan philosophy to revelation and the Christian religion in this tractate in speaking of the doctrine of the anima mundi (XII.3-6).

Antiquis philosophis eius [sc. Spiritus sancti] intimarunt [sc. magi in Egipto] presentiam defuisse et licet de Patre et Filio aliqua sensissent platonici, spiritus tamen tumidus et humani appetitor fauoris sanctificationem intellectus diuini mereri non potuit. Et ubi ad profunditatem sacramentorum uentum est, omnis eorum caligauit subtilitas nec potuit infidelitas sanctitudini propinquare (XII.6.13-19).

¹A. Malvy, Dictionnaire de théologie catholique, tome IX, pte. 1 (Paris, 1926), col 34, concerning this tractate states that "il s'agit ici beaucoup plus d'examen de conscience que de sacrement, au sens moderne du mot." St. Bernard makes much the same point in his sermon In cena Domini 4 (LTR, vol. V, p. 70f.), as Malvy notices (coll. 32-34).

That is, the divine hypostases of Father and Son were known in some degree by the Platonists, but any apprehension of the divinity of the Holy Spirit and of his work in redemption was denied to them by their pride and ambition. This is, of course, the doctrine of St. Augustine.¹ Thus, Arnold is making here the essential Augustinian point that the knowledge of the Platonists is made complete in Christianity, but that one must enter into this inheritance through humility and faith in Jesus Christ. Since the philosophy of the schools in his day was so largely Platonist,² Arnold is also making the point that the liberal arts and philosophy, unless they begin in humility and faith, will not save one's soul. Here at the end of his work, therefore, Arnold returns once again to his fundamental concern with the relation between the learning of the schools and the learning of the monasteries; and since he has described the important points of monastic discipline and the monastic use of the sacraments, his propaedeutic is complete.

5. Conclusion

The 'analytic'³ method of this introduction-- 'ab exterioribus ad interiora, ab inferioribus ad superiora'-- has had the disadvantage of an almost rambling length. However, its advantage has been that our argument has emerged from the facts themselves, empirically, with as

¹Cf. Augustine, Confessions VII.ix.

²In the course of this essay wherever we have turned, whether to Augustine or Boethius, to the Pseudo-Dionysius or Eriugena, to Theodoric or Gilbert or Bernard, we have met the Platonic philosophy.

³I use this word in Eriugena's sense, Periphyseon, PL 122.526B.

little of ourselves involved as possible. The result is, I think, that Arnold's dry bones have been gathered together again and clad with the strong sinews and glorious flesh of the twelfth century. What have we learned?

It has emerged as well from a study of Arnold's life as of his works that Arnold had an abiding concern with the relation of the philosophy of the masters of the schools to the philosophy of the monastic life. This concern was forced upon him not only by the fact that he met these masters, conversed with them and studied their works with interest and admiration, but also by the fact that he was friends with their greatest antagonist, St. Bernard of Clairvaux. The De cardinalibus Christi operibus, though no doubt many of its parts were first composed as occasional pieces, in its final form nevertheless was meant to show how the logic of the scholastic philosophy must lead one inevitably to take up the monastic philosophy and also what one will find when one has taken it up, namely, entry into the life of Christ and union with the Holy Trinity.

Arnold's fundamental problem, therefore, was the meaning of scientia and sapientia and their relationship to each other. His position is at bottom Augustinian. He believes that, since in Christ are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, it is in the study and imitation of Christ that one will acquire wisdom and knowledge. More specifically, Arnold sees scientia as ordered towards sapientia in an Augustinian way, the former having to do with the sensuous, historical, and practical, the latter with the intelligible, eternal, and theoretical. Thus, for Arnold the Christian spiritual life is essentially a

movement of the soul "ab exterioribus ad interiora, ab inferioribus ad superiora", from the incarnate principle to the principle within to the principle above in heaven. It is essentially a return out of multiplicity and change into simplicity and stability, accomplished best, Arnold would say, a good student of St. Benedict, in the monastic school, the scola servitii, where the triune God manifests himself as completely as possible in this life through his sacraments and discipline to the soul created in his own image.

What, then, of the liberal arts and pagan philosophy? Here again Arnold's thought is Augustinian, in that he thinks these forms of knowledge and wisdom useful, insofar as their study is undertaken in humility and is ordered towards the study of the Word of God, the principle, in whom philosophy and religion are one. This position he shares with St. Bernard. But unlike Bernard, who rejects the study of the liberal arts and of philosophy outside the monastery as mere curiosity and who thus combats the scholars by appropriating their texts by means of a monastic interpretation, Arnold seeks to show that the study of the liberal arts and philosophy undertaken humbly in the schools-- a possibility he admits-- will lead ineluctably to the monastic life. Arnold therefore enters into the thought of the scholastics and draws out its implications.

He does this chiefly by showing that the Eriugenian epistemology adopted by Theodoric of Chartres demands to be completed by the Benedictine Augustinianism of his own tradition. Theodoric's own position is that theological affirmations, though properly inadequate as divine predicates, can translatiue make a statement about the divine essence.

Moreover, when the inadequacy of these affirmations has been demonstrated by the critique of the theology of negation or remotion, one has actually come to a more profound understanding of the divine essence as supersubstantial.¹ Arnold accepts this position, which is the fruit of Rachel's intellectus, but tries to show how it is vain unless it is joined to Leah's intelligentia. He does this by demonstrating that this knowledge of the scholastics, like the knowledge of the ancient Platonists, is fleeting and unstable. One can ascend to it, but one cannot abide in it once it has flashed upon and blinded one's eyes. One can, however, ascend another way, by loving the good, which has manifested itself in Jesus Christ. This love, through which one recognizes one's own resemblance to God in memory, understanding, and will, is exercised most adequately in the sacraments and discipline of the monastic life. Thus, scholastic intellectus is seen not as foreign to monasticism, but as able to be integrated with monastic intellectus, while this integrated intellectus, this unified exposition of the faith, is subordinated to the sapientia which can only come from the humble cultivation of Christ, from the scientia humilitatis, which is learned best in the scola servitii monasterialis.

It is impossible to say whether Theodoric of Chartres ever discussed this subject with Arnold, though the opportunity certainly existed;² but we do know that at the end of his life he did convert.

¹The term supersubstantia is used at Commentarius Victorinus 224 (Häring ed., p. 526). Arnold uses the phrase superessentialis nature altitudinem below, XII.3.20.

²See above, p. 68. This may be the place to remark that A. Vernet, art. cit., p. 667, has noticed that Theodoric's anonymous epitaph, a portion of which is quoted above (p. 148), is copied into a manuscript of Arnold's Expositio super Ysaïam. He suggests that the manuscript might have come from Bonneval, though he questions whether Arnold himself

And why would he have converted, if he had not himself somehow reached the conclusions of this critique? Why would he have converted, unless he had somehow realized that the division between his own thinking and God's thinking could be overcome only in that school where one could enter best into the life of him in whom the division has already been overcome. This, then, is the strongest testimony we have to the force of Arnold's argument.

would have had the sympathy for Theodoric and for his thought which the epitaph displays. Our argument has shown, however, that Arnold had a great deal of sympathy for Theodoric and for his thought. Therefore, it would be worthwhile to investigate further whether he composed this poem.

TEXT

PRINCIPLES OF THIS EDITION

Since it is clear that all the witnesses to the text of the De cardinalibus Christi operibus descend from an archetype which Arnold revised for presentation to Pope Hadrian IV,¹ and in our stemma codicum,² I have tried to reconstruct and correct that paradosis³ for the new edition. This has allowed me to report the major variants of e and P, for example, in the critical apparatus, even though some are probably from Arnold's pen,⁴ since they were not in the paradosis. This is an advantage because the history of the subsequent redaction of the text is so unclear.⁵

¹Above, pp. 88 & 109f.

²Above, p. 22.

³M.L. West, Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique applicable to Greek and Latin Texts (Stuttgart, 1973), p. 53 says that the word paradosis "is a rather imprecise but convenient term meaning 'the data furnished by the transmission, reduced to essentials'. It would be almost true to define it as the text of the archetype in a closed tradition, and the effective consensus of the manuscripts (disregarding trivial or derivative variants) in an open one."

⁴See above, pp. 32-34.

⁵See above, p. 24f.

The decision to follow the paradosis has had its effect on the orthography of the new edition. It would have been ideal simply to give the spelling of the paradosis,¹ but orthographical convention changed so rapidly during the twelfth century² that it is impossible to tell what spelling the paradosis would have given. Therefore, the spelling of the new edition is somewhat arbitrary,³ though I have kept it in mind that Arnold would have learned his letters at the beginning of the century or before. Thus, I have regularly printed *ti*, where later in the century *ci* would have been written, as is the case in our more recent manuscripts. (I have violated this rule in some cases where all the manuscripts have soft *ci*.) I would have preferred to print the e caudata, as this was the conventional representation of the diphthong *ae* earlier in the century; but since I did not have the resources to do it, I have simply printed *e*. Where the manuscripts diverge in their spellings of words compounded with prepositions (e.g., *inm-* or *imm-*), I have printed the spelling of *P*, which appears to be the oldest manuscript. The intrusive *p* (e.g., *sollempnitas*), in those cases where the majority of manuscripts display it, is retained. I have not 'corrected' the medieval practice of aspirating *c* and *h* harshly (e.g., *michi*, *archana*, *archa*) and of dropping *c* before *t* (e.g., *arto*); but the alternative spellings *b/p*, *m/n* have been rendered according to classical usage,

¹West, op. cit., p. 70.

²For example, see the discussions of the orthography of *P* and *M* above (pp. 5 & 6).

³In the Epistola prefata, however, I have printed the text as it stands in *P*, since it is the only twelfth-century witness to this portion of the text.

simply for the sake of clarity. I have regularly printed hii, where it occurs in the majority of manuscripts, but not hiis, which is found regularly only in O and e. Variations in spelling which had the appearance of careless misspellings have not been noticed in the critical apparatus.

The new edition has been punctuated with an eye to clarity for the modern reader, (thus, the frequent use of parentheses), though the punctuation of the manuscripts was constantly consulted.

Abbreviations in the critical apparatus follow the use of J. Bidez and A.B. Drachmann, Emploi des signes critiques, Disposition de l'apparat dans les éditions savantes de textes grecs et latins (Brussels, 1938). Abbreviations of the titles of biblical books follow the use of the Corpus Christianorum as given in their pamphlet Norms for the Publication of Texts in the 'Corpus Christianorum' (Turnhout, 1979).

The Vulgate numbering of biblical verses and of the Psalms is always followed. The biblical references gathered in the first register in the critical text have some pretensions to completeness, although I am aware that I have missed a number of such references, since I discover new ones almost every time I study the text closely. The references to other sources in the second register have no such pretensions and will be useful only as indications where one might do further reading.

SIGLA

P	PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale ms. lat. 2946, 12th c., Preuilly
M	MONTPELLIER, École de Médecine ms. 400, 12th-13th c., Clairvaux
T	TROYES, Bibliothèque Municipale ms. 509, 13th c., Clairvaux
C	OXFORD, Corpus Christi College ms. 210, 12th c., English
B	OXFORD, Bodleian ms. 197, 12th c., Reading
L	OXFORD, Bodleian Laud Miscellaneous ms. 371, 12th c., English
O	OXFORD, All Souls College ms. 19, 12th c., English
Z	MECHLIN, Grand Séminaire de Malines cod. 45, probably 1557-1561, Prieuré de Bois-Seigneur-Isaac
e	<u>Illustrium virorum opuscula...</u> , Paris: Jean Petit, 1500
r	<u>Beatissimi Caecilii Cypriani... opera...</u> , Paris: Berthold Renbolt and Jean Waterloo, 1512
d	<u>Opera Divi Caecilii Cypriani... praestitit Erasmus Roterodamus</u> , Basle: Johann Froben, 1520
Pamelius	<u>D. Caecilii Cypriani... opera... Adnotationes Iacobi Pamelii... interiectae...</u> , Paris: Jean le Preux, 1593
Cauchius	an as yet unidentified humanist editor of St. Cyprian, probably a Belgian (see above, p. 20, n. 3), to whom Pamelius sometimes refers

Oxon	<u>Sancti Caecilii Cypriani opera... recognita... per Iohannem Oxoniensem Episcopum...</u> , Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre, 1682
Vg	<u>Biblia sacra iuxta vulgata[m] versionem</u> , ed. R. Weber, O.S.B., 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Stuttgart, 1975)
PL	in the margin, J.-P. Migne, <u>Patrologia Latina</u> 189
< >	an addition to the text by the editor
Boldface	in the text, an ornamented initial letter
<u>underlining</u>	in the text, a biblical quotation
"inverted commas"	in the text, a quotation from a source other than the Bible

<DOMINI ERNALDI ABBATIS BONEVALLENSIS

LIBER

DE CARDINALIBVS CHRISTI DOMINI NOSTRI OPERIBVS

QVEM SCRIPSIT AD ADRIANVM PAPAM>

<EPISTOLA PREFATA>

PL (1) Solent matres infantulis nuper editis in ipso uite
1609 introitu aptare uocabula et ex aliquibus precedentibus uel circum-
stantibus causis uel ex genere uel ex euentibus inponere nomina,
ut in ipsis primordialibus titulis quedam prefigerentur com-
5 monitoria ingredientibus uitam, ne nomen esset eis ad ignominiam,
si originalis nature traductio a consueto limite deuiaret et a
uirtute patrum degenerans indigna successio monstri, non hominis
faciem exhiberet. Respicerent potius ad nomina uel officia sua,
quorum inspectio honeste conuersationis formam eis infunderet et
10 doctrinam, ut honorificarent naturales causas et rationales dis-
ciplinas nec in aliquo elementarias amaricarent dulcedines uel
primarias offenderent dignitates.

(2) Non olim tumultuarie uel inconsiderate nomina rebus
imponebantur, sed ex quo ad Adam adducta sunt singula, ut uocaret

Tit. Addidi. Diui Cypriani Carthaginensis. episcopi. Ad diuum
Cornelium papam de Cardinalibus operibus Christi usque ad eius
ascensum ad patrem Prefatio e. Haec epistola in P de fol. 95^r
usque ad fol. 96^r inuenitur, penitus seorsum ab Ernaldi opere, et
in e aliisque editionibus, in quibus ad praefationem adhibetur,
sed in nullis mss. codicibus praeter P.

1.4 titulis] initiis e

5 eis esset e

2.1 Non] Nam e

- ea et propria inponeret nomina, prouisum est in populo antiquo et institutum, ut aliqua esset in uocabulis ratio et interpretarentur
- 5 nomina uitam et exprimerent aliquam persone proprietatem secundum quam uel differret a ceteris uel etiam communicaret. Sic in nominibus patriarcharum Abraham, Ysaac, et Iacob magnarum rerum extitere indicia et preloquebantur uentura nec deerat impositoribus nominum secundum sensum suum effectuum certitudo.
- 10 Aput gentiles etiam non in nominibus, sed in agnominibus postea a uiris illustribus obseruatum est, ut nobilitas generis uel uirtutis gloria posteros illustraret Augusti uel Cesaris titulo succedentem honorare progeniem et imperatorie dignitatis heredes prime originis irradiare fulgoribus. Sic et philosophi et doc-
- 15 tores antiqui tractatibus suis nomina prefixere, breui titulo grandis materie latitudinem prelibantes et proprie glorie (preposito nomine suo) prouidentes, ut integritatem operis et laborem auctoris tam stili quam persone in posterum auctoritas
- 19 conseruaret et facile scripture subtilitas indicaret, si aliqua
- PL manus inuida elegantie tractatum eliminatorum pannum rudem insueret
1610 uel nugis suis (quasi sua essent!) que alius laudabiliter dictasset furtiua translatione insereret. Sic in capite libri sui quisque auctorum se posuit, ut et stilus auctori et stilo auctor famularetur et auctoritate altrinseca communis gloria muniretur.
- 25 Hoc uirorum illustrium preclara meruerunt ingenia et per hec uiuax

2.2-3 See Gen. 2.19

6-9 See Gen. 17.5, 21.6, 25.25

9 impositoribus] -torius e

15 prefixere] -texere e

23 auctorum] ac- e

eorum fama et gloria indelebilis perseuerat.

(3) Nos uero, qui uix intelligimus que ab eis dicta sunt, sensu et eloquentia omnino eis in pares, si quid aliquando scribimus, indignum titulo iudicamus, ne forte nobilis materia, cuius explanationi studium adhibemus, decoloratam se potius quam
 5 ornatam nostra presumptione queratur. Verum quia solent aliquando patres nugis infantilibus arridere et linguis balbutientibus delectari, indulgentiam meretur humilitas, que (quo potest accessu) sublimitatis uestre manibus se porrigit attrectandam, non gloriam mendicans, sed gratiam. Ego quidem nec a meipso neque ab
 10 alio quero nomen. Neque enim aliquid me existimo esse, cum nichil sim, quia hoc a uobis maxima supplicatione quesui, ut non essem quod sum, et humiliter supplicaui, ut ab hac flamma, in qua crucior, me uestra clementia liberaret. Temptauit, si possem (manu uestra me sustinente), honeste descendere, quod, quia non potui
 15 urgentibus flammis, non attendi quo prosilirem, dum me uorax incendium non cremaret.

 3.10-11 Gal. 6.3 (Vg: si quis existimat se aliquid esse cum nihil)

 3.7 meretur] merere- e
 11 sim] sum e, sed sim conl. Pameliu quia] qui e
 16 ad fin. e add. Finitur prefatio: et incipit prologus operis sequentis.

INCIPIT PROLOGVS
DOMINI ERNALDI, ABBATIS BONEVALLENSIS,
IN LIBRVM
DE CARDINALIBVS CHRISTI DOMINI NOSTRI OPERIBVS,
QVEM SCRIPSIT AD ADRIANVM PAPAM

PL
1610

- (1) Sublimes materie subtilium ingeniorum exigunt tractatores nec facile de artibus recte iudicat, qui artes ignorat. Exercitati in liberalibus disciplinis (simul ingenio conueniente et studio) philosophari possunt et secure aggredi res abditas.
- 5 Eorumque conatibus se peruiam penetrata exhibet difficultas et enigmatibus enodatis rerum secretarum facies patet, cuius serenitatem uelabat nubes opposita et ueritati superfusa caligo.

1.3-4 ingenio... studio. Hugh of St.-Victor, Didascalicon VII-VIII (PL 176.770). See J. Taylor, tr., The 'Didascalicon' of Hugh of St. Victor (New York, 1961), p. 90, n. 49, for references to the tradition upon which Hugh draws.

Tit. MT P folio praecedente caret et sic tantum scripsit ad adrianum papam legitur domni arnaldi Q operibus christi domini nostri B Incipit prologus ernaldi abbatis boneuallensis in librum de cardinalibus operibus christi domini nostri ad adrianum papam C Incipit prologus sequentis operis arnulphi abbatis boneuallis ad adrianum papam L e supra ad caput epistolae praefatae pedemque titulos exhib.

1.5 per viam e

Ideoque tam in diuinis quam in philosophorum doctrinis nec tutum
est nec honestum ineruditos et ignaros sensuum ad litteras illas
10 pertinentium prosilire ad discussionem eorum que nesciunt et de
his sibi usurpare magisterium que ignorant.

PL (2) Huius rei forma, seraphin, faciem dei et pedes uelat et
1611 (patentibus que in medio sunt) principium finemque maiestatis
diuine alarum extensio infra supraque operiens aditum ad se
temerariis tractatoribus uel scriptoribus interdicat. Nec patitur
5 ad liquidum se uideri diuinitas, quam utique inuestigatio fidelis
aliquomodo odoratur uel sentit, sed puram eius essentiam nec con-
spicit nec comprehendit. Affirmatio quippe de dei essentia in
promptu haberi non potest. Neque enim diffinibilis est diuinitas,
sed uerius sinceriusque remotio indicat negando quid non sit quam
10 asserendo quid sit, quoniam quicquid sensui subiacet, illud esse
non potest quod omnem superat intellectum. Quicquid audiri uel

2.1-4 Is. 6.2

2.1-4 Huius rei forma, etc. See Bernard of Clairvaux, De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae X.35 (LTR, vol. VIII, p. 43).
4 temerariis tractatoribus. Cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, De consideratione V.iii.6 (LTR, vol. III, p. 470).
7-11 Affirmatio quippe, etc. See Theodoric of Chartres, Fragmentum Londinense contra Eutychen III.63, Tractatus de Trinitate 26, & Commentarius Victorinus de Trinitate 99 (Häring ed., pp. 246, 309, 501f.)
9 remotio. Cf. Boethius, Contra Eutychen I (LCL, p. 78); Gilbert of Poitiers, Expositio in Boecii librum contra Euticen et Nestorium I.25 (Häring ed., p. 247).
9-10 negando... quid sit. See Theodoric of Chartres, Lectiones in Boethii librum de Trinitate IV.27 (Häring ed., p. 195).

2.1 dei om. L

1-2 et patentibus... medio bis scr. MT, sed prius exp. T

4-5 ad liquidum se patitur Q

6 uel post aliquomodo add. C odoratur] odorat e

uideri uel sciri potest, non conuenit maiestati. Hebes est in hac
 consideratione omnis acies sensuum et caligat aspectus. Hanc
 inuisibilem lucem et inaccessibilem naturam sex alis hinc et inde
 15 seraphin statu et uolatu circueunt et abscondunt, statu
 eternitatis immobilitatem monstrantes, uolatu uero altitudinem
 eius sic in superioribus eleuatam, ut quantumlibet ad cor altum
homo ascendat, exaltetur deus et comprehensionis importunitatem
 euadat. Nec tamen ale ille que dei uelant substantiam nostros
 20 conspectus diffugiunt, sed ille puris mentibus se uisibiles
 exhibent et operum dei ratio siue eorum que ex nichilo sunt, siue
 eorum que ex materia uel facta sunt uel fiunt se intelligibilem
 exponit et que circa deum et que sub deo sunt mundi potest cordis
 quoquomodo sinceritas contemplari.

(3) Prima rerum conditio sex instituta diebus fatetur
 artificem et profitetur opus auctorem. Neque enim sui ipsius
 artifex esse aut potuit nouam quis creare materiam. Nec potuerunt
 multa et diuersa rerum esse principia, quia nisi ad unum cuncta
 5 respicerent, discordia et infinitate cuncta turbata uoluerentur in

 17-18 Ps. 63.7-8 (Vg: accedet homo ad cor altum et exaltabitur
Deus)

23 Matth. 5.8

 17-18 homo ad cor . . . L,
 18 et ante exal . . . L,
 20 conspectus)
 22 facta] -te
 3.1 conditio] .
 3 potuit aut n . . . , aut nouam potuit quis L, aut potuit
 quis nouam e
 5 cuncta om. L, fort. recte

chaos et repugnarent et colliderentur in se discordes materie,
 nisi omnibus factoris auctoritas imperaret et unius monarchia
 potestatis uniuersitatis causas et efficientias ordinaret. Homo
 itaque preposituram in inferiora accepit, sciens quis ei hunc
 10 honorem contulerit. Nec tamen ea scientie perfectione illustratus
 est, ut eo modo cognosceret conditorem, quo eius cognitioni reli-
 que creature subiecte sunt, sed distantiam maximam experiretur
 inter summa et infima et ex hoc ipso esset deo acclinis et
 humilis, quo auctori suo se in nullo posset conferre, cuius nec
 15 effugere dominium nec penetrare consilium nec poterat uitare
 iudicium.

(4) Itaque qui circa ipsum sunt angelici spiritus, licet
 inuisibilis nature sint, in legationibus tamen suis se auditu
 manifestant et uisu et salutis nostre ministeriales sepiissime
 experimur, quorum officia et nomina in scripturis sanctis
 5 habentur. Illa quidem superiora agmina nobis predicant, non
 indicant deum et nuntiant que iubentur, specialitatem iniuncti

 4.4-5 See Eph. 6.12

 3.4-6 nisi ad unum, etc. Cf. Ovid, Metamorphoses I.5-20 (LCL,
 vol. I, p. 2).

8-10 Homo... illustratus est. Cf. Hugh of St.-Victor, De
sacramentis I.vi.xiv (PL 176.217B)

4.6 specialitatem. Cf. Isidore of Seville, Etymologiae II.xxv.6
 (Lindsay ed., OCT, no pagination).

 6 colliderentur] re- L in se om. O

8 Homo] Non MT

9 ei om. e

12 maximam] magnam O

13 acclinis] -uis e

14 auctori] ac- MT nec suppl. L

4.3 eos post ministeriales add. L

negotii peragentes, non uniuersitatis explicantes scientiam, quia
 PL ad nos numerus et mensura et pondus refertur. Deus uero his
 1612 omnibus non artatur, sed excedens omnia et eternaliter antecedens
 10 potestas et uirtus nil habet coeuum nec immensitatis eius
 profundum ulla creatura uel celestis uel terrena metitur. Que
 uero sub ipso sunt implent templum et presens ecclesia cognitionem
 earum rerum assequitur, que ad cultum iusticie, que ad ordinem
 uite, que ad gradus ascensionum, que ad conuenientiam morum, que
 15 ad honestatem huius conuersationis et gratiam pertinent con-
 templationis. Hec aguntur et exercentur in templo presenti et per
 hec deus queritur. Nec tamen quesitus ilico inuenitur. Gustamus,
 delibamus, odoramur et prope est. Cumque accesseris, longius
 abit. Et quomodo fulgur nubes dirumpit et repentina choruatio
 20 non tam illuminat quam hebetat oculum, ita aliquando nescio quo
 motu tangeris et tangi te sentis, eum tamen qui te tangit non

8 Sap. 11.21 (Vg: mensura et numero et pondere)
 11-12 Is. 6.1-2 (Vg: et quae sub eo erant implebant templum)

8 numerus... pondus. Cf. Augustine, De Trinitate XI.xi.18
 (Mountain & Glorie ed., CCSL L, p. 355); Cassiodorus,
Institutiones II, Praef. 3 & IV.1 (Mynors ed., pp. 89f. , 132f.)
 16-22 Hec... intueris. Cf. Anselm, Proslogion XIV, XVI & XVII
 (Schmitt's Latin-German ed., pp. 106-114).
 19-20 Et quomodo... oculum. Cf. Augustine, De Trinitate
 VIII.ii.3, ll. 28-40 (Mountain & Glorie ed., CCSL L, p. 271).

7 negotii] officii Q 8 et¹ om. L
 11 terrena uel celestis C 11-12 Que uero sub ipso sunt] Quia
tantum in textu, sed que sub ipso sunt i.m. exhib. C, Quia que sub
 ipso sunt B, Ea que sub ipso sunt L
 16 in templo presenti et exercentur Q
 18 odoramur] -mus Le
 19 abit] ib- L nubes fulgur L

intueris.

(5) Dicuntur tibi quedam uerba archana intrinsecus, que
effari non sufficis, ut dubitare non possis, quia iuxta te est,
immo intra te qui te sollicitat, nec tamen sicuti est se tibi
uidendum concedat. Rachel ad odorem, non ad esum Lye mandragoras
5 concupiscit. Tu sponso fide, non complexu coniungeris. Tu spe
concupis, donec in te Christus formetur et (deposito pondere huius
cadaueris) eiusdem sint puritatis caro et spiritus et renouata
natura sobolem immaculatam parturiat. Rachel quippe "uisum prin-
cipium" sonat. Quod Verbum in principio apud deum suo proprio
10 esse michi non patet, sed quibusdam nominibus deum inuoco et dico:
iusticia, ueritas, sanctificatio, caritas; et quero aliquas
species uel formas per quas quod sentio quoquomodo intinem. Nam

5.4-5 Gen. 30.15

9 Ioh. 1.1 (Vg: In principio erat Verbum et Verbum erat apud
Deum)

5.4 Rachel... Lye. See Arnold, De donis Spiritus sancti I (PL
189.1592A-B).

8-9 Gregory the Great, Moralia in Iob VI.37 (PL 75.764).

10-11 sed quibusdam nominibus, etc. Cf. Theodoric of Chartres,
Lectiones in Boethii librum de Trinitate II.48 (Häring ed., p.
170), where one finds the neologism onitas, quoted by Arnold, Com-
mentarius in Psalmum CXXXII I.v (PL 189.1572A). Cf. also
Theodoric, Fragmentum Londinense contra Euthychen III.63 (Häring
ed., p. 246).

11-12 aliquas species... intinem. Cf. Theodoric of Chartres,
Fragmentum Londinense contra Eutychem III.61 (Häring ed., p. 246).

5.2 te om. B

3 se] te e

4 concedat] -dit O ad² om. O

6 Christus in te e

10 inuoco] e, primam syllabam exp. P, uoco MTOCBL

12 quod] quid e

quod Verbum caro factum est facilius uideo et hoc sensui meo quasi
 esu incorporo, principium autem illud uix remotissimo odoratu
 15 quasi pertransiens sentio. Illa quidem intellectualia per
 uisibiles creaturas, quantum fas est anime uidere uel preuidere
 diuina mente, a longe prospicimus. In multis per opinionum et
 coniecturarum pelagus circumducti, in multis ueritati herentes, in
 multis magnitudine rerum oppressi exclamamus cum apostolo, O
 20 altitudo diuitiarum sapientie et scientie dei! Cordi igitur
 nostro se offert deus et aliquid sui luminis infundit, inuitans et
 prouocans. Nisi enim aliquomodo sentiretur, nec appetendi nec
 inquirendi spes esset aliqua uel facultas. Sed quia ex parte
 sentitur, admirationi est odor ille et sapor, nullam habens cum
 25 carnalibus dulcedinibus similitudinem et per omnia suauitate dif-
 ferens, eoque desideratur copiosius quo cetera delectamenta
 excedit. Desiderium autem inquirentes purificat et purificatio

 13 Ioh. 1.14

15-17 Cf. Rom. 1.20 19-20 Rom. 11.33

 9-14 Quod Verbum... incorporo. Cf. Augustine, De Trinitate
 XIII.i.2-4 (Mountain & Glorie ed., CCSL LA, pp. 381-385)

17-19 In multis... oppressi. See Bernard of Clairvaux, De con-
sideratione V.iii.5 (LTR, vol. III, p. 470). Cf. Boethius, De
Trinitate II.16-17 (LCL, p. 8); Hugh of St.-Victor, De modo
dicendi VIII (PL 176.879), & Theodoric of Chartres, Lectiones in
Boethii librum de Trinitate II.48 & 33 (Häring ed., pp. 164 &
 165f.).

20-27 Cordi... excedit. Cf. Anselm, Proslogion XIV & XVII
 (Schmitt's Latin-German ed., pp. 106-110 & 112-114).

 14 incorporo] incorpore O, incorporeo ex -e corr. B, incorporeo L
 18 circumducti] intro- L 21 ut post infundit add. O

exclusis enormitatibus ad formam dei prouehit ascendentes atque
 ita in opere suo imago et similitudo dei multis laboriosisque
 30 prouectibus propriam sibi demum uindicat dignitatem.

(6) Ad hanc rerum adeo profundarum indaginem, nisi incarnati
 Verbi magisterium accessisset, humana defecissent ingenia. Et
PL nescio si etiam aliqui auderent ad hec temptanda conatus
 1613 assurgere, sed associata carni diuinitas assumptam naturam ex
 5 parte sue uoluit esse claritatis consortem et (apertis celis super
 doctorem et dominum nostrum) ad superiora nostrum introduxit
 aspectum. Et uidimus gloriam eius quasi unigeniti a Patre et de
 plenitudine gratie et ueritatis, que in ipso est, instillata est
 nobis aliqua portio et cum Philippo audiuius, Qui uidet me uidet
 10 et Patrem. Nec tamen in hac uisione plena potest esse fidei suf-
 ficientia, donec in splendoribus sanctorum in die uirtutis sue
 agnoscatur ratio gignentis et geniti et procedentis, quam nec

 29 Gen. 1.26 (Vg: imaginem et similitudinem)

6.5-6 See Matth. 3.16

7-8 Ioh. 1.14

9-10 Ioh. 14.9

11 Ps. 109.3 (Vg: in die uirtutis tue in splendoribus sanctorum)

 6.12 gignentis... procedentis. Cf. Theodoric of Chartres, Com-
 mentarius Victorinus de Trinitate 3 (Häring ed., p. 481).

 28 dei om. L

29 omni ante opere add. O

30 prouectibus] -fec- O uindicat] uend- MTOL, indicat e

6.3 etiam] et e

4-5 ex partem e, experte r, ex parte d 5 uoluit esse sue L

6 introduxit] -xere e

10 fidei om. e

12 nec om. e

oculus uidit nec auris audiuit nec in cor hominis ad liquidum
hucusque ascendit.

(7) In his omnibus que dicta sunt omnino sensum nostrum
 materie excedit sublimitas et stilum repellit moles nimii ponderis
 et ascensionis ardue difficultas. Sed precepti uestri, Pater
 excellentissime, me coegit necessitas, ut temptarem, si forte
 5 importunitate studii aliqua possem de sanctuarii supellectile uel-
 licare et (reducto in partem uelamine) arto subtilique aditu
 propitiatorium intueri. Presumpsit meditatio aspicere a longe et
annos eternos inquirere et quid ante tempora secularia esset
 indagare, si tamen seculum uel tempus dici potest ante lucem et
 10 diem et solem, et quomodo ante causas elementarias et materiales
 origines illa eternitatis infinitas se haberet, si illa
 omnipotentia apud se solitaria esset et ministeriales ei deessent
 spiritus et maneret apud se illocaliter sempiterna diuinitas, et
 in quo esset sapientie regimen, cum non esset quid regeretur et
 15 usu specieque careret illa inanis antiquitas. Ab his omnibus
 repulsus ad secularia uisibilia compulsus sum redire.

 12-14 I Cor. 2.9 (Vg: oculus non uidit...)
 7.7 Heb. 11.13 (Vg: a longe eas aspicientes)
 8 Ps. 76.6; II Tim. 1.9, Tit. 1.2

 7.8-9 annos... indagare. Cf. Augustine, Confessions XI.xiii
 (LCL, vol. II, pp. 234 & 236).
 15-16 Ab his... redire. See Augustine, De Trinitate VIII.ii.3,
 ll. 28-40 (Mountain & Glorie ed., CCSL L, p. 271).

 13 non ante uidit add. e 7.13 illa ante sempiterna add. C
 14 regimen] regnum e quid] quod Q

(8) Et utinam me ipsum cognoscam et sciam! Quod si anime mee, que corporis mei obtinet principatum, nec originem scio nec metior quantitatem nec qualis sit intueri sufficio, si ignota est michi ratio quare ipsa delectetur in corpore, persecutore suo, si
 5 nescio quis hanc legem menbris insculpserit, ut tam uiolenta dominatione spiritum opprimat et melior digniorque natura deteriori succumbat, patienter me ferre oportet si operatorem uniuersitatis non intelligo, qui in minimis operationum suarum particulis meam profiteor cecitatem.

(9) Insolubilis uidetur hec questio quare homo rationabilis in negata nitatur et uetita et semper illicitis delectetur. Omnino rarum est et difficile fieri bonum, facile et pronum est esse malum. Et hac sine magistro, sine exemplo doctrina statim a
 5 pubescentibus annis imbuimur et docemur. Vide in ipsis qui sanctimoniam profitentur. Que religio manum claudat, porrectis muneribus? Que solitudo aures obserat, oblatis fauoribus? Que gula communibus est contenta saporibus? Quis non se habeat uilem, si uideat humilem? Quis non putet obprobrium, si se sentit
 10 inglorium? Quis enumeret uoluptatum potius monstra quam species,
 PL
 1614 per que concupiscentie carnis uictam animam trahunt clam palamque

8.4-7 Cf. Rom. 7.23

8.8 uniuersitatis. See Chenu, Nature, Man, and Society, p. 6f.

8.2 mei om. C

5 meis post menbris add. O

9.11 per que concupiscentie carnis uictam] per se que con. carn. uictam MT, que per con. carn. vitam e, que per concupiscentias carn. inuitam coni. Pamelius

de conclauī ad forum, de lupanari ad theatrum? In primis abrasa
 uerecundia pudoreque conuulso, non absconditur scelus nec mutit
 ratio nec discretio reluctatur. Carnis affectibus captius
 15 spiritus consentaneam exhibet clientelam. Hoc ipsum quod dico
 carnis affectus, inproprie dico, quia hec uitia proprie anime
 sunt, que sentit et mouet et uiuit, cui imputatur peccatum, quia
 ipsi datum est arbitrium et iudicium et scientia et potentia, per
 que possit reprobare malum et eligere bonum. Corpore autem sic
 20 utitur anima sicut faber malleo uel incude, in quo format omnium
 turpitudinum ydola et fabricatur quelibet quarumcumque uoluptatum
 simulachra. Non est caro dictatrix peccati nec inuentrix malitie
 nec cogitatus format nec disponit agenda, sed officina est
 spiritus, qui in ea et per eam quecumque affectauerit peragit et
 25 consummat. Quod autem ipsa insensibilis sit (spiritu recedente)
 dinoscitur, post cuius discessum nulli apta usui superest
 putredinis massa et paludis aceruus. Quicquid enim sentit, a
 natura corporis alienum probatur.

(10) Quod uero caro aduersus spiritum et spiritus aduersus
 carnem contendere dicitur et repugnare, inproprie arbitror dictum,
 quia solius anime lis ista est, que secum rixatur et cum proprio

 9.19 Is. 7.15
 10.1-2 See Gal. 5.17

 15 consentaneam PMT
 19 reprobare] im- e
 20 quo] qua e
 21 fabricatur] -cantur plurimae edd. sed -catur coni. Cauchius
 25 recedente] reuelante Q

arbitrio litigat certior in huiusmodi questionibus, quid bonum
 5 sit, quid malum, quam in aliarum rerum inquisitionibus, quid uerum
 sit, quid falsum. Nam in abditarum causarum inspectionibus et
 secretis nature potest homo errare uel decipi, quia non per omnia
a fine usque ad finem intellectus humanus attingit, sed in his que
 oculis et manibus subiacent, nulla subtilitas iudicium impedit,
 10 quia fetentia a non fetentibus, decora a turpibus, amara a dul-
 cibus, dura a suauibus et a dissonis consonantia facile dis-
 cernuntur. Sed desiderii sui ueneno mens ebria corpus contumeliis
 applicat et (iunctis complexibus) ambo in mortiferas suauitates
 elapsi obdormiunt. Cumque euigilauerint, sero penitentiam adducit
 15 confusio et inquinamentorum horror fedate menti occurrit.

(11) Et in ceteris omnibus que maligne patrata sunt, huius-
 modi ultio peccatorem persequitur et ipse libidinum labe
 crapulatus se conuomit. Sed auaritie solius et questus ardor nec
 satiat cupidum nec penitet eum cumulasse quod crescere optat, non
 5 minui et discola obstinatus semper quid ydolo suo immolet sedulus
 coaceruat. Vnde hec sitis diuitiarum miseris pectoribus assidet
 et ambitionis salsugo bibulam animam occupat, ut per fas et nefas

 8 Sap. 8.1 (Vg: adtingit enim a fine usque ad finem)

 10.4-6 quid bonum... quid falsum. Cf. Horace, Epp. I.ii.3 (edd.
 E.C. Wickham & H.W. Garrod, OCT, p. 206).

 10.5 inquisitionibus] ad- Q
 12 sui mens ebria ueneno C, mens sui ebria ueneno B
 11.3 se conuomit] secum uomit PMTOBC solius] scelus L
 5 quid] quod Q immolet ydolo suo Q
 6 pectoribus] pecca- Q, ex pecca- corr. B
 7 et nefas om. Q

ad loca superiora, etiam de latebris heremi, nonnulli se ingerant
 et de omni gradu, ubi aliquis aditus patet, haneli prodeant, dis-
 10 currant ad iudices, blandiantur mediatoribus, conducant
 auxilios et modis omnibus elaborant, ut sedeant cum principibus
 eo questu, ut maledicat deus quod ipsi benedixerint et benedicat
 quod maledixerint. Hec lex peccati quare in his et similibus
PL
 1615 legem iusticie opprimat et quare eneruata ratio, cum stare possit,
 15 tam miserabiliter ruat, difficile est assequi, maxime cum defectus
 iste a dampnationis sententia pendeat et hanc ineuitabilem penam
 antiqua transgressio sit sortita.

(12) Ego si me ipsum nescio, si anime mee substantiam et
 naturam ignoro, si eorum que intra me sunt rationem non intelligo,
 qua audacia supra me erigam oculos, ut uideam principium sine
 principio et finem sine fine attingam? A talibus ausibus
 5 desistendum excellentia maiestatis imperat et ipsa impossibilitas
 omnes ingenii nostri conatus repellit. Verum quia in paradiso
 positi sumus et in esu reliquorum fructuum data nobis est
 licentia, a ligno eternitatis illius et inuestigatione diuinitatis

 11.13 Rom. 7.23 (Vg: legi...)
 12.6ff. Cf. Gen. 2.16-17

 12.6 paradiso. See below VII.3.1 & VIII.6.15-16. Cf. E. Gilson,
The Mystical Theology of St. Bernard, ch. IV.

 12.1 substantiam] superbiam L
 5 desistendum] desistere dum L et] etiam L
 6 Verum P, hiatum (fort. ras.) exhib. M, om. cuncti
 6-26 Verum... uoluptatis om. Le cunctaeque edd. praeter Oxon.
 7 est nobis Q

sempiterne interim continentes, scientiam boni et mali
 10 intelligamus, non nobis prohibitam quasi ueneno infecta sit ligni
 huius natura, sed quia ea debet scientie boni reuerentia exhiberi,
 ut nemo malum experimento contingat, que utique experientia ideo
 iustissime dampnabilis est, quia quantum in se est omnem
 plantationem diuinam destruit et eradicat. Nam malum nichil aliud
 15 est quam remotio boni et quisquis bonum auellere nititur, euacuare
 quod bonitas superna plantauit molitur. Lignum quippe uite post
 peccatum est interdictum, lignum scientie boni et mali ante pec-
 catum prohibitum. Scientia quippe boni nunquam uetita est, sed
 ubi peccatum transgressor expertus est, abusus libertate arbitrii,
 20 a paradiso expulsus, uoluptatis possessor esse non potuit nec
 facilis ei ad lignum uite reditus fuit. Nam mors secuta est pec-
 catum et hec ineuitabilis lex usque hodie ab Adam in eius sobolem
 perseuerat. Verum in Christi sanguine (amato flammeo gladio et
 aditu ad uirtutum coloniam patefacto) iam propior accessus con-
 25 ceditur et exheredatus homo tam libertate quam hereditate donatur.
 Deambulemus igitur in paradiso uoluptatis.

 16-18 Cf. Gen. 2.16-17, 3.22
 21-23 Cf. Rom. 5.12-14, 6.23
 26 Gen. 2.8 (Vg: paradisum voluptatis)

 11 sed quia... exhiberi. Cf. Augustine, De Trinitate VIII.iii.4,
 ll. 1-25 (Mountain & Glorie ed., CCSL L, p. 271f.)
 14-15 Nam malum... boni. See Augustine, Enchiridion III.11 (ed.
 J. Rivièrè, BA 9, p. 118).
 18 Scientia quippe... uetitia est. Cf. Augustine, De Trinitate
 VIII.iii.4 (Mountain & Glorie ed., CCSL L).

 11 et mali post boni add. O
 26 usque hic post uoluptatis add. MT. Possibile est quod haec
uerba e nota marginali, quae illam omissionem longam solam in Le
inuentam indicaret, orta sunt.

(13) Ea igitur que licita sunt et concessa tangamus, et
 circa cunabula saluatoris prima infantie eius fercula degustemus
 et circumcisi et loti (uicto diabolo) sanctificatis affectibus in
 cena cum domino recumbamus, ubi pane angelorum refecti post illius
 5 cibi delicias surgamus ad transitum, ut de hoc mundo uehiculo
 crucis suehamur ad celum, Spiritu sancto nos replente, qui deinde
 nos doceat et patefaciat quicquid in exilii huius peregrinatione
 moles corporis et imperfectionis lippitudo fecit obscurum. Libel-
 lum igitur quem de cardinalibus Christi domini nostri operibus
 10 scripsi, paternitati uestre suppresso nomine nostro misi, in quo
 fons sacramentorum est et discipline huius in qua stamus origo,
 formam et exemplar recte uiuendi nobis proponens, ab humili
 Christi aduentu usque ad gloriosum eius reditum ad Patrem gradatim
 conscendens, quem potius in mente uestra quam in pagina scribi
 15 desidero. Et utinam in sanctitatis uestre conspectu memoriam et
 recordationem nostri supplex mereatur affectus.

 13.4 Ps. 77.25 (Vg: panem)

 13.5-6 ut de hoc... ad celum. See Augustine, Tractatus in
Iohannis euangelium II.2 (ed. R. Willems, CCSL XXXVI, p. 12); De
Trinitate IV.xv.20 (Mountain & Glorie ed., CCSL L, p. 187), & De
civitate Dei IX.xvii & X.xxix (LCL, vol. III, pp. 218f. & 382).

 13.1 igitur] ergo Q
 2 eius prima infantie saluatoris C
 3 que post sanctificatis addidisse uid. O
 6 deinde] deinceps e
 11 est om. e
 13 Christi om. e
 14 uestra] nostra e

Explicit prologus.

I. INCIPIT TRACTATVS DE NATIVITATE

PL (1) Adest Christi multum desiderata et diu expectata
1615 natiuitas. Adest sollempnitas inclita et in presentia saluatoris
grates et laudes uisitatori suo per orbem terrarum sancta reddit
ecclesia. Gaudia nobis celitus nuntiantur, leticia imperatur.
5 Nox ista sacri partus conscia nouis fulgoribus illustratur.
Gloriantur in celestibus superi. Pax in terra bone uoluntatis
hominibus confirmatur. Assunt angeli, loquuntur pastoribus. Non
dedignantur loqui personis humilibus et, cum ipsi sublimes sint,
infimos non aspernantur. Nec luce insolita nec angelorum ter-
10 rentur pastores presentia. Sane et pure fidei homines delec-
tantur in eo quod audiunt consonas laudantium uoces celestis
glorie et gratie diuine preconia modulantes. Nec satis fuit

1.6-7 Luc. 2.14 (Vg: in terra pax in hominibus bonae uoluntatis)

Tit. PMT Incipit liber de cardinalibus christi operibus. De
Natiuitate domini nostri iesu christi C Incipit liber de car-
dinalibus christi operibus. De natiuitate Christi B Incipit
liber De cardinalibus operibus saluatoris cum De Natiuitate i.m. L
Incipit sermo de natali domini nostri iesu christi O Incipit
sermo de natiuitate christi e
1.3 sancta] sacrosancta L
11 celestes e

superis archana reserare celestia. Etiam hominibus pax reddita
nuntiatur et bone uoluntatis noui muneris largitate consecratur
15 affectus. Oportuit bonum dominum certificare et letificare in
aduentu suo bonas expectantium uoluntates et (solutis antiquis
inimicitiiis, que inter semen serpentis et semen mulieris ab
initio fuerant, et contrito capite uenenato) hostiles insidias,
calcaneo huius sobolis assistentes, prerogatiua noue sobolis dis-
20 sipari.

PL (2) Vnus Gabriel uirgini obumbrationem uirtutis altissimi
1616 nuntiat. Multitudo celestis exercitus gratulabunda saluatorem
mundi predicat aduenisse et reconciliata terrestria superis
canit. Et consilium antiquum prodiit palam, nec iam secretum
5 est, sed innotuit publice in conspectu gentium reuelata Christi
benignitas et oblata mundo, in nullo a nobis differens excepto
quod peccati expers fuit, saluatoris humanitas. A supernis
legationibus incipit euangelium, cuius primi dictatores angeli

16-20 See Gen. 3.15
2.1-2 See Luc. 1.26ff.
6-7 Cf. Hebr. 4.15

13 reddita pax B
15-20 Oportuit... dissipari om. L
16 notam ade post uoluntates quasi ex marg. ortam add. MT. (Cf. supra Prologus, 12.26).
16-20 et solutis...dissipari om. e et sqq. suppl. Et multi-
plicatis testibus certa presentie sue dare indicia vt iam non
expectaretur quasi venturus sed qui venerat videretur et essent
angeli quem sibi noua christi infantia consecrarat sancti ortus et
loci indices Hanc lectionem in apparatus criticum pos. Oxon. et
lectione mss. codicum utitur.
19-20 usque hic post dissipari quasi denuo ex marg. add. MT. V.
supra 16
2.4 palam prodiit O
7 de medio uocabuli fuit, i.e. post syllabam fu- usque ad
uocabulum aspernatur infra (8.6) per amissionem semiquaternionis,
ut uid., om. C

extiterunt. Nec iam in manibus prophetarum similitudines et
 10 enigmata inuoluuntur, sed angelorum iubilo et hominum stilo et
 euidenti rerum indicio constat et consonant simul promissa et
 data umbrisque remotis lex et euangelia sunt unita. Multi-
 plicantur testes. Militia celestis conclamat. Credit pastorum
 cuneus et exultat.

(3) A sapientibus et prudentibus non querit testimonium, qui
 paruulis se reuelat. In huius doctrine initio statim fastus et
 ambitio condempnatur. Non colores rethorum, non inductiones per-
 suasorie adducuntur. Ratio et miracula harum rerum ordinem com-
 5 plectuntur. In primis signa se fidei miscuerunt et maxima in hoc
 efficacia dogmatum fuit, cum simul uerbis et rebus actum est, ut
 nullum infidelium repugnantia inueniret diffugium. Nox illa omni
 luce clarior, sermones angelici pacem hominibus nuntiantes,
 designato loco Bethlehem, ad querendum puerum cohortantur
 10 pastores. Illi amplius mente quam oculis carnalibus illuminati
 ad conspiciendum Emmanuel festinant et edocti intus inuisibili
 magisterio Spiritus sancti, quem paruulum uident, confitentur

12 Cf. Hebr. 10.1

3.1 Cf. Luc. 10.21

11 See Luc. 2.16; Is. 7.14

3.6 uerbis et rebus. Cf. Augustine, De doctrina christiana
 I.ii.2 (ed. J. Martin, CCSL XXXII, p. 7f.); Hugh of St.-Victor, De
sacramentis, Prologus V (PL 176.185A-B).

11 indicio] iu- e constant Q

3.4 rerum harum B

12 confitentur] fatentur B

immensum et pie ei deuotionis affectum presentant. Electa adest
humilium personarum simplicitas, ut poneretur regula et
15 indissolubilis daretur forma, quod non nisi pauperibus spiritu
Christi pateret humilitas nec superbos ad intuitum sui posset
admittere ueritas.

(4) Veniunt in Bethleem. Quem predixit Gabriel inuenitur
Emmanuel. Ciuitas paruula, domus pauperula, supellex exigua.
Nulla domus ambitio ubi reclinatorium in stabulo, mater in feno,
filius in presepio. Tale elegit "fabricator mundi" hospitium,
5 huiusmodi habuit delicias sacre uirginis puerperium. Panniculi
pro purpura, pro bisso in ornatu regio lacinie congeruntur.
Genitrix est obstetrix et deuotam dilecte soboli ipsa exhibet
clientelam. Attrectat, amplectitur, iungit oscula, porrigit mam-
mam. Totum negotium plenum gaudio. Nullus dolor, nulla nature

15 Matth. 5.3 (Vg: pauperes)
4.2 See Luc. 2.7
4 Cf. Eccle. 11.5
6 Luc. 16.19

4.4 fabricator mundi. Ovid, Metamorphoses I. 57 (LCL, vol. I, p. 6)
5-6 Panniculi... congeruntur. Cf. Arnold, Vita prima Bernardi II.i.6 (PL 185.272A).
7 Genitrix est obstetrix. See Arnold, De laudibus B.V.M. (PL 189.1730B). Cf. Prudentius, Cathemerinon XI.97f. (LCL, vol. I, p. 100).

13 ei] eo fort. B
15 forma daretur LB
4.1 Veniunt] Veritas MT
2 paruula] parua e
3 ubi] nisi e
4 mundi fabricator LB
6 lacinie] lacune e
7 deuota LB ipsa om. e
8-9 mamam porrigit Q dolos e, sed dolor coni. Cauchius

10 contumelia in puerperio. Pedisequas substantia familiaris non
 patitur. Mancipiorum obsequia sumptus tenuis et inops mensa
 excludit. Nullum domus arta diuersorium occultabat nec secreti
 recessus erant illius casule. Incastraturam tectum et soli
 parietes per circuitum uestiebant. Nec locus ibi erat lauacris,
 15 que solent puerperis preparari.

(5) Quippe nec aliqua nature iniuria matrem domini leserat,
 quoniam sine tormento peperit, que in conceptione caruit uolup-
 PL tate. Et tamen consuetudinem sequens, ut legi satisfaceret,
 1617 quasi cum aliis mulieribus esset ei in hoc opere ratio similis,
 5 diebus designatis recubuit et depositi honeris lassitudinem
 professa oblate quieti paruit et in diebus separationis non se a
 thoro Ioseph (quam numquam tetigit!), sed ab ingressu templi et
 ceteris que lex prohibebat continuit. Vltro maturus ab arbore
 baiula fructus elapsus est nec oportuit uellicari quod sponte
 10 prodibat. Nichil in hac repetiit ultio nec precedens delectatio
 aliquam expetiit penarum usuram. Spiritu sancto obumbrante

 5.3-8 See Luc. 2.22
 11 Luc. 1.35

 13-14 soli parietes. Cf. Arnold, Vita prima Bernardi II.i.6 (PL
 185.272B) & Bernard of Clairvaux, Apologia ad Guillelmum abbatem
 XII.28 (LTR, vol. III, p. 105, ll. 25-26).
 5.10-11 delectatio... usuram. Cf. Arnold, De laudibus B.V.M., PL
 189.1730B

 10 familiaris ad famularis mut. L, ut uid.
 13 erant recessus L incrastaturam coni. r et tectum O
 5.2 conceptione] conceptu B
 7 quam] quem per notam i.m. exhib. L, quem B, qui eam e
 10 ultio] ultro e, sed ultio coni. Cauchius

incendium originale extinctum est. Ideoque innoxiam affligi non
 decuit nec sustinebat iusticia, ut illud uas electionis com-
 munibus lassaretur iniuriis, quoniam plurimum a ceteris differens
 15 natura communicabat, non culpa. Eratque ei proprium priuilegium
 quod nulla mulierum nec ante nec deinceps meruit obtinere, quod
 erat simul mater et uirgo, singulis titulis insignita, unde et
 matri plenitudo gratie debebatur et uirgini habundantior gloria,
 quo carnis et mentis integritate insignis spirituali et corporali
 20 intus et extra Christi presentia fruebatur.

(6) Ornamenta que deerant, etiam si adessent, non haberent
 oculos inspectores, quia presentia paruuli sic eorum qui aderant,
 Ioseph et si quis forte alius ibi erat, oculos occuparat, sic
 illuminauerat animos, sic corda illexerat, ut in hoc uno summo
 5 bono omnium bonorum unita collectio uideretur nec opus esset
 uagari et mendicare per partes, quod simul in se uno fidelibus
 omnipotens infantia presentabat. Angelica sane non est credendum
 ibi ministeria defuisse nec recesserat a uenerabili pectore
 matris Spiritus sanctus ad uerbum Gabrielis illapsus. Possidebat
 10 domum suam et templum. Quod sibi consecrauerat adornabat.
 Seruabat sacrarium suum et sanctimonie thalamum honorabat.

 13 Act. 9.15

 15 ei] ibi Q
 16 nec¹ om. Q nec² in columnen textus medium scr. B
 6.4 illuminarat LB illeaserat e in om. B uno om. e
 6 euagari e
 8 misteria erd, sed minis- exhib. Pameli
 9 elapsus e

Letificabant et consolationes huiusmodi animam benedictam et
 tanti habitatoris reuerentia concupiscentiarum ludibria abigebat.
Legem mentis lex carnis non infestabat. Rebello nulla quietem
 15 spiritus affligebat. Paruulus sugens ubera pura alimonia
 utebatur et fons sacri pectoris defecatum edulium ori mundissimo
 infundebat. Sed et cor matris quedam dulcedines, que humanum
 superant intellectum, imbuebant eratque utrimque mira iocunditas,
 cum pia sancte matris et deuota humilitas et sancti sanctorum
 20 immensa benignitas confederatis affectibus iungerentur.

(7) Extrinsecus nuda erant et egena que uidebantur. Nichil
 in illa paupertate uidebatur diuinum, nisi his quibus reuelatum
 est desuper, quorum primi fuere supra memorati pastores, quorum
 innocentia et simplicitas electa est, ut laus Christi per-
 5 ficeretur, cum piscatores et pastores sequentibus temporibus con-
 funderent oratores et a pauperibus et humilibus predicatio
 paupertatis haberet initium. Execrari solent Egyptii hoc hominum
 genus et abominabiles eis sunt oues et peccora. Sed huiusmodi
 9 officium ab inicio auctoritatem obtinuit et Abel pastor munera de

 6.14 Rom. 7.23 (Vg: legi)
 7.4-5 Ps. 8.3 (Vg: perfecisti laudem)
 7-8 See Gen. 46.34

 12 et¹ om. Le -modi om. O
 13 ludibria ad -o per notam i.m. mut. L
 19 cum] quum e
 20 iungerentur] merger- e
 7.2 illa] ea O nisi] non e, sed nisi coni. Cauchius
 4 est om. O
 5 cum] quin e
 7 habet erd, sed haberet coni. Pamelius

PL gregibus ouium obtulit, que in eo quod celitus inflammari uisa
 1618 sunt, quod grata essent deo, cunctis innotuit. Pastor Abraham,
 Ysaac et Iacob, uiri deo familiares. Pastores patriarche
 duodecim. Pastor ipse Moyses, qui in heremi recessu, dum sequitur
 pecudes, in rubo conspicit deum et potestate signorum collata
 15 populi recipit principatum. Helyseus de aratro propheta con-
 stituitur. Daud de post fetantes accipitur et in regni solio
 collocatur. Agnum, quem abominatur Egyptius, sacrificari sibi
 precipit deus eiusque sanguis Israelitarum postibus illitus
 exterminatorem angelum repellit et abigit. Nec timetur mortis
 20 periculum, ubi tante reuerentie conspicitur signum.

(8) Ad umbram Petri languentes consurgunt. Apostolis sub-
 iciuntur demonia. Cedit idiotis reproborum eloquentia.
 Predicante Paulo, captiuas complicant manus gentes et regna.
 Pauperes electi, superbi neglecti. Nec fastus nec astus circa
 5 Christi discipulatum aliquem obtinent locum. Christus pauper
 discipulos diuites aspernatur. Pauper mater, pauper filius,

 8-11 See Gen. 4.4
 11-12 See Gen. 13.5, 26.14, 32.5
 12-13 See Gen. 37.12
 13-15 See Ex. 3.1ff.
 15-16 See III Reg. 19.19
 16-17 See I Reg. 16.11
 17-19 See Ex. 12.13
 8.1 See Act. 5.15
 1-2 See Luc. 9.1
 2 See Act. 4.13

 15-17 sententiam Helyseus... constituitur post sententiam
 Daud... collocatur transp. O
 17 abhominatus O
 8.4 fastus ad fatus mut. O astus] altus e
 6 aspernat e, sed corr. r Hic post uocabulum aspernatur
denuo incipit C

inops hospitium his, qui in forma huius scole in ecclesia
 militant, prebent efficax documentum. Hunc in cunabulis
 adorauere pastores et, paruulum confitentes deum, simpliciter
 10 argumentosi in spiritu et ueritate, quem adorauerunt, nouerunt.
 Fuerat quidem miraculum, quod apertis celis lux fulgoris insoliti
 nocte super eos fulserat, quod auditi angeli et conspecti, quod
 ab ipsis fuerant edocti et instructi pastores. Sed licet hec
 precessissent, tamen circa infantiam pueri diuinitatis intimate
 15 nulla humana ratio prebebat experimentum. Nec circa illius
 presepis angustias, uagiente inter alligaturas infantulo, aliquod
 maiestatis erat indicium. Sed auditui fides obtemperans, nullum
apud deum impossibile uerbum credidit et per Spiritum sanctum ad
 sacramentum hoc intelligendum subtilissimis est intelligentiarum
 20 accessibus introducta. Idemque Spiritus, qui longe ante
 prophetas docuerat, etiam nunc humilium mentibus se infundens
 dilatabat humani intellectus angustias et aperiebat interiores
 oculos, ut uiderentur inuisibilia et intelligerentur ea ad que
 humanus non attingit sensus nec rationis penetrat intellectus.

 11-12 See Luc. 2.9

17-18 Luc. 1.37 (Vg: non erit impossibile apud Deum omne uerbum)

 8.23-24 ut... intellectus. Cf. Boethius, De consolatione
philosophiae V, pr. iv, ll. 82-115 (LCL, pp. 410 & 412).

 15 nulla] nullum per notam i.m. L, fort. recte humana om. O
 circa] cura e, sed corr. r

- (9) Hinc est quod predixerat Ysayas, Paruulus natus est nobis, filius datus est nobis. Hoc potuit uideri. Hic nullum fides meritum querit. Quod autem sequitur, Vocabitur nomen eius Emmanuel, admirabilis consiliarius, deus fortis, pater futuri seculi, princeps pacis, si clausi sint oculi mentis, exterioribus oculis nescio quid mireris. Qui necdum loquitur, quomodo consiliarius erit? Paruulus, quomodo credetur omnipotens deus? Omnino infirmus, in quo uidebitur fortis? Nichil omnino possidens, ad apicem regni et principatus fastigium quibus ascensionibus attinget? Sed si fide mysteria proseguaris, in his omnibus subtilissimas et purissimas rationes inuenies et quod omnino necesse fuit immensum fieri paruulum et filium dei hominis filium euidenter agnosces. Mirabitur etiam et dilatabitur cor tuum, quando intelliges profundissimum sacramentum, in eo quod contemptibilis factus est admirabilis et qui litteras non didicit

PL
1619

9.1-2 Is. 9.6
3-5 Is. 9.6, 7.14
13-14 Is. 60.5
15 Cf. I Cor. 1.28

9.15 contemptibilis... admirabilis. Cf. John Scotus Eriugena, In ierarchiam coelestem II.999-1005 (ed. J. Barbet, CCCM XXXI, p. 47).

9.1 natus] datus C
2 et ante filius add. B Hic] Hinc L, ex Hinc corr. P
2-3 fides nullum O
3 querit meritum O
5 sint] sunt LO
6 mereris e
7 creditur L, ex creditur corr. C deus om. O
9-10 quomodo post fastigium scr. C et sup. l. et quibus
ascensionibus add.
10 attingeret O, ex attingeret corr. M fidei e
mysterium e
12-13 filium hominis O

nec legibus instructus est, sufficiens sit diuinarum humanarumque rerum consiliarius, quomodo diuinitas et humanitas in unam personam conuenerint. Et ubi estimata est infirmitas, fortitudo inuenta est, ut corpus humilitatis nostre diuine claritati configuratum non in hoc mundo, sed in celesti gloria perpetuum habeat principatum.

(10) Ad paruulos uenit Christus et cum paruulis conuersatur. Pauperes instruit et creat et facit. Ipse, in synagoga Iudeorum in Ysaie uolumine cum legisset in sabbato, complicato libro prophetiam hanc in se completam edocuit, quod a Spiritu sancto unctus sit et ad euangelizandum pauperibus Pater eum miserit. Idem in euangelio gloriatur et confitetur domino celi et terre, gratias agens quod reuelata sint diuina misteria paruulis, a quorum intellectu sublimitas huius mundi repulsa est, que deo subici non potest, dum secundum carnem et sanguinem inuisibile ipsius suis regulis inuestigat. Hic est primus religionis introitus sicut in mundum primus Christi ingressus, ut quicumque pie uult uiuere, humiliter de se sentiat neque supra se in mirabilibus

19-20 Phil. 3.21 (Vg: configuratum corpori claritatis suae)
 10.2-5 See Luc. 4.15ff.
 7 See Luc. 10.21

18 conueniunt Q, -erunt e
 19 ut coni. Cauchius, et omnes mss. codices primaeque edd.
 10.2 et om. Q
 3 Ysaie ex ysagoge corr. Q
 7 sint] sunt e

ambulare presumat. Fundamentum sanctitatis semper fuit humilitas
nec in celo stare potuit superba sublimitas. Hanc primam gratiam
15 ingrediens mundum noster paruulus attulit et, a cunabulis nos
sibi conformes fieri uolens, teneri uoluit in uita quod exhibuit
in persona.

(11) Quia uero filii dei sumus, humanitatis participatione
frater noster fieri uoluit, ut essemus secum beatitudinis
coheredes et haberet tota compositio hominis perfectam plenamque
letitiam, cum spiritus diuinam representaret imaginem et caro
5 nostra corporis Christi similitudinem. Consummate societatis
beneficium obtinemus, cum nominis Christi et hereditatis con-
sortes et diuine nature communicamus per spiritum et humane per
corpus. Iurauit dominus et non penitebit eum et promissionum
suarum non inmemor. Sicut se daturum nobis iurauerat, sic com-
10 pleuit. Filius datus est nobis, qui cum in forma dei esset,
splendor glorie et figura substantie eius, non est confusus se ad

12-13 Ps. 130.1 (Vg: neque ambulavi in magnis neque in
mirabilibus super me)

11.1 Rom 8.16 (Vg: sumus filii Dei)

8 Ps. 109.4

10-11 Is. 9.6; Phil. 2.6; Hebr. 1.3

10.13 Fundamentum... humilitas. See Benedicti Regula VII (ed.
Schmitz, pp. 45-61)

14 celum C

15 paruulus noster L

11.1 humanitatis] humili- L, ex humili- corr. B

3 plenam perfectamque Q

5 Christi] nostri Q, sed fort. cancell.

Christi corporis e

6 obtineremus e

formam serui exinanire, ut qui de fraternitate eius gloriantur et uolunt ascendere, non erubescant descendere, sed eidem scale cum Iacob innitantur et cantantes canticum graduum ab imis ad superiora conscendant.

(12) O domine, quam admirabile est nomen tuum! Vere tu es deus qui facis mirabilia. Non modo mundi huius structuram admiror, non stabilitatem terre, cum eam complectatur uolubile firmamentum, non singulos in dies lune defectum et incrementum, non solem semper integrum et laborem eius perpetuum, non temporum uicissitudines, in quibus quedam arent, quedam uirent et que mortua modo uidentur, deinceps reuiuiscunt. Miror deum in utero uirginis, miror omnipotentem in cunabulis. Miror quomodo Verbo dei caro adheserit, quomodo incorporeus deus corporis nostri tegumentum induerit. Miror in hac dispensatione tanti dispendia temporis et tam lentos processus ad obedientiam saluatoris. In

11-12 See Phil. 2.7
13-14 See Gen. 28.12
14 Pss. 119-133
12.1 Ps. 8. 2,10
1-2 Ps. 76.15

11.14-15 cantantes... conscendant. Cf. Augustine, Confessions XIII.ix (LCL, vol. 2, p. 392).
12.2ff. Non modo mundi, etc. Cf. Augustine, De Trinitate IV.1, 'Proem' (Mountain & Glorie ed., CCSL L, p. 159, ll. 16-21); Enarrationes in Psalmos CXLV.5, ll. 21-38 (Dekkers & Fraipont ed., CCSL XL, p. 2108f.); Bernard of Clairvaux, De consideratione V.iii.5, ll. 9-12 (LTR, vol. III, p. 470).

12.2 structuram] in ras. P, staturam e
4 singulos in dies] emendauit, singulos dies in PMT, singulos dies non, CBLOe
7 modo mortua L
9 incorporeus] in corpore L

breui poterat patrari negotium et poterat tantus labor adbreuiari
ad solum Christi uerbum, sicut factus est mundus et disposita
cuncta ad eius imperium. Sed elementario mundo dignior est
15 rationabilis homo, quod ex eo quod in eius seruitium facta sunt
omnia facile creditur. In ceteris quocumque modo aliquae satis-
faciunt rationes. Hic solus me complectitur stupor et cum
Abacuch cano, "Consideraui opera tua et expaui." Miror ieiunium,
miror temptationes, miror omnipotentem in sepulchro iacentem,
20 miror occisum et resurgentem. Hec sunt noua mira, que predixerat
Ysaïas: Nouum faciet dominus super terram. Mulier circumdabit
uirum. Opus suum faciet et peregrinum opus eius ab eo. Iesus
Christus heri et hodie ante luciferum genitus initium carnis
sumpsit ex uirgine et quem celi celorum non capiunt, qui implens
25 omnia cum sit in omnibus, ab his tamen non capitur nec tenetur.

15-16 See Gen. 1.26,28

18 Cf. Hab. 1.5, 3.2,16; Eccle. 8.9; Iob 37.1

21-22 Ier. 31.22 (Vg: creavit Dominus... Femina...)

22 Is. 28.21 (Vg: ut faciat opus suum alienum opus eius ut
operetur opus suum peregrinum)

22-23 Hebr. 13.8 23 Ps. 109.3 (Vg: genui) 24 III Reg.
8.27 (Vg: te capere) 24-25 Cf. Eph. 4.10 25 Cf. I Cor.
15.28

18 Consideraui... expaui. "Canticum ad Laudes II (Feria Sexta)",
in R.J. Hesbert, Corpus antiphonarium officii, vol. III (Rome,
1968), p. 162.

13 est om. e 15 rationalis L

16 quocumque] quoque B

21 Ysaïas] iheremias B, ieremias O, Ierem sup. l. T

22 est post peregrinum add. CB (per superscr. C)

- (13) Nouum est et inauditum, quod intra materni angustias
uteri circumdedit intra se fragilis caro uirtutem altissimi et
ordinem rerum cursumque nature mutauit sapientia dei et ubique
diuinitas dilatata, plenitudinem sui uasi infundens exiguo, sic
5 est circumdata muliebri utero, ut tamen uniuersa ambiret implens
omnia, excedens cuncta, intra se omnia continens, extra uniuersa
complectens. Quem nos paruulum, propheta nuncupat uirum,
insinuans ei nunquam defuisse uirtutem, sed semper uirilis etatis
affuisse fortitudinem, quem infantilis infirmitas occultabat.
- 10 Opus suum igitur fecit recreans quod creauerat, saluans quod
perierat, ad uitam reuocans quod mortuum erat. Sed peregrinum
opus fuit in deo quod Verbum factum est caro, quod factus est
uisibilis et comprehensibilis, passibilis et mortalis, peregrinum
a maiestate puer, suggens ubera, panniculis inuolutus et
15 sustinens conuitia, Filius dei in patibulo constitutus. Con-
siliarius quoque dictus est paruulus iste, qui et alibi dictus
magni consilii angelus, eo quod secreta dei, que ab hominibus
erant abscondita, publice reuelauit. Et cum nemo nosset Patrem

13.12 Ioh. 1.14 (Vg: caro factum est)

15-16 Is. 9.6

17-18 Cf. Iob 11.6

13.5 circumdata est O tamen] cum e
7 nuncupauit C
8 nunquam ei O, nonquam M
9 quem] quam O
10 recreans om. e, in ras. P saluansque e
13 et post mortalis add. e
14 panniculis] pannis O
16 est post dictus² add. L
17 hominibus] omnibus MTO

nisi Filius, ipse archana fidei reserans indaginem Trinitatis
 20 explicuit, loquens Patri et a Patre responsum accipiens, et
 Spiritum sanctum infundens discipulis, generationis et proces-
 sionis intimans rationes, subtiliter astruens personarum proprie-
 tates et indissolubilis essentie unitatem; alia quoque inferiora
 24 sed tamen necessaria consilia edocens, ut beneficia collata homo
 intelligat, ut in eo quod stat, gratias agat et (quod possibile
 PL
 1621 est ex dei gratia) cum ceciderit, ut resurgat.

(14) De uirginibus, ait apostolus, preceptum domini non
habeo. Consilium autem do, tamquam misericordiam consecutus.
 Vult et laudat ex imperio domini, ut que nupserint sic
 permaneant, que uero uirgines sunt, dei emulatione castitatis
 5 integritatem exhibeant Christo. Et in hunc modum quecumque auc-
 toritate diuina immobilia constant sic maneant, que uero in
 alterutrum potest libertas arbitrii flectere, locum eligant
 puriorem, quia etsi bona sunt et a deo instituta coniugia, melior
 tamen est continentia et uirginitas excellentior, quam non cogit
 10 necessitas aut mandatum, sed perfectionis suadet consilium. Quod

18-19 Matth. 11.27 (Vg: neque Patrem quis novit nisi Filius)

21 Cf. Ioh. 20.22; Act. 2.3-4

14.1-2 I Cor. 7.25

3-10 Cf. I Cor. 7.26-40

14.8-10 quia etsi bona... consilium. Cf. Arnold, De donis
Spiritus sancti II (PL 189.1593A).

19 fidei] dei L

26 cecidit fort. O ut om. e

14.4 ex ante dei add. C emulatione] cumula- e

8 puriorem] priorem MTe instituta] con- O

si diuinis consiliis obuiauuerint temptamenta et liberas mentes ad
 carnales reuocauerint appetitus, adest deus fortis. Nec spem
 ponat homo in homine nec in brachio carnis sue confidat, quia qui
 mundum uicit uictoriam suis promittit militibus et qui uictores
 15 sunt sui celo uim inferunt, quoniam sicut scriptum est, Regnum
celorum uim patitur et uiolenti rapiunt illud.

(15) In paruuli huius nomine cum hoste antiquo congregimur
 et fortis armatus, superueniente fortiore, de atrio antiquitus
 possesso potenter expellitur et presumpte infestationis audacie
 silentium imperatur. Defectui carnis nostre que a primitiuis
 5 fecibus originalis mali infecta languerat, ex Christi carne red-
 datur fortitudo et sacramentorum communicatio, per quam illius
 corporis sinceritati unimur, nos in tantum corroborat, ut de
 mundo et de diabolo et de nobis ipsis uictoria potiamur et,
 sacramentali gustu uiuificis misteriis inherentes, una caro et
 10 unus spiritus simus, dicente apostolo, qui adheret domino unus
spiritus est. Sic hi ad quos sermo fit dicuntur dii et filii

 12 Is. 9.6
 12-13 See Ier. 17.5
 13-14 See Ioh. 16.33
 15-16 Matth. 11.12
 15.2 Luc 11.21-22
 10-11 I Cor. 6.17

 14 militibus. See Christine Mohrmann, "La langue de saint
 Benoît", in Benedicti Regula, ed. Schmitz, pp. xxix-xxxii.

 12 Nec] ne MTO
 15.3 expellit O
 4 que] quo L
 9 uiuifici C
 10 domino] deo L

excelsi, nominis et hereditatis et eternitatis participes, fortitudine societatis Christi subigentes temptamina et, cum homines sint ex indigniori materia, in captiuitatem redigunt et conspuunt
 15 ligantque demonia.

(16) Et quidem in hoc tempore in stadio uite huius se exercet militia christiana et, preeunte Christi uexillo, quem et paruulum uidimus et cognouimus deum. Et quos Spiritus consilii et fortitudinis munit nec uinci nec decipi possumus, quos
 5 eruditio diuina scientia et potestate fecit insignes. Videtur autem in presenti disciplina huiusmodi non esse gaudii, sed meroris, eo quod non sine periculo certamina peraguntur. Bonum uero certamen certantibus pacatissimum fructum in futuro exercitatis in iusticia dabit princeps pacis eterne, consignans
 10 sibi in beatitudine, quorum communicauit nature. Ipsi gloria et imperium a modo et usque in sempiternum. Amen.

11-12 Ps. 81.6
 16.3-4 Is. 11.2
 6-7 Hebr. 12.11 (Vg: disciplina in presenti)
 7-8 II Tim. 4.7
 8 Hebr. 12.11 (Vg: fructum pacatissimum)
 9 Is. 9.6

16.1 quidem] quod L
 6 huiuscemodi e esse om. O
 11 Amen om. O

II. DE RATIONE CIRCVMCISIONIS

PL (1) Inter omnia testamenti ueteris sacramenta nichil circum-
1621 cisione sollemnius antiqua celebrauit religio. Nec tantum in
PL Hebreos, sed etiam in Phenices et Arabes hec traditio inoleuit.
1622 Relique gentes tam mandatum quam factum irrident et deo minime
5 asserunt conuenire, ut saluatoris benignitas plagis infantium
delectetur et inmeritos in ipso uite initio periculo mortis
addicat. Hoc de bono domino sentire, qui neminem uult perire,
absurdum et irrationabile iudicant. Nec tamen eis omnia reliqua
sacrificia sunt horrori, sed in multis naturalem legem sequentes,
10 expiationum retinent instrumenta et immolant uictimas et
incendunt adipem et cum odoramentis et libaminibus fundunt coram
deo preces et uota. Legimus Iob dei testimonio approbatum

7 Cf. I Tim. 2.4

Tit. Sermo de ratione circumcisionis Q De Circumcisione
domini L
1.1 ueteris testamenti C
3 etiam om. Q
4-5 asserunt minime Q
6 inmerito MT, ex -tis corr. B eos post inmeritos add. B
eos post mortis add. C
8-9 reliqua sacrificia] bona sacramenta subst. O
12 uota et preces e

iugibus sacrificiis occupatum, nec legimus circumcicum et
 poterant esse eo tempore diuersis in locis multi uiri insignes,
 15 qui iusticie dei subiecti hoc signo carebant, licet filios Esau
 et Ismael putandum sit huius traditionis non fuisse expertes.
 Verum cum opus istud et antiquitas commendet et iubentis auc-
 toritas, inquirenda est tanti misterii ratio, que Abrahe special-
 iter et semini eius tanto pondere mandata est, ut quisquis in
 20 illa gente huius signi careret differentia, ethnicus, non Iudeus
 reputaretur et a titulo filiorum Israel abraderetur proscriptus.
 Hoc cum octaua die iussum sit celebrari et nomen circumciso
 aptari, intimatum est his, qui digni sanctorum consortio
 censebantur, quod eorum nomina scriberentur in celis et eterne
 25 beatitudinis, quam post uite huius septimanam octaua consequitur,
 heredes fierent et consortes, quicumque uite innocentia et
 celibatus sanctimonia sese domino consecrassent.

(2) Tenera itaque infantia huiusmodi erat imbuenda doctrina
 et ante concupiscibiles motus quos peccatum meruerat, miserabili
 pene et ineuitabili uindictae etiam in paruulis adhibenda erat
 seueritas et, antequam ebulliret sartago libidinum, prouisum est
 5 uentilabrum, quo refrigerari posset et extinguere depopulatricis
 flamme uagus ardor et uniuersa perlustrans incendium. Ideoque

1.12-13 See Iob 1.5
 15-16 E.g., Gen. 17.23
 18-21 See Gen. 17.9-14

14 temporum e in diuersis B
 22 octauo C
 23 his om. L, i.m. post intimatum add. C
 27 celibatus] deli- C
 2.1 imbuenda erat B

dolor uoluptati et sanguini delectationis sanguis tormenti
 opponebatur, ut in primis elementis discerent paruuli, semper
 proprie memores sectionis, contraria curare contrariis et ad
 10 cohibendos refrenandosque turpitudinum appetitus necessarium esse
 sale corrosorio carnis perfricare pruritus et semper recrudesc-
 centes desiccare putredines. Ad hoc corpus suum mortificabat
 apostolus, non tantum circumcidens illud seminarium membrum, sed
 totum se crucifigens et omnibus extraordinariis motibus opponens
 15 cauterium, usque adeo corpus suum redigens in seruitutem, ut
 diceret, Viuo autem iam non ego. Viuit uero in me Christus.
 Cuius facti emulatores erubescimus in pudendis et (detecto secto-
 que confusionis operculo) licet conscientia testis semper nobis
 exponat scaturientes intus peccati insidias nec internum possimus
 20 uitare iudicium, uiriliter tamen standum est et rationis auc-
 toritate increpandi sunt titillatorii sensus et summopere
 uigilandum est, ne sequatur assensus. Intra nos pudor iste
PL
 1623 aboleri omnino non potest, quia nec totum hoc membrum, sed

 2.14 Cf. Gal. 5.24

15 I Cor. 9.27 (Vg: castigo corpus meum et in seruitutem redigo)

16 Gal. 2.20

 2.9 contraria... contrariis. See below, VI.6.10-11.

 12 putredines] pingue- C

13 tantum] tamen e

15 et post cauterium add. L

17 impudendis e, sed corr. r

18 licet] quamuis e

19 possimus] -sumus O, ex -sumus corr. B

19-20 uitare possimus PMT0e

22 ascensus e

anterior eius portio iussa est circumcidi. Res sane maxima est,
 25 si non egrediatur foras huius contagio corruptele et insaniens
 bestia corrupti hanelitus cathenis ferreis in ultimis anime
 recessibus alligetur intusque fractis dentibus se ipsam con-
 cupiscentia captiua masticet et corrodat. Manet itaque erubes-
 centia propter sensum, ut qui in agone contendit, sciens circum-
 30 cisionis misterium, ab omnibus se abstineat, que possunt huic
 flamme ministrare fomentum. Nec tamen peremptoria est con-
 tendentibus, sed probatoria huius sensualitatis colluctatio tam
 ueterna. Sed institutum est certamen inter spiritum et carnem,
 ut uictor homo peccati et pene post triumphos sollempnes
 35 coronetur in gloria sine infestationibus, deinceps liber a pec-
 cato et pena.

(3) Hanc uerecundiam post preuaricationem uanitati subiecta
 non uolens anima pertulit et uim sustinet, inquietudine
 perurgente, et inuoluntariis motibus fatigata infelicitatis sue
 deplorat miseriam, liberari de corpore mortis huius desiderans,
 5 et pacifici tranquillique status a deo postulat libertatem.
 Cotidiano sane conflictu spiritus et caro luctantur et causatur
 ratio aduersus domesticum malum, quod ita intra se exerceat reg-

 29-30 I Cor. 9.25 (Vg: abstinet)

3.4 Rom. 7.24 (Vg: liberabit)

 24 et post est² add. O

27 fractis] -tus M, ex -tus corr. P

3.1 uanitatis L

3 perurgentes L

4 desiderat L

7 se om. O

num quasi natura sit uitium et secum traxerit creatio prima peccatum. Hoc utique prima non sentit conditio, sed secutum est
 10 transgressorem supplicium et adhesit indiuidua pena peccato, de quo erubescunt quicumque mundo corde regem in decore suo uidere desiderant. Quis in tam assiduis illusionibus non confundatur? Quis non in tantis contumeliis erubescat? Fomes quippe huius mali intus in tenebrosis recessibus latitans, ut uiderit animam
 15 alias occupatam et minus ad sui circumspectionem sollicitam, irruptionibus uehementibus erumpit et blanditiis uenena supponens pudicitie puritatem inopinatis inuadit assultibus. Ideoque pudibundus homo nuditatem suam operit et feditatem confusus occultat. His rediuiuis uulneribus semper hac sanie illitis,
 20 necessaria est per omnem huius uite septimanam iugis resecatio putredinum et continua circumcisio cicatricum et in ceteris quidem membra omnia imperio rationis obediunt et arbitrii retinent libertatem. Hic uero ubi Babilonie fornax exarserit et quasi pice et napta conspersi libidinum ebullierint appetitus,
 25 inflammata caro libertatis priuatur honore, in tantum ut rebellia membra uelit nolit in motus nefarios audacter exurgant.

 11 Matth. 5.8; Is. 33.17
 17-19 See Gen. 3.7
 23 See Dan. 3.21

 8 natura] nata L
 9 sentit quod scriptum erat ad sensit mut. B
 11 erubescunt e
 15 minus] in imis e sui] suam L (cf. GL 309.2)
 20 uite huius Q
 22 membra] membris L (hac nota +bris in coaeua manu i.m. com-
itante)

(4) Precedebant olim integumenta rerum significantia
abolitionem peccati et ad perfectionem inchoata tendebant. Nec
hoc sacramentum consuetudini antike subtrahere uoluit Christus
et licet non esset in hoc tempore necessarium, tamen ne antiqua
5 religio prorsus reprobata uideretur, in se uoluit circumcisionis
aptari signaculum. Sane originale peccatum, quod a primis
PL patribus in totam generis huius successionem defluxit, omni
1624 tempore aliquibus remediis oportuit expiari, licet plenam uim
significantia non habuerint donec ad rem ipsam uentum est, que
10 figurarum operiebatur uelamine. Et licet sacramentorum archana
omnibus non paterent, uirtus tamen et effectus eorum ignorari non
poterat, quia ab Adam usque ad Noe sacrificia deo fuisse constat
accepta, que usque ad illud tempus sine legis distinctione
diuinitus inspirata institutione primi homines celebrarunt. Illa
15 uero sacrificia aut in animalium sanguine aut aliarum oblationum
incensionibus agebantur, non quod fumo aut mortibus pecudum
delectaretur deus, sed ut intelligeretur immutabile iudicium et
prolata ab initio sententia in peccatum.

4.5-6 See Luc. 2.21
12-13 E.g., Gen. 4.3-4, 8.20
16-17 Cf. Is. 1.11

4.5 reprobata L
8 uim plenam e
9 euentum Q
12 constat fuisse OLe
13 tempus] tunc Q
14 celebrarent e
16 augebantur L quod] quo cum ras. sequente quasi quod ad
quo mutauerat scr. B

(5) Immutabile decretum ab eterna lege exierat concupiscentia affligi et morte peccatorem puniri. Nec poterat plagis exterioribus remedium aliquod subuenire, quin stimulus carnis sine ulla exceptione colafizaret infirmum et usque ad dissolutionem mors importuna persequeretur captiuum. Et mors quidem carnis concupiscentiarum intersequabat ludibria nec poterat ultra peccare illud quod erat putredini ac dissolutioni predestinatum et datum. Sed supererat post mortem carnis anime labor et afflictio spiritus nec poterat ulla ratione illa absolui dampnatio, nisi morti omnium uita omnium subueniret et pro generali morbo gratia dei singulare propinaret antidotum. Hoc antiquum redemptionis nostre consilium sanctis patribus reuelauit deus uoluitque, ut paulatim assuescerent homines passioni et morti necessarie uoluntarie mortis opponerent libamentum et penam in medelam et supplicium in remedium commutarent.

(6) Huius oblationis doctrinam sacrificia continebant antiqua et incensiones et mortes huius consummationis gratiam presignabant. Propter hoc cum iam fidei tempora propinquarent, imperata est circumcisio et pars illa corporis, in qua est uoluptatum seminarium et libidinis officina, iussa etiam in paruulis

 5.10-11 pro generali... antidotum. Cf. Augustine, De Trinitate IV.ii.4, ll. 16-19 (Mountain & Glorie ed., CCSL L, p. 164)

 5.1 quod post decretum add. CB
 4 colafizaret ad ola- seu ole- mut. M 5 mors] mox C
 6 intersequabat] codd., intellige -cabat
 6.4 est¹ om. CB est² om. O
 4-5 uoluptatis L
 5 etiam] est O in paruulis om. O

amputari, ut proprii primitias sanguinis ei, qui totum sanguinem suum oblaturus erat, offerrent et communia singulorum sacrificia singulare prederent holocaustum. Vbi uero Christus dominus uenit, de quo in capite libri scriptum erat, ut in morte sua

10 Patris uoluntatem implet, cessarunt sacrificia nec iam truncationem preputii euangelium imperauit, sed circumcisionem cordis et omnem tam membrorum quam affectionum petulantiam gladio Spiritus resecari immutabili decreto mandauit. Et tante dignitatis illa una redemptoris nostri fuit oblatio, ut una ad tol-

15 lenda mundi peccata sufficeret, qui tanta auctoritate in sancta introiuit in sanguine proprio, ut deinceps nulla supplicantium postulatio sanguine indigeret alieno. A diebus igitur uisitationis nostre regnum celorum uim patitur nec iam in expolatione carnis circumcisio agitur, sed Spiritus sancti

20 uirtute uetustatis antique sanies expurgatur.

6.9 Hebr. 10.7 (Vg: capitulo... est)

11 Rom. 2.29 (Vg: circumcisio)

12-13 Eph. 6.17 (Vg: gladium)

15-16 Hebr. 9.12 (Vg: per proprium sanguinem introiuit semel in sancta)

17 Hebr. 9.25

17-18 Cf. I Pet. 2.12

18 Matth. 11.12

7 erat] erant C, ex erant corr. B offerent M, ultimam syllabam in ras. scr. P

8 singulare om. CBLO dominus] deus L

III. DE STELLA ET MAGIS ET INNOCENTIVM NECE

PL (1) Nato in Bethleem saluatore, audita est in Efrata eius
1625 in terris presentia et usque ad siluas camposque gentium noue
huius natiuitatis est fama porrecta. In Iudea a pastoribus et
angelis primo sunt hec gaudia celebrata nec multo post Arabum
5 fines huius noticia penetrauit et incolis Sabba preclari stella
luminis celestis ortum numinis nouis splendoribus indicauit.
Erant in illis regionibus uiri siderum inspectionibus assueti,
qui arte mathematica uim discursumque nouerant planetarum, qui ex
elementorum natura rationem temporum metientes astrorum minis-
10 teria certis experimentis propriis didicerant effectibus assigna-
ta. Hi ex uaticiniis Balaam olim audierant stellam oriri ex

1.1-2 Ps. 131.6 (Vg: audivimus eam in Efrata invenimus eam in
campis silvae)

3-4 See Luc. 2.8-14

4-6 See Ps. 71.10; Matth. 2.1-12

Tit. Sermo de stella et magis et innocentium nece Q De
Epyphania domini L

1.1 domino post Bethleem add. O

5 rei post huius add. e

6 ortum om. e

9 temporis Q

9-10 misteria Q

11 ex²] in e

Iacob et hominem in Israel, cuius fortitudo quasi rinocerotis, ad
 quem in trieribus de Italia uenirent qui superarent Assyrios et
uastarent Hebreos, quo tempore nec in Iacob ydolum nec in Israel
 15 simulachrum esset.

(2) Diu homines illi huius prophetie prouentum expectauerant
 et ubi uenit plenitudo temporis (orto repente nouo sidere) ad
 antiqua recurrentes uolumina, tam testimonio muniti quam signo,
 dromedis inuecti in Iudeam stella duce perueniunt. Nec potuere
 5 Palestine incolas latere tanti nominis persone, sed ubi auditum
 est quod stellam indicem nati in Bethleem paruuli sequerentur,
 Herodi noui regis inquisitio nuntiatur. Euocatis itaque magis
 rei huius ordinem cum omni diligentia sciscitatur. Audit natum
 in Bethleem paruulum, quem profitentes regem et deum, qui de
 10 Sabba uenerant, adorare et uenerari festinant. Intimatum est ei
 quod ab antiquis temporibus Moabites propheta licet gentilis
 predixerat et contulit cum litteris gentium sanctorum uaticinia
 prophetarum, quorum scripta per omne sabbatum legebantur, de
 quibus nulla in populo Iudeorum ambiguitas erat, quin rata essent
 15 que illi uel asseruissent preterita uel predixissent futura. A

 11-12 See Num. 24.17

12 Num. 24.8 (Vg: similis)

13-14 Num. 24.24 (Vg: uenient in trieribus de Italia superabunt
Assyrios vastabuntque Hebraeos)

14-15 Num. 23.21 (Vg: non est idolum in Iacob nec uidetur
simulacrum in Israhel)

2.2 Gal. 4.4

13 Act. 15.21 (Vg: legitur)

 14 temporum e

2.4 ducente Q

7 Euocatis] Et uocatis Q

9 esse post Bethleem add. e

14 erat ambiguitas L

fortitudine eius, qui quasi unicornis obuios penetraret, in cuius obsequium ultrices de Italia trieres in Iudee terminos aduentarent et usque ad fines mundi dilatarent imperium, anxius expauit et timuit.

- (3) Conturbabat quoque aliud quod in Michea scriptum est testimonium, Quoniam de Bethleem que est in Efrata egrederetur paruulus, qui dominator esset in Israel, cuius egressus esset ab initio a diebus eternitatis. Cumque ea que domestici codices
- 5 continebant cum his que ab alienigenis dicebantur intelligeret conuenire, diuinis temptans reluctari consiliis simulat perfidus religionis assensum, promittens magis sese ad adorandum paruulum cum omni deuotione ilico affuturum, cum per reuertentes certitudinem de puero accepisset. Turbatur cum rege maligno
- 10 Iherosolima, non letatur. Expauescit et tabescit et negare erubescit, quod scriptura testatur. Nec minus horrendum
- PL scribarum sacrilegium quam Herodis impietas, quia proprio Iudei
1626 abutentes priuilegio, cum uisitationi diuine inuenirentur ingrati, causam sibi cum Herode fecere communem, cum hinc et inde

16 See Num. 24.8

17 Num. 24.24 (Vg: in trieribus de Italia)

3.2-4 Mich. 5.2 (Vg: et tu Bethleem Ephrata paruulus es in milibus Iuda ex te mihi egredietur qui sit dominator in egressus eius...)

18 finem Le

3.2 in om. e

5 que] qui e

10 et¹ om. L

12 sacrilegium scribarum Q

15 impietas et infidelitas aduersus dominum et aduersus Christus
 eius fremerent et pariter in eius odio consentirent. Ecce
 alienigene a fluminibus Ethiopie ad paruulum Christum supplices
 ueniunt et filii dispersorum deferunt munera. Accedunt qui longe
 erant et qui prope recedunt. In loco humili et supellectile uili
 20 rex regum et dominus dominantium inuenitur, cognoscitur et ab
 aliis adoratur.

(4) Quia uero neminem in conspectu dei apparere uacuum anti-
 qua lex edocet, preuaricatoribus legis abeuntibus uacuis,
 primitie gentium sacramentalia munera proferunt de thesauris et
 domino aurum et odoramenta presentant, profitentes ex ratione
 5 munerum de eo quem adorabant quid crederent, quid sentirent. In
 auro regem, in thure sacerdotem, in myrra incorruptibilem,
 quamuis passibilem, profitentur. Oblatio ista incarnati Verbi
 exponit misteria et breui subtilique indicio utriusque nature
 humane diuineque exprimit unitatem, quod proprium est cuique
 10 singulatim distinguens. Nam deo Patri, cuius regnum et imperium
 suis mundum replet splendoribus, in odorem suauitatis summus

 17-18 Soph. 3.10 (Vg: ultra flumina Aethiopiae... filii dis-
persorum meorum deferent munus)

20 Apoc. 19.16

4.1-2 Ex. 23.15

4 Matth. 2.11

10-11 Cf. Ez. 10.4

11-12 Eph. 5.2 (Vg: tradidit semetipsum...)

 15 infidelitas et impietas C aduersus^{1,2}] -sum MTO
 aduersus² om. e

4.3 proferunt munera L

7 et post Verbi add. e

9 vnicuique e

sacerdos et pontifex Christus se obtulit, cuius caro passionis cremata carbonibus incensionis sue fragrantiam transmisit ad celos et usque hodie odor ille suauissimus in terrestri celesti-
 15 que ecclesia indeficiens perseuerat. Quod autem passibilitas, quam obediens deo uoluntarie suscepit, incorruptione firmata sit, uirtus mirre obuians corruptele suo probat effectum et uisibilium ratione munerum immortalitatis solide constat euidens argumentum.

(5) Adorato domino, magi hilares alio tramite in suam patriam reuertuntur, quia necesse est, ut qui corde credunt ad iusticiam, ore etiam confessi sunt ad salutem, deinde uias eligant artiores et se distractionibus mandatis obligent, quoniam
 5 per uias latas descensusque precipites itur ad inferos, per ardas uero et difficiles reditur ad superos. Propter uerba labiorum dei religiosus quisque uias duras ingreditur et iugulator uolup-

 5.1-2 See Matth. 2.12

2-3 Rom. 10.10 (Vg: corde enim creditur... ore autem confessio fit in salutem)

4-6 See Matth. 7.13-14

6-7 Ps. 16.4 (Vg: custodiri)

 5.1 magi hilares. See J. Leclercq, "Jours d'ivresse", La vie spirituelle 76 (1947), p. 590, n. 73.

1-2 Adorato... reuertuntur. Cf. Augustine, De Trinitate IV.xii.15, ll. 9-13 (Mountain & Glorie ed., CCSL L, p. 180).

4 distractionibus. See John Cassian, De institutis coenobiorum IV.3.2 & V.38.2 (ed. J.-C. Guy, SC 190, pp. 124 & 250). See also Arnold, Hexaameron, PL 189.1565B & below IX.13.9. .

4-6 per uias... ad superos. Cf. Virgil, Aeneid VI.126-128 (ed. R.A.B. Mynors, OCT, p. 231).

 5.2 corde om. e

4 distractionibus] -oribus CBL0e, ad -oribus ex -onibus mut. PM (cf. Iohannis Cassiani De institutis coenobiorum IV.3.2 & V.38.2; Arnoldi Bonaeuallensis, Hexaameron, PL 1565B) & infra, IX.13.9.

tatum stantem ex diuerso hostem securus aggreditur. Arta uia est
 castitas, trames strictus humilitas. Ieiunio affligi et carnem
 10 in seruitutem redigere scopulose sunt semite, sed ad patriam
 superiorem non nisi per meatus difficiles armati milites
 reuertuntur. Non est tutus ad Herodem regressus nec expedit cum
 his qui oderunt deum federa iungere nec de religione cum malig-
 nantibus inire consilia, quorum familiaritas infantiam Christi
 15 studiose persequitur et, antequam formetur Christus in nobis, in
 ipso pie conuersationis initio, ut extinguatur spiritus et suf-
 focetur uita iusticie, penitus elaborat.

(6) Delusum se Herodes conqueritur, cum magos alias comperit
 diuertisse, quia molestissimum est principi tenebrarum, cum
 PL excogitatis laqueis temptatos quoslibet nouerit euasisse, et
 1627 acriori inflammatus rabie in neces innocentium debachatur. Sic
 5 sanctorum persecutionibus tyrannus crudelis illuditur, qui dum
 putat perdere quos occidit, melioris uite statum eis procurat et
 quod ille in perditionem molitur, hii utuntur pro beneficio,
 quibus luchra uite perpetue per hec momentanea dampna celeri com-
 pendio adquiruntur. Ecce paruuli isti, quos hostis nature
 10 pietatis inimicus, bestialis seuitie inaudite crudelitatis

 10 I Cor. 9.27 (Vg: redigo)
 13-14 Cf. Ps. 1.1
 6.4 See Matth. 2.16

 8 diuerso] ad- L
 9 In ieiunio fort. O, Ieiuniis L
 15 prosequitur e
 6.1 titulum De nece i.m. rubricatum add. L
 6 eis uite statum O
 10 homo post inimicus add. L

monstrum Herodes occidit. Subito fiunt martires et dum uice Christi et pro Christo auulsi a matrum uberibus detruncantur, testimonium, quod nondum poterant sermone, perhibent passione et sufficit causa testimonio, licet nondum eloquio distinguatur.

- 15 Illico spiritus infantilis uasculi receptaculum deserens iam non tenelli corporis etatisque nouicie tempore tenetur, sed ab illis infantilibus coagulis anima expedita (adepta rationis et intellectus plenitudine) in occursum Christi festinat, a quo militie sue querens stipendium, ad lucis et pacis eterne premit-
20 titur gaudia et epiphanie sollempnia in celestibus celebrat nec in stelle alicuius lumine, sed in ipsa claritate diuine presentie gloriatur.

- (7) Acta est natiuitatis sollempnitas. Sursum iubilantibus angelis, deorsum ex ore infantium et lactentium laus est perfecta, resonantibus usque ad celos uictorie tubis, et uersus est paruulorum uagitus in gaudium et luctus in iubilum, sequente non
5 stellam, sed agnum exercitu innocentium et baiulante gloriosissimi triumphi sollempne uexillum. Nec potuit mundus inficere nuper agonem ingressum infantilem exercitum et pedes, qui nondum lutum calcauerant, urgens citatusque transitus non est passus

7.2-3 Ps. 8.3 (Vg: perfecisti laudem)
3 Cf. Iud. 7.20

13 perhibent] -bebant C, -bent ad -bebant mut. B
7.1 est om. O
2-3 perfecta est C
3 est om. O, postea add B, ut uid.
8 passus est B

ullis sordibus inquinari, sed in ipso uite initio tota illa
 10 innocua phalanx sine ullo integritatis detrimento ad solidioris
 uite translata est gloriam et que expectari poterat annorum
 elapsu rationis discretio, repente nullis iam etate illa
 temporibus subiecta omnis consummationis repperit finem et casuum
 accidentium mutabilitates euasit. Euigilauerunt sensus, quos
 15 sopor infantie opprimebat, displosisque palpebris intuiti lucem
 in momento assecuti sunt (que pacificis et mundo corde debetur!)
 beatitudinem et ascendentes per omnium uirtutum gradus sine doc-
 trine humane exercitio cumulatam inuenere mensuram, ita ut in
 ordine sanctorum prothomartires primum habeant locum et
 20 secretorum conscii diuinorum propinquitate familiarissima
 clementiam dei pro nostris exorent laboribus, quos usque hodie
 funestus Herodes persequitur, quorum sanguine et morte diabolus
 delectatur. Hii itaque a cunabulis in celum translati facti sunt
 superni capitolii senatores et iudices, nonnullis ueniam
 25 obtinentes inmeritis assistuntque miserationibus et ultionibus
 diuinis, sed sepius agni, quem quocumque ierit prosequuntur,
 mansuetudine quam ira uel furore utuntur. Hii nuper cruore lac-

16 See Matth. 5.8,9

24 Dan. 6.7

26 Apoc. 14.4 (Vg: sequuntur agnum quocumque abierit)

10 phalans PMT

13 reperit O

15 intuitu O

18 inuenire L

20 consocii MT

23 cunabulis ex cunalibus corr. PM in om. MT

25 -que om. L

27 mansuetudinem C quam] quod L

PL teo loti primitias baptismi martirio consecrarunt, tradentes
 1628 posteris formam, ubi necessitatis articulus excluserit moram, non
 30 minus ad lauachrum anime sanguinem efficacem quam sanctificatas
 uerbis sollempnibus aquas, maxime cum nec sanguis hoc elemento
 careat, sed aquarum motu per totum corporis alueum fluat.
 Spiritus uero sanctus et aquis et sanguini superfertur, qui sub-
 iectos sibi fouet et abluit. Quo baptizante idem occisio quod
 35 mersio operatur, qua extinctam peccati uitam uirtutemque emortuam
 utriusque rei continet sacramentum. Ipse enim est qui uel hoc
 uel alio modo, quicumque est ille modus, baptizat et ad idem
 refertur quod pura fide agitur per Christum dominum nostrum.

33 See Gen. 1.2

29 articulis T et fort. L
 33 aque Q
 34 et post sibi add. L
 36 utriusque] uirtus Q

IV. DE BAPTISMO CHRISTI ET MANIFESTATIONE TRINITATIS

PL (1) Non satis est quod angeli locuti sunt pastoribus, quod
1628 apparuit stella regibus, quod natiuitati et persone et loco con-
sona prophetarum oracula, perfide gentis indicio, Christo per-
hibentia testimonium in unam conuenere sententiam. Sublimius et
5 perfectius testimonium profertur diuinitus et ipse Pater
inuisibilis auditur et aures humanas omnipotentis dei preclara
uox penetrat et inaudita a seculo fidei species declaratur.
Veniebat Christus ad baptismum Iohannis non egens lauachro, in
quo peccatum non erat, sed ut sacramento perhennis daretur auc-
toritas et tanti uirtutem operis nulla personarum acceptio com-
10 mendaret, quoniam remissio peccatorum, siue per baptismum siue
per alia sacramenta donetur, proprie Spiritus sancti est et ipsi

1.1 See Luc. 2.9
1-2 See Matth. 2.2
2-3 See Matth. 2.5-6
8 Matth. 3.13
10 II Par. 19.7

Tit. Sermo de baptismo Christi et manifestatione Trinitatis Q
De baptismo domini et uoce patris L
1.4 sententiam conuenere LB
7 a om. L
8 Iohannis om. e
12 sancti spiritus Q

soli huius efficientie priuilegium manet. Verborum sollempnitas
 et sacri inuocatio nominis et signa institutionibus apostolicis
 15 sacerdotum ministeriis attributa uisibile celebrant sacramentum.
 Rem uero ipsam Spiritus sanctus format et efficit et con-
 secrationibus uisibilibus inuisibiliter manum totius bonitatis
 auctor apponit et plenitudinem gratie unctionis diuine pinguedo
 sanctificationibus officialibus infundit et rem sacramenti con-
 20 summat et perficit.

(2) Si in Petri uel Pauli nomine baptismi gratia donaretur,
 posset alius alio uideri sublimior et secundum ministrorum merita
 hec singularis gratia estimari, ut melior esset baptismus eius
 qui sanctior uideretur, et indignior esset qui ab eo acciperetur,
 5 quem non amplior estimatio commendaret. Hec et in alia
 sacramenta transferretur iniuria, ut non in eis unitas, sed
 diuersitas haberetur, si censerentur a melioribus fieri meliora
 et minus haberent utilitatis et ponderis, que fierent ab
 indignis. Sic eucharistia una alia melior et baptismus pro min-
 10 isterio uel melior uel deterior crederetur. Absit hoc a fide
 catholica! Absit a religione christiana tante corruptionis

 2.1 I Cor. 1.13 (Vg: in nomine Pauli baptizati)

 1.13-20 Verborum...perficit. Cf. R.I. Moore, The Origins of
 European Dissent (New York, 1977), pp. 60-66.

 13 efficientie] efficacie in ras., ut uid., scr. O
 14 apostolicis institutionibus C
 2.1 gratia baptismi C
 3 gratia] gloria O
 4 esse post sanctior add. C acciperetur] occide- C
 5 et] etiam L
 8 ponderis et utilitatis B

fermentum! Vna nobis fides, unus dominus, unum baptisma. Quod
 si ab indigno forte fuerit consecratum, non audet iustus iterare
 14 uel corrigere quod semel est factum, quia per quemcumque fiat,
 PL idem est nec hoc priuilegium meritis est datum, sed gratie et
 1629 proprie sibi omnipotentia dei retinet hunc effectum. Neque enim
Paulus pro nobis crucifixus est aut nos gloriamur in Paulo, sed
in cruce domini gloriamur, cuius uirtus omnia peragit sacramenta,
 sine quo signo nichil est sanctum neque aliqua consecratio
 20 meretur effectum. Hinc omnium sanctificationum exurgit sub-
 limitas et profundum et longe lateque plenitudo diffunditur
 gratiarum.

(3) Quod ne ulla presumptio sibi doni huius in posterum
 gloriam uendicaret, in hoc sicut et in aliis domini nostri
 ecclesie sue prouidit benignitas, ut ipse baptizaretur a seruo,
 nec conserui conseruorum ministerium detrectarent uel aliquis
 5 cuiquam in hoc opere preferretur, quoniam siue Iudas siue Paulus

 11-12 See I Cor. 5.6; Gal. 5.9
 12 Eph. 4.5 (Vg: unus Dominus una fides unum baptisma)
 17 I Cor. 1.13 (Vg: est pro vobis)
 18 Gal. 6.14

 2.12-15 Quod si... idem est. Cf. Summa sententiarum VI.ix (PL
 176.146B with comments in Luscombe, The School of Peter Abelard,
 p. 206).
 18-20 in cruce... effectum. Cf. Arnold, Vita prima Bernardi
 II.iii.13,17,19,20 (PL 185.276C,278B,279B,280A).

 13 forto M
 17 in paulo gloriamur B
 3.4 nec] ne LB, ad ne mut. C
 5 opere hoc Q Paulus siue Iudas Q

baptizet Christus peccatum lauat, absoluit et delet. Sic Rachel
 at Lia Balam et Zelpham marito accommodant et liberos accipiunt
 ex uteris ancillarum. Scribe et pharisei in cathedra Moysi
sedentes, dum agunt que ad cathedram pertinent, per omnia
 10 plenitudine potestatis utuntur et officium non uita tantis effec-
 tibus honoratur. Obediunt demones exorcistis. Christum,
 inquit, scimus et Paulum nouimus et in nomine Christi, quem
 Paulus predicat, adiurati egredimur. Vos autem penitus
 ignoramus. Ecce in nomine suo nichil questuarii peragunt
 15 exorciste nec se eis deferre ipsi demones profitentur. Sed nomen
 Christi, etiam per luctuorum sectatores, sue glorie retinet
 potestatem et fiunt in talibus causis ministri mercennarii sicut
 nauas honorarie, que per pelagus euehant institores, quarum rec-
 tores potius eorum quos ducunt pecuniis inhiant quam saluti. Et
 20 tamen mare seculi huius necessarios habet huiusmodi transuec-
 tores. Alioquin cessabunt commercia nec ex transmarinorum copia
 aliorum inopia habebit subsidium nec occurrent sibi solacia
 regionum, si uehicularum tollantur de inuio et pelagus immeabile
 relinquantur. Sepe enim bonis malorum ministeria suffragantur.

3.6-8 See Gen. 29.24,29

8-9 Matth. 23.2-3 (Vg: super cathedram Mosi sederunt scribae et
Pharisaei)

11-12 Act. 19.15 (Vg: Iesum novi et Paulum scio)

7 marito] O, per corr. L, maritis PMTCBe

12 et² om. L Christi om. Q

13 predicat Paulus C Vos] Nos er, sed corr. d

16 sue om. Q

18-19 rectores] uec- C

24 Sepe enim bonis] Bonis quippe sepe e

(4) Supponit itaque ceruicem sanctam manibus hominis
humilitas redemptoris et licet plenam non habeat uirtutem, sus-
cipit tamen Christus baptismus Iohannis. Preparabat uiam domino
Iohannes lauando exterius corpora, ut prederet exterius
5 lauachrum secuturum baptismus, in quo conferretur animarum ablutio
et peccatorum remissio. Precessit quod erat ex parte, ut con-
summatio sequeretur. Horret tamen Iohannes et accline sibi esse
sacrum Christi caput non patitur, quia maiorem a minore benedici
antiquis regulis refragatur et criminalis ei uisa est usurpatio
10 potestatis. De plenitudine Christi omnes accepisse (et se ipsum
cum ceteris) predicarat Baptista. Ideoque deo hominem manus
imponere iudicabat temerarium et lauare eum, in quo non erat pec-
catum, estimabat superfluum. Se ad soluendam calciamenti huius
corrigiam confessus indignum formidabat exhibere prelatum, si
15 ipse in magistro sine causa temptaret hoc agere, quod ab ipso
PL suscipere necessarium dinoscebat. Ideoque tremebundus humili
1630 satisfactione postulanti ministerium negat assensum, non quod
obedientiam detrahat imperanti, sed quod iudicio suo seruo subdi
non competat maiestati. Tu, inquit, uenis ad me et a te debeo

4.3 Matth. 3.3 (Vg: Domini)

7-8 See Matth. 3.14

8-9 See Hebr. 7.7

10 Ioh. 1.16 (Vg: eius nos omnes accepimus)

13-14 Luc. 3.16 (Vg: cuius non sum dignus solvere corrigiam cal-
ciamentorum eius)

4.1 itaque] ergo L

7 acclue e

11 et post deo add. e

17 satisfactione] excusa- Q negauit Q

19 inquis e, sed corr. r ego post et add. LO

20 baptizari? Cui dominus, Sine modo. Sic enim decet nos omnem
 complere iusticiam. Iohannis humilitas non arguitur nec
 uituperabile uisum est Christo simplicitatis diffugium, quod
 reuerentia, non importunitas suggerebat. In hoc igitur omnem
 impleri iusticiam asseuerat, si doctrinam precedat exemplum et
 25 honore se inuicem preueniant, qui maiorem et qui minorem obtinent
 locum. Et qui maior est fiat iunior et precessor sicut minis-
trator, si in unitate sacramentorum omnes simul conueniant, si
 pacis ecclesiastice federa non disrumpant.

(5) Baptizatus Christus nec ultra Iordanis retrorsum con-
 uertitur. Aruerunt unctiones Iudaice, cerimonie putruerunt.
 Perpetuo lapsu baptismi gratia emanat ad posteros nec ulla
 uetustate siccatur. Adesse se tantis misteriis et presentiam
 5 suam dinosci dignata est sempiterna diuinitas celisque apertis in
 specie columbe Spiritus sanctus Iohanni se ipsum ostendens et
 intelligi uoluit et uideri et quietissimo illa mensura super
 Christum quieuit et mansit. Acceperat quippe familiare super hoc

 19-21 Matth. 3.14-15 (Vg: ego a te debeo baptiza. et tu uenis ad
me)

25-26 Cf. Matth. 11.11

26-27 Luc. 22.26 (Vg: sed qui maior est in uobis fiat sicut
iunior et qui praecessor est sicut ministrator)

5.5-8 See Matth. 3.16; Ioh. 1.32

 21 implere B

23 igitur] ergo L

24 doctrina Q

26 sicut post fiat add. L iunior] minor e qui post et
 add. LCB (hic per superscr.) est post precessor add. CB (hic
 per superscr.)

5.1 Baptizatur CBe (B per ras. ultimae syllabae)

6 Iohanni] ibi e se ipsum iohanni Q

7 elapsu B

ab eodem Spiritu Iohannes responsum, quia super quem Spiritum
 10 sanctum sub hac specie uideret, ipse esset apud quem baptismi
 maneret auctoritas, qui mundi peccata tolleret, qui solus a nullo
 sanctificatus et cuncta sanctificans non tam interesset
 sanctificationibus et sacramentis omnibus quam patraret. Sed et
 uox Patris audita est celitus, Hic est Filius meus dilectus, in
 15 quo michi bene complacui. Ipsum audite.

(6) Huc usque, domine sancte Pater, non audiuius te
 loquentem, qui multipharie olim patribus locutus es in prophetis
 et per angelos sanctos, quibus ad diversa sepe ministeria a te
 legatio est iniuncta. Te ipsum non ita ante hoc tempus locutum
 5 audiuius, ut personaliter tibi assignetur locutio quam
 proferres. Hanc uocem a paternitate tua delatam nemo est qui
 ambigat. Non est qui sibi hoc uerbum audeat arrogare. Non est
 in celestibus agminibus qui dominum Iesum suum audeat filium
 nominare. Certe sibi soli nota est Trinitas et solus Pater scit
 10 Filium Patremque nouit Filius nec a quoquam, nisi eo reuelante,

 9 Ioh. 1.33

11 Ioh. 1.29 (Vg: tollit peccatum mundi)

14-15 Matth. 3.17, 17.5

6.2 Hebr. 1.1 (Vg: Multifariam... olim Deus loquens patribus in prophetis)

3-4 See Hebr. 1.14

 12 cuncta] omnia Q

6.3 sepe] substantie L, tres ultimas litteras superscr. C
 ministeria] mis- e, ex mis- corr. P

4 non ita post tempus transp. Q

5 assignaretur L

6 dilatam B

8-9 nominare filium Q

est cognitus. In hac diuini magisterii scola Pater est qui docet
 et instruit, Filius qui archana dei nobis reuelat et aperit,
 Spiritus sanctus qui nos replet et imbuit. A Patre potentiam, a
 Filio sapientiam, a Spiritu sancto accipimus innocentiam. Pater
 15 elegit, Filius diligit, Spiritus sanctus coniungit et unit. A
 Patre nobis datur eternitas, a Filio imaginis eius conformitas, a
 Spiritu sancto integritas et libertas. In Patre sumus, in Filio
 uiuimus, in Spiritu sancto mouemur et proficimus. Conuenerunt
 19 simul sempiterna diuinitas et temporalis humanitas et eo tenore
 PL utriusque nature facta est unitas, ut impossibile sit quod
 1631 iunctum est ab inuicem separari, sed Verbum et caro sic sunt una
 essentia, ut perfectam et integram sincera coniunctio faciat
 unitatem. Nec iniuria est, sed gratia dei, si quod minus uidetur
 digniori iungatur, cum inferior natura contumeliam probrumque
 25 peccati non contrahat, nec est minoratio maiestatis prouectio

9-11 See Matth. 11.27

17-18 See Act. 17.28

6.11 scola. Cf Regula Benedicti, Prologus, ll. 106-107 (ed. Schmitz, p. 11). See Christine Mohrmann, "La langue de saint Benoît", in ibid., pp. xxxii-xxxiv.

13-14 A Patre... innocentiam. Cf. Peter Abelard, Theologia 'Summi boni' I.ii.2 (edd. E.M. Buytaert & C.J. Mews, CCCM XIII, p. 87); Hugh of St.-Victor, De sacramentis I.iii.xxvi (PL 176.227C).

15-17 A Patre... libertas. Cf. Theodoric of Chartres, Commentarius Victorinus de Trinitate 97 & 112 (Häring ed., pp. 501 & 504).

17-18 A Patre... proficimus. Cf. Augustine, De libero arbitrio II.iii.7 (tr. G. Madec, BA 6, p. 276 with note on p. 559, where references to Plotinus can be found).

12 qui om. O

14 accepimus L

15 eligit Le

paupertatis nec altitudinem dei in aliquo humilitas dispensatoria
dehonestat.

(7) Hoc testimonium auditum est, quia Filius dei est, quem
Iohannes tenet in manibus, uerus homo, uerus deus, unicus Patris,
in sua natura inuisibilis, in nostra uisibilis, ut fide et expe-
rimento fulciatur doctrina, dum et uisu et intellectu incarnati
5 Verbi notitiam assequatur. Dilectus a Patre inmeritos nos
dilexit. Ultro uisitationis sue nobis beneficium largitus est,
ultro sanauit, ultro curauit, ultro libertate donauit. Etiam
ingratos prosequitur hic amor et reuocat, neque tunc odit, cum
corripit et flagellat. Vsque ad mortem Christum duxit dilectio
10 et resurgens a mortuis caros habet, quibus tante caritatis affec-
tum ostendit. Duo grata uocabula 'filius' et 'dilectus' (ipso
deo dictante) nostris sensibus imprimuntur, ut communio nominum
nos associet collegio munerum et tante dulcedinis nomina nostrum
emolliant animum accendantque deuotionis affectum. Per omnia
15 sibi Pater in Filio complacuit nec ulla in eo serpentis sunt
reperita uestigia nec sacerdotii eius penituit deum, quoniam
sacrificium quod in cruce obtulit sic in beneplacito dei constat

7.9 See Ioh. 13.1; Phil. 2.8

11 See Matth. 3.17

14-15 See Matth. 3.17

16 See Hebr. 7.21

7.2 uerus deus uerus homo L

3 in nostra uisibilis om. O

5 immerito e

7 libertate om. O

12 ut] ibi O

13 nostrum om. O

acceptabile et perpetua uirtute consistit, ut non minus hodie in
 conspectu Patris oblatio illa sit efficax quam ea die, qua de
 20 saucio latere sanguis et aqua exiuit, et semper reseruate in cor-
 pore plage salutis humane exigant pretium et obedientie donatium
 requirant.

(8) Dilecto Filio nos Pater precipit obedire (mandatum omni

19-20 See Ioh. 19.34

20-21 See Ioh. 20.20

8.1 See Matth. 17.5

1-2 I Tim. 1.15 (Vg: fidelis sermo... dignus)

19 hodie post illa transp. C ea] illo L qua] que L
 8.1 Dehinc usque ad finem tractatus (Dilecto Filio... sincera
 uirginitas, infra, 9.13) om. edd. et substitutionem fecere
sequentem (lectione codicum mss. in apparatus criticum editionis
Oxon. descripta). Initialem litteram rubricauit e Huic dilecto
 filio tuo tu domine nos precipis obedire. Loquere igitur domine
 quia audit seruus tuus. Auditui meo dabis gaudium et leticiam.
 doctrinam tuam amplector suaue est michi eloquium tuum. viuus et
 efficax sermo tuus ancipiti gladio penetrabilior vsque ad
 diuisionem spiritus et anime mee attingens carnales et spirituales
 intra me separat et sequestrat affectus: et a vilibus preciosa
 distinguens quasi flagello de funiculis contexto de meo interiori
 templo quod tu inhabitas omnem nundinationem expellit. nec patitur
 in atriis tuis mercimonia columbarum: sed a sanctuario gratie tue
 omnem venalitatem excludit. Audio te cum irasceris. audio cum
 misereris: siue parcis siue flagellas iustum et bonum te predico.
 in ira supplico: in clementia gratias ago: nec sanctis sermonibus
 contradico. Loquere magister bone libenter te audio: et cum
 aduersaris mihi etiam in plagis et doloribus intelligo dis-
 20 ciplinam. nec latet me te docente ad siccandas corruptionum mearum
 putredines prodesse cauterium et mundare cicatrices veteres sal
 discipline tue euangelio tuo medente infusum. precipis vt infundam
 corrupto pulmone ysopum: [PL 1632] et spiritus tui suauitate epota
 totius malignitatis inflatio detumescat. A te deus bone
 humilitatem discentes quasi mansueta animalia quieto gressu te
 baiulamus sessorem. nequaquam sub hoc onere lassitudinem sed
 quietem inuenturi: quia iugum tuum non est graue sed leue. et lex
 tua et testimonia iusticie et precepta: timor et iudicia delec-
 tabilium in se rerum continent sacramenta. Lex tua docet vitare
 peccatum et corripit transgressores. et vt lotis mundisque pedibus
 in via immaculata incedant omnia premonstrat offendicula: et
 insinuat diuerticula quibus periculosi transitus euitentur: nichil
 impossibile: nichil iubet austerum. In quibusdam per legem tuam
 promissa premia nos inuitant. in multis pene proposita et sup-

acceptione dignum!)), ut uocati in societatem hereditatis dilec-

 plicia vel damna territos animos a scelerum retrahunt appetitu. Neque lex tua scripta a lege naturali in aliquo dissonant: sed reprobatio mali et electio boni sic anime rationali infixata sunt diuinitus: vt de hoc nemo recte causetur: quia nulli ad harum rerum prosecutionem deest scientia siue potentia: quia et quod agendum est scimus: et quod scimus facere possumus. Quod si impossibilia essent precepta tua vel tantis difficultatibus onerata/vel voluntas tua sic abdita: vt non posset intelligi quid a nobis tua expeteret altitudo: licet inuitus nemo peccet: posset tamen ex multis excusare delictum: nisi nobis et moderatio mandati et veritatis cognitio et agendorum distinctio auctoritate cognoscibili prouiderent: et simul se complecterentur possibilitas et facilitas et scientia et potestas. Precipis michi domine deus vt diligam te hic et possum et debeo et totum me et interius et exterius tibi esse iubet obnoxium: et de proximo iubet vt ad meam eum mensuram complectar. Gratias ago tibi clementissime deus quia quod queris a me prius ipse donasti: et quo modo tu me dilexeris si linguis hominum et angelorum loquar nec digne possum eloqui nec vniuersa complecti que michi gratie tue contulit amplitudo. Iustum est domine vt diligamus te: quia et ipse nos diligis: et iniquum omnino est vt te in aliquo dilecti tui offendant. Vere hoc mandatum legem complectitur et prophetas: et in hoc verbo omnium scripturarum volumina coartantur. Hoc natura. hoc ratio. hoc domine verbi tui clamat auctoritas. hoc ex ore tuo audiuius. hic inuenit consummationem omnis religio: primum est hoc mandatum et vltimum. hoc in libro vite conscriptum indeficientem et hominibus et angelis exhibet lectionem. Legat hic vnus verbum et in hoc mandato meditetur christiana religio et inueniet ex hac scriptura omnium doctrinarum regulas emanasse: et hinc nasci et huc reuerti quicquid ecclesiastica continet disciplina: et in omnibus irritum esse et friuolum quicquid dilectio non confirmat. Non pertinet domine ad te/nec de tuis est qui te non diligit: nec diligit te qui scienter offendit. Dilectioni tue detrahit qui terminos a te positos transit: et euangelii tui decreta transgreditur et contemnit. [PL 1633] Non amat te qui pecuniam diligit: tibi et mammonae nemo simul deseruit. Non pertinent ad te speciem pietatis habentes et negantes virtutem nec militant tibi negociorum huius seculi traiectores non audiunt te: sed sicut aspis aures suas obturant ne eorum corda verbum tuum penetret quotquot peccato seruiunt voluptatum carnalium amatores. Lex tua deus apostolorum et martyrum testimonio confirmata: paruulis tuis pauperibus spiritu quibus tibi regnum tuum dare complacuit sapientiam prestitit et letificauerunt animas eorum iusticie tue in quibus per eandem legem edocti vixerunt: et hoc dilectionis preceptum ita fidelium mentes illuminauit vt in pace et sanctimonia viuentes pacificis et mundis cordibus te viderent. et simul amor sanctus et timor castus perseuerantibus tibi studiis obedirent: vsque adeo tibi ascensionibus huiusmodi propinquantes vt fierent iudiciorum tuorum conscii et per ipsos tua et nunc et postmodum iudicia exerceres. Precepisti domine vt audiamus dilec-

- tori nostro per omnia obsequamur et ad omnia, que fuerint
 imperata, dilectio letabunda respondeat. Olim Abraham de terra
 5 Caldeorum, simulac iussus est, incunctanter egreditur et in terra
 Chanaan hereditatem repromissam credulos prestolatur. Idem in
 mandatis accipit, ut dilectum filium iugulet, nec cunctatur, sed
 neque causam cur occidi debeat perscrutatur. Moyses aduena ad
 iubentis imperium sedentem in solio Pharaonem aggreditur et, nisi
 10 dimittat populum dei, multa regni discrimina comminatur. Obedit
 Samuel, ut abiecto Saul Daud ungat in regem et reprobationis
 causam pretendit inobedientiam, dicens scelus esse ydolatrie
nolle obedire et ariolandi peccatum minime adquiescere.
 Obedientia Daud in regno locat et statuit. Saul rebellio deicit
 15 et prosternit. Sed et ipse dominus, qui magis in obedientia quam
in uictimis delectatur, Patri usque ad mortem factus obediens

 4-6 See Gen. 12.1; Hebr. 11.8,9

6-8 See Gen. 22.8

8-10 See Ex. 5.1

10-11 See I Sam. 16.13

12-13 I Sam. 15.23 (Vg: peccatum ariolandi est repugnare et quasi
scelus idolatriae nolle adquiescere)

14 See I Sam. 15.11

15-16 I Sam. 15.22 (Vg: melior est enim oboedientia quam vic-
timae)

 tum filium tuum. gratias tibi agimus: quia nos eius magisterio
 commendasti. Nos vero ex precepto tuo eius doctrine nos tradimus
 informandos: et inherentes ei libenter eum duce spiritu sancto
 omni tempore audiemus. Dehinc etiam usque ad finem tractatus
(Mandatum... uirginitas, infra, 9.13) omnino sine substitutione
om. L

5 est om. O

13 minime] nolle B, sic mi in fine linea scr. C et in proxima
 linea nolle de linea superiori iterauit

14 deiecit O

16 et post delectatur add. O

nomen accipit quod est super omne nomen, ad quod omne genu flec-
titur et omnis altitudo curuatur. Ipse obedientie exemplar
participes tribulationum consolationum facit consortes et in
20 iudicio his, qui secuntur eum, pollicetur in regno consessum.

(9) Nos uero ad reddendum ei quod suum est tam ratio debiti
quam auctoritas precepti stimulat et compellit. Vtilia quippe
sunt et necessaria que mandantur. Nichil indecens, nichil
impossibile euangelium iubet. Fastus ambitionis Christi dogmate
5 tollitur, humilitas commendatur. In caritatis mansuetudine semi-
nare iubemur in lacrimis, ut metentes in gaudio manipulos ad hor-
rea deportemus. Esurire iusticiam et proximo misereri rationis
et nature lex suggerit. Et si scripture sileant, nichil de
gradibus ascensionum propria mandata definiant. Cumque
10 sapientiam, que de sursum est, prius pudicam, deinde constet esse
pacificam, ad uisionem usumque quietis eterne mundas et pacificas
animas querit caritas, quas oleum in uasis habentes intus admit-
tat et sponso presentet immaculate uite sincera uirginitas.

16-17 Phil. 2.9-10
17-18 Cf. Is. 45.23
19-20 See Matth. 19.28
9.3-4 Cf. Matth. 17.19
5-7 See Ps. 125.5-6
7 Matth. 5.6 (Vg: esuriunt)
11-12 Cf. Matth. 5.8,9
12-13 See Matth. 25.1-13

19 facit consolationum B
9.3 nichil^{1,2}] nil fort. O
4 Fastus per corr. tertiae litterae PM
13 presentet] repre- B, ad repre- mut. C

V. DE IEIUNIO ET TEMPTATIONIBVS CHRISTI

PL (1) Anno tricesimo carnis assumpte baptizato domino in Ior-
1633 dane, postquam reuelante Patre quod Filius dei esset innotuit,
non iam conueniebat eum putari filium Ioseph uel esse subditum
illi. Nec tamen repente ad signa et miracula et doctrinam usus
5 est potestate, sed interim auctoritatem continuit et antequam
notum se faceret mundo, exposuit se temptandum diabolo, non ut
diuinitatis integritas probaretur, sed ut temptatoris con-
funderetur presumptio, dum fame et lassitudine post ieiunium
ueritas humanitatis pateret, que diuinitati associata omnino pec-
10 cati sensu et consensu careret. Hac etate tempus doctrine
insinuatum est rationabile nec ante has metas perperam inuadi
magisterium data est forma, quia non competit annis impubibus
sedere in cathedra et in primogenitis bouum lege aratio est inter-
dicta. Iam uero cum etatis et temporis ratio conueniret et ad

1.1-2 See Matth. 3.13-17
9-10 Cf. Hebr. 4.15
12-13 Cf. Ps. 106.32
13-14 See Deut. 15.19

Tit. Sermo de ieiunio et temptationibus christi Q De tribus
temptationibus domini L
1.6 ad post se add. B (cf. GL 430) ut non L
11 inuadendi L

15 obediendum uerbo Christi mandatum celitus aduenisset, uoluit
tamen sapientia dei primo erudiendos informare exemplo et contra
temptamenta proponere documenta, ut audiret et uideret et
sentiret humana rationabilitas quam insuperabilis sit uictrixque
peccati, si libertas arbitrii libero moderamine dirigatur.

(2) Igitur desertum Christus ingreditur. Ibi suo, id est
Spiritu sancto duce et comite, conuersatur. Locus secretus
eligitur, quia solius dei iudicio ieiunia sunt agenda et
singulariter inspectorem adiutoremque deum uolunt hec habere
5 certamina. Neque in agonibus aliquibus periculosius militatur.
Nulli religionis exercitio fraudulentius inanis gloria adulatur,
nulli uirtuti fauor ita blanditur. Ieiuniorum sudoribus laus
PL importuna se ingerit et subtilissimis aculeis penetrans animam,
1634 dum extollit, emollit et pungit, cum ungit. Virtutem in
10 ypocrisim uertit et simpliciter inchoata peruertit. Quasi tineas,
quod integrum erat rodit et occupat et sanctitatis fundamenta
euellit et dissipat. Subtilissimum malum proprio laqueo
hypocritam iugulat et propriis armis sanctitatem impugnat.
Castigatio carnis spiritum inflat et macies corporis extenuatum
15 arrogantem inpinguat. Contemptus uenerationem uenatur, fames et

14-15 See Matth. 17.5
2.1-2 See Matth. 4.1
3-5 Cf. Matth. 6.16-18

2.5 militatur. See note above, I.14.14.

2.6 Nulli] -lo L
15 inpinguat ex impugnat fort. corr. L, impugnat T ueneratur
L et ante fames add. CB

calamitas laudibus saturatur. Mens hoc ueneno imbuta in miseriis
 deliciatur et occupata hac scabie in ulceribus gloriatur. Reli-
 gio fit superstitio et succedit ei ambitio subornata. Extincto
 spiritu, quatruiduano cadaueri sole supersunt exuuie, uirtutis
 20 species exanimis et simulacrum sanctitatis. Tanta est
 hypocritarum dementia, ut fetoribus pro odoribus abutantur et
 preciosa uilia et aspera suauias arbitrentur et fauorum sapor
 omnium dulcedinum superet condimenta omnisque delira sensualitas
 contrariis delectetur. Propter hoc solitudo carens arbitris et
 25 heremus assentatorum satellitio uacua a ieiunante Christo
 eligitur, ut non cum carne et sanguine, sed cum spiritualibus
nequitiiis dimicetur et amotis ruinarum occasionibus homo cum
 diabolo colluctetur et soli sint in palestra Christus et
 antichristus, spiritus et antispiritus.

(3) Neque putet homo se euasisse pericula, cum in heremum
 uenerit, quia quanto subtilius tanto difficilior a temptatore
 inuaditur, qui cogitationum foribus assidens omnia uirtutum

18-19 Cf. Ioh. 11.39

26-27 Eph. 6.12 (Vg: spiritalia nequitiae)

3.3 Cf. Gen. 4.7

28 palestra. See John Cassian, Conlatio XIX.xi.1 (ed. M.
 Petschenig, vol. CSEL XIII, pars II, p. 545; quoted by Chr.
 Mohrmann, "La langue de saint Benoît", Benedicti Regula, ed.
 Schmitz, p. xxxiii).

18-20 sententiam Extincto... sanctitatis om, MTCBLO, dum eam exp.
P. Sola ergo eam manifeste hab. e

23 dulcedinem B

3.1 enim post Neque add. L neque post se transp. O

genimina in ipso ortu strangulare molitur. Imaginem Christi
 5 delere cupiens adulterinos colores naturali pulcritudine super-
 ducit, claritatem spiritus interpolat et obnubit. Verum liberius
 anima expedita obuiat inpugnanti, ubi compedes impedimentorum
 defuerint et aspectus irritamenta non mouerint. Securiusque est
 congressus, ubi singula non uellicant dimicantem nec inebriant
 10 animum lenocinia uoluptatum. Honestius cum spiritu quam cum
 carne luctamur, quia carnis complexus fedas exalans nebulas eum,
 qui sibi adhererit, aliqua ex parte contaminat nec libidinum
 morsus quisquam euadit illesus. Flatus ille pestilens etiam
 longe positos inficit et hoc certaminis genus fugam potius quam
 15 assaultum requirit. Et quia solent oratione et ieiunio demones
 edomari, munitio heremi cum huiusmodi armatura exemplo magistri
 recipit christianos. Quos etsi omnes diuersorium loci non
 excipiat, animi tamen omnino necessaria est solitudo, ubi (erecta
 specula) mens sibi insopita prouideat et deterisa rubigine corus-
 20 cantibus armis importunum hostem terreat et repellat.

(4) Ieiuniis uitiorum sentina siccatur, petulantia marcet,
 concupiscentie languent, fugitiue abeunt uoluptates. Extinguitur

15-16 Cf. Matth. 17.20

18-19 Cf. Ier. 31.21

4 genimina] germina in ras. scr. L stransgulare PM, trans-
 gulare T

5 delere] deb- C naturali om. O pulchritudini e
 13 euasit O uocabulum in reproductione photomechanica

illegibile super illesus scr. P

17-18 loci post excipiat transp. e

18 accipiat O

- ardentis Ethne incendium et flammiuomi fornax Vulcani extincta
 intrinsecus montes conterminos non adurit. Ieiunium, si dis-
 5 cretione regatur, omnem carnis rebellionem edomat et tirannidem
 PL gule spoliatur et exarmatur. Ieiunium extraordinarios motus in cippo
 1635 claudit et artat et appetitus uagos distringit et ligat.
 Ieiunium, si humilitate ornetur, seruos dei mundi efficit con-
 temptores. Ieiunium carnes azimas mundat et solidat et
 10 putredines, que ex adipe prodeunt, consumit et siccatur. Ieiunium
 scripturarum deliciis pascitur, contemplatione reficitur, gratia
 stabilitur, celesti pane nutritur. Danieli interpretatio somp-
 niorum reuelatur ieiunio et tres pueri de Babilonio illesi
 egrediuntur incendio. Moyses in monte quadraginta diebus cum
 15 domino perseuerans et dei familiare colloquium et legis minis-
 terium ieiunio promeretur. Helias quoque eodem dierum numero
 abstinens in heremo conuersatur.

 4.9 Cf. I Cor. 5.7
 12-13 Cf. Dan. 2.19
 13-14 Cf. Dan. 3.20
 14-16 Cf. Ex. 24.18
 16-17 Cf. III Reg. 19.8

 4.3 Ethne incendium. Cf. Martianus Capella, De nuptiis
Philologiae et Mercurii VI.647 (ed. A. Dick & J. Préaux, BT, p.
 318.5). flammiuomi. Cf. ibid., I.70 (ed. cit., p. 33.8).
fornax Vulcani. Cf. Virgil, Aeneid VIII.416-423 (ed. Mynors, OCT,
 p.295).

 4.4 conterminos montes L
 7 distringit] -tinguit e
 13 babilonio ad -nico mut. L
 15-16 misterium Q
 17 se post heremo add. C

(5) Vtilitas ieiuniorum temporibus christianis clarius
patuit et a multis frequentata in plurimos se effudit. Quotquot
uiros uirtutum uidimus, sine ieiunio non legimus ascendisse nec
aliquid magnum moliti sunt, nisi prius abstinencia precessisset.
5 Quotiens aliquid a deo obtinere conati sunt, ieiuniis incubuere
et lacrimis et pernoctantes in orationibus (ciliciis carni
herentibus) supplices beneficia postularunt. Nec defuit
prouentus, ubi ad pedes dei sacrificium contriti cordis offerens
se prostrauit humilitas, sed prope fuit inuocantibus se deus et
10 porrexit manum naufragis et subuenit afflictis. Si Moysen et
Aaron et Samuelem hodie haberet ecclesia, cum 'inuocarent,
exaudirentur et orantibus Iob et Noe et Daniele populo par-
ceretur. Rarus hodie Finees, qui perfodiat impudicos. Rarus
Moyses, qui occidat sacrilegos. Rarus Samuel, qui inobedientes
15 lugeat. Rarus Iob, qui pro filiorum negligentia sacrificium
offerat. Rarus Aaron, qui coram Pharaone comminationes diuinas
edicat. Rarus Noe, qui his, quibus submersio imminet, archam

5.8 See Ps. 50.19

9 Ps. 144.18 (Vg: prope est Dominus omnibus invocantibus eum)

13 See Num. 25.7-8

13-14 See Ex. 32.27

14-15 See I Reg. 15.11

15-16 See Iob 1.5

16-17 E.g. Ex. 5.1

5.1 clarius om. O

3 uirtututum LB non post uidimus transp. O

4 magnum] magni B, ad magni mut. C

5 sunt om. O

7 inherentibus O

8 offerens] dif- L

13 perfodiat] -foret O

bitumine litam prouideat.

(6) Flens (cum apostolo) dico inimicos crucis, qui terrena sapiunt magistratus, quorum deus uenter est, qui in his, que dicere nefas est, impudentes letantur et gloriantur. Venerunt periculosa tempora, que predixit apostolus, in quibus uoluptatum
 5 amatores magis quam dei speciem pietatis habentes, uirtutem uero abnegantes inueniuntur prepositi innumerabiles, qui ieiunia et orationes nec digito mouent, in quorum manibus iniquitates sunt et muneribus eorum dextera honeratur. Frustra ab his querantur miracula, frustra auxilia implorentur. Non sunt idonei inter-
 10 cessores domini contemptores nec conuenienter ad placandum eum accedunt nec conciliant quem offendunt

(7) Efficax est oratio precedente ieiunio et sacris studiis antecedentibus non patitur postulatio deuota repulsam. Eligitur solitudo, ut soli deo uacans anima, cum in se per continentiam mactauerit uoluptates, purgatis affectibus ad celestia euolet et
 5 uidens deum oret et adoret et dulcedinis superne suauitatem pregustet.

17-18 See Gen. 6.22

6.1-2 Phil. 3.18-19 (Vg: inimicos crucis Christi quorum finis interitus quorum deus uenter et gloria in confusione ipsorum qui terrena sapiunt)

4-6 II Tim. 3.4-5 (Vg: uoluptatum... habentes speciem pietatis uirtutem autem eius...)

7-8 Ps. 25.10 (Vg: dextera eorum repleta est muneribus)

6.1 christi post crucis add. L0

8 queruntur L

9 implorantur L

- (8) Forma igitur ieiuniorum proposita fixoque exemplo, postquam dierum abstinentiam dominus consummauit, Sathan cum
- PL esurientem uideret accessit. Retroactum tempus obtinuerat quies
1636 et secum sub silentii sera opus illud eximium saluator exegerat.
- 5 Modo oblata famis occasione tumultuator de latebris prodiens foras egreditur et subdola professione quasi compatiens ei subuenire periclitanti nature hortatur. Si Filius dei es, dic ut lapides isti panes fiant. Nec uult fateri nec presumit diabolus diffiteri Christum Filium dei, sed dubie suspenseque consulens
- 10 tendiculas blandis innectit sermonibus, ut obaudientem sibi reddat obnoxium et se de compassionis specie reddat acceptum.

- (9) Caro et lassitudo et cetera huiusmodi hominem testabantur. Virtutis integritas et uita carens omni peccato perfectius ei priuilegium ascribebant et diuinitas potentissima ex ipsis effectibus negari non poterat. Fuerant et ante Christum
- 5 uiri insignes, prophete et sacerdotes, sed in peccatis concepti et nati nec originali nec personali caruere delicto. Et inuenta est in omnibus uel ignorantia uel insufficientia, in quibus erronei peccauerunt et eguerunt misericordia dei, per quam edocti et restituti gratias egerunt deo et ad plenitudinem iusticie

8.2-3 See Matth. 4.2-3
7-8 Matth. 4.3
9.2 Cf. Hebr. 4.15
7-8 Cf. Rom. 3.23

8.4 sub om. e sera silentii Q
9 suspenseque] dis- e
11 innoxium C
9.3 ei] etiam Q
8 eguere e

10 multum sibi deesse confessi sunt et sperantes in deo nullam sibi
soliditatem attribuere presumpserunt.

(10) Non ita Christus, in quo Verbi carnisque sic conuenit
natura, ut nulla alteri ex altero iniuria deueniret, quia in
carne socia nullam diuinitas maculam repperit nec secuta est nec
precessit. Hec naturarum coniunctio diabolum excecabat, quia
5 impossibile ei uidebatur uel quod esurire posset diuinitas uel
quod tante tolerantie posset esse tanteque potestatis corporalis
humilitas. Duplicem itaque inquisitionem sinuosa calliditate
orditur, ut de Christo utrum naturalis Filius dei sit (ipso
respondente) certitudinem habeat, ut cum deum confessus se
10 fuerit, absurdum uideatur quod deus esuriat et in quamcumque
partem se responsio uerterit necessitas conclusionis occurrat.
Si Filius dei es, tibi non competit esurire. Quod si esuris,
manifestum est Filium dei non esse, quem uiolentia necessitatis
communibus indigentiis intercludit. Succurre, inquit, neces-
15 sitati, si potes, alioquin deficies: et presentes lapides in
panis muta substantiam. Sic enim fiet, ut euadas periculum et,
si hoc potueris, probes te deum. Non erat digna responsione
questio malignantis. Neque enim tegnas diaboli dominus
ignorabat, sed diuino cauillatori satisfecit eloquio, sub-
20 tilissimo dogmate edocens corporis et anime uite propriis

10.1 christo L verbo er, sed corr. d
5 uel¹ om. O quod] quo er, sed corr. d
8 dei filius O 9 se confessus B
13 te post est per superscr. add. L
18 tegnas codd., intellige tech-

alimoniis deberi subsidia et cibum anime, id est Verbum dei,
eduliis corporalibus preponendum, ut citius attentiusque menti
prouidendum quam uentri.

(11) Nec opus erat, ut hoc facto insidiatori innotesceret
Christus, quia nullo signo eius poterat inuidia commutari, cuius
incorrigibilem iniquitatem desperatio sigillauit. Superfluum
igitur erat ad suggestionem eius ibi nulla profutura miracula
5 operari, cum satis esset diligenter consideranti, quod esurientem
PL cibi non superabat appetitus et desiderii motus defectio non
1637 esset, sed uirtus. In nullo Christum aliqua coegit aut dominata
est ei necessitas, qui proprie moderamine uoluntatis disposuit et
persoluit quod exegit humanitas. Sicut in ipsius uoluntate fuit
10 consecrare ieiunium, ita et in potestate fuit tempore oportuno
sumere cibum, quod utique nec ministerio nec consilio diaboli
fuerat ordinandum, quia et abstinentie et refectionis penes ipsum
erat et arbitrium et facultas. Itaque nichil certitudinis seduc-
tor extorsit, sed dubius incertusque dimissus est. Nec obtinuit,
15 ut se proderet Christus miraculo uel intemperanter ad cibum
properans obediret seductoris consilio, quasi tunc primum quid
fieri oporteret data doctrina acceptaque sententia.

10.21 Cf. Ioh. 6.35

22 ut] et MO
11.2 inuidia poterat CBL
11 consilio nec ministerio L
14 incertus dubiusque O

(12) Repulsus igitur auctoritate scripture et propositi
firmitate defecit scrutinio. Nec tamen alia aggredi uia destitit
et falsatis argumentis prioribus alia subiciens, quibus ab eo
consentaneas sibi responsiones aliquas extorqueret, adiecit. Eo
5 igitur supra templi pinnaculum constituto, quem gula non potuit,
uana gloria subuertere nititur.

(13) A multis ambigitur utrum fuerit hec translatio cor-
poralis et, si de loco ad locum se Christus transferri
permiserit, eo modo quo Abacuc de Iudea in Caldeam delatus est et
Philippus de Azoto in occursum eunuchi, qui reuertens de
5 Ierosolima non intelligens Ysayam codicem reuoluebat. Sed quod
corporaliter eum diabolus tulerit uidetur inconueniens: quod
humeris eius saluator insederit et pro uehiculo usus sit, quem
precipitatore sciebat, uel ei ferendum se commiserit, cuius
insidias agnoscebat. Suo itaque Spiritu eum credendum est ductum
10 et in deserto et super templum, ut utrobique eum diabolus
assumeret ad temptandum. Et localiter quidem in deserto prima
fuit temptatio, sed ceteras eo modo circumduxit temptatoris
astutia uel circumduci passa est patientia saluatoris, quomodo

12.1 See Matth. 4.4
4-5 See Matth. 4.5
13.3 See Dan. 14.32-38
4-5 See Act. 8.26-40

12.2 aggredi alia L uia aggredi Q
4 abiecit MTO
5 pinnaculum templi LB (hic per superscr. uocabuli posterioris)
13.3 delatus] trans- L
7 eo post et add. L

Iezechiel, cum super fluuium Chobar sederet, Ierosolimam raptus
 15 in spiritu ciuitatem edificat et metitur et muros et templum
 instaurat. Hoc modo super culmen templi Christus erat in
 spiritu, sciens quid antispiritus affectaret, et hosti se de uana
 gloria pulsaturo oportunitatem parabat.

(14) Hoc igitur occasione loci hortatur et consulit, ut in
 urbe sancta et frequentia populorum, quasi nouus funambulus in
 excelso pendulus, se deorsum ad spectaculum uulgi iacet
 intrepidus, addens ex testimonio scripture angelorum affutura
 5 suffragia, que ruentem exciperent et conseruarent illesum. O
 execrabilis diaboli malitia! o stulta nequitia! o insensata
 uersutia! o presumptio excecata! Putabat malignus quem gula non
 uicerat uana gloria superari! Experientia quippe rerum didicerat
 et in multis probauerat uitiorum uictores sepe nugis laudationum
 10 corruptos et cognatum propinquumque esse uirtutibus malum
 adulationem, nec facile quemquam posse euadere, quin libenter

 13-16 See Ez. 40-48
 14.1-4 See Matth. 4.6
 4-5 See Ps. 90.11-12

 14.7-8 gula... uana gloria. See John Cassian, De institutis
coenobiorum V.3 & XI.1 (ed. Guy, SC 109, pp. 192 & 428).

 14 super fluuium] superfluum L
 17 antispiritus] ante spiritus e, sed. corr. Pameliu se om.
 L
 14.1 Hac MTOLe igitur] ergo C
 2 funambulus] funerabulus e, funebulus r, corr. d
 3 iacet L
 9 sepe] sue L laudationis Q
 10 propinquamque L
 11 euadere] uadere L

assentatorum canticis porrigat aures et laudatorum modulationibus
PL delectetur. Et sicut rarus est aut nullus, qui de se mala dici
 1638 equanimiter ferat, ita rarus est qui non bene de se uelit sentiri
 15 et se, si recte uiuit, stantem in uite rectitudine non diligit
 estimari. Quod si opera uirtutum foras exierint, rarus est qui
 hominum iudicia conspuat et laudes humanas contempnat. Hoc gen-
 erale malum in humano genere Sathan putabat ex precedentis
 occasione uictorie suggerere saluatori, ut popularibus laudibus
 20 uellet attolli et facere sibi nomen iuxta nomen magnorum qui sunt
 in terra, si geminato miraculo ieiuniorum constantia innotesceret
 populo et uectoribus angelis sine offendiculo sustentatus se
 Filium dei tam potenti abstinencia quam angelorum obedientia com-
 probaret.

(15) Huiusmodi consiliis filios hominum Sathan corrumpere
 consueuerat et robustis uirilibusque animis etiam huiusmodi
 cogitatus immittit et, si ab ingressu mentis arceatur (renitente
 consensu), aliquid tamen de spurcitia sua ibi euomens
 5 abominationum horrore nauseare compellit. Sic (ut aliquid
 poeticum inseram!) temulentus Ciclops illiciti coniugii
 appetitor, licet a Pallade repellatur, in gremio tamen Erictonium

22 See Ps. 90. 11-12

12 aurem Q

21 ieiuniorum] uirtutum C

15.1 sathan filios hominum C

5 abominationum] ab omni nationum CBL (cf. P, qui sic scr.
 abōinationum) horrore] errores Q

6 tremulentus omnes codices mss. et e, sed corr. r

fundit et, incorrupta Minerua, superest tamen deforme monstrum
nec omnino affectata scelera in memoria moriuntur.

(16) Non temptabis, inquit, dominum deum tuum. Hoc in
Deuteronomio scriptum est. Ecce lex legi obicitur et Sathan auc-
toritate scripture abutens, malus legis interpret, precipitium
quasi ex ratione mandati hortatur, sed intellectus fallax et
5 falsus ueritate sincera confunditur et generali edicto inter-
dictum ostenditur, ne dum patet in quibuslibet angustiis quilibet
exitus, deus ulla presumptione temptetur. Alia explorator
malignus argumenta conatur adducere et ad summam cumulumque
nequitie sue continentem et humilem oblata aggreditur potestate
10 et ostensa mundi huius sublimitate et gloria, quasi indignum sit
tante auctoritatis doctorem et insignum operum patratores
ignobile et contemptibile scemate obumbrari, et dominatione

16.1 Matth. 4.7
1-2 See Deut. 6.16
10 See Matth. 4.8

15.5-8 temulentus Ciclops, etc. Cf. Hyginus, Fabulae CLXVI (ed.
H.J. Rose (Leiden, 1934), p. 116f.); Augustine, De civitate Dei
XVIII.xii (LCL, vol. V, p. 404); Lactantius, Divinae institutiones
I.17.11-14 (CSEL, vol. XIX, pars I, p. 66); Fulgentius,
Mitologiarum II.xi (ed. R. Helm, BT, p. 51f.). Other references
can be found in Apollodorus, vol. II, tr. J.G. Frazer, LCL, p. 90,
n. 1.

16.8-9 ad summam... sue. Cf. John Cassian, De institutis
coenobiorum XII.5 (ed. Guy, SC 109, p. 456).

8 superest] -et O, ex -em corr. B
9 effectata L
16.1 inquit om. O
5 confunditur sincera CB edicto generali O
9 nequitie] malitie B et humilem] humilemque B ablata B
11 insignum] -ium e, ad -ium mut. C (cf. GL 79.2)
12 ignobile, contemptibile] -li, -li CBLOe (cf. GL 79.1)

uniuersorum usuque animum dignum honore sollicitat et daturum se
omnia pollicetur, si ei pro tanto munere gratias agat et
15 procidens adoret tanti culminis largitorem.

(17) Solent uiris uirtutum huiusmodi prestigia se offerre
et, testimonium religionis conscientia prohibente, cum ab aliis
digni honoribus iudicentur, facile adquiescunt et tam proprio
quam alieno fascinati iudicio a rectitudine corruunt euersaque
5 cathedra mentis humo fractis ceruicibus colliduntur. Repenteque
et subito quod multis erat partum sudoribus (ambitione irruente)
oblitteratum est et turbinis huius impetu auulsum est quicquid
antique religionis labor meruerat.

(18) Malum hoc Adam in paradiso pulsauit et strauit, cum
subiectionem, quam deo debebat, fastidiens appetiit dominatum.
Et cum uellet esse sicut deus, sine deo se uidit et nouit et con-
spectam carnis sue abhorruit fedtatem, quam licet operiret,
PL 1639 manens tamen perpes ibi contumelia stetit et hesit. Ad suasionem
6 diaboli animam uanitati subiectam deiecit ambitio poteratque
exterminio eius posteritas didicisse, quam misera mutatio fuit de

14-15 See Matth. 4.9

18.3 See Gen. 3.5

4 See Gen. 3.21

6 Cf. Rom. 8.20

14 ei post munere transp. CBL

17.2 perhibente CBO (C fort. per corr.)

3 iudicantur L

6 multum e

18.3 esse] rem L

4 sue] eue e

5 ibi perpes L

deliciis ad spinas et tribulos emigrasse et rastris ligonibusque
 auaritiam condempnatam. Hoc malo restitit et resistere nos
 10 saluator edocuit, ut soli deo subiectus sit homo, quantumcumque
 profecerit, et in ipso, immo ipse sit substantia nostra et pateat
 nobis, quod sicut peremptoria est altitudo quesita, ita et
 periculosissima est oblata, non quod potestas, que ex deo est,
 sit dampnabilis aut ordinatio diuina peccatorum sit obstetrix,
 15 sed quod excellentiam, cuius Spiritus sanctus auctor est, ita
 debet complecti humilitas, ut qui uocatus est superius nesciat se
 sublimem et per omnia agnoscat conditio conditorem et gratia
 largitorem.

(19) Gloriabantur aliquando discipuli et complacebant sibi
 in miraculis, gratulabundi quod eis etiam demonia obedirent. Sed
 repressa est (increpante domino) simplicitatis eorum presumptio.
Videbam, inquit, Sathanam quasi fulgur cadentem de celo, his
 5 uerbis eorum animis intimans, quia ante hoc temporale initium
 ipse in principio, immo ipse principium ens apud deum ante
 hominis conditionem superbientis diaboli ruinam uidit et affec-
 tate dominationis ambitionem deiectionis eius fuisse causam, nec

8 Gen. 3.18

14 Cf. Rom. 13.1-2

19.2 Luc. 10.17 (Vg: subiciuntur)

4 Luc. 10.18 (Vg: sicut fulgur de caelo cadentem)

6 See Ioh. 1.1

7 Cf. Is. 14.12

8 Cf. Apoc. 12.7

9 Hoc] Huic LO

17 cognoscat O

19.4 cadentem per corr. alia manu P, descen- e

5 temporalem M

in hoc gaudendum esse, si quis prerogatiua celsitudinis
 10 donaretur, sed hanc esse certam stabilemque ueri gaudii metam, si
 uocatio nostra iustificatione muniretur, et tunc demum ratum con-
 stare beatificationis prouentum, si huius ordinis scriptura in
 conspectu dei indelebilis seruaretur.

(20) Hoc igitur attendentes, quod non in nobis quasi ex
nobis sufficientes sumus, sed ex domino sufficientia nostra est,
 contentos solo deo necesse est ei esse omnes acclines, cui totum
 debemus quod uiuimus, quod mouemur, quod sumus. Qui de
 5 plenitudine sua nobis interim, prout cuique opus est, donationes
 partitur, donec ad cumulum perueniat copia consummata, usque adeo
 conferta coagitataque mensura, ut nichil uel accedat amplius uel
 recedat, sed in cognitione dei certum finem stabilemque metam
 omnes et anime et corporis obtineant appetitus. Frustra itaque
 10 regna huius mundi transitoria et mutabilia immutabili et eterno
 regi ostendit uel promittit diabolus, cum ipse dicat regnum suum
de hoc mundo non esse, non quod creationem suam remouens demonum
 subiecerit potestati, sed quia in his qui amorem mundi dei amori
 preponunt, non dignetur diuinitas sibi facere mansionem et

 20.1-2 II Cor. 3.5 (Vg: non quod sufficientes simus cogitare ali-
quid a nobis quasi ex nobis sed sufficientia nostra ex Deo est)

4 See Act. 17.28

7 See Luc. 6.38

11-12 Ioh. 18.36 (Vg: regnum meum non est de mundo hoc)

14 Cf. Ioh. 14.2

 20.2 domino] deo B

3 contenti L acclines e

6 copia] copula C usque adeo om. O

15 impossibile sit eos a deo regi, qui se diabolo tradiderunt, quia
Christi et Belial nulla est participatio nec aliqua iusticie cum
iniquitate potest esse communio.

(21) Regnat sane malignus spiritus in filiis diffidentie,
sed eo modo quo satellitiis perditorum hominum preest, qui in
malitia potentissimus inuenitur et qui crudeliori tyrannide
depopulari potest et conterere quicquid sibi inuenerit obuium et
5 persequi quod uidet in fugam conuersum. Regnum hoc non est
nature, sed malitie. Persecutio est, non defensio et tota huius
potestatis uirtus in mortem dampnationemque eorum, qui sub hoc
PL principe militant, elaborat. Regnum hoc munitur uitiis, ambitur
1640 flagitiis. Turres eius sunt crimina, arma quarumcumque tur-
10 pitudinum molimina. Huius regis thelonearii sunt pauperum
oppressores, tribuni seductores, prefecti iudiciorum peruersores.
Cubicularii eius sunt questuum aduncatores, mercimonii traiec-
tores, erarii sacerdotes, nummularii doctores, conducticii
defensores, lingue subdole uel consilii locatores, uenales
15 auxiliarii, bilingues causidici, concinnatores mendacii, fab-

16-17 See II Cor. 6.14-15
21.1 Eph. 2.2 (Vg: filiis)
15 Cf. Matth. 11.8; Ez. 16.10

15 impossibilem M tradidere e
21.1-5 sententiam Regnat... conuersum om. e, oculo scribae seu
calcographi fort. de Regnat ad Regnum transiliente
8 militant principe L
12 sunt eius B adunatores L
13 erarii] exarii e, sed corr. r
14 consilii] -liarii L

ricatores peccati. Vestiti mollibus, amicti discoloribus in domo
huius regis sunt, qui paludamentis talaribus pauimenta uerrentes
capillis muliebribus se in feminas transfigurant et dignitatem
uirilem non sine nature iniuria dehonestant. In hoc regno sunt
20 quicumque ueritatem dei commutant in mendacium, quicumque quasi
in taberna uitiorum precones uenales animas impurissimis
demonibus corrumpendas exponunt. Hic uaras manus cupidi
muneribus complicant. Hic genu flexo concupiscentie sue quisque
ydolum colit et proprie libidinis adorant simulachrum.

(22) Non hec te, domine Iesu, gloria mouet. Non huius mundi
tu tenes imperium. Non horum cupidine tu cadis aut prosterneris.
Non adoras malitiam. Non peccato subiceris, qui seruis tuis
demonia subdis et omnem huius mundi gloriationem destruis et con-
5 fundis. Insanissime Sathan, qua fronte, qua lingua ausus es
dicere saluatori, ut ante te qui stat inflexibilis et immobilis
caderet, ut te dampnatum ipse qui te dampnauerat adoraret? Quis

18-19 See I Cor. 11.14-15

20 Rom. 1.25 (Vg: qui commutauerunt ueritatem Dei in mendacio)

22.3-4 See Luc. 9.1

21.16 Vestiti mollibus. Cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, Apologia ad Guillelmum abbatem X.26 (LTR, vol. III, p. 102, l. 23)

17 uerrentes] vertent- erd, sed iam ante Pamelium corr. aliquis castigat

21 tabernacula MT

22 uaras] auaras MTOLe, ad auaras mut. CB (cf. Ovid., Metamorphoses IX.33-34, LCL, vol. II, p. 4, tenuique a pectore varas/in statione manus et pugnae membra paravi) cupidis Q

23 complicat L 24 adorant Q

22.1 mouet] manet L 8 fuit hec CBO

ausus, quam impudens hec fuit presumptio? Quid desperate
 sperasti? An Filium dei putabas posse tecum apostatam fieri? Si
 10 de mundo uisibili, id est celo et terra, et de his que in eo
 aguntur, te iactas habere dominium, nec cel. nec terre tu con-
 ditor nec solem moues nec cursum das syderibus nec per te
 uoluitur firmamentum. Nec uides aut intelligis deum nec ullam
 tibi est cum celesti militia consortium uel aliquem habes ad
 15 superioris mundi claritatem accessum. Huius inferioris mundi tua
 est scabies, tua languenti sunt ulcera. Hec scalpis, hec impurus
 ablingis. Si quid uitii est, si quid corruptele, tu cadaueribus
 assides. Tu contrectas putredines, tu distemperas feces, tu
 uersas fetores. Tu spiritus nequam, tu in pistrino seculi huius
 20 fermentator inmundus, tu sanctitatis corruptor et simplicium
 perturbator, tu incendiator libidinum et omnium turpitudinum
 adinuentor. In his regnas, quos inquinans, et in his quos pol-
 Luis, dominaris. Fornicatores et adulteri te habent suggestorem,
 te habebunt tortorem. Te quoque cum illis ultricia incendia con-
 25 cremabunt.

19 I Reg. 16.14; Act. 19.12,15; cf. Matth. 12.45
 19-20 Cf. I Cor. 5.6

9 tecum post dei transp. L
 10 eo] eis LB
 14 militia celesti L
 16 languentis Oe, languentia L
 17 quid^{1,2}] quod L
 19 pistrino] pristino LO (ille in ras.)

- (23) Stultis uanisque promissionibus nullus a corde christiano dari debet accessus, sed primis titillationibus obuiare debet abigens manus. Nec foueri debet coluber, donec in draconem formetur. Mendax est diabolus et his qui sibi
- 5 obtemperant multa se daturum promittit. Malum hoc in uniuersa
- PL ecclesia euagatur et communis pestilentia innumerabiles occupat,
1641 ut pro gloria huius mundi qui liberi erant se uendant in seruos et per uitia ad seruitia deputentur et obligati pacto cyrographum subiectionis conscribant diabolo. Per omne nefas uoluptates
- 10 emuntur et per omne scelus copiose libidines exquiruntur. Iudas ille proditor uenditurus magistrum pretaxatum pretium a principibus exigit sacerdotum. Quid michi, inquit, uultis dare et ego eum uobis tradam? Vsque ad mortem domini amor luchi se ingerit nec uite saluatoris questus desiderium parcat. Etiam in sinu
- 15 sacerdotum ambitio dormit. Ibi sub umbra recubat, in secreto calami se fraudulenter occultat. Symon apostolorum temporibus uenalem putans Spiritum sanctum Petrum donis aggreditur et temptat emere potestatem, per quam plura luchiatur. Hec sacrilegii

23.3-4 Cf. Eccli. 21.2

4 Ioh. 8.44

8-9 Cf. Col. 2.14

12-13 Matth. 26.14-15 (Vg: vultis mihi dare... vobis eum tradam)

15-16 Iob 40.16

16-18 Act. 8.18ff.

23.3 ambigens L

9 conscribat L

12 exegit e inquit michi L

13 uobis eum C

14 sinum MT

16 calami] tal- e, chalami CB (hic per corr.)

forma per omnia officia gradusque discurrit et nichil intemptatum
 20 ambitio pretermittit. Nec dubitet quisquam diaboli hec esse
 negotia et nundinatores eius quicumque hec exercent commercia nec
 quicquam huiusmodi ab eo, nisi premissa apostasia, donari.
 Nichil funestius comparatur quam execranda dulcedo libidinum et
 abominabilis gloria luxuum, per quem immundus spiritus ab
 25 immundis et discolis adoratur.

(24) Inuerecunde temptator ambitiosos aggreditur et con-
 ditione pernitiōsa premissa talia pollicetur, ultra que extendi
 non possit cupiditas, regnorum scilicet omnium monarchiam et
 uniuersitatis dominatum, ut in omnibus mundanis unus homo quasi
 5 deus habeat potestatem et uni omnia subiecta sint et generale
 uestigal excellentie principali cuncta persoluant. Quid ultra
 cupide queris? Quid amplius auare desideras? Numquid et sic
 potest impleri ambitio tua, aut satiari potest fames tua, offa
 huius mundi iniecta dentibus tuis et faucibus tuis uniuersa rerum
 10 massa intrusa? Mundum habes et deum non habes. Quid enim
 facies? Mundus transit. Deus autem idem ipse est. Tu uero, qui
 cum deo non stas, necesse est, ut cum mundo pereunte dissoluaris

 22 quicquam] quis- per corr. L

23-25 sententiam Nichil... adoratur om. e

23 libidinum dulcedo C

24 quem] que Oe

24.1 Inuerecundus L

2 per uitiosa MT, ut uid.

9 et om. e

10-11 Quid enim facies om. e

11 transibit e

et cadas. Peremptoria sunt hec consilia que tibi talia pol-
 licentur, in quibus te necesse est aut uomitu aut ruptis interire
 15 uisceribus. Sed et pretium quod petitur, ut diabolus adores
 prostratus et eum tibi deum constituas, quem non dubitas seduc-
 torem, quid sequetur premonstrat, quia si consenseris ut con-
 cedas, casus tui te non potes excusare inprouidum, cum ipse tibi
 casum et ruinam prenominet et precipitium exigat, qui tanti se
 20 facit nundinatore culminis et tante tibi promittit fastigia
 potestatis.

(25) Regnum Christi non est de hoc mundo. Regnum celorum
 tibi deus promittit. Ipsum solum adora. Ipsi soli memento, ut
 seruias, qui (repulso temptatore) te quoque gloria et honore post
 uictoriam coronabit, si in iusticie rectitudine steteris nec
 5 falsis promissionibus obtemperans ad uenerationem diaboli damp-
 nationis eius factus particeps incurueris.

 24.12-13 Cf. II Pet. 3.11

14-15 Act. 1.18

15-16 Cf. Matth. 4.9

25.1 Ioh. 18.36 (Vg: Regnum meum... mundo hoc)

3-4 Cf. Ps. 8.6; Hebr. 2.7,9; I Pet. 5.4

 11-13 hic duo sententias sequentes (Deus... cadas) om. e et sqq.
subst. tu cum eo qui non stat cades transibis et rues

17 quid... quia om. e

18 tui] cui MTOB

25.1 igitur post Regnum add. O

2 soli om. C

4 steteris] testeris e, sed corr. r

5 et post obtemperans add. CO

VI. DE CENA DOMINI

ET

PRIMA INSTITVTIONE CONSVMMANTIS OMNIA SACRAMENTI

PL (1) Suscitati Lazari Ierosolimis increbuerat rumor et tam
1641 sollempne miraculum ad uenerationem Christi excitauerat populum.

PL Vnde et ei ciuitatem ingredienti cum ramis palmarum obuiam
1642 processerunt sedentemque super asinum resonantibus laudibus
5 gratulabundi introduxerunt in urbem, regem Israel confitentes et
acclamantes filium Daud in nomine domini aduenisse, cuius
eternum imperium prophetarum uaticinia antiquitus conclamarant.
Nec latebat dominum, qui sciebat omnia, quod in uie illius con-
finio de torrente passionis erat bibiturus et ex ea ueneratione,

1.1-2 See Ioh. 12.1,9,17,18

3-6 See Ioh. 12.12-15 8 Cf. Ioh. 21.17

8-9 See Ps. 109.7 & below XI.6.5-6.

Tit. sic PM sacramenti omnia consummantis sic transp. CR
sacramenti] -tis T, -ta e Sermo in cena domini de prima
institutione consummantis omnia sacramenti Q Sermo de cena
domini recentiore manu in uacuo spatio exhib. L
1.1 in ante Ierosolimis add. O increbuerat] -puerat exhib.
omnes testes praeter L, qui -bruerat scr. (cf. Virgil., Georgica
I.359, nemorum increbrescere murmur et Aeneis VIII.14, late Latio
increbrescere nomen)
8 illius] eius C

- 10 que impendebatur ei a plebe, inflammandam ampliꝰus inuidiam
magistratum et animos exacerbatos uehementiori insania pertur-
bandos et conspiracye maligne non ultra posse occultari con-
silia nec differri amplius, que de eius interitu cogitarant. Sed
uolebat pius magister, cum iam dampnationis sue dictaretur
15 sententia et prope esset, ut figeretur in cruce, sue dare indicia
potestatis et qui animam Lazari reuocauerat ab inferis et
quadriduano mortuo reddiderat uitam dinosceretur uirtute diuina
(non humana) tantum opus patrasse et impossibile esse suam animam
ab inferno teneri, qui alienam potestatiue extraxerat, nec se
20 necessitate, sed obedientia urgeri ad mortem et uitam, quam aliis
reddebat, ad se quoque, ubi iuberet, ilico redituram.

- (2) Finem igitur legalibus cerimoniis impositurus parari
sibi uoluit pascha et ex consuetudine legis ea queri, que sol-
lemnitatis exigebat: agnum assum, panes azimos et lactucas
agrestes. Non oportet esse fermentarios noui testamenti minis-
5 tros. Puras sincerasque mentes sanctum querit conuiuium. In
ueru crucis boni odoris assatio omnem excoquat carnalium sensuum
cruditatem et induret solidetque mentis affectus. Nec in

9-13 See Ioh. 11.46-53

16-17 See Ioh. 11.1-45

20 Cf. Phil. 2.8

2.1 Cf. Hebr. 10.1,12

1-2 E.g. Matth. 26.17-19

3-4 See Ex. 12.8

2.5-7 In ueru... affectus. Cf. Arnold, De vii verbis Domini in
cruce VI (PL 189.1714A)

10 ei om. O

11 exacerbato O

15 esse CO figeret O, ut uid.

16 reuocauit O

ecclesie sancte sacrificio ulla sit macula, sed pura simplicitas
et innocentia uite in una ecclesie catholice domo a fidelibus de
10 Egypto egredientibus (transito Mari Rubro) lotis Christi sanguine
affectibus offeratur.

(3) Cena itaque disposita inter sacramentales epulas
obuiarunt sibi instituta antiqua et noua et consumpto agno, quem
antiqua traditio proponebat, inconsumptibilem cibum magister
apponit discipulis. Nec iam ad elaborata impensis et arte con-
5 uiuia populi inuitantur, sed immortalitatis alimonia datur a com-
munibus cibis differens: corporalis substantie retinens speciem,
sed uirtutis diuine inuisibili efficientia probans adesse pre-
sentiam. Significata olim a tempore Melchisedech prodeunt
sacramenta et filiis Abrahe facientibus opera eius summus
10 sacerdos panem profert et uinum. Hoc est, inquit, corpus meum.
Manducauerant et biberant de eodem pane secundum formam
uisibilem, sed ante uerba illa cibus ille communis tantum
nutriendo corpori commodus erat et uite corporalis subsidium min-
istrabat. Sed ex quo a domino dictum est: Hoc facite in meam

9-10 See Ex. 14.21-22

3.3-4 See Matth. 26.26-29; Marc. 14.22-25; Luc. 22.20

8-9 See Gen. 14.18-20; Hebr. 6.20, 7.1-28

9 Cf. Ioh. 8.39

10 Luc. 22.19

2.9 catholice ecclesie C

3.2 obuiauuerunt MTLO, -uernt B, ut uid.

7 inuisibile e

10 panem profert] proferens scr. L et sic proferens panem transp.

13 subsidium corporalis O

14 ex quo] et quod O Hoc] hec L et post facite add. O

15 commemorationem, Hec est caro mea et hic est sanguis meus; quo-
 tienscumque his uerbis et hac fide actum est, panis iste sub-
 stantialis et calix benedictione sollempni sacratus ad totius
 PL hominis uitam salutemque proficit, simul medicamentum et
 1643 holocaustum ad sanandas infirmitates et purgandas iniquitates
 20 existens.

(4) Manifestata est etiam spiritalis et corporalis cibi dis-
 tantia: aliud fuisse quod prius est appositum et consumptum,
 aliud quod a magistro datum est et distributum. Quamdiu cibi
 illi qui ad diem festum erant parati a conuescentibus apostolis
 5 sumebantur, ueteris pasche agebatur memoria. Necdum Iudas ad
 ueterem uitam pertinens diabolo inuadente et occupante animum
 eius egredi cogebatur. Sed ubi sacrum cibum mens perfida tetigit
 et sceleratum os panis sanctificatus intrauit, parricidalis

 14-15 Luc. 22.19; I Cor. 11.24
 15 Cf. Ioh. 6.55,57
 16-17 Cf. Matth. 6.11
 17 I Cor. 10.16 (Vg: benedictionis)

 3.12-18 sed ante... proficit. Cf. Ambrose, De sacramentis IV.14-
 V.23; De mysteriis 52 & 54 (ed. B. Botte, SC 25 bis, pp. 108-114,
 186, 188). See also Hilary of Poitiers, De Trinitate VIII.14 (PL
 10.246-247).

4.7-8 Sed ubi... intrauit. G. Macy, The Theologies of the
 Eucharist, p. 80 & p. 181, n. 71 with p. 170f., n. 193, notices
 that it was much debated in the early twelfth century whether
 Judas actually received Christ's body and blood.

 15 est² om. L
 16 iste] ille Q
 4.1 Manifestata est] -ta est superscr. O, Manifesta est L
 spiritalis L
 6 uitam] hominem Q

animus uim tanti sacramenti non sustinens quasi palea de area
 10 exsufflatus est et preceps cucurrit ad prodicionem et pretium, ad
 desperationem et laqueum.

(5) Orta fuerat aliquando, sicut in euangelio Iohannis
 legitur, de nouitate uerbi huius questio et ad doctrinam misterii
 huius obstupuerant auditores, cum diceret dominus, Nisi
manducaueritis carnem filii hominis et biberitis eius sanguinem,
 5 non habebitis uitam in uobis. Quod quidam, quia non credebant
 nec poterant intelligere, abierunt retro: quia horrendum eis et
 nefarium uidebatur uesci carne humana, existimantes hoc eo modo
 dici, ut carnem eius uel elixam uel assam sectamque membratim
 edere doceremur, cum illius persone caro, si in frusta
 10 partiretur, non omni humano generi posset sufficere, qua semel
 consumpta uideretur interisse religio, cui nequaquam ulterius
 uictima superesset. Sed in cogitationibus huiusmodi caro et
 sanguis non prodest quicquam, quia sicut ipse magister exposuit,

 4.5-11 See Ioh. 13.26-30

5.3-5 Ioh. 6.54

5-6 See Ioh. 6.67

 5.7-9 existimantes... doceremur. Cf. Peter the Venerable, Contra
Petrobrusianos 205.20-22 (ed. Fearn, CCCM X, p. 122).

9-10 See ibid., 171.3-5 (ed. Fearn, CCCM X, p. 101)

 5.1 Hic capitulum nouum cum titulo De carne christi incip. CB,
littera prima et elaborate rubricata sicut] ut O

4 carnem filii hominis om. O

5 quidem O

6-7 uidebatur post horrendum transp. B

9 docerentur e frusta] -tra LB (ille cum omnibus litteris
internalibus in ras.), ex -tra fort. corr. M

12 -modi om. L

uerba hec spiritus et uita sunt nec carnalis sensus ad
 15 intellectum tante profunditatis penetrat, nisi fides accedat.

(6) Hoc sacramentum aliquando carnem et sanguinem, aliquando
 panem, aliquando corpus suum Christus appellat. Panis dicitur
 propter nutrimentum uite, caro et sanguis propter ueritatem
 nature, corpus propter unitatem substantie. Corpus suum se et
 5 ecclesiam suam, cuius caput ipse est, intelligi uoluit, quam
 carnis et sanguinis sui communione uniuit. Et nos quidem, cum

 12-14 Ioh. 6.64

14-15 Cf. Ioh. 6.65

6.1 See Ioh. 6.55,57

1-2 See Ioh. 6.32-33, 35, 51-52, 59

2 See Matth. 26.26; Marc. 14.22; Luc. 22.19; I Cor. 11.24

5 See Eph. 1.22; Col. 1.18

 6.1-6 Hoc... uniuit] Hic alia mut., alia add. e et sqq. exhib.
 Panis est esca sanguis vita: caro substantia: corpus ecclesia.
 Corpus propter membrorum in vnum conuenientiam. Panis propter
 nutrimenti congruentiam. Sanguis propter viuificationis
 efficientiam. Caro propter assumpte humanitatis proprietatem.
 Hoc sacramentum aliquando corpus suum: aliquando carnem et
 sanguinem: aliquando panem christus appellat portionem vite eterne
 cuius secundum hec visibilia corporali communicauit nature. Panis
 iste communis in carnem et sanguinem mutatus procurat vitam et
 incrementum corporibus: ideoque ex consueto rerum effectum fidei
 nostre adiuta infirmitas sensibili argumento edocta est
 visibilibus sacramentis inesse vite eterne effectum. et non tam
 corporali quam spirituali transitione christo nos vniri. Ipse
 enim et panis et caro et sanguis idem cibus et substantia et vita
 factus est ecclesie sue quam corpus suum appellat dans ei partici-
 pationem spiritus. Hic et notatur quod illa uerba Hoc... uoluit
(supra 6.1-5) linea undata i.m. insigniuit P. Idem locum in L
linea subnotauit recentior manus. V. supra, p. 33 sq.

2 Christus om. L

5 De fol. 97^r usque ad fol. 99^r, inter duo locos breues huius
tractatus (quam carnis... conuenirent, i.e. 6.5-11, et Perpes est
hoc sacrificium, i.e. 16.1) ibi iteratos, disputationem fort.
alienam de praesentia Christi eucharistica, penitus seorsum ab hoc
Ernaldi opere, exhib. P. Dominus Iohannes Leclercq hanc dis-
putationem retractationem Ernaldi esse retur. V. supra, p. 5. V.
infra et notas in 8.5-20 & 15.6-12.

5-6 quam...nos fort. in ras. alia manu P

caro essemus et sanguis, corrupta et infirma corporis animeque
 natura reformari non poteramus neque ad similitudinem dei
 reuerti, nisi morbo inueterato imponeretur malagma conueniens et
 10 in curatione desperate infirmitatis contraria remouerentur con-
 trariis et similia similibus conuenirent.

PL (7) Panis iste, quem dominus discipulis porrigebat, non
 1644 effigie, sed natura mutatus omnipotentia Verbi factus est caro et
 sicut in persona Christi humanitas uidebatur et latebat
 diuinitas, ita sacramento uisibili ineffabiliter diuina se
 5 infudit essentia, ut esset religioni circa sacramenta deuotio et
 ad ueritatem, cuius corpus sacramenta sunt, sincerior pateret
 accessus "usque ad participationem Spiritus", non quod usque ad
 consubstantialitatem, sed usque ad societatem germanissimam hec

 8 See Gen. 1.26
 7.2 See Ioh. 1.14
 6 Cf. Ioh. 14.6
 8 Cf. I Cor. 1.9; I Ioh. 1.3

 6.10-11 contraria... conuenirent. Cf. Augustine, De doctrina christiana I.xiv.13, ll. 6-14 (ed. J. Martin, CCSL XXXII, p. 13f.); Isidore of Seville, Etymologiae IV.ix.5-7 (Lindsay, ed., OCT, no pagination). See also above, II.2.9.
 7.1-7 Panis... Spiritus. Cf. Arnold, De vii verbis Domini in cruce VI (PL 189.1714C-1715A)
 1-2 non effigie... mutatus. Cf. Ambrose, De sacramentis IV.17-18; De mysteriis IX. 50-53 (ed. B. Botte, SC 25 bis, pp. 110,112,184-188); Boethius, Contra Eutychem I (LCL, pp. 76-80). See also Arnold, De vii verbis Domini in cruce VI (PL 189.1714D-1715A).
 7 usque ad... Spiritus. Augustine, Tractatus in Iohannis euangelium XVII.11.13-14 (ed. R. Willems, CCSL XXXVI, p. 276).

 7.1 dominus] deus L
 3 uidebatur humanitas L
 8 christi post consubstantialitatem add. e eius post
 germanissimam add. e

unitas peruenisset. Solus quippe Filius Patri consubstantialis
 10 est. Nec diuisibilis est nec partibilis substantia Trinitatis.
 Nostra uero et ipsius coniunctio nec miscet personas nec unit
 substantias, sed affectus consociat et confederat uoluntates.
 Ita ecclesia corpus Christi effecta obsequitur capiti suo et
 superius lumen in inferiora diffusum, claritatis sue plenitudine
 15 a fine usque ad finem attingens, totum apud se manens, totum se
 omnibus commodat et calor illius identitas ita corpori assidet,
 ut a capite non recedat.

(8) Panis itaque hic azimus, cibus uerus et sincerus, per
 speciem et sacramentum nos tactu sanctificat, fide illuminat,
 ueritate Christo conformat. Et sicut panis communis quem cotidie
 edimus uita est corporis, ita panis iste supersubstantialis uita

 15 Sap. 8.1 (Vg: Attingit ergo...)

15-16 Cf. Sap. 7.27

8.1 Cf. I Cor. 5.8

4 Matth. 6.11 (Vg: panem nostrum supersubstantialem)

 11-12 Nostra... uoluntates. Cf. Hilary of Poitiers, De Trinitate
 VIII.13 (PL 10.245-246); Paschasius Radbertus, De corpore et
sanguine Domini IX.103-118 (ed. B. Paulus, CCCM XVI, p. 56);
 Honorius Augustodunensis, Eucharisticon IV (PL 172.1252C)

13-17 Ita ecclesia... recedat. Cf. Arnold, De vii verbis Domini
in cruce VI (PL 189.1714B)

15-16 totum apud se... commodat. Cf. Augustine, Sermo CXXIX Mai
 1 (Miscellanea Agostiniana, vol. I, ed. G. Morin (Rome, 1930), p.
 375, ll. 17-18). See also John Scotus Eriugena, Periphyseon I.75
 (PL 122.520D-521A).

 15 apud] caput Q

16 in ante omnibus add. Q

8.3 ueritatem PT, ex -tem corr. ML

4 supersubstantialis] super- exp. L

5 est anime et sanitas mentis. Omnino nos a tantarum rerum
intellectu sensus carnalis repellit et sicut ipse dominus dicit,
in tantorum misteriorum intuitu caro et sanguis non prodest quic-
quam, quia uerba hec spiritus et uita sunt et a solis
spiritualibus uirtus hec magnifica iudicatur. Ille qui a nemine
10 iudicatur, cuius uita uel conscientia deo cognita humana iudicia
non formidat, de tantorum potest secretorum profunditatibus
iudicare et, cum seipsum corpus Christi cognouerit, uiuifico cibo
libenter se reficit, sciens corpori et anime sue ex sacramento et
re sacramenti indissolubilem eternitatem donari, quia et ad hoc
15 Verbum caro factum est, ut nos qui secundum carnem deo placere
non poteramus, societate Verbi deteresa salua infantie et
carnalis petulantie sputamentis, audiremus per Verbum et
reuelaretur nobis per Spiritum cognitio ueritatis et (huius cibi
nobis munere erogato) gauderemus nos ad celestem mensam admissos
20 superno interesse conuiuio.

7-8 Ioh. 6.64
8-9 Cf. I Cor. 2.15
9-10 I Cor. 2.15
15 Ioh. 1.14

5-20 Omnino... conuiuio om. e. V. supra, p. 33 sq. Hic
(fol.36^v) et primum commata moderna zetasque raptim subscriptas
quasi textui additiones exhib. P. Tales notae post uocabula
Perpes est hoc in fol. 40^r (infra 16.1) non inueniuntur. Cf.
notas in 6.5 & 15.6-12.

16 poteramus] possumus L
19 nobis om. O gaudemus L
20 superne per mutationem ultimae litterae O

(9) Panem angelorum sub sacramento manducamus in terris.
 Eundem sine sacramento manifestius edemus in celis, non ministerio corporali sepe repetitis actionibus ad eadem reuertentes, sed (consummato sacerdotio nostro) erit et permanebit perpetua et
 5 stabilis implens et reficiens nos sufficientia, quam proferet palam absque ullis integumentis omnibus conspicabilis summi presentia sacerdotis. Nunc interim corporalia beneficia sic ad corporis sufficiunt nutrimentum, ut alimentum anime non excludant. Immo sacramentorum institutio nullum secum ueheret commodum, si
 10 spiritualia non adessent. Cumque utrumque necessarium sit, res tamen sacramenti differentiore obtinet locum et perfectiorem habet effectum. Sacramenta quidem, quantum in se est, sine propria esse uirtute non possunt nec ullo modo diuina se absentat maiestas misteriis. Sed quamuis ab indignis se sumi uel contingi
 15 sacramenta permittant, non possunt tamen Spiritus esse participes, quorum infidelitas uel indignitas tante sanctitudini contradicit. Ideoque aliis sunt hec munera odor uite in uitam,

9.1 Ps 77.25

2-3 Cf. Hebr. 10.11

15-16 Cf. Hebr. 6.4

9.4 consummato... nostro. Cf. John Scotus Eriugena, Commentarius in euangelium Iohannis I.xxx.40-60 (ed. É. Jeauneau, SC 180, p. 162).

9.3 corporali sepe] corporalis substantie L. Exemplar eius fort. contractione se usus est. Cf notam supra in IV.6.3. Ibi sicut hic tres ultimas litteras uocabuli sepe sic superscr. C. eadem] ean- CB, ut uid.

7-12 Nunc... effectum om. e. V. supra, p. 33 sq.

10 res linea subnotauit P. Est et not^a i.m., quam legere in reproductione photomechanica non possum

17 aliis om. O sint MT

aliis odor mortis in mortem, quia omnino iustum est, ut tanto
priuentur beneficio gratie contemptores nec indignis tante gratie
20 puritas sibi faciat mansionem.

(10) Noua est huius sacramenti doctrina et scole euangelice
hoc primum magisterium protulerunt et doctore Christo primum hec
mundo innotuit disciplina, ut biberent sanguinem christiani,
cuius esum legis antike auctoritas districtissime interdicat.
5 Lex quippe esum sanguinis prohibet, euangelium precipit ut
bibatur. In quibus mandatis hoc maxime discernere debet
christiana religio, quod sanguis animalium, a sanguine Christi
per omnia differens, temporalis tantum habeat uiuificationis
effectum et uita eorum finem habeat et sine ulla reuocatione
10 terminum constitutum. Ideoque ad obtinendam eternitatem non
potest proficere. Quod semel obrutum non surgit ulterius nec
PL aliqua ei superest uirtus, quod sine ulla spe (precisis
1645 radicibus) mors penitus consumpsit.

17-18 I Cor. 2.16 (Vg: aliis quidem odor mortis in mortem aliis
autem odor vitae in vitam)

20 See Ioh. 14.23

4 See Gen. 9.4; Leu. 7.26, 17.14

11-13 Cf. Iob 14.7-10

19 gratie¹] iusticie C in ante indignis add. e

10.4 cuius] eius PMT

5 sanguis L perhibet erd, sed ante Pamelium corr. aliquis
castigator precepit O

11 alterius e, sed corr. r

13 mors penitus consumpsit] Hanc lectionem post corr. exhib. CB,
uocabulo ultimo in utroque superscripto, ante uero corr. tantum
mors penitus scr., mors penitus P, moritur MTO, mors penitus
aboleuit L, mors penitus exsiccauit e. Manifestum est hic mendum
mors penitus habuisse archetypum. Ceterae igitur lectiones con-
iecturae scribarum sunt. Quod legi legi propter recordationem Iob
14.7-10.

(11) Vita uero hominis, licet aliquam habeat affinitatem cum sanguine, non tamen solo sanguine regitur, sed anima sanguini dat caloris et nutrimenti effectum, sicut et ceteris que in corpore sunt propria distribuit officia et diuidit motus et quasi talenta
 5 partitur. Nec oportuit, ut sanguini humano sanguis pecudum misceretur, quia uita rationalis hominis uite bestiali consociari non debet, sed omnino a fidelium animis quasi sanguis impurus detergenda est hec carnalis opinio, ne putetur uita hominis eo modo transitoria, quo uita pecudum inanescit, uel quod sanguis
 10 consubstantialis sit anime et necesse sit utrumque superueniente suffocatione dissolui. Carne quidem animalibus similes sumus, sed uita dissimiles. Ideoque quod commune cum eis habemus, nobis incorporare licenter possumus. Quod uero dignitati nostre non conuenit et ab eternitate alienum uidetur, a nobis subtilissimo
 15 legis indicio separamus. Bibimus autem de sanguine Christi ipso iubente, uite eterne cum ipso et per ipsum participes, animalis uite peccata quasi sanguinem impurum horrentes et fatentes nos per peccati gustum a beatitudine priuatos et dampnatos, nisi nos

11.1-2 Cf. Leu. 17.14
 4-5 Cf. Matth. 25.15

11.1-2 Vita uero hominis, etc. Cf. Timaeus a Calcidio translatus commentarioque instructus II.ix.ccxix (ed. J.H. Waszink, Plato Latinus, vol. IV, p. 231f.); Augustine, Quaestiones in Heptateuchum III.lvii.3-4 (CCSL XXXIII, p. 216f.)

11.3 affectum B
 7 debet] habet e omnino post animis transp. O
 8-9 transitoria eo modo CBL
 15 iudicio MTO ipso] christo CB

Christi clementia ad societatem uite eterne suo sanguine reduxisset.
20

(12) Nobis itaque pro quibus sanguis Christi oblatus est in
cruce et quos reconciliauit deo omnes excedens uictimas hoc
sacrificium singulare, ipse Christus pincerna porrexit hoc
poculum et docuit, ut non tantum exterius hoc sanguine liniremur,
5 sed et interius aspersione omnipotenti anima muniretur et pene-
trans omnia tanti medicamenti uirtus quicquid esset intus tabidum
effugaret et renouaret sanaretque quicquid morbi carni uel
spiritui ueteris uite adliniuerat corruptela. Dixerat sane hoc
huius traditionis magister, Quod nisi manducaremus et biberemus
10 eius sanguinem, non haberemus uitam in nobis, spirituali nos
instruens documento et aperiens ad rem adeo abditam intellectum,
ut sciremus, quod mansio nostra in ipso sit manducatio et potus
quasi quedam incorporatio, subiectis obsequiis, uoluntatibus
iunctis, effectibus unitis. Esus igitur carnis huius quedam
15 auiditas est et quoddam desiderium manendi in ipso, per quod sic
inprimimus et eliquamus in nobis dulcedinem caritatis, ut hereat
palato nostro et uisceribus sapor dilectionis infusus, penetrans

12.4-5 Cf. Hebr. 9.14, 10.22

9-10 Ioh. 6.54 (Vg: manducaveritis carnem Filii hominis et
biberitis eius sanguinem non habetis vitam in uobis)

12 Cf. Ioh. 6.57

12.3 singulare sacrificium Q

5 in ante anima add. L muniremur Le

6 intus om. Q tabidum] turbidum e, ibi dum rd, ibi durum

Pamelius

8 uite ueteris Q a'

10 nobis] uobis L, ut r Itali B

14 affectibus BQ

17 palato] -tio L dulcedinis Q

et inbuens omnes anime corporisque recessus. Potus et esus ad
eandem pertinent rationem, quibus sicut corporea nutritur sub-
stantia et uiuit et incolumis perseuerat, ita uita spiritus hoc
20 proprio alimento nutritur. Et quod est esca carni, hoc anime est
fides, quod cibus corpori, hoc Verbum spiritui, excellentiori
uirtute peragens eternaliter, quod agunt alimenta carnalia
temporaliter et finaliter.

(13) Celebrantes sacramenta commonemur, quasi ungulam
findens et ruminans pecus, reuocare ad fauces et minutatim com-
molere dominice institutionis exemplum, ut semper passio sit in
PL 1646 memoria nec terreant crucifixi heredes mortis supplicia, sed pas-
cant et reficiant maturate resurrectionis letabunda sollempnia.
5 Quam preclarus est calix iste! Quam religiosa est huius potus
ebrietas, per quam excedimus domino et que retro sunt obliti ad
anteriora extendimur. Non habentes sensum huius mundi, sed

13.1-2 Cf. Leu. 11.3; Deut. 14.6

6 Ps. 22.5 (Vg: et calix meus inebrians quam praeclarus est)

7-8 Phil. 3.13 (Vg: quae quidem retro sunt obliuiscens ad ea uero
quae sunt in priora extendens me)

13.6-7 huius potus ebrietas. Cf. Arnold, Hexaameron, PL
189.1535D; Cyprian of Carthage, Epistolae LXIII.11 (PL 4.393-394);
J. Leclercq, "Jours d'ivresse", La vie spirituelle 76 (1947), pp.
574-591.

23 carnalia] corporalis Q

13.2 findens] per ras. secundae litterae B, fort. ex fundens
corr. L

3-4 in memoria sit passio L

5 maturate] maturitate Q, maturare e, sed corr. r

7 domino] deo CBLOe

8 Non] nec L

diuitis purpurati delicias contempnentes cruci heremus, sanguinem
 10 sugimus et intra ipsa redemptoris nostri uulnera figimus linguam,
 quo interius exteriusque rubricati a sapientibus huius seculi
 iudicamur amentes, qui religionis huius abhorrentes mandatum
 usque hodie retro abeunt et a secretis diuinis omnium intra
 misteriorum continentibus summam diffugiunt et recedunt.

(14) Qui manducat ex hoc pane ultra non esurit, qui bibit
 ultra non sitit, quoniam misterii huius sic sufficit gratia, sic
 reficit intelligentia, ut (cuicumque tante rei innotuerit
 plenitudo omnis consummationis fine inuento) Christi baiulus
 5 ipsum ferat in pectore, ipsum gerat in mente et omni tempore
 habitatori suo dicta et facta iubilatione consona laudes resonent
 et gratiarum actiones decantent. Hec ebrietas non accendit, sed
 extinguit peccatum. In hoc uino non est luxuria nec mouetur ad
 ludum post hunc potum lasciuiam. Consopiuit obliuio cuncta carnis
 10 ludibria. Mira sunt que sentit, magna que uidet, inaudita que
 loquitur, quem agnus iste paschalis inhabitat, cuius animam meri
 huius fortitudo hilaritate inexplicabili letificat et delectat.

 11-12 Cf. I Cor. 1.23

12-13 See Ioh. 6.67

14.1-2 See Ioh. 6.35

11 See I Cor. 5.7

 13 usque hodie. See G.G. Grant, S.J., "The Elevation of the
 Host: A Reaction to Twelfth Century Heresy", Theological Studies 1
 (1940), pp. 242-246.

 10 figimus MT (hic a. corr.)

14.7 sed om. e, non subst. rd, immo Z, sed ante Pamelium rest.
aliquis castigat

9 consopit MT (ille post corr.)

Inter dominice mense conuiuas animalis homo non admittitur.
 Quicquid caro et sanguis dictat ab hoc cetu excluditur. Nichil
 15 sapit, nichil prodest quicquid humani sensus molitur subtilitas.
 Ideo quicquid a suis rationibus sapientes huius seculi deuium
 uident, ad dementiam referunt et a ueritate reputant alienum.
 Sed ueritas ab erroneis hominibus comprehendi non potuit et cum
 in sole uellet figere oculos, uim luminis non ferens cecata est,
 20 non illuminata humana presumptio et aspectui eius lippitudo
 inhesit.

(15) Vident hec sacramenta pauperes spiritu et hoc uno con-
 tenti ferculo omnes mundi huius delicias aspernantur et pos-
 sidentes Christum aliquam huius mundi possidere supellectilem
 dedignantur. Esurientes et sitientes iusticiam, cum saturati
 5 fuerint, uide quid agant, intellige que loquantur. Quam sancti
 odoris sit quicquid illa eructuat plenitudo! Verbum bonum, mores
 compositos, affectus pudicos, sensus pacificos illa interior sin-
 ceritas ubique diffundit, ita ut post odoramenta ista gratie

 13 I Cor. 2.14. Cf. also I Cor. 10.21.

15.1 Matth. 5.3

4 Matth. 5.6 (esuriunt et sitiunt iustitiam)

 16 Ideo] ideoque O, omne e

17 uident] -detur e

15.3 huius cancell. et post mundi transp. O supellectilem
 possidere O

6-12 Hoc in loco (fol. 40^r) complures lineae in P litteris auctis
 pennaque seriatim ductibus usque ad uocabula Perpes est hoc (i.e.
 16.1), ubi noua manus incipit, completae sunt, quasi duorum
 labores scribarum singuli ibi coniuncti sint. Haec uocabula
 Perpes est hoc sunt eadem, quibus illa disputatio fort. aliena (P,
 ff. 97^r-99^r) desinit. Cf. notas in 6.5 & 8.5-20.

huius comparticipes discurrant et mutuis se ad inuicem affectibus
 10 complectantur. Et quibus unus est panis, unum est corpus et
 omnium unum cor et anima una uni Christo adherens, cetera omnia
 quasi fermentata respuens, in unius azimi sinceritate letatur.

(16) Perpes est hoc sacrificium et semper permanens
 holocaustum. Nulla panem hunc multitudo consumit, nulla antiq-
 PL uitate ueterascit. Vna est domus ecclesie, in qua hic agnus
 1647 editur. Nullus ei communicat, quem Israelitici nominis
 5 generositas non commendat. Huius panis figura fuit manna quod in
 deserto pluit, sed ubi ad uerum panem in terra promissionis
 uentum est, cibus ille defecit. Per singula sabbata panes
 propositionis iam frigidi et duri mutari consueuerant et calidi
 panes eiusdem numeri in mensa proponi. Iam nulla fit panis
 10 mutatio. Vnus est panis caloris continui, status integri, qui
 semel oblatus deo in sapore dulcissimo et candore purissimo per-

 10 Cf. I Cor. 10.17
 11-12 Cf. I Cor. 5.7-8
 16.5-7 See Ex. 16.35
 7-9 See Ex. 25.30; Leu. 24.5-9

 15.12 quasi fermentata. Cf. Anselm, Epistola de sacrificio azimi
 et fermentati 4 (PL 158.541-548 & F.S. Schmitt, "Eine dreifache
 Gestalt des Epistola de Sacrificio Azimi et Fermentati des hl.
 Anselm von Canterbury", Revue bénédictine 47 (1935), 216-225).

 10 est unus C est² om. L
 12 azimi] animi O
 16.3 hic om. MT, igitur e
 4 Nullus] nullius er, sed corr. d
 6 sed] si e
 7 ille] iste L panes om. e
 8 propositionis] promissio- L
 10 et post continui add. O

seuerat. Nec solos sacerdotes ad panes huius dignitatis Leuitice
 prerogatiua admittit. Vniuersa ecclesia ad has epulas inuitatur.
 Equa omnibus portio datur, integer erogatur. Distributus, non
 15 demembratur. Incorporatur, non iniuriatur. Recipitur, non
 includitur. Cum infirmis habitans, non infirmatur nec pauperum
 ministerio indignatur. Fides pura, mens sincera hunc habitatorem
 delectat. Neque immensi et omnipotentis dei magnitudinem pauper-
 cule domus nostre angustia offendit uel artat.

(17) Panis iste angelorum omne delectamentum habens uirtute
 mirifica omnibus, qui digne et deuote sumunt, secundum suum
 desiderium sapit. Et amplius quam manna illud heremi implet et
 satiat edentium appetitus et omnia carnalium saporum irritamenta
 5 et omnium exsuperat dulcedinum uoluptates. Vide quomodo his, qui
 Christi commemorant passionem, intra sacra officia quasi per
 quosdam canales de interioribus fontibus egrediantur torrentes et
 super omnes delicias lacrimis nectareis anima delectetur.
 Quantam suauitatem anime inquirenti ubi sit deus suus suspiria

 12-13 See Leu. 24.9; Matth. 12.4

17.1 Ps. 77.25 (Vg: panem); Sap. 16.20 (Vg: angelorum esca... in
 se habentem)

2 Cf. I Cor. 11.27

2-3 Cf. Ps. 77.30 3-4 Cf. Ioh. 6.49-50

9 Ps. 41.4,11 (Vg: ubi est deus tuus)

 16.12-13 Nec solos, etc. Cf. Arnold, Hexaameron, PL 189.1524C-D.

 12 panes huius] panem hunc Q

17.7 canales] carnal- L, ex carnal- probabiliter corr. B
 interioribus] infer-L

10 contemplationis eliciant. Non illos imbres procellose
 tempestates deponunt. Ros matutinus est de celestibus stillans
 et quasi unctio Spiritus mentem deliniens. Gemitus illos pietas
 excitat et inter diem et noctem retro et ante se affectio
 intuens, inter data et condonata se diuidens, gratias agit tam
 15 uberis beneficii largitori et, se sanatam et sanctificatam agnos-
 cens, fletibus se abluit et lacrimis se baptizat.

(18) Verum his, qui uerbo tenus corde sicci et mente aridi
 sacris intersunt uel etiam participant donis: lambunt quidem
 petram, sed inde nec mel sugunt nec oleum, quia nec aliqua
 caritatis dulcedine nec Spiritus sancti pinguedine uegetantur nec
 5 se iudicant nec sacramenta diiudicant, sed sicut cibus communibus
 irreuerenter sacris utuntur muneribus et dominice mense in ueste
 lutulenta se ingerunt inpudenter; quibus melius erat mola
asinaria collo alligata mergi in pelagus quam illota conscientia
 de manu domini buccellam accipere, qui usque hodie hoc ueracis-
 10 simum et sanctissimum corpus suum creat et sanctificat et
 benedicit et pie sumentibus diuidit.

10-11 Cf. Deut. 32.2
 12 Cf. I Ioh. 2.20
 14 Cf. Iac. 1.17
 18.2-3 See Deut. 32.13
 4-5 Cf. I Cor. 11.29,31
 6 Cf. I Cor. 11.20-22
 6-7 Cf. Matth. 22.11
 7-8 Matth. 18.6
 9 Ioh. 13.7

15 sanatam se L
 18.1 hii C
 2 labunt M
 3 nec inde B
 6 mense dominice O

(19) In huius presentia non superuacue mendicant lacrimae
ueniam nec unquam patitur contriti cordis holocaustum repulsam.
Quotiens te in conspectu domini uideo suspirantem, Spiritum
4 sanctum non dubito aspirantem. Cum intueor flentem, sentio
PL ignoscentem. Tu si templum Spiritus sancti uiolas, si intra te
1648 sacrarium dei deturpas et fedas, si cum calice Christi de calice
demoniorum communicas, contumelia est, non religio, iniuria, non
deuotio. Ydolorum seruitus et horrenda abominatio uelle simul
Baal famulari et Christo. Abi retro cum saccellis tuis, qui
10 lucris inhias et mercedes sectaris, qui opulentus in Syon cotidie
crapularis, qui in lectis eburneis recubas et in stratis sec-
mentatis lasciuus, qui uestiris mollibus et in terra suauiter
uiuientium conuersaris, cuius manus plene sunt sanguine, cuius

19.2 Cf. Ps. 50.19,21

5 I Cor. 6.19. Cf. I Cor. 3.16-17.

6-7 I Cor. 10.20 (Vg: calicem Domini... calicem daem.)

9 See II Cor. 6.15 & cf. Mich. 6.11

9-10 Cf. Ez. 22.27

10 Am. 6.1 (Vg: opulenti estis)

11-12 Am. 6.4 (Vg: dormitis in lectis... et lasciuitis in stratis
vestris)

12 Matth. 11.8 (Vg: mollibus vestiuntur)

12-13 Iob 28.13

13 Is. 1.15 (Vg: manus vestrae sanguine...)

19.3-4 suspirantem... aspirantem. See J. Leclercq, The Love of Learning, p. 39.

5-9 Tu si... et Christo. Cf. Jerome, Epistola XXII.29 (PL
22.416A)

19.4 intueo L

5 sancti spiritus C

6 deturbas e si cum] sicut O

8 est post seruitus add. L simul] similis MT (hic a. corr.)

11-12 segmentatis CB

lumbi discincti sunt et sine baltei discurre ligamine. Non est
 15 tibi pars in sermone isto, quia quod dei est aufers deo et
 imaginem dei consecras ydolo.

(20) Pauperes quidem spiritu ad hoc ministerium elegit et
 diligit Spiritus sanctus et eorum, qui pompaticae et gloriose
 sacris se altaribus ingerunt, obsequia detestatur. Ozias, licet
 rex, ob lepre notam a sanctuarii ingressu repellitur et eius
 5 oblatio quasi sordida refutatur. Incensi odor de immundorum
 manibus reputatus est pro fetore et iram, non gratiam presumptio
 meruit, quia contra fas rem usurpans illicitam temerarie in
 sancta conscendit. Sed et propter malignantium insolentiam
 altare suum deus repellit et sanctificationibus maledicit. Odit
 10 sabbata, abominatur sollempnia. Odoramenta fetent, displicent
 holocausta.

(21) In his omnibus laborare se dicit deus nec esse
 uoluntatem suam in ministris impuris indignatione districta
 testatur. Sed ierarcha pius, quem Spiritus sanctus compungit,

 14 Cf. Ex. 29.8

14-15 Act. 8.21

15-16 Cf. I Cor. 3.16; Gen. 1.26; II Cor. 6.16

20.1 Matth. 5.3

2 Am. 6.1

3-5 See II Par. 26.19

9-11 See Is. 1.13-14; Am. 5.21

 20.1 ministerium ex mister- corr. P, mister- e eligit CBLe

4 ob lepra notam] ob presumptionem lepra percussus e

5 Incensi] Incensio P, ex Incensio corr. B, post Incensi ras.
hab. CM

6 reputatus est] reputatur Q fetore] stercore L

9 deus] dominus Q

excitat, inhabitat et sanctificat, eleuatione manuum crucis
 5 misterium representans confidenter orat pro sua et populi
ignorantia, recolens pudibundi et contriti animi confessione,
 quod aliquando preualente aduersum se peccato fuerit derelictus,
 iuxta illud quod Dauid plorans ait, Auertisti faciem tuam a me et
factus sum conturbatus; et dominus per Isaiam, Ad tempus in
 10 modico derelinquam te. Verecundatur fateri, et tamen fatetur
iuuentutis delicta. Sed accusatrici conscientie necesse est
 coram iudice respondere. Nec potest ibi esse ullum diffugium,
 ubi ipsa testis est que accusat et nichil ei potest esse occultum
 qui iudicat. Sed ubi cum iudice agit qui iudicatur et, ipse in
 15 partem accusatoris transiens, etiam in sua proscriptione
 sententiam approbat condemnantis, experitur clementiam
 saluatoris et letabundus canit, Domine, in uoluntate tua
prestitisti decori meo uirtutem; et iterum per Ysaïam audit, In
miserationibus magnis congregabo te.

(22) Sed et in eodem articulo temporis, cum iam anima
 festinet ad exitum et egrediens ad labia expirantis emergerit,
 penitentiam clementissimi dei benignitas non aspernatur. Nec

 21.5-6 Hebr. 9.7 (Vg: offert)
 8-9 Ps. 29.8
 9-10 Is. 54.7 (Vg: ad punctum... dereliqui)
 11 Ps. 24.7 (Vg: delicta iuuentutis)
 17-18 Ps. 29.8
 18-19 Is. 54.7

 21.6 confessionem L
 9-10 immodico P
 13 ipsa] -se Q que] qui Q
 22.2 festinat LB

serum est quod uerum nec irremissibile quod uoluntarium et
 5 quecumque necessitas cogat ad penitudinem, nec quantitas criminis
 nec breuitas temporis nec hore extremitas nec uite enormitas (si
 uera contritio, si pura fuerit uoluptatum mutatio) excludit a
PL uenia, sed in amplitudine sinus sui mater caritas prodigos sus-
 1649 cipit reuertentes et, uelit nolit Nouatus hereticus, omni tempore
 10 dei gratia recipit penitentes. Ipse dominus noster derelictorum
 personam gerens in cruce se queritur derelictum et, ne
 desperarent etiam in ultimis constituti, festinans in adiutorium
 ilico adest et (re in arto posita) non differt beneficium, sed
 repente indulgentie celeris documentum eiusdem statuit et
 15 exemplum, latroni inquires, Hodie mecum eris in paradiso.
 Latrocinium dampnationem meruerat et supplicium, sed cor con-
tritum penam mutauit in martirium et sanguinem in baptismum. In
 momento impietas religionem, crudelitas induit pietatem et statim
 consummatus ciuis sanctorum et domesticus dei premissus est in
 20 regnum, reconciliationis humane priuilegium secum ferens ad

 22.8-9 Cf. Luc. 15.20
 10-11 See Ps. 21.2; Matth. 27.46
 15 Luc. 23.43
 16-17 Ps. 50.19

 22.9 Nouatus. Cyprian of Carthage, Epistolae XLIII & XLIX (found
 in PL 3.731,748-754 as Epp. III & VII amongst the letters of Pope
 Cornelius). Cf. Peter the Venerable, Contra Petrobrusianos 25.11
 (ed. Fearn, CCCM X, p. 23).

 4 est post uerum transp. O
 14 celeris] sce- B
 16-17 contritum cor LB

superos, quod deo Patri tante legationis fungens honore, in se ipso scripture huius experimentum continens, libero et securo aditu penetrans presentauit.

(23) Quid tu, domine, amplius Stephano contulisti? Quid amplius ille obtinuit dilectus tuus, qui supra pectus tuum in cena recubuit? Quid amplius Pauli meruere sudores? Quid labores sanctorum? Quid tot annorum tormenta? Quid martirum plage? Vna
 5 hora huic collatum est premium, ad quod illi per tot discrimina peruenerunt. Sic tu, domine, armentarios statim facis prophetas, opiliones reges, thelonearios apostolos, piscatores doctores. Neque ab his quos sanas lente languor abscedit, sed ilico quem restituis ex integro conualescit, quia consummatum est quod facis
 10 et perfectum quod largiris. Hanc dei gratiam recolens qui de sacro calice bibit amplius sitit et ad deum uiuum erigens desiderium ita singulari fame illo uno appetitu tenetur, ut deinceps fellea peccatorum horreat pocula et omnis sapor delectamentorum carnalium sit ei quasi rancidum radensque palatum
 15 acute mordacitatis acetum. Ad hec inter sacra misteria ad gratiarum actiones conuertitur et (inclinato capite munditia

23.1 See Act. 7.55

2-3 Ioh. 21.20-22 (Vg: et recubuit in cena super pectus eius)

3 Cf. II Cor. 12.7 3-4 E.g. Hebr. 11.32-40

6 See Am. 1.1 7 See I Reg. 16.11; Matth. 10.3, 4.18

11 Ps. 41.3 (Vg: sitivit anima mea ad Deum fortem: vivum)

16 Ioh. 19.30

23.1 amplius om. O

2 dilectus tuus optinuit B

cordis adepta) se intelligens consummatum restitutus peccator
 sanctificatam deo animam quasi depositum custoditum fideliter
 reddit et deinceps cum Paulo gloriatur et letatur dicens, Viuo
 20 iam non ego. Viuit uero in me Christus.

(24) Hec in Christi commemorationem retractantur a fidelibus
 et defecatis animis carnis eius edulium non est horrori, sed
 honori potuque sancti et sanctificantis sanguinis spiritus delec-
 tatur. Hec quotiens agimus, non dentes ad mordendum acuimus, sed
 5 fide sincera panem sanctum frangimus et partimur, dum quod
 diuinum et quod humanum est distinguimus et separamus itemque,
 simul separata iungentes, unum deum et hominem fatemur. Sed et
 nos ipsi corpus eius effecti sacramento et re sacramenti capiti
 nostro conectimur et unimur, singuli alter alterius membra. Min-

 16-17 Cf. Luc. 18.13

18 I Tim. 6.20 (Vg: custodi)

19-20 Gal. 2.20

24.8-9 Cf. I Cor. 10.16-17; Eph. 1.22-23

9 Rom. 12.5

 16-17 inclinato... adepta. Cf. Benedicti Regula VII.170-171 (ed. Schmitz, p. 59).

24.4 non dentes, etc. Augustine, Tractatus in Iohannis euangelium XXVI.12 (ed. R. Willems, CCSL XXXVI, p. 266); John Scotus Eriugena, Commentarius in Iohannis euangelium I.xxxi.76-77 (ed. Jeauneau, SC 180, p. 178 with note); Paschasius Radbertus, De corpore et sanguine domini XVI.12-14 (ed. Paulus, CCCM XVI, p. 98).

5-6 dum quod... separamus. Cf. John Scotus Eriugena, In ierar-
 chiam coelestem I.584-594 (ed. J. Barbet, CCCM XXXI, p. 17).

 18 sanctificatam] sanctam Q sanct. deo animam] sanct. animam
 deo Q, deo animam sanct. L

19 gloriatus B

24.1 commemoratione Ce retractantes PMT

6 quod om. Q est om. L distinguimus L

9 singuli] singulariter L alter om. L

10 isterium dilectionis pro inuicem exhibentes communicamus caritate,
 participamur sollicitudine, eundem cibum manducantes et eundem
 PL potum bibentes, quod de petra spiritali profluit et emanat. Qui
 1650 cibus et potus est dominus noster Iesus Christus.

 9-10 Cf. Ioh. 13.35

11-12 I Cor. 10.3-4 (Vg: eandem escam spiritalem manducaverunt et omnes eundem potum spiritalem biberunt bibebant autem de spiritali consequente eos petra)

 11-12 et eundem potum, etc. Cf. Augustine, Tractatus in Iohannis euangelium XXVI.12 (ed. R. Willems, CCSL XXXVI, p. 266).

 12 quod ad qui mut. CBO, qui e spiritali LO

VII. DE ABLVTIONE PEDVM

PL (1) Iam sacramenta corporis sui apostolis dominus distrib-
1650 uerat, iam exierat Iudas, cum repente de mensa surgens linteo se
precinxit et ad genua Petri, lauaturus pedes eius, ipse genibus
flexis dominus seruo consummate humilitatis obtulit famulatum.
5 Et ne quid consummationi doctrine deesset, inter fixa et
immobilia precepta et ea que moueri possunt et repeti dis-
tinctionem posuit, ut (ceteris immutabiliter semel statutis)
ultima lauachri species cotidianis expiationibus commodata com-
mendaretur fidelibus et, sicut lex per singulas offensiones
10 propria sacrificia requirebat, unum figeretur fidei christiane

1.1-2 See Maith. 26.20-29
2 See Ioh. 13.30
2-3 See Ioh. 13.4ff.
9-10 Perhaps Leu. 4 passim

1.8-9 ultima lauachri... fidelibus. See Bernard of Clairvaux,
Sermo in cenā Domini 4 (LTR, vol. V, p. 70f.) & A. Malvy, Diction-
naire de théologie catholique, tome IX, pte. 1, coll. 32-34.

Tit. PMTLe (L autem recentiore manu in spatio uacuo) Item
sermo in cena domini de ablutione pedum Q De ablutione pedum
post cenam CB
1.1 dominus apostolis CBL
4 domino P
10 figetur M

remedium, ad quod curreret, quotiens se cognosceret offendisse.
 Quod quidem Petro nondum fuerat reuelatum, quippe qui huius
 traditionis nondum audierat disciplinam.

(2) Docetur ergo que sit baptismi et aliorum sacramentorum
 stabilitas et quantum ad expiationem proficiat humilis pietas et
 pia humilitas et quomodo omni tempore proseguenda et repetenda
 sit ablutio pedum, per quam recte cognitam et intellectam
 5 adherentes anime sordes cotidiana satisfactione lauantur. Nam
 baptismum repeti ecclesiastice prohibent regule et semel
 sanctificatis nulla deinceps manus iterum consecrans presumit
 accedere. Nemo sacros ordines semel datos iterum renouat. Nemo
 sacro oleo litæ iterum linit aut consecrat. Nemo impositioni
 10 manuum uel ministeriis derogat sacerdotum, quia contumelia esset
Spiritus sancti, si euacuari posset quod ille sanctificat uel
 aliena sanctificatio emendaret quod ille semel statuit et con-
 firmat. Ipse summus sacerdos sui est sacramenti institutor et
 auctor. In ceteris homines Spiritum sanctum habuere doctorem et
 15 sicut par est Spiritui sancto et Christo diuinitas, ita in suis
 institutis equa est auctoritas et potestas nec minus ratum est
 quod dictante Spiritu sancto apostoli tradiderunt quam quod ipse
 tradidit et in sui commemorationem fieri precepit. Manet

 2.10-11 Hebr. 10.29 (Vg: Spiritui gratiae contumeliam)

 12 nondum Petro O
 13 nondum om. O
 2.2 ad expiationem] expiatione O
 6 perhibent er, sed corr. d
 12 emendaret ad emun- mut. CB
 16 ratum] rarum Be
 18 fieri] facere C

singulis propria dignitas et uniformis in suo genere stat actio
 20 omnium. Nichil addi, nichil subtrahi, nichil potest corrigi uel
 mutari.

(3) Ornata et honorata erat ecclesia quasi paradisu, in
 amplitudinis sue umbilico fontem continens gratie singularis,
 flumina creans in uitam eternam salientia, uiuam habens originem
 et decursum perhennem. Hinc egredientia quatuor euangelii
 5 flumina per uniuersum mundum secum regenerationis euehant
 lauachrum et de abdito et secretissimo Spiritus sancti munere
 huius gratie ubique liquor emanat, sic lauans quos parentalis
 labes infecerat, ut nec actualis nec originalis macula aliqua sui
 post ablutionem illam uestigia derelinquat. Preteritis lotis
 10 uita deinceps arbitrio est proprio deducenda, ita tamen ut
 PL actualibus aliquando recrudescantibus iam non imputentur
 1651 originalia nec propter illa dampnationi obnoxius sit, cui semel
 illa sunt in baptismo indulta. In originalibus enim corruptio
 nature abici et exterminari meruerat, sed quia non erat uoluntas
 15 in culpa, prouidit deus generali dampnationi remedium et sue

 3.2-3 Ioh. 4.14 (Vg: fons aquae salientis); cf. Ioh. 7.38; Apoc.
 22.1

4-5 Cf. Gen. 2.10

 19 singuli e

3.7 ubique om. e

8 aliqua per corr. ineptam ad -quam mut. L

11 imputentur] -ter PM, -denter T, per corr. paenultima syllabae
L

12 ille post sit add. O

13 in baptismo sunt illa C

13-14 nature corruptio L

sententiam iusticie temperauit, hereditarium onus a sobole
 remouens et misericorditer ablutione et unctione medicinali cor-
 ruptionis primitiue fermentum expurgans. Sed in eos qui post
 indulgentie huius gratiam uoluntarii per peccata euagati sunt,
 20 qui proprio abutuntur arbitrio et uoluntate, non necessitate
 ducuntur, indignatio et ira non immerito redit nec in morte
 Christi aliquis eis superest questus, sed iustissime eos
 beneficia contempta condemnant.

(4) Nunc contemptum suum non statim ulciscitur deus nec per
 singulas offensas iudicantis ira discurrit nec obstruit fonti
 misericordie sue ostia meatusque multiplices, sed obuiat
 fugientibus et cogit regredi desperatos, ostendens eis penitentie
 5 uiam, qua nulla latior inuenitur, et reuersis dat, ut iterum eis
 possint sacramenta iniuriata prodesse, quorum si penitentia non
 subesset, nullo modo deinceps experiri possent effectum. Propter
 hoc, benignissime domine, pedes lauas discipulis, quia post bap-
 tismum et eucharistiam, que sui reuerentia non patitur iterari,

 18 Cf. I Cor. 5.7

 4.2-3 fonti misericordie. See Augustine, Enarrationes in Psalmos
 VI.10.3 (ed. E. Dekkers & J. Fraipont, CCSL XXXVIII, p. 33).

 17 ablutione] absolu- LB

4.1 Nunc] nec tamen L

2 offensas] -siones O discurrit] consurgit C obstruit
ad -uit mut. CB, -xit MTO. Cf. Augustin., Contra Cresconium
Donatistam III.xliii.47, exundantes venas latenter pulvis
obstruit (cit. in Blaise, s.v.)

5-6 possint eis L

6 iniuriata sacramenta L

8 lauans L

10 aliud lauachrum procurasti, quod nunquam debeat intermitteri. Tamen
 ipse quod doces facis, ut quanti questus hoc opus sit ex tua
 bonitate discamus et inclinata ad pedes nostros altitudine tua
 stans aduersus proximum et erigens se contra deum confundatur
 superbia hominum et ad humilitatem dei nouerit de se humilia
 15 sapere lutum.

(5) Pauent discipuli nec audent obloqui (et quasi extasis
 teneat eos uel mens aëtes rapta peregrinetur) nec magistro
 resistere. Neque quid hoc sit uel cur fiat inquirunt. Solus
 Petrus sciens quia perhibuerat ei testimonium, quod Filius dei
 5 uiui esset, et quia uerba uite eterne haberet, iudicans apud se
 indignum et inconueniens sanctum sanctorum flectere genua ad
 pedes peccatorum, Neutiquam, inquit, tu michi pedes abluis. Et
 huius humilitatis sustinere obsequium non est nostrum, qui
adorare debemus in loco ubi stant pedes tui, et satis est nobis
 10 quod sicut catuli de mense tue reliquiis manducamus. Hoc in
 muliere peccatrice aliquando passus es nec dedignatus in mensa
 sollempni (multis conuescentibus) infamis persone suscipere
 famulatum, cuius deuotio usa est ibi capillis pro linteo, oculis

 5.4-5 See Matth. 16.16; Ioh. 6.69

7 Ioh. 13.8 (Vg: non lavabis mihi pedes in aeternum)

9 Ps. 131.7 (Vg: adorabimus in loco ubi steterunt pedes eius)

10 See Matth. 15.27

 13 proximus e

5.2 nec] neque L

3 resistunt L fiant Q

7 Neutiquam] nunquam MTO, Ne unquam CBL abluis pedes B
 ablues MTO

11 es] est e es post dedignatus add. e

pro catino, lacrimis pro baptismo. Tetigit, lauit et unxit
 15 unguento. Mactata intrinsecus anima proprium in sancta sanguinem
 intulit. Singula suum prebuere ministerium. Cor contritum
 erupit in lacrimas, fides lauit, caritas unxit. Hec mul^a in
 conspectu tuo congerens holocausta de fonte cordis fletus hausit
 PL quos protulit, de penitentie pixide unguenta que obtulit caputque
 1652 pro subpedaneo strauit, crinibus circumfusus pedes sacros
 21 inuoluit et tersit. Nichil sibi de se retinens totam se tibi
 deuouit et tu affectum potius quam factum attendens ungebas
 unguentem, abluas lauantes, tergebas intrinsecus penitentem.
 Superbo oculo Symon leprosus hanc clementie tue diligentiam non
 25 poterat intueri, sed moleste ferebat quod tangi se ab huiusmodi
 persona dominus sustinebat. Qui si lepre sue te attenderet
 mundatorem, non dedignaretur si de plenitudine gratie tue alii
 accipiant, si lauas immundos, si iustificas impios, si reuocas
 exules et abiectos.

 10-15 See Luc. 7.37-38

16 Ps. 50.19

24-26 See Matth. 26.6

28 Cf. Rom. 4.5

 5.22 Et tu... attendens. Cf. Peter Abelard, Ethica, ed. Luscombe
 (Oxford, 1971), p. 44, ll. 26-30.

 17 erupit] exu- e, sed corr. r fide L

18 hausit fletus B

20 crinibusque L

25 se ad te mut. CB

26 sustinebat ad -bas mut. CB

(6) Honor tuus, deus, iudicium diligit et equum est, ut
omnis terra adoret te et in nomine tuo omne genu flectatur.

Verum quod ante figmentum tuum curuaris, quod seruis pedes
abluis, non competit maiestati. Habebat in excusatione sua zelum
5 dei Petrus, sed non secundum scientiam, et tolerabile aliquo modo
uideretur quod humilitas suggererat, si non obstinatio resistere
preceptori niteretur. Non lauabis, inquit, michi pedes in
eternum. Ego si oportuerit me mori tecum, paratus sum. Hoc enim
debeo, hoc amplector. Pro te libenter ceruicem porrigo percus-
10 sori, sed deum meum et dominum meum ad pedes meos prostratum non
patior, non audeo sustinere.

(7) Simili modo et Iohannes uenienti domino ad baptismum
temptauit resistere, sed mansuetius increpatus ilico obediuit et
quia super hoc etiam responsum acceperat, licet territus,
adquieuit. Sed differentiam cause huius Petrus intelligens
5 lauare magistrum et obsequi ei tolerabile iudicabat. Lauari

6.1 Ps. 98.4 (Vg: regis)
2 Ps. 65.4; Phil. 2.10 (Vg: ... Iesu... flectat)
5 Rom. 10.2
7-8 Ioh. 13.8
8 Luc. 22.33 (Vg: tecum paratus sum et in carcerem et in mortem
ire)
7.1-2 See Matth. 3.14-15
3-4 See Ioh. 1.32-33

6.1 diligit] eli- C
2 te om. L
3 tu post quod¹ add. e
5 non om. L
6-7 preceptori resistere B 7 michi inquit LB
9 hoc] quod Q
10 dominum... deum C
7.4 differentiam] diffiden- L

autem ab eo et tantam humilitatis eius pati deiectionem ita
uidebatur indignum, ut omnino cogi non posset, nisi interminatio
periculosissima coartaret. Ait ei dominus, Nisi lauero te, non
habebis partem mecum. Paulatim misterii huius declaratur neces-
10 sitas, quam conditio proposita ineuitabilem reddit. Et si cum
Christo aliter partem habere non possumus, nisi ipse pedes
nostros abluat, quandoquidem sic artatur consensus, lauet et
tergat et sacramenti huius nobis uirtutem exponat.

(8) Supra diximus semel lotos baptismo eodem lauachro
ulterius non egere. Sed hoc lauachrum cotidianis est excessibus
institutum. Et iugis retractatio usque ad nouissima ueniens
omnia debet opera et cogitatus singulos perscrutari et affectus
5 per uitia discurrentes, uagam instabilemque animam per inania
euehentes, corrigere et lauare nec quicquam in uita pretermittere
indiscussum, quod gemitibus et suspiriis non fuerit expiatum.
Hoc cum dominus suos usque in finem discipulos dilexisset, in
fine statuit et dixit neminem posse habere perfectam ablutionem,
10 nisi hac sollicitudine muniatur. Mandatum igitur simul et
exemplum complexus est, ut hoc exemplo instructi non dedig-
narentur in alterutrum agere quod actum est a magistro et mandato

8-9 Ioh. 13.8 (Vg: si non... habes)

8.8 Ioh. 13.1 (Vg: cum dilexisset suos... in finem dilexit eos)

8 periculosissima] per ierosolima L

13 uirtutem nobis C (uocabulo secundo superscripto)

8.5 inaniam L

7 fuerit ex -erat corr. C, -erat PMT

8 in¹] ad L

12 mandata L

PL posteris religionis huius auctoritas firmaretur. Vnde et sub-
 1653 iungit, Si ego dominus et magister laui uestros pedes, et uos
 15 debetis alter alterius lauare pedes. Non erubescat seruus si
 facere iubetur quod prior fecit dominus nec difficile nobis esse
 debet, si sicut ille nobis donauit et nos inuicem condonamus,
 quia alter alterius onera comportantes sic legem Christi
implemus.

(9) Quotiens igitur cohortamur pusillanimes et his, qui
 Pharaoni in luto et latere famulati sunt, persuademus, ut exeant
 de Egipto; quotiens cum infirmis infirmamur et cum his, qui
 scandalum ferunt, urimur; quotiens cum afflictis gemimus, totiens
 5 inherens lutum peccatorum, qua possumus sollicitudine, lauamus,
 non quod nostra ablutio ex nobis sufficiat, nisi ad lauandum omni
 tempore nos pius magister accedat. In hoc se periculo fluc-
 tuantem laborans anima in Canticis canticorum conqueritur. Laui,
 inquit, pedes meos. Quomodo inquinabo illos? Quod ablutum est

 14-15 Ioh. 13.13-15 (Vg: Si ergo ego lavi vestros pedes Dominus
et magister...)

18-19 Gal. 6.2 (Vg: portate et sic adimplebitis)

9.1 Cf. I Thess. 5.14

2 See Ex. 1.14

3-4 See II Cor. 11.29

6 Cf. II Cor. 3.5

8-9 Cant. 5.3

 13 huius religionis O huius om. e

13-14 subiunxit CO

17 condonemus L

18 portantes L

9.2 in ante latere add. B

6-7 nos omni tempore O 7 accendat L

7-8 fluctuante L

9 inquit] ait O

10 timet iterum inquinare, sed in uia lutulenta uix aliquid solidum
 ubi pedem figat inuenit et in quibus sepe prouoluta est paludum
 inquinamenta formidat.

 (10) Clementissime magister, quotiens ego doctrine tue
 transgressus sum regulas! Quotiens edicta tua, domine sancte,
 contempsisti et, cum diceres michi reuertere, non sum reuersus! Cum
 minareris, non timui. Cum bonus esses et lenis, exasperans fui.

5 Vltra septuagies septies in celum et coram te peccaui. Quis tot
 sordes abluet? Quis abradet stercora conglobata? Quicquid dicat
 Petrus, necesse est, ut ipse nos abluas. Neque enim lauare nos
 possumus, sed in omnibus que agimus indulgentie tue lauachro
 indigemus. Ad mense tue participationem Iudas proditor est
 admissus, sed ab hoc lauachro salutari exclusus lauari in fine
 non potuit, quia apostolatus sui honorem detestabili cupiditate
 fedauit. Quia uero apud te fons uite est et miserationum, que a
 seculo sunt, profunditas infinita, quos abluisti baptismo, quos
 lauasti sanguine tuo, quos semper lauas cotidiana peccata

 10.3 Cf. Ier. 3.7

5 Matth. 18.22 & Luc. 15.18,21 (Vg: peccavi in caelum)

6-7 See Ioh. 13.8

9-11 Cf. Ioh. 13.17-18

11-12 See Ioh. 12.6

12 Ps. 35.10 (Vg: quoniam)

12-13 Ps. 24.6 (Vg: miserationum tuarum Domine et misericordiarum
 tuarum quia a saeculo sunt)

 10.3 diceris] -cens L

6 abluat L abradat LB

9 ille post proditor add. O

9-10 admissus est L

12 est post te transp. L

15 donando, transfer a paludibus seculi huius et luto uite presentis
 ad purgatissimum glorie tue regnum ubi nec scabies ulla nec lip-
 pitudo, ubi nemo fluxum seminis patiens, nemo immundus, ubi nullo
 amplius opus est lauachro, configurato corpori claritatis tue
corpore nostro. Secundum promissa tua necesse est, ut implcas et
 20 qui incepisti in nobis opus bonum perficias solidisque per
 Christum dominum nostrum.

 18-19 Phil. 3.21 (Vg: corpus humilitatis nostrae configuratum
corpori claritatis suae)

20 Phil. 1.6 (Vg: qui coepit in vobis opus bonum perficiet)

 10.17 ubi nemo... patiens. Cf. John Cassian, De institutis
coenobiorum VI.11 (ed. Guy, SC 109, p. 274).

 15 huius seculi B

16 purgatissimum] pregra- erd, sed corr. Pamelius, ut uid.

17 seminis] sanguinis e

18 est opus C

20-21 per... nostrum om. O et sqq. subst. Qui uiuis et regnas
 deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen

VIII. DE VNCTIONE CHRISMATIS ET ALIIS SACRAMENTIS

PL (1) Dies ista multiplicibus misteriis honoratur. Hac die
1653 primum commendata est nobis fractio panis et mensa ecclesie panem
angelorum hominibus proposuit ad manducandum. Hodie Christus
pedes lauit apostolis et hoc sollempni deuotione omni tempore
5 agendum instituit. Hodie in ecclesia cum ceteris unctionibus ad
PL populum acquisitionis sanctificandum in participationem dig-
1654 nitatis et nominis sacrum chrisma conficitur, in quo mixtum oleo
balsamum regie et sacerdotalis glorie exprimit unitatem, quibus
dignitatibus initiandis diuinitus est unctio instituta. Hodie
10 reconciliantur ecclesie peccatores et eiecti foras ad matris
ubera reducuntur et exclusi a cetu sanctorum ad communionem, qua
caruerant, reuertuntur. Hodie patent carceres et dampnati
libertate donantur. Seueritate deposita hodie iudices

1.2-3 Ps. 77.25
6 I Pet. 2.9 (Vg: populus)
7-8 See I Pet. 2.9

Tit. PMTCBLe (licet manu recentiore in spatio uacuo exhib. L)
Sermo in cena domini de oleo misericordie Q
1.1-2 nobis post die transp. L
7 chrisma sacrum B
10 eiecti] uecti L

mansuescunt et undique coniugata pietatis negotia quasi abortiuas
 15 traditiones antiquas sepeliunt et christiane religionis
 parturiunt nouitatem.

(2) Mortuus quippe est Moyses et ueteris littere putruerunt
 enigmata. A facie noui olei desiccate sunt unctiones antique.
 Tota ueteris instrumenti incompacta est strues, tabernaculum
 demolitum, archa ab allophilis rapta. Totus templi decor ad
 5 Assirios est translatus. Neque enim decebat, ut christiana reli-
 gio ornamentis uisibilibus occupata in manufactis delectaretur,
 sed ipsa tabernaculi consumptio et templi ruina et sancta in
 rapinam exposita excellentioris glorie intimarent stabilitatem et
 manentia in perpetuum sacramenta cultores suos ad intuitum
 10 inuisibilium informarent et abstractum a corporalibus desiderium
 nostrum celestis templi concupisceret et ambiret decorem. Cuius
 nec antiquatur nec senescit religio, in quo lucerna
 inextinguibilis sine fine choruscat, ubi sanguis animalium non
 infertur in sancta nec sunt hereditarie successiones pontificum
 15 uel uni Leuitidi tribui ministeria assignata, sed de omni tribu

 2.4-5 See IV Reg. 24.13

6 Hebr. 9.24

12 Hebr. 8.13 (Vg: et)

13-14 See Hebr. 9.12

14-15 Cf. Hebr. 7.11,23

 2.5-6 Neque enim... delectaretur. Cf. Bernard of Clairvaux,
Apologia ad Guillelmum abbatem XII.28 (LTR, vol. II, p. 105, ll.
 1-8).

 2.9 perpetuum] eternum Q

15 Leuitidi] conieci, -tii P, -tici MTL, -tice CO, -tici ad -
 tice mut. B (cf. Prudentii Psychomachia 502, gentis Leuitidis
 una/semper fida comes, LCL, vol. I, p. 314, cit. in LS)

et gente et lingua, quos dignos et idoneos diuina probat electio,
 secundum uite, non generis meritum statuit sacerdotes, quibus
 calicem sanguinis sui (inexhauste plenitudinis habundantia semper
 refertum) conseruandum tradidit et erogandum, cuius aspersione et
 20 communione intus et extra corda et corpora mundarentur.

(3) Hodie, ut diximus, unguentum ad sanctificationem
 paratur, cuius fragrantia adolescentule et nouelle anime
 accedentes ad fidem, illecte delectantur et, ex inanitionis eius
 suauitate delibute, diligunt et secuntur aromatum largitorem et
 5 usque ad regis accubitus spiramine illo trahuntur et post odorem
 illum (ubique desiderio sancto perurgente) sitibunde discurrunt.
 Nichil hoc oleum commune habet cum liquoribus, qui ex quorundam
 fructuum pinguedine exprimuntur, nec uis eius est in crassitudine
 penetratiua, que secundum quasdam naturales rationes emollit et
 10 temperat spissamenta humorum, quas solet intrinsecus astringere
 siccitas aliqua uel corruptio conglobare. Non hec medendis cor-
 poribus est unctio instituta, quia sanctificatis elementis iam
 non propria natura prebet effectum, sed uirtus diuina potentius
 operatur: sed adest ueritas signo et Spiritus sacramento, ut et
 15 ipsis rerum efficientiis gratie dignitas pateat et interiori

 15-16 Apoc. 5.9 (Vg: ex omni tribu et lingua et populo et
 natione)

3.5 See Cant. 1.11

 15-16 gente et tribu L

18 sui sanguinis O

19 refertum] -tur PMT, ex -tur corr. C

3.7 qui] que Pe (qui r) et fort. T, ex que corr. B

8 exprimitur e, sed corr. r

14 spiritu O et²] in L

homini quanta ex his detur auctoritas deiformi conuersatione et
 PL celestibus moribus innotescat. Hoc oleo antiquitus sacerdotes
 1655 sacrabantur et reges et ipsi altarium lapides delibuti
 spiritualem intelligi uolebant sacris misteriis inesse
 20 pinguedinem. Et sicut oleum fluentis et humidis quibuslibet
 superfertur, ita excellentia sacerdotalis et regie dignitatis,
 secundum formam dei et Christi sub se omnia continens, regimen et
 munimen tam actiue quam contemplatiue uite obtinet et ex hoc
 humore constat descendere omnes gratiarum diuisiones, quas
 25 Spiritus sanctus, prout uult, singulis distribuit et largitur.

(4) Ex huius unctionis beneficio sapientia nobis et
intellectus diuinitus datur, consilium et fortitudo celitus
 illabitur, scientia et pietas et timor inspirationibus supernis
 infunditur. Hoc oleo uncti cum spiritualibus nequitiiis colluc-
 5 tamur, nec fetoribus spuriiis imbui possumus, qui balsami
 spiritualis odore fraglamus. Hoc oleum a creditorum usuris sub
 Heliseo propheta mulierem pauperulam liberauit. Hoc Helie
 tempore Sareptenam pauit nec lechitus trina effusione defecit.
 Hoc oleo Iacob lapidem quem supposuerat capiti unxit et familiari

 24 I Cor. 12.4 (Vg: divisiones vero gratiarum)
 4.1-3 Is. 11.2 (Vg: spiritus sapientiae et intellectus...)
 4-5 Eph. 6.12 (Vg: conluctatio... contra spiritualia nequitiae)
 6-7 See IV Reg. 4.1ff.
 7-8 See III Reg. 17.8ff.

 19 misteriis sacris C
 4.1 et post beneficio add. e
 3 et¹ om. L
 5 spuriiis] spurcitiis cum duobus syllabis ultimis in ras. L
 9 suo post capiti add. O

10 mandato eruditus, inter sacramenta ascensionum et descensionum et
discursus angelicos innixum scale sublimi uidens deum, quid
uirtutis hec haberet unctio intellexit. Moyses hoc oleo
tabernaculum et sacra uasa perunxit et super caput Aaron tanta
habundantia fudit, ut usque in barbam eius descenderet et super
15 horam uestimenti manaret. Samuel quoque ad reges initiandos sine
oleo non accedit et usque ad defectum et reprobationem carnalium
cerimoniarum in populo illo huiusmodi perseuerauit traditio: sed
uasis Iudaicis deficientibus defecit gratia et stetit oleum.
Impletis uasis propheticiis et sanctis regibus ad patres
20 apposis, in apostasiam et discolatum uersum instabile uulgus in
se non retinuit locum, quem posset Spiritus sanctus inhabitare,
et uasa amurca plena non suscepere liquorem steteruntque in summo
feces, que longo situ induruere, et ubi domicilium religionis
fuerat, sterquilinum peccati computruit.

(5) Nec tamen (cessantibus his, que ritu antiquo
inoleuerant) cum iam in populo christiano circumcisio uideretur

9-11 See Gen. 28.18, 12f.
12-13 See Ex. 40.9-10
13-15 See Ps. 132.2
15-16 See I Reg. 10.1, 16.13

4.20 discolatum. = 'truancy', perhaps. See R.E. Latham, Revised Medieval Latin Word List from British and Irish Sources (London, 1965), p. 159.

11 innixu L
16 et¹] etiam L
18 gratia et om. L et add. et gratiam post oleum
5.1 antiquo ritu L

dampnabilis et sacrificia ydolatrie imputarentur, unctionis
 misterium religio christiana contempsit, sed (ceteris generali
 5 sanctorum consensu dampnatis) non solum in regibus et sacer-
 dotibus unctionis honor permansit, sed in omnem populum
 catholicum effusa est huius gratie plenitudo, ut sicut Christus a
 chrismate dictus est, eo quod singularis excellentie oleo unxerit
 eum deus, ita et participes eius quotquot sunt consortes sint tam
 10 unctionis quam nominis et dicantur a Christo christiani, ut sint
 sui Christo duce rectores et duces et offerant deo cotidianum
 sacrificium, ordinati adeo sanctimonie sacerdotes. Nec immerito
 huic diei assignata est tanti operis causa et ex hoc sacramenta
 hec obtinere initium. Quo hodie in sacramento calicis Christi
 15 et ecclesie unitas, in lauachro pedum concors societas, et donans
 inuicem caritas et subiecta humilitas, in unctione christiani
PL 1656 nominis dignitas et excellentie spiritualis proprie data est et
 confirmata filiis adoptionis, perpes auctoritas et dignitas per-
 seuerans.

(6) Dedit itaque dominus noster in mensa, in qua ultimum cum
 apostolis participauit conuiuium, propriis manibus panem et
 uinum. In cruce manibus militum corpus tradidit uulnerandum, ut

5.10-12 Cf. I Pet. 2.9
 18 Cf. Gal. 4.5

6 sed] si er, si om. d, sed suppl. ante Pamelium aliquis
castigator et post sed add. CB (hic per superscr.)
 7 ut] emend. Pamelius, et omnes testes priores
 13 assignata est huic diei L
 14 quo] quod CB (ille a. corr. fort. quo)
 18 et om. PMTCBO
 6.1 in qua om. O
 3 vero post cruce add. e

in apostolis secretius impressa sincera ueritas, et uera sinceritas, exponeret gentibus: quomodo uinum et panis caro esset et sanguis et quibus rationibus cause effectibus conuenirent et diuersa nomina uel species ad unam reducerentur essentiam et significantia et significata eisdem uocabulis censerentur, ut sacramentum et res sacramenti, ueritas et figura usque adeo indiuulsam haberent efficientiam, ut dicatur de gentibus et Iudeis, quia eandem escam spiritalem manducauerunt consequenti petra, que erat Christus. His gratie superne priuilegiis esu sanctificati panis et mense celestis pasti, loti et uncti, non eam quam amiserant, sed ampliorem et digniorem recuperant libertatem et eiecti de paradiso nudi ad lignum uite hodie reuertuntur uestiti (reddita stola et anulo prolato in medium) et reconciliantur matri ecclesie, quos inobedientie malum foras expulerat, et cherubin flammeum gladium ab introitu tranquillii status et innocue conuersationis amouit.

6.11-12 I Cor. 10.3,4 (Vg: bibebant autem de spiritali consequenti eos petra petra autem erat Christus)

15 See Gen. 3.24

16 See Luc. 15.22

18 Gen. 3.24 (Vg: cherubin et...)

8 et om. O

8-12 ut... Christus om. e (v. supra, p. 33f.)

11 spirituales L consequente L eos post consequenti add.
CBL0 (C per corr.) 12 erat] est L

13 et mense celestis om. e pasti] refecti e

16 uestiti ad uestiti mut. O

18 a ante cherubin add. PMT et post cherubin add. B

- (7) Hodie in terra maledicta relictis rastris et graui
uomerum pondere et stimulis fatigatorum boum cruore perfusis,
detergo sudore uultus exusti caloribus, attriti laboribus, hilari
facie, stellaribus oculis in capite micantibus, corpore candido
5 ornatu composito, ad paternam domum exules reducuntur et egressus
obuiam reuertenti filio letabundus pater clementiam improprio
non corrumpit nec indulgentiam fedat conuitiis, sed bonitatis sue
honorat magnificentiam et hilaritate magnificat largitatem.
Resonant in susceptionis huius sollempniis musica instrumenta et
10 communis iubilatio pari consonantia Patri misericordiarum gratias
agit, cuius imperio antiquam predam euomunt inferi, ligantur
demones et (disruptis ferreis nexibus) diu quassati liberi
reuertuntur. Hec dies nocti illi contigua est, qua absolutionis
nostre negotium dominus inchoauit, qua a principibus sacerdotum
15 ad Romanum presidem ductus iudex omnium sustinuit iudicari,
passus est rex illudi et uita occidi. Descendensque ad inferos

7.1 Gen. 3.17 (Vg: maledicta terra)

3 Gen. 3.19

5-8 See Luc. 15.20ff.

9 See Luc. 15.25

10 II Cor. 1.3 (Vg: Pater)

14 Matth. 27.1 (Vg: principes)

7.13 Hec dies... contigua est. Cf. Augustine, Epistola XCVIII.9
(ed. A. Goldbacher, CSEL, vol. XXXIV, pt. II, p. 530f.)

7.2 pondere uomerum C

3-5 attriti... composito om. e

6 filio reuertenti L

7 bonitate sua L

9 susceptiones erd, sed ad -ne mut. aliquis ante Pamelium
castigator huius om. O sollempnis e

captiuam ab antiquo captiuitatem reduxit, hoc ecclesie sue
 hodierna traditione exemplum relinquens, ut fieret in ecclesia
 absolutio peccatorum et hereditati redderentur eiecti et
 20 precedentibus beneficiis, que supra enumerauimus, libertate
 donarentur penitentes, qui secundum merita, nisi gratia sub-
 ueniret, fuerant condempnati. Et omnino conuenit, ut eo tempore
 quo Christus captiuos eduxit ab inferis, reconciliati peccatores
 ad ecclesiam reducantur et quo confracta sunt infernalis repagula
 25 carceris, iudiciaria seueritas mansuescat et quo ab infernalibus
 tormentis cessatum est, humana supplicia crudelitatis horrorem
 deponant.

16-17 See Eph. 4.8

23 Cf. I Pet. 3.19

23-24 reconciliati... reducantur. On the Maundy Thursday
 'Reconciliation of the Penitents', see H. Thurston, S.J., Lent and
 Holy Week (London, 1904), pp. 309-314.

17 sue eras. O

23 eduxit] re- CO. ad re- mut. B

26 supplicia] stulti- O

27 deponat O

IX. DE PASSIONE DOMINI

PL (1) Domine, audiui auditum tuum et timui. Terruit me, cum
1656
appropinquaret traditor Iudas et immineret passionis hora, quod
dixisti ad Patrem, Pater, si fieri potest, transeat a me calix
PL iste, et tristem te usque ad mortem, pre nimia anxietate
1657
sanguineo sudore perfusus, coram apostolis es professus. Audiens
6 hec ego expaui. Quis enim non timeat, si timet ille, quem omnia
timent, si paueat ille, cui omne genu curuatur, si ille, qui mors
est mortis et morsus inferni, morte propinquante pertimescit?
Nonne ad hoc ueneras et ita futurum ipse predixeras? Nonne hoc
10 et signa et oracula et uaticinia prophetarum a mundi initio

1.1 Hab. 3.2 (Vg: auditionem tuam)
3-4 Matth. 26.39 (Vg: mi Pater si possibile est); Marc. 14.35
(Vg: si fieri posset transiret...)
4 See Matth. 26.38
4-5 See Luc. 22.44
6-7 Cf. Ps. 32.8
7 Is. 45.23
7-8 Os. 13.14 (Vg: ero mors tua o mors ero morsus tuus inferne)
9 Cf. Ioh. 12.27

Tit. PMTL De passione e Sermo de passione domini CB
In parasceue Q
1.4 te] tibi L
6 ego om. L
9 ipse] esse Q

conclamarunt? Si uoluntarie obedisti Patri et non te, ut
 patereris, coegit necessitas, quid quereris, quid causaris?
 Nonne tu docueras et instruxeras fideles tuos, ut non timerent
eos qui corpus occidunt, quia usque ad animam tyrannica uiolentia
 15 non attingit?

(2) Sed metus ille infirmitatis humane communem exprimebat
 affectum: et generalitatem omnium in carne uiuentium hoc dolore
 urgeri et dissolutionem corporee spiritalisque nature hac
 molestia non posse carere et hanc penam uniuerse successioni Adam
 5 sine exceptione impositam, ut difficultas extremi transitus
 timeretur. Et hec quidem molestia in eos, qui dei iudicio
 rationem reddituri occurrunt, non immerito cadit, qui, de eo quod
 beneficio uite et rationis et reliquorum largitate munerum abusi
 sunt, accusante conscientia redarguti examen illud, in quo nullum
 10 est subterfugium, timent. Et ipsa auulsio spiritus carnis
 teneritudinem dirumpit et ledit. Hanc nemo anxietatem euasit et
 nemo egrediente anima sine amaritudine expirauit. Sed tu,
 domine, qui iudex es omnium, qui potestatiue ponis animam tuam et
 potestatiue resumis, nec pena te ex necessitate persequitur nec
 15 formidabilis Patris tibi potest esse conspectus, quid anxiaris?
 Quid tremebundus ad orationem discurrens? Dormitantibus apostolis

 9-11 Cf. Luc. 24.27

11-12 Cf. Ioh. 10.18

13-14 Matth. 10.28 (Vg: nolite timere... occidunt corpus)

2.1-2 Cf. Hebr. 5.7

13 Hebr. 12.23 (Vg: iudicem... Deum)

 12 causaris] curaris L

14 ad om. B

2.10 timent] -eret L auulso L

peruigil proditorem expectas. Nec tamen te abscondis, sed obuius
in aduentum eorum procedis, qui te ligare ueniunt et trahere ad
Pilati tribunal, quos Iudas signifer instructa malignitate
20 preceedit.

(3) Audiui, domine, auditum tuum et expaui, dum queris a
querentibus te quid querant, cum noueris quod te querant et
dixisti eis te esse Iesum Nazarenum. Inuasit ilico timor tuus
eos, quos tu timueras, et prostrati solo iacuere exanimis et
5 armatam cohortem uox unius hominis terruit et latens in
humanitate omnipotentia se discipulis pauidum, coram per-
secutoribus terribilem exhibebat. Sed ut fieret uoluntas Patris
et sacrificium carnis a timore et tristitia inchoaret, suberant
uictime desolatorii carbones, quos obedientie liquefactus adeps
10 extinxit et, cum traheretur uinctus ad presidem, non supplicauit

16-17 See Matth. 26.38-44

17-20 See Ioh. 18.4

3.1 Hab. 3.2 (Vg: Domine... auditionem tuam... timui)

1-2 See Ioh. 18.4

3 See Ioh. 18.5

3-5 See Ioh. 18.6

9 Ps. 119.4 (Vg: cum carbonibus desolatoriis)

3.3-7 Et dixisti... exhibebat. Cf. Arnold, Vita prima Bernardi
II.vi.38 (PL 189.290A-B).

17 Nec] non O, uocabulis non tamen in ras. inuentis

18 ligare te L

3.2 querant¹] queratur MTO quod te] quod tu PM, tu quod T, tu
quid O

3 eis om. L

4 quos om. L tu] non O

5 hominis om. O

6 pauidis L

apparitoribus, sed Petri compescuit zelum nec gladiatorum passus
est adhiberi suffragia. Immo et Herodis et Pilati contempsit
fastigia nec potuit altitudo potestatum extorquere ad interrogata
responsum.

(4) Iam postposito timore, quasi utens potentiori auc-
toritate inter sputamenta et colaphos et reliqua ludibria
patientia et mansuetudine uesanas persecutorum mentes conturbat
et, in eo quod inter iniurias et conuicia se malitia Iudaica
sentit contemptam, uehementius exacerbatur et de impietate et
malitia suauitas pietasque Christi triumphat. Frustra funestas,
iudex, manus in pretorio abluis, a sanguine domini te profitens
innocentem. Tu ipse causam mortis, cum diligenter inquisieris,
te non inuenisse in eo fateris. Ipsa coniunx tua nichil tibi et
iusto huic esse mandauerat, quod utique per os eius demonia
imminere sibi iudicium sentientia testabantur. Non excusas, sed
accusas. Causam tibi facis cum Iudeis communem. Illi se
proditione, tu parricidio te condempnas. Illi lingua, tu ferro
occidis. Tam te quam illos inaudite crudelitatis scelus

10-12 See Ioh. 18.10-12
12-13 See Luc. 23.1-12
13-14 See Luc. 23.9; Ioh. 19.9
4.1-6 See Matth. 26.67-68
6-8 See Matth. 27.34
8-9 See Luc. 23.4; Ioh. 18.38
9-10 Matth. 27.19 (Vg: illi)

4.9 in eo om. LO
10 demonia per os eius B
11 sentientia] senten- a. corr. PB
12 esse post Iudeis add. O
13 te om. L te post ferro add. C

15 inuoluit. Veniet anima tua in manus iudicis, quem condempnas,
fractisque tribunalibus tuis iudicaberis et demergeris in
profundum inferni eruntque tibi et Iude scelerato in tenebris et
gehennalibus flammis pene irremediabiles, inconsumptibiles ignes,
dolores perpetui et tormenta eterna.

(5) Et quidem filius hominis sicut scriptum est de illo
uadit, qui dampnatus est, ut liberaret dampnatos, doluit, ut
sanaret infirmos, timuit, ut faceret securos, opprobria
pertulit, ut impropria detrahentium non mouerent electos.

5 Deputatus inter impios, quorum alter assumptus, alter reprobatus
est, ut daretur exemplum et forma indissolubilis manens in
posteris, quia nec in ultimis dei clementia penitentes excludit
nec ulla hora sera est, cui compunctio districta occurrit, nec
eos, qui uite sue quocumque articulo temporis ueri sunt iudices,
10 iterum iudicari, quia cum iudicis et tortoris uices non parcens
peccatorum assumit, semetipsum persequens, dum confessionem con-
fusionem honerat, holocausti huius incensio in conspectu dei

5.1-2 Matth. 26.24 (Vg: Filius quidem hominis vadit sicut scrip-
tum est de illo)

3-4 E.g. Matth. 27.29

5 Luc. 22.37 (Vg: cum iniustis deputatus est)

5-6 See Luc. 23.33, 39-43

5.8 compunctio. See J. Leclercq, The Love of Learning, pp. 37-
39.

16-18 et iudicaberis in tenebris... scelerato in gehennalibus...
exhib. L

5.1 illo] eo O

5 deputatos MT alter assumptus om. O

10 iterum iudicari om. L sibi post uices add. L

11 peccator CBLOe (ras. post syllabam ultimam hab. C)

12 honorat e

ueniam impetrat. Neque enim bis in idipsum iudicat deus, sed
 impenitentes ipse iudicat et dampnat. Penitentes uero, quia a
 15 seipsis suscipit iudicatos, absoluit neque iudicio, quod
 penitentiae humane seueritas protulit, aliquid iusticia celestis
 apponit.

(6) Iudicati sunt Egyptii, cum in redeuntibus super se maris
 fluctibus inuoluerentur. Iudicati Sodomite, cum subuersis eorum
 urbibus flammis sulfureis cremarentur. Sed si in eisdem sub-
 uersionibus gernerent penitentes, temporali pene eternalis non
 5 succederet pena, sed esset eis pro remedio supplicium et pro
 absolutione tormentum nec contritos corde eternum contereret et
 aggrauaret iudicium. Sic in cruce latro confitens non tantum
 indulgentiam meruit, sed Christi familiaris effectus premissus in
 paradysum et factus est particeps regni, per confessionem factus
 10 collega martirii. Illi uero blasphemo, quia de domini desperauit
 potentia, nulla potuit subuenire clementia nec potuit illi crucis
 prodesse consortium, cuius malitiam non expiabat penitentiae

13 Nah. 1.9 (LXX: οὐκ ἐκ δευτέρου ἔτις ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν θλίψει; Vg:
non consurget duplex tribulatio)

6.1-2 See Ex. 14.27

2-3 See Gen. 19.24

6 Cf. Ps. 50.19

7 Luc. 23.40-42

10 See Luc. 23.39

13 in idipsum bis Q

6.2 obuoluerentur C, ad ob- mut. B

3-4 subuersionibus] -uersibus B, -mersionibus L

4-5 pena post eternalis transp. L

8 est post premissus add. e

9 et om. L factus² om. L

10 quia] qui Q

12 malitia PMTLe

lauachrum.

- (7) Ascendisti, domine, palmam, quia illud crucis tue lignum portendebat triumphum de diabolo uel de principatibus et potestatibus et nequitiis spiritualibus uictoriam. Erantque in manibus tuis duo cornua, in quibus erat fortitudo tua abscondita
- 5 et imperium tuum super humerum tuum. Tu ipse patibuli tui baiulus herebas ligno quod tuleras, euectionis et passionis anxietates sustinens et labores. "Consideraui opera tua et expaui." Clauis sacros pedes terebrantibus fossisque manibus, de uulnerum anxietate non loqueris, de spinis sacrum caput
- 10 pungentibus non quereris. Sed satagis, ut innotescat posteris quare derelictus a deo uidearis, expositus contumeliis et Iudeorum ludibriis. Causam mortis in te non esse Pilatus ipse predixerat et Cayphas mortem tuam pro inimico populo satisfacturam, cum esset anni illius pontifex, prophetauerat. Tu de
- 15 morte non agis, de obprobriis non contendis. Sed hoc uis intelligi: que sit causa mortis, quis questus, ut (utraque re

7.1 See Cant. 7.8

2-3 Eph. 6.12 (Vg: adversus principes et potestates... contra spiritalia nequitiæ)

3-4 Hab. 3.4 (Vg: cornua in manibus eius ibi abscondita et fortitudo eius)

5 Is. 9.6 (Vg: principatus super umerum eius)

5-6 See Ioh. 19.17

7-8 See the note at I.12.18

10-12 See Matth. 27.46,40-44

12-13 See Luc. 23.4; Ioh. 18.38

13-14 See Ioh. 11.50

14 Ioh. 11.51 (Vg: pontifex anni illius prophetavit)

7.2 principibus L

cognita) peccatum appareat et gratia et quanti ponderis sit
 utrumque rerum probet effectus, cum originali morti nullum, nisi
 in Christo morte, potuerat esse remedium nec reconciliare deo
 20 potuit exules et dampnatos quolibet oblatio, nisi sanguinis huius
 singulare sacrificium.

(8) Et sine hoc holocausto poterat deus tantum condonasse
 peccatum. Sed facilitas uenie laxaret habenas peccatis
 effrenibus, que etiam Christi uix cohibent passiones, que uix
 sceleratos animos a uoluptatum fece auellunt. Vulneri sane tam
 5 putrido et antiquarum cicatricum fetori non inueniebatur
 medicamentum conueniens, nisi unguento sanguinis huius plaga
 uetus liniretur et malagmate carnis in cruce extense sicarentur
 uenena, que calcaneo primi hominis et omni posteritati eius ser-
 pens ille seductor antiquus infuderat. Hec una medela corrosit
 10 illas que in immensum excreuerant cicatrices et uim suam con-
 cupiscentiarum perdidit corruptela et (deleta dampnationis con-
 scriptione) nouis litteris assignata est restituta libertas,
 priuilegio dato, carta indulgentie sigillo plage lateralis

 8.8-9 See Gen. 3.15
 11-12 Cf. Col. 2.14
 13 See Ioh. 19.34

 17 et² om. B
 18 utrarumque CB
 19 potuerit LO
 19-20 deo potuit] potuerit [sic] deo L
 20 huius sanguinis O
 8.3 uix christi C passiones cohibent O
 10 uim suam] innumeram L, ut uid.
 11 prodidit L corruptelam L
 11-12 conscriptione] construc- C
 13 carta om. O sigillo] illo O

firmata.

(9) Considero opera tua et admiror te cruci inter dampnatos
affixum, iam nec tristem nec pavidum, sed suppliciorum uictorem
eleuatis manibus triumphantem de Amalechi et quasi sanctificantem
de excelso plebem et eleuatum in sublimi et quasi celo proximum
5 superioribus inferentem consummati agonis uexillum et
inferioribus erexisse scalam in Patris occursum. Ibi dolorum et
conuiciorum immemor subtiliter inuestigas et ipse exponis quare
derelictus fueris, iudicans anxietates illius querimonie uerba
esse delictorum tuorum, quorum personam et causam assumpseras, in
10 tantum ut per Moysen et per apostolum sustineres uocari peccatum
et maledictum pro similitudine pene, non culpe. Quod pro eis
uoluisti intelligi, qui deseri a deo propter peccata meruerant,
quorum reconciliationis agebas causam, in qua allegator subtilis
14 pro seruis seruilem non dedignaris accipere personam. Et in
tantum infirmis compateris, ut nec crucifigi nec mori, dum illi
PL
1660 uiuant et (te patrocinate) non pereant, nec erubescas nec
formides, altitudinem tuam derelinquens, ad tempus glorie tue

9.1 See note at I.12.18
3 See Ex. 17.11
6 See Gen. 28.12
10 See Deut. 21.23; II Cor. 5.21
11 Cf. Hebr. 4.15
13-14 Cf. Phil. 2.7

9.8 iudicans] in- fort. L0
9 delictorum ad dere- mut. B
10 per² om. L sustineres] -nens T. fort. ex -nens corr. B0
17 derelinquis Q

maiestatem euacuans, ut redeant dispersi et respirent derelicti.
 Hec est causa quare derelictus sis, ut colligeret et reuocaret
 20 inanitio tua eos, qui fuerant derelicti, et qui sine deo fuerant,
 dum dominaretur eis peccatum, reducti ad iusticiam conformes
 Christi et christi efficerentur et dii. Vnde scriptum est, Ego
dixi dii estis.

(10) Considero, domine, te in illo patibulo, ubi uidebaris
sine adiutorio, quomodo imperatoria potestate latronem premitis
 ad regnum. Et in cuius assumptione iam manifeste constat,
 quantum apud derelictos profeceris, quorum primus iste, gloria et
 5 honore coronatus, ipsa die paradisi ciuis et domesticus curie
 celestis efficitur. Impossibile quippe erat illam sanctam animam
 tuam teneri ab inferis, de qua ipse ad Patrem dicis, Quia non
derelinques animam meam in inferno nec corrumpi carnem meam in
sepulchro: quia ubi in presentia illius effractis inferis est
 10 captiuata captiuitas, presentata uictrice anima in conspectu
 Patris, ad corpus suum sine dilatione reuersa est. Et appropin-
 quauerunt saluti, qui longe erant a salute, et inter mortuos

 21 Cf. Rom. 6.14

21-22 Cf. Rom. 8.29

22-23 Ps. 81.6

10.2 Ps. 87.5

2-3 See Luc. 23.43

4-5 Ps. 8.6 (Vg: coronasti eum)

7-9 Ps. 15.10 (Vg: Quoniam... non dabis sanctum tuum videre cor-
ruptionem)

10 See Eph. 4.8

 10.1 te domine Q

3 iam post constat transp. L

4 est post iste add. C

7 Quia om. CBL

liber morti obnoxios perpetua libertate donauit.

(11) Considero te in cruce de matre sollicitum. Cui uolenti loqui tecum, cum euangelizares, negaueras retroactis diebus colloquium et pretuleras matri auditores uerbi, pauperes spiritu, dicens eos tibi esse pro matre et fratribus, qui uoluntati Patris
 5 obtemperant. Nunc materno moueris affectu et thalamum humanitatis tue cubiculario dilecto commendas et prouides sedulo benedictae inter mulieres apostolicam clientelam et obsequium uirginis uirgini discipulo tradis, ut iam non Ioseph tanti ministerii honoretur prepositura, sed Iohannes, quia iam exigebat
 10 ratio, ut coniugii remoueretur opinio nec ultra pater Christi estimaretur, qui eatenus uicem patris et coniugis tenuerat. Habebat Ioseph in hac Christi dispositione rationabilem contradictionem, cum alteri commendaretur Maria, si se cognouisset carnalem maritum. Sed quia in Spiritu actum erat coniunctionis
 15 illius misterium, passus est Ioseph equanimiter sibi eum in hoc seruitio preponi, quem digniorem se iudicabat, et ideo maxime, quia magistri electio sic negotium ordinabat.

 12-13 Ps. 87.6
 11.1 See Ioh. 19.26
 1-5 See Matth. 12.46-50
 3 Matth. 5.3
 5-8 See Ioh. 19.25-27
 14-15 See Luc. 1.35

 11.5-17 Nunc materno... ordinabat. Cf. Arnold, De vii uerbis Domini in cruce III (PL 189.1696B)

 11.8-9 ministerii] mys- L, mis- e, ex mis- corr. B
 11 obtinuerat L
 13 MARIA CL
 14-15 illius coniunctionis L

(12) Ad hec sacerdotalis auctoritatis priuilegium in medio
 proferens, mediator inter nos et Patrem, oras pro his, qui ad
 dolorem uulnerum tuorum opprobria addiderunt, et pro inimicis
 impetras ueniam. Supplicas et obsecras, ut hec eis iniquitas
 5 dimittatur et a morte tua habeantur innoxii ipsi, qui sanguinem
 tuum super se et super filios suos manere precantur usque adeo
 excecati, ut scelus suum non intelligant nec odium Christi ipsa
 mors crucifixi extinguat. Sed caritas tua interim suspendit
PL
 1661 iudicium et reis ingratisque patientia tua penitentiae prouidet
 10 locum tempusque reseruat et differt punire dignos exitio, hoc
 orans, ut aperiuntur oculi eorum et agnoscant quae sit uirtus
 crucis, quae efficientia sanguinis, quae magnitudo delicti et doni,
 gratiae et peccati. Tanta erat spissitudo uelaminis et crassitudo
 doctrine, quae erant Moyseos scriptura imbuti! Ita erant eorum
 15 sensus hebetes et ingenia tenebrosa, ut in uerbis legis nichil
 diuinum saperent, nichil aliud quam exterioris umbraculi
 integumenta uiderent neque ad sacramentorum secreta aliqua
 intellectus indagine penetrarent. Immo si quis eos uellet in
 sancta inducere et introducere in archana profundaue misteria,

12.1-4 See Luc. 23.34
 5-6 See Matth. 27.35
 13-14 Cf. II Cor. 3.13-15
 16-17 Cf. Hebr. 10.1

12.1 auctoritatis] emend. O, -tas PMTCBLe
 4-5 dimittatur iniquitas O 5 ipsi] Inde L
 6 suos] tuos L
 8 extinguant L
 10 hoc] Hec e
 14-15 sensus eorum L

20 impium iudicabant et stultum mel in petra sugere et de saxo
durissimo oleum eliquare.

(13) Dimissum est ergo Christo orante peccatum et ex parte
maxima cecitas illuminata est et malignantium perfidia demum
credidit et intellexit et de torculari crucis mustum expressit,
accepit et bibit et in calice, quod propinarat Moyses, uinum
5 merum a fecibus segregavit. Et ecce plus potuit donum quam
delictum et gratia quam peccatum, quoniam ex debito dampnationis
obnoxios gratis sine ullo merito gratia beneficio pietatis
absoluit et iudicium imperante Christo misericordie dedit locum
et districtiois sue temperamentum iusticia domino disponente
10 modeste sustinuit.

(14) Iam uidet Hebreus et quicumque de seruitute Egyptia ad
repromisse patrie libertatem anhelat, quod sanguis Christi,
efficacius quam sanguis agni illius, quem in Egypto Israel
immolauit, contrarias abigat potestates. Cuius hodie tanta est
5 auctoritas et potestas, ut non solum Israelitica limina muniat,
sed etiam ab his, qui Israelitice non uiuunt, solum sacramenti
signum repellat demonia et, ibicumque conspecta fuerit, ter-

20-21 Deut. 32.13 (Vg: sugeret mel de petra oleumque de saxo
durissimo)

13.3 Cf. Is. 63.2-3 4-5 Cf. Ps. 74.9

5-6 Cf. Rom. 5.20 14.2-4 Cf. I Cor. 5.7

5 See Ex. 12.7

14.6-7 solum... demonia. Cf. Arnold, Vita prima Bernardi
II.iii.13-14 & vi.38 (PL 185.276A-277A & 290A-D).

20 in] de L

14.5 lumina erd, sed corr. aliquis ante Pamelium castigator

ribilis sit eis sacri nominis uirtus et sanguinis nota. Denique
 quicumque sint sacramentorum ministri, qualescumque sint manus,
 10 que uel mergunt accedentes ad baptismum uel ungunt, quaecumque
 pectus, de quo sacra exeunt uerba, operationis auctoritas in
 figura crucis omnibus sacramentis largitur effectum et coniuncta
 peragit nomen, quod omnibus nominibus eminet, a sacramentorum
 uicariis inuocatum. Et licet indigni sint qui accipiunt,
 15 sacramentorum tamen reuerentia et propinquiorem ad deum parat
 accessum et, ubi redierint ad cor, constat ablutionis donum et
 redit effectus munerum. Nec alias queri aut repeti necesse est
 salutiferum sacramentum.

(15) Iam sanguis tuus, domine, non querit ultionem. Sanguis
 tuus lauat crimina, peccata condonat. Clamat sanguis Abel,
 clamant Sodomorum peccata et parricidium et libido digna sunt
 ultione. Tu, olim ultionum deus, modo misereris et parcis his,
 5 qui offenderunt, sanas contritos corde et alligas uulneratos.
 Filio prodigo reuertenti non impropas luxum, mulieri adultere

13 See Phil. 2.9

16 Is. 46.8

15.2 See Gen. 4.10

3 See Gen. 18.20

4 Ps. 93.1 (Vg: Deus ult.)

5 Ps. 146.3 (Vg: qui sanat... alligat contritiones illorum)

6 See Luc. 15.20

8 nominis sacri B

12 coniuncta] cuncta Q, cuncta e

13 et post quod add. per superscr. B

15 deum] dominum L

15.1 Iam iam Q

3 clamat L et¹ om. O

- non opponis prostibulum, peccatricis publice non recusas
PL seruitium, debenti pecuniam dimittis depositum, Iudeis perfidis
 1662 et dedisti gratiam et dimisisti scelus scelerum et peccatorum
 10 peccatum. De latere tuo fons egreditur, in uitam eternam
prosiliens, et de eadem consubstantiali origine diuisis limitibus
 aqua et sanguis emanant ad complementum perfectionemque totius
 iusticie, sacramenta in perpetuum duratura, et fontis illius
 ubertas perhenni lapsu uniuersam ecclesiam irrigat et fecundat.
 15 Ex hoc fonte non tantum ablutionis prime, qua initiantur
 accedentes ad Christum, undas haurimus, sed et compunctionum et
 lacrimarum perhennes effluunt riui et misericordiarum suauitas et
 totius pietatis affectus emanat.

(16) Tu, domine, sacerdos sancte, qui in tempore iracundie
factus es reconciliatio, sancti huius sanguinis permanentem

 6-7 See Ioh. 8.11
 7-8 See Luc. 7.37-38
 8 See Matth. 18.27
 8-10 Cf. Luc. 23.34
 10-11 Ioh. 4.14 (Vg: salientis in vitam aet.)
 11-12 See Ioh. 19.34
 16.1-2 Eccli. 44.17 (Vg: est)

 11-14 et de eadem... fecundat. See Augustine, De civitate Dei
 XXII.xvii (LCL, vol. VII, p. 282).

 9 eis post dimisisti add. CB (hic i.m.)
 9-10 peccatum peccatorum Q
 10 fons] foris L, ut uid. egreditur] egredie- P, ex egredie-
corr. MC
 11 consubstantialique e
 15 ablutionis] obla- CB
 16 ad christum accedentes L haurimus undas C et com-
 punctionum] ad com- PM, ex ad com- corr. CB, et compunctionem T
 18 effectus Q

plenitudinem reliquisti et beneficium huius sancti liquoris in
 perpetuum tradidisti et constituisti nobis inconsumptibiliter
 5 potum, uiuificum crucis signum, et mortificationis exemplum. Tu
 consummatis omnibus uade ad Patrem et trahe nos post te. Da
 nobis in uita presenti, ut simus sine angaria baiuli crucis tue
 et comprehendamus cum omnibus sanctis quid latitudo, quid longi-
tudo, quid altitudo, quid profundum huius ligni significet. Quo
 10 conspecto non noceat nobis neque mordeat coluber solitudinis, sed
 incolumes per omnia sequamur te. Tecum paruuli simus, tecum cir-
 cumcidamur, tecum baptizemur, tecum ieiunemus, tecum lotis
 pedibus panem angelorum edamus, tecum crucifixi mundo uiuamus,
 tecum Spiritu sancto repleti et corpore et spiritu in eternum
 15 maneamus. Qui uiuis et ultra non moreris in secula seculorum.

 5-6 See Ioh. 19.28, 16.28

8-9 Eph. 3.18 (Vg: comprehendere... quae sit latitudo et longi-
tudo et sublimitas et profundum)

10 See Num. 21.5-6

 16.4 consumptibiliter e

8 sit post quid¹ add. O

9 altitudo] sublimitas e significet] -cant B, -cent C,
 sanctificet T

13 mundo uiuamus] mundum uiuamus P, mundum uincamus MTO (per
 corr. M)

15 moreris] morieris MTCBO, omnes praeter O per corr. AMEN
post seculorum add. L

X. DE RESVRRECTIONE CHRISTI

PL (1) Quesitis aromatibus ad unguendum dominum Iesum in
1662 monumento positum, sacre mulieres communicato consilio con-
uenerunt et (reperitis ibi sine corpore sudariis) quem non
inuenere putauere sublatum. Nam et lapis reuolutus et uacuum
5 monumentum simplicibus animis coniecturas huiusmodi opponebant,
quod corpus strictum linteis, nisi translatum esset, moueri loco
non posset nec lapis magni ponderis, nisi ui humana, nullatenus
reuolui potuisset. Vnde et mane uenientes, quomodo posset ab
hostio monumenti lapis girari, anxie causabantur. Sed dominus,
10 qui inspirauerat, ut uenirent, preuenerat uenientes et egressus
de sepulchro uacuum locum reliquerat apertoque ostio ingredi
uolentibus liberum dederat aditum, et quasi monebat se alias
queri, qui illis angustiis non poterat occultari.

1.1-4 See Luc. 23.56-24.4
3 Cf. Ioh. 20.6-7

Tit. PMTBCe Christi] domini L Sermo in die resurrec-
tionis domini de tribus mulieribus que ad unguendum dominum ad
monumentum uenerunt Q
1.5 apponebant L
7 ullatenus Le
10 qui om. Q
11 aperto Q

(2) Flebant igitur sacre femine, que eum, cui obsequi uolebant, se perdidisse putabant et obriguerant mestitudine, eo quod deuotio sua desiderato frustraretur effectu. Habuerant siquidem eum sicut prophetam, non inferiores fide illis discipulis, qui dicebant, Quod Iesus Nazarenus uir propheta fuerat,
 5 potens in opere et sermone. Et licet de resurrectione sua ipse
 PL
 1663 tam apostolos quam reliquos discipulos, in quorum societate iste esse meruerant, magister prouidus instruxisset, incusserat tamen omnibus dubietatem et terrorem supplicium crucis et mortis
 10 atrocitas. Nec tamen ab eorum cordibus auelli poterat dilectio, qua ei adhererant, et recordatio signorum, que uiderant, et admiratio doctrine, quam audierant, et conuersationis pie admirabilis sanctitudo, qua fuerant informati. Necdum firmo gressu ibant, sed lababat pes dubitantium, sed querebant, quem
 15 amabant, nec maligne desperabant. Vnde factum est, ut questum inuentionis dilectionis perseuerantia mereretur.

(3) Ille itaque prime uiderunt et cognouerunt, que ardentius dilexerunt, que deuotius quesierunt. Ille sermocinate cum Christo, certificate quod ipse esset, qui a mortuis resurrexisset, nuntiant Petro et ceteris, quod Christus resurgens a mortuis
 5 iam non moritur. Euangelizarunt uiuentem, qui mortuus putabatur. Nec iam sepulture eius odoramentis corporalibus deseruiunt, sed

2.5-6 Luc. 24.19 (Vg: de Jesu Nazareno qui fuit uir propheta)
 6-8 E.g. Matth. 16.21
 14 Deut. 32.35 (Vg: labatur)
 3.2-4 See Matth. 28.9-10
 4-5 Rom. 6.9 (Vg: surgens ex)

3.5 Euangelizauerunt L
 6 deseruiunt corporalibus O

aromatibus firme fidei et certe spei et caritatis sincere regnanti domino famulantur et uirtutum fragrantiam non iudicato presentant, sed iudici.

(4) Letantur apostoli, quos mundus quasi dehiscens terruerat: et quasi dissolutione elementorum quassaretur, omnia precipiti ruina sterneret, minas horribiles intenterat; solidatisque et compactis celestibus et terrenis eterna redemptione inuenta, gratulabundi adorant quem reliquerant, credunt nec in aliquo hesitant. Assistunt, quantum possunt, ei a quo diffugerant. Quem non fragor ille mundi terreret, quando terra tremuit, sol expalluit et radios lucis sue sol contenebratus abscondit? Ipsa monumenta lapides sibi superpositos proiecerunt et indignata superior et inferior plaga tenebris et motibus et scissuris compassionis sue et uehementis angustie iudicauerunt effectum. Nec sustinuit intueri mundus perfidie Iudaice scelus et uisa sunt insensata elementa sensu uti abundantiore quam homines, quibus secundum naturam ratio inerat. Et crudeliores extitere feris, abutentes intellectu, in tantum Christi sanguinem sitientes, ut se ipsos maledictione eterna dampnarent et in paruulos suos anathematis illius reliquias immobili stabilimento

4.1-2 See Matth. 27.51 4-5 Hebr. 9.12

5 See Matth. 26.56

8-9 See Matth. 27.45

9 See Matth. 27.52

10 Cf. Matth. 27.45 with Luc. 23.44-45 & Matth. 27.51-52

4.8 et post tremuit add. O

13 uti] utique L

15 extiterunt C et post intellectu add. B

firmarent.

(5) Sed ne in eorum scelere diutius immoremur, qui repulsi sunt et destructi in finem, quorum parricidalia uota seruitium et exterminium meruerunt, quos cum Dathan et Abiron, quos ob dissensionis flagitium terra dehiscens uiuos absorbit, constat in
 5 tenebris inferi sigillatos: ne tantarum abominationum recordatio paschalem serenitatem interpolet, circa sollempnitatis inclite gaudia deuotis et alacribus animis insistamus. Neque enim fas est, ut a nobis aliqua his diebus tristia recitentur, sed sicut filiis Chore datum est, ut semper leta canerent et prophetarent
 10 et omnes psalmi eorum attitulati nominibus gaudia predicant nec aliqua minantur aduersa, ita nos ad Christum pertinentes, cuius
 PL sanguine conspersa creditur Adam Caluaria, qui sub loco, quo crux
 1664 domini fixa est, humatus traditur ab antiquis, eiusdem sanguinis sanctificati elapsu letemur et delectemur in domino. Nec iam
 15 amatoribus crucis mors magistri sit horrore neque pena sit dolori

 16-18 See Matth. 27.25
 5.3 See Num. 16.1ff.; Ps. 105.17
 8-10 See Pss. 41 & 43-48

 5.3 See Arnold, Vita prima Bernardi II.vi.37 (PL 185.289D)
 12-13 qui sub loco... ab antiquis. See Augustine, Sermo supposititius VI.5 (PL 39.1750D-1751A with further references there in note b).

 5.3 quos² om. TO
 5-6 recordatio paschalem om. L spatiumque reliquit
 6 circa] cuius L
 7 gaudiis L
 10 psalmi eorum] psalmorum L
 15 dolori sit B

nec passio sit pudori, cum hec omnia uite nostre sint
instrumenta. Quia mors eius pro peccatis nostris sacrificium
fuit et pena crucis excessibus pena dignis occurrit, labor eius
honora nostra deposuit, dolor eius nos sanauit et dampnatio
20 indebita nos a dampnatione eterna absoluit. Et si quid con-
fusionis uisa est in tempore illo pati sancta eius humilitas,
rerum hodie manifestatur effectum quod apostolus ait, Stultum
huiusmodi sapientius esse hominibus et infirmum fortius omni
fortitudine, per quod (reprobata sapientia huius mundi) et de
25 sapientibus et potentibus in nomine crucifixi pauperes spiritu
potentissime triumpharunt.

(6) Cantemus igitur domino, gloriose enim honorificatus est.
Liber populus egreditur de Egypto. Moyse duce mare fit peruium,
columpna flammea nocte chorscans Israeliticum antecedit
exercitum, stat a dextra et leua mare suspensum, desiccato luto
5 profundi inoffensum abissus dat transitum et (egresso populo dei)
Pharaonem cum populo suo repentina mole illapsum pelagus . .

22-24 I Cor. 1.25 (Vg: stultum est Dei sapientibus est... quod
infirum est Dei fortius est hominibus)

25 Matth. 5.3

6.1 Ex. 15.1 (Cod. Amiatinus Ottobonianus: honorificatus; r .-
qui: magnificatus). See the critical apparatus of the Vg.

18 crucis om. O

21 pati in tempore illo L

22 apostolis P

24 est post reprobata add. CB (ille per superscr., hic i.m.)

6.1 Cantemus] Primam litteram ornauerunt omnes codices mss.
praeter T, qui om., sed spatium reliquit. Spatium etiam ante hoc
uocabulum reliquit M. Sequentem autem titulum add. CB De pascha
et sequentem add. O In die sancto pasche igitur om. O

2 fit mare O

3 antecedeat CB

cludit. Iam precesserat agnus, quem Israel in Egypto immolarat,
 cuius sanguine limina rubricata percussor angelus non est ausus
 attingere nec exterminatoris gladium populus formidabat, cui et
 10 de spiritalibus nequitiis parabat uictoriam illud sine macula
 sacrificium: et mare diuisum et totum Egipti robur extinctum.

(7) Primum illud antiquum pascha his miraculis coruscauit et
 excluso fermento preceptum est, ut horum dierum celebritas
 ageretur in azimis nec sollempnitatis huius gaudia seruilibus
 operibus fuscarentur nec omnino aliqua tante sinceritatis gloriam
 5 malignitas inquinaret. Certa data est ex lege distinctio, que
 esset paschalis oblatio et tempus et locus et modus, quando uel
 ubi uel quomodo sacra deberet hostia immolari: uictima agnus,
 locus una per singulas familias domus, caro non elixa, sed assa,
 hora uespertina. Hec, cum eo tempore fierent in figura, quod nos
 10 in ueritate agimus tipice loquebantur. Et disrupto in Christi
 morte templi uelamine, uerus agnus, solus inter filios hominum
 sine macula Christus, etate ultima, in qua mundi uesperascit con-

 2-7 See Ex. 14.21-28, 13.21-22

7-9 See Ex. 12.23

10 Eph. 6.12 (Vg: spiritalia nequitiae)

10-11 See Ex. 12.5

7.2 See Ex. 12.15

5-9 See Ex. 12.2-20

10-11 See Matth. 27.51

 12 etate ultima. Cf. E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the
 Latin Middle Ages, tr. W.R. Trask (Princeton, repr. 1973), p. 28.

 9 formidabat populus L

10 spiritalibus Oe

7.4 obfusarentur O

ditio, ab una populi christiani familia in unitate ecclesie assus
in cruce (proiectis foras hereticorum fermentis) sincere fidei
15 solidata compagine inconsumptibiliter editur, creditur et
tenetur.

(8) Noua et uetera sub hoc nomine conuenerunt. Egreditur
Israel de seruitute Egypti, exit populus dei de regno diaboli.
Baptizantur in nube et mari Hebrei et iam Spiritu sancto et
sanguine Christi mundatur a peccatis populus dei. Ex diuersis
5 familiis una fit tribus, una fit domus, unus est cibus. Sig-
nificantia et significata, res et signa, uirtus inuisibilis et
PL uisibilia sacramenta sic faciunt unum corpus, sicut caro et
1665 spiritus, et quod uidetur et quod non uidetur et nomine et
uirtute Christi corpus censetur. In hac rerum conuenientia
10 honorificatus est Christus et gloriose laudis triumphos letabunda
hodie canit ecclesia, in lapide angulari consocians disiunctos
olim parietes, quos in unum mirabilis artifex fuso sanguine
glutinauit et (reprobato diu a malignis fidei fundamento)
caritatis sue nexibus diuisas copulauit macerias et redegit
15 partes in totum et multa in unum et facti sunt una domus con-

8.3 I Cor. 10.2 (Vg: baptizati sunt)
11-15 Cf. Eph. 2.20,14

7.11-16 uerus agnus... tenetur. Cf. Arnold, De vii verbis Domini
in cruce VI (PL 189.1713A).

8.4 Christi mundatur om. CBL
5 domus... tribus sic transp. e
7 inuisibilia erd, sed corr. Cauchius
8 et quod non uidetur om. e (v. supra, p. 33 sq.)

federati parietes et stabile fundamentum. Honorificatus est
 Christus resurgens a mortuis, uictor mortis spolians inferos et
 captiuos premittens ad superos. Hucusque per humilitatis gradus
 ascendens, modo gloria et honore coronatus, nil mortale, nil pas-
 20 sibile retinens, impassibilitatis et immortalitatis donauit nos
 gloria et resurgentes in beatitudine constituit sempiterna.

(9) Resurrexerunt quidem ante Christum (sed in nomine et
 fide eius) sub Helia uiuente in corpore et Heliseo iam mortuo duo
 qui obierant, sed ad mortem quam gustauerant iterum redierunt.
 Resurrexit et Lazarus et alii nonnulli ad imperium Christi et,
 5 aliquo tempore beneficio uite usi, iterum ad funera rediere. Res
 quidem honorabilis et dominatio potestatiua fuit ad corpus
 exanime spiritum reuocare, sed resurrectionis huius, cuius sunt
 in Christo primitie, incomparabilis est dignitas, quam nec
 sequitur corruptela nec dissoluit antiquitas nec aliqua

 10,16 Ex. 15.1

17 Cf. Ex. 12.36

18 Cf. Eph. 4.8

19 Ps. 8.6 (Vg: coronasti eum)

9.2-3 III Reg. 17.22; IV Reg. 4.35, 13.21

4 See Ioh. 11.44; Luc. 7.15, 8.55

7-8 Cf. I Cor. 15.20,23

 8.18 humilitatis gradus. See Benedicti Regula VII.13-20 (ed.
 Schmitz, p. 45); Bernard of Clairvaux, De gradibus humilitatis et
superbiae, Praefatio (LTR, vol. III, p. 16, l.1).

 9.2 vnus post corpore add. e iam om. e et subsl. uiuo et

4 alique Q

5 usi] post corr. B, ut uid., usu L

6 potestatiua] tertiam syllabam superscr. Q, i superscr. B,
 potestiuu L

10 mutabilitas labefactat. Mirati sumus in transfiguratione, que
 facta est in monte (presentibus apostolis Petro et Iacobo et
 Iohanne), quando sicut sol resplenduit facies saluatoris et
 uestimenta eius candorem omnem exuperantia apostolorum hebetauere
 conspectum, sed momentaneus ille decor. Imaginem, non speciem,
 15 similitudinem, non substantiam, partem, non plenitudinem trans-
 formationis mirifice explicauit. Sed neque eandem gloriam, quam
 ante ostendit, apostolis resurgens ilico ostendit, sed quod
 uidere consueuerant, hoc uiderunt et dilata est claritatis
 illius, quam nobis pollicitus est, plenitudo, que in se erat per-
 20 fecta et a nobis in nobis expectatur perficienda, lucidior et
 sincerior quam estimari possit ab aliquo uel quam illa etiam
 claritas intimauerit, cuius primitias in Christo transformato
 accepimus.

(10) Opus inclitum et nobile plasma prima hominis conditio
 fuit, sed (quasi seminarium reformationis huius) illa prima
 formatio imaginem et similitudinem artificis ad ueritatis
 essentiam pertrahebat. Paulatimque consummata prodiit species
 5 (et apparuit candor!), quam occultabat immortalitas, qua absorta

 10-12 See Matth. 17.1ff.

12 Matth. 17.2 (Vg: resplenduit facies eius sicut sol)

22-23 See I Cor. 15.20,23

10.3 See Gen. 1.25

4 Cf. Gal. 4.4; Hebr. 9.26

 10 mutabilitas] -tabilis B

13 hebetauerunt Q

10.1-10 Opus... assistit om. e

1 prima] -mi L, ex -mi corr. O, ut uid.

5 quam] quem LO

est eadem quidem, et non alia, humanitatis natura. Sed sanato morbo, quo periculis tenebatur obnoxia, sana et incolumis stabili felicitate (corpore et anima idem sapientibus, in nullo dissentientibus, receptis duplicibus stolis) conspectibus diuinis
 10 assistit.

(11) Agunt in celestibus hec paschalia gaudia ipsi angelici spiritus et resurgentis domini gloriam admirantur. Letantur et delectantur in eo quod forma serui reuersa sit in formam dei et exinanitio humilitatis ad deposite altitudinis redierit
 5 maiestatem. Sed et in hoc multiplicata sunt gaudia, quod ab his, pro quibus se humiliauerat, tante excellentie beneficium dignatus esse commune et partiri nobis sue habundantiam uoluit claritatis, ut post resurrectionem corpus non aggrauet animam, sed sit caro sine mole et pondere, agilis et mobilis, nullis clausa
 10 obstaculis, uisu et auditu penetrans omnia et attingens, quocum-

 5-6 Cf. I Cor. 15.54

9 Cf. Is. 61.7,10; Luc. 15.22

11.3 Phil. 2.7 (Vg: formam)

3-4 See Phil. 2.7-8 8 Sap. 9.15

10 Cf. Sap. 8.1

 10.9-10 conspectibus diuinis assistit. Cf. Horace, Sermones I.vi.114 (edd. E.C. Wickham & H.W. Garrod, OCT, p. 157), cited in LS.

11.8-9 ut post resurrectionem... mobilis. Cf. Augustine, Enchiridion XXIII 31 (tr. J. Rivière, BA 9, p. 264).

 8 idem] id est scripsisse uidentur aliquae testes, i.e. P et fort. MTO

11.3 forma quod B formam] -ma MTO

5 et om. CBL

6 dignatus] est post hoc uocabulum add. CBL (fort. in ras. C), -tur Q (et fort. Manutius, certe Cauchius)

9 clausa] causa L, ex causa corr. B

PL que uoluerit sine impedimento discurrens. Inerit resuscitatis
 1666 corporibus nulli uanitati subiecta libertas et, que cogi non pos-
 sit ad aliquid, in nullo laborans, iam a spe educta, re ipsa per-
 fruens, nulla expectatione suspensa, et in pace quietissima con-
 15 firmata omnisque expers formidinis in spiritualibus deliciis,
 iugis illa permansio reflorebit.

(12) Quam mirabilis est scientia tua, deus! Confirmata est
super nos (nec possumus ad eam attingere!) hec sapientie tue
altitudo. Qui mundum non ex precedente materia, sed solo Verbi
 tui condidisti imperio, creaturis uero corporalibus ex mundi
 5 essentia dedisti initium, suis incolis singula elementa adornans,
 hominem, quem de mundo fecisti, cunctis in terra et aere et aquis
 uiuentibus preficiens, ita ut suo proposito singula in suo genere
 ministrarent. Tu aliis uitam temporalem, aliis procurasti per-
 petuam, admirabile ordine quedam mutans et renouans, et prefinito

 12 Cf. Rom. 8.20

13 Cf. Matth. 11.28

12.1 Ps. 138.6 (Vg: mirabilis facta est scientia tua)

1-2 Ps. 116.2; cf. Ps. 138.6 (Vg: confortata est)

2 Ps. 138.6 (Vg: non potero ad eam)

2-3 Rom. 11.33 (Vg: altitudo diuitiarum sapientiae)

3-4 See Gen. 1.1; Ioh. 1.3

4-5 See Gen. 2.9,19

6 See Gen. 2.7

6-7 See Gen. 1.26,28

 12.3-8 Qui mundum... ministrarent. Cf. Hugh of St.-Victor, De sacramentis I.i.vi & xxv (PL 176.190B-192D & 203A).

 15 in om. O

12.3 Qui] qua Pamelius

4 et post imperio add. B

9 admirabili CBLQe. (ex -le corr. B, ut uid.). Cf. GL 79.1.

10 tempore metam irrationabilibus omnibus prefixisti et terminum,
 quem transire non possit dissolutioni conditio destinata. Homo,
 quia ex celesti et terrena materia compactus est, uestitus
 extrinsecus pelle et carnibus, tempus accepit, quo te iubente
 redderet terre quod de terra assumpserat et ad immaterialem
 15 originem reuerteretur spiritus, cuius natura dissolutionis non
 admittit iniuriam. Corpus putredine et caro uermibus consumenda
 secundum nature sue rationem eternitatis non poterant priuilegio
 perfrui et quod sibi iure non competeat a conditore nequibat
 exigere neque ulla eorum interrogatio super hoc merebatur
 20 responsum.

(13) Sed tu, optime domine, ultro gratiam uolens dare
 spiritui decreuisti clementius, ut ex societate et clientela,
 quam reddiderat anime caro, aliquid ei commodi proueniret et que
 ei uehiculum fuerat et particeps studiorum, in recompensatione
 5 ministerii iterum dilecto accole consociata, pudica et pacifica
 rediret, nullas secum reuehens contumelias, quibus deinceps

 11-12 See Gen. 2.7

12-13 Iob 10.11 (Vg: pelle et carnibus vestisti me)

13-14 See Gen. 3.19

16 Cf. Iob 25.6

13.6 Cf. Rom. 1.24

 11-12 Homo... est. Cf. Hugh of St.-Victor, De sacramentis I.vi.i
 (PL 176.263C).

 15-16 iniurias [sic] non admittit O

16-17 consumenda post rationem transp. O

17 priuilegio post eternitatis transp. O

18 nequibant L

quietis interne concuteret puritatem. Sed et hoc, domine, ad
 cumulum beneficii addidisti, ut inter legem carnis et spiritus
 nulla postmodum esset diuersitas, sed una utriusque ex lege tua
 10 sancta firmetur nec post initum fedus ulla iterum inter eos
 recrudescat rebellio, sed per manum tuam reconciliatio ordinata
 stabilis in perpetuum perseueret. Te igitur iubente terra fit
 caro, ut expulsa de domo iterum coniugatur uiro, non iam ancilla,
 sed libera, et habitant unius moris in domo murmurationibus con-
 15 sopitis, quas olim compugnantes inter se concupiscentie con-
 citabant.

(14) Quis, domine deus, considerare hec opera tua sufficit?
 et quis lutum coagulare potest in carnem? quis formare potest in
 hominem? quis infundere animam? quis reddere uitam? quis dare
 eternitatem? quis addere felicitatem? Ad hunc prouentum humana
 5 laborabat creatio, hec semper fidelium expectatio fuit. Hoc
 optabat rex ille humilis, qui se nouerat imperfectum, ut adderes
 PL
 1667 conditioni tue quod deerat et perficeres et solidares opus tuum,

 8 See Rom. 7.23; Gal. 5.17
 12-13 Cf. Gen. 21.14
 14 Ps. 67.7 (Vg: inhabitare facit unius moris in domo)
 14.1 Cf. Eccli. 18.2
 2 See Iob 10.9-10
 2-3 See Gen. 2.7

 13.9-10 sed una... firmetur om. e
 10 initum] -tium er. sed corr. d
 10-11 recrudescat inter eos C
 13 ut] et B coniungatur MTO
 14 habitent MTO
 14.3 homine L
 4 hunc] huc L
 5 laborat Q
 7 tue ad sue mut. CB

quod corruptibilitas et mortalitas assidue conuiciis multis
solebant affligere et uariis obprobriis consueuerant infestare.

- 10 Tu morti imperas et absorta eliditur. Inanescit corruptio, ubi
eger te medente sanatur. Gustasti mortem pro filiis hominum, ut
qui tecum mortui erant, tecum uiuerent et participes
tribulationum etiam consolatione gauderent.

- (15) Resurrectio quidem communis est et ante tribunal
Christi necesse est in corpore iustos stare et impios (dei hoc
dictante iusticia), ut pietas et impietas in operatoribus debitis
stipendiis donarentur et qui finem habere contempserunt in malis,
5 infinita clauderentur ultione in penis et qui gloriati sunt in
cruce, cum crucifixo regnantes beate fierent perhennitatis
participes. Non sunt participes huius gaudii, quos dampnat
ambitio. Non potest furtiuos habens loculos paschalibus solemp-
nii interesse. Nichil proditor et uenditor magistri,
10 fermentator prophanus, commune habet cum azimis. Omnis immundus
in anima ad esum huius agni prohibetur accedere. Nulla ad hanc
leticiam perfidia recipitur, omnis malignitas excluditur. Cal-
ciatus pedibus ad euangelizandum paratus, accinctus renibus et

10 Cf. I Cor. 15.54
11 Cf. Hebr. 2.9
12 Cf. Rom. 6.8
12-13 Cf. Rom. 8.17; I Pet. 4.13
15.1-2 See Matth. 25.31-32
3-4 See Apoc. 20.12
5-6 See Gal. 6.14
12-13 See Eph. 6.15

15.6 regnantes om. O
7-8 ambitio dampnat B
13 paratus] peractus erd, sed corr. Morelius

sanctimonie destinatus, habens baculum in manibus et festinans,
 15 ut Egipti deserat ydola, sequens Moysen nec formidans uie dis-
 crimina, quisque purus et sincerus sine fraude, homo uerus
 accedat et edat et securus, quod resurgat, mortem optet, ut
 attingat ad eterna gaudia, in quibus est uita nostra sursum
 manens et nos trahens ad bona celestia. Qui uiuit.

13-16 See Ex. 12.11

14 baculum habens L

19 sqq. post uiuit add. L et regnat deus per infinita secula.
 amen, sqq. add. O et regnat deus per omnia secula seculorum.
 Amen.

XI. DE ASCENSIONE CHRISTI

PL (1) Celebrata in cruce sollempni uictoria, cum iam templum
1667 corporis sui, quod persecutio Iudeorum effoderat, dominus
reparasset, noluit statim ad Patrem ascendere et glorificati cor-
poris presentiam inferre celestibus, sed necessaria dispensatione
5 discipulorum infirmitati consulens utiliter distulit et quad-
raginta diebus in terra conuersatus et uisus est et locutus cum
apostolis et manducauit et bibit et uulnera, que ad dubietatem
eorum tollendam in corpore reseruauit, et uidenda et palpanda
exposuit et impleta in se que in scripturis erant predicta
10 euidentia rerum edocuit.

1.1-2 Cf. I Cor. 6.19
5-6 See Act. 1.3
7 See Luc. 24.30; Ioh. 21.15
7-9 See Luc. 24.39; Ioh. 20.20,27
9-10 See Luc. 24.27

Tit. PMTCBe Christi] domini L Sermo In ascensione
domini O
1.2 sui] suis e, sed corr. r dominus om. O
6 sepe post est add. e est post locutus add. C
10 dominus noster post rerum add. O

(2) Ad hoc necessaria fuit huius temporis mora, ut re-
lectis, quos in fugam timor impegerat, quos supplicium crucis
terruerat, in multis argumentis apparens, mentes, que diffidentia
titubauerant, solidaret nec esse fantasticum, sed uerum corpus,
5 quod surrexerat, tam commensationibus quam contrectationibus
probaret. Ad hoc dilata est ascensionis gloria, ut sub hoc
dierum interstitio precedens doctrina affectibus firmaretur, immo
ut discipulorum desideria recessionem eius corporalem ambirent,
quia spiritalis presentie plenitudo, quamdiu conspectu carnis
10 presens aderat, aduentare non poterat. Et paulatim in hoc con-
ducti sunt, ut libenter consuetudine conuictus assueti carerent,
PL cum inhabitator Spiritus sanctus, eorum animas possidens
1668 inuisibili accessu, sinceriores eis affectus infunderet et
aperiret interiores oculos ad intuendum intellectu puro Patrem
15 luminum et (substantia rerum sperandarum proposita) apparentia
sepelirent nec incertitudinis scrupulus superesset, cum dominus
et magister, quem uerum hominem probauerant, eis uidentibus celum
ascenderet, sed iam securi se crederent secuturos nec esse
impossibile, quin et ipsi in carne et spiritu ad superos trans-

2.2-3 See Matth. 26.56

4 See Luc. 24.37

12 See Rom. 8.11 (Vg: inhabitantem Spiritum)

14-15 Iac. 1.17 (Vg: Patre)

15 Hebr. 11.1 (Vg: sp. sub.)

2.2 impegerat ad impingerat mut. L crucis supplicium O

5 surrexerat] -rexit C, ex rexerat corr. B commensationibus]
primam s del. CB

9 conspectui L carnis conspectu B

11 conuictus consuetudine L

12 animas eorum L

13 funderet L

15 substantiam L

20 ferrentur.

(3) Omnibus itaque ad tam delectabile spectaculum
 aggregatis, Ascendo, inquit, ad Patrem meum et Patrem uestrum,
deum meum et deum uestrum. Horum uerborum auctoritas, cum iam
 eorum uirtutem Spiritus sanctus intimasset, omnem poterat
 5 excludere diffidentiam. Et hilarescebant animi eorum,
 paternitatis diuine illustrati honore et fraternitatis Christi
 honorati consortio, cum audirent et crederent se filios dei et
 fratres Christi, in quo omnis excellentie plenitudo et suf-
 ficientia inerat. Nec iam quasi idiote et hebetes huic uerbo
 10 applaudebant carnaliter, sed subtilissime generationem et dig-
 nitatem creature a uoluntate et nutu creatoris habuisse initium
 et imaginem et similitudinem dei in interiori homine uidebant et
 dinoscebant intellectu potius quam uisu quam affinitatem habeant
 inter se Pater et Filius et quia, substantiuo et naturali Filio
 15 filii adoptiui conformes, a prima origine multa habeant ex natura
 et multa ex gratia.

(4) Sane huius generositatis consortium, secundum quam simul
 cum Christo filii dei sumus, nobilitatem existentie nostre
 exponit et intimat. In quo honore si manserimus non degeneres,

3.2-3 Ioh. 20.17
 7-8 Ioh. 20.17; Matth. 28.10
 12 See Gen. 1.26
 14-15 Cf. Gal. 4.5

20 transferrentur] -feren- M, ex -feren- corr. TB
 3.2 congregatis L
 3 ad ante deum¹ add. L
 10 apludebant B
 13-14 affinitatem post se transp. C
 4.1 generositati L

constat omnino non posse Patrem dissidere a filiis, sed
 5 deiformibus tutum esse ad paternitatem accessum nec posse pati ad
 hereditatem possidendam dispositos in petitionibus diuinis repul-
 sam. Sed in quibuscumque filius filialiter genitorem appel-
 lauerit, necesse est bonitatem largitoris iuste supplicantis
 10 prosequi uoluntatem, maxime cum ipse Pater qui largitur iusta
 suggerat peti, que non differt benigne largiri. Et quidem
 paterna caritas bonis filiis et heredibus maxime delectatur et
 hoc glorie Christi unigeniti dilecti accumulatur, quod beatitudinis
 sue non patitur esse solitariam magnitudinem, sed addit fratres,
 non qui minuant quasi diuisam in plures excellentiam, sed qui
 15 altitudinem diuitiarum eius exornent participes et consortes.
 Quod cum ipsum qui Pater est constet esse deum et eum deum
 nostrum, sicut et suum Filius attestetur, in eo quod filii sumus,
 ipse nos possidet; in eo quod noster est deus, quod nostrum est,
 ipsum, cuius proprii sumus, proprie possidemus.

5 Cf. Rom. 5.2

5-7 Cf. Ioh. 14.12-14; I Ioh. 5.14

8-9 Cf. Matth. 7.11

12 See Ioh. 1.14; Matth. 3.17

15 Rom. 11.33 (Vg: altitudo)

12 dilectio L

14 minuant] muni- P, ex muni- corr. C quasi om. O in
 plures] implentes L (cum syllaba ultima in ras.)

16 qui] quod C

17-18 filii sumus... in eo quod om. O

18 quod²] quasi L est² om. L

- (5) Dico igitur domino meo, deus meus es tu, et dicit michi dominus meus, Ego dominus deus tuus. Homo, cuius deus est, quid amplius querit? Si sufficis tu deo, sufficiat tibi deus!
- 4 Bonorum tuorum deus non indiget nec conferre potes ei quippiam
 PL nec auferre. Si esurierit, non dicet tibi. Eius est orbis et
 1669 plenitudo eius et magnitudinem eius celi celorum non capiunt.
- Non infirmatur, non eget indumento uel cibo. Omnia scit, omnia potest, omnia continet. In ipso omnes uiuimus, mouemur et sumus.
- Quid tu ei quasi indigo conferes? Te solum bonitate, non necessitate desiderat. Scriptum est et ipso iubente tabulis
- 10 insculptum lapideis, ut diligas eum ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua et ex tota mente tua. Dilige et diligeris! Prope est merces tua. In manibus porrigitur premium. Esto tu ei! Erit tuus deus tuus. Impar sane commercium, pretium inequale, sed qui
- 15 pro nobis triginta argenteis appreciatus est hoc in pretio huiusmodi intelligi uoluit, ut adimpletio legis, que in proximi dilec-

 5.1 Pss. 15.2, 30.15, 139.7

2 Ex. 20.2 (Vg: ego sum). See also Pss. 80.11, 49.7

5-6 Ps. 49.12 (Vg: esuriero... dicam... meus est enim orbis terrarum...)

6 See III Reg. 8.27

8 Act. 17.28 (Vg: In ipso enim vivimus et...)

10-11 See Deut. 6.5

11-12 Matth. 22.37 (Vg: diliges Dom. Deum tuum)

15 Zach. 11.13 (Vg: sum); Matth. 26.5, 27.5

 5.10 ipso et in [sic] tabulis iubente L

12 ex om. O

13 tu] tamen L

15-16 est hoc in pretio huiusmodi om. e

16-19 ut... obtulisset om. e et sqq. suppl. quanta fuerit in precio quod pro eo datum est: et in eo quod ipse dedit pro mundo dissimilitudo: cum ipse exiguo argento emptus et venditus: tanto precio damnatos redimeret: ut dubium esse non possit quin precii magnitudo superaret negocium. nec equari posset damnum quod omnino damnatio iusta meruerat: obedientie christi que gratis usque ad

tione consistit, ternario et denario figurata, fide et opere mereretur conditori suo uniri et iungi, ut haberet homo deum proprium suum, cui se proprie et singulariter obtulisset.

(6) His intellectis apostolis, sicut filii prophetarum olim uerum Heliam ascensurum sciebant, et horam illam prestolabantur gaudentes nec iam anxiantur parturientes, sed exorta leticia parati erant prosequi recedentem, minime dubitantes, quin et ipsi
 5 post modicum conuersationis huius, postquam de torrente passionis in uia hac bibissent, exaltato capite et erecto se ad celestia dominum secuturos. Eleuatis igitur manibus hereditariam eis benedictionem relinquens non manufacto uehiculo nec auxiliaribus carpentis euectus est Christus, sed nature diuine propria usus
 10 uirtute carnem celo intulit et corpus glorificatum Patris conspectibus presentauit. Non indignit uectoribus angelis, qui offendicula tollentes e medio ferrent eum in manibus, sed precedentes et subsequentes applaudebant uictori et concinentes in iubilatione modulabantur canticum nouum et implebat celos con-

 16-17 See Rom. 13.8

6.1-2 See IV Reg. 2.3,5,7

5-6 Ps. 109.7 (Vg: bibet)

7 Luc. 24.50-51

11 See Ps. 90.12

14 Ps. 32.3, 39.4, 95.1, 97.1, 143.9, 149.1

 mortem progressa est: et vitro soluit quod non debebat.

18 coniungi L

6.1 apostolis] -li LBOe. ad -li mut. C

2 sciebant] putabunt C, ad putabunt mut. B

3 anxiebantur CBLO (per corr. tertia syllabae L)

4 quin et ipsi] Soloecismum esse asseruit Pamelius, sed fort. anacoluthon est

6 erectos L

8 manufacto] manifestato L

- 15 sonantie illius armonia, thronis et dominationibus parantibus
 Filio iuxta Patrem consessum, cherubin et seraphin pedes
 pacificos ambientibus, radiantibus undique diuinis claritatibus
 et splendoribus supercelestibus, quos nec ardor perseuerans con-
 sumit nec turbinis alicuius afflatus extinguit nec interpolatio
 20 caliginis ullius abscondit. Celebrat tanti triumphi mag-
 nificentiam letabundus celestis exercitus et qui descendent
 coram pastoribus Bethleemitis decantauertunt in sublime preconia
 modo expressioribus conatibus et intensioribus iubilis reuertenti
 ad Patrem sollempniora obsequia impendebant et festiuis affec-
 25 tibus uenerabantur hominem supra se sublimatum, quem gloria et
honore coronauerat Pater et ad dexteram suam collocatum, hoc dato
 ei priuilegio singulari, ut in nomine eius omne genu flecteretur
 et super omne nomen eius nomen excellentius coleretur.

PL (7) Quanta in eius susceptione in celis iocunditas fuerit
 1670 nemo sufficit enarrare. Rei huius magnificentia omnem superat
 intellectum. Si linguis hominum uel angelorum quis eloquatur uel
 ad hoc cuiuslibet elaboret acumen ingenii, ut diffinire uelit que

15 See Col. 1.16
 16-17 Cf. Is. 52.7; Nah. 1.15
 21-22 See Luc. 2.9
 25-26 Ps. 8.6-7 (Vg: coronasti)
 26-27 See Matth. 26.64
 27 Phil. 2.10 (Vg: Iesu... flectat)
 7.3 I Cor. 13.1 (Vg: hominum loquar et...)

16-17 pacificos pedes B
 19 conflatus L
 25 sublimatum] -limitatum B
 26 et om. O
 7.3 loquatur O

- 5 Patris in reditu Filii hilaritas fuerit, aut si forte illud
 sempiternum gaudium aliquod tunc admiserit incrementum (si
 stabilitatis eterne se aliquomodo mutare possit immobilis mag-
 nitudo), scrutator ille maiestatis opprimetur a gloria. Et
 uerendum est, ne, dum uehementius exprimit ubera quam oportet,
 10 sanguinem pro lacte emungat. Attamen inuisibilem deum uisibilem
 Filium recepissee ad dexteram suam manifestum est et humilitatem
 carnis nostre throno iudiciario honoratam paterne complacuisse
 altitudini duo genera gentium ciuitati superne, de qua gloriosa
dicta sunt, deinceps assignare: et esse supra mansionarios
 15 homines et angelos et beatitudinis illius gloriam his duobus
 ordinibus in perpetuum frequentari. Hec merces obedientie
 Christi, hec crucis et mortis stipendia. Hoc passionis labor
 promeruit, ut corpus humilitatis nostre fieret corpori claritatis
 Christi conforme et mortale hoc indueret immortalitatem et cor-
 20 ruptibile incorruptionem et fierent homines cum Christo in
 celestibus iudices, qui cum eo iudicia pertulerant malignorum et

8 Prou. 25.27 (Vg: est maiestatis opprimitur gloria)
 9-10 Prou. 30.33 (Vg: fortiter premit ubera ad eliciendum lac
exprimit butyrum et qui uehementer emungitur elicit sanguinem)
 13-14 Ps. 86.3
 18 Phil. 3.21
 19 I Cor. 15.53
 20-21 See Matth. 19.28

7 mutari CBe
 9 ubera] verba e
 11 et om. MT
 12 placuisse C
 15 ab ante his add. L
 17 Hoc] hic e

extiterant usque ad mortem tribulationum consortes. Hac die
 primum inuecta est celis hec nouitas inaudita et gaudisus est
 Pater hereditate amplificata, sobole multiplicata promissionibus,
 25 quas locutus fuerat in prophetis, redditus et completis.

(8) Solum ad hec que predicta sunt restat iudicium et
 examinationi ultime adhuc reseruant antiqua oracula locum. De
 iudicio quippe et angustia Christo sublato superest post
 recordie tempora, que ad finem festinant, ut iusticiam com-
 5 mitetur iudicium et habeant singuli quod merentur et honoretur
 honore dignus et contemptor confundatur inglorius. Hoc et duo
 angeli Christo ascendente testati sunt, quia qui iudicatus abibat
 iudex esset terribilis rediturus et uideret collecta in unum gen-
 eralitas hominum quas foderat manus, quod terebrauerat latus,
 10 faciem quam conspuerat, et prolata in medium inflexibili
 sententia (occurrentibus saluatori electis) remaneant impii,
 infinitis deputati tormentis. Quanta illud edictum sequentur
 lamenta! Illius ultime tube clangor quam horribilis erit! Con-
 tinuus erit et superfluous illarum lacrimarum decursus. Stridorem
 15 illum dentium flamme inextinguibiles agitabunt. Immortales

24 Cf. Rom. 8.17
 24-25 See Luc. 24.27
 8.4-6 Act. 1.10-11; cf. Matth. 25.31-32
 11-12 See. Matth. 25.46
 13 Cf. I Cor. 15.52
 14-15 See Matth. 24.51, 25.30

8.2 adhuc] ad hoc C oracula] inditia O
 4 iusticia L
 4-5 comitetur] oblitt. P, comminetur L
 7 testati] testificati O
 8-9 generalitas hominum collecta in unum B

miseri uiuent inter incendia et inconsumptibiles flamme nudum
 corpus allambent. Ardebit purpuratus diues nec erit qui estuant
 lingue stillam aque infundat. In proprio adipe fraxe libidines
 bullient et inter sartagines flameas miserabilia corpora
 20 cremabuntur et omni tormento atrocius desperatio condemnatos
 affliget.

(9) Non miserebitur ultra deus neque tunc audiet penitentes.
 Sera erit illa confessio et, cum clausa fuerit ianua, frustra
 PL carentes oleo acclamabunt exclusi. Nullum ibi refrigerium, nul-
 1671 lum remedium. Semel Christus descendit ad inferos, ulterius non
 5 descendet. Non ultra uidebunt deum in tenebris sigillati.
 Irregressibilis erit illa sententia et immutabile iudicium et
 stabit dampnationis huius immobile constitutum. Exultabunt sane
 sancti in gloria. Videbunt deum et gaudebunt. Letabuntur et
 delectabuntur et fruentur gloria et in felicitate iocundabuntur
 10 eterna. Ibi non gustabunt quam suauiſ sit deus, sed implebuntur
 et satiabuntur dulcedine mirifica. Nichil eis deerit, nichil
 oberit. Omne desiderium eorum Christus presens implebit. Non
 senescent, non tabescent, non putrescent amplius perpetua
 sanitas. Felix eternitas beatitudinis illius sufficientiam con-

 17-18 See Luc. 16.19,24

9.2 Matth. 25.10-12 (Vg: est)

3-4 Cf. Luc. 16.24

4 See I Pet. 3.19

8 Matth. 5.9 (Vg: Deum vid.)

10 Ps. 33.9 (Vg: gustate... quoniam... est...)

12 Phil. 4.19

 9.8 letabuntur gaudebunt Q

14 illius] illis e

15 firmabunt. Non erit concupiscentia in membris, non ultra ulla
 exurget rebellio carnis, sed totus hominis status pudicus et
 pacificus (sana ex integro natura) sine omni macula et ruga dein-
 ceptus permanebit. Erit denique deus omnia in omnibus et illius
 presentia omnes anime et corporis implebit appetitus. Cessabunt-
 20 que de cetero consummatis omnibus ministratorii angelicarum
 uirtutum discursus et (impleta ordinataque omnino ciuitate dei)
 nec innouabitur nec mutabitur ultra fixe et consummate
 beatitudinis status.

(10) Ei igitur ante cuius tribunal stabimus, qui nunc uultui
dei apparet pro nobis, cui de nobis tanta cura fuit, ut pro nobis
 uellet nasci et mori, in presenti quesumus, ut sit cura curandi
 nos et nobis auctoritatem et potestatem iudicandi nosmetipsos et
 5 corrigendi concedat, ut in illo terribili iudicio suo inter
 electos asciti et congregati, liberi a seruitute et captiuitate
 peccati celestibus ciuibus coniungamur et fruamur bonis, que ipse
 diligentibus se repromisit, que nec oculus uidit nec auris
audiuit.

 17 Cf. Eph. 5.27
 18 I Cor. 15.28
 10.1 Rom. 14.10 (Vg: stab. ante trib. Dei)
 1-2 Hebr. 9.24 (Vg: appareat nunc...)
 8-9 I Cor. 2.9 (Vg: oculus non...)

 15 ulla om. O
 15-16 exurget ulla CB
 16 uel post exurget add. L
 10.1 Ei] Eum MT
 8 nec²] ne fort. PM
 9 audit L, ut uid.

XII. DE SPIRITU SANCTO

PL (1) Adesto, sancte Spiritus, et paraclisim tuam
1671
expectantibus illabere celitus. Sanctifica templum corporis
nostri et consecra inhabitaculum tuum. Desiderantes te animas
tua presentia letifica. Dignam te habitatore domum compone.
5 Adorna thalamum tuum et quietis tue reclinatorium circumda
uarietatibus uirtutum. Sterne pauimenta pigmentis. Niteat
mansio tua carbunculis flammeis et gemmarum splendoribus et
omnium karismatum intrinsecus spirent odoramenta. Affatim bal-
sami liquor fragrantia sua cubiculum tuum imbuat et abigens inde
10 quicquid tabidum est, quicquid corruptele seminarium, stabile et
perpetuum hoc facias gaudium nostrum et creationis tue
renouationem in decore immarcessibili solides in eternum.

1.2-3 See I Cor. 6.19

3 Cf. Rom. 8.9

3-4 Cf. Ps. 41.1

8 Cf. I Cor. 12.31

Tit. PMTCBL De sancto spiritu e Sermo de sancto spiritu
In Pentecoste O
1.4 presentia tua L
8 odoramenta] ordina- B
9 tuum] suum L
11 facies B

(2) Interfuimus sacre Verbi infantie et puerperio uirginis
obsecuti sumus. Cum celesti militia gloriam decantauimus
paruulo. Confessi sumus omnipotentem, quem in cunabulis uidimus
4 uagientem. Circumcisionis celebrauimus sacramenta et (truncato
PL preputio uoluptatum) sanctimonie didicimus mancipari. Inter-
1672 fuimus baptismati saluatoris et (audita Patris uoce de celis) ad
obediendum Christo traditi sumus et instructi celitus quomodo
Patrem et Filium dilectio iungat et uniat, ita ut in ipsis
nominibus intimetur distinctio personarum et nature unitas
10 eidentissime innotescat. Sed et Spiritum sanctum in specie
columbe inter illa misteria uidimus et intelleximus ex illa
specie gemitus penitentie et desideria contemplationis diuine ex
simplicitate cordis et innocentia uite immaculate incessanter
prodire et neminem, nisi suspiriis huiusmodi precedentibus et
15 inspiratione diuina monente, posse ad celestia aspirare, ut
suspiratio et inspiratio et aspiratio a sancto Spiritu et causam
habeant et effectum et materiam et prouentum. Secuti quoque
sumus in heremum dominum ieiunantem et repulsa potenter diaboli
uidimus temptamenta. Interfuimus cene et de calice domini
20 bibimus, pedes lauimus, mortui sumus cum Christo et ecce uiuimus.

2.13 Sap. 1.1
20 II Cor. 6.9

2.14-15 suspiriis... aspirare. See note to VI.19.3-4 above.

2.3-4 uagientem uidimus C
9 eis post unitas add. L
16 spiritu sancto B
18-19 uidimus diaboli Q
20 et post lauimus add. L

Prosequimur ascendentem et prestolamur promissum nobis Spiritum sanctum, cuius unctio nos de omnibus doceat, qui inuisibili magisterio nos doceat et celestibus instruat disciplinis, qui carnales hebetet sensus et conterat appetitus.

(3) Hic Spiritus sanctus ab ipso mundi initio aquis legitur superfusus, non materialibus aquis quasi uehicul. egens, quas potius ipse ferebat et complectentibus firmamentum dabat congruum motum et limitem prefinitum. Huius sempiterna uirtus et
 5 diuinitas, cum in propria natura ab inquisitoribus mundi antiquis philosophis proprie inuestigari non posset, subtilissimis tamen intuiti sunt coniecturis compositionem mundi, compositis et distinctis elementorum affectibus presentem, omnibus animam affuisse, que secundum genus et ordinem singulorum uitam preberet
 10 et motum et intransgressibiles figeret metas et stabilitatem assignaret et usum. Hanc uitam, hunc motum, hanc rerum essentiam animam mundi philosophi uocauerunt, putantes celestia corpora

 22 See Ioh. 14.26

3.1-2 See Gen. 1.2 3-4 See Gen. 1.6

4-5 Rom. 1.20 (Vg: semp. quoque eius virt. et diy.)

 3.4-11 Huius sempiterna... usum. Cf. Theodoric of Chartres, Tractatus de sex dierum operibus 35-28 (Häring ed., p. 566f.; quoted in T. Gregory, Anima Mundi (Florence, 1955), p. 134, n. 2).

 21 nobis promissum C

21-22 sanctum spiritum B

3.3 ipse potius B

6 philosophis] prophetis a. corr. fort. L
 proprie B

inuestigari

12 philosophi] prophetae a. corr. fort. L
add. L corpora celestia B

et post uocauerunt

(solem dico et lunam et stellas ipsumque firmamentum) huius anime
uirtute moueri et regi et aquas et terram et aerem huius semine
15 impregnari. Qui si spiritum et dominum et creatorem et
uiuificatorem et nutritorem crederent omnium, que sub ipso sunt,
conuenientem haberent ad fidem accessum. Sed abscondita est a
sapientibus et prudentibus tante rei maiestas nec potuit humani
fastus ingenii secretis interesse celestibus et penetrare ad
20 superessentialis nature altitudinem. Et licet intelligerent quod
uere esset creatrix et gubernatrix rerum diuinitas, distinguere
tamen nullo modo potuerunt que esset deitatis trinitas uel que
unitas uel que personarum proprietas.

(4) Superferebatur quidem elemento purificatorio Spiritus
sanctificator, iam tunc baptismi uirtutem enuntians. Iam tunc
illa prefigurabantur tempora, quibus archa Noe aquis inuecta
4 diluuii uiri iusti familiam conseruauit illesam, abolita gener-
atione adultera. Qui in filiabus hominum bestiali petulantia
PL
1673 effrenes impudenter se illis commiscuerant nec diuinos nec

13 Cf. Gen. 1.14-17

17-18 Cf. Is. 29.14

20-21 Cf. Rom. 1.20

4.1 See Gen. 1.2

4 Gen. 6.9 (Vg: uir iustus)

4-5 Matth. 12.38 (Vg: generatio mala et adultera)

11-15 Hanc uitam... impregnari. See T. Gregory, Anima Mundi
(Florence, 1955), p. 138. Cf. Arnold, Hexaemeron, PL 189.1515A-B.
20 superessentialis nature. Cf. John Scotus Eriugena,
Periphyseon I.14 & IV.1 (PL 122.460C & 741C).

13 anime huius L

4.2 sanctificator] purifi- C enuntians] annun- Q

3 prefigurabantur] purifica- B

humanos nec in flagitiis publicis uerebantur aspectus. Archam
 illam, que typum gerebat ecclesie, Spiritus sanctus et tunc
 regebat et adhuc regit, extra quam quisquis perfidus euagatur,
 10 inuolutus fluctibus mergitur in profundum. Et impossibile est
 eum uiuere, cui non superfertur Spiritus uite, cuius uiuificus
 calor animat omnia et fouet et prouehit et fecundat.

(5) Hic Spiritus sanctus, omnium uiuentium anima, ita
 largitate sua se omnibus habundanter infundit, ut habeant omnia
 rationabilia et irrationabilia secundum genus suum ex eo quod
 sunt et quod in suo ordine sue nature competentia agunt (non quod
 5 ipse sit substantialis anima singulis!), et in se singulariter
 manens de plenitudine sua distributor magnificus proprias
 efficientias singulis diuidit et largitur et (quasi sol omnia
 calefaciens) subiecta omnia nutrit et absque ulla sui diminutione
 integritatem suam de inexhausta habundantia quod satis est et
 10 sufficit omnibus commodat et impertit.

 5-7 See Gen. 6.5

5.5-7 Cf. Sap. 7.27 7 I Cor. 12.11 (Vg: diuidens sing.)

 5.1-10 Hic Spiritus... impertit. See T. Gregory, Anima Mundi
 (Florence, 1955), p. 137f.

 5.2 omnibus se B

4 sue nature om. L

5 substantialis sit C et] sed L

7 diuidit et largitur singulis L

10 impartit e

- (6) Hic Spiritus Rubri Maris aquas siccauit et (suspensis hinc inde uehementibus fluctibus) ab ollis carniū et Egypti pulmentariis populum ad spiritalem heremi cibum eduxit incolumem et alimoniis celestibus paut, man ~~quasi~~ rorem matutinum infundens
- 5 graminibus, quod colligi usum est ad mensuram. Aderat plena mensura per totam ebdomadam, uacante sabbati die, cui sexta precedens dies, consueti uictus duplicans quantitatem, octaue prefigurabat quietem, in qua absque labore et sollicitudine in deliciis epulabuntur electi et satiabuntur in terra sua duplicia
- 10 possidentes, corporis et anime felici perhennitate perhenni felicitate ditati. Hic est Spiritus sanctus, quem magi in Egipto tertii signi ostensione conuicti, cum sua defecisse prestigia faterentur, dei digitum appellarunt. Antiquis philosophis eius intimarunt presentiam defuisse et licet de Patre et Filio aliqua
- 15 sensissent platonici, spiritus tamen tumidus et humani appetitor fauoris sanctificationem intellectus diuini mereri non potuit. Et ubi ad profunditatem sacramentorum uentum est, omnis eorum caligauit subtilitas nec potuit infidelitas sanctitudini propin-

6.1 See Ex. 14.21
 2 Ex. 16.3 (Vg: super ollas)
 4-6 See Ex. 16.4-5
 9-10 Is. 61.7 (Vg: possidebunt)
 13 Ex. 8.19 (Vg: digitus Dei)
 17 Cf. Eph. 3.9

6.3 cibum om. e
 4 manna CBL0e
 9 satiabuntur] satura- e
 10 et post perhennitate add. MTCBL0e (sed per superscr. C)
 13 philosophis] prophetis L

quare.

(7) Hic digitus dei mundane iudex et uindex perfidie noui tempore testamenti potenter expellit demonia nec laborat agendo, sed solo nutu perficit omnia. Quod dicit facit, quod iubet implet. Secreta indicat, pandit occulta, reuelat ignota.

- 5 Hebetat acutos et perspicaces confutat. Hoc digito in lapideis tabulis lex primum conscripta quinquagesimo die post egressum Israel de Egypto in Monte Sina Moisi est commendata. Sed populus nequam et gens dure ceruicis, a quorum animis terror ille reces-
serat, quem mons ardens et flammea iuga et clangor buccine et
10 lampades chorusce et horrenda tonitrua nuper incusserant, in apostasiam conuersi et de Moysi reditu desperantes, lege diuinitus missa indigni iudicati sunt, quam in oculis eorum
PL Moyses, frangens tabulas, tam uerba quam instrumenta comminuit et
1674 deleuit. Qui etiam (sceleris ultione patrata) reuersus in montem
15 ad dominum, quadraginta diebus ieiunans et colloquens tandem obtinuit, ut ipse alias de saxo ad instar priorum excideret

7.1-2 See Luc. 11.20
5-7 See Ex. 19.1, 24.12
8 Ex. 32.9
9-10 See Ex. 20.18
10-11 See Ex. 32.1
13 See Ex. 32.19
14-15 See Ex. 34.4
15-16 See Ex. 34.28

6.13-19 Antiquis... propinquare. Cf. Augustine, Confessiones VII.ix.13-15 (LCL, vol. I, pp. 364-370).

7.1 iudex] in- fort. P
14 Qui] Quin e

tabulas, in quibus eandem, que in primis fuerat, scripturam
 insculperet et formaret. Factumque est mirabili dispensatione
 superni iudicii, ut lex quam sanctus scripserat Spiritus
 20 deleretur et quam manus humana restituit in posterum teneretur.

(8) Quod ea ratione credi potest sic actum, ut populus
 prior, secundum carnem ambulans et uiuens, diuinis colloquiis et
 spiritualibus mandatis ostenderetur indignus nec posse mentes
 perfidas sancta percipere nec intelligere sacramenta, que
 5 exemplarium tegmine uelabantur. Porro testamenti noui que
 Christo euangelizante patuit ueritas, uerbo Christi prolata,
 indissolubilis permansit et solida deinde stabilitatis perpetue
 auctoritate fulcita est, eo quod ablatam gratiam humiles sus-
 ceperunt et quod Filius inter pauperes spiritu inuenit sibi
 10 domum, in qua caput reclinaret. Et merito reprobatos uisibiles
 tabule inuisibilis dei indicant contemptores et ampliori dignos
 honore incarnati Verbi credulos auditores et deuotos ueneratores.

(9) Lex igitur a paschalis agni immolatione die quin-
 quagesimo datur et pentecostes nomen tante rei sollempnitas ex
 lege accepit, in ipso dierum numero sacramenti magni complicans

 16-17 Ex. 34.1 (Vg: tabulas lapideas instar priorum)
 8.2 Rom. 8.1,4
 4-5 See Hebr. 8.5, 9.23
 9 Matth. 5.3
 10 Matth. 8.20 (Vg: ubi... reclinet)
 9.1-2 See Leu. 23.15-16
 2-3 See Act. 2.1

 19 sanctus] spiritus CB (hic per corr.)
 20 deleret CB
 8.5 noui testamenti L
 8 oblatam MTO

rationem. Septenarius quippe numerus, septies reuolutus, quin-
 5 quagesimum efficit addito monade. Qui (presentis seculi meta et
 futuri initium) perpetuitatem sub octaue nomine continens sic
 presentia terminat, ut nos ad perpetua introducat. Sacratu hic
 septenarius numerus a conditione mundi auctoritatem obtinuit,
 quoniam in sex diebus prima dei opera patrata sunt et septima
 10 consecrata quieti, quasi sancta et sanctificans, sollempnitate
 uocationis honorata et Spiritui sanctificatori additulata. Vnde
 et cessanti a seruilibus operibus populo iubetur, ut diem sabbati
sanctificet et Spiritui rectitudinis et sanctitudinis et forti-
 tudinis ascribat quod directe, quod honeste, quod uiriliter
 15 incedit, quia totum ex eius constat ducatu, quod deuii
 diriguntur, quod impii conuertuntur, quod debiles confirmantur.
 Spiritus rectus, Spiritus sanctus, Spiritus principalis regit,
 componit, consummat et perficit quas inhabitat mentes et corda
 que possidet nec errare patitur nec corrumpi nec uinci quos
 20 docuerit, quos possederit, quos gladio potentissime uirtutis
 accinxerit.

9-10 See Gen. 2.2-3

12-13 Ex. 20.8 (Vg: sanctifices)

17 Cf. Ps. 50.12-14

20-21 See Eph. 6.17

9.5 metam L

10 sanctificant L

11 uocationis CB (ille per corr.)

spiritu PCe (C a. corr.)

17 sanctus... rectus C

(10) Septenarius iste ex quaternario et ternario constans,
 cum in se propter predictas causas honorabilis habeatur, habet ex
 partibus suis excellentiam maximam, quia artificis et materie
 uidetur exprimere et distinguere primas substantias, ut ternarius
 5 creatorem propter Trinitatem enuntiet et quaternarius creaturam
 propter quatuor elementa, que rerum omnium cause sunt et semina,
 sub huius numeri breuitate concludat. Spiritus sanctus a Patre
 PL procedens a Patre et Filio quaternario superfertur et conditor
 1675 benignus opus suum amplectitur et diligit quod plasmauit et
 10 creaturam suam Spiritus ipse sanctificat et consociat sibi et
 caritatis nexu statuit et conquadrat. His aliisque secretioribus
 rationibus, quas illustrium uirorum subtiliora ingenia
 indagarunt, septenarius numerus in scripturis sanctis sepe
 sacramentales causas complectitur et simplex et multiplicatus
 15 necessarios ad intelligentiam diuinorum operum parturit
 intellectus.

 7-8 Ioh. 15.26 (Vg: procedit)
 8 See Gen. 1.2

 10.6 propter quatuor... semina. Cf. Augustine, De Trinitate
 III.viii.13 (Mountain & Glorie ed., CCSL L, pp. 139-141); John
 Scotus Eriugena, Periphyseon III.16 & 26 (PL 122.672A-B & 695A-
 696A).

 10.4 primas] -marias e
 5 creatricem post propter add. CB (ille parte i.m., hic per
superscr.)
 8 a Patre om. CBLO
 10 Spiritus] sanctus e ipse] sanctus L sibi om. L
 11 caritatis] clari- MT statuit] consti- l
 14 et² om. O

(11) In ebdomadibus apud Hebreos dies septimus sabbatum, id est requies appellatur. Qui numerus non tantum in septimanis, sed etiam observatur in annis et (annorum ebdomada consummata) septimus annus requietionis est. Et ipsi terre sabbatum
 5 imperatur nec fas est cuiquam eo anno serere uel metere quippiam, sed que sponte siue in terra siue in uineis uel arboribus nascuntur, alimonie pauperum deputantur. Annorum quoque septimane apud Hebreos quinquagesimum annum faciunt, quem iubeleum appellant, in quo decreto legis, ut supra dictum est, fit terre remis-
 10 sio et seruorum libertas et restitutio possessionum, quas eatenus distractio alienauerat, et cetera huiusmodi gratis ad hereditatis originem reuertuntur.

(12) De numero septenario cum multa dicta sint, plura supersunt, que in lege et euangelio precipue commendantur. Quinquagesimus itaque annus perficit iubeleum. Quinquagesimus dies a pascha pentecosten facit, in quo uere (Spiritu sancto infuso
 5 apostolis) ad hereditatem celestem, a qua uenundati sub peccato

 11.1-2 See Ex. 16.23
 2-4 See Ex. 23.10-11; Leu. 25.3-4
 6-7 Cf. Leu. 25.5,11
 7-12 See Leu. 25.10-13
 12.4 See Act. 2.1-3
 5 Rom. 6.14 (Vg: uenundatus)

 11.2 tantum] tam PCBLe
 3 in annis observatur L
 5 eo anno cuiquam C
 6 terris L in ante arboribus add. e
 12 originem] ordinem e
 12.3 a] post Q, om. erd, sed rest. aliquis ante Pamelium
 castigatōr
 4 facit pentecosten L

- exulabant, quos diabolo domino mendicitas et egestas subiecerat, reuertuntur. Septem sacerdotalibus clangentibus tubis Iherico corruit. Septem petitionibus orandum Patrem Filius docuit. Remissio peccatorum duplicato septies septenario Petro mandatur.
- 10 Leprosus septimi diei inspectione a sacerdote iudicatur. Summi sacerdotis in septem diebus consecratio consummatur. Dominus Iesus Christus de septem panibus quinque milia hominum reficit et iustus quisque deo laudes per diem septies dicit. Ipse dominus Iesus ab Adam secundum generationes, quas Lucas commemorat, septuagesimus septimus inuenitur, ut ultionem in Lamech septuagies septies promulgatam ueniens terminaret. Septem diebus in pascha editur azima. Septem diebus mense septimo tabernaculorum sollempnitas celebratur. In septem annis templum a Salomone construitur. Septem brachiis et totidem luminibus candelabrum
- 15
- 20 adornatur.

7-8 See Ios. 6.4
 8 Cf. Matth. 6.9-13
 9 See Matth. 18.22
 10 See Leu. 13.5
 11-12 See Marc. 8.5
 13 See Ps. 118.164
 13-15 See Luc. 3.23-38
 15-16 See Gen. 4.24
 16-17 See Ex. 12.15
 17-18 See Leu. 23.34
 18-19 See III Reg. 6.38
 19-20 See Ex. 25.37

12 IHS B Christus om. B
 14 IHS B

(13) Celebamus tam nos quam Iudei quinquagesimum diem, sed illi in typo, nos autem in ueritate non tam significamus quam agimus. Pentecosten igitur celebrantes commemorauimus que olim sub Moyse in ueteri testamento sunt acta et que sub Christo facta sunt. Post cuius ascensionem in celos Spiritus sanctus uisibiliter super apostolos in linguis igneis apparuit et ad instar prioris seculi uniuersitatem fidelium unius labii esse uoluit, ut quorum erat cor unum et anima una, una esset et lingua nec posset impedire intellectum credentium aliqua diuersitas uerborum. Sed euangelica doctrina propria lingua prolata ad omnium auditum eandem efficientiam obtineret, ut Grecis et barbaris omnibusque gentibus uerbum euangelii sic esset intelligibile, ac si in eorum auribus lingue in qua nati erant ydiomata resonarent. Aderant Medi et Elamite, Mesopotameni et Arabes. Hi omnes, dum Hebraea lingua apostoli predicarent, locutio Iudaica enuntiationis sue articulos cursu consueto euoluens nullo exponebatur interprete, sed uerbo eorum per Spiritum sanctum hec inerat uirtus et gratia, ut habitantes Pontum et Asiam suam esse dicerent linguam, quam audiebant, quasi primitiue lingue libertas ad antiquitatis

13.5-6 See Act. 2.1-3

7 See Gen. 11.1 (Vg: labii unius) 8 Act. 4.32

13.4 acta sunt L

6 igneis linguis L

9 nec ad ne mut. M, ne TO

12 sic] se P

17 hec om. e

18 dicerent esse L

19 audierant Q

20 reuersa originem confusionis contumeliam euasisset. Nec tantum
apostolis collata est hec gratia, sed et multitudini credentium
idem Spiritus superfusus est. Intus ardentibus, extra
loquentibus et complectebantur se dilectio et uerbum et de calore
Spiritus sermo feruebat ignitus.

(14) Iam omni timore excluso obedire se deo magis quam
hominibus publice profitebantur et uidebatur eis gloria, si pro
Christo iniuriam paterentur. Ad hunc modum olim Moysi iussum
est, ut in uiros septuaginta, quos ipse presbiteros iudicaret, de
5 spiritu suo partiretur, ut in negotiis partem gererent sol-
licitudinis. Quibus cum imposuisset Moyses manus, requieuit in
eis Spiritus sanctus, qui non Moysi ablatum est, quasi ipse sine
Spiritu remaneret uel idem Spiritus secaretur in partes, sed
secundum mensuram donationis diuine, que erat in Moyse, gratia
10 singularis facta est multiplex et communis et data est multis in
eo potestas, quod prius solius Moysi disponebat auctoritas. Sic
Helye spiritum duplicem recipit Heliseus, non quod in duas sub-
stantias idem Spiritus sit diuisus et duos propheta sanctus
habuerit spiritus, sed quod populo christiano, cuius typum

10-20 See Act. 2.7-12

20 See Gen. 11.9

20-22 See Act. 2.38

14.1-2 Act. 5.29 (Vg: oboedire oportet Deo...)

3-7 See Num. 11.25

11-12 See IV Reg. 2.9

21 et om. e

22 ardentibus] -tius Pe (sed corr. r), -tius a. corr. CB

14.5 suo] sancto Q

12-13 substantias duas B substantia L

13 prophetas MTO

15 Heliseus gerebat, (accepto Spiritu sancto) data sit potestas in opere et sermone et ascendentem Heliam, id est Christum, pio desiderio prosecutus fide claruerit et intellectu et uita, et signis et miraculis fulserit et exemplis.

(15) Hic sacrorum ordinum distributor reges creat et principes, sacrat pontifices, eligit sacerdotes. Hic sapientia Salomonem, intellectu Danielelem, Ioseph consilio, Sanson fortitudine, Moysen scientia, Daud pietate, Iob timore prosequitur et
 5 sanctorum animas omnimodis fecundat uirtutibus, in tantum affectus pacificos prouehens, ut iam in celis nostra sit conuersatio, diffusa in nobis caritate per Spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis. Hic in pudicis mentibus sibi statuit mansionem. Hic humiles et celibes habet domesticos. Abominatur erarios,
 10 falsarios detestatur. Hic Giezi mercennarium lepra condempnat et Ieroboam uendentem sacerdotia cum apostatis locat. Hic Simonem gratie dei nundinatorem a sanctorum consortio exheredat, cuius
 PL detestabiles ausus ultrix ruina confundit et quassat. Hic Balaam
 1677 ad maledicendum conducto silentium imponit et per asinam
 15 redargutum (colliso ad parietem pede), uacuum pecunia, contumelia

 15-16 I Thess. 2.17 (Vg: in omni...)

15.2-4 See Is. 11.2-3

6-7 Phil. 3.20 (Vg: nostra autem con. in caelis est)

7-8 Rom. 5.5 (Vg: caritas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Sp. sanctum)

10 IV Reg. 5.27

11 III Reg. 13.33

11-13 See Act. 8.18

 15.8 impudicis er. sed corr. d

9 erarios ad erroneos mut. B. ex erroneos corr. C

honeratum, claudicantem ad propria remisit confusum.

(16) Hic omnibus ecclesie sacramentis interest, que ipse efficit et consummat. Hic peccata diluit, hic iustificat impios et ad uitam reuocat mortuos. Hic discordes pacificat et uinculo
PL
 1678 dilectionis astringit et ligat. Hic nos celo inuehit et, a mundi
 huius uanitatibus auulsos, superni regni constituit heredes,
 6 cuius summa est felicitas, quod corpus istud spiritali effectu cum angelis conuersabitur nec ultra erit carnis et sanguinis aliquis appetitus, sed erit omnium plena sufficientia cognoscibilis deus et inhabitator Spiritus sanctus.

13-16 See Num. 22.25

16.3-4 Cf. Col. 3.14

5 Cf. Iac. 2.5

8-9 Cf. Sap. 13.5

9 Cf. Rom. 8.11

16.1 Hic omnibus om. L

2 post impios manus antiqua deficit in C et manus xvii seu xviii saeculi cetera supplet, hac nota primum adiecta Haec folio sequenti eadem manu descripta addenda curavi

5 heredes constituit L

6 quod] quo C

9 amen post sanctus add. L, Finis et colophona, qui supra in p.

16 interpretatus inueniri potest, add. e

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