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UMI
PREGACHING BEFORE THE FRIARS:
THE SERMONS OF RALPH ARDENT (c.1130-c.1215):

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
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* * * * *

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ABSTRACT

Preaching was an important cultural and religious event in medieval Europe because it connected lay and clerical audiences with the theological, moral, and even political views of the religious elite. The cultural, political and religious revival which is often called the "Renaissance of the Twelfth Century" caused a revolution in the method and content of preaching. New tools for preparing sermons and a new emphasis on moral theology and ethics contributed to a rise in the sheer volume of preaching, a trend that reached a highpoint in the preaching of the thirteenth-century friars. How were these new moral reforms communicated to a largely non-literate society? The answer is through preaching.

The sermons of Ralph Ardent represent an important example of popular or pastoral preaching in late twelfth-century France. Trained in Paris, which was the leading center for theological education in Europe, Ralph Ardent embodied this new emphasis in moral and pastoral theology. His works include 202 Latin sermons which survive in manuscripts and several early printed editions. A study of these sermons will shed important light on
the history of the sermon as a vehicle for cultural and religious change in the middle ages.

The first four chapters cover 1) the history of medieval preaching up to and including the preaching of the friars, 2) the historiography and biography of Ralph Ardent, 3) a detailed description of the manuscripts and early printed editions of his sermon book, and 4) a study of the function, audience, structure and style of his sermons. Chapters five and six look closely at two important topoi found in these sermons: preaching against heresy and penitential preaching. Finally I offer a working edition of the preface to this collection, as well as three Church Dedication sermons which were not included in the sixteenth-century printed editions.

The argument of this dissertation is that the preaching of Ralph Ardent represents a significant step in the evolution of the sermon from a scholastic tool which was delivered primarily to university audiences, to the popular, pastoral sermons of the thirteenth-century Dominican and Franciscan friars.
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My research would have been impossible without the assistance from the staff and interlibrary loan office of the William Oxley Thompson Library, Ohio State University and especially from Predrag Matejic, Director of the Hilandar Research Library and the Resource Center for Medieval Slavic
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INTRODUCTION

The twelfth century was one of the most creative periods in the history of Western Europe. As one group of historians noted, "If the men of the period rested on the shoulders of giants, they did at times as 'moderns' see farther and look towards their own 'modern' civilization."¹ Scholars have found in this century the emergence of such institutions as civil law, centralized governments, and the university. Historians of language and literacy suggest that the period witnessed a shift from oral to written culture and a "rebirth" of literate society. Theologians and philosophers point out the significant contribution of twelfth-century Arab masters in the reintroduction of Aristotle to the West, and the important effect this had on the history of theology, philosophy and science. Historians of the religious life describe the twelfth century as a period of "reformation" or "revival," as monks, priests, and lay men and women attempted to follow the life of the apostles, the *vita apostolica*, as the medievals themselves called it. These characterizations of the twelfth century have been refined in recent years, but

the general thesis behind what Charles Homer Haskins called the "Renaissance of the Twelfth Century" remains intact.

The twelfth century was also the beginning of a new movement in moral and practical theology that would have profound significance for both the Catholic Church and society. The movement began in Paris, which was the chief center for theological education in Europe. The formation and growth of cities in the twelfth century brought with it both an increase in new wealth and a rise in violence and corruption within society. As a result, many Church leaders living in that period saw the need to educate this "Christian society" in the vocabulary and practice of internal self-examination and morals. Unlike the almost impenetrable debates over such theological questions as the nature of the sacraments, the study of ethics and moral theology were deeply practical matters. The question these clerics faced is the question this dissertation seeks to explore: How did twelfth-century theologians and Church leaders communicate doctrine as well as moral and ethical reforms to a culture that was by and large non-literate? Briefly stated, the answer is through preaching.

In his book Masters, Princes and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle, John Baldwin has argued that the early years of this movement centered on a Parisian "circle" of theologians, university professors, and clerics who were interested in practical questions of Christian
morality and social reform. This study explores the sermons of a key member of this circle of theologians and preachers, Radulphus Ardens, whose professional career in Poitiers, France, extended approximately from 1175 until 1215.

Only a few biographical facts survive about this preacher. Regarded as a vibrant and fiery preacher by his contemporaries, Ralph received the surname Ardens or "The Ardent." He was trained in Paris and he embodied this new emphasis in moral and practical theology. He wrote two volumes of letters (which are no longer extant), and an ethical treatise entitled Speculum Universale which was an encyclopedia of vices and virtues or moral theology. But Ralph Ardent was also a preacher who was deeply concerned with the moral and spiritual formation of the laity. He wrote 202 Latin sermons, divided into 3 liturgical cycles, which were intended to be used in parish churches. His collection survives in eight manuscripts, seven of which are located in England, the remaining one is located in

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2 This name was used in a number of contemporary manuscripts of the Speculum Universale. A later commentator described his work as having "Beauté de génie, pénétration d'esprit, force de raisonnements, solidité d'élöquence et d'érudition, tout se trouvoit en lui." Histoire littéraire de la France, (Paris: 1750) t.7 p.51. The significance of this surname will be discussed later in Chapter 2.

3 Radulphus Ardens, Homiliae de Sanctis in Patrologiae Latinae Cursus Completus, ed. J.P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-55) vol 155: col. 1301D-1489B (These sermons are mis-labled in Migne as Homiliae de Tempore). The Homiliae de communi sanctorum are are in vol. 155, col. 1489C-1626B. The Homiliae de Tempore are in vol 155: col. 1667A-2118D. Hereafter all references to the Patrologiae Latinae will be designated PL.
France. There are also a number of printed editions which survive from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. This collection is a substantial and valuable source for the history of preaching and the development of the sermon in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. A study of these sermons will shed important light on the ways in which this new emphasis on moral theology was translated out of the university classroom and into the parishes.

Sermons are a valuable and rich source for the intellectual, social, and religious history of the middle ages. While it will not be possible to make sweeping generalizations on the basis of any one collection, or even on a few sermons, it is important to keep in mind that sermons, by their very nature, reflect an already established religious and cultural tradition. In other words, preachers will not usually stray far from what a society already believes to be true. As Mark Pattison notes,

> The pulpit does not mold the forms into which religious thought in any age runs, it simply accommodates itself to those that exist. For this very reason, because they must follow and cannot lead, sermons are the surest index of the prevailing religious feeling of their age.⁴

In a society that was largely non-literate, most people had to rely on oral communication. Even among the educated clergy, books were expensive and

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not easily obtained.\textsuperscript{5} The public sermon therefore, was an especially useful medium for communicating to the public. During weekly worship services and on special feast days, preachers spoke to their audiences about topics ranging from matters of theology and religious practice to social, familial and even political concerns of the day. Sermons involved a regular gathering of people in the community to hear a message from the local priest or, even more significant, from the bishop. Preaching thus helped to bridge the gap between the doctrinal and practical ideals of a religious elite and the masses of non-literate laity.

The study of medieval preaching began roughly in the second half of the nineteenth century with the publication in 1868 of Albert Lecoy de la Marche's \textit{La chaire française au moyen âge, spécialement au XIII\textsuperscript{e} siècle d'après les manuscrits contemporains}, and with the publication in 1879 of Louis Bourgain's \textit{La chaire française au XIII\textsuperscript{e} siècle d'après les manuscrits}. Using sources printed in the Migne's \textit{Patrologia Latina}, as well as biographies found in \textit{l'Histoire littéraire de la France} and manuscript catalogues from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, these scholars researched the names of preachers, their circumstances, lives and particularly the language of their works in order to learn more about the social and religious history of the

\textsuperscript{5} Phyllis Roberts makes this point in her "Thomas Becket: The Construction and Deconstruction of a Saint from the Middle Ages to the Reformation." in \textit{Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons}, ed. Beverly M. Kienzle (Louvain-La-Neuve, 1996), p.6.
twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This effort to master the abundant sermon literature of the middle ages later extended to include other countries of Europe. Anton Linsenmayer and G.R. Owst, for example, focused on the sermon literature of medieval Germany and England. In addition to preaching in France, England and Germany, a growing number of scholars from various disciplines have turned their attention to the study of Italian, Spanish, Greek, Dutch, Scandinavian and Russian sermons. Moreover, some scholars have gone beyond regional studies of sermons to look more closely at various classes of preachers along with different topoi found in medieval sermons. Depending on the availability of sources, one can study lay and itinerant preaching, women preachers, sermons preached by monks, sermons preached by school men or university masters, sermons preached by friars, or by Jews, and an almost endless array of intellectual, cultural, social


8 The bibliography on each of these topics is extensive. See for example Thomas Hall’s bibliography in *Medieval Sermon Studies*, 36 (Autumn, 1995): 26-42; and more recently, the bibliography compiled by George Ferzoco and Carolyn Muessig in Beverly Mayne Kienzle, ed. *The Sermon* (*Typologie des sources du moyen-âge occidental* 81-83, Brepols, 2000): 21-142.
and topical studies: sermons preached by or against heretics, penitential preaching, crusade preaching, court preaching and the like.

The sheer volume of sermon literature produced from the eleventh century forward is immense. For the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries alone, Johannes Baptist Schneyer has laboriously filled eleven volumes of close to 10,000 pages of text with the incipits and explicits of Latin sermons, including a list of manuscript locations.9 The 221 volumes of J. P. Migne's *Patrologia Latina* also give a staggering amount of material on medieval sermons prior to and including the twelfth century. If one takes into account collections of Italian, Spanish, Irish, Dutch, Norwegian, Greek, Russian and Swedish origins, the student of medieval sermons becomes quickly overwhelmed. Because this field is still relatively new, much of the scholarly activity continues to revolve around sorting out and cataloguing the vast number of medieval sermons available to the modern scholar.10 Several major sermon collections of influential preachers such as Ælfric, Anselm, Bernard of Clairvaux and Stephen Langton have received extensive scholarly attention, including editions of all or part of their sermon

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10 One of the most exciting efforts to catalogue medieval vernacular sermons is the Berlin-based SERMO group. See *Medieval Sermon Studies* 41 (Spring, 1998): 37-46.
collections. But while this list continues to grow, there is much work that remains to be done.

The majority of research on medieval preaching has tended to focus on the preaching of the mendicant orders—the Dominicans and Franciscans. These orders began in the early thirteenth century and served, among other things, as an arm of the papacy to preach against heresy and implement the moral reforms of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). This is understandable for several reasons. Without question, the friars represent an important turning point in the history of medieval preaching. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries witnessed the mass production of model sermon books, various tools such as concordances and *exempla* collections, along with general handbooks for preachers such as the *artes praedicandi*, which were

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manuals designed to teach the reader about preparing and delivering sermons. This abundance of sources has provided much material for the scholar interested in the preaching of the friars; but at the same time, it has required some time to absorb, especially since many of the sermons from this period are as yet unedited, and survive only in manuscript form.

As David d’Avray has pointed out however, the “ideal of regular and popular preaching was already old in the thirteenth century.” Of course popular preaching is as old as Christianity itself; its roots extend further back to ancient Jewish expositions of the biblical text. Various periods throughout the history of the Christian church have experienced more or less preaching, depending largely on the availability of educated clergy; but the ideal of regular popular preaching was always important. It is the argument of this dissertation that while the preaching of the friars represents something of a paradigm shift in popular preaching, it is a shift that is based on ideals and practices clearly present in the twelfth century. In other words, the preaching of the friars represents a culmination and perfection of already existent ideals and norms.

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The history of medieval preaching and the development of the sermon prior to the appearance of the friars is poorly known, although recent years have seen a growing number of scholars working in this field. The two sub-fields of scholarship which have emerged from this research center on the preaching of monks and the preaching of scholastic masters. The study of monastic preaching is still in its early stages, although there have been some significant preliminary studies made in recent years.15 Perhaps the most important early contribution to the study of scholastic preaching was Phyllis Roberts' examination of the sermons of Stephen Langton.16 As a master in the theological schools of Paris and later Archbishop of Canterbury, Langton is one of the better-known figures of the period. Roberts' study highlighted the 'popular' nature of Langton's preaching and showed how his sermons helped both to diffuse the evangelical theology of the Parisian schools and to train clergy. Other scholars have built on Roberts' study of twelfth-century scholastic preachers,17 but there continues to remain a dearth of scholarship in this area.18 The present study of the sermons of Ralph Ardent attempts to

15 See the essays in Carolyn Muessig ed. Medieval Monastic Preaching (Leiden, 1998).


17 Of these, Peter Tibber, “The Origin of the Scholastic Sermon” (D.Phil, Oxford, 1983) is perhaps one of the most important. Tibber does not study the sermons of Ralph Ardent.
make a small contribution to our knowledge of lesser-known scholastic and popular preachers from the late twelfth century.

In recent scholarly literature, Ralph Ardent is mentioned often in passing, but his work remains largely unknown. Because it was not included in Migne's *Patrologia Latina* in the nineteenth century, the least known of Ralph's works is his *Speculum Universale*. In 1961 Johannes Gründel, a German scholar working in Munich, was the first to make a substantial effort toward editing the *Speculum Universale*; five years later he completed his *Habilitationsschrift* on the *Speculum* at the University of Munich. The sermons on the other hand are better known because they were edited and printed in the sixteenth century, and were included in volume 155 of Migne's *Patrologia Latina*. Several short articles and notices have appeared over the last 80 or 90 years which have both complicated and added to our knowledge.

\[18\] It is telling that in the most recent bibliography of medieval sermon studies compiled by George Ferzoco and Carolyn Muessig [Beverly Mayne Kienzle, ed. *The Sermon* (Typologie des sources du moyen-âge occidental 81-83), (Brepols, 2000): 21-142], the period of the twelfth century school masters contains less than two pages of publications, while the bibliography on the friars in France and Italy contains some thirty-eight pages of bibliography.

of Ralph Ardent the preacher. The most complete study so far of Ralph’s sermons has been Hendrick Hagoort’s unpublished *doctoraal scriptie* from the University of Utrecht. Hagoort’s study focused on the theology of the sermons, particularly how Ralph used words such as *gratia, meritum, lucrari, utilitas, praemium*, in order to connect the theology of the Paris schools to the laity. Some of the material I cover in this dissertation will complement Hagoort’s study. For example, we both argue that fundamentally these sermons were used as vehicles for the transmission of theological ideas to the laity. But then this is the case with all popular sermons from the period. My own study of these sermons does not challenge this thesis, but rather refines it. I am particularly interested to study how scholastic masters such as Ralph Ardent used the sermon as a catechetical tool for the instruction of the laity in doctrine and morals. Moreover, Hagoort had the opportunity to look at only two of the surviving manuscripts. The present study is the first in English based on an examination of all the extant manuscript and printed editions of Ralph Ardent’s sermons.

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20 See for example the brief study by Karl Schnettler, “Das Homiliarium des Radulfus Ardens.” *Theologie und Glaube* 18 (1926): 626-635. This material will be discussed fully in Chapter 3.

21 Hendrik N. Hagoort, “Tussen Leken en Parijs: De prekenbundel van Radulphus Ardens.” (Doctoraal scriptie, Utrecht, 1988).
Ralph Ardent's sermon collection is a liturgical collection, neatly arranged according to the daily gospel and epistle readings, and according to saints' days in the Church calendar. I use this collection of sermons as the basis for an analysis of preaching as a vehicle for social and moral reform before the coming of the Dominican and Franciscan friars in the thirteenth century.

This dissertation is divided into seven chapters. Chapter one will survey briefly the history of medieval preaching and the development of the sermon up to and including the rise of the friars in the thirteenth century. My purpose here is to place the preaching of Ralph Ardent in the historical context of the late twelfth century. This context is shaped largely by the growth of new orders, especially the Cistercians and Augustianian Canons, as well as new methods of study which re-invigorated biblical and theological scholarship, the threat of popular heresy, and a heightened interest in moral reform among the laity and clergy. All these developments contributed to the growth in popular preaching, both in the twelfth century and later. I argue that twelfth-century preaching by men such as Ralph Ardent is an important link between the cloistered monastic preachers of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries and the mendicant friars of the thirteenth century. The preaching of Ralph Ardent represents a significant step in the evolution of
the sermon from a scholastic tool which was delivered to university audiences, to the more popular lay sermons of the thirteenth-century friars.

Chapter two will explore the historiographic tradition of Ralph Ardent, and his biography. There has been a great deal of confusion about who this man was, and when he lived. Since his sermons were first printed in Paris in 1564, scholars from the sixteenth to the twentieth century have described this man variously as an eleventh-century archdeacon of Poitiers, a twelfth-century scholastic master, and a fourteenth-century English parish preacher. While this sort of biographical confusion is not uncommon with medieval persons, I will suggest Ralph was indeed a late twelfth-century master, who served as a chaplain on several occasions at the court of Richard I, and who also involved in a regular preaching ministry to the laity.

Chapter three will then study the surviving manuscripts and early printed editions of Ralph Ardent's sermons. I will give a detailed description of each manuscript and printed edition and I will argue that this collection was transmitted to later generations for two main reasons: they were used as a quarry of source material for later preachers, and they provided a useful resource for moral and devotional teaching to the laity.

Chapter four will look more broadly at some general characteristics of Ralph Ardent's sermon collection in order to demonstrate that Ralph cannot simply be labeled a "scholastic" or university preacher. It will be important to
look at the function of this sermon book, as well as the intended audience, structure and style of the sermons. I will argue that while Ralph Ardent was indeed trained as a scholastic master, he was involved in regular Sunday preaching to the laity and his sermon book was designed to be used for preaching to lay people—it represents an effort to transmit basic Christian doctrine and morals to the laity. Many of his sermons were directed to lay, as opposed to university, audiences and dealt with such practical, ethical issues as the threat of heresy, confession, penance, marriage relationships, and child rearing. Ralph drew heavily on the methods and tools developed in the schools; but his sermons are conservative—they are not controversial like the typical scholastic summas in the late twelfth century. Ralph and others from this period, who wrote similar sermon books, tended to draw from authoritative sources such as Gregory the Great, Bede and Augustine for their sermon material. Preaching, especially lay preaching, was not a time for innovation or carefully crafted argumentation.

Chapters five and six will examine two important topoi in these collection: preaching against heresy (Chapter 5) and penitential preaching (Chapter 6). I have chosen these subjects because not only will these sermons offer a taste of the author’s style and method of preaching, but also they represent two important reasons for calling the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) stated that, among other things, the
reason for calling this council was "to eradicate vices and to plant virtues, to correct faults and to reform morals, to remove heresies and to strengthen faith...." The threat of popular heresy in the high middle ages was one of the great reasons for the need for popular preaching to the laity. Also at the heart of the evangelical and moral reform movement of twelfth century was an effort to motivate the faithful to regular confession. These same issues would be fundamental to the formation of the new preaching orders: the Dominicans and Franciscans.

In addition to these chapters, I will also include in the form of appendices a working edition of the prologue to this collection and three Church dedication sermons that were not included in the sixteenth-century printed edition of these sermons. The prologue is especially important because it helps to place the sermons in their historical context.

Indeed the friars, who were the great preachers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, may have perfected the art of preaching, but I believe that the sermons of Ralph Ardent demonstrate that there was already in place a solid foundation in moral and catechetical preaching well before the friars appeared on the scene.

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, European civilization experienced massive cultural, social, economic and intellectual changes. Paris in particular experienced these shifting tides. An expanding population, a flourishing commerce, the presence of a king and royal administrators, the development of luxury trades and building activities, and the evolution of the university out of the cathedral school were all factors in this substantial growth. As the university emerged, Paris also became the most influential transalpine center for orthodox theological teaching. One result of this multifaceted cultural, social and religious change was a significant increase in the production of sermon literature and preaching aids.

There are a number of ways one can explain this expansion of sermon literature. From the perspective of conciliar legislation, the decisions of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 marked what some scholars argue was the beginning of a new age in the history of popular preaching.¹ In canon 10, entitled *De praedicatoribus instituendis*, the council instructed bishops to

appoint suitable men to perform the function of preaching wherever the need arose. But this increase in the frequency of preaching precedes conciliar legislation. From a theoretical perspective, twelfth-century preaching was part of a larger movement to return to the primitive life of the church, often called the *vita apostolica* (Apostolic Life). This movement took much of its impetus from the reforms of Gregory VII and was expressed in various monastic qualities such as community life, personal poverty, preaching and sexual abstinence. The variations in the *vita apostolica* depended on which passage in the New Testament was used as an example of early-church life. Some people looked at *Acts* 4:32-35 where the church practiced a communal life. Others, following Jesus’ command in *Matthew* 10:8-15, said that the apostolic life is illustrated by the sending of the twelve Apostles to be poor wandering preachers. In the twelfth century, this movement began to take on a new and more intense form as even the laity looked for ways to participate in the *vita apostolica*.

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3 Jacques de Vitry, for example, in his *Historia occidentalis* [ed. J.F. Hinnebusch, OP (Fribourg, 1972) 159] described the Franciscans as ardent imitators of the Apostolic Life. For a description of this, see D.L. d’Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, 43.

Other factors added to the importance of preaching in this period. For example, the growth of cities in the twelfth century brought with it both an increase in new wealth and a rise in violence and corruption within society. As a result, many churchmen saw the need to educate this "Christian society" in the vocabulary and practice of internal self-examination and morals. Medieval clergy found that preaching was the most useful way of communicating these new ideas to lay society. As a result, new preaching aids began to emerge in order to help the clergy carry out what was believed to be an important part of their pastoral responsibility: the regular preparation and delivery of sermons.

The preaching ministry of Ralph Ardent coincided with this new era in the history of medieval preaching. Ralph Ardent knew the value of regular preaching. He was trained in the context of the new moral theology that had arisen in Paris in the latter part of the century, and he embodied these new moral reforms and sought to communicate them to the laity. The purpose of this chapter will be to place Ralph Ardent's sermon collection in the larger context of medieval preaching up to and including the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The chapter will sketch the key developments in the history of popular preaching from the time of Caesarius of Arles (c. 470-542) to

(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968) 202-38. See also Beryl Smalley's *Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 244.
the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. It will look at new exegetical and preaching techniques, as well as tools which began to emerge in this period. The chapter will argue that the late twelfth century in general, and Ralph Ardent's sermon collection particular, represent a fundamental shift in the evolution of the sermon from a scholastic tool which was delivered to university audiences, to the popular lay sermons of the thirteenth-century friars.

**Preaching in the Merovingian and Carolingian Gaul**

In the early Christian Church, the responsibility for preaching lay entirely with the bishop. Unlike modern bishops who are often charged with a vast geographical area, a bishop in the first three centuries usually presided over a small Greco-Roman city. His duties included the administration of the sacraments and preaching. However, with an increase in the number of converts, and with the expansion brought about by western European missionary activity, it was not long before the task of managing this growing institution became too difficult for the bishop to handle alone. But while the sacramental responsibilities were passed on to the presbyterate,

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5 Josef A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development* (*Missarum sollemnia*), (New York, 1961) 289. One should keep in mind that this was generally the case. However, even in the early years of the Christian Church, there were in fact sermons preached by priests. For example we have a number of sermons from Origen, Hippolytus of Rome and Jerome.
preaching remained largely the responsibility of the episcopal office until the sixth century.

The first sign of change occurred in the second Council of Vaison (529). Caesarius of Arles (470-542), who was a celebrated preacher and bishop of Arles, presided over the council and produced a famous canon (canon 2) that would later be repeated in the Carolingian Reform councils of 813. The canon states:

It is agreeable to us that for the increase of all the churches and the benefit of all the people, not only in the cities, but also in the rural areas the priest should preach the Word. If because of illness, the priest is unable to preach, let the homilies of the holy fathers be read by the deacons.

Although bishops continued to be responsible for preaching, this canon opened the legal door for the common parish priest and deacon to take on a

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7 Hoc etiam pro aedificatone omnium ecclesiarum et pro utilitate totius populi nobis placuit, ut non solum in civitatibus, sed etiam in omnibus parrociis verbum faciendi daremus presbyteris potestatem, ita ut, si presbyter aliqua infirmitate prohibente per se ipsum non potuerit praedicare, sanctorum patrum homiliae a diaconibus recitentur... Council of Vaison, 529 as quoted in McKitterick, The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789-895. (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977) 88. Also in his sermons (I.12) he made a similar comment: "Ista enim talia et his similia non solum sacerdotes domini in civitatibus, sed etiam in parrochiiis presbyteri vel diaconi et possunt et debent frequentius praedicare."
more active role in preaching. Practically speaking however, it would not be until the reforms of the Carolingian Church under Charlemagne that parish priests would take on a more significant role in this area.

An important figure in early medieval preaching was Gregory the Great (Pope from 590-604). In 591, Gregory wrote his famous *Regula Pastoralis*, a handbook for clergy, which would have a wide influence throughout the Middle Ages. Written in four parts, the *Regula Pastoralis* discussed (I) the difficult task of caring for souls, (II) the way a pastor ought to conduct himself and set an example for his subjects, (III) the rules and content of preaching, and finally (IV) an exhortation to daily meditation and self-examination. Along with Gregory’s forty homilies on the Gospels, this work became essential to the later development of Carolingian sermon collections. Rosamond McKitterick noted that the works of Gregory, particularly the *Regula Pastoralis*, were “being used by every bishop in Charlemagne’s kingdom.” Of Gregory’s homilies on the Gospels, she notes that they were “regarded as so essential that they were recommended by themselves as a

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8 Milton McC Gatch, *Preaching and theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan*, (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1977): 32 suggests that Caesarius’ views were radical and were evoked by the historical situation in Gaul more than by precedent.


handbook of homiletic material for the Frankish parish priest." These, along with Caesarius' works, were "the most influential and useful tools for the Frankish church in its efforts to build a Christian society." For Gregory, the preacher was chosen by God, both to fulfill the official/sacramental office and to be a prophetic proclaimer of God's word. The preacher practiced the "art of arts," he was a physician, but not merely a physician of the body. The preacher/pastor was the medicus animarum, the doctor of souls. It was his special calling to discern the ills of the human soul and provide the healing ointment of preaching and penance. It was not enough that the pastor/preacher convince people to believe and think correctly. The true preacher/pastor also must live an exemplary life worthy of this high calling. Although Gregory exhorted pastors to craft their sermons around the needs of the people, the message was usually moral rather than doctrinal. What was important for Gregory was the soul; that it

\[\text{\textsuperscript{11}}\text{McKitterick, The Frankish Church, p. 112.}\]


\[\text{\textsuperscript{13}}\text{Gregory the Great, Regula Pastoralis, book 1, ch. 1, Sources chrétiennes, 381 (Paris, 1992): 128.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{14}}\text{Gregory the Great, Regula Pastoralis, book 1, ch. 10, pp. 161-164.}\]
be able to discern good from evil, right from wrong, and make the necessary changes needed for salvation. In the years following, when war and calamity would take the Mediterranean by storm, this moral emphasis of vice and virtues provided a way for bishops to redress the moral dilemmas of the day.\textsuperscript{15}

In the ninth century, Carolingian preaching took on an entirely new flavor as Charlemagne used the preaching of monks and bishops to create and reform Frankish Christian society.\textsuperscript{16} Although the reform movement can be traced to Boniface in the middle of the eighth century, it was the reform capitularies—for example, Charlemagne's \textit{Admonitio generalis} (789)—and the five reform councils of 813 (Mainz, Tours, Chalons, Rheims and Arles),\textsuperscript{17} which clearly show that reform was at the forefront of Carolingian policy.


\textsuperscript{17}The \textit{Admonitio generalis} can be found in A. Boretius, \textit{Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Capitularia regum francorum}. vol. 1 (Hanover, 1896). The canons from the councils of Mainz (pp.258-273), Tours (pp. 286-293), Chalons (pp. 273-285) and Rheims (pp.253-258) can be found in A. Werminghoff ed., \textit{Monumenta Germaniae historica, Concilia aevi karolini} 3 vols. (Hanover, 1902-8) vol II, pt 1.
The *Admonitio generalis* stated that "First of all, the Catholic faith should be diligently explained and preached by the bishops and priests to all the people." The synods, councils and episcopal statutes made similar declarations. One statute by Theodulph of Orléans in 797 stated:

We urge you to be prepared to teach the people. Those who know Scripture should preach Scripture, those who do not know it, at least let them say this, which is very well known to the people, that they should turn away from evil and do good, that they should seek peace and follow it because the eyes of God are on the just and his ears open to their prayers... Therefore no one can excuse himself because he does not have a tongue with which he can edify someone... In this text, Theodulph directed the clergy to preach to the people. The fact that he made a provision for those who did not know the scriptures raises the question of clerical education and the qualification to preach. But even when there was no one present who knew the scriptures, a moral exhortation was to be given to the people. The councils of 813 went even further and called for vernacular preaching. One famous statement on vernacular preaching comes from canon 7 of the Council of Tours:

18 As quoted in McKitterick, *The Frankish Church*, p. 58: "Primo omnium, ut tides catholica, ab episcopis et presbyteris diligenter legatur et omni populo praedicetur."

19 *Hortamur vos paratos esse ad docendas plebes. Qui scripturas scit, praedicet Scripturas; qui vero nescit, saltim hoc, quod notissimum est, plebibus dicat: Ut declinat a malo et faciunt bonum, inquirant pacem et sequantur eam quia oculi Domini super iustos, et aures eius ad preces eorum...[Ps 33:15-17]. Nullus ergo se excusare poterit, quod non habeat linguam, unde possit aliquem aedificare..." (Theodulph, *Capitula ad presbyteros parochiae suae*, c.28, ed. Peter Brommer, *MGH Capitula Episcoporum*, pars 1 [Hanover, 1984]): 125.
It seemed good to all of us that each bishop ought to have homilies containing the necessary admonitions with which his subjects shall be educated, that is concerning the Catholic faith in so far as they are able to understand it; concerning the perpetual reward of the good and the eternal damnation of the evil; concerning the future resurrection and last judgment; and by which deeds they merit blessed life and by which they are excluded. And in these homilies, let each bishop strive to translate them openly into the rustic Roman tongue or into German, so that all the people can understand more easily what is said.20

This passage and those like it are extremely significant for our understanding of the development of popular preaching in the Carolingian period. It specifies not only the content of the homilies but also the manner in which they were to be delivered: in the vernacular (in rusticam Romanam linguam aut in Thiotiscam).

There are two important points to be made in light of these Carolingian policies on preaching. The first involves the education of the clergy.21 Ideally, the Carolingian legislators wanted the clergy to use their preaching abilities to educate the laity in the fundamental tenets of the

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20 "Visum est unanimitate nostrae, ut quilibet episcopus habeat omelias continentes necessarias ammonitiones, quibus subjici erudiantur, id est de fide catholica, prout capere possunt, de perpetua retributione bonorum et aeterna damnatione malorum, de resurrectione quoque futura et ultimo iudicio et quibus operibus possunt promereri beata vita quibusve excludi. Et in easdem omelias quisque aperte transferre studeat in rusticam Romanam linguam aut in Thiotiscam, quo facilius cuncti possint intellegere quae dicuntur" (Concilium Turonense, c. 27 in MGH Conc. 2.1:228).

Christian faith as expressed in the Creed and the Lord’s Prayer. The problem which faced them however was the lack of education among the parish clergy. Parish clergy at this time were trained as apprentices, often under other parish clergy. The trainee’s knowledge of Latin and theology would often be limited to the depth (or lack thereof) of his teacher. Bishops were also charged to train their clergy, but common among the complaints against bishops was that they were more interested in their own churches than in preaching to the people or teaching the priests of their diocese. Various capitular and episcopal legislations attempted to curb this alarming trend. For example, the Council of Attigny in 822 recommended that an educated cleric be placed in each diocese for the purpose of preaching and teaching. Likewise, the Council of Meaux in 845 legislated that each bishop was to appoint someone to educate the rural priests in the basics of the Christian faith. At the Synod of Pavia in 850, the bishops themselves were directed to undertake a more in-depth study of the Bible and theology so that they would

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22 Devailly, “La Pastorale en Gaule,” p. 34.


be able to teach the clergy and preach to the people. If nothing else, these legislative concerns suggest that the average priest had a difficult time meeting these requirements.

Liturgical books and Carolingian homiliaries—almost always patristic expositions of the liturgical readings—helped to allay some of this problem. However, most rural priests could barely understand the liturgical texts, let alone the homiliaries. Still, using early patristic homiliaries as an example, educated clerics and monks sought to redress this problem with the creation of preaching or pastoral manuals. For example, St. Pirmin (c. 724) wrote a small work entitled *Dicta abbatis Pirminii, de singulis libris canonici* *Scarapsus* in which he tried to provide a brief pastoral manual, in this case for missionary monks preaching among the Alamanni in Baden and Alsace. Pirmin borrowed largely from the Church Fathers; the book is modeled closely after Augustine's *De catechizandis rudibus* and Martin of Braga's (ca.

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27 On the basis of Bishop Rabanus Maurus' (784-856) homilary addressed to Bishop Haistulf of Cologne, it has been argued that there were two types of Carolingian homilies. One regarded as an exegetical homily used primarily for private, monastic purposes as was the case with the school of Auxerre; the other was an exhortational or catechetical sermon used for the divine office and popular preaching. For a discussion on this distinction see Milton McC Gatch, *Preaching and Theology*, 27-30; and McKitterick, *The Frankish Church*, 92-93. For a good outline of Carolingian homiliaries, see Jean Longère, *La Prédication médiévale*, 41-45 and for Rabanus Maurus see H. Barré, *Les homélaries carolingiens de l'école d'Auxerre. Authenticité. Inventaire. Tableaux comparatifs*, (Vatican: Studi e Testi 225, 1962).
520-80) *De correctione rusticorum.* Another example is Rabanus Maurus' *De clericorum institutione* in which he offered insights—largely borrowed from Gregory and Augustine—into the principles of rhetoric and how preachers should craft their sermons to the composition of the audience. Despite these efforts on the part of educated clergy and monks to redress the problems of clerical education, the competence of parish clergy to preach was a serious issue that would continue to plague the church until the rise of schools and subsequently the mendicant orders in the thirteenth century.

The other important factor to note about the Carolingian legislation on preaching was its insistence that clergy preach to the people in the vernacular. This vernacular preaching would have consisted mostly of catechetical instruction, and the legislation mentioned above called for parish priests to preach the Scriptures and the Fathers to the people in their own language on Sundays and major feast days. One would assume that a sermon in the vernacular would be different from the rest of the liturgy which was spoken

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29 Rabanus Maurus, *De clericorum institutione*, *PL* 107, cols. 293-420. This text was originally written around 819. Between 842 and 847, Rabanus updated the work and published it under the same title. For this edition, see *PL* 112, cols., 1191-1262.
in Latin. But the precise relationship between the sermon and the mass at this time is still being debated.\footnote{One of the problems scholars face in answering this question is that the liturgy was undergoing tremendous change and reform. For example, there was no standard lectionary being used. The question here is also about the so-called “Prone.” See A.A. King, Liturgy of the Roman Church (London, 1957): 3-45; Also, Jungmann, Mass of the Roman Rite, p. 309-10}

Scholars also continue to debate how or to what extent this “translation” of a Latin sermon into the vernacular language happened. Except for a very few cases (for example, Ælfric of Eynsham and Wulfstan II of York) almost all the sermons we have from this period survive in Latin.\footnote{Milton McC Gatch [Preaching and Theology, p. 53] notes that Ælfric’s sermon books “were to be used primarily for reading ad populum.}

McKitterick, following the more traditional line, argued that there were only a few Latin collections which appear to have reached a more popular audience.\footnote{McKitterick, The Frankish Church, p. 97. Michael Zink, La Prédication en langue romane avant 1300 (Nouvelle Bibliothèque du Moyen Âge, 4; Paris, 1976): 184 says that although Haimon d’Auxerre’s homilary is written in Latin, “est des l’origine prévu pour servir à la prédication au peuple.”}

More recently however, Thomas Amos has argued persuasively on the basis of content (such as basic doctrine: the explanation of the creed and the Lord’s Prayer) rather than language that there is in fact a large body of popular sermons (over 900 in his estimation) in the Carolingian period which were preached to a popular audience in the context of the Mass.\footnote{Amos made the point that Latin, as opposed to vernacular sermons, is not the issue. Charlemagne’s empire was essentially trilingual so the specific language of the sermon does not determine what was “popular.” He believes that in the Carolingian period, one has to consider content as well as language to determine what was and was not “popular.” Thomas L. Amos, \footnote{Thomas L. Amos, Preaching and Theology, p. 53}
precisely these vernacular sermons were preached is a matter of controversy. On the basis of vernacular glosses in sermon manuscripts, the traditional view held by Bourgain and Lecoy de la Marche was that sermons were translated by sight into the vernacular language as they were preached. The problem with this view is that sight translation of this nature is extremely difficult, particularly in the context of a Sunday sermon. Even the brightest Latin students would have found it difficult to take a Latin manuscript and "translate" the text smoothly into a rustic tongue.

Roger Wright has put forth some interesting ideas related to the use of vernacular language in preaching Latin texts. He suggested that when the

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"Preaching and the Sermon in the Carolingian World," 41-60; and his "The Origin and Nature of the Carolingian Sermon." Ph.D. Michigan State University, 1983. Amos is arguing particularly against the negative or minimalist position of Milton McC Gatch, *Preaching and Theology* pp. 35-6, and 189-90.


35 Examples of this would be sermons and catechetical materials translated in Old French and Old High German. Lupus of Ferrières is one such example of someone who sent his nephew to the school at Prüm. See Thomas L. Amos, "Preaching and the Sermon in the Carolingian World," 51.
Council of Tours called for a *transferrre* into the *rusticam Romanam linguam*, it was not distinguishing between two different languages (Latin and Romance), but rather between “two methods of reading aloud written texts.” According to Wright, late Latin and early Romance were essentially the same thing. It was not until the Carolingians introduced new rules for pronunciation that Latin/Romance became unintelligible to those who were only used to speaking it. Before 800, everyone would have learned to speak this local Latin/Romance dialect, and only later, if they wanted to read and write would they have had to learn the new (and old) ways of spelling and pronouncing what came to be formal Latin. It is a subtle linguistic distinction, but it is similar to what we find between low and high forms of a language such as German. In other words, the formal written Latin we see on the page likely sounded very different from what we might expect to hear. During a sermon, the preacher would simply switch dialects from a strictly formal Latin pronunciation to the more familiar Romance pronunciation. As convoluted as this might seem, it would have been much easier for the preacher to make this transition, than it would be for him to “translate” from

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37 Michael Clanchy has noted a similar interchangeability between English, French and Latin in post-Conquest England. See his *From Memory to Written Record*, (Oxford, 1993): 160.
one language to another. If his theory is true—and Wright marshals a significant amount of linguistic evidence which suggests that it is—it helps explain how Carolingian preachers and later preachers for that matter, particularly in the Romance areas, communicated with popular audiences.38

_Benedictine Preaching after the Collapse of the Carolingian Empire_

The period between the Carolingian reforms of the ninth and tenth centuries and the expansion of the mendicant orders in the middle of the thirteenth century is more difficult to characterize in terms of the history of preaching. The wave of energetic and creative preaching of the Carolingian period died with the collapse of the empire in the late ninth and tenth centuries. What preaching there was, appears to be limited to a few exceptional monk/preachers and missionaries. For example, Haimo of Auxerre (d. 875) wrote a large homiliary for the Christian year, designed primarily to aid preachers in the preparation of sermons.39 Abbo of Saint-

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38 See also Rosamond McKitterick, _The Carolingians and the Written Word_ (Cambridge, 1989), p. 10 where she says, “Writing... is but a sign language, and there is perhaps an inevitable discrepancy between graphic representation and the sound of words, even in the apparently most phonetically transliterated of languages. Letters are a mnemonic device; they form a written code, for they give a guide to sounds. But the degree to which they record and preserve oral delivery is dependent also on the understanding accorded the letters and the sounds they represent. They do not necessarily, therefore, represent a sound precisely.”

Germain-des-Prés (ca. 870-ca. 940) has left a collection of twenty-two brief Gospel sermons which were composed at the request of Fulrad, the Bishop of Paris. Abbo borrowed mostly from Church Fathers, Bede and Haimo of Auxerre. Peter Damian (1007-72) offers another important example of Benedictine preaching in this period. He has left forty-four *sermones de sanctis* which he probably preached during monastic visitations or after he became a cardinal bishop in 1057. These examples of preaching seem to be the exception rather than the rule. It is clear that from the fall of the Carolingian Empire until the beginning of the twelfth century, preaching was not deemed as important as it was to the previous generations.

What factors may have contributed to this decline? Can it be blamed simply on the Viking invasions or the subsequent fall of the Carolingian Empire? Contemporary observations shed some light on this problem. One critical observer of Benedictine preaching was Guibert of Nogent (1053-1124). Trained as a Benedictine monk, Guibert became the abbot of the monastery of

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40 For an edition of these sermons, see Ute Örnerfors, *Abbo von Saint-Germain-des-Prés, 22 Predigten*, (Verlag Peter Lang, 1985) (*Lateinische Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters*, 16).

41 Peter Damian was received into the Benedictine house of Fonte-Avellana in Umbria around 1035 where he assumed the office of prior in 1043. In 1057 at the request of Pope Stephen X, Damian became Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia.


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Nogent-sous-Coucy in 1104. In his little work *Quomodo sermon fieri debeat*, which is actually a preface to his commentary on Genesis, Guibert offered some hints as to why preaching was not popular in his day. For example, he laments how some monks,

> through envy, insincerely neglect holy preaching because, begrudging the good character of others, they are unwilling to tell them how to be made still better, and even feign not to have the knowledge of Scripture which they do have, and take no care to expound them to eager and understanding listeners, afraid that their teaching may raise the hearers to their own or even higher level.\(^{43}\)

Not only did these monks fail to preach because of jealousy, but Guibert also noted that many of his contemporaries refused to preach because they were afraid of being labeled sermonizers, or “ventriloquists who preached for the sake of their belly” as Gregory of Nazianzus had called them.\(^{44}\) Another problem facing these monks was the fact that there was some question about whether monks actually had the right to preach outside the cloister or exercise the *cura animarium*.\(^{45}\) The secular clergy believed that preaching was

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limited to the office of bishop or parish priest. Monks on the other hand were supposed to be dead to the world; they were supposed to remain in their cloister; they were not supposed to preach.\footnote{Gratian wrote, “...sit claustro suo contentus, quia sicut pisces sine aqua caret vita, ita sine monasterio monachur. Sedeat itaque solitarius, et teceat, quia mundo mortuus est, Deo autem vivit.” A Friedberg, ed., \textit{Corpus iuris canonici,} 1a, \textit{Decretum Magistri Gratiani} (1879; reprint, 1959) Causa 16, cap. 8, p. 763. Quoted in Muessig, p. 6 note 17.} Guibert however was a reformed-minded monk who thought this idea was nonsense. Monks were the best preachers because they lived exemplary lives. He wrote,

\begin{quote}
Finally there are those who live a good and chaste life but, because they do not hold a pastoral office in the church suppose that they do not owe their brothers the word of holy preaching. This is completely absurd, for if through the dumb beast of burden, that is, through a donkey...God was willing to rebuke the prophet's folly, how much more worthy and almost beyond comparison is human nature to teach and impart learning to one's fellows.\footnote{Guibert of Nogent, \textit{Ibid,} col. 22B: “Attamen sunt qui bene ac continenter vivunt, sed quia pastorelem non habent in Ecclesia locum, aestimant se non debere fratibus sanctae praedicationis verbum; quod valde absurdum est: si enim per subjugale mutum, id est per asinam, juxta illud beati Petri (2 Pet. 2.16), Deus corripi voluit prophetae insipientiam, quam multum et pene absque comparatione dignior est humana natura ad docendum et dandam coaequalibus disciplinam?” English translation, George McCracken in \textit{The Library of Christian Classics}, p. 288.}
\end{quote}

When Guibert's contemporaries did preach, however, they preached obscure, wordy sermons, “not for the purpose of edifying his listeners to do well, but so that desirous of petty glory, he might display his own erudition as greater...
than that of others.”

Quoting Ambrose, Guibert complained that a boring sermon,

awakens anger...the same things are said over and over, and are stretched out beyond measure by saying them differently; it usually happens for this reason that those who are worn out with boredom all see the same value in the beginning, the middle, and the end....

These comments are telling about the problems of preaching in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. On the one hand parish priests often did not have the education needed to prepare and deliver sermons to the people. On the other hand, while there is evidence of some Benedictine preaching in this period, many monks believed that it was not there calling or duty to preach.

Another problem preachers faced in this period was simply the lack of available scholarship—an important ingredient needed to sustain a vibrant preaching ministry. In her valuable work, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, Beryl Smalley suggested that during the tenth and eleventh centuries, largely under the influence of the Cluniac reforms, educated men

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turned their attention away from scholarship to the liturgy. As a result, they focused their energies on creating liturgical poetry, drama, chronicles and saints' lives.\(^{50}\) Ironically, what they were not producing were works on theology and exegesis, which were the essential tools needed for the preparation of sermons. Guilbert's comments on the nature of Benedictine preaching in the eleventh century support Smalley's conclusion. Preaching and expounding Scripture required theological and exegetical thought and reflection; it required preachers to "search for the hidden meanings of Scripture;" in a sense it required preachers to say something more than the reliable but dusty truths of the patristic homilies. But such innovations, new learning and new tools were not being produced in this period, and this best explains why there were so few notable preachers, and so little interest in preaching. It was not until later in the twelfth century, as scholars returned to the study of exegesis and theology, that preaching was essentially reinvented.

*Preaching Before the Friars: The Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*

The eleventh and twelfth centuries witnessed a new and important era in the history of preaching, one that would reach its greatest expression in the founding of two preaching orders: the Dominicans and Franciscans. In this

period there were three important developments that helped fuel this new interest in popular preaching. The first development was the creation of reformed monastic orders, namely the Cistercians, exemplified by the authoritative and evangelistic preaching of Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153). Second was the emergence of scholasticism which, among other things, helped create a new science of exegesis, a new form of sermon, and new preaching tools. Finally, in the wake of growing urbanization, the rise of the merchant class, there was a heightened interest among theologians of the twelfth century in issues of moral and practical theology. Fueled by an effort to return to the model of the vita apostolica, all these elements, though perfected and exploited by the friars, helped reinvigorate preaching in the wake of the post-Carolingian decline. Because Ralph Ardent was a product of this new environment, it will be useful to look at each of these elements more closely.

*Cistercian Preaching: The 'Golden Mouth' of Bernard of Clairvaux*

Cistercian preaching, as exemplified by Bernard of Clairvaux, corrected many of the problems mentioned earlier by Guibert of Nogent. Robert of Molesme, who had hoped to return Benedictine monasticism to the more strict observance of Benedict’s Rule, founded the Cistercians in 1098. It would be left to the genius and recruiting energy of Bernard of Clairvaux, who
entered the order in 1112, to put the Cistercian order on the map as one of the most durable reform movements of the next two centuries. Most important for the Cistercians was a return to simplicity and the balance between work, and prayer, a balance that Robert and later Bernard believed was the strength of the Benedictine Rule. Along with work and prayer, the Cistercians also established a renewed interest in the study of Scripture, exegesis, patristics and even classical literature, which in turn helped rejuvenate monastic preaching in the first half of the twelfth century.

Although monks were technically removed from the secular world, many of them did have pastoral responsibilities both inside their cloisters and in the community, through charitable institutions such as hostels and hospitals. Later in the twelfth century, as the ideals of the vita apostolica began to shift from the older contemplative life of Benedictine monasticism to the active life of regular canons, there was an even greater emphasis placed on pastoral care and preaching. The Victorines and Premonstratensians, though not technically monks, lived under a form of the Augustinian Rule and became active pastors, missionaries, and preachers in growing cities of

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52 One of the most comprehensive studies on the topic of monastic learning is Jean Leclercq, The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture. Translated by Catharine Misrahi (New York, 1993).
medieval Europe. The situation in the twelfth century was somewhat ambiguous as monks and clergy argued back and forth over who precisely had the right to practice the *cura animarium*.53

Monastic homilies generally continued the tradition of repeating patristic homilies and commentaries on the Bible.54 They were delivered in the monastery on two separate occasions during the day; the first homily was preached at matins in the cloister before the day's work began; the second was preached in the evening after the day's work and usually at the site of the work place.55 Often abbots were responsible for preaching, but other qualified members of the community could preach as well. Monastic homilies used as their theme a text of Scripture or sometimes a text from the Fathers or the *Rule* of St. Benedict, which the abbot or prior first read and then explained.

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54 The term *homilia* in its earliest meaning referred to a commentary on the Gospel reading intended to be a moral lesson. It was thus used most in association with the liturgy and by monks. By the thirteenth century, the term *homilia* was, for the most part, replaced by the term *sermo*, which referred to an exhortational sermon built around a specific theme and associated with popular preaching. Ralph Ardent almost always used the terms interchangeably. On the differences in terminology see, Christine Mohrmann, “*Praedicare-Tractare-Sermo,*” in *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*: (Rome, 1954): 63-72. See also Gatch, *Preaching and Theology*, pp. 28-29, McKitterick, *The Frankish Church*, 92; and R. Cruel, *Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter*, (Detmold, 1879): 2-4.

Leclercq suggested that there were two *types* of monastic sermons: those that were written and those that were strictly oral. Written homilies such as those of Julian of Vezelay (c. 1160)\textsuperscript{56} and Peter the Venerable (d. 1156)\textsuperscript{57} were prepared in writing before they were preached. The oral homilies were written down by the *hearer* using some sort of shorthand. Examples of this type of homily are rare; but they include those by Odo of Morimond (d. 1161),\textsuperscript{58} as well as some of Bernard’s homilies.

Benedictines wrote and preached sermons mostly for their own communities, but also occasionally for the public at large.\textsuperscript{59} The Cistercians wrote many commentaries and letters in the form of sermons, and preached vigorously against heretics in southern France. In this sense, they were


\textsuperscript{58}For this collection, see PL t. 188, cols. 1645-58.

"reluctant" forerunners to the Albigensian preaching campaigns of the Dominican friars. Many Cistercian liturgical sermons survive from preachers such as Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153), Aelred of Rievaulx (1110-1166), Guerric d'Igny (1070/80-1157), Issac of Stella (d.c. 1178) and others. Although most of the monastic sermons from this period were preached by men, the one notable exception to this was the abbess Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179), who left a surprising number of sermons on the Gospels which were preached both inside the cloister to nuns and occasionally to the public at large.

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Of these preachers, Bernard of Clairvaux is clearly the greatest representative of Cistercian preaching; one could even argue that he single-handedly re-infused monastic preaching with the authority, zeal and depth which was lacking a century before. Bernard of Clairvaux was to preaching in the middle ages what John Chrysostom was to preaching in the early centuries of the Church: he was a "Golden Mouth." In fact, so powerful and influential was Bernard's preaching that his biographer, William of St. Thierry, said that mothers would hide their sons, and wives their spouses whenever this great preacher was in town.\textsuperscript{63} Bernard preached the Second Crusade in 1146 in the town square of Vézelay to such a large crowd of pilgrims and onlookers that they had to move the poor monk to a nearby field just to accommodate the masses. He preached all over the French and German speaking territories, even winning the support of the emperor Conrad III. He preached to the clerics in Paris in 1139-40 on monastic conversion, he preached several series of liturgical sermons including nineteen sermons on Psalm 91 which were intended to be used during Lent; sermons on the Virgin Mary and various other saints and feasts of the Christian year. Even some of his letters were written in sermonic form.

\textsuperscript{63} William of St. Thierry, \textit{Sancti Bernardi Vita Prima}, in PL185, col. 235C: "Jamque eo publice et privatim praedicante, matres filios abscondebant, uxores detinebant maritos, amici amicos avertebant; quia voci ejus Spiritus sanctus tantae dabat vocem virtutis, ut vix aliquis aliquem teneret affectus."
Bernard’s eighty sermons *Super Cantica Canticorum* are perhaps his most famous. They are a beautiful illustration of the way in which deep contemplation on the text of Scripture can produce profound insights into some of the most minute details of an otherwise perplexing biblical text.

Cistercian preaching may have re-invigorated monastic preaching in general, but it was only one element in the preaching revival that was unfolding in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. What Bernard did for preaching was to show how authoritative and especially how persuasive preaching could be. Yet monastic preaching was still mostly limited to the cloister. It would be up to the schoolmen such as Maurice of Sully, Peter the Chanter, Ralph Ardent, Stephen Langton, Jacques de Vitry and others, to show how preaching could effectively be used to teach and reform the Christian masses.

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Preaching and The Emergence of Scholasticism

Along with the advances made by Cistercian preachers, a second important development in the eleventh and twelfth centuries for the future of preaching was the emergence of scholasticism in the Cathedral schools of Chartres, Laon, and particularly Paris. Scholasticism helped not only to shape the content of sermons, but also to create a new form of sermon as well as new tools to assist preachers in the preparation of sermons.

In its early stages, scholasticism represented a shift from the monastic emphasis on grammar and rhetoric, to an emphasis on logic or dialectic. In the early middle ages, the most educated people were monks, and the remnants of classical learning survived primarily in monasteries. Separate from the cares of the world, monastic schools and monastic culture taught students how to contemplate the mysteries of God. The Rule of St. Benedict prescribed set hours of the day where monks were to read from sacred writings (lectio divina). Education was centered on the liturgy, the Bible and the Church Fathers. The monks read "concrete" works such as histories, sermons, and saints' lives that dealt with real events and real experiences, and were taught to imitate and cultivate the ideals of sanctity and virtue found in these works.65

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65 Leclercq, Love of Learning and the Desire for God, 153.
Secular clergy also needed education, but because most secular clergy worked in or near growing towns, monastic schools were of little value to them. While much of the education of secular priests was conducted as an apprenticeship, many of the more gifted secular clergy found opportunities to further their vocational training in the newly emerging Cathedral schools. Here too the education was religious in nature; but by the mid-twelfth century, the Cathedral schools—notably Chartres, Orleans, Laon and Paris—had become places of educational innovation. Part of the reason for this was that Cathedral Schools were located in large urban centers which often stimulated new and sometimes provocative ideas. These urban schools were more open to the use of Aristotelian logic in their curriculum than were the more conservative monastic schools which tended to focus more exclusively on the biblical text and the Church Fathers. In the Cathedral schools, theology gradually became a subject of scientific inquiry. Grammar and Rhetoric were still important, but what followed in the Cathedral schools was not contemplation, but dialectic and rationes.

The shift from monastic to scholastic education did not take place without some resistance from the monastic establishment, and Bernard of

\footnote{L.W. Paetow, The Arts Course at Medieval Universities with Special Reference to Grammar and Rhetoric, (Champaign, ILL, 1910): 69 says that “on the whole, formal rhetoric was as badly neglected at Paris as was grammar.” The earliest university statute in Paris (1215) says that rhetoric would “occupy but an inferior place in the arts course.” It was to be read on festival days and the only books mentioned are the fourth book of the Topics of Boethius and the Barbarismus. (Denifle and Chatelain, Chartularium vol. I, p. 78.}
Clairvaux, the greatest and most influential monk of the period, led the fight against what he perceived as heresy among some of the early scholastic masters such as Peter Abelard and Gilbert of Poitiers. As will be noted later however, the greatest success for the history of preaching in the twelfth century came when the ideals of monastic life were blended with the active life of the secular clergy.

The typical pattern of scholastic education in the emerging schools was built around the lectio, the quaestio and the disputatio. For some masters, the model was lectio, disputatio and predicatio.\(^{67}\) In the lectio, the master of the school would read from a given authority such as the Bible or the Church Fathers and students would copy or gloss the text with comments and annotations. Many of these glosses were assembled into larger collections of glosses or commentaries; one of the most famous of which came from the Cathedral school at Laon in the early twelfth century. The brothers Anselm and Ralph of Laon compiled a gloss which would become the standard textbook of biblical interpretation and exegesis. More will be said on these exegetical tools below.

Following the lectio was the quaestio and the public or formal disputatio. As masters lectured on Scripture or wrote their commentaries, often they encountered exegetical or theological problems which required

\(^{67}\) See for example, Peter the Chanter, *Verbum Abbreviatum*, PL 205, col. 25.
further analysis. Sometimes the Fathers had disagreed on the meaning of a particular passage or theological point. The *quaestio* was an exercise which utilized the laws of logic in the form of discussion and debate to solve these problems. Masters and students used logic to harmonize various passages of Scripture as well as conflicting patristic authorities. The *disputatio* was closely connected to the *quaestio*. The *disputatio* was a formal academic exercise, often taking place in public, where the master would pose and solve thorny exegetical or theological problems using the rules of logic. The systematic and scientific study of theology as an independent discipline was born out of this new method of exegesis. New genres such as *quaestiones*, *sententiae*, *glosses*, and *summae* were the result of these new theological and exegetical endeavors. Some works, such as the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, became widely used textbooks in the newly emerging universities.

The *lectio* and *disputatio* were common elements of the scholastic method for all masters and students in whatever subject they happened to be studying. For theological masters however, preaching (*predicatio*) was the goal of scholastic education. Peter the Chanter wrote, “We should preach after, not before, the reading of Holy Scripture and the investigation of

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68 For a helpful discussion on this, see Baldwin Masters, Princes and Merchants, vol. 1, p. 96-98.
doubtful matters by disputation.” Preaching was one of the cardinal virtues of the Vita Apostolica; and it was one of the main goals of theological education in this century to produce and train preachers. Preaching became so important to university life that by the early thirteenth century, a new kind of sermon emerged—the university sermon—and became as common as lectures and disputations. A number of these survive from bishops, archbishops, and the leading theological masters of the university.

During the course of the twelfth century, Paris emerged as the leading center for advanced theological education in Western Europe. Peter of Blois wrote that “a clerk is not much worth/Who has not been to Paris” and Philippe of Harvengt (d. 1183), who was a Premonstratensian, believed that Paris was the celestial Jerusalem where the number of eminent professors

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was such that one was able to call it the city of letters. Students from all over Europe flocked to the city to study arts, logic and theology. In the arts curriculum, students and future preachers were exposed to the literature of pagan antiquity; they read Virgil, Ovid, Cicero, Seneca, Horace, Suetonius, Livy and others. They studied grammar from Donatus and Priscian as well as the logical works of Aristotle, known as the *Organon*. Opinions varied about the value of classical learning in the Christian tradition and occasionally we read of masters who warned their audiences that overexposure to the pagan classics should be avoided. But most masters, following a pattern established by Augustine, believed that just as the Jews had spoiled the Egyptians, so too Christians could benefit from pagan authors.

In addition to the numerous peripatetic masters who worked in and around the city of Paris, the four most important schools were located in the Cathedral on the Ile-de-la-Cité, and on the left bank of the Seine: the abbey schools of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Sainte-Geneviève and St. Victor. Of these, the abbey school of Saint-Victor was perhaps the most important for the

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development of the scholastic method, particularly as it related to biblical and theological studies. William of Champeaux, who was a student of Anselm and Ralph of Laon, founded the abbey in 1110. William and several of his students retreated to what was initially a small chapel in an open field outside Paris. Beryl Smalley notes that one of the distinguishing characteristics of William and his band of students was their desire to be both *scholares* and *clastraes*. This would remain true for the Victorines, including Hugh who came to St. Victor around 1118 and taught there from about 1125 until his death in 1141. Although Hugh was known for his mystical and sacramental theology, he sparked a revival for the literal and scientific interpretation of Scripture. As a *claustrialis*, Hugh had a deep interest in the monastic ideals of prayer and meditation; and like Bernard, one of his chief goals was union with God. As a scholar, Hugh took advantage of the liberal arts with its stress on dialectic. Smalley likened him to a new Augustine who was able to balance effectively the relationship between Jerusalem and Athens. Smalley wrote, "Hugh's ideal exegete was a combination of Paris master and contemplative religious."  

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76 Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, p. 83.


Hugh of St. Victor reinvented an exegetical form from Augustine that stressed an understanding of the literal sense of Scripture. Hugh believed strongly that without a clear appreciation of authorial intent, allegorical and tropological meanings would have no foundation. He outlined this program of exegesis in his Didascalicon. Students must start with the literal or historical sense of scripture, and only then proceed to allegory and tropology. Later students of this school would revive the anagogical or eschatological sense in interpretation. In his De Scripturibus, Hugh wrote, “The mystical sense is only gathered from what the letter says, in the first place. I wonder how people have the face to boast themselves teachers of allegory, when they do not know the primary meaning of the letter.”^79 To focus on the historical sense of scripture, Hugh studied grammar and syntax; he studied geography and history; he even consulted Jewish sources—contemporary and ancient—on the meaning of the Hebrew text.^80 Hugh transformed the monastic lectio divina into a science built on the three-fold method of literal, allegorical and tropological exegesis.^81 While monks tended to focus on the

79 Hugh of St. Victor, De Scripturibus et scriptoribus sacris praenotatiunculae, PL, 175 col. 13a: “Cum igitur mystica intelligentia non nisi ex iis quae primo loco littera proponit colligatur; miror qua fronte quidam allegoriarum se doctores jacitant, qui ipsam adhuc primam litterae significationem ignorant.” Quoted in Smalley, Study of the Bible, p. 93.


upper level, devotional aspects of the *lectio*, Hugh and his school altered this model so that *lectio* was firmly grounded in the literal meaning of the Bible.

Other students of this school soon followed in Hugh’s footsteps. Richard of St. Victor (c. 1100-1173), known for his contributions on the spiritual/mystical sense of Scripture nevertheless learned from his master to ground that sense in the literal meaning of the text. Another of Hugh’s disciples, Andrew of Saint-Victor, wrote numerous commentaries and glosses on the Bible. Later in the twelfth century, if one looks at what Baldwin called the “Circle of Peter the Chanter”—Stephen Langton, Robert of Courson, Robert of Flamborough, Peter of Poitiers, Ralph Ardent and others—it is striking to note that many, if not all, of these masters were influenced by or had connections with the school at Saint-Victor. The Chanter himself, in his lectures on the Bible, relied heavily on the commentaries of Hugh and Andrew of Saint-Victor.\(^2\) Peter Comestor’s *Historia Scholastica*, which is a series of glosses on biblical history from creation to the end of the New Testament period, and Ralph Ardent’s *Speculum universale* are both built on Hugh’s model of learning as outlined in the *Didascalicon*.\(^3\) Peter Comestor’s

\(^2\) John Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, vol. 1, p. 48

Historia became a standard text for the study of biblical history in the universities.

As one might expect, preaching reaped many benefits from this new scholastic exegetical method. For example, in addition to writing the Historia Scholastica, Peter Comestor also wrote a collection of approximately 150 sermons which were widely known in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Peter Lombard (d. 1160) came to Paris in 1134 and probably heard Hugh of Saint-Victor lecture. He certainly preached at Saint-Victor on more than one occasion. Thirty-four of Lombard’s sermons survive and they clearly demonstrate Victorine influence. The sermons of Maurice of Sully, Bishop of Paris (d. 1196), also show the influence of the Victorine School even though stylistically his sermons resemble the older homiletic form of the Fathers. Maurice had studied under Peter Abelard and was a scholar/bishop like his predecessor, Peter Lombard. Stephen Langton (d. 1228) was one of the


best known preachers during the late twelfth and early thirteenth century. Langton followed closely the exegetical methods of Saint-Victor in his preaching. Langton’s *reportationes*, or lectures on the Bible, enjoyed a wide circulation throughout Europe and would have been valuable material for preparing sermons. His commentaries are “sprinkled over with notes, pointing out the suitability of certain themes for particular kinds of sermons.” As will be demonstrated more carefully in Chapter 5, Ralph Ardent’s preaching also showed affinity with the Victorine School of exegesis. For example, he provided a careful analysis of the literal and historical sense of scripture first before moving on to allegorical, tropological or anagogical senses.

The form and technique of preaching also changed as a result of its connection to and influence from the schools, although to what extent scholars are still in disagreement. Although sermons were built on the fruit of scholastic biblical exegesis (commentaries, *quaestiones*, and *summas*), there were some differences among the genres. For example, twelfth-century sermons did not employ the use of logical devices such as the *quaestio*. On

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89 There remains much work to be done in this area. For a general discussion of this, see D’Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, pp. 163-180.
the other hand, what does seem to connect twelfth-century sermons to scholastic culture and method was their penchant for dividing and subdividing, for using distinctions, for defining terms, and for using exempla, and auctoritates. Of these, the first three are most often thought of as originating from, or at least being connected to, scholasticism.\textsuperscript{90} Exempla and authorities, whether sacred or secular, were typically used to prove or illustrate various points and have a long connection to the homiletic tradition. Almost always these stories would come from the Bible, saints' lives, or more ancient sermon collections such as those of Bede and Gregory the Great. Ralph Ardent followed this pattern closely, drawing all his exempla from the Bible, the \textit{Vitae Patrum} and in one instance from Eucebius’ \textit{Ecclesiastical History}.\textsuperscript{91} Other preachers found miracle stories to be useful for illustrating sermons. Jacques de Vitry even used personal stories and anecdotes to illustrate many of his sermons.\textsuperscript{92} What was new in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries was the use of literary exempla, taken from pagan as well as religious sources and the fact that they were assembled

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\textsuperscript{90} There is some debate about whether or not scholasticism, or more precisely Aristotelian logic, is the source of this dividing and subdividing tendency. D'Avray [\textit{The Preaching of the Friars}, p. 178] suggest that while, logic offered a “ready-made terminology for describing the practice of division...that does not in itself prove that logic influenced its evolution.”

\textsuperscript{91} Radulphus Ardens, \textit{PL} 155, col. 1738B.

\textsuperscript{92} J. Longère, \textit{Oeuvres oratoires}, 1, pp. 58-62.
Stephen Langton appears to have been the first preacher to use regularly these literary stories to illustrate sermons. The Dominican Étienne de Bourbon created the first collection of exempla in Paris sometime before his death in 1261.

Drawing from the Victorine emphasis on history, grammar, symbolism, and the general scientific interest in language, definitions of terms and etymologies occasionally served as a technique for outlining and dividing sermons. Scholastic preachers also divided and subdivided their sermons by using distinctions (distinctiones). In the thirteenth century, books of alphabetized distinctions were collected and used as tools for preachers. Earlier in the twelfth century, Guibert of Nogent had suggested the use of this technique in his advice to preachers. A distinction is a comparison of word definitions used in different contexts. “For instance the word ‘gold’ means

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96 Guibert of Nogent, Quomodo sermon fieri debeat, in PL, 156, col. 29B-29C.
divinity, ‘gold’ means wisdom, ‘gold’ means brightness of life and when all things are considered, he [the preacher] may with safety use what he sees fits better the context involved.” 97 Sometimes preachers would use these distinctions as the foundation for a sermon outline. Alain of Lille employed this technique in a sermon on temptation. He wrote, “There are three forms of temptation: human temptation, which the weakness of the flesh produces; diabolic temptation, which comes from the provocations of the devil; divine temptation, which descends from the authority of God.” 98 As we will see in Chapter 5, Ralph Ardent constantly used this device to outline his sermons.

Conventions such as the thema and prothema replaced the traditional homiletic form of pre-scholastic sermons. Beginning in the twelfth century, the thema was used to help introduce a sermon. Usually it was a verse of Scripture rather than a complete passage, which served to introduce the main topic of the sermon. In liturgical sermons, the thema was a verse taken from the lectionary reading for that particular Sunday or feast day. The thema also served as a device for further division and subdivision. The prothema which was not used until the thirteenth century, was essentially a preface to the


98 Alain de Lille, quoted in d’Alverny, Alain de Lille, p. 263.
sermon, often followed by a prayer of invocation and the repetition of the *thema*.

The emergence of scholasticism not only helped create a new form of the sermon; it also helped in the production of various preaching aids. Extending as far back as Gregory's *Regula pastoralis*, part of which was a handbook for preachers, the production of preaching aids was nothing new. However, in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, this phenomenon reached an all-time high, especially in Paris which quickly became the center of sermon production and sermon tools in the West. In the twelfth century, this process began with the creation of basic exegetical tools which preachers could use for the preparation of sermons. Some of these have already been mentioned. Stephen Langton wrote glosses on every book of the Bible, which were widely disseminated in France and England. Other scholars in the circle of Peter the Chanter wrote *Summas*, and commentaries on theology and scripture. With the further growth of the universities and the creation of the preaching orders in the thirteenth century, other exegetical tools were created. These tools include such things as books of distinctions and concordances to the scriptures, which were usually alphabetized, making it easy for the preacher to find a particular word or passages which contain a specific

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99 D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, p. 22
Subject indexes were also created as preaching tools; the earliest of these were probably made in Paris. Indices of authors such as Aristotle, Plato, Boethius, Jerome, Anselm, Bernard and Augustine proved extremely useful for helping preachers create sermons that were based on the authority of Scripture and the Fathers. Also beginning in the thirteenth century, *exempla* were extracted from various literary sources—commentaries, letters, chronicles, patristic writings, saints’ lives, bestiaries—and placed into books. Proverbs were collected and the sayings of classical and patristic authors, known as *florilegia*, were also collected and assembled into books. These tools made the assimilation of the enormous mass of classical and religious literature much more manageable.

Perhaps the most important tool for preachers in the twelfth century was the model sermon book. Peter Lombard’s thirty sermons were preached during Advent and Lent. Sometime after his death, they were collected into a book and circulated as a liturgical cycle. This was one of the first of such collections in the twelfth century. Maurice of Sully’s collection is another

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101 Saints’ Lives were very important especially for the creation of *de sanctis* sermons. In the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the *Golden Legend* of Jacopo da Varazze, a Dominican friar, became an important source for preachers in creating liturgical sermons for various saints or feast days.

102 This is the subject of Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus Florum of Thomas of Ireland*, (Toronto, 1979).
example of a popular model sermon collection which he specifically prepared for priests in his diocese to use in their churches.\textsuperscript{103} Likewise, Peter Comestor's collection was one of the better known sermon books in the twelfth century. Peter Comestor's university sermons are found in at least thirty manuscripts dating from the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries.\textsuperscript{104} Ralph Ardent's collection of 202 sermons is in fact one of the largest examples of a model sermon collection in this period. These model sermon collections covered the whole gamut of the Christian faith. They were both catechetical and moral in tone. The sermons in these collections, especially the larger ones, covered all the central doctrines of faith, cardinal virtues and capital vices. All these tools, products of the scholastic movement, helped preachers create sermons which were rich in the fundamentals of Catholic belief and practice, and structured in such a way that they could be used at a moment's notice.

\textit{Theologia \textit{Moralis}}

One final characteristic of twelfth-century preaching deserves mention. In addition to the rational theology that came from the schools, there was also

\textsuperscript{103} A. Lecoy de la Marche, \textit{La chaire française au moyen-âge, spécialement au troisième siècle}, (Paris, 1868): 23.

\textsuperscript{104} Peter Tibber, "The Origins of the Scholastic Sermon," pp. 296-304.
an increasing interest in practical or moral theology. If one looks at the
preaching and exegesis of the early church, one will find there a tendency to
stress the allegorical interpretation and the mysteries of the Christian
religion. For many early exegetes and preachers (eg. Origen), what was
important for them was to explain the hidden meanings and secrets of the
Bible. Because early medieval preachers relied so heavily on patristic
homilies, spiritual exposition of scripture, albeit grounded in a thorough
study of the historical sense, remained important, even for the early
Victorines such as Hugh and Richard. However in the wake of clerical
reform movements which began in the mid-eleventh century, and the
increasing problems posed by urbanization, the rise of the merchant class and
other social conditions in the twelfth century, this new breed of
scholar/preacher began to appreciate the need for communicating moral and
behavioral reform to the laity. One way to characterize this new emphasis on
moral reform is that it was an attempt to apply the monastic way of life to all
people.\textsuperscript{105}

At one level, this new stress in moral theology was an academic
interest. In his \textit{Ethics}, Peter Abelard paved the way for a better appreciation of
the interior nature and intent in the human act of sin. Later in the twelfth
century, a new genre emerged, often referred to as \textit{Vices and Virtues}, which

\textsuperscript{105} Giles Constable, \textit{Reformation of the Twelfth Century}, p. 7.
attempted to explicate the meaning and quality of virtue (*virtus*) and vice (*vitium*). Many of the late twelfth-century masters, including Alain of Lille and Ralph Ardent, engaged in this speculative moral theology. Alain of Lille’s *Virtues and Vices and the Gifts of the Holy Spirit* may have in fact been part of his larger *Summa Quoniam Homines*, and Ralph Ardent’s *Speculum universale* is an encyclopedia of vices and virtues. In these works, scholastic masters wrestled with various *denominationes* of virtue such as bravery, justice and temperateness; they looked at such things as the duty or *officium* of virtue versus the purpose or *finis* of virtue. Vices were analyzed in a similar way. They were defined and examined according to the *actus interior* or *exterior*. One such treatise from the late twelfth century is carried out in the form of a dialogue between the body, the soul and reason. First the vices were explained—sorrow, sloth, pride, disobedience, etc.—and then the virtues—right belief, hope, charity, humility, etc.

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As important as these studies were academically, they would not have been that useful in the pulpit. Moral theology was ultimately practical in nature, and while morality did have its abstract or celestial element, the masters of the twelfth century were deeply interested in reforming society and changing behavior. Truth was useless unless it produced model human beings, unless it changed human behavior. In 1159, John of Salisbury wrote,

I am convinced that all things read or written are useless except so far as they have a good influence on one’s manner of life. Any pretext of philosophy that does not bear fruit in the cultivation of virtue and the guidance of one’s conduct is futile and false.¹⁰⁹

Even when masters wrote their *quaestiones*, their *summas*, and their commentaries, they inevitably concerned themselves with practical moral issues of the day. Robert Courson for example wrote at the beginning of his *summa* that “All celestial philosophy consists of two things, good morals and faith.”¹¹⁰

The twelfth century also had an increased awareness for the responsibly inherent in the *cura animarum*. Bishops and even parish priests were first and foremost pastors. Using biblical imagery, their job was to shepherd the flock of God by word and example. Theologians in the twelfth


century believed that the clergy should not shirk their responsibilities in this regard, and the university masters rarely restrained themselves from an opportunity to point out the contemporary problems of the clergy. Known for his relentless attacks against the evils of various clergy, Gerald of Wales wrote, “What prelate today fulfills even slightly the canonical description of a true pastor?” Likewise, Ralph Ardent wrote, “Alas, what will I say of the laziness of our pastors? They despise the salvation of souls; they never leave of their rest, unless they are allured by the odor of money.” These masters were convinced that the meaning of the biblical text had deeply practical and moral implications for society at large, and they believed that it was the pastor’s responsibility to work toward these changes in his congregation. In the early twelfth century, Guibert of Nogent wrote, “Allegory does little more than build up faith.... Now, by God’s grace, the faith is known to all, and though we ought often to impress it and repeat it to our hearers, we ought no less, indeed much more often, to speak of what will improve their morals.”

111 Gerald of Wales, *The Jewel of the Church*. Translated by John J. Hagen Davis Medieval Texts and Studies (Brill, 1979): 257

112 Radulphus Ardens, *PL* 155, col. 20520: “Heu! quid dicam super pigritiam modernorum pastorum, spernetes salutem animarum, de quiete sua nunquam exeunt, nisi forte trahat eos lucrum pecuniarum?”

Later in the century, Richard of St. Victor recognized that the priest had a holy responsibility to practice his "cure." In one of his sermons to priests he wrote, "Consider, dearest brothers, the divine office imposed on us. Consider the care, concern and labor of the priests. Consider the pious, but dangerous burden that has been imposed on us."\(^\text{114}\) He calls preachers to be faithful in the prophetic ministry. Why? Quoting Isaiah 18.2, Richard goes on to say that people in churches of his day are being "torn away from good and torn apart by evil."\(^\text{115}\) People were being torn away, and ultimately damned by many diverse sins: arrogance, jealousy, anger, bitterness, avarice, gluttony, wealth, usury, rape, false testimony, perjury, homicide, concupiscence and other sins. How are these sins to be corrected? Richard's answer is through preaching: "through your preaching you unite those people being torn apart by evil, you replant those being torn away from good."\(^\text{116}\) Later he instructs the priests about how important it is for them to preach to the people on Sundays and Feast days. They need to follow the instructions of the Apostle Paul who said,

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\(^\text{116}\) Richard of St. Victor, *Sermo* XXIII, in *PL*, 177, col. 942C: "per vestram praedicationem in malo dilaceratam coadunetis, et a bono convulsam replantetis."
"Preach the word, be urgent in season and out of season, convince, rebuke and exhort, be unfailing in patience and in teaching."\textsuperscript{117}

Richard, and other masters in the late twelfth century, had a deep appreciation for the active life of the preacher/scholar. His vision for the pastor/preacher is one that would be advanced by many in the circle of Peter the Chanter. Stephen Langton, Robert of Courson, Ralph Ardent, Alain of Lille and others understood that the stories of the Bible, the literal stories, spoke to people in every-day life. What these masters realized was that the vehicle for moral reform in this newly urbanized society was the sermon. Perhaps the most well known definition of preaching for the late twelfth comes from Alan of Lille (d. 1203): "preaching is an open and public instruction of morals and faith."\textsuperscript{118} Whereas the monk/preachers of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries tended to preach mostly to cloistered audiences, these masters saw themselves and their preaching \textit{ad populum} as instruments of Catholic teaching and morals. By the early decades of the thirteenth century, this new emphasis on popular preaching would become the norm. Bishops, popes and councils would enforce this practice among the

\textsuperscript{117} 2 Tim 4.2.

\textsuperscript{118} Alain of Lille, \textit{Summa de arte praedicatoria}, ch. 1, \textit{PL} 210 col. 111C: "praedicatio est manifesta et publica instructio morum et fidei."
clergy, and new preaching orders would be created and used solely for the purpose of preaching to the masses.

The Thirteenth Century and the Rise of the Mendicant Friars

For our purposes, the final step in this outline of medieval preaching came in the thirteenth century with the rise of the mendicant orders: the Franciscan and Dominican friars. Both orders emerged out of the desire to follow the apostolic life of poverty and popular preaching, and both orders served in conjunction with the goals of the Fourth Lateran Council: to reform the church and to preach against the Cathar heretics, which had become a menace to the church in Western Europe for the past century.

Francis of Assisi (1181-1226) became a symbol for the apostolic life in the early thirteenth century. The son of an Italian cloth merchant, Francis felt the call of God while attending mass during the feast of St. Matthias in 1208. What sparked his attention was a reading from the Gospel of Matthew:

And preach as you go saying ‘the kingdom of heaven is at hand.’ Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse lepers, cast out demons. You received without paying, give without pay. Take no gold, nor silver, nor copper in your belts, no bag for your journey, nor two tunics, nor sandals, nor a staff; for the laborer deserves his food (Matt. 10: 7-10).

For Francis, this verse represented the vita apostolica: poverty, self-denial and preaching; it was a combination of both the active and cloistered life. Francis learned from other passages in the Gospels that Jesus sent out his disciples,
two by two in order to preach that the kingdom of God was at hand. He learned that to be a disciple of Jesus, one must "deny himself, take up the cross and follow me" (Matt. 16:24). Francis was not an educated man, but he took these views literally and seriously. By 1208 he had renounced his father's wealth and gathered together a small band of followers. The following year he requested from Pope Innocent III the right to live a life of poverty and to preach. Innocent granted him this right, with the one restriction that he limit his preaching to moral issues rather than theology.

If one looks at the principles outlined in the Franciscan Rule, one finds there an important emphasis on prayer, voluntary poverty and mendicancy, submission to the authority of the church, and moral or catechetical preaching. The early Franciscan preachers such as Anthony of Padua (d. 1231) and Bonaventure (d. 1274) preached in churches, in towns and in the markets of northern Italian cities. Bonaventure was a particularly good


120 C.H. Lawrence, The Friars, p. 34.

example of a combination between monastic and scholastic preaching. He was essentially raised in the Franciscan order, and trained in the schools of Paris under Alexander of Hales, who along with Thomas Aquinas, was one of the most important theologians in Paris. Bonaventura preached at church councils, he preached in the context of the university and his Franciscan friary, and he preached often in the court of Louis IX.\textsuperscript{122}

Dominican preachers on the other hand are more often than not, associated with the university. Dominic of Osma (c. 1170-1221) was himself an educated man.\textsuperscript{123} He had studied liberal arts and theology for ten years at the Cathedral School of Palencia, after which he became a regular canon in the Cathedral of Osma. In 1206, he accompanied his bishop on preaching campaigns against the Albigensians in the Languedoc. By the time Innocent III declared a Crusade against the Albigensians in 1209, Dominic was in charge of the preaching mission in southern France. The center of Dominic's ministry was Toulouse, where he was active in the cathedral school...


recruiting and training of young men to assist him in his preaching campaigns. Dominic was convinced that theological education was the key to a successful preaching mission against the heretics. Established by Pope Honorius in 1216, Dominic’s “Order of Preachers”, as they were called, became a Catholic preaching machine in the towns of southern France. Like the Franciscans, the Dominicans adopted a life of poverty and self-denial; however the difference is that the Franciscans believed poverty was the Christian way of life. For the Dominicans, the apostolic life was a means of demonstrating the superiority of Catholic spirituality over against the ascetic practices of the heretics.

The Dominicans created a school of preaching from the seeds that were sown in the twelfth century. They were the ones who invented and advanced the production of handbooks on the art of preaching. They produced preaching tools such as books on vices and virtues, model sermon collections and the like. In a sense, they perfected the moral, catechetical preaching of the late twelfth-century masters. The preaching manual of Humbert of Romans O.P. is perhaps the best example of the way in which the Dominicans understood their preaching responsibilities. In the Liber de eruditione praedicatorium, Humbert appealed to the example of Jesus and his

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124 Unfortunately no sermons survive from Dominic.

125 On this issue see Vicaire, St. Dominic and His Times, pp. 88-89.

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disciples as the ideal order of preachers. "To see what a noble job preaching is we must notice that it is an apostolic job: it was for this job that the Lord chose apostles."^{126} He also appealed to the threat of heretics to incite his contemporaries to act. He used the imagery of a hunter to describe the task of the preacher. Explaining Jeremiah 16:6, he writes, "preachers hunt wild souls who are in every kind of sin. And just as noblemen enjoy eating game, so God enjoys this kind of venison."^{127}

The mendicant friars were deeply rooted in urban society, so much so that scholars have suggested that mendicant preaching and spirituality was formed in response to the moral ills of the urban market place.^{128} In his groundbreaking work on mendicant preaching, David D'Avray has suggested that this view is too narrow. For example, although most mendicant convents were in cities and towns, they also operated in the countryside as well as in royal courts.^{129} Commerce and city life were only two aspects of the mendicant social milieu. Sometimes mendicant sermons use feudal imagery,

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^{126} Liber de eruditione praedicatorkum, in B. Humberti de Romanis...Opera de vita regulari, ed. J. J. Berthier (1956), pp. 450. An English translation of this text is found in Simon Tugwell, Early Dominicans: Selected Writings (New York, 1982).

^{127} Ibid. p. 191.


sometimes the imagery of kings and princes. The gift economy of the feudal
world is every bit as present in these sermons as the thirteenth century “profit
economy.” The mendicants’ vast use of similitudes and distinctions make for
a wide range imagery, of which the contemporary urban economy and culture
are only a part. However mendicant preaching is characterized, it is clear
that their concern was to change human behavior.

Like the *scholares* and *claustrales* of the Victorines, mendicant
preaching combined the ideals of both Cistercian/monastic preaching and the
scholastic preaching of the late twelfth-century masters. The content of
preaching, the tools, the form of the sermons all took shape in the second half
of the twelfth century as scholastic masters combined the preaching of the
great monastic figures such as Bernard of Clairvaux with the active and
apostolic life of the regular canons. The problem that the Carolingian church
faced with regard to uneducated clergy was redressed with the educated and
“vernacularized prose” of the friars. During the first half of the thirteenth
century, the university in Paris became the central place in northern Europe
for the proliferation of preaching aids and theoretical manuals devoted to the

\[130\] Ibid, p. 205-239.

art of preaching. The mendicant friars had different characteristics, and even a different spirituality, but they were both deeply committed to preaching.

Fulk de Neuilly, the Ideal Master-Preacher

Guibert of Nogent served as a useful witness to the preaching, or lack thereof, of monks in the early twelfth century. A century later, Jacques de Vitry (d.1240) offered similar testimony about the preaching of masters at the end of the twelfth century. In his Historia Occidentalis, written sometime around 1225, Jacques offers a first-hand account of the state of the church at the turn of the century. He wrote about the University at Paris, the newly organized Franciscans, and various forms of monastic life. He also offered a few comments about the preachers of his day.

Jacques did not have the same flowery view of Paris as did Peter of Blois or Philippe of Harvenget a generation or two earlier. According to

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132 One way the mass production of preaching aids was accomplished in Paris was through the pecia system. The pecia system at Paris was an efficient and rapid way of reproducing a standardized copy of a textbook or preaching aid. In some ways, it was like our own system of publication and printing. The texts from model sermon collections, artes praedicandi, exemplum, distinctio, and other similar preaching tools were transmitted and combined into smaller preaching books which could easily be carried in one's pocket. The pecia system was explained as a way in which university stationers could copy the exemplar of a work in demand. The exemplar was written in quires of anywhere from four to eight folios called peciae. Scribes could then copy these peciae one at a time, which allowed for several copies to be worked on concurrently and at various stages of completion. On this subject, see Richard Rouse and Mary Rouse, Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus florum of Thomas of Ireland, (Toronto, 1979): 170.
Jacques, Paris had become filled with masters who more interested in lining their own pockets and increasing their own fame, than modeling the Christian life. Yet there were some exceptions to this rule. Most notably for Jacques was Fulk de Neuilly (d. 1202), who was an illiterate rural priest, so ashamed of his ignorance of scripture, that he decided to go to Paris and study theology. In Paris, Fulk studied moral and practical theology with Peter the Chanter, whom Jacques described as a “rose in the midst of thorns” (rosa inter urticas). Fulk was a diligent student, writing down the words of his teachers on wax tablets and frequently committing them to memory. On Sundays he would return to his parish church in Neuilly where he would preach to the people what he had learned during the previous week. He was also invited to preach at the church of Saint-Séverin on the Left Bank of Paris as well as neighboring churches around the city. For the first two years, his success was limited; but his perseverance paid off and from 1195 until his death in 1202, Fulk’s itinerant preaching ministry to prostitutes, to the poor, to clergy, and

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Jacques was not the only person to lament the state of the clergy. Gaurin of St. Victor, writing at the end of the twelfth century, laments that “the early defenders of the Church were martyred and tortured, those of today are have their feet washed, not in the blood of penance, but in carnal desires; they do not run to defend or preach the evangelical truth, but rather to rob the poor and blaspheme the name of God.” From Paris, BN ms, lat, 14588 fol. 195, as quoted in Bourgain, La chaire française au XIIIe siècle, p. 7.

even to kings and princes won him wide acclaim: “the sound of his preaching went out into all Christendom, and the fame of his sanctity was known everywhere.” He was noted for performing many miracles and was even commissioned by Pope Innocent III to preach the Fourth Crusade. One of his sermons was delivered in the square of Champeaux where the crowds were so moved that they tore their clothes and prostrated themselves before him.

Unfortunately none of Fulk’s sermons survive. One can presume however that he would have preached in the vernacular and with great passion. Jacques wrote that Fulk’s appeal lay especially in his delivery and his zeal. Occasionally scholars would write down his words, but afterwards found that his words in written form lacked their original force. Fulk de Neuilly is a good representative of the ideal master-preacher of the late twelfth century—trained in the schools, and committed to preaching and teaching the laity by word and example. Fulk set the example for many master-preachers such as Robert of Courson, Stephen Langton and even Jacques de Vitry himself. He preached against all sorts of vices that plagued


136 Ibid, p. 95.

137 Ibid, p. 100

France in the late twelfth century: prostitution, clerical marriage, usury, avarice and the like. Fulk even had the nerve to reproach King Richard I of England for his pride, greed and sensuality. Fulk’s preaching is a classic example of the kind of moral/catechical preaching that began to emerge among those associated with the circle of Peter the Chanter.

Conclusion

Due largely to the complex changes that were taking place in this period, historians of popular preaching in the middle ages have often had a difficult time characterizing the preaching efforts of the late twelfth century. Monastic preaching continued to thrive; but there was also a new group of preachers—trained in Parisian schools—who were interested in catechical and moral preaching to the laity. In this “transitional” period we have introduced a number of important preachers such as Peter Lombard, Maurice of Sully, Peter of Poitiers, Robert Courson, Alan of Lille, Peter of Blois, Fulk de Neuilly, and Stephen Langton. A number of these masters went on to become monks, canons, bishops, cardinals, and even popes; but they all carried with them a deep commitment to reforming the morals of society

139 Gutsch, “A Twelfth Century Preacher,” p. 189

140 Roger of Hovenden, Chronica, IV, 76-77 (Rolls series, 51), as cited in Gutsch, “A Twelfth Century Preacher,” p. 188.
(both clerical and lay) and educating the masses in the fundamentals of the Christian faith—a view that would find its legislative climax in the Fourth Lateran Council and the formation of the mendicant orders.

It was in this transitional period that Ralph Ardent flourished as a preacher and teacher. Much of the preaching during Ralph Ardent's day was delivered by clerics to clerical or monastic audiences. This was especially true in Paris since a large percentage of the population was comprised of students. Yet this was also a period which began to see a growth in popular preaching. The impetus for this growth is found primarily in the efforts made by the Church to reform the clergy and laity, to win popular support for the Crusades, and to stop the spread of popular heresy. The responsibility for this task fell on masters and doctors of the Church who were trained in the three exercises of Holy Scripture: reading (lectio) disputing (disputatio) and preaching (predicatio).\(^{141}\)

The preaching of the late twelfth century was the foundation on which the friars of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries perfected their art. I have suggested that the most important ingredients which helped reinvigorate preaching during the course of the twelfth century were Cistercian ideals,

\(^{141}\) Peter the Chanter wrote "There are three things involved in the explanation of sacred scripture: reading, disputing and preaching." Verbum Abbreviatum, PL 205: 25A: "In tribus autem consistit exercitium sacre scripture: in lectione, disputacione, predicacione..." as quoted in Baldwin, Masters, Princes and Merchants, 2:63 note 22.
represented best by Bernard of Clairvaux, and the emergence of scholasticism which offered a new form of sermon, new content and new tools for preaching. The preaching of the twelfth century helped to bridge the gap between the practical ideals of a religious elite and the masses of laity (and many clergy as well). The preaching of Ralph Ardent and others like him represent a significant step in the evolution of the sermon from a scholastic tool which was delivered to university audiences, to the popular lay sermons of the thirteenth-century friars. Like the preaching of Fulk de Neuilly, Ralph Ardent’s sermons anticipate the fundamental concerns of the friars—to preach morals, to catechize the faithful, and to reform society.
CHAPTER 2
HISTORIOGRAPHIC TRADITION AND BIOGRAPHY

Scholarly works on Ralph Ardent and his sermon collection are rare. One of the reasons for this lacuna is that Ralph Ardent is an enigmatic figure; serious questions remain about his identity. Some scholars have seen him as an eleventh century figure, others late twelfth century, and still others place him in the fourteenth century. Yet, anyone familiar with the literature of the high middle ages knows that this is not an uncommon phenomena. Unless a substantial collection of letters or other such personal information survives, such as we find with the likes of John of Salisbury and Gerald of Wales, or the individual was a prominent bishop, archbishop, abbot or pope, there can be a great deal of ambiguity surrounding an author’s life and career. The next two chapters will examine biographical data for the life and career of Ralph Ardent. The present chapter will trace the historiographic tradition about Ralph Ardent, particularly as it relates to his ethical treatise, the Speculum Universale. The next chapter will focus more exclusively on the sermon collection. There I will describe the manuscripts and offer additional
suggestions and possibilities about the identity of this little-known preacher and master.

The first person to offer a *Vita*, albeit brief, of Ralph Ardent was Claude Frémy who published his sermon collection in 1564. Frémy, who was a leading bookseller at the University of Paris, located the place of Ralph’s birth in Beaulieu near Bressuire in the diocese of Poitiers during the time of William IV, duke of Aquitaine (d. 990).\(^1\) He also described what he believed to be the extent of Ralph’s written works. In addition to the sermon collection, he said Ralph wrote two volumes of letters, a book of ethics entitled the *Speculum Universale*, the *Historia sui temporis: Belli Godefridi de Bouillon in Saracenos*, and “many other works” (*Scripsit pleraque alia*) which were alluded to in the *Speculum*.\(^2\) The letters are lost, although Bernhard Geyer found allusions to three of these letters in the *Speculum Universale*.\(^3\) The *Historia sui temporis* is possibly the work of Ralph of Laon (d.1131/3).\(^4\)

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1. *D. Radulphi Ardensis Pictavi, Doctoris Theologi Perantiqui...Homiliae...*, Parisiis, Apud Claudium Fremey, via Iacobea, ad insigne D. Martini, 1564. This edition was reproduced in *PL* 155. For the introduction, see col. 1299. Eighteenth-century scholars corrected this mistake by suggesting that Frémy meant to say William IX of Aquitaine (1071-1127).


Of the remaining books, the only extant works we have are the sermon collection and the *Speculum Universale*. The *Speculum* is a major treatise on vices and virtues written in fourteen books with hundreds of chapters. It is encyclopedic and general in nature, and deals with issues such as Christology, the sacraments and moral questions. Frémy indicated that a copy of this work could be found in the library of the Cordeliers in Bressuire. The *Speculum* appears to have had the about same popularity as the sermons; there are ten surviving manuscripts which date roughly from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. However, with the introduction of Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics* to the west in the late twelfth century, encyclopedic ethical treatises became less important. The sermons on the other hand received some additional attention as Frémy's edition was printed several times in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Although Frémy wrote his *Vita* over three hundred years after Ralph died, he did give information about the author not found in any other source. For example, he said that Ralph was an exceptional student and took the title


6 These manuscripts and printed editions will be discussed in the next chapter.
Doctor of Theology before his thirtieth birthday. However, Frémy does not indicate the sources he used for this information, other than the prologue to the sermons and the Speculum itself. It is possible that Frémy had access to the two volumes of Ralph's letters, but one would assume that if this were the case, even more information would have been given.

Frémy's Vita set the scholarly discussion of Ralph Ardent and his sermons until the eighteenth century. Much of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century scholarly literature on Ralph Ardent offers only short biographical sketches taken primarily from Frémy and includes no information about the manuscripts. Antonio Possevino (c. 1565) included Ralph Ardent in his Apparatus Sacer. He listed four printed editions of the sermons in Antwerp (2 vols. 1563 and 1570 respectively), Louvain (1565) and Cologne (1604), but no biographical information beyond Frémy.7 Aubert LeMire (1573-1640) in his Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica placed Ralph in Poitiers during the time of William IV, but did not elaborate on his writings or his thought.8 In his monumental encyclopedia on the history of ecclesiastical authors and their works, Louis Du Pin (1657-1719) wrote that Ralph Ardent was a "native of Poitiers and flourish'd in the beginning of this (twelfth)


8 Aubert LeMire, Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica (Antuerpiae: Jacob Messi, 1639) 253. The only writings he listed were the sermons.
William Cave (1637-1713) offered a brief paragraph on Ralph Ardent in his *Historia Literaria* in which he located Ralph in Poitiers and gave a list of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century printed editions of the sermons. Casimir Oudin (1638-1717) included Ralph Ardent in his *Commentarius de scriptoribus ecclesiae antiquis*, which was the most complete biographical treatment since Frémy. Using Frémy and Cave as his sources, Oudin also placed Ralph in Poitiers around the year 1101. He gave a list of Ralph's works and included the printed editions of the sermons; yet, like the others, he made no attempt to analyze any of Ralph's writings.

Johann Fabricius (1668-1736), in his *Bibliotheca Latina Mediae et Infimae Ætatis* (1754) situated Ralph during the time of Philip I of France (1060-1108) and again provided a list of his printed works which followed Frémy to the letter.

In the eighteenth century, there was a more concerted effort on the part of some scholars to research the life and works of Ralph Ardent. The most

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extended work in this period is Rivet's article in the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, published in 1750.\(^\text{13}\) This article offered a comprehensive treatment of Ralph's life, works and a list of known printed editions of his sermons. For biographical information, the authors drew from the *Vita* of Frémy. The article suggested that Frémy was mistaken in attributing Ralph's career to the time of William IV. Instead, Rivet believed that Ralph lived during the time of William IX, count of Poitiers and Duke of Aquitaine (1071-1127), served at his court and died while on crusade in 1101. In an earlier volume on the French schools of the late eleventh century, Rivet also suggested that Ralph Ardent may have served as archdeacon of Poitiers.\(^\text{14}\) By examining the sermons, Rivet discovered that Ralph was familiar with a large selection of sacred and secular writers: historians, poets, Church Fathers and philosophers. Rivet judged Ralph's Latin prose as stylish, clear and concise and concluded that he was probably educated at the Cathedral school in Poitiers.

This article also gave a concise summary of Ralph Ardent's sermons and the *Speculum Universale*. Rivet compared his doctrine of sin to that of Archbishop Lanfranc, who in his view was Ralph's contemporary. He also showed that Ralph had an understanding of transubstantiation and penance

\(^{\text{13}}\) "Raoul Ardens, Orateur" in *Histoire littéraire de la France* (Paris, 1750) vol. 9 pp. 245-65. This article was reproduced in PL vol. 155 col. 1293-1300.

\(^{\text{14}}\) *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. 7 pp. 50-51. This evidence will be discussed below.

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that would have fit in well with the theology of the early twelfth century.\textsuperscript{15} Although Rivet did not mention any manuscripts, he was aware of the printed editions of the sermon collection published between 1564 and 1675 in Paris, Cologne and Antwerp. He also noted the existence of a French translation of Frémy’s edition, printed in 1575 in two volumes. The first volume was translated in 1575 by Fr. Jean Robert and the second volume was translated in the same year by Fremin Capitis, a Francisican theologian.\textsuperscript{16} This translation was not reprinted and does not appear to have been as popular as the Latin editions.

Most of the remaining eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century literature on Ralph Ardent followed the article in the \textit{Histoire littéraire de la France}. Remi Ceülier (1688-1761) offered a lengthy discussion of Ralph Ardent in his \textit{Histoire générale des auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques}, although he essentially repeated the material contained in the \textit{Histoire littéraire de la France}.\textsuperscript{17} Michaud’s (1767-1839) \textit{Biographie Universelle} also contains an entry on Ralph Ardent. He followed previous scholarship in assuming that Ralph 

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid. p. 259.

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid, p. 264. This translation might be in \textit{Catéchisme, ou Instructions des premiers fondemens de la Religion chrestienne...r’dig’en 53 homilies, etc.} by Fremin Capitis. See Catalogue Général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale, tome 23. Col. 561-2. This book matches the publisher and date given by the editors in the \textit{Histoire littéraire de la France}.

was born in the village of Bressuire in Poitou, became archdeacon in Poitou and was a preacher for William IX, even accompanying him overseas.\textsuperscript{18}

Nineteenth-century scholarship, while relying heavily on the \textit{Histoire littéraire de la France} for biographical information and sermon themes, also expanded on the content of the sermons. Bourgain featured Ralph Ardent in his pioneering study on medieval preaching.\textsuperscript{19} He argued that while Ralph lacked a classical style, he nevertheless was a powerful, original and humble preacher.\textsuperscript{20} His examination of the sermons was limited to only a few themes and in no way covered all the sermons. Furthermore, he limited his discussion to the printed edition in the \textit{Patrologia Latina} rather than to manuscripts, which made it more difficult to answer complex questions related to the use of vernacular language and what he considered "gallicismes" in the Latin syntax of the sermons.\textsuperscript{21}

Other studies of Ralph Ardent in this period include articles by Jean Francois Dreux-De Radier and Touchard.\textsuperscript{22} Dreux-De Radier believed that


\textsuperscript{19} L. Bourgain, \textit{La chaire française au XIII\textsuperscript{e} siècle d’après les manuscrits}, (Paris: 1879) 55-61.

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid. \textit{La chaire française} p. 60-61.

\textsuperscript{21} Bourgain, \textit{La chaire française}, 193.

\textsuperscript{22} Francois Dreux-De Radier, \textit{Histoire littéraire de la Poitou} (1842) 1, 67-71 and Touchard, “Notice sur Raoul Ardens, savant poitevin du XI\textsuperscript{e} s,” \textit{Bulletin de la société des antiquaires de l’ouest} 7 (1855): 4-14.
Ralph was an eleventh-, early twelfth-century figure who had studied at the Cathedral School in Poitiers. He found an epitaph in volume four of Andre Duchesne’s (1584-1640) *Historiae Francorum scriptores coaetanei* (1636). Duchesne’s epitaph came from Baudry, seventh abbot of Bourgueil and Bishop of Dol in Brittany (1046-1130) regarding a certain archdeacon, Radulphus of Poitiers. The language of this epitaph could easily be taken for Ralph Ardent:

Archidiaconii perfunctus honore decenter,
Consilium plebis, lux cleri Pictaviensis,
Quem satis egregiae ditarat summa sophiae,
Radulphus jacet hic factus de pulvere pulvis.
Pictavis urbs, luge, tanto viduata ministro.
Tunde dolens pectus, laceros tibi direpe crines,
Dummodo persona cares huic aequiparanda.
Nec tamen in lacrymis unquam tua vota coerce.
Spiritus ut veniam Radulfi promereatur.

Id puer, idque senex, lector quoque poscat idipsum.23

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[Trans. "Having performed the office of archdeacon properly, Council to the common people, light to the clergy of Poitiers Whom the highest wisdom endowed Radulphus lies here made of dust to dust. Mourn city of Poitiers having been widowed of so great a servant. Beat your breast while you grieve, pull and cut your hair Since you lack a person who can be compared to this one. Never stop your vows, even if you are crying. The Spirit of Radulfus deserves pardon Even as a child or an old man and the reader also asks for the same thing."

The quality of this man's ministry, the respect he earned among the clergy of Poitiers and the sincere remorse over his death is remarkable, especially for an archdeacon. These sorts of accolades are usually reserved for abbots, bishops or other high ecclesiastical officials. However the question remains as to whether or not this Ralph is the author of this sermon collection? Dreux-De Radier believed that he was.

24 This is especially so since there is, throughout the middle ages, a rich body of literature criticizing archdeacons who were greedy or ambitious for power.

25 Dreux-De Radier, *Histoire littéraire de la Poitou*, p. 68: "Je ne vois rien qui ne détermine à croire que ce monument est relatif à Raoul Ardens."
We know very little about this archdeacon, but there are many references to him in the published archives of Poitiers. "Radulfus archidiaconus" served under Bishop Isembert II\textsuperscript{26} and appears in the sources as witness to various episcopal acts. For example, in the cartulary of the Church of Saint Nicholas of Poitou Ralph was a witness in 1086 when Duke William VIII banished the regular canons from the church of Saint Nicholas and gave the church to the monastery of Montierneuf.\textsuperscript{27} He also appears in the charter for the abbey of Saint Cyprien along with another archdeacon Peter who went on to become bishop of Poitiers in 1087.\textsuperscript{28} Most of the time Ralph acted as a witness to donations made to monasteries or episcopal judgments against churches in the diocese. The last reference to this man is found in the charter for the Monastery of Saint-Florent de Saumur where Ralph appears in 1090 at the confirmation of bishop Peter II of Poitiers. As archdeacon, Ralph likely served at the church of St. Hilary, which was the seat of the diocese of Poitou. Archdeacons had many responsibilities including the oversight of diocesan finances and service in the episcopal court; they were also well educated and were often responsible for preaching regularly in their churches. The sources do not indicate when this man died, however it is probable that he is the same archdeacon eulogized by Baudry in the early

\textsuperscript{26} Isembert II was bishop of Poitiers from 1047 to 1086.

\textsuperscript{27} Archives Historiques du Poitou, (Poitiers, 1872)vol. 1: 17-18

\textsuperscript{28} Archives Historiques du Poitou, (Poitiers, 1874) vol. 3: 33, 62, 102, 103, 104, 180, 213, 258
twelfth century. This is certainly one of the best candidates for those scholars who believe that the career of Ralph Ardent is to be placed in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.

In the twentieth century, this view of Ralph Ardent as a late eleventh-early twelfth-century figure would change again as scholars began to focus their attention more on the *Speculum Universale*. Scholars who studied the *Speculum Universale* often uncritically transferred many of their conclusions to author of the sermon collection without having carefully examined the manuscript tradition and the content of the sermons.

In the early twentieth century, Edwin Dargan was the first person to attempt a comprehensive history of preaching in the English language. This work was intended to be a general introduction to homiletics for seminary students, and as such left many stones unturned as the author moved in giant leaps from St. Augustine to Gregory the Great to the friars without giving much consideration to what lay in between. Dargan mentioned Ralph Ardent on several occasions, but Dargan's work was taken almost verbatim from Bourgain.

Martin Grabmann studied Ralph Ardent's *Speculum Universale* for his pioneering work on the history of the scholastic method, first published in 1909. Like others before him, Grabmann placed Ralph in the late eleventh

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century.\textsuperscript{30} In 1911, Bernhard Geyer was the first scholar to notice allusions to southwestern France in the \textit{Speculum Universale}, which confirmed the Poitevin origins suggested earlier by Frémy. Geyer was also the first scholar to notice that in addition to using ancient sources such as the Church Fathers, saints’ lives and the \textit{Vitae patrum}, Ralph used texts from recent masters such as Hugh of St. Victor (d. 1141), and Gilbert de la Porrée (d. 1154). Other scholars would confirm these connections. Artur Landgraf and Odon Lottin in their respective works on the theology of the high middle ages saw allusions to the Porretan school in the \textit{Speculum} as well as the sermons.\textsuperscript{31} Neither of these scholars cite manuscript sources for the sermon collection. Most of their citations for Ralph came from the \textit{Speculum Universale}, and when they did quote the sermons it was always from Frémy’s edition. Johannes Gründel, who wrote a monograph on the \textit{Speculum Universale}, also saw the same connections to the school of Gilbert de la Porrée.\textsuperscript{32}

Gilbert de la Porrée was one of the principal students of the theological school at Chartres and a master at Mont Sainte-Geneviève in Paris. Later he became head of the cathedral school at Poitiers and bishop of the diocese in


\textsuperscript{32} J. Gründel, \textit{Die Lehre des Radulfus Ardens}, p. 25, 39, 113-115
1142. At the Council of Rheims in 1148, he was attacked vigorously by Bernard of Clarvaux for his views on the Trinity, but he was not condemned. Gilbert’s commentaries on the Psalms and the epistles of Paul as well as his commentary on Boethius’ theological essays received a wide audience in the second half of the twelfth century. The innovative and speculative character of the Porretan school on Mont Sainte-Geneviève can be seen in contrast to the more conservative followers of Peter Lombard and his school centered at the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris.34

There is additional evidence from the Speculum that places Ralph Ardent in the second half of the twelfth century. For example, Gründel discovered that Ralph referred to Bernard of Clarvaux as “saint” in the Speculum Universale.35 Bernard was canonized by Pope Alexander III in 1174 which would place the writing of the Speculum in the last quarter of the


century. Geyer also found explicit references in book ten of the *Speculum* to Peter Lombard (d. 1160) and the Third Lateran Council of 1179. Moreover, Paul Anciaux showed that Ralph borrowed from Simon of Tournai’s *Summa* on the nature and character of confession. Along with Alain of Lille (d. 1203), Simon of Tournai (d. 1201) was one of the more prominent Porretani in the late twelfth century, and taught at Mont St. Geneviève in Paris.

In 1951, Damien Van Den Eynde suggested that the references to Lateran III were instead probably copied from passages in Peter the Chanter’s *Verbum abbreviatum*, written between 1190 and 1192. Whatever his source for the decisions of Lateran III, the fact that Ralph knew of them, but made no mention of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) suggests that the *Speculum* was written sometime between these two dates and would thus place the career of Ralph Ardent in the second half of the century. Moreover, Grabmann discovered in one of the *Speculum* manuscripts that Ralph died

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36 Bernhard Geyer, “Radulfus Ardens und das *Speculum Universale.*” Theologische Quartalschrift XCIII (1911) 89.


38 Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, I: 44.

before he finished the work. On the basis of this evidence, John Baldwin believed that Ralph Ardent was likely associated with the circle of Peter the Chanter. There is still more evidence that may link Ralph with the Chanter’s circle in Paris. In one manuscript of his *Summa de sacramentis et animae consiliis*, Peter the Chanter made mention of a certain magister “R. Ar.” According to Baldwin, this work was the result of oral discussions that Peter had with several Parisian masters. “R. Ar.” might very well be Ralph Ardent, and this might help place our preacher in Paris toward the end of the twelfth century. But again, the evidence for a late twelfth-century date of Ralph Ardent so far has been based entirely on the manuscripts of the *Speculum Universale*. The question remains as to whether one can transfer this information to the author of the sermons?

In two important works, *Oeuvres oratoires de maîtres parisiens au xiiie siècle* (1975) and *La Prédication médiévale* (1983), Jean Longère gave Ralph

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Ardent's sermons the most thorough treatment yet.\textsuperscript{44} \textit{Oeuvres oratoires} is in many ways similar to the nineteenth-century work of Bourgain, though it is much more complete. In this work, Longère outlined the major themes in medieval preaching, focusing particularly on twelfth-century preachers situated between the death of St. Bernard (1153) and the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). Longère's \textit{La Prédication médiéval} is an essential handbook for students in the field of medieval preaching. He covered a number of important questions, from the definition of preaching to the relationship between the sermon and medieval liturgy. He gave an excellent but brief history of preaching from the time of Gregory the Great (d. 604) up to and including the fifteenth century, and offered important suggestions related to the classification, transmission, authorship, language, social context and sources of medieval sermons and medieval preaching. References to Ralph Ardent are sprinkled throughout these works, and thus Longère will provide an essential starting place from which to move forward toward a more complete analysis of his sermons.

Twentieth-century scholarship has also uncovered other data which have added to our information about Ralph Ardent's biography. In 1949, Marie-Thérèse d’Alverny found a short obituary notice of Ralph Ardent in a near-contemporary manuscript of the \textit{Speculum Universale}. The manuscript

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\footnotesize
\cite{Longere1975, Longere1983}
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was in two parts (Paris, B.N. Lat. 3229 and 3240), both originating from the Chartreuse of Liget in Tours. Folio 1 of B.N. 3229 has an obit which reads: "Pridie idus septembris magister Radulphus...." and then there are two lines, "A mundi pena, septembris lux doudena / Illum secreuit qui mundi gaudia spreuit." The note says that Ralph died at on September 12, but there is no indication of the year. It is not clear why his death was remembered at this Carthusian house. D'Alverny thinks that Ralph may have been a benefactor or friend of the monastery. D'Alverny also uncovered a third manuscript from Liget that contained excerpts from the last books of the *Speculum Universale* (Paris, B.N. Lat 3242). The manuscript dates to the fifteenth century. On folio 88r, it contains a similar obituary notice which placed Ralph in Beaulieu (Bello Loco) in the diocese of Poitiers:

On the day before the ides of September, the death of the venerable man master Radulphus de Bello Loco of the diocese of Poitiers, who was the author of this book....

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47 d'Alverny, “L'obit de Raoul Ardens,” 403-405: “Pridie idus septembris obitus venerabilis viri magistri Radulphi de Bello Loco pictavensis diocesis qui fuit auctor huius libri...."
This evidence establishes the fact that Ralph Ardent was a *magister* who spent at least part of his career in Poitiers. It also demonstrates that the surname *Ardens* was not the only name used for this individual. More information was yet to come.

In 1979, Vernet published an *explicit* from a complete, two volume, mid-fourteenth-century manuscript of the *Speculum Universale* (Lisbon, Bibl. Nacional, Fundo Illuminades 87-88). The manuscript referred to the burial place of Ralph Ardent as being in the Premonstratensian abbey of Lieu-Dieu in Jard near Talmont, located in the diocese of Poitiers. On the last folio of volume two it reads:

Explicit Speculum universale Distinctionum magistri Radulphi Ardensis de virtutibus et vitiis eiusmod oppositis qui creditur fuisse Radulphus de Belloloco qui multa alia scrisit et dicitur esse sepultus in Pictavia in abbassia de Jars prope Talemontem, cujus anima requiescat in pace. Amen.

The language here sounds very similar to some of Frémy’s comments in his sixteenth-century *Vita*. It confirms that Ralph Ardent was the author of the *Speculum Universale*, that he was connected to the diocese of Poitiers, and was believed to be buried at the abbey of Lieu-Dieu in Jard.

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48 Talmont is located on the west-central coast of France. Jard-Sur-Mer is approximately 7 kilometers south-east of Talmont.

Ralph’s connection to Jard is confirmed by other data as well. We learn from several entries in the Pipe Rolls of Richard I that a Radulphus de Bello Loco was a chaplain in the court of Richard I and was even present in Tours when Richard took his pilgrim’s staff from the Archbishop of Tours.\textsuperscript{50} Several entries dated 1190 state that magister Radulphus was serving in the king’s court during at least two visits to the Premonstratensian abbey of Lieu-Dieu in Jard and also to the abbey of S. John de Moutiers-neuf in Tours.\textsuperscript{51} He does not appear after 1197.\textsuperscript{52} On the first of these visits dated 5 May 1190, Ralph was present for the foundation of the abbey in Jard along with Stephen of Tourani, who was the abbot of Sainte-Geneviève in Paris until he was appointed Bishop of Tournai in 1192.\textsuperscript{53} There is little doubt that this Radulphus was Ralph Ardent, the author of the Speculum Universale. This

\textsuperscript{50} See ibid, p. 35 and Paul Guérin ed. Archives historiques du Poitou, XI (1881) p. 409, 411. See E. Audouin, Recueil de documents concernant la commune et la ville de Poitiers. Vol. 1, Archives historiques du Poitou XLIV. (Poitiers, 1923) chapter XXIV p. 44 is an entry that dates from 1196-1198. It is connected with Richard I renewing his favor on the abbey of du Pin. The action was witnessed by "R.B. cappellani nostrii" The R is certainly Radulphus. The B could stand for Bello Loco but it could also be a misprint. It probably should be S for Seguin who appears along with Ralph on several occasions as one of the chaplains of Richard I. An additional mention of Radulfus capellanus for 1193 is found in Alexandre Teulet, Inventaires et Documents Publiés Par ordre de l'empereur. Layettes du Trésor des chartes vol. 1 (Paris, 1863): 173.


\textsuperscript{52} There is an entry in the Cartulary of the Abbaye d'Orbeister for 1217 which lists, “R. canonicus de Loco Dei in Jardo.” See Archives historiques du Poitou (1877), vol. 6, p. 31 and another for 1219 which lists “Radulphus capellanus eorum et ecclesie de Bealoc.” Ibid, p. 33. Either of these entries could refer to Ralph Ardent.
evidence also places Ralph in the company of an important Parisian abbot who knew and supported Peter the Chanter. It also suggests that Ralph may have had a special interest in the Premonstratensian order.

The Premonstratensians were models of the apostolic life. Founded in 1121 by Norbert and a few of his disciples, the Premonstratensians adopted *The Rule of Saint Augustine* for their new order. They lived a life of ascetic poverty that included missionary preaching and evangelism. Like the Cistercians, they were extremely popular and quickly founded houses throughout Northern France, Germany and eventually England. This order was particularly attractive to pastorally-minded priests and clerics. At one point, Norbert, himself a former canon, converted the entire chapter of Magdeburg into a Premonstratensian body.\(^54\) As an active preacher and reformed minded theologian of the late twelfth century, Vernet believes that Ralph Ardent was attracted to the Premonstratensians of Jard and possibly joined the abbey *ad succurendum*.\(^55\) It was a common practice for laymen and secular clerics in the twelfth century to enter a monastery when they were seriously injured, sick or old in order to adopt the monastic habit. The


\(^{55}\) A. Vernet, “Le lieu de sépulture de Raoul Ardens,” 41.
Premonstratensians were an especially popular order for this, and often admitted secular clergy to die and receive burial as canons.\textsuperscript{56}

All of the above obituary notices are associated with manuscripts of Ralph Ardent's \textit{Speculum Universale}. Additional data about the sermon collection came in 1979 when George Wolf found Ralph Ardent's own preface to his sermons—the preface Frémy used for his biographical information.\textsuperscript{57} Wolf studied the preface to a fifteenth-century manuscript of the sermons (Oxford, Lincoln ms. 116), but this preface is found in almost all the extant manuscripts of the sermons.\textsuperscript{58} This obvious oversight on the part of previous scholars demonstrates that until recently no one had actually studied the manuscripts of the sermon collection since Frémy! Most of the information on Ralph has been garnered from manuscripts of the \textit{Speculum}, and from Frémy's printed edition of the sermons which assume, but do not prove, that the Ralph Ardent of the \textit{Speculum} was the same as the author of the sermons.


\textsuperscript{57} George Wolf, "La Préface perdue des sermons de Raoul Ardens Chapelain de Richard I." \textit{Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge} 46 (1979): 35-39.

\textsuperscript{58} For the text of this preface, see Appendix B.
Unfortunately, there is very little explicit biographical information given in the preface to the sermon collection. The name "Radulpho" appears with no further identification or surnames such as Ardens or Bello Loco. He described himself as a church preacher: "While I was residing peacefully in my church, I took up the happy custom of preaching to the people on Sundays and feast days." Moreover, on several occasions in the sermons, Ralph addresses his audience using the first person plural: "Therefore, we, my brothers, who are ministers at the altar..." or "We who are called pastors of the people...." and again, "Consequently, we who undertake the administration of the Church...." The sermons also demonstrate that Ralph was not a monk when he composed these sermons. Whenever he addresses monks in his sermons, it is always in the second person plural: "Imitate them [the disciples], you cloistered ones, so that you may not leave your group on account of apostasy...." Ralph refers to himself always as either master, preacher, or pastor in the context of church administration. However, he also

59 Preface to Cambridge, Lincoln College ms. 116 fol. 3: "Cum in ecclesia mea quietus residerem, et loquendi ad populum per dies dominicos et festos mihi consuetudinem felicem fecissem...."

60 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col 1789A: "Nos ergo, fratres mei, qui sumus ministri altaris...."

61 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 2081B: "Nam nos, qui pastores plebis vocamur...."

62 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1909C: "Proinde fratres, nos qui in Ecclesia suscepimus administrationem

63 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155: 1857C: "Imitamini istos, vos claustrales, ut scilicet non exeatis de collegio vestro per apostasiam, vel per curiositatem, sed tantum propter necessarium causam."
refers to “nostri ordinis” on three specific occasions. It is likely therefore that Ralph served with his *fratres* as a regular canon probably in an urban and large church where he had a regular routine of preaching to the people.

Wolf was particularly interested in the occasion for writing these sermons. Ralph wrote in the preface: “...quoniam ad curiam principis raptus, plerumque in via, plerumque inter ipsa etiam arva scriptitabam....” [trans. ...because having been seized [or taken] to the court of the prince, I wrote some [sermons] along the way and some while in the country [or “region”].”

Wolf suggested that “*inter arva*” was actually a scribal mistake and should read “*inter arma*” (in arms). His reason for this was that Frémy, who made reference to the preface in his *Vita* of Ralph, used the term “arma” and assumed that Ralph was with William on crusade. However, it is possible that Frémy was the one who made the mistake and not the scribe who penned the preface. The phrase itself “*inter arva*,” which means “in the region (or country),” makes perfect sense in this context and all the manuscripts that contain this preface clearly use the word “arva.”

Furthermore, in examining the charters for Richard I’s crusade, there were a

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64 Radulphus Ardens, *PL* 155, col. 1399D: “Tales sunt hodie quidam, et unde gravius dolendum est, etiam nostri ordinis, qui, cum aliquid exteri boni faciunt, mox minores despiciunt, et, more Pharisaei, a peccatrice tangi refugient.” Col. 2022A-B: “Quod est contra quosdam nostri ordinis, qui magis affectant praedicationis vel sacerdotii officium, quam meritum.” Col. 2035 D: “In quo, fratres mei, plango quosdam nostri ordinis, qui, non dicam spiritualem intelligentiam, sed nec etiam ipsam litterae crassam legere norunt.”

number of chaplains, but none named *Radulphus Ardens* or *Radulphus de bello loco*. While there is no evidence that Ralph himself participated in the Third Crusade as a member of the king’s court, from the evidence in the Pipe Rolls it appears that Ralph Ardent did indeed serve as a chaplain to Richard I and was even present when the king embarked on the Third Crusade from Tours.

In the second half of the twelfth century, the royal court offered a number of important offices for educated clerics and masters such as Ralph Ardent. With the rise of the universities in Paris, Bologna and Oxford, there was no shortage of men available to fill the growing number of positions in medieval royal courts. Such appointments were often a sign of royal favor, and as a result brought with them temptations such as simony, pluralism and the general accumulation of wealth and other ambitions. As a result, a number of writers begin to criticize those clerics who served in royal courts. Walter Map for example, compared the princely court with Hell. The problem became of such concern that canon 12 of Lateran III warned against

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67 For example, Stephen Langton (Paris BN 1443, f. 360va): “Sicut sedere iuxta regem est quidem status, qui est signum maioris familiaritatis quam sedere longe a rege.” Quoted in Baldwin, *Masters II*, p. 117-118 n. 11.

68 Baldwin has devoted a chapter on this topic in his *Masters, Princes and Merchants*: 175ff.

clerics becoming “agents of secular princes.”^70 Nevertheless, there were many opportunities to serve in the royal court that would have offered, in addition to a steady income, important opportunities for educated men to participate in governmental and diplomatic affairs. These jobs included chancery clerics, judges, lawyers and chaplains. The most important function of all these offices was the ability to write. Royal chaplains served the courts in a number of ways. They were responsible for the mass at court, they would often preach, serve as confessors and provide general pastoral services to the members of the court. It is not easy to determine from the Pipe Rolls what role Ralph Ardent played in the court of Richard I other than as a witness to various royal acts and decisions. Perhaps it was while Richard was in captivity (1191-97) that Ralph wrote the Speculum Universale and his sermon collection.

There still remains the question of whether or not Ralph Ardent spent time in Paris? Gründel has shown that the name “magister Radulphus Ardens” appears in three manuscripts of the Speculum Universale.^71 This tells us something of the vocation our author. Perhaps Ralph was a master in Poitiers, or more likely Paris. Frémy also mentioned that he was given the title Doctor theologicae (Doctor [teacher] of Theology) before his thirtieth

^70 Lateran Council (1179), Mansi, XXII, 235, cited in Baldwin, Masters, Princes and Merchants 178.

^71 Vat. lat. 1175, s. xiv, Bibl. Mazarine 709, s. xv, and Besancon 218, s. xv.

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birthday.\textsuperscript{72} In one of his sermons, Ralph referred to himself and at least some members of his audience as “Priests and Doctors [ie Teachers] of the Church.”\textsuperscript{73} The \textit{Speculum Universale} also contains numerous references to prominent Parisian masters such as Alain of Lille, Peter Lombard and Gilbert of Poitiers. Since Paris was the main center for transalpine education in the late twelfth century, it makes sense that Ralph Ardent probably spent at least some time there as a student and perhaps even as a master.

Baldwin shows that most late twelfth-century masters went to Paris between the ages of twenty and twenty-five. Peter the Chanter studied in Paris in his twenties. Stephen Langton was already a parisian master when he was about twenty-five in the 1180’s. Robert of Courson, Gerald of Wales and others in the so-called “Circle” of Peter the Chanter all came to Paris in their early or mid twenties to gain an advanced education and hopefully a job. Most of these students and masters stayed in Paris a considerable time before taking a higher office in the royal or ecclesiastical service. For example, Stephen Langton spent between twenty and thirty years in Paris before becoming Archbishop of Canterbury in 1207. If Ralph Ardent was born between 1130 and 1140, he might have studied first at the cathedral school in Poitiers before coming to Paris. This might place him in Paris sometime

\textsuperscript{72} Claude Frémy “Auctoris Vitae Ex Ejusdem Libris Excerpta” in \textit{PL} 155 col. 1667-8.

\textsuperscript{73} Radulphus Ardens, \textit{PL}, 155, col. 1780C: “Nos enim sacerdotes et doctores Ecclesiae, qui deberemus esse lux mundi.”
between 1150-1160 where he may have stayed for an additional twenty years until he was called to be a chaplain at Richard I’s court.

Except for Landgraf’s 1940 article that examined the Porretan character of the sermons, the only study that has focused exclusively on the sermon collection in the twentieth century is Hendrick Hagoort’s unpublished *doctoraal scriptie* from the University of Utrecht. Hagoort did not examine all the surviving sermon manuscripts for his study, but he did try to place the sermon collection in broader perspective of pastoral theology in the late twelfth century.

With regard to Ralph’s biography, Hagoort made the interesting suggestion that the surname *Ardens* came from the church of St. Geneviève-des-Ardens in Paris. Located on the Ile-de-la-Cité, this little church belonged to the great abbey dedicated to St. Geneviève on the Left Bank. There may have been a chapel on the site as early as A.D. 500, but not much is known about the church. Each of the three most popular parisian saints—St. Denis, St. Germain and St. Geneviève—, in addition to the great abbeys in their

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honor, had churches or "oratoires" inside the city walls: St. Denis-de-la-Chartre, St. Germain-le-Vieux, and St. Geneviève-la-Petite. Among other things, these churches served to honor the saint in whose name the church was dedicated. They also served as places of refuge for the monks during times of disaster such as the Norman invasions in the ninth century.

In 1129 Paris was hit by an epidemic known as the "mal des ardents" or "feu Saint-Antoine" that left many people both in the city and the surrounding regions sick or dead. After it was clear that neither medical help nor special fasting would cure the disease, Bishop Stephen of Senlis (1124-42) appealed to the monks of Mont St. Geneviève for help. St. Geneviève had saved the city once before, and now Paris needed her help again. Together with the monks, the bishop agreed to carry the relics of the saint through the city of Paris. At one point, the reliquary shrine was carried into the cathedral and over a hundred sick people were reportedly healed when they touched the shrine. After such a great demonstration of the saint's ability to protect again the city of Paris, the masses were determined to have the saint remain within the city walls. The monks, of course, would have none of this, and fearing the crowds, took the shrine back to the Left Bank.

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The *miraculum Ardensium*, as this story was called, came to be associated with the little church dedicated to St. Geneviève inside the city of Paris. In 1130 Pope Innocent II declared 26 November a special feast day for the miracle.\(^7^8\) It is not clear when the church’s name changed from St. Geneviève-la-Petite to St. Geneviève-des-Ardens.\(^7^9\) It seems that as late as the sixteenth century, the church was still known, at least officially, as “St. Geneviève-la Petite.”\(^8^0\)

According to Freedman, these churches functioned as pastoral centers of the city.\(^8^1\) The church was served by canons, who would have carried out various pastoral duties under the jurisdiction of the monastery. By 1183,
bishop Maurice allowed them to have full rights as parish churches as the Ile itself was divided into twelve parishes under the jurisdiction of the bishop.\textsuperscript{82}

Is it possible that Ralph Ardent was associated with this church? Could he have been one of the canons or *fratres* who had pastoral responsibilities along with his other duties as a *magister*? Hagoort thinks that it is definite possibility, although he admits that there is no direct evidence to support this claim.\textsuperscript{83} Though it is creative, this hypothesis is highly unlikely; I know of no other person who took the name of the parish church in which he served. Yet it is indeed possible that Ralph served in a parish church while he was a master in Paris.

Baldwin argues that one of the most pressing problems for masters was economic support. They simply did not earn enough income from their teaching. As clergy, these masters, in theory, were entitled to a prebend or ecclesiastical benefice that would provide additional income needed to live. The growing number of masters in Paris required drastic measures, and beginning with Pope Alexander III and later Innocent III, the church made sure that enough prebends were available to those clergy designated “masters.”\textsuperscript{84} Some masters were given offices outside Paris, but many were


\textsuperscript{83} Hagoort, “Tussen Leken en Parijs”: 22-23.

\textsuperscript{84} Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, p. 117-118.
appointed to churches in and around the city. It is therefore possible that Ralph served a church such as St. Geneviève-des-Ardens while at the same time fulfilled his responsibilities as “Magister.”

The problem scholars face in trying to locate Ralph Ardent in the sources is that *Radulphus* was a very common name in twelfth-century France and England. This makes it difficult to say with confidence that the various Ralphs mentioned in the Pipe Rolls or other archival sources are the same as the Ralph who wrote the *Speculum Universale* and the especially the sermons. In addition to the Ralphs already mentioned, a certain “magister Radulfus” appears as a papal legate in July of 1211 in a letter addressed to Peter II of Aragon regarding Albegensian heretics. This could easily be a reference to Ralph Ardent who we know was a master and was familiar with the Albegensian heresy. There is also a reference to “Radulfus subdiaconus” associated with the monastery of St. Geneviève dated 1195. Any one of these people could be our author.

Usually surnames indicate the city where the person was born or where he holds an office such as Alain *de Lille*, Stephen *Langton*, Jacques *de*  


86 This will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

Vitry or Robert de Courson. This has prompted scholars such as John Baldwin to suggest that Ardens could also be an Anglo-Norman family name—perhaps associated with the monastery of Ardenne, a Premonstratensian abbey founded in 1144 in Caen. It has already been demonstrated that Ralph de Bello Loco had been buried at the Premonstratensian monastery Lieu Dieu in Jard. It may be that Ralph had connections with other Premonstratensian monasteries in northern France. In searching through the Pipe Rolls, there was a certain Radulfus de Ardenne who appeared in the Rolls from the reign of Richard I until around 1214. There is also a Radulphus de Arden who appeared in the Chronicle of Richard of Devizes during the reign of Richard I. These Ralph’s are certainly not our preacher, but his case opens the remote possibility that Ardens is derived from a place name.

88 Baldwin, Masters Princes and Merchants 40. For the Ardenne monastery, see the introductory article and bibliography in Dictionnaire d’histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques vol 4 (Paris, 1924) 1602. See also Emmanuel Rigaud, “Les origines de l’ordre de Prémontré en Normandie: recherches sur la filiation des abbayes de la Lucerne et d’Ardennes,” Analecta praemonstratensia, ii(1929) pp. 159-76.


91 Radulfus de Arden was the sheriff of Wiltshire who was deposed at Michaelmas in 1189. See PR 2 Richard I pp. 111 and 130.
Frémy wrote in his *Vita* for Ralph, that the surname *Ardens* was a nickname derived from his fiery preaching style. This makes the most sense, and there are examples in the middle ages where a surname or nickname represents a specific character trait. For example, Steven Langton was given the name "Stephanus de lingua-tonante" (Thundering Tongue) because of his fame as a preacher.\(^2\) Alan of Lille said that preachers ought to use "words with strong emotional connotation, because they will soften the hearts of his congregation and prepare them to shed tears of repentance."\(^3\) Ralph Ardent as preacher certainly fits this description. Outside of his Parisian context however, he was known as Radulphus de Bello Loco (Beaulieu).

This complex survey of the literature on Ralph Ardent reveals several important biographical details, but leaves us with many more uncertainties. It would be valuable to summarize the information covered thus far. First, it is clear that the author of the *Speculum Universale* was Ralph Ardent (Ralph de Bello Loco or Ralph de Beaulieu), a late twelfth-century master. At least three of the manuscripts identify the author as Ralph Ardent, or Master Ralph Ardent.\(^4\) In addition, the name "venerabilis Radulphus" is found in


\(^3\) Alain of Lille, *Summa de arte Praedicatoria*, Migne, *PL* 210, 114D: "Verba etiam commotiva interserat, quae mentes emolliant, et lacrymas pariant."

\(^4\) Vatican, lat. 1175, fol. 1ra: "Incipit Speculum Universale distinctionum magistri Radulphi Ardentis de virtutibus et vitiiis eisdem...; Paris, Bibl. Mazarine Cod. 709, fol. 1ra: "Incipit Speculum Universale distinctionum magistri Radulphi Ardentis de virtutibus et vitii
the title of extracts on the *Speculum* in Paris, B.N. lat. 3242. Second, various obituary notices in several of the *Speculum* manuscripts show that Ralph was also given the surname *Bello Loco* (Beaulieu) which placed him in the diocese of Poitiers. Those obituary notices also indicate that he was associated with the diocese of Poitiers late in life, when he possibly joined the Premonstratensian house in Jard. He seems to have been buried at this monastery, and his death was remembered on September 12 at the Chartreuse of Liget in Tours. These notices also show that Ralph did not finish the *Speculum* before his death. Third, evidence from the Pipe Rolls and other sources show that Radulphus de Bello Loco (Beaulieu) was a royal chaplain of Richard I, king of England. This evidence is consistent with the preface to the sermon collection where Ralph said that he was called to the court of the prince. (It should be remembered however that the preface only indicates that Ralph was called to the court; it does not indicate the reason.)

Moreover, from the *Speculum Universale*, Geyer, Langraff and Gründel have demonstrated conclusively that Ralph Ardent was familiar with and even quoted directly from a number of twelfth-century authors including Peter Lombard, Hugh of St. Victor, Gilbert de la Porrée, Simon of Tournai and the decisions of Lateran III (1179). The *Speculum* also reveals
that Ralph Ardent copied anecdotal material as well as larger passages from the *Verbum abbreviatum* of Peter the Chanter (1190/91) and Bernard of Clairvaux. If indeed the contemporary connections are correct, there is no question that he would have spent some time in Paris as a student and master. However except for the possible mention of Ralph by Peter the Chanter, and his appearance with the abbot of St. Geneviève during the foundation of the abbey in Jard in 1190, there is no direct evidence that Ralph spent time in Paris.

If he lived a life of seventy to eighty years, he would have been born sometime between 1130 and 1140 and died sometime before 1215. His dates are probably similar to his contemporaries, Peter of Poitiers (1130-1210) and Stephen of Tournai (1128-1203). Having been born in Beaulieu, Ralph Ardent would have likely received his early education at the Cathedral School of Poitiers and may have even studied with the great master Gilbert of Poitiers. Then perhaps sometime around 1150 or 1160 he would have traveled to Paris and likely studied at Mont St. Geneviève, perhaps under Simon of Tourani, who was one of the more famous Porritan masters on the Left Bank. While in Paris he may have received a prebend as a canon a parish church in Paris to help offset the cost of living as a Parisian master. After spending 15 to 20 years in Paris, he likely moved on to another ecclesiastical office. Perhaps he

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96 For Ralph’s use of Bernard’s *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, see Gründel, *Die Lehre des Radulfus Ardens*, p. 201-202.
was called to the court of Richard I as a court chaplain, perhaps he served as a Papal legate, or perhaps he served as an archdeacon in Poitiers. Either way, it appears that he wrote the Speculum Universale over the course of several years, probably starting the work in Paris when he had access to a substantial library. It is difficult to say exactly when he wrote the sermons, but one would have to assume that he wrote them during his mature years, probably after he left Paris. He appears to have died before the Speculum was completed, on September 12th sometime before 1215, and was buried at the Premonstratensian abbey in Jard.

This scenario seems likely enough, though there are some nagging problems. First there is the problem that most of the pre-twentieth-century scholarship on Ralph Ardent assumed without question that he was a late eleventh, early twelfth-century author. This is especially true of Rivet’s article in the Histoire littéraire de la France. Nothing in the published sermons themselves threw up red flags to these authors that the eleventh century was an impossible date for Ralph. It was only when scholars studied the Speculum that they found Ralph Ardent could not have been situated in the eleventh century. The Speculum scholarship was then ipso facto attributed to the author of the sermons. This leads to the second problem.

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97 See note 84 above.

98 The evidence for this comes from the preface to the sermon collection and will be discussed in Chapter 4.
Except for Hagoort and Wolf, none of the scholars examined closely the manuscript tradition of the sermon collection. Almost all the scholarship has relied on the assumptions of Frémy in his sixteenth-century *Vita*. But Frémy clearly made mistakes. He incorrectly attributed works to Ralph Ardent such as the *Historia sui temporis*. Frémy’s dates for the author were also wrong by at least a century, though it is possible that Frémy *meant* William IX instead of William the IV, and that this was simply a typographical error. Yet scholars have assumed uncritically that Frémy was correct in attributing both the *Speculum* and the Sermons to the same author. What evidence exists to demonstrate that Ralph Ardent (Ralph of Bello Loco), late twelfth-century master and author of the *Speculum Universale*, is in fact the author of the sermon collection? To answer this question, we will need to look first at the manuscripts and early printed editions. What do they tell us, if anything, about the author of this impressive collection of sermons? Second, is there any internal evidence that would suggest a date, or at least a *terminus ad quem* for this work? It is to these questions that we now turn.
CHAPTER 3
MANUSCRIPTS AND EARLY PRINTED EDITIONS

Johannes Baptist Schneyer lists five manuscripts of Ralph Ardent’s sermons in his *Repertorium der Lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters*: Paris, St. Geneviève ms. 2786, Douai ms. 434, Oxford, Bodleian e. musaeo 5, Oxford, Lincoln College 112, Oxford, Lincoln College 116. Of these, Douai 434 appears to be mistakenly identified.¹

In addition to these four manuscripts, I have identified four other copies of this sermon collection, all located in English libraries: Manchester, John Rylands 367; Cambridge, Peterhouse 104; Salisbury, Cathedral Library 181, Oxford, St. John’s College 54. I also found two other manuscripts listed in the Syon monastery library collection and three manuscripts in Bale’s *Index Britanniae Scriptorum* that are presumably lost. This brings the total of identified manuscripts to thirteen, eight of which are extant today.

Along with these manuscripts, I have found eight copies of various sixteenth-century printed editions of this sermon collection entitled *Radulphi*

¹ The manuscript consists of various works by Nicholas of Tournai, Stephen Langton, Augustine, Anselm of Canterbury and a number of anonymous writers. I found no sermons by Ralph Ardent. For further details on this manuscript, see Victorin Doucet, “A travers le manuscrit 434 de Douai” *Antonianum* 27(1952) fasc. 4, pp. 531-580, Catálogo General de los Manuscritos de Bibliotecas Públicas de los Departamentos (Tome VI, Douai), and Catálogo descriptif et raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Douai (1846), p. 130, which says that manuscript 434 is a “Tractatus de incarnatione et sacramentis.”
Ardentis, Pictavi, homeliae. Claude Frémy published his first edition of these sermons in Paris in 1564. Other editions by Frémy were printed in Paris (1567, 1568, 1570, 1573, 1574, 1586), in Louvain (1565), in Antwerp (1571, 1573, 1576) and in Cologne (1604). Frémy’s edition became the basis for the edition published by Migne in volume 155 of Patrologia Latina. The editors of the Histoire littéraire de la France indicated that there was also a French translation of these sermons printed at Paris in 1575. The first volume was translated by Jean Robert; the second volume was published in the same year and was translated into French by F. Fremin Capitis. Both French volumes seem to have survived until the middle of the eighteenth century, but were not reprinted.

The purpose of this chapter is to look more closely at the manuscripts and early printed editions of this sermon collection in order to discern what, if any, additional information the manuscripts provide about Ralph Ardent and his sermons. First, I shall give a detailed description of these manuscripts and early printed editions. Second, I will summarize this information and provide some additional comments about Ralph’s biography. Finally, I will look briefly at

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3 Histoire littéraire de la France, t. 8: 264.

4 Although I have not been able to locate this book, it is possible that this translation may be found in Catéchisme, ou Instructions des premiers fondemens de la Religion chrétienne...r dig’en 53 homilies, etc. by Fremin Capitis. See Catalogue Général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale, tome 23. Col. 561-2. This book matches the publisher and date given by the editors in the Histoire littéraire de la France.
some internal evidence from the collection which I hope will shed additional light on Ralph Ardent’s biography.

**Manuscript Descriptions**

1. **Paris, St. Geneviève ms. 2786**

The earliest manuscript, which Kohler dated to the thirteenth century, is St. Geneviève ms. 2786, located in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève in Paris. The manuscript is written in Latin on parchment and contains 10 gatherings collated 1\(^{10}\) (wanting 7), 2\(^{12}\) - 5\(^{12}\), 6\(^{12}\) (wanting 12), 7\(^{10}\) (wanting 5), 8\(^{12}\) (wanting 4), 9\(^{12}\), 10\(^{14}\) (3 stub) for a total of ii + 104 folios. Each folio is written in two columns with 49-50 lines each and measures 198 x 135 mm with visible prickings. The binding is white leather and has two leather strings attached to the spine for use as bookmarks. Titles are rubricated and initials are in red with green ornamentation. Paragraph marks are red and green to aid the reader.

The text is mutilated in many places. There are a number of small worm holes that sometimes run through half the codex. The text is written in a small thirteenth-century gothic hand, and because of the condition of the manuscript, is very difficult to read.

Folios 1r-4r contain several short paragraphs. One is on the duties of the priest, another is on the seven deadly sins and the last one is a small tract *On the*

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Though they are not identified, the sermons of Ralph Ardent begin on folio 5r with the *De Tempore* series, which are Sunday liturgical sermons from the Epistles and Gospels. There is no prologue in this manuscript. The first sermon is for the first Sunday in Advent: "Hora est nos iam de somno surgere... His verbis, fratres charissimi, hortatur nos Apostolus..." There are folios missing after 20v. The *De Tempore* series ends abruptly on folio 67v in the middle of the sermon for the twenty-third Sunday after Trinity. The *De sanctis* series begins on folio 68r with the sermon for St. Andrew the Apostle. Again, there are folios missing after 71v, 79v, 99v. The series ends with the sermon *commune unius continentis* on folio 99v. Beginning on folio 100r, there are three sermons on the Dedication of the Church. This section is also incomplete with folios missing after 101v and 102v. Folio 102v also contains the opening few lines from the sermon *commune martyrum*. Folio 103r is blank. There are very few marginal notations (ex. 43v) and pointing hands throughout the manuscript. The sermon collection ends at 102v.

Although it is difficult to discern how useful this manuscript would have been in its present condition, it has the appearance of being created and used initially as a model sermon book. Unlike the other manuscripts of Ralph's sermons which were copied with care and contained a high level of

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6 For a further description of these paragraphs, including incipits, see Kohler, *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève*, p. 510.
ornamentation, this manuscript has a "working" character to it. Unlike the other codices which are larger and more suited for a library shelf, St. Geneviève 2786 is small, handy and portable with an index that would have made it easy to find individual sermons.

Little is known about the provenance of this manuscript. Most of the manuscripts contained in the present library of St. Geneviève were acquired in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The script is clearly French gothic, and there is some internal evidence which suggests that this manuscript has French and perhaps even Poitievan origins. For example, the sermon on the *commune unius confessoris* contains the rubric for "Hilarii" Bishop of Poitiers (c. 315-c.368). For the sermon *commune unius virginis continentis* a scribe has added the rubric "Maria Magdalena and Radegunde." Radegund (518-587) was responsible for founding the Holy Cross monastery for women in Poitiers around 530. Both Radegund and Hilary were important French saints. *Commune sanctorum* sermons were often used to honor local saints, and the fact that Hilary and Radegund both had connections to Poitiers suggests that the manuscript may have been originally used in that region.

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8 Paris, St. Geneviève ms. 2786: folio 91v

9 Ibid. Folio 98v.

10 I say this with some caution. These saints were also very popular in England, particularly after the Norman Conquest. There are three churches in England dedicated to Hilary of Poitiers and five ancient churches dedicated to Radegund, including a chapel in the Cathedral of St.
2. **Oxford: Bodleian Library, e. musaeo 5**

There are four manuscripts located in Oxford libraries. Oxford, Bodleian e. musaeo 5 is made up of two Latin manuscripts written on parchment and dated to the mid fifteenth century. The codex contains 21 gatherings collated 1⁸-4⁸, 5⁸-18⁸, 19⁸ (wanting 8), 20⁸, 21³ for a total of iv. + 162 folios, written in two columns. The text is in a clear *anglicana* hand, and measures 391 x 299 mm with a text space of 46 lines at 254 x 185 mm. Flyleaves i-iii are blank. Flyleaf iv is a fragment of a fourteenth-century Latin ms. of Canon Law. Between flyleaf iv and folio 1, a folio has been cut out.

Ralph Ardent's sermons begin on folio 1r. The collection includes 29 sermons for the Sunday Epistles and Gospels (*De Tempore*). The incipit comes from the Prologue to the sermon collection: “Cum in ecclesia mea quietus residerem...” and the first sermon is for the first Sunday in Advent: “Hora est iam nos de somno surgere....His verbis, fratres charissimi....” The text ends abruptly at the end of the fourth quire on folio 32v in the middle of the sermon for Sexagesima with the words “persecucionibus pressi.” The remaining gatherings were lost or removed. There are only two marginal notations which are corrections the scribe made to the main text.

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Paul's, London. Moreover, a late fifteenth-century life of Radegund by Henry Bradshaw (d. 1513) gives additional evidence of English interest in this saint and her connection to Jesus College, Cambridge. See Fred Brittain *Saint Radegund, Patroness of Jesus College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1925).

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11 For a description of this manuscript see *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (Oxford, 1937) vol. 2, p. 661. The catalogue number is 3501.
Nicholas of Lyra’s commentary on the Psalms begins in a different hand on quire 5 (folio 33r) and continues to 159r. The initials are rubricated. Folios 159v-162rv are blank. The only external indication of authorship is a small note on folio iv. which reads “in hoc cod. 1. Radulphi Postilla and 2. [Nicholas] Lyra in Psalmo.” The Prologue includes the name “Radulphus” with no surname.

There are a few details regarding provenance of this manuscript. There is an ownership mark on folio 159r which reads “Iste liber pertenethe ad Willel mum Bradbryge Cicestrie mercatorem...1634.” This merchant’s mark is found on folios 1r, 35r and 159r. There is an additional ownership mark on 1r that reads “Liber Bibliothecæ Bodliannæ ex dono Christo: Elderfeild clerici, ex Aula B. Mariæ Oxoniensis olim Artium Magistri. v. Cal. Jun. Anno M.DC.LII.” I have not found any additional information about this donor, but Ker suggests that “ex dono” inscriptions such as this often indicate that the manuscript was once associated with a Cathedral library.

This manuscript is significantly larger than the Paris manuscript; and like the rest of the manuscripts in this catalogue, it appears to be a typical library size

12 Nicholas of Lyra (ca. 1270-1349) was a Franciscan exegete, who, among other works, wrote many commentaries on the Bible, 259 sermons and a commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard. For a description of this section, including incipits, see A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, vol. 2, p. 661.

13 Tanner [Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica (London, 1748), p. 4] indicates that a catalogue entry for this manuscript states that these are the sermons of “Radulphi abbatis Cestriensis.”

14 What is before this number is scratched out. This merchant is not listed in R.B. McKerrow A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England 1557-1640.

3. Oxford: Lincoln College ms. 112

Written in Latin on parchment, this manuscript dates to the early fifteenth century. There are 18 gatherings, collated 1-18 for a total of 144 folios. The codex measures 380 x 254 mm with a written space of 279 x 187 mm. The text is written in *anglicana formata* in 2 columns with 60 lines of text and there are visible prickings on quires 4 (ff.25-32), 7 (ff. 49-56) and 8 (ff. 57-64). The binding is board, covered in white leather. There are six visible bands that tie the manuscript together and the edges of the folios have been colored red.

In addition to the Prologue which contains the name “Radulphus,” the only external indication of authorship is found on folio 1r which contains a note in pencil on the bottom right corner: “Randulphi sermones.” Coxe suggests that these sermons are by “Radulphi Acton, sacrae theologiae apud Oxonienses professoris.”

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16 Lincoln College manuscripts are now housed in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. For a brief description of this manuscript, see Henry Coxe, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum qui in collegiis aulisque Oxoniensis hodie adserantur*, (Oxford, 1852) vol. 1, p. 51. For other catalogues of this library, see R. Weiss, “The Earliest Catalogues of the Library of Lincoln College,” *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, viii (1937), 343-59. The manuscript is also identified as “MSS Arch 8” on the inside cover.

17 Coxe, *Catalogus codicum*, p. 51.
Folios 1r-83v contain the sermons of Ralph Ardent for the Epistles and Gospels of the temporale from Advent to the 23rd Sunday after Trinity. The cycle begins with the Prologue, “Cum in ecclesia mea quietus residerem....” The first sermon is for the first Sunday in Advent: “Hora est iam nos de somno surgere...His verbis, fratres karissimi, hortatur....” The sermons are not numbered, but the complete cycle makes up 122 sermons.

Folios 83v-144r contain Ralph’s Sanctoral series. The incipit is “Corde creditur ad iusticiam...Tripartita est hec lectio, mi fratres....” There are forty-four sermons of the Sanctoral, (83v-116r), thirty-three sermons for the Communion of Saints (116r-141r), and three sermons for the Dedication of the Church (141r - 144ra). Folio 144v is blank.

There are few marginalia (ex. f. 24v, 94r) and only a few pointing hands, which were added later in the fifteenth century. Biblical references are not in the margin, but are found only in the title of each sermon. The initials are 3 or 4 lines deep, and blue with red line ornament. Capital letters are in black ink marked with red or blue. In addition, there are red or blue paragraph marks to aid the reader. On folio 1r, the initial to the prologue has been cut out, but the initial for the first sermon is in gold leaf with blue ornamentation. There is also an elaborate drawing of flowers around this folio in blue, gold, red and green. This drawing is connected to the initial of the Prologue. Running down the branch on the right side of this folio are marginal notes that outline the main points of the sermon.
This is the most elaborate and decorated of all the manuscripts in this
catalogue. It was not designed to be portable, but was probably used in a private
or church library as a reference or perhaps for special, devotional readings by
monks or canons.

On folio 144va, the name "Sutton" appears below the text in the same
hand, likely indicating the scribe. I have not been able to identify this scribe and
there is no other indication of provenance.18

4. **Oxford: Lincoln College ms. 116** 19

This codex is written in Latin on parchment in *anglicana formata* and dates to the
mid fifteenth century. There are 32 gatherings collated 1^4-31^6, 32^10 for a total of ii
+ 258 folios. The folios measure 365 x 243 mm, written in 2 columns of 45 lines
each with a text space of 254 x 181 mm. The binding is board, covered in white
leather and has six visible bands that are undamaged.

Folio 1r contains the note, "Radulphi sermones" in a different hand. Folio
2rv is blank. Folios 3r - 150r contain 122 sermons *de Tempore* from Advent to the
23rd Sunday after Trinity. The text begins with the Prologue "Cum in ecclesia
mea quietus residerem..." and the first sermon is for the first Sunday in Advent:

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19 Coxe, *Catalogus codicum*, vol. 1, p. 53. On folio 1r, this manuscript is also identified as "MSS Arch. 12."
"Hora est iam nos de somno surgere...His, fratres charissimi, hortatur nos Apostolus."

Folios 150v-257r contain forty-four sermons of the Sanctoral, thirty-three sermons for the Communion of Saints and three for the Dedication of the Church. The text begins with the feast of St. Andrew: "Corde creditur ad iusticiam... Tripartita est hec lectio, fratres mei...." Folio 257r contains the explicit, "explicit liber qui vocatur Actone." Folios 257v to 258rv are blank.

The decoration in this manuscript is similar to Lincoln 112, but it does not contain any gold leaf. The initial to the Prologue (folio 3r) is six lines deep, in blue with red ornamentation surrounding the page. Other initials are 2 lines deep, in blue ink marked with red ornament. There are red and blue paragraph marks throughout the text which aid the reader. There are no headers and the sermons are not numbered. There are a few marginal notations (ex. 49r, 92v), and many pointing hands which were added later. Similar to Lincoln Coll. 112, this manuscript looks to be a cathedral library codex used for the purpose of devotional reading or as source material for the preparation of sermons.

The manuscript contains some information about its provenance. Folio 1v contains an ownership mark which states that Robert Fleming gave the book to Lincoln College, Oxford. Robert Fleming (1417-c.1483) was the Dean of Lincoln Cathedral and was the nephew of Richard Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln. His collection passed to Lincoln College in part by gift in 1465 and then by bequest.20

In 1937, Weiss published a 1476 catalogue of the books from Lincoln College which contain many of the books donated by Robert Fleming. Most of these were humanist works that Fleming had acquired on the Continent; there are no sermon books. This manuscript was probably given to the college sometime later, possibly after his death.

5. Oxford: St. John’s College ms. 54

The last Oxford manuscript is a compilation of three different works that were copied in the late fifteenth century. All three works are written in Latin on paper, except for the outside and center folios of each quire, which are parchment. The codex measures 298 x 219 mm and contains 6 gatherings, collated 1-4, 5-10, 6 (13 frag; wanting 14) for a total of i + 81 + iv-vi folios. Some of the sheets vary in size. Flyleaves i-iii are blank, folio 81 has been cut out, and flyleaves iv-vi are blank. The text is written in both two and one column format. The binding is seventeenth-century brown leather sewn in five bands.

Folios 1r-48v contain the sermons of Ralph Ardent on paper in double columns with a text space of 220 x 160 mm in 36-44 lines. The script is a late


22 Manuscripts of St. John’s College are held in the Laud Library, Oxford. See Coxe, Catalogus, vol. 2, p. 15 for a brief description of this manuscript. See also St. John’s College, The Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts of St. John’s College, Oxford. (Oxford, 1995 reprint). I wish to thank Dr. Ralph Hannah of Kebel College who allowed me to see his unpublished notes on this manuscript.
fifteenth-century *anglica cursiva* and there is no identification of the author, nor does the manuscript contain a Prologue to the sermons. Folio 1ra begins with a fragment of an unidentified sermon and portions of Ralph’s sermon *Commune Apostolorum*. This sermon ends abruptly at the bottom of folio 1v. Folio 2r begins half way through the first sermon in Ralph’s series on the Epistles and Gospels of the temporal from Advent to the 23rd Sunday after Trinity. The incipit is “unde et subdit: Abjiciumus ergo opera tenebrarum.” The first complete sermon is also for the first Sunday in Advent and begins “Inicium evangelii Ihesus Christi, etc. Sicut audistis, frater karissimi.” At folio 11v, the sermon abruptly ends at “populus qui ambulabat in tenebris vidit lucem magnam.” Folio 12rv contains another sermon fragment on parchment: [T]ercia dominica post epyphaniam nos monet adorare cum angelis....” Ralph’s sermons resume on folio 13r, three fourths of the way through the homily for the fifth Sunday in Lent. The series continues until folio 24v. A little over half way through the second sermon for Easter, the text abruptly ends with “et angelicam ruinam restauravit, et [utrisque simul].” Folio 25r begins two thirds of the way into the sermon for the third Sunday after Easter. The series then continues normally until folio 36v where the sermon for the Vigil of the Lord’s Ascension abruptly ends near the end of the sermon with “ex propinquitate ignis ita inflammat.” There is a boxed catchword “et ignescit ut” at the bottom of this parchment folio that does not correspond with the opening words on folio 37r. This ends the temporal series.
Folio 37r begins Ralph Ardent's Sanctoral series approximately a third of the way into the second sermon for the feast of angels. The folio starts, "[Ali]us evangelista dicit: Facta est contentio inter discipulos..." and continues to the end of the sermon. Folio 38v continues with the first sermon for the feast of St. Luke. It continues for five more sermons and concludes on folio 48r with a sermon on the Communion of Saints. The sermon ends abruptly on folio 48v with "fratres charissimi, omnes...." Again there is a boxed catch word "quotquot sumus" that should lead to the next folio, but it does not match. This ends the sermons of Ralph Ardent.

Folio 50r begins a second text entitled, "Libellus de timore diverso." The incipit of this anonymous text is, "Quando timore pene non amore justitie fit bonum, nondum fit bene bonum nec fit in corde." The text is on paper with a writing space of 233 x 168 mm in one column of 47 lines, written in anglicana and with various marginalia and notes. This work ends at folio 68v.

The third text is a "Glossulae in Rubricas quasdam Decretalium" and begins on folio 69r. The incipit reads "Episcopus; Conclusio Pauli, Papa multis modis et nominibus appellatur." This text is also on paper with a writing space of 240 x 160 mm, in one column of 46 lines per page. The text ends on folio 80v.

This manuscript is a hodge-podge of incomplete texts. There are no significant marginal notations that would aid the preacher in finding his way.

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23 This quote is found in Augustine of Hippo, *Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum*, lib. 2, pt. 21, in *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, 60 (Vindobonae, 1913), p. 483, line 7. Also in *PL*, vol. 44, col. 586.
around these sermons. Because it is so mutilated in its present state, it is difficult to determine how this manuscript might have been used.

There is some indication of this manuscript's provenance. On the bottom margin of folio 1v there is an ownership mark which reads "Johannes Whyte dedit hunc librum Thome White de London militi ad usum collegii per ipsum de nouo erecti in Oxon. anno 1555." John White (d. 1560) was the brother of Thomas White (1492-1567), founder of St. John's College, Oxford. According to Hutton, John White donated sixteen manuscripts to the library before his death.24

6. Manchester, John Rylands Latin 367 25

This manuscript is written in Latin on vellum with dimensions of 312 x 212 mm. Ker dates this manuscript to the first half of the fifteenth century. The manuscript is written in two columns of 56 lines each with a total text space of 235 x 140 mm. There are 29 gatherings collated 112-812, 98-108, 1112-1712, 184, 1912-2412, 2510, 2612-2812, 296 for a total of 11 + 324 folios. The binding is modern and preserves the old pastedowns which show the marks of the original six bands. The manuscript was written by two scribes, both of whom wrote in an anglicana

24 William H. Hutton, St. John Baptist College (London, 1898), p. 239. On Thomas White, see D.N.B. 21, p. 76. For John White, see Emden, A Biographical Regisiter, p. 621.

hand. The initials are four or five lines deep in blue with rubricated ornamentation. Red or blue paragraph marks are included in the text to aid the reader and biblical quotations are underlined both in black and in red.

This manuscript contains the sermons of Ralph Ardent (folios 1r-197v) and Phillip Repingdon (folios 199r-317v), bishop of Lincoln (d.1424). Folios 1r-111r contain Ralph Ardent’s sermons De Tempore from Advent to the 23rd Sunday after Trinity. They begin with the standard Prologue, “Cum in ecclesia mea quietus residerem...” and the first sermon is for the first Sunday in Advent: “Hora est iam nos de somno surgere...Hiis verbis, fratres karissimi, hortatur nos....” The sermons are numbered from 1 to 122 both in the margin and in a running title on the right hand side of each folio, preceded by the term “prima pars omelie.” Folio 111v is blank.

Folios 112r-197v contain 80 sermons. Forty-four sermons are for the Sanctoral, thirty-three for the Communion of Saints and three for the Dedication of the Church. The series begins with the sermon for the Feast of St. Andrew: “Corde creditur ad iusticiam... Tripartita est hec lectio....” There is a similar running title—“secunda pars”—along with numbers 1-80 both in the margin and in the running header. Two of the sermons for the Communion of Saints have rubrics added. For the sermon commune unius confessoris non episcopi, there is the rubric “unius abbatis”. For the sermon commune unius continentis, “Mary

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26 John Rylands 367, folio 187r
Magdalene” is added. The collection is identified internally as the sermons of Ralph Acton. The explicit on folio 197v reads, “Explicit expositiorum omnium epistolariu[m] euangeliorumque festivialium sanctorum secundum Radulphum de Attone.” Moreover, the right header of folio 1 contains the name “Atton” in red. Folio 198rv is blank.

Folios 199r-317v are Philip Repingdon’s well known sermon collection. There are seventy Gospel sermons for the temporal series from Advent to the twenty-fourth Sunday after Trinity. The collection begins with the first Sunday in Advent: “Dominica prima adventus domini. Cum appropinquasset Ihesus Ierusalem..., and ends with, “Explicit doctor Rypyngdon.” These sermons also contain running titles, and all but the last ten are numbered.

Folios 318r-321v provide an index covering both sermon collections which suggests that the codex was originally produced containing these two sermon collections. The index is arranged alphabetically. References are given to the sermon number, and the division of each sermon such as “in principio,” “circa medium,” “in fine” or “prope finem.” Folio 322rv was left blank: two lines of verse, “Est tuus Anna pater Izachar, Nazaphat tua mater” were added on the recto, which Ker dates to the second half of the fifteenth century.

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27 John Rylands 367, folio 190r.


On the verso of flyleaf i, there is a Middle English text that was used to calculate the date of Easter according to the new moon: “In march after the first and C tack the prime whar’ e be the iii Sunday hy thov the ms Esterday hyt ys go how he go and yf the prime be oone of the iii Easterday hyt is be howe hyt be.” Ker suggests that this is a late fifteenth-century hand.

This manuscript gives the clear impression that it was created and used as a model sermon collection. There are a number of emphasis markers and pointing hands scattered throughout the text and there are a number of marginal notations that include both biblical references and explanatory notations (ex. 47v, 50v, 51r, 103v, 126v, 160v, 192v). Many of the sermons are outlined in the margins with biblical texts and with key words related to the sermon. It is likely that this manuscript served as a model sermon collection for the purpose of creating sermons. The Middle English verse used to calculate Easter suggests that this sermon book was used in a church. The index to the collection makes it easy for the user to find a reference to a particular text. The numerous marginal outlines, pointing fingers, Nota Bene marks, and running headers would make this text accessible to someone preparing a sermon or a liturgical reading.

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30 See Carleton Brown and Rossell H. Robbins ed, *The Index of Middle English Verse* (New York, 1943), 238, number 1502 which lists fifteen manuscripts containing this verse, not including this manuscript. Christopher Wordsworth and Henry Littlehales [*The Old Service Books* (London, 1904), p. 60] list a similar verse found in Brit. Mus., MS 2. A. 17: “In Marche after the fyerst C (symbol for crescent moon)/Tacke the prime whereever he be/The th yerde sondaye without mys/Estur daye yt is./Yf the prime on the sondaye be,/Take hym for on of the three.”
Little is known about the history of this manuscript. Since Repingdon died in 1424, and the manuscript itself was produced sometime in the first half of the fifteenth century, it may have originally been associated with Lincoln Cathedral where Repingdon served as bishop from 1404 until he resigned in 1419. It is also possible that this manuscript is the same one Bale listed as being in the library of St. Peter upon Cornhill in London. Ker notes that this manuscript was purchased in 1924 from P.J. and A.E. Dobell for £8.11s.

7. Cambridge, Peterhouse 104

This manuscript is written on parchment in a sloppy anglicana hand and dates to the late fourteenth century. This is the earliest of the English manuscripts. The codex measures 343 x 248 mm with a written space of 262 x 184 mm. There are 18 gatherings collated 1^{12}-3^{12}, 4^{6}, 5^{12}-18^{12} (12 used as pastedown) for a total of 212 folios in double columns of 45-46 lines each. Capital letters are in blue ink.

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34 Ker, “Notes on John Rylands 367,” p. 3.

marked with red and the capital on the first folio is in gold leaf. The binding is white leather and in reasonably good shape.

The recto of flyleaf i contains Jean de Limoges’ (c. 1274) poem De laude crucis which begins “In luctum cythara conversa de crucis....” On the verso side of this flyleaf, there is a note in a different hand which identifies the sermons as “Radulphi Acton Sermones ... Mr. Oxon. clarissimi 1320.” There is also the name “Acton” in the hand of the scribe at the top of folio 1r in red, although unlike the John Ryland’s ms., this is not a running title. Folios 1-127v are the sermons of Ralph Ardent from the first Sunday in Advent until the twenty-third Sunday after Trinity. It begins with the Prologue “Cum in ecclesiola mea quietus residerem....” The first sermon is “Hora est iam nos de somno surgere....Hiis verbis, fratres charissimi, hortatur nos Apostolus....”

Folios 128r-209v contain Ralph Ardent’s sermons for the Sanctoral. The first sermon is for the feast of St. Andrew: “Corde creditur ad justitiam; ore autem confessio fit ad salutem....Tripartita est haec lectio, fratres mei.” There are forty-four sermons of the Sanctoral, thirty-three for the Communion of Saints and three for the Dedication of the Church. The sermon text ends on folio 210ra and there follows two lines of verse, “Sunt pueri puri: parui paruo sacati / Ludunt conformes et cito pacificantur.” Beginning on folio 210rb, there is a

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Middle English poem on “evil” times of Edward II (1307-1327) that ends on the rear pastedown. The incipit for this poem is “Why werre and wrake in Londe and manslaught ys y come....” The poem attacks the practice of simony and the general worldliness of the clergy and monks. The text is mutilated at the end. On the right column of the rear pastedown there are a number of rhyming proverbs in Latin. The text is very faint.

The manuscript offers some information about its provenance. The outside cover contains a note from the old Peterhouse catalogue, “This Volume is the ‘liber sermonum collatus [coll]legio per manus executorum nobilis [domini domini] Thomæ dudum ducis Exon[ie] [et] Henrici Regis quarti fratris’.” On the spine it reads “Duke of Exeter, 1426”. The book was given to the library by the executors of Thomas, Duke of Exeter, brother of Henry IV. On the inside cover there is an additional note, “Liber collegii S. Petri Cantebrig. cuius usum habebit M. Joh. Sauage ad terminum uite sue dumtaxat.” The note looks as though it was partially erased. John Savage (d.1448) was a fellow of Peterhouse between 1437 and 1447 and rector of S. Clement’s on the Bridge in Norwich between October 1447 and his death in 1448. It is possible that the book was donated to

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38 The text is printed for the Camden Society in Thomas Write ed. The Political Songs of England from the Reign of John to that of Edward III. (London, 1968 reprint), 323-345. See James, Descriptive Catalogue, pp. 121-123

39 For incipits see James, Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Peterhouse, p. 123.

the college subject to use by Savage, or it is possible that Savage obtained the book on loan from the Peterhouse “Loan Chest.” According to an early catalogue of Peterhouse library, Savage gave the library a fifteenth-century copy of Robert Grosseteste’s *De doctrina cordis* and a copy of Augustine’s *Confessions.*

There is a price list for several of Savage’s books on the last fly leaf of Grosseteste’s *De doctrina cordis* which includes an entry “Acton super Evangelia, viii marc.”

This book appears to have been used heavily. The corner edges are worn considerably. There are several marginal notations (ex. 2r, 28v, 53v, 54v, 102r, 122v, 123r), but only a few pointing fingers throughout the text. Because the book was owned by Thomas of Exeter, it was probably used originally as devotional reading rather than for the preparation of sermons. John Savage, who obtained the book sometime before his death, likely used it for preaching.

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41 According to Roger Lovatt [“Two Collegiate Loan Chests in Late Medieval Cambridge” in P. Zutshi ed. *Medieval Cambridge: Essays on the Pre-Reformation University* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 130] university loan chests were “endowed pawnships” designed to make interest free loans available to the university community. Donors would give capital to the university, which was then regulated by university statutes and guarded by keepers. Qualified members of the university community could then borrow from the chest, pledging items of greater value as collateral. Manuscripts became a favorite type of pledge.

42 This catalogue is reprinted in James, *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 3-26.

43 Cambridge, Peterhouse 203. This note is found on the last fly leaf. See James, *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 242.
8. Salisbury, Cathedral Library ms. 181

This manuscript is written in Latin in a clear *anglicana* hand and dates to the middle of the fifteenth century. Folios i-iii are paper, the rest are vellum. The codex measures 417 x 285 mm with a text space of 276 x 183 mm. There are 26 gatherings collated 1\(^8\) (wanting 1), 2\(^8\)-11\(^8\) (quire 12 torn out), 13\(^8\) (wanting 1), 14\(^8\)-16\(^8\), 17\(^8\) (wanting 1), 18\(^8\)-26\(^8\) for a total of iv + 197 folios. The manuscript is written in double column with 50 lines each and contains visible prickings. Capital letters are in blue ink, marked with red. The binding is Victorian. Folio iv contains the note “Radulfus de Atton Evangelica” in a different hand.

Folios 1r-117va contain 115 sermons of Ralph Ardent. There are 112 sermons for the Epistles and Gospels of the temporal from Advent to the 23rd Sunday after Trinity, and 3 sermons for the Dedication of the Church. The Prologue and the first part of the sermon for the first Sunday in Advent are missing. Folio 1r begins abruptly in the middle of the first advent sermon with the words, “quae hominem emolliunt et enervant.” There is a title in a different hand on folio 1r which identifies the work as the “Expositio Radulphi de Atton de Evangeliis.” The series is interrupted on folio 87vb in the middle of the sermon for the fifth Sunday after Trinity. The sermon abruptly ends with “voluntatis sunt. Sed circa alterius.” The series starts again on folio 88ra with the sermon for the tenth Sunday after Trinity—“Fratres, scitis quod cum gentes

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essetis"—and continues until folio 117va. This first part of the sermons ends with the following colophon:

Memorandum quod magister Johannes Luk sacre pagine professor nuper ecclesie Sarum canonicus in sua ultima voluntate dispositiva legavit et assignavit hunc librum vocatum Attone catenandum et ponendum in ecclesie Sarum loco magis tuto secundum discrecionem executorum suorum providendo et eligendo ubi canonici vicarii et ceteri in dicta ecclesie (sic)\(^{45}\) ministri necnon alii extranei literati inspeccionem eiusdem habere affectantes temporibus oportunis ad Dei laudem et animarum suarum salutis incrementum accessum librum habere poterint ad legendum et studendum in eodem. Et si quis ipsum librum contra formam disposicionis huiusmodi alienaverit, anathemasit.\(^{46}\)

This note is in the same hand as the sermon text. The text is larger and it covers both columns on the bottom of the folio.

Folio 118rv is ruled in pencil. On 118v there are the beginnings of an elaborate initial letter in pencil. Folios 119ra to 197rb begin the sermons for the Sanctoral. The series is incomplete. It begins abruptly in the middle of second sermon for the feast of St. Andrew with the words “est suae et aliarum animarum.” There are thirty-four complete sermons of the Sanctoral, (119r-160v), thirty-three sermons for the Communion of Saints (160v-197r). There is an explicit in the same hand that reads “Explicit expositorium omnium epistolarum evangeliorumque festivalium sanctorum secundum Radulfum de Attone quod

\(^{45}\) Read ecclesia.

\(^{46}\) Trans: “Let it be remembered that master John Luk, professor of sacred scripture and recently canon of Sarum church bequeathed in his last will this book called ‘Attone’ which ought to be chained and placed in Sarum church; and following the discretion of his executor, providing and choosing a safe place where canons' vicars, and other ministers in the said church as well as other learned men desiring at times to have a look at it should have free access for the praise of God and the increase of the salvation of their souls, for reading and studying in it. And if anyone should remove this book from the aforementioned arrangement, let him be cursed.”
Ffryth.” There are a number of marginal notations throughout the text. Most of these are outline markers or corrections, but there are a few marginal glosses (ex. 20r, 29r, 37v, 38r, 44v, 56r, 113r, 164v).

The manuscript itself provides some information regarding its provenance. The scribe was “Fryth” who was likely associated with Salisbury Cathedral. The colophon on 117v states that Johannes Luk willed this codex to the Cathedral Library in Salisbury. John Luke (d. 1435) was a canon at Salisbury in the early fifteenth century and held various prebends throughout the diocese before his death. The manuscript was likely used by canons, or other learned men (extranei literati) for sermon preparation or for daily readings.

Syon Library manuscripts (Lost)

In addition to the eight manuscripts described above, there are two additional copies of Ralph Ardent’s sermon collection listed in the Syon Library catalogue. Syon was a Bridgettine abbey located southwest of London. Most of the books were taken from the abbey library by the commissioners of Henry VIII a short time before the monastery was suppressed in 1539. By the late nineteenth century, only six of the Syon books had been identified in English libraries. The catalogue of the Library of Syon Monastery is now Cambridge, Corpus Christi


College, ms. 141. Mary Bateson edited the manuscript in 1896 and dates the catalogue to the early sixteenth century.

The first of these manuscripts is P19, “Acton super Epistolas and Euangelia dominicalia, usque ad dominicam 23 post festum sancte Trinitatis (PP mark) Assignacio ciuslibet sermonis sue dominice in principio libri.” The manuscript was donated to the library by “Weston,” perhaps Thomas Weston, 4th Confessor-General of the order of Sion who died in 1497. The second manuscript is R5, again given by Weston and entitled “Acton super Epistolas and Euangelia sanctorum cum quotucionibus eorumdem in principio libri.” R5 may also be the third manuscript Bale cites in his *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*.49

**Additional Manuscripts (Lost)**

The early English book collector John Bale (1495-1563) found three manuscripts he attributed to “Radulphus Actone, cuiusdam ecdesie rector.”50 All three of these manuscripts contain the sermons of Ralph Ardent, but it is unlikely that any of them corresponds to the eight extant manuscripts. The first manuscript contains Ralph Ardent’s *De Tempore* series. Bale gives the incipit: “Hora est iam nos de somno.” This is the sermon for the first Sunday in Advent. He found this manuscript in the Eton college library: “Ex collegio Etonensi.” James’s catalogue


50 John Bale, *Index Britanniae Scriptorum* (Cambridge, 1990 reprint), p. 326. There is a fourth manuscript which Bale attributes to Ralph Higden found “Ex domo Petri Cantabrigie” (ibid, p. 335). This manuscript is almost certainly Cambridge, Peterhouse 104 described above.
does not contain this manuscript, nor do the Eton College catalogues of Bernard, Birley or Thackeray.\textsuperscript{51}

Bale's second manuscript contains all three sermon cycles (\textit{Sermones de Tempore, de Sanctis} and \textit{de communi sanctorum}). The incipit is for the Prologue to the sermons: "Cum in ecclesia mea quietus residerem." The title for the collection is "Expositorium Evangeliorum dominicalium." Bale found this manuscript, "Ex templo Petri de Cornehyll, Londini." The little church of St. Peter upon Cornhill is located in London, and it is likely that this manuscript was destroyed in the great London fire of 1666.\textsuperscript{52}

The last manuscript Bale cites is Ralph Acton "Super epistolæ et euangelia sanctorum." Apparently this manuscript did not contain the Prologue to the sermons. Instead it began "Corde creditur ad iusticam, ore...." This sermon is for the feast of St. Andrew and begins the Sanctoral series. Bale found the manuscript "Ex domo Richardi Grafton." Richard Grafton (d. 1573) was a London merchant who was in possession of many medieval texts, including some from the Grey Friars of London and Syon Abbey.\textsuperscript{53} Reginald Poole and

\textsuperscript{51} M.R. James ed. \textit{Eton College Catalogue of Manuscripts} (Cambridge, 1895); Robert Birley, \textit{The Eton College Collections: One Hundred Books} (Eton, 1970); John Thackery, \textit{Eton College Library} (London, 1881)

\textsuperscript{52} See Ker, \textit{Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries} vol. 1, p. 240.

Mary Bateson edited Bale’s *Index* and they think that this manuscript may be Syon R5 (54).

*Early Printed Editions*

1. **Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale C. 4294**

   This is a first edition of Ralph Ardent’s sermons, published by Frémy in Paris in 1564. The book measures 6.5 x 4 inches and there are 32 lines of text in one column. A newer binding has been added later. It is the full collection of the homilies *De Tempore* in two parts (122 sermons). Folios are numbered for part 1 (1 to 268), and part 2 (1 to 176). There are no marginal notations in the text except a running title for each sermon in ink. The only indication of provenance is a small mark on page 1 which reads “Parisian... Coment pastoral Capurins.” This may indicate that the book was at one time in the possession of a parish church in Paris.

2. **Salisbury England, D.4.1**

   This is also Frémy’s edition, published in Paris in 1564. This book must represent a second printing in the same year because its size is different from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale C. 4294. It is a small leather-bound text measuring 6

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54 Bale, *Index Britanniae*, p. 326, footnote 8

55 For the two volumes at the B.N., see *Générale Catalogue des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Auteurs 3: col. 998).
1/16" x 3.75" with 32 lines of text in one column. There are four cords that bind this text, and overall it is in very good shape. The spine is decorated and reads “Radulphus Ardens.” The text includes the *De Tempore* series in two parts (ff. 1 to 268), and (ff. 1 to 176). Bishop Edmund Geste (1514-1576) owned this book and gave it to the Cathedral Library in Salisbury. There are several marginal notations which are in his hand.

3. **Paris, Sainte-Geneviève D 8 5328 inv. 6371**

This text is the same as Salisbury England, D.4. This is a small hard-bound 1564 edition published by Frémey in Paris, measuring 6 1/16" x 3.75" with 32 lines of text in one column. There are five cords that bind this text. It is in very good shape. The spine is decorated and reads “Radulphus Ardens.” The text includes the *De Tempore* series in two parts (ff. 1 to 268), and (ff. 1 to 176). There are occasional pencil marks in the margins.

4. **Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale C. 4461**

This edition was also published by Frémy in Paris in 1567. It is a small leather/board-bound version with four visible bands and 424 folios. The binding is embossed. The text measures 6 5/16" x 4 1/16". There are 32 lines of

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text in one column. Inside the front cover, there is a note: “Ex legato Magistri nostri Iacobi de Cueilly Socij huiusce domus, & Ecclesiae D. Germani Altissiodor. Paroechi vigilantiss. 1596.” [Trans. “From the legacy of our master Jacob de Cueilly, who was an associate of this house and a most vigilant parish priest of the Church of S. Germani Altissiodor. 1596]. The book also contains a library stamp from the Sorbonne. The book is in two parts and contains the De Tempore series. The text is worn, and there are several marginal notations and underlines in pencil.\textsuperscript{59}

5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale C. 3285 (2 vols.)\textsuperscript{60}

This is Frémy’s text, printed by John Stelsij in Antwerp in 1571\textsuperscript{61} and measures 6 6/16" x 3 14/16". The binding is leather on board with 5 visible bands all in good shape. There are 40 lines of text in one column and a total of 292 folio pages for the complete De Tempore series. Volume 2 is dated 1573 and was also printed in

\textsuperscript{58} Page 1r: “Parisiss, Apud Claudium Fremey, via Iacobe, ad insigne D. Martini.,1567. Cum Privilegio regis.”

\textsuperscript{59} One such passage occurs on page 39r at the end of Ralph’s sermon In Natali Domini where the reader underlined the following passage: “quia bona operatio sine bona voluntate non sufficit. Bona vero voluntas sine bona operatione, si facultas deest, sufficere potest.”


\textsuperscript{61} Page 1r: “Antverpiae, in aedibus Viduae & Haeredum Joannis Stelsij M.D. LXXI, Cum gratia & Privilegio.”

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Antwerp. It contains the complete Sanctoral series in 212 folios, excluding the sermons for the Dedication of the Church. There are no marginal notations.

6. Paris, Sainte-Geneviève D 8 5327 inv. 6370

This is Frémy’s text of the De Tempore series, printed by Seruatis Sassenus in Louvain in 1565. There are 296 folio pages 6 6/16” x 3 14/16”. There are 39 lines of text in one column. The binding is in soft leather with no board. The text is justified and there are biblical quotations printed in the margins. The pages are numbered and there is a running header of RADVL. ARDENTII on the recto side and HOMILIAE on the verso side. Each sermon begins with a two line drop-cap. The volume appears to be in good shape.

This survey of the manuscripts and printed editions offers much information about the use and transmission of sermons, which will be discussed in greater detail later. For now, the concern is the authorship of this sermon collection. What information do these manuscripts and printed editions tell us about Ralph Ardent and his sermons? First, Frémy created his edition from a manuscript that is no longer extant. All of the extant manuscripts except for Oxford, St. John’s College 54, which is too mutilated to be of any value for

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62 Page 1r: “Antuerpiae in edibus Viduae and Haerdum Ioan. Stelsij. M.D. LXXIII. Cum privilegio.” On the last page there is the following note, “finis Antverpiae, Typis Theodori Lyndani. 1573.”


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creating an edition, contain either the Prologue or the Church Dedication sermons or both. Frémy’s edition however does not include the prologue or the Dedication sermons. As a French printer, Frémy probably used a French manuscript for his edition; but the only extant French manuscript (Paris, St. Geneviève 2786) is also too mutilated in its present state to be of any value for an edition.

A second observation from this survey is that except for Paris, St. Geneviève 2786, all the manuscripts are English and date to the fourteenth or fifteenth century. While it is indeed possible that more French manuscripts will surface in the future, it is clear that Ralph’s sermon collection had more popularity in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England than it did in France immediately after his death.

Third, and perhaps the most striking observation from this survey is that none of the extant manuscripts identify the author as Ralph Ardent (Ardens) or Radulphus de Bello Loco. The earliest manuscript (Paris, St. Geneviève 2786) is anonymous, as is Oxford, St. John’s 54; two manuscripts give only the name Radulphus as it appears in the Prologue (Oxford, Lincoln College, 112 and Oxford, Bodleian e.musaeo 5); the rest all identify the author as Ralph Acton (or Atton): Oxford, Lincoln 116; John Rylands, 367; Cambridge Peterhouse 104; Salisbury 181; the two Syon manuscripts and Bale’s manuscripts. The earliest of these manuscripts (Cambridge, Peterhouse 104) dates to the late fourteenth century; the rest are fifteenth century.
The obvious question then is who was Ralph Acton? The scribe of Cambridge, Peterhouse 104 was the first person to identify the author of these sermons as Ralph Acton. However it is not clear where he or any of the other scribes obtained their information. It seems unlikely that they would have invented the name. It also seems unlikely that Acton or Atton is a paleographical mistake, even though the names Ardens and Acton are orthographically similar. This sort of "identity crisis" is not uncommon for medieval authors. For example, Thomas of Ireland has been identified in the sources both as a Franciscan and as a Dominican, with dates ranging from the late thirteenth to the early fifteenth centuries. He was also sometimes identified in the sources as Thomas Palmer, Palmerston or Palmeranus. However in this case, Thomas of Ireland was confused with another identifiable medieval writer, Thomas Palmer, who was a late fourteenth-century Anglo-Irish Dominican friar from Winchester.\textsuperscript{64} However there does not seem to be any evidence of Ralph Acton's existence as he has come down to us in English history.

Almost from nowhere, Acton begins to appear in English biographies of the sixteenth century. The first of these biographers was John Leland (1506-1552) who wrote that Acton was the vulgar name for "Achedunus." Leland's comments are vague. He wrote that Ralph Acton was a celebrated philosopher and theologian who wrote a commentary on the Epistles of Paul, various

\textsuperscript{64} Rouse and Rouse, \textit{Preachers and Florelegia} 93
Homilies, and "Illustrationes in divinum Petri Longobardi opus." Leland is uncertain about precisely who Acton is and he cites a reference to Richard Acheduni (d. 1446) in John Bale’s manuscript catalogue of Carmelite writers. Leland’s remark that Acton received his education at Oxford is also unsubstantiated. Emden’s entry for Ralph Acton offered no evidence that he was ever a student at Oxford.

John Bale (1495-1563) was a contemporary of Leland, a playwright, a Carmelite chronicler and a Carmelite friar and prior until his conversion to Protestantism in the 1530s. Bale tried to salvage bibliographical information from the libraries of the Carmelites and the Austin Friars prior to the dissolution of the monasteries in 1539. He identified Acton as a fourteenth-century Oxford master who was the rector of an ecclesiola and wrote a number of works including the sermons De Tempore, De Sanctis, a Commentary on the Epistles of Paul in fourteen books and "Illustrationes in Longobardum" also in fourteen books. Some of this information—that Ralph was a rector of a church—probably came from Bale’s history of the Carmelite Order from the twelfth century to 1530.

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69 John Bale, Illustrium majoris Britanniae scriptorum (Basil, 1557-59): 393
from the Prologue to the sermons, in which Ralph states that he was a rector in a small church; but Bale never discloses his source for the rest of his information. The additional works attributed to Acton are certainly wrong.70

From Leland and Bale, Ralph Acton entered into the annals of English history. John Pits (1560-1616), who was another early English biographer, has an entry for Ralph Acton in his Relationum Historicarum De Rebus Anglicis.71 Pits has nothing new to add; he simply repeats Bale and Leland and places Acton during the time of Edward II. Antonio Possevino (c. 1565) includes an entry for Ralph Acton that is ironically only two lines above his entry for Ralph Ardens.72 Thomas Tanner (1647-1735) summarizes the information about Acton, but offers nothing new.73 Acton even receives an entry in the Dictionary of National Biography which states appropriately, "Of the details of his life nothing definite is known, for the sketch given by Bale and Pits is so vague as to suggest that it is chiefly made up of inferences."74 In spite of the obscurity of this author, modern scholars such as Owst and Wenzel had no problem accepting Acton as a

70 Bale may have Acton confused with Radulphus Radiptorius who was a fourteenth-century English Franciscan who wrote a commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard in fourteen books. See Luke Wadding, Scriptores ordinis minorum (Rome, 1650): 290; also Jo Hyacinti Sbaraleae ed. Supplementum et Castigatio ad Scriptores trium ordinem S. Francisci (Rome, 1806): 624-625.

71 John Pit, Relationum Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis (Paris, 1619): 412

72 Antonio Possevino, Apparatus Sacer ad Scriptores Veteris & Novi Testamenti eorum Interpretes; etc. 3 vols. (Venetiis, 1606): vol. 3 p. 115

73 Thomas Tanner, Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica (London, 1748): 4

fourteenth-century Oxford master in their respective studies of medieval English preaching.\(^7\)

Ralph Acton is little more than a ghost, invented by Leland on the basis of the Prologue to the sermon collection and several fifteenth-century manuscripts which identify the author as Ralph Acton. There are at least two reasons why he cannot be the author of our sermon collection. First, the earliest manuscript (Paris, St. Geneviève 2786) is a French manuscript and dates to the early thirteenth century, at least a century before Acton was supposed to have lived. Second, the sermons themselves are clearly French in origin. Two brief examples will suffice to demonstrate this point. In his sermon for the Feast of Trinity, Ralph makes a passing reference to Gaul and even to Poitiers, and in a sermon for the eighth Sunday after Trinity he discussed the Manichean heretics in the region of Agen.\(^7\) This last reference is especially useful not only because it helps to prove the French character of the sermons, but also because it helps to date the collection. If Acton were writing in the fourteenth century, he would have likely referred to these heretics as Albigensians, if at all. But by the fourteenth century, the Albigensians or Cathars were virtually eliminated from southern France. Either way, it would be unlikely for a fourteenth-century English preacher to

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spend an entire sermon warning his audience about heretics that no longer posed any real threat, at least not in England. From this evidence, it is safe to conclude that Ralph Acton as described by Leland and Bale could not have been the author of these sermons.

This brings us full circle to the question posed at the end of Chapter 2: how do we know that Ralph Ardent, the author of the *Speculum Universale*, was the author of the sermon collection under consideration? The manuscripts do not help here, so it is necessary to probe the sermons themselves for internal hints about the date of the author. But here one encounters another difficulty. Nineteenth-century scholars who studied these sermons from the surviving printed editions had no problem seeing this author as an eleventh-early twelfth-century French "Ralph Ardens." Twentieth-century scholars looking at the same sermons from the basis of the scholarship on the *Speculum* have had no problem seeing this author as a late-twelfth century French master, Ralph Ardent. At the same time, modern scholars studying this collection from the English manuscripts (ex. Owst) have had no problem seeing the author as a fourteenth-century English master, Ralph Acton. If anything, this speaks volumes about the fluidity of certain sermon collections and how it is possible for one collection to be acceptable and applicable across many centuries. This phenomenon is particularly true of model sermon collections from the eleventh and twelfth centuries because many of these collections tended to be more general and theological in nature.
Perhaps additional French manuscripts will surface from the mass of unidentified sermon collections that will identify the author as Radulphus Ardens or Radulphus de Bello Loco. Until then, it is useful to ask what, if any, internal evidence suggests that these sermons must be early or late twelfth century? There are two ways to address this question. One way of establishing the approximate date of a sermon collection is to examine the ideas, theology and philosophy of the sermons in order to determine if the author was associated with a particular theological school. There are however some problems with this method. Since many theological doctrines were shared by more than one school, it is difficult to isolate a specific doctrine which can be attributed with certainty to a specific school at a specific time. Having said this however, there is evidence in these sermons which would suggest that the author was a Porretan or follower of the school of Gilbert of Poitiers (d. 1154). In the second half of the twelfth century, the Porretans were associated with the school at Mont Sainte-Geneviève in Paris. Artur Landgraf, a leading authority on twelfth-century theology, argued that the sermons of Ralph Ardent are clearly Porretan in character. He offered several reasons for this conclusion. For example, Landgraf suggested that the Porretans promoted the practice of giving only the Eucharistic chalice to newly baptized infants. Likewise, in sermon 48 (Coena Domini) and in sermon

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51 for Easter, Ralph argues for the absolute necessity of the Eucharist in both kinds, but that for infants it was enough that they should be given the eucharistic chalice. Along with the Porretans, Ralph also accepted the Augustinian view that original sin was transmitted physically through the sexual lust of the parents. Moreover, Ralph’s view of unmerited grace is also in line with Gilbertine teaching. Following Augustine, Porretans taught that natural man lives in a state of all-embracing sin and that it was only by grace that human beings were justified before God. In his sermon for the feast of Mary Magdalen, Ralph argued a similar position: “For God comes to the sinner by grace alone, conferring to him grace, contrition and the remission of sin.”

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79 This view is called Utraquism, and was supported by Pope Paschall II (1099-1118). This view was especially popular in the early twelfth century, but was gradually replaced later with the doctrine of concomitance. Utraquism was also associated with the school at Leon. Gilbert of Poitiers was a student under the famous masters Anselm and Ralph of Laon, which means that the two schools shared many similar doctrines, including their views on the Eucharist. See Marcia Colish, “Another Look at the School of Laon.” Archives d’histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge 53 (1987): 7-22. See also James J. Megivern, Concomitance and Communion: A Study on Eucharistic Doctrine and Practice, (Fribourg, 1963): 36-47.


81 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1725C: “Fiebat et in virili membro, per quod genus humanum in concupiscentia propagatur, quia erat remedium contra originale peccatum, quod per carnalem concupiscientiam traducitur.”

82 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1400D: “Deus enim sola gratia praevent peccatorem, conferendo ei gratis et contritionem et peccatorum remissionem.”
writes, "For he (the Christian) is saved not by works, but only by the grace of God."\textsuperscript{83} God does not give eternal life to the elect because they merit it, but because he freely promised it to them.\textsuperscript{84} Even the so-called merit of the saints is attributed ultimately to God.\textsuperscript{85} Landgraf also suggested that Ralph Ardent’s views on the \textit{liberum arbitrium} were in line with Porretan teaching.\textsuperscript{86} Gründel also shows that in the \textit{Speculum Universale} Ralph Ardent was familiar with, and in fact copied from, Bernard of Clairvaux’s \textit{De gratia et libero arbitrio}.\textsuperscript{87}

Ralph Ardent’s emphasis on the “internal” virtues of the Christian life and of “intention” as it relates to the definition of sin and merit are also key theological doctrines that would place him in the mid to late twelfth century. The theory of “intention” had roots in the Augustinian tradition, but it emerged more aggressively in the twelfth-century first through the school of Leon, and later through Peter Abelard’s \textit{Scito te ipsum}, written sometime around 1139.

\textsuperscript{83} Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1484B: “Non enim ex operibus justitiae, sed ex sola Dei gratia est salus.”

\textsuperscript{84} Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1337A: “Non enim electis suis dabit Dominus vitam aeternam, ideo quia illi meruerunt, sed ideo quod gratis eis promisit.”

\textsuperscript{85} Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1915AB: “Christus quoque solus est, qui, in quantum Deus est, auctor operis sui esse potest, et, in quantum homo est, majorem apud quem mereatur, habet. Christus ergo solus meruit et mereri potuit. Dicuntur autem sancti mereri, quoniam et si non per se bona operantur, tamen Deo cooperantur: Et ideo cum solum suum opus coronet Deus in nobis, dicuntur tamen pro meritis coronari; divinam gratiam non nisi proprie merita nostra vocantes, cum aperte clamet Apostolus, quoniam ‘non ex operibus justitiae, quae fecimus nos, sed secundum suam misericordiam salvos nos fecit’ (Tit. 3.5).”

\textsuperscript{86} Lottin [\textit{Psychologie et Morale aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles} (Louvain, 1954): vol. 1, 46-47] makes this same point regarding the \textit{Speculum universale}. For the sermons, see PL 155, 1717D: “Licet enim habeant liberum arbitrium ex se ad malum, tamen soli boni habent arbitrium ex gratia liberatum ad bonum, ut possint esse filii Dei, et habere per adoptionem, quod Unigenitus Dei habet per naturam quinquepartitam, scilicet Filii proprietatem.”

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These views, which gained wide acceptance in the late twelfth century, argue that deeds in and of themselves were neutral, and that they only became good or bad based on the “intention of their agent.” This emphasis on the internal “intention” of the sinner highlights a greater appreciation for the ‘interior’ as opposed to ‘exterior’ virtues of the Christian faith. Ralph Ardent’s view of the importance of internal virtues and “intention” is clearly in line with late-twelfth century ethics. For example, in his sermon for the fourteenth Sunday after Trinity, Ralph writes, “There are many who do works which are good in kind, but distorted by intention; as for example those who do alms according to vain intention.” For Ralph Ardent, the merit of good deeds depends almost entirely on the internal virtues behind the deed. In his sermon for the eleventh Sunday after Trinity, Ralph explains the difference between the Pharisee and the Tax Collector in Jesus’ parable in Luke 18. Both men went to the Temple to pray, but only one man went home justified. Ralph writes,

If therefore each of them did a good work in kind, and with the right intention, why was one not accepted? Because the deed of one was spoiled by the leaven of pride, and the other’s deed was commended by the seasoning of humility. For so much, brothers, is the stain of pride that with respect to good deeds, they are corrupted by it.

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87 J. Gründel, Die Lehre des Radulphus Ardens, p. 201-202.


89 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 2058C: “Multi quippe faciunt opus bonum in genere, sed distortum intentione; ut ille qui facit eleemosynam propter vanam intentionem.”

90 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 2031BC: “Si ergo opus utriusque fuerit bonum in genere, et rectum intentione, quare non acceptum fuerit utrumque? Quia opus unius fermento superbiae fuit vitiatum, et opus alterius condimento humilitatis fuit commendatum. Tanta est enim, fratres, labes superbiae, quod quantumcunque fuerit opus bonum, per eam corrumpitur.”

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Over and over in his sermons, Ralph displays the ethical mindset of the late twelfth century by stressing the importance and superiority of internal virtues and right intention in determining the relative merit or guilt of deeds.

While these theological ideas do suggest that the author of this sermon collection was a Porretan who wrote in the mid to late twelfth century, a far more conclusive method of dating any particular work is through source criticism. Sermons, like any other literary work, are not written or preached in a vacuum; medieval preachers constantly borrowed from contemporary and ancient sources. Finding the latest source in this collection would help establish a *terminus ad quem* for the work. In the sermons, Ralph quotes directly from a number of ancient sources including, Bede, Augustine, Pope Gregory I, Boethius, Isidore of Seville, the *Vitae Patrum* and from several ancient secular sources including Horace and Seneca. However, Ralph does not explicitly identify modern sources in the sermons as he does in the *Speculum Universale*. He writes in the prologue that he wrote some of the sermons on his way to the court and others in the country, without the luxury of a library or of his exemplars.\(^\text{91}\)

Although a complete source critical analysis of these sermons will have to wait for a modern edition, it will be sufficient for our purposes to demonstrate that the author of the sermons is indeed Ralph Ardent, the author of the *Speculum Universale*. Two examples will make this connection between the two works. First, the author of the sermons used exactly the same categories in

\(^{91}\) Oxford, Lincoln Col. 116, fol. 3a: "Quoniam ad curiam principis ratpbus, plerumque in via, plerumque inter ipsa etiam arva scriptitabam, et copiam exemplarium non habebam."

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defining human nature and explaining the nature of sin and good works as did Ralph Ardent in the *Speculum Universale*. Both works divide human nature into two basic categories, *homo interior*, which consists of *intellectus, ratio* and *memoria* along with various other subcategories, and *homo exterior* which is *imaginatio, sensualitas* and *memoria*. In one of the earliest manuscripts of the *Speculum*, dating to the thirteenth century, Ralph drew an elaborate chart that illustrates his view of human nature. In this sermons, this same distinction and same language is used. In his sermon for the fourteenth Sunday after Trinity, Ralph wrote,

> Therefore the superior, spiritual part is called ‘interior man’ or ‘spirit.’ The inferior part, associated with the flesh is called ‘exterior man’ or ‘flesh’, because wants only what he can have by the flesh, what is temporary. This is the man who lives after the senses, carnal man, and indeed is called entirely of the flesh. Just as on the contrary, there are those who live after the spirit, spiritual man, and indeed they are called spirit.”

The language, and certainly the ideas are almost identical in both works. A second and more conclusive example comes from comparing the two works on the nature and definition of faith.

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*Ralph drew an elaborate chart illustrating this view on Paris, BN lat. 3229 fol. 12r. For a transcription, See Gründel, *Die Lehre des Radulphus Ardens* p. 122-3.*


*Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 2049A: “Superior ergo pars spiritus vocatur interior homo, sive spiritus. Inferior vero pars cum carne, vocatur exterior homo sive caro: ideo quia a carne sola habet quod temporalia desiderat et quaerit. Hinc est quod homo, qui vivit secundum sensualitatem, homo carnalis, imo etiam totus caro dicitur. Sicut e contrario ille qui vivit secundum spiritum, homo spiritualis, imo etiam spiritus dicitur.”*
Speculum Universale, Lib. VII cap. 4.
Paris, BN lat. 3229 fol. 75v.\textsuperscript{95} Homiliae de Sanctis: Plurimorum
Sanctorum, PL 155, 1544 CD

Fides igitur est perceptio veritatis invisibilium ad religionem pertinientium cum assensione...

Fides, ut ait Apostolus, est sperandarum substantia rerum argumentum non apparentium... Fides est, per quam praemia invisibilia promissa fidelibus iam quodammodo in eis subsistere dicuntur... fides namque, quae est in malis, non est in eis substantia rerum sperandarum, sed potius timendarum.

Fides est substantia rerum sperandarum argumentum non apparentium, id est fides est, quae facit iam subsistere per spem in cordibus fidelium praemia repromissa. In quo removetur fides daemonum, quae non est in eis substantia rerum sperandarum, sed potius timendarum.

There is nothing unusual here about Ralph’s discussion on the nature of faith. In both cases he is explaining Hebrews 11.1: “Faith is the substance of things hoped for....” However the language, especially the statement in italics, demonstrates conclusively that these two authors are the same. Further source critical work on this collection may lead to a more precise date for these sermons, but in the meantime one can assume that Ralph Ardent, the late twelfth-century author of the Speculum Universale, was in fact the author of this sermon collection. He was both familiar with and a representative of the Porretan school on the left bank in Paris and it is likely that the sermons were written before the Speculum Universale, which according to Grabmann, was not completed before

\textsuperscript{95} J. Gründel, Die Lehre des Radulphus Ardens p. 295.
the author's death. It is not known where he preached these sermons—Paris, Poitiers or some other unknown location. But as the next chapter will show, his sermons were written to be preached to parish audiences not just scholars, monks or otherwise educated people. They are in fact the closest representative to popular preaching we have from the so-called circle of Peter the Chanter. As such, they offer a valuable witness to popular preaching before the rise of the mendicant Friars.
CHAPTER 4
RALPH ARDENT AND THE MODEL SERMON COLLECTION

The art of preaching was a practical art, one designed to teach a congregation the general tenets of the Catholic faith in a form or fashion suitable to the needs of the audience at hand. Gregory the Great, commenting on the preacher's ability to formulate sermons for various audiences, said:

Therefore, the speech of teachers ought to be formed according to the condition of the hearers, that it may be suited to each for their own needs, and yet may never depart from the art of common edification.¹

He also said,

Every teacher, so that he may edify all in one virtue of charity, ought to touch the hearts of his hearers out of one teaching, but not with one and the same address.²

Here Gregory states that the capable preacher must be one who can contextualize his message to the audience's needs without forgetting that the primary goal is to edify the audience in proper Christian virtue.

¹ Gregory Regula Pastoralis, II:259: "Pro qualitate igitur audientium formari debet sermo doctorum, ut et ad sua singulis congruat, et lamen a communis aedificationis arte numquam recedat."

² Gregory Regula Pastoralis, II:260: "Unde et doctor quisque, ut in una cunctos virtute caritatis aedificet, ex una doctrina, non una eademque exhortatione tangere corda audientium debet."
In the twelfth century, Ralph Ardent and other moralists in the circle of Peter the Chanter also had a profound sense of what it meant to be a capable minister. Ralph Ardent wrote that there were three qualities necessary to make a good minister: “a good life, a good reputation, and good preaching: any one of these without the others is not sufficient.”

Ralph’s contemporary, Bishop Maurice de Sully, made a similar comment in his Synodal sermon: “There are three things which seem necessary to us who are in the priestly office and are appointed to rule souls spiritually: that is a holy life, right wisdom and continuous preaching.” Ralph and Maurice both thought that one of the great duties of the pastor was that he be able to preach the gospel of Christ in many different contexts. Not willing to limit himself or other pastors to the monastery, school or church building, Ralph wrote that pastors should be able to “preach not only in the village, but also in streets, not only to the people, but also to the individual person, not only to citizens, but also to pilgrims, to farmers and to travelers.” This multifaceted audience is evidenced in his sermons. Although each sermon must be examined by itself in order to determine the intended audience, Ralph Ardent preached to a host of different people.

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3 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155 col. 2035A: “Porro tria faciunt ministrum idoneum, bona vita, bona fama, bona praedicatio: quorum unum sine reliquis non sufficit.”


5 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1519D: “ut scilicet praedicetis non solum in villis, sed etiam in viis, non solum populis, sed etiam personis, non solum civibus, sed etiam peregrinis, agricolis et viatoribus.”
The purpose of this chapter is to look more closely at the occasion, function and audience of the sermons as well as the general content, structure and style of Ralph Ardent's sermons. My purpose is to demonstrate that Ralph's sermons were both moral and catechetical in nature and that he designed them to be used in parish settings rather than in the context of the university or the educated elite. Furthermore, this study will help us understand better the way model sermon books were used in the late twelfth century, and how they came to be adopted as one of the most important preaching tools of the mendicant friars.

**Occasion and Function of the Sermons**

The occasion for preaching is inseparably connected with the intended function and audience of the sermon; but for the twelfth century that audience is often difficult to ascertain. There were a number of occasions that called for a sermon. Pastoral visitations\(^6\) and ecclesiastical ceremonies such as ordinations, episcopal elections, crusades, church dedications and pilgrimages were often the stated occasion for such sermons. Information about the occasion for a particular sermon may come from the chroniclers who noted such events; or in some cases, the manuscripts themselves indicate the occasion of a sermon. We know that Stephen Langton for example preached a sermon on 25 August 1213 in support of the interdict on England. He also reportedly preached a sermon for the second coronation of Henry III at Westminster (17 May 1220) and again to a

monastic congregation in October 1220 for the fiftieth anniversary of Thomas Becket’s martyrdom. But these specifics are rare indeed.

The most frequent occasion for the delivery of a sermon in the twelfth century was during the Mass on Sundays and Feast days of the liturgical year. The most frequent type of sermon collection in this period was composed of sermons delivered at the Sunday Mass. Liturgical books distinguished among various series for Sundays and feasts of the Lord, including movable feasts of the Lord (e.g. the Easter cycle) and the feasts surrounding the saints days which are usually based on a fixed monthly calendar. Many of these sermon collections differentiated between either sermones de tempore or sermones de sanctis. Other common collections of sermons included sermones quadragesimales (associated with the season of Lent) and de communi sanctorum.

Scripture was the basis for all liturgical preaching and the scholastic sermon was intended to be an exposition on a particular scriptural text. Josef Jungmann has provided an excellent study on the relationship between the sermon and the medieval liturgy. It was customary in the ancient Jewish synagogue to have an exposition following the scriptural reading of the Law and Prophets. The early history of the Christian sermon reflects this traditional connection between the reading of the text and its explanation. Developments in the early Middle Ages witnessed the growing separation between the sermon

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and the Mass and a departure from the sermon’s liturgical character. Part of the reason for this lay in the fact that most parish clergy in the early Middle Ages did not have the learning needed to prepare and deliver sermons. But in the twelfth century, new models of education were available to clergy in cathedral schools and the newly emerging universities of Paris, Oxford and Bologna. Preachers trained in scholastic exegesis naturally incorporated many of the tools and methods they learned in the schools for their preaching in the churches. However most of the sermons which survive from the late twelfth century are not considered popular sermons, or sermons ultimately intended for the laity. Many of the so-called scholastic sermons were in fact preached to university or otherwise educated audiences and written down by students or others who heard the sermon.

Preaching in the twelfth century was thus in a period of transition. It was a period that witnessed the gradual transformation of the sermon out of the university classroom and into the parish churches. The transformation reached a climax first in the conciliar legislation of Lateran IV, which called for regular preaching to the laity and second in the preaching of the mendicant friars, all of whom were trained in the newly established schools.


One can see a glimpse of this transformation in several important sermon collections which were intended to be used for lay preaching. The three largest and most important of these transitional collections were those by Maurice de Sully, Ralph Ardent and Alain of Lille. Of these, Ralph’s collection is the most complete liturgical cycle.

The intended occasion for Ralph Ardent’s sermons was always liturgical. Regulations for the proper order of the liturgy were found in the *Ordines Romani*, which were often customized by individual provinces (eg. Gallican or Franco-Roman) until a uniform liturgy was finally accepted in the Catholic Church in the sixteenth century. Ralph’s collection contains a total of 202 sermons, divided into the three liturgical cycles *De Tempore, De Sanctis* and *De communi sanctorum* along with three sermons on the Dedication of the Church. The series *De Tempore* is a collection of sermons for the Sunday Gospel and Epistle readings which cover the liturgical year: Advent, Epiphany, Lent, Easter, Ascension, etc. This series of sermons is sub-divided into two parts. The first part of this collection is made up of 73 sermons beginning on the first day of

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13 For these three sermons, see Appendix A. These three sermons were not included in Frémy’s printed edition and are therefore not found in *PL*, 155.
Advent and ending on and including the Feast of Pentecost. The second section has 49 sermons beginning with the Feast of Trinity and ending on the twenty-third Sunday after Trinity. The De sanctis series contains a total of 44 sermons. The series De communi sanctorum (33 sermons) includes several sub-series of sermons such as Commune sanctorum Apostolorum, Commune plurimarum Martyrum and Commune unius Confessoris, Commune unius Virginis. The three Church dedication sermons would also have been used in a liturgical setting, though not for the Sunday Mass.

David d’Avray studied many Dominican and Franciscan model sermon collections, ranging from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. His definition for a model sermon collection will be useful for the twelfth century as well. He defined a model sermon collection as one which is written for a “proximate public of users and an ultimate public of listeners.” This definition suggests that sermon books were often designed to serve more than one function, and to reach more than one audience. However these details about function and audience are difficult to ascertain because many sermon books were compiled not by the preacher or master, but by someone else. Also, most sermon collections do not contain a prologue or preface, which is often the only source in which scholars

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14 Commune sanctorum Apostolorum (Migne, PL 155: 1489C-1526B); Commune plurimarum Martyrum (Migne, PL 155: 1544B-1566C); Commune unius Confessoris (Migne, PL 155: 1566C-1598C); Commune unius Virginis (Migne, PL 155: 1605C-1626B).

can find information about the function and intended audience of any given collection.

Ralph Ardent did write a prologue to his sermon book which, although giving little biographical information, does tell his readers both the immediate occasion and the long-term or ultimate function of the collection. The prologue also provides useful hints about the intended audience, content and style of the sermons.

Ralph wrote that the immediate occasion for writing his sermon book was a request made by one of this "associates" or "friends":

While I was residing peacefully in my church, I took up the happy custom of preaching to the people on Sundays and feast days, when a certain one of our associates asked urgently if I would be willing to write from memory those things which I was accustomed to preaching to the people.

It is not immediately clear who these associates were. The term socius is used often to refer to business partners or just friends; it is also used widely to refer to fellow religious workers. In his sermons, Ralph used the term in reference to St. Peter and his socios as future fishers of souls, and on another occasion he used it

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16 For a transcription of this Prologue, see Wolf, "La Préface perdue des sermons de Raoul Ardens Chapelain de Richard I." Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge 46 (1979): 35-39. See also Appendix B.

17 Oxford, Lincoln College ms. 116, fol. 3: “Cum in ecclesia mea quietus residerem, et loquendi ad populum per dies dominicos et festos mihi consuetudinem felicem fecissem, quidam nostratum sociorum nostram efflagitavere parvitatem, quatinus ea que ad populum sermocinabar qualicumque scriptura memorie commendarem.”

18 The Vulgate for example uses the word to describe the relationship between Paul and Titus. See 1Cor 2:8: “sive pro Tito qui est socius meus et in vos adiutor sive fratres nostri apostoli ecclesiarum gloriae Christi.”
to refer to prelates in the Church.\textsuperscript{19} We know from other sermons that Ralph
identified himself as a priest, a master and a pastor who had administrative
duties in the Church. Moreover, on three separate occasions, Ralph referred to
"noster ordo," with no further clarification as to what that order might be.\textsuperscript{20}
Almost certainly these \textit{sociae} were fellow priests or possibly regular canons living
under the Rule of St. Augustine. The fact that there were these associates also
suggests that the church was probably located in an urban area and was large
enough to support multiple clergy. The setting could very likely be a cathedral
chapter.

It is also not immediately clear why these associates made this request.
The "urgent request of brothers" is often the stated reason for composing literary
works in this period. For example, we find a similar request made in the
prologue to Honorius Augustodunensis’ (d. c. 1156) \textit{Speculum ecclesiae}, a
collection of 69 sermons compiled in the first quarter of the twelfth century.\textsuperscript{21} In
the thirteenth century, Guibert of Tournai was asked to compile the sermons he

\textsuperscript{19} Radulphus Ardens, \textit{PL} 155, col. 1990A: "Quarto per capturam piscium significatur Petrum
et socios ejus futuros piscatores animarum." Also col. 1431D: "Debet igitur praelatus se exhibere
et bonis tanquam socium...."

\textsuperscript{20} See, Radulphus Ardens, \textit{PL} 155, col. 1399D, 2022A, 2035D.

\textsuperscript{21} Honorius Augustodunensis, \textit{Speculum ecclesiae}, \textit{PL} 172, col. 813: "Cum proxime in nostro
conventu resideres, et verbum fratibus secundum datum tibi a Domino sapientiam faceres,
omnibus qui aderant visum est non te sed angelum Dei fuisse locutum. Unde et plurimi ex
fratibus, de verbis tuis compuncti, multum jam proficient in timore Domini. Quamobrem te
rogamus obnixe ut velis aliqua hujuscemodi ad multorum aedificationem stylo proferre,
quatenus tot hominum meritis et precibus juveris in extremis, quot legendo vel audiendo in
melius profecerunt ex tuis loquelas."
preached to the clergy in Paris.\textsuperscript{22} Judging from the fact that many twelfth-century authors lamented the lack of education among clergy, perhaps Ralph's associates did not have the academic training needed for the preparation of sermons. Regular sermon preparation required more than just a basic literacy; it also required an intimate familiarity with the Bible, the Church Fathers, and Christian doctrine. Either way, we learn from his prologue that Ralph was involved in regular dominical preaching to the people (\textit{ad populum}), that his fellow clergy liked this preaching enough to ask him to write down a series of sermons for the laity.

In typical scholastic fashion, Ralph offered several reasons why he should agree to this request: "I found a four-part reason.... The first is fraternal charity; second the honesty of the occupation; third: a common utility and fourth it was suitable to my own occupation."\textsuperscript{23} He explained each of these points further:

Certainly it is a matter of fraternal charity to answer diligently the just requests of a brother. Also it is an honest occupation to accommodate the brevity of our life, not to uselessness or vanity, but rather to salvation. Also, it is of common utility to provide for the usefulness of the entire

\textsuperscript{22} From Paris, BN, lat. 15942, fol. 2ra, as quoted in D'Avray, \textit{The Preaching of the Friars}, p. 120, no. 2: "Rogatus pluries ut sermones quosdam quos ad clerum Parisiensem latina predicarem lingua in volumen unum conpingens quasi diversos surculos in unum fasciculum congregarem."

group in the mode of our redeemer, not for one's own but for all. It is also advantageous to prepare, while we live, for the future merit after our death.24

Ralph was very critical of masters who spent their time reading and disputing the scriptures, not to benefit others, but rather to build up their own reputations at the expense of the simple.25 For those reformers associated with the circle of Peter the Chanter, preaching was the pastoral element and ultimately the goal of the scholastic method. In his *Verbum Abbreviatum* the Chanter had written that "there are three things involved in the explanation of sacred scripture: reading, disputing and preaching."26 Ralph too believed that the duty and calling of a trained scholastic master was to take what he had learned and to entrust it to others: "Because while it is truly meritorious to teach the ignorant, he who transmits in writing the teaching of doctrine to posterity will provide merit to himself after death."27


25 Radulphus Ardens, *PL* 155, col. 2045B: "Quales (unde dolendum est) sunt hodie plerique magistri, qui de scientia sua inflati, legunt et disputant, non ut sibi vel aliis proficiant, sed ut se ostentent, et simplices confundant."


27 Oxford, Lincoln College ms. 116, fol. 3: "Quoniam vero cum precipui meriti sit indoctos erudire, qui doctrinam erudicionis per scripturam ad posteros transmittunt, et post mortem videntur docendo promereri."
While these comments show that the *immediate* occasion for writing the sermons was his fellow clergy's request, Ralph also explained what he considered to be the *ultimate* function of the sermon collection:

> So being compelled by these reasons I yielded the request of our brothers. Because I composed these little homilies for the benefit of simple ones I took care to avoid obscure allegory, the profundity of Scripture, the burden of sermons, in so far as I am able, seeking out all morality as is necessary for the life of mankind.

Unlike the sermons which survive from other twelfth-century master/preachers such as Robert Pullen (d. 1146), Peter Lombard (d. 1160), Peter Comestor (d. 1178) and Peter of Poitiers, whose sermons were preached largely to university audiences, the sermons of Ralph Ardent represent a liturgical collection designed for regular dominical preaching to the laity. The sermon book ultimately had a catechetical function; it was designed to teach the fundamentals of doctrine and morals to the "simple." For Ralph's sermons, while the proximate public was the clergy, the ultimate public was the laity.

This function of Arden's model sermon collection has some similarities (as well as differences) with two other well-known collections from this period,

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29 Oxford, Lincoln College ms. 116, fol. 3: "Hiis itaque causis compulsus, postulacioni fratrum nostrorum acquievi. Quoniam autem ob utilitatem simplicium omeliunculas istas composui, obscuritatem allegoriae, profunditatem scripturarum oneraque sermonum evitare curavi pro posse meo, in universis requirens moralitatem, utpote vite homini necessariorem."

30 Phyllis B. Roberts argues that Stephen Langton's sermons, although preached when he was regent master in Paris were also preached to the laity. See Phyllis B. Roberts, *Studies in the Sermons of Stephen Langton*, p. 52.
those of Maurice de Sully and Alain of Lille. Both Maurice and Alain also wrote their respective sermon books to be used by clergy for preaching to the laity. Maurice de Sully wrote his sermon book between 1168 and 1175 for the purpose of providing a resource for diocesan priests. In his synodal sermon, which served as a preface to the collection, Maurice called his clergy to a holy life, to a life of study and pastoral discernment and, above all, to “preach the word, dwelling upon it in season and out of season...with all patience of a teacher.”

Alan of Lille’s more general treatise on the art of preaching also served this purpose, though it was not written for a specific church or diocese. Written about 1198, Alan’s book is a model sermon collection par excellence. The book begins with a preface and an introductory essay on the art of preaching. There are thirty-seven non-liturgical sample sermons on various topics, mostly moral in nature. Beginning with chapter 38, Alain examines the question of who ought to preach and to whom a sermon ought to be delivered. In the Preface, Alain described his purpose for writing his book:

> Because so little has been said about preaching: its nature, by whom and to whom it should be delivered, on what subjects and in what manner, at what time or where. We have thought it worthwhile to put together a treatise on the subject, for the use of our neighbors.

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31 Maurice of Sully, p. 82. Also Michael Zink, *La Prédication en langue romane avant 1300* (Nouvelle Bibliothèque du Moyen Âge, 4; Paris, 1976): 145-6

Maurice de Sully and Ralph Ardent both wrote their sermon books for specific ecclesiastical needs; Alain of Lille on the other hand, wrote a treatise which would lay the foundation for a new genre in the thirteenth century: the *ars praedicandi*. All three collections were designed to be used by fellow clergy to preach to the laity.

The immediate occasion and function of Ralph’s sermon collection might help explain why there are so few copies of it extant. It was not until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, that his collection became more popular—and then only in England until the sixteenth century. Unlike Alain of Lille’s book which, from the beginning, was designed to be used by a wide audience, initially Ralph’s book was intended for use by a small group of clergy in one church.

*Audience*

Although none of the manuscripts of Ralph’s sermons contain the typical rubrication *ad populum*, which usually denotes sermons intended for the laity, the prologue does indeed indicate that these sermons were designed for lay audiences (*ob utilitatem simplicium*). However as I have just suggested, it is too narrow to assume that these sermons were designed only for the laity. All of Ralph’s sermons, except one, are addressed to a group of people he called his

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33 Eighty-nine manuscripts of this work survive, forty-three of which were copied in the thirteenth century. See G. Raynaud de Lage, *Alain de Lille, Poète du Xlle siècle* (Paris, 1951): 35, n. 74.
"fratres charissimi" (beloved brothers) or alternatively "fratres mei" (my brothers). The term *fratres* was a common sermonic convention, an inclusive term used to address the congregation at large, similar to the way modern preachers often address their audiences collectively with a phrase such as "my beloved," or "brothers and sisters." Augustine used the term regularly in his sermons, as did Gregory the Great both in his homilies on the Gospels and in his homilies on Ezekiel. Bede used the term regularly in his sermons, as did Rabanus Maurus and Peter Damian. Twelfth century monastic preachers such as Peter of Celle and Aelred of Rievaux used the term, as did many scholastic masters. For example, Stephen Langton used similar terms in reference to audiences of monks, clerics, masters and even for a sermon he preached to the laity. In the case of Ralph Ardent's sermons, these *fratres*, in addition to being a general sermonic convention for any audience, also likely referred to his immediate audience—his associates (canons or fellow priests) in his church. Just as the laity needed instruction in basic Christian doctrine, morals and spiritual formation, so too did the clergy.

While these *fratres* are always in the forefront of Ralph Ardent's sermons, it is clear that he also had his "ultimate public" in mind—the *simplices*—as he preached. The laity in this case comprised a variety of people: men, women, rich, poor, merchants, farmers, and the like. If his church was located in an urban

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34 The one exception is his sermon for the feast of the Assumption of Mary, PL 155, col. 1425D-1430C.

setting, as I have suggested, one would expect to find a number of references to the general ethos of urban life. In fact, Ralph does use the vocabulary and imagery of the city, though he is in no way limited to this imagery.

Images of urban life occur frequently in this collection. For example, Ralph compared guarding the city gate with guarding one’s life against vices. He frequently compared false preachers to “hired hands” (mercennarius). He referred to Peter and Andrew as merchants of the kingdom of heaven. He especially chastised those who chased after temporal rewards and he was concerned about the problem of fraud, which he associated mostly with bankers and merchants. In his sermon for the tenth Sunday after Trinity he wrote,

The Apostle said, “In this matter, no one should wrong his brother or take advantage of him,” that is neither through violence or fraud, neither injure him openly or in secret; this especially silences bankers and merchants, and all who make their money while hurting those next to them.

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36 Radulphus Ardens, PL, 155, col. 1894A: “Quid enim valet caeteras portas urbis observasse, si per unam hostis intraverit? Itaque, fratres mei, nihil valet caetera vitia evitasse, si unum adhuc remansit.”

37 Radulphus Ardens, PL, 155, col. 1873A: “Tres igitur sunt, fur, mercenarius et pastor, sicut nominibus, ita introitu, intentione, opere, et merito differentes.” Later in the same sermon he wrote: “Mercenarius vero est omnis ille qui in Ecclesia Dei quaerit praesidere, non ad honorem Dei, nec ad salutem animarum, sed tantum ad temporalem mercedem, quales sunt hodie (unde dolendum est magis) fere omnes praelati Ecclesiarum, non manducantes ut evangelizent, sed potius evangelizantes ut manducent, et (quod pejus est) manducantes, et non evangelizantes” (1873C-D).

38 Radulphus Ardens, PL, 155, col. 1307B: “Petrus et Andreas, relictis retibus et navi, regnum coelorum mercati sunt.”

39 Radulphus Ardens, PL, 155, col. 1799C-D: “Apostolus, cum subdit: ‘Ne quis supergrediatur, vel circumveniat in negotio fratem suum,’ (1Thess. 4.6) id est nec per violentiam, nec per fraudem, nec aperte, nec occulte ei noceat. Hoc praecipue negotiatores et mercatores confutat, et omnes qui faciunt lucrum sibi cum damno proximi.”

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In the sermon for the fourth Sunday after Epiphany, he condemned robbery, rape, usury and fraud, the kind of vices one might associate with the city or market place.\(^{40}\)

Ralph wrote in his prologue that he composed these sermons on the way to the court of the prince.\(^{41}\) As a chaplain in the court of Richard I, one would expect to find some imagery in these sermons related to the court and military life. Ralph does not make a distinction between a king (\textit{rex}), a prince (\textit{princeps}) or other earthly (feudal?) lords,\(^{42}\) nor does he identify any specific king, prince or lord. This no doubt gave the preacher some leeway in making ethical pronouncements and judgements. Moreover as a sermonic image, kings and princes were almost always used in comparison to Jesus or God (in general) as King. For example, in his sermon for the feast of the Annunciation of Mary, Ralph compared the honors and riches of a temporal king with those eternal riches God has promised to us.\(^{43}\) In his sermon for the Purification of Mary, he compared the messengers of Jesus—Patriarchs and Prophets—to those

\(^{40}\) Radulphus Ardens, \textit{PL}, 155, col. 1755: “Octavum est: Non furtum facies, in quo damnantur latrocinium, rapina, usura et dolus.”

\(^{41}\) Oxford, Lincoln College, ms. 116, fol. 3: “Ceterum, si quis in hoc opusculo auctoritates semiplenas sub aliis vero verbis reperit, noverit hoc inde contigisse: quoniam ad curiam principis raptus, plerumque in via, plerumque inter ipsa etiam arva scriptitabam, et copiam exemplarium non habebam.”

\(^{42}\) Baldwin notes that this was true for all the moralists associated with the circle of Peter the Chanter. See Baldwin, \textit{Masters, Princes and Merchants}, vol. 1, p. 161.

\(^{43}\) Radulphus Ardens, \textit{PL}, 155, col. 1363D: “Certe si aliquis rex temperalis promittat nobis honores et divitias vanas, eas cum toto desiderio non differri optamus et postulamus. Et ecce Deus promittit nobis aeternum et beatum regnum, promittit nobis coelestia bona, ‘quae nec oculus vidit, nec auris audivit, et in cor hominis non ascendit’ (1Cor. 2.9), et ad illa torpescimus et negligentes sumus.”
messengers who hail the arrival of the king into a city. He made a similar comparison with regard to royal favor: “If a certain king or worldly prince should offer to us his love, we embrace him with great delight. Why therefore do we despise the king of heaven who offers himself to us?” While kings and princes served an important function in the body of Christ as “hands” and “defenders of the church,” Ralph was careful to remind his audience that “Kings, princes, parents and secular friends, cannot save either themselves or us.”

Other elements of the city and courtly life also appear in these sermons. Ralph spoke favorably toward those in military service to the king. In one sermon he wrote, “just as Mars praises strong soldiers...so the Lord loves strong soldiers and condemns the effeminate and weak.” In his sermon for the feast of St. Andrew he wrote, “God omnipotent remunerates abundantly all his soldiers

44 Radulphus Ardens, PL, 155, col. 1339C: “Sicut enim rex terrenus venturus in aliquam urbem, multos praemittit praemambulos, adventus sui nuntios, et jam intratus, nuntium familiariorum sibi praemittit; ita Dominus fecit, mittens primo patriarchas et prophetas....”

45 Radulphus Ardens, PL, 155, col. 1504A-B: “Si aliquis rex, vel princeps saecularis, suam amicitiam nobis offerat, cum magno gaudio eam amplectimur, quare regem coelorum se nobis offerentem aspernamur?”

46 Radulphus Ardens, PL, 155, col. 1910D: “Princeps vero, qui est quasi manus Ecclesiae, non se solum, sed etiam totam Ecclesiam defendat.”

47 Radulphus Ardens, PL, 155, col. 2034A: “Reges autem, principes, parentes et amici saeculares, nec se, nec nos salvare possunt.”

48 Radulphus Ardens, PL, 155, col. 1687D “Sicut enim Mars duro milite gaudet, qui fortiter sustineat calores, algores, et labores, ita Dominus duros amat milites, effeminatos contemnit et molles.”
in all riches."\textsuperscript{49} On several occasions, Ralph warned his audience to be careful of dancers (*saltatores*), mimes (*mimi*), buffoons (*scurre*) and other entertainers who plagued royal courts, city streets, the marketplace and even pilgrimage routes.\textsuperscript{50} The moralists associated with Peter the Chanter often reproached these people and all who listened to them. The Chanter himself wrote an entire chapter in his *Verbum abbreviatum* in which he marshaled patristic and scriptural sources against these forms of entertainment, going so far as to bar those who practiced them from the Eucharist.\textsuperscript{51}

Ralph Ardent was also conscious of the poor, although his views on the relationship among the classes mirrored the long-standing Augustinian idea that each estate in life served a specific salvific or utilitarian function in society. In his sermon for the second Sunday in Advent he wrote:

When God could have made all men strong, wise and rich, He was unwilling to do so. He wished instead that these men should be strong, those weak; these wise, those foolish; these rich and those poor. For if all were strong, wise and wealthy, one would not be in the need of the other. Again, if all were feeble, foolish and poor, one would not be able to help the other. Therefore he willed these men to be strong and healthy, wise or rich, that they might save their own souls by helping others through love

\textsuperscript{49} Radulphus Ardens, *PL*, 155, col. 1304A: "At Dominus omnipotens, in omnibus dives, milites suos omnes abundanter remunerat."

\textsuperscript{50} Radulphus Ardens, *PL*, 155, col. 1437C: "Rursus quia intentus erat superfluae et frequenti comessationi, cecidit in amorem saltatriae, mimorum, et scurrilium." A little later in the same sermon, he writes, *Nos itaque, frates mei, vitam et malitiam pravorum detestantes, comessationes et ebrietates fugiamus, meretricium et saltatricum, et scurrarum pestem fugiamus et evitemus, et in silentio et temperantia comedentes, sacram lectionem audiamus, multiloquium, stultiloquium et temeraria juramenta caveamus." (1438C)

of them: those others He willed to be weak or foolish or in want, that they might save their own souls by enduring hardship in patience. Hence God says, “The poor you have always with you.”

As one of the key elements of the *Vita Apostolica*, a life of voluntary poverty was believed to be holy. But the more celebrated ideal life of poverty was one in which a person gave up wealth or power in order to become poor—the best example being Francis of Assisi. People who were born into a state of poverty did not earn that same respect. Instead their merit came through their pious endurance of daily hardships, and through a life of prayer. The possibility that the poor would not endure these hardships is clear from a sermon Ralph preached for the first Sunday after Trinity. Following the example of Lazarus in Luke 16, Ralph wrote that “the poor and sick learn not to murmur about their adversities, not to damn the rich, but to bless God and to attribute these beatings to their sins.”

Women also comprised a significant portion of the congregation for Sunday sermons. Ralph wrote about mothers, wives, virgins and prostitutes. As one would expect, the Virgin Mary provided a host of examples for living the

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Christian life. Ralph wrote two sermons for the feast of Purification of the Virgin Mary, two others each for the Annunciation, Assumption and Birth of Mary. Ralph also wrote a sermon for the feast of Mary Magdalen in which he explained her conversion from a life of prostitution to a life of penance and holiness. Although Ralph has nothing to say about women religious, he does speak often about wives and mothers. He devoted an entire sermon in his Sanctoral to the ideal of the noble woman (mulier fortis) found in Proverbs 31. Following the biblical text closely, Ralph outlined eighteen "duties" of the noble woman beginning with such virtues as faithfulness and service to her husband and family, including her involvement in business, farming and "other right labors." He also wrote that manual labor conferred four benefits: "It destroys vices, it nourishes virtues, it provides what is necessary, it gives alms."

Although these sermons were written down by the author and therefore constitute a literary rather than an oral representation of preaching, there are several cases where Ralph addressed specific groups of people directly. For example, he addressed families on several occasions in order to teach them about proper methods of parenting: "You also fathers and mothers of families, be

54 The themes of this sermon will be discussed more fully in Chapter 7.

55 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1615B-C: "Octavum officium est, gustare et experiri quam sit bonum, de negotio agriculturae, et de caeteris rectis laboribus sibi et indigentibus necessaria providere, et propter eam non solum in die, sed etiam in nocte justis laboribus instare.

56 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1615C: "Quatuor enim utilitates confert labor manuum: vitia destruct, virtutes nutrit, necessaria parat, eleemosynam donat."
watchful of your sons in good upbringing, learning and information.” In another sermon preached on the first Sunday after Epiphany, Ralph used the example of Mary and Joseph to instruct parents how they should bring their children up in the Church:

But the fact that the Blessed Virgin and Joseph led Jesus every year to the festivals in Jerusalem is an example to you fathers and mothers, that after your sons reach the age of reason, you lead them to the church, you teach them to fear God, to make supplication to Him and to pray to Him.

Ralph was very concerned that parents provide proper instruction to their children and that they give them a good example to follow. He told mothers and fathers, “if you have directed your household by truth alone, you will not deviate from the right path on account of the desires of the flesh.” He also used his pulpit and pen to warn parents who failed to rear their children properly: “O wretched father, why do you accuse your son for this? He does it, because you taught him. If you wanted him to prove dutiful, why did you not teach him to be just yourself?” In his sermon for Commune unius continentis, he reminded

57 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1723A: “Vos itaque, patres et matres familias, vigilate in bona nutritura, eruditione et informatione filiorum.”

58 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1737D: “Sed et in hoc quod beata Virgo et joseph puerum Jesum quotannis ad solemitates ducant Jerusalem, praestant vobis, patres et matresfamilias, exemplum, ut filios vestros, postquam intelligere coeperunt, ad Ecclesiam ducatis et eos Deum timere, supplicare et orare doceatis.”

59 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1760D: “Vos igitur matres et patresfamilias, si ad habitacionem veri solis tenditis, propter affectus canales a recto itinere non declinetis.”

mothers to teach their sons and their families by word and example in wisdom and in the law of God.\textsuperscript{61}

Ralph Ardent was especially concerned for the laity; and in these examples of direct address, he offers the reader a glimpse of the preacher in action. In one sermon he warned the laity not to be “cold or burdensome on your pastor, as are certain perverse disciples; but rather you ought to love him as a spiritual father.”\textsuperscript{62} Ralph always seemed mindful of the fact that his audience contained a wide variety of people, most of them unlearned. He also knew that not everyone was interested in hearing sermons, and he lamented about how many people in his day would rather hear songs and the lute rather than Holy Scripture.\textsuperscript{63}

Ralph Ardent did not just have the laity in mind as he wrote his sermons; he was also deeply aware of the various problems facing monks and clergy. On at least two occasions, Ralph addressed an audience of monks. The first time he was expounding on Luke 24.13, a passage which described two disciples who left their village to journey to Emmaus. In Benedictine fashion, Ralph encouraged the monks to leave the monastery only when it was absolutely necessary:

\textsuperscript{61} Radulphus Ardens, \textit{PL} 155: col. 1616 C-D: “Sextum decimum officium est, filios et familiam suam in sapientia, et in lege Domini exemplis et verbis erudire.”

\textsuperscript{62} Radulphus Ardens, \textit{PL} 155, col. 2073C: “Vos quoque, si veri discipuli, si verae oves estis, erga pastorem vestrum non debitis, ut quidam perversi discipuli, duri et frigidi esse, sed eum tanquam spiritualem patrem amare.”

\textsuperscript{63} Radulphus Ardens, \textit{PL} 155, col. 1410B-C: Reprehenduntur etiam et plebes qui libentius audiunt cantilenas, citharas et vanitates quam sacram Scripturam.
"Imitate them [the disciples], you cloistered ones, so that you may not leave your group on account of apostasy, or curiosity, but only for a necessary reason." Ralph would on occasion quote from Benedict's Rule, and in this instance he was reflecting on chapter 67 of the Rule which said that no one should leave the monastery without the abbot's permission. In another sermon addressed to monks, he dealt with the problem of hypocrisy:

If a certain man in golden white clothes, with a gold ring, comes into your convent, you say "sit in this good place." If however a pauper in dirty clothes comes in, you say "stand there or sit under my footstool."

In order to correct the hypocrisy among these brothers, Ralph referred to Benedict's warning that in receiving the poor, the monks were in reality receiving Christ. In one sermon, he addressed male religious (viri religiosi):

"while on the contrary, it is the task of the male religious to hold to all religion, to keep himself below others, and not to wish to seem above others."

Ralph Ardent also directed many of his comments to clergy and even occasionally to fellow masters and teachers. He often chided clergy whose

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64 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1857C: "Imitamini istos, vos claustrales, ut scilicet non exeatis de collegio vestro per apostasiam, vel per curiositatem, sed tantum propter necessarium causam."

65 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 2103D: "Si quis vir in vestitu candido aureum habens annulum introiert in conventum vestrum, dicetis: Sede hic bene. Si autem introierit pauper in sordido habitu, dicetis: Sta illic aut sede sub scabellum pedum meorum."

66 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 2103D.

67 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1556D: "Cum e contrario viri religiosi sit omnem religionem tenere, infra alios se reprimere, nec super alios videri velle."
preaching was not motivated by humility and service to Christ. In his sermon for the fourteenth Sunday after Trinity he wrote, "Alas, what will I say of the laziness of modern pastors? They despise the salvation of souls; they never leave their rest, unless, by chance, they are allured by the smell of money."68 In another sermon, he lamented about the lack of "true pastors" in his day.69

He particularly enjoyed criticizing certain masters whom he believed spent too much time building up their own reputation and neglecting the weightier matters of ministry, especially preaching to the people. On one occasion he wrote,

(It is to be regretted), there are today many such masters, who puffed up from their knowledge, read and dispute, not so that they may profit themselves or others, but so that they might show themselves off and confound the simple.70

And in another sermon he wrote, “There are (it is regretted) many today, who question and dispute about the scriptures not so that they may do, but that they might be made visible, as the Philosopher says ‘They want to know so that they

68 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 2052C-D: “Heu! quid dicam super pigritiam modernorum pastorum, spementes salutem animarum, de quiete sua nunquam exequunt, nisi forte trahat eos lucrum pecuniarum.

69 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 2081B: “Heu, fratres mei, quam sunt hodie rari veri pastores!”

70 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 2045B: “Quales (unde dolendum est) sunt hodie plerique magistri, qui de scientia sua inflati, legunt et disputant, non ut sibi vel aliis proficant, sed ut se ostentent, et simplices confundant.”
can be known.””

He cast many such aspersions against teachers, bishops, abbots and other leaders in the church who neglected their cure for the sake of temporal gain. In his sermon for the feast of the Transfiguration, Ralph wrote,

For modern pastors neither remember Scripture itself, nor make others remember. Having contempt for the cure of souls, they strive for temporal gain, and they show themselves neither by position nor work as pastors, but rather as hired hands.  

Again, in his sermon for the eighteenth Sunday after Trinity he wrote that if “I am a true master, I should not be harsh and cold toward you, as certain paid and false masters are, who teach not for spiritual gain, but for temporal gain.” This rhetoric against fellow teachers and masters was not uncommon among the moralists of the late twelfth century; in fact for many authors, it seemed to be a national pastime. In a time when the laity was often influenced by non-orthodox competitors, and threatened by various popular heresies, Ralph Ardent and others were concerned not only with teaching the people, but also that the clergy maintain a proper Christian example.

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71 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 2077C: “Tales (unde dolendum est) sunt hodie plures, qui quaeerunt et disputant de Scripturis non ut faciant, sed ut appareant et ut, Philosophus ait: ‘Volunt scire, ut sciantur.’” I have not been able to identify this quote. Most of the time when Ardens quotes “The Philosopher” he is refering to Boethius. In this case the quote may come from Aristotle.

72 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1407B-C: “Hodierni enim pastores, nec Scripturarum ipsi memores sunt, nec alios memores faciunt. Contempta enim cura animarum, temporalibus lucris intendunt, et se nec fine nec opere pastores, sed mercenarios esse ostendunt.”

73 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 2073C: “Itaque, fratres, si ego verus magister sum, non debeo erga vos durus et frigidus esse, sicut quidam mercenarii et falsi magistri, qui non ad spiritualia lucra, sed etiam ad temporalia docent.”
Each of these groups—comprising both lay and clerical audiences—had an important role to play in the ministry of the Church. The wise served as eyes, preachers as the tongue, people as the feet and princes as the hands (of protection) for the Church. Each order of society had an important function in the body of Christ. However pastors and priests received the most reminders about their function from these scholastic theologians and masters. Ralph devoted several sermons to urging pastors and preachers not to neglect their duties as ministers in the church. He even addressed those who had no clerical calling, writing that they could still labor in the gospel of Christ. Ralph Ardent believed that following the apostolic life was something in which every Christian could be involved, even those who were not clergy. The twelfth century was a period of intense religious fervor, and even the laity wanted to participate in the vita apostolica. Preachers such as Ralph Ardent had to find ways to fulfill those needs that were in line with orthodox practice.

More examples of Ralph’s audience could be given, but this is sufficient to demonstrate that he was no cloistered preacher. As a preacher and master, he had to address audiences of all types: families, fellow priests and monks,

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74 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1910D: “Sapiens, qui est quasi oculus Ecclesiae, non sibi soli, imo etiam caeteris fidelibus sapiat et praevideat. Praedicator, qui est lingua Ecclesiae, non se solum, imo etiam caeteros erudiat. Plebs vero inferior, quae est quasi pes Ecclesiae, non se solam, sed etiam totum corpus Ecclesiae, suis sustentet laboribus. Princeps vero, qui est quasi manus Ecclesiae, non se solum, sed etiam totam Ecclesiam defendat.

75 For example, see Radulphus Ardens, Misit Jesus discipulos suos, praecipiens eis, et dicens...(Migne, PL 155: 1517D-1521D).

76 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155: 2110D-2115D. See particularly 2115B-C.
merchants, kings and knights. Whatever his audience, his message always involved doctrinal teaching of a catechetical nature and moral exhortation, both of which were typical functions for the scholastic sermons of this period.

Content of the Sermons

These liturgical sermons offered an important opportunity to teach the laity the principles of the Catholic faith and morals. The doctrines and morals preached in these sermons were a mirror of the concerns which occupied the scholastic reformers of the late twelfth century. These concerns were tied largely to the emerging religious, political and economic realities associated with growing cities, as well as a surplus economy and new theological and philosophical ideas found in the schools.

In his Prologue to the sermons, Ralph indicated that one of his reasons for writing these sermons was for the instruction of the “simple” in basic doctrine and morality, avoiding obscure allegory, the profundity of Scripture, and the burden of sermons. The scholastic reformers of this period often argued that the rhetoric of a sermon—its verbal flowers, jesting words and dense theological doctrine—could inhibit listeners from growing in their knowledge of the Christian faith. Alain of Lille made this very point when he said, "Preaching

77 Oxford, Lincoln Col., ms. 116, fol. 3: “Quoniam vero cum precipui meriti sit indoctos erudire, qui doctrinam erudicionis per scripturam ad posteros transmittunt, et post mortem videntur docendo promereri. His itaque causis compulsus, postulacioni fratrum nostrorum acquievi. Quoniam autem ob utilitatem simplicium omeliunculas istas composui, obscuritatem allegoriae, profunditatem scripturarum oneraque sermonum evitare curavi pro posse meo, in universis requirens moralitatem, utpote vite homini necessariorem."
should not glitter with verbal trappings, with purple patches, nor should it be too much enervated by the use of colorless words.”  
Yet the scholastic sermon, in its university context, often contained such exhibitions of theological and exegetical prowess. As the sermon moved out of the classroom and into the parishes, the problem these masters faced was bringing their learning down to the level of the uneducated laity. Ralph’s sermons attempted to shift from a university context, to the practical instruction of the laity. In short, Ralph makes it clear in his prologue that these sermons were catechetical in nature; they performed an important function in the local church by providing basic doctrinal and moral teaching for the laity.

The sources of doctrinal and moral teaching in this period were the Ten Commandments, the Lord’s Prayer and the Creed along with the cardinal virtues and capital vices. Alain of Lille’s sermon book offered the preacher sample sermons on the seven deadly sins: Gluttony (sermon 4), Dissipation (sermon 5), Avarice (sermon 6) Sloth (sermon 7), Envy (sermon 8), Anger (sermon 9) and Pride (sermon 10). He also offers a series of sermons on various virtues including love (sermon 21), prudence (sermon 23), fortitude (sermon 24) and so on. Alain also offered sermons on prayer (sermon 29), contrition (sermon 30), confession (sermon 31) and various practices such as almsgiving (sermon 33), fasting (sermon 34) and hospitality (sermon 37).

78 Alain of Lille, *De arte praedicatoria*, ch. 1, *PL* 210, col. 112C: “Praedicatio enim non debet splendere phaleris verborum, purpuramentis colorum, nec nimis exsanguibus verbis debet esse dejecta”
Ralph Ardent’s sermon book contains all these basic doctrinal and moral teachings. However because his sermons are liturgical, the content is driven by the lectionary reading for the day. This means that doctrinal and moral topics are scattered throughout the collection. For example, themes such as penance, contrition, confession and satisfaction are connected especially to the Lenten series; but one can also find these topics in the Advent sermons and in many of the sanctoral sermons. In his sermon for the fourth Sunday after Epiphany, Ralph discussed at some length all of the Ten Commandments; but individually one can find many sermons that address more specifically such issues as idolatry, fraud, the Sabbath, honoring parents, murder, theft and the like. The cardinal virtues are also addressed in many sermons. He examined the virtue of prudence in his sermons on the third Sunday after Epiphany and the First Sunday after Ascension. Fortitude or courage is sprinkled throughout many sermons, particularly in the Sanctoral. Modesty is addressed in the Fourth Sunday in Advent and almsgiving is the topic for the sermon on St. Laurence. Various vices are also addressed. In his sermon for the Third Sunday after Easter, he wrote that some of the cardinal desires were “boastfulness,
drunkenness, lust, pleasure, cupidity, vainglory and other such vices.”⁷⁹ Some of these vices he even associated with demonic possession.⁸⁰

More specialized doctrinal issues are also discussed; but he does so in such a way that the laity can understand the basic concepts of Christian doctrine. For example, in his sermon for the Supper of the Lord (Coena Domini) Ralph explained the Eucharist and the meaning of the Sacraments: “When the priest elevates the host, and especially makes the sign of the cross, he presents Christ elevated on the cross.”⁸¹ Following the text of 1 Corinthians 2, Ralph provides step by step instruction about the abuse of the sacrament, its form, how one approaches the altar and what sort of judgment might come to those who approach the sacrament in an unworthy fashion.⁸² He instructed his audience that before approaching the alter, they should abstain from what he called “middle” or imperfect good works such as lovemaking, worldly business or even

⁷⁹ Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1877D: “In quibus ostendit, fratres mei, a quibus abstinere debeamus, et quare, et qualiter. A quibus? a carnalibus desideriis, id est a gloriisitate, a vinolentia, a luxuria, a voluptate, a cupiditate, a vana gloria, et a caeteris vitiis, quibus carnales delectantur, et quibus delectando carnales efficiuntur.

⁸⁰ Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1809C “Multi quippe sunt hodie, qui propter turpitudinem criminum a daemone possidentur. Hic a spiritu luxuriae, ille a spiritu avaritiae, alter a spiritu superbiae.”

⁸¹ Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1836B: “Quando enim sacerdos elevat hostiam, et ei imprimit crucis signum, elevationem Christi in cruce reprezentat.”

repaying a debt. Ralph was also concerned about the frequency of communion. In his sermon for Easter he wrote that Christians in the Early Church took communion more frequently; but that now some, out of negligence, receive the Eucharist only three times a year: Christmas, Easter and Pentecost. He also lamented about a “grave evil that has arisen, where scarcely once a year some are able to take communion worthily.”

Many other doctrinal points are covered in these sermons. The Advent sermons, and particularly the four sermons for Christmas, explained the nature of Christ, the Virgin Birth and various christological topics. Keeping to his plan not to burden the sermons for his readers, he is careful to keep his comments short. When he addressed the question of original sin in his sermon for the ninth Sunday after Trinity, he wrote:

Adam is said to be the old man. His oldness is that corruption and weakness which he incurred when he sinned, which is called weakness of

83 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1837B “A quibusdam etiam mediis et imperfectis bonis abstineat, ut a complexu etiam legitimae uxoris, a causarum etiam justarum negotiis, a justa etiam repetitione debitorum.”

nature, or torment of flesh or proclivity to sin. This is original sin. For this is said to be the sin of sins, because through it, willy nilly, we sin.\footnote{Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 2085C: “Dicitur igitur Adam vetus homo. Vetustas ejus est illa corruptio et infirmitas quam peccando incurrit: quae languor naturae, sive stimulus carnis, sive pronitas ad peccandum vocatur. Haec est originale peccatum. Hoc etiam peccans peccatum dicitur, quia per eam, velimus nolimus, peccamus.”}

He followed this comment with an explanation of how original sin is removed through faith and baptism, and how the sinner is returned to a state of innocence.\footnote{Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 2085C: “Omnes igitur sicut nascimur ex corrupta massa Adae, ita nascimur ex corrupto corrupti, ex vetere veteres; sed per gratiam novi hominis Christi renovamur, dum in fide et baptismo ejus originale peccatum nobis dimittitur, et innocentia nobis confertur.”} But this is the extent of the discussion—it is very basic and concise.

Doctrinal points were always connected in some way to moral exhortations. In the Prologue to the collection Ralph wrote that one of his main goals was to search out all morality “as is necessary for the life of mankind.”\footnote{Oxford, Lincoln Col. ms. 116, fol 3: “Quoniam autem ob utilitatem simplicium omeliiunculas istas composui, obscuritatem allegoriarum, profunditatem scripturarum oneraque sermonum evitare curavi pro posse meo, in universis requirens moralitatem, utpote vite homini necessariorem.”}

He wrote in his sermon for the Supper of the Lord, that a true master is one “who teaches not externally, but internally.”\footnote{Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1841B: “Ipse enim solus est magister, qui non exterius, sed interius docet....”} Virtually every point in his sermons contained a moral imperative for the audience to follow. This division of theology into basic doctrine and morals or word and deed is foundational to the scholastic masters of the late twelfth century. For example, Peter the Chanter wrote that theology consisted of a celestial part which consisted in the articles of

faith and was designed to combat heresy and catechize the faithful, and a “sub-celestial part” which distinguished between vices and virtues. Alain of Lille wrote that “by means of preaching—instruction in matter of faith and behavior—two aspects of theology may be introduced: that which appeals to the reason and deals with the knowledge of spiritual matters, and the ethical, which offers teaching on the living of a good life.” Most of the theologians at the turn of the thirteenth century were interested in these moral questions to one degree or another. Preaching provided the means whereby these doctrinal and moral concerns could be communicated to the laity and clergy alike.

Structure and Style of the Sermons

In the prologue, Ralph gave his readers a hint of what to expect in terms of structure and style:

If someone finds in this little work incomplete authorities or in other words [from the original source], he might know that it is for this reason; because having been called to the court of the prince, I wrote some along the way and some while in the fields and I did not have a copy of my exemplars.

89 See Baldwin, Masters, Princes and Merchants, vol. 1, p. 49.

90 Alain of Lille, De arte praedicatoria, Ch. 1, PL 210, col. 112A-B: Per hoc quod praedicatio dicitur, morum et fidei instructio, insinuantur duae partes theologae: rationalis, quae de divinis scientiam prosequitur; et moralis, quae morum instructionem pollicetur.” Trans. adapted from G.R. Evans, The Art of Preaching (Kalamazoo, 1981): 17.

91 Oxford, Lincoln College, ms. 116, fol. 3: “Ceterum, si quis in hoc opusculo auctoritates semiplenas sub alius vero verbis repperit, noverit hoc inde contigisse: quoniam ad curiam principis raptus, plerumque in via, plerumque inter ipsa arva scriptitabam, et copiam exemplarium non habebam.”
Ralph wrote these sermons as he traveled to or with the court of the prince. He did not have a copy of his exemplars and one can presume that he did not have many books with which he could refer to for reference. Yet despite this note of humility, the sermons do exhibit a clear structure and style which is characteristically scholastic in nature.

While the sermon collection of Ralph Ardent follows a standard liturgical cycle, individual sermons were artistic creations or symmetrical units built around a specific theme or set of themes. Ralph always began his sermons by quoting a portion of the scriptural reading for the day. This reading, combined with the themes of the liturgical season, formed the outline for the development of his sermons.

As the prologue indicates, these sermons were an important vehicle for the transmission of doctrinal and moral theology to the laity. Although the author wrote these sermons at the request of certain associates, it was the preaching of Ralph Ardent that was so attractive to his fellow priests in the first place. Therefore one can be reasonably confident that the written sermons, in their completed literary form, are in fact closely related to what was actually preached.

Typically, twelfth century preachers began their sermons by announcing a series of divisions which expanded on the lectionary reading. By the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, these divisions were so common that manuscripts often distinguished the divisions with roman numerals and sometimes even marginal
judgments about the relative value of the point. These divisions could range from two to as many as eighteen points, but usually the range was between two and five points, with three being the most common. In his sermon for the first Sunday of Advent, Ralph began with a thematic quotation from Romans 13:11 followed by the theme:

Lectionary Reading: *Hora est jam nos de somno surge...etc.* (Romans 13:11).
Theme: His verbis, fratres charissimi, hortatur nos Apostolus, ut ad secundum Filii Dei adventum praeparemur.  

This sermon continues with a more detailed outline of what will follow in the sermon:

Ad hunc ergo vigilanter exspectandum exhortatur nos Apostolus hoc modo: Primo monet nos surgere a somno. Secundo subdit causam quare cito surgendum sit. Tertio ostendit quomodo ab isto somno surgatur.  

This structure of the sermon is common throughout the collection. In the sermon for the Feast of St. Andrew the Apostle, Ralph stated the theme in three points:

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93 Radulphus Ardens, *PL* 155, col. 1667A:

Lectionary Reading: The hour is now for us to wake up...
Theme: With these words, my brothers, the Apostle encourages us so that we might be prepared for the second coming of the Son of God.

94 Radulphus Ardens, *PL* 155, col. 1667B: "Therefore to await this one vigilantly, the Apostle exhorts us this way: First he advises us to arise from our sleep. Second he adds a reason why we should get up quickly. Third he shows how we might be aroused from this very sleep."
Lectionary Reading:  
*Corde creditur ad justitiam; ore autem confessio fit ad salutem... etc. (Romans 10.9)*

Theme:  
Tripartita est haec lectio, fratres mei. Primo enim ostendit Apostolis quod ex fide et confessione est salus; secundo, unde illae in nobis orientur; tertio ostendit quod magis auditores praedicationi, quam praedicationio auditoribus desit.  

The “middle” section of the sermon developed each point systematically using scriptural, patristic and even classical authorities as support.

The penchant for dividing the text into subsections was a scholastic technique based on the use of distinctions (*distinctiones*)—an exegetical tool which began to appear during the course of the late twelfth century and was refined by the mendicants in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Distinctions were alphabetized collections of words (mostly nouns and their various meanings), catalogued both according to their use in the Bible and according to the different senses of biblical interpretation. A classic and early example of this technique is found in Guibert of Nogent’s handbook for making a sermon. He distinguished four meanings (interpretations) for the noun

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95 Radulphus Ardens, *PL* 155: 1301D-1302D.

Lectionary Reading:  
For one believes with the heart and is justified and one confesses with the mouth and is saved...

Theme:  
“There are three parts to this reading, my brothers. First the Apostle shows that salvation is from faith and confession; second, whence these things arise in us; third he shows that there are more hearers that lack preaching than preaching that lacks for hearers.”

"Jerusalem" according to the four traditional senses of biblical interpretation. Literally, "Jerusalem is a certain city.... Allegorically, it represents holy church; tropologically it is the faithful soul of anyone who sighs for a vision of eternal peace; anagogically, it means the life of the heavenly citizens who see the God of gods when his face is revealed in Zion." The masters of the late twelfth century went much farther than Guibert in their use of this tool. "Preaching by numbers," as Rouse and Rouse called it, was a favorite way of outlining sermons. Langton wrote that "the thought is still mistress of the language; symbolism is her tool which she chooses and sharpens." Based on the various meanings of a word or series of words in a given passage, preachers used this technique to outline their sermons and provide a structure for their moral exhortations.

Ralph Ardent often used a schematic framework of rhymed divisions and subdivisions to outline his work. For example in his sermon for the third Sunday in Advent, the lectionary reading came from Matthew 11.2: "Johannes autem cum audisset in vinculis opera Christi mittens duos de disdpulis suis...." Ralph writes,

Sunt autem tres partes hujus lectionis:

97 Guibert of Nogent, Liber quo ordine sermo fieri debeat, PL, 156, col. 26A: "Verbi gratia Hierusalem, secundum historiam, civitas est quaedam; secundum allegoriam, sanctam Ecclesiam significans; secundum tropologiam, id est moralitatem, anima fidelis cujuslibet qui ad visionem pacis aeternae anhelat; secundum anagogen, coelestium civium vitam, qui Deum deorum facie revelata in Sion vident, signat."

98 Rouse and Rouse, Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons, p. 84.

Prima continet Joannis interrogationem
secunda Christi responsionem
tertia Joannis commendationem.\textsuperscript{100}

Another example of this structure comes from the sermon for the Feast of
Christ’s circumcision, which is based on the lectionary reading in Luke 2.21.

Ralph writes, “Sunt autem, fratres charissimi, tres circumcisiones:

prim a est carnalis,
secunda spiritualis,
tertia coelestis.

Prima est legis,
secunda gratiae,
tertia gloriae.

Prima est bona suo tempore
secunda melior et in omni tempore
tertia optima et in perpetuitate.

Prima est sacramentum sacrae rei
secunda sacra res et sacramentum;
tertia res sacramenti.\textsuperscript{101}

An example from the \textit{Sanctoral} is found in the sermon for the feast of St. Luke.
The lectionary reading is Luke 10.1: “post haec autem designavit Dominus et

\textsuperscript{100} Radulphus Ardens, \textit{PL} 155, col. 1684C.

\textsuperscript{101} Radulphus Ardens, \textit{PL} 155, col. 1725A-B.
alia Septuaginta duos et misit illos binos ante faciem suam in omnem civitatem et locum quo erat ipse venturus, etc.” The sermon is outlined according to the following three points:

- **Primum igitur descriptur eos elegisse,**
- **secundo, eos misisse,**
- **tertio eos instruxisse.**

Almost always, these larger points are further subdivided. For instance in the above example, the third point is divided into ten sub-points which form the outline for the remainder of the sermon. These examples could be multiplied many times over.

Rouse and Rouse argued that the “type of sermon evolved at the University of Paris through the course of the thirteenth century was an admirable instrument for routine preaching to laymen.” This is certainly true of the twelfth century as well. The sermon structure itself became an important tool as preachers commonly used sermon divisions, subdivisions and distinctiones to outline sermons. Alain of Lille used this method for his popular sermons, as did many, if not most of the scholastic preachers. Earlier in the century, Guilbert of Nogent appealed to the use of various distinctiones in

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102 Radulphus Ardens, *PL* 155, col. 1465A.

103 Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons*: p. 84.
meaning as a valuable tool for preaching\textsuperscript{104} and Bernard of Clairvaux often employed a technique scholars have called the \textit{tricolon} of rhymed or rhythmic triplets.\textsuperscript{105} The art of using these distinctions and divisions was developed in the twelfth century and perfected in the thirteenth century by the mendicant friars. Guibert of Tournai, writing in the middle of the thirteenth century said that the purpose of these divisions was to avoid confusion and help the memory.\textsuperscript{106} As a mnemonic device, one can see how this method would have been useful for helping the audience remember the various points of the sermon.

Another common way of dividing sermons was based on the traditional “senses” used in scriptural interpretation. There were four senses used in biblical interpretation: (1) the \textit{sensus historicus} or \textit{literalis}, which was a simple explanation of the deeds that happened; (2) \textit{sensus tropologicus}, which focused on the moral lessons of the text; (3) \textit{sensus allegorius}, in which a text was seen to represent something different;\textsuperscript{107} (4) \textit{sensus anagogicus}, or the spiritual sense.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{104} Guibert of Nogent, \textit{Liber quo ordine sermo fieri debeat}, PL, 156 col. 29B: “Praesumendum, inquam, nulli nisi litteris sagaciter imbuto, et sub eisdem, ut dixi, rebus ac nominibus multiplicia sentire prorsus instructo.”
\item \textsuperscript{105} Jean Longère, \textit{Œuvres oratoires de maîtres parisiens au xii\textsuperscript{e} siècle}. (Paris, 1975): vol. 1, p. 55. See also R. Cruel, \textit{Geschichte der Deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter} (Detmold, 1879): 272.
\item \textsuperscript{107} This sense is often interpreted in a redemptive historical manner. For example “David rules in Jerusalem” allegorically might refer to “Christ rules his Church.”
\end{itemize}
which was a mystical interpretation. This method of outlining sermons was popular in the first half of the twelfth century, particularly among monks; but it continued to influence the way in which preachers examined the biblical text throughout the middle ages. Guibert of Nogent had instructed his readers to follow the four senses in preparing their sermons. Of these four senses, he believed the moral or tropological sense was the most useful for the “care of the inner man.” In the latter half of the twelfth century, the school of St. Victor helped revive an interest in biblical interpretation based on the four senses of scripture.

Ralph Ardent often used the traditional senses of scriptural interpretation to outline his sermons. He especially favored this technique in his sermons for Lent and Easter. Sometimes he used a two-sense model for interpretation, focusing on the historical sense and the moral sense. For example in his sermon

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108 For a good explanation of this method, see Harry Caplan, “The Four Senses of Scriptural Interpretation and the Medieval Theory of Preaching,” *Speculum* 43 (1929): 282-290. Guibert of Nogent offers a useful summary of these senses. “We must also speak about what sermon must be delivered particularly for the teacher. There are four rules of Scripture on which every sacred page revolves as if on wheels; that is, the historical, which relates deeds that have happened; the allegorical, in which one thing is understood from another; the tropological, that is, moral discourse in which the establishment and regulating of morals is discussed; the anagogical, namely, spiritual understanding through which we are about to deal with the highest and heavenly things we are led to still higher. Guibert of Nogent, *Liber quo ordine sermo fieri debet*, PL 156, col. 25D: “Dicendum etiam nobis est quis tractatus doctori praecipue habendus sit. Quatuor sunt regulae Scripturarum, quibus quasi quibusdam rotis volvitur omnis sacra pagina: hoc est historia, quae res gestas loquitur; allegoria, in qua ex alio aliud intelligitur; tropologia, id est moralis locutio, in qua de moribus componendis ordinandisque tractatur; anagoge, spiritualis scilicet intellectus, per quem de summis et coelestibus tractatur ad superiora ducitur.” Trans. George McCracken in *The Library of Christian Classics*, p. 291.

for Easter, he wrote, “Therefore my beloved brothers, we mention in passing this gospel reading to you, explaining first that which pertains to the historical and second that which pertains to the moral.” Most of the time, however, he employed a three-fold approach of 1) *historica* or *littera*, 2) *tropologia* (moral), and 3) *mysticum* (spiritual). Sometimes he used the term “*mystica*” interchangeably with “*allegoria*.” For example, in his sermon for the second Sunday in Lent, Ralph used as his lectionary reading *Matthew* 15:21ff, which is the story of Jesus’ healing the Canaanite woman’s demon-possessed son. He then utilized the literal, allegorical and tropological outline to explain this text: “My beloved brothers, in this Gospel reading we see first what is literal, second what is allegorical, and third that which pertains to morals.” At the literal level, the Canaanite woman was praised for her virtues, particularly her faith in bringing the child to Jesus. On the mystical level, Ralph interpreted her as the Church and on the moral level she was interpreted as the soul. When Ralph explained his text using the traditional senses of scriptural interpretation, he always spent the most time discussing the moral sense of the text.

In addition to the use of schematic outlines based on divisions or interpretative senses, preachers in the late twelfth century also employed the use

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110 Radulphus Ardens, *PL* 155, col. 1852B: “Nos ergo, fratres charissimi, vobis evangelicam lectionem percurrimus, primo quae ad historiam, secundo quae ad tropologiam pertinent explanantes.”

111 Radulphus Ardens, *PL* 155, col. 1800B-1803A: “In hac sancti Evangelii lectione, fratres charissimi, primo quae ad litteram, secundo quae ad allegoriam, tertio quae ad tropologiam pertinent, videamus.”

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of auctoritates and exempla to support and accentuate their respective points.

Scriptural and patristic authorities were by no means new to the scholastic period. However the scholastic masters of the twelfth century began the process of assembling these authorities and using them as support for their preaching. In his De arte praedicatoria, Alain of Lille wrote that in the making of a sermon one should

> bring in other authorities to corroborate the first [that is, scripture], especially those which are relevant to his subject. He may also insert sayings of the pagan writers—just as the Apostle Paul sometimes introduces quotations from the philosophers into his epistles, for he will make an apt point.... Finally he should make use of examples to prove what he says, because teaching by means of examples is a familiar method.\(^{112}\)

Preachers used authorities—drawn mostly from Scripture and the Fathers—for several reasons. Auctoritates helped make the audience aware of a wider interpretative tradition, they provided a different way of making the same point, and as the name implies they provided support to the preacher’s conclusions.\(^{113}\)

Preaching after all was an art; the theoretical, rhetorical and emotive elements to a sermon were just as important as the content. However these reformers had to

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112 Alain of Lille, De arte praedicatoria, Ch. 1, PL 210, col. 114B-C: “Debet etiam alias auctoritates inducere ad id asserendum, maxime, quae pertinent ad propositum. Poterit etiam ex occasione interserere dicta gentilium, sicut et Paulus apostolus aliquando in Epistolis suis philosophorum auctoritates interserit quia elegantem habebit locum, si callida verbum junctura reddiderit novum.... In fine vero, debet uti exemplis, ad probandum quod intendit, quia familiaris est doctrina exemplaris.” Trans. adapted from G.R. Evans, The Art of Preaching (Kalamazoo, 1981): 22.

113 Rouse and Rouse, Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: p. 86.
find ways to illustrate and prove their arguments, without allowing the form or style overshadow the message.¹¹⁴

Scripture was the most important and convincing authority one could use, and often the scholastic division of sermons was based on an outline of the day’s lectionary reading. Scriptural quotations were used to support each successive point in a sermon. Ralph Ardent used the Psalms, Wisdom Literature the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles every chance he could.¹¹⁵ On average, he would quote the Bible between one and two dozen times in any given sermon. In the thirteenth century, this use of scriptural authority increased so much that even for the most minute details, preachers would offer several scriptural proofs.¹¹⁶

Other sources of authority were patristic and pagan authors. In the thirteenth century, scholars collected the sayings of the Fathers into large volumes of *florilegia* for use in preaching and for other scholarly writings. Twelfth-century preachers also had at their disposal collections or short summaries of patristic writings. For the preparation of sermons however, preachers often used patristic models as their source for both content and supporting material.

¹¹⁴ Alain of Lille, *De arte praedicatoria*, ch. 1, *PL* 210, col. 112B: “Praedicatio enim in se, non debet habere verba scurrilà, vel puerilia, vel rhythmorum melodias et consonantias metrorum, quae potius fiunt ad aures demulcendas, quam ad animum instruendum.”

¹¹⁵ See Appendix C for a tabulation of scriptural quotations found in Ralph’s sermons. Alain of Lille recognized the importance of these books for the instruction in morals. *De arte praedicatoria*, Ch. 1, *PL* 210, col. 113C-D: “Haec autem debet esse forma praedicationis, ut initium sumatur ab auctoritate theologica, tanquam a suo proprio fundamento: maxime ab Evangeliiis, Psalmis, Epistolis Pauli et libris Salomonis. Quia in his specialiter resultat moralis instructio.”

Some scholars have argued that the early scholastic masters were more selective and critical of patristic authorities. Abelard's well known *Sic et Non* showed clearly that patristic evidence was often contradictory; but this tradition of criticizing patristic authority can been seen in the works of earlier authors such as Paschasius Radbertus and John Scotus Erigena, both ninth-century theologians and Bible commentators. Early scholastic masters seem to have relied more heavily on their own exegetical and theological prowess than on the authority of the Fathers. For example, if one considers the number of patristic quotations compared with the number of scriptural quotations in any given work, this point becomes clear. Ralph Ardent quoted the Bible 2484 times in 202 sermons. He quoted Augustine only seven times in six sermons; Gregory the Great only ten times in ten sermons; Boethius only nine times in nine sermons; Bede and Isidore only once. However the number of quotations is not always a sufficient guide to judge the influence of authorities on these sermons. While scholastic masters might have been more willing to stretch the envelope when it came to writing *summas*, their preaching often relied on patristic models, especially those by Gregory the Great and Bede.

Pagan authors do not fare much better in these sermons. Ralph quoted Virgil, Horace and Juvinal only once each in three sermons of the *Sanctoral*. In the temporal series, Horace is quoted seven times along with Ovid (3), Virgil (2)

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and Lucan (1). Clearly, scripture provided the most complete resource for moral
and doctrinal illustrations in the late twelfth century.

This same pattern is visible in Ralph’s use of exempla. The exemplum was a
short illustrative story designed to support a specific point in a sermon. The origin of the exemplum goes back to classical works on rhetoric, but beginning
with Ambrose (d. 397), Augustine (d. 413), Leo the Great (d. 462) and Gregory the
Great, exempla became intimately connected with the sermon. Most of the
diverse sources used in the twelfth century, of course, came from the Bible; but the genre
came more elaborate in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as the
mendicant preachers collected stories from both sacred and profane literature to
be used for preaching.

The use of these sources varied from preacher to preacher. Alan of Lille
used patristic authorities on a regular basis, especially Augustine and Gregory
the Great; but he also quoted from Boethius, Isidore of Seville, and pagan writers
such as Seneca, Lucan, Virgil, Horace, and Cicero. Ralph Ardent used
Augustine, Gregory, Boethius and Isidore along with pagan authors such as
Cicero, Horace and Virgil.

118 Guibert of Nogent recorded stories about the miraculous events associated with the
procession of relics in Leon because they were “useful for sermons.” See Guibert’s
odeporicum eorum scribimus, ipsi conscribant, nec facta virtùm, sed quaeque praeedicatoria
decerpimus.”

119 See J. Th. Welter, L’Exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du moyen âge (Paris,
studies on the exemplum, see J. Berlioz, and M. A. Polo de Beaulieu Les Exempla médiévaux:
 introduction à la recherche. Suivi de tables critiques de l”Index exemplorum” de Frederic C. Tubach.
(Carcassonne, 1992). Also, Jacques Le Goff, “L’exemplum et la rhétorique de la predication au
XIIIe et XIVe siècle,” in Rhetorica e poetica tra i secoli XII e XIV, (Florence, 1988).

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A common way of introducing these stories was with the word, *legimus*, or *dicitur*. Ralph always used the term *legimus*. For example in his sermon for the first Sunday after Epiphany, he tells a story he learned from church history of how St. Ambrose prohibited Emperor Theodosius from entering into the church choir with clerics.\textsuperscript{120} He used this story as an illustration of the different parts or sections in a church and how each order—laity and clergy—had their respective places. Ralph also quoted occasionally from the Lives of the Fathers (*Vitae Patrum*). In explaining the pericope of Matthew 11.8ff in which Jesus described the ascetic dress of John the Baptist, Ralph wrote: “...we read in the *Vitae Patrum* that they avoided baths and ointments as modes of tenderness, lest they soften the hardness of their bodies.”\textsuperscript{121} Ralph quoted from various saints’ lives or stories about the saints he found in ancient Christian literature, particularly the writings of Gregory the Great. He related stories or incidents about St. Anthony,\textsuperscript{122} St. Clement,\textsuperscript{123} St. Hilary of Poitiers,\textsuperscript{124} St. John the Patriarch of Alexandria,\textsuperscript{125} and St. Nicholas.\textsuperscript{126}

\textsuperscript{120} Radulphus Ardens, *PL*, 155, col. 1738B-C: “Legimus enim in ecclesiastica historia quod cum Theodosius imperator vellet apud Mediolanum in chorum clericorum introire, prohibuit eum beatus Ambrosius: ‘Distinctio, inquit, debet esse inter clericos et laicos. Ego cum clericis meis in choro debo psallere, tu vero cum laicis tuis extra orare.’ Veniens autem imperator Constantinopolim mansit extra chorum. Cui cum episcopus diceret quare solito more non intraret in chorum, respondit: ‘Unum solum episcopum in mundum inveni, qui quae differentia sit inter laicos et clericos me docuit.’”

\textsuperscript{121} Radulphus Ardens, *PL* 155, col. 1687D: “Inde est quod sancti Patres, sicut in *Vitis Patrum* legimus, balnea, unguenta, hujusque modi mollia devitabant, ne corporis sui duritiem mollirent.”

Most preachers in the twelfth century were intimately familiar with Pope Gregory the Great’s sermons and his *Dialogues*. These works along with other ancient hagiographic literature such as the *Acta Martyrum* became popular sources for mining moral and spiritual illustrations. In a sermon for the feast of St. John, Ralph used a story based on the deeds of Sanctulus, a priest from Nursia, found in Gregory’s *Dialogues*: "The blessed Gregory relates that a certain priest named Sanctulus was a man of exceeding charity." He went on to tell how Sanctulus, during the persecution of the Lombards, offered his life for the}


124 Radulphus Ardens, *PL*, col. 1925A: “‘Serpentes tollent,’ sicut legitimus, de beato Hilario, quod, eo viso, serpentes in fugam conversi sunt, non tolerantes ejus aspectum. Et si mortiferum quid biberint, non eis nocabit.”


sake of all Christians in Italy. The story provided an excellent example of the highest form of Christian charity and Ralph exhorted his audience to follow in the saint’s footsteps. Like other preachers from the period, Ralph Ardent also read and used Gregory’s Gospel homilies. In a sermon for martyrs (Commune Plurimorum Martyrum),

The Blessed Gregory tells the story about Stephen, an Abbot in a monastery near the city of Rieti. He was a very holy and patient man. He had despised all things earthly out of love for heaven; he was embarrassed to own anything in this world. He fled noisy men and was intent on frequent and prolonged prayer.\[^{128}\]

Ralph borrowed most of this sermon from Gregory’s thirty-fifth Gospel homily. Ralph used this story, as did Gregory, to illustrate the patient perseverance of Stephen at his time of death.

One final stylistic element should be mentioned because it too became a useful tool for scholastic preachers. The *similitudinarius* was a devise similar in many ways to the *exemplum* in that it provided a brief comparison—often symbolic or figurative—between two things. Similitudes in general are a common feature of all literature, but in the eleventh and twelfth centuries writers began to collect these sayings in order to use them for support in their works. One of the earliest collections of these similitudes is from Anselm of Canterbury

and was compiled by his biographer Eadmer. In this book there are rubrics such as "Similitudo inter propria voluntatem et fontem..." and "Similitudo inter Deum et ignem..." Other books of similitudes, such as the one produced by William de Montibus (d. 1213), may have been available to twelfth century preachers; but it is not clear how much borrowing went on between these masters and the sources for similitudes would vary from preacher to preacher. The most common source was the Bible. But like the exempla, preachers would borrow similitudes from classical as well as sacred authors, and from contemporary life.

Similitudes were often introduced by the expression sicut...ita, as in the statement quoted above: "Sicut enim Mars duro milite gaudet, qui fortiter sustineat calores, algores, et labores, ita Dominus duros amat milites, effeminatos conternit et molles." Since similitudes were common in biblical stories, preachers often used the examples they found in the lectionary reading to create sermonic divisions. In Ralph's sermon for the eighth Sunday after Trinity, the second point of the sermon is based on a similitude found in the lectionary reading from Matthew 7: "The second part follows, in which the Lord shows generally through comparison (similitudinem) how they are to be recognized,

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130 According to Phyllis Roberts, this book survives in several manuscripts. She lists two: Cambridge, Peterhouse, MS. 255, Lincoln Record Office, Ancaster MS 53.

131 See above p. 181, note 48.
saying: ‘By their fruits you will know them,’ that is by works.’ Sometimes similitudes were taken from every day life. In his sermon for the Apostle John, Ralph compared God the Father to a farmer.

For just as the farmer chooses a vine, he plants it in the earth, waters it, cultivates and prunes it, cutting the unfruitful branches, and cleansing the fruitful ones; so also God the Father foreordained his one and only Son, sent him to earth through the incarnation, watered him by the dew of the Spirit, dug him by the hoe of tribulations, pruned him by the hook of discretion, removing the unfruitful ones, such as Judas, but cleansing the fruitful ones that they might bear more fruit, such as Peter and Andrew.133

This similitude also had its source in the Bible (John 15.1-2), but one can see how useful such comparisons would have been to drive home basic moral and doctrinal points. Sometimes a similitude could be used for its shock value as for example in the sermon for the beheading of John the Baptist: “Just as genitalia hang from the belly, so dissipation from gluttony.”134

All of these structural and stylistic tools—distinctions, divisions, authorities, exampla, and similitudes—were especially useful for lay preaching. The distinctions and divisions helped to provide clear and memorable outlines which kept the preacher on track and discouraged the more contemplative digressions that one occasionally finds in monastic preaching. Authorities,

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132 Radulphus Ardens, PL, 155, col. 2010B: “Sequitur pars secunda, in qua Dominus ostendit generaliter et per similitudinem quomodo dignoscantur, dicens: ‘A fructibus eorum cognoscatis eos’ (Matt 7.16), id est ab operibus.”

133 Radulphus Ardens, PL, 155, col. 1502C: “Sicut enim agricola vitem eligit, in terram fit, rigat, fodit et putat, palmites infructuosos amputando, et fructuosos purgando; ita Deus Pater unicum Filium suum praelegit, per incarnationem in terram misit, rore Spiritus rigavit, ligone tribulationum fodit, sirpa discretionis putavit, infructuosos amputans ab eo, ut Judam, fructuosos vero ut plus fructificarent purgans, ut Petrum et Andream.”
especially scriptural authorities, were paramount in proving the eternal value of moral and doctrinal points. *Exempla* and similitudes helped to illustrate, support and drive home the various points being made. They helped congregations remember and especially make connections between familiar aspects of life and the less familiar matters of religion. All of this fulfilled Ralph’s plan to “benefit the simple, to avoid obscure allegory, the profundity of Scripture, the burden of sermons, in so far as I am able, seeking out all morality as is necessary for the life of mankind.”

These structural and stylistic tools would be used to their fullest extent by the mendicant friars of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Beginning in the thirteenth century, numerous preaching tools, books of distinctions, *exempla* and similitudes emerged, alphabetized, catalogued and sorted so that preachers could manage the great body of literature that had preceded them. But if one compares mendicant sermons to the popular sermons of the late twelfth century—especially those by Maurice de Sully, Ralph Ardent and Alain of Lille—it is clear that these sermons utilize the same tools available to the friars in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It shows the way in which new methods and tools, developed largely through the schools, helped provide the necessary raw materials for popular preaching in the following centuries. These sermons

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represent a new stage in the development of the sermon, one that was concerned with changing the behavior of laity, a concern which would reach canonical status at Lateran IV in 1215.

Conclusion

Like other preachers in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, Ralph Ardent was caught up in a revival of popular preaching that was beginning to take Western Europe by storm. In this examination of the audience, function, structure and style of Ralph Ardent’s sermons, we now have a clearer understanding of how model sermon collections were used in the late twelfth century. Those written or compiled from the preaching of scholastic masters such as Maurice de Sully, Ralph Ardent and Alain of Lille, were designed as tools to be used by lesser educated clergy to preach to the laity. These sermons would have served as a starting point for other preachers; but it is not out of the question that Ralph’s sermons could, as they stand, be preached from the pulpit with some modification.

We know from the prologue to his sermon collection that Ralph Ardent was actively involved in a preaching ministry to the laity. The prologue, along with the sermons themselves, suggests that the setting for Ralph’s preaching was urban, perhaps as part of a cathedral chapter in Poitiers. He also served at the court of the prince and perhaps preached there on occasion. Ralph’s sermons helped to educate and motivate the clergy to a more faithful execution of the cura
animarum. They contain all the major doctrinal and moral points one would expect to find from this period. The structure and style of the sermons clearly reflect the dominant influence of the scholastic method of exegesis. The new tools such as distinctions, divisions, authorities, exempla and similitudes were used widely in these sermons and helped to provide a structure that was conducive for comprehension, memorization and retention by the laity. Finally, the images used in these sermons—drawn from every aspect of life—would have appealed to virtually any audience: rural, urban, courtly, men, women, merchants, farmers and the like.

The increase in popular religion, the fervor produced by the crusades and the rise of heresy, particularly in France, called for an informed and motivated laity. Ralph Ardent was a scholastic master who used his talents and training to meet those needs. He constructed his sermons using the scholastic conventions of the day and his sermons became instruments of education in the fundamentals of Catholic faith and morals for the general lay audience.

What remains is for us to look more closely at the subject matter of these sermons. It would be virtually impossible to cover every topic in this large collection. Instead I have chosen two topoi—preaching against heretics and penitential preaching—because these directly relate to the motivation behind the preaching canons of Lateran IV.
CHAPTER 5
RALPH ARDENT AND PREACHING AGAINST HERESY

Among the cultural and religious changes that took place in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was a heightened religious piety, along with a desire to express those aspirations in ways that were not always in keeping with traditional orthodox practice. The life of the apostles, or the vita apostolica, had a profound appeal to clergy and laity alike. While many of the efforts to imitate the apostolic life were orthodox, some men and women, who did not have clerical or monastic status, developed their own ideas of reform apart from the Church. Reformist ideas, such as a greater emphasis on morality and asceticism, were often expressed in heretical movements that at times appeared to take on the notion of a lay religion.¹ These movements manifested themselves in numerous forms. The humiliati, Cathars, Waldensians and others shared similar characteristics such as the rejection or dislike of burdensome ecclesiastical authority, and an emphasis on poverty,

chastity and popular preaching. These religious qualities appealed to many people, who at times took radical steps toward expressing their beliefs apart from the confines of the Church.

During the first half of the twelfth century, heretical movements spread from northern Italy, into the Rhineland, Low countries, the valleys of the Seine and the Marne and into southern France. The twelfth and early thirteenth centuries witnessed what could be described as a competition between popular religion and the institutional Church. Wandering preachers flourished and could easily win a lay following.

The Church followed two paths in dealing with heresy and heterodoxy. Edward Peters called these two approaches "the way of potestas" and "the way of caritas." The way of potestas used forceful methods such as formal investigation, condemnation and severe punishment to quell heretical beliefs.


For a good historical overview of Medieval heresy, see Walter Wakefield and Austin P. Evans, Heresies of the High Middle Ages, Records of Western Civilization 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991) 1-55.


"The way of charity" and "The way of force". See Peters, Heresy and Authority, 7.
and practices. The most extreme manifestations of this were the Albigensian Crusade of 1208-29 and the method of inquisition. On the other hand, the way of caritas was a pastoral effort to protect the faithful from the onslaughts of heretical teaching, and if possible, convert those who fell prey to error. Along with appeals to reform and penance, the way of caritas was accomplished to a large degree through preaching. Motivated by the decisions of the third and fourth Lateran councils (1179 and 1215) against the heretics and Innocent III’s Cistercian campaigns to Southern France in the early thirteenth century, the need for popular preaching became a great concern.

There is, however, a surprisingly small number of twelfth-century sermons that deal with the theme of heresy and false preachers (pseudopredicatores). There are three sermons by Bernard of Clairvaux in 1144 from his collection on the Song of Songs which touch on this topic. Later in the same century, Eckbert, the benedictine abbot of Schönau, delivered thirteen sermons against the Cathars that offer an insight into the Church’s attempt to combat this heresy.6 There are others such as Alan of Lille (1130-1203), Peter

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of Poitiers (d. 1205) and Peter Comestor (d. 1179) who mentioned heretics in formal treatises.⁷

Ralph Ardent lived during this revival of popular religion, and often in his sermons addressed the problem of heresy and false preachers. His method for combating heresy was always pastoral and instructive. On two occasions, he delivered sermons in which the main theme was contemporary heresy and false preachers. In these two sermons, Ralph taught his listeners about the false doctrines, attacked the moral behavior of the heretics and warned his them about the consequences of following such people. This chapter will examine these two sermons along with other occasions in his sermons where Ralph addressed the problem of heresy.

Sermon I: Attendite a falsis prophetis, qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis avium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces.⁸

The first sermon was written to be delivered on the eighth Sunday after Trinity.⁹ The text used for this sermon came from the pericope of

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⁸ Matthew 7:15: “Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep’s clothing, but inwardly are ravenous wolves.”

⁹ The feast of Holy Trinity is celebrated the week after Pentecost.
Matthew 7:15ff where Jesus, in the context of the Sermon on the Mount, warned his disciples about false prophets.

Since there is no mention of clerics or clerical duties, one can assume that this sermon was designed primarily for lay audiences. This of course does not mean that there were no clerics or monks present. But the general tenor of the sermon seems to be geared toward warning a lay community about false preachers and heretics.

The theme of this sermon is stated in the scriptural text and in the opening sentence. Ralph wrote,

My beloved brothers, our Lord and Redeemer, foreseeing the persecutions coming to his disciples, has taken care to predict those persecutions to them in order to arm them beforehand against the false prophets.\(^\text{10}\)

Similar to Jesus’ concern for his disciples, Ralph Ardent saw himself as following in the way of charity, by warning his audience of persecution by false prophets. Following closely the parallel of Jesus’ exhortation in this passage, Ralph told his audience that there were two types of persecutions. The first type of persecution is one that is open or visible \((apertum)\) and it is illustrated by the statement of Jesus “You will be betrayed even by parents,

brothers, relatives and friends, and they will put some of you to death."\(^{11}\) The second and more dangerous type of persecution is the one that is concealed (\textit{occultum}). This was the type of persecution about which Ralph was most concerned.

Following the stated theme of the sermon, Ralph divided his message into three major points of interpretation which follow closely the lectionary reading in Matthew 7:

First he [Jesus] warns us to watch out for false prophets. Second, he shows through comparison by what signs they are generally known. Third, he reveals spiritually by which signs they are to be discerned or not discerned.\(^{12}\)

Following these divisions, Ralph began a systematic explanation of each point following the general pattern of:

A. Restatement of the point
B. Explanation
C. Similitudes
D. Authorities
   1. Scripture
   2. Pagan


\(^{12}\) Radulphus Ardens, \textit{PL} 155, col. 2010B: "Primo monet nos cavere a falsis prophetis. Secondo quibus signis cognoscantur generaliter et per similitudinem ostendit. Tertio spiritualiter, quibus discernantur vel non discernantur aperit."
3. Exempla

E. Application of point to present-day circumstances

Ralph described open persecution as a visible and often violent attack against the faith, whereas hidden persecution was more subtle and was usually disguised under a false pretense of friendship or truth. He wrote that hidden persecutions were the most dangerous because while the open persecutions harmed the body, hidden persecutions were more difficult to detect, and most importantly they could damage the soul.\(^\text{13}\) For example, he said that under the outward appearance of friendship or neighborliness, fraud is easily masked.\(^\text{14}\) Here Ralph’s pastoral concern for his congregation’s safety is apparent. He did not debate the issue here as one would expect to find in typical scholastic *summas*. Instead, he was pastorally concerned for the well-being of his flock, and warned them several times that the welfare of their souls was at stake. He argued that even the most harmless friend or acquaintance could be a wolf in sheep’s clothing.

He illustrated this hidden persecution by using similitudes taken from every-day experience, authorities from Scripture and an unnamed poet. For

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\(^{13}\) Radulphus Ardens, *PL* 155, col. 2010B: “Porro istam persecutionem occultam præcipue monet nos attente cavere, quoniam pejor est quam aperta, tum quia plus nocet occidens etiam animas, tum quia difficilis praevidentur....”

\(^{14}\) Radulphus Ardens, *PL* 155, col. 2010B-C: “Porro istam persecutionem occultam præcipue monet nos attente cavere, quoniam pejor est quam aperta, tum quia plus nocet occidens etiam animas, tum quia difficiliius praevidentur, facilius quippe nos supplantat qui, sub specie amicitiae et obsequii, fraudem occultat.”

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example, he compared the way in which a wine jar is made to conceal its
contents with the way in which a hypocrite hides evil under guise of religion,
and the way in which heretics hide falsehood under the outward appearance
of truth:

For instance a particular characteristic of the wine jar is its ability to
hide. A sorcerer conceals poison under the guise of honey; a traitor
conceals fraud under the guise of submission; a hypocrite conceals
wickedness under the guise of religion. A heretic conceals falsehood
under the guise of truth.\textsuperscript{15}

His scriptural authorities on this point came first from Psalm 55:21 where
David described the treachery of a friend and then from 2Corinthians 11:14
where Paul wrote that “Satan transfigures himself into an angel of light.”\textsuperscript{16}
He then quoted a poet who said, “A harlot and all traitors conquer by being
agreeable.”\textsuperscript{17} These authorities added weight to his assertion that treachery
can come from what appear to be friendly sources.

Ralph Ardent believed heretics and false preachers to be stealthy
simulators of the true religion who, under the pretext of orthodoxy, would
lead the faithful away from truth and ultimately to death. He described them
as “Those who, on the outside simulate religion, internally they hide a

\textsuperscript{15} Radulphus Ardens, \textit{PL} 155, col. 2010C: “Proprium enim doli est se dissimulare. Veneficus
sub melie tegit venenum; proditor, sub obsequio fraudem; hypocrita, sub religione malitiam: haereticus, sub veritate falsitatem.”

\textsuperscript{16} 2 Corinthians 11:14.

\textsuperscript{17} Radulphus Ardens, \textit{PL} 155, col. 2010D: “Obsequio vincit meretrix et proditor omnis.”
heretical greediness through which they hasten to strangle the souls of the simple." In another sermon, Ralph used the same type of imagery, calling heretics "thieves" who steal the sheep of Christ and like the devil, drag them down and kill them. He said that they preached apart from the established Church and in secret, luring away the simple and unlearned (simplicibus et idiotis).

Ralph followed this point with a long quotation from the Apostle Paul who warned his disciple Timothy that a day was coming when false teachers would plague the world with their erroneous doctrines, causing many unsuspecting followers to depart from the faith. He saw in heretical movements of his day the fulfillment of the Apostle’s warning about a coming apostasy. Paul continued his exhortation to Timothy with more specific charges about the coming heretics:

Such teaching comes through hypocrites in lying words; prohibiting people to marry; abstain from foods which God created to be received with thanksgiving by the faithful; for everything of God is good.

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18 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 2010B-C: "Qui cum exterius simulent religionem, interius celant haereticam rapacitatem, per quam animas simplicium jugulare festinant."

19 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1873B: "Fur quippe est haereticus, qui de unione fidei et Ecclesiae oves Christi furatur, et in partem diaboli trahit et occidit."

20 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1873B: "Non enim coram sanctis doctoribus sed clam et furtim simplicibus et idiotis audet suam haeresim praedicare."

21 I Timothy 4:2.
Arden believed these words to be fulfilled in his time, and he used this passage as a springboard to describe contemporary heretics. This is an important passage and deserves to be quoted in full:

Such ones there are today, my brothers, the Manichaean heretics who have polluted the land of Agen with their heresy, who falsely claim to hold the Apostolic Life, saying that they do not lie nor swear oaths; under the pretext of abstinence and self-control, they condemn the eating of meat and marriage. For they say that it is the same sin to be with one's wife as with one's daughter or mother. They condemn also the Old Testament. Indeed the New Testament they receive to a certain degree, and some parts not. And what is worse, they preach two kinds of creators, believing God as the creator of the invisible and the devil as the creator of the visible. Wherefore and secretly they adore the devil whom they believe to be the creator of their bodies. But they say the sacrament of the altar is mere bread. They deny baptism; they preach that no one is able to be saved except through their hands. Even the resurrection of the body they deny. Avoid those devilish men, my brothers, because even as the Lord preached: They come in sheep's clothing, but internally they are ravenous wolves (Matt. 7:15). You therefore be on guard against their craftiness, being prudent as serpents.22

This passage is especially significant because not only did Ralph Ardent describe in detail the beliefs of these heretics, he also identified them doctrinally as *Manichaei*. In another sermon, for the feast of St. Peter, he made mention of these same people:

Wherefore, it ought to be asked my brothers, why our Redeemer frequently calls himself not Christ, nor Jesus, but the Son of Man. Which he does indeed for at least three reasons: so that he might remind us how much he humiliated himself for us; so that he might say against the Manichaeans that he has true humanity; so that he might warn us by his example to consider and speak more lowly of ourselves.  

The term "Manichaean" was a standard name used to identify dualistic heresies in the Middle Ages. It referred originally to the heretics of the third and fourth centuries who were followers of Mani in Persia, Egypt and Rome. The religion of the Manichaeans, though somewhat systematic, was highly mythological. It was comprised of two opposing principles: Light and Darkness, or God and Matter. In Gnostic fashion, the religious practice of Mani’s followers (the leaders of which were called the "elect" or the

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23 Radulphus Ardens, *Pl. 155*, col. 1389C: "In quo quaerendum est, fratres mei, quare Redemptor noster se non Christum, non Jesum, sed potius Filium hominis frequenter appellet. Quod facit utique tripli de causa, ut quantum pro nobis se humiliaverit, nobis in memoriam reducat, ut contra Manichaeos se veram humanitatem habere frequenter dicat, ut nos exemplo sui de nobis humiliora et sentire et loqui commoneat."

“righteous” who ate no meat and abstained from sexual activity) was an ascetic means of continuing the process of gradual liberation from the material world.

Manichaean beliefs in their early form eventually faded in both the Eastern and Western Church after the fifth century. The doctrines however showed themselves again in the East, particularly in Bulgaria, during the early ninth century. In the West they appeared late in the tenth century. They were called Bogomils in 970 by Cosmas the Priest and later in 1114 as “Manichaeans” by Guibert of Nogent. Other names were also used, such as Patarines, and Publicians. In Languedoc they were called Cathari or “The Pure Ones” from the Greek work καθαροί “Pure.” Scholars have debated about when, how and even if the dualistic religion of Mani migrated into the West via the Bogomil heresy of the Balkins; or if it was an indigenous heresy, unique to Western Europe.

In this sermon, Ralph Ardent described a contemporary dualistic heresy and located it in the Agen region in southern France. Agen, along


with St. Félix, Albi, Toulouse, Carcassonne, Piesse and Razès, was a principal
location of Cathar activity in the Midi. Some scholars have argued that Agen
was the seat of a Cathar bishopric. Their doctrines were similar to those
described by earlier observers like Guilbert of Nogent. Ralph Ardent noted
that heretics claimed to follow the vita apostolica, that they rejected
ecclesiastical authority, condemned aspects of the physical world such as
marriage and "fleshly foods," and held to a dualistic theology where Satan
was the creator of the material world. They denied cardinal doctrines of the
Catholic faith such as the resurrection of the body and the presence of Christ
in the eucharist. Ralph also reported that these heretics claimed that no one
could be saved except through them. This probably referred to the
consolamentum, which was a two-part entry rite practiced by the Cathars
whereby the candidate for admission was first granted, through the laying on
of hands, the right to say the Lord’s Prayer, followed by the second (more
advanced) rite which involved the forgiveness of sin and the removal of the
consequences of the Fall.

27 See B. Hamilton, "The Cathar Council of S. Félix reconsidered," Archivum Franciscanum

28 Guibert of Nogent, De vita sua, book 3, ch. 17. For the Latin, see Edmond-René Labande
195-198.

29 For the theology of the Fall in Cathar theology, and a more detailed explanation of the
consolamentum, see Lambert, Medieval Heresy, 106-107.
For Ralph, these heretics provided a contemporary illustration of hidden persecution. Under the guise of orthodox practice, they were inwardly heretical: "Under the pretext of abstinence and self-control, they condemn the eating of meats and marriage."30 This rejection of marriage came up again in his sermon for the second Sunday after Epiphany where he told his audience that "Marriage is not damnable, like certain heretics preach, but as the Apostle says, 'let marriage be held in honor by all and let the marriage bed be kept undefiled.'"31 Ralph believed that these heretics worshipped the devil secretly, but openly they would appear as pious believers. He clearly feared the possibility that the simple would be led away under the pretext of orthodox religion.

It is clear from this sermon that Ralph saw these heretical preachers as a threat to his own preaching ministry. Men and women in this period eagerly wanted to participate in the religious life and the Cathars offered an opportunity to fill that need. Preachers of this heresy were able to win a following because, to many, they were living exemplary lives. Orthodox preachers such as Ralph Ardent worked hard to stop their influence by

30 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 2011A: "...sub praetextu abstinentiae et continentiae, escas carnium et nuptias damnantes."

pointing to their inward character, which he described as ravenous and deceitful. He warned his listeners to “be on guard for their craftiness, being as prudent as serpents.”  

In the second section of this sermon, Ralph again repeated his second point, expanded and illustrated it with scriptural exempla, and provided a moral exhortation to his audience:

The second part follows, in which the Lord shows generally through comparison how they are to be recognized, saying: “By their fruits you will know them,” that is by works.  

Ralph appealed to Paul’s letter to the Galatians where the apostle described the difference between the works of the Spirit (charity, peace, patience, faith, etc.) and works of the flesh (sexual immorality, dissensions, drunkenness, etc.). Then quoting Matthew 7:16, he asked the rhetorical question, “are grapes gathered from thorns, or figs from thistles?” From one perspective the answer was no. That which is evil at the root cannot bear good fruit. Therefore the outward manifestation of heresy could only mean that

\[ \text{(32) Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 2011B: "Vos ergo ad cavendas eorum versutias, estote prudentes sicut serpentes."} \]

\[ \text{(33) Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 2011B: "Sequitur secunda, in qua Dominus ostendit generaliter et per similitudinem quomodo dignoscantur, dicens: A fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos, id est ab operibus."} \]

\[ \text{(34) See Galatians 5:20.} \]

\[ \text{(35) Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 2011B: "Nunquid, inquit, colligunt de spinis uvas, aut de tribulis ficus?"} \]

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internally these heretics were evil. However, from the perspective of pastoral care, Ralph knew that heretics could feign certain virtuous characteristics thereby leading the people astray. This was his greatest concern. According to Ralph, heretics could always be discovered because even though they sometimes appeared to be religious, they could not imitate every virtue. Eventually their true nature would be revealed. The pastoral concern facing these preachers was how would heretics be discovered for who they really were? "But if he simulates true religion, how will he be able to be discerned?"36

Ralph proceeded to instruct his audience in the method for exposing such heretics. Following Jesus' statement in Matthew 7:18 that "a bad tree is not able to bear good fruit," he said that it was necessary for the Christian to examine carefully not what the heretic did in public or in the open, but what was done in secret and particularly what the heretic said: "if you attentively and assiduously look at the works of the pretender, gradually he will become vile to you."37 Ralph did not warn his people to avoid the heretics, but to analyze their behavior and their beliefs in light of true orthodoxy. The problem of course was that these heretics appeared to be examples of the

36 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 2011D: "Sed si simulaverit, quomondo poterit discerni?"

37 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 2011D: "Praeterea si attente et assidue inspicias opera simulatoris, paulatim tibi viles cet."
religious ideal; models of the *vita apostolica*. Orthodox preachers had to counter this outward appearance of piety with an attack on their inner nature, which they believed to be ultimately motivated by pride. Ralph said that while the wicked often appear to do good deeds, such as feeding the hungry and clothing the naked, their deeds were not truly good because they were self-serving. It was impossible for the evil person to do works pleasing to God.\textsuperscript{38}

Ralph then offered a moral exhortation to his listeners. He acknowledged that because of the frailty of human nature, even the faithful sometimes produce bad fruit. Jesus had said, "every tree that does \emph{not bear good fruit} is cut down and thrown into the fire."\textsuperscript{39} He did not say, "every tree that \emph{bears bad fruit} is destroyed."\textsuperscript{40} This was a subtle argument, but he wanted to make it clear to his audience that they had to pursue good deeds. For "it is not enough for men to avoid evil, unless also he might do good."\textsuperscript{41} The simple avoidance of evil would only result in the lack of punishment, not in

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\textsuperscript{38} Radulphus Ardens, \textit{PL} 155, col. 2011D: "homo existens malus, non potest facere opera Deo placentia."
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\textsuperscript{39} Matthew 7:19.
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\textsuperscript{40} Radulphus Ardens, \textit{PL} 155, col. 2012A: "Notate, fratres, notate: non enim ait: Omnis arbor quae facit fructum malum excidetur, quod utique constans est, sed ait: Omnis arbor quae non facit fructum bonum, excidetur."
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\textsuperscript{41} Radulphus Ardens, \textit{PL} 155, col. 2012A: "Non enim, sufficit homini non facere malum, nisi etiam faciat bonum.
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salvation. He illustrated this point using two proverbs and a biblical 

*exemplum*:

If you tell me, "I have not committed theft; I affirm, you will not 
be whipped," [if you tell me] "I have not killed a man;" I affirm, 
you will not be eaten by ravens on the cross.\(^\text{12}\)

The second proverb comes from Horace and Ralph may have used this as a biblical allusion to the birds that gorged themselves on the flesh of the dead (Rev. 19:21).\(^\text{13}\) He illustrated this point with the biblical *exemplum* of the Rich man and Lazarus from Luke 16.19. Ralph concluded his second point with an exhortation to choose a life of good works over the evil life, because as Jesus warned, "the ax has been laid to the root of the tree."\(^\text{14}\)

In the third section of this sermon, Ralph restated his third point, illustrated it with biblical quotations and exhorted his audience to do good works:

The third part follows, in which the Lord shows spiritually by which works the good cannot be distinguished from the evil and by which works they can be distinguished.\(^\text{15}\)


\(^{13}\) For the origins of this proverb, see A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und Sprichwortlichen Redensarten der Römer*, (Lipzig, 1965), 95.


\(^{15}\) Radulphus Ardens, *PL* 155, col. 2012B: "Sequitur pars tertia, in qua ostendit Dominus spiritualiter quibus operibus boni a malis non discernantur, et quibus discernantur."
Ralph outlined three kinds of works. First, there are those works that are characteristically good, such as the loving God and neighbor, doing good even to enemies, and observing peace, concord, wisdom, justice and other virtues. The second type of works is those that are characteristically bad, such as all vices. Here he did not elaborate on, or give examples of, these vices. The third type of works is those described as middle works (media opera), such as praying, fasting, wearing a hair-shirt, giving alms and restraining sexual desire. These are the works that could be used both for good or evil.

According to Ralph, his hearers needed to be careful that they were not misled by these outward appearances of piety. He warned them that not all who fast or give alms would enter the Kingdom of Heaven, even as Jesus said, "Not all who say to me, 'Lord, Lord' will enter into the Kingdom of Heaven."  

Ralph Ardent had to redefine the nature of good works in order to defend his point that heretics, who appeared to be living the religious ideal, were evil. In a sense, the problem for him was interpretive. If Jesus said that good works (i.e. fruit) give evidence that someone is a Christian, how could it

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be that these people who were so religious, were in fact heretics? Ralph said that the reason was because outward works could be deceiving. Religious piety could often mask inner evil. Thus, works that were traditionally associated with the ideal form of Christianity (namely monastic Christianity), such as prayer, fasting, wearing a hair-shirt, giving alms and moral purity, were now brought into question as the determining factor of who was, and who was not, a true Christian. Ralph believed that what defined true Christianity were qualities such as faith, peace, wisdom and concord. All of these were cardinal Christian virtues, but they relate to internal rather than external qualities.

Scholars have argued that much of the popular effort to return to the vita apostolica in the twelfth century was associated with monastic life, which provided the ideal for what it meant to be a Christian. In orthodox circles, this revival was welcome. But Ralph Ardent argued that in heterodox circles, the monastic ideal could, in fact, be deceiving.

In his closing exhortation, he told his audience that ultimately the person who did the will of God would be the one who would gain eternal reward. It was not enough that Christians did good works, but they must follow diligently God’s will and believe correctly (vere credit). Heretics

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feigned good works, but in the end they were disobedient to God and believed heretical doctrines. True Christians, on the other hand, needed to believe correctly and live a life of good works, following diligently the will of God.

Sermon II: *Libenter suffertis insipientes, cum sitis ipsi sapientes...*  

Ralph Ardent delivered this sermon during the week of Sexagesima which was the second Sunday of Pre-Lent. The text used for this sermon came from Paul’s second letter to the Corinthians, where he chastised the Corinthians for receiving “fools,” whom he would later define as false preachers.

Like the first sermon, this too appears to be directed to a lay audience, although toward the end of the sermon he does seem to be addressing clerics as well. The content of the sermon is the best judge for determining audience. One would expect that if this sermon was delivered to an exclusively clerical audience, it would have been more detailed and provided a greater level of argument to refute the heretics. In fact, in formal ecclesiastical treatises, which would have been read primarily by clerics, the content was almost always doctrinal. While it should not be denied that clergy were present, it appears that this sermon, like the first, was delivered to a popular audience.

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49 From 2Corinthians 11:19: “You freely suffer fools, being yourselves wise....”
Ralph gave his theme in the opening scriptural quotation and in the following two part division:

There are two parts to this reading beloved brothers. First [Paul] reprehends the Corinthians to whom he wrote this because they were receiving false preachers. Second he compares himself and prefers himself to those preachers.  

The first section of this sermon was further divided into two parts, each with its own illustration and moral application.

In the first part, Ralph repeated his first point and proceeded to describe what the Apostle meant by "fools" (insipiens). He said that a fool was someone who considered himself to be wise and was not willing to take counsel from anyone except himself. Wise people, on the other hand, were the ones who knew they were not wise. In other words, Ralph believed that pride determined whether one was a fool or not. He argued that fools should be avoided at all cost. In fact, the only reason that wise people would receive fools would be to instruct them.

Ralph then applied this passage to the situation in his own day. He wrote:

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50 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1765C: “Bipartita est haec lectio, fratres charissimi. Primo enim reprehendit Corinthios, quibus haec scribit, de hoc quod pseudopraedicatores recipiebant. Secundo se comparat et praefert illis praedicatoribus.”

51 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1765D: “Ideo enim insipiens est insipiens, quia putat se esse sapientem, et ideo non alienum sed suum vult semper facere consilium.”

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There are also today similar people in the church (it is to be regretted) who receive certain wanderers (gyrovagos) and false preachers more freely than their own preachers, hearing more freely those corrupt adulators than those who speak the truth. And in like manner, Solomon said “Stolen waters are sweeter to them” (Prov. 9.17) but afterwards the gospel says that truly the sheep understand and follow the voice of their own. They will not follow another because they do not recognize the voice of the other (John 10.5).^52

These gyrovagi and falsi praedicatorum are not specifically identified in this sermon, but presumably they were able to win a significant audience.

One can only guess as to their identity. Most likely these were members of a group such as the Waldensians, which was a heretical sect of wandering preachers in the last decades of the twelfth century.Originally founded by Valdes, who was a businessman of Lyons, the group appealed to the pope at the Third Lateran Council in 1179 for authority to preach. The Waldensians were ultimately denied the authority to preach, but conciliar decisions did not stop them. They insisted that following the Apostolic Life meant preaching the gospel to every creature. Their message was usually a simple moral exhortation, including a call to repentance and poverty.

Malcolm Lambert noted that these preachers would obtain a following of

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^52 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1765D-1766A: “Quorum (unde dolendum est) sunt etiam hodie similes in Ecclesia, qui quosdam gyrovagos et falsos praedicatorum, libentius quam proprios praedicatorum recipiunt, audientes libentius adulantes vera. Et juxta quod Salomon ait: ‘Furtivae eis aquae dulciores sunt’ (Prov. 9.17) sed, secundum Evangelium vere oves proprii pastoris vocem cognoscunt et sequuntur, alienum autem non sequuntur, quia non noverunt vocem alienorum.”

^53 On the Waldensians see, Malcolm Lambert, Medieval Heresy, pp 62-87.

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people who would at times seek spiritual council from the preacher.\footnote{Malcolm Lambert, \textit{Medieval Heresy}, 72.} They were prominent in Languedoc, but also gained ground in north-east France and the German speaking regions on the Rhine.\footnote{Malcolm Lambert, \textit{Medieval Heresy}, 69. Lambert also provided maps illustrating the extent of their influence, pp. 70-71.}

Whoever Ralph was referring to, one can sense his frustration in this sermon. He said that members of the Church were more interested in following these wandering preachers than their own pastors.

In the second sub-section of his first point, Ralph offered a lengthy distinction of the four kinds (\textit{species}) of preachers. The first type of preacher was the one who was both an incompetent preacher and who lived a morally destitute life. These Ralph defined as heretics (\textit{haeretici}) who should neither be obeyed nor imitated. The second type of preacher was the one who was a bad preacher simply through ignorance or a lack of training, but who lived a morally upright life. These Ralph defined as the “the foolish” (\textit{insipientes}) who should be followed regarding their behavior, but not listened to for their doctrine. The third type of preacher was the “true preacher” (\textit{verus praedicator}) who both preached well and lived a devout life. These he said, should be both followed morally and heard for their doctrine. The fourth kind of preacher was the one who preached well, but did not live an upright
moral life. Ralph did not give a name for these preachers, but he said that they ought to be heard for their doctrine, but not followed in morals. He argued that even though the message was delivered through a perverse (perversum) person, the authority of true doctrine ought to be heard.\footnote{Radulphus Ardens, \textit{PL 155}, col. 1766A-B: "Sunt autem, fratres mi, quatuor species praedicatorum: Alii autem mala praedicant, et male vivunt, et haeretici sunt, qui nec audiendi nec imitandi sunt, sed prohibendi. Alii mala praedicant per ignorantiam, et in caeteris bene vivunt, et insipientes sunt. Qui et si in moribus imitandi sunt, tamen audiendi non sunt. Alii bona praedicant et bene vivunt, et veri praedicatori sunt, qui et audiendi et imitandi sunt. Alii bona praedicant et male vivunt, qui audiendi sunt, sed non imitandi, de quibus dicitur: Quaecunque dixerint vobis servate et facite, secundum vero opera eorum nolite facere. Tanta quippe est auctoritas verae doctrinae, quod per quemcunque perversum, et quocunque fine praedietur, audienda est."} He defended this last kind of preacher with a passage from Paul who said "that Christ is proclaimed in every way, whether out of false motives or true, and in that I rejoice."\footnote{Philippians 1:18: "Dum omni modo, sive sub obtentu sive in veritate, Christus annuntiatur, et in hoc gaudeo; sed et gaudebo."}

This description is not unlike what Alain of Lille wrote in his sermon book regarding the various kinds of preachers. Alain believed that the best preacher was a prelate because he had both the learning necessary to preach and an exemplary life.\footnote{Alain of Lille, \textit{Summa de Arte Praedicatoria}, \textit{PL 210}, col. 182D: "Praelatorum debet esse praedicatia, et ab eis est proponenda. Ad hos enim duo pertinent, doctrina et vita: doctrina, ut alios instruant; vita, ut aliis bene vivendi exemplum praebant."} "The preacher" wrote Alain, ought to be faithful in word and deed...For they mingle water with wine who preach the false with the true, as the heretics do, and those who sell the word for human favor, as the hypocrites, and those who
by preaching swindle their way to earthy goods, as merchants, and those whose deeds belie their words, as false Christians.”

For Ralph Ardent and Alain of Lille, the best preacher was the one who both taught pure doctrine and who lived a life worthy of the high calling in Christ.

This digression on the classification of preachers gave Ralph Ardent the opportunity to come back to his main point and argue that there were many “fools” in his day who, like the Corinthians, received false preachers:

There are similar ones today, who bring back the simple ones from a life of liberty into the servitude of pleasure and carnal illicitness, saying that all things were created for the use of men.

According to Ralph, these wandering preachers were apparently preaching a form of libertinism. This is a rather vague yet typical description of false preachers and heretics in the twelfth century. It was a charge often laid against the heresies of the Cathars and the Waldensians. Medieval accusations of licentious behavior by religious dissenters can be traced back as

59 Alain of Lille, *Summa de Arte Praedicatoria*, PL 210, col. 183A-B: “Fidelis enim debet esse praedicator, in verbo et in facto; fidelis in verbo, ne veris falsa misceat; fidelis in verbo, ne intuitu favoris humani verbum proponat; fidelis in verbo, ne pro terreno emolumento praedicationem vendat; fidelis in verbo, ne verbis suis contradicat operibus. Unde de falsis praedicatoribus dicitur: Caupones nostri miscent aquam vino. Aquam enim vino miscent, qui falsa cum veris praedicant, ut haeretici faciunt; item qui verbum pro favore humano vendunt, ut hypocritae; qui per praedicationem terrena emungunt, ut mercenarii; qui verbo opere contradicunt, ut falsi Christiani.” Trans. adapted from G.R. Evans *The Art of Preaching* (Kalamazoo, 1981): 143.

60 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1766B: “Quibus sunt etiam hodie similis, qui simplices a liberate virtutum, in servitutem voluptatum et carnalium illecebrarum redigunt, dicentes cuncta ad usum hominumuisse creata.”
far as the account of the Orléans heresy in 1022 by Paul of Saint-Père de Chartres. In the twelfth century, Guibert of Nogent accused the Manichean heretics of Soissons of such deviant behavior. Although it is difficult to label these false preachers, it is clear that they posed a serious threat to orthodox pastoral care in the region of Poitou.

Ralph did not offer a doctrinal refutation of these heretical preachers. Instead he argued, in an *ad hominem* fashion, against their lack of morality and orthodox Christian behavior. He warned his listeners: "My brothers, do not agree with those people [referring to the false preachers], seeing that those who intemperately pursue what is allowed, fall into illicitness." Ralph's pastoral concern for the welfare of the simple is clear: "There are many today my brothers who, if false preacher preach not the truth but what is agreeable and pleasing, they sustain it, devouring themselves and glorying in their own holiness to the neglect of the rest."  

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61 See Edward Peters, *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe*, p. 66-71  
63 Radulphus Ardens, *PL* 155, col. 1766B: "Quibus, fratres mei, nolite consentire, quoniam qui intemperanter sequuntur licita, cadunt in illicita."  
64 Radulphus Ardens, *PL* 155, col. 1766C: "Multi quoque sunt hodie, fratres mei, quibus et si falsi praedicatores praedican non vera, sed grata et placita, sustinent eos sua devorantes, et de sanctitate se gloriantes, et caeteros neglectes."
Ralph then moved to the second major part of his outline in which he restated the point, illustrated it using scriptural examples and again gave a moral exhortation to his audience:

The second part follows, in which the Apostle compares himself to, and prefers himself before, false preachers when he says “in what does anyone dare to boast?”

Boasting seemed inappropriate for someone of the stature of Paul and so Ralph launched into a discussion about how Paul could justifiably boast of his achievements in ministry, miracles and revelations. He used a three-fold distinction to prove his point, each of which he supported with a scriptural proof text. “There are three reasons for boasting” Ralph wrote. The first is when saints are pressed by a vehement adversary, as in the case of Job. The second reason is when a particular saint wants God to incline himself to mercy, as in the case of Hezekiah who said “remember me how I have walked before you in faithfulness” (Isa 38.3). The third reason is when “holy preachers want to persuade that they have acquired to greater things than false preachers. Then they are accustomed to commend and show off themselves before those [false preachers] like the Apostle did in this place.”

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65 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1766C: “Sequitur pars secunda, in qua Apostolus se comparat et praefert pseudo-praedicatoribus ‘In quo quis audet?’ (2Cor. 11.21).”

66 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1766D: “Tres enim causas invenimus quibus sancti bona enumerare coguntur. Quando enim premuntur vehementi adversitate, ad augmentum spei et solatiii sua bona coguntur enumerare Oculus, in quilib, fui caeco, et pes cludo. Si comedi bucellam meam solus, et non comedit pupillus ex ea (Job 29.15ff). Quando etiam volunt Deum judicem ad
Ralph argued that Paul was forced to boast of his achievements because he was in competition with false preachers. Paul represented the supreme example of a minister who ought to be followed “because he followed Christ more and imitated him in external sufferings, in labors, in afflictions, in perils and inner compassion and also in solicitude for all the churches.”

After explaining in more detail how Paul surpassed others in ministry and persecutions, Ralph then compared the ideal of Paul with prelates of his own day whom he believed were more interested in worldly ambitions than in following the example of Paul who had suffered greatly for the sake of Christ. Protecting the flock required not just right doctrine, but also a right life that exhibited holiness far and above what was seen among the false preachers and heretics of the day.

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67 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1767C: “In duobus autem probat se plus caeteris ministrum Christi esse, quia plus sequitur et imitatur eum in exteriori passione, ut in laboribus, in afflictionibus, in periculis, et interiori compassione, ut in sollicitudine omnium Ecclesiarum.”

In *Second Corinthians*, Paul wrote that he had been caught up into the third heaven. Ralph discussed how Paul compared himself in revelations to those false preachers who also claimed divine revelation. He said that there were pastors in his day who ought to desire a similar experience as Paul had, but they should gain it through reading (*lectionem*) and contemplation (*contemplationem*). Apparently there were individuals or groups who claimed to have experienced a heavenly rapture similar to Paul’s. Ralph described them in general terms:

> Brothers this is against those in error, who affirm that in one night they bodily go through many regions, to eat, to drink and afterwards to return.

Along with accusations of immorality, heretics in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were often accused of participating in magic or sorcery. Magic was regarded as a way to control the spirit world and at times involved controlling the environment, the future and even people. There are examples from chroniclers such as Ralph of Coggeshall (fl. 1207) who recalled the story of a heretic who, while being burned for her sorcery, was caught up into the air by evil spirits. The Patarines or Publicans along with the Cathar

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69 2Corinthians 12:1-3.

70 Radulphus Ardens, *PL* 155, col. 1768A: “Hoc fratres, contra illos erroneos est, qui affirmant se in una nocte corporaliter multas regiones transmeare, manducare, et bibere, et post remeare.”

71 For this story, see Walter L. Wakefield and Austin P. Evans, *Heresies of the High* 248
heretics were also, on occasion, accused of sorcery. The Almoravids, who originated in Poitiers in the last decade of the twelfth century, were also accused of flirting with magic and evil spirits. It is difficult to say precisely who Ralph had in mind in this sermon. He did not identify them as he did in the first sermon. He could have been referring to a single group, several groups or a syncretistic form of heresy. He only gave general characteristics of these people: they were wandering preachers, practiced a form of libertinism, and at times were involved in sorcery or magic.

Ralph closed his sermon with a lengthy exhortation on humility, a feature that was common in the ending of his sermons. Paul had explained that in spite of all his success in ministry and unique revelations, God nevertheless gave him a thorn in the flesh (stimulus carnis) which would humble him. Ralph urged his brothers not to flee from their labors and afflictions, but instead they should pray for the purification of their faith. In this last section, Ralph seems to be addressing a clerical audience as he urged fellow ministers not to flee from their infirmaries labors and afflictions; but rather like Paul who suffered his thorn in the flesh, or David who faced many afflictions, “let us pray therefore for the purification of the faith of our souls,

Middle Ages, 253.

72 2Corinthian 12:7: “Et ne magnitudo revelationum extollat me, datus est mihi stimulus carnis meae angelus Satanae qui me colaphizet.”

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that this purge and purify us, lest in the future it exposes our own faults and corrupts us in our own anger...."\textsuperscript{73}

\textit{Other occasions for the discussion of heretics}

These two sermons offer examples not only of Ralph Ardent's style and method, but also of the use of sermons in addressing a pressing social concern—namely the threat of popular heresy. The two sermons were designed around the central theme of heresy and false preachers. But there were other occasions where Ralph took the opportunity to address the question of heresy and false preachers.

Ralph Ardent often classified heretics along with Jews and pagans and men such as Judas—all people whom he believed had disowned Christ and who would, at the Last Judgment, be condemned.\textsuperscript{74} In his sermon for the fifth Sunday after Easter Ralph said, "seeing that Jews and pagans and false Christians do not ask in the faith of Christ, they can not obtain eternal salvation."\textsuperscript{75} And again, in a sermon for the feast of St. Matthew, he accused

\textsuperscript{73} Radulphus Ardens, \textit{PL} 155, col. 1768C: "Oremus itaque fidelem animarum purificatorem, ut hic nos purget, nos purificet, ne in futuro, in furore suo arguat nos, ne in ira sua corripiat nos, sed statim exeuntes de corporali miseria, nos in thesaurum suum recipiat Deus et Dominus noster qui in Trinitate perfecta vivit et regnat Deus, per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen."

\textsuperscript{74} Radulphus Ardens, \textit{PL} 155: (1555C-1559D). See particularly, 1559C-D.

\textsuperscript{75} Radulphus Ardens, \textit{PL} 155, col. 1896D: "Quia ergo Judaei et pagani, falsique Christiani, in fide Christi non petunt, aeternam salutem obtinere non possunt."
false preachers with incurring the sin of Judas who had handed over the
Lord.\textsuperscript{76}

On some occasions, Ralph took a more doctrinal approach in
discussing heresy. In a sermon delivered on Christmas day in which he
addressed the ancient heresies of Arianism, Modalism and Adoptionism, he
wrote:

For there were heretics who said, “If the Son of God was born,
therefore he was not always.” These, in the beginning contradict
the saying, “In the beginning was the Word.” Again, there were
heretics who said “The same God is sometimes Father,
sometimes Son, sometimes the Holy Spirit.” This [the Gospel of
John] also confutes when it adds that “the Word was with God.”
Again, there were heretics who, even if they said the Son of God
was always different than the Father, nevertheless they denied
him to be God. These contradict [the Gospel of John] when it
says that “God was the Word.” There were other heretics, who
even if they conceded Christ to be God, said that he was not a
natural son, but an adopted and temporal God. These
nevertheless he [John] damned when he added “He was in the
beginning with God.” And there were those heretics who
claimed that visible things were made by the devil, and only
invisible things were made by the Word of God.\textsuperscript{77}

\textsuperscript{76} Radulphus Ardens, \textit{PL} 155, col. 1350D: “Multi, fratres mei, hodie excercrantur scelus Judae
qui tradidit Dominum, sed ipsi simile scelus incurrunt.”

\textsuperscript{77} Radulphus Ardens, \textit{PL} 155, col. 1711B-C: “Fuerunt namque haeretici qui dicerent: “Si
Filius Dei natus est, ergo non semper fuit.” Hos in principio redarguit dicens: “In principio erat
Verbum.” Fuerunt rursus haeretici qui dicerent: “Idem Deus aliquando est Pater, aliquando
Filius, aliquando Spiritus sanctus.” Hoc quoque confutat cum subjungit: “Et Verbum erat apud
Deum.” Fuerunt rursus haeretici, qui et si dicerent Filium Dei et semper alium a Patre fuisse,
tamen Deum esse negabant. Hos et suggillat, cum subditur: “Et Deus erat Verbum.” Fuerunt
namque haeretici, qui, et si Christum concedunt esse Deum, tamen non naturalem, sed adoptivum
et temporalem esse Deum contendebant. Hos nihil omnium damnat, cum addit: “Hoc erat in
principio apud Deum.” Fuerunt etiam haeretici qui visibilia omnia a diabolo facta, sola vero
facta invisibilia a Dei Verbo contenderent.”
The text goes on to describe and refute other ancient heresies connected with the relationship among the persons of the Trinity. In this text, Ralph was not dealing with a twelfth-century heresy, but it is an illustration of a more doctrinal approach to the refutation of heretical beliefs. In this case, Ralph offered a defense of orthodoxy in the context of his exegesis on the first chapter of John’s Gospel. Each theological error was corrected with a text from that passage. For his knowledge of ancient heresies, it is likely that Ralph was using one of many handbooks on the history of heresy, such as the one produced by Augustine.

Ralph Ardent described heretics and false preachers in a number of different ways. Most often he described them as killers, in many cases likening them to wolves (*Lupi*). In discussing the seventh commandment “Do not kill” Ralph wrote:

Do not kill, either by will, as he who hates his brother, or by deed like the man of blood, or by bad doctrine like the heretic, or by bad example like the preacher living badly, or by withholding temporal good like the miser, or by withholding preaching like the preacher hiding his talent.78

He also described them as schismatics who split the Church of Christ. He said on one occasion, “but because again and again certain heretics and schismatics...”

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78 Radulphus Ardens, *PL* 155, col. 1755C: “non occides, nec voluntate, ut qui odit fratrem suum, nec opere, ut vir sanguinum, nec mala doctrina, ut haereticus, nec malo exemplo, ut praedicator male vivens, nec subtractione temporalium bonorum, ut avarus, nec subtractione...”
say that they think in accordance with Jesus Christ, they split the faith of Christ."\textsuperscript{79} For Ralph, the heretic was one who sat outside the teaching authority of the Church, who neither by deeds nor doctrine held the true faith.\textsuperscript{80} In this same sermon, he lamented the condition in his own day citing how many pastors and even teachers of the Church fail to feed their flock. At one point he exclaimed, "How rare are true pastors!"\textsuperscript{81}

\textit{Conclusion}

Other examples could be given to demonstrate that the threat of heresy was a key element in the preaching of Ralph Ardent. The rhetoric of heresy for these pastor/preachers was always the way of \textit{caritas}. Ralph never recommended violence against them. He sought to persuade and warn his hearers through teaching and preaching that while heretics and false preachers often appeared to live exemplary lives, inwardly they were ravenous wolves.

\textsuperscript{79} Radulphus Ardens, \textit{PL} 155, col. 1676B: "Sed quia iterum quidam haeretici et schismatici dicentes se sapere secundum Jesum Christum, scindunt fidem Christi...."

\textsuperscript{80} Radulphus Ardens, \textit{PL} 155, col. 2080C: "Haereticus vero sedet extra cathedram, qui nec facto nec verbo doctrinam legis tenet."

\textsuperscript{81} Radulphus Ardens, \textit{PL} 155, col. 2081B: "Heu, fratres mei, quam sunt hodie rari veri pastores."
The movement of the *vita apostolica*, which drew its ideals from Christian antiquity and the eleventh century reforms, remained a vital influence in the twelfth century. But that influence drew many followers into unorthodox paths. In order to make his case, Ralph Ardent had to redefine what it meant to be a Christian. True Christianity was not necessarily found in the traditional monastic ideal of community life, or personal poverty and sexual purity, or in practices such as rigorous prayer and almsgiving. True Christianity was defined in terms of more general Christian virtues such as peace, submission to authority and faith. True Christianity for Ralph involved not only external deeds, but internal motivation. Pride and deceitfulness, which rendered works worthless, were central themes in Ralph’s condemnation of the heretics.
CHAPTER 6

IMAGES OF PENANCE IN THE PREACHING OF RALPH ARDENT

In November of 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council made important changes in traditional penitential practice that would significantly alter the content of preaching in the thirteenth century. Canon twenty-one of that council stated that

All the faithful of either sex shall, after they have reached the age of discernment, individually confess all their sins in a faithful manner to their own priest at least once a year, and let them take care to do what they can to perform the penance imposed on them. Let them reverently receive the sacrament of the Eucharist at least at Easter unless they think, for a good reason and on the advice of their own priest, that they should abstain from receiving it for a time.¹

Under the threat of excommunication and the denial of Christian burial, Western Christians were compelled for the first time to add yearly confession to the already established litany of penitential elements which included contrition, satisfaction and absolution.

Along with this important piece of legislation, canon ten—entitled *Inter caetera quae ad salutem spectant*—decreed that bishops were to appoint suitable men who were “powerful in word and deed” to minister the Word of God to the people. These men were to carry out the duty of “sacred preaching” and other pastoral duties such as hearing confessions, enjoining penances and “other matters which are conducive to the salvation of souls.”

Thus in what has been described as one of the “most important legislative acts in the history of the Church,” Lateran IV imposed mandatory confession on every Christian and instituted a campaign of moral reform that would reverberate through the Western Church for centuries.

The decisions of 1215 were reiterated by metropolitans and prelates in their provincial councils and preached successfully by the newly established mendicant orders. Recently, scholars have demonstrated that the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries witnessed a dramatic increase in penitential preaching to the laity. The new emphases on morality (vices and virtues) in...
and penance, which was at the center of Dominican and Franciscan preaching, permeated all levels of society as can be seen by the emergence of numerous lay penitential orders such as the disciplinati and the Order of Penitents. Scholars have suggested that this preaching, along with the proliferation of saint’s lives and vernacular literature, helped to make late medieval society more aware of its sin and to provide examples of sanctity which would motivate the faithful to repentance and confession.

In view of this increase of penitential preaching in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it is useful to investigate the character of penitential preaching prior to the decrees of Lateran IV in order to establish what

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continuity or discontinuity existed between the two periods. What was the content of penitential preaching, and what kinds of imagery were used to communicate weighty theological matters such as contrition, confession and satisfaction to urban congregations in the late twelfth century? Answers to these questions will help determine if canon twenty-one was meant to reform earlier practices, as the tenor of the decree itself implies,\(^8\) or instead to codify or perhaps amplify already existent pastoral norms. In order to answer these questions, it would be useful to examine several late twelfth-century sermons that focus specifically on the topic of penance.

Penance was a popular **topos** for preachers in the Middle Ages, if for no other reason than the penitential life was partly what defined Christianity. Liturgical seasons such as Advent and Lent provided regular opportunities for preachers to prepare their congregations for the great feasts of Christmas and Easter. These two feast days were traditional times when Christians would receive the Eucharist; and as such, it was a necessary pastoral duty to prepare the flock to receive this sacrament. Certain saints' days also became associated with penitential preaching. For example, the feast of Mary Magdalen (22 July) gradually became an opportunity for preachers to focus on

\(^8\) This view is suggested by Siegfried Wenzel, *The Sin of Sloth: Acedia in Medieval Thought and Literature* (Chapel Hill, 1960): 68-69.
the theme of penance. Since the patristic period, Mary Magdalen had been identified as a wonderful example of a penitential saint, and with the growth of her cult in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, she became a model of penance for monks, secular clergy, and even the laity. In the thirteenth century, for example, she became the “patron” saint for the Dominicans as well as a number of lay penitential orders.9

The sermons of Ralph Ardent have many references to the theme of penance. This chapter will examine two of the most important penitential sermons in this collection: a sermon preached for the third Sunday in Lent and a sermon preached for the feast of St. Mary Magdalen. Several questions will guide this study. First, what was the character of penitential preaching at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries? Second, what was the nature of the priest's role in the process of forgiveness and reconciliation? Third, what images were used to communicate the need for penance and to motivate congregations to confess their sins?

It is my contention that the sermons of Ralph Ardent show that a lively and well-established tradition of penitential preaching was already in place by Lateran IV, a tradition which provided the inspiration for the

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penitential preaching of the friars in the centuries following 1215. While one must always keep in mind that there was no one standard or universal doctrinal authority on penance in the twelfth century, Ralph’s preaching used traditional or accepted theological formulations of penance, and his preaching assumed an active role on the part of the penitent and the priest both in terms of regular confession and absolution.10

Finally, Ralph Ardent used two important images to communicate penance to his congregation. The first image, not generally recognized by historians of preaching, is that of penance as a form of exorcism. This image became a common way of communicating the meaning of penance in the twelfth century, and as such it must have been a particularly effective way of motivating a congregation to penance. Another image used to communicate penance to congregations in the twelfth century was the penitential life of

10 At least since Gregory the Great, the priest had always taken an active role in absolution, even if that absolution only meant declaring that God had already forgiven the guilt of the contrite person. It was something believed to be directly connected to the “keys” of St. Peter. Confession on the other hand was different. There was considerable debate over whether or not the practice of regular confession “began” with Innocent III’s decree at Lateran IV or earlier. As Alexander Murray points out, there is a vast difference between principles of confession and the practice of confession. The very fact that confession was private and secret means that historians have very few sources with which to work. See Alexander Murray “Confession before 1215” Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (London, 1993): 51-81. For a list of authors for and against this issue, see Thomas of Chobham, ‘Summa confessiorium,’ ed. F. Broomfield (Louvain and Paris, 1968): xli; and Alan Thacker, “Monks, preaching and pastoral care in early Anglo-Saxon England,” in Pastoral Care Before the Parish, ed. J. Blair and R. Sharpe (Leicester, 1992): 157-164
Mary Magdalen, who was also healed from demonic possession and demonstrated better than anyone else the proper way to do penance.

*The Doctrine of Penance to the Twelfth Century*

In order to set the context for an examination of Ralph’s sermons on penance, it is necessary to outline briefly the history of penance to the twelfth century. In the early church, penance was harsh and almost always public. The sinner would have to perform demanding penitential exercises and go through a public ceremony of reconciliation before he or she would be allowed re-admission into the church. Sometimes sinners entered an order of penitents that included outward markings such as the application of ashes and even a special haircut or clothing. Even when restored to communion, penitents would not be allowed to enter the clergy, or have sexual relations with their spouses. Like baptism, penance in the early church was administered only once; and as a result, many Christians would defer penance until just before they died. This practice led many church leaders to lament the way in which Christians would commit all kinds of sinful

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atrocities during times of health, only to clamor for their one-time reconciliation at death.\textsuperscript{12}

Between the sixth and ninth centuries, a new form of penance emerged that would eventually replace the older form of canonical penance. By the end of the sixth century, Ireland had developed, quite apart from continental models, the practice of private penance in which priests used penitentials or manuals which classified sins and listed penitential exercises to assign to the sinner. This system, sometimes called "tariffed penance," also allowed for sinners to receive forgiveness more than once.\textsuperscript{13} The popularity of this new system, especially for the laity, resulted in its quick spread from the British Isles to the continent. By the tenth century, this new form of private and reiterable penance became the dominant practice, and the priest took on a new and important role as the penitential guide.

While the practice of private penance gained acceptance on the continent, the theological discussion over the nature of penance did not subside. For example, twelfth-century theologians, including Gratian, Peter Lombard, and Peter the Chanter raised questions about the necessity of

\textsuperscript{12} Death-bed penance was a frequent topic in the preaching of Caesarius of Arles. The relevant texts are collected in Watkins, \textit{History of Penance}, vol. 2, pp. 506-514.
confession as a condition for satisfaction. Peter Lombard asked, "whether without satisfaction and the confession of the mouth sin may be forgiven to any one through the contrition of the heart alone."\textsuperscript{14} These theologians also wrestled with questions about the priest's role in penance: whether or not it was necessary to confess to a priest as opposed to a layman.

Some twelfth-century theologians clearly bemoaned what they perceived as a mitigation of penitential discipline found in the earlier manuals. Alain of Lille (d. 1202), perhaps reflecting on the ideals of discipline found in the ancient church said, "For then human nature was stronger than it is now for bearing the burdens of penance; and that is why penance must be moderated."\textsuperscript{15} Penance in the twelfth century seems to have placed less emphasis on the various works of satisfaction such as prayers and almsgiving that were traditionally regulated by confession manuals and more emphasis on internal contrition or sorrow over sin. This resulted partly from the


\textsuperscript{15} Alain de Lille, \textit{Liber poenitentialis}, ed. by Jean Longère \textit{Analecta Mediaevalia Namurcensia}, vol. 18 (Louvain, 1965): book 2, ch. 13, p. 55: "...quia olim natura humana natura

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church's acceptance of deathbed repentance, which stated that in the case of persons who were dying, sorrow for sin was enough to keep the person from perdition. More important however was the growing interest in morals in the wake of reform movements that began in the eleventh century. Questions such as "intention" became more interesting to theologians in the twelfth century; and with these new theological concerns came a greater appreciation for the internal rather than the external forms of godliness which were typically associated with monasticism. Peter Abelard was one of the first proponents of this position. He wrote that,

> With this sigh and contrition of heart, which we call true repentance sin does not remain, that is, the contempt of God or consent to evil, because the charity of God which inspires this sigh does not put up with fault. In this sigh we are instantly reconciled to God and we gain pardon for the preceding sin....

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17 Peter Abelard, *Ethics*, ch. 19, p.88: "Cum hoc autem gemitu et contritione cordis, quam veram poenitentiam dicimus, peccatum non permanet, hoc est contemptus Dei, sive consensus in malum, quia charitas Dei hunc gemitum inspirans, non patitur culpam. In hoc statim gemitu Deo reconciliamur et precedentis peccati veniam assequimur...." See also Odon Lottin, *Psychologie et morale*, vol. 5, p. 281.
Abelard’s view represents the majority opinion of later scholastic theologians such as Peter Lombard and Alain of Lille.\textsuperscript{18}

The majority of pre-scholastic and scholastic authors, to one degree or another, spoke of penance in terms of \textit{contritio}, \textit{confessio}, and \textit{satisfactio}, even though their respective meanings might be different depending on the author. Ralph Ardent also used these categories to describe and explain the various elements of penance in his preaching.\textsuperscript{19} But a sermon is more than just a theological discourse, and so Ralph had to communicate his theology to an audience that often included both laity and clergy. His job was not just to instruct but also to motivate his audience to practice what he preached.

Ralph Ardent wrote eighteen sermons for Lent and Holy Week. By the twelfth century, Ash Wednesday was firmly established as the beginning of the Lenten fast.\textsuperscript{20} Lent lasted for forty days (excluding Sundays) and culminated in Holy Week and Easter. In the Middle Ages, the Lenten fast was


\textsuperscript{19} For example, in a sermon on Galatians 5 (in \textit{PL} 155, col. 1370A), Ralph says, “Qui enim hic de perpetrato peccato seipsum per contritionem, confessionem et satisfactionem accusat et judicat, aeternum judicium evitat.”

\textsuperscript{20} Ash Wednesday was not always part of this fast. Gregory the Great did not include Ash Wednesday in the fast and neither did Isidore of Seville in the seventh century. Yet S. Eligius, bishop of Noyon in the seventh century, did include Ash Wednesday as part of the Lenten fast. See Watkins, \textit{History of Penance} vol. 1, p. 572 for references.
a period devoted primarily to preparing the faithful to receive the Eucharist at Easter. Ralph prepared two sermons for Ash Wednesday, which in the Latin liturgy was called *Feria Quarta in Capite Jejunii*.\(^{21}\) He prepared three sermons for the first Sunday in Lent, two for the second Sunday, one for the third Sunday, two for the fourth Sunday, and two for the fifth Sunday in Lent. He also prepared two Palm Sunday sermons (*in Ramis Palmarum*), two Maundy Thursday (*in Coena Domini*) sermons, one Good Friday sermon (*in Parasceve*), and one sermon for the Saturday vigil of Easter (*in Vigilia Paschae*).

Although the theme of penance permeates many of these Lenten sermons, Ralph spent the most time explaining penance in the first of his two Ash Wednesday sermons that began the fast, and in the sermon preached for the third Sunday in Lent.

On the basis of the sermons themselves, it is difficult to determine their exact audience. As I have shown in an earlier chapter, Ralph Ardent preached to a wide range of audiences that often included regular clergy, monks, or more generally "cloistered ones" (*claustrales*), male religious (*viri*...)

\(^{21}\) Maundy Thursday was usually considered the day of reconciliation. See Poschmann *Penance*, 96 and Watkins vol. 1, p. 650.
religiosi) and the laity. In the Ash Wednesday sermons, the only time he made reference to his audience apart from his usual fratres charissimi, was when he wrote “we priests and doctors of the Church....” This reference does not necessarily mean that there were in fact priests and doctors of the Church present in the audience. He made this comment in order to point out that even priests were, at times, sinful and in need of spiritual healing. From a rhetorical standpoint, this comment is probably a reference to himself as one of the priests or doctors of the Church who likewise needed to do penance. Lacking more specific evidence from the sermons themselves, one can nevertheless still presume that based on fact that Lent is one of the most important feasts in the liturgical year, there was most likely a mixed audience that included clergy and laity alike.

Penance as Exorcism: A Sermon on the Third Sunday of Lent

Demon possession in Christian tradition is as old as Christianity itself. On several occasions in the Gospels, Jesus cast out demons from individuals and sometimes even animals. For example, Luke tells the story of Jesus

22 See Chapter 4.

23 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1780 C: “Nos enim sacerdotes et doctores Ecclesiae, qui deberemus esse lux mundi (quod sine gemitu nequeo dicere) potius sumus fumantes quam flammantes.”
casting out the "Legion" of demons who had possessed a man in the country
of the Gerasenes near Galilee. In another story from the Gospels, Jesus
cleansed a boy from a demon; Mark tells of a man from Capernaum who was
cleansed of an unclean spirit; and Matthew's Gospel relates the story of the
daughter of a Syro-Phoenician woman who was cured of an unclean spirit.
In all of these cases, demonic possession involved various physical
manifestations. The boy in Luke 9 had convulsions causing him to foam at
the mouth, and fits where the demon would throw him to the ground and
torture him. Matthew described this boy as epileptic. Moreover, the
possessions described in the New Testament were never explained in terms
of their connection to any specific sins. Instead, these stories were intended to
describe the spiritual warfare between God and the armies of Satan, and how
Jesus as the Messiah had power over the demons. The Apostle Paul used this
language of war to describe the way in which Christians were to fight against

24 Luke 8:26-39; Matt. 8:28-34; Mark 6:1-20
26 Matthew 15:21-8

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the devil, and so this image of warfare became permanently fixed in the history of Christian spirituality.\textsuperscript{27}

There are similar dramatic stories of demon possession and exorcism in the writings of the Desert Fathers and other early saints' lives. Like Jesus, these holy men not only faced demonic temptations themselves, but also fought with demons and in many cases cast them out of possessed people. St. Anthony, for example, was hounded by demons throughout his life and on several occasions exorcised demons from people. In his \textit{Life of St. Martin}, Sulpicius Severus described one instance where St. Martin exorcised a demon from a cook. Martin put his finger into the man's mouth and forced the demon to be expelled in a flow of diarrhea!\textsuperscript{28} Their control over the spirit world made these "holy men" extremely popular in the Late Roman world and helped to promote their cults after their death.\textsuperscript{29} These stories of exorcism by saints would remain an important part of hagiographic literature throughout the middle ages.

\textsuperscript{27} For example, Ephesians 6:12: "For we are not contending against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world rulers of this present darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places." (RSV)


\textsuperscript{29} See Peter Brown \textit{The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity}. (Chicago, 1981); and \textit{Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity} (Berkeley, 1982).
For those who were less than saintly and could not claim the more dramatic powers of Christ and his apostles, there were more subtle and refined ways of exorcising demons in early church. One such method was through baptism. As early as the second century, Hippolytus of Rome instructed presbyters to anoint candidates for baptism with the oil of exorcism. From a liturgical perspective, this connection between the rite of baptism and exorcism would remain a constant feature of both eastern and western baptismal liturgies even to the present day.

Another less dramatic way to exorcise demons, which became more popular in the ninth century, was through penance. While the rite of baptism would always contain the idea of renouncing Satan, penance began to replace baptism as an important method for exorcism in the life of the normal Christian. Penance began to be described as "remedy" for demonic possession, and as such it became part of the more common medical imagery that surrounded the doctrines of sin and salvation.

Matthew reported that Jesus described himself as a "Physician," so naturally medical imagery became a standard way for theologians to describe the *cura animarum*. For example, Augustine of Hippo argued that penance

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should only be granted once "lest that remedy (medicina), by becoming common, be less helpful to sick souls."\textsuperscript{31} As the practice of private and reiterable penance began to replace the older form of public canonical penance in the West, preachers continued to use medical imagery to describe the effects of sin on the general health of the sinner. Many of the Irish penitential books incorporate medical imagery in describing penitential tariffs as a \textit{remedium} or \textit{medicamentum} of the soul.\textsuperscript{32} In the West, Isidore of Seville writing in the early seventh century made this medical imagery even clearer:

The Catholic Church confidently imposes the exercise of the remedy of penance in the hope of pardon. And after the one sacrament of baptism, which accorded in a single bestowal she stringently forbids to be repeated, she supplies in place of it assistance by the medicinal remedy of penitence.\textsuperscript{33}

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{31} \textit{Epist.} 153.7 "ne medicina vilis minor utilis esset aegrotis, quae tanto magis salubrius erit, quanto minus contemptibilis fuerit." Latin text quoted in Poschmann, \textit{Penance}, 104.

\textsuperscript{32} For example, the Penitential of Columban (c. 600), the Penitential of Theodore and the Penitential of Cummean all use this imagery. See John T. McNeill "Medicine for Sin as prescribed in the Penitentials," \textit{Church History} 1 (1932): 14-26. McNeill traced the connection between sin and penance as medicine back to Greek medical literature and forward through the fifth century monk John Cassian and finally to the Irish penitential literature.

\end{footnotesize}
These theologians and preachers believed that sin in its various forms threatened the spiritual and even physical health of the Christian. The priest would often be described as the doctor or surgeon. The remedy for that sickness was penance and this image would have remarkable endurance throughout the middle ages.

In addition to this general medical imagery, sin became closely attached to the workings of Satan and his legion of demonic cohorts. By the Carolingian period, one begins to find cases where penance was prescribed as a cure for demon possession. One example comes from Rudolf of Fulda’s ninth-century account of the miracles associated with his abbey’s relics. In one miracle story, Rudolf described the translation of some relics from Rome to his abbey in Fulda. On the way, an inhabitant of a village near St. Gall was attacked by a group of demons. The local priest instructed the man to “make confession of his sins and then to do penance...which the devil hates.”

By the twelfth century, this image of penance as a cure for demonic possession was an important rhetorical device for preachers such as Ralph Ardent. At least since the eighth century, the Gospel reading for the third Sunday in Lent was the exorcism story of Luke 11. This reading provided an

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excellent opportunity for preachers to discuss demon possession and its cure. We can use the evidence from Ralph Ardent’s sermons to make some tentative conclusions about the way in which this theme was used to communicate the doctrine of penance in the later twelfth century.

Ralph Ardent composed one sermon for the third Sunday in Lent, which is based on the Gospel reading in Luke 11:14-27, where Luke described how Jesus cast out a demon from a mute man and was slandered by the Pharisees who accused him of casting out demons by Beelzebub. The overall theme for this sermon is described in his opening statement: “To the degree that this reading ought to be heard by us avidly, so also does it contain a medicine very necessary for our souls.”35 The sickness Ralph had in mind is explained generally as sin; but more specifically, it is sin that is the result of demon possession. The cure or medicine he intended his listeners to apply was the medicine of penance. The best time to take that medicine was during the Lenten fast.

Ralph explained this pericope using the three senses of biblical interpretation: Historical, moral and allegorical. He began with the historical meaning because that sense provided the basis for his more important moral

35 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1806A: “Haec lectio, fratres charissimi, tanto nobis avidius est audienda, quanto magis necessariam animabus nostris continet medicinam.”
and allegorical interpretations. In proper scholastic fashion, Ralph began by dividing the literal meaning of this passage into smaller, more manageable subsections. First he examined the miraculous cure of the possessed man and the exorcism of the demon. The cure involved three miracles: casting out the demon, healing the mute man, and restoring his hearing. Second, from Luke 11.15-23, he explained the way in which Jesus refuted and instructed those Pharisees who were mocking him (detrahebant). Third, from Luke 11.24-26, he explained how after being expelled from the man, the demon was able to re-enter the same person who continued to neglect his spiritual life. Last, he examined how Jesus corrected the woman who said in verse 27 "blessed is the womb that bore you and the breasts that nursed you." He wrote, "his mother is not blessed because she bore his body or nursed him, but as Elizabeth said, 'Blessed is she who believed, that there would be a fulfillment of what was spoken to her by the Lord."  

In this part of the sermon, Ralph followed the narrative closely and occasionally offered a moral exhortation to his audience. For example, after explaining how this expelled demon wandered around through arid and

36 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1808A: "Non enim inde mater ejus beata est, quia eum corporaliter portavit et lactavit, sed sicut Elisabeth ait: Beata quae credidit, quoniam perficientur ea quae dicta sunt ei a Domino."
waterless places searching for rest (*ambulat per loca arida et inaquosa, quaerens requiem*), he instructed his audience that

In waterless and dry hearts, my brothers, the devil is not able to find rest, because he delights in hearts that are pliable, fat and leaky. Therefore let us follow the rigors of justice, the severity of religion, and the difficulties of virtue, so the devil is not able to find rest in us.

Early in this sermon, Ralph made the connection between the demon-possession described in this passage and the human vulnerability towards sin. Later he described how that sin (and possession) was to be cured.

Moving to the moral interpretation, Ralph offered his audience three moral points based on three of the four subsections from his literal interpretation of the passage. Each of these “morsals” was short, and was based entirely on the example of Jesus in the story. In the first section he argued that Jesus’ act of compassion toward the demon-possessed man was one that ought to be imitated by his audience. Just as Jesus freed the mute man of his demon, so Ralph believed his audience should seek to free (*liberare*) people from the bondage of demons through prayer, charity, exhortations and the like. Second, Jesus’ refutation of those who were mocking him also provided an example for his audience to follow. The point here is that Ralph called

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37 Radulphus Ardens, *PL* 155, col. 1807C: “In cordibus aridis et inaquosis non potest, fratres mei, requiescere diabolus, quia tantum corda mollia, voluptuosa et fluxa diligit. Prone re rigorem justitiae et asperitatem religionis, et virtutum arduitatem sequamur, ut diabolus in nobis requiem invenire non possit.”

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them to follow Jesus' example by being patient in dealing with mockers, and
by preaching the *verbum salutis* to those who needed to be instructed. The
final moral exhortation was based on the way in which Jesus corrected the
false praise of the woman. Here Ralph warned his hearers not to seek the
praise of men (or in this case women), but rather to seek only the praise from
God. All of these moral exhortations are general in nature; but as the sermon
progressed, these moral applications would become more specific.

The mystical or allegorical interpretation of this passage is the most
important section for our study. In it Ralph developed fully the relationship
between possession and exorcism to the practice of penance. He began by
telling his audience that what the Lord did literally to the demon-possessed
man—that is, expel the demon and restore the man to health—he does every
day in a figurative way. The middle ages carried on the supernatural beliefs
of the ancient world, and in the twelfth century demons were believed to be
every bit as active as the saints. Ralph's audience must have had a keen
sense (and fear) of the reality of demons and their activity in the affairs of
men and women. At the same time, they would not necessarily have
witnessed the dramatic possession and exorcism described by this Gospel

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story. Ralph interpreted this passage in a way that would have made sense to his audience without in any way denying the reality and threat of the spirit world in which they lived.

Ralph began by describing the participants, the method and the diligence needed to carry out this penitential form of exorcism: “Let us see in whom it may be done and through whom and with what purity, with what medicine and how much vigilance and strength they need.” There were two kinds of people who needed cures for their demonic possession. The first were those Ralph called *dementes*. These were most likely social outcasts of one form or another. Perhaps he had in mind those who were mentally and psychologically disturbed. Regardless, Ralph believed these *dementes* were possessed by demons, but this kind of possession was beyond their control: “they do what they do unaware of it.” These *dementes* were people who were unknowingly possessed by demons that caused such mental or even physical disorders that they remained helpless servants of evil spirits until the demon decided to leave the individual or until the demon was expelled through a formal rite of exorcism.

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40 Radulphus Ardens, *PL* 155, col. 1809c: “qui quod faciunt, faciunt nescientes.”

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For reform-minded preachers such as Ralph Ardent, the second and more damnable kind of possessed people were those regular sinners who on account of the shamefulness of their own crimes were in some sense believed to be possessed by various demons. These were people sitting in the preacher's audience, and they were in greater danger than the dementes because they knowingly served demons. Certainly this image would have instilled some fear into the minds of his audience, fear that would hopefully lead to penance.

Ralph Ardent believed that there was a close connection between this second form of demonic possession and sin. He attributed each individual sin to a specific demonic personification. For example there was a spirit of lust (luxuria), a spirit of avarice (avaritia), and a spirit of pride (superbia). Ralph summed up this hamartiological doctrine when he said that "however many vices anyone is ensnared, it is as if he is possessed by that many demons."  41

Some medieval preachers believed that the devil entered the soul through the senses and others believed that certain organs were passageways

41 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1809c: "Imo quot vitiis quisque irretitur, quasi a tot daemoniis possidetur."
through which the devil could enter the body.\textsuperscript{42} This connection between demons and vices will be discussed further in my examination of the sermon preached on St. Mary Magdalen, but it is clear that at least from the time of Gregory the Great, demons were directly associated with the seven deadly sins.\textsuperscript{43} And Ralph believed that the people sitting in his audience who knowingly served these demons were worse than \textit{dementes}.

Ralph Ardent explained that the only way his congregation could rid themselves of the yoke of the devil was by the mercy of God “who conquers the devil and casts off all his weapons.”\textsuperscript{44} Following the popular Old Testament image of Israel as the adulterous wife, he described God’s mercy in one of the Ash Wednesday sermons as the mercy of a bridegroom who reaches out to his bride, who has committed adultery with demons, and calls her to return to him.\textsuperscript{45} According to Ralph, God in his infinite mercy calls his


\textsuperscript{43} For a history and background of the seven deadly sins, see Morton W. Bloomfield \textit{The Seven Deadly Sins} (East Lansing, 1967), pp. 43-68.

\textsuperscript{44} Radulphus Ardens, \textit{PL} 155, col. 1809D: “Nullus ergo putet se per se jugum diaboli a se excutere, sed de sola Dei misericordia praesumat, qui superveniens vincit diabolum, et excludit omnia arma ejus....”

\textsuperscript{45} Radulphus Ardens, \textit{PL} 155, col. 1778A: “Unde ipse per Jeremiam prophetam Judeae cum daemonibus adulteranti clamat: Si recedens uxor a viro, duxerit virum alterum, nunquid revertetur ad eam ultra? Nunquid non polluta et contaminata erit mulier illa? Tu autem fornicata es cum amatoribus multis, tamen revertere ad me dicit Dominus.”
spouse to return to him with her whole heart (In toto corde vestro). But then Ralph continued, “Et qua medicina hoc facit?” The answer was, “poenitentia.” At this point Ralph launched into a detailed explanation as to what it means to be a penitent. Drawing from Gregory I and Isidore of Seville, he said:

There are therefore in penance two elements, to mourn the things which have been done and not to do things that ought to be mourned, that is the working out of penance and perseverance. It does not profit to have one without the other.\textsuperscript{46}

More specifically, Ralph argued that true penance involved the heart, the mouth, and deeds, or what he will describe as conversion or contrition of the heart, confession with the mouth, and deeds of satisfaction.

Contrition of the heart involved sorrow over remembered sin. He used medical imagery to further describe this: “Contrition ripens the internal stench (\textit{putredo}), confession opens the wound, satisfaction removes the poison.”\textsuperscript{47} In another sermon, Ralph was particularly concerned for people “who hold their sins hidden in their heart, like pus in a sore.”\textsuperscript{48}

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{46} Radulphus Ardens, \textit{PL} 155, col. 1810A: “Sunt igitur in poenitentia duo, plangere facta, et non facere plangenda, id est actio poenitentiae et perseverantiae: alterum sine altero non prodest.”

\textsuperscript{47} Radulphus Ardens, \textit{PL} 155, col. 1810A: “Contritio putredinem maturat intus, confessio aperit vulnus, satisfactio extrahit virus.”

\textsuperscript{48} Radulphus Ardens, \textit{PL} 155, col. 1779A: “Quidam etenim sunt qui peccata sua tenent abscondita in corde, tanquam putredinem in ulcere.”
\end{footnotes}

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employed this image of sin as “putredo” which infects the heart and can only be removed through the medicine of penance. This sorrow for sin includes shame because of the acts themselves, fear of coming judgment, and guilt because the sinner knows that he is worthy of punishment.49

Confession on the other hand is a “tearful narration of sins.”50 What he seems to mean by this is that confession must be accompanied by an internal compunction of the mind. Unless a sinner groans, weeps and sighs when he makes his confession, he “merely preaches his sin and does not confess it.”51 LeClercq defined contrition as “the pain of spirit, a suffering resulting simultaneously from two causes: the existence of sin and our own tendency toward sin...and the existence of our desire for God and even our very possession of God.”52 This notion of *compunctio* will appear again in Ralph’s Magdalen sermon; but here in the Ash Wednesday sermon, he

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49 Radulphus Ardens, *PL* 155, col. 1810A-B.

50 Radulphus Ardens, *PL* 155, col. 1810B: “Confessio ergo est lacrymabilis peccatorum enarratio.”

51 Radulphus Ardens, *PL* 155, col. 1810B: “Haec autem debet fieri cum lacrymis, quia nisi gemat, nisi fleat, nisi suspiret peccator, cum se peccasse fatetur, peccatum suum praedicat, non confitetur.”

associated internal compunction with tears and mourning and he understood it as a necessary part of the penitential process.\(^{53}\)

Ralph Ardent gave further instructions about how to apply this medicine of penance to the sinful and demon-possessed heart. He instructed his audience to confess their sins truly, openly, completely, not lessening or dividing their sins. All the circumstances of sin needed to be explained—that is, the place, the time, the mode of sin, the persons involved, and the weight and number of temptations. For example, Ralph believed that sins committed in sacred places such as a church or monastery were more serious than sins committed in non-sacred places. Sins committed by educated people, by married people and by ordained people—presumably people who either knew better or had less temptation (e.g. the married)—were much worse than the same sins committed by ignorant, single, or lay people.

Moreover, the priest had an important role in the penitential process both in terms of confession and absolution. In the decades prior to Lateran IV, there was much debate over the need for confession to a priest. Gratian, for example, rehearsed a number of authorities on the question of the need for confession and concluded that almost every opinion had its authority. He left

\(^{53}\) For another example of this see Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1779A: “Per fletum quippe et planctum, interior compunctio sacerdoti propalatur.”
it up to the reader to decide. In French circles, moralist theologians associated with the circle of Peter the Chanter had a range of opinions concerning confession. Peter the Chanter remarked that it is better to confess to more priests so that one might obtain swifter absolution. On the other hand, Alain of Lille remarked that in certain situations a general confession could be made directly to God.

Ralph Ardent assumed that confession might be made to God as well as a priest, but definitely not to a lay person. In his Ash Wednesday sermon, for example, he quoted Psalm 31 which described the psalmist confessing his sins directly to the Lord: "I will confess my sin to the Lord, and you forgave the guilt of my sin." It could be that Ralph took for granted the presence of the priest in this process, but it is difficult to tell. In this same sermon he wrote, "Through tears and mourning, internal compunction is shown to the

54 Gratian, Decretum, Secunda Pars, Causa 33. Quest. 3 PL 187 col. 1562B

55 Peter the Chanter, Verbum abbreviatum, PL 205, cols 342D-343A: "Quanto pluribus sacerdotibus confiteberis sub spe veniae, tanto celeriorem consequeris absolutionem culpae tum etiam propter peccati, et lepra cognitionem.


57 Peter Lombard also used this text to show that sins could be forgiven with contrition alone or by confession to God alone. See Peter Lombard, Sententiae in IV Libris Distinctae book 4, dist. 17, op. cit., p. 343 and 346.
priest." In the Lenten sermon he was concerned that his parishioners not confess some sins to one priest and other sins to another priest. Ralph believed that one of the most important roles of the priest was to act as a mediator between God and the people for the purpose of reconciliation. The precise nature of this role was both to intercede on behalf of the people and to hear their confessions.

After contrition and confession came deeds of satisfaction, which in the twelfth century were always associated with such things as almsgiving, fasting, prayer, mortification of the flesh and other such disciplines. Peter Abelard believed that the humiliation associated with confession was itself a large part of satisfaction. It is significant for Ralph Ardent that these deeds of satisfaction came after contrition and confession because Ralph believed that deeds such as the Lenten fast itself merited nothing without internal

58 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1779A: “Per fletum quippe et planctum, interior compunctio sacerdoti propalatur.”

59 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1810D: “Non divisa, ut scilicet non dividis peccata tua, haec uni sacerdoti, illa alii revelanda.”

60 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1781D: “Inter vestibulum et altare, id est, inter Deum et populum debent stare sacerdotes medii, ordine, familiaritate et meditatione.”

61 Peter Abelard, Ethics, ch. 25, p. 103-105. See also Spitzig, Sacrament of Penance, p. 41.
compunction of the mind or heart. Satisfaction involved bringing forth deeds that were consistent with the kinds of sins committed.\(^{62}\)

Ralph continued his exposition by warning his audience of the vigilance which they needed in order to fight against these demons. But the point was made clear when he said that this process of contrition, confession, and satisfaction was the medicine by which Christ expels demons from the hearts of his people.\(^{63}\) It was the image of exorcism that Ralph Ardent used to explain his doctrine of penance.

*The Image of the Penitent Saint: Mary Magdalen*

Ralph Ardent used the story of Luke 11 to explain to his audience that penance, if practiced correctly, is a form of exorcism—it is medicine for the sick soul. To explain theology is one thing, but to demonstrate what proper penance looked like, preachers such as Ralph Ardent needed a flesh and blood example of compunction, confession and satisfaction. Many chose to preach on the penitential life of Mary Magdalen. Preachers used her to illustrate the point that even the most egregious of sinners could find forgiveness and salvation. In many ways she was an even better example of


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the Christian life than the Virgin Mary who, by the twelfth century, was virtually removed from the realm of ordinary human beings. Mary Magdalen as *beata peccatrix* became a symbol of hope for "mortal" men and women—sinners who continually found themselves in need of forgiveness.\(^{64}\)

Medieval preachers had at their disposal many converted saints who could illustrate the penitential life: St. Thomas, the thief on the cross, Peter, and King David just to name a few. But these sinners, who were convicted of such crimes as doubt, denial and adultery, never received the amount of attention that Mary Magdalen did. Perhaps the reason for this is that Mary Magdalen, particularly seen as Luke's unnamed *peccatrix*, displayed the physical way or mode of penance more clearly than did her male counterparts.\(^{65}\)

Bede's eighth-century martyrology lists the feast day of Mary Magdalen as 22 July. This is one of the earliest attestations of her liturgical veneration

\(^{63}\) Radulphus Ardens, *PL* 155, col. 1810D: "Haec fratres, est medicina, qua fortem armatum Christus fortior de cordibus nostris expellit, et de vasis diaboli vasa Spiritus sancti facit."


\(^{65}\) Haskins makes the point that the Magdalen's sin of fornication would not be ranked as high in the "hierarchy of spiritual transgressions" as the crimes of, say, Peter and Thomas. So there certainly appears to be a gender and sexuality issue involved in the history of her interpretation. See Haskins, *Mary Magdalen*, 134ff.
in the West. Her veneration grew in the middle ages with the creation of a “biography” that incorporated the exegetical comments of Gregory the Great, and in the tenth century, the comments of Odo of Cluny who filled in many of the legendary details of her life such as her family background and her final years spent in contemplation in the desert.

In the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, devotion to Mary Magdalen continued to grow both in terms of liturgical veneration and her cult. Prayers were addressed to her in tenth-century English and Spanish sacramentaries and by the twelfth century, the mass of her feast day was complete. Her cult, which was associated in the eleventh century with the monastery at Vézelay in Burgundy, also grew in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Pilgrims on route to Santiago de Compostela stopped at Vézelay to venerate her relics, to be healed, and most importantly to be forgiven their sins.

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66 For the details on the beginnings of the Magdalen cult, see Victor Saxer, Le Culte de Marie Madeleine en Occident des origines à la fin du Moyen âge (Paris, 1959): 32-45. Saxer believes that Bede may have been using an earlier Byzantine calendar as the source for his martyrology, p. 40-42.

67 This legend is attested as early as the late ninth century. See An Old English Martyrology, ed. and introd. George Herzfeld, Early English Text Society, no. 116, (London, 1900). For a discussion of this see also Haskins, Mary Magdalen, pp. 110-111.

68 See Saxer, Le Culte p. 60ff. See also Hugh of Poitiers The Vézelay Chronicle, trans. John Scott and John Ward (New York, 1992). This document is an important source for the cult of Mary Magdalen. See especially pages 334-347.
As a result of her establishment in the liturgical calendar as well as in the wider religious culture of the twelfth century, her sin and repentance became a favorite theme for preachers, particularly as they tried to explain the moral theology that was so prominent in the schools of that period. Although Mary Magdalen did not receive the same attention in the twelfth century as she would in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries when she became the patron saint for many late medieval penitential orders, she was popular with preachers in the twelfth century as well. While some contemporaries or near contemporaries of Ralph Ardent such as Aelred of Rievaulx (d. 1167), Isasc of Stella (d. 1169), Geoffrey of Auxere (d. 1180’s), Peter the Chanter (d. 1197) and Alan of Lille (d. 1202) wrote no sermons for her feast day, other secular priests and monks such as Geoffrey of Vendôme (d. 1132), Nicholas of Clairvaux (d. 1176), Peter Comestor (d. 1179), Peter of Celle (d. 1183), Peter of Blois (d. 1212), Stephen Langton (d. 1228), Philip the Cancellor (d. 1236) and Jacques de Vitry (d. 1244), wrote one or more sermons for her feast day.69

Ralph Ardent mentioned Mary Magdalen sixteen times in various parts of his sermon collection, and he wrote one sermon for her feast day. The text for this sermon is Luke 7.36-50, a pericope in which Jesus is invited to a certain Pharisee's house (identified as Simon) to have dinner. An unidentified sinful woman (peccatrix) learns that Jesus is in Simon's house and comes to Jesus weeping over her sin and performing various acts of repentance. She wet Jesus' feet with her tears, wiped them with her hair, and kissed and anointed his feet with perfume. After an interchange between Jesus and the Pharisees over the nature of true devotion, Jesus dismissed the woman, assuring her that her sins were forgiven.

The exegetical tradition of identifying Mary Magdalen with the peccatrix of Luke 7 extends back to Gregory the Great. In his homilies on Luke, Gregory created a complex image of the Magdalen as a combination of the demon-possessed woman in Mark 16:9, Mary of Bethany in John 11, and the sinful woman of Luke 7. It is this composite Mary Magdalen who found a permanent place in the homiletic tradition of the middle ages; and it is this image of her life that Ralph Ardent uses in his own sermon for her feast day.

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Gregory divided this sermon into two major parts, the literal and the mystical. In comparing the sermons between Ralph Ardent and Gregory, it is clear that Ralph borrowed heavily from the literal section of Gregory’s sermon. A small comparison will illustrate this point:

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<tr>
<td>Discite quo dolore ardet, quae flere et inter epulas non erubescit.</td>
<td>Nam pensate, fratres mei, quanto ardore intus ardebat, quae inter epulas flere non erubescat, quae inter comedentes et laetantes compungebatur et flebat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Septem ergo daemonia Maria habuit, quae universis vitiis plena fuit.</td>
<td>Septem enim daemonia Maria habuit quae universis vitiis plena fuit.</td>
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Ralph’s sermon for the feast of Mary Magdalen is divided into five parts that follow the narrative in Luke 7. In the first section, he explained the

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⁷¹ Ibid. p. 288-9
significance of Jesus entering the house of Simon the Pharisee. Second, he examined the introduction of the sinful woman into the Pharisee’s house. Third, Ralph explained the way in which the Pharisees complained about the presence of this sinner. Fourth, he explained Jesus’ response to the Pharisee’s complaints. And finally, Ralph explained the “murmuring” of the Pharisees and Jesus’ dismissal of the woman who was now cleansed of her sin.

It is the second section of this sermon that is most important for this study because here Ralph used the example of Mary Magdalen to show his audience what true penance looked like. He explained the introduction of the woman into the Pharisee’s house using four sub-points: the greatness of the sinner (peccatricis magnitudo), the secret nature of her calling (occulta provocatio), her quick conversion (accelerata conversio), and her fervent penance (fervens poenitudo). Ralph remarked that this woman’s sins were so great that she was simply named peccatrix. He identified her with the prostitute Mary Magdalen, out of whom Jesus cast seven demons (Mark 16.9). Although nowhere does the New Testament say that Mary was a prostitute, she was to become the quintessential image of fornication in the exegetical and homiletic tradition of the middle ages.

Similar to the possessed, mute man in the Lenten sermon above, Ralph told his audience that this peccatrix had seven demons and was “full of
every vice. As before, he identified certain sins with certain demonic personifications:

He who is possessed by *libido*, is possessed by a spirit of fornication; and he who is possessed by *avaritia*, is possessed by Mammon, the spirit of avarice. And there were others. Therefore however many were her sins, she served that many demons.

Ralph wanted his audience to be aware of the fact that demonic possession involved more than just physical, and dramatic manifestations of possession found in saint’s lives or in those people otherwise considered as *dementes*. Sin itself was just as much an outward expression of demonic possession as convulsions or foaming at the mouth.

The realization that sin was the result of demonic possession must have struck some fear into the hearts of his audience, because Ralph followed these remarks by quoting Romans 5.20 where the Apostle promised that where “sin increased, grace abounded all the more.” In other words, however many demons this woman had, God’s grace was able to overcome them all. The example of Mary Magdalen gave hope for sinners, that by following her example they too could be healed. The point for Ralph was that

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72 Radulphus Ardens, *PL* 155, col. 1398A: “Septem enim daemonia Maria habuit quae universis vitiis plena fuit.”

73 Radulphus Ardens, *PL* 155, col. 1398A: “Qui enim a libido possidetur, a spiritu fornicationis possidetur; et qui ab avaritia possidetur, a mammona spiritu avaritiae possidetur. Et sic de aliiis. Quot ergo criminibus quis servit, tot daemonibus servit.”

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Mary accused herself and therefore those people who follow in her sin also ought to follow in her correction. The correction, Ralph explained, was her penance.

Before describing her penance in detail, Ralph gave his audience a brief explanation of the nature of Mary Magdalen’s calling or conversion. He wrote that she was called secretly (occulta) and through internal inspiration (interna inspiratio) rather than through the outward and more common method of preaching. For Ralph, Mary was a model for a certain kind of calling: one that stemmed from the internal and special call of God. In a sermon preached for the feast of the Conversion of the Apostle Paul, Ralph argued that there are three ways in which the Lord converts people: “The Lord converts some people through interior inspiration, such as Mary Magdalen; others the Lord converts through external preaching, such as Peter and Andrew; still others through whipping such as the sons of Israel....”

Another instance where Ralph described the various kinds of conversion is in a sermon preached for the first Sunday after Trinity. Here he described four ways of converting people: internal inspiration, preaching, miracles and

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74 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1332D: “Sunt autem tria genera conversionum. Quosdam enim convertit Dominus per interiorem inspirationem, ut Magdalenam; quosdam per exteriorum praedicationem, ut Petrum et Andream; quosdam per flagellationem, ut filios Israel, de quibus scriptum est, cum occideret eos, quaebant eum, et revertabantur.”

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various kinds of force. In the sermon for the feast of Mary Magdalen, Ralph placed the Magdalen in the company of the Apostle Paul who was an example of conversion through force (*per necessitatem*). Both Paul and Mary Magdalen were examples of *criminosae personae* who were reconciled to God.

After these comments on the nature of Mary’s calling and conversion, Ralph’s third point was that his audience should follow her example of quick or accelerated conversion. His listeners ought not to procrastinate their time of penance, but literally run toward it just as Mary Magdalen burst into the house of Simon the Pharisee (Luke 7.37). Procrastination included such things as waiting for the time of Lent or waiting to find a special place or favorite priest. He warned his audience that this sort of procrastination was

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75 Radulphus Ardens, *PL* 155, col. 2103A: “Quatuor quippe modi sunt, quibus divina misericordia ad se trahit peccatores. Alium enim vocat solummodo per interiorem inspirationem ut Magdalenam et latronem, alium per praedicationem, ut Samaritanam, alium per miraculorum ostensionem, ut centurionem; alium per adversitatis necessitatem, ut Paulum.”

76 Radulphus Ardens, *PL* 155, cols. 1395A and 1395C

77 Radulphus Ardens, *PL* 155, col. 1398C: “Haec, fratres mei, nostram condemnat negligentiam, qui, cum simus magnis obvoluti criminibus, tempus poenitentiae procrastinamus, espectamus tempus Quadragesimae, locum secretum, sacerdotem familiarem....”

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foolish because death could come any moment like a thief in the night:

"Never should we fall asleep in sin, but always let us fear instant death."^®

Ralph then explained what Mary Magdalen’s penance entailed. As he had already argued in the Lenten sermon, compunction or sorrow for sin was an important element in proper penance. But what did this compunction look like? Compunction was corporeal. This woman wet Jesus’ feet with her tears and wiped them with her hair. Mary Magdalen demonstrated her compunction through tears. For Ralph, her weeping was one of the most important outward symbols of her inward compunction. Weeping had long been part of the penitential process. Writing in the eleventh century, Peter Damian said that “tears which are from God confidently rise up to the divine tribunal...trusting in the certain remission of our sins.”^9 Giles Constable notes that “tears were among the most admired qualities of spiritual men and women, who were described as weeping copiously and frequently at the memory of their own sins.”^0 The Gospels report that Mary Magdalen was one of the women who wept at the tomb of her brother Lazarus (John 11:33)

^® Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1398C: “Nunquam dormiamus in peccato, sed semper mortem instantem timeamus.”

^9 Peter Damian, de Perfectione Monachorum, cap 12, PL 145, col. 308B: “Lacrymae porro quae a Deo sunt, divinae exauditionis tribunal fiducialiter adeunt, et impetrantes praesto quod petunt, de peccatorum nostrorum certa remissione confidunt.

and outside the tomb of Jesus (John 20:11). For preachers such as Ralph Ardent, Mary Magdalen was a saintly example of what compunction looked like. It was her tears that demonstrated "how much she burned with internal fire that she was not ashamed to cry in the midst of a feast."81

One problem with Mary Magdalen’s example of penance is that while she provided a good example of compunction, the Gospel story does not indicate that she ever confessed her sins verbally to Christ or to the Chief Priest of the Jews. Theologically this was not a serious problem because theologians such as Abelard earlier in the twelfth century quoted Ambrose of Milan in reference to Peter’s confession: “I do not find what he said; I find that he wept. I read of his tears; I do not read of his satisfaction. Tears wipe away a wrong which is disgraceful to confess with one’s voice and weeping guarantees pardon and shame.”82 There was a sense in which Mary’s tears were her confession. As was stated earlier, theologians in the twelfth-century argued over whether confession was always a necessary part of penance. By Lateran IV, that argument would be settled in the affirmative. But Mary’s

81 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1399A: “Nam pensate, fratres mei, quanto ardore intus ardebat, quae inter epulas flere non erubscebat, quae inter comedentes et laetantes compungebatur et flebat.

example of penance was so important that it is not surprising that Innocent III added a "confession" to her \emph{vita} in the early thirteenth-century.\footnote{See Katherine L. Jansen, \textit{The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages}, (Princeton, 2000): 216-217.}

Her penance was not limited to tears of compunction or her "confession." Her conversion, if it was to be genuine, would have to involve deeds of satisfaction as well. This involved acts of humility. For example, Ralph wrote that when she fell at the Lord’s feet, this bodily act symbolized that she would follow in his footsteps.\footnote{Ralph Ardens, \textit{In Festo Beatae Mariae Magdaelnae}, \textit{PL} 155, col. 1398D: "Dum retro secus pedes Domini stat, se de caetero ejus vestigia secuturam significat."} She was signifying her discipleship by her posture. But her satisfaction would involve the conversion of her entire body from a vehicle of sin to a vehicle of penance. Ralph wrote:

\begin{quote}
This woman, because she has desired earthly things through the eye, now therefore with them she wets Jesus’ feet with her tears. Her hair she takes care of to the beauty of her body, now therefore she uses it in obedience drying the feet of the Lord. She spoke vain and false words, and she made illicit kisses, and now therefore she gives kisses to the feet of the Lord. She was accustomed to anoint herself with perfume that she might smell good to men, now she anoints the feet of the Lord with ointment. As many joys of sin she had, now she has as many sacrifices of penance.\footnote{Radulphus Ardens, \textit{PL} 155, col. 1399B: “Haec mulier, quia per oculos terrena concupierat, ideo nunc eorum lacrymis pedes Jesu rigabat. Capillos ad decorem corporis nutrierat, et ideo nunc eos in obsequium tergendi pedes domini expendebat. Ore vana et falsa dixerat, et illicita oscula fecerat, et ideo nunc ore pedibus Domini oscula dabat. Unguento, ut bene oleret hominibus, sese ungere soletab, nunc unguento pedes Domini ungebat. Quot habuit oblectamenta culpae, tot habuit nunc sacrificia poenitentiae.”}
\end{quote}
The language in this passage is also very similar to Gregory’s homily.\textsuperscript{86} The corporeal and intimate imagery of this passage is striking and again demonstrates why Mary Magdalen was such a good example for preachers who wanted to illustrate what penance actually looked like. Everything this woman did with her eyes, hair, mouth and appearance are now converted to bodily expressions of penance. It is through these sacrifices that she is transformed, body and soul, from sinner to saint, from prostitute to a lover of Christ.

The emphasis on these outward bodily expressions of satisfaction is taken even further in the fourth section of this sermon where Ralph discussed the interchange between Jesus and Pharisee over who loved Jesus the most. Love for God is not something that is expressed only in words. It is expressed in deeds. This was the plight of the Pharisees who only feigned true devotion because they only said they loved God. For Ralph, true devotion involved a physical demonstration which came as the sinner recognized the magnitude of her sins. The Gospel narrative tells us that this

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}

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woman demonstrated her great love for the Lord through her outward deeds of devotion. Ralph told his audience that “the fervor of her love melts away the bright redness of her sins.”

Lest his audience think that these deeds of penance caused Jesus to forgive Mary Magdalen, Ralph gave a brief comment on the proper ordo salutis of her conversion. Mary’s tears of contrition and her deeds of satisfaction and devotion were not the reason why Jesus forgave her. On the contrary, it was because Christ had forgiven her sins that she loved him much and demonstrated her devotion with deeds of penance. Her penance was an outward manifestation of an inward conversion. This was slightly different from what is found in some monastic models of conversion where Mary’s penitential acts are part of a “laborious process” of conversion that involve both divine grace and human effort. Ralph made in clear that God’s grace alone took hold of the sinner “conferring freely contrition and the remission of sin.”

87 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1400C: “Ac si aperte dicat: Per suae dilectionis fervorem decoxit peccatorum suorum pristinam rubiginem.”

88 Peter of Celle (d.1183), a contemporary of Ralph Ardent wrote several sermons for the feast of Mary Magdalen. See Clare M. Kudera “Models of Monastic Devotion in Peter of Celle’s Sermons for the Feast of Mary Magdalene” in Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons, Beverly M. Kienzle ed. (Louvain, 1996), pp. 67-84, esp. 71.

89 Radulphus Ardens, PL 155, col. 1400D: “Deus enim sola gratia praevenit peccatorem, conferendo ei gratis et contritionem et peccatorum remissionem.”

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leave because her faith had healed her. Ralph asked “if her faith saved her, how is it by grace alone?” The answer was that even faith came as a result of God’s grace, for she “would not have believed unless divine grace had inspired her”\(^\text{90}\) In the case of Mary Magdalen’s conversion, God’s grace was prevenient: it came before all human effort and even before her tears of compunction.

Mary Magdalen was a living model of proper penance and correct conversion. She gave preachers flesh and blood to hang on the skeleton of penitential ideas. She showed audiences how to be cleansed of their demons and how to cure their souls from sin. But one might ask what kind of conversion Ralph was calling his listeners to follow? In the history of Christian spirituality, Mary Magdalen was often represented as an ideal for monastic conversion. Her *Vita*, once attributed to the Carolingian exegete Rabanus Maurus, and now thought to be of late twelfth-century Cistercian authorship, presents an apologetic for the happiness that is attained by the contemplative life.\(^\text{91}\) But for Ralph, Mary Magdalen’s conversion does not seem to represent the ideals and disciplines of the monastic life. Instead

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Ralph seems to be using Mary as an example of a more subtle inward and moral conversion of the heart that came not as a result of human initiative, but as a result of God's grace alone and was expressed through acts of devotion.

**Conclusion**

Some concluding remarks are in order. First it should be clear from this study that the penitential decrees of Lateran IV mentioned at the beginning of this chapter were not establishing something that was entirely new. Innocent III was certainly one of the most influential popes of the middle ages; but in order for any legislative act to be enforced, there had to be a significant amount of agreement in all levels of the church hierarchy. The moral reforms of Lateran IV were already prefigured in the theology and preaching of men such as Ralph Ardent, Peter

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91 For the historiography on this topic, see *The Life of Saint Mary Magdalene and of her Sister Saint Martha*, David Mycoff trans. (Kalamazoo, 1989): 7


the Chanter, Alain of Lille and others. In the years preceding 1215, the penitential preaching of Ralph Ardent reflects at least one channel of a larger conduit through which the moral reforms of Paris could flow down to every order of society. Whether or not people actually practiced what was preached is another matter. The well known comment by Alan of Lille (d. 1202) who said “Hardly anyone, clerk or lay, nowadays confesses once a year” should at least give pause as to the relationship between the ideal and reality.94 But nevertheless, it does seem clear that the canons of Lateran IV were no surprise.

Another conclusion that can be drawn from this study relates to the nature of exorcism in the middle ages. A quick perusal of the literature will show that very little attention has been given to the subject of exorcism in the middle ages.95 No doubt this has something to do with the lack of available sources. But perhaps historians need to re-direct their attention into different areas. Exorcism had long been connected with the baptismal rites of the

94 Alain of Lille, De arte praedicatoria, PL 210, col. 173A: “sed Hodie invaluit, ut vix laicus vel clericus semel confiteatur in anno.” quoted by Poschmann, Penance and the Anointing of the Sick, p. 140. Murray tried to answer this question regarding the ideal vs. the practice of confession in “Confession before 1215.”

Church. While these rites were associated mostly with infants, there are stories where demons were expelled from adults through baptism. One example of this comes from Felix’s *Life of Guthlac*. Guthlac was an eighth-century Anglian hermit and Felix tells the story of how Guthlac healed a young man who was tormented by devils. Guthlac baptized the man and blew into his face, which presumably caused the demon to flee.\(^96\)

There is also some evidence of a formal liturgical rite of exorcism that operated apart from the regular exorcism of the baptismal rite. For example, the chronicler William the Breton described a knight of Brittany who was suddenly entered by the devil. The priest was called and he brought with him a “book of exorcisms” (*liber exorcismorum*) which he used to cast out the demon, though it took several days.\(^97\) This kind of exorcism certainly deserves some attention. But for the most part it seems that the once popular minor order of “exorcist” lost its function entirely in the middle ages.

Perhaps the reason for this is because exorcism took on a more subtle meaning as it was applied to the average sinner. Although there are many


examples of exotic and miraculous exorcisms in hagiographic literature of the middle ages, not everyone, even the most saintly bishop or monk, possessed the miraculous powers attributed to Christ and his saints. It seems that at the same time, there was a more practical or regular understanding of exorcism used by preachers and theologians which appeared first in the Carolingian period but became a more prominent feature of preaching in the twelfth century. Penance understood as a form of exorcism was a way in which preachers could not only explain the way demons were expelled on a regular, or as Ralph said “daily” basis, but penance as exorcism would have been a powerful motivating force for all “orders” of society to hasten to regular contrition, confession and satisfaction. It was a kind of exorcism that, unlike the dramatic exorcisms of the Gospels, Desert Fathers, and saints, could be given to any Christian at any time. And it is this image that would become firmly embedded in the exegetical and homiletical tradition of the friars.

Like the man in Luke 11, Mary Magdalen also was possessed by demons which were personifications of the seven deadly sins, and like the man in

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98 One Merovingian example of this is found in the *Vita Domnae Balthildis*, written sometime in the late seventh century by an unknown author. The author described a servant boy of the Bishop Leudegandus who was possessed by “a most savage demon.” The description of this possession is very similar to the dramatic descriptions found in the Gospels. The boy was healed by touching the tomb of Lady Balthild. For the Latin text, see *Vita Sanctae Balthildis*, ed. B. Krusch, *MGH, SSRM*, II (Hanover, 1888): 475-508. An English translation is available in *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography* 640-720 ed. P. Fouracre and R. Gerberding (Manchester, 1996): 118-132.
Luke 11 she too was cleansed of her demons through tears of contrition, confession and satisfaction. The Magdalen became an example for preachers and congregations that even the most heinous sins could be cleansed through penance.

The preaching about Mary Magdalen in the late middle ages has received much scholarly attention in recent years, but it is clear from this study that there was plenty of material on Mary from which the friars could glean in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The image of the penitent Mary Magdalen provided an opportunity for preachers in the twelfth century to put flesh and bones on their doctrine of penance. Mary was a model of conversion, not to the monastic or contemplative life, but to the life of devotion and penance in which all Christians could participate. The universal appeal of her life to all orders of society becomes apparent in this period as Christian spirituality moves away from the ideals of the monastery toward the inner moral life of the Vita Apostolica in which the secular clergy and even the laity could now participate.

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These sermons demonstrate the importance of penance in overall spiritual formation of Christians prior to the decrees of Lateran IV. The friars would pick up on this doctrine and imagery, they would master it and become great promoters of the penitential life in the late middle ages. Two of the most enduring explanations and images that helped communicate that life were penance as exorcism and penance as displayed in the weeping corporeal image of Mary Magdalen.
CONCLUSION

Beryl Smalley described the preacher as one who "holds a mirror to society; he shows people what they are, and what they ought to be."\(^1\) Although Smalley was reflecting on the preaching of the twelfth century, it is a definition which could be applied to any age. Preaching in its most basic form involves the proclamation of the gospel message through an explanation of the biblical text. Usually this means an oral proclamation conducted in the context of a parish or monastic community; but sermons in the middle ages could also be *preached* in an epistolary form.\(^2\) The purpose of preaching was both to expose the sinful behavior of human beings and thereafter to point them toward the hope that lay ultimately in the saving work of Christ and the vehicle of that salvation—the Church.

Our initial survey of medieval preaching showed that from the eighth to the eleventh centuries bishops held the primary responsibility for preaching. In the best of circumstances, they preached on major feast days in

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\(^1\) Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, p. 245.

the church year; but regular Sunday preaching to the laity was rare indeed.\textsuperscript{3} Most preachers during this period relied heavily on the patristic and early medieval homilies of Augustine, Jerome, Gregory the Great, Caesarius of Arles and Bede. Early legislation in Gaul allowed for parish priests to preach; but the custom of episcopal preaching prevailed in much of Europe largely because parish priests simply did not have the proper training needed to prepare and deliver sermons, nor did they wish to usurp the role of the bishop.\textsuperscript{4}

The twelfth century witnessed the first great effort to change the pattern of popular preaching in the west. The Investiture Controversy of the eleventh century sparked a clerical reform movement that had wide ramifications for the history of preaching as the religious searched for ways to emulate the life of the Apostles. New monastic orders such as the Cistercians reinvigorated monastic preaching. Bernard of Clairvaux almost single-handedly showed how persuasive and powerful preaching could be both to educate and motivate people to a holy life. The formation of Augustinian orders such as the Premonstratensians and the Victorines emphasized the

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{3} Emmet McLaughlin, "The Word Eclipsed: Preaching in the Early Middle Ages" Traditio 46 (1991): 78-9.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{4} McLaughlin, "The Word Eclipsed," p. 79. That the bishop was still believed to have the primary responsibility for preaching can be seen in Alain of Lille’s Summa on the Art of Preaching. See Alain de Lille, De Ars Praedicandi, PL, 210, col. 182D: “Praelatorum debet esse praedicatio, et ab eis est proponenda.”}
active and pastoral life of the clergy, which included among other things, the importance of pastoral preaching.

The twelfth century also witnessed the emergence of scholasticism, which helped to shape both the content and form of preaching. The twelfth century was a period of growing biblical and theological scholarship, as cathedral schools were now required to have at least one master to "teach the clerics of that church and the poor scholars." Schools in Chartres, Orleans, Laon, Reims, and especially Paris excelled in philosophy, theology and even classical learning. Preaching benefited greatly from this influx of new thought. New tools were produced to organize and catalogue information. Books of distinctions, exempla, and auctoritates began to emerge late in the century and would become standard tools for preaching among the friars.

In addition, a new emphasis on moral and practical theology added a greater pastoral dimension to popular preaching in the twelfth century and beyond. Economic growth and prosperity, the formation of large urban centers and improvements in daily living all helped to change the way western Europeans saw themselves culturally, socially and religiously. R.W. Southern argued that Europeans began to see themselves as less static or

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“stationary objects” and instead viewed themselves as pilgrims or seekers. No longer were monastic ideals limited to the monastery. The laity also found ways—some orthodox, some heterodox—to participate in the *vita apostolica*.

At the same time, a number of theologians and masters in Paris began to think more carefully about practical matters of Christian morality. They were concerned about the way people behaved, or misbehaved. What was worse, the clergy themselves behaved in ways that were often scandalous. For example Ralph Ardent wrote about members of his own order who could not even read. In 1214, Canon 32 of Lateran IV noted that in certain places, priests were given such a small portion of the church’s income that in these areas “almost no parish priest can be found who is even moderately learned.” The reformers in Paris attempted to redress these problems. They wrote *summas* on ethics and catalogued various vices and virtues of both the clergy and laity; they wrote guides for confessors and they preached sermons. Their goal was to create a pastoral theology and to educate and motivate the clergy who would in turn catechize the laity.

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6 Southern, Making, p. 222.

7 Radulphus Ardens, *PL* 155, col. 2035D: “In quo, fratres mei, plango quosdam nostri ordinis, qui, non dicam spiritualem intelligentiam, sed nec etiam ipsam litterae crassam legere norunt, caeci et duces caecorum, qui tot animarum rei sunt, quos per stultitiae suae caecitatem in perditionem trahunt.”

8 Norman P. Tanner, ed. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 1, p. 250.
With the organization and spread of the Dominican and Franciscan friars in the early thirteenth century, these pastoral concerns reached a climax. Many of the friars were trained in the newly established universities. Paris itself became the center of production for new preaching tools and sermon books. The friars preached in the cities, in rural areas and at the courts of kings; they preached against heretics and served as confessors. Their pastoral ministry was so successful that shortly after Pope Gregory IX in 1231 instructed the bishops to allow the friars freedom in their pastoral ministry, complaints began to pour into the papal Curia from secular clergy who were annoyed at the way in which the friars were usurping pastoral care from local priests.\(^9\)

Many of the studies in the history of preaching during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries focus on either the great monastic sermons of the twelfth century or on the more developed mendicant sermons of the thirteenth century. The few studies that have examined scholastic sermons in the late twelfth century have focused primarily on Parisian masters and the sermons they wrote or delivered to university or educated audiences.\(^10\) The conclusions reached by these studies on the development and use of the scholastic sermon are skewed because of the large university population in

\(^9\) On this point, see C.H. Lawrence, *The Friars* p. 152-165.

\(^10\) For example, Paul Tibber, “The Origins of the Scholastic Sermon, c.1130-c.1210,” (D.Phil, Oxford University, 1983).
Paris at that time. Scholastic sermons in Paris were a form of academic expression, much like the university lecture. One expects sermons preached by university masters in Paris to be directed, for the most part, to clerical audiences rather than lay audiences. The sermons of Ralph Ardent, on the other hand, offer an important example of scholastic preaching in the context of a lay ministry in Poitiers.

Ralph Ardent emerges from this study as an important representative of popular preaching in Poitiers in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. His sermons show that the seeds of popular, pastoral preaching were sown well before the friars appeared on the scene. Ralph used his education as a scholastic master to meet the needs of a population in the grips of an evangelical revival. His sermons were written using the scholastic conventions of the day; but they show how the scholastic sermon eventually moved out of the university classroom and into the parish.

A large portion of this study has been directed toward sorting out the historiographic and biographical confusion over Ralph Ardent. In the past, scholars have described him as an eleventh- or early twelfth-century archdeacon of Poitiers, a twelfth-century master, or the fourteenth-century English Ralph Acton. Modern scholarship on the *Speculum Universale* has shown that he was in fact a twelfth-century master, trained in the Porretan tradition most likely at Paris. His sermons confirm this connection. His
works placed a strong emphasis on moral and practical theology which, I believe, places him in the company of the reformed-minded moralists associated with Bishop Maurice of Sully and Peter the Chanter in Paris.

While a number of biographical facts are still missing, such as the date of his birth and death and the exact location of his preaching ministry, we do know that his other surname “Bello Loco,” which appears in several Speculum manuscripts as well as other contemporary sources, places him in Beaulieu in the diocese of Poitiers. Although there is no direct evidence which links Ralph to Paris, the fact that he did receive the title magister and the fact that he was both a Porretan in his theology and intimately familiar with the works of many Parisian masters suggests that he was probably trained in Paris. At some point he joined the Premonstratensian house Lieu-Dieu in Jard, which is located in the diocese of Poitiers along the Atlantic coast. We know that he was buried in that abbey sometime after it was founded in 1190. Exactly when he joined this order is not known; however, his occasional references to “our order” in the sermons, along with the way in which he clearly favored the active life of regular canons over and against the cloistered life of monks, does suggest that Ralph was a regular canon, perhaps serving in the Premonstratensian abbey of Lieu-Dieu in Jard or in a neighboring church.\footnote{The eleventh-century church of Sainte Radegonde is next to the Abbey. The Abbey of Sainte-Croix de Talmond was also close by.}

We also know that he was involved in regular
dominical preaching to the laity, although at one point he left to serve as a chaplain in the court of Richard I.\textsuperscript{12}

Another important part of this study involved the examination of all the surviving manuscripts and early printed editions of the sermon collection. The fourteenth- and fifteenth-century English manuscripts are either anonymous or mistakenly identify the author as Ralph Acton. The earliest and, apparently, only surviving French manuscript, though anonymous, strengthens the conclusion that Ralph was associated with the diocese of Poitiers. One hopes that out of the mass of anonymous manuscripts which still exist in many French libraries, more copies of Ralph’s sermons will be identified. Nevertheless, the lack of early French manuscripts does suggest that the popularity of Ralph’s sermons waned considerably after he died. Only in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries did his sermons reappear in England, although it is not clear why or how these sermons found their way into England at this time. It could be that the sermons were attractive to Lollards in England.\textsuperscript{13} It could also be true that his sermons initially found their way into England with the Premonstratensians.

In the sixteenth century, what appealed to Claude Frémy, the early printer of

\textsuperscript{12} It is worth noting that Richard had an important fortification in Talmont-St. Hilaire which was only a couple of miles northeast of the abbey in Jard. Originally the château at Talmont was constructed by William V, duke of Aquitaine. See Pascale Gadé, \textit{Talmont: une forteresse de Richard Cœur-de-Lion}, (Le Château-d’Olonne: D’Orbestier Editions, 1997).

\textsuperscript{13} Thomas, Duke of Exeter, owned Cambridge, Peterhouse 104. Thomas was the son of John of Gaunt (d.1397) the famous protector of John Wycliff.
these sermons, was that Ralph represented a "true father in religious piety and holiness." It was the antiquity of Ralph, the fact that he was deeply scriptural and patristic in his preaching that attracted Frémy. One can only presume that these same characteristics appealed to readers in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as well. From the study of the manuscripts and early printed editions, one can infer that his sermons were read for devotional reading; but several of the manuscripts do show evidence that the collection was used as source material for the preparation of sermons. To the extent that Ralph used Gregory the Great as his model for preaching, one can understand their appeal to later generations of preachers.

The study of the sermon book itself—its function, the audience, style and structure of the collection—helps us to understand better the way in which early model sermon collections were used. Most scholars of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century preaching argue that the structure and style of scholastic sermons were important tools of the preaching of the friars. This dissertation supports that view for the late twelfth century as well. However

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14 Claude Frémy, D. Radulphi Ardetis Pictavi, Doctoris Theologi Perantiqui illustris (Paris, 1567), reprinted in PL, 155, col. 1300: “Quas ut compertum habui multorum piorum hominum ac doctorum calculis comprobati, multumque utilitatis reipublicae Christianae affrre, eo quod praeter singularem doctrinam, etiam veterum Patrum in religione pietatem ac sanctitatem redoleant; omnem laborem rursus adhibui in transcribendis ejusdem homilis, ut vocant, de sanctis.”

since most of the preaching we have from this period is addressed to clerical
and educated audiences, the preaching of Ralph Ardent offers an important
witness to the early use of scholastic forms to preach to the laity. Ralph’s
sermon book is the largest model collection of popular sermons we have
from this period. We learn from the Prologue to the collection that Ralph
wrote his sermons at the request of certain associates. The sermons were
arranged liturgically and were designed to educate the “simple” in the
doctrines of the Christian faith and morals. The immediate audience of the
sermons was the clergy; they were responsible for teaching the laity. The
many references to clerical reform and doctrine only make sense if they were
included to educate those clergy who may not have had advanced theological
training. The sermons therefore functioned at one level as a medium for the
diffusion of Parisian theology to the clergy. But this function was secondary.
As he wrote these sermons, the ultimate audience Ralph had in mind was
clearly the laity.

In order to deliver his message, Ralph Ardent used sources such as the
sermons of Gregory the Great and Augustine combined with many structural
and stylistic devices he would have learned in the schools. Ralph structured
his sermons around the lectionary reading for the day. He used scholastic
divisions in order to outline and craft his sermons. Sometimes those
divisions were based on a point-by-point exposition of the reading; at other
times, he used the "senses" of scripture to outline his sermons. Ralph drew from a variety of sources to illustrate and prove his points. His exempla, similitudes and authorities came from biblical, patristic, pagan and contemporary sources. He spoke about kings, princes, merchants and farmers. He dealt with problems facing churches and monasteries. He regularly called the clergy to reform themselves and to follow the example of Christ and the Apostles. He outlined typical vices facing the laity of his day and called them to follow the vita apostolica.

Ralph Ardent's sermons do indeed mirror the society in which he lived. But his sermons were also a mirror of the Christian faith. What we learn about model sermon collections from this period is that while these sermons do indeed reflect a certain social or cultural milieu, it is also important to appreciate the underlying thought-world out of which these sermons were preached. Model sermon collections from this period are often timeless. The examples and illustrations used in these sermons are rarely specific. They might change periodically to reflect the contemporary world, but fundamentally the sermon is designed to explain the often timeless truths of the Christian faith. Some of these truths will be the same in any century: that clergy should be "fishers of men," that kings should be just, that merchants should be fair, that people should not commit adultery, steal or murder. The thought-world underlying all this preaching was the world of
the Bible. Preachers moved with ease from the biblical world of kings, merchants, farmers, the rich and the poor to the feudal, commercial and agrarian world of the late twelfth century. As D'Avray remarks about the friars, the way in which preachers used their stories and similitudes reflects a certain *mentalité* that was deeply rooted in these preachers' passion for the Bible.\(^{16}\) This is why sermons do not contain the same degree of controversy that one often finds in scholastic *summas*. The popular sermons from this period were not meant to draw listeners into debate. They were fundamentally conservative in nature. As Alain of Lille wrote, the purpose of preaching was "the forming of men."\(^{17}\) What makes these collections so useful (and confusing to modern scholars trying to date them!) is that at one level, the best model sermon collection stands alone, apart from the immediate context or environment in which the sermons were preached.

While the sermons of Ralph Ardent need to be appreciated in their own right and in their own context, they may also be viewed as precursors of mendicant sermons of the thirteenth century. The structure of Ralph's sermons foreshadowed those sermons preached by the friars. Friars who were fortunate enough to be selected to study in Paris learned this preaching


\(^{17}\) Alain of Lille, *Summa de arte praedicatoria*, ch. 1, *PL* 210 col. 111C: "praedicatio est manifesta et publica instructio morum et fidei, informationi hominum deserviens."
method from scholastic masters. Their sermons were composed around a scriptural theme taken from the Gospel for the Sunday Mass and were outlined according to the contemporary rhetorical developments of the early *artes praedicandi.*

Ralph Ardent's sermons were also similar to those of the mendicants in content. Like the preaching of the friars, Ralph's sermons focused on scripture, the patristic tradition, faith, morals and elementary doctrine. He always explained weighty theological doctrines with pastoral simplicity using the basic structure of the Ten Commandments and the Creed. In his sermons on heresy, one can see pastoral concern over the powerful and effective influence of "false teachers" who plagued congregations at the turn of the century and threatened to seduce the faithful away from orthodox teaching. Ralph sought to correct and strengthen the churches by instructing the faithful in basic doctrine, by showing them the difference between true and false teachers, and most importantly how to detect them. Ralph warned his listeners that appearances could be deceiving. In his view, the Christian life should not only appear to follow the *vita apostolica,* but also had to be motivated by the right reasons. Ralph believed that heretics were ultimately motivated by pride. They simulated true religion, but internally they were disreputable and deceitful. Scholars who have studied the history of popular

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heresy in the Middle Ages argue that the orthodox appeal to proper morality, in the long run, did not work.\textsuperscript{19} The laity of this period were also looking for instruction as well as examples of the ideal Christian community. What was needed was the coupling of the \textit{vita apostolica} with an intense doctrinal campaign against heretical beliefs. Popular preachers such as Ralph Ardent and others who were trained in theological schools began to meet this growing need.

Ralph Ardent was also concerned with proper Christian behavior. Orthopraxis was as important as orthodoxy. Penance therefore was an important theme in the sermons of Ralph Ardent, and he drew on well-established images such as the penitential life of Mary Magdalen in order to motivate congregations to regular confession. Ralph also found new ways to think about the meaning of penance. He argued that penance was a form of exorcism whereby an individual could be cleansed and restored to health through regular contrition, confession and satisfaction. These concerns—the threat of popular heresy and the desire to see people participate in the penitential life—were at the heart of Pope Innocent III's agenda in calling the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.

The Friars became the quintessential models of \textit{ministerium praedicationis} in the middle ages and the arm of clerical and lay reform in the

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{19} See Malcolm Lambert, \textit{Medieval Heresy}, 85-87.
\end{footnotesize}
thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They lived an intense form of the *vita apostolica* and maintained a strong commitment to Catholic orthodoxy. But as this dissertation has shown, these ideals were not created in a vacuum. The sermons of Ralph Ardent, in both form and content, were precursors to the preaching missions and the sermons used by the thirteenth-century Friars.

This study has introduced Ralph Ardent and his sermons as an important example of twelfth-century popular preaching. But there is much work left to be done. For one thing, a modern edition of this collection is absolutely necessary if scholars want to learn more about the sources Ralph used in his preaching. Additional research into the subject matter of these sermons will also provide useful information regarding social, cultural and religious concerns of the late twelfth century. For example, one might study the way in which preachers utilized saints' lives in their preaching to model holiness for the laity. We have already seen elements of this in the way Ralph used the life of Mary Magdalen to teach about penance. So important is this connection between sermons and saints' lives that Frémy included brief *vitae* when he printed Ralph's *de Sanctis* sermons.

Moreover, it would be helpful to examine these sermons in light of other Poitivan sources such as the Cartulary of the Abbey of Sainte-Croix de Talmond (1050-1250).\(^{20}\) This Benedictine monastery, located on the West

\(^{20}\) Louis de la Boutetière, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Talmond.* (Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, 36, Poitiers, 1872).
Coast of France near the abbey in Jard, offers a glimpse into the history, economy and thought-world of the Vendée (the Atlantic coast of Poitou) at the turn of the twelfth century. Regional studies might help to illuminate more clearly the social context of these sermons.

The magnitude of this sermon collection along with general confusion about the author have kept scholars from using these sermon more fully. This study will pave the way for a greater appreciation and study of Ralph's sermons both as precursors to the preaching of the friars and, in and of themselves, as representatives of the social, intellectual and religious milieu of the late twelfth century.
APPENDIX A

On the Dedication of a Church:
Three Sermons from Oxford, Lincoln College MS 116

(A working edition)

Six of the surviving eight manuscripts contain three sermons that were not included in Frémy's sixteenth-century printed edition—the edition used by Migne. All three sermons are for the dedication of a church. In addition to these three sermons, there is also a preface to this collection, was not included in the printed editions, which was edited in part by George Wolf.\(^1\) The manuscripts which contain these sermons are listed below. The folio numbers indicated where these sermons are located in the codex.

C = Cambridge, Peterhouse College lat. ms. 104 fol. 206ra - 210ra
M = Manchester, John Rylands Library lat. ms. 367 ff. 193va - 197va
O = Oxford, Lincoln College lat. ms. 116 ff. 251vb - 257ra
O\(^2\) = Oxford, Lincoln College lat. ms. 112 ff. 141rb - 144ra
S = Salisbury, Cathedral Library ms. 181 ff. 114ra-117va
P = Paris, St. Genevieve ms. 2786 ff. 100v

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These three sermons clearly belonged to this larger collection. The only two manuscripts that did not contain the sermons were those that were mutilated at the point where the sermons would be found. The Paris manuscript was also severely mutilated and only contained one complete dedication sermon. The condition of the manuscript, even though it is the earliest witness, makes it impossible to use as the base text.

In creating this edition, I have looked at all the manuscripts in situ as well as microfilm copies. In editing the manuscripts for these sermons, I have adhered to the following principles. I have followed the orthography of Lincoln College 116. This means that the single vowel e is always used instead of the diphthongs æ or œ and c is almost always interchanged for t. The distinctions between u/v and i/j have been retained. I capitalize proper nouns, and the opening word of a sentence. Angle brackets <...> indicate editorial additions and square brackets [...] indicate words that should be deleted. Scriptural quotations are italicized here. In the manuscript they are underlined. I have retained the scriptural quotations as they appear in the manuscript.

This appendix represents a work in progress. Words in bold indicate questions I still have about the proper transcription.

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2 The scribe was not always consistent in his use of c and t.
In dedicatione ecclesiae

(O 251vb) Apocalipis: *Ego Iohannes vidi civitatem sanctam Hierusalem novam descendentem de celo, a Deo paratam, tanquam sponsam ornatam viro suo etc.*


Primum igitur civitas celestis a Iohanne describitur, cum dicit: *Ego Iohannes vidi civitatem etc.* Non est estimandum, fratres mei, iuxta iudeorum opinionem, quamdam civitatis constructio (O 252ra) nem auream et gemmatam de celo in fine descensuram, et in ea sanctos in omni felicitate permansuros. Licet enim Iohannes, iuxta visionem sibi a Deo demonstratam, describat muros, describat portas, describat plateas, describat fluumium interfluentem et lignum vite ex utraque parte fluminis afferens fructus xii

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3 Apoc. 21.1ff.

4 karissimi, M

5 eo, O²

6 dicitur ante. erit, M, O²

7 Apoc. 21.2; sanctam ierusalem add., M.

8 describat muros om. C, S, M, O²
per singulos menses, tamen haec omnia ad misticum\(^9\) sunt referenda. Nam, ut idem Johannes dicit, templum non est in illa \(summa\(^{10}\) civitate, ideo quod templum illius Deus est et Agnus. Et si civitas illa non eget templo, non eget sole neque luna, ut idem Johannes dicit, \textit{nam claritas Dei illuminat eam et lucerna eius est Agnus}. Ergo multo minus eget muro ubi nullus timor est; nec portis ubi nulla hostilis incursio est; nec plateis ubi nulla pervagacio est; nec flumine ubi nulla sitis est\(^{11}\); nec fructu ubi nulla fames est; nec temporalibus diviciis ubi aurum et\(^{12}\) argentum et lapis preciosus tanquam stercus est; \textit{nec domiciliis tectorum} ubi nulla intemperies est\(^{13}\). Sed per muros et situm civitatis firmitas\(^{14}\), per portas securitas, per plateas speciositas, per aquam et fructum satietas, per aurum sapientia, per lapides preciosos virtutum varietas, per mansiones diverse beatitudinis\(^{15}\) retributiones designantur.

\begin{itemize}
\item \(misticum\) sensum, \textit{M}, \textit{O}\(^2\)
\item \(summa\) \textit{om.} \textit{M.}
\item est sitis, \textit{M.}
\item \(et\) \textit{om} \textit{O}\(^2\)
\item est \textit{om} \textit{O}\(^2\)
\item \textit{firma} \textit{ante.} civitatis, \textit{O}\(^2\)
\item fortitude \textit{O}\(^3\)
\end{itemize}

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Commendat igitur Ioannes hic civitatem celestem a sex rebus: a firmitate, a tranquillitate, a novitate, ab origine, ab auctore, a sponso sine principe.

Porro a firmitate eam commendat cum vocat eam sanctam, id est sanctitam et confirmatam. A Deo enim erunt cives illius beate civitatis in virtute tam iusticie quam nature confirmati, quod nullo modo, etiam si persecutores habere possent, a sua firmitate poterunt infirmari; iuxta illud: 

*Qui confidunt in Domino sicut mons Syon, non commovebitur in eternum qui habitat in Hierusalem.*

Ad quam firmitatem illi soli sunt perventuri, qui hic in solo Deo confidunt, qui soli Deo adherent, dicentes cum propheta: 

*Michi autem adherere Deo bonum est,* ponere in Domino Deo *spem meam.*

A tranquillitate eam commendat cum vocat eam Hierusalem.

Hierusalem quippe visio pacis interpretatur. Erit namque ibi firma et

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16 a tranquillitate *om. O²*

17 A *om. O²*

18 Dei *O²*

19 erunt *om. M; erit O²*

20 firmitate sua, M.

21 Psalm 124.1-2

22 est] et *add. M.*

23 Psalm 72.28

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ordinata pax inter animam et spiritum, inter unumquemque et proximum suum, inter hominem (O 252rb) et Deum infestatoribus pacis procul in inferno, relegatis et religatis. In Dei enim qui vera pax est presenti visione, nichil inquietum, nichil dissonum poterit esse. Tunc implebitur quod scriptum est: *Et factus est in pace locus eius.* Ad cuius pacis perfectionem, si volumus pervenire, discamus hic in nobismet ipsis fratres tranquilli esse, et *cum omnibus hominibus quod ex nobis est pacem habere;* Beati enim pacifice quoniam filii Dei vocabuntur.

A novitate eam commendat cum vocat eam novam, id est innovatam a vetustate, videlicet peccati ad novitatem puritatis; a vetustate corruptionis ad novitatem incorruptionis, a vetustate mortalitatis ad novitatem immortalitatis. Ad quam nimirum novitatem illi soli pervenire merentur qui, vetus fermentum hic abicientes, de die in diem renovantur et cotidie magis ac magis emendantur et emundantur. Talibus enim illud Psalmiste promittitur: *Renovabitur ut aquile iuventus tua...*  

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24 relegatis et om. O
25 Psalm 75.2
26 perfectionem pacis, M.
27 Rom. 12.18
28 Matt. 5.9
29 abicientes ante. hic S
30 Ps. 102.5
Ab origine eam commendat cum subdit: *descendentem de celo*.31 Quod enim nos homines cum angelis una celestis civitas efficitur, nihil ex nobis est32 sed totum desursum est, descendens a Patre luminum.33 Ad illam quippe civitatem in prima origine tam nos quam angeli creati sumus, ad illam etiam34 post peccatum per Christi gloriam nos homines recreati sumus. Itaque, quod cives celi, quod filii Dei efficitur, non ex carne et sanguine, sed ex Deo totum est. Qui, ut idem Ihoannes dicit,35 *dedit potestatem hominibus filios Dei fieri, hiis qui credunt in nomine eius, qui non ex sanguinibus neque ex voluntate carnis neque ex voluntate viri, sed ex Deo nati sunt*.36 Ad quam profecto civilitatis et adoptionis gratiam illi soli perveniunt, qui in Christum hic firmiter credunt; et nihil viribus nihil meritis suis, sed totum bonum, quod habent Deo attribuunt.

Ab auctore eam commendat cum subdit: *a Deo paratam*,37 acsi aperte dicit: *non est parata ab hominibus*, ut terrene civitates, sed a Deo. Et quam gloriose, fratres mei, est civitas illa parata, que ab omnipotenti Deo non

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31 Apoc. 10.1
32 est *om. C, S, M, O*
33 James 1.17
34 et C, M.
35 ait M
36 John 1.12-13
37 Apoc. 21.2

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solum facta, sed etiam parata est. Et quidem quantum ad ipsam beatitudinem a principio iam parata est, quantum vero ad futuros cives cotidie paratur. Cotidie quippe civitas celestis paratur, dum ei habitatores a Deo parantur. Unde cum Dominus dixisset: *In domo patris mei* (O 252va) *mansiones multe sunt*. *Si quominus dixissem vobis, quia vado parare vobis locum*, tamen postea subdit: *Et si abiero et preparavero vobis locum*. Ita ergo fac, Domine Deus, quia preparasti nobis regnum ab origine mundi, prepara nos regno Dei; preparasti nobis mansiones, prepara mansionibus nos mansores. Tu enim Domine nosti quia nequimus nos preparare, nisi tu nos preparaveris ipse.

A sponso sine rege eam commendat cum subdit: *tanquam sponsam ornatam viro suo*. Porro sponsum et patrem magis quam Dominum vult Dominus se vocari a nobis, quatinus per nomina affectuum doceat nos quantum affectum amoris habeat erga nos, ut ita discamus eum magis amare quam timere. Est ergo civitas celestis tanquam *sponsa ornata viro suo*

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38 John 14.2
39 postea dicit et subdit, S
40 John 14.3
41 Domine om. M
42 nosti ante. Domine, O²
43 nos ante. tu, O²
44 sive] a, M, O²
Domino nostro Ihesu Christo, tanquam quodam ornamento precioso. Si enim bonus sponsus sponse ornatum est, si bonus rex civitatis decus est, si bonus dominus populi sui gloria est, quanto magis celestis sponsus ecclesie sponse sue ornatum est; et Rex regum et Dominus dominantium civitatis et populi sui beatificati decus et gloria perhennis est. Vel certe civitas celestis est tanquam sponsa ornata viro suo, id est ornata ad amorem viri sui, ut viro dativi casus intelligatur. Solent quippe sponsae, ut placeant viris suis, semet exornare ornamenstis, que noverunt illis plus placere. Sic et sancte fidelium anime, ut superno sponsae magis mereantur placere, per totum vitae presentis tempus semet student exornare bonis moribus, virtutibus bonisque operibus, et illis precipue que celestis sponsae noverunt plus placere. Sole profecto anime huiusmodi merentur in thalamum eternae beatitudinis introduci.

Secundo, qui in celesti civitate sunt habitaturi demonstrat Iohannes cum subdit: Et audivi vocem magnam de throno dicentem: ecce

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45 Apoc. 21.2

46 sponsus ante bonus, M

47 si bonus rex civitatis decus est, si bonus dominus populi sui gloria est, quanto magis celestis sponsus ecclesie sponse sue ornatum est om. O²

48 tanquam viro M

49 tempus ante. vite, O²
tabernaculum Dei cum hominibus et habitabit cum illis.\textsuperscript{50} Porro vocem, quam Iohannes de throno audivit\textsuperscript{51}, cotidie audimus a\textsuperscript{52} sanctis, qui sunt thronus et sedes Dei, quid enim aliud locuntur sancti in sacris scripturis, quam domini cum electis suis habituri? Ceterum, cum tabernaculum sit militantium,\textsuperscript{53} quare illam beatam civitatem, que omnifariam habet pacem, tabernaculum vocat? Ob triplicem rationem.

Prima est ut contra illos qui resurrectionem corporum non (O 252vb) credunt, ostendat tabernaculum corporis uniuscuiusque fidelis, in quo Deo militavit, ad eternam beatitudinem resuscitandum.

Secunda est ut ad meritum per quod ad illam beatam civitatem perveniendum est, nos invitet cum dicit: Ecce, tabernaculum Dei cum hominibus.\textsuperscript{54} Acsi aperte dicit: Ecce, in evidenti est quod ecclesia et unaqueque fidelis persona, que fuit Dei tabernaculum in terris, fit decetero perhennis et tranquilla mansio eiusdem in celis. Propterea, fratres, dum in

\textsuperscript{50} Apoc. 21.3

\textsuperscript{51} audivit ante de throno, O²

\textsuperscript{52} de, O²

\textsuperscript{53} militantium] et laborantium add. C, S, M, O²

\textsuperscript{54} Apoc. 21.3
tabernaculo mortalis corporis sumus, de toto posse nostro Deo militare studeamus, quatinus eterna Dei mansio fieri mereamur.

Tercia causa est triplex usus tabernaculi. In tabernaculo quippe habitamus, pascimus et requiescimus. In illa quoque civitate celesti habitamus cum Deo et Deus nobiscum. Si enim etiam in hac mortali vita Deus cum iustis habitat, ipso dicente: *Ubi duo vel tres congregati sunt in nomine meo, ego sum in medio eorum,* quanto magis in illa beatorum civium numerositate Deus perhenniter habitabit? Et si nunc pascitur in cordibus iustorum, ipso dicente: *Ego sto ad ostium et pulso,* si quis audierit vocem meam et aperuerit mihi, ianuam intrabo et cenabo cum illo et ipse mecum, quanto magis in illa beatorum civium caritate et letitia Deus pascetur cum ipsis et ipsi cum Deo? Hoc est quod Psalmista desiderabat dicens: *Transibo in locum tabernaculi admirabilis usque ad domum Dei, in*

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55 posse ante. toto, O²
56 illo C, S.
57 etiam om. C, S, M, O²
58 Matt. 18.20
59 nunc etiam M, O²
60 pulsans C, S, M, O²
61 ille M, O²
62 Apoc. 3.20
voce exultationis et confessionis sonus epulantis.\textsuperscript{63} Et si etiam nunc Deus requiescit in mundis cordibus\textsuperscript{64} iustorum, dicente scriptura, quia anima\textsuperscript{65} sedes est\textsuperscript{66} Dei, quanto magis in illa beatorum civium mundicia et tranquillitate requiescet cum eis et ipsi cum eo. Et\textsuperscript{67} merito dicatur: Hec requies mea in seculum seculi, hic habitabo quoniam elegi eam. Et habitabit, inquit, \textit{cum illis}.\textsuperscript{68}

Sane h\textit{e}c \textbf{prepositio}\textsuperscript{69} cum quadripartitam hic designat unionem.

Habitabit inquit\textsuperscript{70} Deus in illa \textit{beatata} civitate\textsuperscript{71} cum electis suis cum unione eiusdem moris, cum unione eiusdem voluntatis, cum unione eiusdem dilectionis, cum unione eiusdem beatitudinis. Cum unione eiusdem moris, quia erunt omnes sancti similes Dei iusti, sicut ipse iustus est, mundi sicut (O 253 ra) ipse mundus est, \textit{gloriosi} sicut ipse gloriosus est, et similiter in ceteris.

Unde et scriptum est: \textit{Deus in loco sancto suo, Deus qui habitare facit unius}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{63} Psalm 41.5

\textsuperscript{64} cordibus \textit{ante.} mundis, O\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{65} anima \textit{om.} M.

\textsuperscript{66} sedes est] est sedes C, S, M, O\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{67} Ut C, S, M, O\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{68} Psalm 131.14

\textsuperscript{69} propositio?

\textsuperscript{70} quippe S, M, O\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{71} civitate \textit{ante.} beatata M.
\end{flushright}
moris in domo. Cum unione eiusdem voluntatis, quia hic erit coniuncta sanctorum voluntas divine. Quod ab ea nullatenus poterunt dissonare.

Unde et secundum aliam transferacionem scriptum est: Deus in loco sancto suo, Deus qui habitat facit unanimes in domo. Cum unione eiusdem dilectionis quoniam tantus erit inter eos ardor caritatis, quod quasi unum cor et anima una videantur effecti. Si enim de discipulis adhuc mortalibus potuit veraciter dici: Multitudinis credentium erat cor unum et anima una, quanto magis de beatis illius summe civitatis civibus poterit veraciter dici. Cum unione eiusdem beatitudinis, quoniam quamuis sint iuxta meritorum diversitatem diversa beatitudinis premia, tamen omnia communia faciet voluntas una. Unde et scriptum est: Hierusalem que edificabitur ut civitas cuius participatio eius in idipsum. Et quid gloriosius,
fratres, quid desiderabilius quam cum presentia divine maiestatis\textsuperscript{82} perhenniter habitare, quam illius desiderabiliem faciem, in qua\textsuperscript{83} angeli desiderant conspicere, facie ad faciem videre. Quantacunque enim sit flamma caritatis in hac vita, nulla est in\textsuperscript{84} respectu fervoris caritatis, que erit in futura, unde propheta: \textit{Dei cuius ignis est in Syon et caminus in Hierusalem}.\textsuperscript{85} Hic ignis aliquantulus in futuro caminus. Sicut enim ardor inflammant ferrum in tantum\textsuperscript{86}, ut iam non\textsuperscript{87} ferrum set tantum\textsuperscript{88} ignis videatur, sic ardor divinie presentie adeo sanctos inflammabit, ut in eis iam\textsuperscript{89} nichil terrenum\textsuperscript{90} vel\textsuperscript{91} humanum set totum videatur divinum. \textit{Et ipsi}, inquit, \textit{populus eius erunt},\textsuperscript{92} id est non ut modo per contemptum ab eo recedentes, sed ei per obedientiam, per dilectionem, per frutionem

\textsuperscript{82} mages-tatis C, S

\textsuperscript{83} quam C, S, M, O\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{84} nulla est in conspectu et, M.

\textsuperscript{85} Isa. 31.9

\textsuperscript{86} in tantum om. M.

\textsuperscript{87} non \textit{ante} iam C, O\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{88} totum M, O\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{89} iam om. M.

\textsuperscript{90} terrenum \textit{ante} nichil, S.

\textsuperscript{91} vel om. S

\textsuperscript{92} Apoc. 21.3

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perhenniter adherentes. *Et ipse Deus cum eis erit eorum Deus,*\(^93\) id est non ut modo tribulationibus et temptacionibus eos reliquens, set potius ab omni molestia eos salvans, gloria immortalitatis eos induens, divicias caritatis et claritatis illis manifestans.

Tercio quod in illa celesti civitate nullum malum futurum sit ostendit cum subdit: *Et absterget Deus omnem lacrimam ab oculis eorum,*\(^94\) videlicet tam\(^95\) ab oculis mentis quam ab oculis corporis. Sicut enim lacrime perturbant (O 253rb) aciem oculorum carnis, ita timor, tristitia, ira, invidia, ceteraque perturbaciones sive passiones interiores perturbant oculos mentis. Uterque ergo oculos a lacrimis suis Deus absterget. Sed nunquid ad horam, nequaquam, sed in eterno. Nam sequitur: *Et mors ultra non erit, neque luctus, neque clamor, neque dolor.*\(^96\) Bonus agricola cum vult malam plantam penitus auferre, ne decetero possit repululare, stirpem radicitus evellit. Ita faciet Dominus, mortem que est radix et origo omnium penarum penitus evacuabit; mortem scilicet\(^97\) tam anime quam corporis. Porro mors anime peccatum est, ex quo subsecuta est mors corporis cum omnibus

\(^93\) Apoc. 21.3

\(^94\) Apoc. 21.4

\(^95\) tam om. O²

\(^96\) Apoc. 21.4

\(^97\) scilicet ante mortem, M
passionibus suis tam *preambulis* quam comitantibus quam sequentibus. Quia ergo ab illa summa civitate relegabitur penitus mors peccati, relegabitur pariter et mors corporis cum omnibus ceteris penis; *non enim erit ibi luctus, non clamor, non gemitus, nec cetera huiusmodi, que indicia sunt doloris.*

Quare? Quia nec etiam erit ibi dolor. Cessante quippe causa, cessabit et effectus. Non enim erunt ibi lesiones, non infirmitates, non iniurie, non defectus, non indigencie non incommoditates, non alique corporis aut anime passiones, sed perhennis vita, perhennse gaudium, perhennis sanitas, perhennis iuventus, perhennis abundancia, perhennis dulcedo, perhennis gloria. Et quare predicta mala ibi non erunt? Subdit causam *Quae prima abierunt.*

Hoc est quod Dominus in evangelio dicit: *Beati qui nunc fletis quia consolabuntur.* Et econtrario, *Ve vobis qui nunc ridetis, quia plorabitis.* Hinc diviti purpurato ardentì in gehenna dicitur: *Recordare quia recepisti bona in vita tua, nunc autem hic consolatur tu vero*

98 Apoc. 21.4
99 et M.
100 habundancia C, S, M, O²
101 Apoc. 21.4
102 Luke 6.21
103 John 16.20
104 hic ante. autem, O²
cruciariis. Quia ergo, fratres mei, necesse est nos aut in presenti aut in futura vita flere et mala nostra recipere, fleamus hic temporali
er, ne fleamus eternaliter, affligamus nos temporali
er, ne affligamur eternaliter.

Quarto quod in illa beata civitate sit omne bonum futurum,
demonstratur cum subiungitur: *Et dixit qui sedebat in throno, cuius scilicet
dicere est facere, ecce nova facio omnia.* Que omnia faciet Dominus nova?
Elementa, tempus, diem, homines, angelos, semetipsum. Et quidem nova
faciet Dominus elementa, novitate renovacionis. Novum faciet tem (O 253va) pus novitate temperi
eriei perhennis quia viriditatis. Novum faciet diem
novitate perhennis et continue claritatis. Novos faciet homines novitate
glorioso resurrectionis. Novos faciet angelorum ordines novitate
restauracionis. Novum faciet seipsum novitate quasi cuiusdam identitatis.
Qui enim in hac vita videtur nunc nobis iratus, nunc letus, nunc dormire,
nunc exurgere, tunc se nobis exhibebit semper letum, semper preclarum,
semper festiuum, si tamen in hac vita eum vere diligamus, si mandatis eius

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105 Luke 16.25
106 quia O²
107 corporaliter, O²
108 Apoc. 21.5
109 dies O²
110 vita in marg. S. Later hand; om. O²
111 se om. M.
obtemperemus, si omnia terrena propter eum contemnemus, si operibus misericordie insistamus, si vicia in nobis mortificantes de die in diem in virtutibus renovamur, si toto desiderio ad eum tendamus. Quod ipse prestare dignetur, qui in trinitate perfecta vivit et reguat Deus per omnia secula seculorum. <Amen>.\textsuperscript{114}

In dedicatione ecclesie

Evangelium Secundum Lucam: \textit{In illo tempore dixit Ihesus discipulis suis, non est arbor bona que facit fructus malos, neque arbor mala faciens fructum bonum et reliqua}\textsuperscript{115}

Quia huius materialis ecclesie, que spiritualis et celestis significativa est hodie fratres karissimi celebratis dedicacionem, merito in ea hodie prelibata sancti evangelii lectio recitatur, que demonstrat nobis de qualibus arboribus et super quod fundamentum spiritualis et celestis ecclesia construatur. Quod\textsuperscript{116} etiam per ea ligna est nobis prefiguratum, de quibus tabernaculum in deserto\textsuperscript{117} templum Ierosolimus fuit edificatum, utrumque enim sancte et

\textsuperscript{112} contemnamus C, S, M, O\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{113} Deus om O\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{114} Amen C; Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen om. M.

\textsuperscript{115} Lk. 6.43-49

\textsuperscript{116} Cum C, S; Dum M, O\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{117} deserto\textit{ et add. C, S, M, O\textsuperscript{2}}
spiritualis ecclesie fuguram gessit. Sed tabernaculum quod<sup>118</sup> a solis iudeis constructum est, designavit tantum primitivam ecclesiam iudeorum, templum vero quod tam a gentilibus quam a iudeis<sup>119</sup> edificatum est, universalem ecclesiam<sup>120</sup> tam de iudeis quam de gentibus congregatam. Porro utrumque et tabernaculum et templum de lignis optimis, imputrescibilibus, fortibus, infatigabilibus, odoriferis et dolatis est constructum. Sic et spiritualis et celestis ecclesia cotidie constructur ex hominibus optimis per virtutem<sup>121</sup> bonamque operationem, imputrescibilibus per castitatem, fortibus per constanciam, infatigabilibus per patientie longaminitatem, odoriferis per bonam opinionem<sup>122</sup>, dolatis per discipline examinacionem.

Ostendit igitur Dominus quatuor hac in lectione. Primo per que bonus et malus homo<sup>123</sup> possint discerni.<sup>124</sup> Tercio cui sit similis bonus homo. Quarto cui sit similis malus homo.

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<sup>118</sup> quia C, S, M, O<sup>2</sup>

<sup>119</sup> tam] a iudeis quam a gentilibus P.

<sup>120</sup> primitivam ecclesiam] iudeorum, templum vero quod tam a gentilibus quam a iudeis edificatum est, universalem ecclesiam <i>om.</i> C, S, M, O<sup>2</sup>

<sup>121</sup> virtutem <i>om.</i> P.

<sup>122</sup> opinionem <i>ante.</i> bonam, O<sup>2</sup>

<sup>123</sup> homo <i>ante.</i> bonus et malus S; homo <i>om.</i> O<sup>2</sup>

<sup>124</sup> discerni.] Secundo per que non possunt discerni <i>add.</i> C, S, M, P, O<sup>2</sup>
Primum ergo per que bonus et malus homo queant discerni, ostendit cum dicit:\textsuperscript{126} Non est arbor bona que facit fructus malos neque arbor mala faciens fructum bonum.\textsuperscript{127} Methaforice loquitur Dominus, fratres mei,\textsuperscript{128} vocans bonam arorem hominem bonum et malam arorem hominem malum. Bonos vero fructus bona opera\textsuperscript{129} et malos fructus\textsuperscript{130} mala opera.\textsuperscript{131} Qui autem sint boni\textsuperscript{132} fructus, Apostolus ad Galathas ostendit: manifesta, inquit, sunt opera carnis, que sunt fornicatio, immunditia, luxuria, avaricia, que est idolorum servitus, veneficia, inimicitiae, contensiones, emulationes, ire, rixe, dissensiones, hereses, invidie, homicidia, ebrietates, commesationes et hiis similia que predico vobis sicut predixi. Quoniam qui talia agunt regnum Dei non consequentur.\textsuperscript{134}

\textsuperscript{125} bonus] homo add. C, S, M, O

\textsuperscript{126} Primum ergo per que bonus et malus homo queant discerni, ostendit cum dicit om. P; ait igitur P.

\textsuperscript{127} Luke 6.43; facit fructus malos neque arbor mala faciens fructum bonum om. P.

\textsuperscript{128} fratres mei ante. loquitur Dominus, O

\textsuperscript{129} opera ante. bona P.

\textsuperscript{130} malos fructus om. P.

\textsuperscript{131} opera ante. mala P.

\textsuperscript{132} mali S, M, O

\textsuperscript{133} quote ends here P

\textsuperscript{134} Gal 5.19-21

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ostendit, subdens *Fructus autem Spiritus est gaudium*\textsuperscript{135} *caritas, patientia*\textsuperscript{136} longaminitas mansuetudo, fides, modestia, continentia, castitas;\textsuperscript{137} hii sunt enim fructus bone arboris quos Deo sacrificamus et quibus eum delectamus in templo cordis nostri. Quod bene significatur per precipuos et exquisitos fructus bonarum arborum, que Deo in templo offerebantur, ut fructus\textsuperscript{138} uve, olive, mirre, thuris, ceterorumque aromatum. *Quid enim fructus uve, nisi fructus fervide caritatis; quid fructus olive, nisi fructus misericordie; quid mirra, nisi carnis mortificationem; et quid thus, nisi orationis devocionem; et quid aromata, nisi bonam virtutum opinionem designant? Homo ergo existens bonus non potest facere opera mala, id est criminalia, nam venialia potest. Nec homo existens malus potest facere bona, id est vite eteme digna; potest quidem simulare, sed non facere. Si enim opera vere bona sunt, ex fonte vere caritatis processerunt, quam non habet malus. Unde et subdit: *Unaqueque arbor ex fructu suo cognoscitur.*\textsuperscript{140} Sicut a sapore fructus dinoscitur,\textsuperscript{141} cuius humoris sit truncus et radix arboris, ita ex operibus

\textsuperscript{135} quote ends here P.

\textsuperscript{136} pax *add. ante. patientia C, S, M, O*\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{137} Gal 5.22

\textsuperscript{138} fructus *om. O*\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{139} et *om. C, S, M, O*\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{140} Luke 6.44

\textsuperscript{141} read dignoscitur

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exterioribus aperte bonis vel aperte malos cognoscitur cuius voluntatis sit cor hominis. Nam ex simulatis usque adeo (O 254ra) non potest discerni, neque enim inquit, de spinis colligunt ficus, neque de rubo vindemiant uva: id est de peccatoribus, malitia et vitis spinosis non possunt procedere ficus dulcedinis et benignitatis, nec uva fervide caritatis. Bonus, inquit, homo de bono thesauro cordis sui profert bonum et malus homo de malo thesauro profert malum. Sane bonus thesaurus est bonum propositum cordis et malus thesaurus malum propositum cordis. Ex bono ergo proposito et intencione cordis mala. Ex abundancia enim om. M. et malus thesarus malum propositum cordis om. M.

igitur C, S

cordis| producit homo bona opera, et ex malo proposito et intencione cordis add. C, M, S; M adds an additional mala before the intencione, S adds an additional mala after cordis; cordis| producit homo bona opera, et ex malo proposito et intencione cordis producit homo mala opera, O²

habundancia C, M.

enim om. O²

habundancia C, M
operatur¹⁵³, oculus videt, auris audit, pes graditur. Sed unum posuit pro omnibus. Est autem generale proverbium unum non semper sed frequenter. De his enim que maxime in cordibus nostris versantur frequenter loqui solemus. Dictum est autem ad similitudinem uasis quod liquorem et ordorem de quo plenum est eructat et supereffundit. Hypocrite tamen non de interioris malicie sue abundancia,¹⁵⁴ sed potius de bonitate, quam interius non habent, locuntur et aliquid exterius operantur. Quorum simulacio non per unum¹⁵⁵ opus medium, nec¹⁵⁶ per aliquos bonos sermones deprehendi potest, sed per assiduam operationem et locucionem. Quia simulator, etsi quedam, non potest omnia simulare, et quod est simulatum non est¹⁵⁷ firmum¹⁵⁸, nec color mutuatus. Et quia simulacio laccisita denudatur. Qui ergo simulatorem vult deprehendere, inquirat non quid palam sed quid clam faciat vel dicat, nec quid aliquando sed quid semper vel frequenter. Propterea si mores simulatoris inspicias attente¹⁵⁹ continueque, incipiet tibi paulatim

¹⁵³ operatur om. O²
¹⁵⁴ habundancia C, M
¹⁵⁵ unum] bonus add. C; bonum add. M, S
¹⁵⁶ neque C, M, S, O²
¹⁵⁷ est om. M.
¹⁵⁸ firmum] sicut add. C, M, S, O²
¹⁵⁹ attende, O²

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vilescere. Virum vero bonum, quo\textsuperscript{160} ad\textsuperscript{161} plus observabis tanto magis
eum\textsuperscript{162} miraberis. Potest tamen quod dicitur: \textit{Ex abundancia}\textsuperscript{163} cordis, os
loquitur universaliter intelligi\textsuperscript{164}, quantum ad Dominum, qui etiam bonum
verbum simulate prolatum, malum indicat, quoniam simulacio exterio\textsuperscript{r}\textsuperscript{165}
de interiori malitia procedit. Unde et subdit: \textit{Quid vocastis me Domine, Domine! et non facitis que dicho?}\textsuperscript{166}

Est autem hec pars secunda in qua Dominus ostendit in uno per
cuiusmodi non possint boni a malis dis (O 254 rb) cerni. Acsi aperte dicat:
cum bonorum operum fructus non habeatis, cur de foliis bonorum verborum
non\textsuperscript{167} iactatis? Per huiusmodi\textsuperscript{168} enim bone arbores\textsuperscript{169} non estis. \textit{Quoniam}
invocare et orare Deum, non solum bonorum, sed etiam malorum
commune est.

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{160} quanto M.
\textsuperscript{161} ad \textit{om.} M.
\textsuperscript{162} ei C, M, S, O\textsuperscript{2}; \textit{ei ante} magis M.
\textsuperscript{163} habundancia C, M.
\textsuperscript{164} intelligi \textit{om.} M.
\textsuperscript{165} C, M, S, O\textsuperscript{2} \textit{add} \textit{r}.
\textsuperscript{166} Luke 6.46
\textsuperscript{167} vos S
\textsuperscript{168} huius C, S, O\textsuperscript{2}
\textsuperscript{169} arbores \textit{ante}. bone, O\textsuperscript{2}

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Sunt enim tria genera operum. Unum quod est proprium bonorum, ut dilectio Dei et proximi, benefacere etiam inimicis, observare pacem, concordiam, sapientiam, iustiam ceterasque virtutes. Aliud est quod est proprium malorum, ut vicia et peccata criminalia. Per hunc ergo duoperum genera discernuntur boni a malis et malis a bonis. Unde superius: *Unaqueque arbor de fructu suo cognoscitur.* Tercium vero commune est tam bonorum quam malorum, ut quedam media opera, ut orare, ieiunare, elemosinam dare, luxuriam refrenare et huiusmodi. Haec enim secundum intensionem agentis nomen assumunt: in bene utentibus sunt bona, in male utentibus mala. Itaque fratres, si bone arbores esse volumus, non solum verborum folia, sed etiam bonorum operum fructus facere studeamus. Nam enim scriptum est: *Omnis arbor que non facit fructum bonum excidetur et in ignem mittetur.*

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170 ergo *om.* O2
171 duorum, O2
172 Luke 6.44
173 est *ante* commune M.
174 hec, S, O2
175 utentibus sunt, O2
176 operum *om.* M.
177 Luke 3.9; et in ignem mittetur *om.* C, M.
Tercio demonstrat Dominus cui sit similis bonus homo, cum subdit:

*Omnis qui venit ad me et audit sermones meos et facit eos, ostendam vobis cui sit similis.*

_Similis est homini edificanti domum, qui fodit in altum et posuit fundamentum super petram. Inundacione autem facta illesum est domui illi et non potuit eam movere, fundata enim erat super petram._

Acsi aperte dicat: Bonus homo qui venit ad me fide et audit sermones meos cum devocione et facit eos obedienti execucione est similis sicut prudenti operacione, ita et utilitatis provencione, prudenti architecto. Prudens

_In inquisicione quoque fundamenti tria facit. Se includendo terram fodit, fodiendo eam abicit, abiciendo firme petre fundamentum invenit. In apposicione quoque parietum tria facit. Primo lapides de_
lapicidio cum malleis\textsuperscript{185} se\textsuperscript{186} iungit. Secundo eos cum ferramentis ad regulam quadrat et polit. (O 254 va) Tercio cum tenaci cemento super fundamentum unum lapidem, alii addendo parietes erigit. Quibus tectum consummacionis superimponit.

Mistice redemptor noster Ihesus Christus est\textsuperscript{187} prudens architectus, qui sanctam ecclesiam constructurus primum fundamentum firmum posuit, in cuius posicione tria facit: nam de celis per incarnacionem\textsuperscript{188} se inclinando, ligone predicacionis terrenorum corda commovit, commovendo omnium terrenorum amorem abiecit, abicendo firmum sue humilitatis firmamentum revelavit. Super quod tanquam super firmam petram sancte parietes ecclesie erexit. Primo ad instar architecti primum homines a massa perdidonis malleis cominadonis sequestrando. Secundo eos ad regulam iusticie ferramento correptionis quadrando. Tercio ex eis super sue firmitatis petram cum cemento caritatis alium alii ligans, ecclesie parietes erigendo. Duos parietes iudeorum scilicet et gentilium in se coniungendo et in se angularem lapidem et fine consummacionis\textsuperscript{189} totam ecclesiam perficiendo.

\textsuperscript{185} cum malleis \textit{in marg} S

\textsuperscript{186} se \textit{om. M.}

\textsuperscript{187} est \textit{om. O^2}

\textsuperscript{188} per incarnacionem \textit{om. M.}

\textsuperscript{189} consummacionis] scilicet \textit{add. M}
Christus igitur est ecclesie fundamentum, Christus est lapis angularis et consummacio, quoniam ipse est alpha et omega, principium et finis. Apostoli vero qui primi Christo adheserunt fundamenta etiam pluraliter nuncupantur, iuxta illud: fundamenta eius in montibus sanctis. Qui bene significantur et per bases argenteas super quas tabernaculum in deserto erat erectum, quoniam firmi sunt constancia, candidi mundicia, sonori predicacionis eloquencia; et per quadros lapides super quos erat fundatum templum, quoniam sic sunt firmi quod nulli temptacionibus possunt moveri, nec ante per apertam, nec retro per occultam, nec a dextris per prosperam, nec a sinistris per adversam, nec sursum per desperacionem. Nos quoque fratres, si veri Christiani sumus, super fundamentum Christi et apostolorum fundati sumus, si tamen fidem, doctrinam et mores apostolorum tenemus, si Deo et proximis nostris cemento caritatis vere compaginamur. Unde Apostolus: lam non estis, inquit, hospites et advene sed estis cives apostolorum et prophetarum

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190 Apoc. 22.13
191 Christo ante. primi, S, O
192 fundamenta] inquit add. C, S, M
193 nostris om. S.
194 inquit om. M.
195 estis cives] sanctorum et domestici Dei superedificati super fundamentum add. C, M, S, O
ipso summo (O 254 vb) angulari lapide Ihesu Christo, in quo omnis edificacio constructa crescit in templum sanctum in Domino.\textsuperscript{196} Et Petrus: ad quem inquit, accedentes lapidem vivum ab hominibus reprobatum a Deo autem electum et honorificatum et ipsi tanquam lapides vivi superedificamini in domos spirituales sacerdocium sanctum offerre spirituales hostias acceptabiles Deo per Ihesum Christum propter quod conti
<\textit{n}>et scriptura, ecce ponam in fundamentis Syon lapidem summum angularem electum pretiosum, et omnis qui crediderit in eum non confundetur, vobis igitur honor credentibus non credentibus vero lapis\textsuperscript{197} quem reprobaverunt edificantes hic factus est in caput anguli, lapis offensionis et petra scandalii.\textsuperscript{198}

Moraliter quoque nos\textsuperscript{199}, fratres mei, Christo prudenti architetcto similes sumus, si in corde nostro templum spiritualem ei preparamus. Iuxta illud Pauli: \textit{Templum Dei sanctum est\textsuperscript{200}, quod estis vos.\textsuperscript{201}} Hoc igitur spirituale templum bene fundamus, si nos ad\textsuperscript{202} exemplum Christi per humilitatem inclinamus, si terrenorum amorem de corde nostro fodimus et

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\textsuperscript{196} Gal. 2.19-21

\textsuperscript{197} lapis ante. vero. O\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{198} 1 Pt. 2.4-8

\textsuperscript{199} nos ante quoque M

\textsuperscript{200} sanctum Dei C, O\textsuperscript{2}; est om. C

\textsuperscript{201} 1Cor. 3.17

\textsuperscript{202} per O\textsuperscript{2}
\end{flushright}
abicitus, si fidem humilitatis Christi nobis firmamentum statuimus. Super hoc autem fundamentum bene edificamus, si Christo vere cemento caritatis fortiter\textsuperscript{203} adheremus,\textsuperscript{204} si bone voluntati bonam voluntatem, bono operi bonum opus, bone virtuti bonam virtutem,\textsuperscript{205} cemento eiusdem caritatis adiungimus. Si sic continuando bone vite parietes per spem erigimus, hiis autem parietibus bonam tecti consummacionem superponimus, si quemadmodum principium, ita intencionem et finem tocius vite nostre operumque nostrorum ad Christum dirigimus, et in Christo qui est finis consummacionis consummamus. Tale\textless m\textgreater quippe sive ecclesie sive spiritualis templi constructionem nulle temptaciones, nulle persecutiones, nulle adversitates, nulle mortes,\textsuperscript{206} nulle diaboli vel diabolicorum hominum insidie valebunt conmovere. Quare? Quia fundata est supra firmam petram, unde alibi dominus loquens Petro dixit: \textit{Tu est petriis et super hanc petram edificabo ecclesiam meam et porte inferi non prevalebunt adversus eam.}\textsuperscript{207}

Et Psalmista: \textit{Qui confidunt, inquit, in Domino (O 255ra) sicut mons Syon}

\textsuperscript{203} firmiter S
\textsuperscript{204} adheremus\textbar et fortiter add. S
\textsuperscript{205} virtutem\textbar cum add. C, M, S, O\textsuperscript{2}
\textsuperscript{206} nulle mortes ante. nulle adversitates S
\textsuperscript{207} Matt. 16.18
non commovebitur in eternum qui habitat in Hierosalem.\textsuperscript{208} Hoc est quod apostolus dicit: certus sum quia neque mors neque vita neque angelii neque principatus neque virtutes neque presentia neque futura neque fortitudo neque altitudo neque profundum neque creatura aliqua poterit nos separare a caritate Dei que est in Christo Ihesu.\textsuperscript{209}

Quarto quoque cui sit similis homo malus\textsuperscript{210} demonstrat Dominus cum subdit: Quo autem\textsuperscript{211} audivit et non facit similis est homini edificanti domum suam supra terram sine fundamento in quam illius\textsuperscript{212} est fluvius et continuo cecidit\textsuperscript{213} et facta est ruina domus illius magna.\textsuperscript{214}

Mistice stultus edificator diabolus est, qui etiam in principio fugiens humilitatis soliditatem sedem suam super terram sine fundamento id est super elacionis vanitatem posuit, sed fluvio divine indignacionis impulsus cecidit: Unde Isaias: quomodo cecidisti lucifer qui mane oriebaris; qui dicebas in corde tuo in celum ascendam\textsuperscript{215} super astra celi exaltabo solium meum,
sedebo in monte testamenti in lateribus aquilonis et ero similis altissimo

verumtamen detrheris usque ad infernum in profundum laci.\textsuperscript{216}

Sed et cotidie idem diabolus ecclesiam malignancium super viciorum et peccatorum manitatem, que substantiam non habet, edificat. Et infideles infidelibus, iniquos inquis, malos malis, cemento similis malicie aggregando parietes erigit, cuius edificii lapis angularis et consummacio videbitur esse Antichristus. Sed\textsuperscript{217} inundacione divini iudicii totum tale edificium precipitabitur in abissum eterna damnacionis. Cuius stulti edificatoris imitator et discipulus est omnis qui fundamentum et spem suam in terrenorum vanitatem ponit et malam voluntatem male voluntati, malum opus malo operi, vicium vicio, cemento cupiditatis conglutinans quasi parietes erigit. Cuius edificii consummacio videtur felicitas temporalis, sed vel irruente adversitate talis edificator cum toto edificio suo cadit in puteum desperacionis, ubi fundus non est, quasi quippe fundus est nisi\textsuperscript{218} anima in aliqua peccandi (O 255rb) mensura se retinet. Ubi vero de peccato in peccatum corruens terminum peccandi sibi non ponit, quasi in puteum sine fundo cadit. Vel saltem ad extremum torrente mortis subito irruente, in abissum

\textsuperscript{216} Isa 14.12-15

\textsuperscript{217} sed\textsuperscript{1} et add. O\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{218} ubi S
eterne damnacionis cadit, ubi fundus non est, quoniam eternorum suppliciorum nullus terminus est. Sicut autem ille qui sine fidei fundamento edificat etsi quedam bona opera facere videatur, tamen non ideo minus in eternam damnacionem ruit, sic e contrario ille qui fundamentum fidei vere tenet, etsi quedam minora peccata superedificet non ideo minus edificium eius ad eternam salutem stabit, quamvis per ignem purgandus sit, unde Apostolus: Fundamentum, inquit, aliud nemo ponere potest preter id quod positum est Ihesus Christus, si quis autem superedificat supra hoc fundamentum aurum argentum lapides pretiosos ligna fenum stipulam uniuscuiuscumque opus quale fuerit, ignis probabit si cuius opus manserit quod superedificavit mercedem accipiet, si cuius opus arserit detrimentum patietur ipse autem salvus erit sic tamen quasi per ignem.

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219 Vel saltem ad extremum torrente mortis subito irruente, in abissum etere damnacionis cadit in marg. S.

220 opera ante bona M.

221 vero ante fidei C, M, S, O

222 positum est quod est add. M.

223 Christus ante. Ihesus M; Ihesus Christus om. O

224 fenum et add. M.

225 1Cor. 3.11-15

355
Itaque, fratres mei, firmum Christi firmamentum tenemus, si fidem non eam que sine operibus mortua est, sed que per dilectionem bene operatur habemus. Unde et hic dicitur: *Qui audit et non facit similis est homini edificanti super terram sine fundamento.* Super hoc autem fundamentum sancti edificant aurum, argentum, lapides preciosos, id est, sapientiam, predicacionem, diversarumque virtutum varietatem, cuiusumodi structura ignem non timet. Lignum vero, fenum et stipulam superedificant illi qui etsi criminalia non committunt, rebus tamen humane infirmitati concessis, ut sunt divicie, honores, coniuges, filii et huiusmodi, carnali affectu sic adherent, ut divisi cogitent, non tantum que sunt Dei sed etiam que sunt mundi, et inde quedam venialia maiora, minora minima incurrunt, qua iuxta ordinem ligni, fenii et stipule maiori, minori et minima flamma cremanda sunt, ipsi tamen quia propter nullum criminale fundamentum amiserunt et opcione ipsi propo (O 255va) sita mallent omnibus

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226 Luke 6.49

227 *non om. O²*

228 *incurrunt ante. minima, O²*

229 *que C, M, S, O²*

230 *criminale fundamentum ante. nullum, O²*
arrenunciare,231 quoniam Christo per ignem purgatorium purgati salvabuntur.

Nos ergo, fratres mei, fundamentum fidei inconcusse teneamus, ei firma spe et caritate adhereamus, opera pietatis et misericordie ceterarumque virtutum superedicemus, peccata non solum criminalia sed etiam venalia in quantum possimus evitemus, sed et commissa penitentie lacrimis abstergamus, que sursum sunt232, non que super terram sapiamus, quatinus tandem eo pervenire mereamur. Largiente Deo et Domino nostro Ihesu Christo, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat233 per234 <secula seculorum. Amen.>

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231 abrenuntiare C, M, S, O²

232 sunt om. O²

233 et regnat om. C

234 per] omnia add. M; per om. S
In dedicatione ecclesie

Euuangelium Secundum Lucam: In illo tempore\(^{235}\) egressus Ihesu perambulabat Jericho et ecce vir nomine Zacheus et hic erat princeps publicanorum et ipse dives, et reliqua.\(^{236}\)

Iuxta litteram, fratres karissimi\(^{237}\), sex res in hac lectione nobis demonstrantur: redemptoris nostri circa salutem hominum solicitudo; peccatoris divitis devocio; Domini dignacio\(^{238}\); turbarum stulta murmuratio; peccatoris strenua discretaque conversio; Dominique responsio.

Primum igitur solicitudo Domini\(^{239}\) circa\(^{240}\) salutem humanam demonstratur cum dicitur: Egressus Ihesus perambulabat Jericho. Quia namque propter salutem hominum venerat, numquam ab eius inquisicione quassabat\(^{241}\), sed de loco ad locum tendebat. Et loca perambulans quibus posset proficere, quos posset vel sanare,\(^{242}\) vel docere, vel deo\(^{243}\) lucrifacere perquirebat. In quo nobis indignis pastoribus exemplum dedit itidem

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\(^{235}\) In illo tempore om. M.

\(^{236}\) Lk. 19:1-10; et hic erat princeps publicanorum et ipse dives om. M.

\(^{237}\) karissimi] mei add. O\(^2\)

\(^{238}\) indignacio C.

\(^{239}\) Domini] ita add. O\(^2\)

\(^{240}\) circa om. O\(^2\)

\(^{241}\) cessabat C, M, S, O\(^2\)

\(^{242}\) salvare M, S

\(^{243}\) deo om. C, M, S, O\(^2\)

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faciendi, ut videlicet ab inquirenda salute animarum numquam cessemus, sed semper animas nobis commissas pastorali vigilancia circueamus, infirmas curemus, contractas alligemus, erroneas revocemus, amissas queramus, sanas custodiamus.

Secundo vero peccatoris divitis devotio nobis commendatur, cum subditur: *Et querebat Ihesum videre quis esset et non poterat pre turba quia statura pusillus erat, et precurrens ascendit in arborem sicomorum ut videret illum quia transiturus erat.* Cuius devotio ex hoc mirabilior est (O 255vb) quia, quamvis peccatori, immo princeps peccatorum esset. Et quamvis *dives qui* difficilius quam camelus per foramen acus intrant in regnum celorum, tamen salvatorem videre querit. Et quia ei pussilo turba obstat ab ipse cursu turbam anticipat et quod natura minus habuit, arboris asensu suplet. Et quia sic *devotis erat*, divine suspicianis gratiam promeretur quam desiderabat. Sed propter peccatorum conscientiam flagitare non audebat, huius exemplum sequuntur peccatores et divites, huius mundi

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244 nobis *om. M, S, O*  
245 Lk. 19.3-4  
246 quid, *O*  
247 Matt. 19. 24; Mk. 10.25; Lk. 18.25  
248 querit *ante. videre, O*  

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ut videlicet desiderent videre et audire bonos. Sicut enim nullam spem habemus, super eos qui bonos videre et audiere fugit, sic bonam spem habemus super eo qui bonos videre et audiere cupit. Divites quoque quanto magis turpes se peccatis et giberosos diviciis sciunt, tanto magis salvatorem et nuncios eius videre et audire desiderant. Et quanto se minores meritis norunt, tanto plurium et maiorum teporem ferventi festimatione prevenire contendat. Etsi turbe curarum et vitiorum eis obsistant, ipsi tamen eas presuperent ascendendo ad contemptum mundi per quem Christus suis est transiturus. Bene per sicomorum, que alta et fatua dicitur, contemptus mundi significatur. Quia contemptus mundi et altus est apud

\[249\] audire *ante* videre C, M, S, O².

\[250\] bonos] Non est enim sine aliquo bono, qui desiderat videre et audire bonos. *add.* C, M, S.

\[251\] eo C, M.

\[252\] audire *ante*. videre, O².

\[253\] cupit *ante* et audiare M.

\[254\] quoque *ante*. divites, O².

\[255\] se *ante* turpes S.

\[256\] meritis *om.* M.

\[257\] ob C, M, S, O².

\[258\] Christus] *cum add.* C, M, S, O².

\[259\] Bene] *autem add.* C, M, S, O².
Deum virtute, et apud seculum fatuus\textsuperscript{260} reputatione. Ad quem si ascendimus ex superatis viciorum et turbarum curis\textsuperscript{261}, salvatorem familiariter et libere videre promerebimur et audire.

Tercio dignacio Domini commendatur cum subiuungitur: \textit{Et cum venisset ad locum suspiciens Ihesus vidit illum et dixit ad eum: Zachee festinans descende quia hodie in domo tua oportet me manere. Et festinans descendit et suscepit eum gaudens.}\textsuperscript{262} Primo Ihesus videt eum\textsuperscript{263}, secundo vocat, tercio apud eum reclinat. Videt misericorditer, vocat efficaciter, reclinat salubriter. Videre quippe Dei misereri est, vocare Dei trahere est, reclinare Dei salus est. \textit{Haut dubium enim quoniam} Dominus in (O 256ra) spirituali suspicione Zachei magis quam in corporali delectatus sit. Hoc Domini exemplo discamus nos qualescumque pastores non irridere, non contemnere peccatores, sed potius misericorditer videre, blandis exhortacionibus ad Dominum vocare et apud eos salubriter reclinare. Porro tunc apud divites peccatores salubriter reclinamus, si eorum non pecuniam

\textsuperscript{260} fatua M.

\textsuperscript{261} tumultibus, O\textsuperscript{2}.

\textsuperscript{262} Lk. 19.5-6

\textsuperscript{263} eum ante. videt C, M, S, O\textsuperscript{2}. 
sed animam\textsuperscript{264} veneramur. Si\textsuperscript{265} quaedammodum ipsi nos corporaliter, ita et
nos eos spiritualiter\textsuperscript{266} castigamus.

Quarto subiungitur turbarum stulta murmuracio cum dicitur: \textit{hoc cum
viderent omnes, murmurabant dicentes quia ad hominem peccatorem
divertisset.}\textsuperscript{267} Tripliciter peccant: et quia temerarie alienum servum iudicant,
et quia Ihesum declinacione\textsuperscript{268} apud divitem peccatorem inique accusant, et
quia falso sibi iusticiam arrogant. Temerarium quippe est iudicare
peccatorem qui iam in melius commutatus est. Iniquum quoque est in
deterius pervertere, quod bona intencione factum est. Insanum etiam est\textsuperscript{269}
iusticiam sibi arrogare que sibi non inest. Si enim veram iusticiam haberent,
peccatorem non iudicarent; sed ei potius compaterentur, nec Domini factum
indifferens in malum sed potius in bonum interpretarentur, nec se in
comparacione aliorum, iustos imo\textsuperscript{270} potius peccatores arbitrarentur.
Discamus ergo, fratres mei, non temerarie iudicare peccatorem, qui forte in
melius commutatus est, vel commutandus est, nec numquam in deterius

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{264} animam\textsuperscript{[1]} non \textit{add. O}}.
\textsuperscript{265} et, \textit{O}.
\textsuperscript{266} eos spiritualiter\textsuperscript{[2]} pascimus, si eorum vicia non palpamus sed salubriter \textit{add. C, M, S, O}}.
\textsuperscript{267} Lk. 19.7
\textsuperscript{268} de reclinacione \textit{C, M, S, O}}.
\textsuperscript{269} est ante. \textit{etiam C, M, S, O}}.
\end{footnotesize}
pervertere quod bono fine fieri potest, nec falso nobis iusticiam\textsuperscript{271} arrogare, que nobis non inest, que etiam si prius videtur aliqua, ex arrogantia sit nulla.

Quinto ponitur strenua discretaque\textsuperscript{272} conversio peccatoris cum subditur: \textit{Stans autem Zacheus dixit ad Ihesum ecce dimidium bonorum meorum Domine do pauperibus et si quid aliquem defraudavi reddo\textsuperscript{273} quadruplum.}\textsuperscript{274} Ordo preposterus sed propter\textsuperscript{275} removendam ambiguitatem commutatus. Si enim dixisset\textsuperscript{276} “si aliquid\textsuperscript{277} aliquem defraudavi reddo quadruplum et dimidium bonorum meorum do pauperibus,” ambiguum esset, an diceret, “Dimidium omnium\textsuperscript{278} que ante emendacionem habebantur an tantum eorum que (O 256 rb) post factam emendacionem relinquebantur.” Ideoque prepostere dixit: Dimidium bonorum meorum do pauperibus, \textit{et si quid aliquem defraudavi reddo quadruplum.}\textsuperscript{279} In quo ostendit et \textit{quod}

\begin{itemize}
  \item[\textsuperscript{270}] imo] etiam \textit{add.} M.
  \item[\textsuperscript{271}] iusticam \textit{ante.} nobis, O\textsuperscript{2}
  \item[\textsuperscript{272}] discretaque] \textit{et add.} S; discretaque \textit{et ante} strenua S.
  \item[\textsuperscript{273}] reddam C, S
  \item[\textsuperscript{274}] Lk. 19.8
  \item[\textsuperscript{275}] propter \textit{om.} O\textsuperscript{2}
  \item[\textsuperscript{276}] Si enim dixisset \textit{in marg.} S.
  \item[\textsuperscript{277}] quid M, S.
  \item[\textsuperscript{278}] omnium\textsuperscript{]} bonorum \textit{add.} M, S.
  \item[\textsuperscript{279}] Lk. 19.8
\end{itemize}
omnium bonorum suorum dimidium\textsuperscript{280} pauperibus dedit et de residuo quadrupliciter satisfecit. In quo duo demonstrantur: et quia non omnia de fraudibus habuerat, et quia quod pauperibus non errogabit, non sibi sed ad emendationes quadrupliciter faciendas retinebat. Lex enim precipit rapta quadrupliciter reddi. Prima pars raptum simpliciter restituit; secunda fructum qui potuit esse reddit; tercia de iniuria satisfact; quarta primam dilectionem reconiungit. Et hec omnia secundum legem Zacheus adimplevit.\textsuperscript{281} Et quis, fratres mei, quantumcumque facinorosus decetero audeat desperare cum audeat istum peccatorum principem defraudantem diviciarum amatorem, tam subito conversum, ut non solum rapta reddat, sed etiam omnia distribuat, omnia contempnat, nudus nudum sequatur et invisibilia concupiscat.\textsuperscript{282} Et vere ut ait Dominus: \textit{Omnia possibilia sunt credenti,}\textsuperscript{283} nam \textit{ecce camelus deposita sarcina gibbi per foramen acus transit.} Porro Zacheus a peccatis resurgens, stat, satisfact et erogat. Stat in bono proposito fugiendi mala, et sequendi\textsuperscript{284} bona, satisfact restituendo rapta\textsuperscript{285},

\textsuperscript{280} Dimidium \textit{om.} S.

\textsuperscript{281} adimplevit \textit{ante.} Zacheus S.

\textsuperscript{282} concupiscat \textit{om.} M.

\textsuperscript{283} Mk. 9.22

\textsuperscript{284} loquendi S

\textsuperscript{285} rapta \textit{ante.} restituendo M.
erogat pauperibus propterea. Ecce forma vere conversionis. Primum est enim a peccatis resurgendo in bono proposito stare. Secundo de malefactis satisfacere. Tercio omnia contempnendo sua pauperibus erogare. In quo confunduntur pariter et illi qui in bono proposito non stant, sed ad instar uxoris Loth retro respiciunt. Et illi qui etsi in bono proposito sunt, tamen de prioribus excessibus non satisfacuint. Et illi qui etsi in bono proposito stant, et satisfacuint, tamen ad dandam elemosinam duri sunt. Vel si aliquando sua pauperibus erogant rursus ad congregandum hanelant. Sexto ponitur responsio Domini, cum subiungitur: ait Ihesus ad eum quia hodie salus domui huic est, eo quod ipse sit filius Abrahe venit enim Filius hominis (O 256va) querere et salvum facere quod perierat. Ad tria respondet Dominus: prium ad hoc quod Zacheus dixerat: Ecce dimidium bonorum meorum do pauperibus, etsi quid aliquem defraudavi
reddo quadruplum, respondet\textsuperscript{295} Quia hodie salus huic domui facta est.\textsuperscript{296} Acsi aperte dicit: Noli superbire in te, quasi hec in te sint ex te, quia quod tu nunc in bono\textsuperscript{297} proposito\textsuperscript{298} stas, quod tu satisfacis, quod tu elemosinam das, non est ex tuis meritis\textsuperscript{299}, sed ex Dei gratia, per quam solam salus huic domui hodie facta est\textsuperscript{300}. Secundo ad hoc quod turbe iudicabant Zacheum peccatorem, respondet dicens, eo quod ipse sit filius Abrahe.\textsuperscript{301} Acsi dicit: In hoc quod dicitis, Zacheum peccatorem esse, temerarium est iudicium vestrum, eo quod ipse\textsuperscript{302} in Dei predestinacione et etiam iam in fide sit filius Abrahe. Tercio ad hoc quod ipsi Dominum reprehendant eo quod ad peccatorem divertisset, respondet cum subdit: \textit{venit enim filius hominis quaerere et salvum facere quod perierat.}\textsuperscript{303} Acsi apercitus dicit: Stulta est vestra reprehension qui medicum reprehenditis eo quod divertat ad

\textsuperscript{295} respondet\textsuperscript{I} Ihesus \textit{add. M}, S, O\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{296} Lk. 19.8-9

\textsuperscript{297} bonorum, O\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{298} proposito \textit{ante.} bono S.

\textsuperscript{299} ex tuis meritis \textit{ante.} est, O\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{300} facta est \textit{ante.} hodie, S, O\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{301} Lk. 19.9

\textsuperscript{302} ipse \textit{om.} O\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{303} Lk. 19.10

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medendum infirmo. Non est enim\textsuperscript{304} opus valentibus\textsuperscript{305} medico, sed male habentibus.\textsuperscript{306} Similiter nec ego veni vocare iustos sed peccatores.\textsuperscript{307} In quo pariter et illos confutat qui se iustos putabant. Et ideo se non indigere sanctificatoris estimabant. In quo magis indigebant dum etiam se indigere nesciebant. Peius enim egrotat, qui etiam\textsuperscript{308} egrotare seipsum ignorat.

Mistice vero filius Dei egressus per incarnacionem de sinu patris perambulabat Jericho id est defectum istius mundi.\textsuperscript{309} Jericho\textsuperscript{310} quippe luna sine defectus interpretatur. Zacheus\textsuperscript{311} qui\textsuperscript{312} iustificatus interpretatur significant gentilem populum, qui, quamvis esset maximus peccatorum et impeditus sollicitudinibus temporalium diviciarum, tamen audita doctrina et virtute filii Dei eum videre et ab eo iustificari concupiscit. Qui cum excceatus per errorem idolatrie pussillus esset ratione, impedientibus etiam\textsuperscript{313}

\textsuperscript{304} enim \textit{om.} M.
\textsuperscript{305} valentibus \textit{om.} O\textsuperscript{2}
\textsuperscript{306} Matthew 9.12
\textsuperscript{307} Matthew 9.13; Mark 2.17; Luke 5.32
\textsuperscript{308} et M, S, O\textsuperscript{2}
\textsuperscript{309} mundi \textit{om.} M.
\textsuperscript{310} id est defectum istius mundi Jericho \textit{om.} O\textsuperscript{2}
\textsuperscript{311} Zacheus| quippe \textit{add.} M, O\textsuperscript{2}.
\textsuperscript{312} qui| et \textit{add.} M; qui \textit{om.} S
\textsuperscript{313} et O\textsuperscript{2}

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incredulorum iudeorum turbis que insidiis et detraccionibus Dominum circuivant. Et nec ipsi, teste Domino intrabant\textsuperscript{314}, nec alios intrare permittebant, eum (O 256vb) verum filium Dei esse nequibat ad plenum\textsuperscript{315} videre. Sed ex ardore fidei iam concepte, precucurrit et turbas incredulorum preveniendo ad arborem evangelicæ predicationis accessit, que bene per sicomorum, que dicitur celsa et fatua designatur, quoniam celsa est apud Deum virtute et fatua apud seculum reputacione. Unde apostolus: \textit{nos predicamus Christum crucifixum Iudeis quidem scandalum gentilibus autem stultitiam ipsis vero vocatis Iudeis et Graecis Christum Dei virtutem et sapientiam.}\textsuperscript{316} Hac igitur celsa et fatua predicacione pusilla ratio populi gentilis adiuta filium Dei videt et advertit, quem ipse filius Dei \textit{dum} (or \textit{Dominus}) a iudeis per reprobationem transit, misericorditer videt. Efficaciter per predicacionem apostolorum vocat, et ut ab alto intellectu divinitatis etiam\textsuperscript{317} ad credendum eius humanitatem descendat. Iubet, \textit{quia hodie}, inquit, id est in tempore gratie, \textit{in domo tua oportet me manere.}\textsuperscript{318} Et vobis iudei relinquetur domus vestra deserta. Qui \textit{festinans}, inquit, \textit{descendit et

\textsuperscript{314} intrabant\textit{] et} \textit{add. O}\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{315} ad plenum \textit{om. M.}

\textsuperscript{316} 1Cor. 1.23-24

\textsuperscript{317} et M.

\textsuperscript{318} Lk. 19.5

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suscipit illum gaudens.\textsuperscript{319} Hoc est quod Dominus per Psalmista dicit: populus quem\textsuperscript{320} cognovi servivit mihi in auditu auris obedivit michi filii alieni mentiti sunt michi filii alieni etc.\textsuperscript{321} Hinc est quod increduli iudei contra Ihesum et eius predicatorum murmurant, quod ad populum idolatram divertant. Unde et Petro dicit: Cur intrasti ad gentes praeputium habentes.\textsuperscript{322} At gentilis populus in propo site recte fidei et conversionis stans de preteritis excessibus satisfacit, et dies suos in operibus pietatis dimidiare contendit. Tunc enim dies nostros dimidiamus, cum de preterite vite peccatis satisfacientes quod reliquum est in bonis\textsuperscript{323} expendere festinamus. Quia inquit hodie\textsuperscript{324} salus huic domui facta est.\textsuperscript{325} Quasi\textsuperscript{326} dicit, salus que olim synagogam iudeorum replebat, recessit ab eis propter incredulitatem et illuxit hodie gentium ecclesie propter nove fidei gratiam, eo quod ipse gentilis populus\textsuperscript{327} sit filius Abrahe, fide videlicet et imitacione.\textsuperscript{328} Hoc est quod

\textsuperscript{319} Lk. 19.6

\textsuperscript{320} quem non add. M, O\textsuperscript{2}.

\textsuperscript{321} Psalm 17.45-46; alieni etc.] a semitis suis add. C, M, S

\textsuperscript{322} Acts 11.3

\textsuperscript{323} est in bonis] operibus add. M.

\textsuperscript{324} hodie ante. inquit C, M, S, O\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{325} Lk. 19.9

\textsuperscript{326} Acsi S

\textsuperscript{327} populus ante. gentilis M.
Dominus alibi\textsuperscript{329} dicit: \textit{Amen, dico vobis quia}\textsuperscript{330} multi ab oriente et ab occidente venient et recumbent (O 257ra) cum Abraham Isaac et Iacob; filii autem regni mittentur in tenebras exteriores.\textsuperscript{331}

Itaque, fratres mei, gratias redemorti nostro semper agamus de misericordia\textsuperscript{332} nobis insperate collata vocacionem nostram fide et operibus nobis vendicemus, maculas peccatorum nostrorum vere penitentie lacrimis abstergamus, dies\textsuperscript{333} nostros in dominum\textsuperscript{334} dimidiare festinemus, operibus\textsuperscript{335} bonis cotidie\textsuperscript{336} insistamus, mundum cum suis concupiscenciis contemnamus, ad celestia totis viribus, totisque desideriis\textsuperscript{337} suspiremus, quatinus tandem ad ea leti pervenire mereamur. Largiente Deo et Domino

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\textsuperscript{328} fide videlicet et imitacione \textit{om. C, M, S, O2}

\textsuperscript{329} alibi \textit{ante}. Dominus M.

\textsuperscript{330} quod C, M, S

\textsuperscript{331} Matt. 8.11-12

\textsuperscript{332} agamus de misericordia \textit{ante} redemptori, M.

\textsuperscript{333} dies \textit{om. C, S.; lacrimis abstergamus| promimos add. C, S.}

\textsuperscript{334} in bonum C, S, O\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{335} festinemus operibus\textit{| misericorde add. C, M, S, O\textsuperscript{2}.}

\textsuperscript{336} bonus cotidie \textit{om. C, M, S, O2.}

\textsuperscript{337} desideriis\textit{| festine add. M.}
noster Ihesu Christo, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.\textsuperscript{338}
APPENDIX B

Prologue: Oxford, Lincoln College ms. 116, fol. 3ra:

In 1979, Wolf transcribed the prologue of Ralph Ardent’s sermons from Lincoln College ms. 116. I offer here a new edition based on all the extant manuscripts. The following manuscripts contain the prologue:

C = Cambridge, Peterhouse College lat. ms. 104 f. 1ra
M = Manchester, John Rylands Library lat. ms. 367 f. 1ra
O² = Oxford, Lincoln College lat. ms. 112 f. 1ra
O³ = Oxford, Bodleian e. musaeo 5 fol. 1ra

Cum in ecclesia mea quietus residerem, et loquendi ad populum per dies dominicos et festos mihi consuetudinem felicem, quidam nostratum

2 ecclesiola, C
3 diem O²
4 dominicum O²
5 michi O³

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sociorum vestram\textsuperscript{9} efflagitavere\textsuperscript{10} parvitatem, quatinus ea que ad populum sermocinabar qualicumque scriptura memorie commendarem.

Quibus an satisfaciendum esset, dum mecum ipse tacitus deliberarem, causam reperio quadriphariam\textsuperscript{11}, quarum\textsuperscript{12} unaqueque pro\textsuperscript{13} parte eorum videbatur\textsuperscript{14} perorare. Prima est: fraterna\textsuperscript{15} caritas. Secunda: occupacionis honestas. Tercia: communis utilitas. Quarta: propria commoditas. Fraterne\textsuperscript{16} quippe caritatis est: iustis fratrum postulacionibus diligenter auditem adhibere\textsuperscript{17}. Occupacionis vero honeste est: non ociosis\textsuperscript{18} et vanis, sed\textsuperscript{19} salubribus vite nostre brevitatem\textsuperscript{20}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{6} felicem \textit{om.}, O\textsuperscript{2}, M, C
\item \textsuperscript{7} fecissem O\textsuperscript{3}, O\textsuperscript{2}, M, C
\item \textsuperscript{8} vestatum O\textsuperscript{3}, M, C
\item \textsuperscript{9} vestraque O\textsuperscript{3}
\item \textsuperscript{10} efflatavere O\textsuperscript{3}; flagitaverunt, O\textsuperscript{2}
\item \textsuperscript{11} quatriferiam O\textsuperscript{2}; quadrifariam, M, C
\item \textsuperscript{12} quarum\textsuperscript{1} per \textit{add.} O\textsuperscript{2}
\item \textsuperscript{13} ex O\textsuperscript{2}
\item \textsuperscript{14} videbatur \textit{om.}, O\textsuperscript{2}
\item \textsuperscript{15} ffraterna O\textsuperscript{3}
\item \textsuperscript{16} Ffraterne O\textsuperscript{3}, O\textsuperscript{2}; Ffraterne, C
\item \textsuperscript{17} prohibere, M
\item \textsuperscript{18} ociosis\textsuperscript{1} rebus \textit{add.} O\textsuperscript{2}, M, C
\item \textsuperscript{19} set O\textsuperscript{3}
\end{itemize}

Quoniam vero cum precipui meriti sit indoctos erudire, qui doctrinam erudicionis per scripturam ad posteros transmittunt, et post mortem videntur docendo promereri.

Hii itaque causis compulsus, postulacioni fratrum nostrorum acquievi. Quoniam autem ob utilitatem simplicium omeliunculas istas composui, obscuritatem allegoriarum, profunditatem scripturarum oneraque sermonum
evitare curam pro posse meo, in universis requirens moralitatem, utpote vite homini necessariorem.

Ceterum, si quis in hoc opuscolo auctoritates semiplenas sub aliis vero verbis repperit, noverit hoc inde contigisse: quoniam ad curiam principis raptus, plerumque in via, plerumque inter ipsa etiam arva scriptitabam, et copiam exemplarium non habebam. Oro igitur ut quicumque hoc mee devotionis opusculum perspexerint, non temere iudicare, sed pocus pro peccatore Radulpho intercedere misericorditer meminerint.

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32 curam O; curavi, O², M, C
33 inquirens, M, C
34 semipletas, O²
35 et O³
36 exemplancium O³
37 In C, above Radupho there is, in what looks to be the same hand, "Acton".
38 misericorditer ante intercedere, O²
## APPENDIX C

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Testament</th>
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<th>De Sanctis</th>
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**New Testament**

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Table C.1: A Tabulation of Scriptural Quotations
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources: Manuscripts

Cambridge, Peterhouse 104
Manchester, John Rylands 367
Oxford, Bodleian Library, e. musaeo 5
Oxford, Lincoln College 112
Oxford, Lincoln College 116
Oxford, St. John’s College 54
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 3229
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*Secondary Sources*


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