

## THE *MAGNUM QUIDEM ET DIFFICILE* SERMONS OF ROBERT PULLEN AND PETER LOMBARD

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PETER Lombard and Robert Pullen have a significant amount in common. They both taught theology in Paris in the 1140s. Peter grew up and received his early education in Novara,<sup>1</sup> while Robert first taught in Exeter and Oxford.<sup>2</sup> But both recognized the growing importance of Paris as a scholastic centre, Peter when he came for study in the 1130s, and Robert when he came to teach theology. Those decisions were assisted by Bernard of Clairvaux, who intervened at a crucial time for both men. Bernard wrote a letter of recommendation to the canons of St. Victor on Peter's behalf, allowing him to receive material support in Paris.<sup>3</sup> Robert taught theology in Paris while retaining a position across the channel as archdeacon of Rochester. When his bishop objected to this, it was Bernard who offered support, revealing that he had "advised Robert Pullen to spend some time in Paris, because of the sound doctrine which is discernible in him."<sup>4</sup> The two theologians also wrote works titled *Sententiae*, where the material was arranged by topic, a relatively new genre in the

<sup>1</sup> Ignatius C. Brady, *Prolegomena to Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae in IV libris distinctae* (Grottaferrata, 1971–81), 1:8\*–11\*; Matthew Doyle, *Peter Lombard and His Students*, Studies and Texts 201 (Toronto, 2016), 13–19.

<sup>2</sup> Francis Courtney, *Cardinal Robert Pullen: An English Theologian of the Twelfth Century* (Rome, 1954), 7–9. See also Reginald Lane L. Poole, "The Early Lives of Robert Pullen and Nicholas Breakspear," in *Studies in Chronology and History*, ed. Austin Lane Poole (Oxford, 1934), 287–97.

<sup>3</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 410, *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, ed. J. Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, and H. M. Rochais (Rome, 1957–77), 8:391.

<sup>4</sup> "Si monui Magistrum Robertum Pullum aliquantum tempus facere Parisius, ob sanam doctrinam quae apud illum esse dignoscitur, id putavi necessarium, et adhuc puto" (Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 205, *Ibid.*, 64). For the context of the dispute, see Courtney, *Cardinal Robert Pullen*, 11–13; and Matthew Doyle, *Bernard of Clairvaux and the Schools: The Formation of an Intellectual Milieu in the First Half of the Twelfth Century*, Studi 11 (Spoleto, 2005), 30–32.

twelfth-century schools. Finally, both obtained high office in the church towards the end of their lives, Robert as a cardinal, and Peter as bishop of Paris.

The later reputation of these two theologians has been closely tied to the reception of their *Sententiae*. It would be incorrect to see Peter Lombard's work as an overnight success. In the two decades following his death, aspects of his work faced intense criticism, but by the end of the twelfth century it had largely subsided. This was partly due to his students, who mounted a successful campaign to defend him,<sup>5</sup> and also because of an emerging tradition of theology masters producing commentaries on the *Sententiae*, and using it as a textbook in their classrooms.<sup>6</sup> The practice of commenting on the *Sententiae* continued in universities right into the early modern period.<sup>7</sup>

Robert Pullen's *Sententiae* received no such acclaim. This is in part due to the shortcomings of the work itself. While there are notable and original sections, the work as a whole lacks a clear and accessible overall structure.<sup>8</sup> It has also been shown that Robert often shies away from resolving questions in a firm manner, sometimes listing competing authorities without attempting to reconcile them.<sup>9</sup> Robert's teaching career in Paris was also quite brief. He seems only to have taught for two years there before becoming a cardinal, and it was during that time that he produced this work.<sup>10</sup> Peter Lombard on the other hand taught theology for at least fifteen years, and this allowed him to refine his positions in his classroom, and to produce a first version of the *Sententiae*. He then revised it two

<sup>5</sup> Doyle, *Peter Lombard and his Students*, passim.

<sup>6</sup> Clare Monagle, *Orthodoxy and Controversy in Twelfth-Century Religious Discourse: Peter Lombard's Sentences and the Development of Theology* (Turnhout, 2013), 73–171.

<sup>7</sup> See Philipp Rosemann, *The Story of a Great Medieval Book: Peter Lombard's Sentences* (Peterborough, Ont., 2007), and his recent article "Introduction: Three Avenues for Studying the Tradition of the *Sentences*," in *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, vol. 3, ed. Philipp Rosemann (Leiden, 2015), 18–23.

<sup>8</sup> Robert Pullen's *Sententiae* is in PL 186:639–1210. For the structural shortcomings of the work, see Courtney, *Cardinal Robert Pullen*, 22; and Marcia L. Colish, *Peter Lombard* (Leiden, 1994), 68–70.

<sup>9</sup> Colish, *Peter Lombard*, 71–72.

<sup>10</sup> Courtney, *Cardinal Robert Pullen*, 14, 23; Franz Pelster, "Einige Angaben über Leben und Schriften des Robertus Pullus, Kardinals und Kanzlers der römischen Kirche († 1146)" *Scholastik* 12 (1937): 245–46.

years later after introducing it in his classroom.<sup>11</sup> The length of teaching also meant that Peter left behind a group of students who became masters themselves and were thus in a position to defend him and disseminate his works. But in an environment where students would spend between five and eight years studying theology,<sup>12</sup> Robert would not have been able to create a school of disciples in the same way, at least not in Paris.<sup>13</sup> And so, while there is a vast number of surviving manuscripts of the *Sententiae* of Peter Lombard (and of manuscripts of commentaries on it), only two complete copies of Robert's work have survived, and no commentaries.<sup>14</sup>

Robert has also received less scholarly attention. In the 1950s an English academic, Francis Courtney, embarked on a campaign to rehabilitate him by publishing a valuable study and also by editing a hitherto unknown treatise.<sup>15</sup> Beryl Smalley added to his work, considering Robert alongside his namesake Robert of Melun in *The Becket Conflict and the Schools*.<sup>16</sup> This remains the best treatment of Robert's individual merits as a writer. But in contrast to the field of Peter Lombard studies, which has grown

<sup>11</sup> Brady, Prolegomena to *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae* 1:122\*–129\*.

<sup>12</sup> For the number of years students would spend in the twelfth century cathedral schools, see Richard W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe I: Foundations* (Oxford, 1995), 212–20, 230–31.

<sup>13</sup> John of Salisbury certainly studied with him in Paris, and remembered him fondly: John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon* 2.10 (ed. John B. Hall and Katharine S. B. Keats-Rohan, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 98 [Turnhout, 1991], 72). Robert also taught Gilbert Foliot in Exeter, who addresses him as “dearest master” in two letters. See Beryl Smalley, *The Becket Conflict and the Schools: A Study of Intellectuals in Politics* (Oxford, 1973), 42, 168.

<sup>14</sup> Courtney, *Cardinal Robert Pullen*, 21. The two copies are London, British Library Royal 10.B.V and Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale 459. To this we can add a partial copy, Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Bergendal 2, containing book eight, chapters 1–9, where Robert discusses the Eucharist. See the description in Joseph Pope, *One Hundred and Twenty-Five Manuscripts: Bergendal Collection Catalogue* (Toronto, 1999), 2, where it is considered “contemporaneous with the life of Robert Pullen himself, or, if not, must have been written very shortly after his death.” I am grateful to Fr. James Farge for drawing my attention to this manuscript.

<sup>15</sup> Courtney, *Cardinal Robert Pullen*, and “An Unpublished Treatise of Cardinal Robert Pullen († 1146): *Sermo de omnibus humane vite necessariis* or *De contemptu mundi*,” *Gregorianum* 31 (1950): 192–223. He built on the work of Poole, “The Early Lives of Robert Pullen and Nicholas Breakspear,” and Pelster, “Einige Angaben über Leben und Schriften des Robertus Pullus,” 239–47.

<sup>16</sup> Smalley, *Becket Conflict and the Schools*, 39–50.

substantially, Robert has received only occasional attention in the past thirty years.<sup>17</sup> This neglect ignores his original contribution to the history of theology. His treatment of the active and contemplative lives has been recognized as innovative.<sup>18</sup> Of more long lasting significance, there is a very good case for considering Robert to be responsible for coining the term transubstantiation.<sup>19</sup> Decades after his death, he was remembered in the schools for having done so in his teaching,<sup>20</sup> while in the 1140s a report of Gilbert of Poitiers's lectures refers to a "Master R." using the phrase.<sup>21</sup> These pieces of evidence remind us that an assessment of Robert's importance should rely not solely on his *Sententiae*, but on his entire output, and on the reports of his teaching. He clearly attracted attention in the brief time he spent teaching in Paris, and it is intriguing to speculate on what would have happened had he not been promoted to the cardinalate.

Peter Lombard is likely to have been aware of Robert Pullen personally, since both were active in Parisian theology circles in the early 1140s. He was certainly acquainted with his work (or at least his reported opinions). Peter tends not to name his contemporaries in the *Sententiae*, but instead uses phrases like "in the opinion of some," or "some say." There are three such occasions where the views he refers to match up with Robert Pullen's.<sup>22</sup> But in his classroom, Peter actually named Robert Pullen. Two

<sup>17</sup> Recent work includes David Luscombe, "Pullen, Robert," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004); Richard W. Southern, "From Schools to University," in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 1, ed. J. Catto and R. Evans (Oxford, 1984), 6–8; Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe I: Foundations*, 176–81; and Colish, *Peter Lombard*, 68–72. Studies of more specific aspects of Robert's work are mentioned in subsequent notes.

<sup>18</sup> Giles Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Princeton, 1995), 89–91; Smalley, *Becket Conflict and the Schools*, 43–49.

<sup>19</sup> Joseph Goering, "The Invention of Transubstantiation," *Traditio* 46 (1991): 147–70.

<sup>20</sup> "Et notandum magister Robertus pullus inuenit primo hanc dictionem 'transubstantiatur'" (ibid., 157, 169–70). This was in a *reportatio* of a scholastic *quaestio* on the Eucharist associated with William de Montibus or his circle.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 154–55. The grounds for identifying Robert with Master R. include a resemblance to an anonymous text on the Eucharist which Goering assigns to the 1140s, and Robert Pullen's influence (149–53, 158–63).

<sup>22</sup> Peter Lombard, *Sententiae* 2.9.7.2 (ed. Brady 1:376 and n.), "a quibusdam tamen putatur"; ibid., 2.10.1.3 (1:377 and n.), "ad quod quidam dicunt"; ibid., 1.42.1, "alii vero dicunt." For the influence of Robert on Peter in this work, see also Artur Landgraf, "Studien zur Theologie des Zwölften Jahrhunderts," *Traditio* 1 (1943):

early manuscript commentaries on the *Sententiae* are thought to preserve information Peter Lombard provided to his students when he taught the work. One of the commentaries was once ascribed to Peter of Poitiers, while the other, on book four, is anonymous.<sup>23</sup> In a chapter near the end of book four entitled “How all the ways of the Lord are called mercy and truth,” Peter points out that “all the ways of the Lord, that is, those by which we go up to the Lord, are justice, by which we leave evil behind, and mercy, by which we do the good. For in these two all good merit is included.”<sup>24</sup> He adds that “it seemed to some that these two do not occur in every work of the Lord: according to the effect I mean.”<sup>25</sup> After “it seemed to some” one student (Pseudo-Peter) added, “master Robert,”<sup>26</sup> while the other wrote, “namely, master Robert Pol.”<sup>27</sup> Peter Lombard was also aware of Robert in another area, and here there is a greater influence: both wrote sermons, and one of Peter’s appears to use an earlier effort by Robert as its model. Peter expands on each section, rehearsing the ideas in a more substantial fashion, almost as if Robert’s work acted as the scaffolding.

It was not unusual for masters in the early to middle decades of the twelfth century to publish collections of sermons. Sometimes this was because the master later moved to another position which necessitated

213–15. Landgraf also discusses how Robert Pullen’s oral teachings were still being reported after his death.

<sup>23</sup> See I. Brady, “Peter Manducator and the Oral Teachings of Peter Lombard,” *Antonianum* 41 (1966): 466–69; Artur Landgraf, “Problèmes relatifs aux premières gloses des Sentences,” *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 3 (1931): 140–57; and Marcia L. Colish, “The Pseudo-Peter of Poitiers Gloss,” in *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, vol. 2, ed. Philipp Rosemann (Leiden, 2009), 1–33. For further references, see Doyle, *Peter Lombard and His Students*, 192–96.

<sup>24</sup> Peter Lombard, *Sententiae* 4.46.5 (ed. Brady, 2:535–36), “Universae etiam viae domini, id est quibus ad dominum ascendimus, sunt iustitia qua a malo declinamus, et misericordia qua bonum facimus. In his enim duobus omne bonum meritum includitur”; Peter Lombard, *The Sentences*, trans. Giulio Silano (Toronto, 2007–10), 4:255.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, “Quibusdam placuit non in omni opere Domini haec duo concurrere: secundum effectum dico.” See also Colish, *Peter Lombard*, 713.

<sup>26</sup> “Quibusdam placuit, ut magistro Roberto” (Naples, Biblioteca nazionale VIII.C.14, fol. 68d, quoted in Brady, 2:536 n.).

<sup>27</sup> “Quibusdam placuit, scilicet magistro Roberto Pol” (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Cod. Patr. 128, fol. 43, quoted in Landgraf, “Studien zur Theologie des Zwölften Jahrhunderts,” 214).

preaching. This is true of Geoffrey Babion, who preached as bishop of Bordeaux.<sup>28</sup> The sermons of Robert Pullen and Peter Lombard on the other hand show that there were masters who were preaching alongside their teaching duties. Another example is Odo of Soissons, who became abbot of Ourscamp in 1167 after being chancellor and master in the school of Notre Dame.<sup>29</sup> Some of Odo's sermons are certainly from his abbacy, but others are addressed to clerics in the schools.<sup>30</sup> These kinds of sermons are still not fully explored or understood and have often been seen as less important works in comparison with weightier works of theology. Scholarly work on scholastic sermons tends to have a later focus, starting with the generation active in the last three decades of the twelfth century; these sermons, by Peter the Chanter and others, have been viewed as social documents,<sup>31</sup> and as examples of the emerging *artes praedicandi*,<sup>32</sup> and at this time, masters were certainly seeing training future preachers as part of their job; and then, a large amount of work has been done on thirteenth-century sermons.<sup>33</sup> The earlier period is also worth exploring, however, when theology masters who lectured on the Bible were also preaching sermons informed by this teaching activity.

Peter Lombard wrote thirty-four sermons. There are fourteen manuscript collections of all or some of the sermons, while others are found individu-

<sup>28</sup> For Geoffrey, see Jean-Paul Bonnes, "Un des plus grands prédicateurs du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Geoffroy du Louroux, dit Geoffroy Babion," *Revue Bénédictine* 56 (1945–46): 174–215.

<sup>29</sup> For Odo, see Ludwig Hödl, *Die Geschichte der scholastischen Literatur und der Theologie der Schlüsselgewalt* (Münster, 1960), 116–41; and Doyle, *Peter Lombard and His Students*, 66–71.

<sup>30</sup> Jean Longère, *Oeuvres oratoires de maîtres parisiens au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1975), 1:19–20.

<sup>31</sup> John W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle* (Princeton, 1970).

<sup>32</sup> Mark Zier, "Sermons of the Twelfth Century Schoolmasters and Canons," in *The Sermon*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle (Turnhout, 2000), 325–62; Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the "Manipulus florum" of Thomas of Ireland*, Studies and Texts 47 (Toronto, 1979), chap. 5: "The New Emphasis on Preaching," 43–64.

<sup>33</sup> See, for example, Nicole Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres de la parole: La prédication à Paris au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1998). For the sermon field generally, see *The Sermon*, ed. Kienzle; and Anne T. Thayer, "Medieval Sermon Studies since The Sermon: A Deepening and Broadening Field," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 58:1 (2014): 10–27.

ally in manuscript anthologies.<sup>34</sup> All but four are currently available in printed editions, the majority in the *Patrologia Latina* where they are incorrectly attributed to Hildebert of Lavardin.<sup>35</sup> The sermons date from Peter's time as canon of Notre-Dame, from 1145 to 1159, with some also probably preached during his brief episcopacy. Although they lack subtitles like *ad scolares*, it has been shown from internal evidence that the majority was preached to educated clerics, probably at the cathedral school of Notre Dame.<sup>36</sup> Peter's sermons range from straightforward religious advice to more complex treatments of interior spirituality. He also expounds theological concepts quite frequently. Structurally, his sermons tend to treat the biblical text preached on and the liturgical feast as two themes which are developed throughout.<sup>37</sup>

Robert Pullen's collection of nineteen sermons exists in two full manuscript copies.<sup>38</sup> Two other manuscripts contain eleven and fourteen sermons respectively, while a smaller number of sermons are included in several others.<sup>39</sup> Six sermons of the collection have appeared in print, although this is not widely known. There are two in the *Patrologia Latina*

<sup>34</sup> Brady, Prolegomena to *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae* 1:95\*–112\*, and 2:34\*–35\*.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. See also Barthélemy Hauréau, "Notice sur les sermons attribués à Hildebert de Lavardin," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale* 32 (1888): 107–66. A new edition and translation of the sermons is in preparation for the Dallas Medieval Texts and Translations series.

<sup>36</sup> For the audience and date, see: Brady, Prolegomena to *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae* 2:33\*; Félix Protois, *Pierre Lombard: Évêque de Paris dit le maître des Sentences: Son époque, sa vie, ses écrits, son influence* (Paris, 1881), 147–48, 190; Damien Van den Eynde, "Essai chronologique sur l'oeuvre littéraire de Pierre Lombard," in *Miscellanea Lombardiana* (Novara, 1957), 59.

<sup>37</sup> Doyle, *Peter Lombard and His Students*, 123–64. For other assessments of the sermons, see Lorenzo Fantini, "I Discorsi di Pier Lombardo," *Pier Lombardo* 5 (1961): 69–80; Protois, *Pierre Lombard*, 123–48; Colish, *Peter Lombard*, 26–27; and Rosemann, *Peter Lombard*, 49.

<sup>38</sup> Courtney, *Cardinal Robert Pullen*, 32–35, provides a full list with incipits and explicits, as does Johannes B. Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters: Für die Zeit von 1150–1350* (Münster, 1969–90), 5:219–21. The full manuscript copies are London, Lambeth Palace Library 458, and Hereford Cathedral O.2.VIII.

<sup>39</sup> Courtney, *Cardinal Robert Pullen*, 32–35. These include five manuscripts from Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) lat. 3730 (six sermons), lat. 12413 (nine sermons), lat. 12414 (eleven sermons), lat. 13572 (eight sermons), and lat. 18096 (fourteen sermons).

(one of which is incomplete), though not attributed to Robert,<sup>40</sup> while another three were edited by Henri Rochais and Irène Binont from a manuscript in Lincoln Cathedral.<sup>41</sup> This was at the time when Rochais (along with Jean Leclercq and Charles Talbot) was preparing his edition of the works of Bernard of Clairvaux, and he and Binont attributed one of the sermons to Bernard,<sup>42</sup> while another they considered very close to Bernard in tone and content.<sup>43</sup> Finally, Peter Tibber edited a sermon in his doctoral thesis.<sup>44</sup>

There has been some debate about a second collection of sermons attributed to Robert, which exists in three manuscripts.<sup>45</sup> These are shorter and, with one exception, preached on gospel texts.<sup>46</sup> Barthélemy Hauréau argued against Pullen's authorship, pointing out that the preacher was a monk addressing other monks.<sup>47</sup> Courtney made a case for their authenticity, based on similarities of style with Robert's other works, and by suggesting that Robert could have been a regular canon.<sup>48</sup> Smalley took the same view as Hauréau and, along with Rochais and Binont, argued that the similarities noted by Courtney were too general.<sup>49</sup> The librarians of Lam-

<sup>40</sup> PL171:918–21 (sermon 1, incomplete), and 940–42 (sermon 7).

<sup>41</sup> Henri Rochais and Irène Binont, "La collection de textes divers du manuscrit Lincoln 201 et saint Bernard," *Sacris Erudiri* 15 (1964): 54–58 (sermon 11), 80–85 (sermon 6), and 140–44 (sermon 12).

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.* 59–61. This was sermon 11, which was later edited in *Sancti Bernardi Opera* 6:201–7 as number 114 in the third series of Bernard's *Sententiae*.

<sup>43</sup> Rochais and Binont, "La collection de textes," 144–45

<sup>44</sup> Peter H. Tibber, "The Origins of the Scholastic Sermon, c.1130–c.1210" (D.phil diss., University of Oxford, 1983), 262–71 (sermon five). He also discusses the relationship between the Lambeth and Hereford manuscripts on 24–25. It can be accessed online at the Oxford University Research Archive: <https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:7eed770f-cb24-4f5e-a89f-ccc6c5a79363>.

<sup>45</sup> The sermons are listed by Courtney, *Cardinal Robert Pullen*, 40–44 and by Schneyer, *Repertorium* 5:221–22.

<sup>46</sup> The final sermon is the same as sermon 11 from the first collection, which Rochais and Binont have attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux.

<sup>47</sup> Barthélemy Hauréau, "Notices des manuscrits latins 583, 657, 1249, 2945, 2950, 3145, 3146, 3437, 3473, 3482, 3495, 3498, 3652, 3702, 3730 de la Bibliothèque nationale," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale* 38 (1904): 11–12.

<sup>48</sup> Courtney, *Cardinal Robert Pullen*, 36–41.

<sup>49</sup> Smalley, *Becket Conflict and the Schools*, 245–46; Rochais and Binont, "La collection de textes divers du manuscrit Lincoln 201 et saint Bernard," 59. Tibber, "Origins of the Scholastic Sermon," 26–28, was of the same view.



both Palace Library, which purchased one of the manuscripts of this collection from the Roman Catholic diocese of Southwark in 2008, have argued again in favour of Pullen's authorship but only on the basis of the manuscript attribution.<sup>50</sup>

Robert's sermons were first analyzed by Courtney and Smalley, both of whom showed how the intended audience was educated clerics.<sup>51</sup> For Smalley, "He was addressing clerks, counting himself among them. He supposed that they had some knowledge of the liberal arts; some were already students of the holy page."<sup>52</sup> She also pointed to his ideas on the active and contemplative life, and the necessity for prelates to have a balance between the two, something he also discussed in his *Sententiae*.<sup>53</sup> Later, Stephen Ferruolo, in *The Origins of the University*, made use of nine of the sermons, showing that Robert had strong views on the scholarly profession: he reminded his audience of the need to study sacred Scripture with the right motivation, and he lamented the problems faced by scholars when dealing with less educated prelates.<sup>54</sup> For Ferruolo, "the sermons were apparently an integral part of the instruction Robert Pullen offered to his students as he prepared them for the practical application of their education."<sup>55</sup> Also in the 1980s, Peter Tibber considered Robert's sermons in his important doctoral thesis, "The Origins of the Scholastic Sermon, c.1130–c.1210."<sup>56</sup> He considered Robert to be "the earliest practitioner of a distinctively scholastic style of preaching" in the twelfth century.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>50</sup> See <http://www.lambethpalacelibrary.org/content/pullen>, and the more detailed catalogue record, with incipits and excipits, and the history of the manuscripts at: <https://archives.lambethpalacelibrary.org.uk/CalmView/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=MSS%2F4776>

<sup>51</sup> Courtney, *Cardinal Robert Pullen*, 44; Smalley, *Becket Conflict and the Schools*, 44–45, 242–43.

<sup>52</sup> Smalley, *Becket Conflict and the Schools*, 44.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 45–47.

<sup>54</sup> Stephen C. Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University: The Schools of Paris and their Critics, 1100–1215* (Stanford, 1985), 220, 227, 231, 240, 254, 264, 267.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 193.

<sup>56</sup> Tibber, "Origins of the Scholastic Sermon," 21–28, 70–71, 78–81, 127–28. Tibber's dissertation was supervised by Richard Southern. One reason for the drought of scholarly interest in Pullen after this may have been the departure of Tibber and Ferruolo from the field. Tibber enjoyed a long career in the diplomatic service and has just retired as British ambassador to Colombia. Ferruolo is dean and professor of law at the University of San Diego.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

Robert's sermons, since they would date from before his death in 1144, were certainly before those of Peter Lombard. They are not headed by a particular liturgical day and make no reference to liturgical occasions. The sermons do not always open with a scriptural text, and sometimes when they do it is in the form of paraphrase, or a summary of a longer passage.<sup>58</sup> Those that do take a biblical text as a starting point are often structured as step-by-step expositions of it. Tibber considered Robert's sermons to be strongly influenced by the older homiletic tradition,<sup>59</sup> and he and Beryl Smalley saw them as having developed from Robert's course of lectures on the Bible.<sup>60</sup> This is because the distinction between preaching and lecturing on the Bible was not as clear-cut in the first decades of the century. By the 1150s, when Peter Lombard's sermons were written down, sermons were certainly seen as a genre in their own right. Masters who preached drew on their experience as lecturers, and we will observe this in Peter Lombard's sermon below.

The first sermon in Robert's collection has the opening text *magnum quidem et difficile*. These are also the opening words of Peter Lombard's sermon 14, which is substantially influenced by Robert's earlier sermon, as will soon be demonstrated. An incomplete version of Robert's sermon 1 can be found in the *Patrologia Latina* and the remaining text is included as an appendix to this article.<sup>61</sup> The sermon is not based on one particular

<sup>58</sup> Examples are sermons 1 and 2 (no scriptural incipit), sermons 3–5 (scriptural incipit), and sermons 6 (a summary of 1 Kings 2–6), and sermon 13 (a paraphrase of Ecclesiastes 11:3). This is based on the list of sermons in Courtney, *Cardinal Robert Pullen*, 40–44, and by Schneyer, *Repertorium* 5:221–22, and the copies of the listed sermons in Paris, BnF lat. 18096 and lat. 3730 to which Courtney refers.

<sup>59</sup> Tibber, "Origins of the Scholastic Sermon," 127: "More often than not the sermon followed a complete passage of biblical narrative, interpreting it phrase by phrase in a consistent symbolic sense and preserving at both literal and symbolic levels the anecdotal structure."

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 127–28. Smalley, *Becket Conflict and the Schools*, 242–44. Smalley also here raises the question of whether Robert helped to inaugurate a tradition of lecturing on the Bible in Oxford. For more on this, see Southern, "From Schools to University," 6–8, and Rodney M. Thomson, "Serlo of Wilton and the Schools of Oxford," *Medium Ævum* 68.1 (1999): 1–12.

<sup>61</sup> PL 171:918–21. I have also consulted three manuscript copies from Paris: BnF lat. 18096, fols. 65v–66v; lat. 3730, fols. 210v–213v (both from the twelfth century); and lat. 12413, fols. 215r–216v (a thirteenth-century copy). I have used the PL text for quotations in this article, but important variants from the two twelfth-century

biblical verse, but on a series of biblical images, all of which are referred to in the opening section. On this basis Courtney and Smalley felt Apocalypse 2:17 (“To him that overcomes, I will give the hidden manna”) was the starting point.<sup>62</sup> Schneyer, following Hauréau, listed Matthew 6:33 (“Seek first the kingdom of God”) as the incipit,<sup>63</sup> but this was on the basis of the incomplete late twelfth-century copy which is printed in the *Patrologia Latina*.<sup>64</sup> The complete copies of the sermon do not have an incipit. In any case, the introductory section builds on both texts but is not limited to them. Central to the sermon as a whole are the images of the hidden manna, the merchant seeking the precious pearl (Matthew 13:46), and the notion of seeking and finding (Matthew 6:33 and 7:7–8): “It is indeed great and difficult for us to do what is proposed, but it is useful and healthy for those who strive for it. For we wish to display the *hidden manna*, which is at hand, but which cannot be seen, except with the eyes of the mind. This is that *precious pearl* which the merchant in the gospel found, and sold all that he had and bought it.”<sup>65</sup>

This sets the tone for the sermon. Robert refers to where this seeking should happen, pointing out on the basis of Luke 17:21 (“the kingdom of the Lord is within you”) that “if therefore it is within you, why do you look outside, for what you are not able to find outside. You are mis-

manuscripts are also included. The inclusion of the sermon in the *Patrologia Latina* was first noted by Montague Rhodes James and Claude Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace*, part IV (Cambridge, 1932), 639.

<sup>62</sup> Courtney, *Cardinal Robert Pullen*, 44–45 n. 58; Smalley, *Becket Conflict and the Schools*, 243. It is important to point out that Courtney, who based his list on the Lambeth and Hereford copies, does not list this verse as the actual incipit.

<sup>63</sup> Hauréau, “Notice sur les sermons attribués à Hildebert de Lavardin,” 161; Schneyer, *Repertorium* 5, 221.

<sup>64</sup> This is Paris, BnF lat. 13572, fol. 65, which was used by Antoine Beaugendre in his edition of the works of Hildebert of Lavardin. Beaugendre’s work was then incorporated into the *Patrologia Latina*. See Hauréau, “Notice sur les sermons attribués à Hildebert de Lavardin,” 117–18, and 161.

<sup>65</sup> “Magnum quidem et difficile est nostrum propositum [sed utile attendentibus et salubre]. Ostendere enim volumus manna absconditum, quod praesto est sed videri non potest, nisi oculis mentium. Haec est illa pretiosa margarita quam negotiator ille evangelicus invenit et venditis omnibus quae habebat, emit eam” (PL 171:918). The portion in square brackets, incorporated into the translation, is from Paris, BnF lat. 18096, fol. 65v, and is also used in Lambeth Palace 458 (Courtney, *Cardinal Robert Pullen*, 33).

taken.”<sup>66</sup> This leads him to further scriptural verses on turning inward. Robert then discusses the need for faith when seeking the precious pearl, which the price paid by the merchant represents. A section follows built on the Psalm text “my soul has coveted to long for your justifications, at all times” (Psalm 118:12). Robert explains this longing in terms of different dwellings which can be of the present or future life:

There are tents of God and mansions of God. There are also tents of soldiers since “the life of a man on the earth is warfare,” whence “how lovely are your tabernacles, Lord of hosts.” For not only the eternal house of the Lord but also the tents in the present are to be loved and desired. Whence the prophet, “my soul longs and faints for your courts.” He says “courts” and not “house.” In the present we are in courts, in the future we might enter the palace.”<sup>67</sup>

Those who would seek those courts are advised to follow the Lord’s advice to Abraham in Genesis 12:1: “Go out from your country, and from your kindred, and from your father’s house, and come into the land which I will show you.”<sup>68</sup> This ushers in a new section, explaining that text. For Robert, the country is carnal desire, while the kindred is curiosity, since “for someone who is preoccupied with carnal desire, it is necessary to be curious in many areas.”<sup>69</sup> The father’s house refers to the devil, the father of evil, and “just as one who is born from God, is born to justice, and to life, so one who is born from the devil is born to iniquity and to death.”<sup>70</sup> Here Robert brings in the miserable daughter of Babylon from Psalm

<sup>66</sup> “Si ergo intra vos est, cur illud extra quaeritis, quod extra invenire non potestis? Erratis” (PL 171:918).

<sup>67</sup> “Sunt enim tabernacula Domini, sunt et mansiones Domini. Sunt autem tabernacula militantium: *vita vero hominis militia est super terram* [Job 7:1]. Unde: *quam dilecta tabernacula tua, Domine virtutum* [Ps 83:1]. Non enim solum domus Domini aeterna, sed etiam tabernacula in praesenti sunt diligenda ac desideranda. Unde propheta concupiscit et deficit spiritus meus in atria tua [Psalm 83:3]. Atria dicit, non domum. In praesenti enim in atriis sumus; in futuro autem aulam ingediamur” (PL 171:918).

<sup>68</sup> “Exi de terra, et de cognatione, et de domo patris tui, et veni in terram quam monstrabo tibi” (ibid.). Peter Lombard, in his sermon (see below) uses *egredere* rather than *exi*, which is usually found in the Vulgate text.

<sup>69</sup> “Cognatio ista curiositas est. Quisquis enim dat operam voluptatibus carnis, necesse est ut curiosus sit in multis” (PL 171:920).

<sup>70</sup> “Sicut enim qui a Deo nascitur, ad justitiam nascitur, et ad vitam; ita qui ex diabolo nascitur, ad iniquitatem nascitur, et mortem” (ibid.).

136:8, who “takes a child away from its mother and suckles it to the work of the devil.”<sup>71</sup> Robert sees the devil’s house as for those who follow their own will, “Someone who, having disregarded the will of God, follows one’s own will, falls into boldness, and boldness generates pride, and this is vanity.”<sup>72</sup> A similar reading of the Genesis text can also be found in one of Bernard of Clairvaux’s sermons.<sup>73</sup> Robert pauses at this point to include an exhortation: “But perhaps you are saying, “this sermon is hard, and who can hear it?” Perhaps it may seem hard to you, because you have not yet tasted the sweetness of the Lord.”<sup>74</sup> He then returns to the *manna absconditum* from the opening: “What am I to do then? Where am I to turn? How can I show the hidden manna? I know what I will do! I will meet you with reason, so that I may at least convince you”<sup>75</sup> He argues that “you follow gluttony as if it were a sweet thing, but surely sobriety is sweeter; you are encouraged by pride as it were something good, but surely humility is better than pride.”<sup>76</sup>

Having urged his audience, Robert proposes following a journey of three days.<sup>77</sup> This acts as the final section of the sermon, a vision of what can be attained by seeking, and by going out. It is also probably the strongest section:

We will go out on a journey of three days, so that the desirable land may be shown to us. For there are three things that lead us into the desirable land. The Lord leads us into his garden, then his storeroom, and finally

<sup>71</sup> “Ipsa enim filium matris Ecclesiae, quem ipsa Deo peperit, subtrahit matri suae . . . et lactat eum ad opus diaboli” (ibid.). Robert also glosses verse 9 of the same psalm, and the full passage is given in appendix B.

<sup>72</sup> “Qui enim postposita voluntate Dei, propriam sequitur voluntatem, inde incidit in confidentiam; confidentia generat superbiam, et hoc vanitas est” (ibid).

<sup>73</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones de diversis* 6 (*Sancti Bernardi Opera* 6:106).

<sup>74</sup> “Sed dicitis: *Durus est hic sermo, quis potest eum audire?* [Jo 6:61]. *Durus quidem videtur vobis, quia nondum gustastis dulcedinem eius*” (PL 171:920).

<sup>75</sup> “Quid ergo faciam? [quo me vertam?] quomodo ei manna absconditum ostendam? [scio quid faciam: ratione te conveniam], ut sic saltem te convincam” (PL 171:920). Paris, BnF lat. 3730, fol. 212r includes the additional clauses in square brackets, which have been used in the translation.

<sup>76</sup> “Ingluuiem sequeris tanquam rem dulcem sed nonne multo dulcior est sobrietas? Superbia tanquam aliquo bono erigeris; sed nonne multo melior humilitas!” (PL 171:920). Paris, BnF lat. 18096, fol. 66r replaces the last phrase with “sed humilitas in multo praecellit.”

<sup>77</sup> The *iter trium dierum* comes from Exodus 3:18.

his bedchamber, where, when we have rested, we will see the desirable land, we will eat of its fruit, and we will possess it.”<sup>78</sup>

Robert already mentioned the idea of the *terra desiderabilis*, the desirable land, when explaining the Genesis quotation, and it is a phrase that occurs several times in the Old Testament.<sup>79</sup> For Robert, the garden represents the virtues, the storeroom, sacred Scripture, and the bedchamber “has its place between the left and right hands of God.”<sup>80</sup> In his final sentence, Robert skillfully intertwines this with the Genesis quotation:

And so, see the three ways shown to you for going out, and the other three by which one can go to the desirable land. Each one is brought together separately, so that nail may drive out nail. For the garden of the Lord brought to your country will clear it out. And so, in the same way, the storeroom of the Lord, i.e., the study of holy Scripture, will banish all your kindred, i.e. the curiosity which troubles you. No less does the bed placed between the hands of God subvert the house of the Devil.”<sup>81</sup>

Peter Lombard’s sermon *In Laetare Ierusalem*, which also begins with the words *magnum quidem et difficile*, builds substantially on Robert’s

<sup>78</sup> “Iter trium dierum ibimus, ut ostendatur nobis terra desiderabilis. Tria enim sunt quae in terram desiderabilem nos inducunt. Inducit enim nos Dominus in hortum suum, deinde in cellarium suum, ad extremum in cubiculum suum, ubi cum requieverimus, terram desiderabilem videbimus, de fructu eius comedemus, ipsam possidebimus” (PL 171:921).

<sup>79</sup> Ps 105:24; Zach 8:1; Jer 3:19; Mal 3:12.

<sup>80</sup> “Lectulus . . . locum suum habet inter levam dei et dexteram eius” (Paris, BnF lat. 18096, fol. 66v). Robert notes that the left hand represents Christ’s humanity, while the right represents his divinity. Robert (as Peter after him) departs here from the interpretation of Bernard of Clairvaux, who saw the garden, storeroom, and bedchamber as each representing a different way of interpreting Scripture, the historical, moral, and mystical. See *Sermones de diversis* 92 (*Sancti Bernardi Opera* 6:346), and *Sermones super canticum canticorum* 23 (*Sancti Bernardi Opera* 1:140).

<sup>81</sup> “Ecce habetis vobis illa proposita tria de quibus vobis egrediendum et alia tria per quae ad terram desiderabilem est eundum. Collidantur itaque singula singulis, ut clavus clavum expellat. Hortus enim domini collatus terre sue eam evacuabit. Sic et Domini cellarium id est divinarum scripturarum studium omnem tuam cognationem id est quae te angit curiositatem exterminabit. Nec minus lectulus qui inter manus domini est domum subverteret diaboli” (Paris, BnF lat. 18096, fol. 66v). The variant reading “terre tue” in BnF lat. 3730, fol. 213r (see Appendix A) makes more sense, and so has been used in the translation.

structure and ideas.<sup>82</sup> This time, the Lord's advice to Abraham from Genesis becomes the opening text that is "great and difficult."<sup>83</sup> About one-sixth of the sermon is taken directly from Robert's, but in the added material we can observe Peter's individual approach to sermons, particularly the incorporation of in-depth treatments of theological questions.<sup>84</sup> In the sermon collection it is unusually long: at 4800 words it covers eleven columns in the *Patrologia Latina*, one of only three sermons this long.<sup>85</sup> Peter says little about the liturgical occasion, but that is not unusual in his Sunday sermons that do not mark something specific in the life of Christ.<sup>86</sup> *Laetare* Sunday (from "rejoice o Jerusalem" in Isaiah) was the third Sunday of Lent, and while Peter at one point identifies Jerusalem with the church, he does not specify the season or day anywhere. This is in contrast to some of his other Lenten sermons.<sup>87</sup> While Robert had said that the subject matter of his first sermon was "concerning good conscience,"<sup>88</sup> Peter uses the Genesis verse to focus more specifically on conversion from faults, and on turning away from the world. This would certainly be fitting for Lent.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>82</sup> The sermon is in PL171:853–64. For the title, *In Laetare Ierusalem*, see Brady, Prolegomena to *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae* 1:103\*. I have also consulted three manuscripts copies, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 1275, fols. 41v–47r, and Paris, BnF lat. 13374, fols. 17v–19v, and lat. 14590, fols. 180r–186r, all of which make use of marginal rubrics. All three are available online through the respective libraries. Paris, BnF lat. 14590 is particularly interesting since the Peter Lombard sermon is the only one in the collection that includes rubrics.

<sup>83</sup> "Magnum quidem est et difficile, ad quod nos Dominus hortatur sub figura Abrahae, sed utile observantibus et salubre" (PL 171:853).

<sup>84</sup> The corresponding passages can be seen in Appendix B.

<sup>85</sup> The rest are between four and eight columns.

<sup>86</sup> Doyle, *Peter Lombard and His Students*, 146, 154.

<sup>87</sup> See, for example *In die cineris* (PL 171:451–56), and *In letaniis* (PL 171:567–72). The titles of Peter's sermons in these notes are from Brady, Prolegomena to *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae* 1:99–111\*.

<sup>88</sup> "Heri fratres karissimi de bono conscientie vobiscum sermonem habuimus" (Paris, BnF lat. 3730, fol. 213r; lat. 18096, lat. 66v). This opening of sermon 2 is discussed below. The thirteenth-century copy of sermon 1 in BnF lat. 12413, fols. 215r–216v, which is scrupulous about giving titles to all the sermons (by various authors) included, has the heading "sermo de bono conscientiae."

<sup>89</sup> In this it resembles the sermon *In dominica ante palmas* (PL 171:456–63). See the extended discussion of that sermon in Doyle, *Peter Lombard and His Students*, 154–56.

That theme would also be appropriate for the audience. One of the manuscripts includes the subheading *ad claustrales*,<sup>90</sup> and Barthélemy Hauréau and Jean Châtillon suggested that it was preached to the canons of St. Victor.<sup>91</sup> This is because it (along with another of Peter's sermons, the *Sermo communis*) can be found in a manuscript collection of sermons preached there, and they suspected that it was delivered during Peter's time as bishop of Paris (1159–60).<sup>92</sup> It could also have been preached when Peter was archdeacon (1156–59), since his area of responsibility within the diocese, his archdeaconry, included St. Victor.<sup>93</sup>

Although Peter opens his sermon with the Genesis verse, he reserves the exposition of it for later. Instead, like Robert, he builds his first section on the hidden manna, the precious pearl, seeking and finding.<sup>94</sup> But we can quickly see Peter developing and extending these starting points:

Therefore love, my brothers, the Lord, and keep his words, so that you may reach the one word, which is the hidden manna, namely, "the word that in the beginning was with God," because "God has spoken once." He brought forth his own word from himself, eternally and immutably, unchangeably, coequal, coeternal, and consubstantial with himself; the begetter does not precede the begotten in eternity, and he does not exceed him in magnitude, or excel him in power.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Brady, Prolegomena to *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae* 1:103\*.

<sup>91</sup> Hauréau, *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 3 (Paris, 1888–91), 18, 49–50, 65; Jean Châtillon, "Sermons et prédicateurs victorins de la seconde moitié du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 32 (1965): 57–58. For the *Sermo communis*, see also Doyle, *Peter Lombard and His Students*, 139–43.

<sup>92</sup> The manuscript is Paris, BnF lat. 14590, fols. 180r–186r.

<sup>93</sup> For Peter's archdeaconry, see Doyle, *Peter Lombard and His Students*, 104–6.

<sup>94</sup> "Quisque ergo nostrum, fratres, in Abraham monetur de spirituali Aegyptio exire, et manna absconditum esurire, totisque studiis quaerere, quia omnis qui quaerit, invenit; et qui petit, accipit: si tamen quaerit et petit in nomine Jesu, sicut ille evangelicus negotiator, qui quaerens bonas margaritas, et inventa una pretiosa, vendidit omnia quae habebat, et emit eam" (PL 171:853).

<sup>95</sup> "Diligite igitur, fratres, Dominum, et custodite verba ejus, ut sic perveniatis ad unum verbum, quod est manna absconditum, scilicet *Verbum in principio apud Deum* [Jo 1:1], quod *semel locutus est Deus* [Ps 65:12], id est aeternaliter et immutabiliter de se ipso suum genuit Verbum, sibi coaequale, coaeternum et consubstantiale; non praecedit genitor genitum aeternitate, nec excedit magnitudine, nec excellit potestate" (PL 171:854).



A section on the Trinity follows, specifically on the manner in which the Father begat the Son, and on the procession of the Holy Spirit.<sup>96</sup> Here Peter deals with some of the questions he also covers in distinction 9 of book one of the *Sententiae*,<sup>97</sup> but without the extensive arraying of authorities. It is almost as if Peter pauses from his sermon to raise a difficult point of theology: “But perhaps it occurs to you . . . that the Father indeed begat the Son, therefore the Father was before the Son, or without the Son.”<sup>98</sup> Peter’s answer is rooted in his discussion of these points in the *Sententiae*: “this idea pious faith refutes. In that generation, no times are to be thought of. There is no before and after there. No alteration of present and future is to be sought there.”<sup>99</sup> The manuscripts of this sermon draw attention to this theological topic by including the marginal rubric “on the begetting of the Son.”<sup>100</sup>

While the Trinitarian section recalls Peter’s classroom, and would also be familiar to canons who were students and teachers at the school at St. Victor, the next section would certainly seem more standard for a cloistered environment. Peter develops Robert’s brief point about those who seek the hidden manna in what is outside, by understanding it in terms of a verse from Isaiah:

Come, “buy and eat” the hidden manna, just as Isaiah says: “All you that thirst, come to the waters,” that is to the old and new law, “and you that have no money,” namely Ciceronian eloquence and philosophical indus-

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> Peter Lombard, *Sententiae* 1.9.4–5 (ed. Brady, 1:106–10). See also Rosemann, *Peter Lombard*, 84–85.

<sup>98</sup> “Sed forte subrepet tibi: Si nascendo accepit ut Filius esset, et esset in natiuitate, ergo non erat, nec Filius erat. Pater vero qui generabat, erat; ergo Pater sine Filio erat, vel ante Filium” (PL 171:854).

<sup>99</sup> “Hoc autem pia fides repudiat. In illa enim generatione, sicut in Spiritus sancti processione, nulla cogitanda sunt tempora; non est ibi ante et post; non ibi quaerenda est permutatio praeteriti et futuri” (ibid.)

<sup>100</sup> Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 1275, fol. 42r; Paris, BnF lat. 14590, fol. 180v: “de genitura filii.” The rubrics for this sermon in BnF lat. 13374 only denote scriptural books. For the use of rubrics in Peter Lombard’s works, see Brady, “The Rubrics of Peter Lombard’s Sentences,” *Pier Lombardo* 6 (1962): 5–25, and Prolegomena to *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae* 1:143\*–144\*. See also Rosemann, *Peter Lombard*, 64–65.

try, “make haste,” through faith, “without the money” of worldly philosophy, and empty fallacy. “Why do you spend money on what is not bread, and labour for what does not satisfy you?” Why do you expend the industry of your abilities, and the application of your labour, not on spiritual bread, where there is restoration and life, but instead in the foliage of words, and the cunning of empty questions, which escape the mind and fail to satisfy the soul?<sup>101</sup>

These kinds of ideas were quite common in twelfth-century monastic sermons, and Robert Pullen was also fond of them. He argued in one of his other sermons that “the school of Christ does not take in the dialectician nor the orator nor the philosopher, nor are dialectic or grammar read in the kingdom of God.”<sup>102</sup> Peter Lombard’s source for this passage, however, seems to be the *Glossa ordinaria* on Isaiah,<sup>103</sup> showing again how he drew on material from his classroom to extend this sermon beyond the model provided by Robert Pullen. Peter then moves to the proper exposition of the opening text, preceding it with a transitional sentence that links it to ideas already discussed: “when the hidden manna is revealed, which will be in the land of life, in the desirable land, to where the spirit of the Lord calls us saying, ‘Go forth from your country, and from your kindred, and

<sup>101</sup> “Venite, emite et comedite manna absconditum, sicut Isaias ait: *Omnes sistentes, venite ad aquas vivas, scilicet veteris ac novae legis, et qui non habetis argentum, Tullianae scilicet eloquentiae, et philosophicae industriae, properate fide, absque argento terrena philosophiae, atque inanis fallaciae. Quare appenditis argentum, et non in panibus; et laborem vestrum, et non in saturitate* [Is 55:1–2]. Quare industriam ingenii vestri, et studium laboris expenditis, non in spiritualibus panibus, ubi refectio est et vita, sed in foliis verborum, et in versutiis inanium quaestionum, quae animum praetervolant, et animam non satiant” (PL 171:855). I have made some adjustments to the highlighting of the Isaiah text.

<sup>102</sup> “Scola enim Christi non suscipit dialecticum nec oratorem nec philosophum neque in regno dei legetur dialectica vel gramatica” (Robert Pullen, sermon 13, *Arbor si cecidit*, Paris, BnF lat. 18096, fol. 61r). For more on this sermon, see Ferruolo, *Origins of the University*, 231 and 240.

<sup>103</sup> *Biblia Latina cum Glossa ordinaria*, vol. 3, ed. Adolph Rusch (Strasbourg, 1480–81), fol. 113b, online facsimile at Digitale historische Bibliothek Erfurt/Gotha: [https://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/ufb/rsc/viewer/ufb\\_derivate\\_00000063/Inc\\_83\\_3\\_00\\_229.tif](https://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/ufb/rsc/viewer/ufb_derivate_00000063/Inc_83_3_00_229.tif). For Peter’s use of the *Glossa ordinaria* on Isaiah in his sermons, see also Brady, Prolegomena to *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae* 2:35\*–36\*.

from your father's house.'"<sup>104</sup> Like Robert, Peter sees this as representing a journey of three days, but he ties this in more explicitly with Exodus 3:18, and he dwells on other threefold distinctions: the three ways of receding from God "by evil thought, word, and deed," into the "region of dissimilitude," but also a threefold manner of going forward, "by thinking, speaking, and doing good."<sup>105</sup> He also mentions the threefold earth on which the seed fell, and the passion, burial, and resurrection of Christ, among others. Referring to threefold distinctions is a typical feature of Peter's sermons,<sup>106</sup> and it was also very common in Victorine writing.<sup>107</sup>

Robert Pullen's treatment of going out from country, kindred and the father's house also acts as a starting point for Peter. The country is carnal passion, a land that destroys rather than nourishes.<sup>108</sup> This leads Peter to Psalm 123, "This is water without substance, whence the prophet, 'perhaps we have passed through insupportable water.'"<sup>109</sup> Peter's discussion of "water without substance" here, and the descent of the soul, draws heavily on his *Commentary on the Psalms*.<sup>110</sup> The water without substance is where the prodigal son lost his inheritance,<sup>111</sup> and the parable of the lost

<sup>104</sup> "... ubi manna absconditum revelabitur, quod erit in terra viventium, in terra desiderabili, ad quam nos vocat spiritus Dei, dicens: *Egredere de terra, et de cognatione tua, et de domo patris tui*" (PL 171:856).

<sup>105</sup> "Sicut enim tribus modis a Deo receditur in regionem dissimilitudinis, scilicet cogitatu, verbo et opere malo, ita tribus modis in contrarium versis proficitur, et ad Dei similitudinem revertitur, scilicet cogitando bonum, loquendo et operando" (ibid.). Peter refers frequently to the "region of dissimilitude" in his sermons. See Brady, Prolegomena to *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae* 1:95\*-112\*; and Doyle, *Peter Lombard and His Students*, 139-40.

<sup>106</sup> For example, *In circumcissione Domini* (PL 171:397-98); *De Trinitate et de pascha partim* (ibid., 436); *In letaniis*, (ibid., 568-69). See also the discussion in Protais, *Pierre Lombard*, 126-30.

<sup>107</sup> Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3d ed. (Oxford, 1983), 86-87; Mark Zier, "Preaching by Distinction: Peter Comestor and the Communication of the Gospel," *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 105 (1991): 307-8.

<sup>108</sup> "Haec terra non nutrit, sed dissolvit" (PL 171:857).

<sup>109</sup> "Haec est aqua sine substantia; unde propheta: *Forsitan pertransisset anima nostra aquam intolerabilem* [Ps 123:5]" (PL 171:857).

<sup>110</sup> Peter Lombard, *Commentaria in Psalmos*, Ps 123:5 (PL 191:1149).

<sup>111</sup> "In hac aqua sine substantia perdidit ille prodigus filius substantiam suam" (PL 171:857). See also *Commentaria in Psalmos* (PL 191:1149).

sheep (Luke 15:3–5) is also brought up.<sup>112</sup> He “humbly awaited one who would lead him back, who would bring him back from where he had fallen, to the angelic fellowship, washed in the living water of baptism.”<sup>113</sup>

As for Robert, the kindred represents curiosity, and Peter uses this to extol the virtue of solitude: “For while someone scatters himself through countless thoughts of desires, he can in no way collect himself to take in his thoughts fully, nor fully receive wisdom, which is God, so that he may be drawn back fully from the fluctuation of carnal thoughts.”<sup>114</sup> He also advocates being “away from the tumults of the world” by invoking Psalm 45 (“be still and know that I am God”).<sup>115</sup> These kinds of thoughts on interior spirituality can be found in a number of Peter’s sermons.<sup>116</sup> Finally, the father’s house is examined systematically: people can be children of the devil by conception or by imitation,<sup>117</sup> while “there are four ways to become children of God, namely, by predestination, by vocation, by justification, and by magnification.”<sup>118</sup> These four terms come from Romans 8:29, and after quoting this verse, Peter glosses each of the four, drawing substantially on his *Commentary on the Letters of Paul*.<sup>119</sup> He then further draws on Robert by introducing the daughter of Babylon of Psalm 136: “Children of the devil are born from their father, the devil, and from their mother, Babylon, just as children of God are born from their father Christ,

<sup>112</sup> “Haec etiam in errorem ovem invexit centesimam, quam pius pastor in Evangelio laetatur quaesisse, relictis nonaginta novem in deserto” (PL 171:857). See also *Commentaria in Psalmos* (PL 191:1149).

<sup>113</sup> “. . . reductorem humiliter quaereret, qui eam vivifica baptismi aqua lotam, consortio unde ceciderat angelico redderet” (PL 171:857). In the corresponding passage in the *Commentaria in Psalmos*, Peter also includes the idea that he was dried out by the water without substance: “qui eam vivifica baptismi aqua lotam, siccata aqua sine substantia, consortio unde ceciderat angelico redderet” (PL 191:1149).

<sup>114</sup> “Dum enim se quisque per innumeras desideriorum cogitationes spargit, ad cogitationes sui nullatenus se colligit, nec sapientiam, quae Deus est, plene recipit, ut qui ab omni se carnalium cogitationum fluctuatione plene retrahit” (PL 171:858).

<sup>115</sup> “*Vacate et videte, quoniam ego sum Deus* [Ps 45:11]; quia nisi a tumultibus saeculi quis vacaverit . . .” (PL 171:859).

<sup>116</sup> See Doyle, *Peter Lombard and His Students*, 135–44.

<sup>117</sup> “Fiunt autem filii diaboli duobus modis, lege conceptionis, lege imitationis” (PL 171:859).

<sup>118</sup> “Quatuor autem modis fiunt aliqui filii Dei, scilicet, praedestinatione, vocatione, justificatione, magnificatione” (ibid.).

<sup>119</sup> Peter Lombard, *Glossa in Epistolas* (PL 191:1151).

and their mother Jerusalem, i.e., the Church.”<sup>120</sup> The subsequent discussion of this psalm is the same as Robert’s.<sup>121</sup>

One reason for the length of this sermon is that it could easily have ended soon after this, when Peter sums up the opening text: “If therefore you wish to tend towards the desirable land, if you wish to reach the hidden manna, you should go out from the country of passion, and from the kindred of unquiet curiosity, and from the proud, impious house of your father.”<sup>122</sup> But instead, an exhortation and epilogue are included, again built on Robert’s starting points. The exhortation follows Robert quite closely, stating that “even reason teaches you what I say; natural reason conquers you.”<sup>123</sup>

In the epilogue, on the threefold way to the desirable land, Peter builds on Robert’s treatment of the garden, storeroom, and bedchamber.<sup>124</sup> Both see the storeroom as representing sacred Scripture<sup>125</sup> but Peter adds that it also stands for “holy contemplation, where we are revived, inebriated by the sweetness of grace, as by the odour of unmixed wine.”<sup>126</sup> Both authors refer to the different senses of Scripture to conclude their section on the storeroom.<sup>127</sup> The discussion of the bedchamber is built on the idea of

<sup>120</sup> “Filius diaboli generatur ex patre diabolo, et matre Babylonia, sicut filii [Dei] ex patre Christo, et matre Jerusalem, id est Ecclesia” (PL 171:860).

<sup>121</sup> Ibid. Robert’s version is in col. 920, and the two can be seen side by side in Appendix B.

<sup>122</sup> “Si igitur ad terram desiderabilem pertingere vultis, si ad manna absconditum pervenire, egredimini de terra voluptatis, et de cognatione inquietae curiositatis, et de domo impia superbi patris” (PL 171:861).

<sup>123</sup> “Etiam ratio te docet quod dico; ratio naturalis te vincit” (PL 171:861).

<sup>124</sup> Peter Lombard also treats these ideas, and briefly expounds the Genesis quotation in another sermon: *Sermo sine rubrica*, ed. Henri M. Rochais, “Une collection de textes de S. Bernard dans le manuscrit Tours 343,” *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 29 (1962): 110–11.

<sup>125</sup> “Qui ergo primo diei itinere in hortum introducti sumus, superest ut secunda die introducatur in cellam vinariam. Cellerarium autem intelligitur divina Scriptura” (PL 171:862). Robert’s text is “Qui ergo primo diei itinere in hortum intraturi sumus, superest ut secunda die introducatur in cellam vinariam. Cellarium Domini, divina Scriptura” (PL 171:921).

<sup>126</sup> “Cellarium autem intelligitur divina Scriptura, vel contemplatio divina, ubi dulcedine gratiae recreatur inebriati tanquam vini meri odore” (PL 171:862).

<sup>127</sup> “Si enim morum doctrinam, si allegoriarum intelligentiam, si historiarum veritatem, si anagoges revelationem requirimus, totum ibi reperimus” (ibid.). The same text by Robert Pullen can be seen in the appendices to this article.

sleeping between the right and left hand of God. Among the scriptural verses enlisted to illustrate this Peter introduces a verse from the Psalms, “if you sleep in the midst of lots, you shall be as the wings of a dove covered with silver” (Psalm 67:14). Robert had done this briefly,<sup>128</sup> but Peter treats it more extensively:

The church is said to be a dove on account of its simplicity, following “one is my dove, one is my beloved” (Song 6:8) and covered with silver because it is adorned with divine eloquence. The wings of the dove are then the doctors and prelates of the church whose preaching is carried to heaven.<sup>129</sup>

Again here we can see him incorporating material from his own *Commentary on the Psalms*.<sup>130</sup>

Overall we can see the sermon genre in transition in the work of these two theologians: Robert’s collection is not liturgical, but rather seems to be structured as more a series of talks, rather like Bernard of Clairvaux’s *Sermons on the Songs of Songs*. The second sermon picks up where the first left off, “yesterday, my brothers, we had a good conversation with you concerning good conscience, since we mentioned the hidden manna, the precious pearl, the desirable land, and the kingdom of heaven.”<sup>131</sup> A number of the moral themes draw also on monastic preaching. Some of his sermons are more characteristic of the older homiletic style with a block of

<sup>128</sup> Paris, BnF lat. 18096, fol. 66v.

<sup>129</sup> “Columba dicitur Ecclesia propter simplicitatem, secundum illud: *Una est columba mea* [Cant 6:8], una est amica mea, et ipsa dicitur deargentata, quia divinis eloquiis est erudita; pennaе autem columbae sunt doctores et praelati Ecclesiae, quorum praedicatio in coelum fertur; gloria Ecclesiae cleri sortes sunt” (PL 171:863).

<sup>130</sup> “Columba est Ecclesia, de qua dicitur in Canticis: *Una est columba mea*. Haec est deargentata, id est divinis eloquiis erudita. . . Pennae columbae sunt doctores Ecclesiae, per quos exaltatur Ecclesia, et semper volat ad alta; quorum praedicatione in coelum fertur gloria Ecclesiae” (Peter Lombard, *Commentaria in Psalmos*, Ps 67:14 [PL 191:608]). This is itself based on Augustine’s *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 67.17 (CCSL 39 [PL 36:823]). Robert Pullen considers the verse in more depth in his sermon 13 (*arbor si cecidit*), Paris, BnF lat. 18096, fol. 62r. His treatment mirrors these, and he could have been drawing on the *Glossa ordinaria*, which includes excerpts from Augustine’s commentary.

<sup>131</sup> “Heri fratres karissimi de bono conscientie vobiscum sermonem habuimus quod nos manna absconditum, preciosam margaritam, terram desiderabilem regnum, celorum nominavimus” (Paris, BnF lat. 3730, fol. 213r; lat. 18096, fol. 66v).

text explained in a step-by-step way.<sup>132</sup> But Robert anticipates later developments in drawing on his background as a master of the holy page, by crafting other sermons that would appeal to an audience of students in the schools. In this one he arranges different verses from Scripture into a structure that treats the themes of good conscience and spiritual progress in a satisfying way. These verses are never simply stated, but their significance is always explained. It is clear that Robert Pullen in general is due a reappraisal, and his sermons certainly warrant further study.

In the case of Peter Lombard, this text also showcases elements common to a number of his sermons, such as theological digressions, threefold distinctions, and considerations of the spiritual life. Yet it is intriguing that Peter does not just incorporate some of Robert's text or ideas into this sermon, in which case they could be both drawing from a common source, but uses the same basic structure and essential content. He then adds considerably to this material, adding new ideas, doctrinal questions, biblical verses, and imagery. It is also significant that the new material is weighted towards his teaching materials: his own published commentaries, the *Sententiae*, and the *Glossa ordinaria*. This provides an illuminating insight into Peter's method in creating sermons. Once he had decided on the structure of a sermon, and the main biblical verses to consider, he could then fill in some of the sections on the basis of his profession as a theology master.

#### APPENDIX A

##### THE FINAL SECTION OF ROBERT PULLEN, SERMON 1

This transcription provides the final portion of the sermon, which was omitted from PL 171:921; it begins with the last words in the printed text. The text is from Paris, BnF lat. 18096, with variant readings from Paris, BnF lat. 3730 provided in the apparatus. The first manuscript contains works by Hugh of St. Victor, and Bernard of Clairvaux.<sup>133</sup> The second manuscript, as Hauréau showed,<sup>134</sup> is a compilation of texts by various noted authors, with Bernard of Clairvaux featured most often. The second

<sup>132</sup> An example is sermon 6 (ed. Rochais and Binont, "La collection de textes divers du manuscrit Lincoln 201 et saint Bernard," 80–85).

<sup>133</sup> There is a detailed description of the manuscript in Hauréau, *Notices et extraits de quelque manuscrits*, 6, 22–34.

<sup>134</sup> Hauréau, "Notices des manuscrits latins," 43.

has been dated to 1150–1200,<sup>135</sup> while the first has an earlier date (1125–50).<sup>136</sup>

Paris, BnF lat. 18096, fol. 66v

. . . ibi enim quicquid natum est in (h)orto virtutum, ad opus nostrum invenimus repositum. Si morum doctrinam, si allegoriarum intelligentiam, si historiarum veritatem requirimus<sup>a</sup>, totum ibi repperiemus<sup>b</sup>. Ille ergo quem<sup>c</sup> in (h)orto redolentia virtutum delectabat, fructum eorum in cellario percipiat.

Restat ut tercie diei itinere introducat nos rex noster in cubiculum<sup>d</sup>, sed hucusque humanum diximus propter infirmitatem vestram<sup>e</sup>. Si autem cum Apostolo *excedimus Deo excedimus*, magnum est et<sup>f</sup> inscrutabile in experto quod restat dicendum. Lectulus<sup>g</sup> enim iste de quo sermo habetur, locum suum habet inter<sup>h</sup> levam dei et dexteram eius. Unde *si dor(miatis) i(nter) m(edios) c(leros) et cetera*<sup>i</sup>. Et alibi *Leva eius s(ub) c(apite) m(eo), et cetera*<sup>j</sup>. Per levam humanitatem Christi, per dexteram divinitatem intelligimus. Humanitas enim est que capiti nostro supponitur in praesenti<sup>k</sup>, per ipsam enim erigimur et accessum habemus ad eum. Divinitas vero in futuro amplexabitur nos. Haec est gemina refectio nostra, quia de fructu ventris virginis reficimur in terris, et de fructu ventris dei patris reficiemur in celis. Venite igitur venite ad terram desiderabilem. Et quid desiderabilius, quid securius, quid suavius, quam inter levam domini et dexteram pausare?

Ecce habetis illa tria proposita vobis<sup>l</sup> de quibus est vobis egrediendum et alia tria per quae ad terram desiderabilem est eundum. Collidantur itaque singula singulis, ut clavus clavum expellat. (H)ortus enim domini collatus terre sue<sup>m</sup> eam evacuabit. Sic et Domini cellarium id est divinarum scripturarum studium omnem tuam cognitionem id est quae te angit curiositatem exterminabit. Nec minus lectulus qui inter manus domini est domum subvertet diaboli.

Paris, BnF lat. 3730, fols. 212v–213r

<sup>a</sup> inquirimus    <sup>b</sup> repperiemus    <sup>c</sup> quam    <sup>d</sup> in cubiculum rex noster    <sup>e</sup> nostram    <sup>f</sup> *excedimus*, non excidat, fratres, a cordibus vestris quod dico *excedimus*, magnum et    <sup>g</sup> lectus    <sup>h</sup> locum suum inter    <sup>i</sup> *Si dormiatis inter medios cleros, p(ennae) c(olumbae) d(eargenteae) et cetera*    <sup>j</sup> *Leva eius sub capite meo, et dextera eius amplexabitur me*    <sup>k</sup> in praesenti supponitur    <sup>l</sup> Ecce habetis vobis illa proposita    <sup>m</sup> collatus terre tue

<sup>135</sup> <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc616822>

<sup>136</sup> <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc69026v>



## APPENDIX B

## CORRESPONDENCE OF PASSAGES IN THE TWO SERMONS

References are given to the texts as they appear in PL 171, with important manuscript variants included in square brackets.

## Peter Lombard

(853) Magnum quidem est et difficile, ad quod nos Dominus hortatur sub figura Abrahae, sed utile observantibus et salubre. . . .

Quisque ergo nostrum, fratres, in Abraham monetur de spirituali Aegypto exire, et manna absconditum esurire, totisque studiis quaerere, quia omnis qui quaerit, invenit; et qui petit, accipit: si tamen quaerit et petit in nomine Jesu, sicut ille evangelicus negotiator, qui quaerens bonas margaritas, et inventa una pretiosa, vendidit omnia quae habebat, et emit eam. Ecce omnes profitemini eam quaerere. . . .

(854–55) Hoc est ergo manna absconditum, et pretiosa margarita, quam *oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit* quam, ut praetaxatum est, plurimi quaerere ac diligere profitentur, qui tamen non inveniunt, quia si invenirent, et emerent, nec videretur nimis cara, nec aliquod pretium negaretur pro ipsa comparanda. O quam parum profecit,

qui multiplici labore distractus, nondum invenit quod quaerit, nondum novit quod proficitur, nondum habet quod desideratur,

## Robert Pullen

(918–19) Magnum quidem et difficile est nostrum propositum [sed utile attendentibus et salubre (Paris, BnF lat. 18096, fol. 65v)].

Ostendere enim volumus manna absconditum, quod praesto est sed videri non potest, nisi oculis mentium. Haec est illa pretiosa margarita quam negotiator ille evangelicus invenit et venditis omnibus quae habebat, emit eam. Ecce vos omnes eam profitemini quaerere,

sed nondum eam invenistis, quia si invenissetis, emeritis eam, nec videretur nimis cara, nec aliquod pretium negaretur pro ipsa comparanda. O quam parum profecit, ille tantus, ille diuturnus, ille multiplex labor vester, qui non invenistis quod quaeritis, nondum novitis quod profitemini, nondum habetis quod desideratis! Absconditum est, non

quia ibi quaeritur ubi inveniri non potest! Ubi? in exterioribus, cum Dominus dicat: *Regnum Dei intra vos est*. Cur ergo extra vos quaeritis, quod extra vos invenire non potestis? Cum igitur intra vos est quod quaeritis, prope vos est.

Sed quam prope Apostolus docet: *Prope est verbum in ore tuo, et in corde tuo*.

Audistis ubi sit margarita quam quaeritis? *Venite itaque, et emite illam...*

(856) Terra hominis est voluntas carnis, quia de terra et in terram it, cum terrenis subjicitur voluptatibus, et carnalibus servit desideriis.

Exuat ergo homo voluptates carnis, et spiritu ambulans, carnalia amputet desideria, si ad terram desiderabilem voluerit pertingere....

(858) Cognatio hominis est curiositas, quae post voluptatem recte ponitur; quia quisquis dat operam voluptatibus carnis, et desideriis carnalibus inservit, necesse est ut curiositati per multa subjiciatur, ut verbi gratia, si quis libidini vacet, nonne curiose sollicitatur quomodo placeat mulieri, et quomodo alliciat eam? Si ingluviei, nonne undique rapit et extorquet, ut gulae satisfaciat? ...

(859) Pater malorum diabolus est, secundum illud: *Vos ex patre diabolo estis, et desideria patris vestri facitis...*

dico omnibus, sed illud quaerentibus ubi invenire non possunt. Ubinam? in exterioribus, cum Dominus dicat: *Regnum Dei intra vos est*. Si ergo intra vos est, cur illud extra quaeritis, quod extra invenire non potestis? ...

(919) Unde Apostolus: *Prope est verbum in ore tuo, et in corde tuo*. Non enim loquimur de eo *oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit* sed de eo in hac vita haberi potest. Audistis ubi sit margarita quam quaeritis? *Venite itaque, et emite illam...*

(920) Terra hominis, voluptas suae carnis.

Exeat ergo homo de voluptatibus carnis suae, si voluerit ad terram desiderabilem venire....

Cognatio ista curiositas est.

Quisquis enim dat operam voluptatibus carnis,

necesse est ut curiosus sit in malis. Verbi gratia: si quis servit libidini, nonne curiosus est quomodo placeat mulieri, et quomodo alliciat eam? Si ingluviei, nonne undquaue extorquet, ut gulae satisfaciat? ...

Pater malorum diabolus est, unde in Evangelio: *Vos ex patre diabolo estis, et desideria patris vestri facitis...*

(860) Sicut enim qui ex Deo nascitur, nascitur ad justitiam et vitam, ita qui ex diabolo nascitur, ad iniquitatem nascitur, et mortem....

(860–61) Sed: *Filia Babylonis misera*, ut ait Propheta, quidnam potest praestare misera, nisi miseriam? Miseri ergo sunt filii ejus, qui eam amant, qui eam sequuntur. Sed *beatus qui retribuit ei retributionem, quam ipsa retribuit*. Ipsa enim filium Ecclesiae, quem tanquam mulier in tristitia filios parit, ex Deo natum subtrahit matri suae, et quasi proprium apponit uberibus suis, et suarum lenociniis voluptatum, lactat ad opus diaboli;

sed *beatus qui retribuit ei retributionem suam*, id est *qui parvulos* ejus, antequam in robur malitiae crescant, rapit, et ablactat, *alliditque ad petram* Christum....

(861) Habet enim diabolus domum quasi propriam, scilicet, superbiam. In hac conversatur. In hac elegit sibi sedem....

Sed forte dicitis: *Durus est hic sermo et quis potest eum audire?* Quibus respondet Veritas: *Tollite jugum meum super vos ... quia jugum meum suave est, et onus meum leve*, sed amantibus et gustantibus. Quae enim gravia sunt et importabilia, facilia ac prope nulla facit charitas, et experientia dulcedinis. Durum igitur forte videbitur vobis, quia nondum gustastis dulcedinem verbi Dei,

Sicut enim qui a Deo nascitur, ad justitiam nascitur, et ad vitam; ita qui ex diabolo nascitur, ad iniquitatem nascitur, et mortem.

Sed: *Filia Babylonis misera*.  
Quid autem potest praestare misera, nisi miseriam?  
Miseri ergo sunt

qui sequuntur eam; at *beatus qui retribuit retributionem, quam ipsa retribuit*. Ipsa enim filium matris Ecclesiae, quem ipsa Deo peperit,

subtrahit matri suae, et tanquam proprium apponit uberibus suis, et lactat eum ad opus diaboli. Hoc autem non semel et bis, sed saepe saepius Babylonia matri nostrae, sanctae videlicet Ecclesiae retribuit; sed *beatus qui retribuit ei retributionem suam*, id est *qui parvulos* ejus, antequam evadunt in robur malitiae, rapit, et ablactat, at *allidit ad petram*, id est ad Christum.

Pater hujus civitatis diabolus domum habet propriam, videlicet voluptatem. In hac conversatur diabolus. In hac elegit sibi sedem....

Sed dicitis: *Durus est hic sermo, quis potest eum audire*.

Durus quidem videtur vobis, quia nondum gustastis dulcedinem eius,

quam abscondit timentibus se. *Gustate igitur et videte, quoniam suavis est Dominus,*

qui ait: *Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos.* Refectio autem non est defectus, sed consolationis et profectus. Redi ergo, praevaricator, ad cor tuum. Etiam ratio te docet quod dico; ratio naturalis te vincit.

Vide quia delectaris in carne meretricis, sed nonne delectabilior est caro Christi? Ingluuiem sequeris quasi rem dulcem, sed nonne multo dulcior est sobrietas? Superbia te erigit, sed multo potior est humilitas. Absit ut indumentum diaboli sanguine concretum melius Christi veste reputes, quae est sine macula aut ruga....

(861–62) Inducit enim nos Dominus, primo in hortum, inde in cellarium, postremo in cubiculum, ubi requiescentes de fructu terrae desiderabilis satiabimur....

(862) Qui ergo primo diei itinere in hortum introducti sumus, superest ut secunda die introducatur in cellam vinariam. Cellerarium autem intelligitur divina Scriptura....

Si enim morum

quam abscondit timentibus se. *Gustate ergo et videte, quoniam suavis est Dominus.* Nonne fidelis Dominus in omnibus verbis suis, qui ait *jugum meum suave est, et onus meum leve?* Nonne idem fidelis est, in omnibus promissis suis qui ait *Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos.* Refectio enim est non defectus, quod non ego dico, sed Dominus, sed ei dico qui non gustavit, nec sapit quod dico. Quid ergo faciam? [quo me vertam? (Paris, BnF lat. 3730, fol. 212r)] quomodo ei manna absconditum ostendam? [scio quid faciam: ratione te conveniam], ut sic saltem te vincam. Video te delectari in carne meretricis; sed nonne delectabilior est caro Christi? Ingluuiem sequeris tanquam rem dulcem, sed nonne multo dulcior est sobrietas? Superbia tanquam aliquo erigeris, sed nonne multo melior humilitas! Absit ut vestis diaboli melior sit veste Christi! ...

(921) Inducit enim nos Dominus in hortum suum, deinde in cellarium suum, ad extremum in cubiculum suum, ubi cum requieverimus, terram desiderabilem videbimus....

Qui ergo primo diei itinere in hortum intraturi sumus, superest ut secunda die in cellarium introducatur. Est autem cellarium, ubi optima quae nascuntur in agro reconduuntur. Cellerarium Domini, divina Scriptura....

(BnF lat. 18096, fol. 66v) Si morum

doctrinam, si allegoriarum intelligentiam, si historiarum veritatem, si analogos revelationem requirimus, totum ibi reperimus....

Jam nunc restat ut tertio diei itinere introducat nos in cubiculum rex noster; sed hucusque quasi sobrii fuimus, et tanquam humanum propter infirmitatem vestram diximus....

Unde Apostolus: *Sive excedimus, Deo; sive sobrii simus, vobis*. Magnum et inscrutabile mysterium, ad quod vestrae mentis acies nec aliquatenus aspirat. Lectulus namque iste locum habet inter laevam Dei et dexteram; habet enim Deus dexteram et laevam, secundum illud Salomonis: *Laeva ejus sub capite meo, et dextera illius amplexabitur me....*

(863) Per laevam enim intelligitur Christi humilitas; per dextram divinitas. Humilitas humanitatis capiti nostro supponitur in praesenti, per quam consolamur, spe erigimur, et ad eum ascensum habemus. Divinitas vero in futuro nos amplexabitur. Haec est gemina refectio nostra, qua de fructu virginalis uteri reficimur in terris, et de fructu paterni uteri satiabimur in coelis....

Quid enim desiderabilius, quid securius, quid suavius, quam inter laevam Dei et dexteram quiescere? Ecce posita sunt tria, de quibus egrediendum, et alia tria, quibus ad terram desiderabilem est ascendendum. Conferantur ergo singula singulis, ut

doctrinam, si allegoriarum intelligentiam, si historiarum veritatem requiramus totum ibi repperiemus....

Restat ut tercie diei itinere introducat nos rex noster in cubiculum, sed hucusque humanum diximus propter infirmitatem vestram.

Si autem cum Apostolo *excedimus Deo excedimus*, magnum est et inscrutabile in experto quod restat dicendum. Lectulus enim iste de quo sermo habetur, locum suum habet inter levam dei et dexteram eius. Unde *si dor(miatis) i(nter) m(edios) c(leros) et cetera*. Et alibi *Leva eius s(ub) c(apite) m(eo), et cetera*.

Per levam humanitatem Christi, per dexteram divinitatem intelligimus. Humanitas enim est que capiti nostro supponitur in praesenti, per ipsam enim erigimur et accessum habemus ad eum. Divinitas vero in futuro amplexabitur nos. Haec est gemina refectio nostra, quia de fructu ventris virginis reficimur in terris, et de fructu ventris dei patris reficiemur in celis....

Et quid desiderabilius, quid securius, quid suavius, quam inter levam domini et dexteram pausare? Ecce habetis illa tria proposita vobis de quibus est vobis egrediendum et alia tria per quae ad terram desiderabilem est eundum. Collidantur itaque sin-

clavus clavum expellat. Hortus enim Domini terram tuam evacuat. Sic et Domini cellarium omnem terrae cognationem, id est quae te angit curiositatem, exterminat. Nec minus lectulus inter dexteram et laevam Dei locatus, domum impii subvertit.

gula singulis, ut clavus clavum expellat. (H)ortus enim domini collatus terre tue eam evacuabit. Sic et Domini cellarium id est divinarum scripturarum studium omnem tuam cognitionem id est quae te angit curiositatem exterminabit. Nec minus lectulus qui inter manus Domini est domum subvertet diaboli.

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