Meetings with a Remarkable Manuscript:  
A Study of a Late Medieval Collection of Latin Sermons

by

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Middletown, Connecticut April, 2018
To Fr. Douglas Milewski, P.G.E.

Scribaturus bella regum cum gentibus adversis, martyrum cum paganis, Ecclesiarum cum hereticis,
prins fidem meam proferre cupio, ut qui legerit, me non dubinet esse Catholicum.
--Gregory of Tours, Historia Francorum, Prologue.
Before anything else is said, I must thank my parents, who, in persistent selflessness, provided me with the upbringing and education that could lead to a project of this sort. I also want to thank my grandfather, for spurring on my interest in all things medieval, especially the 13th (and greatest) century, and my godfather, to whom this thesis is dedicated, a constant source of help, encouragement, prayer, and books.

I also need to thank the professors that have guided and assisted me in my project, especially my advisors Jesse Torgerson and Jeff Rider, and also Marco Aresu, Michelle Biddle, and Lucie Dolezalova, for their expertise, experience, and abundant generosity.

Thanks to Suzy Taraba, Leith Johnson, Francesca Livermore, and all the good people at the SC&A for taking great care of “my” manuscript, and for their constant efforts on behalf of my project.

I am especially indebted to the Lankford Fund, the Squire Fund, and the Friends of the Library, in particular Dr. Joseph Fins, COL ’82, whose financial support enabled me to undertake this project.

Thanks to my friends in the COL as well as the family, housemates, and teammates—of which there are too many to mention by name—who have allowed me talk about a single book for far longer than charity permits.

And finally, to the friar who bothered to write down his sermons so many years ago, thanks for giving me such a fun year.

17 April 2018, Middletown
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*The title is an allusion to Christopher De Hamel’s 2018 book *Meetings with Remarkable Manuscripts*. All images are pages of the manuscript from the NEDCC digitization.*
Preface

Near the end of the first semester of my junior year, my COL medieval colloquium, taught by Professors Torgerson and Leservot, held class in the Davison Rare Books Room at Olin’s Special Collections and Archives. We were there to see a number of medieval manuscripts and early printed books, ranging from illuminated Books of Hours to early editions of Dante’s *Commedia*. Suzy Taraba, the director of the SC&A, gave a short introduction about the room and the collection as well as the specific items on display, before she took us around for a closer look at certain items of note. Knowing that most COL students write theses, and that students generally choose their topics around this time, she told us that she always looks for thesis writers to work on the collection, and petitioned specifically for anyone who had any interest in rare books and/or medieval Latin. We were then encouraged to stay after class to have a closer look for ourselves and ask any questions we had. I lingered with one manuscript in particular, which became the subject of my thesis research.

This manuscript, a late medieval collection of Latin sermons, caught my attention for a number of reasons. First, it is in very good condition for its age: a few pages are missing from the front and back, but the binding is intact and one can flip through its pages with ease. It seemed to me to be thoroughly used. Every page contains writing, and it is full of marginal notes, lines, and scribbles all over the pages, in a variety of different hands and scripts from centuries of readers and writers. And while the handwriting was very difficult to read (handwriting has changed quite a bit in the last seven centuries), I felt confident that I would be able to learn to read it. But what struck me most was that this manuscript had never been seriously studied before. A librarian in the last century had catalogued it, mentioning some of its physical attributes and hazarding a few guesses about its origins, but it had never been the subject of the kind of
research that I believed it deserved. Its age, author, and place of origin were all unknown, and I was sure the manuscript had a rich history that I would like to discover.

After a few meetings in the spring with Suzy Taraba and the manuscript, I began to work seriously on my project last summer. Thanks to the Squire Fund of the Classics Department and the Lankford Fund of the COL, I was able to travel to the north of England for a week of paleographical training at the Keele University Latin and Paleography Summer School. There I gained the necessary skills, experience, and resources to read the text of the manuscript. I had images of a few of the manuscript pages and for the rest of the summer I worked on my paleographical skills by reading them. During the fall semester, I did an extensive study of the physical characteristics of the item, and read the first line of each of the sermons. Over the winter recess, under the supervision of Digital Projects Librarian Francesca Livermore the manuscript was sent to the Northeast Document Conservation Center in Andover, MA, for a complete digitization. The digitization of the manuscript was funded by the Lankford Fund, a gift from Dr. Joseph Fins (COL ’82) to the Friends of the Library, and the Wesleyan University Library. With the digitized version, I was able to read the text of the manuscript outside of the SC&A and thus did not have to spend as much time with the physical manuscript. Additionally, with the help of Suzy Taraba and University Archivist Leith Johnson, I worked with the library’s archival materials, trying to discover how the manuscript got to Olin.

The first chapter of the following thesis is an extensive description of the physical attributes of our manuscript, without consideration of its textual contents. It begins with a short history of the codex, including my hypothesis of how it ended up in our library. I then describe the physical characteristics of the cover and binding, illustrating how the book is held together. Next I describe the details of the quires and pages, focusing on the dimensions, ruling, and pagination, as well as the physical defects such as rips and missing pages. I also discuss the
materials used for the parchment and ink. I then describe the various handwritings used in the text, paying attention to abbreviation patterns. In each of these sections, I make particular note of patterns that occur as well as exceptions to those patterns.

The second chapter is focused on the contents of the text. I begin with a discussion of the scholarship on sermon literature and sermon collections, drawing distinctions between random and systematic collections, as well as modern and ancient sermons. Using this scholarship, I categorize our collection, using relevant patterns of marginalia to break down the organization of the manuscript. I then discuss the structure of the sermons themselves, illustrating the actual content of the individual sermons, before offering a few thoughts on the wide variety of marginalia in this item.

In the third chapter, I present my transcription and translation of two of the sermons. Finally, in a short conclusion, I synthesize the inferences I have drawn about the manuscript in each of the previous chapters, and make substantive claims about its date and place of authorship, its author, and its intended use.
Chapter I: Physical Description

i. History

The manuscript is held in the Olin Library Rare Books Room and has never received any formal scholarly attention. The following description is found on a card in the library’s catalogue, written by a special collections librarian in the past century:

Sermons in Latin. Manuscript
p.49-492. 19 cm.
Probably copied in England in the fifteenth century (dating based on use of pagination and heavy use of abbreviations).
Imperfect: beginning, end, and p.307-8 wanting; p. 233-4 mutilated. Page 182 blank
On parchment; 30 lines to the page. Occasional red or blue initials.
Bound in vellum.
Ms. note on flyleaf signed J. Everett, 1831

This librarian’s note is simply an attempt to catalogue the manuscript for the Special Collections and Archives. So, its information is useful, but limited in scope.

The short note mentioned in the catalogue helps us to know more about the history of the manuscript. It is written in large cursive letters in a dark brown ink on the flyleaf inside the front cover, and reads, “Dr. Adam Clarke, who examined this Manuscript, supposed it to have been written about the beginning of the 14th century. It consists of Sermons, etc. etc.” The note is signed “J. Everett, Manchester, Sept 9th 1831.” James Everett, the author of the note and a probable owner of the manuscript, was a Methodist minister and preacher, who lived from 1784 to 1872. Between 1803 and 1821, he performed his ministry in Sunderland, Sheffield, and Yorkshire, where he was known in particular for his powerful preaching. In 1821, he fell ill, forcing him to retire from regular ministry, and began to write and sell books in Sheffield and
later Manchester. He studied for two years under Dr, Adam Clarke in Manchester, and became his close friend, correspondent, and eventual biographer.¹

Dr. Adam Clarke, whom Everett mentions in his note, was a very prominent English Methodist minister, preacher, theologian, and biblical scholar. He lived from 1762 to 1832, and worked primarily in Manchester. As a young man he met John Wesley, the founder of the Methodist movement. He wrote a massive and influential commentary on the whole Bible, in six volumes, working with the original Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. He is still considered one of the greatest and most influential Methodist theologians.² According to Everett's note, he read the collection of sermons found in our manuscript.

Everett was an active and controversial member of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference, the governing body of the Methodist Church, from which he was expelled in 1849 after writing a series of satirical pamphlets antagonistic to the conference. A connoisseur of books and manuscripts, he collected a sizable library, much of which he gave to his friend Luke Tyerman before his death. Upon his death, the rest was bought for Ranmoo College, a now-defunct Methodist theological school in Sheffield.

In 1837, the Wesleyan Methodist Conference in London made a gift of books valued at £100 to “Middletown University,” a show of support for the newly-founded Methodist school in Connecticut. Since Everett possessed the manuscript in 1831 and was a member of the conference, one might naturally imagine that it was included in this gift. Olin Library has in its archive the handwritten note attached to this gift, as well as an inventory of the items that were donated; there is no mention of our manuscript in the inventory, however, so it seems unlikely that it was included in the donation.

¹ Lowther and Macquiban, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography entry on James Everett
² Sellers, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography entry on Adam Clarke
One of the library’s first very large donations came from Alfred S. Hunt, class of 1851. He was the secretary of the American Bible Society and was also a collector of books, especially religious texts. Upon his death in 1898, he donated six thousand volumes as well as $33,000 for the acquisition of new books to Olin Library. The Hunt donation is among the most important donations in Wesleyan’s history: it allowed the library to expand quickly and significantly, and the money Hunt donated is still one of the library’s sources for buying books. His gift consisted primarily of religious materials, so it is possible the manuscript was a part of his donation. The library possesses the autograph handwritten catalogue of his personal library, much of which he gave to Wesleyan. However, there is no mention of our manuscript in this record either. Still, it is plausible that the manuscript came from this collection, and that his catalogue was incomplete.

Every item donated to the library is marked with an accession number that corresponds to an entry in the accession log, a comprehensive record of all the gifts to the library. The accession log gives publishing information of books as well as information about gifts, including the donor, date, and value. This log, though, is somewhat unreliable; it shows when items officially entered into the library’s collection, rather than when they actually were acquired by the university. Our manuscript’s accession record, unfortunately, gives no information about the donor, though it does give the year it was recorded, 1902. However, the manuscript’s record directly precedes many pages of accession records of the Hunt collection, so it is plausible that it was actually part of the Hunt donation and mistakenly entered into the log as a separate gift.

ii. Cover, Binding, and Vellum

The current cover of the manuscript, which is not original, is an 18x13 cm cased binding: the text block is glued to the spine of the cover rather than fastened to it by stitching.

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3 Wesleyan Alumni Record, class of 1851.
4 According to University Archivist Leith Johnson.
The vellum-over-boards cover, mentioned in the library catalogue, is a hard, wood-based plate of a material similar to modern cardboard wrapped in vellum. It is grey-white in color, with a green tinge from the dirt and wear that come with age. It is decorated with faint, light blue ink lines ruling the front and back, giving the cover the appearance of a manuscript page. The ruling is centered on the cover, with the outside lines, each doubled, half a centimeter from each edge. Within this border, there are four lines drawn perpendicular to and 2 cm from the outside lines, forming four 2x2 cm boxes in each corner. There are no ruled writing lines drawn within the rectangle thus formed.

A small, round, brown tag is glued to the top of the spine, on which is written “55” or “58” in large letters and below in a smaller cursive script, “Everett MSs.” The groove, the joint where the spine meets the front cover, is split at the bottom. This tag probably refers to an auction lot where it was once sold, but no information about such an auction is available.

The cover, front and back, is warped significantly. An indentation and faint discoloration extending horizontally across the codex, is noticeable about 6 cm from the bottom of the manuscript, particularly at the edges. The same marking is also noticeable on some vellum pages. Is it possible that it was caused by some sort of strap keeping the book together, pinching the book closed at this point and causing strain on the cover.

Within each cover are two 17x12 cm paper leaves. There are no chain lines from a mold apparent on the endpapers and flyleaves, as would appear on handmade paper, indicating that the paper is woven, and not finely handmade. The color of the paper has aged to a yellow-brown. A marbled endpaper (pictured) is glued to the inside of each cover and to the first flyleaf. The entirety of these pages is colored in a dark green ink with red and yellow accents, in a
“Turkish spot” pattern, indicative of an early 19th century French design. A standard paper Wesleyan library sticker is affixed to the endpaper on the front cover, with the five-digit accession number written at the bottom. The endpaper is also glued to the first flyleaf, and to the last flyleaf adjacent to the back cover. At each end of the codex, there is one more paper flyleaf between the flyleaf with the endpaper glued to it and the vellum text block. Everett’s note is inscribed on the front side of the first flyleaf after the endpaper. On this page, in small brackets, “Manuscript Sermons in Latin” is written in pencil above the Everett note, and “written in England” likewise below the note. These are probably later librarian’s notes. There is also a circular library tag on the right side of the page between the note and Everett’s signature. The digits “8577” are written in the top right corner, probably a library notation.

The textblock consists of one hundred twelve sheets of vellum, three of which are ripped half sheets. Each full sheet, folded in half, makes up four pages of text (left and right, front and back); and the half sheets produce two pages each. The sheets are bound together into small groups known as quires. The quires of this manuscript consist generally of six sheets of vellum, folded in half, producing twenty-four pages per quire. As a whole, they total four hundred forty-two pages of text.

The quires are stitched together with a two-ply s-twist linen thread, at two central sewing stations, with a single stitch (not a split stitch), where the needle would be pushed and then pulled back through the vellum once. This stitching can be seen inside the spine of the cover, viewing the text block from the bound side of the manuscript. Above each sewing station there would have been an alum towd skin sewing support, buttressing the stitching and attaching it to its original binding. At the ends of this stitching, near the tops and bottoms of the pages, kettle

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5 This design is very similar to a French page from 1816 in Michelle Biddle’s private collection of marbled pages. For a more comprehensive treatment of the subject, see Wolfe, Marbled Pages, p. 182-186, and plates XXXI-XXXIII. Suzy Taraba and Michelle Biddle also corroborated this early 19th century dating.
stitches, which would have also been stitched to the endbands across the top and bottom of the binding, added additional support and tightness. Neither the kettle stitching nor the endbands are extant, but indentations in the vellum indicate that there once was thread stitched there. The stitching is very tight, holding the pages in place with great tension. The manuscript is in good condition for its age, in large part because of the tightness of the binding.

There are nineteen quires in total. Fourteen are identical in form, each having six sheets and twenty-four pages. Five of the nineteen quires vary from the “standard” twenty-four page quire. Quire III has twenty-four pages, but the last four pages are written on two half-sheets, rather than one full sheet. Quire V is a half quire: it contains only three bound sheets, or twelve pages. Quire IX has an additional sheet, seven sheets in total, and so twenty-eight pages. The right half of the first sheet of Quire XIII is missing, and seems to be ripped out, so it contains five and a half sheets or twenty-two pages. The last folio of this quire, pages 307 and 308, are missing, and the next quire begins with page 309. Quire XX has only four sheets, making it a short quire of only sixteen pages.

Though the physical characteristics and quality of the parchment varies greatly, a few general observations can be made. It was made from the skin of a cow, and so can be properly called vellum. It is quite thin, ranging from .08 mm to .22 mm, though the average thickness is around .12 mm. For comparison, a vellum sheet from the modern English parchmenter William Cowley, whose parchment is the best available today, is around .16 mm thick.

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6 As will be discussed below, the original scribe paginated the manuscript in the top outside corner of each page. Some of the numerals are written slightly differently from the modern convention and are not immediately recognizable. See Appendix C for recreations of the numerals.
7 See Appendix A for a visual representation of each of the quires of the codex.
8 Parchment is a more general term referring to a material made from the skin of any animal, typically goat or sheep, while vellum, from vitellum, the Latin word for calf, is parchment made from a cow. There are slight differences in color and clarity that distinguish cow, sheep, and goat parchment. See De Hamel, *Scribes and Illuminators*, p. 8.
Because vellum is made from the skin of a cow, each page is either the internal and external side of the skin. These are known as the flesh and hair sides, referring to the side on which the hair of the cow grew. The two sides can be differentiated based on physical characteristics. The flesh side tends to be of higher quality: smoother, whiter, clearer, and with fewer blemishes and discoloration, because it was shielded by the exposed hair side from external factors. Sometimes trace hair follicles can be seen on the hair side, which tends to be rougher. A cut or scar acquired on the skin during the animal’s life will also appear on this side.

Each quire begins with a flesh side page, and alternates between flesh and hair sides, with flesh sides facing flesh sides and hair sides facing hair sides, in each instance. The middle two pages of each quire are formed by folding the flesh side of the leaf over onto itself, and thread can be seen in the crease. This regular alternation between flesh and hair sides is a result of the folding of the vellum to create the individual quires.\footnote{See De Hamel, \textit{Scribes and Illuminators}, p. 18-20 for an explanation of the hair side/flesh side alternation.}

There is almost no variation in this flesh side/hair side alternation throughout the manuscript. The middle sheet of quire VII, pages 143-146 is flipped, so the hair sides meet in the central fold, and the flesh side meets the hair side of the previous sheet. The first sheet of quire VIII is also flipped, so the flesh side on pages 158 and 179 meet the hair side on pages 159 and 178. Other than these two instances, the alternation is absolutely regular.

The vellum, though thin, is somewhat stiff and difficult to turn or fold very easily. The stitching of the quires keeps the sheets very tightly packed, particularly at each sewing station, making the pages difficult to turn. The age of the manuscript has also affected the quality of the vellum, though its history, including its use, treatment, and general environmental conditions, is unknown.
The clarity of the vellum also varies. On the whole, flesh side pages are clearer and more uniform than hair side pages. The hair sides often have a faint grainy pattern of small textured circles on the surface of the vellum, barely noticeable to the naked eye. These are actually the remnants of hair follicles, stretched out and elongated during the preparation process. Some sheets are blotchy and contain darker areas and spots, some possibly mold, while others are much clearer, with fewer spots and discoloration.

Many sheets have rips or holes in them, in a variety of shapes and sizes. Some have been repaired, either by stitching the hole shut or by stitching or pasting a small piece of vellum over the hole. The vellum was evidently ripped in the process of preparing the animal skin for writing, specifically during the stretching and scraping stage. The skin is cured in lime and stretched out and scraped down in order to remove hair and make a clearer writing surface. A curved knife called a lunellum is repeatedly applied to the skin pulled taut, a process bound to result in a few knicks and holes.\textsuperscript{10} Any small cuts or weak points in the animal skin expand during the stretching and often open up into sizable, round holes, like the ones seen at the bottom inside corner of the folio of pages 383-4 and the bottom outside corner of the folio of pages 459-60. These holes are both in the margin, not the text box, so the parchment and scribe did not bother to fix them. Often, a hole or rip was repaired if it would have interfered with the writing. A small piece of vellum can be pasted over small holes, such as on the top of the folios of pages 59-60 and the bottom of the folios of pages 69-70. There are two sizable, rectangular holes on the bottom half of the folios of pages 51-2; it appears that a piece of vellum had been pasted over these holes but then removed, because the writing around the edges of the holes seems to have been removed, much like how ink is removed when tape is pulled off a sheet of paper.

\textsuperscript{10} For a more detailed account of parchment making, see De Hamel, \textit{Scribes and Illuminators}, p. 10-11.
Long and narrow rips that are too thin to be covered with a patch are often simply sewn together, as at the top of the folio of pages 69-70 and the lower outside edge of the folio of pages of 81-2 (right). The thread is later removed, leaving behind small pin holes. In both cases, the vellum was repaired before the writing, and the text is written on the patch and avoids the seam holes.

Other holes have opened since the writing occurred, on account of age and handling. In these cases, some writing is lost, on both sides of the page. These holes tend to be small, and it is rare that more than a word or two is lost, though occasionally larger pieces are missing. For example, a small triangular piece (3x4x2 cm) of the bottom of the folio of pages 255-56 is missing. The piece is mostly in the margin, but one or two letters of the final line are missing. The folio of page 265-6 has a rip starting from the outside edge 8 cm from the bottom of the page, extending around 5 cm diagonally down and across the page. No text is missing.

During the ruling of the pages, small pinprick holes were left behind by the device used to ensure straight, well-spaced ruling, efficiently drawn. In nicer, more refined manuscripts, the edges of the pages are trimmed for aesthetic reasons, in order both to remove these holes and to clean up the external appearance. This is the case in quires XV-XVII. In quires III-XIV and XIX-XXI, these pinprick holes are not cut off. In quires III-XI, the holes are on the outside of the page. In quires XIX-XXI, they are at the beginning of the text line, at the points where the ruling begins. Semicircular indents are sometimes noticeable on the edge of the pages in quires XV-XVII, the remnants of the pinprick holes that have been cut off.

The dimensions of the pages are not uniform, but are generally between 17 and 18 cm in height and 12 and 13 cm in width. As mentioned, the edges are cut, but not with much precision or regularity. Additionally, the anatomy of the animal affects the dimensions of the page, and some pages have sloping or shorter edges, perhaps because these leaves come from the skin of a
leg or neck. A view of the sides of the closed codex shows a great deal of variation, in terms of both the lengths and widths of the pages themselves and how the quires were sewn together. Not much care was taken to make the edges of the pages even.

There are a few major variations in the dimensions of the page. The first folio, pages 49-50, is cut short at the bottom, by around 3 cm. Only the margin is cut, so no text is missing. As mentioned in the catalogue card, the bottom third of the leaf that contains pages 233-4 has been ripped out, as has the entirety of the leaf of pages 307-8. The second sheet of quire XII, pages 263-4 and 281-2, is significantly shorter at the bottom; the bottom edge slopes between 1 and 2.5 cm shorter than the average page. Around 2 cm of the outside edge of pages 283-4 is cut, removing any marginalia that may have been written but no text.

The irregularity of the page shows that the manuscript was never trimmed. Often, when a manuscript is bound or rebound, the edges of the pages are trimmed to make the text block uniform in dimension, and specifically to remove the pinprick holes. This trimming is done for aesthetic purposes, but was never done to this manuscript.

iii. Ruling, Pagination, and Writing Materials

There is a great deal of variety in the writing in this manuscript, including ruling, pagination, the sermons themselves, and diverse marginalia. Both a quill pen and a lead point pencil were used to write in this manuscript, as well as multiple types of both colored and black ink. Despite this variation, I will argue that all the text of the sermons, the ruling, the pagination, and much of the marginalia were written by the same scribe.

The pages are ruled with a lead-point device, similar to a modern pencil; the ruling is drawn on each side of the page rather than scored with a sharp metal point. Faint ruling lines can be seen on each page, in a regular pattern, designating an area for the text and regular margins.
The ruling is fairly precise and straight. Single lines are drawn parallel to and 1 cm from the top edge of the page and 2.5 cm from the bottom of the page. Lines are also drawn 2 cm from the outside edge of the page as well as 1.5 cm from the inside. On an average page of 17.5x13.5 cm dimensions, this forms a rectangular text box with the dimensions 14x10.5 cm, within which the text is written in a single column. This text box is not centered in the middle of the page, but, as the dimensions show, is closer to the top and inside edges of the page.

Ruling lines are drawn across this box approximately every 50 mm. The writing begins within this box on the second ruling line, below the first line. It seems that in the first sixteen quires, the scribe aimed for thirty lines per page, and in the final three quires, thirty-five lines per page, though the number of lines ranges between twenty-eight and thirty-two, and thirty-four and thirty-six, respectively. There is a noticeable shift in the ruling at quire XIX. Curiously, page 291 is completely blank, containing no writing, ruling, or pagination at all.

The manuscript is paginated, with small numbers appearing in order from 49 to 492 at the top corner of each page near the outside edge, within the faint box formed by the intersection of the ruling lines. In the bottom-outside corner of the page, also in the ruled box, numbers can occasionally be seen, written lightly in the same pencil-like implement as the ruling. You can see the pagination, as well as the ruling lines, in the image to the left.

In addition to the pagination, the scribe also indicated the quire numbers in our manuscript. At the bottom of the first page of each quire, a small number is faintly written in the same lead pencil as the pagination. This designates the order of the quires in the manuscript, The numbers are consistent, showing that no quire is out of order. The first quire does not have a number, because the page is cut short, but the first page of the second quire, page 73, has the number 4 written at the bottom, indicating that it was originally the fourth quire in the
manuscript. This numbering confirms that the first two original quires are now missing, with the first quire in the manuscript in its current form being quire III.

The pagination seems to be original or near-original, since the ink and hand of the pagination match the contents of the rest of the manuscript, including the numerals regularly appearing in the text. The handwriting of the inked pagination is consistent with the fainter pencil pagination, which is in the same pencil that is used to rule the page and number the quires. It is likely, therefore, that the ruling, pagination, quire numbering, and text were all written by the same scribe, something not unusual in a medieval scriptorium.11

Most of the text is written with a metal based ink, one produced with some sort of metal, usually iron.12 The ink varies in color and darkness, on account of many factors, including the vellum, the writing implement, and how fresh the ink is. On the whole, it tends to be a light reddish brown, but sometimes appears nearly black. The reddish color comes from the iron. On page 473, there is a clear change in ink about halfway down the page, from a light brown to a heavy black. From this point to the end of the manuscript a carbon based ink is used, a mixture of gum and either charcoal or lamp-black, producing the much darker, blacker ink.13

In addition to the dark iron and carbon inks just described, some colored ink is used as well, specifically a light red and a deep blue. The red is a vermillion and the blue is either a woad or an indigo. There is one regular pattern of coloration: the first letter of the first word of each sermon, in the thema, is a large, capital, colored letter that takes up the space of two lines of the text and often extends into and down the margin, as seen in the images to the right. Additionally, the themata are underlined in red. The color of

11 De Hamel, Scribes and Illuminators, 26.
12 De Hamel, Scribes and Illuminators, 33.
13 See De Hamel, Scribes and Illuminators, p. 32-33 for a full discussion of medieval ink-making.
the first letters alternates between red and blue; there are a few instances where the same color
appears in two themata in a row, probably a mistake by the scribe or rubricator.

The blue ink is used only for the themata, but the red ink serves various other purposes.
Paraphs, the symbols (still used today) denoting paragraph breaks, are written over the text in
red. Often a small red line marks the beginning of a word or fully encircles a phrase, probably
highlighting its importance. For example, near the beginning of the sermons, the author regularly
breaks the argument into a list of two or three points, marking them with symbols for primum,
secundum, and tertio, which often bear a small red accentuation mark.

iv. Paleography

Examples of the three main hands of the text:

"in verbis propositis describitur vita peccatoris (Hand I)

"Vulgariter dicitur quod bonum est servire deo" (Hand II)

"Pastor bonus animam suam ponit pro ovibus suis etc." (Hand III)

The text of the sermons is written in three hands. Hand I, a gothic cursive, makes up the
majority of the manuscript. The final three quires are written in Hand II, a gothic cursive very
similar to Hand I. The first line of every sermon, a quote from scripture called a thema, is written
in Hand III, a very different textualis style.
Hand I is a Cursiva Antiquior Anglicana or Currens Anglicana.\textsuperscript{14} It is similar to and influenced by a number of insular writing styles, such as the scholastic and chancery hands. It is a cursive, meaning its primary goal is “rapidity of execution.”\textsuperscript{15} It slopes to the right slightly and has a broad horizontal focus. Loops and hairstrokes, as well as the heavy use of abbreviation were developed for an increase in writing speed, and are characteristic of this gothic cursive.\textsuperscript{16} The majority of the writing of Hand I occurs in the bottom half of each line. Most letters, including all the vowels, c, m, n, and some forms of r, take up only that space. Some letters, including b, h, l, and some forms of s, contain ascenders that stretch up to the headline in the upper half of the line. Similarly, some letters, such as f, g, p, q, and some forms of r and s, contain descenders that stretch below the baseline into the line below.

The writing is very round, and the letters are broad. Round, broad writing is referred to as horizontally focused, as opposed to vertically focused, where letters tend to be thin and long. This hand slopes slightly to the right: the lines curve, often heavily, and many ascenders, such as those of b, d, and h, loop to the right, while descenders loop to the left, as in g.

Hairstrokes, thin strokes of the pen that occur between larger, more prominent strokes, are a particularly common occurrence in this hand. They are perhaps most evident in the minims, the short shafts that make up letters i, m, n, u, and v. They always begin and end with a small hairstroke serif, and series of minims are connected by hairstrokes serifs from the bottom of the preceding minim to the top of the next. These serifs are not drawn with particular care and often are too heavy to be considered a hairstroke. The tops and bottoms of the shafts of many letters feature hairstroke loops, as in f, l, and s, and the tops occasionally fork, as in l, sometimes h, and

\textsuperscript{14} These two hands are very similar: the Currens Anglicana is a modification of the Cursiva Antiquior Anglicana that developed for greater speed of execution. Because one developed from the other, distinctions between the two are not always clear, and so I provide both names.

\textsuperscript{15} Derolez, \emph{Palaeography}, p. 123

\textsuperscript{16} For discussions of the features of the Cursiva Antiquior Anglicana, see Parkes, \emph{Book Hands}, p. xiv-xviii; Bischoff, \emph{Latin Palaeography}, p. 136-145; and Derolez, \emph{Palaeography}, p. 133-141.
the abbreviation of forms of *sanctus*. The forking at the top of l distinguishes it from s, which has a small, faint loop to the right.

At page 429, the beginning of quire XIX, through the final three quires, there is a small but apparent change in the handwriting of the body of the sermons. This change corresponds with the aforementioned change in the ruling, from approximately thirty lines to the page to thirty-five. This second hand, also a Cursiva Antiquior or Currens Anglicana, is very similar to the first. This writing is, however, more compact horizontally; the letters are not as broad and have fewer and narrower loops. For example, the ascender of d loses its distinctive broad loop that it had in the earlier writing. With more lines of text in the same writing space, the writing must be smaller vertically, causing this compactness. The abbreviation patterns remain consistent with Hand I.

It seems that some care was taken at this point in the manuscript to be more efficient in terms of the space being used. The writing is neater and more deliberate; it seems that the scribe has taken care to take up less space. With the added lines and the more compact handwriting, more text can be written on each page. Perhaps the scribe noticed that he only had three more quires available and was on pace to exceed that amount and so purposefully crammed in the final pages of the text.

Hand III is similar to but distinct from the gothic cursive of the main text and is properly called a Northern Textualis. It is much heavier and carefully drawn, with sharper angles and thicker lines. The letters themselves are clearer and larger, and the writing is straighter, without a slope to the right, showing a more vertical focus. The writing tends to stay on the baseline, with few descenders. Letters g, p, and q keep their descenders, while f and s do not cross below the baseline. Carefully and deliberately drawn hairstroke serifs connect minims and
beginnings and ends of words. The thinness of these lines juxtaposed with the thickness of the shafts produces a shading effect. The writing generally seems to be more deliberate and careful.\textsuperscript{17}

Ascenders tend to have flat tops, as in b and d, rather than the loops or forks seen in the cursive, though l keeps the forked top distinguishing it from s. Ascenders are fairly short, and descendents do not extend far below the baseline. There are fewer descendents: f, r, and s never extend below the baseline as they do in the cursive hand.

Ligatures, where two letters are joined by sharing a single or multiple pen-strokes, are used with some frequency. The left side of vowels a and o regularly overlap with a preceding loop or minim, as in po, and the right side of the same vowels often overlaps with following loops, such as oc.

This Northern Textualis is more calligraphic than cursive, with a significant degree of care taken in each stroke and letter. Speed is not the primary goal, but rather clarity and a certain aesthetic. Derolez calls this hand a “rhythmic alternation of bold strokes and hairlines. The vertical strokes are bold. The hairlines are made in the same plane as that of the constant pen angle.”\textsuperscript{18} While an alternation does not quite occur in Hand III of our manuscript, the bold vertical strokes and angled hairlines aptly reflects the shading effect described above.

\textit{v. Punctuation}

There are four main forms of punctuation in the text of the manuscript. The most common is the punctus, a single dot of the pen on the parchment, similar to the modern period. It is written either on or in the middle of the line, usually indicating a partial or full stop. It can also be an denote an abbreviation, such as in the shortening of \textit{id est} to a single i, where a punctus

\textsuperscript{17} For a discussion of the features of Northern Textualis, see Bischoff, \textit{Latin Palaeography}, p. 127-136; and Derolez, \textit{Palaeography}, p. 72-101.
\textsuperscript{18} Derolez, \textit{Palaeography}, p. 73
is placed before and after the letter. Numerals are written in this fashion as well. Another punctuation mark, similar to a caret or raised comma, also indicates a full or partial stop. While the distinction between these two marks is not entirely clear, it seems that the caret indicates a more significant break than the punctus. Moreover, the caret does not indicate numerals or abbreviations, but can be used as a comma in separating items in lists. The punctuation mark indicating the most significant text break is the paraph, often written in red ink, which indicates a new paragraph. It is the largest mark, featuring a large round vertical stroke connected to a horizontal line stretching to the right above the text. The final punctuation mark is the hyphen, a long, thin horizontal hairstroke written at the end of the line, indicating that the word is continued at the beginning of the following line.

From left: the number 14 with a punctus on either side, a caret, a paraph, and a hyphen after “et discipul.”

vi. Abbreviation

The text is heavily and regularly abbreviated. Following Adriano Cappelli’s introduction to his *Dizionario di Abbreviature latine ed italiane*, I will classify the abbreviations found in this text into six categories: truncation, contraction, abbreviation marks significant in themselves, abbreviation marks significant in context, superscript letters, and conventional signs. The following analysis draws heavily on Cappelli’s work.

Truncation is the form of abbreviation where only the first few letters of the word are written and an abbreviation mark replaces the final letters. The final letter written in the word often will end in a large vertical loop, signifying a truncation. For example, the final letter written of the word *peccatoris* is the r, which ends in a loop. The most common abbreviation mark is the
general abbreviation sign, a thick horizontal bar, curved slightly upwards. This mark can signify any abbreviation, not necessarily a truncation. It usually signifies the letter m or n, but can stand for any letter or letters. The word *vitam*, for example, is often written *vita* with a bar over the final letter. This general abbreviation sign is usually written superscript, but can also be written struck through ascenders. Such is the case in the word *nobis*, written *nob* with a strike through the ascender of b. In some truncations, especially of particularly common words, only the first letter and an abbreviation mark are written; these cases are called sigla. For example, usually only the initial letter q of forms of the relative pronoun *qui* are written, with various markers signifying different endings of the word. Another example is the word *est*, generally written as the letter e with a large loop protruding from the top of the letter. Truncation is most easily used with particularly common and regularly occurring words. Because they are used so frequently, they are very recognizable in context and so sometimes just a single letter is needed to convey the word, as in e for *est*. Various forms of *qui*, *esse*, and *vita* are very popular in this text, indeed in medieval Latin generally, and so are regularly truncated here and elsewhere.

Contraction occurs when one or more of the middle letters of the word are missing, again replaced with an abbreviation mark, often the superscript horizontal bar. There are two types of contraction: pure and mixed. It is pure when only the initial and final letters are written, and all the letters between are abbreviated. For example, *esse* is written *ee*, with a superscript abbreviation mark. In mixed contractions, some middle letters are still present. For example, the central -ni- of *omnibus* is regularly contracted by a superscript abbreviation bar. Generally, the indeclinable stems of words are contracted, while the endings appear in full, or at least with the most recognizable letter of the ending. This is practical: otherwise, the Latin would be very difficult to read. Certain letters, such as p, have contracted forms of popular syllables specific to
that letter. The letter p is sometimes written with a loop or bar through the descender denoting
*pro* and *per*, respectively, or with a vertical loop attached to the circle of the p denoting *pre*.

Abbreviation marks significant in themselves are symbols that have a regular meaning
that is not dependent on the surrounding or connecting letters. For example, when a symbol
similar to the Arabic numeral 9 appears on the line, it stands for the syllable *cum* or *con*. The same
symbol, when appearing superscript, abbreviates the syllable -us or -os, as in *cuius*, written *cui* with
the 9 symbol attached at the end. A symbol similar to the Arabic numeral 4 generally attached to
the end of the word stands for the syllable -rum, as in genitive plural nouns and adjectives.

Abbreviation marks significant in context, on the other hand, are symbols whose
meaning depends on the letter or letters to which they are attached. As such, they are much more
difficult for a modern reader to decipher. Cappelli gives a helpful list of such symbols, many of
which appear in this text. One example is a small symbol similar to the Arabic numeral 2, but
written half sized. It often is simply the letter r, but when attached to the letter q, it creates the
word *quia*.

Letters, rather than a specific, non-letter symbol, are written above the line to denote an
abbreviation. The syllable of the superscript letter is removed from the line, and one or more of
its letters are written superscript. Vowels, especially a, are most commonly written superscript to
signify a syllable with that vowel and the letter r (-ra and -ar), though they can signify other
letters. Consonants are also used in this fashion, though less frequently. For example, the word
*aggiudi* is written *aggi*, with a superscript e above the second g. Often, these kinds of
abbreviations occur at the end of words and are the letters of the ending, abbreviating the end of
the stem. For example, *avaritie* is written *avari* and a superscript e, abbreviating the -ti.
Conventional signs are symbols that stand alone for a frequently used word or phrase, which derive from two ancient Roman abbreviation systems.\(^9\) The first is the system of sigla, where a single letter stands for an entire word, such as s for *sunt*. The second, the Tironian system, a shorthand developed to record speeches, consisted of unique figures that stand for short words. The most common Tironian notes in this text include the note for *et*, which looks like a modern letter t with a tail to the right at the bottom of the shaft, and *cum*, the number 9 symbol mentioned above.

While this categorization is helpful conceptually,\(^{20}\) it must be noted that abbreviations often (in fact usually) do not fit into just one of these categories, especially in a text as heavily abbreviated as this. Rather, they are combinations of the different categories. Truncations are often used in mixed contractions. For example, the final four letters of *spiritualiter* are truncated by a strike through the ascender of the l, and the central letters -irit- are contracted with a superscript bar. Thus, here only *sp
d* is written. Abbreviation marks and conventional signs are regularly used in words that are also truncated or contracted. For example, the final m of *cui
d* is truncated by a superscript bar, and the internal -us- is abbreviated with the 9 symbol, as mentioned above in the word *cui
d*. Letters written superscript can contain abbreviation marks as well. For example, *ex
c
tionem* is written excen
ti on the line, and -ne with an abbreviation mark for the m is written superscript.

The abbreviation patterns of Hand III are generally the same as those of Hand I. On the whole, abbreviations are used much less frequently in the themata, and there are some abbreviations that are specific to Hand III. For example, the vertical loop attached to the top of

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\(^{20}\) This categorization developed by Cappelli is very helpful to the modern reader, who is less familiar with this type of writing than the writer and intended reader would have been. The writer, though, was simply abbreviating, without regard for a system of classification, much like I may write Rockaway St. without considering whether the abbreviation for “street” is a truncation or contraction.
a letter in Hand I is replaced in Hand III with short squiggle, extending vertically towards the headline. The superscript bar denoting a general contraction does not extend as far horizontally in Hand III, and has a more pronounced curve, looking like a rounded caret.

*A truncation of “vitam.”*

*A contraction of “ipso.”*

*An abbreviation mark significant in itself, “continua.”*

*An abbreviation mark significant in context, “quia.”*

*A superscript r, “notatur.”*

*A conventual sign, “et.”*
vii. Conclusions

The physical and textual characteristics of the manuscript allow one to draw a few conclusions about the codex’s history, specifically, how it got to Wesleyan. The manuscript must have arrived at Wesleyan between 1831, when Everett signed his note, and 1902, when it was officially received into the Wesleyan collection. I have two hypotheses for how it ended up in our library: the 1837 Wesleyan Conference donation and the 1898 Hunt donation. The 1837 donation is plausible because Everett owned the book and was an active member of the conference when their donation was made; however, the item does not appear on the inventory of the items of the donation. Moreover, there is a huge time gap between the 1837 donation and its accession in 1902, and it is likely that it would have been received much earlier had it belonged to this donation. The Hunt donation is a likely candidate because the manuscript is a religious item, like most of Hunt’s donation, that was received at the same time as the Hunt donation.

The current cased binding is not original, as the vellum over boards cover and the woven paper of the flyleaves is characteristic of binding styles of the 18th and early 19th centuries, as is the style of the marbling of the endpapers. The item was probably in its current state, that is, with the new cover, endpapers, and flyleaves, before Everett signed his note in 1831, as it is unlikely that a note like Everett’s would be saved by a later rebinder. It is possible that Everett himself commissioned the rebinding, as it likely came into his possession sometime in the first few decades of the 19th century, matching my estimation of the date of the rebinding. It is also possible it was rebound before Everett acquired the manuscript.

The text block, that is, the one hundred twelve sheets of vellum that make up the four hundred and forty-two pages of text, seems to be, with a few exceptions, in its original form. The first existing quire is missing its quire number, but the second quire is numbered 4, suggesting
that two quires are missing from the front and that the first extant quire is Quire III. The pagination of the manuscript begins with page 49, so it is clear that 48 pages are missing from the front of the text. This is the proper number for two “standard” quires, confirming that two quires are lost. Aside from this loss of the first two quires as well as a few ripped pages, the text block of the manuscript seems to be in its original form. There is no evidence of any re-stitching of the binding. Additionally, the pagination, which seems to have been added by the original scribe, since the handwriting of the numerals matches the numerals in the text, is consistent. Thus, the manuscript is still bound in its original late medieval stitching.

The text seems to have been copied by a single scribe. The handwriting is very consistent, and the changes seen in the script can be accounted for. As mentioned, the text is written in three hands: the cursive of the main text, the alternate cursive of the last three quires, and the formata. Despite the various hands, it is possible that all the parts of the codex were written by a single scribe, as it was normal for a scribe to have a variety of handwritings. In cases of biblical exegesis, especially in England, the scriptural text would often be written in one hand and the exegesis would appear on the same page in a different hand, much like the thema and sermon structure seen in this manuscript. 21

The only major change in the manuscript that would suggest a change in scribe is the change in rule and handwriting at page 429, the beginning of Quire XIX. However, the handwriting change is small enough, and the abbreviation patterns are consistent, suggesting not a new scribe, but rather a change in the writing by the same scribe. 22 The addition of lines to the page as well as the cramming of the handwriting point to a scribe attempting to fit more material

21 Bischoff, Latin Paleography, p. 135.
22 Thanks to Lucie Dolezalova of the Charles University in Prague and her colleagues, as well as Marco Aresu for corroborating this hypothesis.
on each page. Moreover, page 428, the final quire written in the first hand, contains catch words that anticipate the next quire, giving more evidence for a single scribe.

The rubrication, too, was probably done by this same scribe, though after the text was copied. This was a standard procedure for a medieval scribe, to both copy and rubricate a manuscript, especially for simple illuminations like the ones found in our manuscript.23 As he wrote the text in black ink, the scribe would mark where the colored ink should be added. Guide letters appear at the edge of the page where there are large colored letters in the themata. A thin black vertical line and black underlining are written where the parahs and red underline were written over.

Finally, the manuscript seems to have been produced for use, rather than for aesthetic purposes. The only part of the manuscript that appears to have a purely aesthetic function is the colored letters of the themata. Though simple, they are fairly ornate. Beyond these letters, the manuscript lacks decoration. The cursive script and the rubrication are modest, used for efficiency and to help the reader or speaker. As mentioned, the edges are not trimmed and pinprick holes are still present. These are, in short, evidence of use and re-use.

23 De Hamel, Scribes and Illuminators, p. 49.
Chapter II: Description of the Contents

i. The Scholarship

In general, there are two distinct types of manuscript sermon collections: random and systematic. Random collections gather sermons seemingly haphazardly, in no particular order. They may be grouped by theme or copied in the order they were given, and they tend to derive from a common source. They are gathered simply because they derive from the same place.

Systematic collections, on the other hand, are gathered according to some organizational principle and arranged in a specific order. They generally contain one or more sermons for each of the major occasions of the liturgical year. Also called sermon cycles, they are organized chronologically, in the order in which they were intended to be preached.

Systematic sermon collections can be divided into two types, again depending on the organizational structure, de tempore and de sanctis collections. De tempore cycles contain a sermon for each Sunday of the year in the order of the liturgical calendar, which begins with Advent and ends on the last Sunday in the time after Trinity, near the end of November or early December. De sanctis (or de festis) cycles contain a sermon for each major feast of the year, which celebrate saints or major events in the history of the Church. Like the de tempore timeline, de sanctis cycles follow the liturgical year from Advent to the last Sunday after Trinity. The feast of Saint Andrew on November 30 is the traditional first date, since it usually falls near the beginning of Advent. Another feast in November, such as that of St. Katherine on the 25th, typically closes the cycle.

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Medieval sermons are also generally categorized into two main types: the ancient and modern forms. The two vary in many ways, but the principal difference is that the ancient sermon comments on an entire lection, while the modern one comments on just a small section, usually just a string of a few words.

The ancient sermon form, generally delivered to a lay audience, is rooted in *postillatio*, “that method of commentary in which a continuous gloss was interspersed between the consecutive clauses of the scriptural text under investigation.” *Postillatio* is an ancient exegetical form used by the Church Fathers (among others) that allows the author to tackle a large section of scripture in a single sermon. It has a formal structure: the author repeats the first line of the passage in question, comments on it, then repeats the next line, comments on it, etc. The entire passage is dealt with this way, systematically phrase by phrase. This form continued to develop throughout the medieval period into what we now call the ancient sermon, which Spencer defines as “an expository method of preaching which permits the practitioner to expatiate upon an entire passage of scripture.” The preacher first summarizes the literal meaning of the lection before offering a moral or mystical interpretation of the text similar to a *postillatio*. The form has a simple structure that is easy to remember, and often contains great emotive power, rather than simply offering formal exegetical propositions. Ancient sermons often make use of simple divisions of the text for organization of themes, but this division is not central to the form, as it is in the modern sermon.

The modern sermon form was generally used for learned, clerical audiences, and dominates the sermon manuscripts of late medieval Europe, especially in England. The form was

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26 The modern sermon form has also been called “university,” “school,” and “scholastic,” and likewise, the ancient sermon form has been called a “homily” or “real” or “live” sermon. I follow Spencer’s terminology, which he discusses in *English Preaching*, p. 231-235.
developed in the university centers of northern Europe in the 13th century in the scholastic
tradition. Rather than commenting on the entire lection, the modern sermon focuses on just a
small passage from scripture never more than a sentence, called the thema. Just a few words, the
thema becomes the focal point of the entire sermon.

The modern sermon has a very specific, formal structure that is centered on and builds
from the thema and its division. A “full” modern sermon, according to Wenzel, contains each
of the following parts, in the following order: the thema, a protheme, a prayer, a restatement of
the thema, an introduction to the thema, another restatement of the thema, the division of the
thema into parts, the development of the announced parts, and a closing formula. A modern
sermon, though, does not necessarily contain all of these parts, but rather follows this general
structure, rooted in the thema and its division. After being introduced, the words of the thema
are always divided into parts, which organize the sermon. Each part is then expounded upon in
succession using quotations from other scriptural sources as well as ancient or contemporary
Church authorities, such as the Church Fathers and the Legenda Aurea of Jacobus Voranus. The
words of the thema are very important, and the divisions are usually only one or a few words
long. The supporting citations often use one of the words (or a variant form of the word) in the
thema.

Before discussing the the contents of our manuscript in terms of the scholarship above,
one more type of sermon and collection should be noted, the “model” sermon. David d'Avray
argues that this type of sermon was written principally by fraternal academics in Paris and copied
and transmitted throughout Europe to be employed as an aid for popular preachers. These

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30 For the most comprehensive discussion of the structure of the modern sermon and of each of its parts,
see Wenzel, *Medieval Artes Praedicandi*, Part II, and also Spencer, *English Preaching*, p. 242-251, and Wenzel,
*Latin Sermon Collections*, p. 11-16.
sermons were intended to serve as guides, so mendicant preachers without a university education would be better equipped for preaching. Wenzel, however, argues convincingly that a generic distinction for sermons meant to serve as a model for preachers is too limiting and that “any sermon that got written down could, and probably was intended to, function as a model to be used by other preachers.” As such, I will follow Wenzel and not use the term model sermon, while still considering the possibility that our collection was intended to be used as a model for other preachers.

**ii. The Organization of the Collection**

A close look at the themata and some pertinent marginalia of our manuscript reveals that it is divided into two distinct sections, sermons 1-35 and 36-87, respectively. Between sermons 35 and 36, there is a blank line treated like a margin, signaling some sort of change. A short note, “Sermo de beato andrea,” is written in this blank space. This type of note is typically written in the margin of this manuscript. The first section organizes the sermons de tempore, while the second organizes them de sanctis. Each section contains the sermons for a full liturgical year. This manuscript, therefore, is a systematic collection, containing both a de tempore cycle and a de sanctis cycle.

As mentioned in the manuscript description, two quires are lost from the front of the manuscript, so the first section of the manuscript, devoted to the sermons de tempore, is incomplete. Twelve sermons are missing from the beginning of the manuscript: the four Sundays of Advent, the Sunday between Christmas and Epiphany, the six Sundays between Epiphany and Septuagesima, and Septuagesima. What is left of this cycle begins with Sexagesima, two Sundays before the start of Lent, and continues to the end of the liturgical year with the 19th Sunday after

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33 Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, p. 3.
Trinity. The themata of this section are taken nearly exclusively from the Gospels, with only
three exceptions (Sermon 9 is from Colossians, 15 from Ezekiel, and 16 from the first epistle of
John). Saints and feast days are not mentioned either in the margin or in the sermons themselves.
There are small notes in the margin adjacent to the themata of certain sermons beginning with
“Do” with a superscripted “a,” an abbreviation for Domenica, “Sunday.” This is followed by an
abbreviation for an ordinal number, also with a superscripted “a,” like prima, secunda, and tertia,
which often takes the form of a numeral. Finally, after the number there is a word or short
phrase that varies, but refers to one of the seasons into which the Church organizes the liturgical
year. The notes, then, are references to the specific Sundays on which the sermons are meant to
be preached and we can extrapolate from these notes to determine the Sunday for
which each sermon was written, even the ones without a marginal note.

“Domenica prima quadragesime”

There are three sets of these notes, distinguished by the season mentioned at their end,
as well as three notes that refer to a specific feast. The first three instances, at sermons 3, 4, and
6, refer to quadragesima, the season of Lent. The note at sermon 7 is “Domenica in passione,”
referring to Passion Sunday, which occurs on the fifth Sunday of Lent. The next set of sermons
(10-12) mentions “post pascham,” referring to the Easter season, the six Sundays after Easter.
Sermons 14 and 16 are designated “in ascensione” and “domenica trinitas,” referring to Ascension
Thursday and Trinity Sunday, respectively. The period after the Easter season is simply referred
to as “time after Trinity,” and does not have a specific liturgical significance like the seasons of

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34 See Spencer, *English Preaching*, p. 24-27, for a helpful explanation of the liturgical calendar, as well as
Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, p. 403-408, for a comprehensive list and organization of Sundays as used
in sermon inventories.
Lent and Easter. Sermons 17-35, with the exception of sermon 22, each contain a note that mentions the number of Sundays after Trinity on which it is to be preached. The first few include *post trinitate or, more simply, post;* the note by sermon 21 mistakenly designates it as “*post pentecoste*”; and the notes at sermons 24-35, the eighth to nineteenth Sundays after Trinity, merely write a capital D and the numeral. Interestingly, the notes by sermons 29 and 34, the thirteenth and eighteenth Sundays after Trinity, are identical, reading “*Domenica 13 et 18.*” The sermons draw their themata from the twenty-second chapter of the Gospel of Matthew, indeed only two verses apart, and so presumably these lines appeared in the lections of both those Sundays. Both sermons, therefore, would be suitable for either Sunday, and the marginal notes account for this.

Of the thirty-five sermons in this section, twenty-seven have margin notes that allow us to identify them and the organizational structure of the *de tempore* cycle. Moreover, by understanding and extrapolating from this organization, it is possible to identify the rest of the sermons in this section. So, sermon 5 is certainly *for* the third Sunday of Lent, because it is the one between sermons for the second and fourth Sundays of Lent. Likewise, the two unidentified sermons between Passion Sunday and the second Sunday after Easter can be identified as sermons for Palm Sunday (the final Sunday in Lent) and the first Sunday after Easter. Easter Sunday also takes place in this period, but a sermon on Easter appears in the *de sanctis* cycle in this manuscript. The fifth and sixth Sundays after Easter, as well as the sixth Sunday after Trinity can be identified in this same way.

The sermons of the second section, sermons 36-87, are organized *de sanctis.* Unlike the *de tempore* cycle found in this manuscript, this section is intact from beginning to end. There is some text missing due to holes and rips, but there are no major gaps akin to the forty-eight pages missing from the first section. In this section, the themata are drawn nearly exclusively from Old Testament books, in particular the poetic books of Wisdom, Psalms, Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, Job,
Sirach, and the Song of Songs. Each sermon in this section mentions a specific feast or saint, either in a marginal note or in the first few sentences, who is the subject of that sermon. These notes take the form of *Sermo de* followed by the name of the saint or feast in the ablative case; for example, the first of these notes, at sermon 36 on page 225, reads “*Sermo de beato anadra*.” Each sermon, therefore, can be identified with a specific feast day.

Because each of the sermons was written for a specific feast, they can each be assigned a certain date. In this cycle, the major feasts are arranged in calendar order very consistently. The cycle contains a whole year of sermons *de sanctis*, beginning with the Feast of St. Andrew on November 30 and ending with the Feast of St. Martin on November 12. There are few feasts that cannot be dated; these are the moveable feasts, which change date depending on the year. The feasts around Easter--Palm Sunday, Holy Thursday, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Thursday, and Pentecost--are moveable, since Easter is dated using the lunar calendar.

Appendix B contains an inventory of all the sermons found in our manuscript, with information on each one including its page number, thema, and feast.

### iii. The Structure of the Sermon

While generally very similar in structure and content, the sermons contain some qualities unique to each cycle. For example, the themata of the sermons *de tempore* are nearly exclusively from the Gospels, while those of the *de sanctis* cycle tend to be from the poetic books of the Old Testament. It should be noted here that the themata of the *de tempore* cycle are consistent with those of other contemporary *de tempore* cycles; that is, there are other extant medieval sermons belonging to a *de tempore* cycle that use the same themata on the same Sundays as the sermons in our manuscript. It can be presumed, then, that the themata were taken from the Gospel lection

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35 See Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, p. 405-407, for the dates of each feast day.
36 See Wenzel’s inventories, found in *Latin Sermon Collections*, p. 409-671, as well as Schneyer, *Repertorium.*
assigned to each Sunday, and that a variety of sermons were composed based on the same themata.

In addition to the differences in the themata, the content of each section varies slightly. The sermons of the de sanctis cycle each focus on a particular feast and so often give biographical details of the saint whose feast it is. These sermons regularly draw on the Legenda Aurea of Jacobus Voranus for the biographical information. The sermons de tempore are not concerned with specific saints and so do not need to quote Jacobus Voranus. Instead, they draw much more heavily on the works of the Church Fathers, including St. Augustine and St. Gregory the Great.

Though there are two distinct sermon cycles in our manuscript, the sermons themselves follow the structure of the modern sermon fairly consistently through the whole text, with some slight variation. Each sermon begins with a thema which is then divided into parts, before each part is expounded upon using scripture and other sources.

The themata in our manuscript are written in the Northern Textualis hand, and underlined in thin red ink. In the sermons de sanctis, a note referring to the feast day is often written in the margin adjacent to the thema; often, this note is underlined or circumscribed in the same red ink. Directly after each thema is a sort of citation, an abbreviation of the book it is quoting followed by the chapter number (e.g. Luc. 6). Though the themata are generally fairly formulaic, there is some variation. Sermons 52, 53, 55, 71, 78, 81 give no citation, but they quote Psalms 103:32, Acts 1:24-5, Job 28:11, Kings 9:3, Ecclesiastes 35:9, Proverbs 11:8, and Luke 9:3, respectively. Sermon 15 does not have citation in the normal spot, but quotes Ezekiel 37:6, mentioned in the first sentence of the sermon. Sermon 29 cites Luke 19, but the thema is actually from Matthew 22:37. In addition to the citation, Sermon 78 is also missing the initial letter of the thema, and there is no catch letter at the edge of the page.
The author immediately connects a theme (sin or love, e.g.) about which he wants to preach to the words of the thema, through an explicit connection, generally using a form of the verb describere, “to describe.” For example, the first sermon states “the life of the sinner is described in these words,”37 with “the life of the sinner” being the theme of the sermon. In the sermons de sanctis, the feast or saint is mentioned here. For example, Sermon 77 on St. Augustine, begins “Si spiritualiter exponuntur, verba ista conveniunt Sancto Augustino.”38 In each type, this sentence, usually the first after the thema, sets the theme of the entire sermon.

Then, after the thema has been stated and the theme introduced, the words of the thema are divided according to this formula: “Primum notatur ibi...secundum ibi...tertiu ibi...etc.”39 This division is then related to the theme in short phrases, each corresponding to a part of the thema. This is a sort of thesis statement of the sermon: the author states specifically how each of the words of the thema relate to the theme, i.e. the message he wants to communicate. This statement also gives a structure to the rest of the sermon; that is, the division of the thema and the corresponding short phrases are the major organizational features of the rest of the text. Concluding the introduction, the thema is then repeated in its divided parts, and often underlined in black or red for emphasis.

The rest of the sermon is an exegesis of the thema, explaining how it relates to the theme, using the division for organization. Usually, these sections are further broken down into subsections. Each section of the exegesis explains how each part of the thema relates to a corresponding part of the theme, using quotes from Scripture and the works of the Church Fathers. The quotes often contain words or variations of words that also appear in the thema or theme. In this way, each part of the thema is discussed in order. The sermon closes with a heavily

37 “In verbis propositis describatur vita peccatoris.”
38 “If they may be understood spiritually, these words are appropriate for St. Augustine.”
39 “First__ is written here, second__, third__ etc.”
abbreviated, formulaic prayer, often “In Christo, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto, vivit et regnat per secula
seculorum, Amen.”

In order to better represent the formal organization of the scholastic sermons of our
manuscript, I show the structure of two sermons, which I have transcribed and translated in the
next chapter, in the schemata below. The first is Sermon 1, the sermon for Sexagesima, from the
de tempore cycle, and the latter is Sermon 67, the sermon for the Feast of St. Anthony, from the de
sanctis cycle.

iv. Sermon Schemata

The beginning of sermon 1

Theme: Ccecus quidam sedebat seclus viam (Luke 18:35)

Division:

i. Cecus quidam: error

ii. Sedebat: debilitas in patientiam

iii. Seclus viam: deordinatio in affectiam

I. Cexitas est error

1. Malum

2. Fratus

i. Gregory I, Moralia in Ioh, XXXIV.53

3. Avarice

i. Augustine, De Conflicto Vitiorum et Virtutes, I.18

II. Debilitas in patientium

1. Caritas

2. Veritas

3. Modestia

III. Deordinatio in affectiam

Closing Prayer

40 “In Christ, who with the Father and the Holy Spirit, lives and reigns forever, Amen.”
Thema: In pace et equitate ambulavit mecum et multos avertit ab iniquitate (Malachi 2:6)

Division:

i. In pace et equitate ambulavit mecum
   ii. multos avertit ab iniquitate

I. Vita et ambulare
   1. Paupertas
      i. Colossians 1:9
      ii. Ephesians 5:15-16
      iii. I Thessalonians 4:11
   2. Innocentia
      i. Colossians 3:15
      ii. Jeremiah 29:7 and Isaiah 33:14-15
      iii. Leviticus 26:6
   3. Disciplina
      i. Sirach 31:32
      ii. I Kings 9:4-5
      iii. Psalm 36:37

II. Doctrina et avertere
   1. Caritas
   2. Veritas
   3. Modestia

Closing Prayer

The beginning of sermon 67.
v. Marginalia

In addition to the sermons, the manuscript contains a great deal of marginalia written outside of the main text box. It is plentiful and various, in many different hands across many centuries of readers and writers, varying from annotations likely made by the original scribe to an Olin Library ink stamp on page 453. Generally, the writing in the margins is small, faint, and very heavily abbreviated, making it very difficult to read. While I will not be able to provide a comprehensive study of all the marginalia in this manuscript—such a task is fit for its own senior thesis—I will discuss here some of the marginalia that I find significant.

Much of the marginalia appears to be written by the original scribe. These are written in the same ink and hand as the text of the sermons, so it is likely they were written as the sermons were being copied or shortly thereafter. Catch letters are written in the margin adjacent to the beginning of each sermon. They match the first letter of each thema, and were written before the rubrication was added, signalling to the rubricator what letter must be illustrated. For example, on page 217, a small letter d is written in the margin beside the capital d of the word *diliget*, the first word of the thema of sermon 34. Similarly, one to three catchwords are written at the foot of the last page of each quire, and match the first words of the next quire. For example, *adolescens* is written the bottom right corner of page 212, the final page of quire IX and is the first word of page 213, the first page of quire X. Catch words help the binder make sure the quires are bound in their proper order. Finally, much of the marginalia described in the organization section above describes the setting of each sermon, naming the Sunday or feast on which the sermon was meant to be given.

Much of the marginalia refers specifically to the text of the sermons, giving citations, corrections, and organizational clarification. The sermons repeatedly make reference to scripture and other ecclesiastical authorities, which are occasionally noted in the outside margin of the
page, adjacent to the quotation. For example, on page 74, in the fifth sermon, five citations are
given in the left margin (pictured to the left): Ezekiel 34, Ephesians 6 (twice), Isaiah, and
Matthew 5. Later in that sermon, on page 79, the name Gregory is written
adjacent to a quote from Moralia in Job, by Pope Saint Gregory the Great.
Corrections to the text are also written adjacent to the place in the sermon that
is being corrected. Deletions are marked by a line of dots placed directly above
or below the text being deleted. Two thin raised slash marks, similar to a
modern apostrophe, are written signifying an insertion to the text. A caret is
sometimes written on line as an insertion mark in addition to this symbol. The
word to be inserted is written in the margin adjacent to those marks, and is also
marked with the apostrophe-like symbol. For example, on the eighth line of
page 71, oculus is underlined with dots, and the insertion sign is drawn to the
left of the word. In the right margin, the insertion sign is written with the
correction oculus.

The marginalia also refer to the organizational structure of the sermons, the principal
division and subdivision, in two primary ways. As mentioned above, the thema of each sermon is
divided into parts that are then typically subdivided; these divisions structure the sermons, and
each division is the primary focus of one section or paragraph of the sermon. This division and
subdivision is clarified in the margins in two ways. First, small numerical notes are sometimes
written in the outside margins of the page at the beginning of the section of a new principal
division or subdivision. A good illustration of this can be found on page 230 (pictured below), in
Sermon 36. The first note in the left margin reads tertium principale, referring to the third

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41 The names of the books are written in the abbreviated forms (here, Eze, Eph, Hay, and Mt) as they
appear in the text of the sermons.
42 Also in the abbreviated form, gg.
section of the principal division; *tertium* is written as the numeral 3 with a raised letter m. There are four notes below, one of which is an insertion to be made in the text as described in the previous paragraph. The other three are the numerals 1, 2, and 3, again with the raised m, signifying *primum*, *secundum*, and *tertium*, referring to the three subsections of the third section of the principal division. Each note is written adjacent to the place in the sermon where each section in introduced.

In addition to these numerical notes in the side margins, longer notes are often written at the foot of the page clarifying the divisions of the text. In these notes, instead of numbers, the words of the divisions are written. For example, the note at the foot of page 121, in the tenth sermon, reads “*pastors debent esse duces, potestates, sapientes,***43 a direct quote from a subdivision on that page. Such notes help clarify the organization of the sermon. Moreover, they are organized spatially and with lines. The final three words are written in a column of three lines, one for each adjective. After *esse*, three red lines point to each of the next three words, stacked vertically in a column, emphasizes the division visually and simply. Without even reading the words, one can immediately see the division of the first part into three subsections.

In addition to the marginalia that seem to have been added by the original scribe, there are other markings in our manuscript that match neither the ink nor the hand of the majority of the text. Most prominently, three of the sermons (2, 21, and 29) are annotated in a very faint metal-gall ink in a heavily abbreviated Anglicana Formata hand,**44 distinct from but not dissimilar

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43 “Pastors ought to be sweet, powerful, and wise.”
44 The Anglicana Formata is a Northern Textualis variant mixed with the cursive elements of the Cursiva Anglicana. It became a common book hand in the 14th century. See Parkes, *Book Hands* p. xvi-xvii and Plate 4(i).
to the Northern Textualis hand of the themata in our manuscript. These annotations are similar to some of the annotations of the original scribe, representing the divisions in the sermons visually at the foot of the page as well as noting the divisions in the margins adjacent to the place in the text where the subsections begin. Based on these observations, I would guess that these annotations were added by an early reader, in the 14th or early 15th century.

Another, less prominent annotator made two additions to our manuscript. As mentioned in the first chapter, there are only fourteen lines of text on page 212. The rest, about half the page, is blank, except for a note in a brown ink, written in a large, thin cursive hand, much more modern than the other scripts in the text, which reads: “Liber Nov 30” 1685. The only other note in this hand and ink is at the bottom of the right margin of page 465, and is unreadable except for the first word, which appears to be “folio.

vi. The Final Page

The final page of our manuscript is very curious: it contains the final six lines of Sermon 86, as well as the first eight lines of the incomplete final sermon. This text, in the hand and ink of the rest of the quire, takes up around half of the page. The final twenty-two lines of the page are written in the small, faint, heavily abbreviated Anglicana Formata hand that annotated a few of the sermons, described in the section on marginalia above. It begins with a large green capital e--the only green ink in the manuscript--that takes up the space of two lines, much like the first letters of the themata. Unfortunately, I have been unable to read these lines. In addition to the paleographic difficulty, the ink is very faint and smudged, and numerous holes and crease in the vellum obscure much of the text. So, I cannot make a substantive claim about the nature of this page.
vi. Conclusions

In summary, the manuscript is organized into two sections: a *de tempore* cycle and a *de sanctis* cycle. The first cycle contains sermons for the time leading up to Easter, Easter and its season, and the time after the Easter season. The latter cycle contains a sermon for the major feast days of the year.

The first and perhaps most significant conclusion that can be drawn about the contents of the manuscript is that it is a unique collection, or rather, that it is unique among extant catalogued sermon collections. Wenzel and d'Avray both give small inventories, none of which match our collection. I have likewise been unable to match our collection with anything in the *Patrologia Latina* or J.B. Schneyer's *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150-1350*. So, it seems our manuscript is unique.

While the sermon cycles appear to be unique, they are not dissimilar to other extant collections with which they share similar themata. For example, the theme of Sermon 10, for the Second Sunday after Easter, is John 10:11, “Pastor bonus animam suam ponit pro ovibus suis.” This is the same theme in the sermon for the Second Sunday after Easter in MS 356 of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. This is the case for sermons from both the *de tempore* and *de sanctis* cycles in our manuscript. Since the themata in our collection match those of other collections, they must be drawing from the same source, namely the lections prescribed for each liturgical date. A set of readings for the Mass is given for each day of the year, though this does vary by time and place. It seems that the author of this collection used a line from one of the reading for each day as the theme for that day.

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45 By an inventory of a sermon collection I mean a complete list of the themata, incipits, and explicits of the sermons.
47 Spencer shows that this is standard practice in sermon cycles in *English Preaching*, p. 27.
As mentioned earlier, the first two original quires of this manuscript have been lost and the first existing page is numbered 49. The *de tempore* structure, though, allows us to determine how many sermons are missing and for what day the missing sermons were written. This cycle ends with the time after Trinity, the end of the liturgical year and the logical end of such a cycle. The new year begins with Advent and Christmas, and so the cycle in this manuscript certainly began with this season. The first full sermon remaining is for Sexagesima, so it is clear that the sermons missing were those for the beginning of the year until Sexagesima. So, in total there are twelve missing: the four Sundays of Advent, the Sunday between Christmas and Epiphany, the six Sundays between Epiphany and Septuagesima, and Septuagesima.

The end of the codex is perhaps also incomplete. Like a typical *de sanctis* cycle, the *de sanctis* cycle that concludes the text gives sermons for a whole year, November to November. It is traditional, however, for *de sanctis* collections to either end with the Feast of St. Katherine on November 25 or with a sermon for the Blessed Virgin Mary not affiliated with a specific date, rather than a sermon on the feast of Saint Martin on November 11. 48 This final sermon, moreover, is not complete. It breaks off after the first eight lines and a new text begins, in a later hand that annotated parts of the first text. Because the annotating hand is later, the text in this hand on the final page must have been written after the sermons were written. This leads to the conclusion that the final sermon was left incomplete and the rest of the page blank by the time the annotator filled in the page with text. It may thus be that the original scribe intended not only to complete the incomplete last sermon but to add other ones but was unable to do so.

The list of saints on whom the author of the sermons chose to preach leads us to a few conclusions about the nature of the manuscript, including its place and date of origin, as well as its authorship. Many of the feasts and saints are of ancient origin, including those of the apostles

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and evangelists. Other feasts were created much later, in the 12th or 13th century, and these are particularly helpful.

The feasts of more recent origin can tell us when the text was written. The latest canonization of a saint mentioned in this manuscript is of St. Anthony in 1232. The paleography and binding style suggest that the manuscript was produced sometime in the 14th century. This corroborates Dr. Clarke’s guess, mentioned by Everett in his note on the flyleaf, but is slightly earlier than the library catalogue suggests.

The feasts mentioned also suggest that the manuscript was produced in England. There are sermons for a few minor English feasts, specifically those of St. Gilbert, of St. Thomas the Martyr, and of the translation of St. Thomas the Martyr, that were not widely celebrated on the continent. The fact that these feasts were important enough to the author to warrant a sermon suggests an English provenance.

The feasts for which there are sermons lead me to the conclusion that the author was a Franciscan friar. There are sermons for a number of Franciscan feasts, including the feasts of St. Francis, St. Anthony of Padua, and the translation of St. Francis. While Francis and Anthony are major saints, the translation of St. Francis was not normally celebrated beyond Franciscan communities. Furthermore, in the sermon 67 on St. Anthony, sermon 67, the preacher addresses his frатres in the vocative case, and uses second person verbs with frатres as the subject. Perhaps just as telling as the saints present in the manuscript are those who are not. For example, neither St. Dominic, the founder of the Ordo Praedicatorum, better known as the Dominican Order, nor St. Thomas Aquinas, perhaps the most famous and influential Dominican, are present, as they almost certainly would be if this were a Dominican text. All this indicates a Franciscan origin.
Chapter III: The Sermons

A Note on the Transcriptions:

In the transcriptions below, I have, to the best of my ability, followed the spelling of the manuscript. Often this is not possible, especially when abbreviations leave many letters unwritten. The differences between c and t, u and v, and m and n are not always evident (as in *avaritia*, *veritas*, and *quemdam*, respectively), but I have attempted to preserve the spelling of the manuscript. Additionally, I have modernized the capitalization and punctuation.

When the text quotes scripture, I have provided the appropriate quotations from the Vulgate in footnote, and likewise with other Latin sources and the PL. Moreover, the author’s citations of a work often do not correspond to the text of the standard edition of that work. Usually, the difference is merely a few words, but sometimes the wrong source has been cited (e.g. in Sermon 1, the author quotes Isaiah 10:1 but cites Proverbs 10). In these cases, I have preserved the author’s citation in my transcription and quoted the standard edition in the note.

Finally, there are some places in the sermons that I have been unable to transcribe, for a variety of reasons. Often, the text is too heavily abbreviated to comprehend. This is often the case in sermon manuscripts in particular; Wenzel does not give full inventories of some of the collections for the same reason. Despite this difficulty, I have done my best to present an accurate representation of the text.

I have chosen two sermons to transcribe and translate, one from each of the cycles in our manuscript, in order to accurately represent the collection as a whole. The first, from the *de tempore* cycle, is the first sermon in our collection, for Sexagesima, two Sundays before the beginning of Lent. Using a line from the Gospel of Luke, it relates blindness (*ocitās*) to the life of
a sinner (*vita peccatoris*). The second sermon I have transcribed and translated, from the *de sanctis*
cycle, is Sermon 67, for the Feast of St. Anthony, a popular Franciscan saint and the latest saint
in this manuscript to be canonized. It relates the life of the saint to one who walks with God
(*ambulare cum Domino*)

**Sermon 1 Transcription**

Cecus quidam sedebat secus viam etc. *Lucus 18*⁴⁹. Licet ita verba fuerint cuiusdam ceci
ad libram mendicantis, a transientibus coniendo perpetuam indigentiam, presunt tibi esse verba
cuiusdam excecati per peccatum malitiam. Et sic in verbis propositis describatur *vita peccatoris*:
qui ad exceceptionem vis rogalis, qui ad inbecillitatem irascibilis, et qui ad inordinationem
concupiscialis. *Et hic quia per peccatum obtenebratur aspectia, debilitatur patientia, et
deordinatur amacitia.*

*Primum notatur ibi cecus, secundum ibi sedebat, tertium ibi secus viam. Dico quia
peccatum excecat sophe.*

*Primum. Ambulabat ut ceci quia peccaverunt. Ita cecitas est error iudicii, in
ambulatione proiectus spiritualiter. Secundum patet esse debilitas in patientiam, quia cum
fortitudinis sunt agredi difficilia. Et sedere non sunt agredientis sed quiescentis. Patet esse hic
quod fuit quies sodome lascivitas. De qua Genesis 18*⁵⁰* “Clamor sodomorum et gomorre
multiplicatus, et peccatum eorum aggravatum est nimis.” De his sedere otii, Ezekiel 16*⁵¹* hec fuit
iniquitas sodome sororis tue superbia, saturitas panis, habundatia, et otium etc.”

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⁵⁰ Genesis 18:20 “Clamor Sodomorum et Gomorrahæ multiplicatus est, et peccatum eorum aggravatum est
nimis.”
⁵¹ Ezekiel 16:49 “Ecce haec fuit iniquitas Sodome sororis tua: superbia, saturitas panis et abundantia, et
otium ipsius et filiarum ejus: et manum egeno et pauperi non porrigebant.”
Tertium patet esse deordinatio in affectiam. Que amor via est qua in dominum imus non
ambulando sed amando, et parvitate verba. A rectitudine dei longe sumus. Benedicti recte
amando corrigimus, ut recto recti adherere prosimus, de Augustino. Et sic patet tertium. Sic ergo
cecus quidam. Et licet omnia peccata cecitatem inducant precipue cum avaritia et hic,
Ecclesiasticus 20\textsuperscript{52} “Exennia et dona ex oculos iudicium etc.” Et si placet ad presentes, loquamur
de malo avaritie seu cupiditatis. Ista enim cupiditas expletur aliquod per fractum, alium per
fraudem, alium per bursuram, alium per rapinam. Fraus est qua per res “clandestinam” familiari
surreptione consultur, qua multiplex pervenit. Est enim fraus in iudiciis in obsequii in
negotiatiis in circumnegotiis. Fraus in iudiciis ae alitus rei temporalis intuitu ab equitate iudicii
dematur, quod duplum pervenit aut timore me humiliante aut timore me accedente. In prima,
preposita potentator accipitur ne aliqua ipso iudici insertat adversitatem. Sed qua enim summa
perservatur et ita iudex iniquus eterno temporale proponit. Domini iusititia, que perpetua est
timor, horariam adversitatem evadendas derelinquit. Et timore commotus pene temporale penam
eternam adquerit. Job 6\textsuperscript{53} dicit “Qui timent pruinam, irruet super eos nix,” non accendens quod
monet veritas. Mattheum 10\textsuperscript{54} “et nolite timere eos qui occidunt corpus etc.” Qui dicitur Samuel
13\textsuperscript{55} “Melius mihi incidere in manus vestras absque opera, quam peccare in conspectu Domini.”
Et idem Maccabees 6\textsuperscript{56} “Etsi in presenti tempore suppliciiis hominum eripiar sed manum
omnipotentis nec vivus nec defunctus effugiam.” Potest esse etiam iniquum iudicium ex amore
accedente, et hic intuitu consanguinitatis familiaritatis, sui muneris, et hiis tertis aut genere
hominum, aut favore, aut rei exterioris. Est enim munus triplex, ut docet Gregorius, Moralia,

\textsuperscript{52} Sirach 20:31 “Xenia et dona excceant oculos judicium, et quasi mutus, in ore avertit correctiones
eorum.”
\textsuperscript{53} Job 6:16 “Qui timent pruinam, irruet super eos nix.”
\textsuperscript{54} Matthew 10:28 “Et nolite timere eos qui occidunt corpus, animam autem non possunt occidere: sed
potius timete eum, qui potest et animam et corpus perdere in gehennam.”
\textsuperscript{55} Daniel 13:23 “Sed melius est mihi absque operae incidere in manus vestras, quam peccare in conspectu
Domini.”
\textsuperscript{56} 2 Maccabees 6:26 “Nam etsi in praesenti tempore suppliciiis hominum eripiar, sed manum Omnipotentis
nec vivus, nec defunctus, effugiam.”
quinto capitem 2,57 dicens, “Tres sunt acceptiones munerum ad quas ex fraude festinatur. Munus namque a corde captata genera a cogitatione, munus ab ore, gloria per favorem, munus ex manu premium per dationem.” Quoque qua dicitur per Hysaia. De iusto dicitur quod “executit manus suas ab omni munere,” Hysaia 3.58 Quia in eo qui recte agit. Nec ab humano corde inanem gratiam, nec ab ore laudem, nec a manu dationem recipere requerit propterea hic omnia iniqua profisciscitur contra proximum iudicium. Amor enim predictas affectiones pervertit et rationis iudicium exccecat, et secus trahit, et equitatis lineaem ad unam partem inflectit. Et hic cum omnibus predictis personam vel munera accipit, quorum utrumque interdictum iudicii fuit.

Deuteronomium 1759 “Non accipias personam nec munera quia munera excceavat etiam oculos etc.” Jusum60 2761 “Mendictus qui pervertes iudicium advene et pupilli et vidue etc.” Hysaia 162 “Principes tui infideles socii furum. Omnes diligunt munera.” Jusum 563 “Ve qui iustificatis impium pro muneribus et iustitiam iusti auferitis ab eo.” Iudex nam non est q iniquum iudicium gratis redidit sed potius iustie adversarius. Hysidori Etymologiis64 loquitur caput 4 “iudices dicti sunt, quasi ius dicentes populo, sive quod iure disceptent. Iure autem disceptare est iuste iudicare. Non est autem iudex, si iustitia in eo non est.” Nam quod non est cavendo iudicium tum, ne sententiam unquam proferat, sed etiam ne firmam iustam iniqua intentione vel corrupta

57 Pope Saint Gregory I, Moralia in Iob, XXXIV.53: “Tres vero sunt acceptiones munerum, ad quas ex fraude festinatur. Munus namque a corde est captata gratia a cogitatione. Munus ab ore est gloria per favorem. Munus ex manu est premium per dationem.”
58 Isaiah 33:15 “et excutit manus suas ab omni munere, qui obturat aures suas ne audiat sanguinem, et claudit oculos suos ne videat malum.”
59 Deuteronomy 16:19 “Non accipies personam, nec munera: quia munera excceant oculos sapientum, et mutant verba justorum.”
60 Jusum, “downwards,” is a medieval variant of deorsum, here referring to a later place in the same book.
61 Deuteronomy 24:17 “Non pervertes iudicium advene et pupilli, nec afferes pignoris loco vidue vestimentum.”
63 Isaiah 5:23 “Qui justificatis impium pro muneribus, et justitiam justi auferitis ab eo!”
64 Isidore of Seville, Etymologies, Book XVIII.15.5 “Judices dicti, quasi jus dicentes populo, sive quod iure disceptent. Iure autem disceptare est justicere. Non est autem iudex, si non in eo est justitia.”
proponat. Benedictus dicitur Deuteronomium 16\textsuperscript{65} “Iuste quod iustum est iudicare.” In Moralia,\textsuperscript{66} “Plerumque nonnulli terrena premia appetunt, et iustitiam defendunt seque innocentes estimant, et esse defensores rectitudinis exulant.” Qui si spes nummi subtrahatur a defensione iustitie, cessatur. Et cum defensores se iustitie cogitant, seque rectos asserunt, qui nequaqua iustitie rectitationem sed nummos querunt. Qui contra verbum per Moysen dicitur Deuteronomia 16: “Iuste quod iustum est exequaris.” Iniuste enim quod iustum est exequitur, qui ad defensionem iustitie et virtutis emulationem sed amore premii temporalis excitatur. Iniuste quod iustum est, exsequetur quoniam...

Est etiam fraud in obsequis et hic duplicitur in verbis et operibus. Primum quod in...advocatis et prolocutoribus, qui aut personarum acceptione aut mercede corrupti, fideliter in tua accepta non laborant. Aut insipiditates et non instructi in hiis, qui iure sunt, se scire proficiscetur. Qui ignorant et lucrandi aviditate deffendendam tuam et promonendam assumit, cum iure scientiam non habeant. Justi duplex peccant et quia proximam debitam mercedem exigentes spoliant, atque tuam proximam iustum perire permittunt. Semper primi faciunt hinc inde munera accipiunt et multotientes per cuius consilia adversarii innoceescunt. De hiis Proverbia 10\textsuperscript{67} dicitur: “Argentum suum versum est in scoriam.” His est eloquencia in fraudem et apprehentiam et veritatis depressionem. Argentum enim sub scoria ocultatur. Hysaia 10\textsuperscript{68} “Ve qui condunt leges inquas etc.” Veque postea diriperent. sed heu impletus est tempus idem. Jeremiah 9\textsuperscript{69} “Subplantans subplantabit et omnis amicus fraudulenter incedit. Et vir fratre suum deridebit

\textsuperscript{65} Deuteronomy 16:20 “Juste quod justum est persequeris: ut vivas, et possideas terram, quam Dominus Deus tuus dederit tibi.”
\textsuperscript{66} Pope Saint Gregory I, Moralia in Iob, XXV.38: “Nam plerumque nonnulli terrena praemia appetunt, et justitiam defendunt, seque innocentes aestimant, et esse defensores rectitudinis exulant.”
\textsuperscript{67} Isaiah 1:22 “Argentum tuum versum est in scoriam; vinum tuum mistum est aqua.”
\textsuperscript{68} Isaiah 10:1 “Ve qui condunt leges inquas, et scribentes injustitiam scripserunt.”
\textsuperscript{69} Jeremiah 9:4-5 “Unusquisque se aproximo suo custodiat, et in omni fratre suo non habeat fiduciam: quia omnis frater supplantans supplantabit, et omnis amicus fraudulenter incedet. Et vir fratre suum deridebit, et veritatem non loquentur: docuerunt enim linguam suam loqui mendacium; ut inique agerent laboraverunt.”
et veritate non loquentur. Docuerunt enim linguam suam loquias mendacium, et ut inique agunt laboraverunt.

Ita est fraus in operibus cum quis ad operandum mercede conductus. Aut...consumit, aut in ipso tempore idem non sicut debet ad implendo fraudem factis. Per primum opus ipsum inmoderatione prolongatur. Per secundum, ipsum opus in se violatur. Per primum, citam perfectionem tempore debito desistit. Per secundum, nullo tempore perfectionem quam...potuit attingit. Item ergo egestatem adquerit. Quia Proverbia 1070 “Egestatem operata est manus remissa. Manus ad fortium divitiat parat.” Caritatem aut laborantem fideliter intuens sapere ait Proverbia 2071 “Multi homines misericordes vocantur, virum autem fidelem quis inveniet?” Et Ecclesiasticus 3372 “Si est tibi servus fidelis, sit tibi quasi anima tua.”

Ita est fraus in negotiationibus. Aviditas enim lucem fraudem machinatur tam in emtoribus qua in vendici omnibus.

De primo, Proverbia 2073 “Malum est, malum est dicit omnis emtor et cum recesserit tune glorabiur.” De utroque simile Hysaia 574 “Ve qui dicitis bonum malum,” et equo etiam Miche 6,75 de fraude, “Numquid iustificabo stateram impiam et sacelli pondera dolosa? In quibus divites eius repleti sunt iniquitate et habitantes in ea loquebantur mendacia et lingua eorum fraudulentia in ore eorum.”...sed postea condemnabo.

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70 Proverbs 10:4 “Egestatem operata est manus remissa; manus autem fortium divitas parat.”
71 Proverbs 20:6 “Multi homines misericordes vocantur; virum autem fidelem quis inveniet?”
72 Sirach 33:31 “Si est tibi servus fidelis, sit tibi quasi anima tua: quasi fratrem sic eum tracta, quoniam in sanguine anime comparasti illum.”
73 Proverbs 20:14 “Malum est, malum est, dicit omnis emtor; et cum recesserit, tune glorabiur.”
74 Isaiah 5:20 “Ve qui dicitis malum bonum, et bonum malum; ponentes tenebras lucem, et lucem tenebras; ponentes amarum in dulce, et dulce in amarum!”
75 Micah 6:11-12 “Numquid iustificabo stateram impiam, et sacelli pondera dolosa? In quibus divites ejus repleti sunt iniquitate, et habitantes in ea loquebantur mendacia, et lingua eorum fraudulentia in ore eorum.”

76 Wisdom 2:12 “Circumveniamus ergo justum, quoniam inutilis est nobis, et contrarius est operibus nostris, et improerat nobis peccata legis, et diffamat in nos peccata disciplinae nostrae.”
77 Wisdom 10:11-12 “In fraude circumvenientium illum affuit illi, et honestum fecit illum. Custodivit illum ab inimicis, et a seducitoribus tutavit illum: et certamen forte dedit illi ut vinceret, et sciret quoniam omnium potentior est sapientia.”
78 Proverbs 21:6 “Qui congregat thesauros lingua mendacii vanus et excors est, et impingetur ad laqueos mortis.”
79 Jeremiah 5:27 “Sicut decipula plena avibus, sic domus eorum plene dolo: ideo magnificati sunt et ditati.”
80 Peter Lombard, Commentary on Psalm 7:16 “Lacum aperuit, quasi dicat, concepit, parturivit, peperit, et sic jam, lacum aperuit, id est comparablis est aperienti lacum, concipiendio, scilicet quod est dicere, fraudem inchoavit, consentiendo suggestioni terrenarum cupiditatum. ‘Et effodit eum,’ id est similis est effodienti parturieni, id est instando operi fraudis. ‘Et incidit in foveam quam fecit,’ id est similis est incidenti in foveam, pariendo, id est fraudem perpetrando. Prius enim fraudator laeditur damno innocentiae, quam alius damno pecunie.” The following passage “Lacum aperuit...quam alius pecunie” is a paraphrase of the passage above of Peter Lombard, commenting on Psalm 7:16 “Lacum aperuit, et effodit eum; et incidit in foveam quam fecit.”
81 Martin of Braga, Formula Honesta Vita, Book II De magnanimitate “neminem suffodias, palam aggreder. Non geres, conflictum nisi indixeris; nam fraudes et doli imbecillum decent.”
Item De Conflictu Vitiorum et Virtutum, caput 18\textsuperscript{82} de furto et fraude simul: “Si aliena non tollis ex proprio, vel dives vel sufficiens esse non vales. Si cuncta que tibi prelatus servanda commisit, illibata consignas, et nec modicum quid reservandum existimes. Unde vel propriis utilitatis consulis, vel amicus vel commilitonibus places? Que innocentia, ‘Melius est pauperem et sufficientem esse, nullique ex dato placere,’ quam aliquem ledere furto vel fraude, qui enim aliena qualibet iusti præripit. Ipse sibi celestis ianuam claudit sibi aditum.” Etiam satis, et parvum sicut caput 16 librum contra cupiditatem.

Item de cecitate avaritie. Augustinus De Disciplina Christiana,\textsuperscript{83} “Horrenditas profunditas nec patet oculos, et scatet animis. Vidimus et cecos avaros: dicatur mihi unde avari sunt ceci, qui non vident. Quod habet nec habet, et tamen avarus est cecus. Quare? Quia credit se habere, avarus est.” Et de avaritia seu quam Augustinus epistola 31\textsuperscript{84} “Quis avarus querit compossessorem? Quis dominandi cupiditate inflammatus, vel fastu dominationis elatus desiderat habere consortem? Cum tamen, non solum que habebant, sed etiam nostra que non habebant: que tamen, si pauperum compauperes sumus, et nostra sunt et illorum.” De hac avaritia, vel philargia loquitur Johannes Casonus...\textsuperscript{85} “Amator argenti argenti est infamor et inimicato omni insano, quia...est plerum humani generis. Et iactatur universi orbis, etenim vult

\textsuperscript{82} Ambrose, De Conflicitu Vitiorum et Virtutum, L18: “Furtum et fraus quamquam gradus habeant locutionis, unum est tamen quod dicunt. Furtum enim dicit, Si aliena non tollis, ex proprio vel dives vel sufficiens esse non vales. Fraus dicit, Si cuncta que tibi prelatus servanda commisit, illibata consignas, et nec modicum quid reservandum existimas; unde vel propriis utilitatis consulis, vel amicus et commilitonibus places? Sed innocentia ad utraque respondet, Melius est pauperem et insufficientem esse, nullique ex dato placere, quam aliquem ledere furto vel fraude: qui enim aliena qualibet modo injuste præripit, ipse sibi regni coelestis aditum claudit.”

\textsuperscript{83} Augustine, De Disciplina Christiana, X: “Et sic tamen horrenda profunditas avaritiae non pater oculis, et scatet animis. Vidimus et cecos avaros: dicatur mihi unde avari sunt ceci, qui non vident. Quod habet nec habet, et tamen avarus est cecus. Quare? Quia credit se habere, avarus est.”

\textsuperscript{84} Augustine, De Correctione Donatislarum, IX: “Quis avarus querit compossessorem? quis dominandi cupiditate inflammatus, vel fastu dominationis elatus desiderat habere consortem? Ipsos certe attendant quondam suos, jam nostras socios et fraternal nobis dilectione conjunctos, quemadmodum sua teneant, non solum que habebant, sed etiam nostra que non habebant: quæ tamen, si pauperum compauperes sumus, et nostra sunt et illorum”

\textsuperscript{85} This phrase clearly introduces a quotation, but I have not been able to find the source of the following lines. The author appears to be quoting John Cassian, a late fourth century monastic figure.
nullum hominem esse ut omnes detineat. Et terram destruere concupiscit quia vellet qui esset
avaritium.” Benedictus desstruere timorem est ex legibus et videbit eum gladium rapientem et
adversos eos utentem, et nulli ignoscentem quia nec faceret nec ei qui genuit.

Sermo de secundo principali est de inbecillitate irascibile, qui notatur ibi sedet...“Surgam
et ibo ad patrem meum” in perobola de fido prodigo. Eusebius epistola 10: “Pulchre ait,
surgens, ‘Patre quippe absente, non steterat. Peccatorum adiacere, iustorum stare est.’ Et ipso
dicitur ad moysen, ‘Hic sta mecum.’ Et in centesimo tricesimo tertio: ‘Ecce nunc benedicite
dominum etc, qui statis in domo domini’ ad benedictionem Domini stantes in domo Domini
propheta hortatur etc.” Sic ut non sedante in chathedra pestilentie, a qua iustus se excusat
dominus. Quem in chathedra pesti non sedet. In glossa, pestilencie morbus est late pervagatus
aut pene eos involuens. Et dicitur a pesti quod pastulencia, hic est amor durandi, qui vix caret. Et
ipso sedendo, non est sed stando et viriliter aggrediendo. Benedictus sanctus Augustinus “Eris
magnanimus, si pericula nec appetas, ut temerarius, nec formides, ut timidus; nam timidum non
facit animum, nisi reprehensibilis vite conscientia. Et scietur magnanimitas... inflatum tridum
inquietum...excellentitas decorum atque facium neglecta honestate festivum. Scietur mensura
magnanimitatis est nec timido esse hominem nec audacem.”

Sermo de tertio principali esse deordinatione in affectam qui notatur ibi secus viam. Via
aut dei observatus est mandatorum quam curretur qui dixit viam mandatorum. Cum cuccurit, hic

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86 Luke 15:18 “Surgam et ibo ad patrem meum et dicam illi pater peccavi in caelum et coram te.”
87 Eusebius, Epistle XXI Ad Damascas de duobus filiis, “Pulchre ait, surgens: patre quippe absente, non
steterat. Peccatorum jacere, iustorum stare est. Ad Moysen dicitur, ‘tu vero hic sta mecum.’ Et in centesimo
tricesimo tertio Psalm: ‘Ecce nunc benedicite Dominum, omnes servi Domini, qui statis in domo
Domini,’ ad benedictionem Domini stantes Prophetae in domo Dominii cohortatur.”
88 Deuteronomy 5:31 “31 Tu vero hic sta mecum, et loquiri omnia mandata mea, et ceremonias atque
judicia: que docebis eos, ut faciant ea in terra, quam dabo illis in possessionem.”
89 Psalm 133:1 “Ecce nunc benedicite Dominum, omnes servi Domini: qui statis in domo Domini, in atriis
domus Dei nostri.”
90 Martin of Braga, Formula Honestae Viator, II: "Eris magnanimus, si pericula nec appetas, ut temerarius, nec
formides, ut timidus; nam nil timidum factum animum, nisi reprehensibilis vitae conscientia. Mensura ergo
magnanimitatis est, nec timido esse hominem, nec audacem.”
autem non currit peccator sedens, et quia obmixa peccatis obstinacium est cor eius, ne latitudinem mandatorum ingrediatur. Quam latitudo mandatorum...hic latitudo est caritatis, qua hoc ad proximum et ad Dominum dilatatur... Benedictus sanctus Augustinus vel sanctum verbum Augustini, 91 hac caritate in via summa, “Nec via ista locorum est sed affectuum quam intercludebant quasi septa spinosa preteritorum malitia peccatorum. Quid liberalius et misericordius facere potuit qui seipsum nobis viam substernere voluit, qua rediremus, non ut omnia donaret peccata conversis, et graviter fixa interdicta redditus nostri pro nobis crucifixus evelleret?” Et de hac via, Augustinus...beneficta hec via Christus iustorum est, ac peccatorum a qua iustus in munere conficere. Cum dicit quod “in via peccatorum non stetit,” 92 secus ergo primam viam sedet peccator. Iustus autem in ea ambulat, qui hac viam nos ducit qui cum patre et spiritus sanctum vivit et regnat, Amen.

Sermon 1 Translation

“A certain blind man was sitting at the side of a road, etc.” Luke 18. Although the words were of a certain blind man begging for money, with the passers-by being conscious of his perpetual need, they suggest to you that the words are of a certain man blinded by evil sin. And thus, in these words having been put forward, the life of a sinner was described: blindness of strength, weakness of choleric things, and disorder of desire. And this is because through sin, sight is concealed, patience is weakened, and love is disordered.

First, “a certain blind man” is written there, second “is sitting,” third “at the side of the road.” I say with wisdom that sin blinds.

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91 Augustine, De Doctrina Christiana, 1.17.16, “Porro quoniam in via sumus, nec via ista locorum est, sed affectuum, quam intercludebat, quasi septa quaedam spinosa, praeteritorum malitia peccatorum; quid liberalius et misericordius facere potuit, qui seipsum nobis, qua rediremus, substernere voluit, nisi ut omnia donaret peccata conversis, et graviter fixa interdicta redditus nostri pro nobis crucifixus evelleret?”

92 Psalm 1:1 “Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum, et in via peccatorum non stetit, et in cathedra pestilentiae non sedit.”
First, they were walking as blind men because they had sinned. So blindness is a wandering of judgement, a spiritual departing. Second, it is clear that it is a weakness in patience, as when the strong undertake the difficult. And sitting you do not undertake difficult things, but rest. This is clear, that there is a rest of lust in Sodom. About this, Genesis 18: “The shouts of the people of Sodom and Gomorrah are multiplied, and their sin is aggravated too much.” About this line, to sit at leisure, Ezekiel 16: “This evil of Sodom was the arrogance of your sister, the surplus of bread, the abundance, the leisure, etc.”

Third, it is clear that there is a disorder in the emotional state. Love is the way by which we proceed to the Lord, not by walking but by loving... We are far from the straight path of God. Blessed, we set the straight path by loving well, so that on the straight path, we may profit from sticking to it, according to Augustine. And thus the third thing is clear. So, a certain blind man. Though, all sin leads to blindness, especially greed. And on this, Sirach 20: “Presents and gifts blind the judge, etc.” So if it pleases those present, let us talk about the evil of greed and desire. Indeed this desire is filled up in some by brokenness, some by fraud, some by a purse, some by robbery. It is fraud when someone consulted by a familiar deception for a secret thing and the double-minded come. Indeed it is fraud in the judges in compliance, in busyness and around business. Fraud in judges and nourishment of temporal things are removed by considering the justice of the judge, either with fear humbling me or with fear approaching me. At first, the able one is accepted unless someone introduces adversity to that judge. But indeed all is preserved, and so the wicked judge is under control for all time. The justice of the Lord, which is a perpetual fear, abandons those escaping temporal adversity. And having been moved by fear in time, he almost searches for eternal punishment. Job 6 says “They fear the frost, they attack the snow above them,” not illuminating the truth that remains. In Matthew 10: “Do not fear those who kill the body, etc.” This is said in Samuel 13, “It is sweeter to me to fall into your
hands without doing it than to sin in the sight of the Lord.” And likewise in Maccabees 6: “Even if in the present time I can avoid human punishments, but in the hand of the Almighty, I can flee neither living nor dead.” And wicked judgement can come from love. And by considering the common familial blood, there are three things, either humankind, or goodwill, or an external thing. There are, then, three types of bribe, as Gregory teaches in book five chapter 2: “There are three senses of bribe, which are undercut by fraud. For a bribe is desired by the heart by considering things, a bribe by speech, on glory through goodwill, and a bribe from the hand, pursuit through donation.” This is also said by Isaiah. About justice, it is said that “it keeps our hands from all bribes,” in Isaiah 33, because in this is one who acts properly. It seeks not to accept empty grace from the human heart, nor praise from the mouth, nor a gift from the hand, because it leads all wicked things against the nearest just thing. Love, though, changes the aforementioned dispositions, and blinds the judgement of reason, and drags alongside, and moves the line of justice to one side. And with all these things, it accepts the character or bribes, both of which was forbidden of justice. Deuteronomy 17: “You should not accept a character or bribes, for bribes blind the eyes etc.” Later, in 27, “You are pitiable who wrecks the justice of the foreigner, the orphan, and the widow, etc.” In Isaiah 1 “Your princes are treacherous allies of thieves. All take bribes.” Later, in 5: “You who acquit the wicked for bribes and take from them the justice of the just.” For the judge who passes judgment without payment is not wicked, but one who is the powerful adversary of justice is. In Etymologies of Isidore: “It is said of judges that just as they make the law for the people, by law they may dispute it. But to dispute the law is to judge with justice. But he is not a judge if justice is not in him.” For this judgment must be avoided then, lest it may ever offer a sentence, but also that it can not display a strong justice with an evil or corrupt intention. It is said in Deuteronomy 16 “the just choose that which is just.” In Moralia: “Generally, some seek earthly gifts, and they defend justice and judge
themselves innocent, and rejoice as defenders of the good.” If this want of money takes away
from the defense of justice, it is stopped. And when they consider themselves defenders of
justice, they consider themselves right, who seek not the straight path of justice but money.
Against these words, this is said by Moses in Deuteronomy 16: “The just must pursue that which
is just.” The unjust, then, pursue that which is just, which, to the defense of justice and virtue, is
stirred up not by envy but by a love of a temporal prize. The unjust pursue that which is just, and
it follows that...

And there is no fraud in compliance, and this varies in words and written works. First,
because in...lawyers, or those who speak out, who either accept bribes from people or are on the
salary of the corrupt, they do not work faithfully on your account. Either the tasteless or those
not instructed in these things set out to know what is in the law. They profit in greed, ignore
your defense, and take up your teaching, when they have no knowledge in the law. The just sin
too, both because, driving them out, they spoil the reward they earned and allow your just to die.
The first things always happen, then they accept bribes, and they many times begin to harm their
adversaries with their advice. About these things, in Proverbs it is said “Your silver has been
turned into waste.” This is the eloquence in fraud, the seizing and breaking down of truth. The
silver, then, is hidden beneath the waste. In Isaiah 10: “Woe to those who make evil laws, etc.”
And woe to those who later remove them. But this time is finished. In Jeremiah 9: “The deceiver
will deceive and every friend approaches deceitfully. And a man will mock his brother and will
not speak truthfully. Indeed they have taught their tongue to speak lies, and they are wearied in
doing evil.”

So, there is fraud in jobs where someone is hired for the purpose of working for pay.
Either it destroys it, or it uses fraud just as it ought not be employed. In the first case, a certain
work is prolonged by immoderation. In the second, the work is violated in itself. In the first, it
stops a quick completion in the due time. In the second, in no time it attains the completion which it is able to attain. Likewise, it searches for poverty. In Proverbs 10: “Lazy hands make poverty. Hands of strength, though, bring riches.” However, considering love or working faithfully, Proverbs 20 says” “Many men are called wretched, but who finds a faithful man?” And Sirach 33: “If you have one faithful slave, treat him like yourself.”

First, Proverbs 20: “Every buyer says ‘it is bad, it is bad’ and then boasts when he retreats.” On each side it is similar to Isaiah 5: “Woe to you who call good evil,” and also to Micah 6, about fraud, “Will I justify impious scales and a bag of sorrowful burdens? Your wealthy are full of evil and those living there speak lies with their deceitful tongues in their mouths.”...but I will judge.

So fraud is trickery. Wisdom 2: “Let us lie face-down, until it is useless for us and goes against our actions.” This deceit, however, is extended to every kind of thing, from something of lust and from something of greed, in part, such that there is truth in that speech. Sinfulness and blindness, which with consideration are sent away from other things, later are able to be desired. This is said about justice in Wisdom 10: “Those around her were in fraud. She made him honest and guarded him.” Proverbs 21: “He who collects treasures with a tongue of lies is an empty vapor and is struck by the snare of death.” And Jeremiah 5: “Just like a cage full of birds, so their houses are full with treachery. Likewise they are praised, etc.” About this fraud, in Peter it is said in gloss of “he opens a pit.” Fraud is similar to opening a pit, for it begins with a shared suggestion of earthly desire, and “digs it out,” that is, digging it out is similar to producing, that is, by pursuing the works of fraud. And by falling into the pit by producing, I mean it is by perpetrating fraud. Indeed, the defrauder is struck by the loss of innocence before another is by money. On this fraud, Augustine: “Dig nothing, throw away the shovel, and do not carry it, unless you proclaim a conflict. For fraud and deceit are damned.”
Likewise, On the Conflict of the Virtues and Vices, chapter 18 is about theft and fraud at the same time: “If you do not take another’s land, you are not able to be wealthy or sufficient. If you bring everyone who serves you together, you can authenticate their being intact and not value anything short that is to be saved. Where do you want your useful counsel or friends or comrades? And innocence responded ‘It is sweet to be poor and lacking, and to want a gift from nobody,’ which hurt fraud and theft, who then snatches land anywhere unjustly. He closed the door of heaven from them.” And now that is enough, and this is a little like chapter 16 of that book, on lust.

Likewise, on the blindness of greed, Augustine, On Christian Teaching: “The horrible depth opens the eyes, and bubbles up with souls, and we saw the greedy blind: it is clear to me that there the greedy are blind, who do not see. What they have, they do not have, for the greedy are blind. How? Because they wanted to have, it is greedy.” And on greed: “What miser seeks joint-possession? Who, excited by mastering lust or elated by a contempt of power, desires to share their inheritance? Someone who is not living alone but also not living with others: however, if we are poor together, we are of those things.” About this greed or love of money, John Cassian: “The lover of money is unreputable and makes enemies with everyone insane, because...is full of all humankind. And he is cast from this earth, and indeed wants there to be a thousand men, so that he may detain all of them. And he wishes to destroy the land, because he wants to be he who is greedy.” Destroying fear which is from laws, he will see this sword destroying and making use of his adversaries, and he knows nothing that neither makes nor produces anything for him.

The second principal part is about choleric weakness. “Sits” is written there. “He will rise and go to his father” in the parable of the prodigal son. In Eusebius, letter 10: “Rising, he says to beauty, ‘Of course, I did not remain there with my father away. I wanted to lie with
sinners, to stop spending time with the just.’ And this is said to Moses, ‘Here, stay with me,’ and in Psalm 133: ‘Behold, now bless the Lord, etc, who remains in the house of the Lord.’ The prophets are urged to stay in the house of the Lord for his blessing.’ Thus, they do not sit on a throne of pestilence, for which the just Lord will make an excuse. He does not sit when on the throne of pestilence. In commentary, the sickness of pestilence wandered far and wide, nearly enveloping them. It is said of pestilence that this pestilence is love of enduring, which is scarcely absent. And with him about to sit, he is not just standing but advancing with manly vigor. The blessed St. Augustine, “You will be brave if you do not seek danger, so that reckless, you are not afraid, but timid; for timidity does not build up the soul, unless the conscience is reprehensible. And magnanimity is known ... puffed up, divided, sleepless... excellence of elegant and beautiful things excelling in neglected honor. It is known that the measure of magnanimity is a man that is neither timid nor bold.”

The third principal part of the sermon is concerned with a disorder in affliction, which is written there, “at the side of the road.” The road of the commandments of God has been watched, to which one rushes who speaks of the road the commandments. When he rushes, the sinner, sitting, does not rush here, however, because marred by sins, his heart is obstinate, unless he walks the extent of the road of the commandments...This extent is of the love which is opened to your neighbor and to the Lord... The blessed St. Augustine, or the words of St. Augustine, “With this love, we are on the road, and it is not a road of places but of affections that were closed off by the seven thorny evils of past sins. What can the more honorable and more merciful do, who himself wants to lay out a road for us, by which we may return, not so that we might give back all the sins, but that restored, having been crucified for us, he might violently root out the prohibition on us?” And about this road, Augustine says, “Christ is the holy path of the just”...When it says that “he did not remain in the road of sinners,” the sinner
sat at the side of the first road. The just man, though, walks on it, who leads us on this road, who, with the father and holy spirit, lives and reigns, Amen.

_Sermon 67 Transcription_

In pace et equitate ambulavit mecum, et multos avertit ab iniquitate. Malachi 2.\(^3\) Ista verba spiritualiter intellecta praesunt exponi de Sancto Antonio de Ordine Fratrum Minorum. In quibus verbis a duobus commendatur: a vita et doctrina. Ex vita quia domini imitator, et a doctrina quia efficax predictor, ut ordinator in semetipso per conversos utilis esset proximo. Primum ibi in pace etc. Secundum ibi et multos etc.

Vita eius a tertiiis commendatur: esse a simplici innocenta, a pauperitate voluntate, et a regulari disciplina. De eo loquetur quod vitam eius commendant, vilitas voluntaria, simplex innocenta, et discipline cura.

Cum domino qui ambulavit per voluntatem pauperitatem, semetipsum ordinavit per innocente simplicitate, et proximo edificavit per disciplinalem obediencie profunditatem.

De eius vilitate, patet tum suscepti habitus reducere debet, asperitas, vilitas, et pauperitas. Tamen que semel fratribus hora collacionis faciende minister presensaderat, et Spiritu Sancto se fortiter instigante conversus est ad Antonium, de cuius scientiam nichil constabat. In qua pausa perraro literaliter loquebatur. Ut vides, proponat in medium fratribus quicumque illi deus suggereret. Ad quod hydoneus humili serus dei... Qua in exponendis divinorum eloquorum misteriis, hic igitur fuit alter Noe, de quo dicitur in Genesis 4.\(^4\) "Justus atque perfectus in Genesis fuit, cum Deo ambulavit." Noe interpretate requiescens, sed Sanctus Antonius requievit ab omnia opere malo, et ita perfectus in generationibus, id est operibus et ambulavit cum deo.

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\(^3\) Malachi 2:6.

\(^4\) Genesis 6:9 "Hæ sunt generationes Noë: Noë vir justus atque perfectus fuit in generationibus suis; cum Deo ambulavit."
Dicat igitur si ambulando in meo umbre mortis, non tiniebo...sed qui multi ambulant voluptase. Phillipii 3.\textsuperscript{95} “Multi ambulant de quibus vobis dicebam sepe, et ad huc fallaces inimicos crucis Christi, quorum finis interitus etc.” Quidam ambulant otiose de quibus Thessalonii 3,\textsuperscript{96} “Audivimus inter vos quosdam ambulare inquiete, ne operantes, sed otiose agentes.” Quedam etiam contemptiose. Corinthii 3\textsuperscript{97} “Cum inter vos sit etelus, et contentio nonne carnales estis etc.” Vud qua ista tertia ambulandus est digne deo, caute spiritu, et honteste proximo.

De primo, Colossii primo\textsuperscript{98} “Non cessamus pro vobis orantes etc vestris per placentes.” Iste caute qui ad seipsum Ephesii 5,\textsuperscript{99} “Videte fratres quomodo caute ambuletis” etc, versibus postea, “mali sunt.”

Honeste qui ad proximum, Thessalonii 4,\textsuperscript{100} rogatus vos fratres “ut et ambuletis ad eos qui foris sunt etc.”

Valens fuit Sanctus Antonius, quia de eo loquitur quod in omni perfectione religiosis profecit non solum quasi in agendo alieno vitia extirpanda virtutesque insereret, sed semetipsum sollicite primitos extolendo cognovit, sed etiam qualiter fidei normas assertet, ac confutaret errores fruentissimis precum sententiis se munivit.

De primo. Sermo de simplicitate innocencie euis. Et hic respicit seipsum...Sapiens 4...

Dicitur Proverbia 9\textsuperscript{101} “Relinquitate infantiam, et vivite et ambulate per vias.”

\textsuperscript{95} Phillipians 3:18-19 “Multi enim ambulant, quos sepe dicebam vobis (nunc autem et flens dico) inimicos crucis Christi; quorum finis interitus: quorum Deus venter est: et gloria in confusione ipsorum, qui terrena sapiunt.”

\textsuperscript{96} II Thessalonians 3:11 “Audivimus enim inter vos quosdam ambulare inquiete, nihil operantes, sed curiose agentes.”

\textsuperscript{97} I Corinthians 3:3 “Cum enim sit inter vos zelus, et contentio: nonne carnales estis, et secundum hominem ambulatis?”

\textsuperscript{98} Colossians 1:9 “Ideo et nos ex qua die audivimus, non cessamus pro vobis orantes, et postulantes ut impleamini agnitione voluntatis ejus, in omni sapientia et intellectu spirituali.”

\textsuperscript{99} Ephesians 5:15-16 “Videte igitur, fratres, quomodo caute ambuletis: non quasi insipientes, sed ut sapientes: redimentes tempus, quoniam dies mali sunt.”

\textsuperscript{100} I Thessalonians 4:11 “Et opera getis ut quieti sitis, et ut vestrum negotium agatis, et operemini manibus vestris, sicut praecepi vobis: et ut honeste ambuletis ad eos qui foris sunt: et nullius aliquid desideretis.”

\textsuperscript{101} Proverbs 9:6 “Relinquite infantiam, et vivite, et ambulate per vias prudentiae.”
Item quem ad concupiscialem Colossii 3102 “Pax Christi exultet in cordibus vestris.”


De secundo parte, dicitur idem 4 “si ambulaveris coram me, sicut pater tuus in simplicitate etc.” versisque postea “servandis etc ponam etc.”109

De tertio, Psalm,110 “Custodi innocentiam et vide equitatem etc.” Hic ac talis fuit ut versificetur de eo idem. Dilexit ac Salomon, qui interpret pacificus. Et quis pacificus, ut Sanctus

102 “Colossians 3:15 “Et pac Christi exultet in cordibus vestris, in qua et vocati estis in uno corpore: et grati estote.”
103 Jeremiah 29:7 “Et querite pacem civitatis ad quam transmigrare vos feci, et orate pro ea ad Dominum, quia in pace illius erit pac vobis.”
104 Isaiah 33:14-5 “Qui ambulat in justitiis et loquitur veritatem, qui projicet avaritiam ex colunnia, et excitit manus suas ab omni munere, qui obturat aures suas ne audiat sanguinem, et claudit oculos suos ne videat malum.”
106 1 John 2:6 “Qui dicit se in ipso manere, debet, sicut ille ambulavit, et ipse ambulare.”
107 Sirach 31:32 “Equa vita hominibus vinum in sobriete: si bibas illud moderate, eris sobrius.”
108 Proverbs 22:24 “Noli esse amicus homini iracundo, neque ambules cum viso furioso.”
109 1 Kings 9:4:5 “Tu quoque si ambulaveris coram me sicut ambulavit pater tuus, in simplicitate cordis et in equitate, et feceris omnia que præcepi tibi, et legitima mea et judicia mea servaveris, ponam thronum regni tui super Israël in sempiternum, sicut locutus sum David patri tuo, dicens: Non auferetur vir de genere tuo de solio Israël.”
110 Psalm 36:37 “Custodi innocentiam, et vide equitatem, quoniam sunt reliquiae homini pacifico.”
Antonius cum Domino ambulans, et in preceptis dedit primis sui, id est Sancti Francisci, dedit interpretates manu fortis in aggregiendo difficilia. Et certe hic invitatus est priorem. Natus dominum Franciscum ut dicitur apud Marrochum, sanguis innocentum approbatis, quorum venerandas reliquas ut quidam famous nomine Petrus, defferens per ipsorum multa sui ipsius aganibus periculis liberacionem, celebrebret eorumdam passionis ordinem divulgavit. Qui cum auribus Fernandi non inanitis rumor Francisci insonuit, nam subito...sanguinis animati a fidei fruore surripitur, Christique inuirias et martirum necesse miranda inse compassionem, retor quis se presentem agere reputat. Ibi et ipse hyravice feroxiti occurens eandem pro Christo, cum prefatis martiribus palmam optineat. Verum conamine ad martyrium moneretur, suum cum in hiis desiderium non implevit. De quo rex regnum assensu humano decevit, ut vides, per veritate predictionis ab infidelitatis errore et a vitii ad virtutes converteret.

Et hoc est secundum principale, “multos avertit ab iniquitate,” ut commendatur ab efficacia doctrine. Qua tertia probant ut loquitur in vita sua, zelo multa caritas, veritas, et modestia. Nam per doctrinam caritatis erat sapiens, ex veritate pudens, et ex modestia patiens.

De primo, Deuteronomia 32\textsuperscript{111} “Concrescat ut pluvia doctrina mea etc.” Ista ac doctrina avertendo ab iniquitate est conversio filiorum ad patres eorum. De qua dicitur Malachi 4\textsuperscript{112} “Ecce ego mittam ad vos helyam prophetam antequam veniat dies domini etc,” versisque postea “preces eorum.” sed heu Proverbia 1\textsuperscript{113} dicitur “Sapientiam atque doctrinam stulti despiciunt.”

De secundo Job 20,\textsuperscript{114} “Doctrina qua me arguis audiam, et respondebit in spiritus intelligentie mee.” Et versificatur de eo idem quod dicitur de Job, Luke 7\textsuperscript{115} “Et multos filiorum

\textsuperscript{111} Deuteronomy 32:2 “Concrescat ut pluvia doctrina mea, fluat ut ros eloquium meum, quasi imber super herbam, et quasi stille super gramina.”

\textsuperscript{112} Malachi 4:5-6 “Ecce ego mittam vobis Eliam prophetam, antequam veniat dies Domini magnus et horribilis. Et convertet cor patrum ad filios, et cor filiorum ad patres eorum: ne forte veniam, et percutiam terram anathemate.”

\textsuperscript{113} Proverbs 1:7 “Timor Domini principium sapientia; sapientiam atque doctrinam stulti despiciunt.”

\textsuperscript{114} Job 20:3 “Doctrinam qua me arguis audiam, et spiritus intelligentiae mee respondebit mihi.”

\textsuperscript{115} Luke 1:16 “Et multos filiorum Israël convertet ad Dominum Deum ipsorum.”
convertet ad Dominum Deum ipsorum.” Sed prothdolor, Proverbia 23\textsuperscript{16} dicitur, “In auribus insipientium ne loquaris, qui etc.”

De tertio Proverbia 12\textsuperscript{17} “Doctrina sua cognoscetur vir.” Est pacificus, qualis iste fuit. Perpetea loquimini doctrinam magam qua aurum eligite. Melior est enim civitatis operibus preciosissimis. Per hanc doctrinam suam, avertet Dominus captivitatem plebum sue, sed heu ita verificatur idem. Proverbia 15\textsuperscript{18} “Stultus iridot disciplinam patris sui.” Sed de Sancto Antonio dici idem, Proverbia\textsuperscript{19}: “Sapientium ornat scientiam.” De eo loquitur quod hic sanctus in doctrine potilis mirabiliter affluens tanto iustitie, libera..., singula sua sexariter reddedebat. Quod sive magnis loquebatur sive parvulis, eque civitas veritatis iaculo feriebat. Nempe quoniam calitem passionis tam adido corde siciebat, nullus magnitudini nec metu mortis pro veritate cedebat. Sed miranda...magistorum potestati resistebat. Namque quasdam personas reprehensibilitate guadeque servitate corripuit, ut alii quidam famosi predicatorum hec audientes pusillanimitate profusi sunt. Erat igitur illius sermo in generale sale conditus... Sic ergo huius peregrinationis incolatus, doctrina et vita preclarus, divinam in sancto vocationi evidentissime probat. Quam ut patet “multiplex” in fine, post mortem miraculorum claritas vocata conclusione confirmat. Ipsius ergo meritis ad gloriam nos perducat.

In Christo, cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto, qui vivit et regnat. Amen.

\textit{Sermon 67 Translation}

“He walked with me in peace and justice, and turned many away from injustice.”

Malachi 2. These words, understood spiritually, are present to explain about Saint Anthony of

\textsuperscript{16} Proverbs 23:9 “In auribus insipientium ne loquaris, qui despicient doctrinam eloquii tui.”
\textsuperscript{17} Proverbs 12:8 “Doctrina sua noscetur vir; qui autem vanus et excors est patebit contemptui.”
\textsuperscript{18} Proverbs 15:5 “Stultus iridot disciplinam patris sui; qui autem custodit inreparationes astutior fiat. In abundanti justitia virtus maxima est: cogitationes autem impiorum eradicabuntur.”
\textsuperscript{19} Proverbs 15:2 “Lingua sapientium ornat scientiam; os fatuorum ebullit stultitiam.”
the Friars Minor. In these words, he is commended in two ways: by life and learning. From his life, because he was an imitator of the Lord, and from his learning, because he was an effective preacher, so that having been ordained, by himself he might be useful for converts. First, there is “in peace etc,” and second, there is “and many etc.”

His life is praised in three ways: for simple innocence, for poverty by choice, and for regular teaching. A blessed man will say about him that voluntary poverty, simple innocence, and careful teaching commends his life.

He walked with the Lord through voluntary poverty, he ordained himself through simple innocence, and he built up his neighbor through his profound teaching of obedience.

About his poverty, it is clear that having lived, his difficulty, cheapness, and poverty ought to shine out. But at the same time, he was present as a minister, making brothers come together for hours, and with the Holy Spirit boldly encouraging him, he was changed to Anthony. About this knowledge, nothing was certain. For a short time, he was speaking literally with exceptional talent. As you see, he was relating to the brothers in the middle, whoever God was suggesting to him. About that, the innocent one, humbly a servant of God... In explaining the mysteries of divine eloquence, he was another Noah, about which it is said in Genesis 4: “He was just and blameless among his generation. He walked with God.” Noah received a prophecy while resting, but Saint Anthony rested from all evil work, and likewise was perfect among his generation through his works, and walked with God. He says if by walking with God in the shadow of death, that I will hold... But many walk in sin. Philippians 3: “As I have often said, many walk according to lies, as enemies of the cross of Christ. Their end is death etc.” They walk idly, about which it is written in Thessalonians 3: “We heard that there are those among you who walk restlessly, not working but living idly.” And also about this tension, Corinthians 3: “When
there is jealousy among you, and tension, are you not bodily?” In these three, he is worthy walking with God, with a cautious spirit, and is honorable to his neighbor.

   About the first, “We have not ceased praying for you...for to be pleasing to you.”

   Likewise for caution, which is evident itself in Ephesians 5: “Watch, brothers, how you walk cautiously,” etc to the next verse “they are evil.”

   He who is honorable to his neighbor, in Thessalonians 4, is asked, you brothers, “to treat well those who live close to you, etc.”

   Saint Anthony was strong, because it was said about him that he accomplished this in the whole perfection of religion, he accomplished this not only by rooting out vices while living among foreigners and sowing virtues, but he knew that he himself would be advancing the first ones, but also as he preserves the norms of the faith and refutes errors with most enjoyable thoughts of prayers, he strengthens himself.

   About the first thing, on his simple innocence. He considered that he himself...Wisdom 4... It is said in Proverbs 9: “Leave behind your infancy and live, and walk the paths of prudence.”

   Likewise about concupiscence, in Colossians 3: “Let the peace of Christ rejoice in your hearts.” In Jeremiah 29: “Seek peace of the city and pray for it to the Lord, because in its peace, etc.” This same thing is written about peace in Isaiah: “He walks in justice and speaks the truth, and closes his eyes, in order to not see evil. He will live in heaven.” Such was written.

   Thirdly, about the choleric, in Leviticus: “I will give peace to your lands, and there will be no one who makes you afraid.” Fear pertains to the choleric. About this it is also written in John: “He who says that he remains in him, ought to walk like him, just as Jesus did.” Such was written and said about him for many years...Search in his legend.
Sermon about the third part. He walked with God in justice of conduct, and also with honor of working, and in justice of his disposition. About the first thing, Sirach 31: “Wine in moderation is life for men.” And to the opposite effect, it is said in Proverbs 22 “Do not be a friend to an angry man, and do not walk with a hothead.” Such is brought about especially by wine.

About the second part, it is said that if you walked with me face to face, “just as your father in simplicity” and in the next verses “you will serve” and “I will establish.”

On the third thing, a Psalm: “Guard the innocent and follow justice, etc” And he was so great that this was written about him. And he loved Solomon, who interpreted dreams as a peacemaker, like Saint Anthony walking with the Lord, and he gave in his teachings of his elders, that is, of Saint Francis, interpretations by undertaking the difficult issues with his strong writing. And indeed, he was called early on. Born in the Lord, as Francis says, near Morocco, innocent of blood, so of a certain famous man named Peter, different from many of the others, undertaking the liberation from danger, published the order of his suffering. With the ears of Fernando not empty, the reputation of Francis spread, for immediately...he was taken by the sight of blood on the faithful man, lively in joy, and the wounds of Christ and the martyrs, evident in his compassion, thinking that he would consider joining him. And then he, rushing with fervent excitement to Christ, he obtained the reward with the aforementioned martyrs. Truly, he was taught by the effort of the martyrs, for desire did not fill him up. About this, the king of kings declared a human accord that, as you see, by truth, one turns away from the error of unfaithfulness and from vice to the virtues.

And this is the second principal part, “he turned many away from evil,” as he is commended for his capability of teaching. Three things demonstrate with fervor what is clear in

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120 Pietro, father of St. Francis.
121 Birthname of St. Anthony of Padua.
his life: great love, truth, and discipline. For through his teaching of love there was wideom, of truth, modesty, and of discipline, patience. About the first part, Deuteronomy 32: “May my teaching solidify like dew, etc.” This teaching, in turning people away from evil, is a conversion of brothers to their fathers. About this, it is said in Malachi 4: “Behold, I will send you the prophet Elijah, before the day of the Lord comes, etc,” and in the next verses, “their fathers.” But oh, in Proverbs 1 it is said “The foolish will look down on wisdom and teaching.”

On the second part, Job 20: “I will hear teaching that insults me, and a spirit of my intelligence will respond. And that which is written in Job is likewise said in Luke 7: “And he will convert many of their brothers to the Lord their God. But, for shame, it is written in Proverbs 23: “Do not speak in the ears of fools, etc.”

On the third part, Proverbs 12: “A man will be raised in his teaching.” He is a peacemaker, just as he was. For a long time, you say that wise teaching is that which picks out an audience. It is sweeter than the most precious wealth. Through this his teaching, the Lord took his people out of captivity, but oh, thus it is written in Proverbs 15: “The fool ridicules the teaching of his father.” But about Saint Anthony, you speak likewise in Proverbs: “The wise dispense knowledge.” About this it is written that this saint, miraculously wealthy in teaching, with great justice, free..., he was returning by himself six times, because whether it was called great or small, equally the city of truth was struck down by a spear. Of course, he was thirsty with such greed for the heat of suffering. Nothing of importance was ever happening for the sake of truth except the fear of death. But he was resisting the power... For he seized certain people with great blame and servitude, so that other famous people, hearing his preachings are produced from the fainthearted. Therefore, his sermon was, in general, built in wit, and... Thus, staying in his pilgrimage, famous for his teaching and life, he shows the divine nature in his holy vocation
most clearly. So that his complexity is known in the end, the fame of his miracles after death
confirm the chosen conclusion. Deserving of this, therefore, he leads us to glory.

In Christ, who, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, lives and reigns. Amen.
Conclusion

In the previous chapters, I have presented various claims rooted in the material characteristics of the codex and from these claims I have formed a variety of arguments about the its nature, including its date and place of origin, its authorship, and its intended use. In the following pages, I try to synthesize these claims and arguments into a full, cogent description of our manuscript.

I suppose this manuscript to have been created at the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century. Because the opening pages have been lost, there is no incipit that may have provided a date, but the sermon of St. Anthony of Padua gives a terminus a quo of 1232, the year he was canonized. The dating is based primarily on codicological and paleographic evidence. The materials and method of the binding are typical of this time period, as are the ink and quality of vellum.122 The Cursiva Antiquior Anglicana, the hand of the sermons, was developed in the middle of the 13th century and very popular throughout the 14th century.123

Moreover, I suggest that the manuscript was produced in England. A few of the sermons in the de sanctis cycle are about minor English saints like St. Gilbert, and minor English feasts such as the translation of St. Thomas the Martyr. These would not have been celebrated on the continent, and the fact that the author included these feasts in the de sanctis cycle suggests an English provenance. This is corroborated by the paleographic evidence. The Cursiva Antiquior Anglicana, as its name implies, was typical of English scribes, and was influenced by English scholastic and chancery hands.124

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122 Conversation with Michelle Biddle.
123 Derolez, Paleography, p. 135
124 Derolez, Paleography, p. 135 and plate 77. The cursive hand of the Book of Luffield, written in Luffield, England the 1280s, is very similar to the cursive in our manuscript, giving evidence for an English provenance around the turn of the 14th century.
Furthermore, the flyleaf note signed by James Everett was dated in Manchester, on September 9, 1831, so it can be said conclusively that this manuscript was in England on that day. Everett was a collector of books and manuscripts, but did not travel much, if at all, outside of England. It seems likely that he found the manuscript locally. Obviously, this is not the best evidence for its place of production, but it does give some support to its English heritage.

The author of these sermons was most likely a Franciscan friar. As argued in the second chapter, the presence of multiple Franciscan feasts in the *de sanctis* cycle points to a Franciscan authorship. Moreover, the collection of sermons is typical of a Franciscan sermon collection and is very similar to J/2, a 14th century Franciscan collection from Durham, England,\(^{125}\) that contains both *de sanctis* and *de tempore* cycles, with 128 sermons in total. Eighteen of the themata in our collection also appear in J/2. Both *de sanctis* cycles are also interspersed with sermons from the *de tempore* cycle, in liturgical order; that is, certain feasts are inserted into the *de sanctis* cycles at the proper time in the liturgical year. For example, in both manuscripts, *de tempore* sermons for Holy Thursday, Good Friday, and Easter are located between the *de sanctis* sermons for the Feast of the Annunciation (March 25) and the Feast of St. Mark (April 25). The feasts around Easter generally fall between those two *de sanctis* feasts, so this placement makes sense. The similarities between our collection and this English Franciscan sermon collection J/2 support my arguments for the English Franciscan provenance.

So, I would suggest that our manuscript was created around the turn of the 14th century by an English Franciscan friar. Not much is known about its next five hundred years, except that it was annotated by a few readers, including one who left a 17th century date. In the late 18th or early 19th century, the manuscript was given a new cover, marbled endpapers, and flyleaves,

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\(^{125}\) Cambridge, Jesus College, MS 13 (J/2). See Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, p. 140-5 and 506-517.
possibly by James Everett who owned it by 1831. In the next seventy years, it made its way to Wesleyan, most likely through the donation of Alfred S. Hunt, Wesleyan Class of 1851.

My final unanswered question about our manuscript regards its use: for what purpose or to what end was this manuscript produced? One obvious answer is that it was made to be preached from. The two cycles of this collection together give sermons for every major event of the liturgical year, so a priest who owned this book would be equipped with sermons for an entire year. Alternatively, the manuscript could have been meant to be copied and distributed, as a model for other preachers, as D’avray discusses in *The Preaching of the Friars*. In this case, the sermons could be used as a resource or guide to help preachers, rather than simply providing sermons to be preached.

The most likely use of this item, though, is as a work of scholarship. The role of Franciscans in the development of university education in late medieval England is well known, and Wenzel suggests that the need for educated preachers contributed to the development of educational institutions by the Franciscans in particular as well as other religious orders like the Dominicans.\textsuperscript{126} He argues that fraternal houses would send friars to universities with the main purpose of educating them to serve as preachers. He suggests that a collection of sermons would be produced by a student as the culmination of his studies, especially from a sermon produced by an English Franciscan. The sermons of our collection are probably the work of an English Franciscan and are typically scholastic in style. In addition to following the modern sermon structure typical of a work of scholarship, they are filled with citations of scripture, primarily, but also other ecclesiastical authorities. A wide range of patristic authors are quoted, including St. Augustine and St. Gregory, whose works filled monastic libraries across Europe, and lesser known authors like Martin of Braga, a 6\textsuperscript{th}-century monk from Portugal. Furthermore, the

\textsuperscript{126} Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, p. 313-332.
handwriting is typical of scholastic authors; indeed, the Cursiva Anglicana is often referred to as a “university” or “scholastic” hand.¹²⁷ For these reasons, our manuscript seems to fit the description of a sermon collection produced as a work of scholarship, as Wenzel discusses.

It is clear in any case that our manuscript was intended to be used, by which I mean, it was not produced as a luxury item, something to be enjoyed only for its aesthetic value. For one thing, the materials are fairly low quality: there is a lot of variation in the color and cut of the vellum, and a more aesthetically pleasing manuscript would be much more uniform. The handwriting is not pretty: a cursive was chosen for rapidity of execution, not for aesthetic reasons. There are no illustrations or room for illustrations. Every bit of the text block is used for text, and the margins are scribbled in as well, both by the original scribe and later readers. Color is used sparsely and, in general, only for highlighting important features like the beginning of a new paragraph or sermon. The text is written in a single column on each page, increasing the speed of production, rather than a more fashionable two or three columns. Moreover, the extensive marginalia, and in particular marginalia written by the original scribe, would not be present in a text made for aesthetic purposes. Our manuscript was made to be read, not simply looked at, and clearly it has been. Across centuries, readers left comments in the margins, from a medieval reader shortly after it was produced to Dr. Clarke in 1831.

So, in sum, I suggest that the codex was copied by an English Franciscan as a work of scholarship in the scholastic mode around 1300 and was probably used by him for preaching and studying. It then remained in England, where it passed through the hands of several owners, until it came into the hands of James Everett and then Alfred Hunt, and arrived at Wesleyan as a donation in the 1890s.

¹²⁷ Parkes, Book Hands, p. xiv-xvi.
Appendix

A. Manuscript Map

Below is a visual representation of the binding of the manuscript. Each line signifies a single sheet of vellum, and each grouping, one quire.

Key:
# = page numbers
h/f = hair side/flesh side
T = thema

Quire III
p. 49-72

Quire IV
p. 73-96
Quire XV
p. 309-332

Quire XVI
p. 333-356

Quire XVII
p. 357-380
B. Inventory

A Note on the Inventory:

The list below gives the page number, theme, theme citation, and feast of each of the sermons in our manuscript. It also provides an alphanumeric designation for each sermon based on , developed by Schneyer and amended by Wenzel. Certain feasts do not have such a designation, which I have marked with (?).

10. p. 120. John 10:11 Pastor bonus animam suam ponit pro ovisbus suis etc. (T30) Second Sunday after Easter.
14. p. 146. Mark 16:19 Assumptus est in alnum et sedet ad dextrum patris etc. (T36) Ascension.
16. p. 159. 1 John 5:7 Tres unum sunt. (T40) Trinity Sunday.
64. p. 379. Luke 14:10 Amice ascendite superius etc. (S35) John the Apostle and Evangelist.
66. p. 385. Wis. 4:10 Vivens interpecatores translatus est. (S39) Translation of St. Francis.
67. p. 392. Mal. 2:6 In pace et equitate ambulavit mecum et multos avertit abi iniquitatem. (S41) St. Anthony.
70. p. 410. Wis. 4:10 Vivens interpecatores translatus est. (S46b) Translation of Thomas the Martyr.
71. p. 414. Ecc. 35:9 Sacrificium justi acceptum est et memoriam eius non obliviscetur dominus. (S50) St. James the Greater.
74. p. 432. Song 6:9 Eleaet ut sol. (S59) Assumption.
75. p. 438. Gen. 6 Neptulm crusa emissarius dans eloquia pulchritudinis. (S60) St. Bernard.
76. p. 442. 1 Sam 19 Diligebat ionathas david quasi animam suam et expoliavit se tunica qua erat indutus et dedit eam david. (S61) St. Bartholomew.
77. p. 447. Matt. 5:19 Qui fecerit et docuerit hic magnus vocabitur in regno celorum. (S63) St. Augustine.
78. p. 451. Prov. 11:8 Justus de angustia liberatus est. (S64) Beheading of John the Baptist.
79. p. 455. Song 6:9 Quo est ista que progradient quasi aurora consurgens. (S65) Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary.
84. p. 473. Rev. 7:2 Vidi alterum angelum ascendentem ab ortu sol habentem signum dei vivi. (S73) St. Francis.
86. p. 488. Wis. 4:1 Quam pulchra est casta generatio cum claritate. (S79) All Saints.
87. p. 492. Sir. 50:1 Esse saeculos magnus. (S81) St. Martin.
C. Numerals

Here are digital representations of the numerals as written in our manuscript, courtesy of Melissa Joskow '18. Take note of 2, 4, 5, and 7, as they differ significantly from the modern convention.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Bibliography


