

R. JAMES LONG, *The Virgin as Olive-Tree: a Marian Sermon of Richard Fishacre and science at Oxford*, in «Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum» (ISSN 0391-7320), 52, (1982), pp. 77-87.

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THE VIRGIN AS OLIVE-TREE:
A MARIAN SERMON OF RICHARD FISHACRE
AND SCIENCE AT OXFORD

BY
R. JAMES LONG

Trinity College (Cambridge) MS B.15.38 contains, among other things, a collection of sermons by Oxford masters of the mid-thirteenth century*. The first sermon in the codex¹ is attributed by the rubricator to Richard Fishacre († 1248), author of the first Sentence-Commentary composed at Oxford and the earliest Dominican at that university from whom we have any substantial body of writings².

The Fishacre sermon is in the form of a *similitudo* (Mary is like an olive-tree), a common device of the medieval preacher³. Common

* A version of this introduction was read at the Sixteenth International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 9 May 1981. I wish to extend my special thanks to Father Louis J. Bataillon OP for his advice and encouragement.

¹ For a description see M. R. J a m e s, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College*, vol. I, Cambridge 1900, pp. 505-10. Cf. Franz P e l s t e r, "Eine Handschrift mit Predigten des Richard Fishacre OP und anderer Oxforder Lehrer", *ZKT* 57 (1933) pp. 614-17. Pelster dates the manuscript to the mid-13th century (p. 615).

Jennifer S w e e t also studied the sermon and observed: "It abounds in quotations from Scripture and St. Augustine and includes several from Aristotle, but otherwise offers no feature of *particular interest* [italics mine]"; "Some Thirteenth-Century Sermons and their Authors", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 4 (1953) p. 33.

² See P e l s t e r, "Das Leben und die Schriften des Oxforder Dominikanerlehrers Richard Fishacre († 1248)", *ZKT* 54 (1930) pp. 518-53; Thomas K a e p p e l i OP, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, III, Romae 1980, 303-306; also my article "Richard Fishacre's *Quaestio* on the Ascension of Christ: an Edition", *Mediaeval Studies* 40 (1978) p. 30, note 3.

³ Cf. Phyllis B. R o b e r t s, *Stephanus de lingua-tonante: Studies in the Sermons of Stephen Langton*. *Studies and Texts* 16, Toronto 1968, pp. 89-93.

also was the theme, the Mother of God. The subject seems to have been a particular favorite with Richard Fishacre: of the 25 sermons attributed to him by Johann Schneyer⁴, no fewer than 15 are on Marian themes. Even of Franz Pelster's more conservative—and probably more accurate—list of 15⁵, the bulk are Marian.

Fishacre's sermon, which is in Latin, was preached to clerics and probably, judging by the content, to members of the university community. There are no salutations in the entire collection and the only rubrics to indicate audience belong to several sermons attributed to Robert Grosseteste, where one finds *ad prelatos* in the margin twice and *ad religiosos* once⁶. Friar Richard's sermon is preserved in *reportatio* form and very possibly edited by the compiler of the collection. Such *reportationes* generally omit the initial and final formulae (the reader will notice how abruptly the "Ego autem sicut oliua fructifera" sermon begins and ends) and reduce the original homily to a skeletal argument; often the citations are also truncated. This form of transmission, from which much of the vividness and robustness of the spoken sermon has been drained, likewise renders very difficult any discussion of style, at least as an argument for authorship⁷.

The sermon edited below takes its theme from the text of Psalm 51: "But I, as a fruitful olive-tree in the house of God <have hoped in the mercy of God for ever: yea for ever and ever>"⁸. In his division of the material Friar Richard asks first why Mary is compared to a tree and to this kind of tree in particular; secondly, since some trees are domesticated and others wild (*siluestres*), why Mary is compared to the domestic tree, as in the phrase "in the house of God".

The first point of comparison is the singular eminence of the tree among all the adornments of earth, just as Mary excels all beings born of earth and heaven. Indeed, even while on earth her mind and heart extended to heaven.

⁴ Johannes B. Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters*, in *Beiträge XLIII*, vol. V, Münster 1974, pp. 147-49.

⁵ Pelster, "Eine Handschrift", *op. cit.*, pp. 615-16.

⁶ Trinity Coll. MS B.15.38, fols. 38^r, 40^r, and 41^r.

⁷ Pelster, for example, wants to argue that Fishacre's frequent usage of *item* and *praeterea* as connectives, while common in *quaestio* literature, is rare in sermons and serves to connect the following six sermons in the codex to the same author; "Eine Handschrift", *op. cit.*, p. 615.

⁸ The English version I employ is that of Douay-Rheims, translated from, and therefore generally more faithful to, the Latin Vulgate.

Secondly, the tree is as useful as it is sublime: it provides shade for animals and an abode for birds. Likewise is Mary a protection for men and a dwelling place of angels, who are the "birds of heaven", adds the preacher. Whoever, therefore, fears the feverish desires of the flesh and the airy (*aereas*) powers, as if heat and storm, let him flee to the protection of this tree. This is, moreover, contrary to what is now more usually the case: that is, the more exalted a being the less useful it is, indeed often the more harmful⁹. Does Fishacre have in mind the moral uselessness and even scandalous ways of the nobility and higher clergy, the eminent of society?

Thirdly, the tree is likened to Mary with respect to its generative power. Citing the pseudo-Aristotelian *De vegetabilibus*¹⁰, Fishacre argues that the plant contains both the male and female element and hence reproduces itself without any outside assistance; likewise did Mary conceive the Savior without help from any male. And just as the tree produces its fruit without losing its integrity and without experiencing pain, so too does Mary. Here reflected is the pseudo-Aristotle's view that the plant is sexually mixed and hence able to fertilize itself.

Why is Mary compared specifically to the olive-tree? Because, responds the preacher, the olive has by tradition been the symbol of peace. Just as the olive branch was a signal to Noah that the flood had ended, so too the appearance of Mary, like a green olive-tree—symbol of hope and life—heralded surcease from a greater and much worse flood, namely, the flood of vices.

In addition, just as there lies hidden in the root of the olive-tree a bitterness which the sweetness of its fruit belies, so too did Mary suffer secretly the death of her Son, while displaying outwardly naught but sweetness. These two features the Church joins together when she sings (in the *Salve Regina*) "O dulcis Maria"—that is, O sweet bitterness, Mary (*Marah*) meaning bitterness in Hebrew.

Thirdly, just as the olive, once planted, grows and flourishes without cultivation, so too Mary. Fishacre employs the apocryphal story, here attributed simply to a wise man (*philosopho*), of the infant Mary after

⁹ Cf. Confessiones IX, 4 (7) where, speaking of his literary activity at Cassiciacum, Augustine contrasts the "high cedars of the schools" (useless against the serpent) to the health-giving (and low-lying) herbs of the Church; CCL 27, 137.

¹⁰ This treatise was regarded as the Stagirite's throughout the Middle Ages, although Albert the Great was obviously troubled by the inferior, muddled, and often contradictory nature of the text; see *De vegetabilibus libri VII*, I, cap. 9, edd. E. Meyer and K. Jessen, Berlin 1867, p. 32.

her third birthday being left at the temple by her parents and growing to perfection without benefit of tutor or books¹¹.

The olive-tree is therefore not sterile but fruitful. Again citing the *De vegetabilibus*, the preacher finds that just as the fruits of certain trees are composed of many parts: namely, the cortex or exocarp, the flesh or mesocarp, the pit or endocarp, and finally the seed, so too Mary had four corresponding parts: the cortex or skin, the flesh, the pit or *testa* (her virtuous soul), and finally the seed inside the pit, Christ Jesus (Luke 8:11: "The seed is the Word of God").

Again quoting the *De vegetabilibus*, that "forest trees produce more fruit than garden trees, but fruit of the latter is better", Fishacre says that Mary, planted in the house of the Lord, had but one Son, a better fruit than all other women were able to produce, though the latter might be more fruitful.

In his fourth and final citation of the *De vegetabilibus* our preacher says, with the pseudo-Aristotle, that forest fruits mature more slowly and garden fruits more quickly. Christ, therefore, is rightly called garden fruit, because he came to maturity instantly in Mary's womb. Thus does Jeremias prophesy: "The Lord hath created a new thing upon the earth: a woman shall compass a man"¹², that is, in the center of her womb; and Friar Richard again taps Jeremias for his concluding text: "The Lord called thy name, a plentiful olive-tree, fair, fruitful, and beautiful"¹³.

What is of particular interest in this charming celebration of the Virgin? I submit that the extensive and significant use that is made of the newly recovered Aristotelian science in a homiletic context is at least unusual—as unusual certainly as a contemporary preacher citing Einstein, Fermi, or von Neumann from the pulpit. In the few published sermons from this period there is nothing comparable. In a collection of 84

¹¹ The feast of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary was observed as early as the 8th century in the Eastern Church and gradually established itself in the West in the late Middle Ages; Sixtus V made its observance universal in 1585. See *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F. L. Cross, 2nd ed. Cross and Livingstone, New York 1974, p. 1121.

The story owes its origin to the Protevangelium of James and its later, refined version to the pseudo-Matthew (c. 8th or 9th century); see Edgar Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. W. Schneemelcher, tr. R. McL. Wilson, vol. I, Philadelphia 1963, pp. 405-06. Cf. a version of the story in a 13th century manuscript (Hereford MS O.3.9) edited by James in *Latin Infancy Gospels*, Cambridge 1927, pp. 19 and 23.

¹² Jer. 31:22.

¹³ Jer. 11:16.

sermons delivered at the University of Paris in the academic year 1230-1231, Aristotle is cited but twice (the *Historia animalium* and the *Metaphysics*)¹⁴. And in eleven Marian sermons attributed to Fishacre's Franciscan contemporary at Paris, John of la Rochelle, the use of Aristotle is limited to a paraphrase from the *Eudemian Ethics*¹⁵.

Not only is this extensive mining of the scientific Aristotle unusual, it also provides further support for Fishacre's authorship. Indeed, we find him advocating just such a methodology in the prologue to his Sentence-Commentary, composed between c. 1241 and 1245¹⁶. For the rather commonplace rationale for the study of science, as a propaedeutic to the study of Sacred Scripture, Fishacre finds a novel figure: the Old Testament tale of Abraham, who had first to sleep with the maidservant Agar before his wife Sarah could conceive—the former representing science, the latter theology¹⁷.

Although he endorses such a relationship, Fishacre warns of the risks involved. There were those in his day, he admits with astonishment ("fateor mirabile"), who delighted solely in the embraces of a common serving girl and cared nothing for the lady of the house, though possessed of incomparable beauty. When they finally tore themselves away from the bosom of the secular sciences, moreover, they found themselves to be impotent with the queen of the sciences owing to their advanced age, just as David in his declining years bedded the beautiful Abisag for her warmth but did not know her carnally¹⁸.

In a *quaestio disputata* on the Ascension of Christ¹⁹, moreover, Fishacre makes use of the Aristotelian categories of natural place, natural motion, gravity, levity, and velocity to explicate this particular theological issue. The Ascension could have taken place, Friar Richard maintains, either by virtue of the soul alone (since the rational soul, noblest of creatures, is deserving of the highest place in the universe and will naturally be conveyed there unless impeded) or by virtue of

¹⁴ M. M. D a v y, *Les Sermons Universitaires Parisiens de 1230-1231*, Études de Philosophie Médiévale XV, Paris 1931, pp. 168 and 248.

¹⁵ John de la Rochelle, *Eleven Marian Sermons*, ed. K. F. L y n c h, Franciscan Institute Publications, text series no. 12, St. Bonaventure, N.Y. 1961, p. 80.

¹⁶ L o n g, "The Science of Theology according to Richard Fishacre: Edition of the Prologue to his Commentary on the Sentences", *Mediaeval Studies* 34 (1972) pp. 73-74.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87.

¹⁹ See my edition in "Richard Fishacre's *Quaestio*", *op. cit.*, pp. 43-55.

the composite of glorified body and soul (since either the soul or the godhead could have retarded the instantaneousness of the body's motion). Though Fishacre concedes that in the final analysis the matter exceeds the capacities of the human intellect²⁰, his argumentation in this *quaestio* provides us with incontrovertible evidence of his involvement with the physical sciences, an involvement which earned Matthew Paris' commendation of him as pre-eminent in theology and *in other sciences*²¹.

I am far from suggesting that Fishacre was alone in his interest in the new science. From the very beginning, in fact, the studium at Oxford exhibited a distinctly scientific orientation²². This interest in the sciences, of which Aristotle was the prince, was true not only of Fishacre, but of secular clerics like Alfred of Sareshel, Daniel of Morley, John Blund, and Robert Grosseteste, and Franciscans like Adam Marsh, Richard Rufus, and Roger Bacon. What I am not certain of at this point is the extent to which this empirical orientation, which set Oxford apart from Paris, manifested itself in university sermon literature. Obviously, this and similar collections²³ need further study.

In addition to supplying further evidence of Fishacre's theological methodology, this sermon points up the value such pieces can have to the historian of theology or philosophy or even of science as sources for the dating and transmission of texts. From this sermon, for example, one discovers, by means of two *verbatim* quotes, that the translation of the *De vegetabilibus* still in vogue at Oxford in the 1240s was that of Alfred of Sareshel, not the so-called *translatio nostra* of Roger Bacon, who was delivering his lectures on botany during the same decade at Paris²⁴.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 54.

²¹ *Chronica maiora*, ed. H. R. L u a r d , Rolls Series 57.5, London 1880, p. 16.

²² See especially D. A. C a l l u s , "Introduction of Aristotelian Learning to Oxford", *Proceedings of the British Academy* 29 (1943) pp. 3-55.

²³ e. g. Oxford. Laud Misc. MS 511, which contains sermons by Fishacre and his successor in the Dominican chair at Oxford, Simon Hinton; see P e l s t e r , "An Oxford Collection of Sermons at the End of the Thirteenth Century (Ms. Laud Misc. 511, Sc. 969)", *Bodleian Quarterly Record* 6 (1929-31) pp. 168-72.

²⁴ On the Bacon translation, see S. D. W i n g a t e , *The Medieval Latin Versions of the Aristotelian Scientific Corpus, with Special Reference to the Biological Works*, London 1931, pp. 61-64.

Another example is provided by David G r e e t h a m in "The Concept of Nature in Bartholomaeus Anglicus", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 41 (1980) p. 663, note 2: Professor Greetham argues that the earliest citation of the *De proprietatibus rerum* of Bartholomaeus Anglicus seems to be in the sermons of Berthold of Regensburg, c. 1240.

Fishacre's sermon on Mary as olive-tree, then, can be seen as more than a mere *tour de force* by a highly regarded master of theology. It bears witness—now in a new context, that of sermon literature—to Friar Richard's theological methodology: to make the fullest use of Aristotelian science in the service of the queen of the sciences. It invites us, moreover, to an examination of other known Oxford university sermon material to discover whether this incipient empirical tradition is generally reflected there. Finally, this sermon provides us with a case study of the potential importance of sermon literature for the intellectual historian.

THE EDITION

The text, which is contained on folios 24 recto and verso of the Trinity College codex, is in a very legible and not highly abbreviated Gothic hand with looped ascenders. I found it necessary to emend the text only once; I also corrected two obvious omissions in the text by the use of pointed brackets and without further explanation. The orthography of the manuscript I followed faithfully, even when the scribe was not consistent (e.g. in the u/v and cio/tio distinctions).

I acknowledge with gratitude the financial support of the American Council of Learned Societies and Fairfield University.

Fr. R. de Fisakre [Sermo « Sicut oliva fructifera »]

f. 24^r « Ego autem, sicut oliua fructifera in domo Dei... »¹. Tria hic uideamus: primo, quare Maria comparatur arbori et tali, et hoc est « ego sicut oliua »; secundo, quia arborum quedam sunt steriles, quedam fructifere — quare fructifere et non sterili, et hoc est « fructifera »; tertio, quia fructiferarum quedam sunt domesticæ, quedam siluestres — quare domesticæ et non siluestri, et hoc est « in domo Dei ».

De primo comparatur arbori ratione² eminentie singularis. Quippe cum ornetur terra dupliciter, scilicet mineralibus inferius; herbis, animalibus, et arboribus superius, inter hec omnia arbor est singulariter eminens et certe sicut arbor excellit omnia terre nascentia, sic Maria omnes terrigenas. Nec mirum, quia canit Ecclesia: « Supra celigenas etheris omnes »². Unde *Prou.* XXXI: « Tu supergressa es universas »³. Quippe in terra, mente et corpore

¹ Psalm 51:10.

² rationi MS.

² « O quam glorifica luce coruscas » (Ancient Hymn), *The Liber Usualis*, ed. Benedictines of Solesmes, Tournai 1952, p. 1864.

³ Proverbs 31, 29.

pertingebat in celum. *Ecclus.* XXIII: « In Syon firmata sum et in ciuitate sanctificata similiter requieui »⁴. Unde de illa arbore *Daniel* III: « Ecce arbor in medio terre », quia in terra promissionis que in quarta climate est, « et altitudo eius nimia »⁵, et cetera, quia ab omni terra clamatur ad eam. « Illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos conuerte »⁶.

Item ratione communis utilitatis: licet enim arbor cetera excellat, communiter tamen est utilis quia in ea est umbraculum animalium et conuersacio auium. Sic Maria sublimis est et utilis. Est enim umbraculum hominum et conuersacio angelorum, qui sunt aues celi. *Dan.* III: « Subter eam habitabant animalia et bestie, in ramis eius conuersabantur uolucres celi, et esca uniuersorum in ea »⁷ scilicet diuinitas, qua reficiuntur angeli, et humanitas, qua reficiuntur homines. *Ps.*: « Panem angelorum manducauit homo »⁸. Quicumque ergo timet feruentes carnis concupiscentias aut aereas potestates tamquam estum et aeris intemperiem, ad huius arboris fugiat umbraculum. *Ys.* III: « Super omnem gloriam protectio (scilicet est ista). Et tabernaculum est in umbraculum diei ab estu et in serenitate et in absconsione a turbine et a pluuiis »⁹. « Super omnem gloriam protectio », id est gloriosa protectio, quia ut dicit Anselmus: « Summa gloria est post Deum te uidere, a te protegi »¹⁰. Sublimis ergo et utilis fuit. Econtra nunc de multis, quia quanto magis sublimes, tanto minus utiles, immo magis nocentes. *Ys.* 1: « Principes tui infideles, socii furum »¹¹.

Item ratione generatiue uirtutis. Quippe arbor habet in se uim generatiuam sine adminiculo extrinseco, que non est in animalibus. Vnde Aristoteles in *De vegetabilibus*: « Natura in plantis miscuit masculinum et feminam »¹². Sic etiam Maria sine adminiculo maris genuit. Vnde Augustinus *De simbolo*: « Illa femina uirum sine uiro concepit ut esset in ea qui fecerat eam »¹³. Sed et hoc attende quod arbor fructum producendo nec integritatem perdit nec dolorem sentit. Sic nec Maria. *Ys.* VII: « Ecce uirgo concipiet et pariet filium »¹⁴, et item LXVI: « Antequam parturiret peperit... »¹⁵. Et nota: alie

⁴ *Ecclus.* 24, 15.

⁵ *Daniel* 4, 7.

⁶ "Salve Regina", *Liber Usualis*, op. cit., p. 279.

⁷ *Daniel* 4, 9.

⁸ *Psalm* 77, 25.

⁹ *Isaias* 4, 5-6.

¹⁰ I was unable to find the source of this citation in the extant works of Anselm.

¹¹ *Isaias* 11, 23.

¹² "Et si natura miscuit masculinum cum femina, recte processit", *Nicolas of Damascus, De plantis* I, cap. 6, tr. Alfred of Sareshel, ed. E. Meyer, Leipzig 1841, p. 12.

¹³ *Augustine, De simbolo*, cap. 5; *PL* 40, 643.

¹⁴ *Isaias* 7, 14.

¹⁵ *Isaias* 66, 7.

mulieres cum pariunt, perdunt integritatem et sentiunt dolorem. *Ioh.*: « Mulier, cum parit, tristiciam... »¹⁶ et cetera. Ecclesia: Manens uirgo integra cum parit¹⁷. Non tamen sine dolore; *Apo.* XII: « In utero habens clamat parturiens et cruciatur ut pariat »¹⁸. Sed Maria sine utroque. Vnde merito arbori comparatur.

Item quare tali arbori, scilicet oliue, siue potius oleæ? Primo, propter pacem indultam. Quippe oliua est pacis insigne. Vnde concessa pace de diluuiio columba attulit ramum uirentis oliue, et « intellexit Noe quod cessassent aque », et cetera, *Gen.* VIII¹⁹. Sed maius et peius diluuium fuit ante Mariam (*Osee* IIII: « Maledictum et mendacium... inundauerunt »²⁰, et cetera) et in isto diluuiio erant homines longe a Deo, tanquam irato (*Ps.*: « Verumptamen in diluuiio aquarum multarum ad eum »²¹, et cetera). Sed apparente Maria tanquam virens oliua spes pacis et uite indulta est. Vnde ipsa dicit *Eccli.* XXIII: « In me est omnis spes uite et uirtutis »²², qua illa illam inundationem viciorum sedauit.

Item propter compassionem occultam. Quippe oliua in radice que latet habet amaritudinem, sed in fructu que patet habet dulcedinem. Sic Maria moriente Filio in occulto, scilicet in corde, habuit amaritudinem; *Luc.* II: « Tuam ipsius animam pertransibit gladius »²³. Anselmus: « Quicquid crudelitas inflictum est corporibus martirum leue fuit aut potius nichil comparatione ipsius tue passionis »²⁴. Tunc uere fuit Maria, id est amarum mare, secundum illud *Ruth* primo: « Vocate me Maranth (id est amarum), quia ualde amaritudine repleuit me Omnipotens »²⁵. Sed nichil in manifesto nisi dulce. Sed quia frequenter « ex habundantia cordis os loquitur », *Mt.* XII²⁶, numquid de corde eius amaritudine pleno maledictione et amaritudine plenum erat os eius? Nequaquam. Sed de dulci corde amaritudine pleno non erupit nisi illud dulce, de quo Augustinus in *Conf.*: « Fletus dulcis miseris »²⁷.

¹⁶ John 16, 21.

¹⁷ See Lateran Council of 649, canon 3: " Si quis secundum sanctos Patres non confitetur ... Mariam ... incorruptibiliter eum genuisse, indissolubili per manente et post partum eiusdem uirginitate, condemnatus sit ", in H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, Freiburg 1955, p. 121, 256.

¹⁸ Apoc. 12, 2.

¹⁹ Genesis 8, 10-11.

²⁰ Osee 4, 2.

²¹ Psalm 31, 6.

²² Ecclus. 24, 25.

²³ Luke 2, 35.

²⁴ E a d m e r, *De excellentia Virginis Mariae*, cap. 5; PL 159, 567. On the attribution of the *De excellentia* to Anselm, see *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* IV, Paris 1960, col. 4.

²⁵ Ruth 1, 20.

²⁶ Matthew 12, 34.

²⁷ Augustine, *Confessiones* IV, 5 (10); CCL 27, 44.

Vnde Anselmus: « Quos fontes dicam erupisse de pudicissimis oculis? Quos fluctus credam perfudisse piissimum vultum? Quibus singultibus estimabo purissimum pectus uexatum, cum attenderes vnicum <filium> tuum innocentem coram te ligari, flagellari, mactari, cum audires: ' mulier, ecce filius tuus ', cum acciperes discipulum pro magistro, seruum pro domino? »²⁸ Et certe propter hec duo bene iungit Ecclesia canens: « O dulcis Maria »²⁹, id est, O dulcis amara.

Item propter perfectionem incultam. Sicut salices plantantur et crescunt sine diligentia cultoris, sic oliua et sic Maria. Nouimus enim narrante inde philosopho quod post triennium a patre et matre relicta in templo, sine exemplo et cuiusquam documento creuit ad perfectionem super omnes mulieres³⁰. Vt de illa dici posset illud *Judith* XI: « Non est talis mulier super terram in aspectu, in pulcritudine et in sensu uerborum »³¹. Sed nunc multi multa exculti diligentia aut nullum aut modicum fructum faciunt. Vix modicum; *Ys.* XXVI: « Manda remanda, manda remanda... modicum ibi modicum ibi »³². Fuit ergo oliua non sterilis, immo fructifera. Sed Aristoteles *In vegetabilibus*: « Fructuum quidam sunt compositi ex partibus paucis, quidam ex multis, vt olea; habent enim corticem et carnem et testam et semen »³³. Certe sic fructus Marie habuit tales IIII^{or} partes. Habuit corticem et carnem; *Iob* X: « Pelle et carnibus »³⁴ et cetera. Et testam, illam scilicet uirtuosam animam; *Ps.*: « Aruit tanquam testa »³⁵ et cetera. Et semen infra testam, de quo *Luc.* VIII: « Semen est uerbum Dei »³⁶.

Item est arbor domestica, non siluestris. Aristoteles *De vegetabilibus*: « Siluestres magis fructificant quam ortenses, sed fructus ortensium sunt meliores »³⁷. Sic Maria, que non habuit nisi vnicum Filium in domo Dei plantata, f. 24^v fructum fecit meliorem quam omnes mulieres / licet non plurem, quia alie mulieres faciunt fructum plurem. Sed ualde peiorem; *Ad Eph.* II: « Eramus natura filii ire »³⁸. Sed scribitur *Ecc.* XVI: « Melior est vnus timens Deum,

²⁸ Anselm, *Oratio 2*; *Omnia Opera*, ed. F. Schmitt, Edinburgh 1946, vol. III, p. 8.

²⁹ "Salve Regina", op. cit., p. 279.

³⁰ See note 11 (p. 80). Cf. *The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, caps. 4 and 6, in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. and tr. A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, vol. VIII, Buffalo 1886, pp. 370-71.

³¹ *Judith* 11, 19.

³² *Isaias* 28, 10.

³³ *Nicolas of Damascus, De plantis I*, cap. 9, op. cit., p. 14.

³⁴ *Job* 10, 11.

³⁵ *Psalm* 21, 16.

³⁶ *Luke* 8, 11.

³⁷ *Nicolas of Damascus, De plantis I*, cap. 13, op. cit., p. 19.

³⁸ *Ephesians* 2, 3.

quam mille filii impii»³⁹. Sic Christus, de quo *Is.* XI: « Repleuit eum spiritus timoris Domini »⁴⁰. Item Aristoteles *De vegetabilibus*: Fructus siluestres tardius maturescunt et ortenses citius⁴¹. Sic igitur Christus qui bene dicitur fructus ortensis, qui statim etiam in ventre fuit maturus. Vnde *Ier.* XXXI: « Nouum creauit Dominus super terram, mulier circumdabit uirum »⁴², scilicet gremio vteri sui. Ideo dicit illa *Ecc.* XXIII: « Quasi oliua speciosa in campis »⁴³, non dicit in siluis. Hec est de qua <*Ier.*> XI: « Oliuam uberem, pulchram, fructiferam, speciosam, uocauit Dominus nomen tuum »⁴⁴.

³⁹ *Ecclus.* 16, 23.

⁴⁰ *Isaias* 11, 3.

⁴¹ Cf. Nicolas of Damascus, *De plantis* I, cap. 14, op. cit., p. 21.

⁴² *Jeremias* 31, 22.

⁴³ *Ecclus.* 24, 19.

⁴⁴ *Jeremias* 11, 16.