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A PASSIONTIDE SERMON OF ROBERT KILWARDBY OP

BY
P. OSMUND LEWRY OP

The preaching of the thirteenth-century English Dominicans is still largely unedited. A few sermons have survived in manuscript of Robert Bacon and Richard Fishacre, both of whom died in 1248¹. Blackfriars, Oxford, had been founded in 1221, and these two are amongst its earliest masters. From the second generation of masters there the most notable figure is Robert Kilwardby. Although the earlier dates of his life, before he became Provincial of the English Dominicans in 1261, are uncertain, it seems likely that after a regency in arts at Paris where he taught logic and grammar, he entered the Order around 1245, and was regent master in theology at Oxford from around 1256 until he became Provincial. He continued in that office until he became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1272. In 1278 he was made a cardinal, and in the following year he died at Viterbo².

Until now the achievement of the preacher could only be judged by one published text, a *Sermo fratris R. de Kilwarby in capite ieiunii* in the Trinity College, Cambridge MS. 373 (B. 15.38), ff. 208^v-212^v³. T. Kaeppli has described a *prothema* beginning, « *Non est aequum relinquere verbum Dei — Verba ista scripta sunt in Act. <6>. Circa verbum Dei contingit errare dupliciter ...* ». In the Vatican MS. Ottoboni lat. 505 this is merely ascribed to « *frater Robertus* » (f. 3), but a copy in the Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 250, f. 1^v, has the addition

¹ See J. B. Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermonen des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150-1350*, BGPTM 43.5 (Münster 1974) 170-171 and 147-149. Biobibliographical entries for "Bacon, Robert" and "Fishacre, Richard" are given by A. B. Emden, BRUO (A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A. D. 1500, 3 vols, Oxford 1957-1959) 1.87 and 2.685-686.

² See BRUO 2.1051-1052 "Kilwardby, Robert de".

³ Edited by E. M. F. Sommer-Seckendorff, *Studies in the Life of Robert Kilwardby O.P.*, Diss. Hist. 8 (Rome 1937) 163-176.

« de Culverddebi », which is clearly intended for “ Kilwardby ”⁴. The only other attributed sermon so far identified is preserved with the Ash Wednesday sermon in the Trinity College, Cambridge MS. 373. After a colophon, « Explicit sermo fratris R. de Kylwardeby in die Cynerum » (f. 212^v), the same scribe continues on the following line with the title, « Incipit sermo eiusdem in Dominica in Passione ». The text of this Passion Sunday sermon is the final item in the manuscript and ends on the verso of a folio numbered “ 215 ”.

This parchment codex of the thirteenth century, 212 × 154 mm., has been described by M. R. James⁵. As he notes, the foliation is incorrect: numbers are sometimes repeated and sometimes omitted, so that the conclusion of Kilwardby's Passion Sunday sermon is in fact on the two-hundred-and-fiftieth folio of the manuscript. At least four hands can be distinguished, and the gatherings appear to derive from more than one source. The initial section, comprising the first sixteen folios (ff. i-xvi), has notes on the Passion, chapter divisions of the Bible, a sermon and a glossary. The remainder of the manuscript (ff. xvii-215) is largely a sermon collection: besides much anonymous material there are sermons ascribed to the Dominican, Richard Fishacre, « Lincolnensis », Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln 1235-1253, Philip the Chancellor, who held that office in Paris from 1218 and died in 1236, and John (Halgrinus) of Abbeville, a Parisian secular master before 1216 and a Crusade preacher 1228-1231, who died in 1239⁶. Much of this material thus derives from the first half of the thirteenth century. This section also includes Grosseteste's version of the *Testamentum XII patriarcharum*, his *De contemptu mundi* and the article « Ἰησοῦς » from Suida's *Lexicon*, with summaries of the decretals.

⁴ T. Käppeli. “ Eine Prothemata-Sammlung aus Pariser Predigten des 13. Jahrhunderts in Cod. Ottob. lat. 505 ”, *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* 2, *Studi e Testi* 122 (Città del Vaticano 1946) 421.

⁵ M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: A descriptive catalogue*, 1 (Cambridge 1900) 505-510. James notes that the manuscript was given by Whitgift. Archbishop John Whitgift (1530-1604) was Master of Trinity College in 1567. The inscription on the last page, ‘ Liber Beate Marie de Heyles ’, refers to the Cistercian abbey of Hailes in Gloucestershire (not Shropshire, as James says, p. 505); see D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales* (2nd edition: London 1971) 120; N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks* 3 (2nd edition: London 1964) 94.

⁶ See Schneyer, *Repertorium* ... 5.147-149, 176-191, 4 (Münster 1972) 818-869, 3 (1971) 510-566, for sermons attributed to these preachers.

The last three quires of the codex, which appear to be from the same source (ff. "196-206", "207-213" bis, "214-215"), include besides unascribed pieces sermons attributed to Thomas of York, John of Wales and Robert Kilwardby. The first is headed « Sermo fratris Thome Ebor. de Passione Domini Nostri Ihesu Christi. Antethema », and begins (f. 201^r), « *Aspicientes in autorem fidei* <Heb. 12²> — In signum huius Numeri 21⁹, *Fecit Moyses serpentem eneum ...* »; the second, which follows immediately, is headed « Sermo magistri Iohannis Wallensis de Ordine Minorum in die Passionis Domini. Antethema », and begins (f. 204^v), « *Consummatum est*, Io. 19³⁰ - Eccli 44 (43²⁰), *Multa dicimus et defecimus in uerbis ...* ». The Passiontide associations of these two sermons are continued in the unascribed sermons which follow, beginning (f. 208^r), « *Vexilla regis prodeunt*, etc. — Si rex Anglie vel rex Francie faceret graue edictum ... », (f. 209^r) « *Mira Dei clemencia aselli fieri dignatur auctor seculi ...* » and (f. 210^r), « *Ecce rex tuus ...* ». Thomas of York became a Franciscan before 1245, and was fourth lector at the Oxford Greyfriars from 1253 to 1254 and sixth lector at Cambridge c. 1256 to c. 1257, dieing sometime before 1269⁷. John of Wales, also a Franciscan, was sixth lector at the Oxford Greyfriars c. 1257 to c. 1258 or later, and preached in Paris in 1282, where he died in 1285⁸. Thomas of York may thus have been teaching at Oxford when Kilwardby was a student of theology there; John of Wales may have been teaching at Greyfriars when Kilwardby was regent at Blackfriars. This final section of the Cambridge manuscript has therefore preserved Lenten and Passiontide preaching of mendicants whose teaching at Oxford belongs to the 1250s. While the possibility cannot be ruled out that Kilwardby's sermons derive from his time as Provincial in the 1260s, the ascription of the two to « frater R. de Kilwardby » argues that they come from a time before his election as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1272.

Kilwardby's sermons are written in long lines in a clear rather round English hand of the mid-thirteenth century with thirty-seven to forty-two lines to a page. The opening initial of the Passiontide sermon is rubricated and flourished. Scriptural citations which are accompanied by extracts from glosses are often underlined. There are a few corrections and lacunae, but in general the scribe gives a reliable text. At the foot of f. 212^v, on which the sermon edited here begins, there is an ascription

⁷ See Schneyer, Repertorium ... 5.630-631; BRUO 3.2139-2140.

⁸ See Schneyer, Repertorium ... 3.480-510; BRUO 3.1960-1961.

in hard point: « Fratr̄is Roberti de Kylwardebi de Ordine Fratrum Predicatorum ». Against the first paragraph in the left-hand margin of the same *verso* is a note which has been partly cropped, which appears to read: « <Qu>are incoatur Passio ab *Isti sunt dies* ». This refers to the beginning of the first response at Matins for Passion Sunday⁹. On f. 215^r there is a note in the right-hand margin, « Nota de Purgatorio et igne Inf<erni> », against a passage in the sermon on Purgatory and Hellfire.

As has been noted, the foliation is faulty: after a beginning two-thirds of the way down the *verso* of the folio numbered « 212 » there are two folios numbered « 213 », then folios « 214 » and « 215 » follow in sequence, the sermon ending halfway down the *verso* of f. 215. The sermon thus occupies almost four folios, being of approximately the same length as that for Ash Wednesday. In its present form, however, it may be shorter than the sermon originally delivered, since it contains two notes at points where a topic might be developed: (f. 213^r) « Hic parum morandum est ad distinguendum multitudinem in hiis turbis contentam »; (f. 214^r) « Hic esset immorandum ad distinguendas iniunctiones, saltem in genere ». Also, despite the title indicating an *antethema*, the sermon appears to begin with the *thema*, and an *antethema* invoking God's grace for the preacher and his audience, such as is found for instance in some cases in the Dominican sermon collection in the Bodleian Library, Oxford MS. Laud misc. 511¹⁰, is lacking here.

The sermon develops the theme of Caiphas's prophecy that it is expedient that one man should die for the people (5-6). The *thema* from John 11⁵⁰ occurs in the Gospel reading for the Friday after Passion Sunday, and not in that of Passion Sunday itself¹¹. Perhaps this reflects

⁹ See F. Procter and C. Wordsworth, *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum* 1 (Cambridge 1882) dcccviii. The use of the most widespread English rite does not appear to have differed from that of the Dominicans in this regard.

¹⁰ I am grateful to Sister Maura O'Carroll SND, who is at present working on this mid-thirteenth century sermon collection for drawing my attention to the brief *antethemata* used in some instances there, e. g. (f. 8^{ra}) « *Abiciamus opera tenebrarum et induamur arma lucis* (Rom. 13¹²) – In principio sermonis nostri oret unusquisque Domini ut ipse Deus largitor graciaram, *diues in omnes qui inuocant illum* (Rom. 10¹²), conferat graciaram nobis hodie uerbum suum pronunciandi et audiendi ad honorem sui et commodum nostri. Et dicat quilibet *Pater noster* et *Aue Maria*. *Abiciamus opera tenebrarum* – Duo dicenda sunt ... » In the mid-thirteenth century the *antethema* is not invariably present, and where it is found, is usually much less elaborate than in sermons later in the century.

¹¹ John 11⁴⁷⁻⁵⁴ appears as the reading for *Feria vi* [*post iudica*] in J. Wick-

the freedom in choosing a text which was exercised on a major day in the liturgical year, when there might be several preachers¹². The initial division is a twofold one of a literal and moral understanding of the theme (6). With regard to the literal understanding Kilwardby excuses himself from dealing with the five questions: who this man is and who are the people for whom it is expedient that he should die, and in what fashion and by what necessity it is expedient, and how the freeing of the people follows on his death. These questions, he says, have already been dealt with in another of his sermons with the *thema*, « Dico autem Christum ministrum » (6-12). The text from Rom. 15^s occurs liturgically in the Epistle for the 2nd Sunday of Advent¹³, but the sermon has yet to be identified. Perhaps it was an occasional address on the ministry to a clerical audience rather than a *de tempore* sermon.

Kilwardby continues with an explanation why the Church begins to treat the Passion of Christ before the day on which he suffered. He recalls the reaction to the raising of Lazarus, recorded in the Gospel for the preceding Friday¹⁴, and the plot to kill Jesus of the preceding Saturday. This explains Church practice in using hymns and canticles which allude to the passion of Christ from that Saturday until the time when he suffered. So the Sunday is called "Passion Sunday" because it was then determined that Christ should suffer (12-25). The marginal note here (f. 212^v) refers specifically to the responsory at Matins that night.

The moral sense is developed around five points similar to those which were introduced in connection with the literal sense: who are the people for which this one man should die, who is that one man, how should he die and by what necessity, and how does the people's salvation follow on his death (26-32). Kilwardby is evidently not bound to a rigidly triadic structure that some later preachers follow. Here, as in

ham Legg, *The Sarum Missal* (Oxford 1916) 90-91; John 8⁴⁶⁻⁵⁹ for *Dominica in Passione Domini*, *ibid* 85-86. The latter is also the pericope in the Dominican use, for which see M. O'Carroll, "The Lectionary for the Proper of the Year in the Dominican and Franciscan rites of the thirteenth century" AFP 49 (1979) 79-103.

¹² See Th. - M. Charland, *Artes Praedicandi*, Publications de l'Institut d'Études Médiévales d'Ottawa 7 (Paris-Ottawa 1936) 114-115.

¹³ Rom. 15⁴⁻¹⁸ appears as the reading for *Dominica ii [adventus domini]* in the Sarum Missal, p. 17, and Dominican use.

¹⁴ John 11¹⁻⁴⁶ appears as the reading for *Feria vi [post letare]* in The Sarum Missal, pp. 83-84.

the Ash Wednesday sermon, he shows a preference for an initial division in two: there of the theme itself¹⁵; here of the literal and moral interpretation of the theme, which is matched on Ash Wednesday by his handling of the second part of the theme¹⁶. Although the subdivisions within the parts there fall into triads¹⁷, here the division is according to five heads for both the literal and moral sense, corresponding to questions which arise about the people, the man and his death, the elements of the theme.

In the moral sense this *populus* is the manifold reality within the individual, either of the powers of the soul, the members of the body, gifts, human concerns or actions, another fivefold division (33-39). There is an indication at this point that the distinction of these *turbæ* within the individual could have been the subject of further elaboration (40-41). In its present form, however, the sermon pursues the five points previously raised. Kilwardby adduces authorities from Scripture and the Church writers to confirm this picture of the individual as a collectivity under the law of conscience (42-48), a topic which he explored more deeply in his *Quaestiones de conscientia*, appealing to some of the same authorities¹⁸. Within one man there is a well-ordered people differing in dignity, a multitude like a city, whether that of the righteous man or the sinner (49-66).

The man who is to die is the *vetus homo* of Pauline thought, the carnal nature of man in his fallen condition, prone to sin since the time

¹⁵ Sommer-Seckendorff, *Studies in the Life ...* p. 163; "*Tu autem cum ieiunas unge caput tuum et faciem tuam lava*. - Duo hic notanda sunt: quia ieiunandum esse supponitur, ibi *Tu autem cum ieiunas*; et quid ieiunantibus agendum sit instruitur ibi: *et faciem tuam lava*. De primo duo dicenda sunt ...".

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 169: "Consequenter videndum de instructione ieiunantium, que habetur ibi: *unge caput tuum* etc. Ubi primo notandum quod illud potest intelligi literaliter et spiritualiter. Si literaliter ... Spiritualiter ...".

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 163: "Est autem ieiunandum triplici ratione ..."; p. 169; "Spiritualiter igitur hoc intelligentes primo videamus quid hic dicantur capud et quid facies, secundo de unccione capitis, tercio de locione faciei".

¹⁸ Cf. Kilwardby, *De conscientia*, with regard to the question, "Utrum conscientia sit habitus uel potencia", where he argues (MS. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 333 [SC 2245], f. 1^{va}): "Quod neque sit habitus neque potencia videtur per illud Damasceni 95c, 'Conscientia est lex intellectus'. Lex enim intellectus non est potencia, quia lex est potencia directiua, et potencia non dirigit seipsam". This work, which is found in MS. Bodley 333, ff. 1^{ra}-32^{va}, exists in the form of a collection of excerpts in MS. London, British Library, Harley 106, ff. 353^{ra}-363^{va}. See M. - D. Chenu, "Le *De conscientia* de R. Kilwardby, O.P., † 1279", RSPT 16 (1927) 318-326.

of Adam, spiritually disfigured and weakened by the original fault and affected by that concupiscence from which actual sins arise (67-100). The unity of this one man is treated with learned allusions to the place of one in the arithmetical number series and the understanding of it according to the Aristotelian metaphysics as privative and consisting in a reality undivided in itself and divided from others (101-118). Clearly the sermon was preached to an educated congregation, and if not to university men, surely to the clergy or a gathering of Kilwardby's Dominican brethren.

The death of the old man is understood not as an extinction of concupiscence, as Augustine conceived it, but as a limiting of its domination and effects with regard to the original fault and actual injustice (119-139). The first is treated under four heads; the man to be crucified, the cross due to him, its minister and who should fasten this man to the cross, and in what way (140-143). Our nature under the law of sin is fastened to the cross of Christ by the ministers of the Church in baptism, figuring the death, burial and resurrection of Christ through the renunciation of the Devil, threefold immersion and lifting up from the water. In infant baptism this is achieved through the faith of the godparents; in adults through their own profession of faith (144-184). Here in a scholastic style closely matching that of his arts commentaries Kilwardby inquires why this crucifixion is ascribed to the *prima vetustas* of original sin rather than the *secunda vetustas* of actual sin, and replies that baptism is primarily and of itself to wipe out original sin and only incidentally for actual sin (185-200).

This leads on to the same four points applied to actual injustice (201-204). The man to be crucified is the subject of an anatomy of sin, with adult and spiritual sins above, childhood and carnal sins below; on the right, sins against the love of God, on the left, sins against the love of one's neighbour; in front that general cupidity of turning to the creaturely, at the back that general pride of turning away from God; each pair of opposites embracing the whole body of sin (205-245). The cross for actual sin is penance, with limbs of the cross corresponding to the dimensions of sin; its ministers, the priests who judge the satisfaction to be made for sin (246-282). At this point there is again an indication that the preacher may develop the topic; he may spend time here in distinguishing the confessor's injunctions (283-284). Finally, it is the new man who fastens the old man to the cross, accepting the cross which has been depicted by the confessor with the hope of being pardoned and with zeal for amendment, prudently discerning what to

do and what to avoid, in justice executing the sentence on the old man, and in temperance and fortitude carrying out the priest's injunction to distance himself from carnal pleasure and endure whatever suffering has to be undergone. With the nails of chaste fear the feet and hands of the motive and operative powers are pinned to the cross (285-307).

Persevering penance is necessary that the old man may not escape from the cross until dead, and for three reasons: first, so that the new man may not be cast out from his home; secondly, because venial sins are a constant hazard of the mortal condition; thirdly, because small sins grow through neglect (308-342). Although Kilwardby insists on lifelong perseverance so that the Christian may not relapse into mortal sins and also to purge venial faults, he explains here that this does not mean that penance is imposed without limit, but only for the time deemed fit by the priest. The penitent must persevere in almsgiving, fasting, prayers and supplication to be forgiven for his everyday sins (343-354).

The preacher discloses his own affiliation at this juncture in urging that persevering penance is more surely to be found in religious life than in the world, and above all in that form of life which does more for the edification of one's neighbour. But what form of religious life, he asks, is more intent on or does more for the edification of one's neighbour than that which the Lord indicated to his apostles and disciples in the words of St. Mark's Gospel, "Going into the whole world, preach the gospel to every creature" (355-364). It is a text that also appears in the more surprising context of Kilwardby's commentary on the *Liber sex principiorum*, the sole scriptural citation in his course on the *Ars vetus*¹⁹. There it may represent a response to the young Master of Arts first contact with the Dominicans at Saint Jacques in Paris; here it is probably born of the mature experience of one who is already a regent master in theology at Blackfriars, Oxford, if not yet Prior Provincial of the English Dominicans.

¹⁹ Kilwardby *In Librum sex principiorum, lectio 4* (MSS. Madrid, Bib. Univ. 73, f. 73^{va}, Venezia, Bib. Marc. L.VI.66 [2528], f. 22^r): "... cum communicemus cum omnibus creaturis, secundum quod dicitur, *Predicate euangelium omni creature, id est homini; habemus enim esse cum lapidibus, uiuere cum plantis, sentire cum animalibus, intelligere cum angelis*". The thought there appears to be inspired by Gregory the Great, *XL homilia in euangelia*, ii, hom. 29 (PL 76: 1214B). See P. O. Lewry, "Robert Kilwardby's writings on the *Logica vetus* studied with regard to their teaching and method" (Oxford Univ. D. Phil. thesis 1978) 318. The author is at present preparing an edition of Kilwardby's course on the *Ars vetus*.

Is it merely preacher's rhetoric when Kilwardby goes on to talk about the old man appearing to reign in the world, and dwells on a situation of national apostasy fulfilling the descriptions of Hosea 4¹⁻² and Wisdom 14²⁵⁻²⁶ (365-372)? Can it be that this picture of a land without truth, mercy and knowledge of God, overwhelmed with cursing, lying, killing, stealing, adultery and bloodshed, a compound of murder, theft and deceit, corruption, infidelity, perjury, tumult and forgetfulness of divine favour, pollution of souls, perversion, marital inconstancy and debauchery relates to some specific crisis of mid-thirteenth-century England? Probably during the period of Kilwardby's Oxford regency, the harvest had failed and famine had ensued in 1257. But civil unrest had come to a head during his years as Provincial. There had been border warfare between England and Wales in 1262, and it was in the Welsh March that the Barons' War began in 1264. King Henry III and the Prince Edward took refuge with the Dominicans at Blackfriars, Oxford, in March of that year. On Passion Sunday the barons' stronghold of Northampton fell to the King's forces under Edward²⁰.

William Rishanger, monk of St. Alban's, chronicling the events of 1264 says:

Totus annus iste, cum quinque mensibus et duabus septimanis, asperitate werrae inhorruit; et dum quilibet sua castella defendere studuit, quaeque vicina depopulabatur, agros vastans, abducens pecora, ad defensionem castellorum; nec etiam ecclesiis aut coemeteriis deferebantur. Domus insuper pauperulorum rucolarum, usque ad stramentum lectorum, rimabantur et expilabantur. Sed et licet Comes praecepta dedisset, sub poena decapitationis, ne quis ad sanctam ecclesiam vel coemeterium depraedaturus intrare praesumeret, nec religiosus viris, vel eorum famulis, manus violentas inferret, nihil hac industria fere profecit. Nempe nec episcopi, nec abbates, nec ulli religiosi, de villa in villam progredi potuerunt, quin a vispilionibus praedarentur²¹.

Was it against this background of civil disorder and the breakdown of morality that Kilwardby was preaching? If so, then he was already Provincial, and his exaltation of the Dominican vocation would have the added authority of three years in elected office over the preaching friars in England.

²⁰ See Sir Maurice Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century, 1216-1307*, *The Oxford History of England* 4 (2nd edition: Oxford 1962) 185-187.

²¹ Willelmi Rishanger *Chronica*, ed. H. T. Riley, *Rolls Series* 28.2 (London 1865) 29.

Having described the cross of persevering penance, in the final section of his sermon Kilwardby turns to the distinction of the new man from the old. It is the difference between man renewed by grace and penance and man affected with concupiscence and disfigured by original sin or actual injustice; it is the difference between health and sickness or death (373-383). The need for this old man to be crucified that the people should be saved, is that sin should not finally have dominion over man, with its retribution, the second death (504-511). The representation of this death in Rev. 20⁹ by "the lake of fire and brimstone" leads the preacher to dilate on the contrast between the experience of fire in this world, in Purgatory and in Hell, and a marginal note draws attention to this contrast (f. 215^r). The pains of Hell are presented as being even more intolerable than the unthinkable sufferings of Purgatory, something midway between that of Hell and the pain of burning experienced in this life. The endless burning and total penetration of every part of man is associated with a restriction of the powers of the soul and the members of the body from all pleasurable activity (389-407). In this way the collectivities within man perish: the "crowd" of the soul's powers and the bodily members, the "crowd" of bodily and spiritual gifts. Outward disfigurement will go with the blindness of those excluded from God, who know nothing for their comfort and find no satisfaction in their affections, having a continual ill-will which makes them incapable of receiving any good. Good intentions and good actions will perish too, so that the whole collectivity within man will perish unless liberation is achieved through the crucifixion of the old man (407-427).

Much that Kilwardby says here can be paralleled by the sombre reflections in the final question of his *De conscientia*, where he asks: "Deinde queritur de statu sinderesis in dampnatis, vtrum ibi priuetur omni vsu?" His arguments there use some of the scriptural and patristic authorities adduced here, but the "summa caecitas" of Augustine leads to a long development with regard to a darkness of the affective life, drawing out implications which are undeveloped in the sermon²². The sermon itself concludes in a more optimistic vein:

²² Kilwardby, *De conscientia* (MS. Bodley 333, ff. 31^{va}-32^{va}): "Item, *De fide ad Petrum* 26, in fine, 'Exterioribus tenebris deputati nullo illustrabitur interiori lumine veritatis ... Idem super Psalmum illud, *Turbatus est a furore oculus meus*, ibi exteriores tenebre erunt, quia tunc peccatores penitus extra Deum. Quid est enim 'esse extra Deum, nisi esse in summa cecitate' ? ... (f. 32^{va}) ... Possunt autem et dicta verba Augustini intelligi de noticia amante ... et tunc intelligendum quod dicit pec-

salvation follows on that crucifixion when everything within man is directed to its own good purpose. The five *turbæ* within man are given to him to pursue the blissful happiness of the righteous. With the crucifixion of the old man, the new man reigns by righteousness, and everyone of them is saved. Talk in the Psalms of satiety and the inebriation of the new man is referred to the face-to-face vision of the Godhead and Trinity, implying that the desires of the new man are realised with regard to every object. Whence none of the collectivities within man will perish, but all will be possessed then in the highest condition that can be attained (428-441).

The Passion Sunday sermon is tightly constructed around the notion of a well-ordered collectivity within man, which must owe something to Kilwardby's familiarity with the *Ethics* of Aristotle, even though it is never explicitly alluded to. Kilwardby had in fact commented on the first three books, the *Ethica nova* and *vetus*, probably at Paris in the 1240s, and his commentary, if not the earliest on that text, may be the earliest that can be firmly associated with a known master²³. There he must have gained an acquaintance with the teleological thinking of Aristotle with regard to human society and the conception of an ordered hierarchy of ends under the supreme good²⁴. But philosophical sources are used sparingly here, and only in developing the notion of unity did he betray his earlier preoccupations. Generally his argument relies on

catores dampnatos extra esse Deum et extra lucem Dei et in summa cecitate quantum ad affectum vel ad noticiam amantem, quia non solum non illustrabuntur vt Deum ament et ei confiteantur, set a Deo elongabuntur quod summe odient eum. Et ista noticia amans ad mentis deliberatium referri, vt prius. Et per hunc modum debent intelligi et exponi omnes auctoritates que de hac cecitate loquuntur”.

²³ Kilwardby's commentary on the *Ethica nova* and *vetus* is preserved in MSS. Cambridge, Peterhouse 206, ff. 285^{ra}-307^{vb}, and Praha, Statni knihovna ĀSR III.F.10, ff. 1^{ra}-11^{vb}. A late table of contents in the former suggests that this work is by Kilwardby, and this attribution is supported by the style of the introduction and other features. Its early date is suggested by the versions of Aristotle used. Some account is given of the formulae by R.-A. Gauthier in his preface to *Sententia libri Ethicorum*, S. Thomae de Aquino Opera omnia 47 (Rome 1969) 238*-241*.

²⁴ Cf. Kilwardby *In I Eth.*, *lectio 2* (MS. Peterhouse 206, f. 285^{vb}): “*Multis autem operacionibus* (I.1; 1094a7) – Hic ostendit quod aliquod bonum est et optimum est. Hoc tamen non erit de nomine boni set de nomine finis, quia idem intendit per summum bonum. In hac parte intendit autem vnam rationem talem: Vnus est finis sub quo et ad quem omnes alii ordinantur extra, desiderabilior omnibus aliis; ergo vnus est finis sub quo et ad quem omnes alii fines ordinantur. Set ille ad quem omnes alii fines ordinantur est desiderabilior omnibus aliis; ergo vnus est finis melior et desiderabilior omnibus aliis. Ex quo patet quod vnum est optimum”.

an appeal to Scripture. A certain sobriety marks his use of the Bible and a disciplined sense of what is properly germane to his line of thought. As in his philosophical works he displays care over his citations, and for greater precision of reference he uses here those lettered divisions of the chapters of the biblical books from A to G, probably an innovation of the Dominicans of St. Jacques working on Hugh of St. Cher's concordance in the 1230s²⁵.

Patristic authorities are three times drawn from the *Glossa ordinaria*, but the *Glossa Lombardi* serves in four instances for the exposition of Romans. A citation of Isidore comes from the Lombard's *Sentences*. Burgundio of Pisa's version is used for one citation of John of Damascus. Most striking, however, is the constant reference to Augustine. Apart from those citations which are made from the glosses there are references to the *De libero arbitrio*, *De doctrina christiana*, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, *Sermones* 155 and 351, and of works attributed to Augustine, to the *De vera et falsa paenitentia*, *De fide ad Petrum* and *Sermo* 104. Of particular interest is the use made of *Sermo* 351, which is introduced as "in alio libro *De penitencia*" (363), and elsewhere referred to with the form, "in alio libello eius *De penitencia*" (437) and "in libello *De penitencia*" (455). This is the sermon *De utilitate agenda paenitentiae I*. Judging by the surviving manuscripts, it enjoyed a larger circulation in England in the thirteenth century than the *De vera et falsa paenitentia*²⁶, and is evidently regarded by Kilwardby as an important source for the doctrine of penance. His careful reference to it by chapters doubtless reflects that activity in which he summarised the contents of many of Augustine's works chapter by chapter. Kilwardby's "Capitula libri Augustini *De*

²⁵ See R. H. Rouse and M. A. Rouse, "The Verbal Concordance to the Scriptures", AFP 44 (1974) 10, 22-23. It is suggested there that although the *terminus ad quem* of the composition of the St. Jacques Concordance is 1247, the latest date for the Jumièges copy, the project if not completed, was well under way in 1235 (p. 8). It seems to be in error, then, that A. d'Esneval, "La division de la Vulgate latine en chapitres dans l'édition parisienne du XIII^e siècle", RSP 62 (1978) 567, n. 43, attributes to Professor and Mrs. Rouse the view that the earliest possible date for the work is 1245.

²⁶ See F. Römer, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus 2/1 Grossbritannien und Irland: Werkverzeichnis, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte* 281 (Wien 1972) 141-143 (*De utilitate agenda paenitentiae, sermo I*); 190 (*De vera et falsa paenitentia*). For the former two codices survive of s. xii-xiii, ten of s. xiii and three of s. xiii-xiv; of the latter, one of s. xii-xiii, four of s. xiii and five of s. xiii-xiv.

penitentia” appear in MS. Cambridge, Peterhouse 147, ff. 118^{ra}-120^{ra} 27. The *De vera et falsa paenitentia* is lacking there, but in MS. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 2117, f. 12^{re}, a more complete listing of *capitula* of Augustine, this title is included with the note, “non inueni capitulum” 28. This corresponds to Kilwardby’s practice in citing this work in his sermon.

The edition of the Passion Sunday sermon has been made from the sole manuscript 29, preserving the original orthography but capitalizing, italicizing, punctuating and paragraphing to point the sense. The scribe is generally reliable, but in a few instances emendation has been necessary. Angle brackets have been used to indicate editorial additions, round brackets to indicate notes and parenthetical additions found in the text itself. Superscript numbers have been added to the chapter numbers to indicate the modern verse divisions in biblical references, where Kilwardby often used lettered indications of the sections. Continuous line numbering has been used to facilitate cross-reference to the text from the article.

ROBERTUS DE KILWARDBY: SERMO IN DOMINICA IN PASSIONE
(MS. Cambridge, Trinity College 373, ff. 212^v-215^v)

Incipit sermo eiusdem <fratris R. de Kylwardeby> in Dominica in Passione.
Antethema: <...>

- 5 E Io. 11^{50f}: *Expedi uobis ut vnus moriatur homo pro populo, et non tota gens pereat*¹. Hec uerba literaliter possunt intelligi et moraliter. Si literaliter, propheta est Cayphe nescientis de morte Christi utili humano generi; de qua propheta esset videndum iuxta literam: quis est iste homo quem expedit mori pro populo, et quis populus pro quo, et quomodo uel qua necessitate
10 uel utilitate expedit ut moriatur, et quomodo ex eius morte sequitur populi

²⁷ Cf. D. A. Callus, “The *Tabulae super Originalia Patrum* of Robert Kilwardby, OP”, *Studia Mediaevalia in honorem Adm. R. P. Raymundi Iosephi Martin* (Bruges 1948) 263.

²⁸ Cf. D. A. Callus, “New Manuscripts of Kilwardby’s *Tabulae super Originalia Patrum*”, *Dominican Studies* 2 (1949) 39.

²⁹ Acknowledgment is made here to the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, who generously allowed a microfilm of their manuscript to be made, from which this edition was originally prepared.

¹ Thema ex euangelio feriae sextae post Dominicam in Passione (Ioh. 11⁴⁷⁻⁵⁴).

liberacio. Set quia de hiis dictum est dudum in sermone illo, *Dico autem Christum ministrum*, etc.², de hiis ad presens supersedendum.

Si quis autem requirit quare hodie agitur in ecclesia de passione et morte Christi, que non contigit hodie, hec est ratio: Feria sexta proxima precedente
 15 qua legitur ewangelium de resuscitatione Lazari³, creditur ipsum fuisse suscitatum, quod fuit in Bethania, modicum extra Irusalem, vbi tunc conue-
 nerant multi Iudeorum videntes miraculum, quorum aliqui reuertentes ad
 Irusalem, narrauerunt scribis et phariseis quod uiderant. Et ipsi mox sabbato
 20 sequenti congregato concilio et audito consilio Chaiphe de interficiendo
 Christum, statuerunt eum interficere, et eduxerunt vt si quis sciret ubi esset,
 proderet ut caperetur, sicut dicitur Io. xi⁵⁶ uersus finem. Hac igitur ratione
 eodem sabbato statuit Ecclesia incoare mencionem passionis Christi in ymnis
 et aliis canticis Ecclesie et eandem continuare usque ad tempus quo passus
 est, et ideo hanc Dominicam uocat *Dominicam Passionis*, quia iam in uoto
 25 Iudeorum firmato paciebatur.

f. 213^r Si moraliter intelligatur, tunc debet / istud uerificari in quolibet nostrum.
 Nec mirum, quia <1> Pe. 2^{21f}, *Christus passus est pro nobis relinquens exemplum,*
ut sequamini uestigia eius, et infra 4^{1a}, *Christo passo in carne, et uos eadem cogi-*
 30 *tatione armamini*. Hic igitur videndum quis sit in singulis nostrum populus
 pro quo vnus mori debet; secundo, quis est ille vnus pro populo moriturus;
 3^o, quomodo mori debet; 4^o, qua necessitate moriturus sit pro illo populo;
 5^o, quomodo sequitur salus populi de morte eius.

Populus autem de quo intenditur ad presens moraliter est quedam multi-
 tudo quasi turbarum uel gregum rerum in homine constitutarum. Sunt
 35 autem quasi quinque turbe: vna, potenciarum anime; alia, membrorum cor-
 poris; 3^a, donorum hiis additorum; 4^{ta}, humanorum studiorum, et uoco
studium intencionem sollicitam de aliquo agendo uel destribuendo, adquirendo
 uel cauendo, conseruando uel dubitando, uel aliquid huiusmodi; 5^{ta}, huma-
 narum accionum.

40 (Hic parum morandum est ad distinguendum multitudinem in hiis tur-
 bis contentam.)

Hanc multitudinem uocaui moraliter *populum* hac ratione: Populus, ut
 dicit Augustinus libro primo *De libero arbitrio* consistit « ex hominibus vna
 lege sociatis »⁴ ; sic omnia predicta una lege sociata sunt sub qua agere
 45 debent, de qua Ro. 7²², *Condelector legi Dei secundum interiorem hominem*, et
 Damascenus 95, « Consciencia est lex intellectus »⁵ ; sub lege enim conscien-

19 concilio] consilio

² Sermo Roberti de Kilwardby super illud Rom. 15⁹ non inventus est.

³ Ioh. 11¹⁻⁴⁵ (ewangelium feriae sextae post Dominicam IV Quadragesimae).

⁴ Aug. De lib. arb. 1.7.16 (PL 32, 1230).

⁵ Ioh. Damasc. De fide orthodoxa 4.22 (PG 94, 1200A), transl. Burgundi de Pisa c. 95 (ed. E. M. Buytaert, St. Bonaventure, N. Y. 1955, p. 359).

cie omnes predicte turbe esse debent; similiter sub ipsa ratione eiam consciencia.

50 Item, in populo bene ordinato non sunt omnes equalis dignitatis set quidam inferiores et quidam superiores secundum gradus certos vsque ad principem, et sic est hic. Vnde satis congruit hic illud Ec<cles.> 5⁷⁻⁸d, *Excelsio excelsior alius est, et super hos quoque eminentiores alii sunt; et insuper vniuerse terre rex imperat seruienti* sic est in uno homine usque ad supremam rationem que omnibus imperat.

55 Item, populus est multitudo ciuitatem inhabitans, quare si unus homo dicatur *ciuitas* Pro. 18¹⁹f, *Frater qui adiuuatur a fratre, quasi ciuitas firma*, et Ecclesiasticus 24²⁶c de gloriosa Uirgine, *In ciuitate sanctificata similiter requieui*, non est mirum si multitudo in vno homine constituta dicatur *populus* saltem per figuram.

60 De hoc populo ut est in homine iusto bene intelligitur illud R<eg.>2.12²⁹f, *Congregauit Dauid omnem populum et profectus est aduersum Rabbah. Dauid enim interpretatur manu fortis*, et bene significat Christum uel eiam hominem iustum. *Rabbah* interpretatur *peccatum grande*. De eodem autem in peccatore bene intelligitur illud R<eg.>2.13³⁴g, *Ecce populus multus ueniebat per iter*
65 *<deuium> a latere montis. Mons iste Ecclesia est, de qua Ps. <67¹⁶⁻¹⁷>, Mons Dei mons pinguis, mons in quo bene, etc.*

Deinde, videndum est quis homo unus qui pro dicto populo mori debet. De quo sciendum quod iste est noster uetus homo qui nisi occidatur et immoletur Deo, totus populus predictus perit.

70 Videndum igitur quis sit uetus homo et quare dicatur *uetus* et *vnus*. Est autem noster uetus homo noster homo sensualis uel concupiscencialis siue carnalis, id est nostra natura que infecta est lege peccati per quam proni sumus ad peccandum et per quam sumus concupiscenciales et carnales. Quod autem
75 quod proni sumus ad cogitandum et appetendum illicita secundum interiorem hominem, proni eiam ad illicita audiendum et illicite aspiciendum et contrectandum et huiusmodi secundum hominem exteriorem. Vnde et Dominus dicit Ge. 8²¹g, *Sensus et cogitacio humani cordis prona sunt in malum ab adulescencia sua*. Patet igitur quid sit noster uetus homo.

80 Dicitur autem *uetus* multiplici de causa, set ad presens duplici, uidelicet tum pro sui antiquitate, quia durauit continue in nostra natura a tempore lapsus Ade quando eidem inflicta est necessitas unguendi, tum pro suo effectu, quia efficit vetustatem spiritualem. Vetustas autem spiritualis principaliter est culpa, que ideo dicitur *uetustas* quia deformitatem affert et debilitatem spiritualem: vnde Armos 4¹¹f, *Facti estis / quasi torris raptus de incendio; et non redistis ad me, dicit Dominus*, et Thre. 4⁸b, *Denigrata est super carbones facies eorum*. Hec de deformitate. De debilitate: P<s. 35¹⁸>, *Ceciderunt qui*

operantur iniquitatem, expulsi sunt nec potuerunt stare, et Thre. <1⁶>, Abierunt absque fortitudine ante faciem subsequentis.

90 Efficit autem in nobis uetus homo duplicem uetustatem dampnabilem: vnam in culpa originali, de qua Ro. 5¹², *Per unum hominem peccatum intravit in hunc mundum*, ibi enim secundum glosam accipitur *peccatum* pro originali et *mundus* pro humano genere ⁶; aliam postmodum in actuali iniusticia, de qua Io. 8^{44e}, *Vos ex patre diabolo estis et desideria patris uestri uultis facere*,
 95 et Augustinus de uerbis Apostoli omelia 6, in principio, « Quicquid autem peccatorum est in dictis, in factis, in cogitationibus, non oritur nisi ex mala concupiscencia » ⁷, que a peccato facta est. Item, in glosa super illud Ro. 7²⁰, *Non ego operor illud*, etc., peccatum dicitur hic fomes peccati uel carnalis concupiscencia vnde oriuntur omnia peccata ⁸. Ex hiis patet quare dicitur *homo*
 100 *vetus*.

Item, potest dici *unus*, quia sicut vnitas precedit numeros et in illis est, sic uetustas in nobis precedit nouitatem et nouitati eciam huius vite permiscetur secundum aliquid. Omnes enim nascimur filii ire propter originale peccatum et omni tempore huius status inest nobis concupiscencia et ad peccatum saltem ueniale: <1> Io. 1^{8f}, *Si dixerimus quoniam peccatum non habemus, nosmetipsos seducimus, et ueritas in nobis non est.*
 105

Item, *unum* dicitur priuatiue secundum Philosophum, scilicet *X Methaphisice* ⁹, et uetustas predicta priuacio uel absentia grece est, quia Ysi. 59^{2a}, *Iniquitates uestre diuiserunt inter uos et Deum uestrum, et peccata uestra absconderunt faciem suam a uobis, ne exaudiret.*
 110

Item, *unum* est in se indiuisum et ab aliis diuisum ¹⁰; sic peccator est in se indiuisus quoad amoris communionem, neque enim Deo, neque proximo, se debito modo communicat, set amor suus totaliter in se curuus est secundum quod talis est ut proprie seruiat uoluntati. Ex hoc sequitur quod sit ab aliis diuisus, quia ligamentum quo colligantur inuicem membra Christi et cum Christo caritas est secundum Augustinum libro 1 *De doctrina christiana*, capitulo 20 ¹¹, et hanc non habet in quo dominatur homo uetus. Sic igitur dicitur *homo uetus* et *vnus*.
 115

Queritur quomodo mori debet noster homo uetus. Et quia, iuxta uerba beati Petri premissa, nos debemus imitari passionem Nostri Saluatoris ¹²,
 120

88 <1⁶> *spatium unius uerbi* 115 *post* quia *del.* est

⁶ Cf. Glossa interl. super Rom. 5¹².

⁷ Aug. Sermo 155.1 (PL 38, 841).

⁸ Cf. Glossa interl. super Rom. 7²⁰.

⁹ Arist. Metaph. 10.5 (1056a30).

¹⁰ Cf. Arist. Metaph. 5.6 (1016a13).

¹¹ Aug. De doct. christ. 1.15 (CCSL 32, 15).

¹² v. s. 27-29.

quia Ph<ilipp.> 2⁵, *Hoc sentite in uobis quod et in Christo Ihesu*, patet quod noster uetus homo crucifigi debet.

125 Verumtamen, dubium an mori possit nisi quando homo moritur, quia dicit Augustinus in glosa super illud Ro. 6⁶, *Vetus homo noster crucifixus est*, etc., quod « Non prestatur in baptismo, nisi miraculo ineffabili, ut lex peccati, que est in membris prorsus extingatur et non sit; set ipsa concupiscencia, soluto reatus uinculo, manet in certamine quo corpus nostrum castigamus, et seruituti subicimus »¹³.

130 Ad hoc dicendum quod non moritur in nobis uetus homo per crucifixionem nostram quantum ad radicem in fomite set quantum ad ramos in peccatis dampnabilibus, non quantum ad existenciam simplicem set quantum ad dominacionem, non quantum ad concupiscenciam uel legem peccati set quantum ad effectus eius.

135 Intendimus igitur dicere quod uetus homo mori debet in nobis per crucifixionem quantum ad dominacionem, ne regnet in nobis. Quod est ut tollatur duplex eius effectus dampnabilis per quem regnat, scilicet culpa originalis et iniusticia actualis. Set quia non tollitur eodem modo uterque effectus, oportet quod ut aliter et aliter crucifigatur uetus homo in tollendis diuersis effectibus eius.

140 Primo igitur dicendum est de eius crucifixione qua moritur quantum ad culpam originalem, vbi sunt 4^{or} attendenda, scilicet qualiter ymaginandus uel intelligendus est homo uetus crucifigendus, et que crux ei debetur, et a quo debet crux administrari, et quis debet eum cruci affigere et quomodo.

f. 213^{br} Primum horum liquet ex premissis, quia iste homo predictus est esse nostra natura ut est lege peccati infecta¹⁴; / que cum inficiat singula membra, tam interiora quam exteriora, et singulas potencias, patet quod membra huiusmodi hominis sunt membra nostra infecta et ad originalem iniusticiam.

150 De secundo dicendum quod crux ei debita crux Christi crucifixi est sola, quod ex hoc patet quod non requiritur ab adultis baptizandis nisi fides cum contricione quamcumque peccauerunt, nec inponitur eis alica exterior satisfaccio penitencialis. Vnde Ambrosius super illud Ro. XI²⁹, *Sine penitencia sunt dona et uocacio Dei*, « Gracia Dei in baptismo non requirit gemitum, uel planctum, uel aliquod opus, nisi solam fidem et contricionem cordis; et omnia gratis condonat »¹⁵. Causa huius est habundans satisfaccio mediatoris cuius

125 Non] uero 127 nostrum] *del.* enim 143 *post* crux *del.* in 147 iniusticiam *corr. spscr.* ex iusticiam 148 est crux Christi crucifixi *ante transp.*
151 Ambrosius] amborum (?)

¹³ Aug. et Ambr. secundum Glossam Lombardi super Rom. 6⁶ (PL 191, 1404C-D).

¹⁴ v. s. 71-73.

¹⁵ Ambr. secundum Glossam Lombardi super Rom. 11²⁹ (PL 191, 1491A).

155 oblatio sufficit pro omnium peccatis eciam infinitis, et ideo conuersis ad ipsum per fidem, dimittitur omnis satisfaccio.

De 3^o sciendum quod crux Christi administrari debet in ista crucifixione a sacerdotibus, ministris Ecclesie ex officio; potest tamen et ab aliis in articulo necessitatis exhiberi per licenciam quam constituit Ecclesia alios habere in
160 tali casu, ut habetur *libro 4 Sentenciarum*, distincione 6, capitulo 1, ex uerbis Ysodori¹⁶.

Exhibetur autem crux Christi a sacerdotibus non in se set in figura, scilicet in baptismo, in quo figurantur mors Christi, sepultura et resurreccio. Abnegacio enim diaboli et operum et pomparum eius, in qua homo moritur diabolo
165 et uite seculari, representat mortem Christi; immersio in aqua, sepulturam; trina immersio, sepulturam triduanam; releuacio de aqua postmodum, resurreccionem. Vnde ad Ro. 6³⁻⁶, *Quicumque baptizati sumus in Christo Ihesus in morte ipsius baptizati sumus*, idest in similitudine mortis eius. *Consepulti enim sumus cum illo per baptismum in mortem*, etc. *Hoc scientes quia uetus homo noster simul crucifixus est*, scilicet cum Christo, *vt destruat corpus peccati*; ubi glosa Augustini sic habet, « Gracia Dei que in similitudine carnis peccati in cruce perpendit, per baptismum id agitur, vt uetus homo crucifigatur, et corpus peccati destruat »¹⁷.

De 4^{to} sciendum <quod> crucifigit hunc ueterem hominem in cruce
175 Christi per baptismum, si paruulus est, Ecclesia ministerio patrinorum; non dum enim habet paruulus ex se quo se alliget Christo crucifixo, set Ecclesia orans et quodammodo spondens pro paruulo imitatrix est Christi crucifixi per mores et ei imitatur per fidem, quo adherens paruulus per susceptum sacramentum in aliis membris Ecclesie et cum eis Christo crucifixo alligatur.
180 Si autem adultus fuerit, fide propria interius adheret Christo crucifixo et exterius morum et caritatis imitacione, et ita oportet quod non solum accione Ecclesie crucifigatur: ideo ante baptismum facit professionem fidei et renunciacionem diaboli et operum eius ac pomparum. Sic igitur patet quomodo immolatur homo uetus uetustate originali.

Set hic forte queres quare hec crucifixio pocius attribuatur prime uetustati
185 quam secunde, cum fides nostra habeat quod baptismus delet non solum originale set et actuale peccatum. Vnde glosa: Augustinus super illud Ro. 6⁶, *Uetus homo noster*, etc., « Hic prestatur in baptismo ut quicquid ab homine mali factum, dictum uel cogitatum est, totum aboleatur, ac velud factum non
190 fuerit habeatur »¹⁸.

157 a corr. *spscr.*

166 releuacio *del.* reuelacio et *corr. spscr. ex* reuelacio

¹⁶ Isid. secundum Petrum Lombardum IV Sent. d. 6, c. 1 (ed. 3a, Tom. II, Spicilegium Bonaventurianum 5, Grottaferrata 1981, p. 268).

¹⁷ Aug. secundum Glossam Lombardi super Rom. 6⁶ (PL 191, 1404B-C).

¹⁸ Ibid. (1404C).

Responsio: Baptismus primo et per se est medicina contra originalem iniusticiam; per accidens autem ualet contra actualem. Vbi enim nulla est iniusticia nisi originalis, solo baptismo aboletur; vbi autem cum eadem est actualis, solus baptismus non satis est absque cordis contricione. Quia igitur
 195 baptismus est sacramentum ingrediencium Ecclesiam, et nemo ingreditur cum peccato, oportet ut in baptismo omnia peccata diluantur; set baptismo primo et per se, originalia, et contricione concurrente cum eo, postremo actualia
 200 deantur, nec requiritur exterior penitencia propter sufficienciam satisfaccio- nis Christi — dico de illis qui primo ad Christum acceduntur, scilicet bapti- zandis.

Consequenter videndum est de crucifixione veteris hominis qua moritur quantum ad actualem iniusticiam, vbi ut prius sunt 4 videnda, scilicet quare
 f. 213^{bv} ymaginandus / uel intelligendus est homo hic crucifigendus, et quis est huius crucis administrator, et quis debet eum cruci affigere, et qualiter.

205 De primo sciendum quod homo vetus per actualem iniusticiam hoc modo intelligi debet vt capud sit mala voluntas et mala opera, quasi membra et con- geries malorum operum corpus peccati. Peccatur enim per visum et per au- ditum et ceteros sensus et per contrectacionem manuum et gressus pedum et cetera membra, que omnia aggregata sunt vnum corpus peccati, sicut omnia
 210 membra per que peccatur sunt vnum corpus materialiter. Hoc est corpus de quo dicit Dominus, Luc. XI^{34e}, *Si oculus tuus fuerit nequam, et corpus tuum tenebrosus erit*, et Apostolus ad Ro. 6⁹, *Vt destruaturs corpus peccati*. Hoc tamen testimonium Apostoli bene congruit veteri homini secundum vtrumque effectum.

215 Hoc autem sciendum est quod in corpore est attendere spiritualiter sex differencias, scilicet sursum et deorsum, dextrum et sinistrum, ante et retro. Sursum enim congrue intelliguntur peccata adulte etatis uel peccata spiritua- lia; deorsum, peccata puerilia uel carnalia. Dextra autem corporis bene in- telliguntur peccata commissa contra caritatem Dei; et sinistra, commissa
 220 contra caritatem proximi. Dicit enim glosa super illud Can. 2^{6b}, *Leua eius sub capite meo*, quod eterna sunt nobis dextra et temporalia sinistra¹⁹; et scimus quod Deus eternus est, proximus autem temporalis. Anterius autem corporis huius recte intelligatur generalis cupiditas que est in conuersione ad creaturam; et posterius eius, generalis superbia que est in auersione a Deo.
 225 Dirigitur enim intencio ad fruicionem creature, et Deus quasi a tergo relin- quitur. Vnde et conqueritur Ie. 2^{27f}, *Verterunt ad me tergum et non faciem*.

193 iniusticia corr. *spscr.* ex iusticia est corr. *spscr.* 197 per se et primo
 ante *transp.* postremo corr. *spscr.* ex per se et primo 198 deleatur corr. *spscr.*
 208 manuum corr. *spscr.* ex manum 215 post in *del.* v 218 puerilia corr.
spscr. ex puericia 226 f] si

¹⁹ Cf. Glossa ord. super Cant. 2⁶.

Hec quoque attendere libet quod sicut corpus materiale sufficienter distinguitur per queuis duo opposita dictarum differenciarum et totum in illis continetur, similiter est in corpore peccati; omne enim corpus peccati continetur
 230 in peccatis puerilis etatis et adulte, uel in peccatis spiritualibus et carnalibus, et per illa sufficienter distinguitur.

Similiter peccata commissa contra caritatem Dei et caritatem proximi totum corpus peccati complectuntur, quia tota lex pendet in illis duobus mandatis²⁰, et non peccatur nisi transgrediendo legem. Idem eciam constat
 235 de generali cupiditate conuertente ad creaturam et generali superbis auertente a Deo, quia <1> Ad Thimot. 6¹⁰d, *Radix omnium malorum est cupiditas*, et Ecclesiastico 10¹⁵c, *Inicium omnis peccati est superbia*; de qua ibidem parum supra, *Inicium peccati hominis apostare a Deo*²¹. Quia igitur omne actuale
 240 peccatum habet in se cupiditatem conuertentem ad creaturam et superbiam auertentem a Deo, constat quod hec duo complectuntur totum corpus peccati tanquam genera ad que omnia reducuntur et tanquam partes ex quibus omnia constituuntur. Ex hiis patet quomodo debet intelligi iste *uetus homo* et quomodo sex differencie in ipso distinguntur, que ideo dicta sunt ut homo sciat explorare quot modis peccet et pro quot peccatorum generibus oportet satisfacere.
 245

De secundo sciendum quod crux huic debita est penitencia, que ideo uocatur *crux* quia cruciatur; de qua dicit Dominus, Mt. 16²⁴f., *Si quis uult post me uenire, abneget semetipsum et tollat crucem suam et sequatur me*. Nota quod dicit, *crucem* non « meam » set *suam*, et *Si quis uult uenire*, etc., in quo aperte
 250 significat adulterorum esse crucem hanc, qui utendo ratione actualiter peccant.

Hec crux ita formanda est secundum Augustinum in *Libro de uera et falsa penitencia* uersus finem et ante medium: « Penitencia est quedam dolentis vindicta, semper puniens in se quod dolet commisisse »²². Et hec est quod magistri solent dicere quod penitencia est pena pro peccatis puniendis
 255 voluntarie assumpta²³. Pena igitur assumpta ad uindicandum peccata superiora et inferiora corporis peccati facit longitudinem crucis, scilicet stipitem; pena
 f. 214^r autem assumpta ad uindicandum peccata dextra et sinistra / corporis peccati facit latitudinem crucis, scilicet duo cornua superius; pena quoque assumpta ad uindicandum generalem cupiditatem et superbiam, siue conuersionem illicitam et auersionem, facit anterius et posterius crucis, quasi eius quandam spiscitudinem. Hec ergo est figura crucis Dominica que affert salutem penitentibus, que habet formam *thau*; de qua Eze. 9⁴c, *Transi per mediam ciuitatem*

254 magistri *corr. spscr. ex* magister (*ante corr. magistri*)

²⁰ Cf. Matth. 22⁴⁰.

²¹ Eccli. 10¹⁴.

²² Ps.-Aug. De uera et falsa paen. 19.35 (PL 40, 1129).

²³ Sententia magistri non inueni.

265 *Irusalem, et signa thau super frontes uirorum gemencium et dolencium super cunctis abhominacionibus que fiunt in medio eius.* Istud signum *thau* signum est penitencie, sicut denotat uerbum illud, *super frontes uirorum*, etc., et isti liberati sunt de extermino sicut ibidem dicitur et ibidem respiciatur²⁴. Hec autem in hac cruce curandum quod non iaceat, set quod stet erecta; figuratur enim in terra cordis, de qua dicit Dominus, Mt 13^{8b}, *Alia ceciderunt in terram bonam*, etc.; et erga Deum erigatur per spem, quia dicit Augustinus, *De uera et falsa penitencia* ante medium, « Nunquam inquam tantum possit peccare, quod penitens uelit desperare »²⁵. Diabolus enim et omnis nequicia minor est quam Dei misericordia.

270 De 3^o sciendum quod hanc crucem administrare debet sacerdos penitentibus, minister Ecclesie cui commissa est potestas taxandi satisfacciones eorum qui redeunt ad gremium Ecclesie, a quo se sponte abripuerunt. Quod figurauit Dominus, Luc. 17¹⁴, dicens leprosis, *Ite et ostendite uos sacerdotibus*; et Augustinus dicit, *De uera et falsa penitencia*, sic: « Ponat se (penitens) omnino in iudicio sacerdotis, nichil sibi reseruans sui »²⁶. Item, idem in alio libro *De penitencia*, capitulo 16, « Veniat (penitens) ad antistitem, per quem clauis in Ecclesia ministrantur; et a prepositis sacramentorum accipiat satisfaccionis sue modum: vt in offerenda satisfaccione contribulati cordis, id agat quod sibi prosit ad salutem »²⁷.

(Hic esset immorandum ad distinguendas iniuncciones, saltem in genere).

285 Sequitur uidere de quarto, scilicet quis debet crucifigere. Ad quod sciendum quod nouus homo debet ueterem cruci affigere. Cum enim penitens audierit a suo penitenciaro consilium salutis in quo sua crux depingitur, si uere penitet, credit ueritati sibi ostense, et sperat per crucem sibi positam ueniam consequi. Accenditur enim dileccione Dei ad uindicandum iniurias eius de pectore, et sic fide et spe et caritate innouatur. Zelus ergo caritatis, 290 Deum intendens uindicare, per prudenciam que nouit quid agendum et quid cauendum decernit crucem a sacerdote prepositam esse sustinendam; per iusticiam autem, que iudicio iusto cuique reddit quod ei debetur, sentenciat quod uetus homo Deo iniuriosus crucifigatur; per temperanciam autem et 295 fortitudinem exequitur quod sentenciatum est; per temperanciam elongans solitas uoluptates et carni placencia secundum sacerdotis iniunccionem — hec enim est temperancie — et per fortitudinem aggrediens inusitata tristabilia secundum iniunctam sibi penitenciam — fortitudinis enim est tristicia aggregi

286 ueterem *corr. ex uenteem* (?)

²⁴ Cf. Ezek. 9⁶.

²⁵ Ps.-Aug. De uera et falsa paen. 5.15 (PL 40, 1113).

²⁶ Ibid. 15.30 (1125).

²⁷ Aug. Sermo 351 (De utilitate agenda paen. I) 4.9 (PL 39, 1545).

propter bonum finem. In hiis autem duobus consistit crux penitencie, scilicet
 300 in amocione delectabilium et sustinencia tristabilium.

Vt autem constringatur cruci, affigit eum clavis timoris et pedibus et manibus, et loquitur de timore casto qui consurgit principaliter ex intuitu offense Dei et secundario ex intuitu iudiciorum Dei. Voco autem *pedes* potencias motiuas, et *manus* potencias operatiuas; quas distingue per dextrum et sinistrum, per modum superius habitum²⁸. Ad hoc autem configit nouus homo ueterem clavis timoris ut potencia motiua et operatiua ueteris hominis de
 305 ce<n>tro immobiles sint ad illicita.

f. 214^v Vt autem non euadat de cruce / nisi mortuus, inuoluit crucem et clauos perseuerancia, ut sicut Christus in cruce mortuus est, ita moriatur homo
 310 uetus in penitencia, quia, Ro. 6^o, *Uetus homo noster simul crucifixus est, ut destruat corpus peccati, ut ultra non seruiamus peccato*. Et quia sic expungnatio uetere homine possidet nouus homo domum pacifice, recte impletur hic illud Hest. 8^oc, ubi dicit Assuerus, *Domum Aman concessi Hester et ipsum*
 315 *iussi affigi cruci, quia ausus est manum in Iudeos mittere*. Assuerus enim interpretatur *beatitudo*, et significat Christum; *Aman*, *iniquus* uel *angustans* siue *comprimens me*, et significat ueterem hominem seruientem concupiscencie et comprimentem motus et visus bonos pro posse suo; *Hester* interpretatur *preparata in tempore*, et significat nouum hominem semper preparatum ad Dei obsequia; *Iudei* autem, in quo Aman est ausus manus mittere, significat
 320 populum supra expositum Christo confitentem per regimen noui hominis²⁹. Est autem perseuerancia penitentibus necessaria tum pro uitandis mortalibus, tum pro purgandis uenialibus, et dico perseueranciam simpliciter que durat in tota uita.

Prima causa ex hoc patet quod si uetus homo soluatur a cruce et non
 325 cohibeatur, mox dominatur et expellit nouum de domo sua. Vnde Ecclesiasticus 18^{o-31g}, *Post concupiscencias tuas non eas et a uoluptate tua auertere. Si prestes anime tue concupiscencias eius, faciet te in gaudium inimicis tuis*.

Secunda causa ex hoc patet quod uenialia crebra sunt, tanquam a quibus non potest abstineri in hac mortalitate, et similitudo eorum uel inedit saltem
 330 uel differt nisi hic purgentur, similiter et negligencia.

De primo Augustinus, *De uera et falsa penitencia*, ante medium: « Qui se noscunt, sicut semper peccant, ita semper plorant: ut tota uita sua, que est cum peccato super terram, plorent totam uitam suam »³⁰.

299 post duobus del. hiis 300 post amocione del. tristabilium 307 immobiles corr. spscr. ex mobiles 321 perseuerancia] penitencia

²⁸ v. s. 218-220.

²⁹ v. s. 285-300.

³⁰ Ps.-Aug. De uera et falsa paen. 8.20 (PL 40, 1119-1120).

De secundo, in alio libello eius *De penitencia*, capitulo 8: « Quamuis singula (uenialia peccata) non letali uulnere ferire senciantur, sicut adulterium et homicidium et cetera huiusmodi, tamen omnia simul aggregata uelud scabies, quo plura sunt necant, omne aut nostrum decus ita exterminant, ut ab amplexibus Sponsi separent, nisi medicamento cotidiane penitencie desiccentur »³¹.

De 3^o, scilicet de necligencia, in *Libro de uera et falsa penitencia* ubi prius: « Peccata (uenialia) etsi sint parua per Dei misericordiam, tamen fiunt magna per necligenciam. Nullum enim peccatum est ita paruum, quod non crescat neglectum »³².

Hoc tamen attende quod quamuis perseuerancia penitencie sit necessaria, non tamen oportet omnem austeritatem pro mortalibus inunctam semper teneri, set secundum tempus a sacerdote rite taxatum, et hec est ei perseuerancia. Set ut dixi, perseuerancia in tota uita necessaria est, ne redeatur ad mortalia et ut purgentur uenialia.

Et si queris qualis penitencia debet perseuerare, respondet Augustinus in Libello *De penitencia*, capitulo 9, sic: « cum tundamus cotidie pectora et orando cotidie dicamus, « *Dimitte nobis debita nostra*, etc. Non ea dimitti precamur que iam baptismo dimissa credimus; set vtique de cotidianis peccatis hoc dicimus, pro quibus eciam sacrificia elemosinarum, ieiuniorum, et ipsarum oracionum ac suplicacionum quisque pro suis uiribus offerre non cessat »³³. Ecce qualis penitencia pro iniunctis peccatis facienda est!

Si igitur penitencia est necessaria et eiusdem perseuerancia, multo securius eligitur religio quam statur in seculo, quia illic est perseuerans penitencia cum exemplo multiplici; in seculo autem multo minus. Et si religio eligenda, illa potius eligenda est que plus intendit et facit proximorum edificacionem, / quia talia secundum Apostolum cupienda sunt in quo plus edificantur proximi, <1> Cor. 14²²: *Quoniam emulatores estis spirituum ad edificacionem Ecclesie, querite ut habundetis*. Set que religio plus intendit uel facit edificacionem proximi quam illa que Dominus indixit suis apostolis et discipulis dicens, *Euntes in mundum vniuersum predicate euuangelium omni creature*³⁴ ? Illa ergo potius eligenda, vt uidetur, edificare Ecclesiam ualentibus.

Ad istud autem inter alia multum mouere debet quod uetus homo iam ita uidetur in seculo regnare, vt inpleri uideatur illud quod olim in populo Dei peccando apostante implebatur, Ose. 4^{1-2a}, *Non est ueritas; non est misericordia; non est sciencia Dei in terra. Maledictum et mendacium, homicidium, furtum*

336 aggregata] aggreata 337 omne corr. spscr. 366 illud corr. spscr. excurum (?)

³¹ Aug. Sermo 351, 3.5 (PL 39, 1541).

³² Ps.-Aug. De uera et falsa paen. 8.20 (PL 40, 1119).

³³ Aug. Sermo 351, 3.6 (PL 39, 1541).

³⁴ Marc. 16¹⁵.

et adulterium inundauerunt, et sanguis sanguinem tetigit; et Sap. 14^{25-26f}, *Omnia commixta sunt: sanguis, homicidium, furtum, accio et corruptio, infidelitas, periu-
370 rium turbacio, tumultus et bonorum Domini inmemoracio, animarum inquinacio, natiuitatis inmutacio, nupciarum inconstancia, inordinacio mehcie et inprudicie.*

Tantum ad presens dictum sit de cruce penitencie et perseuerancia eius et necessitate vtriusque. Si quis autem, quia iam facta est mencio <de> duplici
375 homine, scilicet nouo et ueteri, querit quomodo differunt, patet ex predictis quod homo nouus est homo reparatus et innouatus per gratiam baptismalem uel penitenciam, et homo uetus homo ueteri concupiscencia infectus, uel ab eadem deformatus per culpam originalem uel iniusticiam actualem. Vno modo differunt sicut homo sanus simpliciter et infirmus secundum quid, et sic sese
380 compaciuntur; alio modo sicut homo sanus simpliciter et infirmus simpliciter uel mortuus, et sic non compaciuntur sese. Et hanc differenciam notat Apostolus ad Gala. 2^{19g}: *Ut Deo uiuam, Christo confixus sum cruci. Vt Deo uiuam, scilicet nouus homo, Christo confixus sum cruci* secundum ueterem hominem.

Sequitur videre qua necessitate oportet ueterem hominem crucifigi ut
385 populus saluetur. Quod patet sic: Si uetus homo uiuit in fine hominis et non fuerit tunc in cruce mortuus, restat quod peccatum dominetur in homine. Set dicit Apostolus, Ro. 6²³, *Stipendia peccati mors*. Hoc autem non potest intelligi de morte corporis, que est communis bonis et malis; ergo oportet quod de morte secunda, que uocatur, Apo. 20⁹, *stagnum ignis et sulphuris*.
390 Quod si uerum est — quia est — totus populus perit. Si enim scintilla ignis acerbissime affligit, quanto magis stagnum ignis et sulphuris in quo proicitur dampnatus. Et si ignis huius uite uexat <i>ustos suos, quasi mittens in amaricia ex angustia, quanto magis ignis Inferni sulphureus. De Purgatorio enim dicit Augustinus in quodam sermone quod « durior est quam quicquid
395 possumus in hac uita penarum uidere uel cogitare »³⁵. Set ignis Inferni uidetur intollerabilior illo, tum quia ignis huius uite et Inferni sunt sicut termini contrarii et Purgatorius sicut medius eorum, tum quia infernalis factus est ad urendum inimicos. Item, si ignis momentaneus huius uite uexat hominem intollerabiliter, quanto intollerabilius ille infernalis perpetuus; et si iste sine
400 sulphure non est tolerabilis, quanto magis ille sulphureus. Cogitetur igitur quanta erit afflictio ubi corpus totum ingne et sulphure ex omni parte penetrabitur et sine fine comburet.

Constat ibi potencias anime et membra corporis omnino ligata esse ab omni accione delectabili; quod et significat Dominus, Mt. 22^{13c}: *Ligatis manibus eius et pedibus, mitte eum in tenebras exteriores*, in quo significatur inpotencia mouendi se uel aliquid agendi, scilicet vtiliter uel delectabiliter ad minus. Sic igitur perit turba potenciarum anime et turba membrorum corporis.

393 amaricia corr. ex amancia 396 et Inferni corr. spscr.

³⁵ Ps.-Aug. (Caesar. Arelat.) Sermo 104, 5 (PL 39, 1947).

Turba quoque donorum hic habitorum perit, quia cum dampnati sint per omnia opposite dispositionis ad saluatos, restat ut sicut saluati habent omnia dona corporalia et spiritualia in statu potissimo, sic dampnati carebunt omnibus. Vnde summe deformes corpore et ignobiles creduntur fore; nec erit eis aliquod solacium donorum spiritualium, cum eorum cecitas in aspectu summa fuerit, ut dicit Augustinus super illud, *Turbatus est a furore oculus meus, inueteraui*³⁶. / Erunt enim, ut ibi dicit, tunc « penitus extra Deum »
 410
 f. 215^v 415 et extra lumine Dei et « esse in cecitate summa »³⁷. Quod vt sane intelligitur, quia nichil scient ad solacium, in affectione quoque nichil solacii habebunt, quia dicit Augustinus, *De fide ad Petrum*, capitulo 26, quod « Uoluntas eorum talis erit, ut semper in se habeat malignitatis sue suplicium, nunquam tamen recipere possit bonitatis affectum »³⁸.

420 Item, turba studiorum delectabilium tota peribit tunc, quia peribunt usus delectabiles potenciarum membrorum et dona; vnde Psalmus: *In illa die peribunt cogitationes eorum*³⁹. Turbam quoque accionum vtilium et delectabilium perire necesse est, pereuntibus aliis 4 a quo processit. Vnde in illis completur illa comminatio Domini, Ier. 2³⁷ in fine: *Obtriuuit Dominus confidentiam tuam, et nichil habebis prosperum*. Ex quo ergo perit totus populus in homine constitutus, nisi uetus homo crucifigatur et in cruce moriatur, necesse est ipsum crucifigi, vt sic populus liberatur.

Deinde videndum quomodo sequatur populi salus ex illius crucifixione. Quod sic videtur: Salua sunt omnia que ad bonam finem ordinantur quando prospere producant ad finem. Set omnia predicta quasi quinque turbe populi homini data sunt propter beatitudinem felicitatis consequendum, et iustos ad illam prospere perducunt. *Desiderium*, enim, *suum iustis dabitur*, Pro. 1024f. Set crucifixo ueteri homine, regnat nouus per iusticiam; et ita crucifixo ueteri homine, saluantur omnia. Ideo dicitur, nouus homo *saciabor cum apparuerit gloria tua*⁴⁰; et item, *Replebimur in bonis domus tue*⁴¹; et item, *Inebriabuntur ab ubertate domus tue, et torrente uoluptatis tue potabis eos; quoniam apud te*, etc.⁴². Queque exponuntur de visione Diuinitatis et Trinitatis facie ad faciem. Ista nullo modo vera essent, nisi noui hominis appetitus inpleretur quoad omnia desiderata. Set si inpleatur quoad omnia, constat quod non solum non peribit alica potenciarum uel aliquod membrorum, etc., set in statu optimo omnia habebimur. Explicit.

438 essent corr. ex sunt

³⁶ Ps. 6⁸⁻⁹.

³⁷ Aug. Enarr. in Ps. 6⁸, 8 (CCSL 38, 32).

³⁸ Ps.-Aug. (Fulgent. Rusp.) De fide ad Petrum 3.38 (PL 40, 765).

³⁹ Ps. 145⁴.

⁴⁰ Ps. 16¹⁵.

⁴¹ Ps. 64⁵.

⁴² Ps. 35⁹⁻¹⁰.