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A DOMINICAN (?) *ARS PRAEDICANDI* IN SERMON FORM

BY
SIEGFRIED WENZEL

MS 515 of the Pontificia Biblioteca Antoniana in Padua is a fourteenth-century sermon collection of clearly English provenance:¹ not only do the several hands present in it show typically English features (long r, two-compartment a), but several sermons also contain English words and phrases, and these appear here without the tortured attempts by non-English scribes that one occasionally finds in other manuscripts.² The collection holds 72 sermons (several are only prothemes) and, except for three notes between sermons (at ff. 46v-47, 107, and 107v), no other material. The sermons have been listed in my study of Latin sermon collections from late-medieval England, and in the following I shall use the numbers given there.³

The manuscript itself, in thirteen quires, was evidently put together from originally separate booklets, which were written by different hands.⁴ They are:

A: quires i-v, ff. 1-56v. Containing sermons 1-27. The quire is written in three different hands. Hand X, on ff. 1-9v, wrote sermons 1 and 2, the latter breaking off apparently incomplete. Hand A then wrote sermons 3-26 (ff. 10-53), leaving half of f. 53 blank. A seemingly different hand (Y)

¹ The manuscript has been described in G. Abate and G. Luisetto, *Codici e Manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana (Fonti e studi per la storia del santo a Padova)*, Vicenza 1975, 2, pp. 529-530. Some material on the codex can also be found in K. H. Tachau, "Looking Gravely at Dominican Puns: The 'Sermons' of Robert Holcot and Ralph Friseby," *Traditio* 46 (1991): 337-45, esp. at 342-345.

² A good example is the sermon collection in Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 342; see S. Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England: Orthodox Preaching in the Age of Wyclif*, Cambridge 2005, p. 133.

³ Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, pp. 565-572; see also discussion on pp. 126-131.

⁴ The quires are numbered 2-9, x-xi, 12-13 by a medieval hand, on the verso of the last folio before the respective quire.

added sermon 27 on ff. 53v-55. Catchwords are visible on ff. 12v, 24v, 36v, and 46v.

- B: quires vi-vii, ff. 57-80v. Containing sermons 28-46, the last incomplete. Catchwords appear on ff. 68v and 80v (without sequel).⁵ Written by hand B.
- C: quires viii-x, ff. 81-118. Containing sermons 47-57. Written by hand C. The last sermon here is followed by the end of sermon 64 (on ff. 117v-118v, see the following), in hand D.
- D: quire xi, ff. 119-130. Containing sermons 58-64, the latter here incomplete, with *signe de renvoi*, and completed in the preceding quire C. Written by hand D.
- E: quires xii-xiii, ff. 131-142. Containing sermons 65-72 (incomplete). Written by two hands: E (ff. 131-136) and F (ff. 136-end).

What allows me to speak of different booklets is the overall coincidence of these segments of the codex with different scripts as well as the fact that the text of individual sermons spans quires within the booklets but does not go from one booklet to another. There are, however, two exceptions, which reflect the gradual growth of the codex. Sermon 64 was begun by hand D and breaks off at the end of the quire. The remainder of this sermon was then written by the same hand in the free space of the preceding quire C, where it now fills the quire. A somewhat different case is sermon 27. It is an *introitus* to Peter Lombard's *Sentences* using the same thema and technique as sermons 61-64 in booklet D, which are there ascribed to Ralph Frisby. Sermon 27 was evidently added when the other Frisby *introitus* were copied, by a hand that seems to be neither D nor A, to the earlier booklet A, where it now begins a new page and fills the last folios of the quire originally left blank after sermon 26.

There is another and more interesting reason to claim that the entire codex was put together from booklets and material of different provenance. As we shall see later, the manuscript has a strong Dominican affiliation. But booklet C is equally strongly affiliated with the Franciscan order. It contains three sermons (48-50) that

⁵ F. 80v contains the prothème of sermon 46, *Si filius Dei es*, breaking off with the invitation to pray. Then follows the catchword "Si filius Dei es." But f. 81, in a different hand, begins with a new sermon. If indeed a quire is missing, it was lost before the medieval hand added the quire numbers.

are here marginally ascribed to "Chambr'." These occur also elsewhere, in several other manuscripts, where they are ascribed to Henry Chambron. The latter was apparently a Franciscan Oxford master preaching in the 1380s.⁶ In addition, sermon 57 in the Padua manuscript, dealing with the thema "Attendite ad petram vnde excisi estis" (Isaiah 51:1), speaks praisingly of "pater noster Franciscus" as the *petra* on which "nostra professio cooperante Spiritus Sancti gracia fundata fuit" (f. 114v).⁷

While this Franciscan material is contained in booklet C, the remainder of the codex has clear and strong Dominican connections. At least five sermons, here unasccribed, are by Jacobus de Losanna (30, 34, 36-38).⁸ Another six are by Robert Holcot (42, 43, 58, 59/68, 69, 70), and Holcot's name itself appears in the manuscript at several points (see below). Still another name appears in the manuscript that belongs to a Dominican. Item 62 is entitled "Collacio Frysbi in librum 3 Sentenciarum reportacio Brok" (f. 126v). "Frysbi" has been identified as the Dominican Ralph Frisby, who received the DTh. at Oxford by 1342.⁹ The respective item, built as a scholastic sermon, must be the introductory lecture (*introitus* or *commendatio*) to Peter Lombard's third book of the *Sentences*. Its thema, *Ubi spiritus Domini ibi libertas* (2 Cor 3:17), reappears in the next two sermons (63-64), which similarly deal with books 4 and 2 of the *Sentences* respectively. The same thema is also used in sermon 61, which is marginally called "Collacio finalis" and is indeed an end-of-term address in which the speaker, presumably Frisby, thanks his audience, introduces his academic successor, and warns his students

⁶ For Chambron, the sermons ascribed to him, and several problems of attribution, see Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, pp. 125-131. Tachau tentatively suggested (p. 243, n. 25) that Padua's "Chamb" might refer to the Dominican Robert de Chamberleyn, but her suggestion may have been influenced by the desire to bring this author into the environment of Holcot and Frisby (see below).

⁷ A sermon with this thema has been recorded as given by the Franciscan provincial Albertus Pisanus before the Oxford provincial chapter on the feast of Purification; see A. G. Little, ed., *Tractatus Fr. Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston De adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam*, Paris, 1909, p. 79. Padua sermon 57 praises the saint, but then goes into a longer condemnation of vices hardly compatible with preaching to English Franciscans in the 1230s. It is possible that as it stands Padua-57 is an expansion or elaboration of an earlier sermon.

⁸ See J. B. Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters, für die Zeit von 1150-1350*, 11 vols., Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, Bd. 43, Münster, 1969-1990, 3:56-62.

⁹ Tachau, pp. 344-345. See A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols., Oxford, 1957-59, 3:2176.

against idleness during the coming vacation.¹⁰ But this block of academic speeches in sermon form (61-64) is not all. As already stated, *Ubi spiritus Domini ibi libertas* appears once more as a thema earlier in the manuscript, in quire A, sermon 27 (ff. 53v-55), where it deals with book 1 of the *Sentences* or, more likely, with Peter Lombard's work as a whole. These five items share not only the same thema but also the same highly artificial style of constant and multiple divisions of the thema.¹¹

- The noted academic connection appears elsewhere in the manuscript. Sermons 19 and 20 are marginally titled "principium theologie"; they are introductory speeches in praise of theology, i.e. Peter Lombard. The next item, Sermon 21, though without a rubric, is also an academic speech, in which the anonymous preacher praises four groups: his *precedentes* (learned men in general and Peter Lombard especially); *concurrentes* (probably his colleagues, including "alter Zacheus," and his teacher); *subsequentes* (those who go out prepared for their work); and *assistantes* (evidently his present audience). A final connection with a university milieu appears in Sermon 52, on *Unanimes in oratione estote* (1 Pet 3:8),¹² whose protheme ends with an invitation to pray for the Church, the king, and the realm, as well as "the prosperous tranquillity of this venerable university, our mother."¹³

Given these academic connections of so many items in the manuscript, one may wonder if they also extend to Sermon 60, on *Dic nobis quid tibi videtur* (Matt 22:17; ff. 120v-123v), which deserves closer attention. First, its place in the sermon collection. The preceding item, Sermon 59, comprises only the beginning lines of a

¹⁰ A translation of this *collatio finalis* appears in S. Wenzel, *Preaching in the Age of Chaucer: Selected Sermons in Translation*, Washington, D.C., 2008, item 25.

¹¹ One more name can be added: at the end of sermon 22 appears the name "Johannes Erduslowe, etc.," probably indicating the scribe. According to Tachau, this was "surely the Dominican John de Erdesle, who was ordained priest in May 1334" (p. 343, n. 25). See A. B. Emden, *A Survey of Dominicans in England Based on the Ordination Lists in Episcopal Registers (1268 to 1538)*, DH 18, Rome 1967, p. 104, no. 11, and p. 334.

¹² The thema as given is not the correct text of the medieval (or modern) Vulgate. Nicholas de Lyra, in his commentary, says, "*In oratione estote non est de textu, nec in libris correctis*" (in *Biblia sacra cum Glossa ordinaria*. . . , 6 vols., Douai 1617, on 1 Peter 3:8). But the same wording occurs in other sermons, including Q-47, which like Padua-52 is a (Franciscan) sermon for a procession.

¹³ "Pro prospera tranquillitate huius venerabilis vniuersitatis matris nostre," f. 97v.

sermon on *Dic ut lapides isti panes fiant* (Matt 4:3), which breaks off at the bottom of the page. The verso of f. 120 then begins:

Iste frater accepit pro themate [read pro prothemate?] *In veritate doces.* Cotaut librum cum capitulo. Introduxit, diuisit, et subdiuisit modo congruo. Auctoritates tam literales quam sententiales adduxit, sufficientes partes eciam subdiuisas combinando. Quare sibi et cuilibet alteri studenti ad predicandum habili dicere potero: "Ex quo per tuas articulatas voces artem rethorice *in veritate doces*, vt tua eloquencia omnibus notificetur, *dic nobis quid tibi videtur.*"¹⁴

As it stands, *iste frater* could refer to the preacher of the preceding item. Padua-59 is a sermon by Robert Holcot and has been preserved in the only known surviving copy of Holcot's sermons, Cambridge, Peterhouse, MS 210, on ff. 64vb-68vb, with another copy, without ascription, preserved in Worcester, Cathedral Library, MS F.126. But Padua-59 breaks off after only six lines (it then appears a second time as sermon 68, ff. 136-140v, now copied in its entirety). Given this break and the fact that both sermons 59 and 60 begin with the same word (*Dic*), it is possible that the scribe made a mistake in his copying, so that consequently *Iste frater* need not refer to the preacher of Sermon 59.

Sermon 60 contains other interesting, even intriguing, features. Its first three sentences ("*Iste frater. . . combinando*") read exactly like the narrative report of a sermon heard by whoever penned them. But then a shift from third-person report (*iste frater*) to direct speech (*potero*, etc.) occurs. After "*videtur*" the sermon thema, *Dic nobis quid tibi videtur*, is immediately repeated in the same line, provided with the source of the quoted biblical text, and followed by an address (*Reuerendi patres*), and a complete sermon gets under way. The preacher declares that four things indicated by his thema render the art of preaching (*ars sermocinalis*, later *ars predicandi*) praiseworthy, and he develops his initial thought at length. In doing so, he builds a characteristic scholastic sermon, by dividing his thema into four parts, developing these with several subdivisions, and ending with a rhetorical figure of *combinatio partium*¹⁵ and the standard closing formula.

This structure is filled with material one would immediately associate with an *ars praedicandi* of the later middle ages. Its

¹⁴ I here reproduce the text as critically edited below, with the suggested punctuation.

¹⁵ In some *artes praedicandi* the figure is also called *connexio* or *unitio*.

overarching pattern is formed by the four Aristotelian causes, for which the art of preaching is said to be praiseworthy:

- (A) *efficiens*: the able teacher;
- (B) *formalis*: the splendor that illumines the mind;
- (C) *materialis*: the concrete matter of the sermon;
- (D) *finalis*: the profit of its audience.¹⁶

Parts A, B, and D are dealt with fairly briefly, whereas part C holds the preacher's attention at greater length and forms the heart of how a sermon is to be constructed or, as the preacher puts it, the *quidditas artis rhetorice*. Its development can be schematically represented as follows:

The matter of the sermon must be:

1. Solidly based, i.e. built on a thema. The thema must be:
 - a. chosen from the Bible,
 - b. be complete in its (grammatical and lexical) meaning,
 - c. contain something edifying,
 - d. not be offensive to the audience.
2. Set forth with lucidity. For this, it must have the following parts;
 - a. an introduction, which indicates what the thema in general is about; this may be an exemplum, a proverb, an authoritative quotation, or a "rhetorical argument";
 - b. a "placing of the foot" (*pedis posicio*), which expresses the primary meaning of the introduction (see below);
 - c. an introductory division, which spells out the meaning of the thema by dividing it;
 - d. a subdivision which unfolds or dilates the sermon's subject matter by means of divisions, definitions and interpretations (of names, etc.), metaphors (such as the properties of things), or the four senses of scripture.

¹⁶ The four causes appear, for instance, in the *artes praedicandi* by Francesc Eiximenyes, OFM (1340?-1409?; ed. Marti de Barcelona, "L'Arts Praedicandi de Francesc Eiximenyes," in *Homenatge a Antoni Rubio i Lluch. Miscelania d'Estudios Literaris Historics i Linguistics*, Barcelona 1936, 2, pp. 301-340); Thomas of Todi, OSA (fl. 1394), ed. J. Babcock, "Ars sermocinandi ac etiam collationes faciendi of Thomas of Todi, MS. Paris, Bibl. Nat. 15965," MA thesis, Cornell University, 1941; and Martin of Cordoba, OSA (fl. 1476), ed. F. Rubio, "Ars Praedicandi de Fray Martin de Cordoba," *La Ciudad de Dios* 172 (1959): 327-48.

3. Fittingly confirmed, with the help of:
 - a. scriptural authorities,
 - b. various reasons,
 - c. examples of the saints,
 - d. quotations from the doctors of the Church.

This advice about building what has been variously called the "university" or "modern" or "thematic" or "scholastic" sermon matches precisely what can be found in *artes praedicandi* written after approximately 1250. Readers familiar with such works will notice that Padua-60 does not include a protheme or antetheme that leads up to the invitation to pray. Such a part appears quite frequently in sermons of the period and is recognized in some but by no means all *artes praedicandi* of the later Middle Ages.¹⁷ More important is that Padua includes a curious feature, the *pedis posicio*. This is a short statement that, like a bridge, links the thema or the introduction (if there is any) to the subsequent division and furnishes the notional or logical basis for the latter. Unfortunately the author fails to give a clear illustration at this point, but from the context one may infer that in his own sermon the process would be as follows:

- Thema: Tell us what you think.
- Pedis posicio: The art of preaching is made praiseworthy from a fourfold cause which shines forth from the words of the stated thema.
- Division: Its efficient cause is a teacher who has the power to speak, "Tell"; etc.

None of the *artes praedicandi* that are currently available in printed editions uses the phrase *pedis posicio* for that feature, but I have found it in one as yet unpublished treatise.¹⁸ The desire itself

¹⁷ It is present and dealt with in the *artes* by Robert Basevorn, Thomas Waleys, and some others, and is recognized by Humbert of Romans (*De eruditione religiosorum praedicatorum*, ed. J. Catalanus, Rome 1739, pp. 16 and 75-76). But it does not appear in the *Ars concionandi* by Pseudo-Bonaventure and similar works by William of Auvergne, Eiximenes, and others.

¹⁸ An anonymous *ars praedicandi* beginning "Quamuis de sermonibus faciendis," preserved in one fourteenth- and two fifteenth-century manuscripts, listed in H. Caplan, *Mediaeval "Artes Praedicandi": A Hand-List*, Ithaca, NY, 1934, and Caplan, *Mediaeval "Artes Praedicandi": A Supplementary Hand-List*, Ithaca, NY, 1936, as Nr. 144. The discussion of *pedis posicio* appears in Lincoln Cathedral, MS 234 on ff. 180v-181.

to label this feature seems also to have been quite rare. I have found only one other such attempt: calling it *radix sermonis*, as do Jean de la Rochelle, in his *Processus negociandi themata sermonum*,¹⁹ and the unedited anonymous *Ars praedicandi seu componendi sermones* preserved in Valencia, Cathedral Library, MS 184.²⁰

At the point where the Padua sermon introduces the concept of *pedis posicio*, the discussion becomes more elaborate, and the preserved text somewhat problematic. Evidently its author felt the need for a more detailed analysis and discussion, while the scribe seems to have made a bit of a mess of it. The discussion begins with a *proposicio*, a definition, whose parts are explained and concluded with "sic patet tota conclusio." From this the author draws an (unnumbered) inference. After that he continues with five more *conclusiones*, now numbered 3-7, which again are logically connected as, evidently, inferences from the definition of *pedis posicio*. But in doing this, his discussion is already concerned with the division, the topic that was to follow after *pedis posicio*. It would seem that in this apparently seamless transition from *pedis posicio* to *divisio*, either the author failed to mark things off clearly, or some text was missed by the scribe, or the latter got confused in the numbering of parts—an error frequently found in medieval texts. Consequently, the modern reader may hesitate where to draw the line between the discussion of these two features, *pedis posicio* (2b) and division (2c). The author of the sermon is usually very good at marking the end of a section. For instance, the following section on *divisio* ends with: "From the foregoing it is clear how the division of the thema expounds the [sermon's] matter by dividing it into parts." But there is no similar closing statement to the specific section on *pedis posicio*. I have resolved this problem by keeping the manuscript readings but suggesting a break indicated by numbers and letters in square brackets, though at least one different textual division is possible.

¹⁹ See G. Cantini, "Processus Negociandi Themata Sermonum di Giovanni della Rochelle, OFM," *Antonianum* 26 (1951): 254-70, at 255. Very helpfully, Jean de la Rochelle gives the following illustration of *radix sermonis*: "Ponatur pro themate 'Sobrie et iuste et pie (vivamus).' Elicitur hinc talis radix, scilicet 'quia verbis propositis describitur perfectio viri iusti.' De assumpta radice producuntur immediate rami qui artificialiter exeant et per sufficientiam. . .", op. cit., p. 255.

²⁰ Ff. 18-19. I thank the librarian, Canon Don Salvador Vazquez Caplliure, for providing me with a xerox copy of this sermon. The work is Caplan, *Supplementary Hand-List*, Nr. b (p. 1).

Although sermon 60 appears without ascription, a case can be made for at least Dominican authorship. Booklet D contains the following material by Dominican authors:

sermon 58, by Holcot, here with the rubric "Holcoth,"
 sermon 59, by Holcot, incomplete,
 sermons 61-64, by "Frysbi," whose name appears in the rubric to sermon 62 ("Collacio Frysbi in librum 3 Sentenciarum reportacio Brok") and who has been identified as a Dominican (see above).

The following booklet E begins with three unidentified sermons (65-67), which are then followed by three sermons by Holcot. Holcot's name itself appears three times in the manuscript. For our present purpose, it heads the initial folio of booklet D, spelled "Holcoth" (f. 119, top margin).²¹ Given this context, one may suspect that sermon 60 could be by Robert Holcot also. Earlier bibliographers report that the well-known Dominican wrote an *ars praedicandi*, but the incipit they give differs from the Padua sermon.²² Yet Padua-60 would not be out of character with Holcot's surviving sermons and academic speeches: he penned a *Sermo finalis*, which shares many features of Frysbi's *Collacio finalis* (Padua-61).²³ He also authored introductory lectures to the Sentences²⁴ and to the Bible.²⁵ Even if Holcot was not its author, Padua-60 must at least be strongly suspected of Dominican provenance.

²¹ The second occurrence is on f. 78v, margin, at the head of sermon 43, which is by Holcot. The name was apparently written by the same hand as on f. 119. The name appears a third time, now spelled "Helcoht," marginally at the head of sermon 47 (f. 81), which opens the Franciscan booklet C. No sermon on *Per proprium sanguinem* by Holcot is known, and the scribe may have mistakenly inserted Holcot's name here as he did, correctly, at the beginning of booklet D.

²² Charland, following SOP, lists a *De praedicationis officio opusculum* with the incipit "A sacro canone tanquam a fonte" (p. 82), without surviving manuscripts. The information derives from J. Pits, *Relationum historicarum de rebus Anglicis tomus primus*, Paris 1619, repr. Gregg 1969, pp. 463-4, Nr. 555. It was incorporated into Caplan, *Supplementary Handlist*, Nr. 207 (p. 26), but no longer appears in modern bibliographies of Holcot's works. A modern account of Holcot's life and works, by J. Swanson, appears in the electronic *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004- .

²³ Holcot's *sermo finalis* was edited by J. C. Wey, "The *Sermo Finalis* of Robert Holcot," *Mediaeval Studies* 11 (1949): 219-24.

²⁴ *Ierusalem euuangelistam dabo*, in Oxford, Oriel College, MS 15, ascribed to Holcot.

²⁵ *Venite, audite, et narrabo*, in Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 342, ff. 176v-179, ascribed to "Holcote." The manuscript and sermons are discussed in Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, pp. 132-135 and 444-453.

Sermon 60 holds yet another and very different interest, which concerns its form and its place in life. What might have determined its author to give an *ars praedicandi* in the form of a scholastic sermon? Is it just a *jeu d'esprit*, such as Velazquez painting himself in the act of painting *Las Meninas*?²⁶ Or was it, rather, intended as an element in teaching? Investigators of the question how, in the later Middle Ages, priests learned how to preach, how to compose a sermon, are agreed that while the study of theology at the highest level, the university, included preaching the word of God, there seems to be no evidence of formal courses in homiletics. Instead, especially in the mendicant orders—whose major purpose was preaching—sermon making would be learned at all levels of education, from the convent on to *studia generalia* and the university, by supervised practice, or more simply even by mere osmosis.²⁷ *Dic nobis quid tibi videtur*, then, might be a model sermon given at any of these levels before an audience of would-be preachers and setting forth the basic structure of a scholastic sermon.

But one may wonder if there is not more to it. The piece does not merely demonstrate what a duly constructed sermon should look like, but its opening sentence *commends* or *praises* the technique of sermon making (*ars sermocinandi*, *ars praedicandi*). In the medieval university world, a speech in praise of an intellectual discipline is usually the opening lecture to a university course. Thus, to cite examples from the same manuscript, “*sacra theologia quadrifarie commendatur*” (sermon 19, repeatedly), or the four groups listed in sermon 21 are said to be *commendandi* or *laudandi* (ff. 39 and following), or Frisby’s introductory lecture on book 2 of the *Sentences* is given *ad commendacionem huius doctrine* (sermon 64, f. 130v). It is also noteworthy that the sermon’s initial point—that the art of preaching is praiseworthy for the four Aristotelian causes—not only parallels what can be found in other *artes praedicandi* (as mentioned

²⁶ A similar instance of linguistic playfulness is shown by Alexander of Ashby (c. 1200), who at the end of his *De artificioso modo predicandi* says, “De sermone sermonem fecimus.” But “sermonem fecimus” here merely means “I have spoken of”; his work does not have the form of a scholastic sermon. See Alexander Essebiensis, *Opera Theologica*, eds. Fr. Morenzoni and Th. H. Bestul, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis 138, Turnhout 2004, 1, p. 33.

²⁷ See the recent surveys of education among the Dominicans and Franciscans: M. M. Mulchahey, “*First the Bow is Bent in Study*”: *Dominican Education Before 1350*, Toronto 1998, especially pp. 184-93; and B. Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education (c. 1210-1517)*, Leiden 2000, pp. 280-289.

earlier) but also occasionally in *introitus* to theology.²⁸ Further, the logical analysis of *pedis posicio*, which gave the scribe some trouble, smells of the advanced scholastic classroom, particularly with its statement of *propositio* and *conclusiones* whose parts are separately proven, as for instance in "Hec [*i.e. propositio*] patet quoad primam partem quia . . ." (f. 121v) and so on. And lastly, the sermon speaks repeatedly of *ars rethorica*.²⁹ The teaching of rhetoric as a verbal art in the later Middle Ages, judging by what previous scholars have found, seems not to have been a formal part of university programs and other advanced studies, or at least not to have left any trace. But *Dic nobis quid tibi videtur* may point to the existence of an advanced analysis and oral teaching of the *ars praedicandi* in a more formal context.³⁰

These features are tantalizing and call for further exploration by students of medieval rhetoric and sermon making, which I hope may be aided by an edition of this sermon, or perhaps rather academic speech in sermon form. As already stated, the text is, at least in places, not only hard to understand but also fairly corrupt. In the following I offer a critical edition in which I have introduced emendations as seem to be required by grammar, syntax, and logic of the subject matter. The manuscript readings are in all instances recorded in the textual notes. I have reproduced the manuscript's spellings where they do not interfere with our understanding, and I have introduced modern capitalization and sentence and paragraph division. I have also inserted letters and numerals in square brackets to show the sermon's structure more clearly. Marginal material is here enclosed in angle brackets, interlinear additions within slashes. In all this I have greatly benefited from Fr. Simon Tugwell's patient and careful reading and suggestions. I likewise wish to thank the librarian of the Pontificia Biblioteca Antoniana in Padua, P. Sergio Cattazzo, and his assistant, Fabio Salvato, for furnishing scanned images of the respective folios and for permission to edit the sermon.

²⁸ As in sermon 27 in this manuscript (f. 53v), the *introitus* to Peter Lombard (see above). Another case is sermon 26 in Worcester Cathedral, MS F.10, ff. 27vb-81ra; see S. Wenzel, "Academic Sermons at Oxford in the Early Fifteenth Century," *Speculum* 70 (1995): 305-29.

²⁹ Notice also especially that the author uses the wording *quidditas artis* (or *doctrinae*) *rethorice* five times, at ff. 121-123.

³⁰ An exception to the conventional wisdom is an essay by J. O. Ward: "Rhetoric in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Paris and Oxford in the Middle Ages: A Summary of the Evidence," *Bulletin Du Cange* 54 (1996): 158-231. But notice that Ward is primarily concerned with the teaching of *Ciceronian* rhetoric (see p. 209), for which the Padua sermon and other *artes praedicandi* written after c. 1250 do not furnish evidence.

TEXT

Padova, Biblioteca Antoniana, MS 515, ff. 120v-123v.

[f. 120v] Iste frater accepit pro prothemat¹ *In veritate doces.*¹ Cotauit librum cum capitulo. Introduxit, diuisit, et subdiuisit modo congruo. Auctoritates tam literales quam sententiales adduxit, sufficientes partes eciam subdiuisas combinando. Quare sibi et cuilibet alteri studenti ad predicandum habili dicere potero: "Ex quo per tuas articulatas voces artem rethorice *in veritate doces*, vt tua eloquencia omnibus notificetur, *dic nobis quid tibi videtur.*" [Text continues in line.]

Dic nobis quid tibi videtur, Mathei 22.ⁱⁱ

Reuerendi patres, ex quadruplici causa que relucet in verbis predicti thematis ars sermocinandi quadrupliciter redditur commendabilis.

[A] Cuius causa efficiens est doctor potens perorare, **dic**;

[B] cuius forma perficiens est splendor lucens menti clare, vt **tibi videtur**;

[C] in materia substrata realis est stabilitas non admittens falcitatem, **quid**;

[D] et pro finali meta affectata principalis est commoditas presentem regens committatem,² **nobis**.

"Nobis" est prime persone et regitur ex vi commodi.ⁱⁱⁱ Per locum^{iv} vero ab opposito quadruplex reprobatur vocalis artis tradicio—

ratione doctoris delinquentis, magica;

ratione forme deficientis, sophistica;

ratione materie non existentis, poetica;

ac ratione finis peruertentis, heretica.

ⁱ Matt 22:16.

ⁱⁱ Matt 22:17. Notice that the thema and the previously quoted biblical text (which I consider the prothema) are from the same pericope, usually for the 23th Sunday after Trinity.

ⁱⁱⁱ *Regitur ex vi commodi*: the dative case indicates profit, i.e. for whom something is profitable.

^{iv} *Locus* here in the logical sense of "topic" or "argument."

¹ prothemat] themate MS.

² The scribe's *committatem* is lexically possible (for "community"); the same holds for the other appearance of the word below, at the beginning of section D.

Cum igitur ars predicandi hiis quatuor sit contraria artibus suspectis, vt ex verbis thematis inferius ostendetur, predicator verbi Dei, ne sileas set vt proficias, **dic nobis quid tibi videtur.**

[A]

Quantum ad doctorem potentem perorare ponit Philosophus 2 *Rethoricorum* in principio quod hec tria:

prudencia,
virtus,
et beneuolencia,

dicta doctoris³ faciunt credibilia.^v Cuius ratio est quia per oppositum fatuis, prauis, uel maliuolis credere non ualemus, et hoc ideo quia fatui ueritatem non concipiunt; prauis, quamuis callidi,⁴ ueritatem opprimunt; prouidentes et uirtuosi si non beneuoli non semper referunt aliis que expediunt. Et ideo ponit Ysidorus *Ethimologiarum*⁵ libro 2, capitulo 3, quod orator est "uir bonus in arte dicendi peritus"^{vi}: peritus quoad primum, uir (a uirtute) quoad secundum, et bonus quoad tertium. Deuteronomii vi: "Erunt uerba hec que ego precipio tibi hodie in corde tuo" per prouidentiam, "et narra-bis ea filiis tuis" per beneuolenciam, "et ligabis ea quasi signum in manu tua" per uirtuosam⁶ uitam.^{vii} Querit Philosophus inter *Problemata*, particula 11, problemate 7,^{viii} quare magis edificia exterius linita⁷ cemento repercutiunt causantes ecko quam alia edificia aspera et porosa. Et respon-detur ibidem quia uox emissa uersus corpora solida et polita ad loquentem reflectitur⁸ propter planam et solidam resistenciam. Set in edificiis coe-mento non politis foramina sunt multa que uocem recipiunt, quam non repercutiunt ad aurem circumstantis.⁹ Sic deposita¹⁰ uacuitate tenebrosa quoad primum et asperitate uiciosa in uiuendo quoad secundum, in signum quod sapientia tibi tradita cemento caritatis¹¹ et beneuolencie sit polita

^v Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 2.1 (1378a9), in Moerbeke's translation.

^{vi} Isidore, *Etymologies* 2.3.1.

^{vii} Deut 6:6-8.

^{viii} Aristotle, *Problems* 11.7; ed. and trans. W. S. Hett, Loeb Library, 2 vols., Cambridge, MA, 1961-65, vol. 1, p. 256.

³ doctore, MS; a marginal note says <Nota que faciunt dicta doctorum [or possibly doctoris] credibilia.>

⁴ caludi MS.

⁵ ethi'orum MS.

⁶ uirtuosas MS.

⁷ lita MS.

⁸ reflectitur MS.

⁹ aurem circumstantis] aur' circumstat' MS.

¹⁰ preposita MS.

¹¹ caritate MS.

auribus ascultantium ut eorum replicetur et sic **dic nobis**, predicator, **quid tibi videtur**.

[B]

Dixi secundo quod artis rethorice forma proficiens est splendor lucens menti clare, dum **tibi videtur**. Omnes perspectivi in hoc conueniunt quod triplex habetur visio rei corporalis: per lineam scilicet

rectam,
fractam,
et reflexam.^{ix}

Quarum prima clarius quam secunda, et secunda clarius quam tertia rerum diferencias oculis ostendit. Immediate vero a Deo reuelata videntur per rectam lineam breuissimam, quia "inspiratio omnipotentis Dei dat intelligenciam."^x Credibilia vero apparent per visionem fractam, quia per duplex medium, fidem scilicet infusam et fidem adquisitam. Set apprehensa in solo naturali lumine per lineam reflexam videmus nunc "quasi per speculum in enigmate."^{xi} Isti autem visioni triplici triplex correspondet modus dicendi. Vnde Ysidorus *Ethimologiarum*¹² libro 4, capitulo 19: "In locutionibus uti oportebit ut res, locus, tempus, et persona audientis efflagitat."^{xii} Et ideo dicentis vox debet esse—

alta,
clara,
et suauiis,

teste Ysidoro libro 3 *Ethimologiarum*,¹³ capitulo 21, "alta, ut in sublimi sufficiat; clara, [f. 121] ut aures adimpleat; suauiis, ut animos audiencium delectet et foueat."¹⁴ Si vero ex hiis aliquid defuerit, vox perfecta non erit."^{xiii}

Sit ergo vox predicatoris alta, ut inspirata doceat per lineam rectam; sit suauiis, ut per credenda corda demulceat¹⁵ per lineam fractam—
"corde enim creditur ad iusticiam, ore autem confessio fit ad salutem"^{xiv}—;

^{ix} Cf. Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De rerum proprietatibus* 3.17, ed. W. Richter, Frankfurt 1601; facsimile reprint Frankfurt 1964, pp. 62-63.

^x Job 32:8; *marginal note* <Job 32> MS.

^{xi} 1 Cor 13:12; *marginal note* <1 Corinthiorum 13> MS.

^{xii} Isidore, *Etymologies* 2.16.1.

^{xiii} Isidore, *Etymologies* 3.20.14, with some verbal changes.

^{xiv} Rom 10:10.

¹² ethi'orum MS.

¹³ ethi'orum MS.

¹⁴ foueate MS.

¹⁵ demulceat MS.

sit clara, vt ex naturali industria malos flectat ab¹⁶ nequicia per lineam reflexam,
quia teste beato Augustino 4 *De doctrina Christiana*, capitulo 4, "docere est necessitatis, delectare suauitatis, et flectere victoriae."^{xv} Si igitur mens tua predicta triplici noticia veraciter informetur, vt doceas, delectes, et flectas, **dic nobis quid tibi videtur.**

[C]

Dixi tercio quod in materia substrata¹⁷ realis est stabilitas non admit- tens falsitatem,¹⁸ **quid.** Prima Ad Corinthios 3: "Fundamentum aliud nemo ponere potest preter illud quod positum est," glosa: idest¹⁹ fides Christi.^{xvi} Ad quidditatem artis rethorice requiritur et sufficit, vt michi apparet, quod sit:

- [1] solide fundata,
- [2] lucide declarata,
- [3] et debite confirmata.

[1] Vt solide sit fundata, premittatur thema velud lapis quadratus siue tetra- gonus sine vituperio, cui reliquum superinnitatur edificium. Quod si fiat debite, oportet—

- [a] quod sit electum de corpore Biblie,
- [b] quod sit perfectum perfeccione sentencie,
- [c] quod sit ostensium alicuius edificatorii,
- [d] et quod non sit prima facie offensium audientis populi.²⁰

[a] Requiritur quod sit electum de corpore Biblie, et hoc cum²¹ debeat pre- dicari de alico temporali, conueniens est quod eligatur de epistula aut²² euangelio; si de sancto, de eorum altero uel de sacre pagine loco²³ alio, non de expositionibus scripturarum nec de ficcionibus poetarum et²⁴ historiis modernorum, nec de problematibus philosophorum, quia sapiens non pingit in aere uel aqua, vbi nulla remanent pictoris²⁵ vesti-

^{xv} Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana* 4.12.

^{xvi} 1 Cor 3:11, with Peter Lombard's gloss (PL 191:1556).

¹⁶ ad MS.

¹⁷ substata MS.

¹⁸ falsitem MS.

¹⁹ et MS.

²⁰ populi followed by a cross in line.

²¹ or MS.

²² aut om. MS.

²³ loeti MS.

²⁴ et] et dics MS; possibly intended as et immodicis?

²⁵ Perhaps for picture?

gia, set in re solida, cuiusmodi est sacra scriptura. "Celum et terra transibunt, verba autem mea non transibunt," Mathei 24.^{xvii}

- [b] Secundo requiritur quod sit perfectum perfeccione sentencie, ita quod per se generet intellectum plenum et perfectum.²⁶ Non enim debemus sumere pro themate oracionem imperfectam, cuiusmodi est hec dependens "Ascendente Iesu in nauiculam,"^{xviii} vel vnum vocabulum quod nulli oracioni est conuertibile,^{xix} sicut quidam magis furiose quam curiose acceperunt pro themate "Nichil," et quia thema nichil est, nichil inde venit; ideo modicum proficerunt ex debili fundamento.
- [c] Sit tercio thema ostensium²⁷ alicuius edificatorii, ita quod valeat ad morum direccionem uel ad sancti commendacionem. Quia perscrutatio non est contemplacionis gracia, neque vt sciamus, set vt fiamus boni, vt probat Egidius *De regimine principum*, libro primo, parte prima, capitulo 12.^{xx}
- [d] Quarto requiritur quod thema non sit in principio offensium audientis populi. Si enim quis predicaturus populo acciperet pro themate "Vos ex patre diabolo estis,"^{xxi} vel "Demonium habes,"^{xxii} pocius offenderet quam edificaret. Ideo dicit Sapiens quod "verbum²⁸ dulce multiplicat amicos."^{xxiii} Et ideo dicit Psalmus: "Quam dulcia faucibus," etc.^{xxiv}

Sic igitur patet quod thema debet esse electum, perfectum, ostensium boni, et non offensium populi.

[2] Secundo requiritur principaliter quod predicantis²⁹ doctrina³⁰ lucide sit declarata. Et ad hoc eciam quatuor requiruntur, videlicet—

- [a] introductio,
 [b] pedis posicio,³¹
 [c] diuisio
 [d] et subdiuisio.

^{xvii} Matt 24:35.

^{xviii} Cf. Matt 8:23.

^{xix} I.e., a single word that cannot be converted into a (complete) sentence.

^{xx} The idea occurs in Aegidius Romanus, *De regimine principum* 1.1.1-3; ed. Rome 1607, repr. Aalen 1967, pp. 3-8.

^{xxi} John 8:44.

^{xxii} John 7:20, etc.

^{xxiii} Sir 6:5.

^{xxiv} Ps 118:103.

²⁶ prefectum MS.

²⁷ onson' MS.

²⁸ verbum followed by multe, canceled.

²⁹ predict' MS.

³⁰ doctrine MS.

³¹ pedis posicio followed by ostendit introduccionis, canceled.

Nam— introductio declarat quomodo thema sit ad propositum, quia aliter potius esset abductio³² quam introductio; pedis positio ostendit introductionis³³ principalem intentum; diuisio thematis³⁴ exprimit parciendo sententiam; set subdiuisio plus explicat dilatando materiam.

[2.a] Potest enim introductio fieri—
per concordans exemplum,
per conueniens prouerbum,
per dictum autenticum,³⁵
uel per argumentum rethoricum.

Sic tamen quod sit breuis et leuis. Breuis, quia 2 Macabeorum 2: "Stultum est ante historiam effluere et in ipsa historia succingi."^{xxv} Item 2 Regum, capitulo 18: "Currens Achimas per viam compendii transiuit³⁶ Chusi," qui eum precesserat.^{xxvi} In principio sit etiam introductio leuis ad intelligendum. Primo *Politicorum* scribitur quod "per peccatum est mathematicum persuadentem acceptare et rethoricum demonstrationes expectere."^{xxvii} Querit Philosophus inter *Problemata* 18, problemate 3: "Vnde est quod homines vt communiter plus gaudent in exemplis et similibus quam in argumentis subtilibus?" [f. 121v] Et respondet quia per similitudines et exempla fuerunt docti a puericia, et

Quod noua testa capit, inveterata sapit,

et quia exempla sunt magis particularia, et particularia³⁷ sunt magis nota (quoad secundum) faciliusque sunt scita.^{xxviii} Ideo plus gaudet populus³⁸ audire exempla quam argumenta subtilia. Quantum autem valet rethorica persuasio non nimis subtilis ostendit Alexander Ne/c/kam *De naturis rerum*, libro 2: "Quidam," inquit, "laborans Parysius in extremis asseruit se nunquam crediturum resurrectionem fore generalem. Cuius socius sic sibi perorauit oppositionem: 'Aut erit aut non erit huiusmodi resurreccio. Si credis eam fore et non erit,

^{xxv} 2 Macc 2:33.

^{xxvi} 2 Sam 18:23.

^{xxvii} Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1.3 (1094b); the Latin verbatim in Aegidius Romanus, *De regimine principum* 1.1.1 (p. 3).

^{xxviii} Aristotle, *Problems* 18.3 (vol. 1, p. 370). The quoted pentameter is a common medieval proverb; see H. Walther, *Proverbia Sententiaeque Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, 6 vols., Göttingen 1963-1967, No. 25948.

³² abductio MS.

³³ introductio MS.

³⁴ themate MS.

³⁵ autenticum MS.

³⁶ transiuit MS.

³⁷ particularia et particularia] suggested reading for pertinencia et perti^{na} (or perti^{na}) MS.

³⁸ plus MS.

non nocebit tibi fides tua. Si credis eam fore et erit, prodesse poterit hec fides. Set si non credis et resurreccio futura erit, aderit tibi ve eternum. Melius est ergo tibi credere quam non credere.' Et hac persuasione victus credidit, et credens diem clausit extremum.^{xxix} Plus profuit hec ergo persuasio³⁹ rethorica quam fecisset aliqua demonstratio mathematica.

[2.b] Secundo, pro pedis posicionem que diuisioni supponitur sit hec propositio prima: Id a quo principalius dependet introductio sententia est pedis posicio, dummodo sit compositum secundum rationem. Hec patet quoad primam partem, quia si tale a quo principalius dependet introductio non esset pedis posicio, aliquid extrinsecum sententiae introductio posset poni pedis posicio, et eadem ratione quodlibet taliter⁴⁰ extrinsecum; et sic in arte diuidendi nulla esset certitudo alicuius necessario requisiti, qualis est pedis posicio. Quod videtur inconueniens. Et secunda⁴¹ pars patet, quia si ex intellectu alicuius introductio punctus⁴² vel [blank] poneretur pedis posicio, quamuis vtrumque sit realiter simplex et \in/diuisibile, potest tamen sufficienter in arte predicandi diuidi, quia in ratione finis vel principium. Et sic patet tota conclusio.

Ex qua potest inferri correlatiue quod tot requiruntur⁴³ diuisiones quot precedunt introductiones sententialiter distincte. Patet hec propositio.⁴⁴ Ex introductionibus sententialiter distinctis eliciuntur pedis positiones taliter distincte, vt patet ex prima conclusione. Set distincte pedis positiones distinctas requirunt diuisiones, cum diuisio debeat fieri secundum sententiam positionis pedis. Ergo propositum.

[?2.c] Ex quibus sequitur tertia, quod nullum thema debet per hanc⁴⁵ artem conuenienter diuidi nisi habeat rationem thematis. Hec patet, quia solum thema secundum quod est introductum sic cedit uel concomitatur debita pedis posicio que ad diuisionem est requisita. Et per consequens patet tertia conclusio.

Ex quo sequitur quarto quod artificiosa diuisio est sub verbis aliis euacuatia⁴⁶ totalis intentus⁴⁷ introducti⁴⁸ thematis, necnon et declaratiua core-

^{xxix} Alexander Neckam, *De naturis rerum*, ed. Th. Wright, Rolls Series 34, London 1863, p. 297.

³⁹ *perficacio MS.*

⁴⁰ *aliter] perhaps for totaliter?*

⁴¹ *3^a MS, perhaps corrected to 2^a.*

⁴² *puctus MS.*

⁴³ *requirunt MS.*

⁴⁴ *per MS.*

⁴⁵ *hūc or hnc, MS.*

⁴⁶ *euacuatia MS.*

⁴⁷ *intetus MS.*

⁴⁸ *introduciti MS.*

spondentis introduccionis. Prima pars patet⁴⁹ secundum omnes loquentes in hac materia; et secunda ex hoc quod diuisio includit pedis posicionem, et pedis posicio principalem sententiam introduccionis. Et sic patet tota conclusio.

Ex quibus quinta sequitur quod clauēs^{xxx} que communiter ponuntur non exprimunt primo sensum thematis set modos vel causas aperiunt utriusque partis diidentis. Prima pars patet, quia aliter nugatorie ponerentur et superflue, quia idem esset officium clauium et parcium diuidencium, et quia partes diidentes non sunt vlterius diuidende, quia sic posset fieri processus infinitus. Quod non videtur verum. Et secunda pars patet, quia si partes diidentes aperiende per virtutem clauium obscure sint, tunc sunt modaliter vel causaliter declarande.⁵⁰ Et sic patet tota conclusio.

[?2.c] Conclusio sexta⁵¹ sit ista. Thema potest diuidi diuisione quadrifaria, considerando scilicet:

- [i] quid est totale signatum⁵² thematis secundum essenciam,
- [ii] quid potest secundum efficaciam,
- [iii] quid includit quo/ad principalia,
- [iv] et quid excludit quoad opposita.

Hec conclusio probatur quoad quamlibet partem exemplo familiari.

- [i] Considerando enim quid signatum est per essenciam, ecce qualiter ars rethorica precipit—
verbi vecturam auditui presentari, **Dic nobis;**
et maxime quam⁵³ mente concipit obiecti figuram aspectui intimari, **Quid tibi videtur.**

Verbi vectura est loqucio vocalis, et obiecti figura est cognicio vitalis.

- [ii] Secundo, considerando signatum thematis⁵⁴ secundum proprium effectum, ecce qualiter ars rethorica—
appetit primo sensum receptium immutari [f. 122] per sonitum, **Dic nobis quid;**
innuit et organum perceptium actuari per habitum, eo quod **tibi videtur.**

^{xxx} *Claves* are considerations of such aspects as time, place, effect, etc., that can be found in a given thema. They indicate the reason for a given member of the diuision.

⁴⁹ patet *om.*, MS.

⁵⁰ quia si. . . declarande] *proposed emendation for quia si partes diidentes sint tunc sunt aperiende per virtutem clauium obscure tunc sunt modaliter vel causaliter declarande MS.*

⁵¹ sexta] 6 MS.

⁵² signatum] *blank*, MS.

⁵³ quia MS.

⁵⁴ thema MS.

Sonus articulatus est dicio, conus⁵⁵ illuminatus est oculus quo videtur.

[iii] Tercio, quantum ad idem quod⁵⁶ includit quoad sua principalia: pincerna verborum est lingua qua docetur, **Dic**; lucerna verborum est oculus quo **videtur**.

Ideo precipit ars rethorica—

vt pincerna verborum ad edificacionem gentis doctrinam propinet, **Dic nobis quid**,

et maxime vt⁵⁷ lucerna verborum infra thesauros mentis species⁵⁸ combinet, **tibi videtur**.

[iv] Quarto, quantum ad idem quod excludit quoad opposita potest sic diuidi ars rethorica:

excudit torporem⁵⁹ predicantis, **Dic nobis**;

percutit errorem ingnorantis, **quid tibi videtur**;

excudit torporem predicantis ne noticia deficiat scripturarum, **dic nobis**;

percutit errorem speculantis ne caligo decipiat tenebrarum, **tibi videtur**.

Iuxta illud Psalmi: "Dixi iniquis, Nolite inique agere."^{xxxi} Dixit Deus [blank] acta. "Nos sumus testes horum verborum," Actuum 5,^{xxxii} Luce 18: "Quid tibi vis faciam? Domine, vt videam."^{xxxiii}

Obiectum forma multiplicat organo speculari, **quid tibi videtur**;

conceptum doctor communicat⁶⁰ voce regulari, si dicat nobis **quid sibi videtur**. "Quid uobis videtur de Christo,⁶¹ cuius filius est? Dicunt, Daudid."^{xxxiv} Et huius rei "nos testes sumus," Actuum 5.^{xxxv}

Est septimo notandum quod tunc thematis diuisio est laudabilis si reducatur ad sufficienciam communiter vsitatam. Qualis reduccio fuit facta in prima diuisione ad quatuor genera causarum. Vel aliter sic patere potest: Nam secundum beatum Augustinum *De doctrina Christiana*, libro

^{xxxi} Ps 74:5.

^{xxxii} Acts 5:32.

^{xxxiii} Luke 18:41.

^{xxxiv} Matt 22:42.

^{xxxv} Acts 5:32, etc.

⁵⁵ thus MS, "peak" or "apex."

⁵⁶ idem quod written twice, MS.

⁵⁷ cum MS.

⁵⁸ spes MS.

⁵⁹ corporem MS.

⁶⁰ communicet MS.

⁶¹ Christo: blank, MS.

4, in principio, duo sunt doctori praeicipue necessaria, sapiencia scilicet et eloquencia.^{xxxvi} Vnde philosophi Mercurium, qui deus dicebatur eloquencie, cum Philologia, que dea sapiencie vocabatur, fixerunt⁶² nupcias contraxisse.^{63xxxvii} Sapiencia enim sine eloquencia, vt dicit Augustinus vbi supra, parum prodest, eloquencia vero sine sapiencia plerumque nimium obest. Ideo vult ars rethorica vt sic⁶⁴ in te resplendeat sapiencia mentalis per illud quod **tibi videtur**, vt omnibus tua apareat eloquencia⁶⁵ doctrinalis, **dic nobis quid tibi videtur**. Ex predictis igitur patet⁶⁶ qualiter diuisio thema exponit parciendo materiam. Vnde: "Omnis res diuisione melius innotescit."^{xxxviii}

[2d] Quarto subdiuisio plus explicat sententiam dilatando materiam. Dilatatio materie—

[i] potest fieri per diuisiones:

Per descensum generis in species, superioris in⁶⁷ inferiora, sicut posui exemplum de visione trifaria,^{xxxix} quarum vna est recta, alia fracta, alia reflexa. Istum modum dilatandi habuit Christus Mathei 19: "Sunt," inquit, "eunuchi qui de vtero matris sic nati sunt, et sunt eunuchi qui ab hominibus facti sunt, et sunt eunuchi qui seipos castrauerunt propter regnum celorum."^{xl} Sic Apostolus Prima Ad Corinthios 12 diuisiones graciaram assignat esse eiusdem spiritus: "Alii quidem per spiritum datur sermo sapiencie, alii sermo sciencie," etc.^{xli}

Totum diuiditur in suas partes, Prima Ad Corinthios 12: "Sicut enim corpus vnum est et multa habet membra,"^{xlii} et exemplat ibidem de⁶⁸ multis membris corporis.

Alie possunt fieri diuisiones que non sunt ita proprie in hac materia, vt diuisio vocis in significaciones, tocius in partes, subiecti in accidentia, accidentis in subiecta, et accidentis in accidentia. De

^{xxxvi} Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana* 4.5 and passim.

^{xxxvii} Cf. Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*.

^{xxxviii} Bernard of Clairvaux, *Liber de praecepto et dispensatione*, 38; in *Bernardi Opera*, eds. J. Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, and H. M. Rochais, 8 vols., Rome 1957-1974, 3:279.

^{xxxix} At the beginning of part B, above.

^{xl} Matt 19:12.

^{xli} 1 Cor 12:8.

^{xlii} 1 Cor 12:12.

⁶² fixerunt MS.

⁶³ contraisse MS.

⁶⁴ si MS.

⁶⁵ elequencia MS.

⁶⁶ patet om., blank space, MS.

⁶⁷ in om., MS.

⁶⁸ d^c MS.

quibus tractat Boycius in *Libro diuisionum*.^{xliii} Quarum exemplificationes causa breuitatis omitto.

- [ii] Potest secundo dilatacio fieri per diffinitiones et interpretaciones. Verbi gracia: si accipiatur pro themate "Iustus deduxit Dominus per vias rectas," Sapiencie x,^{xliv} diffiniatur <sic>: "Iustus est qui tribuit vnicuique quod suum est"; et explanetur qualiter reddendum est Deo quod suum est, sibi, et proximo. Sic enim Doctor Gencium processit Ad Hebreos xi, diffiniens primo fidem: "Fides," inquit, "est substantia rerum sperandarum, argumentum non apparencium," et postea de antiquorum patrum fide multiplici longum sermonem protraxit.^{xlv}
- [iii] Tercio potest fieri subdiuisio per methaforas exquirendo proprietates rei. Exemplum: Accipiendo pro themate "Iustus germinabit sicut lileum,"^{xlvi} recte enim iustus comparatur lileo, quia sicut lileum candidum est et odoriferum et iuxta aquas sumit incrementum, sic iustus habet candorem continencie, odorem bone fame, et proficit in aquis tribulacionis. Et sic de [f. 122v] proprietatibus consimilibus. Istum modum predicandi tenuit Apostolus Ad Corinthios 9: "Non alligabis," inquit Apostolus, "os bouis triturantis."^{xlvii} Et cum translatiue dictum est, duas⁶⁹ raciones translacionis quibus predicator boui⁷⁰ comparetur subiunxit, arare scilicet et triturare solet bos; similiter et predicator arat cor vertens sursum quod prius erat deorsum; triturat quando grana a paleis separat, eterna scilicet a mundanis, spiritualia a carnalibus, et virtutes a viciis.
- [iv] Quarto⁷¹ potest fieri subdiuisio per quadruplicem⁷² sensum sacre scripture, exponendo scilicet partem diuisam diuersimode: historialiter, allegorice, moraliter, et tropologic. Ad Galatas 4: "Abraham duos filios habuit, set qui de libera, per repromissionem; que sunt per allegoriam⁷³ dicta."^{xlviii} Vnde notandum quod in omnibus subdiuisionibus, que debent fieri super membra diuisa et non precipue⁷⁴ super diuidencia—

^{xliii} Boethius, *De diuisione*, PL 64:877 and following.

^{xliv} Wisd 10:10.

^{xlv} Heb 11:1-40.

^{xlvi} Cf. Hos 14:6. The thema as stated here is very commonly used in *artes praedicandi* and occasionally in actual sermons.

^{xlvii} 1 Cor 9:9.

^{xlviii} Gal 4:22-23.

⁶⁹ duas followed by r^a, probably anticipating translacionis, MS.

⁷⁰ boui written bi and followed by predicator, canceled.

⁷¹ quarte MS.

⁷² 4^{ce} MS.

⁷³ aliegariam MS.

⁷⁴ preci^cpue with -pu- crossed out MS.

assignari debent verba conueniencia,
 vitari debet incidencia,
 seruari debet eloquencia,
 et adhiberi solet sufficiencia.

Ex quibus patet quarto^{xlix} qualiter subdiuisio plus explicat quam diuisio dilatando materiam.

Et sic patet qualiter ad hoc quod quidditas doctrine rethorice sit debite declarata¹ requiruntur et sufficiunt, scilicet:

introducchio declarans quomodo scilicet thema sit ad propositum;
 pedis posicio exprimens introduccionis principalem intentum;
 diuisio thema exponens parciendo sententiam;
 et subdiuisio plus explicans quam diuisio dilatando materiam.

[C.3] Dixi tercio principaliter pro ista parte quod quidditas doctrine rethorice fundata solide, declarata lucide, debite debet confirmari. Ad confirmationem autem quatuor principaliter valere noscuntur, videlicet:

[a] sacre scripture auctoritates,
 [b] rationum varietates,
 [c] exempla sanctorum,
 [d] et dicta doctorum.

[a] Auctoritates autem debent esse literales et sententiales in collacionibus, in⁷⁵ sermonibus vero sententiales sufficiunt, et sunt requisite, quia si acciperetur pro themate †"Sortes coram," gracia exempli,†⁷⁶ non valeret ad propositum illud Psalmi "Super vestem meam miserunt sortem,"ⁱⁱ sicut quidam accipiens pro themate illud Marci 6: "Da michi in disco capud Iohannis Baptiste,"ⁱⁱⁱ qui confirmacione introducit illud Deuteronomii 32: "Immolauerunt demoniis et non Deo: diis quos⁷⁷ ignorabant."ⁱⁱⁱⁱ Per auctoritates autem concordantes tam partes diuisas quam subdiuisas debetis confirmare, ne videamini finxisse illas ex proprio capite. Sic enim Apostolus Ad Romanos 15 volens inducere populum ad honorem Dei dicit: "Gentes autem super misericordiam

^{xlix} See C.2d.

¹ Cf. C.2.

ⁱⁱ Ps 21:19.

ⁱⁱⁱ Mark 6:25.

ⁱⁱⁱⁱ Deut 32:17. Evidently the hapless preacher confused *disco* and *diis quo*.

⁷⁵ et MS.

⁷⁶ sortes... exempli] coram is the proposed reading for apparently c^{xxx}r¹, MS. But the suggested reference to Josh 18:10 does not seem to make sense here since it as well as Ps 21:19 use miserunt sortem in the same sense. - Fr. Simon Tugwell has suggested the possibility that the author here makes fun of preachers who misread "Fortes current" (Joel 2:7) as "Sortes current."

⁷⁷ quo MS.

honorare Deum, sicut scriptum est: 'Propterea confitebor⁷⁸ tibi in genibus, Domine, et nomini tuo cantabo.'^{liv}

[b] Secundo⁷⁹ adduci possunt rationum varietates pro confirmatione. Duo⁸⁰ modi arguendi in sermonibus videntur precipui.

Primus, de duobus contrariis ratiocinando vicissim,⁸¹ vnum approbando et reliquum reprobando. Verbi gracia: Si predicator intendat probare castitatem esse tenendam, transferat se ad incontinentiam ostendens ipsam esse repudiendam, et hoc multis rationibus: quia perdit corpus, perdit possessionem, perdit animam, perdit famam; set econtra continencia habet condiciones oppositas; ergo continencia est acceptanda. Sic Doctor Gencium Ad Ephesios 5 dicens: "Estote ymitatores Dei sicut filii karissimi,"⁸² suple in virtutibus, transfert se ad vicia contempnanda, dicens: "Scitote intelligentes quia omnis fornicator aut immunus aut auarus (quod est ydolorum seruitus) non habet hereditatem in regno Dei."^{lv}

Alius modus est per occulta enigmata, postulando iudicia ab auditoribus, verbi gracia: "Nonne stultus esset qui propriis⁸³ manibus laqueum faceret quo inimicus eum suspenderet⁸⁴? Igitur peccator est stultissimus qui peccatum committit, quod est funis⁸⁵ quo ligabitur et suspendetur, iuxta illud Psalmiste: 'Funes peccatorum circumplexi sunt me.'^{lvi} Iste modus fundatur 2 Regum, capitulo 12, vbi Nathan a Dauid latenter quesiiuit iudicium de illo qui centum oues habuit et vnicam ouem pauperis accepit violenter.^{lvii} Hoc eciam modo arguendi vsus est Dominus in euangelio quando postulauit iudicium a Iudeis de agricolis [f. 123] qui primo seruos regis, postea ipsius heredem iniuste occiderunt.^{lviii}

[c] Tercius modus confirmandi per sanctorum exempla, ostendendo qualiter omnes sancti passi sunt tormenta vt secure peruenirent⁸⁶ ad pal-

^{liv} Rom 15:19, quoting Ps 17:19.

^{lv} Eph 5:1, 5.

^{lvi} Ps 118:61.

^{lvii} 2 Sam 12:1-5.

^{lviii} Mat. 21:40.

⁷⁸ *confitebot MS.*

⁷⁹ *duo MS.*

⁸⁰ *2ⁱ MS.*

⁸¹ *vicossim MS*

⁸² *karissimi om., blank space MS.*

⁸³ *proprius MS.*

⁸⁴ *susplenderet MS.*

⁸⁵ *finis MS.*

⁸⁶ *peruenerent MS.*

mam martirii. Plus enim mouent facta quam verba. Sic processit Apostolus Ad Hebreos xi: "Si Christus resurrexit, et nos resurgemus."^{lix}

[d] Quarto debet confirmari quidditas persuacionis rethorice per⁸⁷ dicta doctorum auctentica. Isto modo vsus est Christus in euangelio: "Scriptum," inquit, "Non in solo pane viuit homo," Mathei 4.^{lx} Item ponit beatus Augustinus *De doctrina Christiana*, libro 2, capitulo 8, quod dicta philosophorum si vera sint "ab eis tamquam iniustus possessoribus⁸⁸ in vsum nostrum vendicanda sunt." Et ponit exemplum de Hebreis qui ad vsum meliorem vasa⁸⁹ aurea et argentea⁹⁰ ab Egipciiis abstulerunt.^{lxi} Set cauendum est in sermonibus maius⁹¹ bonum tantum commendare vt minus bonum videatur nimis deprimere. Non enim conandum⁹² est sic laudare vitam contemplatiuam quasi nullus posset saluari ducens actiuam, nec ita commendanda est paupertas quasi non posset saluari habens diuicias.

Ex predictis patet qualiter quidditas artis rethorice potest confirmari per sacre scripture auctoritates, rationum varietates, exempla sanctorum, et dicta doctorum.

[D]

Quarto principaliter et vltimo: patet qualiter pro finali meta artis rethorice generalis est commoditas presentem regens commitatem,⁹³ **nobis**. Prima Ad Corinthios x: "Scripta sunt hec ad corepcionem nostram, in quos fines seculorum deuenerunt"; vbi glosa.⁹⁴ "Secularitas et carnalitas⁹⁵ et amor rerum temporalium in nobis finiuntur per Christum."^{lxii} Debemus enim pro fine sermonis intendere—

[a] aspectum illuminare,

[b] affectum expurgare,

[c] et effectum perficere⁹⁶ ad Dei gloriam.

Que tres sunt actus ierarchici naturam consequentes angelicam.

^{lix} The author may be thinking of Heb 12:1 ("ideoque et nos"); cf. Rom 6:4.

^{lx} Matt 4:4.

^{lxi} Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana* 2.40.

^{lxii} Peter Lombard, *Collectanea in omnes Pauli apostoli epistulas*, on 1 Cor. 10:5 (PL 191:1621).

⁸⁷ per followed by ad, canceled, MS.

⁸⁸ iniustus possessoribus, MS.

⁸⁹ vala MS.

⁹⁰ argendea MS.

⁹¹ macius MS.

⁹² conadam MS.

⁹³ comtatem, the -ta- apparently corrected, MS.

⁹⁴ gra MS.

⁹⁵ quarnalitas MS.

⁹⁶ proficere MS.

- [a] Quia enim "doctrina sapientis facilis,"^{lxiii} debet predicator illuminare non obscurare per multitudinem verborum—"Lucerna pedibus⁹⁷ meis verbum tuum,"^{lxiv} "neque accendunt lucernam et ponunt sub modio⁹⁸,"^{lxv} instar cuiusdam medici qui, vt recitat Tullius⁹⁹ *De diuinatione*, libro 2, capitulo 26, infirmum quemdam docere deberet quandam medicinam: "Accipe," inquit, "quadrupedem,¹⁰⁰ tardigradam, agrestem, humilem, asperam, domiferam, ceruicem anguinam, exanimem, cum¹⁰¹ animali voce, et sanaberis. Et cum infirmus dixerit, 'Non intelligo nisi apercius dixeris,' 'Testudo,' inquit, 'est illud de quo locutus sum'."^{lxvi} Set debet poni lucerna verborum¹⁰² "super candelabrum vt luceat omnibus qui in domo sunt."^{lxvii} Non¹⁰³ debemus predicare nimis subtilia sicut illi qui "posuerunt in celum os suum, et lingua eorum" qua sapiunt "transiuit in terra."^{lxviii}
- [b] Secundo debet sermo noster purgare affectum sicut ignis aurum, vt "ignitum sit eloquium tuum vehementer."^{lxix} Querit Philosophus inter¹⁰⁴ *Problemata*, particula 23, problemate 7,^{lxx} quare noster anelitus est quandoque frigidus et quandoque calidus, cum ab eadem¹⁰⁵ causa effectus contrarii non/ poterunt generari? Et respondetur ibidem quia quando homo perflat ore angusto, tunc mouet aerem et causat ventum frigidum, non immiscendo cum ipso aliquod calidum de quo sit curandum. Et hoc propter stricturam foraminis oris angustati. Quando autem perflat ore aperto, tunc multum de spiritu calido immiscet¹⁰⁶ cum aere et ipsum calefacit. Sic "Spiritu Sancto inspirati locuti sunt sancti Dei"^{lxxi} per calorem Spiritus Sancti accendendo et expurgando mentes auditorum.

lxiii Cf. Prov 14:6.

lxiv Ps 118:105.

lxv Matt 5:15.

lxvi Cicero, *De diuinatione* 2.133.

lxvii Matt 5:15.

lxviii Ps 72:9.

lxix Ps 118:4.

lxx Aristotle, *Problems* 34.7 (vol. 2, p. 226-229).

lxxi 2 Pet 1:21.

⁹⁷ peredibus MS.

⁹⁸ medio MS.

⁹⁹ tullius MS.

¹⁰⁰ a pedem MS.

¹⁰¹ apparently sine corrected to cum MS.

¹⁰² verorum MS.

¹⁰³ vt MS.

¹⁰⁴ iter MS.

¹⁰⁵ eas MS.

¹⁰⁶ imiscet se MS.

[c] Tercio predicacio nostra debet effectum perficere per direccionem intencionis ad finem debitum, quia omnia viuencia appetunt et agunt propter hoc vt contineant¹⁰⁷ esse diuinum in seipsis uel in suo simili cum in seipsis non possunt. Et hoc in ordine ad primam causam. Item Christus, vt patet Marci 6, discipulos quos misit ad predicandum populis instituit eos calciari sandaliis,^{lxxii} vt scilicet mentis intencio ad celestia foret nuda et aperta (per pedes designata), ad inferiora vero, scilicet commoda terrena, munita et operta. Et Mathei x prohibetur calciamentum.^{lxxiii} Ex quo patet quod calciamenta et sandalia sunt diuersa.¹⁰⁸ Igitur, predicator verbi Dei, non ad vanam gloriam vel cupiditatem set vt Deus in omnibus honorificetur, **dic nobis vtiliter quid tibi videtur.**

[f. 123v] Et sic combinando puncta,¹⁰⁹

Tu, doctor predictus¹¹⁰ prudentia, **dic** voce alte **nobis** ad illuminandum intellectum **quid tibi videtur** visione recta solide fundatum.

Secundo: predicator exornatus virtute, **dic** voce clara **nobis** ad expurgandum affectum **quid tibi videtur** visione fracta lucide declaratum.

Tercio: tu sermocinator predotatus beneuolencia, **dic** voce suavi **nobis** ad perficiendum finaliter effectum **quid tibi videtur** visione reflexa debite confirmatum.

Queritur inter *Problemata* Aristotelis, particula 29, problemate 42,^{lxxiv} quare non statuuntur certe mercedes¹¹¹ in scolasticis disputacionibus vel moralibus persuacionibus sicut in victoriis corporalibus? Cuius responsio vna est talis: quia oportet premium excedere meritum; set sapiencia est dignior quacumque¹¹² alia re citra Deum; quare sequitur quod nichil citra Deum discreto predicatori sufficere debet pro mercede, teste Apostolo Ad Philippenses 3: "Existimo omnia detrimentum esse propter eminentem¹¹³ scienciam Iesu Christi, Domini mei,"^{lxxv} quia omnia que desiderantur huic non valent comparari. Ex quibus patet quod non¹¹⁴ debemus abscondere

^{lxxii} Mark 6:8-9.

^{lxxiii} Matt 10:10.

^{lxxiv} Aristotle, *Problems* 30.11 (vol. 2, pp. 176-179).

^{lxxv} Phil 3:8.

¹⁰⁷ *continetur MS.*

¹⁰⁸ *dicta MS.*

¹⁰⁹ *peccata MS; possibly for partes.*

¹¹⁰ *predictus MS.*

¹¹¹ *mercede MS.*

¹¹² *quatam MS.*

¹¹³ *en/entem MS.*

¹¹⁴ *non om., MS.*

talentum Dei nec vendere pro terrenis, set libere aliis communicare gratis a Deo accepta.¹¹⁵ "Gratis" ergo "date,"^{lxxvi} suple Deo, quia de quolibet verificatur illud Ecclesiastici li: "Danti michi sapienciam, dabo illi gloriam,"^{lxxvii} scilicet consciencie in presenti—"gloria nostra hec est testimonium consciencie nostre"^{lxxviii}—et gloriam, suple eternam. Ad quam nos perducatur.

[A horizontal line follows, and then the *Collacio finalis*, Vbi spiritus Domini ibi libertas]

^{lxxvi} Cf. Matt 10:8.

^{lxxvii} Sir 51:23.

^{lxxviii} 2 Cor 1:12.

¹¹⁵ acceptis MS.